

Critical Lexicography: Exploring the Role of Dictionaries in Language Revitalization

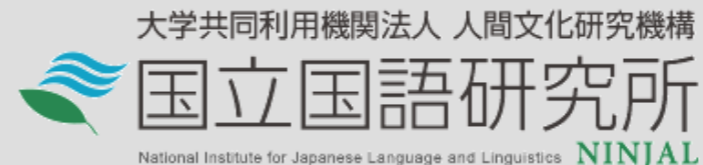
Mark Turin & Victoria Sear

 @markturin

NINJAL International Symposium: Approaches to Endangered
Languages in Japan & Northeast Asia
Tachikawa, Tokyo, August 6-8, 2018



THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA



First Nations
& ENDANGERED
LANGUAGES
PROGRAM UBC
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Overview

Contextualize the creation of dictionaries of non-dominant languages

Introduce and outline **Critical Lexicography**

Situate this discussion within language revitalization and documentation practices *and* in emerging work in critical theory and **Critical Indigenous Studies**

Propose 7 indicators of engagement with **Critical Lexicography**

The Dictionary: Not Just a Corpus

Dictionaries are not passive, inert or neutral documents

Dictionaries are powerful political texts that effect change, embed values, create ideologies and reinscribe power structures

DICTIONARIES

Past Examples: The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)

In its 1993 supplement, the OED refused to include the sexual meaning of the word *lesbian*, their choice was “motivated by factors other than legality”.

Past Examples: The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)

The OED taken a “descriptive attitude to racist and other sorts of offensive vocabulary” (including racist and derogatory terms) because “both publishers and lexicographers had consistently taken the view that, since OED was a descriptive dictionary, it could not suppress or censor historical evidence and it was bound to record ‘the facts of the language’”.

Present Examples: “The Power of the Dictionary”

Hey @OxfordWords, why is “rabid feminist” the usage example of “rabid” in your dictionary – maybe change that? pic.twitter.com/3zJnwZ3RLx

— Michael Oman-Reagan (@OmanReagan) January 21,
2016

OED

Oxford English Dictionary
The definitive record of the English language

1984 A. OAKLEY *Taking it like Woman* (1985) 11 Perhaps the entire staff of the school were rabid feminists but if so we did not know, and we certainly weren't.

rabid, adj.

Fully revised for *OED Third Edition* in June 2008.

Earlier versions published in:

- *OED First Edition* (1903)
- *OED Second Edition* (1989)

oed.com is a living text, updated every three months. Updates may include:

- further revisions to definitions, pronunciation, etymology, variant spellings, quotations, dating or styling of citations;
- new senses or phrases.



SINCE 1828

Examples of RABID in a Sentence

a politician with *rabid* supporters

Her husband is a *rabid* baseball fan.

Examples of RESEARCH in a Sentence

She conducts *research* into the causes of Alzheimer's disease.

Recent *research* shows that the disease is caused in part by bad nutrition.

The study is an important piece of *research*.

He did a lot of *research* before buying his car.

Examples of SHRILL in a Sentence

the *shrill* sound of a policeman's whistle

Dictionaries of Non-Dominant Languages

Those engaged in dictionary work with speakers of endangered, Indigenous, historically-marginalized or under-resourced languages need to critically examine the real-world implications and political impact that their lexicographic practices have not only within the physical or virtual pages of a dictionary, but in the language community itself and in increasingly globalized and digital spaces.

WHAT IS THE **CRITICAL** IN
CRITICAL INDIGENOUS STUDIES?

Dr. Daniel Heath Justice

the **RAVEN**

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The Institute for
Critical Indigenous Studies
University of British Columbia

Criticality 1

the **RAVEN**

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“A critical scholarship is meant to help us understand the social systems, historical processes, and ideologies that shape our individual and group experiences, and helps us understand how we got to this historical moment and, just maybe, where we’re going. “Critical”, then, isn’t about negativity or simply challenging ideas in a reactive way, but to insist on the relationship between our intellectual practice and our everyday lives.”

Criticality 2

the **RAVEN**

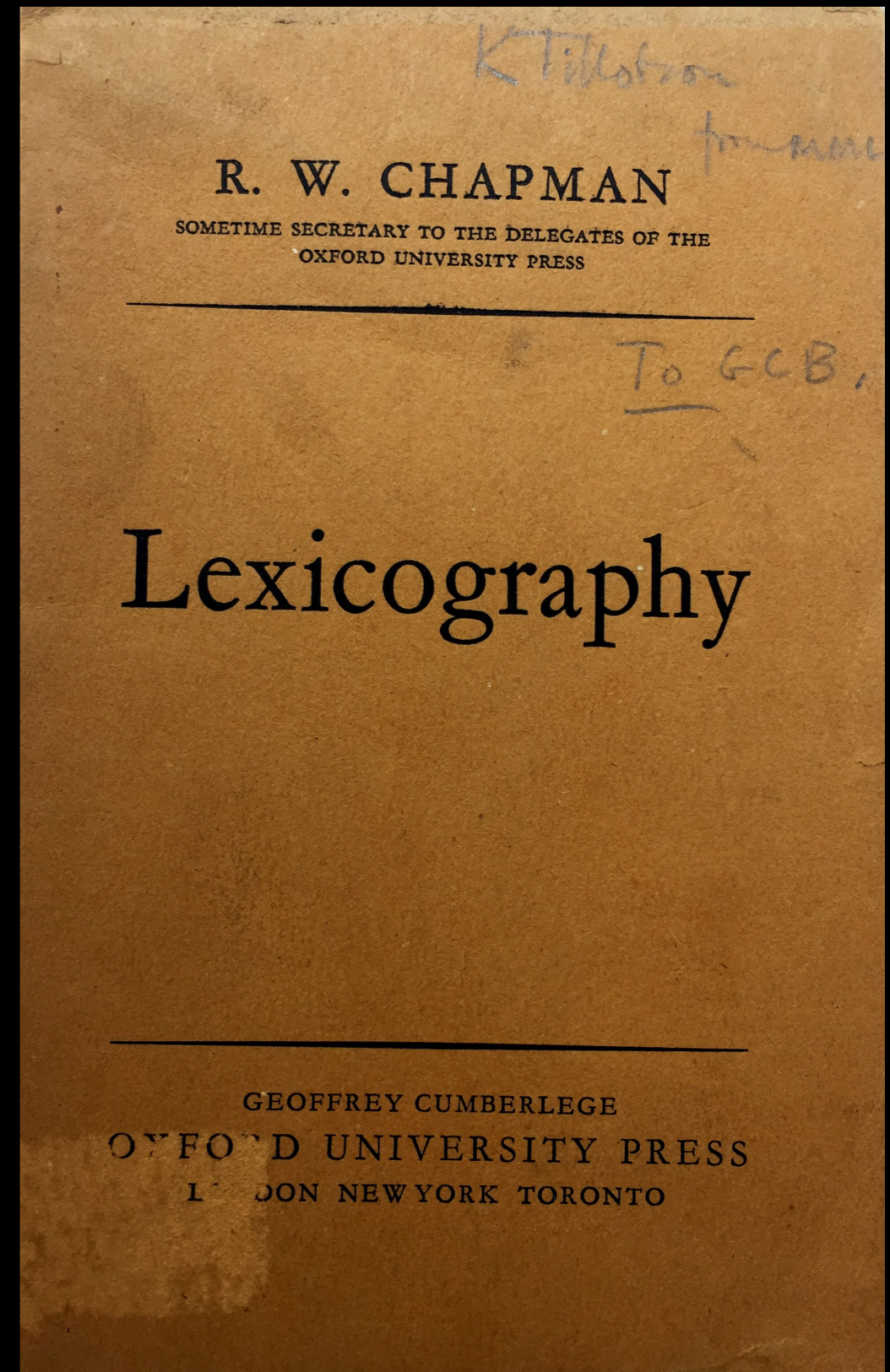
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“It’s an unwillingness to accept claims based on arbitrary or coercive authority or clichéd received wisdom, but to use all the tools at our disposal to expand possibilities for ethical, thoughtful inquiry. It is a commitment to confronting oppressive and limiting social structures while also imagining possibilities for better ways of co-existing and flourishing in the world. In so doing, however, it necessarily requires us to rigorously question our own perspectives, ways of thinking, and areas of study of pursuit of better, more accountable, and more ethically engaged ways of thinking and doing in the world.”

