

PIONEERS OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN KRAKÓW



Edited by
Robert Kłosowicz



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In memory of Professor Roman Stopa (1895-1995)



Edited by
Robert Kłosowicz



Kraków

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Arkadiusz Żukowski 

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ROMAN STOPA'S RESEARCH IN LIGHT OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN POLAND AND WORLDWIDE – INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS



ROMAN STOPA (1895–1995), professor of the Jagiellonian University, was a linguist, Africanist, folklorist, specializing especially in Khoisan cultures. He completed his studies in the field of classical philology at the Jagiellonian University in 1920. He defended his PhD dissertation entitled “Uznaczeniowanie dźwięków indoeuropejskiej jedności językowej jako przykład powszechnych procesów mowotwórczych” [Significantising the sounds of the Indo-European linguistic unity as an example of common speech-forming processes] at the same university in 1927. He was granted his habilitation at the Lviv Jan Casimir University in 1936.¹

¹ Resolution of the Council of the Faculty of the Humanities dated to 26.11.1936, cf. *Skład Uniwersytetu w latach akademickich 1936/37 i 1937/38*, Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie, Lwów 1937, p. 41.

He studied the classical languages: Greek and Latin. He also knew German, English, French and Esperanto. He taught African languages: the Bushman (San) and Hottentot (Khoekhoe) languages, as well as Swahili, Hausa and Ewe. He also taught a class on the comparative musicology of Africa. He was founder and honorary chair of the Language Origins Society (1985).² He belonged to the Polish Linguistics Association, the Polish Folkloric Society and the Polish Oriental Society (since 1937).³

* * *

Placing Roman Stopa's research, especially against the backdrop of world African studies, is a daunting task. It is easier to place this research within African studies conducted in Poland. The aim of this article is also to show the reception of Roman Stopa's scholarly studies in the world, and especially in Poland. The article will also discuss the issue of the popularisation of and memory about Roman Stopa's academic achievements in Poland.

The article primarily focuses attention on Roman Stopa's research into the cultural past, as well as various phonetic and linguistic issues of the San (Bushman) and Khoikhoi (Hottentot) peoples, inhabiting the area of what was then referred to as South-West Africa (currently Namibia), partially Bechuanaland (currently Botswana) and the Union of South Africa (currently the Republic of South

² *Groby profesorów UJ na Cmentarzu Rakowickim*, "Dziennik Polski", 28.10.2011, [on-line:] <http://www.dziennikpolski24.pl/artykul/3074774,groby-profesorow-uj-na-cmentarzu-rakowickim-rst,id,t.html> – 10.04.2015.

³ *Kronika. Polskie Towarzystwo Orientalistyczne*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 1937 (1938), vol. 13, p. 222.

Africa). This territory constitutes part of the Southern African region. The discussed research encompassed issues from the fields of linguistics, ethnography and anthropology. Roman Stopa's interests also included West and East Africa.

* * *

Numerous events from his life undoubtedly had an impact on Roman Stopa's position in the field of African Studies around the world. First of all, one should mention his studies at the Jagiellonian University. He was a student of the renowned linguist and Indo-Europeanist Jan Michał Rozwadowski (who was Stopa's PhD dissertation supervisor). Thanks to Rozwadowski's support, Stopa established contacts with researchers from abroad, as well as received scholarships (e.g. to Hamburg), but primarily this enabled him to go on a research trip to Southern Africa.

His stay in Hamburg in 1933 was important. He was under the academic care of Carl Friedrich Michael Meinhof, referred to as the father of African studies, who gave a positive review of Stopa's text entitled "Die Schnalze, ihr Natur, Entwicklung, und Ursprung" [Clicks. Their Character, Development and Origin]. Roman Stopa spent his time there delving into the mysteries of the Khoekhoe language. He also had a meeting with Meinhof himself right after he made his journey to Southern Africa, i.e. at the beginning of 1936. During his one-and-a-half-month-long stay in Germany, Stopa consulted with some other professors: Denowolff and Giulio Panconcelli-Calzia.

As written in his biography, "the professor spent the entire year of 1938 and the first half of 1939 studying in Hamburg, Paris and London, where he met globally-re-



nowned scholars, such as Prof. Dempwolf [Denowolff – A.Ż.], Fouche, Marcel Cohen".⁴ He was also in contact with the following researchers in London: George Percival Barginy and Bernice Honikman. It has been emphasized that "he was the student and then the equal partner of many academic authorities in the field of African studies, of the same level as Marcel Cohen".⁵ During his time in Berlin with Diedrich Westermann, one of the co-founders of modern research into African languages, he studied Swahili, Hausa and Ewe.

The fieldwork conducted in 1935 by Roman Stopa in present-day Namibia, Botswana and South Africa was highly significant for his academic development. He was also under the academic care of the acknowledged linguist Hermann Heinrich Vedder.

While staying in Cape Town, he met with the distinguished linguist studying the San (Bushman) peoples and author of the monumental dictionary of San speech (*A Bushman Dictionary*),⁶ Dorothea Bleek. He also pursued academic discussions with such renowned scholars as Gerard Paul Lestrade (expert in Bantu languages) and Isaac Schapera, author of the book *The Khoisan Peoples of South*

⁴ "Cały rok 1938 oraz pierwszą połowę 1939 spędził profesor na studiach w Hamburgu, Paryżu i Londynie, gdzie poznał autorytety światowej nauki, m.in. prof. Dempwolfa, Fouche, Marcela Cohena": W. KOWAL, *Profesor Roman Stopa*, Mikołowskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Bielsko-Biała 1996, p. 10.

⁵ "...był uczniem, a później równorzędnym partnerem afrykanistycznych autorytetów, tej miary co Marcel Cohen": R. OHLY, *Roman Stopa – światowej sławy uczyony (Portrety polskich afrykanistów)*, "Afryka" 1995, no. 3, p. 7.

⁶ D. BLEEK, *A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, New Haven 1956.

Africa,⁷ as well as Douglas M. Beach, author of such books as *The Phonetics of the Hottentot*.⁸

His participation in the research conducted by Ida C. Ward of the London School of Oriental and African Studies was also important academically. In addition, Roman Stopa honed his knowledge of African languages there. He also met the world-renowned anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski in London and later maintained contacts with Malinowski's student – Andrzej Waligórski.

During the interwar period, his personal discussions with Father Trilles in Le Vésinet in France, an expert on the Pygmies, were also highly significant. In 1938, Roman Stopa began his cooperation with Cohen van Gilse from Leiden University. He also corresponded with the above-listed scholars, as well as with the renowned anatomist Raymond Dart. In addition, he exchanged correspondence with the editing staff of academic journals.⁹

A less significant influence on Roman Stopa's academic development resulted from his (sporadic) contacts with Jan Czekanowski, considered to be the most distinguished Polish Africanist. The same can be said about his contacts with Jan Kuryłowicz.

⁷ I. SCHAPERA, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, Routledge & K. Paul, London 1965.

⁸ D.M. BEACH, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot*, W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge 1938.

⁹ For example, *Korrespondenz von Ilse Schwidetzky mit Autoren der Zeitschrift HOMO*, [in:] *Findbuch Best. 89 Institut für Anthropologie, Stand: Dezember 2014 (der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz)*, p. 4, [on-line:] https://www.ub.uni-mainz.de/files/2014/12/Best89_Anthropologie.pdf – 12.02.2016.

* * *

Another thing that should be mentioned is the aid Roman Stopa received during his research stay in Southern Africa from the Poles living there.

In June 1935, he stayed for three weeks at Mieczysław and Jadwiga Wiśniewski's farm in Gumuchab Ost not far from Mariental (north-east of Windhoek). He was conducting linguistic research among the representatives of the San (Bushman) and Khoikhoi (Hottentot) peoples employed there. Mieczysław Wiśniewski came from near Gniezno in Poland and travelled to Namibia as a soldier of the German army. He remained in the country and ran a vineyard near Windhoek and later bought a Karakul sheep farm covering an area of 80 km² in Gumuchab Ost.

