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SALVAGE STUDIES OF WESTERN QUEENSLAND  
ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

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## Map 1

## PREFACE

This volume contains salvage studies of a number of extinct languages formerly spoken in western Queensland. In two cases I was able to work briefly with the last speaker of the language, and the material thus obtained is supplemented by lists of words collected by non-linguists at various periods between the 1880s and the 1940s. Three other chapters concern languages that were already extinct when Barry Blake and I began fieldwork in the second half of the 1960s, and are based solely on older sources. Some aspects of Breen's (1971a) classification of the languages of western Queensland are re-examined, but no attempt is made to revise and update it, overdue though this be.

The various chapters, apart from the first and the last, were written originally as unconnected papers, at various times and in fits and starts, over a long period; that on Yanda grew out of the appendix entitled 'The classification of Janda' in Breen 1971a. The paper on Guwa had its beginnings in 1975 when Peter Sutton produced a very useful compilation of most of the sources. He withdrew as a co-author some time later, because of the pressure of other work. Similar pressures on the remaining authors are just part of the reason why it has taken so long to prepare this material for publication; another is the remarkable ability of this type of work to consume time (Barry Blake commented in a letter in 1987 that, 'The Guwa paper took more person hours than any book I've ever written').

I am grateful to the informants, the late Arthur Winkers (the last speaker of Kungkari) and the late Albert Upperty (the last speaker of Pirriya); to Barry Blake who, as well as co-authoring Chapter 5, made useful comments on some others (also a couple of paragraphs he wrote as part of the original Guwa paper have been incorporated with little or no change into 'Sources and Conventions'); to Thomas S. House, whose notebook and memory made a substantial contribution to the little we know about Pirriya; to Mr and Mrs Frank Murray (Belombre Station) and Mr and Mrs Fred Nissen (then of Keeroongooloo Station) for permitting and facilitating my fieldwork on their properties; and to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for its generous support of my fieldwork and follow-up work. Barry Blake and I wish to thank Norman B. Tindale for allowing us (per R.M.W Dixon) to use his unpublished material on several of the languages included in this publication; we also thank Peter Sutton for his contribution to the Guwa project. Thanks also to the many typists who contributed, especially Rosalie Breen who typed the major portion of the final drafts, to the map-makers, especially Brenda Thorley of the Institute for Aboriginal Development, to John Henderson for hours of help with the formatting, and to the School of Australian Linguistics and Monash University which both contributed substantially to the costs of typing and map-making.

Gavan Breen

## SOURCES AND CONVENTIONS

Names of languages referred to in the text or vocabularies are listed below; double inverted commas are used to mark those spelt as in the early sources. Some languages are grouped according to their genetic relationship, insofar as it is known. Sources of data on the languages are also given (the bibliography can be referred to for further details on these sources). Where no source is given, data come from Breen's fieldnotes and unpublished vocabularies. Sources of data on languages described in this book are given in the appropriate chapters. The languages which have been described or whose vocabularies have been given in this volume are:

- Pirriya (Chapter 2)
- Kungkari (Chapter 3)
- “Koonger” (Appendix 3.2)
- “Kungarditchi” (Appendix 3.2)
- Dharawala (Chapter 4)
- Yandjibara (Chapter 4)
- Wadjabangayi (Chapter 4)
- Yiningayi (Chapter 4)
- Guwa (Chapter 5)
- Yanda (Chapter 6)

Other languages:

Palku group includes:

- Mayawali (H.S. Dutton 1901; J.S. Dutton 1906; Lamb 1899, 1904)
- Ngulupulu
- Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979b; Breen fieldnotes)
- Ringu-Ringu (Collins 1886; McLean 1886)
- Wangkamanha
- Wangka-Yutjurru

Karna group includes the Palku group and (among others):

- Diyari (Austin 1981; Trefry 1970)
- Karruwal (Anonymous 1886; W.H.W. 1912)
- Mambangura (Sullivan and Eglinton 1886)



Marrulha (?=Mithaka)  
Mithaka  
“Murunuda” (?= Mithaka) (Campbell 1904)  
Ngamini  
Punthamara  
Wangkangurru (Hercus personal communication; Breen fieldnotes)  
Wangkumara  
Yandruwandha  
Yawarrawarrka

Mari group includes (among others):

Baradha (Beale 1974)  
Bidjara (Breen 1973 and field notes)  
Biri (Tindale 1938-39; Beale 1974)  
Gangulu (McIntosh 1887)  
Gugu-Badhun (Sutton 1973)  
Gunggari  
Gunya (Breen 1981a)  
Margany (Breen 1981a)  
Wadjigu  
Yagalingu (Lowe 1887)  
Yirandhali (Armstrong 1886; Christison 1887; M. Curr and E. Curr 1886; Dalhanty 1887;  
J.S. Dutton 1906; Tindale 1938-39; Anonymous 1900)

Mayi group includes:

Mayi-Kulan  
Mayi-Kutuna  
Mayi-Thakurti  
Mayi-Yapi  
Ngawun  
Wunumara

The source for this group is Breen 1981b.

Pama group includes (among many others):

Kok-Nar  
Kukatj  
Kurtjar (Paul Black fieldnotes)

Other languages referred to are:

Alyawarr (Institute for Aboriginal Development 1989a)  
Anmatyerr (Institute for Aboriginal Development 1989b)  
Badjidi (Mathews 1901, Breen fieldnotes)  
Bitharra (Sullivan 1886)

Bularnu  
 Dyirbal (Dixon 1972)  
 Kalali  
 Kalkutungu (Blake 1969, 1979a)  
 Kaytetye (K.L. Hale and H.J. Koch unpublished wordlists)  
 Pertame (=Southern Arrernte)  
 Wakaya  
 Wargamay (Dixon 1981)  
 Warlpiri (Warlpiri Lexicon Project)  
 Warluwarra  
 “Wonkomarra” (= old form of Wangkumara) (Myles 1886)  
 Yalarnnga (Blake tape transcripts, Breen tape transcripts and fieldnotes)

The following list gives abbreviations of names referred to in several chapters; some others that are used in only one or two chapters are introduced in those chapters, in the introductions to the vocabulary lists.

B	Bidjara
Dh	Dharawala
Gn	Gunya
Gu	Guwa
Kd	“Kungarditchi”
Kg	“Koongeri”
Kl	Kalkutungu
Kn	Kungkari
Mg	Margany
Pi	Pirriya
PP	Pitta-Pitta
Wb	Wadjabangayi
Wm	Wangkumara
Yb	Yandjibara
Yi	Yiningayi
Yl	Yalarnnga

No attempt has been made to give cognates of vocabulary items in the lists except where this is necessary or helpful in working out the likely form of a word or identifying it. If cognates are given for an item, no attempt is made to give an exhaustive list ; the purpose of giving cognates is to give a guide to the likely phonemic form, and one reliable cognate from a neighbouring language is sufficient for this if there is no contradictory evidence from other sources.

Vocabularies are arranged semantically except that all verbs are grouped together. Order of semantic fields is: human classification, kinship, body, inanimate nature, fire, animals, birds, reptiles, fish (including crustaceans, mussels), insects, plants, camp, artefacts, food, qualities, numbers, (verbs), time, place, yes/no, pronouns (if not dealt with elsewhere). Ordering of verbs is: motion, stance, nature, bodily states and functions, senses, vocalisation, transfer, work, violence.

Ordering of terms within semantic groups is not necessarily the same for each chapter. Vocabulary items in some chapters are numbered for ease of cross-reference; the numbering systems do not match up from chapter to chapter.

We have used a practical orthography with, for example, digraphs such as *th*, *nh*, *lh* (for dental consonants) instead of diacritics; this not only makes for ease of typing but is also handy in cases of uncertainty since we can write, say, *n(h)* for a phoneme that could be dental or alveolar, *(r)n* for a phoneme that could be retroflex or alveolar or *n(a)y* for what might be *ny* or a sequence *nay*. (Note, however, that *(h)* and *(r)* are used sparingly.) *ng* represents a velar nasal, while *NG* is indeterminate; it could be /ng/, /ngk/, /nk/, /rnk/ or sometimes /nyty/ or /nty/. The symbol *R* denotes an indeterminate rhotic – /d/ (where this has a tap allophone) or /rr/ or /r/. In some languages *d* is a stop after a nasal and a tap elsewhere; in others it represents a stop while *rr* is the tap. *V* is used for an indeterminate vowel.

Sequences of dentals, palatals and retroflexes have been written with only one *h*, *y* or *r* not two. Thus /punytyu/ ‘body hair’ is written *puntyu*. We have assumed these sequences to be homorganic. Again, this has the advantage on occasions that it is not necessary to commit oneself; thus *lth* leaves the question of whether the lateral is /lh/ or /l/ unanswered. *NT* could be /nth/, /nty/ (not necessarily homorganic), /nt/ or /rnt/.

Spelling of Bidjara words in the notes differs from the system used in Breen 1973 in that *k* is used instead of *g* and *d* instead of *rr*; initial *nh* is replaced with *n* (see Breen 1974). Margany and Gunya words are written, as near as possible, in the same orthography; however, as these have a voiced/voiceless stop contrast *k* is used for the voiceless velar stop and *g* for the voiced, while *p*, *th*, *ty*, *t* and *rt* are used for the other voiceless stops. A hyphen is used in writing the cluster of /n/ and /g/, thus *n-g*, to distinguish it from the velar nasal, *ng*. This does not apply to the retroflex nasal /rn/ plus /g/; *rng* can only refer to a cluster of /rn/ and /g/ because /r/ plus /ng/ does not occur. *rr* is a trill. Items from Mayi languages are spelt as in the vocabulary in Breen 1981b. Spelling of items from other languages is in a practical orthography using the same symbols as in the languages described in this book; voiced or voiceless stop symbols are used as in the sources for these languages, except that *k* is used in preference to *g* for the velar stop.

In referring to words from other languages, minor differences such as a difference between a voiced and voiceless stop or between *r* and *rr* may be ignored; thus, for example, we have “*manggu* ‘arm’ in Mg, ‘wrist’ B” (Chapter 5, Notes to the list) although we would actually spell it *mangku* in the latter. When a word is found (perhaps with such minor differences) in more than one dialect in both the Karna and Mari groups it is referred to as ‘regional’ or (if found throughout Australia) ‘widespread’.

The putative phonemicisations of words which have not been heard from a speaker of the language have been determined by a comparison of the sources for the language and from our expectation based on our knowledge of neighbouring languages. We will not describe the details of how one determines the phonemic shape underlying a series of amateurish attempts at representation except to say that we have had considerable opportunity to compare imperfect attempts at notation of Australian languages with recordings and one becomes familiar with the ways in which untrained or semitrained Europeans might notate various sequences of phonemes. For example, a written sequence “*utta*” as opposed to “*udda*” in the same source will indicate a probable dental stop /th/ rather than an alveolar /t/, and an initial “*u*” before a double consonant in

a language that is not likely to be one of the initial-dropping languages is likely to result from someone having failed to hear an initial velar nasal /ng/ before an /a/. This means that a sequence “*utta*” could represent *ngatha*. (See also Breen 1980 and Breen 1981b:10-13.) However, it is not always easy to phonemicise amateurs' notations and in a few cases we have declined to make an attempt or have put a bracketed question mark after the entry to indicate our uncertainty. In some cases we have given an alternative in the notes.

Where a number of alternative phonemicisations present themselves, we have often narrowed the choice on the basis of knowledge of neighbouring languages. For example, in a word “*murra*” for ‘hand’ the *rr* could indicate a tap, a retroflex glide or a trill. However, since other languages of the area have the glide, we represent this word with a glide, *mara*. It should be noted that this method could obscure a sound change.

Abbreviations used for grammatical morphemes:

abl	ablative	incho	inchoative
abs	absolute	loc	locative
alla	allative	op	operative
caus	causative	pot	potential
du	dual	pres	present
fut	future	purp	purposive
hith.imper	hither imperative	redup	reduplication
imper	imperative		

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This book brings together all the knowledge we have been able to uncover on a number of extinct languages of western Queensland, which form some sort of geographical unity (see Map 1). Linguistically, this area would have been one with great interest for the linguist – if only there had been linguists around when the languages were still spoken – because it forms a large part of the interface between two great language groups and yet contains languages which seem to have differed in important and interesting ways from both of these groups.

The Mari languages were spoken in a large part of central and southern Queensland and a small part of northern New South Wales; they extended to near Townsville in north-eastern Queensland. The Karna languages were spoken in a large part of the south-west and far west of Queensland, as well as in the north-eastern part of South Australia and the north-western corner of New South Wales. The former group comprises the Mari Sub-Group of the Pama-Maric Group in the classification of O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966), modified by the omission of Kungkari (see Breen 1971a, which classification is, however, modified below).<sup>1</sup> The Karna languages were classified by O'Grady et al. as four separate groups, which they named Arabanic, Dieric, Mitakudic and Pitta-Pittic, but reclassified by Breen (1971a) as the Karnic Group. Both classifications used the lexicostatistic method, which has since been somewhat discredited for Australian languages (see Dixon 1972:330-37 and 1980:254-55). (Note, however, that Dixon's conclusions have been criticised, for example by Alpher and Nash 1982.) The 1971 classification will not be defended here in detail but some justification for some aspects of it is given in Chapter 7.

Both of these groups are fairly typical members of what O'Grady et al. call the Pama-Nyungan Family of languages, which occupies most of Australia. Grammatically, they are suffixing languages with a nominative-ergative system of declension in the nouns and a nominative-accusative system in the pronouns. They do not have noun classification. They lack bound pronouns. Phonologically, they have six distinctive points of consonant articulation, with two laminal series and two apical series. There is no phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops. All words begin with a single consonant and have at least two syllables.

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<sup>1</sup>Note that 'Group' is to be distinguished from 'group'. The former refers to a particular level of genetic relatedness within the hierarchy Phylum, Family, Group, Subgroup, Language, Dialect. The latter is used in a more non-specific sense, to denote any exclusive group of genetically related languages. The terms with capitals will be used only to refer to groupings in the O'Grady et al. classification or Breen's (1971a) partial revision of it.

Exceptions can be found to most of the statements in the previous paragraph, but most of these can be ignored for our present purposes. One that is important is in the pronoun system: while both groups have (typically) a nominative-accusative system for non-singular pronouns, the Mari languages have this also for singular pronouns while the Karna languages have a three-way system for singular pronouns with nominative, ergative and accusative forms. The Karna languages are

distinguished also by having a feminine-nonfeminine distinction in the third person singular pronoun.

Of the languages dealt with in this publication, those described in Chapter 4 (Languages of the upper Barcoo) clearly belong to the Mari group. For this reason, the absence of any data other than old wordlists is not as disappointing as it might have been.

None of the other languages can be fitted with any confidence into either of the major neighbouring groups. Breen (1971a) concluded on the basis of cognate counts that they were all related more to the Mari languages, belonging to subgroups of the higher level Pama-Maric Group of which the Mari languages also formed a subgroup. However, as noted above, doubt has been cast on this lexicostatistic method; in particular, according to Dixon, figures of between about 40 and 60% apparent cognacy between neighbouring languages could simply result from borrowing between unrelated languages bringing their vocabularies to an equilibrium state. (Dixon's choice of the range 40-60% seems arbitrary and perhaps something much narrower would be more realistic; it seems unlikely that the lexicons of a pair of neighbouring languages, having once reached an equilibrium level of about 50% common vocabulary, would diverge again by more than a couple of percent. However, in many cases, and certainly in the area under consideration here, the vocabularies available are so small and the figures one can obtain are so inaccurate that this point is merely academic. Note also that Alpher and Nash (1982) argue that the equilibrium figure will be 50% only in the unlikely event that all words lost are replaced by borrowing and not in other ways.)

Given these facts (which are further examined in Chapter 7) and the absence of reliable non-lexical data on these languages, I will at this stage only point out some of the more interesting and suggestive similarities between languages of the general area.

Pronoun systems and inventories seem to provide one of the most reliable indicators of closeness or distance of genetic relationship between languages (see Blake 1988). Three pronoun systems are found in the area in which the languages described herein and their neighbours (including the Karna languages and the Mari languages) were spoken: the nominative-accusative system of the Mari languages; the partially nominative-accusative partially nominative-ergative-accusative system of the Karna languages; and the absolutive-ergative system of Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga (classified by Breen 1971a as the Kalkatungic Group but probably wrongly, as noted in Chapter 7; it seems more correct to refer to these two as a group – with a small g) at the north-western end of the area of this study. Kungkari, and probably Pirriya, the south-westernmost of the languages described below, seem (on the basis of meagre data, but reliable for Kungkari at least) to share the rare absolutive-ergative system with Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga. However, while the absolutive form in Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga corresponds in form to the nominative in many other languages, in Kungkari and Pirriya it corresponds to the accusative form in many languages (including the Karna and Mari languages).

Very little can be said of the pronouns of the intervening languages. The Guwa data could be taken to suggest a Karna-type system but a Mari-type system seems much more likely and an absolutive-ergative system quite unlikely. The Yanda data on pronouns consist of two words, one spelt in such a way that we can do no more than guess at its form.

It is worth mentioning here that there are two other Karna-Mari fringe languages, Kalali and Badjidi, south of Kungkari and not contiguous with it, whose status is also doubtful (although Breen 1971a classified them as Karna).<sup>1</sup> Badjidi seems to have a Karna-type system. An unusual

feature, not relevant to its genetic classification, is that it has bound pronouns, transparently derived from the free forms. It shares this feature with the Mari dialect Gunya to its north, and both presumably borrowed it from languages to the south. Kalali resembles Badjidi and Karna languages lexically, rather than Mari, but has a Mari-type pronoun system. However, its first and second person singular nominative forms are the same as the corresponding ergative forms in Karna languages.

The somewhat confused situation outlined above is illustrated in Table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1  
FIRST PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS

	Intransitive subject	Transitive subject	Transitive object
Typical Karna language	<i>nganyi</i>	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>nganha</i>
Kalali	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>nganha</i>
Kungkari	<i>nganha</i>	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>nganha</i>
Yalarnnga	<i>ngiya</i>	<i>ngathu</i>	<i>ngiya</i>
Typical Mari language	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>nganha</i>

No other morphological correspondences that might suggest a relationship between these languages have been noted. In phonology a suggestive feature is the occurrence of initial /r/ (glide) in Kungkari, Guwa, Yanda, Yalarnnga and Kalkutungu; it is absent from Karna and Mari languages, except for the more north-easterly dialects of the latter and a couple of dialect or horde names in the Pitta-Pitta area (belonging to the Karna group and just south of Yalarnnga).

Indications given by cognate counts (bearing in mind Dixon's criticism of lexicostatistics) are mostly inconclusive (but will be considered in more detail and with a new approach in Chapter 7). However, it is worth noting a handful of lexical items which seem to be common to a significant part of this non-Karna non-Mari area and to lack cognates in other language groups. These are:

*murumari* 'corella' in Kl, Yl, Kn, Pi and (borrowed?) in Karna dialects "Murunuda" and Karuwalu;

*kuntara* 'snake (gen. or sp.)' in Kl, Yanda, Gu, Kn and (borrowed?) in some dialects of Pitta-Pitta (Karna) and in Wunumara (Mayi);

*thumpa(r)n* 'crayfish, yabby' in Kl, Yanda, Kn, Pi;

*pi(r)npirri* 'river gum' in Yl, Gu, Kn, Pi and  
'coolibah' in Kl and (borrowed?) Mayi-Kutuna (Mayi);

*kurla* (Kl), *karlu* (Yl), *kurlany* (Kn) 'father';

*kulthurr* (Kl), *kulthudu* (Gu, Kn) 'brolga' (possibly cognate with *kuntharra* in some south-west Queensland languages).

<sup>1</sup>I will write up the rather limited material on these at some future date, if I live long enough.

Less convincing examples (less convincing either because the words involved are doubtfully cognate, or because they are found in only a fairly restricted part of the area we are interested in) include:

*ipal* (Kl), *yipi* (Kn) ‘name’;

*ilirr* (Kl), *yi(r)liya* (Kn, Pi) ‘cold’;

*utyan* (Kl), *watyani* (Yl), *watyirn* (Pi) ‘fire’ (cf. Kukatj *kutyen*) but *wurla/yurla* (Yanda, Gu, Kn) ‘fire’;

*ngaltyi* ‘moon’ in Yanda, Gu, Kn;

*kaku* ‘water’ in Yanda, Kn, Pi;

*ringkan* ‘heat’ in Yanda, Gu, Kn (probably borrowed by B as *dhingkan*; probably not related to *rungka* ‘lightning’ in Kl, Yl, Gu, and Mayi-Thakurti (Mayi));

*ari* (Kl) and *kari* (Kn) (and perhaps *ngarri* (Yl)) ‘eat’;

and a few other less likely examples (*tharrkurru* (Yl), *karrkuru* (Pi) ‘man’ is an interesting one).

These can hardly be considered strong evidence, especially as the best examples are flora and fauna terms, which tend to be borrowed within a region, but they do seem to point towards some sort of relationship between the Kalkutungu-Yalannga group and Kungkari and Pirriya at least.



## CHAPTER 2

### PIRRIYA

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Pirriya (also known as Birria) was spoken on Coopers Creek in south-western Queensland. The area given by Tindale (1974:166) is: 'western side of Thomson River and Cooper Creek from Jundah to near Gilpeppee; east to Keeroongooloo and Canaway Range, west to Whitula Creek'. Curr (1886-87 Vol.II:374) gives it as 'western bank of the Thomson, extends from Jundah to the confluence of the Thomson and Barcoo, and further for fifty miles down Coopers Creek. Their territory stretches back forty miles from the rivers in the direction of the Diamantina'. Curr's area overlaps Tindale's but extends further west, while Tindale's extends further east and south. See Breen (1971a:15) on the name Kulumali (on Map 2).

The last speaker of Pirriya was Albert Upperty (or Uppity) of Keeroongooloo Station, who died in 1969. He was reputed to be in his eighties, but the most reliable information (T. House, personal communication) is that he was born in 1905. According to House (see May 1960), Upperty's father Minyaling was said to have been the only, or almost the only, survivor of a massacre of his tribe by (native?) police and whites at Poolpirree Waterhole on Keeroongooloo at the turn of the century.

There are four sources of data on the language. The first is a vocabulary by Edward Curr in E.M. Curr (1886-87). This, like most of the vocabularies given in Curr's book, was sent to him in response to a list of English words and a request for the local Aboriginal equivalents which was circulated by E.M. Curr to numerous pastoralists, policemen and others throughout Australia.

The second is a white man, Thomas S. House, who grew up at Keeroongooloo and learnt some of the language from Albert Upperty and other Aborigines who lived on the station at the time. Mr House sent me a list of words and meanings in 1972, and told me others when I visited Yarrowmere Station, where he was then living, in 1973. At that stage he had not been able to locate the notebook he had written the words in, but when I contacted him again in 1987 he was able to send a copy of all his material. May (1960) published a list of words which House had sent him. This contains a large number of errors. The words were from House's memory, and this gave rise to a few of the errors. (He later found his notebook and sent a corrected list, but too late for publication.) However, most seem to be due to May's own carelessness; in particular, he included as Pirriya a large number of words from other languages, not sent by House (House, personal communication; it is clear also when one studies the lists that many items could not be from that area).

The third is my own recording of Albert Upperty at Keeroongooloo in 1968. Mr Upperty's memory of the language was poor at the time, and only about 120 words were recorded.

The fourth is some doubtful Pirriya material recorded from Arthur Winkers, the last speaker of the neighbouring language Kungkari, at Belombre Station in 1968.

It is hard to say which of these sources is most reliable. E.M. Curr does not seem particularly confident of the reliability of Edward Curr's list; his comments are as follows: 'In this vocabulary compare **heat** and **fire**. The resemblance is an uncommon one. In it also we meet in use the letter *v*. The phrase **track of a foot** is not equivalent to **foot** simply, as generally happens. **Fish** is rendered *kammoo*, which usually means **water**, so that altogether I think some of the words unreliable'. I have confirmed the word for 'fish' and also the relationship between 'heat' and 'fire' (which is not uncommon), so it seems that these comments are hardly justified. In any case, the list was compiled at a time when the language was in full use and is less likely than other sources to be contaminated by words from neighbouring languages.

Thomas House's vocabulary was learnt at a time when speakers of different languages were living and working together on many stations, and in many cases a mixture of languages would have been used. In fact, it includes some words in a language he calls Nooka, which is clearly (both from internal evidence and information Mr House gave me about it) what we now know best as Wangkumara, and in addition some items which are not labelled "Nooka" seem to be Wangkumara (see section 2.4). (This name – Nhuka in his pronunciation – was used also by Albert Upperty, who used it of people 'down the river' (i.e. the Cooper); it may be a Pirriya name for the language of which Wangkumara – in its modern form (see Breen 1971a:12) – is a dialect.) Mr House names a number of people he knew on Keeroongooloo in his youth; as well as Albert Upperty there were Charlie Anderson, Jimmy Anderson, Chas McGregor, Towzer, Tibboo, Sally Flash and Morney Donald and others. He said that all of these could converse in Pirriya, and there is no reason to doubt that they could take part in a conversation in which Pirriya was one of the languages used. However, I believe (from other sources) that Sally Flash's language was Karuwali (a language of Farrars Creek and the Diamantina River, according to Tindale (1974:175)) and, to judge from his name, I suspect that Morney Donald may also have been Karuwali (the Morney Plain is in Karuwali territory). Charlie Anderson (as Mr House knows; see Appendix 2.1) was not Pirriya. I have met Charlie McGregor who is Pirriya but (according to Mr House) much younger and less knowledgeable than the others mentioned above; when I met him in 1967 he did not admit to speaking the language at all. I have no independent knowledge of the others. However, since Mr House was aware that different people spoke different languages, we are not justified in doubting his identification of a word as Pirriya without good reason (such as contradictory information from other sources).

My own wordlist from Albert Upperty is the only one collected from a native speaker by anyone with any linguistic training, but being collected at a time when Mr Upperty was old (albeit not as old as he looked) and vague it must be treated with caution, especially when another source disagrees. On the other hand, it was recorded at a time when he was no longer influenced (except perhaps on rare occasions) by speakers of other languages and had not been for some time. Being available on tape, this wordlist certainly gives us the most reliable information on the pronunciation of Pirriya.

I have, of course, made use of information available on neighbouring languages to help sort out the data on this one. If a word given for Pirriya does not seem to occur in neighbouring languages, this is a fair indication that it is really Pirriya. If it does occur in one or more neighbouring languages, this is no indication either way, because they would certainly have a fair proportion of vocabulary in common, but it may help us to decide on the likely pronunciation.

## 2.2 PHONOLOGY

The sound system of Pirriya is quite likely to be the same as that of Kungkari (see 3.2.1). The phoneme chart is given below. As in Kungkari, we have no definite proof of the existence of /lh/ or /uu/ so they are given in brackets. There is only one word with /ii/ on tape – *miil* ‘eye’ – and this could be more correctly *miyil*. There are no (other) examples of /iyi/ in the corpus; however, /uwu/ is clearly attested, in *kakuwu* ‘for water’, and /iyi/ would almost certainly be found in a larger corpus.

TABLE 2.1  
PIRRIYA PHONEMES

	Bilabial	Velar	Lamino- dental	Lamino- palatal	Apico- alveolar	Retroflex	Open
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ty</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rt</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	
Lateral			( <i>lh</i> )	<i>ly</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	
Trill					<i>rr</i>		
Glide	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		<i>r</i>	
Short vowel	<i>u</i>			<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>
Long vowel	( <i>uu</i> )			<i>ii</i>			<i>aa</i>

The following words illustrate the more interesting phonemic oppositions:

- rr/d*     *kuntharra* ‘brolga’, *kutyada* ‘ear’; *warruwarru* ‘hawk type’, *narrapadi* ‘turtle’; *karramangu* ‘catching’, *yadamarn* ‘horse’;
- d/r*     *kutyada* ‘ear’ and *kutyudu* ‘rain’, *kularu* ‘star’; *yadamarn* ‘horse’, *Karawangka* ‘Fish Hole (place name)’;
- d/rt*     *yadamarn* ‘horse’, *tharta* ‘pelican’; *narrapadi* ‘turtle’, *Yuluparti* (place name);
- n/rn*     *yana* ‘clouds’, *karnamarriny* ‘type of goanna’; *thumpan* ‘crayfish’, *patharn* ‘brother’;
- l/rl*     *ngalatha* ‘moon’, *karla* ‘mussel’;
- th/ty*     *thithi* ‘dog’, *tyipi* ‘whistler duck’; *kathi* ‘meat’, *watyirn* ‘fire’;
- nh/ny*     suffix *-nha* as on *pukananha* ‘dead’, suffix *-nya* as on *thathanya* ‘father’.

## 2.3 GRAMMAR

Grammatical notes on Pirriya can only be based on a few fragmentary sentences and isolated words.

Most verbs are given in a form ending in *-angu* and this may be a present tense form (perhaps continuous). Examples are *yinaangu* ‘sitting’, *thinaangu* ‘standing’, *yandaangu* ‘going’, *kuthaangu* ‘drinking’. The sentences Arthur Winkers gave mostly ended with the suffix *-wina*, which is a Kungkari present tense suffix, but it is possible that Pirriya has two present tense forms, *-wina* and *-angu*, corresponding with the two Kungkari present tense forms *-wina* and *-aanhi(ya) ~ -iilthi(ya)*.