Critical Lexicography 1

Does not aim to criticize
existing lexicographic,
linguistic, or documentary
practices

Not a dismantling of
lexicography or its scientific
and analytical practices



Critical Lexicography 2

Edited by

WILLIAM FRAWLEY

...

KENNETH HILL

...

PAMELA MUNRO

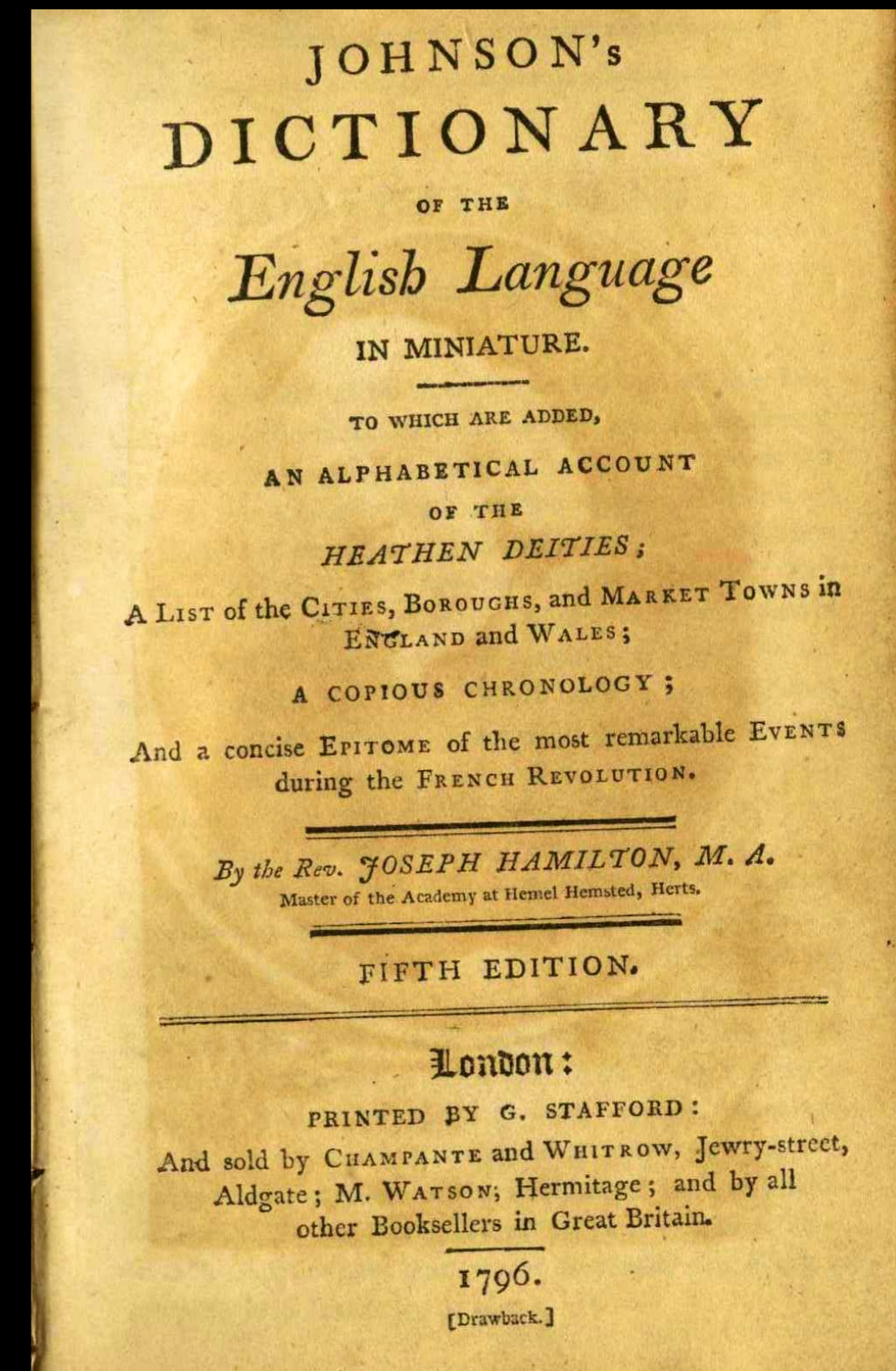
MAKING dictionaries

Preserving Indigenous Languages of the Americas

Is a form of paradigm shift (or 'reorientation' as we prefer to call it) which seeks to legitimize existing concerns that are present in lexicography with endangered, Indigenous, historically-marginalized or under-resourced languages and well as within Indigenous communities and the academy overall.

Critical Lexicography 3

Works to develop new practices for creating dictionaries of, for and in Indigenous languages that accommodate and reflect the structure of the languages themselves and better address the strategic, political and intellectual goals of the language community.