Toward the end of September 1935, Roman Stopa, staying at the time in Windhoek, was in contact with Jan Ruziecki and his wife, and was even a guest at their house. Jan Ruziecki originated from nearby Łomża in Poland and came to Namibia *via* England. He had initially worked as a carpenter in the construction of the railway line from Karibib to Tsumeb. Thanks to Ruziecki, Stopa established contacts with Captain Octavus George Bowker, the chair of the Native Club, which allowed the Polish researcher to become acquainted with the songs and dances of the Khoikhoi and Damara.

He conducted linguistic research among the Nama people in the area near Keetmashoop, while staying at mission outposts. In addition, he was informed there about the Polish Catholic missionaries who had worked in the area in

the past – Father Stanisław Poraj-Królikowski (1866-1923) and Father Jan Malinowski (1872-1929).¹⁰

In turn, in Cape Town, where he stayed from the end of October until mid-November 1935, he met with Colonel Ludwik Roiński,¹¹ who had been a lecturer at the Marine School in Tczew. Roiński was very active in the community in Cape Town and promoted Poland there. He also wrote newspaper columns for newspapers back in Poland.

Roman Stopa was an active participant in world academic life. He was invited to international congresses for linguists, anthropologists and ethnologists. For example, he took part in the International Phonetics Congress in Ghent in 1938 and in Brussels in 1939, as well as in the World Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists in Philadelphia in 1956 and in Chicago in 1972. He was also a guest lecturer at universities in Berlin, London and Paris.

Yet another distinction Stopa experienced was his invitation to and participation in the world conference in Rome in Accademia dei Lincei, where – as one of eighteen researchers (the only one from the Eastern Block) – he presented a paper entitled “The Hominization of Language”. The paper was well received.

Even during those periods when it was difficult to maintain direct contacts with researchers from the West, Roman Stopa was able to do just that.

¹⁰ R. STOPA, *Hotentoci. Kultura, język, bajki, pieśni*, Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, Kraków 1949, pp. 42-43.

¹¹ IDEM, *Z badań nad ludnością i kulturą Afryki Południowo-Zachodniej*, Instytut Wydawniczy “Biblioteka Polska”, Warszawa 1938, *Prace Instytutu Naukowego Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, no. 1; IDEM, *Hotentoci...*, p. 6.



Roman Stopa also participated actively in Polish academic life. He took part, for example, in the conventions of the Polish Linguistics Association, the Polish Folkloric Society and the Polish Oriental Society (as of 1937), as well as other academic enterprises initiated by these associations, including participation in African seminars (e.g. in Wrocław in 1956, together with Jan Czakanowski and Tadeusz Milewski).¹²

* * *

Roman Stopa published his research results in Polish, German and English. The fullest chronological list of his academic and popular science publications has been compiled by Magdalena Szymańska. It was published in Roman Stopa's memoirs (2nd edition).¹³ A similar bibliography was also included in the first edition of Roman Stopa's memoirs. According to this compilation, the overall number of Roman Stopa's publications amounts to 100 positions, with one text having been translated into both German and English;¹⁴ one first published in German and then in Polish, with a shorter version appearing in "African

¹² *Historia Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego. Tablica chronologiczna*, 9–11.04.1956, African studies Seminar in Wrocław with the participation of Prof. Jan Czakanowski, Roman Stopa and Tadeusz Milewski, [on-line:] http://www.ptl.info.pl/?page_id=102 – 10.04.2015.

¹³ R. STOPA, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu. Kartki z życia człowieka opętanego muzyką, poezją, wsią i Buszmenami*, 2nd extended ed., Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Języka Polskiego, Kraków 1995, pp. 195–198.

¹⁴ IDEM, *Mlaski, ich charakter, rozwój i pochodzenie*, Kraków 1933; IDEM, *Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung*, Kraków 1935, *Prace Komisji Językowej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, no. 23; IDEM, *Clicks. Their Character, Development and Origin with an introduction by Gyula Décsy*, Eurolingua, Bloomington 1986, *Bibliotheca Nostratica*, no. 7.

Abstracts";¹⁵ one article in German published in two different collective works.¹⁶ The publications include 29 positions in English (some published in Poland), 15 positions in German (including the same article published in two different collective works) and one article in Italian. In addition, Roman Stopa himself mentioned that he had prepared a summary of his speech for a congress in Brussels in 1939. He was the author of one published review.¹⁷

A bibliographical compilation of Roman Stopa's texts was also prepared by Gyula Décsy in the English-language version of the Professor's text entitled *Clicks, their Character, Development and Origin*, published in 1986.¹⁸

A search through global library resources using on-line catalogues has shown that Roman Stopa's list of publications in the above-mentioned compilation is incomplete.

¹⁵ IDEM, *Das konsonantische Lautsystem des Zulu im Lichte der historischen Dialektologie*, Verhandlungen des Zweiten Dialektologen Kongresses, "Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung" 1965, vol. 4, pp. 771-787; IDEM, *Konsonantyczny system języka Zulu w świetle dialektykologii historycznej*, "Buletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego" 1967, vol. 25, pp. 155-168; IDEM, *Das konsonantische Lautsystem des Zulu im Lichte der historischen Dialektologie*, "African Abstracts" 1969, vol. 20, no. 500.

¹⁶ IDEM, *Kann man eine Brücke schlagen zwischen der Kommunikation der Primaten und derjenigen der Urmenschen?*, "Homo" 1968, vol. 19, pp. 129-136; IDEM, *Kann man eine Brücke schlagen zwischen der Kommunikation der Primaten und derjenigen der Urmenschen?*, [in:] *Über die Evolution der Sprache: Anatomie, Verhaltenforschung, Sprachwissenschaft, Anthropologie*, ed by. I. SCHWIDETZKY, Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M. 1973, pp. 151-162.

¹⁷ R. STOPA, [Recenzja: W.W. Bunak, *Powstanie mowy według danych antropologii* (Akademia Nauk Z.S.R.R., Prace Instytutu Etnografii im. N.N. Miklucho-Makłaja, new series vol. XVI. Pochodzenie człowieka i pierwotne rozmieszczenie ludzkości, Moscow 1951, pp. 205-290)], "Buletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego" 1954, vol. 13, pp. 193-206.

¹⁸ G. DÉCSY, *Roman Stopa's publications on clicks and Khoisan studies*, [in:] R. Stopa, *Clicks. Their Character...*, pp. xv-xviii.



According to the French database LLACAN,¹⁹ Roman Stopa published a text together with Gottfried Meinhold entitled *17 Satze in Nama-Hottentottisch, gesprochen von Eliphas Eiseb (Okahandja, Südwestafrika)*.²⁰ Another publication not included in this list is an article entitled *The role of clicks in the evolution of language*.²¹ Roman Stopa is also the co-author of a text entitled *Z czarnego lądu. Przysłowia, opowieści, zagadki: abisyńskie, murzyńskie, pigmejsko-khoisańskie* [From the Dark Continent. Sayings, stories, riddles: Abyssinian, African, Pygmy-Khoisan], which had two editions.²² This is an extensive selection of Amharic, Hausa and Swahili texts, as well as translations from Kwa and the Pygmy and Khoisan languages.

Roman Stopa strived to have his texts published in German, and after World War II also in English, which by then had become the *lingua franca* of the academic world. A perfect example of this approach is his text *Clicks, their Character, Development and Origin*, which was published in Polish in 1933, in German in 1935, and in English in 1986.

