

LEXICOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES 1968–1993

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1. INTRODUCTION

O'Grady (1971:779) began his landmark review of lexicography on Australian Aboriginal languages with the rueful observation that in terms of quantity "lexicographic output...has shown a falling off since the turn of the century".¹ He further observed that if the term 'dictionary' were to be confined to compendia of 5,000-plus richly detailed lexical entries, then "the state of lexicographic research on Australian (and Tasmanian) languages...can be stated very simply: no such work yet exists". Even after lowering his sights to extend the term to reasonably sophisticated assemblages of 1,000-plus lexical entries, O'Grady could list no more than eight published dictionaries of Aboriginal languages.

In other words, as of 1968 (the final year considered in O'Grady's article) the vast bulk of lexicographic research done in the twentieth century remained unpublished. In his paper O'Grady sought to sketch the history of lexicographic research on Australian languages, to evaluate the principal contributions, and to highlight research opportunities in the hope of helping 'break the stalemate' in the making and, especially, the publishing of Australian Aboriginal language dictionaries.

What then is the state of Australian Aboriginal language lexicography now, some twenty-five years later? How have changes in linguistic research techniques and in the sociopolitical landscape affected the making of dictionaries of Australian Aboriginal languages? What are the prospects as the twentieth century draws to a close? In this paper, we will address these questions following, with some elaboration, the organisation of O'Grady's original article: §2 will update the history of lexicographic research and publishing; §3 will evaluate aspects of the new works, considering orthographic issues, scope and organisation, and questions to do with definition; and §4 will briefly look to the future of lexicography on Australian Aboriginal languages.

We adopt the following terminology, which differs somewhat from that of O'Grady. By 'wordlist' we mean any list of Aboriginal language words with brief translation equivalents, often consisting of a single English word. Wordlists may be of any length, though most have fewer than 1,000 Aboriginal words. We reserve the term 'dictionary' for a compendium of 2,000 or more lexical entries which includes detailed semantic information (either as specified 'senses' or implicitly in the form of varied examples of usage), and information on

¹ We would like to thank Peter Austin, Gavan Breen, Carolyn Coleman, Bob Dixon, Nicholas Evans, John Henderson, Robert Hoogenraad, Mary Laughren, David Nash, Nick Reid, Julie Waddy, Anna Wierzbicka and David Wilkins for information and comments which helped improve an earlier version of this paper. The remaining errors are of course our own responsibility.

the derivational relationships between words. Once a certain threshold size is reached, in other words, the distinguishing characteristic of a dictionary, as we see it, is the sophistication of the information it contains.² Dictionaries, thus defined, usually also give at least basic grammatical information about individual words, along with facts about their dialect affiliation, pronunciation variants, etymology and cultural significance, and include illustrative phrases or sentences.

We use the expression 'small dictionary' as an intermediate category between wordlist and dictionary proper: that is, for assemblages of dictionary-standard, or near dictionary-standard, information on fewer than 2,000 lexical entries. Most small dictionaries have between 1,000 and 2,000 entries, but they may be smaller if they are for a specialised purpose, for example, for primary school use, or for a single domain such as botany.

One type of modern lexicographic compendium escapes the terminology laid out so far, namely, lexical files on computer. Due largely to the AIAS National Lexicography Project (Nash & Simpson 1989) there are many of these which, though unpublished, are in the public domain through having been deposited in the AIATSIS Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive (ASEDA).³ They will be referred to, in the current jargon, as 'electronic data files'.

2. DEVELOPMENTS IN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE LEXICOGRAPHY 1968–1993

Diverse purposes have motivated the production of Aboriginal dictionaries over the past twenty-five years, some quite different to those which animated earlier generations of Aboriginal language lexicographers. Since the nature of a dictionary is partly dictated by its purposes, it can be expected that recent dictionaries and wordlists differ considerably from their predecessors (as well as from each other). Before moving to these matters, it will be helpful to step back and take an overview of some factors which have brought changes in almost all the component aspects of Aboriginal language lexicography, including the kind of people doing it, their aims, their methods, and the sources of support available to them.

2.1 TRENDS AND INFLUENCES

One significant development has been the rise of linguistics as an academic discipline and its expansion in Australian universities. This is not the place to relate this history, but notable turning points would include the establishment of the first Department of Linguistics in 1965 at Monash University, and the arrival at the Australian National University in 1970 of R.M.W. (Bob) Dixon, who was to become a dynamic force in Australian linguistics. Most

² Actually, it is no simple matter to index the size of a dictionary. Should one count the number of headwords, the total number of lexical entries, or the number of distinct senses identified?

³ Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: AIAS Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies; AIATSIS Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies; ALS Australian Linguistic Society; ANU Australian National University; ASEDA Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive; ATSILIP Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Programme; IAD Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs; MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology; NT Northern Territory; *PL Pacific Linguistics*; SAL School of Australian Linguistics (now CALL Centre for Aboriginal Languages and Linguistics); SIL-AAB Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch; SIL-AAIB Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch; WA Western Australia.

lexicographers since the 1970s have received at least some academic training in linguistics, and have therefore been better able to cope with the phonological and syntactic peculiarities of Aboriginal languages than their predecessors. As O'Grady (1971:781) noted, many of the workers in the 1930s and 1940s spent decades compiling dictionary material without being au fait with the "phonemic facts of life".

Two other factors whose importance can hardly be overestimated are the changed standing of Aboriginal people in Australian life generally, and the rise of government-supported bilingual Aboriginal education in the Northern Territory and South Australia. At the time of O'Grady's 1971 article, Aboriginal people had had citizenship rights for a mere three years, the reforming Whitlam Labour government had not yet been elected, and 'land rights' and 'self-determination' were idealistic slogans. To all but the most visionary it would have been inconceivable that, in little more than twenty years, native land title would be recognised by the High Court or that an Aboriginal rock group (Yothu Yindi) would be ambassadors of Australian culture to the world, to mention only two signs of the profound change which has taken place in the status of Aboriginality.

Though such general societal trends have indirectly affected Aboriginal language lexicography in many ways, one very direct and obvious factor was the Federal government decision in 1973 to support the development of bilingual education in the Northern Territory. This created a new educational application for linguistic studies of Aboriginal languages, and, ultimately, a generation of Aboriginal people literate in their own languages. Increasingly, dictionary makers have wanted to serve the needs of Aboriginal users,⁴ as well as to document Aboriginal languages for scientific purposes. For many linguists, a dictionary is now seen as a way of getting the results of their research back to the people who provided it and in a form which is, to some extent at least, familiar and expected. A good dictionary is a basic multipurpose resource, not the least of its benefits being its capacity to 'free' the community from the linguist by providing a spelling resource they can use themselves. Aside from being the primary end-users, Aboriginal people literate in their own languages now play a crucial role as co-workers on many, perhaps most, contemporary dictionary projects.

A more mundane, but still important, change over the past twenty-five years has been improved transport and communication. As O'Grady (1971:780) observed, twentieth century linguistic scholars have generally had to travel far from their city homes to undertake lexicographic fieldwork on an Aboriginal language, which for most of the century has been a costly, arduous and time-consuming exercise. Though it still is to some extent, there can be little doubt that getting to a remote location is easier now than ever before, and that working and living conditions in the field are generally more conducive to productive research.

Sources of material support, never particularly healthy, have fluctuated greatly. From the mid-1970s to the early 1980s, funds from universities and from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS, now AIATSIS) flowed fairly freely, but linguistic research over this period favoured grammatical, rather than lexicographic, work. Ironically, as fashions in linguistic theorising have moved to reinvigorate interest in the lexicon, funding for original linguistic research from Australian universities and from AIATSIS has tended to dry up. In the Northern Territory, the Department of Education has funded some lexicography. Another source has been the Australian branch of the missionary organisation Summer Institute of

⁴ Research into the particular needs of different types of users in different situations is now beginning to inform dictionary design, cf. Henderson and Laughren (1991).

Linguistics (SIL-AAIB). Overseas institutions, such as the US National Science Foundation and Systems Development Foundation, have helped support the work on Warlpiri by the MIT Lexicon Project. Recently, money from the Commonwealth's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Programme (ATSILIP) has assisted the establishment of twenty or so Aboriginal language centres, most of which do some lexicographic work. On the whole, however, it can be said that Aboriginal dictionary making is appallingly underfunded.

2.2 OUTPUT

Coming to the published output of the past twenty-five years, we can observe at once that there is a marked difference in productivity between the 1970s and the 1980s. In 1982, Heath (1982:ix) could still fairly remark "...the number of published dictionaries is scandalously low. Aside from the large Pintupi dictionary by the Hansens, I do not know of a single published dictionary which makes any pretensions of being comprehensive". The 1970s was the 'decade of the grammar', and lexical information usually amounted to a few hundred words in a wordlist at the end.