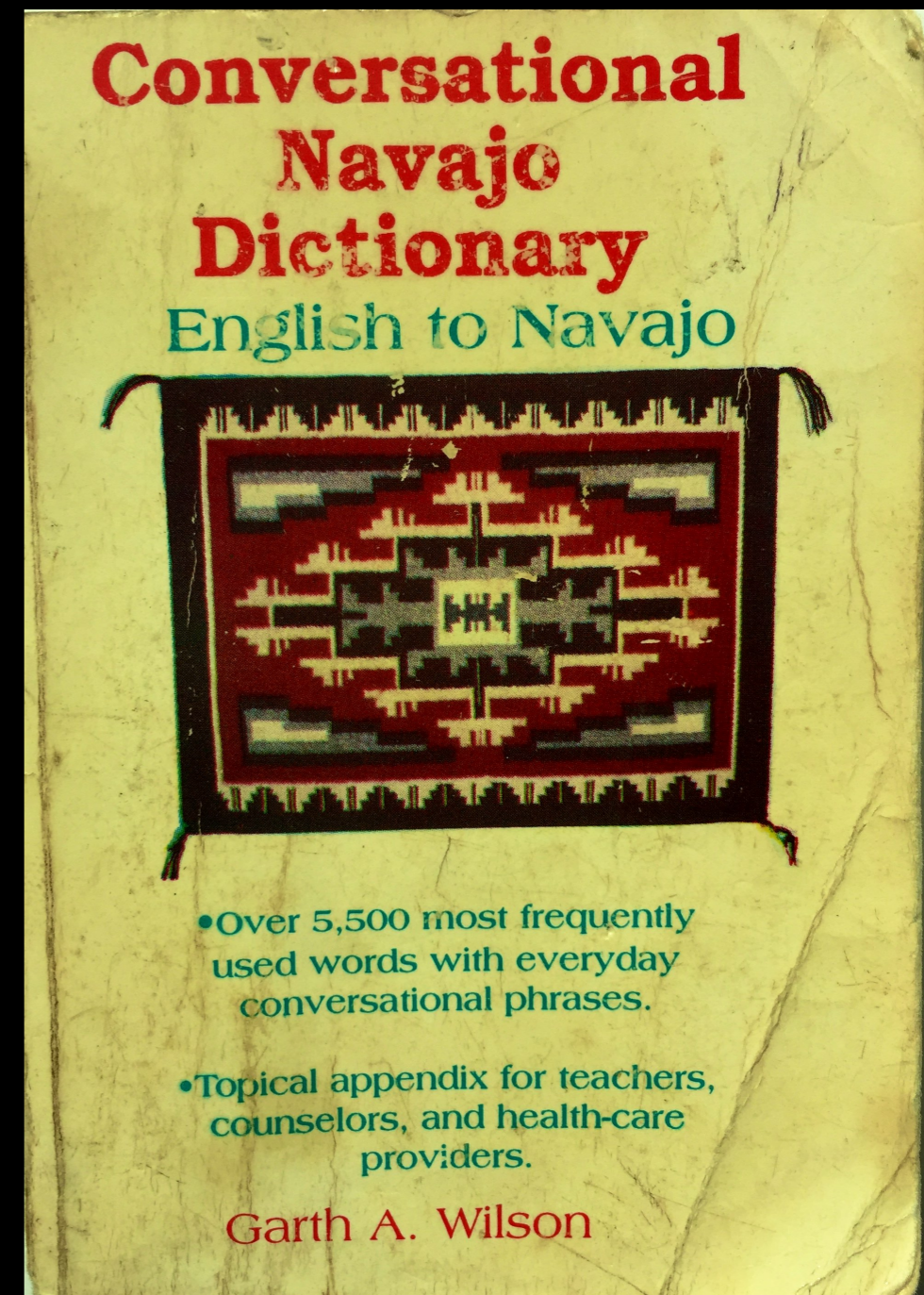


Indicators of Critical Lexicography

We propose 7 indicators that language stakeholders can use to determine if they are, or should, engage in Critical Lexicography.

7 Indicators

- 1) Centering Partnerships and Honoring Collaboration
- 2) Authorship and Authority
- 3) Corpora Size
- 4) Number of Speakers
- 5) Role of Archives
- 6) Grammar and Structure
- 7) Outputs



1. Centering Partnerships and Honoring Collaboration



The Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre



Kaska Dena Council



About the dictionary

Hello! Welcome to the demonstration version of the Online **Hítzaqv** Dictionary. We acknowledge that the data used in this online program has been sourced from Version 2.1 of the Digital Heiltsuk-English Dictionary © 2007 Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre, which was commissioned by the HCEC and developed by the linguist John Rath and Heiltsuk staff with financial assistance obtained through the Aboriginal Language Initiative (ALI) from the Province of British Columbia's First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council. The Online Hítzaqv Dictionary is one of the pilot projects of the Heiltsuk Language Mobilization Partnership between the Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre, the Bella Bella Community School and UBC's First Nations and Endangered Languages Program.

Please feel free to use this on-line dictionary for educational purposes only and be aware that it does not yet incorporate all functionality of its Microsoft Access-based source, Digital Heiltsuk-English Dictionary. Search functionality in particular will be updated in future releases.

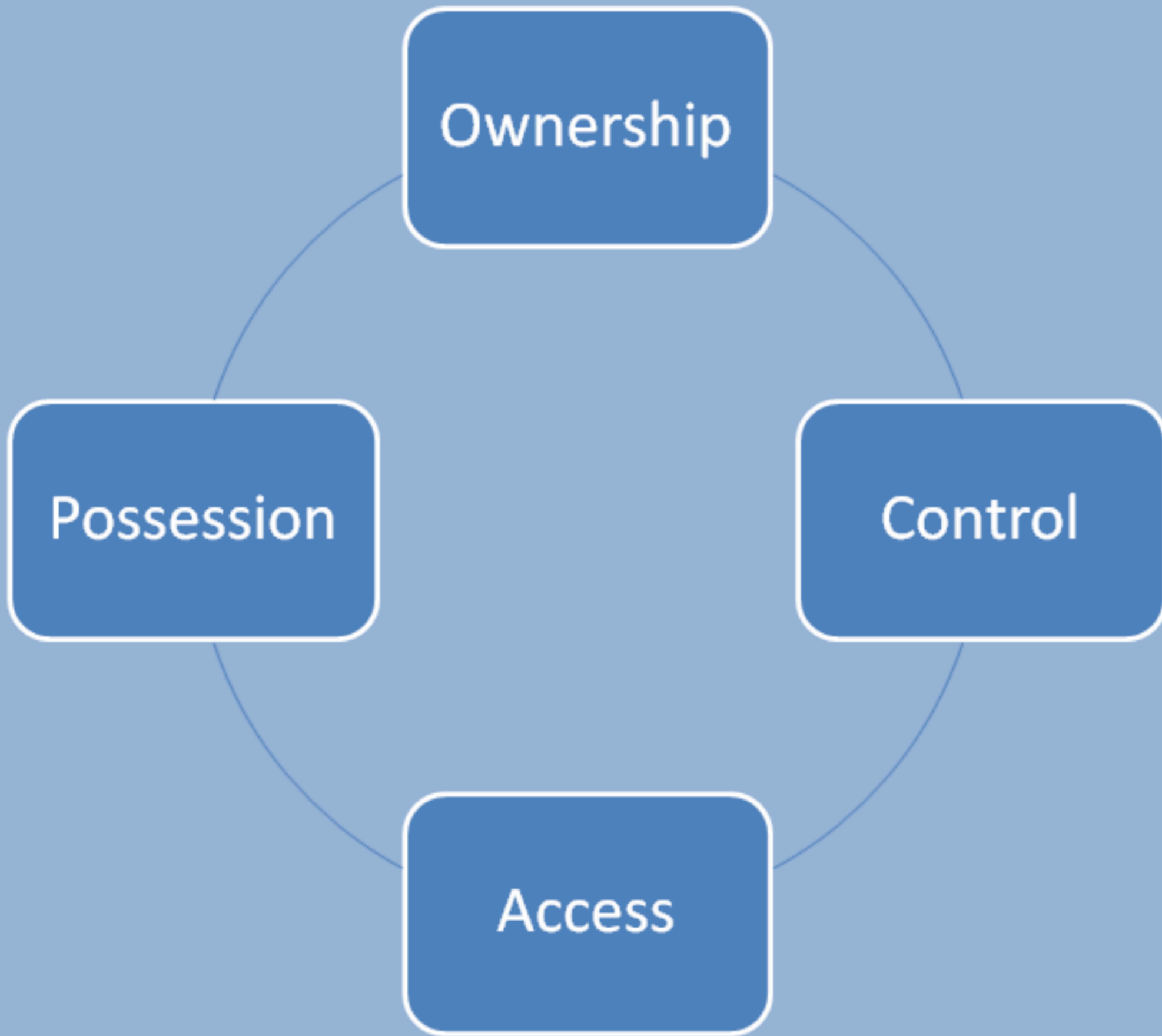
Acknowledgements

Gūpāné yéh dedī website dzehtsīn: Ross River Dena Council yéh, Liard First Nation yéh, Daylu Dena Council yéh, Yukon Education yéh, Liard Aboriginal Women's Society yéh, University of British Columbia yéh. Kédzent'édé dedī website għah kédzīhdél.

This website was developed in collaboration with our partners: The Ross River Dena Council, Liard First Nation, the Daylu Dena Council, Yukon Education, Liard Aboriginal Women's Society, and the University of British Columbia. We all worked together on this website.

Dedī website Department of Canadian Heritage yéh, Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada yéh, Yukon Education yéh, University of British Columbia yéh, Indigenous and Endangered Languages Program of the University of British Columbia yéh ts'j̄h dāne gūyédelehī meyégūdīhī yedzenlīne.

