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DICTIONARIES: BRIDGES, DYKES, SLUICE GATES

Abstract In a multilingual and multicultural society, dictionaries play an important role to enhance interlingual communication. A diversity of languages and different levels of dictionary culture demand innovative lexicographic approaches to establish a dictionary landscape that responds to the needs of the various speech communities. Focusing on the South African situation this paper discusses some aspects of a few dictionaries that contributed to an improvement of the local dictionary landscape. Using the metaphors of bridges, dykes and sluice gates it is shown how lexicographers need a balanced approach in their lemma selection and treatment. Whilst a too strong prescriptive approach can be to the detriment of the macrostructural selection, a lack of regulatory criteria could easily lead to a data overload. The lexicographer should strive to give a reflection of the actual language use and enable the users to retrieve the information that can satisfy their specific communication and cognitive needs. Such lexicographic products will enrich and improve the dictionary landscape.

Keywords Bilingualised dictionary; dictionary+; dictionary culture; dictionary portal; monolingualised dictionary; prescription

1. Introduction

Within the frame of the broad conference theme of lexicography in society, I have been asked by the organisers to discuss some aspects of dictionary landscapes in multilingual societies. As indicated in the title of my paper I am using the metaphors of dictionaries as bridges, dykes and sluice gates. I will apply these metaphors not only to the contents of dictionaries but also to a more comprehensive lexicographic process and to refer to some situations in a multilingual society that can have an effect on the planning, compilation, use and eventual success of dictionaries.

I am honoured to present this plenary paper as the AS Hornby lecture, and I gratefully acknowledge the massive contribution of AS Hornby to the field of lexicography. One of Hornby's major achievements, the monolingual learner's dictionary for Japanese students studying English, is proof thereof that not only a bilingual dictionary but also a monolingual dictionary can be a bridge between two languages. I will make reference to this approach in the paper.

2. Lexicography and society

The relation between lexicography and society can be complex and the relation holding within any given speech community seldom prevails in a similar way in other societies. Within a multilingual and multicultural environment, the dictionary landscape does not often reflect a balance between the different languages. Lexicographers compiling dictionaries for target users belonging to different speech communities need to negotiate the imbalances and complexities prevalent in the different languages, their speech communities and the available dictionaries and dictionary types. One of the major problems in any society and even more so in a multilingual society, is the lack of an established and comprehensive dictionary culture. Here I am not using the term *dictionary culture* in the way that Hausmann (1989, p. 13) used it to distinguish between user-friendliness in lexicography and a dictionary culture, with user-friendliness implying that lexicography adapts to society and

dictionary culture implying that society adapts to lexicography. I am using it in the way described by Gouws (2016, p. 111) to be a comprehensive umbrella term that includes the responsibility of both lexicography and society.

The lack of a dictionary culture or even of a rudimentary dictionary culture does not only impede lexicographers in their planning and eventual compilation of dictionaries, but it forms a dyke that separates these dictionaries from their intended target users. The dictionary landscape in any multilingual society is largely influenced by the nature and extent of a comprehensive dictionary culture or the absence thereof within each individual speech community.

In the remainder of this paper the focus will primarily be on the multilingual South African society with the emphasis on some dictionaries that add diversity to this dictionary landscape. The focus is not on the default general language dictionaries but rather on a few dictionaries that display innovative approaches to improve the nature of the dictionary landscape. Although the discussion is directed at the South African landscape, the different lexicographic endeavours could also be relevant to other multilingual societies.

Due to the reality of South Africa, the dictionary landscape shows both printed and online dictionaries. Online dictionaries are the default tools for certain user groups but for the majority of dictionary users and potential dictionary users, printed dictionaries currently still are the only lexicographic resources at their disposal. This situation poses some challenges to lexicographers and metalexicographers. In the transition from the printed to the online medium, the lexicographic practice led the way – with lexicographic theory following and having to play a catch-up game. Metalexicographers were slow in adapting theories that had originally been formulated for printed dictionaries to make provision for the emerging online dictionaries. Currently the metalexicographic discussion is dominated by the online medium. In South Africa lexicographic theory is also applied to ensure good online dictionaries. However, a real need remains for printed dictionaries and for an ongoing improvement of these dictionaries. Metalexicographers therefore need to formulate new models to enhance the quality of printed dictionaries and they need to embark on exciting endeavours to promote the transition to online dictionaries as well as the continued improvement of these lexicographic products.

3. Developing a dictionary culture

South Africa has eleven official national languages. Although there are huge differences in the size of the speech communities and the geographical distribution of the speakers of the eleven languages, these official languages are protected by the constitution. In practice they are not treated or used in an equal way. English dominates as *lingua franca* but also as language of the higher functions. Afrikaans, also due to support during the previous political era, is a fully standardised language that can be used at all levels of general and scientific communication. Due to, among others, the previous political landscape, the nine indigenous Bantu languages have not had the same support and do not show the same extent of development, especially in the domain of languages for special purposes. These differences between the languages are also evident in the dictionary landscape.

In principle, the future of the South African dictionary landscape should look positive. In addition to the lexicographic work of commercial publishers, the Pan South African Language Board, a government-funded organization, established to promote multilingualism,

to develop the eleven official languages, and to protect language rights in South Africa, founded a National Lexicography Unit (NLU) for each of the eleven official languages. The brief of these units is to develop the lexicographic landscape of their respective languages by compiling dictionaries for each speech community, with a comprehensive monolingual dictionary as the ultimate goal. When the NLUs were established in 2001 the playing field was not equal, nor was the dictionary culture of the different speech communities comparable. One model and even one dictionary type could not and still cannot be imposed on all the NLUs or on all the language groups in South Africa. This influenced the development of the different lexicographic projects and unfortunately today the dictionary landscape still shows vast differences between the different languages.