Over the 1980s, this situation improved. An increasing number of small dictionaries and wordlists began to be published, and much more work became accessible as manuscript or electronic data files. A substantial, but not exhaustive, annotated list of such materials appears as Appendices 1 and 2. Much of it reflects a trend, made possible by the availability of personal computers, to publish first (or draft) editions with a view to making corrections and additions later, and to make work-in-progress available in small print runs or in electronic form. (For interest, Appendix 3 goes through the thirty or so projects cited by O'Grady (1971:785ff.) as then in-progress, with comments on their current state.) Nevertheless, it would be fair to say, with Austin (1991), that dictionary making largely remained the 'poor cousin of grammatical description'.

It was not until the 1990s that reasonably large and comprehensive dictionaries of Aboriginal languages began to appear in any numbers.⁵ Table 1 below lists all such materials available or in press at the time of writing. From a publishing point of view, one notable thing about the currently available works is the almost total absence of commercial publishing houses. The only (partial) exceptions are academic publishers such as the University of Queensland Press and Mouton de Gruyter. Otherwise, dictionaries and wordlists were published mainly by universities, schools, SIL-AAIB, AIAS, Aboriginal Language Centres, and by the publishing arm of the Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD).

TABLE 1: DICTIONARIES PUBLISHED SINCE 1968
[2,000+ entries with detailed semantic information]

Alpher, Barry, 1991, *Yir-Yoront lexicon: sketch and dictionary of an Australian language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Coate, Howard H.J. and A.P. Elkin, 1974, *Ngarinjin-English dictionary*. Sydney: University of Sydney.

⁵ Aside from Hansen and Hansen (first edition 1974), mentioned above, the main exception is Heath's (1982) *Nunggubuyu dictionary*, in which every word is indexed against a large published text corpus.

- Dixon, R.M.W., 1991, *Words of our country: stories, place names and vocabulary in Yidiny, the Aboriginal language of the Cairns–Yarrabah region*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Evans, Nicholas, 1992, *Kayardild dictionary and thesaurus*. Melbourne: Department of Linguistics and Language Studies, University of Melbourne.
- Goddard, Cliff, 1992, *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary* (2nd edn). Alice Springs, NT: IAD.
- Green, Jenny, 1992, *Alyawarr to English dictionary*. Alice Springs, NT: IAD.
- Groote Eylandt Linguistics, 1994, *Eningerribirra-langwa jurra (a book about all sorts of things)*. Groote Eylandt: Groote Eylandt Linguistics.
- Hansen, K.C. and L.E. Hansen, 1992, *Pintupi/Luritja dictionary* (3rd edn). Alice Springs, NT: IAD. (1st edn 1974)
- Heath, Jeffrey, 1982, *Nunggubuyu dictionary*. Canberra: AIAS.
- Henderson, John and Veronica Dobson, 1994, *Eastern and Central Arrernte to English dictionary*. Alice Springs, NT: IAD.
- Kilham, Christine et al., 1986, *Dictionary and source book of the Wik-Mungkan language*. Darwin: SIL.
- Kimberley Language Resource Centre and Gedda Aklif, 1993, *Bardi–English dictionary* (draft edn). Halls Creek, WA: Kimberley Language Resource Centre.
- McKelson, K.R., 1989, *Topical vocabulary in Northern Nyangumarta*. Broome, WA: Nulungu Catholic College.
- Reece, Laurie, 1975–79, *Dictionary of the Wailbri (Walpiri) language of central Australia*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Richards, Eirlys and Joyce Hudson, 1990, *Walmajarri–English dictionary with English finder list*. Darwin: SIL.
- Valiquette, Hilaire, ed., 1993, *A basic Kukatja to English dictionary*. Balgo, WA: Luurnpa Catholic School.
- Zorc, R. David Paul, 1986, *Yolngu-matha dictionary*. Batchelor, NT: SAL.

The IAD, an Aboriginal-controlled educational institute in Alice Springs, deserves special mention. Not only has it consistently published quality dictionaries and wordlists over the last twenty years, it has provided a sophisticated base for lexicographic projects in Central Australia for over a decade. The *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary* (Goddard 1992), the Warlpiri Dictionary Project and the Arandic Languages Dictionaries Program have all been based at IAD, and a host of smaller wordlists have also issued from there (see Appendix 1).

Some impression of the diversity in nature and purposes to be found in recent lexicographic output can be gained by some quick, and necessarily highly-selective, comparisons. At the smaller end of the spectrum, there are picture vocabularies, and learner's wordlists such as *A learner's wordlist of Eastern and Central Arrernte* (Henderson 1991). The latter contains about 750 words and is intended as a reference for students learning the language and to assist literate Arrernte people in spelling. Other examples of this genre are

the wordlists of Pilbara languages produced by Wangka Maya (1989–90). Such products represent a change from the earlier academic work which was not designed for use by the speakers of the language or by the general public.

Of medium size are the recently published dictionaries listed in Table 1. These contain between 2,000 and 5,000 lexical entries, with reasonably detailed semantic, grammatical and supplementary information. By and large, they are intended as multipurpose resources, serving language learners, Aboriginal schoolchildren in bilingual education, Aboriginal adults learning or teaching literacy, translators and linguists. Barry Alpher's (1991) Yir-Yoront dictionary has perhaps the broadest scope of the published works listed in Table 1, including information about etymology, language variety (respect vocabulary) and totemic affiliation in addition to semantic information, example sentences, and so on.⁶

The only large dictionary which has been published at the time of writing is the *Eastern and Central Arnernte to English dictionary* (Henderson & Dobson 1994) though the *Warlpiri-English dictionary* is nearing completion. Both contain over 5,000 lexical entries, along with very rich exemplification and encyclopaedic information. The Warlpiri Dictionary Project (cf. Laughren & Nash 1983) is truly remarkable for its scope, longevity and ambitiousness, as well as for the concentration of linguistic talent, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, being brought to bear upon it. Its primary purpose is scientific, viz. the most complete possible documentation of the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of the Warlpiri language, but abridged versions are planned to serve the needs of bilingual education and Warlpiri adult writers. The *Eastern and Central Arnernte to English dictionary* is somewhat less ambitious in scope, and attempts to combine scientific and practical purposes. Even so, the publication is so large (almost 800 pages) that an abridged 'junior' edition is envisaged for schools.

A trend in recent years has been the renewed interest in the collation and reworking of early records of Aboriginal languages. For instance, Jane Simpson and Rob Amery (1994) and Barry Blake (1991) have reconstituted parts of the vocabulary of Kaurna (Adelaide) and Woiwurrung (Melbourne) from historical sources (cf. Simpson 1993; see also Troy 1994). There will no doubt be more such work as interest develops among Aboriginal people who no longer speak their ancestral languages and with the increasing availability of funding, mainly through the ATSILIP program. The same funding has assisted the reworking of more recent, but relatively inaccessible, work into practical wordlists or dictionaries. For instance, Wangka Maya (Port Hedland) has reworked Ken Hale's Ngarluma material from an electronic data file, and the Kimberley Languages Resource Centre (Halls Creek) is keyboarding Tasaku Tsunoda's large Jaru wordlist.

Finally, it should be noted that there is evidence that in various Language Centres, schools and community council offices, Aboriginal people are increasingly doing lexicographic work in their own right. Glasgow (1984:129) reports that at Rockhampton Downs a few children "were said to be able to read and write Warumungu. One young woman (Doreen Noonan), has compiled a Warumungu dictionary in spelling devised by a teacher who was there in 1974". This dictionary has since gone missing.

⁶ In general, published Aboriginal language dictionaries tend not to include any great detail on etymologies (cf. Koch 1983), sociolinguistic variation or auxiliary languages. Reasons for this include doubts about the practical relevance to Aboriginal users, the partial or speculative nature of the information and the extra costs involved. Hopefully, in future such information may be made available at least in electronic data files, if not in published 'hard copy' dictionaries.

Such work is easily lost because the Aboriginal people doing it often do not know how to take it past the collection stage. For example, Robert Hoogenraad (pers. comm. and forthcoming) found some 150 pages of handwritten wordlists on the floor of the Gurungu (Elliott) Council office. These were mostly parallel lists in Mudburra, Jingulu and Wambaya for plants and animals, body parts, and meteorological terms, entered onto locally designed photocopied forms with ruled columns for each language. The Mudburra material has since been entered into a lexical database and checked against the existing Mudburra dictionary file: it contained over 500 entries, 280 of them not previously in the database. Mary Laughren (pers. comm.) reports having found spontaneous Warlpiri lexicography, usually in notebooks left in school 'language rooms' or literature production centres. Examples include lists of kin terms organised according to Warlpiri classificatory principles like senior versus junior/same generation, and lists of plant names, giving their parts and products.

