Maya-kwobabiny:
Re-embedding language at Kepa Kurl, Western Australia

Clint Bracknell
University of Queensland

Amy Budrikis
Edith Cowan University

Roma Yibiyung Winmar
Edith Cowan University

This paper describes a Nyungar language revitalisation project in the southern region of Western Australia conducted in partnership between a university research team and the Esperance Tjaltjraak Native Title Aboriginal Corporation. It discusses how linguistic analysis of historical Nyungar documentation was essential to addressing community aims of re-embedding the language into the community, developing and using pedagogical resources, and exploring new domains for language use. In particular, this paper focuses on the community's desire for the reclamation of a dialectal flavour of Nyungar that is distinctive to the Esperance region, and the factors contributing to a successful partnership between the researchers and the community organisation in terms of capacity-building, leadership, and sustainability.

1. Introduction This paper describes a Nyungar language revitalisation project in the southern region of Western Australia conducted in partnership between a university research team and the Esperance Tjaltjraak Native Title Aboriginal Corporation (hereafter Tjaltjraak, pronounced "tal-ye-rak"). It discusses how linguistic analysis of historical Nyungar documentation was essential to addressing community aims of re-embedding the language into the community, developing and using pedagogical resources, and exploring new domains for language use. In particular, we focus on the community's desire for the reclamation of a dialectal flavour of Nyungar that is distinctive to the Esperance region, and the factors contributing to a successful partnership between the researchers and the community organisation in terms of capacity-building, leadership, and sustainability. Edith Cowan University initially funded this work as a 2019 pilot project as part of its Reconciliation Action Plan. The partnership between the research team and Tjaltjraak has continued as part of Australian Research Council Project IN200100012: *Restoring On-Country Performance* (2020–2022), administered by the University of Queensland.

1.1 Nyungar language context The Nyungar region (also spelled Noongar and Nyoongar) is one of the largest Aboriginal cultural blocs in Australia, spanning the

South-West of Western Australia in an arc from the seaside town of Dongara in the north-western extremity to Cape Arid National Park in the south-east. The town of Esperance is located in the south-eastern extremity of the Nyungar region and is characterised by its south-facing coastline and wetlands. The south of Nyungar country is a biodiversity hotspot with a huge range of ecologies and landscapes, including coastal dunes, sand plains, forests, rivers, and hills. The Nyungar language itself, though constituting a single language, shows some historical and contemporary variation across the Nyungar region indicative of localised dialects, including dialectal features that are particular to Esperance, as discussed further below. Esperance Nyungar is referred to as *Kepa Kurl* (meaning 'water shaped like a boomerang').

The Nyungar nation bore the brunt of British invasion including dispossession, violence, and government-sponsored segregation and assimilation, involving deliberate suppression of the language such that it has not been acquired as a first language by children for many decades (Haebich 2018). Despite this recent history, more than 30,000 people identify as Nyungar, and since the 1980s, there has been a resurgence of efforts by Nyungar people to reclaim and revitalise the language (Bracknell 2017), with 475 Nyungar language speakers identified in the 2016 Australian Census (Austlang, n.d.). Recently, Tjaltjraak expressed interest in working with the research team to develop Nyungar language resources suitable to the Esperance region and to contribute to the revitalisation of the Nyungar language. Just a year after beginning this work, interest and activity around the Nyungar language in the region have significantly increased.

1.2 The research team The university-based members of the research team comprise Dr. Roma Yibiyung Winmar, Professor Clint Bracknell, and Dr. Amy Budrikis. Roma Winmar is Nyungar Elder-in-Residence at Edith Cowan University Mount Lawley campus. She is an artist, performer, and one of the region's most experienced Nyungar language teachers, having taught at Moorditj Noongar Community College for many decades. Winmar has extensive Nyungar language skills and sits on the Western Australian Department of Education's Curriculum Council in setting standards and educational expectations for Nyungar language. Clint Bracknell is a musician/researcher with maternal Nyungar connections to Esperance. His research interests include archival repatriation as well as language and song revival, particularly focusing on the Nyungar region. Amy Budrikis is a linguist and research adviser at ECU and has worked with Winmar and Bracknell on previous Nyungar music and language projects. Her research interests include Aboriginal language revitalisation through supporting language transmission in the family and community.

In terms of the particular linguistic expertise and experience required for the project, this research team has been involved in recent world-first productions of *Hecate* (2020), which is a full Nyungar translation and adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, and a Nyungar-language dub of the 1972 Bruce Lee film *Fist of Fury* (as *Fist of Fury Noongar Daa* 2021). Winmar and Bracknell's significant contributions to these productions have involved working with director Kylie Bracknell to translate major texts into Nyungar, a process that has necessitated the compilation of a word list of some 50,000 tokens, sourced from a range of historical documentation

of the language. Budrikis has been particularly involved in applying her expertise in linguistics to this word list, analysing and consolidating the variations into at least 1,800 unique words. As such, through their wealth of experience in developing language resources, the research team is in a prime position to support other language revitalisation programmes.

Clint Bracknell has also previously been engaged with Tjaltjraak in efforts to support the local Esperance Nyungar community in reviving their dialect, in the later stages of his 2017–2019 Australian Research Council Project IN170100022: *Mobilising Song Archives to Nourish an Endangered Aboriginal Language*. As descendants of Nyungar singer Sam Dabb (1922–1980), former Tjaltjraak Deputy Chairperson Annie Dabb and her daughter Wanika Close were key collaborators in this project. While working primarily with song archives, Bracknell also consolidated audio recordings of Esperance Nyungar language elicitation and associated manuscripts housed at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) archives and the South Australian Museum. This material required further analysis and enhancement in community workshops to be developed into effective local language resources. Annie Dabb and Wanika Close were ideally placed as local research collaborators to facilitate this work.

1.3 Esperance Tjaltjraak Native Title Aboriginal Corporation Tjaltjraak was registered as the Native Title Body Corporate in 2016, acting as the first point of contact between the government and the traditional owners of the Esperance region. It is composed of members of the six family groups who are direct descendants of the Esperance apical ancestors: Sambo/Weegie (also known as Durdap) of Esperance, Maggie Munroe nee Bland of Esperance, Charlie Nine of Thomas River, Wynbert of Bandy Creek, Jack Boxer, White Ann of Thomas River, and Maggie of Thomas River. Members of Tjaltjraak themselves acknowledge and are proud of the strong relationship built between these families to develop Tjaltjraak and work together towards achieving their vision of being "the hub of a positive Esperance Nyungar community, centred around strong cultural identity and wellbeing, delivering access to sustainable opportunity for all" (ETNTAC 2019: 1). Linguist Michael Walsh (2010: 28) observes "an important prerequisite for language revitalisation is community cohesion." The sustainability and strength of these six families working together have contributed significantly to the implementation and uptake of the language programme.