Wiegand (1998, p. 506) refers to a knowledgeable user (“ein kundiger Benutzer”) and he identifies some features of such a user, but also of what he calls a non-knowledgeable user (“ein unkundiger Benutzer”). These features Wiegand identified include the familiarity, or lack thereof, of the user regarding the use of a dictionary – and the knowledge or non-knowledge such a user has of a specific dictionary. You can be a knowledgeable user of dictionary X but a non-knowledgeable user of dictionary Y. A knowledgeable user uses the dictionary in such a way that it conforms to the expectations of the compiler of the dictionary and the user has the proficiency and skills expected by the lexicographer. In contrast, the non-knowledgeable user, cf. Wiegand (1998, p. 507), does not have these skills that are presupposed by the lexicographer. These criteria of Wiegand confirm Hausmann’s idea of a dictionary culture with society, the target users, having to adapt to lexicography – fulfilling the expectations of the lexicographer. The lack of sufficient knowledgeable users still prevents achieving an optimal dictionary landscape in South Africa.

However, when a dictionary culture is seen as a bidirectional process in which both society and lexicography play a significant role, one should not only work with the distinction between knowledgeable and non-knowledgeable dictionary users but also knowledgeable and non-knowledgeable lexicographers. Knowledgeable lexicographers have the skills and proficiency to plan and compile dictionaries that respond to the expectations, the lexicographic needs, and the reference skills of the target user. These skills and this knowledge needed by a lexicographer will not necessarily be the same when working in a monolingual compared to a multilingual society. In lexicographic research a lot of attention had been given to user studies. Lexicographer studies have not attracted enough attention. To what extent are the lexicographers in a multilingual and multicultural environment able to respond to the real lexicographic needs of diverse user groups – also within a single language? The dictionary landscape is not only determined by the available dictionaries but also by the dictionary culture and by the dictionary users and lexicographers who are primary participants in establishing the landscape.

A comprehensive dictionary culture demands that both lexicography and society need to adapt so that better dictionaries can be compiled and be used in an optimal way. This could help to ensure a better dictionary landscape.

4. Dictionaries: bridges, dykes and sluice gates

4.1 Bridges

The title of Bathe’s book *Ianua Linguarum* (1615) – the gate of tongues – illuminates an important assignment of any dictionary – it should give access to data. Lexicographers

should be instrumental in making these data available to the target users and these users need to be proficient to execute a successful dictionary consultation by retrieving the required information from the data on offer.

Zgusta (1970, p. 294) already stated that “The basic purpose of a bilingual dictionary is to coordinate with the lexical units of one language those lexical units of another language which are equivalent in their lexical meaning”. He also emphasised that the “fundamental difficulty of such a co-ordination of lexical units is caused by the anisomorphism of languages [...]”. Bilingual dictionaries are typical bridges in a multilingual society and this co-ordination is the typical bridging function of such a dictionary with linguistic, cultural and pragmatic features coming into play. When compiling bilingual dictionaries, lexicographers face challenges. It is not always possible to find exact equivalents to present in any bilingual dictionary. Lexicographers will be confronted with lexical gaps, and they need to counter them in the best possible way. The Nguni word *ubuntu* conveys a very specific cultural value and it does not have a direct equivalent in English. The word has to be included as lemma in a Zulu or Xhosa dictionary and the lexicographer could give a brief paraphrase of meaning like “good moral nature and human kindness”. Knowledge of both the linguistic and the cultural aspects of these languages is of paramount importance to the lexicographer when coordinating their lexical units.

It is important that a lexicographer, especially in a multilingual environment, should adopt a comparative approach that takes cognizance of users from different speech communities. This could have an influence on the structure of, especially, the bilingual dictionary he/she is compiling. Responding to the question: “What do I want my user to be able to do with this dictionary?”, a lexicographer might realise that the envisaged article structure of a dictionary might not accommodate all the data that should be included to support the target users. Lexicographers should be aware of the freedom they have to deviate from homogeneous article structures by employing clearly defined heterogeneous article structures. All articles will present at least an obligatory microstructure, but some articles may also present an extended obligatory microstructure that includes some items not relevant to all articles, e. g., a cultural note or footnote. In addition, within the frame structure of a printed dictionary an innovative variety of outer texts can be employed to increase the data distribution options. In an online dictionary, outer features, cf. Klosa/Gouws (2015), can be introduced and the lexicographer may even employ a data-pulling structure, cf. Gouws (2018), to enable access to dictionary-external sources.