More sophisticated work is also being done, as Aboriginal people become more involved in compiling wordlists and in writing definitions, both English and vernacular. In 1985, for example, Paddy Patrick Jangala began writing monolingual Warlpiri definitions for use by pupils in the upper grades of the bilingual program at Lajamanu School. Jangala's work (see Jangala 1986) was supported by the Warlpiri Dictionary Project and incorporated into the project's data files. Perhaps the most accomplished Aboriginal lexicographer is Veronica Dobson, co-author of the *Eastern and Central Arrente to English dictionary*, to which she has devoted five years full-time work. Also of note is Jeanie Bell's work on historical materials on Gubbi Gubbi and Butchulla (Batjala), the languages spoken by her grandparents.

2.3 NEW METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

The new methods and techniques used by lexicographers over the past twenty-five years fall under two broad headings: new ways of gathering data and new ways of manipulating data.

At the time of O'Grady's 1971 review, the most widely used data gathering method was elicitation, assisted by standard wordlists. O'Grady mentions Capell's use in the 1930s of a 600-item lexical list to compile information on over ninety languages of northern Australia (cf. Capell 1945), his own use of a 100-item list in the northern part of Western Australia in the 1950s, and Stephen Wurm's work in eastern Australia at about the same time (cf. Wurm 1967), among others. All this was essentially survey work, with a comparative orientation. Later, AIAS published its own widely used standard elicitation wordlist organised by semantic fields (AIAS & Capell n.d.; Sutton & Walsh 1979, 1987). Usually the elicitation would be done through (Aboriginal) English, a variety of Kriol, or sometimes through a traditional Aboriginal lingua franca. In any case, there are obvious limitations on the richness of the information which can be obtained by elicitation.

More substantial recent dictionary work has relied on working methods better suited to producing in-depth data on individual languages. These include intensive language-learning by the linguist, participant observation, extensive use of tape-recorded and transcribed texts, and, increasingly, collaboration with literate Aboriginal speakers of the language in question.

For the purposes of data manipulation and analysis, lexicography is today unthinkable without the computer. In place of boxes of file-slips, lexical information is now stored in some kind of structured database, which can be manipulated to produce different types of

formatted dictionary (e.g. alphabetically ordered, thesaurus, special purpose). The computer allows much greater speed, accuracy and consistency. Increasingly, vernacular source material (in the form of large and varied bodies of text) is also being kept on computer, making it possible for the lexicographer to compile textual examples using 'concordance' software.

The earliest computer-aided lexicography, such as O'Grady's 1966 comparison of wordlists of Australian languages, the *Research dictionary of the Western Desert language of Australia* (Raa & Woenne 1970–1973), and the comparative Pilbara Dictionaries Project (cf. Austin 1983), used large computers and the services of professional programmers, but almost all contemporary projects use personal computers and existing software. Current special purpose programs include IT (Interlinear Text processing), Consistent Changes (re-formatting and data management), Free Text, Micro-OCP, Shoebox, TACT, and Conc (text-browsers and concordancers), and MacLex (dedicated dictionary maker).

Much day-to-day lexicography is done without special purpose software, however. Instead, data is compiled as structured text within a standard word-processor, using declarative mark-up to make the structure of the information explicit. The marked information can later be processed and formatted using special purpose programs or 'macros', as described below. The most widely used mark-up system is based on conventions developed by SIL and promoted by the AIAS Lexicography Project (cf. Nash & Simpson 1989) and its successor ASEDA. It employs a backslash followed by a letter-code to identify different types (or 'fields') of information within the lexical entry. This is known as a 'field-oriented standard format' or FOSF file. The key advantage of a mark-up format is that it frees the text from any particular computer or software. The codes must be explicitly listed and preferably be current within an entire research community. In future we can expect to be using internationally recognised mark-up, such as Standard Generalised Markup Language (SGML), for which software and conventions for use in dictionary construction are now available.⁷

Database programs, such as Paradox or FileMaker, are also popular as a means of entering data in a structured framework, allowing it to be exported as tab-delimited text files if necessary. Relational databases have the additional ability to link data files from a number of languages, as in the use of Oracle by Peter Austin for storing and locating data from a number of Pilbara languages.

To give something of the flavour of current, computer-assisted lexicography, we will work through some of the stages involved in transforming a lexical database into final published text, on current practice at IAD. Figure 1 shows an extract from the database used to prepare the second edition of the *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary*. The code \w introduces a headword, \p its part of speech, \v dialect or style (e.g. 'slang', 'sensitive language'), \d a definition, \r a thesaurus classification, and \i an example. Layering of definitions and examples is provided for by numerical codes which identify the field which they precede. Thus \n2 preceding a definition field indicates that this is the

⁷ It should be noted that FOSF has been criticised as a violation of certain principles of dictionary construction. Nathan and Austin (1992) argue that the structure of a data file should represent the linguistic knowledge encapsulated within it rather than being designed for processing convenience; they point out, for instance, that since relationships between senses (synonymy, antonymy, polysemy and so on) are integral to the dictionary, so too should they be integral to the design and computer representation of the data.

second distinct 'sense' of the lexical unit. Derivational relationships are provided for through the codes \ws and \wp, which identify a 'sub-headword' and fixed expression (idiom or phraseme). Symbols such as *, @, and <> within the definition fields mark English words for the purpose of making a reversed (English–P/Y) listing.

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\w PAI
\p exclamation
\l (<usually directed >to dogs) *clear@off! <*be@off! piss off!>
\i papa, pai! 'get out of it, dog!'
\ws PAINI
\p transitive verb (I)
\l 1
\l 289 Repulsion
\l 297 Ejection
\l <*drive@away, >*shoo@off, '*hunt@away'
\i nganaṅanya pailpai "wiya, wantima!" 'they used to shoo us (school-children) away "No, leave it alone"'
\i ka tjana mukuringanyi, piyan tjuta, nganaṅanya paintjikitja, nguranguṛu 'the white fellas want to drive us out of our country'
\i punpunga kuṛungka paini, kuṛu patjalpaingka 'I'm shooing the flies from my eyes, so they won't bite my eyes'
\l 2
\l 932 Disapprobation
\l *tell@off, *scold<, *rebuke, '*growl'>
\i nyuntumpa katjangku ngayuku katja painingi 'your son's been telling my son off'
\i paluru palumpa kamuṛu watjantja wiya, pailpaingka 'he didn't tell his uncle, lest his uncle tell him off'
\l 3
  *warn, *caution against
\l 4
\l <*forbid, >*direct not to do
\i kamilulanya painu paṭu inkanytjaku 'Grandmother's forbidden us to play far (from camp)'
\wPAIRA IYANI
\l *order to leave<, *send@packing (iyani 'send')>
\i Ka palunya pulukangka maṅangka paṛa iyani 'after the bullock muster, we're sending him packing'
\i Tjitjingu maiku rawangka ngatjinnyangka kaar-kaarirara paṛa iyani 'if a kid keeps on and on trying to get you to give food, you get sick of it and order them to go'

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FIGURE 1: EXTRACT FROM DATABASE FOR *PITJANTJATJARA/YANKUNYTJATJARA TO ENGLISH DICTIONARY* (GODDARD 1992)

The schema shown in Figure 1 had various defects. For instance, having the example glosses appear within the \i field, identified by framing in single inverted commas, led to problems in subsequent processing, as did the many inconsistencies in punctuation. But although it is impossible to achieve fully automatic conversion from data files to final formatted text, a great deal of the re-formatting can be done automatically.

At IAD the initial re-formatting is done within the Nisus word processor, using the regular expression (GREP) and macro facilities, which allow users to write customised programs for manipulating text. Figure 2 shows part of such a macro devised by John Henderson. Current IAD practice is to use macros to convert an edited version of underlying database into 'style-tagged text' in which unique symbols enclose every stretch of characters destined for a particular final style (font/size/face combination). As well as tagging each field with the appropriate styling information, it adds any text or symbols needed to introduce the field in the published version.