Tjaltjraak delivers services to the Esperance community in terms of preserving cultural heritage and history; working together with the local industry; supporting culturally informed and appropriate regional services; and, through the Rangers programme, providing education, employment, and social well-being opportunities to care for Country. There are currently fifteen rangers in the programme who use the Tjaltjraak office in Esperance as a hub; these rangers were key participants as Nyungar adult language learners in developing, assessing, and implementing the language programme. Wanika Close worked at Tjaltjraak as a ranger and dedicated Nyungar language officer. The language programme benefitted significantly from Annie

Dabb's leadership and enthusiasm as a Nyungar elder and her daughter Wanika's passion and skill for language, communication, and graphic design.

1.4 Esperance regional dialect Although Nyungar constitutes a single language, historical sources and more recent testimony suggest dialectal differences between the way Nyungar was spoken between northern, south-western, and eastern regions, encapsulated in some variation in spelling, pronunciation, and vocabulary for some words (Henderson 2013). The perceived and documented differences between dialects raise notions of authenticity that are central to emic perceptions of success in all language revitalisation efforts (Bodó & Fazakas 2018). Tjaltjraak's initial interest in language research was based on its members' dissatisfaction with the sparse and generalised nature of pre-existing Nyungar language resources and the aim of reviving a markedly different and specific Esperance Nyungar dialect. A distinctive dialectic identity would align with Esperance's geographic and economic isolation from the rest of the Nyungar region.[1] In the early stages of this project, Tjaltjraak members expressed the belief that coalescing around a strong Esperance variety of Nyungar language could function to increase community solidarity and pride. Because of the importance of a dialectal variety to this language revitalisation programme, we include here an overview of the different analyses and nuances of possible dialects.

Due to the paucity and variability of existing research on the Nyungar language, the spectrum of Nyungar dialects and the actual linguistic differences between them remain difficult to quantify. In a survey of Indo-Pacific languages mostly based on comparing word lists, language descriptions, and ethnographic reports, O'Grady et al. (1966: 37–38) identify the following terms for twelve supposed dialects (with alternative names and spellings) within a 'Nyunga [Nyungar] Subgroup' (see Figure 1):

1. Juat;
2. Wadjuk (Whadjuk, Whajook, Yooard, Yooadda, Minalnjunga, Minnal-Yungar, Yungur);
3. Balardong (Ballardong, Ballerdokking, Waljuk, Toode-nunjer);
4. Pinjarup (Pinjarra);
5. Wiilman (Wheelman, Weel, Weal, Weil, Will, Jaburu);
6. Kaneang;
7. Wardandi (Wadarandee, Wardandie, Kardagur);
8. Pibelmen (Peoplemen, Bibulman, Bebleman, Meeraman, Nurram, Bibbulmun);
9. Minang (Minung, Meenung, Mearn-anger);
10. Koreng (Kuriny, Corine, Qualup);
11. Nyakinyaki (Njakinjaki, Kokar, Karkar, Kikkar); and
12. Wudjari (Widjara, Warangoo, Warranger, Warrangle, Ngokwurring, Ngokgurring, Nonga, Nunga, Yunga, Daran).

---

[1] Esperance falls outside of the prescribed area covered by the South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council (SWALSC), which is currently implementing one of Australia's largest native title settlements.

This list is indebted to anthropologist Norman Tindale's (1974: 142) survey of terms for Aboriginal 'tribes' in the South-West. Interviewees Tindale (1966; 1968) spoke to in the South-West characterised 'Nyungar' as the language and the people of the whole region, with some informants mentioning regional differences in pronunciation more indicative of accent shift rather than the significant dialectic diversity O'Grady et al.'s (1966) list suggests. Analysis of prior studies suggests that Tindale and O'Grady et al. may have been overenthusiastic in their claims of significant and marked dialectic diversity, especially in the region between Albany and Esperance.

In his 1931 field notes, linguist Gerhardt Laves (as described in Henderson 2013) mentions the existence of just two dialects, Minong (Minang) and Kurin (Koreng), along the south coast from Albany to Esperance, rather than the three described by O'Grady et al. (1966). Furthermore, Laves recognises little difference between Minong and Kurin, stating, "An entire vocabulary of the Minong dialect has not been made [...] because the differences [between Minong and Kurin] are so slight" (unnumbered card from box 8 of the Laves collection at AIATSIS). Almost a century before Laves's study, explorer Edward John Eyre (1845) observed that his young Nyungar guide Wylie could understand and converse in the local language used across the entire south-coast region starting from the vicinity of Cape Arid (east of Esperance) and travelling westward to Albany. In further contrast to O'Grady et al.'s (1966) twelve dialects, Douglas (1968: ii) suggests, based on his own fieldwork, the existence of just four Nyungar dialects in the entire South-West of Western Australia: (A) Pipelman (Pibelmen), (B) Kaniyang (Kaneang), (C) Mirnong (Minang), and (D) Kwetjman (see Figure 1). The accounts by Laves (1931, as cited in Henderson 2013) and Douglas (1968), along with the journalist and ethnographer Daisy Bates's (1904–1912) insistence on using the term *Bibbulman* to describe most Aboriginal people from the South-West, also seem to indicate substantial problems with the representations of Nyungar dialectic distribution proposed by O'Grady et al. (1966).
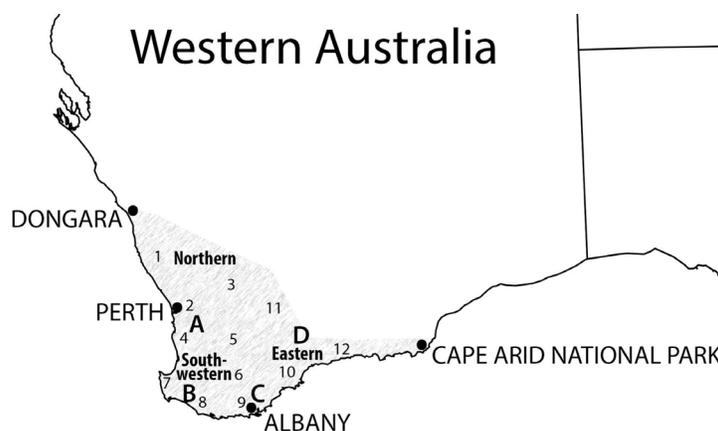

Figure 1. The Noongar language region with positions of purported dialectic variation shown in numbers (O'Grady et al. 1966) and letters (Douglas 1968)

In contrast to the above studies, Dench (1994: 174) distinguishes three Nyungar dialects, Northern, South-Western, and Eastern, which differ mainly in the pronunciation, inclusion, or omission of vowel sounds in similar words. In particular, Dench (1994) notes dialectal variation in the phonological form of the word – where the Northern and South-Western dialects would include a vowel at the end of a word and the Eastern dialect has a predominance of consonant-final words (see Table 1) – and some lexical differences between dialects, where nonrelated word forms are used for the same word (see Table 2).

