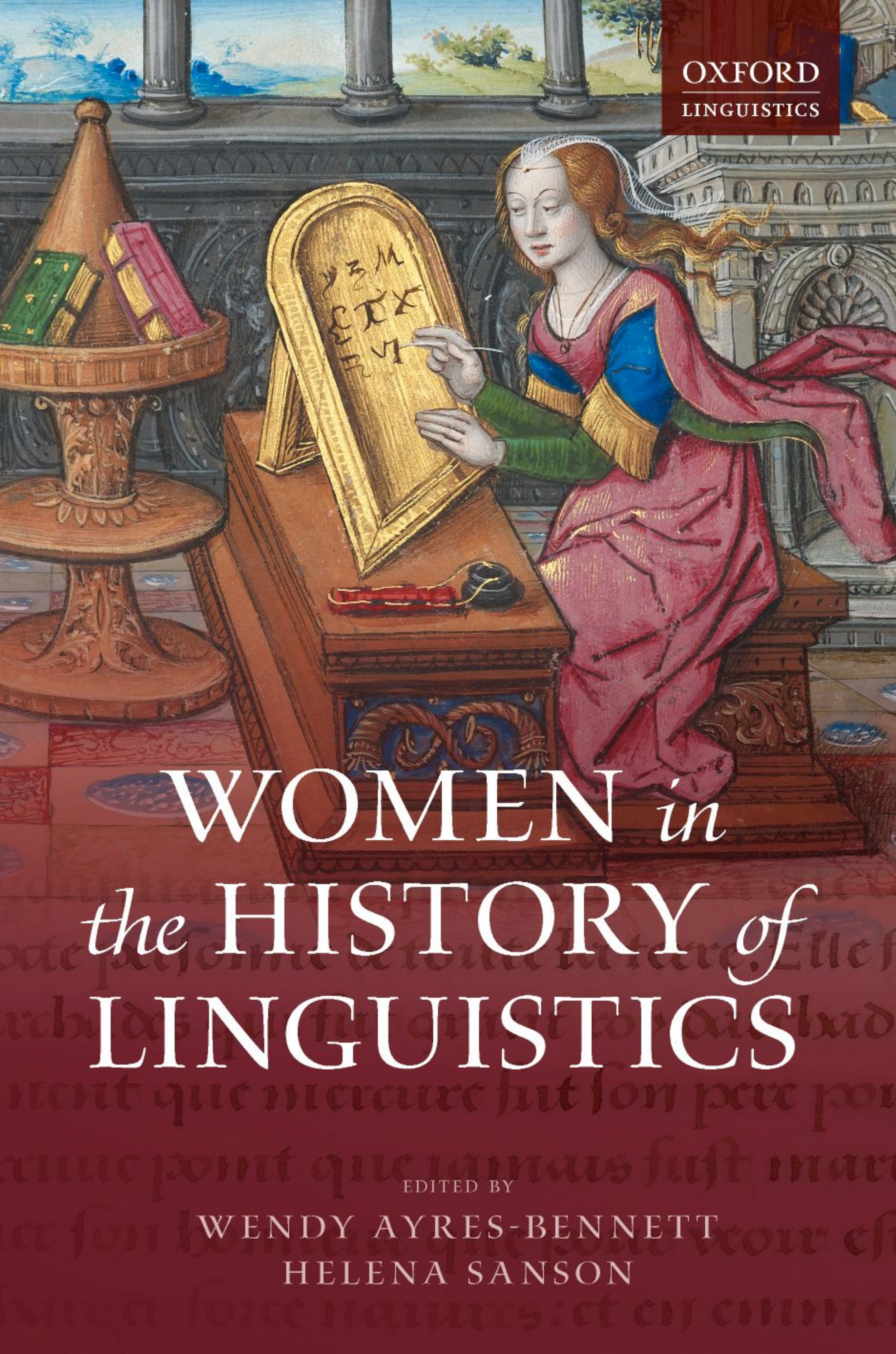

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WOMEN *in* *the* HISTORY *of* LINGUISTICS

EDITED BY

WENDY AYRES-BENNETT
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Women in the History of Linguistics

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Women in the history of linguistics

Distant and neglected voices

Wendy Ayres-Bennett and Helena Sanson

1. Introduction

This volume investigates the role played by women in the history of linguistics—defined very broadly—throughout the centuries and across different linguistic and cultural traditions, both European and non-European. In view of women's often limited educational opportunities in the past, their contribution is examined not only within traditional and institutional contexts, but also within more domestic and less public realms.

Interest in the role played by women in language description and codification and their contribution to language teaching and other applied linguistic fields is situated against a backdrop of efforts to change the traditional male-dominated methodologies and canon across a range of disciplines. In her 1976 essay 'Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges', Gerda Lerner, one of the founders of the academic field of women's history, explained that in the early years when American historians began to develop women's history as an independent field, they sought to find a conceptual framework and methodology appropriate for the task. She identified three approaches adopted by historians for the writing of women's history. The first entailed writing the history of 'women's worthies', that is, notable women in history; this might be termed 'compensatory history', focusing on exceptionality (Lerner 1976: 5). The danger associated with this approach is that it may result in overshadowing the experience of those who could not escape *non-exceptionality* because of a number of limitations, including not least social class. The second stage in conceptualizing women's history might be characterized as 'contribution history', and describes women's contribution to, and their status within, history, or within a certain movement, field, or discipline (Lerner 1976: 5). Here the risk is that of trying to fit women's input into categories and value systems that take men and the male experience as the yardstick for measuring significance. In other words, our traditional understanding of a certain movement or discipline is foregrounded, and women's contribution is judged above all with respect to its effect on that movement or discipline as traditionally

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conceived, or by standards typically considered appropriate for men. 'Contribution history', we read, is a transitional, yet necessary, stage for developing new criteria and concepts and for creating a true history of women (Lerner 1976: 7–8). Lerner, however, suggests that the 'true history of women is the history of their ongoing functioning in [a] male-defined world, *on their own terms*' (Lerner 1976: 6). This may involve the addition of new categories and methodologies to those commonly used by historians to organize their material, so as to account for 'the complexities of the historical experience of all women' (Lerner 1976: 13).

Applying Lerner's framework to the study of women in the history of linguistics, the same need for new criteria and new concepts is evident, not least in the very definition of what we understand by 'linguistics' (see section 3 below). Almost thirty years ago, in 1991, Donna Breyfogle remarked that surprisingly little appeared to have been published concerning women in the history of linguistics, despite the great deal of research in the previous two decades on women's role in other disciplines. Breyfogle (1991: 18) concluded that 'the history of women in linguistics is, at most, in its infancy'. Indeed, it could be argued that this is still the case today, despite the contributions made by women to linguistics and the progress made in studying women's scholarship and intellectual achievements more generally.

The aim of this volume then is to fill this long-standing gap and, to paraphrase Lerner, contribute to a true history of the role of women in the history of linguistics on their own terms, challenging categories and concepts devised for male-dominated accounts and expanding the field of enquiry. Whilst inevitably pioneers and exceptional women will be of interest, space will also be given to the voices of non-exceptional women who nevertheless quietly moved forward our knowledge of languages, their description, analysis, codification and acquisition, *inter alia*.

This introduction will start by considering what research has already been conducted on women in the history of linguistics (section 2), before exploring some of the reasons for the relative dearth of studies (section 3). In section 4 we outline some of the challenges and opportunities encountered by women who wished to study the nature of language and languages. This is followed by sections discussing the geographical (section 5) and chronological (section 6) scope of this volume. In section 7 we outline some of the major recurring areas and themes discussed in the nineteen chapters, before concluding with a section on future prospects and directions for research.

2. Previous studies of women in the history of linguistics

Despite increasing interest over the last few decades in both linguistic historiography and the role of women in linguistics, there have not been any attempts to

date to explore in a detailed and systematic way the contribution and works of women as linguists in the European and non-European traditions as a whole. Given the cultural and practical limitations imposed on women's access to education for centuries across all cultures, the term 'linguist' is understood here in its broadest sense, to include necessarily contributions offered to the discipline and the study of language structure and function outside of more institutionalized and traditional frameworks.

Considering, first, major histories of linguistics that serve as reference volumes for the discipline, virtually no women currently appear in these or, where they do, they are typically relegated to footnotes, difficult to find, or very limited in number. In the first edition of Harro Stammerjohann's monumental *Lexicon grammaticorum* (1996; 1,047 pp.) women's contribution to the prescriptive and speculative linguistic Western tradition is limited to just twenty of the total 1,500 entries; these comprise for the most part women who were active in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (with the exception of Ann Fisher, active in the eighteenth century). Important names such as Johanna Corleva (Chapter 8) or Marguerite Buffet (Chapter 3) are thus absent. In the two-volume 2009 revised edition (1,692 pp.) an additional twenty-four entries on women are introduced (most of these active in the twentieth century, with the exception of Elizabeth Elstob (1683–1756), included for the first time, Carolina (Karoline Wilhelma) Michaëlis de Vasconcel(l)os (1851–1925), and Victoria Welby (Lady Victoria) (1837–1912)). Yet this does not really represent a substantial improvement in their representation, given the expansion of over 600 pages and 500 new articles in this revised edition. The single-volume histories of linguistics currently available (e.g. Robins 1997; Seuren 2004; Allan 2007; Graffi 2019) equally typically present a narrative based almost entirely on a canon of men who have been the most interesting and influential contributors to the field. Histories of individual languages or language families also seem to ignore women's role and contribution.

The lack of research to date on this question may derive from a (mistaken) belief that there is little to be found on the topic. However, this gap also relates to the fact that existing scholarly work on the history of linguistics tends to focus on the more institutional side of the discipline, whereas women's contribution must at times be sought within less public and even clearly domestic environments. An early contribution to the assessment of the role of women in the history of Western European linguistics is Ayres-Bennett (1994a) which considered not just women as authors of metalinguistic texts, but also as the intended readership and as sources of information about the specificities of women's language and good usage. Other studies have focused on particular languages and traditions such as Falk (1999) on the work of female linguists in the United States, Ayres-Bennett (2004) which includes a chapter on women and language in seventeenth-century France, or Sanson (2007, 2011) which offer extensive and systematic investigations into women's role in the history of the Italian language,

its codification and the *Questione della lingua* debates, from the last decades of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth. More recently, Beck-Busse (2014) focuses on Italian and French grammars for women, particularly in France and German-speaking countries in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Whilst these works are important stepping-stones in shaping the discipline, there is a lack of a detailed and comprehensive treatment of women's contribution to language studies, and the geographical limitation to Western Europe in particular is striking.

It is important to note that our intention is not to promote a separationist stance on issues of gender. Rather, it is hoped that a volume entirely dedicated to women's role in the history of language codification and the history of linguistics will result in a more careful investigation of the presence of women in these areas and thereby open the way—as has been the case for other disciplines—for future, more balanced accounts of both women's and men's contribution to the field.

3. Why are women so little represented in classic works on the history of linguistics?

In addressing this question, a key issue is what is understood by the term 'linguistics'. Taken in its narrower sense, the beginnings of modern linguistics are often associated with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, sometimes termed the founder of modern linguistics, and the posthumous publication in 1916 of his *Cours de linguistique générale* (*Course in General Linguistics*). It is in the mid-nineteenth century that we begin to find the first efforts to distinguish *linguistics* from the much longer-standing term *philology*, a discipline which itself has different conceptions according to differing national traditions (Adamson and Ayres-Bennett 2011).[1] August Schleicher in *Die Sprachen Europas in Systematischer Übersicht* (Schleicher 1983 [1850]; *The Languages of Europe Viewed Systematically*) attempts to differentiate linguistics and philology. He conceives philology as a historical discipline which considers language 'only as a way of gaining access to the spiritual nature and life of one or more language families' (Adamson and Ayres-Bennett 2011: 201). By contrast, linguistics, adopting the methodology of the natural sciences, is viewed as having theoretical and methodological rigour.[2]

[1] For example, in the French and German traditions, the focus of philology has typically been the interpretation and editing of predominantly literary texts, whereas in the English tradition it has been more closely aligned with historical linguistics.

[2] Other terms in use in the nineteenth-century include *glossology* and *glottology*. As already mentioned, it is important to note that different terms were favoured in different traditions.

As linguistics becomes institutionalized, notably in the mid-twentieth century with the work of the American structuralists, the crystallization of the definition of linguistics as the 'scientific study of language' means that the focus narrows to particular approaches to language study which favour a canon of male figures holding academic posts. If we follow this definition, there are few women of note before the second half of the twentieth century. Typifying this position is the comment by Donna Jo Napoli in her address 'On the Progress of Women in the History of Linguistics', given at Georgetown University in 1978, that, as she had expected, she had been able to find very little work written by women in the general area of linguistics in the period up to around 1965. On the other hand, she had been able to identify 'a great mass of work reflecting very serious women's research since 1965' (Napoli 1978: 2), published first in linguistics journals in the USA and subsequently, from the 1970s, also in European and Japanese journals. In the last twenty years, she observed, there had been a flowering of a particular type of linguistics led by Chomsky, which she defined as 'descriptive, synchronic and generative' (Napoli 1978: 2), and which, in her view, allowed women to excel in the field of linguistics as never before.

Historically, however, the study of language has been situated in what today are considered other disciplines, such as literature, philosophy, religious studies, or anthropology, as studies such as Robins (1997) make clear. Yet, even this broader conception of what constitutes the history of linguistics tends to exclude women who had less access to education and thus to disciplines associated with scholarship and learning. A quarter of a century ago, Ayres-Bennett (1994a) noted that, when approached, colleagues first reaction to requests to potential contributors to the special issue of *Histoire, épistémologie, langage* was that few, if any, metalinguistic texts by women existed in the tradition with which they were familiar.

A key aim therefore of this volume is to broaden the definition of the history of linguistics—or, perhaps better, the study of language, to avoid any potential confusion—to include non-institutionalized, informal, and domestic contexts. This volume rather focuses on women's contribution to the production of grammars, dictionaries, philological studies, critical editions, notes, and writings of various kinds, to the description of 'exotic' languages, language teaching and acquisition methods, to language debates, language use and policy, and to reflections on ideas about language and writing systems (whether the material is in print or manuscript form), both in the European and non-European traditions. To uncover women's presence and contribution within the history of linguistics means taking the investigation beyond the traditional framework and understanding of what is, and is not, linguistics. We take linguistics to mean the study of language in all its guises, one of the oldest fields of human study, and by nature 'an interdisciplinary field' (Napoli 1978: 2).

The equating of linguistics with 'scientific approaches' perhaps explains why the study of women in our field has lagged behind that in other disciplines such as

history, literary studies, or musicology. For example, women as musical performers and composers are catalogued much earlier, and by 1980 academic courses in 'women in music' began to be taught in American universities (Tick, Ericson, and Koskoff 2001). Similarly, the rise of 'women's studies' in the 1970s generated increased interest in women's writing, when, in particular, attention was paid to rediscovering and analysing unknown women writers.[3] In linguistics, the interest in gender studies led to studies of women's language, notably by Robin Lakoff in her pioneering work *Language and Woman's Place* (1975), rather than to analysis of women's work in shaping thinking on language. A few years later, studies such as Dale Spender's *Man Made Language* (1980) focused their attention on language being biased against women, arguing against the dominance of the 'male-as-norm' paradigm, while Casey Miller and Kate Swift (1977, 1981), among others, raised awareness on gendered and sexist language and argued for the need for changes in language policy. Scholars in other linguistic traditions too offered a feminist perspective on the analysis of language (e.g. Yaguello 1978; Violi 1986), and provided precise and well-researched recommendations for a non-sexist use of language (Sabatini 1986, 1987). Gendered conversational styles also became the object of scholarly attention (e.g. Coates 1986; Tannen 1990), often supporting the view that women's talk is a cultural product, and attracting widespread interest from specialists and non-specialists alike. A strong orientation to feminist theory and a dissatisfaction with gendered power relations underpins much of this research. Language is seen as a 'tool to constrain, coerce and represent women and men in oppressive ways' and linguistic analyses within socio-cultural contexts can help 'reveal some of the mechanisms of how this takes place' (Mills and Mullany 2011: 25).

Explorations of women's participation in the history of linguistics that extend the chronological horizon to many centuries before the twentieth seem initially at least to encounter an almost deserted landscape. However, when we broaden the scope of the investigation and look for evidence of women's presence beyond the more traditional scholarly contexts, things change. What we are facing is rather what we can define—to borrow the effective metaphor used by the Italian scholar Elisabetta Graziosi (2005: 145) to describe the verse production of nuns in early modern Italian convents—as an 'arcipelago sommerso' ('a submerged archipelago') of women who contributed to the study of languages over the ages. What Graziosi remarked with reference to those nuns who devoted themselves to

[3] The range of critical studies on individual figures, surveys of women writers within specific literary traditions, and editions of texts by female authors in many different languages is now vast. To cite just one example, within the subfield of modern editions of early modern texts by (or about) women (in original language and/or translation), there is the book series 'The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe', active since 1996, first with Chicago University Press and, more recently, by Iter and the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (University of Toronto). Nonetheless, much work remains to be done.

writing poetry also holds for women linguists: not all of their writings have been preserved, but are rather lost, destroyed, or untraceable. In some cases, then, we may know the names of the women, but have no surviving texts or writings from them. In others, we may find writings that have been preserved, but we lack the names of their authors. In yet other instances, it is the authorship of the writings that has been challenged, based on the assumption that even when the work is attributed to a woman, there could be—or even must be—a male author instead. Not to mention those women who collaborated with male scholars, whether related or not, and who often worked in subordinate or supporting positions, deprived of recognition for their role in the advancement of knowledge. Since their contribution was often made anonymously, it ended up being neglected or altogether forgotten, the passing of time having effaced the memory of their intellectual commitment and scholarship. The negative association between femininity and scholarship may also have led women to publish under a pseudonym or to leave their works in manuscript. Women who chose to have their work published could be accused of self-advertisement and face potential social dishonour (Richardson 2004: 42).

Not surprisingly, then, one of the greatest challenges for researchers who aim to recover women's agency within the history of linguistics, as this volume seeks to do, is the need to have expertise in a number of interrelated areas. Alongside the skills required for any historian of linguistics, including having the ability to analyse surviving print and manuscript sources and being familiar with the history of the discipline and linguistic theory, scholars also need crucially 'to be sensitive to the historical experience of women' and 'be willing and able to adopt a feminist theoretical perspective' in order to move beyond 'compensatory' and 'contribution' history (Breyfogle 1991: 21).

4. Challenges and opportunities for women in the history of linguistics

A recurrent thread throughout this volume is the challenges faced by women who expressed an interest in language and language study because of the educational restrictions placed upon them and their lack of access to formal education. In the early modern period, for instance, the learning of Latin and Greek—and the access to knowledge this implied—was largely considered a male preserve. Latin, and in general the curriculum of the *studia humanitatis*, implied coming into contact with the ancients—the source of all human knowledge—and was therefore necessary in order to prepare the individual for public life. Since women had no public role to fulfil, Latin usually remained beyond their reach and their education was meant to be, instead, fundamentally practical, following the adage that saw men associated with pens and women with needles.

It is not until the late nineteenth century when free and compulsory education was gradually opened up to girls, at least at primary level in Western Europe, that we begin to see significant changes. Before then, educational opportunities depended heavily on social class and family circumstances. As adults, women were associated with domesticity and family commitments, as we see repeatedly articulated in the different chapters of this volume. Their networks were therefore often largely restricted to a small circle of family and friends. As opportunities for work expanded, again in the nineteenth century, women were associated with lower-prestige jobs, and feminization of the professions was slow in arriving.

This is not to suggest that circumstances were entirely unfavourable towards women. Some Renaissance men of letters—among them Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa—wished for a richer and more varied education for women and did not completely oppose female knowledge of Latin, itself a gateway to much other scholarship. There was indeed a rich tradition of women across Europe who, throughout the centuries, and despite the prevailing difficult context, distinguished themselves for their use of the classical language in both manuscript and printed texts (Churchill, Brown, and Jeffrey 2002; Stevenson 2005). Moreover, already in the Early Modern period, we find accounts of women learning languages from private tutors or attentive fathers. The early lists of 'famous women' often refer to the linguistic abilities of the female figures they are cataloguing, languages being deemed a suitable area of study. Women were also associated with skilful polite conversation: in Baldassar Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (2003 [1528]; *The Book of the Courtier*) the ideal courtly lady is required to behave affably and to entertain politely every sort of man with agreeable conversation suited to the time and place and the quality of the person being addressed (III, 5). Women were similarly required to take a leading role, for instance, in refined conversation in the salons. In seventeenth-century France, the linguistic skills of women featured as part of the well-known *Querelle des femmes*. Poullain de la Barre in his *De l'égalité des deux sexes* (1679 [1673]; *On the Equality of the Two Sexes*) argues for the superiority of women over men in terms of their language use, and summarizes the differences between the language of educated men and of women in the following terms:

> Elles s'énoncent avec grace. Elles ont l'art de trouver les plus beaux termes de l'usage, et de faire plus comprendre en un mot, que les hommes avec plusieurs: & si l'on s'entretient des Langues en general, elles ont là-dessus des pensées qui ne se trouvent que dans les plus habiles Grammairiens. Enfin on remarque qu'elles tirent plus de l'usage seul pour le langage, que la pluspart des hommes ne font de l'usage joint à l'étude. (Poullain de la Barre 1679: 49)
>
> (They express themselves with grace. They possess the art of being able to find the finest terms in usage and to communicate more with one word, than men with several: and if one is having a conversation about languages in general, on

this subject they have ideas which are only found in the most skilful grammarians. In a word, one observes that they draw more from usage alone of the language, than most men get from usage and study.)

If women's contribution to the history of linguistics and language codification seems to have gone unnoticed, the topic of women's language, in its many declinations, has recurrently been the *object* of discussion by thinkers, theorists, and men of letters, and indeed considered worthy of special attention. Here again we find positive and negative accounts of women's language. The specificities of women's use of language were already discussed by Latin authors. Cicero (*On the Orator* III, 45), for instance, touched upon the conservative nature of women's language, stressing how the female sex, not having experience of conversation with a multitude of people, more easily preserved the ancient language unaltered. In a much-quoted passage he explained how hearing his mother-in-law Laelia speaking reminded him of Plautus or Naevius, of the old uncorrupted language which women more easily retained. Others considered women's use of language as flawed, the defects in their expression to be attributed to inadequate linguistic training in their native tongue or to innate intellectual limitations. Women are singled out for their poor use of grammar, their inelegant and inaccurate writing, faulty pronunciation, poor diction and voice quality, or limited and erroneous vocabulary. Women's linguistic shortcomings were considered the unfortunate result of a neglected education, and even the more progressively minded theorists were not free from supporting misogynistic stereotypes, such as women's tendency to linguistic affectation or to introduce deplorable innovations that corrupt language. Not to mention, of course, their garrulity. Others, on the contrary, saw women as linguistically less creative and more conservative lexically, as well as on language matters more broadly.[4] They were said to use a different set of words, and to avoid coarse and gross expressions or swearing, and words related to certain specific topics or body parts, preferring euphemisms instead. The specificity of women's language could be found in their more frequent use of hypotaxis versus parataxis, an apparent ease in producing speech that nonetheless led to unfinished sentences on account of their inability to control their thoughts as opposed to men's slower production of sentences due to their instinctive cross-examination of every statement. Otto Jespersen's well-known chapter on 'The Woman', in his *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* (1922) offers in this respect a compendium—and a grim one for that matter, filled with prejudices and misogyny—of long-standing commonplaces on women's contribution to the

[4] For an outline of these views, with specific reference to the English context, see Baron (1986: 71–89).

development of language. Tellingly, Jespersen commented: 'Men will certainly with great justice object that there is a danger of the language becoming languid and insipid if we are always to content ourselves with women's expressions, and that vigour and vividness count for something [...] Men thus become the chief renovators of language' (Jespersen 1922: 247). We return to the qualities associated with women's language in section 7.1.

This volume, as we shall see, will inevitably touch upon many of the challenges that women had to face throughout the centuries, at various levels, and in many forms, in the history of linguistics. However, what it reveals above all are the opportunities women were able to find and construct for themselves within the contexts in which they operated, often turning to their advantage precisely those same prejudices that constrained them.

5. Moving beyond the European and the Western

Many of the single-volume landmark studies of the history of linguistics have focused mainly, or exclusively, on the Western tradition in linguistics. Robins in his pioneering *Short History of Linguistics* (1997 [1967]) defended his choice of building his work around the framework of the history of linguistics in Europe on the grounds that this allowed him to trace a continuous line of development from ancient Greece, whereas, for instance, at that time relatively little was known of the origin and early stages of the Sanskrit work of the Indians (Robins 1999: 7). In his volume, for practical reasons, he therefore chose to consider how other traditions had influenced the European. Vivien Law, in her *History of Linguistics in Europe: From Plato to 1600* (2003) rightly observed that it was wrong to treat linguistics in other traditions, such as India, the Judeo-Arab world, and China, as if they were merely an appendage to Europe (Law 2003: 1), and there are now excellent studies of many non-Western traditions, including Versteegh on Arabic (2001), Wang and Sun (2015), and Behr et al. (2017) on Chinese, as well as Wolff (2019a, 2019b) on African linguistics. None of these, significantly, devote their attention to women or discuss their contribution to the field. With the growth of the field of the history of linguistics, it is increasingly difficult for a single scholar to cover a range of traditions in one volume, not least because of the lack of translations of major texts.

A key aim of this volume, then, is to open up the study of women beyond the existing, often very limited, studies of European traditions. It is perhaps worth emphasizing from the outset that we interpret, for instance, Chapter 7 on German to be about work by women which discusses the German language. Conversely, German women who worked on, for example, African languages are treated in Chapter 19 on Africa. In looking at non-European traditions, we have tried as far

as possible to include the contribution of local women and not just that of European women, who were often missionaries.[5]

We make no claim that this volume is exhaustive. Rather, it aims to offer a very first—albeit wide-ranging—investigation of the subject, in order actively to encourage and promote further research across linguistic traditions, both within and beyond Europe. It seeks not only to cover a range of European traditions which have previously only been studied partially, or not at all, but also to explore many others worldwide, including Australia, North America, India, China, Japan, and the Arabic-speaking world. Success in securing contributions on both European and non-European traditions depended on a number of factors, including the general state of knowledge of that area and the period when interest in language began to flourish (see below). As a result, it has not been possible to include chapters on certain traditions we had originally hoped to explore, including, for Europe, Greece, Finland, Poland, and Rumania. In the case of Rumania, for instance, women's participation in the field of linguistics, despite the depth and breadth of their current contribution, appears to date back only to the 1950s and 1960s.[6] Beyond Europe, it proved impossible to secure chapters on Ancient Egypt, the Hebrew and Yiddish traditions, and South America.

Ancient Egypt affords a good example of the difficulty of tracing women's presence because of shortage of records and material sources. In the popular imagination, Ancient Egypt is closely connected to language in its written form through hieroglyphs and the figure of the scribe. It is also a land sometimes praised for the place granted to women, embodied by famous ruling queens such as Hatshepsut and Cleopatra. Yet public speech and acts of writing by women were not part of Egyptian decorum and they are therefore absent from most accounts and documents available to scholars.

As for female scholarship on the ancient Egyptian language, it developed of course almost 2,000 years later, when Champollion deciphered Egyptian hieroglyphics in 1822, opening the way to its study. Very few women focused on Egyptian languages in these early stages: women active in Egyptology during the nineteenth century were primarily aristocratic travellers, collectors, and sponsors of archaeological excavations, with things only changing slowly in the twentieth century, when university education gradually opened up to women. Yet, at first, women were limited to disciplines such as the history of art and museum studies, deemed more suitable for women of well-to-do extraction. As progress in the understanding of ancient Egyptian languages occurred in the second part of the twentieth century (a period which falls beyond the remit of

[5] We hope that, for instance, the study of Africa (Chapter 19) which is for now focused largely on the work of missionaries and women in academia will lead to further exploration of the possible contribution of local women to language studies.

[6] Gabriela Dindelegan (Emerita Professor of Linguistics at the University of Bucharest) by personal communication.

this volume, see section 6 below), it is worth pointing out that one of the leading linguistic schools in the field, based at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, trained and hosted several leading female linguists.[7]

Another good example of the problems posed by trying to explore the role of women in the history of linguistics before its institutionalization is provided by Yiddish.[8] Whilst there were early, summary descriptions of the language from the sixteenth century until the late nineteenth century, the study of the language was exclusively the work of outsiders or apostates. The descriptions, brief manuals, and wordlists were not written for native speakers, but for those who needed access to the language and culture for various purposes, ranging from trade and missionary work to the detection and prosecution of Jewish criminals. In the late nineteenth century, simple dictionaries and textbooks of Yiddish for native speakers and learners were produced, but it remained an exclusively male domain. Although there were attempts to establish academic Yiddish studies before and during World War II (e.g. 'cabinets' at the academies of Minsk and Kiev, a chair of Yiddish philology in Vilna, and an *ad hominem* chair at CUNY), Yiddish only became an accepted object of study in the post-war period, both as an academic topic and as a (foreign) language which could be learned like any other. Yiddish was—and still is—studied at a small number of universities worldwide. Women have played a considerable part in the development of all aspects of Yiddish linguistics, but only since the academic study of Yiddish became established during a period in which women studying for advanced degrees and appointed to faculty positions were no longer an exception.

Inevitably, success in securing contributions also depended on the willingness of colleagues to embark on what may well have seemed a truly daunting enterprise that might potentially lead to no more than meagre findings. Our first contact with possible contributors often elicited very enthusiastic and positive responses that both confirmed a great interest in the topic and a clear awareness that recovering women's role within the history of linguistics meant mapping unexplored territories. It was clear to all that such investigation would require, as has indeed been the case, extensive and painstaking research into a range of primary sources, manuscripts, and printed texts, in libraries and archives. In many instances, work had to start from something close to a *tabula rasa*. Needless to say, we are therefore extremely grateful to our all collaborators for accepting the challenge, responding to our questions, suggestions, and comments, and especially for pointing us towards topics and subfields that we had not initially considered as preserving evidence of women's contribution.

[7] Our thanks to Chloé C. D. Ragazzoli (Faculty of History, Université Paris-Sorbonne) for these comments (by personal communication).

[8] We are very grateful to Marion Aptroot (Institut für Jüdische Studien, Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf) for these details (personal communication).

6. Chronological scope of the volume

The chronological scope of the volume was, at least initially, conceived as the period which starts with the first attempts at standardization and codification of the national languages of Europe (late fifteenth century on) and ends with the institutionalization of linguistics in the early decades of the twentieth century. However, it became clear that, whilst this period should remain at the core of the volume, flexibility was also required, as regards both the starting and end points for our analysis.

For the *terminus a quo*, a number of important exceptions were essential. Even within the Western European tradition, understanding of the Greek and Latin traditions on which so much of European vernacular grammar was founded is key (Chapter 1). Outside Europe the case for flexibility was even more pressing. China, for instance, has one of the world's most ancient and impressive traditions of philological studies, above all in the fields of lexicography, glossography, graphic etymology, and phonology. All of these, explains Mariarosaria Gianninoto (Chapter 16), were strictly connected with the constitution of the Confucian canon and with the imperial examination system, which entailed knowledge and exegesis of canonical texts. Deeply rooted prejudices, and, as a result, very limited access to instruction, meant that women could not participate in the imperial examinations and therefore are almost completely absent from the landscape of Chinese philology. However, as Gianninoto observes, there are early examples of learned women, and their linguistic and Sinographic education should be taken into account. A case in point is Bān Zhāo (44–116 CE), respectively the daughter and the sister of the Han dynasty historians Bān Biāo (3–54 CE) and Bān Gù (32–92 CE). After the death of her brother, she was ordered to complete the compilation of the Book of the Han (Hànshū), destined to become the model for all future dynastic histories in China. Bān Zhāo is also believed to be the author of an annotated version of the *Biographies of Eminent Women* by Liú Xiàng (79–8 BCE), a critical edition unfortunately now lost to us, but which represents a rare example of women's contribution to glossography, an important field of Chinese philology. Likewise, it was important to capture the fact that, in the oldest Vedic texts, speech is associated with the feminine—particularly in the Ṛg Veda (RV), the earliest group of poetic sacrificial hymns dated around 1500 BCE (Chapter 17).

The choice of the institutionalization of linguistics as the *terminus ad quem* was dictated by the fact that women scholars such as Deborah Tannen, Anna Murpurgo Davies, or Deborah Cameron, all cited by Allan (2007), work(ed) in very different circumstances from their predecessors in having access to higher education and academic posts. There is clearly considerable variation as to when lectureships and chairs in philology and linguistics were established in different countries even within Europe. Moreover, once again, opening up to non-Western traditions necessitated allowing a somewhat later endpoint, notably where study

of the language area had more recent beginnings than in Europe. Nevertheless, all the chapters take the onset of World War II as the absolute limit for their analysis.

7. Recurring themes

Contributors were asked to consider women's role in a number of different areas, and in this section we highlight some of the recurring themes which feature across sometimes otherwise very different traditions.

7.1 Women's language

As we saw earlier, women's use of language has been the object of attention since ancient times. Attitudes towards women's language—both positive and negative—regularly shaped the description and analysis of the language in question.

One prevalent view of women's ideal use of language was that they should speak as little as possible. Silence as the ideal ornament for women and a testament to their modesty is recommended across different linguistic and cultural traditions, starting from the classical world (Chapter 1). In Ancient Greece, women's speech was thought to be particularly seductive and dangerous, as exemplified in the singing of the sirens, but also ambiguous, as in the speech of Pythia, the famous priestess of Apollo at Delphi. In archaic and classical Greece, women did not receive formal rhetorical training, because they had no public role to fulfil. Occasionally, however, women gained distinction for their learning or verbal cleverness, even when they were of less respectable social extraction, Aspasia being a case in point. Catalogues of illustrious women from the classical world record female figures as gifted orators delivering well-crafted speeches in public to promote their cause, such as Hortensia, the daughter of a famous orator. Others distinguished themselves for their skills also in writing: Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus (the Elder) and mother of the Gracchi, was renowned for her fluency in Greek as well as for her excellent style of speaking and writing. Sappho is the most famous of the twenty female poets from antiquity known to us.

The rich production of conduct books that, across the centuries and a range of traditions, aim to define women's role and behaviour in society often perpetuate long-standing beliefs about women's appropriate use of language, devoting entire sections to this topic. Some texts adopt a more restrictive and prescriptive approach, taking the injunction to silence as their starting point. Others catered for a female readership that was required to participate in elegant conversations. In the Japanese tradition, for instance, women's silence, modesty, and the need to restrain from speaking are defining elements of women's use of language (Chapter 15). Throughout the history of Japan, there has been a tenacious

circulation of normative discourse about women's speech in the form of etiquette manuals for women's manner of speaking, starting with women's conduct books, *jokunsho*, in the pre-modern period. These early conduct books, written by upper-class Japanese women in preparation for their daughters' marriage, contained lessons on speech. In the Edo period (1603–1868), there was a wealth of such publications produced by men, extending their influence to other social classes. These kinds of works have contributed to making women's language the primary means for expressing widespread ideals of femininity.

Finally, it is important to note that some accounts take a more positive view of women's language, seeing it as a model for good usage, as in the French tradition (Chapter 3). Indeed, in seventeenth-century France women are viewed by some grammarians as the most authentic and natural authorities on good usage, not least because their judgments have not been coloured by knowledge of the classical languages or formal grammar. Sometimes it was linguistic usage of individual women that rather served as the model: for Russian, Vassili Trediakovskii chose Empress Elizabeth I as the person whose language could serve as a standard for the common tongue (Chapter 6).

7.2 Women and language acquisition and teaching

Semasiological and onomasiological investigations across languages have highlighted long-standing links between women and language acquisition,[9] for instance in the idea that women, as mothers or wet nurses, can exert a positive or negative influence on the transmission of language. In the early fourteenth century Dante, in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (*DVE*; *On Eloquence in the Vernacular*), explicitly stressed the association between language and mothers in his discussion of the role of the vernacular compared to Latin, calling the former the *materna locutione* ('mother tongue'), 'nostra vera prima locutio' ('our first true language') (*DVE* I, II, 1), which can be learnt 'sine omni regula' ('without any rules') and 'nutricem imitantes' ('by imitating the wet nurse') (*DVE* I, I, 2).

Indeed, a recurrent theme across traditions and across the centuries is the key role attributed to women in the transmission and acquisition of language. Women could be influential in the linguistic education of their children, we read in Chapter 1. In this respect, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, is mentioned by Quintilian and Cicero as an example of a mother capable of affecting positively the spoken skills of her children. As Mariarosaria Gianninoto remarks with reference to China in the imperial era (Chapter 16), women's contribution to the transmission of literacy, even within the domestic sphere, can be regarded as part

[9] See on this Lepschy and Sanson (1999).

of their contribution to the history of linguistics: by supervising children's early linguistic and literary education and supporting their studies, they offered a crucial contribution to language teaching.

Initially, this role in language acquisition is principally limited to early childhood and the domestic context—the privileged sphere assigned to women as nurturers and first educators. From the Enlightenment onwards, in the European context, women's role as educators starts progressively to extend beyond the domestic sphere, inasmuch as mothers are assigned an important role as educators of future citizens that can benefit society as a whole, and that female education, at least in some traditions, starts to witness gradual, but positive developments. However, it is above all from the second half of the nineteenth century that women's role as linguistic educators of children spreads more generally into new, more official, contexts. It is no coincidence that we find at the same time a growing number of women who composed and published metalinguistic texts for children and school pupils (see section 7.3 below). The fundamental importance of the establishment of state educational systems, alongside the opening up of higher education to women, in enabling them to contribute to language study and linguistics in more systematic and varied ways, cannot be overstated. In this respect, we should also remember the important role played by the creation and establishment of teacher-training institutions for women. The specific circumstances and realizations of giving women access to education are elaborated in the relevant chapters and will not be discussed here.

Beyond Europe, women were also able to have a presence within certain educational fields. Starting from the end of the Ming (1368–1644) and throughout the Qing (1644–1911) periods, an important contribution to Chinese language studies came from Western missionaries (Chapter 16), who played an active role in the educational and linguistic fields, creating schools and thereby contributing to the development of linguistic training for Chinese women. A different, though related role is their contribution to the transmission of language. In the Arabic-speaking world, for instance, the ninth-century *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*Authentic*)—the most widely adopted of the six acknowledged collections of *Ḥadīth* in Islam, that is, of the saying and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad—extensively record women's central role in reporting and narrating *Ḥadīth*, something which is corroborated by numerous ancient sources (Chapter 18). Women's oral testimonies of the words of the Prophet were used not only as religious precepts, but also, from a strictly linguistic point of view, to express and transmit a normative linguistic legacy.

Women's contribution to language teaching is not, moreover, restricted to the 'mother tongue'. Early modern catalogues of illustrious women often recorded with admiration learned women skilled in a range of classical and foreign languages. Across the centuries we find a number of women who distinguished themselves for their admirable linguistic skills: Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), for instance, was a multi-talented polyglot. She was proficient in

French, German, and English, had a profound knowledge of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Syrian, and Ethiopian, with Dutch and German her home languages for daily matters (Chapter 8). Alongside the queens, aristocratic women, and women humanists who actively contributed to the restoration of classical learning, we should not forget those female figures who, against the odds of their lower social status, still succeeded in achieving distinction for their language skills. From the eighteenth century on, if mastery of classical languages continued to be considered unsuitable for women, knowledge of foreign languages was deemed not only acceptable, but in some cases an essential component of the education of well-to-do young women. As Jespersen wrote (1922: 249), 'foreign languages, long before the reform of female education, belonged to those things which women learnt best in and out of schools, because, like music and embroidery, they were reckoned among the specially feminine "accomplishments"'. This privileged association between women and foreign language acquisition means, as we shall see, that some women could offer their contribution to the history of linguistics by means of translation (see below section 7.6).

Another interesting example of a specialized role for women in language acquisition is their decisive contribution to the history of deaf education in the United States (Chapter 12). The struggle between the two different pedagogies of manualism and oralism illustrates how their incorporation into language studies may be founded on gender-based identities, that is, on deeply rooted beliefs about the specific capabilities and roles of women. As oralism replaced manualism, the proportion of women teachers of the deaf rose steeply. Since oralism was a labour-intensive pedagogy that required a higher number of teachers, hiring women allowed for cheaper salaries. The need for oralism to be introduced at the earliest possible age and the tireless patience it requires meant that women, with their 'innate' maternal disposition, were seen as the perfect fit for the job. Whilst the higher levels of the discipline remained the prerogative of men, women could become figureheads representing deafness to the public. Female educators depicted the plight of deafness on girls while also showcasing the accomplishments of deaf women in their attempts to attract funding for deaf education.

7.3 Women as creators of new languages and scripts

Women did not only 'transmit' or teach language, they also actively contributed to the creation of new languages and scripts. The idea of a female creator of the Roman alphabet has a long history. Boccaccio recalls in his fourteenth-century gallery of illustrious women, *De mulieribus claris*, that the Ancients considered the legendary Nicostrata (Carmenta in the Latin world) to be the inventor of the Latin alphabet, and the first-ever teacher of the elements of grammar (Boccaccio *Decameron* XXVII, 6 and 13). Within the history of Chinese and Japanese

linguistics, women were able to play a role in the creation of scripts and specific uses of language. Whilst women's contribution to language and script policy in China was extremely rare, due to their marginal place in society, there is nonetheless evidence of their role in the invention and transmission of characters, such as the list of characters promulgated under the reign of the controversial Empress Wǔ Zétiān (Wǔ Zhào 623/624–705), used for headstones, manuscripts, and epitaphs over the empire (Chapter 16). Another fascinating example comes from the *nǚshū*, 'women's script' or 'women's characters', a variant of the Chinese script used, in the late imperial period, exclusively by women in a rural area of South China, and discovered only in the 1980s.

In Japan (Chapter 15), women played an important role in the formation of the Japanese language, and in particular of Japanese poetry and vernacular literature in the Heian period (794–1185). Of the two major script types in use in contemporary Japanese writing, *kanji* and *kana* (which comprises *hiragana* and *katakana*), the former finds its origins in Chinese logographs, whereas *hiragana* and *katakana* developed in Japan. Aristocratic women have been associated with the creation of *kana* and native writing: a direct precursor of today's *hiragana* is a type of *kana* called *onnade* ('feminine hand'), which is widely accepted to have enhanced the development of Japanese language and vernacular literature in the tenth century. Later, in the late nineteenth century, girls were also the creators of schoolgirl speech (*jogakusei kotoba*), from which, in turn, some of the features of 'women's language' (*onna kotoba*) derive, one of the prominent styles of speech of modern standard Japanese, together with honorifics. *Onna kotoba*, a relatively novel ideological construct, adopted its linguistic features, among others, from the speech style created by female students after 1872, when they were officially permitted to study in schools by governmental decree. Previously lacking a specific 'female' identity—they were reported to have spoken, dressed, and behaved just like male students—it was in their speech that they succeeded in creating this identity, while resisting the Confucian emphasis on the good-wife-wise-mother model prescribed by the authorities. At first objected to and excluded from national language under gendered nationalization, by the 1940s schoolgirl speech had come to be redefined as constituting part of the speech style common to all women (women's language).

7.4 Women as dedicatees, patrons, and intended readers of metalinguistics texts

Before women begin to compose grammars and dictionaries themselves, they are the intended dedicatees and recipients of some of the earliest metalinguistic texts in Europe. In Spain, the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492; *Grammar of the Castilian Language*) by Antonio de Nebrija, the very first printed grammar of a

vernacular language in Europe, was commissioned by, and dedicated to, Queen Isabella I of Castile (1451–1504) (Chapter 4). According to Juan de Valdés, the grammar was meant to be of benefit 'para las damas de la sereníssima doña Isabel' ('for the ladies-in-waiting of Her Very Serene Highness Queen Isabel'). As part of her interest in women's cultural education, she also commissioned Alonso de Palencia to produce the first Latin dictionary with a translation into Spanish, the *Universal Vocabulario en latín y en romance* (1490; *Universal Vocabulary in Latin and Romance*). Significantly, it was Queen Isabella who further encouraged Nebrija to provide a Spanish translation (1773 [1488?]) of his *Introductiones latinae* (1481; *Latin Introductions*) so that religious women could acquire Latin without needing to rely on men.

The tradition of women patrons for promoting work on languages has a long history. A notable example, discussed in Chapter 6, is Catherine the Great (1729–1796) who founded the Russian Imperial Academy in St Petersburg on the model of the French Academy and appointed Princess Dashkova (1743–1810) as its President, in charge of the Russian language normalization project. The first article of its Statutes declares that the Academy is under the exclusive patronage of Her Imperial Majesty, whilst the second sets out its goals to purify, enrich, and codify the Russian language.

Another important feature of the history of the codification of European languages is the production of grammars and other metalinguistic texts aimed specifically at women. As early as the sixteenth century, we have evidence of grammars that included women as possible readers, often also targeting at the same time children, foreigners, and those who did not know Latin, strengthening women's association with those of limited intellectual abilities and the illiterati. We also have evidence of metalinguistic texts aimed at women and produced by other women. An early example is Marguerite Buffet's observations for women, published in 1668, which we will discuss in section 7.5 below (see also Chapter 3), but most *Grammaires des dames* were published in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century (see Beck-Busse 2014). Analysis of such grammars in Italy and France (Chapters 2 and 3) shows that the (mainly male) authors of these works believed that it was necessary to simplify the content for women and to make it more accessible for a female readership unversed in Latin grammar and metalanguage. It is striking that women are thus often identified, alongside children or the unlearned, as a group in need of a clear and simple exposition of grammar.

7.5 Women as authors of metalinguistic texts

When thinking about the role of women in the history of linguistics, the most obvious area to explore is women as authors of metalinguistic texts. It should,

however, be noted that it is not necessarily the most fruitful avenue, especially for earlier periods. Frequently an initial approach to a contributor about writing a chapter for this volume elicited the response that they were unaware of any metalinguistic texts by women in the relevant period in the tradition with which they were familiar.

This is not to say that there are no early interesting texts by women. We may point in the French tradition (Chapter 3) to the collection of essays of Marie Le Jars de Gournay (1565–1645) published in the early seventeenth century which include alongside discussions of the role of women in society, studies of metaphors, rhymes, and other aspects of the French language. Marguerite's Buffet's (d. 1680) observations on the French language, the *Nouvelles observations sur la langue françoise* (1688; *New Observations on the French Language*), aimed particularly at a female readership, shorten and simplify much of the content of Vaugelas's celebrated remarks on the French language, the 1647 *Remarques sur la langue françoise*, for her female readership.

Other female authors of metalinguistic texts are better known. Johanna Corleva (1698–1752), for instance, published a Dutch translation of Port-Royal's celebrated general and rational grammar (Chapter 8). In England (Chapter 10) two well-known figures are Bathsua Makin (1600–1675), who, as Carol Percy explains, promoted English grammar as an instrument to teach Latin to girls in her 1673 *An Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues*, and Elizabeth Elstob (1683–1756) who, in 1715, produced *The Rudiments of Grammar*, the first English grammar of Old English.

In considering where the works by women sit in the history of the writing of metalinguistic texts for a particular language, contributors were invited to consider whether there are particular features which characterize women as authors of grammars and dictionaries. We have already indicated one of these—the adaptation of material for a female audience. For example, in Portugal (Chapter 5), in 1786, at a time when the majority of women did not have access to formal education, Francisca de Chantal Álvares (1742–post 1800) produced a compendium of Portuguese grammar for the use of female pupils who studied in convent schools, the *Breve compendio da gramatica portugueza para uso das meninas que se educaõ no Mosteiro da Vizitaçaõ de Lisboa* (*Brief Compendium of Portuguese Grammar for the Use of Girls Educated at the Visitation Monastery in Lisbon*). Another area of expertise is the production of school books. For example, in Denmark (Chapter 9), Julie Heins (1822–1902) produced a series of Danish ABC-books and readers in the nineteenth century. Having founded a school in Odense, she developed her own method for teaching girls to read, and published readers for younger and older children, as well as a comprehensive six-volume reading system to cover reading and writing at all levels of grammar-school education. Published in 1899, the first of the six volumes, *Hanebogen, A-B-C med billeder efter skrivelæsemetoden* (*ABC with Pictures according to the Writing-Reading*

Method) was particularly popular, running to twenty-three revised editions in the period up to 1932.

Women also played a leading role in compiling textbooks for the learning of foreign languages. For instance, in Italy (Chapter 2), Clementina Scagliarini published a *Vocabolario domestico francese* (1876; *French Domestic Dictionary*), whilst Emma Widmer-Gotelli produced a manual for the teaching of German, *La lingua tedesca insegnata senza maestro* (1888; *The German Language Taught without a Teacher*). The second half of the nineteenth century also witnesses an intriguing production of grammars nominally intended for mothers, structured as mimetic dialogues reproducing domestic scenes and conversations between mothers and children.

Women similarly demonstrated their skills in lexicography. In England, some women devoted their efforts to what could be termed 'domestic lexicography' (Chapter 10). An example of this is Hester Piozzi (1741–1821) and her *British Synonymy; or, An Attempt at Regulating the Choice of Words in Familiar Conversation* (1794), which recalls that of a line of women educators who produced glossaries and dictionaries for children and their mothers. In the field of Italian dialectology (Chapter 2), the two-volume dictionary *Vocabolario bolognese italiano* (1869–1874; *Bolognese–Italian Dictionary*), by Carolina Coronedi Berti (1820–1911) was well received by male linguists and dialectologists alike soon after its publication. Coronedi Berti succeeded in her enterprise, despite lacking the formal education and philological training male lexicographers enjoyed, and while juggling her intellectual aspirations with a busy domestic life.

In Denmark, the translator and philologist Margrethe Thiele (1868–1928), supported by an annual stipend from the Carslberg Foundation, made a significant contribution to the field of lexicography in producing a Danish–French dictionary (Chapter 9). She collaborated with the young scholar Andreas Blinkenberg until her death in 1928. Blinkenberg completed the project and the two volumes of their *Dansk-fransk Ordbog*, then the largest dictionary of its kind, were published in 1937. In Spain, at the very beginning of the twentieth century, Luisa Lacal de Bracho's *Diccionario de la música técnico, histórico, bio-bibliográfico* (1900 [1899]; *Technical, Historical, Bio-Bibliographic Dictionary of Music*) received widespread acclaim at the time (Chapter 4).

Another field that awaits more detailed studies to recover women's contribution is philology. Remaining in the field of research on Spanish, María Goyri (1873–1954) was one of the first women to be officially granted admission to the Central University of Madrid in 1892, to obtain a degree (1896), and a doctorate (1909). She specialized in exploring the literary and philological problems posed by the Spanish ballad collection (*Romancero*), collaborating with her husband Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the founder of the Spanish school of philology, In her work to locate verses from ballads cited in Spanish and foreign literary works, she also produced countless index cards that became part of the Ballad Archive and

which were then used not only by Menéndez Pidal, but also by numerous other scholars who subsequently consulted the Archive.

Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851–1925) early on had a clear interest in the study of the classical, Romance, Slavic, and Semitic languages and literatures, and she was only 17 years old when her first papers were published in scientific journals. Born in Berlin, but living in Portugal after her marriage in 1876, she is discussed in Chapters 5 and 7. She distinguished herself in the field of Romance philology, embracing different disciplinary domains, including historical comparative philology, synchronic and diachronic aspects of Portuguese linguistics, the history of the Portuguese language, etymological studies, and lexicography. She published a number of important critical editions, including, in 1904, that of the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (*Songbook of the Ajuda Palace*), one of the main extant manuscript collections of Portuguese medieval lyric texts. Vasconcelos was also the first woman to teach in a Portuguese university, in Coimbra, where she gave lectures on Portuguese philology from the academic year 1912/1913. Her wide-ranging achievements as both a linguist and activist working to improve the condition and education of women were acknowledged by a number of prestigious institutions: she was made honorary member of the Berliner Gesellschaft für das Studium der neueren Sprachen (Berlin Society for the Study of Modern Languages) (1877), was conferred the title of Doctor *honoris causa* by the universities of Freiburg (1893), Coimbra (1916), and Hamburg (1923), as well as the insignia of an official of the Order of Santiago (1901).

In certain traditions, evidence of women's activities within the field of grammar or lexicography is inevitably very scant. In the Arabic world, there are sources that record the names of female scholars who are said to have contributed to compiling dictionaries and grammars, were authorities on Arabic language and poetry, or studied with notable grammarians. Yet, all we are left with are their names and at times nothing more than a few words or few brief sentences that pay tribute to their knowledge, and there are no traces of any metalinguistic texts they may possibly have produced (Chapter 18).

7.6 Women as interpreters and translators

We saw earlier how a number of Native American women played a crucial role as interpreters and linguistic mediators that allowed the establishment of Native American-European contacts. They also acted as linguistic and cultural mediators in their role as translators, both from classical languages and other modern languages, across a number of traditions. In Italy, France, and Germany, there is evidence of women active as translators starting from the sixteenth (Chapters 2 and 3) and seventeenth centuries (Chapter 7). Later, in France, Anne Dacier

(?1647–1720) entered the debates on language by means of her translation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, siding with the Ancients. In Germany, whilst translation was often considered a way for women to improve their language learning, it could equally be understood as important work that helped to improve and refine the German language, prompting writers to find new ways to express their ideas. Louise Gottsched (1713–1762), for instance, applied her translating skills across a number of fields and genre, rendering into German works originally in French, English, Latin, and Greek. She was supported in her work by her husband, the critic Johann Christoph Gottsched, and her translations were greatly appreciated by contemporary critics.

We might argue that, indeed, translation was a form of applied linguistics for women, a way to contribute to language codification and standardization when other channels were closed to them. In this respect, a telling example comes from eighteenth-century Italy and the work of the sisters Maddalena (1673–1744) and Teresa (1679–1767) Manfredi, and Teresa (1693–1732) and Angiola (1703–1735) Zanotti (Chapter 2). Their collective work on the translation from Italian into Bolognese of the poem *Bertoldo con Bertoldino e Cacasenno*, in *ottava rima*, and from Neapolitan into Bolognese of Giulio Cesare Croce's *Pentamerone*, respectively published in 1740–1741 and 1742, offered a crucial contribution to the codification of the Bolognese dialect, becoming a model for all subsequent works of this kind. In light of the pervasive restrictions placed upon women's scholarly expression in the field of language studies, translation therefore became at times a means for women to channel their scholarship in the field in a less direct and therefore more acceptable manner that did not seem to invade 'male' preserves. In early twentieth-century Japan, many of the attempts by novelists to experiment with different ways of writing involved translating Western vernacular stories into Japanese (Chapter 15). The linguistic choices made by Wakamatsu Shizuko (Matsukawa Kashi) (1864–1896) in her vernacular style were already acknowledged in her own time by male critics, despite their evident prejudices against women, and have been more recently hailed as having had a direct impact on the development of a modern written language for Japanese prose fiction.

In China (Chapter 16), evangelization activities required an important effort of translation of the Gospels into the local vernaculars, in which Chinese women and Western missionary women actively collaborated. Translation of the Bible also implied the need to develop the Latin letter transcription of Chinese vernaculars. The American missionary Adele Marion Fielde (1839–1916) served for twenty years in China, teaching in the southern part of the country, at the Baptist mission of Swatow (*Shàntóu*). Fluent in the Shàntóu vernacular, she compiled primers to teach the language, which included also sections on the tones, the use of Chinese characters, and Latin letter transcription.

7.7 The role of women in language documentation, preservation, and folklore

In our exploration of women's contribution outside institutionalized contexts, we should not overlook the work of Indigenous women, notably in the interpretation and documentation of their native languages. In American Indian linguistics, beyond formal academia, a number of women played an important role in the history of Indian-European contacts, as interpreters and linguistic mediators; two well-known examples are Pocahontas in the seventeenth century and Sacajawea in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Chapters 12 and 13). Native and non-native women also directly contributed to the documentation and description of Native American languages, and others translated, interpreted, and taught Indigenous languages. The dominant research methodology of the early twentieth century consisted of usually male linguists or anthropologists visiting places where a local language was to be recorded and studied. Women would act as consultants when they were among the very last speakers of a language or, more rarely in the period under consideration, when the scholars they worked with were women. A number of native women, such as Ella Cara Deloria (1888–1971), were able to make significant contributions to the study of their language, collecting notes, and publishing or co-publishing works. Their manuscripts and correspondence often remain unpublished, although they undoubtedly deserve to be made more readily available.

At times, besides limited education—and the resulting lack of those skills needed to record languages—restricted financial means, the demands of family, as well as societal expectations and prejudices, women also had the extra disadvantage of being remote from centres for research and people with similar interests. This is the case of colonial women in Australia (Chapter 14). The few who were able to make a contribution focused on language study, translation, ethnography, or language teaching. Some women settlers, with support from their male relatives, were able to record, often in letters and journals, words and names for Aboriginal people, having had the opportunity to talk with Indigenous Australians. They also collected and shared their notes and research in the forms of vocabularies, novels, and legends. Collaborations with fathers and husbands sent to Australia in an official capacity also led to records of words and sentences. If some women compiled other people's writings on Aborigines and their languages, others offered their own more systematic linguistic and cultural assessment of the local languages and populations that were later published with the support of the local government. In Africa (Chapter 19), the wives of some Protestant missionaries assisted their husbands in their linguistic research. Some missionary societies would also send women in their own right, training them to become teachers or nurses. Some, thanks to the education they had received in their home countries, were able to focus their attention specifically on the

production of grammatical sketches, glossaries, manuals with exercises and conversational sentences for the benefit of other missionaries, as well as of translations of the Bible into the local languages with the assistance of native speakers.

Also active outside institutionalized contexts were those women who worked as collectors of language in the Celtic-speaking world (Chapter 11). From as early as the second half of the eighteenth century, female scholars compiled and preserved oral or manuscript material that was felt to be in danger of being lost to posterity. Some, taking advantage of the role played by music in female education, collected, alongside the tunes, the words of traditional songs. Preservation of language and interest in the folklorist and musicological aspects of the traditional songs often went hand in hand with political aims, such as the support for Irish nationalism, with some women taking on the additional role of language activists.

The difficulty in recovering women's contribution to linguistics, as we mentioned earlier, is in part due to the fact that their work has been lost or remained unpublished, and therefore accessible only to a limited number of specialists. In recent years, women's linguistic work has benefited from the creation of digital projects and databases that have made their legacy more widely available. A telling example comes once more from Australia (Chapter 14), and the rich documentation on Aboriginal languages left behind by Daisy Bates (1859–1951), the best-known ethnographer of Indigenous Australia of her time. Bates was a fascinating figure in her own right, with an adventurous life that saw her first leaving Ireland for Queensland, then travelling back to England, without her husband and son, to become a journalist in London, before finally returning to Australia to devote her life to the study and dissemination of Aboriginal societies and culture. Whilst she lacked a formal training in linguistics, anthropology, and folklore, Bates was able to rely on her intelligence, passion, wide reading, and clear skills as a writer. After years of fieldwork with local communities, she succeeded in producing an enormous amount of material which, despite her efforts, remained unpublished. In recent years, scholars have started to reevaluate her work and the *Daisy Bates Digital Archive* at the Barr-Smith Library, University of Adelaide, has at last made her writings accessible.

7.8 Women supporting male relatives and colleagues

We have already alluded to the fact that a number of women worked as assistants to male family members or colleagues. An early example from the seventeenth century is furnished by the Bengali woman Sanskritist Vaijayanti, daughter of a Sanskrit pandit Mūrabhatta, who learned Sanskrit from her father and married a well-known Sanskritist, Kriṣṇanātha (Chapter 17). She was proficient in the Vedic ritual theory of Mīmāṃsā, and was known to have corrected her husband's grammar and textual interpretations from time to time. Working in a very

different context in the second half of the nineteenth century, Lucy Catherine Lloyd (1834–1914) assisted her brother-in-law, the German linguist Wilhelm Bleek, over a period of thirteen years, becoming his most important collaborator. Together with Bleek, Lucy Lloyd was the creator of the nineteenth-century archive of |Xam and !Kung texts (later called the Bleek and Lloyd collection, today the Digital Bleek and Lloyd), which is an invaluable resource for linguists working on Khoisan languages (Chapter 19).

If Lucy Lloyd's contribution is duly celebrated, in many cases, especially in the case of wives supporting husbands, their work remains largely uncredited. Carobeth (Tucker) Laird (1895–1983), discussed in Chapter 13, was the wife of the American linguist and ethnologist John Peabody Harrington, who documented numerous languages, especially the Indigenous languages of California. A year after taking a course with Harrington in 1915, they were married, and she became his full-time assistant, collaborating with him on all aspects of his fieldwork, but receiving little or no credit for it. The problem of a lack of recognition for women did not disappear even when they began to break into more institutionalized contexts. The case of Mary Haas (1910–1996), also discussed in Chapter 13, who was once married to the prominent linguist Morris Swadish, is a telling example. In order to support her fieldwork on Native American languages, Haas considered getting a teaching certificate to teach in public schools in Oklahoma, but as a married women she was unlikely to obtain such a position. Haas asked Swadesh for a divorce to allow her to pursue her career. On her death, Klara Collitz (1863–1944), perhaps the first woman to follow a traditional academic pathway and enjoy a career of sorts in German philology (Chapter 7), left an endowment to fund a Hermann and Klara H. Collitz Professorship for Comparative Philology. For decades, however, the chair was known simply as the Hermann Collitz chair, before the name of the woman who actually endowed it was restored in the 1990s.

Women often accompanied their missionary husbands on their overseas travels. When Cinie Louw (1872–1935) followed her husband Andrew to South Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe) to work on the Morgenster Mission, she learned the local language, Karanga, a Shona dialect, and became a fluent speaker (Chapter 19). Their translation of the Bible into Karanga, published in 1919, was a joint effort, which was preceded, just a few years earlier, in 1915, by her 397-page manual of the Chikaranga Language. This text, according to the leading Banthu languages specialist of the day, Clement Martyn Doke, comprised 'the best grammatical sketch of any Mashonaland language' published up to that point.

In the field of Celtic Studies, a number of women actively contributed to the preservation and promotion of Celtic languages alongside male scholars, assisting them in a number of roles, as journal editors and co-editors, philologists, teachers, translators, and unacknowledged co-authors. They also participated in the long-term project of the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Chapter 11). Male

scholars shared their interests with daughters and other family members, involving them in their projects: the native Gaelic speaker Elizabeth Catherine (Ella) Carmichael (1870–1928), for instance, assisted her father, the folklorist Alexander Carmichael, in editing his well-known *Carmina Gadelica* (1900; *Gaelic Songs*), as the acknowledgment included in his introduction to the first volume testifies.

In Sweden, the collaboration between Valborg Olander (1861–1943), a Swedish-language teacher and the best-known female author of early Swedish grammars, and Gustav Cederschiöld, a Gothenburg professor, was a fruitful and productive one: starting from 1896, they published a number of grammatical works, mostly aimed at primary-school pupils, that reveal a rather modern approach to the differences between spoken and written language (Chapter 9).

Other women's linguistic work has been neglected for a long time, overshadowed by the apparent achievements of the men with whom they collaborated and who reaped the benefit of their efforts. A case in point is the young Chiri Yukie (1903–1922) who helped codify the oral tradition of the Ainu people of Hokkaido in northern Japan. Her bilingual and bicultural knowledge allowed her to collect a wide range of oral performances, thus preserving them for posterity, but also making them accessible by translating them into Japanese. Her invaluable work, nonetheless, as well as the data provided by other Ainu speakers, ultimately ended up promoting the career of a prominent, male academic who then went on to be awarded the Imperial prize for his work on the Indigenous language.

7.9 Women breaking into institutionalized contexts

Before women were able to gain access to academic posts, it was difficult for them to enter institutionalized contexts. A notable exception, discussed above, is the Russian Imperial Academy. Even when they were officially excluded from official institutions such as universities and academies, some women still managed to play a role in their work. In Italy (Chapter 2), for instance, Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci (1803–1887) was the first woman to be admitted, on 13 June 1871, to the Accademia della Crusca, the oldest linguistic academy of Europe, as a corresponding member. Carolina Coronedi Berti, mentioned earlier, was invited in September 1874 to join the renowned and well-respected Commissione per i testi di Lingua (Committee for the Publication of Texts on the Italian Language) founded in 1860.

When institutionalized contexts still excluded women, in spite of their advanced studies and formal training, certain women nevertheless managed successfully to create other scholarly settings in which they could pursue their interests at the highest level and gain recognition. Elisabeth (Lis) Jacobsen (1882–1961) came from an upper-class Jewish family of Copenhagen. With the support of her husband, the philologist and cultural historian Jacob Peter Jacobsen, she

was able to pursue her intellectual aspirations, embarking on a research career and becoming in 1910 the first Danish woman to gain a doctorate in Scandinavian linguistics, with a dissertation on the history of the Danish standard language (Chapter 9). Yet, no university positions were available for her at the time. Undiscouraged, Jacobsen went on to create a scholarly milieu where she could fruitfully employ her skills, founding in 1931 Det danske sprog- og litteratursels-kab (The Danish Language and Literature Society)—of which she was the President until 1951—while actively and energetically conducting her own research and publishing a range of important scholarly works.

At times, women managed to enter more institutionalized contexts through the experience they first gained in other contexts. In the US, missionary work created opportunities for women that would not otherwise have been open to them (Chapter 12). As an institution, the Summer Institute of Linguists (SIL) mirrored the general reluctance to support women's ambition and independence. Nonetheless, SIL missionary linguists, with the unusual freedom they had, apparently played an important role in advancing women's participation in language studies which then seems to have spread into the discipline of linguistics in the early twentieth century, clearing a path for and raising the profile of American women as language scholars.

While still remaining within the limits of what was considered acceptable for them, these first achievements gave women the opportunity to take the first, small steps needed to break into institutionalized contexts. However, as we hope this volume will show, contributions to the development of a discipline can be made well beyond formally recognized institutions, and in the case of women are very likely to exist outside 'man-made' contexts and institutions that for a long time ignored and deliberately excluded them. Which is why the work achieved by women within the history of linguistics, as in other disciplines from which they were marginalized, is even more worthy of our attention: what has emerged from the work conducted for every chapter in this volume, across all cultures and traditions, are also the individual, personal stories of these women, whether they are well known or not. Each chapter includes remarkable tales of determination and commitment to overcoming the obstacles, prejudices, and constraints they had to face. The overwhelming majority of these women were not in search of official recognition, but rather worked for the sheer love of the discipline—often without even being fully aware of the existence of a 'discipline' as such—for the benefit of others, and simply for the pleasure of learning.

8. Future perspectives

The richness and variety of the chapters included in this volume pave the way for future research in the field of women and linguistics. Much remains to be done,

not least on the twentieth century. There are manuscripts to be discovered and pseudonyms to be deciphered. There are women who have yet to find their place in the traditional male canon of linguists. We hope scholars working in traditions not represented in this volume will be inspired to take up the challenge to find the distant and neglected women's voices in their area.

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1
Visible and invisible women in ancient linguistic culture

Anneli Luhtala

1.1 Introduction

Philosophy was the branch of knowledge from which all intellectual inquiry originated in the Western tradition, including discussions on the nature and use of language. The Greek philosophers from the seventh century BCE on were concerned with such issues as the nature and origin of gods, the natural versus conventional basis of laws and other human institutions, education, the best way to govern society, and the proper forms of rhetoric to be used in political discourse. They also raised questions concerning the nature of the soul, whether it ceased to exist together with the body or was immortal, whether women's souls differ from men's, and whether all people are capable of attaining virtue and happiness, the ultimate goals of moral philosophy.[1] As regards language, the natural versus conventional basis of name-giving was one of the earliest preoccupations of ancient philosophers, and the first grammatical treatise, Plato's *Cratylus*, is devoted to this topic.[2] In Aristotle's early logical and metaphysical texts, the *Categories* and *On Interpretation*, the categories of human language, such as the noun and the verb, are related to ontological categories and to the human mind.[3]

We do not know women's answers to many of these questions, although most philosophical schools in antiquity had some women among their members and they probably shared the views of their teachers. Women were involved in all aspects of philosophical inquiry, natural philosophy, ethics, and logic, although the specific views they held are not recorded. The earliest Pythagorean women philosophers discussed the nature of the soul, the relationship between women's and men's virtues, and moral and social aspects of women's roles in marriage, religion, and the community (Waithe 1987; Pomeroy 2013). They probably also

[1] On early Greek philosophy, see Long (1999).

[2] Such treatises established themselves as the foundational texts of Western linguistics, see Sedley (2003).

[3] For scholarship on Aristotle's early works on logic, see Kneale and Kneale (1962: 23–4), Ackrill (1963), Arens (1984), and Struck (2004: 59–63).

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shared their school's preoccupation with etymological analysis, and regarded names, together with numbers, as one of the avenues for exploring reality. A woman philosopher, Aspasia (d. 401 BCE), associated with Plato's Academy, used her rhetorical skills in the centre of political life in Athens, and daughters of philosophers became the successors of their fathers in minor philosophical schools, such as the Cyrenaic and Cynic (see Waithe 1987). In late antiquity, Hypatia (b. 370/375 CE) became the head of the Academy, at that time the most important philosophical school, following in the footsteps of her father Theon of Alexandria. She was one of the few women in antiquity who would be familiar with the most advanced language theories of her day, since the Neoplatonist school in late antiquity had integrated the foundational texts of language and logic composed by Plato and Aristotle into its curriculum. However, these were exceptional women, privileged by birth and social status, often born into philosophically inclined households or married to philosophers. The norm for respectable women was to be married and produce children and to practise their virtue in the traditional role of wife and mother. Women did not normally go out into society with their husbands; their proper domain was the *oikos* ('household' and 'family'; Blok 2001: 100). The only social events in which women played a significant part were religious festivals, weddings, and burial rituals: women said prayers and sang hymns and other songs to honour the goddesses, and girls' choirs performed (Stehle 1997: 72; Blok 2001: 112–15). Although several aspects of women's lives have been researched, to date there has been no distinct study on their contributions to the ancient study of language.

The study of literature and language skills formed a crucial part of ancient education, when educational institutions began to establish themselves in the fifth century BCE (Beck 1964: 169–70). The teacher expounded the works of the great poets containing descriptions of ancient heroes and famous men, worthy of imitation, and to be learnt by heart (Plato *Protagoras* 325e–326a). Girls generally only participated in primary education and, if they progressed further, it was normally through private tuition (Clark 1993: 135, see below). If girls did receive primary education, their curriculum was the same as for boys, except that girls did not practise gymnastics (Pomeroy 1984: 60). Many ancient women were well read in both Latin and Greek literature, but they generally lacked training in formal rhetorical skills (Gagarin 2001: 166). All the same, we know of brilliant figures, such as Aspasia and Hypatia, who received higher education and even taught philosophy (largely in private houses), poetry, or theology, and gained renown for their rhetorical and literary skills.

In Greek thought, the possession of speech, *logos*, was a characteristic property of human beings, intimately associated with rational thinking (Aristotle *Rhetoric* Book 1, 1355b1–2). It is this quality which enables men to form households and civic communities (Aristotle *Politics* Book 1, 1253a9; Gera 2003: 36–7). In philosophical discussions, rationality and speech had to do with the quality of the soul,

which for Aristotle was fully autonomous in a free-born male human being. In Aristotle's view, the souls of women, children, and slaves lacked full autonomy, and therefore the man should have authority over them in the household (*Politics* Book 1, 1254a22–33; see Osborne 2007: 128–30). Speech was also an important cultural marker which served as a criterion for distinguishing between societies. Starting with the *Iliad* (Book 3, 1–7; Book 4, 433–8), the incomprehensible speech of foreigners was often compared to animal sounds in Greek literature, and their speakers tended to be regarded as culturally inferior barbarians. Indeed, in Greek anthropological thinking, evolution of language and society were closely associated (Gera 2003: 2–3, 6). In Greco-Roman culture only Greek and Latin were regarded as civilized languages based on reason (*logos*, *ratio*), which implied that only they could be described by means of rational (i.e. grammatical) rules.

In earlier, mythological accounts the emergence of human speech was presented as a punishment, akin to illness and old age; in fact, the use of language was among the features of the new human culture which resulted from the separation of men from the immortal gods. During the Golden Age, as depicted in Hesiod's (*c.*700 BCE) *Works and Days*, men lived like gods without toil or grief, enjoying the good things spontaneously produced by the earth (109–26). When the Golden Age was followed by the ages of silver, bronze, and iron respectively, human speech was introduced, together with such things as fire, sacrifice of animals, marriage, sexual reproduction, and agriculture (see Gera 2003: 46–9). These achievements were attributed to Prometheus and Pandora, the latter presumably being the first to possess a form of mortal speech (*Works and Days* 59–68). She brought countless woes and diseases to mankind (94–104), and Hermes, the messenger of the gods, placed 'lies and guileful words' in Pandora (77–80). Human speech contained many lies, and men could no longer rely on speech being limpid, transparent, or truthful (Gera 2003: 54–7). As a result, men had to strive to examine and resolve its ambiguities.

It is undoubtedly significant that Pandora, the bringer of evils—including deceptive language—was a beautiful woman. Women's speech was thought to be particularly crafty, seductive, and dangerous, an outstanding mythological example being the sirens (*Odyssey* Book 7, 245; 9, 32; see Nagler 1996: 148–9). It was also regarded as ambiguous. The voice of Helen of Troy was multiple and layered, and she was depicted as a dangerous figure, capable of deceit (Worman 2001: 20). The nine Muses, the patrons of poetry, were represented as being capable of two contradictory speaking modes, those of truth and deception, which parallel the two kinds of discourse attributed to women throughout Greek tradition (Bergren 2008: 14). Ambiguous speech was also characteristic of Pythia, the famous priestess of Apollo at Delphi. Prophetic language was generally regarded as ambiguous in Greek literature, but a number of scholars have pointed to a persistent link between ambivalent speech and the female sex (Detienne 1967: 79; Bergren 1983: 71). Weaving, the defining element of women's activity in antiquity, was also construed

metaphorically, as pointing to cunning, trickery, and deception. Both poets and prophets adopted this metaphor, describing their activity as weaving or sewing words (Bergren 1983; McClure 2001: 5).

Many common prejudices concerned the inferiority of women and their intellectual capacities. According to Aristotle, the female body differs from the male because it has a lower level of vital heat. As a result of the greater coldness, women are inferior to men in their intellectual and moral capacity and unable to keep desire fully under the control of reason. Some Hippocratic texts (see Allen 1985: 46–52) and the pre-Socratic philosopher Parmenides (*c*.539–500 BCE) advanced the view that women in fact possessed much heat (see Allen 1985: 24–56), and this view was also held by Plutarch in the second century CE (*Table Talks* Book 3, 4, 1–3 651a–c). Misogynistic attitudes were also expressed by Theophrastus (*c*.287–*c*.371), Aristotle's most famous pupil, who thought that women should receive training in letters only to the extent that it would be useful to them for household management. Further study would make them lazy in regard to their other responsibilities, as well as garrulous and officious (fr. 662). Similar prejudices were also promoted by some school exercises disparaging many aspects of women's lives, including education—as in, for instance, the following maxim by Menander (*c*.342–*c*.290 BCE), whose plays were popular in schools up to the time of the Byzantine Empire (fr. 70 ed. Körte): 'The man who teaches a woman letters is making a mistake, he is giving extra poison to a frightening snake'. According to Pericles, the prominent statesman, 'great is the glory of women, of whom there is least talk among men whether in praise or in blame' (Thucydides *The Speeches of Pericles* Book 2, 45, 2).

Plato saw no difference between men's and women's souls in attaining intellectual and moral virtues (Allen 1985: 57–61), and this view was adopted by the Stoics. However, Aristotle's position became the standard, being adopted by Christians, although many early Christian communities maintained highly egalitarian values. In the earliest Christian communities, women assumed roles as tutors, but their roles were gradually restricted by men who invoked the words of Saint Paul: 'I do not permit a woman to teach' (1 Tim. 2:12).

1.2 Education in Archaic (700–500 BCE) and Classical (480–330 BCE) Greece

In Archaic Greece, the ability to learn was regarded as an inherited trait of aristocrats and other nobility. With the arrival in the middle of the fifth century BCE of the Sophists, travelling professional teachers of rhetoric, teaching became available to anyone who could pay their fees, regardless of inherited social class (Beck 1964: 158–62; Joyal et al. 2009: 6–7, 32). These travelling intellectuals offered a kind of higher education that focused on language skills, rhetoric, and

argumentation (Beck 1964: 154; Clarke 1971: 12, 28). In democratic Athens greater numbers of individuals took part in political life and needed to be taught how to compose elegant and persuasive speech to be used in assemblies and law courts. Practical study of model discourses by renowned masters and constant practice of making speeches were at the heart of the teaching of rhetoric in the rhetoricians' schools (Beck 1964: 167–9).

The study of language and literature constituted a fundamental part of a child's upbringing (Beck 1964: 166–72), when schools began to emerge in Athens and other Greek cities in the fifth century BCE. At that time the curriculum generally consisted of physical training (*gymnastike*), music—which included singing, dancing, and playing the lyre—and letters (*grammata*); the last involved reading, writing, and the study of literature, especially Homer and the tragic poets (Beck 1964: 166–72; Joyal et al. 2009: 31). In Greek society, primary education began at the age of 7, being imparted either in public schools or by a hired tutor. It was largely restricted to boys from wealthy families, who could go on to secondary education at the age of 14; it involved training in rhetoric, natural science, geometry, astronomy, and meteorology (Clarke 1971: 1–2). At the age of 18 young men would participate in military service, after which they could choose to pursue higher studies, for instance in a school of philosophy.

Girls normally received their primary education at home, but archeological evidence suggests that at least some girls attended school outside the home. From the middle of the fifth century BCE we commonly find depictions on Athenian vases of women reading from scrolls, and some paintings depict girls on their way to school. If they wanted to participate in secondary education, they normally did so through private tuition. Women did not receive formal rhetorical training, because women's lives lacked the objective of this education, that is, a role in society as a public speaker or lawyer (Hemelrijk 1999: 20–2). In Aristophanes' (*c.*446–*c.*386) *Assemblywomen* (110–245), women's ignorance of rhetorical skills is parodied. In this comedy, women are taught how to speak in an assembly. One woman, Praxagora, already knows how to speak in public and explains that she had learnt it by overhearing speeches given in the assembly (Gagarin 2001: 166). Although these ideas are expressed by fictional characters, it is fair to assume that women did learn male public discourse by listening and imitating it. In *Lysistrata* (1126–7), the eponymous character reports having learnt her skills by listening to her father's conversation with his friends. Since women did not receive rhetorical education, their speech would have little or no authority in a public context (Gagarin 2001: 176).

Poetry was the principal literary form in Greece in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE. Some twenty female poets are known from antiquity, fourteen of whom come from the Greek-speaking world, and a few of them from the Archaic period. The most famous of them was Sappho (b. *c.*630 BCE), a teacher of young women and a lyric poet, who lived on the island of Lesbos in the late seventh or early sixth

century BCE. Sappho's school was a religious fellowship, in which the girls were educated in dancing, musical performance, and singing (Beck 1964: 127). The study of music which accompanied the study of poetry was thought of as creating harmony in children's souls as well as self-control—a fundamental virtue in ancient society (Kaster 1988: 15–18). Because the poetic genres pursued by women were intimately associated with religious festivals and rituals, they included prayers and ritual formulations, such as prophecies, curses, supplications, and chants. Religious festivals, such as the one in honour of Demeter and her daughter Persephone celebrating human and agricultural fertility, also involved ritual obscenity and were accompanied by shameful talk. Such speech, which involved mocking invective, sexual joking, and 'unspeakable' expressions normally forbidden to women, challenged the silence and restraint normally imposed on them while simultaneously threatening to disrupt the normal social and political order (McClure 1999: 47).

1.3 Women poets from Archaic and early Classical Greece

In describing the world of women from a female perspective, Sappho's poetry consisted of short stanzas in a variety of metres using her own Aeolic dialect. Her poems were probably performed in a private context, that is, they were sung to her own accompaniment on the lyre, the audience being a small circle of women friends and pupils (Campbell 1985: 202). The themes and genres of her poetry—love and choral poetry, laments, wedding songs, hymns to goddesses—were closely related to situations where women spoke in public, including prayers to female goddesses, laments, and praise of young brides, and provided a model of imitation for several later female poets. Sappho was called, by Plato and others, 'the tenth Muse', and was included in the canon of nine lyric poets or 'mortal Muses' established in Hellenistic Alexandria.

Another renowned female poet, also included as a tenth Muse in the Hellenistic canon of the nine 'mortal Muses', was Corinna (*Anthologia Graeca* Book 9, 26; Barnard 1978: 204), a public poet who wrote for weddings, funerals, and women's religious festivals and ceremonies, that is, as mentioned earlier, the festivals and family occasions in which women played significant roles (Vos 2014: 420). She is reported to have been the teacher of the famous Theban poet Pindar and to have defeated him five times in a poetry competition (Pausanias *Description of Greece* Book 22, 2–3). She had criticized Pindar for not introducing myth into his poetry and for using unusual and obsolete words (Plutarch *On the Fame of the Athenians* 4, 348a), but her victory over him was diminished by attributing it to her beauty and her use of the simple literary dialect that appealed to her townsmen.

Some of the women poets became known not only for their art of poetry but also for entering into distinctly male areas of society. Telesilla (*fl. c.*450 BCE) from

Argos became renowned for her heroic role in the leadership of Argos through a military crisis, and Cleobuline of Rhodes (*c.*570 BCE), the daughter of the philosopher Cleobulus, one of the 'Seven Wise Men', was praised as a 'wise and far-famed' woman with 'a statesman's mind' for having influenced her father to rule Rhodes more fairly (Plutarch *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* 148d–e).

1.4 Pythagorean women philosophers

Many women philosophers were members of a religious society founded by Pythagoras in the sixth century BCE. The Pythagoreans cultivated study and followed strict rules for life, entailing abstention from flesh, observation of precepts, and rigorous self-examination as the means of purifying the soul. Early Pythagoreans viewed the universe as orderly and harmonious, as being based on a particular mathematical relationship to everything else (Waithe 1987: 12). Pythagoras received his aesthetic principles from a priestess-philosopher, Themistoclea (Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* Book 8, 8), who is otherwise unknown. Pythagoras maintained the superiority of immortal reason in human identity, which may imply a sexless soul; yet he thought that harmony between man and woman depended on women's obedience to the rule of men (Allen 1985: 20–2).

The Pythagorean community involved women as long as it continued to be an active and popular school of philosophy, that is, until the second and third centuries BCE. Of the fifty women philosophers known from antiquity, twenty-six are Pythagorean (Ménage 1984: 93–5). They are the first women in the Greek world whose prose texts are extant, either completely or fragmentarily, and the only ones before the Christian era. Early Pythagorean women included Theano of Crotona, wife of Pythagoras, and their three daughters (Myia, Damo, and Arignote), and among the later philosophers were Theano II, Phintys of Sparta, Aesara of Lucania, Perictione, possibly Plato's mother, and Perictione II (Waithe 1987: 11; Pomeroy 2013: 42). Many of them were authors of philosophical treatises, fragments of which have survived. These women also composed letters of exhortation which, although addressed to individual women, were probably copied and circulated more widely. These letters observed the rules of style which were taught in epistolary manuals such as the anonymous *Typoi Epistolikoi* (Pomeroy 2013: 59).[4] As regards the study of language, we know that the Pythagoreans regarded etymologies as a valid intellectual and exegetical tool in expounding their philosophical and theological ideas; this method would probably also concern Pythagorean women.

[4] This treatise has been attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum (*c.*350–*c.*280 BCE), but it is dated between 200 BCE and 300 CE probably as a result of modifications during the centuries (Malherbe 1988: 2, 4).

The comic poet Cratinus (second half of the fourth century BCE) parodies female Pythagoreans in his comedies, such as the *Tarentines* and the *Pythagorean Woman*. When they encountered strangers, it was the habit of these women to examine them on doctrines and to confuse and confound them with antitheses, definitions, equations, digressions, and magnitudes (Meineke 1840: 376). This list of abuses shows that these women were not only capable of discussing contemporary ideas of cosmology and the nature of the soul, but were also familiar with some principles of astronomy and geometry. They were also able to apply the fundamentals of the intellectual discipline dialectic, which teaches people how to produce arguments and form definitions, using the basic tools of conceptual analysis, such as genera and species. Natural science, dialectic, astronomy, and geometry belonged to higher education in antiquity. In summary, these women had to master the basic knowledge of the *enkyklios paideia*, a wide general education, which came to be known as 'the Liberal Arts' in the Latin tradition (for *enkyklios paideia*, see Clarke 1971: 2–5; Hadot 1984).

1.5 Women in Plato's philosophical circle

Although Plato is best known for his metaphysical theory of Forms or Ideas, which relates to concepts beyond the material world, he also had a theory of society, which aimed at changing radically the political reality of his time. In fulfilling these aspirations, education played a central role, and it is in the *Republic* and the *Laws* that we come across his most explicit statements concerning education. In the *Republic* (Book 5, 451c–457b), which is among his early dialogues, Plato maintained that men and women should receive the same education—a view that he continued to hold in his later work (*Laws* Book 7, 804d–805b). According to Plato, the practice of excluding women from higher education is irrational, as it leaves half of the potential of the state unused (*Laws* Book 7, 805a). If men can ride, women can also do so, as well as doing physical training in the gymnasium. Platonists and Stoics agreed that men and women shared a common human nature and were equally capable of intellectual and moral attainment. If properly trained, women were as capable of manifesting virtue as men.

The list of students who attended Plato's school during his lifetime included two women, Lastheneia of Mantinea and Axiothea of Philesia. Inspired by reading Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*, Axiothea decided to join Plato's Academy (Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* Book 3, 46; Themistius *Orations* 23, 17, 295c). Ironically, for a long time, she attended Plato's lectures dressed as a man (Dicaearchus fr. 44, ed. Wehrli). However, the only two women who are described as philosophers in Plato's dialogues are Diotima, a priestess from Mantinea, and Aspasia from Miletus (Waithe 1987: 83). One of Plato's dialogues, the *Symposium*, depicts a dinner party at which the guests make a speech about

the nature of love (*eros*), and Socrates reports a conversation he has had with Diotima on this subject. Scholars have argued that Diotima, of whom no other mention can be found in any ancient source, is a fictitious person—in fact, the only fictitious character created by Plato.[5] The historicity of Aspasia, the companion of Pericles and mother of one of his children, cannot be questioned. Yet the idea expressed in Plato's *Menexenus* that she had taught rhetoric to Socrates and Pericles has proved most difficult for scholars to accept (Pomeroy 1975: 89–91; Joyal et al. 2000: 39).

Aspasia distinguished herself as a rhetorician in the circle of the Sophists, earning herself the moniker 'mistress of eloquence' and the title of poetess (Suida 1935: I, 387, s.v. Aspasia). She was a foreign-born courtesan who ended up as the consort of Pericles (Pomeroy 1975: 89); the comic poet Cratippus and others called her—less kindly—a whore (Plutarch *Pericles* 34, 3–6; see Pomeroy 1975: 89–90). A funeral speech composed by her and delivered by Pericles, her husband, is the subject of Socrates' conversation in the *Menexenus* (235e–236c, 249d). Plato, who was highly critical of the Sophists, seemed to consider her as representing the misuses of Sophistic rhetoric, that is, to deceive the public, and in this sense she taught rhetoric to him and to Socrates. For Plato and other classical writers, Aspasia, the witty and seductive courtesan, was an example of women's deceptive speech (McClure 2001: 5). Her public trial on charges of impiety shows that she was perceived as a threat. She was acquitted after Pericles came to her defence, because of her public participation in Greek intellectual life (Waithe 1987: 78–80). She is memorialized in a fresco over the portal of the University of Athens in Greece, shown in the company of Socrates, Phidias (the sculptor), Sophocles, Pericles, Plato, and others (Waithe 1987: 75).

Aspasia was one of the several sophisticated women representing less respectable areas of society who occasionally gained distinction for their learning or verbal cleverness (Pomeroy 1984: 53–4). Athenaeus reports that Greek courtesans very often devoted themselves to humanities and mathematics (*Deipnosophista* Book 13, 596f). Leontium, an Athenian courtesan and a friend of Epicurus, is mentioned by Cicero (*On the Nature of the Gods* Book 1, 34, 93), because she had dared to write a book refuting Theophrastus. All the same, he has to admit that she wrote in fine Attic style.

1.6 Hellenistic philosophers and learned women (330–27 BCE)

Women also participated in philosophical groups other than Platonist and Pythagorean, namely the Stoic, Cynic, Cyrenaic, and Epicurean schools. Many

[5] For a detailed discussion in favour of her historicity, see Waithe (1987: 83–116).

of them owed their intellectual achievements to the presence of a father or other male member of the family who introduced them to the male world of higher cultural pursuits. Hipparchia (*c.*300 BCE), the wife of Crates, the founder of the Cynic school, was inspired by his brother Metrocles, who was a pupil of Crates (Diogenes Laertius *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* Book 6, 7, 96–98). Arete of Cyrene (*fl.* fifth–fourth century BCE) was the daughter of Aristippus, who founded the Cyrenaic school some time after Socrates' death. This school of philosophy was among the earliest proponents of hedonism, but its members also applied themselves to the study of logic (Ritter 1838: 88). Arete became her father's successor in that school, and because she taught her son, Aristippus the Younger, he was nicknamed 'Mother-taught' (Pomeroy 1984: 65–6; Waithe 1987: 197–8).[6] Diodorus Cronus (d. 284), who lived at the court of Alexandria, distinguished himself as a dialectician in the so-called Megarian school. In the footsteps of their father, the five daughters of Diodorus equally distinguished themselves as dialecticians, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 4, 19).

The art of dialectic, from which the Megarian dialecticians drew their name, represented the summit of ancient rational thought, which provided all the arts with their methodological principles. From dialectic, an ancient scholar would learn, for instance, how to form definitions and divisions, and how to argue rationally. It is also within dialectic that the most advanced language theories were developed in antiquity. The discussion on the nature of language and its relationship to reality initiated in Plato's and Aristotle's metaphysical and dialectical works was developed further by the Stoics, who elaborated their theory of meaning within their logic, dividing it into two components: that which signifies (*semainonta*) and that which is signified (*semainomena*) (see Luhtala 2000: 55–117). We have no evidence of women contributing to Aristotelian and Stoic theories of meaning in antiquity, but it is likely that the five daughters of Diodorus Cronus, who earned themselves the titles of dialecticians, were introduced to the logical and metaphysical theories of their own school. Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, was a pupil of Diodorus Cronus. Thus, it is possible that the women scholars of the Megarian school were familiar with the more theoretical aspects of ancient language science—an area which generally seemed to fall outside the scope of women's province.

As regards language issues at a less theoretical level, any women who took part in intellectual conversations would probably be familiar with the practice of etymologizing and solving riddles and ambiguities. A concern with the origins of names, of gods, mythological figures, geographical places, and so forth, would

[6] Less well-known women with philosophical interests were Magnilla, daughter and wife of a philosopher, and Phila of Macedonia, who was probably attracted to philosophy through the influence of her son Antigonus Gonatas (Pomeroy 1984: 66). Martialis (7, 69) mentions Theophila (fourth or third century BCE), an Epicurean woman.

also be part and parcel of the female poet's art. Arguments used in speeches and theoretical treatises were frequently supported by etymological analyses of names. We know that etymologies were pursued eagerly by the Platonist, Stoic, and Pythagorean philosophers alike. According to Dillon (1996 [1977]: 181), there was 'a consensus among Platonists, Stoics and Pythagoreans [...] that words are attached to things by nature, not by convention'. In this field, Aristotle's view that name-giving was conventional, did not become authoritative. The female dialecticians do not have any theories or points of doctrine to their name, and the only known linguistic work by a woman appears to be a treatise on dialects attributed to Myro, the Rhodesian, who is also regarded as a philosopher in Suida's lexicon (Suida 1935: III, 429, s.v. Myro). She also composed elegiac and lyric verses and wrote a work on women who had been queens, as well as fables. None of her works survive.

Forensic cases sometimes require the presence of women in the court, and women make an appearance in a number of speeches of the Attic orators (*c.*420–320 BCE). The logographers writing these speeches normally keep these women nameless (if they are respectable) and speechless, but occasionally they are given voices, most often in relation to domestic or family matters. In nine cases they express themselves in either direct speech or indirect speech that is very close to direct speech (Gagarin 2001: 162). Gagarin has examined all these instances in order to determine to what extent their speech represents the reality of these voices. The longest of these speeches, *Against Diogeiton*, by the anonymous 'daughter of Diogeiton' in *Lysias* 32, has been used to challenge the traditional view of women's silence and lack of power in society (Walters 1993). It uses a style which is appropriate to forensic discourse and employs 'a full range of rhetorical effects, such as parallelisms, repetitions, anaphora, asyndeton, and direct address of the accused' (Gagarin 2001: 165). Sceptical of Walter's view, Gagarin (2001: 167–71, 176) comes to the conclusion that the speech delivered by the daughter of Diogeiton and the other speeches written in formal forensic style were not composed by the women themselves; it was Lysias who wrote these speeches in the language that was appropriate for the occasion and for the audience. However, in two other passages, women speak in an ordinary, non-technical language, which would seem to correspond to women's everyday speech (Gagarin 2001: 171–2).

1.7 Women's literacy and education in the Hellenistic period

Both literary and non-literary sources lend support to the view that the opportunities for female education improved in the Hellenistic period, especially for the women from elite families. A few Hellenistic cities, such as Teos and Xanthus in Lycia, extended endowments for primary instruction to boys and girls alike, and an inscription excavated from the gymnasium of Pergamum suggests that some

girls had won prizes in contests for epic, elegiac and lyric poetry, reading, and calligraphy (Cribiore 2001a: 83–4). Terracotta figurines of schoolgirls looking at a diptych of tablets placed in their lap proliferated across the Hellenistic empire, and there are images of girls on their way to school. Some of the girls wear cloaks which suggests that they went to school outside of their home. Since these figurines were mass-produced and not very expensive, it can be assumed that the activities portrayed on them record the realities of everyday life of even lower middle-class families (Pomeroy 1984: 60). Some funerary monuments also depict girls with reading and writing implements, and girls appear to be receiving instruction from female teachers on a number of sarcophagi; the teachers are regularly interpreted as their mothers. The schoolbooks known as *Hermeneumata* from the Roman period originating both in the Eastern and the Western world from time to time mention female students (Cribiore 2001a: 85–6). All this scattered information is incomplete and lends itself to alternative interpretations, but together with the evidence from the papyri it suggests a substantial growth in female literacy in urban environments, though it was by no means a norm.

Despite women's education being largely restricted to elementary level, it was not uncommon for women to achieve a familiarity with the written word by means of grammatical tuition. Women occasionally acted as scribes, copyists, and even as teachers. Although letters were normally dictated, we also have women's letters written by senders who have differing levels of education. The letters of a certain Herennia to her father Pompeius, which concern mostly domestic issues, betray a superficial level of education, whereas the letters of an otherwise unknown Isidora to Asklepiades reveal a woman in a position of power, who was capable of commanding. In her letters she adopts an imperative and condescending tone and in every letter she urges Asclepiades to 'behave in a manly fashion' (*diandragathein*), using a very rare word, which was possibly part of her personal lexicon (Cribiore 2001a: 92–3; for women's letters, see also Cribiore 2001b: 225–6).

1.8 Language arts: Philology

With the creation of an important intellectual centre in Alexandria, a new literary and scientific community established itself, whose members claimed for themselves the titles of philologists and grammarians. The name of the famous institution, the *Musaeum*, implies that it was a temple dedicated to the Muses, but it included, in addition to the library, a botanical garden and an observatory. The *Musaeum* librarians and scholars undertook the collection of as many books as possible and by providing new editions of literary masterpieces they aimed to save the ancient literary treasures from damage and corruption (Pfeiffer 1968: 87–104). Textual criticism was among their primary interests, and their achievements in

Homeric studies were remarkable. As well as new editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, they produced commentaries and monographs on specific Homeric questions. They also engaged in the editions of lyrical poetry, comedy, and tragedy, and pursued lexicographical and etymological work. It is worth noting that although the majority of the work of the outstanding philologists, such as Aristophanes of Byzantium (*c.*257–180 BCE) and Aristarchus of Samothrace (*c.*217–145 BCE), focused on the works of poets, the members of the *Musaeum* also included many scientists, such as Erastosthenes, Zenodotus, and Apollonius of Rhodes.[7] This means that all kinds of texts, not only literary masterpieces, were studied using the philological method.

Several Homeric scholars and poets in Alexandria were women. Diophila is reported as having composed a poem on astronomy in the later fourth or early third century BCE (Pomeroy 1984: 61). Agallis of Corcyra (second century BCE) was a Homeric scholar and the daughter of Agallias, a pupil of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Another Homeric scholar, Hestiaea, wrote a treatise on the Trojan War. The treatises of these philologists have not been preserved, but fifty lines of the treatise on Pythagorean and Peripatetic musical theory written by Ptolemais of Cyrene are extant; she was a Pythagorean woman, who came to Alexandria around 250 BCE (Pomeroy 1984: 161; 2013: 44, 47, 95–8). According to the lexicographer Suida, Pamphila (mid-first century AD) was the author of thirty-three works on miscellaneous topics, including abridgements of histories, a work on controversies, and a work on love (Suida 1935: III, 14, s.v. Pamphile). She was an Epidaurian from Egypt and daughter of Soteridas, a very famous grammarian. Suida calls her 'the wise woman of Epidaurus'.

It is from the philological study of language and literature that grammar—a discipline which deals with these two fields—gradually differentiated itself and became a subject to be taught in secondary schools in the first century BCE. The *Tekhne* attributed to Dionysius Thrax (*c.*170–*c.*90 BCE), a pupil of Aristarchus, has long been regarded as the earliest grammatical treatise in the Greco-Roman tradition, and as the culmination of philological study in Alexandria. However, only the initial paragraphs of the *Tekhne* (*c.*100 BCE) are today regarded as genuine.[8] In these paragraphs, *grammatike* is defined and its tasks are listed. This description of grammar reflects the work of the Alexandrian scholar poets, who regarded the study of language as ancillary to textual criticism and interpretation:

> Grammar is the practical study of the normal usages of poets and prose writers. Its six divisions comprise: 1. Skill in reading (aloud) with due attention to prosodic

[7] For Aristophanes, see Pfeiffer (1968: 171–209) and Callanan (1987); for Aristarchus, see Pfeiffer (1968: 210–53) and Matthaios (1999).

[8] On the authenticity of the *Tekhne*, see Di Benedetto (1958, 1959) and the various articles in Law and Sluiter (1995).

features. 2. Interpretation, taking note of the tropes of literary composition found in the text. 3. The ready explanation of obscure words and historical references. 4. Discovery of the origins of words. 5. A detailed account of regular patterns. 6. A critical assessment of poems; of all that the art includes the last-mentioned is the noblest part. (trans. Kemp 1987: 172)

1.9 Women teachers and grammarians in Hellenistic times

From the first century CE on, we can catch glimpses of female teachers of letters, but our knowledge of them again depends on incomplete and scattered evidence. In the papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt, women occasionally appear with the title *he didaskalos* ('lady teacher') or in a shortened form, *deskale* or *deskalos*. This term usually points to the teacher of elementary letters, unless it is specified that a manual activity, like weaving, is at issue (Cribiore 2001a: 81–3). A Hellenistic funerary monument from the fifth or fourth century BCE found in Cyrene, called *The Tomb of the Swing*, has six metopes narrating a series of events in the life of the deceased woman. The second metope relates to a school environment: a female teacher is depicted in an open-air setting holding a rod and pointing to something while the female 'pupil' sitting in front of her counts on her fingers. If this interpretation is correct, this is one of the earliest pieces of evidence for formal teaching by a woman in the Greek world (Pomeroy 1984: 48–9; Cribiore 2001a: 79).

Although some of the metopes involve items of luxury, it seems improbable that a respectable upper-class woman could occupy a teaching profession in an open-air setting, which was quite common for schools. We know, however, that some women from low social groups and of limited literacy played a role in primary education. Further visual evidence for women teachers is offered by a mummy portrait head of a woman, Hermione, who is referred to as *grammatike*. It is not, however, clear whether this term refers to the woman's profession or to her learning; she certainly came from a wealthy family (Cribiore 2001a: 79). An inscription from the second to third century CE found in North Africa lends additional support to the presence of women teachers. In this inscription a woman called Volusia Tertullina is referred to as *grammatica*, the female form of grammarian (*grammaticus*) (Cribiore 2001a: 79).

Women always played a part in the education of children at home. Eurydice (b. *c.*410 BCE), the mother of Philip II of Macedon and grandmother of Alexander the Great, was one of several women in the Macedonian court who became famous for educational and intellectual attainments (Pomeroy 1984: 59), as is reported, for instance, by Plutarch in *The Education of Children* 14b–c: 'We must [. . .] follow the example of Eurydice, who, despite being an Illyrian and a barbarian thrice over, nonetheless embarked on her own education late in life in order to provide her children with an opportunity to be given instruction'. Erudite women such as

Eurydice provided role models for Hellenistic women and inspired other royal women, such as Arsinoë II (b. 316 BCE) and Berenice III (120–80 BCE), to become active patronesses of learned literature (Pomeroy 2013: 142). Eurydice started a continuous tradition in educating the female members of the Macedonian ruling houses (Pomeroy 1984: 59).

In his treatise *The Education of Children* 6b, Plutarch pointed out that linguistic skills were crucial in the choice of a teacher. The teacher must be a native Greek speaker who is 'sound in character, and distinct of speech, so that the children may not be contaminated by barbarisms and persons of low character'.

1.10 Language arts and education in Rome

The beginnings of literary culture at Rome in the third century BCE owed a great deal to Greek scholarship. The earliest play in Latin was composed by a Greek slave Livius Andronicus, who translated the *Odyssey* into Latin, and Ennius, the author of a historical epic in hexameters and the future national poet, was called half-Greek by Suetonius (*c.*69—122 BCE; *Grammarians and Rhetoricians* Book 1, 1), because he came from the Greek-speaking areas of southern Italy. The great majority of primary teachers were Greek prisoners of war brought to Rome as slaves, and they often became tutors of young children in their households or possibly even in other families. They imparted primary education, which involved the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic as well as some reading of poetry, as a way of teaching literacy. Thanks to their Greek-speaking tutors, Roman upper-class children were able to learn to speak Greek at home (Bonner 1977: 20–3).

In the second century BCE Greek influences reached Rome through visits by Greek scholars who were free citizens. According to an anecdote reported by Suetonius, the study of grammar was introduced to Rome by Crates of Mallus (second century BCE), a Stoic philosopher, who had been sent to Rome from Pergamum by King Attalus (Suetonius *Grammarians and Rhetoricians* 12). His lecturing in all likelihood concerned the study of literature, including Homer, rather than the study of grammar in the technical sense.

The art of rhetoric, another creation of the Greeks, reached Rome in the second century BCE. When Greek teachers of rhetoric entered Rome, the new learning was not received without tensions, and both rhetoricians and philosophers were expelled from Rome on the basis of a decree by the senate in 161 BCE. The Roman audience was suspicious of the Greek persuasive art and the philosophical argumentation pro and contra. There is no evidence that the *oratores* ('spokesmen') of early Rome had received any formal training, and rhetoric was learnt through a student's careful observation of his elders (Bonner 1977: 65–6). The kind of rhetoric which owed nothing to exercises and textbook rules was called 'natural eloquence' (*naturalis eloquentia*) by Quintilian (35–96 CE) (*Institutio oratoria*

Book 12, 10, 40; see Cicero *On the Orator* Book 1, 4, 14). Despite the opposition, a Latin school of rhetoric was established *c.*94 BCE by Plotius Gallus and was followed by others (Bonner 1977: 71).

The first century BCE marked the beginnings of Roman rhetoric and philosophy, which found their most prolific exponent in Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) (Long 2003: 184–5). Moreover, it is in Cicero's works (*Pro Archia poeta* 1, 2) that we first encounter the Greek educational ideal of the Liberal Arts, which—in their canonical form in late antiquity—consisted of three linguistic and logical disciplines—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric—as well as four mathematical disciplines—geometry, arithmetic, astrology, and music theory. Here, grammar appears as an independent discipline distinct from philology.

It is only in the first century BCE that treatises began to focus on what came to be the core of traditional grammar, namely the parts of speech. Such is Marcus Terentius Varro's (116–27 BCE) treatise *On the Latin Language*, composed in 44 BCE. Several linguistic treatises by Greek scholars visiting Rome were also compiled in this century. For instance, Philoxenus wrote a treatise, *On the Roman Dialect*, in which he maintained that Latin was a Greek dialect very close to Aeolic. Several treatises were composed on the principles of analogy, for instance, by Varro, Pansa (end of the first century BCE), and Didymus (late first century BCE), all of them bearing the title *On the Latin Speech*. One such has been attributed to Marcus Antonius Gnipho (Suetonius *Grammarians and Rhetoricians* 7, 1), who was tutor in the home of Julius Caesar when he was a boy (*c.*89 BCE). That Caesar himself pursued this topic in his treatise *De analogia* (*On Analogy*) attests to the prominence gained by linguistic issues in Roman society. These treatises are related to the linguistic reforms that aimed at standardization of language with a particular concern for purity and clarity of expression (Garcea 2012: 28, 98–100). The reform was needed, because groups of foreigners with poor language skills had found their way to the new capital of culture and learning. In this reform, analogy, that is, a systematic comparison of the lexical forms of Latin, offered the tools to purify the language of the elements regarded as unacceptable (Garcea 2012: 98–100).

As a result of the Social or Italic War (91–88 BCE), Italy, south of the river Po, began to be united by the common bond of Roman citizenship, and the Roman institutions began to spread to the Italic peoples. Concomitant with this political unification came the ideal of linguistic unification, knowledge of Latin being understood as a precondition for acquiring citizenship (Garcea 2012: 7). As in ancient Greece, language, along with political institutions and laws, was thought to constitute the fundamental feature defining the identity of a people. This linguistic nationalism was characterized by a historical awareness: language reform was needed because contemporary usage represented a decline from the Golden Age, projected onto the second century BCE (Garcea 2012: 8–9). In his dialogue *Brutus* (46 BCE), dealing with the history of Roman oratory, Cicero described

some of the orators of the previous century, such as Scipio and Laelius, as expressing themselves in a style that is *purus* ('uncontaminated, unaltered'), innate, and spontaneous. In the Scipionic Age, even uncultured men could acquire this style, if their language habits had not been contaminated by, for example, long stays abroad (Garcea 2012: 57, 98).

Crassus, one of the interlocutors of *Brutus*, maintains that the pure and correct language of the authors of the second century BCE could be achieved by reading and imitating their works, or even by an upbringing in the traditional family environment. Curio is depicted as someone 'completely untutored and unskilled in any one of the liberal arts; he knew no poet, he had read no orator, he had acquired no knowledge of history' (*Brutus* 58, 214). However, he spoke Latin well, as he had been accustomed to uncontaminated speech at his home, having been adopted as an orphan in the house of Scipio (*Brutus* 58, 213–14). Both Cicero and Quintilian emphasize the influence of the language spoken in the family of origin in the development of language skills. Cicero sees women as the custodians of original pronunciation and uncontaminated language, because they are confined to the house and are therefore less exposed to external corruption. This emerges from the following passage, in which Cicero recalls the observation by Crassus of his mother-in-law's pronunciation:

> When I hear my wife's mother Laelia—since it is easier for women to keep the old pronunciation unspoiled, as they do not converse with a number of people and so always retain the accents they heard first—well, I listen to her with the feeling that I am listening to Plautus or Naevius:[9] the actual sound of her voice is so unaffected and natural that she seems to introduce no trace of display or affectation: and I consequently infer that that was how her father and her ancestors used to speak. (*On the Orator* Book 3, 45)

As for ornamentation, the approaches of Cicero and Caesar differ in a significant manner. While Caesar prefers usage that is close to daily speech, avoiding rare or alien words as well as too many tropes, Cicero places more emphasis on the tropes and figures. Caesar's ideal of clarity which is close to daily speech seems to imply that women's ideal use of language comes close to 'natural eloquence'. Emperor Augustus praised the rhetorical skills of his granddaughter Agrippina, who had written memoirs of his father (Tacitus *Annales* Book 4, 55), but exhorts her 'to take care not to write and talk affectedly'. Augustus himself preferred a simple style of speaking and writing. However, it is after all learned women who are praised for their linguistic skills in ancient sources. Agrippina had received an

[9] Plautus and Naevius were third- and second-century-BCE playwrights.

education which involved, in addition to a full grammatical curriculum, an introduction to prose composition, as a preliminary to rhetorical education.

Quintilian points out that both parents ought to be as highly educated as possible. As an example of a mother who was capable of affecting positively the spoken skills of her children, he mentions Cornelia the mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (*Institutio oratoria* Book 1, 1, 6). Cicero also emphasizes the importance of the language spoken at home for a future orator, likewise mentioning Cornelia as his example:

> It is of great importance what a person hears every day at home, with whom a boy converses, how the fathers, pedagogues, and mother speak. I have read the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and it would appear that her sons were actually raised not so much in their mother's bosom as in her language!
> (*Brutus* 58, 210–11; Keener 2007: 750)

Cornelia had invited Diophanes of Mytilene, the finest orator in Greece at that time, into their home as tutor in rhetoric to his son, and Blossius of Cumae as his teacher in philosophy (Cicero *Brutus* 27, 104). Thus, women could be influential in the education of their children, for instance by finding them the finest possible tutors. Cicero (*Brutus* 58, 211) also praises the language and conversational skills of Laelia, the daughter of Gaius Laelius, and her two granddaughters, both of whom had excellent spoken skills. Cornelia was an upper-class woman, daughter of Scipio Africanus (the Elder), and wife of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus who twice served as consul. She became distinguished for her fluency in Greek as well as her excellent style of speaking and writing, and her letters were admired for their style (Cicero *Brutus* 58, 211).

It appears, then, that the eloquence praised in women was an outcome of formal studies, although it may have owed something to natural talent. The notion of 'natural eloquence' had, according to Quintilian, been questioned by some people, who claimed that the only true natural eloquence is the everyday speech which we use when talking to our friends, wives, children, and slaves. Such speech simply expresses our intentions without seeking anything studied or elaborate; anything else is a mark of affectation or ostentation, remote from reality. While admitting that there is some truth in this argument, Quintilian points out that everyday speech is content to indicate the facts without going beyond the correctness of speech, whereas the duty of an eloquent man is also to please, move, and induce feelings in his hearers (*Institutio oratoria* 12, 10, 40–4). It is this latter aspect of eloquence, persuasion, moving, and inducing feelings that apparently did not properly fit into the ideas of female eloquence.

The nostalgic discussion on the natural eloquence which is innate and spontaneous seems to overlook the outcome of the discussions on the acquisition of the various arts since the Greek classical age, according to which excellence in any art

consists in three things: natural talent (*natura*, *physis*), theoretical study (*ratio*, *logos*), and practice (*exercitatio*) (Plutarch *The Education of Children* 4a).

1.11 Schools of grammar and rhetoric in Rome

The art of grammar was beginning to establish itself as a discipline distinct from rhetoric, philology and philosophy in the first century BCE. From the late second century BCE on, grammarians began opening their schools in Rome (Kaster 1988: 51–3). Suetonius' treatise *Grammarians and Rhetoricians* gives us an idea of the linguistic topics that the early Latin grammarians taught. They are very similar to those characterizing Alexandrian philology: study of poetry, commentaries, etymological analyses, and interpretation of hymns, legal tracts, and other texts.

From the first century BCE on, girls sometimes took part in elementary and secondary education with boys outside the household. Most upper-class families hired private tutors to teach their children at home, and at least occasionally girls participated in this instruction. For instance, the only daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus received elementary education from a slave tutor; the famous Quintus Caecilius Epirota, a freedman *grammaticus*, taught her grammar and literature (Hemelrijk 1999: 20–2). The two highly learned granddaughters of Augustus received their instruction in letters from the famous grammarian Verrius Flaccus, whom Augustus had hired as their teacher. Augustus insisted that Julia receive traditional education, which included spinning and weaving, but she shared Livia's interest in learning and became known for 'her love of letters and excellent erudition' (Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2, 5, 2; Himeljrik 1999: 22–3). Upper-class girls usually married in their early or mid-teens. This means that their education was completed by that time. Adult married women sometimes received further education (i.e. rhetoric and philosophy) from their husbands, and some women hired Greek scholars in order to be educated or to display erudition. Women regularly accompanied their husbands to dinner parties, theatres, and amphitheatres (Hemelrijk 2015: 10–11), and it is generally thought that upper-class women had achieved the level of education necessary to participate in the intellectual and social life of their husbands.

Because women did not normally take part in higher education in the school of the rhetorician, they were excluded from political life and jurisdiction; in fact, women were prevented from holding public office by Roman law (Hemelrijk 2015: 10). However, in exceptional cases, it was acceptable for them to enter the forum, when they had to defend their interests or those of their relatives in the law courts. If they appeared to have self-interested aims for appearing as public speakers, they would be harshly criticized and could even run the risk of being labelled public women (Hemelrijk 2015: 10–11). Our sources report on five Roman women who used their rhetorical skills in public by giving speeches or

composing letters. The most famous examples are Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, and Hortensia, daughter of a famous orator. The latter had delivered a speech in the Roman Forum in 42 BCE on behalf of Roman aristocratic women protesting against a war tax levied on them during the civil war. Her speech was still preserved and studied in the first century CE (Hemelrijk 1999: 91). Even though women rarely gave speeches in public, they could play a part in public life by giving private advice to a male relative or by exploiting her influence with family connections; this is true of Cornelia as well (Plutarch *Gaius Gracchus* 4, 2; see Barrett 2002: 186–7).

Less well known are the two women mentioned by Valerius Maximus who exhibited rhetorical skills pleading their cases as defendants. He depicts one of them, Maesia of Sentinum, as 'going through all the forms and stages of a defence not only thoroughly but boldly' (*Facta et dicta memorabilia* Book 8, 3, 1). She was acquitted at the first hearing by an almost unanimous vote; because she 'bore a man's spirit under the form of a woman', she was called Androgyne. The other example seems to conform to the negative image of female rhetoric, which combined self-interest and ostentation in the performance. Carfania, wife of the senator Licinius Buccio, wanted to speak on her own behalf, not because she could not find advocates but because she had 'impudence to spare' (*Facta et dicta memorabilia* Book 8, 3, 2). Her litigious manner is said to be a typically female vice. Thus, by 'constantly plaguing the tribunals with barking with which the Forum was unaccustomed she became a notorious example of female litigiousness, so much so that women of shameless habit are taunted with the name "Carfania" by way of reproach' (*Facta et dicta memorabilia* Book 8, 3, 2). Another female rhetorician, Julia Domna, will be discussed below.

Women who received higher education were usually wives or daughters of leading upper-class families. As we saw earlier, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, renowned for his philhellenism; she patronized Greek scholars in her villa. Pompey the Great's daughter, Pompeia, was well versed in literature, and it was she who welcomed Pompey by reading aloud a passage of Homer when he returned from the eastern campaign in 61 BCE (Cicero *De officiis* Book 1, 34, 122–3). This means that she was bilingual at the age of 8 or 9 (Hemelrijk 1999: 22). Pompey's fifth wife, Cornelia, is also depicted as a highly learned woman. She was a young girl at that time, and a consul's daughter, who, according to Plutarch, was attractive because of her wide learning. She was knowledgeable about literature and geometry, she played the lyre skillfully, and was accustomed to listen with profit to philosophical discourses (Plutarch *Life of Pompeius* 55). When exhibiting male intellectual virtues, women were often complimented for resembling their father, reproducing their talent or, as in the case of Hortensia, for 'causing her father to live again' (Valerius Maximus *Dicta et facta memorabilia* Book 8, 3, 3). According to Quintilian, Laelia similarly 'reproduced the elegance of her father's language in her own speech' (*Institutio oratoria* Book 1, 1, 6).

One letter has been attributed to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi (Cornelius Nepos fr. 2), an attribution now regarded as certain (Hallett 2004: 32–4). The style of this letter does not essentially differ from those composed by men of her time. The skill of letter-writing demanded rhetorical proficiency, and the same standards appear to have been used irrespective of the gender of the writer (Hemelrijk 1999: 194–7). Cornelia lived at a time when formal rhetorical training was not yet established in Rome. She may have gained her competence in letter-writing by listening to the teachers she had hired for the education of her sons, or she may have acquired her skills practically through imitating good orators.

Upper-class women were in the habit of writing letters to the male members of the family or more distant relatives on a variety of topics, including politics, finance, the management of property, and family affairs, whereas their letters addressed to female friends and relatives frequently dealt with the everyday life of women. Four such letters between female correspondents have been preserved in the tablets found at Vindolanda at Hadrian's Wall in northern Britain (Hemelrijk 1999: 191). Women and men alike could display their erudition by writing eloquent letters both in Greek and Latin. One such example of upper-class bilingualism was Marcus Aurelius's mother, Domitia Lucilla. When men corresponded with women, they apparently did not keep copies of the women's letters.

1.12 Women's virtues

The traditional female virtues were chastity, modesty, austerity, domesticity, and devotion to husband and children, and the occupations traditionally suitable for women were spinning and housekeeping (Hemelrijk 1999: 60–3; Swain 2013: 339). This view was shared even by Gaius Musonius Rufus (30—*c.*95 CE), a Stoic philosopher, who maintained that women are intellectually equal to men. In one of his *Discourses* he addressed the question 'Should daughters be educated in the same way as sons?', adopting the standard Stoic view that women and men should receive the same education, because they have an equal capacity for virtue. As intellectually equal, they have the ability to use their minds in the same way and, as morally equal, they can exercise self-control and share the qualities of courage and justice (Musonius Rufus *Discourse* IV, 4–5). As regards rhetorical skills, women are supposed to argue differently from men: 'I do not mean that women should possess technical skill and acuteness in argument, which would be rather superfluous, since they will philosophize as women' (Musonius Rufus *Discourse* IV, 94–7; Lutz 1947: 49).

Many essential features of Greco-Roman society were integrated into Christian culture, and married Christian women's lives ideally displayed the same virtues, as had been characteristic of the Roman *matrona*, including modesty, wisdom, piety, moderation, hospitality, and the skill to run a household. However, Christian

women could refuse marriage and follow an ascetic life, which brought about new opportunities for them as teachers and deaconesses, for instance. Some exceptional married women transgressed the traditional gender roles by using their intellectual abilities as teachers and leaders of ascetic communities. Such was (Saint) Melania the Younger (*c*.383–439 CE), who lived platonically with her husband Pinianus and established women's and men's monasteries on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem (Gerontius *Life of Melania* 42–8). Elderly widows were allowed to give some instruction to other women about ethics, faith, and the refutation of idols.

1.13 Standard prejudices towards learned women

The erudition of Hortensia and the two Cornelias conferred social prestige on them, according to contemporary sources. However, Sallust's account of Sempronia, wife of a consul, reveals that this was not always the case. It involves one of the standard prejudices against educated women, namely sexual licentiousness. Sempronia was well versed in both Greek and Latin literature and was also able to compose poetry. These qualities were judged by Sallust as masculine and improper for a respectable matron. Sempronia did not bother about female virtues, modesty, and chastity, and had committed many crimes of masculine daring. Her skills in playing the lyre and dancing were more than was necessary for a decent woman. She was sexually promiscuous, seeking men more often than she was sought by them. Nevertheless, Sallust has to admit that she was 'a woman of no mean endowments; she could write verses, bandy jests, and use language which was modest, or tender, or wanton; *in fine*, she possessed a high degree of wit and of charm' (Sallust *The War with Catiline* 25).

For upper-class men, education provided a platform for competition and an instrument of class differentiation, but not for women, as emerges from Juvenal's sixth satire which presents a caricature of a learned woman conforming to the standard misogynist prejudices. It is addressed to a friend for the purpose of dissuading him from marriage. It is also a satire of Rome's decaying social and moral standards, whereby men allow women to challenge their supremacy. In this work, one of the examples of an undesirable type of wife is a learned woman who penetrates into man's world, the world of knowledge. This fictive woman has an exhaustive knowledge of literature, grammar, and history, and could silence a lawyer or an auctioneer—or even another woman—by giving long monologues on the value of poetry. She is a capable rhetorician, observing all the rules and laws of language and correcting the minor slips of speech of her less-learned friends. This caricature is keen to show off her erudition and to get recognition of her skills (*Satire* 6, 434–56).

1.14 Women philosophers in late antiquity

Interest in philosophy increased during the first Christian centuries, and opportunities for education improved even for women. As a result, at least three women gained prominent positions as heads of philosophical schools and patronesses of philosophy. One such was Julia Domna (b. 170 CE), Roman empress and wife of Lucius Septimius Severus. She devoted herself to the study of philosophy and sponsored a philosophical circle consisting of mathematicians, sophists, lawyers, physicians, historians, and other academicians. Julia was a devoted admirer of all rhetorical exercises (*Philostratus* 127). She promoted the condition of women by restoring a meeting hall for them in the Forum of Trajan and by rebuilding the Temple of Vesta. Julia is said to have chosen suicide by starving herself to death and was deified (Zedler 1987: 117–38).

From the time of Iamblichus (250–325 CE) on, Neoplatonism exhibited a typical combination of religion and theurgic wisdom. Theurgia involves ritual practices intended to invoke the presence or action of the god(s) for the purpose of uniting with the divine. This orientation is also present in the philosophy of the Athenian Asclepigenia, who succeeded her father as head of the Neoplatonic Academy in Athens in 430 CE. Her philosophy was highly syncretic, unifying Platonic and Aristotelian doctrines. Hypatia, mentioned earlier, became the head of the most important scientific institution in the Western world in Alexandria at a time of great political and religious upheaval. She taught geometry and mathematics, astronomy, mechanics, and philosophy. Like Asclepigenia, she combined the study of the works of Plato and Aristotle with Neoplatonist mysteries in her teaching of philosophy. She had the exceptional honour of holding a public appointment funded by the government. This was all the more remarkable because the government of Alexandria was Christian and Hypatia was a pagan. She lived in a time of great social upheaval, and met an early, tragic death: she was stoned to death by a Christian mob. Her excellent mathematical and astronomical works have survived.

Neoplatonist philosophy in late antiquity had integrated some linguistic and logical texts into its framework, so that the starting point of the philosophical curriculum was logic, followed by ethics, physics, mathematics, and theology. Plato's *Cratylus* was included in the texts of logic, attesting to the importance of linguistic topics in late antique philosophy. Although contemporary sources do not report on the linguistic interests of late antique women philosophers, these women necessarily knew the fundamental texts of the ancient philosophy of language composed by Plato and Aristotle and, probably, commentaries on them. It is noteworthy that Proclus, the most famous pupil of Asclepigenia, who was essentially a dialectician, wrote the only commentary on Plato's *Cratylus* (see Berg 2008) that has been preserved to us from antiquity.

The earliest extant complete textbooks on grammar, dating from the late third century BCE, show that several items of logical semantics, borrowed from the philosophical tradition, had been incorporated into their framework. Therefore, at the secondary level of education, pupils learnt not only how to produce correct meaning, the professed aim of grammar as stated in the first part of its definition—'grammar is the art of correct speech' (*ars recte loquendi*, Quintilian *Institutio oratoria* Book 1, 4, 2)—but also how to analyse meaning. In other words, they learnt to identify and analyse ambiguities and implications present in the vocabulary of their mother tongue, such as homonyms, synonyms, and relational nouns. The grammatical manuals were highly methodical, proceeding by definitions and divisions, in accordance with the method taught in dialectic. By rote learning grammatical definitions and by analysing the method used in them, pupils became aware of the basic tools of intellectual inquiry, such as genera and species. Thus, any pupil attending the school of the grammarian would learn a certain number of concepts and distinctions that were relevant for further study in rhetoric and dialectic and careers in public life, for which public speaking and logical reasoning were crucial. The second, 'historical' part of grammar consisted in the exposition of literary texts (*poetarum enarratio*), and some of the textbooks include a section on tropes and figures (for Donatus' two popular manuals on grammar, see Holtz 1981).

1.15 Conclusion

All ancient philosophical schools except the Peripatetic included women members in antiquity, but it was the Pythagorean school that involved most female members. Fragments of prose texts have been preserved to us from archaic Greece, in which the Pythagorean women reflect upon women's virtues and social roles in family and community. This is remarkable, because no other Greek prose texts by women have been preserved before late antiquity. Women even held leadership roles in the Cynic, Cyrenaic, and Platonist schools, but only one of these women, Hypatia, has works to her name preserved to us. The fact that there were no women members in the Peripatetic school (Pomeroy 2013: 42) may have something to do with Aristotle's disdain for women's intellectual capacity, but it is possible that the doctrine of the school itself had less appeal to women than that of the philosophical schools which resembled religious societies. The Pythagoreans and the Neoplatonists had incorporated mystical and religious elements into their doctrine, and religious rituals and mysteries were close to the world of ancient women.

The scientific exposition of the philosophical schools other than the Peripatetic made use of alternative methods of exegesis. The allegorical interpretation of literature and mythology was favoured by Stoics and Neoplatonists alike; Neoplatonists and Pythagoreans assigned major importance to numbers in exploring the ultimate nature of things. All these schools moreover regarded etymologies as

a valid tool for exploring reality. Dialectic played an important role in Platonist philosophy, but Plato also favoured the introspective method, which left more room for intuition and self-reflection, which probably appealed to women. It was indeed unusual for women to occupy themselves with purely rational philosophy, that is, dialectic and logic, in antiquity; issues pertaining to moral and natural philosophy were closer to their interests. However, it appears that at least the female dialecticians of the Megarian school were involved in the pursuit of dialectic and, as heads of the Neoplatonist school, Asclepigenia and Hypatia must have been knowledgeable of the most advanced language theories of their time.

We know the titles of some philological works written by women in Alexandria, and the closest we come to a linguistic treatise is the one on dialects composed by Myro. None of these treatises have survived. When independent works on grammar began to be composed from the first century BCE onwards, women's names disappear altogether. Indeed, no grammatical doctrine is attributed to a female scholar in the grammatical works surviving from antiquity. This may be due to the fact that their achievements were not recorded, but several other explanations are possible, such as the cumulative nature of grammatical doctrine. Grammar teachers compiled their teaching materials from the stock of common inheritance, and much of the doctrine remains anonymous. There is also a large number of male grammarians to whom no specific doctrine has been attributed in our sources, and even the most famous ancient grammarian, Donatus, cannot claim that his manual was original. In his treatise on the grammarians, Suetonius fails to mention any doctrine that the Roman grammarians either introduced or followed in their teaching. It is the moral qualities of the teachers that draw the author's attention. However, as regards women grammarians, we do not even have names.

The absence of women may be associated with the development of educational institutions, whereby grammarians became teachers at a secondary level of education. This public profession, originally of low social status, was hardly suitable for a respectable, learned woman. By contrast, the philological treatises were scholarly works composed by upper-class women at a time when grammar was not yet an independent discipline. These women were born into scholarly families, and compiling a philological treatise did not necessarily involve publicity. Thus, it is possible that the absence of women grammarians has to do with the limited roles that free, respectable women had in public spaces, such as the Roman Forum. Since, however, there is some evidence of female grammar teachers from Roman Egypt, it is probable that we would learn more about female teachers in other geographical areas, if comparable source material were available.

Few prose texts were composed by women in antiquity, but we have the names of several female poets who gained renown, and fragments of some of their work have survived. In their poetry, women pursued themes and genres which were closely related to the sphere of their lives, the household and family, or to public speech genres like prayers and hymns to goddesses, laments, wedding songs, and

lullabies. Since many of the religious festivals were practised in secrecy, little is known about the content of women's speech on these occasions. The fact that women often wrote love poetry in which they expressed strong emotions reinforced the image of women as highly emotional, giving rise to such myths as Sappho's suicide caused by her passion for Phaon. If women poets entered the male sphere of public performance, they risked being regarded as courtesans or public women.

Women did not receive formal education in rhetoric schools, and we know of only few ancient women who displayed their rhetorical skills in public places. However, when the occasion demanded, they were allowed to defend their family or relatives in court. Therefore, there must have been alternative ways for women to gain adequate rhetorical skills. They could, for instance, have learnt their skills by imitating a male member of a family. Alternatively, women could have studied the basics of rhetoric from the rhetorical textbooks on their own. From the fourth century BCE onwards, such textbooks were available in Greece and, from the first century BCE, in Rome. Many upper-class families hired private teachers to instruct their children in grammar and rhetoric, and not only girls but even grown-up women could profit from their teaching. Furthermore, girls who attended secondary education were familiar with some rhetorical exercises taught in the grammarian's schools. In their grammar teaching they would also have acquired some basic tools for analytical thinking, which had been incorporated into grammars from dialectic.

When speaking in public, women were not supposed to use the ornate style of speech taught in the rhetoric schools and favoured, for instance, by Cicero. Indeed, they were supposed to speak and argue differently from men, not as acutely and without using as many tropes and figures. We may infer from some of our sources that the kind of rhetoric that was suitable for women was limited to 'correctness of speech', that is, to what was taught in the grammar schools in secondary education. The rhetorical ornaments, which were often viewed critically as signs of affectedness and ostentation even in men, were especially unsuitable for women's speech, which was supposed to be natural and plain. It was not acceptable for women to use the skills of persuasion and induce feelings in the audience because of the persistent notion of their cunning and deceptive speech. Thus, women's speech ideally resembled that spoken in the Golden Age which corresponded to the old Roman values, before Rome had become a cosmopolitan centre of learning, and the Latin language had come under foreign influences. It is noteworthy that even many prominent public figures, such as Caesar and Augustus, preferred simple style with scant ornamentation. Thus, the absence of formal rhetorical education was hardly an obstacle for a woman who wanted to gain the skills of public speaking. It was rather the limitations of a woman's social roles that prevented her from appearing in public spaces, and when she did so, it

was of crucial importance that she should stick to modesty, women's primary virtue; otherwise, she would be criticized or ridiculed.

Many factors have contributed to the fact that women's achievements have generally not been recorded. It was not appropriate for respectable women to express their own ideas; they should rather leave them to be expressed by men. When women corresponded with men, men usually kept copies of their own letters but not those by female correspondents. Treatises composed by women may not have been widely circulated, which is why they have been lost. Our sources may also intentionally ignore women's intellectual pursuits. For instance, many sources report on the learned women in the household of the Emperor Augustus, such as Livia, Julia, and Agrippina, but in his biography of Augustus, the historian Tacitus gives a very traditional picture of the education of his daughters: they were taught to spin and weave. By ignoring the fact that Augustus had invited the best possible teachers to instruct his children, Tacitus may have wanted to support the traditional family values promoted by Augustus.

It is indeed often indirectly that we learn about the exceptional culture of some individual women. We know of the Pythagorean women's knowledge of dialectic and geometry because they are ridiculed for their learning in a comedy. In one of his satires, Juvenal gives us a description of a fictional Roman woman whose rhetorical skills were exceptional, which seems to imply that such women existed. Our knowledge is obscured by the limitations of our sources, many of which probably shared Pericles' view that the best women are those who neither speak nor are spoken of in public. There is also an upper-class bias: the women who are credited for their learning in our sources, such as the two Cornelias, Hortensia, Julia, and Agrippina, came from famous families, and their fathers or husbands were prominent statesmen. There were probably also outstanding women in less privileged circumstances who remain invisible to us. Given that our sources typically fail to report women's achievements, this chapter has focused on the general conditions of women scholars and teachers rather than their individual contributions to scholarship.

2
Women and language codification in Italy

Marginalized voices, forgotten contributions

Helena Sanson

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses women's role in the codification of Italian and the ideas about women's use of language, as expressed by theorists and writers across the centuries.[1] It covers the period from the last decades of the fifteenth century—when Italian, together with other languages across Europe, firmly established its prestige alongside Latin—until post-Unification, that is, the period between the political unification of the peninsula in 1861 and the turn of the century. Care has been taken to consider also, where possible, women's contribution to the codification of some of the other Romance varieties of the Italian peninsula, the so-called Italian dialects (e.g. Piedmontese, Friulian, Bolognese), which fared less well on the path to recognition of national status.[2]

To understand women's contribution to the history of language codification and language studies in Italy, as well as ideas about use of language by women, it is worth remembering that a condition of diglossia (Ferguson 1959) prevailed at least since the Renaissance, with literary Italian, used almost exclusively in writing, as the High variety, and the local dialects, non-literary varieties, as the Low variety. In the Italian context, linguistic codification has had a complex and peculiar development given that, as we shall see, literature has played, well into the twentieth century, a central role in linguistic standardization.[3]

For centuries, Italy was characterized by political and linguistic fragmentation, a situation that was to remain unchanged until the second half of the nineteenth century. A variety of different vernaculars (*volgari*), all derived from Latin, were in everyday use across the peninsula. With the spread of the printing press from the 1460s, writers, as well as publishers, felt an increasing need for a standardized,

[1] For a more extensive discussion, see Sanson 2011. The present chapter includes significant new material and findings.

[2] Each dialect would in fact require separate investigation, so their treatment here can necessarily only be very limited. For an overview of the external history and codification process of the Romance linguistic varieties, see Sanson (2013b).

[3] On this, see Maraschio and Matarrese (forthc.) and Arcangeli (2016).

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literary language. Lively debates developed at the beginning of the sixteenth century among men of letters and theorists concerning the nature and definition of this literary language, as well as the issue of which of the many vernaculars used across the peninsula should become the language of culture to rival Latin. The controversy, known as the *Questione della lingua* (*Language Question*),[4] saw a number of conflicting positions, of which ultimately the one supported by the Venetian humanist Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) prevailed. In his dialogue, *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525; *Discussions on the Vernacular Language*), Bembo promoted fourteenth-century Tuscan as used by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio (particularly Petrarch for poetry and Boccaccio for prose) as the language to be used in literature. This was an archaizing form of the language from two centuries earlier, which, due to normal linguistic changes, differed from contemporary Tuscan. Bembo's 'vernacular humanism' *de facto* successfully applied the theories of imitation of the best Latin classics (Virgil and Cicero) to the vernacular classics, providing a clear, prestigious model for printers and authors alike, supported by an unsurpassed literary heritage.

2.2 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The widespread acceptance of Bembo's position is at the origin of the gap, destined to be a specific feature of the Italian tradition for a long time, between the spoken language on the one hand and the written language on the other. The former was a local vernacular, learnt naturally from childhood. The latter was an 'artificial' language that needed to be studied and learnt from books. For centuries it remained the preserve of a restricted circle of scholars and, more broadly, of learned people, whereas it was beyond the reach of most of the (widely illiterate) population. This was very much the case for women, considered to be the less learned par excellence: the literary vernacular, the fourteenth-century Tuscan that established itself as 'Italian', was nobody's mother tongue, not even for sixteenth-century Tuscans themselves, and progressively assumed the role of a new 'Latin'.

2.2.1 Ideas about language use

Ideas about women's use of language in the early modern period are related to women's limited access to educational opportunities and to the literary, written nature of 'Italian' itself. If the literary vernacular, like Latin, needed to be studied

[4] There is a considerable literature on the *Questione* (see Migliorini and Griffith 1984, Vitale 1984, Marazzini 1993b, Mongiat Farina 2014). On the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Marazzini (1993a), Trovato (1994); on the eighteenth, Matarrese (1993); on the nineteenth, Serianni (1989, 1990), Nencioni (1993); on the twentieth, Mengaldo (1994).

and learnt from books and the great authors of the past, the language of women, mothers, or wet-nurses had rather to be shunned, because, as Stefano Guazzo wrote in his *La civil conversatione* (*On Civilized Conversation*), 'il raccontare sempre le cose con quelle nude parole che ci insegnò la madre [...] apporta stanchezza all'ascoltante' (Guazzo 1574: 64r; 'to always tell things with those bare words that the mother taught us [...] bores the listener').[5]

Conduct literature texts are a rich source of ideas about women's use of language and often include a section devoted to women's speech.[6] Women's role, according to Bernardo Trotto's *Dialoghi del matrimonio e vita vedovile* (1578; *Dialogues on Marriage, and on Life as a Widow*), was rather to preserve language and not to introduce innovations. It was deplorable when some women tried to 'cambiar per vezzi la naturale favella e, volendola abbellire, farsene una bastarda, instabile, fastidiosa e goffa' (Trotto 1578: 110; 'change for fun the natural language and, by wanting to make it more beautiful, they rather create a bastardized, unstable, annoying, and clumsy one').

Women should restrict themselves to the 'favella [...] propria et natía della città' ('the language that is proper and native to their town') and specifically to the 'uso civile' ('civilized usage') rather than 'quello del popolo' ('that of the populace'), the Venetian Lodovico Dolce (1508–1568) explained in the second edition of his *Dialogo della institution delle donne* (Dolce 1547 [1545]: 30v; *Dialogue on the Education of Women*).[7] Thus, they could avoid the blame incurred by those who, 'per haver qualche famigliarità con le rime del Petrarcha, o letto alcuna prosa del Boccaccio, cercano d'imitar la lingua thoscana, di maniera che chi ha giudicio non le può udire senza riso' ('because they have some familiarity with the poetry of Petrarch or because they have written Boccaccio's prose, try and imitate the Tuscan language, so much so that those who have some common sense cannot listen to them without laughing').

In everyday life, the prestigious literary vernacular seemed to be beyond the reach of women as it entailed an unacceptable display of erudition and knowledge. If women used it in speaking, they would be considered guilty of linguistic affectation, an accusation often levelled at them across the centuries.

2.2.2 Women, the literary language, and its grammar

Despite prejudices and restrictions, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy saw an unprecedented female participation in literary life—as poets, prose writers, and playwrights.[8] This is linked to the acceptance and recognition of the vernacular as

[5] For a modern edition, based on the 1579 revised text, see Guazzo (1993).
[6] See Sanson (2007: 169–77). On conduct literature in Italy more broadly, see Sanson (2016).
[7] For a modern edition of the text, originally published in 1545, see Dolce (2015).
[8] See Sanson (2011: 56–64). For a survey of women's writers in early modern Italy, see Cox (2008, 2011).

a prestigious language of culture alongside Latin, and to the seemingly unstoppable growth of the printing industry, which in turn nurtured the spread of reading.

At the start of the sixteenth century, the first grammars of the vernacular were 'produced by and for the élites' and 'aimed at those fortunate enough to have had a good education in Latin, in other words a small minority of males and a tiny minority of women' (Richardson 2002: 15). Giovan Francesco Fortunio's 1516 *Regole della volgar lingua* (*Rules of the Vernacular Language*), the first printed grammar of the vernacular in the Italian tradition,[9] was composed for the benefit of the 'studiosi della regolata volgar lingua' (Fortunio 1516: fol. a2r; 'scholars of the regulated vernacular language'),[10] and the *princeps* of Bembo's *Prose* took the form of a Ciceronian dialogue and was printed in a folio format typical of humanist books. Its third book is a grammar of fourteenth-century Tuscan presented as a dialogue between various (male) interlocutors: far from being a systematic exposition of grammar, rules are couched in lively conversation and exemplified by means of numerous quotations taken from the great fourteenth-century authors, mostly Petrarch and Boccaccio.

Between 1520 and 1530 the production of grammars and other works on language was accompanied by a publishing boom of Petrarch's vernacular verse and the growing literary trend of Petrarchism. Authors, editors, and printers increasingly targeted the less learned, including women, as potential readers of vernacular works of various genres, including grammars. After the 1527 Sack of Rome, a crucial moment in the progressive disintegration of the Italian court system, Italy witnessed an opening up of literary society and the erosion of its hierarchy. The fact that a wider public, which might be unfamiliar with Latin, could now access works in the vernacular also spurred a democratization of grammar production. Authors of vernacular grammars aimed (or at least claimed) to produce more accessible works, with clear and straightforward guidelines on how to approach the vernacular for practical purposes, as well as for literary appreciation. They now extended their reach also to *principianti* ('beginners'), *forestieri* ('foreigners'), and *donne* (women).

Some grammarians of the time openly dedicated their works to female members of the aristocracy. While books were generally dedicated to members of the upper classes, dedications to women could have at least encouraged other women to read a book (Richardson 1999: 144). In 1539, Dorotea Gonzaga, daughter of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Duke of Sabbioneta and Prince of Bozzolo, and wife of Gianfrancesco Acquaviva d'Aragona, Marquis of Bitonto, was the intended

[9] The first extant grammar of Tuscan is the manuscript of Leon Battista Alberti's *Grammatichetta*, composed *c.*1437–1441, then lost for centuries, and printed for the first time as an appendix to Trabalza (1908).

[10] The *Regole* was reprinted eighteen times between 1516 and 1565 and was included in the seventeenth-century collection, *Degli autori del ben parlare* (1643), edited by Giuseppe degli Aromatari. For modern editions of the *Regole*, see Fortunio (1999, 2001).

recipient of the *Grammatica volgare trovata ne le opere di Dante, di Francesco Petrarca, di Giovan Boccaccio, di Cin da Pistoia, di Guitton d'Arezzo* (*Vernacular Grammar as Found in the Works of Dante, Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio, Cino da Pistoia, Guittone d'Arezzo*) by Tizzone Gaetano (known as Tizzone), from Pofi (near Terracina), who worked in Venice as editor and corrector for local printers. Published posthumously, the grammar was composed for a readership of male and female beginners and founded on principles of *brevità et chiarezza* ('brevity and clarity'), avowedly aiming to avoid grammatical terminology derived from Latin (Gaetano 1539: fol. A2r–v).

Ten years later, another grammar was dedicated to a 'lady', the *Fondamenti del parlar thoscano* (*The Foundations of the Tuscan Tongue*) by Rinaldo Corso (Verona? 1522–1580/1582), a protégé of the well-known poet Veronica Gambara, wife of Count Giberto X. The *Fondamenti*, composed in 1547 and published in Venice by Comin da Trino in 1549,[11] is a normative grammar of Tuscan that offers a personal and original approach to linguistic codification. It was conceived for readers who might be 'barbar[i] et stran[i]' (Corso 1549: fol. 2r), that is, from other parts of the Italian peninsula or abroad, but also with a specific female dedicatee in mind. The grammar opens with a dedication by Corso 'Ad Hiparcha sua' ('To his Hiparcha'), that is, to Lucrezia Lombardi, the woman he eventually married, her identity concealed, for reasons of modesty, behind a pseudonym.[12] In the closing pages of the *Fondamenti*, Corso claims to have composed his text to help nurture the ambition to compose vernacular verse that Lucrezia, who came from a wealthy family of Correggio and was part of the refined court of Veronica Gambara, might have had. It was also intended as a practical tool to help her gain better access to the prestigious Tuscan literary heritage (Corso 1549: fols 97v–98v). The dedication is not a merely conventional address to a learned woman or an influential patroness. The grammar is characterized from the start by a personal touch: Corso addresses 'Hiparcha' directly and engages with her in an imaginary dialogue, anticipating her objections and replies, drawing her attention to interesting points or guiding her through his reasoning. Rather than employing only grammatical examples and learned quotations taken from the works of the great fourteenth-century authors, Corso illustrates the different grammatical points with examples that are both original and personal. For instance, with reference to syllables, we read: 'delle lettere si compongono le

[11] For a more extensive discussion, see Sanson (2005, 2011: 94–9). The *Fondamenti* had subsequent editions in 1550 (also in Venice), 1562 (as part of Francesco Sansovino's collection *Le Osservationi della lingua volgare di diversi huomini illustri*), and 1564 (in Rome). It was then included by Giovanni Aquilano da S. Demetrio in his collection of well-known sixteenth-century grammars (Giovanni da L'Aquila 1572) and in the collection *Degli autori del ben parlare* (1643) by Giuseppe degli Aromatari.

[12] Lucrezia Lombardi, also called 'la Marchesina', was the only daughter of Gabriele Lombardi, and niece of Giambattista Lombardi, professor of philosophy and medicine at the universities of Ferrara and Bologna, and later physician of the Correggios and benefactor of the painter Antonio Allegri (called 'il Correggio').

sillabe, come *RI*. Delle sillabe le voci, come *Rinaldo*. Delle voci il ragionar perfetto, che i latini chiamarono oratione, come *Rinaldo ama Hiparcha*' (Corso 1549: fols 6v–7r; 'from letters we compose syllables, as in *RI*. From syllables words, as in *Rinaldo*. From words comes precise discourse which the Latins called oration, such as *Rinaldo loves Hiparcha*'; emphasis added). The accessibility of the *Fondamenti* is also enhanced by its size, a portable octavo, and by its graphic layout,[13] which makes the page look less dense and the order of the metalinguistic discourse more directly visible, by means of schemes, paragraphs, and columns, subdivisions by subheadings, all of which helps readers follow the argument more easily.[14]

Other grammarians composed their works with women among their intended readers, often associating them with young people or foreigners. Cases in point are *Le Tre Fontane* (*The Three Fountains*) by the Friulian Nicolò Liburnio (1474–1557), meant, among others, for '[l]'honeste et virtuose donne d'Italia' (Liburnio 1526: fol. 2r; 'the honest and virtuous women of Italy'), or *De' commentarii della lingua italiana.* [...] *Libri sette* (*Commentaries of the Italian Language* [...] *in Seven Books*) by the polygraph Girolamo Ruscelli from Viterbo (c.1504–1566), published posthumously in Venice in 1581.[15] Of the seven books, Book II is a detailed grammatical exposition of the rules of Tuscan meant for learned people, scholars, and those more broadly interested in acquiring the literary vernacular while already knowing Latin. Book III, instead, offers 'un sommario brieve et espedito' ('a brief and effective summary') of the same material, but stripped of the inessential, a condensed version of the grammar of the vernacular, expounded with clarity, brevity, and immediacy, omitting lengthy explanations, detailed definitions, minutiae on linguistic disputes, or extensive examples.[16] The intended readers are now women, children, young people, foreigners, and 'tutti quelli che non sanno lettere latine' ('all those who have no knowledge of Latin'), women and children being associated by their perceived limited intellectual and linguistic abilities.

Given women's restricted access to education, it would be unrealistic to expect to find printed works of grammar *by* female authors in sixteenth-century Italy. Nonetheless, women, as intended readers and addressees, played an important role in the process of simplification and increased accessibility of grammars.

Interestingly, in the first part of the seventeenth century, references to women in promoting or receiving works on grammar are harder to trace. Grammar production is less rich and original compared to the previous century and is

[13] See Sanson (2005: 422–7). [14] See Chartier (1994).

[15] For a modern edition of the *Commentarii*, see Ruscelli (2016).

[16] A glance at the 'Tavola de' capitoli' ('Index of the Chapters') is already revealing in this regard: compared with the forty-three headings detailing the topics discussed in Book II, Book III presents only one: 'Epitome del secondo libro' ('Summary of the Second Book'). The 302 pages and forty-four chapters of the former are reduced to eighty-one in the latter.

overshadowed by the publication of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612; *Dictionary of the Academicians of the Crusca*) and the rich, lively production of polemical writings—in favour of or against the perceived linguistic tyranny of the Accademia della Crusca (the oldest linguistic academy in Europe, founded in 1583)—that ensued (Marazzini 1993a). Moreover, women were displaced from their role as privileged recipients of polite literature, and the seventeenth century saw an increase in misogynistic literary production, in contrast to the (relatively) more philogynistic sixteenth century.[17]

2.2.3 Women translators

As we have seen, sixteenth-century authors and publishers, aiming to expand their market, increasingly targeted female readers, often adopting clear strategies to appeal to them.[18] The Venetian publisher Gabriele Giolito and his collaborators, for instance, published texts that focused on the *Querelle des femmes*, works by women, as well as literary and non-literary works dedicated to female readers. They also strategically devoted their attention to translations into the vernacular. For readers with limited or no access to Latin or modern languages, translations were a useful means of acquiring otherwise inaccessible knowledge. Needless to say, they played an important role for women. Works of astronomy, philosophy, history, conduct literature, chivalric romances, and theatre, among others, were translated into Italian, from Latin and Greek, but also from Spanish (and later from French), and dedicated to female figures.[19]

Women also engaged directly in translation, often for the benefit of other women. They usually translated from Latin, the study of which was usually considered unsuitable for them (Sanson 2011: 31–9). Making this elitist culture more available entailed the adoption of a more accessible language resulting in more books in the vernacular being circulated. Translating a text into the vernacular meant also implicitly adopting a stance within the *Questione della lingua* and entering the debates on translation. These were particularly rife from 1530 to 1540, and in 1556 the first Italian work devoted entirely to the theory of translation, Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano's *Dialogo del modo de lo tradurre* (*Dialogue on How to Translate*), was published in Venice. According to some, the rendering into the vernacular of Latin works was a dumbing down of the greatness and richness of the classical tradition, but in the course of the century these views were

[17] See Cox (2008: 166–95). [18] See Dialeti (2004).

[19] See Sanson (2011: 39–45). Despite women's often restricted access to the study of classical languages, it is worth remembering that, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, 'Italy produced more women who wrote Latin, both in verse and prose, than any other country in Europe' (Stevenson 2005: 141).

replaced by more positive ones that saw translation as a means to combine the 'utile e dilettevole' ('useful and entertaining').

Once the literary vernacular had established itself as a prestigious language of culture, translators could approach the original texts with what they thought was equal freedom, their loyalty directed at the expectations of their reading public rather than towards the authors of the past. This change in perception of what translation entailed allowed for an increased presence of women translators. Ippolita Clara (1487–1540), from Alessandria, alongside 300 original verse compositions in the vernacular, undertook a translation (in tercets) of the first six books of the *Aeneid* for the benefit of the 'indotte donne [...] che non intend [o]no la latina lingua' (cited in Albonico 1989: 368; 'unlearned women [...] who do not know Latin'). The *captatio benevolentiae* of her work included her apologies for her limited knowledge of Tuscan, and for the 'migliaia d'errori che 'l mio debil occhio non vede' (cited in Albonico 1989: 367; 'thousands of mistakes that my weak eyes cannot see'), a consideration, of course, of no small importance given that, as was the case for all non-Tuscan translators at the time, neither her source nor her target language were her mother tongue.

