

*Series: The Role of Linguists in Indigenous Community Language Programs in Australia*¹

Linguists and language rebuilding: recent experience in two New South Wales languages

John Giacon

Australia National University

1. INTRODUCTION.² This paper primarily considers the role of linguists in the process of language rebuilding, or language revival, that is, the process of working with a language that is no longer spoken so that it is spoken again. The paper is largely based on experience with Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay, two closely-related languages from northern New South Wales in Australia, but also on experience with other languages.

It firstly considers some general issues about language rebuilding, including the extent to which a language can be rebuilt, and then the reasons for undertaking this task. Then it considers the overall level of language resources in New South Wales (NSW), and moves on to give more detailed background information about Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay (collectively abbreviated as GY). The role of the linguist/organiser in three

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² Working in Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay has been and continues to be a rewarding experience. I am indebted to many people who have been part of my journey. Firstly to Uncle Ted Fields - Garruu Gambuu (garruu 'uncle', and he used gambuu to refer to the old, blue-necked emu) - who introduced me to the Yuwaalaraay language and country. Then to the many people I worked and work with in Walgett, too many to name. At St Joseph's Primary School, John Brown (Yuwaalaraay teacher) and Ray Walker and John Wright (Principals) stand out. There were other language teachers, school staff, Elders, and other GY and white community members. I have worked with other GY people, most commonly with Suellyn Tighe, and others, including at Goodooga, Lightning Ridge and Toomelah-Boggabilla. People at Walgett Primary and High School, TAFE and in particular the Catholic Schools Office, Armidale, have provided essential support for the language work, as have ATSIC and its successors.

I have learnt much from people at university. Nick Reid supervised my Honours thesis at UNE, Harold Koch is supervising my PhD and many others have shared their knowledge, including Tamsin Donaldson and Luise Hercus. John Hobson and the Koori Centre have helped me personally and have made a great contribution to language work, as have Kevin Lowe and others at the NSW Board of Studies. Steve Morelli's work with Gumbaynggirr people and language provided a model that shaped much of my own work. Thanks also to Moy Hitchen, who shaped much of my involvement with Aboriginal people, and reviewed an early draft of this paper, to Marlene Scrimgeour for her review, to James Grieve who reviewed a number of versions of the paper and to Peter Webb for some final revisions. Thanks also to two anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions.

major NSW language programs is discussed, pointing out the role of individuals and small groups as initiators of these programs. The author's work in GY is then discussed, highlighting more of the realities of this language work.

The following sections discuss the question of how authentic a rebuilt language can be, that is how similar it can be to the historical language it is based on, and the factors which affect the level of authenticity. Any aspect of the historical language which is analysed (and taught well) may be retained in the rebuilt language, but the learner's first language, in this case English, is often dominant and so much of the rebuilt language will be influenced by English. Having language specialists – linguists – working on the language is essential for good analysis of the historical language and therefore for maximising authenticity. In addition, though, new language – vocabulary and constructions – needs to be developed in order for the rebuilt language to be an effective means of communication. There are many factors which influence the way language rebuilding is approached, including an emphasis on the language owners, a view that sees language as simple and easily rebuilt, a lack of planning for process, and the impact all these have on funding allocation. Finally some emerging trends in language rebuilding are considered.

2. LANGUAGE REVIVAL/REBUILDING. In some parts of Australia, Indigenous language work includes maintaining or recording a living language. In long-colonised areas the work is very different. There are no fluent speakers, and the task is often called 'language revival', a term for the process of developing re-use of a language that is no longer spoken. The metaphor 'revival' is widely used, but descriptively inaccurate, even if it may be politically suitable. Non-metaphorically 'revival' describes, for instance, what happens when a person regains consciousness. Other things being equal, this is a fairly direct process and the person who regains consciousness is much the same as they were before. A 'revived' language is vastly different in a range of ways from the language that 'went to sleep', so I mostly use the term 'language rebuilding', which more accurately describes the process.

Zuckermann and Walsh (2011) discuss Hebrew 'revival' and its lessons for Aboriginal languages. They make it clear that complete recovery of the traditional language is impossible. The result of any rebuilding effort is a hybrid language, which they encourage people to embrace (2011: 122). They also point out that the substrate language, which in Australia is English, is incorporated in the new hybrid language to varying degrees, for example to some extent in Kaurua (Amery 2000), the Adelaide language, much more in its neighbour Ngarrindjeri.

Considering Israeli, (as they call the current language of Israel), Zuckermann and Walsh say:

“[w]e propose the following continuum approximations for the extent to which Israeli can be considered Hebrew [on a 1-10 scale, 10 being a complete success and one being a complete failure]: mindset/spirit: 1 (i.e. European); discourse (communicative tools, speech acts): 1; sounds (phonetics and phonology): 2; semantics (meanings, associations, connotations, semantic networkings): 3;

constituent/word order (syntax): 4; general vocabulary: 5; word formation: 7; verbal conjugations: 9; and basic vocabulary: 10 (i.e. Hebrew)” (2011: 114).

If this is the extent of hybridity in Israeli, which is the national language, with all the support and obligation that it implies, then rebuilt Aboriginal languages can expect much more influence from English.

The degree of hybridity of the rebuilt language, the extent to which it has taken on English features, depends on many factors, including: the quality and volume of historical materials (the records of the language); the quality of the linguistic analysis; the time put into teaching and learning the language; and then the way new language use develops. The approach taken to rebuilding has a huge impact on the degree to which the substrate language becomes part of the rebuilt language. A major theme of this paper is that good analysis and teaching require skilled people. Where other considerations over-ride authenticity considerations, the rebuilt language will incorporate much more English. When a linguist or linguists are involved in doing the analysis they will gradually build up an understanding of the traditional language and can share their knowledge. Ideally as the analysis of the language grows it will be shared with all language users, and it may be possible for the used language to grow closer to the traditional language.

The differences between Aboriginal languages and English are great, and NSW Aboriginal people are typically monolingual in English, often also using some distinctively Aboriginal English. So it is a major task for them to learn a traditional Aboriginal language, a bigger task than to learn languages which are related to English, such as German or Romance languages. While many languages can be learnt by immersion it is not possible with these languages: there is no active speech community where you can hear the language constantly used. Language courses are irregular, often inconvenient, involve considerable expense and they cover only elementary levels of the language. With many languages there is a wide range of resources such as films, radio and libraries of books, however this is not the case with NSW Aboriginal languages.