Table 1. Variation in word form (adapted from Dench 1994)

	Northern	South-Western	Eastern
tooth	ngarlku	ngorlka	ngorlak
throat	wardu	worda	wort
quokka	kuka	kwoka	kwok

Table 2. Variation in lexical item (adapted from Dench 1994)

	Northern	South-Western	Eastern
forehead	yurdu	yimang	yimang
cheek	nyuritj	ngalak	kalykart
kingfisher	kanyinak	kanyinak	birangku
charcoal	murrar	yirrak	yarrkal

Although not linguists, Hassell & Davidson (1936: 680) give examples of this phenomenon based on Hassell's first-hand experience conversing with Nyungar in the Jerramungup region since the 1870s:

> The language of the Wheelman [of Dench's Eastern region] is similar to that spoken throughout southwestern Australia […] west of the Stirling Ranges [Dench's South-Western region] an additional syllable was added. For instance Wheelman *coot*, bag, becomes *coota*; *twonk*, talk [listen] becomes *twonka*; york, wife, becomes *yorka*.

Conclusions drawn by contemporary Nyungar language speakers and researchers like von Brandenstein (1988) and Thieberger (2004) generally support Dench's distinction of Nyungar dialects. In her description of dialectic diversity in the South-West of Western Australia, Bates (1914: 65) states that "[a] slight variation occurred in the many dialects between Gingin and Esperance, but fundamentally they were

one." She points out that a key dialectic variation included "the dropping of the final syllable in the Albany, Esperance, etc. dialects in words which were otherwise similar to those of Bunbury, Perth, Gingin etc." (Bates 1914: 65). Although Bates identifies seventeen separate dialects, the reasoning behind this distinction is unclear. The lack of clarity surrounding this issue could possibly be due to Bates's lack of linguistic training and, consequently, her not accounting for the use of various suffixes, affixes, and synonyms amongst a range of speakers.

In his research on historical word lists of Aboriginal languages in the Melbourne region, Blake (1991: 50) notes that "if one elicits the Aboriginal equivalents for 100 English words from the same speaker on two different occasions, one does not usually obtain two identical sets of words," suggesting that researchers incorrectly inferred the existence of multiple Nyungar dialects based on naturally occurring differences in word lists collected from different Nyungar speakers. Furthermore, because traditional names for Nyungar individuals were often derived from descriptions of events or natural environmental features (Bates 1904–1912), words featured in the names of deceased people were sometimes omitted from local vocabularies in observance of customary protocol traditionally practised in the South-West of Western Australia and elsewhere in Aboriginal Australia, to avoid speaking the names of the deceased (Smyth 1878; Green & Mulvaney 1992). Based on his experiences living in the South-West of Western Australia in the nineteenth century, Chauncy (1878: 266) explains:

> Some tribes name their children after natural objects; and when the person so named dies, the word is never again mentioned; another word has therefore to be invented for the object after which the child was called. I knew a man whose name was Karla (not Calor), which signifies 'fire' or 'heat'; when he died, another word had to be used for 'fire'; hence the language is always changing.

This alteration of vocabulary usage among certain groups of Nyungar people may have also resulted in the exaggerated demarcation of dialectic difference. Even so, there is little evidence to suggest that omitted words were "never again mentioned," as the word *karla* 'fire' has been listed in most Nyungar vocabularies recorded from Chauncy's time to the present day. Taking similar practices across Aboriginal communities into account, it is far more likely that these words associated with the deceased would be omitted from the local lexicon for a determined period of time and subsequently reinstated when deemed appropriate by the family and community concerned (see McGrath & Phillips 2008; Glaskin 2016).

As we have suggested regarding Bates's lack of linguistic training, literature claiming substantial dialectic diversity may be the result of overenthusiastic interpretation of synonyms, substitutions, or mistakes recorded in early word lists (see Thieberger 2004). When asked about the matter of dialectic differences amongst Nyungar speakers, Nyungar witnesses testifying about their language in a Native Title hearing in the South-West (Bennell v. State of Western Australia 2006) "acknowledged some differences in pronunciation, and occasionally in vocabulary,

between Noongars from different parts of the claim area." However, all witnesses "maintained they could understand any other Noongar person, regardless of his or her place of origin" (Bennell v. State of Western Australia 2006). Collard et al. (2005) have discussed how Western ideas of geographical regions, borders, mapping, and nationhood are often incongruous with Nyungar understandings of Country. In light of this, rather than adopting a rigid, prescriptive, and exclusionary view of dialectic difference in the South-West of Western Australia, local varieties of Nyungar language may be more productively characterised as fluid and adaptable markers of regional identity.

Concerning a possible Esperance dialect then, different writers have variously named Nyungar groups and language varieties of the Esperance region between Ravensthorpe and Cape Arid as "Warrangoo" (Chester in Curr 1886: 390); "Ngokgurring," or "Shell people" (Taylor in Curr 1886: 392); "Kwetjman […] very sharp speech" (Douglas 1968: 62); and "Wudjari" (O'Grady et al. 1966: 37–38), which is currently the most commonly published term to characterise Nyungar language and people in the Esperance region (see Figure 1). Nonetheless, *Wudjari* is a "conflicted term" of uncertain provenance with a confusing historical record and lacks wide acceptance amongst Esperance Nyungar today (Mitchell 2016: 28). In his diaries, upon hearing that Douglas identified the Esperance region as "Kwaitjman" [Kwetjman], Tindale (1966: 245) wrote "kwaitj-wudj indicates basically the same name," conflating the two dissimilar terms. *Wudjari* is more similar to *Widjari*, a term in the historical record to refer to "northern dialects of S.W. Australia" (Delta 1851: 3) and "far northern" men (Delta 1849: 4).

Analysis of Norman Tindale's records positions *Witjari* as a Nyungar dialect with geographical links to the northern Nyungar region with linguistic features typical of the South-Western and Northern varieties of Nyungar described by Dench. At Hall's Creek in 1953, Tindale interviewed an "exiled" Nyungar man named Ngepal, who referred to his "tribe" of Perth as "Witjari" (Tindale 1953: 893), which Tindale conflates with the historically recorded "Whajook Tribe" of the "York district" near Perth (Goldsworthy in Curr 1886: 336). In 1939, Tindale also recorded two other Nyungar word lists in the eastern Nyungar region, at Gnowangerup with Charlie Innel (Koreng from Gairdner River, west of Esperance) and at Borden with Bessie Ruby (Nonga – most likely a misspelling of Nyungar – from Thomas River, east of Esperance). Analysis of all three Nyungar vocabularies collected by Tindale clearly positions the northern Witjari variety as the outlier (see Tables 3, 4, and 5 for indicative examples).