Although bilingual dictionaries are the primary bridges in multilingual societies one should never underestimate the bridging value of monolingual dictionaries – provided, that they have been planned and compiled for a very specific situation of use. In this regard lexicographers can take guidance from the work of AS Hornby, and more specifically his *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* (1942), later to be published internationally as *A Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (1948) and still later as *The Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English* (1952), cf. Cowie (1998). It is important to note that this first learner’s dictionary was a monolingual product, and it is furthermore important to be aware of the environment in and for which this dictionary was prepared. In 1931 Hornby was invited by the linguist H. E. Palmer to join him in his work directed at vocabulary research at the Tokyo Institute for Research into English Teaching. According to Cowie (1998) this was almost ten years after Palmer had been commissioned to prepare a controlled vocabulary for Japanese middle schools. Palmer had already indicated the need for a special dictionary for the learner and the idea of a monolingual general-purpose dictionary designed particularly for ad-

vanced Japanese learners of English had already been a topic of discussion. Hornby's knowledge of the needs of language learners in the Japanese situation guided the work towards the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* in 1942 and later the *Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. In the preface Hornby indicated that the dictionary had been compiled to meet the needs of foreign students of English and although not explicitly stated in the title of this dictionary a major feature of the *Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary* was its clearly defined target user, i. e., the Japanese learner of English.

Although the user indicated by the term *learner* in Hornby's early learner's dictionary could be clearly identified as a Japanese learner of English as a foreign language this approach of working with such a well-defined target user no longer prevails in the modern-day lexicographic practice of monolingual dictionaries. Monolingual learner's dictionaries are typically compiled for learners of the specific language as a foreign language, but the native language of the target user is usually not specified. For a broad international market like that of the major English learner's dictionaries a general approach is in order because these dictionaries are not directed at target users from one specific language. However, in a multilingual country where dictionaries are bridges between members of the different speech communities more attention should be given to a more precise specification of the intended target users. Too often too little is known of the learners using these learner's dictionaries and this has definite implications for the success of this type of dictionary as a practical instrument.

By focusing specifically on the needs of Japanese learners of English AS Hornby could compile a dictionary that responded to the needs of the user of his dictionary but that could also negotiate their personal linguistic and cultural background. One would have expected that this approach would have been further developed by lexicographers of all monolingual learner's dictionaries. *Basiswoordeboek van Afrikaans* is a monolingual Afrikaans learner's dictionary compiled to help foreign language users learning Afrikaans. It was compiled for the South African market but fails to respond to specific problems that learners from some of the other South African languages will experience because not enough attention was given to the challenges faced by speakers of the Bantu languages who wanted to learn Afrikaans. The way in which a learner approaches a monolingual learner's dictionary is affected by the native language of the user and its traditions and cultures, cf. Atkins (1985:15). A dictionary that is too general cannot optimally suffice in a multilingual environment. Although it is commercially not viable to have a separate monolingual dictionary of, say Afrikaans, for each of the other South African languages, a single monolingual dictionary can present a generic approach complemented in either the articles or the outer texts by data directed at specific other languages, cf. Gouws (2015). In an online dictionary this can be achieved more easily.

When deciding on the way in which the native language of a user should play a role in the lexicographic presentation and treatment of a monolingual learner's dictionary the lexicographer needs to negotiate a variety of issues. These are issues regarding the structure of the language, the relation between the target language and that of the user, the culture of the speakers of the target language, the culture of the speakers of the native language, similarities and differences between the two languages, etc. In a multilingual and multicultural environment these considerations are even more compelling.

Bilingual dictionaries have a high usage frequency in multilingual societies and as practical instruments they play a significant role in the promotion of interlingual communication.

These dictionaries should not only provide linguistic assistance but should also enhance a mutual understanding of different cultures. In this regard, the South African dictionary landscape has recently been enriched with excellent bilingual dictionaries, especially school dictionaries, with English as one of the treated languages. OUP South Africa has led the way with the publication of dictionaries with Northern Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans respectively as the second member of the language pair. Pharos publishers has also contributed with, especially, their Afrikaans-English school dictionary. By enriching the dictionary landscape with school dictionaries, the foundation is laid for a process of life-long dictionary use. The introduction of good school dictionaries in South Africa also helps to avoid future lexicographic lost generations.

The bridging contribution of lexicography is not restricted to traditional bilingual dictionaries. Wiegand (2013, p. 285) refers to printed utility tools with formal properties of lexicographic nature, and this is also seen in the South African lexicographic landscape. Innovative endeavours, e. g., where the lexicographic work is complemented in a single source with other forms of language material result in a product that can be regarded as a dictionary+. Multilingual lexicographic products are not only bridges between the official languages of South Africa but are also employed to promote minority languages. One such example is found in N|uu, one of the few surviving non-Bantu click languages in Southern Africa and one of the most endangered languages on the continent.

4.1.1 A dictionary+

Efforts are currently made by a few of its remaining speakers to teach N|uu to descendants of the original speech community. Lexicography comes to the help again – an illustrated trilingual N|uu-Afrikaans-English reader: *Ouma Geelmeid ke kx'u ||xa||xa N|uu/Ouma Geelmeid gee N|uu.* (= Granny Geelmeid teaches N|uu) (Shah/Brenzinger 2016). This reader is divided into chapters in which words and expressions from a number of different thematic fields are presented, along with a few illustrations. In these thematic sections a variety of expressions are given in N|uu with translations into Afrikaans and English. In addition to the expressions illustrating the typical use of the language some chapters also contain single words from that semantic field with an illustration for each word. According to the authors “The contents of the reader and also the format are tailored towards the community needs in the N|uu teaching and learning efforts” (ibid., p. 10). By giving the expressions the reader adheres to a text production and translation function whereas the pictures satisfy a text reception and cognitive function. The lexicographic component is explicitly realised in two glossaries, N|uu-Afrikaans-English and Afrikaans-N|uu-English, presented as the final texts in this carrier of text types. These glossaries are preceded by illustrated charts of the various clicks, consonants and vowels of N|uu.