Find/Replace "\(\syc-)\s+(\.:*)\s*r*:>|\s=\s2\s" "Gg-Ota"
 Find/Replace "\fils+(\.:*)\s*r*:>|\filsRefer to\s\.\s" "g-OtaG"
 Find/Replace "\dots+(\.:*)\s*r*:>|\filsFrom\s\.\s" "g-OtaG"
 Find/Replace "\an\s+(\.:*)\s*r*:>|\an\sOpposite of\s\.\s" "g-OtaG"
 Find/Replace "\cS\s+(\.:*)\s*r*:>|\cS\sSounds similar to\s\.\s" "Gtg-Oa"
 Find/Replace "\seel+(\.:*)\s*r*:>|\seel\sFor more information see\s\.\s" "Gtg-Oa"

FIGURE 2: EXTRACT FROM NISUS MACRO (JOHN HENDERSON)

Figure 3 shows a section of the 'style-tagged text' from the *Eastern and Central Arrernte to English dictionary*, which employs over a dozen different styles. Symbols such as ® and © stand for typographical symbols such as the diamond-shaped 'bullet', and different types of arrow. The style-tagged text is imported into a layout program, such as Design Studio, to convert it to final formatted text like that in Figure 4. It is worth noting how very different current typographical capabilities are to those of the period described by O'Grady (1971).

<h>ankeye <tx>n.
 <d>wanting something from someone. ®<vx>• Ayenge ngkwenge<vxh>-<vx>werne ankeye apetyene maneke inketyeke, ampe akweke nhenge areyeye ware merne inetyenhele. The ngenhe mane atyinhe ingwenthe inemele anthirtnetyenhenge. <tx>I've come here to ask you for money to get some food for those little ones. When I get my money tomorrow I'll give it back to you. ®<vx>• Kele<vxh>-<vx>ulkere apetyetye<vxh>-<vx>akenhe merneke impene<vxh>-<vx>impene<vxh>-<vx>irremele arlkweme. Ingwenthe<vxh>-<vx>arle ankeye ante aneme unthele<vxh>-<vx>anetyenhe. <tx>She can't come now because she's stuck into her food! And tomorrow she'll be wandering around wanting food from someone else! ®<vx>• Re<vxh>-<vx>atherre mutekayeke inketyeke ankeye apetye<vxh>-<vx>alherrerne <tx>town<vx>-werne akwele alhetyeke lyeteke ware merne inetyeke. <tx>Those two came to ask if they could borrow the car so that they can go into town for a while to get some food. ®<vx>• Arelhe yanhe ingwele arle ankeye rarle mpwekare<vxh>-<vx>irremele untheme, renhe atwerrirreke. <tx>That woman went off last night wanting a bloke, and she got beaten up.
 ©<d>Can sound like (forms of) <sy>angkeme, ngkeme, nkeme.

FIGURE 3: EXTRACT OF 'STYLE-TAGGED TEXT' FOR *EASTERN AND CENTRAL ARRERNTE TO ENGLISH DICTIONARY* (HENDERSON & DOBSON 1994)**arrerneyel, arrertneyel** *v.t.*

1. put down, put on. ♦ Kweyang aker yanh arrerna irrwerl arengk-wety, arengkel arlkwekerr. *Girl, put that meat high up away from the dogs, in case they eat it.* 2. stop someone from going somewhere. ♦ Ayeng alheyen-antey wenh, angwenhel ayenhermerney-angenh. *I'm really going, nobody is going to stop me.* ♦ llek-wety ntwā ayenhermerneyel? *Why are you stopping me from going?*

arrernelheyel *v.i.*

1. put something on self. ♦ Akapwert-warl arrernelh-alhem mwekart, twern-wety. *Put your hat on your head because of the sun.* 2. land, come down (aeroplane).
arrerenh (?) (LN) *n.*
 police. (lit. 'one that puts you in')
 = ityemweney, irrkweny (LN), arlerk (LN), akwernenh-akwernenh.

FIGURE 4: EXTRACT OF FINAL FORMATTED TEXT, *ALYAWARR TO ENGLISH DICTIONARY* (GREEN 1992)

Aside from formatting, macros can be used to produce reversals and other alternate schemes for displaying lexical information. For example, a set of macros used in the AIATSIS dictionaries project performs reversals on files in which headword entries have been marked with an asterisk as a 'turnaround' marker. Applied to headwords marked as "white breasted *eagle", "ornate *kangaroo *tick", the macros produce the following list with additional alphabetised entries for each asterisked word.

eagle: white breasted eagle
 kangaroo: ornate kangaroo tick
 ornate kangaroo tick
 tick: ornate kangaroo tick
 white breasted eagle

Whether working on FOSF files or from a database, it is important to design and use automatic reversal procedures carefully (cf. Nathan & Austin 1992) otherwise the resulting lists can be bizarre and impractical. An unfortunate example of this is the finderlist in the third edition of the *Pintupi/Luritja dictionary* (Hansen & Hansen 1992:222), in which, for instance, the following series of 15 entries appears under the English word 'did':

did here, did miracles, did not bury, did not eat (it), did not forget, did not inform another, did not win, did nothing, did signs and wonders, did supernatural things or acts, did that which was displeasing, did there, did up belt.

Reversals can be converted, by extensive editing, into English–Aboriginal language 'finderlists', but it is advisable to check any finderlist against a suitably sized list of common English vocabulary. This is because a finderlist serves a person who wishes to find Aboriginal equivalents for English words, but many common English words will not have found their way into the definitions for Aboriginal language words in the main dictionary. Such lists are available in electronic form from ASEDA.

3. ISSUES IN LEXICOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

3.1 ORTHOGRAPHIES

When O'Grady (1971:792) wrote, it was still feasible for him to call for a standardisation of orthographic symbols, primarily to avoid "a major and unnecessary burden to the comparativist". For the stop series, O'Grady himself favoured {p, t, t̪, c, k}, and for the nasals {m, ŋ, n, ŋ̃, ñ, ŋ̣}. These suggestions have been overtaken by the times. It is now generally accepted that an Aboriginal language dictionary must employ a 'practical orthography' based on Roman alphabet letters, and bearing as straightforward a relationship as possible to the English spelling system. This is for the convenience of non-linguists, Aboriginal and otherwise, who are now recognised as the primary users of the dictionaries.

Even the principle of phonemic spelling is no longer sacrosanct if, for one reason or another, it conflicts sharply with the priorities of the Aboriginal community. After all, a mild amount of under-differentiation in the spelling system presents no problems for native speakers. Sometimes, too, a community already literate in English may prefer an orthography closely based on English, even at the cost of a less than maximally efficient system. For example, the Yiyili community has adopted an orthography in which the name of their language is spelt Gooniyandi, rather than Kuniyanti as it would have been in the standard 'linguist's notation': this system both under- and over-differentiates phonemes (McGregor 1986, 1990:25–28). Less commonly, local tradition has sanctioned the retention of letter symbols alien to the typewriter keyboard. This is the case with the hooked 'eng' symbol of the Yolŋu languages of north-eastern Arnhem Land, which also employ *ā* to indicate the long vowel usually shown as *aa*.

Some of the trickiest orthographic decisions have arisen in places where two kinds of complicating factors coexist, viz. the Aboriginal language has unusual phonological properties, and, as well, there are several rival orthographies already established, as with the Arandic languages of Central Australia. Dictionary makers must sometimes come to grips with the fact that standardisation of an orthography, no less than the choice of which dialects to represent, can be a decision with political dimensions.

3.2 ORGANISATION

Most published Aboriginal language dictionaries employ listing by alphabetical sequence of lexical stems, sometimes supplemented with an English 'finderlist'. The sequence is based either on the initial letter, as is done in English dictionaries, or, more commonly, on the initial 'orthographic symbol' where digraphs (i.e. sequences of two letters standing for a single phoneme) are regarded as single symbols. An example of the latter ordering principle is shown below from the *Pintupi/Luritja dictionary*.

a, i, k, l, l, ly, m, n, n, ng, ny, p, r, rr, t, t, tj, w, y

The rationale is to make it easier for Aboriginal users to locate words, assuming that they will do so directly on a phonemic basis. A listing like the one shown above prevents words beginning with 'n', 'ng', and 'ny' becoming interspersed.

The argument in favour of the competing letter-based sequence is that almost all Aboriginal users today go or have gone to school, where they learn the conventional alphabetical order and how to use it to find words in English dictionaries, disregarding digraphs. It can also be argued that experienced readers tend not to operate on a direct phonemic basis, but to 'see' words in a graphic form (so that a word like *ngunyju*, for instance, is seen as beginning with the letter 'n'). Research is needed into the relative merits of the two competing systems.⁸

A less common alternative to alphabetical listing is thesaurus-style organisation, either as the primary format, as in McKelson (1989), Dixon (1991), and Groote Eylandt Linguistics (1994), or as a supplement to a conventional alphabetical listing, as in Evans (1992). An issue with thesaurus formats is the selection of the classification system, and in particular to what extent this can (or should) be based on the Aboriginal language itself, rather than on English. Many Aboriginal languages have explicit classifier (or 'generic noun') systems for people, living things and artefacts, making it relatively simple to organise at least some of the nominal vocabulary into an 'ethno-thesaurus'. But the semantic organisation of other lexical domains may be obscure even to native speakers, and require detailed analytical work. Aside from the work of Dixon (1982) on the semantic implications of Dyirbal 'mother-in-law language', there has been little published on this, though some practising lexicographers have devised quite elaborate semantically based schemes to help with collecting lexical data. Nonetheless, it would be fair to say that semantically organised dictionaries continue to rely in large measure on categories derived from European lexicography.