Other women translated religious texts, including the penitential Psalms. In 1564, the poet Laura Battiferri Ammannati (1523–1589), from Urbino, published *I sette salmi penitentiali del santissimo profeta Davit. Tradotti in lingua toscana* (*The Seven Penitential Psalms of the Very Blessed Prophet David. Translated into Tuscan*), dedicated to Vittoria Farnese della Rovere, Duchess of Urbino, wife of Duke Guidubaldo II, and granddaughter of the Farnese Pope Paul III.[20] Chiara Matraini (1515–1604), from Lucca, published in 1586 *Considerationi sopra i sette salmi penitentiali del gran re, e profeta Davit* (*Observations about the Seven Penitential Psalms of the Great King and Prophet David*), an example of translation *cum* scholarship: Matraini expounded and commented on the Latin original text and, together with her comments, also implicitly gave a translation of the Latin into the vernacular for her less Latinate readers. In 1556, she had also brought out in Florence her translation, via Latin, of Isocrates's *To Demonicus* (Isocrates 1556).[21] Unfortunately, we often know little about the lives of these women of letters, the specific details of how—and to what extent—they mastered Latin, or indeed which metalinguistic tools they used.

Other women translated from Greek into the vernacular or even occasionally into Latin: Olympia Fulvia Morata (1526–1555), from Ferrara, the daughter of the well-known humanist, Fulvio Pellegrino Morato, besides translating seven Psalms

[20] There were subsequent editions in 1566 and 1570. On women translators of biblical texts, including Battiferri Ammannati's translation of the Psalms, see Tylus (2019).

[21] The translation was then recast by Matraini in the form of a letter to her son Federigo Cantarini in her *Lettere* (Matraini 1595: 27–33).

from Greek into Latin, also translated into Latin the first two *novelle* ('short stories') of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.[22] Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617) from Modena, learned woman of letters, and renowned singer, and granddaughter of the humanist scholar Francesco Maria Molza, studied 'i principi della gramatica' ('the rules of grammar'), that is, Latin, with her brothers under the tutorship of Giovanni Poliziani. Later she studied Greek. She translated, among other works, Plato's *Charmides* and *Crito*, fragments from Plutarch's lost work *De anima*, and part of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Her translations were published only in the eighteenth century (Molza 1750). Other women translated into Italian texts originally in Hebrew, such as Debora (Devorà) Ascarelli (dates unknown), from Rome, said to be the first Jewish woman whose writings were printed. In 1601 some of her works were published by Daniele Zanetti in Venice, edited by David ben Joseph della Rocca ('David della Rocca Hebreo'). The volume includes Ascarelli's translation of four short sacred texts from Hebrew, the first of which, the *Me'on ha-sho'alim* (*Abode of the Supplicants*)—by which the book is known—is the work of the fourteenth-century rabbi, physician and poet Mosè Rieti from Perugia. It also comprises two short poems by Ascarelli, composed perhaps decades earlier, and an anonymous poem dedicated to her (Rieti et al. 1601; 2nd edn Venice, 1609).

Nuns too devoted themselves to translation. In his *La nobiltà di Milano* (1595; *The Nobility of Milan*), the historian Paolo Morigia explained that in his time, both outside and within convent walls, there were women who had knowledge of Latin and Latin culture and 'hanno tradotto molte cose nella lingua volgare' (Morigia 1619 [1595]: 272; 'have translated many things into the vernacular'). This was not only the case in Milanese convents. An interesting example is that of sister Angelica Baitelli (1588–1650) who composed the annals of her convent, S. Giulia in Brescia, from its foundation in 740 until her own time, by translating from Latin into the vernacular the various privileges accorded to the convent throughout the centuries. The beneficiaries of her intellectual endeavours, the *Annali historici* (1657) (Figure 2.1), were the other nuns and future abbesses, given that, she explained, 'rara volta intendono l'idioma latino' (Baitelli 1657: 6; 'they rarely understand the Latin language'). Baitelli adopted a philological approach to her translation based on the manuscripts preserved in S. Giulia, producing a hybrid text which is a work of scholarship in more ways than one. Alongside her translation into the vernacular, she included her own comments and observations on specific events related to the benefactors of the monastery, the disputes the nuns were involved in, and the historical period in which they lived, at times rectifying certain points made by previous historians.

[22] Her Latin and Greek works were published posthumously for the first time in Basel in 1558 by Celio Curione (Morata 1558), a professor at the University of Basel and close friend of Morata's father. The two translations were only included in the complete edition of her writings published a few years later (Morata 1562), and in the 1570 and 1580 editions, all printed in Basel.

ANNALI
HISTORICI
Dell'Edificatione Erettione, & Dotatione del Sereniſſimo Monaſterio di S. Saluatore, & S. Giulia di Breſcia.

Alla S. Sede Apoſtolica, & alla Regia Podeſtà immediatamente ſottopoſto.

CONTENGONO

Il Cattalogo delle Santiſſime Reliquie che nelle ſue S. S. Chieſe ripoſano.

Et tutti li Priuilegij conceſſili dalli Sommi Pontefici, Imperatori, Rè, Prencipi, & Ducchi.

Dall'anno della ſua fondatione
D CC LX.
Sino al preſente ſecolo
M DC LVII.

Di D. Angelica Baitelli Minima Monaca del Sereniſſimo Monaſterio.

IN BRESCIA, M. DCLVII.
Per Antonio Rizzardi. *Con Lic. de' Sup.*

Figure 2.1 Angelica Baitelli, *Annali historici dell'edificatione erettione, & dotatione del Serenissimo Monasterio di S. Salvatore, & S. Giulia di Brescia* (1657), title page (Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, U 017 004 003).

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Women devoted themselves to translation often alongside producing original verse compositions. For women, translation was not an ancillary activity, or merely a stepping stone onto the literary stage, but rather a form of scholarship and language study. Linguistic scholarship was already intrinsic to the process of choosing and then translating a text from one language into another, neither of which, as mentioned earlier, were necessarily their mother tongues.

2.3 The eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century, women's presence in social and cultural life flourished again under French influence. Rich discussions on women and language, in terms of linguistic disputes, education, and grammatical codification, pervaded the peninsula. Italian was still an uncertain tool for expression: outside Tuscany and (to an extent) Rome, it was little and badly spoken. Using Tuscan outside Tuscany was a clear affectation, which risked ridicule. Across the peninsula, remarked the Piedmontese Giuseppe Baretti in *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, the dialects were preserved 'in what may be called their barbarous purity' and, although 'all the Italians endeavour to write in the language of Tuscany', he continued, 'in their daily intercourse [they] use the speech of their own narrow districts, and never trouble their heads with the language of Tuscany but when they converse with strangers' (Baretti 1768: II, 183).

2.3.1 Ideas on women's language

Because of the very nature of the Italian language and its written identity, women could not easily engage in the codification of Italian or claim any authority on language use. The well-known grammarian of Italian for French ladies, Annibale Antonini, originally from Messina but active in Paris, had touched upon this in the opening pages of his *Traité de la grammaire italienne, dedié à la Reine* (*Treatise on Italian Grammar, Dedicated to the Queen*) of 1726. Women in Italy could not have any influence on language use, contrary to what French ladies were deemed to have in seventeenth-century France, as Claude Favre de Vaugelas had suggested in his 1647 *Remarques sur la langue française* (*Remarks on the French Language*).[23] This was because, Antonini wrote, Italian was a dead language, inasmuch as its rules and vocabulary were all taken from the ancient authors. This meant that its rules did not change and were shielded from the 'tirannie et [...] caprices de l'usage' (Antonini 1726: xvi; 'the tyranny and [...] whims of usage'), on which

[23] See Chapter 3.

women could perhaps have had some inevitably negative influence. Italian was also in part a 'living' language: usage was not established by the people at court, but fixed by men of letters and writers. This is why, he continued, although there was more appreciation and respect for ladies in Italy than anywhere else, 'la complaisance pour elles ne va pourtant pas jusqu'à leur donner aucun droit sur la Langue' (Antonini 1726: xvii; 'the indulgence towards them does not go as far as giving them any kind of right on language').

As for Latin, it continued to be considered unsuitable for women, but some openings towards the benefit of studying the classical languages can be found in the writings of contemporary educationalists and theorists.[24] Misogynistic attitudes resulted in women being easily accused of displaying affectation in their speech, whether by using what was deemed bookish Italian or for indulging in the use of French rather than Italian. French was, in fact, in some parts of the peninsula and among the higher social ranks, more commonly used than Italian in conversation. The cleric and writer Pietro Chiari, in his *Lettere scelte* (1751–1765; *Selected Letters*), wrote that women seemed to suffer from some sort of 'mal francese' ('French disease', clearly playing on the fact that 'il mal francese' is a euphemism for 'syphilis'), and that '[s]i vergognano di parlare la lingua della loro patria' (Chiari 1751–1765: II, 145–6; 'they are ashamed to speak the language of their country'). Women's supposedly excessive use of French was considered the reason for the perceived linguistic and moral decadence of the peninsula that concerned all speakers, but particularly the female sex.

In parallel to these accusations levelled at women, we find a number of treatises on women's education in which moralists stressed that women *should* be directed to an in-depth study of Italian. Friar Gioachino Trioli, in *L'educazione delle fanciulle* (1765; *The Education of Young Girls*), for instance, while pointing out that women's destiny was the propagation of the species and domestic life, deplored their poor linguistic knowledge and insisted that young girls read good Italian books, of proper moral content, and even have a daily lesson in Italian grammar (Trioli 1765: cxxvii). Reflecting the spirit of the Enlightenment, moralists and educationalists started to support a better education for women so that they could in turn better educate their children, for the greater good of society. Nonetheless, they did not go as far as supporting co-education or an identical curriculum for boys and girls. There was in any case no state schooling provision for young girls, who would study (if they studied) either at home or, to a limited degree, in religious establishments, *educandati* ('convent schools'), or *conservatori* ('conservatories').

[24] For a more detailed analysis of the relationship between women and Latin in Enlightenment Italy, see Sanson (2015).

2.3.2 Women and grammar production

In 1774, an anonymous treatise, *Colloquio sopra gli studi delle donne* (*Dialogue Concerning the Studies of Women*), was published in Udine: structured as a fictional dialogue between three illustrious women from the past—Arete, mother of the philosopher Aristippus, Queen Christina of Sweden, and the Renaissance poet Vittoria Colonna—the text was intended to convince readers of the advantages of an appropriate education, beneficial both to women and to society in general. Interestingly, the anonymous author also argues, through Christina of Sweden, that women should study Italian grammar and that grammars specifically suitable for their intellect should be produced (*Colloquio* 1774: 177). Instead of current, traditional grammars that contained superfluous, confusing, and occasionally even erroneous rules, grammarians should follow the method adopted in Lancelot's *Nouvelle méthode* (*Colloquio* 1774: 206).

Nevertheless, unlike in France, where there are a number of *grammaires des dames/pour les dames* meant to help in the process of learning French, we do not find in Italy an equivalent production of grammars of Italian *per le dame* ('for the ladies').[25] Women are not explicitly envisaged as readers of the best-known Italian grammars of the eighteenth century (which does not mean, of course, that they would not have used these grammars for their studies), and we do not find Italian grammars specifically designed with a female readership in mind.[26] Italian, as discussed above, was not commonly spoken across the peninsula. In comparison with French, it might not have been perceived as 'fashionable' enough among higher-rank women to shine in society and therefore be worthy of study.

This also explains why Italian women, especially from the end of the seventeenth century, were very much the intended audience of French grammars published in Italy. Considering that French was fashionable among the smart set and the bourgeoisie, women's indirect contribution to language codification in eighteenth-century Italy seems to belong to the field of French, rather than Italian, grammars.[27] Jean-Charles Munier's 1720 *Nuovo metodo per insegnare il francese agl'italiani* (*New Method to Teach French to Italians*), for instance, was composed for the benefit of the 'Signore Dame' ('the ladies'). Its intended readership is made even more explicit in the title of the 1736 edition: *Grammaire françoise ou la nouvelle & véritable métode pour enseigner la langue françoise, autant aux dames,*

[25] We do find in Italy, as in other European countries, several works of chemistry, theology, astronomy, botany, or zoology specifically targeting women. One well-known case is Francesco Algarotti's *Newtonianismo per le dame* (1737; *Newtonianism for the Ladies*).

[26] For a more detailed discussion, see Sanson (2011: 209–15).

[27] There is nonetheless a very interesting and varied production of Italian grammars for women in France at this time. On these works, their content and structure, see Sanson (2014, 2016, 2017). On grammars 'for the ladies' across Europe, see Ayres-Bennett (1994a) and Beck-Busse (2014).

qu'aux messieurs italiens (*French Grammar, or New and Veritable Method to Teach the French Language, both to Italian Ladies and Gentlemen*).

In the eighteenth century we also find the first grammars of Italian dialects, including the first grammatical description of Neapolitan (Galiani 1779), and in the second half of the century the publication of several dialect dictionaries, of Bresciano, Venetian and Paduan, Neapolitan, and Sicilian.[28] These grammars contributed to changing the (false) perception that only the grammar of a 'language', specifically Italian, could be described, and not that of a 'dialect'. In this respect, for instance, an aristocratic woman acted as a 'royal grammatical muse', a protector of metalinguistic works in the Piedmontese dialect: the long-existing ambitions to codify and standardize the regional dialect of Piedmont reached a high point with the publication of the *Gramatica piemontese* (1783; *Piedmontese Grammar*) and the *Vocabolario piemontese* (1783; *Piedmontese Dictionary*), both compiled by the physician Maurizio Pipino (1739–1788) and dedicated to Maria Adelaide Clotilde Saveria of France, Princess of Piedmont, the younger sister of Louis XVI of France and from 1775 wife of Carlo Emanuele IV, Prince of Piedmont and heir to the throne of Sardinia. In Piedmont, Piedmontese was the preferred means of expression across all social strata, with French also favoured by the educated elite, and Italian limited to the court. Maria Adelaide had decided to learn Piedmontese, thereby encouraging Pipino to compile a dictionary of the language, as well as a grammar (the model was the language spoken at the Turinese court), hoping to promote Piedmontese as a written medium.

2.3.3 Translation as scholarship

In eighteenth-century Italy, women devoted themselves to learning classical and modern languages and, increasingly, to the activity of translation. Women across the peninsula applied themselves to language study and reflection by means of translating a rich variety of texts, ranging from poetry, novels, and plays to history, biography, conduct literature, economic and legal texts, and religious and devotional writings. My research has uncovered so far more than a hundred women translators active between the end of the seventeenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth.

Women who published translations often saw their work, as discussed earlier, as a form of scholarship. The process involved refined scholarly skills in interpreting the text, reproducing it in the target language, and choosing the appropriate words for making foreign syntax and content accessible to an altogether different linguistic and socio-literary milieu. Female translators were active across

[28] The first grammatical descriptions of other Romance languages used in the territory of what is now Italy also date back to this time, such as that of Logudorese, in 1782, a variety of Sardinian.

the peninsula, contributing to the circulation of knowledge and ideas. Especially in light of its conservative, literary nature, they also contributed to making Italian a subtler, and more modern, tool of expression. In the Republic of Venice, for instance, Luisa Bergalli Gozzi (1703–1799) translated Terence (1727, 1728a, 1728b, 1729, 1730, 1731; also 1735), Racine (1736), and Molière (1745); Elisabetta Caminer Turra (1751–1796), between 1772 and 1794, produced ten volumes of translated plays from English, German, Danish, and Russian (via French) (Caminer Turra 1772, 1774–1776, 1794); and Giustina Renier Michiel (1755–1832) translated Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *Coriolanus* into Italian (Shakespeare 1798–1800). In Tuscany, Teresa Carniani Malvezzi (1785–1859) translated Cicero (1827, 1828, 1830, 1835, 1836) and Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*, and Maria Selvaggia Borghini (1654–1731) translated Tertullian's moral works (Tertullian 1756, 2nd edn 1821). In Naples, Eleonora Fonseca Pimentel (1752–1799) translated Nicolò Caravita's *Nullum ius Pontificis Maximi in Regno Neapolitano* (1707; *The Pope Has No Right in the Kingdom of Naples*), on political economics (Caravita 1790), and in Sicily in 1774 Anna Gentile published her translation of Voltaire's *Marianne*.

Alongside Enlightenment Italy's remarkable record of female figures in the sciences, some women also acted as translators and summarizers of foreign scientific texts. Again in Naples, Marianna Vigilante published in 1789 her translation of Isaac Watts's *The First Principles of Astronomy and Geography* (1726), accompanied by her own learned observations in the footnotes of the text, and the works of Stephen Hales were translated in three volumes by Maria Angela Ardinghelli (1730–1825) and published in 1750, 1752, 1756, and again in 1776. After, and despite, Galileo's decision to turn to the use of the vernacular in some of his scientific writings in the seventeenth century, scientific works in the peninsula had indeed continued to be predominantly in Latin, until the end of the eighteenth century.[29] In terms of language, women's translations of scientific or more technical texts into Italian helped expand the lexicon in fields where there was a great need for modernity and innovation. Besides displaying their erudition and scientific knowledge in the paratextual material, in their works the translators show evidence of their attention to language issues. The translation of René Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* in 1722 by the Neapolitan Giuseppa Eleonora Barbapiccola (1702–1744), which had been undertaken in particular for women, bears witness in the learned preface to her awareness, deduced from her philosophical readings, of the evolution of vernacular languages and language theory.

By means of translation, women could offer, in some instances, a more direct contribution to language codification. One example, in the field of dialect codification, is *La chiaqlira dla banzôla* (1742; *The Gossip on the Chair*),[30] that is, a

[29] From then on, the use of Italian as a language of science was to be replaced by French and then by English (Altieri Biagi 2013: 1). See also Gordin (2015).

[30] The work had further editions in 1777, 1813, 1839, and, seemingly, in 1872.

Bolognese translation of the original Neapolitan collection of fairy tales, *Lo cunto de li cunti* (1634–1636; *The Tale of Tales*), also known as the *Pentamerone*, by the Neapolitan Giambattista Basile (1566–1632). *La chiaqlira dla banzôla* is the work of the sisters Maddalena (1673–1744) and Teresa (1679–1767) Manfredi, and Teresa (1693–1732) and Angiola (1703–1735) Zanotti.[31] The translators came from families of intellectuals (their brothers were the well-known mathematician, astronomer, and poet Eustachio Manfredi, the historian Giampietro Zanotti, and the philosopher Francesco Zanotti).

The sisters Manfredi and Zanotti had already undertaken a similar enterprise with the translation from Italian into Bolognese of the poem in ottava rima, *Bertoldo con Bertoldino e Cacasenno* (1736; *Bertoldo with Bertoldino and Cacasenno*), publishing the poem in three volumes in 1740–1741 with the Bolognese parallel text (Figure 2.2). This fifth edition of the poem, with more than eleven reprints, was the Bolognese bestseller of the century, and this translation,

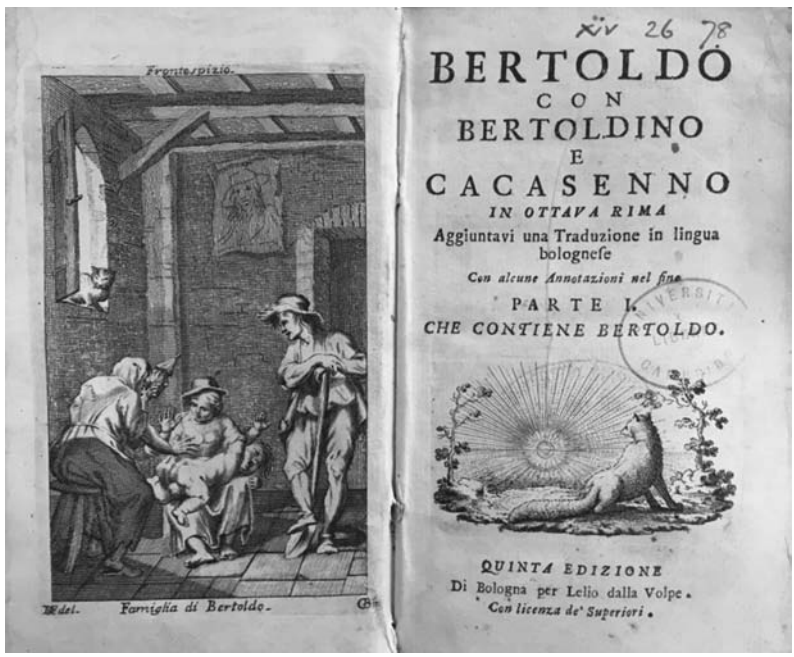

Figure 2.2 *Bertoldo con Bertoldino e Cacasenno*, 5th edn, 3 vols (1740–1741), vol. 1, title page, with a Bolognese parallel text by the sisters Manfredi and Zanotti (Cambridge University Library, XIV.26.78).

Photograph by Helena Sanson. Reproduced with kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

[31] On dialectal translation in the eighteenth century, see Cortelazzo (1980: 115–18). On the sisters Manfredi and Zanotti, see Bandini Buti (1946: I, 372–3; II, 371–2). For a modern edition of *La chiaqlira dla banzôla*, see Basile (1988).

together with *La chaqlira*, marked a turning point in fixing the rules and spelling of the Bolognese dialect, becoming a model for all subsequent works of this kind.

However, it was in the second half of the nineteenth century that women's contribution to the codification of Italian and the Italian dialects really expanded in quantity and genre, against the background of a progressive extension of educational possibilities for the female sex and in relation to the political process that would eventually lead to the unification of the peninsula.

2.4 The nineteenth century and the post-Unification period

Especially from the 1840s onwards, male *and* female educationalists wrote about the centrality of the mother figure in giving children their first linguistic education in Italian. The figure of the 'madre educatrice',[32] the mother as educator, including of language, had already emerged in the eighteenth century, but it was only now that it was fully developed, allowing women a more central role in the history of the language and its codification. In her *Vantaggi della donna istruita* (1841; *The Advantages of an Educated Woman*), Francesca Buzzi-Bonfichi strongly encouraged women to promote Italian and relinquish the use of dialect: 'che fruirebbe la italiana favella, se ognuna di voi [...] la ponesse su le vezzose labbra de' suoi parvoli cari!' (Buzzi-Bonfichi 1841: 132; 'how strongly would the Italian language benefit from the fact that each one of you [...] made sure it was on the lips of your dear children!'). Then all Italians, she continued, would be ashamed to see their language badly spoken across the peninsula.

Often, statements like these were made in the name of strong patriotic stances and politicized declarations in which educationalists and moralists justified their claims based on the good of society. However, even female educationalists who upheld the importance of women's access to education placed clear limits on the kind of studies considered suitable for young girls. Anna Vertua Gentile claimed in *Per la mamma educatrice* (1894; *For the Mother as Educator*) that it was a mother's duty to instruct her children and seriously ensure her daughters were 'bene' and 'ragionevolmente istruit[e]' (Vertua Gentile 1894: 177; 'well' and 'reasonably educated'). She also strictly linked girls' education to their practical needs as future wives and mothers, openly suggesting in her *Come devo comportarmi?* (1897; *How Should I Behave?*) that it was preferable not to let them attend school after the age of 14, but rather have them educated at home 'sotto l'occhio vigile e amorevole del babbo e della mamma' (Vertua Gentile 1905 [1897]: 90; 'under the attentive gaze of their father and mother').[33]

[32] See Sanson (2013b).
[33] I quote here from the fourth edition of the text, revised and expanded.

Nevertheless, the everyday linguistic reality of the peninsula was one in which, on average, 78 per cent of the population was illiterate, with the percentage of female illiteracy reaching 90 per cent in some parts of the south and the islands. These women were monolingual dialect speakers with little or no literacy who could hardly become linguistic educators of Italian. For the situation to improve, time was needed, as was a free state schooling system open to both sexes, something which was finally created after the unification of Italy in 1861, first with the Casati Law of 1859 (extended from Piedmont to the rest of the peninsula) and the Coppino Law of 1877.

Since mothers could not be in charge of the linguistic education of the new Italian citizens, the closest figure potentially to fulfil that crucial role was the primary school teacher, the 'maestra'. Trained at the Scuole Normali, teachers' training colleges, the 'maestra' was considered a 'motherly' figure who could fulfil the mother's role as educator when she was unable to do so. The role of 'maestre' in spreading the Italian language across the peninsula is one that should not be overlooked and represents an important grass-roots contribution to the codification and establishment of what was to become the 'national' spoken language.[34] Posted away from their hometown, they lived and worked in often precarious conditions, being grossly underpaid (and paid much less than their male counterparts) and, as single women, exposed also to attacks on their reputation.

A number of periodical publications, often edited by women, explicitly targeted mothers and teachers in the years following unification, contributing to improving and spreading knowledge of the national language. Some journals, such as *La donna e la famiglia* (*The Woman and the Family*), *La maestra educatrice* (*The Female Primary School Teacher as Educator*), and *Il corriere delle maestre* (*The Journal of Female Primary School Teachers*), also published articles that specifically dealt with issues related to language education, aimed at both mothers at home and teachers in the classroom. Some periodicals did this systematically: the Genoese magazine *La donna e la famiglia* (*The Woman and the Family*), published between 1863 and 1865 a series of studies on the Italian language composed by Countess Marina Sprea Baroni (Caira Lumetti 1985: 52, n. 12). Subdivided by semantic fields, they were intended to offer solid help in learning vocabulary for everyday aspects of life (which was usually covered by the dialect), as well as concrete examples of Italian morphology and syntax. Aiming to support further their intended readers, the lessons were structured as reproducible dialogues.

By the end of the nineteenth century, women had been assigned, at least in theory, a quasi-official role as teachers of the Italian language. It is therefore unsurprising to find in these years their first contribution to the normativization of language use and to linguistic codification by means of grammatical works, reading manuals, and other kinds of publications.

[34] See on this Sanson (2011: 275–84).

2.4.1 Women as 'teachers' of Italian

In a number of nineteenth-century conduct books and etiquette manuals by both male and female authors, intended primarily for the middle classes, we find a recurrent preoccupation that women ought to, if not abandon, at least restrict their use of dialect to well-defined contexts and occasions. They should, instead, favour the more civilized (and patriotic) Italian. In *Le buone usanze* (1897; *Good Manners*), for instance, the Turinese Mantea (pseudonym of Gina Sobrero; 1863–1912) deplored the usage of the local dialect in refined salons at the expense of Italian. It was unseemly for the lady of the household to converse in her own local dialect in the presence of people from different provinces, thus excluding or embarrassing those who did not know it. Instead, she stated, '[s]arebbe desiderabile che in tutte le provincie si parlasse lo stesso idioma; forse allora si avrebbe la vera unità di cuore e di pensiero che forma la forza d'una nazione' (Mantea 1897: 174; 'It would be desirable that the same idiom was spoken across all provinces; perhaps then we would have that unity of heart and thought that is the strength of a nation').

By the second half of the century, debates on the *Questione* focused on the spoken language: the absence of a truly common language that could give a sense of unity to the recently formed country had now become a pressing issue. The prominent Milanese writer, Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873), publicly upheld, in a variety of influential writings (Manzoni 2000a, 2000b), the view that the spoken language of the kingdom should be the educated Tuscan used in contemporary Florence, a view which did not realistically take into account the high levels of illiteracy of the peninsula.

It is against this background that we find a varied production of handbooks on correct lexical and morphological choices, warning speakers against interferences between Italian and dialectal terms and expressions. Women made their contribution to this metalinguistic production, with works such as *Voci e modi errati. Saggio di correzione di idiotismi e d'altri errori dell'uso milanese* (1898; *Erroneous Words and Expressions: Essay on the Correction of Peculiar Expressions and other Mistakes of Milanese Usage*) by the two sisters Rosa (1864–1946) and Emilia Errera (1866–1901)—both teachers in Milan, but originally from a well-to-do Venetian family—who enjoyed a certain success as authors of children's literature and school texts. Intended for school pupils and teachers, *Voci e modi errati* also reached out to a wider readership. It is subdivided into brief chapters by semantic fields, referring, for instance, to 'the house', 'the school', 'shops', 'clothing', 'visits', 'illnesses', and 'various subjects', and proscribing dialectal terms and expressions that had entered the Italian language, as well as outdated lexical forms or Gallicisms in use in the city of Milan. The work follows a repetitive pattern with a sentence, or series of sentences, first presented in a version that is marred by linguistic 'improprieties' (in terms of lexicon, morphology, or syntax), and then

followed by a comment and point-by-point explanation of why a certain form is wrong and what the correct form should be. The original sentence is then repeated without mistakes following proper Tuscan usage.

Other works by women aimed to bridge the gap between dialect and correct Italian by focusing in particular on lexicon. Among these, Emilia Thomas-Fusi's *Manualetto di nomenclatura dei lavori femminili* (1870; *Short Lexicon Manual of Female Knitting and Needlework*) offered both practical guidance to execute different types of needlework and knitting and, in its sixth edition of 1896, a handy dictionary of the nomenclature in use in both Italian and a range of Italian dialects. Similarly, Sofia Cavazzutti's 1880 *Manualetto di nomenclatura romagnola-italiana dei lavori femminili in forma di quadri sinottici* (*Short Manual of Romagnol and Italian Nomenclature of Female Knitting and Needlework*) was composed for the use of primary schools and families, and accompanied by synoptic tables.

2.4.2 Women as grammarians

The existence of separate classes for boys and girls in the national educational system meant that a specific production of texts designed for the acquisition of Italian, including grammars, developed to target female pupils. From the 1860s onwards, and especially towards the end of the century, we find a marked increase in texts *per le giovanette/giovinette*, *fanciulle*, or *alunne* ('for young girls', 'female pupils'), of various types, including *letture* ('readings')—often accompanied by the adjectives *morali* or *educative* ('moral' or 'educational')—*dialoghi* ('dialogues'), *racconti* ('short stories'), *commediole* ('short comedies'), or *antologie* ('anthologies'). While providing initial access to the national language,[35] they also offered sound moral (and patriotic) values to help form good future housewives, mothers, and citizens.

Several authors who composed grammars, reading manuals, and primers that targeted children (boys *and* girls) in particular, and combined moral and linguistic instruction, were women. Unsurprisingly, many were 'maestre'. Some became quite popular, such as the Florentine Ida Baccini (1850–1911), who was well known as an educationalist, periodical director, and writer of children's literature. She also wrote grammars of Italian for school pupils (Baccini 1882, 1893).

The growing presence of an infrastructure of specialized publishing houses, driven by profit, was crucial, since they were open to accepting grammatical handbooks and manuals by female authors as well as male.[36] One example is volume 205 of the 'Biblioteca utile' ('Useful Library') published by Treves in

[35] On the main features of the language used in this type of production, see Fresu (2019).

[36] More broadly on women producing school and educational texts between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Magazzeni (2019).

Milan: Sarina Corgialegno's *Grammatica della mamma, ossia Avviamento allo studio della grammatica* (*Grammar for the Mother, or an Introduction to the Study of Grammar*), subdivided into nineteen conversations between a mother and her children, was published in 1875 and was intended for school pupils. In her prefatory note to parents and teachers, Corgialegno explained that the purpose of her *operetta* ('little work') was to make the first study of grammar pleasant for children. She did not claim to have written 'un trattato completo di grammatica' ('an exhaustive treatise on grammar') but rather her aim was to 'avviarli allo studio d'essa' (Corgialegno 1875: 1–2; 'introduce children to the study of it'). Similar in aim and content is *Enrichetto e Lina, o La grammatica in famiglia* (*Enrichetto and Lina, or Grammar in the Family*), a twelve-chapter dialogue by the Milanese Maria Viani-Visconti Cavanna (*c.*1835–1926), a science teacher in the primary school system who was also a prolific translator and children's writer. Published in 1882,[37] this work was presented simply as an 'introduction' to the study of grammar, testifying to the author's awareness of the implicit boundaries and limits placed on women's contribution to grammar codification.

Deifile Bindi Bulgarini (1869, 1874), Angiolina Bulgarini (1878), Adalgisa Costa (1886, 1909, 1916), Camilla Stazi-Mattioli (1899), Emma Bassi (1900, 1906), Eugenia Casilli (1900), and Camilla Bevilacqua-Odetti (1907) are only some of the female grammarians who wrote grammars in post-Unification Italy,[38] but very little, if anything, is known about their lives. Similarly, few copies of their metalinguistic works are preserved, the cheap paper used to print them being indicative of their intended readership and disposable nature.

Women increasingly contributed to compiling school textbooks on foreign languages, most frequently French, but also German and English; these, too, were often targeted specifically at young girls, or young pupils of both sexes. Among these are the *Vocabolario domestico francese* (1876; *French Domestic Dictionary*) by Clementina Scagliarini, *La lingua tedesca insegnata senza maestro* (1888; *The German Language Taught Without a Teacher*) by Emma Widmer-Gotelli, and the *Corso di lingua francese. Libro di lettura per la terza classe* (1897; *French Language Course: Third-Year Reading Manual*) by Virginia Riva. In Florence, Eugenia Levi devoted her efforts to German, publishing her *Deutsch. Tradizioni, storia, cultura, paese e costumi dei Tedeschi. Letture scelte e annotate* (1899; *German: Traditions, History, Culture, Country, and Costume of the*

[37] Women who contributed to this type of pedagogical production on language often tried their hands at various other related genres. In the case of Viani Visconti, for instance, a quick search in electronic library catalogues reveals more than a hundred entries under her name, ranging from works on science, zoology, mineralogy, and chemistry, as well as moral readings for the female sex, children in the rural areas, and factory workers.

[38] For a more detailed discussion of women authors of grammars of Italian in post-Unification Italy, see Sanson (2011: 307–24). For a bibliography of school grammars in post-Unification Italy, see Catricalà (1991).

Germans. Selected and Annotated Readings) in two volumes, comprising a detailed grammar of the language and a selection of reading passages.

2.4.3 Women as collectors and scholars of language

Women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contributed to the study and codification not only of Italian and foreign languages but also of some dialects.

In the nineteenth century, Italy saw the birth and development of Italian dialectology as a scientific discipline. In the second half of the century, interest in the dialects grew exponentially, with figures such as Bernardino Biondelli and his *Saggio sui dialetti gallo-italici* (1853; *Essay on the Gallo-Italic Dialects*), Attilio Zuccagni Orlandini and his 1864 *Raccolta di dialetti italiani*—a collection of translations of a realistic sample dialogue between a master and a servant in different dialects—, Giovanni Papanti and his 1875 *I parlari italiani in Certaldo alla festa del V Centenario di Messer Giovanni Boccacci* [sic] (*Italian Idioms in Certaldo on the Occasion of the 5th Centenary of Messer Giovanni Boccaccio*), which brought together 700 versions of the first story of the first day of the *Decameron*, and Graziadio Isaia Ascoli and his journal *Archivio glottologico italiano*, first published in 1872. Italian dialectology took on a completely different dimension.

It is in this general context of increasing attention for the local dialects that we find an interesting contribution by women as 'collectors' of local folklore and, consequently, language usage and lexicon. One example is the poet and novelist Caterina Percoto (1812–1887) from Udine in Friuli, who used both Italian and Friulian in her writings. Friulian had a written tradition dating back to the late Middle Ages, with a conspicuous literary production throughout the centuries. The poet Pietro Zorutti (1792–1867) and Percoto herself have been considered instrumental in the development of modern Friulian. The variety of the dialect they employed—a central Friulian with elements of the dialect of Gorizia—represents a model with indisputable prestige thanks to the wide diffusion of their writings, one that was adopted by the Società Filologica Friulana (Friulian Philological Society) and which 'ha di molto favorito la formazione e l'affermazione di quella koinè letteraria regionale alla base dell'odierna lingua comune' (Vicario 2014: 104; 'has strongly favoured the formation and affirmation of a regional literary koiné which is the foundation of the present-day common language'). In order to devote herself to writing in Friulian, Percoto carried out some preparatory linguistic work, as can be seen in the still unpublished linguistic observations preserved at the Biblioteca Civica di Udine 'Vincenzo Joppi'.[39]

[39] Caterina Percoto, 'Note linguistiche', Biblioteca Civica di Udine 'Vincenzo Joppi', Fondo Principale, MS 4104/17.

Among these we find a compilation of Friulian expressions and idioms ('Frasi friulane maggio 1863') that collects observations on phonology, including a comparison between Friulian and Italian phonology, as well as on articles, and other points of morphology. She also collected, in a section entitled 'Voci antiquate e dei dialetti toscani' ('Outdated Terms and of Tuscan Dialects'), Friulian and archaic Tuscan terms, besides offering a rich alphabetical list of Friulian terms with no Italian correspondent. Friulian phraseology and sayings, with or without Italian equivalents or translations, also attracted her attention.[40] This kind of linguistic study was necessary background work before she could apply herself to the process of writing her novels and short stories, especially as no other metalinguistic tools were yet available. Other lexicographical studies remained unpublished, such as Piero Someda's *Vocabolario furlano e Toscano* (Biblioteca Civica di Udine, MS 2271; *Friulian and Tuscan Dictionary*), while others, such as the *Vocabolario friulano* (1871) by Jacopo Pirona had not yet appeared. It is worth pointing out how Percoto's linguistic analysis also clearly has a concomitant ethnographic component which, incidentally, predated by a few years Valentino Ostermann's *Proverbi friulani raccolti dalla viva voce del popolo* (1876; *Friulian Proverbs Collected from the Voice of the People*).[41] Percoto was a bilingual writer,[42] and although Friulian, as her mother tongue, was the language most congenial to her, she used it only in shorter compositions such as *novelle*, legends, sketches, and tales.[43]

It is also worth noting, given the fundamental importance of the *Questione della lingua* debates in Italy, that Percoto was among the first women to make her voice heard within this field (Sanson 2010a). An openly public participation in these often-heated debates that involved writers, scholars, and politicians was still beyond women's remit at this time, but Percoto's correspondence with the writer and painter Giulia Codemo (1828–1898) includes some intriguing considerations in terms of ideas on the use of Italian and dialect (Caira Lumetti 1985; Sanson 2010a: 1038–40).

Among the prime motivations of women engaged in folklore and language collection was the compilation and preservation of oral or manuscript material felt to be in danger of being lost to posterity. Sometimes their interest in dialects and the oral tradition was channelled through work on music and songs, as exemplified in their editions of dialectal songs with explanatory notes. Eugenia Levi, from

[40] See also the sayings and expressions collected in 'Carte friulane varie', Biblioteca Civica di Udine 'Vincenzo Joppi', Fondo Principale, MS 4105.

[41] On Percoto's contribution to the codification of Friulian, see also Vicario (2014).

[42] On Percoto, see Tommaseo (1858), Minelli (1907), Scappaticci (1997), Iacobbe (2009), and the conference proceedings *Caterina Percoto. Cent'anni dopo* (1990).

[43] After appearing first in journals and 'almanacchi', her Friulian short stories were also partly collected, in 1863, in the new edition in two volumes (with her own parallel Italian text) of *Racconti* (Genoa: Editrice la direzione del periodico *La donna e la famiglia*). The texts that were not included were published in journals or remained unpublished. On Percoto's Friulian writing, see Percoto (1928, 1988).

Padua, mentioned earlier, published a number of essays in Italian journals and literature anthologies which display an underlying philological attention to, and training in, language.[44] Among her works, *Fiorita di canti tradizionali del popolo italiano* (1895) is an anthology of traditional songs of the Italian people across the peninsula, which clearly, in its title, recalls the *Canti popolari siciliani* (1870–1871, 2 vols; *Popular Sicilian Songs*) collected by the famous Sicilian physician turned philologist and ethnologist Giuseppe Pitrè (1841–1916), author of the monumental, twenty-five volume collection *Bibliografia delle tradizioni popolari d'Italia* (1871–1913; *Bibliography of Italy's Popular Traditions*), which Levi, not coincidentally, mentions in the preface of her work. In her *Fiorita*, Levi links the songs with her interest in the developing discipline of Italian dialectology, explaining that she had organized the 1,250 songs in her anthology on the basis of the dialectal subdivision that Ascoli adopted in his well-known study *L'Italia dialettale* (orig. 1880 in English; republished in Italian in 1882–1885; *Dialectal Italy*). She also provided comments, as well as translations, for those words and expressions that differed most from Italian.

In Sardinia, Grazia Deledda (1871–1936; the first, and so far only, Italian female writer to have been awarded the Nobel Prize, in 1926) devoted her attention to collecting Sardinian folklore and fairy tales (but always using Italian rather than her native Logudorese; Deledda 1894, 1897, 1901). In Sicily, Laura Gonzenbach (1842–1878) produced her *Sicilianische Märchen* (1870), a collection of Sicilian fairy tales in German translation, which is unique in its conception and production and is considered by some scholars to be 'perhaps the most important collection of fairy tales in the nineteenth century' (Zipes 2003: 239), competing with the 1857 *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (*Children and Household Tales*) by the Brothers Grimm. Born in Messina,[45] Laura Gonzenbach did not have formal academic training but received an excellent education at home and in private schools, and could speak German (from her parents), French, Italian, and—having grown up on the island—Sicilian. Gozenbach was first enlisted by the theologian Otto Hartwig to help him with the collection of local fairy tales for a history book he was working on. Her knowledge of the local dialect, and the opportunity to approach more easily local women as informers, placed Gonzenbach in a unique position that gave her access to a wealth of oral material and local folk-tale tradition.[46] Her *Sicilianische Märchen* capture these women's

[44] Among these we find *Ricorditi! Pensieri ed affetti* (1887), an anthology of Italian prose writers and poets, from Dante Alighieri to Giosuè Carducci (5th edn 1899), and *Dai nostri poeti viventi* (1891; 2nd edn 1896).

[45] On Gonzenbach, her life and her work, see Rubini (1998), Zipes (2003, 2006), Lee (2008). For the first selection of her tales in Italian, see Gonzenbach (1964); for the entire Italian translation, see Gonzenbach (1999, 2019). The English translation of her folk tales was first published in two volumes (Gonzenbach 2004a, 2004b) and then in a single volume (Gonzenbach 2006).

[46] Her informants were mostly peasant women in Messina and the small villages around it, as well as lower-middle-class women.

view on the world, and Gonzenbach clearly aimed to be authentic, writing them down as she heard them.

Yet, since the tales were translated into German, the opportunity to preserve the actual language in which they were told was lost. Nonetheless, Gonzenbach's contribution is precious as her High German rendering endeavours to preserve the immediacy of the Sicilian original and oral mode of storytelling. Hartwig decided to publish the German translation of the tales as a separate volume, under Gonzenbach's name, preceded by his own introduction and with annotations by one of the most prominent German folklore scholars, Reinhold Köhler. It was published in Leipzig by Engelmann, in two volumes, in 1869 (but with a publication date of 1870), comprising ninety-two tales in German and two in Sicilian.[47]

2.4.4 Women and lexicography

The field of lexicography also sees women making their mark, but initially very much behind the scenes. In the preface to the second edition of 1838 of his *Nuovo dizionario dei sinonimi della lingua italiana* (*New Dictionary of Synonyms of the Italian Language*), the critic and lexicographer Niccolò Tommaseo (1802–1874) fleetingly expressed his gratitude to an unnamed woman for her help in compiling his work: 'dovrei tra' benemeriti del mio lavoro nominare una donna, una donna povera e ignota, ne' cui colloqui attinsi dolcezza e di nobili sentimenti e d'elegante linguaggio. Suo, nella miglior parte, è il presente lavoro' (Tommaseo 1838: lxi; 'among those who have greatly helped me with my work I must acknowledge a woman, poor and unknown, from whose conversations I drew the pleasure of noble sentiments and of an elegant language. This work, in its best part, is hers'). The 'donna povera e ignota' was Giuseppa Catelli Papi, called Geppina, Tommaseo's landlady during his stay in Florence where he had moved in 1827, eager to improve his knowledge of Tuscan. Born in Sebenico (Dalmatia), Tommaseo was a native speaker of a variety of the Venetian dialect, but not of Tuscan. To complete his 1,140-page dictionary Tommaseo assiduously read books in Florentine libraries, copying down words and sentences, but he also very much needed to distinguish between forms of language that were currently in use and those that were archaic or disused. This is why, alongside the linguistic assistance and advice he received from learned (male) collaborators, he consulted the less educated, including women. The humble Geppina had that native competence in Tuscan that Tommaseo lacked: hers is an eloquent example of women's hidden,

[47] Until recently, the vast majority of Gonzenbach's tales were only available in German, making her Italian reception limited. The Italian translation by Luisa Rubini (Gonzenbach 1999) helped to redress the situation.

informal, and often unacknowledged presence in the field of language study and language codification.[48]

Throughout the nineteenth century several important dialect dictionaries were published, with the aim of documenting dialect words and supplying those who needed them with equivalent words in Italian. Among the earlier ones were Francesco Cherubini's *Vocabolario milanese–italiano* (1814, 2nd edn 1839–1856; *Milanese–Italian Dictionary*), Giuseppe Boerio's *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano* (1829, 2nd edn 1856; *Dictionary of the Venetian Dialect*), and Pietro Monti's *Vocabolario dei dialetti della città e diocesi di Como* (1845; *Dictionary of the Dialects of the City and the Diocese of Como*). As interest in the dialects grew exponentially in the second half of the century, an important direct contribution was made by a woman to the field of dialectal lexicography.

The Bolognese Carolina Coronedi Berti (1820–1911) published between 1869 and 1874, first in instalments and then in two volumes, her *Vocabolario bolognese italiano* (*Bolognese–Italian Dictionary*) preceded by a grammar of the dialect, *Grammatica del dialetto bolognese* (Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: I, xvii–xl) (Figures 2.3(a) and (b)). Information on Coronedi Berti's life is quite limited, but her scholarly activity took place mostly outside any official scholarly institution, occupied as she was, after her marriage to Leonida Berti, with domestic life that kept her from devoting herself more to her studies, as she would have liked.

Despite being part of the upper classes of Bologna, she had not received an education of the kind male lexicographers had enjoyed, let alone philological training. In the preface to her dictionary, she openly comments on the practical difficulties and prejudices against women that she had to overcome to complete her work: 'Formai adunque idea di compilare un vocabolario, che al possibile racchiudesse in sé tutto il nostro dialetto [...] [la] fisionomia tutta propria a ciascuna lingua' (Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: I, ii; 'I decided to compile a dictionary which comprised as much as possible our entire Bolognese dialect [...] the physiognomy proper to each language'). She described her ambitious linguistic work as 'nato in mezzo alle cure della famiglia e accresciuto dal poco mio ingegno' (Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: I, ii; 'born amid family duties and supported by my limited intellectual abilities'), adding that it had been prepared by her alone, 'con quel fermo volere, di cui se ne dubita la donna essere capace' (Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: I, ii; 'with that strong motivation that women are usually not deemed to possess').

[48] Another noteworthy 'linguistic informant' is the Florentine Emilia Luti, who worked behind the scenes on the revision of one of the masterpieces of Italian literature, *I promessi sposi* (*The Betrothed*), by Alessandro Manzoni. Manzoni, a native speaker of Milanese who was more at ease in French than Italian, was assisted by Luti (and her mother Giovanna Feroci Luti) in revising the language of the definitive edition of the novel, the so-called *Quarantana*, published between 1840 and 1842. She worked in Manzoni's study in his home in Milan, where she was employed for a year, as well as later acting as linguistic informant, at a distance, by answering his detailed queries; see Sanson (2011: 287–98).

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VOCABOLARIO

BOLOGNESE ITALIANO

COMPILATO

DA

CAROLINA CORONEDI BERTI

VOLUME PRIMO

BOLOGNA

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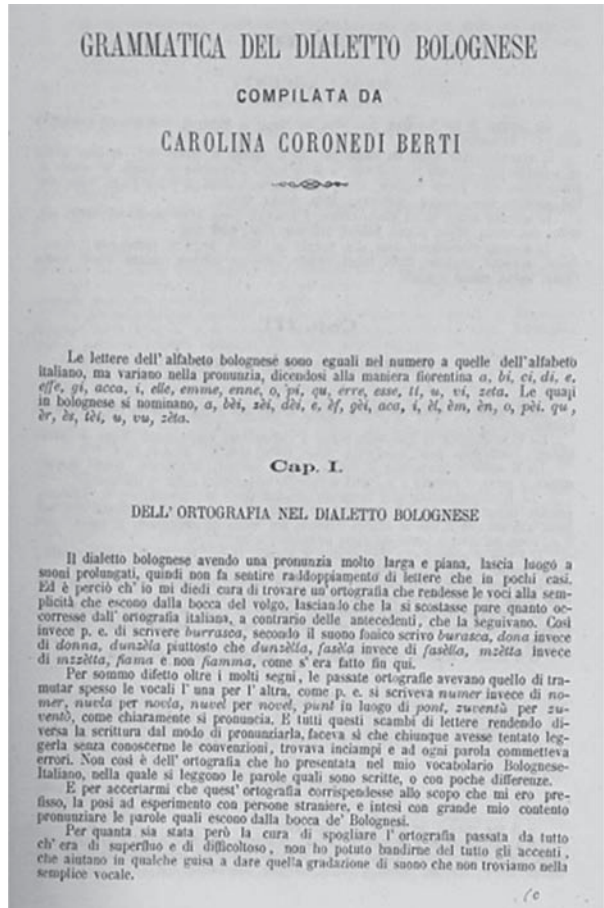

GRAMMATICA DEL DIALETTO BOLOGNESE

COMPILATA DA

CAROLINA CORONEDI BERTI

Le lettere dell' alfabeto bolognese sono eguali nel numero a quelle dell'alfabeto italiano, ma variano nella pronunzia, dicendosi alla maniera fiorentina *a, bi, ci, di, e, effe, gi, acca, i, elle, emme, enne, o, pi, qu, erre, esse, ti, u, vi, zeta.* Le quali in bolognese si nominano, *a, bèi, zèi, dèi, e, èf, gèi, aca, i, èl, èm, èn, o, pèi. qu, èr, ès, tèi, u, vu, zèta.*

Cap. I.

DELL' ORTOGRAFIA NEL DIALETTO BOLOGNESE

Il dialetto bolognese avendo una pronunzia molto larga e piana, lascia luogo a suoni prolungati, quindi non fa sentire raddoppiamento di lettere che in pochi casi. Ed è perciò ch' io mi diedi cura di trovare un'ortografia che rendesse le voci alla semplicità che escono dalla bocca del volgo, lasciando che la si scostasse pure quanto occorresse dall' ortografia italiana, a contrario delle antecedenti, che la seguivano. Così invece p. e. di scrivere *burrasca*, secondo il suono fonico scrivo *burasca, dona* invece di *donna, dunzèla* piuttosto che *dunzèlla, fasèla* invece di *fasèlla, mzètta* invece di *mzzètta, fama* e non *famma*, come s' era fatto fin qui.

Per sommo difetto oltre i molti segni, le passate ortografie avevano quello di tramutar spesso le vocali l' una per l' altra, come p. e. si scriveva *numer* invece di *nomer, nuela* per *noela, nuvel* per *novel, punt* in luogo di *pont, zuventù* per *zuventù*, come chiaramente si pronuncia. E tutti questi scambi di lettere rendendo diversa la scrittura dal modo di pronunziarla, faceva sì che chiunque avesse tentato leggerla senza conoscerne le convenzioni, trovava inciampi e ad ogni parola commetteva errori. Non così è dell' ortografia che ho presentata nel mio vocabolario Bolognese-Italiano, nella quale si leggono le parole quali sono scritte, o con poche differenze.

E per accertarmi che quest' ortografia corrispondesse allo scopo che mi ero prefisso, la posi ad esperimento con persone straniere, e intesi con grande mio contento pronunziare le parole quali escono dalla bocca de' Bolognesi.

Per quanta sia stata però la cura di spogliare l' ortografia passata da tutto ch' era di superfluo e di difficoltoso, non ho potuto bandirne del tutto gli accenti, che aiutano in qualche guisa a dare quella gradazione di suono che non troviamo nella semplice vocale.

Figure 2.3(a) and (b) Carolina Coronedi Berti, *Vocabolario bolognese italiano*, 2 vols (1869–1874), vol. 1, title page and xvii (Cambridge University Library, R785.I80). Photographs by Helena Sanson.

Compared to other nineteenth-century dictionaries of Bolognese published before hers, such as those by Claudio Ermanno Ferrari in 1820, Giuseppe Toni in 1850, and Mariano Aureli in 1851, Coronedi Berti's dictionary was a novelty,[49] inasmuch as, besides the Italian correspondences to Bolognese, it also included a *Prontuario Italiano–bolognese* (Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: II, 514–609; *Essential Lexicon of Italian–Bolognese*), which placed the Italian language and the dialect on a similar, if not equal, footing. Noticeably less present are etymological reconstructions of the terms included in her dictionary: she openly acknowledged that etymology was 'questo campo così vasto e difficile, questo oscuro abisso [...] che non poteva essere vinto dalle mie forze' (Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: I, iv; 'such a vast and difficult field, such a dark abyss [...] which I do not have the skills to defeat'). However, in her *Vocabolario*, Coronedi Berti explicitly dealt with the thorny issue of Bolognese orthography, offering, like Claudio Ermanno Ferrari before her, examples of transcriptions of literary works from the past, praising the work of previous writers in the Bolognese dialect (among these the work of the sisters Manfredi and Zanotti, mentioned earlier; see Coronedi Berti 1869–1874: I, x). Coronedi Berti's work, first published in instalments, as we saw earlier, was well received soon after its publication and even before its completion. Oscar Greco, author of the 1875 *Bibliobiografia femininile italiana del XIX secolo* (*Nineteenth-Century Italian Women's Bio-Bibliography*), wrote that Coronedi Berti was 'una delle poche e splendide eccezioni nel sesso femminile, essendosi consacrata tutta ai difficili studi filologici, in cui uscì vittoriosa col rendere di pubblica ragione un accurato lavoro che ottenne il plauso della esigua schiera dei cultori della dialettologia' (Greco 1875: 173; 'one of the few and splendid exceptions among the female sex who had devoted herself entirely to the difficult field of philological studies, within which she succeeded in publishing an accurate work which gained praise among the restricted number of (Italian) scholars of dialectology'). Her *Vocabolario*, he noted, could clearly be seen, even just from what had been published until then, as superior to the work by Claudio Ermanno Ferrari (Greco 1875: 173).

Recognition came more formally by the fact that Coronedi Berti was invited in September 1874 to join the renowned and well-respected Commissione per i testi di Lingua (Committee for the Publication of Texts on the Italian Language) founded in 1860 and then headed by Francesco Zambrini.[50] The *Commissione per i testi di lingua* aimed to collect and make available, by means of scholarly editions, the rich patrimony of Italian fourteenth- and fifteenth-century writers. The following year, she was also invited to contribute, with a translation and learned annotations on Bolognese linguistics, to the well-known initiative,

[49] On Coronedi Berti's *Vocabolario* within the Bolognese lexicographical tradition, see Badini (2012: 46–56).

[50] See Campana (2012).

mentioned earlier, *I parlari italiani in Certaldo*, promoted by another associate of the Commissione, Giovanni Papanti.[51]

2.4.5 Women and the academies: Official recognition

Whilst Coronedi Berti was working on her dictionary, another woman was being considered for an official recognition never previously bestowed upon someone of her sex. Within Italy's linguistic tradition, the name of the writer, patriot, poet, and educationalist Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci (1803–1887), from Narni in Umbria, is linked to her works on Italian literature and the Italian language, as well as to her writings on women's education, such as *Della educazione morale della donna italiana* (1847; *Of the Moral Education of the Italian Woman*), *Della educazione intellettuale. Libri quattro indirizzati alle madri italiane* (1849–1851; *On Intellectual Education: Four Books Addressed to Italian Mothers*), *Degli studi delle donne italiane* (1853, 2nd edn rev. and enlarged 1876; *Concerning the Studies of Italian Women*), and *Letture morali ad uso delle fanciulle* (1851–1852; *Moral Readings for the Use of Young Girls*).[52] In her works, Franceschi Ferrucci always stressed the importance of giving women a national and patriotic education, based on a sound knowledge of the Italian language and grammar. She did this while embodying a publicly acceptable female model of a devoted wife and mother. From her rich correspondence and manuscript writings, much of which is still unpublished,[53] one can see that from early on she devoted herself to the study of language, with an interest in grammar, questions of lexicology, rhetoric, literature, and translation.

Franceschi Ferrucci was able to continue her studies even after her marriage in 1827, thanks to the support of her Latinist husband, Michele Ferrucci, from Bologna. In Bologna she expanded her correspondence with renowned men of letters, and under the guidance of the poet and philosopher Paolo Costa, she devoted further studies to Dante, learning the entire *Divine Comedy* by heart (Benucci 2016: 212–13). She also gave lectures, subsequently published, on various authors and aspects of Italy's literary tradition. For example, she gave a series of lectures at the Académie des Beaux Arts in Geneva, where she had moved in 1836,

[51] Coronedi Berti also published works that aimed to collect the customs and traditions of Bolognese culture, publishing her findings as volumes and articles in prestigious journals and corresponding with, among others, Giuseppe Pitrè (her correspondence with Pitrè is held at the Biblioteca Giuseppe Pitrè in Palermo). See Coronedi Berti (1872, 1873, 1874a, 1874b, 1875, 1877, 1883, 1894). On Coronedi Berti's writings as a folklorist, see Borghi (2012).

[52] On Franceschi Ferrucci, see Barbarulli (1985), Bottegal (1993), Benucci (2008). For a collection of her educational and patriotic writings, see Franceschi Ferrucci (1932).

[53] A good part of Franceschi Ferrucci's unpublished writings and correspondence can be found at the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa, 'Scritti vari in versi e in prosa', 1,036.1–21, 'Carteggio', 1,035.1–103 and 'Carteggio', 1,127. Other letters are held at the archives of the Accademia della Crusca, or as part of the correspondence of well-known men of letters of the time.

after her husband, following the political upheavals of 1831, obtained a teaching post. The lectures, intended originally for female students only, were very well attended also by Italian exiles and professors of the Académie and were then published under the title *I primi quattro secoli della letteratura italiana* (*The First Four Centuries of Italian Literature*) in 1856–1858. She studied in Osimo with the learned Latinist and priest Francesco Fuina, and in Macerata with the Grecist Andrea Cardinali, but she was mostly self-taught and since her early years she displayed an exceptional capacity for rigorous study, revealing, as can be seen in her handwritten papers, an especial attention to language and style. She was also an active translator (mostly from Latin)[54] and a fervent supporter of translation, to which she devoted in-depth preparation (often glossing her translated texts with detailed commentaries, as well as linguistic and philological observations) and which she recommended as a most useful exercise for young female students.[55]

Franceschi Ferrucci's name in the history of the codification of the Italian language is remembered also because she was the first woman to be admitted, on 13 June 1871, to the prestigious Accademia della Crusca, as a corresponding member.[56] During the same period, Franceschi Ferrucci had been involved in the compilation of the fifth edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1863–1923; Benucci 2011: 22). Her ideas about the importance of a patriotic linguistic education for the female sex were in agreement with the views of many Cruscanti (members of the Academy), as were her positions on the Italian language, on the authority of the great authors of the past and the linguistic model they embodied—which she herself adopted in her writings—attracting wide praise among men of letters and grammarians alike. Specifically, among the different currents of the nineteenth-century *Questione della lingua* (Serianni 1990), Franceschi Ferrucci embraced the purist stance of Father Antonio Cesari (1760–1828), supporting fourteenth-century Tuscan and expressing her scepticism about Manzoni's proposal to make contemporary educated Florentine the common language of the country.

Admitting Franceschi Ferrucci among the Cruscanti was indeed innovative but also a clear indicator of the kind of female scholar who was thought to be acceptable by the establishment: a woman who presented herself modestly, who had devoted herself to the study of the great classics of Latin and Italian literature, a poet, a patriot, an educationalist and, last but not at all least, a devoted wife and mother.[57] Franceschi Ferrucci was admitted to the Crusca on the terms of the

[54] She translated Virgil and Cicero, but also, among others, Hesiod, Sophocles, Plato, and Plutarch, although she herself did not consider her own translations of much value, and they in many cases went unpublished (Barbarulli 1985: 342–3).

[55] See, for instance, her advice on this point in *Della educazione intellettuale* (Franceschi Ferrucci 1849–1851: I, 196).

[56] On Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci and the Accademia della Crusca, see Benucci (2016: 209–30).

[57] See Cesare Guasti's commemoration of Franceschi Ferrucci delivered at the Crusca following her death (Guasti 1888).

common ideological view of women at the time. As she herself wrote on 21 September 1871, in a letter to the *Arciconsolo* ('Archconsul') of the Crusca, Senator Raffaello Lambruschini, she was aware of the fact that 'codesta dotta Accademia, [...] in me volle ricompensare non l'ingegno, ma l'amore verso i nostri grandi scrittori, e per l'esempio mio tacitamente esortare le gentili donne italiane a studiare [...] la bellissima nostra lingua' (Franceschi Ferrucci 1910: 395; 'this learned academy [...] wanted to acknowledge not my intellect, but rather my love for the great authors [of the past], and by means of my example silently encourage the Italian women to study [...] our beautiful language').

Besides being the first woman to have obtained official recognition of some kind within the Crusca, Franceschi Ferrucci was also the first woman to be invited to give a lecture there. However, her 'Della necessità di conservare alla nostra lingua e alla nostra letteratura l'indole schiettamente italiana' ('On the need to preserve the real Italian spirit in our language and our literature') was delivered, on her behalf and in her absence, by her own decision, by the man of letters Isidoro del Lungo, on 5 September 1875, at a well-attended meeting. Franceschi Ferrucci strongly reasserted the literary nature of the Italian language and the need to preserve and promote the language as used by 'i maestri antichi, preservando ad ogni forestiera bruttura così lo stile come la lingua' ('the ancient masters, preserving the style and the language from any foreign corruption').[58]

2.5 Concluding remarks

The acceptance of a woman into the oldest linguistic academy of Europe seemed to be the long-awaited moment of recognition and acknowledgement of women's contribution to the history of the Italian language and its codification.[59] Twelve years later, in December 1893, another woman became 'accademica corrispondente', the archaeologist, Ersilia Caetani Lovatelli (1840–1925), who came from an ancient, noble Roman family. Caetani Lovatelli knew Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, as well as the main modern languages such as French, English, and German, and was a specialist in philological and antiquarian research. The first woman to be nominated also 'Accademica dei Lincei' ('Academician of the Lincei') a few years earlier, in 1879, she held a refined salon in Rome that attracted prominent Italian

[58] The text of her acceptance speech is available in Benucci (2016: 221–30). The quotation is taken from page 224. It is worth remembering that 1875 is also the year when Italian women were granted access to university. A high school diploma from a *liceo* was required for admission. By that date *licei* were still traditionally boys-only schools and girls' attendance was therefore at best sporadic. Only in 1883 did a Ministerial memorandum explicitly clarify the issue of girls' attendance in the *licei* (Raicich 1989, Soldani 2010).

[59] On women in the Accademia della Crusca, see Benucci (2011). Benucci calculated that, up to 2011, there had been 1,278 male members of the Accademia against only nineteen women, from Italy and abroad.

and foreign figures of the time. Caetani Lovatelli distinguished herself through her desire to make her findings accessible to a wider readership, including non-specialists. Her election to the Crusca was determined by her scholarly merits, but also by her use of the Italian language, modelled on the classics.

After this brief spell of opening up of the Accademia della Crusca to women, there followed a long period of exclusion that was to last for almost a century: the third woman to become part of the Crusca was the philologist and linguist Franca Brambilla Ageno (1913–1995), from Reggio Emilia, first as 'Socia' in 1970 and then as Academician in 1990.[60] Among the best-known philologists of her time, she taught at the Università Cattolica in Milan and later at the University of Parma. She worked in particular on the early authors of the Italian tradition, such as St Francis of Assisi, Jacopone da Todi, Dante, and Boccaccio.

It was only in 2008, however, 425 years after its creation and 137 years after Caterina Franceschi Ferrucci's admission as 'socia corrispondente', that the Accademia della Crusca appointed its first female president, Nicoletta Maraschio (Pavia, 1946–), Full (subsequently Emerita) Professor of History of the Italian Language at the University of Florence since 1995, and Vice President of the Crusca for eleven years, between 1997 and 2008. Interviewed by a major national newspaper shortly after her election, responding to the journalist who asked her whether there was any room in Italy for female linguists, Maraschio replied that the Crusca reflected the overall context of the discipline of linguistics in Italy, where women often had been, and continued to be, at the forefront. She drew attention to the studies of Franca Brambilla Ageno with her work on the syntax of the verb, Maria Corti (1915–2002) and her innovative interest in structural methods in linguistics, and Maria Luisa Altieri Biagi (1930–2017) and her interdisciplinary research on language and science.

A few years after that interview, Maraschio reaffirmed her position. She also stressed that many young female colleagues are working today in innovative fields, often linked to contemporary social changes, including the languages of immigration, the role of Italian within the globalized world, and the construction of reference corpora. Her election to the Presidency of the Crusca was not, in her view, particularly tardy, considering that other Italian academies, such as the Accademia dei Lincei, have never had a female president. The policy of the Crusca which, from the 1990s, has included more and more women in roles of responsibility ultimately has also encouraged, she remarked, other institutions to acknowledge the scholarly contribution that women, with their often original perspectives, offer to the advancement of knowledge.[61]

[60] On Franca Brambilla Ageno and her contribution to philological studies, see Canova (2015) and Benucci (2020).

[61] Personal communication, 19 Mar. 2019.

3
Women as authors, audience, and authorities in the French tradition

Wendy Ayres-Bennett

3.1 Introduction

Leaving aside early pedagogical works, such as John Barton's *Donait françois* (early fifteenth century; *French Donatus*), a grammar intended for English-speakers of French (Anglo-Norman), the first metalinguistic texts on French appear in France in the 1530s. The timing is no coincidence, a constellation of factors making it a propitious moment for reflection on the nature of the vernacular. These include the advent of printing from the 1470s; the Reformation with its emphasis on making Scripture more accessible to the people; and, following the example of Italy, the Renaissance and the Humanist revival of Latin, which served to emphasize the gap between the classical language and contemporary needs for communication. In 1529, the printer Geoffroy Tory (1970 [1529]: fol. Biiiv) called for codification, stating, 'Si avec nostre facundite, estoit Reigle certaine, Il me semble soubz correction, que le langage seroit plus riche, & plus parfaict' ('If the abundance of our language were accompanied by fixed rules, it seems to me, subject to correction, that the language would be richer and more perfect'). Twenty years later, these themes were picked up by Joachim Du Bellay in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoyse* (1549; *Defence and Illustration of the French Language*); the French language is not only to be made more illustrious but also to be defended and regulated to prevent it evolving too quickly. Nevertheless, in his view French has become superior to Latin in 'civilité de meurs, equité de loix, magnanimité de couraiges' (Du Bellay 2001: 77; 'civility of manners, equality of laws, magnanimity of heart'). As in the case of many Western European vernaculars, codification is a reaction to the perception that the language is changing too quickly and requires the fixity and status of Latin. Perhaps the best-known articulation of this sentiment comes from the celebrated essayist, Michel de Montaigne (1962: II, 424), who claimed that, had he been writing for posterity, he would have chosen 'un langage plus ferme' ('a more stable language').

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It is against this background that the first grammar of French was published in France by Jacques Dubois (or Sylvius), *In linguam Gallicam isagωge* (1531; *Introduction to the French Language*), albeit a grammar of the vernacular written in Latin which forces French into the strait jacket of Latin grammar. By the middle of the century, however, Louis Meigret's *Trętté de la grammęre françoęze* (1550; *Treatise on French Grammar*), the first published in France in the vernacular, began to comment on the peculiarities of French usage. The history of French lexicography had similarly started with Robert Estienne (1539) taking his Latin–French dictionary and inverting it so that the French words previously used to gloss the Latin ones now became the head words. The sixteenth century is a period in France which was dominated by the elaboration of the language as it increasingly came to be used in new domains, whether we think of medicine, geography, or mathematics (Ayres-Bennett 1996: 140–1). The openness to innovation is perhaps best encapsulated in Pierre de Ronsard's famous line, 'Plus nous aurons de mots en nostre langue, plus elle sera parfaite' (Ronsard 1585: 54; 'The more words we have in our language, the more perfect it will be').

Whilst there was already reaction against what some saw as the excessive borrowing from other languages, and notably from Italian in the second half of the sixteenth century,[1] it is in the early years of the seventeenth century that we witness an increasing desire for French to be codified. Symbolic of this was the founding of the French Academy in 1635, whose founding statutes clearly state its aim: 'La principale mission de l'Académie sera de travailler avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles à donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences' ('The main task of the Academy will be to work with as much care and diligence as possible to give fixed rules to our language and to make it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating arts and sciences').[2] Many of the ideas we will see discussed in the metalinguistic texts written by women are the subject of—at times heated—debate in seventeenth-century France, including the role of usage and reason, of control and expansion.

This chapter will focus on the period up to 1900. I will begin by presenting grammars, dictionaries, and other metalinguistic texts by women (section 3.2.1). However, if we limit ourselves to texts authored by women, the harvest is likely to be relatively meagre in the earlier periods. In thinking about women and metalinguistic texts, we will also look at their role as dedicatees (section 3.2.2) or as the intended audience (section 3.2.3) of such texts. Second, we will consider women's

[1] This negative reaction is best represented in works by Henri Estienne, including his *Traicté de la conformité du langage françois avec le grec* (1565; *Treatise on the Conformity of the French Language with Greek*), and the satirical *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé et autrement desguizé* (1579; *Two Dialogues on the New Italianized, and Otherwise Disguised, French Language*); see Clément (1898).

[2] Statute XXIV: http://academie-francaise.fr/linstitution/statuts-et-reglements accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

role as editors of critical editions, as philologists and, in particular, as translators. In France the close relationship between metalinguistic writing and translation makes the case of female translators, and their role in the development of a standard written language, particularly interesting (section 3.3). Section 3.4 deals with women's education and women's role as educators, whether as mothers or in more formal settings. In the nineteenth century a substantial number of grammars by women began to appear for the use of mothers and educators, alongside texts by men intended for female teachers (section 3.4.2). The learning of modern languages was thought to be particularly suitable for the female sex. It is not, however, until the late nineteenth century that we witness the professionalization of their role as foreign language teachers (section 3.4.3). Finally (section 3.5), I consider the role played by women as linguistic models, examine what metalinguistic texts have to say about their language, and consider how this contributes to the emergence of *bon usage* ('good usage').

3.2 Metalinguistic texts

3.2.1 Women as authors of metalinguistic texts

If we look for female authors of French metalinguistic texts, we find relatively few names, especially in the earlier centuries. For France, the *Corpus of Fundamental Linguistic Texts* (*CTLF*)[3] cites only two female authors (out of 121) of such texts: Marguerite Buffet, author of a volume of observations on the French language (1668), and the well-known scientist and translator, Émilie Du Châtelet, who also wrote a *Grammaire raisonnée* (1736–1749?; *Rational Grammar*; see Wade 1947).

The earliest known example of a woman producing a French metalinguistic text is Marie Le Jars de Gournay (1565–1645), Montaigne's 'adopted daughter', and the posthumous editor of his *Essais*. She has attracted attention particularly for her feminist works,[4] but she was equally a teacher, moralist, translator, and linguist. On arriving in Paris in 1596, she quickly became involved in the controversy, which lasted throughout the first half of the century, on the nature of poetic language. It was perhaps her work as editor of the *Essais*, as a translator of Latin texts, and as a novelist (*Le Proumenoir de M. de Montaigne* (1594; *The Promenade of M. de Montaigne*)) and poet that encouraged her to think critically about the nature of French usage. Her collected complete works published in 1626—known as *L'Ombre de la damoiselle de Gournay* (*The Shadow of the Demoiselle de Gournay*)[5]—include both essays on the French language ('Du langage françois',

[3] See http://ctlf.ens-lyon.fr accessed 4 Jan. 2019.

[4] See Dezon-Jones (1988), Maclean (1991). Information about her life and work can be found in Holmes (1954), Uildriks (1962), Ilsley (1963), Angenot (1977), and Lausberg (1977).

[5] In later editions the title *Les Advis, ou les Presens de la demoiselle de Gournay* (*The Advice or Presents of the Demoiselle de Gournay*) was preferred (1634, 1641).

'Sur la version des poëtes antiques, ou des métaphores', 'Des rymes', 'Des diminutifs françois') and feminist essays ('Egalité des hommes et des femmes', 'Grief des dames').[6]

Marie de Gournay defends the poetic style and use of language associated with Ronsard and the Pléiade poets, and bitterly criticizes the new school led by François de Malherbe and its aim to regulate French usage and remove words deemed too new, too archaic, or of too low a register. She represents sixteenth-century concerns for the richness of French or its elaboration, and rails against the new emerging purism and the trend towards retrenchment:

> Je suis donc si loin de me reduire pour ce regard, aux retranchements des jolis et des jolies de la Cour, que s'il couroit trois fois autant de mots chez tous nos Poëtes, ou par les ruës de Paris; je n'en rejetterois pas un, reservé demy douzaine que la seule lourde Populace employe. Ces autres Poetes et Docteurs du temps ont beau me remonstrer, qu'ils me fourniront douze mots pour dire cecy ou cela, sans celuy qu'ils pretendent desconfire pour me l'arracher: j'en veux quinze, et vingt: s'ils y sont, car je ne veux rien perdre. ('Deffence de la poësie et du langage des poëtes', Uildriks 1962: 115–16)
>
> (I am therefore so far from submitting in this respect to the retrenchments of the fine men and women at court, that if there were three times as many words in currency among all our poets, or in the streets of Paris, I would not reject a single one, except a half dozen which only the uncouth populace uses. These other poets and scholars of the time remonstrate with me in vain, claiming that they have a dozen words to say this or that, without the one which they wish to destroy in order to deprive me of it; I want fifteen or twenty, if they exist, for I wish to lose nothing.)

She argues that there must be freedom to use old words and to create new ones (Uildriks 1962: 55–6), favours the use of bold metaphors and diminutives (82), and contends that poetic language should not be subjected to the constraint of rules (105).[7] In her essays entitled 'Egalité des hommes et des femmes' and 'Grief des dames', she maintains that there are no fundamental differences between men and women psychologically, and that the differences between them would disappear if they were educated in the same way; however, she is equally against those supporting the emerging trend of viewing women as arbiters of good usage, 'parce qu'ils les veulent cajoler [...] affin de les tirer à leur party' ('Deffence de la poësie et du langage des poëtes', Uildriks 1962: 101; 'They want to flatter them [...] in order to get them on side').

[6] 'On the French language', 'On the translation of ancient poets, or metaphors', 'On rhymes', 'On French diminutives', 'The equality of men and women', 'The ladies' grievance'.

[7] For examples of Malherbe's criticism of metaphors, diminutives, archaisms, and excessive use of neologisms, see Brunot (1891).

The only other known seventeenth-century female linguist, Marguerite Buffet, represents this new trend.[8] We know little about her life, except that she died in 1680.[9] In 1668, at the time of the publication of her *Nouvelles observations sur la langue françoise* (*New Observations on the French Language*), which followed in the tradition of Vaugelas's famous *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647; *Remarks on the French Language*), she was a spinster living in Paris, working as a teacher. In her observations, she makes reference to other unpublished texts she has authored, including works on spelling and the relationship between spelling and pronunciation which she used in her own teaching, but which have not apparently survived.

Buffet's work, intended to teach women how to write and speak well, presages many of the features we associate with works for women. She adapts many of Vaugelas's observations for her female readership, shortening and simplifying them, and using few technical terms. A typical example is the remark discussing the gender of *navire* ('ship'):

Vaugelas (1647: 130)

Navire, estoit feminin du temps d'Amyot, et l'on voit encore aux enseignes de Paris cette inscription, *A la Navire*, et non pas *au Navire*. Neantmoins aujourd'huy il est absolument masculin, et ce seroit une faute de le faire des deux genres. C'est la metamorphose d'Iphis;

Vota puer soluit quæ fœmina vouerat Iphis.

(*Navire* was feminine in Amyot's time, and you can still see this inscription on Parisian signs *A la navire* and not *au Navire*. Nevertheless, it is only masculine today, and it would be an error to use it in both genders. It is the metamorphosis of Iphis: *the vow made by Iphis, as a girl, is now being fulfilled by Iphis, as a boy*.)

Buffet (1668: 194)

Navire est aujourd'huy masculin, il estoit autrefois feminin; ce qui fait qu'il faut dire, c'est un beau navire, et le navire.

(Today *navire* is masculine, it used to be feminine; as a result, you must say, *c'est un beau navire*, and *le navire*.)

The references to literary sources, both French (the translator Amyot) and Latin (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), and the story of Iphis who changed from female into male are removed, as is the reference to the relics of earlier usage on certain signs.

[8] Taylor (2018) points out that, whilst Marguerite Buffet praises Marie de Gournay, she places her with the women of past centuries, and is much more enthusiastic in her praise of Mademoiselle de Scudéry, who represents the modern aesthetic associated with fashionable society.

[9] On Buffet, see Beasley (2003), Ducharme (2003a, 2003b), and Meli (2012).

Buffet's work is also in some ways a guide to contemporary salon usage and the skills required by women in polite society. In particular, Buffet discusses words and expressions fashionable in salon usage, which tend not to feature in the volumes of remarks by male authors. For instance, she discusses the *Précieuses*' fashion of using over fanciful and affected expressions:[10]

> Il se trouve des personnes qui parlent avec si peu de sens, que si les animaux pouvoient parler ils s'exprimeroient avec plus de raison; elles diront, **cette maison a toute mon inclination**: dans un autre rencontre, **voila des arbres à qui j'ay donné mon cœur**: peut on rien voir de plus mal adapté; il faut dire **j'aime cette maison, j'estime ces arbres**. (Buffet 1668: 184; my emphasis)
>
> (There are people who speak with so little sense, that if animals could speak, they would express themselves with more reason; they will say, *this house has all my inclination*: or in another situation, *here are trees to which I've given all my heart*: can one find anything less appropriate; you should say *I like this house, I appreciate these trees*.)

The work ends with a 'Traitté sur les éloges des illustres sçavantes, anciennes & modernes', a series of portraits 'of illustrious learned women, ancient and modern' in the established literary tradition of works in praise of women. Buffet offers examples of cultivated and learned women (starting with contemporary women), and frequently refers to their linguistic skills. For instance, the section on the Duchesse de Montausier praises her skill as a letter writer, an occupation often associated with women at this period, and the gravity and politeness of her style (Buffet 1668: 248–9).

Buffet's work, then, reflects the seventeenth-century's concern with the description and codification of good usage and the need to use language appropriately in polite society. However, she simplifies earlier comments for her female readership and warns them against excesses of usage.

Whilst Marguerite Buffet and Marie de Gournay represent opposing currents in the history of French linguistic thought, they share a belief in the equality of men and women; indeed, Marguerite Buffet asserts women's superiority in certain respects:

> Que les hommes se vantent donc tant qu'ils voudront, et qu'ils fassent gloire de la grandeur de leurs corps et de la grosseur de leurs testes, cela leur est commun avec de tres-stupides animaux, et de tres-grosses et lourdes bestes; il est donc certain, generalement parlant; que les femmes ont plus de vivacité d'esprit que les hommes; ce qui se manifeste dans toutes les rencontres de la vie où elles sont employées. (Buffet 1668: 228–9)

[10] On the *Précieuses*, see section 3.5 below.

(Let men boast then as much as they like, and let them show off about the magnitude of their bodies or the large size of their heads, they have this in common with very stupid animals and with very large and heavy beasts. It is therefore certain, generally speaking, that women have livelier minds than men, and that this is evident in all spheres of life where they are employed.)

The best-known eighteenth-century female grammarian, Émilie Du Châtelet (1706–1749), equally reflects some of the dominant linguistic ideas of her age. Her *Grammaire raisonnée*, probably written some time between 1736 and 1749, forms part of the tradition of general and rational French grammars, which had its roots in the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* by Antoine Arnauld and Claude Lancelot of Port-Royal, first published in 1660. However, Émilie Du Châtelet is no servile follower of the Port-Royal grammarians, and at times criticizes both their theoretical stance and that of Claude Buffier, whose influential French grammar, dedicated to the Duchesse de Maine, was published in 1709. Unfortunately only three chapters of about thirty pages of Du Châtelet's work have survived: chapter 6, 'Des mots en général considérés selon leur signification grammaticale' (Wade 1947: 209–10); chapter 7, 'Des mots qui représentent les objets de nos perceptions' (211–23); and chapter 8, 'Des mots qui désignent les opérations de notre entendement sur les objets' (224–41).[11] Du Châtelet also refers in these extant parts to chapters 2 and 3, indicating that chapter 2 dealt with the 'opérations de notre âme sur les objets' ('operations of our mind on objects')—namely *apercevoir, juger, raisoner* [sic] (209)—and chapter 3 with their 'déterminations permanentes' and 'déterminations variables' (211; 'permanent and variable qualities').[12] As Françoise Douay-Soublin (2008: 174) notes, the reformulation of Port-Royal's *concevoir, juger, raisonner* ('conceive, judge, reason') as *apercevoir, juger, raisonner* ('perceive, judge, reason') suggests that she was probably also influenced by John Locke (either directly or indirectly via Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis). A third major influence is Vaugelas.

Broadly speaking, Du Châtelet adopts the overall plan and structure of the Port-Royal grammar, whilst Buffier is the source of detailed observations on French usage. She adds her own examples, remarks, and occasional humorous comments. To cite Douay-Soublin (2008: 185), this ability to devise examples 'témoigne d'un réel amour de la langue et confère à ces pages une allégresse conversationnelle qui en rend la lecture fort agréable au grammairien' ('testifies to a real love of the language and confers on these pages a conversational ease which makes reading it

[11] Chapter 6: 'Words in general considered according to their grammatical meaning'; chapter 7: 'Words which represent the objects of our perceptions'; chapter 8: 'Words which designate the operations of our understanding on objects'.

[12] Douay-Soublin (2008: 194) suggests that perhaps these were the only three chapters actually produced.

very pleasant for the grammarian'). A typical example is the passage which deals with certain (*potentiels*) verb usages:

> Il y a encore une espece de tems que l'on apelle *incertain* par ce que la chose dont il s'agit dépend d'une chose incertaine. Ainsi quand je dis *si un tel etoit arrivé je dinerois* cela marque que le tems ou je dois diner est incertain en ce quil depend de l'arrivée de celui que jattends, laquelle est incertaine. Car si cet home que j'attens arivoit, ce tems de mon diner seroit present; s'il arrive bientost le tems de mon diner sera un *paulo post futur*. Et sil n'arrive pas de longtems le tems de mon diner est un futur incertain. (Wade 1947: 229–30)
>
> (There is also a sort of tense which is called *uncertain* because the thing concerned depends on an uncertain thing. So, when I say, *if a certain person had arrived, I would dine*, this indicates that the time when I will dine is uncertain in that it depends on the arrival of the person I am waiting for, which is uncertain. For, if this man for whom I am waiting were to arrive, the time of my dinner would be present; if he arrives soon, the time of my dinner would be *an immediate future*. And if he does not arrive for a long time, the time of my dinner would be un uncertain future.)

Du Châtelet's grammar provides, in short, an interesting case study of how three, often contradictory, grammatical sources—Port-Royal, Buffier, and Vaugelas—were read and interpreted by a woman in the first half of the eighteenth century.

We know of women contributing to at least two other types of metalinguistic texts in the eighteenth century. First, the tradition of French grammars for foreigners. Mme La Roche published a bilingual French/German grammar in Leipzig at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1719 [1st edn 1706?]), entitled *La Pierre de touche ou le Secret de délier la langue, par le moyen de certains entretiens courts, faciles & galans, divisés en trois parties, par Me. La Roche* (*The Touchstone or the Secret of Loosening the Tongue, by Means of Certain Short, Easy and Gallant Conversations, Divided into Three Parts, by Mme La Roche*). The dedicatory epistle, addressed to 'Belles & charmantes demoiselles' ('Beautiful and charming young women'), expresses the aim of facilitating their access to the French language. La Roche emphasizes the status of French in the most gallant courts of Europe, and the role it plays in polite society:

> Tant de charmantes qualités, qu'on voit reluire en vos aimables personnes, & par lesquelles vous vous atirés tous les jours & les soins & l'admiration des Cavaliers les plus polis, auroient, s'il m'êt permis de le dire, quêque chose de defectueux, si elles n'étoient accompagnées, & même soutenuës de la langue françoise; mais assitôt que vous en êtes une fois en possession, on peut avec justice vous considérer comme de vrais modéles de perfection. (La Roche 1719: fols 2v–3r)

> (So many charming qualities which we see shine in your pleasing persons, and by which you have attracted every day both the attention and the admiration of the most polite gentlemen, would have, if I am permitted to say so, something defective if they were not accompanied and even sustained by the French language. But as soon as you are in possession of it, you can be rightly considered as true models of perfection.)

She concedes that some women have been put off by the difficulty of learning French, but argues that this is not their fault, and is rather due to poor teachers giving them the most difficult authors when they were still acquiring the basics of the language. Rather, women need 'des Entretiens fort courts, & extremement faciles pour les commencemens' (La Roche 1719: fol. 3v; 'very short and extremely easy conversations to begin with'). She maintains that women can subsequently be introduced to longer and more elaborate dialogues, and progress to novels and 'Nouvelles galantes', 'pour puiser ce qu'il y a de plus poli, & de plus délicat dans ces excellens Ouvrages, & par ce moyen parvenir à la perfection de la Langue' ('gallant novels [...] to draw what is most polite and most delicate from these excellent works, and thereby to attain linguistic perfection'). The work is thus intended to make language learning easier and more pleasant, especially in the early stages. In the *Avertissement*, the author adds that the work can serve men (*Cavaliers*) as well as women, who just need to remove the final *-e* from what she calls 'supines'. The work starts with basic vocabulary lists, covering numbers, time and days, parts of the body, etc., progresses to simple conversations, and then moves on to short stories. Only after this is the more formal grammatical part introduced.

Second, there is a short thirty-six-page work by Marie-Marguerite Brun (née Maison-Forte), entitled *Essay d'un dictionnaire comtois-françois* (*Outline of a Dictionary of the Language of Franche-Comté French*), published in 1753 (2nd edn 1755; Rittaut-Hutinet 2013). This belongs to a genre which became popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the best-known example of which is Desgrouais's *Gasconismes corrigés* (*Corrected Gasconisms*), first published in 1766. In the short introduction, Mme Brun explains that her aim is to help her compatriots 'reformer leur langage' ('reform their language'), dividing her work into three sections which treat in turn: 'Les mots qui ne sont pas françois' (330 entries); 'Les mots François que l'on prononce mal en Franche-Comté' (247 entries); and 'Les tours de phrase qui sont contre la syntaxe, ou contre l'usage' (46 entries).[13] In each section, she gives two columns with the regional version on the left and the 'correct' version on the right. In her final comments, Mme Brun

[13] 'Words which are not French'; 'Words which are incorrectly pronounced in Franche-Comté'; and 'Expressions which do not respect syntax or are contrary to usage'.

(1753: 35) observes that: 'Quant à la prononciation, on peut dire en général, que celle des Comtois est pesante, & souvent même niaise; le vrai moyen de la corriger, seroit de dépaïser les enfans de bonne heure, ou du moins d'y avoir une attention particuliere' ('As for pronunciation, we can say in general that Franche-Comté pronunciation is heavy, and often even silly; the true way to correct it would be to distance children from it early, or at least to pay particular attention to it'). Perhaps, then, we have a link here with women as educators of their children.

In the nineteenth century, we witness the burgeoning of pedagogical grammars written by women, which will be discussed below (section 3.4.2).[14] Outside the pedagogical tradition, the *Traité de prononciation, ou Nouvelle prosodie française* (*Treatise on Pronunciation or New French Prosody*) by Sophie Dupuis (1836) is of particular interest, and is still quoted by historians of French today as one of the best sources on nineteenth-century pronunciation.[15] Sophie Dupuis is designated on the title page as a member of the Société des méthodes and the Société grammaticale, itself indicative of the growing integration of women into learned circles.[16] The work opens with reports by these two bodies on her text, the former commenting that:

> Nous croyons pouvoir affirmer que ce traité, entièrement différent des prosodies publiées jusqu'à ce jour, sera d'une très-grande ressource aux étrangers et aux habitants de nos provinces, et même aux Parisiens. La classification de règles, la netteté avec laquelle elles sont formulées, leur nombre peu considérable, tout cela permet de les saisir et de les retenir avec assez de facilité. (Dupuis 1836: vii)
>
> (We believe we can affirm that this treatise, which is entirely different from prosodies published hitherto, will be a very great resource for foreigners and for inhabitants of our provinces, and even for Parisians. The classification of rules, the clarity with which they are formulated, their small number, all that allows one to grasp and retain them fairly easily.)

Following Domergue, Sophie Dupuis is among the first linguists to record the loss of vowel length as a phonemic distinction in French. Whereas in Classical French, final vowels were distinguished by length, the addition of a final *-e* or a plural *-s* causing the vowel to lengthen, so that *ami* and *amie* (masculine and feminine form of 'friend') and *ami* and *amis* (singular and plural) were differentiated by

[14] I am grateful to Jacques-Philippe Saint-Gérand for his invaluable help with this part of the chapter.

[15] See, for example, Walter (1976: 49–50), Posner (1997: 249), and Morin (2008).

[16] The Société des méthodes d'enseignement (Society of Methods of Teaching) was created in 1819, and the Société grammaticale (Grammatical Society), founded by Urbain Domergue, was active 1807–1843.

vowel length, Dupuis (1836: xxiv–xxv) notes that it is impossible to hear any difference between the singular and plural forms *le sac/les sacs*, *le sel/les sels*, etc. She criticizes the grammarian Dumarsais for claiming such a distinction exists, and for relying on spelling rather than pronunciation in making this judgement. She concludes:

> A coup sûr, dans tous ces exemples, la marque du pluriel ajoutée au singulier, ou simplement le changement de terminaison ou d'accent, ont imposé jusqu'ici une erreur générale, en faisant croire que cette addition de consonnes finales, ou cette conversion de l'accent aigu en un accent circonflexe, devait augmenter l'intensité du son ou de la durée de la voyelle. (Dupuis 1836: xxv)
>
> (Without fail, in all these examples, the plural marker added to the singular, or simply the change of ending or accent, have imposed up to now a general error, in leading people to believe that this addition of final consonants, or this change of an acute accent into a circumflex, should increase the intensity of the sound or the length of the vowel.)

Her acute observation of contemporary pronunciation is confirmed in the discussion of the [a]/[ɑ] opposition. Whilst she notes that the vowels [a] and [ɑ] are pronounced differently in final position, she also provides an early indication that some speakers no longer differentiate them, a change which has sometimes been considered a twentieth-century phenomenon:

> A l'époque où nous vivons, on aperçoit une disposition générale à adoucir nos voyelles, disposition qui tend visiblement à la décadence des sons. Cette affectation nouvelle, que l'on trouve agréable, que l'on croit même de bon ton, est tout-à-fait contraire à la noblesse du langage. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que dans *âme, âge, pâte, nation, éducation, passage, château, dôme, drôle, je pose*, et beaucoup d'autres, on s'habitue à prononcer *a-me, a-ge, patte, nacion, éducaçion, paçage, cha-teau,* etc., c'est-à-dire qu'on supprime l'accent, et qu'on donne aux voyelles *a, o,* toute la douceur et la mollesse dont elles sont susceptibles. (Dupuis 1836: xlvi–xlvii)
>
> (In the times in which we live, we notice a general tendency to soften our vowels, a tendency which visibly leads to the decline of sounds. This new affectation, which is thought to be pleasant and even in good taste, is completely contrary to the nobility of the language. It is thus, for example, that in *âme*, *âge*, *pâte*, *nation*, *éducation*, *passage*, *château*, *dôme*, *drôle*, *je pose*, and in many others, one is becoming used to pronouncing *a-me*, *a-ge*, *patte*, *nacion*, *éducaçion*, *paçage*, *cha-teau*, etc., that is, to suppressing the accent and making the vowels *a*, *o* as sweet and as soft as possible.)

3.2.2 Women as dedicatees of metalinguistic texts

It is not just as authors of metalinguistic texts that women play an important role in the history of linguistics in France. From early on, they are either named as dedicatees of grammars and other works on language or are envisaged as the intended readership of such works.

Of the forty-eight volumes in a major database of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French grammars, volumes of remarks and treatises on the French language (Colombat, Fournier, and Ayres-Bennett 2011), only four have named female dedicatees—the two volumes of *Devis* (*Discussions*) by Abel Matthieu (1559, 1560), dedicated to Jeanne III d'Albret, Queen of Navarre; Marguerite Buffet's observations (1668), dedicated to Marie-Thérèse, wife of Louis XIV; and Ramus's *Grammaire* (1572), dedicated to Catherine de Medici.

In his dedication to the Queen Mother, Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée) argues that grammar is the mother of the liberal arts 'qui les nourrit comme au berceau et leur apprend a parler et declairer ce quils scavent' ('which nurtures them as in the cradle and teaches them to speak and declare what they know'). He praises Catherine de Medici's role in the education of her son, Charles IX, and particularly in appointing Jacques Amyot as his tutor, who was above all renowned for his elegant translations of Plutarch. Here again, then, we find the theme which runs through much of the discussions of women and language: they are above all responsible for the transmission of language to their children and for their education.

3.2.3 Women as the intended audience of metalinguistic texts

Turning now to works by men intended for a female readership, already Vaugelas in his *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647) had deliberately avoided a part-of-speech format for his work and favoured instead a series of randomly ordered short observations on points of doubtful usage, 'conceuës d'une sorte, que les femmes & tous ceux qui n'ont nulle teinture de la langue Latine en peuvent tirer du profit' (Preface XII, 1; 'conceived in a way, that women and all those who have not even a smattering of Latin can profit from it'). As we have seen, Marguerite Buffet takes this one step further in her observations, further adapting his remarks for a female audience. In general, this involves abbreviating and simplifying the content, and making it less dry and more agreeable to read.

The eighteenth century witnessed the development of the genre of *Grammaires des dames* ('Grammars for women'). Gabriele Beck-Busse (2014: 14) explores a corpus of fifteen French grammars for women for the period 1744–1824, of which

six were published in Paris, two in Geneva, and the rest in Germany. These, she argues, should be viewed in the context of the vulgarization of knowledge.[17]

A typical example is Abbé Louis Barthélemy's *Grammaire des dames* (1785), dedicated to Madame la Comtesse de Genlis, author of literary and pedagogic texts such as the *Théâtre d'éducation* (1799; *Theatre of Education*). Barthélemy was also the author of *La Cantatrice grammairienne* (1788; *The Grammarian Singer*), intended to teach spelling to mature women 'par le moyen des chansons érotiques, pastorales, villageoises, anacréontique, &c.' ('by means of erotic, pastoral, village, and anacreontic songs'). The subtitle of the grammar, deemed more appropriate for their daughters, is significant: '[Grammaire] Réduite aux regles les plus simples, & justifiée par des morceaux choisis de poésie, d'histoire, &c.' ('[grammar] reduced to the most simple rules and justified with selected extracts of poetry, history, etc.'). The preface picks up what was already a trope in this period, that a woman should not be *savante* ('learned') but should know the rules of her own language. Barthélemy (1785: vi) emphasizes that, since the work is intended for young women, 'les élémens de notre Langue seront présentés de la maniere la plus simple & la plus précise' ('the elements of our language will be presented in the most simple and precise way'). Most works on the French language are, he claims, 'diffuse'. Conversely for women, spelling has to be presented in a less rebarbative fashion. He has therefore added excerpts of poetry and history to alleviate the monotony and dryness of the rules, and poetic examples to illustrate grammatical points, such as the gender of the noun *pleurs* (Barthélemy 1785: 18; 'tears').

Another example from the same period, not discussed by Beck-Busse, is the grammar by Bauchaint entitled *Principes de la langue françoise, rédigés d'après les plus célèbres grammairiens à l'usage des demoiselles* (*Principles of the French Language, Based on the Most Famous Grammarians, for the Use of Young Women*), published in 1789. We know very little about this M. Bauchaint (Beauchaint or Buchaint) except that he was a mathematics teacher in Saint-Malo. Despite the title, the work begins with a section entitled 'Nécessité d'enseigner la grammaire aux Enfants' (Bauchaint 1789: 3–10; 'The Need to Teach Grammar to Children') which, according to the table of contents at the end of the grammar, should be read attentively (Bauchaint 1789: 337). No mention is made of the sex of the child; indeed, the masculine pronoun is used throughout, as in the following example: 'Quand il aura appris correctement une fable, par cœur, & qu'il la saura parfaitement, on lui apprendra à la déclamer, l'accompagnant du ton & du geste convenable à la matiere' (Bauchaint 1789: 9; 'When he has learnt

[17] Reuillon-Blanquet (1995) observes that not all of the grammars for women are attractive, citing, for instance, Étienne Friclot's *Principes de grammaire*, 'à l'usage des jeunes damoiselles, et des personnes qui ne veulent pas faire une étude approfondie de la langue française' (1810; 'for the use of young women, and for those people who do not want to make a detailed study of the French language'), which appears 'rebarbative and boring', employing an unhelpful layout and examples with little appeal for a child.

correctly a fable by heart, and he knows it perfectly, he will be taught to declaim it, using the appropriate tone and gestures for the subject'). Did Bauchaint teach girls rather than boys? Or was the title chosen to help sell the volume? It was fairly common for authors not to distinguish between works for children and for women, both audiences requiring a clear and simple exposition of grammatical facts. Joseph Leven de Templery changed the title of his work from *La Rhétorique françoise, très propre aux gens qui veulent apprendre à parler et écrire avec politesse* (1698; *The French Rhetoric, Most Suitable for People Who Want to Learn to Speak and Write Politely*) to, in 1699, *L'Éloquence du tems enseignée à une dame de qualité, très-propre aux gens qui veulent apprendre à écrire avec politesse* (*Contemporary Eloquence Taught to a Lady of Quality, Most Suitable for People Who Want to Learn to Learn to Speak and Write Politely*) without, however, modifying the content in any way.

Grammars to teach French to women also feature amongst works intended for foreigners. For the seventeenth century, we may cite as examples Peter Erondell's *French Garden: For English Ladyes and Gentlewomen to Walke in* (1605) or François Colsoni's *The English Ladies New French Grammar* (1699), dedicated to Madame Russel. Erondell, a refugee from Normandy escaping religious persecution in France, worked as a teacher in England; he justifies his work in the preface 'To the Reader' as follows:

> For, seeing our tongue is called *Lingua Mulierum*, and that the English Ladyes & Gentle-women, are as studious & of as pregnant spirits, quicke conceites & ingeniositie, as of any other Country whatsoever, me thinketh it had bene a verie worthie and spacious subject for a good writer to employe his Pen. (Erondell 1605: fol. B1r)

Once again, he reduces the number of rules; the section on pronunciation and the rules of grammar is restricted to thirty-four sides. Conversely, the thirteen dialogues, set out in parallel English and French versions, cover 164 sides, and here the effort to adapt the material for his female audience is perhaps most obvious. Whilst the themes are the traditional ones—getting up, going to bed, etc.—the participants are mostly women and the vocabulary includes, for instance, items of women's clothing.[18]

[18] There were also, of course, manuals to teach women the art of letter-writing or rhetoric; for example, Gabriel-Henri Gaillard's (1746, 1752) rhetoric for young women was extremely popular and ran to a number of editions. In the preface to his *Rhétorique françoise à l'usage des jeunes demoiselles* (1752), Gaillard argues that, whilst women have been excluded from the courtroom and the pulpit, they are nevertheless more suited to the arts than men because of their sense of taste and refinement. The first manual of rhetoric written by a woman is that by Anne Marie de Beaufort d'Hautpoul (1825), which draws, often literally, on Gaillard (Bernier 2012). The connection between women and letter-writing is already established in the seventeenth century, with Mme de Sévigné being held up as a role

David-Étienne Choffin's series of grammars for women constitute well-known eighteenth-century examples of this tradition.[19] In his 1757 volume entitled *Introduction à la grammaire des dames*, we once again find the association of a female readership with a wider audience of all sorts of beginners, young or old, girls or boys (Choffin 1757: fol. 8r). Choffin favours presenting his material in parallel, with the French version on the left and the German, printed in Fraktur, on the right. The work begins with parallel texts of Biblical passages, before moving to the grammar and ending with model conversations where we find some concessions to his female audience, for instance in the second conversation between a young woman and her governess. Given the intended readership, it is perhaps surprising how unfriendly the presentation is in parts. For instance, there are numerous verb tables which are very cramped on the page and difficult to read. Likewise, the two-volume *Grammaire françoise, réduite en tables, à l'usage des dames, et des autres personnes qui ne savent pas le latin* (Choffin 1755–1756; *French Grammar, Reduced to Tables, for the Use of Women, and Others Who Do Not Know Latin*), despite its title, begins with an engraving (Figure 3.1) illustrating, on the left, the declensions for the different French determiners, using the structure of the Latin five-case system. On the right, a young girl, holding the French Academy dictionary, is shown the various verb endings and the conjugation of the verbs *avoir* ('to have') and *être* ('to be'). In comparison with the following century (see section 3.4.2), very few concessions then appear actually to be made by Choffin towards the intended readership in the way the content is presented.

3.3 Women as translators of literary or scientific texts

In the French tradition, notably in the classical period, grammar and translation were viewed as complementary activities, with translation being considered a kind of 'applied grammar'. When François de Malherbe was asked why he had never written a French grammar, he replied that people only needed to look at his translation of Livy to see how French should be used. It is significant that many of the leading seventeenth-century authors of metalinguistic texts—Vaugelas, Dominique Bouhours, Nicolas Andry de Boisregard—were also published translators, and that translations are cited frequently in the volume of observations to illustrate good usage (Ayres-Bennett and Seijido 2011: 245–7).

model; just as women were thought to be particularly suited to conversation, so they were deemed fitted for letter-writing as a 'conversation between absents' (La Charité 2012: 64).

[19] For full bibliographical details of this and other eighteenth-century examples, see Beck-Busse (2014).

Figure 3.1 David Étienne Choffin, *Grammaire françoise, réduite en tables, à l'usage des dames, et des autres personnes qui ne savent pas le latin. Neue französische Grammatick auf eine besondere Art eingerichtet, und in Tabellen gebracht; zum Besten des Frauenzimmers und anderer Personen, die das Latein nicht verstehen*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (1755–1756), vol. 1, introductory image (BnF: X-11624).

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If formal grammar writing, then, was still predominantly a male preserve, women could play a role in linguistic debate or in the elaboration of good usage as translators.[20] This link between linguistic debate and translation is evident, for instance, in the work of Marie de Gournay, who produced partial translations of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Le Jars de Gournay 1626). Significantly, her version of Book II was printed with excerpts from Jean Bertaut's translation inserted throughout for comparison,[21] whilst her translation of Book IV was a completion of the translation begun by Jacques Davy Du Perron. In 1626, De Gournay also included in her collected works an essay on the poetry of Bertaut and Du Perron, 'De la façon d'escrire de Messieurs Le Cardinal Du Perron et Bertaut Evesque de Sées' (Le Jars de Gournay 1626: 938–94). In this she praises the two poets for their use of

[20] For a list of women translators pre-1610, see Duché and Uetani (2015: 385–7).
[21] On this translation, see Cox (2018).

exclamations, diminutives, and ablative absolutes, in contrast with usage of the moderns; they thus represent what she considers to be the noble poetics of Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Des Portes. Brammall (2013) observes that the choice of Book IV allowed De Gournay to take a stance not only in the debate about poetics but also in the *Querelle des femmes*,[22] since Dido is presented as an example of the potential achievable by women: in her translation she consistently expands the original, heightening the nobility, tragedy, and romance of Dido's story. It is interesting to note in passing that Andry de Boisregard (1692 [1689]: 229) follows Guez de Balzac in favouring the use of the feminized forms *rhétoricienne* ('rhetorician') and *traductrice* ('translator') to refer to Marie de Gournay.

Perhaps the best-known female translator of the classical period is Anne Dacier (?1647–1720), wife of the scholar and translator André Dacier.[23] Anne Dacier had the good fortune to be taught both Ancient Greek and Latin by her father, Tanneguy Le Fèvre. She was first commissioned to produce editions of various classical texts, and from 1681 she began publishing prose translations of Anacreon and Sappho (1681), Plautus (1683), Aristophanes (1684), and Terence (1716).

Anne Dacier's two most famous translations are of the *Iliad* (1711) and the *Odyssey* (1716). Her translation of Homer led to a literary controversy in which she supported him against Antoine Houdar de la Motte in her work entitled *Des causes de la corruption du goust* (1714; *Reasons for the Corruption of Taste*). Interestingly, she defended the position of the Ancients and argued against the free versions of Houdar de la Motte. Nevertheless, she is also conscious of the need to avoid a servile translation and to match the beauty of Homer's language or to clarify the text where necessary (Garnier 2002: 26, 31). Dacier adopts a philological approach towards her text (Garnier 2002: 38): starting from a critical analysis of the Greek original, she seeks to give her reader a faithful rendition and an understanding of the source text. Nevertheless, her work is not aimed at 'savants', but at those who do not know Greek and Latin, especially women and young people, whose familiarization with the Ancients will protect them from 'corruption du gout' (Krief and André 2015: 1151; entry *Traductrices*).

The link between authors of metalinguistic texts and translation continues in the work of Émilie Du Châtelet. Just two of her translations have survived, a partial translation of Bernard Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees*, and more significantly, a complete translation of Newton's *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica* (*Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*), which appears to be in part an attempt to legitimize French as a scientific language (Delisle 2002: 104). In Voltaire's opinion, Latin lacked the necessary terms to discuss

[22] For recent studies of the *Querelle des femmes*, or 'the woman question' in France, see Offen (2017, 2018).

[23] As Sirois (1997: 108–9) notes, one of the roles played by women translators was to support their husbands in their work, as in many other fields.

developments in mathematics and physics; since French has been enriched with the necessary new words and expressions, it is much more suitable for spreading new knowledge (Newton 1966: I, ix). Where there is no French term available for a new concept, Du Châtelet is not afraid to coin a neologism, whilst leaving the original term in parentheses for clarity, as in the following example (Delisle 2002: 105): 'La force imprimée (*vis impressa*) *est* l'action par laquelle l'état du corps est changé, soit que cet état soit le repos, ou le mouvement uniforme en ligne droite' (Newton 1966: I, 3; 'Impressed force is the action by which the state of the body is changed, whether this state is resting or moving uniformly straight forward'). On her death, Voltaire wrote in a letter dated 15 October 1749 to the Prussian King Frederick II:

> J'ai perdu **un ami de vingt-cinq années**, **un grand homme qui n'avait de défaut que d'être une femme**, et que tout Paris regrette et honore. [...] Mais une femme qui a été capable de traduire Newton et Virgile, et qui avait **toutes les vertus d'un honnête homme** aura sans doute part à vos regrets. (cited in Delisle 2002: 2–3; my emphasis)
>
> (I've lost *a (male) friend of twenty-five years, a great man who had no other failing than to be a woman*, and whom all Paris misses and honours. [...] But a woman who was capable of translating Newton and Virgil, and who had *all the virtues of a gentleman* will likely be missed by you.)

The use of the masculine forms (*un ami*, *un grand homme*, *un honnête homme*) are suggestive of a certain attitude. Yet by 1840 Albertine-Adrienne Necker de Saussure (1840: II, 164) could write that 'la modeste occupation de traducteur me semble une de celles qui [...] convient le mieux [aux femmes]' ('the modest occupation of translator seems to me one of those which best suits women').

Apart from the translations by Dacier and Du Châtelet, translations by women from Greek and Latin are rare in the eighteenth century, since the ancient languages were still considered a male domain. Translations of modern languages are more numerous, but still infrequent in the first half of the century, with translations from English and particularly of Alexander Pope dominating (Krief and André 2015: 1146). Thus, Marthe-Marguerite Le Valois de Villette de Murçay, comtesse de Caylus, produced a prose translation of Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* which was first published under the pseudonym Mr. ** (Caylus 1728) and then as M. L. D. F. (Caylus 1738); in it she expressed her admiration for the 'Modern' Pope, whose remarks on the *Iliad* had provoked Anne Dacier's indignation.

In the second half of the century the number and type of texts translated expanded, not least because women's knowledge of foreign languages improved. Translations from Italian and German remained rare, with English works still leading the way by far, and notably recently published works.

3.4 Women's education, the teaching of grammar and of foreign languages

3.4.1 Women's educational opportunities

One of the key features for understanding why women did not participate in the same activities in the history of linguistics as men is the very different educational opportunities they were afforded. Whereas boys in France received their education largely through *collèges* and universities, girls' education for centuries depended to a large extent on their family and social situation.

In the seventeenth century, for example, three main types of education were open to women in France: domestic, formal, and informal (Gibson 1989: 20–1). In the first case, the girl's education, consisting essentially in housewifery and morals, was supervised by her mother at home. Frequently, the girl would be entrusted to a governess who might give the child some basic religious and social instruction. Later, a private tutor might be employed to teach rudimentary general knowledge, but especially skills valued in polite society, including modern languages. Outside the home, formal instruction for girls was essentially at primary level. A convent education was dominated by religious instruction, with reading, writing, and arithmetic very definitely taking second place (Gibson 1989: 27). The Counter-Reformation led to some improvements in women's education, but the emphasis remained on simple repetition and memorizing.

Given the lack of formal educational opportunities, many women acquired their culture informally as adults in the 'Monde' or salons, at least women of the upper echelons of society. Presided over and dominated by women, the salons constituted a place where women could function outside the traditional domestic sphere and were able to discuss matters of language and style. As Grande (1999: 227) observes, salon culture allowed certain noble women to overcome the intellectual handicap of having an almost total lack of formal education. This was a resolutely modern and non-learned culture (Grande 1999: 226), where modern foreign languages, novels, poetry, theatre, music, dance, and classical and foreign literature in translation were the main areas of conversation and debate.

The nineteenth century is generally regarded as the critical period for the development of women's education in France, as legislation finally made education more accessible to both sexes, but particularly to women, and a wider state educational system was created.[24] Throughout the century, education was

[24] The title of Rogers's 2005 volume—*From the Salon to the Schoolroom*—encapsulates this key change. On the history of the education of girls and young women, see also Offen (2017: 122–47; 2018: 53–72).

segregated along class and gender lines. According to Rogers (2005: 3), secondary education was reserved for the bourgeoisie. Whilst boys could attend a variety of public and private institutions, with *collèges* and *lycées* preparing them for the Baccalaureate, until 1880 girls could only attend private institutions. From 1800 to the middle of the century, private schools therefore played a key role in educating women. By 1855, three hundred and twenty secular and twenty-two religious secondary schools for bourgeois girls had been created in Paris (Rogers 2005: 168). Many of these schools remained very conservative pedagogically, focusing on the moral education deemed necessary for their pupils to become wives and mothers. Between 1880 and 1882 the government stepped in to regulate the certification of teachers, guarantee free primary education to both sexes, and require all children aged 6–13 to attend primary school (Quartararo 1995). A law, proposed by Camille Sée in 1880, finally institutionalized secondary education for girls. By 1896 there were thirty-six secondary schools for girls, although it was not until the 1920s that secondary education became free of charge, and therefore more accessible to the working class.

3.4.2 Teaching French grammar to girls

The nineteenth century witnesses a burgeoning of works to teach girls their mother tongue, many of which were written by females, including Stéphanie de Warchouf (1806), a 15-year-old girl, Mlle Vauvilliers (1813), Mme Roulleaux (1833), Sophie Serreau (1840), Virginie Mauvais (1832, 1834, 1842), Victorine Collin Des Gimées (1839, 1840, 1847, [1860]), Mlles Harmand (1849), Mme C. Bourgoin (1851, 1855, 1858, etc.), Elisabeth de Foüan (1856), and Mme Garnier-Gentilhomme[25] (1884, 1885a, 1885b, 1885c, 1886a, 1886b, 1892).[26] These are addressed to different audiences, ranging from works for mothers, such as Vauvilliers (1813), to those teaching in boarding schools for girls, such

[25] These were all published under the name 'M. Garnier-Gentilhomme'. Interestingly, Victorine Collin Des Gimées also uses her father's authority on the title page of her 1839 work to state her credentials and derive authority, describing herself as the daughter and pupil of M. Collin, former teacher of literature and philosophy, member of the Société royale académique des Sciences, author of the *Maître de français*, the *Maître d'éloquence*, and other works.

[26] The first French work aimed explicitly at prospective teachers of young ladies is Jean Lanteires' *Quelques avis aux institutrices de jeunes damoiselles* (1788; *Some Advice for Female Teachers of Young Women*). Goodman (2009: 155) notes, however, that it details how the teaching of letter-writing to girls should correspond to gender expectations since, unlike men, they will not use this skill in their work or in writing for the public. For discussion of some of the early nineteenth-century grammars for women and girls written by men, see Brunot (1905–1953: X, 709–10). Other Francophone countries and regions likewise produced school manuals. In Quebec, for instance, the female religious community, the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in Montreal, produced a large number of teaching manuals, including for the teaching of French reading and writing (see https://archivesvirtuelles-cnd.org/manuels-scolaires accessed 13 Dec. 2018).

as Roulleaux (1833), from the very elementary (Warchouf 1806) to the more advanced (Garnier-Gentilhomme 1885c, 1886b, 1892).[27]

Despite the different readerships and levels, a number of recurring themes can be identified. As with grammars for boys (Chervel 1977), the teaching of grammar is intimately bound up with the teaching of spelling. This relationship is explicitly expressed in Serreau's *Grammaire progressive à l'usage des écoles élémentaires et des pensionnats* (1840; *Progressive Grammar for Use in Elementary and Boarding Schools*): 'dans le premier enseignement, la grammaire, en définitive, n'est guère autre chose que l'orthographe' ('in the early stages of teaching, grammar, when all is said and done, is virtually nothing but spelling'). Spelling falls into two types: 'l'orthographe absolue' ('absolute spelling'), which has to be learnt through usage, and 'l'orthographe relative' ('relative spelling'), which can be acquired with the help of grammatical rules (Serreau 1840: 8). In other works, the title makes the relationship between grammar and spelling very clear (e.g. Harmand 1849).

Other recurring themes seem more related to the intended female readership. Many of the texts speak of the aridity, the tediousness, and therefore the difficulty of learning grammar. Vauvilliers (1813: ii) describes grammar lessons as 'toujours si sêches et si fastidieuses' ('always so dry and so tedious'), and notes that the sterility and difficulty of grammatical rules terrify female minds (1813: iii). As a result, the works propose a number of different solutions to overcoming these difficulties, above all with the aim, to cite Warchouf (1806: 6), of making the textbook 'plaisant, instructif et divertissant' ('pleasing, instructive, and amusing'). In her *Vélocifère grammatical*,[28] Warchouf favours the use of light popular songs or vaudevilles, whilst Élisabeth de Foüan (1856) prefers informal conversations, which follow the story of a mother and her three children, Marie, aged 10, Jane, aged 7, and Paul, aged 5, on the grounds that if the imagination is captured, then memorizing becomes easier. The following extract (1856: 11–12) exemplifies her method:

> Mme Durand.
>
> Ma bonne Jane, je ne veux pas te dire les règles de la grammaire telles qu'elles sont expliquées dans les livres; j'ai seulement l'intention de t'aider à les comprendre, afin que tu les retiennes plus facilement quand tu seras en âge d'apprendre par cœur.
>
> Je te parlerai des choses les plus simples.

[27] Many of these refer to their own experience as teachers or head teachers (e.g. Vauvilliers 1813, Roulleaux 1833, Mauvais 1834, Collin Des Gimées 1840, Bourgoin 1855, Foüan 1856, Garnier-Gentilhomme 1884).

[28] Subtitled *La Langue française, et l'orthographe apprises en chantant, ouvrage très-élementaire, unique en son genre, mis en vaudevilles, et dédié aux demoiselles* (*The French Language and Spelling Learnt through Singing, a Very Elementary Work, Unique of its Type, Arranged in Vaudevilles and Dedicated to Young Women*).

> Il y dix espèces de mots avec lesquelles on peut former toutes les phrases possibles.
>
> Jane.
>
> Comment cela se fait-il ? . . . Que dix ? . . . Il me semblait qu'il y avait des mots, des mots . . . à n'en plus finir !
>
> Mme Durand.
>
> Il y a une quantité considérable de mots, mais ils sont divisés, classés en dix espèces seulement. Pour te le faire concevoir, voici une petite comparaison: Tu mets sur toi pour t'habiller plusieurs espèces de vêtements; chacun de ces vêtements a un nom particulier: tu as dans ton trousseau plus d'un jupon, plus d'une robe; que tes robes soient en laine, en soie, en indienne, simples ou brodées, ce sont toujours des robes; elles servent au même usage quoiqu'elles ne soient pas pareilles. Il en est de même pour les mots [. . .].
>
> (Mme Durand.
>
> My dear Jane, I don't want to tell you all the rules of grammar as they are explained in books; rather I just want to help you understand them, so that you retain them more easily when you are old enough to learn by heart.
>
> I'll tell you about the easiest things.
>
> There are ten types of words with which you can form all possible sentences.
>
> Jane.
>
> How can that be? . . . Only ten? . . . I thought there were . . . endless words!
>
> Mme Durand.
>
> There is a vast number of words, but they are all divided or classed into just ten types. To help you understand, here is a little comparison. You dress in many types of clothes; each of these clothes has a particular name: in your wardrobe you have more than one skirt, more than one dress; whether your dresses are in wool, silk, Indian cotton, simple or embroidered, they are still dresses; they serve the same purpose, even though they are not the same. It's the same for words [. . .].)

The volume ends with an illustration of the different tenses and moods in the form of a flowering plant instead of the usual verb tables (Figure 3.2). For Vauvilliers (1813: ii), the solution is to use the finest examples from the great authors, whereas Serreau (1840: 9) prefers to use a book her pupils enjoy, such as Jean de La Fontaine's *Fables*, reading each sentence first for meaning, then going through it word by word, syllable by syllable. A different pedagogical approach—advocated, for instance, by Garnier-Gentilhomme (1884) and Collin Des Gimées (1840)—is to conceal from the pupils the nature or the difficulty of the task. For example, Collin Des Gimées (?1797–18..) recommends that when teachers get to past participles—which she describes as the werewolves of French grammar—they should avoid naming the subject, since the very mention of it renders children

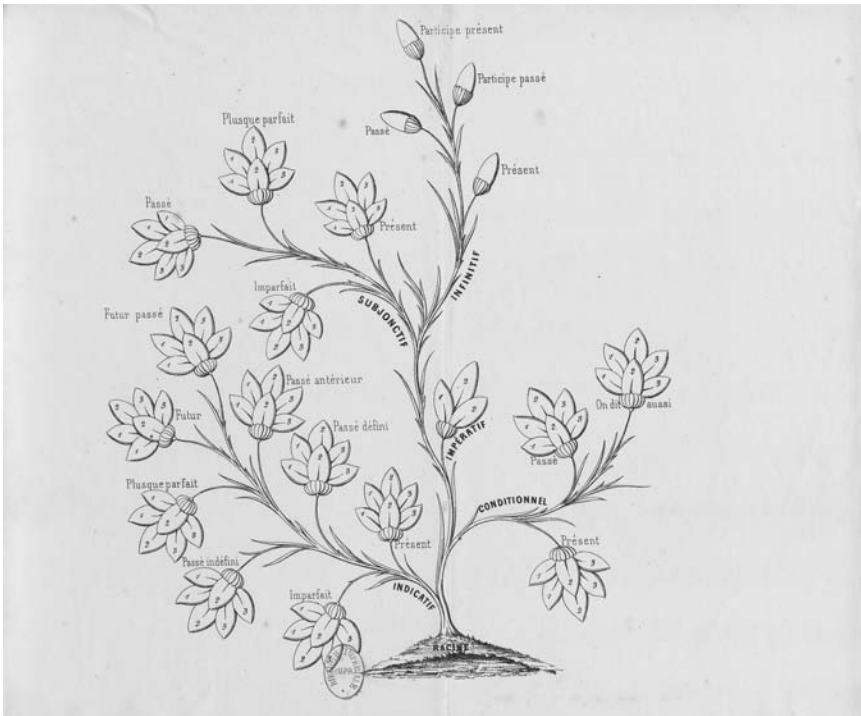

Figure 3.2 Illustration of the different French tenses and moods at the end of Élisabeth de Foüan's *Petites causeries sur la grammaire française* (1856) (BnF: X-25284).
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stupid (Collin Des Gimées 1840: 111). Rather she recommends that they should be introduced as invariable moods or simple adjectives. The emphasis on spelling means that dictation plays an important part of language learning, and Bourgoin produces a series of volumes on this. Her 1855 volume of dictations is specifically aimed at girls aged 8–12, once again with the stated aim of making its study easier and more pleasant to girls.[29]

It should, however, be noted that not all of the works are as user-friendly. For instance, the *Grammaire élémentaire* (1834; *Elementary Grammar*) by Virginie Mauvais (1797–1892) consists of one lesson per page: each comprises lists of forms and exceptions with no explanation offered as to how the material is to be taught. Likewise, in her work on French verb conjugations, Collin Des Gimées (1839) simply presents the different verbs alphabetically, with their conjugations set out in lists rather than tables.

[29] On the use of dictation in schools and Mme Bourgoin, see Chervel (2006: 323–4). For a discussion of the debate on spelling during the Second Empire and Mérimée's famous dictation, see Portebois (2006).

Related to the question of making the material more pleasing is the insistence on the need to provide a methodical, structured, and progressive approach. Roulleaux (1833) argues that children's progress is hampered by the lack of order and gradation, and favours a series of ordered questions and answers for her French grammar. Garnier-Gentilhomme, in her series of grammar manuals (1884, 1885a, 1885b, 1885c, 1886a, 1886b), aimed at successively elementary, middle, and advanced levels, claims that she has tailored the complexity of explanation to the children's intellectual capacity.

Grammar is also presented by women as part of a more general educational programme.[30] Anne Marie de Beaufort d'Hautpoul (1763–1837) notes in the 1822 edition of her *Études convenables aux demoiselles* (*Studies Suitable for Young Women*) that she has added a grammar into her course of study, an addition necessitated by the progress made in female education. Marie Pape-Carpantier (1815–1878), in a series of works,[31] some of which were co-authored with Charles and Fanny Delon, Jean Fleury, or her daughters, played an important role in developing new teaching methods at nursery and primary level. It is interesting that the covers of the 1873 and 1876 works present the editions as being specifically intended for boys and girls, respectively, reflecting again the growing market for teaching materials for girls.

3.4.3 Women and the learning of modern languages

Even before the institutionalization of education for girls, the learning of modern languages was considered a suitable pastime for women. There was, however, also suspicion about women learning certain languages. The Marquise de Lambert, in a letter to her daughter, argues that a woman should be content with the language of her country, but that she is not opposed to the learning of Latin as the language of the church and science. On the other hand, she considers the learning of Italian dangerous because: 'c'est la langue de l'amour; les auteurs italiens sont peu châtiés: il règne dans leurs ouvrages un jeu de mots, une imagination sans règle qui s'oppose à la justesse de l'esprit' (Lambert 1729: 143 ; 'it's the language of love; Italian authors are very unrefined; there reigns in their works a play on words, an unregulated imagination which is contrary to soundness of mind').[32] In the nineteenth century, the acquisition of languages continued to depend on status

[30] See also Chasteau (1885). The focus here is on works by women, but there were, of course, works by men on the education of girls, for female teachers (e.g. Théry 1840, Dalimier 1843), and for mothers (e.g. Ax 1856).

[31] Just a representative selection of her works is cited here (Pape-Carpantier 1849, 1874, 1876, 1879, [1880]; Pape-Carpantier, Delon, and Delon 1873); see Chervel (2006: 394, 591, 607).

[32] Italian was, nevertheless, much studied by women, and a number of grammars of Italian for women were published in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries; see Sanson (2014) on Italian grammars 'pour les dames' intended for learners in France.

and family circumstances. A short programmatic work by Madame de Genlis, *Projet d'une école rurale pour l'éducation des filles* (1801; *Project for a Rural School for the Education of Girls*), presented the idea of a school to teach religion and morality, writing, and arithmetic, together with English, German, and Italian, with the aim that the girls could learn to speak well, read prose fluently, and write a letter correctly in those languages (Reuillon-Blanquet 1994: 58). Although, as we have seen, there were many grammars for women published in the second half of the eighteenth century, there were fewer devoted to the teaching of foreign languages. Reuillon-Blanquet cites the example of the abbé Bencirechi, author of *Leçons hebdomadaires de la langue italienne à l'usage des dames* (1772; *Weekly Italian Lessons for Women*). Once again, the work places emphasis on the need to make learning easy and pleasant for women and to avoid dry terminology; the subjects are chosen to appeal to women, as are the vocabulary lists at the end of each chapter which treat, for instance, women's clothing or household furnishing (Bencirechi 1772: 17–18, 25–6).

The association between women and foreign-language learning continues as teaching becomes more formalized. In the nineteenth century, before the creation of *collèges* and *lycées* for girls by the Loi Sée (1880), lay boarding schools and convents offered foreign languages to their bourgeois clientele for an additional payment (Rogers 2006). As for the spoken language, families were advised to engage an English or German governess. So, before 1880, the teaching of foreign languages was mostly in the hands of foreign women in France to perfect their own usage of French, with the teaching of English dominating. To cite Rogers (2006: 139), whilst languages were part of the *arts d'agrément* ('ornamental arts'), they remained characterized by amateurism.

3.5 Discussions of women's language

The nature of women's language is much discussed in the French tradition. In his *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647), Vaugelas defines good usage as the written usage of the best ('healthiest') writers of the day together with the spoken usage of the best part of the Court. He explicitly includes women's usage in this. Indeed, in an interesting methodological observation, he argues that, where good usage is doubtful, women 'and those who have not studied' should be consulted, since they are likely to give you a more natural (*naïf*) and authentic answer, uncorrupted by any knowledge of Greek and Latin grammar (Vaugelas 1647: 503–5).

With the emphasis on good usage at the Court and in polite society, Vaugelas is anxious to recommend a use of French which will please and not offend readers and listeners. For instance, he recommends avoiding *expedition*, used in a military context, because women may not understand this technical term. Indeed, he argues that he has seen women reading a work in which this word was used,

stopping, or at least interrupting, their reading because of the obscurity of this single term (1647: 370).

Vaugelas is particularly indulgent, then, towards women's use of language. An extreme example is provided by the discussion of the gender of the noun *ouvrage* ('work'). Vaugelas (1647: 445) maintains that this should always be masculine, whatever the sense; however, he notes that women use it in the feminine when speaking about their work, and concludes that they should be allowed to do so in speech, although not in writing. It is interesting that Marguerite Buffet (1668: 193) removes this latitude from her observations, simply stating that *ouvrage* is always masculine.

Women are, therefore, generally viewed as models of good linguistic behaviour not because of any inherent superiority but rather because of their lack of education. Not all commentators on women and their use of language are, however, as positive. Writers of both sexes in the period emphasize that any affectation of knowledge by women is to be avoided. For instance, Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac (1661: 138–9) wrote in a letter to Jean Chapelain that he would rather see a woman with a beard than one who shows off her learning, and Andry de Boisregard (1692 [1689]: 375) applies this to language when he argues that 'le style pédantesque' ('pedantic style') is much less acceptable in works by women, 'parce qu'on sçait que leur mérite n'est pas la science' ('since we know that learning is not their strong point'). It is for this reason that Madame de Maintenon apparently told the nuns at Saint-Cyr to avoid paying too much attention to correctness in writing and spelling (Gibson 1989: 273). A woman should not appear 'savante' or learned.

Vaugelas's position was also criticized by Scipion Dupleix in his work entitled *Liberté de la langue françoise dans sa pureté* (1651; *Freedom of the French Language in its Purity*). For instance, in the observation discussing the expression *vomir des injures* (Dupleix 1651: 606; 'vomit insults'), Dupleix concludes, 'cete complaisance envers les Dames ne peut tomber que dans les esprits des hommes effeminés' ('this complacency towards women can only occur in the minds of effeminate men'). Later in the century, Gilles Ménage criticizes Dominique Bouhours for having defended the speech habits of the *Précieuses* in his *Remarques nouvelles* (1675; *New Remarks*); he accuses him of being a *Précieux* who prides himself on writing works on French 'à l'usage et en faveur des Dames' (Ménage 1676: 204; 'for the use of, and in favour of, women').

This leads on to discussion of *Préciosité* (*Preciosity*) which is perhaps the most telling—and the most extreme example—of women asserting themselves linguistically in seventeenth-century France. According to Marina Yaguello (1978: 39), *Préciosité* represents one of the first attempts by women to speak up, to give themselves power over language, and to make a place for themselves in the patriarchal society (within the limits of the dominant class). This is an example where women—at least those of a certain social standing—seem not to accept their inferior status in society but to use linguistic differentiation as a way of

showing solidarity and difference from others, or, to use Milroy's (1980) terms, to create closer social networks within a linguistic community.

From the earliest explicit reference to the existence of the *Précieuses*, the much-quoted letter written by the Chevalier de Sévigné on 3 April 1654 to Christine de France, they are associated with a particular 'jargon' (Maître 1999: 59). When discussing the *Précieuses*' use of language, we are faced with a number of problems which surround all discussions of the movement.[33] First, its very existence has been questioned. It is generally acknowledged that seventeenth-century portrayals of *Préciosité* contain a mixture of historical fact and fiction, of reality and caricature, and that the crux of the problem lies in identifying the proportion and identity of each. Second, there are questions of definition, notably since the term can have positive and negative values. In its positive sense, the term 'Précieuses' refers to a group of women concerned with civility and politeness, who promoted a pure use of language and displayed considerable interest in literary questions. Negative values—and especially the connotation of excess—are found notably in satirical texts such as Molière's famous *Précieuses ridicules* (*The Ridiculous Précieuses*) or Somaize's two volumes entitled *Le Grand Dictionnaire des Pretieuses* (1660, 1661; *Grand Dictionary of the Précieuses*) which claim to offer a complete and authentic glossary of all the terms and expressions used by the *Précieuses*.

When we come to assessing the main features of *Précieuses*' attitudes towards language, two contradictory themes emerge. On the one hand, like many seventeenth-century commentators on good usage, they favour the use of the *mot juste*, the avoidance of words considered too old, too low in register, or too 'realistic'. To cite Somaize (1661: I, 93), 'elles font une Guerre continuelle contre le vieux langage, l'ancien stile, les mots barbares, les esprits pedants, & les modes passées' ('they are constantly at war with the old language, archaic style, barbaric words, pedantic minds, and out-of-date fashions'). On the other hand, they differ from the purist tendencies of their contemporaries in favouring new words, 'fashionable' and striking expressions, and lively metaphors, leading to the impression that they have their own jargon. In the repeated use of certain 'fashionable' words such as *raisonnable*, *furieux*, *furieusement*, or *la mine* ('reasonable', 'furious', 'furiously', 'look, expression'), they identify themselves as belonging to a certain milieu. When such expressions, paraphrases, and metaphors are overused, affectation results and the prized characteristic of women's language as natural or *naïf* is lost. Whilst Somaize provides well-known satirical examples such as *j'ay un furieux Tendre (pour les gens d'esprit)* instead of *j'aime beaucoup* (Somaize 1660: 2; 'I have a furious tenderness (for witty people)' for 'I greatly like'), there is also some discussion of *Précieuses*' usage in the metalinguistic texts of the period. For instance, Buffet (1668: 38) comments on the

[33] For more detail, see Ayres-Bennett (2004: 133–8).

expression *resides enchantées*, used to refer to 'des alcauves faites d'une maniere embellie' ('embellished alcoves'), arguing that although it seems somewhat *précieux*, it is nevertheless well received. Bouhours (1675: 8), conversely, considers that the adjective *enchanté*, used in expressions such as *un portrait enchanté* or *un habillement enchanté* ('an enchanted portrait', 'an enchanted outfit'), is unlikely to remain fashionable for long, and counsels against using it, 'de-peur de tomber dans l'affectation, & de parler un langage prétieux' ('for fear of falling into affectation and using *précieux* language'). Discussing *immisericordieux* ('unmerciful'), Andry de Boisregard (1692 [1689]: 257) comments that 'Ce mot à [sic] quelque chose d'affecté qui déplaist' ('this word is rather affected, which is displeasing'). He adds that the same is true of *immortification*, *immortifié*, and *incharitable* ('immortification', 'unmortified', 'uncharitable'), terms which are commonly used by the *Précieuses*, but which well-respected people avoid.

Finally, there is debate about whether the *Précieuses* played a role in promoting spelling reform. According to Somaize (1661: II, 57–68), M. Le Clerc and three women (Mme Le Roy, Mlle de Saint Maurice, and Mme de la Durandière) agreed on the desirability of creating a new spelling system based on pronunciation, 'afin que les femmes peussent écrire aussi asseurément, & aussi correctement, que les hommes' ('so that women can write with the same confidence and as correctly as men'). Somaize lists some 130 proposed changes, including the removal of silent consonants, especially silent 's' (*teste* → *tête; hostel* → *hôtel*); a rationalization of the use of consonants to give a clearer one-to-one relationship between sound and symbol (*qualité* → *calité; triomphans* → *triomfans*); and the removal of unpronounced internal vowels (*seureté* → *seûrté; extraordinaire* → *extr'ordinaire*). Brunot (1905–1953: IV, 97) expresses scepticism about this account, but we do know that a modified spelling was used in polite society and was also favoured by Richelet in his dictionary (1680). In the eighteenth century, Noël-François de Wailly once again puts the call for spelling reform into women's mouths in *L'Orthographe des dames, ou l'Orthographe fondée sur la bonne prononciation, démontrée la seule raisonnable, par une société de dames* (1782; *Women's Spelling, or Spelling Based on Good Pronunciation, Demonstrated as the Only Reasonable One, by a Society of Women*; surviving extracts in Firmin-Didot 1868: 150–4). As Goodman notes (2009: 124), they no longer speak from a position of natural linguistic authority but as mothers needing to help their children and as humble representatives of the nation. They call on men of letters to make spelling available to all French women and men by making it fully phonetic. The need for this is underlined by the many pedagogical works to teach spelling to women whose command of spelling is poor.[34]

[34] For instance, the anonymous *Ortografe des dames* (Prunay 1766). Prunay, in his *Grammaire des dames*, expresses dismay at women's poor command of spelling and grammar (Prunay 1777: xviii), noting that the same woman whose conversation can give great pleasure may appear a completely

3.6 Concluding remarks

Any account of the history of the standardization and codification of the French language must take account of the role of the French Academy. Here, above all, the question 'where are the women?' is at its most pertinent, since throughout the period under consideration, there was not a single female Academician. Since the election of Marguerite Yourcenar, 1980–1987, there have been only eight other female members of the Academy (out of a total of 731), of which five are current:[35]

- Dominique Bona, elected 2013, novelist
- Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, elected 1990, historian
- Barbara Cassin, elected 2018, philologist and philosopher
- Florence Delay, elected 2000, novelist and playwright
- Danièle Sallenave, elected 2011, novelist and journalist

We should perhaps not, then, be surprised at the Academy's long-standing negative reaction to the 'féminisation des titres et des fonctions' ('feminization of titles and function') in the 1980s, repeated in 2002, and only finely overturned on 28 February 2019,[36] or its recent description of *écriture inclusive* ('inclusive spelling') as representing a mortal danger for the French language.[37]

The absence of women for centuries from institutional contexts, symbolized above all by the French Academy, masks, however, the numerous ways they have contributed to the codification and elaboration of the French language, whether as authors or readers of metalinguistic texts, as translators, educators, or linguistic role models.

different person in writing because of her numerous spelling mistakes. He is critical of those who want to retain unpronounced etymological spellings (Prunay 1777: viii), and observes that women do not need to know Latin to be able to write French well, but rather need to learn the principles of French grammar (Prunay 1777: xxx).

[35] The other three are Jacqueline de Romilly (1988–2010), Assia Djebar (2005–2015), and Simone Veil (2008–2017).

[36] As noted above, Andry de Boisregard (1692 [1689]: 228–30) had already discussed the relative merits of using a distinctive feminine form for women in certain roles, favouring *conseillère* ('councillor') and *avocate* ('lawyer'), on the one hand, but criticizing words such as *poëtesse*, *philosophesse*, and *autrice* ('poet', 'philosopher', 'author'), on the other. At the end of the eighteenth century, the authors of the *Journal de la langue françoise* (*Journal of the French Language*) were asked by a correspondent (15 Nov. 1784) about the acceptability of *amatrice* (Domergue 1784–1792; 'amateur'). It is worth noting that a number of women figure amongst the correspondents to the *Journal*, including Sophie Vaucel and Caroline Bondi. On the feminization of names in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including Marie-Louise Gagneur's attempt to get the French Academy to acknowledge forms such as *la sculptrice* ('sculptor'), see Offen (2018: 275–8).

[37] 'Déclaration de l'Académie française sur l'écriture dite "inclusive"' (http://www.academie-francaise.fr/actualites/declaration-de-lacademie-francaise-sur-lecriture-dite-inclusive accessed 3 Jan. 2019).

4
The contribution of women to the Spanish linguistic tradition

Four centuries of surviving words

María Luisa Calero Vaquera

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the various ways in which women have been involved in the formation and development of linguistic ideas within the Spanish tradition and examines a number of views regarding the kind of discourse considered to typify them. Data are presented chronologically, from the first attempts at codifying the Spanish language (late fifteenth century) to the early decades of the twentieth century. The relevant information has been drawn from some of the best-known metalinguistic works (grammars and dictionaries) in Spanish, mostly written by men; from the surviving works in Latin by the *puellae doctae* (lit. 'learned young women'); and from the *oeuvre* of representative women writers in the Spanish vernacular or Romance (ascetic and mystic authors, and creators of fiction) during the Renaissance. The chapter also focuses on the language used by women in eighteenth-century society, the press articles (allegedly) written by women, and their activity both as translators in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and as language teachers in the nineteenth century. Finally, it highlights a number of linguistic works by the first female language professionals (e.g. philologists, lexicographers, and grammarians), published in the early twentieth century, once women were admitted to university. To ensure the most accurate interpretation of findings, close attention is paid to their context, in three ways: by taking into account the contemporary views of women and their intellectual abilities at each stage in history, for example the *Querelle des femmes* ('the debate about women'); by referring at each stage to the educational context, which has historically adopted a mean-spirited, biased attitude towards women; and by examining female contributions alongside canonical linguistic output by men.

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4.2 Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: The role of women in the early codification of Spanish

The grammatical codification of the Spanish language began with the publication of Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (*Grammar of the Spanish Language*) in 1492, a significant date in Spanish history because it coincided with the conquest of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada and the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; all three historical milestones are attributable to the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand I and Isabella of Castile (1451–1504). Indeed, Nebrija's work—the first printed grammar of a Romance language in Europe—was commissioned by Queen Isabella herself and, if we are to believe Juan de Valdés (1969 [1535?]: 75), was intended 'para las damas de la sereníssima doña Isabel' ('for the ladies of Her Very Serene Highness Doña Isabella'). The *Gramática* is dedicated to Queen Isabella,[1] who also commissioned Alonso de Palencia's *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance* (1490; *Universal Vocabulary in Latin and Romance*), the first general monolingual Latin dictionary, with a translation into Spanish.[2] It was Queen Isabella, too, who suggested to Nebrija that he publish his *Introductiones latinae* (1481) accompanied by a translation into Spanish (1773 [1488?]; *Introducciones latinas contrapuesto el romance al latín* (*Latin Introductions Contrasting the Romance with the Latin*)) 'por que las mugeres religiosas y vírgenes dedicadas a Dios, sin participación de varones pudiesen conocer algo de la lengua latina' (Nebrija 1773 [1488?]: vi; 'so that religious women and virgins devoted to God, with no male participation, might learn something of the Latin language'). All this serves to highlight the queen's interest in the cultural (and linguistic) education of women (Gómez Molleda 1955).[3] Years later, Pedro de Guevara, tutor to Philip II's daughters, wrote a book for them: *Nueva y sutil invención, en seys instrumentos, intitulado juego y exercicio de letras de las serenissimas Infantas doña Ysabel y doña Catalina de Austria* (*New and Subtle Invention, in Six Instruments, entitled Game and Exercise of Letters of their Very Serene Highnesses Infantas Doña Ysabel and Doña Catalina of Austria*; 1593), a Latin grammar based on the rationalist ideas introduced by Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas in his *Minerva* (1587).[4]

[1] Other noblewomen were to be the dedicatees of linguistic works, among them *Arte breve, y compendiossa, para aprender, a leer, pronunciar, escrevir, y hablar la lengua Española* (*Short and Compendious Art for Learning to Read, Pronounce, Write and Speak the Spanish Language*; 1616), dedicated by Juan de Luna to Anna de Montafier, Countess of Soissons.

[2] It was thus a one-way Latin–Spanish dictionary, which could not be used inversely. The term *romance* refers here to the Spanish language, as distinct from Latin or other Romance languages.

[3] According to Segura (1994), however, the cultural education received by the circle of ladies closest to the queen (such as Beatriz Galindo and Juana de Contreras) was both passive and reduced to the private sphere, that is, an education which reinforced the patriarchal system.

[4] Some grammars for the teaching of Spanish, published outside Spain, were also dedicated to queens or princesses; see Sáez Rivera and Borreguero (2012).

In the few grammars of Spanish published in Spain between 1500 and 1700 (Jiménez Patón 1614; Correas 1626, 1627; Villar 1651), women are conspicuously absent as authors, as target readers, and as speakers; unsurprisingly, this period saw no publication in Spain comparable to what in France was later to become known as the *Grammaires des dames*.[5] Correas (1954 [1626]: 144) is alone in distinguishing variations in language use between 'muxeres i varones' ('women and men'), noting that certain 'adverbios de amenazar' ('adverbs of threat') are typical of women, among them the oath 'por el siglo de mi padre' (Correas 1954 [1626]: 349; 'by my father's century'). Exceptionally, women appear as 'active subjects' in bilingual or multilingual dialogues used for teaching Spanish to foreigners, prompting the inclusion of more polite expressions, together with a greater use of proverbs and sententious expressions (Azorín, Martínez, and Martínez Linares 2012; Sáez Rivera and Borreguero 2012: 106–12).

At that time, medical-theological discourse held that women were subject 'by nature' to intellectual and moral disorders, which served to justify their legally inferior status to men. One of the best-known Spanish treatises addressing the *Querelle des femmes*—the prolonged philosophical, political, and literary debate on the superiority and inferiority of women which raged in Europe from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period, and then up to the French Revolution[6]—is *La perfecta casada* (1583; *The Perfect Wife*) by Fray Luis de León, who recommended that 'pues [las mujeres] no tienen saber para los negocios de substancia, traten [...] de poquedades y menudencias' (León 1992 [1583]: 182; 'since [women] do not know enough about important business, they should address [...] trifling affairs and petty issues'). A few years earlier, Juan Huarte de San Juan (1989 [1575]: 614) had declared that 'es conclusión averiguada que [Eva] sabía mucho menos que Adán' ('it is a foregone conclusion that [Eve] knew much less than Adam'). Female physical inferiority was also reflected in the first sounds they made at birth, which differed from those made by boys, according to the *Tesoro de la lengua Castellana, o Española* (1611; *Treasury of the Castilian or Spanish Language*), the first general monolingual dictionary in Spanish: 'el varón, como tiene más fuerza, dice *a*, y la hembra *e*, en que parece entrar en el mundo lamentándose de sus primeros padres Adán y Eva' (Covarrubias 1611: s.v.; 'the man, being stronger, says *a*, and the woman *e*, thus appearing to enter the world bemoaning the fate of her first parents, Adam and Eve').

[5] The earliest known *Grammaire des dames* dates back to the late seventeenth century, when Louis de Pelenis, in his *Galerie française et italienne* (Venice, 1688; *French and Italian Gallery*), announced the publication of *Grammaire des dames*, whose whereabouts is now unknown (Beck-Busse 2015 [2012]: 7–8). Other than this groundbreaking example, most *Grammaires des dames* were published in France, Germany, and England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

[6] For the origins of the *Querelle des femmes* ('polémica feminista' or 'polémica de los sexos') in Spain, see López-Cordón (2002), Vargas Martínez (2011).

The (more or less conscious) response of women to such discriminatory ideas in this area took several forms: (i) the humanists, known as *puellae doctae*; (ii) the 'conventual writing' of nuns; and (iii) creative writing on the literary front.

4.2.1 The passion for classical languages: The *puellae doctae*

Puellae doctae was the Latin name given in Europe to women writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, women from a privileged social class who received a philological and scientific education similar to that of men. Moreover, in the kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula from the early fifteenth century onwards, upper-class women took part in the Renaissance project for the restoration of classical learning, thanks to the backing of Spanish and Portuguese queens, vicereines, and princesses.[7] This trend reached its peak during the reign of Isabella I and lasted throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Borreguero 2011). Menéndez Pelayo (1942: 13) recorded the names of at least thirty-nine female Spanish humanists, although not all of them left behind any written work. One major figure was Beatriz Galindo (1465–1535), known as 'la Latina',[8] who devoted her life to the study of classical culture and languages, and acted as Latin tutor and advisor to Isabella I. Some *Notas y comentarios sobre Aristóteles* (*Notes and Comments on Aristotle*) and *Anotaciones sobre escritores clásicos antiguos* (*Notes on Ancient Classical Writers*; Arteaga 2007) have been attributed to her. Juana de Contreras (life dates unknown), for her part, was known only for keeping up a controversial epistolary exchange in 1504 with her teacher, Lucio Marineo Sículo, because he would not allow her to break the rules of Latin grammar in order to call herself *heroina* (rather than *herois*), a controversy which we know about only through surviving letters from her teacher (Rivera Garretas 1996: 29–30).

Luisa Sigea (1522–1560), who was proficient in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac, is perhaps the female author whose opus is best preserved. The author of *Duarum virginum colloquium de vita aulica et privata* (1552; *Dialogue between Two Young Girls on Court Life and Private Life*),[9] she was also a leading exponent of the epistolary genre;[10] one of her family letters deals with 'las partes que debe

[7] Humanists such as Juan Luis Vives in his *De institutione feminae christianae* (1523–1524; *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*; Spanish translation, *Libro llamado instrucion de la muger christiana*, 1528) championed the introduction of Latin into the education of women, as a means of gaining access to religious and moral texts.

[8] 'Por la lengua latina que hablaba sueltamente, fue dicha por sobrenombre la latina' ('Because of her ease in speaking Latin she was known as "la Latina"'), according to Lucio Marineo Sículo (cited in Rivera Garretas 1997: 125).

[9] See Stevenson (2005), Baranda (2008).

[10] Nicolás Antonio planned to publish thirty-three of her signed letters in Latin in his *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* (1783 [1672]). They were finally translated, analysed, and edited by Prieto Corbalán in 2007 (see Sigea 2007, see also Maestre 2018).

tener la buena conversación' ('the parts a good conversation should have'), including wit, charm, and plenty of news, and the best way to achieve that conversation (e.g. 'conversar con gentes de valor y de arte'; 'conversing with people of value and art'; Sigea 2007: 132–4).

Under the Augsburg dynasty (1516–1700) female Latin scholars were still to be found, among them a professor, Francisca de Nebrija (life dates unknown), the daughter of Antonio de Nebrija, 'tan docta en la gramática, que se dice suplia á su padre en sus ausencias en la cátedra de Alcalá' (Paz y Meliá 1898: 8–12, see also Cubíe 1768: 100, Parada 1881: 132; 'so learned in grammar that it is said she replaced her father while he was absent from the Chair of Alcalá'); it has even been suggested that she helped her father draft the first grammar in the Spanish language (Rivera Garretas 1997: 129; Martínez et al. 2000: 315).

The Counter-Reformation (1545–1648) posed greater obstacles for female education. There was even some debate regarding the advisability of women learning to read and write: 'es bien que aprenda a leer, para que rece y lea buenos y devotos libros, mas el escrebir ni es necesario, ni lo querría ver en las mujeres' (Fray Juan de la Cerda 1599, cited in Barbeito 2007: 53; 'it is a good thing for her to learn to read so that she can pray and read good, devout books, but to write is not necessary nor should I want to see it in women').

In a different field, Oliva Sabuco de Nantes Barrera (1562–1622), in her *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* (1587; *New Philosophy of the Nature of Man*),[11] addressed various matters (philosophical, medical, anthropological, and astrological, among others) greatly to the taste of contemporary humanist thought. Although two small pieces at the end are written in Latin, most of the book is in Spanish, the language she preferred, especially when dealing with legal texts, 'pues si estuvieran en romance [...] no eran menester estudios ni cátedras' (Sabuco de Nantes Barrera 1953 [1587]: 372; 'for if they were in Romance [...] there would be no need for studies or Chairs'). She also highlighted the psychological importance of conversation for human health: 'La mejor medicina de todas [...] es palabra' (Sabuco de Nantes Barrera 1953 [1587]: 336; 'The best medicine of all [...] is the word'). Using the Graeco-Scholastic logical approach popular in the seventeenth century, which arranged material in accordance with the three operations of the intellect, Countess Baltasara P. Arce Suárez (?–?1704) divided her *Tractatus logicae parvae, distributus in tribus libris, iuxta mentem Doctoris Ioannis Duns Scoti* (1692; *Introductory Treatise on Logic, Divided into Three Books, According to the Doctrine of Doctor John Duns Scotus*) into three books: the first analysed logical terms and their properties; the second focused on the noun, the verb, and the sentence; and the third dealt with propositions (Serrano Sanz 1903: I, 52–5). This was the approach taught by St Thomas Aquinas and later

[11] On the question of authorship, recently a very vexed issue, see Waithe (1989).

echoed by Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole in *La Logique, ou l'Art de penser* (1992 [1662]; *Logic, or the Art of Thinking*; Muñoz Delgado 1982).