The only verb to which *-wina* is attached in these sentences that is known to be Pirriya is *yanda-* ‘to go’ (cf. Kungkari *wapa-*). Some other words in these sentences are clearly Pirriya, but others are just as clearly Kungkari.

Contrasting with the *-angu* suffix in the material from Albert Upperty is a form *-anha*, as in

*thithi palaanha* ‘(I) hit the dog’ (*thithi* ‘dog’) versus *palaangu* ‘fighting’.

This suggests that *-anha* is past tense. However, the same endings are used in mostly English sentences like

What do you want to *palaanha nhinawa* for? (where *nhinawa* probably means ‘him’),  
I’ll *palaangu* you  
You want to *yinaangu* there.

The last two examples suggest that *-angu* could be purposive, but the weight of the evidence seems to favour a present tense. The verb stems in all these cases seem to end in *a*; there is no sign of any verb stems with final *i* or *u* (except a doubtful one from Arthur Winkers).

Possible verb forms that do not fit this pattern are *pinyityina* ‘running’, *pukananha* ‘dead man’ and *mangana* in

*mangana kaku* ‘Give me some water’.

*Pukananha* may be past tense of a verb *pukana-* ‘to die’ (cf. *puka* ‘rotten’; perhaps *-na* is inchoative ‘become’). Perhaps the suffix here is *-nha* rather than *-anha* because the stem has three syllables. *Mangana* is not likely to be *ma* ‘give (imperative)’ *nganha* ‘me’; it seems to be pronounced as a single word (by House as well as Upperty). Other verb suffixes seem to be *-ni* (on *thupani*), *-ma* (on *karramama*) and *-la* (see ‘kill’). Note also ‘going’ and ‘coming’ in the vocabulary.

The corpus contains practically no information at all on nouns. As in probably all Australian languages reduplication is used as a method of derivation: *watyirnwatyirn* ‘hot’ from *watyirn* ‘fire’, *parrkula parrkula* ‘four’ from *parrkula* ‘two’.

As in many languages (e.g. Warluwarra, Breen 1971b) there seems to be a *-nha* ~ *-nya* suffix added, probably optionally, to at least some kinship terms, perhaps only when there is no inflectional suffix. The word for ‘grandfather’ was given as *kampa*, then [kamb’n], and ‘grandmother’ was given as *kuri*, repeated as *kurinha*. Breen recorded *thatha* for ‘father’, but both Curr and House give it as *thathanya*. The word for ‘spouse’ was given as *nhupanya*. Obviously there is no simple rule, as in many languages, that *-nha* follows *a* or *u*, *-nya* follows *i*. Three other kinship terms have a final

*-rni*: *ngamarni* ‘mother’ (and Curr’s “*narmaquia*” seems to show that *ngama* is the root), *kurrkarni* ‘sister’ and *thinarni* ‘mother-in-law’. Arthur Winkers gives a *-nha* suffix on a place name (with an inflectional suffix following) in

*nganhawa yandawina Kulpinhatharri* ‘I’m going to Quilpie’,

and possibly also in the sentence:

*yandaangu ngalinha Yalanthadi, yandawina ngalinha*

with suffix *-angu* on the first word possibly a mispronunciation of *-angu* and *Yalanthadi* perhaps *Yalanhatharri*). However, I transcribed a very similar sentence immediately preceding this one

with *Yalanthadi* (*Yalathari?*) – no hint of *-nha*. He also adds the dative suffix *-ku* to the English name *Keeroongooloo* with no such suffix. Note also the use of *-nha* on pronouns.

Albert Upperty gives only one fragmentary sentence with a noun case suffix:

*yandaangu kakuwu* ‘going for water’ with dative *-wu*.

There is a possible locative suffix *-nga* on the word *wikanga* ‘tomorrow’; compare Wangkumara *wika* ‘early, morning’ and *wikala* ‘tomorrow’ (but *-langu* is locative in Wangkumara) and Kungkari *wikanga* ‘tomorrow’ (and *-nga* locative). Other examples of case suffixes cannot be relied on because they are given by Arthur Winkers and are the same as the Kungkari forms. These are:

operative *-ngu* after a vowel, *-rtu* after the nasal *rn*, as in

*kayalpathawina nganhawa kathingu* ‘I’m frightened of the snake’,

*walapadangu* ‘with a spear’ (not in a coherent sentence)

*yandawina ngalinha yadamarntu* ‘We’re going on horseback’;

dative *-ku* (compare *-wu* above), in

*Keeroongooloo-ku* ‘(going back) to Keeroongooloo’

*work-kunaya yandawina* ‘going back to work’ (function of *-naya* unknown); and

allative *-tharri*, as in the examples in the previous paragraph.

Most data on pronouns suggest that the system might be similar to that of Kungkari, in which a form similar to the accusative in many other languages functions as an absolutive (with both nominative and accusative functions) while another form functions as ergative. Perhaps the strongest evidence is the forms “*iowa*” ‘I’ and “*enowa*” ‘you’ in Curr’s “Koongerri” list, which seems to be Pirriya (see Appendix 3.2). Forms which do not fit this are the two given by House, [an<sup>Y</sup>i] ‘me’ and [niyai] ‘you’. Compare *nganyi* ‘I’ and *ini* ‘you’ in Karna languages. Forms given by Upperty to Breen are:

*ngalinha* ‘we two’ in

*ngalinha yandaangu* ‘We’re walking’;

*yinawa* ‘you (singular)’ in

*waranha yinawa?* ‘Who are you?’

*I’ll palaangu you, yinawa* ‘I’ll hit you’;

*nhinawa* ‘him’ (and ‘he?’) in

What do you want to *palaangu nhinawa* for?; and

*ngayyuwa* (or *ngayawa*) ‘my’ in

*ngayyuwa(?) thithi* ‘That’s my dog’.

Pronouns used by Winkers in supposedly Pirriya sentences are:

*nganhawa* (?) (mostly transcribed *nganawa*) ‘I’ (see examples in previous paragraph);

*ngathuwa* (and *ngathu*) ‘I (ergative)’ (no coherent example);

*yintiwa* (possibly *yintuwa*) in

*yintiwa parntawina nhamamuku wurla*, given for ‘I’m chopping the tree down’ but probably ‘You’re --’ (in which only the suffix *-wa* is definitely Pirriya and *wurla* is definitely not); and

*ngalinha* ‘we two’ as in the example earlier in this paragraph.

The function of *-wa* on many of the above pronominal forms is not known; it is hardly attested at all for Kungkari (which is the only reason for believing the forms given by Winkers). It may be a definiteness marker like the bound pronoun *-numa* in Kungkari (which similarly occurs on first person pronouns as well as a range of other words; see 3.3.2.4).

The only interrogative pronoun heard is *waranha* ‘who’, illustrated in the previous paragraph and also in

*waranha manhaya?* ‘Who’s that fellow?’

where *manhaya* may be a demonstrative with perhaps *-ya* a deictic suffix.

Demonstratives given by House were *niil* ‘here’ and *nidamada* ‘there’. Compare Bidjara *niyila* ‘here, now, today’ with the former. Other likely demonstratives (albeit perhaps Kungkari and not Pirriya) used by Winkers are *nhamamuku* (see previous paragraph, and cf. Kungkari *nhana*) and *ninama* (*nhinama?*) in

*karrkuru yandawina ninama* ‘A man walking about’.

## 2.4 VOCABULARY

The orthography outlined in section 2.2 is used where the correct pronunciation is known or can be reasonably guessed. The same system is used, in square brackets, to represent the pronunciation of the source if it does not seem to conform to the rules of the Pirriya language. Items given in double inverted commas are in the spelling of the source. *R* is used to represent a sound that might be *r* or *rr* or *d*.

Source abbreviations are C for Curr, H for House, U for Upperty and W for Arthur Winkers. (Ultimate source for most H words also is, of course, Albert Upperty.)

The notes give related forms in other languages (which are often used to establish the likely pronunciation in Pirriya) and other comments. The spelling of words from House is based on his pronunciation and known cognates; his own spellings of many of them are to be found in May (1960) (although May has got some of them wrong). His original spellings are occasionally given here, however, if they seem to be possibly inconsistent with his pronunciation in 1973 or with my spelling of the word. The word ‘earlier’ in some notes refers to a translation given by House from memory and later corrected from his notes; the ‘earlier’ translations are to be found in May (1960) (and are mentioned here only to correct that publication). It should be noted that the details given by House from memory in 1973 are remarkably consistent with the details in his original notes.

Abbreviations for language names, in addition to those already given in ‘Sources and conventions’:

Bj	Badjidi	Mt	Mithaka
E	English	Pn	Punthamara
Ka	Kalali	Yn	Yandruwandha
Kw	Karruwali		

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
(Aboriginal) man	<i>"mirti"</i>	C	Prob. 'many'; see Kg, Kd <i>"mirty"</i>
	<i>kulukulu</i>	H	
	<i>karrkuru</i>	U,W	cf. (?) <i>karrkura</i> in Kg, Kd
(Aboriginal) woman	<i>"muchmali"</i>	C	
old man	<i>karrukarru</i>	U	= Karna
old woman	<i>walku</i>	C	= 'big', also 'big' in Kn; both 'old woman' and 'big' in Kg, Kd; cf. Wm <i>warlganhuga</i> 'old woman', lit. 'woman-big'
boy	<i>kandu</i>	U	= 'child' or 'baby' in Mari
girl	<i>kayu</i>	H	Earlier given as 'woman'
female	[wimbritya] prob. <i>wimpirrtya</i>	H	Not only human; also given for 'heifer'
baby	<i>"mararida"</i>	C	
	<i>wayiwiya</i>	H,U	= Wm 'little' + masculine suffix, note also Wm <i>wariwa</i> 'child'; H adds "applies to all young"
white woman	<i>watyina</i>	H	Given for 'woman', but comes from E 'white gin'; common in Aboriginal lgs
medicine man (priest)	<i>minakiki</i>	H	
ghost	[brrumatya]	H	Also given as 'water spirit (bunyip)'; <i>"broomature"</i> in H
spirit	<i>kulma</i>	H	
mother	<i>ngamakwiya</i> or <i>ngamakwaya</i>	C	Names based on <i>ngama</i> are widespread
	<i>ngamarni</i>	H,U	= Kn (which also has <i>ngamanya</i> ); earlier 'father'
father	<i>thatha(nya)</i>	C,H,U	= Kg. May <i>"doothun"</i> 'brother' is an error; H notebook has <i>"duthanya"</i> 'father'
brother	<i>patharn</i>	H,U	Also given by U for 'uncle'; earlier given as 'sister' by H; cf. 'younger sister' in Kg, Kd; may actually mean 'younger sibling'; the Kg and Kd lists give no word for 'younger brother'. Lgs of the area do not distinguish between 'younger brother' and 'younger sister' and Curr may be wrong in distinguishing them for Pi.
elder brother	<i>"purghi"</i>	C	

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
younger brother	<i>"nathana"</i>	C	cf. Yn, Ngamini <i>ngathari</i> 'younger sibling'; PP <i>ngathanha</i> 'father's mother'
(elder) sister	<i>kurrkarni</i>	C,H,U	Only C gives 'elder'; = 'younger sister' in Mambangura; cf. Kg, Kd; earlier given by H as 'mother'.
younger sister	<i>"nabuku"</i>	C	
grandfather	<i>kampa(nha)</i>	U	? 'uncle' in Kn
grandmother	<i>kuri(nha)</i>	U	? Also 'aunt'
wife	<i>nhupanya</i>	H,U	= Wm
mother-in-law	<i>thinarni</i>	U	
head	<i>pumpa</i>	C,H,U	= Kn; 'back of neck' in Gu
hair	<i>warrkara</i>	H,U	
brain	<i>dilikapinya</i>	H	Given as [dilikópinya] by H and one Pn speaker who repeated it after a white man; may be an anglicisation, cf. Wm <i>ilikapinya</i> . Note also Wm <i>kapinya</i> 'egg' and Mg, Gn <i>gabuny</i> 'egg' and 'brain'
eyes	<i>miil</i>	C,H,U	? <i>miyil.</i> = Kn, Kg, Kd
nose	<i>mingku</i>	C	= Kn, Kg
	<i>kurri</i>	H,U,W	
mouth	<i>thaya</i>	C,H,U	= Ka, Wm; widespread
tongue	<i>tharli</i>	C	Karna (but Kn, Kd, Kg, Mari have <i>thalany</i> and C's " <i>talli</i> " could be this)
teeth	<i>yira</i>	C	= Mari, but Kn <i>rirra</i> suggests it may be <i>yirra</i> ; Gu and Kd seem to have both
ear	<i>kurra</i>	C,U	
	<i>manga</i>	H	= Kn, Kg, Kd, Mari; 'jaw' in Wm
	<i>kutyada</i>	U	
beard	<i>nganka</i>	C	" <i>nanga</i> "; Kn and regional
arm	<i>mungku</i>	H	cf. Mg, Ka, Pn, Gu <i>manggu</i>
hand	<i>mara</i>	C,H,U	Widespread
chest	<i>purrku</i>	U	= Yb, Yi, Gu; 'back' in B, Dh; 'shield' in Mg, Gn; both 'back' and 'shield' in Wb
stomach	<i>mirra</i>	C,U	
breast	<i>ngama</i>	C,U	Widespread



English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
penis	<i>mika</i>	U	<i>mika</i> seems (see Edge 1899) to be Warluwarra word for subincision; Roth (1897) gives PP <i>miku</i> ‘vulva’, <i>mikumarru</i> ‘subincised penis’
testicles	<i>thampu</i>	U	Karna
women's genitals	<i>thatyi</i>	U	Karna
urine	<i>kipara</i>	U	Gu, Mayi
faeces	<i>kurna</i>	U	<i>kuna</i> widespread; <i>kurna</i> an occasional variant
buttocks	<i>karraru</i>	U	?; unclear on tape
thigh	<i>thara or</i> <i>tharra</i>	C	B <i>dhara</i> ; Mg, Gn <i>dharra</i> Widespread
leg	<i>punkurl</i>	H,U	? U <i>punkur</i> ‘thigh or knee’, ‘bone’, H [panggruul] ‘leg’, cf. Kn; note also Wm <i>punkula</i>
foot	<i>thina</i>	C,H,U	Widespread
bone	<i>“chiora”</i> <i>kampu</i>	C U	Mt, Kw
blood	<i>“karuga”</i>	C	cf. Kw <i>“kaluka”</i> ; also Kd, Kg
fat	<i>thutha</i> <i>kati (?)</i>	C H	= PP, Wangka-Yutjurr, Gu cf. <i>kathi</i> ‘meat’
sky	<i>niila</i>	H	<i>“nearla”</i> in notes; cf. Wm <i>ngayirra</i>
sun	<i>“murra”</i> ( <i>murri</i> ?) <i>kalimarra</i>	C H	cf. Kn <i>murri</i> ; also ‘day’
moon	<i>ngalatha</i>	C,H,U	
stars	<i>yityi</i> <i>kularu</i>	C H,U	<i>“yichi”</i> , cf. Kg <i>“yeckee”</i> , Karna <i>tityi</i> = Kn, Kd
day	<i>murri</i>	H	[mudi]; cf. <i>“murra”</i> ‘sun’
night	<i>miila</i>	H	cf. sky
clouds	[ <i>yurrnu</i> ] <i>yana</i>	H U	<i>“yurrnau”</i> in his notes Not on tape; also given for ‘hailstone’; cf. Bitharra <i>“yanna”</i> , <i>“Wonkomarra”</i> <i>“yarna”</i>
rain	<i>kutyudu</i>	C,H,U	
thunder, lightning	<i>manimani</i>	H	= Kn ‘lightning’; note also Gn, Mg <i>maniny</i> ‘lightning’
wind	<i>yarrka</i> <i>tharrka</i>	C,H U	= Kn, Kg, Kd, Mari

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
stone	<i>parri</i>	H	= Kn, Kd, Kg, Bj, Mg, Gu
stony plain	<i>palparara</i>	H	The name of a station in the Channel Country
sandhill	<i>makalara</i>	H	
water	<i>kaku</i>	C,U	= Kn, Kg, Kd
	<i>ngaka</i>	H,U	= Wm; cf. mosquito
flood	<i>napada</i>	H	cf. Karna <i>ngapa</i> 'water'; given as 'food' by May
	<i>darrimatyi</i>	H	
rubbish	<i>wandana</i>	H	cf. Wm <i>wandawanda</i> 'floating rubbish, driftwood'
track of foot	" <i>migla</i> "	C	
place names:			
Keeroongooloo	<i>Yala</i>	U,W	
unidentified waterhole	<i>Yuluparti</i>	U	These three waterholes are
Fish Hole	<i>Karawangka</i>	U	said to be 'way down, on the
unidentified waterhole	<i>Ngarniny</i>	U	Cooper'
fire	<i>watyirn</i>	C,H,U	cf. Kd, Kg 'wichun' ?= <i>watyarn</i>
smoke	<i>thurrka</i>	C,U	= Bitharra; Mari <i>dhuga</i>
light	<i>pitya</i>	H	cf. Gn <i>biya</i> 'flame', 'light'
dog, dingo	<i>thithi</i>	C,H,U	= Kg, Kd, Wm
kangaroo	<i>parlkan</i>	C,U	= Kg and see Appendix 2.1
	<i>pawuda</i>	H	'red kangaroo' in Mari, Ka
wallaroo	<i>mungkuny</i>	H,U	"black one, hopping along" (U); = Kn, Mg, Gn
possum	" <i>woornanga</i> "	C	B <i>wanany</i> 'doe possum'
porcupine (echidna)	<i>parrpirta</i>	H,U	= Ka, Mari
rat	[koradat]	H	
water rat	<i>mulundarru</i>	H	
mouse	<i>wurtany</i>	H	? [wootang]
horse	<i>yadamarn</i>	H,W	
cattle	<i>kiyada</i>	H	Similar names in Wm, Gn; from E
bull	[tambrriwalku]	H	cf. <i>thampu</i> 'testicles', <i>walku</i> 'big'
bullock	[kaadi]	H	" <i>cardi</i> " in notes; cf. <i>kathi</i> 'meat'
milking cow	[milgoni]	H	From E
bird	<i>paya</i>	C	Given for 'black duck' but a regional term for 'bird'
egg	<i>kukari</i>	C,H	= Kn, Kg, Kd
	<i>kumaru</i>	U	
emu	<i>kulpari</i>	C,H,U	Regional
brilga	<i>kuntharra</i>	H,U	= Kd, Kg, Wm, Bj, Mg
	<i>kurrana</i>	U	May be a mistake

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
heron, crane	<i>mulhapadi</i>	C,H	= Wm 'spoonbill' (Wm <i>mulha</i> is 'nose' and, presumably, 'beak'); C gives it as " <i>mulvani</i> " 'brolga'
egret, white crane	[kik8lb'di]	H	
pelican	<i>tharta</i>	C,H,U	= Kn, Kg, Kd, Kw, Mg, Yb, Yi
spoonbill	<i>winthuna</i>	H	cf. Mg <i>bintada</i> 'shag'
ibis	<i>wandamara</i>	H	cf. Wm <i>wandaparra</i>
teal duck	<i>darrakatyin</i>	H	Earlier given as 'wood duck'
widgeon duck	[mauring]	H	cf. Wm <i>mangawirri</i> , Ka <i>mangawirra</i> 'black duck'; earlier 'teal duck'
wood duck	<i>kunari</i>	H	= Kg, Kd, Ka, Bitharra; its Yn name <i>kunapika</i> also is derived from <i>kuna</i> 'faeces'; earlier 'widgeon duck'
black duck	<i>yalamada</i>	H	= Gu, Yi; cf. Kg, Kd " <i>yellamoora</i> "; Kn <i>yalamana</i> ; 'big black duck' in H notes
whistler duck	<i>tyipi</i>	H	Names for this duck (or ducks in general) beginning with <i>tyipi</i> are widespread
water hen	<i>pirrapirra</i>	H	
plains turkey, bustard	<i>wirrka</i>	H,U	cf. Wadjigu, Wb <i>wadka</i> ; Kd, Kw " <i>wurkum</i> " may be a link between this and Gu, Kl, PP, Yl
	<i>parrkamu</i>		
type of hawk	<i>karrawara</i>	H,U	H 'kite hawk', U 'eaglehawk', = 'eaglehawk' in Kg, Kd, Ka, Bj, Karna
type of hawk	<i>kurrindala</i>	H	'eaglehawk'; cf. Kn, Kd, Mt, PP, Gu <i>kurrihala</i> 'eagle-hawk' but note Wm <i>kirrindha</i> 'chicken-hawk'
type of hawk	<i>warruwarru</i>	H,U	H 'chicken-hawk', U 'kite-hawk'; cf. Kn <i>walu(ru)waluru</i> 'kite-hawk'
crow	<i>wakarla</i>	C,U	= Kg, Kd, PP, Kl
	<i>wakaratyi</i>	H	= Wm
	<i>wathakada</i>	H	cf. Wm <i>wathakuru</i> 'white-eyed crow (from S.A.)'
white cockatoo	<i>murumari</i>	C	= Kn, Kg, Kd, "Murunuda", Kl; however, Kw " <i>murramute</i> " suggests the fourth consonant could be <i>d</i> or <i>rt</i>
black cockatoo	<i>yirrantyal</i>	H	Second vowel not clear; cf. Wm <i>thirrindala</i>

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
galah	<i>kilapuru</i>	H,U	cf. Gu, Kl, Yl <i>kilawurru</i> , Wm <i>kilampara</i> ; H [gílabrrum], spelt “ <i>gillabrum</i> ” (May has “ <i>gillabrun</i> ”)
crested pigeon	<i>ngarlun</i>	U	Not clear on tape; cf. Kn <i>ngarlawityu</i> , Wm <i>ngarluwitya</i>
willy wagtail	<i>tyipu</i>	H	
snake	<i>kathi</i>	C,W	= ‘meat’; <i>kathi</i> means both ‘meat’ and ‘snake’ in Kn and Karna
	<i>muna</i>	H	= Wm
mulga snake, king brown snake	<i>pumpalka</i>	H,U	cf. Mg, Gn, B <i>bumbara</i>
black snake	<i>nawa</i>	H	
‘red-bellied’ snake	<i>yampayampa</i>	U	‘deadly’
death adder	<i>makula</i>	H	= Kn
water snake	<i>kunawada</i>	H	Mythical? May has “ <i>boonawoora</i> ” but H gave him “ <i>goonawoora</i> ”
carpet snake	<i>kurimarra</i>	H	= Bj, Karna
type of goanna	<i>mamaruparri</i>	H,U	H ‘sand goanna’, U ‘river goanna’, cf. Mayi <i>mamburuparri</i> ‘black goanna’
black goanna	<i>wanguku</i>	H	Biri, Mayi-Kutuna <i>wanguku</i> ‘type of goanna’
type of goanna	<i>karnamarriny</i>	H,U	H ‘sand goanna’, U ‘plain goanna’
carney, bearded dragon	<i>kawan</i>	U	cf. Kl <i>tyawan</i> ‘type of frog’
‘wobbly’ lizard	<i>wulkamarra</i>	H	
type of lizard	<i>ditha</i>	H	
turtle	<i>narrapadi</i>	H,U	
brown frog	<i>kapiny</i>	H	? [kaping]
green frog	<i>parranparru</i>	H	cf. Bj <i>parranpan</i>
tadpole	<i>kulapindada</i>	H	
fish	<i>kamu</i>	C,U	
	[amp’da]	H	cf. <i>ngampurru</i> ‘yellowbelly’ in Karna
yellowbelly	<i>kumpila</i>	H,U	= Kn, Kd, Kg
bony bream	<i>kathada</i>	H	
type of catfish	<i>kalkapadi</i>	H	
small type of catfish	<i>marliyarra</i>	H	Also glossed ‘small type jew(fish)’; = Kn ‘catfish’
crayfish	<i>thumpan</i>	H,U	H also gives <i>thumpani</i> as the plural; = Kl, Kg, Kd, Kn ( <i>thumparn</i> )
shrimp	<i>dinthala</i>	H	Wm <i>thintha</i> , PP <i>kintharla</i> ; cf. also Wm <i>thandulya</i> ‘crayfish’

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
crab	<i>kuwadu</i>	H	= Mari ( <i>kuwardu</i> , <i>kuwaru</i> )
mussel	<i>karla</i>	H,U	= Kn
fly	<i>munhan</i>	C,U	
mosquito	<i>ngaka</i>	C,U	= Kn
ant	<i>kathu</i>	U	= Kn, regional
witchetty grub	<i>mukula</i>	H	
grub from mulga	<i>pinkina</i>	H	cf. Pn <i>pinkana</i> ‘witchetty grub’
white grub	<i>kapada</i>	H	cf. PP <i>kapara</i> ‘witchetty grub’
stick, wood	<i>waka</i>	C,U	= Kg, Kd, Bj, Bitharra
stick	<i>makada</i>	H	cf. Wm <i>makurra</i>
stick	<i>paka</i>	W	= Mari
bark	<i>wathuRa</i>	C	= Kg, Kd
river gum, redgum	<i>pirnpirri</i>	H,U	Yl; Kn <i>pinpirri</i> ; Kl <i>pirnpirri</i> ‘coolibah’
coolibah	<i>kurrula</i>	H,U	cf. Wm <i>kirra</i>
bloodwood	<i>karrirri</i>	U	Last syllable unclear on tape
beefwood	<i>mukany</i>	H,U	
needlewood (Hakea sp. or dead finish ?)	<i>thuntyirri</i>	U	
red-bark mulga	<i>minarityi</i>	H	Borrowed by E from an Aboriginal lg; could be original in Pi or could be from E
needlebush	<i>kunthi</i>	H	‘lancewood’ in H notes, but said in 1973 to be “really needlebush”, the name often applied to <i>Acacia farnesiana</i> in S-W Qld, but this may not be native to the area
belalie	[kumbrulu]	H	May adds “The willow ( <i>Acacia salacina</i> [sic, <i>salicina</i> ]) of the Cooper Country”; however, this is not in H notes and the name ‘belalie’ seems to be more correctly applied to <i>Acacia stenophylla</i> (Cunningham et al, 1981)
(type of ?) fruit	<i>manyangali</i>	U	
lignum	<i>pityi</i>	H	
yam	<i>matyadi</i>	H	cf. Kn <i>matyipiRi</i>
potato	<i>kawu</i>	H	cf. B <i>kuwa</i> ‘yam’, Wm <i>thawu</i> ‘tar vine’ (root is edible)
grass	<i>kantha</i>	C	= Kn, Karna
	<i>katha</i>	U	May be a mistake
clover	<i>narrulpiny</i>	H	? [narrulping]
lily	<i>yangkaparri</i>	H	“yanghaburri” in H notes

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
camp, place, country	<i>ngurra</i>	C,U	= Kn, Kg, Kd, Karna
house, humpy	<i>thuru</i>	U	cf. “Murunuda” “ <i>tua</i> ”
spear	<i>kaniny</i>	C,U	? C “ <i>kanni</i> ” ‘war spear’, H [kaning] ‘spear’; cf. Kn <i>kanha</i> ‘spear’ (= ‘yamstick’ in Gn)
reed spear	<i>yalampa</i>	C	
‘big spear’	<i>walapada</i>	W	= Kn
boomerang	<i>pipapurru</i>	C,U	= Kd, PP
nulla-nulla	<i>mudu</i>	U	= Mari; “big knob on the end”
woomera	“ <i>warga</i> ”	C	May be just <i>waka</i> ‘stick’
shield	<i>patyala</i>	C,H	
axe, tomahawk	“ <i>kulby</i> ”	C	
	<i>tamiyaka</i>	U	From E tomahawk
knife	<i>kankari</i>	U	= Kn, PP, Gu, Wb, Mayi, Kl
meat	<i>kathi</i>	H,U	= Kn, Karna
	<i>yudi</i>	H	= Mari
tucker, vegetable food	<i>kunga</i>	H,U	= Wm, Gu; cf. Mg <i>gungu</i>
bread	<i>pulawara</i>	H	From E ‘flour’, also in Wm
honey	<i>kungkiyada</i>	H	
tea	<i>kuntha</i>	H	= Karna
tobacco	<i>muku</i>	H	= Wm
red	<i>thikarriwina</i>	U	Looks like a Kn verb
	<i>thikarri</i>	U	
grey	<i>kupu</i>	H	“Grey/Black - <i>coopou</i> ” in H notes; Wm <i>kupa</i> ‘white’
big	<i>walku</i>	H	
small	<i>wayiwiya</i>	H	= Wm, see note to ‘baby’
bad	<i>mungany</i>	U	
rotten, stinking	<i>thungka</i>	H,U	= Karna
hot	<i>yarrkiny</i>	H	? [yarrking]; “ <i>yarraking</i> ” in H notes
	<i>watyirnwatyirn</i>	U	cf. <i>watyirn</i> ‘fire’
cold	<i>yirliya</i>	C,H,U	cf. Kn <i>yiliya</i> , Kg “ <i>gilea</i> ”, Kd “ <i>yirli</i> ”
one	<i>marinha</i>	C,U	
	<i>watyuwarli</i>	H	= Wm
two	<i>parrkulu</i>	C	= Ka, Wm, Yn but prob. wrong, as C gives <i>parrkula</i> in ‘four’
	<i>parrkula</i>	H,U	= Kw, Mt, PP
three	<i>parrkula marinha</i>	C	“ <i>barkool-marrar</i> ”
	<i>parrkula watyuwarli</i>	H	= Wm

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
four	<i>parrkula parrkula</i>	C,H,U	Given for ‘three’ by U; “ <i>pundiappa</i> ” given for ‘four’ by May is actually <i>pandi yapa</i> ‘dingo’ in Yn – it was given to May by House (as ‘dingo’) but not as a Pi word and so is not included in this list
mob, many	<i>warndruwana</i>	H	cf. Wm <i>warndru</i> ‘many’, <i>warndrubartu</i> ‘many times’; the <i>dr</i> sound is prob. not native to Pi
	“ <i>mirti</i> ”	C	cf. (Aboriginal) man
hurry up!	<i>malpada</i>	H	= Pn
going	<i>yandaangu</i>	U,W	cf. Wm <i>yantha-</i> ; the <i>angu</i> ending is Pi, <i>wina</i> Kn (and perhaps Pi) the <i>nga</i> and <i>rra</i> endings Wm, <i>ngidi</i> not known;
	<i>yandawina</i>	W	
	<i>yantarra</i>	H	
	<i>yantanga</i>	H	
	<i>yantangidi</i>	H	
	<i>yantangidi</i>	H	<i>yantanga</i> ‘come’ in May, ‘go’ in H notes.
come	<i>yantanapayi</i>	H	Related to ‘go’, but endings not known
coming	<i>yantanapa</i>	H	
returning	<i>nharrpuwina</i>	W	= Kn
running	<i>pinyityina</i>	U	cf. Kn <i>pini</i> (and note PP <i>pirnapurti</i> ‘walk’)
swimming	<i>thupani</i>	H	
	<i>thupaangu</i>	U	
sitting	<i>yinaangu</i>	U	Kn <i>nyina-</i>
standing	<i>thinaangu</i>	U	Kn <i>thana-</i> ; forms like <i>thina</i> and <i>thana</i> are widespread
sleeping	<i>ngunaangu</i>	U	= Kn; Mari <i>una-</i>
eating	<i>daltarra</i>	H	= Wm (including <i>rra</i> ending); May has “ <i>culturah</i> ” but H gave him
	“ <i>dulturah</i> ”		
drinking	<i>kuthaangu</i>	U	
	[hapa]	H	cf. Karna <i>ngapa</i> ‘water’
bit	<i>patyaanha</i>	U	Past tense; = Kn, Karna
frightened	<i>kayalpathawina</i>	W	= Kn
dead	<i>pukananha</i>	U	Past tense, perhaps better translated ‘died’; U ‘dead man’
talking	<i>thapaangu</i>	U	
getting (??)	<i>wumaangu</i>	U	? In sentence “I want to <i>wumaangu kaku</i> ”, in response to attempt to elicit ‘thirsty’; cf. ‘hungry’ and ‘eat’ in Kd, Kg
will get	<i>mandharra</i>	W	= Wm (including <i>rra</i> ending)

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
catching (fish) (?)	<i>karramangu</i>	U	
catch	<i>karramama</i>	H	
give	<i>mangana</i>	H,U	
cooking	<i>kathaangu</i>	U	
chopping	<i>parntawina</i>	W	= Kn
hitting	<i>palaangu</i>	U	
hit	<i>palaanha</i>	U	Past tense
will hit	<i>wurrthinha</i>	W	= Kn
kill	[altala]	H	
tomorrow	<i>wikanga</i>	U	= Kn; <i>-nga</i> probably locative
yes	<i>ngaa</i>	W	= Kn

## APPENDIX 2.1

The following words were collected by Thomas House from Charlie Anderson at Keeroongooloo in the 1940s. The name of his language is not known and it is impossible to identify it from this small sample, but Mr House said that it was quite different from Pirriya. According to Martin Costello of Windorah, Charlie Anderson came from Tanbar. This, according to Tindale (1974), is in Marulta (= Marrulha) country (but close to Pirriya country). Marrulha is one of a group of dialects including Karruwali and Mithaka which are not closely related to Pirriya, but belong to the Karna language group. However, some of Mr Anderson's words have final consonants; this is not a characteristic of Karna languages, although it is possible that Marrulha borrowed this characteristic from the Pirriya across Coopers Creek.