⁸ Among dictionaries which list by initial digraph, there is variation as to whether the same ordering principle is followed non-initially. The *Pintupi/Luritja dictionary* (Hansen & Hansen 1992) does, so that, for instance, *pungu* 'hit' comes after *pu nu* 'tree'. Most others, such as the *Kayardild dictionary and thesaurus* (Evans 1992), use conventional alphabetical order inside the word.

Like most writing on Aboriginal language lexicography, the discussion above has been biased in assuming that the typical Australian language is of the agglutinative, predominantly suffixing, Pama-Nyungan type. In fact, perhaps one-third of all Australian languages still spoken today are non-Pama-Nyungan (nonPN). Just as the complex and diverse nonPN tongues—generally prefixing and tending toward polysynthesis—pose special problems for grammatical analysis, so do they for lexicography. No more than a handful of nonPN language dictionaries have appeared (e.g. Heath 1982; Merlan 1982; Kimberley Language Resource Centre and Gedda Aklif 1993; Groote Eylandt Linguistics 1994).

Identifying a citation form may be no easy matter in a prefixing language, where most verbs may never appear without an appropriate person-number prefix. Even if it is possible to isolate an underlying root, it will often be the case that its initial segment is modified in most surface forms. In some nonPN languages, nominals also bear obligatory prefixes showing noun-class. Another common problem is widespread suppletion in verbal paradigms, which calls for extensive and complex cross-referencing. The problems that linguistic features like these create for practical lexicography can be illustrated by the case of Ndjébbana (Kunibidji), on which dictionary work has been ongoing for over 15 years.

McKay (1983) relates that in the early 1980s the then newly-literate Kunibidji speakers would not accept verbal roots as citation forms. The decision was therefore made to cite verbs with a third person singular masculine subject prefix, although this had the effect that almost all verbs appeared under the letter 'k' in an alphabetical listing. The situation with verbs was further complicated by the existence of numerous semi-productive derivational prefixes. Literate speakers originally expressed a preference for verb stems derived in this way to be listed as separate lexemes, rather than grouping them under the root.

Over fifteen years, however, the literate community has matured in its skills and its understanding of language matters. The linguist currently working on the project, Carolyn Coleman, reports (pers. comm.) that Ndjébbana consultants now accept the verbal root as citation form. The third person singular masculine prefix is retained, but with the root highlighted in bold within the inflected word; the main entries for verbs appear in alphabetical order according to the first segment of the highlighted root (a similar convention is used in the alphabetical sections of the draft Anindilyakwa–English dictionary). This is a typographical 'solution' which was not practical prior to the advent of computer-assisted desktop publishing. As well, the consultants now want the main entries for the derivational variants to be listed along with the 'head word' (head root), provided the derived forms are listed separately with a cross-reference to the main entry. This example shows that the optimal organisation of a practical dictionary is not determined solely by linguistic facts.

Green and Reid (1993) discuss the severe problems which arise with languages of the Daly River region, such as Ngan'gityemmerri and Marrithiyel. These are 'verb-classifying' languages. That is, verbs normally occur bearing one of a set of prefixed auxiliary elements which classify the nature of the activity being depicted. For instance, one set of auxiliary prefixes classifies transitive actions according to the manner in and/or type of instrument with which they are carried out; another set classifies according to the active involvement of certain parts of the body, such as the hands, feet and mouth. Often the auxiliaries occur as portmanteau forms incorporating person and number marking of the subject. Alphabetical listing by initial segment is not a practical proposition for these languages, and the complex cross-referencing that seems to be required will create great difficulties for newly literate users. Green and Reid are developing a computerised dictionary using FileMaker Pro which

should be more practical for community use. Lexical information will be accessible by initial segment of verb root, by auxiliary, or by thesaurus classification. The FileMaker Pro format is also much easier for native speakers to use in keyboarding new information than is the 'backslash code' system.

Regardless of the organisational framework, example sentences or phrases are an important part of any bilingual dictionary, though their role can be construed in various ways. Simple, common expressions are most useful for novice language-learners. More complex examples can be a vehicle for implicit grammatical information. Example sentences may also contain ethno-encyclopaedic information, or take the form of vernacular definitions.

Some dictionary makers insist that 'naturally occurring text' is the only or ideal source for examples, even though this may mean that many are grammatically complex and highly context-embedded. Others prefer text-based material but allow that it may be edited for increased simplicity or clarity. Still others are happy to include specially-constructed example sentences, so long as they are written by experienced Aboriginal language workers. In any case, one difficulty to be faced is that tape-recorded text corpora are almost always unrepresentative of ordinary speech, because they tend to be dominated by monologues (especially narrative).

3.3 DEFINITIONAL PRACTICE

Questions of definition are at the heart of dictionary making. In 1971, O'Grady (1971: 795) remarked of the then published dictionaries: "[Their] definitions leave much to be desired. There would be no point, however, in deriding the earlier works... [T]he compilers operated within the limitations imposed by the state of lexicography of their respective eras".

It is not clear that the future will be able to judge contemporary practice in the same charitable light. The problem, which we hasten to point out is not confined to the Australian Aboriginal arena, is that there is a wide gulf between semantic theory and lexicographic practice. Comparatively few Australian lexicographers over the past twenty-five years have been well trained in semantics, and most have developed their definitions on a fairly ad hoc basis. This is particularly noticeable in two respects: first, descriptive inadequacy and inexplicitness; second, lack of criteria for distinguishing between polysemy and semantic generality.

On the issue of semantic adequacy, we can observe that most Australian language dictionaries make little effort to explicitly capture the precise meaning of the words being defined. Rather than attempt a precise explanatory paraphrase, they more commonly list a series of possible English translation equivalents, as in the examples below, which come from the *Alyawarr to English dictionary* (Green 1992:219), an early draft of the Warlpiri dictionary (cited in Wierzbicka 1983:141), and the *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary* (Goddard 1992:112), respectively.

<i>rlwaneyal, lwaneyel</i>	pick out, sort, choose
<i>nyurunyuru-jarri-mi</i>	to hate him, despise him, be jealous of, disapprove of
<i>pikatjara</i>	sick, ill, wounded, injured

Listing possible translation equivalents does not meet one of the prime requirements of a good lexicographic definition, namely, that it should make the meaning fully explicit. The reader may fairly assume that the meaning being defined contains some components in

common with each of the English words offered, while not being completely identical with any of them, so it would be wrong to reject the listing approach as wholly uninformative. But the listing simply leaves to the reader the task which properly belongs to the lexicographer, that is, that of isolating the invariant meaning and specifying it in a testable form. This is a particularly unfortunate failing when it concerns culturally important words which lack close equivalents in English.

Of course, most dictionaries do at times attempt explicit explanatory paraphrases, in addition to listing translation equivalents. The examples below are from the same three dictionaries as cited above (Green 1992:146; Warlpiri Lexicography Group 1986a:63; Goddard 1992:43). It would be good if this practice were to become more consistent.

- ilpertilelheyel* be confused, become mixed up, go off your head, not think straight, be in a hurry, be unable to think of something
- mirmirr(pa)* very rapid involuntary movements of the body; shaking, shakes, trembling, twitching, shivering
- kunta* respectful, embarrassed, 'shame'. Discomfort at being observed by someone because of the type of person they are, because of worrying that you might do something on account of which they might think badly of you

Australian lexicographic practice could also improve its handling of the distinction between a lexical unit having several distinct-but-related senses, as opposed to it having a single general meaning—that is, the distinction between polysemy and semantic generality. Many Australian lexicographers seem to think this distinction is arbitrary or unimportant, giving an unstructured string of glosses where others would identify separate (polysemic) senses. The entries below exemplify the contrast in approach; they deal with the same verb *nyina-ø*.