¹⁹ LLACAN. Langage, Langues et Cultures d'Afrique Noire, CNRS-SINALCO, [on-line:] <http://sumale.vjf.cnrs.fr/Biblio/biblio.php?AUTEU=Stopa,%20Roman> – 22.02.2016.

²⁰ G. MEINHOLD, R. STOPA, *17 Satze in Nama-Hottentottisch, gesprochen von Eliphas Eiseb (Okahandja, Südwestafrika)*, “Nova Acta Leopoldina” 1975, vol. 24, no. 218, pp. 631-635.

²¹ R. STOPA, *The role of clicks in the evolution of language*, “Nova Acta Leopoldina” 1981, vol. 54, no. 245, pp. 753-761.

²² *Z czarnego Lądu. Przysłowia, opowieści, zagadki: abisyńskie, murzyńskie, pigmejsko-khoisańskie*, original texts gathered and translated by J. MANTEL-NIEĆKO, N. PILSZCZIKOWA, R. STOPA, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1958, p. 242; *Z Czarnego Lądu. Przysłowia, opowieści, zagadki afrykańskie*, original texts gathered and translated by J. MANTEL-NIEĆKO, N. PILSZCZIKOWA, R. STOPA, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1967, p. 191.

The recognition and esteem shown to a researcher is indirectly linked to the amount of his or her publications available in the largest and most renowned world libraries. In reference to Stopa's texts, the situation is as follows: there are only eight of his publications in the American Library of Congress.²³ The same amount of his texts are located in the British Library in London, while there are seven of his publications in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Only four of his books are available in the German Deutsche Nationalbibliothek. Even less, because only two of Roman Stopa's texts are accessible in the South African National Library. In turn, the Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека) has only one publication that he authored.

It is important to note that Roman Stopa's publications are included in global linguistic databases. In the global bibliography of linguistic texts for the year 1996, seven of Roman Stopa's texts were listed.²⁴ In turn, in a bibliographic database containing publications about Namibian languages, 11 of his texts have been included.²⁵ The situation is better in Poland in these regards. In the Catalogue of Polish Research Library Collections NUKAT, the list contains 22 of Stopa's texts, while the Distributed Catalogue

²³ Library of Congress Online Catalogue, [on-line:] https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/search?searchArg=Roman+stopa&searchCode=GKEY%5E*&searchType=o&recCount=25&sk=en_US – 12.03.2016.

²⁴ *Bibliographie linguistique de l'année 1996/Linguistic Bibliography for the year 1996: et compléments des années précédentes/and Supplements for Previous Years*, ed. by M. JANSE, S. TOL, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht – Boston – London 2000, p. 1259.

²⁵ Electronic Bibliography for African Languages and Linguistics, NAMLOB – Namibian Languages Online Bibliography, The version dated 16 October 2008, compiled by J.F. MAHO, [on-line:] <http://goto.glocalnet.net/eball/namlob.pdf> – 11.03.2016.



of Polish Libraries KARO has 23 texts by this researcher. As a rule, research and university libraries have between a few and over a dozen publications by Roman Stopa (though the latter is quite rare). However, for example, the Library of the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn does not have even a single position by this researcher.

* * *

Following an initial and selective library search, it can be stated that Roman Stopa's texts have been quoted and re-reviewed in world academic literature.

The Rector of the Jagiellonian University Franciszek Ziejka emphasized that after Roman Stopa received his habilitation, his dissertation was discussed and reviewed by such world-renowned researchers as Antoine Meillet, Dorothea Bleek, Carl Meinhof, Diedrich Westermann, Archibald Norman Tucker, Lukas Tsitsipis, and others.²⁶ The Polish scholar's research received *very favourable comments*.

Roman Stopa's research (presented in the text *Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung*) was referred to in the 1930s by Prince Nikolai Sergeyevich Trubetzkoy, who was a Russian linguist, phonologist and one of the main founders of the Prague Linguistic Circle (or Prague School), modern-day phonology and structuralism.²⁷

Roman Stopa's publications appeared in prestigious linguistic studies, such as "Theorien vom Ursprung der

²⁶ F. ZIEJKA, Foreword, [in:] R. STOPA, *Studies in African Languages (Essays on Phonetics, Semiotics and Meaning)*, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych "Universitas", Kraków 1993, p. 6.

²⁷ N.S. TRUBETZKOY, *Principles of Phonology (Grundzüge der Phonetik)*, trans. by Ch.A.M. BALTAZAREK, University of California Press, 2nd ed., Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, p. 134.

Sprache" [Theories of the Origin of Language]²⁸ or in the preface illustrating global linguistic achievements on the subject of the origins of human speech.²⁹ It quotes Stopa's opinion (referring to his text *Evolution und Sprache*)³⁰ that the clicks in the San language have their analogies in the sounds made by chimpanzees (*More than 100 years later, the Africanist Roman Stopa (e.g., Stopa 1974) maintains similar views, namely, that the various clicks in Bushman have analogs in the sounds produced by Chimpanzees*).³¹

Roman Stopa's publication entitled *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European* is quite often cited by contemporary researchers around the world, including Hadumod Bussmann,³² Helmut Gipper,³³ Éric de

²⁸ R. STOPA, *Hominization through the Rise of Symbolic Function in Language*, [in:] *Theorien vom Ursprung der Sprache*, ed. by J. GESSINGER, W. VON RAHDEN, vol. 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1989, pp. 177–195.

²⁹ E.F.K. KOERNER, *Foreword*, [in:] *Linguistics and Evolutionary Theory: Three Essays by August Schleicher, Ernst Haeckel and Wilhelm Bleek. New edition (Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics, 1800–1925)*, ed. by IDEM, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 1983, p. XIV.

³⁰ R. STOPA, *Evolution und Sprache*, "Nova Acta Leopoldina" 1974, vol. 42, no. 218, pp. 355–375.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² H. BUSSMANN, *Khoisan*, [in:] *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, trans. and ed. by G. TRAUTH, K. KAZZAZI, Routledge, London – New York 1996, p. 617. In the *References* Roman Stopa's publication was among four recommended texts, cf.: I. SCHAPER, *op. cit.*; R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław et al. 1972, *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej – Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie*; J.C. WINTER, *Khoisan*, [in:] *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, ed. by B. HEINE et al., Hamburg 1981, pp. 329–374; *New perspectives on the study of Khoisan*, ed. by R. VOSSEN, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 1988.

³³ H. GIPPER, *Wurzeln, Etyma und Wörter. Wege und Irrwege auf der Suche nach Urschprachen und Sprachursprung*, [in:] *Prehistory, History, and Historiography of Language, Speech, and Linguistic*, ed. by B. BROG-



Grolier,³⁴ Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt,³⁵ Michael Knüppel,³⁶ Shane Moran,³⁷ and especially Fernando Poyatos.³⁸ Another example of a modern-day researcher who quotes Roman Stopa is the specialist on the languages of Southern Africa Rajend Mesthrie.³⁹

Mario A. di Gregorio, in his book on Ernst Haeckel, included two of R. Stopa's texts in the bibliography (*Kann man eine Brücke schlagen zwischen der Kommunikation der*

YANYI, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1992, pp. 29, 32.

³⁴ É. DE GROLIER, *Glossogenesis in endolinguistic and exolinguistic perspective. Palaeoanthropological data*, [in:] *Studies in Language Origins*, ed. by J. WIND, E.G. PULLEYBLANK, É. DE GROLIER, B.H. BICHAKJIAN, John Benjamins Publishing Co., vol. 1, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1989, pp. 88, 107, 109, 117, 189. In addition, Roman Stopa is also cited in the second volume of this publication, cf. G.W. HEWES, *Relationships of language evolution to hominid population expansion from lower Paleolithic times onwards*, [in:] *Studies in Language Origins*, ed. by W. VON RAFFLER-ENGEL, J. WIND, A. JONKER, vol. 2, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1993, p. 30.