<i>fulcrun</i>	‘kangaroo’	cf. Pi <i>parlkan</i> (given incorrectly for ‘wood duck’ in May 1960)
<i>muna</i>	‘snake’	= Wm
<i>kanamarring</i>	‘sand goanna’	= Pi <i>karnamarriny</i>
<i>piding</i>	‘wobbly lizard’	
<i>mirratida</i>	‘bream’	
<i>tumpirriyil</i>	‘bean tree, bohemia’	



## CHAPTER 3

### KUNGKARI

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Kungkari was spoken in the area of the lower Barcoo and Thomson Rivers in south-western Queensland. Heagney, Fraser and Curr (1886) gives information and vocabularies on languages of this area, including “Koongerri”, but neither the area given nor the vocabulary for this “tribe” corresponds to those given for Kungkari by other sources. The “Kungarditchi” vocabulary (but not the area given) corresponds more closely to the Kungkari from later sources (see Breen 1971a:31-33).

According to Tindale (1940:158,164,172; 1974:169, 179, 186) the country drained by the Barcoo River and its tributaries was occupied at the time of first white settlement by four tribes. These were the Kuungkari (Tindale's spelling), who occupied most of the Barcoo itself and many of its tributaries as well as a large area of land drained by the Thomson River; the Wadjalang whose land included the headwaters of the Barcoo, around Tambo, as well as the land drained by the upper Bulloo and its tributaries, and by the Langlo and Ward Rivers which empty into the Warrego; the Iningai, who lived in the country drained by the Alice River, a tributary of the Barcoo, as well as a large area drained by the upper Thomson and its tributaries; and the Wadjabangai, who lived in a small area north of the future town of Blackall. The last named were the least known and their boundaries are very vague; Tindale (1940:172) says that they were ‘fixed only by those of neighbouring tribes’ and adds ‘(data scant)’.

The languages of all four of these tribes were classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:52) (see also the map by O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966)) as dialects of a single language, one of three languages belonging to the Mari Subgroup of the Pama-Maric Group of the Pama-Nyungan Family. The inclusion of Kuungkari (or Kungkari) in this language and in this subgroup was in error, as Breen (1971a:31-33) showed; this classification may have been based on Ahern's vocabulary (1887b) of the language of the “Yangeeberra Tribe” although there may also have been some confusion with Gunggari, a southern Queensland Mari dialect (cf. Capell 1963). Breen's work with the last speaker of Kungkari (supported by Tindale's hitherto unpublished vocabulary and by vocabularies by Heagney in Heagney, Fraser and Curr (1886:382-83), J.S. Dutton (1906) and an anonymous contributor to *Science of Man* (1906)) showed that Kungkari was a language quite distinct from the Mari languages (which include Yangeeberra). This suggests that Tindale has the eastern boundary of Kungkari country too far east and should not have included the Yangeeberra area (‘Barcoo River, forty miles west of Blackall’) in it. I am assuming, incidentally, that Yangeeberra (in which the *ng* might represent [ɟ], [ɟg], [ng] or [2ng] or [nʲdʲ]) is not the same as Howitt's (1904:62) Yankibura, (in which the *nk* might be [ɟk], [nk] or [2nk]) located north-east of Aramac.

However, comparisons of vocabulary and grammar with other languages (see Chapter 7) and statements by the last speaker suggest that Kungkari and Margany territories may have been contiguous, and not separated by Dharawala (Wadjalang) as Tindale has them.

The language is now extinct. The last speaker was an old man known when I knew him as Arthur Winkers; his name was more correctly Winkili. He is presumably the same man who was called Arthur Winkle by Thomas House (see May 1960), although House then believed him to be dead. Arthur Winkers provided almost all of the data on which this description is based. When first recorded, he was 76 years old and living in retirement on Belombre Station, owned by the Murray family, east of Eromanga. He was in poor health, senile, very hard of hearing and tired easily – due at least in part to injuries suffered when a car in which he was a passenger was involved in an accident. He was recorded in May 1967 and August and October 1968, for a total of about three hours of tape. The quality of the material recorded is not good, due not to any lack of knowledge on the part of the informant but to his inability to hear and understand what was asked (and to the inexperience of the linguist). His health deteriorated further and in 1969 he was taken to Cherbourg, where he died.

As noted above, Curr's supposed Kungkari material is not reliable; his “Koongerri” and “Kungarditchi” lists are given, with notes, as Appendix 3.2. Five short vocabularies that can be identified as Kungkari were published in the journal *Science of Man* in 1906. These occur (along with lists of words in some other languages) under the heading ‘Aboriginal Place Names with their Meanings’, with an accompanying letter by J.S. Dutton, who did not compile them himself but forwarded them to the journal. The lists are under the sub-headings “Junndah District” (i.e. Jundah), Cooloolah, Stonehenge and Winton with, respectively, 3, 15, 27 and 42 words. Despite the heading, only a few of the words are place names. They are to be found in Vol.8, 1:15-16 and 2:14. There is also a vocabulary collected by N.B. Tindale in 1938, which corresponds closely to the material collected by the present writer. The *Science of Man* and Tindale items are included in the vocabulary below.

## 3.2 PHONOLOGY

### 3.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

The phoneme inventory of Kungkari, insofar as it can be deduced from the data available, is given, using orthographic symbols, in table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1  
KUNGKARI PHONEMES

	Bilabial	Velar	Lamino- dental	Lamino- palatal	Apico- alveolar	Retroflex	Open
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ty</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rt</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	
Lateral		<i>(lh)</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>		
Trill				<i>rr</i>			
Glide	<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		<i>r</i>		
Short vowel	<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>	
Long vowel	<i>(uu)</i>			<i>ii</i>			<i>aa</i>

This is a typical inventory for this part of Australia. Lamino-palatal may be more correctly lamino-postalveolar. *lh* and *uu* are bracketed because they are not established as phonemes in the data. The lamino-dental lateral occurs only as the first member of a cluster in which the second member is the lamino-dental stop and so could be regarded as an allophone of another lateral, say /l/; however, it is phonemic in some neighbouring languages. The long vowel [u:] was heard once or twice, but only as a

realisation of what would be a sequence in slower speech, e.g. [biku:ngàÔ'wina] for *pikuwi yinkaduwina*. The phoneme labelled apico-alveolar stop is written *d* instead of *t* because it is nearly always realised either as a voiced stop (after /n/) or as a voiced tap (intervocally or as the first member of a cluster). The presence of three rhotics, trill, tap and glide, with one of them being in complementary distribution with apico-alveolar stop, is an areal feature of south-western Queensland and north-eastern South Australia (other languages that have it include Gunya, Margany, Wangkumara, Yandruwandha and Diyari).

There is a possible contrast between *n* and *ny* before *ty*, but there is no real evidence; [n] seems to occur sometimes before [ty] but it could be in free variation with [nʏ]. The contrasts between apico-alveolar and retroflex consonants, apico-alveolar and lamino-dental consonants, lamino-dental and lamino-palatal consonants and between /d/, /rr/ and /r/ are illustrated by sub-minimal pairs below (no minimal pairs are available). Other consonantal contrasts are taken for granted, as they exist in virtually all Australian languages.

APICO-ALVEOLAR	RETROFLEX	ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS
<i>pidin</i>	<i>pirta</i>	mulga, sky
<i>kulpadi</i>	<i>mukarti</i>	emu, hailstone
<i>pandara</i>	<i>parnta-</i>	rain, to chop
<i>nguna-</i>	<i>thurna</i>	to lie, ground
<i>ngina</i>	<i>wirnany</i>	you, small
<i>pula-</i>	<i>wurla</i>	they two, fire
<i>wala</i>	<i>parla</i>	no, good
<i>ngali-</i>	<i>marliyarra</i>	we two, catfish
<i>thalpany</i>	<i>tyarlpun</i>	type of grub, type of bird
<i>walku</i>	<i>marlku</i>	big, bloodwood
<i>walpara</i>	<i>parlpa</i>	child, humpy
<i>ringkan</i>	<i>wakarn</i>	hot, crow
<i>rikil</i>	<i>marnkirl</i>	charcoal, black

APICO-ALVEOLAR	LAMINO-DENTAL	
<i>pidin</i>	<i>pithiriny</i>	mulga, sweat
<i>muthada</i>	<i>kuwatha-</i>	blowfly, to call out
<i>pandara</i>	<i>pantha</i>	rain, sick
<i>randi</i>	<i>ranthi-</i>	aunt, to break
<i>mana-</i>	<i>Manharra, nganha</i>	to get, place name, I

LAMINO-DENTAL	LAMINO-PALATAL	
<i>kutha, muthada</i>	<i>wutya-</i>	beefwood, blowfly, to hit with a missile (?)
<i>Thanpun, thana-</i>	<i>tyarlpun</i>	place name, they (also 'to stand'), type of bird
<i>thina</i>	<i>Tyirrityirri</i>	foot, place name
<i>nhingka-, nhitha-</i>	<i>nyina-</i>	to cry, to smell, to sit

/d/	/rr/	/r/	
<i>kudithala</i>		<i>kurimarra</i>	eaglehawk, carpet snake
	<i>murri</i>	<i>murirra</i>	sun, cold
	<i>Purrakura</i>	<i>purarl</i>	place name, waddy
<i>kulpadi</i>	<i>kangkarri-</i>	<i>kukari</i>	emu, to be sore, egg
<i>walapada</i>	<i>Kayaparra</i>	<i>malanypara</i>	spear, place name, caught(?)

Long vowels are rare in stems and few pairs can be found to show contrast between long and short vowels except in bound morphemes; the best that has been found is between *miil* 'eye' and *wiltha* 'bad' (or the borrowed *pilirrman* 'policeman'). Using bound morphemes we get contrasts such as that between *thananha* 'they' and *thanaanhi* 'is standing', *kupanhaya* 'cooked' and *kupaanhiya* 'is cooking', *wapitya* (meaning not clear) and *wapiilthiya* 'is going', and *manala* 'will get' and *manaalin(h)ina* 'getting' (exact meaning not clear). Contrasts between long and short vowels may have been common in verb morphology (as they were Margany and Gunya; see Breen, 1981a:286, 315-316, 325-326).

A contrast between /ii/ and /iyi/ is postulated on the basis of a comparison of *miil* [mi:'l] 'eye' (and the long vowels in words like *wapiilthiya*) with *piyi* [biyi] 'lip'.

### 3.2.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE PHONEMES

Since we have only the speech of one old man as data, it is pointless to go into great detail on pronunciation. Brief notes only will be given.

Apico-alveolars tend to be retracted and it is sometimes hard to distinguish them from retroflexes.

Stops are mostly lenis voiceless, except after a homorganic nasal, when they are usually voiced. /d/ is usually a voiced tap intervocally and a voiced stop initially (only one stem in the corpus) and after /n/. There are a few examples of fricative realisation of /th/ initially and intervocally at various positions in a word (voiceless in *thimpurany* 'type of lizard' and voiced in *pathupathu* 'boomerang', *thurntithirri* (the medial *th*) 'cloud' and others) and one or two examples of /k/ realised as a fricative. /k/ tends to be rounded in the environment *u-a*.

Word-initial /nh/ has occasionally been heard as a voiced fricative. There are a couple of examples of a brief [m] appearing between *l* and *p* in a cluster.

/rr/ may be trilled or fricative and in some cases (e.g. the medial consonant of *rirra* 'tooth') it was hard to decide whether a consonant was /rr/ or /r/. On the other hand it was sometimes hard to decide whether a consonant was /rr/ or /d/, notably in the suffixes written *-tharri* 'allative' and *-parri* 'ablative' (and compare the Margany allative *-dhadi*). As first member of a cluster it is heard variously as a voiced tap, voiced tap plus transitional schwa, trill, fricative or indeterminate rhotic.

/a/ is basically [a̠] but is raised and fronted before a lamino-palatal or after /y/, retracted next to /w/ and retroflexed before a retroflex; /aa/ is [a:]; /i/ is most commonly about [i], but it is raised and fronted

in the same circumstances as /a/, especially before /y/, and is centralised before retroflexes; /ii/ is [i:]; /u/ is usually [Ē]. (Vowels are often distorted in the informant's speech and hard to identify.)

Main stress is on the first vowel of a word. Other syllables in words of four or more syllables often carry some stress in order to avoid sequences of three or more unstressed syllables. Long vowels also tend to have some stress. Following a vowel with main stress, a single consonant tends to be lengthened. Nothing worthwhile can be said about intonation.

### 3.2.3 PHONOTACTICS

All syllables begin with a single consonant and end in a vowel or a single consonant. As exceptions to this rule, words beginning /yi/ and /wu/ could be written with initial /i/ and /u/ respectively without danger of obscuring any contrast; however, they are often heard with the initial consonant and there seems to be no reason not to write it.

Stems are most commonly of the form CVCV – about 25% of the total in the lexicon. Then follows CVCCV, about 15%, CVCVCV about 10% and CVCVCVCV, CVCCVCV and CVCVC not much less than 10% each. About 55% of stems are of two syllables, 25% of three and 16% of four. The only monosyllables are *miil* ‘eye’ and *ngaa* ‘yes’, which are also the only stems (apart from a couple of borrowed items and two stems based on *miil*) with long vowels. There is only one five-syllable stem and two with six syllables. (The vocabulary comprises about 260 stems.)

Any consonant may start a word except /rt/, /rn/, /n/, /rr/ and the laterals. However, only one starts with /d/ – *dinpuruthi* – ‘to talk’ – and one with /ny/ – *nyina* – ‘to sit’. /k/ is the most common with about 21%, although no words at all begin with /ki/. Then follows /p/ 18%, /m/ 14%, /ng/ (nearly always followed by /a/) and /w/ with 10% each, /th/ and /y/ 8%, /r/ 5%, /nh/ 3% and /ty/ 1%.

80% of stems end with a vowel; almost half of these end in /a/ while /i/ and /u/ share the remainder equally. Consonants that can end a word are /ny/ (9%), /n/ (4½%), /rl/ (3%), /rn/, /l/ and (doubtfully) /ng/. /ng/ does not seem to be permissible word finally in any other language (for which we have enough data to make a judgment) in the area and there are only a couple of doubtful examples in the Kungkari data.

In a count of total phoneme occurrences in the lexicon, about 1300 in all, approximately 55% are consonants and 45% vowels (/a/ 23%, /i/ and /u/ each 11%). There is only one occurrence of /aa/ (apart from two in borrowed words) and three of /ii/. The rarest consonants are /ly/, two occurrences (one in a cluster and one – which establishes /ly/ as a phoneme – intervocalic, and this in a place name) and /lh/ – assuming it is a phoneme – five occurrences (all in clusters). Stops make up 23% (/k/ 8%, /p/ 6%, /th/ 4%, /d/ 2%, /ty/ 1½%, /rt/ 1%), nasals 16% (/m/ 5%, /ng/ 3½%, /n/ 3%, /ny/ 2%, /nh/ 1½%, /rn/ 1%), laterals 5% (/l/ 3%, /rl/ 1½%), /rr/ 2% and glides 8% (/r/ 3%, /w/ 2½%, /y/ 2½%).

Other features worthy of note are that:

80% of the occurrences of /w/ are word initial, as are 60% of /m/ and /y/ and more than 50% of /p/, /k/ and /ng/;

70% of the occurrences of /ny/ are word final;

Half of the occurrences of /d/ and /rn/ are in clusters, as are nearly 50% of /n/ and /ty/.

Approximately one in three words has a consonant cluster. The following intramorphemic consonant clusters are found: homorganic nasal-stop; apical nasal or lateral followed by /p/ or /k/; /rr/ plus /p/, /k/ or /th/; homorganic laminal lateral plus stop. /nyp/ occurs in two words, but perhaps across morpheme boundaries in both. /lm/ occurs across a morpheme boundary and /nyk/ would certainly do so too. The most common clusters are /ngk/, /mp/ and /nk/, followed by /nd/, /nty/, /nth/, /rnt/ and /lp/. There is one

doubtful occurrence of /rnth/. /nm/ occurs in a place name (Winmil) which could be a loan from English (and occurs only in one of the old wordlists). There was some indecision over whether to phonemicise the common tap-initial clusters as dC or rC; the latter was eventually chosen because of the absence of other stop-initial clusters in Kungkari.

Departures from some of the above generalisations are found in some loanwords. Initial /n/ is found in *nalpu* ‘knife’, final /d/ in *puthikad* ‘cat’, the long vowel /aa/ in *yudaamu* ‘rum’ and *kaani* ‘carney (or bearded dragon)’, cluster /yp/ in *paypu* ‘pipe’, cluster /mk/ in *kikimkarnta-* ‘to kick’ and *mathirimkarnta-* ‘to muster’ and cluster /rrm/ in *pilirrman* ‘policeman’.

Some bound morphemes seem to be vowel initial, and the initial vowel replaces the final vowel of the stem to which the bound morpheme is affixed.

### 3.3 MORPHOLOGY

Kungkari is a suffixing language with an ergative-absolutive system of noun inflection. It differs from most other languages of this type in Australia in that pronouns also follow this system; in this it resembles Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga. Absolutive pronouns correspond in form to the accusative pronouns of neighbouring languages, having the common accusative suffix *-nha* as an absolutive suffix; in this it differs from Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga, whose absolutive pronouns resemble nominative pronouns in other languages.

#### 3.3.1 NOUNS

##### 3.3.1.1 NOUN STEM FORMATION

Most nouns in the corpus are simple. Many of the longer noun stems are found in other languages too and may be borrowed; e.g. *kurimarra* ‘carpet snake’, *ngayimala* ‘stomach’, *kakaladany* ‘pink cockatoo’. There are a few reduplicated forms: *ngartungartu* ‘chin’, *pathupathu* ‘boomerang’, *waluruwaluru* ‘kite-hawk’, *rikirikiridi* ‘red’. Corresponding simple forms are not known (except possibly *ngartu* ‘daughter’ and the place name *Riki* ‘Jundah’). *Miilmutyu* ‘blind’ and *mangamirti* ‘deaf’ include the stems *miil* ‘eye’ and *manga* ‘ear’ respectively; *mutyu* is similar to some other words for ‘blind’: *putyu* in Karna languages, *mutyuparri* in Kalkutungu, *warramutyu* in some Mayi dialects, *milmutyu* (*mili* is ‘eye’) in Mayi-Yapi; *mirti* is ‘hard’ in Margany. Kurnayukun ‘type of duck’ may be derived from *ku(r)na* ‘faeces’; cf. names like *kunapika* ‘wood duck’ in Yandruwandha (*-pika* ‘characterised by’) and apparently similar names in other languages. If *kungkuparri* ‘thirsty’ contains a ‘having’ suffix, as found in many Queensland languages, it is probably borrowed, because *-parri* is the ablative suffix in Kungkari.

A possible noun stem formative is *-karu*, which occurs in the following example. It may be a pluraliser; *kundikaru* refers to Quilpie but may literally mean ‘house-many’, i.e. ‘town’. (However, a free morpheme, *karu*, meaning unknown, occurs in a monologue involving travelling and visiting people.)

- (1) *ngalinha wapiilthiya, kuntikaruku, ngalinha yapanya*, that means I might be  
 we(du)-abs go-pres town-purp we(du)-abs brother  
*going to Quilpie, Kulpinhatharri wapiilthiya ngalinha*  
 Quilpie-*alla* go-pres we(du)-abs  
 ‘We two, my brother and I, are going to town; we’re going to Quilpie’

There is one example of pluralisation by partial reduplication: *walpara* ‘child’ becoming *walpalpara* ‘children’; see (35).

## 3.3.1.2 PROPER NOUN SUFFIX

Place names (and perhaps all proper names; there is a very doubtful example which may involve the informant's own name, Winkili, in a sentence which was not recorded on tape and not translated) can take a suffix which does not occur on other nouns. The form of this suffix for nouns ending in a vowel is *-nha*. Examples include *Palkaranha* 'Bulgroo-*nha*' (also heard without the suffix, *Palkara*), *Ngarlapinha* 'Mt Howitt-*nha*' and *Puthurrunha* 'Thunda-*nha*' (also *Puthurru*), with stem-final /a/, /i/ and /u/ respectively. There are no data on consonant-final names. The suffix is optional; compare examples (2) and (3). It is not an absolutive suffix; see (1) above in which the allative suffix *-tharri* follows *kulpi* + *-nha*.

- (2) *Puthurrunha ngurra ngayu*  
 Thunda-*nha* camp my  
 'Thunda is my country'
- (3) *Riki ngayuwa ngurra*  
 Jundah my-? camp  
 'Jundah is my country'

## 3.3.1.3 KINSHIP TERM SUFFIXES

Some kinship terms, at least, can occur with a suffix of the form laminal nasal + /a/. The word for 'mother' has been heard as *ngamanya* (and also as *ngamarni*), 'uncle' as *kampa* and *kampanha* (and perhaps *kampanya*), 'father-in-law' *tharu* and *tharunha* (*-nya?*). Several other kinship terms were heard only with final /nya/ or /ny/: 'brother' *yapanya*, 'sister' *kaminya*, 'mother-in-law' *wamaninya*, 'father' *kurlany*, 'wife' *yarrkuninya*. There are examples of both *yapanya* and *yarrkuninya* with purposive inflection, and the ending is retained.

- (4) *That ngari yapanyaku kurrtha*  
 ? brother-purp dog  
 'That's my brother's dog'

## 3.3.1.4 ABSOLUTIVE

The uninflected or absolutive form of a noun is used for the subject of a verbless or intransitive sentence, the complement of an equational sentence and the object of a transitive sentence.

- (5) *ngina walpala*  
 you (abs) white.man  
 'You're a whitefellow'
- (6) *waranha nhunuma kapu thanaanihiya*  
 who-abs he-there man stand-pres  
 'Who's that man standing there?'
- (7) *ngayunuma walpara pantha*  
 my-there child sick  
 'My child is sick'
- (8) *ngayunuma kaminya*  
 my-there sister  
 'That's my sister'

- (9) *yurlanuma rampatya*  
 fire-there cover-imper  
 ‘Cover up the fire’
- (10) *ngathunuma rawarra wurrrthinaya; kupalaku – minyaranga – yurlanga*  
 I(op)-there goanna kill-past cook-purp what's.its.name?-loc fire-loc  
 ‘I killed a goanna; got to cook it on the what's-its-name – on the fire’

### 3.3.1.5 OPERATIVE

The operative form of a noun has at least the following functions: subject of a transitive verb; denoting the instrument or material with which an action is carried out; denoting the location of sickness or pain; denoting the cause of fear. The operative suffix is *-ngu* after a stem-final vowel, and *-Tu* after a stem-final consonant (where T is a stop homorganic with the stem-final consonant).

- (11) *yarramarntu nganha wangkamanayi*  
 horse-op I(abs) kick-past(?)  
 ‘A horse kicked me’
- (12) *yandawina ngalinha yarramarntu*  
 go-pres we(du)-abs horse-op  
 ‘We’re going on horseback’
- (The Pirriya verb stem ‘to go’ has been used in this sentence.)
- (13) *rampatya puthangu*  
 cover-imper ashes-op  
 ‘Cover it with ashes’
- (14) *wapalitya walanga thinangu*  
 go-?-imper along foot-op  
 ‘Walk along’
- (15) *nganha panthakarntaanihi ngayimalangu*  
 I(abs) sick-incho-pres stomach-op  
 ‘My guts no good’<sup>1</sup>
- (16) *kayalpathaanihiya kuntarangu*  
 be afraid-pres mulga snake-op  
 ‘Are you frightened of the snake?’

### 3.3.1.6 LOCATIVE

The locative suffix is *-nga* after a stem-final vowel, *-Ta* (T as for operative) after a consonant. It is attached to a noun which denotes the location of a person or thing in space or of an action in time.

- (17) *pulithi thanaanihiya kunadinga*  
 cattle stand-pres plain-loc  
 ‘That cattle feeding on the plain’
- (18) *manatyanuma kathi pulkaranga*  
 get-imper-there meat leaf-loc  
 ‘Put the meat in the leaves (i.e. branches)’



- (19) *nganha ngunaanhiya watyanga, kakunga kuthu*  
 I(abs) camp-pres creek-loc water-loc near  
 'I'm camping at the creek, near the water'
- (20) *nharrinya nganha wapiilthiya, karrkanga*  
 that.way I(abs) go-pres behind-loc  
 'I'm coming along behind'
- (21) *I going to wurrthila nhunuma kurla, wikanga, kathiku, karinhala*  
 kill-fut he-there kangaroo tomorrow meat-purp eat-?-fut  
 'I'm going to kill that kangaroo tomorrow, for meat, to eat'

### 3.3.1.7 PURPOSIVE

The purposive case suffix is *-ku*. Functions attested are to mark purpose or goal of an action, to mark beneficiary of an action, to denote ownership and to mark destination of motion. The last function is shared with the allative case; the difference in meaning, if any, between the case suffixes in sentences like (27) and (28) is not known.