In summary, rebuilding a language is possible, but the results can vary enormously. One possible outcome is a single standardised language, substantially like the historical language. It can become more like the historical language as analysis continues and people learn more of that analysis. On the other hand the result can also be a range of languages which are much less like the traditional language.

3. THE POWER OF LANGUAGE. While it is clear that traditional Gamilaraay-Yuwaalaraay will not be recovered in full, rebuilding and reusing these and other Aboriginal languages is very worthwhile. One incident which shows the power of language occurred during a Yuwaalaraay class at Walgett³ Technical and Further Education (TAFE) around 1999. Chris Hunt, a Yuwaalaraay teacher and musician, asked about composing a song: *Maliyan.gaalay Ngay* was the result.⁴ As we were practising it an older Aboriginal woman stopped at the door, and began to cry.

³ About 600 km north-west of Sydney.

⁴ See ‘Yugal’ and ‘Gayarragi Winangali’ in the Resources section below.

“What is it, Aunty?” she was asked. Aunty replied:

“This is a language my father used to talk, and I thought it had gone, and now it is being used again.”

St Joseph’s Primary School in Walgett has had a Yuwaalaraay program since 1996. The program was evaluated by Paddie Cavanagh, and his report (2005) strongly supports the idea that language has been a force for good there, for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. It has given Indigenous students a sense of pride and has made school a more welcoming place for them. Non-Indigenous students also learn to appreciate and be proud of the Indigenous people and culture of their area. The positive reaction of Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in schools to learning Aboriginal languages is often in stark contrast to their reaction to other language classes.

During much of Australia’s white history it has been assumed that Aboriginal people were disappearing and that their culture was not to be valued. To some it was clear that the march to whiteness and English was progress, and anything that delayed that was to be pushed aside. I’ve met many Aboriginal people who were punished for using their language in school, or who realised that using it in public would be to their detriment. To use Aboriginal language is to deny that Aboriginal people and their culture are disappearing. It is an opportunity for Aboriginal people to assert their identity, and for others to publicly demonstrate their valuing of that identity. So it is important that language be used.

There are many uses of language which are clear assertions of identity by GY people, or recognition of Aboriginality by non-Aboriginal people. One is the now relatively common use of *Yaama* as a greeting. Another is the growing use of Aboriginal words as names – four children in one family have names taken from the *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary* (Ash et al. 2003). Even clearer is the growing use of language in songs, speeches and other formal situations.

4. NSW LANGUAGE WORK. There is considerable work on Aboriginal languages in New South Wales, generally language rebuilding, and this section considers some aspects of this over the last 15 years or so. My knowledge of other NSW language activities is not as good as my knowledge of GY activities, but sufficient to make some observations.

An important issue is the amount of knowledge of the language available. Handed-down knowledge is language that is actively used, the knowledge of a speaker of the language. Historical knowledge is material that is recorded, generally written or sound material. For many NSW languages, handed-down knowledge is limited to a few words, and generally only some of their many original uses are remembered. Where the historical knowledge of a language is more extensive, it may not be easy for partial speakers to work with language programs because their knowledge is not complete, and it is often difficult to integrate that knowledge with the greater information in historical sources.

For NSW languages, the historical sources are the major source for current work, as they were for Kaurna in South Australia (Amery 2000). There is great variety in the extent, type and quality of these materials. Some NSW languages are fortunate in having taped materials, but many have only written sources. For example, information about

Ngunnawal (Canberra) is largely limited to a few hundred words. In contrast Gumbaynggirr has a range of early materials of varying quality; it has previous grammatical analyses, and a substantial number of tapes from fluent speakers.

The situation in NSW is similar to that in many earlier-colonised areas of Australia but different from that in other later-colonised parts of Australia. In more remote areas there may be more language knowledge and more communities which are predominantly Aboriginal. Language activity there is often based at a language centre, sometimes serving one language, sometimes serving a number of languages.

There are different ways in which language work is sponsored. In Victoria there is a state body which receives the bulk of language funding and which acts across the state. In NSW the situation is very different. There is no state-wide body. The Many Rivers Language Centre works with languages on the coast of NSW, north of Sydney. It is associated with Muurrbay Language and Culture Centre, which works with Gumbaynggirr. The Koori Centre at the University of Sydney has been one focus for GY and other language activities. Other language activities in NSW are based on less formal structures.

In NSW many Aboriginal people have moved off-country, that is, away from their traditional lands, and so work in one language can be spread across a large area, often incorporating a number of cities. Many GY people with formal educational qualifications are off-country and so is much of current language learning and development.

5. GAMILARAAY AND YUWAALARAAY. This paper is largely based on work with Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay (also commonly written Kamilaroi) since 1995. The languages are relatively close, and are sometimes considered dialects of a single language (Horton 1994). They are part of the Central New South Wales language group (Austin et al. 1980), along with Wiradjuri, Wangaaybuwan and Wayilwan, (the last two also known as Ngiyambaa). Yuwaalaraay has considerably more historical material. However there are considerably more Gamilaraay people, and that is the language being taught more often.

The Gamilaraay area is to the east of Yuwaalaraay, is richer country with higher rainfall and was colonised earlier. Gamilaraay has earlier records of language, especially Ridley (1875), which has around 40 pages with some grammar and around 400 words; information that was collected some time earlier. Ridley also has adapted biblical texts but these are likely to be his simplified Gamilaraay rather than full Gamilaraay. Another main source is Mathews (1903), with a similar amount of material. Gamilaraay declined in use much earlier than Yuwaalaraay. The decline in numbers of Gamilaraay people is discussed in Buckhorn (1997). There is a short Gamilaraay text recorded by Tindale in 1938 (Austin & Tindale 1985), some fragments recorded by Laves (1929-1932), and Steven Wurm (n.d.) recorded Gamilaraay sentences in the 1950s – a few minutes of tape and some 30 pages of text. Since then, recorded Gamilaraay has very little sentence material: it is limited to wordlists and a few songs. A review of research in Gamilaraay is found in Austin (2008).