³⁵ I. EIBL-EIBESFELDT, *Human Ethology*, Aldine Transaction, New Brunswick 2007, pp. 529–530.

³⁶ M. KNÜPPEL, *Seit Lichtenstein nichts neues? – oder: zur Idee Einer Urverwandtschaft des Arabischen mit dem Deutschen*, "Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia" 2012, vol. 17, p. 182.

³⁷ S. MORAN, *Representing Bushmen. South Africa and the Origin of Language*, University of Rochester Press, Rochester 2009, p. 164.

³⁸ F. POYATOS, *Paralanguage. A linguistic and interdisciplinary approach to interactive speech and sound*, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1993, pp. 380, 461; IDEM, *Cross-cultural Study of Paralinguistic Alternants in Face to Face Interaction*, [in:] *Organization of Behavior in Face-to-face Interaction*, ed. by A. KENDON, R.M. HARRIS, M.R. KEY, De Gruyter Mouton, The Hague – Chicago 1976, pp. 304, 314; IDEM, *Nonverbal communication across disciplines*, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1993, pp. 141, 422.

³⁹ R. MESTHRIE, *Language and Social History. Studies in South African Sociolinguistics*, David Philip, Cape Town 1995, p. 51.

*Primaten und derjenigen der Urmenschen? and The role of clicks in the evolution of language).*⁴⁰

Thus, an overview of world literature in the field of linguistics focusing on African languages, and especially the San and Khoekhoe languages, shows that Roman Stopa's work is at the very least mentioned.

A similar opinion refers to the inclusion of the Polish researcher's scholarly achievements in international editions of dictionaries and language lexicons. For example, Roman Stopa's text entitled *Die Schnalze, ihr Natur, Entwicklung, und Ursprung* is quoted in the international dictionary of the lexicography of African languages (*XXX Lexikographie der Einzelssprache, XIV: Sprachen Schwarzafrikas*).⁴¹ It should be emphasized that this text is frequently quoted in academic literature on the topic, but it is outdated (*Often cited on this subject but long out of date is Stopa, 1935*).⁴²

Thanks to the world-renowned anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski, Roman Stopa's profile was included in the 1938 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

The academic world frequently reacted to Roman Stopa's most important texts in reviews published in international scientific journals. It should be emphasized that the reviewers were world-renowned researchers. For example, the world-famous linguist Archibald Norman

⁴⁰ M.A. DI GREGORIO, *From Here to Eternity. Ernst Haeckel and Scientific Faith*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2005, p. 621.

⁴¹ E.P. HAMP, *Lexicography of the Khoisan Languages*, [in:] Wörterbücher, Dictionaries, Dictionnaires. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography. Encyclopédie internationale de lexicographie, ed. by F.J. HAUSMANN, O. REICHMANN, H.E. WIEGAND, L. ZGUSTA, vol. 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1991, p. 2656.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 2651.



Tucker wrote a review of Stopa's 1935 book in the prestigious periodical of the International African Institute "Africa" in 1937,⁴³ while in 1973 he reviewed another of the Polish researcher's texts in the same journal.⁴⁴ Roman Stopa's publication entitled *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European* met with an exceptional amount of responses, having been reviewed by four distinguished researchers.⁴⁵ In addition, it should be noted that Stopa's other texts were reviewed by such renowned researchers as Werner Wycichl,⁴⁶ Marcel Cohen,⁴⁷ Otto von

⁴³ A.N. TUCKER, [Reviews of books: *Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung. Von Roman Stopa.* Polska Akademja Umiejętności, Prace Komisji Językowej, Nr 23. Kraków 1935. Nakładem Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności. XL pp. 198], "Africa" 1937, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 492-493.

⁴⁴ IDEM, [Reviews of books: *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European. By Roman Stopa.* London: Curzon Press, 1972, pp. 218, ill., map. (Polska Akademia Nauk – Oddział w Krakowie, Pr. Kom. Orient., 10.)], "Africa" 1937, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 276-277.

⁴⁵ R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław et al. 1972, *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej – Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie. Reviews:* G. MANESSY, "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 1974, vol. 68, pp. 489-491; A.N. TUCKER, "Africa" 1937, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 276-277; A. TRAILL, "African Studies" 1974, vol. 33, pp. 263-266; E. DAMMANN, "Orientalische Literaturzeitung" 1976, vol. 71, pp. 304-306.

⁴⁶ W. WYCICHL, [Rezension: *Roman Stopa, Z badań nad ludnością i kulturą Afryki Południowo-Zachodniej.* Prace Instytutu Naukowego Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1, Warszawa 1938], "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes" 1939, vol. 46, pp. 301-302.

⁴⁷ M. COHEN, [Recension: *Roman Stopa, Bushman and Hottentot among the Isolating Languages of Africa,* "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 1951-1952, vol. 17, pp. 351-371], "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 1955, vol. 51, p. 168.

Essen,⁴⁸ Pierre François Lacroix,⁴⁹ John Kelly⁵⁰ and Vittore Pisani.⁵¹

Roman Stopa's academic achievements were also followed by the younger generation of world researchers, an example of which would be the review by Rainer Voßen from the Institut für Afrikanistik, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.⁵²

Without going too deeply into these reviews, Franciszek Ziejka's opinion about the positive response to Roman Stopa's research can once again be quoted. The reviews were polemic in nature, while some also contained critical

⁴⁸ O. VON ESSEN, [Rezension: Roman Stopa, *The Energy Producing Speech and the Types of Phonetic Systems*, Prace Krakowskiego Komitetu Orientalistycznego PAN, 1957, pp. 3-11], "Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung" 1958, vol. 11, pp. 99-100; IDEM, [Rezension: Roman Stopa, *From Clicks to Expiratory Consonants I. The Typical Sounds of Human Speech and their Functioning in the Phonetic System of Some African Languages*, "Lingua Posnaniensis" 1957, vol. 6, pp. 137-153], "Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung" 1958, vol. 11, p. 266.

⁴⁹ P.F. LACROIX, [Recension: Roman Stopa, *The Evolution of Clicks Sounds in Some African Languages (A Study of African Linguistics and Ethnology)*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Rozprawy i Studia 1960, no. 25], "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 1963, vol. 58, pp. 313-316.

⁵⁰ J. KELLY, [Reviews of books: R. Stopa, B. Garlicki, *Maly słownik suahilijsko-polski i polsko-suahilijski*, Warszawa 1966], "Africa" 1968, vol. 38, pp. 358-359.

⁵¹ V. PISANI, [Recensione: R. Stopa, *Clicks: their Form, Function and their Transformation, Or how our Ancestors were Gesticulating, Clicking and Crying*, Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 561, Prace Językoznawcze 68, 1979], "Paideia" 1979, vol. 34, p. 234.

⁵² R. VOSSEN, [Book review: Stopa, Roman (1986): *Schnalze. Ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung / Clicks. Their character, development, and origin* (with an introduction by Gyula Décsy). (Bibliotheca Nostratica, 7.) Bloomington, Indiana: Eurolingual], "Language Origins Society Newsletter" 1989, vol. 8, pp. 14-16.



elements, such as, for example, J. Kelly's review (*Scholarly standards would be inappropriate here*).⁵³

Polish reviewers sporadically wrote reviews about Stopa's texts, including those by Jan Safarewicz,⁵⁴ Jan Ślaski⁵⁵ or Mikołaj Rudnicki.⁵⁶

Based on this rather general overview, it can be stated that the Polish researcher's texts were not only known to the most renowned scholars, but also broadly commented in the most prestigious world periodicals.