This reader is not a dictionary in the traditional sense of the word, but it contains lexicographic components complemented by other texts that present lexical, phonetic, orthographic and syntactic documentation of this endangered language. The reference in Wiegand (2013, p. 285) to printed utility tools with formal properties of lexicographic nature also applies to this dictionary. The principles of language documentation typically found in lexicographic work dominate this publication and the application of established lexicographic principles resulted in an innovative source of language documentation. The significance of this publication becomes clear when one is familiar with the linguistic situation in South Africa and the need to protect the endangered language of a part of society of which most of the members are non-literate. The target users of this readers are descendants of the N|uu

speech community. The genuine purpose of this reader is to “help students to learn to read and write N|uu, and even more importantly, to speak the language” (Shah/Brenzinger 2016, p. 10). As can be seen in figure 1 and 2 from the central list N|uu is the source language with Afrikaans and English as languages in which equivalents and translations are given.

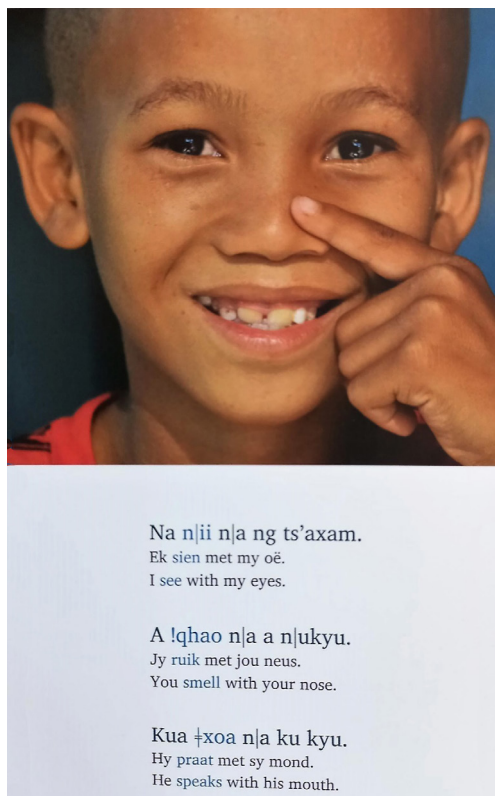


Fig. 1: from N|UU

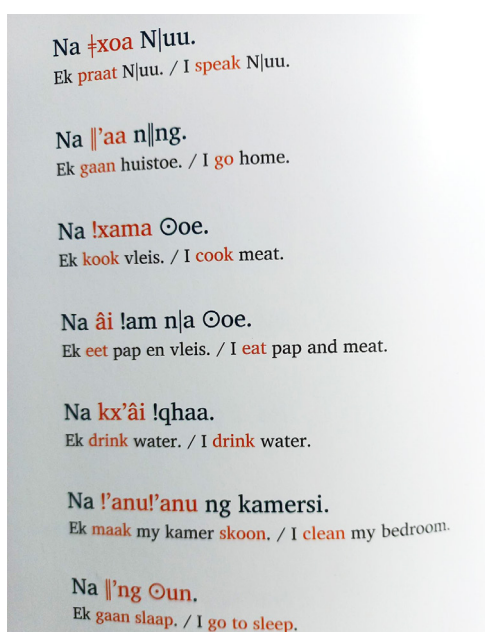


Fig. 2: from N|UU

The glossary in the back matter section contains the real lexicographic texts, i. e., two word lists: N|uu-Afrikaans-English (see fig. 3) and Afrikaans-N|uu-English.

	!qoarasi	!qoara	kortbeenboesmangras (deur skape gevreet; droë kort gras word gebruik om vuur mee te maak)	small grass (eaten by sheep; used to make fire when dry)
	!qoeke		om hande te klap	to clap hands
	!qunsi		motreën	drizzle
	!qui	!quike	as	ash
!QH	!qhaa		water	water
	!qhaa		langs (iemand, iets)	be next to (someone, something)
	!qhaaxu	ka !qhaaxuke	plaas	farm
	!qhâisi	ka !qhâi	spoor van diere of voetspoor van mense	footprint, spoor, track (e.g. of animals and people)
	!qhao		om (iets) te ruik	to smell (something)
	!qhobasi	!qhobake	hoodia (plant)	hoodia (plant)
	!qhoeke	ka !qhoeke	leeu	lion
	!qhûia		om vet te wees	be fat
!X'	!x'am		dagga	marijuana
	!x'aru	ka !x'aru	jagluiperd	cheetah
	!x'oa	ka !x'oa	volstruiskuike	ostrich chick
	!x'uuke	ka !x'uu	voet	foot
†	†ama		bruin	brown

Fig. 3: from N|UU

The selection and ordering of the second and third languages in this reader and of the source language in the glossaries is not randomly done. Afrikaans is the first language of most of the target users and for them the N|uu words and expressions are readily accessible via Afrikaans. This dictionary offers a bridge from the known (Afrikaans) to the unknown (N|uu) and a basic treatment of the N|uu items. The more advanced user can eventually use the main access structure as constituted by the access route of the N|uu source language items. Given the multilingual environment the users are also presented with the relevant English equivalents. Within a specific linguistic landscape this dictionary responds to the specific multilingual communication and cognitive situation of its intended target user.