- (22) *I been Kulpinhatharri race-iku*  
 Quilpie-*nha*-alla -purp  
 'I've been to Quilpie for the races'
- (23) ... *wapalaku pulithiku*  
 go-fut-purp cattle-purp  
 "... going mustering"

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<sup>1</sup>Double inverted commas denote a 'translation' given by the informant; this may differ somewhat from what is suggested by the interlinear translation, often because it is really not a translation but an explanation. In particular, the person might be different. Some utterances which are a mixture of English and Kungkari are given entirely in double inverted commas with only an interlinear translation of the Kungkari words.

- (24) *ngathunuma parntaanihiya pidin, mangkiku*  
 I(op)-there chop-pres mulga sheep-purp  
 'I'm chopping mulga for the sheep'
- (25) *waraku nhunuma kundi? nharrinya Mr Jones-ku*  
 who-purp it-there house? that way -purp  
 'Whose house is that?' 'It belongs to Mr Jones'
- (26) *kurrthakunuma kathi*  
 dog-purp-there meat  
 'That's the dog's meat'
- (27) *Palkaraku nganha nhalpaanihiya*  
 Bulgroo-purp I(abs) return-pres  
 'I'm going back to Bulgroo'

### 3.3.1.8 ALLATIVE

The allative suffix *-tharri* denotes destination of motion (but see also 3.3.1.7). There is a possible occurrence of an allomorph *-tyarri*, on *thakany* 'food'.

- (28) *Thanpuntharri nganha wapiilthiya*  
 Tampoon-alla I(abs) go-pres  
 ‘I going alonga Tampoon now’
- (29) *nganha wapiilthaya kuyaku, watyatharri*  
 I(abs) go-past fish-purp creek-alla  
 ‘I went fishing, to the creek’

### 3.3.1.9 ABLATIVE

Ablative case suffix *-parri* marks the place from which motion is directed.

- (30) *wapiilthaya Palkaraparri*  
 go-past Bulgroo-abl  
 ‘(I) came over from Bulgroo’
- (31) *tharnaparriya wapiilthaya*  
 ground-abl-? go-past  
 ‘He come from another country’

### 3.3.2 PRONOUNS

#### 3.3.2.1 PERSONAL AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The few personal pronoun forms attested in the data are shown in table 3.2. The forms designated ‘third person singular’ are shown with a following hyphen, as they do not occur without a following deictic suffix (see section 3.3.2.3). This pronoun does not take an absolutive suffix, seems to have separate nominative and accusative – and probably also operative – forms, and is probably best regarded as a demonstrative. The alternative stem *nhana-* occurs only a couple of times in the corpus.

There is no evidence of any distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person dual pronoun (and first plural has not been heard). *ngali-* is clearly used as an exclusive pronoun but could be inclusive too; in many languages that make the distinction, *ngali* is the inclusive form (but it is the exclusive form in Wangkumara and Yandruwandha). Example (1) above shows *ngali-* used as an exclusive pronoun and followed by a noun that specifies the other member of the pair – *ngalinha yapanya* ‘my brother and I’. A similar example is *ngaliku yarrkuninyaku* ‘my wife’s and mine’.

*pula-* occurs in the corpus as both second person dual and third person dual. Since this stem is widespread with the latter meaning it has been assumed that this is also the meaning in Kungkari.

Figures beneath items in table 3.2 refer to examples in which the particular pronoun appears. They are not all exhaustive lists. See section 3.3.2.3 for lists for third person singular.

TABLE 3.2  
 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	1 singular	2 singular		3 singular
absolutive	<i>nganha</i> (11), (15), (19)	<i>ngina</i> (5), (60), (101)	nominative	<i>nhunu-</i> <i>nhana-</i> (rare)
			accusative	<i>nhina-</i> ( <i>nhinha-</i> ?)
operative	<i>ngathu</i> (10), (24), (63)	<i>yindi</i> (33)		

purposive (2), (3), (7)	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>nginku</i>		
1 dual	3 dual	2 plural	3 plural	
absolute (1), (42)	<i>ngalinha</i> (32), (106)	<i>pulanha</i>	<i>nhurranha</i> (35), (38)	<i>thananha</i>
purposive	<i>ngaliku</i>			

A form *pulalu* occurs in the following sentence:

- (32) *waranha pulanhama, thanawina kapu pulalu*  
 who-abs they(du)-abs-there, stand-pres man they(du)?-?  
 ‘Who are those two? “two fellows standing together”’

### 3.3.2.2 INTERROGATIVES

Personal interrogative *wara* ‘who?’ seems to be inflected as a personal pronoun (see (6) and (33) for examples of the absolute as subject and object). However, it can occur without any suffix (before the 3rd singular pronoun in all attested cases; see (39)). On the other hand, *minya* ‘what?’ is inflected as a noun. In two case forms (each attested only once) a syllable /ra/ occurs before the suffix; this could be a formative deriving a form like ‘what’s-its-name?’, see (10) and (138). The stem of the interrogative ‘where?’ is *thala-*; however, the allative form is *thalu*.

Attested interrogative forms are shown in table 3.3. For further examples of their use see (10), (25), (45), (78), (83), (84), (97), (98) and examples in section 3.4.6.

- (33) *waranha yindi ngangkawina*  
 who-abs you(op) hear-pres  
 ‘Who you listening; who you been hearim?’

TABLE 3.3  
INTERROGATIVES

	who?	what?	where?
absolute	<i>wara, waranha</i>	<i>minya</i>	
operative		<i>minyarangu</i>	
purposive	<i>waraku</i>	<i>minyaku</i>	
locative		<i>minyaranga</i>	<i>thalanga</i>
allative			<i>thalu</i>
ablative			<i>thalaparri(ya)</i>

### 3.3.2.3 DEICTIC SUFFIXES

The suffix *-ma* occurs frequently and is presumably an unmarked ‘there’ suffix; the unmarked suffix also has this specific meaning in other languages of the area, and, while the examples do not confirm this, they do not contradict it either. The suffix occurs on most occurrences of third person pronouns (see also (6), (21), (32), (39), (40), (42), (52), (57), (58), (85)).

- (34) *muyukarntaani nhunuma ru(r)la; putim out that ru(r)la, too much smoke*  
 smoke-incho-pres it-there fire  
 ‘That fire is smoky ...’

- (35) *walpalpara thananhama kinkaanhiya*  
 child(redup) they(plural)-abs-there laugh-pres  
 ‘Those kids are laughing’

The suffix *-ayi* (with the initial vowel replacing the final vowel of the stem) occurs a few times in the corpus on the third person singular pronoun. There is no indication of its meaning. The ‘here’ deictic in Wangkumara and Yandruwandha is *-yi*.

- (36) *karinhaanhiya nhunayi, kurimarra*  
 eat-?-pres it- carpet snake  
 ‘might be carpet snake he might be eating’

- (37) *nhunayi long time, thanaanhi murri*  
 it- stand-pres sun  
 ‘long time he going down, the *murri*’

There are a couple of examples of a suffix *-(a)ka*; on one occasion the sentence was repeated with *-ma* instead. It could be a ‘yonder’ deictic.

- (38) *I going nhakanhakatyalpara ...; nhakanhakatyalpara kapu thananhaka*  
 see-redup-? see-redup-? man they(plural)-abs-  
 ‘I’m going away to meet a lot of people’(?)

(The sentence occurred in the context of talk about going to other places.)

- (39) *wara nhunaka kapu; him nother kapu. wara nhunuma kapu*  
 who he man who he-there man  
 ‘Who’s that man...?’

There is no particular reason to believe that the suffixes *-da* and *-wa* are deictics, but they will be mentioned here for convenience. *-da* occurs once, on the first person singular pronoun; see (40). Apart from two doubtful cases the only occurrences of *-wa* have been in sentences in which Arthur Winkers was ostensibly speaking Pirriya, but actually speaking a mixture of Kungkari and Pirriya. As *-wa* does occur on Pirriya pronouns, it is assumed that this suffix is not Kungkari.

- (40) *nhakaanhi ngathuda nhunuma malthu*  
 see-pres I(op)- it-there carney (lizard)  
 ‘I can see that carney’

- (41) *nganhawa yandawina, Kulpinhatharri*  
 I(abs) go-pres Quilpie-nha-alla  
 ‘I’m going to Quilpie’

(The stem *yanda-* is Pirriya but the correct form may be *yandaangu*. *nganhawa* may be Pirriya.)

The following example suggests that inflectional suffixes may follow deictic suffixes. However, the absolutive suffix precedes deictics (see (32), (35), (38)).

- (42) *dinpuruthilina ngalinha, nhanamaku – wapalaku pulithiku*  
 talk- ? we(du)-abs it-there-purp go-fut-purp cattle-purp  
 ‘We’re talking about going mustering cattle’(?)

(Or perhaps not *nhanamaku* but *thanamaku* ‘they (plural)-there-purp’)

### 3.3.2.4 BOUND PRONOUN

A clitic *-numa*, which is taken to be a bound form of the third person singular pronoun (demonstrative) *nhunuma* (with the ‘there’ deictic), occurs frequently. Rarely, it has the form *-unuma*, with the initial /u/ replacing the final vowel of the word to which it is cliticised. It occurs on pronouns (in various case forms), nouns (with or without inflectional suffixes) and verbs (with various inflections). It seems to have a demonstrative function, like the full form *nhunuma*. In addition to the following sentences, it is exemplified by (7)-(10), (18), (24), (26), (57), (93), (94).

- (43) *ngayunuma walparunuma* (from *walpara*)  
 my-there child-there  
 ‘That’s my child’
- (44) *nhanamanuma ngayu kurrtha*  
 it-that-there my dog  
 ‘That’s my dog’
- (45) *waranhanuma kapu; I don’t know what thalaparrinuma*  
 who-abs-there man where-abl-there  
 ‘Who’s that man? I don’t know where he’s from’
- (46) *kurimarra, wurrrthilana karinhala*  
 carpet snake, kill-fut-there eat-fut  
 ‘He want to killim and eat that carpet snake’
- (47) *wirakunuma walpara nhingkaanhiya*  
 ?-purp-there child cry-pres  
 ‘That child is crying (for ?)’
- (48) *rampatyunuma, yurlanuma rampatya*  
 cover-imper-there fire-there cover-imper  
 ‘Coverim up (that fire)’
- (Compare *ramparampatyanuma* in (111).)
- (49) *wurrrthityanuma kathi*  
 kill-imper-there snake  
 ‘Kill that snake’
- (50) *he panthakarntawinanumapilirman*  
 sick-incho-pres-there policeman  
 ‘The policeman is sick’

For a possible bound pronoun with the *-ayi* deictic, see (62).

### 3.3.3 VERBS

Very little is known about the morphology of verbs; there are a fair number of examples available but lack of accurate knowledge of the real meaning of the Kungkari sentences, coupled perhaps with deficiencies of the informant, result in the situation being very confusing. Unfortunately, Arthur Winkers normally did not give the sentences I tried to elicit, and what I took at the time to be his translations of his sentences are often simply continuations of his train of thought in English.

#### 3.3.3.1 VERB STEM FORMATION

The only fairly well attested verb stem formative is the inchoative *-karnta*. This is affixed to a noun to form an intransitive verb meaning ‘to be or become the referent, or like the referent, of the noun’.

Examples include *panthakarnta-* ‘to be sick’, *wilthakarnta-* ‘to be bad’, *kungkiparrikarnta-* ‘to be thirsty’, *pithiringkarnta-* (or *pithirinykarnta-*) ‘to sweat’, *murirrakarnta-* ‘to cool down’, *muyukarnta-* ‘to be smoky (of a fire)’. Sentential examples include (15), (50), (65), (79) as well as the following:

- (51) *wilthakarntaanhiyamanga*  
bad-incho-pres ear  
‘He going deaf’
- (52) *muyukarntaanhi nhunuma, rurla*  
smoke-incho-pres it-there, fire  
‘That fire is smoky’

One problem item is the adapted English loanword *mathidimkarnta-* ‘to muster’. This is, of course, transitive in English and would be expected to have a transitive verb formative, rather than *-karnta*; see (73). Contrast the treatment of English ‘kick’, which seems to have become *kikimarntama-* (but is very unclear in its one occurrence).

The suffix *-mi* also seems to be inchoative in *katyami-* ‘to die’ (from *katya* ‘rotten’):

- (53) *ma ngayu kurrtha katyamirni*  
? my dog die-?  
‘My dog died last night’

However, *-ma* or *-mi* – perhaps not the same suffix – seems to be causative in the following examples. Note that it seems to follow *-karnta* in (55); however, this word is particularly unclear and might be quite wrongly transcribed.

- (54) *ngunamatya; thadima ngunamulanga, ngunami(i)tya there longa parlanga*  
lie-caus-imper; ? lie-caus-fut-? lie-caus-imper humpy-loc  
‘Put him to sleep there in the humpy’
- (55) *pungkuduwina ngathu paypu paypung(u) nganha wilthakarntamangana ngayimala*  
smoke-pres I(op) pipe pipe-op(?) I(abs) bad-incho-caus-? stomach  
‘Pipe made me no good’

The verb *thana-* ‘to stand’ may be used as a formative in *kuwathana-* (probably) ‘to call out (of cattle), to moo’. *kuwa* is perhaps representative of the sound of mooing.

The stems *wapa* ‘to go’ and *wapi* ‘to put’ may be related by a causative formative *-i* in the same way as the Bidjara pair *wadya* ‘to go’/*wadyi* ‘to take’ (Breen 1973:144).

### 3.3.3.2 IMPERATIVE

The imperative or command form of verbs is marked by the suffix *-tya*, except when combined with the meaning ‘hither’ (see section 3.3.3.3). Examples include (13), (14), (18), (48), (54), (111) as well as the following:

- (56) *nyinatya ngurranga*  
sit-imper ground-loc  
‘Sit on the ground’
- (57) *wurrthityanuma; wurrthitya nhinama kapu*  
kill-imper-there kill-imper him-there man  
‘Killim that kapu’

## 3.3.3.3 HITHER IMPERATIVE

A combination of imperative with direction towards the speaker is marked by a suffix *-nthada*. A bound morpheme denoting direction towards speaker is not attested on verbs except in imperative sentences, but a similar morpheme, *-nthayi*, is part of the adverb *nharringanthayi* ‘hither’. Compare Bidjara *-ndyada* ‘along’ (Breen 1973:100-101). Unfortunately, there are no sentences in the corpus in which *-nthada* occurs without *nharringanthayi* somewhere close by. Note, however, that Tindale gives [‘wapa ‘lantara] ‘come here’.

- (58) *yudaamu panganthada, give it to him; pangathada nhinuma yudaamu,*  
 rum give-hith.imper give-hith.imper him/it-there rum  
*nharringanthayi*  
 hither  
 “Give him that rum; I want to drink it”
- (59) *wapalinhada, nharringanthayi*  
 go-?-hith.imper hither  
 “Come here!”

## 3.3.3.4 POTENTIAL

Potential actions – actions that **might** take place – are marked by the suffix *-aadingki*. The only examples involve undesirable actions, and the sentences are probably warnings.

- (60) *patyaadingki ngina, kuntarangu*  
 bite-pot you(abs) mulga.snake-op  
 “(the snake) might bite him”
- (61) “you want to look out or – *thanatya wuthunpiri, might patyaadingki, you know;*  
 stand-imper ? bite-pot  
 stand a bit away from a snake”

For another possible example see ‘hit with missile’ in the vocabulary.

## 3.3.3.5 STATIVE PRESENT

Most sentences in the corpus seem to be in present tense; however, the tense markers used are divided between at least two morphemes: *-aanhi(ya)* ~ *-ilthi(ya)* and *-wina*. At first sight (at least) these seem to have the same function, and to a certain extent they are used interchangeably. They are both glossed ‘pres’.

- (62) “*murriya, long time, thanawina murrinhayi; murriyunhayi thanawina long time;*  
 sun-? stand-pres sun- ? sun-? stand-pres  
*thanaanhi; thanaanhi; he's long time going down*”  
 stand-pres stand-pres
- (63) *kurimarra ngathu kariwina; karinhaanhiya*  
 carpet snake I(op) eat-pres eat-?-pres  
 ‘I’m eating carpet snake’

- (64) *kungkiparrikarntawina nganha; kungkiparrikarntaanhiya nganha*  
 thirsty-incho-pres I(abs) thirsty-incho-pres I(abs)  
 'I'm thirsty'
- (65) *pithiringkarntawana [sic] nganha; pithiringkarntaanhiya nganha,*  
*ringkandu*  
 sweat-incho-pres I(abs) sweat-incho-pres I(abs) heat-op  
 'I'm sweating; "sun's coming out hot"'
- However, there seems to be a tendency for *-wina* to be used with stative verbs, or words that could be stative, while *-iilthiya* (but not *-aanhiya*) is always used with active verbs. *-aanhiya* seems to be used equally with either. Study of the numerous examples presented here and in section 3.3.3.6 will show how tentative this is. (For *-wina* see (32), (33), (50), (55)) as well as the examples in this section.)
- (66) *pukaduwina manimani*  
 thunder-pres lightning  
 'He thundering ... bumping'
- (67) *kaku there thanawina; ngunawina there pulithila*  
 water stand-pres lie-pres cattle-?  
 'They're camping there in the daytime' (i.e. the cattle)
- (68) *nganha (?) pikuwi yinkaduwina*  
 I(abs) be.tired -pres  
 'I feel tired'
- (69) "There *pulithi thanawina; pulithi thanawiniya; kunadinga*; that cattle feeding on the plain."  
 cattle stand-pres cattle stand-pres-? plain-loc
- (70) *ngangkawina pulithi, kuwathanaanhi*  
 hear-pres cattle call out-pres  
 '(I) can hear the cattle singing out' (? - no translation obtained)
- (71) *kangkarriwina nganha murta*  
 be.sore-pres I(abs) leg  
 'My leg is sore'
- (72) *kayalpathawinanganha*  
 be.afraid-pres I(abs)  
 'I frightened'
- (73) *ngaa; waya wapiilthiya work-aku; mathidimkarntawina pulithi*  
 yes all.right go-pres -purp muster-pres cattle  
 'Yes, I'm going to work, mustering cattle'
- (74) *kakunga nganha(wa) yirrpaliwina*  
 water-loc I(abs)-? bathe-?-pres  
 'You're bogeying in the water'

This suffix is used also in the supposed Pirriya sentences given by Arthur Winkers; although they are at least sometimes attached to genuine Pirriya stems it is doubted that the suffix is really Pirriya. It is used with both stative and active sentences. One of these sentences is (41); another is (75):

- (75) *yindiwa parntawina nhamamuku wurla*  
 you(op)-? chop-pres it-? firewood  
 'You're chopping that wood'



## 3.3.3.6 ACTIVE PRESENT

The suffixes *-aanhi*, *-aanhiya*, *-iilthi* and *-iilthiya* are grouped together as ‘active present’. The /ya/ is sometimes hard to hear and may be a meaningless stylistic addition (see also (69) where it appears on *-wina*). The first two are used frequently with both active and stative verbs; perhaps with the stative verbs the meaning involves ‘becoming’ rather than ‘being’. The other two are heard only with *wapa-* ‘to go’, apart from two examples with *nhaka-* ‘to see’. *wapa-* does not occur with *-aanhi(ya)* (although *wapalinhiya* occurs in a song), but *nhaka-* does. There must, therefore, be some doubt that it is correct to group all four together in one morpheme.

Assuming that there is only one morpheme, it seems very likely that it is a compound one (even if we disregard the /ya/). A long morpheme-initial vowel is found on some other verbal suffixes – optionally at least in the case of the past tense – and may have some meaning of its own.

*-aanhi(ya)* occurs in examples (6), (15)-(17), (19), (24), (27), (34), (35), (37), (40), (47), (51), (52), (62)-(65), (70), (97) as well as in those below:

- (76) *ngalnyi ngathu nhakaanhiya*  
 moon I(op) see-pres  
 ‘That’s the *ngalnyi* up there, I tellim nother fellow’
- (77) *ngalnyi there thanaanhi*  
 moon stand-pres  
 ‘The moon is there’
- (78) *minya yinda (yindi?) kupaanhia? oh kathi ngathu kupaanhia*  
 what you(op) cook-pres meat I(op) cook-pres-?  
 (+ indecipherable final syllable)  
 ‘What are you cooking?’ ‘Oh, I’m cooking meat’
- (79) *panthakarntaanhia rirrangu*  
 sick-incho-pres tooth-op  
 ‘(I) have a toothache’
- (80) *kuya ngathu manaanhia*  
 fish I(op) get-pres  
 ‘I’m fishing’

*-iilthi(ya)* examples include (1), (20), (28), (73) and the following:

- (81) *big fellow pandara wapiilthiya nharringanthayi*  
 rain go-pres hither  
 ‘There’s a big rain coming’
- (82) *nhakiilthi walpala*  
 see-pres white.man  
 ‘(I) can see a white fellow’
- (83) *waranha yina (?) nhakiilthiya*  
 who-abs ? see-pres  
 ‘Who that man looking?’

(If ‘who’ is the subject here it should be in operative case, and the second word could be *ngina* ‘you(abs)’. If ‘who’ is the object the subject should be operative, perhaps *yindi* ‘you (op)’.)

- (84) *thalaparriya wapiilthiya*  
 where-abl-? go-pres  
 “Where does [he] come from?”

### 3.3.3.7 PAST TENSE

There are a handful of examples of a morpheme *-nhaya* ~ *-(i)ilthaya* which may denote past tense. Note, however, that if the final /ya/ is omitted we have *-nha* (there are no clear examples of *-(i)iltha*) and the examples give less reason to gloss this as past tense (although it could be). Examples of *-nha* are given later in this section. Note also that the quality of vowels is sometimes unclear, so that it may be doubtful whether the /nh/ or /th/ is followed by /a/ or /i/.

- (85) *I been karinhanhayanhunuma thalpany; kupanhaya yurlanga*  
 eat-?-past it-there grub cook-past fire-loc  
 ‘I’ve been eating those witchetty grubs; I cooked them in the fire’

- (86) “I been *wurrthinnya* ...; I *wurrthinnya* that *kathi* I been *nhaka* ...; *parrintya*”  
 kill-past kill-past snake see yesterday

(The informant tried various suffixes on *nhaka*:- *-nty*, *-la*, *-n*, and obviously could not remember what to use.) See also (10), (29), (30), (109), (113).

The following are examples of *-nha*, together with the single example of *-aanha*. See also (108) and (142).

- (87) “cook-*ungu* ... [indecipherable] ...; *wurrthinha* bell; he mean ring the bell;  
 -op hit-past?  
 cook ringing the bell”

- (88) *I’ll mantharra that bloomin’ paka; I’ll wurrthinha*  
 get-fut stick hit-?  
 ‘I’ll get that stick and kill (the snake)’ (Note, *mantharra* is Wangkumara.)

- (89) *pulari ngathu manaynya* [sic] *kulu kurla*  
 two I(op) get-past? ? kangaroo  
 ‘I killed two kangaroos’

- (90) “*wapalinhada nharringanthayi*; come here; *dinpuruthilinha ngalinha*  
*ngalinha*;  
 go-?-hith.imper hither talk-?-? we(du)-abs we(du)-abs  
 me and him talking; me and him want to have a talk”

- (91) *malthu ngathu yanaanha*  
 carney I(op) call-?  
 “I callim – that’s *malthu*”

The *-nha*- in *karinha*- is not thought to be related; see (85) and 3.3.3.10. Note also (42) in which *-na* was heard, corresponding (presumably) to the *-nha* in (90). *-na* occurs also in (103). *-aana* has also been heard; see (92).

- (92) *kaku manaana*  
 water get-?  
 “You want to get a *kaku* thataway, getim over there”

### 3.3.3.8 FUTURE

The suffix *-la* seems to denote action in the future. Other suffixes may follow this. With *-ku* (which is also the nominal purposive suffix) we get *-laku*, presumably a verbal purposive. The other suffixes attested after *-la* are *-nga* and *-wa*, and their functions are not known. *-la* is exemplified in (21), (46) and (93)-(97); *-laku* in (10), (42), (98) and (99); *-langu* in (54), (99), (100) and (107); *-law* in (101) (and note also (94)).

- (93) *karinhalanumangathu, kurimarra*  
eat-?-fut-there I(op) carpet.snake  
'I'm going to eat the carpet snake'

- (94) *ngathunuma wurrthilaw rurlangu*  
I(op)-there hit-fut-? stick-op  
'I'll hit him with a stick'

(The [w] on the verb could be just a distortion of the final vowel, or it could be a suffix – compare *-wa* in (101).)

- (95) *I'll manala there nhunuma rurla*  
get-fut it-there stick  
'I'll get that stick'

- (96) *I going to wurrthila nhunuma kurla; wikanga; kathiku; karinhala; eating him up*  
kill-fut it-there kangaroo tomorrow meat-purp eat-?-fut  
'I'm going to kill that kangaroo, tomorrow, for meat, to eat'

- (97) *piyala ngina ... thalanga pulithi, ngina nhakaanhiya*  
ask-fut you(abs) where-loc cattle you(abs) see-pres  
'I ask him about where the bullock are ...'

(It is not clear why the second 'you' is not in operative case.)

- (98) *thalu ngina wapalaku*  
where-alla you(abs) go-fut-purp  
'Where are you going?'

(The sentence actually asked for was 'When are you going?' and it is possible that *thalu* – heard as *thali* then *thalu* – does mean 'when'. However, there is another sentence in which it is given for 'where to'.)

- (99) "they're camping there in the daytime, and when you want to getim you *manalaku*  
get-fut-purp

there; you can getim there; I say *manalanga*; he get him there"  
get-fut-?

- (100) "you wanta ... *warntawarntatya* now; you gottawarntawarntalanga; that mean  
get.up-redup-imp get.up-redup-fut-?  
to get up, see"

- (101) *wala ngathu ngina pangalawa mani*  
not I(op) you(abs) give-fut-? (money?)  
'I won't give it to you'

### 3.3.3.9 RECIPROCAL

The only sentence that seems to have a reciprocal verb is the following. Presumably the reciprocal suffix is part or all of the part between the stem *wurrthi-* and the imperative suffix *-tya*. (See the next section, where *-li-* is discussed.) Compare also (54), where there is a similar alternation between *-ma* and *-mi* or *-mii*.

- (102) “*walan wurrthilima(yi)tya wurrthim(?)iitya nhunuma thaku(?) kapu...*  
 don't hit- -imper hit- -imper he-there ? man  
*walan pulanha – wurrthilima(yi)tya; that means stopping them, see*”  
 don't they(du)-abs hit- -imper

(The sentence asked for was ‘Stop fighting, you two’. However, these sentences could mean ‘Don't let them fight’ or ‘Don't let him hit that man’ or something else.)

### 3.3.3.10 OTHER VERB SUFFIXES

A suffix *-li* precedes inflectional suffixes in verbs; it is fairly common but there is no indication of its meaning. Examples include (14), (42), (59), (74), (90) and (103)-(105). Note also Tindale's *pangaling* ‘give’, the two examples of *-npa-* mentioned below, and *wapalinhiya* in Appendix 3.1.

- (103) *nganha ngunaanhi watyanga, kuyaku manaalin(h)ina*  
 I(abs) lie-pres creek-loc, fish-purp get-?-?-?  
 “catching fish; camping the river”
- (104) *wala nganha yanalityaya, antyitya(?)*  
 don't I(abs) tell-?-imper-? ?  
 (Possibly ‘Don't talk too fast to me’; the sentence asked for was ‘He talks too fast’.)
- (105) *ngalinha walan wapalinparti now, kurlaku*  
 we(du)-abs not go-?-?-? kangaroo-purp  
 ‘We don't go hunting kangaroos now [because we live on white man's food]’

There is one example of *-la-* instead of *-li-*; Tindale also gives *-la-*, in *wapalatya* ‘go (away)’ and *wapalanthada* ‘come here’.

- (106) *pulanha wapalatya kurlaku*  
 they(du)-abs go-?-imper kangaroo-purp  
 “We going hunting, for kangaroo”

A morpheme *-npa-* occurs in (105) (and this is also the only example of *-rti*) and in (107). There is also one occurrence of what seems to be *wapalinpalanga*, with no indication of meaning except the word ‘going’. See also 3.4.1.

- (107) *ngalinha wapalinpalanga*  
 we(du)-abs go-?-?-fut-? (or go-?-?-along)  
 (meaning not clear)

*-rni* seems to be some kind of past tense marker; it occurs in (53).

Other isolated apparent bound morphemes include *-tyalpara* in (38) (perhaps imperative *-tya* followed by another word – *yalpara*, maybe), *-yinha* (*-yi* + *-nha*?) (108), *-ngana* (55), (109), *-tyika* in (110), *-nha* in *karinha-* (21), (85), (93), (96) and in Appendix 3.2.

- (108) *kakunuma kantyayinha; wuthalu (?)*  
 water-there drink-? ?  
 (Translation not known)
- (109) *yurla yikumatyangana; yurla yikumatyaaanhaya*  
 fire light-? fire light-past?  
 ‘I'm lighting a fire’

- (110) *kawal (?) kantyatyika kaku*  
       ?           drink-?       water

(Translation not known; the sentence asked for was ‘I’m drinking water’.)