Yuwaalaraay country is further west and drier. The impact of colonisation was later and perhaps less destructive. The main early records include Mathews (1902) – some 10 published pages – and the books of Parker (1896, 1905), which have wordlists and a very

important text of the Emu and Bustard story. Later records are much more extensive and include Laves (1929-1932) and Wurm (n.d.) (both have more Yuwaalaraay than Gamilaraay, presumably because there were more speakers), Sim (1988, recorded in Goodooga in the 1950s), and particularly the 50 hours or so of tapes of Arthur Dodd and Fred Reece, who were interviewed by Janet Mathews and Corinne Williams in the 1970s. Both men were born in 1890. They had substantial language knowledge, but were not fully fluent. Yuwaalaraay has more vocabulary and considerably more grammar and text than Gamilaraay. Williams (1980), which gives a substantial initial grammatical analysis, has been the starting point for much recent GY work.

Lightning Ridge is the only large town in Yuwaalaraay country. Goodooga is much smaller, and on the boundary with the Muruwari language area. Walgett is at the junction of the Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay and Wayilwan (Ngiyambaa) language areas. Yuwaalaraay has been taught at St Joseph's Primary School Walgett because it is the better resourced language, and because Uncle Ted Fields was Yuwaalaraay. However the larger demand is for Gamilaraay, which has the bigger population and in many more towns. The only recent material is Austin's (1992) dictionary, which has much less material than found in Williams' (1980) wordlist and limited grammatical information.

By the 1990s knowledge of Yuwaalaraay in the community was largely limited to individual words. I recorded some 1000 items from Uncle Ted Fields, much of it material that had been recorded earlier. Some of the other material he was unsure about. Both languages were in decline. Gamilaraay had declined earlier and further, however the times were changing. Uncle Ted, and small number of other people, including Gamilaraay people and a linguist at Toomelah-Boggabilla, actively worked to ensure their language continued to be used and to grow.

6. THE ROLE OF THE LINGUIST. All major language rebuilding programs in NSW have begun with a small group or individual with organisational and linguistic skills. Here I focus on the need for linguistic skills. Language rebuilding needs linguistic analysis of the languages either by a linguist or other person with linguistic skills. The key has not been published analysis, but the active participation of such a specialist in the language: someone who has a thorough knowledge of any published analysis and has worked with original sources, who can teach the language, who helps create new material and who reviews other people's work. For example, Steve Morelli is a Gumbaynggirr specialist. He spent many years working on the language and has a thorough understanding of it (and of some other languages). That knowledge has been the basis of numerous courses, and some of it has also been published (Morelli, 2008). On the other hand, Muruwari has a grammar and wordlist (Oates 1988) and extensive tape materials, including those by Jimmy Barker, but to my knowledge there is no-one with a thorough understanding of that material. There is some early work being done on the language, but there will not be substantial progress until there is a Muruwari specialist.

The active, ongoing involvement of a language specialist reduces the influence of English on the rebuilt language. The specialist has extensive knowledge of the language, can teach people about the language and can independently or with others produce resources, making sure that the language in them is as authentic as possible. Language specialists generally also become knowledgeable in a number of languages. Certainly

learning about Wangaaybuwan (Ngiyambaa) has greatly helped me in understanding many features of GY, as has reading about other Australian languages.

Some NSW language work does not involve such a specialist. There may be no-one available, or people may teach or produce resources on the basis of little or no language learning. The result is material that is often difficult or impossible to understand and which does not incorporate many of the features of the traditional language. For instance, there is often no use of case systems and verb inflections, or they are incorrectly used.

The use or not of language specialists has to do with many factors, such as: the availability of specialists, the funding available, the tension between community control and the fact that most current linguists are non-Indigenous, and finally the understanding (or not) of the process of language rebuilding. Funding bodies may focus on the delivery aspect of language work rather than the overall task, and the work suffers as a result. At times there is a questioning of the role of non-Aboriginal people in this work.

Ideally, and actually in some situations, the language specialist continues to research and develop their knowledge of the language. At a relatively early stage of their research they begin to teach the language. Generally some of the people they teach become teachers of the language as well, but with less real understanding of it. They may be teaching on the basis of weeks of learning rather than years. So the language they teach is limited, and when they develop resources there will be more English than traditional language. To my knowledge, with the exception of Murrumbidgee Language and Culture Centre, ongoing in-servicing of the classroom language teachers is relatively rare. Yet in-servicing is needed to increase the knowledge of the classroom teachers, and to give them a chance to review what they are teaching and the resources they may have produced, but also to learn what the language specialist has recently learned or revised.

Language development is also a key part of language rebuilding. The simplest part is the development of new words or expressions, but even here the results will often vary, depending on whether a traditional pattern or English pattern is followed. Constructing the texts which any language needs is much more complex, and much more likely to follow the English pattern. Again the involvement of language specialists will result in a more authentic language development.

6.1 INDIVIDUALS AND TEAMS. Three NSW languages with active rebuilding programs are GY, Wiradjuri and Gumbaynggirr. One common element in work on these three languages has been the presence of one or two people who facilitated and organised much of the process. Those people were involved in research into the historical materials and organised publications and teaching of the languages: Steve Morelli in Gumbaynggirr, Stan Grant and John Rudder in Wiradjuri, and John Giacon in GY. They worked closely with others in the respective communities, but much of the work in these languages has depended on these people and on other individuals and small groups they worked with. They were involved in both linguistic activity and organisational activity. The relative importance of the broader community in language rebuilding is easily overstated, particularly the role of the broader community in the early stages of the process. There is necessarily cooperation in language work, but there is also leadership.

The individual (or group) had a major role in driving and organising the activities. They were generally not employed by the central body, but largely organised the funding

themselves, and often did some unpaid work. For instance the research and other work I did was what seemed important and possible to me. An example is the *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary*, which language workers thought was a good idea, but was not initiated or organised by them.

There was overview of my work, but it was informal. Funding submissions I organised went to the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC), an Indigenous government body that is now defunct. The work at St Joseph's was under the eye of Aboriginal people working at the school, and under the supervision of the Diocese's Aboriginal Education Consultant, and I was also employed by Indigenous bodies such as the Goodooga Community Development Employment Program (CDEP). This was informal rather than contractual oversight, but nevertheless real.