* * *

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that among the 30 profiles of researchers who focused on such issues included in the 14-volume *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* in the "African languages" section, Roman Stopa is not present.⁵⁷ In turn, the section contains the profile of Zygmunt Frajzyngier, who reviewed Stopa's texts.⁵⁸

⁵³ J. KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁵⁴ J. SAFAREWICZ, [Recenzja: R. Stopa, *Narodziny mowy i myśli ludzkiej. Studium z pogranicza psychologii, socjologii i prawnoeuropeistyki*, Nauczycielska Spółka Wydawnicza "Książnica Powszechna", Kraków 1948], "Język Polski" 1948, vol. 28, pp. 158–159.

⁵⁵ J. ŚLASKI, [Review: *Symbolika dźwięków w niektórych językach afrykańskich*, Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1949, no. 50, pp. 46–49], "African Abstracts" 1952, no. 3, p. 92; IDEM, [Review: *Czy wolno zestawiać języki maskowe z bezmaskowymi?*, Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1950, no. 51, pp. 265–269], "African Abstracts" 1952, no. 3, p. 92.

⁵⁶ M. RUDNICKI, [Recenzja: R. Stopa, *Powstanie mowy ludzkiej w oświetleniu antropologii i językoznawstwa*, "Przegląd Antropologiczny" 1956, vol. 22, pp. 333–469], "Lingua Posnaniensis" 1959, vol. 6, pp. 323–330.

⁵⁷ *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Second Edition)*, ed. by K. BROWN, Elsevier, Amsterdam – Boston 2006.

⁵⁸ Z. FRAJZYNGIER, [Review of Roman Stopa, "Mowa nianiek w Europie i Afryce", *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej (Wrocław)* 6. (1966), pp. 47–56],

Roman Stopa was also not mentioned in Soviet publications regarding research in the field of African studies.⁵⁹

Based on search conducted in Southern African library archives, it can be stated that South African dictionaries, encyclopaedias and lexicons do not contain Roman Stopa's profile or any information about him. The situation is identical in the independent countries of Namibia and Botswana, where the Polish researcher had in fact conducted his studies.

In the South African state archives, the only documents linked to Roman Stopa are those strictly regarding his arrival in and departure from the Union of South Africa. The same is true for the documents available in the State Archives of Namibia in Windhoek.

In summary, it can be stated that in Southern Africa there is little knowledge of Roman Stopa's presence there, and the situation is similar in terms of the availability of information concerning his academic input.

* * *

If we consider publications around the world, Roman Stopa's texts were cited much less frequently in later years. Jerzy Koch, a linguist and specialist in the Afrikaans language and its literature, looked for the causes behind this state of affairs in Stopa's thesis about the sounds (clicks) in the Khoekhoe language, "in my opinion, for this reason his scholarly achievements tend to be overlooked in

"Africana Bulletin" 1968, vol. 8, pp. 187-188; IDEM, [Review of Roman Stopa, "The Genetic Unity of African Languages", "Folia Orientalia" 7 (1966), pp. 226-273], "Africana Bulletin" 1968, vol. 8, pp. 185-186.

⁵⁹ For example, M.B. GORNUNG, J.G. LIPIEC, I.N. OLEJNIKOW, *Historia poznańia Afryki*, trans. by J. KRYSZEK, PWN, Warszawa 1977.



the academic literature on the topic”.⁶⁰ This was due to the fact that Roman Stopa claimed that the clicks present in Khoekhoe languages and adopted also by Bantu languages are a means of expression, constituting the first stage of the development of human speech and something like an intermediate link, a ‘retraceable bridge’ between the ways in which animals and humans communicate.⁶¹

In turn, the linguist and Africanist Rajmund Ohly emphasized that Roman Stopa met with extensive criticism for the introduction and popularisation of his research results and it required a lot of determination and a profound conviction about the validity of his conclusions.⁶² Stopa even had heated debates with Meinhof, whose views he did not share. Roman Stopa’s ideas were “against the grain” to those of many research authorities and findings. This can be attested by indicating the discussion between the Polish researcher and Pierre de Villiers Pienaar and Clement Doke at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg in 1935.

In Poland, Roman Stopa’s research results were not fully accepted, especially his theories about the development and shaping of human speech. One example of this can be the discussion following Stopa’s paper at the convention of the Polish Oriental Society. The Polish researcher encountered especially heavy criticism for his text entitled

⁶⁰ “[...] jak sądzę, z tego powodu jego dorobek bywa w literaturze przedmiotu pomijany milczeniem”: J. KOCH, *Wenus Hotentocka. Fakty? Mity!*, [on-line:] http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jerzy_Koch/publication/267921775_Wenus_Hotentocka._Fakty_Mity!/links/545cbb710cf27487b44bc8be.pdf – 10.03.2016.

⁶¹ R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Curzon Press, London 1972, p. 10.

⁶² R. OHLY, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, “Afryka” 1995, no. 3, p. 104.

Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European, “Prof. Stopa’s thesis that the origins of Indo-European languages should be searched for in African languages was severely criticised”.⁶³

It should be emphasized that Roman Stopa’s academic and research activities were interdisciplinary in nature. Some of the researchers specializing in one subdiscipline did not share his views incorporating knowledge also from other academic disciplines, such as ethnology or anthropology.

* * *

In Poland, knowledge about Roman Stopa’s academic achievements is diversified. The vast majority of studies about research in Poland in the field of African studies take into account his achievements and value him highly or very highly as compared to global research. This includes both encyclopaedic studies (also internet ones) and others. It is stated that “one of the world-famous and renowned specialists on click languages was the Polish ethnographer and linguist Roman Stopa (1895-1995). Before World War II, he studied the Bantu, Bushman and Hottentot peoples.”⁶⁴ In the entry in Polish Wikipedia for *Roman Stopa*, we can find the following: “He was [...] a distinguished Polish specialist

⁶³ “...ostro krytykowano tezę prof. Stopy, iż proporcjajęzyczków indoeuropejskich należy poszukiwać w językach afrykańskich”: IDEM, *Roman Stopa – światowej sławy uczonej...*, p. 10.

⁶⁴ “...jednym ze światowej sławy i renomu specjalistów zajmujących się językami mową językami był polski etnograf i językoznawca Roman Stopa (1895-1995). Przed II wojną światową badał on ludy Bantu, Buszmenów i Hotentotów”: *Języki khoisan*, [on-line:] http://encyklopedia.naukowy.pl/J%C4%99zyki_khoisan – 12.04.2015.



on click languages”.⁶⁵ A short profile describing the Polish researcher (seven lines) was included in the *Encyklopedia powszechna PWN* from the 1970s, but without emphasizing his academic merits.⁶⁶ In turn, in the current *Encyklopedia PWN*, he is described as “a renowned expert on clicks”.⁶⁷ In other texts, it is only mentioned that “one of the Polish researchers studying Southern African click languages was Roman Stopa”.⁶⁸ However, as emphasized above, in the vast majority of the publications dedicated to Stopa, his globally acknowledged academic achievements are underlined.

Roman Stopa’s achievements were also taken into account by Stefan Gołąbek, who documented African studies conducted in Poland.⁶⁹ The herein discussed Polish researcher’s studies were also mentioned by Jan Reychman in the “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” journal.⁷⁰ Mention of him was also included in the texts written by Arkadiusz Żukowski.⁷¹

⁶⁵ “Był [...] wybitnym polskim specjalistą w zakresie języków mlaśkowych”: *Roman Stopa*, [on-line:] http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_Stopa – 12.04.2015.

⁶⁶ *Stopa Roman*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, vol. 4, PWN, Warszawa 1976, p. 289.

⁶⁷ “...wybitny znawca problemów mlaśków”: *Stopa Roman*, [on-line:] <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Stopa-Roman;3979973.html> – 22.04.2015.

⁶⁸ “Do polskich uczonych badających południowoafrykańskie języki mlaśkowe należał Roman Stopa”: *Języki mlaśkowe*, [on-line:] https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C4%99zyki_mlaśkowe – 12.04.2015.