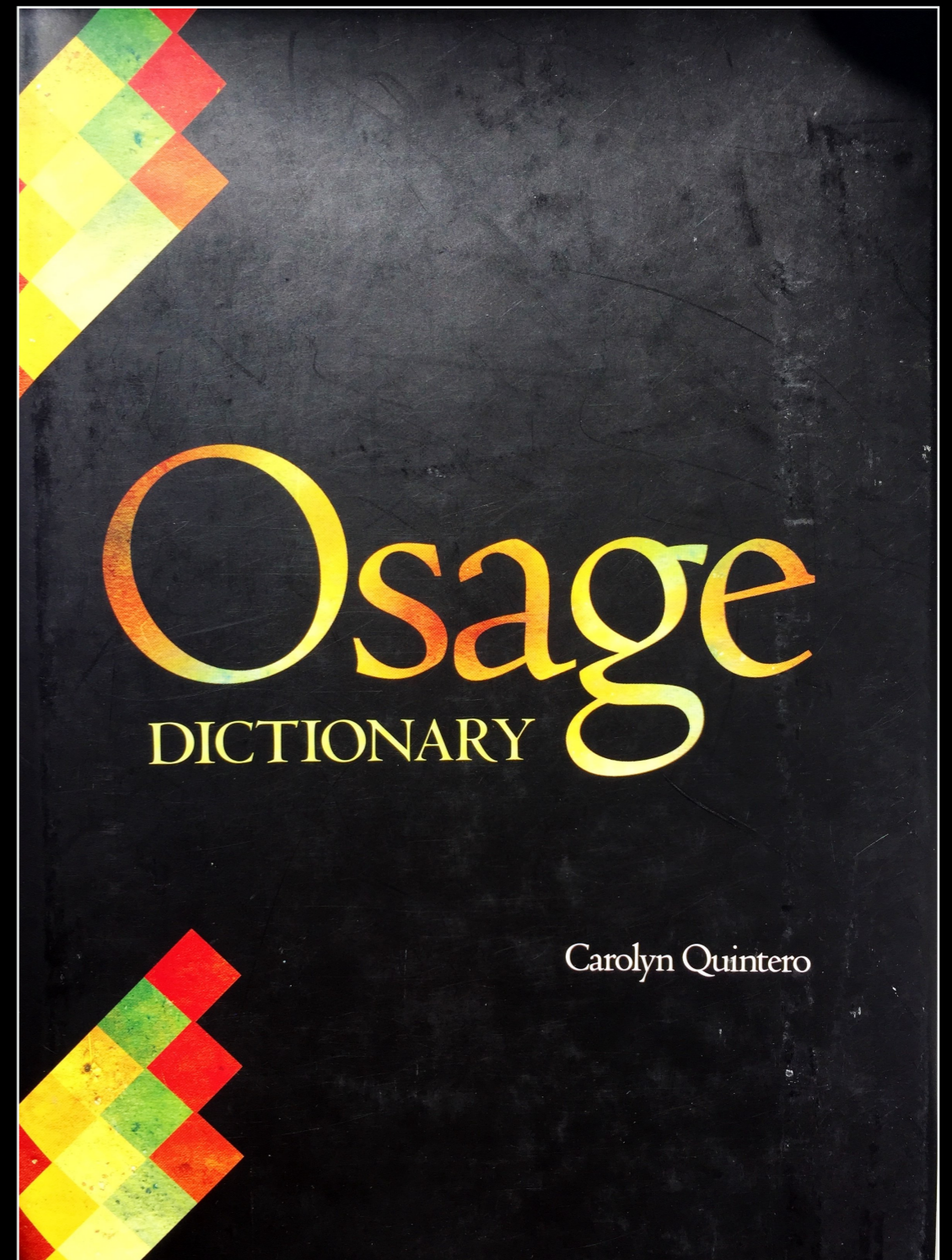
We wish to acknowledge financial support for this project from the Department of Canadian Heritage, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Yukon Education, the University of British Columbia, and the Indigenous and Endangered Languages Program of the University of British Columbia.



2. Authorship and Authority

Acknowledging and
(de)centering
authority in the
dictionary
construction
process

Authorship is one
way to (de)center or
(re)center authority



Kaáⁿze Íe Wayáje

An Annotated Dictionary of Kaw (Kanza)

Kaw-English/English-Kaw

Linda A. Cumberland, Ph.D., Editor
Robert L. Rankin, Ph.D., Contributing Editor

Contributing Native Speakers

19th century: Pahaⁿli Gaxli, Stephen Stubbs, Waxobe K'iⁿ ("Wahobehkee"), Gazaⁿ Naⁿge, Aliⁿgawaho, Edwin Stanton, Nighuje Yiⁿge, Nikoyublu, Oshe Goⁿya ("Big Aleck"), Zhohiⁿ Maⁿyiⁿ, Charles McKassey, and others whose names were not recorded
20th century: Maude McCauley Clark Rowe, Walter Kekahbah, Ralph Pepper, Elmer Clark, Pete Taylor

Contributing Linguists and Ethnographers

19th century: James Owen Dorsey, George P. Morehouse, Addison Stubbs, Lewis Henry Morgan, William Turner, Joseph Bourassa, Francis LaFlesche
20th century: Robert L. Rankin
21st century: Robert L. Rankin, Justin T. McBride, and Linda A. Cumberland

Community Advisory Group

Jimmie Benbrook, Paul Hardy, Curtis Kekahbah, Rima Bellmard Mathews, Kira Mathews

Others participants

Storm Brave; Zever Blackbull; American Indian Studies Research Institute, Indiana University, Raymond J. DeMallie, Ph.D., Director; Travis Myers; Indrek Park, Ph.D.; Pat Warren; Ken Zook, Greg Trihus, and colleagues at SIL International

Mark Turin is a linguistic anthropologist who has been working on the Thami language for six years. He received his BA in Social Anthropology from the University of Cambridge, while his doctoral research was conducted in descriptive linguistics through the Himalayan Languages Project at Leiden University. He is currently Director of the Digital Himalaya Project based at Cambridge and Cornell Universities, and he divides his time between the United Kingdom, the United States and Nepal.

Bir Bahadur 'Lile' Thami is from Dolakha district and has been studying and documenting his mother tongue for over five years. He has written articles in Nepali on Thami culture, with a particular focus on death rituals.



NEPALI · THAMI · ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Mark Turin with Bir Bahadur Thami

Nepali · Thami · English Dictionary

by Mark Turin
with Bir Bahadur Thami

नेपाली-थामी-अङ्ग्रेजी
शब्दकोश

मार्क टुरिन
साथमा
बिर बहादुर थामी

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Thangmi All Text Advanced ([what is this?](#))or Thangmi [अ](#) [आ](#) [इ](#) [उ](#) [ए](#) [ओ](#) [क](#) [ख](#) [ग](#) [घ](#) [ङ](#) [च](#) [छ](#) [ज](#) [झ](#) [ट](#) [ठ](#) [ड](#) [ढ](#) [ण](#) [त](#) [थ](#) [द](#) [ध](#) [न](#) [प](#) [फ](#) [ब](#) [भ](#) [म](#) [य](#) [र](#) [ल](#) [व](#) [स](#) [ह](#)

चिचकोण् (Thangmi)	अचानु (Nepali, Turin) a block of wood on which food is chopped (English, Turin)
चिफोसा (Thangmi)	अरूलाई भिजाउन लगाउनु (Nepali, Turin) to cause someone to make somebody or something else wet (English, Turin)
चित्साङ् (Thangmi)	the day before yesterday (English, Turin) अस्ति (Nepali, Turin)
चिमीत्सा (Thangmi)	आँखा तर्काउनु (Nepali, Turin) http://mms.thlib.org/dictionary_searches/new to look angrily at something or someone (English, Turin)

3. Corpora Size

The corpora size for many non-dominant languages is often different than that for major world languages



The Blackfoot Digital Dictionary: a work in progress

Welcome to the Blackfoot Digital Dictionary project. You can find our dictionary at <http://dictionary.blackfoot.atlas-ling.ca>. Send comments to inge.genee@uleth.ca.