The approaches that suited the early stages of language rebuilding are not appropriate now, or for the future. What was largely done by experienced and enthusiastic individuals will in future have a broader base. One such structure is the Many Rivers Language Centre, Nambucca, which supports work on a number of north coast languages. The development of GY involves a new plan and structure for language work. The challenge is to develop a structure which has good management and planning and also maintains GY specialists who can continue linguistic development and language teaching. The situation is different where there already exists a clear community governance structure where the community has a mechanism for organising language work, as occurs in many more remote parts of Australia, but not in much of NSW.

In contrast with the language activities described above, a number of other language activities in NSW have not progressed as far, or have collapsed. They often tried to do the linguistic work without the necessary skills.

6.2 MY WORK WITH GAMILARAAY-YUWAALARAAY. The way any person works depends, in large part, on their accumulated experience and skills, and this is true of my work in language. My interest in language was in part stimulated by childhood meal table talk about language, such as discussions about varieties of Italian, particularly the family's Italian Vicentino dialect, and about the English grammar my father read as a POW in England. I had come to Australia from Italy at the age of four, had maintained a fair knowledge of Italian, and was aware of the way Australia could treat minority cultures. I came to Walgett after some twenty years working in education, largely as a high school teacher and administrator. As a Christian Brother, a member of a Catholic religious order, I had relative freedom of movement and was part of an organisation that gave priority to work with people who were educationally disadvantaged. Having no need to earn a full salary, I could work in an area that had limited and uncertain funding. There is a long list of people with religious ministry positions who have been involved in Aboriginal languages. To consider just NSW, Rev. William Ridley made the earliest substantial publications in Gamilaraay (1875), Rev Lancelot Threlkeld recorded the Lake Macquarie language (1892), and Rev J Gunther (1892) is one of two main sources for Wiradjuri. I had done a number of degrees and so was familiar with academic work, and also had a background in education and administration. I was also friendly with Br Steven Morelli, who had a key role in

Gumbaynggirr language work on the north coast of New South Wales, and so I had a model to follow.

In my first year in Walgett I did relief teaching at the High School, some tutoring of Aboriginal university students and was involved in other activities. In my second year another two Christian Brothers came to Walgett, one as Principal of St Joseph's, the Catholic Primary school. As a result the school facilities were available for language work. In that year I also began a linguistics degree at the University of New England (UNE). I saw that work in Yuwaalaraay was a possibility, but there was little to indicate that it was likely.

Uncle Ted Fields (1935 – 2005) was a Yuwaalaraay man who was passionate about language and culture and certainly knew more about the local stories and culture than anyone else I met, and wanted to pass his knowledge on to young Aboriginal people. I vividly remember going into a primary class with him. It was a Friday afternoon, and Ted had material he wanted to share, but not the games and other techniques a teacher would use. Nor was he confident with writing the language, and the information he passed on was limited to individual words. He did not have songs or conversations. There were better ways of teaching, but Ted just did not have the training.

By late 1995 I was considering finishing up in Walgett, but then a number of factors changed. The Catholic Schools Office had some funding which could provide me with a basic stipend for a year or two, so that I could work in language for that time at least. But it needed community involvement. I approached the government employment service, and they were able to fund two trainees who would learn language and teach it in St Joseph's. I was also asked to train two community people in Yuwaalaraay in Goodooga, so that they could teach it in the school there.

Soon afterwards we successfully applied to ATSIC for funding. This funding was for the St Joseph's program, and for general language activities such as the production of resources, later including the *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary*. It continued till June 2011, with funding from the then federal government Maintenance of Indigenous Languages and Records (MILR) program.

I began language work while studying at the University of New England, eventually completing an Honours degree with a thesis on developing new words in Yuwaalaraay and Gamilaraay. In the early years the main linguistic tasks were developing my own understanding of the languages, initially Yuwaalaraay, then training Aboriginal people who taught GY, and preparing resources for adult and school classes. My understanding of the languages came from reading Williams (1980) and other sources, from listening to and transcribing the Yuwaalaraay tapes, as well as from editing, with Ian Sim, material he had deposited in archives in the late 1950s (Sim 1998). This research work has continued, and is now the focus of my PhD studies.

Below is a list of other activities I have been involved in, some of them ongoing, that shows the range of activities that can be part of language rebuilding.

- 1996-2005, teaching the teachers: i.e. the St Joseph's language teachers, joined at times by language workers from Goodooga and Lightning Ridge. I have always regarded skilled people as perhaps the key component in language work.

- Working occasionally with other communities, most commonly Toomelah-Boggabilla.
- Involvement in language meetings which were held once or twice a year during 1998-2002.
- Co-developing a Year 7 course for Walgett High School, and working with a teacher there.
- Developing resources, most are listed on the website *yuwaalaraay.org*, or available on the linked online learning system site.
- Writing funding submissions.
- Coordinating a trip with Yuwaalaraay people to look at Māori revival, and personally visiting other overseas revival programs in Hawai'i, Ireland, Canada and Italy.
- Attending and presenting at a number of conferences.
- Advocating for language work.
- On the writing team of the NSW K-10 Aboriginal Languages Syllabus.
- Community consultation.
- University study.
- Teaching Gamilaraay at the University of Sydney, and involvement in other university language courses, including the Master of Indigenous Language Education course.

These activities are similar to those of people working in other language rebuilding projects. They are given here to show the complexity of the work. It is easy to downplay the many roles which go with the title 'linguist' in such a situation, perhaps out of a sense of humility, or to focus on others involved. However inaccurate analysis of the historical process does not help the understanding of that process, and can suggest to others that this language work is relatively simple.

7. THE FUNCTION OF REBUILT LANGUAGE. Rebuilt language can have a range of functions, from what might be called symbolic use to being a functional language which can be used to communicate in a wide range of situations.

The common use of rebuilt language for simple greetings or rituals or songs can be described as symbolic language. The function of language here is mainly as a marker of identity. It is communicating attitude and respect rather than content. The minimal requirements are that it uses words from the traditional language with some elements of traditional pronunciation. Apart from that the degree of English influence on the rebuilt language is largely irrelevant. Shared language such as greetings and songs does need to be agreed, to be standardised, but some other symbolic uses of language such as ritual greetings do not need to be understood by the audience, which is often primarily non-Indigenous people. It is the fact of using the language that has an impact on the audience. The role of the linguist in such a situation can be as simple as providing a wordlist and some pronunciation guidance.