Table 3. Similarity in Tindale's (1938–1963) Nyungar word lists

	Koreng	Nonga (Nyungar)	Witjari
kangaroo	yongar	yongar	yonggur
crow	wardang	wa:rang	wardang
goanna	qa:rdar	ka:de:r	kardar

Table 4. Word-ending variation in Tindale's (1938–1963) Nyungar word lists

	Koreng	**Nonga (Nyungar)**	**Witjari**
river	bi:l	pi:l	pi:lu
boomerang	kail – kai(rl)	kai(r)l	ka:li
beard	nga:nak	nga:nak	nganangu

Table 5. Lexical item variation in Tindale's (1938–1963) Nyungar word lists

	Koreng	**Nonga (Nyungar)**	**Witjari**
swan	wirlar – wi:lar	ma:lea	kuldja:k
star	tindang	tu:r	ngangkap
smoke	bui	pui	giri

Tindale's vocabularies for the two eastern varieties of Nyungar – Nonga of Thomas River and Koreng of Gairdner River – are near-identical, save for the variation in lexical items, which could simply be synonyms, substitutions, or a differentiation of gender or species in the case of 'swan.'

However, regardless of the historical accuracy of using *Wudjari* as a term to describe the dialect, the Esperance community desired to reclaim a form of Nyungar that felt distinctive to the Esperance region. This speaks to the power of language revitalisation for reclaiming, maintaining, and strengthening community and individual identity (Bell 2013). Given the community's priorities, we narrowed the focus of the word list to language speakers from the Esperance–Ravensthorpe region, with particular attention given to the word lists and audio recordings of Sam and Charlie Dabb, collected by anthropologist Carl Georg von Brandenstein in the 1970s.[2] Sam and Charlie Dabb were the father and uncle of Annie Dabb, respectively, and grandfathers of Wanika Close, the two facilitators of Tjaltjraak with whom the university research team worked most closely. Audio recordings of the Dabb brothers allow for some audible verification of the written word lists and provide a strong example of what spoken Nyungar sounded like in the Esperance region.

1.5 Community-based language research The two major aims of this project were to investigate and analyse historical Nyungar word lists originally recorded in the Esperance region of Western Australia and to work with the local Nyungar commu-

---

[2] It should be noted that the language on these recordings sounds very similar to the Nyungar speech of Tommy Cowan and Tommy Kickett at York on audio recordings by O'Grady (1960). Although the recordings are of very poor audio quality, we were able to identify it as the same language with minor differences. However, it is not clear whether these differences relate to regional dialect, the individual style of each speaker, or changes in the language over time.

nity to develop effective digital and print language resources. That is, it is a project of linguistic documentation and analysis pertaining to academic interests and of language revitalisation, relevant to community interests. Within the field of linguistics and endangered-languages research, there has historically been a disconnect between the interests and needs of language communities who would like to revive their languages and the research interests and agenda of the academic research team, often as "outsiders," who often focus on the documentation and description of seemingly esoteric aspects of the language (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009; Yamada 2011). In the most extreme approaches to this "conflict," the academic team drives the research agenda entirely, collecting data from and about the language – even creating documents that *would* be useful for the community, such as grammars and dictionaries – but without any input from the language community in terms of the community's own knowledge, desires, and power. In such cases, the research team is "responsible and accountable primarily to themselves and to their academic or scholarly communities" (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009: 21).

By contrast, this project was initiated and driven by the needs of the Esperance/Tjaltjraak community, utilising a community-based language research model, which Czaykowska-Higgins (2009: 24) defines as

> Research that is *on* a language, and that is conducted *for*, *with*, and *by* the language-speaking community within which the research takes place and which it affects. This kind of research involves a collaborative relationship, a partnership, between researchers and (members of) the community within which the research takes place.

Czaykowska-Higgins (2009: 25) goes on to note that

> In its fullest form, Community-Based Language Research involves training members of the language-using community to do the research themselves, and can have as one of its goals the aim of making redundant the presence in the community of academic linguists who are not from the community.

Indeed, the result of this collaborative project has been that, through activities to build capacity and confidence, members of the Tjaltjraak team have organically taken responsibility for accessing the language data, initiating the development of language resources, and facilitating language teaching in their community. To this end, the project has served the "agendas" of both language documentation and revitalisation, by utilising a process of "mobilizing" language documentation, which Nathan (2006: 364) defines as "taking linguistic documentation and working with speaker communities and other specialists to deliver products that can be used to counter language endangerment." As such, the documentation and analytical output of the project is a comprehensive, audio-enabled digital word list of Nyungar vocabulary that pushes the analysis forward in compiling and consolidating previous documentation of Esperance speakers, and the revitalisation output of the project is a suite of

language-learning resources led by the community of speakers that the documentation work can directly feed into without the presence of the research team.

2. Documentation: Consolidating the word list   In an attempt to reconstitute a no-longer-spoken Indigenous language on the Californian coast, Broadbent (1957: 278–279) undertook a process of language 'reconstitution,' involving the comparison of different versions of what various recordists of a language hear and transcribe. This method is useful in considering records of Nyungar language. A diverse body of sources contains information about the language, with various recordists employing a range of different, and somewhat unreliable, orthographies. The mostly English-speaking explorers and pastoralists who compiled most of the primary sources of Nyungar vocabularies were likely to have found it difficult to discern the sounds of Nyungar language and represent those sounds using Roman script. The Esperance word list is part of ongoing efforts to consolidate the variation found across historical sources of Nyungar language documentation in a way that is transparent and accessible to Nyungar people.

We began by compiling all the available word lists from Nyungar language speakers who were known to have lived in the Esperance region, focusing particularly on the most voluminous documentation undertaken by Daisy Bates and Carl Georg von Brandenstein. This resulted in a set of nearly 5,700 items, collated from twenty speakers from six major sources, including:

1. Charlie Dabb, Sam Dabb, and Gordon Harris recorded with Carl Georg von Brandenstein (1970) and included in his 1988 publication;
2. Charlie Innell and Bessie Ruby recorded with Norman Tindale in 1939 and included in his 1938–1963 manuscript;
3. Indar, Joowel, Baiungan, Deebungool, Jakbam, Wabbinyet, Bumblefoot, Notum, Wirijan, Kaiar, and Ngalbaitch recorded with Daisy Bates in the 1910s;
4. Wainbret recorded with Robert Helms (1896);
5. The Ngokgurring or Shell people from Doubtful Bay to Israelite Bay recorded with Campbell Taylor (1886); and
6. Warrangoo Tribe, Kent District, recorded with George Chester (1886).