⁶⁹ S. GOŁĄBEK, *Związki Polski i Polaków z Afryką do roku 1945*, PWN, Warszawa – Łódź 1978.

⁷⁰ J. REYCHMAN, *Polskie badania Czarnego Lądu*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 1961, no. 1, p. 63.

⁷¹ For example, A. ŻUKOWSKI, *Stanisław Poraj-Królikowski – pierwszy polski prefekt apostolski*, [in:] *Losy Polaków żyjących na obczyźnie i ich*

It is quite significant to note the lack of any information about Roman Stopa in two Polish studies recording the contribution made by Polish researchers into broadening our academic knowledge of the world, including Africa. In Józef Szaflarski's text entitled *Poznanie Czarnego Lądu* [Discovering the Dark Continent], not only many Polish researchers but also various travellers were mentioned.⁷² The same is true for the monograph prepared by Wacław Ślabczyński, entitled *Polscy podróżnicy i odkrywcy* [Polish travellers and discoverers].⁷³

Roman Stopa's academic biography was in general included in only a few publications, and only in some was it extensive. These were published primarily in Polish. They were mainly written based on the introductions to the Polish researcher's publications. It is worth noting the profile presented by Rajmund Ohly on the researcher's 75th birthday⁷⁴ and the description prepared by this same author of Stopa's scholarly achievements in the series *Portrety polskich afrykanistów* [Portraits of Polish Africanists], print-

wkład w rozwój kultury i nauki krajów osiedlenia na przestrzeni wieków. Materiały III Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej, Rzym 25-26 września 1998, ed. by A. & Z. JUDYCCY, Wydawnictwo Czelej, Lublin 1998, p. 341; IDEM, Kontakty Krakowa i krakowian z Afryką Południową (do roku 1939), [in:] Materiały V Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej, Kraków 22-23 września 2000, ed. by A. JUDYCKA, B. KLIMASZEWSKI, Wydawnictwo Czelej, Lublin 2000, p. 420; IDEM, *Polskie badania etnologiczne w Afryce Południowej – próba syntezy*, [in:] *Polskie opisanie świata. Od fascynacji egzotyką do badań antropologicznych*, ed. by A. KUCZYŃSKI, Katedra Etnologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2000, pp. 129-130.

⁷² J. SZAFLARSKI, *Poznanie Czarnego Lądu*, PWN, Warszawa 1968.

⁷³ W. ŚLABCZYŃSKI, *Polscy podróżnicy i odkrywcy*, PWN, Warszawa 1988.

⁷⁴ R. OHLY, Prof. dr Roman Stopa. (W 75-lecie urodzin), "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1970, no. 75, pp. 239-244.



ed in the Polish Africanist Society's periodical "Afryka".⁷⁵ More or less concisely, information about Roman Stopa's academic achievements was published, especially just after he passed away. Rich repositories of information about the Polish researcher's life and scholarly achievements include his autobiographic article,⁷⁶ but primarily his memoirs *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu* [From under a peasant's thatched roof to a university chair] (two editions).⁷⁷

An extensive biography of Roman Stopa, including information about his research trip in Southern Africa, was published by Antoni Kuczyński.⁷⁸ Kuczyński added Stopa's account with the symptomatic title *Lud taki musi śpiewać, choć – może nieświadomie – spogląda w przepaść...* [Such a people must sing, even though – perhaps unconsciously – they are gazing into an abyss...] to the biography.⁷⁹ Short profiles frequently appeared in connection to conferences or exhibitions organized in honour of Roman Stopa.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ IDEM, *Roman Stopa – światowej sławy uczony...*, pp. 6-15.

⁷⁶ R. STOPA, *Z Woli Batorskiej przez Afrykę do Krakowa*, "Magazyn Kulturalny" 1982, no. 1-3, pp. 41-45.

⁷⁷ IDEM, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1987; IDEM, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu. Kartki z życia...*

⁷⁸ *Wśród buszu i czarowników. Antologia polskich relacji o ludach Afryki*, ed. by A. KUCZYŃSKI, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1990, pp. 407-409.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 409-417. The account came from R. Stopa's text entitled *Hotentoci*, published in the periodical "Lud" 1947, vol. 38.

⁸⁰ For example, *Konferencja naukowa: Pionierzy krakowskiej afrykanistyki: Roman Stopa – sylwetka wybitnego afrykanisty w 120. rocznicę urodzin*, prepared by J. MORMUL, [on-line:] http://www.jcba.uj.edu.pl/reportaze/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_Df4E/77927038/90604213 – 24.10.2015.

Gołabek and Kuczyński emphasize that the texts based on his ethnological and linguistic research of the San and Khoikhoi peoples earned Roman Stopa international esteem, while in Poland his scholarly output is counted among the most prominent achievements of ethnological African studies conducted in Poland.⁸¹ Arkadiusz Żukowski wrote that “Roman Stopa’s texts in the field of research into Bushman languages were of high scholarly value”.⁸²

Stopa’s research and his academic output was treated much the same by Polish linguists. His contribution to Polish academic knowledge was especially propagated by Rajmund Ohly, the Polish researcher’s student.

As emphasized by the specialist in Iranian studies, Renata Rusek-Kowalska, “he was the first Polish Africanist, a pioneer of glottogony, an expert in the ethnography and ethnology of the Bushmen and Hottentots; founder of the Language Origins Society. His pioneering tests from the field of phonetics, *The Evolution of Click Sounds in Some African Languages* (1960), *Bushman and Hottentot Among the Isolated Languages of Africa* and *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, are a milestone in African studies research”.⁸³

⁸¹ S. GOŁĄBEK, *Czterysta lat badań afrykanistycznych*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 1970, no. 3, p. 210; A. KUCZYŃSKI, *Korzenie i współczesność polskich badań etnologicznych w Afryce*, “Etnografia Polska” 1994, vol. 38, no. 1-2, p. 115.

⁸² “...dużą wartość naukową stanowiły prace Romana Stopy z zakresu badań nad językiem Buszmenów”: A. ŻUKOWSKI, *W kraju złota i diamentów. Polacy w Afryce Południowej XVI-XX w.*, PWN, Warszawa 1994, p. 152.

⁸³ “Był pierwszym polskim afrykanistą, pionierem glottogonii, znawcą etnografii i etnologii Buszmenów oraz Hotentotów; założycielem Language Origins Society. Jego pionierskie prace z dziedziny fonetyki: *The Evolution of Click Sounds in Some African Languages* (1960), *Bushman*

In summary, it can be stated that the Polish academia, including our own Africanists, appreciated and emphasized the value of Roman Stopa's research and writing.

* * *

It also seems worthwhile to mention Roman Stopa's other contributions to African studies, outside his publications. Both the Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences Archives in Kraków,⁸⁴ and the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków have extensive descriptions of the ethnographic, photographic and phonographic collections he brought back with him from Southern Africa.⁸⁵ Part of these collections, presented by Roman Stopa as a gift to the National Culture Fund in Warsaw, was probably destroyed during World War II. In addition, Stopa's biography and the collection were described in the Annual of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.⁸⁶ Based on his handwritten notes, records kept from his travels, bills, tickets and other archival material located in the Archives of the Sciences of the

and Hottentot Among the Isolated Languages of Africa oraz Structure of Bushman and its Traces in Indo-European, stanowią kamień milowy w badaniach afrykanistycznych": R. RUSEK-KOWALSKA, *Z historii orientalistyki w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim, "Alma Mater"*, December 2009, p. 140.

⁸⁴ R. MAJKOWSKA, M. PŁATEK, *Spuścizny i materiały uczonych polskich przechowywane w Oddziale Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie (nabytki za lata 1995–1997)*, "Rocznik Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie" 1999 (1997), pp. 153–154.