This is likely to change when there are others who understand the language and who are likely to look for communicative accuracy, as well as symbolic effectiveness. More complex language needs to be developed if the language is to have a more content-communicative role. As discussed above, this more complex language will be more or

less a hybrid. For NSW languages, a common reality is the development of multiple hybrids. There can be a tendency for language teaching to happen in isolation. As teachers who may have done some course work develop their own materials and use their own pronunciation a new variety of the language emerges, perhaps only lasting as long as the class does. This development of multiple creoles, or perhaps more realistically pidgins since the actual language tends to be quite simple, becomes a problem if people from different situations try to communicate using the ‘language’. It is definitely a problem if schools are to run courses in the language. There needs to be some standard language with a degree of permanence and commonality across communities and over time. While the new Australian National curriculum gives prominence to Indigenous languages, unless the rebuilding is appropriate the already slight chance of good Indigenous language courses in NSW diminishes further. Such school courses depend on a number of factors: a centralised development of the rebuilt language, based solidly on research in the original language (which presumes stable employment for language specialists); ongoing in-servicing of language teachers; centralised development of resources, including texts.

Good language courses are incompatible with the stress on small, local communities as the focus of all language work. They are vital for the reusing of the language. They are not the places for developing the basic understanding of the language or development of new language.

8. SOME REVIVAL PRINCIPLES. My technical linguistic work has been based on a number of principles. Firstly authenticity: the aim is to retain as many features as possible of the traditional language in the rebuilt language, which will need to develop to be usable in a vastly different world. The second principle is that such development should be, as much as possible, a natural development of the traditional language. For instance, it will use the derivational processes and metaphors of the traditional language where possible. Thirdly, standardisation of the language is a practical necessity. Some dialectal differences will not be retained. The final principle might be called hybridity (see Zuckermann and Walsh, 2010): the rebuilt language will be hybrid, but the degree of hybridity depends on the quality of analysis, teaching and learning. All of this is done with the people of the language.

These principles are exemplified in the development of greetings. Greetings were not common in traditional GY, but the current social situation is different and so greetings are needed. Where they are found in other Indigenous languages greetings often involve phrases such as “Where did you come from?” “I’m going now.” and “OK, Go.” *Yaama* was already established as a greeting to use when meeting, and has grown in use. The current commonly used farewells are *yaluu* (again) and *baayandhu* (soon), sometimes as *yaluu/baayandhu ngali ngamilay* (we two will see each other again/soon). The use of ‘see’ may not fit traditional language - see Evans and Wilkins (2000) for discussion of the ‘see’ metaphor - but what else to use? Originally the farewell was *Yaluu ngamilay ngali*. - with *ngali* (we two) in final position, but then it was realised that pronouns occur in second position, so the standard sentence was changed. These greetings were developed by a process of research, community consultation and adoption.

Another greeting heard is *Ngaya ngamili nginunha*. - ‘I will see you.’ This is a direct calque of the English, a pattern not found in traditional language, and the pronouns are not

in traditional GY word order. If similar expressions in other languages are anything to go by, users are also not distinguishing number in the ‘you’ pronoun, so using *nginunha* whether the addressees are singular, dual (*nginaalinya*) or plural (*nginaaynya*). While *nginunha* is correctly in accusative case, others use *nginda*, the nominative form, which is not grammatical.

New greetings will be developed but the principle of authentic adaptation of the language to current needs is more easily stated than applied. Authenticity is not about re-creating an old language, it is about the old language having as much influence as possible on the new language. An authentic and accurate analysis of the old language also provides a sound basis for a standardised form of the language.

8.1 ANALYSIS AND DESCRIPTION. In immersion situations language can sometimes be learnt without major effort. Correct language is constantly heard and the learner’s errors may even be pointed out. When languages are being rebuilt, however, the traditional language is not heard, and often no one knows if there is an error. Every feature which is different from the learners’ first language needs to be taught. And to be taught it needs to be described. This is a huge task, if the aim is full description. A common example is sound systems, where instructions are generally, at best, very basic. Many learners’ guides to Aboriginal languages, including GY, describe a sound system, typically with descriptions such as “the letter ‘a’ represents a sound like the ‘u’ in cut.” Yet the letter ‘a’ in GY has a wide range of realisations. Higher [like ‘e’] after ‘y’, rounded [like ‘o’] after ‘w’, less rounded after ‘b’, and so on. Then the stress pattern in GY has been partially described, but relatively simply. There is no published material on phrasal or sentence intonation, which is very different from English intonation. Ridley (1875) has a phrase on “lengthening final vowels for emphasis” but there is little else on such matters. In short, the descriptions of the GY sound system are simple and incomplete. Even if people can produce what is described, their GY will be unmistakably sound like English in many aspects. The necessary analysis of GY phonology has not been done, let alone the development of teaching materials and the actual teaching. However the electronic resource *Gayarragi Winangali* does provide a relatively easy way to listen to traditional speakers, and may help keep some of the original sound pattern; and more research on the phonology may be done. However by then there may already be a new GY phonology which could prove difficult to change.

There has been much more done on GY morphology and syntax than on phonology. Yuwaalaraay had a good starting point in Williams (1980), which provides considerable grammatical information as well as a wordlist. There is no comparable Gamilaraay work. Grammatical investigation continues, with additions and changes to earlier descriptions. The general approach is demonstrated in the following examples.

I gloss the verb suffix *-dha-y* as ‘associated eating’. It is used when ingestion (eating, drinking and smoking, for example) are associated with the action of the verb. This suffix had previously been described for Wangaaybuwan (Donaldson, 1980: 175) but not for GY. Examples of its use include *yulu-dha-y* ‘dance after eating’; *gaa-dha-y* ‘bring to drink’ and *gi-dja-y* ‘get (sick) from smoking’. Giacon (2008) describes its grammar on the basis of GY examples and on the basis of its use in Wangaaybuwan.

More recent analysis of exclusive pronouns in GY shows that, in addition to distinguishing singular, dual and plural number, they distinguish nominative and ergative cases: 'we two exclusive' is *ngalinya* [nominative] and *ngalilu* [ergative]. The pronouns are relatively easy to learn once they are taught, but it is a much more difficult task to deduce them from historical materials. The process involved many hours of transcription of tapes, rewriting old sources in current orthography and the collection of data and comparison with other languages.