### 3.3.3.11 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication of three verb stems is attested. In the case of the transitive verb *nhaka-* ‘to see’, the function could be to denote plural object (see (38)). No such function seems possible for the other two, *warntawarnta-* ‘to get up’ ((100), and a couple of similar sentences) or *ramparampa-* ‘to cover’ (111). Simple forms of both stems are attested.

- (111) *ramparampatyanuma rurla*  
       cover-redup-imper-there fire  
       ‘Cover the fire’

## 3.4 SYNTAX

### 3.4.1 PHRASES

Verb phrases in this corpus usually consist of just a single inflected verb; the exceptions are those phrases consisting of a verb followed by what is usually written as *walanga* and translated ‘along’. It is often unclear and its pronunciation seems to be somewhat variable; it could be a loan from English (along) or even a noun with locative suffix *-nga*. It is closely associated phonetically with the verb, always immediately following it and sometimes seemingly cliticised to it (as *-alanga*). Examples include the following; note also *-langa* (see section 3.3.3.8).

- (112) *pinitya walanga*  
       run-imper along  
       ‘Run along’
- (113) *thalu ngina wapilthayalanga*  
       where-alla you(abs) go -past-along  
       “Where you go?”

Other variants noted are *-alunga*, *alanga* (as a separate word) and *wulanga*.

A noun phrase usually consists of one or more words, although it may be simply a clitic attached to a constituent of another phrase, for example *-numa* is the object noun phrase in:

- (114) *ngathunuma wurrthila rurlangu*  
       I(op)-there hit-fut stick-op  
       ‘I’ll hit it with a stick’

It may also consist of one word (or more) plus a clitic attached to another word, as in:

- (115) *kurimarra, wurrthilana karinhala*  
       carpet snake, kill-fut-there eat-?-fut  
       “He going to killim and eat that carpet snake”

in which it is attached to a verb, and the phrase is discontinuous, or

- (116) *ngathunuma rawarra wurrthinaya*  
       I(op)-there goanna kill-past  
       ‘I killed that goanna’

in which it is attached to a pronoun (a noun phrase denoting the actor). In both of these sentences the clitic is part of the object of a transitive verb.

The only three-word phrase attested is *ngayu yapanyaku kurrtha* ‘my brother's dog’. Types of two-word noun phrase include specific-generic (probably) as in *mangku nhidimari* ‘elbow’ (literally ‘arm joint’; however this is not well established); possessor-possessioned (in either order) as in *ngayu ngurra* and *ngurra ngayu* ‘my country’; part-whole (in either order) as in *murta nganha* and *nganha murta* ‘my leg’ (which shows that, like many other Australian languages, Kungkari uses this construction rather than possessor-possessioned for inalienably possessed objects like body parts); noun (with or without inflection) plus modifier as in *pulithi katya* ‘stinking cattle’ (or ‘the smell of the cattle’?) and *kakunga kuthu* ‘near the water’ (-*nga* ‘locative’); pronoun-noun (in either order) as in *nhunuma thalpany* ‘that witchetty grub’, *kapu thananhaka* ‘those men’ and *ngalinha yapanya* ‘my brother and I’ (literally ‘we two brother’); numeral-noun as in *pulari ...kurla* ‘two kangaroos’ (see (89) in which it occurred as a discontinuous phrase).

The examples in the previous paragraph suggest that word order in noun phrases is very free. One-word noun phrases are, of course, frequent in the corpus; see the following sections for examples.

### 3.4.2 VERBLESS SENTENCES

Verbless sentences in the corpus consist of two noun phrases, one of which names the topic while the other gives some information about it. Probably various kinds of inflected as well as uninflected noun phrases could perform the latter function, but only a very few types are attested. These are illustrated in the following sentences. It will be noted that the order of the constituents seems to be free.

- (117) *marnkirl nganha*  
black I(abs)  
‘I'm black’
- (118) *ngina walpala*  
you(abs) white.man  
‘You white man’
- (119) *wara nhunuma wirnany*  
who he-there small  
‘Who's the little one?’
- (120) *Puthurrinha ngurra ngayu*  
Thunda-nha country my  
‘Thunda is my country’
- (121) *ngayu walpara nhunuma*  
my child he-there  
‘That's my boy’
- (122) *kurrthakunuma kathi*  
dog-purp-there meat  
‘That's the dog's meat’
- (123) *walpara nhungu(?) thimpurrungka there*  
child he-? coolamon-loc  
‘The baby's in the coolamon’

(Note, locative is normally -*nga*. The second word is not clear.)

### 3.4.3 INTRANSITIVE STATEMENT SENTENCES

An intransitive statement sentence comprises a noun phrase as subject and an intransitive verb phrase, with optional additional noun phrases. The subject may be omitted if it is predictable from the context.

- (124) *kangkarriwina nganha murta*  
be sore-pres I(abs) leg  
'My leg is sore'
- (125) *Nganha wapiilthaya kuyaku, watyatharri*  
I(abs) go-past fish-purp, creek-alla  
'I went fishing, to the creek'
- (126) *nganha ngunaanhiya watyanga, kakunga kuthu*  
I(abs) camp-pres creek-loc, water-loc near  
'Camping near the watya, near the creek, where the water is'
- (127) *Palkaraku nganha nhalpaanhiya*  
Bulgroo-purp I(abs) return-pres  
'I'm going back to Bulgroo'
- (128) *murirrakarntawina*  
cool-incho-pres  
'Make him cool' (i.e. '(he) is getting cool')

### 3.4.4 TRANSITIVE STATEMENT SENTENCES

A transitive statement sentence comprises a transitive verb phrase with an absolutive noun phrase object and an operative noun phrase agent, and may have additional noun phrases. One or other of the normally obligatory noun phrases – object and agent – may be omitted if it is predictable from the context; probably both could be.

- (129) *nhakaanhi ngathuda nhunuma malthu*  
see-pres I(op)-? it-there carney  
'I can see that carney'
- (130) *ngathu nhakaanhiya*  
I(op) see-pres  
'I can see (them)'
- (131) *karinhalanuma ngathu kurimarra*  
eat-?-fut-there I(op) carpet snake  
'I'm going to eat that carpet snake'
- (132) *waranha yindi ngangkawina*  
who-abs you(op) hear-pres  
'Who you listening; who you been hearim?'

See section 3.4.5 for a ditransitive sentence (135); (101) is another.

### 3.4.5 IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Imperative sentences differ from statement sentences in that the subject or agent (at least when it is second person singular) is omitted (always, in this corpus); in addition, of course, the verb has one of

the imperative suffixes. There is only one example of a possible imperative sentence with a non-singular subject; the subject is supposed to be second person dual, but it is *pulanha* which is thought to be really third person dual, so it is not trusted (see (102)).

- (133) *thanatya*  
stand-imper  
'Stand up'
- (134) *wurrthityanuma kathi*  
kill-imper-there snake  
'Kill that snake'

Note that the following example demonstrates that the verb 'to give', as in many Australian languages, is ditransitive – it can take two direct objects, denoting the gift and the recipient.

- (135) *thakany nganha panganthada nharringanthayi*  
tucker I(abs) give-hith.imper hither  
'Give me some tucker'

### 3.4.6 QUESTION SENTENCES

Most questions in the corpus are of the type in which the sentence contains an interrogative pronoun and the answer expected is, or contains, a phrase for which that interrogative pronoun is an appropriate substitute. Interrogative pronoun roots are *wara-* 'who?', *minya* 'what?' and *thala-* 'where?'. The interrogative pronoun takes first place in the sentence. For further examples see (113) and (119) and refer to the list in section 3.3.2.2.

- (136) *wara nhunuma miilmutyu*  
who he-there blind  
'Who's that blind fellow?'
- (137) *waranha nhurranha*  
who-abs you(plu)-abs  
'Who are you lot?'
- (138) *rampatyunuma – minyarangu – tharnangu*  
cover-imp-there what's.its.name-?-op dirt-op  
'Cover it with what's-its-name – with dirt'
- (139) *minyaku (ng)ina wapiilthi*  
what-purp you(abs) go-pres  
'What are you going for?'

The only sentences not of the 'interrogative' type have no question marker and presumably rely on intonation to distinguish them from statements; sentences are, however, so hesitant and disjointed that this is not clear.

- (140) *kayalpathaanihiya kundarangu*  
be.afraid-pres mulga snake-op  
'Are you frightened of the snake?'

### 3.4.7 REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL SENTENCES

No reflexive sentences occur in the corpus. The single possibly reciprocal sentence is discussed in section 3.3.3.9.



## 3.4.8 COORDINATION

One possible conjunction is *munthu*, which has been tentatively translated as ‘too’. It occurred in the following monologue in response to an attempt to elicit a word for ‘hunting’.

- (141) “Where you go? *thalu ngina wapilthayalanga; oh nganha*  
*wapilthayalanga*  
 where-alla you(abs) go-past-along; I(abs) go-past-along  
*kurlaku;* he go along now hunting for *kurla; kulpadiku munthu*  
 kangaroo-purp kangaroo emu-purp too(?)  
*nganha wapiilthaya; kulpadiku nganha munthu wapiilthaya*”  
 I(abs) go-past emu-purp I(abs) too(?) go-past

There are also a few examples of coordination by juxtaposition of sentences (and one or two by the use of English ‘and’).

- (142) *wapalitya walanga thinangu; nharrinyiya nganhawu wapiilthiya karrkanga*  
 go-?-imper along foot-op that way-? I(abs)-? go-pres behind-loc  
 ‘You walk on ahead; I’ll come along behind’ (?)
- (143) *yadamarntu nganha wangkamanayi, and ranthinha nganha murta*  
 horse-op I(abs) kick-? break-past(?) I(abs) leg  
 (something unclear)  
 ‘A horse kicked me and broke my leg’
- (144) *manatyanuma kathi ... pulkaranga nhinhama (?) wapitya...*  
 get-imper-there meat leaves-loc it(acc)-there put-imper  
 ‘Get the meat and’ ‘putim in the leaves...’

Other relevant examples are (21), (32), (46), (70), (85).

## 3.4.9 SUBORDINATION

None of the verb suffixes of which we have more than one example seems to be confined to subordinate clauses, although some, such as *-laku*, may occur mostly in such clauses (see (10) and (42)). Another such is the potential (see section 3.3.3.4). Other sentences which could contain subordinate clauses are (55), (90) and (103).

## 3.4.10 ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

Location and time seem to be usually expressed by means of nouns in the locative case (and perhaps others), such as *parrintya* ‘yesterday’, *wikanga* ‘tomorrow’, *karrkanga* ‘behind’ and *ngukayinga* ‘inside’, rather than by adverbs. *ngukayi* is also used without the inflectional suffix, with an inflected noun as in *ngukayi room-unga* ‘in the room’ or as a locative phrase as in (145). There is, therefore, no particular reason to believe that other locative and time words heard without an inflection are adverbs and not nouns; these are *kayalany* ‘now’ (?) and *kuthu* ‘near’ (see (19)).

- (145) *ngunaanhiya ngukayi*  
 lie-pres inside  
 ‘sleeping inside’

Possible adverbs modifying verbs of motion are *walanga* ‘along’, *nharrinya* (once *nharrinyiya*) perhaps ‘that way’, *nharringanthayi* ‘hither’, *nhangaladintya* possibly ‘along’. *walanga* was discussed in section 3.4.1. The next two are obviously based on a root *nharri-*; compare the ending *-nthayi* with the verb inflection *-nthada* (section 3.3.3.3). *nharringanthayi* is fairly well attested, but the function and meaning of *nharrinya* is not well known. The last is almost completely unknown; it occurs in one sentence and was very unclear – its spelling involves some guesswork. Note that there is a frequent ending *-lintya* in the songs (Appendix 3.1) which could have a similar meaning.

- (146) “That’s my *kampanya* there, *nharrinya*, I say”  
uncle                      that way

(It is not clear whether *nharrinya* here refers to what precedes or to the ‘I say’ following. The latter seems more likely; the utterance was in partial response to the elicitation of the word for ‘uncle’, and probably means ‘That’s my *kampanya* (uncle) there, that’s the way I say it’.)

- (147) *nhunuma paya wapiilthi(?) nharrinya, pirtanga*  
it-there bird go-pres that.way sky-loc  
‘There’s a bird flying over there, “going along towards the sky”’

- (148) *Kulpinhatharri ngalinha wapiilthiya*; (Kulpinhatharri repeated by linguist)  
*Quilpie-nha-alla we(du)-abs go-pres*  
*ngalinha wapiilthiya nharrinya*  
*we(du)-abs go-pres that.way*  
(in partial response to attempted elicitation of) ‘I’m going away with my brother’

- (149) *ngathu nhakaanhi nharrinya wapulthi(?) wapathiya(?) nhangaladintya(?)*  
*I(op) see-pres that.way go-pres(?) go-pres(?) ?*  
*wapulthi(?) wulanga*  
*go-pres(?) along*  
‘I can see’ ‘him walking along there’

For other examples of *nharrinya* see (20) and (25) and for *nharringanthayi* see (58), (59), (81) and (90).

The negative adverb is *wala*, occasionally heard as *walan*. It can form a sentence on its own, as the interjection ‘no’. For its use as an adverb see (101), (102), (104) and (105). For *ngaa* ‘yes’ and *waya* ‘all right’ see (73).

### 3.4.11 WORD ORDER

As noted previously, interrogative pronouns seem to always take first place in a sentence. This seems to be the only firm rule of word order in a sentence. The negative adverb also seems to occur initially in most cases, but not always. The nuclear constituents, subject and verb or agent, object and verb, usually occur together; if there are other phrases in the sentence they occur before and/or after this group and do not normally split it. The only other thing we can say is that word order seems to be very free.

### 3.5 KUNGKARI VOCABULARY

Sources of the vocabulary are Arthur Winkers, Tindale and the lists given in *Science of Man*. Personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are not included; see sections 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.2.

Sources of items are identified by initial letters, except in the case of Arthur Winkers, who is responsible for all items with no source marked.

- c confirmed by
- C Cooloolah list in *Science of Man* 8/1 (J.S. Dutton 1906)
- E English
- J Junndah (Jundah) list, *Science of Man* 8/1 (J.S. Dutton 1906)
- S Stonehenge list in *Science of Man* 8/1 (J.S. Dutton 1906)
- T Tindale
- W1 Winton list in *Science of Man* 8/1 (J.S. Dutton 1906)
- W2 Winton list in *Science of Man* 8/2 (J.S. Dutton 1906)

Thus cT means ‘given by Arthur Winkers, confirmed by Tindale's wordlist’, cT, W2 means ‘given by Arthur Winkers, confirmed by both Tindale and Winton list 2’. ‘From Karna’ means a loan from the Karna language group and ‘from Mari’ means a loan from the Mari language group. Items that have not been recorded on tape are tentatively phonemicised where possible; source spellings are given in double inverted commas in the Notes column.

English	Kungkari	Notes
(Aboriginal) man	<i>kapu</i>	cT, W2
(Aboriginal) woman	<i>kurnpiri</i>	cT, W2
child	<i>walpara</i>	cW2
boy	<i>murnintyimpa</i>	
white man	<i>walpala</i>	From E
	<i>thipa</i>	W2 “ <i>thepa</i> ”
white woman	<i>watyikan</i>	From E
policeman	<i>kantyapulu</i>	From E
	<i>pilirrman</i>	From E
name	<i>yipi</i>	T
initiation	<i>muda</i>	T; also in Karna lgs
mother	<i>ngamanya</i>	
	<i>ngamarni</i>	
father	<i>kurlany</i>	
uncle	<i>kampa(nha)</i>	Once heard as <i>kampanya</i>
aunt	<i>randi</i>	
son	<i>yawany</i>	May mean ‘young’
daughter	<i>ngartu</i>	
(elder?) brother	<i>yapanya</i>	
(elder?) sister	<i>kaminya</i>	
wife	<i>yarrkuninya</i>	
mother-in-law	<i>wamaninya</i>	
father-in-law	<i>tharu(nha)</i>	
head	<i>pumpa</i>	
	?	W2 “ <i>teerang</i> ”
hair	<i>puntyu</i>	cT, W2
forehead	<i>palka</i>	
eye	<i>miil</i>	cT, W2
nose	<i>mingku</i>	cT
mouth	<i>thaya</i>	cT
lips	<i>piyi</i>	
tongue	<i>thalany</i>	cT
teeth	<i>rirra</i>	cT, W2
chin	<i>ngartungartu</i> <i>nganthirl</i>	These two seem to have the same meaning; after giving <i>ngartungartu</i> Arthur Winkers added “ <i>nganthirl</i> I callim sometime”

English	Kungkari	Notes
ear	<i>manga</i>	cT
beard	<i>nganka</i>	cW2
throat	<i>pink</i>	Or 'chest'
nape	<i>wuku</i>	
shoulder	<i>winka</i>	
arm	<i>mangku</i>	cW2
? joint	<i>nhidimari</i>	See 'elbow' and 'knee'
elbow	<i>mangku nhidimari</i>	
hand, fingers	<i>mara</i>	cT, W2
nail	<i>pikany</i>	
chest	<i>pink</i>	Also 'throat'
breast	<i>ngamaRa</i>	T
rib	<i>rarrany</i>	
stomach	<i>ngayimala</i>	
back	<i>piru</i>	
penis	<i>kirnti</i>	T
testicles	<i>ruku</i>	T
vulva	<i>parliny</i>	T "parli9"
anus	<i>rindi</i>	T; cf. Mg <i>indhi</i>
faeces, bowels	<i>kuna</i> or <i>kurna</i>	T "kurna", Wb 'body'
urine	<i>tyipula</i>	T; cf. Mg <i>dhibala</i>
leg	<i>murta</i>	'thigh' in Kd, Kg
	<i>muku</i>	W2; 'knee' in some Mari, 'bone' in some Karna lgs
	<i>punkurl</i>	(cf. Wm <i>punkula</i> 'knee')
knee	<i>nhidimari</i>	cf. 'joint', 'elbow'
foot	<i>thina</i>	cT, W2
spittle	<i>kantha</i>	
sweat	<i>pithiring</i> or <i>pithiriny</i>	
sky	<i>pirta</i>	?; cf. Wm, Kd <i>pirta</i> 'rain'
sun	<i>murri</i>	cT, S 'sky'
moon	<i>ngaltyi</i>	cC, S
	<i>kunathungka</i>	T; cf. Wm <i>kuna</i> 'faeces', <i>thungka</i> 'rotten, stinking'
star	<i>kularu</i>	cT, S
cloud	<i>thurntithirri</i>	cS

English	Kungkari	Notes
rain	<i>pandara</i>	= ‘plain’ in Wm, ‘cloud’ in PP, ‘sky’ in Dh
	<i>yukan</i>	Prob. from Mari
	<i>kaku</i>	S; = ‘water’
lightning	<i>manimani</i>	
	<i>kuRindi</i>	C “ <i>gurindy</i> ”
thunder (verb)	<i>pukadu-</i>	cC; see example (66)
hailstone	<i>mukarti</i>	
thunderstorm	<i>munnguRinhaya</i>	C “ <i>mungerenie</i> ” (assumed to be a verb, cf. B <i>munngu</i> )
wind	<i>yarrka</i>	T
water	<i>kaku</i>	cT, C
	<i>ngapa</i>	S “ <i>nappera</i> ”, from Karna?
brackish water	?	W1 “ <i>Cutherie</i> ”; cf. <i>katya</i> ‘rotten’
spring	?	S “ <i>Bringine</i> ”, may be place name
lagoon	?	S “ <i>Wooroogena</i> ”, may be place name
waterhole	?	C “ <i>allore</i> ”, S “ <i>Eleroo</i> ”, may be place name creek, waterhole,
place	<i>watya</i>	
plain	<i>kunadi</i>	
	?	S “ <i>Broonarra</i> ”, may be place name
watershed	?	W2 “ <i>boorgidjeagoorah</i> ”, may be place name
ground, mud, dirt	<i>tharna</i>	
ground, place	<i>ngurra</i>	cT; = ‘camp’
red ochre	<i>kaRatha</i>	T
pipe clay	<i>piRangaRa</i>	T
dust	<i>thurrkaruka</i>	
sand, sandhill	<i>wityu</i>	cJ, S
stone	<i>karany</i>	
stone, mountain	<i>parri</i>	T, C? “ <i>corri</i> ”, S “ <i>parrarree</i> ”; cf. Mg, Gn <i>barri</i>
forest, scrub	<i>ru(r)la</i>	W2; and see ‘fire, firewood’
stockyard	<i>winmil</i>	J “ <i>winmill</i> ”, from E?
place names:		
Thylungra	<i>Thilyungarra</i>	
Bulgroo	<i>Palkara</i>	
Mt Howitt (?)	<i>Ngarlapi</i>	
Kyabra	<i>Kayaparra</i>	
Hammond Downs	<i>Milpari</i>	

English	Kungkari	Notes
Thunda	<i>Puthurru</i>	
Windorah	<i>Murinypari</i>	
Retreat	<i>Manharra</i>	
Jundah	<i>Riki</i>	cC
waterholes on Springfield	<i>Tyirrityirri</i>	
	<i>Ngaltha</i>	
	<i>Purrakura</i>	
Maroo	<i>Thiwiny</i>	
Tampoon	<i>Thanpun</i>	
Ray	<i>WathakuRa</i>	Not recorded on tape
Belombre, Eromanga	<i>Yirungkula</i>	[yɪ2r@Æ9g'1Æ9], prob. anglicised; note that Eromanga is on Erounghoola Creek
Keeroongooloo	<i>Yala</i>	
?	<i>Kunathulpa</i>	W1 “ <i>Coonathoolba</i> ” ‘Where “ <i>Bora</i> ” was held’
?	?	W1 “ <i>Toongapindara</i> ” ‘Never-failing waterhole’
?	<i>PathilpuRu</i>	W1 “ <i>Bathillboro</i> ” ‘Spring on top of mountain’
?	<i>Pukapuka</i>	W1 “ <i>Booga-booga</i> ” ‘Small mountain’
?	?	S “ <i>Mangoongooli</i> ” ‘Aboriginal camping reserve’
?	?	S “ <i>Oongoomgooberri</i> ” ‘A large waterhole’
?	<i>PuluRu</i>	S “ <i>Booloroo</i> ” ‘Name of a locality’
fire, firewood	<i>yurla</i>	
	<i>wurla</i>	cT, C
fire, firewood,		
stick	<i>ru(r)la</i>	cf. ‘forest, scrub’
smoke	<i>muyu</i>	cT
charcoal	<i>rikil</i>	T
dog	<i>kurrtha</i>	cT, W1
dingo	<i>kaRangany</i>	T
kangaroo	<i>kurla</i>	cT ‘wallaroo’, C, S; ‘red kangaroo’ also in Gn, Kalali
	<i>parlkan</i> ?	W1 “ <i>Barracoa</i> ” ‘Kangaroos plentiful’; cf. Pi <i>parlkan</i> ‘kangaroo’
	?	W1 “ <i>Thumbul</i> ” ‘Plenty kangaroos’
wallaroo	<i>mungkuny</i>	T ‘Black kangaroo’, S ‘wallaby’; = Mg, Gn <i>mungguny</i>

English	Kungkari	Notes
possum	<i>kathaRa</i>	T, W2
	?	W1 “ <i>Thoolahoorgun</i> ” ‘Plenty opossums’
bandicoot	<i>wityula</i>	S
porcupine (echidna)	<i>yarawityu</i>	
	<i>paka(nga)ntyi</i>	S “ <i>puckanji</i> ”; cf. Gu “ <i>pa-ka-un-ji</i> ”
horse	<i>yarramarn(i)</i>	Loan
	<i>kurrtha</i>	W2; = ‘dog’
cattle	<i>pulithi</i>	From E
	<i>puliyaRu</i>	W2 “ <i>Booliaroo</i> ”
sheep	<i>mangki</i>	From E ‘monkey’
pig	<i>pikipiki</i>	From E
cat	<i>puthikad</i>	From E
bird	<i>paya</i>	cW1 ‘plains turkey’
egg	<i>kukari</i>	cS
emu	<i>kulpadi</i>	cT, C
plains turkey	<i>punkany</i>	cT, J
brulga	<i>kulthudu</i>	cT
pelican	<i>tharta</i>	cT, W1
swan	<i>muNGulu</i>	W1 “ <i>moongooloo</i> ”
black duck	<i>yalamana</i>	Not recorded on tape
type of duck	<i>kurnayukun</i>	
duck	?	W1 “ <i>derunna</i> ”
type of waterbird	?	W1 “ <i>Imbeenbengully</i> ” ‘Small water birds there’, prob. a place name
eaglehawk	<i>kudithala</i>	cT
kite-hawk (fork-tailed kite)	<i>waluruwaluru, waluwaluru</i>	
fish hawk (square-t. kite)	<i>wampirntada</i>	
crow	<i>wakarn</i>	cT
	?	W1 “ <i>yilla</i> ” ‘Plenty of crows’
curlew	<i>kuyilpiny</i> ?	Not on tape; cf. Mg <i>guyibiny</i> , B <i>kuyilban</i> Said to be origin of name Quilpie
white cockatoo	<i>murumari</i>	T; cf. K1
pink cockatoo	<i>kakaladany</i>	cT
galah	<i>pumpapiru</i>	
budgerigar	<i>tyankuRu</i>	Not recorded on tape
type of pigeon	<i>ngarlawityu</i>	cf. Wm <i>ngarluwitya</i> ‘crested pigeon’
noisy miner	<i>tyarlpun</i>	
snake	<i>kathi</i>	= ‘meat’



English	Kungkari	Notes
mulga snake	<i>kundara</i>	cS ‘snake’
carpet snake	<i>kurimarra</i>	cT
death adder	<i>makula</i>	S
sand goanna	<i>rawarra</i>	cT
black goanna	<i>maRapaRi</i>	T, S; cf. Pi <i>mamaruparri</i> , Mg <i>mada</i> , Kl, Yl <i>mararri</i>
goanna ?	?	Wa “ <i>Narithunka</i> ” ‘dead goanna’, prob. a place name; cf. Mithaka, Ngamini <i>nhari</i> - ‘to die’, Karna lgs <i>thungka</i> ‘rotten’
carney (bearded dragon)	<i>malthu</i> <i>kaani</i>	T, loan
blue-tongue lizard	<i>pampurru</i>	
type of lizard (little in sand)	<i>thimpurany</i>	
turtle	<i>kulipaRi</i>	T
frog	<i>wapurl</i>	
fish	<i>kuya</i>	cC, S
yellowbelly	<i>kumpila</i>	
black bream	<i>ngalthidany</i>	Second vowel not clear
catfish	<i>marliyarra</i>	
crayfish	<i>thumparn</i>	
mussel	<i>karla</i>	
fly	<i>nhimun</i>	
blowfly	<i>muthada</i>	
mosquito	<i>ngaka</i>	
ant	<i>kathu</i>	
type of ant	<i>thitha</i>	W1 “ <i>teta</i> ” ‘Lot of small black ants’; = PP
grub from mulga roots	<i>thalpany</i>	big, white; cooked; ‘just like an egg’
grub from coolibah	<i>ngupidimu</i>	
stick	<i>thuluma</i> or <i>thulupa</i> <i>paka</i>	From Mari
leaves	<i>pulkara</i> ?	
root	<i>thinkala</i>	
river gum	<i>pinpirri</i>	Pi <i>pirnpirri</i>
coolibah	<i>yakuRa</i>	W2 “ <i>yacoorah</i> ”
box	<i>pulawiRi</i>	Not recorded on tape
bloodwood	<i>marlku</i>	
gidgea	<i>marru</i>	cC “ <i>muril</i> ”

English	Kungkari	Notes
mulga	<i>pidin</i>	
beefwood	<i>kutha</i>	c?W1 “ <i>cunthpunthenie</i> ” ‘Beefwood trees’
whitewood	?	W1 “ <i>Dickory</i> ” (cf. Mari <i>dhikari</i> ‘white cockatoo’, did informant hear ‘white bird’?)
yam	<i>matyipiRi</i>	W1 “ <i>Mutchipirie</i> ”
spinifex ?	<i>kandal ?</i>	T; cf. Karna lgs <i>kantha</i> ‘grass’
spinifex wax	<i>kanthi</i>	T “ <i>kanti</i> ”; = PP
camp	<i>ngurra</i>	cT; also W1 “ <i>murrang</i> ” ‘humpy’
humpy	<i>kunhu</i>	
	<i>parlpa</i>	
house	<i>kundi</i>	Loan
spear	<i>kanha</i>	cT
	<i>walapada</i>	
hooked spear	<i>miRangantyi ?</i>	T (not clear)
plain spear	<i>kupawu</i>	T “ <i>kupa:u</i> ”
boomerang	<i>pathupathu</i>	cT; W1 “ <i>battha wattha</i> ” ‘spear’
nulla-nulla	<i>mityin</i>	cT ‘club’
club, waddy	<i>purarl</i>	
	<i>ngandithirri</i>	T “ <i>9andi8dari</i> ”, but cf. Wm <i>ngandithirri</i> , PP <i>ngantityirri</i>
	<i>muRu</i>	W2; cf. Pi, B mudu, Mg, Gn <i>murru</i> ‘nulla-nulla’)
shield	<i>thumpurru</i>	
coolamon	<i>thimpurru</i>	cf. ‘shield’; these words are the same in some lgs, so there may be a mistake; however, each was heard at least twice
stone axe	<i>paluny</i>	cT, W1
steel axe	<i>thaRingaRu</i>	Not recorded on tape; cf. Wm <i>tharinya</i>
knife	<i>kankari</i>	T (this is a widespread word in W Qld)
	<i>nalpu</i>	From E
yamstick	<i>wampu</i>	W2 “ <i>wampoo</i> ”, also in Mg
pitchery bag	<i>pungkuny</i>	T (pitchery – also spelt pituri – is the narcotic made from the plant <i>Duboisia hopwoodii</i> ); may be just ‘bag’; cf. Gu <i>pungku</i> ‘dillybag’, Yl, Kl <i>pungkuwarri</i> ‘bag’
meat	<i>kathi</i>	
tucker, vegetable		
food	<i>thakany</i>	cT (poss. from E ‘tucker’)
	<i>mayi</i>	
rum	<i>yudaamu</i>	From E