⁸⁵ Prof. Roman Stopa's ethnographic and photographic collection in the archives of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, prepared by J. Kukuczka (xerox copy in the author's archives); J. KUKUCZKA, *Kolekcja etnograficzna i fotografie prof. Romana Stopy w zbiorach Muzeum Etnograficznego im. S. Udzieli w Krakowie oraz w Archiwum Nauki PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, Kraków 2012.

⁸⁶ "Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie" 1998, vol. 14.

Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, Roman Stopa's travel route and places of residence in Southern Africa have been established.⁸⁷

As emphasized by Jacek Kukuczka, Roman Stopa's collections "[...] are of enormous, priceless value. In addition, they testify to the contribution made by Polish science into the description and conservation of the cultural heritage of the peoples of present-day Namibia for future generations."⁸⁸

* * *

A good opportunity to remind people of Roman Stopa's achievements and to propagate them came on the anniversary of his birth, i.e. during an international conference with the participation of guests from abroad on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth. During such events, the conference title itself emphasized the Polish researcher's academic achievements.

An example of such an occasion, of a nationwide scale and not just a regional or local event, was the scholarly conference entitled *Pioneers of the African Studies in Kraków: Roman Stopa – a portrait of an exceptional Africanist on the 120th anniversary of his birth* (Kraków, 13 May 2015).⁸⁹

⁸⁷ J. KUKUCZKA, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ "...posiadają ogromną, bezcenną wartość. Zaświadczają ponadto o wkładzie polskiej nauki w opis i ocalenie dla przyszłych pokoleń dziedzictwa kulturowego ludów obecnej Namibii": *ibidem*.

⁸⁹ The conference was for scholars from across the country. It was organised by the Institute of Political Science and International Relations of the Jagiellonian University and the Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies, which inaugurated its activities by organizing this event, cf. *Otwarcie konferencji "Pionierzy krakowskiej afrykanistyki: Roman Stopa"*,

In addition, Roman Stopa's legacy and information about his biography were also propagated in other forms.

At the University of Wrocław, a Master's dissertation was prepared, written in Afrikaans, dedicated to discussing the research conducted by the Polish researcher in Southern Africa.⁹⁰ At the English Philology Faculty at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, one of the compulsory subjects in the course of first-level studies included a seminar entitled "RSA – Cultural Studies", during which one of the obligatory set books was Roman Stopa's *Mali ludzie z pustyni i puszczy* [Little people of the desert and the wilderness].⁹¹ The aim of this course was providing a deeper understanding of the studied (Southern African) culture.

The distinguished composer and conductor, Krzysztof Penderecki, also became interested in Roman Stopa's research. In 1960, he composed a piece entitled *African Lyrics*, which he based on Hottentot texts (the Khoekhoe language) as presented by Roman Stopa, and it is possible that their clicks were the inspiration behind its creation.⁹² However, the composition was never actually completed.⁹³

[on-line:] http://www.uj.edu.pl/wiadomosci/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_d82lKZvhit4m/10172/87948187 – 22.02.2016.

⁹⁰ M. OSZCZYGIEL, "Het Zuidelijk Afrika in de ogen van de Poolse onderzoeker. De belangstelling van Roman Stopa (1895-1995) voor de volkeren van het Zuidelijk Afrika", Wrocław 2002 (M.A. theses written under the supervision of Prof. Jerzy Koch, University of Wrocław).

⁹¹ RPA – *Studia kulturowe*, [on-line:] [https://usosweb.amu.edu.pl/kontroler.php?_action=actionx:katalog2/przedmioty/pokazPrzedmiot\(kod:09-KULAFR-15\)](https://usosweb.amu.edu.pl/kontroler.php?_action=actionx:katalog2/przedmioty/pokazPrzedmiot(kod:09-KULAFR-15)) – 18.03.2016.

⁹² *African Lyrics*, [on-line:] <http://ninateka.pl/kolekcje/en/three-composers/penderecki/audio/liryki-afrykanskie> – 18.03.2016.

⁹³ *Kalendarium życia i twórczości Krzysztofa Pendereckiego*, [on-line:] <http://docplayer.pl/8219270-Kalendarium-zycia-i-tworcaosci-kpendedereckiego-1.html> – 18.03.2016.

Following Roman Stopa's death, various Polish scholarly periodicals included commemorations, which spoke of the contribution the researcher had made to world science. The authors of these commemorations included the following: Rajmund Ohly,⁹⁴ Przemysław Piekarski⁹⁵ and Jerzy Reichan.⁹⁶ A commemoration note was also published in the periodical "Przegląd Orientalistyczny".⁹⁷ However, above all a conference commemorating Roman Stopa's academic achievements was organized, i.e. "Sesja naukowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Romana Stopy" [Scientific session in memory of Professor Roman Stopa] prepared by the Institute of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University and the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków (Kraków, 9 December 1995). A report was published following the conference.⁹⁸

Another means of honouring Roman Stopa's achievements came in the form of an article written by Alicja

⁹⁴ R. OHLY, *Professor Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, "Africana Bulletin" 1997, vol. 44, pp. 85-91; IDEM, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, pp. 103-104.

⁹⁵ P. PIEKARSKI, *Professor Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, "Folia Orientalia" 1995, vol. 31, pp. 5-6.

⁹⁶ J. REICHAN, *Śp. prof. dr Roman Stopa (8 VIII 1895 – 15 IV 1995)*, "Język Polski" 1995, no. 4-5, pp. 242-246. This short biographic description was later translated into English and included in the second edition of R. Stopa's memoirs (translated by Krzysztof Kwaśniewicz), cf. J. REICHAN, *Roman Stopa (8 August 1895 – 15 April 1995)*, [in:] R. STOPA, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu. Kartki z życia człowieka opętanego muzyką, poezją, wsią i Buszmenami*, pp. 201-204.

⁹⁷ "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1995, no. 1-2, p. 112.

⁹⁸ U. LEWICKA-RAJEWSKA, *Sesja naukowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Romana Stopy*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1996, no. 3-4, pp. 208-209.



Małecka in the *Golden Book of the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Philology*.⁹⁹

In addition, in March 1996, the Polish Africanist Society organized an exhibition in Warsaw in memory of Professor Roman Stopa. The Society also published a note about the exhibition in its academic journal "Afryka", with the symptomatic title *Roman Stopa – afrykanista światowej sławy* [Roman Stopa – world-renowned Africanist].¹⁰⁰

Roman Stopa's profile and his achievements were also presented at an exhibition entitled "Wiwat Polonia! Ślady Polaków w Afryce. Historia i teraźniejszość. Nauczyciele, lekarze, podróżnicy, misjonarze, kolekcjonerzy" [Viva Polonia! Traces of Poles in Africa. Past and Present. Teachers, doctors, travellers, missionaries and collectors] in Warsaw in 2014.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSIONS

Roman Stopa's research was a significant contribution to world academic output. The anthropologist Bronisław Ma-

⁹⁹ A. MAŁECKA, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, [in:] *Złota księga Wydziału Filologicznego*, ed. by J. MICHALIK, W. WALECKI, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2000, pp. 491-500.

¹⁰⁰ *Roman Stopa – afrykanista światowej sławy*, "Afryka" 1996, no. 4, p. 97.