Sometimes the information in the historical sources is unclear. In that case it is not an option to just describe the uncertainty. Language learners need a language to learn, not a question, so a decision needs to be made. The choice is between no language and the linguist's best guess. The role of the community in this is interesting. A decision is needed on a highly technical topic and is best made on the basis of full information about the GY sources and about similar structures in other languages. I generally make recommendations after consultation with other linguists. Before being published they are discussed with GY people with language knowledge. *The Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary* is a clear instance of this process. Many decisions about words - meanings, part of speech, verb class, definition - were made by the three authors after extensive research. The whole work was then discussed with GY people before the final version was adopted.

8.2 ADAPTATION. If the language is to be used as a means of communication it needs to be relevant to people's reality. So in a rebuilt language new words, phrases and idioms need to be developed, since the world has changed and the language has not kept up. And part of any language development is letting things go, things that are no longer relevant. This is more true in revival programs, where people often have very limited time and so learn only a little of the language.

Letting go of aspects of the language could be seen as a loss of culture or as cultural adaptation. For me as a linguist and a bird-watcher it was fascinating that when he was interviewed in the 1970s Arthur Dodd was very familiar with the Crested Bellbird and its GY name, *banbandhuluwi*. In contrast, now very few people in the GY area even know there is such a thing as a Crested Bellbird. What was once everyday knowledge has now become specialist knowledge.

There are numerous instances where GY may need to adapt. It is a large and historically important task to understand the traditional GY kinship system. But that system is not what people use today, and though teaching a traditional kinship system may be a good thing, it is not central to current language or culture. The Linnaean classification system works on hierarchies. Should the rebuilt GY just have only the traditional, largely individual naming system (for example, there is no general GY word for 'kangaroo' or 'parrot' or 'mammal') or add a hierarchical system? While the traditional language had no word for 'finger' ('hand' covered that body part) should the new language develop such a word? These are questions which are better answered by people with expertise, questions where linguists have a major role in coming up with good answers, or rather, recommendations.

8.3 LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT. The *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary* contains recently developed words, for example *wiyayl*, extended from ‘echidna quill’ to ‘pen, pencil’ and words for numbers beyond four. Here the process was largely one of working with language workers, with a considerable input from the linguist.⁵ The process has continued. St Joseph’s School recently put Yuwaalaraay signs on many rooms, including *man.gawan* ‘office’, developed from *man.ga* ‘desk’, itself a back-formation from *man.gaman.ga* ‘flat’.⁶ The words were developed in cooperation with the language workers at St Joseph’s. Phrases and grammatical structures are also being developed. These are generally done on the basis of some initial thoughts either by me or those looking for the phrase, and then discussion. Other new words have been developed for use in Coonabarabran and elsewhere.

Linguistic analysis and development cannot be well done without experience and time. It is important that it be reviewed by other skilled linguists. The organisation of language rebuilding needs to ensure a centralised and assessed approach to analysis and development. These are not tasks to be undertaken without the necessary skill and evaluation. They are part of the core work of language rebuilding.

8.4 PYRAMIDAL STRUCTURE. It is important to differentiate roles and responsibilities in the work of rebuilding. If it is to succeed in the long term, some people will become employed as specialists in the language, others will be language teachers, and others will use the language they have learnt from teachers or other sources.

Language specialists are vital to maintaining the authenticity of rebuilt languages. These relatively few people need the skills and time to research the languages and to understand them thoroughly. They will have postgraduate degrees, will have listened to all the GY tapes, and worked on other Australian languages. This is not the sort of work that people can easily do in isolation, and they need a strong background in education, and the personal and family situation that supports academic work. A university provides an ideal workplace for these language specialists. It provides resources, peer support and review, and the opportunity to teach and research. Language rebuilding would benefit from having a program to encourage Indigenous graduates, similar to programs that have resulted in increased Indigenous numbers in medicine, law and other fields. In the GY area there are many schools where the languages could be taught.

In some instances people are teaching following the content of course materials, and in other instances on the basis of their own interpretation of written materials such as the dictionary and course materials. I find this an area of some tension. While I respect the effort people are putting into working with language, I do not believe, and neither do many of the GY people I work with, that teaching yourself and self-accreditation are good ways to prepare for language work. I can understand the difficulty in organising courses, and I can also understand that there might be a desire to “do this without the whitefellas”, but I do not think it is the most productive way forward. Education bodies such as schools

⁵ See the section on ‘New words’ on the website yuwaalaraay.org.

⁶ In GY spelling, ‘n.g’ represents an alveolar nasal followed by a velar stop, in contrast to ‘ng’ which represents a velar nasal.

and TAFE and others need to re-look at how people are accredited to teach ‘reviving’ languages and make proper provision for training.

Without good training, people will not understand the language well, and will make more mistakes. Whenever anyone writes new material in a language they do not know very well they will make mistakes. If Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay are to be used for substantial communication they need to have some uniformity. A language that is being actively used has a structure that all speakers understand. But in a language that is being revived each location can develop its own usages. Each teacher can easily develop their own version of the language since it is not interacting with other versions. These multiple versions of the language are not true to the original language nor are they comprehensive enough to be a language, and each will have a very short life span, possibly as short as a series of classes. Language revival assumes some standardisation. Heading in the opposite direction, with the development of random variations, makes an already difficult task impossible.

8.5 PUBLICATIONS. Over the years a number of publications have been produced. These give people access to language and to the knowledge that otherwise is limited to researchers and to those able to attend courses. A consistent policy has been to make publications readily available, so most are handled by commercial publishers and by bookshops. Some publications are listed on the website *yuwaalaraay.org*. Some are available on the linked learning site, as are sound and movie materials, and less formal materials such as lesson notes. Major publications include: an edited version of Sim’s Yuwaalaraay material (1998), more useful as the basis for research than for general use; *We are speaking*, a book of words and illustrations designed for family use; *Yaama Maliyaa*, a high school GY textbook; the *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary*; *Yugal*, a CD and songbook; *Gaay Garay Dhadhin*, a picture dictionary; *Dhiirrala – a teachers’ handbook*; and the electronic resource *Gayarragi Winangali*. The dictionary (Ash et al. 2003) contains a sketch grammar of both languages, largely drawn from Williams (1980) and Gamilaraay materials. That grammar has been used by a number of people to learn and teach GY. *Gayarragi Winangali*, an electronic version of the dictionary, with songs, stories and games, can be downloaded from the website *yuwaalaraay.org*. My role in publications has been as the coordinator and often as the main author. This has changed with some recent publications. Suellyn Tighe (2013a, b, c) and Donna McLaren (2013) have recently completed GY early readers and Brooke Ferguson is working on a GY adaptation of the *Ma! Iwaidja* smart-phone app. I have had a consulting role with these projects.