- (a) *nyina- vi.* sit, to sit, to live, to be, to exist, to stay

[*An introductory dictionary of the Western Desert language* (Douglas 1988:55)]

- (b) **nyinanyi** *intransitive verb* (Ø)

1. sit, be sitting. 2. live, stay: *Nyuntumpa kula ngura nganala nyinanyi?* Where is your big brother staying/living? 3. be in a place: *Tjilpinya nyinanyi?* Is the Old Fella around? 4. be in, have or hold a temporary condition: *Nganana pukul(pa) nyinangi.* We were contented. 5. (with serial verb, in the 'way of life' construction) do something generally, customarily, as a way of life: *Kungka nyuntu nyaaku katira nyinanyi?* Why do you bring your wife with you?

[*Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English dictionary* (Goddard 1992:97)]

Australian dictionary makers would do well to draw on criteria identified by semantic and lexicographic theorists (e.g. Apresjan 1972, 1992 [1974]; Mel'čuk 1988; Wierzbicka 1992–1993) for establishing polysemy, such as the putative distinct meanings having different syntactic properties, or different antonyms, or only one of the senses participating in a derivational process. Importantly, whether for a generality analysis or a polysemy analysis the putative sense or senses must be statable in explicit and testable formulations.

Even dictionaries which recognise the polysemy versus generality distinction seldom implement it with consistency or supply any explicit discussion of their criteria (an exception is Alpher 1991). Some examples of apparent inconsistency are given below. We assume that separating senses by numbers or semicolons is intended to indicate polysemy, while a unitary sense is indicated by glosses separated by commas.

- (a) *maalthan* (1) settle someone down after they have been angry or wild (2) tame or subdue someone or an animal
nga'anathan hide (something or yourself); put inside (something)
ngeeyan listen, understand, hear (and obey)

[*Dictionary and source book of the Wik-Mungkan language* (Kilham et al. 1986:144, 142)]

- (b) *wurdu* 1. Corner, curve. 2. Small point on coastline
yiiwija Lie down, sleep, camp the night

[*Kayardild dictionary and thesaurus* (Evans 1992:143, 179)]

Most modern practical dictionaries frame their definitions in terms of relatively simple, common English words, if only to maximise their intelligibility for Aboriginal users. One of the few exceptions is the main version of the Warlpiri dictionary (i.e. the version intended for linguistic, rather than for general, use), which employs a rather technical, semi-standardised metalanguage. This has been the subject of one of the very few theoretically-oriented exchanges in the scant literature about Aboriginal language lexicography. The exchange, in Austin, ed. (1983), occurred between Anna Wierzbicka and Mary Laughren, and is sufficiently interesting to review here.

Wierzbicka (1983:136–137) criticised the style of definition shown below.

- paka-mi* — ‘xERG produces concussion of surface of yABS, by coming into contact with y’
lirri-mi — ‘xABS increases in size, typically to assume abnormal dimensions’

Such definitions, she said, violated the requirement that a sound definition “must reduce what is complex to what is simple, what is obscure to what is clear, what is conceptually ‘posterior’ to what is conceptually ‘prior’”. The rather learned style of language used was an unnecessary barrier to understanding. Wierzbicka also claimed that by using the complex defining language one runs the risk of committing the lexicographic sin of circularity, if only in a hidden form. For instance, if a word close in meaning to ‘hit’ is defined in terms of ‘concussion’, there is implicit circularity because we understand the word ‘concussion’ in terms of ‘hitting’.

Laughren (1983) defended the form of the definitions on the grounds that they bring out the natural semantic classes to be found in Warlpiri. She explained that the first of the definitions cited above is formulated so as to show that *paka-mi* falls into the class of ‘contact/effect’ verbs, whose core meaning is defined as ‘xERG produces an effect on yABS by some entity coming into contact with y’. The other details of the definition distinguish *paka-mi* from other verbs of the same class (e.g. *panti-mi* ‘pierce, poke, stick into, spear’, *yipi-mi* ‘squeeze out’, *palji-mi* ‘wash’). The differences are captured by specifications of the nature of the effect (e.g. concussion, pressure, cleaning, etc.), the nature of the entity (sharp pointed, hands, water, etc.) and the nature of the contact. Laughren also pointed out that the apparent simplicity of English words such as ‘hit’ may be misleading. For instance, there are several different senses for ‘hit’, only one of which could be translated using Warlpiri *paka-*

mi. Laughren even argues that technical vocabulary, because it is less polysemous, tends to focus on simple concepts better than everyday words do.

Though the Warlpiri dictionary's commitment to systematic semantic decomposition is commendable, it does not in our view constitute a sufficient defence of complex defining metalanguage because there is no reason to believe that systematic decomposition requires complex terms. Another drawback is that because terms such as 'concussion', 'surface', and 'contact' are not directly translatable into Warlpiri, the resulting definitions are not directly accessible to the intuitions of native speakers and cannot be verified by testing their substitutability into authentic Warlpiri contexts of use. It is surely preferable that a defining metalanguage should be as simple and as cross-translatable as possible, though, to be sure, establishing an optimal translatable metalanguage is no easy task.⁹

A final issue to do with the definitional side of dictionary making concerns encyclopaedic information. In general, the larger dictionaries tend to include liberal amounts of cultural knowledge in or along with their definitions or in the example sentences. The kind of facts often noted include the habits of animals, uses for plants and animals, procedures for making and using tools and implements, as well as social customs and beliefs.

From the viewpoint of semantic theory, the importance of cultural knowledge is being increasingly recognised, with richly detailed scenarios and cultural scripts now widely accepted as plausible representations of linguistic knowledge. Some semantic theorists, such as George Lakoff (1987) and Ronald Langacker (1987), reject the distinction between linguistic and real-world knowledge altogether, while others, such as Wierzbicka (1983, in press) would rather redraw the boundary so that some details about the habits of animal species and the functions of artefacts are seen as aspects of semantic knowledge. In any case, there can be no theoretical objection to the encyclopaedic dictionary, so long as the 'knowledge' being included is that of the indigenous culture, as opposed to Western 'scientific' knowledge.¹⁰ As pointed out by Evans (1992, this volume) and by Wilkins (1996), encyclopaedic information also often helps to make sense of polysemy and to identify pathways of semantic change. Finally, from a practical point of view, encyclopaedic dictionaries are often more interesting and more useful.

4. THE FUTURE FOR ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE LEXICOGRAPHY

Until recently, makers of Aboriginal language dictionaries have largely worked in isolation from one another.¹¹ It is greatly to be hoped that the future will see more debate, discussion and exchange on theory and methodology as well as on data management

⁹ Work within Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework posits the existence of some 60 or so 'semantic primitives', hypothesised to have lexical exponents (i.e. precise translation equivalents) in all languages (Wierzbicka 1996). Evans (1994), Goddard (1994) and Harkins and Wilkins (1994) investigate the translatability of 36 of these into the Aboriginal languages Kayardild, Yankunytjatjara and Arrernte. Semantic research of this kind has obvious value for the definitional side of lexicography.

¹⁰ A further distinction could (and arguably should) be made between knowledge which is linguistically encoded, as evidenced by lexical collocations, metaphorical interpretations and so on, and specialist knowledge possessed only by the experts of the culture (cf. Apresjan 1992 [1974], Wierzbicka in press, Wilkins this volume).

¹¹ The main exception to this statement was the 1982 ALS Workshop on Australian Aboriginal Lexicography convened by Peter Austin (cf. Austin ed. 1983).

techniques. There is an important role here for AUSTRALEX (the Australasian Association for Lexicography), formed in 1990.

In terms of language coverage, the main focus for future work in Australian lexicography must surely be non-Pama-Nyungan languages, which, as mentioned, have scarcely been touched in comparison with the languages of the Pama-Nyungan grouping. Non-Pama-Nyungan languages present the lexicographer with far greater analytical and organisational challenges, whose exploration will bear on many questions of interest to general linguistic theory.

A more radical departure from current practice, and one less likely to eventuate, except perhaps sporadically, would be a move away from the 'Aboriginal vernacular-English' style of bilingual dictionary. As noted by Crowley (1986), among others, a preponderance of lexicography in this direction is indicative of the dominant status of the target language. (There have been some moves towards the development of monolingual Aboriginal language dictionaries for use in schools, such as Paddy Patrick Jangala's monolingual Warlpiri dictionary (1986), but as far as we are aware, there has been no serious attempt to develop an 'English-Aboriginal vernacular' bilingual dictionary for any language.)¹²

Advances in computer and video technology mean that dictionaries of the future will not necessarily take the form of books. Already, integrated 'multimedia' packages (e.g. Thieberger 1994) are appearing which enable users to access sound, video and animation sequences, and graphic displays, as well as printed matter. Such media offer to overcome many of the organisational limitations of print dictionaries, such as the priority of the alphabetical list format (though books will retain the edge in price and portability for some time). It becomes possible to 'navigate' through a richly structured information space, accessing information in many alternate ways and being able to move freely between different levels or modes of data without needing advanced literacy skills. Aside from placing heavy demands on computer processing speed and storage capacity, production of such multimedia dictionaries calls for new personnel and new types of collaboration on the lexicographic team.