4.2.2 Women writing in the vernacular: Dignifying Spanish

4.2.2.1 Conventual writing or the limits of words

Many women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found in a secluded spiritual life a way of claiming their right to self-expression and constructing their own identity.[12] These were the ascetic-mystic writers. The *Libro de la vida* (1562; *Book of Life*) by Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), the first female doctor of the Catholic Church, is a prototypical work in which she reflects on the limitations of language for expressing ineffable mystic experiences: 'Yo no sé otros términos cómo lo decir' (Teresa of Ávila 1993 [1562]: 234; 'I do not know any other terms for describing it'). However, the first female mystic to write in Spanish was Teresa de Cartagena (?1420–?), whose *Arboleda de los enfermos*[13] (*Grove of the Infirm*) is of particular interest for its reflections on her deafness, which heralded a long tradition of interest among Spanish scholars working on the education of the deaf.[14]

The influence of the Spanish Inquisition meant that these nuns were obliged to convey, in their writing, an appearance of humility and insecurity; they learnt to present themselves before the religious authorities as poor, ignorant women (Pascua 2000: 192). As a result, the nuns now chose to write not in Latin, as the *puellae doctae* did, but in the Castilian Spanish vernacular. For her lively, spontaneous use of the common speech current in Old Castile (García-Macho and Pascual 1990: 138),[15] Teresa of Ávila is widely hailed as one of the great reformers of Spanish prose in the sixteenth century. Her plain style clearly links her to the broad movement in favour of the use of Spanish rather than Latin as a literary language, spearheaded by writers such as Juan de Valdés, Fray Luis de León, and Fray Luis de Granada, among other staunch defenders of the Spanish language (see Gauger 1989). Others, such as Sister María de Jesús de Ágreda (1602–1665), the author of *Mística Ciudad de Dios* (1670; *Mystical City of God*), were highly cultured. Both nuns were cited by the Real Academia Española (RAE; 'Royal Spanish Academy') as literary authorities for a number of Spanish words and expressions recorded in the *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726–1739; *Dictionary of Authorities*): no fewer than 631 headwords are attributed to Teresa de Ávila,

[12] Numerous examples can be found in Serrano Sanz's list of Spanish women writers (1903).

[13] Available at Database Bieses (Bibliografía de Escritoras Españolas), www.bieses.net/teresa-de-cartagena-arboleda-de-los-enfermos/ accessed 18 Mar. 2019. See Teresa de Cartagena (1967).

[14] Among them Pedro Ponce de León (sixteenth century), Juan Pablo Bonet (1620), and Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1795). See Plann (1997).

[15] See also Mancho Duque (2008).

mostly belonging to an affective, colloquial register (e.g. *camarita*, *capuchillo*, *cocinilla*, *consideracioncilla*, *cuidadito*, *devocioncita*), while the 448 headwords for which Sister María de Jesús de Ágreda is cited are of a more learned nature (e.g. *abstractivamente*, *anagógico*, *coinquinado*, *estultamente*, *liquefacer*).[16]

Both contributed, with their different styles, to enhancing the status of the Castilian Spanish vernacular, at a time when linguistic interests focused on developing and codifying what was fast becoming the common language of a unified Spain; investigating its origins, and proving (or inventing) its great antiquity; and guaranteeing its derivation from a respectable language such as Hebrew, Greek, or Latin.[17]

4.2.2.2 The creators of fiction: The observatory of linguistic reality

A number of seventeenth-century female literary writers are of interest for their occasional perceptive linguistic commentaries. The poet and dramatist Ana Caro (?1590–?1650), for example, wrote a short play, *Loa sacramental que se representó en el carro de Antonio de Prado, en las fiestas del Corpus de Sevilla, este año de 1639. Compuesta por Doña Ana Caro. Dixose en quatro lenguas* (*Religious Panegyric Performed in the Carriage of Antonio de Prado, during the Corpus Christi Celebrations in Seville, in the Year 1639. Composed by Doña Ana Caro. Spoken in Four Languages*), in which a single actor played four different characters, each speaking a different creole: Spanish–Portuguese, Spanish–French, Spanish–Morisco, and Spanish–Guinean, colloquial languages that reflect the rich linguistic diversity of Seville's streets at that time, an aspect not examined by contemporary grammarians.[18]

María de Zayas (1590–1660), one of the first women writers to highlight the oppression of women, published a collection of short stories entitled *Desengaños amorosos* (1647; *The Disenchantments of Love*), in which she eschews the high-flown rhetorical excesses typical of *Culteranismo* ('Culteranism'): 'he procurado hablar en el idioma que mi natural me enseña y deprendí de mis padres; que lo demás es una sofistería en que han dado los escritores por diferenciarse de los demás, y dicen a veces cosas que ellos mismos no las entienden' (Zayas y Sotomayor and Figaredo 2014 [1647]: 246; 'I have tried to speak in the language that comes naturally and that my parents taught me; anything else is sophistry

[16] The inclusion of these two female authors in the first *Diccionario* published by the Academy is significant, in that it marks the recognition of their major role in the history of the Spanish language; as the prologue makes clear, 'Como basa y fundamento de este Diccionario, se han puesto los Autóres que ha parecido à la Academia han tratado la Léngua Españóla con la mayor propiedad y elegáncia' (Real Academia Española 1726: I, ii; 'As the basis and foundation of this Dictionary, references are given to those Authors who, in the view of the Academy, have made use of the Spanish Language with the greatest correctness and elegance').

[17] For theories on the early origins of Spanish, see Binotti (1995); on Spanish linguistics during the Renaissance, see Bahner (1966) and Lope Blanch (1990).

[18] See López Estrada (1976), Luna (1997).

that writers adopt to distinguish themselves from the rest, and sometimes they say things that even they themselves cannot understand'). Like Teresa of Ávila a century earlier, María de Zayas was opposed to excessive ornamentation of the language, perhaps because her work was aimed at an uneducated (largely female) readership (Mantesa 2008: 302). However, her approach may also be regarded as supporting Claude Favre de Vaugelas's views in his *Remarques sur la langue françoise utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien escrire* (1647; *Remarks on the French Language Useful to Those Who Want to Speak Well and Write Well*) on the role of women as arbiters of good linguistic use versus pedantry (Ayres-Bennett 1994b).

Yet in seventeenth-century Spain there were also women—like the French *Précieuses* ridiculed by Molière in 1659[19]—who joined existing literary academies (Ortí y Moles 1994 [1698]: 4) in order to discuss a whole range of issues in the most elaborate style.[20] This can be the only explanation for Francisco de Quevedo's satire *La culta Latiniparla, Cathecismo de vocablos, para instruir à las mugeres cultas, y hembrilatinas* (1635; *The Craze for Speaking Latin: A Catechism of Words for the Instruction of Educated Women and Femilatins*), in which he sneers at an imaginary bluestocking ('Doña Escolástica Polianthea de Calepino, the Lady of Trilingüe and Babylonia') for her over-ornate ('Culteran') language and her preference for Latinisms and recherché vocabulary, noting that she is forever 'salpicando de necedades por donde quiera [que] hablare' (Quevedo 1635: 473; 'peppering whatever she says with nonsense'), a charge later levelled against women's usage by José Cadalso in the eighteenth century (see section 4.3.2). Such criticism of fictitious 'pedantic' women hints at a veiled rejection of any woman seeking to emulate learned men. It seems unfair that this view of female pedantry should prevail throughout history.

4.3 Eighteenth century: Enlightened women

Enlightenment ideas spread to Spain through aristocratic and bourgeois salons,[21] through academies and economic societies, through the press, and through essays translating or commenting on the doctrines of European philosophers. Moralists, politicians, and philosophers denounced the general ignorance of women, and demanded that this situation be remedied. Father Benito J. Feijoo penned his 'Defensa de las mujeres' (1726; 'Defence of Women') in favour of the equality of the sexes, and Josefa Amar y Borbón (1749–?1813) in her *Discurso en defensa del talento de las mugeres y de su aptitud para el gobierno* (1786; *Discourse in Defence*

[19] See Chapter 3 of this volume, especially pp. 116–18.

[20] Some even established their own literary academies, such as the *Pítima contra la ociosidad* (*Poultice against Idleness*), founded in 1607 by the Countess of Guimerá, together with the Countess of Eril, at her home in Saragossa (Serrano Sanz 1903: I, 355).

[21] On literary salons in European culture, see Heyden-Rynsch (1998).

of the Talent of Women and their Aptitude for Government) argued that the tendencies held to be innate in women were merely the product of a certain kind of education.[22]

Thus, the eighteenth century saw a relative improvement in the education of women, though within certain limits. In the early decades of the century, women (mostly upper class) were taught within the family setting by private tutors, rather than in schools (Sullivan 1997: 310).[23] The texts used (for teaching reading and writing, notions of grammar and spelling, rudiments of classical languages, French, music, needlework, and religion) were aimed at training them to assume their domestic role and meet the requirements of society (Franco Rubio 1994: 240). As a counterpart to this elitist private education, enlightened rulers became increasingly aware of the need for free lay and public education;[24] this was initially implemented through the founding of girls' schools as charitable institutions, particularly in Madrid.[25] The Royal Decree of 11 May 1783 sought to enhance this initiative and extend it to the rest of Spain and to all social classes. This was the first law to lend official dignity to primary education for girls, although its implementation proved both slow and incomplete; moreover, only prayers and handiwork were established as compulsory subjects, whereas pupils at boys' schools were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and Spanish grammar (Fernández-Quintanilla 1981: 84). A few years later, it was felt that girls should learn to read and write (Ortega López 1988: 324), although they should be taught by a schoolmaster rather than a schoolmistress, as recommended by José Balbuena in *Arte nuevo de enseñar niños, y vasallos a leer, escribir y contar las reglas de gramatica* (1791; *New Art of Teaching Children and Servants to Read, Write, and Master the Rules of Grammar*): 'para enseñar à leer, y escribir [a las niñas] es conveniente que concurriese un Maestro à la misma Escuela para dar leccion à vista de la Maestra' (Balbuena 1791: 204; 'in order to teach [girls] to read and write, it is advisable that a master should be present at the same school, to teach in the presence of the mistress'). This was because, under the Royal Decree of 11 July 1771, primary school mistresses—unlike their male counterparts—were not required to display expertise in the art of reading, writing, and arithmetic (Ruiz Berrio 1988: 174).

[22] On the 'polémica de los sexos' in eighteenth-century Spain, see Kitts (1990), Puleo (1993), Canterla (2003), Blanco Corujo (2010).

[23] Although there were exceptions, including the Salesas Reales school in Madrid, where girls from aristocratic families had been educated since the mid-eighteenth century. On the kind of education received by women in this period, see Ortega López (1988), Flecha García (1997a).

[24] The expulsion of the Jesuits (1767) may have favoured the spread of Enlightenment thought in Spain, as well as fostering greater equality in education (Capel and Cepeda Gómez 2006: 275) and marking the start of state-run lay education (Ruiz Berrio 1988: 173).

[25] The Royal Decree of 14 August 1768, issued by Charles III, ordered 'houses of education' for girls to be established throughout the country, aimed primarily at 'the daughters of labourers and artisans'. The girls were to be schooled in the principles and obligations of civil and Christian life and in the skills appropriate to their sex (Vicente Jara 2005: 666).

An intellectual woman was still viewed as an exception and was not allowed to rival men in knowledge; her education had to be aimed at the service of others. In 1785, one contemporary censor noted that 'la Dama traductora acredita su inteligencia en ambos idiomas y da una prueba de que emplea con utilidad el tiempo que le dexan libre otras obligaciones más precisas' (cited in Serrano Sanz 1903: I, 279; 'the lady translator accredits her intelligence in both languages and gives proof that she usefully employs the time that is left free to her from other more necessary obligations').

4.3.1 Cultivating intelligence in society: The 'art of speaking'

Over the previous 200 years, Spanish women had been 'escondida de la mirada de los extraños, al modo árabe' (Fernández-Quintanilla 1981: 17; 'hidden away from the gaze of strangers in the Arab fashion'); during the eighteenth century, however, the new social customs imported from France and Italy brought them onto the public stage. Social gatherings and salons enabled Spanish women to 'mingle' with society, in semi-public spaces. Such events were often of an aristocratic nature; in salons like that held in Madrid, for example, by María Josefa Pimentel (1750–1834), Countess of Benavente, noble ladies could offer their patronage to artists. However, there were also assemblies organized by middle-class women, such as that held by Frasquita Larrea (1775–1838) in Cádiz. Due to their oral, ephemeral nature, we have no documentary record of such gatherings, only a number of mostly indirect historical and literary references to them. There, cultured women conversed about philosophy, art, history, politics, and literature with members of the opposite sex. This prompted a growing interest in regulating the 'art of speaking' in society, as practised in Jose Díaz de Benjumea's *Arte de bien hablar* (1759; *Art of Good Speaking*), which has as its subtitle 'modelo utilissimo para todos estados, sexos, y edades de personas' ('a highly-useful model for people of every status, sex, and age').

Much more is known, by contrast, about the issues debated in academies and societies of a scientific and humanist nature founded in Spain's major cities. These were more formal than the salons and had restrictive rules regarding women. For example, the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE), founded in 1713, refused in 1768 to admit the scholar María del Rosario Cepeda (1756–1816), although in 1784 it exceptionally granted honorary membership to María Isidra de Guzmán y de la Cerda (1768–1803), the first woman in Spain to receive a doctorate (from the University of Alcalá).[26] The reasons given for this female exclusion were of a moral nature; it was alleged that women would bring chaos to these institutions

[26] For a (brief) history of women in the RAE, see Zamora Vicente (1999: 484–99).

due to their 'naturaleza frívola e inestable' (cited in Ortega López 1988: 316; 'frivolous and fickle nature').

4.3.2 Cultivating intelligence in the private sphere

4.3.2.1 Women as readers: Language and the female press

Some enlightened eighteenth-century women built up considerable libraries. Josefa Amar, for example, cited numerous erudite works in her writing, including Greek, Latin, and Spanish grammars, such as the 1771 *Gramática* published by the RAE and *Arte del romance castellano* (1769; *Art of Spanish Romance*) by Benito de San Pedro, which she recommended to women as a way of improving their innate oral facility (see Amar y Borbón 1994 [1790]: 173; Gimeno Puyol 2012: 58–9).[27] There was a significant increase in the number of women subscribing to journals, and the first specifically feminine publications appeared (see Jaffe 1999). Among these were a number of opinion-piece journals said to be written by women. *La pensadora gaditana* (1786 [1763–1764]; *The Thinker of Cádiz*), by the apparently pseudonymous 'Beatriz Cienfuegos' (see Canterla 1999), offered articles like 'Qual es el mejor modo de hablar su propio idioma' ('What is the best way to speak your own language') pointing out certain flaws to be barred from conversation,[28] for 'en la lengua tenemos el origen de todos nuestros bienes [...], gobernemosla con las reglas del entendimiento' (Cienfuegos 1786: IV, 101; 'language is the origin of all we possess [...], let us govern it with the rules of understanding'). The 'Carta de una dama culta' ('Letter from a Cultured Lady') criticized speech affectations: 'el natural idioma se hace apreciable [...] con la recta y sencilla coordinacion de sus clausulas' (Cienfuegos 1786: IV, 116; 'Natural language is best appreciated [...] through the proper and straightforward coordination of clauses'). Other examples include *La pensatriz salmantina* (1777; *The Thinker of Salamanca*) by 'Escolástica Hurtado',[29] and *Correo de las damas* (1804–1807; *The Ladies' Mail*) by E.B.D.B.V. D.B. (El Barón de Bruère, Vizconde de Brie, pseudonym of José Lacroix).

4.3.2.2 Women as writers: Translation as a beachhead

The commonplace of regarding modesty as desirable in women tended to dissuade them from making their writings public. Sometimes, indeed, they directly

[27] Her assertion that most women 'usan con pureza y propiedad del idioma, y aun con cierta viveza inimitable' ('use the language purely and correctly, and even with a certain inimitable vitality'), despite not having studied it or practised it through reading (Amar y Borbón 1994 [1790]: 172) echoes Vaugelas's position in his *Remarques* (1647: 284). She also advocates the study of languages as the gateway to all kinds of knowledge (180) and advises use and observation rather than the memorizing of rules when learning Latin (179).

[28] Stubborn insistence on arguments, constant joking, and verbal excess in conversation are the three defects regarded by Cienfuegos (1786: IV, 80) as 'amenazas para el bien hablar' ('threats to good speaking').

[29] See Urzainqui (2004).

destroyed them: Francisca de Navia (?1726–1786) burnt her 'excellent' poems and translations before her death (Serrano Sanz 1903: II, 74). The situation began to change in the middle of the Age of Enlightenment, coinciding with a boom in translation in Spain prompted by closer cultural relationships with other countries,[30] greater access to learning foreign languages, and an increase in the number of metalinguistic tools available (grammars and dictionaries).[31] As we shall see, the *oeuvres* of women translators in the Enlightenment covered a wide range of subjects—although the source texts primarily addressed moral, poetic, and educational issues—and occasionally included reflections on translation practice. The translators, however, were by no means exempt from the routine charge of bringing foreign words into the Spanish language.

Translation was viewed by the female writers themselves, and especially by the institutions that sought to safeguard the moral and social order, as being an ideologically less risky solution than creative writing, since translation is an indirect form of expression.[32] The most widely translated books were those of a moral or educational nature, such as Charles Rollin's *Modo de enseñar, y estudiar las Bellas Letras* (1755 [1732]; *The Method of Teaching and Studying the Belles Lettres*), translated by María Catalina de Caso (life dates unknown), which also examines methodological issues in language-teaching and translation. In their Spanish renderings of works imbued with Enlightenment ideas, the translators added their personal views in paratexts or even within the source text, for the eighteenth-century concept of translation did not involve being faithful to the original. In her 1798 translation of Samuel Johnson's *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759), Inés Joyes (1731–?1806) included an 'Apología de las mujeres' ('Defence of Women'), in which she roundly condemned the 'frívola educación' ('frivolous education') received by the women of her time. She also added a 'Notice' addressing certain features of her own writing (and asking forgiveness for her 'desaliños del estilo'; 'infelicities of style'), attributable to her feminine nature, which leads her to shun 'el pedantismo de los que se llaman sabios' ('the pedantry of those who call themselves wise') in favour of 'la sana razón natural y la sencilla explicación de las mugeres' (Establier Pérez 2009: 176; 'wholesome natural reason and the simple explanation of women').

Other female translators pondered the question of whether or not literal translation was better than creative translation. In the prologue to her translation of the six volumes of Xavier Lampillas's *Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnuola* (1782 [1778–1781]; *Historical-Apologetic Essay on Spanish Literature*),

[30] López-Cordón (1996), Bolufer Peruga and Gomis Coloma (2012).

[31] There was, for example, a spectacular increase in the production of Spanish–French dictionaries (see Cazorla Vivas 2005). On the history of translation in Spain between 1750 and 1830, see Lafarga (2007).

[32] In this sense, translation is seen as an intellectual strategy adopted by enlightened Spanish women in order to gain access to the 'republic of letters'; similar strategies included the choice of genres—poetry, and moral or educational writings—regarded as more fitting for women, and the dedication of their work to powerful women such as Queen Maria Luisa of Bourbon and the Countess of Benavente (see Bolufer Peruga 2003, 2008; Smith 2003).

Josefa Amar advocated free translation, 'he procurado ceñirme al concepto, y casi à las palabras del original, pero no con tanta exactitud, que le haya copiado al pie de la letra' ('I have attempted to adhere to the concept, and almost to the words, of the original, though not with such accuracy as to render it word for word'); for the second edition (1780), she added some notes to the original text. The Marquise of Espeja,[33] in a 'Notice' accompanying her translation 'á un castellano puro y castizo' ('into a pure, authentic Spanish'; Serrano Sanz 1903: I, 278–9) of E. B. de Condillac's *La Langue des calculs* (1805 [1798]; *The Language of Calculations*) noted that she had avoided including 'notas útiles y eruditas, que otros llaman impertinencias y loqüacidad: defecto que en mí hubiera sido algo excusable, por ser el general que los hombres atribuyen á mi sexô' ('useful and erudite notes, which others call impertinences and loquacity: a defect which in me would have been excusable, it being one that men generally attribute to my sex').

María Camporredondo (life dates unknown) was one of several translators alert to the humorous side of serious philosophy, putting John Duns Scotus's philosophical system into 'seguidillas'[34] in her *Tratado philosophi-poetico escotico compuesto en siguidillas* (1758; *Philosophical-Poetical Treatise Set in Seguidillas*) Her avowed aim was to bring 'los preceptos de la philosophia, à hombres, mugeres, y niños [...] en su propria lengua' ('the precepts of philosophy to men, women, and children [...] in your own language') and she aired her own ideas regarding logical analysis, arguing for example that 'la proposicion [...] es agregado de còpula, y sugeto, y predicado' ('the proposition is the sum of copula, and subject, and predicate'; Camporredondo 1758: iii). This educational work, which sought to summarize and simplify the philosophical ideas of Duns Scotus, was important precisely because it represented an attempt to popularize philosophy, using the vernacular and a verse form widely used in schools, for example to learn the catechism. Camporredondo was thus regarded in her day as one of the 'innovative' philosophers, that is those who supported the new doctrines arriving from Europe, as distinct from the 'traditionalists' (see Olaechea 1981).

Since most of their translations were from French, and often showed little effort to find Spanish equivalents for foreign terms, the translators were accused of introducing unnecessary Gallicisms into Spanish, thus fuelling the debate that raged between the *casticistas* ('purists') and those who championed the introduction of neologisms.[35] José Cadalso in his *Cartas marruecas* (1796 [1789]: 1–6; *Moroccan Letters*) wrote a humorous critique of the countless French words and phrases ('hice un tour en mi jardín', 'entró un poco de mundo'; 'I made a tour of my garden', 'a little of the world entered', etc.) to be found in the letters of an imaginary lady of the period.

[33] Vicenta Corbalán y Castro, according to Serrano Sanz (1903: I, 278).

[34] A four-line verse form widely used in Spanish folk songs.

[35] It was a debate that involved numerous contemporary scholars, including Juan Pablo Forner, Antonio de Capmany, José Gómez Hermosilla, and Gregorio Mayans. See Martinell (1984), Lázaro Carreter (1985 [1949]: 255–89).

4.3.2.3 Women as writers: Their reflections on language

Eighteenth-century upper-class women continued to express their appreciation of classical languages and, above all, of modern foreign languages. Some publicly aired their knowledge of grammar and rhetoric: at the tender age of 12, for example, María del Rosario Cepeda took part in literary events, speaking Greek, Latin, Italian, and French, and was examined in general grammar and Latin grammar (Cubíe 1768: 137–8; Serrano Sanz 1903: I, 268).[36] Others, such as the nun María Inés Rivera (1790–1861), taught girls their first letters and grammar 'por un especial método de su propia inventiva' ('by a special method of her own invention'; Parada 1881: 258). A number of women even displayed an interest in cultivating languages spoken in Spain other than Spanish, which were then in decline; Josefa de Jovellanos (1745–1807), for example, wrote poetry in the Asturian language (Serrano Sanz 1903: I, 611–12).

As far as I am aware, however, eighteenth-century Spain furnishes no examples of grammars written by or intended for women, of the kind produced in France (Beck-Busse 1994), England (Percy 1994), Germany (Dobnig-Jülch and Staudinger 1994), and Holland (Noordegraaf 1994).[37] Known variously as *Grammaire des dames* and *Frauengrammatik*, grammars of this kind were particularly popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One of the earliest was Annibale Antonini's *Grammaire italienne à l'usage des dames*, published in 1728, and intended—as its title indicates—'principalement à l'usage des dames' but also generally 'pour ceux qui ne sçavent pas le Latin, & qui n'ont pas la moindre connoissance de la Langue Italienne' (1728: Préface, no pagination; 'for those who do not know Latin and who do not have the slightest knowledge of Italian'), which accounted for its basic content, its practical nature, its methodical simplicity, and its small format.[38] A search of bibliographies of eighteenth-century Spain (especially Niederehe 1994–2005) yields no reference to grammars of this kind—or even to any school grammars—aimed specifically at girls or women (see García Folgado 2013). Even explicit reference to the intended readership in the title provides no clues, since such titles use either the default masculine form when potentially referring to mixed-gender groups ('para uso de los niños', 'de los discípulos', 'para todos'; 'for the use of children', or 'of disciples', 'for all'), or opt for collective nouns ('para la instrucción de la juventud o de la infancia'; 'for the

[36] As a girl, Cepeda successfully completed a three-day public examination in Cádiz by a board of examiners comprising eight specialists in a wide range of subjects; in her speech prior to the examination, she complained about the lack of education for women (see Anon. 1768: 6–7).

[37] There are, however, a number of grammars funded by (or dedicated to) noble ladies, including *Arte de deletrear, y leer los dos idiomas, Castellano y Latino* (1733; *Art of Spelling and Reading Both Languages, Spanish and Latin*) by Diego Sánchez Molina, published at the expense of Her Excellency the Marquise of Malpica; and the *Gramática de la lengua italiana* (1797; *Grammar of the Italian Language*) by the Jesuit Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, 'dedicated to the illustrious Lady Maria del Carmen Ponce de Leon', the eldest daughter of the Duke of Montemar.

[38] See Percy (1994), Beck-Busse (2015 [2012], 2014).

instruction of the young, or of children'). Similar formulas appear in paratexts: 'La Academia solo pretende en esta Gramática instruir á nuestra Juventud en los principios de su lengua' (Real Academia Española 1771: 4; 'With this Grammar, the Academy seeks only to instruct our Youth in the principles of their language'). Only in Benito de San Pedro's *Arte del romance castellano* (1769: xix; *Art of Spanish Romance*)[39] do we encounter a comment regarding the value of this work for (adult and self-taught) women: 'Las Religiosas en sus Conventos, las Señoras en sus Casas tienen mucha ocasión de aplicarse a este precioso i amable estudio de saber hablar i escribir correctamente' ('Nuns in their Convents, Ladies in their Houses, have ample opportunity to apply themselves to this fine and pleasant study of learning how to speak and write correctly').

The only known female author of a grammar was María Luisa del Rosario de La Cerda y Moncada (life-dates unknown), daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Medinaceli, whose *Gramática castellana* (1744; *Spanish Grammar*) was the only clearly metalinguistic work by an eighteenth-century woman. The manuscript (presumably never published) was apparently in the Duke of Medinaceli's library at one time (Serrano Sanz 1903: II, 3), but my search proved fruitless, since the library's holdings have been widely scattered.

4.4 Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: The slow path to the first professional female linguists

The traditional image of a Christian woman, mistress of her home, yet subservient to her husband, persisted in Spain throughout the nineteenth century.[40] The Nobel laureate Santiago Ramón y Cajal (2010 [1897]: 126–31) reflected on the most fitting qualities for the potential wife of 'a man of science': she 'cifrará su orgullo en la salud y felicidad de su esposo' ('will centre her pride on the health and happiness of her husband'). Treatises devoted to solving the 'enigma' of women, and voicing opinions on their conduct, proliferated.[41] Women with intellectual ambitions continued to face the same prejudices as their ancestors with regard to their alleged biological inferiority; thus, according to Francisco de Asís Pacheco (1881: 58), 'la mujer necesita menos que el hombre respirar el aire puro fuera de las paredes de su habitación' ('women have less need than men to breathe the pure air beyond their bedroom walls').

[39] Reflecting the rationalist influence of the Port-Royal Grammar, this volume marked a departure from the Latinist approach to Spanish grammar, which began under Nebrija (see Lliteras 1992) and was also the first attempt to identify the general principles of the Spanish language, an undertaking later continued by Jovellanos in his *Rudimentos de gramática general* (1795?; *Rudiments of General Grammar*), and which gained considerable ground in the nineteenth century.

[40] See Ballarín Domingo (1993, 1995).

[41] See Flecha García (1993), Calero Vaquera (2000), Ballarín Domingo (2005).

Even by the late nineteenth century, writing was still regarded as an activity more appropriate for men, as the writer and feminist Concepción Gimeno (1850–1919) ruefully noted: 'El hombre español le permite a la mujer ser frívola, vana, aturdida, ligera, superficial, beata y coqueta, pero no le permite ser escritora' (cited in Blanco 1998: 23–4; 'Spanish men allow women to be frivolous, vain, scatter-brained, flighty, superficial, pious, and coquettish, but they do not allow them to be writers').

Although Pilar Sinués (1835–1893) had contended in *El ángel del hogar* (1859; *The Angel of the Home*), a novel defining the contemporary ideal of womanhood, that the act of writing was as natural to women as it was to men, there were those who believed that women interested in culture belonged to a 'third sex'. Ramón y Cajal (2010 [1897]: 130) warned that 'en cuanto goza de un talento y cultura viriles, suele la mujer perder el encanto de la modestia' ('as soon as they boast a manly talent and culture, women usually lose the charm of their modesty'). Indeed, Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921), the most prominent nineteenth-century Spanish novelist, was often described as a 'manly woman'. This alleged incompatibility between femininity and writing led some women writers to conceal their name under a masculine pseudonym, such as 'Fernán Caballero' (Cecilia Böhl de Faber, 1796–1877). An extreme case was that of María de la O Lejárraga (1874–1974), who allowed her husband (Gregorio Martínez Sierra) to pass off her plays as his own (see Simón Palmer 1991).

4.4.1 The education of women and women as educators

The promulgation of the 1812 Constitution in Cádiz fostered the drafting of the *Informe Quintana*, which advocated a general reform of public education, introducing a free, uniform system of state schooling inspired by liberal principles and by the unwavering conviction that education was the driving power behind human progress. However, these good intentions did not stretch as far as women, whose precarious education remained in private hands: upper-class girls studied under governesses and tutors, or at cultural centres and elitist schools; middle-class girls might attend convent school; and few working-class girls received any schooling at all. For example, Joaquín Cil's *Arte de bella producción para señoritas* (1827; *The Art of Beautiful Production for Young Ladies*)—which looks at questions of language (natural and figurative) and style—was written for the instruction of girls attending cultural 'liceos'[42] (though

[42] The *liceos*, like the *ateneos*, *círculos*, *sociedades económicas*, and other institutions, were private gatherings which became popular in the nineteenth century as a means of encouraging the arts, sciences, and literature, and of spreading the knowledge which would further the development of Enlightenment ideals.

'sin desviarlas de sus primeras ocupaciones [las domésticas]'; 'without distracting them from their primary [domestic] duties') (Cil 1827: vii).

Among the elitist schools, the Escuela Lancasteriana de Niñas (Lancasterian School for Girls; 1820), based on the educational system developed by Joseph Lancaster, left teaching in the hands of more advanced students, who taught those with a lower educational level, thus making up for the lack of teachers. This was the 'mutual teaching' method, which inspired the *Nuevo método para aprender el ingles* (1834; *New Method to Learn English*) by María Teresa Magawly de Calry (?–?1853),[43] an Irishwoman living in Cádiz. At her private academy, she applied the natural, inductive method ('así como los niños aprendan su lengua nativa [...] del mismo modo enseñé el idioma Ingles' (Magawly de Calry (1834: I, iv); 'just as children learn their mother tongue [...] so I taught the English language'), prefacing her lessons with English phonetics and ending them with grammatical rules (drawn from Lindley Murray), in a context which still prized the grammatical and translation-based approach.[44] Magawly was highly sensitive to the diversity of her pupils, attempting, for example, to compensate for the poorer grammatical knowledge displayed by new girls compared with new boys ('para suplir en lo posible á mis discipulas la falta de estos estudios' (Magawly de Calry (1834: I, iv); 'in order to supply, as much as possible, the lack of such study in my girl pupils'; Calero Vaquera and Martínez-Atienza 2017).[45]

The teaching of foreign languages, then, provided some limited scope for the production of grammars (and dictionaries) aimed at both sexes, though rarely written by women. As the nineteenth century advanced, the number of textbooks specifically for use in female public education increased; most were by male authors, including the *Manual completo de la primera enseñanza elemental y superior para las niñas* (1856; *Complete Manual of Elementary and High School Education for Girls*) by Juan de la Cuesta, which in a single volume contained all the subject matter covered at the girls' schools;[46] and the *Compendio menor de*

[43] Her name appears only at the end of the dedication to Isabella II.

[44] A similar method, developed by Heinrich G. Ollendorff, was gradually introduced by Eduardo Benot almost twenty years later, first in his *Método del Dr. Ollendorff para aprender a leer, hablar y escribir un idioma cualquiera adaptado al inglés para uso de los alumnos del Colegio de S. Felipe Neri de Cádiz* (1853; *Dr. Ollendorff's Method for Learning to Read, Speak, and Write any Language Adapted to English for the Use of the Students of the College of S. Felipe Neri de Cádiz*), and later applied—with some modifications—to the teaching of French (1858), Italian (1864), and English grammar (1878).

[45] Others who contributed to the teaching of English in nineteenth-century Spain included Anne Mountifield, who worked with her husband (William [Carlos] Mountifield) on *Novisimo metodo teorico, practico, analitico y sintetico de lengua inglesa* (1854; *Newest Theoretical, Practical, Analytical and Synthetic Method of the English Language*), and who appears as co-author, 'Mrs. [Anne] Mountifield', from the 5th edition onwards (1861; *Nuevo metodo*); and Ana Girones, co-author with Ignaz Emanuel Wessely of *A New Pocket Dictionary of the English and Spanish Languages* (1871; see Lombardero Caparrós 2015).

[46] In his treatment of 'Principles of Spanish Grammar' the author acknowledges his debt to the RAE doctrine, as enshrined in the *Epítome* and *Compendio de gramática* (1857; for primary and secondary education, respectively), which were the sole compulsory texts recognized by the Moyano Law for use in state schools.

gramática castellana, para uso especial de las niñas (1859; *Minor Compendium of Spanish Grammar, for Special Use by Girls*) by Ángel María Terradillos. Policymakers and educators were gradually coming to recognize the important role of women in educating their children: 'No es posible desconocer la influencia que una madre verdaderamente instruida ejerce en la educacion de los hijos' (Cuesta 1864 [1856]: iii; 'One cannot be unaware of the influence exerted by a properly-instructed mother on the education of her children'). However, it was not until 1857 that the so-called Moyano Law recognized the right of girls (aged between 6 and 9) to a free and compulsory elementary education.[47] Its syllabus was set out in the guide entitled *El Educador de las niñas* (Anon. 1858; *The Girls' Educator*), which, together with some notions of Spanish grammar—a summary of the Academy's grammar—contained a spelling-book, a catechism, and lessons on religious history, handwriting, arithmetic, geography, Spanish history, domestic economy, good manners, and polite behaviour. The Moyano Law was also the first to provide for the establishment of teacher training schools for women, leading to the creation of the Escuela Normal Central de Maestras de Primera Enseñanza (Central School for the Training of Female Primary Education Teachers) in Madrid and later in several provinces.[48]

During the six-year liberal interregnum (1868–1874), the first applications from women to enter secondary schools were processed, the first woman enrolled in a Spanish university,[49] and a number of private institutions were founded—such as the Artistic and Literary Athenaeum for Ladies[50]—which offered an alternative to the cultural institutions from which women were still banned. Their eagerness to be admitted into cultural circles is evident in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Lengua Universal* (*BSLU*; *Bulletin of the Universal Language Society*),[51] which notes that 'la mayor parte de las personas que quieren suscribirse son señoras, entusiasmadas por el interés que las inspira la Lengua Universal' (BSLU 1863, 9: 298; 'most of the people wishing to subscribe are ladies, fired by the

[47] *Ley de Instrucción Pública* (*Public Education Law*) of 9 September 1857, drawn up by the Minister Claudio Moyano in the reign of Isabella II.

[48] In cultural and educational terms, the training of female teachers in Spain during the nineteenth century was always considerably inferior to that of male teachers. The female teacher training centres were officially established in 1857, almost twenty years after their male counterparts, and had no syllabus until 1881; the course of study and the degree awarded were not regarded as equivalent to those of male teacher training centres until 1914 (see Escolano Benito 1982, Melcón Beltrán 1992).

[49] María Elena Maseras Ribera (1853–1905) enrolled at the University of Barcelona Faculty of Medicine in 1872–1873.

[50] The Ateneo Artístico y Literario de Señoras was a private association whose aim was to 'instruir a la mujer para que pueda guiarse por sí sola sin auxilio alguno' ('educate a woman so that she might manage by herself, with no assistance').

[51] Published by the society that was founded to form and foster an international language, a subject of enormous interest at the time. See Calero Vaquera (1999).

interest aroused in them by the Universal Language').[52] In a newspaper article, the writer and feminist Concepción Arenal (1820–1893; 1857: 3) lent her support to the creation of a universal language[53] and—in passing—criticized the RAE's silence and lack of initiative in this respect.

Not until the late nineteenth century was there any significant increase in the number of school textbooks published by women (mostly schoolteachers), many aimed specifically at girls (Flecha García 1997b: 512). Readers were the most numerous, followed—in descending order—by primers on 'labores propias del sexo' ('pursuits appropriate to the sex'), moral and religious themes, education, grammar, and so on. Ballarín et al. (2012) recorded almost twenty Spanish grammar primers written by women between 1854 and 1900;[54] their titles, containing terms such as 'compendium', 'elements', 'notions', and 'grammar programme', give some indication of their elementary nature. Some are included in compendia alongside other subjects (e.g. arithmetic, hygiene), while others accompany handwriting and spelling exercises; in some cases, they are intended as guides for the writing of letters or literature (Ballarín et al. 2012: 356).

No female authors figure amongst the key linguistic works (theoretical grammars and dictionaries) published in the nineteenth century, nor are women explicitly to be found in the titles or paratexts of contemporary canonical grammars. For example, Andrés Bello's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1981 [1847]; *Grammar of the Spanish Language*) is intended 'al uso de los americanos' ('for the use of [South] Americans'), while the RAE's *Grammar* is aimed 'á la Juventud Española peninsular y ultramarina' (Real Academia Española 1854 [1771]: x; 'at Spanish Youth, both on the peninsula and overseas') or 'a los españoles todos' (Real Academia Española 1858 [1771]: ix; 'at all Spaniards'). A single female author (Teresa of Ávila) is used as a literary model in the *Gramática de la lengua castellana según ahora se habla* (1830; *Grammar of the Spanish Language as it is Now Spoken*) by Vicente Salvá, the largest corpus of literary examples yet to have been included in a grammar. Women are present only in examples of language use ('la mujer hacendosa trabaja todo el día'; 'the industrious housewife works all day long'), and this reinforces timeworn female stereotypes (Rodríguez Barcia 2012: 164).

One of the earliest twentieth-century female authors of school grammars was the Madrid schoolmistress, María del Pilar Oñate y Pérez (life dates unknown).

[52] The *BSLU* (1863: 10, 310–11) printed an anonymous letter from three sisters offering 600 ducats to the Society. Even so, no women's names are to be found amongst the Society's members, nor on its board of directors.

[53] The *Proyecto y ensayo de una lengua universal y filosófica* (1851; *Project and Essay for a Universal and Philosophical Language*) proposed by Bonifacio Sotos Ochando, which received a favourable report from the Société Linguistique de Paris in 1857.

[54] With names unfamiliar to historians of Spanish grammar, including Luisa Gallardo, Rosario García, Antonia Jaume, Dolores Montaner, Concepción Sáiz, and Ana María Solo. There has as yet been no thorough, systematic research into these early grammar primers written by women.

Her first-grade *Gramática castellana* (1918; *Spanish Grammar*) is a manual of scarcely seventy pages, dealing with the parts of speech; the notions are very basic, as befitting the intelligence of their young readership. The (few) theoretical explanations, the classifications, and the terminology largely match those of the RAE *Grammar* (1771),[55] which in 1857 had been declared the sole, and compulsory, grammar for use in Spanish state schools.[56] This may account for the traditional approach adopted by Oñate, which adheres to the canons of Greco-Latin grammar, as was very often the case in the history of Spanish grammar.[57] Even so, Oñate's *Gramática* contains a number of new features: priority is given to the sentence (Lesson I); there are plenty of practical exercises, illustrations, summaries, and readings drawn from classical poetry; and above all, close attention is paid to context, which provides the starting point for each lesson: '[los niños] no deben ver en la conjugación un enojoso mecanismo, sino [...] representarse la escena a que da lugar la acción expresada por el verbo' (Oñate 1918: 23; '[children] should not regard conjugation as a tiresome mechanism, but rather [...] imagine the scene giving rise to the action expressed by the verb'). Such novel perspectives were also to be found in other contemporary authors who sought to enliven the routine teaching of grammar.[58]

4.4.2 The first female professionals in the field of languages

In the late nineteenth century, the emergence of female linguists in Spain heralded a 'silver age' of Spanish culture (1898–1936). The female voice was incorporated into mainstream literature, and cultural institutions began to open their doors to women. The poet Blanca de los Ríos (1862–1956) entered the Athenaeum of Madrid,[59] while Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921) became the first woman to preside over the literature section of the Athenaeum in 1906, although the RAE stubbornly rejected the candidature of both writers. Female cultural associations spread, and in 1926 the Lyceum Club for Women[60] was created (see Cuesta, Turrión, and Merino 2015)—although it soon came in for criticism from the most retrograde

[55] Both grammars, for example, recognize nine parts of speech (Real Academia Española 1917 [1771]: 2) and use the terms 'qualifying/determining adjective' and 'determinate/indeterminate noun'.

[56] Except during the liberal interregnum, when schools were free to choose their teaching methods and textbooks, and to draw up their own syllabuses (Martínez and Esparza 2014: 54).

[57] See Gómez Asencio (1981) and Calero (1986) for the history of Spanish grammar 1771–1920.

[58] For example, Oñate cites Eduardo Benot, who had asserted that 'combinar es lo fundamental en gramática' (1889?: I, 38; 'to combine is the fundamental thing in grammar').

[59] A private cultural institution founded in 1835 as the Ateneo Científico y Literario. The first female honorary fellow was the painter Alejandrina Gessler y Lacroix (or Anselma de Lacroix; 1831–1907), who was admitted in 1890.

[60] The Lyceum Club Femenino (1926–1939) was a Madrid-based private association which took its inspiration from the Lyceums established years earlier in London and Paris; it sought to foster the cultural education and emancipation of women (Mangini 2001: 88).

sectors of society, which regarded it as a meeting place for 'féminas excéntricas y desequilibradas' (Rodrigo 2002: 46; 'eccentric and unbalanced females').

The right of women to be admitted to higher levels of education had been increasingly championed in the latter third of the nineteenth century, especially in the Krausist-influenced media.[61] Although by 1888 women's right to university admission had been regulated, albeit with major restrictions, it was not until 1910 that an order was issued permitting women to enrol freely in official university education (see Flecha García 1996; Montero 2009). In this new social, educational, legal, and cultural scenario, women were at last able to start making a living from their literary production, with no need to resort to stratagems or disguises in order to avoid obstacles and undue criticism.

As regards linguistic matters, translation continued to hold appeal for some women, among them Emilia Pardo Bazán, who in 1890 translated the poetry of Heinrich Heine and prose works by the Goncourt brothers. In her reflections on translation technique, she stresses that translation from any language (not just classical languages) is a worthy endeavour; with regard to the adaptation of technical terms and foreign words, she argues that 'la tendencia de un idioma poderoso [como el español] es asimilárselo todo, imprimir su sello en las mercancías extranjeras' (cited in Freire 2006: 155; 'the tendency of a powerful language [such as Spanish] is to assimilate everything, to print its stamp on foreign goods').[62]

María de Maeztu (1881–1948) displayed sufficient mastery of languages to translate educational works by the German philosopher Paul Natorp[63] and the American educationalist Paul Monroe.[64] Zenobia Camprubí (1887–1956) was the first to produce a Spanish translation (based on English prose versions by the author himself) of the works of Rabindranath Tagore,[65] yet she was overshadowed as a writer by the fame of her husband, the poet Juan Ramón Jiménez (Nobel Laureate 1956), to whom she was secretary and translator.

A further example of intellectual immolation was that of María Goyri (1873–1954), a scholar specializing in the literary and philological problems posed by the Spanish ballad collection (*Romancero*), who collaborated with her husband Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the founder of the Spanish school of philology. Although in fact 'nunca sabría nadie dónde llegaba la labor de uno y empezaba la

[61] Spanish Krausism, inspired by the philosophy of Karl C. F. Krause, advocated coeducation, and lay, practical public education; its major achievement was the founding of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (ILE; Free Teaching Institution). See López-Morillas (1980).

[62] On Pardo Bazán as translator, see Freire (2006).

[63] *Religión y humanidad* (*Religion Innerhalb der Grenzen der Humanität*, 1894) in 1914 and *Curso de pedagogía* (*Sozialpädagogik*, 1899) in 1915.

[64] *Historia de la Pedagogía* (*A Text-Book in the History of Education*, 1905) in 1918.

[65] Zenobia Camprubí translated around twenty-two works by Tagore, including poetry (*La luna nueva*, 1914), plays (*El rey del salón oscuro*, 1919), and short stories (*La hermana mayor y otros cuentos*, 1921).

del otro' (Martínez et al. 2000: 521; 'nobody knew where the work of one ended and that of the other began'), her work was subservient to her husband's research (Caso González 1955). María Goyri also tried, from the early twentieth century until her death, to locate verses from ballads cited in Spanish and foreign literary works, and in the process she produced 'innumerables fichas y anotaciones que incorporó al Archivo del Romancero, y que fueron de enorme utilidad para los trabajos de Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Diego Catalán, y todos los que han consultado posteriormente el Archivo [...], y que rara vez reconocen la deuda' (Cid 2014: 53; 'countless index cards which became part of the Ballad Archive and were of immense value to the work of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Diego Catalán, and everyone who subsequently consulted the Archive [...], and rarely acknowledged their debt').[66]

She was an intellectual pioneer, one of the first women to be officially granted admission to the Central University of Madrid (1892), though only after much soul-searching on the part of the university authorities (see Mangini 2001: 52) to obtain a degree (1896) and a doctorate (1909). She wrote the syllabus for the teaching of Spanish to children aged between 8 and 10 at the Instituto-Escuela de segunda enseñanza, together with María de Maeztu; she was a teacher at the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and the Residencia Internacional de Señoritas (International Ladies' Hall of Residence). Despite her discretion and modesty, she was the object of negative reports by the victors in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), who described her as 'persona de gran talento [...], que ha pervertido a su marido y a sus hijos; muy persuasiva y de las personas más peligrosas de España' (Catalán 2001: 216; 'a person of great talent [...], who has perverted her husband and children; very persuasive, she is one of the most dangerous people in Spain').

The most important twentieth-century lexicographer in Spain, María Moliner (1900–1981), also suffered the consequences of the civil war.[67] She was preceded in the collection of more specialized terminology by Luisa Lacal de Bracho (1874–1962), whose *Diccionario de la música técnico, histórico, bio-bibliográfico* (1900 [1899]; *Technical, Historical, Bio-Bibliographic Dictionary of Music*) received widespread acclaim at the time. In the preface, the author notes that she seeks to: 'verter [...] al español las mejores ideas emitidas en francés ó en alemán por eminentes autores; sintetizarlas con afanosa concisión, sin alarde de literatura' (Lacal de Bracho 1900: v–vi; 'render [...] in Spanish the best ideas published in French or German by eminent authors; to summarize them with

[66] Cid (2014) contains a long (provisional) list of philological publications and unpublished work by María Goyri, which was later expanded in Cid (2017).

[67] Due to her left-wing political commitment, she was removed from her post as Director of the Valencia University Library at the end of the civil war and sent to the Treasury Archive (Fuente 2011: 175).

careful precision, making no claim to literature'). She sets out her view of a 'technical', 'historical', and 'biographical' dictionary, which in her opinion should be bound by certain limits in terms of both theory and information.

María Moliner, an Arts graduate, had acquired lexographical experience as a young woman, in the drafting of the unpublished *Diccionario aragonés* (*Aragonese Dictionary*) and in the revision of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1914) published by the RAE (Benítez Marco 2014). Her best-known work, *Diccionario de uso del español* (Moliner 1966–1967; *Dictionary of Spanish Use*), falls outside the chronological scope of this chapter; suffice it to note that this was an original and impressive work carried out over a fifteen-year period at home, in her free time, and with no help, and the best general monolingual dictionary of a regulatory nature in Spanish, introducing major improvements with respect to the Academy dictionary (Casas, Penadés, and Díaz Hormigo 1998).

4.5 Conclusion

The information gleaned from the corpus surveyed here, from the initial codification of Spanish (late fifteenth century) to the early twentieth century, suggests that—contrary to appearances—women in Spain, far from remaining indifferent to linguistic issues, appear to have played an active role in discussing them. They share an interest in specific fields, as well as a gendered approach to them, which recurs over time. This approach is characterized by an unwavering preference (among philosophers, novelists, journalists, translators, and lexicographers) for plain speaking and plain writing, eschewing the rhetorical ornamentation officially attributed to them, for which they were made the object of frequent male jibes (e.g. by Quevedo). They also attach remarkable importance to conversation (e.g. Luisa Sigea), even to the extent of viewing it as a source of human health (Oliva Sabuco); the observation and description of the current socio-linguistic situation (Ana Caro) and the literary cultivation of local languages now in decline (Josefa de Jovellanos); a sensible approach to the introduction of foreign words and phrases (Emilia Pardo Bazán), which contrasts sharply with the stereotyped view associating ladies with pedantic language spiced with foreignisms (Cadalso); and finally, the adoption of a natural, inductive method for teaching both the mother tongue (Pilar Oñate) and foreign languages (Teresa Magawly).

Many other language-related issues have arisen in the course of this chapter: the use and study of classical languages, the ineffability of mystical experience, the consequences of loss of hearing, the logical analysis of language, the construction of a universal language, and the theoretical problems posed by translation, and by grammatical and lexicographical activity. Women's contribution to the history of linguistics has been hindered by two major constraints: the historical context (i.e. the patriarchal view regarding their physical and intellectual abilities, a biased and

mean-spirited attitude towards their education, and the lack of models and of a genealogy of female scientists); and historiographical interpretation (e.g. indifference or scorn for women's intellectual output, as a result of which their writings were frequently lost). These two substantial barriers effectively excluded women from linguistic and metalinguistic canons. In allowing some of these 'distant, far-removed voices' in Spain to be heard, this chapter has sought to foster further detailed research into the contribution of female Spanish thinkers to the overall history of linguistics.

5
The female contribution to language studies in Portugal

Sónia Coelho, Susana Fontes, and Rolf Kemmler

5.1 Introduction

For centuries, the contribution of women to the history of linguistics in Portugal has been ignored. Whilst there have been many studies dedicated to the historiography of Portuguese linguistics, especially in the last five decades, there has been an almost complete absence of works dedicated to women and their role in the production of metalinguistic manuals over the centuries.

It is therefore the aim of this chapter to document the role of women in the Portuguese linguistic tradition from the sixteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century. Our material is organized chronologically, each section beginning with the educational context and the reforms in women's education that are fundamental to understanding the constraints women were facing. In the subsequent analysis of the sources, productions in the field of linguistics by and for women are highlighted. In this chapter, the term linguistics is understood in a broad sense, embracing the contribution of women in different areas of linguistically relevant activities. Hence, an extensive set of primary sources is presented, ranging from grammars, dictionaries, and translations to texts on feminine conduct and education, and literary and official texts.

5.2 From the Middle Ages to the first Portuguese metalinguistic treatises

During the Middle Ages and the early modern period, general access to education in Portugal was limited to male nobility and the rapidly growing class of wealthy citizens who could afford private schooling and subsequent studies at Coimbra University (from 1290). Additionally, Catholic monasteries provided schooling to their novices, ready to start out on a path of lifelong learning beginning with the monastic grammar school, which provided basic skills, such as reading, writing, and counting. While it may be surmised that female monasteries would have

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provided an equivalent learning experience, unfortunately no testimony exists regarding the schooling of nuns.

The first metalinguistic texts dedicated to the Portuguese language published in Portugal do not offer any reference to female pupils. In his *Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa* (1536; *Grammar of the Portuguese Language*), Fernão de Oliveira (1507–1581) clearly states that his work is the first metalinguistic work on the Portuguese language (Oliveira 1536: fol. 1v). In this sense, the omission of any reference to a male or even a female pupil seems natural, as the work's most astute linguistic comments seemingly aim to complement the metalinguistic knowledge of grammar that (presumably male) readers had in Latin.

Conversely, *Grammatica da lingua portuguesa* (1540) by João de Barros (1496–1570) is clearly intended for use in schools. Given that Barros (1540: fol. 2r) consistently refers to the intended readership of his work as *mininos* ('boys'), there can be no doubt that he indeed must have been thinking of an all-male readership.

5.3 The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Women's education was, for the most part, restricted to the domestic sphere. There is, however, by the late sixteenth century an indication of some institutions that were devoted to the education of female orphans, for example the orphanage of São Pedro of Alcântara, which provided its pupils with an education based on reading and writing, as well as household tasks.[1]

Domestic education was mainly destined for women of the higher class, amongst whom there were many cases of an elevated level of culture, including several women who had mastered a number of languages and produced various texts. The general intellectual ability of women was already recognized at that time, for instance by the first Portuguese playwright Gil Vicente (*c.*1465–*c.*1536); throughout his works, he often alludes to women who not only know how to read and write, but also have knowledge of Latin and grammar, as in the case of the fictional figure Inês Pereira.[2] The historian Duarte Nunes de Leão (1530–1608) also refers to the intellectual capacity of women, arguing that, with respect to the arts and humanities, they were not inferior to men (Leão 1610: fol. 151r). Leão further states that, although women generally were excluded from any form of public schooling, which was reserved for males, there were some who were able to assert themselves in related areas, such as poetry and translation. Moreover, some

[1] On the topic of literacy in the Old Regime, see Silva (1986), Magalhães (1994, 2001), and Carvalho, Rodrigues, and Santos (2012).

[2] In the play *Farsa de Inês Pereira* (also *Auto de Inês Pereira*; 1523), Vicente presents the ambitions and hopes of a female servant belonging to the middle classes in sixteenth-century Portugal. For more information on the characteristics which Vicente gave to the women in his plays, see Silva (1995).

women attended university, albeit disguised as men. This was the case for Auta da Madre de Deus (?–1588), Antónia da Trindade (*c.*1569–?), and Públia Hortência de Castro (1548–1595),[3] the latter belonging to the circle of learned women who surrounded the infanta D. Maria of Portugal (1521–1577),[4] daughter of King Manuel I (1469–1521).

The household of Maria of Portugal had an important cultural dimension at that time, promoting literary sessions in which both her ladies and illustrious male guests took part, such as the infante D. Luís (1506–1555), the poets Luís Vaz de Camões (*c.*1524–1580) and D. Francisco da Silveira (?–1534), as well as D. Francisco de Paula de Portugal e Castro (1480–1549), amongst others. To this illustrious circle of talent belong names like Joana Vaz, Luísa Sigeia, and Paula Vicente.

Joana Vaz (*c.*1500–after 1570) was the nanny and Latin teacher of the infanta D. Maria. She acquired considerable fame as a Latinist (Ramalho 1985–1986: 176–83) and also mastered Greek and Hebrew, having undertaken several translations, none of which, unfortunately, have survived.

The Toletan Luísa Sigeia (Sigea) de Velasco (1522–1560)[5] was a notable poet and intellectual. Known as the 'Latin Lady', due to her knowledge of this language, she is said to have also mastered other languages such as Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Syrian, French, Chaldean, and Tuscan. Both the manuscript version of her poem *Syntra, aliaque eiusdem ac nonnullorum præterea virorum ad eamdem epigrammata* (published in 1566; *Syntra and Other Epigrams from the Same Man and Others for the Same Woman*) and a later obedience letter written in five languages were well received by their addressee, Pope Paul III (1468–1549). She was also commended for the composition of the work *Duarum virginum colloquium de vita aulica et privata* (1552; *Conversation between Two Young Women on Courtly and Private Life*), a dialogue between the two young *virgines*, the Roman woman Flaminia and her slightly older counterpart Blesilla from Siena (both of undefined age). Full of citations from classical authors, the dialogue evidences the author's solid knowledge.

Paula Vicente (*c.*1519–1576), daughter of Gil Vicente, is said to have known and mastered several languages. She is also said to have written a grammar entitled *Arte da língua inglesa, e olandeza para instruçaõ dos seus naturaes* (*The Art of the English and Dutch Language for the Instruction of its Natives*; Perim 1740: 332). Concerning this and other works attributed to her, nothing is currently known, which has led some researchers, such as Carolina Michäelis de Vasconcelos

[3] The noteworthy career trajectories of these women are described in the work *Theatro Heroino* (Perim 1736: 48–9, 67, 428–9). For more information on Públia Hortência de Castro, see Barros (1924), Coelho (1983), and Vasconcelos (1902).

[4] Concerning the patronage of Princess D. Maria, see Pinto (2006).

[5] About this noteworthy figure, see Ramalho (1969–70), Miguel-Prendes (2000), Thiemann (2006), and S. Frade (2016).

(1851–1925), to conclude that these attributions may be part of a legend created around Paula Vicente (Michäelis de Vasconcelos 1902: 43). She is, however, known to have been granted, by Queen D. Catarina de Áustria (1507–1578), widow of the late King D. João III, the privilege of printing and selling the compilation of her father's works.

The presence of illustrious women at the Portuguese court closely linked to the queens was quite frequent at a time when the monarchs often acted as patrons for publications. Dona Leonor de Noronha (1488–1563) is another example, having benefited from the protection of D. Catarina de Áustria. As the daughter of educated and learned parents, she enjoyed a thorough education, having had as master the renowned Sicilian Humanist Cataldo Parísio Sículo (1455–1517). She mastered Castilian, Italian, and Latin, and was considered an expert in the last of these.[6] This enabled her to undertake the translation of the historiographic work *Rapsodie historiarũ Enneadum Marci Antonii Cocci Sabellici Ab orbe condito Ad annum Salutis Humane 1504* (*Compendium of the Histories of the Enneads by Marcantonio Coccio Sabellico from the Creation of the World to the Year 1504*) by the Venetian Humanist Marcantonio Coccio (*c.*1436–1506, also called Marcantonio Sabellico). Elaborated by D. Leonor de Noronha, *Coronica geral de Marco Antonio Cocio Sabelico Des ho começo do mundo ate nosso tempo* (2 vols; see Sabellico 1550, 1553) can be viewed as unique, being written and published by a woman at that time (M. Frade 2016: 149). The translation was dedicated to Queen D. Catarina and was meant for the queen's ladies-in-waiting, so that they could learn about the past through a work that D. Leonor (following her Italian source) considered to be factual, as she states in her dedication. Concerning the type of translation, the author herself characterizes it as a literary translation: 'Porq[ue] a tẽçã que segui nesta obra foy tresladala a letra: tirãdo poucas palauras sobejas pera a lingoagẽ: e necessarias p[er]a elegãcia do latim: e acrecẽtando outras necessarias p[er]a a lingoagẽ e escusadas pera elegãcia do latĩ' (Noronha, cited in Sabellico 1550: iii; 'For the intention I followed in this work was executed to the letter: taking out a few words that are superfluous in the vernacular and necessary for the elegance of Latin, and adding others that are necessary for the vernacular and unnecessary for the elegance of Latin'). It is noteworthy that D. Leonor, considering that some information given by Sabellico lacked detail, did not limit herself to translating the work, but also augmented the translation, by means of both marginal notes and notations within the chapters.

Several other women of letters devoted themselves to the practice of translation during these two centuries,[7] and even in the fifteenth century some illustrious

[6] According to master Cataldo, in a letter addressed to King D. Manuel I, D. Leonor competed with her brother D. Pedro de Meneses, 3rd Marquis of Vila Real (1486–?) over knowledge of this language (Soares 2011: 243).

[7] Other examples of female translators active during this period were Sister Margarida de São Paulo (1550–1636), Sister Francisca Josefa de Noronha (?–1719), D. Maria Antónia de São Boaventura e

women stood out in this field, for example Queen D. Filipa de Lencastre (1435–1497) and the infanta D. Catarina (1436–1463), who translated works from Latin and French.[8]

During these two centuries, there was also female involvement in the production of metalinguistic works, namely of rhetorical treatises, as in the case of Tomásia Nunes (?–1644), who wrote a rhetorical treatise entitled *Nova arte de bem fallar* (*New Art of Speaking Well*; Perim 1740: 439), and Inácia Xavier (?–1647), who composed, amongst other works, *Arte de bem fallar* (Perim 1736: 537). It is unfortunate that these works have been lost, given that they would certainly have offered useful information about women's contribution in this area.

5.4 The eighteenth century

The eighteenth century can be considered a watershed in the history of education in Portugal, as the first national network of royal schools was created through the Pombaline Reforms (28 June 1759; 6 November 1772).[9] Nevertheless, these reforms made no reference to the creation of schools for girls and were restricted to the establishment of elementary and secondary schools for boys. It was not until 31 May 1790 that a Royal Resolution established the appointment of eighteen female teachers of reading and writing specifically assigned to the education of girls in the city of Lisbon.[10]

According to this resolution, the education of women should encompass not only the learning of traditional, gender-defined skills, such as spinning, sewing, cutting fabric, and embroidery, but also reading and writing. Despite good government intentions to address the existing lack of female education, as confirmed by the 'Consultation on the creation of these schools' (25 February 1790), it was not until 1816 that the first teachers were recruited, a fact one can attribute not only to various financial considerations but also to contemporary prejudice against female education.

Contradicting this perspective of women being intellectually inferior, supposedly being devoid of any mental and physical structure that enabled them to

Menezes Monteiro Paim (*c*.1700–?), Sister Maria Madalena do Sepulcro (?–1719), and Sister Maria Micaela do Sacramento (?–1747). Most of the translations by these women are dedicated to religious topics.

[8] See M. Frade (2016).

[9] The reforms of secondary and primary education of 1759 and 1772 were promoted by the decrees of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), who at the time was Count of Oeiras and later Marquis of Pombal. As Ribeiro (2002: 34) points out, the reform of primary education on 6 November 1772 also makes no reference to female education.

[10] For a modernized transcription of this resolution, see Fernandes (1994: 613) and Ribeiro (2002: 36).

receive a more thorough education, in the eighteenth century some voices from male Portuguese scholars living abroad emerged, such as Luís António Verney (1713–1792) and Antonio Nunes Ribeiro Sanches (1699–1783), advocating female education, based on the modern ideas of French educationalists such as François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) and Charles Rollin (1661–1741). In his *Verdadeiro metodo de estudar* (*True Method of Studying*), at the end of the last of his sixteen letters in two volumes, Verney (1746: 291) presents a brief appendix dedicated to women's education. Reflecting on eighteenth-century Portuguese women, he notes their limited knowledge, particularly linguistic knowledge (Verney 1746: 293). As a result, Verney offers a brief programme for female education, comprising learning the mother tongue, arithmetic, history, domestic economy, handicrafts, dance, and Latin. Regarding the mother tongue, Verney considers it the basis of all learning, believing that girls should start with reading and writing, later dedicating themselves to the grammar of the Portuguese language and addressing aspects such as parts of speech, punctuation, and orthography (Verney 1746: 293).

Given the absence of an official female education, girls could only gain access to education through private initiatives (domestic education), houses of education for girls, and convents. As far as domestic education was concerned, mothers were responsible for their daughters' education, teaching them skills befitting the gender norms of society. Some wealthier families turned to private, often foreign teachers, who taught their daughters handiwork, reading and writing their mother tongue, and a choice of modern foreign languages. At the end of the century, girls' education was also conducted by houses of education, private schools[11] which provided both a full boarding and a semi boarding system. They covered subjects such as religion, mother tongue and foreign languages (usually French and English), crafts, and dance (Fernandes 1994: 212).

Among the different educational possibilities, those that stand out are the female religious orders dedicated to teaching, namely the Ursulines and the Visitation Sisters or Visitandines.[12] Founded in 1535 in Brescia (Italy), the order of Saint Ursula was introduced to Portugal in the mid-eighteenth century and was established in Vila de Pereira (near Coimbra) in 1753,[13] in Viana in 1778,[14] and in Braga in 1784. These nuns took responsibility for the education of girls from a higher social class by means of a paid boarding school regime,[15] but they also taught girls from lower social classes through free, non-boarding schooling.

[11] See, for example, *GL* (1790: iv).

[12] For more information on the role of these orders in the female education landscape, see Santos and Queirós (2012).

[13] For further information about the Convent of Vila Pereira (transferred to Coimbra in 1848), see Góis (2005) and Vaquinhas (2011).

[14] See Rocha (1996) for more information on the Viana Convent.

[15] Most of the girls attending these schools came from the middle or upper-middle class (Vaquinhas 2011: 106).

This religious order enjoyed great prestige in the field of female education, serving as a model for the creation of other institutions of their kind. The teaching programmes were based on three main areas: religious teaching, moral and civil teaching, and the teaching of literature and the arts (Pinto 1850: 40).

The secular literary education included, among other things, reading, writing, and Portuguese, French, English, and Italian grammar, as well as Latin. As for the textbooks used, the Ursulines favoured works published outside the school's scope, while also creating other materials specifically for the girls who attended these schools. Unfortunately, there is no evidence of any metalinguistic work created for this purpose.

The other major religious order for female education was the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary or Visitation Order (Annecy, France, 1610), whose first Portuguese monastery was founded in 1783,[16] with the first novices entering the Monastery of the Visitation of Santa Maria in Lisbon in 1784 (Santos 2004: 989). Unlike the Ursulines, the Visitandines only accepted girls from the higher classes into their boarding school system.

Considering the subjects taught by this religious order, as recorded in Book V of the undated *Historia da fundação do Mosteiro da Vizitação em Lisboa* (*c.*1800; *History of the Foundation of the Visitation Monastery in Lisbon*), their curriculum included lessons in reading, writing, counting, and religion, among others (*Historia,* in Santos and Queirós 2012: 72). The Visitandines tried to adapt didactic materials to the needs of their students, especially for the study of geography, Portuguese, and French, as confirmed by the advertisements in the *Gazeta de Lisboa* (*GL* 1788: iv; *Lisbon Gazette*).

The most noteworthy item amongst the Visitandine school manuals is *Breve compendio da grammatica portugueza para uso das meninas que se educaõ no Mosteiro da Vizitaçaõ de Lisboa* (1786),[17] conferring upon the Lisbon Visitandines the status of pioneers in creating the first Portuguese grammar written by a woman specifically aimed at a female audience. The publication of this work, by Francisca de Chantal Álvares (1742–post-1800),[18] marks the beginning of female grammaticography, as this constitutes the first *Grammaire des dames* proper in Portuguese, having appeared at a time in which previous Portuguese grammars had been dedicated exclusively to male education. Out of the seven Portuguese

[16] Teodoro de Almeida was responsible for the foundation of the Visitation Order in Portugal.

[17] An earlier advertisement of the *Gazeta de Lisboa* reports the following: 'Breve compendio da grammatica *portugueza* para o uso das meninas, que se educão no Mosteiro da Visitação de *Lisboa*, por huma religiosa do mesmo mosteiro' (*GL* 1787: iv; 'Brief Compendium of the *Portuguese* Grammar for the Use of Girls, Who Are Educated in the Visitation Monastery of *Lisbon*, by a Nun of the Same Monastery').

[18] The *Breve compendio* should be regarded as a semi-anonymous work, since the front page only identifies the author by the phrase 'Por huma religioza do mesmo mosteiro' (Álvares 1786: I; 'By a nun of the same monastery'). Besides this, the only explicit reference to the author's identity is the abbreviation 'F. C.' at the end of the second paratext entitled 'A's meninas educandas' (Álvares 1786: v–vi; 'To the girls as pupils').

grammars known to have been published in the eighteenth century (Argote 1721, 1725; Lobato 1770; Bacelar 1783; Álvares 1786; Casimiro 1792; Figueiredo 1799; and Fonseca 1799),[19] the grammar by Álvares is the fourth eighteenth-century grammar of the Portuguese language.[20] This author probably had as a source Lobato's grammar, *Arte da grammatica da lingua portugueza* (1770; *The Art of Portuguese Grammar*), which was intended to be the official grammar for the public education system of Pombaline Portugal, thus being the first official grammar used in the Portuguese male school system.[21]

Inspired by Lobato's grammar, Álvares was convinced of the primary importance of learning the mother tongue, which would serve as a basis for learning other languages, and notably French. The grammar itself ends with an appendix, 'Breve advertência. Para as primeiras liçoens das meninas, que principiaõ a lêr o francês' (Álvares 1786: i–iii; 'Short Notice: For the First Lessons of the Girls, Who Begin to Read French'), in which the author provides some phonetic rules for reading the French language. For the Visitandine grammarian, Latin was no longer the sole target or basis of all language teaching, since the teaching of it had lost its primacy over modern languages, namely French and Italian.

Álvares's grammar follows the Latin grammar tradition and is divided into four parts, although the normal order was usually different from the one she adopted.[22] On the other hand, and in line with tradition, this grammar highlights morphology and syntax, relegating prosody and orthography to secondary considerations. As the title indicates, by the words 'Breve' and 'Compendio', this brief yet compendious work was meant to provide a summary of the linguistic contents, but its intrinsic brevity does not reduce its extrinsic value as a very important and unique work within Portuguese linguistic historiography.

As one can see from Álvares's grammar, in eighteenth-century Portugal, French was a language of prestige, through which the Portuguese had gained access to arts, philosophy, literature, fashion, and the broader European culture of the time. It is in this context that *Nova gramatica para aprender a traduzir, fallar, e escrever, a lingua franceza, com perfeiçaõ, e brevidade, por hum methodo inteiramente distincto dos demais* (*New Grammar to Learn Translating, Speaking, and Writing the French Language with Perfection and Brevity, by Means of a Method Entirely Distinct from the Others*) was published. The first edition had the distinction of being dedicated to the 'illustrissima e excellentissima senhora D. Rita

[19] For the study of eighteenth-century Portuguese grammaticography, see Assunção (2000), Moura (2002, 2012), Fontes (2006), and Coelho (2009).

[20] For more information about this work, see Kemmler and Schäfer-Prieß (2012), Loureiro (2012), and Kemmler et al. (2016).

[21] The *Alvará*, dated 30 Sept. 1770, decreed that the teaching of Portuguese should be mandatory for at least six months, making *Arte da grammatica da lingua portugueza* the official grammar.

[22] She divided her grammar into four parts, as indicated in the text, *partes da oraçaõ*, *sintaxe*, *sillaba*, and *ortografia*, which corresponded to etymology, syntax, prosody, and orthography, as it was used at the time. Lobato (1770), for example, adopts the following classic order: orthography, prosody, etymology, and syntax.

Lhorente, Maza, e Astariz', whom the author João Maria N.A. Abbadie (1790: iv) characterized as a lady of talent.

Amongst metalinguistic works, there are works on rhetoric, and we find Damião de Fróis Perim (1740: 282) alluding in *Theatro Heroino* to the existence of an art of good speech written by a woman, *Rhetorica moderna*, by Mariana de Abreu (1705–1721/1722), who also wrote *Philosofia moral*. Both manuscripts were never printed and are lost today.

Some women made an important contribution to the promotion of Portuguese culture: Marie Claire Rey Bertrand (eighteenth century), after 1784, following the death of her husband Jean Joseph, took over the family business, a bookstore, changing its name to Viúva Bertrand e Filhos (Widow Bertrand and sons). Generally, it was not typical for a woman to be found at the helm of a bookstore and publishing house at the end of the eighteenth century, yet this happened in Lisbon. Bertrand promoted the publication of metalinguistic works and edited, for example, *Maitre portugais* (Anon. 1799; *The Portuguese Teacher*), based on the Portuguese and English grammar *A New Portuguese Grammar, in Four Parts* by António Vieira Transtagano (1712–1797), prepared for his Anglophone audience. Since eighteenth-century Portuguese printers and booksellers were often known to have been involved in the production and/or translation of the works they edited, it seems quite possible that Bertrand might have had a role in the translation of this work.

This was also a time when new publications were emerging related to scientific innovations and subjects such as public life, fashion, rules of civility, and education, with women becoming a new and expanding audience. Women began to play a different role in the public space, attending theatres, operas, and cultural events.

It is in this context that works began to appear that were especially dedicated to girls' education, the main objective of which was to educate them in morals and in good behaviour. Some of these works were translated or adapted from French models or still printed in that language. An example of the latter was the work printed by Francisco Clamopin Durand (*fl.* 1767–1773), *De l'éducation des filles, par Mre. François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fenelon, Archevêque-Duc de Cambrai* (1772; *On the Education of Girls by François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fenelon, Archbishop and Duke of Cambrai*), compiling in a single manual the texts of François Fénelon (1651–1715) and Jacques-Joachim Trotti, marquis de la Chétardie (1705–1759). This work was dedicated to D. Ana Joaquina de Lancastre, whom Durand considered a very enlightened, tender, and vigilant mother, concerned with issues related to the education of her family. The fact that the author kept the text in its original language reveals the linguistic skills that were expected of the target audience.[23]

[23] Being an editor and bookseller in Porto, there is no doubt that Durand could have easily translated this work into Portuguese himself, given that he had learnt the language well enough to be able to write the grammar, *O mestre francez* (1767; *The French Teacher*), in Portuguese.

Also aimed at the moral formation of girls is *Donzella instruida* (Anon. 1788; *The Educated Girl*), written by a woman and designed to educate girls. Although the author's identity is never mentioned, the references in the prologue to the term *authora* ('female author') make it clear that the author can only be a woman. In this same paratext, the anonymous author feels the need to justify the title of her work, which refers to the feminine world and, for that reason, could be an object of criticism, given the common perception at that time that women did not need an education.

Among the works dedicated to civility, there is a book created for children of both sexes, *Elementos da civilidade e da decencia, para instrucção da mocidade de ambos os sexos* (1788; Anon. 1801; *Elements of Civility and Decency, for the Instruction of Youth of Both Sexes*), divided into three parts. In the second part, dedicated to the 'Arte de agradar na conversaçaõ' ('Art of Pleasing in Conversation'), the author characterizes women as intellectually inferior to men, which is why the author deems it impossible to discuss multiple topics in a conversation with women (Anon. 1801: 163).

This idea of the cultural inferiority of women led to the emergence, still in the eighteenth century, of the first publications of early works written by women in defense of their own sex. Examples of such works are the two texts written by Gertrudes Margarida de Jesus, *Primeira carta apologetica, em favor, e defensa das mulheres* (Jesus 1761a; *First Apologetic Letter in Defence of Women*) and *Segunda carta apologetica, em favor, e defensa das mulheres* (Jesus 1761b; *Second Apologetic Letter in Defence of Women*).[24] These letters appear in response to *Espelho critico, no qual claramente se vem alguns defeitos das mulheres* (Desengano 1761; *Critical Mirror, in which There Are Some Defects of Women*), written by a friar known as Amador do Desengano, who had characterized women as inferior to men.

It is uncertain who Gertrudes Margarida de Jesus was. However, her texts reveal a woman of high culture who possessed vast literary knowledge and had mastered several languages. Among the flaws pointed out in *Espelho critico*, Jesus starts with the ignorance normally ascribed to women, explaining that it is the consequence of women's lack of access to education (Jesus 1761a: 8). Jesus alludes to several literate women, proving that despite this limiting context there were already many women shining in the Portuguese cultural scene.

A well-known example of the eighteenth-century female literati was D. Leonor de Almeida Portugal Lorena e Lencastre, 4th Marchioness of Alorna (1750–1839), a highly erudite woman. She mastered several languages (French, Italian, German, English, Latin, and Arabic) and was a central figure in the literary 'tertulias' ('social gatherings') of the capital, where she was well respected. Her vast and multifaceted *oeuvre* was published posthumously, in six volumes, by her

[24] For more information about these letters, see Torres Feijó (2005) and Ruiz (2009).

daughters Henriqueta and Frederica, under the title *Obras poeticas de D. Leonor d'Almeida Portugal Lorena e Lencastre, Marqueza d'Alorna, Condessa d'Assumar, e d'Oeynhausen, conhecida entre os poetas portuguezes pello nome de Alcipe* (1844–1851; *Poetic Works by D. Leonor d'Almeida Portugal Lorena e Lencastre, Marquis of Alorna, Countess of Assumar and Oeynhausen, Known among the Portuguese Poets by the Name of Alcipe*).

In addition to the author's original poetic works, this collection includes several translations which prove her mastery of foreign languages. One of her most outstanding translations is the bilingual edition *Poetica de Horatio, e o Ensaio sobre a crítica, de Alexandre Pope* (Alorna 1812), which Alcipe published in London in 1812, in which she offers her personal take not only on a translation of *Ars poetica* by Horace (65–68 BCE; *The Art of Poetry*) but also on a similarly oriented poem, *An Essay on Criticism* (1711), by Alexander Pope (1688–1744).

In the field of translation another important woman was Rita Clara Freire de Andrade (1758–post-1791), married to Bartolomeu Cordovil Sequeira e Melo, a teacher of Latin grammar, who, as she herself attests, taught her Portuguese grammar, as well as French, Italian, and Latin. Rita Andrade developed a real taste for Latin, motivating her to study Virgil's and Horace's works and later inspiring her to translate *Arte poetica de Q. Horacio Flaco. Traduzida em verso rimado* (*Art of Poetry by Q. Horacio Flaco: Translated into Rhymed Verse*) into Portuguese (Flaccus 1781). In a note, 'Ao leitor' ('To the reader'), the translator explains that she decided to publish this translation largely due to her husband's encouragement, never imagining that this could be possible, as it was difficult for women to undertake this type of activity (Flaccus 1781: iv). In her discourse, there is an air of modesty that is confirmed by her classification of her work as a 'tosca tradução' ('clumsy translation'). However, the act of publishing a translation of a work that had already been translated previously by, among others, the famous oratorian Francisco José Freire (1719–1773) reveals audacity and is indicative of the translator's own ability.

Finally, we would like to highlight, still in this century, Francisca de Paula Possolo da Costa (1783–1838).[25] Writing under the pseudonym Francília, Pastora do Tejo, she authored a multifaceted work that includes genres not usually chosen by women, such as melodrama and the novel (Anastácio 2005b: 354). In her youth, she studied French, having as a mistress Madame Cunha, who, according to Castilho (1841: xi), was said to have been a 'collaboradora da grammatica de La Rue'[26]

[25] For more on this author, see Borges (2006).

[26] The work in question was *Novo methodo de grammatica, para aprender com perfeiçam, e ainda sem uso de mestre, a lingua franceza, e de algum modo a portugueza* (1756; *New Grammatical Method, to Learn Perfectly, and Still Without Using a Teacher, the French Language, and to Some Extent Portuguese*) by Charles de la Rue. We could not find any information that allowed us to clarify the type of collaboration the said mistress might have provided in the creation of this grammar. In the 1766 edition, which we consulted, there is no paratext which might help illuminate this question.

('female collaborator of La Rue's grammar'). This linguistic knowledge enabled her to translate French works, namely *Corina ou a Italia* (*Corinne, or Italy*) in 1823 (*GL*, 1823: iii) by Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (Madame de Staël; 1766–1817) and *Conversações sobre a pluralidade dos mundos* (1841; *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds*) by Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757), which had considerable impact at the time.

In *Conversações sobre a pluralidade dos mundos*, Francisca de Paula Possolo da Costa assumes a posture of humility in relation to the translation she has elaborated, as was common for women of that time, but points out that this publication was only made possible due to the encouragement of 'algumas pessoas doutas' ('some learned people'). While her posture may well be a modesty topos, it might also be a sign of the value her contemporaries attributed to her work while it was still unpublished.

5.5 The nineteenth century

Throughout the nineteenth century, the education of girls was marked by progress and retreat, given that, on the one hand, ordinances were promulgated in favour of feminine education, but on the other hand there were laws that rescinded them. There was thus a remarkable distance between what was proposed in theory and what was applied in practice. There were, however, important measures during this century that indicated a change of mentality. As we have already noted, the Royal Resolution of 1790 would only be enacted at the beginning of this century, namely via the creation of eighteen girls' schools in Lisbon. Moreover, the first three royal schoolmistresses for reading, writing, and counting were appointed. Thus, Margarida Jesus, Teresa Rosa de Jesus, and Maria Procópia (about whom unfortunately nothing else is known) can be considered the first female teachers of the official primary teaching system in Portugal (Nóvoa 1987: 422), earning an annual salary of 72,000 réis (whereas their male counterparts earned 90,000 réis).

In these schools, the girls' education was focused on the teaching of reading and writing, handicrafts, and Christian doctrine, supplying them with the necessary skills to become good mothers and housewives. In almost all of the curricula there was a differentiation of the subjects to be taught to the two sexes, barring women from those related to, for instance, political and economic life.

In practice it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that a significant increase in the number of elementary schools for girls was registered,[27] and the

[27] In a context in which there was the clear beginning of an understanding that women were entitled to education, authors like Frei José da Virgem Maria wrote works dedicated to the instruction of both sexes, such as *Novo methodo de educar os meninos e meninas* (1815; *New Method of Educating Boys and*

first step towards a professional preparation for female teachers was undertaken, because the first Escola Normal (Normal School) for a systematic education of female schoolmistresses was not established in Lisbon until 1863 (Decreto 1863; Gomes 1996: 37).

As for female secondary teaching, one would have to wait until the end of the century for a legal act authorizing the establishment of female secondary schools in Lisbon, Porto, and Coimbra; and all the while the linguistic scope was limited to offering language schooling only in Portuguese and French (Lei 1888: 287–8). It would be another twenty years before the first female secondary school would open to the public.

Higher education opened its doors to the female sex towards the end of the century. For example, women have attended the University of Coimba since 1891, the first woman to attend classes in a regular way being Domitila Hormizinda Miranda de Carvalho, who later graduated in mathematics, philosophy, and medicine.[28]

It is in this context of a defence of female education and of the self-assertion of women that several important female voices appear, intervening actively in the fight for women's rights. Among those names, women like Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos, Alice Pestana (1860–1929), Adelaide Cabete (1867–1935), Alice Moderno (1867–1946), Maria Veleda (1871–1955), Ana de Castro Osório (1872–1935), Virginia de Castro e Almeida (1874–1945), and Virgínia Quaresma (1882–1973) can be found, some of whom joined the Freemasonry, as in the case of Ana de Castro Osório.

This last author devoted herself to the feminist cause, leaving a vast *oeuvre* that included children's literature, short stories, novels, textbooks, translations,[29] opinion pieces, and talks. Among her works about women, *Ás mulheres portuguêsas* (1905; *To Portuguese Women*) stands out because in this work she argues that the role of women should not be reduced to that of mother and wife, thus making it necessary for them to have an education to allow them to attain their social and economic emancipation, equality of rights between the two sexes, and access to a variety of professions.

Girls). Towards the end of the century we also note a grammar entitled *Elementos de gramática portugueza* (Leão 1886; *Elements of Portuguese Grammar*), dedicated to primary-school teachers of both sexes, and expressly including female teachers. Similarly, the spelling primers offer an explicit reference to both sexes, as one can see in *Doutrina Christã* (1881; *Christian Doctrine*).

[28] For more information about women in higher education, see Gomes (1987, 1991) and Prata (2002).

[29] She translated the fairy tales of Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) and Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859), Charles Perrault (1628–1703), Hans Christian Andersen (1805–1875), Anna Stein (Margarete Wulff, 1792–1874), and Swanida Anna Elisabeth Maria Mees (1853–1938), in collaboration with Afonso Hincher and Luise Ey (1854–1936). Some of her own stories were translated into French and Spanish.

Osório was a driving force in leading some of the first Portuguese feminist organizations, namely the Grupo Português de Estudos Feministas (1907; Portuguese Group of Feminist Studies), the Liga Republicana das Mulheres Portuguesas (1908; Republican League of Portuguese Women), and the Associação de Propaganda Feminista (1911; Feminist Propaganda Association). Several of her works were approved officially as reading books adopted in Portugal and in some states of Brazil.[30]

Maria Amália Vaz de Carvalho also belongs to the activists defending female education, since, while not a feminist, she was indeed a defender of women's right to have an education. Having regularly written for the press of the time, her work includes essays, short stories, poetry, literary criticism, and history. She was also known for her dedication to pedagogical issues, addressing the problems of the education of women and children, having written *Mulheres e creanças (Notas sobre a educação)* (1887; *Women and Children (Notes on Education)*). Her professional trajectory was recognized when, in 1912, she was elected as a corresponding member of the Class of Letters of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, together with Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos (1851–1925), the latter being considered the most learned woman of her time.

Born in Berlin, Karoline Wilhelma Michaëlis[31] manifested early on an interest in the study of the classical, Romance, Slavic, and Semitic languages and literatures, being only 17 years old when she began publishing papers in scientific journals. She was especially interested in Romance philology, having exchanged correspondence with the 'Geração de 70' ('Generation of 70'), an academic movement of young Portuguese intellectuals whose activity would be crucial for the development of various areas of cultural activity in Portugal. Foremost amongst those worthy of mention are the linguists Adolfo Coelho (1847–1919) and Teófilo Braga (1843–1924), as well as the art historian Joaquim de Vasconcelos (1849–1936), whom Karoline would marry in 1876, after which she moved to live in Portugal. In the same year, she had published *Studien zur Romanischen Wortschöpfung* (*Studies on Romance Word Formation*) in Leipzig, using her maiden name (Michaëlis 1876). She was the first woman to teach in a Portuguese university, in the Faculdade de Letras of Coimbra University, where she gave lectures on Portuguese philology from the academic year 1912/1913 on, which were later collected in the *Lições de filologia portuguesa* (1946). She distinguished herself as an honorary member of the Berliner Gesellschaft für das

[30] For more information concerning this author, see Samara (2007).

[31] Among the various contemporary contributions, useful, and now classic, studies on the life and work of D. Carolina are Correia (1986), and the equally short and concise entry by Heinz Kröll in the *Neue deutsche Biographie* (1994). On the contribution of Michaëlis de Vasconcelos to Portuguese philology, see Mühlschlegel (2007). On specific aspects of D. Carolina's life and work, see Delille (2001, 2007, 2015), Verdelho (2001), Beck-Busse (2009). See also the exhibition catalogue (Delille 2009), and the collection of mixed essays (Delille, Corrêa-Cardoso, and Greenfield 2013, Condé, Mongelli, and Vieira 2015).

Studium der neueren Sprachen (1877; Berlin Society for the Study of Modern Languages) and with the title of Doctor *honoris causa* conferred by the universities of Freiburg (1893), Coimbra (1916), and Hamburg (1923); she also received the insignia of an official of the Order of Santiago (1901).

As a philologist, her work is characterized by the incorporation of different disciplinary domains, such as textual criticism and comparative/historical linguistic studies, but her work also addresses the condition of women and pedagogical issues. In the area of textual criticism, she contributed greatly to the revival of the Portuguese medieval and classical literary heritage, developing noteworthy philological work. She prepared a critical edition, with commentary, of *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (Vasconcelos 1904; *Songbook of the Ajuda Palace*), one of the main extant manuscript collections of Portuguese medieval lyric texts, which took around twenty-seven years to complete. Next to the edition proper, volume two, subtitled *Investigações bibliographicas, biographicas e historico-litterarias* (*Bibliographical, Biographical, and Historical-Literary Research*), still merits the attention of modern scholars today due to the rich information it offers on several scholarly fields, such as history, literature, and ethnography, and in particular on the state of the medieval language of the time.

Amongst her other scholarly editions, we find *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda* (Vasconcelos 1885; *Poems of Francisco de Sá de Miranda*), *Autos portugueses de Gil Vicente y de la Escuela Vicentina* (Vasconcelos 1922a; *Portuguese Plays by Gil Vicente and the Vicentian School*), and *O cancioneiro Fernandes Tomás* (Vasconcelos 1922b; *The Songbook of Fernandes Tomás*). She also undertook important studies of many aspects of the history of the Portuguese language. Even though she never published a monograph solely dedicated to the history of the Portuguese language, scholars have noted her continuous and important work in the field (see Verdelho 2001: 185).

Dona Carolina also made an important contribution to synchronic, and especially diachronic, aspects of the fledgling discipline of Portuguese linguistics while reflecting the most advanced contemporary contributions in historical comparative philology at a time when many of its main representatives dedicating themselves to German, Romance, classical, or Slavic philology were male German scholars. While young Karoline Michaëlis was able to enjoy the advantages of direct contact with current philological research in Germany, Portuguese linguists only became acquainted with the most recent trends in Romance philology through *A lingua portugueza. Phonologia, etymologia, morphologia e syntaxe* (Coelho 1868; *The Portuguese Language: Phonetics, Etymology, Morphology and Syntax*), published by Francisco Adolfo Coelho (1847–1919).[32] Dona Carolina had been able to draw her inspiration directly from the source of German historical-comparative linguistics

[32] For a study of nineteenth-century Portuguese grammaticography, see Santos (2010).

while still residing in Berlin, and since she moved to Portugal in 1876, thanks to her reputation, she was able to reinforce the impact of the new language sciences in Portugal.

In the field of etymological studies, Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos stands out, possessing, as the renowned philologist Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke (1927: 21) noted, all the fundamental qualities necessary for an etymologist. Her value was also recognized in the field of lexicography. She mastered medieval Portuguese perfectly, as is evidenced by *Glossário do Cancioneiro da Ajuda* (1921; *Glossary of the Songbook of the Ajuda Palace*), a kind of dictionary of the Galician-Portuguese language of medieval Ibero-Romance troubadours.

In the field of Portuguese orthography, Vasconcelos's broad knowledge of Portuguese linguistics was confirmed by her induction into the Commission for a Reform of Portuguese Spelling, established on 15 February 1911. Here, she collaborated with people who, like her, belonged to the circle of the most important Portuguese philologists of all time, namely Adolfo Coelho, José Leite de Vasconcelos (1858–1941), and Aniceto dos Reis Gonçalves Viana (1840–1914), whose criteria she mostly accepted in defending a Portuguese spelling system meant to be 'comum, regularizada e simplificada segundo os princípios ficsos, fundados na história da língua' (Vasconcelos n.d.: 111; 'common, regularized and simplified, according to the basic principles, based on the history of the language').

Even considering the scattered nature of her work, its contents and impact made this philologist, without doubt, an undisputed authority in the Portuguese historical-comparative linguistics of her time. Many of her ideas are dispersed through various documents, namely in her correspondence (Castro and Vieira 2009) and in numerous specialist articles.

In her linguistic papers, she discussed various issues in renowned specialist journals, such as *Revista Lusitana* and *Romanische Forschungen*, interacting with the foremost male specialists on Portuguese philology, putting forth groundbreaking work on topics such as the infinitive (Vasconcelos 1893), the placement of the adjective in Portuguese (Vasconcelos 1895), metaphony in the Portuguese language, the history of the consonants *l* and *n* in Portuguese, and suppletivism in the Romance languages, especially in Portuguese (Vasconcelos 1930).

Finally, in *Lições de filologia portuguesa* (Vasconcelos 1946), which gathers the texts of classes she gave at the University of Coimbra in the academic year 1911/1912, Vasconcelos describes several linguistic issues more systematically than in her previous publications. In this work, still used today almost as if it were a homogeneous textbook on the subject matter, the author addresses aspects of the history of the Portuguese language, its periodization and characteristics, orthographic issues, and processes of word formation. She also contemplates the use of the term 'philology' and its history, and the classification of world languages, including Romance languages, dedicating the third part of the work to the sources of the Portuguese lexicon. This book ends with the 'Lições práticas de português

arcaico' ('Practical Lectures on Old Portuguese'), based on texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[33]

At the age of 22, both the recognition of the philological and linguistic knowledge she documented in editions like *Romancero del Cid* (Michaëlis 1871; *Romance of El Cid*) and the fact that she had mastered several languages conferred on her the authority to undertake a critical review of the second edition of *Dictionnaire d'étymologie française* (Scheler 1873; *French Etymological Dictionary*) by the philologist Auguste Scheler (1819–1890). Taking into consideration her own understanding of Romance languages as well as contemporary literature on Romance etymology, Michaëlis (1875) not only offers criticism of Scheler's etymological dictionary of the French language but also provides twenty quite elaborate *Randglossen* ('marginal glosses') designed to improve Scheler's work.

Her fluency in the language of her adoptive country allowed her to participate in the revision of *Novo diccionario da lingua portugueza e allemã* (1887; *New Dictionary of the Portuguese and German Languages*),[34] and to accept the offer of the publishing house Julius Groos in Heidelberg to collaborate on the revision of grammars of the German and French languages, such as *Grammatica francesa* (*Grammaire française à l'usage des Portugais et Brésiliens*) (2nd edn 1907, together with F. Tanty and Gaston Le Boucher). The same publishing house commissioned a new and improved edition of *Nova gramática alemã teórica e prática* (Otto and Prévôt 1887, 3rd edn Prévôt 1907b), by subjecting this German grammar to a scrupulous recast and amending several topics of the original author's metalinguistic description. The German grammar had seven editions and, from the third to the fifth edition (1928), was published with the cooperation of Ana Luísa Rodrigues de Freitas (1846–1919; only Prévôt 1907a)[35] and Luise Ey (1854–1936), who had both contributed greatly towards an eventual improvement of the text which originally had been elaborated by a French teacher, José Prévôt (*fl.* 1887), who lived in Porto.

Of these two co-authors, the German lusophile Luise Ey stands out. A close friend of D. Carolina, she worked incessantly on behalf of the popularization of Portuguese culture, pursuing this as a life objective. She lived in Portugal for fifteen years, where she taught in the city of Porto, and considered Portugal her second homeland (Paiva Boléo 2010).[36] She was the first woman to teach at the University of Hamburg as a Reader in Portuguese from 1919 to 1923. She

[33] For more information concerning *Lições de filologia portuguesa*, see Bassetto (2015).

[34] This dictionary was compiled by Henriette Michaëlis (1849–post-1895), D. Carolina's sister. Given what the author states in her preface, her sister had a hand in enriching her work (Michaëlis 1887: viii).

[35] Of Austrian origin, she married José Joaquim Rodrigues de Freitas (1840–1896), having taught languages and modern literature in the city of Porto. Concerning linguistic works, only her participation in the third edition of the German grammar is known. For more information, see Delille (1997).

[36] She was named by the Portuguese State an officer of the *Ordem de Santiago da Espada* ('Order of Saint James of the Sword') and the *Ordem da Instrução Pública* ('Order of Public Education').

authored several anthologies, tourist guides, and books of practical methods for learning Portuguese, dedicating herself to the translation into German of works by Portuguese authors such as Abílio Manuel Guerra Junqueiro (1850–1923), José Francisco Trindade Coelho (1861–1908), and Júlio Dantas (1876–1962). Among her metalinguistic works, the publication of the bilingual dictionary *Taschenwörterbuch der portugiesischen und deutschen Sprache* (6th edn 1909; *Portable Dictionary of Portuguese and German*) as well as the revised versions of textbooks that the Julius Groos Verlag devoted to the Portuguese language, written in German, English, and French, stand out, namely, *Portugiesische Konversations-Grammatik* (1910),[37] *Portuguese Conversation-Grammar* (1912), and *Grammaire portugaise* (1913, 2nd edn Ey, Nogueira, and Nogueira 1929). These latter works were published according to the didactic concept of the Julius Groos Verlag known as 'Method Gaspey-Otto-Sauer', whose approach to foreign-language teaching may be viewed essentially as one of the many variants of what is today understood as belonging to the 'grammar–translation method'.

Another important female grammarian was the German-born Bertha Elisabeth Emilie Hellring d'Espiney (*c*.1853–1928), the second female author ever to publish a grammar in Portugal. She published *Novo methodo popular. O allemão sem mestre* (*New Popular Method: German without a Teacher*) in 1898. Her textbook of the German language is the ninth such work to be published for a Portuguese target audience, being the first manual of a foreign language ever to be produced by a female author in Portugal. Little is known about Emilie Hellring d'Espiney, except for the fact that she was the wife of a schoolteacher and English grammarian, Maximilien Philibert d'Espiney (1849–1887), and mother to Ernesto Maximiano Hellring d'Espiney (1882–1952), also a grammarian of the German language. According to the foreword to her textbook, which implicitly subscribes to the then-current grammar–translation method, the author declares having devoted herself to the teaching of modern foreign languages in Portugal for over twenty years before the publication of her work. Having been modernized according to contemporary Portuguese spelling, the work was reissued at least five times between 1986 and 2013 under the title *O allemão sem mestre* by the publisher Lello Editores in Porto (Espiney 2007).[38]

5.6 The early twentieth century

At the beginning of the twentieth century the educational context was similar to that of the late nineteenth century, when women began to gain a voice and the

[37] This grammar also had an abridged version, entitled *Kleine portugiesische Sprachlehre* (10th edn Ey 1936; *An Elementary Grammar of the Portuguese Language*).

[38] On Emilie Hellring d'Espiney and her work, see Kemmler (2019: 240–6).

need for instruction was more broadly recognized. The first female secondary school was created as a consequence of the publication of the regulations for female secondary schools (Decreto 1890). On 31 January 1906, 'Escola Maria Pia' was renamed 'Lyceu Maria Pia' (Decreto 1906: 727), formally established as the first model for future female secondary schools (Carvalho 2008: 646). Following its foundation, a number of illustrious women attended this school, including Berta Valente de Almeida (1886–1982), who started working there as a Portuguese and Latin teacher in 1907, serving as its head teacher from 1920 to 1922.

After the fall of the Portuguese Monarchy, Portuguese feminists' hopes for an improvement in the educational situation began at last to be realized. Dated 29 March 1911, Article 37 of the Decree by the young Portuguese Republic (established on 5 October 1910), following the lead of António Costa's 1870 decree and subsequent less-generous reforms aimed at female scholars, established mandatory education for both sexes between the ages of 7 and 14 (Decreto 1911: 1343). While the reach in practice of this decree should not be overestimated, the ongoing preoccupation of the republican legislators with female education, for instance in 1914 and 1915, revealed a genuine interest in bettering female education. During this period, when more than 80 per cent of Portuguese women remained illiterate, Berta Valente de Almeida (1886–1982)[39] profited from a remarkable educational background, having studied, with great distinction, classical philology and Romance philology at the University of Lisbon's Curso Superior de Letras (Advanced Course in Letters). It is noteworthy that Almeida was, along with Virgínia Quaresma (1882–1973), one of the first women to graduate in humanities in Portugal.

Contrary to the norm at the time, Berta Valente de Almeida achieved success in the traditionally male world of publishing school manuals. She published several didactic manuals, which can be grouped into grammars, reading books, writing manuals, and textbooks in the context of literary studies.[40] For Latin studies, she wrote a pupil's grammar, *Gramática prática da língua latina* (n.d. d; *Practical Grammar of the Latin Language*), and *Livro método de exercícios da língua latina* (1921b; *Method Book of Exercises of the Latin Language*) for the practice of this language.

For the study of the Portuguese language, she wrote *Gramática prática e muito elementar da língua portuguesa* (1916; *Practical and Very Elementary Portuguese Grammar*) for primary education, and for secondary education she authored *Primeiras noções de gramática historica da lingua portuguesa* (n.d. f; *First*

[39] For information concerning the author's life and work, see Costa n.d.

[40] See, for instance, Almeida (1916, 1917, 1921a and 1921b, n.d. a – n.d. f). In the case of Portuguese lexicography, one would have to wait until 1948 to find a woman coordinating the publication of a dictionary. This is the case of Maria Vitória Garcia dos Santos Ferreira who, together with Manuel dos Santos Ferreira, was responsible for the coordination of the posthumous publication of *Dicionário geral e analógico da língua portuguesa* (1948–1958; *General and Analogical Dictionary of the Portuguese Language*) by Artur Bivar (Verdelho 2007: 43–4).

Notions of Historical Portuguese Grammar), presenting a historical account of the origin and evolution of Portuguese. She also published the *Gramática prática da língua portuguesa* (1917; *Practical Grammar of the Portuguese Language*), which, as the title indicates, constitutes a practical grammar, based on the national curriculum, for use in secondary schools. Although the historical-comparative approach still dominated in Portugal, in her grammar the author sought to describe the Portuguese language from a synchronic point of view consistent with her aim of teaching contemporary Portuguese, without using a diachronic perspective to explain facts or establishing any comparisons with other languages. Therefore, taking into account the pedagogical purpose underpinning this work, it was important that the author disguised the complexity associated with learning grammar. José Joaquim Nunes (1859–1932), the philologist who authored the grammar's foreword, believed that she managed to achieve this by using a clear and objective methodology, based on the presentation of examples.

Regarding her methodology, Almeida starts the explanation of the grammatical content by presenting examples, which are all her own; then, after the analysis, the concept in question is defined. The use of this inductive method requires a greater involvement and a more active role from the students, forcing them to reflect and draw conclusions through a process of discovery. This inverted structure was unusual, as it was more common for grammarians to start the explanation by defining the concept and then presenting examples.

In a period very close to Almeida's, Virgínia Faria Gersão (1896–1974) also authored a metalinguistic work.[41] Having graduated in Romance philology from the University of Coimbra, she first taught at the Escola Normal Primária in Lisbon and later, as an effective teacher, at the Liceu Infanta Dona Maria in Coimbra. As a member of the National Assembly (formerly the Assembly of the Republic) from 1945 to 1949 (Braga 2011), she dedicated herself to a number of subjects, especially those relating to education. She authored literary works, namely children's plays, and works intended for teaching, such as *A gramática das criancinhas* (1921, 2nd edn 1932; *Grammar for Little Children*).

Gersão's work aims to transmit the first notions of grammar in a playful way, motivating children to learn things that they would ordinarily not enjoy learning. In this sense, Gersão (1932: xii) condemns the use of a method based on memorization and defends an 'ensino *racional*, explicando a razão dos termos adoptados, e *sugestivo*, falando de coisas que os interessem mais, relacionadas com estas lições' ('*rational* teaching, explaining the reason for the adopted terms, and *suggestive*, speaking of things that interest them most, that are related to these lessons'). The grammar is structured into lessons that work as a narrative, in which the characters present the grammatical concepts in a natural and

[41] For more bio-bibliographical data, see Castelo (2003) and Souza (2005).

contextualized way, while the author's systematization of the contents is undertaken at the end of the lesson in order to consolidate the learning.

Concerning the organization of the contents, the first lesson begins with a reflection on the need and usefulness of the study of grammar, followed by a reference to the languages that intervened in the formation of Portuguese. In a sequential and logical way, the work goes on to study the parts of speech, offering a brief section on syntax. Considering that they are too complex for the age group that the work was aimed at, the author quite intentionally leaves out some metalinguistic concepts, arguing that these should only be approached in a second grammar course.

Another pioneering work in Portugal was published by João da Silva Correia (1891–1937),[42] entitled *A linguagem da mulher* (*The Language of Women*) and published for the first time in 1927 and again in 1935. In this work, the author compares the language of women to men's, considering four aspects: *auxiliares da linguagem* ('auxiliaries of language'), *léxico* ('lexicon'), *gramática* ('grammar'), and *estilo* ('style'). Correia (1935: 18) begins his analysis with the auxiliaries of language, exemplified by *suspiro* ('sigh'), *gemido* ('groan'), and *pranto* ('lamentation'), considering that they are used more frequently by women than men. In the following section, he passes to the study of vocabulary, stating that, despite women's vocabulary being poor in some areas, it is abundant in others, as in the case of archaisms, interjections, and exclamatory or emotional locutions, the field of diminutives, onomatopoeia, and foreign expressions related to everyday life (Correia 1935: 32–4). At the level of grammar, the author considers that the differences between the language of the two sexes may be reflected in the fields of spelling, phonetics, morphology, syntax, and semantics. Finally, he completes the analysis of these four aspects with a characterization of women's style, which he considers to be more familiar and simpler (Correia 1935: 94). In general, one can see that for Correia female language is more oriented towards the emotional and sentimental domain, whereas male language is more associated with intellectuality and abstract reasoning.

5.7 Conclusion

During the first centuries of the modern period, the female contribution to the study and analysis of Portuguese could be regarded as mostly occasional but nevertheless meaningful. During a time when women generally had no formal

[42] João da Silva Correia (1891–1937) was a professor of the Faculdade de Letras of Lisbon University. In his vast *oeuvre* he approached issues such as the teaching of reading and the mother tongue, the education of teachers, and the education of women, among other things. For more information, see Cidade (1938: 404–6) and Carvalho (1967: 10).

access to the education offered to male pupils, learned women in most cases were affiliated with religious orders or belonged to noble or wealthy families who were able to afford the costs of private schooling.

During the mid-nineteenth century, the paradigm changed somewhat, as the first tentative steps were taken towards elementary schooling for girls in areas that were deemed necessary for them to function in contemporary society. To cope with the demand for schoolmistresses, the first Escola Normal, a school for teachers, was created in 1863, but even so, for a long time the number of girls' schools would not be sufficient to guarantee a solid education for all girls. In the same sense, the creation *de facto* of the first secondary school for women in 1890, which only caught up with the other secondary schools in Portugal in 1906, was an important yet insufficient step towards educational emancipation at a time when the first women were starting to obtain university degrees. Notwithstanding individual places and cases where an exception was made due to circumstances, coeducation was only firmly established in Portugal in 1972, as it was reintroduced in elementary schools and newly introduced into secondary schools.

Amongst all the authors involved with issues relating to the Portuguese language, three women clearly stand out. One is the almost forgotten eighteenth-century Salesian nun, Francisca de Chantal Álvares, who wrote the first Portuguese *Grammaire des dames* for a Portuguese public. The second is the twentieth-century secondary schoolteacher, Berta Valente de Almeida, who through her metalinguistic work and her importance as a teacher could not help but greatly influence a considerable number of women passing through female secondary school in Lisbon. Last, but not least, the German-born D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos must be seen as the first true female linguist in Portugal, enriching linguistics and philology in a way that modern linguists of both genders seem unable to emulate.

6
Women and the elaboration of a Russian language norm

Sylvie Archaimbault

6.1 Introduction

In keeping with the general theme of this book, this chapter will focus particularly on the role that women have played in the elaboration of a Russian language norm, and it will thus focus mostly on the eighteenth century, since this period is significantly and deeply marked by work on language-building.

One significant factor was that in eighteenth-century Russia, powerful women were in a position to shape language policy. Two empresses, one in the first half of the eighteenth century and the other in the second half, clearly stand out in this respect: Elizabeth I, or Elizaveta Petrovna (1709–1761; ruled 1741–1761),[1] and Catherine II, or Catherine the Great (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796). As we will see, Elizabeth was instrumental in fostering the Russian language, and Catherine helped foster and further its development. A third female figure, less famous than the other two, must also be examined: Princess Ekaterina (Catherine) Dashkov, who oriented Catherine's patronage to the production of linguistic tools—works meant to record the rules and words which constituted the modern Russian idiom. I will focus on these three figures in my discussion of the role of women in the elaboration of a Russian language norm in the eighteenth century.

The chapter will first, in section 6.2, provide important contextual information on the linguistic situation in Russia leading up to the eighteenth century. Section 6.3 will then describe the relationship between language and society in the age of Elizabeth, with a focus on diglossia between Church Slavonic and Russian. Section 6.4 will present Catherine II's activities in the domain of language, including her linguistic competencies, her language use, her writings, and linguistic policies and initiatives. Section 6.5 will explore the role of Dashkov, especially in the Russian academy and the compilation of its dictionary. Section 6.6 will be devoted to the literary and other contributions of women to

[1] Dates are given in the Old Style, according to the Julian calendar.

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language development in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Russia, through salons, literature, and translation, and will discuss attitudes towards women's language use and literary activity.

6.2 Setting the context for a new status for the Russian language in the eighteenth century

Up to the seventeenth century, culture in Russia was predominantly religious. The rule of the Stoglavii Sobor (Council of a Hundred Chapters) of 1561, which was very stringent and dogmatic, governed all social and cultural life, even the activities of artists and writers. Learning to read and write was provided only in the monasteries. Church Slavonic, apart from the language of religion, was the language of culture, literature, historical chronicles, and, more broadly, written texts. However, the written language was not homogeneous; together with standard Church Slavonic, represented in Holy Writ and liturgy, there was another variant of the bookish Church Slavonic language with its own local variants and registers, which Viktor Zhivov calls hybrid (Zhivov 2009: 15–25). In the seventeenth century, the interferences between the different registers became more frequent and the diglossia between Church Slavonic and Russian turned to bilingualism (Uspenskii 1987: 14–21). Tracing the hybridization of Church Slavonic and Russian in the late seventeenth century, Zhivov shows how the search for simplicity leads to an awareness of the oversimplifying of grammatical forms in printed books (Zhivov 2009: 73–82).

Scholars of eighteenth-century Russia have paid close attention to many important advancements and accomplishments of the century, from shipyards to foreign politics and the development of tools for advancing science, thanks to which Russia was able to lay claim to an important position among the great nations of Europe. Although few fields of research escaped their scrutiny, there is one which has been quite neglected: while the country is vast and very diverse and its contribution in social and cultural matters has been absolutely crucial, the definition of a unique and pluri-functional language norm has been somehow forgotten. Without a common language, there could be no acknowledgement of a centralized state by the citizens of this country, and it could be argued that one of the greatest accomplishments of the eighteenth century was precisely the elaboration of a single common language. From the reign of Peter the Great (1672–1725), granting the Russian language greater status had become a priority. This was achieved, first, by going beyond a bilingualism represented by Church Slavonic, religious and literary, and Russian, as Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf (1655–1712), a German Pietist who wrote a Russian grammar (*Grammatica russica*), pointed out (1696: Præfatio, A2), 'loquendum est Russice & scribendum est Slavonice' ('they speak in Russian, they write in Slavonic'); and

second, by avoiding the use of other foreign languages—mainly German and French—which were used for communication, particularly in the higher social classes and at court. A political conception of language thus prevailed as an institution created by, and subject to, change; it can be modelled and shaped by subjects at least in part, but monarchs have to pave the way. In this respect, Russia followed the lead of France. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in this matter, the people who have left the strongest imprint on the acknowledgement, as well as on the elaboration, of tools for the diffusion of the Russian language (grammar books, dictionaries, treatises) have been monarchs. This imprint has not necessarily been a direct one, of course; it has also been fostered or delegated. Before turning to the analysis of the role played by Elizabeth I, Catherine the Great, and Princess Ekaterina in this endeavour, I will provide some contextual information about the history of linguistics in Russia in this period and the period immediately preceding it.

6.3 Elizabeth Petrovna, a Russian monarch in Europe

I will mention only briefly here the scale and magnitude of the impact of the Petrine reforms on linguistic standardization: the reform of spelling prepared since 1708 and adopted in 1727 (civic spelling) did away with complex Slavonic graphemes while it confined the publication of religious books in Slavonic to the synodal press of Moscow alone.[2] The power of the Church over instruction and the production of new knowledge was thus limited considerably. Following in the footsteps of her father Peter the Great's reforms, Elizabeth Petrovna contributed to the acknowledgment by Russian elites of Russia's European identity. Under her reign there spread a new representation of the European, who would not blindly follow foreign models, but who would rather adapt them to their own customs and values. Elizabeth Petrovna wished that Russia should reach the level of Europe, without denying the pre-existing cultural and social background.

As soon as Elizabeth I ascended the throne, following the coup of 25 November 1741, she gave the strong signal that she wanted to play an active role in achieving linguistic modernity. The speech for her birthday, delivered by Archbischop Amvrosii Iushkevich on 18 December 1741 does not greatly rely on diglossia: it contains few Slavonicisms and rather emphasizes contemporary Russian. Very noticeably, the part of the speech relating to the coup that brought Elizabeth to power is entirely written in Russian.

[2] Viktor Zhivov has published the most comprehensive study on these questions. His book, *Iazyk kul'tura v Rossii XVIII veka*, was translated into English and published in 2009. The decree about *grazhdanskii shrift* ('civic alphabet') stipulates it will be used for the publication of all types of texts, excluding religious ones. We note that publishing boomed during this century, the number of publishers going from one to eighty.

Who better, then, than Empress Elizabeth I to represent the person whose language could serve as a standard for the common tongue? It is precisely this image of a sovereign who embodies the Russian language that poet and language theoretician Vassili Trediakovskii (1703–1769) kept in mind: upon his return from France, where he had completed his studies with the Sorbonne Jansenists, he created a learned society, the Rossiiskoe Sobranie (Russian Society), whose official inauguration took place in 1735. This society was modelled on the academies of Leipzig and Paris, and its purpose was to elaborate a language norm, through the creation of varied linguistic tools: grammars, dictionaries, translations of major authors, rhetoric.

Trediakovskii had certainly heard of the seventeenth-century French scholar Dominique Bouhours's (1628–1702) work *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (1671: 230; *Conversations of Ariste and Eugene*), which credited King Louis XIV with a perfect mastery of the French idiom: 'Mais sçavez-vous bien que nostre grands (sic) Monarque tient le premier rang parmi ces heureux genies, & qu'il n'y a personne dans le Royaune qui sçache le François comme il le sçait' ('But you know very well that our grand monarch holds the first place among fortunate geniuses and there is no one in the kingdom who knows French as he does').[3]

In 1745, now a professor of Latin and Russian rhetoric at the Russian Academy and at the Academic College, Trediakovskii used the same formulation in his inaugural lecture, 'On Eloquence', and granted Elizabeth the perfect mastery of a natural idiom she wished to promote as the only language in use in her country:

> *Chto sovershenno umeet premudraia Imperatritsa ne tokmo Nemetskoi no i Frantsuzsskoi iazyk, to kto sego ne vedaet? No Velichestva Eia vazhnost', prevoskhodstvo, i prostranstvo, ne khochet drugago iazyka, krome togo, kotorym siia naikrasneishaia nasha Pulkheria, Bogu blagochestiveishaia molitsia, Zakon khristianneishaia zashchishchaet, Veru pravoslavneishaia ispovedaet, Tserkov' edinuiu, sviatuiu, sobornuiu, i apostolicheskuiu blagoveineishaia priznavaet, Ustavy blagorassudneishaia polagaet, Slavu sveia Imperii dostoineishaia rasshiriaet, v Chiny sniskhoditel'neishaia zhaluet, za Zaslugi shchedroljubiveishaia nagrazhdaet, razgovory blagosklonneishaia imeet, eshchezh, sovetuet, proshchaet, khvalit naispravedliveishaia.*
>
> (Who does not know that our most wise Empress speaks not only German, but also the French language? But Her Majesty, [for its] magnitude, superiority, and extent, does not desire any other language besides the one with which this, our most beautiful Pulcheria, prays to God most piously, defends the law most Christianly, expounds the faith most Orthodoxly, acknowledges the single holy, catholic, apostolic Church, proposes statues most intelligently, spreads the glory

[3] Translated from French in Zhivov (2009: 220).

> of the empire most laudably, grants promotion most deferentially, gives rewards for merit most generously, carries on conversation most graciously; and gives advice, forgiveness, praise most fairly). (Trediakovskii 1745: 73–5, quoted in Zhivov 2009: 219)

The Empress thus represents the Russian language in all its uses and functions, from the most personal to those most emblematic of the empire: the 'natural' (*prirodnyj*, according to the expression used by Trediakovskii) language, Russian, is one and indivisible. Such is Trediakovskii's set choice of a language common to all situations in life, and the keeper of this multifunctionality of the natural language is Elizabeth herself: more than a symbol, we must see in her an example to be followed.

Elizabeth herself had had an imperfect education, but, in addition to Russian, she knew French,[4] German, and Swedish. Only a few women of her generation were educated, as exemplified by Princess Natalia Alekseevna, Tsar Peter II's sister (1714–1728), Princess Golitsyna, born Bobrishcheva-Pushkina (1725–1758), who translated foreign plays into Russian, and Countess Sheremetieva—the future Princess Dolgorukova (or Dolgorukaia, 1714–1771)—who was exiled with her family to the Siberian village of Berëzov under Empress Anna Ioanovna (who ruled 1730–1740). Dolgorukova insists in her *Memoirs* (*Zapiski*): '*odnako ia rosla pri vdovstvuiushchei materi moei vo vsiakom davol'stve, kotoraia staralas' o vospitanii moem, chtob nichego ne upustit' v naukakh*' (Townsend 1977: 34–5; 'my widowed mother paid attention to [my] upbringing and saw to it that nothing was omitted from [my] learning').[5]

As a matter of fact, the language of the *Memoirs* was the cultivated speech of the educated Moscow gentry, almost exactly the language which evolved into modern standard Russian (Townsend 1977: 1). However, Elizabeth's reign was marked by the development of education and culture, not just among the highest social classes, as attested by the 1754 decree on the compulsory education of midwives (Likhachëva 1899: 67).[6] The court became a cosmopolitan environment

[4] The French ambassador Campredon, then working towards a union between Elizabeth—then aged 13—and the Duke of Chartres, had praised her as a beauty, well-formed, intelligent, wholly unlike a Russian, neither in character nor in manners (Likhachëva 1899: 51–2).

[5] Dolgorukova's *Memoirs*, begun in 1767, was the first autobiographical work by a woman to be published in Russia (1810), in the *Drug Junoshestva* journal by her grandson, Ivan Dolgorukov. Quoted here from the edition in Russian and in English (Townsend 1977).

[6] Princess Dashkov, born in 1743, indicates in her memoirs: 'Mon oncle n'épargna rien pour nous donner, à sa fille et à moi, les meilleurs maîtres; et, selon le goût de l'époque, nous reçûmes la meilleure éducation. On nous enseignait quatre langues différentes, et nous parlions couramment le français; un conseiller d'État nous apprit l'italien, et M. Bechtieff nous donnait des leçons de russe quand nous daignions les prendre. Nous fîmes de grands progrès dans la danse, et nous avions quelques notions de dessin' (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 25) ('My uncle spared nothing to give us the best masters, and according to the ideas of the time we received the very best education; for we had a perfect knowledge of four languages, particularly French; we danced well and drew a little; a State Councillor taught us Italian and Mr Bekhteyev gave us Russian lessons whenever we felt like it'; Dashkov 1958 [1840]: 24).

frequented by French diplomats, French theatre troupes, and francophone Russian courtiers (Offord et al. 2015: 27).

Furthermore, the reign of Elizabeth witnessed the development of salons, after the Parisian fashion. Women did not yet keep salons—they would not until the reign of Catherine—but places where the nobility socialized and shared intellectual conversations contributed to creating high society conversation. In Catherine's time, the two daughters of Peter Chernyshev (a former ambassador in Paris), Natalia Petrovna Golitsyna and Daria Petrovna Saltykova, hosted soirées on fixed evenings in Moscow and St Petersburg, which were attended by foreigners as well (Breuillard 1994: 100).

Although literature by women would only witness its most significant development during the reign of Catherine II—over seventy women writers can be counted under her reign (Vladimirov 1892: 15)—Ekaterina Sumarokova (Kniazhnina after her marriage; 1746–1797) had already published verses in Aleksandr Sumarokov's (1717–1777) *Busy Bee* in 1759, and Elizaveta Kheraskova (née Neronova, 1737–1809)—whose house became the centre of Moscow's literary life—and Aleksandra Rzhevskaia (née Kamenskaia, 1740–1769) both published literary works in 1760, echoing the poetry written by Empress Elizabeth herself, which would be published posthumously.

Regarding the linguistic norm, the great question at the time was which society would serve as a reference, or whose language should be the standard for defining correct usage. Trediakovskii, who knew France well, made the phrase 'Étudiez la Cour et connaissez la ville' ('Study the Court, and know the city') his own, but the Russian court was not particularly interested in fine language, and in the city there was not a sufficiently large educated society; thus, the question of locating a reference point for fine language remained unresolved. Trediakovskii's example is instructive: after unsuccessful attempts to reconstruct the literary language on the basis of the spoken norm of the educated classes, he returned to the cultivation of the Slavonic language. The Russian literati were mainly to be found among the clergy, and a good number of them came from the south-west and spoke a blend of Ruthene and Slavonic. As for the members of St Petersburg high society, they had generally received a Western education, and could lapse into wild macaronicism. In his comedy *Brigadir*, Fonvizin depicted the linguistic stratification of the Russian nobility with comic exaggeration. According to him, the languages of the different strata were so disparate that people could hardly understand each other. As Viktor Vinogradov, a famous twentieth-century Russian grammarian and historian of the Russian language, suggested, 'writers particularly enjoyed depicting the perversions of the salon styles—the Russo-French jargon of fops and women of fashion' (Vinogradov 1969: 87).

Foreign words, corresponding to new realities in the judicial, military, naval, and architectural fields, but also to new modes of being and ways of interacting, were introduced without much resistance in the first half of the eighteenth

century;[7] this trend would be reversed from the middle of the eighteenth century, when the notion of preserving the integrity of the Russian language prevailed (Kutina and Birzhakova 1980).

Thus, the poet Sumarokov, rejecting the massive influx of foreign words into the lexicon—particularly the creation of doublets with foreign origins—did not believe that maintaining the purity of a language and enriching it were compatible activities. Since the two were deemed incompatible, he believed a fierce war was to be waged against what he considered to be a plague:

> *Chestoliubie vozvratit nas kogda nibud' s sego puti nesumnennago zabluzhdeniia; no iazyk nash toliko seiu zarazhen iazvoiu, chto i teper' izhe vychishchat' ego trudno; a ezheli cie mnimoe obogashchenie eshche neskol'ko let prodlitsia, tak sovershennago ochshichenia ne mozhno budet nadeiat'sia.* (Sumarokov 1787: 245)
>
> (Ambition will one day lead us away from this reckless straying, but our language is so infected by this plague that it would be difficult to purify it, even if we were to start now; and if this so-called enriching lasts for another few years, all hope of a complete purification will vanish.)

To return to Trediakovskii, who would be later promoted to official grammarian and poet and who long hoped for genuine support from Elizabeth I, Breuillard is struck by how much Trediakovskii cared for the women who had made French literature great (Breuillard 1994: 373). In Trediakovskii's *Epistola ot rossiiskia poezii k Apollinu* (1735; *Epistle from Russian Poetry to Apollo*), he highlights Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701) and Henriette de la Suze (1618–1673). For him, '*Gallia imeet v tom, ei, toliku slavu, chto za sredniuiu doch' tvoiu mozhno chtit' po pravu*' (Trediakovskii 1963 [1735]: 393; 'French literature remains still famous and rightfully celebrated. Because of the brilliance of the fair sex, women').

He praises formal novelty, 'novelty itself', in poetry by women, an innovation he seeks to introduce into Russian poetry. The place that Trediakovskii grants women in the formation of language and taste would be perceived as a real provocation in Russia, but would remain, a hundred years later, one of the essential elements of the struggle led by Sentimentalist writers, like Karamzin or Makarov. This is why it is important to stress Trediakovskii's praise of literary women.

[7] See, for example, the list of Dutch terms given in *Kniga leksikon ili Sobranie rechei po alfavitu s Rossiiskogo na Gollandskii iazyk* (*A New Dictionary of Russian and Dutch*; Amsterdam 1691) by the Dutch historian Willem Séwel (1653–1720), whose Russian translation was commissioned from Brius by Peter the Great, and which was to become a sort of inverted Dutch–Russian dictionary, with Dutch as the language described, and definitions in Russian (Brius 1717). When there were no corresponding Russian terms, an equivalent for the Dutch term was proposed through word borrowing, such as *haft* in Dutch, meaning 'mayfly', which becomes *gaft* in Russian.

However, in the reign of Elizabeth, Trediakovskii had to compete with Mikhail Lomonosov, who had the strong support of Ivan Shuvalov (1727–1797), the Empress's protégé. In the same year (1745) that Trediakovskii was named academician and first recipient of the Chair of Rhetoric in St Petersburg, Lomonosov was named academician and also Professor of Chemistry; it was Lomonosov who was to publish *Kratkoe rukovodstvo k krasnorechiiu* (*A Short Manual in Rhetoric*) in 1748. This rivalry in the field of rhetoric moved to grammar, when in 1757 Lomonosov published his *Rossiiskaia grammatika* (*Russian Grammar*).[8]

These two author-scholars each developed their own conception of the language norm: for Trediakovskii, Russian needed to be described in its modernity and synchrony, and the etymological principle did not need to preside over the whole system—something he sums up in the phrase '*Puskai zhe uchënii liudi proizvedeniia slov doiskivaiutsia*' (Trediakovskii 1849 [1848]: 123; 'the root is only useful to scholars')—and his recommendations concerning spelling follow this synchronic and phonetic conception, whereas, for Lomonosov, the dignity of the language is to be found in its intimate connection with its ancestor, Slavonic (Lomonosov 1952 [1758]). As will become clear later in this chapter, the importance of this etymological principle would be confirmed in the elaboration of the first dictionary of the Russian Academy, which caused quite a stir.

6.4 Catherine II, a foreign-born ruler who shaped language in Russia

In the second half of the century, as we have seen, two women stood out for their actions in promoting the standardization of the Russian language: on the one hand, Catherine II, who, despite the fact that she was German, was one of the greatest Russian monarchs; on the other, Ekaterina Dashkov, who bound her destiny to the former, and was therefore often called 'the Little Catherine', in contradistinction to Catherine the Great. They had in common the experience of having to learn the Russian language, teaching themselves the language more than

[8] The edition of Lomonosov's *Rossijskaia grammatika* mentions the year 1755, but it was published in 1757. It was dedicated to the Grand Duke Paul Petrovič, son of Elizabeth; its frontispiece represents the Russian language as Elizabeth I, in a striking likeness to her father, Peter the Great. Lomonosov's initial goal was to '*Predstavit' na vozvyshennom neskol'ko stupen'mi meste prestol, na kotorom sidit Rossiiskii iazyk v litse muzheskom, krepkom, tuchnom, muzhestvennom i pritom priatnom; uvenchan lavrami, odet rimskim mirnym odeianem. Levuiu ruku polozhil na lezhashchuiu na stole rastvorennuiu knigu, v kotoroi napisano: Rossiiskaia grammatika; druguiu prostiraet, ukazyvaia na uprazhniaiushchikhsia v pis'me geniev, iz kotorykh odin pishet sii slova: Rossiiskaia istoriia, drugoi: Raznye sochineniia'* (Lomonosov 1952a [1755]: 848; 'represent an elevated throne or seat where the Russian language—a masculine figure, lively, robust, masculine yet pleasant, with a laurel crown and a Roman peaceful toga—sits. He would have his hand on an open book before him on the table, where one could read: Russian grammar; his other outstretched arm would designate genies practicing to write, one of the words Russian history, the other, compositions'.

they were taught it—since neither the structures for the teaching of Russian nor the methods, nor even the customs, allowed them to learn it from others. Beyond this shared prospect, 'l'amitié qui liait les deux Catherine était viciée par un sentiment de rivalité' (Dashkov 1999 [1805]: 11; 'the friendship which bound the two Catherines was tainted with rivalry'), and their relationship had its ups and downs, depending on the events in the romantic and political life at court. However, as far as the establishment and development of the Russian language are concerned, they undoubtedly joined forces, retracing their own language-learning process and developing it in a didactic way for the benefit of speakers, or, in the words of Dashkov in the journal *The Collocutor of the Lovers of the Russian Word* (*Sobesednik liubitelei rossiiskago slova*), for the public (*Sobesednik* 1783: 1). Catherine II was born Sophie Augusta Fredericka d'Anhalt-Zerbst in 1729 in Stettin; she was fluent in German and French, which, as an avid reader, was the language she most often read in. When she was chosen by Elizabeth I to become the wife of her nephew, the future Peter III, she was only 15; she went to Russia and had to learn the language, which she dutifully did, on her own, relying on books she deciphered herself. In his complete edition of the works of Catherine, Arsenij Vvedenskii insists on the odds she had to overcome to finally master Russian:

> *Ty ne smeisia, govorila ona svoemu sekretariu Gribovskomu, nad moei orfografiei. Ia tebe skazhu, pochemu ia ne uspela khoroshen'ko ee uznat'. Po priezde moem siuda, ia s bol'shim prilezhaniem nachala uchit'sja russkomu jazyku. Tetka Elizaveta Petrovna, uznav ob etom, skazala moei gofmeisterine: polno ee uchit', ona i bez togo umna. Takim obrazom mogla ia uchit'sia tol'ko iż knig, bez uchitelei, i eto est' prichina, chto ia plokho znaiu pravopisanie.* (Vvedenskii 1893: 5)
>
> (Please do not tease me for my Russian spelling, she said to Gribovskij, her secretary. I will tell you why I never had the opportunity to learn it better: when I arrived here, I zealously set out to learn Russian. When she learned of this, my aunt Elizabeth Petrovna then said to my governess: let her learn by herself, she is intelligent enough. This is why I could only learn Russian through books, without a teacher, and this is the reason why my spelling is so imperfect.)

Although she had little exposure to the Russian language, she had to master the language before she could think of taking power and thus overcome the prejudices of the previous generation.[9] She said she had struggled with certain grammatical difficulties peculiar to Russian: the use of cases and nominal flexion for example,[10]

[9] Traces of this struggle between generations can be found in Catherine II's comedy, *O vremia!* (1772; *O Times!*), which seeks to promote at once the modernity of places and language, while trying to educate a female audience she wishes to emancipate from the tutelage of old ladies who want to keep younger girls ignorant. See Evstratov (2010).

[10] '*Nashi greshnye padezhi, nadeiat'sia mozhno, nikomu vreda ne nanesut*' (Vvedenskii 1893: 5; 'One can only hope our faulty use of cases will not offend anyone').

and the use of verbs. Gribovskij, her secretary, also noticed that she liked to use simple and root words, of which she knew many. This shows, on the contrary, that she handled the use of prefixes and derivation with difficulty, which represent both one of the riches and a major difficulty in the lexical productivity and acquisition of Russian.[11] However, according to Princess Dashkov, if she resorted willingly to French in her interaction with foreigners, the quality of her Russian made her very popular among her subjects, including peasants, who were particularly grateful for it:

> Je crois pouvoir affirmer positivement qu'elle ne connaissait ni le grec ni le latin, et que si avec les étrangers elle parlait français, de préférence à son allemand natif, c'était uniquement parce qu'elle désirait faire oublier à la Russie qu'elle était née en Allemagne. Elle y réussissait tellement bien, qu'il m'est arrivé plus d'une fois, en causant avec des paysans, de les entendre tous l'appeler: notre compatriote, aussi bien qu'ils l'appelaient: notre mère. (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 315–16)
>
> (I think I can positively affirm that she (Catherine) neither knew Greek nor Latin, and that if she chose to speak French over her native German with foreigners, it was only because she wished to make Russians forget she was born in Germany. She managed it so well that more than once, when conversing with peasants, I happened to hear them call her 'our countrywoman', just as they called her 'our mother.')

Perfect mastery of the Russian language seems to be a challenge that all the cultivated classes faced, especially if they lived in St Petersburg, a very Westernized city: they did not know Russian, or if they did, they did not master it. Catherine Dashkov, who was raised in St Petersburg,[12] moved to Moscow with her new in-laws, after marrying Prince Dashkov, a member of a Moscow family, where she was forced to learn Russian in order to be able to communicate with them:[13]

> Ici, un monde nouveau s'ouvrait devant moi: nouvelles relations, nouvelle existence. Je parlais très imparfaitement le russe; et pour comble d'embarras,

[11] In her mastery of Russian, Catherine established a diachronic link with Slavonic, reading chronicles and ancient literature, as well as proverbs, folk tales, and folk songs. See Vvedenskii (1893: 5).

[12] Catherine Dashkov met the future Catherine II in 1758, when she was then married to the Grand Duke and heir to the throne, and she fell under the spell of this free and determined spirit. In 1759, she married Prince Michael Dashkov. Close to Count Panin's liberals, she supported the revolution which placed Catherine II on the throne in 1762. The two women subsequently fell out. When Prince Dashkov died in 1764, she withdrew to her estate, and subsequently went abroad (1770–1771, then 1775–1782) where she formed relationships with the renowned intellectuals of the time.

[13] For Michelle Lamarche Marrese (2015: 32–3), this assertion is part of Dashkov's mythology, and her choice of French or Russian depended largely upon her correspondents.

> ma belle-mère ne parlait point d'autre langue. Les membres de la famille de mon mari étaient pour la plupart des gens âgés; et bien qu'ils me témoignassent beaucoup d'indulgence, en raison de leur attachement pour le prince et de la satisfaction que leur causait son mariage, je ne pus cependant m'empêcher de remarquer que je leur eusse plu davantage si j'eusse été plus moscovite. En conséquence, je résolus de ne pas perdre de temps pour m'appliquer à l'étude de ma langue natale, et j'eus la satisfaction d'y faire assez de progrès pour obtenir les éloges et l'approbation de ces respectables parents. (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 33)
>
> (Here a new world opened to me, and a new way of life which intimidated me all the more as I could find in it nothing in common with anything to which I was accustomed. I spoke Russian badly and my mother-in-law spoke no other language, which added to my embarrassment. My husband's family consisted mostly of elderly people and though they showed me great indulgence on account of their love for him—for they had wanted him to marry because he was the last Prince Dashkov—I could see I appeared a stranger to them and they all wished I were more of a Muscovite. I therefore resolved to apply myself to the study of my native tongue, and soon my progress won the approval of those worthy people.) (Dashkov 1958 [1840]: 30–1)

We can therefore evaluate the difference in lifestyle between the two cities of St Petersburg, the city of political power, open to foreign influences, and Moscow, a Russian city with strongly established traditions. Dashkov appeared as a foreigner in her own land and, to be accepted in her husband's family, she first had to learn Russian, which she did. Her schooling had included Russian lessons, but she had not taken them seriously and, now a grown woman, she had everything to learn.

This goes well beyond the level of a personal anecdote, since, for these women, the aim would be to transform profoundly a linguistic situation in order to increase the prestige of the Russian language, domestically and globally. As Dashkov (2001 [1805]: 429–31) wrote, establishing a reasoned practice of the Russian idiom was of paramount patriotic importance. Internally, Catherine would make reforms through education,[14] according to the *General'noe uchrezhdenie o vospitanii oboego pola iunoshestva* (*General Plan for the Instruction of Young People of Both Sexes*), composed in 1764 by her advisor, Ivan Betskoi.

[14] The education of young women was at the core of Catherine's preoccupations: she supported the creation of the Smolny Institute for Noble Maidens in 1764, then of an institute for non-noble young women in St Petersburg in 1765. Soon after Catherine's death, however, the considerable gaps in the programmes of these institutions became a topic of mockery: the girls were thrown into the world completely disconnected from its realities and naive, some of them wondering on which tree fresh bread grew ('*Gde to derevo, na kotorom rastët belyi khleb?*'), according to a Nikolai Grech's (1787–1867) anecdote, editor of the famous periodical, *Severnaia pchela* (*The Northern Bee*), and author of several Russian grammars (quoted by Likhachëva 1899: 246).

When she asked for Denis Diderot's advice, Catherine stressed the importance of teaching the common tongue, but he was himself very distant from such considerations about the place of the native tongue (*rodnoi iazyk*) in education. For Diderot, it was obvious that the native tongue was to be learned from one's parents, and that learning grammar consisted in a logical reflection based on perfectly mastered material:

> Mais lorsque je considère qu'il ne s'agit point d'un objet entièrement nouveau; que nous possédons tous une langue maternelle; que le long exercice de la parole, nous distingue dès notre enfance, à l'étude de ses principes; ou à leur idiome qui nous est familier et dont nous avons appris les éléments de nos parents, lorsqu'ils environnaient notre berceau ou qu'ils nous portaient dans leurs bras; lorsque je vois la liaison étroite de cette science avec la logique, je la laisse où je l'ai placée (c'est-à-dire après la logique et la critique). (Diderot 1829 [1775]: 209)
>
> (But when I consider that this is not an entirely new object; that we all possess a mother tongue; that the long practice of discourse distinguishes us from childhood, with the study of its principles; or to the familiar idiom, whose elements we have learned from our parents, when they bent over our crib and held us in their arms; when I see the strong connection of this science with logic, I leave it where I had placed it (that is to say, after logic and criticism).)

Thus, when Catherine had called on him to help her work out how Russian and Slavic should be taught, he proclaimed his opinion was not relevant: 'Je ne dirai rien sur ces deux langues qui me sont inconnues. Pas davantage sur les livres classiques, les grammaires, les dictionnaires' (Diderot 1829 [1775]: 209–10; 'I cannot say anything on those languages which are wholly foreign to me. Nor can I form an opinion on classic texts, grammars, and dictionaries').

Developing teaching methods for Russian and Slavonic was a major concern for the Empress: she worked tirelessly for the wide diffusion of a normalized Russian language—whose norm was still very much to be defined. Teaching the two languages, ancient and modern, appears connected in most of the teaching programmes elaborated under her authority. Thus, the cadets' curriculum featured military training, of course, but also the study of the Slavonic language, to allow them to write Russian properly and elegantly and to give them access to the canonical books and other works concerning their country (Betskoi 1774: II, 138).

Following Betskoi's *General Plan for the Education of the Youth of Both Sexes* of 1764, Catherine founded in the same year the Smolny Institute for Noble Maidens mentioned earlier. Russian became part of its compulsory curriculum. In the Empress's great cultural and moral designs, the Russian language was therefore of paramount importance: she pursued the three interrelated goals of firmly establishing the use of Russian, shaping human behaviour through education, and improving the welfare of her people. The Empress had the global prestige of

the Russian idiom in mind, as Dashkov explained: 'Selon elle, notre langue russe qui unit la force, la richesse et l'énergie de l'allemand à la douceur de l'italien devait devenir un jour la langue dominante dans le monde entier' (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 316; 'According to [Catherine II], our Russian language, which combines the strength, wealth, and dynamism of German with the softness of the Italian language, should one day become the dominant language in the entire world').

In the 1770s and 1780s Catherine wrote thirty-five plays, most of which satirized the social mores of the time, criticized superstition, and opposed arranged marriage. She sought also to produce pedagogical, journalistic, and historical works, such as *Selected Russian Proverbs* (1781–1783; *Vybornye Rossiiskie Poslovitsy*) or *Notes Regarding Russian History* (1783–1784; *Zapiski kasatel'no Rossiiskoi istorii*). In this last work, Catherine sought the patronage of Princess Olga, venerated as a saint (?890–969), to affirm that the prosperity and influence of a people are only to be found through the blossoming of a common idiom, and that the sovereign is its keeper:

> *Velikaia Kniaginia Ol'ga priatiem Sviatago Kreshcheniia i knigami tserkovnymi, perevedennymi s Grecheskago iazyka na Slavianskii iazyk, naipache utverdila iazyk Slavianskii.* (Ekaterina II 1901 [1784]: 283)
>
> (The Great Princess Olga, by acceptance of holy christening and church books translated from Greek language, greatly strengthened the Slavonic language.)

And a few pages later:

> *Blazhennaia Ol'ga, buduchi sama ot roda Kniazei Slavianskikh, paki narod Slavjanskii vozvysila* [...] *Ol'ga i iazyk Slavianskii v upotreblenie obshchee privela. Izvestno, chto narody i iazyki narodov mudrostiiu i tshchaniem vyshnykh pravitelei umnozhaiutsia i rasporstraniaiutsia. Kakov gosudar' blagorazumen, o chesti svoego roda i iazyka prilizhen, po tomu i iazyk togo naroda protsvetaet. Mnogie narodnye iazyki izchezli ot protivnago semu.* (Ekaterina II 1901 [1784]: 289)
>
> (The blessed Olga, belonging herself to the lineage of Slavic princes, elevated the Slavic people further [...] Olga also made the Russian language a common practice. It is well known that peoples and their languages grow because of the wisdom and zealousness of their rulers. The wiser the sovereign, working towards the honour of his people, the more prosperous the people's language becomes. The contrary has proven fatal to many languages.)

6.4.1 *The Collocutor of the Lovers of the Russian Word*

In 1783, a major event took place preparing the reorganization of the Russian Academy at the end of the year, the journal *The Collocutor of the Lovers of the Russian Word*, mentioned earlier, was founded. Its first issue was published on

20 May 1783, and it ran, in the course of its two-year life, to sixteen issues, and was open to the major writers of the time. It was Princess Dashkov's journal: as indicated clearly in the foreword of the first issue, she was its editor; she originally created the project, and was responsible for it. In the foreword, she encourages readers to write to the editors, and to send remarks and texts, signed or anonymous. She also asks that all correspondence be addressed to her directly. Maria Sushkova (née Khrapovitskaia, 1752–1803) published a poem in it glorifying the Russian Academy and its president, '*Minerva nashikh dnei*' ('The Minerva of Our Days'). However, this publication was the result of Catherine's initiative: she wanted such a journal, and contributed to it, with her *Notes Regarding Russian History* cited above, for example, and, as attested to by her correspondence with Dashkov, she kept a close eye on what was being published. She therefore published by proxy, which did not prevent the journal from taking the liberty of publishing things of which she did not approve or which she found offensive. Although she tried to remain worthy of Voltaire's praise in his Epistle to Catherine II, 'Qui penses en grand homme et qui permets qu'on pense' (Voltaire 1883: 435–8; 'who thinks as a great man and allows people to think for themselves'), the irritation that she felt—and expressed—towards the magazine may explain why its publication ceased so quickly.

Dashkov's journal can be considered as a critical, scholarly, literary, and philological publication: it gathers prose and verse texts from contemporary writers, imitations of foreign works, rather than translations,[15] and lexicographic, linguistic reflections. Dashkov intended to serve both the cause of science and of language and literature, including ethics, but she also wished to entertain, expand the journal's readership, and encourage readers to contribute. She had in mind a sort of broad network, a virtual salon of sorts: she wished to provide informational elements which could be used in a 'public debate', and to offer the public the delivery of '*khoroshix Rossijskikh sochinenii*' (*Sobesednik* 1783: 1; 'good works in Russian'). It is worth stressing that the term *publika* ('public') appears several times: the journal intends to participate in training and entertaining people on a large scale.

6.5 Dashkov: Providing an institutional framework and tools for the Russian idiom

With the creation of her journal, there was an outlet for scholarly and entertaining debate about lexical borrowing and code-switching. The first issue features, for example, an *Epistle to the Word Tak* (*Poslanie k slovu Tak*; *Tak* meaning 'thus, in

[15] The magazine was intended for the publication of original Russian works, or imitations of foreign works, but not translations. If a publication was labelled as a translation, it was because its Russian author wished to remain anonymous.

this way'), which is attributed to Dashkov, although it was published anonymously. Written in prose and in verse, it indicts in a scathingly humorous way educational conservatism, and echoes the comedies written by Catherine, like *O Times!*, mentioned earlier. Philological considerations thus moved beyond the narrow sphere of specialists and gained greater visibility. Something which emerged from this endeavour was the creation of *The Latest from the Academy (Akademicheskie izvestiia)*, a popular scientific journal of the Russian Academy.

6.5.1 The Russian Academy

During her journeys abroad, Dashkov socialized with the great intellectuals of the time, especially in England, Scotland, and France (including Voltaire, Diderot, Benjamin Franklin, and Adam Smith), and she became a member of several European and American academies, including the Irish Royal Academy, the Academies of Stockholm and Berlin, and the Philadelphia Philosophical Society. Back in Russia, she was a member of the Free Russian Society from 1771, and then joined the Free Russian Society in the University of Moscow. In 1782, when she returned to Russia for good, her activism focused on linguistic tasks with respect to both the institutions and the development of language-education tools. Dashkov's *Memoirs* feature a conversation with Catherine II, in the gardens of the Imperial Palace, during which the decision to create the Academy was taken:

> Un jour, comme je causais avec l'Impératrice dans les jardins de Czarskoselo, la conversation tomba sur la beauté et la richesse de la langue russe; ce qui m'amena à exprimer une sorte de surprise de ce que Sa Majesté qui pouvait bien apprécier la valeur de cette langue et était d'ailleurs elle-même écrivain, n'avait jamais songé à établir une Académie russe. Je lui fis observer qu'il ne manquait rien que des règles et un bon dictionnaire pour affranchir complètement notre langue de ces termes étrangers et de ces phrases, si inférieurs aux nôtres comme expression et comme énergie, qu'on avait eu l'absurdité d'y introduire. [...]
>
> Je ne sais vraiment pas, répondit Sa Majesté, comment il se fait que cette idée n'ait pas été mise déjà à exécution. L'utilité d'un établissement consacré aux progrès de notre langue a souvent occupé mes pensées, et j'ai même donné des ordres à ce sujet. (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 273)

> (One day, as I was walking with the Empress in her garden at Tsarkoye Selo, we spoke of the richness and beauty of the Russian language. I expressed my surprise to Her Majesty that, though herself a writer and fond of our language, she should not yet have established a Russian Academy. We needed, I said, rules of grammar and a good dictionary to do away with the absurdity of using foreign words and terms while having our own which were far more vivid. [...]

> 'I do not know why this has not been done,' answered the Empress. 'I have wanted such an Academy for many years and have even issued the necessary orders.') (Dashkov 1958 [1840]: 217)

A learned society created in 1735, called the Russian Assembly, had previously existed, with Trediakovski as its secretary, but its structure and purpose had to be rethought. Princess Dashkov had first-hand experience of where lexicographical studies stood, as she had participated in the learned society that had followed the first Russian Academy. The Empress entrusted her with the roles of President of the Imperial Russian Academy, particularly to manage the Russian language normalization project, and Director of the Imperial Academy of Science, whose purpose was to ensure science in general thrived in Russia.[16] The first of these two academies will be our primary focus, although the fact that the Empress entrusted the two roles to a single person inevitably connects them. The two roles shared one major difficulty for Princess Dashkov: being accepted as a woman president of a major institution. As one can easily imagine, the fact of making a woman president of these institutions would be greatly frowned upon, but Princess Dashkov, aided by her sense of strategy, was intelligent enough to place her leadership of the Academy of Sciences under the patronage of the physicist Leonhard Euler, whose scientific authority was undeniable, to avoid sarcasm: 'car j'étais bien persuadée que chaque pas que je ferai serait un sujet de critique, et que la moindre erreur où je viendrai à tomber m'attirerait une censure' (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 260; 'I was entirely convinced that my slightest mistake would become known and criticized'; Dashkov 1958 [1840]: 208).

The statutes of the Imperial Russian Academy were swiftly drawn from foreign texts—reproducing their phrasing, but also their spirit, while learning from the experience of existing academies, as shown by its initial articles:

1. *Imperatorskaia Rossiiskaia Akademia sostoianie imeet edinstvenno pod pokrovitel'stvom eia Imperatorskago Velichestva.*
2. *Imperatorskaia Rossiiskaia Akademiia dolzhenstvuet imet' predmetom svoim vychishchenie i obogashchenie rossiiskago iazyka, obshchee ustanovlenie uprotreblenie slov onago, svoistvennoe onomu vitiistvo i stikhotvorenie.*
3. *I dostizhenie sego predstoit, dolzhno sochinit' prezhde sego rossiiskuiu grammatiku, rossiskoi slovar', ritoriku i pravila stikhotvoreniia.* (Dashkov's draft, August 1783; Kratkoe nachertanie Imperatorskoi Rossiiskoi Akademii in Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, St Petersburg f. 8, 3–1783, N° 1)[17]

[16] These two academies would work autonomously until they merged in 1841, when the Russian Academy became the Russian language and literature department in the Academy of Science.

[17] These were also the main works expected from the members of the French Academy.

(1. The Imperial Russian Academy is under the exclusive patronage of Her Imperial Majesty.
2. The Imperial Russian Academy's goal must be the purity and enrichment of the Russian language, the common fixing of its words, its peculiar eloquence and poetry.
3. To do so, a Russian grammar must be elaborated, as well as a Russian dictionary, a Russian rhetoric, and versification rules.)

On the occasion of the opening of the Russian Academy, Dashkov, as President, made a speech in which she outlined the statutes of the Academy, described its aims, and explained the President's expectations of its members:

> *La richesse et l'abondance de notre langue vous sont bien connues. Transportés en russe, la nerveuse éloquence de Cicéron, la grandeur mesurée de Virgile, la douceur attrayante de Démosthènes, l'inspiration facile d'Ovide et les élans fulgurants de la lyre de Pindare ne perdraient rien de leurs beautés respectives*. Non seulement la langue unit tous ces avantages, Messieurs, mais encore dans toutes les subtilités de la philosophie, dans leurs affinités et dans leurs dissidences elle fournit des expressions propres, les mots les plus justes et les plus explicites. Cependant, en face de telles ressources, nous avons à regretter le manque de règles déterminées, de règles pour la prononciation des mots aussi bien qu'une définition précise et bien arrêtée de leur sens. De là sont provenues ces variétés de construction, ces impropriétés d'imitation des idiomes étrangers, qui jusqu'à ce jour ont défiguré et abaissé notre langue nationale. L'objet et l'établissement de l'Académie Impériale Russe est de rendre notre langue parfaite, de l'élever à une hauteur digne du règne glorieux de Catherine II. Tel sera le but, tel sera l'esprit d'une société fondée et soutenue par sa gracieuse protection. [...] Mais, Messieurs, les premiers fruits de nos efforts, les premières offrandes que nous devions déposer aux pieds de notre immortelle souveraine, ce seront une grammaire de notre langue, bien exacte, bien méthodique, et un riche et copieux dictionnaire. (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 430–1)
>
> (*The richness and diversity of our language are well known to you all. Translated into Russian, Cicero's nervous eloquence, Virgil's measured grandeur, Demosthenes' attractive softness, Ovid's easy inspiration and the dazzling flights of Pindare's lyre would not lose any of their respective beauties.*[18] Not only does

[18] My emphasis. A similar phrase can be found in Lomonosov's *Rossiiskaia grammatika* (1755): '*Karl Piatyi, rimskii imperator, govarival, chto ishpanskim iazykom s bogom, frantsuzskim—s druz'iami, nemetskim—s nepriatel'mi, italianskim—s zhenskim polom govorit' prilichno. No esli by on rossiiskomu iazyku byl iskusen, to, konechno, k tomu prosovokupil by, chto im so vsemi onymi govorit' pristoino, ibo v nem nashel by velikolepie ishpanskogo, zhivost' frantsuzskogo, krepost' nemetskogo, nezhnost' italianskogo, sverkh togo bogatstvo i sil'nuiu v izobrazheniakh kratkost' grecheskogo i latinskogo iazyka.* [...] *Sil'noe krasnorechie Tsitseronovo, velikolepnaia Virgilieva vazhnost', Ovidievo priatnoe vitiistvo ne*

> our native language combine all these advantages, but in all the subtleties of philosophy, in their affinities and dissidences it provides idiosyncratic expressions, the most appropriate and most explicit words. However important those resources, we must deplore the lack of fixed rules for the pronunciation of words and precise and definite definitions of their meaning. From this absence proceeds discrepancies in construction, improprieties in the imitation of foreign idioms, which, to this day, have debased and disfigured our national language. The object and purpose of the Imperial Russian Academy is to make our language perfect, to raise it to a standard worthy of the glorious reign of Catherine II. Such will be the aim, such will be the spirit of the work of a society founded and supported by Her gracious patronage. [. . .] But, Gentlemen, the first fruits of our efforts, the first offerings we will put at the feet of our immortal sovereign, will be a grammar of our idiom, perfectly exact, perfectly methodical, and a rich and copious dictionary.) (author's translation)

6.5.2 The Russian dictionary endeavour

Although Dashkov claims in her *Memoirs* that the creation of a dictionary started with her in 1783 (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 429–31), from 1735 on the successive learned societies all worked towards the creation of a dictionary, which they considered a priority. First, the Russian Society endeavoured to compile lexical tables, then the Free Russian Society in the University of Moscow, whose permanent secretary was Anton Barsov (1730–1791), was to be associated with the edition of the *Slovar' Akademii Rossijskoj* (*SAR*; *Russian Academy Dictionary*). When this society was founded in 1774, it set out the following aims:

> *Ispravlenie zhe i sovershenie Rossiiskago iazyka imeet sostavliat' osoblivyi predmet sego sobraniia; a sochinenie pravil'nago Rossiiskago Slovaria po azbuke budet pervyi prisutstvuiushchikh trud. Sochineniia i perevody s inostrannykh iazykov na Rossiiskii inako ne budut napechatany, kak po razsmotrenii i ispravlenii v sem sobranii.* (*Opyt* 1774: 3–4)

teriaiut svoego dostoinstva na rossiiskom iazyke' (Lomonosov 1952b [1755]: 391–2; 'Charles V, the Roman Emperor, used to say that one should speak Spanish with God, French with friends, German with enemies, and Italian with the female sex. But if he had been skilled in Russian, he would, of course, have added that one could speak it with all of them, for he would have found in it the magnificence of Spanish, the vivacity of French, the strength of German, the delicacy of Italian, and in addition the richness and conciseness of Greek and Latin. [. . .] Cicero's powerful eloquence, the splendid majesty of Virgil, Ovid's pleasant oratory do not lose their merit in Russian'; Johnson (1964: 328)). This sentiment can be found almost word for word in numerous books since the seventeenth century, among them Georg Paul Busch's (Busch 1747: xiii–xiv) ladies' grammar, published in Berlin.