8.6 COURSES. While some people learn from resources such as books and sound files, most learn in courses. Over the years I have taught a large number of GY courses, including: early informal courses; a summer school for New England TAFE; summer schools at the Koori Centre, University of Sydney, ‘Speaking Gamilaraay’ at University of Sydney from 2006 to 2011. Apart from ‘Speaking Gamilaraay’ the vast majority of students have been GY people and my sense is that they have greatly appreciated the opportunity to learn their language. Some certainly experienced some unease in learning ‘their’ language from a ‘whitefella’ but this is generally an initial reaction, or

one that people accept and live with. The course materials are mostly available from the online learning site.

8.7 PLATEAUIING. A common feature of language programs is what I call plateauing. Courses start with great fanfare and hopes, but quickly run out of steam as the teacher's knowledge is exhausted and the available resources have all been used. Then the language class becomes repetitious and boring or morphs into a culture class to disguise the void. Some language workers refer to it as the 'heads, shoulders' phenomenon. It is great to see children singing 'Heads, shoulders, knees and toes', perhaps the song that has been translated into the greatest number of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages. But too often the learning then goes little further. The teacher does not have the language knowledge or resources. The school has not provided enough training and there is sometimes a reluctance to acknowledge the situation. Linguists can, in time, provide more material and training, but the courses and organisation need to be in place.

A related issue is an understanding of language rebuilding, and the adoption of a realistic target level of language use. New GY will be a hybrid and will be of use in limited areas. Nevertheless with careful planning and wise use of resources it can be less hybrid and more widely applicable. This needs a new awareness of the realities of language rebuilding, and a re-allocation of resources. The socio-linguist can have a role here, in helping people understand the process, the possibilities and the limitations of language rebuilding.

9. OTHER KEY FACTORS. There are a number of factors which have significant influence on language work. Below are some initial comments on a few of these factors, including some that are relatively sensitive. One major thread is the roles of different people in language rebuilding.

9.1 COMMUNITIES. The literature on revival is full of the word 'community'. Clearly the main aim of language work is to benefit GY people. The ongoing analysis of the language will have use in general linguistics, and the special features of the language will add to the knowledge of languages in general, but that is not the main reason for language revival.

However, it seems to be too often assumed that there is one, easily consultable community. This is not the case for Yuwaalaraay or for Gamilaraay. Neither group has had a representative body. The assumption that consultation is straightforward ignores this lack of a consultative structure, the fact that GY people are spread over many towns in the GY area and are found in many other places across Australia and the globe. (I have had requests for language materials from a Gamilaraay woman in London.) Nevertheless input from a number of GY people has been a key component of the work. These include local GY communities, in a town or school, the group of GY people gathered for a course, and groups of GY language workers.

At St Joseph's, the main reference community was Indigenous staff, though parents and carers were consulted on other occasions. Consultation at other schools followed a similar pattern. I worked at Goodooga for the local Aboriginal corporation, and for the

Indigenous sections of TAFE in Walgett and Tamworth. There were Walgett community meetings about the school programs, and GY meetings from 1999-2002 (approx.) to discuss language. One principle adopted at these meetings was “If one language (Gamilaraay or Yuwaalaraay) did not have a word or structure it would borrow from the other”. Consultation for the *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary* involved a range of people from Walgett and other towns. In preparing the family book *We are speaking* there was a meeting in Moree. The consultation for the picture dictionary *Gaay Garay Dhadhin* was largely with language workers, as was consultation for the teacher’s handbook *Dhiirrala*. Many of the songs on *Yugal* were composed by or with GY people, and they are largely sung by GY people.

At times the work has also involved being on the edge of conflicts between GY people. There have been disagreements about who should teach in a particular town, and the associated questions about funding. GY people also judge others’ language knowledge.

At other times one needs to treat some community opinions with a grain of salt. One relatively prominent GY person regularly states that there are three fully fluent people who will be the basis of real language work, and that the linguistic work done so far is sadly lacking. No evidence to support the claims has come forward, and I personally know that one of the ‘fluent speakers’ has little language. Others - sometimes older people, sometimes not - may exaggerate their own knowledge of language, or make categorical, but ill-informed assertions about the language. These are relatively delicate situations, but as more GY people learn more linguistics and language, such assertions are more and more put into perspective. Language courses and the Sydney University Master of Indigenous Language Education course have been two factors in the development of better critical skills.

The focus on community can also lead to lopsided allocation of funding. Community use of language is the aim. However the language needs to be rebuilt and the teachers taught. If funding is not provided for language development and for teaching the teachers, community language programs will not be very effective. Currently people working in language form a fairly ready reference group. Ideally there will be a more general consultative structure in future.

9.2 WHO CAN/SHOULD BE INVOLVED? I once taught a TAFE class where one student was an Aboriginal woman who worked night shift, then came to class. Her son told her to have nothing to do with that whitefella’s teaching, but then helped her with the homework, using the dictionary the whitefella had helped write. The main purpose of language rebuilding is identity and pride, and the tension of having ‘whitefellas’ as key players has already been mentioned. This is a difficult topic, since it is not easily discussed. It is a fact of history that there are few Indigenous linguists. This is also a result of language planning, or the lack thereof, and of the assumption that language work is easy, best done by ‘on the ground people’, with a minimum of expert help. This is partly because the effects of inaccurate language work are relatively benign. If an unskilled mechanic works on a car, or an unskilled surgeon operates, the results can be disastrous. If an unskilled person works on language the lack of skill is not immediately

obvious, and if the lack does become clear the impact is not dramatic. But it does have an effect.