Given that all Esperance word lists should theoretically be the same Nyungar dialect, we grouped words together in accordance with their phonology and English definitions, attempting to account for differences. We applied an understanding of Nyungar phonology and morphology, as well as considerations about the background and qualifications of the author of each word list and an understanding of their spelling system, to compare orthographical forms to derive a set of approximately 1,800 unique Nyungar words. For example, Nyungar doesn't phonemically differentiate between voiced and unvoiced stops, so words with the same or similar meaning that only differ in voicing would be analysed as variations in spelling of the same word. We also considered that many authors may not recognise the difference between the three nasal sounds /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/, which are contrastive in Nyungar, so

we could collapse the difference between written words that only differ by nasals. After taking these variations in spelling into account, the major differences relate to suffixation for verb tense and aspect as well as pluralisation, for which we referred to grammatical analyses from Douglas (1968), von Brandenstein (1988), the Noongar Boodjar Language Centre (2015), and Bracknell (2017). For the sake of simplicity, we collapsed the set of inflected words in the online dictionary. For example, permutations of the word *bardip* appear twenty times across the six sources in four different ways (see Table 6).

Table 6. Evidence of the word *bardip* in Eastern Nyungar sources

Simple present	bardip: *deceit, deceive;* bardip: *lie (to tell a lie);* bardip: *to lie, to deceive* (Ngalbaitch; in Bates c. 1910d). paardep: *to tell a lie* (von Brandenstein 1988: 47).
Present continuous	nyinduk bardee bin: *deceiving me, you are;* nyindăk bārdibin: *deceiving me, you are;* alle bardipin: *true, that is not;* ale bārdipin: *true, that is not* (Ngalbaitch; in Bates c. 1910d). noona bardee biddee nakkul: *deceiving me, you are* (Jakbum, Wabbinyet; Bates c. 1910b). yinok bardibin: *deceiving me, you are;* baradinbin: *lie (to tell a lie)* (Notum, Wirijan, Kaiar; Bates c. 1910e). bardibin: *story, lie, to tell a lie* (Kaiar, Wirijan; Bates c. 1910f). bardeebinyee: *imitate, to;* bardeebin: *deceive* (Indar, Joowel, Baiungan; in Bates c. 1910a). pardebin: *telling a lie* (Charlie Dabb; von Brandenstein 1970).
Habitual	bardibur: *to deceive, to lie* (Jakbăm, Bumblefoot; Bates c. 1910c). bardeeboor: *deceit, deceive;* bardipur: *lie (to tell a lie);* nootuk bardee bur: *true, that is not* (Jakbum, Wabbinyet; Bates c.1910b).
Derivation	bardinyăk: *tale, story* (Kaiar, Wirijan; Bates c. 1910f). bardinyak: *story* (Notum, Wirijan, Kaiar; Bates c. 1910e).

In this example, *in* seems to be a phonetic variation or mishearing of the present continuous *iny* [iɲ]. The *oor* is likely the habitual aspect *ər*, as in *waabər* 'player' and *bidiər* 'leader' (von Brandenstein 1988).

Nyungar synonyms were counted as unique words where there is not a clear

phonological relationship between them (i.e., they do not sound similar or are not plausibly two different spellings of the same word; e.g., *kaata bamp*, *kaata barder*, *kaata barn*, *kaata biragoort*, and *kaata dorling* counted as five unique words for 'bald headed,' but *kaat*, *kata*, *kaata*, *kāt*, and *qaat* all count as one word for 'head, mountain, peak'). The English definition of each Nyungar word was given as a collection of synonyms to indicate the semantic flavour of the word rather than to suggest a direct correspondence between English and Nyungar. For example, *djaanak* is given as 'ghost, devil, spirit, white person.' This would raise difficulties for a print dictionary where definitive choices must be made about which English word to catalogue the Nyungar word against but is not an issue for an online word list, which is easily searchable.

Having derived the variation sets, we determined a standardised form for each set using a spelling system based on what was agreed upon by senior Nyungar people in 1992 and used in schools across the South-West region today (Whitehurst 1992). However, in cases where a word is currently known to the Esperance community and their own spelling is particularly salient, the Esperance community's spelling of the word overrides the LOTE spelling. In doing so, language knowledge remains current, and Esperance Nyungar retains authority over what is considered "authentic" language. Notably, the preference was to spell *Nyungar* with a <u> for the middle vowel sound, but to spell all other words with <oo> for the same sound. This preserves the uniqueness of Esperance/Kepa Kurl Nyungar and is a creative solution to supporting Nyungar language learners to pronounce Nyungar words in the Nyungar way, not the way they would be pronounced in English, where English speakers may tend to pronounce the letter <u> as /ɐ/ as in "but" rather than /ʊ/ as in "put" (following Standard Australian English pronunciation). Another spelling anomaly arose around the name for Esperance itself, Kepa Kurl. This name is emblazoned on a mural in the centre of town, which is a source of considerable community pride. *Kurl* 'boomerang' includes a diphthong vowel /ɛɪ/ rather than the /ɐ/ or /ʊ/ sound suggested by the spelling. Using the Nyungar spelling system, it would be spelled *keirl*. Tjaltjraak wanted to retain the Kepa Kurl spelling as used on the mural rather than adopt a more phonetically correct new spelling, as the pronunciation of this word was already well-known in the community.

3. Language revitalisation The goal of language revitalisation in general is to "breathe life" back into the language (Baldwin 2003), which can entail a variety of things, including increasing the community's awareness of the language, increasing the visibility and status of the language, and documenting the language. In terms of the focus of language revitalisation for this project, the partnership between the university research team and Tjaltjraak has primarily involved creating new domains for Nyungar language use in Esperance and increasing the availability of written materials for Nyungar language learners and speakers. These are key goals for the Esperance region, where access to Nyungar language resources and awareness of the Nyungar language have in recent years been very low. Furthermore, focusing on domains and accessibility of written/pedagogical materials is part of supporting a

holistic approach to language revitalisation, as elucidated in the UNESCO Language Vitality Assessment (UNESCO 2003).

The UNESCO assessment measures a language's vitality according to six major factors. The first three factors relate to (1) transmission of the language between generations and to (2) the absolute number and (3) proportion of speakers within the total population. These are challenging enough to define, let alone enact. The other three factors in the UNESCO assessment relate to (4) the language environment itself, namely trends in existing language domains; (5) response to new domains and media; and (6) materials for language education and literacy. Importantly, language vitality cannot be assessed with reference to a single factor in this assessment, but rather through the combination of factors, so an approach to language revitalisation that addresses multiple factors is in itself working towards a more vital language. The partnership's focus on domains and written/pedagogical materials, whilst acknowledging that these in themselves do not address the other vitality factors of language transmission and number and proportion of speakers, can specifically help to create the kind of linguistic environment in which language learners and new speakers have the opportunity to develop and thrive.