> (The correction and perfection of the Russian language must be the very aim of this assembly, and the edition of a correct Russian dictionary must be its participants' primary task. The works and translations of foreign languages into Russian cannot be published unless they are corrected and approved by our assembly.)

A volume of the dictionary, the one corresponding to the letter A, has survived in proof form. Other lexicographic charts were included in the dictionary of the Academy. We should also note that Dashkov was associated with this project, the Society having worked on a description of the travels of Princess Dashkov in England. She knew how advanced the work of this society was.

In any case, the important lexicographic work which had been initiated had not been completed and had quite stagnated, due to lack of support from strategically placed people. Its completion is precisely what Dashkov would strive to achieve, aided in this by the compulsory attendance of the members, who were motivated by the distribution of attendance chips. Many members of the Free Russian Society, such as the grammarian Barsov, the comic dramatist Denis Vonfizin (1745–1792), and the poet Gavriil Derzhavin (1743–1816), already experienced in collaborative lexicographic work, would participate in this endeavour (Bogatova 2001: 18).

For an efficient division of the tasks, three sections were created: grammatical, definitional, and editorial. The grammatical section's task was to collect all grammatical remarks relating to the words of the dictionary, to come to a definitive decision for doubtful cases—that is, those which were subjects of debate at the time. Dashkov led the definition section. Besides the elaboration of definitions, this section provided stylistic remarks, and recorded language registers and figurative meanings. It seems that the debate was quite animated in this section, because of disagreements and differences in interpretation (Bogatova 2001: 18). In addition, Dashkov had been asked to compile words beginning with three letters of the alphabet, as well as words related to hunting, government, morals, and mores. During the session on 11 November 1783, the Section for the Drawing of Rules Composing the Russian Dictionary decided straight away that the dictionary would be a language dictionary and not an encyclopaedic one. Thus, all the names of states, capitals, cities, lands, seas, rivers, and lakes were excluded—all these names being formed from foreign roots and being easy to find in specialized publications. Also excluded were people's surnames and first names and their diminutives. It was a dictionary of correct language, from which words contrary to approved morals, archaisms, and dialect forms were excluded, except those that were seen as contributing to the richness of the Russian language.

In the session held on 24 February 1784, Dashkov presented to the commission the remarks written by Catherine II. These feature additional words beginning with the letter A, as well as instructions for the lexical norm, which can be roughly summarized as: avoid as much as possible foreign words and expressions, and replace them with ancient words or newly created ones. This decision to replace

foreign words with Russian ones resulted in the rejection of borrowing in favour of loan translation. The effect of this loan translation was to anchor the lexicon in the Slavic realm, to strengthen the place of grammar, by emphasizing the processes of derivation and composition. It was also a choice with a linguistic purpose, seeking the transparency of the root.

6.5.3 The *Russian Academy Dictionary*, a pillar of Russian lexicography

Without seeking to minimize the merit of the academicians grouped around Dashkov, a quick comparison of the *Dictionary* of the French Academy in 1694 and the *SAR* reveals how much the latter has been modelled on the former.

First, the definitions and examples of abstract words are directly translated from it. To take one example, the entry for the word *zhizn* ('life'; *SAR*: II, 1121–63) copies the entry *vie* ('life') in the French Academy dictionary: 'state of the man whose soul is united to his body'. Following the French Academy's dictionary, *SAR* is built on the etymological principle, which takes the root word as its entry. Therefore, from the theoretical root *zhizn'* and the verb *zhit'* ('to live'), considered as a sort of core word, all the converging forms are given, including compound words: the infinitive of the verb, then the nouns, adjectives, and derived verbs; *zhiznennyi* ('vital'; 1124); *zhivost'* ('vivacity'; 1128); *vyzhivanie* ('survival'; 1151); *zhivu*, *zhit'* ('I live', 'to live'; 1141); *ozhivaiu*, *ozhivit'* ('I revive', 'to revive'; 1138); *vyzhyvaiu*, *vyzhit'* ('I survive', 'to survive'; 1150); *obshchezhitie* ('community'; 1146). It is clear that the alphabetical order is not followed and that it is used relatively, not absolutely, since the reader would have to look for *zhizn'* ('life') to find *obshchezhitie* ('community'). However, the pedagogical benefits of how such a topical order could be used are very apparent (Hüllen 2006), teaching lexical fields from root words.

Such an organizational choice was, however, controversial; the Empress herself having deemed the dictionary impractical, the Russian court soon took up this criticism. Dashkov took offence but had to try to justify the chosen order of presentation. The motive she invoked was pedagogical: the roots of the words must be known, and their productivity noticed, by grouping all the words derived from it. This choice was approved by the members of the dictionary commission:

> Avant de quitter ce sujet, je ferai observer que relativement aux soins de ma charge il se produisit à la Cour bien des faits de nature à me vexer et à me dégoûter. La partie éclairée du public me rendait, il est vrai, ample justice par le tribut de louange qu'elle accordait à mon zèle et à mon ardeur patriotique; c'était à ces qualités qu'elle rapportait le mérite de la création d'une Académie russe, ainsi que l'étonnante rapidité avec laquelle le dictionnaire avait été achevé. (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 277)

> (Here I must add that I had many difficulties and much unpleasantness at Court. The more enlightened members of the public recognised my merits and admitted that the foundation of a Russian Academy and the amazing speed with which the Russian dictionary—the first we ever had—had been compiled were due to my zeal and public spirit. The courtiers, on the other hand, found the dictionary inconvenient, based as it was on etymological principles.) (Dashkov 1958 [1840]: 220)

> elle émanait de l'impératrice qui en effet me demanda plus d'une fois pourquoi nous avions adopté un classement aussi incommode. Je répondis à Sa Majesté que cet ordre n'était pas étrange pour le premier dictionnaire qu'on eût fait d'une langue, car il donnait plus de facilité pour montrer et même découvrir les racines des mots, mais que l'Académie publierait, dans un terme de trois ans, une seconde édition disposée par ordre alphabétique et beaucoup plus parfaite sous tous les rapports. (Dashkov 2001 [1805]: 277–8)

> (Even Her Majesty asked me several times why we had not listed the words in alphabetical order. I told her that in the second edition, which could be completed in under three years, the words would appear alphabetically, but that first dictionary of a language had to be etymological in order to show, and even find, the roots of words.) (Dashkov 1958 [1840]: 220)

However, it also needs to be made clear that Catherine II, who enjoyed rivalry between projects and people, was not sorry to promote the competing dictionary by Simon Pallas, a linguistic compilation to which she personally contributed, as indicated in the title: *Sravnitel'nye slovari vsekh iazykov i narechii, sobrannye desnitseiu Vsevysochaishchei Osoby* (*Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa, Augustissimæ cura collecta*) (*Vocabulary of All the Languages and Dialects, Collected by an Illustrious Person*; published in St Petersburg in 1787; Archaimbault 2010). By encouraging competition between the promoters of different projects—a great monolingual dictionary on the one hand, and a compilation of some 200 languages, some of them described for the first time, on the other—Catherine showed that a formidable new scientific centre had emerged in Europe.

The choice of the etymological order was to become decisive for the pursuit of lexicographical studies in Russia. Indeed, the forewords of monolingual Russian dictionaries often broach the issue, even in more recent times, when the general use and knowledge of the standard language had become much more widespread.

The well-known Russian lexicographer Viktor Vinogradov sees '*kharakternoi osobennostiu russkogo jazyka iavliaetsia tendencia k grupirovke slov bol'shimi kuchkami vokrug osnovnykh centrov znachenii. Slovo kak sistema form i znachenii iavliaetsia fokusom soedinenia i vzaimodeistvia grammaticheskikh kategorii iazyka*' (Vinogradov 1972 [1947]: 18; 'a characteristic particularity of the Russian idiom is its tendency to group words around a fundamental meaning core. The word as system of forms and meanings is the converging and interrelating core-point of grammatical categories of the language'). It is clear that Dashkov and her

academicians were aware of this particularity and that they had understood the need to teach readers of the dictionary to recognize these 'groupings' gravitating around a central core word. Through the choice of a root-driven organization, they emphasized the fact that one only seeks what one knows, or what one already has a precise idea of, and that the alphabetical order supposes an existing knowledge of the lexical units of the language. They prefer to present lexemes, that is to say, words taken within their system of relations. By thus introducing grammar into the dictionary, through the foregrounding of the different phenomena of derivation and composition, they revealed the elements which build knowledge of the language and foster its use. It is a pedagogical endeavour, elaborating a real linguistic tool at the service of the Russian language. In my opinion, the insistence on maintaining an etymological order should be understood in this way.

6.6 The contributions of less visible women in shaping language policy and use

In the nineteenth century, women did not occupy a prominent place in language education, mainly because the opportunity to do so was not granted to them, since they rarely had access to higher education. From the 1860s, some aristocratic or wealthy families sent their daughters to Swiss universities, where they were able to study medicine or philosophy: there were ten young Russian women in the University of Zurich who studied philosophy in 1872 (e.g. see Bëmert 1873: 8–9). The education given to young women in aristocratic families was highly variable when it came to learning the language. Language masters were not equally skilled, and women seldom had the opportunity to learn from such a knowledgeable master as Fëdor Buslaev, historian and philologist and one of the founding fathers of Slavistics in Russia, as did Princess Praskovia Shcherbatova (the future Mrs Uvarova, 1840–1924). Shcherbatova spoke three languages and would become a famous historian and archeologist in her own right, founding with her husband the Russian Society of Archeologists (Uvarova 2005).

In the 1850s, radical and feminist thought spread to the middling and petty nobility. Among the reasons which explain this development, the Crimean War played an important part, since many women volunteered as nurses. The more progressive social groups advocated for access to higher education for young women, but opening universities to women was a very gradual and haphazard process. In 1871 the Minister of Education, Dmitrii Tolstoï, requested an investigation into the matter but took no decision of general significance. The situation in Russian universities was therefore far from homogeneous: in Kharkov, Kazan (both founded in 1804), and Kiev (1833), women were accepted, but they were not

in many other universities. Evgenia Konradi (1838–1898), writer and translator, circulated a petition to give free access to university for women during the first Naturalist Congress in Moscow in 1867. Activities such as translation and editing became instrumental in uniting women around this issue.

Politicians were hesitant on the matter of women's education and emancipation: conservatives were numerous and influential, and the involvement of women in the nihilist movement and the attack against Czar Alexander II in March 1881 (organized by a group in which two women, Sophia Perovskaja and Guessia Helfman, took an active part in the event) were considered strong arguments against women's emancipation and education.

Russian women had to wait until the 1870s for access to higher education. In September 1878, female curricula were officially created; they were directed by Professor Bestuzhev-Riumin, and *Bestuzhevskie kursy* ('the Bestuzhev curriculum'), as it was named, became immensely popular. Many of the celebrated young intellectuals of the time, such as Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, a linguist, Ivan Bilibin, a painter, Semen Vengerov, a literary historian, and Gustav Shpet, a philosopher, joined the teaching staff. Together with Dmitrii Mendeleev, the famous chemist and creator of the periodic table, they contributed to the reputation of the classes. In the 1870s and 1880s, several institutions were therefore created in big cities like Kiev (1878, at Kiev University) or Moscow, *Vyschie zhenskie kursy* ('Higher Women Courses'; founded by Vladimir Guerrier in 1872), and in 1889, *Zhenskie kursy novyx jazykov* ('Female Curriculum in Modern Languages') was opened in St Petersburg, offering courses in languages and the history of Western literature.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the age of Sentimentalism saw the development of women's prose and poetry, including translations from European languages. Anastas'ia Svinina (1770–1852) and her young sister Ekaterina (1778–1841) were prominent among those who contributed original works and translations to Nikolai Karamzin's almanacs or the journal *Pleasant and Useful Pastimes*. Elizaveta Kheraskova (née Neronova, 1737–1809), Mar'ia Pospelova (1780–1805), Ekaterina Urusova (1747–1816), and Aleksandra Magnitskaia (1784–1846) and her sister Natalia (floruit 1796–1798) should also be noted for their contributions.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a few female poets also left their mark on the history of Russian women. Among them, Anna Bunina (1774–1829) published an abridged translation of Batteux's *Les Beaux Arts réduits à un même principe* (*The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle*), and a remarkable collection of poems, *Neopytnaia muza* (*The Inexperienced Muse*). Evdokiia Rostopchina (1811–1858), who was bold enough to denounce, under the metaphor of the young bride subjected to a violent despotic husband, the iron grip that Russia imposed on Poland, composed *Nasil'nyi brak* (*The Forced Marriage*; published in

the *Northern Bee* in 1846). Zinaida Volkonskaia (1792–1862) published in 1819 *Quatre nouvelles* (*Four Novellas*) and in 1824 *Tableau slave du cinquième siècle* (*A Fifth-Century Slavic Picture*), both written in a polished French. Volkonskaia held a brilliant salon in Moscow frequented by Aleksandr Pushkin and other major men of letters between 1824 and 1829. Two other salons hosted by women were also of great importance: Avdot'ia Elagina's (1789–1877), created in 1825, which would later play a crucial part in the emergence of a Slavophile movement, and that of Ekaterina Karamzina (1780–1851), who was the widow of Sentimentalist writer Nikolaj Karamzin, and whose salon hosted important personalities for over twenty-five years (see Aronson and Reiser 2001 [1929]).

As Natalia Pushkarëva (2010: 32) has remarked, most of the pioneers of Russian feminism were skilled writers, and some novelists and women poets, such as Mariia Tsebrikova and Evgeniia Konradi, or Natalia Kobrinskaia and Evgeniia Iaroshinskaia in Kiev, had embraced the cause (see Tishkin 1984). Kapitolina Nazareva and Valentina Dmitrieva co-wrote crime fiction with elements of social criticism, such as *V kogtiakh nishchety* (1884; *In the Clutches of Poverty*).

Many of the feminist activists were either translators or editors. Three women—Nadezhda Stasova, Maria Trubnikova, and Anna Filosofova—who were famous for their commitment to the feminist cause, founded a translation and editing workshop in 1864. Some female poets were also translators, such as Zinaida Vengerova (1867–1941), the sister of Isabella and Semen Vengerov, a musician and literary historian, respectively. Vengerova is known for her critical writings about English and French modernists and as a translator, who published her works in different languages, among them Russian and French.

However, it was not until the 1920s that a woman, Rozaliia Shor (1894–1939), clearly left her mark on linguistics (see Velmezova and Moret 2016). Shor was a history and philology graduate from the famous female curricula Guerrier Courses—which after the revolution became the second State University of Moscow (Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet). A specialist in comparative literature and comparative linguistics, Shor pursued a brilliant career for over twenty years in many renowned academic and scholarly institutions. Shor is mostly famous for her 1926 book, *Iazyk i obshchestvo* (*Language and Society*; published twice in the same year), but she also published articles in several important encyclopedias of the early Soviet period, such as the *Literaturnaia entsiklopedia* (*Literary Encyclopedia*), edited by Anatolii Lunacharskii, the People's Commissar to Public Instruction, or *Bol'shaia sovetskaia entsiklopedia* (*The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*). In the context of the national doctrine developed by Stalin in the 1930s, where the nation was considered '*Nacia—eto istoricheski slozhivshaiasia ustoichivaia obshchnost' liudei, ob'edinennykh obshchnostiu iazyka, territorii, ekonomicheskoi zhizni i psikhicheskogo sklada, proiavliaiushchegosia v obshnosti kul'tury*' ('A nation is historically built by a common language, territory, economic life and psychological mindset which results in a cultural

community').[19] Shor developed a coherent vision of a national language, giving the national language a crucial role in the construction and expression of a national culture. From 1931 she criticized Russian linguists of her time for their unorthodox Marxist views, and she took a stand against the theory of a proto-language, making concessions to Nikolai Marr's *Novoe uchenie o iazyke* (*New Theory of Language*; Lähteenmäki 2010: 41).

From this generation onwards, the place of women in the ongoing reflection on language steadily became more and more prominent, especially in work reflecting on the Russian language, language norms, and linguistic variation. The students of the literary language theorist Vinogradov were mostly women, among them Natalia Shvedova (1916–2009), who wrote the 1980 *Grammatika russkogo iazyka* (*Russian Grammar*), also known as the *Akademicheskaia Grammatika* (*Grammar of the Academy*), which comprises two volumes and remains to this day the grammar of reference in academia, for teachers and students alike. As the main representative of structural and functional grammar in Russia—along with her teacher—Shvedova dominated the field of grammatical analysis of the Russian language for over fifty years.

There are many other instances of linguistic investigation in which women have taken a prominent part towards the end of the twentieth century: from morphology (Natalia Avilova, 1915–2003) to syntax (Irina Kovtunova, 1926–2007), from lexicology (Elena Birzhakova, b. 1920) to oral speech (Elena Zemskaia, 1926–2012), from linguistic typology (Viktoriia Iarceva, 1906–1999) to semiotics (Tatiana Nikolaeva, 1933–2015), from computational linguistics (Ol'ga Kulagina, b. 1935) to corpus linguistics (Elena Rakhilina, b. 1958) and neurolinguistics (Tatiana Chernigovskaia, b. 1947), women are now a force to be reckoned with.

6.7 Conclusion

In the vast field of Russian linguistic development, the eighteenth century was the century of builders; as inspirers, directors, organizers, and direct participants, women played a crucial role in the process. They have undoubtedly sowed, reaped, and provided tools; they have educated and spread the use of a language in whose future they believed.

The first six-volume *SAR* published between 1789 and 1794 is a remarkable result of their commitment. It would become crucial for subsequent lexicographic thought in Russia; indeed, as the dictionary was compiled in the final years of the century, the various evolutions experienced by the language in its usages during

[19] That is how Stalin (1920 [1913]) had defined the nation in his article 'Marxism and the National Question', written in January 1913, while he was living in Vienna, and published many times in the USSR.

this period were visible. The dictionary aims to be both synchronic and historical; or rather, it aims to be panchronic, because it seeks to describe language in its historical and temporal depth, as well as in its contemporary use. It draws conclusions from a century of profound transformation and great linguistic creativity, especially on the lexical level.

In the nineteenth century, due to historical forces, political reaction, and social conservatism, women were unable to play as prominent a role in the development of the language as in the previous century, although they were active in producing translations, poetry, and prose. At the end of the century, the powerful development of higher education courses for women led to the emergence of specialists in the field of teaching the Russian language and languages in general. As a result of this, the sociology of philology and linguistics changed considerably at the beginning of the twentieth century. That enabled women to achieve an active position in describing the Russian language and, more broadly, in the field of general linguistics.

7

Women in the history of German language studies

'That subtle influence for which women are best suited'?

Nicola McLelland

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the place of women in the history of German language studies, from the earliest evidence of their engagement in language study—evidenced indirectly through their participation in language games, poetry, and translation from the seventeenth century—to the first women to achieve careers as German language teachers and, ultimately, German linguists. In parallel to this trajectory towards greater visibility, however, women's language was itself the object of scrutiny and significant strictures, strictures which make explicit some of the reasons for the relative invisibility of female voices in mainstream public discourse on the German language (and on other topics) before the late nineteenth century. The chapter draws on recent work in the history of linguistics and of language learning and teaching, in translation studies, literary and periodical studies, and historical sociolinguistics.

Madame de Staël (1766–1817) is famous for her pronouncement on the German language in *De l'Allemagne* (1810; *On Germany*), 'By the very nature of its grammatical construction, the sense is usually not understood till the end of the sentence [. . .] The German language is better adapted for poetry than prose, and its prose is better in writing than in speaking' (Staël 1871: I, 90–1). Famous though her pronouncement is, it is assertion rather than scholarly work. Women whose scholarship won as much fame as de Staël in the field of German language studies are rare before the mid-twentieth century. To search for women in the usual places—as authors of grammars, dictionaries, or philosophical treatises on language—before even the late nineteenth century is to draw an almost total blank.[1] There are no

[1] One exception in the wider field of Germanic languages is Johanna Corleva (1698–1752), discussed in Chapter 7, who compiled a collection of root words in the spirit of Simon Stevin and Justus-Georg

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women at all amongst the seventy-eight authors listed in Moulin-Fankhänel's two-volume bibliography (1994, 1997) of German grammars and orthographies up to the end of the seventeenth century, nor in Jellinek's sources for his comprehensive history of German grammars up to Adelung in the early nineteenth century (Jellinek 1913–1914: I, 4–19), nor yet in William J. Jones's (2000) bibliography of seventeenth-century German lexicography. Even in the area of language purism—one of the most widespread forms of lay engagement with linguistic ideas, and a prominent thread in the history of the German language from about 1500—there is only one woman represented amongst the 117 texts in Jones's (1995) documentation of foreign word purism between 1478 and 1750 (see section 7.4). Women had no voice in the formal outlets for scholarship. However, there *were* women engaged in reflecting on the German language and how best to cultivate and use it, from the seventeenth century onwards (section 7.2), including as translators and poets (section 7.3). Women were also subject to more or less explicit strictures on their own use of German in their writing and conversation, making explicit some of the ways in which women's public participation in scholarly discourse was constrained (section 7.4). It was as teachers that women first had the opportunity to develop expertise in German in any numbers, especially teaching German as a foreign language; the case of female teachers of German in Britain serves as an example in section 7.5. In section 7.6, I turn to those few women who were involved—chiefly, but not exclusively, as assistants or supporters of men—in nineteenth-century philological studies. Section 7.7 turns to those few women born before 1900 who achieved an academic career as German linguists.

7.2 The seventeenth century

A sixteenth-century polyglot vocabulary including German and English, printed in either 1530 or *c.*1550, is addressed to those who did not have a school education, including 'artificers and women' (Introduction, cited by Stein 1985: 136). This makes it the earliest work of which I am aware with some focus on the study of German that is, nominally, explicitly addressed to a female audience, although Stein found no evidence of any tailoring to a female readership. Good evidence for German-speaking women's interest in matters of their own language can first be found in the seventeenth century, in the success of Georg Philipp

Schottelius, and whose *De schat der Nederduitsche wortel-woorden* appeared in 1741, a substantial Dutch–French dictionary, and who also translated the 1660 *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* of Lancelot and Arnaud into Dutch (1740).

Harsdörffer's *Frauenzimmer-Gesprächspiele* (in eight volumes, published between 1643 and 1649; *Conversation Games for Ladies*). Harsdörffer's first two volumes, with their reflections on language, were enough to secure his entry into the main language society of the day, the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft (Fruit-bearing Society). Harsdörffer's 300 or so games—as well as longer texts for discussion—dealt not just with the 'Verbesserung und Stilisierung der Konversation' (Hundt 2000: 172; 'improvement and stylizing of conversation') but more fundamentally with the system of the German language itself. Sections are variously devoted to games 'so von den Buchstaben hergenommen [...], so von den Sylben entspringen, so aus gantzen Wörtern aufgegeben werden [...] die in allerhand Sprüchen bestehen' (Harsdörffer 1968–1969 [1643–1649]: VII, 673; 'taken from the letters of the alphabet [...] arising from the syllables yielded by whole words [...] that consist in all kinds of sayings'). In other volumes, topics range across foreign words in German, etymology, poetry, and emblematics, as well as more general issues such as the defence of the German language, its history, and its origins. As the title (*Conversation Games for Ladies*) indicates, these collections were aimed at women, although the imaginary characters which Harsdörffer uses to exemplify how each game is to be played are a mixed group: a married woman, two unmarried young ladies, and two young men (Frau Julia, Jungfrau Angelica, Jungfrau Cassandra, Herr Reimund, Herr Degenwert), and Harsdörffer hoped that the books would awaken the interest of young people in general ('die Jugend') in all branches of knowledge (Harsdörffer 1968–1969 [1643–1649]: I, 18). Harsdörffer explicitly addressed the question of whether such activities were suitable for women in his preface to the reader, and reassured readers that women were equal to such activities:

> Sprichst du / solche Kurtzweil ist Teutschem Frauenzimmer zu schwer / ungewont und verdrieslich: So bitte Ich / du wollest von derselben hohen Verstand nicht urtheilen: sondern bedenken / was jederzeit für übertreffliches und Tugendberühmtes Frauenvolk in allen Historien belobet / und noch heut zu Tag aller Orten sich befindet; Absonderlich in Niederland / da unter vielen andern Jungfer Maria Schurmanns [sic] / und Jungfer Anna Römers / welche in allen Sprachen und freyen Künsten wol erfahren / bekand; auch wieviel deren bey uns / die ihre Freude einig und allein aus anderen Sprachen übersetzten Büchern suchen und finden. (Harsdörffer 1643–1649: I, Biii)
>
> (If you say such pastime is too hard for a German lady, unaccustomed and wearisome, then I ask you not to judge of their high intelligence, but to consider what superior and virtuous women have been praised in all times in all histories, and still exist everywhere today; especially in the Netherlands, where among many others Miss Maria Schurman and Miss Anna Römer, who are known to be knowledgeable in all languages and liberal arts; also how many of them

amongst us [there are] who seek and find their joy solely in books translated from other languages.)[2]

7.3 Female translators and poets as scholars of the German language

Amongst the largely anonymous literate women whose knowledge of, and interest in, language matters Harsdörffer nevertheless recognized, a handful were more actively engaged in studying and cultivating the German language. There is evidence of women active as translators in Germany from the 1620s onwards (Brown 2017). Amongst the numerous language societies (*Sprachgesellschaften*) set up in the seventeenth century to promote, improve, and cultivate German language, culture, and literature, two were exclusively female, the Tugendliche Gesellschaft (Virtuous Society) and the Académie des Loyales (Academy of the Loyal), established by relatives of Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen, himself head of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft noted above. The societies had a membership of at least a hundred women between them; nine women were also active as translators, although only one actually published a translation (Brown 2009: 625–6). A group of seven worked collaboratively on a translation of the Italian collection of medieval novellas, *Cento novelle antiche*, one of the earliest translations undertaken by any language society members, although the translation was never published (edited by Seelbach 1985). The translation team used a 1572 edition in which 'linguistic distortions' had been carefully 'ironed out', and which was dedicated to lovers of the Tuscan language. Brown (2009: 634) suggests that their translation can be seen as 'part of the effort to transpose similar ideas about the language to the German setting: to encourage interest in the history of the language and to establish a widely accepted form of pure high German'.

Some women were also members of the larger, male-dominated language societies. Two female members of the Deutchgesinnte Genossenschaft were active

[2] Anna Maria van Schurman, mentioned here by Harsdörffer, also corresponded with one of the earliest female figures in England known for her facility in German, Bathsua Makin (*c.*1600–1675); see Chapter 10 in this volume. Typically for the history of women in German language studies, Makin comes to light as an instructor—she was appointed governess to Princess Elizabeth (1635–1650)—and a set of verses that she had published, dedicated to members of the royal family, in 1616 (when she was said to be aged 16 herself) apparently included verses in German (Salmon 1996: 243). Regrettably, there is no further mention of German in Makin's biography, which did, however, include teaching other young ladies other languages, and an *Essay to Revive the Antient Education of Gentlewomen, in Religion, Manners, Arts & Tongues* (1673). On the German-born Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), who corresponded with Makin (Salmon 1996: 254), see Baar (2011) and Chapter 8 in this volume. Another early woman known for her expertise in German is Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680), Schurman's contemporary in the Dutch Republic, a mystic who apparently published in her mother tongue French, in Dutch, and also in German and Latin (Baar 2011: 150).

writers (Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg and Ursula Hedwig von Veltheim), and there were nineteen female members in the Pegnesischer Blumenorden (Brown 2009: 622–3; following Otto 1981), one of whom, Barbara Helene Kopsch, translated two volumes of French moral philosophy into German (Kopsch 1684; see below). The Deutsche Gesellschaft, founded in Leipzig in 1727, had only one female member, Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, who was involved throughout the 1730s and who produced several translations of French literature and poetry (see Brown 2009: 627, n. 21, for details). Despite such opportunities for women to work on translations, Brown concludes that 'their impact as translators was limited'; translation was, for women, acceptable as 'a language-learning exercise or pastime' (Brown 2009: 632). Nevertheless, Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg's (1675) translation of Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas gained the notice of the most important German grammarian of the day, Justus Georg Schottelius, who called her an excellent poet (*treflich*) and used her verse to illustrate his discussion of German rhyme words. Schottelius noted (half-)rhymes of hers such as *Freuden–weiden, Schikken–glükken, gethan–kan* which raised questions of vowel-rounding and de-rounding or of the distinction between long and short vowels (see Schottelius 1967 [1663]: 863; McLelland 2011: 301, 316). It is worth noting too that, while Schottelius dedicated his grammar of German to his patron, Duke August of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, he dedicated his poetics (1645) to a woman, August's wife, Sophie Elisabeth, describing her in his dedication as someone with excellent knowledge 'sonderlich in Sprachen / in der Music / und in Teutscher Poesi' (Schottelius 1967 [1663]: 793; 'especially in languages, in music, and in German poetry').

The translation activities of such women are remote from 'linguistics' in the sense that we conceive it today, but in the seventeenth century, while translation might be viewed as language learning practice for women, it could also, equally, be understood as important work which helped to 'improve and refine' the German language (Brown 2009: 622), by prompting writers to find ways to express new ideas in their vernacular.[3] In his five-book *Ausführliche Arbeit von der teutschen Haubtsprache* (1663; *Comprehensive Work on the German Language*), Schottelius devoted some fifty pages to a treatise on the question of 'Wie man recht verteutschen soll' (Schottelius 1967 [1663]: 1218–68; 'How to Translate Correctly'). The treatise, which has echoes of Martin Luther's views on translating expressed in his famous *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (1530; *An Open Letter on Translating*), addresses the question of why many translated texts appear less well written than those simply written in German without reference to a foreign model. Schottelius

[3] Today, Brown (2018: 31) also emphasizes that translation is not simply a task subservient to an original; she follows Chamberlain (2012) in critiquing a sexualized discourse in which a distinction is made 'between the superior original and inferior translation, between production and reproduction, between the male and the female'. Brown notes that the 'long-term impact of the language academies lay above all in the field of translation' (Brown 2009: 622).

(1967 [1663]: 125) argues that one cannot write well in German without thorough knowledge of the language, which can only be obtained through 'Zeit/Fleiß und Arbeit' ('time, diligence, and labour')—one must be 'recht und gründlich kundig' ('properly and thoroughly knowledgeable') in the language and have a large store ('Vorraht') of German words. Schottelius also discussed to what extent foreign borrowings are acceptable in German and included an entire book on how to write German poetry in his *Ausführliche Arbeit* (Schottelius 1967 [1663]: 791, 997; *Exhaustive Work*; see McLelland 2011: 124–6, 141–50). In sum, for even the most prominent male theoretical grammarian of the day, translation and poetry were vehicles for reflecting on profound questions about how best to elaborate and use the German language. It is in this light, too, that we should assess women's activity in these spheres: their voices are not present in explicit linguistic discourse, but they nevertheless contributed in recognized ways to the scholarly cultivation of German.

Those women who engaged in translation and poetry in this way benefited from the support of sympathetic males, who encouraged their interest in language and languages, including Sigmund von Birken, member and later President of the Pegnesischer Blumenorden, and who admitted to the society more than a dozen women, mostly active as poets (Brown 2009: 630; 2012: 24), and Prince Ludwig, who sent his sister Anna Sophia a text in Italian for her to practise the language (Brown 2009: 629). Kopsch's 1684 'highly competent' translation of Madeleine de l'Aubespine's *Cabinet des saines affections* (1584?; *Cabinet of Healthy Affections*) is the first time that a female translator reveals her gender in print. The title page calls her a *Blumen-Hirtin* ('flower-shepherdess'; a reference to her membership of the Pegnesischer Blumenorden; Brown 2009: 636, 639). Anticipating hostile reactions from some who felt women should take care of the household, Kopsch robustly stated that 'ein Kämpfer kan nicht siegen ohne Feinde' (Kopsch 1684: fol. v^{v}, cited by Brown 2009: 637; 'a fighter cannot be victorious without enemies'). Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, who was admitted as the only female member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft in 1730, was similarly robust. In her translation of Madeleine de Scudéry's *Conversations*, published in 1735, von Ziegler's address to the reader ends with the assertion 'meine Neider and Feinden sind nicht im Stande, mich im geringsten zu kränken und aufzubringen' (Ziegler 1735: no pagination, cited in Brown 2009: 642; 'my enemies and those who envy me cannot offend or upset me in the least'). In her acceptance speech to the Society, von Ziegler referred to 'a host of foreign and German women who [. . .] blazed a trail in learned societies of the past' (Brown 2009: 645).

Christiane Mariane von Ziegler was also one of about twenty women whose abilities in German were recognized through their crowning as Imperial Poets Laureate (Kaiserlich Gekrönte Dichterinnen) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. She was crowned a Poet Laureate in 1733 at the University of Wittenberg; other female Poet Laureates include Katharina Margaretha

Dobenecker (1667), Regina Magdalena Limburgerin (1668), Barbara Juliana Penzel (1668), Maria Katharina Stockfleth (1668), Gertraud Moller (1671), and Elisabeth von Senitz (*c.*1673)—all of them members of the Pegnesischer Blumenorden and all laureated by Count Palatine Sigmund von Birken at Nuremberg—as well as Augusta Nedderstedt (1685) and Anna Maria von Weissenfeld (1696; also a member of the Pegnesischer Blumenorden). In the eighteenth century several more women writers were, like von Ziegler, laureated at the instigation of or at least with the support of university authorities, even though at this time women were not allowed to study at universities: Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann (1738), Anna Margareta Pfeffer (1739), Traugott Christiana Dorothea Löberin (1741), Magdalena Sibylle Rieger (1743), Charlotte Wilhelmine Amalie von Donop (1750), Dorothea Furcken (1750), Polyxene Christiane Auguste Dilthey (1751), Johanne Charlotte Unzerin (1753), Margarete Barbara Birkmann (1758), Anna Louisa Karsch (1762), and Karoline Wetzke (1788). The fact that these women were all accorded the title of Poet Laureate shows that at least some of their male contemporaries acknowledged their abilities.[4]

The most prominent female translator in eighteenth-century Germany was Louise Gottsched, née Kulmus (1713–1762),[5] well known as 'one of Germany's most significant early women of letters', and as the author of comedies, and of a tragedy believed to be the first ever authored by a German woman (Brown 2012: 1). However, Louise Gottsched was first and foremost a translator, contributing translations to more than fifty publications (Brown 2012: 29), in fields from poetry and drama to philosophy, history, archaeology, and theoretical physics, translating from contemporary French and English, as well as from Latin and Greek. Her translation work was, Brown judges, 'part of an ambitious, progressive programme undertaken with her husband [...] to introduce her compatriots to new forms and ideas' (Brown 2014: 1). While some have seen her as doing 'literary drudgery work' (Gerda Lerner, cited in Brown 2012: 3), translating according to the agenda of her husband Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766), Brown finds little evidence that Louise was dominated by her husband. Rather, they often seem to have enjoyed working together. He supported and enabled her work, and she benefited from his contacts (Brown 2012: 33–8). As in the seventeenth century, translation was appreciated as a contribution to the task of cultivating German. Significantly, a review (cited in Brown 2012: 11) judged that Louise Gottsched's translation of Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*

[4] Full details of most of these figures can be found in Flood (2006) and its supplement (Flood in preparation). On Johanne Charlotte Unzerin, see Flood (2016).

[5] Only thirteen female translators before Gottsched are listed in Woods and Fürstenwald's bio-bibliographical dictionary (Brown 2012: 22). Brown (2012: 22–3) also notes evidence of unpublished translations in the seventeenth century by Anna von Baden-Durlach and her sister; note also the case of Aphra Behn (Simon 1996, Brown 2012: 19, 24–7).

measured up well against 'the principles of German *Sprachkunst*', a word that means 'grammar' as well as, more literally, the 'art of the language'.

Women translators outside Germany also played a role in promoting German literature and scholarship, as interest blossomed outside Germany from the late eighteenth century onwards (McLelland 2015: 52–68). In Britain, at least eighteen women are known to have translated from German (Stark 1999: 31–2), and presumably many more remained anonymous.[6] Stark (1999: 32) suggests that these women 'picked up grammar books and roamed the world', but despite the mention of grammar books, it is difficult to tell how much attention they paid to the structure of the language. However, we do have evidence of serious, well-informed interest in the case of Mary Ann Evans (1819–1880), who translated contemporary German theology into English (Brown 2012: 10), but who is better known to us under her pseudonym George Eliot. Her notebooks 'prove her extensive reading in the philological literature of her time before composing *Middlemarch*', including the writings of the philologists Franz Bopp and Max Müller (Stark 1999: 98). For example, Evans's reading equipped her to take issue with *Middlemarch*'s Mr Casaubon's unscientific approach to etymologies (see Stark 1999: 98–9, quoting Wiesenforth 1984: xxxii–xxxiii and McCobb 1982: 61). It is clear, too, that women translators reflected explicitly on competing approaches to translation. Sarah Austin (1797–1863), who translated from German chiefly history and travel writing, referenced Novalis's identification of three modes of translation: grammatical, paraphrastic, and mythical (Stark 1999: 48). True, for Austin, unlike Louise Gottsched, translation was the main source of income for her family and indeed 'mere drudgery' (as she herself wrote in a letter cited by Stark 1999: 38). Nevertheless, her learned prefaces and her original notes to her translations still gave her a voice and evidence of some agency (see Brown 2012: 10, 192–6; and Hamburger 2008 [2004]).

7.4 The language of women

Women's formal output analysing the German language was more or less non-existent before the nineteenth century; however, indirect evidence of their awareness of language matters can be gleaned from the advice given to women, and sometimes by women, on their own language use. The first magazine aimed at German women, *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (published between 1725 and 1727; *The Rational Admonishers*) gives us an indirect insight into women's putative linguistic interests. As the use of the noun with the feminine *-in* suffix

[6] To Stark's list one could also add Mary Emily Conybeare, the daughter of the Oxford philologist Max Müller: her translation of Scherer's *History of German Literature* was published in 1886 (Weber 2013: 241, n. 34).

signalled, it purported to be the work of three female editors, Phyllis, Iris, and Calliste, intended to appeal to women readers in particular; in reality, it was the work of the young male writer Johann Christoph Gottsched, initially with two other writers. Gottsched differentiated the *Tadlerinnen*'s intended audience—'nur unstudirtes Frauenzimmer' ('only the unschooled lady')—from the 'gelehrte Männer' ('learned men') who read other well-known periodicals (*Die Verünftigen Tadlerinnen*, 1/25: 196, cited in Habermann 1994: 261). The female audience, while in principle no less intelligent, were less educated, and their lessons accordingly needed to be 'verkleidet' and 'verzuckert' (preface to 2nd edn 1738, cited in Habermann 1994: 262–3; 'disguised' and 'sugared'). The contents of the *Tadlerinnen* periodical reflect contemporary concerns with questions of rhetoric and style, giving advice on good and bad writing, exemplified by excerpts from (real or invented) readers' letters. Women, and those writing for women, should write clearly and straightforwardly. A good, straightforward, and above all 'natural' style should be easy for women to attain—as for anyone 'unstudirt'—provided they have not been led astray by the overblown style of novels. They should avoid unnecessary foreign borrowings—the *Tadlerinnen* announced that they and their friends had declared themselves a Society of German Muses, devoted to practising the 'Reinigkeit unserer Mutter-Sprache' ('the purity of our mother-tongue') (*Die Verünftigen Tadlerinnen* 2: 16, cited in Habermann 1994: 272). In other contemporary periodicals, women were also taken to task for a tendency to mix their languages, with evidence presented from ladies' letters (Habermann 1994: 278). Jones (1995) cites two letters written by Elisabeth Charlotte von Orléans (1652–1722) in 1699 and 1704 to her half-sister Amelie Elisabeth, in which she reflected on the difference between needing to use a French word because there was no German equivalent and the mixing in of French words as an affectation. She expressed the fear—voiced by some lay linguists ever since—that the very existence of the German language was under threat (Jones 1995: 596–8).

Women's language is also scrutinized in letter-writing guides, which appear from the mid-seventeenth century onwards and take some account of women as letter-writers, initially chiefly envisaged as respondents to male love letters (Furger 2010: 83–4). Writing letters was one of few permissible leisure activities for many women, where they could give vent to their thoughts and views more freely than in public, and for which it was acceptable to retreat from the public gaze to a private space. Liselotte von der Pfalz (1652–1722), living at Versailles as the wife of Louis XIV's brother, apparently wrote about a dozen letters a day (Furger 2010: 60). Women were considered well suited to maintaining correspondence in spite of the frequent interruptions that were part of running a household and fulfilling social obligations, thanks to their supposed capacity to flit swiftly from topic to topic (Furger 2010: 59–60). The first epistolary guide written exclusively for women appeared in 1692, addressed to 'galante Frauenzimmer' (Bohse 1692a; 'gallant

ladies'),[7] and in the eighteenth century, letter-writing guides—still all written by men—began to pay more attention to women as correspondents. Of Gellert's (1755) seventy-three model letters, 45 per cent are either to or by women (Arto-Haumacher 1995: 249). However, there were relatively few conditions under which it was appropriate for a woman to initiate—rather than respond to—a correspondence. She might write to congratulate, to commiserate, or to invite, for example. Once a correspondence had been initiated, however, women were expected to respond appropriately (Furger 2010: 58–60). Neukirch (1709: 23–4) advised on when it was appropriate for a young woman to correspond with a man, including, for example, responding to an unsolicited letter from a male suitor (Furger 2010: 70–1). Letter-writing for women was, then, emancipatory to some extent, but still only within the limits of their clearly circumscribed social roles.

Nonetheless, letter-writing allowed women to develop their skill in writing German. Gellert assured the young Johanna Erdmuthe von Schönfeld, 'Sie werden in kurzer Zeit eine meiner besten Correspondentinnen seyn [...] Ihr Brief is schön und richtig gedacht' (18 Dec. 1758, cited in Arto-Haumacher 1995: 265; 'You will soon be one of my best correspondents [...] Your letter is fine and well conceived'). For Gellert, alongside the clarity and naturalness desired by Johann Christoph Gottsched (see above), women should also aim for 'Artigkeit' ('artfulness'), in the sense of the 'art' of a well-brought-up individual, neither very learned nor wholly ignorant. A woman could never be too 'verständig, tugendhaft und wirtschaftlich' ('understanding, virtuous, and economical'), but a 'gelehrtes Frauenzimmer' ('learned lady') was to him something undesirable (24 Jan. 1765, cited in Arto-Haumacher 1995: 268). A degree of female creativity was permitted, but not too much rhetorical adornment in the form of metaphor or hyperbole. Women should tread a middle path.

Similar rules governed women's speech in conversation. Modern sociolinguistic analysis has suggested that, in mixed open conversation, men may be more likely than women to initiate topics, while women do the 'work' of keeping the conversation going (see Günthner and Kotthoff 1992). Such norms apparently have a long history—certainly they are explicitly set out in advice to women in nineteenth-century German manners books. A woman's task was to draw those around her into the conversation. Only if the conversation appeared in danger of faltering should she open a topic herself, choosing one that would allow others to develop it; this was in particular the role of the hostess (rather than the host; Linke 1996: 214–15, citing Lesser 1867: 11–15; see also Schrott 2005: 165). Women also had a duty to discipline men in conversation—in the presence of women, men would tend to avoid innuendo and vulgarity, flat contradiction, or cross exchanges

[7] Bohse's intended users of his *Allzeitfertiger Brieffsteller* (*Letter-Writing Guide for All Occasions*), also included—as the last item—'*auch an Frauenzimmer*' (Bohse 1692b: title page, cited in Furger 2010: 83; 'also to ladies').

of words; if any vulgarity or innuendo should occur, a lady should appear unaware (Schrott 2005: 208–10). Just as women's writing in their letters should be modest and straightforward, so, according to Lesser (1867: 14), 'Der grösste Reiz einer Dame wird es stets sein, im Leben wie in der Conversation nicht aufzufallen' ('the greatest charm of a lady will always be, in life as in conversation, not to stand out'). As Hoffelize (1880: 221) stated, 'Es geziemt der Frau nicht, in entschiedenem Tone zu sprechen und mit Autorität zu verfahren' (cited by Schrott 2005: 221; 'it is not seemly for a woman to speak in a decisive tone and to behave with authority'), and women should be neither too quiet nor too quick in their speech. By contrast, purely female conversational circles were apt to be caricatured negatively as spaces in which women all talked nineteen to the dozen, talked over each other, and gesticulated wildly, all infringements of the fundamental expectation that women in society should not draw attention to themselves (Linke 1996: 219).

As noted above, from the seventeenth century onwards, women's (as well as men's) use of foreignisms, especially French, could be subject to scrutiny. That language should be free from dialectal influence, by contrast, became a concern only during the nineteenth century, when it began to be reflected in manners guides. In conversation, the ideal woman should speak in a 'fließende und fehlerfreie Ausdrucksweise' (Bruck-Auffenberg 1896: 352, cited in Schrott 2005: 207; 'fluent and fault-free manner'), where 'fault-free' also meant free from traces of the dialect (e.g. failure to make the accusative-dative distinction, reflecting the merging of those two cases in some dialects; Linke 1996: 241). On the one hand, dialect was associated with certain positive and stereotypically female attributes: charm, natural simplicity, warmth, and spontaneity (Linke 1996: 255). On the other hand, it was also increasingly socially marked, indexical of stupidity and vulgarity. The pressure on women to conform to social norms in their gender performativity thus increasingly also meant adhering to the norms of the standard language. In an era of industrialization, in which a degree of social mobility was possible, women were warned that using dialect might reduce their chances of a good, upwardly mobile marriage (Linke 1996: 257–8).

7.5 Women as learners and teachers of German

Even if language learners and their teachers in the German-speaking areas were, according to Glück, Häberlein, and Schröder (2013: 143), 95 per cent male in the early modern period, women learned languages too.[8] The first-ever stand-alone German–English bilingual dictionary, published by Christian Ludwig in Leipzig in 1716 (Glück, Häberlein, and Schröder 2013: 336), was dedicated to a woman,

[8] Glück nevertheless presents some evidence of interest from women in language teaching and learning in eighteenth-century Augsburg (Glück, Häberlein, and Schröder 2013: 200, 230–1).

Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover (Stein 1985: 149). It offers indirect evidence for elite women's interest in language study, although Ludwig, whose dedication mentioned the succession of the House of Hanover to the British throne, presumably expected Sophia to be more interested in learning English than in studying German lexis. From the nineteenth century onwards, women also taught language in increasing numbers. Indeed, teaching was one of the main ways in which women contributed to the study of the German language: not from above, as visible and known authorities, but from below, as authorities on language only to their pupils at the time, and invisible to us now. Some women ventured abroad to teach German, certainly to Britain, where the royal family's connection to Germany may have made for greater interest in learning German than in other parts of Europe, and where German was the second foreign language (after French) throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (McLelland 2015: 52–6). An early, albeit atypical, instance of the female German teacher abroad is the eighteenth-century eccentric Theodora Grahn (1744–1802, aka Mr de Verdion), who earned a living as a language teacher, translator, and antiquarian book dealer in London, always appearing in public as a man, although her biological sex appears to have been no secret (Jefcoate 2015: 92). By the early nineteenth century, the number of young women earning a living by teaching German in Britain was increasing, some of them so impoverished that a home for indigent German governesses was established in London (Weber 2013: 235). With rare exceptions, such as Johanna Clara Louise Lehzen (1784–1870), governess to the future Queen Victoria (Reynolds 2004), these unsung promoters of German language study in Britain are difficult to trace and their influence hard to detect.[9]

Meanwhile the first generation of British-born women experts in German—the first *Auslandsgermanistinnen*—were emerging, such as the Nottingham-born student and teacher of German, Mary Janet Matheson, who studied German at University College London in 1881–1882, and also passed the University of Cambridge Higher Local Examinations—intended as a qualification for women teachers—in 1881 and 1882 (Mitchell 2008: 11). A significant figure amongst these first women active in teaching German in Britain is Mary Brebner, the author of a very influential report, *The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany* (McLelland 2015: 114–15, 132, 314), which ran to multiple editions (Brebner 1898; 3rd edn 1904; repr. 1909). It was presumably widely used in the newly established training courses for language teachers.[10] Of German descent, to judge by her surname, Mary Brebner was born in Aberdeen in 1858 or 1859,

[9] Another identifiable case is Lilli Eisenschmidt, probably of Baltic-German extraction, who worked as a governess in London and who also passed through the Cambridge Training College for Women Teachers founded in 1885 (Martin n.d.).

[10] The archive which might have held further information about Brebner is lost (Gilchrist Trust archive, Hughes Hall, Cambridge). The biographical details given here are taken from Mitchell (2008).

matriculated from the Ladies College in Aberdeen in 1881, and took her BA from University College London in 1885. As an assistant lecturer at the University of Wales Aberystwyth *c*.1898–1907, first in Greek and Latin, then in Modern Languages, she was certainly among the first women to hold a university post in Modern Languages in Britain.[11] Her book was an early exposition of Reform Movement methods in language teaching, covering the teaching of grammar and composition, the use of phonetics, the use of realia, various versions of the 'direct method', German school curricula and examinations, and the training of language teachers, drawing on her six months of observations in twelve German cities, funded by a Gilchrist Trust travelling scholarship. Brebner noted in her preface that 'as a Gilchrist Scholar, and furnished with letters from the Foreign Office, I had free access to schools and education authorities [...] The German governments afford me every facility, except that Prussia courteously but definitely refused to depart from its rule of not admitting women to the boys' schools.' Elsewhere in Germany, Brebner was nonetheless in the 'somewhat novel position [...] of being often the first woman who had set foot in the class-rooms' (Brebner 1904 [1898]: v).

Brebner was not the very first woman to teach modern languages at a British university. Emma Sophia Buchheim (*c*.1861–1951) taught German in what was called the Department for Ladies at King's College London from 1895, which became from 1908 the University of London King's College for Women. Emma Buchheim, who continued to teach as a lecturer at the college until 1930, was the daughter of Karl Adolf (Carl Adolphus) Buchheim, Professor of German at King's College from 1863 to 1900, and his wife Pauline. Emma Buchheim translated Georg Ebers's *Prinzessin von Ägypten* (*The Princess of Egypt*), compiled language primers, and prepared annotated editions of German classics such as Adelbert von Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (1889; *Peter Schlemihl's Miraculous Story*; see Flood and Simon 2017: 22). Alongside these female modern-languages pioneers, there is also Dr Wilhelmine Delp (1882–1978), who studied German under Karl Breul at Cambridge and went on to teach German at Royal Holloway College, London, from 1908 to 1944, publishing works on both French and German (Flood and Simon 2017: 46–7).

Another woman who contributed to the growth of German studies in the United Kingdom was Louisa Harriet Althaus.[12] Committed, like Brebner, to the

[11] The university in Aberystwyth, initially called simply University College Wales (before becoming University of Wales Aberystwyth in 1893 and then Aberystwyth University in 2007), claims to have been the first university institution in Wales to have offered, from 1872, courses in 'Comparative Philology, English Language and Literature, French Language and Literature, [...] German, Greek, Hebrew (also Arabic, Syrian, Sanskrit, Turkish and Persian), [...], Italian, [and] Latin'. See the online history at www.aber.ac.uk/en/about-us/history/ accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

[12] Althaus was probably the daughter (or possibly the—much younger—wife?) of Friedrich Althaus (1829–1897), who was Professor of German at University College London from 1874 to 1897. On him, see Ashton (1986) and Flood and Simon (2017: 15).

Reform Movement, she wrote the *First German Book* for publishers A. & C. Black (Althaus 1916). Althaus evidently enjoyed some status as an expert in language teaching, for she was listed as a witness to the Leathes Report, an important report on the 'Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain' (Leathes et al. 1918: 250). Both Brebner and Althaus are thus examples of women who played pioneering roles in promoting the teaching of German outside Germany. They paved the way for later women in German language education in England, including Magda Kelber, the author of a series of textbooks for learning German at adult evening courses, and Freda Kellett, the first female author of a grammar of German that I know of (Kelber 1938, Kelber and Freudenberger 1955, Kellett 1964; see also McLelland 2015: 179, 236, 258, 278, 330).

The first female lexicographer of German known to me is, again, from outside Germany, Elizabeth Weir, compiler of *Heath's New German Dictionary* (1888; see McLelland 2018).[13] Despite determined detective work by Husbands (2001), nothing is known of Weir beyond what she tells us in her preface, written while she was living in Stuttgart in 1888. In it, Weir—who also drew on the main German dictionaries of the time—thanks the many German friends who helped her in her coverage of numerous technical expressions and of idioms that, 'though of common occurrence in every-day life, are not generally found in dictionaries'. Her dictionary was intended to serve the 'young student' as 'a handy volume', with 'a collection of idioms, proverbs, and quotations [. . .], which is larger and more varied' than in other dictionaries (Weir 1888: v). Because most bilingual German–English dictionaries had predominantly targeted Germans studying English, they had 'not provided for the difficulty which the English student feels when called to select from some dozen German words the special one which answers to the special sense in which the English word is to be used' (Weir 1888: v). Weir therefore made a particular effort to give plentiful examples of how words are used in context 'thoroughly illustrative of the points in the two languages in which they differ from one another' (Weir 1888: v).

Weir is the only known female lexicographer of German before 1900, but when the prominent Germanist Karl Breul published a revised version of Weir's dictionary in 1906, he thanked several women who had assisted him in his revisions ('Of former pupils I gratefully mention the names of the Misses G. M. Parry, H. Sollas, and J. Burne'; Breul and Weir 1906: v–vi), and thanked above all Miss Minna Steele Smith, Head Lecturer in Modern Languages at Newnham College, Cambridge, who assisted in checking the proofs. These women's roles appear to conform to the stereotype of the 'woman behind the man', the conscientious amanuensis enabling the work of a more powerful male.

[13] Note, however, an earlier predecessor in one sense: after the death of Levinus Hulsius in 1606, his widow continued to publish his French–German, French–German–Italian, and French–German–Italian–Latin dictionaries (between 1607 and 1627; see Jones 2000: 422, 424–5, 428).

7.6 Women in nineteenth-century German historical and comparative philology

It is as helpers and supporters of male endeavours that women first appear in German philology, too. Wilhelm von Humboldt's wife Caroline (1766–1829) translated Latin and Greek texts with him in the first years of their marriage, and continued to follow his activities and progress with interest, as her correspondence attests. She wrote to a friend on 16 October 1821, 'Gestern [...] habe ich keinen Tee gekriegt, sondern bin mit vielen sehr unverdaulichen Konjugationen der Tumanaca (sic!)-Sprache zu Bett gegangen' (Humboldt and Humboldt 1920: VII, 92; 'Yesterday [...] I got no tea, and went to bed instead with many very indigestible conjugations of the Tumanaca language (sic!)'). Caroline reported to Alexander Rennenkampff in November 1822: 'Er [Wilhelm von Humboldt] teilt mir oft Stellen mit—alles in dieser Sprache ist Poesie und Betrachtung des menschlichen Seins. [...] Die Sprache als solche erregt den Gedanken, daß die deutsche von ihr, vielleicht durch die persische, stammt' (Humboldt 1904: 163; 'He often tells me about some bits—everything in this [Sanskrit] language is poetry and contemplation of human existence. [...] The language as such prompts the thought that the German language stems from it, perhaps via Persian').

Other women also contributed as supportive and informed observers to the founding years of German comparative and historical linguistics. Lelke (2005) examined women's contribution to the work of the Grimm brothers, devoting a chapter to 'women in the house' (Lelke 2005: 190–250). Lelke's study shows how, through participation in that half-private, half-public intellectual world, women like Wilhelm Grimm's wife Dorothea Grimm, Bettina von Arnim, Sarah Austin, Amalie Hassenpflug, and the Wallot sisters had some scope to contribute to the academic work of the Grimms and their circle, in a way that was simply not possible for them in the institutionalized academic world (a world the Grimms had also left, having been famously dismissed from their posts at Göttingen University in 1837 after objecting to a decision of the new King of Hanover). However, these women never progressed beyond the role of assisting in or helping publicize the work of men. By comparison, their contemporary Theresa Albertina Louise von Jacob-Robinson, to whom I now turn, achieved something of a publishing career in her own right.

7.6.1 Theresa Albertina Louise von Jacob-Robinson (1797–1870)

Theresa Albertina Louise von Jacob-Robinson continues the long line of female translators discussed in section 7.3, but she was also one of the first German women who could lay claim to the title of philologist. Publishing under the

pseudonym Talvj (the initials of her maiden name, yet believed by many contemporaries to be male), she translated both the scholarship of others—John Pickering's *Indian Languages of America* (1831)—and primary German and Serbian texts. She corresponded with the German philologist Jacob Grimm on the subject of translating Serbian folk songs in 1825–1826, taking issue with Grimm's more literal style of translating the primary texts, writing 'ich kann nicht leugnen, daß meine Meinung von einer guten Uebersetzung nicht mit der von Ew. Wohlgeboren übereinstimmt. [...] Ich finde, je vertrauter wir mit den Sprachen sind, je weniger fällt es uns ein, wörtlich zu übersetzen' (letter of 9 March 1826, cited by Steig 1894: 352–3, also cited in translation by Voigt 1913: 47–8; 'I cannot deny that my idea of a good translation does not coincide with yours [...] I find that the better we know a language, the less it occurs to us to translate it literally'). She was much more than a translator, however: Jacob-Robinson made a significant contribution to the nascent study of the American Indian languages and to the comparative study of folk songs and verse.[14] The daughter of a German professor of philosophy, she spent much of her childhood in Kharkov (now in Ukraine) and St Petersburg. She had relatively little formal education, but read widely and studied the Slavic languages, and after moving with her husband Edward Robinson to America, she began studying Amerindian languages (Voigt 1913: 36–7). Her German translation of John Pickering's *Indian Languages of America* (first published in *Encyclopaedia Americana* 1831: 581–600) was published in 1834 (Voigt 1913: 59).

Jacob-Robinson was well acquainted with many of the most illustrious male figures in the history of German philology—in the sexist parlance of the day, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe reputedly judged her to have 'the heart of a woman but the brain of a man' (Voigt 1913: 42). Her circle of acquaintances and correspondents included Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, K. L. W. Heyse, Franz Bopp, the Humboldt brothers, Friedrich von Raumer, and Goethe (Voigt 1913: 40). In the United States Jacob-Robinson encountered other German émigrés, including, in 1833, Karl Follen (who had become Harvard University's first professor of German in 1830) and his wife, who encouraged her 'renewed interest in philological studies' (Voigt 1913: 37). She wrote articles on the folk songs and poetry of the 'Teutonic races', which first appeared in the *North American Review*, then in book form in 1840 under the title, *Charakteristik der Volkslieder* (Talvj 1840b; *A Characterization of Folk Songs*).

With her *Charakteristik der Volkslieder*, Jacob-Robinson sought to illuminate 'das innere Gemütsleben der celtischen, romanischen, slavischen und übrigen Nationen' ('the inner life of the mind of the Celtic, Romance, Slav, and other nations'), including an examination of what she called 'Der herrliche Stamm der

[14] On women's contribution the field of American Indian linguistics, see Chapter 13 and, in part, Chapter 12, in this volume.

Germanen' (Talvj 1840b: viii–ix; 'the glorious tribe of the Germanic people'). Part I of the book is devoted to the songs of the non-European peoples: Asian, Malaysian and Polynesian, African, and American; Part II deals with Europe, beginning with the Germanic peoples, further subdivided into Scandinavian, German, and British. Jacob-Robinson cites Herder's view of poetry as the 'angeborene Sprache des Menschengeschlechts' (Talvj 1840b: 1; 'innate language of the human race')—this primitive language must have been 'schöpfrisch, bildlich, nachahmend, [...] sinnlicher Anschauung' ('creative, rich in images and imitation' and 'sensual'), as could be deduced not just from examining the languages of 'der wilden Völker' ('wild peoples') but also from looking at the language of a child (Talvj 1840b: 1–2). Jacob-Robinson sought to reconstruct the national character of peoples through the analysis of their songs and poems, and she unearthed commonalities such as the shared Germanic motif of the dead bridegroom who rises from his grave disturbed by the grief of his beloved (Talvj 1840b: 149). Throughout her book, Jacob-Robinson gives modern renderings of older German material, for her interest is not in the philological analysis of the older language itself. Still, she is occasionally led to more narrowly linguistic discussions. For example, she notes the shared origin of the cognate Scandinavian, German, and Celtic words for (and concept of) elves and the like (Talvj 1840b: 145). It is evident from her survey of German verse production from the *Hildebrandslied* (*Song of Hildebrand*) onwards, as well as an overview of the main Germanic dialects (Talvj 1840b: 341 ff.), that she was well versed in the broad outlines of Germanic philology. She notes the replacement of Low German by 'the language of Luther' under the name of *Hochdeutsch* ('High German') as the written language of Germany, citing Mecklenburg's last edict written in Low German in 1542 (Talvj 1840b: 342–3) and the last Low German Bible published in 1621 (Talvj 1840b: 343). It is true that, aside from her own modern German renderings of older texts, much of her book is a compilation of, and reflection on, the work of others. However, she did not hesitate to express her own opinions, for example siding with Wilhelm Grimm in his *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829; *German Heroic Epic*) against the Dane Paul Erasmus Müller to argue that the Nibelung material was of German rather than Asian origin, and native to the Franks and Goths (Talvj 1840b: 151). An appendix to the volume included songs 'aus dem Mund der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen' ('from the mouth of the Saxons in Transylvania' (Romania)), with the comment that 'dem Grund nach Plattdeutsch, doch sehr abweichend von den niederdeutschen Mundarten und in seinen Corruptionen einigermaßen mit dem Kuhländchendialekt, obwohl weniger roh und gemein' (Talvj 1840b: 612; 'the dialect of the following, never before printed songs is in essence Low German, but deviates greatly from the Low German dialects and, in its corruptions, has something in common with the dialect of Kuhländchen [or Kravařsko in Czech, a region in Moravia, in the north-east of today's Czech Republic], albeit less raw and common').

She notes that a motif in one of these newly translated songs—that of the linden tree as 'broad above, slender below'—is a common motif in German folk songs, showing a capacity for interpreting new linguistic and philological data herself.

Jacob-Robinson's study, *Die Unächtheit der Lieder Ossians und des Macpherson'schen Ossian insbesondere* (Talvj 1840a; *The Inauthenticity of the Songs of Ossian, and of the Macpherson Ossian in Particular*), made a significant contribution to the Ossian question (see Moore 2003), arguing, on linguistic grounds as well as in terms of content, that the poems published by James Macpherson in the 1760s, which he claimed were fragments of ancient Scottish poetry, were forgeries created by Macpherson himself. Although there had been voices debunking the writings as forgeries from the moment they were published, Voigt (1913: 122) argues that:

> no one in England or Germany was more qualified to end the dispute; for since the time of Herder no scholar had possessed so comprehensive and deep a knowledge of folk song as she, not even Wilhelm Grimm [...] The result of her work was a triumph not only for her, but also for truth, for the disputes in both England and German came to an end.

For Voigt (1913: 27), Jacob-Robinson deserved a place among those German-Americans who became part of the history of their adopted home, not in the 'front ranks of radical reformers and reorganizers, but tactfully and unassumingly, rather, exerting that subtle influence for which women are best suited'. Voigt—whose University of Illinois dissertation on Jacob-Robinson must itself have been one of the first by a woman in German studies[15]—is clearly a partisan commentator, but Jacob-Robinson was a knowledgeable commentator on Germanic folk literature, and besides her important work on Ossian, she is also acknowledged by Pribic (1969: 144) as marking 'the beginning of Slavic Studies in America' (see also Pribic 1998; Schubert and Krause 2001).

7.7 Female linguists in the early twentieth century

At the same time as women like Althaus and Brebner were finding some success at the margins of academia through German language teaching, others born in the second half of the nineteenth century were, just, able to forge a career in university *Germanistik*—but seemingly earlier outside Germany than in Germany. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcelos (1851–1925, born in Berlin) became a Professor of

[15] Voigt (1882–1953) enjoyed a successful career too; she became the first Dean of Women Students at the University of Ohio in 1913, remaining in the role for three decades.

Romance and Germanic Philology in Coimbra, Portugal in 1912.[16] Luise Haessler (b. *c.*1866) taught German for many years at Hunter College in New York City and completed her dissertation *Old High German Biteilen and Biskerien* at the University of Chicago in 1935. She was one of thirty-one women among 274 Foundation Members of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA; Thomas 2014). She became a member of its Executive Committee in 1937, was one of the first women to publish in the journal *Language*, and presented three papers at the LSA meetings over the years, which she attended regularly, on Old English, Middle High German, and Old High German, respectively (Falk 1999: 18–19). Below, I present the cases of three women born before 1900 who each had a recognizable academic career in the twentieth century, including Agathe Lasch, deservedly the best-known pioneering woman in German language studies.

7.7.1 Klara Hechtenberg Collitz (*c.*1865–1944)

Contemporary with Luise Haessler, Klara Hechtenberg Collitz may have been the first woman to follow a traditional academic pathway and to enjoy a career of sorts in German philology.[17] She studied at the University of London (1889–1892), then at Oxford (1894–1895) and Bonn (1898). She received her PhD from the University of Heidelberg in 1901 and taught at Smith College (1897–1899) and Oxford University (1901–1904). Although, after her marriage in 1904 to fellow Germanist Hermann Collitz and subsequent move to Baltimore, she did not hold an academic position again, she continued her research and writing (Falk 1999: 15). Besides a forty-eight-page dissertation, *Das Fremdwort bei Grimmelshausen* (1901; *Foreign Words in Grimmelshausen*), Hechtenberg Collitz also published *Der Briefstil im 17. Jh.* (1903; *Epistolary Style in the Seventeenth Century*), and *Fremdwörterbuch des 17. Jahrhunderts* (1904; *Foreign-Word Dictionary of the Seventeenth Century*), which remain on bibliographies on the topic today, and—much later—*Verbs of Motion in their Semantic Divergence* (1931). In this final publication, published under her married name (Klara H. Collitz), Hechtenberg Collitz investigated the figurative use of verbs of motion (or, in some cases, what were once verbs of motion, e.g. *bequemen*, *leiden*, *passen* 'to fit', 'suit', 'attract'), with senses of 'propriety, fitness, suitability, or related meanings', with particular emphasis on German and English, although she considered the phenomenon to be a feature of Indo-European languages generally (Collitz 1931: 7). She found that such *propriety* meanings were the most common metaphorical uses for verbs of

[16] Despite the reference to Germanic Philology in her title, her publications seem to have been all in the field of Portuguese linguistics (e.g. Vasconcelos 1893), so she is not further considered here. For further details of her life and work, see Chapter 5 in this volume.

[17] Life dates following Falk (1999: 14); the date of birth given differs between sources.

motion, but that two other classes could be identified: *emotion* (e.g. *bewegen*, 'to move'), and *intellectuality* (e.g. *folgen*, 'to follow'), though some verbs might well be classed under all three headings (Collitz 1931: 7, 12). The bulk of her book consists of listings of verbs of motion under these three headings, first for verbs of motion 'in a narrower sense' (Collitz 1931: 15–57) and then 'in a wider sense' (Collitz 1931: 58–99). The categories are exemplified rather than defined—for 'narrower' we have *fahren*, *gehen*, *schicken*, and for 'wider' *fassen*, *sammeln*, *bringen*, but also English 'creep', 'ply' (Collitz 1931: 14). Each category contains alphabetical listings of verbs in Greek, Latin, German, English, French, Italian, and Spanish; verbal compounds are generally placed under the corresponding simple verbs (*werfen*, *abwerfen*, *hinwerfen*, etc.). Examples also demonstrate how prefixes, reflexive forms, prepositions, and adverbs may help determine a metaphorical meaning. Hechtenberg Collitz referenced both general and etymological dictionaries, but most of her examples appear to derive from introspection, except for English, where sources including Shakespeare, the Bible, and contemporary journalism are quoted (e.g. Collitz 1931: 42); a lengthy footnote explores the etymology of *chic* and the link to German *schicken*. To judge from the concluding remarks, the author's principal interest lay in documenting the 'transition of Verbs of Motion' to other categories (Collitz 1931: 100). Hechtenberg Collitz concludes, 'Thus it has been shown that in Indo-European languages most verbs of motion can assume the sense of *propriety* (or *impropriety*) [...] and that expressions regarding *propriety* etc. are, as a rule, derived from verbs of motion' (Collitz 1931: 107). Potentially a useful contribution to cognitive metaphor studies, the book is limited by the lack of generalizations or theorizations about the cognitive processes that prompt the transfer of meaning from the semantic field of motion to the loosely defined realms of propriety, emotion, and intellectuality. It does not seem to have enjoyed great influence, but it was noted as an instance of an 'older study' of the structure of verbs of motion in the work of the well-known psycholinguist William Levelt (Levelt, Schreuder, and Hoenkam 1978: 138).

At her death, Klara Collitz left an endowment to fund a 'Hermann and Klara H. Collitz Professorship for Comparative Philology' to be awarded by the LSA, but her name was promptly excluded and the Professorship was known for decades as the Hermann Collitz Chair, before the name of the woman who actually endowed it was restored in the 1990s (Falk 1999: 15).

7.7.2 Agathe Lasch (1879–1942)

Within Germany, Agathe Lasch is the first woman to have followed a conventional academic path in German linguistics. Refused permission to enrol at Berlin (where Gustav Roethe, Professor of German Studies, exercised his right to refuse women access to his classes), Lasch began her studies in Halle, gained her PhD on

the *Geschichte der Schriftsprache in Berlin bis zur Mitte des 16. Jh* (*History of the Written Language in Berlin up to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*) at Heidelberg under Wilhelm Braune in 1909. She obtained a position at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, US, first as Associate, then Associate Professor of Teutonic Philology, but left when the US entered World War I. After earning her habilitation (the traditional prerequisite for a full professorship in German universities) at the newly founded Hamburg University in 1919 (Lasch 1979),[18] Lasch became the first German *Professorin* in Germany, appointed in 1923 to an extraordinary Chair in Low German Philology (in effect, this meant the title of professor without the associated funds for assistants and support that go with a chair in the German system; Kaiser 2009: 20). However, only a decade into her career, she was, as a Jew, forced into 'retirement' in 1934; she was banned from using public libraries in 1938, her own private library having already been confiscated. After unsuccessful attempts to emigrate, she was deported in 1942, and was killed in Riga that same year (Kaiser 2009: 21). Fifty years after her death, in 1992, the city of Hamburg established an Agathe Lasch prize awarded for work on Low German philology (Mohn 2009); a street was named after her in 1971 (Terfloth 2009).

Lasch's work made a lasting and decisive impact on the study of Low German grammar and lexicography. Her grammar of Low German, published in 1914, when she was in her mid-20s, remains the standard reference a full century later. In 1917 she was put in charge of the materials collection (*Sammelstelle*) for a dictionary of Hamburgisch, a project that was finally completed in 2006, in five volumes, still following the basic structure devised by Lasch (Schroeder 2009: 47). Unlike other dialect dictionaries, focused on recording rural varieties, this was a dictionary of a city vernacular, and Lasch sought to reflect the genuine heterogeneity of the city's language, past and present (Schroeder 2009: 49; see 50–1 for a facsimile of the first pages). The project was based on the material gathered by the librarian Christoph Walther before his death, which included 12,000 separate attestations (*Einzelbelege*); however, by 1933 there were 180,000 *Einzelbelege* (Schroeder 2009: 52), as Lasch supplemented Walther's data from systematic evaluation of historical sources and fieldwork (questionnaires) to capture current Low German usage. Lasch's ultimate goal was to provide a history over time of the changing status of Low German in Hamburg, including both cultural-historical aspects and *Volkskunde* ('folklore')—but her work also exemplifies an early sociolinguistic approach *avant la lettre* to dialectology (Schroeder 2009: 53–4).

In 1923, Lasch was also given charge of a project for a *Concise Dictionary* (*Handwörterbuch*) of Middle Low German, finally completed in 2009 (Schroeder 2009: 56; see 57 for a facsimile of the opening page). Again, it was Lasch who developed the structural framework to be followed, and she herself worked on

[18] For recent work on Lasch's life and legacy, see Nottscheid, Kaiser, and Stuhlmann (2009) and, for selected writings, Lasch (1979).

seven fascicles of the dictionary. The first fascicle appeared in 1928, with a foreword by Lasch emphasizing the interplay between language history, political history, and the history of ideas. Lasch's grammar of Middle Low German had launched much discussion of the Middle Low German vowel system, and the dictionary profited from the resulting new insights. For example, Umlaut was systematically marked; original long vowels were distinguished from those that had resulted from vowel lengthening. All definitions were checked, rather than rehearsing definitions found in other sources, though Lasch regretted that the limitation to a concise dictionary meant it was not possible to provide examples of words in context, nor information on the temporal and regional distribution of individual words (Schroeder 2009: 58).

The lexicographical work on both these projects ceased when Lasch was forced out of her post in 1934, and apart from one fascicle of the Middle Low German dictionary, which appeared in 1939, work only restarted after World War II. The first fascicle of the Hamburg dictionary appeared in 1956, nearly forty years after Lasch had taken charge of the project (Schroeder 2009: 61). Alongside her grammar of Middle Low German, yet to be superseded, these two important lexicographical projects—completed in 2006 and 2009, and important not just for their documentation but also for their rich approach to the material—makes Lasch's a decisive legacy in the field of historical Low German studies.

7.7.3 Luise Berthold (1891–1983)

Reaching the cohort born in the 1890s, the number of women whom one can claim for German philology or linguistics increases. Linda Fierz-David (1891–1955) was the first woman admitted to the University of Basel, where she studied German philology. She became one of Carl Gustav Jung's first pupils and closest friends, and published herself in Jungian analysis.[19] Susanne Katherina Langer (1895–1985), née Knauth, perhaps also qualifies for mention. Born in the US, she grew up speaking German with her German immigrant parents. She was one of the first women to achieve an academic career in the philosophy of language, building on her PhD in *A Logical Analysis of Meaning* (completed in 1926, when her second son was 1 year old), although she is best known as a philosopher of culture and art (see Dryden n.d.).

I shall conclude with the case of Luise Berthold, second only to Agathe Lasch in her pioneering role as a woman in German linguistics, and German dialect studies more particularly.[20] Berthold initially enrolled at university in Berlin in 1909, one

[19] Fierz-David was, according to Rowland (2001: 13–14), also one of those responsible for the introduction of an anti-Semitic quota for Jewish members of the Psychological Club in 1944.

[20] My account relies largely on Berthold's autobiography (Berthold 2008 [1969]).

year after Prussia first allowed women to matriculate. However, as in Lasch's case, Professor Roethe barred Berthold from his classes; Berthold might have moved to Göttingen, but there, Eduard Schröder also refused to teach women (Berthold 2008: 38, 43), and so she enrolled at Marburg in 1912. After studying German philology for a teaching qualification (*Staatsexamen*), she spent half of her time working on the Hessisch–Nassau dialect dictionary, a project funded by the Prussian Academy of Sciences, using the rest of her time to work on her doctorate, awarded in 1918 (Berthold 1920).

The first fascicle of the *Hessen–Nassauisches Volkswörterbuch* was published in 1927,[21] the same year in which Berthold published her habilitation, having raced to finish it for fear that the next Dean (*Dekan*) might not welcome a female candidate.[22] This was not, in the end, a problem, but still the next woman to complete her habilitation at Marburg did not do so for more than two decades (the Orientalist Annemarie Schimmel; 1946). When Berthold held her inaugural lecture in 1923, she was the only female lecturer, and remained so for twenty-two years. She was, like Lasch, given the status of Extraordinary Professor, in 1930, and was awarded a full chair only in 1952 (Berthold 2008: 110–11).

The Hessen–Nassau dictionary, the compilation of which Berthold led from 1934, stood in the tradition of the Marburg school of dialectology, specifically Wenker's *Sprachatlas* (*Linguistic Atlas*). Making visible bundles of linguistic isoglosses, the approach was a challenge to the nineteenth-century belief in immutable 'laws' of sound change (Berthold 2008: 50). If mapping the geography of sound changes could be so fruitful, mapping word-geography might also be equally revealing, and so Berthold proposed a new series of questionnaires that would yield word-geography maps for the dictionary (Berthold 2008: 53). Like Lasch's dictionary work, Berthold's word-geography approach in the Hessen–Nassau dictionary became a model for later work. The Prussian and Mecklenburg dialect dictionary projects followed its example of using word-geography maps, both beginning publication in 1934. So too did the German Word-Atlas project (Mitzka et al. 1951–80), for which data collection began in 1939, realizing a large-scale project first called for in a review of Berthold's first fascicle (Hübner 1928), and of which she took charge for a time after World War II. Berthold's chief publications over the following years were the remaining fascicles of the Hessen–Nassau dictionary, alongside others in the field of word-geography (Berthold 1924–1925, 1938, 1955).

As one would expect of the leader of a large-scale research project, and one that also proved to be a model for further large projects in the field, Luise Berthold's

[21] For its positive contemporary reception, see the sources listed in Berthold (2008: 72, 140).

[22] Berthold's habilitation explored the use of word-geography to help locate where older historical texts had been produced—it was published as *Alter Text und moderne Mundart. Grundsätzliches zur Heimatbestimmung alter Texte* (1927; *Old Text and Modern Dialect, Essential Information for Locating Old Texts*).

legacy is a lasting one. Tellingly, in a 1982 history of the Marburg school of dialectology (Knoop, Putschke, and Wiegand 1982), Berthold's work is simply part of the research landscape—there is no reference to any special status as a woman in the field.

7.8 Concluding remarks

Women are first attested in German language studies in the seventeenth century. Even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, women who contributed to reflection on the German language did so largely under the radar and, obliquely, in translations and poetry or through supporting male counterparts. In the subsequent history of women participating more directly in German linguistics, both German and non-German women who advanced the study of German outside Germany, the first *Auslandsgermanistinnen*, have featured prominently. That is no accident. Teaching German as a foreign language—in private homes, at school, or even in the early days of Modern Languages at university—was sufficiently low status that the way lay open for women to make their mark, earlier than through the route of formal university study and doctoral work in Germany. True, the education of girls began relatively early in Germany compared to some other parts of Europe. Elementary education was compulsory for both sexes by 1800 (Doff 2002: 122–3), and by the early nineteenth century, so-called higher (post-elementary) schools for girls were being established, but these were for a tiny elite; *höhere* ('higher') schools also implied a socially higher class and, in any case, concentrated on teaching social accomplishments (Doff 2002: 123). Only in the final quarter of the nineteenth century were schools established with more rigorous educational aspirations for their female pupils (Doff 2002: 182–3). As for university study, which gave access to an academic career, Baden was the first German state to allow women to matriculate without special permission, in 1900; Mecklenburg was the last in 1909 (Mazón 2003: 213). By 1914, about 8 per cent of German students were women, and by 1930 the proportion was about 16 per cent. Berthold's isolation as a woman in her field demonstrates that the make-up of the academy was far slower to change.

The limit for inclusion in this history of women in German language studies was a date of birth before 1900; extending that to 1920 would immediately widen our view, to include: Dr Hannah Stephanie Marguerita Amburger-Stuart (1904–1971), who published a markedly 'philological' edition of Luther's *Sendbrief von Dolmetschen* in 1940, having obtained a doctorate in German in London in 1928; Lea Goldberg (1911–1970), who obtained doctorates from the Universities of Berlin and Bonn in Semitic languages and German and who went on to become a prominent Hebrew writer and poet (see Weiss and Meilinger 2010); Maria Hornung (1920–2010), Austrian linguist, dialectologist,

and onomastics specialist; and the Danish Germanist and phonetician Eli Fischer-Jorgensen (1911–2010), part of the Linguistic Circle of Copenhagen and, amongst many achievements, author of a classic paper on Danish *stød* (see Skytte 2016). It would also include Annemarie Hübner (1908–1996), who was supervised by Agathe Lasch and worked on the Middle Low German dictionary between 1951 and the mid-1970s (Nottscheid 2009: 142); she was made an honorary member of the Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung (Society for Low German Language Research) in 1988, with its yearbook dedicated to her in that year. Amongst Berthold's doctoral students, we can also note the Scottish woman Agnes Stiven, who wrote her dissertation in Marburg on English influence on German (Stiven 1936). Hübner and Stiven were two of the first women in German linguistics who were set on their path, not by the tolerance or benign support of men, but by the support of other women already in the field—for these women, it was now possible to have a *Doktormutter* rather than a *Doktorvater*, to use the quaint German terms—a fitting point at which to end this survey.

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8
The extraordinary and changing role of women in Dutch language history

Marijke van der Wal and Jan Noordegraaf

8.1 Standardization in the Low Countries in the early and late modern periods

In this contribution we focus on the northern Low Countries, present-day the Netherlands, for the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. For the sixteenth century, during which the political unity of the Low Countries still existed, we include the southern Netherlands, roughly the Flemish-speaking part of present-day Belgium.

8.1.1 Chambers of rhetoric and codification

A grammatical or linguistic vernacular tradition did not begin in the Low Countries before the second half of the sixteenth century, when treatises on orthography started to appear. One such was the *Nederlandsche Spellijnghe* (1550; *Dutch Orthography*) that appeared as one of the early examples of codification. For the author, the Ghent printer Joos Lambrecht (d. *c.*1556), and other printers, orthographic rules were important, as normalized spelling was assumed to favour a broader distribution of their books. A few decades later, detailed Dutch–Latin dictionaries such as the *Dictionarium Teutonico-latinum* (1574) and the first printed Dutch grammar, *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* (1584; *Dialogue of Dutch Grammar*), were published: the former was compiled by corrector Cornelis Kiliaen (1528/1529–1607), an employee of the famous Antwerp printer Plantijn, and the latter was produced by members of the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric In Liefd' Bloeyende (Flourishing in Love; see Wal 2003). The *Twe-spraack* was part of a Dutch trivium; manuals for logic and rhetoric were also published by the Amsterdam chamber (Wal 2007: 217–20). A long tradition of grammars, dictionaries, and linguistic treatises followed, publications composed by male authors of various professions. In the eighteenth century, linguistic issues were also discussed in the context of literary societies.

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Surveying the Dutch linguistic tradition, however, it is striking that, apart from the single example of Johanna Corleva (1698–1752), who published a dictionary and a Dutch translation of the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660; *General and Rational Grammar*), no women seem to have been involved in linguistic codification. In the present section, we investigate whether the context in which the linguistic publications came into being might explain the lack of any contribution from women. We will focus first on the chambers of rhetoric and subsequently on the literary societies. In passing, we will also note the existence of particular networks of individuals who stimulated one another to publish linguistic work.

From the late medieval period until well into the seventeenth century, chambers of rhetoric were established both in the north and south of the Low Countries, where almost every town had at least one such chamber. They were amateur guilds or confraternities of laymen devoted to the composition of vernacular poetry and drama. Their members were trained in the skills of analysing and composing texts, staging and performing plays, and improving their technical reading and writing skills (Bruaene 2005: 11–12). Members from the urban elite and middle-class groups such as skilled artisans and merchants had the opportunity to test these skills in private and public performances and competitions (Dixhoorn 2002: 20–6, 30). This context of literary culture and training in argumentation and performance techniques was the cradle of a vernacular Dutch trivium, published in the 1580s, to which we have already referred. Research by literary historians has revealed that the culture of the chambers of rhetoric was based on a strong male group identity and inspired by the religious role model of the apostles and by social models such as the shooting guilds (Moser 2001: 69–97; Bruaene 2005: 14–18). Van Bruaene argues that women could therefore never fully integrate into the culture of the chambers of rhetoric, if they were even allowed to become members in the first place. In the southern province of Brabant, they were excluded, but in the province of Flanders, women were admitted as so-called sisters, who had no formal voice in collective decision-making and could never be elected to the official positions of prince, deacon, or factor (the official playwright) of the chamber (Bruaene 2005: 21–3). They appear to have had mainly devotional duties in the religious services for the patron saint and the commemoration of deceased members. In the chamber's public performances of drama and comedy, they seem to have played a very minor part in *tableaux vivants* (young men played women's roles), and there is even less evidence that they were allowed to participate in the rhetorical exercises organized within the chambers themselves (Bruaene 2005: 25–6). Moreover, membership lists indicate that in the early modern period female membership (of about 10 per cent in the Flemish chambers of rhetoric) largely depended on their relations with male members (Bruaene 2005: 15, 23). A typical example is the female playwright Barbara Ogier (1648–1720), who wrote texts for the Antwerp chamber, but only as the daughter and later as the wife of influential rhetoricians (Bruaene 2005: 29). In the northern Low Countries, where

the chambers had lost their religious functions after the Reformation, women were no longer welcome. Thus, they even lost their marginal roles in the chambers of rhetoric, which became more or less institutions where (young) adult men met one another and acquired a general education (Dixhoorn 2003: 71).

In summary, for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, one of the explanations for women's absence in the grammatical tradition may be found in their absence or limited role in the chambers of rhetoric, which were the cradle of particular codification activities such as the compilation of a Dutch grammar.

8.1.2 The socio-cultural context of societies

Chambers of rhetoric had their heyday in the sixteenth century, during which period they frequently participated in contemporary religious debates. After the mid-seventeenth century, however, they became marginal institutions (Singeling 1991: 35). Another type of meeting place of culture and study came into being: the so-called societies. In 1669 the Amsterdam society Nil Volentibus Arduum (Nothing is Impossible for the Willing) was founded, the aim of which was to study both science and literature. We will discuss Nil's activities in more detail in section 8.3.3 below. The eighteenth century, in particular its second half, saw the rise of many societies, which not only created social bonds, but were also exemplary of a civilizing enterprise aimed at disseminating knowledge and culture (Vries 2001). At least sixty literary societies existed between 1750 and 1800 in the north of the Low Countries, that is, in the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. These were of two different types: the so-called reflective and the poetic societies (Vries 1999: 188). Linguistic issues such as norms and grammar rules played a role in both. Within the reflective societies the male-only members discussed literature, national history, linguistics, and sometimes philosophy (Vries 1999: 188–9). They critically analysed literary works of seventeenth-century celebrated authors such as Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) and P. C. Hooft (1581–1647), in order to determine what would constitute 'good Dutch' (Singeling 1991: 202–8). In the same vein, Balthasar Huydecoper, himself a playwright, wrote the *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde* (1730; *Sketch of Linguistics and Poetics*), a linguistic and poetic commentary on Vondel, who was considered the great poet of the so-called Dutch Golden Age, the seventeenth-century period of economic and cultural wealth. By discussing and commenting on Vondel's language, Huydecoper's *Proeve* presented preferred linguistic variants. The commentary therefore was a typical instance of language cultivation or codification and functioned as a helpful model in the societies (see also Vries 2001: 87–96, 148–53; Kloek and Mijnhardt 2004: 405–7). The poetic societies aimed to improve the standard of Dutch poetry, and women could participate by submitting their anonymous contributions to the competitions

organized on a regular basis or by asking for comments on their poetry on other occasions (Oostrum 1996: 14; Vries 1999: 190–2; Baar-de Weerd 2009: 183–4).

Commenting on poetry and discussing linguistic norms and grammar rules have been closely related since the second half of the seventeenth century, as is clearly shown, for instance, in the case of Joannes Vollenhove (1631–1708), who commented extensively on linguistic issues in his poem *Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers* (1686; *To the Dutch Writers*). In the 1760s, drafts of grammars were published as appendices to collections of poems by two members of the poetic society Natura et Arte: Kornelis Elzevier (1717–1761) and Frans de Haes (1708–1761). These are convincing examples of grammar serving literature (Rutten 2009: 59). Although women became members of poetic societies, they do not seem to have been involved in any grammatical enterprise, although they did contribute to the societies' publications of poetry and wrote about public affairs such as religion, nation, and morals (Vries 1999; Baar-de Weerd 2009: 170). In 1800, large poetic societies, based in Leiden, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam, merged into a national society under the title of Bataafsche Maatschappij van Taal- en Dichtkunde (Batavian Society of Linguistics and Poetics), which had a mixed reflective-poetic character and was less welcoming to female members (Vries 1999: 212). One of the exceptions was the philosopher and poet Johannes Kinker (1764–1845) who, as President of the Amsterdam department of the Bataafsche Maatschappij, welcomed women into the audience when papers were presented.

We may conclude that women could play a less marginal role in the literary societies than they did in the chambers of rhetoric, although they remained a small minority and only participated in the poetic societies. Between 1772 and 1800, only forty-five women were members, compared to the *c.*1,700 men (Vries 1999).[1]

8.1.3 The grammatical tradition: Authors and readership

Looking at the professions of linguistic authors in the early and late modern periods, the number of clergymen is striking. The mid-seventeenth century *Aanmerkingen op de Neederduitsche taale* (1653; *Remarks on the Dutch Language*) was a grammar written by minister Petrus Leupenius (1607–1670). In the first decade of the eighteenth century an extensive Dutch grammar, *Nederduitsche spraekkunst* (1706), was published by minister Arnold Moonen (1644–1711), and a small stylistic grammar, *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche taal* (1703; *Introduction to the Dutch Language*), by his colleague Jacobus Nylöe (1670–1714).[2] Both authors were well acquainted with Joannes Vollenhove,

[1] On the position of women in general in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Kloek and Mijnhardt (2004: 219–41).

[2] Other authors of linguistic treatises were the ministers Samuel Ampzing (1590–1632), Geeraert Brandt (1626–1685), and Joshua van Iperen (1726–1781). Among the authors of grammars there were also merchants such as Allart Kok (1616–1653).

mentioned above, who was also a minister, and with David van Hoogstraten (1658–1724), vice-principal of a Latin school, and author of the frequently reprinted *Aenmerkingen over de geslachten der zelfstandige naemwoorden* (1700; *Remarks on the Gender of Nouns*), a useful list of Dutch nouns with their masculine, feminine, or neuter gender classification. Van Hoogstraten commented on preliminary versions of Moonen's grammar and edited the third impression of Nylöe's grammar. What we see here is a network of well-educated people who encouraged one another to publish on the Dutch language. A relative outsider was Willem Séwel (1654–1720), translator, and author of successful dictionaries and grammars for foreigners, who published his *Nederduytsche spraakkonst* (*Dutch Grammar*) in 1708. About a century later, ministers were once again the authors of two highlights in the codification of Dutch: the official Dutch orthography (1804) by Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774–1854; Professor of Dutch Language at the University of Leiden from 1797), and the official Dutch grammar (1805) by Petrus Weiland (1754–1841). Both works were written at the request of the government and intended to be implemented in the administration and in education. Linguistic publications of quite another character are represented by Lambert ten Kate's *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (1723; *Introduction to the Elevated Part of the Dutch Language*), an extraordinary comparative-historical linguistic study by a man of leisure, and the above-mentioned *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde* (1730) by Huydecoper, a literary writer from a well-to-do family. The authors of linguistic publications thus appear to be mainly ministers, a male profession, or people of leisure, a category which in principle could include women, as we will see in sections 8.2 and 8.3.

Although Dutch grammars and orthographies show many similarities in their contents, the social and cultural context and, as a consequence, their function had changed considerably over the course of two centuries. This development has been characterized as a change from elitist grammar (in the second half of the seventeenth century until about 1740/1750) via civil grammar (from 1740/1750 until about 1780/1790) to national grammar in the long nineteenth century (see Rutten 2009). During the first period, grammatical works such as Moonen's and Séwel's grammars and Huydecoper's *Proeve* were mainly written for the urban upper classes of politicians, lawyers, preachers, and literary authors, and were used in the education of the cultural elite. At this stage, Dutch grammar presupposed knowledge of Latin or Greek. In the second period, as a consequence of democratic revolutions, the intended readership of mainstream grammars was enlarged and comprised both upper and middle classes and men as well as women. Knowledge of Latin or Greek was no longer required, as the grammars were rephrased in less classical vocabulary. Grammatical knowledge now distinguished the middle and upper classes from the lower classes (Rutten 2009: 58). The above-mentioned Elzevier and de Haes, who conducted their linguistic activities within the context of a literary society, were representatives of this democratizing development (Rutten 2009: 63). The third period shows a further extension of readership to

the whole population, as grammar became a matter of national concern. Weiland's grammar (1805) is a *national grammar* that was supposed to be used by the administration and by schoolteachers (Rutten 2009: 58). Grammar as a cultural phenomenon had changed from an elitist leisure activity, through a short period of civil responsibility, into a compulsory element of the school curriculum. The contents of linguistic publications were simplified, further systematized, refined, and sometimes reshaped in order to make grammar accessible to the extended audience (Rutten 2009: 83). Apart from one exception, Johanna Corleva (1698–1752), women did not play a role in the linguistic activities of any of the three periods, although they belonged to the implicitly intended readership of the second and third periods, that of civil and national grammar.

8.2 Knowledge of foreign languages: The polyglot and learned Anna Maria van Schurman

8.2.1 Foreign language study and the exclusion of women

Codification and Dutch linguistics constitute one part of the linguistic activities in the Netherlands. The other part is the knowledge and study of foreign languages, first of the various classical languages, but also of oriental and rediscovered languages. In the second half of the sixteenth century, at the University of Leiden, illustrious scholars such as Professors Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614), Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597), and Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) were discussing their relatively new discoveries of the hitherto mostly unknown Gothic and Persian languages in their correspondence and their Latin publications (Wal 1999: 148–50). During the seventeenth century, Leiden remained a centre of oriental language study conducted by professors such as Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), from 1613 Professor of Arabic and Oriental Languages, and his pupil and successor Jacobus Golius (1596–1667), who held the Chair of Mathematics as well as that of Arabic (Juynboll 1931; Zwiep 1993). Erpenius published grammars of Semitic languages (Arabic, Hebrew, Chaldean and Syriac) such as the frequently reprinted *Grammatica Arabica* (1613), *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae* (1620), *Grammatica Ebraea generalis* (1621), and the *Grammatica Chaldaica et Syria* (1628).[3] His colleague, the famous philologist and theologian Claudius Salmasius (1588–1654), was also familiar with Syrian, Arabic, and Persian, albeit not thoroughly (Juynboll 1931: 195–6). Students such as, for instance, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) became familiar with the new linguistic knowledge and ideas (Wal 1999). Women, however, could not enrol at a university

[3] A new edition of his *Grammatica Arabica* was published, with considerable additions, by Golius in 1656.

and were therefore denied access to academic knowledge. They did not even attend the Latin schools, which were the preparatory stage of academic study (see Frijhoff and Spies 2004: 243–6).

Women thus remained outsiders who were able to learn and study languages only by alternative means, such as teaching by family members or private tutors. Early modern examples are the poet Margaretha van Godewijck (1627–1677) and Elisabeth Hoofman (1664–1736), both members of well-to-do families (Kloek 2013: 408–9, 580–3). Margaretha, referred to as the pearl of the town of Dordrecht, was familiar with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, English, and Italian, languages which she was probably taught by her father, Pieter Govertszoon van Godewijck (1593–1669), teacher at the Latin school. Elisabeth Hoofman received private tuition in the classical languages from Jacob Storm, preceptor of the Haarlem Latin school. How painter Maria Verelst (1680–1744), living in London and a member of a family of painters of Dutch origin, acquired her proficiency in foreign languages is not known, but she was said to have given a strikingly apt multilingual response to German gentlemen who discussed her appearance in a London theatre (Hut 2014). She commented on their private remarks in German, responded again when they switched to Italian and Latin, and concluded:

> Waarom zouden de heren meer bevoorrecht zijn om de Latijnse taal te bezitten als de vrouwen? En is het niet genoeg om onze sekse buiten alle publieke digniteiten te hebben uitgesloten, zonder die nog daarenboven buiten de taalkunde te willen sluiten? (Weyerman 1729: 254)
>
> (Why should gentlemen have the greater privilege of possessing the Latin language than women? And does it not suffice to have excluded our sex from all public dignities, without excluding us from linguistics?)

Being able to speak and write in Latin or even in Greek is one thing; contributing to classical philology and foreign-language scholarship is another matter. In the contemporary context, could we assume that any early or late modern woman would be capable of such scholarly linguistic contributions? In the seventeenth century, one woman did not accept the exclusion of females from high-level knowledge and scholarship: the multitalented miracle of learnedness, Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678; Figure 8.1).

8.2.2 Anna Maria van Schurman: Biographical details and education

Anna Maria van Schurman was born in the city of Cologne in 1607 where her grandparents on her father's and mother's side, both of noble families, had settled

Figure 8.1 Anna Maria van Schurman, *Self-Portrait* (1640). Reproduced with kind permission of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

after having fled from religious persecution in Antwerp in the late sixteenth century.[4] Although the city of Cologne had been a refuge for non-Catholics in the past, her parents Frederik van Schurman (1564–1623) and Eva von Harff (d. 1637) married in 1602 in the underground church of the Reformed Congregation, where van Schurman and her three brothers were later baptized in secret. When the religious climate for Protestants further deteriorated, the Schurman family moved to the Netherlands between 1613 and 1615, where they settled in the city of Utrecht (Baar 2004: 111). This was the town where she lived for most of her life and where she became famous in the Netherlands and in Europe. To the surprise of many admirers, she spent her last years among the Labadists, a radical Protestant community under the leadership of Jean de Labadie (1610–1674). As a member of this community, she died at the age of 70 in 1678 in the Frisian village of Wieuwerd. She had remained single, having made a promise of celibacy to her father on his deathbed.

[4] We owe the biographical details to Beek (2010a) and Kloek (2013: 345–8). We refer in particular to Beek (2010a) for extensive information on Anna Maria van Schurman's life and work.

Anna Maria van Schurman was of noble birth and her parents gave her, just like their sons, an excellent education which was not limited to French and the female artistic activities usual for her rank, such as painting, paper cutting, embroidery, and engraving. Having noticed her talents, her father taught her Latin and Greek, theology, history, geography, and mathematics. She achieved a high level of competence in the classical languages, which in principle allowed her access to the world of learning from which women were usually excluded; but how could she in practice enter scholarly and literary circles? Male mentors were indispensable: her father, her brother Johan Godschalk (1605–1664), and the poet and civil servant Jacob Cats (1577–1660), with whom she exchanged letters from 1622 until his death. It has been argued that van Schurman even owed her fame and the firm position she acquired in Dutch cultural circles largely to her contact with Cats, who praised her learning in his own widely popular *oeuvre*. This praise would have resulted in correspondences with the poets Jacobus Revius (1586–1658), Daniël Heinsius (1580–1655), Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), and Constantijn Huygens (1596–1686). Via her brother, who studied medicine, she easily came into contact with professors at the University of Franeker, but she also initiated correspondence on various topics with the Leiden Professor of Theology, André Rivet (1572–1651; Beek 2010a: 27). However, her most influential mentor over a long period was Gijsbertus Voetius (1589–1676), minister and Professor of Theology and Oriental Languages at the newly founded University of Utrecht. Not only did he give her private lectures in theology and Greek, and permit her to use his extensive library, but, most importantly, he also allowed her to follow his lectures at the university behind a screen from where she was invisible to male students.

8.2.3 The polyglot Anna Maria van Schurman

Van Schurman was proficient in French, German, and English, and she had a profound knowledge of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Syrian, and Ethiopian. Dutch and German were her home languages for daily matters; for the world of learning she wrote in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. She was taught Latin and Greek by her father, but how did she acquire Hebrew and the other oriental languages?

Leiden was a centre for oriental languages, as we discussed in section 8.2.1, and grammars of these languages had been published by Leiden scholars and by others abroad. These grammars and many other standard works such as dictionaries and philological commentaries in the field of Semitic languages were to be found in Voetius's library. Voetius, who himself was first and foremost a theologian and did not publish on Semitic languages, must have successfully introduced van Schurman to the world of oriental languages, but he was not familiar with

Ethiopian. Yet this language had already drawn her attention in 1637, although hardly any books and no grammars of it were available at that time (Beek 2010a: 83–7). In some way or another, she became an autodidact in Ethiopian (and Samaritan; Beek 2010b) and must have succeeded in mastering the Ethiopian language through biblical texts and commentaries to such a degree that she was able to write an Ethiopian grammar in Latin.[5] This grammar was finished in 1648, when the young student Job Ludolf visited her, as did many others who had heard of her fame and learning. Unfortunately, the grammar and her other work on Ethiopian seem to have been lost (Beek 2010b).[6] All that is left are quotes in her correspondence and multilingual contributions to various *alba amicorum*. Consequently, we cannot assess her possible contribution to the study of oriental languages, and we do not know how much of her work was integrated into Ludolf's Ethiopian grammar and description of Ethiopia, published in 1661, a publication which earned him the title of father of Ethiopian studies.

Reflecting on her linguistic activities, we may wonder what drove van Schurman to pursue such profound linguistic studies. We should stress that she was also very much involved in theology and philosophy and discussed theological and moral issues with both male scholars and learned women of her national and international correspondence networks (Beek 2010a: 108–99; see also Baar 2004). Many of them, including Queen Catharine of Sweden, also came to visit her in Utrecht in order to meet this exceptionally learned woman themselves.[7] Van Beek (2010a: 7–8) rightly stresses that, with her correspondence, she became a member of the international circle of scholars who communicated mostly in Latin, sometimes in Greek or Hebrew, and crossed boundaries of mother tongue, religion, social status, and nationality. Her international fame had spread widely after the publication of her Latin eulogy on the University of Utrecht (1636) and her *Dissertatio de ingenii muliebris ad doctrinam & meliores litteras aptitudine* (1641; *A Treatise on the Aptitude of the Female Spirit for Science and Arts*). In the eulogy she addressed the exclusion of women from academic study. Shortly after publication, she herself was permitted by the University of Utrecht to follow lectures and thus became the first female university student in the Netherlands (Beek 2010a: 55–8). The *Dissertatio*, the follow-up to a discussion with the Leiden Professor André Rivet, is characterized as a treatise on women's right to academic study (Beek 2010a). Subsequently, her correspondence with Rivet was published in French under the title of *Question celebre. S'il est necessaire, ou non, que les filles*

[5] Ethiopian was included in the multilingual Bibles from 1645 onward (Beek 2010a: 83).

[6] Her Ethiopian handwritten manuscripts fell into the hands of Johannes Mayer from Greifswald, according to the printed catalogue of his library, but these papers have not yet been traced (Beek 2010b).

[7] Pieta van Beek (2010a: 194) notes that the royal visits followed a set pattern: 'However learned and literate the women might have been, they were surrounded by learned men who acted as their spokesmen, who questioned Van Schurman and compiled an account of the visit'.

soient sçavantes (1646; *Famous Question: Whether it is Necessary or Not for Girls to Be Learned*), and her *Dissertatio* was published in an English translation in 1659, entitled *The Learned Maid; or, Whether a Maid May Be a Scholar*. Another publication that reached an international audience was her *Opuscula Hebraea Graeca Latina et Gallica* (1648; *Minor Work in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French*), which comprised her multilingual correspondence and other work.

Returning to the issue of her motivation for her extensive linguistic studies, we note that van Schurman specialists identify the desire for a better understanding of the Bible as the driving force behind her linguistic studies (Baar 2004: 111; Beek 2010a: 64, 87). That is in line with her own arguments on the aim of female scholarship in her *Dissertatio*. Further confirmation of this hypothesis is said to be found in the sequence of the languages on the pages of her multilingual *album amicorum*. These always start with Hebrew as the most honourable language, followed by related languages such as Aramaic, Syrian, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopian, and, finally, where they are present, Greek and Latin (Beek 2010a: 87). However, we question whether learning languages was purely a holy duty. If that had been the case, would she have regretted the time spent in learning so many languages, as reported in her autobiography *Eukleria*, by the end of her life?[8] We would rather argue that she was continually fascinated by the secrets of foreign languages and that it was this fascination combined with her amazing talents that drove her to her language studies. Her interest was also not limited to Bible-related languages, as appears from the Persian, Japanese, and Siamese characters she received from the theologian Andreas Colvius (*c.*1594–1671; Beek 2010a: 82, 85–6). Could she have felt the need to justify her studies by stressing a religious aim?

As discussed above, Anna Maria did not leave any scholarly linguistic contribution, apart from the lost Ethiopian grammar. Nor did she contribute in any way to the standardization of Dutch. When she encouraged the Utrecht Professor of Oriental Languages Johannes Leusden (1624–1699) to publish a Dutch handbook for learning Hebrew (Zwiep 1993: 45–50; Beek 2010a: 219), her request should not be interpreted as a plea for the vernacular's elaboration of function, that is, for the extended use of the Dutch language (instead of Latin) in the field of scholarship. Her only concern was to make a Hebrew manual available for women who did not know Latin. Leusden's *Korte Hebreuse Grammatica of Taal-konst* (*Concise Hebrew Grammar*), published in 1668, together with a Hebrew–Latin–Dutch dictionary, provided these women with access to Hebrew. Leusden even explicitly referred to the 'vele Jongedochters' ('numerous young ladies') all over the country's provinces, who were wasting their talents studying French, Spanish, and

[8] *Eukleria seu Melioris Partis Electio* was published in 1673. The Dutch translation *Eucleria of Uitkiezing van het Beste Deel* followed in 1684. The title *Eukleria or Choosing the Best Part* refers to Luke 10:38–42 and to her joining the Labadists (Beek 2010a: 233).

English 'uyt curieusheyt' (Zwiep 1993: 45–50; 'just for the fun of it'). It is in the eighteenth century that we find a woman who was interested in cultivating the Dutch language and contributed to its codification by compiling a Dutch dictionary. This woman was Johanna Corleva.

8.3 Johanna Corleva

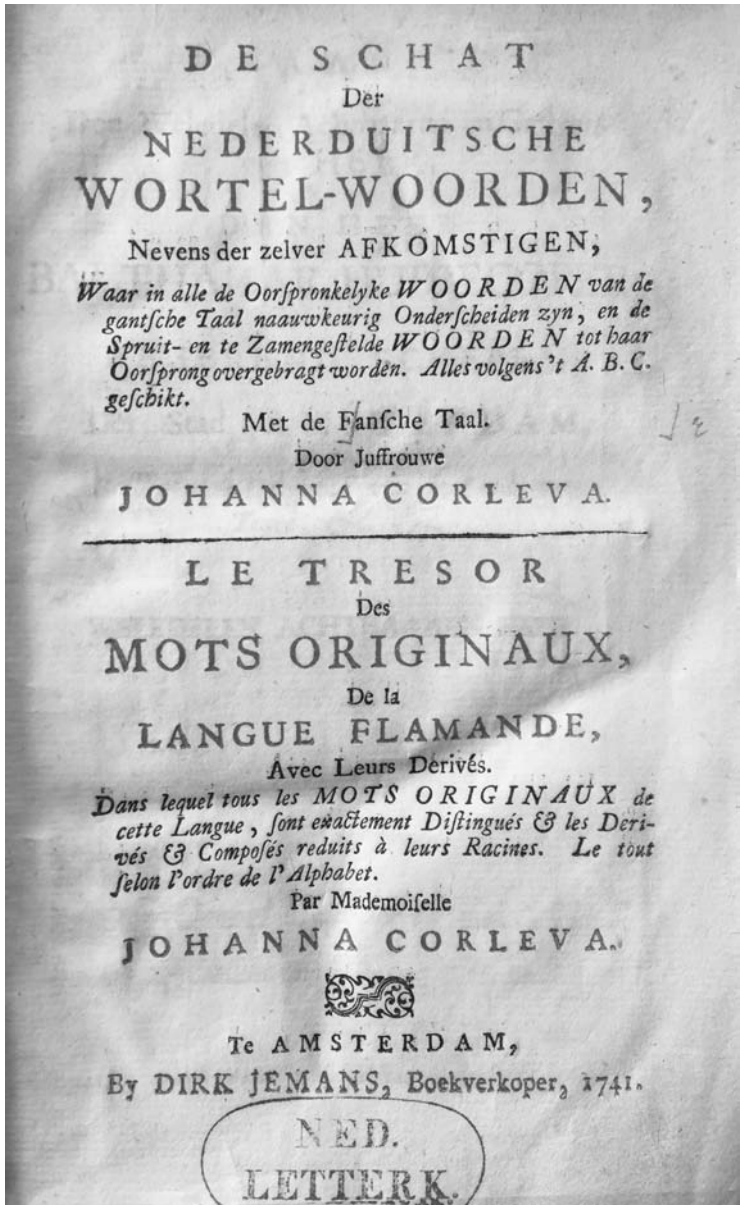
8.3.1 A short biography

There is so little information concerning the life of 'Juffrouwe' or 'Mademoiselle' Johanna Corleva that almost all the evidence we have can be summarized in just a few lines.[9] Johanna Corleva was baptized on 8 October 1698 in the Reformed Zuider Kerk (South Church) in Amsterdam. Dead at the age of 54, on 16 November 1752 she was buried in the Amsterdam Nieuwe Kerk ('New Church') as 'bejaarde dogter', which means that she had remained single all of her life. An 18-year-old orphan from Cologne, Johanna's mother, Anna Catrijna Tessemaker, married Lourens Corleva in the same Nieuwe Kerk on 12 January 1698. Lourens, who was born in the city of Delft in 1670, earned his living as an embroiderer. Corleva's profession is not noted in any official record of which we are aware. At any rate, she must have been well educated, for she was acquainted with French, Latin, and Greek, as will become clear. It is not known whether she was a member of a local or a national literary society.

The year 1740 saw the publication of Corleva's Dutch translation of the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* written by Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) and Claude Lancelot (*c.*1615–1695) and published in 1660. This very first translation of the well-known *Port-Royal Grammar* appeared under the title of *Algemeene en geredeneerde spraakkonst* and was indirectly based on the second edition (1664) of this grammar. As the title page informs us, the book was 'printed for the translator', and it could be obtained in Amsterdam at Jacobus Loveringh's. This means that Corleva herself paid for the printing of this work.

The following year she published *De schat der Nederduitsche wortel-woorden* (*The Treasure of Dutch Root Words*; Figure 8.2), which also bears the French title of *Le Trésor des mots originaux, de la langue Flamande*. This dictionary was dedicated to Balthasar Huydecoper (1695–1778), an alderman of the city of Amsterdam and an influential man of letters (see section 8.1.3). It is interesting to see that in the *Trésor* the bookseller informed his customers at the end of the book that he had in print several of Corleva's other books 'pertaining to the perfection of the Languages'. Among them were both a *Fransche letter-konst*

[9] Section 8.3 is mainly based on Noordegraaf (1994).



DE SCHAT
Der
NEDERDUITSCHE
WORTEL-WOORDEN,
Nevens der zelver AFKOMSTIGEN,
Waar in alle de Oorſpronkelyke WOORDEN van de gantſche Taal naauwkeurig Onderſcheiden zyn, en de Spruit- en te Zamengeſtelde WOORDEN tot haar Oorſprong overgebragt worden. Alles volgens 't A. B. C. geſchikt.
Met de Fanſche Taal.
Door Juffrouwe
JOHANNA CORLEVA.

LE TRESOR
Des
MOTS ORIGINAUX,
De la
LANGUE FLAMANDE,
Avec Leurs Derivés.
Dans lequel tous les MOTS ORIGINAUX de cette Langue, ſont exactement Diſtingués & les Derivés & Compoſés reduits à leurs Racines. Le tout ſelon l'ordre de l'Alphabet.
Par Mademoiſelle
JOHANNA CORLEVA.

Te AMSTERDAM,
By DIRK JEMANS, Boekverkoper, 1741.

Figure 8.2 Johanna Corleva, *De schat der Nederduitsche wortel-woorden* (1741), title page, which also bears the French title of *Le Trésor des mots originaux, de la langue Flamande*.

Photograph by the authors. Reproduced courtesy of the University Library Leiden.

(*French Grammar*) and a *Nieuwe Nederduitsche spraakkonst* (*New Dutch Grammar*), both based on the principles of the general grammar already published, a Dutch rhyming dictionary, and the complete philosophical works of the French philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647–1706; Bayle had lived in Rotterdam from 1681 onward), which by then had already been translated in full by Corleva from French and Latin into Dutch.

As far as we know, the books announced by the bookseller never appeared in print and to date none of Corleva's manuscripts have been traced. Only two of her letters written to Huydecoper in 1740 have been preserved (Noordegraaf 1994: 188–90). The letters written by 'Madame Johanna Corleva' to the Swedish scholar and visionary Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), who was a frequent resident of Amsterdam, 'have entirely disappeared' (Tafel 1890: 881; see also Hobart 1831: 127).

8.3.2 Towards 'the perfection of the mother tongue'

In the late 1730s Johanna Corleva must have been quite active, translating and composing a number of books in the field of grammar, lexicography, and philosophy. As it appears, her ultimate motive was to improve contemporary language usage by opening up new paths, that is, by facilitating the learning of 'onzer schoone en heerlyke moedertaale' ('our fair and glorious mother tongue'), as her venerated Huydecoper had once put it in the introduction to one of his plays, *Achilles* (Huydecoper 1964 [1719]: 28). From the dedication to Huydecoper in *De schat der Nederduitsche wortel-woorden* and the introduction to this dictionary, it becomes clear that Corleva was concerned about the proper usage of the Dutch language. She felt confirmed in this by Huydecoper who had complained that it was a great shame that, at a time when it was easy to achieve the perfection of the mother tongue, publications still appeared written in unpolished Dutch. Those who are writing, Huydecoper said, are 'kent zelfs de taal niet, in de welke men schryft' (Huydecoper 1964 [1719]: 28; 'not even properly acquainted with the language they use'). Pointing to 'de noodtzakelykheit van zyn eigen Taal, en alle andere in welke men onderneemt te Schryven, wel te kennen' ('the necessity of having a thorough knowledge of the language which one is to employ'), Corleva (1741: *6v) quoted in full Huydecoper's lamentation of the deplorable language usage of his day, referring also to his appeal to a well-known passage in Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux's (1636–1711) *Art poétique* of 1674 (*Art of Poetry*, Chant I, ll. 155–62). Finally, after having characterized, with conventional modesty, her own work as just a rough outline, Corleva expressed the wish that 'vernuftiger verstanden, en letterkundiger geleerden, iets beters in 't licht brengen zullen, om onze moedertaal te volmaken' (1741: *7r; 'more ingenious minds and

scholars of greater literacy should publish something better as to the perfection of our mother tongue').

It is safe to conclude that Corleva was engaged in the advancement of cultivated Dutch and as such, just like Huydecoper, she was part of a broader movement that was to dominate the eighteenth-century study of the Dutch language to a large extent and that culminated in an official language codification many years later. The first decades of the nineteenth century saw not only the publication of an eleven-volume Dutch dictionary compiled by the Rotterdam minister Pieter Weiland (1754–1842) but also Weiland's Dutch grammar (1805) and the publication of Siegenbeek's treatise on orthography (1804; see section 8.1.3).

8.3.3 A general grammar and a particular dictionary

By translating the celebrated *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*, Corleva linked up with earlier linguistic activities, namely those in the 1670s of the Amsterdam society Nil Volentibus Arduum (see section 8.1.2). Its members are known to have been highly interested not only in science and literature but also in grammar. In 1671, one of Nil's most distinguished members, Lodewijk Meyer (1629–1681), a Cartesian philosopher and a friend of Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–1677), was commissioned to write a 'Grammatica Generalis'. Although Meyer was reading for his Nil audience from chapters of his *Algemeene spraakkonst* (*General Grammar*) as late as 1677, the book never appeared in print. In 1671, other members of the society started working on a *Nederduitsche grammatica* (*Dutch Grammar*), which was modelled on the 'Grammatica Generalis'. Only the first three chapters of its first part were published in 1728 (Noordegraaf 1996a: 96–7).

In 1672, Meyer's *Italiaansche spraakkonst* (*Italian Grammar*) appeared anonymously. This grammar was based on the same principles as the *Nederduitsche grammatica*. In his introduction Meyer made it clear that the Italian grammar should be considered a derivative of the general grammar. As to the 'bezondere Reegelen aangaande de Italiaansche Taale' ([Meyer] 1672: *3v; 'special rules concerning the Italian tongue'), Meyer consulted such works as Lancelot's *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre la langue Italienne* (1660; *New Method for Learning the Italian Language*). The attempts by Nil to produce a general grammar as a basis for grammars of other languages such as Dutch and Italian may have been inspired by the Port-Royal grammarians who adopted a similar approach (in their Greek, Latin, Spanish, and Italian methods). De Boer (2012: 86) indicates that the *Port-Royal Grammar* and Meyer's *Italiaansche spraakkonst* were indeed written in the same theoretical framework. However, he concluded that there was no question of direct influence of one on the other. Be this as it may, it is clearly stated that Corleva's *Fransche letter-konst* as well as her *Nieuwe Nederduitsche spraakkonst*, works which have remained unpublished, were based on the principles of the general grammar which had already

been published: 'Een Fransche Letter-Konst, uit de vermaardste Letterkundigen vergadert, met een geduurig toezigt en opmerking tot de Algemeene Spraakkonst, die reeds in 't Nederduitsch gedrukt is' ('A French grammar, compiled from the most famous literary authors, with continuous attention to the General Grammar, which has already been printed in Dutch') as the bookseller noted in the end matter to the *Trésor* (Corleva 1741: [799]). Thus, we may conclude that Corleva was closer to Port-Royal than Meyer was.

The translation of the *Grammaire* into Dutch is not impeccable. Without going into details here, we would like to point out that Corleva seems to have stuck rather closely to the French original, which at times results in Gallicisms or unclear phrases in the Dutch version. An example is her literal translation of French *venir de*, which refers to the past, whereas the Dutch, *komen te*, refers to the future. In other passages, phrases have been omitted or words have been translated incorrectly. In short, the Dutch translation is marred by a number of (minor) inaccuracies.

Furthermore, it is interesting to see what grammatical terminology was used. From the sixteenth century onward, due to puristic concerns, it had become more and more common to use Dutch equivalents of Latin terminology, the terms as such not yet being fixed. In Corleva's translation we find only Dutch terms. It appears that she was rather eclectic in her choices and did not borrow her terminology from any single Dutch grammar. We should also note that she did not always remain consistent in her use of terminology. For example, the technical term *casus* ('case') is translated both as *naamval* and *geval* (Corleva 1740: 50–1).

Corleva's dictionary, *De schat der Nederduitsche wortel-woorden*, consists of two parts: following the dedication to Huydecoper and an introduction of equal length, pages 1–736 contain the dictionary proper, including the 'root words', derivations, and compounds; pages 737–97 present the approximately 3,300 primitives once more in a separate section entitled 'Verzameling van alle de Nederduitsche wortel-woorden, van welke alle de andere woorden, zoo wel de afkomstige als de t'zamengestelde, afvloeijen' (Corleva 1741: 737; 'a collection of all Dutch root words from which all other words flow, both derivatives and compounds').

As is not uncommon in lexicographical practice, Corleva was much indebted to a work of one of her predecessors, namely the *Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche taalen, Uit het gebruik der beste schryveren, met hulpe van voornaame taalkundigen, opgesteld* (*Dictionary of the Dutch and French Languages, Compiled from the Usage of the Best Authors with the Assistance of Important Linguists*), compiled by François Halma (1653–1722). A first edition of this Dutch–French dictionary appeared in 1710. Although Corleva never refers to Halma, it has been demonstrated convincingly that, as far as the actual lexicon is concerned, the *Schat* is completely based on Halma's work. Corleva literally takes head words, examples, and translations of passages from Halma (see Brakel 2010 for details).

The *sui generis* character of Corleva's dictionary has to do with a different aspect of this work. Although the words were arranged in the usual alphabetical order, the *Schat* distinguishes itself from other dictionaries insofar as it only briefly

mentions the various meanings of each Dutch word in French, leaving out the 'overvloedige en byna onnodige menigte' ('abundant and almost superfluous number') of phrases and expressions other contemporary dictionaries typically gave (Corleva 1741: *5r). Furthermore, all primitives or root words were marked by capitals, and brought together in a separate section at the end of the book. This was something novel, Corleva felt: it was 'van een gansch Nieuwe Wyze' (Corleva 1741: *5r; 'a completely new manner/method'). Struck by the regularity and productivity of word formation in Dutch, she believed that it was feasible to know the Dutch language in full by learning only a limited number of words, thus 'behoeft men buitendezelve niet te gaan' (Corleva 1741: *5v; 'one does not need to go outside the Dutch language'), that is, without using loanwords. Claiming that this approach was new for a Dutch dictionary, Corleva acknowledged that in this matter she had followed the method applied by the Dutch scholar Cornelius Schrevelius (1608–1664) in his *Lexicon manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum* (1654; *Concise Greek–Latin and Latin–Greek Dictionary*). In the same manner, she said, the French Academy in its 1694 dictionary of the French language had managed to reduce many thousands of words to a very small number.

Corleva's introduction includes several basic morphological insights but definitely not something constituting an explicit morphological theory. For reasons of space we will not go into further details. It must suffice to say that Corleva's originality lies in the fact that she applied the method found in Schrevelius's Greek dictionary to lexicographical material provided by Halma.

8.3.4 The lightness of this method

In the 'Voorreden' ('Introduction') the author claimed that her dictionary was most useful both for Dutch speakers seeking to learn French and for French speakers seeking to learn Dutch. Young people and those who were acquainted with the Dutch language would find it easy to use.

Seasoned language teachers will recognize Corleva's situation. As always, the method of learning a new language was a pedagogical problem, and an appropriate method could help shorten the job of learning the rules of grammar and the vocabulary of a language, that is, relieve the burden of memory. Hence Corleva's outspoken claim of 'the lightness' of her method. What she must have had in mind was the idea that anyone who had learnt the rules laid down in the general grammar could master the grammar of a particular language efficiently, and that anyone who had learned the root words of a language could quickly form all other words of that same language. It is this underlying idea that is the link between Corleva's grammatical and lexicographical work.

One could argue, then, that in Corleva's work the morphological principle of analogy which reigned in the lexicon and which generated an endless number of

new words had been given a much broader scope and had been extended to the domain of grammar. Thus, as a generative principle active in several domains, it embraced both areas. If this assumption is correct, that is, if the underlying principle of analogy in Corleva applied to much more than just morphology, as it did in the teachings of the Dutch *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, it could be argued that her conception of it comes close to the Cartesian doctrine of innate ideas.[10] However, as she did not produce any theoretical discussions, we must leave it at these tentative remarks on what seems to be an interesting theoretical perspective.

8.3.5 At the vanishing point

Corleva's lexicographical work did not apparently earn her a great reputation; for more than a hundred years ago the Dutch polyhistor Taco de Beer (1892: 418) noted that her dictionary, which presented a 'modest overview of eighteenth-century Dutch' ('een bescheiden overzicht van de taal der 18e eeuw'), was 'not so generally known' ('niet zoo algemeen bekend'). It is striking that De Beer did not notice the extent to which Corleva was indebted to Halma. Why her 1741 dictionary had so little success is something we can only surmise. Obviously, it suffered in the competition with other already more or less established dictionaries such as Halma's; his work saw reprint after reprint in the eighteenth century. This lack of success could explain why Corleva's other works that were ready for the press in 1741 ultimately did not appear in print. At any rate, her merits in the field of lexicography must mainly be seen from a didactic perspective.

Corleva's association with Port-Royal's activities in the field of grammar is a modest chapter in the history of so-called 'Cartesian linguistics'. Evidently, the translation of the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* had a rather limited circulation, since traces of its reception in eighteenth-century Dutch linguistics are hard to find. Copies of the *Algemeene Spraakkonst* are listed in several auction catalogues, but there is just one physical copy extant today. We could add that, concerning their philosophy of language, the leading eighteenth-century Dutch schools of linguistics, namely the *Schola Hemsterhusiana* and the *Schola Schultensiana*, showed a penchant for a more empirical approach, which resulted in what has been called 'inductive rationalism' (Noordegraaf 1996b). Thus, the contemporary 'French connection' of Dutch linguistics has at a metatheoretical level much more to do with the 'linguistique condillacienne' (Joly 1970: 28; 'the linguistics of Condillac') than with Port-Royal. Consequently, the *Algemeene spraakkonst* and its author disappeared for a long time from the collective memory.

[10] See Noordegraaf (1996b) for the *Schola Hemsterhusiana*, an eighteenth-century group of Dutch classical scholars, consisting of Tiberius Hemsterhuis (1685–1766) and some of his pupils who followed his approach in the study of Greek.

8.4 Female activities in education

8.4.1 Women as teachers?

Johanna Corleva was interested in a light method of learning languages. So far, we have only touched on the field of formal education, although schools and school manuals must have played a role in various aspects of the linguistic tradition, in particular in the transmission of Dutch language norms and the learning of foreign languages. In this section we will give a brief overview of the school system and its changes from the sixteenth until the first decades of the twentieth century. We will discuss the training of teachers and examine whether women contributed to the series of reading, writing, and foreign-language manuals that have been published for centuries.

Apart from private tuition, education in the early and late modern periods took place at three types of school: the elementary Dutch schools, the secondary French schools, and the Latin schools. Dutch schools offered tuition in elementary skills such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. A broader range of topics such as history, geography, French, bookkeeping, and calligraphy were available at the French schools, whereas the Latin schools prepared their pupils for university by teaching classical languages according to the *trivium* and *quadrivium* system (Boekholt and de Booy 1987; Kloek and Mijnhardt 2004: 244–50). Who were the teachers at these different types of schools? A few teachers at Latin schools, all male, have already been mentioned in the previous sections. In the sixteenth century, quite a few women taught in the metropolis of Antwerp, as we know from the archives of the local teachers' guild (Haar 2015). A few women are known to have assisted their fathers or brothers in teaching, for instance the poet Anna Bijns (1493–1575), who initially assisted her brother, but at the age of 43 started her own school, as demonstrated by her official registration in the teachers' guild (Kloek 2013: 113). Maria Strick-Becq (1577–post-1625), educated by her father Casper Becq, taught at his Dutch and French school in the town of Delft and directed this school after his death in 1606; later she directed a French school in Rotterdam. Maria Strick was a skilled calligrapher, trained by the famous writing masters Felix van Sambix (*c.*1533–1642) and Jan van den Velde (1568–1623). She produced four manuals with writing models not only in Dutch but also in French, German, English, Italian, and Spanish (Kloek 2013: 270–2). Magdalena Valery (*c.*1573–*c.*1625), daughter of a notary, initiated a French school for girls in the town of Leiden in 1599. She also published *La Montaigne des pucelles / Den maeghden-bergh* (1599; *The Mountain of Young Girls*), a conversation manual with French and Dutch dialogues (Haar 2015).

We may conclude that, apart from teaching, women were allowed to direct a school and that some of them actually did so. Apart from Maria Strick's manuals and Magdalena Valery's conversation manual, schoolbooks—whether for teachers

or for pupils—published up to 1800 were written by male authors, mainly teachers or directors of boarding schools.

At the start of the nineteenth century, education became a national responsibility (see section 8.1.3). Various educational reform acts were passed, which involved establishing a national school system and a national inspection scheme. A system of four teacher ranks was also introduced, for which ranks the teachers had to apply and demonstrate their skills (Essen 2006: 34–7). However, proper teacher-training colleges with public funding did not exist before 1815, the year in which such an institution under the direction of Pieter Prinsen (1777–1854) was established in the town of Haarlem. Prinsen had been a head teacher of the privately funded Nutskweekschool in the city of Groningen, a training college founded in 1797 by the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen (The Society for the Promotion of the Public Good). Apart from these two educational centres, training was provided by the so-called teachers societies, which arranged meetings of trainees and experienced teachers. Generally, most of the teaching was still learnt in practice; many trainee teachers combined working as a teaching assistant with studying for the rank examinations (Essen 2006: 39). Teaching learnt in practice was also what women did who worked in nursery schools, knitting schools, and French schools for girls, which offered a range of subjects with the emphasis on needlework and French. Women also had to apply for a teaching permit ('akte van toelating'), but, unlike male teachers, they only had to pass a simple examination held by a regional school inspector. An illustrative quotation on female teachers is to be found in one of the school inspection reports written by inspector Mulder, March 1813, in the village of Veendam:

> Marchien Pijlmer, een vrouw van een onbesproken gedrag, kunnende vrij goed spellen en lezen, doch haar schrijven is maar wat gemeen, doch aangezien hare acte van toelating of van examen alleen houd om a.b schrijven te leeren zoo kan het er nog wel door, voor het overige, is de vrouw vlijtig in het onderwijs, zeer streng in de schooltucht. (personal communication, Dr Bob Schoemaker)
>
> (Marchien Pijlmer, a woman of impeccable behaviour, can spell and read relatively well, although her writing is somewhat moderate, but as her admission permit only comprises teaching elementary writing, it may pass; for the rest, the woman is diligent in teaching, very strict in school discipline.)

Discipline and good conduct were obviously decisive elements.

Although a proposal for a public training college for female teachers was rejected in 1816, a scholarship scheme for girls was initiated in 1827, which allowed them to prepare for the teaching permit examination (Essen 2006: 48–54).[11] In the

[11] The proposal was submitted by Anna Barbera van Meerten-Schilperoort (1778–1853) and her husband minister and school inspector Hendrik van Meerten. Public funding was needed for a building and scholarships.

nineteenth century, women as school owners, directors, or teachers could be found in all regions: Froukje Herbig (1781–1857) started a school for girls in the Frisian town of Harlingen *c.*1810; Alberdina Woldendorp (1799–1835), who wrote a guide for female elementary school and needlework teachers, set up a needlework school in the town of Zwolle in 1832; Anna Louisa Antoinetta Büchner (1808–1860) was a teacher in Enschede and head of a French (boarding) school for girls in Zwolle; and Jacoba van Heijningen (1821–1900) was a director of schools in Velp and Zaandam (Essen 2014; Korevaart 2014; Los 2014; Parren 2014). After 1860 the number of female teachers increased considerably as a consequence of rising demand following the Freedom of Education Act of 1857. More public and private training colleges were established, including colleges for females, and more women were appointed at schools (see Essen 2006: 103–32).

Women were visible at elementary schools and secondary French schools, and they received proper training and were appreciated, but did they participate in discussions on education or contribute to the flow of schoolbooks published in the nineteenth century?[12] The education discussions in journals and teachers' societies were dominated by school inspectors and head teachers or directors of large schools who were often also authors of the most popular schoolbooks. We are not familiar with female authors, apart from Anna Barbera van Meerten-Schilperoort (1778–1853), whose long list of children's books include booklets for letter writing and for learning French and English (e.g. Meerten-Schilperoot 1813, 1830, 1860).[13] It is not even clear whether women became members of the teachers' societies which offered useful training and discussion. Apart from a single reference, we also do not know whether separate societies existed for female teachers.[14] Returning to the grammatical tradition, to date we have not found any female-authored books on the principles of Dutch orthography, on grammar, or on logical analysis, the new linguistic parsing approach of the second half of the nineteenth century.

8.4.2 'A long and winding road': Women in academia

In 1914 the well-respected and influential Groningen Professor of German Barend Sijmons (1853–1935) published a paper on 'Women and the Study of Language and Literature'. In the wake of *Die Psychologie der Frauen* (1910; *The Psychology of*

[12] In 1830, school inspector H. Wijnbeek, for instance, highly praised Anna Büchner, a teacher at a French school for girls in the town of Enschede. She was said to have both excellent teaching skills in German, Dutch, French, English, arithmetic, history, and geography, and a fine character; in particular her gentleness and virtuous conduct made her most suitable for the education of decent girls (Los 2014).

[13] See her *Woord-oefeningen op de letterkas, of De letterplanken voor jonge kinderen die nog niet schrijven, benevens aanleiding tot oefeningen voor meergevorderden in den briefstijl en het maken van schriftelijke opstellen* (1830), *Premier vocabulaire hollandais et français pour la jeunesse, suivi d'une journée de trois enfants, ou Petites conversations à la portée de la première enfance* (1813; various reprints), and *First Dutch and English Vocabulary for Young Beginners: Followed by Dialogues of Three Children.*

[14] Alberdina Woldendorp (1799–1835) is said to have played a lively role at the meetings of a society of female teachers in the town of Groningen (Essen 2014).

Women), written by his friend and colleague Gerard Heymans (1857–1930), Professor of Philosophy and Psychology at Groningen, Sijmons concluded that women were definitely no less talented than men with respect to the study of language and literature. However, their talents were to be found at a different level. Due to their feminine 'emotionaliteit' and 'levendige fantasiewerkzaamheid' (Sijmons 1914: 750; 'emotionality' and 'more lively imagination'), women students were certainly not inferior to their male colleagues; they were just 'different'. Women did not show the qualities required for doing pure linguistics (*taalwetenschap*) and philological research proper. Thus, Sijmons argued, women were lacking not so much the talents as the truly scholarly interest, the passion for doing independent research without any thoughts of a concrete practical purpose, whereas the average male student showed a greater capacity to think strictly logically and analytically. Sijmons did not use, as Heymans did, questionnaires to collect data for his hypothesis about gender-based psychological differences; instead he based his ideas on his experience with about a hundred female students with whom he had been in contact during the previous thirty years. It has indeed been remarked that his lectures attracted a crowd of young ladies.[15]

Undoubtedly, this high number of female students resulted from the fact that, due to various educational reforms in the nineteenth century, Dutch women had gained the opportunity to apply themselves to the study of modern foreign languages. In the new Higher Education Act of 1876, it was stipulated that 'French, English and High German' were to be taught at 'at least one university'. Before the introduction of this Act, the study of modern foreign languages at Dutch universities was regarded as just a practical skill. In the hope that its small university would draw a larger number of students, the Groningen city council promptly made funds available to appoint lecturers in modern foreign languages, one of them being the versatile Sijmons who was to take charge of both German and English in 1878. Thus, Groningen was the first Dutch university to have chairs in French, English, and German (for details, see Essen 1993).

It is important to note, however, that there was neither a Master's degree nor a doctorate that could be obtained in these fields. Thus, modern languages was not yet a fully-fledged academic subject, as Bosch (1994: 74) rightly argues. The courses in the Groningen department of modern languages were mainly followed by students who sought to qualify for a full-grade teacher's certificate; they had to sit for the national teacher examinations held once a year. This 'strange situation' (Wilde 1998: 110) lasted until 1921; then the University Statute was introduced, and it became possible to take academic exams in French, English, and German.

There were many women among these Groningen students, and the study of modern languages was therefore considered to be a typically female subject

[15] On Barend Sijmons, see the biography by Inge de Wilde (2007).

(Bosch 1994: 74). Although they did follow courses in philology and historical linguistics, they were meant to become schoolteachers, not scholars. Be this as it may, the number of students in the Groningen arts faculty did increase, from ten in 1877 to ninety-three in 1921 (Essen 1993: 92). After 1900, lecturers were appointed for modern foreign languages, charged with teaching practical language skills.[16] Among them was Dr Marie Elise Loke (1870–1916), the first female lecturer in any Dutch university. She was appointed as a lecturer in Modern French at the University of Groningen in 1907 (Wilde 1993; 1998: 134–60). Having attended a teacher-training college first, Marie Loke had taken various lower-grade teacher certificates. While working as a full-time teacher she took the intermediate certificate for French (*MO-A*) in 1897 and in 1900 the full-grade certificate (*MO-B*). In *c.*1903 she decided to prepare a doctoral dissertation, but as her *MO-B* certificate did not give access to a Dutch doctoral degree, Loke left for the University of Toulouse. Following an unpaid sabbatical leave in France and a supplementary examination in Modern French literature, she defended her doctoral thesis on *Les Versions néerlandaises de Renaud de Montauban* (*The Dutch Versions of the Renaud de Montauban*; 'mention très honorable', 'with highest honours') on 23 June 1906. Loke was the first Dutch woman to take a doctoral degree in a modern language and the first female *promovenda* in the Faculty of Arts in Toulouse.

It was a long and winding road that had brought Marie Loke to her position as a lector. The lector's salary was rather low, which caused three male scholars to refuse to accept the appointment (Wilde 1993: 15; Bosch 1994: 461). Evidently, for the unmarried Loke, the salary was no problem. As the *ordinarius* of French, Professor A. G. van Hamel (1842–1907), saw it, the task of a lector was limited to leading oral exercises and translating written exercises in order to familiarize the students with the practical use of the foreign idiom. To that end, 'eene geringe bezoldiging' ('a modest salary') will do (Hamel 1887: 250). He stressed that the real scholarly part of the courses, such as historical-comparative grammar, was to be presented by the professors themselves. So, in line with his Groningen colleagues, he had no objection to the appointment of Loke as a lector of French (Wilde 1993: 14). He was right, for as it turned out, 'notre Mlle Loke' did a fine job.

In Dutch academia, Loke was to be followed by other female language scholars. For many years, however, these scholars continued to be seen and treated as women. This meant that many of them remained unmarried, voluntarily or involuntarily, and had to work for a relatively modest salary. There was still a long way to go, in particular for the 'pioneer generation' (1890–1935).

[16] We leave aside the category of the *privaatdocent*, the external unsalaried lecturer, here. In 1916 Dr Maria Elisabeth de Meester (1886–1966), who had studied in Groningen and had taken her doctorate in Heidelberg in 1915, was admitted as a *privaatdocent* in Groningen to teach Modern English literature.

Many a striking example is to be found in the overview given by Baranelli and Poelstra (1990).

8.5 Conclusion

Surveying the Dutch linguistic tradition, it is striking that hardly any women seem to have been involved in linguistic codification. In order to explain this lack of female contribution, we focused on the context in which linguistic publications came into being. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, women played no role or a very marginal one in the chambers of rhetoric, which were the cradle of codification activities such as the compilation of a Dutch grammar. Women remained also a small minority in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literary societies, which were meeting places for the discussion of culture, literature, linguistic norms, and grammatical issues. Furthermore, in the early and late modern periods, women did not take part in the network of well-educated people, mainly clergymen and men of leisure, who encouraged one another to publish on the Dutch language. In these unfavourable circumstances, the linguistic activities of two *femmes savantes* stood out: Anna Maria van Schurman and Johanna Corleva.

It is in the field of education that women became increasingly visible during the period of our present chapter, from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century. Women taught at so-called Dutch and French schools, and some of them directed or even started their own schools. Women maintained and improved their position under the nineteenth-century national school system. In all regions of the Netherlands, they were to be found as school owners, directors, or teachers at elementary schools and secondary French schools. After 1860 the number of female teachers increased considerably, but they hardly participated in discussions on education in journals or teachers' societies. Furthermore, schoolbooks were usually written by male authors and this practice continued well into the early twentieth century. The few exceptions are the manuals by Maria Strick and Magdalena Valery, and the booklets for letter writing and for learning French and English by Anna Barbera van Meerten-Schilperoort. In academia, women such as the first female lecturer, appointed for Modern French, Dr Marie Elise Loke and others of the 'pioneer generation' (1890–1935), followed a long and winding road to achieve equal opportunities with their male colleagues.

Apart from a few remarkable exceptions, Dutch women appear for a long time to have played just a modest role in the study and teaching of language, due to their position in contemporary Dutch society. It was only in the course of the nineteenth century, due to educational reforms, that women were given the opportunity to become independent language professionals, holding such

positions as schoolteacher or school director, for example, and from the first decade of the twentieth century onward, university lector. However, because of opinions based on the then prevailing 'psychology of women', recognition of the fact that women could be serious scholars who contributed to the field of linguistics and participated in linguistic discussions would take many more years.[17]

[17] For further reading we would like to refer to the extensive study by Mineke Bosch (1994). Baranalli and Poelstra (1990) present an overview of the vicissitudes of *doctorandae* at the University of Amsterdam from 1890 to 1990. An interesting case study is *Scholarship as a Vocation*, dealing with the classical scholar Christine Mohrmann (1903–1998) and written by Marjet Derks and Saskia Verheesen-Stegeman (1998).

9
Obstacles and opportunities for women linguists in Scandinavia

Tove Bull, Carol Henriksen, and Toril Swan

9.1 Introduction

It is tempting to begin with the medieval Icelandic bishops' saga that tells us that there was a well-educated Icelandic woman who taught 'grammatica'[1] and enjoyed being read to from books in Latin while she was sewing (Pétursson 1996: 275–6). We also know of a Swedish woman named Gunnborga who knew the art of carving runes, a task that indicates literacy in women at a very early date (Jansson 1951: 5ff.).[2] Our focus here, however, is on the period between the late fifteenth century and the earliest decades of the twentieth century, a period characterized by a growing need for the codification of common national languages. Once the vernaculars had achieved a certain degree of standardization, a more theoretical interest in the study of the various Scandinavian languages arose, leading ultimately to the institutionalization of the study of languages and linguistics as an academic discipline at the universities. Geographically, our investigations encompass Denmark, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden.[3]

A brief account of the political history of the Scandinavian countries may be helpful in understanding the challenges faced by women when it comes to questions of language. From 1389 to 1523 Sweden, Denmark, and Norway (including Iceland and the Faroe Islands, both populated from Norway), were united in the Kalmar Union and shared to a certain extent a common political, economic, and cultural development. The governance of the Icelandic *þjóðveldið*

[1] Since Latin grammar was the foundation of any in-depth and proper education, traditionally 'grammatica' was synonymous with Latin. See, for example, Irvine (1994).

[2] A rune stone from the eleventh century in the Gävleborg district of Sweden bears this inscription: 'Ásmundr ok Farþegn, þeir réttu stein þenna eptir Þorketil, fôður sinn, á Vatrungum. Gunnborga fáði stein þenna, hin góða' ('Åsmund and Fartegn raised this stone after Torketil, their father, at Vattrang. Gunnborga the good carved this stone').

[3] These are the Nordic countries in which the national languages (Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish) have roots in North Germanic.

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('nation state'), established in 930 with the *Alþingi* ('Althing')[4] became increasingly influenced by Denmark from the late sixteenth century. In Norway and on the Faroe Islands, Danish gradually replaced the native languages in all public domains, but in Iceland, Icelandic remained the primary spoken and written language.[5] Norway, already a kingdom before 1000, was subject to gradually increasing Danish influence from the fourteenth century on, initially in the administration of the country and later through influential upper-class Danes who settled in Norway. In 1814, Norway regained its independence and got its own constitution, facilitated by a looser Swedish–Norwegian union from 1814 until 1905, when the Norwegian monarchy was finally reinstated.

The locations of the various Scandinavian countries are also relevant. Iceland and the Faroe Islands, situated in the North Atlantic, have been relatively isolated from the other Scandinavian countries and the rest of Europe until more recent times. Denmark lies closest to Germany and other potentially influential early centres of learning in Europe, whereas Norway and Sweden are situated more peripherally.

Compared with more southerly European countries, Scandinavia experienced a more abrupt transition during the first decades of the sixteenth century, both politically and linguistically, partly due to the Reformation and the first translations of the Bible, and partly due to the reorganization of power constellations. The Kingdom of Norway had already lost its independence long before the official introduction of Lutheranism in Denmark, and from 1536 Danish became the *de facto* official language of administration in Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands.[6] These three territories also lacked national centres of learning. Sweden, on the other hand, was well on its way to becoming a strong nation state, controlling large territories in the Baltic and with several institutions of higher education and scientific academies.

During the period from 1500 to 1800, Denmark, including Norway, Iceland and the Faroe Islands, had only one university, the University of Copenhagen, founded in 1479.[7] Sweden had two, Uppsala University, founded in 1477, and Lund

[4] Literally 'the general meeting' and in fact the oldest extant parliamentary institution in the world.

[5] Iceland was granted a constitution of its own in 1874, but ties with Denmark were not completely severed until 1944. The Faroe Islands were granted home rule in 1948, but ties to Denmark still exist today, including two Faroese representatives in the Danish Parliament.

[6] From 1380 onwards, the king in Copenhagen ruled both Denmark and Norway, but a separate Norwegian council (Det norske riksråd) was in charge of the administration of Norway until 1536.

[7] Norway's first university, Universitas Regia Fredericiana, was established in Christiania (Oslo) in 1811 by the Danish King Frederik VI, who previously had been reluctant to allow the province of Norway to have its own university, fearing this might stir up separatist movements. The first female professor in Norway was Kristine Bonnevie, appointed in 1912 as a Professor of Biology, a year before Norwegian women were given the right to vote. The University of Iceland was established in 1911, and the University of the Faroe Islands was founded in 1965.

University, founded in 1666.[8] The main subject matter in all of these was theology, including instruction in the three sacred languages, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. As in most European universities, there were also chairs in each of these languages in Scandinavia, all held by men. Sweden was the first Scandinavian country to establish a chair in modern languages when a professorship in French was created in 1637 (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 28). The early universities in Scandinavia were exclusively for men, and women were not admitted to university studies until the late 1800s.[9]

Those who conducted studies of a linguistic nature during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were for the most part teachers, pastors, bishops, and others with professions outside the universities, all occupations dominated by men. These studies were primarily concerned with the codification of the national languages, collecting wordlists for dictionaries, establishing unified orthographic norms, and writing grammars. Since access to formal education leading to such professions was not available to women until a much later date, no similar studies by women are to be found among these early language patriots. There were, however, a number of learned women who paved the way for the codification process as authors of poetry and plays and as translators, thus enabling a more widespread use of the native languages in areas of society that had previously been dominated by other languages (see section 9.7).

9.2 Educational opportunities for girls

With the Reformation in Denmark–Norway in 1536 and in Sweden in 1537, the responsibility for providing formal schooling, previously in the hands of the Catholic Church, was taken over by the government, in the form of the state church. The first law concerning education in Denmark–Norway, in 1537, required that a Latin school should be established in every large town to provide boys with a foundation in theology. Boys from the nobility and the upper classes were often taught at home and then regularly sent to recognized schools abroad. Girls from privileged families were either taught at home or allowed to join some of the home lessons provided for their brothers. In Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the schools associated with the major cathedrals officially came under state control after the Reformation, but little real change occurred. The language

[8] There were three more universities in the territories under Sweden's political control, Tartu/Dorpat (present-day Estonia), Greifswald, and Turku/Åbo (Finland).

[9] Even after women had been admitted to the university, it took a long time before female professors were appointed. The first female university professor in Sweden, Gerd Enequist, was appointed in 1949, in Uppsala (her field of specialization was cultural geography). However, the University of Stockholm, which was at the time a polytechnic institution, appointed Sofia Kovalevskaya as Extraordinary Professor of Mathematics in 1884.

of instruction was still Latin, and the purpose was to prepare boys for the clergy. However, a few, primarily upper-class, girls were allowed to attend some of these schools in Sweden.

In 1736, obligatory confirmation was imposed in Denmark–Norway, and three years later school was made compulsory for children in the countryside. To be confirmed—a prerequisite for marriage—a person had to be literate or at least semi-literate. Thus, children in the countryside were taught how to read.[10] There was no corresponding legislation for schools in the towns, where a mixed variety of private schools dominated, all of them for boys until the end of the 1700s. Consequently, many poor boys and girls in the towns never attended school.

We are fortunate to have a first-hand account of the education from early childhood to age 21 of a Danish girl of the nobility, Anne Margrethe Qvitzow (1652–*c.*1700). Qvitzow wrote a letter, in well-formulated Latin, to the historian Otto Sperling (the younger; 1634–1715) who was collecting material for an extensive work on educated women, *De foeminis omni ævi doctis*.[11] Here she describes how she was taught to read by her mother, an accomplishment she mastered by the age of 4, and then to read German and to write Danish, German, and beginners' Latin. When she was 10, she continued with music and the *artes liberales*, which traditionally included grammar, logic, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic. For the next five years she had a private teacher, who added Greek to her lessons. After this she continued on her own, concentrating on Latin, and for practice she translated the first two books of Cicero's *De officiis* (*On Duties*) and the first three books of Caesar's *De bello gallico* (*Gallic War*) into Danish.[12] She translated part of an unidentified work on the Trojan War from Danish into Latin. She had a private teacher for beginning French, but for the most part she had to continue her studies on her own, supplemented by lessons in elementary astronomy from her father. By age 21 she had apparently lost sight of the purpose of all these studies, but she does conclude her letter to Sperling with these words: 'Hvis kvinderne havde førere, de kunne stole på, ville de betræde lærdommens vej lige så tit og gerne som mændene' (Alenius 2000b: 135; 'If women had leaders they could trust, they would tread the path of learning just as often and as willingly as men').

[10] Reading was considered more important than writing, since the main purpose was to learn about Christianity. In reality, many did not learn to read at all. They simply learned what they had to learn by heart.

[11] Prior to his death, Sperling managed to collect information on 1,399 educated women from many countries in Europe and North Africa. His *gynæceum*, one of the most extensive belonging to the broader European *gynæce* tradition of portraying educated women, is a 1,243-page manuscript in two volumes entitled *De foeminis doctis*, located in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (GKS 2110 4°). A valuable printed *gynæceum* of Danish learned women was Friderich Christian Schönau's 2-volume collection (Schönau 1753).

[12] Anne Margrethe Qvitzow's hand-written translation of Caesar has been preserved in Karen Brahe's Library.