The structure and contents of this dictionary look quite simple, but this simplicity results from the execution of a well-devised plan to promote language use as well as the coordination of an endangered language and two official languages. In addition, the dictionary landscape is expanded. Such a lexicographic approach is important in a multilingual society.

4.1.2 Bilingualised dictionaries

Bilingualised dictionaries, cf. Nakamoto (1995), Laufer/Lindor (1997), also play an important bridging role in the South African dictionary landscape. Enhancing interlingual communication is not only done within a single dictionary but also by means of a series of dictionaries functioning as an interactive dictionary portal. Maskew Miller Longman published a series of foundation phase dictionaries (in the South African school system “foundation

phase” refers to the first three formal school years) that includes dictionaries for Afrikaans, Northern Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu. These are monolingual dictionaries with a bilingual dimension. They are compiled for mother-tongue speakers of the specific language, but each dictionary article also contains an English translation equivalent as well as an English translation of the example sentence given to support the paraphrase of meaning.

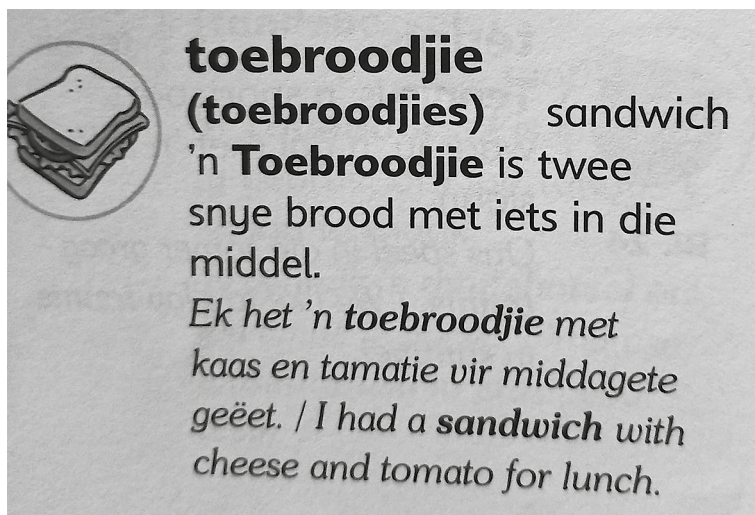


Fig. 4: from Grondslagfasewoordeboek

The back matter section of each dictionary in this series contains two alphabetical word lists. The first list includes all the words entered as lemmata in the central list with their English equivalents and a page number or page numbers where the source language word is treated. The second word list has English equivalents from the central list as source language items with the lemma from the primary language of the dictionary as equivalent, along with the page number or numbers where the item from the primary language is treated.

Important in a multilingual society is that each dictionary in this series is poly-accessible – either via the central list or via the back matter texts with their alphabetically ordered word lists presenting the two languages of the dictionary. Although these dictionaries are primarily monolingual – the paraphrase of meaning is only given in the source language of the central list – they can also be regarded as bilingualised dictionaries due to the presence of the English translation equivalents, example sentences and back matter word lists. As an independent publication each dictionary plays an important role in promoting the source language in combination with English as the lingua franca. In addition, and in response to the specific society, the dictionary series promotes multilingualism. To enhance interlingual communication all the dictionaries in this series show a comparable lemma selection. The lexical items presented in one of the monolingual English dictionaries of the publisher was used as basis for the macrostructural selection of all the dictionaries. These English words had been translated into the different languages and these equivalents were entered as lemmata in the respective dictionaries. Due to cultural and linguistic reasons some minor adaptations were made in the different dictionaries but to a large extent they display a comparable lemma selection. Consequently, the bridging does not only prevail between English and each one of the other languages individually. A user can move from the primary language of anyone of these dictionaries with English as bridging language to any of the other lan-

guages. To illustrate this: the Xhosa dictionary offers English equivalents by means of which a Xhosa user can move from Xhosa to the English equivalent and then to the back matter text English-Tswana in the Tswana dictionary to finally reach the Tswana word that is an equivalent of the Xhosa word with which the search commenced. The comprehensive data distribution structure with the dictionary portal as a search domain and each individual dictionary as a search region, cf. Gouws (2021, p. 6), allows a retrieval of information from all the languages of the series and enhances the communicative potential of the South African society. This is a way of expanding the dictionary landscape by increasing the number of dictionaries available but also by elevating the communication potential in the specific multilingual society. Once these dictionaries are made available in online format the interlingual linking will be almost effortless.

4.1.3 Monolingualised dictionaries

Within a multilingual environment bilingualised dictionaries or monolingual dictionaries with a bilingual dimension can be complemented by monolingualised dictionaries or bilingual dictionaries with a monolingual dimension. In a linguistically and culturally diverse society like South Africa it is important to have dictionaries that can account for the lexicographic needs of the members of each speech community but can also guide the primary target users to other languages and can provide secondary users, i.e., users from one or more different South African languages, access to the primary language of the dictionary. A dictionary that achieves exactly this purpose is the *Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*. This three-volume dictionary can be regarded as a trilingual dictionary with a strong monolingual dimension – in the sense that the treatment has been enhanced through the inclusion of items usually only associated with monolingual dictionaries. Each page displays partial article stretches spread over three columns, with columns for English and Afrikaans running parallel to that of the Xhosa column.