This is very much a work in progress. It changes every day as we continue to make updates, corrections and addition. It is now May 8 2017 and we are getting ready to do some more work on it this summer. The first research assistant who is starting this year is Mahaliah Peddle. Welcome Mahaliah!

Kaáⁿze Íe Wayáje: An Annotated Dictionary of Kaw (Kanza)

hegáxe [he-gá-xe] *n* scalp, scalp lock ... **máⁿze**
áyastále hegáxe áyastále khe zaníⁿ yuzábe ao,
hegáxe shke yuzábe ao. ... *pieces of metal stuck*
along his scalplock, and the scalplock itself.
CT.20.37b ♦ JOD: The scalp or hair (scalplock) of a
man, extending from the boskida ([a point low on
the forehead just between the eyes) along the
pegázo, or parting of the hair, and down to the
tabóska, or back of the neck, according to Big Aleck
(Oshe Góⁿya). The hegáxe is plaited. The
corresponding part of a woman's hair is called
héyoⁿba taⁿga (large pigtail, or braid).



akincikoon- *n.inan* **Number, phone number**

akincikooni | Number, phone number

akincikoona | Numbers, phone numbers

wiintamawilo kitakincikoonimi | Tell me your phone number!

ooniini nintakincikoonimi | This is my phone number

aacimwaapii- *v.an.intran* **Talk on the phone, be on the internet**

aacimwaapiaani | I talk on the phone, use internet

aacimwaapiaanki | We (excl.) talk on the phone, use internet

aacimwaapiiyankwi | We (incl.) talk on the phone, use internet

aacimwaapiiyani | You talk on the phone, use internet

aacimwaapiiyiikwi | You (pl.) talk on the phone, use internet

aacimwaapiici | He / she talks on the phone, uses internet

aacimwaapiiciki | They talk on the phone, use internet

aacimwaapiilo | You talk on the phone, use internet!

aacimwaapiiko | You (pl.) talk on the phone, use internet!

aacimwaapiitaawi | Let's talk on the phone, use internet!

aacimwaapiihsiwaani | I am not talking on the phone, am not on the internet

4. Number of Speakers

‘Speakers’ can refer to fluent speakers, semi-speakers, language learners, etc.

The number and availability of speakers determines the amount and type of dictionary projects stakeholders can undertake.



Pjila'si
Welcome to
Mi'gmaq-Mi'kmaq
Online

The plan:

The talking dictionary project is developing an Internet resource for the Mi'gmaq/Mi'kmaq language. Each headword is recorded by a minimum of three speakers. Multiple speakers allow one to hear differences and variations in how a word is pronounced. Each recorded word is used in an accompanying phrase. This permits learners the opportunity to develop the difficult skill of distinguishing individual words when they are spoken in a phrase.

Thus far we have posted over 3900 headwords, a majority of these entries include two to three additional forms.

The project was initiated in Listuguj, therefore all entries have Listuguj speakers and Listuguj spellings. In collaboration with Unama'ki, the site now includes a number of recordings from Unama'ki speakers. More will be added as they are recorded. Eventually this site will include the Smith-Francis spellings used there.

Lexemes containing english word 'tree'

1. [miti's](#)
tree
2. [eloqtesmatl](#)
fell (tree) toward
push down toward
3. [gawatgw](#)
spruce tree
4. [gegna'latl](#)
decorate
trim (Christmas tree)
5. [gnugwaqan](#)
marker
blaze (on tree)
6. [malipqwanjmusi](#)
hazelnut bush
hazelnut tree
7. [masgwe's](#)
young birch tree
8. [masgwe'simanaqsi](#)
pin cherry tree
cherry tree

miti's

Pronunciation guide: mi·diis

- [Recording by Diane \(Listuguj\)](#)
- [Recording by Eunice \(Listuguj\)](#)
- [Recording by Joe \(Listuguj\)](#)

Part of speech: noun animate

Translation: Tree

Meanings:

- tree

Example of word used in sentence:

- Pas'g Listugujg gmu'j alpuguig tlu'i'tas'gtetew miti'sg.
Only in Listuguj will standing wood be called trees.
[Recording by Joe \(Listuguj\)](#)

Alternate forms:

miti'sg, *trees* (plural)

miti'sl, *a tree* (fourth person)

dets'ádle (*Ross River dialect*)

grey ; *gris*

(same as *debāhī* in Liard dialect; same as *dabēdze* in Pelly dialect)



0:00 / 0:00



debāhī (*Liard dialect*)

v. grey ; *gris*

(same as *dabēdze* in Pelly dialect; same as *dets'ádle* in Ross River dialect)

dabēdze (*Pelly dialect*)

adj. grey ; *gris*

Anthony gōdé' dabēdze désedā.

Anthony has a grey jacket on.

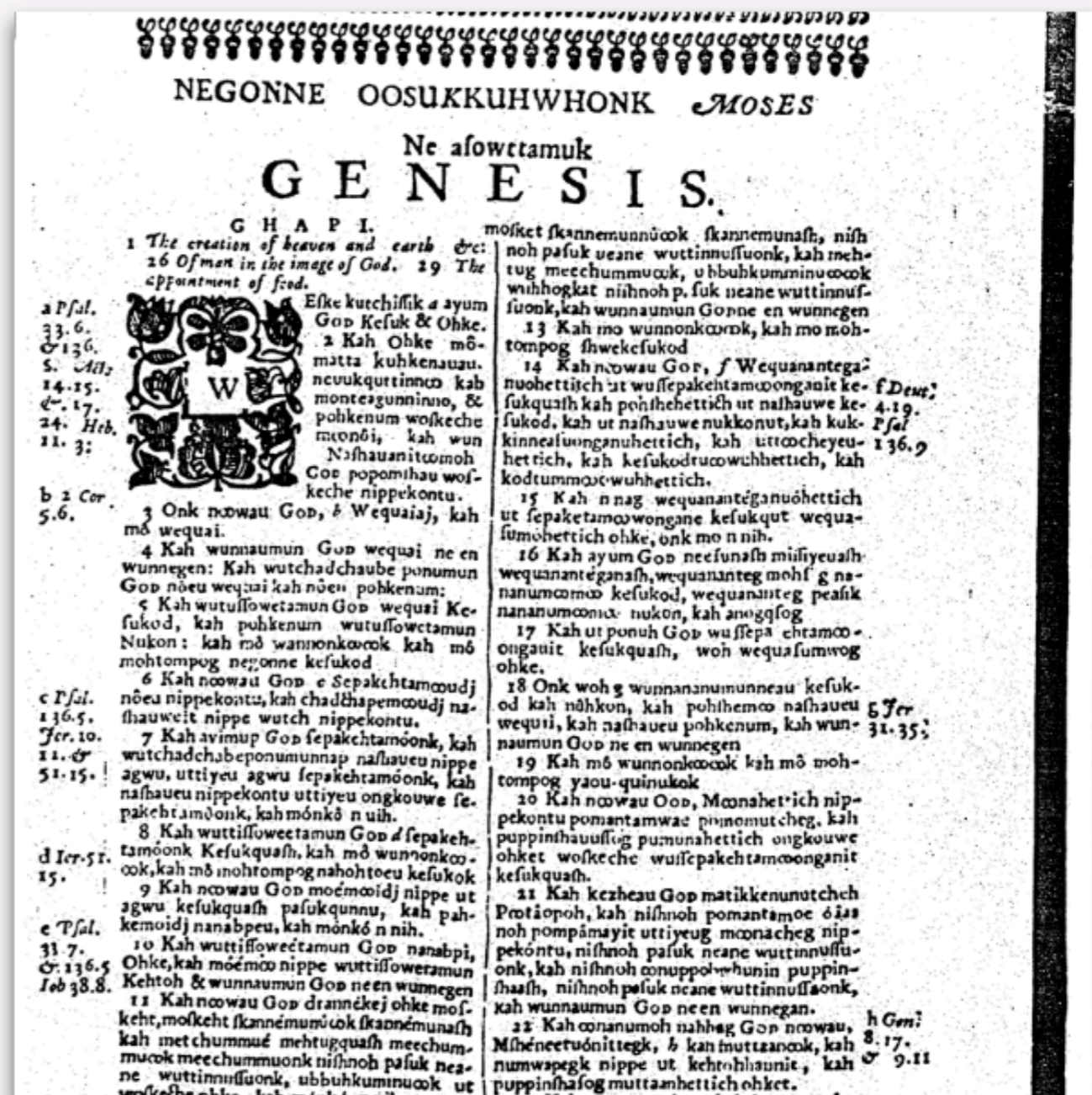
(same as *debāhī* in Liard dialect; same as *dets'ádle* in Ross River dialect)