English	Kungkari	Notes
black	<i>marnkirl</i>	
red	<i>rikirikiridi</i> ?	
big	<i>walku(nya)</i> <i>yukuma</i>	Perhaps ‘long’; attested only as descriptive of a stick
small	<i>wirnany</i>	cS “ <i>weening</i> ” ‘young kangaroo’
young	<i>yawany</i>	Also given as ‘son’
blind	<i>miilmutyu</i>	
deaf	<i>mangamirti</i>	
sick	<i>pantha</i>	
thirsty	<i>kungkiparri</i>	
good	<i>parla</i>	
bad	<i>wiltha</i>	
rotten	<i>katya</i>	
hot, heat	<i>ringkan</i>	c?S “ <i>ingoon</i> ” ‘sun’
hot weather	<i>mantha</i>	
cold, cool	<i>murirra</i>	
cold weather	<i>yiliya</i>	
one	<i>yungkul</i>	T; cf. <i>Ngawun yunggal</i> ‘only, just’
two	<i>pulari</i>	cT
three	<i>kurrparu</i>	T “ <i>kuruparu</i> ”, but cf. <i>Mayi lgs, Mg, Kl, Yl kurrpara</i> and similar forms, never with a vowel between the rhotic and the <i>p</i>
many	<i>ngakarl</i> ?	T “ <i>9aka:l</i> ”
another ?	<i>wurra</i>	Heard in the phrase: <i>watyaparri wurra</i> place-abl translated as “He come from another station”
go, come, walk	<i>wapa-</i>	cT, W2 “ <i>wabalingo</i> ” ‘name for ‘goodbye’
return, go back	<i>nhalpa-</i> or <i>nharrpa-</i>	
go up, get up	<i>warnta-</i>	
run	<i>pini-</i>	cT
swim	<i>thalka-</i>	
bathe, bogey	<i>yirrpali-</i>	
sit	<i>nyina-</i>	
stand, be	<i>thana-</i>	‘be’, as in <i>mangamirti thanaanhi nganha</i> deaf stand-pres, I(abs) ‘I’m deaf’
lie	<i>nguna-</i>	
eat	<i>kari</i>	

English	Kungkari	Notes
drink	<i>kantya-</i> ?	
bite	<i>patya-</i>	
smoke (tobacco)	<i>pungkudu-</i>	
copulate (transitive?)	<i>thangkama-</i>	T “ <i>ta9kamalani</i> ” ‘coitus’
be afraid	<i>kayalpatha-</i>	
be sore	<i>kangkarri-</i>	
be tired	<i>pikuwi yinkarri-</i> or <i>pikuwi yinkurru-</i>	
die	<i>katyami-</i>	cf. <i>katya</i> ‘rotten’
see, look at	<i>nhaka-</i>	
hear, listen to	<i>ngangka-</i>	
smell	<i>nhitha-</i>	
talk	<i>dinpuruthi-</i>	
tell, call (i.e.name)	<i>yanu-</i> or <i>yana-</i>	
call out (of cattle),moo (?)	<i>kuwathana-</i>	Heard only once, see example (70)
ask ?	<i>piya-</i>	
have a meeting ?	<i>nhakanhaka-</i>	Reduplication of <i>nhaka-</i> ‘see’; see 3.3.3.11
cry	<i>nhingka-</i>	
laugh	<i>kinka-</i>	
get, catch	<i>mana-</i>	
catch ?	<i>malanypara</i>	Does not seem to be a verb; heard only in <i>ngathu malanypara kuyaru</i> I(op), fish-? <i>walkuwalkunya</i> , big-redup in which <i>malanypara</i> was said to mean “I’ve been catching them”
take, carry ?	<i>nhanda-</i>	Heard only in <i>nhandatya wampaka kapu,</i> -imper ? man <i>long another parlpanga</i> humpy-loc “he taking him down to this humpy”
put	<i>wapi-</i>	Heard only once; see (144)
give	<i>panga-</i>	cT
dig	<i>pakuma-</i>	
cover, put out (fire)	<i>rampa-</i>	
make (fire)	<i>yikumatya-</i> or <i>yikamatya-</i>	
cook	<i>kupa-</i>	
chop	<i>parnta-</i>	Possibly <i>parntha</i>

English	Kungkari	Notes
hit	<i>wurrthi-</i>	
hit with missile ?	<i>wutya-</i>	<p>Heard only in a sentence transcribed [wutʸ@ãÔI9ga.Ωu b@aΩub!aΩuñ9gu] and translated “He chuck the boomerang thataway”;</p> <p>The sentence could be <i>wutyaadingki ngathu pathupathungu</i> -pot I(op) boomerang-op</p>
kick	<i>wangkama-</i>	
	<i>kikimarntama-</i>	From E
break	<i>ranthi-</i>	
yesterday	<i>parrintya</i>	Poss. locative of <i>parriny</i> ; <i>parrinmala</i> also heard
tomorrow	<i>wikanga</i>	Prob. locative of <i>wika</i>
behind	<i>karrkanga</i>	Prob. locative of <i>karrka</i>
inside	<i>ngukayi</i>	
near ?	<i>kuthu</i>	<p>Heard only in example (19) in which the phrase ‘<i>kakunga kuthu</i>’ was explained as “Camping near the <i>watya</i>, near the creek, where the water is”</p>
along ?	<i>walanga</i>	Poss. from E; see 3.4.1
along ?	<i>nhalangaladintya ?</i>	See 3.4.10
that way	<i>nharrinya</i>	See 3.4.10
hither	<i>nharringanthayi</i>	
too, also	<i>munthu</i>	See 3.4.8
yes	<i>ngaa</i>	c?W2 “ <i>nou</i> ”
	<i>yantya</i>	T; cf. B <i>yandya</i> ‘right!’
all right	<i>waya</i>	Also heard [wayay]; used as an interjection; see also (73)
no, don't	<i>wala</i>	Sometimes <i>walan</i>
good day	<i>pathani</i>	W2 (gloss doubted)

## APPENDIX 3.1: “KUNGARDITCHI” AND “KOONGERI” LISTS IN CURR

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongeri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
the blacks	<i>carcoora, capo</i>	<i>karkoora</i>	Kn <i>kapu</i> , Pi <i>karrkuru</i> ‘man’
a blackfellow		<i>karkoora</i>	
a black woman	<i>wondthowerry</i>		
two blacks	<i>carcoora barcoola</i>	<i>karkoora barcoola</i>	Pi <i>parrkula</i> ‘two’
three blacks	<i>barcoola matina carcoorabarcoola murina</i>		Pi <i>marinha</i> ‘one’ <i>karkoora</i>
old man	<i>wongie</i>		
old woman	<i>wulko</i>	<i>walko</i>	= Pi; also Kn, Pi <i>walku</i> ‘big’, cf. Wm <i>warlganhuga</i> ‘old woman’, lit. ‘woman-big’
young man	<i>yiripie</i>	<i>yiripy</i>	
baby	(male) <i>oornoo</i> (female) <i>urtoo</i>	<i>oornoo</i>	Kn <i>ngartu</i> ‘daughter’
ghosts	<i>goondtha</i>	<i>gooing</i>	See item 9 (4.6.4)
father	<i>copunya, moonaro</i>	<i>thatanya</i>	Gu <i>kupa</i> ; Pi <i>thatha(nya)</i>
mother	<i>ominya</i>	<i>umerninya</i>	Kn <i>ngamanya</i> , Pi, Kn <i>ngamarni</i>
elder brother	<i>goorkinya</i>	<i>goorkinia</i>	cf. ‘elder sister’
elder sister	<i>coorcorminya</i>	<i>goorkurninya</i>	Pi <i>kurrkarni</i>
younger sister	<i>pathunya</i>	<i>bathunga</i>	Pi <i>patharn</i> ‘brother’
wife	<i>noopunya</i>	<i>noopunga</i>	Pi <i>nhupanya</i>
head	<i>bumbo</i>	<i>bumbo</i>	Kn, Pi <i>pumpa</i>
head hair	<i>bungee</i>	<i>buntyo</i>	Kn <i>puntyu</i>
eye	<i>meyel</i>	<i>meyel</i>	Kn, Pi <i>miil</i>
nose		<i>mingo</i>	Kn <i>mingku</i>
mouth	<i>tyowa, thia</i>	<i>thia</i>	Gu <i>thawa</i> , Kn, Pi <i>thaya</i>
tongue	<i>thalang</i>	<i>tallang</i>	Kn (and Pi?) <i>thalany</i>
teeth	<i>yerrang, berra</i>	<i>kirra or rirra</i>	Kn <i>rirra</i> , Pi <i>yira</i> , Yi <i>pira</i>
ear	<i>munga</i>	<i>munga</i>	Kn <i>manga</i>
beard	<i>onga, nunka</i>	<i>nunka</i>	Kn, Pi <i>nganka</i>
hand	<i>murra</i>	<i>murra</i>	Kn, Pi <i>mara</i>
breasts	<i>umma, ngamun</i>	<i>ngummun</i>	Kn <i>ngamaRa</i> , Pi <i>ngama</i>
stomach	<i>aimella, mirra</i>	<i>mirra</i>	Kn <i>ngayimala</i> , Pi <i>mirra</i>
bowels	<i>warrawooroo</i>	<i>warramurra</i>	
excrement	<i>goonna</i>	<i>koonna</i>	Kn <i>ku(r)na</i> , Pi <i>kurna</i>
thigh	<i>moorta</i>	<i>moorta</i>	Kn <i>murta</i>
foot	<i>thinna</i>	<i>thinna</i>	Kn, Pi <i>thina</i>
bone	<i>etchewarra, coongon</i>		Pi (Curr) “ <i>chiora</i> ”

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongerri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
blood	<i>coorooka</i>	<i>kurooka</i>	Pi (Curr) “ <i>karuga</i> ”
skin	<i>dthucarry, canthirry</i>		
fat	<i>dthootha</i>	<i>thootha</i>	Pi, Gu, PP etc. <i>thutha</i>
sun	<i>moorie</i>	<i>moori</i>	Kn, Pi <i>murri</i>
moon	<i>ullatha</i>	<i>ullatha</i>	Pi <i>ngalatha</i>
stars	<i>coolaroo</i>	<i>yeckee</i>	Kn, Pi <i>kularu</i> ; Pi (Curr) “ <i>yichi</i> ”
day	<i>cothogun</i>	<i>kothogum</i>	
night	<i>gongongoo</i>	<i>kulka</i>	
dark	<i>bingell</i>	<i>bingel</i>	
thunder	<i>bookura</i>	<i>bookura</i>	Kn <i>pukadu</i> - ‘to thunder’
wind	<i>yarrika</i>	<i>yarika</i>	Kn, Pi <i>yarrka</i> (Pi also <i>tharrka</i> )
rain	<i>birta, yookun</i>		Kn <i>pirta</i> ‘sky’, <i>yukan</i> ‘rain’; Wm <i>pirta</i> ‘rain’
water	<i>cocoa</i>	<i>kacka</i>	Kn, Pi <i>kaku</i>
ground	<i>thirna</i>	<i>thirna</i>	Kn <i>tharna</i>
stone	<i>berry, curdee</i>	<i>berry</i>	Kn, Pi <i>parri</i>
hill	<i>ree, weetyoo</i>	<i>ree</i>	Kn <i>wityu</i> ‘sandhill’
track of a foot	<i>thinna</i>	<i>thinna</i>	= ‘foot’
fire	<i>wichun, oorla</i>	<i>wichun</i>	Kn <i>wurla</i> ; Pi <i>watyirn</i>
smoke	<i>mooyoo</i>	<i>mooyoo</i>	Kn <i>myu</i>
wild dog	<i>deethee, conatha</i>	<i>deethee</i>	Kn <i>kurrtha</i> (“ <i>conatha</i> ” a misreading); Pi <i>thithi</i>
kangaroo	<i>cutchira, coola</i>	<i>balcun</i>	Kn <i>kurla</i> ; Pi <i>parlkan</i>
possum	<i>warnunga, cothera</i>	<i>warnonga</i>	Kn <i>kathaRa</i> ; Pi “ <i>woornanga</i> ”; B <i>wanany</i> ‘doe possum’
egg	<i>coocurry</i>	<i>kookurry</i>	Kn, Pi <i>kukari</i>
emu	<i>cooparry</i>	<i>koolperry</i>	Kn <i>kulpadi</i> , Pi <i>kulpari</i>
plains turkey	<i>wurkum</i>	<i>goonging</i>	Kn <i>punkany</i> (“ <i>goonging</i> ” could be this); Pi <i>wirrka</i>
brolga	<i>goontheri</i>	<i>gonthera</i>	Kn <i>kulthudu</i> , Pi <i>kuntharra</i>
pelican	<i>thirta</i>	<i>thirta</i>	Kn, Pi <i>tharta</i>
swan	<i>gootheroo</i>	<i>kooteroo</i>	cf. Wm <i>kuturu</i>
black duck	<i>yellamoora</i>	<i>yellamoora</i>	Kn <i>yalamana</i> ?, Pi <i>yalamada</i>
wood duck	<i>goonary</i>	<i>goonery</i>	Pi <i>kunari</i>
eaglehawk	<i>corrowira,</i> <i>cooriadthilla</i>	<i>corowera</i>	Pi <i>karrawara</i> Kn, Pi <i>kurrithala</i> (?)
crow	<i>wawkerlo</i>	<i>waukerlo</i>	Pi <i>wakarla</i>
white cockatoo	<i>mooramerry</i>	<i>mooramerry</i>	Kn, Pi <i>murumari</i>

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koonger</b>	<b>Notes</b>
snake	<i>thoolperoo, thiagara</i>	<i>koorianurra</i>	Kn, Pi <i>kurimarra</i> ‘carpet snake; cf. Wm <i>thurrugara</i> ‘goanna’
fish	<i>goombilla, gooya</i>	<i>goombilla</i>	Kn <i>kuya</i> ‘fish’, Kn, Pi <i>kumpila</i> ‘yellowbelly’
crayfish	<i>boogalli, thornabun</i>	<i>thoombur</i>	Kn <i>thumparn</i> , Pi <i>thumpan</i> , Mari <i>bukili</i>
fly	<i>moonthooan</i>	<i>moonan</i>	Pi <i>munhan</i>
mosquito	<i>noko</i>	<i>noka</i>	Kn, Pi <i>ngaka</i>
wood	<i>wocka, rirlka</i>	<i>wokka</i>	Pi <i>waka</i> , Kn <i>ru(r)la</i> , both ‘stick’
bark	<i>wathorra, pirrabirra</i>	<i>wathoora</i>	Pi “ <i>wadura</i> ” in Curr
grass	<i>condtha</i>		Kn?, Pi <i>kantha</i>
camp	<i>oora, wooira</i>	<i>oora</i>	Kn, Pi <i>ngurra</i>
war spear	<i>moortya, canna</i>	<i>kanna</i>	Kn <i>kanha</i> , Pi <i>kaniny</i> ; Gu <i>murrtya</i>
shield	<i>thumberoo</i>	<i>thumboora</i>	Kn <i>thumpurru</i>
boomerang	<i>yalka, bububeroo</i>	<i>yalka</i>	Pi <i>pipapurru</i>
tomahawk	<i>goabara, palning</i>	<i>palning</i>	Kn <i>paluny</i>
food	<i>goonmango</i>	<i>gumango</i>	
milk	<i>umma, ngamoon</i>	<i>amma</i>	= ‘breast’
hungry	<i>wamainth</i>	<i>womanda</i>	
thirsty	<i>wambawintha, binganbundya</i>	<i>woonboweena</i>	May be verb with present tense suffix <i>-winha</i> , cf. Kn <i>-wina</i> ; see 3.3.3.5
big	<i>wulko</i>	<i>wulko</i>	Kn, Pi <i>walku</i>
little	<i>napoondya</i>	<i>napoodyeto</i>	
heat	<i>yawee, rincung</i>	<i>warroong</i>	Kn <i>ringkan</i>
cold	<i>gilea, moorana</i>	<i>yirli</i>	Kn <i>murirra</i> ‘cold’, <i>yiliya</i> ‘cold weather’; Pi <i>yirliya</i>
dead	<i>bookan, cotyaminni</i>	<i>bookanitya</i>	Kn <i>katyama-</i> ‘to die’, Pi <i>pukananha</i>
good	<i>burlo</i>	<i>burlo</i>	Kn <i>parla</i>
bad	<i>wiltha</i>	<i>manyuthirria</i>	Kn <i>wiltha</i> ; cf. Pi <i>mungany</i>
dry		<i>koonger</i>	More likely <i>kungkari</i> means ‘north’, as in Wm
one	<i>matina, ungal</i>	<i>murina</i>	Kn <i>yungkul</i> , Pi <i>marinha</i>
two	<i>barcoola, boolara</i>	<i>barcoola</i>	Kn <i>pulari</i> , Pi <i>parrkula</i>
three	<i>barcoola matina</i>	<i>barcoola murina</i>	‘two one’
four	<i>barcoola barcoola</i>	<i>barcoola barcoola</i>	‘two two’
plenty	<i>mirty, nokul</i>	<i>mirty</i>	Kn <i>ngakarl</i> ; prob. Pi <i>mirti</i> in Curr



	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongeri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
walk	<i>thango, wauwilpoora</i>	<i>thango</i>	Kn <i>wapa-</i>
come on	<i>cowally</i>	<i>kowally</i>	cf. Wm, PP etc. <i>kawa</i>
sit	<i>nanko</i>	<i>inna</i>	Pi <i>yina-</i> , Kn <i>nyina</i> ; PP <i>nhangka</i>
sleep	<i>beka, woonellera</i>	<i>beka</i>	Kn, Pi <i>nguna-</i>
eat	<i>wonmanthoo, currinukeroo</i>	<i>wonmunthoo</i>	Kn <i>kari(-nha)-</i> ; cf. ‘hungry’
drink	<i>coothango</i>	<i>koothango</i>	Pi <i>kuthangu</i>
yesterday	<i>booka</i>	<i>booka</i>	
tomorrow	<i>wikka</i>	<i>wikka</i>	Kn, Pi <i>wikanga</i> (loc.?)
by and by	<i>wandthee</i>	<i>wanthee wanthee</i>	
I	<i>boorko, nutho</i>	<i>iowa</i>	Kn <i>ngathu</i> (op.), Pi <i>ngayawa</i> ; Pi etc. <i>purru</i> ‘chest’!!
you	<i>ingowa, yinti</i>	<i>enowa</i>	Kn <i>yinti</i> (op.), Pi <i>ynawa</i>
yes	<i>cardi</i>	<i>ietha</i>	cf. PP <i>karti</i> ‘right, OK’
no	<i>walya</i>	<i>bombo</i>	Kn <i>wala</i> , Wm <i>walya</i>
Where are the blacks?	<i>wantheellica carcoora</i>	<i>wanthere karkoora</i>	cf. Gu <i>wandha</i> ‘where’
I don't know	<i>weeya</i>	<i>weeya</i>	

Breen's (1971a:31-33) comparisons of these lists are updated here; the Kungarditchi list is still regarded as composite; in fact, it seems likely that this is not a genuine language name at all. According to Howitt and Hughes (n.d.), the word means ‘circumcised’: “Any blackfellow who is circumcised is ‘coongerdootchie’”. In this list the first word for any item, where two are given, usually corresponds to the Pirriya word and the second is usually the same as in Kungkari. (These are referred to as (a) and (b), respectively.) Cognate counts give the following figures:

	Koongeri	Kungarditchi (a)	Kungarditchi (b)
Pirriya	78 (59 / 76)	65 (55 / 84)	51 (40 / 78)
Kungkari	55 (43 / 78)	48 (39 / 81)	74 (60 / 81)

The figures are consistent (see the fourth paragraph of section 4.2) with the “Koongeri” list being Pirriya misnamed and the “Kungarditchi” list a mixture of Pirriya and Kungkari.

A few words seem to show grammatical suffixes not noted in the Pirriya or Kungkari (as appropriate) material. These include “*bookanitya*” ‘died’, “*currinukeroo*” ‘eat’ and “*woonellera*” ‘sleep’; “*cotyaminni*” ‘dead’ may have a suffix *-inhi* (cf. *wapalinhiya* in one of the Kungkari songs).

## CHAPTER 4

### THE LANGUAGES OF THE UPPER BARCOO

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

See section 3.1 for Tindale's notes on the tribes of the upper Barcoo.

The data on these languages (other than Kungkari) include the following lists in E.M. Curr (1886-87 Vol III):

No. 152, pp.70-71, Alice River, by John Ahern

No. 153, pp.72-75 The Barcoo River, Forty Miles west of Blackall: Yangeeberra Tribe, by John Ahern

No. 154, pp.76-77, Blackall – Barcoo River, by J.L.Dudley and T.S.Williams

No. 155, pp.78-89, Barcoo River – Tambo, Mount Enniskillen and Ravensbourne Creek

No.155 comprises several lists, described as 'specimens of the nearly-connected dialects of several tribes' in the area named. The separate lists are:

Barcoo River, Torraburri Tribe, by T.H. Hyde (pp.80-81) (neighbouring tribes are named as Koparburri, Peepinburri and Onderleburri);

Untitled list by H.L. Bell (Barcoo River) (pp.82-83);

Ravensbourne Creek – Mokaburra Tribe – Tarawalla Dialect, by J.W. Powell (pp.84-85);  
Tambo, by L.F.Dalhunt (pp.86-87);

Mount Enniskillen, by James Crombie (pp.88-89).

(The list and accompanying information given under the name of T.H. Hyde were actually written by a literate Aboriginal trooper (who is not named). Curr changed the c's in his spelling to k's.)

There are also two lists of kinship terms in the Howitt Papers (n.d.) in the National Museum of Victoria, one labelled "Mokaburra, Ravensbourne, Barcoo" and the other "Cunningera, Ruthven, Barcoo". There are two lists of names published in *Science of Man* under the heading 'Aboriginal Place Names and their Meanings', one from Blackhall (sic) District on March 1, 1906 and one from Tambo on April 1, 1906. Finally, there are three unpublished wordlists collected by N.B. Tindale in November and December 1938. The first is in Wadjalang, collected from George Solomon, from Tambo, at Woorabinda; the second is from an unnamed Wadjalang speaker at Cherbourg and contains only seven words (the reader being referred to the Solomon list for the remainder, presumably because they were all the same); the third in Wadjabangayi was collected from Albert Holt at Cherbourg. A note on this last list says that the people were called *Kari:mari* (cf. *karikari* – *kadikadi* in the orthography used here – 'salt water') and another note seems to say that their country was south-west of Springsure, although the information Tindale gives elsewhere places it more or less due west of that town.

Another list that seems to be relevant is that for the Upper Warrego and Paroo Rivers, by William R. Conn (1887) (see Breen 1981a: 276-77).

I have omitted from the above list of sources the vocabulary for Tower Hill and Cornish Creeks – Tateburra Tribe, by F.L. Dalhenty (1887) published in Curr, and the very short vocabulary of the Mootaburra Tribe published in *Science of Man* on June 21, 1900. Both of these fall within the area given for Iningai by Tindale. However, the Alice River and Tateburra lists seem to have only 45%

in common (of 74 items that can be compared) and Tateburra seems to have more in common with the various Yirandhali lists, especially the one collected by Tindale. I have, therefore, decided to leave consideration of these two wordlists (which apply to country drained by tributaries of the Thomson, not the Barcoo) to a later time (and, I hope, another person), perhaps in conjunction with a study of Yirandhali. My future references to Iningai (Yiningayi) will apply only to the Alice River variety. Breen (1971a:14) assigned the first four vocabularies of Curr no. 155 to Bidjara, wrongly I now believe. The relevant shaded area on Curr's map does extend into probable Bidjara territory, but is mostly to the west of it and may go too far east in any case. Also, as will be argued below, the vocabularies of this group do not all belong to the same dialect.

## 4.2 COMPARISON OF SOURCES

Cognate counts of the words in most of the vocabularies listed in section 4.1 have been made. Vocabularies not included are those from the Howitt Papers and the seven word vocabulary collected by Tindale. The Howitt lists are almost useless, not only because hardly any of the words given correspond to words in other lists, but also because the glosses seem quite untrustworthy. For example, according to the Mokaburra list (not to be confused with the Mokaburra list in Curr) the words for 'man's father's brother's daughter' and 'man's mother's sister's son' (but not 'man's father's brother's son' or 'man's mother's sister's daughter') are the same. There are similar anomalies in the Cunningera list, and the word given for 'mother's brother' is not a kinship term at all. (See the comments on some other lists from the Howitt Papers in Breen 1981b:7.)

Table 4.1 gives the cognate percentages and also (in brackets) the number of items that could be compared. The lists are identified variously by dialect name, tribal name, name of informant, place name or collector's name (no one of those was suitable as a short means of identification in all cases). The actual lists, identified in the same way, are given in section 4.6.

To decide on how best to group these vocabularies one must take account of their quality and of the tribal boundaries given by Tindale as well as the actual figures. It will be noted that cognate counts involving Tindale vocabularies (those labelled Solomon and Holt) are consistently higher than counts involving only Curr vocabularies (other things, such as the distance involved, being more or less equal). This may be related to the smaller number of comparable items and their different distribution among semantic classes, but it is certainly mainly due to the much greater reliability of Tindale's lists. His transcriptions are always recognisable (although not necessarily always entirely correct) and his glosses are rarely incorrect.

Consider the case of two communalects with 80% common vocabulary. Lists of 100 words are collected from each, but 10% of items are incorrectly or ambiguously glossed. Only 90 words in each list, then, would be suitable for comparison with another list. The ten wrong items would coincide to some extent in the two lists, because some words are particularly hard to elicit; let us say that half of them coincide (and, against the probabilities, that the same error is made in both lists in both cases, e.g. 'father's father' for 'old man' in both). There are, then, 85 comparable items, and so a count of the 100 items would give a figure of 80% of 85, i.e. 68% cognate. Comparing an accurate list with one of these 90% accurate lists would give a figure of 80% of 90 = 72% cognate.

TABLE 4.1  
COMPARISON OF WORDLISTS

	Torra	Bell	Tara	Tambo	Conn	Holt	Alice	Black	Yangee	Mt E
Solomon	81 (37)	91 (35)	86 (35)	89 (37)	83 (41)	81 (79)	68 (41)	67 (36)	64 (42)	60 (35)
Torraburri		73 (82)	71 (77)	69 (94)	64 (84)	80 (44)	53 (79)	46 (87)	43 (87)	48 (73)
Bell			80 (75)	77 (80)	74 (77)	83 (42)	57 (69)	51 (81)	44 (86)	51 (77)
Tarawalla				72 (81)	85 (75)	76 (42)		51 (77)	43 (76)	50 (66)
Tambo					65 (85)	74 (47)				
Conn						79 (47)				
Holt							53 (45)	65 (40)	58 (43)	62 (40)
Alice River								58 (73)	51 (76)	43 (69)
Blackall									58 (88)	63 (73)
Yangeeberra										57 (75)

Bearing these figures in mind and comparing the figures for the first seven lists in Table 4.1, it seems likely that these communalects must have had close to 100% common vocabulary. There are perhaps eleven words where one or more lists definitely differ from others: 'old man', 'nose', 'teeth', 'beard', 'bone', 'star', 'dingo', 'crow', 'fly', 'grass', 'tomorrow'. Other differences (and even some of the above) could be due to errors of various kinds. These vocabularies were all collected in Wadjalang country (as marked on Tindale's map). (See Breen 1981a:276-77 for comments on the Conn wordlist.) One possible reason for not assigning all these vocabularies to one dialect is a sound change, involving correspondences between the stop /rd/ in some areas and the glide /r/ in others, that differentiates the southernmost, Conn's, from the others. However, this reason is not regarded as sufficient (assuming that tribal boundaries (as given by Tindale) that prevent Conn's vocabulary being regarded as Bidjara, are correct).

I am using Dharawala (a fairly likely phonemicisation, in the orthography I use below, of Tarawalla) as the dialect name, in preference to Tindale's Wadjalang for two reasons. Firstly, as explained in Breen 1971a:13-14, I have reservations about language names based on the verb 'to go' in the Southern Mari language area. Secondly, I doubt the phonological correctness of the name; this dialect is probably phonetically almost identical to Bidjara (see further below), in which final velar nasal is not permitted. Perhaps Wadjalany would be more correct. (Note, however, that there is some slight evidence that Kungkari, to the north-west of Dharawala but not closely related,

may permit final [9].) Other names in the literature – Torraburri and Mokaburra – are not given as dialect names and would be local group names.