The next twenty years will undoubtedly see far greater input into lexicographic projects from dictionary workers who are themselves native speakers. Likewise, there will be even greater demand by Aboriginal people for dictionaries, and for a wider range of uses. Two quite new uses are in language revival (as with the Kurna people of Adelaide and the Bundjalung of the north coast of NSW), and in mainstream education programs about Aboriginal languages (to be implemented from 1994 as a Higher School Certificate subject).

Linguists too will be looking to Aboriginal language lexicography for new purposes; for example, to study semantic change and diffusion (cf. Wilkins 1996), pursuits which call for detailed and specialised lexico-semantic investigation. With the ASED collection now representing over 200 Australian languages, there is sufficient data to construct a pan-Australian dictionary, a project warranting serious consideration in the near future. Interestingly, one of the preoccupations of the nineteenth century, namely, reconstructing the linguistic prehistory of Australia, is beginning to re-emerge after having fallen into the shadows for many years (cf. O'Grady 1979; McConvell and Evans in press). Also, general linguistic theory is increasingly interested in the detailed structuring of the lexicon, in

¹² The largest English-Aboriginal vernacular list, not of the 'finderlist' variety, would be in McKelson (1989).

semantically oriented approaches to grammar, and in the new field of ‘lexical typology’ (cf. Lehrer 1992). Australian language lexicography can be expected to benefit from these trends.

Above all, it is important to remember that, despite the advances of the past twenty-five years, the state of Aboriginal language lexicography is still rudimentary compared with the great depth and breadth of work which has been done on English and other ‘international’ languages. The research potential in the field therefore remains effectively unlimited.

APPENDICES: LEXICOGRAPHIC OUTPUT ON AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES 1968–1993

Note that dictionaries with more than 2,000 entries and detailed semantic information are listed separately, in Table 1 (§2.2).

The following lists have been compiled from the AIATSIS library catalogue, on keywords ‘dictionalwordlistvocab’, supplemented where omissions are apparent. Note that this is not a complete list of such work. Where a manuscript has been superseded by a published or more substantial edition only the later edition is included here. If an electronic data file has entries marked by topic and coded for reversal, it is marked in this list as being a topical list with a finderlist.

APPENDIX 1: PUBLISHED WORDLISTS AND SMALL DICTIONARIES

Lists under 200 words are not included, except for illustrated wordlists or collections of comparative lists.

CODES

- r = available from ASEDAs as electronic data file
- ➡ = includes finderlist
- k = reconstituted from historical materials
- ↷ = illustrated
- W = topical list
- S = includes sentence examples
- = = work in progress
- # = unseen/unable to be coded fully

Aguas, E.F., 1968, Gudandji. *Papers in Australian linguistics* No.3, 1–20. PL, A–14.

r➡W Alpher, Barry, 1991, *Yir-Yoront lexicon: sketch and dictionary of an Australian language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

r➡kW Amery, Rob and Jane Simpson, 1994, Kaurma. In Nick Thieberger and William McGregor, eds *Macquarie Aboriginal words: a dictionary of words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages*, 144–172. Sydney: Macquarie Library.

r Atkins, W.H., 1991, *W.H. Atkins memorial: Nyungar–English, English–Nyungar dictionary, with equivalents in standard orthography*. Edited and published by W.H. Douglas.

r➡ Austin, Peter, 1992, *A dictionary of Jiwarli, Western Australia*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.

- r → 1992, *A dictionary of Payungu, Western Australia*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → 1992, *A dictionary of Thalanyji, Western Australia*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → 1992, *A dictionary of Tharrgari, Western Australia*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → 1992, *A dictionary of Warriyangga, Western Australia*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → 1992, *A dictionary of Yinggarda, Western Australia*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → k 1993, *A dictionary of Gamilaraay, northern New South Wales*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → k 1993, *A reference dictionary of Gamilaraay, northern New South Wales*. Bundoora, Vic.: Dept of Linguistics, La Trobe University.
- r → W 1994, Diyari. In Nick Thieberger and William McGregor, eds *Macquarie Aboriginal words: a dictionary of words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages*, 125–143. Sydney: Macquarie Library.
- k Bindon, Peter and Ross Chadwick, 1992, *A Nyoongar wordlist from the south west of Western Australia [Nyoongar/English]*. Perth: Anthropology Dept, WA Museum.
- r → Black, Paul, Rolly Gilbert et al., 1986, *Kurtjar dictionary*. Batchelor, NT: SAL.
- r → k W 1979, Pitta-Pitta. In R.M.W. Dixon and Barry J. Blake, eds *Handbook of Australian languages*, vol.1, 183–242. Canberra: ANU Press.
- W 1991, Woiwurrung, the Melbourne language. In R.M.W. Dixon and Barry J. Blake, eds *Handbook of Australian languages*, vol.4, 30–122. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- r → Blyth, J.N., 1988, *Wangka base dictionary*. Boulder, WA: The author.
- r → Brandenstein, C.G. von, 1980, *Ngadjumaja: an Aboriginal language of south-east Western Australia*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.
- 1988, *Nyungar anew: phonology, text samples and etymological and historical 1500-word vocabulary of an artificially re-created Aboriginal language in the south-west of Australia*. PL, C–99.
- # Breen, J.G., 1973, *Bidyara and Gungabula: grammar and vocabulary*. Linguistic Communications 8.
- W 1981, Margany and Gunya. In R.M.W. Dixon and Barry J. Blake, eds *Handbook of Australian languages*, vol.2, 274–393. Canberra: ANU Press.
- 1981, *The Mayi languages of the Queensland Gulf Country*. Canberra: AIAS.
- 1990, *Salvage studies of Western Queensland Aboriginal languages*. PL, B–105.
- ↗ Breen, John Gavan and Julie Jones, 1986, *Alyawarra picture vocabulary*. Alice Springs, NT: IAD/SAL.
- r → S= Brown, Alexander (Sandy) and Brian Geytenbeek, 1990, *Ngarla–English dictionary*. Port Hedland, WA: Wangka Maya Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre.
- Capell, A., 1984, The Laragia language. *Papers in Australian linguistics* No.16, 55–106. PL, A–68.
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- r Chadwick, Neil, 1975, *A descriptive study of the Djingili language*. Canberra: AIAS.
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APPENDIX 2: UNPUBLISHED WORDLISTS AND DICTIONARIES AVAILABLE AS MANUSCRIPT OR AS ELECTRONIC DATA FILE

CODES

- r = available from ASEDA as electronic data file
- ➔ = includes finderlist
- k = reconstituted from historical materials
- ⚡ = illustrated
- W = topical list
- = = work in progress

- r➔ Anderson, Bruce, *Yindjibarndi dictionary*.
- r= Andrews, Avery, *Anmatyerre wordlist*.
- rk= Anonymous and Nicholas Thieberger, [*Ngarla vocabulary*]. Bani, Ephraim, 1987, *Kalaw Kawaw Ya/English dictionary* (draft).
- r⚡ Banning, Roy, Wanyarra and Michael Quinn, 1989, *Djabugay ngirrma gulu Kuranda*.