In the 1790s, a number of citizens in Copenhagen saw the need for schools for girls and established private *døtreskoler* ('daughter schools'). These schools, primarily run by women, were founded for the most part in Copenhagen, but a few were also established in provincial towns. One of the most prestigious of these was run by Natalie Zahle (1827–1913), who took over a private school in 1851 and set out to achieve her goal of giving women the knowledge to function freely at home and in society. Zahle went on to establish a teacher training school and a school to prepare women for the university entrance exam. In 1893, another pioneer in women's education who had built up a similar system of schools for girls in Jutland, Theodora Lange (1855–1935), founded a society called Den danske Pigeskole (The Danish School for Girls). The monthly publication of this society, which was concerned with the teaching and upbringing of women, was called *Bog og Naal* (*Book and Needle*).[13]

In Norway, Hartvig Nissen's private school for girls was established in Christiania in 1849.[14] Gradually, secondary education was added, and from 1861 the school also provided women with teacher training. While schools in the countryside included all children, it was not until 1848 that schooling for children in the towns was regulated by law. The city schools were generally of better quality, since children in urban areas were taught for far more hours and followed a much wider curriculum. In most upper-class families, girls still did not have the same access to education as boys. They were often taught reading, writing, and basic arithmetic at home, and, in keeping with the religious beliefs of the time, what was considered necessary to be good Christians and become competent and obedient housewives and mothers. During the 1870s, however, secondary education in the form of *realskole*, a type of middle school, gradually became accessible to girls as well as boys.

As early as 1575, a Swedish law for schools mentions that schools for girls should be established, but the responsibility for these was left to the individual towns. Finally, in 1632, the first school for girls was founded by Bishop Johannes Rudbeckius (1581–1646). Here girls were taught reading and writing and the catechism, along with sewing and other homemaking skills. The pupils were mainly orphans or from less well-to-do homes. The privileged classes were able to have their daughters taught at home together with their brothers, and they could also be sent to live with families, so-called pension schools, which basically trained them for a future befitting a lady. Although additional schools for girls were gradually established in Sweden, most of them were more or less sewing schools that provided lower-class girls with professional skills (Hofberg 1906;

[13] Published 1894–1953.

[14] Often referred to as the first school for girls in Denmark–Norway, but prior to this there were already schools for girls in Christiania established in private homes. One such school was established by a devoted Herrnhutian, Catharina Freymann (1708–1791), in 1733 in her father's house. She left Norway, however, in 1741 (Øverland 2001: 190).

Losman 2005). The first more modern type of school was founded in 1787 in Gothenburg by the Herrnhutian Christian movement (Losman 2005). This taught modern languages, drawing, and various handicrafts, and also provided religious instruction. One of the best-known schools for girls in Sweden was founded in Stockholm in 1831, named after its founder, J. O. Wallin. It aimed to give girls an education similar to that offered to boys, even though the girls were still not able to go to university. Of the thirty or so schools for girls that existed in Sweden around the middle of the nineteenth century, only five could be said to provide a somewhat academic education. Their purpose was to train girls as educated wives and mothers as well as to give them the opportunity to earn their own living, mainly as teachers in private homes or schools for girls.

In Iceland prior to the Reformation, the scattered and sparse population was served by only a few schools, either connected to the churches or the monasteries. The best opportunity for women to obtain an education was to enter a convent. The Reformation in Iceland met with violent resistance and had to be imposed by force. By 1550, all the monasteries and convents had been destroyed, and along with them the existing centres of learning and their libraries (Jónsdóttir 1996: 106). There were only two schools in Iceland in 1771 (Jónsdóttir 1996: 102), both originating from Catholic cathedral schools, one in Skálholt in the south and one in Hólar in the north. Both were concerned with educating priests.

Given the limited educational opportunities available to women, it took a long time for them to have a career of their own, in languages or philology, or in any other profession.[15] Even after higher education slowly became accessible for women, studying any humanities subject was much rarer than choosing natural sciences or medicine.[16]

9.3 Further education for women: Teacher training

The first steps towards higher education for women took the form of institutionalized teacher training and the education of head mistresses for the girls' schools that were gradually becoming more numerous. Prior to 1860, however, formal teacher training was a male privilege.

In 1860, almost seventy years after Blaagards Seminarium, the first formal teacher training institution for men was established, an exam for the training of

[15] Agerholt (1937) notes, concerning Norway, that for each new bulwark to be conquered, such as the middle school, *exam artium*, the university, doctoral degrees, professional careers as doctors, lawyers, or holding an office, a battle had to be fought, and this equally pertains to the other Scandinavian countries.

[16] The Norwegian situation was probably also in part due to the fact that women were prohibited from holding a government position until 1912 (Agerholt 1937: 260).

female teachers was introduced, thus finally paving the way for women to seek employment in the Danish state schools.[17]

Sweden's first teacher training institution was established by a private organization in 1830. The Swedish school law of 1842 required every diocese to establish an institution to educate teachers. Initially these were for men, but in 1859 the state established courses in Stockholm to educate female teachers called Stockholm folkskollärarinneseminarium (Ullmann 2004: 26). In 1861, this formed the basis for the women teachers' college, the Högre Lärarinneseminarium. A school for girls was attached to this institution a few years later to provide practical training for future teachers. This so-called Normalskola (Normal School) was the first school for girls funded by the state (Losman 2005).

According to Hagemann (1992: 12), the creation of five teacher training institutions in Norway in the 1820s and 1830s led to an explosion in the education of countryside teachers. In 1835 there were around 2,000 teachers in country schools, but only 2 per cent of them had any form of teacher training. By 1858, 1,159 teachers had graduated from the five institutions, all of them men. In the towns, however, several women were working as teachers, and some also ran their own private schools. For example, between 1814 and 1831 Conradine Dunker ran a school for girls in her home in Christiania. She taught languages (French and German) and Danish grammar (Nielsen 1904: 9) structured in accordance with Latin paradigms, with noun declensions in all cases, etc. While the girls were occupied with needlework, Mrs Dunker read aloud from the various schoolbooks, and then each girl was called to the front to read the same text.[18] Similarly, there were private schools for girls in Trondheim and Bergen. Women from abroad also became teachers in the Scandinavian countries. Caroline Bauer (1828–1909), for example, was a German who came to Norway to teach in a private school. Later she opened her own school for girls in Christiania, which she ran for twenty-five years. She was one of the pioneers in organizing proper schooling for girls in Norway, and was also strongly involved in promoting access to teacher training for women (Pettersen 1999: 224).

From a socio-economic perspective, Norway is particularly interesting. The prototypical Norwegian teacher of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was a man, usually a son of a farmer or more rarely a fisherman, who had fought his way from the level of the rudimentary education that the compulsory school system had provided to one of the teacher training institutions. Ideologically, he supported political and cultural movements that jointly have been named

[17] A similar examination was established in Norway around 1890.

[18] Ragna Nielsen herself was the granddaughter of Conradine Dunker (her mother was Vilhelmine Dunker). She attended her mother's private school for girls and then Nissen's school for girls, where she later also taught. Later, she established and became the first female head of a Norwegian secondary school for boys and girls.

norsk motkultur ('Norwegian counter culture').[19] He was an adherent of Landsmaalet, the radical new Norwegian linguistic movement. On the other hand, the social background of the urban female teachers was totally different; politically, they were more conservative than the men and they often belonged to families retaining close ties to Denmark. They were against 'Norwegianizing' the written language, by gradually reforming Danish and thus making it more 'Norwegian', and definitely against creating a new written standard based on Norwegian dialects. After being unsuccessful in their attempts to influence the teachers' union, the female teachers formed their own separate union, Lærerindeforbundet, The Female Teachers' Association, which from 1912 published its own journal, *Lærerinnenes Blad* (*The Female Teachers' Magazine*). This journal argued consistently against Landsmaalet and many other viewpoints that the new nation-building ideology carried with it (Hagemann 1992: 126). Thus, in the heated debates on the language question and the turmoil that these debates led to, the urban female teachers more or less unanimously held rather moderate—not to say conservative—views.[20]

9.4 Authors of schoolbooks

Traditionally, the first book a child encounters at school is an ABC-book, providing the first steps towards learning to read and write. These books date back to medieval convent schools, and after the Reformation they typically contained the alphabet, spelling exercises, numbers, the most important parts of the Catechism, and some prayers.[21]

As time went on, authoring such books required language awareness and a certain degree of metalinguistic competence, and this was clearly a characteristic found in at least two of the women registered by Skjelbred (1998), Hedevig Rosing (1827–1913), and Anna Rogstad.[22] Both of these women were well-established teachers. Rosing's *Billed-A.B.C. i Farvetryk* (*Picture ABC with Colour Prints*) was published in 1876, and three years later she won a competition for the best book for beginners, *Barnets første Bog* (*The Child's First Book*). According to Skjelbred (1998: 285), Rosing, who also had a background as a teacher for deaf children, had a relatively nuanced concept of methodology when it came to teaching the early stages of reading and writing. She was also one of the first to publish separate

[19] 'Counter' in relation to the hegemonic cultural legacy from the union with Denmark.

[20] The teacher Anna Rogstad (1857–1938) was the first chair of Lærerindeforbundet (Grankvist 2003: 395–6). She was an active conservative politician, and her views on the language question certainly must have influenced the association's ideology.

[21] Although the first authors of ABC-books were men, a bibliography of Norwegian ABC-books (Skjelbred 1998) registers three such books, out of thirty-four, written by women prior to 1900.

[22] The third female author of an ABC-book, dated 1841, was anonymous.

instructions for teachers (Skjelbred 1998: 111). Previously, the acquisition of reading had taken precedence over learning to write (Skjelbred 1998: 284–5), but Rosing argued that the simultaneous teaching of reading and writing was necessary if the child was to develop these two skills optimally. Anna Rogstad published her ABC in 1893 in collaboration with a male colleague, Elling Holst. In addition, an ABC-book in *nynorsk, Mi fyrste bok* (1909; *My First Book*), was published by Karen Grude Koht (1871–1960) together with Bernt Støylen. Koht was a pioneer in teacher training and the education of women and was an enthusiastic contributor of articles in *nynorsk* to newspapers and journals, and she also translated books into *nynorsk* (Skard 2005: 318).

The first printed ABC-book in Denmark was published in 1591, in Low German, and the first ABC-book in Danish was published in 1649. A series of significantly more advanced Danish ABC-books and readers was published by Julie Heins (1822–1902). Heins was taught at home and later attended a private school for girls. Unable to continue her education, she married young. When her husband abandoned her with two small children, she somehow managed to take the teacher's exam at Zahle's school for girls in Copenhagen and start her own school in Odense. This gradually became a respected institution and was also permitted to administer the teacher's and headmistress' exams (Thomsen 2000). She developed her own methods for teaching girls to read based in part on phonetics, syllabification, and sound-combination recognition. Her method required the students first to listen to, then pronounce, and finally write sounds, sound combinations, and vocabulary. She published her own extensive set of textbooks, first a reader for young children (Heins 1865; Figure 9.1), then one for older children, and finally a comprehensive six-volume reading system to cover reading and writing at all levels of grammar-school education.[23] The first volume, *Hanebogen, A-B-C med Billeder efter Skrivelæsemetoden* (14th edn 1899; *ABC with Pictures According to the Writing-Reading Method*), was particularly popular and was published in twenty-three revised editions up to 1932. Several years after the first edition of this work, she also published a thirty-page guide for teachers and parents explaining her method, *Den første Undervisning i Modersmaalet* (Heins 1890; *The First Instruction in the Mother Tongue*).[24]

The first ABC-book in Swedish was published in 1611 by the grammarian Johannes Bureus (1568–1652). It was entitled *Runa*, and the letters were shown in both runes and the Gothic alphabet, thus emphasizing Sweden's cultural heritage whilst teaching children to read. During the following two centuries, a number of

[23] Her system was recommended by the Danish Ministry of Education and authorized by the Copenhagen Director of Schools and the corresponding authorities in other parts of the country.

[24] We have been unable to ascertain the year of publication of the first edition of her first ABC-book and her first complete reading system, but in the preface to her guide for teachers Heins (1890) states that her first readers were published 'several years ago', and we know that her very first reader for the youngest children was published in 1865.

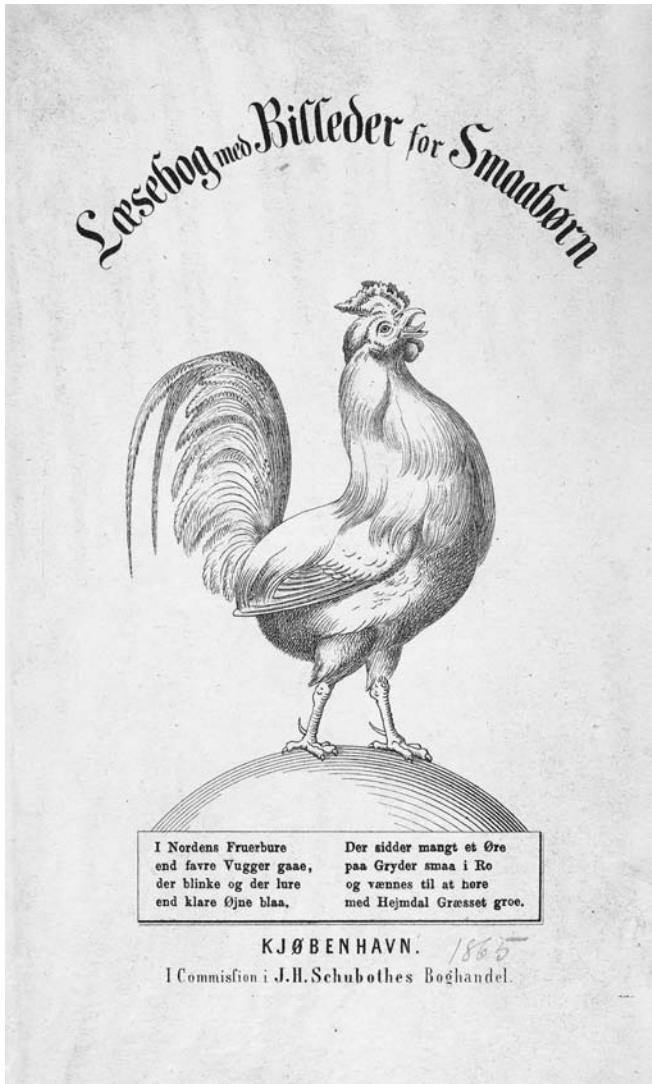

Figure 9.1 Julie Heins, *Laesebog med Billeder for Smaabørn* (1865), title page (Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen, 15, 191 8°).
Reproduced with kind permission of the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.

additional Swedish ABC-books were published, all still authored by men, but in 1854 Beata Maria Ahlgren (b. unknown) published a *Ny ABC-bok för småbarnsskolor och hemmet* (*New ABC-Book for Schools for Young Children and for the Home*). We know very little about Ahlgren other than that she was a teacher in Malmö (Berg 1933: 1038), but presumably her work as a teacher of small children made her well suited to writing an ABC-book. From the end of the nineteenth century on, Swedish

ABC-readers were published by men and women. One of these, *Prinsarnas blomsteralfabet* (*The Princes' Flower Alphabet*), published in 1893, was authored by Ottilia Adelborg (1855–1936), a well-known artist who also illustrated her book, each letter portrayed as a flower.[25]

9.5 Authors of school grammars

According to Haapamäki (2002: 225), the first woman to publish a grammar in Sweden was Matilda Widegren (1863–1938). Widegren was perhaps best known for promoting women's rights and being one of the founders of the Swedish chapter of the International League for Peace and Freedom (Internationella kvinnoförbundet för fred och frihed), of which she was chair from 1919 to 1934 (Linné 2003). Her grammar of Swedish, *Svenska språkets almänna satslära framställd i exempel jämte en kort interpunktionslära* (*Swedish General Syntax Presented with Examples and a Brief Introduction to Punctuation*), was published in 1897. It is basically a collection of example sentences, beginning with very simple subject-verb constructions and adding new sentence elements in each section. In the preface, Widegren mentions that her book is intended to aid the teacher by supplying suitable examples for learning how to analyse sentences. Widegren attended a school for girls in Stockholm and then studied at the teacher's college in Stockholm, where she became a teacher herself after graduating. Her grammar was clearly intended for use by her own students, but it was also widely used elsewhere.

Another Swedish woman, Josephine Deland (1814–1890), published a grammar of French as early as 1839.[26] Deland belonged to a recognized family of actors and musicians serving the royal court. Many women at that time supported themselves as language teachers, and Deland, from a French family background, was a popular teacher of French in Stockholm, teaching in her home in the 1840s and 1850s.[27] Her students would mainly have been girls, but boys, too, were expected to know foreign languages.[28] Following Sweden's period as a great European power (1611–1718), French had become even more established as the language of the upper classes and aristocracy (Harding 2009: 50), and when the

[25] This book was written for the three princes of Sweden, one of whom became king in 1950.

[26] *Cours de langue francaise, rédigé d'aprés un nouveau plan et tiré des écrits de M:rs Lévi, Lequien, Noël, Chapsal, et de ceux des autres Grammairiens les plus connus* (*French Course Based on a New Plan and Drawn from the Writings of Lévi, Lequien, Noël, Chapsal and of All the Other Best-Known Grammarians*). Stockholm: Hörberg.

[27] Deland was also a feminist and agitated politically for female emancipation at a time when there was no organized women's movement in Sweden; she is also credited for playing a major role in the founding of a retirement organization for Swedish female teachers (Wieselgren n.d.).

[28] In Sweden, from the 1500s, German and French were the most important foreign languages (English was rare until much later). On this point, see Ulvros (1996).

French General Bernadotte was elected by the Swedish Parliament as Crown Prince of Sweden in 1810, this naturally meant that the court became even more associated with French language and culture.

There were also Swedish women who published grammar exercise books in the Swedish language. One of them was Hedvig Anderson (1832–1912), whose 1895 book for primary classes, *Svenska språköfningar för skolans lägre klasser. Efter en amerikansk metod* (*Swedish Language Exercises for Primary-School Classes, Following an American Method*), was reprinted in several editions during the following decades (and in 1906 was published in an abridged version intended for Swedish schools in Finland). She also published a grammar in 1896. Both of these books were mentioned several times in *Svensk läraretidning* (*The Swedish Teachers' Journal*), and they were recommended as being very good (*Svensk läraretidning* 1897: 148), emphasizing that even young students were taught to write short texts. In the preface to the 1895 book, Anderson mentions two Americans whose work she had found useful for her own book, but she does not specifically describe 'the American method' (Anderson 1895: 1). Here she also refers to her own long experience as a teacher. Her focus is on training children to write and think clearly, beginning with simple tasks and building on these. In the most elementary part of the book, she uses pictures as a basis for identifying words and concepts. She became a governess at the age of 19 and worked as a private teacher over the years. In 1873 she married her widowed employer and was able to establish an elementary school for girls. In 1899, after her husband died, she founded a private school for teacher training in Stockholm that educated private teachers as well as teachers preparing to teach in girls' schools (Arcadius n.d.).

The best-known female author of early Swedish grammars was Valborg Olander (1861–1943). Having graduated from the teacher training college in Stockholm, she taught in various schools for girls (Andersson n.d.). Her main interest was in the Swedish language, and as early as 1896 she began publishing works on Swedish together with Professor Cederschiöld, a Gothenburg professor. Over the years they published a number of grammatical works, for example *Vinkar och råd om undervisningen i modersmålet med hufvudsakligt afseende på folkskolan* (Cederschiöld and Olander 1901; *Suggestions for Mother Tongue Instruction Especially Aimed at Elementary School Pupils*) and *Svensk språklära för folkskolor och allmänna läroverkens lägre klasser* (Cederschiöld and Olander 1904; *Swedish Language Teaching for the Lower Classes of Primary Schools*). According to Haapamäki (2002: 244), their grammars include numerous references to various dialect forms, children's language, stylistic variation, etc., and reveal a rather modern approach to the differences between spoken and written language. To what extent this modern approach is due to Olander is, of course, impossible to determine, but Haapamäki (2002: 244) points out that other grammars at the time had also adopted the same approach. In any case, her practical

experience as a mother-tongue teacher would have been the basis for an important contribution when collaborating with Cederschiöld.

As far as we know, the first author of a school grammar of the Danish–Norwegian language was Jacobine Dunker (1808–1857), who belonged to an influential upper-class Norwegian family of intellectuals with close ties to Denmark.[29] Unfortunately, this book, or booklet, has been lost, reportedly burned by members of her family. It was probably completed in 1849, but it is unclear whether it was printed. It must have existed in several copies, however, since we know it was used as a textbook in different schools and by different teachers (Wiggen 2005, 2007). Dunker had learnt Old Norse and met the publication of texts in Norwegian dialects with enthusiasm. This was in strong contrast to the views held by the rest of her family and in the social circles to which they belonged.[30] In her own school in Christiania, she let her very conservative and Danish-friendly mother teach French and German, but not the grammar of the mother tongue. According to Wiggen (2007: 68), it is possible that her grammar was too 'Norwegian' to be accepted by her family.

Bjørkvold and Hertzberg (1976: 503ff.), the most comprehensive presentation of Norwegian grammar books for schools, mentions Hilda Olsen as the first female writer of school grammars. Olsen's booklet dates from 1905, but it is a grammar exercise book, rather than a proper grammar.

The first Danish school grammar of which we have published copies is Athalia Theophilia Schwartz's (1821–1871) *Dansk Sproglære* (*Danish Grammar*), from 1849. According to Wiggen (2007), she was also the anonymous author of a French school grammar, *Fransk Grammatik til Skolebrug* (1855; *French Grammar for Schools*). Schwartz came from an upper-class family and attended one of Copenhagen's best schools for girls, Frk. Lindes Institut. She was one of the first women to take the examination giving women the right to run girls' schools (*institutbestyrerindeeksamen*). She passed this examination in 1848, and the next year she founded her own school for girls in Copenhagen, which she ran from 1849 to 1853. It was no doubt in connection with her school that she felt the need for a Danish grammar. She was deeply concerned with teaching methods and the quality of education, not only education for girls, and in 1850 she published a handbook on the art of teaching aimed at young teachers of both sexes, *Haandbog i Underviisningskunsten for unge Lærere og Lærerinder* (Schwartz 1850). After her school closed, she continued to give private instruction to women who wanted to pass the teacher's and headmistress's exams.

[29] She was the daughter of Conradine Dunker (see section 9.3).

[30] Both Conradine Dunker and her other daughters, several of whom ran private schools for girls in Christiania and Trondheim, were, like the circles they belonged to, ideologically inclined towards the Danish language and culture, even when Norwegian nationalistic and partly anti-Danish sentiments were beginning to gain momentum among intellectuals.

In his search for early authors of Danish school grammars, Wiggen (2007: 90) discovered three additional grammars of Danish published by women: by 'Lærerinder ved Borgerdydskolen i Kjøbenhavn' ('Teachers [in the feminine form] at the Borgerdyd School in Copenhagen'), by Anna C. C. Møller, and by Julie Paludan Müller, all listed as published in 1885. In addition, we know that Charlotte Louise Westergaard (1826–1880) published several small exercise books and readers for learning English. Westergaard, like other women, also took the only available route to education for women at the time. She attended a school for girls and worked as a governess from age 16 to 23. In 1850 she took the teacher's and headmistress' exams, taught for a while in various private schools for girls in Copenhagen, and finally became the head of M. Gøtzsche's school for girls in 1858, which she ran until her death. In 1851 she received a commendation for her prize competition paper on the national-poetic character of the French tragedy,[31] submitted anonymously as required, and, interestingly, she is continually referred to as 'he' in the commentary. She is probably the first woman, and non-academic, to have received such recognition. Westergaard, like a number of educated women, never married.

In her paper on Icelandic school grammars from the 1800s, the linguist Guðrún Kvaran mentions only one woman, Kristín Aradóttir, who wrote a small language exercise book for children, *Æfingar í rjettritun fyrir born með leiðbeiningum* (*Language Exercises for Children, with Instructions*). According to Kvaran, Kristín is the only Icelandic woman who published this type of teaching material in the nineteenth century.[32] Kristín was born in 1855 and trained as a teacher in Copenhagen (Kvaran 1990: 91).

9.6 Higher education and linguistic studies

It probably goes without saying that, during the period in question, female linguists are conspicuous by their absence,[33] and it is not until the first decades of the twentieth century that we can speak of female linguists in the traditional institutionalized sense of the term. The first Danish student admitted to university (to the faculty of medicine in 1877) was Nielsine Nielsen (1850–1916), whose contact with a member of Parliament ultimately resulted in a royal decree in 1875 that allowed women to enter university. She graduated as a doctor in 1885.

[31] *Den franske Tragedies national-poetiske Charakteer, og Grunden til den ringeagtende Bedømmelse, som den til en Tid har været underkastet* (*The French Tragedy's National-Poetic Character and the Reason for the Negative Response to which It Was Subjected for a While*). Her paper was published in 1853 and received positive comments in the newspapers.

[32] Kvaran (1996: 142) mentions this same grammar exercise book, stating that it is the only example until recently ('indtil nylig') of an Icelandic woman having written a school grammar.

[33] In this chapter, we use the terms 'linguistics' and 'linguist' to refer to any serious studies of language and its practitioners.

Ida Cecilie Thoresen (1858–1911) was the first Norwegian female student admitted to university (to the Faculty of Natural Sciences in 1882). When her first application to take the entrance examination for university studies was denied, she petitioned an influential politician and obtained a private decree of Parliament allowing her to take the examination. In 1884, a law was passed in the Norwegian Parliament giving all women the right to take the university entrance examination. Both Nielsine Nielsen and Ida Cecilie Thoresen were active pioneers in the women's movements in Denmark and Norway. Sweden can actually boast of having had at least one female student in the mid-eighteenth century, since the Rector of Lund University, Reinhold Liebman, allowed his daughter Erika (1738–1803) to study there. This was no doubt an informal arrangement, but we do know that Erika Liebman was a competent Latin scholar, well known nationally and internationally as one of Sweden's most learned women. It is notable that as an 18-year-old she published Latin poetry in the journal *Svenska Merkurius* (Stålberg 1864–1866: 235).

As we have seen, one of the main obstacles women faced in order to study at university was permission to take the entrance examination. In Denmark–Norway, the *examen artium* had served as the entrance examination for university studies since 1630, but it was not until 1875 that girls were given the right to take this examination, and even then only as private students, since they were still not allowed to go to the public secondary schools, still exclusively for boys. In 1886, however, one of the private schools for girls in Copenhagen, Natalie Zahle's school, was given the right to administer this examination.

In Sweden, admission to university was based on the *mogenhetsexamen* ('maturity examination'), administered by the universities themselves until 1862. Thereafter, this was replaced by the final examination in the secondary school (*gymnasium*). Girls were not admitted to the *gymnasium* in Sweden and were thus prohibited from taking the examination, but in 1870 they were given the right to take the university entrance examination as private students. Later, two private schools for girls in Stockholm were permitted to administer the private examination, followed by several others over the next decades (Losman 2005). From 1874 this right was extended to include all girls' schools (Ullmann 2004: 26).

Betty Petterson (1838–1885) was the first Swedish woman to take the university entrance examination as a private student, in 1871, after she had been a governess for more than ten years. Petterson had already been admitted to the faculty of philosophy in 1872. She received her *filosofie kandidat* degree (hereafter *fil. kand.*) in European linguistics, studies of European languages, and modern literature in 1875, when she was almost 37 years old (Lövgren n.d.), and went on to become Sweden's first female teacher in a boys' *gymnasium*. Here it is interesting to note that Betty Petterson, unlike many, if not most, female pioneers, was not from the upper classes. She was the daughter of a saddle maker, perhaps making her achievement even more noteworthy.

Once the universities had opened their doors to women, the fact that women might then also expect to continue with doctoral studies became controversial. Lund in particular was sceptical of such reckless emancipation (Winkvist 2003: 97). Only a few women, however, chose this path. Winkvist (2003: 43ff.) devotes a whole chapter to the problems encountered by highly educated women as a result of the Swedish Constitution of 1809 which denied them the right to hold government jobs such as teachers in public schools or university professors. It was possible, however, for women to become a *docent* at a university, that is, qualified to teach at a university. Faculties appointed *docents* who would teach their own courses or stand in for professors on leave, but they were not always paid. Obviously, to become a *docent* meant that you had a foot inside academia, and very few women actually became a *docent*. Winkvist (2003: 109ff.) points out that between 1880 and 1949, only forty-eight women got their doctorates from Uppsala, and, of these, twelve had a *docent* position at one time or another. The corresponding figures for Lund were seven out of thirty.

In 1904 a number of academic women joined together to work towards changing the law. Their first success came in 1909 with an amendment that gave women the right to hold higher positions in the school system. It took years, however, for this reform to come into effect. In 1918 women could be appointed as *lektors* ('lecturers') and rectors in state schools (Winkvist 2003: 45). Swedish women, the last in the Nordic countries, were given the right to vote in 1921, and finally, in 1923, the Swedish Parliament passed a law, implemented in 1925, giving women access to most government positions.

In spite of the barriers faced by women who chose to continue their university studies, a few did go on to receive doctorates, particularly in Sweden. Also, in contrast to the other Scandinavian countries, many of these were in fact in the area of linguistics, primarily in the modern Romance languages. By 1910, five of the thirteen women who had received their doctorates from Uppsala University wrote a thesis in linguistics.[34]

Anna Ahlström (1863–1943) was the first woman to receive a doctorate in language studies in Sweden, in 1899 in Uppsala, with a thesis written in French on the language of Flaubert (Ahlström 1899). Prior to receiving her degree, she studied abroad for several years at universities in Paris, London, and Berlin (Ullmann 2004: 55), something that was also unusual for women at that time. Since she was unable to obtain a government position at the university or anywhere else, she founded her own school for girls in 1902 and was one of the women involved in the women's emancipation movement and in convincing the government to change its discriminatory laws (Winkvist 2003: 45; Ullmann 2004: 76–88). To put her achievement in perspective, she was one of the five women to

[34] Statistics derived from Winkvist (2003).

receive a doctorate of the fifty-five women who were enrolled at Uppsala University between 1871 and 1890. Of these fifty-five, thirty were awarded the first degree (*fil. kand.*), thirteen achieved the next degree *filosofie licenciat* (hereafter *fil. lic.*), and five received their doctorates (Ullmann 2004: 56). According to Ullmann (2004: 56), Ahlström became the first Swedish woman to be chosen as an opponent at the defence of a thesis. This was so exceptional that it even attracted attention in the newspapers. Her doctoral thesis received a rather average grade (*godkänd*, 'accepted'), but at a symposium to commemorate her at Uppsala in 1999 it was pointed out that her choice of topic—the study of the language of a controversial author that had been dead only twenty years, in other words a study of a modern language—was a very brave and unusual one. She clearly considered that language and literature were best studied together (Ullmann 2004: 80).

The next female linguist to receive a doctorate in linguistics, this time in English, was Anna Carolina Paues (1867–1945), who completed her *fil. lic.* in 1901 in Uppsala and her doctorate in 1902 with a thesis on a fourteenth-century English version of the Bible (Paues 1904).[35] Her edition of the Bible contained a general introduction and analyses of various Middle English language features found in the Scriptures (especially vowels and morphology). Paues was able to continue with an academic career in England, where she became a Fellow at Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1902, and later as a Staff Lecturer in Germanic Languages from 1906 to 1927. Her work was highly regarded, and she was the main contributor to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'s article on biblical language, in 1911 (Winkvist 2003: 139–40). She applied several times for professorships in Sweden but, in spite of her impressive credentials as a researcher, she was never successful. According to Winkvist (2003: 139), when she applied for the Carnegie Chair of English at Gothenburg's institute of higher education (Göteborgs Högskola), her trial lecture was found 'not satisfactory' because she lectured in English.[36] She was, however, awarded the title of Professor by the Swedish government in 1934 (A. T—d n.d.).[37]

The first woman linguist at Lund was Selma Colliander (1861–1944), who defended her dissertation, written in German, on Old Saxon, *Der Parallelismus*

[35] Her edition of the Bible was still being reprinted by Cambridge University Press in 2014.

[36] In spite of the fact that the chair was in English, the prevailing view in Sweden was that Swedish should be the language of instruction in Swedish universities.

[37] Three additional women received doctorates in linguistics in Uppsala in the first three decades of the twentieth century, all three in Romance languages: Gerda Östberg (1876–1915) with *Studier öfver deminutiva och augmentativa suffix i modärn provencalska* (1903; *Studies on the Diminutive and Augmentative Suffix in Modern Provençal*). Valfrid Matilda Palmgren Munch-Petersen (1877–1967), *Observations sur l'infinitif dans Agrippa d'Aubigné* (1905; *Observations on the Infinitive in Agrippa d'Aubigné*), and Kerstin Hård af Segerstad (1873–1955), *Quelques commentaires sur la plus ancienne chanson d'états française, Le Livre des manières d'Étien* (1906; *Some Comments on the Oldest French Song, The Book of Manners by Étien*). Of these, only Palmgren Munch-Petersen worked with language later in life, publishing dictionaries and small grammars.

im Heliand (Colliander 1912; *On Parallelisms in the Heliand*). She became the first female librarian at Lund University Library (Winkvist 2003: 145, 179). The second was Marianne Mörner (1886–1971), who received her doctorate in Romance languages in 1917 with the linguistics thesis *Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice par Bérol* (Mörner 1917; *St Patrick's Purgatory by Berol*) and was fortunate enough to become a *docent* of Romance languages in Lund the same year, a position she left after a couple of years in order to become a teacher at a coeducational school in Stockholm (Winkvist 2003: 128).

Finally, in the 1920s, female linguists started to focus on the Swedish language. Three women defended dissertations in Swedish linguistics in Uppsala, and one of them also became a lecturer. Hulda Rutberg (1884–1967) and Carin Pihl (1886–1969) were dialectologists. The third, Ruth Wikander (1888–1977), was a historical linguist. Wikander's doctoral thesis (Wikander 1924) was a study of eighteenth-century Swedish.

Hulda Rutberg (1884–1967) obtained her doctorate in 1924 from Uppsala with the dissertation *Folkmålet i Töre och Nederkalix socknar* (Rutberg 1924; *The Töre and Nederkalix Vernacular*). She became a teacher in northern Sweden and published several books on northern Swedish dialects, for example *Dialekter, folkseder og hemkultur* (1922; *Dialects, Folk Traditions and Culture*). She also published books on place names, for example *Där svenskt, lapskt och finskt mötas bland ortnamnen* (Rutberg 1944; *The Intersection of Swedish, Lappish and Finnish Place Names*), and she worked for the Swedish place name commission for several years (Berggren n.d.).

Carin Pihl (1886–1969) received a doctorate for the dissertation, *Överkalixmålet* (*The Överkalix Dialect*), in 1924 (Pihl 1924) and became a *docent* in Nordic languages in Uppsala and, from 1930 until she retired in 1958, she was a lecturer at the polytechnic school in Stockholm. She continued to publish on the Calix dialect, and on the Västerbotten dialect together with the dialectologist and professor Herman Geijer (Geijer and Pihl 1921). Asta Kihlbom (1892–1984) studied first in Lund, then received her doctorate in English in Uppsala in 1926 with the dissertation, *A Contribution to the Story of 15th-Century English* (Kihlbom 1926). As far as we know, she was the first Swedish female linguist to become a professor, albeit in Norway.[38] Like Carin Pihl, she became a lecturer, first in Uppsala from 1926, and then in Lund from 1930. Kihlbom also worked at London University as a Swedish lecturer for a couple of years. The fact that she was married and kept her maiden name was held against her when she applied for the position as lecturer in Lund, but she was finally appointed to the lectureship.

[38] The first female professor in Uppsala was not appointed until 1949 and, as late as 1966, there were only seven female professors in all of Sweden (Winkvist 2003: 115).

9.7 Women's role in the codification of the national languages

With the exception of Iceland, as far as we know, interest in the study and cultivation of the vernaculars came relatively late to the Scandinavian countries. The Icelanders of the twelfth century had inherited a rich literature from their ancestors, and around 1150 an anonymous Icelandic author attempted to create a systematic orthography for the vernacular, based on principles greatly resembling those of modern structural phonology (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 20ff.). This work, referred to by modern scholars as *The First Grammatical Treatise* (Holtsmark 1936; Haugen 1950; Benediktsson 1972; Albano Leoni 1975),[39] had no theoretical or practical impact outside Iceland at the time, but it did influence Icelandic orthography and was also a source of inspiration for several eighteenth-century Icelandic scholars in their attempts to reform the Icelandic writing system (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 94ff.), all of whom were men.

Two factors that were highly significant in the codification of the vernaculars in the Scandinavian countries around the time of the Reformation were the translations of the Bible and of Luther's Catechisms undertaken at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 40) and the invention of the printing press. Printing was introduced in Sweden and Denmark at the very end of the fifteenth century (Dal 1987), and there was a print shop in Iceland from around 1530 (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 50). The Bible translations, from German, comprised an initial attempt to codify the orthography of the vernacular and provided a model for future attempts to further develop the writing system. After the Reformation, printing made it possible to put the Bible directly in the hands of the population. Other works of a practical nature such as books on medicine, agriculture, and navigation also gradually began to appear in the vernacular, as well as translations of historical works from Latin and literary works and plays from foreign languages, primarily French.

The first linguistic patriots in Scandinavia were inspired by the national Romantic movement in the rest of Europe and motivated by the need for a common native tongue to serve the rapidly developing nation states of the North. The standardization process took place at different times in the various countries, depending on their political circumstances. The first countries to embark on creating grammars and dictionaries for their native languages were Denmark and Sweden. A detailed account of the contributions of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Danish grammarians and lexicographers is found in Henriksen (1976: 7–119; 1980). While several of these works were written anonymously, there is no indication that the authors were women. An overview of the standardization process in the rest of the Scandinavian countries during

[39] The original title of the manuscript is not known.

this period is found in Hovdhaugen et al. (2000: 39–95). Again, there is no mention of women playing a role in this process.[40]

As noted in the introduction (section 9.1), Norway did not have political status as a separate or independent nation state until the union with Denmark was dissolved, and this meant that Norway did not begin to develop a standardized written language of its own until after 1814.[41] The two currently existing standards of written Norwegian, *bokmål* and *nynorsk*, evolved only gradually from the late nineteenth century. This meant that, for 400 years, the formal written language of Norway was Danish. Thus, the codification of the two written Norwegian standards is relatively recent, continuing almost up to the present. The numerous language reforms that took place during the twentieth century involved both spelling and morphology, and sometimes even syntax, and they reflect to a great extent significant political and societal conflicts within the country. The first, very limited, orthographic reform took place in 1862, whilst the last *bokmål* reform was agreed upon in 2005, and the last *nynorsk* reform in 2012.

No women were directly involved in the standardization processes for the two Norwegian written languages until after World War II, but a few women took part in the politicized language debates from the mid-nineteenth century on. None were allowed to play a significant role, however. A few female teachers in Norway were influential when it came to language policy and language ideology, particularly in an educational context, and those who translated books played an indirect role through the choice of the Norwegian standard they used. Bolette C. Pavels Larsen (1847–1904), for example, translated from the other Scandinavian languages into Danish and contributed as a literary critic to the main newspaper in Bergen (Stegane 2005: 466). Even though she grew up speaking a Norwegian dialect, she translated into Danish and normally spoke *dannet talemål* (the standard, educated spoken language). In a letter written in 1895 to the author Arne Garborg (1851–1924), a proponent of the New Norwegian language, she boasts of her mastery of the Sogn dialect, commenting that city-people gaped in astonishment when they heard her (Stegane 2005: 466).

The situation in Iceland was different due to the continuity of the written language from medieval times up to the present. Although Icelandic was continuously being used, including in schools, the pressure from Denmark and the Danish language was great, and during the 1700s and early 1800s, the country suffered periods of poverty and famine. In fact, during the 1870s, 25 per cent of all Icelanders emigrated to the New World. Needless to say, during this period the Icelandic language nearly faced extinction.[42]

[40] The early attempts by women to write school grammars (see section 9.5) were more pedagogically motivated.

[41] Although still in a union with Sweden until 1905, Norway got its own constitution, government and parliament in 1814. Where foreign policy was concerned, however, Sweden had supremacy.

[42] See http://denstoredanske.dk/Geografi_og_historie/Island/Island_generelt/Island (Historie) and https://snl.no/Islands_historie both accessed 20 Mar. 2017.

The Faroese situation was rather similar to that of Norway. Much as the Norwegian language was maintained solely as an oral medium, the Faroese language survived in a multitude of dialects through several centuries. *Húsavíksbrevet* (*The Husavik Letter*) from 1407 was the last written document in Faroese for an extremely long time. This lack of a written variety, of course, became a matter of substantial dispute. Written Faroese was eventually codified and standardized by Venceslaus Ulricus Hammershaimb in 1846 in a collection of texts. In 1854 he published a normative grammar, and in 1891 the final written standard was established. Even though the dialect variation of Faroese is great, Hammershaimb succeeded in getting strong support for his rather archaic written standard. From about 1850 the language question was hotly debated. Partly for this reason, Faroese students in Copenhagen established the Førøyingafelag (Faroese Association) in 1882, and in 1889 a corresponding organization, Føringafelag (Faroese Association), was established in Tórshavn. These organizations were strongly preoccupied with the Faroese language. Most of the members were, of course, men, but there were a few women. Maria Mikkelsen (1877–1956) and Maria Eide Petersen (1894–1994) were both active in the language movement, and according to Simonsen (1992: 88 and 102), Maria Mikkelsen was 'eitt tað mest týðandi mentafólkið í fyrru helvt av 20. øld [...] mest stílmedvitaða kvinnan, sum skrivaði fyrru helvt av 20. øld, og hon er millum mest stílmedvitaðu føroysku rithøvundarnar yvirhøvur' ('one of the most important intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century [...] the stylistically most conscious female writer in the first half of the twentieth century, and generally one of the most style-conscious Faroese writers'). Among other things, she translated Heinrich Heine from German into Faroese. Petersen was a teacher, active in the language movement in Tórshavn, and, in addition, she was an important informant to male lexicographers collecting lexical items for the Faroese dictionary.

In spite of the standardization of Faroese and the increasing use of the language, Danish long occupied a very strong position throughout Faroese education. Faroese and Danish are not mutually intelligible, but all schooling was carried out in Danish. Faroese was banned from Faroese schools until 1938, and it was not until 1948 that the language acquired equal status with Danish. The tense language climate led the Danish government to affirm that Danish was and should remain the language of the Faroese school, as late as 1912. Today almost all of the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands are bilingual in Faroese and Danish.

There was no higher education institution that taught languages and linguistics on the Faroe Islands until long after the period dealt with here, and consequently there was no opportunity there for women to engage in studies related to language and linguistics. Mikkelsen and Petersen are the only Faroese women we have come across who can be said to have been involved in linguistic work during the time covered by this volume.

As mentioned in the introduction (section 9.1), women played an indirect, but nonetheless important, role in the codification process as authors and translators, endeavours that require more than average linguistic skills. In this function they promoted the use of the national languages in influential cultural and societal spheres. In addition to Mikkelsen, a number of female teachers and women of other professions translated from foreign languages into Norwegian. Birgitte Kaas (1682–1761) translated German hymns, many of them still being sung in Norwegian churches today (Bratberg 2002: 423–4), and Ditlevine Feddersen (1727–1803) translated fiction from English and two plays by Voltaire from French (Øye 2001: 85–6). The author and journalist Marie Jørstad (1833–1923) taught herself foreign languages and translated books that appealed to her own interest in school gardens (Vormeland 2002: 183). Henriette Gislesen (1809–1859) was widowed early; after a religious awakening, she began writing and translating religious literature (Norseth 2001: 289–90). Marie Colban (1814–1884), who had to support herself after her husband died in 1850, translated into and from French and also wrote novels (Aasen 2000: 224).

Among the most significant early translators in Denmark we find Birgitte Thott (1610–1662) whose 1658 translation of Seneca's works illustrates, according to the author of the standard five-volume work on the history of the Danish language, Peter Skautrup, 'how "smukt og frit" ["beautifully and freely"] the Danish language could be shaped' (Skautrup 1944–1970: II, 291). Skautrup goes on to say that her notes in the margin document how she continuously struggled to find a precise expression that did not yet exist in her own Danish language. Skautrup also mentions Charlotte Dorothea Biehl (1731–1788) as another translator whose work was extremely significant in the development of the Danish language, singling out in particular her translation of Cervantes (Skautrup 1944–1970: III, 107) and her prolific career as author and translator of plays for the Royal Danish Theatre (Skautrup 1944–1970: III, 109f.). Her first translation of Destouches's *Poète campagnard* was extremely well received, and she continued this success for many years with additional translations from other European languages, among them a translation from German of Holger Rosenkrantz's *Fürstenspiegel*. Her first attempt as a playwright was in 1764 with *Den kierlige Hustru* (*The Loving Wife*), which played for five seasons and was followed by numerous others, all successful and some even controversial (Alenius 2000a).[43]

Margrethe Thiele (1868–1928) was also a Danish translator, but her most significant merits are in the field of lexicography. After graduating from Zahle's school for girls in 1887, she studied French, English, and Latin at university.

[43] Biehl's production is extensive, and there is a wealth of unpublished material, including 400 private letters, in the Bülow archives at Sanderumgård, Sorø Academy and the Royal Library in Copenhagen. Her autobiography, *Mit ubetydelige Levnets Løb* (*My Insignificant Life*), was first published in 1909. For details on Charlotte Dorothea Biehl's life and works and the status she achieved as a playwright for the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, see Alenius (1986, 2000a).

On completing her studies, she began to work as a translator, specializing in translating scientific works from Danish into French, including a number of publications for the Danish Academy of Science. At the time, the only dictionary available was too small to serve her needs,[44] so she decided to produce a Danish–French dictionary large enough to satisfy all kinds of purposes at the highest level. Here she drew on her experience as a translator and on her university training as a philologist.[45] By 1910 she had collected enough material to present her plans to influential university professors, and with their backing she was awarded an annual stipend from the Carlsberg Foundation to work on the dictionary. By 1918 she had a collection of over 100,000 entries, some of which were also intended for use in a future French–Danish dictionary. Knowing that her collection would need supplementing, she contacted a young scholar, Andreas Blinkenberg, in 1923, and they collaborated on her project until she became seriously ill. After her death in 1928, Blinkenberg completed the dictionary in 1937, which, with its 1,700 double-columned pages in small print, was the largest dictionary of its kind at the time (Blinkenberg and Thiele 1937).[46]

In Sweden the codification process was also largely in the hands of men, and from Gustav Vasa's time, even the kings were interested in and issued decrees with respect to the development of a pure Swedish language (Teleman n.d.). Quite a few women, however, played important roles as authors and translators. Middle- and upper-class girls were regularly taught languages. Many of the women educated with their brothers at home could read Latin, and knowledge of French and German was a must in the upper and middle class in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—studying English, however, was not especially common until the middle of the nineteenth century (Ulvros 1996: 174). The earliest known translator was Catharina Burea (1601–1678), who translated a condensed version of *Loci theologici* by Mathias Hafenreffer that was used as a basic textbook in theology for more than a century (Leffler n.d.). Another early translator, a count's daughter, Maria Gustava Gyllenstierna (1672–1737) was also a poet (among other writings she left 600 religious sonnets). Her main translation (1713) was of the first-century Roman-Jewish scholar Titus Flavius Josephus' *History of the Jews*, translated from Arnold d'Andolli's French version,[47] not the original Greek. Interestingly, Gyllenstierna explains her thoughts on translation, including the fact that she has tried to 'flee' from foreign words, and that, with respect to spelling, she has attempted to compromise between the old and new ways of writing (Lindgärde n.d.). One of the first professional female translators was Sophia Gyllenborg (1801–?)—also from a noble family—who had been translating

[44] Sundby and Baruël (1883–1884).
[45] See Hansen (2000) for a brief description of her methods.
[46] Thiele's collection of dictionary entries has been preserved in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.
[47] *Flavii Josephi Judiske historia, utaf Arnolds d'Andilli fransyska uttolckning på swenska öfwersatt. Then första delen. Med kongl. maij:tz allernådigste privilegio*. Stockholm: Henrich Kejsers, 1713.

from English, German, and French privately, at home, but with the help of her father (editor of a French-language journal in Copenhagen) she managed to find publishers who would pay for her translations. She translated Irish literature as well as German horror stories and various other books, but in the 1830s her most important work was the translation of some of Harriet Martineau's books (Monié n.d.).

9.8 Attitudes towards women and their contributions to early linguistics and linguistic debate

Geirr Wiggen (2004) has analysed the language attitudes and the language usage of the influential upper classes in Norway from 1790 to 1830, a group he refers to as 'Christiania's beaumonde'. His data consist of letters from Conradine Dunker (1780–1866)[48] to her brother Christopher Hansteen (1784–1873), both members of Christiania's *beau monde*. Since the written language in Norway at the time was Danish, and there were many Danes in Norway, it is unsurprising that the upper classes accommodated their oral language to the Danish written standard. Conradine Dunker's letters abound with examples of ridicule and even contempt for anything Norwegian (as opposed to Danish). Wiggen (2004: 19) summarizes these attitudes: 'For Christianias *beaumonde* er norsk generelt og bønders og vanlige byfolks språkbruk til å le og gjøre narr av, ja, for noen å ta anstøt av, liksom norskdom og folkelige kulturuttryk er det reint allment' ('To the *beau monde* of Christiania, the Norwegian language in general and the language of farmers and ordinary citizens in particular is ridiculous and something to make fun of, and for some it is even offensive, just like anything else Norwegian and any expression of popular culture'). Thus, for women to be involved with any kind of linguistic work, they had to be born into Wiggen's *beau monde*, or the upper classes. Their families, though, did not necessarily have to be very rich. As we have seen, several women with this social background earned their own living, either because they or their mothers were widowed or, as in Ragna Nielsen's case, because they had divorced their husbands. They all had an upper-class cultural background, which mostly meant that they had close ties to Denmark and deplored the dissolution of the union with Denmark in 1814. Generally speaking, this also meant that they had no sympathy for the various linguistic movements to create a separate Norwegian language; they often ridiculed attempts either to create a separate Norwegian language on the basis of Norwegian vernaculars or to take standard Danish as the point of departure and gradually make it more Norwegian by integrating Norwegian grammatical and lexical elements into the established

[48] The mother of Jacobine Dunker, see section 9.4.

Danish language. There were several men with the same cultural and intellectual background who argued for linguistic reforms, but women were conspicuous by their absence from the language movements, with few exceptions.[49]

One such exception was Aasta Hansteen (1824–1908). Her father was Christopher Hansteen, a brother of Conradine Dunker and the first Professor of Geology at the newly established university in Christiania. Aasta Hansteen was one of Norway's first female artists, who won fame as a portrait painter. She somehow came to support Ivar Aasen's linguistic movement, the Landsmaal movement, arguing for a separate Norwegian language independent of Danish. In 1862 she published a small book anonymously, *Skrift og Umskrift i landsmaalet* (*Writings in and about the Norwegian Language*). It consists of some of her own poems and texts written by other Norwegian authors with a nationalistic bent, all translated into Landsmaal. The first poem is a 'song about the old harp', the harp symbolizing the old, hidden Norwegian language that is still alive in the dialects. Here, Hansteen argues that those like herself, with a mother tongue more or less derived from Danish, should bring themselves to learn the 'song of the harp'.[50]

Another Norwegian woman, Hulda Garborg (1862–1934), was also deeply involved with the Landsmaal movement. She is included here, not because she exerted a direct influence on the language, but because she was closely involved with what could be called the infrastructure of a national language, partly through her own writing in different genres, but more importantly by establishing a theatre to perform in Landsmaal. *Det Norske Spellaget*, established in 1899, and re-established in 1910 after several inactive years, is the predecessor of *Det Norske Teatret* in Oslo. Garborg must have understood that, for a relatively newly coined linguistic variety to reach the status of an accepted standard, it had to be used and cultivated in influential cultural and societal spheres. The creation of a theatre to perform in Landsmaal was not only controversial but also extremely unpopular among many in Christiania. Acts of hooliganism regularly took place during performances (Fidjestøl 2013: 69–78). A few of the dramas that were performed were either written by Garborg herself or translated by her into Landsmål/New Norwegian (Fidjestøl 2013: 106–7, 197).

[49] Anonymous works, and works published using only the author's initials, also exist, and some could well have been written by women.

[50] In another poem, 'To Denmark', she argues for the need to develop a separate Norwegian language: 'Men dei burtføyrde aarhundrad/ingen kann oss giva meir. Vi vart plundrade medan me sovo / [. . .] / Alting mist—ja sjølve tunga! / Maalet var og komet burt' (Aasen 1984: 47; 'The union with Denmark is gone, the abducted centuries will not come back. We were plundered while we slept. / [. . .] / Everything lost, even the tongue. / Also the language was lost'). Interestingly, her choice of verbs is rather harsh, as if she holds the opinion that Norway was, in fact, a Danish colony, a controversial opinion even today.

9.9 Early female linguists in institutional settings in the early twentieth century

Of the 101 entries for Scandinavian linguists[51] in the second, revised and enlarged edition of the *Lexicon Grammaticorum: A Bio-Bibliographical Companion to the History of Linguistics* (Stammerjohann 2009), there are four women, one from Denmark, Lis Jacobsen, and three from Norway, Anne Holtsmark, Ingerid Dal, and Hallfrid Christiansen.[52] As demonstrated below, all four contributed to the institutionalized field of linguistics prior to World War II and continued to play a significant role in their fields beyond our time frame. Of these, only two held academic positions.

Before we consider the contribution of these four women to linguistics, it is worth mentioning Clara Holst (1868–1935). Among the 706 women who studied at the Royal Frederik's University in Norway between 1882, when the first female student was admitted to the university, and 1907, Holst is the only one who might be called a linguist (Ebell 1907: 21, 29–30). She was a university student between 1889 and 1896, and was the first woman to receive an honours degree in 'philology'. She became the first woman to defend a doctoral thesis in Norway, in December 1903, on loan words from Low German in Danish in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*Studier over Middelnedertyske Laaneord i Dansk i det 14. og 15. Aarhundrede*). Prior to this, she was required to give three lectures. According to Jahr (2006: 121–33), the auditoriums where the lectures and the dissertation defence took place were packed, particularly with 'ladies'. Why she decided to study philology is unknown. University positions were out of the question, and positions as teachers in middle or grammar schools were not open for women. However, an amendment by the Norwegian Parliament in 1896, the year she graduated, did make it possible for women to hold such positions from then on.

Like most of the women mentioned so far, Holst belonged to the upper classes of Christiania. Her father was a medical doctor and her mother was German, and the children grew up in a bilingual home speaking German and Norwegian (Danish–Norwegian). Clara studied at Cambridge University in 1892,[53] at the Sorbonne in 1893, and later in Leipzig (1897–1898), Copenhagen (1898–1899), and Berlin (1902). These studies were made possible thanks to her independent financial situation.

[51] Including Finnish linguists.

[52] According to the preface, the *Lexicon Grammaticorum* includes the most important representatives who were deceased prior to submitting the entries for publication—with the added reservation that it was not always possible to find authors for some of the linguists who otherwise might have been included.

[53] We know that she studied English at Cambridge. According to Jahr (2006: 45), she is, however, not registered at either of the then-female colleges, Girton or Newnham.

Holst submitted her thesis in 1902. After that, she applied to the university for a travel grant of 2,000 Norwegian crowns to continue her studies in Germany and the Netherlands. She was given 470 crowns. In comparison, two male colleagues who were still working on their theses were granted two yearly grants of 1,800 crowns each immediately after they had received their first degrees. It is difficult to find any explanation for this other than gender. And gender discrimination continued to dog her. After completing her dissertation, there was no university position available to her, as there would have been had she been a man. She occasionally taught German at a grammar school in Kristiania between 1903 and 1906. During the spring of 1906 she was allowed to teach German phonetics and pronunciation one hour per week at the University of Kristiania. After that, she decided to travel to America to take up a position as instructor in German at Wellesley College in Massachusetts from 1906 to 1907. From there she moved to Kansas and became an Assistant Professor of German, 'highly recommended for her scholarly achievements according to the head of department' (Jahr 2006: 160). She taught there from 1907 to 1908 and then returned to Norway. In 1910 she was the best qualified applicant for a position at the grammar school in Hamar, a position earmarked for women.[54] She was offered the position but never actually took it up, since the headteacher decided that she could only teach German at beginners' level, while clearly less qualified male teachers kept their right to teach the more advanced students. When she protested, she received an offer to teach Landsmaalet at the upper level, the New Norwegian language that had become an obligatory subject in grammar schools in 1902, but which probably was an extremely unpopular subject in a school like this one in Hamar. Holst then wrote a letter to the ministry and resigned from her position without ever actually taking it up. Little is known of what became of her.

Due in part to the barriers created by gender discrimination, there were only a few women who were able to become successful as linguists during the first decades of the twentieth century, and even fewer who broke through the barriers to academic positions. One of those who did was Ingerid Dal (1895–1985), who has been characterized as the most influential Norwegian scholar of German of the twentieth century (Grønvik 2000: 289). Her contributions to historical and synchronic linguistics have formed our view of Old Germanic and of the development of the Germanic languages in general. In addition to her thesis, one of her major contributions to linguistics was to demonstrate that the oldest stratum of Old Saxon had certain forms that had to be regarded as Ingvaeonic. Most of her scholarly works were published after 1940.

Anne Elisabeth Holtsmark (1896–1974) also enjoyed a successful academic career. She studied Old Norse philology in Oslo and worked as an assistant in

[54] We have not been able to find any reliable answers as to why this position was gender-earmarked. This was a very rare occurrence at the time, in 1910.

the university library from 1928 to 1931. She was appointed Lecturer in Old Norse Philology at the University of Oslo in 1930, where she became a Professor in 1949. Her first major work was a new edition of the *Speech against the Bishops* (1931), a political statement from 1190 on the controversy between the Norwegian king and the Church. She defended her doctoral thesis in 1936, a linguistically oriented investigation of the European sources of the *First Grammatical Treatise* (Holtsmark 1936). Her scholarly interests were mostly centred on the language of Eddic and scaldic poetry. She also translated several Old Norse sagas into modern Norwegian.

The success of Dal and Holtsmark is definitely not representative of contemporary women in general, even of those who managed to obtain academic degrees. They were both brought up in upper-middle-class homes in Oslo with academic fathers. They were given opportunities to study abroad and were included as more or less natural members of the networks that included the professors at the university, thus making the path to their success easier than for those not in such privileged situations. The academic destiny of Hallfrid Christiansen (1886–1964) (Figure 9.2), born only ten years prior to Dal and Holtsmark, is perhaps more representative of the kind of professional linguistic life a woman could expect to obtain in Norway during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Figure 9.2 Hallfrid Christiansen by Julius Christiansen (1935).
Reproduced with kind permission of the Art Collection, University of Oslo.

Christiansen grew up in a remote area of northern Norway and did not have the opportunity to complete her secondary education until she was 39. After her first husband died a year after they were married, she supported herself for a while as a home teacher, but moved to Kristiania shortly afterwards. There she remarried and was widowed for a second time before the age of 30. In 1925 she was married a third time to an architect who provided her with the means to study at university. She began studying German and Norwegian and continued with the Germanic languages, Ancient Greek, and Sanskrit. In 1931 she completed her thesis on the phonology of the northern Norwegian dialect she had grown up with, *Gimsøymålet*, defending it in 1935 (Christiansen 1933).

Christiansen's approach to the study of language and phonology in particular was a structural one. This was a new approach in Norway at that time, as Norwegian dialectology had traditionally been strongly influenced by Neogrammarian theory. Even though Christiansen had the support of professors of general linguistics at the university, the scholars of Scandinavian languages and dialectologists were unable to appreciate her modern approach, which employed linguistic theories and methods that were soon to revolutionize the field of linguistics elsewhere. Possibly for this reason, she never received a tenured position at the university. She has left behind a large academic production in addition to a substantial amount of linguistic Norwegian dialect data, mostly from northern Norway, a part of the country hardly studied before.[55] Almost every year she conducted fieldwork in extremely remote and relatively inaccessible parts of the country.

Elisabeth (Lis) Jacobsen (1882–1961) (Figure 9.3) had a similar experience to that of other Norwegian women for whom permanent positions at the university were unavailable. Lis Jacobsen grew up in an upper-class Jewish family in Copenhagen, in an intellectual environment with ties to influential members of the cultural elite. According to Larsen (2011), she is the prototype of a girl in the late 1800s growing up in Copenhagen among the radical group of intellectuals who voted for the Left and supported women's rights.[56] She attended Natalie Zahle's school for girls, the top school for parents who had ambitions on behalf of their daughters, attended by over half of the women who took the university entrance exam prior to 1903.[57] She graduated in 1900 and would have been able to attend the university, but chose instead to enrol in Zahle's teachers' college, graduating from there in 1903. That same year she married the philologist and

[55] Her academic production comprises primarily articles in journals, most of them written in Norwegian, and most of them published in the 1940s and 1950s.

[56] Her father was a member of the board of directors for Dansk Kvindesamfund (The Danish Society for Women) and a promoter of employing women in government positions.

[57] From 1903 girls were allowed to attend the Latin schools, previously reserved for boys.

Figure 9.3 Lis Jacobsen at the defence of her doctoral dissertation in 1910.
Photographer: Julie Laurberg. Reproduced with kind permission of the Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.

cultural historian Jacob Peter Jacobsen (1869–1918), who encouraged her to begin studying the Scandinavian languages at the University of Copenhagen. In 1907 she was awarded the university's gold medal for her treatise on the branching of Common Scandinavian (Jacobsen 1907), and she received her Master's degree in 1908.

Her husband's continuous encouragement, including playing a significant role in caring for their two daughters, born in 1904 and 1905, when she had just started studying at university, led her to embark on a research career, and in 1910 she was the first Danish woman to receive a doctorate in Scandinavian linguistics. Her dissertation was on the history of the Danish standard language (Jacobsen 1910). Her primary thesis was that the standard language was based on the older language of the Danish Chancery, and not on the language found in the early Bible translations as generally assumed. She envisioned this work as the first volume of a larger work on the history of the Danish language from the oldest written language to the present, but in the process of writing her dissertation she gave up on this project as she encountered a lack of well-edited texts, handbooks, dictionaries, and monographs to rely on as sources.

Lis Jacobsen was also impatient when no university position was available for her after she completed her studies.[58] Consequently she struck out in another direction. Dissatisfied with the lack of available sources for carrying out her large-scale plan for a history of the Danish language, she gave a lecture in the spring of 1911 at a meeting of Selskab for nordisk filologi (The Society for Nordic Philology) to an audience of influential academics in which she outlined the goals and means for carrying out research on the Danish language and its history, published as *Maal og midler i dansk sprogforskning* (Jacobsen 1911). In this lecture she presented an ambitious and detailed plan for establishing a national editorial society to remedy this lack, and later that same year, with the support of the historian Kristian Erslev, she founded Det danske sprog- og litteraturselskab (The Danish Language and Literature Society), the purpose of which was to edit works about language and literature. She was the President of this society until 1931 and Director until 1951.

In addition to initiating and organizing editorial projects to be carried out within the Danish language and literature society, she was also constantly engaged in projects of her own. One of these, her linguistically innovative approach to the study of 'woman and man', *Kvinde og mand* (1912), deserves particular mention in this context. Here she showed that all the medieval terms for men had their origin in society, whereas the terms for women were related either to their gender or to men (detailed presentations of this interesting work are found in Bull 1992).

Almost all of her independent endeavours were related to her projected history of the Danish language. The oldest written language was found in the runes, and in 1914 she convinced one of her teachers, Ludvig F. A. Wimmer (1839–1920), to let her publish a condensed edition of his monumental work (1893–1908) on the Danish runes (Wimmer 1914). Thereafter she was able to produce a number of monographs dealing with reinterpretations of the runic inscriptions on several of the individual stones (Jacobsen 1927b, 1929, 1931a, 1931b, 1933, 1935), and with the runologist Erik Moltke (1901–1984) she began working on a new two-volume work containing all of the Danish runic inscriptions known at the time. The volumes were completed during the German occupation of Denmark (Jacobsen and Moltke 1941–1942) and included an atlas with photographs of each stone using a special technique developed by Moltke, readings and interpretations, a dictionary, a grammar, and an index. A pocket edition was also published at the same time (Jacobsen and Moltke 1942).

[58] The first female professor at the University of Copenhagen was not appointed until thirty-five years later.

As a Jew, Lis Jacobsen was forced to flee to Sweden during the German occupation, and she stayed there from 1943 to 1945. After the war she returned to Denmark and resumed her linguistic endeavours as energetically as before.[59]

9.10 Conclusion

Each of the Nordic countries has had its own individual, though sometimes intertwined, political developments. These different national histories have impacted strongly on the opportunities for women to pursue a career, including as a linguist. Sweden and Denmark were separate independent nation states throughout the period investigated, while Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands for several hundred years suffered a colonial or semi-colonial status under Danish rule. This, of course, means that that the opportunities for both men and women in these parts of the Danish realm were also hampered by the political situation. Arguably, it follows from this that the fate of intellectually inclined and ambitious women was harder in the semi-colonies than in Denmark proper and Sweden.[60] However, the gender ideology was basically the same in all the Nordic countries, and when a new level of increased gender equality was achieved, this happened more or less simultaneously in all parts of the Nordic region.

Given the fact that institutions of higher education, and even grammar schools and secondary education, developed in Sweden and Denmark before any such institutions were established in the semi-colonies, it is understandable that the opportunity to acquire institutionalized formal education was available for Swedish and Danish women to a greater extent than for those living on the periphery. The pioneer women in Sweden and Denmark, however, had to fight hard for their right to an education, and the same thing happened in Norway after the University of Christiania opened in 1813. No bastion in any of these countries was defeated without a battle.

In addition to the general structural obstacles and impediments, most women also faced social and economic barriers. Most of the women named in this chapter came from privileged backgrounds. Their families often had the means to support them while they qualified to become either teachers or authors or translators, or, later on, linguists. This road was not open for people lacking financial means, of

[59] An account of Lis Jacobsen's many achievements after World War II, both within the Danish language and literature society and in the numerous other projects she set in motion, as well as in her continued independent work, can be found in Pedersen (2000).

[60] The term that best describes the relationship between Denmark, on the one hand, and Norway, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands, on the other, during the 'Danish time' is often a matter of controversy. Personal union, the twin kingdom, and other euphemisms have been used. The term semi-colony is a sort of compromise.

either sex. Ambitious men could, however, sometimes get loans and grants to finance an education, something that was impossible for women.

The third obstacle faced by women was the lack of a job market. Since government positions were closed to women, they were not allowed to teach in grammar schools and at universities until 1912 in Norway; 1921 in Denmark (including Iceland and the Faroe Islands); and 1925 in Sweden. After the legal restrictions were lifted in all three countries, women still had, as we have seen, great difficulties when it came to acquiring tenured positions. The gendered glass ceiling was kept very low, particularly in academia, and it has only been during the last few decades, between the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, that we have witnessed a gradual lifting of that ceiling. Given all these barriers, it is admirable that the women discussed here had the stamina and courage to persevere in acquiring an education and in utilizing the few possibilities available to them.

10
British women's roles in the standardization and study of English

Carol Percy

10.1 Introduction

Women have studied and shaped the English language since speakers of a West Germanic language invaded Britain in the fifth century CE. Yet, given the subordinate status of women's intellectual activities, their work was often oral, unacknowledged, or published pseudonymously or under a male's name. It is thus difficult, but not impossible, to identify women's contributions to the standardization and study of English.

This chapter traces key developments in the history and historiography of English, identifying women's most-representative opportunities to engage with the linguistics of English, and describing works that have earned their authors attention in modern scholarship.[1] To do this, women's educational opportunities and their stereotypical social roles will be considered. Their family's status and (typically) male relatives' support gave some women unusual advantages. Later, women's stereotypical associations with domestic conversation and elementary pedagogy gave more of them space to work and write on the vernacular, though persistently in ways that were low in prestige.

In more formal domains Old English was subordinate first to the Latin of the Christian church and then (as Middle English) to the French of the conquering Norman rulers in 1066. This chapter will begin (section 10.2) by considering the conditions permitting some medieval and Renaissance women indirectly to cultivate English as a medium for religion, education, and other elevated subjects. Next, it will survey trends in women's teaching of English, first in the early stages of its codification, and later, from the eighteenth century, when leisured women were expected to be domestic educators and attend to matters of literacy, conversation, and grammatical propriety (section 10.3). Some women held formal

[1] Standard references include the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–), Alston (1965–2006; 1998–2019), Michael (1987), and *Orlando* (Brown, Clements, and Grundy 2006–2019).

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positions of authority, especially as schoolteachers, and a few were recognized for publications that codified English or its 'marginal' varieties, thus helping other women transmit 'proper' English. Section 10.4 charts the rise of philology in the nineteenth century, and the contributions of women to major patriotic projects, such as the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), in the age of the gentleman amateur. Finally (section 10.5), I consider women's roles in the rise of English as a university subject, when more women were editing and teaching earlier vernacular literature, and applying phonetics to elocution, speech therapy, and modern language teaching. Questions about the prestige and recognition of women's linguistic work are revisited at the end of the chapter, where the (over)representation of women academics in the first volume of the *Year's Work in English Studies 1919–20*, an annual bibliography, is observed. Indeed, this chapter's focus requires us to revise how we narrate our discipline's history. Individual contributions are once again marginalized when we privilege the lone scholar's original publication over private, collaborative, and organic conversations.[2]

10.2 Extending the domains of English

10.2.1 High-ranking mentors of influential men

The early history of Old English is one of sociolinguistic complexity and multilingualism: Celtic was the language of the earlier inhabitants, and Latin was the language of learning and the Church (Schreier and Hundt 2013). Elite women figure prominently in two of the foundational myths of the English language as encouragers and enablers of male linguistic endeavours (Lees and Overing 2001). In *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*), Bede records that Caedmon (a Celtic name), the first poet to extend Christian content to English verse, was encouraged to do so by Abbess Hild of Whitby (614–680), and in Asser's *De rebus gestis Aelfredi*, King Alfred (848/849–899) memorized vernacular poetry for his mother, and in later life would lead a translation programme from Latin into English.

10.2.2 Pious vernacular translators

Did elite women's multilingualism help elevate English as a religious and intellectual medium? A few female Christians certainly fostered the learning of Latin.

[2] This chapter incorporates suggestions from our editors and anonymous reviewers, and from Jane Hodson, Andrew Hope, Vicki Low, Lynne Magnusson, Fabienne Michelet, Matthew Risling, and Jill Shefrin.

Hild's Whitby school developed connections with Canterbury's, while nuns at the wealthy abbey of Barking understood the elaborate Latin of the treatise, *De virginitate* (*On Virginity*), which Aldhelm (d. 709/710) dedicated to them.[3] Some later nuns translated religious and moral material into French. In post-Conquest Barking, Clemence (*fl.* 1163–*c.*1200) translated *La Vie de Sainte Catherine* (*The Life of Saint Catherine*) from a long version of the Latin Vulgate. Of course, not all translations were sacred. Marie de France (*fl. c.*1180–*c.*1189) positioned herself as a cultural mediator by producing French versions of Breton, English, and Latin texts (Finke 1999: 156–8). These translators' use of French reflects both its sociolinguistic prestige and women's associations with vernaculars.[4] Even nuns with access to Latin were more likely to read French and English, and some were minimally literate (Baswell 1999: 144–5).

English writing took on a new impetus when the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) included preaching and teaching among clerical obligations. Religious translations by a few women helped to elaborate the capacities of English. The first woman known to translate a French text into English was Eleanor, Lady Hull (*c.*1394–1460), who also had enough Latin to produce a commentary on the Psalms. King Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), translated two 'popular devotional texts' from French and commissioned others, exploiting the powerful new medium of print (Hosington 2014: 249–52).[5] Such courtly patrons also fuelled the developing lexicographical tradition. The list of women who encouraged English-multilingual dictionaries begins with Henry VIII's sister Mary Tudor (1496–1533) and the *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (1530; *Explanation of the French Language*) by her former tutor John Palsgrave (Russell 2018: 51–7).

Margaret Beaufort was also a patron of new Cambridge colleges founded to promote the study of classical Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The new humanism prioritized classical philology over scholastic philosophy for understanding Christian texts. Its advocates argued that such learning should be extended to the private education of elite girls. Mary Tudor was the first royal woman to receive 'serious instruction' in Latin (Salmon 1994: 97). Juan Luis Vives's (1492/1493–1540) treatise *De institutione feminae Christianae* (1523; *On the Education of a Christian Woman*) was translated into English (1529?) and, under the patronage of Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536), formed the basis of the education of her daughter, the future Mary I (1516–1558). Vives argued that the aim of humanist education for girls was to foster goodness and wisdom, since they had no need for training in the masculine art of eloquence.[6] Elizabeth I would prove him wrong.

[3] For the Anglo-Saxons, see also Lerer (1991: 61–96), Nelson (2004), Thacker (2004), Watt (2012).
[4] For Anglo-Normans, see Wogan-Browne (1994: 51–2), Crane (1999: 46).
[5] On Middle English, see Millett (1993), Cannon (1999: 332–40), Barratt (2010: 233–5, 318).
[6] On humanists, see also Wayne (1985), Rex (2004), Weikel (2008).

The Reformation brought English into greater prominence, even though Protestants believed that the sole sound basis for right Christian belief was access to Scripture in 'the languages originall [sic]', to quote Francis Bacon (1605: 7). In and beyond the schoolroom, women translated devotional texts, though they published relatively few (Hannay 1985; Hosington 2014: 248). Henry VIII's last wife Katherine Parr (1512–1548) translated *Psalms or Prayers* (1544) and composed and paraphrased *Prayers or Meditations* (1545) before collaborating to produce accessible vernacular texts, including in 1548 an English translation of *Paraphrases in Novum Testamentum* (1524; *Paraphrases on the New Testament*) by Erasmus (1548); this contained contributions from Princess Mary and was eventually disseminated in every English parish (1548–1552). Similarly, Lady Anne Bacon (*c.*1528–1610), one of the scholarly daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke and the mother of Francis, translated what became the definitive text of John Jewel's original Latin work (1562) as *Defence of the Church of England* (Jewel 1564).[7] Religious terminology duly appeared in early monolingual dictionaries. The female readers imagined for *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604) likely reflected Robert Cawdrey's awareness of aristocrats' patronage and mothers' 'evangelical potential' as well as women's stereotypical vernacularity (Brown 2001: 143; Russell 2018: 52).

10.2.3 Learned vernacular authors

As early modern vernaculars increasingly became domains for (male) learning, with a husband's support, a self-proclaimed monolingual reader like Margaret Cavendish, the Duchess of Newcastle upon Tyne (1623?–1673), could write and publish on philosophical, scientific, and literary topics, sometimes simultaneously. Her *Philosophical Letters* (1664) engaged with philosophers including Thomas Hobbes, whom she knew personally (Dodds 2013: 11, 203). Cavendish was known for her learning but criticized for her vanity. Less transgressive but equally extraordinary was the multilingual Viscountess Anne Conway (1631–1679), who learnt philosophy by corresponding with male mentors but whose treatise was published only posthumously, translated into Latin as *Principia philosophiae antiquissimae et recentissimae* (1690; *Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*), and published in English in 1692 (Hutton 2004: 5, 18, 47, 225–8). For elite women, religious translations were safer demonstrations of modest piety than metaphysical arguments about divinity.

Around 1700, two remarkable women used their multilingualism to encourage others to study English. Bathsua Makin (*c.*1600–*c.*1681) promoted English grammar as an instrument to teach girls Latin in her anonymous *Essay to Revive the*

[7] On religious translators, see also Magnusson (2004), Demers (2005: 83–8), James (2008: 201–11), Mueller (2009: 222–7), Hosington (2014).

Antient Education of Gentlewomen (1673). In 1715, Elizabeth Elstob (1683–1756) produced the first English grammar of Old English. These lower-ranking women's contributions reflect family support for their knowledge of other languages. As a girl, Makin composed poetry in classical and modern languages for members of the royal family and collaborated on a shorthand system with her schoolmaster father (Butler 1951: 212–14; Salmon 1996: 239–44; Pal 2012: 180–7). Elstob produced an unpublished translation of a proto-feminist treatise from French (1708), studied Old English with her Oxford-educated brother William, and adapted her grammar from Latin ones (Gretsch 1999a: 172–4; 1999b: 510).

Both women became respected members of scholarly and political networks. Makin advocated teaching Latin in English with pictorial aids, rather than the standard rote method (Makin 1673: 37–43). She developed her own method to complement the general reforms by Johann Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who by teaching foreign languages through the vernacular and complex ideas through familiar objects also extended women's as well as men's access to 'languages and wisdom' and thus 'the kingdom of the future life' (Comenius 1953: 8). With her father's court connections, Makin was an unusual paid tutor of royal and aristocratic girls (Salmon 1996: 245–6; Pal 2012: 197–205). Elstob and her brother edited texts. Elstob and Makin framed their work as tools for proving and improving women's intellects. Both dedicated their texts to royal females, and used the vernacular to facilitate women's learning of 'harder' languages. Makin's anonymous essay enumerates female achievements and advertises a school. Scholars infer her authorship from the specific pupils mentioned (Pal 2012: 202). The title page of Elstob's grammar decreed that females were the best 'Criticks' of the mother tongue. In the preface to her edition of *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birth-Day of St. Gregory* (1709), she linked women's intellectual and spiritual improvement (quoted in Way 2015: 419).

Makin defended girls' study of Latin and French on the grounds that English was not yet a medium for 'all Learning' (Makin 1673: 34). French was more fashionable: a contemporary proposal for another ladies' school lists it among accomplishments and domestic arts (Pal 2012: 227). Elstob's preface demonstrates familiarity with publications heralding the rising status of English, including Jonathan Swift's politicized proposal for its standardization (Elstob 1715: iii–xiv). According to Gretsch (1999b: 519–21), Elstob used English less to empower women than to encourage patronage of Old English and the inclusion of its students in a future linguistic academy. Way (2015: 429–40) contends that Elstob constructed (Old) English as polite and patriotic in a rhetorical attempt to transcend politics, which is why she dedicates her grammar to both Hickes and the Hanoverian royalty he opposed, and why she uses English poetry to defend English monosyllables against Swift. Elstob is now recognized for engagement in numerous political debates, but patronage failed to materialize for her studies and she was forced to support herself as a teacher when both her brother and

Hickes died in 1715. Likewise, there is no further evidence of Makin's school (Salmon 1996: 246–8; Pal 2012: 231). These stories underscore the practical necessity of male mentors and of teaching for intelligent women, whether out of economic desperation or domestic obligation. The anonymity of *An Essay* and Mark Lewis's role in the promotion of Makin's school remind us of women's stereotypical confinement to private life.

10.3 Teaching and codifying proper English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

10.3.1 Early literacy

Women's authority as teachers of elementary literacy and language increased as English expanded in range and rose in status. By the later Middle Ages, ABC primers were common enough that mothers might have used them for teaching (Clanchy 2011: 149–53). Well before the late modern period, women across the social range taught literacy at home and at 'dame schools' (Higginson 1974; Charlton 1999; Shefrin 2009b: 16). Such work rarely leaves traces, but we can assess the applied linguistic knowledge of one well-bred domestic educator from her handmade teaching aids. Some of the nearly 400 surviving cards created by Jane Johnson (1706–1759), a wealthy clergyman's wife, use traditional methods from hornbooks and primers. Styles and Arizpe (2004: 61) use terms like 'phonics' and 'whole word recognition' to describe the cards; these rigorously explore variations of sound and spelling, in syllables like 'tra tre tri tro tru' and words like 'bad had lad glad' and 'Laugh cough/rough tough' (Johnson *c*.1740–1759: set 1, items 15, 16, 31). Johnson's cards demonstrate attention to language patterns and the utility of repeated sounds. There is evidence they were used in domestic conversation practice, a sociolinguistic skill for both sexes (Arizpe and Styles 2004: 344; Cohen 2009, 2015).

Johnson began to craft cards in the 1740s, probably modelling them on products by contemporary publishers like Mary Cooper and John Newbery, or their unrecorded predecessors (Shefrin 2009b: 22; Grenby 2011: 37–43). It is unsurprising that a vicar's wife would retain some traditional connections between reading and morality (Arizpe and Styles 2004: 346–49). However, at a time when religious primers had begun to compete with non-religious spelling books, Johnson's cards feature both pious and decidedly secular subject matter: 'Lord Mountjoy, & Miss Barbara Johnson, Dancing a Menuet together at a Ridotto in the Hay Market' (Arizpe and Styles 2004: 349; Styles and Arizpe 2004: 65–6). Indeed, the cards show an intricate interdependence between private teaching aids and commercial print. Affixed to the back of some cards are images coloured from a printed 'lottery sheet', while others copy text from Newbery's *Little Pretty*

Pocket-Book (1744; Styles and Arizpe 2004: 58, 344–5). Johnson's work attests to the rising market value of children's literacy learning, ideally through tangible, attractive texts.

A different pioneering reader featured another caregiver's expert understanding of very young children. *Lessons for Children from Two to Three Years Old* was the first in a series (1778–1779) that implied appropriateness and progress. Its anonymous author was the poet and educator Anna Laetitia Barbauld (1743–1825). Her small books were innovative in several respects. The preface mentions their large print on good paper, and the lessons evoke the physical context of reading, encouraging the young learner, on her mother's lap, to point at familiar words with a pin. Barbauld was an early advocate of grading the difficulty of the prose by age, and of uncoupling literary and religious instruction. Her family background probably exposed her to the philosophy that made her work so timely and effective. Her father was a non-conformist educator; she was familiar with Hartley's ideas linking bodily experience and mental conceptions, and with Priestley, who disseminated them (McCarthy 2008: 193–8; Grenby 2011: 47).

Barbauld's texts were widely acknowledged and imitated. The preface of *Practical Education: Or, the History of Harry and Lucy* mentions the 'lessons' of 'the ingenious Mrs. Barbould [sic]' as a predecessor (Edgeworth and Edgeworth 1780: vi–vii). Myers (1995: 130) identifies Honora Edgeworth (1751–1780) as its author: after her death, Edgeworth's husband Richard (1744–1817) assumed authorship, writing as a male educator who 'speaks from experience' (Edgeworth and Edgeworth 1780: x). Barbauld and her successors helped parents use conversation and sensory investigation to direct children's incremental progress in literacy and life. Iversen (2014: 339–41) details how Honora used the glossary to help children build upon, and abstract from, the 'known' 'real life' of stories (1780: iv–v). For instance, the 'dairy' in one story (21ff.) is glossed as 'a place where milk is kept' (110). Also inspired by Barbauld, Lady Ellenor Fenn (1744–1813) pseudonymously produced many age- and sex-appropriate texts, including *The Child's Grammar* (*c.*1791a), *The Mother's Grammar* (*c.*1791b), *Parsing Lessons for Young Children* (1798b), and *Parsing Lessons for Elder Pupils* (1798a), and spelling books and readers with lessons of ascending difficulty (Stoker 2009: 49–50, 52–6, 64–72). A story in the second of the graduated volumes of *Cobwebs to Catch Flies* (1783) depicts children learning how to read and older girls learning how to teach, thus justifying girls' education and parents' purchase of the related game. 'The Useful Play' concludes with an advertisement for teaching 'schemes' 'by way of sport' (II, 12). Barbauld and Fenn taught appropriate social as well as linguistic knowledge, and their books reflect the wealth of their readers (and authors) (McCarthy 2008: 197; Stoker 2009: 51). However, organizations such as the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland adapted both *Lessons* and *Cobwebs* for poor children (Raftery 2009: 155–6).

If teaching young family members to read became one activity befitting leisured women, teaching the poor became another (Hilton 2007: 133–56). In an advertisement in the *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* (29–31 January 1793: 4) for works by 'Mrs. [Sarah] Trimmer' (1741–1810), we see that her *Charity School Spelling-Book* (1792?) was published as part of a *Plan* set out in her *Reflections upon the Education of Children in Charity Schools* (1792a). The order of the books and the description of the accompanying *Teacher's Assistant: Consisting of Instructions Relating to the First Part of the Charity School Spelling Book* (1792b) promises a familiar connection between literacy and piety. However, Trimmer's innovation was in the ambitious context for her plan and its system of teacher training and mass instruction via 'Lectures in the stile [sic] of familiar conversation' (see Heath 2003; Hilton 2007: 145–9). Trimmer's spelling-book was reprinted regularly through her lifetime and as late as 1846, and leisured women like Anna Gurney and her friend Sarah Buxton (below) used Trimmer as a model when organizing schools in their neighbourhood (Toswell 2016: 75–6).

Nineteenth-century women taught literacy to an increasing number of children. After the Elementary Education Act of 1870, some women won positions on school boards (McDermid 2012: 24–9).[8] More research might be done about those like Rose Mary Crawshay (1828–1907) and Catherine Buckton (1826/1827–1904), who advocated the phonic system of spelling, which Buckton successfully introduced into all schools run by the school board in Leeds (John 2004; Shepherd 2004). Teaching young children to read must have motivated Laura Soames (1840–1895) to produce her *Scheme of English Spelling Reform* (1880) (MacMahon 1994: 105–6, 118). Less typically, philanthropists like Matilda Sharpe (1830–1916) hoped to empower large numbers of working-class children by teaching them Latin (Watts 2004). Trained women teachers also educated more prosperous preschool children in kindergartens. Hilton (2007: 201–22) introduces the work of women like Bertha (Meyer) Ronge (1818–1863), whose contributions to the system included the first English 'infant garden' in 1851 and a *Kinder Garten Alphabet* (Read 2008).[9]

10.3.2 Prescribing grammar and gender rules: Feminine pedagogies

The proliferation of English grammars in the eighteenth century reflected the need both for codification of the rising standard and for guidance of socially mobile

[8] For elementary literacy instruction, see also Silver (1977 [1965]), Hilton (2007: 133–222), Shefrin (2009a: 176–9), McDermid (2012: 123–5).

[9] For missionaries like the Quaker Hannah Kilham (1774–1832), who taught liberated slave children in Sierra Leone their own vernaculars, see Fyfe (2006), Twells (2009: 133–42), Russell (2018: 102–8).

individuals (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2008: 10). The success of one of the most influential and prolific grammarians depended upon hiding her gender. The numerous editions of 'A. Fisher's' publications reflect the author's pedagogical expertise: the name 'ANN FISHER' appeared earliest in print in 1745 advertising her new school in Newcastle upon Tyne (Rodríguez-Gil 2008: 151, 169–74). Ann (Fisher) Slack (1719–1778) became well known as an educator and print entrepreneur, but published her textbooks using a male persona. Her much-imitated 'Exercises of Bad English' in the *New Grammar* crystallized an ideology about standard English. Explicitly adapted from classical pedagogy, these exercises show both the status of Latin in the vernacular tradition and the ability of women to learn Latin, despite social stereotypes (Rodríguez-Gil 2008: 166–9). Fisher's grammar was probably the earliest disseminator of the now-sexist rule that the 'Masculine Person' *he* can represent a gender-neutral antecedent (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1992: 167). The earliest editions were associated with Daniel Fisher, probably a relative, being attributed to 'the Author of *The Child's Christian Education*, and others' (Fisher 1750: title page; Rodríguez-Gil 2008: 149). After marrying the printer Thomas Slack, 'A. Fisher' assumed sole authorship of the grammar and its many subsequent editions. Her vernacular textbooks advertised a reformed pedagogy for male and female pupils, practical and pleasant. Once 'Fisher's' reputation was established, this mother of nine daughters used her annual *Ladies Memorandum Book* (1771–1778) to promulgate a course of education for women (Cajka 2011: 590–5).

Knowledgeable grammarians connected social and moral propriety with intellectual capital (Cajka 2008: 192).[10] Grammar was prestigious because it was difficult; learning it required mental and moral training, and expert instruction. Of the nine eighteenth-century women known to have published grammars, seven (including Fisher) were schoolteachers; overall, teachers account for 140 of the 275 grammars in the Eighteenth-Century English Grammars (ECEG) database (Yáñez-Bouza and Rodríguez-Gil 2013: 152). Provincial teachers published grammars as both prospectus and textbook. One London publication reached a wide audience: there were nine pre-1800 editions of *The Accidence* [. . .] *for the Use of Young Ladies* [. . .] *by a Lady* (1775). Although the lady was not named, a reviewer correctly identified her as a teacher at the fashionable girls' school mentioned in the dedication (Cajka 2008: 199). Like others, Ellin Devis (1746–1820) marketed her textbook as an introduction to Robert Lowth's popular grammar (1762). Devis's text constructed its users as elite intellectuals. Although Lowth's grammar used literary quotations to illustrate bad English, the earliest editions of Devis's *Accidence* did not emphasize error and its correction (Percy 2010: 49–50). Rather, her 'Maxims and Reflections' drew from literary texts and conduct books,

[10] For eighteenth-century women's grammars, see further Mitchell (2001: 141–53), Percy (2009, 2013).

including Hester Chapone's, discussed below (Cajka 2008: 198–205). Other extracts selected for parsing were not only religious and moral but also socially elevated: the final extracts are headed 'TITLE' and 'WORLD', so the students completing the course are constructed as young women who can make important choices (Devis 1775: 96–7). In other grammars (including later editions of Devis), students accord with norms by correcting errors. *The Grammatical Play-Thing* (1800) by the Birmingham schoolteacher Mrs Eves includes errors of pronunciation, some likely local (Percy 2009: 82). Female grammarians generally emphasized correctness, at least with respect to preposition stranding; only Fisher defends their end-position on stylistic grounds (Yáñez-Bouza 2015: 64–5). Given the escalating importance of proper accent, further research might be done on nineteenth-century women's codification of correctness in pronunciation manuals, grammars, and other usage guides.[11]

Contrary to Latin grammar schools, where elite boys were taught by rote, with the 'rod', female grammarians sold their methods as effective, pleasant, and feminine. Fenn represents authorities like Lowth as unintelligible, while upholding women like herself as ideal educators of the young (Percy 2006: 129; 2009: 91–2). She cannily exploits maternal stereotypes, reframing playfulness as pedagogically effective. In one such instance, she suggests that mothers might help their sons distinguish between the 'potential' and 'subjunctive' mood before they go to school (Percy 2006: 116, 118–22). Fenn encourages teachers of small children to use objects to understand abstract concepts, and represents learning through conversation rather than memorization (Walle 2017: 29). Fenn's mother tells her children that 'you are surrounded by nouns': the constraints of domesticity can be turned to everyone's advantage. Fenn represented motherly indulgence as encouraging intellectual development; thus, some of her books feature expensive teaching aids like her 'Grammar Box', divided into compartments of different sizes filled with cards corresponding to each part of speech (Immel 1997; Percy 2006: 113).

Games were popular among schoolteachers: those developed by the Abbé Gaultier to teach children of fellow French refugees were particularly influential after 1792 (Percy 2009: 92–4). However, attractive games often concealed traditional methods. It is evident that Mrs Eves' alter ego, 'Mrs Friendly', relied on rote memorization and coercion more than conversation and play (Cajka 2008: 205–9). Even the 'strikingly modern' pedagogy set out by Blanch Mercy uses memorization. Her fill-in-the-blank exercises engage pupils, and her 'elaborate' 'scripted' dialogues provide models of real conversations (Cajka 2008: 214–15). Nothing is known about Blanch Mercy: the possible pseudonym suggests that a woman's name was deemed marketable in teaching grammar. Throughout the

[11] On nineteenth-century women's pronunciation, see Mugglestone (1995: 160–207), Beal (2004: 117, 181–2).

nineteenth century, women continued to produce children's grammars, with progressive, playful lessons: see Jane Marcet (below) (Navest 2011: 203–26).

10.3.3 Domestic conversation as method and subject of instruction

10.3.3.1 Conduct books

Women are strongly associated with interpersonal and private interactions. Before the era of universal education, familiar conversation was a key medium of instruction and sociability for both sexes, and women's association with domesticity gave a few authority as published authors. Dialogues and stories in publications like *Evenings at Home* (1792–1796), written by Barbauld and her brother, John Aikin, reflected reality for educated readers (Cohen 2015). Aikin invited his children to comment on his readings from *Evenings at Home*. Similarly, the bluestocking hostess Elizabeth Montagu (1718–1800) was trained as a child to summarize her step-grandfather's intellectual discussions. Surviving examples of children's instruction show that domestic conversation was valued (Cohen 2015: 447–52). Better known are the records of adults' conversations, for instance by Frances Burney and Hester Thrale (later Piozzi). Their intellectual coteries devoted considerable attention to theories and practices of conversation. Thrale details a conversation in which she, Montagu, and Samuel Johnson assessed a claim that English spoken near Dublin was similar to that of Chaucer (Piozzi 1942: I, 342). The bluestockings show that intellectual women had some cultural authority, not just domestically but in 'quasi-public' conversational salons (Staves 2006: 303, 359).

Conduct manuals from this period detail the significance of women's conversation and emphasize its civilizing effects.[12] In *Sermons to Young Women*, James Fordyce (1766: I, 36) contrasts the 'knowledge and piety' of women's conversation against 'formal lectures and awful admonitions'. He somewhat paradoxically locates the conversation of 'cultivated women' in the natural order, aligning their 'Unstudied Correctness' with 'the simplicity of nature' in contrast to the pedantry of male scholars and their 'profounder studies' (Fordyce 1766: I, 199–200). For Hester Chapone, women's conversation and 'propriety of behaviour' are the interconnected products of 'instruction, of observation and reasoning' (Chapone 1773: II, 97–115). Her *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady* (1773) affirm her conviction that 'women have the same rational and moral nature as men' (Hilton 2007: 57). Chapone's chapter 'On Politeness and Accomplishments' inevitably contextualizes her programme in the 'private and domestic' sphere: her stated aim is to cultivate a 'companion' who

[12] On this, see Cohen (1999), Sutherland (2000).

is 'desirable' because she makes others shine (Chapone 1773: II, 98–9). However, she insists that young women can speak pleasingly in company (Chapone 1773: II, 103–5).

Chapone wrote in opposition to men like John Gregory, who notoriously warned his daughters to keep 'any learning [...] a profound secret, especially from the men' while maintaining 'great ease and openness in your conversation' (Gregory 1774: 31, 37). She emphasized the compatibility of intellectual satisfaction with 'our natures and proper employments'. Although 'the learned languages' require too much 'labour and time', Chapone defended French as well as difficult English authors like '*Shakespear* [sic] and *Milton*', deeming them indispensable for intellectual and imaginative 'relish' as well as for studying 'human nature' and 'principles of morality' (Chapone 1773: II, 119–21, 127). The popularity of her *Letters*, written originally for her niece and then dedicated to Elizabeth Montagu, prove that reading publics were (within limits) receptive to women's demonstrations of reason and learning. Staves argues that Chapone 'legitimate[d] her authority' with 'a kind of familial model' through her 'persona as a concerned aunt'. Indeed, the *Letters* 'became the most widely read work of the first generation of bluestockings' (Staves 2006: 291–2).

10.3.3.2 Domestic lexicography

Conversation likewise features in Hester Piozzi's *British Synonymy; or, An Attempt at Regulating the Choice of Words in Familiar Conversation* (1794). Piozzi was exceptionally well educated; for instance, she uses Latin, learnt from her tutor, in the epigraph and preface (Piozzi 1794: I, ii–iv). Yet, she explicitly defines her topic as 'familiar talk' and her qualification for 'direct[ing] the choice of phrases' in it as being female (Piozzi 1794: I, ii). Piozzi's dictionary is often linked with that of her friend, Samuel Johnson. Her posthumous collections of the letters (1788) and anecdotes (1786) of Samuel Johnson had furthered his fame as a conversationalist. Piozzi's motivation for *British Synonymy* was probably domestic. She pays special attention to second-language learners (Berglund 2009: 97), and her Italian husband was surely foremost among the 'Foreign Friends' to whom it is dedicated. Piozzi distances herself from her lexicographical predecessors, including the 'Abbé [Gabriel] Girard' and what she describes (Piozzi 1794: I, vii) as his 'somewhat reprehensible' 'sentiments' in *La Justesse de la langue Françoise, ou les différentes significations des mots qui passent pour synonymes* (1718; *The Accuracy of the French Language, or The Different Meaning of Words Thought to be Synonyms*). Her failure to acknowledge the first English synonymy, John Trusler's *The Difference, Between Words, Esteemed Synonymous* (1766), was probably deliberate (Hüllen 2004: 225; Berglund 2009: 101). Berglund argues that Piozzi also distances herself from Johnson, with whom she quibbles in her twelfth essay (Piozzi 1794: I, 18–19). By including him among other literary sources and connections, however, Piozzi emphasizes her own cultural authority (Berglund 2009: 103).

According to Berglund (2013: 229), Piozzi considers gender issues via 'Doctor Johnson's notion of a sex in words' (Piozzi 1794: II, 366). She categorizes the qualities denoted by 'busy' and 'bustle' as female but represents them as potentially useful in the 'commercial' public sphere (Piozzi 1794: I, 83). Her treatments of 'prudently, discreetly' and 'wisely, judiciously' distinguish the feminine domestic from the masculine public, but she subtly undermines essentialist stereotypes by attributing 'domestic virtues' like 'prudence' and 'a naturally cautious temper' to successful 'female politicians' like Elizabeth I (Piozzi 1794: II, 366–8; Shapiro 2018: 203). While Piozzi's preface suggests that women's linguistic education should be used for domestic satisfaction (Piozzi 1794: I, v–vi; Shapiro 2018: 202), the main text blurs distinctions between male oratory and female eloquence, implying that the latter may be more effective than rule-bound rhetoric (Piozzi 1794: II, 82–3; Smith 2007: 22–4). Piozzi was not the first or only woman to publish lists of synonyms. Hüllen's contrastive history also includes Devis's 1782 *Miscellaneous Lessons* (Hüllen 2004: 108–88) and *A Selection of English Synonyms* (1851) published anonymously by Elizabeth Jane Whately (1822–1893). However, for Lindsay Rose Russell (2018: 140–9), Piozzi is a pioneer in acknowledging the cultural contingency of meaning and 'anticipat[ing] trends in lexicography that favour spoken corpora, extended usage notes, and conversational defining styles'.

Domestic conversation is a method used in other women's dictionaries, though in her survey Russell (2018: 68–131) shows that even 'domestic' matters, which scholars still treat as uniform and self-evident, varied considerably according to class. Domestic lexicographical material attributed to Juliana Berners in the *Boke of St. Albans* (1486) includes 'perhaps the earliest English descriptions of falconry, carving, and heraldry terminology' (Russell 2018: 73). Several generations of women educators produced glossaries and dictionaries for children and their mothers. Anna Murphy (later Jameson; 1794–1860) adapted *A First, or Mother's Dictionary for Children* (1813?) from the glossary to *Early Lessons* (1801) by Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849), stepdaughter of Honora; Edgeworth herself had drawn on the glossary to Honora's *Practical Education* (1780). Progressive educators like the Edgeworths subordinated rote memorization to experiential learning. Iversen observes that some 'entries in Edgeworth's (1801) Glossary and in Murphy [1813] read more like conversations than dictionary definitions', and that they 'idealized didactic conversations between intelligent children and rational, educated parents, or between pupil and tutor' (Iversen 2014: 343, 345). Moreover, Edgeworth and Murphy both perpetuate 'the ideal of the domestic mother-teacher' (Iversen 2012: 616), 'catechizer and reinforcer of moral and intellectual lessons' (Shapiro 2018: 205). However, Edgeworth represents learning as a purview of both sexes, defining a *barometer* as a device that may be seen by 'Little girls and boys' (Iversen 2012: 615), and encouraging 'friends' of both sexes to learn about shadows (Shapiro 2018: 205).

10.3.3.3 Popular knowledge

Throughout the nineteenth century, textbook authors represented familiar conversation as a medium of private instruction. Jane Marcet (1769–1858) affirmed conversation as a way for female authors to address difficult subjects, though it took her some time to publish under her name. Marcet tackled a persistently difficult topic in *Mary's Grammar* (1835), *Game of Grammar* (1842), and *Willy's Grammar*, featuring a male tutor and examples 'more suitable to the ideas and habits of boys' (1845: preface). Julia Corner (1798–1875) authored the best-selling *Play Grammar, or, the Elements of Grammar, Explained in Easy Games* (1848) and introductory textbook histories.[13] The popularity of such children's grammars underscores the subject's continuing importance. While Marcet and Corner were not linguists, the popularity of their works reflects the value of crafting language accessibly.

10.4 Amateur philologists contributing to patriotic projects

10.4.1 Talking about philology

Etymology was the subject of several conversational texts by British women, likely reflecting public interest in philology spreading from Germany through mid-nineteenth-century Europe. Marcet's *Conversations on Language* appeared in 1844, two years after the founding of the Philological Society. *Etymology Made Easy* was published anonymously by Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett (1856), who would later use her knowledge of German in translations of literature and art history. By 1856, Richard Chenevix Trench's *Study of Words* (1851) had run into seven editions and *English Past and Present* (1855) into three. Trench's lectures were used as a 'point of reference' when the Philological Society formally issued its *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary* (1859). At the same time as Darwin published *On the Origin of Species* (1859), his cousin Hensleigh Wedgwood wrote a *Dictionary of English Etymology* (1859–1865) that speculated on the origins of language.[14] In the wake of Romantic-era 'historicism and nationalism', European vernacular etymologies had popular appeal and cultural resonance (Robins 1997: 199).

Marcet and Bunnett represent mothers as custodians of cultural and lexical distinctions. The mother in Bunnett's *Etymology* teaches her children the meanings of words; tellingly, she begins with *pedigree* (Bunnett 1856: 8). The children

[13] For textbook representations, see Shteir (1996), Secord (2007: 140), Cohen (2015: 452–7). For discussion of some of the authors of these works, see Mitchell (2004), Morse (2004), and Navest (2011: 210–19).

[14] On philology in Britain, see Momma (2013: esp. 125), Gilliver (2016: esp. 1–13).

initially identify themselves with the 'noble, free, generous' if 'simple' Saxon 'lord' and 'lady' (Bunnett 1856: 54–5). Similarly, Marcet's mother figure, 'Mrs. B.', uses educational differences to underscore cultural hierarchies. She refers to uneducated, illiterate children as 'savages' among us (Marcet 1844: 151) and links the distant 'Sanscrit' origins of *father* to universal protective duties of patriarchs 'in savage' and 'civilised life' (Marcet 1844: 66–8). Both authors present themselves as popularizers of men's scholarship. When asked by her child whether she discovered 'these resemblances' herself, Mrs. B. replies that she is 'as ignorant of these ancient languages' as her child. In a footnote, she then acknowledges 'M. Adolphe Pictet of Geneva', who by ascertaining connections among related languages aimed to reconstruct both the language and culture of their proto-Indo-European ancestors in *Les Origines indo-européennes ou les Aryas primitifs* (1859–1863; Marcet 1844: 68–9). Yet, other women would produce original scholarship (see below), some of it encouraged by prominent men in the Philological Society: Trench, Alexander Ellis, and especially Frederick Furnivall (Mugglestone 2013: 45).

10.4.2 Early English language: Translating and editing

Women contributed to linguistic scholarship by translating or editing historical vernacular texts—Elstob with her brother in the early eighteenth century; more through the nineteenth.[15] In 1819, a 'literal' translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was printed in Norwich in a 'very limited impression [...] intended for private circulation', attributed to 'a Lady in the Country, who had only access to the printed Texts' (Gurney 1814: [prefatory note, n.p.]). Anna Gurney (1795–1857) worked with both the Old English and Edmund Gibson's 1692 Latin translation, which in some places she corrected (Garmonsway 1955: 51–2). Translations from languages including German and Old Norse were left in manuscript (Toswell 2016: 81–2). Gurney, who learned Latin and French from her cousin Catherine, shared an interest in Old English with her older half-brother, Hudson, who belonged to the 'Committee for the Publication of Anglo-Saxon and Early English Literary Remains' of the Society of Antiquaries of London (Garmonsway 1955: 45–6). History and literature were growing sources of national pride. Mary Cowden Clarke (1809–1898) spent sixteen years on her *Complete Concordance to Shakespeare*, published in 1844–1845 and frequently reprinted (Wayne 2014: 59). Learned societies' sponsorship of scholarly editions created opportunities for editors of both sexes (Woudhuysen 2014: 85–7).

Editors for the Early English Text Society (EETS) were particularly attentive to language. Established in 1864, the EETS aimed to make early texts available in part for the historical dictionary proposed by the Philological Society. Singleton

[15] On Victorian female medievalists, see Chance (2005), Utz & Schneck (2009), Toswell (forthcoming).

(2005: 91–4, 113) identifies over sixty editors' names on nineteenth-century title pages, and many more acknowledged in paratexts. In 1870, Lucy Toulmin Smith's name (1838–1911) followed her late father's as co-editor of *English Gilds*. Well educated at home, Toulmin Smith was an experienced 'amanuensis' for her antiquarian Unitarian barrister father (Porter 2004). She made some linguistic contributions to *English Gilds*: she thanks Richard Morris for contributing to the glossary she compiled, and credits him with the 'Grammatical Notes' on 'The Language of the East-Midland Gilds' (Toulmin Smith and Toulmin Smith 1870: xii, 460–2). Her later publications confirm her linguistic competence. In 1885, her Oxford University Press edition of the *York Plays* featured a linguistic commentary and glossary (Toulmin Smith 1885b), and her *Manual of the English Grammar and Language for Self-Help* contained a 'historical sketch' of the language (Toulmin Smith 1885a: 17–32). Her professional expertise was eventually recognized; in 1894, she became the first librarian of Manchester College, Oxford.

Women continued to serve as EETS editors. Their names appear in documents like the society's 1910 prospectus, bound with Hilda M. R. Murray's edition of *The Middle English Poem, Erthe upon Erthe* (1911). In 1884/1885, Octavia Richardson edited Caxton, broadly contrasting his language with modern English. From the 1890s, more women appear, including the American Dr Mary Noyes Colvin (1850–1926)—reportedly the first woman awarded a doctorate from the University of Zurich (1888) when she was hired by the Western Reserve University in Ohio in 1893 (Kazmierski 2018).

Less is known about the women secretaries and scholars mentioned only in prefaces, if at all. The women mentored by Furnivall included his wife, Eleanor Dalziel; his mistress, Teena Rochfort-Smith; and Karl Marx's daughter Eleanor, who worked for his 'Philological, Chaucer, and Shakespeare societies' (Benzie 1983: 24–31, 141). In the edition solely attributed to Walter W. Skeat (1835–1912), the modern English translation of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (1881) is 'almost entirely the work of Miss Gunning, of Cambridge, and Miss Wilkinson, formerly of Dorking' (Maude 2014: 254; see also Toswell forthcoming). Helen Spencer is currently charting the society's history and revealing women's full contributions to the EETS. Mabel Day (1875–1964) was 'the invaluable assistant of Sir Israel Gollancz, professor of English at King's and honorary director': after receiving a D.Litt. in 1921 on early modern English word stress, Day lectured at the college for twenty-eight years while serving as EETS Assistant Director and Secretary (Spencer 2004, 2013).

10.4.3 Dialect literature and lexicography

As English became standardized, dialect literature began to proliferate. Male and female authors who represented regional dialects required both geographical and social access, and educational distance. Some literary authors who represented

dialects included glossaries or notes. The apparatus of *Castle Rackrent* (1800) added complexity to Maria Edgeworth's representation of Anglo-Irish relations. *The Westmorland Dialect* (1790) subverted the by-then-conventional dialogue form to express complex sentiments about class and gender. Its author, 'A.W.' (Agnes Wheeler, bap. 1734, d. 1804), was a Lancashire native and sometime housekeeper in London who, when widowed, lived in Westmorland with her brother. While she used standard English for the glossary definitions and paratextual material, her dialogues feature a provincial and female perspective, with characters including abused wives and poor widows. Women's (and men's) dialect literature becomes even more common from the Romantic era onwards (see Brown, Clements, and Grundy 2006–2019; Edney 2011).[16] Furthermore, as Russell (2018: 115) has observed, 'illustrations of oral exchange open onto catalogues of words and definitions for women compilers'.

Some people collected and occasionally published dialect vocabularies before the nineteenth century (Penhallurick 2009: 290–9). Sarah Sophia Banks (1744–1818), sister of Sir Joseph Banks, used regional family connections when compiling her unpublished 'Glossaries of Words, etc., in the Lincolnshire dialect [...], 1779–1814'.[17] In 1844, the Philological Society encouraged members to compile provincialisms for a never-realized dictionary. The 1855 list of 'Norfolk Words' collected by Anna Gurney, the society's first female member, was one of the last to be printed in the *Transactions*.[18]

Regional dialects revealed connections with the past yet were threatened by modernity. Isaac Taylor's *Words and Places: Or Etymological Illustrations of History, Ethnology, and Geography* (1864) reminded Chester schoolteacher Georgina Jackson (1823/1824–1895) of her childhood and inspired her *Shropshire Word-Book* (Jackson 1879: ix; Baugh 2008). Edith Chamberlain (1882: vii) claimed that the Education Act of 1870 was corrupting the speech of West Worcestershire, while Margaret Courtney blamed railways for replacing Cornish speech with 'vile' cockney (Courtney and Couch 1880: 1). Rural words were felt to retain its history as English became standardized: Skeat observed that eight of the words from Mrs Francis's West Warwickshire collection had also been used by Shakespeare. Skeat aimed to print regional glossaries before collating a 'complete register of all Provincial Words' that would illuminate 'the growth, variety, and constant change of the English language' (Skeat et al. 1876: v, 122). Dialect lexicography and the EDS were 'hospitable to women' (Russell 2018: 115), although the work of some was mediated by men. The Oxfordshire words collected by Mrs Parker were

[16] On Edgeworth and Wheeler, see Baron (1997), Shapiro (2003: 74–81), DeWispelare (2015: 104, 108ff.).

[17] British Library, Add. MS 32640.

[18] On Banks, see Matthews (1935: 393), Gascoigne (2004), Ruano-García (2016); on Gurney, see Gilliver (2011: 89; 2016: 7–9), Brookman (2016).

'communicated to [Skeat] by Mr Geo[rge] Parker, assistant in the Bodleian Library, who has helped me so much in my edition of *Piers Plowman*' (Skeat 1876: 110).

Those conducting fieldwork consulted references like Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (1847). Collectors also thanked informants—usually including many clergymen. Ellis preferred talking to servants and soldiers, since he believed dialect 'from a peasant's mouth is always safer than from a gentleman's and far better than from a lady's' (quoted by Murray 1979 [1977]: 75). Yet, many women in this age of standardization 'demonstrate[d] a consistent investment in regionally or socially marginalized languages' (Russell 2018: 115–17). Jackson (a wine merchant's daughter) claimed to authenticate every word personally. She arranged for pupils to teach her local plant names, and rode in third-class carriages on market days, eliciting information from blacksmiths, butchers, wheelwrights, farmwives, and the elderly (Jackson 1879: ix–xiv; Skeat 1896: lxviii–lxx). Unlike Courtney, Jackson used detailed phonetic transcription. She dedicated her collection to Skeat, who helped her hone her methods after founding the EDS three years into her fieldwork. Amateur dialectologists were only expected to compile; *EDD* editors were expected to synthesize. However, the comprehensiveness and quality of Jackson's *Word-Book*, which covered all of Shropshire, earned high regard. Skeat praised it 'one of the best of its kind', and Miss J. B. Partridge of the *EDD* commended its thoroughness (Skeat 1896: viii; Wright 1932: II, 383).

10.4.4 Historical lexicography

Women were less visible contributors to the *OED*, which used the historical method, inaugurated in Germany and applied in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (1843). Tracing changes in form and meaning, the method demanded collecting and classifying much data. Some amateurs participated, 'frequently' including 'wives and daughters' (Posner 2000: 419); both men and women compared sorting glossary slips to knitting (Wright 1932: II, 450–1; Sisam, quoted in Lapidge 2002: 42). In 1879, James A. H. Murray inherited the project from Furnivall, along with a structure involving volunteer sub-editors who worked at home. He inherited seven of the latter and recruited twenty-eight others, including three women. He also expanded the dictionary's reading programme with a public appeal (Gilliver 2016: 114).

The *OED* depended upon a culture of voluntary service. With the first published fascicle (1884), Murray presented the Philological Society with a list of readers who had supplied quotations since 1879: of 762 contributors, 278 (36 per cent) were women; 64 per cent of those were 'Miss' (Willinsky 1994: 42–3). While Gilliver's index identifies many volunteers (Gilliver 2016: 621), Russell has identified over 250 women who collected quotations, and at least

sixteen who sorted them, two of whom proofread almost all of the dictionary (Russell 2018: 149–66). The latter had their own careers. Ellen Perronet Thompson (1857–1930) was a novelist, and her sister Edith (1848–1929) was a 'major contributor' to the *Saturday Review* and author of a popular Macmillan textbook, *History of England* (1872). Of these volunteers, only Edith is identified as a 'lexicographer' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Her other labours included proofreading and being the 'sub-editor for *C*' (Capern 2008). Murray's wife Ada was not paid for her extensive administrative work (Russell 2018: 160–1). While some women were paid, we know that James's daughters Elsie and Rosfrith received half the salary of their male colleagues (Mugglestone 2005: 185).[19]

10.5 English and women at the universities

10.5.1 Professing historical linguist(ic)s

In the same generation, some women became professional academics. In 1928, Rosfrith's eldest sister, Hilda (1875–1951), was Vice-Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge. Women at Oxford and Cambridge could attend lectures and sit examinations long before they could receive degrees, which occurred as late as 1948 at Cambridge. Hilda Murray received employment as well as instruction, as the slow integration of English into curricula coincided with women's slower access to universities (Dyhouse 1995: 11–17). Murray earned a first in the Oxford (men's) examination in English language and literature in 1899, after taking examinations (women's) in modern languages in 1896 (Palmer 2000: 404–5). After lecturing in Germanic philology at Royal Holloway, she arrived at Girton in 1915, acting first as Director of Studies and Lecturer in Medieval and Modern Languages and, from 1917, in English and historical and comparative philology (Burchfield 2009).[20]

Women could study English historical linguistics in universities because they were needed to teach English and modern languages in schools. In the 1860s, proposals for popular education compared English studies to the more prestigious classics. English (and women) appeared earlier in the newer universities, which trained schoolteachers as well as clergymen (Atherton 2005: 28–30). English was taught in university extension courses and tested in local examinations. The success of Phoebe Sheavyn (1865–1968), a draper's daughter and sometime schoolteacher, in the Cambridge local examinations earned her a scholarship to

[19] For women contributors to the *OED*, see also Murray (1979 [1977]: 179, 309–10, 331).

[20] On women at universities, see Brooke (1993: 301–30), Perrone (1993), Dyhouse (1995), M. Lee (1996), Howarth (2000), Hurst (2007), Batson (2008). On English and modern languages, see Palmer (1965: esp. 43–6), Doyle (1982), McMurtry (1985), Doyle (1989), Brooke (1993: 431–6, 443–54), Posner (2000), Atherton (2005), Momma (2013: 137–92), Doyle 2014 [1986], Lawrie (2014: esp. 56–85).

the new university of Aberystwyth and then a University of London BA. Sheavyn taught English in England, obtained an MA in Wales, taught at Bryn Mawr College, and worked briefly for the *EDD* before becoming 'the first resident tutor in English at Somerville College' in 1897 (Jones 2009).

At Oxford, English became a subject for the (men's) 'pass' examination in 1873, but was not established as an Honour school until 1894–1895; modern languages achieved this status in 1903 (Palmer 2000: 397; Posner 2000: 424). At Cambridge, early English was a subject in the Medieval and Modern Language Tripos, first set in 1886, and after 1890 could be studied as a specialty on its own, becoming an independent subject in 1916–1917 (Brooke 1993: 431–2, 446–54).

Women excelled in the relevant language examinations. In the first two years of the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos at Cambridge, six women and five men took the examination; the only firsts were secured by three women, including Skeat's daughter Bertha (1861–1948) (Brooke 1993: 324, 431–2; Sisam and Brewer 2008). The examinations set for women at Oxford in 1875 grew to include English and modern languages and were considered necessary for future teachers. Because these subjects were not established as men's Honour schools, the examinations were written separately (Howarth 2000: 244, 257, 280). Even when a men's Honour school was finally established in 1894, English remained linked with 'women's and the second and third-rate men who were to become schoolmasters'. Over its first ten years, the examination was taken by 146 women, with no more than five men per year (Palmer 2000: 401–5).

Women were thus among the first university-educated English historical linguists. English studies were invigorated at Oxford by Arthur Napier's 1885 appointment to the new Merton Professorship and especially after 1888, when Joseph Wright was hired by the Association for the Higher Education of Women to teach Gothic, Old German, and Old English (Firth 2002: 123). Napier compiled teaching aids and welcomed women to his tutorials and lectures. Wright was more demanding. Although the novelty of being 'severely questioned' caused some women to leave his Old English class, he recognized and provoked excellence (Wright 1932: I, 176–203, 213–14; Lee 1996: 11–12). Taught by scholars trying to establish their field as a men's Honours school, Edith Wardale (1863–1943), Elizabeth Lea (1863–1957), and Margaret Lucy Lee (1871–1955) all achieved firsts around 1890 (Wright 1932: I, 191). Later, women excelled in the men's examination. Those achieving firsts in 1899 included Hilda Murray and two students of Lee's from King's College London, Edith Morley (1875–1964) and Caroline Spurgeon (1869–1942). However, women still could not receive Oxford degrees. Wardale and Bertha Skeat went on to earn PhDs in Zurich. Spurgeon earned a doctorate from the Sorbonne (1911); in 1926, Oxford 'conferred a degree on [Morley], *honoris causa*' (Dyhouse 1995: 145).[21]

[21] For biographical information, see also Wright (1932), Law (2004), Phillips (2004), Quare (2009), Schwarz (2009).

Some women published English language studies under their own name. Bertha Skeat (1884: xix) acknowledged her father's help in the *Word-List Illustrating the Correspondence of Modern English with Anglo-French Vowel-Sounds*, published for the EDS. Oxford student Elizabeth Lea described the phonology and grammar of Anglo-Saxon gospel glosses in *Anglia* (1894). Lea drew on the 1871 edition by Skeat, used the recent and 'well-known Grammar of Dr Uno Lindelöf *Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham*, 1890' as her model, and gave particular thanks to her former lecturers Napier and Wright (Lea 1894: 62), marrying the latter in 1896. Their love letters articulate the cultural importance of studying English: Wright delights in their prospectively 'useful lives' (Wright 1932: I, 309) as he anticipates what became her extensive contributions to *EDD* as a reader, subeditor, and administrator.

Few women students, however, married their tutors—only about a third married at all (Howarth 2000: 294–5). After earning her first in the women's English examination in 1892, Margaret Lucy Lee remained in Oxford for another term. She edited a 1602 Bodleian Library manuscript as *Narcissus, a Twelfe Night Merriment* (1893). While Lee does not discuss its language, she thanked the editors of what would become the *OED* (Lee 1893: ix); her edition now furnishes the *OED* with first quotations in six entries and more senses. Lee also worked invisibly for men, preparing 'a grammar of Basque, written in French' for press and the glossary for Wright's 'new Gothic Grammar' (Lee 1996: 12). Wright employed other women graduates, especially for the *EDD* (Russell 2018: 179–81): Phoebe Sheavyn worked for Wright before securing her tutorship in English at Somerville (Jones 2009). More female graduates concluded their careers as schoolteachers: Skeat and Mary Bentinck Smith (1864–1921) became headmistresses; Skeat, of a girls' school she co-founded (Bryant 2004; Sisam and Brewer 2008). Some held concurrent jobs: Lee ran the Oxford girls' school she co-founded while lecturing for the Association for Promoting the Education of Women in Oxford and at women's colleges in London and Reading (Quare 2004). Women scholars required resourcefulness and energy and solidarity in a system slow to employ them (Dyhouse 1995: 11–12, 134–41).

Early female academics found employment at women's institutions (Perrone 1993: 343–50). In Oxford, Joseph Wright's promotion to Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in 1891 opened up the Association for the Education of Women lectureships in Germanic and Old English for his former students Edith Wardale and (Lea) Wright, respectively, joined in 1897 by Lee for Middle English (Wright 1932: I, 201–20). At the century's end, Bentinck Smith and Murray taught Germanic philology at Royal Holloway. Women's abilities were best recognized by their home institutions. In 1899, Bentinck Smith returned to Girton; Morley remained at King's College London. Her groundbreaking promotion to a Reading Professorship in 1908 nevertheless underscores the prejudice against both women and philology: she was the last academic of her rank to be promoted, and to a chair in English language rather than her discipline of literature.

Some women published 'pedagogically orientated' texts (Posner 2000: 419). Hilda Murray edited a Middle English poem for the EETS in 1911 and a selection of Robert Henryson in 1930 (Burchfield 2009). Sheavyn and Bentinck Smith respectively edited Shakespeare (1898) and Chaucer (1908) (Bryant 2004). Bertha Skeat's *Primer of Historical English Grammar* (1902) illustrates the popularity of the original works by men: its 'principal authorities' include three works on etymology by her father, Walter (Skeat 1902: iii–iv), while its title was identical to Henry Sweet's (1893, 1902). That Skeat (explicitly) directed her *Primer* at pupils 'preparing for the London Matriculation' (Skeat 1902: iii) confirms the importance of historical linguistics for university-level English studies.

A few women linguists produced introductory grammars of early English. Wright was acknowledged co-author of some of her husband's works. Their *Old English Grammar* (1908) aimed to make German and other European scholarship available in the vernacular, presented as 'the most complete [. . .] that has hitherto been written in our own language' as well as 'the first to deal with the subject in a strictly scientific manner' (Wright and Wright 1908: vi). More elementary early English grammars appeared in the 1920s. After almost three decades of lecturing at Oxford (and Royal Holloway), 'E. E. Wardale' published *An Old English Grammar* (1922) for Methuen; her sex is nevertheless evident from her position as 'Tutor at St. Hugh's College, Oxford'. The Wrights co-published three elementary grammars: the first on *Old English* (1923) with the more prestigious Clarendon Press, the second on *Middle English* also published in 1923, and the third a *Historical New English* (1924). The simultaneous publication of these introductory works may reflect discussions on the 'Newbolt Report' on *The Teaching of English in England* (Newbolt 1926 [1921]; Palmer 1965: 179–85). Witnesses including Wardale debated the relevance of Old English for students 'specialising in English', as opposed to a course in 'the growth and development of the English language' (Newbolt 1926 [1921]: 116, 214–29). In this context, both the Wrights and Wardale unsurprisingly emphasized the accessibility of their presentation of Old English as well as its relevance to the history of English (e.g. Wright and Wright 1928 [1923]: vii–ix). The report also recommended that a 'compulsory "language" test' be given to prospective teachers of English, and that their curriculum should include 'Phonetics and speech training' (Newbolt 1926 [1921]: 353).

10.5.2 Phonetics/phonology

Although phonetics was shaped in mid-nineteenth-century England by Alexander John Ellis, Alexander Melville Bell, and Henry Sweet, it was applied more widely in Germany and France, where the International Phonetic Association (IPA) was established in 1866. After excelling in the Edinburgh University senior local

examinations, Charlotte Edith Ainslie (1863–1960) learned modern language teaching methods in Europe while studying for the St Andrews University higher certificate for women (Moore 2004). Having advocated spelling reform for early literacy in the 1880s and joined the IPA in 1888, Laura Soames published *An Introduction to Phonetics (English, French and German) with Reading Lessons and Exercises* (1891). This schoolteacher's text had a structure and notation that was more accessible than Sweet's, and, including two posthumous editions (1899, 1913), thus 'helped to make phonetics accessible to a wider public' (MacMahon 1994: 104–10). Its preface by the educator Dorothea Beale showed its connection with women's secondary education—and the connections between phonetics and the 'purer' pronunciation of English as well as a 'good' one of 'foreign tongues' (Soames 1891: xix). Earlier in the nineteenth century, efforts to make modern languages as prestigious as Classics had subordinated conversation to the grammar-translation method of men's classical education. By century's end, however, serious British female teachers learned, and used, phonetic methods.

Enthusiasm for phonetics grew from 1892 to 1912, with British membership in the IPA rising from twenty-one to 400, exceeding that in Germany or France. Charlotte Ainslie trained Cambridge language teachers in phonetics (1902) before returning to Scotland as head of her former ladies' college.[22] In 1903, phonetics reappeared at University College London, when E. R. Edwards was appointed to teach French phonetics in evening classes (Collins and Mees 1999: 28). As teachers and university learners, women had access to these 'pioneering educational developments' (McLelland 2012: 126).

A few early twentieth-century women studied and taught phonetics at University College London. Their careers were clearly enabled by the support of Daniel Jones (1881–1967), who began lecturing there in 1907. Lilias Armstrong (1882–1937) and Ida Ward (1880–1949),[23] who held degrees from Leeds and Durham, respectively, both became high-ranking secondary schoolteachers in London, where they distinguished themselves in phonetics evening courses (Green and Arnott 2004; Asher 2015). Jones hired staff for their talents rather than formal qualifications; at one point in the early 1920s he had more female than male staff. While his wife taught French phonetics, Armstrong was Jones's first full-time appointment in 1919. She and Ward received additional promotions after Jones was appointed Professor. Women's presence in universities increased as a result of World War I, as did British interest in continental languages. Although University College London's phonetics department did not grant degrees and was regarded by some as a service unit for the modern languages

[22] On phonetics in Britain and Europe, see Gilbert (1954; 1955: 9), Collins and Mees (1999: 30). On gender and modern languages, see Bayley and Ronish (1992).

[23] On the contribution of Lilias Armstrong and Ida Ward to African linguistics, see Chapter 19 in this volume.

departments, its night and summer courses were popular and profitable. Phonetics was also applied to missionary linguistics, modern languages, and to teaching English as a foreign language, in which interest was rising in Europe.[24]

Jones encouraged research by his staff. Ward's first monograph covered a subject Jones and Armstrong also taught: *Defects of Speech* addressed non-standard accents as well as medical problems (Ward 1923: 18, 32). Jones and his team were also highly influential in teaching EFL and varieties of English. Armstrong and Ward published separately on English and on its phonetics, and together in 1926 on its intonation. Their textbooks emphasized correct pronunciation, albeit with modern attitudes and methods. Armstrong's *English Phonetic Reader* (1923) codified dialectal variation as well as formality and observed northern influences on her 'educated' pronunciation (Armstrong 1923: vii–viii). Ward's *Phonetics of English* also acknowledges variation within educated speech and claims that no dialect is 'intrinsically better [...] than another' (Ward 1931 [1929]: 2), but explains advantages and methods of achieving a generally intelligible pronunciation. Armstrong and Ward's *Handbook of English Intonation* advocates for pedagogical technologies like gramophone records and promises 'scientific analysis of pronunciation difficulties' (Armstrong and Ward 1926: 1), including sentences where intonation gives clues to implication. The team's innovative work on tone proved invaluable for the study of non-European languages, however conventional their emphasis on correctness.

10.5.3 Coda: Scholarly auxiliaries

The relatively low status of English was perhaps signalled by the number of women who belonged to the English Association, established in 1906 to promote English as an essential subject and to improve teaching methods. The Association published research in *Essays and Studies* and evaluative bibliographies in *The Year's Work in English Studies* (*YWES*), in explicit imitation of *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (Baker, Treharne, and Lucas 2006: 69). Although women contributed very few *Essays and Studies* to its earliest volumes and accounted for 10 to 20 per cent of teaching staff in British universities between the 1920s and 1970s (Dyhouse 1995: 138), women editors were better represented in *YWES* (Baker, Treharne, and Lucas 2006: 52–9, 68–75). Of the eleven contributors to the first volume, six were women (English Association 1921). Hilda Murray was editor of the Philology section (1921–1922, 1928–1929), Wardale of Anglo-Saxon (1921–1924), Lee of Middle English (1921–1922), and Armstrong and Ward of a short-lived section on Phonology (1921). Moreover, even long after World War II,

[24] See Collins and Mees (1999).

many other women worked for *YWES*: Daisy E. Martin Clarke, Marjorie Daunt, and Mary Serjeantson assessed Philology and Old English (1930s); Dorothy Everett was responsible for Middle English (1927–1953); and Edith Morley surveyed the literature of the eighteenth century (1921–1959), before being replaced by two people. These scholars' talents were extended (and in some cases diverted) into administrative work, together with innumerable others who directed their linguistic abilities into teaching or editing and who, therefore, remain invisible to history. Yet it is fitting that the first volume of the *YWES* so justly integrates the scholarly recognition of both women and English.

11
The female quest for the Celtic tongues of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales

Bernhard Maier

11.1 The socio-political context of Celtic studies

To appreciate the role of women in Celtic linguistics, it is useful to briefly recall the history of the discipline. This may be taken as spanning the period from the earliest reasonings about the vernacular languages following the introduction of writing into the Celtic-speaking regions to present-day linguistic teaching and research, Celtic linguistics in the proper sense of the term beginning around the middle of the nineteenth century, when Celtic was shown to be a branch of the Indo-European family of languages. On the one hand, the history of Celtic linguistics was shaped by rather unfavourable political, social, and economic conditions prevailing in the Celtic-speaking countries during most of the modern period, when speakers of Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton were increasingly swapping their native language for English or French. On the other hand, this period of constant decline in numbers of speakers was also marked by an increasing interest in the Celtic languages as a means of fostering national identities, coupled with a new awareness of their importance for an understanding of the history of European civilization. Thus, the study of Celtic languages frequently served purposes subordinate to those of other academic disciplines (such as musicology, history, folklore, and literary studies) and it was prone to be governed by the needs of practical rather than purely scholarly activities (as, for instance, the production of translations to foster national consciousness or the drawing up of textbooks suitable for non-specialist readers). As will be seen from what follows, it was precisely this overlap with non-linguistic fields of activity that provided women with opportunities to make significant contributions to those aspects of linguistics, in which—due to specific cultural conditions—they could match or even surpass the work of their male colleagues.

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11.2 The origins and early development of Celtic studies

Leaving aside the very limited use which the ancient Celts made of various ancient Mediterranean writing systems, Celtic languages first came to be written down in the wake of Christianization. Due to the preference of men both in the native Celtic and in the adopted Christian traditions, prescriptive and normative writings on language that have come down to us from the Middle Ages also tend to be by men, a bias which continued into the early modern period, as exemplified by the writings of Welsh humanists translating the Bible into the vernacular, Irish Franciscans studying vernacular hagiography and historiography, and French Jesuits promoting the use of Breton for the religious education of lay people. The formative period of Celtic linguistics arguably began in 1582, when the Scottish humanist and historian George Buchanan (1506–1582), in his history of Scotland (*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*), proposed a close affinity between the ancient language of those peoples known to the Greeks and Romans as Celts and the modern languages existing side by side with English in the British Isles and Ireland, that is Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, and Welsh. This was followed in 1703 by the publication of *Antiquité de la nation, et de la langue des Celtes, autrement appellez Gaulois* (*The Antiquity of the Nation and of the Language of the Celts, Otherwise Called Gauls*) by the French Cistercian Paul-Yves Pezron (1639–1706), which greatly contributed to popularizing the tag 'Celtic', and in 1707 by the publication of *Archaeologia Britannica* (*British Archeology*), the first comparative study of these languages by the Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd (*c.*1660–1709). In the first half of the nineteenth century, the study of Celtic languages benefited, on the one hand, from the widespread interest in the supposedly 'Celtic' *Poems of Ossian* and, on the other hand, from the realization of the Indo-European origin of Celtic, achieved independently in the 1830s by the English physician and anthropologist James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), the Swiss technician and amateur linguist Adolphe Pictet (1799–1875), and the German philologist Franz Bopp (1791–1867). However, the foundation document of Celtic linguistics is generally thought to be the seminal *Grammatica celtica*, published in 1853 by the German historian and philologist Johann Kaspar Zeuss (1806–1856) and elaborated in 1871 by the German linguist Hermann Ebel (1820–1875). This was followed by such standard works of reference as *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* (1891–1913; *Old Celtic Vocabulary*) by the Austrian-German librarian and palaeographer Alfred Holder (1840–1916), *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen* (1909; *Handbook of Old Irish*) by Rudolf Thurneysen (1857–1940), and *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (1909–1913; *Comparative Grammar of the Celtic Languages*) by the Danish linguist Holger Pedersen (1867–1953), revised and updated as *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (1937) by the original author and the Welsh philologist Henry Lewis (1889–1968). In 1862 the German philologist Adalbert Kuhn (1812–1881) had founded the journal *Beiträge zur vergleichenden*

Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der arischen, keltischen und slawischen Sprachen, to accommodate contributions to Celtic philology alongside Aryan and Slavonic languages. This was followed in 1870 by the *Revue celtique* founded by the French folklorist and philologist Henri Gaidoz (1842–1932) and in 1897 by the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* founded by the German philologists Kuno Meyer (1858–1919) and Ludwig Christian Stern (1846–1910). The first ever university chair in Celtic was established in Oxford in 1877, its first incumbent being the Welsh philologist Sir John Rhŷs (1840–1915). Other early professors of Celtic were the French historian Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville (1827–1910) in Paris (from 1882), the Scottish philologist Donald MacKinnon (1839–1914) in Edinburgh (from 1882), and the German Indo-Europeanist Heinrich Zimmer (1851–1910) in Berlin (from 1901).

In Ireland, Kuno Meyer founded a School of Irish Learning in 1903, precursor of the School of Celtic Studies created in 1940, with the Norwegian linguist Carl Marstrander (1883–1965) being appointed Professor in 1913. As early as 1899 the German linguist Franz Nikolaus Finck (1867–1910) had published *Die Araner Mundart* (*The Aran Dialect*), the first description of a modern Irish dialect.

Reviewing these developments in bare outline, it might seem that Celtic languages were studied almost exclusively by male scholars. However, a closer look is justified, revealing significant scholarly work by women, whose contributions may for convenience be classified into the following closely interrelated groups: collectors, philologists, language activists, and linguists. As will be seen, the number of women involved in all these fields of activity was indeed small—both numerically and in terms of percentage, considering the rather small number of professional Celticists there were as a whole. Moreover, there appear to have been far more women Celticists in Ireland than in any other country. While an attempt to identify some of the factors that could explain this mismatch will be made in the final section (11.7) of the present chapter, it may be noted at the outset that it appears to have been largely conditioned by social, political, and religious circumstances, as only a minority of girls (most notably among the Protestant Irish urban middle and upper classes) were given access to the kind of primary and secondary education that would enable them to work as professional linguists in later years. That said, it also needs to be stressed that there are still formidable gaps in our knowledge of the mechanisms at work, because the early education of girls—especially if it took place at home and without formal schooling—can only be reconstructed to the extent that there are relevant sources. By way of example one might refer to Antonie Meyer, the younger sister of the Celticist Kuno Meyer, whose childhood is described virtually exclusively by the extensive diary that her elder brother kept when he was between 9 and 15 and she between 4 and 10 years of age (Maier 2016b). From this we learn that Antonie was a highly talented and precocious girl, who had read most of the works of the poet and dramatist Hebbel by the age of 7, telling her elder siblings that, if she read them then, she did not

have to do so later (Maier 2016b: 265). Yet despite her considerably ability—her elder brothers taught her the rudiments of Latin from the age of 6—she was barred from attending the same grammar school as her brothers, as this was exclusively for boys. Thus, she did not receive their solid classical training, and although she later became a close confidante and collaborator of her Celticist brother, translating an article on the Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland by Heinrich Zimmer (1851–1910) into English (1902), Antonie Meyer never held an academic position and did not publish any research of her own. Were it not for the numerous references in the diary and the extensive correspondence of her famous brother, she would most probably be among those 'who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs' (Eliot 2008 [1871]: 785).

11.3 Collectors

The first group of female scholars active in the field of Celtic may be dubbed 'collectors' inasmuch as their prime motivation was the compilation and preservation (rather than the philological study or linguistic analysis) of oral or manuscript material that was felt to be in danger of being lost to posterity. These activities began in the second half of the eighteenth century in the wake of such publications as *Fragments of Ancient Poetry, Collected in the Highlands of Scotland* (1760) by James Macpherson (1736–1796) and *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) by Thomas Percy (1729–1811). A pioneer in this field was Lady Charlotte Brooke (*c.*1740–1793), daughter of the Anglo-Irish novelist and dramatist Henry Brooke (1703–1783). First attracted to the study of Irish language by hearing it spoken by labourers in the vicinity of her family home in County Cavan, she published *Reliques of Irish Poetry* (Brooke 1789; Ní Mhunghaile 2009), an edition of Irish songs with facing English translations and explanatory notes (Davis 2009; Ní Mhunghaile 2010). We get a glimpse of the way in which the author wished her work to be regarded from the preface, in which she laments 'the limited circle of my knowledge', refers to the research of the most famous Irish antiquaries of her time, and claims that her 'comparatively feeble hand aspires only (like the ladies of ancient Rome) to strew flowers in the path of these laureled champions of my country' (Ní Mhunghaile 2009: iii). As regards her knowledge of Irish, the author both extols the 'various and comprehensive powers' of Irish, 'which it is scarcely possible for any translation fully to convey', and acknowledges her repeated failure 'to do all the justice I wished to my originals', excusing herself with the deficiencies of her training: 'Unacquainted with the rules of translation, I know not how far those rules may censure, or acquit me' (Ní Mhunghaile 2009: v–vi).

From then on, the importance of music in female education enabled many other female scholars to follow in her footsteps, collecting not only the airs but also the words of songs, many of which would otherwise indeed have been lost.

Thus, Maria Jane Williams (*c.*1795–1873), who was the second daughter of a well-to-do Welsh industrialist, a guitarist, harpist, and accomplished vocalist, published in 1844 a collection of Welsh airs, with Welsh words and notes, under the title of *Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morgannwg* (facsimile edition Williams 1994). In similar fashion, the Skye-born folklorist Frances Tolmie (1840–1926) collected more than a hundred Gaelic songs of occupation that were published in the 1911 special issue of the *Journal of the Folksong Society*, with an introduction and explanatory notes by the English musicologist Lucy Etheldred Broadwood (1858–1929), a niece of the English clergyman and folk-song collector John Broadwood (1798–1864), who had herself collected Scottish Gaelic folk songs in the village of Arisaig on the west coast of the Scottish Highlands in 1906 and 1907 (Bassin 1965; Bassin 1977; De Val 2011). A contemporary Scottish folk-song collector was Marjory Kennedy-Fraser (1857–1930), a daughter of the Scottish minister and tenor singer David Kennedy (1825–1886) and close friend of the painter John Duncan (1866–1945), who was a pivotal figure in what came to be known as the Celtic Revival. Following a visit to the Hebridean island of Eriskay in 1905, Kennedy-Fraser began recording traditional Hebridean songs with a wax cylinder phonograph, later arranging these songs for voice and piano or harp and publishing them in the three-volume collection, *Songs of the Hebrides* (1909–1921). Inspired by her example, the American-born writer Margaret Fay Shaw (1903–2004) investigated Gaelic songs in the Outer Hebrides from 1929 to 1935, publishing *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* in 1955 (Shaw 1955).

Scrutinizing the biographies of these early collectors, all of them appear to have been exceptional in the sense that their engagement with the vernacular tradition depended on a combination of very special circumstances, although this could play out in very different ways. Thus, Frances Tolmie, who hailed from Dunvegan on the Isle of Skye, came from a farming background and knew Gaelic from her early days, while Shaw, who was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, made her first contact with the Gaelic song tradition at the age of 16 and had to learn Gaelic from scratch as an adult, having moved to the Hebridean island of South Uist in 1929. A common denominator for all of them seems to be an early musical (rather than linguistic) education, which was in line with their middle-class background, but in some cases also related to specific family circumstances, older (male) members of the family serving as role models and mentors. A notable incentive for their collecting activities appears to have been, on the one hand, the widespread feeling that the songs represented a time-honoured musical tradition in danger of vanishing altogether and, on the other hand, the opportunity to contact female family members in ways which male collectors would have found difficult or impossible. Significantly, most of the songs collected by Tolmie were working-songs that she had collected from female tradition-bearers. Likewise, Shaw, in acknowledging the help of many local tradition-bearers, gave pride of place to the

two sisters Peigi and Màiri MacRae, in whose South-Uist cottage she had stayed as a lodger for more than five years:

> They appreciated the fact that I didn't want the songs that were well known: I wanted their own everyday songs, songs that they sang when they rocked the cradle or worked the spinning wheel. These songs had not been much collected before, and had not been really appreciated by collectors. That gave my friends pleasure, and they were anxious to help. (Shaw 1993: 81)

While the above-mentioned collectors were primarily interested in the folklorist and musicological aspects of the traditional songs, others gathered them with an ultimately political aim in mind. Thus, Rose Maud Young (Róis Ní Ógáin, 1865–1947), a younger sister of the Irish nationalist activist Ella Young (1867–1956), published her anthology of Irish songs in connection with her work for the Gaelic League (Ó h-Ógáin 1921–1930), as did Eileen Costello (Eibhlín Bean Uí Coisdealbha, 1870–1962), who published traditional folksongs from Galway and Mayo with the main purpose of aiding the revitalization of Irish (Costello 1919). This was in line with her political commitment to Irish Nationalism, which led to her being elected as one of only four women to the first Irish Free State Senate in 1922. As Shaw later recalled in her autobiography, she 'first heard of collecting Gaelic folksongs' from Eileen Costello, whom she met in Dublin in the summer of 1927:

> and it was her book, *Amhrain Mhuighe Seola*, that showed me how it should be done. She published all the verses so that the songs were complete; she also included notes on where they were found, who gave them, and references to other songs. What Mrs Costello did was to translate, line for line, putting it down exactly, and that's what gave me my key to writing the music down and getting all the words translated, line for line. The words are the most important thing for the singers; the tune is just the carriage that carries the words. (Shaw 1993: 55–6)

Musicology apart, there were also notable female collectors of folklore. One of them was Lady Evelyn Stewart Murray (1868–1940), who collected folktales in the now extinct Scottish Gaelic dialect of Perthshire (Robertson and Young 1996; Robertson and Dilworth 2009). The youngest daughter of John, 7th Duke of Atholl, Evelyn developed an interest in all things Gaelic around 1884 in the wake of a serious illness, and what had begun as a pastime appears to have soon developed into an obsession which both she and her family found difficult to control. In 1890 she began correspondence with Donald Mackinnon (1839–1914), Professor of Celtic in the University of Edinburgh, who set her work in Gaelic which she would return to him for correction and comment. Between February and December 1891, she collected some 240 Gaelic tales and songs from the people who lived on and around the Blair Castle estate, her family home. At the

end of 1891, however, her family sent her away to the Continent, from which she only returned shortly before her death in 1940. Around that time, she gave her Gaelic notebooks to Professor James Carmichael Watson (1910–1941) for publication, but due to the latter's death, most of the material remained in manuscript until 2009, by which time it had become the unique monument to a Scottish Gaelic dialect that in the meantime had become extinct.

Coming from a rather different background, the German emigrant Käte Müller-Lisowski (1883–1960) had studied Celtic and Old Norse before World War I—most notably with Kuno Meyer (Berlin), Andreas Heusler (Berlin), Sir John Rhŷs (Oxford), and Robin Flower (London)—, submitted a doctoral dissertation on 'The Legend of St. John in Irish Tradition and the Figure of the Druid Mog Ruith' (supervised by Paul Kretschmer and Rudolf Much, University of Vienna) in 1923, and fled to Ireland for political reasons in 1937. Leaving aside two popular volumes of translations of Irish songs and folk tales, her scholarly publications include editions and translations (into German) of the medieval Irish tale known as 'The story of Nuadu Find Femin' (Müller-Lisowski 1921) and of various medieval texts relating to the druid-magician Mog Ruith (Müller-Lisowski 1923, 1938). In later years she also published two articles on the mythological figure known in Irish folklore as Donn (Müller-Lisowski 1948, 1952).[1]

One of the best-known folklorists, who was conducting her researches under the guidance of the celebrated folklorist James Hamilton Delargy (1899–1980), was Máire MacNéill (1904–1987), a daughter of the Irish historian and politician Eoin MacNeill (1867–1945), who worked for the newly founded Irish Folklore Commission from 1935 to 1949, publishing a celebrated study of Irish harvest customs (MacNeill 1962; for a biographical appreciation, see Uí Ógáin 2005). She described the collector's motivation towards the end of her life in a radio broadcast:

> I think folklore opens up half our history and explains how we came through it, explains the kind of people we were, much better than can be learned through English or English sources. Delargy describes his enjoyment of the witty talk, the turns of phrases and he does give examples of them and this is all something of our inheritance which would be entirely lost if it hadn't been for the collection and preservation of folklore. (quoted in Uí Ógáin 2005: 169)

11.4 Philologists

In line with the traditionally strong historical focus of Celtic studies, we also find a substantial number of female philologists. Presenting them in chronological order,

[1] Details from 'Life and Work of Käte Müller-Lisowski', *CELT*, www.ucc.ie/celt/muellerlisowski.html accessed 21 Dec. 2018. It is based on information provided by a surviving family member.

one should begin with Lady Charlotte Guest (1812–1895), who was not a scholar in the formal sense of the term, but proved to be highly successful and influential in shaping modern ideas about Celtic literature by her publication (between 1838 and 1849) of the Middle Welsh prose tales collectively known ever since as *The Mabinogion* (for biographical appreciations, see Guest and John 1989; Obey 2007). Née Charlotte Elizabeth Bertie, she was born in Uffington, Lincolnshire, the daughter of Albemarle Bertie, ninth Earl of Lindsey. A talented linguist, she was taught Latin, Greek, French, and Italian by her brothers' tutors, and she is also said to have taught herself the rudiments of Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. In 1833 she married the Welsh engineer and entrepreneur John Josiah Guest (1785–1852), with whom she was to have five sons and five daughters. Moving to Dowlais, Merthyr Tydfil, Lady Charlotte developed a keen interest in Welsh, associating with members of the Abergavenny Welsh Society. Following up on earlier work by the antiquarian, grammarian, and lexicographer, William Owen Pughe (1759–1835), and with the help of the learned clergyman John Jones (Ioan Tegid, 1792–1852), Lady Guest's translation of the hitherto little-known medieval Welsh prose tales from the late-medieval manuscript known as the *Red Book of Hergest* first appeared in seven fascicles between 1838 and 1845, being republished in three sumptuous volumes in 1849. Unlike later editions, which gave only Lady Guest's English translation, this first edition was bilingual, giving also John Jones's transcript of the Welsh text and copious notes (Guest 1849).

Following the establishment of Celtic philology as an academic discipline in the second half of the nineteenth century—a process in which Germany and France had taken the lead—there were notable female exponents especially in Ireland, where the interest in the preservation and revitalization of Irish was intimately bound up with the struggle for Home Rule, and where Kuno Meyer was looking for support in his endeavours to study Irish and Welsh along the lines of comparative philology (Ó Lúing 1991; Maier 2016a, 2017). In 1898, the writer and journalist Eleanor Hull (1860–1935) co-founded the Irish Texts Society for the publication of early manuscript material, acting for nearly thirty years as its honorary secretary (Riggs 2005). Most of the monographs that she published were of a rather popular character, trying to familiarize the wider public with Irish history and literature. In addition, she contributed numerous articles on individual aspects of Irish tradition to the journal *Folk-Lore* (for a complete bibliography, see Riggs 2005: 31–3). In 1912 Hull wrote the popular hymn 'Be Thou My Vision', based on the Old Irish text 'Rop tú mo Baile', which seven years earlier had been rendered into modern English by Mary Elizabeth Byrne (1880–1931), a philologist who later worked on the long-term project of the *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* inaugurated in 1909 by the Royal Irish Academy (Dillon 1931).

Another philologist contributing to the Irish Dictionary was Maud Joynt (1868–1940), the daughter of a member of the colonial civil service, who as a

child had learnt Greek from her father and Hindi from a servant (Knott 1940). One of the most outstanding philologists of her generation was Eleanor Knott (1886–1975), a leading expert on medieval Irish syllabic poetry. In 1938 she was appointed co-editor of the journal *Ériu* that had been established as the journal of the School of Irish Learning in 1904, and in 1939 she was appointed to the Chair of Early Irish in Trinity College Dublin (see Mac Cárthaigh 2005). Apart from numerous articles (for a list of her scholarly publications, see Mac Cárthaigh 2005: 59–61), Knott published several editions and translations of Irish poetry (Knott 1922, 1926) and prose (Knott 1936) as well as a widely read introduction to Irish bardic poetry (Knott 1957). Among her students was Ernest Gordon Quin (1910–1986), who brought the monumental *Dictionary of the Irish Language* to its conclusion in 1975. His *Old-Irish Workbook*, which was first published in 1975 and has been called 'an almost essential vade mecum for those who set out on the rocky but rewarding pilgrim's path to early Irish' (Mac Cana 1987: 2), is dedicated to the memory of Eleanor Knott. Another specialist in medieval Irish was Kathleen Mulchrone (Caitlín Ní Mhaolchróin, 1895–1973), who graduated in Modern Literature from University College Dublin in 1916, studied with Rudolf Thurneysen at Bonn in 1921/1922, and was appointed Professor of Celtic Linguistics and Old Irish in University College Galway in 1938 (see Mac Eoin 2005). Among those whose promising careers were cut short by an early death was Maura Power (1887–1916), today best known for her edition of the *Irish Astronomical Tract*, the fourteenth-century Early Modern Irish rendering of the eighth/ninth-century Latin treatise *De scientia motus orbis* (*On the Science of the Earth's Movement*) by the Persian-Jewish astrologer Masha'allah ibn Athari (Brück and Conway-Piskorski 1998). Among those who were attracted to the field of Celtic philology from a wider medievalist background was Gertrude Schoepperle (1882–1921). Born to German parents in Oil City, Pennsylvania, she had been studying Romance philology in Munich and Paris before she tackled Celtic in Ireland, returning to the United States in 1911 and endeavouring to set up Celtic studies in the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign. Her endeavours, however, met with rather limited success, as there was hardly any institutional framework, and in 1919 Schoepperle left the University of Illinois to take up a position in French at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie.

11.5 Language activists

Closely tied to the collection of folklore and the study of medieval manuscripts was the endeavour to promote the modern Celtic languages, which, in the wake of emigration, industrialization, urbanization, and restrictive legal measures on the part of the state, were increasingly felt to be under pressure, but—following the impact of *The Poems of Ossian*—were increasingly felt to be culturally significant

and therefore worthy of preservation. An early Welsh language enthusiast was Augusta Hall (née Waddington), Baroness Llanover (1802–1896), who in 1823 married the Welsh civil engineer and politician (Sir) Benjamin Hall (1802–1867). Greatly influenced by the Welsh poet, antiquarian, and educationalist Thomas Price (Carnhuanawc, 1787–1848), Lady Llanover turned her family home, Llanover Hall, into a kind of arts centre and became an early member of the Abergavenny Welsh language cultural society Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion y Fenni, which was founded in 1833. In 1834, she won the first prize at the Cardiff Eisteddfod for an essay on 'The Advantages Resulting from the Preservation of the Welsh Language and National Costumes of Wales' (Hall 1836), and in 1850 she helped the minister and journalist Evan Jones (Ieuan Gwynedd, 1820–1852) found *Y Gymraes* (*The Welshwoman*), the first Welsh-language magazine for women (Aaron 2007).