The Blackall, Yangeeberra and Mt Enniskillen vocabularies pose a problem. They do seem to be a little more closely related to one another than to other vocabularies, but there is not much justification at first sight for grouping them as a single dialect. However, the differences between them may be largely attributable to the fact that these wordlists are of particularly poor quality. They do share a phonological change – loss of initial velar stop – that differentiates them from the neighbouring dialects. They are, with some doubt, grouped together here as a single dialect, which is perhaps more closely related to the Alice River communalect than to Dharawala or Wadjabangayi.

The territory occupied by the speakers of this dialect does not correspond to any tribal group named by Tindale. Part of their country he gives to Wadjalang (Dharawala) and part to Kungkari. The linguistic data therefore do not support the details of the tribal map in this area.

The only Aboriginal name available for this dialect is that given by Ahern as Yangeeberra, although this is clearly not a dialect name, but one of the many local group names that end in *bara*. As noted above (in section 3.1), there are several possible pronunciations represented by this spelling (even if we disregard the indeterminacy of the *rr*). Simply to keep the name distinct from any possible pronunciation of the Aramac district name spelt Yankibura, I have chosen to call the dialect Yandjibara. This choice is quite arbitrary, of course, but so would any other be.

The vocabulary collected by Tindale from Albert Holt is the only wordlist relevant to Tindale's Wadjabangai area. This list seems to have over 80% in common with Dharawala and is obviously a closely related dialect. There are two names that could be considered as alternatives to Wadjabangayi. One, given by Tindale as Kari:mari, is clearly a name for the people rather than their language. The other, Kun Gait, was given by Tennant Kelly (1935) for an area north-east of Jericho, that may or may not belong to this dialect area. There is no reasonable alternative to Tindale's name, which, in accord with the phonotactics of the dialect as inferred from those of the closely related Bidjara, I spell Wadjabangayi.

The Alice River vocabulary is grouped with the Cunningera list of kinship terms. There are hardly any words in these two lists that are comparable and the grouping is made mainly on phonetic grounds: initial velar stop has been lost in Yandjibara, but the Cunningera list has four initial /k/s (not including the name itself). The other possibility is that Cunningera is Kungkari, but the lexical evidence, small though it is, does not allow this. The dialect represented by these two vocabularies will be called Yiningayi (although this name also applies to a wordlist from the north that does not seem to be closely related).

### 4.3 PHONOLOGY

#### (a) Dharawala

Dharawala is very closely related to Bidjara (see section 4.5) and in considering its likely phonemic system it is logical to start from the Bidjara system and to suggest differences only when there is a good reason. I suggest two differences.

Firstly, without evidence, I suggest that Dharawala has not followed Bidjara in losing its interdental nasal (one of my Bidjara informants had it still in intervocalic position but all had lost it

from initial position). Margany and Gunya, among others, have initial interdental nasal, and Gunggari initial velar nasal, corresponding to many of Bidjara's initial alveolar nasals (see Breen 1981a:299). Bidjara's system is rather asymmetrical in that it has /dh/ but never /d/ and /n/ but never /nh/ in initial position. I am assuming that Dharawala has the more common and symmetrical system in which interdentals may occur initially but alveolars may not. I am also making the same assumption for Yandjibara, Wadjabangayi and Yiningayi.

Secondly, it is clear that most Dharawala sources have the glide /r/ where Bidjara has the stop /rd/. Conn's vocabulary is the consistent exception; there is a little evidence of /rd/ in the two Tindale lists ("*tul8du*" and "*÷tul8du*" 'sun' in the two lists, "*momird*" 'kidney' and *badbira* → *badbi(d)a* 'porcupine' in Solomon) and the Tarawalla list ("*kobbarde*" 'hungry' and, if "*inde*" 'food' is a misreading of *iude* and represents *yurdi*, 'meat').

There is no worthwhile evidence of any other differences between Dharawala and Bidjara. The suggested Dharawala phoneme inventory is given in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2  
DHARAWALA PHONEMES

	Labial	Velar	Interdental	Palatal	Alveolar	Retroflex	Open
Stops	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>d</i>	( <i>rd</i> )	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>		
Lateral					<i>l</i>		
Glides		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		<i>r</i>	
Vowels		<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>

The column labels are conventional and not necessarily precise; in particular, 'palatal' is more likely lamino-postalveolar or lamino-palatal. /d/ is a tap intervocalically and before another consonant and a stop only after a nasal (a minority of its occurrences).

Softening of a final retroflex stop does not seem to lead to a final retroflex glide (which is not permitted in Bidjara), as a final vowel is added. Thus, corresponding to Bidjara *dhudhard* 'urine' and *dhangurd* 'possum', Dharawala has *dhudhara* and *dhanguru* (as well as *dhangurd*). The little evidence that there is suggests that this final vowel is the same as the preceding vowel.

There seems to be no justification for postulating any other difference in phonotactics between Bidjara and Dharawala.

#### (b) Yandjibara

Yandjibara differs more in vocabulary but is probably basically similar to Bidjara. It may, however, have some features of languages to the west.

The most noticeable feature of Yandjibara, in comparison to neighbouring related dialects, is the loss of word-initial velar stop; this is a feature it shares with Gunggari (from which it is separated by Dharawala and Bidjara). As a result of this sound change initial vowels are permitted; examples include *una* 'faeces', *uma* 'blood', *ambi* 'woman', *amu* 'water', *akuru* 'catfish', *undhila* 'dead'. There are no examples of initial /i/ resulting from this change; nor are there any examples of initial /ki/ in Bidjara. However, it is unlikely that there is a need to distinguish between initial /wu/ and

initial /u/, and it would probably be logical to write all initial /wu/ ~ /u/ as /u/ and all initial /yi/ ~ /i/ as /i/ (unlike in Bidjara, where the absence of initial a is a reason for writing /wu/ and /yi/, respectively, and so having no initial vowels; see Breen 1973:16). There is one, possibly two, counter-example to the /k/-deletion in the Yandjibara corpus: *kawula* ‘young man’ (from two sources) and the word “*krteetha*” ‘brolga’ which could be anything.

There are a couple of examples of possible deletion or softening of intervocalic velar stop, but again these rely on words whose spelling is very hard to interpret. The word for moon in the Yangeeberra list, “*aurgunda*”, is interpreted as *akarda* (cf. B *kakarda*) while the “*howra*” and “*aurra*” in the other two lists are thought to possibly represent *awara* (with softening of both retroflex and velar stop). The next examples are presumed to be cognate with Bidjara *baka* ‘stick, tree’: “*baa*” ‘wood’ in the Mt Enniskillen list and “*bara*” and “*bar*” ‘spear’ in the Yangeeberra list (but note that the other lists have “*bakar*” and “*bugra*” for ‘spear’). Another possible example is “*dooau*” ‘smoke’ in the Mt Enniskillen list; this may be cognate with Bidjara *dhuka* (as is “*thugar*” in the Yangeeberra list) but could also correspond to Margany *dhunguny*. Note also that “*ooa*” (197), if it is *uwa* ‘asleep’ and not *nguwa* ‘night’, is another example. The evidence is quite inconclusive.

As in Dharawala, the glide /r/ in Yandjibara often corresponds to the stop /rd/ in Bidjara: examples include *mari* ‘man’, *mara* ‘hand’ and *dhuru* ‘sun’ in all three sources. It seems, however, that /rd/ is possible; one spelling (Yangeeberra list) suggests *burdi* ‘fire’ and *arda* ‘no’ as against three (all sources) that suggest *buri* and two that suggest *ara*; the forms *agarda* and *awara* have been mentioned above; the Yangeeberra list also seems to have *yurdi* ‘meat’. Two words are cognate with Margany words with voiceless retroflex stop; one has /rd/ (*bardi* ‘stomach’ – unless it is *barti*; there seems to be no possibility of establishing whether there is a voice distinction in Yandjibara as there is in Margany) and the other has /r/ (*dhara* ‘pelican’).

It is quite possible that Yandjibara has acquired a trill from languages to the west and/or south, and if this is a separate phoneme it would presumably occur in words where cognate forms have it. For example, what I have written as *badi* (‘stone’) and *dhumbudu* (‘shield’) could be *barri* (as in Margany) and *dhumburru* (as in Kungkari). If such a phoneme does exist, the rhotic occurring in clusters may be more appropriately assigned to it (e.g. *urrbari* ‘three’, *ngarrku* ‘grey kangaroo’).

A second feature that Yandjibara might share with languages to the west (but not its immediate neighbours) is a prohibition against word-final consonants. There are a few examples – some, at least, doubtful – of final consonants in the vocabulary, but a larger number of words which have a final consonant in neighbouring languages but have had a vowel added (the same as the preceding vowel) in Yandjibara. These include *dhalanya* ‘tongue’, *ngamunu* ‘breast’, *bunkanya* ‘plains turkey’, *wakarna* ‘crow’, *midhara* ‘frost’ and *dhinngana* ‘hot weather’. However, some likely Yandjibara names in the Blackall place-names list have final consonants.

Yandjibara may have a retroflex nasal, for example in *wakarna* ‘crow’ and *dharndu* ‘egg’. This would differentiate it from Bidjara but give it a more regular system with a nasal corresponding to each stop.

The supposed phonemic system of Yandjibara is illustrated in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3  
YANDJIBARA PHONEMES

	Labial	Velar	Interdental	Palatal	Alveolar	Retroflex	Open
Stops	<i>b</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rd</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	
Lateral					<i>l</i>		
Trill					<i>(rr)</i>		
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		<i>r</i>	
Vowels	<i>u</i>			<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>

(c) Wadjabangayi

Wadjabangayi probably differs from Bidjara in having lost the retroflex stop, which has been replaced by the glide, as in most varieties of Dharawala. There are a couple of doubtful instances in which the earlier retroflex stop had been word-final; it is not clear what the situation is here, but Tindale has final “r” (which could be /r/ or /d/) in one of these. The phoneme inventory is as in Table 4.2, except that /(rd)/ can perhaps be deleted.

(d) Yiningayi

Most of the suggestions and comments that have been made about Yandjibara phonology could be made also about Yiningayi, except that loss of velar stop has not occurred. Again here the situation regarding /rd/ and /r/ suggests that softening has taken place in some words but not in others. Perhaps a few words which have a final consonant in Bidjara have acquired a final vowel in Yiningayi (*yaduna* ‘bone’, *midhara* ‘frost’) but final consonants clearly are permitted (*kuwuny* ‘white man’, *wakarn* ‘crow’, *kabul* ‘carpet snake’, *mikany* ‘good’).

#### 4.4 GRAMMAR

Little can be deduced of the grammar of these dialects from the data available. Almost all the evidence points to Dharawala's being almost the same as Bidjara, and there is nothing to suggest that the other dialects are not too.

There are a few small or fragmentary sentences in the data; examples (the interpretation uncertain in some cases) include:

<i>wuku wadya</i>	Come here!
<i>kundu wadya</i>	Go away!
<i>ngaya nhakala</i>	I saw
<i>kamu bundalanga</i>	It's raining
<i>dhindung(k)u kunila baka</i>	Lightning struck a tree
<i>wuka wunanga</i>	will sleep
<i>kara nhidyula</i>	didn't look
<i>kara yimbala</i>	didn't hear



<i>kamu yukalku</i>	to drink water
<i>mari yindiya?</i>	Where are the men?
<i>yindiya mardi?</i>	Where are the men?
<i>yindiya bindana malkalu?</i>	Where are the mob? (lit. 'where sit many?')
<i>amu badila</i>	It thundered (lit. 'water called out')
<i>inda banya</i>	You're no good
<i>inidya mari?</i>	Are the men here?

The last three are Yandjibara, the others Dharawala and the first two also Wadjabangayi. There are no Yiningayi examples.

The second last Dharawala sentence suggests that question words are not confined to first place, as they are (with a few exceptions) in Bidjara. Phrases such as "*kobery marer*" 'black duck' and "*karirer kabin*" 'wild dog' suggest that modifier follows head in a noun phrase. The third sentence has *ngaya* as subject of a transitive verb, indicating that Dharawala is like Bidjara in not having an ergative pronoun form distinct from nominative.

Probable noun stem-forming suffixes in Dharawala are listed below, with sources and comparisons with Bidjara or other languages. Numbers refer to entries in the vocabulary (see section 4.6.1); words written in full in the source column are from the Tambo place-names list (from Appendix 4.2).

Nature of suffix	Form	Sources	Notes
feminine	<i>-kan</i>	5, 20	B
suffixes on	<i>-nu</i>	12, 13, 17, 18	B
kinship terms	<i>-wila</i>	12	B follows <i>u</i>
(meaning not	<i>-yila</i>	25	B follows <i>a</i> or <i>i</i>
known)	<i>-riyila</i>	13	B <i>-rdiyila</i>
	<i>-ndyila</i>	15, 17, 28, 30, 34	B
	<i>-rdila</i>	18	
	<i>-rdi</i>	13	Mg, Gn
	<i>-Ra</i>	13, 19	
plural (only on	<i>-nu</i>	8	B
gandu 'child')			
plural	<i>-bula</i>	71, Mooreabulla, Oolambulla	cf. <i>bularu</i> 'two'; does not seem to be a dual, however
?	" <i>curna</i> ", perh. <i>-kana</i>	Mootiferacurna 'plenty of emus', Coorcurna 'plenty of fish'	<i>kuyu</i> 'fish'
concomitant	<i>-bayi</i>	88	B
	<i>-wayi</i>	Several names in Tambo place-names list, esp. Goryaway	" <i>Gorya</i> " = <i>kuyu</i> 'fish'

Nature of suffix	Form	Sources	Notes
suffix used with some descriptive terms (meaning not known)	<i>-badi</i>	173	B
nominaliser (added to verb stem)	<i>-Rili</i>	117	cf. Mg, Gn <i>-:liny</i>
possible suffix on time words	<i>-ru</i>	202-5	B some time words end in <i>ru</i> or <i>rdu</i>
?	<i>-RapaRi</i>	Tinnerraburree “Blackfellow's track”	<i>dhina</i> ‘foot’

Examples of reduplicated nouns are in 86, 182, 187, Billebilla ‘Plenty of wallaroos’ and PillaPilla ‘Stoney country’. Only in the case of 187 is the simple stem known. The last example seems to be of a very common process analogous to English addition of *-y* (hilly, dirty, watery etc.), although no word like *bila* is known for ‘stone’ (but cf. the Guwa place name “Billyblow” ‘Rocky bed of creek’). Compound nouns are in 81 and 186.

Yandjibara (4.6.2) also has a possible plural *-nu* on *andu* ‘child’ (8), *-nanu* (13) and *-nu* (17) on kinship terms (no cognate known for *-nanu*) and plural *-bula* (212). There is one example of a reduplicated noun (204). Another possible suffix is *-dya* (211).

No nominal suffixes appear in the Wadjabangayi corpus (4.6.3); there are three reduplicated nouns (111, 175, 187). Note also *buri dhuka* ‘smoke’ (lit. ‘fire smoke’) in which *buri* may be used as a classifier.

Yiningayi (4.6.4) has *-na* (13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, 30) and *-rdila* (29) on kinship terms, a possible concomitant *-bayi* (88) and *-badi* on a descriptive term (173). There are two reduplicated noun stems (1, 187).

Dharawala verb suffixes are listed below, in the same way as the noun suffixes. Where suffixes have the same form as Bidjara verb suffixes the function is assumed to be the same. This identification is supported by the evidence in some cases (especially imperative and past tense) and not opposed by any case.

Nature of suffix	Form	Sources	Notes
imperative	no suffix	191, 192, 194	B
past	<i>-la</i>	71, 198, 199, 201, 208	B
present	<i>-na</i> ?	sentence at end of lists	B
future	<i>-nga</i>	189, 194-197, 199	B
purposive	<i>-lku</i>	169, 189, 194-196, 199	B
stative	<i>-langu</i>	89	B
‘along’	<i>-ndyada</i>	189	B
?	<i>-lu</i>	195, 196	
?	<i>-bi</i>	199	

Yandjibara has a past tense *-la* (176?, 198) and also *-nu* (189, 190, 194, 197), *-nga* (194-196) and *-na* (194) (*-nga* is future in Bidjara and *-na* present tense). A possible inchoative stem formative is *-ndi* (176).

Wadjabangayi uses the stem of the verb to mark imperative (191-193), as in Bidjara and Dharawala.

Yiningayi has past tense *-la* (198) and possible purposive *-lku* (189, 194, 196, 199).

#### 4.5 COMPARISON OF VOCABULARIES

Table 4.4 shows cognate counts, based on the whole of the known vocabularies, for the four Upper Barcoo dialects. As in earlier tables, the figure in brackets is the number of pairs of words compared.

Table 4.5 shows cognate percentages for these dialects and neighbouring dialects or languages. I do not include Yirandhali, the northern neighbour of Yiningayi, for reasons explained in 4.1. Yarumarra (Tindale's Ngandangara), a western neighbour of Dharawala, is not included because of the lack of data on it; instead, I include (modern) Wangkumara (see Breen 1971a:12), which is believed to be closely related to it. However, I tend to believe (on quite inadequate and unreliable evidence) that Margany country extended further north and perhaps Kungkari country further south than on Tindale's map, so that they were contiguous and separated Dharawala and Yarumarra country.

In counting cognates, the following procedure was adopted in cases where one or both of the vocabularies involved has two or more words with the same meaning. If a language with only one small source list was being compared with a comparatively well attested language and the latter has two or more words for a particular item (none of which can reasonably be regarded as rare or different in meaning) the pair were counted as cognate if the word in the former is the same as or sufficiently similar to any of the alternatives in the latter. If both are fairly well-attested and one word for a particular item in one language is cognate with one word for this item in the other, it was counted as half a cognate pair if the item has more than one alternative form in either or both languages. Account was taken, of course, of presumed differences of meaning. Thus, for example, *yakal* and *midhara*, both given for 'cold' in Dharawala, were treated as separate items because in Bidjara *yagal* means 'cold' and *midhard* 'ice, frost'.

TABLE 4.4  
COGNATE COUNTS: UPPER BARCOO LANGUAGES

	Wadjabangayi	Yandjibara	Yiningayi
Dharawala	86 (81)	60 (115)	65 (88)
Wadjabangayi		62 (47)	64 (44)
Yandjibara			59 (82)

TABLE 4.5  
COGNATE COUNTS WITH NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

	Dharawala	Wadjabangayi	Yandjibara	Yiningayi
Margany	51 (146)		49 (101)	
Gunya	57 (142)			
Bidjara	94 (168)	88 (99)	58 (106)	66 (89)
Yagalingu ?		68 (38)		41 (68)
Guwa				40 (80)
Kungkari	23 (98)		25 (81)	34 (65)
Wangkumara	10 (142)			

The very close relationship between Bidjara, Dharawala and Wadjabangayi is made quite clear by these figures. Yandjibara and Yiningayi are not so close, but are clearly closer to this group than to any other language and, bearing in mind the poor quality of the data, could be mutually intelligible with them.

#### 4.6 THE VOCABULARIES

The vocabularies, grouped according to dialect and labelled as in Table 4.1, are given on the following pages. In addition to one column for each vocabulary (with three exceptions) there is, for each dialect, a column for notes and a column for suggested phonemicisations. The three vocabularies which share a column are the ‘Mokaburra, Ravensbourne, Barcoo’ list from the Howitt Papers (n.d.), the short Tindale (1938) list in Wadjalang and some words taken from the Tambo place-names list in *Science of Man* (1966). The first of these has only kinship terms; the second has words for man, woman, sun, moon, water, fire and camp; the third has the other words given in this column (including the second word for water). The column is labelled ‘Others’.

The remainder of the Tambo place-name list and the Blackall place-name list follow the other lists.

Vocabulary items are numbered from 1 to 212 and any particular item is given the same number in each list; thus if an item is not given for a particular dialect that number is skipped. Note that the item numbered 159 is glossed by Roth sometimes as ‘wommer’, sometimes as ‘wommer or throwing stick’ and sometimes as ‘throwing stick’. None of the words given are for wommera (or woomera); in fact, one of Curr's correspondents (Dalhanty – Tambo list) and two of Tindale's informants (Solomon and Holt) state that this was not used in the area. The gloss ‘throwing stick’ is therefore used and the item combined with Tindale's ‘*nulla-nulla*’ (although it is realised that they are not necessarily the same, the latter term being often used for a weapon used as a club and not thrown).

Mostly the source of cognates is Bidjara. The Bidjara word only is given even if there is a regular sound change involved; thus in Dharawala item 2 the note ‘B *mardi*’ is enough to support the form *mari* in most sources as well as the form *mardi* in one, because the correspondence between /rd/ in Bidjara and /r/ in most Dharawala sources is regular. It is not necessary to refer to the fact that certain other dialects of the Mari group do have *mari*, although this can be taken for granted in almost all such cases.

In the Dharawala vocabulary some items are marked (N?) and (S?) to suggest that they may belong to northern or southern, respectively, forms. This could also have been done for cases where there is a form with rd and another where this is replaced with /r/; the former is a southern form, normally only from Conn's vocabulary. (Other suggested southern forms are not necessarily confined to Conn's list.)

Where no cognates are known for an item it is normally ignored in the Notes column; an attempt to phonemicise it may or may not be made, depending on the problems.

Abbreviations for language names, in addition to those in Sources and conventions:

- GB Gugu-Badhun
- Gg Gunggari
- Gl Gangulu

## 4.6.1 DHARAWALA

THIS IS NOT REFORMATTED HERE - ON TDP P.76

	Torraburri	Bell	Tarawalla	Tambo	Conn
1 The blacks	murrie	murrenooyo	malkalloo	murrimulgoo	
2 man	murrie	murri		murri	murdie
a blackfellow					
3 woman,	kumbi	kumbi	kampe	kumby	kambi
a black woman					
4 an old man	watoring	kiara	anger	kooba	kaiara
5 an old woman	poodgan	kooderi	gycher	boonargun	coble-coble
6 a young man	kourla	nungar	nangoo	nunger	cowwoola
7 a baby	kantoo	kundoo	kandoo	karndoo	cando
8 children	kantoonoo	kundanoo	kandoo	karndonoo	canelo
9 white man	weeto	widdoo	withoo	womboo	wittee
10 ghosts	weta				bincoon
11 God	bogu				
12 father	yarboo	yabbo	yarboon	yakkoeela	yabbono
13 mother	younger	younga, youngarnoo	yungara	youngereela	youngardi
14 father's sister					
15 mother's brother					
16 mother's sister					
17 elder brother		tarkanoo	targanoo	targoongeela	
	turgoon tiller				
18 elder sister		beanoo	pina		tagoono nyarra
	buya tiller			murrangeela	
19 younger brother	waboo				
20 younger sister	waboogan				wabboononyarra
21 father's mother					
23 wife	koererow				
24 man's brother's wife					
25 man's sister's husband					
26 man's son					

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
		See 2 and 188 ('plenty'); "nooyo" is unidentified	
mari	mari	B mardi	mari, mardi
'kambi	kambi	B; see also 18, 20	kambi,
		mayada 'female' ?	
		B wadhurany 'old man', kayada 'old', kuba 'grey', also Mg	kayada,
		gubabari, gubaguba 'old man';	kuba

wadhurany,  
kuba

	for anger cf. 21	
	Gangulu bunngan; see 4 re coble-	bunngan
	coble; no other obvious cognates	
	B nanka 'young', kawula 'young	nhanka,
	man who has been through a certain	kawula
	grade of initiation - details not	
	known'	
	B kandu	
	B; -nu is plural suffix kandunu	
	B widhu, also 'dead person', wanbu	widhu,
	uncommon in B but occurs in other	wanbu
	Mari dialects	
	See 9 widhu	
	buku ?	
	B (with suffixes -0, -nu, -wila)	yabu, yabunu,
	yabuwila	
	B (with -0, -nu, -yila), yangardi	yanga, yanganu,
	in Mg, Gn yangariyila,	
	yangardi, yangaRa	
baugella	Or bangella? Cf. B barindyila	
	'elder sister'	
tagingella	See 17	
kiamilla	Not known, but cf. kyga in 17,	
	also 28, 31, 32	
kyga	B dhaku (with -0, -nu, -ndyila)	dhakunu,
	dhakundyila	
kooligin	B bari (with -0, -nu, ndyila),	bayinu,
	once bayi; bayi also in Wadjigu	bayirdila
	and sometimes Gunggari; suffix	marandyila ?
	-rdiyila on some kin terms in B;	
	B marandyila given as 'sister's	
	daughter's son', 'mother's mother's	
	brother'; "nyarra" (see also 20; cf.	
	17, 19) seems to mean something like	
	'female' - perhaps it is related to mayada	
	'younger sister' in Mg, 'woman' in	
	Wadjabangayi (see 3)	
waburra	B; no suffix identifiable with "rra"	wabu, wabunu,
	wabuRa	
karroogan	B wabukanu (-kan 'feminine')	wabukan
unganella	Cf. 13	
	B kuyardiyila, Mg, Gn guyarda	kuyaru

	kooyarra	See 23			
	kungalla	B kunkayila, Mg, Gn gun-gal		kunka(yi)la	
	'husband'				
	nygu				
	Torraburri	Bell	Tarawalla	Tambo	Conn
27	man's daughter				
28	man's son's wife				
30	man's father's brother's son				
31	man's father's brother's daughter				
32	man's mother's sister's son				
33	man's mother's sister's daughter				
34	man's father's sister's son				
35	man's father's sister's daughter				
36	man's mother's brother's son				
37	man's mother's brother's daughter				
38	head	togoo	tungoo	tungoo	doongoo
39	hair of the head	woorow	wooroo	wooroon	wooroo
40	body hair				
41	forehead				
42	eye	teeley	dilli	dilli	dilli
43	eyebrow				
44	nose	kao	nunderoo	ko	noondooroo
45	mouth	tarr	da	moonoo	moonoo
46	lips				
47	tongue	tarlang	tullini	tallyne	tarding
48	teeth	teer	teea	teer	deeya
49	ear	manger	munger	mungar	munga
50	jaw				
51	chin				
53	beard	yarong	yarrine	nangur	yaring
54	hand	murra	murra	murra	murra
55	breasts	wanker	amoo	nammoon	nammoona
56	chest				
57	stomach, belly	yooillkoo	munda		pontoo
58	heart				
59	kidney				
60	back				
61	bowels	booltang	bundoo	goonna	
62	anus				
63	faeces,	yoonner	goorna	goonna	goonna



excrement

64 penis

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
	irampe	Spelling not clear in source	
	kyangilla	Cf. 16 and 17	
	nadingella	B ngadhi(ndyila) 'mother's father'	ngadhindyila
		Mg, Gn ngadhiny 'father's father'(?)	
	kyello	See 16, 17, 28, 32	
	kyello	See 31	
	tabiara		
	kungangella	B kangany, kangandyila 'mother's brother'	kangandyila
	tranna		
	waburra	See 19	
	koonganna	See 25 (?)	
'çungu	B	dhunku	
'kaβæ		both B; cf. 'head' in Mg, Gu wuru (North?),	
-> 'kaβa		kadha (South?)	
		See 39 (Conn); B etc.	mundya
'balgæ	B	balka	
'dili	B	dhili	
'melgan	B	milkan	
'nonçor:	B	kuwu and (?) ngundurd	kuwu, nhunduru
'ða:	B	dhaa	
'biki		See also 45; both B (one speaker gave biki 'top lip', munu 'bottom lip'). See also 52 (Wadjabangayi)	biki, munu
'dalanj	B	dhalany	
'jira	B etc.	yira; Kalali thiya yira (South?)	dhiya (North?),
'maña	B	manga	
çakal	B	dhakal	
'ñantanj	B	ngandhany	
		B yadany; nganka and ngankard in Gn, Mg, Gu etc	yadany (N?) nganka (S?)
'mara		marda in B mara, marda	
'ñamun	B	ngamun	
		See 55 (Torraburri); B (also Mg, Gn warnga)	wanka
'ban'bu		both B (bandyurd given as 'stomach of animal'). Cf. also B mandha	banbu, bandyurd

	'vegetable food', also 'full (of stomach)'; see also 58 but note also Wargamay yulku 'belly, stomach, bowels, guts'.				
	See 57 (Torraburri); B (also Gn yurlku) - but see 61				
momird	B	mumird		yulku	
'buruku	B	budku			
	See also 57, 63. Biri, Baradha buldany 'heart'				
'punti	B	bundhi			
kuna	B	kuna			
buña	B	bunga			
	Torraburri	Bell	Tarawalla	Tambo	Conn
65 testicles					
66 vulva					
67 urine					
68 thigh	pillar	pillar	bulla ?	daria	balla
69 leg					
70 foot	tinner	deena	tina	dinna	dinna
71 track of a foot	teener	dinna	tina	dennerboola	dinna-y-chulla
72 skin	nomen	nooman	numen	noomun	gerring
73 bone	yarrowoon	yarroon	yarroon	yarroon	narco
74 blood	koomer	kooma	kooma	kooma	cooma
75 fat	tammy	tommi	tamme	tommi	
76 sky					
77 sun	tarow	taro	toro	yooroo	doordo
78 moon	kagerer	kogera	koggera	kokkera	kuckardo
79 star	dundoo	boodoo	boothoo, tandoo	boodtha	neeworra
80 day	gadrow	goondagoon	toro	bombi	neelga
81 light	elierow	yambatilli		bombi	boyn
82 night	balkeron	kanalgo		gonda	goobega
83 dark	kangder	koonda	karrangalla	gonda	noorundi
84 cloud					
85 lightning					
86 thunder	teegroo		dindoo	moongoo	nullo-nullo
88 rain storm					
89 rain	kammoo warber		kamo	komo	carro bathing
		kumbundelong			
90 wind	yarker	yarraya	yorka	yarega	yarraca