<p>uku-tyakätÿä nz/v (dlul/perf -tyakätÿilë, -tyakätÿë; nzn/rec ukutyakätÿänä; nzk/met-pot ukutyakätÿëkä; nzl/ap ukutyakätÿëlä; nzs/caus ukutyakätÿisä; nzw/pass ukutyakätÿwä):</p> <p>1 ukusika-sika, ukubenga-benga, ukutyanda-tyanda (into ethambileyo njengenyama, iblayi letolofiya, njl):</p> <p><i>uqale wasiyakatyä isihlunu senyama waza wasibeka emalahleni:</i></p> <p>2 ukunqunqa, ukubenga (umlu wenyama):</p> <p>3 ukubetha kakhulu ngemvubu okanye isabhokhwe ukuze kubekho imivumbo emininzi emibi; ukutywatyusha, ukuxathula; ukubenga-benga, ukutyandatyanda (umntu okanye isilwanyana):</p> <p>4 ukukhenketha, ukutyutyutha (indawo, ilali, ilizwe):</p> <p><i>ndityakatyä ilali ezintathu ndifuna ingcibi yokwakha:</i></p> <p>5 ukumgxibha, ukumqwenqa, ukukrazula ngamazwi (umntu); ukumnukuneza:</p> <p>6 ukuthetha kakubi ngesimilo somnye; ukuhleba, ukungcikiva, ukunyelisa, ukunyembanya:</p>	<p>1 slash (something soft, eg meat, prickly pear cladode, etc) with deep transverse gashes without dividing it completely into smaller pieces: <i>he made a number of deep transverse cuts in the piece of meat and then placed it on the coals;</i></p> <p>2 cut up, divide (a carcass) into the various cuts or joints;</p> <p>3 stab, slash (a person or animal) all over the body, leaving him covered with blood; flog severely causing numerous lacerations;</p> <p>4 traverse, travel about all over (a place or country), eg in search of something or on business: <i>I hunted all over three areas of the district looking for a good builder;</i></p> <p>5 scold, rebuke, revile, berate, swear at;</p> <p>6 slander, calumniate, malign, vilify, speak evil of, sully a person's character.</p>	<p>1 (iets sags en vlesigs, bv 'n stuk vleis, turksvyblad, ens) oopvlek deur diep snye daarin te maak: <i>hy het die stuk vleis eers oopgevek en toe op die kole geplaa;</i></p> <p>2 ('n karkas) uitmeekaarmaak, verdeel in die verskeie dele;</p> <p>3 ('n mens of dier) oor die hele liggaam steek- of snywonde toedien; slaan dat die oop hale lê;</p> <p>4 ('n area) deurkruis, bv op soek na iets: <i>ek het aldie wyke van die distrik platge-loop op soek na 'n goeie bouer;</i></p> <p>5 (iemand) streng berispe, uittrap, slegsê, met die tong kasty;</p> <p>6 slegmaak, beswadder, beskinder, kwaadsprek van.</p>
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Fig. 5: from the Greater Dictionary of Xhosa

This article structure resembles what Wiegand/Feinauer/Gouws (2013, p. 328) call a block article. It differs, however, because each block is not an article but only a partial article because only the Xhosa block has a lemma sign. It can be regarded as a blocked article consisting of three partial blocks.

The Xhosa column contains partial blocks that could function as fully-fledged articles in a monolingual dictionary. This partial block satisfies the minimum criteria of a basic article because it has its own comment on form and a comment on semantics. For each lemma the treatment in the first partial block is executed by means of Xhosa items, as could be expected in a monolingual dictionary. The second and third columns contain partial blocks presenting partial articles that consist only of a comment on semantics containing the respective English and Afrikaans equivalents or translations of the Xhosa paraphrases of meaning as well as example sentences in articles where the Xhosa section has example sentences. The outer access structure of the central list of this dictionary has a single search route that guides a user to the Xhosa lemma sign. The search route of the inner access structure guides a user to the items in the Xhosa search zones and then to the subsequent horizontally ordered English and Afrikaans partial articles.

The specific article structure of this dictionary is not for metalexigraphic cosmetic reasons, but it is motivated by the relation between lexicography and society. In the preface to this dictionary the editors say:

The three languages used side by side bring to mind the eventful history of interaction, co-operation and conflict, and the ferment days now past. However, the Dictionary is making its appearance at a time when the peoples of Southern Africa learning the need for greater understanding and acceptance of one another, and it is hoped that the use of these volumes will in some way contribute to this process. (Pahl 1989, p. viii)

Within a multilingual and multicultural society, the dictionary has a primary target user group, but it equips these users with more than a mere knowledge of their own language. It enhances interlingual communication.

4.2 Dykes

The question that should dominate all decisions regarding the contents of a dictionary, i. e. “What do I want my user to be able to do with the dictionary?” should also determine whether a lexicographer adopts a prescriptive, descriptive or proscriptive approach, cf. Bergenholtz (2003) and Bergenholtz/Gouws (2010), when it comes to the selection of items to be included in any given dictionary.

Dictionaries focusing on a presentation and treatment of the language for general purposes for a general target user group, not for school students, should avoid a dyke function that prohibits the inclusion of items that belong to the subject matter of the specific dictionary. These dykes could be of a linguistic, ideological, or cultural nature or could merely reflect the personal bias of the lexicographer.