Here, as in other fields of activity, we may note that male researchers sometimes transmitted their scholarly interests and enthusiasm to their daughters. The Uist-born, native Gaelic speaker Elizabeth Catherine (Ella) Carmichael (1870–1928) not only assisted her father, the folklorist Alexander Carmichael (1832–1912), in editing his great work, *Carmina Gadelica* (*Gaelic Songs*), but also edited (from 1904 to 1916) the journal *Celtic Review*, which contained articles on Scottish Gaelic folklore, literature, history, and dialectology. Moreover, she was a co-founder of the Edinburgh Gaelic Choir and of the Celtic Union, a literary and historical society. Alexander Carmichael acknowledges her contribution in his introduction to the first volume of *Carmina Gadelica*: 'My daughter has transcribed the manuscripts and corrected the proofs for press, and has acted as amanuensis throughout' (Carmichael 1928: xxxv). As a friend of the family recalled after her death: 'She knew almost everyone who was interested in the language and industries of the Highlands, and her editorship of the *Celtic Review* brought her into touch with many scholars and writers in Ireland and Wales and Brittany' (Lamont 1940: xxiii). In these activities, Ella Carmichael appears to have followed the lead taken by her mother, Mary Frances MacBean (1841–1928), whose significant contribution to Alexander Carmichael's work was acknowledged by her grandson, James Carmichael Watson:

> 'Dr Carmichael,' writes Kenneth MacLeod, 'owed the fullness of his achievement to two women, the one his wife, the other his daughter. It was his daughter who really gave *Carmina Gadelica* to the world; and it was his wife who, first, by her good management made it possible for him to bear the financial strain of his adventure, and to wander about through Isles and mainland as the spirit moved him, and who, again, when the collected material was being arranged for publication, by her cultured ear and artistic hand added greatly to the beauty of the work.' This is indeed true, and the debt to his wife, the all-embracing debt which extended far beyond the book and lay between themselves alone, he

> expressed without exaggeration, and with characteristic beauty, in his inscription upon her copy of *Carmina Gadelica*: 'To thee, Mary, the gifted woman, the devoted mother, the perfect wife, I, thy grateful husband, owe more than words can tell'. (Watson 1941: xliv–xlv; see Stiùbhart 2008)

In Ireland the writer and artist (Mariella) Norma Borthwick (1862–1934), who was born in England and had joined the London branch of the Gaelic League in 1895, assisted Eoin MacNeill (1867–1945) in publishing the Gaelic League's journal, *An Claidheamh Soluis* (*The Sword of Light*), and wrote a three-volume textbook of Irish, *Ceachta beaga Gaedhilge* (*Irish Reading Lessons*), which was illustrated by Jack Butler Yeats (1871–1957) in 1902. In Dublin she also taught Irish in the Dominican convent on Eccles Street and worked as a private Irish tutor. Together with Mairéad Ní Raghallaigh (*c.*1867–1945) she founded the Irish Book Company (Muintir na Leabhar Gaedhilge), publishing *Leouirín na Leanav* (a selection of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales in Irish) in 1912 and the celebrated autobiography *Mo Sgéal Féin* (*My Own Story*) by Peadar Ua Laoghaire (1839–1920) in 1915. Two other members of the Gaelic League who frequently published in *An Claidheamh Soluis* were Mary E. L. Butler (Máire de Buitléir, 1873–1920), who also published a collection of short stories, *A Bundle of Rushes*, in 1900 and a novel, *The Ring of Day*, in 1906 (see Ní Chinnéide 1993), and Agnes O'Farrelly (Úna Ní Fhaircheallaigh, 1874–1951), who was the first female Irish-language novelist. Having graduated from the Royal University of Ireland in 1900, she became Chairperson of the Educational Committee of the Gaelic League. She was appointed Lecturer in Modern Irish at University College Dublin in 1909, and on the retirement of Douglas Hyde in 1932 she was appointed Professor of Modern Irish, a position which she held until 1947 (Nic Congáil 2010). A fellow student of Agnes Farrelly at the Royal University of Ireland was Mary O'Kennedy (Máire Ní Chinnéide, 1879–1967), who was the author of several children's plays, and translator of some of the Grimms' fairy tales into Irish in 1923. A broadcaster in Irish after the foundation of Raidio Éireann in 1926, in the 1930s she was instrumental in making Peig Sayers (1873–1958) dictate her life story to her son Michael, which led to the publication of *Peig* (1938), one of the most famous depictions of the traditional, Irish-speaking way of life.

11.6 Linguists

Compared with the relatively high number of female authors engaged in collecting folklore, studying manuscripts, and promoting the use of modern Celtic languages in various social contexts, the number of female scholars who specialized in linguistic analysis is astonishingly small. Leaving aside those who dealt with individual aspects of linguistics in the context of literary or philological studies,

the only major female linguist active in the first half of the twentieth century would appear to have been Marie-Louise Sjoestedt(-Jonval) (1900–1940; for biographical appreciations, see Renou et al. 1941; Vendryes 1948; Ó Lúing 1987). Born in the small town of Saint Thomas near Laon in north-eastern France, she was the daughter of Erik-Valentine Sjoestedt, special counsellor at the Swedish Embassy in Paris, and Léonie Bernardini, a French writer whose family hailed from Corsica. Having studied Classics and Slavonic languages in Paris, she ultimately turned to Celtic, studying with Joseph Vendryes in Paris and spending the summer months in Ireland from 1924 to 1929. Sjoestedt's first publication in Celtic was an article on causative and iterative formations in the Celtic languages (Sjoestedt 1925). This was followed by two monographs related to her doctoral thesis, namely a study of the verbal aspect in Celtic, dedicated to Joseph Vendryes (Sjoestedt 1926a), and an edition and translation (into French) of the Middle Irish tale known as 'The Siege of Druim Damhghaire' or 'The Siege of Knocklong', which was first published as a monograph (Sjoestedt 1926b) and later reprinted, with additions and corrections, as a two-part article (Sjoestedt 1926–1927). To a Festschrift in honour of the French Celticist Joseph Loth, she contributed a brief article on Middle Irish compounds (Sjoestedt 1927). As is obvious from these early publications, Sjoestedt approached the Celtic languages from the perspective of comparative philology, opening the preface to her book with the statement that its title might just as well have been 'Survivals of the Indo-European verbal aspect in Celtic'. Having noted that this would have highlighted the more general interest of her study, she continued nevertheless to state that whoever studied Indo-European languages from the point of view of (Proto-)Indo-European was at risk of noticing only the process of decay, at the expense of noticing the process of growth. This caused her to claim that any study of linguistic features that were about to disappear in language must be supplemented by a study of the vowel features replacing them. In the case of Irish, it seemed obvious to her that the verbal system inherited from Indo-European had been largely restructured along the lines of an opposition between synthetic and periphrastic verbal forms, and it was this consideration which stimulated her interest in modern Irish dialects, which she held to be of pivotal importance for such a study (Sjoestedt 1926a: vii–viii). To make herself familiar with modern Irish, she focused her attention on the Gaelic of West Kerry, which in those days also attracted the attention of such linguists as Carl Marstrander and Robin Flower (see Kanigel 2012). There she did extensive fieldwork, publishing a study on the influence of English on a local Irish dialect (Sjoestedt 1928), a phonetic study of a West Kerry dialect (Sjoestedt 1931), and two folk tales which she had been told in West Kerry by Peig Sayers and her son Mícheál Ó Guithín, giving the text in both phonetic transcription and standard Irish orthography, followed by translations into French (Sjoestedt 1932). Having returned to West Kerry once more in the autumn of 1933, she concluded her 1931 phonetic study with a

description of that dialect's morphology and syntax, dedicating it to the memory of her late teacher Antoine Meillet (Sjoestedt-Jonval 1938a). In 1938, she published an article on the relationship between tense and aspect in Old Irish, returning to a subject which she had first dealt with in 1926 (Sjoestedt-Jonval 1938b). In 1932, Marie-Louise Sjoestedt had married the linguist Michel Jonval, who specialized in Latvian, but the careers of both scholars were prematurely cut short, he dying in 1935 and she in 1940.

11.7 Conclusion

Looking back on the rather small number of female scholars that were active in the field of Celtic studies from the early years of the discipline to the early decades of the twentieth century, some general observations may be made. In the first place, it should probably be pointed out that the number of Celtic scholars of either sex has always been rather small, as the rise of the modern state university system in Britain, France, and Germany during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was largely tied to the teaching of English, French, and German, the cultivation of which took clear precedence over that of such minority languages as Sorbian, Basque, or Welsh. Thus, permanent academic positions in Celtic were always few and far between, and even outstanding specialists such as Johann Kaspar Zeuss, Rudolf Thurneysen, and Kuno Meyer tended to hold academic positions in adjacent disciplines, rather than in Celtic, for long periods of their academic careers. That said, one pivotal factor that accounts for the small proportion of female Celtic scholars under these circumstances was no doubt the discrimination against women in higher education, which in many cases made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to obtain university qualifications and permanent university positions. This is confirmed, on the one hand, by the almost wholesale absence of female Celtic scholars outside the Celtic-speaking regions, where the study of Celtic languages tended to be closely connected to the male-dominated discipline of comparative philology, and, on the other hand, by the proportionally much larger number of female scholars within the Celtic-speaking regions, where women could compensate for the disadvantages geared to university regulations by establishing close links with those segments of the Celtic-speaking communities that were not readily accessible to outsiders. Unsurprisingly, the contribution made by female scholars is most conspicuous in those parts of the discipline where they tended to have an advantage over their male colleagues. This clearly accounts for the high percentage of female folk-song collectors, as men did not usually have the necessary musical prerequisites that many middle- and upper-class women had acquired as part of their general education, but it would also seem to explain the substantial number of female folklorists, as female scholars often appear to have found it easier to establish contact with female tradition-bearers than did

their male colleagues. Still, it is fairly obvious that, even in countries with a substantial Celtic-speaking population, female scholars found it easier to employ their special skills as schoolteachers, private tutors, authors of textbooks, and organizers of language classes than in academic research, which tended to be regarded as a male prerogative.

The question may still be asked as to what accounts for the obvious imbalance or mismatch between the various Celtic-speaking regions, for even a superficial glance makes it clear that there were far more female scholars active in Ireland than in Scotland or Wales. On the one hand, this appears to be related to the fact that the link between the native Celtic language and national identity appears to have been much weaker in Scotland, where Gaelic was widely felt to be relevant only to the Highlands and islands, and that in Ireland the language issue was used to fuel the struggle for Home Rule, which in those days simply did not exist in Scotland or Wales. Moreover, one might venture to suggest that the study of Irish was facilitated by the existence of an affluent urban middle class, which did not exist to the same extent in the Welsh-speaking regions of Wales and was conspicuously absent in the Gaelic-speaking regions of Scotland. That said, it also needs to be pointed out that, Celtic studies still being a rather large field with a small number of workers, many aspects of its history continue to be understudied, and it may be surmised that the contribution of women to the cause of Irish is better known not least because it has attracted greater attention from historians who were primarily interested in the political and social implications of their work. In any case, it should be stressed that a comprehensive history of Celtic linguistics, based not only on publications and official documents but also on the private correspondence of the scholars involved, has not yet been written and continues to be a *desideratum*.

12
Early American women's participation in language scholarship

Margaret Thomas

12.1 Introduction

In sixteenth-century Italy, elite women engaged in language-based parlour games where success depended not only on erudition but also on a woman's capacity for sophisticated, playful turns of speech and displays of subtle metalinguistic skill (Sanson 2010: 104–10). During that same century, in what is now the United States, there may well have been indigenous cultures that valued and inculcated elegance in women's linguistic performance. However, because of the massive cultural extinction that followed the immigration of Europeans to North America, and the absence of indigenous orthographic records, we lack evidence of contemporaneous Native American practices that parallel those of Italian noblewomen.[1]

Similarly, in seventeenth-century France, the *Préciosité* of some upper-class Parisian women's speech style—which comprises a 'mixture of historical fact and fiction, of reality and caricature' (Ayres-Bennett 2004: 134)—has absorbed generations of scholars. We do have some written records of life in North America during that period: texts left behind by European explorers and settlers narrating their experiences and their encounters with native peoples, and texts produced in the course of establishing the legal, religious, educational, and commercial institutions that would operate in the 'New World'. However, these records do not typically include reflection on the aesthetics of women's speech, much less debates about its purported purity or civilizing role. Rather, in a collection of primary texts bearing on women in sixteenth-century America (Frey and Morton 1986), we find such documents as the transcript of Anne Hutchinson's (1591–1643) bold and unrepentant testimony at her 1637 trial for heresy (Frey and Morton 1986: 72–5); Mary Rowlandson's (*c*.1637–1711) first-hand narrative from 1675 of her abduction and captivity by a Native American tribe (Frey and Morton 1986: 70–2); and contracts, wills, and petitions which were brought before the law by and about

[1] Moulder (2013) analyses a women's tradition of political oratory among Cherokee tribe members, but evidence is sparse until the late eighteenth century.

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women (Frey and Morton 1986: 97–118). Texts attributed to women from this period are very likely to have been retouched at some point by men, so that it remains an open question whether they can be distinguished from parallel texts written by men. In any case, we lack evidence for, or commentary about, any analogue to the self-conscious stylistic innovation of seventeenth-century French women identified with *Préciosité*.

These comparisons show that American women in the 1500s and 1600s did not leave a record of metalinguistic consciousness on a par with that of their European peers. They seem to have come late to the kind of objectification of language entailed in public performance of language games, or adoption of an innovative speech style. American women also came late to the formal analysis of language entailed in activities like the composition of grammars or dictionaries, or the setting of public linguistic standards.

This chapter begins with a brief historical sketch, spanning the interval from 1600 to the twentieth century, of the access that American women had to participation in language-related intellectual life. With that backdrop in mind, I examine the roles American women played in six specific domains of language: lexicography; the setting of language standards; translation and cross-linguistic communication; the education of deaf students; the authorship of grammars; and missionary linguistics. I will show that the last case, missionary linguistics, may have opened the way to public acceptance of women as language scholars. Of special interest in this analysis is the evidence that, although the gendered expectations and constraints American culture imposed on women generally inhibited their participation in language scholarship, those same constraints also sometimes positioned women to make unique contributions to the study of language.

12.2 American women's access to intellectual life, from the seventeenth to the twentieth century

The scope of women's contributions to the study of language extends beyond their formal, public accomplishments such as the authorship of grammars or their assumption of roles as language arbiters or teachers. Women's contributions also include language-related activities in the private sphere. Achievements of the former kind require access to institutional resources and power. Achievements of the latter kind may not require such access but may easily escape being recorded; even if recorded, they may be hard to retrieve. In either case, it is critical to understand the extent to which the institutions, resources, and practices that supported formal language scholarship were available to women. Where and when those resources were open or closed to women bears directly on women's success or failure in contributing to formal language scholarship. It also bears on whether women's private reflections on language were valued enough to be noticed or recorded.

12.2.1 Pre-revolutionary America

In the seventeenth century, European immigrants to America who had the leisure to do so educated their children at home, teaching both girls and boys the literacy skills they needed to read the Bible. However, only some groups (New England Puritans, Pennsylvania Quakers) taught girls as well and boys to write. Both sexes received practical training at home (for boys, sometimes out of the home, as apprentices) to prepare for whatever work would be expected of them in adulthood. Sustained formal education was unusual for anyone, and almost non-existent for girls: although Harvard College was founded in Massachusetts in 1636 and the College of William and Mary in Virginia in 1693, both were restricted to male students. Native American and African American females had only very rare access to even elementary education. There were exceptional women whose writings show that they managed to achieve high levels of learning—even a few who were educated in the New World, unlike Anne Bradstreet (1612–1672), who is now celebrated as an American poet even though she immigrated to Massachusetts as an adult. However, such women sometimes faced severe public criticism for looking beyond what was taken as the natural boundary of their ambition and influence, the family and home (Stanford 1966).[2]

By the late 1600s, it had become more common for women, in particular widows, to open small 'dame schools' in their homes (Figure 12.1), which not

Figure 12.1 New England dame school (1713). Engraving. Public domain: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dame_School.jpeg

[2] Woody (1966 [1929]) is a classic survey of the history of women's education in the United States up to the beginning of the twentieth century. More recent works, with narrower scope, include Farnham (1994), Nash (2005), Kelley (2006), McMahon (2012), and Howell (2015). Gold and Hobbs (2013) focus on the history of oratorical education for women.

only provided them with income but also increased educational opportunities for their female (and male) students (Lyman 1922: 17–20; Treckel 1996: 126–7). Although the quality of instruction was often low, these schools may well have been the major contribution of women in general to language scholarship in this era, insofar as they strengthened a cultural association between women and elementary education and involved women in helping early readers and writers develop metalinguistic awareness. In the northern and middle colonies, town schools later began to appear for the instruction of older children, where girls were sometimes admitted during hours of the day, or months of the year, when boys were absent. Male rather than female teachers tended to preside at these schools. In the southern colonies, (male) tutors brought literacy and arithmetic to the sons of the wealthy and sometimes to their daughters. Beyond the elementary level, however, needlework and music were offered to girls while their brothers were taught writing, Latin, English grammar, Sallust's *The Catiline Conspiracy*, and 'ciphering in reduction' (Woody 1966 [1929]: I, 278).

12.2.2 In the new republic

The War of American Independence (American Revolution) shifted the status of women in ways relevant to their potential to contribute to language studies by infusing socio-cultural ideals about equality and by demonstrating the economic and political value of women. Among the elite, republicanism revived interest in study of the Classics. Through self-study or tutorship, a few women in the 1780s managed to acquire skills in Latin and Greek, fields otherwise reserved for the masculine vocations of ministry, medicine, and law (Winterer 2007: 69–70). For women a step lower in the social hierarchy, academies or seminaries opened in the late 1700s as the new nation committed itself to developing a literate, engaged citizenry, which required education for (white) women as well as (white) men.

The foundation of 'female seminaries' and academies, which admitted girls as young as 12 years of age, provided an opportunity for some middle- and even upper-class women to be educated (Woody 1966 [1929]: I, 329–459). Standards were lower at female seminaries compared with those at men's colleges (many of which also emerged in the late 1700s/early 1800s), but the core curriculum for women largely paralleled that for men: the ability to read, speak, and write the prestige version of English was central. However, because most people continued to believe that women were inherently intellectually inferior, or at least that their different social roles demanded a style of education specific to their sex, education for women most differed from that for men in the additional practical skills they learned, such as the ornamental arts for women versus surveying for men (Nash 2005: 49). The notion that education for men versus women equipped the two to

operate in separate social and domestic spheres was pervasive, but it played out differently in different regions. Woody (1966 [1929]: I, 177–237) depicts resistance to women's academic education as stronger in New England than in the middle states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Farnham (1994: 3) adds that in the south, because '[c]hallenges to occupational segregation were not as salient [...], resistance to higher education was less effective there'. Some educators countered the 'separate spheres' ideology with arguments that women needed at least the rudiments of learning to fully enable their roles as mothers. In the north, a similarly non-threatening argument was made in support of allowing women to serve as teachers, on the grounds that teaching merely extended into public life a mother's position in the home (Woody 1966 [1929]): I, 308–13).

During the early nineteenth century, access to education increased for American women, as did women's employment as teachers. By the 1830s, they were being admitted to colleges that had formerly enrolled only men. Ten years later a boom began in the foundation of women's schools and colleges, often operated and staffed by women, with self-consciously higher academic standards and older ages of admission for students, relative to earlier academies and seminaries (Woody 1966 [1929]: II, 137–50). For example, applicants to women's colleges were generally expected to be able to read Latin and Greek, and to have had exposure to, among other subjects, mathematics, history, and geography.

Nevertheless, increased openness of education to women coexisted with an entrenched insistence that men and women have contrasting social roles: a woman's education prepared her to operate a home, a man's for leadership in commerce, the professions, and public service (Nash 2005; Kelley 2006; McMahon 2012). Women who pursued education had to be careful not to compromise their social position by becoming 'blue stockings', a derisive label for women whose erudition disrupted social norms. Kelley (2006: 243) quotes a nineteenth-century demand that, for women, 'If the stocking is *blue*, the petticoat must be *long*'. Winterer (2007) notes that by 1885 the Greek and Latin requirements for entrance to the women's college Bryn Mawr matched those of all-male Harvard, and that women performed, in Ancient Greek, the title role in college productions of *Antigone*. However, this amounted to an empty triumph, because in the context of women's education, *Antigone* had been reinterpreted not as a reflection on, and preparation for, political leadership, but as a vehicle for displaying personal cultivation (Winterer 2007: 202–3).

In short, education opened to women in the 1800s, but the 'post-Revolutionary compromise [...] made the right to educational opportunity contingent on fulfillment of gendered obligations' (Kelley 2015: 259). American women advanced in the nineteenth century toward control over some of the materials and resources that prepared them to participate in language scholarship, but they lived in a culture that sharply undercut their opportunities to do so.

12.2.3 Retrenchment in the late 1800s and into the twentieth century

The period from the end of the 1800s to the beginning of the twentieth century is now represented as a retreat in the history of education and vocational opportunities for American women. Public anxiety about the successful liberalization of women's education, linked to women's involvement in not only the suffrage campaign but also the temperance and (earlier) anti-slavery movements, coincided with economic calamity and social strife. As a result, many colleges abandoned coeducation in favour of sex-segregated classes and excluded women from teaching roles (Nash 2005: 113–15). Pollard (1977: 189–91) collected data from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries on the proportion of women employed as faculty members at American colleges and universities. She found that the percentage of women reached a high-water mark at almost 31 per cent in 1895, then dropped year by year to below 24 per cent in 1910, before rebounding to around 28 per cent by 1920, where it remained steady until 1940. During the war years between 1944 and 1946, more women were of necessity employed in college faculties, raising the proportion slightly to 30 per cent, near the 1895 peak. At the end of World War II, a steep downturn set in: student enrolments and the number of faculty members more than doubled between 1946 and 1962 (the last year of Pollard's data), but the proportion of women who held those positions dropped to a historic low of 22 per cent (Pollard 1977: 191).

Pollard's data conflate numbers of faculty members across all disciplines, but they are consistent with narrative and quantitative data about women's experiences in academic fields of language study. Falk's (1999: 268) study of the professional lives of three American women in the emergent field of linguistics in the first half of the twentieth century depicts each one as struggling to 'maintain a presence and productive career in a less than welcoming academic community'.[3] Andresen (1990: 233) refers to the 'crinoline curtain' that obscured contributions of women to the history of American linguistics in that same interval, whereas Joos (1986: 9) comments on the 'routine ignoring of all female scholars' in the

[3] Emergence of the field of general study of language phenomena in the Western world is conventionally associated with the work of Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) and Franz Bopp (1791–1867) (Koerner 1989: 235, Andresen 1990: 43). Use of the term 'linguistics' (and its translations into other European languages) emerged slowly. In the US, scholar of Native American languages John Pickering (1777–1846) argued in 1820 for the value of studying the 'many facts or phenomena of language' (cited in Andresen 1990: 43), doing so under the long-standing rubric of 'philology'. Pickering's address to the first Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society (published 1843) uses the term 'linguist' in the sense of 'one who studies many languages'. However, by 1867, William Dwight Whitney gave his book, *Language and the Study of Language*, the subtitle *Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science*. Regardless of shifts in terms, women's general exclusion from the study of language in the time period covered by this volume extends from their earlier exclusion from philology and comparative grammar up to and after the appearance of the term 'linguistics'.

1920s and 1930s. The disadvantaged position women linguists held relative to men was not improved after the highest levels of education in linguistics were opened to women, or after full professionalization of the discipline. It continued beyond the *terminus ad quem* of this volume, as documented by Davison and Eckert (1990); Silva and Fauzi (2008); and Thomas (2014).

This historical sketch illustrates the long-sustained imbalance between men and women in their access to resources that enable scholarship on language. One of the effects of that imbalance has been to discourage women from taking leadership roles in language study; another has been to downgrade their accomplishments and devalue whatever private kinds of inquiry into language they may have pursued. As a result, historical surveys, such as Andresen's (1990) account of American linguistics from 1769 to the founding of the Linguistic Society of America in 1924, bear virtually no witness to women's contributions to the study of language in that interval. Nevertheless, some earlier presence can be demonstrated, or in some cases, extrapolated.

12.3 American women's contributions to the study of language

In this section, I present evidence for the roles that American women have played in six domains of the study or analysis of language, organized in order of their increasing participation, which roughly coincides with chronological order, from contexts where women's contributions were slight to contexts where their contributions became increasingly prominent.

12.3.1 Lexicography

Lexicography as a field of language study was apparently inhospitable to the contributions of women until the twentieth century. Alston's (1965–2006: vol. 5) listing of English dictionaries up to 1800 includes only two published in America, both compiled by males. Mathews's (1966: 36–56) discussion of American dictionaries carries the narrative to the end of the 1800s, depicting nineteen published lexicographers or compliers of volumes of 'Americanisms'. All are male. Gibson (1936–1937) adds a few more Americans' names but no females. A search for the term 'lexicographer' in the *American National Biography Online*, which includes entries as early as the 1600s, identified twelve males but no females.[4]

A review of the life and career of America's most influential early lexicographer, Noah Webster (1758–1843), helps explain why no woman competes for that title.

[4] www.anb.org/page/about accessed 24 Feb. 2019.

Webster, son of a farmer, periodically had to fall back on the role of schoolmaster to make ends meet (Micklethwait 2000: 19–22). Beyond the elementary level, men dominated as schoolmasters in the early eighteenth century, but women were not excluded. However, although Webster started out as a schoolmaster, he worked assiduously to gain access to the kinds of resources that were unavailable to women: he graduated from college, as the first in his family to do so, and thereafter relied heavily on personal connections he made while at Yale; he married a woman from a higher social class; he travelled extensively; he gave public lectures to promote his publications; he gained membership of the Philological Society; and he attracted the attention of and corresponded with leaders such as George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. Perhaps most crucially, Webster aggressively and publicly defended his views and attacked those who opposed him or those whom he suspected of exploiting his work. As an example of how Webster seized upon opportunities available to him, Micklethwait (2000: 142–4) tells the story of how he conceived of a need to learn Anglo-Saxon, purchased the relevant books, found the leisure to teach himself the language, and ended up incorporating some of what he learned (even if not fully accurately) into his dictionary. An equally ambitious and gifted female contemporary might have started, as Webster had, in the schoolroom, but it is very unlikely that she could have successfully built what Webster did out of his circumstances.

Even relatively passive kinds of lexicographic work seem not to have engaged the attention of American women. In the work of compiling the *Oxford English Dictionary*, its first editor, James Murray (1837–1915), solicited contributions from the public, including Americans. About twenty Americans responded by sending Murray thousands of slips of paper on which they noted outstanding uses of words in their contexts or by providing other kinds of expertise to the editors. Gilliver (2000) lists the most significant contributors to the *OED*, from the first edition up to 1933; he cites only two Americans, both men. An expanded version of Gilliver's list posted on the *OED Online* website includes seventeen American male contributors, one American of unidentifiable gender, and two American women: Mrs A. Byington of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, credited with contributing 2,450 quotations in 1884, and Mrs C. F. Richardson of New York (3,100 quotations).[5] No additional information is given about either of these women, whereas thumbnail sketches—life dates, occupation, career highlights, special fields of expertise—are provided for fifteen of the seventeen American male contributors to the *OED*. The *American National Biography Online* includes entries on three of the seventeen male contributors to the *OED* but neither of the two female contributors. At least in its first decades, the immense collaborative project of the *OED* includes scant evidence of participation by American women.

[5] http://public.oed.com/history-of-the-oed/contributors/biographical-information accessed 24 Feb. 2019.

12.3.2 Setting social standards for language

Schlesinger (1946) recounts major shifts in American public attitudes towards instruction in manners and etiquette from the colonial period onward. The year 1820 was a watershed, initiating a remarkable boom in the publication of texts written by and for Americans, which aimed to advise citizens of the new country, especially those of the ambitious new middle class (and aspirants to that status), about how to behave in a period of rapid social change.[6] On the topic of language and conversation, the emphasis earlier had been, for men, on avoiding obscene or exaggerated speech and expressions of anger, and on achieving self-control; for women, on avoiding immodesty and displays of learning. Conduct advice in the following *antebellum* era flattened some of those gender-based distinctions so that, in conversation, both sexes were directed to be 'courteous and pleasant', to avoid flattery, to choose inclusive conversational topics, and to be judicious in the expression of wit (Hemphill 1999: 190). A pair of books published in 1860, Florence Hartley's *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness* and Cecil B. Hartley's *The Gentlemen's Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness*, contain many of the same admonitions about language and sociability addressed to men as to women. This is not to say that men and women were expected to meet the same ideals as conversational partners. Rather, the nineteenth-century strategy was that of 'integrating women in the social world [...] [by] mak[ing] a privilege out of protection' (Hemphill 1999: 191) and by emphasizing women's civilizing role. Charles Godfrey Leland, in *The Art of Conversation*, advises men at length to spend their time with 'educated, amiable, and witty' women who 'intuitively comprehend their mission, and recognize that its chief duty is to be agreeable to *all*, and to elicit from each a display of his best qualities' (Leland 1865: 105–6).

By the middle of the eighteenth century, American women were writing significant numbers of conduct-advice manuals, especially those directed at other women (Kasson 1990: 48; Hemphill 1999: 183, 225). Women probably were responsible for a fair number of the many such texts published anonymously as well. These books were designed to help women find their way through the complexities of a society struggling to balance egalitarian ideals against a social order deeply shaped by class, wealth, and gender distinctions (with the relevance of race still occluded). Some female authors of etiquette manuals supported themselves through their writings, while for others—such as Rose Cleveland

[6] Not only Schlesinger (1946) but also Hodges (1989), Kasson (1990), Newton (1994), and Hemphill (1999) survey the American history of instruction in etiquette. Newton (1994) and Hemphill (1999) treat etiquette training for men and women separately, but there is little discussion in the literature about differences between etiquette advice written by women and that written by men.

(1846–1918), sister of President Grover Cleveland—commercial motivations were probably less important than a perceived obligation to spread civility down the social ranks (Kasson 1990: 49–53).

Kasson (1990: 52) remarks on the general homogeneity of the content of conduct manuals in the 1800s, pointing out that their business was to define conventions rather than to promote novelty or idiosyncrasy. Most treatment of language issues was relatively general, comprising reminders not to correct others' speech and not to introduce controversial conversational topics (see C. Hartley 1860: 11–30; F. Hartley 1860: 11–20). Nevertheless, some authors identified specific words or constructions they considered acceptable or unacceptable. It is provocative to compare two such texts, one by a male author for a male readership (Leland 1865) and another by a female author for a female readership (Sherwood 1884). Both authors reject certain expressions on apparently capricious grounds (Leland (1865: 204): 'Instead of Westchester County we should say County of Westchester'; Sherwood (1884: 348) would replace 'take tea' with 'drink tea' but replace 'eat supper' with 'take supper'). However, there are also generalizations that emerge in each author's judgements of propriety. Leland consistently warns his male readers away from Germanic phrasal verb constructions such as 'back out', 'grant to', 'head off', 'put through', 'rope in', 'use up', etc., in favour of their less colloquial Latinate equivalents ('retreat', 'vouchsafe', 'intercept', 'accomplish', 'inveigle', 'exhaust'). Sherwood, on the other hand, seems concerned to reduce over-refinement or affectation in women's vocabulary: she would have her readers substitute some instances of 'lady' for 'woman', 'gentleman' for 'man', and 'farewell, adieu, au revoir' for 'good-by'. Sherwood also repeatedly warns readers against exaggeration and overstatement: apologizing should not go over the top; expressions of emotions should be subdued; 'I like grapes' is appropriate, 'I adore grapes' is not. While Leland suggested that his male readers adopt a more refined speech style, Sherwood urged her female readers to avoid artificial over-refinement, as if both parties aimed to reduce the contrast between the ideals of feminine and masculine speech styles.[7]

In short, nineteenth-century American women authors of conduct manuals participated in defining language standards, with the tenor of female authors' advice to females differing perceptibly from male authors' advice to males. However, the space within which both sexes worked was fairly constrained. No male or female writer on conversational etiquette, for example, seemed to question Leland's presupposition that a woman's special obligation was to bring out the best in her male conversational partners. Despite evidence of convergence in the nineteenth century between ideals for male versus female language behaviour,

[7] Some language etiquette prohibitions were aimed specifically at women: Florence Hartley (1860: 191) warned that 'Nothing is more revolting than a woman who catches the tone and expressions of men. To hear the slang of jockeyism from female lips, is very offensive'.

authors of conduct manuals, regardless of sex, presupposed that women and men had distinctive and asymmetric roles to play in conversation.

A search for versions of the word 'interrupt' in etiquette books illustrates the point. Women are extensively warned against interruption, whereas the word rarely appears with reference to conversational turn-taking in etiquette books directed at men. For example, it is telling that Lunettes (1857: 322)—a woman author writing for men under a male pen name—mentions interruption in conversation only once, by quoting 'a lady' in passing as saying 'I will not interrupt Mr. Smith'. Cecil Hartley (1860: 20), also addressing men, offers a single passage that warns men not to 'officiously supply a name or date about which another hesitates' nor to 'anticipate the point of a story which another is reciting'. In contrast, Florence Hartley (1860: 12–13), addressing women, provides an exhaustive critique of interruption, including an illustrative dialogue:

> 'I saw a fearful sight—'
> 'When?'
> 'I was about to tell you; last Monday, on the train—'
> 'What train?'
> 'The train from B—. We were near the bridge—'
> 'What bridge?' [...]

Notice that Cecil Hartley's interrupting man wrests control of the discourse from his conversational partner, whereas Florence Hartley's interrupting woman seems to participate in what Tannen (2009) labelled 'high involvement conversational style', arguably a sign of supportive engagement in her interlocutor's narrative. Thus, although both males and females are enjoined not to interrupt, what the two sexes are being warned against seems to constitute two distinct approaches to discourse.

12.3.3 Translation and language study across cultures

We have seen that, in the revolutionary and immediate post-revolutionary period, republicanism brought the study of the classical languages within the scope of some elite women, so that gradually Latin and Greek were made available to more American women as their educational opportunities expanded. French, Italian, and other European languages were also taught as foreign languages in nineteenth-century schools or acquired, among especially enterprising women, through self-study. One such woman was New Yorker and autodidact Mary Louise Booth (1831–1889), who translated some forty French books into English, including texts by Blaise Pascal, works on French history, and anti-slavery tracts. Booth's translations were admired, yet they count as only one of

her achievements: she also wrote a history of the city of New York, participated in the woman's suffrage movement, and served as the first editor of *Harper's Bazar* (sic) magazine (Bennett 2004).

There were other American women in Booth's era who translated texts into (or out of) English, although there is no record of a characteristically female theory or practice of translation.[8] However, there were earlier women who translated across languages and cultures—in particular, across the enormous breach separating indigenous American and European migrant communities—in ways that seem to have been made possible precisely because of their gendered identities. They include Native American women who served as language and cultural interpreters to European conquerors, settlers, or explorers.[9]

Three such figures illustrate their unique contributions. In each case we have sufficient information to feel sure that these women existed and that they had some such role. However, contemporaneous records do not capture their voices first-hand, so their life dates, names, backgrounds, and their own perceptions and motivations are obscure.[10] A chronologically early exemplar comes from outside the present-day boundaries of the United States, namely the high-born Nahau woman Malinalli, or 'la Malinche' (*c*.1496–1529), who as a child was sold or passed first by her family to one Mayan-speaking ethnic group, and from them to another, until eventually she was handed over to the Spanish conquerors. Aside from being unusually competent and intelligent, Malinalli knew both Nahautl and Chontal Maya. In collaboration with a Spaniard who had learned Mayan, she became invaluable to Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) as a linguistic and cultural interpreter, at one point warning the Spaniards of a planned rebellion against them. Some say Spanish domination of what is now Mexico would not have been achieved without her services (Valdeón 2013). Malinalli also became the mother of one of Hernando Cortés's sons.

Pocahontas (*c*.1595–1617), like Malinalli, grew up as the daughter of a powerful Native American figure. She was a Powhatan 'princess' in tidewater Virginia where the English were struggling to establish an outpost at Jamestown. Legend has it that she saved the life of English settler John Smith, averting her father's plan to kill him. Pocahontas was later captured and held by the settlers. She accepted Christianity, was renamed 'Rebecca', married an Englishman, and gave birth to their son, travelled to London with him, sat for a portrait now owned by the National Portrait Gallery, and died on the return trip. There are reasons to doubt

[8] Chamberlain (2012) discusses the assumption that translation is necessarily a derivative, and therefore 'feminine', literary activity. In a similar spirit, Howell (2015: 155) examines the 'dependent', or mimetic, womanly arts of embroidery and penmanship in the early US for evidence that they comprise a 'critical dialectic of individuation and sameness'.

[9] See on this Chapter 13.

[10] As an index of their transcultural identities, all of these women go by multiple names. I use those names that, as far as we can tell, were first associated with them. An exception is 'Pocahontas', a sobriquet that eclipsed both her birth name 'Matoaka' and her name in English society, 'Rebecca'.

the story of Pocahontas's rescue of Smith (Firstbrook 2014: 215–24), and there is little information about the specific linguistic role Pocahontas played as an intermediary between Powhatan and English speakers. However, there are multiple records of her communicating across the two cultures (Firstbrook 2014: 273–5, 336). There is also evidence that the English paraded Pocahontas's baptism, marriage, and introduction to London society as evidence of Native Americans' tractability to appropriation into European culture (Tilton 1994: 85, 182). In this sense, Pocahontas (like Malinalli) was a key player in European incursions into the Americas, and the ways in which Europeans legitimated those incursions.

The Shoshoni woman Sacajawea (1788–?1812) had been captured as a child by the Hidatsa tribe and removed from present-day Idaho to what is now North Dakota (Figure 12.2). As a result, she spoke both Shoshoni and Hidatsa. By age 16 Sacajawea had been taken in marriage (among other women) by a French fur trader, who knew a little English and could use a sign language that served as a lingua franca across local Native American tribes (Howard 1971: 18). The two, along with their infant son, were incorporated in 1804 into the transcontinental expedition of the American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, as

Figure 12.2 Statue of Sacagawea (1788–?1812), Shoshoni guide to the American explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, erected in Santa Barbara, California. Reproduced with kind permission of the photographer Kennedy Warne.

interpreters. They travelled with the group from Montana to the Pacific Ocean and back. Although Sacajawea's service as a guide has been exaggerated (Kessler 1996), she contributed variously to the success of the expedition, including through her knowledge of local edible and medicinal plants. Above all, Sacajawea's language skills—much more so than her husband's—were crucial to Lewis and Clark's survival at several points in their two-year odyssey. In addition, Clark's journal records that the presence within the party of a native woman and infant advertised their self-defined peaceful intentions, disarming the suspicions of groups they encountered (Kidwell 1992: 105; Swagerty 2012: 582).

Malinalli, Pocahontas, and Sacajawea have all been objects of extensive myth-making, both as courageous cross-cultural intermediaries who helped secure a European presence in North America and as traitors who cooperated in the exploitation, or even extermination, of their own peoples.[11] In every case, their gender was fundamental to the multilingualism that gave rise to their accomplishments, because by virtue of being female, they were passed across cultures—leaving the question of their own agency in the matter painfully unclear. In this sense, Malinalli's, Pocahontas's, and Sacajawea's contributions to cross-cultural communication are directly tied to their gender: for better or worse, they augmented the American experience of language in ways that would not have been possible had they been born male.

Another, lesser-known, stream of evidence for early American women's participation in cross-linguistic communication flows between these same banks—indigenous peoples on one side, European immigrants on the other—but flows in the opposite direction. During the colonial era and into the 1800s, significant numbers of Europeans were abducted by Native Americans (Axtell 1975). Among those who survived capture in raids, many were held for ransom; some remain unaccounted for and probably died early in their captivity; others, especially children, were adopted into Native American families. In addition, a few whites wilfully abandoned their own cultures or (very rarely) were placed in Native American families as foster children so that they could grow up speaking Native American languages (Vaughan and Richter 1980; Tiro 1999). The most relevant subgroup is that of European children raised as adoptees by their Native American abductors (in New England, sometimes abetted by French Canadians). Examining the records of some 1,600 abductees from New England between 1675 and 1763, Vaughan and Richter (1980) found fifty-two child adoptees who underwent complete assimilation into Native American cultures. The most likely candidates for 'transculturation' were females captured between the ages of 7 and 15, among

[11] I am conscious that this compressed account inadequately represents the perspective of Native Americans. For Malinalli, see Cypess (1991), Romo (2005), and Godayol (2012); for Pocahontas, see Larson (1978); for Sacajawea, see Earling (2006); for all three, see Allen (1988).

whom 54 per cent refused repatriation even when their birth families located them and begged them to return.

Although these numbers are small, among them are a few cases of transculturated child abductees who grew up to exercise their capacity to translate across languages and cultures. Rebecca Kellogg was kidnapped at age 8 with other members of her family from their home in central Massachusetts in the famous 'Deerfield raid' of 1704.[12] She and several of her siblings were carried 300 miles north by her Mohawk captors, to a village near what is now Montreal.[13] Kellogg was adopted into a family, renamed 'Wausaunia' (Covey and Kellogg Ashley 2008), and eventually baptized Catholic. She became in every way a member of the Mohawk culture into which she was absorbed, although she retained her English language skills probably due to the presence in the village of her older sister. When relatives came to redeem the sisters in 1718, both refused: presumably, they had become too deeply integrated into Mohawk society. But in 1729 Kellogg unexpectedly reappeared in Deerfield as a 33-year-old English-speaking Mohawk woman.

Kellogg later married a white man. Her husband was not well regarded locally, but missionaries employed him so that that his wife could be put to work translating between English and Mohawk. Kellogg was respected by the settlers and enjoyed the full confidence and affection of local Native Americans with whom she strongly identified. This put her in a unique position to broker communication between the two groups. She disappeared periodically, probably on visits to her distant Mohawk family. She continued her career as a mediator between the colonists and her adopted speech community until the 1756 outbreak of the French and Indian war, when she, along with her colonist husband, disappeared for safety deeper into 'Indian country' (Howard 2015: 133–4).

If we can trust what records we have of her life, Kellogg independently exercised her capacity to mediate between languages and cultures. Her transcultural identity (in addition to her invaluable technical skills) probably exempted her from certain gendered expectations about women's behaviour within colonial American culture, freeing her to make a unique contribution to language study. Because what little we know about eighteenth-century Mohawk culture comes to us through the writings of the colonists, we cannot discern how Kellogg's gender facilitated or impeded her work within Native American culture. It is worth pointing out, however, that as language preservation became an urgent preoccupation for many Native Americans in the twentieth century, women have been prominent

[12] No writings by Rebecca Kellogg Ashley have survived. Her story has been pieced together largely on the basis of genealogical records, diary entries, and letters, as discussed in Hagedorn (1995), Covey and Kellogg Ashley (2008), and Howard (2015). Demos (1994) reconstructs the story of other children taken captive in the Deerfield raid.

[13] 'Mohawk' is an exonym; the group calls itself and their Iroquoian-family language 'Kanien'kehá:ka'.

among those who have taken action to address it, from Dakota speaker Ella Cara Deloria (1888–1971; Boas and Deloria 1941) to champion of the Hawaiian language Mary Pukui (1895–1986; Elbert and Pukui 2001), to Wôpanâak scholar Jessie Little Doe Baird (b. 1963; Baird 2010), and including the preponderance of female contributors to Hinton and Hale (2001).

12.3.4 Teaching of the deaf

If a few extraordinary women had roles in the history of translation and cross-cultural communication between Native Americans and the Europeans colonizers, a large number of women had, as a group, a formative role in the history of deaf education in the United States. In both cases, the nature of the contribution that women made to the understanding of language was tied to their gender-based identities: that is, they were able to do what they did because of their cultures' ideas about the specific capacities and responsibilities of women.

The beginning of formal education of the deaf in the United States is associated with Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet's (1787–1851) foundation in 1817 of the institution that became the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut. Gallaudet had taken up the cause of developing deaf education in response to a request by a neighbour, whose daughter, Alice Cogswell, was deaf. He travelled to Europe to learn about two pedagogies used in deaf education in Europe at the time. One was oralism, which includes lip-reading, finger-spelling, and articulatory instruction in how to reproduce the speech sounds and, eventually, the full grammar and lexicon of the hearing speech community in which a deaf person resides. The other was manualism, which teaches deaf students a visually rather than auditorily transmitted sign language. Sign languages have their own unique grammars, independent of the language of the local speech community. Gallaudet was rebuffed by oralists in England but welcomed by an established manualist school in Paris. He returned to Connecticut with Laurent Clerc (1785–1869), a gifted deaf Frenchman with whom Gallaudet founded the Hartford school on manualist basis. Cogswell was one of the first to enrol; with her generation, the elaboration of an indigenous American Sign Language (ASL) began (Lane 1984).[14]

A rapid proliferation of residential manualist schools followed, admitting mostly adolescent students and staffed by a high proportion of deaf teachers, both male and female (Edwards 2012: 119). Deaf Americans' access to education flourished, but by mid-century, proponents of oralism (Figure 12.3) began to

[14] Note that sign languages developed in cultures separated from each other are mutually unintelligible, just as spoken languages are. Moreover, sign languages such as Irish Sign Language or Taiwanese Sign Language exhibit internal dialectal differences parallel to the dialectal variation within spoken languages (Woll, Sutton-Spence, and Elton 2001).

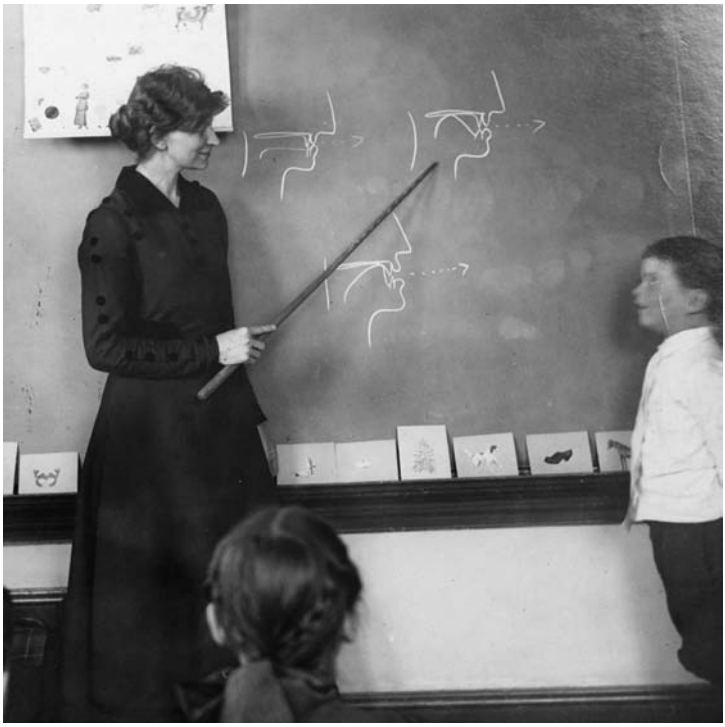

Figure 12.3 An oralist teacher at the American School for the Deaf in 1918.
Property of American School for the Deaf, Museum Archives.

establish rival schools, arguing that because ASL was not a variety of English, manualists segregated the deaf and hearing populations. Intellectual support for oralism came from educators such as Horace Mann (1796–1859), Samuel Gridley Howe (1801–1876), and Alexander Graham Bell (1847–1922). Oralism was particularly attractive to students who had some residual hearing or lost their hearing after having already acquired speech. Gallaudet's son Edward (1837–1917) tried to combine oralism with manualism, at the institution later named Gallaudet College in Washington, DC. After 1860, manualism began to give way to orthodox oralism, which reached its peak around 1927. Oralism maintained dominance until the 1960s, when a strong backlash took place in America in favour of the re-institutionalization and broadening of manualism and, in particular, ASL (Lou 1988).

The struggle between manualism and oralism provided opportunities for extensive public and academic discussion of the nature, value, and definition of human language, and of what counts as disability versus normal human variation. That same struggle was also a landmark in the history of women's incorporation into debate about language issues. All the major public intellectual figures on both sides—both Gallaudets, Clerc, Mann, Howe, Bell—were males, as were most of the

organizers of the first manualist schools. As oralism replaced manualism, however, the proportion of women teachers of the deaf rose steeply, from 4 per cent in 1851 to 65 per cent in 1899; by 1900, 'many oral schools employed no male teachers at all' (Drenth 2003: 373, 378; also see Winzer 1981). There are material reasons for the association of women with oralism, insightfully analysed by Baynton (1996: 56–82). First, oralism is very labour-intensive; the increased demand for teachers could be offset by hiring women, because they were paid salaries valued at about half the salaries paid to men. Second, oralism's best success came when it was introduced to children at the earliest possible age; women already had a claim to teaching this age group and a reputation for being naturally gentle and disarming to children. Third, oralism requires extraordinary patience and a tireless capacity to tolerate repetition and tedium, attributes that nineteenth-century notions of gender readily assigned to women. In contrast, manualism was viewed as an extension of philosophical inquiry into the nature of the human mind, thus requiring the kind of higher education that was still sparse among women at that time.

Baynton (1996: 72) brings out an additional, provocative reason for the association of women with oralism: '[w]omen themselves were struggling to find a voice in nineteenth-century America'. He narrates how, even after women became the principals of oralist schools and predominated as teachers, they still had little role at higher levels of their discipline. As evidence, Baynton surveys the records of meetings of professional organizations such as American Instructors of the Deaf. In 1870, among ninety-four attendees, twenty-two were female—but no female presented a paper, offered a comment, or was nominated or appointed to a committee. In 1878, men offered 219 'Addresses or Remarks'; women offered two. One paper was presented by a woman, but it was read on her behalf by a man. In 1890, men spoke in discussion 532 times; women spoke 23 times. Symbolically, at the 1878 conference it was suggested that women should participate in voting by raising a hand, in contrast to the default (male) practice of voice vote. Baynton concludes that women's attachment to oralism derived in part from their sense that, like their deaf pupils, they also lacked the capacity to speak and be heard in public.

An additional facet of women's contributions to deaf education in America has escaped comment. Although males provided intellectual leadership, and males monopolized professional discussion of deaf education while (under oralism) women did the actual teaching, another role was held almost exclusively by females. That role is the figurehead representing deafness to the public. It was girls and women whose life stories were told and retold by both manualists and oralists in support of their work, or whose public performances demonstrated the success of their methods: Sophia Fowler Gallaudet, Alice Cogswell, Julia Brace, Laura Bridgeman, Mabel Hubbard, and later, and most famously, Helen Keller. Census data show that in the second half of the 1800s the incidence of deafness among American males was about 20 per cent higher than among females

(Department of Commerce 1918: 20). However, with funding for deaf education insecure and dependent on philanthropy, perhaps educators seeking publicity for their work perceived that they could attract a more receptive audience in depicting the plight of deafness by focusing on girls, and they could more deeply impress that audience about the efficacy of deaf education if they showcased the accomplishments of deaf women. Clerc and Gallaudet as well as Howe and Bell presided at public exhibitions of their methods in which deaf girls and women were paraded, and all parties wrote about particular individuals whose deafness inspired them (Lane 1984). Those individuals were predominantly female, despite their statistical minority within the cohort of deaf individuals.

12.3.5 Authorship of grammars

Monaghan (1994) narrates the intriguing rise and fall in the authorship not of grammars but of basal readers (textbooks addressed to beginning readers) by American women between 1880 and 1950. Having built on the colonial-era tradition of 'dame schools', women came to dominate the field of early elementary education and eventually assumed a substantial presence as elementary school principals as well. However, few women wrote textbooks until the 1880s, when a sharp rise in public education stimulated the market for teaching materials. Publishers viewed 'women as "experts" by default' (Monaghan 1994: 38) and therefore recruited women authors, especially for textbooks grounded in folk tales and classic children's stories. From 1880 until around 1915 many American women wrote basal readers, which often featured their names in titles (e.g. *Boyden's Readers*, *Sprague Classic Readers*). Then the effects of early twentieth-century retrenchment set in: experts in educational psychology, a field in which few American women had academic credentials, moved into the authorship of elementary textbooks, displacing the experience-based expertise of teachers. With the general decline of professional opportunities for women after the 1940s, male authors eclipsed females.

Monaghan's primary sources comprise two collections of basal readers: her own and one available on microform. Unfortunately, no such resource collects, over time, grammars written by American women. Lyman's (1922) dissertation on grammar in American schools analyses several dozen grammars published in the United States from 1771 to 1850, all apparently written by men.[15] There is,

[15] An exception is that Lyman (1922), not constrained to texts produced in America, cites British grammarian Ann Fisher's 1750 *A New Grammar*, discussing her innovations, such as the presentation of 'false syntax' to learners (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000, Rodríguez-Gil 2006). Lyman, however, consistently refers with male pronouns to the female grammarian whose work appears alternatively under the names of 'Daniel Fisher', 'D. Fisher', and 'A. Fisher' (Rodríguez-Gil 2008). On Fisher, see Chapter 10 in this volume.

however, a suggestive bibliography of grammars of English, limited to the nineteenth century (Görlach 1998). Extracting from Görlach's more than 2,000 entries all those both published in America and authored by women, we can see women's authorship of grammars was rare, but not absent, even from the beginning of the 1800s.[16] Dividing the century into four twenty-five year increments, Görlach's list includes two grammars published by women in America from 1800 to 1824; three for 1825–1849; six for 1850–1875; and twenty-three for 1875–1900.[17] What these numbers have in common with Monaghan's analysis of basal readers is a clear spike of female authorship at the end of the century.

The grammars that Görlach attributes to women vary along different axes. Some resemble basal readers in that they directly address classroom learners. Others address teachers or segregate some material for learners and some for teachers. Some assume a readership of very young children; some grammar-school age learners; and some students attending 'female seminaries', presumably adolescents and young adults. Even from early in the century, chapters commonly included exercises or questions, suggesting authorial facility with classroom dynamics. The majority of these grammars seem to presuppose the authority of a Latin grammatical template by, for example, adverting to nominative, objective, possessive, and sometimes vocative cases of English nouns. They also commonly attribute three, sometimes four, grammatical genders to English nouns. In these ways, grammars written in the 1800s by American woman seem to differ little from those written by men.[18]

By the end of the nineteenth century, where Görlach's bibliography stops, some grammarians revolted against the extension of traditional grammatical analysis to English. Tolman (1902) reviews with approval fourteen new American grammar textbooks that variously cut loose from dogmas like nominal case and subject-verb agreement. His corpus includes three texts written by women and two others where a woman is a co-author. Tolman is refreshingly even-handed with respect

[16] I deduced authors' genders from their first names, which is obscured by approximately 10 per cent of Görlach's entries for which only initials are provided in the place of first names or the authorship is anonymous. It is also probable that some women grammarians wrote under male pseudonyms.

[17] We cannot, of course, treat Görlach's list as comprehensive. But to give an estimate of the proportions of grammar authorship by gender, I calculated the percentage of entries by American males versus American females over the first hundred pages of Görlach's alphabetically organized list, comprising entries up to number 406 (last names 'Abbot' to 'Dalton'). Of those 406 entries, 190 can be attributed to Americans: 166 were apparently written by males (87.4 per cent) and 6 by females (3.2 per cent). The gender of authors of 18 American grammars in that cohort could not be ascertained (9.5 per cent).

[18] Tolman does, however, remark that a grammar produced by a prolific American female grammar-writer of the period, Mary Frances Hyde, 'seems to be the well-considered production of a skillful teacher' (Tolman 1902: 160). Hyde wrote several multiply reprinted grammars and exercise books for students from the earliest to the advanced stages (Görlach 1998: 187–9). Inspection of the prefaces to three of her works (Hyde 1897, 1906, 1910) reveals an author attuned to both the needs and proclivities of schoolchildren, and to the responsibilities of, and constraints on, classroom teachers.

to authorial gender: he seems neither to expect nor to find any facet of these grammars or their readerships to differ for male and female authors.

Much further work is called for before we can identify or discount the existence of a distinctively female stance in early American grammatical texts. However, returning briefly to Monaghan's (1994) findings highlights one potentially salient issue. Monaghan notes that even during the heyday of female authorship of basal readers, the type called 'phonetic readers'—which supplied interlinear phonetic diacritics—were invariably written by men, since women did not have the requisite technical training. A lack of technical philological skills may well have informed grammars written by American women as well. Recall that study of the Classics was rarely open to women until the late 1800s, since Latin and Greek were viewed as too deep, too demanding, and requiring too rational a mindset, to be grasped by women's presumably inferior intellectual capacities (Phillips 1990). Perhaps women's shallower investment in Classics opened them more to conceptualizing the grammar of English independently of the traditional Latin labels and categories.

12.3.6 Missionary linguistics

Unlike other domains of language study discussed above, missionary linguistics already has a literature that looks specifically at the contributions of women, or at least makes explicit reference to women, in works produced both by practitioners (Wallis and Bennett 1959; Wycliffe Bible Translators 1963) and by scholars (e.g. Tucker and Liefeld 1987; Robert 1996, 2002a). Studies of individual female missionary linguists and their legacies also exist (Holway 1959; Tucker 1988; Robert 1993, 2002a), as well as occasional references to specific differences that being a woman made in this domain of language study (Hall 1959: 119; Tucker 1988: 11–12). What else stands out is that American women who were both missionaries and linguists may have led the way towards the inclusion of women in general into professional linguistics (Thomas 2009). This shift took place gradually, beyond the temporal boundaries of this text, and even now has not been fully accomplished. Nonetheless it is remarkable that missionary linguists were among the first American women to independently carry out modern studies of languages, and to enjoy public recognition for their findings.

Robert (1993) points out that American Protestant women were included in international mission initiatives right from the start: when, in 1812, five male missionaries departed for India, three of them were accompanied by their wives. Robert goes on to describe the controversies that surrounded the roles of missionary wives, as evangelists alongside their missionary husbands as opposed to behind-the-scenes homemakers. Single women also participated in international missions, often supported by large national denominational organizations that

emerged from the 1860s, such as the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, or smaller, independent, groups called 'faith missions', which sometimes focused on a specific project (schools, midwifery) or a specific locale. Often working against pressure from male church leaders, many of these groups were established, led, and operated virtually entirely by women, and often directed at girls and women in the host countries. Hill (1985: 14, 3) writes that in 1903 women made up about 60 per cent of all missionaries; by 1915, more than three million American women were members of female missionary societies.

The object of international missionary work was not, of course, linguistic *per se*, but rather Christian evangelism, often mixed with efforts to 'civilize' other peoples by modelling for them the purported advantages of Western-style cultural practices (ranging from hygiene to literacy to capitalism). Education and medicine were also often the focus of missionary women's activities. However, learning another language was almost always essential to missionary work abroad, and many missionaries devoted themselves first and foremost to the study and analysis of their hosts' languages (Wonderly and Nida 1963). Especially among Protestants, for whom direct encounter with the Bible is a religious necessity, the goal of a missionary's acquisition of the local language was not merely to facilitate communication; more importantly, it was as a first step toward translating the Bible into the local language. One particular missionary group, now known as SIL International, has since its inception in 1934 focused almost exclusively on the analysis of indigenous languages in a fieldwork setting, with the goal of Bible translation. By 2019, SIL counted over 4,800 active members working in more than a hundred countries on more than 1,700 languages.[19] The organization's methods and goals are controversial within academic linguistics (Dobrin 2009), and its socio-political values recognizably conservative; nevertheless, we will refer below to a role that SIL missionary linguists seem to have played in advancing women's participation in language studies.

Returning to the nineteenth-century history of women missionary linguists, examples include one of the first three missionary wives who left America in 1812. Ann Judson (1789–1826) spent the remaining fourteen years of her life learning first Burmese, then Thai, translating and writing religious texts and teaching local women (while also raising children and running her own household). Judson wrote a catechism in Thai, the first text ever printed in that language (Winship 1986). She became a model of the active, engaged missionary wife for whom language study and its successful application in the translation of religious texts into the vernacular was—in the worldview of nineteenth-century missiology—of supreme consequence.

A later domestic parallel to Judson may be Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson (1826–1905). Robertson was born to missionary parents who worked with the

[19] www.sil.org/about/ accessed 24 Feb. 2019.

Cherokee tribe at the time of their forced displacement. As her family travelled west with them along the 'Trail of Tears', the grammar of Cherokee her father had written was lost in crossing the Arkansas River (Holway 1959: 36). As a teenager Robertson studied Latin and Greek, then spent thirty-five years working in Oklahoma with Muscogee (or Creek) tribe members, translating the New Testament directly from Greek while raising her own family and, alongside her missionary husband, running a boarding school for Creek children. She also produced Creek versions of parts of the Hebrew Bible, including Isaiah and many Psalms, and hymns and various religious tracts.[20] Her notebooks reveal a sophisticated and respectful approach to 'Indian languages' that impresses a modern reader. For example, Robertson insisted that the orthography of Creek be designed for native speakers, not for ease of use for English speakers (Holway 1959: 39), and her insightful treatment of Creek geminate consonants anticipated the apparent re-invention of the same analysis in 1938 (Sturtevant 2005: 40–1). In 1892, Robertson was the first American woman ever to be awarded an honorary doctorate, from the College of Wooster in Ohio, in recognition of her linguistic studies.

The linguistic accomplishments of Judson and Robertson reveal intellectual autonomy and a self-possessed sense of agency during a century when it was unusual for women to successfully exercise those traits. However, as Tucker and Liefeld (1987: 291) point out, missionary work opened opportunities to women that would not have been tolerated in other contexts: women missionaries 'preached, evangelized, planted churches, trained nationals, established schools, and conducted humanitarian work', to which one might add 'and carried out significant language study and analysis'. Robert (2002b) agrees: she shows how—in medicine, education, and religious leadership—nineteenth-century women enjoyed more professional freedom and initiative as overseas missionaries than they did back home. Moreover, the general effect of many such women's experiences abroad washed back against the culture from which they departed. Robert does not focus on the specifically linguistic scholarship of women missionaries, but she does emphasize several ways in which they injected greater internationalism into the public and political consciousness, 'act[ing] as bridges between the United States and other cultures' (Robert 2002b: 79).

The unusual freedom granted to, or seized by, women missionaries in their roles as linguists seems also to have spread into the discipline of linguistics in the early twentieth century. The story of how this happened extends beyond the chronological scope of this book, but, as that story may comprise a turning point for American women language scholars, a sketch of it concludes this chapter.

[20] Robertson's translations may not have been published, but their existence is registered in the Samuel W. Robertson Collection of the Western History archive of the University of Oklahoma, https://lib.ou.edu/sites/default/files/RobertsonSamuelW.pdf accessed 4 Feb. 2020.

We have seen that American women's professional opportunities diminished across the early decades of the twentieth century. Falk (1999) showed that women language scholars faced an inhospitable intellectual climate in which women's rates of participation in professional life and graduate training were low; where they were largely excluded from leadership roles; published little; and their work was often not taken seriously. One might add to Falk's case studies the career of Alice Elizabeth Kober (1906–1950). Kober was born in New York City at a time when higher education was open to women but professional opportunities were very limited. She studied Latin and Greek in college, continuing on to a doctorate in Classics. Kober accepted a very demanding teaching position at Brooklyn College, which she held for nineteen years until her death.[21] However, her real interest since adolescence was the decipherment of the Minoan script Linear B, which at that time had yielded little to scholarly study. Although Kober's professional colleagues neither valued nor supported her research, she attacked the problem in all her spare time, independently studying archeology, statistics, scientific methodology, and the orthographic systems of many languages. In a classic application of structuralist techniques, Kober then analysed the frequency of every Linear B orthographic unit in juxtaposition with every other one, in every position within a word, organizing and filing her data on 180,000 index cards she cut out of scrap paper and stored in cigarette cartons. Gradually her work began to pay off: she published a few articles on her preliminary findings and was awarded a Guggenheim grant in 1946. The British amateur linguist Michael Ventris (1922–1956) took up and elaborated on Kober's work and, two years after her death, made the final breakthrough that would decipher Linear B. Although his work was clearly built on hers, Ventris rarely credited Kober (Fox 2013: 262–7). Moreover, it is almost always Ventris who is brought forward, not Kober—both in versions of the story which lionize Ventris (e.g. Chadwick 1958; Robinson 2002) and in those that criticize him (e.g. Levin 1964). Regardless of the weight of their contributions, the language used to represent Kober versus Ventris is telling. Voeglin and Voeglin's (1963: 1238ff.) article 'Patterns of Discovery in the Decipherment of Different Types of Alphabets' is typical. References to 'Miss Kober' appear eight times (1248–1250) but only once as the subject of an active verb (1248); two of those references depersonalize her contributions by reducing them to 'the Kober grid', her key insight; and there is no attribution to her of any trait or capacity. In contrast, Voegelin and Voegelin (1963) refer to Ventris eleven times (1238–9, 1248–50), usually as the subject of an active verb ('spoke' (1248), 'resumed work' (1249), 'realized' (1249), 'found ways of substituting' (1250)) or to attribute to Ventris 'unmatched' abilities (1238), 'decipherment success' (1238),

[21] See Hahn (1950) and Kober's papers, collected at the University of Texas at Austin, https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/handle/2152/15875;jsessionid=8B0F40DB4E788910E6645AADF69D999B accessed 24 Feb. 2019.

and talent for 'high speed language learning' (1238). Certainly both 'Miss Kober' and Ventris were instrumental to the decipherment of Linear B, but it is hard not to read this text as downplaying a woman's accomplishments relative to those of a man, prevalent as that practice was in American linguistics through the middle of the twentieth century.[22]

Against this tableau of reluctance to recognize women's intellectual achievements, the apparent ready acceptance of women missionary linguists' accomplishments stands out. Even during Alice Kober's lifetime, SIL was already dispatching both married and single women to carry out missionary linguistic work, first to Central and South America, then eventually to Asia and Africa. By 1944, 67 per cent of SIL trainees were women (Svelmoe 2001: 540, 548). Furthermore, SIL personnel sometimes live for decades among the people whose language they are studying, often under very challenging circumstances. As part of their work of Bible translation, they gather and analyse data at all levels of linguistic analysis, then publish their findings both in-house and in mainstream professional journals such as *Language*, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, *American Anthropologist*, and in the proceedings of high-profile conferences worldwide. Titles of works published by women SIL affiliates include 'Some Universals of Tone and Allotones', 'Mazatec Dialect History', 'Three Disturbing Questions Concerning Lexicostatistics', and 'Phonemes and Morphophonemes of Tomoayan Otomi'.[23] The scientific value of women SIL affiliates' work, both descriptive and theoretical, seems to have been recognized and supported by the group alongside that of male colleagues right from the start, such that, within the microcosm of SIL, women missionary linguists held their own as published scholars.

In this sense, SIL women missionary linguists may have cleared a path for American women as students of language, a path that had proven very difficult for their predecessors to navigate. In other ways, the position of women within SIL was unremarkable, in the sense that the institution mirrored general American reluctance to support women's ambition and independence. For example, women were very under-represented in the organizational hierarchy up to and beyond the 1960s (Thomas 2009). It is also worth noting that, like deaf girls and women in the 1800s, SIL women affiliates were assigned the role of public figurehead: they published their memoirs (Pike 1956; Elliot 1957; Wallis and Bennett 1959; Slocum 1985), and while on furlough back in the US they went on speaking tours. Publicity materials created by SIL prominently feature photographs of women missionary linguists at work with their informants, poring over handwritten texts by the light of kerosene lanterns or negotiating jungle landscapes by canoe

[22] Fox (2013), written for a popular audience, attempts to redress the slighting of Kober's work.

[23] Thomas (2009) shows that during the interval between 1944 and 1970, when the overall rate of publication of women scholars in the Linguistic Society of America's flagship journal, *Language*, amounted to less than 5 per cent, thirty-six regular articles attributed to SIL members appeared; among them, twelve (33 per cent) were authored or co-authored by women.

(Wycliffe Bible Translators 1963). The fact that these intrepid missionary linguists were women is integral to the message presented to the public about the nature of the group's commitment. Gender hovers over their self-representation but is only occasionally directly addressed; and when it is addressed, it is often framed in words attributed to the 'unreached tribes' that SIL aims to serve. For example, Hall (1959: 118–19) quotes the chief of an indigenous Peruvian group as reluctantly conceding to the presence of two SIL women missionaries on the following grounds: 'what could a great chief do with two harmless girls who insisted on calling him brother?'. In New Guinea, another chief reached the same conclusion in response to an identical incursion: 'Our enemies would laugh at us if we showed ourselves afraid of two women!' (Tucker 1988: 15).[24] The self-conscious goal of SIL is evangelical; in working towards that objective, women affiliates overlooked, or discounted, how gender constrained their work so as to exploit the special liberties open to them to contribute to language scholarship. The group then recognized and supported their intellectual achievements. Along the way, SIL women missionaries raised the profile of American women as language scholars.

12.4 Conclusion

American women, relative to their European peers, appear late in the history of linguistics. Gender-based cultural norms restricted not only their access to education but also their access to the resources and experiences that otherwise might have fed their curiosity about language and opened their creativity. Those same cultural norms depreciated what language-related work they did accomplish.

Still, the record of their contributions before the mid- to late twentieth century is not null. It is especially noteworthy that some American women's contributions to language study seem inextricably tied to gender. Malinalli, Pocahontas, Sacajawea, and Rebecca Kellogg would not have achieved what they did if they had not been female. The alignment of women teachers of the deaf with oralism in the late 1800s was not accidental. Women missionaries exploited assumptions about their harmlessness to wedge open a door into contact with 'unreached tribes'. Passing through that door, they capitalized on the access that gave them to do serious linguistic work, thus wedging open another door through which women linguists of many orientations have passed. In these various ways, American women have left their mark on the study of language.

[24] On the other hand, celebrated SIL missionary and memoirist Elliot Leitch (1974) dismisses gender as irrelevant to the linguistic-evangelical goals of the group. Tucker (1988: 37–8) responds to Elliot Leitch.

13
Women's contributions to early American Indian linguistics

Raina Heaton, Eve Koller, and Lyle Campbell

13.1 Introduction

Who were the women in the history of American Indian linguistics? What was their role? This chapter provides answers to these questions. Wesley Leonard (2018, 2019) recognizes the distinction between the institutionalized establishment of Linguistics (signified by an uppercase L), defined and shaped primarily by men from Western culture, and linguistics (signified by a lowercase l), referring to the scientific study of language generally, beyond institutionalized practices. He believes that

> capital-L Linguistics is a subset of lower-case *l linguistics*, which I [Leonard] am operationalizing to refer to the scientific study of language in the broadest possible sense, where definitions of language and ways of producing and disseminating knowledge need not be limited to the norms of the named academic field as it currently exists. (Leonard 2019)

He addresses the need for inclusivity in Linguistics, as the field would be improved by more Indigenous and minority perspectives from linguistics. This chapter addresses the role of women in the history of both uppercase-L Linguistics and lowercase-l linguistics with regard to Indigenous languages of the Americas, and more specifically both Native American women and women (of whatever ethnicity) who studied Native American L/linguistics.

Societal expectations of the roles of women severely limited women's participation, so much so that before *c.*1900, few women were involved in the development of institutionalized American Indian Linguistics. Even up to World War II, in the early years of the discipline, there were extremely few. This chapter addresses the question of why there were so few women in the development of American Indian Linguistics, discusses the women who were involved in academic American Indian Linguistics whose contributions have often been

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overlooked, and also recognizes notable Indigenous women involved in American Indian linguistics beyond formal academia.[1]

Women were important in the history of Native American–European contacts; some notable examples include La Malinche (Malintzin, Malinalli, Doña Marina; *c*.1500–1529), a Nahuatl-Chontal speaking interpreter instrumental in Hernán Cortez's conquest of Mexico (Karttunen 1994); Pocahontas (also called Matoaka, Amonute, Rebecca; *c*.1596–1617), a Powhatan (Virginia Algonquian) speaker associated with the settlement of Jamestown, Virginia (Jager 2015); Sacajawea (Sakakawea, Sacagawea; 1788–1812), a speaker of Shoshone and Mandan, crucial for the success of the Lewis and Clark expedition (Karttunen 1994); and Sarah Winnemucca (Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Thocmentony ('Shell Flower');[2] *c*.1844–1891), a Shoshone author and advocate for Native American rights. Their stories are fascinating, as Margaret Thomas's chapter in this volume makes clear (Chapter 12). We focus here on Native and non-Native women who directly contributed to the documentation and description of Native American languages, and mention women who worked on the translation, interpretation, and teaching of Indigenous languages of the Americas in the early decades of the twentieth century. The efforts and accomplishments of all of these women have contributed to our knowledge of American Indian languages, and provided invaluable records for the future.

The stories of the women in this chapter, particularly those involved in the institutionalization of American Indian Linguistics, share some common themes: their personal relationships were often negatively impacted by their dedication to their work; they had difficulty securing funding and a permanent position in the field; they were not always supported by their advisors, particularly after graduating; and many of their contributions were not recognized, published, or appreciated in their lifetimes. This chapter celebrates the lives, contributions, and accomplishments of the women in early American Indian linguistics, despite the obstacles they faced.

13.2 Native women in early American Indian linguistics

In the early to mid-1900s, most publications on Native American languages were by anthropologists and linguists at universities or government-sponsored institutions, most notably the Bureau of American Ethnology. Most Native women

[1] In keeping with the broad chronology covered by this volume, we do not discuss women in American Indian linguistics whose primary contributions occurred after the outbreak of World War II, after which time considerably more women play a role in the history of the study of American Indian languages.

[2] The Latinate term for the shell flower is *Chelone*, a genus of flowering plants from the East east Coast coast of North America.

appear in the historical record at this time because they were speakers of Native American languages and participated in the documentation of their languages with a non-Native linguist or anthropologist. While a number of Native women have now become professional linguists, this is a recent occurrence and is therefore beyond the scope of this chapter.[3] As mentioned above, Native women who contributed to the documentation of Native American languages during the period under consideration were primarily language consultants, working with non-Native linguists and anthropologists to document their own languages and cultures.

It is often the case that the little we know about language consultants comes from notes or comments from the scholar who recorded a particular language. In accordance with the dominant research methodology of the day, a linguist or anthropologist would visit the place where a language was spoken, then ask questions, record narratives, and compile vocabularies with any speakers willing to sit down with them. As most linguists and anthropologists were men, they worked mostly with male speakers.[4] Women tended to be primary consultants only when they were among the very last speakers of a language or when the scholar they worked with was also a woman—a very small group, as will become clear throughout this chapter. Also, it was fairly common for linguists/anthropologists to work with consultants in a university setting, and speakers travelling away from home were generally men. This is why so many of the Native women discussed here were the last speakers of their languages. Furthermore, although the historical record often does not provide much information about these women, we discuss a number of the better-known women who contributed to the documentation of their languages.

One of the best-known Native women who made significant contributions to the study of her language was Ella Cara Deloria (1889–1971).[5] She was a Yankton Sioux linguistic anthropologist born on the Yankton Sioux reservation. Although she went by the name Ella, her given name was Anpetu Waste Win ('Beautiful Day Woman') because she was born on the day of a snowstorm (Medicine 1989: 45). Her surname, Deloria, is of French origin, inherited from Deloria's grandfather, who was half Sioux, half French. Her father converted to Christianity, becoming a reverend who directed the boarding school she attended. After boarding school, she attended the University of Chicago, Oberlin College, and Columbia University (Lisa 2001: 90–2). Following her graduation with a Bachelor's degree from

[3] Some prominent Native American female figures in Linguistics at the time of writing include Jenny Davis (Chickasaw), LaVerne Masayevsa Jeanne (Hopi), Megan Lukaniec (Huron-Wendat), Onowa McIvor (Cree), Mary Willie (Navajo), and Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham).

[4] See, for example, Edward Sapir's extensive work with Tony Tillohash (Southern Paiute), Albert Gatschet's work with William Ely Johnson (Tunica), Boas's collaboration with George Hunt (Tlingit) on Kwakiutl, and Hans Jørgen Uldall's work with William Joseph (Southern Maidu).

[5] Her nephew was Vine Deloria, Jr, a well-known scholar and activist instrumental in the founding of Native American Studies as an academic discipline.

Columbia's Teachers College in 1915, she taught at the Haskell Indian School in Lawrence, Kansas.

While at Columbia University she met Franz Boas (1858–1942),[6] who hired her as a Lakota language consultant to work with his students for a linguistics course. Deloria and Boas continued to work together from 1927 until Boas's death in 1942 (Lisa 2001: 91). Deloria translated Boas's Sioux texts and collected and translated many other Sioux stories on her own. She was a native speaker of several Sioux varieties (Dakota, Lakota, and Nakota) and English, and had also learnt Latin in boarding school. Deloria published 'Sun Dance of the Oglala Sioux' in 1929, as well as several works on Dakota (solo-authored texts: Deloria 1932, 1954; grammatical descriptions co-authored with Boas: Deloria and Boas 1933, Boas and Deloria 1941). She was the first to distinguish between 'two sounds, the mediate and the aspirate, for each of the consonants: *k*, *p*, *t*, *c*, and *g*' in Lakota (Buechel and Manhart 2002: xi), work which influenced later phonological work on Lakota. After Boas died, she continued her ethnographic and linguistic research, working on a Lakota dictionary until her death. The dictionary, along with many of her other unpublished manuscripts written after her collaboration with Boas,[7] are kept at the University of South Dakota (Lisa 2001: 91). Her correspondence with Boas is archived at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

Deloria's contributions to American Indian linguistics also extended beyond these publications. As one of the first Indigenous anthropologists/linguists, she defied the common dichotomy between 'linguist' and 'native speaker', showing that Indigenous persons can be professional linguists, and that there are benefits to native speakers conducting ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork. Her achievements are particularly remarkable given that it was uncommon at the time for women, much less Native women, to get a post-secondary education. She received the Indian Achievement Medal in 1943.

Flora Zuni (1897–1983) was a native speaker of Zuni, a member of the Badger clan and the Zuni tribe. She attended a boarding school in Black Rock, where she learnt to speak English. As one of the few English-fluent Zuni at the time, she often interpreted for outsiders, including for employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and of the Public Health Service, among others. In terms of her contributions to linguistics, she worked with Boas's students, Alfred Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, and Elsie Parsons to gather, translate, analyse, and preserve Zuni stories, texts, and language. She also worked extensively with Ruth Bunzel, and based on Zuni's translations and assistance, Bunzel published *Zuni Texts* in 1933, edited by Franz Boas. According to Bunzel, 'Flora had excellent command of English and

[6] Franz Boas is a very important figure, widely considered the founding father of both American anthropology and American linguistics, which for him was part of anthropology. His influence in both anthropology and linguistics is evident throughout this chapter.

[7] Deloria also authored ethnographic works, including *Speaking of Indians* (1944) and *Waterlily*, a novel about a Sioux woman, published posthumously in 1988 (Lisa 2001: 91).

translated her own texts and interpreted for her father, mother, and sisters and helped with the revision and analysis of all texts' (Clarke 2001: 344).

Additionally, Margaret Harris, a native speaker of Karuk (formerly Karok), a language of north-western California, worked with Nancy Freeland (see section 13.3.1.1) to document her language. Freeland thought very highly of Harris:

> As for my informant, Margaret Harris, she was magnificent! She cut through the language like a knife, until I didn't seem to have a doubtful point left. But better than that, even, she was a poet. Everything about the Karok—their beliefs and ritual, their ceremonies and their literature—all became glowing things for me, because of her. I'll remember always the afternoon she told me the tale of the two girls who went to look for their lovers in the land of the dead. It was so beautiful we both cried. (Angulo 1995: 282)

Similarly, Maria Antonio and her daughters Marie and Altnaba were Navajo women who worked with Gladys Reichard (see section 13.3.1.2) and allowed Reichard to live with them while she was doing the fieldwork for her *Navaho Grammar* (Reichard 1951). Their influence is felt mainly in the ethnographic work that Reichard produced, which was unique in its time for providing an intimate, woman-centric view of Navajo family and daily life.

Emma Jackson was the last known native speaker of Biloxi, a Siouan language of the south-eastern United States. She worked with Mary Haas (see section 13.3.1.3) and Morris Swadesh[8] to describe Biloxi before her death in 1934. Similarly, Delphine Ducloux (d. 1940) was the last known native speaker of Chitimacha, a language isolate of Louisiana. She also worked as a language consultant for Morris Swadesh. Nancy Raven (1872–1957), one of the last known native speakers of Natchez, another language isolate of Louisiana, worked extensively with Mary Haas and briefly with John R. Swanton.[9] The only data we have on Ofo (Siouan) come from Rosa Pierrette, the last native speaker of Ofo and the last member of her tribe. She worked with John R. Swanton in 1909, from which he published a 600-word vocabulary and collection of phrases (Swanton 1909; Dorsey and Swanton 1912).

Albert S. Gatschet[10] worked with Delilah (Delia) Moss of Lake Charles Louisiana in 1885 on Eastern Atakapa. He had previously worked with Louison Huntington (a male Eastern Atakapa speaker), but Gatschet and Moss later

[8] Morris Swadesh is a prominent figure in early American Indian linguistics, known for his comparative work as well as his work documenting the Indigenous languages of North America and Mexico. He is mentioned further in this chapter in discussion of Mary Haas in section 13.3.2.1.

[9] John R. Swanton was an ethnologist working with the Bureau of American Ethnology at the turn of the twentieth century who collected information on languages of the south-eastern US and the Pacific North-west.

[10] Albert S. Gatschet, trained in linguistics at the universities of Bern and Berlin, worked at the Bureau of American Ethnology in the late 1800s; he collected a large amount of data on over a hundred languages/dialects, most notably on the Indigenous languages of the south-eastern US.

reviewed all of the material he had gathered from Huntington, and collected a good deal more new information with Moss alone. The fact that Moss had the final say in vetting all Gatschet's data means that her voice is more strongly reflected in the record of this language (Atakapa is no longer spoken). In reflecting on the role Moss had in the project versus Huntington, Swanton commented that '[Moss] became responsible for by far the greater portion of [the documentation]' (Gatschet and Swanton 1932: 5).

Additional examples of women who were the last native speakers of their languages include Isabel Meadows (1846–1939), who was the last speaker of Rumsen (a Southern Ohlone variety), and Sally Noble (d. 1922), who was the last speaker of Chimariko. Both worked extensively with J. P. Harrington[11] as language consultants to document their languages. Also, Frances Johnson (d. 1934) was the last fluent speaker of Takelma, and worked with Edward Sapir[12] to document her language.

13.3 The field of American Indian Linguistics

Most work in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in American Indian Linguistics had a comparative/historical outlook. Unfortunately, women are not visible in any of the academic work of that period (see Campbell 1997a and Goddard 1996 for detailed accounts of the history of American Indian Linguistics). As interest in synchronic linguistics began to develop in Europe, American structuralist linguistics also began to emerge, inspired in part by the work of Franz Boas at Columbia University. Boas's anthropology includes four subfields: cultural anthropology, physical anthropology, archeology, and linguistics. He emphasized fieldwork to obtain information on Native American languages and cultures before they disappeared or were irretrievably altered. Faced with the many errors scholars of his time had made, Boas believed that it was important to avoid preconceptions and to describe languages and cultures on their own terms, based on information derived from an analysis of the language itself rather than imposed from preconceived notions of linguistic structure, largely based on European languages. He and his students emphasized description while opposing generalization, that is, they were against theorizing

[11] John Peabody Harrington is a well-known figure in American Indian linguistics, known for relentlessly working to collect primary linguistic data on approximately fifty languages, mainly in California. His work remains largely unpublished, and is archived at the California Language Archive and at the National Anthropological Archives. He also appears in this chapter apropos of Carobeth Laird in section 13.3.2.1.

[12] Edward Sapir is referenced throughout this chapter, because like Boas he was an extremely important figure in the founding of American Linguistics.

about language. The work of the women scholars discussed in this chapter followed these same assumptions.

Boas had many female students who earned a PhD in anthropology from Columbia between the 1920s and the 1940s and became well-known anthropologists, including Ruth Benedict (1887–1948), Ruth Bunzel (1889–1990), Viola Garfield (1899–1983), Erna Gunther (1896–1982), Zora Neale Hurston (1891–1960), Frederica de Laguna (1906–2004), Margaret Mead (1901–1978), Elsie Clews Parsons (1893–1955), Gladys Reichard (1893–1955) (see section 13.3.1.2), Ruth Underhill (1883–1984), and Gene Weltfish (1902–1980). It was said that Boas was welcoming to women students because he believed they would be able to obtain information working with female consultants that men did not have access to, and that female students would be less in need of economic support than male students (Hegeman 1999: 9).

While anthropology (including linguistics) under Boas was much more open to women than most fields at the time, the usual prejudices and obstacles still confronted women, as seen, for example, in a 1921 letter from Edward Sapir to Alfred Kroeber[13] asking about a possible field assistant; Sapir wrote, 'is there anybody around you could recommend? [...] Ladies not wanted' (Golla 1984: 387). In 1900, women comprised only 6 per cent of the 382 academic doctorates awarded in the US. This proportion 'peaked at 15 percent in 1930, then fell and remained below that level for more than forty years' (Caplow, Hicks, and Wattenberg 2001: 54). It was therefore exceptional that Boas graduated so many women with PhDs at this time, regardless of what his motives might have been.

Although the women discussed here mostly came from an anthropology background, some anthropologists recognized linguistics not only as a part of anthropology but also as a separate discipline, where the association between the two was not always a comfortable one. For example, Kroeber wrote to Sapir in 1912: 'You are wholly right about getting your work out of the anthropological classification. Most of us [anthropologists] don't dream of professing anything but abhorrence for languages [...] So the sooner you shake off the anthropological stamp the better [...] Philologists that I have known are a damned inert lot' (Golla 1984: 62). In America, linguistics became a field in its own right with the founding of the Linguistic Society of America (LSA) in 1924, with early members from anthropology and from European languages, classics, and philology. The limited role of women is seen in the small number of them who served on the LSA Executive Committee in its early years: Adelaide Hahn (1930 and 1934), Louise Haessler (1937), Edith Frances Claflin (1943), and Mary Haas (1944); between 10 and 15 per cent of LSA members were women (Falk 1999: 21–2).

[13] Alfred Kroeber was Boas's first PhD student, and a prominent anthropologist. He is mentioned further in this chapter in discussion of Nancy Freeland in section 13.3.1.1.

13.3.1 Women in early American Indian Linguistics

Now that the academic framework for linguistic inquiry in the first half of the twentieth century has been established, it is possible to discuss the women who played a role in American Indian Linguistics in that period. The three most influential figures were Nancy Freeland, Gladys Reichard, and Mary Haas. Although Mary Haas continued to be an active scholar beyond the time frame for this chapter, it is important to note that her later scholarly career had a tremendous impact on the field. The lives and contributions of these women are outlined in the following sections, followed by a discussion of common themes with respect to the types of difficulties they faced breaking into a historically male-dominated profession.

13.3.1.1 Lucy S. Freeland (1890–1977)

Lucy Shepard Freeland was a somewhat controversial figure in American Indian Linguistics. Although her given name was 'Lucy', Freeland was known for most of her adult life as 'Nancy'. She published most commonly under the name L. S. Freeland, but alternately as Lucy de Angulo, Nancy de Angulo, L. F. de Angulo, and L. S. de Angulo (using her married name). She is best known for her work on Sierra Miwok in the 1920s and 1930s (discussed further below). Freeland was born in New Jersey, and studied at Vassar College in New York when it was exclusively a women's college. After graduating from Vassar, she studied drama, dictation, and dance at The Art Students League of New York, and briefly attended the University of California's school of nursing when the US joined World War I. While in California, she took several anthropology courses at Berkeley and, at the urging of her then-paramour Jaime de Angulo, enrolled in the doctoral programme in anthropology at Berkeley in 1919 (Brightman 2004: 161).

Alfred Kroeber, founder of the anthropology department at the University of California, Berkeley, which was still fairly new at the time, was attempting to assemble a good group of field linguists, so he was initially excited to have Freeland (and de Angulo) on board. Kroeber thought well of Freeland, saying that she would make a fine linguist and that she had a very good ear for phonetics (Angulo 1995: 140). In a letter to Sapir in 1919, he wrote, 'Miss Freeland has great native aptitude for the work and if she will stay with it will do something distinctly worth while' (Golla 1984: 321).

Both Freeland and de Angulo worked on a large number of American Indian languages in the 1930s, with grants from the Committee on Research in Native American Languages, including Yurok (Angulo and Freeland n.d. a), Karuk (Angulo and Freeland 1931a), Klamath and Modoc (Angulo and Freeland 1931b), Northern Paiute (Angulo and Freeland 1929a), Achumawi (Angulo and Freeland n.d. b; 1930; 1931c; *c.*1931; 1931–1935), Atsugewi (Angulo and Freeland 1929b; n.d. c), Eastern Pomo (Angulo and Freeland 1920–1935), and Shasta

(Angulo and Freeland 1928–1930) (Golla 2011: 46). Much of their work remains unpublished,[14] largely due to lack of funds at the time.

Freeland and de Angulo's partnership was a rocky one, and it is difficult to say exactly what contribution each made individually to these various projects. As their daughter Gui de Angulo reports:

> Jaime [de Angulo] and Nancy [Freeland] were really quite funny about that one thing: they always said the other one was doing the work. Jaime wanted it thought that Nancy was doing it because he wanted them to be seen as a team, merged in the project. Nancy *didn't* want to be thought of as part of a team, Jaime's team anyway, at least in retrospect, so she always said that Jaime had done the work. (Angulo 1995: 291)

Freeland suspected that Jaime's support for her work on Miwok stemmed from the hope that she would allow him to work on Miwok and that for this reason he frequently put her name on publications as a collaborator (Angulo 1995: 253). Nevertheless, Freeland never permitted de Angulo to work with her on Miwok.

Freeland's *Language of the Sierra Miwok* (1951) was her magnum opus. She worked on it constantly from the start of her graduate programme until the death of her mother in 1923, and off and on for another decade after that, continuing to conduct fieldwork until 1932. Her dissertation included a grammar with texts, and it was the most comprehensive account of Sierra Miwok of the time. Freeland told Kroeber in 1935 that her dissertation on Sierra Miwok was complete. Kroeber, apparently pleased with her work, wrote: '[I] want to congratulate you on having done one of the best executed pieces of work in American linguistics and perhaps the very best expressed one' (Brightman 2004: 177). There was very little information available on Miwok before her fieldwork, and her notes, recordings, and publications continue to be major resources on Sierra Miwok, widely cited today as foundational data for morphological, phonological, syntactic, and other analyses (see Sloan 1991; Callaghan 1994, 2003; Zimmermann 2012; Good 2018; Vaxman 2018).

After her dissertation, Freeland edited the still unpublished collection of Shasta narratives gathered by Roland Dixon (Golla 2011: 300). She also published a grammar sketch of Sierra Miwok and several texts based on the work she did for her dissertation (Freeland 1947; the fate of Freeland's dissertation is discussed further below). This marked the end of her scholarly work.

[14] See this volume's list of manuscript and published sources. The California Language Archive contains three collections which list Freeland as a contributor: The L. S. Freeland collection of Central Sierra Miwok sound recordings (undated), Central Sierra Miwok and Yurok sound recordings (1931, 1933), and the Jaime de Angulo Papers on Indigenous Languages of California and Mexico (1928–1935 and undated).

13.3.1.2 Gladys A. Reichard (1893–1955)

Gladys Amanda Reichard was born in Bangor, Pennsylvania and grew up in a Quaker household (Figure 13.1). After some years of teaching, she majored in Classics at Swarthmore College, then went to Columbia University where she met and studied under Boas. She was among Boas's best students, and was very close to him.[15] Reichard's daughter-like relationship with Boas was enhanced by the fact that she lived with his family,[16] drove him to medical appointments, and referred to him and his wife as 'Mama and Papa Franz' (although note that Boas's students often referred to him as 'Papa Franz'). Reichard received a fellowship at the University of California at Berkeley which allowed her to complete her doctoral work on Wiyot, for which she was awarded her PhD in 1925.

Reichard's best-known linguistic work was on Wiyot, Coeur d'Alene, and Navajo. She published her dissertation on Wiyot in 1925, as well as a short summary article about the language in *American Speech* (Reichard 1926). However, her work on Wiyot (as well as Kroeber's 1911 account of the language) was critiqued in Karl Teeter's grammar of Wiyot (1962, published in 1964). He wrote that Kroeber's and Reichard's accounts 'proved helpful in stimulating my

Figure 13.1 A photo *c*.1950 of Gladys Reichard (1893–1955).
Reprinted with permission from Barnard College.

[15] Reichard's correspondence with Boas can be found in the archives at the American Philosophical Society as part of the Franz Boas Papers (Mss.B.B61.inventory02).

[16] Due to the social climate of the time, it was seen as improper for a woman to live alone in the city.

informant's memory of several points, but the former was too fragmentary and the latter too inaccurate in transcription and unreliable in analysis for direct use' (Teeter 1964: 1). This critique of Reichard's work was contested in a review of Teeter (1964) by Ives Goddard, who notes that 'some of Reichard's forms that were not confirmed by Mrs. Prince nevertheless appear to be genuine and to shed light on aspects or details of Wiyot grammar not brought out by the data treated in the book under review' (Goddard 1966: 398).

Reichard's primary linguistic contribution on Coeur d'Alene was a grammar of Coeur d'Alene in the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Reichard 1938), the fieldwork for which was conducted the same year. This was the first linguistically informed grammar published of a Salishan language (Mattina 2015: 415). Reichard also published a number of linguistic articles on Coeur d'Alene and other Salishan languages, including two articles on verb stems (Reichard 1939, 1945a) and a comparison of Salishan languages that she wrote before her death, which was edited by Florence Voegelin.[17]

Although Reichard worked on a number of languages, her passion was for Navajo (Diné), which she studied and wrote about for the better part of three decades, starting in 1923 when she accompanied Pliny Earle Goddard to the field. There was little linguistic work on Navajo language before Reichard.[18] Her Navajo work was also supported by another student of Boas, Elsie Clew Parsons, who worked as an anthropologist in the south-west and was Reichard's lifelong friend. In addition to a large amount of ethnographic work, Reichard published a substantial number of articles on various aspects of the Navajo language.[19] The culmination of these decades of work on Navajo was her *Navaho Grammar* (Reichard 1951), although like her Wiyot work it was not universally well received (see section 13.3.2.2). Landar (1980) provides a bibliography of Reichard's work.

Reichard's approach to fieldwork was very innovative for the time, particularly for a single woman.[20] Others who were doing Native American linguistic and ethnographic work then were predominantly observing and interviewing while living at a distance, often on the outskirts of the village/town where the language was spoken. In contrast, Reichard lived with a Navajo family, taking on a daughter-like role to her Navajo host 'parents', husband and wife Red Point and Maria Antonio. She viewed herself as a student of the Navajo people with whom

[17] These were published posthumously in a series of six articles in the *International Journal of American Linguistics* (Reichard 1958–1959). Reichard was also awarded the Chicago Folklore Society prize in 1948 for her work on Coeur d'Alene mythology (Smith 1956: 914).

[18] For further reading, see Sapir (1915, 1922, 1923, 1935, 1936), Haile (1926), Goddard (1933).

[19] Some of the fruits of her fieldwork were published after the period covered by this chapter—see Reichard (1928, 1940, 1942, 1945b, 1948a, 1948b, 1949a, 1949b).

[20] Lamphere (1992: 91–2) discusses Reichard's initial difficulty in finding a Navajo family to live with. She asked Bernard Haile (1874–1961), a Catholic priest who spent most of his life in the Navajo Nation and published much on Navajo culture and folklore, to assist her but was put off when he suggested that she live in a house with modern amenities rather than with a Navajo family.

she lived, learning the culture and language from them. It was a more culturally sensitive approach, contextualizing elements of the language and culture in the framework of Navajo thought as opposed to forcing them into Western academic theoretical orientations. These practices included ethnographic accounts containing quotations and conversations of the people whose culture she observed, which contrasted with older descriptions that claimed absolute objectivity and did not recognize the role of the researcher. Her accounts represented the voices of others (and particularly the voices of Native women, which male scholars had largely failed to record), rather than representing only the scholar's voice. In this way she was ahead of her time, since these methods are commonplace in modern linguistics and ethnology. As a woman, she was able to participate in Navajo social networks in a way that previous anthropologists who studied Navajo culture had been unable to do. This allowed her to gain a greater depth of understanding of both the language and the culture.

In addition to her scholarly work, Reichard also created one of the earliest Indigenous language educational programmes—a forerunner to modern-day immersion and bilingual classes for language revitalization. She received funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to teach Navajo literacy to adults in a *hogan* school.[21] The school was taught primarily in Navajo and covered Navajo language, culture, reading, and writing. This was unusual for the time, as most educational programmes focused on assimilating students to English.

13.3.1.3 Mary Rosamund Haas (1910–1996)

Haas was a stalwart of twentieth-century American Indian Linguistics (Figure 13.2). She was central in the Boas–Sapir tradition, which laid the foundation for current language documentation practices (see Woodbury 2011). Of the female scholars discussed here, Haas was the most recognized in her time and had the largest impact on the field.

Haas came to linguistics from comparative philology. This pursuit led her to Chicago in 1930 and then Yale in 1931 where she became one of Sapir's group of influential students that included also Charles Hockett (1916–2000), Harry Hoijer (1904–1976), Stanley S. Newman (1905–1984), Morris Swadesh (1909–1967), and Carl Voegelin (1906–1986) (see Darnell 1997). At that time, linguists were still combatting the misconception of American Indian languages as 'primitive'.[22] One way to do this was by proving that it was possible to apply the comparative method to these languages, which was a primary focus of many of Haas's later publications, drawing on her earlier fieldwork.[23] Much valuable theoretical,

[21] A *hogan* is a traditional Navajo dwelling, some of which were used for ceremonies.

[22] See, for example, the writings of Peter Duponceau and Wilhelm von Humboldt, cited in Pickering (1887), Aarsleff (1988), and Andresen (1990). See also Powell (1888), Sapir (1921), and references to evolutionary typology in Campbell (1997a: 27–43).

[23] See, for example, Haas (1941, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1952, 1956, 1969a, 1969b, 1980).

Figure 13.2 A 1930 photo of Mary Haas (1910–1996), Earlham College.
Reprinted with permission from the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages.

comparative, and applied linguistic work came out of the 'Yale School of Linguistics' in the 1930s and 1940s, including many linguistic descriptions that attempted to describe each language on its own terms.[24]

Haas is well known as a careful, methodical scholar who collected invaluable data on many of the languages of the American south-east and elsewhere. Although much of her scholarly work was published after World War II and is therefore beyond the scope of this chapter, most of the fieldwork which provided the data behind these publications was collected before the war caused her to shift her focus to Asia. Haas was an exceptionally productive scholar, with over a hundred published articles (see Haas 1978 for a list of monographs and Turner 1997a for a bibliography of her publications). Her doctoral dissertation was on Tunica, a language isolate of Louisiana, for which in later years she published a grammar, a dictionary, a book of texts,[25] and a number of articles. She also collected primary data on Creek, Natchez, Biloxi, Cherokee, Chitimacha, Ofo, Tonkawa, Yuchi, Mobilian Jargon, Koasati, Seminole, and Choctaw. One of her best-known articles is on men's speech versus women's in Koasati (Haas 1944), which details the ways in which male speech forms differ from female speech forms in certain contexts. She is also known for her comparative work which attempted to classify these languages.

[24] Some examples of descriptions coming out of the Yale School and its close associates are Hockett (1939) on Potawatomi, Newman (1944) on Yawelmani Yokuts, Voegelin (1946) on Delaware, Trager (1946) on Taos (Northern Tiwa), and Haas's work on Tunica cited in this section.

[25] See Haas (1940, 1953, and 1950, respectively).

For eleven years after obtaining her PhD, Haas lived on temporary funding for linguistic fieldwork, until she obtained a position at the University of California at Berkeley in 1946 (McLendon 1997: 524). During her tenure at Berkeley, Haas was instrumental in introducing new programmes that made Berkeley one of the leading institutions for linguistics.[26]

Accounts of Haas's teachings converge on the common theme of accurate description and collection of real language data, where each language is met on its own terms. Haas was a strong proponent of the 'Boasian trilogy', that every language should have a grammar, dictionary, and collection of texts. She also believed that adequate description must precede other types of investigation, for example, that classification and reconstruction should be attempted only when one already had a thorough knowledge of the daughter languages (Turner 1997b: 545). Haas felt that linguistic description should be theory-neutral, since linguistic theories are prone to change and generally limit user-friendliness (see Munro 1997: 578; Shipley 1997: 624), which reflects the teachings of Sapir and Boas and is reaffirmed by many today who work in language documentation (see Rehg and Campbell 2018). However, Haas did not, as Sapir and Boas had done, *assign* students to work on specific languages deemed the most in need of description. Instead, she allowed her students to work on languages and in areas that interested them, an underappreciated shift in fieldwork training.

Haas's research and nurturing of new generations of linguists is an imposing achievement and an impressive legacy. Her impact as a woman and a scholar is summed up well by Mauricio Mixco: 'Finally, and this with the hindsight of the current, postmodernist era, [Haas] tacitly demonstrated to us that excellence has nothing to do with gender' (Mixco 1997: 635).

13.3.2 Obstacles

Although their circumstances were different, Haas, Reichard, and Freeland all experienced similar problems entering into the field of American Indian Linguistics. These problems centered around various themes related to being a woman in the early part of the twentieth century and attempting to enter an academic system run by men. All three women struggled in some way with academic mentorship, securing funding for their research, having their work valued and appreciated, personal relationships influencing their work, and sexism in general. These themes are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

[26] Particularly significant was the establishment of the Survey of California Indian Languages, informally in 1949 and officially in 1953, of which she was a founding director. During the years that Haas served as the Director of the Survey of California Indian Languages, she facilitated the study of more than sixty languages (see Turner 1997b: 546–8 for a list of these researchers and the languages they investigated). On the awards Haas received in later years, see Falk (1999: 21–2).

13.3.2.1 Sexism and personal relationships

While many of the obstacles discussed here involve some sexism, there are few explicit discussions of sexism with respect to Haas, Reichard, and Freeland, particularly not in their own words. What little we do find mostly comes posthumously from writings in their honour, reflecting on their lives and careers. For example, William Lyon asserted that Gladys Reichard 'was not fully accepted because they [the male anthropologists working on Navajo] did not approve of her scholarship [and] because she was a woman' (cited in Lavender 2006: 97).

Many of the more trying problems these women encountered in their attempts to begin their scholarly careers involved their personal relationships, and how male scholars who had influence over their careers dealt with them differently based on those relationships. Freeland's experience in Berkeley's doctoral programme illustrates this type of obstacle very well, where her career in Native American Linguistics was stalled by her relationship with her rather enigmatic once-husband, Jaime de Angulo. While the pair did much research together, Freeland's relationship with de Angulo kept her on the fringe of the field, largely due to reactions to the relationship from her mentor Alfred Kroeber.

As mentioned in section 13.3.1.1, Kroeber was initially very supportive of Freeland, and he thought she was a promising student. However, his support diminished as his dislike of de Angulo, whom he called 'vehement and infantile', increased (Golla 1984: 385). Kroeber also felt that Freeland and de Angulo cohabitating (unmarried) in Freeland's house in Berkeley was 'scandalous and immoral, and gave the university, and his department, a bad name' (Angulo 1995: 142). Kroeber's problems with Freeland, based not on her academic performance but rather on his disapproval of her marital situation, ultimately prevented Freeland from reaching her potential within the department, and barred her from opportunities which would have developed her career.

The impact of Kroeber's feelings about de Angulo on Freeland's career in Linguistics is especially evident in what Brightman calls 'the strange tale of Freeland's dissertation' (2004: 176). When Edward Sapir proposed that Freeland should receive funding to complete her doctoral work on Sierra Miwok, Kroeber responded that 'the situation [with Jaime de Angulo] is so complicated that I recommend letting matters lie for the present' (Angulo 1995: 278), and she was not offered the money. Kroeber also told Boas in a letter in May 1927 that Freeland's research had essentially been derailed to the benefit of de Angulo's, that

> there is the further fact that his marriage to Miss Freeland completely interrupted her promised and more than half finished work with Miwok which she had done as part of her graduate training at the University and at University expense; and that such linguistic work as she has done since then has been contributory to his.
> (Angulo 1995: 275; also Brightman 2004: 176)

Additionally, although Freeland had completed all requirements for her doctorate, Kroeber never took the necessary steps actually to award Freeland her degree—why is not known. He also does not seem to have attempted to raise money to publish her dissertation. Freeland regretted that she did not formally receive the degree towards which she had worked for sixteen years (Brightman 2004: 177). Her lack of a degree kept her from being eligible for an academic position which would have allowed her to have a larger impact on the field.

Similarly, Mary Haas found that her marriage in 1931 to Morris Swadesh was limiting both within Linguistics and with respect to employment generally. At one point, since academic appointments were scarce, Haas considered getting a teaching certificate to teach in public schools in Oklahoma to support herself and her fieldwork on Native American languages. However, as a married woman she was not likely to get hired in a public school, and so she wrote to Swadesh asking for a divorce so that she might be able to support herself: 'it seems to me (and you doubtless feel the same way) that it might be the best thing for both of us if I were to get a divorce [. . .] We have discussed these things before and I do hope that it doesn't come entirely as a shock to you' (10 May 1937).[27] Swadesh agreed. Their divorce allowed her to pursue more avenues of employment (even though they did not materialize), before her plans were interrupted by World War II.

With respect to academic support, although Boas and Sapir were adept at getting funding for their students' projects, they only sought positions and grants for Haas after her separation from Swadesh. Apparently, based on the customs of the time, they did not feel any obligation to help Haas find funding or employment while she was married (Darnell 1997: 562).

To our knowledge, Haas is the only scholar discussed here who was quoted publicly discussing sexism in the field. Haas admitted that 'there may have been a lot more discrimination than I was aware of. It made things easier for me that I didn't think of it, have sleepless nights, tear myself to pieces' (Murray 1997: 704). Indeed, she took a pragmatic approach to the problem, stating that 'there's this, that, and the other thing and if you start out to fight that, you don't have time for your scholarship' (McLendon 1997: 536).

Lastly, in a discussion of women whose contributions were stymied or eclipsed by their husbands, it is important to mention Carobeth (Tucker) Laird (1895–1983), who was at one point married to the well-known and enigmatic linguist J. P. Harrington (1884–1961). She took a linguistics course in 1915 from Harrington, who was impressed by her linguistic ability. They married in 1916, and she became his full-time assistant, collaborating on all aspects of his fieldwork on numerous languages from Alaska to South America, though with little to no recognition.[28]

[27] Mary Rosamund Haas papers, APS Mss.Ms.Coll.94.

[28] She recounted her role in all aspects of the work and her relationship with Harrington in her 1975 book *Encounter with an Angry God*. They divorced in 1922, after which she gained recognition as an ethnographer in her own right and published an excellent volume on Chemehuevi ethnography in 1976.

13.3.2.2 Mentorship

Another theme apparent in the trajectories of women in early American Indian Linguistics is that they did not receive the same support from senior scholars as their male peers. Certainly Freeland's experience with Kroeber described in section 13.3.2.1 above illustrates a lack of support from male supervisors and a failure to promote women's careers. Indeed, Kroeber had a huge influence on Freeland's academic trajectory, and his lack of support ultimately kept her out of academia.

The fact that Sapir did not attempt to find positions for Haas while she was married displays a similar asymmetry in the support offered female versus male students as they began their careers. As a result, Haas was almost forced to give up linguistics in order to support herself. She also tellingly notes that she likely could not have a career in Linguistics if World War II had not removed male candidates from potential university employment:

> I think [Sapir] thought it was hopeless [for women to have academic careers] [...] There weren't any jobs even for the men at the time, during the Depression, and I'm sure that I wouldn't have [gotten a position] if it hadn't been for the war, when men were drafted and unavailable. (Murray 1997: 702)

Reichard's relationship with Boas had a different type of effect on her career. While it is certainly the case that Reichard's relationship with Boas was beneficial to her success in her graduate programme, this association with Boas and his particular variety of anthropological linguistics also affected how she was viewed in the budding field of Linguistics. Kroeber wrote of her to Sapir in 1924: 'I rather liked and much admired her. Her work capacity is enormous. The chief fault I found was the super-impregnation with Boas, so that she neither gave nor received anything in her year with us. What she had, was el puro Boas; and she wanted nothing else' (cited in Golla 1984: 410; see also Lamphere 1992: 85). Indeed, Reichard's resistance to innovations in the field of Linguistics post Boas kept her work from gaining traction, in both linguistic and ethnographic circles (Lamphere 1992: 108–9). George Trager pointed to Boas as the root of failures in her analyses, saying 'Reichard seems to think that whatever Boas did not believe in should not be believed in, and whatever later scholars do that differs from Boas not only is not right but is somehow evil and irreverent' (Trager 1953: 428). Similarly, Falk (1999) believed that much of the criticism directed at Reichard probably stemmed from the fact that she was not convinced of Sapir's (1913) classification that linked Wiyot and Yurok with Algonquian languages. As a result, it is said that Sapir likewise discounted Reichard's work (Mattina 2015: 417).

13.3.2.3 Publication problems

Leading up to World War II, there was very little funding for publishing works on Native American languages. Dictionaries in particular, despite their importance,

were not (and still are not) a high priority for academic publication. Both Haas and Freeland had difficulty publishing what are now acclaimed works, which in turn delayed the recognition of their contributions to the field.

For Mary Haas, although she published material collected from her years of fieldwork throughout her career, much of her work still remains unpublished. Haas's outstanding unpublished works include not only her field notes but also several extensive unpublished materials, including a 600-page version of her Tunica grammar from her doctoral work (Haas n.d. a), a Creek dictionary (Haas n.d. b), and twelve field notebooks and other materials on Natchez. Much of her unpublished work is archived with the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia and in the California Language Archive (http://cla.berkeley.edu/).

With respect to her Tunica manuscripts, in 1940, when Swanton urged Haas to complete and publish a Tunica dictionary, she replied, 'your suggestion about a Tunica dictionary is an excellent one but since there seems to be no place at present where I could get such material published I scarcely know what to do about the matter' (19 April 1940).[29] She did manage to publish the dictionary, but it took thirteen more years (Haas 1953). Her *Tunica Texts* suffered a similar delay. Boas wrote to her:

> I feel there is not much chance to have your Tunica texts printed. We discussed the question of material of this kind at the meeting of the Council of Learned Societies last week and they propose at present to make a microfilm of material of this kind to be deposited in libraries [. . .] There is such a mass of material of this sort that ought to be preserved, and I do not want to have the responsibility of preserving it. (Boas to Haas, 5 February 1942)[30]

In 1940, Haas also sent her 600-page Tunica grammar manuscript to Boas asking him to submit it for publication. However, Boas obtained an outlet only for a portion of it, in the *Handbook of American Indian Languages* that he edited (see Haas 1940). He wrote: 'I do not see any immediate prospect for printing your complete manuscript. Do you think it would be possible to condense the grammar into a general description which might cover about between 50 to 80 [sic] pages of the Handbook? There is some prospect of getting money for such a publication' (8 April 1940).[31] The grammar was published in the *Handbook*, but as only a spectre of its former self.

Haas's unpublished materials have been used in recent years. For example, the Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana has been employing Haas's published and unpublished Tunica materials in their work on language revitalization since

[29] Haas letter to Swanton, Mary Rosamund Haas papers, APS Mss.Ms.Coll.94.
[30] Mary Rosamund Haas papers, APS Mss.Ms.Coll.94.
[31] Mary Rosamund Haas papers, APS Mss.Ms.Coll.94.

2012, and Geoffrey Kimball has used materials Haas shared with him to publish a number of articles on Natchez (e.g. Kimball 2005, 2012, 2013a, 2013b).

In Freeland's case, the task of making much of her work publicly accessible fell to others after she left academia. Sixteen years after the completion of her work on Sierra Miwok, her friend Carl Voegelin managed to publish her full grammar from her dissertation, *Language of the Sierra Miwok* (Freeland 1951). Her materials from her fieldwork were also used by later scholars to publish a dictionary (Freeland and Broadbent 1960) and a collection of texts (Berman 1982). All of these continue to be important resources on Miwokan languages.

13.3.2.4 Recognition and impact

While all three women—Freeland, Haas, and Reichard—made significant contributions to the growing discipline of American Linguistics, only Haas was recognized for her contributions during her lifetime. Even then, it was not until much later in her career that Haas was acknowledged as a talented linguist, researcher, and teacher. A lack of recognition was due in part to difficulties making the work of these women available (see section 13.3.2.3 above), which in turn often limited the impact they had on the field.

This is particularly true for Freeland, who, by the time her Sierra Miwok grammar was published, which 'established her reputation as a linguist of considerable gifts' (Golla 2011: 45), was 61 years old, was never granted her PhD, and was therefore not in a position to pursue a career in Linguistics. In terms of recognition of her work and contributions, Victor Golla notes that Freeland's scholarly work not only was unappreciated during her time in academia but also 'remains greatly underappreciated' (Golla 2011: 45).

Likewise, it was not until fifteen years after her death that Reichard's contributions to anthropology and linguistics gained more recognition, and perhaps it has still not been recognized for its full value. Gary Witherspoon, a linguistic anthropologist and speaker of Navajo, dedicated his book *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (1977) to Reichard. He referred to her as an 'exceptional linguist' and said that 'her work provided me with a model to emulate and an endeavor to continue' (Witherspoon 1980: 1).

The other way in which academics make an impact on the field is through their students. Unlike Freeland, Reichard, through Boas's influence, was able to secure an academic position as an instructor and eventually a full professor at Barnard College, which made much of her subsequent work possible (Lamphere 1992: 79). However, Reichard sometimes felt isolated, both in her personal and professional life. Although she trained many undergraduate women in anthropology, Barnard did not have graduate students. For comparison, Clyde Kluckhohn at Harvard, her rival in Navajo study, was able to do research with and influence a large number of graduate students (Lamphere 1992). Towards the end of her career, Reichard attempted to create a department of linguistics, independent from the

department of anthropology, at Barnard College (Mattina 2015: 419).[32] The reason this failed is unclear. However, it revealed her insight into the direction the field would take, even though she never had the opportunity herself to influence the field by training graduate students.

Of the three women discussed here, Haas is the only one to make a lasting impact through her students, and her impact is far-reaching. As Campbell (1997b: 649) remarks, Haas is, in one way or another, the teacher of all who work in American Indian linguistics today, as students of the many whom she taught at Berkeley or as admirers of her contributions to the field. In fact, although Boas and Sapir are two of the most prominent figures in American linguistics, Haas trained more Americanist linguists than both men combined (Teeter 1997: 607).

13.4 Conclusion

Throughout the period under discussion, American academic culture in the social sciences (and most scholarly fields) was inhospitable to women (Treichler 1990: 24). This was particularly true for Native women, who are almost entirely unrepresented. Opportunities largely did not exist for Indigenous women to be agents in the documentation of their own languages, which is why so many of the women discussed here shaped American Indian linguistics as consultants to a linguist or anthropologist rather than as linguists/anthropologists themselves. Even as consultants, women were often passed over by male scholars in favour of male speakers.

As the cases of Freeland, Haas, and Reichard show, the obstacles that women faced often had little to do with their ability and much more to do with their personal situations. None received an academic appointment soon after their educational training. Additionally, the work of these women was largely undervalued and received little recognition in their time. Only Haas was recognized for her contribution during her lifetime, and it took years of research outside of a regular academic position to achieve that. However, despite these challenges, they were pioneers of American Indian Linguistics. Their efforts were particularly valuable in that they worked on several languages which are no longer spoken and the others they worked on are all endangered. As linguists they set the stage for future generations of researchers and demonstrated unequivocally that linguistic ability is not gendered.

The field of Linguistics has expanded exponentially since the 1950s, and women now are central to the discipline. In 1974 the LSA established the Committee on the Status of Women in Linguistics (COSWL), which promotes women in the field. However, some of the same problems persist: very few Native women hold

[32] As of 2019, Barnard College still does not have a department of linguistics.

PhDs in linguistics, and women are still under-represented in full professor positions despite women being awarded more PhDs than men in linguistics annually (Linguistic Society of America (LSA) 2016). Other similar problems are discussed in the LSA's volume, *Women in the Linguistics Profession* (Davison and Eckert 1990). Even another thirty years after this publication, much still holds true regarding women in the field today. Davison (1990: x) found that 'the feeling is nearly universal among women in linguistics that we fail to live up to some sort of ideal norm of the successful academic'. This was certainly the case for women working in linguistics before World War II; as Haas said (cited above), all one could do was focus on the scholarship. Indeed, the descriptive linguistic work of all the women discussed in this chapter has stood the test of time, and the ethnographic materials they collected (including songs) are invaluable in terms of the cultural heritage they documented and preserved.

14
Language studies by women in Australia

'A well-stored sewing basket'

Jane Simpson

14.1 Introduction

Biographies of more than 1,000 women in colonial Australia (1788–1901) appear in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Dawson 2012). Only around twelve contributed to language studies (as distinct from language teaching, translation, or ethnography). Records of Indigenous contributors are sparse. Only two women are listed among more than a hundred contributors to the most comprehensive nineteenth-century Australian Indigenous vocabulary collections (Curr 1886–1887; Smyth 1876).[1] All twenty recorders of Tasmanian languages that Plomley (1976) lists are men, apart from one supplier of a song. This compares unfavourably with women contributors to herbariums (between 1853 and 1896, 225 women contributed to the Melbourne herbarium and fifty-seven to the New South Wales (NSW) herbarium (Maroske 2014; Maroske and Vaughan 2014)).

Why did so few colonial women contribute to language documentation in Australia, when so many men did (McGregor 2008)? Like women elsewhere, reasons included family demands, child rearing, and lack of education, money, and patrons. Colonial women had the extra disadvantage of remoteness from centres of research and often of not having support from people with similar interests. Similar factors account for the comparative absence of Australian women ethnographers and anthropologists in the same period (Marcus 1993). Some colonial women had access to speakers of undescribed languages and thus could have contributed to language documentation and ethnography. That most did not do so relates also to common expectations of what women should do and to a lack of the literacy and metalinguistic skills needed to record languages. Botany was a socially acceptable activity for women; recording Indigenous

[1] Brough Smyth records: 'Miss E. M. a'Beckett who was so good as to make a drawing of a characteristic Tasmanian plant' (Smyth 1876: I, vii) and 'Mrs John Green' (Mary Smith Green, née Benton; Smyth 1876: II, 169), who also collected plants.

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languages was less acceptable and required metalinguistic analytic skills that many people had no way to learn in societies lacking free education.

The Appendix includes a table of fifty settler women and one Aboriginal woman with a settler father who contributed to language study, translation, ethnography, or language teaching. The criteria for inclusion were: interest in language studies, date of birth up until 1889, and living in Australia for a substantial time (including emigrants, people born in Australia, and expatriates). It is striking how many never married (twenty-four out of fifty). Of the twenty-six married women, three did most of their work after being widowed and seven had no children. Child rearing was usually incompatible with a research career.

I first provide background on population size and composition, and educational opportunities in nineteenth-century Australia. I then outline the contributions of women in language studies other than documenting Indigenous Australian languages. Relevant here are educational level, religious background, and family wealth. I then consider women who documented Indigenous Australian languages, examining constraints such as lack of access to speakers, and lack of time, money, intellectual guides, and publication outlets. These are illustrated through brief accounts of six settler women who published on Indigenous Australian languages: Eliza Dunlop (née Hamilton, 1796–1880; Gunson 1966), Christina Smith (née Menzies, nom de plume 'Mrs James Smith', 1809?–1893; MacGillivray 2005), Harriott [Harriet] Barlow (née Harvey, 1835–1929; Crump 2014), Catherine (Katie) Eliza Somerville Stow (née Field, nom de plume 'K. Langloh Parker', 1856–1940; Muir 1990),[2] Mary Martha Everitt (1854–1937; Illert 2001, Organ 1993), and Daisy May Bates (née Margaret Dwyer, later O'Dwyer, 1859–1951; Wright 1979). Viewing these women's stories against the background of the other forty-four women shows what is exceptional and what is common.

14.2 Australia in the nineteenth century

Australia was invaded by the British in 1788, beginning with 859 settlers in the colony of NSW and rising to 5,217 in 1800. Over the next hundred years small colonies were established in Tasmania, Western Australia (WA), Victoria, Queensland, South Australia (SA), and on the north coast in Darwin. Most were established as penal colonies. The discovery of gold caused a population increase; by 1870 there were 1,647,756 settlers across Victoria, NSW, SA, Tasmania, Queensland, and WA (in order of population size, from highest to lowest). Long distances separated the colonies and, although connected by trade and movement

[2] Many women wrote under their husbands' names: 'Mrs James Smith'. 'K Langloh Parker' is a blend of the initial of her first name, and her husband's first and last names.

of people, each colony built its own political, intellectual, and social life until federating in 1901 as the Commonwealth of Australia.

There were few women colonists in the first forty years because of the predominance of convict colonists and the predominance of men as convicts. As Table 14.1 shows, throughout the nineteenth century, the colonies had more men than women, but the imbalance had reduced by 1891. The shortage of women was so great that in 1832 the British government began assisting young women in emigrating. This enabled Christina Smith and Daisy Bates, two of the six women discussed later, to travel to Australia.

14.3 Education and training

Documenting languages requires free time, something which only well-off women had. Table 14.2 shows that a slight majority of the women came from very well-off families (grazier, judge, 'gentleman') or had fathers whose occupation required

Table 14.1 Gender distribution of Australian colonies in the nineteenth century

		1833	1861	1891
NSW	women	16,151 (27%)	152,372 (43%)	515,350 (46%)
NSW	men	44,643	198,488	594,448
VIC	women		211,015 (41%)	541,991 (48%)
VIC	men		302,881	598,414
SA	women		61,782 (49%)	153,630 (48%)
SA	men		65,049	166,801
QLD	women		11,938 (40%)	169,939 (43%)
QLD	men		18,121	223,779

Source: 3105.0.65.001 Australian Historical Population Statistics, 2014, Australian Bureau of Statistics.

Table 14.2 Father's occupation for women with recorded interest in language

Officer / police superintendent	2
Small farmers, farmhands	6
Big farmers*	8
Occupation needing education**	13
Tradesman / merchant / manufacturer***	16
Gentleman / baronet	3
TOTAL	48

Notes: I have not found the occupations of the fathers of Clara Bertha Hansche and Mary McConnel.
* Graziers and pastoralists are big farmers. Tenant farmers, crofters, and farmers are small farmers.
** Chemist, minister of religion, veterinary surgeon, teacher, lawyer, newspaper proprietor.
*** Agent for guns or travel, seedman, carpenter, tailor, cashier, draper, grocer, warehouseman, sawmill manager.

advanced education (lawyer, minister, schoolteacher, town clerk). The largest general occupation was trade (manufacturer, merchant, carpenter, agent of guns, etc.).

Documenting languages also requires good literacy and analytical skills. In the early nineteenth century, literacy in the United Kingdom was not high; women, especially rural and servant women, were generally less literate than men (Houston 2002). The majority of early Australian settler women were convicts, and an 1841 survey indicates that they were less literate than free settler women (Oxley and Richards 2001).

Assisted passage for women did little to redress the differences, because the governments gave preference to young women with domestic service skills, many from rural communities. After 1862 a few educated women were placed as governesses by the Female Middle Class Emigration Society, but demand was not high (Gothard 2001).

Access to education for girls varied across the UK, being most accessible in Scotland. Of the women in the Appendix who were born overseas (Table 14.3), most came from England, and the next highest number were from Scotland, ahead of Ireland, even though the Irish were the second largest immigrant group.

Country of birth (Table 14.3) relates to religious background (Table 14.4), and so the high number of Presbyterians in the Appendix is consonant with the high number of Scots. The high number of Anglicans reflects both the numbers and the higher social status of Anglicans. Aggregating the smaller Dissenter groups (Unitarian, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Methodist) achieves similar numbers, perhaps reflecting the higher value placed on women's education in these groups. While Roman Catholics formed a large percentage of the Australian population, the low number of Catholics, as shown in Table 14.4, probably reflects the lower social status of Catholics and their lack of access to education.

As in the UK, school education was not compulsory in the colonies until the 1870s. Only in 1879 was the first state academic secondary school for girls opened, the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide, in a colony with a large proportion of Scottish immigrants and Nonconformist religious groups. The first university was established in Sydney in 1852, but universities did not admit women students until

Table 14.3 Country of birth: Women with recorded interest in languages

Australia	23
England	12
Scotland	8
Ireland	3
Germany	2
India	1
TOTAL	49

Note: Birth country of Frances Davenport unknown.

Table 14.4 Religious background: Women with recorded interest in languages

Presbyterian	10
Anglican	11
Catholic	4
Unitarian	3
Baptist	2
Congregational	3
Methodist/Wesleyan	2
Moravian	1
Episcopal Scots	1
Lutheran	2
TOTAL	39

Note: Religious background is not known for all participants, and is in any case not entirely reliable, as some people changed religion.

after 1881, and their numbers remained small.[3] Of the twenty women who engaged in tertiary study, as shown in the Appendix, only three were born before 1860.

Lack of opportunity to learn other languages hindered women's involvement in language work. Nineteenth-century settlers in Australia and New Zealand were predominantly English speaking. Neighbouring countries had no standard languages and were not part of the European social sphere. As Marie Carola Galway (née Blennerhassett, 1876–1963; Howell 1996) said in 1917, in a lecture advocating teaching modern languages: 'For us in Australia the question of foreign languages is one of exceptional difficulty. We have no immediate neighbours who would automatically encourage our efforts in that line' (Galway 1917: 15).

Only the very wealthy could afford to send their sons, let alone their daughters, to study overseas, and so women could not readily obtain the skills needed to document languages. As discussed below, Catherine Stow was conscious of her lack of training, and one ethnographer, Mary Montgomerie Bennett (née Christison, 1881–1961), returned to university at the age of 60 'in order to remedy her educational deficiencies' (Bolton and Gibbney 1979).

Families could provide education and recognition of the interest of language study, as has also been shown for botanical study (Maroske and Vaughan 2014). As with Mary Ellen Murray-Prior (née Bundock, 1845–1924; McBryde 1993), women's interests could be fostered by connections with families who had positive views of Aborigines and women's educational aspirations. Family interest may also have helped Catherine Stow. Family influence is probably responsible for

[3] For example, in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, twenty-nine men born in the nineteenth century are listed as having studied philology, compared with seven women (including those educated in other countries).

generations of language documentation by Eliza Dunlop and her descendants and by the McConnel family of Cressbrook station in Queensland. David McConnel (Gibbney 1974) privately printed a book about the family (McConnel 1861). His wife, Mary McConnel (née MacLeod, 1830–1910; Dawson 2014), wrote a memoir (McConnel 1905) containing information about interactions with Aborigines, and her attempt to learn the 'Mari' language from South Sea Islanders working on the station. Their daughter, the folklorist Mary MacLeod Banks (née McConnel, 1861–1951), wrote a memoir about growing up with Aborigines on Cressbrook (Banks 1931). Their granddaughter, Ursula Hope McConnel (1888–1957; Perusco 2000, Sutton 2010, 2012), was an Australian pioneer in anthropology and linguistics. Friendship was also important; the McConnel family (Perusco 2000), Mary Ellen Murray-Prior, and the Bell family of Coochin Coochin station were all connected socially, and women from the three families recorded aspects of the language and societies of the local Aborigines.

14.4 Women who were interested in languages

During the nineteenth century, the main way to earn a living for women who knew languages was to teach them.[4] Twenty-two women, as shown in the Appendix, were teachers of modern languages or classical languages, or general teaching. Their energies often went into ensuring that the next generation had greater access to education by promoting secondary schooling for girls and entrance to universities. For example, Mary Ellen Murray-Prior was part of a movement of women in NSW who established a women's college that then provided career paths for women.

The first Australian woman to be appointed to a university position (Newnham College, Cambridge) was Florence Melian Stawell (1869–1936; McKay 1990). Her father, William Foster Stawell, as Chief Justice of Victoria, was able to support her education. She studied at the University of Melbourne and Newnham College. After resigning her tutorship for health reasons, she remained in England, as an independent scholar publishing on classical Greek and modern English authors, translating German authors, and publishing a book on Minoan scripts (Stawell 1931).

[4] Early examples include the widowed Unitarian Anna [Annie] Montgomerie Martin (1841–1918; Hardy 2005), who set up a school in Adelaide in 1864 and later worked at a secondary school teaching French, German, Latin, and Greek. French and German were taught at the Advanced School for Girls in Adelaide by Madeline Rees George (1851–1931; Jones 1981), who had gone to school in Germany and worked as a governess there. A graduate of the school, Ethel Roby Harry (née Holder, 1878–1965; Jones 1985, LINC Tasmania 2012), returned to teach at the school after becoming the first woman to get an MA in Classics from the University of Adelaide. Amy Jane Best (1844–1932; Tamblyn 1969) advocated the teaching of languages in WA. In Sydney, in 1895, an academic secondary school for girls, teaching Latin and Greek, was co-founded by Edith Annesley Badham (1853–1920; Burns 1988), daughter of a University of Sydney professor of Classics.

The independent scholar Mary MacLeod Banks also had family wealth supporting her language and folkloric interests. Widowed young, she lived in England and Europe, where she edited Robert of Thornton's alliterative *Morte Arthure* (Banks 1900) and became interested in folklore, eventually becoming President of the Folklore Society. Careers like Banks's and Stawell's would probably have been impossible without family money.

Access to university education created opportunities for women interested in languages, philology, and Classics, and occasionally led to careers as tutors.[5] The early promise of language research for university graduates was, however, mostly transmuted into translation, literature, education, suffrage, and political activity, or into school teaching. Since Latin and Greek were usually required for university entrance, this provided a career for women such as Agnes Marie Johanna Dorsch (née Heyne, 1871–1958; Mackinnon 1996), the daughter of a German immigrant florist and seedman, who graduated in Classics and mathematics from the University of Adelaide. She taught Classics at school to support her husband and eleven children.

Marian Fleming Harwood (née Reid, 1846–1934; Jordens 2005) studied Romance philology at the University of Zurich. After she was widowed, she studied in the English and German school at the University of Melbourne, receiving an MA in 1900 and publishing a book on the Shakespeare cult in Germany (Harwood 1907). While she devoted energy to the cause of peace, she also was a strong public advocate for modern language teaching, and in 1910 she instituted a yearly series of lectures in foreign languages. She explained her motivation:

> A knowledge of foreign languages would break down prejudices and racial animosities, for the distrust and hatred of the foreigner came principally from the illiterate individuals. [. . .] [M]any precious hours spent in the study of Latin, merely as a mental discipline, might be better devoted to modern languages.
>
> (Anon. 1907: 5)

Similar concerns for the importance of teaching modern languages underpinned Galway's aforementioned lecture on modern languages (Galway 1917). The lack of good modern language teaching was also a focus for Margaret Ann Montgomery Bailey (1879–1955; Lundie 1979). When she realized that her degree in French from the University of Sydney had not equipped her to speak French intelligibly, she 'became interested in modern methods of language teaching' and 'gained the International Phonetic Association (University College, London)

[5] For example, Isabel Margaret Fidler (1869–1952; Jacobs 1981) studied English, French, and Latin at the University of Sydney and then became a tutor for women students.

diplomas in English, French and German, as well as the diploma of education from the University of London' (Lundie 1979).

Teaching students with disabilities was another way in which women contributed. Matilda Ann Aston (1873–1947; Green 1979) became blind young. She learned Braille and became a writer, an advocate for the use of Braille, and a teacher of the blind. Edith Bryan (née Lloyd, 1872–1963; Swan 1993) had gained a diploma and experience in teaching deaf children, before she emigrated from England to Australia to marry a fellow teacher of the deaf. Widowed, she became head teacher in the Queensland Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution in 1901. Jane [Roberta] Sinclair Reid (1883–1968; Downie 1988) graduated with a BA from the University of Sydney, learned Braille, and became head teacher of the New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind. Other language-related teaching careers include those of the sisters Beatrice Eliza Dacomb (1863–1947) and Clara Thurston Dacomb (1867–1946; Missen 1993), co-inventors of Dacomb shorthand.

A few women went into writing and literary studies. The first woman lexicographer of Australian English was Mary Eliza Fullerton (pseudonym 'Turner O Lingo'; 1868–1946). She wrote a short book, *The Australian Comic Dictionary of Words and Phrases* (Fullerton 1916; O'Neill 1981; Gwynn 2016), which contained slang words with comic definitions in the manner of Ambrose Bierce.

In summary, ambitious and intelligent women mostly contributed to language studies through school teaching, writing, and translating. Careers in language research were limited to a few who had the opportunity to study abroad. In general, women's interest in language research was often subsumed by preoccupation with related concerns such as improving standards of language education, promoting women's access to education, and supporting women's rights more generally, as well as Aboriginal welfare, temperance, and pacifism.

14.5 The study of Indigenous languages

In hindsight, the most obvious way in which nineteenth-century Australians could contribute to the study of language would have been through documenting one or more of the 300 or so Indigenous Australian languages. Here, I consider first Indigenous contributors (Troy 1987) and then non-Indigenous contributors.

14.5.1 Indigenous contributors to the study of Indigenous languages

Finding records of Indigenous contributors of either gender to language documentation in the nineteenth century is hard. The first recorded contribution was a

collaboration: a young Aboriginal girl, Patyegarang, some time between 1788 and 1791, taught Dharuk, the language of her people, the Eora, to Lieutenant William Dawes (Troy 1987). Dawes recorded her speech in his notebooks. They clearly had a warm relationship, which has attracted attention, as in Kate Grenville's novel, *The Lieutenant* (Grenville 2008).

One Aboriginal woman, Emma Jane Callaghan (née Foot, 1884–1979; Kelly 1993), whose mother was Dharawal, learned her husband's language, Dhanggati, and reputedly translated Bible stories into that language, although these have apparently not survived. Mary Jane Cain (1844–1929), daughter of a woman said to be Gamilaraay and a settler father from Ireland, recorded around seventy-five words of Gamilaraay, mostly place names (Cain *c*.1926; Wood 2001).

Early teachers in the nineteenth century (for whom we have no life dates) were two widely-travelled Kaurna women from the Adelaide region. Sally and a Kaurna man, Harry, travelled with sealers to King George Sound and there apparently provided information in 1827 to M. Gaimard who was on Dumont D'Urville's voyage (Amery 1998). Ten or so years later, Kalloongoo Sally, a kidnapped Kaurna woman who had been taken to Tasmania, provided some words of her language to Charles Robinson (Amery 1996). In NSW, Bessie Sims gave Mary Everitt (Organ 1993) lessons on her language Gundangurra. In SA, Ivaritji (Mrs Amelia Taylor, mid-1840s–1929; Gara 1990), a Kaurna woman from the Adelaide Plains, taught her language to several non-Indigenous documenters (Daisy Bates, John McConnell Black, and Norman Tindale). In Perth, Fanny Balbuk-Yooreel (*c*.1840–1907) provided detailed information on language, place-names, genealogy, and kinship-terms to Bates, who wrote Balbuk's life story (Bridge 1992). Magdalen Mulun probably taught her language, Gugu Yimidhirr, to Walter Roth, and wrote letters in Gugu Yimidhirr with details of ethnography: 'Without any assistance or help, these were transcribed just as the fancy took her' (Roth, Schwarz, and Poland 1901: 32).[6]

In Tasmania, Truganini (Trugernanner, ?1812–1876; Ryan and Smith 1956) provided information on language and customs to the Protector of Aborigines, George Augustus Robinson. Fanny Cochrane Smith (1834–1905) recorded songs in 1899 and 1903; these are the only sound recordings of someone who spoke a Tasmanian language as their first language. In 1910 her family gave information about their language to Ernest Westlake.[7]

The voices of these Indigenous women are sometimes heard through example sentences, as Patyegarang's sentence: 'Kárăgȧ To pronounce (as *Mr. Dawes búdyĕrĭ káraga* Mr. D. pronounces well)' (Dawes n.d.). The mediation of the

[6] I thank the expert reader for alerting me to Mulun's important contribution.

[7] Mrs Mary Jane Miller (née Smith; age 50), Mrs Sarah Laurel Miller (née Smith; age unknown), Mrs Flora Stanton (née Smith; age unknown), Mrs Nancy Mansell (age unknown), Mrs Armstrong (née Beeton; age unknown) (Plomley 1976: 58, Taylor, Jones, and McCarthy 2013).

non-Indigenous recorder inevitably produces distortion and selectivity. Glimpses of interactions emerge occasionally. Bunjoey (Susan McCarthy, mid-1800s–1936; Anon. 1936, Bell 1946) taught members of the Bell family of Coochin Coochin Station (north of Brisbane) something of her language 'Yugararpul' (probably Yagara). This was clearly pleasurable for Enid Gertrude Bell (1889–1965; Pixley 1968). She wrote in *The Queenslander* on 18 January 1934:

> To talk with Susan, once known as Bunjoey, daughter of Moolpajo, chief of the Yugararpul tribe, is to feel the romance in what she terms the olden times, and to know that all that we love and appreciate in the Australian bushlands was loved and appreciated long before our ancestors claimed them from the aboriginal [sic] race. (Bell 1934: 13)

More interactions are seen in fourteen accounts of nineteenth-century Buwandik women who taught Christina Smith and her son (Smith 1880): Pendowen, Neenimin, Barakbouranu, Calluin, Lohwoola, Yanbo-Araming, and Mingboaram. There are moments of lightness, as when Calluin roars with laughter at Smith's ineptitude at killing ducks, or when Smith writes of Yanbo-Araming: 'Nothing delighted her more than to see all my family sitting around her camp fire, attempting to speak in the *drual* language' (Smith 1880: 84).

However, most of Smith's accounts end in 'Christian deaths' and give a bleak picture of life for Buwandik people enduring invasion, and the unwitting cruelty of good intentions. For example, Smith raised an Aboriginal girl, Jane, with her own children; when her mother, Wegearmin (Maggie), came to visit, her daughter screamed in fright at her:

> To please the poor mother, I placed the girl (Jane) between us, confidently assuring her first that Maggie should not be suffered to take her away to the blacks. Giving vent to her grief in a loud yell, she exclaimed in her own tongue, 'That white woman makes my child forget her language; she will not speak to me!' (Smith 1880: 105)

14.5.2 Non-Indigenous contributors to the study of Indigenous languages

In 1827 the first published grammatical description of an Australian Indigenous language appeared, by the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld (1827). Far more men than women wrote about Indigenous languages (McGregor 2008); they included missionaries (e.g. Reuther 1981), Protectors of Aborigines and doctors (Moorhouse 1846; Roth 1897), pastoralists (Curr 1886–1887), explorers (Grey 1840), a geologist (Smyth 1876), and a surveyor (R. H. Mathews; see Mathews and

Everitt 1900). Their careers gave them access to Indigenous Australians and access to transport, their education gave them the skills to document languages, their jobs gave them time and opportunity to document, and their positions gave them the ability to disseminate their ideas.

Settlement in Australia was accompanied by the deaths and disappearance of local Aboriginal groups. Unless settler women arrived at the start of settlement, they had few opportunities to meet Indigenous people and learn their languages. However, the physical demands of beginning a settlement and limited access to transport left little opportunity for interaction with Indigenous people.

Male relatives sometimes provided access for settler women to talk with Indigenous Australians. Living on farms and pastoral holdings provided opportunities to meet Aborigines, but wives and daughters of poor farmers had little time for language documentation. Alice Florence Paterson (née Gome, pseudonym 'Solus'; 1848–1928) vividly described a farmer's wife working from 5 a.m. to 9 p.m., in a house without books and with little opportunity to talk with others (Paterson 1897).

The first woman whose notes on words and names for Aboriginal people have survived is Elizabeth Macarthur (née Veale, 1766–1850; Conway 1967). She and her husband, John, arrived in Sydney in 1790 and established the first large farm in the colony at Parramatta. In letters and journals, she recorded the names of about twenty Aboriginal people and the meaning of the place-name 'Parramatta' (Steele 2005). Pastoralist husbands and fathers provided access for Catherine Stow and Harriott Barlow, the McConnel family of Cressbrook Station, and Mary Ellen Murray-Prior.[8] Gertrude Augusta Bell (née Norton, 1855–1946) wrote a novel based on her experiences living with her husband James Bell on stations in Queensland (Bell 1921). Their daughter, Enid Gertrude Bell, used her experience and her mother's material to write a Yagara vocabulary and legends (Bell 1946). Ethel Hassell (née Clifton, 'Mrs A. Y. Hassell', 1857–1933; Izett 2014) lived on her husband's family's station, Jerramungup, Albany, WA, between 1878 and 1886. She documented the 'Wheelman' dialect of Nyungar, and the practices of people living on the station. Constance Campbell Stuart (née Petrie, 1873–1926; Anon. 1926) published her father Tom Petrie's (Hall 1974) reminiscences of working with Aboriginal people in the Brisbane area as an explorer and grazier and included some vocabulary (Petrie 1904).

Other male occupations that provided access to Indigenous people included police officer (Annie Frances Richards, née Crafter, 1845–1930; Maroske and Vaughan 2014), government resident (Harriet Willas Daly, née Douglas, *c.*1851–1927; Daly 1887), and missionary.

[8] Murray-Prior and her sister Alice Bundock spent much time with the local Bandjalang people on Wyangari Station on the upper Richmond River (NSW), from 1845 until 1902, and learned some Bandjalang (McBryde 1993: 22).

Two women collaborated with their fathers, who were Protectors of Aborigines, on documenting Aboriginal languages of Victoria. Isabella Park Taylor (née Dawson, 1843–1929; Anon. 1929) moved in 1866 with her father James Dawson and mother Joan Anderson Dawson (née Park; Corris 1972) to land near Camperdown (Victoria), where he became Local Guardian of Aborigines. They published material on the southernmost dialect of Western Kulin and two dialects of the Warrnambool language, and James praised Isabella's knowledge of the language (Blake 2016). Frances Davenport (née Sievwright, ?1823–?1897) supported her father, Charles Sievwright (Assistant Protector of Aborigines; Arkley 2005) and recorded roughly 150 words and fifty sentences from the Geelong area of Victoria in about 1840–1842 (Davenport 1898). Only in 1899 did a woman set out on her own to study Indigenous languages and customs, when Daisy Bates went to a mission at Beagle Bay on the north-west coast of Australia.

Apart from documenting languages, another task was compiling other people's writings on Aborigines and their languages. Bates was commissioned by the WA Government to send out a 2,000-item vocabulary questionnaire to about 500 people across Australia (police officers, station owners, etc.), on the model of earlier surveys of Australia. Ida Emily Leeson (1885–1964; Berzins 1986) was the first woman appointed Mitchell Librarian at the State Library of New South Wales, and she recompiled wordlists of Indigenous languages, to which her work gave her ready access.

Even when women were literate, interested in languages, and had good access to speakers of Indigenous languages, housework and child rearing left them little time for writing down what they had learned. The labour of missionary wives and daughters was essential to the success of missions (Froehlich 2015: 1). As unpaid assistants, missionary wives were often not given the status of missionary, and so their information about language and ethnography does not often make its way into the mission records. Only a couple of missionary women (the Lutheran Frieda Strehlow, née Keyssar, 1838–1916; Strehlow 2011) and the Moravian (Mary (Polly) Hartmann, née Hines, 1838–1916; Jensz 2015)[9] are listed as having learned languages. A photograph (Figure 14.1) shows one Lutheran missionary wife, Pauline Maria Elisabeth Reuther (née Rechner, later Stolz; 1854–1937), and her husband, the Reverend Johann Reuther (1861–1914), working in their study. A large manuscript on the Diyari language attributed to him survives (Reuther 1981), but no language documentation attributed to her survives. They had twelve children, which would not have left her much time.

[9] Frieda Strehlow learned Arrernte well enough to write in it to her husband, and apparently translated hymns (Strehlow 2011). Mary (Polly) Hartmann worked with her husband, a German Moravian missionary, on Ebenezer mission station in Victoria. Her letters indicate that she 'was also a willing pupil in Indigenous language acquisition' (Jensz 2015: 26), but I have found no record of language documentation by her.

Figure 14.1 Pauline and Johann G. Reuther, Killalpaninna.
Reproduced with permission from the Lutheran Archives, Adelaide, South Australia (P027/41/05316).

The women had little encouragement. One influential Lutheran German missionary, Johannes Flierl, who worked on a Diyari mission, and later in New Guinea, criticized Clara Bertha Hansche (née Springer, 1868–1902), wife of the missionary Ernst Richard Hansche, for working on languages: 'Besser es blieb jedes in seinem Department: Die Frau hantiere mit dem Kochlöffel, der Mann mit der Feder. Das macht beide desto achtbarer. Besser auch wenn die Frau vom Mann zu lernen hat als umgekehrt' (Flierl's letter No. 267 of 25 Sept. 1901: 4, trans. Susanne Froehlich; Froehlich 2015: 91; 'It would be better if everyone rested within their own sphere, the wife handling a wooden spoon, the husband his pen. That way both gain in esteem. And anyway, it's better that the wife learns from her husband than the other way round').

Aside from such active discouragement, family influence and other triggers led women to engage in documenting Indigenous languages and cultures. The trigger for Mary Everitt, according to the ethnographer Walter Roth (Koch 2008: 210), was reading his description of an Indigenous Queensland language, Pitta Pitta (Roth 1897). For Mary Ellen Murray-Prior, the trigger appears to have been an overseas trip where she saw the 1883 Amsterdam Colonial Exhibition (McBryde 1993: 22), with displays of life in colonies. For Olive Muriel Pink (1884–1975; Marcus 2002), a visit to Bates's camp with Aboriginal people at Ooldea (SA) in 1926–1927 inspired her to study anthropology, before going on fieldwork to

Central Australia, where she worked with Warlpiri people for many years. Becoming botanical collectors for Ferdinand von Mueller allowed some women to record plant names in Aboriginal languages, including Mary Smith Green (née Benton, 1835–1919; Lucas 2012, Nanni and James 2013),[10] Mary Bozzum Kennedy (née Hume, 1838–1915; Maroske and Vaughan 2014), who recorded Aboriginal plant names in western NSW, and Annie Frances Richards, who published descriptions of Aboriginal uses of plants and their names as a 'corresponding member' in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* (Richards 1880).

Publishing documentation on Indigenous languages was not easy in general; the body of Diyari language material collected by Lutheran missionaries remained essentially unpublished during their lives. Bates's book on the Aborigines of WA did not appear in her lifetime. Ethel Hassell gave her 314-page typescript to the State Library of New South Wales in *c.*1910 and then much later worked with the American anthropologist, Daniel Sutherland Davidson, to publish some articles. Ursula McConnel published some articles (McConnel 1945; Sutton 2010); however, most of her language materials lay in a tin trunk until a few years ago (Sutton 2010, 2012).

Newspaper articles were a way of making language documentation public, as Isabella Taylor, Daisy Bates, and Ursula McConnel did. Another way was through memoirs (Daly, Hassell, Mary McConnel, Murray-Prior, and Banks) and novels. These were an accepted form of activity for women, sometimes resulting in income. In novels, women such as Gertrude Bell and Catherine Edith Macauley Martin (née Mackay, pseudonym 'Mrs Alick MacLeod', 1848?–1937; Allen 1986) could write their observations about Aborigines, albeit framed by the conventions of the genre, the demands of the plot, and the expectations that their reading-public had about Aborigines (Martin 1890; Bell 1921).

Figure 14.2 shows the few places where non-Indigenous women contributed to the study of Indigenous Australian languages (whether published or unpublished), and the periods when they contributed.

I turn now to the stories of six women who did publish work on Indigenous languages.[11]

[10] Brough Smyth notes: 'Some years I sent paper covers properly arranged for preserving botanical specimens, to three of the Managers of Aboriginal Stations in Victoria, with the request that they would collect specimens of the foliage of trees, shrubs, and plants and obtain from the natives their names for the trees, &c. The Managers very kindly undertook the task. From Mr. John Green, of Coranderrk (greatly assisted by Mrs. Green, to whom I am much indebted), I obtained sixty-nine specimens' (Smyth 1876: II, 169).

[11] The stories of some others are told elsewhere: Ethel Hassell and Isabella Taylor (Izett 2014), and Olive Pink (Marcus 2002).

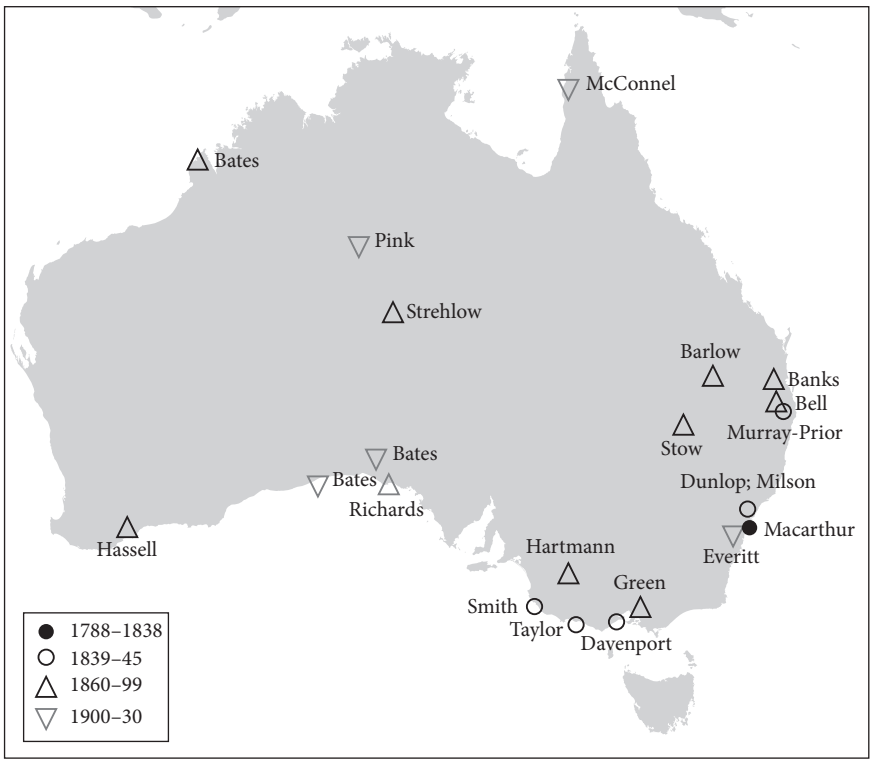

Figure 14.2 Places and time periods of non-Indigenous women's contributions to the study of Indigenous Australian languages.
Map by David Nash.