5. Role of Archives

Stakeholders of minority and Indigenous languages increasingly must rely on existing language documentation and archived materials.

Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project

Wôpanâak Language Reclamation Project



(Above) Page from the bible translated into Wôpanâak by John Eliot in 1663. The existence of this bible and other legal documents written in Wôpanâak has made the reclamation of this once lost language possible.



Myaamia Center

RESEARCHING MYAAMIA LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND HISTORY

The Miami-Illinois Digital Archive (MIDA) was created to assemble all known primary language sources into one location in order to facilitate further research and analysis of the Miami-Illinois language. MIDA users are able to search available fields within, and across, manuscripts. A unique feature of MIDA is the ability to recall the exact page where any given entry appears. This feature allows researchers to work with data independent of the original document, but when needed, retrieve the original page for reexamination. Searchable fields will continue to expand with additional data as Miami-Illinois researchers complete their work and newly transcribed manuscripts will be added as their digital surrogates become available.

There are currently 49060 entries.

MIDA MIAMI-ILLINOIS DIGITAL ARCHIVE

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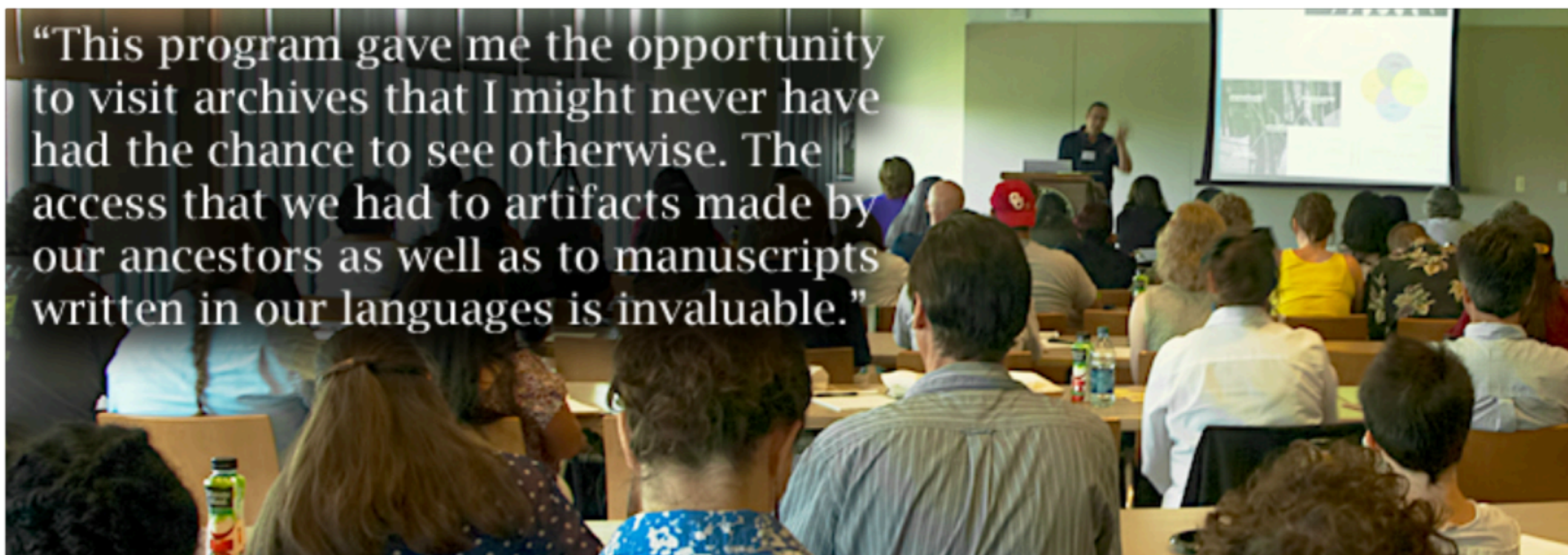
[Contact](#)

<http://myaamiacenter.org/online-resources/> and <https://ilaatawaakani.org/>

National Breath of Life Archival Institute for Indigenous Languages

National Breath of Life is a two-week biennial Institute that brings Community Researchers from around North America to Washington D.C. to help them find and utilize their linguistic archival sources from archives located in the D.C. area.

“This program gave me the opportunity to visit archives that I might never have had the chance to see otherwise. The access that we had to artifacts made by our ancestors as well as to manuscripts written in our languages is invaluable.”



Recovering Voices

Fosters partnerships with **communities** around the world that are key to revitalizing and sustaining languages and knowledge.

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Recovering Voices connects community researchers with Smithsonian archives both through on-site visits and through digitization of materials.



6. Specificity of Grammar and Structure

The practitioners of early lexicography were primarily speakers of major and European languages, and the field developed to accommodate these types of languages.

6. Specificity of Grammar and Structure

Structures of many Indigenous languages are quite different than those of European languages.

Dictionaries of Indigenous languages must work to accommodate the individual structures and grammar of these languages.

Entries

Showing 1 to 5 of 5 entries (filtered from 1,204 total entries)

Details	Lemma
	tree
more	ash (tree), Fraxinus
more	bark of tree (outer)

noun PLANT_PART

PROTO-SIOUAN-CATAWBA

PROTO-SIOUAN

PROTO-MISSISSIPI-VALLEY *yá•-ha

PROTO-DAKOTA *čhą-há

LAKOTA čhąhá 'bark' RTC

DAKOTA caŋha , ʃčhąhá 'bark' WM:14a

PROTO-HOOČAK-CHIWERE *ná•-ha ~ *ną•-xúha

CHIWERE ną•xuha RR

OTOE ną•ha, nąxúha

HOOČAK nąąhá KM:2152 , nąąha

PROTO-DHEGIHA *žą•-ha ~ *žą•-xūha

OMAHA žọha RTC

PONCA žą•ha 'bark' RR

KANZA/KAW žą xūha 'bark' RR

OSAGE zhó"ha , ʃžąha 'outer bark' LF:225b , no"ha , ʃnąha 'bark of a tree' LF:114a

QUAPAW žąha 'bark' RR

General comment


A compound of 'tree, wood' and 'skin', q.v. N.B. Osage doublets for 'wood' žą ~ ną. xuha is a distinct term for 'skin' in several of the languages

more	pine tree
more	tree, bone, leg, stalk, stem, trunk
more	tree, wood

Lexicography Software

TLex (aka *TshwaneLex*) is a professional, feature-rich, fully internationalised, off-the-shelf software application suite for compiling dictionaries or terminology lists. It has been adopted by many major publishers, government organisations and individuals worldwide, as it delivers excellent ROI.