3.1 Creating written and pedagogical materials

3.1.1 Vocabulary charts (colours, numbers, animals, weather/elements) In consultation with Tjaltjraak, the ECU research team provided lists of Nyungar colours, numbers, animals, and weather/elements vocabulary based on what Tjaltjraak determined they wanted to learn and teach first. The research team employed Rubeun Yorkshire, a Perth-based Nyungar artist with family links to Esperance, to illustrate some of these vocabulary sets, and Wanika Close at Tjaltjraak quickly took the initiative to turn the other sets into wall charts. This demonstrates the level of ownership that Tjaltjraak is taking for the development of their language resources and the way they have set the terms of the partnership such that the university research team provides the 'raw' language information and Tjaltjraak takes responsibility for developing and implementing it as useable resources that are tailored to their own needs and preferences.

Language can "represent the distillation of the thoughts and communication of a people over their entire history" (Mithun 1998: 189) and, in the case of Indigenous languages, can offer a window into Indigenous worldviews and knowledge systems (Marett 2010). As an example of this phenomenon, the vocabulary charts developed in partnership with Tjaltjraak illustrate some of the differences between concepts embedded in the English language and more Nyungar-centric understandings. The numbers and colours charts proved popular for language learners in the early stages of engagement as they leaned heavily into well-known English-language conceptualisations. In Nyungar, there are only words for 'one,' 'two,' 'three,' and 'five,' with other numbers built from that base vocabulary. Similarly, the Nyungar terms for colours like 'orange,' 'pink,' and 'purple' are built from the words for 'blue,' 'red,' and 'yellow.' This prompted useful discussion of semantics, etymology, and cultural differences embedded in language. Nyungar worldviews are strongly embedded in

the word charts themed around landscapes, particularly in polysemous terms like *ngaangk* 'mother/sun,' *maar* 'hand/wind/atmosphere,' and *bily* 'navel/river.' The wall chart for animals features animal tracks rather than the pictures of the animals themselves, showcasing another kind of Nyungar literacy. Consideration of how and why cultural conceptualisations clash is vital in achieving some of the more ambitious ontological goals of language revitalisation programmes.

3.1.2 Conversational phrases Consultation with Tjaltjraak also resulted in a list of conversational phrases to be translated into Nyungar, such as 'good morning,' 'who is your family?,' and 'are you hungry?' These phrases were initially selected as appropriate language material to introduce to high school students but were soon adopted by the Tjaltjraak rangers because of their usefulness in everyday communication. Focusing on language that can be used every day is an important component of language revitalisation programmes as it supports new speakers to view the language as something to be used and indeed be spoken for communication, not only as something to be learned about (Hinton 1997; Amery 2009). Wanika Close produced and circulated a poster of these conversational phrases around the Tjaltjraak offices.

3.2 Teaching: Language circles At the end of the research team's involvement in providing source material for the language programme, the facilitators at Tjaltjraak initiated and organised a 'language circle.' The intention of the language circle is for the Tjaltjraak rangers to meet regularly for one hour and to learn and use the Nyungar language together, utilising the language resources developed in the programme. Because the research team was not able to visit Esperance in person for the inaugural language circle, they observed the circle via videoconferencing, at the request of the facilitators. The research team provided input to the circle when specifically requested – for example, to explain how to articulate a particular sound or to discuss the Nyungar number system – whilst keeping in the background at all other times. This gave the facilitators confidence to run the circle themselves in a safe and supportive environment for the first time without deferring unnecessarily to the research team.

4. Effectiveness of this language intervention, plus challenges In this language programme, there is no distance between language revitalisation work and the academic interests of the research team involved. The consolidation of historical sources of Nyungar language documentation into the Nyungar word list, a scholarly task that serves to create better documentation and analysis of Nyungar, is immediately fed back into the community through the provision of an Esperance-region word list that is utilised in pedagogical resources. By mobilising the archival resources, the research team's academic interests are in fact guided by the requirements of the speech community. In effect, the research team has taken Nyungar language knowledge that was gleaned from linguist- and anthropologist-focused models (i.e., the collections of language data by Daisy Bates, Norman Tindale, and Carl Georg von Brandenstein in particular) and re-analysed and mobilised it using a community-based model of research to renew the Nyungar language in the area and restore the status of 'new

speakers'[3] as experts in this collaborative partnership. The importance of this shift from linguist- to community-focused models is illustrated by the example of the spelling system/orthography used by von Brandenstein (1988), which, while maintaining internal consistency, renders some Nyungar words virtually unreadable even to linguists and certainly unreadable to the community who are not trained in linguistics. For example, von Brandenstein records 'squeaker' (a type of bird, probably a crow) as *tyäirp̃püürn*, which not only is difficult to read without prior knowledge but also requires the use of special symbols to type. In contrast, our analysis is informed by the community's preferred orthography, so this word is spelt *djabarn*, only requiring knowledge of how <dj> is pronounced.

This language research project is about ownership as well as how the partnership between the Tjaltjraak rangers and the university research team has facilitated and supported that ownership. It is made possible by the way that the Tjaltjraak facilitators, Wanika Close and Annie Dabb, utilised the linguistics and teaching expertise of the research team whilst retaining ownership over language reclamation and outcomes. For example, Tjaltjraak maintained ownership by providing current Kepa Kurl/Esperance Nyungar spellings of language items; by creating their own language resources based on text files provided by the research team; and by organising and running the language lessons themselves with the university team as observers via videoconference, who were available to make suggestions and provide extra information only as requested. In particular, the format of the language circle, where the research team was available but with the slight inconvenience of being remote, helped the Tjaltjraak facilitators to "step out of their comfort zone" to teach the Nyungar language, with the confidence of being able to refer to the research team but only when it was most needed. This is a considerable factor in meeting the aim in community-based language research to make the university research team as redundant as possible (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009). Furthermore, Dr. Winmar observed that the initial language circles started strong with high attendance, with the Nyungar language not being treated as an isolated object of study but rather "as a language" – meaning that it can be used to communicate and be part of the Rangers programme and other community activities.

However, at the time of writing this article, various factors have resulted in fluctuating participation, mostly based on shifting social dynamics within Esperance and an increase in Nyungar rangers' activities and commitments. Additionally, some community members outside of the Dabb family suggested to the research team that despite all evidence to the contrary, they still did not consider the language authentic to the Nyungar spoken in Esperance in the last century. In an initial response to these concerns, the research team began a process of extracting audio examples of lexical items from the von Brandenstein field tapes and arranging them alongside terms in

---

[3] *New speaker* refers to any speaker or learner of a language who did not learn the language to fluency as a first language. Unlike *semi-speaker* or *non-native speaker*, "[t]he coining of the term [new speaker] […] prompts a movement away from the deficiency model sometimes implied in being a 'non-' native, as opposed to a 'native' or a 'second' as opposed to a 'first' language speaker of a language" (O'Rourke & Pujolar 2013: 56).

the online word list. At the time of publication, we have included audio examples for twenty-five single words in the online dictionary. This represents a tiny fraction of the full corpus of 1,800 words; however, we observed a positive increase in engagement with the online word list when this feature was demonstrated at a Tjaltjraak meeting. Hearing the word spoken in Esperance in 1970, rather than relying only on the analysis of the university research team, bolstered community confidence in the language programme. The team also more explicitly discussed kinship links between the speakers in historical sources and the families that make up Tjaltjraak today. To that end, a key moment in a recent community workshop involved analysis of the Wainbret (Helms 1896) word list with his direct descendants. Because we could demonstrate the similarity between Wainbret's vocabulary and other historical sources, that family responded with dramatically increased engagement and confidence in the authenticity of the language data.