9.3 PARTNERSHIPS. The GY language work has depended a lot on individual relationships. It has also depended on groups and organisations. The administration of grant funds has involved Walgett High School (briefly), the Catholic Schools Office (CSO) in Armidale for many years, and now Murdi Paaki Regional Enterprises Corporation (MPREC). It is much simpler and more transparent and accountable to have an established body administer funds. The CSO has also supported language in many other ways, especially through its Indigenous Consultant. St Joseph's school in Walgett has been a great source of support for initial and ongoing language work. It has recently opened a language and culture centre to continue that work (see Cavanagh 2005). The Koori Centre at the University of Sydney has sponsored Gamilaraay summer schools and enabled the teaching of Gamilaraay. It was the only university in eastern Australia to have an Aboriginal language unit in recent years. In 2013, that university taught for the first time *Speaking Gamilaraay 2*, and the Australian National University also taught *Speaking Gamilaraay 1*. The Koori Centre was heavily involved in developing the course materials which have now been used in other courses. The Masters of Indigenous Language Education at the Koori Centre has been very important in developing an understanding of language work and language 'revival', and so has led to much more productive language work. TAFE has conducted many GY courses over the years. Two recent summer schools have been in Gunnedah, initiated by the Red Chief Land Council and run with the assistance of the local community college. The NSW Board of Studies has had a strong and positive impact on language work, both in developing the NSW K-10 Aboriginal Languages Syllabus and in its active support of language programs. I have been involved in many of those partnerships, teaching at the Koori Centre and TAFE, part of the writing team for the K-10 syllabus and working for TAFE. Some of the initial impetus for language work came from the NSW Government Aboriginal Languages Policy.

Education bodies are widely involved in Indigenous language programs, and there is the potential for them to contribute a lot to the ongoing development of these languages. The major expansion of language teaching which communities hope for, and which the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) has suggested, cannot happen without substantial training for language teachers. Training to equip teachers to teach from pre-school to the end of high school is ideally provided by universities. Once education bodies and universities set up these courses the necessary language research and development will happen much more readily, with the university language teachers having a key role. The role of universities in Indigenous language teaching is discussed in Giacón & Simpson (2012).

9.4 POLITICS. In discussing community above I mentioned differences and divisions in communities. In at least one other NSW language group a linguist is no longer involved with a language they had worked on for many years. Internal community tensions have been a major factor, including tensions about 'ownership' of the materials developed: one family has claimed ownership of the materials. GY has been relatively fortunate in

avoiding major clashes about language ownership. Uncle Ted always insisted that the best way for language to stay alive and grow was for people to use it, and that the best way to do that was to distribute the language widely and to welcome anyone who wanted to use it. So GY material has been freely available, both for purchase and free on the web, and most courses have been open to all people.

There can also be effects on language research. Two students who were looking to do PhDs in other NSW languages have been lost to that work. Internal community politics made it likely there would be considerable tension, so the students went elsewhere, and those languages still await further research.

10. EMERGING TRENDS. There is much more awareness of GY now and more use of the languages than in relatively recent years. The publications and courses have helped people learn a little language. The *Gamilaraay Yuwaalaraay Yuwaalayaay Dictionary*, in particular, has shown the complexity and possibilities of the languages and having the book made people proud of their language.

Generally the actual GY currently used is relatively simple and strongly influenced by English. Reid (2010) suggests, realistically, that to aim for traditional pronunciation of the language is unrealistic, and the same is true for other aspects of new GY. More research into GY and more teaching of it can lessen the influence of English. In future, linguistic work may be done by linguists employed by a GY organisation, but I think it more likely that there will be linguists whose employment is as academics, and who will work with GY on projects.

It is important that GY people be involved in research, and that they do post-graduate work in the languages. There is a growing number of GY people with a better understanding of language and language rebuilding, largely through doing the Masters of Indigenous Language Education at University of Sydney, and at least two are now employed full time in language work. Others are involved in teaching language. The number of qualified people teaching language in schools is still small, but slowly growing. GY language work is becoming more a group project. More people have increasing knowledge and employment in language related tasks, making it more possible for them to advance the work. As seen above, more GY people are producing resources, and more GY people are employed in language work. The idea that foundational language work should basically be a voluntary activity done in one's spare time has not been helpful and is fading.

The organisation of GY work is also changing. Murdi Paaki, an Aboriginal organisation, is now the auspicing body for federal funds. For a short time a committee of that organisation oversaw the language work and there are now ongoing discussions about the future directions of GY. It is hoped that education bodies will take a more active role in preparing their staff for quality language work.

The new national curriculum process in Australia has given emphasis to Indigenous languages. If GY is to be taught successfully at any depth in schools the development and training already discussed need to be done.

To learn a new language takes thousands of hours. Many thousands if the structure of the language is very different to the languages the learner knows. It will be some time

before there is enough GY to have thousands of hours of material. But the amount of material is growing, as is the number of courses. It is not clear how far this will continue.

11. CONCLUSION. It is clear that reuse of Indigenous languages can be a very powerful force for good, particularly for Indigenous people. For that potential to be realised language rebuilding needs to be well planned. The starting point needs to be a clear understanding of the processes that have been successful in language rebuilding in Australia and overseas. These processes have some common elements, and also there are also differences in different situations.

This paper has primarily considered the rebuilding of Gamilaraay and Yuwaalaraay, two closely related languages that had almost totally fallen out of use, but have substantial historical materials. While close cooperation between GY people and others is essential to the rebuilding, this paper has focused on the role of organisers and linguists in the early stages of rebuilding, and then on the ongoing need for linguistic work. This linguistic work includes more analyses of the historical materials, development of new GY, teaching others, particularly teachers and the development of resources.

For GY, and for most NSW languages, the most likely base for the ongoing linguistic work and the training of teachers is at universities, institutions set up for research and teaching.

GY RESOURCES

There are a range of GY materials, some of them printed and others web based. Many can be accessed at yuwaalaraay.org, or via links on that site. Some resources are described below.

Yugal is a CD of GY songs with an accompanying songbook. Most songs are also on *Gayarragi Winangali* and the online learning site.

Gayarragi Winangali is an electronic resource including a searchable dictionary, songs, stories and games. Download from <http://lah.soas.ac.uk/projects/gw/>.

The GY *Moodle site* is an online learning system site that contains a wide range of GY materials: <https://moodle.arm.catholic.edu.au/> or access via yuwaalaraay.org

Gamilaraay.wordpress.com is a blog with information about new GY developments, including new resources.

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John Giacon
jgiacon@ozemail.com.au