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Funda isiNgesi
Learn isiXhosa

Oxford

ISIXHOSA – ISINGESI
ENGLISH – ISIXHOSA

Isichazi-magama sesikolo
School Dictionary

- ✓ siquka isigama esibalulekileyo kwikharithulam, ikunceda ukuba ufunde yaye uphumelele / includes key vocabulary from across the curriculum, helping you learn and achieve
- ✓ sanceda ukuba ufumane iinguqulelo ezizizo kwaye uzisebenzise ngendlela efanelekileyo / helps you find the right translation and use it correctly
- ✓ sesona sichazi-magama sakamva nje nekulula ukuba abafundi besiNgesi nesixhosa basisebenzise / the only completely up-to-date, easy-to-use dictionary for learners of English and learners of isiXhosa



e-Eiwanika ly'Olusoga / Online x

menhapublishers.com/dictionary/

e-Eiwanika ly'Olusoga | Online Lusoga Dictionary

Search

Click here to try an **offline** (Windows PC) software version of this dictionary »

Current search: %soga | Results: 53 (first 5 shown)

Busoga [búsoǵá] / [9/-] bl: [Lg: Busoga]
Eiwanga elyagaanibwa mu buvandhuba bwa Uganda elikulembelwa Kyabazinga.

(O)bu.soga [(O) búsoǵá] / [-/14]
Busoga n'abantu baamu na buli kili mu kitundu ekyo kyonakyona.


(O)lusoga [(O) lúsoǵá] / [11/-] bl: [Lg: Olusoga]
Olulimi olwogelwa e Busoga.

(O)musoga [(O) músoǵá] / [1/2] bl: [Lg: Omusoga]
Omuntu asibuka e Busoga.

Menha [Ménha] / [1/2 Bamenha]
1. Kilala ku bika mu Busoga.
2. Omukulu w'ekika ky'Abaisemenha mu Busoga.
3. Liina lituumibwa Abaisemenha abasaadha.

Samburtaab
Ng'aleekaab Kaleenchin

KALENJIN DICTIONARY



Kibny'aanko Seroney

MVULE
Africa

1. Thangmi

- + New entry (⌘↵)
- 🗑 Delete entry
- ↻ Reverse

Bilingual References:

- ghiritsa
- ghoŋgi
- ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ
- ghoŋŋoŋ
- ghorghorsa**
- ghroʔosa
- ghruʔusa
- ghuŋuŋsa
- ghyoksa
- ghyoʔosa
- găi
- glencha
- glensa
- gochye
- goŋgiŋ
- gogoʔ
- gogok
- goŋgolyaŋ
- goŋgoresasa
- goŋhe
- goŋhepaŋ
- goŋhomama
- goŋkhor
- goŋkhorsisa
- goŋthe
- goŋthesa
- gore

2. English

- ▼ Lemma: ghorghorsa Incomplete=1, LemmaSign=ghorghorsa, Modified=2016-11-22 11:00:00
- ▼ Sense: SenseNumber=1, PartOfSpeech=vi, Dialect=D
 - References: ghroʔosa ; ghruʔusa
 - TE (Translation Equivalent): TE=to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger), snore, TN=dukranu, ghurnu, karāunu
 - Example: Example=yaŋ du ŋuŋi cya-to-le ghoghhor-Ø-an, Gloss=today tiger goat eat-TPP-PCL roar-sAS-3S/PT

- F1 Attributes
- F2 Attributes
- F3 Search
- F4 Format
- F5 Filter
- F6 Corpus

Lemma: Incomplete

LemmaSign	ghorghorsa
Pronunciation	
Deriv	
Etymology	
Notes	
Frequency	0

Sense:

Notes	
-------	--

References:

Error	
°Definition	

TE: (Translation Equivalent)

TE	to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger), snore
TL	
TN	dukranu, ghurnu, karāunu
TD	
°TE (NEW)	

Example:

Example	yaŋ du ŋuŋi cya-to-le ghoghhor-Ø-an
Gloss	today tiger goat eat-TPP-PCL roar-sAS-3S/PT
Translation	today, having eaten a goat, the tiger roared
Source	



ghorghorsa (*vi*) **ghroʔosa** ; **ghruʔusa** to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger), snore
 ? ɖukranu, ghurnu, karāunu: *yaŋ du ʔuŋi cya-to-le ghoghor-Ø-an* today tiger goat eat-
 TPP-PCL roar-sAS-3S/PT today, having eaten a goat, the tiger roared D

Article has cross-references to >>

? **ghruʔusa** (*vi*) **ghorghorsa** to roar (of a tiger) bāgh karāunu S

>> Article is cross-referenced from

? **ghroʔosa** (*vi*) **ghorghorsa** to grunt (of a pig), snore ɖukranu, ghurnu S

? **ghruʔusa** (*vi*) **ghorghorsa** to roar (of a tiger) bāgh karāunu S

7. Creative Outputs

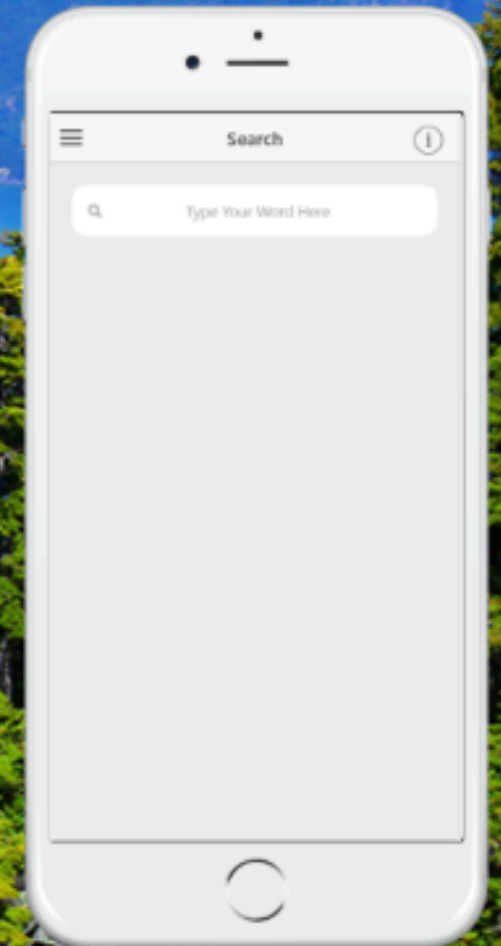
The print dictionary is now only one output, and not always most flexible or desirable. Increasing reliance on multi-modal products.