14.5.2.1 Eliza Dunlop (1796–1880) and her descendants

Eliza Dunlop was apparently the first woman to publish on an Indigenous Australian language. Born in Ireland, the daughter of Solomon Hamilton, a judge in India, she grew up among educated people concerned about social issues; for example, her first husband, James Sylvius Law, published poems on the suffering of Ireland. Before emigrating to Australia in 1838 with her second husband, David Dunlop, she published a poem, 'Morning on Rostrevor Mountains', in the *Dublin Penny Journal* (Dunlop 1835). After arriving in Australia, she published a poem in *The Australian*, 'The Aboriginal Mother', about the Myall Creek massacre (Dunlop 1838). Her condemnation of the murderers provoked hostile reviews accusing her of knowing little about Aborigines (O'Leary 2004; Wu 2014).

In 1839 the family moved to the Hunter River Valley north of Sydney, when her husband became Police Magistrate and Protector of Aborigines. In 1848 Dunlop published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Dunlop 1848) 'Native Poetry', which

consists of three stanzas, each beginning *Nung-Nguun* and containing two to three lines. This was followed by a free translation beginning, 'Our home is the gibber-gunyah' (Skinner and Wafer 2016). She transcribed, translated, and glossed other songs (about first encounters with horses, ringbarking, and white men, later published by her descendant Roy Goddard (1934).

Dunlop's social status in Sydney and her previous publications doubtless helped her publish the Aboriginal song. Dunlop's family continued her interests:

> We owe to Mrs. E. H. Dunlop and her daughter (Mrs. Rachel Milson) and granddaughter (Mrs. J. H. Bettington) the preservation of many aboriginal vocabularies, including those of the Wollombi tribe, the Murree Gwalda (Comilleroi) and seven other districts, the Marlwoorlee (Boulia, Q.), the Goa tribes (Diamantina River, Q.) and many other languages. These vocabularies are proving valuable today to researchers. (Goddard 1934: 244)

Dunlop's daughter, Rachel Milson (1829–1908), recorded material on Gamilaraay, including words, phrases, songs, and social-organization terms (Milson *c.*1840). A Wollombi language wordlist is attributed to Milson but is thought to be Dunlop's own work and to be closest to the Darkinyung language (Jones and Laffan 2008). Rachel's granddaughter, Alice Elliott Bettington (1898–1995), appears to be the author of an unpublished vocabulary of a language from the Boulia area of Queensland (Bettington n.d.). For three generations of a family to document Indigenous languages and culture suggests the importance of family influence in creating the awareness that language documentation is interesting and worthwhile.

14.5.2.2 Christina Smith (?1809–1893)

In contrast to Dunlop, the astonishingly energetic missionary Christina Smith (MacGillivray 2005) had little family, educational, or financial support. She emigrated from Scotland as a widow with a young son, Duncan Stewart, and then married James Smith. They had eight children. In 1845, they went to live at Rivoli Bay (SA) (MacGillivray 2005), a small settlement at the edge of Buwandik/Bungantitj country. She was the only European woman among them and so was well placed to learn the language. Recognizing that mutual understanding was important for evangelizing, she encouraged Stewart to learn Buwandik and to this end arranged for Aboriginal children to live in their house. Stewart was appointed 'native interpreter' in 1853 (Blake 2003).

After ten years at Rivoli Bay they moved to Mount Gambier, where she and her husband ran a school and home for Aborigines. After her husband's death in 1860, Smith carried on running the school. Her major work (Smith 1880) was based on her experiences over thirty-five years working with Aborigines, including acting as assistant midwife and travelling for days with Aboriginal people as guides. It was

published by the SA government in 1880 with support from the Protector of Aborigines, E. L. Hamilton, importantly at no cost to her. Her reason for publishing was to provide a 'memorial' of a disappearing people for 'the historian, the antiquary, and the philologist' (Smith 1880: iii). She wrote that 'many of the more intelligent of them [Aborigines] have often requested the authoress not to allow them to be entirely forgotten' (Smith 1880: iv).

The book consists of thirty-three pages describing social organization,[12] birth, marriage and death customs, land ownership, legends, and historical events, followed by seventy-eight pages of conversion stories, concluding with material on *Drualat-ngolonung* ('speech of man') prepared by Stewart: grammatical description (three pages), vocabulary (ten pages, 600+ vocabulary items), and one page of songs. Scattered throughout are around a hundred Buwandik words and a few sentences, but most utterances attributed to Aborigines are in pidgin English. Smith's knowledge of Buwandik was equally limited. Her spelling does not always accord with her son's spelling in the appended vocabulary (CS *burrich burrich*, DS *barite*; CS *ngarp*, DS *ngurp*). Her spelling system is more Anglicized than his, but she does hear and write initial /ŋ/, a sound which eluded many documenters of Indigenous languages. Smith's understanding of Buwandik grammar was limited; thus, she quotes an Aboriginal woman saying *ngarps* (apples) and *lapps lapps* (small fish), using the English plural 's' (Smith 1880: 3), whereas Stewart's appended grammatical notes contain forms expressing noun number.

Smith's major achievements are the vivid picture of Buwandik life and customs, the record of local pidgin English conversations, and the opportunity she gave her son to learn the language. Her work is the main source for the first modern grammar of Buwandik (Blake 2003, 2016) and the basis for a Buwandik revival programme (Gale 2014). Figure 14.3 shows Annie Brice with Smith. Brice worked at Smith's school, spoke Buwandik, and was literate in English. Her help would have been valuable to Smith in her work, and in turn this has helped Brice's descendants, Michelle Jacquelin-Furr, Brooke Joy, and Anneliese Joy, in reviving their ancestral language.[13]

14.5.2.3 Harriott Barlow (1835–1929)

Harriott Barlow was apparently the first Australian woman to publish an article on Indigenous languages in a scholarly journal, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (Barlow 1873). She was born in Great Amwell, Hertfordshire, England. Her father, Daniel Beale Harvey, was an 'agent of guns'. Her education was good enough for her to establish a school in later life. In 1860 she married Alexander Barlow ('Dr' Barlow) and had a son Frederic

[12] Smith provided the anthropologist Alfred Howitt with information about Buwandik social organization (Howitt 1904).

[13] Michelle Jacquelin-Furr, personal email to Jane Simpson 30 Mar. 2017.

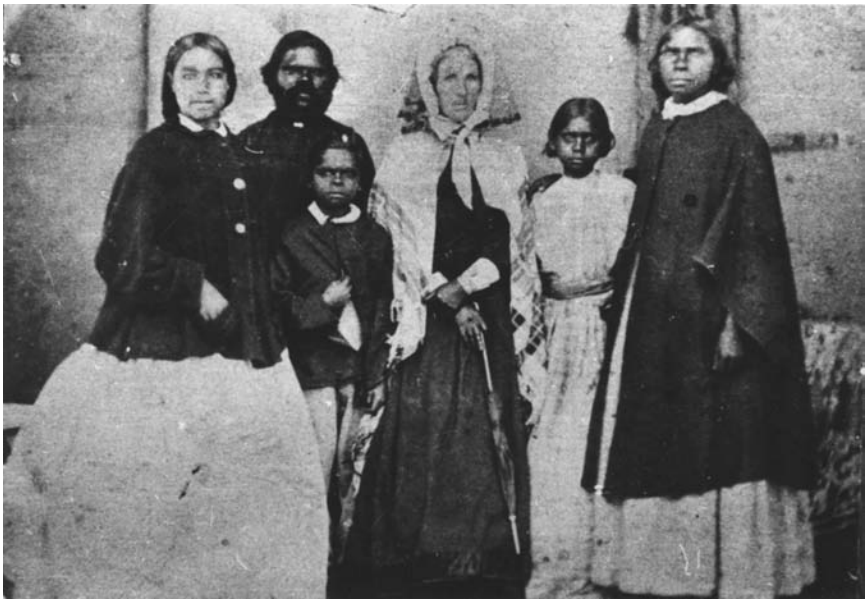

Figure 14.3 Christina Smith (centre) and Annie Brice (far right). Mount Gambier (1866).

Reproduced with permission from the State Library of South Australia and Burrandies Aboriginal Corporation (B 16564).

William in 1861. They emigrated to Australia in 1862 or 1863, had five more children (Barlow 1945?), and lived on Warkon station about 400 kilometres west of Brisbane. About seventy to eighty Aboriginal people lived and worked there, and traded (e.g. fish for store goods), but their numbers declined due to deaths and departures (Barlow 1945?). They came from different language groups because of the frontier wars (Crump 2014). Barlow's son recalled that 'They all spoke English fairly well,—in the usual Aboriginal fashion,—broken English but understandable' and described how Barlow collected words:

> Some of the gins came up & assisted my mother, in small ways, not much in house-work, as we usually had a white girl or married woman, but in such as sewing possum skins together to make a rug, while my mother sat & made notes of aboriginal words & language & customs, from their information. She obtained a very good vocabulary of the language & dialects of different tribes in this district, by this means. (Barlow 1945?: 8)

In 1874 the Bank of Australasia took possession of Warkon station, and the Barlows moved to Toowoomba. Barlow worked as a nurse (Davies 2011), then established a private boarding house, and then established 'The Grange School', a

'seminary for young ladies' (Davies 2011). Barlow apparently did no further work on Indigenous languages, but she retained an interest in languages, since some pupils entered public examinations held by the University of Sydney in French and German,

Barlow's material has not been fully assessed. It consists of the article and a manuscript (Barlow 1873, *c*.1865). The article contains comparative tables of wordlists and sentences from eight languages, with the main focus on Gunggari. Tindale (1974) labelled her vocabularies as follows: Gunggari, three dialects of Gamilaraay/Yuwaalaraay (including Guyinbaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Wirray-Wirray), Nguri (probably related to Yuwaalaraay; Laughren 2013), two closely related languages Bigambul and Gambuwal, and Barunggam (probably a western dialect of Wakawaka; Kite and Wurm 2004). The semantic domain format (in order: humans, kinship terms, body parts, celestial bodies, animals, birds, tools, etc.) resembles the order in Brough Smyth's compilation (1876). Barlow's wordlists are often considered the first record of the language and sometimes the main record; thus, Kite and Wurm (2004: 12) treat her fifty-two words of Baruŋgam as the most important source on the language. Barlow also gives a key to her spelling which shows interesting phonetic observations:

* In words thus marked, the 'r' is guttural, and much dwelt on.
† Where 'ū' is used, the sound is open, like 'oo', but perceptibly shorter; 'ŭ' as in undo, etc. used.
‡ 'Gy' signifies that 'g' is prolonged till it terminates in a faint sound of 'y'.
§ 'Ng' beginning a word is pronounced like 'ng' in king, etc.
|| 'Rĭ' and 'dĭ' are written when the sound is much shorter than the usual 'dee', 'ree', etc.
¶ 'Ch' in words thus marked sound as in the German 'ich', etc. 'G' is always hard. There is no 'f' sound. (Barlow 1873: 171)

She also has one note (Barlow 1873: 174): 'This word [bir-ra 'fishing net'] has a sound between "bizza" and "birra." I should prefer to write it bizza, but for the persistency with which the natives corrected me'.[14]

Her occasional spelling inconsistency led Williams to dismiss Barlow's work on Yuwaalaraay as 'a very minor source, with rather poor phonology' (Williams 1980: 12), despite it being the first record of Yuwaalaraay. However, for Gunggari, Laughren compares Barlow's material to that collected much later by Elwyn Flint and Gavan Breen, suggesting that 'our confidence in a written wordlist such as Barlow's increases greatly as we see how closely it corresponds to recorded oral sources that we can listen to and hence verify' (Laughren 2013: 30).

[14] The alternation between 'zz' and 'rr' suggests that it was a tap or trill.

Barlow's material is an important record of the language ecology, since she gives vocabulary and sentences from eight languages and makes notes on the locations and origins of the speech communities and the languages they used (e.g. Gunggari as a lingua franca as well as pidgin (Laughren 2013)). She also gives some ethnographic material about people's names and their practices. This includes discussion of a song from a young Gunggari man, Yehdell (Barlow 1873: 173–4), and most unusually she gives the translation in the local pidgin.

Finally, a small but notable feature of her wordlists and sentences are words and sentences that are most likely to have come from women teachers. These include words for activities relating to plant foods (edible seeds, stalks, roots, orchids), digging yams, grinding seeds, cooking, and sewing, as well as two sentences:

(to a child crying for its mother) 'By and by she will come back'
Gunggari *Ka-boo ka-nŭng a* (and also versions quite different in Guyinbaraay and Bigambul)

(calling to the mother) 'The child is crying'
Gunggari *Kan-doo pa-ring oh*! (Barlow 1873: 170–1)

14.5.2.4 Catherine Stow (K. Langloh Parker) (1856–1940)

Catherine Stow had the advantages of coming from a well-educated family who was interested in Aborigines, and of marrying a well-off pastoralist. Her family had emigrated from the UK to SA as part of a group of Congregationalists, and her grandmother, Martha Newland (née Keeling; 1798–1870), was said to be a good classical scholar (Muir 1990).

Catherine Stow lived for more than twenty years with Aboriginal people, first on her father's station in NSW, and later on Bangate, a station near Lightning Ridge (NSW) owned by her first husband Langloh Parker (Evans 2011; Muir 1990). She recorded customs, legends, and some language from *Nhunggabarra* people (*nhungga* 'kurrajong tree'). Her relationship with her Yuwaalaraay teachers appears to have been good; she names some and records that she was known as *Innerah*, which she glosses as 'a woman with a camp of her own' (from *yinarr* 'woman', glossed by Williams (1980) as 'revered woman').

Stow's first works were collections of 'legendary tales' (Parker 1896, 1898). Both were published in London and Melbourne, had introductions by the renowned folklorist Andrew Lang (1844–1912), and were illustrated by 'a native artist' (probably Tommy McRae (1835–1901; Johnston 2005: 160; Sayers 2005)). Her later collection, *Woggheeguy: Australian Aboriginal Legends*, was aimed at children (Parker 1930). Johnston (2005) notes Stow's uncertainty as to whether she was writing for ethnographers, the general public, or children. This reflects contemporary uncertainty about the continuum between fairy tales, legends, and religions, shown also by her adviser, Lang, an anthropologist and folklorist interested in spiritualism who collected and wrote fairy tales (Donaldson 2010).

Stow claimed acquaintanceship with nine 'tribes' and in *Woggheeguy* included tales from Wiradjuri, Yuwaalaraay and people from 'the Murrumbidgee, Darling, Barwon, Paroo, Warrego, Narran, Culgoa and Castlereagh rivers; the Braidwood, Yass, Narrabri, and other districts of NSW; to the Balonne, Maranoa, Condamine, Barcoo, Mulligan rivers, and the Gulf country in Queensland' (Parker 1898: x). She uses Yuwaalaraay words for all legends regardless of the origin of the legend, thus sacrificing philological accuracy in favour of reducing the number of different words confronting her readers. Judith Johnston has drawn attention to Stow's careful methods of collecting legends, which Stow described in a letter to Alfred G. Stephens, literary critic for *The Bulletin* who had reviewed her book unfavourably:

> I am very careful to get them [legends] as truly as I can—first I get an old black to tell it in his own language—he probably has little English—I get a younger one to tell it back to him in his language—he corrects what is wrong—then I get the other one to tell it to me in English—I write it down, read it and tell it back again to the old fellow with the help of the medium, for though I have a fair grasp of their language I could not in a thing like this trust to my knowledge entirely.
> (Stow, letter to A. G. Stephens, n.d., cited in Johnston 2005: 160)

As an appendix to the first book, suggested by the anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor, she gives one of the first substantial texts recorded in an Indigenous Australian language, a 300-word Yuwaalaraay text 'Dinewan Boollarnah Goomblegubbon' (Emu and Bustard) with a glossary (Parker 1896: 75) of around 150 words, predominately words for natural kinds (animals, plants, etc.). Despite problems of dictation, the text provides excellent examples of complex sentences and discourse particles.

Her major ethnographic work on the Yuwaalaraay (Parker 1905) was addressed to the academic community. The first 142 pages cover social organization, customs, and linguistic topics, such as naming practices, special languages, and the relationship of Yuwaalaraay to other languages. It concludes with a glossary of a few hundred words, which are mostly common nouns but include more unusual terms such as *Ghiribul* 'riddle' and *Goohnai* 'dirge'.

Lang's preface recognized an advantage Stow had compared with male ethnographers:

> It is hardly possible for a scientific male observer to be intimately familiar with the women and children of a savage tribe. Mrs. Parker, on the other hand, has had, as regards the women and children of the Euahlayi, all the advantages of the squire's wife in a rural neighbourhood, supposing the squire's wife to be an intelligent and sympathetic lady, with a strong taste for the study of folklore and rustic custom. (Parker 1905: ix)

The phrase 'scientific male observer' implies that Stow might not be 'scientific' (a criticism later levelled at Bates). Stow herself recognized gaps in her knowledge, as she expressed later: 'I need hardly explain that I had no scientific education, nor preparation for research, beyond desultory reading about primitive peoples and an intense interest in the genesis of races and their original mentality' (Parker 1930: viii).

Stow relied on the help of male scholars.[15] She travelled to London, which probably put her in contact with scholars who could help her. Andrew Lang laid out his assistance in the preface:

> My own slight share in the book as it stands ought to be mentioned. After reading the original MS., I catechised Mrs. Parker as to her amount of knowledge of the native language; her methods of obtaining information; and the chances that missionary influence had affected the Euahlayi legends and beliefs. I wrote out her answers, and she read and revised what I had written. I also collected many scattered notices of Byamee into the chapter on that being, which Mrs. Parker has read and approved. I introduced a reference to Mr. Howitt's theory of the 'All Father', and I added some references to other authorities on the Australian tribes. Except for this, and for a very few purely verbal changes in matter of style, Mrs. Parker's original manuscript is untouched by me. It seems necessary to mention these details, as I have, in other works, expressed my own opinions on Australian religion and customary law. These opinions I have not, so to speak, edited into the work of Mrs. Parker. [...] How she tested and controlled the evidence of her informants she has herself stated, and I venture to think that she could hardly have made a better use of her opportunities. (Parker 1905: x)

Introductions from Lang would have helped the publication and popular reception of her book, and it received some reviews (Evans 2011); however, her work was not taken up by the academic community. Lang notes: 'I do not know that I have ever seen them cited, except by myself, in anthropological discussion' (Parker 1905: ix). Her book was overshadowed by the anthropological works of Baldwin Spencer and Frank Gillen, published around the same time. The first modern grammar of Yuwaalaraay (Williams 1980) describes Stow's work unfavourably (Williams 1980: 12–13). However, the second Yuwaalaraay grammar (Giacon 2017) provides a rich interpretation of Stow's material, which has become essential material for a language-revival programme.

In summary, Catherine Stow's work is a major contribution to understanding Yuwaalaraay grammar and vocabulary, not least for drawing attention to the beliefs and oral literature of Indigenous Australian people. Her story also shows

[15] Some male counterparts also had academic guides, for example Frank Gillen, a keen but untrained observer of Aboriginal Australians, learned from his fieldwork and publications with Baldwin Spencer, a Professor of Biology at the University of Melbourne.

the importance of time and resources for scholarly enterprise and of being part of a community of scholars.

14.5.2.5 Mary Everitt (1854–1937)

Strong family backing, connections with the British publishing world, and supportive academic advisors helped Catherine Stow. Mary Everitt was less fortunate. Her father died when she was young, but she was well educated and was left financially secure. She became a teacher and, with her sister, opened Miss Everitt Ladies School at Wollondilly, NSW (Styles 2015). In 1885 she became Lady Principal of the Hurlstone Training College and in 1897 Mistress of Parramatta South School.

At La Perouse Mission in south Sydney, Everitt encountered the Gundungarra woman Bessie Sims, who gave her 'half a dozen lessons' and advised her to go to Burragorang (Wollondilly shire) to contact other Gundungarra people, which she did in 1901 (Organ 1993). She wrote a description (Mathews and Everitt 1900) that she said was 'based on Dr Roth's method' (Roth 1897). Both use what they call 'English' spelling, and they choose mostly the same symbols. Roth regretted that he had used that spelling, instead of the 'continental' system, and so did Everitt, saying 'in many respects the French spelling would be better' (Mathews and Everitt 1900: 1). Everitt also employs some grammatical categories used by Roth in his grammar of Pitta Pitta. Thus, she distinguishes 'verbal pronouns' from free-standing pronouns and notes their functions (Mathews and Everitt 1900: 269). Her grammar is organized by part of speech, with inflected forms under each part of speech and illustrative sentences. This is a clearer system than that favoured by Roth.

The grammar was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* (Mathews and Everitt 1900), with notes on customs observed by the surveyor Robert H. Mathews. He was a member of the Society, but she was not (apparently there were no women members then). Although Mathews could have communicated the grammar on her behalf, his name appears as first author. Walter Roth felt that this wronged Everitt (Thomas 2007):

> A lady friend of mine, inspired with a little enthusiasm through the perusal of my grammar, took up the work and after a great deal of worry, time and labour got together a neat little paper on one of the N.S.W. dialects. The gentleman in question happening to hear of the work, expressed his great interest in it, and asked for its loan. He then read this lady's grammar as his own before one of the local societies! (Letter from Walter Roth to Baldwin Spencer, 8 Feb. 1903, MS 88, Sir Baldwin Spencer Manuscripts. Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum, cited in Koch 2008: 210)

Everitt subsequently wrote letters to Alfred G. Stephens (*The Bulletin*) trying to persuade him to publish information on Aboriginal legends and vocabulary. He

suggested that she should be 'pursuing hobby re dialects scientifically and send results to Eng[lish] periodical' (quoted in Organ 1993: [206]). It is not clear what Stephens meant by 'scientifically', since her organization of language material is better organized than most contemporary documenters of Australian languages. This remark, along with Stephens' unfavourable review of Stow's work, suggests his lack of appreciation of Australian language documentation.

Perhaps discouraged by these responses, Everitt appears not to have published anything subsequently on Gundangurra. However, her work is now one of the main sources for Gundangurra language description (Barrett 2015; Steele 2009).

14.5.2.6 Daisy Bates (1859–1951)

Daisy Bates began her work with Aborigines around the age of 40 and used her intelligence and charm to make a career in studying them. She became probably the best-known ethnographer of Indigenous Australia of her time. This was despite lacking the family support that helped Catherine Stow and the Christian evangelism backing that supported Christina Smith.

Bates was the first woman in Australia to carry out long-term fieldwork with Indigenous Australian communities, living for many years in tents on the edges of Aboriginal communities. She collected enormous amounts of ethnographic material, including vocabulary from many languages, in WA and SA. She published around 300 newspaper articles on Aboriginal lives and customs, and she became very well known. Nevertheless, despite her efforts, most of her language work remained unpublished.

Her adventurous life has attracted biographers, from Ernestine Hill, who worked hard to help her publish her material (Hill 1973), to the first biography (Salter 1972), to Isobel White's careful reconstruction of her history as part of editing Bates's major work (White 1985, 1993).[16]

The biographers' task was made more challenging by the fact that Bates invented stories about her life, including in her autobiography (Bates 1944), as part of making her way in Australia. From being Margaret Dwyer, daughter of a poor Catholic shopkeeper, she became Daisy O'Dwyer, daughter of Protestant Irish gentry, and then Daisy Bates. In the end she was *Kabbarli* ('grandmother'), the lone white woman working with Aborigines, whose story remains immensely popular.[17]

Bates acquired a good education and some knowledge of French, and worked as a governess, before leaving Ireland on an assisted passage to Queensland as a potential 'domestic servant'. She married a drover, Jack Bates, and they had a son.

[16] More modern biographies draw on the romantic image which Bates promoted, and use it both to sell their stories and to cast doubt on this image (Blackburn 1994, Reece 2007, Vries 2008).

[17] Examples include the composer Margaret Sutherland's one-act chamber opera, *The Young Kabbarli* (1964), and Andrew Taylor's film *Kabbarli: A Film about Daisy Bates* (Ronin Films 2003).

After travelling for seven years, she left her son with his father's family and went to England, where she worked for five years in London, became a journalist, and gained connections within the literary world. In 1899, aged 40, she returned to Australia, planning to write articles about Aboriginal and settler relations. However, after visiting Aboriginal communities in WA, she focused on studying Aboriginal societies and languages while supporting herself through journalism.

The four stages in her study consisted of her initial introduction to Aboriginal people on missions on the north-western coast of WA, her work with dispossessed groups in south-west WA, her work collecting vocabularies and information across WA commissioned by the WA Government, and her work in Ooldea in SA. Her questionnaire work resulted in about 120 returns, representing around forty languages (Thieberger 2016). Gaps and inconsistencies in the returned questionnaires led her to persuade the WA government to fund her fieldwork to check the vocabularies. This resulted in much ethnographic and linguistic material, intended for a book, *The Native Tribes of Western Australia,* which she took on commission from the WA government. Bad luck and her inability to process the material in time caused her publication arrangements to fall through, and the full work has never been published (White 1985). Her papers fill ninety-nine folios at the National Library of Australia, and there are collections at other libraries. An abridged version was published in 1985, excluding most language material (Bates and White 1985).

To her fieldwork Bates brought intelligence, knowledge of French, wide reading in ethnographic literature on Aboriginal groups, customs, and languages (White 1985: 32), and skills she had honed as a popular writer. However, she lacked formal training in linguistics, anthropology, and folklore. Instead, she corresponded with writers on ethnography (e.g. Alfred Howitt, Robert R. Marett, John Mathew, Robert H. Mathews, Baldwin Spencer, Edward Stirling, John Cleland, John Aloysius FitzHerbert). She received considerable help from Lang, who showed her book manuscript to a young anthropologist, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, hoping that he would help Bates get it into publishable shape. In 1910 Bates undertook an expedition with Radcliffe-Brown. Perhaps she thought that collaborating with a trained anthropologist could benefit her. Unfortunately, Bates and Radcliffe-Brown had a bitter falling-out. She accused him of plagiarizing her work.[18] He reportedly dismissed her work:

> The trouble was that Mrs. Bates's knowledge, collected through many years of close contact with the natives, was not in a condition that Brown considered easily available for the ends of science. Indeed, he found it to be in a most hopeless tangle. The contents of her mind, in his estimation, were somewhat

[18] White concludes that, while Radcliffe-Brown certainly did not give Bates enough credit, the evidence for plagiarism is not convincing (White 1981).

> similar to the contents of a well-stored sewing-basket, after half a dozen kittens had been playing there undisturbed for a few days. (Grant Watson 1946: 105)

The falling-out indirectly led to Bates's work not being treated with seriousness by ethnographers. Her reputation was further reduced when, with no secure income, she wrote sensationalizing pieces on cannibalism (Wright 1979) which alienated some of her supporters, including Olive Pink.

Evaluations of Bates's language work have only recently begun. Her vocabulary collection questionnaires are discussed generally by Thieberger (2016). Some of her fieldwork in SA was drawn on by Luise Hercus in her study of Wirangu (Hercus 1999). Little use of Bates's southern material was made by writers on Nyungar (Douglas 1968; Brandenstein 1988; Bindon and Chadwick 1992; Dench 1994) until Thieberger's meticulous analysis of some of her material for a court case determining Aboriginal title to land (Thieberger 2004). McGregor gives a detailed account of her earliest work documenting Kimberley languages (McGregor 2012), especially Jukun, most of which came from a man called 'Billingee' from the Willie Creek area, just north of Broome. It includes more than 1,300 lexical items and a good number of sentences. This is the bulk of the material extant on Jukun. In it, hallmarks of Bates's later work appear, including her careful approach of recording details of the speaker and the recorder, her elicitation techniques, her spelling system, her focus on vocabulary, and her lack of grammatical analysis.

Her linguistic work is, in some respects, quite advanced for its time. She claimed acquaintance with 115 Aboriginal languages (Bates 1944: 154), which include some mutually intelligible dialects of the same languages. She is emphatic about the importance of recording 'everyday talk' and of faithfully recording what Aborigines actually said, rather than putting their words into a system. Perhaps her understanding of storytelling led her to this caution.

For the time, Bates had a good ear for language; she recognized initial velar nasals and interdental stops. In her notes she uses a phonetic spelling system based on English, using 'oo' for /u/, less commonly 'ee' for /i/, and she quite often uses double consonants (*kabbarli* is an example) and represents allophones (e.g. [wo] rather than /wa/), rather than normalizing them as a single phoneme in a phonemic system. Her spelling practices may have been influenced by guidelines issued by the Royal Geographical Society in 1891 for spelling native place names, but if so, she is not consistent (e.g. they propose that 'no redundant letters are introduced' (Thieberger 2016: 87), a rule which the 'bb' of *kabbarli* clearly flouts, and Bates appears to use the double consonants to indicate short vowels, as in English). In addition, the spelling system in her notes differs from two different spelling systems adopted in her two published papers.

In Bates (1914: 65), the author states that 'The vowels are pronounced as in Italian' and then introduces four forms with diacritics:

ā as in *rather* [example from text, *kāla* 'fire' (Bates 1914: 79, Swan, Guildford)]

â as in *fall* [example from text, *gwâb* 'good' (Bates 1914: 67, Murray River)]

ä as in *mat* [example from text, *däbăt* 'to fetch or bring' (Bates 1914: 77, Swan, Guildford)]

ă as in *but* [example from text, *däbăt*, as above]

These are all likely to be allophones of /a/ coloured by neighbouring consonants (although 'ā' may also represent a long vowel /a:/). This is followed by a note: 'The vowels e, i, o are similarly dealt with'. However, no English examples are given, and it is hard to interpret what this might mean. It is not clear whether Bates or someone else respelled her material in this form. In her second paper (Bates 1918), she allowed John McConnell Black (who communicated it to the Royal Society of South Australia) to take on the onerous task of respelling more than 400 words using a spelling system derived from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA):

> This paper has been entrusted to me by Mrs Bates, who has been doing philanthropic work among the aborigines [sic] at the Wirilya native camp, near Yalata, and at other places on the West Coast, and has thus had exceptional opportunities for continuing, among natives of South Australia, the valuable observations on language and customs which she has already made with regard to those of Western Australia. My share of the work has been almost wholly confined to transliterating the native words and arranging the vocabulary alphabetically. (Bates 1918: 152)

In summary, Bates provided enormously valuable documentation on many Australian languages, especially on vocabulary, place-names, kinship, and ethnography. However, like many dictionary-makers before and since, she found the task of organizing the material into publishable form too time-consuming, and this was made harder by her lack of training and her need to earn an income. In addition, the evocative storytelling that enabled her to get initial support for her work proved a hindrance in getting her work accepted. Her vast language documentation is only now being made accessible, through the *Daisy Bates Digital Archive* (Barr-Smith Library, University of Adelaide; Thieberger 2016).

14.6 Conclusion

Dunlop, Everitt, and Stow were typical of the women listed in the Appendix in coming from well-off families, whereas Smith and Bates were atypical in coming from poor backgrounds. They took different paths, Smith's language work being

part of missionary work and Bates being the first woman to earn a living through language and ethnographic work. Dunlop, Barlow, and Smith had greater family constraints, in that each was married with more than one child, while Everitt and Stow had no children, and Bates largely left the raising of her son to others. Dunlop, Barlow, Stow, and Smith are typical in gaining long-term access to Aboriginal people through their husbands' work. Only at the end of the century did women (Bates and Everitt) work on their own with Aboriginal people. None of these women had attended university. However, Everitt and Barlow were well enough educated to set up schools.

The difficulties that these women faced in having their work taken seriously is illustrated by Radcliffe-Brown's 'well-stocked sewing-basket' jibe. The remote locations that gave women access to Aboriginal people also reduced their opportunities to talk with people working on similar topics. This lessened the chance to use and develop systematic methods for documenting languages and societies. It made it easier to dismiss their work as disorganized. They collected valuable information about languages and societies, but they sometimes had no framework within which to organize the material, whether this was knowledge of kinship structures or of uniform phonetic transcription such as the IPA (1888) or its predecessors.

In the last twenty years, the importance of what these women collected has become clear. Access to, and friendship with, Aboriginal women and children meant that they could obtain valuable information on everyday life and language, which extended and complemented what settler men were documenting. Something as simple as what to say to a child crying for its mother is vital information for a language revival programme.

Contributions to the broad area of language study take many forms, from Banks's philological work on the *Morte Arthure*, to the large-scale involvement of women in language teaching and pedagogy. Overall, the major contributions to linguistics by Australian women and men have come from documentation of languages of the region, their history and evolution. In the nineteenth century, this was mostly the province of men. Little remains of the language information that settler women learned from Indigenous women, and the contribution of Indigenous women is almost invisible. The obstacles that settler women faced in terms of education, family constraints, earning a living, and opportunity to document languages seem almost insurmountable. Yet they are small compared with the obstacles that Indigenous women faced: dispossession, state control, and violence. Only in 1985 was an Indigenous Australian awarded a degree for a thesis on an Indigenous language: Eve Fesl's Master's thesis, *Ganai: A Study of the Aboriginal Languages of Gippsland Based on 19th-Century Materials* (Fesl 1985). There is still a long way to go.

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Appendix: Fifty settler women with interests in language

Surname	First name	Birth surname	Birth year	Country/state of birth/education	Father's occupation	Religion	Tertiary study	Marriage status and number of children	Source
Badham	Edith Annesley	Badham	1853	England / France	Anglican minister and professor of Classics	Anglican	n	u	(Burns 1988)
Bailey	Margaret Ann Montgomery	Bailey	1879	Australia / Qld	farmer	Presbyterian	BA USyd	u	(Lundie 1979)
Banks	Mary MacLeod	McConnell	1861	Scotland / Australia / Qld	pastoralist	Presbyterian	n	m0	(Petch n.d.)
Barlow	Harriott	Harvey	1835	England, Herts	agent of guns, Daniel Beale Harvey, stayed in England	Anglican?	n	m5	(Crump 2014)
Bates	Daisy May	Dwyer, later, O'Dwyer	1859	Ireland	farmer?	Catholic changed to Anglican	n	m1	(Wright 1979)
Bell	Enid Gertrude	Bell	1889	Australia / Qld	station-owner	Anglican?	n	u	(Pixley 1968)
Best	Amy Jane	Best	1844	Australia / Tas	newspaper proprietor	Anglican	n	u	(Tamblyn 1969)
Brennan	Sarah Octavia	Brennan	1867	Australia / NSW	police superintendent	Catholic	BA MA/USyd	u	(Ryan 1979)
Bryan	Edith	Lloyd	1872	England	master tailor	Baptist	Diploma, College of Teachers of the Deaf, London	m0	(Swan 1993)
Caine	Mary Jane	Griffin	1844	Australia / NSW	pastoral worker				

Dacomb	Beatrice Eliza	Dacomb	1863	Australia / Vic	merchant	?	?	u	(Missen 1993)
Dacomb	Clara Thurston	Dacomb	1867	Australia / Vic	merchant	?	?	u	(Missen 1993)
Davenport	Frances	Sievwright	1823?	?	soldier	Episcopal	n	m	(Arkley 2005)
Derham	Enid	Derham	1882	Australia / Vic	solicitor	?	BA MA UMelb, Oxford	u	(Palmer 1981)
Dorsch	Agnes Marie Johanna	Heyne	1871	Australia / SA	florist and seedman, attended University of Leipzig	Unitarian / Lutheran	BA UAdel	m8+3	(Mackinnon 1996)
Dunlop	Eliza	Hamilton	1796	India / Ireland	lawyer	Anglican?	n	m5	(Gunson 1966)
Everitt	Mary Martha	Everitt	1854	Australia / NSW	gentleman of independent means—property	?	?	u	(Illert 2001, Organ 1993)
Fidler	Isabel Margaret	Fidler	1869	Australia / NSW	Wesleyan minister	Baptist / Wesleyan	BA USyd	u	(Jacobs 1981)
Fullerton	Mary Eliza	Fullerton	1868	Australia / Vic	farmer	Presbyterian	n	u	(Gwynn 2016, O'Neill 1981)
Galway	Marie Carole	Blennerhassett	1876	England	baronet and parliamentarian.	Catholic	n	m2	(Howell 1996)
George	Madeline Rees	George	1851	England	gentleman	Anglican	n	u	(Jones 1981)
Green	Mary Smith	Benton	1835	Scotland	veterinary surgeon	Presbyterian	n	m12	(Lucas 2012, Nanni & James 2013)
Hansche	Clara Bertha	Springer	1868	Germany	?	Lutheran?	n	m1	(Froehlich 2015)
Harker	Constance Elizabeth	Harker	1875	Australia / Vic	manufacturer	?	BA USyd	u	(Gill 1983)

Continued

Surname	First name	Birth surname	Birth year	Country/state of birth/education	Father's occupation	Religion	Tertiary study	Marriage status and number of children	Source
Harry	Ethel Roby	Holder	1878	Australia / SA	teacher, parliamentarian, premier	Methodist / Presbyterian	MA UAdel	m	(Jones 1985)
Hartmann	Mary (Polly)	Hines	1838	England / Nottingham	principal of Carlton Boys School	Moravian	n	m	(Jensz 2015)
Harwood	Marian Fleming	Reid	1846	Scotland / Ireland	merchant	Congregational	U Zurich, BA USyd, MA UMelb	w0	(Jordens 2005)
Hassell	Ethel	Clifton	1857	England	P&O agent	Anglican	n	m10	(Anon. 1933, Izett 2014}
Leeson	Ida Emily	Leeson	1885	Australia / NSW	carpenter	Anglican?	BA Hons USyd	u	(Berzins 1986)
Lothian	Elizabeth	Lothian	1881	England / County Durham	publisher's cashier	Presbyterian	BA MA UMelb, Cambridge	u	(Close 2000)
Macarthur	Elizabeth	Veale	1766	England / Devon	wealthy farmer				
McConnel	Mary	MacLeod	1830	Scotland	?				
McConnel	Ursula Hope	McConnel	1889	Australia / Qld	grazier				
MacDonald	Louisa	MacDonald	1858	Scotland	town clerk and lawyer	Presbyterian	MA UC London	u	(Alexander 1986)
Martin	Anna Montgomerie	Martin	1841	England	chemist	Unitarian	n	u	(Hardy 2005)
Martin	Catherine Edith Macauley	Mackay	1848?	Scotland / Islands / Skye	crofter	Unitarian	n	m0	(Allen 1986)

Montgomery	Christina Smith	Montgomery	1870	Scotland / Borders	labourer / drapers assistant	?	BA MA UMelb	u	(Dow 1986)
Murray-Prior	Mary Ellen	Bundock	1845	England / Devon	pastoralist	?	n	m0	(McBryde 1993)
Palmer	Janet Gertrude (Nettie)	Higgins	1885	Australia / Vic	draper / accountant	Baptist, lapsed	BA MA UMelb, Sorbonne	m2	(Jordan 1988)
Pink	Olive	Pink	1884	Australia / Tas	warehouseman	Anglican / Quaker	Art School, courses USyd	u	(Marcus 2002)
Reid	Jane [Roberta] Sinclair	Reid	1883	Australia	sawmill manager	Presbyterian	BA USyd	u	(Downie 1988)
Rentoul	Annie Rattray	Rentoul	1882	Australia	Presbyterian minister	Presbyterian?	BA MA UMelb	u	(Langmore 1988)
Richards	Anne (Annie) Frances	Crafter	1845	England / Kent	chemist				
Smith	Christina	Menzies	1809	Scotland / Highlands	tenant farmer	Presbyterian	n	m9	(MacGillivray 2005)
Stawell	Florence Melian	Stawell	1869	Australia / Victoria	chief justice	Anglican?	UMelb / Newnham Cambridge	u	(McKay 1990)
Stow	Catherine Eliza Somerville (Katie)	Field	1856	Australia / SA	pastoralist	Congregational	n	m0	(Muir 1990)
Strehlow	Frieda Johanna Henriette	Keysser	1875	Germany	manufacturer	Lutheran		m6	(Strehlow 2011)
Stuart	Constance Campbell	Petrie	1873	Australia / Qld	explorer / grazier / indigenous welfare officer	?	n	m0	(Anon. 1926, Hall 1974)
Taylor	Isabella Park	Dawson	1843	Australia / Vic	pastoralist	Presbyterian	n	m	(Anon. 1929, Corris 1972)
Williams	Susannah	Williams	1875	Australia / Vic	grocer, MLC	Congregational	BA UMelb / Cambridge	u?	(Horner 1990)

15
The history of the regulation and exploitation of women's speech and writing in Japan

Momoko Nakamura

15.1 Introduction

Studies of the Japanese language have a long history, dating back to the twelfth century. The following brief look at a major study in each historical period suffices to show that, although the label given to the field has changed, the Japanese language has always attracted scholarly attention throughout its history. Contact with Chinese, beginning in the fifth century and continuing into the Nara period (710–794), made Japanese intellectuals aware of the characteristics of Japanese.[1] By the end of the Heian period (794–1185), the *gojūonzu* (a systematic table of the forty-six-character Japanese syllabary) was established. The oldest existing Chinese–Japanese dictionary, *Shinsenjikyō* (*Newly Selected Character Mirror*), was compiled in 892, and the first Japanese dictionary, *Iroharuijishō* (*I-ro-ha Notes on Characters*), was composed around 1180. During the Kamakura (1185–1333) and Muromachi (1336–1573) periods, featuring governments dominated by samurai families, and the Sengoku period ('Period of Warring States', 1493–1590), *kanazukai* ('*kana* script usage'), a set of orthographic rules for spelling Japanese in *kana*, was studied by scholars such as Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241).[2] During the Edo period (1603–1867), established by Tokugawa Ieyasu in Edo (the old name for Tokyo), the empirical approach arose in philological studies of classical texts as a part of *kokugaku* ('nativist learning'), aiming to probe Japanese native culture of the time before the influx of Confucianism and Buddhism from China. Keichū (1640–1701), for instance, analysed *kana* usage in the *Manyōshū*, Japan's oldest existing collection of poetry, containing more than

[1] See Frellesvig (2010) for a history of the Japanese language and Mabuchi and Izumo (2007) for a history of Japanese language studies.

[2] Japanese names are denoted, as always in Japan, with the family name preceding the given name in this chapter, except in references. See Konno (2014) for a history of *kana* usage.

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4,500 *waka* (Japanese poems), compiled some time after 759 during the Nara period, and he published the rules of *kana* spelling in the collection in 1695. Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) was also a *kokugaku* scholar known for his contributions to *kana* spelling, *kana* syllabary, and grammar.

In 1868, generally considered the beginning of Japan's modern era, the Emperor Meiji restored imperial rule to Japan, and launched the eponymous Meiji period (1868–1912). In the Edo period, the Tokugawa shogunate had prohibited foreigners from entering and Japanese from leaving the country, with few exceptions, since 1639. After more than 200 years of seclusion, the Meiji government opened the country, responding to the requests of Western countries to start trading. Academic, political, and legal ideas of the West surged into Japan, mixing with native knowledge, including previous language studies. For example, Ōtsuki Fumihiko (1847–1928), integrating the frameworks of both the *kokugaku* of the previous Edo period and Western language studies, compiled the first modern Japanese dictionary, *Genkai* (1889–1891; *Sea of Words*) and wrote a grammar book, *Kōnihonbunten* (1897; *A Comprehensive Japanese Grammar*). At the same time, witnessing the scientific and technological developments of other modern nations, the government faced the need to build a modern nation state. The argument for language standardization emerged, as with many other modern nations, based on the ideology of one language, one nation, and one state (Anderson 1983; Woolard 1998: 17). When the first national university, Tokyo Imperial University, was established in 1877, the department of language study was labelled *hakugengaku* ('philology') and changed to *gengogaku* ('linguistics') in 1899.[3] However, Ueda Kazutoshi (1867–1937), a Professor at Tokyo Imperial University and one of the leading advocates of standardization, used *kokugo* ('national language') in his influential paper in 1894 (Ueda 1968 [1894]; Lee 1996). As a result, the labels *kokugo* and *kokugogaku* were employed to indicate the Japanese language and Japanese language studies, respectively, throughout the Taishō (1912–1926) and Shōwa (1926–1989) periods and they continue in use today. *Kokugogaku* has been the dominant field concerned specifically with Japanese language, focusing on historical studies, and *kokugogakusha* ('national language scholars') have played a crucial role in prescribing standard Japanese by producing dictionaries, Japanese language school textbooks, and grammar books, and have substantially influenced language policies in Japan. In exploring women's status in language studies, I will demonstrate the importance of analysing their discourse during the Shōwa war period, from the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) to the Pacific War (1941–1945). Recently, researchers increasingly prefer the label *nihongogaku*

[3] The name of Tokyo University, founded in 1877, was changed to Imperial University in 1886, and changed again to Tokyo Imperial University in 1897. To show that it is the same school, I use the name Tokyo Imperial University throughout this chapter.

('Japanese language studies'), as exemplified by the name change in 2004 of The Society for Japanese Linguistics from Kokugo gakkai (The Society for National Language Studies) to Nihongo gakkai (The Society for Japanese Language Studies). Thus, while most studies referred to in this chapter are considered as national-language studies, I use 'linguistics' here as an umbrella term embracing the fields of *kokugogaku* ('national language studies'), *gengogaku* ('linguistics'), and *nihongogaku* ('Japanese language studies'), and 'linguists' for researchers in all of those fields.

Nevertheless, throughout the centuries of the development of Japanese linguistics, we find no woman making contributions to the field as author of a grammar, dictionary, or school reader, until after the end of World War II (1945). As far as I have been able to determine, the publication of early women linguists, including Jugaku Akiko (1924–2005) and Kunita Yuriko (life dates unknown), appeared only in the 1960s. At the same time, the pivotal roles women played in the formation of Japanese language are widely acknowledged, especially in the realms of Japanese poetry and vernacular literature in the Heian period (794–1185), exemplified by the wide recognition of *Genji monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*), written by a noble woman, Murasaki Shikibu, early in the eleventh century. Thus, in describing women's place in the field of Japanese linguistics, I first examine four major linguistic phenomena that linguists have closely associated with women and have been widely accepted as such in society: (1) the norms given in conduct books (etiquette manuals) for women's speech; (2) the development of *kana* script in the Heian period; (3) schoolgirl speech; and (4) court-women speech. Then, as concrete examples illustrating women's relationship to language studies, I will focus on works by two individual women, which recently have been perceived as contributing to the development of Japanese vernacular writing and the codification of the Ainu Indigenous language, respectively.

The purpose of this chapter, however, is not merely to claim that there have been norms for women's speech (in conduct books), women's linguistic practices (schoolgirl speech and court-women speech), and women's written works. Rather than assuming that these linguistic phenomena have been naturally associated with women, I intend to demonstrate how women's relationship to the Japanese language has been defined, assessed, and exploited within the field of Japanese linguistics. I will argue that the acknowledgement of one's linguistic practice and written work does not purely depend on their quality but is often influenced by how the experts define and evaluate them. To demonstrate this, I will examine a variety of discourses produced by (predominantly male) linguists and intellectuals that have regulated, criticized, and praised women's speech and work throughout the pre-modern and modern periods. The analysis will show that the question of whether women's specific practice of speaking and writing is perceived to contribute to linguistic studies depends on the academic, political, and economic processes of a particular historical period. This perspective is particularly important in examining women's status in Japanese linguistics. As women have primarily

been the objects, rather than the agents, of value assignment, we will see that male linguists and intellectuals have often exploited the norms, practice, and work related to women for the purpose of legitimating their academic and political privileges.

15.2 The norms of women's speech: Conduct books

The most prevalent discourse about women and language throughout the history of Japan, including the present, is that of etiquette manuals for women's manner of speaking, starting with *jokunsho* ('women's conduct books') in the pre-modern period. This section shows that the tenacious circulation of normative discourse about women's speech has naturalized the perspective of conceptualizing women's speech as the object of regulation, control, and domination, legitimating the assessment of a woman's femininity based on how she talks rather than what she says.

During the Kamakura and Muromachi Periods (1185–1573), as Confucian conduct books for women flowed into Japan from China, some upper-class Japanese women began writing their own conduct books for their daughters preparing for marriage. These early conduct books already contained lessons on speech. For example, the writer of *Niwa no oshie* (1283; *Lessons of the Garden*) states that '*Waga kokoro. Minoue omo. Hito no koto omo. Oborogeno hito ni uchikatarai. Iromiyuru onkotonado sōrawade. Ōkata ni nanigoto omo. Onkokoro no uci bakari ni oboshimeshiwaki tamae. Asahaka ni mono nado ōserare sōran wa ashiki koto nite sōrōzo*' (Hanawa 1932a: 208; 'Concerning your mind, your life, and others, speak ambiguously and do not show your emotion. Keep everything in your mind. It is bad to speak carelessly').

In the Edo period (1603–1867), conduct books were published and reprinted in enormous numbers, extending their influence beyond social-class boundaries. Edo conduct books were predominantly authored by male Confucianists. The relatively carefree perception of women in the Middle Ages and the androcentric view of Buddhism and Confucianism gradually merged into the feudal family system (Ishikawa 1973: 15). Towards the end of the Edo period, as Japanese society saw a high cultural development, hundreds of thousands of girls and boys studied reading, writing, and counting at *terakoya* (private elementary schools for children of commoners; Ishikawa 1973: 17–18). The city of Edo had one of the highest literacy rates in the world. Large numbers of women's conduct books circulated as reading–writing textbooks in *terakoya*. There were 377 conduct books from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, with the peak occurring in the mid-nineteenth century (Ishikawa 1973: 46).

Central to these books was the Confucian lesson of *shikō* (four important behaviours women had to learn): *fu-toku* ('female-virtue'), *fu-gen* ('female-language'), *fu-yoo* ('female-appearance'), and *fu-koo* ('female-skills'). *Fu-gen* refers to the norms of women's speech, represented in the conduct books by two major

phrases. The first phrase was *'onna wa kotoba ōkarazu'* ('women should not speak too much'), as found, for instance, in *Onna chōhōki* (1692; *Women's Encyclopedia*; Namura 1993 [1692–1693]: 21). In contrast to women's conduct books, men's conduct books simply gave instructions concerning how to use language. *Nan chōhōki* (*Men's Encyclopedia*), written by the same author as *Onna chōhōki*, simply gives a list of appropriate words to use according to the situation (Namura 1993 [1692–1693]). The prohibition of women's talk was rationalized, as a well-known Confucian scholar, Kaibara Ekiken (1630–1714), asserted in 1710: '*Onna no kuchi no kikitaru wa, kokka no midaruru motoi to naru* [...] *ie no midare to naru*' (Ishikawa 1977: 14; 'Women's talk brings trouble to the country [...] [and] destroys the family'). The first phrase was gradually transformed into the second phrase, '*kotoba o tsutsushimite ōku subekarazu*' ('restrain yourself from speaking'), imbued with the notion of *tsutsushimi* ('prudence', 'discretion'). The expression *tsutsushimi* first appeared in *Fujin yashinaigusa* (*Book to Educate Women*) in 1689 (Tanaka and Tanaka 1971: 111) and, from then on, was frequently repeated, for example in *Joshi o oshiyuru hō* (*How to Educate Women*) in 1710 (Ishikawa 1973: 309). The second phrase reinforced the ideology that a truly prudent woman is willing to be silent, rather than wait to be told to shut her mouth. The change from 'do not speak too much' to 'restrain yourself from speaking' increased the power of the norms by naturalizing the association between women's prudence and silence, already providing a rationalization for the present-day norm to assess woman's femininity based on the way she speaks (Nakamura 2014: 50–1).

During the Meiji period, despite the radical social changes caused by the encounter with Western ideas of democracy, human rights, and gender equality, the same pre-modern norms were duplicated. Even Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), well known for his democratic ideas through his citation of the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal' at the beginning of one of his best sellers, *Gakumon no susume* (1872–1876; *Encouragement of Learning*, repeats in the conduct book for women that he wrote in 1899:

> (1) *'Kotoba o tsutsushimite ōku subekarazu' towa, kamoku o mamore tono imi naran* [...] *Gusha no tagen, motoyori kiraubeshi. Mashite fujin wa shizukanishite okuyukashiki koso, tanomoshikere.* (Ishikawa 1977: 228)
>
> ('Restrain yourself from speaking and do not speak too much' means to keep silent [...] The verbosity of a fool should be avoided at all cost. If this is so, ladies should be much more quiet and refined.)

The authors of modern conduct books justified repeating pre-modern norms by reframing those norms within modern political ideologies (Nakamura 2014: 90–6). Three major political ideologies of the period include state-as-patriarchal family, gendered nationalization, and good-wife–wise-mother (*ryōsaikenbo*). To

build a modern nation state, it was necessary to galvanize people into being 'citizens' of one country. That process, termed 'nationalization', in the case of Meiji Japan, was enhanced by *kazoku kokka kan* ('the ideology of state-as-family'), an ideology calculated to connect family with state and legitimate people's loyalty to the emperor and the state (Muta 1996: 81). In 1890, *Kyōiku chokugo* (*The Imperial Rescript on Education*) defined people as descendants and subjects of the imperial ancestors (Mitsui 1977: 197). The ideology of state-as-family gendered the process of nationalization, positioning female citizens as inferior to male citizens. The Great Japan Imperial Constitution (1889), which gave fathers absolute power over property, inheritance, divorce, and children's marriages, defined female citizens as having no right to vote or to possess property. The ideal modern female citizen in this gendered nationalization was a good wife and a wise mother who could manage households and produce efficient male workers and soldiers. The good-wife–wise-mother was the key ideology in the process of synthesizing women into citizens of the modern state (Koyama 1991: 58).

Thus, modern conduct books reframed pre-modern norms within the ideologies of state-as-family, gendered nationalization, and good-wife–wise-mother. First, they redefined women as female citizens based on the ideology of state-as-family. As stated in *Bunmeiron onna daigaku* (1876; *Enlightened Women's Learning*), '*Waga nihonteikoku no fujin joshi wa, danshi to onajiku nihonteikoku no jinmin no kenri o yūsuru mono nishite, nihonteikoku ni hōzuru gimu o sonsuru mononari*' (Ishikawa 1977: 136; 'Women in our Japanese Empire possess the same rights as men as citizens, so they have the same responsibility to serve the Japanese Empire'). Second, conduct books emphasized gender distinction as complying with gendered nationalization. *Jokun* (1874; *Women's Discipline*) defines women's rights differently from men's: '*Sore joshi no jishujiyū no ken to iumono wa, seichō shite tanin no ie e iki, shūtoshūtome ni tsukae, kasei o tsukasadori osamuru mono nishite*' (Ishikawa 1977: 77; 'Women's rights to independence and freedom mean that women grow up and eventually become members of another family, serve their parents-in-law, and manage and govern the household'). Third, they introduced 'an educating mother' who fulfils the role of good-wife–wise-mother. *Kinsei onna daigaku* (1874; *Modern Women's Learning*) warns: '*Haha wa gigyaku sezu bōgo sezu, yōshi no hyōjyun to narubeki o yōsu*' (Ishikawa 1973: 397; 'A mother should not joke or speak carelessly. She must be the role model for children').

In later periods, normative discourse about women's speech, by being reframed in major sociopolitical ideologies at each historical juncture, has been reproduced, and it has also been inherited by today's etiquette manuals (Nakamura 2014: 12–13). The long history of normative discourse has naturalized the perspective of judging women by their way of speaking and rendered speech the primary site at which women should express their femininity.

15.3 Women's role in the creation of *kana* script

Two major script types used in contemporary Japanese writing are *kanji* and *kana* (the latter comprising *hiragana* and *katakana*). Most *kanji*, consisting of thousands of characters, originate in Chinese logographs primarily used for nouns and non-inflectional parts of verbs and adjectives (Seeley 2000 [1991]). *Hiragana* and *katakana* are two sets of forty-six phonographic letters developed in Japan. *Hiragana* mainly represents particles, grammatical markers, the inflectional elements of a sentence, as well as lexical words not written in *kanji*, and *katakana* most commonly represents loanwords from languages other than Chinese. According to a widely accepted academic viewpoint, the development of Japanese language and vernacular literature in the tenth century was enhanced by the appearance of a type of *kana* called *onnade* ('feminine hand'), which is considered the direct precursor of today's *hiragana*. Aristocratic women are said to have played a central role in the development of *onnade*, because they were excluded from the male courtiers' domain of Chinese language, literature, and culture presented in Chinese scripts (Miyake 1989; Yoda 2000: 466). In this narrative, the difference between the Heian terms *mana* ('true names') and *kana* ('provisional names') is based on the distinctions between Chinese versus Japanese and morphemes versus phonemes. Thus, the Heian linguistic space has been understood in terms of the gendered binary between 'men-*mana*-Chinese writing' and 'women-*kana*-native writing'.

Recent studies have pointed out, however, that the terms *mana* and *kana* were distinguished in terms of calligraphic forms (Unger 1980). Thomas LaMarre (1994: 253) argues that, in ninth-century Heian culture, *mana* represented a mode of calligraphic performance 'in which characters were written in their full or perfected forms', and that included both Japanese and Chinese scripts. This indicates that *kara* (Chinese) and *yamato* (Japanese) modes overlapped, doubled, and hybridized with each other. He also suggests that it was post-war (after 1945) literary critics who rendered *kana* an emblem of autonomous native culture, based on the phonocentrism of the Japanese national language (LaMarre 2000: 36). As Yoda Tomiko (2000: 484–5) claims, 'if *mana* is a calligraphic term, its emergence will have to be linked to the process in which Heian calligraphy was reconfigured in response to the development of kana as a distinct calligraphic style around the late ninth century'. This will make it difficult to assume that women helped create *kana* because they could not use *mana*. Existing historical evidence of women's avoidance of *mana*, such as in *The Tale of Genji*, came much later, in the early eleventh century. While very little evidence concerning women's avoidance of *mana* before the ninth century has been found, we have evidence that, prior to the mid-Heian period when *kana* came into currency, some women transcribed their poems in *mana*. The close association between women, *kana*, and native writing is

likely to be the result of applying two modern distinctions between Chinese versus Japanese and morphemes versus phonemes to the Heian usage (Yoda 2000: 482).

Recent studies of Heian literature further suggest that the emphasis on women's role in creating *kana* occurred as part of the larger process of elevating the status of Heian women's *kana* literature and thereby improving the position of *kokubungaku* ('national literature') above Chinese and Western literatures in the first half of the twentieth century. As Gayle Rowley (1997: 3) points out, *The Tale of Genji*, regarded as a masterpiece of Japanese literature today, after a gap of almost 200 years, was reprinted five times between 1890 and 1910, which suggests that 'scholars of Japanese literature sought in the classical canon the source of national and self identity they needed to ensure for themselves and their scholarship a place of prominence'. Accordingly, Suzuki (2000: 71) reveals that Heian women's *kana* diaries, such as *Kagerō nikki* (late tenth century; *Gossamer Diary*), *Izumi Shikibu nikki* (early eleventh century; *Izumi Shikibu Diary*), *Murasaki Shikibu nikki* (early eleventh century; *Murasaki Shikibu Diary*), and *Sarashina nikki* (early eleventh century; *Sarashina Diary*), considered crucial in Japanese literature today, became a literary genre deemed worthy of study only in the first decade of the twentieth century. Starting from the exclusion of *kanbun* ('Chinese prose') from national literature in the 1890s and the establishment of women's diary literature (*joryū nikki bungaku*) as a genre in the 1920s, its canonization continued until the post-war period when it was recast as the epitome of the national tradition. Heian women writers 'came to symbolize politically and socially marginalized postwar Japanese (male) intelligentsia who aspired to resurrect themselves through their ties to the national folk tradition' (Suzuki 2000: 91). As Anne McClintock (1995: 359), discussing how gender is utilized in nationalism, asserts: 'Women are represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition [. . .] embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity.'

15.4 Changing evaluations of women's linguistic practice

Two prominent styles of speech characterizing modern standard Japanese are women's language and honorifics. The expression *onna kotoba* ('women's language'; also called *fujingo* and *joseigo*) usually indicates polite, indirect, and soft ways of speaking, defined by a set of linguistic features associated with femininity. Recent historical studies have revealed that *onna kotoba* is a relatively novel ideological construct established sometime after the modern period, adopting the linguistic features from a variety of speech styles including *jogakusei kotoba* ('schoolgirl speech') of the late nineteenth century (Inoue 2006; Nakamura 2006, 2014; Bohn 2015). It was in 1983 that *fujingo* first appeared in the third edition of the most prestigious dictionary, *Kōjien* (first edition 1955; *Wide Garden of Words*). In contrast, national language researchers have identified *nyōbō kotoba*

('court-women speech') of the fourteenth century as an early example of women's language, regarding it as a speech style actually used by women. Whether they consider women's language as an ideological construct or actual speech, linguists have closely associated schoolgirl speech and court-women speech with women's language. Thus, this section analyses how linguists and intellectuals assigned different values to the features of schoolgirl speech and court-women speech throughout history. In section 15.4.1, I will analyse the changing values assigned to schoolgirl speech, focusing on the striking difference between the early modern (1868–1930) and the Shōwa war periods (1931–1945). In section 15.4.2, I will examine the shifting values of court-women speech, demonstrating that a very similar change to that found in schoolgirl speech also occurred in court-women speech between the same periods. Ultimately, I intend to argue that the value of a particular style of speech and the assessment of its original speaker's contribution changes depending on hegemonic political and economic processes.

15.4.1 *Jogakusei kotoba* ('schoolgirl speech')

15.4.1.1 The emergence of schoolgirl speech

Japanese women officially became students in 1872 when the Japanese government issued *Gaku sei* (*The School System Law*), though many girls had already learned basic reading and writing at *terakoya* in the Edo period, as seen above. When the law was issued, there was no specific identity of 'female students', as opposed to that of male students, as shown by the fact that many female students were reported to speak, dress, and behave just like male students (Nakamura 2014: 108). Since there were not enough school buildings, some girls entered secondary schools with boys (Fukaya 1998 [1981]: 58). An article in the magazine, *Shimbun zasshi*, issued in March 1872, describes how these early female students walked up and down the streets in *hakama* (male students' divided skirts) and wooden clogs (male shoes), their sleeves rolled up and foreign books in their arms (Ishii 1944: 539). They were communicating with each other in what was later called *shosei kotoba* (Nakamura 2014: 111–12; 'schoolboy speech'). People severely criticized those students calling them *hannanhannyo* (Nanba 2012: 164; 'half-male-half-female'). Within the framework of gendered nationalization by the Japanese government, those women who considered themselves the same as male students were the antithesis of the ideal of good-wife–wise-mother.

In 1879, annoyed by too much Western influence, the government issued *Kyōgaku seishi* (*The Imperial Will on Education*), declaring the start of ethical education based on Confucianism (Mitsui 1977: 175). The Confucian turn, in the case of women's education, was intended to provide a curriculum based on the good-wife–wise-mother policy. School administrators banned coeducation in secondary schools, introduced sewing and domestic science as compulsory

subjects, prohibited the wearing of male students' divided skirts, and emphasized teaching the appropriate behaviour of a good wife and a wise mother, including polite, feminine speech.

It was also in 1879 that a leading Meiji novelist, Ozaki Kōyō (1868–1903), found some female students communicating with 'strange' sentence-final forms, *teyo*, *dawa*, and *noyo*, as the following examples show:

(2) a. *Ume wa mada sakanakut**teyo**.*
('The plum blossoms have not yet bloomed.')

b. *Sakura no hana wa mada sakanain **dawa**.*
('The cherry blossoms have not yet bloomed.')

c. *Ara mō saita **noyo**.*
('Oh, [they have] already bloomed.') (Ozaki 1994 [1888]: 4)[4]

Considering that female students created this style right after the introduction of a Confucian emphasis in education, one major function of such speech was to resist the good-wife–wise-mother identity prescribed by school authorities (Nakamura 2014: 115–17). An article in the *Yomiuri shimbun* in 1902 asserts: '*"īkotoyo", "kīteyo", and "shiranakutteyo" to yahinaru gengo wa shōrai nijussēki no kenboryōsai taran hito niwa niganigashiki shidai*' (Anon. 1902; 'Obscene speech such as *īkotoyo* (fine with me), *kī teyo* (listen to me) and *shiranakutteyo* (I don't know) has an awful effect on the future wise-mother–good-wife [meaning female students] of the twentieth century'). Intellectuals and linguists vigorously condemned the style as originating from 'the daughters of low-grade vassals' (Ozaki 1994 [1888]: 4).

Despite the criticisms, fiction writers increasingly let their female student characters speak in the new style, turning these features into linguistic indexes of female students. An early instance of schoolgirl speech in a novel occurred in the 1888 translation of a Russian farm girl's speech in Ivan Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* (Futabatei 1962 [1888]), thereby associating schoolgirl speech with the West and modernity. The first appearance of *teyo* in Japanese novels was in *Satsuki goi* (*May Carp*) by Iwaya Sazanami in 1888, and *dawa* first appeared in *Imotose kagami* (*Mirrored Couples*) by Tsubouchi Shōyō in 1886 (Ishikawa 1972). Female students came to comprise the major heroines of the newly emerging genre, the novel, because, as Saeki (1998: 150) argues, the introduction of the Western concept of love made female students potentially appropriate partners in a loving relationship. In contrast to the main theme of

[4] The style is considered innovative speech newly invented by female students, because *teyo* did not appear in pre-modern literary work, and the modern *dawa* and *noyo* were different features adapted from pre-modern ones (Komatsu 1988).

Japanese pre-modern literature—a man's *iro* (lit. 'colour'; 'erotic') relationship mainly with 'professional' women—the separation of body from spirit brought by Christianity advocated virginity and male–female relations based on spiritual love. Instead of professional women, therefore, the newly emerging *love* literature chose female students as the most appropriate partners, who were intelligent enough to build a spiritual tie with male intellectuals.[5] At the same time, as Kan (2001: 136) suggests, readers of novels looked forward to stories about educated daughters of wealthy families becoming sexually corrupted. More novelists began describing female students as sex objects, and the sexualization of female students accompanied the sexualization of their speech style. In a pornographic novel, *Sode to sode* (*Sleeve to Sleeve*), three female student characters use schoolgirl speech throughout. One of them, Kimiko, for instance, says '*Watashi mō it**teyo** mō it**teyo**. Aā kokoro ga* [...] *nuketchimaisō. Aā iī **noyo**'* ('I'm coming, too. I'm coming now. Oh, my mind [...] is going crazy. Oh, it is good') while she is having sex with a man (Oguri 1998 [1907–1911]: 54).[6]

By the beginning of the twentieth century, schoolgirl speech—a style of Tokyo speech imbued with sexuality, the West, and modernity—was recognized in society. It was characterized by the use of features such as the interjection *ara*, sentence-final forms *teyo*, *dawa*, and *noyo*, Chinese words, and Western words. The establishment of schoolgirl speech helped create the social identity of the schoolgirl (*jogakusei*), clearly distinguished from its male counterpart. Both the social identity of the schoolgirl and the linguistic style of schoolgirl speech were ideological constructs different from actual female students and their speech. Under the political regime of gendered nationalization, it was crucial that the students were gendered. If women received education and became independent, they might refuse to fulfil the roles of good wife and wise mother. The ideological construct of schoolgirls transformed female students from potentially dangerous women, who might attempt to become citizens equal to men, into sexual objects for men. Attracted by the association of schoolgirl speech with the West, modernity, and sexuality, female students enthusiastically read these schoolgirl novels and imitated schoolgirl speech (Nakamura 2014: 133–4).

15.4.1.2 Excluding schoolgirl speech from national language under gendered nationalization

Despite the wide prevalence of schoolgirl speech among female students, linguists carefully excluded it from *kokugo* ('national language'). Grammar textbooks and school readers included some features of *shosei kotoba* ('schoolboy speech') in their prescription of *kokugo*, while completely excluding features of schoolgirl

[5] See Saeki (2011) for the English translation of Saeki (1998).

[6] Neither the author nor the publication year of *Sode to sode* (*Sleeve to Sleeve*) has been determined, since pornography was strictly censored by the state at the time.

speech. Schoolboy speech refers to a style of Tokyo speech, which is characterized by the use of the first-person pronouns *boku* and *wagahai*, the second-person pronoun *kimi*, names without using honorifics or with the address form *kun*, sentence-final forms, *tamae* and *beshi, shikkei* ('goodbye') as a greeting, Chinese words, and Western words (Komatsu 1973: 26). Nakamura (2014: 146–7) analyses eleven grammar textbooks published between 1873 and 1922 and finds that linguists included the pronouns *boku* and *kimi* as features of *kokugo,* but completely excluded features of schoolgirl speech. The unequal treatment of schoolgirl and schoolboy features is more conspicuous in school readers. In her analysis of nine school readers published between 1886 and 1933 Nakamura (2014: 149–50) discovers that school readers increasingly included four schoolboy features: the pronouns *boku* and *kimi*, the address form *kun*, and the sentence-final form *tamae*. In contrast, none of the school readers used the schoolgirl features in their lessons and stories.

The exclusion of schoolgirl features from *kokugo* was an ideological choice of linguists who were prescribing *kokugo* within gendered nationalization, at a time when the association between gender and linguistic features had not been established. In late nineteenth-century Japan, there were several writing styles, such as the classic Chinese style (*kanbun*) and different Japanese styles (*wabun*), and various regional spoken varieties. Since only a small portion of educated men could learn the privileged Chinese style, to import and spread Western knowledge, it was necessary to create an easier writing style based on a spoken variety that all Japanese people could commonly use; this process was called *gembun'itchi* (Nomura 2013; 'unifying speech and writing'). More importantly, language standardization was directly connected with building the nation state. Ueda Kazutoshi proclaimed in 1894 that to nationalize people it was necessary to establish *kokugo*, because '*Nihongo wa nihonjin no seishinteki ketsueki nari to ītsubeshi*' (Ueda 1968 [1894]: 110; 'the Japanese national language is the spiritual blood of the Japanese people'). Ueda (1964 [1895]: 506) proposed to form *kokugo* based on *hyōjungo* ('standard language'), which he defined as '*kyōiku aru tōkyōjin no hanasu kotoba*' ('the speech of educated Tokyo residents'). To accomplish the task, he made the prescription of *kokugo* his top priority: '*Korega bunpō o tsukuri, korega futsūjisho o ami, hiroku zenkoku itarutokoro no shōgakkō nite shiyōseshime*' (Ueda 1968 [1900]: 134; 'We should form its grammar, compile a dictionary, and force its use in elementary schools all over the country'). The notion of *kokugo*, this indicates, was not created reflecting any actual speech but an ideological construct 'prescribed from above' (Y. Lee 1996: 142). One of the most prominent projects of Japanese linguists in the early modern period, therefore, was the prescription of *kokugo*. Ueda and his advocates soon launched the prescription project, notably through establishing the school of linguistics at Tokyo Imperial University, instituting language policies, and publishing grammar textbooks and school language readers. The linguists writing these books assumed increasing authority

in prescribing the standard grammar by determining the linguistic features that were and were not appropriate for *kokugo*. This group of scholars also comprised the major authors of state-appointed school readers, starting from 1904, that the Ministry of Education required all elementary schools throughout Japan to adopt in teaching standard Japanese (Monbushō 1972 [1904]: 477). Because the 1886 Imperial University Order prohibited women from entering any imperial university, male linguists monopolized the codification of *kokugo*.

The academic authority granted to male linguists allowed them to make discriminatory choices of features to constitute *kokugo* in terms of gender, class, and region. In the case of gender, linguists took for granted that they should create *kokugo* for male citizens (Nakamura 2008), based on '*chūryūshakai no danshi no gengo*' (Okano 1964 [1902]: 510; 'the speech of *men* in middle-class society'; emphasis added). While they required women to follow the conduct-book norms using *kokugo* differently from men, they hardly broached any argument concerning linguistic gender differences (Nakamura 2014: 81–2). Their assumption further permitted male linguists to exclude particular features from *kokugo* by connecting them with women. This process is clearly seen in their treatment of *atai*, one of the first-person pronouns. The grammar textbooks written by Kanai Yasuzō (1901: 63) and Yoshioka Kyōho (2001 [1912]: 48) excluded *atai* from *kokugo*, stating that it was 'used by women'. Some documents prove, however, that *atai* was also used by boys. A working-class boy (12 to 13 years old), who appeared in a story written by Ōe Sazanami (1892: 13), called himself *atai*. A variationist linguist, Okano Hisatane (1964 [1902]: 510), even presented *atai* as a boy's pronoun. Although some writers and linguists expected boys to use *atai*, the two grammar textbooks regarded it as a woman's word and so excluded it from *kokugo*. The exclusion of schoolgirl features from *kokugo* was part of the process of prescribing men's national language.

15.4.1.3 Including schoolgirl speech in national language under wartime state policies

Nevertheless, the denigrated schoolgirl speech, through its use in magazines, grammar books, and school readers, came to be redefined as constituting part of the speech style common to all women (women's language) by the 1940s. In the process, the public came to imagine the speech of upper-class women, not that of female students, as the origin of the style. Among the major factors giving rise to the transformation of schoolgirl speech into women's language was the emergence of women's magazines in large numbers in the early 1900s, along with the rise of the print market and consumerism in Japan's development of a capitalist society. Inoue (2006) analyses the occurrences of schoolgirl speech in women's magazines and finds that women appearing in, for example, novels of domestic life, playscripts, short stories, and advertisements for modern Western commodities frequently used schoolgirl speech. Letters in readers' correspondence columns of

the time are often brimming with features of schoolgirl speech (Kawamura 1993; Bohn 2015). By the end of the 1920s, schoolgirl speech began appearing in direct quotations by bourgeois women in captions for photographs, images, and illustrations in magazines. Gendered print capitalism and consumer culture enabled the transformation of 'schoolgirl speech from vulgar street speech to the speech of the universal modern Japanese woman', effectively eliding the contribution of female students as the innovators of the speech (Inoue 2006: 157).

Another factor transforming schoolgirl speech into women's language was the Japanese government's wartime policies. From the beginning of World War I (1914) to the end of World War II (1945), linguists and intellectuals made three major changes concerning their treatment of linguistic features related to women. First, they increasingly claimed to promote linguistic gender differences, a topic largely ignored during the previous period. Shinmura Izuru, a prominent linguist, states in 1938 that '*Gengojō kaikyū ya ryōsei no sabetsu nimo sekkin nimo onozukara gendo ga nakereba naranu*' (Shinmura 1938: 96; 'Linguistic differences among people of different social classes and sexes should be kept strict'). Second, more grammar books began citing schoolgirl-speech features as features of legitimate *kokugo*. Nakamura (2014: 180) analyses sixteen grammar textbooks published between 1918 and 1945 and finds that the authors listed schoolgirl features as constituting *kokugo*, without criticism. Third, linguists at the time praised women's language as an invaluable tradition of Japanese language, as if there had always existed a style called women's language. They eloquently express admiration for women's language as '*Nihongo no motsu utsukushisa no hitotsu deari, tano kokugo no tsuijū o yurusanai*' (Ishiguro 1943: 236; 'one of the beauties of the Japanese language that no other national language is allowed to follow'), thereby inventing the tradition of women's language (Hobsbawm 1983: 1).

All these changes occurred responding to two major wartime policies of the Japanese government: the assimilation policy in the Japanese colonies and the national mobilization for war. Starting with the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895, a key aspect of Japanese modernization in the first half of the twentieth century involved colonizing East Asia. That effort was carried out based on a policy of 'assimilation'—that is educating people in the colonies to become Japanese citizens mainly by teaching them Japanese (Y. Lee 1996). To legitimate Japan's linguistic invasion, it was necessary to prove the superiority of Japanese language. The three changes outlined above were calculated to validate that superiority; in short, they bolstered the argument that the Japanese language was so refined and superior that even women and men spoke it differently. Inside Japan, the government issued the National Mobilization Law in 1938 requiring women to serve in the war, not in the same roles as men, but 'behind the guns [*jūgo*]', by sending their husbands to the front and bearing male children who would become soldiers (Kanō 1995). To enhance women's participation linguistically in the war effort as wives and mothers, linguists created women's language

as a female version of *kokugo* by referring to gender differences and incorporating schoolgirl features into standard grammar. As Gal and Irvine (1995: 973) argue, representations of speech varieties form iconic representations of their speakers. Elevated as a legitimate women's language within *kokugo*, schoolgirl speech became the ideal speech of a good wife and wise mother, completely dissociating it from its original function.

15.4.2 *Nyōbō kotoba* ('court-women speech')

The changing evaluation of schoolgirl speech, from denigration in the early modern period to elevation in the war period, is also observed in the case of *nyōbō kotoba*. Court-women speech refers to a style of speaking invented and developed by *nyōbō* (court women serving in the imperial palace) from the fourteenth century onwards. Central to court-women speech is a set of vocabularies referring to domestic items such as food, kitchen utensils, and clothes. According to Sugimoto Tsutomu (1998: 113–14), court women created court-women speech by two major sets of processes. The first set is concerned with the form of words, consisting of three major processes. First, court-women retained only the first syllable, abbreviating the rest of a term and adding *moji* ('letter'). Thus, *ika* ('squid') became *i-moji* and *sonata* ('you') became *so-moji*. Second, they simply kept the initial syllable of a term and, for instance, transformed *manjū* ('bun') into *man*. Third, they repeated the initial syllable, so that, say, *kō no mono* ('pickle') became *kōkō*. The second set of processes is based on how court women sensed the referents, which can also be grouped into three types. First, based on the sense of touch, *mizu* ('water') became *o-hiyashi* or *o-hiya*, in which *o* is an honorific prefix and *hiya* means cool. Second, based on the shape, *tai* ('sea bream') became *o-hira*, in which *hira* means 'thin'. Third, based on the sense of colour, *azuki* (red *azuki* bean) became *o-aka*, in which *aka* means red. It is not known exactly when court women started speaking court-women speech. Sugimoto (1998: 17) assumes that they already used court-women speech in the fourteenth century, because examples of it, such as *kukon* ('liquor') and *matsu* ('mushrooms'), appear in *Towazugatari* (fourteenth century; *The Journal of Lady Nijō*). The name, *nyōbō kotoba*, first appears in *Ōjōrō onna no koto* (early fifteenth century; *The Names of the Great Court Women*). As the first reference to court women in *Ama no mokuzu* (1420; *Seaweed of a Mermaid*) states that '*chikagoro wa shōgunke nimo nyōbō tachi mina imyō o mōsuto unnun*' (Hanawa 1932a: 109; 'nowadays, the women in the shogun's palace use these names, too'), linguists have claimed that court-women speech naturally spread into society because '*yūgana kotoba toiu kachi to nyuansu*' (Sugimoto 1998: 45; 'it had the value and nuance of elegant speech').

Nevertheless, court-women speech was not originally evaluated as elegant speech. *Ama no mokuzu* introduces these words rather critically by saying: '*ikkō*

zonjishiranu mono tōzani meiwaku subeki mono nari' (Hanawa 1932b: 108; 'it is confusing for those who do not know them'). Tayasu Munetake, in *Kusa musubi* (1771; *The Grass Tie*), states that, though it is natural that language changes:

(3) *Omina no kotoba bakari tokuni asamashiki mono wa aru. Iso no kami furinishi mono no na no uruwashiki omo, aranusama ni iikae nado sumeruyo.*
(Kunita 1964: 693–4)

('Nothing is more absurd than women's speech [court-women speech]. They [court women] change beautiful, traditional names to absurd names.')

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, court-women speech was associated with the upper class rather than female gender, so that one of the servant women, O-maru ('Dear-Shapely-One'), in a dramatic comic novel, *Ukiyoburo* (1809–1812; *Baths of the Floating World*) by Shikitei Samba, complains about the rule that they must use court-women speech in the mansion where they are working:

(4) *Nanno, syarakkusē. Ogushi dano, hettakurenoto*. (Shikitei 1957 [1809–12]: 160)

('O-maru: What a stupid custom! They say this and that, making up all kinds of crazy words like *o-gushi* [court-women speech for hair].')

They hate using court-women speech even though they are women.

At the same time, since the seventeenth century, women's conduct books listed the words of court-women speech as those all women *should* use. *Onna chōhōki* (1692; *Women's Encyclopedia*) presents court-women speech as the norm for women by saying: '*Yorozu no kotoba ni o to moji o tsukete yawaraka narubeshi*' (Namura 1993 [1692]: 25; 'Add *o* and *moji* to every word to make it soft'). Nakamura's (2014: 67–8) investigation of twelve conduct books for women published from 1689 to 1841 reveals that they list from fifty-seven to 333 court-women words as appropriate for women to use.

In the standardization project of the early modern period, linguists did not refer to court-women speech in their prescription of *kokugo*. Of the eleven grammar textbooks published between 1873 and 1922 analysed by Nakamura (2014: 143), only two early textbooks published in 1873 and 1888 by two British Japanologists mention any court-women features as *kokugo*, whilst the nine published between 1901 and 1922 do not note any.

Linguists in the war and interwar periods (1914–1945), in contrast, actively referred to court-women speech as the origin of women's language. Kikuzawa Sueo claims that four characteristics of court-women speech—'*teinei na kotoba-zukai o suru koto, jōhin na kotoba o mochiiru koto, enkyoku na kotoba, gikochinai kango o sakeru*' (Kikuzawa 1929: 67; 'use of polite speech, use of elegant speech, an

indirect way of speaking, and avoidance of unrefined Chinese words')—were also the characteristics of *fujin no kotoba* ('lady's language') in the 1920s. Following Kikuzawa, many linguists repeated similar remarks. Ishiguro (1943: 227) states: '*Joseigo no tokuchō wa, kireide jōhin na koto, enkyokuna iiarawashikata o suru koto, teineina koto, soreni nihongo no baai dewa gikochinai kango o sakeru koto nado gaaru*' ('The characteristics of *joseigo* ('women's language') are making a refined and elegant impression, not expressing anything directly, being polite, and avoiding Chinese words that sound awkward as part of the Japanese language'). Moreover, the inter/wartime linguists' comments on court-women speech highlight its connection with the emperor. Nagao (1943: 30) argues that '*nagaki tōtoki kokugo no dentō* [...] *kōkoku no bi to kōki ni mieru dentō dearu*' ('[court-women speech] presents a long, precious tradition of the Japanese national language [...] a tradition representative of the beauty and nobility of the imperial realm'). Since then, national-language researchers have claimed that court-women speech is the origin of women's language, citing its elegance as naturally desired by women of all classes. We need to recall, however, that court-women speech was not considered elegant at the end of the eighteenth century, as seen in *Kusa musubi*, nor was it originally the goal of all women, as shown by the servant women in *Ukiyoburo*. The assertion that court-women speech is the origin of women's language is an attempt to invent the tradition of women's language by 'establish[ing] continuity with a suitable historic past' (Hobsbawm 1983: 1).

The elevation of court-women speech during the war period perfectly synchronized with the higher valuation placed on schoolgirl speech in the same period. Linguists changed their evaluations of the two speech styles, complying with the shift in governmental policies on the roles expected of female citizens.

15.5 Women's works

This section presents the lives and works of two women, Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896) and Chiri Yukie (1903–1922), with two purposes: how the assessments of their works have changed and, in the case of Chiri Yukie, how her knowledge and talent were exploited. I chose them because they are two of only a few women whose contributions to linguistics have recently been recognized.

15.5.1 Wakamatsu Shizuko: Practising a vernacular style in translation

While Meiji linguists were busy prescribing *kokugo*, all intellectuals including journalists and politicians joined the standardization project (Komori 2000;

Nomura 2013). Novelists experimented with different ways of writing, and many of their attempts involved translating Western vernacular stories into Japanese (Levy 2006: 27). It is well known that Futabatei Shimei (1864–1909) was translating Turgenev's *A Sportsman's Sketches* (Futabatei 1962 [1888]) while he was writing what is generally regarded as the first Japanese vernacular novel, *Ukigumo* (*Floating Cloud*, 1887–1891; Cockerill 2006). Meiji women writers such as Miyake Kaho (1868–1943) and Higuchi Ichiyō (1872–1896) are widely known today. However, scholarly attention has only recently turned to women's translations (Copeland 2000; Levy 2006; Bardsley 2011). Whilst there are a number of notable Meiji and Taishō women writers/translators, including Senuma Kayō (1875–1915), Ōtsuka Naoko (1875–1910), Koganei Kimiko (1870–1956), and Muraoka Hanako (1893–1968), this section features Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896), whose vernacular translation has recently been recognized as presenting a way out of a major problem of standardization.

Wakamatsu Shizuko (Matsukawa Kashi) was born in Aizuwakamatsu (Fukushima) on 1 March 1864. In 1869, defeated in the Boshin War, the clan of Aizu was transferred to Tonan, forcing her father to leave the family and move there. After her mother died in 1870, she was adopted by Ōkawa Jinbē in Yokohama and entered an English school, the Ferris Seminary, founded by an American Presbyterian missionary, Mary E. Kidder. Receiving an American education by boarding at Ferris, Kashi grew up to be an exceptional woman who was bilingual in English and Japanese. She was baptized in 1877 and, after graduating from the school, became an instructor there. She started using her pen name, Wakamatsu Shizuko, in 1886. In 1889, Shizuko married Iwamoto Yoshiharu (1863–1942), the editor and one of the founders of *Jogaku zasshi* (*Women's Education Magazine*), and wrote and translated stories, articles, and poems both in English and Japanese for the magazine until she died in February 1896, at age 31, leaving three children (Ozaki 2007). She is best known for her translation of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) by Frances Hodgson Burnett (1849–1924), entitled *Shōkōshi* and serialized in *Jogaku zasshi* from 1890 to 1892.

Yoshiharu made every effort to make *Shōkōshi* known, for instance, by binding its first instalments, distributing copies to prestigious people, and asking them to write reviews (Copeland 2000: 149). Due to his connections, many critics gave positive reviews of *Shōkōshi*.[7] Their appraisals, however, were mostly impressionistic, emanating from the fact that the translator was a woman. Morita Shiken (1861–1897), known as the king of translation, praised her English ability in understanding some idioms with which '*shūbi danshi nishite naokatsu ōō ayamariyomu*' ('even men often make mistakes'), and concluded: '*Yo ga konosho o yomite etaru daiichi no mōraru wa iwaku "nanji, nanji ga danshi naru no yue o*

[7] The translator's name appearing in the advertisements of *Shōkōshi* in the 290 and 292 issues of *Jogaku zasshi* published in 1891 is 'Iwamoto Yoshiharu *tsuma*' ('Iwamoto Yoshiharu's wife').

motte joryū no chojutsu o keishi surukoto nakare'" (Morita 1891: supplement; 'Having read this work, my immediate reaction is to admonish you men out there: "You must not belittle women simply because you are men!"' (Copeland 2000: 150)). Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859–1935) admired Shizuko's style as '*ryūchō heii* [...] *chōyōkisen no gengo o wakatan* [...] *zokugo o mochii taru* [...] *izuremo yakusha no fujin taru o shōshite nakanaka ni yukashi*' (Tsubouchi 1891: supplement; 'fluent and plain [...] employing distinctive speech according to the age and class of the speaker [...] using colloquial expressions [...] all these characteristics make the text quite graceful, reflecting the fact that the translator is a lady'). A journalist, Hori Shizan (1867–1940), points out a minor stylistic inconsistency of her translation but concludes with '*Aa kinji shusshoku zetsurin no honyaku shōsetsu, Shōkōshi banzai! Shizuko joshi oyobi Iwamoto kun daibanzai!!!*' (Shizanjin 1891: supplement; 'Oh, the recently exceptional and outstanding translation novel, *Shōkōshi* banzai! Mrs. Shizuko and Mr. Iwamoto big banzai!!!'). The significance of her work was largely underestimated before World War II (Yamamoto 1981: 91). Its assessment in terms of her womanliness prevented those critics from recognizing its importance.

In contrast, the recent attention accorded to *Shōkōshi* has arisen from three academic perspectives: (1) as representative of the vernacular style Shizuko invented in the translation (Shimada 1994; Nakamura 1999); (2) as a pioneering text of modern children's literature (Ortabasi 2011); and (3) as a work accomplished by a liberal woman (Yamaguchi 1980; Copeland 2000; Ozaki 2007). Shizuko's vernacular style is particularly notable since it 'had a direct impact on the development of a modern written language for Japanese prose fiction' (Copeland 2000: 5). Shizuko's translation has been given prominence for: (1) her decision to use the vernacular style at a time when almost all other writers and translators, who had once experimented with vernacular writing, had given it up because of the difficulty of writing descriptive passages in the vernacular style (discussed below), and this influenced the writers of her day, including Higuchi Ichiyō and Izumi Kyōka (1873–1939), to write in the vernacular (Takahashi 1982 [1969]: 88–9; Yamamoto 1981: 113–15); (2) her faithful translation of the original text in the 1890s when adaptation was an accepted approach, especially in translating stories for young readers, a genre not highly valued (Ortabasi 2011: 195); (3) her choice of abundant onomatopoeic and mimetic words from amongst the different Japanese synonyms for the original words (Shimada 1994: 255; Copeland 2000: 146); and (4) her frequent use of the polite sentence-final form *masen katta*, which led linguists to identify it as a transitional form that developed into the contemporary form of *masen deshita* (Shīno 1975; Yamamoto 1981; Matsumura 1998). Nevertheless, the most important contribution of Shizuko's vernacular style in *Shōkōshi* resides in its ability to create a neutral third-person narrator (Shimada 1994; Nakamura 1999; Kōnosu 2005).

One important task of the standardization project was to create a vernacular writing style suitable for reports, documents, and descriptive passages (dialogue had already been written in a variety of vernacular speech in some pre-modern writings). To accomplish the task, simply adopting a spoken variety did not suffice, since any spoken style was tied to the situated context of the dialogue in which the speaker talked to the second-person addressee, while reports, documents, and descriptive passages required a third-person narrator. The creation of a third-person narrator arose as a pressing problem of standardization, because Japanese sentence-final forms necessarily indicate the speaker's relationship to the addressee, making it almost impossible to write from the perspective of a neutral or transcendental third-person narrator. As the literary critic Karatani Kōjin points out, '*Nihongo no gobi wa, hatsuwasha no aite ni taisuru kankei o shimeshite shimau. Kankei o chōetsushita nyūtoraru na hyōgen wa nai*' (Karatani 1990: 60; 'Japanese sentence-final forms necessarily present the speaker's relationship to others. There is no neutral way of ending a sentence'). The difficulty was especially serious in translating Western literary works into Japanese, since 'what distinguished Western and Japanese novels at the time was that the former had a narrator who could peep into the characters' minds, while the latter did not' (Cockerill 2015: 69). This was exactly why translating Western works into Japanese was not 'a process of transference between two discrete and already established languages', but the process of 'creat[ing] a new language in Japanese' (Levy 2006: 34), and that was one of the major reasons why almost all writers and translators had given up vernacular writing.

Shizuko's vernacular rendering of *Shōkōshi* succeeds in effacing the narrator by inserting the first-person perspective of a character into a descriptive passage. This is particularly clear in her use of honorifics and vernacular terms of address, as shown by the opening passage, in which Cedric, the young boy protagonist, recalls the time when his father died. First, Shizuko translates the underlined phrase of the descriptive passage (5) a. into (5) b. with abundant honorific features:

(5) a. she [Cedric's mother] laid her face on his [Cedric's] shoulder and <u>cried bitterly</u> (Copeland 2000: 141; emphasis added)

b. *o-naki-nasai-mashi-ta*
honorific-cry-honorific-polite-past
('[she] took to weeping') (Wakamatsu 1977 [1890–1892]: 4)

Describing the actions of the mother and other adults with honorifics, Nakamura Tetsuya (1999: 28) argues, is to narrate 'from within' the relationship between *Sedorikku* (Cedric) and his mother or other adults. By ending the descriptive passage with the perspective of the protagonist, the text succeeds in effacing and neutralizing the narrator and 'in creating a new kind of subjectivity that stands *between* the first and third person' (Ortabasi 2011: 205; emphasis original).

Second, Shizuko uses the vernacular address term *okkasan* (mama) repeatedly in translating the original descriptive passage. Shimada Taro (1994: 252) notes that, by translating 'his papa' and 'his mama' in the original text as *otossan* and *okkasan,* respectively, Shizuko's text 'enables the readers to look at things from *Sedorikku*'s perspective', constructing 'a closer affiliation between the boy and the narrative perspective, as if the narrative voice were speaking at a vantage somewhat nearer to Cedric's own small height' (Copeland 2000: 143).

Note here that Shizuko's choice stands in stark contrast to the preferred choices of other writers and translators of her day, in actively utilizing the honorific forms, vernacular address terms, and the polite sentence-final forms *desu/masu*, all of which were grammatical features that others were struggling to avoid in their vernacular writings. Although linguists have acknowledged Shizuko's contribution only recently, the subsequent development of Japanese usage, in which Japanese speakers never shun sentence-final forms, validates her choice.

15.5.2 Chiri Yukie: Codifying the Ainu oral tradition

Indigenous to Hokkaido in northern Japan and several areas around the Sea of Okhotsk, the Ainu have passed down a rich tradition of oral narrative chants, originally developed without a writing system. Chiri Yukie (1903–1922) was the first Ainu to write them down and translate them into Japanese. At the time, only non-linguists, such as the English missionary John Batchelor (1854–1944), had paid attention to their oral-narrative tradition. This section aims to describe how this young girl could realize such an unprecedented accomplishment and how her work was exploited in the complex power asymmetries.

Traditional Ainu society, based primarily on hunting and fishing, was involved in trade with Japan. Following the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government established a colonial administration in Hokkaido and began promoting settlement. The Former Aborigines Protection Act in 1899 claimed to assimilate the Ainu as Japanese citizens. Yet, in reality, the government distributed to settlers land where the Ainu had lived, ultimately depriving them of the right to hunt and fish on their ancestral land. One result was widespread starvation among the Ainu population. The law also mandated that special elementary schools be built where Ainu children were forced to learn Japanese and adopt Japanese names. The Ainu increasingly lost their language, tradition, and pride and experienced severe racial and economic discrimination; only in 1997 was the law repealed. Today, the Ainu language is identified as critically endangered, with hardly anybody speaking it on a daily basis.

Despite such extreme privations in the Ainu community, Yukie, in her short but dramatic life, grew up to be an exceptional woman who was fully educated in all the skills and knowledge necessary to transcribe Ainu oral narratives and translate them into Japanese. Yukie was born on 15 January 1903 in

Noboribetsu, Hokkaido.[8] When she turned 6, the decision was made to send her to the Ainu community of Chikabumi to live with her aunt, Kannari Matsu (1875–1961), and her maternal grandmother, Monashnouk (1848–1931), a locally well-known performer of Ainu *yukar* (oral chants and stories). The time spent with Monashnouk undoubtedly provided a foundation for Yukie's knowledge of both the Ainu language and oral tradition. Yukie also studied Japanese at a special Ainu school. Completing elementary school in March 1916, Yukie studied at a vocational school in Asahikawa, where she experienced discrimination by Japanese teachers and classmates who regarded Ainu as primitive.

In 1918, Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882–1971), a lecturer in linguistics in Tokyo, on a research tour of oral performers of *yukar*, visited Monashnouk. Kyōsuke was deeply impressed by Yukie's bilingual and bicultural knowledge and encouraged her to make transcriptions of *yukar*. In 1921, Yukie sent Kyōsuke the fruits of her work, notebooks containing a wide range of oral performance genres with Japanese translations. The notes Yukie wrote in the margin of the notebooks testify that both transcribing Ainu *yukar* using the Latin alphabet and translating them into Japanese required an enormous intellectual undertaking for the 17-year-old. Receiving these notebooks with enthusiasm, Kyōsuke wrote to Yukie, stating his intention to publish her notebooks. She completed the manuscript and sent it to Kyōsuke in March 1922 (Strong 2011: 40). In May, Yukie travelled to Tokyo and stayed at Kyōsuke's house, proofreading her manuscript and serving Kyōsuke as an Ainu-language informant. However, on 18 September of that year, Yukie died from heart disease in Tokyo aged 19. In her last letter from Tokyo to her parents, she declared that her life's mission was '*aisuru dōhō ga kako ikusennen no aida ni nokoshi tsutaeta bungei o kakinokosu koto desu*' (Nakai 1991: 264; 'to set down in writing for posterity the literary art that my beloved brothers and sisters passed down over the several thousand years of the past'; Strong 2011: 32).

Ainu shin'yōshū (*Collection of Ainu Chants of Spiritual Beings*) was published in 1923 and includes thirteen *kamui yukar* ('chants of gods'), which are delivered in the first-person voice of non-human protagonists. It comprises *yukar* in the Latin alphabet and a line-by-line Japanese translation. The first *kamui yukar*, entitled *Kamuichikap kamui yaieyukar* (*The Sacred Fish Owl Sings About Itself*), starts as follows (Chiri (1978 [1923]; English translation from Strong 2011: 197):

(6) *Shirokanipe ranran pishkan*
('Silver droplets falling, falling all around')

[8] She was a daughter of Chiri Takakichi and Kannari Nami. According to the Japanese family register, she was born on 8 June 1903 (Fujimoto 1973: 47–8).

'Shirokanipe ranran pishkan, konkanipe ranran pishkan.' arian rekpo chiki kane
('"Silver droplets falling, falling all around, golden droplets falling, falling all around." Singing this song')

petesoro sapash aine, ainukotan enkashike
('I came down, following the river's flow. Over a human village')

chikush kor shichorpokun inkarash ko
('I passed, and, gazing below, it seemed to me')

teeta wenkur tane nishpa ne, teeta nishpa tane wenkur ne kotom shiran.
('That those who were poor in the past were now rich, and those who were rich were now poor.')

Yukie's contribution was enormous not only in making known the rich genre of Ainu *yukar* and inventing the systematic codification of Ainu language using the Latin alphabet better than those previously completed by John Batchelor and Kindaichi Kyōsuke but also in motivating other researchers after her, including her brother Chiri Mashiho (1909–1961), to establish the field of Ainu studies.

Recent studies of *Ainu shin'yōshū* have revealed the importance of taking into consideration the linguistic, political, and gender asymmetries that had a decisive effect on the work (Maruyama 2002; Nishi and Sakiyama 2007). Particularly, Yukie's relationship with Kyōsuke epitomizes how a woman's knowledge, talent, and effort can be exploited within power asymmetries between her and her male mentor. The hierarchies between the Ainu and the Japanese, Ainu and Japanese languages, and an Indigenous woman and an academic male enabled Kyōsuke to use Yukie's work to promote his career, whether he realized it or not.

First, the enormous asymmetry between the Ainu and the Japanese meant that Yukie had to write the book not for the Ainu but for Japanese readers (Maruyama 2002: 96). That is most clearly demonstrated by the fact that Yukie wrote the preface of *Ainu shinyōshū* only in Japanese. Yukie's final translation also confirms her intention to present *yukar* in the most palatable form as a valuable epic for Japanese readers. She changed the ordinary expression *Atarini furu furu gin no mizu* ('Around falling, falling silver water') in the original notebook to the impressive poetic line *Gin no shizuku furu furu mawarini* (Fujimoto 1973: 204; 'Silver droplets falling, falling all around'). Translation is often an endeavour practised in an asymmetry between socio-politically powerful and powerless languages, requiring the speaker/writer of a minority language to transform the native text in the most intelligible and desirable way for the audience of the linguistic majority. Thus, the effect of her work in inciting the Ainu speakers to revitalize their oral tradition remained limited.

Second, there was a tremendous gap between Yukie's intention to explain the value of the Ainu oral tradition and Kyōsuke's academic interest in using Ainu *yukar* for studies of Japanese. Ueda Kazutoshi, who learned the comparative

approach from the Neogrammarian school of linguistics in Germany, launched his school of Japanese linguistics at Tokyo Imperial University by having each of his students investigate a language spoken in a neighbouring area of Japan and explore the linguistic genealogy of Japanese by comparing it with those languages (Y. Lee 1996: 110). When Kyōsuke entered the university and joined Ueda's linguistic school in 1904, other students were already assigned to examine Chinese, Korean, Ryūkyūan (a language spoken in Okinawa), and Mongolian. Ainu was the only language left for Kyōsuke to specialize in (Maruyama 2002: 20). Since little evidence had been found to prove the relationship between Ainu and Japanese, Kyōsuke steered his research to Ainu *yukar* on the off-chance that the old forms of Ainu found in *yukar* might illuminate some relationships to old Japanese (Yasuda 2008: 62). His ultimate interest in Ainu *yukar* was to find the linguistic genealogy of Japanese through comparison with the old forms of Ainu.

Third, the data provided by Ainu speakers to Kyōsuke worked to glorify his academic career rather than to restore Ainu *yukar*. Kyōsuke had many Ainu speakers provide rich data on Ainu language for him. Yukie's aunt, Kannari Matsu, for instance, sent him more than seventy notebooks, in which she transcribed 11,000 pages of *yukar* after Yukie's death (Fujimoto 1982: 15). Kyōsuke published *Ainu jojishi yūkara no kenkyū* (*A Study of Ainu Epic Yukar*) in 1931 and received the Imperial Prize of the Japan Academy in 1932. Established as a linguist, following his original intention to study Japanese, Kyōsuke published extensively on the Japanese language and greatly influenced the language-standardization project throughout most of the twentieth century (Yasuda 2008). He received the Order of Culture in 1954 and died in 1971 aged 89. Although Kannari Matsu received a Purple Ribbon Medal in 1956 at the age of 81, Chiri Mashiho claimed that it was too late (Fujimoto 1982: 13–14). While Kyōsuke mentioned the Ainu informants, including Yukie and Matsu, in his later writings, his statements did not help vitalize the Ainu language (Kindaichi 1935). Yukie's life reveals the necessity of further exploring how linguists have utilized the knowledge and experience of (especially female) informants of other Indigenous languages and regional varieties.

15.6 Conclusion

While women's relationship to language has been one of the most attractive objects of regulation, criticism, and study over centuries in Japan, this chapter's analysis shows that it was male linguists and intellectuals, rather than women themselves, who were the major agents of those activities. We have identified three major findings resulting from the lack of women's voices. First, the steady appearance of normative discourse has naturalized the perspective of conceptualizing women's speech as the object of regulation, control, and domination,

legitimating the assessment of a woman's femininity based on how she talks. Second, women's relationship to language has often been exploited for privileging the academic and political power of male linguists and intellectuals. The exploitation was particularly conspicuous in the case of Chiri Yukie's relationship with Kindaichi Kyōsuke. Also, the elevation of women's relationship to language, as observed in the cases of women's roles in creating *kana*, court-women speech, and schoolgirl speech in the first half of the twentieth century, occurred as part of male intellectuals' attempts to establish a national language, and a sense of pride and identity by associating women with the Japanese past, native ethnicity, and tradition. Third, the assessment of speech styles associated with women has radically changed depending on the academic, political, and economic processes of a particular historical period. The examination of the changing value assigned to schoolgirl speech and court-women's speech revealed that the change took place, along with the shift of governmental policies concerning the roles expected of female citizens, between the early modern and interwar periods. This indicates that the construction and acknowledgement of a particular speech style do not purely depend on their quality or frequency but are often determined by how the (predominantly male) experts define and evaluate the style. These findings demonstrate not only the importance of analysing the discourse about women and language, but also the need for further research aiming to discover women's linguistic practice and work, so persistently disregarded in the male discourse undergirding the history of linguistics in Japan.

16
Women and language in imperial China

'Womenly words' (婦言)

Mariarosaria Gianninoto

16.1 Introduction

China has one of the world's most ancient and impressive traditions of philological studies,[1] most notably in the fields of lexicography, grammatology, and phonology (Hú 1987: 6; Lackner 2001: 358). These fields were mostly connected with the constitution of the Confucian canon (Peyraube 2000: 55),[2] an evolving corpus of authoritative texts known as the 'Classics',[3] and with the imperial examination system.[4] This civil service recruitment system was essentially based on knowledge and exegesis of canonical texts (promoting lexicographical and etymological studies) and on literary composition (promoting phonological studies in the form of rhyme dictionaries and rhyme tables) (Wáng 2009: 350; Casacchia and Gianninoto 2012: 10–11). It may thus be argued that the canonization of a corpus of Classics and the development of the imperial examination system, with their important ideological and political dimensions, shaped the history of Chinese linguistic studies: these elements, on the one hand, gave

[1] Chinese philological studies are generally designated by the term *xiǎoxué* ('*artes minores*'). This term, originally used for elementary classes for young pupils, was adopted to indicate elementary textbooks for lexicon and character learning and more generally philological studies, including studies on phonology, lexicon, and graphs (Hú 1987: 1–3).

[2] The word 'canon' is intended in the sense of an authoritative list of texts, not a fixed and unchangeable corpus. Nylan (2009: 723–4) points out that 'the works designated as *jing* [the 'Classics', see below] were not fixed in contents, format and orthography' and 'competed for attention and authority in society' before and during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).

[3] Five texts, the *Classic of Changes*, the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of Documents*, the *Records of the Rites*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, were labelled the 'Five Classics' and constituted the curriculum of the Imperial Academy established in 124 BCE. On the controversies surrounding this 'first canonization process', see Di Giacinto (2010: 137–62). The Confucian canon underwent different modifications during the following centuries and the number of classics grew to thirteen (Gardner 2007: xxi).

[4] The imperial examination system was 'originally designed as a political institution to recruit officials to serve the imperial government' (Wang 2013: 1). While forms of selecting civil servants had existed since the Han dynasty (Lee 2000: 11, Wang 2013: 2–3), the fully fledged civil service examination system was established during the Sui dynasty (581–617) and lasted 1,300 years (abolished in 1905; Wang 2013: 2).

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impulse to philology because of the 'formidable linguistic requirements' of civil examinations (Elman 2000: 241); on the other hand, they determined a focus on written language and Classical Chinese,[5] as well as an emphasis on language and writing normalization (Hú 1987: 6–8). This contributed to the 'neglect' of vernaculars and spoken language (Norman 1988: 172; Klöter 2011: 42; Chappell and Peyraube 2014: 131).[6] The close connection with the imperial examination system also led to a marked practical approach to linguistic studies (Hú 1987: 6), which essentially consisted in texts useful for the examinations, like glossaries, dictionaries, rhyme books, and rhyme tables.[7]

It is important to stress that, even though the civil examination system 'permitted some circulation of the elites' (Elman 2000: xxix), its linguistic, literary, and cultural requirements limited *de facto* access to a bureaucratic career to the upper classes, in a country where the literacy rate had been relatively low, about 10 per cent during most of the imperial period.[8] Moreover, education had been 'undoubtedly the privilege of an elite minority and, unsurprisingly, one that was largely male' (Chappell and Peyraube 2014: 131). Women did not participate in the imperial examinations,[9] and were excluded from an administrative career, an

[5] Djamouri (2011: 985) describes Classical Chinese (used as a synonym of *wényán* ('literary language')) as the language formed before the establishment of the empire in 221 BCE and whose grammatical and stylistic rules were 'ideally' based on the Confucian Classics. The term 'Classical Chinese' is also used as a synonym of 'Late Archaic Chinese', designating 'the language that was used from the late 6th to the early 2nd century BCE' (Scarpari 2017: 612).

[6] Chappell and Peyraube (2014: 131) affirm that 'grammars of the vernacular languages and dialects of China did not have a place, nor any relevance, in the educational requirements of such a cultivated milieu [of the Chinese literati-officials]'. This was motivated by the use of *wényán* as 'a common script in the domain of officialdom and education', reinforcing 'the belief that the spoken varieties in China are dialects of the one language rather than related languages' (Chappell 2001: 4). Moreover, geopolitical and institutional factors were crucial. The coexistence of local vernaculars within one unified empire limited the interest for Chinese linguistic variation, as these vernaculars were not associated with political entities (Ramsey 1987: 17).

[7] Unlike in the Western tradition, grammar textbooks and treatises appeared late in Chinese linguistic history. Lackner (2001: 358) affirms that 'reflection about language in traditional China was less preoccupied with grammar or syntax, but rather with lexicography, graphology and phonology. Except for a few non-systematic representations, accounts of syntax are completely missing'. Grammatical studies in imperial China essentially took 'the form of explanatory glosses on grammatical particles and [...] dictionaries of grammatical particles' (Harbsmeier 1998: 86; on particle glossaries, see Hú 1987: 324–31), despite some exceptions, such as the treatise *Yǎn xù cǎotáng bǐjì* (*Notes of the Brush from the 'Abundant Beginnings Hall'*) by Bì Huázhēn (*fl.* 1807–1848; for an English translation of this treatise with commentary see Uchida 2017: 95–104).

[8] The male literacy rate was probably higher at the end of the imperial era, but the female literacy rate remained relatively low. According to Rawski (1979: 140), 'information from the mid- and late-nineteenth century suggests that 30 to 45 percent of the men and from 2 to 10 percent of the women in China knew how to read and write'. However, Rawski (1979: 140) adopts a very large definition of literacy, including 'the fully literate members of the elite and, on the opposite pole, those knowing only a few hundred characters'. According to Mende (1998: 60), legal sources of the late imperial period 'show that the people could rely either on themselves or, with modest help, could satisfy the demand for literacy by the traditional bureaucratic state'.

[9] The existence of civil examinations held for women during the Taiping rebellion (1850–1864) is still a matter of dispute and, as far as we know, this hypothesis is not consistently confirmed by the sources (see Elman 2000: 574).

exclusion that was not legally based, but culturally rooted and enforced (Elman 2000: xxix, 241). Hence, in imperial China, the authors as well as the intended readers of this outstanding production of linguistic works were essentially men. Throughout Chinese imperial history, women did not contribute to the main fields of philology: they did not compile dictionaries, rhyme books, rhyme tables, and the other linguistic works connected with the imperial examination system.

Nevertheless, there were several examples of erudite women in Chinese history (Mann 2007; Lee and Stefanowska 2007; Lee and Wiles 2015), and some of them occupied institutional positions at the court. Raphals (2008b: 349) observes that women's 'institutional' roles were already recognized in ancient ritual texts, like the *Rites of the Zhou* (*Zhōulǐ*; compiled around the third century BCE). This work, which was part of the Confucian canon, mentioned offices connected with the 'inner quarters' or 'women's quarters' of the court, such as the *nǚshǐ*, 'female annalists', who 'write down the orders of the inner quarters' (*shū nèi lìng*) and are attendant to the implementation of the rites concerning the empress.[10]

Beside the roles played by some women in more institutional contexts, women's contribution to the transmission of literacy can be regarded as part of their contribution to the history of linguistics, even if these educational activities were often limited to the domestic sphere. As Dorothy Ko argues (1994: 53), 'since literacy and knowledge of the Classics constituted the gateway to bureaucratic appointments and hence political power, reading and writing were deemed, at least in theory, an exclusively male privilege. A woman's contribution to this scholastic tradition was at best subsidiary and indirect, albeit indispensable.' Supervising the early linguistic and literary education of their children and supporting their studies should be regarded as one of the main aspects of women's contribution to language teaching (Ko 1994: 53). Moreover, as described below, women were the authors of pedagogical works, composed for the benefit of young female learners.

This chapter aims to give an overview of this and of other aspects of women's contributions to the history of Chinese linguistics during the imperial era. The chronological scope is the period from the constitution of the unified empire (221 BCE) to the late Qing dynasty (the fall of the empire occurring in 1911). This is coherent with the chronological scope of the present volume, but it is also motivated by reasons specific to the history of Chinese linguistics. The end of the imperial period is generally associated with the development of 'modern linguistics' (*xiàndài yǔyánxué*) as distinguished from the history of 'ancient linguistics' (*gǔdài yǔyánxué*; see Hé 1995; also labelled *chuántng yǔyánxué*

[10] Digital version of the *Rites of the Zhou* (*Zhōulǐ*) available in the Chinese Text Project database (CTP; created by D. Sturgeon in 2006): https://ctext.org/rites-of-zhou/tian-guan-zhong-zai/zh accessed 27 Dec. 2018.

'traditional linguistics'; see Hé 2008: 728), or as the starting period of the history of Chinese 'linguistics' (*yǔyánxué*) as distinguished from the history of Chinese 'philology' (*yǔwénxué*; see Wáng 1996). Moreover, the twentieth century saw important developments in female education and literacy, the rise of women's education in the humanities, and an increasingly important role for women in linguistic studies. For these reasons, the analysis of women's role in twentieth-century Chinese linguistics goes beyond the scope of the present chapter and will be matter for further research. I adopt the term 'linguistics' in a very broad sense, including Chinese traditional philological studies and pedagogical materials for teaching the Chinese lexicon and characters. The reference to the script is essential in the Chinese case as, in a non-alphabetical writing system, the memorization of the graphs was a fundamental stage of the learning process (Elman 2000: 264), and the exegesis of the characters represented an important field of classical philology (Hú 1987: 6). Furthermore, in the history of Chinese linguistics there are cases of women's contribution to Chinese character codification and script coinage.

The contribution of some Western women missionaries is also taken into account, as missionary linguistic works occupied an important place in the history of Chinese language studies during the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) dynasties (Wáng 1996: 202; Casacchia and Gianninoto 2012: 275–314, 471–634; Chappell and Peyraube 2014).

16.2 Linguistic education of women and by women

Women's role in guiding their sons' and daughters' acquisition of literacy and preparing sons for the examinations was one of the main reasons advocated for defending female literacy, besides the 'moral reason' that women 'were responsible for the rearing of future generations' (Mann 1997: 78).

Judge (2002: 168) also suggests that, throughout Chinese imperial history, 'from the Han to the Qing dynasties, women of the upper classes had played a crucial role in passing classical teaching to their sons through a tradition known as *jiaxue* 家學 (family learning)'. Educated mothers assisted their sons but also their daughters in their studies, and supervised the first steps of 'classical literacy' acquisition, based on learning and memorizing a considerable number of graphs and words, knowledge of which, as previously mentioned, was necessary to be able to read and memorize the corpus of Classics, as well as to pass literary composition examinations (Elman 2000: 262).

Although the role of women as linguistic educators was essentially confined to the family, some examples of women in charge of linguistic education in more institutionalized frameworks are known, as noted above, and Bān Zhāo (see below) can be considered the most renowned case. Moreover, some didactic works composed by women have been transmitted. It is worth stressing that

these works were explicitly conceived for women's education. As Ko (1994: 54) points out, the elaboration of textbooks for women by women suited the idea that women's education had 'to be distinct from men's in content and purpose'. The 'Confucian tradition recognized the propriety of women's education' (Ko 1994: 54), but also emphasized the differences and complementarity between 'two separate spheres' (Ko 1994: 53), the *nèi* 'inner' and the *wài* 'outer' spheres. The concepts of inner and outer spheres were 'closely associated with ideas of yin and yang'[11] in Chinese theorization about gender roles (Bossler 2008: 352), but it was during the first century BCE that an explicit hierarchization started to be associated with these 'yin–yang male–female analogies' (Raphals 2008b: 347).

This gender segregation into inner and outer spheres of family and political life was already theorized in an ancient ritual text, the *Records of Rites* (*Lǐjì*),[12] which was part of the Confucian canon. In the chapter 'Regulations of the Inner Quarters' (*Nèizé*), we read that: 'The men should not speak of what belongs to the inside (of the house), nor the women of what belongs to the outside. [...] Things spoken inside should not go out, words spoken outside should not come in.'[13]

Hence, as noted in the following sections, several texts were explicitly compiled by women for women's linguistic, Sinographic, and cultural education from the establishment of the empire and throughout Chinese imperial history.

16.2.1 Bān Zhāo and the *Lessons for Women*

The Han dynasty period was crucial in the development of Chinese linguistic studies (Hú 1987: 56). This period included the constitution of the Confucian canon, the establishment of teaching chairs for each canonical text at the Imperial Academy (*Tàixué*), and the implementation of the first exams for selecting imperial academy scholars (Lee 2000: 115–17). Philological studies underwent considerable development, as the need for determining the official interpretation of Confucian canonical texts promoted a rich production of glosses and lexicographical works. These lexicographical works eventually constituted the basis for Chinese philological studies (Peyraube 2000: 55).[14]

[11] *Yīn* and *yáng* originally designated concrete phenomena (Cheng 1997: 242). It was only between the fourth and the third centuries BCE that *yīn* and *yáng* began to be perceived as principles presiding over the evolution of the universe and progressively became the prototype of complementary dualities (Cheng 1997: 242–3). Hierarchical 'analogies between yin and yang on the one hand and male and female on the other became prevalent only in the first century B.C.E., with the growth of correlative cosmology' (Raphals 2008a: 347).

[12] On the controversial dating of the compilation of this text, see Riegel (1993: 293–5).

[13] James Legge's English translation (1885) quoted from the Chinese Text Project database: http://ctext.org/liji/nei-ze accessed 27 Dec. 2018.

[14] The first of these works was the *Ěryǎ* (*Approaching the Refined* [*Language*]), a thesaurus providing quasi-synonymic glosses for ancient, rare, and difficult terms (on the controversial dating of its compilation,

Women did not contribute to this first stage of the development of Chinese philology and do not appear among the authors of these fundamental linguistic works. Nevertheless, among Han dynasty scholars, a woman scholar, Bān Zhāo (44–116) deserves to be mentioned for her contribution to philology, historiography, and women's education. Bān Zhāo was the daughter and sister, respectively, of the Han dynasty historians Bān Biāo (3–54) and Bān Gù (32–92). After the death of her brother, she was ordered to complete the compilation of the *Book of the Han* (*Hànshū*) started by Bān Biāo and Bān Gù. She is thus arguably one of the most renowned examples of women having played 'indispensable roles in the male-to-male transmission of scholastic tradition' (Ko 1994: 54). Thanks to her great erudition, she was also appointed teacher of the empress and court ladies under the Han dynasty Emperor Hé (88–105) (Raphals 2008a: 202) and became the mentor and 'adviser' of the Empress Dowager Dèng (80–121), exerting considerable political influence (Donawerth 2002: 13; Rosenlee 2006: 103). She is also reputedly the author of an annotated version of the *Biographies of Eminent Women* by Liú Xiàng (79–8 BCE),[15] but this critical edition unfortunately has not survived (Raphals 2008a: 202; Liú 2015: 583). Nevertheless, this attribution is worth underlining, since it represents a rare example of women's contribution to glossography, an important field of Chinese philology.

Liú (2015: 579) emphasizes the link between Bān Zhāo's work as a teacher of women at the court, her glosses to the *Biographies of Eminent Women*, and the compilation of the didactic text *Lessons for Women*, considering her 'the first figure in Chinese women's education' (*Zhōngguó nǚzǐ jiàoyù dì yī rén*). The *Nǚjiè*, variously translated[16] as *Lessons for Women* (Swann 1932; Donawerth 2002) or *Admonitions for Women* (Raphals 2008a), is considered one of the earliest texts 'exclusively intended for the education of Chinese women' (Wang 2003: 177),[17] but has also been regarded as 'the earliest writing on rhetoric by a woman'

see Hú 1987: 56, Coblin 1993, Hé 1995). This work occupies a central place in Chinese philology, and it is the only eminently linguistic work which became part of the Confucian canon (because it was considered an essential text for understanding the other Classics; see Gardner 2007: xviii).

[15] The *Biographies of Eminent Women* presented 'exemplary female model[s], usually in their roles as mothers and wives. Of a total of 125 biographies of 130 women, 92 represent women as moral exemplar, 16 as examples of immorality, and 22 in the final chapter as paragons of virtue or as examples of depravity' (Birrell 2001: 197). It is worth stressing that a specific chapter is devoted to the 'Biographies of the Accomplished Rhetoricians' (*Biàntōng zhuàn*), described as women who 'convey words worth heeding' and 'use analogies and cite examples, to ward off trouble and disaster' (English translation by Kinney 2014: 109).

[16] A recent Italian translation edited by L. Indraccolo is entitled *Precetti per le donne* (*Precepts for Women*); see Ban (2011).

[17] A bamboo strip manuscript entitled *Jiào nǚ* (*Women's Education*), part of the Qin bamboo slip corpus of Peking University, can probably represent an example of this genre. According to Zhū (2015), this text consists of a first section providing rules for married women and a second section enumerating kinds of misbehaviour to avoid. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult this manuscript.

(Donawerth 2002: 14). This work was included in the biographical section devoted to Bān Zhāo in the *Book of the Later Han* (*Hòu Hànshū*), and later in the *Four Books for Women* (see above; Wang 2003: 178, Rosenlee 2006: 103), becoming a model for subsequent women's textbooks. According to the preface, these instructions were composed for the young women in the author's family, who were supposed to copy and study them: 'In order that you may have something wherewith to benefit your persons, I wish every one of you, my daughters, each to write out a copy for yourself'.[18] The book, rich in quotations and references to the Confucian classics (mainly the *Records of Rites*, *The Classic of Poetry*, *The Classic of Changes*), presents precepts and directions for women's behaviour, arranged in the following seven chapters: 'Humility' (*bēiruò*), 'Husband and Wife' (*fūfù*), 'Respect and Caution' (*jìng shèn*), 'Womanly Qualifications' (or 'Wifely Qualifications', *fù xíng*), 'Whole-hearted Devotion' (*zhuānxīn*), 'Implicit Obedience' (*qū cóng*), and 'Harmony with Younger Brothers and Sisters in law' (*shū mèi*).[19] The section on womanly (or wifely) qualifications is particularly interesting for our purposes. The 'qualifications' described by Bān Zhāo are the following: 'womanly (or wifely) virtue' (*fù dé*), 'womanly words' (*fù yán*), 'womanly bearing' (*fù róng*), and 'womanly work' (*fù gōng*). These four qualifications refer to the section, 'The Meaning of the Marriage Ceremony' (*Hūn yì*) of the *Records of the Rites*, which features the same terms to designate the virtue (*fù dé*), the speech (*fù yán*), the bearing (*fù róng*), and the work (*fù gōng*) of a wife: 'Therefore, anciently, for three months before the marriage of a young lady [...] she was taught there the virtue, the speech, the carriage, and the work of a wife'.[20] In the lines devoted to the second womanly qualification, the 'womanly words', Bān Zhāo gave some indications about the use of language by women: 'To choose her words with care; to avoid vulgar language; to speak at appropriate times; and do not weary others (with much conversation), may be called the characteristics of womanly words'.[21] We also read that: 'Womanly words need be neither clever in debate nor keen in conversation'.[22] While describing traditional gender roles and providing model narratives on the submission of women, the *Lessons* introduced 'what may be the earliest argument for female literacy' (Raphals 2008a: 202), making reference to the complementarity between the principle of the *yin* and the *yang*, 'to argue that the practice of educating only boys ignores the essential

[18] English translation by Nancy Lee Swann (1932), quoted from Donawerth (2002: 15). Digital version of the Chinese text ('Book of the Later Han', *Hòuhànshū*) available at: https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=77552 accessed 30 Dec. 2018.

[19] For the English translation of the titles, I follow Swann (1932) and Wang (2003).

[20] James Legge's translation (1855) quoted from the Chinese Text Project database: http://ctext.org/liji/hun-yi accessed 28 Dec. 2018. See also Swann (1932: 96).

[21] English translation by Swann (1932: 86).

[22] English translation by Swann (1932: 86). Digital version of the Chinese text ('Book of the Later Han', *Hòuhànshū*) available at: https://ctext.org/dictionary.pl?if=en&id=77552 accessed 30 Dec. 2018.

connection between sexes' (Raphals 2008a: 202), which is the basis for an ordered society. Hence, in the chapter 'Husband and Wife', we read:

> Yet only to teach men and not to teach women—is that not ignoring the essential relation between them? According to the *Records of Rites*, it is the rule to begin to teach children to read at the age of eight years, and by the age of fifteen years they ought then to be ready for cultural training. Only why should it not be (that girls' education as well as boys' be) according to this principle?[23]

As Raphals (2008a: 203) points out, the apparent contradiction between the conservative prescriptions contained in the *Lessons* and Bān's figure as an eminent scholar, politically influential personage, court teacher, and prolific writer, can be interpreted as an attempt 'to argue for female literacy in terms acceptable for a conservative male audience'.

16.2.2 The *Four Books for Women*

The *Four Books for Women* (*Nǚ sìshū*) is an anthology of didactic texts for women collected and edited by the Ming dynasty scholar Wáng Xiāng in 1624 (Rosenlee 2006: 103). The title is modelled on the *Four Books* (*Sìshū*), a collection of four texts (the *Analects*, the *Mencius*, and two chapters of the *Records of Rites*, that is, the 'Great Learning' and 'Maintaining the Perfect Balance'), which had become an essential part of the Confucian canon and had been 'recognized as the basic texts in the civil service examinations' since the early fourteenth century (Gardner 2007: xxi). This collection was edited in 1190 by one of the main Chinese thinkers of the imperial period, the Song dynasty scholar Zhū Xī (1130–1200) (Gardner 2007: xxiv). The study of these works was usually conducted under the guidance of a tutor and started around the age of 7, when students had learned a good amount of characters with the help of elementary textbooks (Rawski 1979: 49).[24] While the *Four Books* represented the core of male education, the *Four Books for Women* were intended to be the standard textbooks of female learning (Liú 2015: 588). Rosenlee (2006: 103) affirms that 'paralleling the authority of the Confucian canonical *Four Books*, which dominated the literary realm of *wai*,[25] the authority of the *Four Books for Women* [...] dominates the womanly sphere of *nei*'.[26]

[23] Translation by Swann (1932), quoted from Wang (2003: 181). Chinese text (digital version of the 'Book of the Later Han' *Hòuhànshū*) available at: http://ctext.org/hou-han-shu/lie-nv-zhuan accessed 30 Dec. 2018.

[24] As noted in the following section, the main primers were the *Three Character Classic*, the *Thousand Character Text*, and the *Hundred Names*.

[25] Lit. 'outside'. As we saw earlier, *wài* designates the 'outer sphere', reserved for men.

[26] 'Inside [of the house]', *nèi* designates the 'inner sphere', reserved for women.

The *Four Books* were 'books of profound philosophical import, written in difficult language' (Rawski 1979: 49–50),[27] whereas the *Four Books for Women* essentially provided precepts for feminine conduct, and some of them were written in a more accessible language and used as primers. These works aimed to provide moral and cultural education, but they were also important in linguistic education, being tools for learning lexicon and characters.

The collection of the *Four Books for Women*, edited by a male scholar, grouped four didactic texts written for women by women together, including the *Lessons for Women* by Bān Zhāo, mentioned earlier, *The Female Analects* (*Nǚ Lúnyǔ*) by the Tang dynasty female scholars Sòng Ruòxīn (d. 820) and Sòng Ruòzhāo (d. 825), the *Instructions for the Inner Quarters* (*Nèixùn*) by the Empress Dowager Xú (1362–1407), and *The Short Records of Models for Women* (*Nǚ fànjiélù*) by Wáng Xiāng's own mother, née Liú (Wang 2003: x).

The Female Analects (*Nǚ Lúnyǔ*) were compiled by two of the 'five learned Song sisters', who represented the 'second example of female erudition recognized by the imperial court' (Mann 1997: 81).[28] The five sisters were invited to the court by the Emperor Dézōng (750–805) thanks to their knowledge of the Classics and their literary refinement. Sòng Ruòzhāo was also appointed as palace instructor and Sòng Ruòxīn was in charge of women's routine at the court (Mann 1997: 81; Wang 2003: 327).

The Female Analects (the title refers to the Confucian *Analects*, one of the *Four Books*) comprise twelve chapters of four-character lines. By way of example, in the first lines of the first book, entitled 'Conducting Oneself' (*Lìshēn*), we read: 'In general, the first thing for any women to learn is the principle of conducting oneself, i.e. to exclusively pursue purity and chastity. If you are pure, your person will be spotless; if you are chaste, then you will be honoured. Don't look back when you are walking. Don't raise your lips when you are speaking.'[29] Wang (2003: 328) suggests that the 'simple and easy writing style' of this text was one of the reasons for its widespread diffusion and long-lasting influence.

The third book of the collection, the *Instructions for the Inner Quarters*, in twenty chapters, was composed by Empress Dowager Xú.[30] According to the introduction, this work was intended for the education of female members of the imperial court,[31] future empresses, and court ladies. As is fitting for this target

[27] Rawski (1979: 50) points out that the *Four Books* had been selected for their ethical content and had not been 'written for children or for specific use as an elementary textbook. It was not surprising, then, that, when they were first studied, emphasis was put on memorization rather than on understanding'.

[28] According to some scholars, the author of *The Female Analects* was Sòng Ruòxīn, her sister having simply collaborated on the edition of the text (Zhāng 1992: 92, Wan 1999: 671).

[29] Author's translaton. Digital version of the Chinese text available at: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=465515 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[30] Xú was her family name, the formal title being Empress *Rén xiào wén* (Rosenlee 2006: 108).

[31] See Chinese Text Project database: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=912871 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

audience, it is elegantly written and erudite, including numerous references and quotations from the Classics (Rosenlee 2006: 108).

The fourth book, *The Short Records of Models for Women*, was written by Wáng Xiāng's mother, whose family name was Liú. This work, divided into eleven chapters, opens with an explanation of the separate spheres of men's and women's activities, and proposes precepts for feminine conduct through exemplary models of feminine virtues. The last section, entitled 'Chapter on Talent and Virtue' (*Cái dé piān*), affirms the relationship between talent and virtue to refute the common saying that women without talent are virtuous ('*Nǚzǐ wú cái biàn shì dé cǐ yǔ shū fēi*',[32] 'it is not true that in a woman, lack of talent is a virtue'). These words on the importance of women's 'talent' are an example of the arguments for women's literacy and education provided by these didactic texts, which presented moral precepts and practical advice reflecting a very conservative vision of gender roles, probably in order to be accepted in a conservative social context (Raphals 2008a: 203). Written by learned and, often, influential women, these works constituted important tools for women's cultural, but also linguistic, education.

16.2.3 Primers for women

Beside the *Four Books for Women*, other pedagogical texts for women were widely disseminated. In particular, the primers for girls deserve mention. These elementary textbooks were generally modelled on those used for male education but provided 'characters and sentiments considered appropriate' for women (Wilkinson 2000: 51).

The *Classic for Girls* (*Nǚ'ér jīng*) was a primer for the early stages of script and language learning, which followed the model of the *Three Character Classic* (*Sānzìjīng*), attributed to the Song scholar Wáng Yīnglín (1223–1296). The *Three Character Classic*, along with the *Thousand Character Text* (*Qiānzìwén*; see below) by Zhōu Xìngsì (470–521) and the *Hundred Surnames* (*Bǎijiāxìng*), 'dominated elite elementary education from Sung times on' (Rawski 1979: 47), having been adopted for centuries in China to teach language and characters to children. Rawski (1979: 47) also adds that 'put together, these three books—or the '*San-Pai-Ch'ien*' as they were popularly called—provided a student with knowledge of about 2,000 characters (eliminating repetitions), which was the vocabulary acquired by boys from elite families before enrolling in formal studies with a tutor'. The *Classic for Girls*, whose author is unknown, was probably composed during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644; Zhāng 1992: 92). Different editions

[32] Author's translation. Chinese text available at: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=938655 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

circulated at the end of the Ming, like the annotated edition by Zhào Nánxīng (1550–1627), as well as during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), like the revised edition by Hè Ruìlín (1824–1893), entitled *Gǎiliáng nǚ'ér jīng* (*The Classic for the Improvement of Girls*; Zhāng 1992: 92). For instance, in the first lines of this Qing edition by Hè we read:

> The Classic for girls, the Classic for girls,
> The Classic for girls, is to be heeded by the girls.
> First duty, practise womanly virtue;
> Second duty, cultivate womanly demeanour;
> Third duty, be careful with womanly words;
> Fourth duty, be diligent in womanly work.[33]

In these Chinese rhyming lines there is a reference to the four 'womanly qualifications',[34] that is virtue, bearing, words, and work, depicted by Bān Zhāo (see above). This version of the *Classic for Girls* is organized into four sections, each one devoted to one of the four womanly qualifications.

The section dedicated to the 'womanly words' (*Nǚyán*) provided precepts on women's use of language. For instance:

> Be careful with womanly words, try to have a calm demeanour, when speaking, avoid speaking loudly; it is not good to indulge in idle talk and to bicker around: a quick mouth and a sharp tongue do not count as an asset. [...] If you meet a stranger, keep your mouth shut and do not venture to answer lightly. If vulgar words are pronounced inside the family, speak with a soft voice and avoid being heard by people outside. [...] When you have to speak, avoid speaking too much, when you do not have to speak, just be silent and still.[35]

The other version of the *Classic for Girls* also provided practical precepts for feminine conduct:

> The Classic for Girls, you have to listen up carefully,
> Wake up very early, and get out of the women's quarters,
> Heat the water for the tea, and politely serve it to both of your parents,
> Be diligent in combing and washing, love tidiness.[36]

[33] Author's translation. Chinese text available at: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=776267 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[34] They are also called 'four [womanly] virtues' (*sì dé*).

[35] Author's translation. Chinese text available at: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=776267 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[36] Author's translation from the Chinese text quoted by Zhōu (2001: 434).

The last sentences read:

> Respect the three obediences,[37] put into practice the four virtues,[38]
> Practise rites and righteousness; dread long-winded explanations
> Look at the ancients, so many competent and virtuous!
> Emulate their example, have them as models and rules.[39]

It is interesting to compare the two versions of the *Classic for Girls* with their model, the *Three Character Classics*, as the content and the language adopted in texts for male and female students were significantly different.

The first lines of the *Three Character Classic* present considerations on human nature and the benefits of education, echoing the Confucian *Analects*:[40]

> Men at their birth are naturally good.
> Their natures are much the same; their habits become widely different.
> If foolishly there is no teaching, their nature will deteriorate.
> The right way of teaching is to attach the utmost importance to thoroughness.[41]

In the subsequent lines, the characters for numbers, seasons, cereals, directions, and animals were listed. Apart from this basic vocabulary, the *Four Books* and the *Classics*, as well as the names of important thinkers and the main Chinese dynasties were mentioned. The last lines contain some considerations on the importance of education:

> Learn while young, and when grown up, apply what you have learnt;
> influencing the sovereign above; benefiting the people below.
> Make a name for yourselves, and glorify your father and mother,
> shed lustre on your ancestors, enrich your posterity.
> Men bequeath to their children, coffers of gold;
> I teach you children only this one book.
> Diligence has its reward; play has no advantages.
> Oh, be on your guard, and put forth your strength.[42]

[37] The three obediences were the following: 'obey your father as an unmarried woman, obey your husband as a wife, and obey your son as a widow' (*Zàijiā cóng fù, dí rén cóng fū, fū sǐ cóng zǐ*, quoted from the *Dà Dài Lǐjì* (*The Records of Rites by Dai Senior*); see Chinese Text Project database: http://ctext.org/da-dai-li-ji/ben-ming accessed 29 Apr. 2019).

[38] They were 'womanly virtue', 'womanly words', 'womanly bearing', and 'womanly work'. As we saw earlier, they were also known as 'womanly (or wifely) qualifications'.

[39] Our English translation from the Chinese text quoted by Zhōu (2001: 434).

[40] This is a reference to the *Analects*, where we read: 'The Master said, "By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart"' (see: http://ctext.org/analects/yang-huo accessed 30 Dec. 2018).

[41] English translation by Herbert Giles quoted from the Chinese Text Project database, http://ctext.org/three-character-classic accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[42] English translation by Herbert Giles quoted from the Chinese Text Project database, http://ctext.org/three-character-classic accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

The *Three Character Classic* and the *Classic for Girls* were both elementary textbooks for the first stages of learning the language and the writing system, introducing basic vocabulary and characters. Nevertheless, the scope and the themes mentioned in the *Three Character Classic* are much broader and more diverse than those of the *Classic for Girls*, whose content essentially consisted in precepts for women's conduct.

Similar conclusions can be reached when comparing the *Thousand Character Essay* mentioned above with the *Thousand Character Essay for Women's Quarters* (*Guī xùn qiān zì wén*). The first lines of the *Thousand Character Essay for Women's Quarters* read:

> Hear, every girl and future wife
> The leading principles in life![43]
> 'Bove all be gentle and refined:
> Four virtues and three duties mind:[44]
> Hearken to what your parents say,
> And then with promptitude obey [...]
> Discourse with grave and serious tact,
> And with deliberation act.
> Let no bad words your lips pollute,
> For gossip and for scandal mute.[45]

The first lines of the *Thousand Character Text* were:

> The sky was black and earth yellow;
> space and time vast, limitless.
> Sun high or low, moon full or parsed;
> with stars and lodges spread in place.
> Cold arrives then heat once more;
> Autumn's harvest, Winter's store.[46]

As already outlined, these primers were used in the first steps of literacy acquisition. Once they had memorized the characters contained in these primers,

[43] This expression can be found in the *Zhuāngzi* 'Master Zhuang [369–286 BCE]', a central text of Daoism, where we read: 'Now you have come forth from between your banks, and beheld the great sea. You have come to know your own ignorance and inferiority, and are in the way of being fitted to be talked with about great principles'. James Legge's translation quoted from the Chinese Text Project database, http://ctext.org/zhuangzi/floods-of-autumn accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[44] *Sì dé sān cóng* 'Four virtues and three obediences' has become a 'set phrase' (*chéngyǔ*), a four-syllable idiomatic expression resuming traditional precepts for women's behaviour.

[45] English translation by Giles (1873: 182). Chinese text available at http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=863042 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[46] English translation by Nathan Sturman available at http://www.camcc.org/_media/reading-group/qianziwen-en.pdf accessed 29 Dec. 2018. Chinese text available at http://ctext.org/wik.pl?if=en&chapter=113246 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

students were supposed to start studying the *Four Books* and the *Classics*. According to Wilkinson (2000: 51), 'the first on the list was the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety), which was used as a character primer, soon followed by the *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books)'.

The *Classic of Filial Piety* was one of the *Thirteen Classics* of the Confucian canon (Gardner 2007: xviii). An instructional manual for women was modelled on this work: the *Classic of Filial Piety for Women* (*Nǚxiàojīng*), probably composed around 730CE during the Tang dynasty (618–907CE), by a woman née Zhèng, although this attribution and the period of composition are disputed (Buckley Ebrey 2001: 48; Wang 2003: 373). In the *Classic of the Filial Piety for Women*, Bān Zhāo (see section 16.2.1) is chosen as the female equivalent of Confucius, whom she replaces in passages that echo those of the *Classic of Filial Piety*. For instance, I quote the first lines of the *Classic of Filial Piety* and of the *Classic of Filial Piety for Women*:[47]

> Opening the discussion and explaining the principles Zhongni [i.e. Confucius][48] was at home and Zengzi was attending him. The master said, 'The former kings had the highest virtue and the essential Way'.

> Opening the discussion and explaining the principles, Section 1:
>
> Lady Cao[49] [i.e. Ban Zhao] was at home at leisure and the women were sitting in attendance. Lady Cao said, 'In antiquity, the two daughters of the Sage emperor [Yao] had the filial way'.

Buckley Ebrey (2001: 48) notes that both the *Classic of the Filial Piety for Women* and the *Analects for Women*, mentioned earlier, were composed in 'a style simple enough to be used as primers'. Hence, it appears that the instructional books for women were quite diverse, ranging from simple primers for the first steps of lexical and Sinographic learning, as the *Classic for Girls* and the *Thousand Character Essay for Girls*, to more complex and learned works, like the *Instructions for the Inner Chambers*.

16.3 Women's contribution to the invention of graphs

In the history of Chinese linguistics women's contributions to language and script policy were extremely rare, due to the marginal place generally allowed to women

[47] English translations by Buckley Ebrey (2001: 49), slightly modified. Chinese texts of the *Classic of Filial Piety* and of the *Classic of Filial Piety for Women*, available at http://ctext.org/xiao-jing/zh?en=off; http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=en&chapter=270897 accessed 29 Dec. 2018.

[48] Zhòngní was Confucius's 'courtesy name' (*zì*).

[49] Cáo was the last name of her husband, Cáo Shòu.

in the political and decisional sphere. Nevertheless, there are two cases of women's contributions to the invention and transmission of characters, extremely different in nature and scope: first, the list of characters promulgated under the reign of the Empress Wǔ Zétiān (Wǔ Zhào (623/624–705); second, the recently discovered *nǚshū*, 'women's script' or 'women's characters', used by women in a rural area of south China.[50]

16.3.1 New characters under Wǔ Zétiān's rule

Wǔ Zhào, better known under the posthumous name Wǔ Zétiān, is an extremely controversial figure in Chinese history. Vehemently criticized for centuries by traditional Chinese imperial historiography, she was 'the only woman of Chinese history with the audacity to have herself declared emperor' (Bossler 2008: 356). After having been first a concubine of the Emperor Tàizōng (reigned 626–649), and then of the Emperor Gāozōng (reigned 649–683), she actually governed the empire during the mandate of her sons, Lǐ Xiǎn (Emperor Zhōngzōng, reigned in 684 and 705–710) and Lǐ Dàn (Emperor Ruìzōng, reigned 684–690), before founding a new dynasty, the Zhōu, in 690 and becoming female emperor herself (Bottéro 2013: 68–71).

According to Rotschild (2006: 142), 'as the only female emperor in Chinese history, Wu Zhao's political authority was an invention: it was absolutely vital for her to utilize every resource at her disposal to buttress her legitimacy'. She made use of presages and prophecies and searched for legitimation in a 'pantheon of female political ancestors' (Rotschild 2015: 1), in Buddhist and Daoist divinities, and in the cosmology of the *yin* and the *yang* (Bottéro 2013: 71; Rotschild 2015). Wǔ Zhào also moved the capital to Luòyáng, established a new calendar, and proposed a new nomenclature and new organization for the administration, inspired by the *Rites of the Zhou* (Bottéro 2013). Moreover, new graphs were coined and imposed, and these new graphs were in widespread use in the writings of the time, such as headstones, manuscripts, and epitaphs, not only all over the empire but also in Korea and Japan,[51] even though they were dismissed after Wǔ Zétiān's death in 705 (Bottéro 2013: 67–8).

The connection between script coinage and political propaganda is demonstrated by the choice of the seventeen existing characters to be replaced by eighteen new graphs (Bottéro 2013: 77):[52] the coinage of new graphs concerned the name of the empress, certain terms designating cosmological notions, words

[50] We do not have consistent information about the invention of this script. However, these characters have been used and transmitted by women from the late imperial period on.

[51] On Wǔ Zétiān's graphs in Dunhuang manuscripts, see Drège (1984). For a general overview of the research on Wǔ Zétiān's graphs, see Jiǎng and Ān (2014).

[52] The character 月 'moon' had been modified twice (Bottéro 2013).

for the calendar, the eras of her reign, and those connected to political authority, such as 'ruler', 'subject', and 'country' (Bottéro 2013: 94). Hence, this list of new graphs is to be regarded as a tool of political rhetoric, legitimating Wu's authority and propagating her vision of the ephemeral new dynasty. For instance, the new character for the word *jūn* 'ruler' 𠫑 (replacing *jūn* 君) was composed by the graphic elements 大 'big', 吉 'auspicious', and a simplified version of 天 'heaven', propagating the image of a ruler assuring the prosperity of the realm; the new character for *chén* 'minister' 恧 (replacing *chén* 臣) contained the graphic components—'one' and 忠 'loyalty', seemingly an exhortation for the ministers to be loyal to the unique ruler (Bottéro 2013: 84–5).

Some of the new characters contained allusions to Buddhist or Daoist notions and figures as a source of political legitimation. For example, the new graph for the personal name of the Empress, Zhào 曌 (replacing *zhào* 照), was composed of the elements 明 'light' and 空 'empty', probably a reference to the image of Wǔ Zétiān as a reincarnation of the Buddha Maitreya, guiding the world to awakening, or to the Buddhist figures of the 'king of the light' and 'king of the emptiness' (as argued by Forte 1976; Bottéro 2013: 79). Otherwise, some graphs, like the new character for 'sky' 丕 (replacing *tiān* 天), were characterized by an 'aspect archaïsant' ('archaic appearance'), which can be interpreted as a reference to the pre-unification Zhōu 周 dynasty ancient graphs (*gǔwén* 古文), that is to a period considered as a model of good rule (Bottéro 2013: 84, 91).

Wǔ Zétiān's new graphs were ephemeral, lasting for only fifteen years, like her reign. However, the creation of these characters is worth emphasizing, being a unique example of language policies initiated by a female emperor in the history of imperial China.

16.3.2 Women's script

The *nǚshū*, variously translated as 'female script', 'female writing', 'women's script', 'women's characters', 'women's language', or 'womanese' (Gōng 2005),[53] has been defined by Xu (2015: 627) as 'a variant of the Chinese script', 'used exclusively by women', and by Liu (2004: 243) as 'a gender-specific form of literacy'. Although this writing system was discovered only in 1982 (Liu 2015: 3) and the first translations were published in the early 1990s (McLaren 1998), this script was used and transmitted for at least one and a half centuries, beginning in the late imperial period (McLaren 2013: 51). *Nǚshū* circulated among women in Jiangyong county (*Jiāngyng xiàn*) of Hunan (*Húnán*) province, a rural territory surrounded by mountains, a 'mingling place of nationalities [ethnic groups],

[53] For an analysis of the different English translations of *nǚshū*, see Jiǎng and Jiǎng (2016).

especially the Han and the Yao' (Zhao 1998: 128), that 'has long been a marginal region in Chinese history' (Liu 2015: 4). According to Liu (2015: 4), this marginality can be seen as the main factor that allowed the almost continuous transmission of this 'heterodox' script and its only recent discovery.

Nǚshū is essentially used to write Chéngguān varieties (Liu 2015: 183) of the southern Xiāng vernacular, even though it has a lot of diachronic and diatopic variation.[54] Zhao (1998: 131) describes *nǚshū* as a 'phonetic writing system that uses character symbols to represent individual syllables'. A large majority of the *nǚshū* graphs (80 per cent, according to Zhao 1998: 128) derive from square Chinese characters,[55] while others have been invented without any known predecessors. The *nǚshū* is characterized by the elongated form of the graphs and their resemblance to the shapes of insects and tiny animals (Liu 2004: 243). *Nǚshū* was used and transmitted by village women who were in most cases 'illiterate in Chinese character script (*hanzi*)' (McLaren 2013: 5).[56] However, even though *nǚshū* was circulated among women in the rural territory of Jiangyong County, it was not a secret script forbidden to men: Liu (2015: 243) points out that some men were instructed to read it, and argues that *nǚshū* was not only largely 'visible' but also 'audible', as these texts were designed to 'be presented by chanting or singing' (Liu 2015: 2). 'Now on the verge of extinction' (Liu 2015: 3), this script represents a significant example of Chinese women's contribution to character invention and development. Even though its geographic diffusion has been very limited, the gender specificity and its long-lasting transmission are striking.

16.4 Western missionary women's contribution to education and linguistic studies

Since the end of the Ming (1368–1644) and throughout the Qing (1644–1911) periods, Western missionaries made an important contribution to Chinese language studies. According to one of the main twentieth-century Chinese linguists, Wáng Lì (1900–1986), the influence of Western linguistic tradition was the second[57] massive foreign influence on Chinese language studies and was

[54] It is worth stressing that *nǚshū* is used in a language-contact zone, where local speakers of a southern Xiāng vernacular come into contact with Miao-Yao languages, and 'it contains some linguistic substrata from southern minority languages' (Zhao 1998: 129).

[55] Zhao (1998: 128–31) identifies four main categories: 'whole-character borrowings', 'slightly modified square characters' (i.e. 'recognizable adaptations of square characters with slight differences in form'), 'greatly modified square characters' ('those distinguishable as borrowing from square characters, but greatly modified'), and 'inventions based on the square characters or part of characters'.

[56] Being illiterate or having low literacy in Chinese character script, they essentially wrote in *nǚshū* script (McLaren 2013).

[57] The first was the influence of Indian linguistic studies with the spread of Buddhism in China, after the first century (Wáng 1996: 202).

comprehensive, affecting all aspects of linguistics (Wáng 1996: 202). Some fields of linguistic studies developed significantly, such as grammar studies (Peyraube 2001: 341; Chappell and Peyraube 2014) and vernacular language studies (Lamarre 2002; Klöter 2011), while lexicography, a field of ancient tradition, witnessed important innovations because of the introduction of Latin letter transcriptions and alphabetic arrangement of the lemmata (Luó 1930). The first Western works on Chinese languages were compiled between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, and were essentially conceived as tools for missionary language training, knowledge of the local languages being considered of great importance for missionary work (Masini 1993: 5; Levi 2007: 228). While most of the first reference works were due to Catholic missionaries, especially Jesuits and Dominicans (Luó 1930; Klöter 2007: 193), the role of Protestant missionaries, who arrived in China in the early nineteenth century, became important in the second half of the century (Latourette 1970 [1929]: 209–15, 357–465).

The activities of Protestant missionaries are particularly relevant for women: on the one hand, 'nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century missions often undertook a wide range of activities geared towards women' (Cai 2012: 46), including the establishment of schools for Chinese women; on the other hand, 'women were represented among the early Protestant missionaries who attempted to reach China in the nineteenth century' and constituted an important percentage of the missionaries working in the country (Davin 1992: 257).

Protestant women missionaries played an active role in the educational and linguistic fields, creating schools, contributing to the development of linguistic training for Chinese women, and to the Latin letter transcription of Chinese vernaculars. As I will show, the works on the Shàntóu vernacular compiled by the American missionary Adele Marion Fielde (1839–1916) are particularly noteworthy.

16.4.1 Women missionaries and women's education

The first mission school for Chinese girls was created in Ningbo in 1844 by Mary Ann Aldersey (1797–1868), a member of the London-based Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (Davin 1992: 257). In 1851, Lumina Wakker Johnson, wife of the American Baptist missionary John W. Johnson, founded a school for girls in Hong Kong, enrolling students aged from 8 to 20 years old (Cai 2012: 48). She also started training adult women, even illiterate ones, to become 'Bible-women', that is local female evangelists (Cai 2012: 54). The activities of 'Bible-women' had originated in London in the 1860s, when Ellen Ranyard (1809–1879) recruited lower-class women as 'native agents' for evangelization activities in the poor areas of the town (Davin 1992: 260). In the foreign missions,

the Bible women were local women who, after a short period of training, assisted missionary works. Wakker Johnson trained the first Chinese Bible-woman, Chén Xuěhuā (English name, Snow: Cai 2012: 74), while Fielde trained, from 1873, a 'first generation of Bible women', who were supplanted by those trained by British woman missionary Catherine Maria Ricketts (1841–1907) from 1881 (Cai 2012: 69). The training of these Bible-women started with the memorization and recitation of Aesop's fables, then Bible stories. The same contents were then learned in Chinese characters, thus following an approach similar to Chinese traditional pedagogy, in which 'learning to recite is the first step to learning to read' (Cai 1992: 84).