¹⁰¹ The exhibition *Wiwat Polonia! Ślady Polaków w Afryce. Historia i teraźniejszość. Nauczyciele, lekarze, podróżnicy, misjonarze, kolekcjonerzy* was organized in the State Museum of Ethnography in Warsaw, ul. Kredytowa 1. The exhibition's curator was Dariusz Skonieczko from the Department of Ethnography and Non-European Countries. The exhibition was open from 2.04.2014 to 2.04.2016, cf. W. BOLIMOWSKA, *Wystawa o Polakach w Afryce – niewykorzystana szansa*, "Afryka" 2014, no. 39, pp. 132-135.

linowski referred to the Polish researcher as “the world expert of clicks”.¹⁰²

In 1985, the Orientalist Tadeusz Lewicki stated that “Professor Roman Stopa, [...] the first organiser of African studies in Poland, is not only an exceptional scholar, but also a noble person, full of humanitarian emotions, whose long life and academic goals deserve our special attention. [...] The 45th anniversary of his scholarly work in the field of African philology and linguistics is the perfect opportunity to offer our respect to this great teacher for his enormous knowledge and humanitarianism [...].”¹⁰³

Without a doubt, it can be stated that Roman Stopa took active participation in global scholarly discussions and debates about the classification of language. He contributed to the development of glottogony – the science of the origins of human speech. He can even be referred to as a precursor in this field. He promoted an evolution-based linguistic theory and was interested in new trends in linguistics (cognitivism).

Roman Stopa's scholarly achievements were emphasized by the specialist in cultural studies, Anna Nadolska-Styczyńska, who wrote that “it would also be worthwhile

¹⁰² S. GOŁĄBEK, *Czterysta lat badań afrykanistycznych*, p. 210.

¹⁰³ “Profesor Roman Stopa [...] pierwszy organizator w Polsce studiów afrykanistycznych, jest nie tylko wielkim uczonym, lecz także człowiekiem szlachetnym i pełnym uczuć humanitarnych, którego tak długie życie, jak i dążenia naukowe zasługują na naszą specjalną uwagę. [...] 45. rocznica jego pracy naukowej w dziedzinie filologii i lingwistyki afrykańskiej jest wspaniałą okazją do zaoferowania naszego szacunku temu wielkiemu nauczycielowi za jego wielką wiedzę i uczucia humanitarne”: T. LEWICKI, Speech given during the celebration of Professor Roman Stopa's 90th birthday on 23.08.1985 at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, qtd after: *Wśród buszu i czarowników...*, p. 409.

to emphasize that R. Stopa's research results were innovative and met with a lot of interest among ethnographers and linguists (not only Polish ones). The discussed book is to this day used as a valuable source of information about the culture of the Khoi-San peoples".¹⁰⁴

Finally, it is worthwhile quoting the statement made by the linguist, Aneta Wysocka, who stated that "when Roman Stopa began his work, the Polish tradition of African studies was very meagre. His predecessors, who conducted specialised research into the ethnic structure of Africa, consisted of two Poles: Jan Czekanowski and Bronisław Malinowski. Prof. Stopa was the third – and he was very unique. He was capable of reconciling fire with water, i.e. objectivity – so necessary in science – with a subjective approach to the 'object' of his observations, such as, e.g., his 'friends the Hottentots'".¹⁰⁵

Roman Stopa's contribution to world science is similarly perceived by other Africanists: Konrad Czernichowski,

¹⁰⁴ "Warto również zaznaczyć, że wyniki badań prof. R. Stopy były nowatorskie i spotkały się z niezwykłym zainteresowaniem środowiska etnografów i językoznawców (nie tylko polskich). Omawiana książka jest do dzisiaj wykorzystywana jako cenne źródło informacji o kulturze ludów Khoi-san": A. NADOLSKA-STYCZYŃSKA, *Kultury Afryki a działania naukowo-oświatowe Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, "Prace Komisji Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności" 2007, vol. 8, p. 199.

¹⁰⁵ "Kiedy Roman Stopa zaczynał swoją pracę, polska tradycja afrykanistyczna była bardzo uboga. Jego poprzednikami, którzy dokonywali specjalistycznych badań nad strukturą etniczną Afryki, byli w zasadzie tylko dwaj Polacy: Jan Czekanowski i Bronisław Malinowski. Prof. Stopa był trzeci – i bardzo szczególny. Potrafił godzić ogień z wodą, czyli przedmiotowość – konieczną dla nauki – z podmiotowym traktowaniem «obiektu» swoich obserwacji, jakim byli m.in. «przyjaciele Hotentoci»": A. WYSOCKA, *Przyjaciel Hotentotów*, "Forum Akademickie" 2001, no. 2, [on-line:] http://www.forumakad.pl/archiwum/2001/02/artykuly/21-gwiazdy_i_meteory.htm – 12.01.2016.

Dominik Kopiński and Andrzej Polus. They write that, alongside Bronisław Malinowski, he was counted among world-renowned researchers both in the pre-war period and after World War II ("Roman Stopa and Bronisław Malinowski were Polish world-class researchers in the interwar period and after World War II").¹⁰⁶ They also noted that such world-renowned names "as Czekanowski and Stopa have begun to fade".¹⁰⁷

As summary of the findings presented in this article, let us cite the statement made by Roman Stopa's internationally renowned student, Rajmund Ohly, who wrote that "his scientific discoveries, presented at conferences abroad, in numerous articles and books, constitute an achievement which will long be the subject of discussions among scholars around the world".¹⁰⁸

* * *

The state of research establishing and situating Roman Stopa's legacy within globally conducted African studies is perhaps not at a completely initial phase, but we have surely only gone "halfway" along this route.

In the Polish dimension, Roman Stopa's legacy is quite well known, but detailed studies on the topic are still lacking.

¹⁰⁶ K. CZERNICHOWSKI, D. KOPIŃSKI, A. POLUS, *Polish African Studies at a Crossroads: Past, Present and Future*, "Africa Spectrum" 2012, vol. 47, no. 2-3, p. 168.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 179.

¹⁰⁸ "Jego naukowe odkrycia, ogłoszane na konferencjach za granicą, w licznych artykułach i książkach, stanowią osiągnięcia, które jeszcze długo będą przedmiotem dyskusji w środowisku uczonych na całym świecie": R. OHLY, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, pp. 103-104.

The postulates to popularise the Polish researcher's scholarly output can be very practical. Roman Stopa, as a researcher with achievements on a global scale, does not yet have a profile on English-language Wikipedia, or in any other foreign languages, except Esperanto (despite publishing both in English and German). In addition, it would be worthwhile to expand Roman Stopa's very modest profile available on the Polish-language version of Wikipedia.

Polish databases documenting the Polish Africanist's output also require significant improvements. There are only five publications by Roman Stopa included in the electronic database *Bibliografia Etnografii Polskiej* [Bibliography of Polish Ethnography].¹⁰⁹ There is still no full list of his publications available in electronic form in Poland. In addition, it would be worthwhile to gather all of Roman Stopa's publications in one place (even in the form of offprints). The Jagiellonian University has the most numerous collection of his works (24 positions according to the on-line catalogue), but in reality this is still only one fourth of the researcher's entire written output.

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¹⁰⁹ *Bibliografia Etnografii Polskiej*, [on-line:] <http://www.serwer1444182.home.pl/cgi-bin/expertus.cgi> – 18.03.2016.

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For Kraków-based African studies, the 1930s were a turning point, during which the developing interest in Africa would bear fruit in the form of the first independent research projects conducted in the field – on the African continent. The best example would be the studies conducted by Roman Stopa (1895-1995), considered to be the father of Polish research into African linguistics, a professor of the Jagiellonian University, a world-renowned expert on click languages. In 1935, Roman Stopa conducted linguistic studies for a few months in the area of modern-day Namibia and Botswana among its indigenous inhabitants: the San and the Khoikhoi, at the same time collecting a significant amount of ethnographic material on the culture of the San peoples. Today, this unique collection is housed by the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

In reference to the rich tradition of African studies at the Jagiellonian University and in response to the increasing interest in Africa and Africans, the idea emerged to form a research centre that would bring together Kraków-based Africanists, scattered across various University units. In 2014, by the decision of the Jagiellonian University Senate, the Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies was created as an interdepartmental unit of the University.

Excerpt from *Introduction* by Prof. Robert Kłosowicz