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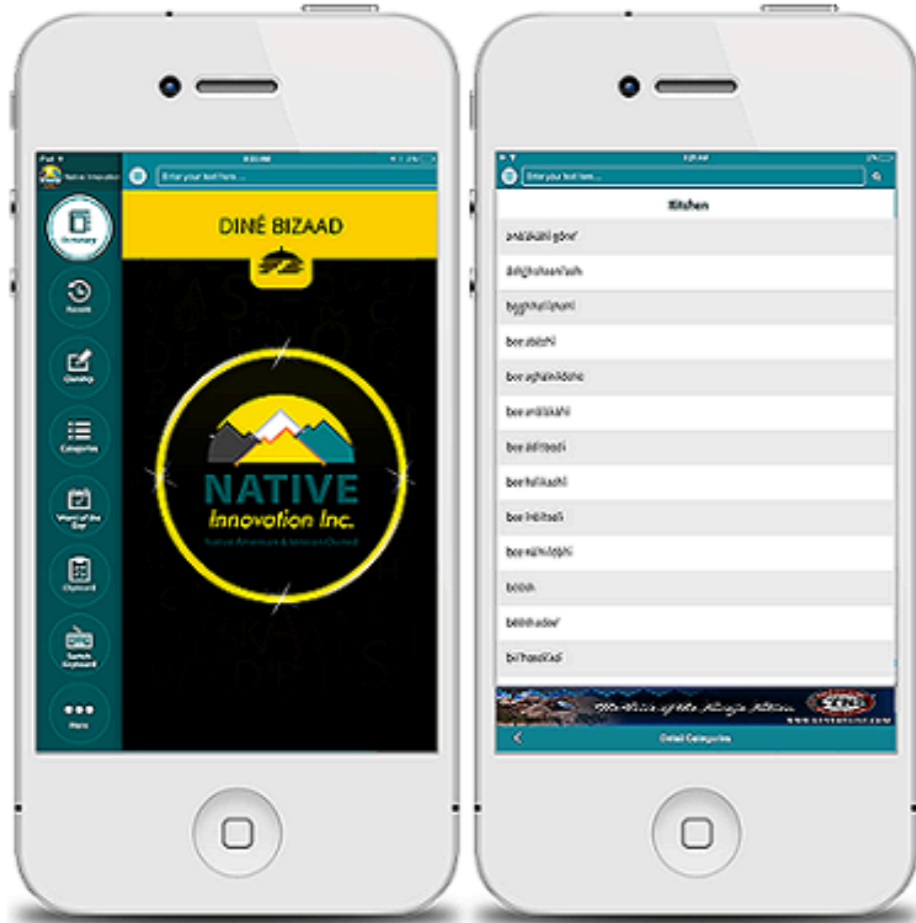
Active

This method is designed to test your spelling of the Hítzaqv word. You are provided with the English, and have to guess the Hítzaqv word.

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Kaska Dictionary



Kaska Dictionary
Łūwezōze - Small Fish

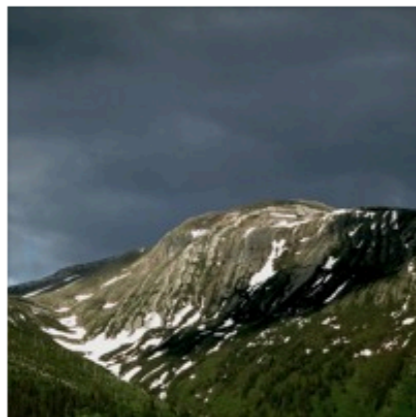
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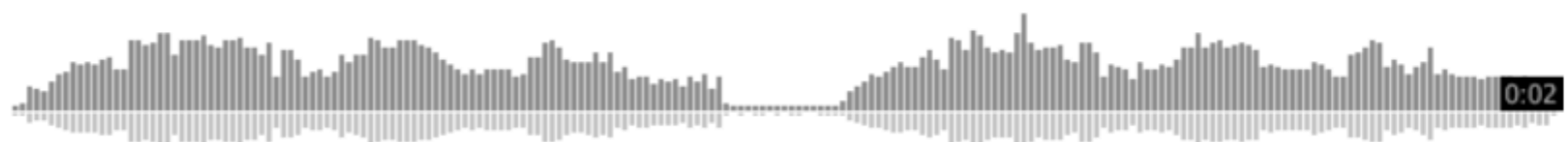
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Kaska Dictionary
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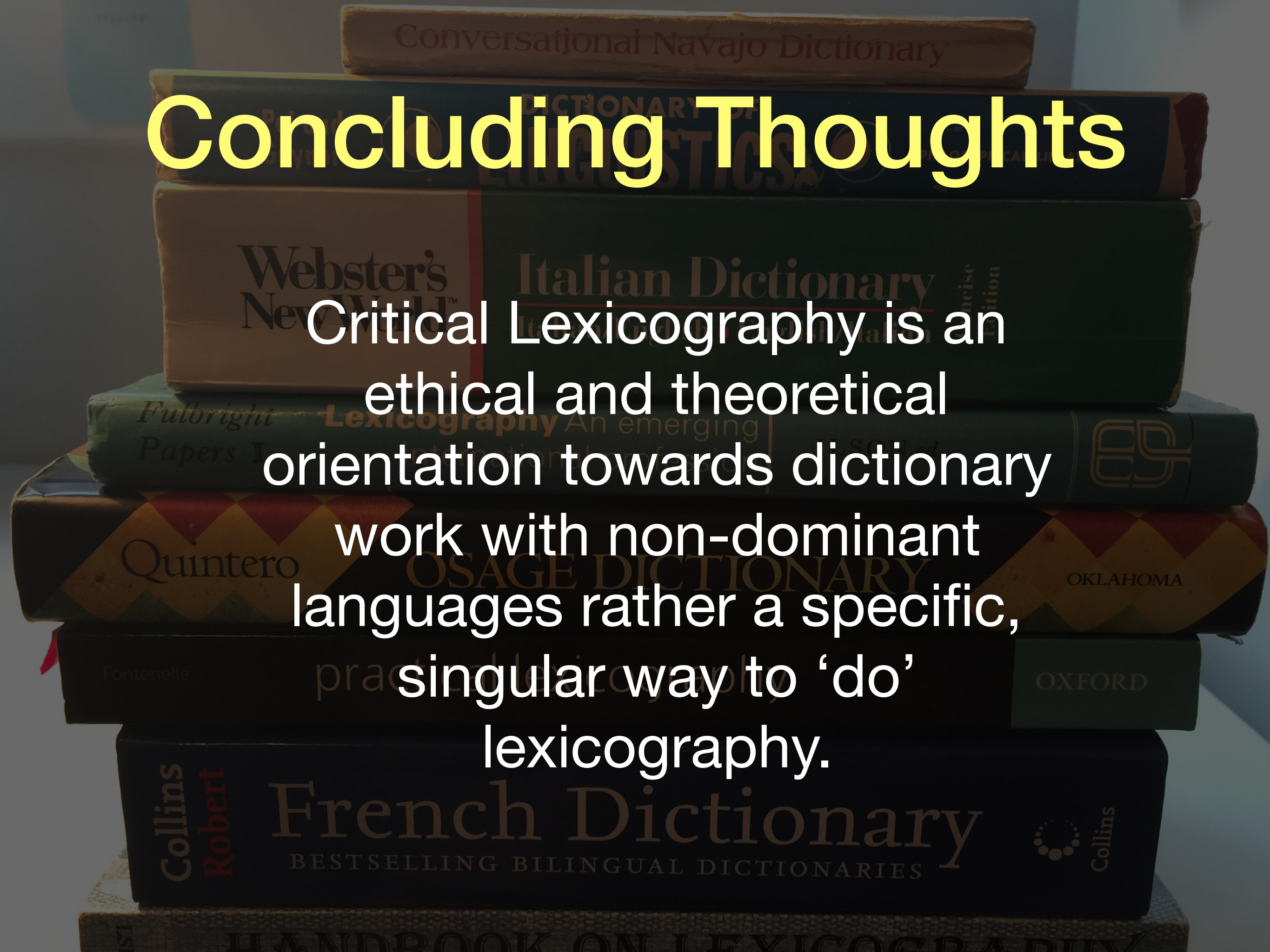
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Concluding Thoughts

Critical Lexicography is an ethical and theoretical orientation towards dictionary work with non-dominant languages rather a specific, singular way to 'do' lexicography.