In a multilingual society language contact is a normal phenomenon that occurs on a daily basis. In their reflection of the actual language usage lexicographers have to take cognizance of the results of this contact and, depending on the type of dictionary they compile and the genuine purpose of that dictionary, they have to plan the way in which their dictionaries should negotiate this. The dictionary landscape of a multilingual and multicultural country like South Africa should bear witness of the linguistic realities and the fact that no language in this society exists in isolation.

One can easily underestimate the extent of the influence of language contact with languages not only borrowing words from other languages but also lending words to other languag-

es. Schoonheim (2021, p. 169) distinguishes between loanwords, i. e., those lexical items borrowed from other languages, and export words, i. e., those lexical items that are lent to other languages. Where there is a dominant language or lingua franca in a multilingual society, that language will often be the exporting language. In South Africa all the other ten official languages contain a variety of loanwords from English. However, dictionaries also show the extent to which South African English has not only exported to but has borrowed from other languages. *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* (Silva 1996) gives ample proof of the way in which South African English has been influenced by the other South African languages. The lemma selection of this dictionary is restricted to borrowings from the other South African languages. From a linguistic perspective this dictionary acts as a bridge that displays the results of language contact with each borrowed form functioning as a miniscule communication bridge between English and one of the other languages.

Part of the bridging assignment of dictionaries is to include established loan forms to ensure the best possible interlingual comprehension. A too strong prescriptive approach, often motivated by misplaced linguistic purism or language nationalism, results in a dictionary becoming a dyke that isolates the dictionary from the surrounding language use – and from the speakers of that language. In the early decades of the previous century Afrikaans had to establish itself as a national language alongside the world language English. Although Afrikaans and English functioned together and a bidirectional influence existed, linguists and lexicographers tried to rid Afrikaans as far as possible from English influence. Employing a strong prescriptive approach many direct translations from English as well as English loan words were excluded from the dictionaries in spite of their occurrence in daily communication. In bilingual dictionaries with Afrikaans and English as language pair, see Bosman/Van der Merwe (1936) and Bosman/Van der Merwe/Hiemstra (1984), these anglicisms were replaced by Dutchisms and Germanisms – words and expressions that portrayed artificial and non-natural language use in Afrikaans. Typical Afrikaans words like *geboortemerk* (birth mark), *boekmerk* (bookmark), *rughand* (backhand) were excluded because they are direct loan translations from English. In their place the Dutch forms *moedervlek* and *boeklêer* and the unnatural form *handrug* were included. These substituting forms were not part of the active Afrikaans language use, and their inclusion diminished the representativeness of the dictionaries. Fortunately, things have changed. A more descriptive approach and an acknowledgement of the naturalness of language contact and the inevitable inclusion of loan forms and loan translations as well as the emergence of representative corpora helped to remove many dykes from the South African dictionary landscape.

Dykes are also created due to language-political issues, e. g., the standardisation process of a language with different dialects. A biased and one-sided standardisation process could form a dyke that prevents numerous forms from being considered for inclusion in a dictionary. This has also happened in the South African landscape. Mojela (2008, p. 119) discusses what he calls a “strict and narrow standardization” of Sesotho sa Leboa (Northern Sotho) that resulted in the exclusion of many dialectal forms and that imposed a standard language on the speech community that was foreign to many of them. As a result, some dialects were stigmatized and regarded as inferior. This dyke separating exclusion from inclusion often does not have an objective linguistic motivation. Consequently, Mojela (ibid., p. 129) believes that lexicographers are faced with the challenge of bridging the gap between the standard language and those dialects that had been stigmatized. Here dictionaries should

not be dykes but rather bridges “in order to make the standard language acceptable to all the communities ...” This should also guarantee the unity and stability of Sesotho sa Leboa.

One of the problems Mojela refers to is that some of the established corpora used by lexicographers did not include lexical items from the side-lined dialects. These corpora strengthened the dyke and supported the exclusion of words frequently used by speakers of the inferior dialects. This problem has been overcome in some of the more recent dictionaries, ensuring that their bridge function surpasses their dyke function.

4.3 Sluice gates

The metaphors of dictionaries as bridges, dykes and sluice gates do not only apply to the macrostructural coverage of a dictionary but can also be used with regard to other structures and procedures in the lexicographic process. Sluice gates can be interpreted in two ways: the opening of a sluice so that water can flow freely, or a type of lock in e.g., a river to manage the water flow and water level. Both these senses are relevant when using sluice gates as a metaphor in a discussion of dictionaries.

Looking at dictionaries as bridges, the enriching value of language contact has already been identified – as well as the unfortunate puristic attempts to create dykes to prevent this influence. Lexicographers need a well-balanced approach, guided by the reality of actual language use, to negotiate the functions of their dictionaries as bridges, dykes and sluice gates. Specific linguistic and lexicographic circumstances can also play a determining role, but a single dictionary can present all three these functions.

In the development of monolingual dictionaries in Afrikaans the comprehensive multivolume *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal* (Dictionary of the Afrikaans language) (WAT), has played a significant role – and is still playing that role. This project was started in 1926 when there still was a lack of both other general monolingual Afrikaans dictionaries and Afrikaans special field dictionaries. The comprehensiveness of a comprehensive dictionary prevails on at least three levels: the lexical items included for treatment, the data types allocated to each article and the extent of the treatment. With regard to the lexical coverage and the extent of the treatment, the WAT opened the sluice gates. As one can expect from a dictionary belonging to this typological category, it contains a comprehensive selection of lexical items from the general language. In the absence of special field dictionaries many terms from a variety of subject fields that would not typically qualify for inclusion in a general language dictionary had been entered as lemmata. This created a lexical data overload because the dictionary contained items that should not have been lemma candidates for a general monolingual dictionary. Although there still was a lack of special field dictionaries, a general dictionary was not the venue where interested users would look for these items. This lexical overflow was detrimental to the focus and the genuine purpose of the WAT and impeded its progress. Changes in the dictionary landscape and the emergence of a range of other Afrikaans dictionaries convinced the editors of the WAT to adjust their lemma selection policy to close the sluice gates for some items.