- rk = Bell, Jeanie, *A dictionary of the Gubbi Gubbi and Buthulla languages*.
- r Berndt, Ronald and T. Vogelsang, *Ngadjuri wordlist*.
- k Bishop, Ida, 1990, *Koongurrukun language - lexicon letters K through to Y*.
- r Blake, Barry J., *Kalkatungu vocabulary*.
- r *Pitta Pitta wordlist*.
- r *Yalamnga vocabulary*.
- rk [*Victorian languages*].
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- ➔ Brandenstein, C. G. von., 1975-77, *A Pilbara Aboriginal vocabulary - AVC languages: Ngarluma, Jindjiparndi, Karierra, Pandjima, Kurrama: with addenda Jindjiparndi*.
- r [*Nyiyapali wordlist*].
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- r Breen, Gavan, *Warluwara wordlist*.
- rW 1988, *Bularnu grammar and vocabulary machine-readable file*.
- r= *Garawa/Wanyi machine-readable data files*.
- r= *Innamincka talk machine-readable files*.
- r *Kaytetye vocabulary machine readable files*.
- r *Kukatj grammar machine-readable files*.
- r *Mudburra graded wordlist*.
- r *Wakaya*.
- r Chadwick, Neil, Harold Ulamari, Janet Sandy, Mona Rennie and Kenneth Hale, *Jingulu wordlist*.
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- r *Mbakwithi vocabulary*.
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- r= Donaldson, Tamsin, 1978, *Interim dictionary of Ngiyambaa of the Wangaaybuwan*.
- r Drury, V., *Nanta wordlist*.
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- r Evans, Nicholas, *Mayali vocabulary*.
- r Florey, Margaret and Janie Winder, Wangka Maya, Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre, *Malkana*.
- r Florey, Margaret and Mabel Tommy, *Yinhawangka wordlist*.
- r Furby, E.S. and C.E. Furby, *Garawa dictionary*.
- r= Furby, E.S., C.E. Furby, A. Rogers and L. Rogers, *Garawa/Wanyi wordlist*.
- r= Garde, Murray, *Kuninjku (Eastern Kunwinjku) vocabulary and texts*.
- r= Green, Ian, *Daly lexicons*.
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- r *Djabugay wordlist*.
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- r 1990, *Provisional Matngele-English vocabulary*.
- r= *Gagudju dictionary*.
- r *Gunwinjguan papers*.
- r= *Warray grammar, Warray dictionary, bibliography, Warray verbs*.
- r Haviland, John, *Guugu Yimidhirr vocabulary*.
- r Heath, Jeffrey, 1973, *Dhay?yi (Dharlwangu) texts and vocabulary*.
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- W 1975, *Yanyula vocabulary, mostly flora-fauna*.
- r Hercus, Luise, *Gippsland vocabulary*.
- r *Maljangapa-Wadigali vocabulary*.
- rk = *Southern Ngarigu vocabulary*.
- rk *Wergaia vocabulary I*.
- rk *Yarluyandi vocabulary*.
- r *Machine-readable files of Arabana and Wangkangurru vocabulary*.
- rk Hercus, Luise and Nicholas Thieberger, 1993, *Mimung vocabularies*.
- r Hewett, Heather, Anne Dineen, David Tainsby and Robin Field, *Maung dictionary project*.
- r Hore, Michael, *Nunggubuyu dictionary*.
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- r → W Johnson, Edward, *Karajarri Sketch Grammar*.
- r= Johnson, Steve, *Ngarrindjeri wordlist*.
- rk Johnson, Steve and Amanda Lissarrague, *Yaygir vocabulary*.

- r= Johnson, Steve and Ian Smith, *Kugu Nganchara*.
- r Kimberley Language Resource Centre, *Tsunoda's Jaru*.
- r= Kirton, Jean, *Yanyuwa*.
- r Klokeid, Terry, *Nyamarl wordlist*.
- r *Tharrgari (D) wordlist*.
- r= Koch, Harold, *Machine readable files of "Kaytetye texts" and "Kaytetye dictionary"*.
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- r Laughren, Mary et al., 1994, *Warlpiri dictionary*.
- Ⓛ Laurel, Benjamin, 1985, *Walmajarri picture dictionary*.
- r Laves, Gerhardt, *Anyumarla wordlist*.
- rk= Lissarrague, Amanda, Steve Johnson and Leeton Smith, *Dhangadi dictionary*.
- r Lowe, Beula, Velma J. Leeding and M.J. Christie, *Gupapuyngu dictionary: Milingimbi communilect*.
- rⓁ Ltyentye Apurte Literature Production Centre, 1992, *Angkentye Atyinhe Arrernte, Ltyentye Apurte (Santa Teresa)*.
- r Marribank conference, Nick Thieberger and others, *Nyungar wordlists*.
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- r= McConvell, Patrick, 1993, *Gurindji dictionary*.
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APPENDIX 3: WORKS-IN-PROGRESS MENTIONED IN O'GRADY (1971)

The following is a summary of information about work mentioned in O'Grady (1971: 782–787) which has subsequently appeared, been deposited at AIATSIS, or been reworked. The order of presentation, and the references, are as used by O'Grady.

Various Tasmanian vocabularies have been compiled and published in Plomley (1976). A larger version of Teichelmann and Schürmann's work on Pankarla and Kaurna was found in Cape Town and has been keyboarded by Jane Simpson. Taplin's Narrinyeri was keyboarded by Steve Johnson and Jane Simpson. Curr's vocabularies have been widely quoted and incorporated into other work. They have now been keyboarded, but it should be noted that the printed version apparently differs from the manuscript, copies of which are in the possession of R.M.W. Dixon.

Moore's (1884) dictionary of Wadjuk is subsumed into an encyclopaedic Nyungar dictionary by Alan Dench, as is the work of Lyon (1833), Nind (1831) and Salvado (1854).

H. Hale's (1846) Gamilaraay and Wiradjuri have been reworked by Peter Austin, and Sally McNicol and Dianne Hosking, respectively. Ridley's (1875) Gamilaraay has been reworked by Peter Austin. Brough-Smyth's (1878) vocabularies appear in Barry Blake's keyboarding of Victorian languages.

Some of Bates (1904) 5,000 typescript pages of vocabularies have been keyboarded; those representing the south-east of Western Australia by Luise Hercus and Nicholas

Thieberger (1993), and those from the Kimberley by McGregor (1992). Black's (1920) vocabularies have been incorporated into Jane Simpson's South Australian data.

Capell's 600-item wordlist in 40 Arnhem Land languages has been keyboarded and is held at the AIATSIS library. T.G.H. Strehlow's 30,000 word dictionary has not appeared, though a typescript copy of around 6,700 entries is held at AIATSIS. Nekes and Worms work is being keyboarded by Bill McGregor.

O'Grady's Nyangumarta, Yulparija, Walmajarri, Payungu, Umpila dictionaries, and his 100-item lexical list of 142 communalects were keyboarded as part of O'Grady's University of Hawaii project (1966-67). An electronic data file is available in ASEDA.

Wilf Douglas's *Illustrated topical dictionary of the Western Desert language* appeared in new editions in 1977 and 1990. His *Introductory dictionary of the Western Desert language* also appeared in 1988.

Kenneth Hale's data have been reproduced or incorporated into later work. In particular, the Wambaya material has been checked and used by Nordlinger (1993), and the Yanyurla (Yanyuwa) material is in Bradley et al. (1992). The Gunwinggu material is being incorporated into a comparative Gunwinggun dictionary in preparation by Nicholas Evans.

Petri's Nyangumarta dictionary is in Germany; efforts are being made to have copies available in Australia. Von Brandenstein's 10,000-entry Ngarluma dictionary is now in AIATSIS files. Schebeck's Murngin lexical work has not appeared, but he has produced a text-based dictionary of Adnyamathanha (1987). Dixon's work on Dyrirbal and Yidiny is now well known.

La Mont West's Dalabon dictionary typescript is in the AIATSIS collection. Unsure about the Kuku Ya'o and Umpila material. Coate has material on several Kimberley languages (Coate & Elkin 1974). Holmer's work on Danggadi has been incorporated into Lissarrague (1994). His survey of south-eastern Queensland (1983) has also been incorporated into Jeanie Bell's work; unsure about the Gadhang material.

The Table in O'Grady (1971:786) lists AIAS grantees of the time. Work by the following is listed in Appendix 1 or Appendix 2 of the present paper: B. J. Blake; J. Bolt; N. Chadwick; M. C. Cunningham (now Sharpe); A. H. Hall; L. Hercus; Charles Osborne; C. Yallop; J. de Zwaan.

Alpher's Yir-Yoront dictionary is now available. Flint's material on Wanyi and Yiddindji (Yidiny) has been deposited at AIATSIS. Other work mentioned in O'Grady (1971:787) which has subsequently appeared is that of: E. Hughes (Nunggubuyu); A. Peile (Kukatja); L. Reece (Warlpiri); J. Stokes (Anindilyakwa); B. Lowe (Gupapuyngu); K. McKelson (Nyangumarta, Yulparija, Mangala, Karajarri); B. and H. Geytenbeek (Gidabal); B. Sommer (Kunjen); B. Sayers and C. Kilham (Wik-Mungkan); H. and R. Hershberger and L. and W. Oates (Kuku-Yalanji); J. Kirton (Yanyurla/ Yanyuwa); K. and D. Glasgow (Burarra); H. Hinch (Maung); J. and M. Marsh (Gardudjarra/Martu Wangka); K. and L. Hansen (Pintupi); J. Hudson and E. Richards (Walmajarri).

O'Grady (1971) does not mention William Dawes's information on Dharuk/Eora, the language of Sydney (which has been reworked by Jakelin Troy), nor Gerhardt Laves, who produced extensive lexical and grammatical information about Nyunga languages of the south-west of Western Australia, the area around La Grange (Karajarri). These works are available at AIATSIS.

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