Learning one's endangered Aboriginal language can be an overwhelming intellectual, emotional, and spiritual challenge (Bell 2013). Although a desire for fidelity with the past is a primary motivating factor in language revival, it can also be used as an excuse to avoid engaging in the present. Indeed, the history of Nyungar language revitalisation programmes has been characterised by a lot of discussion of spelling and dialectic diversity in English rather than speaking the language itself. What has emerged from this partnership between Tjaltjraak and the university research team is a language revitalisation programme characterised by honest and transparent communication about the community's concerns regarding authenticity and demonstrative of the community putting real value on their language and resources, taking ownership, and working together. This project demonstrates a model for analysis of historical vocabularies and emphasises the need for clear and detailed explanations of such processes to endangered language communities. Aside from initial processes involving ironing out details associated with the language itself, shifting community perceptions of their endangered language as a disconnected artefact of the past to a dynamic means of communication that has always linked them together may be key to fostering a community of speakers into the future.

References

Amery, Rob. 2009. Phoenix or relic? Documentation of languages with revitalization in mind. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 3(2). 138–148. (http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4436)

Austlang. n.d. W41: Noongar/Nyoongar. Canberra: The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) Collection. (https://collection.aiatsis.gov.au/austlang/language/w41) (Accessed 2021-05-01.)

Baldwin, Darryl. 2003. *Miami language reclamation: From ground zero* (Center for Writing and the Interdisciplinary Minor in Literacy and Rhetorical Studies Speaker Series), no. 24. Minneapolis: Center for Writing.

Bates, Daisy. ca. 1910a. Native vocabulary – Indar, Joowel, Baiungan, of Esperance and Bremer Bay. Section XII 2B, 1b. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide.

Bates, Daisy. ca. 1910b. Native vocabulary – Jakbum and Wabbinyet, of Beekbeejup or Beetch Beejup. Section XII 2B, 3a. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide.

Bates, Daisy. ca. 1910c. Native vocabulary – Jakbăm, Bumblefoot, of Albany and Denmark. Section XII 2B, 3b. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide.

Bates, Daisy. ca. 1910d. Native vocabulary – Ngalbaitch of Korrlup (50 miles N.W. of Jerramungup). Section XII 2B, 7a. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide.

Bates, Daisy. ca. 1910e. Native vocabulary – Notum, Wirijan, Kaiar of Kattaning. Section XII 2B, 8a. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide.

Bates, Daisy. ca. 1910f. Native vocabulary – Kaiar, Wirijan of Kattaning. Section XII 2B, 8b. Adelaide: The University of Adelaide.

Bates, Daisy. 1904–1912. *Papers of Daisy Bates in the Southwest of Western Australia* (MS 365). Perth: J. S. Battye Library of Western Australian History.

Bates, Daisy. 1914. A few notes on some South-Western Australian dialects. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 44. 65–82. doi:10.2307/2843531

Bell, Jeanie. 2013. Language attitudes and language revival/survival. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34(4). 399–410. doi:10.1080/01434632.2013.794812

Bennell v. State of Western Australia. 2006. Federal Court of Australia 1243. (http://www8.austlii.edu.au/cgi-bin/viewdoc/au/cases/cth/FCA/2006/1243.html?stem=0&synonyms=0&query=bennell) (Accessed 2021-05-21.)

Blake, Barry J. 1991. Woiwurrung: The Melbourne language. In Blake, Barry J. & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *The handbook of Australian languages*, vol. 4, 30–122. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Bodó, Csanád & Noémi Fazakas. 2018. Enregistering authenticity in language revitalization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 22(5). 570–594. doi:10.1111/josl.12308

Bracknell, Clint. 2017. *Maaya waab* (play with sound): Song language and spoken language in the south-west of Western Australia. In Wafer, Jim & Myfany Turpin (eds.), *Recirculating songs: Revitalising the singing practices of Indigenous Australia*, 45–57. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.

Broadbent, Sylvia. 1957. Rumsen I: Methods of reconstitution. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 23. 275–280.

Chauncy, Philip. 1878. Notes and anecdotes of the Aborigines of Australia. In Smyth, Robert Brough (ed.), *The Aborigines of Victoria: With notes relating to the habits of the Natives of other parts of Australia and Tasmania compiled from various sources for the Government of Victoria by R. Brough Smyth*, vol. 2, 221–284. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Chester, George. 1886. Kent District: Vocabulary of Warrangoo Tribe. In Curr, Edward M. (ed.), *The Australian race: Its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent*, vol. 1, 390–391. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Collard, Leonard, Julie Byrne, Rosemary van Den Berg, & Sandra Harben. 2005. *Nyungar tourism in the south west region of Western Australia: A literature review of tourism*. Perth: Murdoch University. (https://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/10940/1/ncslitreview.pdf) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Curr, Edward M. 1886. *The Australian race: Its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent*. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Czaykowska-Higgins, Ewa. 2009. Research models, community engagement, and linguistic fieldwork: Reflections on working within Canadian Indigenous communities. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 3(1). 15–50. (http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4423)

Delta. 1849. On the cause of crime amongst the Aborigines. *The Inquirer*, December 19, 4.

Delta. 1851. Extracts from a MS. Work on the Aborigines by "Delta." *The Inquirer*, January 8, 3.

Dench, Alan. 1994. Nyungar. In Thieberger, Nick & William McGregor (eds.), *Macquarie Aboriginal words: A dictionary of words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages*, 173–192. Sydney: The Macquarie Library.

Douglas, Wilfred. 1968. *The Aboriginal languages of the South-West of Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

ETNTAC (Esperance Tjaltjraak Native Title Aboriginal Corporation). 2019. Strategic plan 2019–2022. (https://etntac.com.au/_files/downloads/etntac-strategic-plan-2019.pdf) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Eyre, Edward John. 1845. *Journals of expeditions of discovery into Central Australia and overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, in the years 1840–1*, vol. 2. London: T. and W. Boone.