Even in a comprehensive dictionary lexicographers must be aware of the slogan “less is more,” although *less* does not always have the same value. Roughly during the period 1965–1985 the WAT, riding the wave of comprehensiveness, opened the sluice gates for certain types of data, especially data accommodated in the search zones for the paraphrases of meaning. An inflation of encyclopaedic data dominated these articles and impeded rapid

access to the core data in these search zones. Another type of sluice gate was needed: a type of lock to manage the data flow and data level. In the WAT the appropriate data level was found by a balance between a flow of lexicographic and non-lexicographic data and the regulating value of lexicographic theory. Following a lot of criticism from linguists and metalexicographers, the editors of the WAT devised a new data distribution plan for the dictionary articles with clearly defined criteria for the nature and extent of data provided in the paraphrase of meaning, cf. Botha (2003). This presentation of data bridges a knowledge gap and successfully assist users in retrieving the necessary information without stumbling over non-relevant data. In this regard the WAT has become an example for monolingual lexicographic work in the other South African languages.

In a multilingual country like South Africa that has English as a dominant language it is natural, predictable and acceptable to have English exporting words and expression to other languages. A balance is required because a random opening of the lexical sluice gates can result in languages being flooded by unnecessary loan words. Yet again, dictionaries have to reflect the actual language use, but they could also provide guidance and even issue a warning when needed. A mere transliteration of English words often results in an increase of the loan word stock of the indigenous South African languages. This is in spite of the fact that the lexicons of these languages often do have appropriate words available. The indigenous African languages often lack enough special field and technical terms, and loan words are accepted and welcomed. But not to replace existing words and terms. Here the sluice gates need to be closed so that these languages can develop and offer their speech communities the option of expressing themselves in all spheres of life in their mother language.

The Northern Sotho equivalent for the word *aeroplane* is *sefofane* (literally an object that flies). According to Makua (in preparation) some Northern Sotho speakers who are used to transliterating from English are using the form *folaematšhene* which is a borrowed term, a transliteration of *flying machine*. For a cell phone the transliteration *selefoune* has been used although Northern Sotho had already in the early years of mobile phones been enriched with its own word *sellathekeng* – “it cries/rings on the hips”. As translation equivalent for *car* Northern Sotho has the word *sefatanaga* but the opened sluice gates allowed the transliteration *mmotoro*. According to Hlungwane (in preparation) there is a need for Northern Sotho (and other African language) dictionaries to provide their users with Northern Sotho items that are established forms in the language although they function alongside loan words and transliterations. The opening of the sluice gates should not endanger a language.

As authoritative sources dictionaries could show both the indigenous and the loan forms. Here lexicographers could adopt a proscriptive approach, cf. Bergenholtz (2003) and Bergenholtz/Gouws (2010). Such an approach could imply that a dictionary presents both these forms, but the lexicographers express a preference – which might be subjective or biased but could also be based on linguistic and cultural priorities as well as corpus evidence. The article structure may even allow the use of a text box or an article-internal footnote to motivate the specific preference.

Dictionaries need to contribute to the development of a language, and this can also be achieved by sluice gates that increase lexicotainment. When it comes to the inclusion of neologisms in dictionaries there are criteria determining when the usage frequency of a given form justifies its inclusion as lemma in a general language dictionary. Significant deviations from the traditional inclusion policies of neologisms were witnessed regarding

COVID-19 neologisms where an immediate lexicographic response was required, cf. some of the papers from the Globalex workshops on lexicography and neology (Klosa-Kückelhaus/Kernerman (in print)). In South Africa Afrikaans and the African languages need to expand their vocabularies. This is not only done by opening the sluice gates that allows borrowing from English but also by finding new words as non-borrowed translation equivalents for some English words. A couple of linguistic entrepreneurs in the educational environment proposed the idea of a dictionary with suggestions of new Afrikaans words for existing English forms. People were invited to submit their own neologisms and the *Wilde woordeboek* (Wild dictionary) (Van Niekerk/Basson/Grobler) entered the dictionary landscape. This dictionary was evidence of the innovative ideas of members of the Afrikaans speech community and showed the creative potential of the language and its contribution to the dictionary landscape. The *Wilde woordeboek* is a sluice gate that channelled linguistic creativity and enhanced the growth and development of Afrikaans.

5. Conclusion

The dictionary landscape in the multilingual and multicultural South Africa is diverse and the lexicographic standard of the different languages is not equal and does not display a parallel development. However, a variety of dictionary types and innovative lexicographic projects in different languages offer numerous interlingual bridging and collaboration opportunities. Dictionaries also have a dyke and a sluice gate function that plays a regulating role in the lexicographic presentation of linguistic forms.

A major problem is the lack of a comprehensive dictionary culture. To solve this problem joint ventures by lexicography and society are needed. The better the dictionary culture, the better the dictionary landscape and the less cumbersome the bridging between different languages.

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