It is worth emphasizing that evangelization activities required an important effort of translation of the Gospels into the local vernaculars, to which Chinese and Western women actively collaborated. According to Cai (2012: 56), the training programme established by Ricketts included translation exercises of the Gospel of Mark and hymns in the local Chaozhou vernacular. Ricketts was herself proficient in this vernacular and had contributed to the translation of Christian writings into the Romanized Chaozhou vernacular conducted by the Presbyterian missionary William Duffruss (Cai 2012: 66; Lee 2013: 87). Fielde also contributed to Sir William Ashmore's translation of some books of the Bible (Genesis, Romans, Hebrews, 1 Corinthians) into the Chaozhou vernacular (Cai 2012: 65).

Chinese women equally took part in translation, transcription, and language teaching activities. For instance, Ye Huangsha, widow of the evangelist Jiāng Jiàorén, assisted the founders of the Basel Mission in China, Theodore Hamberg (1839–1854) and Rudolph Lechler (1824–1908), in their work with Hakka women (Lamarre 2002: 94; Lutz 2010: 255). Educated in Chinese script, Ye learned Romanized Hakka 'under Hamberg's tutelage' and transcribed songs and small texts into Hakka (Lutz and Lutz 1998: 26). The Basel Mission opted for the adoption of Romanized Hakka, 'teaching neither spoken Mandarin nor the characters' (Lutz and Lutz 1998: 232), using the Lepsius (1855) alphabet as the system of Romanization; their pedagogical goal hence became 'literacy in Romanized Hakka rather than Chinese characters' (Lutz and Lutz 1998: 226), adopting a peculiar linguistic strategy which considerably diverged from that of other missions.

It is important to note also the fact that the transcription systems for vernaculars were taught to women who were illiterate or who had a low level of literacy in Chinese character script. The adoption of transcription systems for the vernacular thus resulted in the improvement of women's literacy (Lee 2010; Cai 2012: 64).

16.4.2 Adele Fielde's works on the 'Swatow' vernacular

Fielde served for twenty years in China and taught at the Baptist mission of Swatow (*Shàntóu*) in the southern part of the country. Fluent in the Shàntóu

vernacular, a Cháoshàn language, classified among the Hokkien varieties (Klöter 2011: 161), she compiled the *First Lessons in the Swatow Dialect* (1878), and *A Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect, Arranged According to Syllables and Tones* (1883).

The *First Lessons in the Swatow Dialect* is a simple primer for this vernacular, consisting of 200 lessons, preceded by introductory sections on the tones, the use of Chinese characters, and Latin letter transcription. In the introductory section on 'Roman letters', Fielde (1878: 4) indicates that the transcription adopted is based on the English pronunciation: 'In this book the Roman letter whose sound in English approximates the Chinese sound, is taken as the symbol of that sound, and the exact pronunciation must be learned from the Chinese themselves'. The importance of native teachers and informants is often stressed by Fielde, who, in the 'Directions' that open the book, advises her readers to '[e]xercise the ear more than the eye in learning the language' (Fielde 1878: 1), as 'the Romanized words [i.e. the Latin letter transcription] should be relied on only as a help to the memory in learning' (Fielde 1878: 4).

The adoption of Latin letter transcription did not imply dismissing the Chinese characters, largely used to transcribe Shàntóu vernacular in Fielde's textbook and dictionaries. Fielde provided some explanations on this use of Chinese characters for transcribing an unwritten vernacular (Fielde 1878: 8): 'a colloquial sentence written in the characters which would represent its sounds, would not to a Chinese scholar correctly express its meaning. Many colloquial words have no written character. In such case a character of similar signification, with a star following it, has been used in this book.' The main text of the manual is organized into 200 lessons, each one listing around ten words in Chinese characters, Latin letter transcription, and English translation, plus between twenty and twenty-five illustrative sentences in Latin letter transcription and English translation. For instance, the first lesson introduces the personal pronouns, the verb 'to go', and some negative and interrogative markers. No explicit grammatical explanations are to be found in this primer; the rules and the syntactic structures must be deduced from the English translation of words and illustrative sentences. For instance, in the second lesson, the lack of verb conjugation is to be understood on the basis of the different translations given for the verbs 'sĭ' and 'ŭ', and with the help of the illustrative sentences (Fielde 1878: 14):

是 sĭ; be, is, are
有 ŭ; has, have [...]
5. úa ŭ; lú būe ŭ 5. I have; you have not yet.

The combination of Chinese characters and Latin letter transcription was also adopted in *A Pronouncing and Defining Dictionary of the Swatow Dialect, Arranged According to Syllables and Tones* (1883). In the introduction to this

dictionary, Fielde (1883) explains that 'the Chinese character given is the oftenest used in writing the word defined, but it is not always the only character which may be used in the same meaning'. According to the author's preface, this dictionary collects 5,442 words, which represented 'probably not more than half of the words used by Swatow people' but were all 'in common use' (Fielde 1883: iii). The lemmas are arranged following the alphabetical order of the initial sound, starting from 'a', and then according to the tones, eight tones being identified for this vernacular (Fielde 1883: 1; Klöter 2011: 176). For each entry, represented by a monosyllabic or disyllabic word, Fielde indicates (1) the Chinese character(s); (2) a number referring to 'the page on which the same character may be found in Williams' Syllabic Dictionary'[58] (Fielde 1883: iii); (3) the number of radicals[59] in the Kāngxī dictionary (1716)[60] and the number of left strokes; (4) the Latin letter transcription of the word; (5) the translation or the definition of the lemma, 'mainly derived' from Williams's dictionary (1874), 'which has been largely used in the preparation of this one' (Fielde 1883: iii); and (6) some illustrative examples, only in Latin letter transcription and English translation. For instance (Fielde 1883: 44): '妻 966 38/5 Cía A wife. ang- cía; husband and wife. lău ang- cía; an old couple. í^{n}-keng co jîeh cōi nî ang- cía; have been married for many years'.

16.5 Conclusion

The place of women in the history of Chinese linguistics has been marginal and subsidiary, the names of women being extremely rare among the authors of linguistic and philological works throughout the imperial period. However, different works destined for women's linguistic and Sinographic education have been transmitted, most of them composed by women. Moreover, literate women assisted their children in the first phases of literacy acquisition and contributed to the transmission of 'family learning' (Judge 2002: 168).

Women's contribution to the history of Chinese linguistics appears diversified and multifaceted. Hence, two very different examples of character invention and development, Wǔ Zétiān's new characters and the *nǚshū*, deserve mention, even

[58] The author refers to *A Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language: Arranged according to the Wu-Fang Yuen Yin, with the Pronunciation of the Characters as Heard in Peking, Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai* by the American missionary Samuel Wells Williams (1812–1884), published in Shanghai in 1874.

[59] The graphic elements of the characters under which the characters are listed in dictionaries.

[60] The *Kāngxī zìdiǎn*, commissioned by the Emperor Kāngxī (1662–1722) and compiled by a group of lexicographers headed by Zhāng Yùshū and Chén Tíngjìng, collected 49,174 characters, arranged according to 214 radicals (Xue 2003: 163). The *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* 'soon became the standard dictionary of Chinese characters' and 'exercised a strong influence on subsequent lexicography' (Norman 1988: 172).

though the temporal scope of the one and spatial scope of the other were extremely limited.

Furthermore, during the nineteenth century, Western missionary women compiled linguistic works and were involved in language teaching activities, in some cases in collaboration with Chinese women. These examples demonstrate the presence of women in the history of Chinese linguistics, a presence that remains largely under-investigated. In particular, women's role in the transmission of language and writing and their activities in Chinese vernacular teaching and learning deserve further research, representing marginal but nevertheless important contributions to the history of Chinese linguistic studies.

Notes on transcription systems

In the body of the text, the *pīnyīn* transcription, that is, the official transcription system adopted in the People's Republic of China, is used. The original transcriptions are maintained in the quotations.

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17
Women and language in the early Indian tradition

Laurie L. Patton

17.1 Introduction

Before the twentieth century, the history of women and linguistics is a difficult one to tell in India. We have begun to take the study of women, gender, and sexuality seriously in ancient India thanks to a set of works from the last two decades that reread the ancient texts with increasing methodological sophistication and eye for textual and ethnographic detail.

One of the main questions that has occupied these rereadings has been 'Can women be actors in ancient India, and if so, how?'. In her exploration of women's participatory roles in the practice of ancient Indian sacrifice from the first millennium BCE, Stephanie Jamison (1996) has answered a resounded 'yes' to these questions, outlining a kind of alternating cycle in the early Indian Vedic sacrifice whereby women are both symbolic actors and symbolically acted upon, identified with both sacrifice and victim. In an analysis of the related Vedic ritual philosophy called Mīmāṃsā, Indologist Mary McGee (2002) has also shown that, upon close reading, Mīmāṃsā regulations do allow in certain cases for women to perform public (*Śrauta)* rituals with their husbands. Working on a later period of Indian history, South Indian specialist Katherine Young (2002) has shown a shifting relationship between women and the ability to recite mantras, or Sanskrit poetic formulae, in the medieval ritual traditions honouring the god Viṣṇu.

More recently, some have embarked on careful readings of ancient Indian texts with a view toward not just women's participatory roles, but the potential empowerment of women. A number of key essays in Tracy Pintchman's and Rita Sherma's work, *Woman and Goddess in Hinduism* (2011) are salutary for this reason. Bringing the Vedic tradition to bear on contemporary feminism, in that volume I reinterpret several ancient Vedic hymns as possible arguments on behalf of the birth and health of a female child—not a usual perspective to take in Vedic ritual theory. Focusing on the later philosophical traditions, Indologist Francis X.

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Clooney (2011) reads the relationship between female beauty and female power in the medieval *Saundarya Lahari*. This is a text by the philosopher Śankara, who usually focuses on the role of illusion, cognition, and non-dualism; the text has not frequently been read with an eye to this possibility of relevance in the contemporary world. Writer Neela Saxena (2011) reclaims the power of knowledge in the figure of Mahāvidyā Chinnamastā. She is one of the ten major goddesses of the Hindu practice of Tantra, and embodies a ferocious aspect of the goddess. Also studying Tantric tradition, Loriliai Biernacki (2011) interprets the Tantric Kālī Practice as positive action on behalf of women, in contrast with misogynistic Tantric practices whose placement of women at the centre is problematic. All of these works suggest a consistently and constantly negotiated connection between women's roles and the male orthodoxies of ancient and medieval Brahmanism.[1]

Even in light of these works, with the exception of the discussions of gender both preceding and involving the writings of the grammarian Pāṇini, which I will discuss below, most of their early historical focus does not involve what we might call 'linguistics' in the contemporary sense. However, these early textual traditions and recent studies of them still do have important implications for the relationship between women and language—their control over, study of, and authority in speaking and writing and reading the elite and sacred language of Sanskrit. This chapter is an overview of those themes and ends with some small suggestions of studies that might follow from them.

17.2 Women and language in early India

One of the earliest associations of female gender and power is in the Vedic tradition. Its basic insights may have inspired the later work of the fifth-century CE philosopher of language Bhartṛhari, also called The Grammarian, as well as the Kashmir Śaivite tradition which sees language as central to mystical experience. In the earliest Vedic texts, speech is associated with the feminine—particularly in the *Ṛg Veda* (RV), the earliest group of poetic sacrificial hymns dated around 1500 BCE. These are hymns made up of mantras, or poetic formulae that would be recited at moments of offering to the gods—usually gods of nature such as wind (Vayu), sun (Surya), and fire (Agni), or of great cosmic might, such as Indra. In the Vedic worldview, without the performance of sacrifice, the world would not flourish, the seasons would not turn, the cattle would not thrive, and the sun would not rise.

[1] Ellison Findly (2002) has also argued that women act, clearly, concisely and complexly, as householders, giving *dāna* (contribution to the community) at the door in both Hindu and Buddhist contexts. See also Goldman (2000) and Sutherland Goldman (2000).

Vedic hymns such as RV 10.71 and 10.125 honour speech as a goddess, Vāc, the goddess of eloquence. The more eloquent the mantras were, the more efficacious the sacrifice would be. Therefore, Vāc was understood as a powerful, indeed cosmic, influence in the performance. The descriptions are compelling. In RV 10.71, the goddess is hard to discern, a pure guarded secret who is revealed through love. When the primordial sages, known as *ṛṣi*s, fashioned speech, they recognized their own friendships (verse 2). Language reveals herself as a young wife to her husband (4). Vāc was portioned out to many, but some do not see it or hear it (3). Some cannot stay in the friendship because his speech bears no fruit; their eyes and ears are uneven (5, 7, 9). While some are celebrated and pushed forward in the contest of eloquence (9), others fall behind because they lack the power to praise and knowledge of right action in the sacrifice (5, 6, 8, 9). Sacrificial imagery is woven throughout this praise of Vāc. The hymn ends with an abundance of imagery—where each Brahmin has a task in creating language, fashioning the 'flower' of the verses: singing the songs in a special metre, proclaiming knowledge, and laying out the measure of the sacrifice itself.

Some scholars of India, such as Frits Staal (1979, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1988), have interpreted this as a hymn which is a thoroughgoing philosophy of linguistics. Throughout his translation of the hymn into English, the Sanskrit word *Vāc* is always translated as 'language', and the capacity to wield it well is the primary characteristic of the work of Brahmins, who are proto-linguists in their own right. In contrast to other thinkers about this hymn, for Staal, speech's origins are cosmological, but the principle is abstract. In his view, it is one of the first linguistic treatises of humankind.[2]

In another hymn (10.125), Vāc as goddess spreads out over all the earth, embracing all creatures (verses 7, 8). The hymn is one of self-praise, where Vāc moves with all the gods (1–2) and gives riches to the sacrifice who is skilful (3–4). In the early act of creation, the gods divided her up into many parts, and she is therefore part of all things; those who breathe, see, hear, and eat, do so through her (5). Vāc gives joy to all, and when she bestows favour on someone in the sacrifice, she makes them awesome (5–6). Vāc is a giant presence, whose womb is in the ocean (7) and who moves like the wind, pervading sky and earth (8).

However, the idea of speech as divine feminine in ancient India did not necessarily translate directly into an understanding of women as the primary caretakers of linguistic knowledge *per se*. What did exist, however, is a small tradition of female *ṛṣi*s, or seers, of the RV hymns.[3] Several Vedic women poets are named by the Vedic interpreters; they are Ghoṣā, who wished for sexuality and marriage in RV 10.30 and 40; Vīśvāvarā, who composed the hymn 5.28; Apālā, who asked for a cure from skin disease; Romaśā, one of the speakers in the sexual

[2] See the discussion of his translation in Patton (1990).
[3] Some Indian traditions count twenty-seven; others count thirty.

dialogue of RV 1.126; and Lopāmudrā, who debated with her husband in RV 1.179. These poets are part of the tradition of 'authors' of the early Indian canon, and named so by the Vedic interpreters. As Witzel (2009) has pointed out, many of the female authors of Vedic hymns that the later Vedic tradition names are simply derivations from the wording of stanzas in the hymns, or abstractions of themes within the hymns, such as Śraddhā, or faith (RV 10.125). However, the fact that the tradition names them as women is data in itself, even if weak evidence for actual historical authorship by women.

Two examples might be useful here. Among the more well-known stories of these women is that of Ghoṣā, author of RV 10. 39 and 40. Her first hymn (10.39) is in praise of the twin healer gods, the Aśvins, who cured her of a skin ailment. Her second (10.40) is expressive of a desire for married life. She is called a *mantradṛka*, or someone well versed in Vedic mantras. Her command of language, then, is linked to physical health and well-being.

Another well-known hymn, Lopāmudrā's hymn (RV 1.179), is a dialogue between a husband and wife about the right path to choose. It is a masterful argument for her husband to fulfil his family duties of procreation as well as his ascetic ones of meditation and renunciation. According to the Vedic story, the woman *ṛṣi* Lopāmudrā is created by the great sage Agastya, and raised by the king of Vidarbha and his wife as their own daughter. Agastya marries Lopāmudrā when she comes of age, but continues to practice his ascetic, meditational way of life. In the end, Lopāmudrā persuades him, and he follows both paths of married and renunciant life (Patton 1996a).

These women's status as *ṛṣi*s means that they did control a great deal of linguistic knowledge, such as the capacity to translate their vision of the gods or their arguments about marriage into sophisticated formulations, called mantras. *Ṛṣi*s are poetic creators who literally 'see' the hymns in visions of praise to the gods in complex metres. Moreover, because they have mastered eloquence, they are responsible for making the world flourish. Without the mantras of these *ṛṣi*s, as already noted, the crops would not grow, the sun would not rise and set, and the seasons would not turn. From this perspective, to be a Vedic poet is of necessity to be a linguist. Thus, women were included, albeit fewer in number than the men, in the linguistic creation and maintenance of the universe (on this see Schmidt 1987; Jamison 1996; Witzel 2009).

17.3 Women and language: Early evidence

From the studies above, it would be erroneous to argue that women were equal to men in the Vedic period (*c.*1500–300 BCE; see Witzel 1996). However, women had some authority in ritual spheres which also assumed control over language. In the Vedic period, female *brahmavādinī*s ('students', literally, 'speakers about

brahman') went through the same rigorous discipline as their male counterparts, the *brahmacārin*s, who underwent the *upanayana*, or thread ceremony initiating them into Vedic study, and pursued different levels of Vedic studies.

17.3.1 Women in ritual spheres

In addition to these practices, some domestic ritual manuals, called the *Gṛhya Sūtra*s, include even more focus on women's lives. Dated from the latter half of the first millennium BCE, the *Gṛhya Sūtra*s describe life-cycle rituals of the household, whether it be blessing a birth, naming a child, preparing for Vedic study, returning from Vedic study, building a home, or maintaining the 'miniature' version of the larger sacrificial fires within the home.[4] Thus they assume even more linguistic mastery over Sanskrit mantric utterances. For example, early on in its chapters, the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (AGS), a domestic ritual text that is connected with the RV school of learning, states: '*Pāṇigrahaṇādi gṛhyaṃ paricharet svayaṃ patny api vā putraḥ kumāry antevāsī vā 2. nityānugṛhītan syāt 3. yadi tūpaśāmyet patny upavaset ity eke*' (1.9.1–3; 'Beginning from the wedding the groom should worship the domestic fire himself, or his wife, his son, his daughter, or his pupil can also do so. The fire should be kept without a break. And if it goes out, the wife should fast. Thus say some teachers'). The text also discusses wedding traditions (1.6ff), as well as the ceremony to drive away demons when a woman is confined (11.23), and the getting up of a mother from her childbed (1.25).

In these texts, women play a particular role in the life cycle: funeral rituals, rituals for the birth of a child, for a child who is intelligent, or for the peace of the household. In early Vedic rites, women act as ritual persons in ceremonies traditionally understood in later, classical Hinduism as restricted to men. While their role in Vedic times is still lesser than men's in some ways, Vedic women still become fully mature persons through these life-cycle rituals, just as their male counterparts do.[5] And that ritual participation assumes facility with the sacred mantras in Sanskrit.

There is another kind of initiation that gave women control over ritual language—the preparation of the wife into the performance of public sacrifice

[4] See on this Gonda (1977).

[5] In the Āśvalāyana traditions of the naming ceremony (1.15.12), the feeding ceremony (1.16.6), and the tonsure ceremonies (1.17), each of the ritual sections ends with a coda during the final description of the ceremonies: if it is a girl, there are no mantras recited (*amantrika kuryad iti*). The more startling point here is not that girls would have no mantras recited over them, which would be the expected situation, but that they would be included as natural participants in the ceremonies of naming, feeding, and tonsure at all. And these three rituals are enjoined upon all householders in the bright half of the month, under the northern course of the sun. Moreover, all include women, with the exception of the cutting of the beard ceremony which would presumably not be applicable to women (AGS 1.4.1).

with her husband. Some ritual texts state that the wife repeats the Vedic mantras equally with her husband at religious ceremonies; women chant mantras as they follow their husband around the duplicates of the public fires. In addition, the wife was 'girded' prior to the sacrifice, and by this rite, she was understood as becoming initiated into her sacrificial vow (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (TB) 3.3.3.2). In this role, she was essential. In the Vedic view, no man should sacrifice without being married and having a wife at his side (TB 2.2.2.6). Moreover, these texts assumed the women would learn, and then know, the mantras related to their appropriate and necessary role in the sacrifice.[6]

Even more expansive rites for and by women tend to be found in the latest literature of the Vedic period, the Vidhāna literature. These texts include examples of women reciting mantras in rites for the safe birth of a child, rites against domestic disharmony, rites against a rival who has been cruel, rites against illness, and others. Even if we do not see a large focus on rules of grammar and composition, or even metalinguistic theory *per se*, a variety of evidence suggests that these women had control over ritual language, and therefore had some access to Sanskrit compositional styles, metrics, grammar, and so on.

During the Epic and classical periods, however, beginning in 200 BCE and moving into the Gupta period of fifth century CE, a change occurred. The Dharma Śāstra, or legal tradition, solidified, culminating in texts like the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, or *Laws of Manu*. The word *dharma* came to mean sacred duty, and these treatises, dating from the first century BCE, are treatises of proper behaviour, purity, and obligations according to one's *varṇa*, or station in life.[7] While the earlier ritual tradition, called the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, gave women equal rights with men to perform religious ceremonies, and the evidence above suggests that women studied the Vedas, their numbers were reduced by the sixth century BCE. By the time of the Laws of Manu, the ritual of initiation into Vedic study was absorbed into the marriage ritual for women (see Olivelle 2005). Later ritual texts argue that, since women did not have an *upanayana*, or initiation into Vedic study, like low-caste people, they would not have the right to sacrifice.[8] This view is certainly the purview of most of the legal texts, as well as many of the later ritual texts of the Mīmāṃsā tradition (see McGee 2002). The later idea was that their work should be focused within the domestic sphere, and less within the emerging practice of temple worship.

However, there was still debate about this issue, and it turned on two questions: the first whether a woman had a right to ownership of property, and the second whether a masculine could be understood as generically referring to 'all people'. The second is relevant to our own concerns here about the relationship between

[6] See Jamison (1996: 45–7), McGee (2002: 43).

[7] Generally speaking, these texts follow the scheme of four *varṇa*s—Brahmin, warrior, merchant/farmer, and servant. See Davis (2010).

[8] See Patton (2004: 300–7). Also see McGee (2002: 44).

women and language. If, in fact, the masculine gender in the ritual texts could be understood as the 'generic masculine', and therefore referring also to women, then women would be able to utter authoritative mantras, not just those assigned to them as wives of sacrificers. In one of the classical ritual texts, Jaimini's *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Sūtra*s (6.1.6), Jaimini argues against an opponent who contends that because the texts is gendered male, women are not allowed to sacrifice. But Jaimini concludes otherwise; that gender is not relevant because no distinction is made on the basis of gender. Furthermore, because women are motivated to sacrifice for the same reasons as men—the desire for heaven—then they have a right to sacrifice. A later ritual commentator, Śabara, further states that both genders are implied whenever it is stated that someone desires to sacrifice, even if the nominative in that sentence is masculine (McGee 2002: 36).[9] What is more, Śabara also refers to the early philosopher Bādarāyaṇa, who says that if a particular group of people is named generically, without specificity (*jātyarthasyāviśeṣatvāt*), then women are also part of that reference (*strīyāpi pratiyeta*).[10] Rules of Sanskrit grammar, to be discussed below, also support this view.

17.3.2 Women as philosophers of reality and language

The Upaniṣads give us yet another, intriguing, window into the role of women and language—albeit only indirectly. These texts date from roughly 900–300 BCE, and involve philosophical conversations between teachers and students about the nature of reality (see Olivelle 1996). The tradition of the *Upaniṣad*s also admits the possibility of *brahmavādiṇi*s. Here, the term means women speakers about *brahman*, the monistic force behind the sacrifice that animating all things in the universe. *Brahman* became the increasing focus of renunciant communities who left the villages, and retired to the forest.

Women, such as the sages Gargī and Maitreyī, could be part of these communities and took part in philosophical debates (see Olivelle 1996: xxxvi–xxxvii). There were arguments between sages as to the best way to know and describe *brahman*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (reproduced in Olivelle 1996), one of the earlier *Upaniṣad*s, escribes a ritual to ensure the birth of a daughter who would become a *paṇḍitā* ('scholar'). In this way, their explorations included discussions of speech, breath, and other linguistic components, as well as their relationship to ultimate reality.

Those debates would naturally involve a discussion of the role of speech and the power of mantra in the world. The stories of Gārgī and Maitreyī in the

[9] In another ritual text, *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 1.2.5–6, and 1.1.8, women are seen to participate in the ritual.

[10] *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 1.2.5–6 and 1.1.8.

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad are indeed examples of this (see Lindquist 2008). In the first story (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 3.6, 3.8), *brahmavādinī* Gārgī Vācaknavi, is invited to a dialogue convened by King Janaka of Videha. The sage Yajñavalkya orders his disciple to take away the prize of 1,000 cows before the debates even begin, so sure is he of his knowledge. While many sages refuse to debate with him, Gārgī is one of those that remained. She challenges the great sage Yajñavalkya to a public debate. She presses him particularly on the cosmic 'weaving' of the universe, asking what the warp and woof of reality were, whether it was the air, the intermediate regions, the world of the Gandharvas, the many suns. Yajñavalkya has a response to all of her questions, and in the end, admonishes her not to press on, or she will suffer. After her acknowledgement of defeat and praise of Yajñavalkya, the king awards him—this time for real—the 1,000 cows and 10,000 gold pieces. It is worth noting that cows and gold were also often the reward for eloquence or control over sacrificial mantras. Yajñavalkya rejects the award and retires to the forest. Despite her defeat, Gārgī is known as a philosopher of reality, whose knowledge challenged even the greatest sage. While she is not a grammarian *per se*, her control over language and philosophical reasoning in an open debate forum shows her connection to the power of *brahman*, that force which also inspires eloquence in the sacrifice.

The Upaniṣadic story of Maitreyi tells the story of Yajñavalkya's two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 2.4.5–14; see Brereton 2006). Of the two, Maitreyī is the woman who takes part in philosophical discussions. One day, as Yajñavalkya is preparing to undertake retirement, he says to Maitreyī, 'I'm about to go away, so come let me make a settlement between you and Kātyāyanī, my other wife'.[11] Maitreyī asks him whether, if she were to possess all the wealth in the world, it would make her immortal. Yajñavalkya responds that wisdom is the only thing that will make one immortal, and in fact, wealth will not. He continues, 'You've always been very dear to me and now you speak something dear to me!',[12] and asks her to listen while he explains about *brahman.*

Yajñavalkya goes on to a long discourse about *brahman* with Maitreyī. The sage argues that we hold many things dear in the world because we hold the primordial self, or *atman*, dear. And only the knowledge of the self, *atman*, would make one immortal. In addition, he speaks of the awareness of the self as ultimately ending in union with *brahman*, that all-encompassing force, after which there is no awareness. Maitreyī challenges him, saying that he is confusing to say such a thing. He denies it, saying that *atman* is the honey of all beings, and that when *atman* fuses with *brahman*, there is no need for awareness.

While neither Gārgī nor Maitreyī are focused on technicalities of linguistics, *per se*, these women's command of the philosophy of *brahman* is an awareness of the

[11] '*udyāsyan vā are 'ham asmāt stānād asmi / hanta te 'nayā kātyā'yanyāntaṃ karavāṇītị //*'.
[12] '*priyā batāre naḥ satī priyaṃ bhāṣase*'.

power behind mantra and its power in the sacrifice. In that sense, I would argue that it is metalinguistic knowledge, and encompasses an understanding of speech, mind, breath, and all the components that make up the cosmological linguistic components of the universe.

17.3.3 Gender and the emergence of grammar

Elsewhere, in less obviously philosophically engaged texts, we can also read gender implications in the beginning of technical discourse about language. We can start with the Prātiśākhyas, which were ritual manuals of pronunciation and the analysis of words in the Vedic corpus. They discussed how words that were euphonically joined together in the process of recitation could also be analysed separately. Precise and consistent pronunciation of Vedic mantras was essential, and was considered a sacred tradition in its own right. Each Vedic school had its own branch of such treatises. The *Ṛk Prātiśākhya*, for instance, is a treatise on pronunciation, but it is also a treatise on cosmology. After Śaunaka, its putative author,[13] does homage to the supreme first god, he states his intention to name the origin and nature of the *ṛks*, or verses, in the RV. He goes on to ask, in verses 2–4, about the different opinions of what the union of earth and heaven are, and the sages respond: Māṇḍūkeya says the wind; Makṣavya says the ether alone, and Agastya says that wind and ether are the same. Śaunaka then discusses the question of the order of speech and mind, and sees the question of Vedic texts which use euphonic combination (termed the *saṃhitā* text) and word by word separation (termed the *padapāṭha* text) as a function of speech and mind. One uses speech to pronounce and mind to understand the meaning of the words. But Śaunaka resolves this issue by saying that one can put the two together; the *krama* recitation, or *ubhayamantra*, is a combination whereby both speech and mind are embraced by the *ubhayamantra*, and 'so are desires known as food and heaven' (Patton 1996b: 98).[14]

Because of this relentless combining of grammatical and cosmological categories, the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* has in the past two centuries been either ignored or treated as a form of inferior, mythologized linguistics in which contemporary linguists sort anxiously for 'real linguistics' among the cosmological chaff (Müller 1869: xciv–xcvi; Mahulkar 1981). But from my own perspective (Patton 1996b: 91–136), the *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* is a wonderful example of the connections between cosmology and sound, and perhaps one of the earliest examples we have of such a connection before the advent of the later tantric systems which focus on meditation on speech.

[13] It is impossible to know for sure whether Śaunaka was in fact the author of *the Ṛk Prātiśākhya*, but it is attributed to him as part of his school of thought.

[14] '*ubhayamantareṇaobhayaṃ vyāptam agre pare kāmā annanākobhayākhyāḥ*.'

While gender is not an explicit topic of the text, the idea of speech as feminine, to be unified with mind (*manas)*, shows a continuation of the idea that female power of speech is a part of the cosmos. Speech's combination with *manas* is the basis of a grammar that empowers the recitation of the Veda, the most important sacred act in the maintenance of the universe.[15]

Another fascinating early focus of linguistics is Yāska's *Nirukta*. The *Nirukta* is a text on word derivation, guided by the principle of *nāmadheya*, or the giving forth of names found in the sacred sacrificial texts of the Vedas.[16] The *Nirukta*'s *nāmadheya* is a hermeneutic for finding meaning in the meaninglessness of certain Vedic words in mantras. As the *Nirukta* states, some Vedic words had become obscure because they were literally *hapax legomena*, or words that only occurred once. More frequently, however, the words may have had plain meaning in everyday language but they referred to special elements of the Vedic sacrifice that may not have been known by the listener in later times. In addition, there were words that had particularly Vedic aspects of their meaning that had become lost to later generations.

For these reasons, the *Nirukta* is called by Vedic commentators a *nighaṇṭu*, or dictionary, and assumes a lack of both connotative and denotative meaning for many Vedic words, particularly words for deities. Its author, Yāska, attempts to restore that meaning through a kind of etymology based on word association. To take a small gendered example in 2.7–8, Yāska explains the feminine noun *nirṛtiḥ* ('earth') as derived from the root *ni √ram* 'giving enjoyment'. He goes on to say that she is mentioned in the verse RV 1.164.32. Yāska frequently explains roots of both gods *and* goddesses based on their essential actions.

However, there is also ambiguity in this verse, which Yāska seeks to explain. The verse states that, 'encompassed by the womb of the mother, and multiplying greatly, he entered the earth'. Who is the 'he' in this verse? Yāska frequently interprets ambiguous meanings in the Veda from a naturalistic point of view, and thinks that in this part of the verse, the 'he' that enters the earth is, in fact, rain. And in the phrase, 'he is entering the womb of the mother (*māturyonā*)', *māturyonā* must mean 'atmosphere' (*antarikṣam*), because in the atmosphere all things are 'measured out' (*nir √mā*). Thus, for Yāska, the similarity of sounds between the verbal root *nir √mā* and the word *mātā* explains the reference. He goes on to argue that 'womb' (*yonā*) in the phrase 'womb of the mother' is also referring to the atmosphere, because of the ways in which the atmosphere

[15] Although it is not the purpose of this exposition to delve into the details of Vedic language according to the *Prātiśākhya*, it is important to note that the work moves full circle within a 'closed system'—from cosmology to the components of language back to cosmology. The qualities of air, ether, the order of speech and mind, all lead to a discussion of the pronunciation of Vedic language; and the *pada*, *saṃhitā*, and *krama* texts all lead to the larger goals of the sacrifice—food, heaven, the attainment of immortality.

[16] See on this point Prasad (1975: 68–70), Sarup (1984b [1927]), Patton (1996b: 91–5), Kahrs (1998: 24–5), Bronkhorst (2001).

'surrounds' things, thus deriving from the root √*yu*, 'to embrace, or surround'. And in a prosaic end to the interpretation, Yāska mentions that this word can also refer to an actual woman's womb because it too is surrounded (*pariyuta*), also deriving from the root √*yu*.

Thus, both feminine deities and actual women are mentioned in Yāska's word derivations. *Nāmadheya*, or the giving forth of names, has remained a key part of Indian tradition ever since, albeit with key variations on significance depending on the period of history and form of worship involved. The term has been used in philosophical debates for the relationship between words and reality. What is more, the Nairuktans are the ones that are mentioned in the legal (*śāstric*) and epic literature as needing to be present in the case of a confusion about names. In contemporary Hindu culture it is the term for the rite of the giving a name to a newborn child.

Gender is involved in how the Nairuktans understood the names of people and gods. It is worth diving into some technicalities to show why. The sages Yāska, Śākaṭāyana, and Śaunaka (the later recension) discuss the importance of *nāma*, here used in the grammatical sense of 'noun', but with a connotation of the more cosmological sense of 'divine name'. They see it in terms of 'a completed action'. Similarly, in a related late Vedic text, the *Bṛhaddevatā*, there is the following discussion (*Bṛhaddevatā* 42–45):

> 42. The spoken sound by which a thing is apprehended, joined in the manner of syllables, the wise ones call a 'noun'.
>
> 43. That to which the eight inflexions are enjoined in various senses, there being a distinction of number and gender, poets call that a 'noun'.
>
> 44. That which applies to many actions, becoming later from earlier, but still being one in any given sentence, that which is established as a result of the completion of an action, that signification they call by the term 'verb'.
>
> 45. The state (*bhāva*) that originates from the result of a completed action and is expressed by a word ending in a *krt* suffix [i.e. a past participle], and [is] joined with gender, indeclinable particle, inflection, and number, is a state of being that should be regarded as a substantive (author's translation).[17]

While the grammatical discussion of a noun is fairly straightforward, the presentation of the verb involves these more complex principles. The verb denotes a process whereby an earlier condition changes into a later condition, though both

[17] '*śabdenoccariteneha yena dravyaṃ pratīyate / tad akṣaravidhau yuktaṃ nāmety āhur manīṣiṇaḥ // aṣṭau yatra prayujyante nānārtheṣu vibhaktayaḥ / tan nāma kavayaḥ prāhur bhede vacanaliṅgayoḥ // kriyāsu bahvīṣv abhisaṃśrito yaḥ pūrvāparībhūta ihaika eva / kriyābhinirvṛttivaśena siddha ākhyātaśabdena tam artham āhuḥ // kriyābhinirvṛttiva śopajātaḥ kṛdanta śabdābhihito yadā syāt / saṃkhyāvibhaktyavyayaliñgayukto bhāvas tadā dravy'am ivopalakṣyaḥ //*'.

conditions are expressed in a single word. Moreover, the substantive noun (*dravya*) is described as that state (*bhāva*) which results from completed actions—described by the *Nirukta* as 'cooking', 'going', etc.

Any action, then, whether completed by a man or a woman, can be understood as part of the structure of language, whereby a verbal action is transformed into a noun. Thus Yāska can discuss both female deities and human women. Prabhatchandra Chakravarti, in his *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindu*s (2003 [1933]: 164–5) describes it in the following way:

> Grammarians have explained the circumstances under which *bhāva* (action) gets itself materialised into *dravya*. When it is predicated (*abhihita*) by a *kṛt*-suffix (as in *paka*) and the completion of an action is denoted thereby, a *bhāva* necessarily crystallises into *dravya* (being), and is grammatically treated as if it were a noun or a substance, rather than action, having number, gender and case terminations.[18]

Thus even the most basic constituents of language are circumscribed by concepts which motivate the larger concerns articulated earlier in the work—the origin of all beings in action, and more indirectly, the right use of mantra in ritual through knowledge of the names of deities.

These would include female deities, female forms of actions, and female forces in the Vedic corpus. Women's names, and female names, are just as subject to etymologies as other names. For example, feminine entities such as 'earth' are included early on in the *Nirukta*'s etymological discussions. As a part of the ongoing grammatical arguments, Yāska considers various objections to this idea that nouns are derived from verbs (Patton 1996: 100–1). For example, says the fictional opponent in the text, if *pṛthivī,* or earth, is named on account of being spread, √*prath*, then who spread it and what was the base? 'No one can tell us that', implies the fictional 'opponent' in the text. Even in the context of larger metalinguistic debates, then, female examples are used. There are many other examples of

[18] Although it is only indirectly related to the question of women and language, it is worth analysing this passage in detail, because it gives us a very intriguing insight into what the elements were in remembering and thinking about names. Yāska presents us with a *pūrvapakṣin* (fictional opponent), who argues several different points: (1) If nouns are derived from verbs, then every person who performs a particular act would be called by the same name. Whoever runs the road should be called a 'runner' (derived from *aśva*, horse) and whatever it is that 'pricks' would be called a 'pricker' (derived from *tṛṇam*, grass). (2) If all nouns were derived from verbs, the *pūrvapakṣin* goes on, then a substantive would obtain as many names as the action with which it is connected (and therefore implicitly be called by many names). A column would be called a 'supported beam', as well as 'that which rests in a hole'. (3) Substantives should be even more correct in grammatical form: *aśva* would not be *aśva* but *asta* and *tṛṇam* should be *tardanam*. In other words, why are these names not given more agentive forms? And (4), people indulge in 'sophistry' in this regard. See also on this Chakravarti (2003 [1933]: 165). The activity of both men and women are implied by these debates.

female entities and deities who are subject to the same process of etymologization throughout the text.

At some point, however, etymology and mythology gave way to abstract systematization of the rules of language. Writing somewhere in the sixth to the fourth centuries BCE, probably in the northern part of India and possibly in the Gandharan region, Pāṇini's composed his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, or 'Eight Chapters'. He used earlier grammarian's lists, many of them known to other Vedic commentators such as Yāska, and systematized the extant grammars. Pāṇini's work was aphoristic, based on the *sūtra* style, and said to be both so brief and so complete it resembles certain computational language today. As George Cardona (1997: 1) writes:

> Pāṇini describes Sanskrit by means of a derivational system [...]. Utterances (*vakya*) of real speech are derived from posited abstract utterances which Pāṇini arrives at by letting affixes (*pratyaya*) be introduced to bases under meaning conditions and cooccurence conditions. This system involves various kinds of operations [...] that concern different classes of elements recognized in rules that contain class names.

Like earlier grammarians, Pāṇini also worked on the premise of verbal roots, or *dhātu*s. All this was accomplished in a series of 3,959 *sūtra*s, in an approach that many understand as analogous to phonemes, morphemes, and verbal roots today. Because of its systematic nature, Pāṇini is credited with creating an entire branch of Vedic knowledge, or *vedāṅga*, known as *vyākaraṇa*. The first great commentator on Pāṇini who extended the branch of *vyākaraṇa* was known as Patañjali, who wrote his Mahābhāṣya, or 'Great Commentary', about five centuries later.[19]

Gender, women, and goddesses are not the explicit concern of this founding grammarian nor his commentator. But they were not disconnected from the world of ritual and custom that surrounded them. Pāṇini and Patañjali also argued that the mantra's gender might be changed or understood in accordance with the purpose of the rite.[20] We know from Jaimini's work, discussed above, that when the male gender is referred to as a universal, and there is no other possible

[19] In my study, I discovered an intriguing aspect of *vyākaraṇa*, known popularly as the pursuit of linguistic and grammatical analysis. Moreover, if Pāṇini is the basis of knowing Sanskrit for these women, it was usually not in his original form of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Rather, it was likely to be in the form of a seventeenth-century grammarian, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's discourse on Pāṇini, the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. His disciple Varadarāja composed three different distillations of his master's work, the *madhya* or medium work, the *laghu*, light work, and the *sāra*, or essential *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. These were as complete as they could be and still be accessible for *pandits* teaching beginning students, and later, students in the eighth standard beginning Sanskrit.

[20] This is a debate today as well; Madhav Deshpande (1996) also notes this practice in contemporary American Hindu temples.

distinction about gender being made, then the implication of the sentence is all people, and not just men.

As Mary McGee (2002: 36–7) also notes, Patañjali himself argued that grammar in the sacrifice might be changed on the basis of gender, because '*mantra*s are not given in cases to suit every gender and context, and on needs to know how and when to modify the *mantra* accordingly'. Here is his rule (Pāṇini *Aṣṭādhyāyi* 1.2.67; also see 1.2.64–71): when a word in the masculine gender is used together with a word in the feminine gender, the word in the masculine gender is the sole remaining, provided that the difference between them consists of that [their gender]. The question of plurality is particularly relevant here. One commentary, the *Kāśikāvṛttī* (4.4.46), says that the dual form for a 'dog' (*kukkuṭaḥ*) and a 'bitch' (*kukkuṭī*), is in fact a masculine dual (*kukkuṭau*). And, the shorter rearrangement of and commentary on Pāṇini's grammar that many women Sanskritists study today, the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, gives the same example of the combination of *haṃsaḥ*, a 'gander', and *haṃsī*, a 'goose', being combined to make the masculine dual *haṃsau*.

While many scholars have argued that this particular view of gender in grammar was not practised or assumed in the reading of ritual texts (Leslie 1989: 43–4; McGee 2002), the implied inclusion of women remains a hermeneutic and a linguistic possibility. I have recently argued that not only is this idea helpful in the issue of whether women can sacrifice. It is also helpful in defining the overall idea of a *puruṣārtha* in general—the goal of well-being of *all* people, including women's desires and goals, whether that is the attainment of wealth, heaven, or even the attainment of eloquence and other forms of linguistic knowledge.[21]

17.4 Women and language in medieval traditions

As mentioned earlier, the classical Hindu tradition did not include the same wealth of textual material relating to ritual rites including women. However, the theologies of the goddess become quite expansive, particularly in texts called the

[21] This view of the potential for linguistic attainment by women is *contra* Patañjali, the commentator on Pāṇini, who refers to women's ignorance in grammar and in pronunciation in two places in his *Mahābhāṣya* (Dasgupta 1991: 17, 91; I am grateful to one of the reviewers of this chapter for this insight). The larger discussion of whether women could own property is a thorny one, and relevant to their actual capacity to sacrifice, even if they had the formal *adhikāra* ('right, authority, responsibility') to do so. The evidence seems to suggest that even in Manu (9.192–3) they had the possibility of owning and inheriting property, albeit in limited estate. See on this McGee (2002: 38–40). As I have argued (Patton 2011: 158), based on grammatical and ritual arguments, a *puruṣārtha* can therefore include concerns specific to half the human race of women. It might also be relevant here to make the painfully obvious observation that many of the common *puruṣārtha*s, such as long life, or the birth of offspring, are best fulfilled when there are women who are strong and able to perform these tasks as well as men. Sacrifices on behalf of the well-being of women, then, should be understood as a basic and straightforward *puruṣārtha.*

Purāṇas, or texts of the olden times. Later classical Indian thought explores and exalts Sarasvatī, the goddess of knowledge, learning, eloquence and music. She is called the 'mother of the Vedas' and is present with her husband, the Hindu god Brahma, at the creation of the world. Her power of language also allows her to debate with her husband Brahma. In this way, she performs functions similar to Vāc in the earlier Brahmanical texts, only with a much more elaborate, medieval kind of mythology that focuses on theological exploits.

Other scholars (Young 2002) have pointed out that there are alternatives to the more restrictive relationship between women and mantra that emerged in the Brahmanical practices and beliefs. In the Śri Vaiṣṇava tradition, particularly the more liberal Narāyana Viṣṇu tradition, certain connections between women and language were made. For example, the rituals of bowing to the feet of a god (*nāmaḥ*) and offering flowers allowed women to perform the utterance of mantra. In addition, the symbol *Om*, arguably one of the most sacred ritual syllables in the Sanskrit lexicon, was understood as accessible to women. The South Indian *aḷvar*, or devotional, tradition is particularly noteworthy in this respect: there is no explicit exclusion of women from the utterance of *Om*, or the utterance of the eight-syllable mantra. Indeed, in some texts, women's utterance of the sacred syllable is considered a model for devotion. While later conservative thinkers such as Vedāntadeśika tried to undermine this focus in a fashion similar to the author of the *The Laws of Manu*, this liberalism endured strongly enough to be taken up by reformers later in nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Women's relationship to language is particularly prevalent in the tantric tradition, a broad arena of practices and philosophies prevalent in medieval Hinduism beginning around the fifth century CE. While space prevents us from engaging on every aspect of the feminine here, some important philosophical concepts are worth noting. Defined by some scholars (Lawrence 2014) as 'the pursuit of power', the Tantric traditions focus on transgressions of Hindu purity that limit human agency. Thus, meat and fish eating, sexual union, and contact with the dead, usually off limits for Brahmanical orthodoxy, become part of ritual practice. The philosophy behind this is a union of opposites, and, in the end, union with an ultimate divine power. The union of male with female can be both an actual copulative practice as well as a powerful metaphor that unites bodily, mental, and spiritual activity. Female energy is called *śakti*, and features prominently in many forms of tantric discourse.

In Kashmir Śaivism, a tantric tradition built around the Hindu god Śiva, this female divine power is centred on Vāc, the power of speech. Ultimately this power is subsumed by the god Śiva, who possesses *śakti* in his androgynous being. The male god Śiva has power over the universe through that feminine power; in one Kashmir Śaivite myth, Śiva splits himself from personified and deified Śakti and copulates with her in order to create the universe. To put this dynamic in the words of André Padoux (1990: 49): 'Since the energy is all-pervading and since

everything springs from it, thus will it be with speech; and since efficacy and power are the main concerns of Tantrism, which seeks to tap and use this energy, speech will permeate everything'.

Because the union of Śiva with this female sacred speech literally gives birth to the universe, the universe itself is a form taken on by the energy of Vāc, understood by the Kaśmir Śaivite tradition as a kind of cosmic body. While this is reminiscent of the idea of the Vedic tradition of Vāc dividing herself up into four parts, and permeating the creation, the philosophical underpinnings of the idea are far more elaborate and technical, and lead to important linguistic speculations.

Indeed, this tradition is all the more relevant for our purposes because of the philosophical traditions against which it measures itself. The main interlocutor for Kashmir Śaivite thinkers is the grammarian Bhartṛhari, who wrote around the middle of the fifth century CE on the relationship between language and reality. While Bhartṛhari is known for his ideas about spontaneous utterance (*sphoṭa*), and the relationship between sentence structures and meaning, he also engages in ideas about speech more generally. In the first book of his classical work, the *Vākyapadīya* (VP 1.143), he argues that there are three stages of speech (*trayī vāc*): *pasyantī*, or 'visionary', *madhyamā*, or 'intermediate', and *vaikharī*, or 'bodily' speech. This bodily speech is worldly speech, uttered sounds heard by human ears (Padoux 1990: 66–7).

In conversation with Bhartṛhari, many tantric traditions, including that of the great Kaśmir Śaivite philosopher from the tenth century CE, Abhinavagupta, argue that there are not three but four stages of speech, adding to the visionary, intermediate, and bodily forms a primordial form, which is above them and contains them: *parāvāc*, the Supreme Word. She is all encompassing and supreme. For Abhinavagupta, all levels of language are gendered female. The general forms of language, such as the subtle or corporeal forms, are feminine, as are the primarily linguistic elements such as phonemes, syllables, and intonations. These forms of language are also part of the rising of *kuṇḍalinī*, or cosmic energy within the body, which in tantric yogic practices is also gendered female. According to these writers, *parāvāc* is a state of subjective undifferentiated experience, infused with joy and wonderment. In addition, knowledge of supreme language is based on the moment when consciousness becomes aware of itself, and all that exists within it. And the first utterance of language, even as an inner sound, also emanates from this female entity, *parāvāc* (Padoux 1990: 176).

In another tantric tradition, Śakta tantrism, this divine power is not dependent upon Śiva. While she is understood as female, and also called *śakti*, as discussed above, she herself is the ultimate. To be unified with her is to perceive and then be dissolved into the ground of all being. In some Śakta rites, mantras related to her describe her beauty and power, and can be uttered by women as much as they are by men. Loriliai Biernacki (2011) states of one tantric rite, the Kālī practice, that the practitioner establishes a respectful attitude toward woman, not only one with

whom he might engage in the rite of sexual union, but with all women, no matter what their states. Habitual morning contemplation also involves the visualization of the guru, and the honouring of the females—not just of one's human circle, but all species. Moreover, while in other tantric practices, some women are understood as possessed by the goddess or mediators for the goddess, in the Kālī practice the woman in her unaltered state is divine.

In this conceptualization we see women's ultimate power over language and through language:

> According respect to women is not done out of a sense of superiority, as in the practice of chivalrous behavior toward women that accepts their offenses without striking back because women are the 'weaker' sex. Rather, one avoids harming a woman for the same reason one doesn't harm a powerful yogin or a sage like the cranky Ruvasa: she has power, and she might get offended, then one had better be wary of her curse. (Biernacki 2011: 135)

The power of this woman is not gained through the pity of others, but because of her own spiritual practice. A woman's repetition of the Dūrgā mantra makes others prosper, and her anger can also destroy wealth. Women can master mantras and like Brahmins, gurus, and yogins, they know how to wield a mantra. As the text also says, just thinking of a mantra can give her the power to give boons (Biernacki 2011: 137). This great skill with mantras make women a great blessing to one's family and lineage. Some of these tantric texts, such as the Blue Goddess of Speech Tantra, argue for the constant reverence of women as a class in their entirety.

17.4.1 Literary virtuosity

The classical poetic tradition of tenth-century poet Rājaśekhara names several women poets whose works are lost, such as Māmalīlā, Sunandā, and Kanakavalli (Krishnamachariar 1989 [1937]: 392). Other poetic anthologies from this time and later in the second millennium, such as Śārṅgadhara's fourteenth-century *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, include actual poetic works by women such as Indulekhā, Śilābhaṭṭārikā, Bhāvadevī, Gaurī, Morikā, and others (Krishnamachariar 1989 [1937]: 395; Chauduri 2001 [1943]). One early seventeenth-century woman poet, Priyamvada, hailed from Bengal and wrote a regionally well-known poem, *Śyamarahasya*. Muddupalani was an eighteenth-century woman poet, working in both Telugu and Sanskrit, and a courtesan in the court of a king of Tanjore, Pratap Singh (1739–1763). Most of these works have focused on love themes and topics from the natural world; none of them are meditations on the power of language, and therefore classifiable as 'metalinguistic' in any contemporary sense. However,

they do show the mastery of women over language in a broad sense—as wielders of poetic and not just mantric power.

Some women also wrote traditional commentaries, which would involve linguistic analysis and grammatical assessment, and therefore would require some traditional linguistic training. In South India, the women commentators Sundarī and Kamalā composed commentaries on the dramatic works of their contemporary, tenth-century Sanskrit dramatist Rājasekhara, and reveal a great deal of knowledge in Sanskrit lexicography (Chauduri: 2001 [1943]).[22] Kāmākṣī, a Telugu woman living in nineteenth-century Māyavaram, commented on *tarka*, or traditional logic, texts, and the texts of the philosophical school of Vedānta. Another, later seventeenth-century Bengali woman Sanskritist, Vaijayanti, was a daughter of a Sanskrit *pandit* Mūrabhatta; she learned Sanskrit from her father and married a well-known Sanskritist, Kriṣṇanātha. She was proficient in the Vedic ritual theory of Mīmāṃsā, and was known to have corrected her husband's grammar and textual interpretations from time to time (Krishnamachariar 1989 [1937]: 394). Apart from these short poems and commentarial works, it is hard to discern more traces of women's linguistic contributions, despite the long-term association with language and the divine feminine in India.

17.5 Concluding thoughts

In colonial India, the possibility of women linguists as we might recognize them today emerged in an energetic way. Pandita Ramabai is perhaps the best-known example of a woman with virtuosity in the language of Sanskrit (Chakravarti 2014). She partook in debates with male *pandit*s, and, before her famous conversion to Christianity mastered the grammatical and linguistic style of a variety of Sanskrit genres. Born in 1858, she learned Sanskrit from her father, Anant Shastri Dongre, in childhood in what is now the state of Karnataka. When orphaned, she travelled throughout India reciting Sanskrit with her brother. The University of Calcutta heard about her skill, and invited her to visit. Upon examining her, they conferred upon her the degree of *paṇḍitā*, or female scholar, and Sarasvati, a degree named after the Indian goddess of learning. She founded the Arya Mahila Samaj, a society working for women's education, and testified to Lord Ripon's commission on behalf of women's reform. In subsequent years, she was trained as a doctor in Britain, converted to Christianity, and continued to work on behalf of women and girls in India. However, she never lost her Sanskrit learning.

A less well-known figure was the early twentieth-century composer Kshama Rao (1890–1954; Patton 2018). She grew up in a literate household in

[22] Rājaśekhara himself also praised several women poets, but there is almost nothing extant of their works.

Maharashtra, and began composing short stories in her 20s. Her Sanskrit epics include stories of the Hindu saints, such as Ram Das (*Rāmadāsacaritam*), as well as a life of Gandhi (*Satyāgrahagītā*). These works were, and are still, used in introductory Sanskrit classes because of their linguistic purity and straightforward locutions.

Most relevant for our purposes, *vyākaraṇa* (the study of philosophy, grammar, and theories of language that emerged originally as a branch of Vedic study) has become deeply popular for women Sanskritists in the twentieth century. *Vyākaraṇa* is as popular amongst women scholars as other topics, such as philosophy and aesthetics, and in some cases, understood as a subject particularly appropriate for women. In Pune and other parts of Maharashtra, *vyākaraṇa* is understood as an accompaniment to the study of the sacred texts of the Vedas, which women are allowed to pursue.[23] In Tamil Nadu, however, there are stricter prohibitions against the study of the Veda by women. There, *vyākaraṇa* becomes an alternative to Vedic study, similar to, say, Vedānta philosophy or Sanskrit drama. The study of these women has only just begun, and is a topic for additional research.

Much more work needs to be done: further study of gender in the philosophy of language in early and medieval India, particularly in the thinking of Bhartṛhari and Abhinavagupta; individual studies of women poets in the early modern period; linguistic training of women commentators—just to name a few fertile examples. But it may well be that the flowering of women linguists in the twentieth century is a result of the groundwork laid millennia before. The Vedic period provides some compelling models of women's mastery over mantra, whether that is in ritual language or the mysterious behind all language, called *brahman*. The idea of language as itself feminine and deeply rooted in the origin and creation of the cosmos originated in the Vedic period, the medieval period took up the idea with linguistic and philosophical depth and sophistication. From a linguistic, historical, and even theological perspective, Vāc endures.

[23] As mentioned above, many have in fact become scholarly experts in the ritual and even ritual experts in their own right.

18
Women and the codification and stabilization of the Arabic language

Fatima Sadiqi

18.1 Introduction

The Arabic language has a long-recorded history that goes back at least to the fourth century CE and includes five main periods: the pre-Islamic, the onset of Islam, the spread of Islam, the pre-modern, and the modern. In the pre-Islamic period (between the fourth and sixth centuries), Classical Arabic was associated with pre-Islamic nomadic poetry ('Arabic' literally means 'nomadic'). From the onset of Islam in the seventh century, Arabic was associated with this religion, an association which was consolidated during the spread of Islam (between the tenth and twelfth centuries) and has continued to present times. The Qur'an (holy book of Muslims) and *Ḥadīth* (Prophet Muḥammad's sayings and deeds) and practices such as the construction of the language of *fiqh* ('Islamic jurisprudence') and the teaching of Arabic reinforced this association. Olivieri (2018: 66) outlines the debt of linguistic sciences—from lexicography to grammar and rhetoric—to the sacred source, since these were developed from the outset 'so as to gain a more precise and accurate understanding of the Qur'an'.

However, the codification of the Arabic language should not be associated with the advent of Islam, and Classical Arabic should not be equated with Qur'anic Arabic. If we consider that a Classical/Standard language is a language that has a grammar and a dictionary,[1] then the language of the Qur'an is not Classical Arabic in this sense.[2] Three reasons may be advanced to explain this contention. First, writing existed—albeit not widely—before Islam,[3] and the codification of the

[1] There are two main types of Arabic: Classical and Colloquial. When 'Classical' is not used in its generic sense of 'Standard', but, rather, more specifically, to refer to the ancient state of the 'Standard' variety, three types of Arabic are distinguished: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Colloquial Arabic.

[2] Qur'anic Arabic does not contain vernacular traits. Throughout this chapter I will use the term 'Arabic' to refer to Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, as the case may be.

[3] See, for example, the pre-Islamic reports of Al-Ṭabarī (d. 922), *Tārīkh* (15), and Al-Balādhurī (d. 892), *Futūḥ* 579–80.

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Qurʾan predated linguistic study which started only in the eighth century.[4] Indeed, linguistic studies were not intended for the writing and/or preservation of the Qurʾan. Second, medieval philologists did not highlight specific classical traits in the text of the Qurʾan; it was the Qurʾan's 'readings' (*qirāʾāt*), collected between the eighth and the tenth centuries in seven canonical systems, that 'classicized' or 'standardized' the Qurʾanic language (Mhisen 1984: 54). Third, the distinction that Arabophones made between the Qurʾanic language and Classical Arabic originates in another distinction: that between *al-lugha al-fuṣḥā* ('the eloquent/correct language') and Classical Arabic. From the tenth century on, the language of the Qurʾan comes to be definitively identified with the *lughat Quraysh* ('language of Quraysh [Prophet Muḥammad's tribe]') and the *lughat Quraysh* with *al-lugha al-fuṣḥā*. In other words, while Classical Arabic is a sociolinguistic notion, *al-lugha al-fuṣḥā* is a theological fact. Consequently, in modern times, the constitutions of Arab states simply settle for saying that Arabic, without further qualification, is the official language of the state. One might say that Modern Standard Arabic is the language of Arab states, the media, and so on, but with the proviso that it is not to be understood as a traditional unified 'standard'. It includes significant diatopic variation, the result of dialectal interference, on the one hand, and the influence of local languages (like Berber and Coptic), as well as foreign languages (especially English and French), on the other hand. Modern Standard Arabic is, thus, neither a perfectly standardized nor a perfectly stabilized variety. Moreover, Modern Standard Arabic is not identical to Classical Arabic (the ancient Standard), since it has evolved both lexically and grammatically.

While the advent of Islam did not result in Classical Arabic, it created a dialectic relationship between linguistic transmission and *uṣūl al-fiqh*[5] ('The Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth*') and the judicial hermeneutics which produced the *sharīʿa* ('law').[6] In other words, the Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth* constitute the primary sources of Islamic law (*sharīʿa*) and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*),[7] as well as linguistic transmission and linguistic knowledge. More specifically, although transmitters needed to know Arabic, they did not have a reputation for linguistic knowledge, especially in the early period, whereas exegetes did require such knowledge. It is these complex interactions which constitute the historical link between the linguistic study of Arabic and the study of Islam.

[4] The Qurʾan was codified under ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, the third Caliph ('Successor of the Prophet', d. 656) and the linguistic study of Arabic started in the eighth century (see section 18.5 on grammar below).

[5] *Uṣūl* (lit. 'origins, principles') and *fiqh* (lit. 'science').

[6] This is clearly seen in the various studies on Arabic, such as Lewis (1988), which systematically refer to Arabic as 'the language of Islam'.

[7] Note that the articulation of *fiqh* and *sharīʿa* is still subject to debate today.

The codification and stabilization of Arabic pertain to the Arabic discipline of *ʿulūm al-lugha* ('language sciences').[8] In the Arabic linguistic tradition, the term *lugha* can designate a language, a variety, or a simple linguistic variant, but its basic designation is the lexicon of this language, variety or variant. This is the meaning *lugha* has in the title *Al-Muzhir fī ʿulūm al-lugha* (*The Blooming in the Sciences of Language*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), considered to be a fundamental encyclopedia of linguistic studies of Arabic. Central to *ʿulūm al-lugha* is *al-naḥw*, which can designate either grammar in its entirety or syntax only. As grammar in its entirety, *al-naḥw* includes *al-ṣarf* ('morphology and phonology')[9] and graphemics.[10] As this chapter focuses on the Classical, Medieval, and pre-modern periods, I will use *ʿulūm al-lugha* in its traditional sense, as opposed to the modern term used today, *al-lisāniyyāt*, a recent 'calque' of the term 'linguistics'.

Both men and women contributed directly and indirectly to the discipline of *ʿulūm al-lugha*, although women were neglected in the Arabic linguistic canon. The ancient pre-Islamic poetry and the primary sources (Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth*) accompanying the onset of Islam—giving rise to an abundant literature throughout the subsequent centuries—cite names of certain women (first-class poets in *fuṣḥā*, transmitters of Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth*, compilers of *fiqh*, scholars in language-related subjects including grammar, and teachers of Arabic). However, the contributions of these women have remained scattered in primary sources, such as compendia, anthologies, *fihrist*s ('catalogues'), and encyclopedias, and have not been acknowledged as contributions to the Arabic grammatical canon. This chapter is a critical study of these contributions. More specifically, it adopts a linguistic and Islamic Studies approach to explore the role of women in the codification and stabilization of the Arabic language. The adoption of both disciplines is necessary given the historical background of Arabic outlined above. I will argue that women's contributions in this respect were both direct and indirect. Women's direct contributions to the language canon are evidenced in pre-Islamic poetry and the transmission of the Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth*, the two fundamental sources of the corpus on which Arabic grammar and lexicography are founded. There is solid evidence for women's direct participation in the codification of Arabic grammar and lexicography, and we know for instance that women taught grammar to famous Arab grammarians like Al-Suyūṭī and

[8] Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) in his *Muqaddimah* uses the term *ʿulūm al-lisān al-ʿarabī* ('sciences of the Arabic tongue') to refer to the same concept and subdivides this concept into *al-naḥw* ('grammar'), *al-bayān* ('rhetoric'), *al-lugha* ('lexicology'), and *al-ʾadab* ('literature'). Other secondary sources discuss this distinction, for example Owens (1988) and Versteegh (1997).

[9] Contemporary studies on Arabic assume the wider concept of *al-naḥw* (e.g. Ennaji 1985, Fassi Fehri 1993, Ryding 2005, Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choueiri 2010).

[10] For example, a grammarian like Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 1249) adds to his treatise on *al-ṣarf* a part dedicated to *al-khaṭṭ* ('orthography'). However, calligraphy, like translation, has never been part of *ʿulūm al-lugha*.

Al-Sakhāwī.[11] As for women's indirect contribution, it is attested in their active participation in the construction of the language of *fiqh* and the teaching of Arabic, two disciplines that consolidated and fixed the codification of the Arabic language. The relative scarcity of women grammarians/lexicographers of Arabic compared with their more visible presence in religious sciences[12] may be due to the public teaching of the latter as opposed to the private teaching of the former. Whereas the teaching of religious sciences was part of spreading the faith among all citizens regardless of their sex, the teaching of grammar was not necessarily related to faith and was probably seen as a practice that only men were encouraged to carry out in public. In other words, women's absence from the compilation of grammars and dictionaries was mainly due to patriarchy, not religion.

In terms of methodology, I will use both primary and secondary sources to provide a chronological account and analysis of women's contributions to the codification and stabilization of Arabic, situating these within the broader historical, religious, and socio-political context. My aim in so doing is not merely to acknowledge and qualify the linguistic contributions of women, but to highlight how these contributions were defined and used by men in the powerful areas of religion, politics, and scholarship, and how they helped establish the male canon in Arabic linguistic studies.

18.2 Women's pre-Islamic poetry: A direct contribution to the codification of Arabic

Ancient and modern sources assert that pre-Islamic Arabs used writing, and cite pre-Islamic poetry as evidence, including Al-Balādhurī (806–892), Al-Ṭabarī (838–923), Abū al-Faraj al-Asfahānī (897–967), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1179?–1229), Shawqī Ḍayf (1910–2005), and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (1923–2015), among many others.[13] The main conclusion to be drawn from the reading of these sources is that pre-Islamic poetry was preserved through *tadwīn* ('writing' in its general sense), that is, including the *jamʿ* ('gathering') and *tartīb* ('ordering of linguistic materials') (Al-Asad 1988: 107–33). Al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ* 581) mentions that some women used writing. He cites the name of Umm Kalthūm bint ʿUqbah and reports that ʿĀʾisha bint Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ stated: *ʿallamanī abī al-kitāba*' (Al-Balādhurī *Futūḥ* 581; 'my father taught me how to write').[14] He also notes that Karīma bint al-Miqdād used to write. Zaydī (2012: 73) supports the existence

[11] See section 18.5 on grammar below.

[12] A number of studies highlight the abundant presence of women in religious sciences such as Abbott (1942b), Roded (1994), and Sayeed (2013).

[13] The pre-Islamic period is generally defined as the 150 years that preceded the onset of Islam (in approximately 600).

[14] Al-Balādhurī *Futūḥ* 581.

of writing in the pre-Islamic era. Although pre-Islamic script is said to resemble the *fuṣḥā* Arabic script, it is not clear whether it was used to record Arabic poetry. The sources cited above all agree that poetry was transmitted orally in the period before Islam and that *tadwīn* took place after the advent of Islam, at the hands of philologists.

On the other hand, the sources make a clear link between the codification of the Arabic language and pre-Islamic poetry. Al-Asad (1988) has a whole chapter with the title 'al-Kitāba fī l-'Aṣr al-Jāhilī' ('Writing in the *Jāhiliyya* Era') in his book *Maṣādir al-Shi'r al-Jāhilī* (*Sources of Pre-Islamic Poetry*)[15] and argues that the *ruwāt*[16] ('narrators of poetry') memorized the *diwāns* ('collections of poetry') and transmitted them orally as explained by Classical sources such as 'Amr ibn Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ (776–868), Ibn Sa'd al-Zuhrī (784–845), Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Rabbih (860–940), and Muḥammad ibn Makram ibn Manẓūr (1233–1311). Further, we now know that this poetry was the primary medium through which tribes were praised, enemies were lampooned, messages were sent, and so on, that the best poems were named *mu'allaqāt* ('Suspended Odes'), and that, in order to be 'suspended' in the *Ka'ba* in Mecca,[17] the poems had to be first written down.

Significantly, all the sources on pre-Islamic poetry acknowledge and cite women's contributions, especially in the period 400–622 CE. For example, the ninth-century *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (*Book of Animals*), a seven-volume encyclopedia compiled by Al-Jāḥiẓ, and the tenth-century historical chronicle *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Mulūk* (*History of the Messengers and the Kings*), also known as *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī,* by the medieval historian Al-Ṭabarī, cite pre-Islamic women as important creators and improvisers of sophisticated Arabic poetry (Meri 2006: 867). Of all the women poets cited, four stand out: Laylā bint Lukayz (d. 483), Jalīla bint Murra (d. 540), Al-Khirniq bint Badr (d. 600), and Tumāḍir bint 'Amr al-Ḥārith, known as Al-Khansā' (600–670). Amongst these four poets, Al-Khansā' is the most prominent in the records throughout the centuries, right up to modern times, and her elegies still attract academic attention.[18] She is the only one whose life dates are known, and is the only one to have attracted the attention of the Classical critics,[19] who consider her one of the greatest Arab poets ever. Al-Khansā"s poetry established an elegy genre. She was reputed for the excellence of her word choice and grammar, as well as the quality of her poetic language, which brought her respect, fame, and recognition, and accorded her poetic language a special place. Al-Khansā"s authority in language is reflected in the

[15] Al-Jāhiliyya (literally, 'ignorance') is used in the literature to refer to pagan Arabs who did not adhere to any of the three monotheistic religions.

[16] Pre-Islamic poets generally improvised their poetry and each poet had a *rāwī* (singular of *ruwāt*) who memorized and later transmitted the poetry.

[17] The *Ka'ba* is the name of a religious shrine in the central marketplace in pre-Islamic Mecca.

[18] See, for example, Wormhoudt (1973) and Ghadeer (2009: 72).

[19] Ibn Manẓūr (1232–1311) is an example.

fact that she used to stand in *Sūq ʿUkāẓ*,[20] examine the work of other poets, and correct it (Bewley 2004: 97). Her poetry may be considered a genuine contribution to the codification of the Arabic language because the medieval philologists of Arabic partly used pre-Islamic poetry as a source of codification.

According to Olivieri (2018: 63), Al-Suyūṭī mentions *kalām al-ʿArab* ('the Bedouin's language or speech') as a source of Arabic studies. Al-Khalīl is reported to have stated that the Arabic of the Bedouins was a source of unconscious linguistic knowledge (Al-Zajjājī *Īḍāḥ* 66). Being poetic in nature, the sequences of words in pre-Islamic poetry had to be altered to suit grammatical codification (Baalbaki 2008: 4–6).

Poetry fell into disuse in the years that immediately followed the emergence of Islam mainly because poetry in general—and women's poetry in particular—was considered a threat to the new faith, probably due to the fact that it was thought to be too closely associated with the period before the advent of Islam. However, women resumed poetry-writing in the eighth century, and have continued to do so to the present day, with an ebb and flow according to the particular overall environment in which they lived.[21] The passage from the pre-Islamic to the Islamic era was monumental as it shifted women's contributions to the Arabic language from a non-religious to a religious realm.

During the Abbasid period (750–1258), women poets expanded the poetic range of Arabic through a diversification of poetry genres and themes, and used sophisticated language and grammar. The most prominent of these poets is Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya (713/714 or 717–752 or 801), who specialized in Ṣūfī poetry (Bewley 2004: 128). This female tradition of excellence in the use of language and grammar was carried over into the Andalusian period (711–1492 CE), during which many women poets such as Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī (d. 1091–1092), Ḥafṣa bint al-Ḥajjāj al-Rakūniyya (d. 1190), and Ḥamda bint Zayyād (*c.*1204) excelled in the use of the Arabic language to express their feelings and teach poetry. Wallāda wrote some of the finest poetry of the eleventh century and held literary gatherings that attracted the most famous poets of her time (Bewley 2004: 199). Ḥafṣa was said to possess beauty, wealth, and wit, and inspired love in distinguished poets and statesmen like Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd and Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān (Bewley 2004: 67). As for Ḥamda, she taught women poetry in the house of Al-Manṣūr who ruled Andalusia in the twelfth century (Bewley 2004: 69).

Women's poetry and the use of Arabic in general decreased in the long Ottoman era (1299–1924). In parallel, and as a result of the encounter with the West in the nineteenth century, Arab lands (especially Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon) witnessed what came to be known as the 'Arab Renaissance' in the second half of

[20] *Sūq ʿUkāẓ* was a bazar in pre-Islamic Mecca where Arab poets used to hold poetry contests.
[21] For critical studies on this topic see, for example, Handal (2000) and Sadiqi et al. (2009).

the century. Part of this Renaissance was the modernization of the Arabic language through the use of *fuṣḥā* poetry. During this period, only one woman is associated with this endeavour, the Lebanese Warda al-Yāzijī (1838–1924), who belonged to a family that attempted to renew the Arabic language (Badawi 1992: 445). Her father, Nāṣif al-Yāzijī (1804–1887), one of the founding fathers of the Arab Renaissance, trained her in Arabic grammar. Warda's work focused on writing poetry in Classical metres. Her 1867 book, *Ḥadīqat al-Ward* (*The Rose Garden*), is recognized by literary critics as a contribution to the modernization of poetry written in *fuṣḥā* (Ashour 2009: 56). It is also the first book written by an Arab woman to appear in print (Badawi 1992: 445). Women's writing of poetry in *fuṣḥā* continued in the twentieth century (Badran and Cooke 1990; Handal 2000).

Overall, notwithstanding an ebb and flow that extended from the pre-Islamic period to the end of the nineteenth century, women's poetry was important, first in the codification of the Arabic language, then in its consolidation and modernization. This aspect of women's contribution to Arabic has hitherto been neglected in Arabic linguistic studies.

18.3 Women's transmission of the Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth*: Their contribution to the stabilization of Arabic at the religious level

The role of women in the transmission of *Ḥadīth* has been widely documented. For example, the two Persian Sunnī scholars Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī (810–870) and Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj (821–875), who co-authored the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (*Authentic*), the most widely adopted of the six acknowledged collections of *Ḥadīth* in Islam,[22] extensively record women's central role in reporting and narrating *Ḥadīth* (Abbott 1942b; Bewley 2004; Sayeed 2013). Numerous ancient sources corroborate this. Thus, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1449) cites hundreds of *muḥaddithāt*, female *Ḥadīth* transmitters/narrators (Sayeed 2002: 71), and Al-Sakhāwī has hundreds of entries for female *Ḥadīth* transmitters. Female *Ḥadīth* transmitters are also highlighted in Al-Ṣafadī (d. 1362) and Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1679) (Sayeed 2002: 71).

Furthermore, the Arab historian Muḥammad ibn Saʿd (784–845) highlights many of the *Ṣaḥābiyyāt* ('female Companions of the Prophet')[23] as powerful narrators of *Ḥadīth* in his 1358 work *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* (*The Large Book of Generations*), of which the eighth volume focuses on the generations of *Ḥadīth* transmitters (Atassi 2009: 1). Similarly, Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-ʾAthīr (1160–1233)

[22] These are referred to as *Al-Kutub Al-Sitta Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (*The Six Authentic Books*). They were compiled by six Sunnī Muslim scholars in the ninth century and formally brought together by Abū al-Faḍl ibn al-Qaysarānī in the eleventh century.

[23] A Companion of Prophet Muḥammad is someone who personally knew him.

allocates an entire volume of his work *Usd al-Ghāba* (*The Forest Lions*) to biographies of *muḥaddithāt*.[24] In his *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb* (*The Approximation of Instruction*), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1372–1449) records several women as trustworthy sources of *Ḥadīth* narration at the beginning of the third century of the Hijra[25] (roughly the ninth century; Sayeed 2013: 89). Modern female scholars like Nabia Abbott (1942b), Leila Ahmed (1986), Fatima Mernissi (1987), and Asma Sayeed (2013) have studied women's transmission of *Ḥadīth*. While non-Western scholars were concerned with the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* regardless of gender, Western scholars have adopted a gender perspective in the study of female *Ḥadīth* transmitters. In both cases, women are named as the primary sources of *Ḥadīth*.

The most cited group of female *Ḥadīth* transmitters is that of the *Ṣaḥābiyyāt*, who range from relatives of the Prophet to fighters in battles (Bewley 2004; Sayeed 2013). The relatives of the Prophet range, in turn, from wives and daughters to distant relatives. While this relationship to the Prophet was important for the credibility of the transmitted messages, the status of these women as *Ḥadīth* transmitters propelled them to the forefront of religious knowledge production. In addition to the Prophet's relatives, many ordinary women are reported in Al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to have transmitted *Ḥadīth*, while the quality of their transmission equalled that of notable contemporary male transmitters like Abū Hurayra (Mernissi 1987; Sayeed 2013). As far as the process of *Ḥadīth* transmission is concerned, some women recorded what the Prophet said, so the *Ḥadīth* or Qurʾanic verses they reported were about him, while others were about themselves in relation to the life of the Prophet as stated in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Sayeed 2013). These oral testimonies of the words of the Prophet by women were used as religious precepts, but they were also important from a strictly linguistic viewpoint in the sense that they were used to express and transmit a normative linguistic legacy. Indeed, the oral transmission of *Ḥadīth* involves the intervention of the transmitter in the language that is used and, once recorded in writing, this transmission becomes part of the codification of religious expression in the Arabic language. In other words, the fact that women's words and sentences were used in the linguistic transmission and writing of *Ḥadīth* testifies to their contribution to the codification of Arabic at the religious level, a type of Arabic that continues to hold authority across the Arab-Islamic world.

Of all the transmitters of *Ḥadīth* (male and female), the most prominent one is ʿĀʾisha, known as *Umm al-Muʾminīn* ('Mother of the Believers'). Given her central position in the transmission of both *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, the following section will be devoted to her contributions to these two domains, as well as to her role in the teaching of the Arabic language.

[24] Ibn al-ʾAthīr (1920: 389–642) also cited in Roded (1994: 65–6).

[25] Muslim calendar.

18.3.1 ʿĀʾisha: An outstanding figure in the codification and stabilization of Arabic

ʿĀʾisha (613/14–678) is the daughter of Abū Bakr (573–634), a prominent Companion of the Prophet, one of his earliest supporters and confidants, and the first caliph to succeed him. She was his favourite wife and spent much time with the Prophet, who received revelations in her presence.[26] ʿĀʾisha is said to have been the primary source of eighty-three traditions from or about Muḥammad (Geissinger 2011: 40). She provided close to 1,370, that is 60 per cent of all the narrated *Ḥadīth* by the female Companions (Sayeed 2013: 78). Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī states that a quarter of the *sharīʿa* laws are based on traditions from ʿĀʾisha (Geissinger 2011: 39). Her unique position in *Ḥadīth* transmission was due not only to her privileged kinship, but also to her in-depth knowledge of poetry, medicine, and astronomy (Abbott 1942a: 205). This knowledge allowed her to choose words and say them in her own way, while her status commanded the attention of others and influenced the way they spoke and wrote Arabic. ʿĀʾisha is reported to have used poetic expressions such as '*yanzilu fī l-bardi l-shadīdi fa yafṣimu ʿanhu wa ʾinna jabīnahu la-yatafaṣṣadu ʿaraqan*' ('he was sweating under the burden of the revealed word, though it was winter') in describing the Prophet's state when he received a revelation. ʿĀʾisha's subtle discourse may be qualified as a linguistic contribution that helped codify Arabic.

As the language of *Ḥadīth* constitutes the cement of the language of *fiqh*, ʿĀʾisha may be said to have been instrumental in the codification of the language of *fiqh*, which is still used today. She was known as *faqīha* ('female expert in *fiqh*, legal expert') who gave legal judgments (*fatwās*) during the Rāshidūn caliphates of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (579–644) and ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān (577–656) (Geissinger 2011: 39).[27] During this process, she often entered into various debates with the Prophet's Companions, especially ʿUmar, about linguistic ways of expressing *fatwās*, a practice that necessitated the adoption of a solid grammar and accurate vocabulary, given the semantic nuances of *fatwās* for Muslims during their lifetime and in the afterlife.[28] ʿĀʾisha's legal expressions in *fatwās* were genuine contributions to the codification of the Islamic legal language as she transmitted the Qurʾan in both its oral and written forms, and her authority in the writing of Sunnī legal texts and Qurʾan commentaries is acknowledged by medieval Sunnī scholars (Geissinger 2011: 37).

ʿĀʾisha's role as a powerful *Ḥadīth* transmitter and *fiqh* producer was consolidated by her role as a teacher of the Arabic language. She taught Arabic to

[26] See, for example, Mernissi (1987), Roded (1994), Bewley (2004), and Sayeed (2013).
[27] See also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 521–2.
[28] The rigorous expression of the law gained more importance from the eleventh century onward, with the collection of *Ḥadīth* in *Al-Kutub Al-Sitta Al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.

ʿUrwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 713), her nephew, and other distinguished *fuqahāʾ* ('male jurists') (Khalidi 1994). The Muslim historian Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī credits much of ʿUrwa's knowledge of the Arabic language to ʿĀʾisha. Similarly, Al-Tirmidhī, one of the six *Ḥadīth* compilers, is reported to have said in his *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* (*Tirmidhi's Traditions*; also known as *Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*): *'mā ashkala ʿalāynā ṣaḥābat rasūl Allāh ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam ḥadīth qaṭṭu fa-saʾalnā ʿĀʾisha illā wajadnā ʿindahā minhu ʿilman'* (Mujahid 2012: 21; 'Whenever we, the Companions of Allah's Messenger, Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon him, had some difficulty concerning a *Ḥadīth*, we would ask ʿĀʾisha, who would invariably give some explanation and solve our difficulty').

18.3.2 Other women *Ḥadīth* transmitters

In addition to ʿĀʾisha, two other wives of the Prophet, Umm Salāma and Asmāʾ, as well as his daughter Fāṭima, are mentioned in *Al-Kutub Al-Sitta Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* as dominant figures in transmitting *Ḥadīth* (Roded 1994: 23). Of the three, Umm Salāma (d. 679) is second only to ʿĀʾisha in transmitting authoritative *Ḥadīth* (Sayeed 2013: 189). In addition to these women, Bewley (2004: 170) reports that Umm al-Dardāʾ (the younger) or Hujayma, a seventh-century jurist and scholar of Islam, was superior to all *Ḥadīth* transmitters of her time, including famous male transmitters like Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sīrīn. Abū Bakr ibn Abī Dāwūd is reported by Bewley (2004: 170) to have said 'The masters of the women among the Tābiʿūn[29] are Ḥafṣa bint Sīrīn and ʿAmra bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The third who does not share the rank of the first two is Umm al-Dardāʾ [the younger]'.

Women's relationship with the Arabic language in early Islam was associated with another linguistic aspect, the oral-written interface of Arabic. Until the early ninth century, the transmission of *Ḥadīth* had primarily been oral, with writing serving as a support for memory; however, writing gradually became a substitute for oral transmission after the promulgation of the canonical *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* books without completely supplanting memorization as a way of transmitting *Ḥadīth* (Ayyad 2013: 772).

From the mid-eighth century onward, women's *Ḥadīth* narration started to decline. Sayeed (2013: 91) relates this to factors such as the 'professionalization' of *Ḥadīth* transmission through the imposition of rigorous criteria in judging the quality of *Ḥadīth*, the proliferation of journeys (*riḥla*) to collect *Ḥadīth*, and the need for a tutelage, legal acumen, and training, all of which presented obstacles for women.

[29] The *Tābiʿūn* ('Followers') are the generation of Muslims who had known the *Ṣaḥāba* and *Ṣaḥābiyyāt* (the Prophet's male and female Companions).

Beyond the Levant, women's interest in *Ḥadīth* is attested in the Iberian Peninsula, known as Al-Andalus, in today's southern Spain. Sidik et al. (2013: 326) state that Andalusian women studied *Ḥadīth* and some of them excelled in it, such as Ghāda bint ʿAbd Allāh bint Ḥamdūn and Umm al-Ḥasan bint Abī l-Liwāʾ Sulaymān. According to Abū ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Abbār (1199–1260), some of these *Ḥadīth* scholars were black slaves such as ʿAbīda al-Madaniyya, who is said to have transmitted 10,000 *Ḥadīth* (Bewley 2004: 2).

Women's role in narrating *Ḥadīth* has been acknowledged throughout the history of Islam. No fewer than 2,065 *Ḥadīth* in which a woman is listed as the first authority after the Prophet have been recorded as authentic (Sayeed 2013: 77). Accomplished transmitters like ʿA'isha and Umm Salāma were accessible to both men and women (Sayeed 2013: 42); they were not only distinguished by religious knowledge and legal discernment, but also showed their understanding of Arabic grammar (Sayeed 2013: 65). Furthermore, ʿA'isha played a role in the transmission and the preservation of the written Qur'anic text (Geissinger 2011: 42–3). Some readings of the Qur'an were attributed to her, and her role in the correct arrangement of some verses was acknowledged by Al-Bukhārī.[30] All female *Ḥadīth* transmitters couched their statements in words and grammar that reinforced the stabilization of Arabic and the maintenance of its linguistic standard.

18.4 Women's role in the construction of *fiqh*: A contribution to the stabilization of Arabic at the legal level

Fiqh is where Qur'an and *Ḥadīth* are implemented,[31] hence its central place in law-making and social organization, including gender role assignment. In early Islam, issuing a *fatwā*, verbally or in writing, was not a prerogative of men: according to Fadel (1997: 189), 'a woman's *fatwā* was as valid and morally binding as the *fatwā* of a man'. The first women who issued *fatwās* and thus contributed to the codification of the Islamic legal language were the female Companions of Prophet Muḥammad. After ʿĀ'isha, two women stand out as notorious *faqīha*s: ʿAmra bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʾAnṣāriyya (d. 716/17 or 721), who gave legal opinions that overrode the views of male authorities of her time, to the extent that Ibn Saʿd calls her *ʿālima* ('scholar'), and Imām Mālik ibn ʾAnas used her as a source (Bewley 2004: 17–18). The second woman is Khadīja bint Saḥnūn al-Tanūkhī (d. 884), who gave *fatwā*s on women's everyday issues. She was very skilled in dealing with abstruse questions (Bewley 2004: 95).

[30] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* VI, 483–4, cited in Geissinger (2011: 42–3).

[31] Broadly speaking, *fiqh* is part of *uṣūl al-dīn* ('sources of religion') and is related to the broader field of 'Islamic teachings'.

In the twelfth century, a notable female Muslim jurist is the much-respected scholar Fāṭima bint Muḥammad al-Samarqandī (d. 1182). This woman jurist developed and maintained a scholarly relationship with her husband ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Kasānī, himself a notable jurist who was called *malik al-ʿulamāʾ* ('King of Scholars'). Al-Kasānī authored *Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ* (*The Marvels*), a six-volume reference work in *fiqh*. Fāṭima's husband so much respected her *fatwās* that he would consistently listen to her corrections when he was unable to achieve the right language for his own *fatwās* (Ednan, Hermansen, and Medeni 2013: 54). Fāṭima used to sign her *fatwās* in her own name and that of her father or husband during the lifetime of her father; when the latter died, she and her husband signed the *fatwās* (Nadwi 2007: 144).

In the thirteenth century, Sitt al-Wuzarāʾ bint ʿUmar al-Tanūkhiyya (1243–1316) was known as the *musnida* (*Ḥadīth* and *fiqh* scholar) of her time; she gave lectures on Al-Bukhārī in Egypt and Damascus. According to Bewley (2004: 150), 'She was invited to Cairo to give a *fatwā* on a matter which had perplexed the jurists there'.

Beyond the Levant, Muslim Al-Andalus witnessed the rise of some women scholars in Fiqh who, in addition to this discipline, distinguished themselves in various avenues of knowledge, including that of the Arabic language, in the largest Islamic mosques of Andalusian Spain, and were able to attract generations of students and people from other countries seeking knowledge.[32] In the literature on Arab-Andalusian women,[33] some of the latter achieved fame and notoriety. For example, Wallāda bint al-Mustakfī (1001–1091), mentioned above, distinguished herself as an intellectual and a poet who competed with renowned male poets like the famous Ibn Zaydūn through the use of sophisticated poetry in *fuṣḥā*.

Another jurist, Fāṭima bint Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Faqīha (d. 1437), deduced legal rulings and investigated legal questions together with her father until he stated 'Fāṭima can deduce legal rulings on her own'. He would consult her sometimes while he was teaching and a question arose to which he did not know the answer (Bewley 2004: 47–8).

In the eighteenth century, ʿĀʾisha bint al-Ṭayyib ibn Khālid al-Imārī (d. 1724), the wife of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāfī, was skilled in *fiqh*. Her husband consulted her for his legal judgments. ʿĀʾisha is known to have memorized the translation of *Al-Mukhtaṣar* by Al-Huzālī in the Berber language (Bewley 2004: 10). Another notable jurist, Lalla Ghaylāna (d. 1775), was a female scholar in Tetuan (Morocco) and gave *fatwā*s (Bewley 2004: 60).

[32] During the first three centuries of the Muslim reign in Al-Andalus (roughly 711–1031), the Umayyads' policy resulted in the establishment of the Arabic language and Muslim law with the aim of developing a distinct Andalusi culture. Women of the royal household, along with other courtly women, played prominent roles in this endeavour (Afsaruddin 1991, Sidik et al. 2013).

[33] See for example, Schippers (1993) and Sidik et al. (2013).

In sum, being a Muslim jurist also meant contributing to the consolidation of Arabic in general, and legal Arabic in particular. Legal training did not only require familiarity with legal discourse and legal discernment, but also knowledge of Arabic grammar and rhetoric (Sayeed 2013: 94).

18.5 Women grammarians and lexicographers: A hidden legacy

In the Arabic literature, two works are associated with the grammatical codification of the Arabic language in the sense of the production of dictionaries and grammars. The first one is *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* (*The Book of The Arabic Letter ʿAyn*) by Al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (718–791); the second book is *Al-Kitāb* by ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān Sībawayh (760–796).[34] The *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* is the first dictionary of the Arabic language. As for *Al-Kitāb*, it is the first complete volume of Arabic grammar and one of the first books in Arabic (Webb 2012: 30). The works of Al-Khalīl and Sībawayh, both completed in the eighth century, may be considered foundational in the codification of the Arabic language because they constitute the first texts in Arabic lexicography and grammar. After them, schools of grammar developed in Basra and Kufa and, by the tenth century, most grammarians settled in Baghdad.

The medieval period of Arabic grammar was an expansion of the Basra school and is often referred to as the 'Classical Period'; it is marked by the work of grammarians like Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Mubarrad (826–898), Abū al-Fatḥ Ibn Jinnī (934–1002), and Abū Bakr ibn al-Sarrāj (b. mid-tenth century). The period after that is referred to as the 'Post-Classical Period', represented by grammarians like ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Anbārī (1119–1181).

The expansion of the studies on Arabic grammar was accompanied by a parallel expansion of Arabic dictionary compiling. After Al-Khalīl's masterpiece, several other canons of lexicography were produced, including *Tahdhīb al-Lugha* (*Refinement of Language*), compiled by Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī (895–980) in the tenth century, and *Lisān al-ʿArab* (*The Arabs' Language*), compiled by Abū al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr (1233–1312).

What about the contribution of women to Arabic grammar and related fields of study? Fatḥallāh (1890: 41–2) mentions the case of the daughter of Imām Mālik ibn Anas who acted as a 'corrector' (author's translation):

> When Imām Mālik had his *Al-Muwaṭṭa'* read [back] to him [from his manuscript], if the reader mispronounced a letter or added or omitted anything, his daughter

[34] See Talmon (1987), Baalbaki (2008), and Olivieri (2018) for studies on these two books and related works.

> would rap on the door. After that, her father would say to the reciter: 'Go back, that is your mistake'. And so he would retrace the text and find the error.

Two other women are cited in relation to the study of language and grammar. The first is ʿUlayya bint Ḥassān (b. 728), with whom Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī and other notable scholars of Basra used to discuss various learned matters (Bewley 2004: 160). The second is Al-Nuzzār bint Muḥammad al-Andalusī (d. 984), a female poet with extensive knowledge of mathematics (Bewley 2004: 107).

In the ninth century, Mahriyya bint al-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī, a Tunisian princess from Qayrawān, is cited as a remarkable authority on Arabic and the rules of poetry (Bewley 2004: 107). In North Africa, too, Khadīja bint Muḥammad al-Bayḍāwī is named as a scholar with profound knowledge of Islamic sciences. Khadīja is reported to have familiarized her sons with books of language, grammar, and history (Bewley 2004: 94). Further, Bewley (2004: 14) mentions Amat al-Waḥīd, a tenth-century mathematician who studied the complex rules of inheritance and issued *fatwās* with a male *faqīh*.

In the fifteenth century, two prominent grammarians, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1445–1505) and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (1428–1497) acknowledge that they were taught by women. Al-Suyūṭī mentions Umm Hānī bint Abī al-Ḥasan al-Hūrīnī in his *Bughyat al-Wuʿāt fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawiyyīn wa-l-Nuḥāt* (*The Wish of the Advisers about the Generations of Lexicographers and Grammarians*) as one of the teachers of grammar from whom he received an *ijāza* ('scholarly licence'): *'qaraʾtu ʿalā l-asīlati al-thiqa al-khayyira al-fāḍila al-kātiba Umm Hānī bint Abī l-Hasan al-Hūrīnī'* (Al-Suyūṭī *Bughya* II, 477; 'I was taught by the trustworthy, the generous, the wise, the writer Umm Hani'). He adds that Umm Hānī transmitted grammatical knowledge from a chain of grammarians including Abū al-ʿAbbād ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī al-Makkī and ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Nushāwirī (Al-Suyūṭī *Bughya* II, 398; Bewley 2004: 175). Al-Suyūṭī records other female teachers who taught him grammar, such as Ḥājir bint Muḥammad al-Miṣriyya, Umm al-Faḍl bint Muḥammad al-Maqdisī, and Nashwān bint ʿAbd Allāh al-Kinānī (Al-Suyūṭī *Bughya* II, 398–9, 401, 408). Al-Suyūṭī was taught by other women, among them Amat al-ʿAzīz bint Muḥammad, Alf bint al-Ḥasan, and Amat al-Khāliq bint ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (Bewley 2004: 13).

As for Al-Sakhāwī, he states that Sārah bint ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1451) taught him, adding that '[t]he people of Egypt's level of knowledge fell when she died' (Bewley 2004: 142). On the other hand, Muʾnisa bint Muḥammad al-Ghazāʾirī (1366–1448) gave an *ijāza* to Al-Sakhāwī (Bewley 2004: 107) and, according to Al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary *Al-Imtinān bi-Shuyūkh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān* (*Modelling on the Teachings of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān*), more girls and women received instruction from women than boys and men did (Berkey 1992: 267). On the other hand, al-Sakhāwī dedicated a whole volume exclusively to women, and states that many women

scholars of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries gave classes attended by hundreds of men and women (Nadwi 2007: 267).

Furthermore, the two eminent grammarians studied with ʿĀʾisha bint Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAjamī. The fact that both Al-Suyūtī and Al-Sakhāwī were well-known grammarians renders their testimony of the influence of female teachers on them highly relevant in the context of this chapter.

As for dictionary compiling, one woman is cited in Al-ʿAsqalānī's fifteenth-century dictionary *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis li-l-Muʿjam al-Mufahris* (*The Chronological and Indexed Dictionary*): ʿĀʾisha bint Muḥammad al-Ḥalabiyya (b. 1409) (Shalata 2016: 389). ʿĀʾisha is also cited as a teacher of Al-Sakhāwi, who presents her as *muṣannifah* ('dictionary compiler'); however, no dictionary by her has survived.

In the eighteenth century, Zaynab bint Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 1703) is reported to have been a master of grammar, logic, astronomy, and alchemy (Bewley 2004: 206) and Zubayda bint Asʿad al-Qusṭanṭiniyya (d. 1780) as a scholar who studied language among other disciplines and wrote poetry in Turkish and Persian (Bewley 2004: 209).

In Al-Andalus, Bewley (2004: 109) mentions that Maryam al-Adhrāʿī (1319–1402/1403) was a grammarian who created her own dictionary in an attempt to understand *Ḥadīth*. Bewley also adds that Maryam studied texts with the notable grammarian Al-ʿAsqalānī. Lubnā of Cordoba (d. 1003) is cited as the secretary of the Andalusian Caliph al-Ḥakam II (915–976) and as excelling in grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics (Bewley 2004: 106). Lubnā is described by the famous Andalusian scholar ʿAbd al-Qāsim ibn Bashkuwāl (1101–1183) as excelling in writing, grammar, and poetry. Her knowledge of mathematics was also said to be immense and she was considered proficient in other sciences as well (*Ṣila* 219).

Overall, we have solid evidence of the role of women in compiling grammars and dictionaries of Arabic. The fact that none of the female grammarians discussed above left a grammar of Arabic may be due to patriarchal constraints.

18.6 Women teachers of Arabic: Their contribution to the stabilization of this language

Given the relationship between Arabic and the primary sources of Islam (Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth*), the teaching of the latter implicitly or explicitly involved the teaching of the former. Teaching the Arabic language is a way of stabilizing it by transmitting its grammatical and lexicographical core structure along with its phonological characteristics from generation to generation. Women not only taught Arabic, but they gave *ijāzas* ('scholarly licences') to famous scholars like the aforementioned Al-Suyūṭī, Al-Sakhāwī, and Al-ʿAsqalānī.

In addition to ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet's wife, two women are cited as prominent teachers of *Ḥadīth* and Arabic. The first, likewise from the Companions' generation, is Khayra bint Abī Ḥadrad (d. 650), known as Umm al-Dardāʾ al-Kubrā (Bewley 2004: 170); she was apparently an outstanding teacher who taught men Arabic along with *Ḥadīth* and *fiqh*. The second is ʿĀliya bint al-Ṭayyib, a tenth-century scholar who taught Arabic in the Al-Andalus mosque in Fez (Morocco) and whose lessons were attended by men after the evening prayer and by women after the afternoon prayer (Bewley 2004: 12).

Women continued to teach the Qur'an, *Ḥadīth*, and the Arabic language to women and men after the early period of Islam. During the passage from the oral to the written forms of Arabic, a few women distinguished themselves as educated and outstanding teachers of Arabic. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, two women stand out: Karīma bint Aḥmad al-Marwaziyya (d. 1070) and Shuhda al-Kātiba (1089–1178). Karīma never married and used to accompany her father on his travels. Many teachers sent their students to her and came to listen to her lectures themselves (Bewley 2004: 91). As for Shuhda, known as Al-Kātiba ('the writer') and Fakhr al-Nisāʾ ('glory of women'), she taught *Ḥadīth* and other subjects to crowds of students at the university of Baghdad (Bewley 2004: 147) and was better known than her husband Abū Muḥammad, a wealthy man and companion of Caliph al-Muqtafī (Bewley 2004: 147).

Between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, two other eminent women teachers are cited: Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (1248–1339) and ʿĀʾisha bint Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (1323–1413). Zaynab 'had a camel load of *ijāzas*' and taught *Ḥadīth* in Damascus to famous scholars such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Bewley 2004: 203). As for ʿĀʾisha, she was a prominent teacher of *Ḥadīth* and *Sīra* ('Prophet's biography'). She was also 'the last to relate Al-Bukhārī from a superior oral source' (Bewley 2004: 8) and, according to Al-Sakhāwī, she taught at least thirty-five women (Bewley 2004: 8). Furthermore, the famous Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī is reported to have studied with her for a time, citing her as one of his main teachers (Bewley 2004: 8). The same source also mentions that a large number of students travelled great distances to attend ʿĀʾisha's lectures. She was called the great *musnida* ('female trustworthy source'), on account of her vast knowledge of *Ḥadīth* and Arabic. The notable Syrian teacher Ibn al-ʿImād (1623–1679) called her the *Muḥaddithat Dimashq* ('the female *Ḥadīth* teacher of Damascus') and said that she was the most reliable source of transmission in her time (Bewley 2004: 8).

Women scholars/teachers have also been reported to have given *ijāzas* to a number of eminent male scholars. Zaynab bint ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1347), for instance gave an *ijāza* to the famous scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who recounted that he was taught by her and that she was an unveiled woman (Bewley 2004: 202). Where this kind of interaction took place is not clear. Likewise, the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveller Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1368/1369) mentions in his classical masterpiece

Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharāʾib al-Amṣār wa-ʿAjāʾib al-Asfār (*Gift for the Beholders about the Wonders of Cities and the Marvels of Travelling*) that he visited Al-Masjid al-Umawī (Umayyad Mosque) in Damascus and heard *Ḥadīth* from some of the female scholars such as Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (1249–1339; Bewley 2004: 203) and ʿĀʾisha bint Muḥammad ibn al-Muslim al-Ḥarrāniyya (b. 1415; Bewley 2004: 8). He adds that the latter held a session for teaching *maʿrifa* ('knowledge') at the mosque, that she used to earn her living by sewing and taught whilst doing this, and that he read some of his books before her.

In Umayyad Al-Andalus, a non-Arab land where the teaching of Arabic was privileged, women played a prominent role in teaching the great early eleventh-century writer of Al-Andalus, Ibn Ḥazm (Salahi 2006: 88). Women taught the language not only during times of peace, but also during times of war. When Islam was banned from Al-Andalus and the Inquisition was at its peak, many women continued to teach Arabic in secrecy. According to the Morisco scholar Mancebo de Arevalo (born in the late fifteenth century and died in the second half of the sixteenth century), Abda and Abla, were two such women.[35] Abda is the grand-daughter of ʿAbīda al-Madaniyya mentioned above.

18.7 Concluding remarks

This chapter has sought to highlight women's contributions to pre-Islamic poetry, Qurʾan and *Ḥadīth* transmission, and the teaching of Arabic and, by so doing, to reclaim their neglected role in the codification and stabilization of the Arabic language. The fact that women were increasingly excluded from the public domain makes it doubly interesting to find so many examples of female poets, transmitters, *ijāza* holders and providers, and grammarians. The neglect of women's role in the construction of Arabic linguistics may be due to two factors: the historical construction of Arabic as the language of public religious and political authority, and the patriarchal practices of male grammarians and critics. The first factor resulted in a paradoxical situation whereby the promotion of Arabic writing created Classical/Standard Arabic and constructed this language as a 'public' and 'non-mother tongue',[36] which gradually transformed into a 'paternal'/'father' tongue, hence distancing it from women (who ceased to use it with their children).[37] The idea that Classical Arabic is a 'paternal' (as opposed to

[35] http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-ii/the-young-man-of-arevalo-COM_26132 accessed 18 Jan. 2020.

[36] In Sadiqi (2003), I argue that Standard Arabic is a 'male' language in the sense that it is used in contexts where more men than women are found: the mosque, the government, formal media, as well as at funerals.

[37] Presumably, Classical Arabic had local variants which were used as mother tongues.

'maternal') language may be further defended on the following grounds: Arabist linguists are generally of the view that there is no certainty that this variety of Arabic has ever been a spoken language and that it may well have been at all times an artificial variety (what in German is called a *Kunstsprache*). Everybody ceased to use the kind of Arabic that was written, as the distance between written and spoken Arabics existed almost right from the beginning; it is certainly incorrect to suppose that men continued to speak Classical Arabic, while women shifted to a spoken variety, but the fact that Classical Arabic was not spoken makes it more 'paternal' than 'maternal'.

The second factor, the neglect of women by critics, is supported by the historically prevailing patriarchy in Arab societies. Consequently, just as the work of pre-Islamic women poets was not preserved in Arabic scholarship to the same extent as men's, women's contributions to the codification of Arabic grammar and lexicography were brushed away. It is no surprise that the recent upsurge of interest in Islamic feminisms both locally and transnationally is essentially targeting the language of *fiqh*. With the increase of female education and awareness, home-grown and transnational Islamic feminisms are deconstructing the language of *fiqh* at both the terminological and conceptual levels. The history of the Arabic language in these new dynamics is not highlighted and this fact narrows future avenues of research. What the inclusion of language predicts, however, is that the reform of *fiqh* as jurisprudence is possible only with the reform of the Arabic language, and part of the reform of the latter is the inclusion of women's contributions to the codification and stabilization of Arabic in the linguistic canon.

19
European women and the description and teaching of African languages

Helma Pasch

19.1 Introduction

In his congratulatory note on the 90th birthday of the linguist and teacher of African languages Ethel O. Ashton (1874–1965), the South African linguist Clement Doke (1964: 166) deplored the fact that '[i]t is not generally recognized what a worthy part women have played in the study of the multitude of languages in Africa'. He might have added that this was true despite the relatively low number of women working in this field. Today the number of women in African linguistics equals that of men, but the recognition is still not there. The aim of this chapter is to outline women's contribution to African linguistics and to highlight the role that they have played in developing the discipline and in running university departments and academic journals. Little or nothing is known about the role of African women either as authors of metalinguistic texts or as linguistic informants in the period up to the first decades of the twentieth century, and it will therefore not be discussed in this chapter.[1]

African linguistics is a relatively young academic discipline which began with the professorship of Carl Meinhof (1857–1944), one of the founders of African linguistics, at the University of Hamburg. Prior research on African languages was considered as part of general linguistics or Oriental Studies. The first description of an African language, a grammar of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic), was written in 1552 by Mariano Vittori on the basis of information given by representatives of the Ethiopian clergy in Rome (Fellman 1985: 197). The first descriptions of a vernacular, Kikongo, as spoken in present-day north Angola, are a short wordlist by Filippo Pigafetta (1965 [1591]), compiled on the basis of travel notes by Duarte Lopes, in his report on the Kingdom of Kikongo, and a dictionary and a grammar

[1] I am grateful to Anne Storch and Angelika Jakobi who discussed parts of the chapter with me. I also want to thank the anonymous reviewers for their comments and valuable suggestions.

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of Kikongo published by the missionary Giacinto Brusciotto in 1652 and 1659,[2] respectively. However, it was only in the nineteenth century that the number of vocabularies and descriptions of African languages, written by missionaries like Sigismund Koelle (1854) and by travellers like Georg Schweinfurth (1873) or Jan Czekanowski (1924) increased.

In the meantime, there was a serious academic interest in African languages aimed at improving the quality of linguistic studies, most of which had hitherto been amateurish (Killingray and Ellis 2000; Esselborn 2018: 11), and new methods of investigation were developed. In Hamburg, Meinhof applied the comparative-historical method to Bantu languages,[3] and in Berlin Diedrich Westermann[4] (1875–1956) outlined the genetic relation between Bantu and non-Bantu languages (Westermann 1911). Lilias Homburger (1880–1969) in Paris undertook the first large-scale comparative studies (Homburger 1914, 1929a, 1929b), and Alice Werner in London applied philological methods to the investigation of Swahili literature (Werner 1915b, 1918, 1920).

As is the case for the colonization and proselytization of Africa, early scholarly discovery of this continent was mainly in the hands of men. This is also true with regard to African languages. However, in the second decade of the twentieth century women began to play a role in the investigation of African languages. This happened in two domains: academia and the Christian missions in Africa. In academia the work was led by Homburger and Werner, and on the African continent it was led by the missionary Cinie de Louw (1872–1935).

It must, however, be noted that in academia only four women born before 1905 managed to achieve the status of professor: Lilias Homburger, Alice Werner, Ida Ward, and Emmi Kähler-Meyer. Like their male colleagues, they were honoured and commemorated in obituaries, had volumes dedicated to them, or received public awards. The women who held minor positions in academia likewise made important contributions to African linguistics. However, while their publications are still used today, we know very little about their lives, sometimes not even the full biographical data. Similarly, few names of wives, sisters, and daughters of university and missionary linguists, who actively assisted the head of the family in his work, are mentioned in publications. Famous exceptions are Lucy Lloyd (1834–1914) and Dorothea Bleek (1873–1934), who participated in the research and publications of the linguist Wilhelm Bleek (1827–1875) and continued the research after his death on their own.

The lack of biographies of women means that it is not easy to describe the lives and careers of the female Africanists, even where there are obituaries. At times,

[2] Unfortunately, there is no extant copy of this dictionary with explanations in Portuguese, Latin, and Italian (https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kongo-language accessed 1 July 2019).

[3] His most important works are a comparative phonology of Bantu languages (Meinhof 1899) and a comparative grammar of Bantu languages (Meinhof 1906).

[4] Westermann is the second founder of African linguistics in German (Pasch 2005).

specific pieces of information on female Africanists can be found in the obituaries or biographies of their male colleagues. An example is the biography of the well-known phonetician Daniel Jones (Killingray and Ellis 2000), which gives information on Ward unavailable elsewhere, and it is practically the only source for the life and work of Lilias Eveline Armstrong (1882–1937). We have better information about the wives of some Protestant missionaries, such as Hendrina Margo Kloekers (1855–1938), who assisted her husband in his linguistic research. Their memories are preserved by the missionary societies for which they worked or by other missionaries working in the respective geographical areas (Oliver 1952). For a long time, only women who were themselves sent as missionaries were commemorated by their congregations or by other missionaries working in the same area, as is the case with Gertrud von Massenbach (1883–1975). Today missionary congregations have begun to document the history of their members on the internet, and precious pieces of information on almost forgotten women are gradually becoming available. Other new sources are websites on behalf of municipalities, like Groningen in the Netherlands.[5]

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 19.2 presents women who investigated and taught African languages in universities. In England, women had a relatively good chance of being employed at the International African Institute, the School of African and Oriental Languages in London, or the Department of Phonetics at University College London. In France, only one woman managed to get a position at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris; and, in Germany, two women kept the Colonial Institute in Hamburg running and looked after the publication of its journal during the two world wars. In South Africa, the most important female specialists worked most of the time as scientific freelancers. Section 19.3 discusses women who worked in Christian missions as missionaries in their own right or as missionaries' wives in Sudan, Belgian Congo, and present-day Zimbabwe. Conclusions are drawn in section 19.4.

19.2 Women in academia

The colonial powers England, Germany, and France had an interest in anthropological and linguistic research, the findings of which would help them administer their colonies. It was considered that descriptions of the African languages would enable members of the colonial troops and officials to communicate with the local populations.

[5] https://groningersindecongo.jouwweb.nl/ accessed 9 Aug. 2018.

19.2.1 England

In England, the School of Oriental Studies (later the School of Oriental and African Studies; SOAS) was founded on 23 February 1917, because there was 'urgent need for the provision of suitable teaching in London for persons about to take posts in the East and in Africa' (Hartog 1917: 11). Here and in the Department of Phonetics at University College London, several talented women produced important studies on African languages, but not all were successful in their careers. The first was Alice Werner (1859–1935), a gifted writer, poet, and translator who then became an anthropologist and teacher of Bantu languages. Her father was a language teacher who travelled extensively with his family, and she spent her childhood in New Zealand, Mexico, America, and throughout Europe, before the family settled in England.

Werner was a student at Newnham College, Cambridge, from 1878 to 1880 as a Goldsmiths' scholar, where she studied for the Higher Local Exams.[6] She then worked as a teacher (Frankl 2004) and at the same time published poetry and prose. Her interest in anthropological studies becomes evident in her volumes on the humour of Italy (Werner 1892a) and Holland (Werner 1894).

In 1890, she met Harriet and Agnes Colenso, daughters of an Anglican missionary in the British Colony Natal,[7] the first of whom was a fluent speaker of Zulu. They aroused her interest in Africa, and by the end of 1893 she had gone to Blantyre (Malawi) to work as a missionary. Intellectually unsatisfied by missionary work, she gave up after only a few months and moved to Bishopstowe (Natal), where she stayed for a year, supported by the Colenso family. Her observations and experiences in these two places led her to focus on African topics. Among other things, she also learned Zulu and Afrikaans. Back in England, she worked as a freelance journalist and teacher.

In 1892, Werner published *O'Driscoll's Weird, and Other Stories* (Werner 1892b), the stories being set in different places around the world, such as Naples, New York, Texas, and the Congo. During the second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), she gave private classes in Afrikaans and Zulu which later became part of formal instruction at King's College of the University of London (Nicholls 1997).

Between 1911 and 1913, she toured East Africa funded by a Mary Ewart Scholarship, where she developed her interest in Swahili, in particular Swahili poetry (Werner 1918), and in other Bantu languages. On this occasion she started assembling a collection of Swahili poetry, featuring the poems of Fumo Liongo

[6] I am grateful to Anne Thomson, from Newnham College, for providing this information.

[7] From 1910 until 1994, Natal was a province of South Africa, and was then united with KwaZulu to form present-day KwaZulu-Natal.

(Werner 1926), transliterated from Arabic into Roman letters and annotated. Today they are to be found in the Alice Werner Collection of the Swahili Manuscript Collections Project (SOAS Digital Collections). It is noteworthy that she also had an interest in Muslim literature (Werner 1920), that is, literature written in Arabic script by Muslims for Muslims (Knappert 1996: 160).[8] An important contribution to African studies is her publication of one version of the chronicle of Pate (Werner 1915b) written in Arabicized Swahili. It is one of the most complete and detailed historical narratives to come from the East African coast. She subsequently transliterated the text from Arabic into Roman script and translated it into English, explaining the morphemes and constructions which differ from everyday Swahili. She was the first translator of the chronicle to publish the original Swahili version, *Akhbar Pate*, together with the translation. For the Protestant missionaries in East Africa, Werner's documentation of Swahili texts by local authors was proof that Swahili was a written language (Patton 1923).

Back in England she was employed as a Research Fellow at Newnham College from 1913 to 1915 (Nicholls 1997: 12). In 1917, she was appointed Reader in Swahili and other Bantu languages at SOAS as one of the original staff members, being promoted to Professor of Swahili and of Bantu studies in 1922, and was in fact the first professor of Bantu studies in Great Britain. In 1924, she established Swahili studies in SOAS, the first qualification of its kind in the country. She continued in this position until her retirement at the end of the 1929–1930 session. During this time, she also taught at Oxford and Cambridge (Frankl 2004: s.v.) and, besides university students, the students were officials who were to work for the colonial administration. She was a very good teacher, and according to J. Maurice Pearson, Assistant District Commissioner in Mombasa, her teaching was 'little short of perfect' (Pearson 2016). In her position at SOAS, Werner became the founder of modern African studies, in particular Bantu studies, and in 1924 she introduced the Swahili diploma. Due to her talent for poetry and her competence in Swahili, she was able to undertake pioneering work such as the metrical analyses of Swahili poetry (Werner 1918, 1928).

When she visited South Africa in 1928, Bantu studies groups had the privilege of meeting her, because she was interested in the progress of the departments of African studies in the country. Werner had already published a tale in the South African journal, *Bantu Studies* (Werner 1923), and translations of a short, eight-line English text into six East African languages (Kuria, Koma, Jita, Nguruimi, Sukuma, Zanake; Werner 1927–1929) as sample texts, that is, without glossing, only giving some comparative observations concerning specific nouns and

[8] Knappert is conscious that what he terms 'Islamic literature' is a vague concept. Abramson and Kilpatrick (2006: 2) state that Muslim literatures include texts by secular authors who are not concerned with religious topics, but who 'draw on Islamic paradigms and archetypes'.

pronouns. After her visit to South Africa she wrote two 'Correspondences to the Editor' (Werner 1929: 321; 1930–1931: 257f.), one of which treated a linguistic topic, substantiating the assumption that *vita* 'war' in Swahili is plural. In 1935, her obituary was published in that journal, a clear indication of her importance to Bantu studies.

Because of her insightful and well-written works on African philology and linguistics and on African mythology, Werner received the degree of Doctor of Literature from the University of London in 1928, not long before she retired in 1930. In 1931, she was awarded the Silver Medal of the African Society, of which she was Vice President, and was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire by the British government.

In the introduction to the hundredth volume of the journal *African Affairs*, she is referred to as one of its most prolific authors as well as someone who occasionally assisted with editing the journal (Killingray and Ellis 2000: 181). Her publications are still quite often cited, in particular her most popular book, *Myths and Legends of the Bantu* (1933).[9] This includes myths and legends associated with Bantu culture about their gods, demigods, heroes, real and mythical creatures, together with some of the great Bantu epics. With this volume, Werner wanted to meet the growing interest by anthropologists and lay people in the customs, institutions, and folklore of so-called 'primitive' peoples. Despite being an ethnographic study, the author explained in the introduction the semantic notions of some of the noun-class prefixes.

The second female linguist who distinguished herself was Ida Caroline Ward (1880–1949), a phonetician and linguist who specialized in West African languages (Figure 19.1). Her work in the domains of phonology and tonology are highly influential for African linguistics generally (Forde 1950: 1), and it was she who aroused a fascination in African linguistics in students from Africa.

Ward grew up in Bradford (Yorkshire) and trained as a teacher at Darlington Training College. She taught for sixteen years in secondary schools, before going to Durham University, where she got a B.Litt. with distinction. In 1913, she attended evening classes at the Department of Phonetics at University College London, where her phonetic talents were soon recognized. However, it was not until 1920, when Daniel Jones was given a professorship, that he was able to offer her a full-time post in the Department of Phonetics. She worked there for thirteen years and soon became an authority in the phonetics of the major languages of Europe and in the study of speech defects. Of all of Jones's students, Ward made the 'greatest contributions to phonetics in her own right' (Collins and Mees 1999: 257), and her name sits alongside some of the great names in phonetics, such as

[9] As well as several other of her publications, *Myths and Legends of the Bantu* has been republished fairly recently (e.g. 2010).

Figure 19.1 Ida Caroline Ward (1880–1949) leads a tutorial at SOAS.
Reproduced with kind permission from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Henry Sweet, Daniel Jones, Alfred G. Gimson, and Peter Ladefoged (Ashby and Przedlacka 2013: 11).

While teaching phonetics to missionaries at University College she developed an interest in West African languages. In 1926, she joined the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in London (later called the International African Institute),[10] as one of the founder members, and became a member of the Linguistic Group in 1931.

Westermann, a linguist and phonetician, planned the development of an alphabet for all African languages (Pasch 2005), a project for which Ward, a highly qualified phonetician, was the ideal collaborator. From the beginning, she engaged in the projects of the Institute alongside her work at the Department of Phonetics. One of her first jobs was to translate Westermann's German version of *Practical Orthography of African Languages* into English and assist in editing it for publication in 1927. According to Westermann (1950: 3), she contributed

[10] This Institute was not part of the university, but was intended to be the basis of an international network of British and American missionaries which would strengthen their position in the African colonies, in particular in the field of education (Stoecker 2004: 1, 171).

'the lion's share' to their collaborative book, *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages*, the first introduction to phonetics with a focus on features that are typical for given African languages, but which do not occur outside the continent. The authors wanted to give a good grounding in phonetics and tonetics as indispensable tools for all students of African languages. The book had a great influence on African linguistics, right up to the end of last century, and it has even been republished twice in the new millennium (Westermann and Ward 1933 [1949, 1957, 1964, 1990, 1999, 2006, 2015]).

In the Department of Phonetics, she had already come across certain Bantu languages investigated by Jones (1911, 1919, 1928),[11] and Jones and Plaatje (1916), and now her work for the International African Institute increased her interest in African languages, in particular Kanuri, Igbo, and Efik, all of which are spoken in Nigeria. Within less than two years, she published her first major work in African linguistics, *The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Efik* (1933), for which she was awarded the D.Litt. in the same year by the University of London. She observes that Efik has lexical and also grammatical tone, and that there is a remarkable regularity and system in the use of tones and unsuspected tone usages 'which lead into the fields of grammar and idiom' (Ward 1933: xiii). The impact of tone on the meaning of words is such that it is impossible to set Efik song texts to English melodies. She also demonstrated that intonation had erroneously been considered an elusive element of these languages and that it must be taken into consideration in any proper investigation.

Ward thus helped to make tone an important factor in the investigation of African languages. In her analyses, however, tone is considered a segmental feature, a model which was superseded by that of suprasegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1976). Today, her method of tonal analyses is no longer taken into consideration.

In 1932, she left the Department of Phonetics and moved to the School of Oriental Studies as one of the first members of the newly founded Department of African Languages and Phonetics. When the departments split in 1937, she became head of the new Department of the Languages and Cultures of Africa, which she made a world-leading institution in the field of African linguistics (Westermann 1950: 2). In the early days, she managed to find solutions for the precarious financial situation of the institution, which received meagre funding from the Rockefeller Foundation,[12] but more substantial support from the Colonial and Home governments. In Great Britain, there was then great demand for courses in African languages, many of which were relatively unknown, and the

[11] The Bantu languages constitute the largest linguistic group in Africa.

[12] The International African Institute was more generously funded by the Rockefeller Foundation until 1966 (Salomone 2000: 24).

need for research in the field became evident. In 1938, the department, for the first time, did not have financial problems.

In 1936, Ward had been appointed the School's representative on the governing body of the International African Institute; in 1938, she became a member of its Linguistic Advisory Committee; and, in the following year, she became chair of the committee and adviser on all language-related matters until her death. In this role, she initiated the work on the multi-volume *Handbook of African Languages* (*Africa* 1946: 156–9), to which Margaret Bryan was to make substantial contributions (Tucker and Bryan 1956, 1966; Westermann and Bryan 1952; Richardson, Tucker, and Bryan 1957; Bryan 1959). For several decades the *Handbook* was a standard reference work in departments of African studies all over the world, and it is noteworthy that volume 2 (Westermann and Bryan 1952) was republished in 2019. The rationale for editing the *Handbook* is not stated explicitly in any of the volumes,[13] but since it was funded by the Colonial Office (*Africa* 1945: 1–2; 1946: 156) we may assume that it was in response to a political request to enhance the description and classification of African languages generally.

In 1933, Ward conducted her first period of fieldwork in Nigeria; and, in 1936, she published *An Introduction to the Ibo Language*, her second major work in the new field. As she had done before with regard to Efik (Ward 1933), she illustrated the essential function of tone in the grammar of Igbo, which shows up most clearly in verb conjugations. These two books then became models for students of other tone languages. According to Tucker (1950: 542), she also wrote *A Short Guide to the Recording of African Languages*, which was, however, published by the International African Institute as a supplement of the journal *Africa* without mentioning an author's name. In cooperation with Westermann she produced *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages* (Westermann and Ward 1933), intended as a first step towards the systematic recording of African languages, and in particular of those about which little or nothing was known. It was widely used in Africa, both for practical purposes and for academic research, and had great influence on the studies of African languages (Tucker 1950: 542). This was followed by *Practical Suggestions for Learning an African Language in the Field* (Ward 1937). Tucker also observes that Ward's works were all 'of a hitherto unheard-of degree of accuracy' (Tucker 1950: 542), which resulted most probably from her training by Jones and the experience in the Department of Phonetics, but also from her natural talent as a linguist.

Although no longer young, she went on a second fieldwork trip to Ghana and Nigeria in 1939 where—'following up the orthographic trail blazed by Professor Westermann' (Tucker 1950: 543)—she investigated orthographic problems when reducing languages to writing. She made another trip in 1943–1944, which

[13] All that is mentioned is the need for 'clarity and consistency'.

resulted in the publication of a *Report of an Investigation of Some Gold Coast Language Problems* (Ward 1945), in which she presented the necessities and the difficulties of creating orthographies for different languages. She also produced *An Introduction to the Yoruba Language* (Ward 1952), another language description with a solid analysis of the functions of tone. Here she observed the difficulties caused by apparent English equivalents of Yoruba words, which in given constructions, in particular in idioms and metaphors, did not make sense (Ward 1952: 3). After her return to England in 1944, she was made a Professor of West African Languages by the University of London.[14]

The third British female linguist dealing with African languages, Lilias Armstrong, was likewise a phonetician and was well known for her studies of the phonetic systems of African languages. She was born and grew up in Lancashire. After finishing school, she attended the University of Leeds, where she studied French and Latin. Following her BA, she worked as a teacher of French and embarked on a successful teaching career, later holding the position of senior mistress in East Ham Central School in Essex. At that time, she was a part-time student at the Department of Phonetics headed by Jones. In 1917, she was already giving courses for missionaries. From the beginning, she was praised for her teaching. In February 1918, she was appointed to a temporary lectureship with a small salary, and at the start of the academic year 1918–1919 became the department's first full-time assistant, the beginning of a career which would last twenty years. As was the case with Ward, Jones was able to give her a full-time position in 1920, and she became Senior Lecturer and his second in command. From the beginning, she had a special role among the members of Jones's staff and was nominated by him to run the department when he could not carry out his job for health reasons. Her talent as a researcher, organizer, and teacher soon won her an international reputation, but it was only in 1937, shortly before her death, that she was given a Readership by the University of London. Armstrong also occasionally taught at the School of Oriental Studies, and for more than a decade was subeditor of the International Phonetic Association's journal, *Le Maître Phonétique*.

She wrote well-received works on the phonetics and intonation of English (Armstrong 1923; Armstrong and Ward 1926), Burmese (Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin 1925), and French (Armstrong 1932). In their joint study, Armstrong and Ward (1926) outline the interrelation between intonation, stress, and rhythm. The volume was accompanied by gramophone recordings of English

[14] After her retirement, Ward continued as an adviser in African Studies at SOAS. She intended to build departments in African languages in Africa but died while preparing for her trip to the Gold Coast (now Ghana). According to Tucker (1950: 544), she would have been delighted to see her plans come to fruition at the Universities of Achimota (Gold Coast), Ibadan (Nigeria), and Makerere (Uganda). Clearly, her interests were not restricted to the investigation of the structure of African languages; she was also concerned with the development of vernacular literature for research, education, and social development in Africa (Forde 1950).

texts read by Armstrong and Ward, which were used for speech and theatre training for decades. They applied the 'tune approach' of intonation description according to which two basic tunes were considered sufficient to describe all intonation contours.

Armstrong then moved on to pioneering research on African languages. To begin with, she contributed exemplary presentations of the phonetics of Ganda and Kikuyu (Armstrong 1933a, 1933b) to the *Practical Phonetics* by Westermann and Ward (1933), and the Somali version of Aesop's fable 'The North Wind and the Sun' in phonetic script in *Le Maître Phonétique* (Armstrong 1934b). It is in the phonetic analyses of Somali and Kikuyu that she made the noteworthy discovery that voice pitch has lexical and grammatical functions. In 'The Phonetic Structure of Somali' (Armstrong 1934a) she gives a more detailed description of the vowels of Somali than earlier works (see Tiling 1925), and she was the first linguist to describe the vowel harmony of the language and its relatedness to neighbouring consonants. She was the first scholar to recognize that, in a given language, tone may have grammatical functions without being lexically distinctive. *The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu* (Armstrong 1940), published posthumously, is her main work on Kikuyu, with data given by Jomo Kenyatta, later President of Kenya (Muoria-Sal 2009: 133).

The woman who made the most notable contributions to the applied linguistics of African languages was Ethel O. Ashton. In 1902, the Church Missionary Society sent her to Kenya, to Frere, and later to Mombasa, to run schools and train teachers. She used her furloughs in England to learn about new educational methods to apply to the teaching of Swahili, which missionaries in East Africa were obliged to learn at that time (Doke 1964: 166).

After her time as a missionary she settled in England in order to work as a linguist. In 1930 she became a lecturer and, in 1943, following the recommendation of Alice Werner, she became Senior Lecturer in Swahili at SOAS, a position which she held until 1947. She was a successful Swahili teacher, with 300 to 400 students, and an even higher number attending private classes in her house (Tucker 1965), developing a method that enabled students to teach the language themselves in a short time.

This led to the production of a stenciled course, *Swahili Simplified*, and the development of an innovative language learning technique, the *idea* approach, which consisted of concentrating on the meanings of basic lexical or grammatical units (i.e. morphemes). It helped students to gain an idea of structural features of Bantu languages without being deterred by complicated grammatical rules. Her grammatical terms 'A of relationship', 'O of reference', and 'N of association' became commonly known and well-understood terms for students of Swahili (Tucker 1965: 137), although fully fledged Bantuists considered them too simplistic (Doke 1945: 96).

Given the great demand for course books in a number of African languages, Ashton was asked to produce one for Nyanja, a fairly well-documented language that she did not know herself. Nevertheless, she managed to apply the *idea* approach and the method from *Swahili Simplified* to Nyanja, and produced a volume which allowed students to acquire reading knowledge of it fairly quickly. Courses in a number of other languages soon followed: Luganda, Nyoro, Shona, Sena, Nsenga, Wisa, Bemba, Yao, and Kikuyu. While these courses were never published, Ashton outlines her teaching philosophy and method in three articles (Ashton 1935, 1937a, 1937b). In 1944, she published her *Swahili Grammar*, from the outset a bestseller of which 22,000 copies had been sold by the end of 1964 (Tucker 1965: 137) and which became the basis of standard Swahili and is still the main reference grammar. Her description of the functions of reduplication (Ashton 1944: 376–8), for example, is just one topic which is repeated in almost all Swahili grammars that have since appeared (see Lodhi 2004: 142).[15]

15.2.2 Germany

In Germany, it was seemingly World War I and World War II which helped some women into their career as African linguists. This was the case for Maria Klingenheben-von Tiling (1886–1974), born in Riga, Latvia, as Maria von Tiling (Figure 19.2).

After studying French and German language and literature, as well as history, Maria von Tiling worked for some time as a secondary school teacher. In 1916, she met Carl Meinhof, Director of the Colonial Institute in Hamburg, at an event for Protestant missionaries in Pomerania. Since at that time all other members of his Institute had been called up by the military in World War I, he offered her a job as an assistant, although she had no knowledge of African languages. As she was a woman, the contract would finish with the end of the war (Kalthoff 2006: 47), when the men would come back and resume their positions.

It took her no more than a year to become qualified to teach Swahili, and before long she also taught the Bantu languages Kimbundu and Zulu, as well as the Cushitic languages Somali and Oromo.[16] When the Colonial Institute was closed after the war, von Tiling obtained a position at the Department of the Languages of Africa and Oceania of the newly founded University of Hamburg. Besides teaching, she also did editorial work for the institute's journal, *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, and published linguistic studies of Somali and Oromo. Since

[15] In subsequent years, Ashton travelled to East Africa to work on Luganda. While away on fieldwork, she was replaced by Margaret Bryan, who was herself to become one of the most influential scholars in African linguistics. Her work falls beyond the chronological scope of this chapter.

[16] This autonym has replaced the former widely used xenonym 'Galla' which Klingenheben-von Tiling (1928–1929) used.

Figure 19.2 Maria Klingenheben-von Tiling (1886–1974).
Reproduced with kind permission from Peter and Karin von Tiling.

she could not do research in Africa, she worked with Africans living in Hamburg as language consultants. From 1917 until 1922, she worked with Mohamed Nur, a Somali from the British army who had become a prisoner of war in Germany. He presented her with songs and texts (Tiling 1927–1928, 1936–1937) which she could use for grammatical studies (Tiling 1918–1919, 1919–1920). Her publications on the Jabárti variant of Somali (Tiling 1921–1922, 1924–1925, 1925) are still reference works today. At the age of 38, she obtained her PhD with a thesis on the phonology of Somali (Tiling 1925). From 1920 on, she worked with the department's language assistant, Wolda Maryam Desta, from Ethiopia, on Oromo. He provided texts as well as information on Oromo concepts of God, which she evaluated in an article (Tiling 1926). She produced only one publication concerning Swahili, the first African language that she came to know in Hamburg, a collection of songs (Tiling 1926–1927) with a translation into German.

In 1927, von Tiling married August Klingenheben, a specialist in Oriental and African languages in the same department, and published her next article, 'Galla-Texte', under the name Klingenheben-von Tiling (1928–1929), even though her final article, 'Somali-Lieder', was again published under her maiden name (von Tiling 1936–1937). Three years later, she followed her husband to Leipzig where he became Director of the Institute of African Languages. She gave up her university career and did not resume it when they returned to Hamburg six years later, and her husband became Meinhof's successor. It is possible that she was not entitled to get a job at the same institute as her husband. While she cared for the household and the education of their daughter, she assisted her husband in

his research and occasionally accompanied him on research trips to Africa and Western Asia (Stuhlmann 1939), but she did not produce new publications under her own name.

Despite the brevity of her academic career, she made an important contribution to the study of Cushitic languages. With regard to the analyses of difficult morphological and syntactic constructions, she always tried to find explanations that would reflect the Somali way of thinking, a method which Czermak (1926) and Voigt (1975) consider very insightful. This concerns in particular the distinction between the spheres of what is present and what is not, a categorization which today is discussed under the term 'evidentiality' (Lecarme 2008: 22). Czermak (1926: 151) obviously overrates the influence of a linguist's gender when he states that it is not by accident that a woman succeeded in getting such a deep insight into a foreign language.

Half a generation later, Emmi Kähler-Meyer (1903–1998, née Meyer) kept the department in Hamburg running during World War II. She joined the Seminar für Afrikanische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg (Department for Languages of Africa and the South Seas at the University of Hamburg) in 1927 as secretary to Meinhof, whom she assisted with editing the journal *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*. Encouraged by Meinhof, she began to study African linguistics in 1930 while keeping her job as secretary. During the difficult times of World War II and the years following it, she had to make enormous efforts to ensure that the journal would survive. She also fought hard to maintain its high scholarly standards. In *Afrika und Übersee*, Dammann et al. (1983) highlight these efforts in their 'Widmung' ('Dedication'), without calling the volume a Festschrift. They also explicitly recognize that after Meinhof (until then sole editor) passed away in February 1944, Kähler-Meyer was for some time the only person to carry out the editorial work for the journal.[17]

Besides editing the journal, she specialized in Bantu languages. In 1933, she became qualified to give language courses in Kiswahili and Duala; in 1936, she was awarded a PhD in African linguistics. Her thesis on the etymological phonology of Nyanja (Kähler-Meyer 1936–1937) was praised by Doke (1945: 69) as a very good phonetic study. In 1939, she conducted fieldwork in Cameroon for her Habilitation dissertation on the Mambila language (Kähler-Meyer 1939–1940). In 1942, she received the *venia legendi* ('entitlement to teach') for African linguistics and became a scientific assistant in the department. Meinhof had retired in 1936 at the age of 79, and it was not until 1939 that August Klingenheben became his successor. In the three intervening years, Kähler-Meyer was the sole person left

[17] It is striking that, although Kähler-Meyer carried out the function of general editor for many years, it is only from volume sixty of *Afrika und Übersee*, published in 1977 that there is any mention of her function, and even then her name is cited only in third position.

to give lectures. In later years, she was the only person to continue Meinhof's tradition of comparative Bantuistics and wrote papers on different Bantu languages and on Ur-Bantu (Kähler-Meyer 1968).

19.2.3 France

In France, women seem to have played an even smaller role in early African linguistics than in England and Germany. Lilias Homburger was the first woman in France to specialize in African linguistics. She studied linguistics with Antoine Meillet and wrote two theses, *Les Préfixes nominaux dans les parlers peul, haoussa et bantou* (Homburger 1929b; *Nominal Prefixes in Fulfulde, Hausa and Bantu Languages*) and *Noms des parties du corps dans les langues négro-africaines* (Homburger 1929a; *Terms for the Parts of the Body in African Languages*). She taught African languages (as well as Dravidian languages) at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, one of her most famous students being Léopold Sédan Senghor, later President of Senegal.

Before becoming a Professor of Linguistics, she worked as a missionary in Cameroon where she came to know Bantu languages (Ngo Nlend 2014; see Eyezo'o 2014: 155).[18] In 1911 and 1912, she and ethnographer Maurice Delafosse, the first French scholars to specialize in African languages, independently dissented from the German school which claimed that Bantu and the so-called Sudanese languages belonged to separate genetic groups because the first have noun class systems and the latter do not. Her hypotheses about the genetic relationships of all African languages and their relationship with ancient Egyptian (Homburger 1939) were generally rejected. In Senegal, however, the hypotheses were appreciated until the last decades of the twentieth century. In particular, the alleged genetic relationship between ancient Egyptian and modern African languages, heavily criticized in Western linguistics, has been well received and developed further by the Senegalese historian and anthropologist Cheikh Anta Diop (1923–1986) and his followers,[19] who occasionally called themselves 'spiritual sons of Homburger' (Ndiaye 1987).

Homburger's teaching was also influential for the emerging field of creole linguistics. If she had not been introduced to African linguistics by Homburger, the Haitian anthropologist Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain might not have discovered

[18] Ngo Nlend's thesis is not accessible, and what we know about the content comes only from the review.

[19] Anta Diop studied the origins of the human race and pre-colonial African culture. His hypotheses about the cultural unity of Black African peoples and cultures, and in particular the kinship between the language of Ancient Egypt and those of the African continent (apparently influenced by Homburger) were highly controversial.

that, because of its syntax, Haitian creole belongs to the big Ewe family spoken in Ghana and Togo, just like Fon of Dahomey (Comhaire 2002).[20] From 1940 until 1944, Homburger was President of the Société de Linguistique de Paris.

She was a successful translator into French of works originally written in German and English (Homburger 1943, 1948, 1950). For her works on the genetical classification of African languages, which she grouped into one single family, she received, however, negative criticism in France and abroad. Her studies were barely acknowledged in the rest of Europe and America, and today Homburger's name is almost forgotten.

19.2.4 South Africa

Outside Europe, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the study of African languages was conducted in South Africa. Female missionaries normally would assist their husbands, but educated women from influential families had the chance to participate actively in linguistic work. However, in academia, women were only involved after they had proved their qualification by publications, as is the case with Lucy Lloyd and Dorothea Bleek. Lucy Catherine Lloyd, born in Norbury, was the first woman to assist the German linguist Wilhelm Bleek in his linguistic research on Khoisan languages. At the age of 15, she moved with her father to South Africa where she trained as a school teacher. She worked in this profession, but had to leave it because of chronic ill health in 1862.

Following the marriage of her sister Jemima Charlotte to the philologist and librarian Wilhelm Bleek in 1862, Lloyd moved to live with them in Cape Town. She assisted Bleek, who taught her linguistics, with his Khoisan studies for thirteen years and became his most important collaborator. Together with her sister, she helped him with the compilation of his last book, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-Lore and Other Texts* (1875).

By 1870, she had begun to record oral histories from the first |Xam speaker at Mowbray, editing them for publication (1911), and giving a report on the work to the Cape Town parliament following Bleek's death in 1875. She deposited all the original notes, as well as those of the !Kun language which they had collected, in the nineteenth-century archive of |Xam and !Kun texts (later called the Bleek and Lloyd Collection, today the Digital Bleek and Lloyd).[21] This collection is of enormous value for linguists working on Khoisan languages (see Lionnet 2014), since it contains scans of every page of the 110 Lucy Lloyd |Xam notebooks, 17 Lloyd (mostly) !Kun notebooks, and 28 Wilhelm Bleek |Xam notebooks.

[20] See also http://ile-en-ile.org/jean-comhaire-hommage-a-ma-femme/ accessed 10 Oct. 2019.

[21] This collection contains materials that resulted from a series of interviews conducted with |Xam and !Kung informants between 1870 and 1884.

After Bleek's death in 1875, Lloyd continued to do research on Khoisan languages for several years, assisted by her sister. She also worked as his successor in the Sir George Grey Library until 1880, when the first Anglo-Boer War (1880–1881) broke out.[22] Then she went to Europe, returning to South Africa after the end of the second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). Being the unquestioned authority on the culture and history of the indigenous population, Lloyd was entrusted with the unfinished manuscript of *The Native Races of South Africa* by the ethnologist George W. Stow, who had died before he could finish it. She added many photos of members of the different Khoisan groups from her own collection, and George McCall Theal edited it as the seventh volume of the *History of South Africa* (Stow 1905). In 1912, she became the first woman in South Africa to be awarded an honorary doctorate in literature by the University of the Cape of Good Hope.

A further contribution to South African indigenous culture and linguistics was her training of her niece, Dorothea Bleek, thus enabling her to continue the research her father had begun. The number of Lucy Lloyd's publications is limited, and they are all co-authored with Wilhelm Bleek. Her notes and evaluations are, however, of such good quality that modern linguists (see Lionnet 2014) can edit them without investing much further work.

Dorothea Frances Bleek (1873–1948), daughter of Wilhelm Bleek, continued the outstanding work on Khoisan languages. She grew up in a place where her father's |Xam and !Kung language consultants were part of the household. She went to school in Germany and Switzerland and afterwards trained as a teacher in Berlin. Here she developed an interest in African languages and cultures, and attended university lectures in Berlin and London. Her aunt came several times from England to give her instruction in the San languages and the importance of her father's research.

When Bleek returned to South Africa in 1904, she did not initially engage in research on the San languages, but worked as a teacher until 1907. However, following field trips with her colleague Helen Tongue to copy rock paintings,[23] Bleek went on to devote all her time to the investigation of the cultures and languages of the Khoisan, and she assisted her aunt in preparing *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* (Bleek and Lloyd 1911) for publication. She also edited much of the research data on the |Xam bushman by her father and her aunt, which made up the Bleek and Lloyd Collection, and published it.

She undertook many expeditions all over southern Africa, including Angola and Tanzania, in order to study languages and the rock art of all peoples of the

[22] In those days there were many political and social tensions between European settlers of different ethnic background, the indigenous African population groups, and the colonial government, which in the period 1879–1915 led to twelve wars, among which the two Anglo-Boer Wars were the most important.

[23] African Rock Art Digital Archive: www.sarada.co.za accessed 22 Jan. 2020.

Khoisan family.[24] She collected narratives, recorded spoken languages and music, and took numerous photos documenting their way of living. From 1923 to 1948, she taught Khoisan linguistics at the University of Cape Town, and when in 1936 the University of Witwatersrand wanted to award her an honorary doctorate, she declined with the alleged argument that 'there could only ever be one Dr Bleek' (Barnard 2007: 46).

Tom Güldeman (Bleek 2000) has published two of her manuscripts, 'The //ŋ!ke or Bushmen of Griqualand West' and 'Notes on the language of the //ŋ!ke or Bushmen of Griqualand West', both of which he discovered while inspecting the Bleek and Lloyd Collection. He hardly had to make any corrections, and only had to format the texts according to modern conventions, an indication of the high scholarly quality of the manuscripts.

19.3 Female missionaries

Not all women who had a suitable education managed to get a position in academia, but some undertook linguistic research as amateurs without publishing their results, as did Maria Klingenheben-von Tiling after her marriage.[25] Protestant female missionaries had a chance non-missionaries did not have: they were able to get acquainted with African languages in the field and develop educational material, and some of them could help their husbands in analysing these languages.

Both Catholic and Protestant congregations sent missionaries to Africa, but while the Catholics sent both men and women, most Protestant missionary societies would send only men. In both congregations, men normally received training for two or three years, which included—where possible—an introduction to the local language of the future area of operation. Some missionaries were also trained in linguistic theory, which would qualify them as missionary linguists. Women, however, did not get such specialist training.

Many missionary societies did not send women as missionaries on their own. They allowed women only to accompany male missionaries as their wives or sisters, and they were expected to care primarily for the household and the family (Gilsbach 1999). Those missionary societies where female missionaries got training would instruct them to become nurses, midwives, social workers, or teachers but not linguists or other kinds of researchers. Women who already had an education when they applied for a missionary career were more likely to become

[24] The Tanzanian click languages Hadza and Sandawe are no longer considered to belong to the Khoisan family.

[25] With regard to her time without an academic position, Aleida Assman, a German Anglicist and Egyptologist, speaks of herself as a scholarly housewife (Assmann 2003) or a freelance housewife (*freischaffende Hausfrau*; Assmann and Nüsslein-Volhard 2018).

missionaries in their own right, which allowed them to do linguistic or other research, time permitting.

Gertrud von Massenbach was one of very few early female missionary linguists. She was born in the Prussian province of Posen (today in Poland) in a family that promoted Christian missionary work. She also belonged to the group of women of German aristocratic descent working for the Sudan Pioneer Mission (SPM) who were sent by the Wiesbaden Mission (Fiedler 1992: 302). Von Massenbach trained as a teacher and worked for a couple of years in that profession. After two of her sisters were married to pastors with whom they went to Brazil, she joined the SPM and, in 1909, she was sent to Aswan in southern Egypt, that is, in Nubian territory. In preparation for her task, she had begun to study Arabic while still in Germany, continuing in Egypt; and, in 1913, she passed an Arabic language exam at the Cairo Study Centre which enabled her to teach Arabic script for Nubian and Arabic languages, alongside teaching mathematics (Lauche 2012). Arabic and Nubian were the main languages in the area, and from the beginning she developed an interest in Nubian language and culture.

During her home leave in 1913, she was happy to be given an introduction to the Nubian language by Diedrich Westermann. After her return to Aswan she learned Kunuz, the local variant of Nubian. With the outbreak of World War I, all Germans had to leave the country, and she was active for the SPM inside Germany for ten years. In 1924, she was among the first Germans given permission to return to Aswan. Her first activities were to read Bible stories to hospital patients, teach handicrafts, visit Nubian families, and study the Nubian language. In 1936, she began studying the Nobiin dialect of Nubian, spoken mainly by the Fiadicca women around the Sudan–Egypt border to whom she was teaching handicrafts. In 1939, her activities were interrupted by World War II, and von Massenbach left Sudan and returned to Europe.[26]

Von Massenbach engaged in the production of texts with passages of the Bible in the Nubian language. For these publications she used Arabic script, which was accessible to everybody, while only a few highly educated Nubians could read Latin script. It is important that, unlike many male missionaries (Pawlikova-Vilhanova 2006), she never translated passages of the Bible herself but relied on the competence of her language assistant. She was probably aware that such translation would require a native speaker's competence. Her publications on Nubian languages (Massenbach 1931, 1933, 1961, 1962) are few in number but of high quality, and they constitute important sources for linguists currently working on Nubian languages. The grammatical sketch of Dongolawi (Massenbach 1961) provides material to learn the language for missionaries working among the Nubians in Northern Sudan. The texts in the Kenuz and Dongolawi dialects of

[26] In later life she studied the Dongolawi dialect of Nubian, working with speakers of Dongolawi in Cairo, Aswan, and Dakke.

Nile Nubian (Massenbach 1962) are accompanied by a German translation and notes on linguistic, cultural, and social problems that makes them valuable for both linguists and ethnographers.

Unlike von Massenbach, Cinie Louw (1872–1935), born Francina Susana Malan, was sent abroad as a missionary's wife, but nevertheless she made an outstanding career as a missionary linguist. She was born into an influential family in the Cape province of South Africa. Already as a child she had decided to become a missionary and gave courses to the African servants of her parents. After school she trained as a teacher and worked in various jobs.

Following her marriage to Andrew Louw in 1894, she accompanied him to the Morgenster Mission in Mashonaland (Zimbabwe) in order to give classes to girls and organize health services. She and her husband felt the need to learn the local language Karanga, a Shona dialect, for their missionary tasks, and they became fluent speakers. Together they translated the Bible into Karanga, of which the New Testament was published in 1919 (Saayman 1999: 411). Cinie became author and editor of the *Munyai waShe* (*The King's Messenger*), a church magazine, and translated 210 hymns into Karanga; she also produced readers in this language for the mission's school. None of these texts were published but were rather multi-copied. In 1915, she published the 397-page *Manual of the Chikaranga Language* (Louw 1915), with a grammatical description, exercises, and conversational sentences intended to help missionaries and colonial officials learn the language. It included a vocabulary list of 8,000 words, far more than given in other manuals of African languages. According to Doke, then the leading Bantuist, 'this book contains the best grammatical sketch of any Mashonaland language hitherto published' (cited in Korf 2010: 38).

In recognition of her efforts, she became a member of the Mission Council's Language Commission and later even of the Southern Rhodesian government's Language Commission. She was the only missionary wife to make such a career, but it must be taken into consideration that she came from the highly influential Malan family, and she had received a good education.

Hendrina Margo Kloekers (1855–1938) had equally received a good education, and came from an influential Dutch missionary family which gave her many opportunities to engage actively in missionary work (Figure 19.3). She was born in Shanghai and brought up in China. She was educated in England and, in 1885, married the BMS (Baptist Missionary Society) missionary William Holman Bentley. In September of the following year they left for the Congo, where they lived with interruptions until 1901. From the beginning, it was clear that she would engage actively in missionary activities. She used her first furlough to learn Morse code and taught the boys at the missionary school to send messages in it so that they could make a living at the telegraph stations newly erected along the railway.

She cooperated with her husband on the translation of the Bible, including Proverbs and Psalms, and the complete Bible was published in 1907. In this work, they were

Figure 19.3 William Bentley and Hendrina Bentley (née Kloekers).
Reproduced with kind permission of the Angus Library and Archive, Regent's Park College, Oxford.

assisted by a native speaker. She also produced a series of school books in Kikongo which were widely used in the Protestant missionary schools in the Lower Congo.

After her husband's death she returned to England where she wrote his biography. With reference to his *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language* (1887), she observed that its compilation had not been a waste of time, but important and necessary for the missionary task of translating the Bible because it had 'given him so much better grasp of the language than he otherwise would have had' (Bentley 1907: 410). It appears that, whilst she acknowledged her role as a missionary's wife, she did not want to be restricted to that. Her education allowed her to participate actively in her husband's educational and linguistic work and even make independent contributions. Her observations in her husband's biography indicate how aware she was of the need to know the local language.

19.4 Conclusion

Women have contributed to the development of African linguistics from the early twentieth century on, but the number of women who were able to do so was small. Some had positions in universities, a few were Protestant missionaries, and others assisted male family members working in academia or as missionaries. Those working in academia could do so partly for political reasons. In England their

linguistic competence was important for training colonial officials, and in Germany jobs became available for women when the men went to war.

The quality of teaching of several of the early African linguists, in particular Homburger and Ward, was always praised by their students. Ward was, however, not only a good teacher in class; she also developed a method of learning African languages in the field. Ashton developed self-teaching courses for different African languages, and no male colleague developed a similarly successful teaching model as Ashton did for Bantu languages.

Several of the women working in academia had the opportunity to do theoretical work, for example language classification (Homburger, Bryan, Kähler-Meyer), comparative linguistics (Ward, Kähler-Meyer, Bryan), phonetic analysis (Ward, Armstrong), and poetic analyses (Werner), which they carried out in the same way as their male colleagues. Others preferred to focus on descriptive linguistics, again like many male colleagues. Although they produced high quality work, only four women became professors. Several did their research despite low salaries, a situation virtually unheard of for their male colleagues.

Ward was a co-founder of the International African Institute, but no woman founded a university department of African linguistics. However, women did help their departments to flourish in many ways, both in financial and scholarly terms (Werner, Ward, Armstrong), or to keep it running in difficult times (von Tiling, Kähler-Meyer). Some assiduously contributed to highly complex and long-lasting publication programmes (Kähler-Meyer, Bryan).

Women working in mission stations could usually only focus on the language in their mission's territory, and normally they did not have linguistic training; however, due to sustained contact with native speakers, many of them became competent speakers. Hendrina Kloekers's competence in Kikongo allowed her to assist her husband in translating the Bible into that language, and to produce teaching materials for school education. Cinie Louw not only translated the Bible with her husband into Karanga, but also produced a comprehensive grammar and dictionary of the language. An exception is apparently von Massenbach, who investigated several language variants of Nubian which she had deliberately chosen herself.

Today, women occupy leading university positions in African linguistics. Missionary linguists—both men and women—are still sent to Africa by some Protestant congregations, although now they are expected to be linguists with a university degree. Whilst there is still much research to be done to fully understand the role of women in developing African linguistics, this chapter has aimed to highlight some of the often unsung contributions of earlier generations of female scholars and missionaries.

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