Glaskin, Katie, Myrna Tonkinson, Yasmine Musharbash, & Victoria Burbank (eds.). 2016. *Mortality, mourning and mortuary practices in Indigenous Australia*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315248646

Haebich, Anna. 2018. *Dancing in shadows: Histories of Nyungar performance*. Perth: UWA Publishing.

Hassell, Ethel & Daniel S. Davidson. 1936. Notes on the ethnology of the Wheelman Tribe of Southwestern Australia. *Anthropos* 31(5/6). 679–711. (https://www.jstor.org/stable/40448507) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Helms, Robert. 1896. Anthropology. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 16. 237–332.

Henderson, John. 2013. Language documentation and community interests. In Jones, Mari C. & Sarah Ogilvie (eds.), *Keeping languages alive: Documentation, pedagogy and revitalization*, 56–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139245890.007

Hinton, Leanne. 1997. Small languages and small language communities: Survival of endangered languages: The California master-apprentice program. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1997(123). 177–191. doi:10.1515/ijsl.1997.123.177

Marett, Allan. 2010. Vanishing songs: How musical extinctions threaten the planet. *Ethnomusicology Forum* 19(2). 249–262.

McGrath, Pam & Emma Phillips. 2008. Australian findings on Aboriginal cultural practices associated with clothing, hair, possessions and use of name of deceased persons. *International Journal of Nursing Practice* 14(1). 57–66. doi:10.1111/j.1440-172X.2007.00667.x

Mitchell, Myles Bevan. 2016. *The Esperance Nyungars, at the Frontier: An archaeological investigation of mobility, aggregation and identity in late-Holocene Aboriginal society, Western Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University. (Doctoral dissertation.) (http://hdl.handle.net/1885/117827)

Mithun, Marianne. 1998. The significance of diversity in language endangerment and preservation. In Grenoble, Lenore A. & Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.), *Endangered languages: Current issues and future prospects*, 163–191. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mulvaney, John & Neville Green (eds). 1992. *Commandment of solitude: The journals of Captain Collet Barker 1828–1831*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Nathan, David. 2006. Thick interfaces: Mobilizing language documentation with multimedia. In Gippert, Jost, Nikolaus P. Himmelmann, & Ulrike Mosel (eds.), *Essentials of language documentation*, 363–379. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton. doi:10.1515/9783110197730.363

Noongar Boodjar Language Centre. 2015. *Noongar Waangkiny: A learner's guide to Noongar*. Batchelor, Northern Territory: Batchelor Press.

O'Grady, Geoffrey. 1960. Balardung and Mirning language elicitation OGRADY-HALE_01 (A014053-A014055) [Audio recording]. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

O'Grady, Geoffrey N., C. F. Voegelin, & F. M. Voegelin. 1966. Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific fascicle six. *Anthropological Linguistics* 8(2). 1–197. (https://www.jstor.org/stable/30029431) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

O'Rourke, Bernadette & Joan Pujolar. 2013. From native speakers to "new speakers": Problematizing nativeness in language revitalization contexts. *Histoire, Épistémologie Langage* 35(2). 47–67. (https://www.persee.fr/doc/hel_0750-8069_2013_num_35_2_3457) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Smyth, Robert Brough. 1878. *The Aborigines of Victoria: With notes relating to the habits of the Natives of other parts of Australia and Tasmania compiled from various sources for the Government of Victoria by R. Brough Smyth*, vol. 1. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Taylor, Campbell. 1886. From doubtful bay to Israelite bay: Vocabulary of the Ngokgurring or Shell People. In Curr, Edward M. (ed.), *The Australian race: Its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent*, 392–393. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Thieberger, Nicholas. 2004. *Linguistic report on the Single Noongar Native Title Claim*. Beckenham: South West Aboriginal Land and Sea Council. (https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au/bitstream/handle/11343/27658/250994_NoongarNTLinguisticReport.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Tindale, Norman Barnett. 1938–1963. *Australian vocabularies gathered by Norman B. Tindale 1938–1963* (AA 338) [Manuscript]. Adelaide: South Australian Museum.

Tindale, Norman Barnett. 1938–1939. *Harvard and Adelaide Universities anthropological expedition, Australia. 1938–1939. Journal and notes by Norman B. Tindale. 2.* (AA 338/1/15/2) [Manuscript]. Board for Anthropological Research Expedition N, vol. 2, 759–1142. Adelaide: South Australian Museum.

Tindale, Norman Barnett. 1953. *Anthropological field notes on the University of California at Los Angeles – University of Adelaide anthropological expedition, North West Australia. Volume II. Pp.692a–1250* (AA 338/1/19/2) [Manuscript]. Adelaide: South Australian Museum.

Tindale, Norman Barnett. 1966. *Journal of a trip to Western Australia in search of Tribal data by Norman B. Tindale 1966* (AA 338/1/27) [Manuscript], 3–254. Adelaide: South Australian Museum.

Tindale, Norman Barnett. 1968. *Journal of visit to South Western Australia by Norman B. Tindale in company with Noel McFarland. October – December, 1968* (AA 338/1/28) [Manuscript], 9–129. Adelaide: South Australian Museum.

Tindale, Norman Barnett. 1974. *Aboriginal tribes of Australia: Their terrain, environmental controls, distribution, limits and proper names*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

UNESCO. 2003. *Language vitality and endangerment*. (Presented at the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages, Paris, 10–12 March.) (http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.219.4612&rep=rep1&type=pdf) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

von Brandenstein, Carl Georg. 1970. Diary XIX. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. (Unpublished manuscript partially transcribed by Clint Bracknell, 2018.)

von Brandenstein, Carl Georg. 1988. *Nyungar Anew: Phonology, text samples and etymological and historical 1500-word vocabulary of an artificially recreated Aboriginal language in the South-West of Australia* (Series C-99). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. (https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/145420/1/PL-C99.pdf) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Walsh, Michael. 2010. Why language revitalization sometimes works. In Hobson, John, Kevin Lowe, Susan Poetsch, & Michael Walsh (eds.), *Re-awakening languages: Theory and practice in the revitalisation of Australia's Indigenous languages*, 22–36. Sydney: Sydney University Press. (https://ses.library.usyd.edu. au/bitstream/handle/2123/6950/RAL-chapter-2.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y) (Accessed 2021-05-10.)

Whitehurst, Rose. 1992. *Noongar dictionary: Noongar to English and English to Noongar*. Bunbury: Noongar Language and Cultural Centre.

Yamada, Racquel-María. 2011. Integrating documentation and formal teaching of Kari'nja: Documentary materials as pedagogical materials. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 5. 1–30. (http://hdl.handle.net/10125/4486)

Clint Bracknell
c.bracknell@uq.edu.au
orcid.org/0000-0002-9808-1624

Amy Budrikis
a.budrikis@ecu.edu.au
orcid.org/0000-0002-6450-385X