91 water	kammoo	kammoo	kamo	komo	carmo
92 river					
93 ground		nundee	nante	nundee	nanthe
94 stone	pageao	bungo	woothun(?)	bungoo	bangoo
95 hill, mountain					
96 plain					
97 brigalow scrub					
99 fire	burri	booree	boree	boori	boordi
100 smoke	toker	togar	toongin	dooger	dookan

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
toko		B dhuku	
'tembanj		B dhimbany	
'dudara		B etc. dhudhard	dhudhara
		B (Mg, Gn dharra); see 69	dhara
		See 68; B bala 'lower leg', Gn bala, Mg barla 'leg'; Gn burla 'calf'	bala
'çina		B dhina	
		See 70; "boola" may be a plural suffix -bula; "y-chulla" is wadyala 'go-past'	dhina
		B numan nhuman, dyiRiny ?	
		both B yadun (N?), ngaku (S?)	
'kom:a		B kuma	
		B dhami	
'bandaræ		B bandarda	bandara
çuru, tulçu	'tulçu	B dhurdu	dhuru, dhurdu
'kakara	'kakaræ	B kakarda	kakara, kakarda
'boto		B budhu; Gunggari dhandurd	budhu, dhandu
		B dhurdu (= 'sun'); niyila 'now, today' (see 203); "goondagoon" see 82-3; "bombi" poss. 'light (weight)' cf. B bumbi kura 'to float'; buwany	dhuru (= 'sun')
		B yilaru 'this morning, early'; "yambatilli" perhaps yamba (see 155, and cf. Breen 1973;163-40) and dhili ( 'awake'?; cf. 42); B buwany 'hot; 'daytime' in Mg	yilaru 'this morning, early'
		B kunda 'dark, night-time'	kunda

'jukan	B	yukan				
muttangra	First two B (see 86); see 86 also for madhangala, dhindu dhikuru, dhindu					
munglo	B	munngu (see also 88); "teegroo"		munngu,		
		see 85; Gunggari ngulungulu; see		ngulungulu		
		also Tambo place names list				
mongobai	B (lit. 'thunder-having')	munngubayi				
	Cf. 91; cf. also Mg waba 'to go',			kamu waba ?,		
	B bunda 'to run (of liquid)',	kamu bunda ?,				
	Gangulu kamu bandi-	kamu badhi ?				
'jaræga	B	yadka				
kam:u	'kam:u, B	kamu				
	casino					
'balbara	B	balbara				
'nanti	B	nhandhi				
bañgu	B	bangku (and cf. wudhun 'grass')		bangku		
bañgo		See 94 bangku				
'gun:ai	B	kunayi				
'wadju	B 'scrub'	wadyu				
buri	buri	B burdi	buri, burdi			
'çoga	B dhuka, Mg	dhunguny	dhuka, dhunguny			
	Torraburri	Bell	Tarawalla	Tambo	Conn	
101 (tame) dog		mora	mora		ngoora	
		karirer wangal				
102 wild dog,		koombinea		goombina	wanti	
dingo		karirer kabin				
103 kangaroo	narka	naragoo	narko	nargoo	bowra	
104 wallaby						
105 rock wallaby						
107 kangaroo rat						
108 (o)possum	tangoor	tungooroo	tangool	dongeroo	tanurd	
109 porcupine						
(echidna)						
110 native bear						
(koala)						
112 egg	kubaon	karboin	kobboo	kobin	carboon	
113 emu	kolbey	koolbi	koolberra	koolby	goolby	
114 wild turkey,	baanguke				bookine	
plain turkey						
115 scrub turkey						
116 native companion						
(brolga)	(none)		kooroora	kooro	coordodo	

117 pelican	winner youerilly		miarwa	derrarooro	boolcoon
		kararoo			
118 swan	yourie				bigooro
119 wood duck	manaan	munan		murrabo	
120 black duck	kobery marer			munara	
		koobaree			
121 eaglehawk	kotelow				coothalla
122 crow	woterkan	woddon	wawder	wardergun	watta
123 laughing jackass		kakaburra	kargooburra	kargooburra	karcoburra
(kookaburra)	kakoburra				
124 magpie					
125 white cockatoo	dikkarri	diggari	tikkarri	teecurri	
	teaerburry				
126 black cockatoo					
127 snake	monda	moonda	kobbool	kokoolo	munda
128 carpet snake					
129 brown snake					
130 black snake					
132 sand goanna					
133 black goanna					
134 frilled lizard					
135 turtle					
136 frog					

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
'ñoran		B nguda, ngudan; "karirer" could be nguda; "wangal" may mean 'tame'	nguda, ngudan
'kombina		B kumbina, wandhi	kumbina(N?), wandhi (S?)
ñaruko	matchumba, nargoo	B bawuda 'red kangaroo', ngadku 'grey kangaroo'; matyumpa in some languages to the north	bawuda 'red k' ngadku 'grey k'
'waija	wejah	B 'scrub wallaby'	madyumba ? waya
'bako		B bako	
'bandunj		B banduny	
'dañuru		B dhangurd dhanguru, dhangurd	
badbira		B badbirda or badbira	
-> badbi(d)a			
'ditanj		B dhidhany	
'kabunj		B kabuny	
'kulbai		both B kulbari, kulbayi	

'bunkanj	B	bunkany				
'kokobinj	B	kukubiny				
'goral (second vowel not clear)	Gunggari kural, Gugu-Badhun etc			kurura (N?),		
	kururr; see also item 116 in kural,					
	Yandjibara and Yiningayi	kurdurdu (S?)				
	Cf. Kn tharta, Mg dharta, also			dharaRu ?		
	dhararru 'black cormorant'; for					
	Torraburri cf. wina 'fish' and					
	yuga- 'to eat'; others not known					
	"yourie" = yuri 'meat'	bikuRu ?				
	B manarun, Gangulu marabun,			manarun, marabun		
	both 'duck (gen)'					
	coberrie "duck" Cf. Biri and Baradha kuburi,			kubiri ?		
	Gugu-Badhun kubiri 'duck'; but see					
	also Yandjibara 119					
'koβ:al	B	kudhala				
'waragan	B warakan; Yirandhali, Gunggari			warakan, wadha		
	watha wardakan ?,					
	B	kakubada				
kolbo	B	kulbu				
'çikari:	B	dhikadi				
'koŋgi:'ça:l	B	kungskidala				
	B; see also 128		munda			
'kabæl	moonda	B	kabul			
kombara		B and others	bumbara	bumbara ?		
kolæri		B kuridi, Gn gulirdi 'tiger snake',		kuliri ?		
		Mg gulirdi 'bilby snake'				
barækæn		B badka	badkan			
'wariñ		B	waruny			
'binañaræ		B	binangala			
nindjubun		Cf. B nindyibun		nhindyubun ?		
badju		Gunggari	badyu			
		Torraburri	Bell	Tarawalla	Tambo	Conn
137 fish		winner	biabree,	piaberri	weena	
			wiarer			
138 barramundi						
139 catfish						
140 eel, freshwater						
141 crayfish	koarow	boogalli	boogarli,	kandera	bowgili	
			quarroo			
142 lobster	bookill					
143 crab						

144 fly	nemara	negeroo	nimmoon	neemeroo	nimmun
145 mosquito	ellpin	boodoin	boothun	booding	boottoin
146 tree					
147 wood	biggar	toolgarra	barga	warker, pugger	
148 bark	kooker	beear	beer	beya	peea
149 native pitch, gum					
150 gum tree					
151 box tree					
153 yam					
154 grass	wakoo	widdoon	woothun	woodthon	wootoon
155 camp	yamber		yamba	yamber	yamba
156 war-spear	baggar	bukka	barga	pugger	barca
157 reed-spear	weleyburry			(none)	
158 boomerang	wongnell				wongal
159 throwing stick, nulla-nulla	kottkoo, betoo	meeroo	mora		mooro
160 shield	boorkoo	burrayoo	bulgoo	boorgoo	booro-coo
161 tomahawk	purow	burroo	baroo	baroo	burroo
164 grass basket					
167 canoe	weeter	tangin			
168 food	woran	ngulgo	inde	euri	urdie
169 meat					
170 honey					
171 milk	kammoon				namoone
172 good	megin	mikkane	mekinni	meginnee	mickineberri
173 bad	begar	iudabooia	banya	bunya	kungardi
174 sweet	tarbooy		jaer	garber	yeara
176 hungry	guper	kobarree	kobbarde	karberri	cabardi
Solomon	Other Notes	Phonemicisation			
	goryaway, coorcurna "plenty of fish"	B kuyu, wina ("goryaway" may be kuyuwayi 'fish-having')			kuyu, wina, bayabaRi ?
jangula	Not barramundi, prob. yellowbelly				yankula ?
'kakora	B	kakuru			
makuru	B	makuru			
	B bukili; see also 142-3		bukili		
	See 141				
	cooarrew	B kuwardu; see also 141			kuwaru
	B nimun, nimudu from one speaker				nhimun, nhimudu,

	and cf. Yandjibara "nugaroo"	nyigaRu
	B budhun	
bagger	B baka	
	B dhulkarda 'log'; see also 146; Tambo gloss 'wood (or tree)'	dhulkara 'log'
	B biya; kuka 'bark from elbow of tree'	biya, kuka
'mokanj	B (also makan and mukan) mukany	
	dungun B dhankun	
	muldara B malard malara ?	
'goa	B kuwa	
	B wudhun; cf. yaku in Gu and Yiningayi	wudhun, waku ?
jamba	'jamba B yamba	
	Cf. 146 (this is also 'stick' in B)	baka
	Cf. Kn walapada wilibaRi ?	
'wañal	B wangel	
mero	B mudu; Ngawun and Mayi-Kutuna mirru; "kottkoo" could be budku (see 160). 'nulla-nulla' is Tindale's gloss.	mudu, midu
'boroko (corkwood)	B budku	
'baro	B baru	
windjin	B windyin	
manta	B mandha 'vegetable food'; "ngulgo" may be a misreading of ugulgo = yukalku 'eat-purp'; "euri" and "urdie" (and perhaps "inde" = iude?) are 'meat', see 169	mandha
juri	B yurdi; see 168 yuri (N?), yurdi (S?)	
	B; see 174 'sweet' kaba	
	See 55 'breasts' ngamun	
	B mikany, mikanybadi	
	B kungkardi 'to vomit' (and bika 'quiet?'); "iudabooia" may be inda banya 'you bad', but no cognates of banya are known	kungkardi 'to vomit' banya
	Prob. misheard as 'teeth' (yira), but cf. B yidi 'taste, smell' and see 170	
	Mg, Gn gabird 'hunger', kabiri, kabirdi gabira 'to be hungry'	



	Torraburri	Bell	Tarrawalla	Tambo	Conn
177 thirsty	kogeener	ikomeobla	monargallelen	boongerroo	
178 full (of stomach)					
179 sore	weeteen				
180 heat	garrymully	quinqueean	boine	dingun	boeyoo
181 cold	magder	medaree	yakkal	medurra	yakkul
182 big	muller muller	mulla-mulla	bunga		
		wigga			
183 little	errow	kioo	kooger	kya	kioo
184 one	wangier	wongera	wongera	wongera	wongarra
185 two	boolaroo	boollaroo	boolaroo	bulleroo	boolardo
186 three	boolaroo wangier		boolaunga	bulleroo wongera	
	boollarongera			boolardo-wongarra	
187 four	boolaroo boolaroo		nalira	karkooroo boollaroo-boollaroo	
188 plenty	talkay	mulquarlo	mulkerloo	telgi	mulla-mulla
189 walk	wotkillkoo	wongaridga	wyjalgo	woodgealgo	wychung
190 come on	yaukkomunderly		wooger,	koole,	wooko-wicka
		kolle	wyger	ow-wo	
191 come here					
192 go away					
193 run					
194 sit	binder	binda	bindalgo	binda	beendung
195 eat	yookolloo	yoordoo	ukalgo	eurri	ookung
196 drink	yookolloo	kamogallo	ukalgo	komo, ngulgo	
					carmo-ookung
197 sleep	wangerkoo	oongaue	onga	woga	wookawonung
198 dead	odelow	koondilla	kongella	goondella	goonteela
199 see	nugiby	ianugulla	nekalgo	nugalgo	nuckung
200 look for					
201 hit					
202 yesterday	kaborow		kooleroo	konberroo	goolieure
203 today	gadrow	wychal	naler	kargega	neilga
204 by and by			kygarroo	kurando	kickardo, babo
205 tomorrow	begdigoo	bedgi	kunderoo	bidgigo	goondarro
206 yes	yoo	yoo	indindi	wi	yoe
207 no	kurri	kartoo	kurra	karra	curda
Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation		
		B bungkud; other items cannot be identified		bungkuru	

	See 57 mandha ?	
	Given for 'smallpox'; B 'a sore'	widhiny
	B buwany 'hot', dhinngan 'hot weather'	buwany
	dhinngan 'hot weather'	
	B yakal 'cold', midhard 'frost, ice'	yakal; midhara
	'frost, ice'	
	B wudya; Gn banya; see also 173 and 188	wudya ?, banya ?
	malamala	
	B karu, rarely kayu, kudyukudyu 'short'	kayu, aru;
	kudyu 'short'	
	B wangkara	
	B bulardu bularu, bulardu	
	bularu wangkara	
	bulardu wangkara	
	nalira may be ngadhaRa, see Yandjibara 187	bularu bularu, bulardu bulardu
	Cf. Gunggari malgadya 'big'; dhalkayi ?, see also 182	malkalu ?
'wadjan'djarala	B wadya-, rarely manda- (see 190)	wadya-, manda-
	B wuku 'hither' and see 189; wuku 'hither'; kuli in B is 'before'	kuli ?
'oko'wadja	See 190	wuku wadya
'kundu wadja	B kundu 'away'	kundu wadya
warukani barala	B wakani-, Mg wara-	wakani- ?
	B binda-	
	B yuka- 'eat, drink'; for euri see 169	yuka-
	See 195 and 91	kamu yuka-
	'drink (=eat) water'	
	B wuka and wungard, both 'asleep'; Mg, Gn una- 'to lie'	wuka, wunga ?
	'asleep'	
	wuna- 'to lie'	
	Mg, Gn gundhi- 'to die'	undhi-, kundhi-
	'to die'	
	(k)undhila 'dead'	
	B; "ia" in Bell's word would be ngaya 'I'	nhaka-
	See 208	nhidyu-
gunilla B	kuni-	
	B kuliru kuliru	
	B niyila 'now, today',	nhiyila ?

	kadyukayi 'later on'		kadyukayi		
	'later' ?				
	B kadyarda 'directly'; babu 'by			kadyaru,	
	and by, directly' in old Mg and Gn			kadyardu,	
	sources, cf. B kabu 'later'		babu		
	B bidyiyiku; kunda 'dark,		bidyiyiku		
	nighttime' in B, 'yesterday' in Gn			kundaRu ?	
(? jo:)	B yuwu	yuwu			
'kanula	B karda, and cf. Gangulu gangu			kara, karda	
	Torraburri	Bell	Tarrawalla	Tambo	Conn
208 I don't know	kurri ebelli	inde adee	kurra nidula	dongodi	interra angabe
209 I	ier	yooloo	iya	iya	ngia
210 you	ender		inda	inda	yenda
211 this					
212 where					
	Where are the blacks?	murri indeea?	murri indea?		
	murri nuntder?		indu bendang		inter murdie?
			malkalloo		

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
		This is the answer to the question given after 212. The Bell and Conn items seem to involve yindiya 'where'. "angabe" could conceivably be yandyabayi (yandya 'indeed' in B, -bayi 'having', no evidence that these can combine). "kurri ebelli" may be kara yimbala 'not hear-past'. "kurra nidula" would be 'not look for-past' (see 200; B nidyu- 'to look for'). "dongodi" not known. B ngaya; "yooloo" would be 'this', B yulu, see 211	
		ngaya	
		B yinda	
		See 209 yulu	
		B yindiya; see the translations of the following question and 208 mari/mardi 'man', see 2; malkalu 'plenty', see 188; re "nuntder" cf. wandha 'where' in Gn and ngundhurru and ngandhuru 'who' in B	yindiya

## 4.6.2 Yandjibara

	Yangeeberra	Blackall	Mt Enniskillen
1 The blacks	murri	murri	murri
2 a blackfellow	leowla	yanja	murri
3 a black woman	ambe	wongo, annoo	
4 an old man	mooi	oteeri	oo-oo-gin-a
5 an old woman	utherteria	oobangi	mungini oorilli
6 a young man		koola	
7 a baby	muorcoom	guomanoo	
8 children	onund	annia	
9 white man	weetho	widtha	
10 ghosts	wonboa		
12 father	ie (ai-i?)	ana	jena
13 mother	younga	youngernanooyunga	
17 elder brother	mudji	mutchernoo	yuggoon
18 elder sister	wongi	miarar	yuggoo
19 younger brother	ougunna	wooveri	
20 younger sister	our-wonna		
23 wife	womoo		
38 head	thungo	dungoo or yoongoo	yelli
39 hair of the head	minga	woolo	wooroo
40 body hair			
42 eye	dillidilli	dilli	
44 nose	nuttoo	noota	woota
45 mouth	thooer	towah	bakka
46 lip			
47 tongue	talina	dallanger	
48 teeth	dieriteera	thea	
49 ear	ammga	mungar	munga
53 beard	unga	unga	yarrang
54 hand	murra	murra	murra
55 breasts	goorgoo	amina, boorkoo	amoonoo
56 chest			
57 stomach	oodooa	burte	oorina
61 bowels	munda	moorigunda	
63 excrement	thaline	oonna	
68 thigh	thira	toia	boomurra
69 leg			
70 foot	dinna	denna	deena
71 track of a foot	pooboola	deenung	
72 skin	nolullo	noomanna	binda

73 bone	yaronoo	yarron, balla	yarnoon
74 blood	oma	ooma	ooma
75 fat	tami	tammi	tommi
Notes	Phonemicisation		
B mardi	mari		
See 1. "leowla" could be a misreading of kowla, see 6.	mari		
"yanja" could possibly be yandya, 'right, indeed' in B			
B kambi, wanngu; "annoo" could be andu 'child', see 7, 8	ambi, wanngu		
Gu mu(wa)parri, muwa in some Mayi dialects, muwi ?, B wadhurany	wadhurany ?		
Cf. kuba - see note to Dh 4, and Gunggari ubakan. The first part of "utherteria" may be wadhi, cf. B wadhukanu. "mungini" resembles mangany 'young woman' in Gn; mudguny is 'old woman' in Mg and Gn; muginy 'woman' in Gunggari	uba--?, wadhu--?		
See note to Dh 6, and see 2	kawula		
Cf. B kandu, and see 3 and 8	andu		
"Onund" could be andunu, with plural -nu (cf. B kandunu)	andunu		
B	widhu		
Mg, Gn	wanbu		
Cf. 12 in Cunningera list (4.6.4); also Gu 17; Gugu-Badhun kaya. There may be a root (k)ayi or (k)iya. See also Dh 16, 17, 28, 31, 32	ayi(na)		
B yanga (with -0, -nu, -yila)	yanga(nanu)		
mudyi also in Yirandhali (and cf. Gugu-Bathun mukina); for yaku see 18 (but note also B dhaku-)	mudyi(nu)		
Cf. mayada 'younger sister' in Mg and Wadjabangayi 3; "yaggoarre" 'elder sister' in Curr's "Wonkomarra" list	mayada ?, yaku ?		
Cf. Wadjigu kumbu	um(b)u ?		
B dhunku	dhunku, yali ?		
B wuru; "minga" may be mundya 'body hair', as in B	uru		
See 39	mundya ?		
B	dhili		
Cf. Gangulu wudha, Gugu-Badhun gudha	udha, ngudha ?		
Gu thawa; baka could be 'lip' (B biki)	dhawa		
See 45	baka ?		
B dhalany, Gu, Wm etc. thalanya	dhalanya		
B	dhiya		
B	manga		
See Dh 53	yadany, nganka		
B	mara		
Gu ngamina, B etc. ngamun; Gu, Pirriya purrku 'chest'	ngamina, ngamunu ?		
See 55	budku		

Mg, Gn barti; "oorina" could be a misreading of bardi, udu ?  
 "oonna", see 63; cf. Gu pudu  
 Cf. B mandha 'full (of stomach)'  
 B kuna; "thaline" must be dhalany(a) 'tongue' - the una  
 informant obviously having heard "dung" as "tongue"

See Dh 68; Gu punmaRa 'calf' dhara

See 68, 73 bala;  
 punmaRa ('calf ?')

B dhina dhina

See 70 dhina

B numan nhumana

B yadun; bala see Dh 69 yadun(u)

B kuma uma

B dhami

Yangeeberra Blackall Mt Enniskillen

77 sun thurroo dooroo doonoo

78 moon aurgunda howra aurra

79 star bootoo boothoo boodthoo

80 day ouchoorpeni oonoola

81 light dokkungo

82 night bonoo howha ooa

83 dark wa, mongeend mungari

86 thunder amobareelud barringa moongo

89 rain amo bundango ammoo amoo

90 wind yarraka hurrica yarga

91 water awo ammoo amoo

93 ground yamba yamba yamba

94 stone byar barrie unga

95 hill birree

99 fire booree boree boori

100 smoke thugar dooau

101 tame dog oochapeni moora moora

102 wild dog ombemia oombina

103 kangaroo baoord bowra naralkoo

108 (o)possum tangoord dungroo oongeroo

112 egg darndu tandoo parroo

113 emu umbaile oolbury oorai

114 wild turkey, bungoonya  
 plain turkey

116 native companion krteertha oordatto moorooella  
 (brolga)

117 pelican tarda mungaran durra

118 swan	dundurra		
119 wood duck	geeweela		oobuddi
120 black duck	obendia	hooire	oora
121 eaglehawk	urella		
122 crow	wogana	wogana	waugan
123 laughing jackass			
(kookaburra)	oolbarra	nookoo	
125 white cockatoo	dgurdid	dioordi	diggari
127 snake	mimda	moondah	moonda
137 fish	burtabulloo	biarbarri	akroo
138 yellowbelly			
139 catfish			
141 crayfish	oovarroo	acheroo	
144 fly	nioora	nugaroo	newra
145 mosquito	bunyeal	boonyi	bothing
147 wood	boodi	doola	doola, baa
148 bark	mookool	biya	beia
154 grass	undoo	woothanoo	oonoo
Notes		Phonemicisation	
B dhurdu		dhuru	
Cf. B kakarda		akarda, awara	
B		budhu	
Gu nguwa (but compare "howha" with "howra" 'moon')			nguwa
"wa" may be nguwa; see 82			
B munngu; Mg, Gn barriny, amu see 89; possibly amu			munngu, badinya
badila (cf. B badi- 'to cry'); if so "barringa" may			or badi- ?
be another tense form of the same verb and not			
related to barriny at all			
amu also 'water'; cf. B bunda 'to run (of liquid)'		amu, amu bunda-	
B		yadka	
B kamu		amu	
B 'camp, place'		yamba	
Mg, Gn barri; "unga" poss. related to Gu kun(g)ku			badi ?
Same as stone, 94			
B burdi; see also 147			buri, burdi ?
B (but cf. also Mg dhunguny)			dhuka
B nguda; "oochapeni" not known (but cf. "ouchoorpeni"			nguda
'day' in the same list)			
B kumbina		umbina	
B bawuda 'red kangaroo', ngadku 'grey kangaroo' bawud(a) 'red k.'			
		ngadku 'grey k.'	
B dhangurd		dhangurd, dhanguru	

Mayi tharndu; perhaps "parroo" is 'axe' (161) - "eggs"			dharndu
misheard as "axe"			
B kulbari, Gunggari nguruny			ulbari, nguruny ?
B bunkany	bunkany		
Cf. Dh 116 for "oordatto"; perhaps "krteertha"		urdu, urdurdu,	
is kurdurdu	kurdurdu ?		
Kn tharta, Mg dharta; Mg, Gn mangarra 'black duck'			dhara, dharda
Cf. tyipilya 'whistler duck' in Mayi-Kutuna and similar			dyyiwila ?
names for types of duck, usually whistler in other 'whistler duck'?			
languages (e.g. Mg, Gn, Kl); see also Dh 120		ubadi 'duck sp.'	
Cf. Wm ngawarra; see also 117		nguwaRa ?,	
	mangada ?		
B kudhala	udhala ?		
Mg, Gn wakarn	wakarn(a)		
B	dhikadi		
B	munda		
Cf. Dh 137, Gu 137 and 'catfish' (139) in this list	bayabaRi		
Gu; see 137	bardabulu		
B kakuru; see 137 and 141		akuru	
B kuwardu 'crab' and see 139		uwaru ('crab?')	
Cf. Dh "negeroo"	nyuRa ? nyukaRu ?		
B budhuny; Yiningayi "boonyee"		bunyi, budhuny	
Biri dhula 'tree' and see Gu 146-7; see 99; cf. B baka 'tree'			dhula, baa ?
B biya; mookool not known (but cf. B mukan, mukany,			biya
makan 'gum')	mukul (poss. 'gum')		
B wudhun	wudhunu, un(h)u ?		
	Yangeeberra	Blackall	Mt Enniskillen
155 camp	yamba	yamba	titheringalli
156 war-spear	bara	bakar	bugra
157 reed-spear	bar		
158 boomerang	wongela	wungulla	
159 throwing stick,	aramend		metoo
nulla-nulla			
160 shield	tumberoo	doombooroo	toombarroo
161 tomahawk	baroo	baroo	baoo
167 canoe	wogara	doombatung	oorun
168 food	udi unga	nanoo	
169 meat			
170 honey			
171 milk	namunoo		
172 good	weem	weemo	boodi
173 bad	banya	undinga	indawannia (?)



174 sweet	weem	abba	
176 hungry	wongulla	abberri	awirrindilla
177 thirsty	amo	boogidung	
178 full (of stomach)			
180 heat	werequong		dinganna
181 cold	moorara	weedurrah	moori
,			
182 big	badbreda	buchana	padberra
183 little	baythana	aranoo	adyeri
184 one	wongara	wongoroo	wonga
185 two	muta	wootah	woodtha
186 three	our hoodperry	woodburri	
187 four	adava	mathari	ngithera
188 plenty	mooral		ungilla
189 walk	yarrano	yabbanoo	
190 come on	wooa	yobbanoo	awae
194 sit	bendano	bindunga	bindanna
195 eat	wono	bunginunga	daka
196 drink	wono	ungunga	amoo
197 sleep	woodnano	ooa	ooa
198 dead	undilla	oondilla	audinga
199 see	yabona	nurrunga	nangannoo
202 yesterday	matidga	vatucha	
203 today	aimba	jimba	jambuginni
204 by and by	parri-perrin	batacher	
205 tomorrow	yeelokkur	munga	yellukka
206 yes	ee yea	yea	
207 no	arda	urra	alla
208 I don't know	nuirda	urra	
209 I	ngia		
210 you	inda		
211 this, here			
212 where			
where are the blacks?	murribulla wondi?		inicha murri?

## Notes

B yamba, cf. 93

Cf. 147 and Dh 156

Same as 156

B wangal

See Dh 159

Kn thumpurru; see also 167

B

"doombatung" is probably dhumbudu, 160

B yurdi 'meat'; Wm, Pi, Gu kunga

See 168

See 174

Same as breast, 55

Cf. Dh 173; "indawannia" may be inda banya 'you bad'

B kaba 'honey', see 170; see also 172

Cf. Dh 176; -ndi- could be an inchoative formative

amo is amu 'water'; B bungkurda; see also 195-6

See 61

B dhinngan 'hot weather' dhinngana

Kn murirra; B midhard 'frost, ice' (the w of "weedurrah" may be a misread m)

Cf. B etc. badbirda 'porcupine'; perhaps "big" was heard as "pig" and 'pig' was given the same name as 'porcupine'

(cf. 'horse' given the same name as 'dog' in Kukatj and Kn).

However, it seems unlikely that this would happen twice.

Cf. Gangulu badyarri

B

Mg gudbara 'a few', Gu, Mayi kurrpara 'three' udbari

See Gu 202, 204

Cf. Yiningayi 188; Gangulu wandya

See also 190 and 199

Wm kawa, and see 189

B

See also 177 and 196; "daka" may be English "tucker"

Same as eat, 199; "amoo" is amu 'water'

B wuna- 'to lie'; see also 82 'night' and B wuka 'asleep'

Mg, Gn gundhi- 'to die'

Cf. 189, 190; something like nhaka- would be expected

See also 204

Mg gayimba

## Phonemicisation

yamba

baka, baa

wangala

midu ?

dhumbudu

baru

unga

yurdi

aba

ngamunu

wimu ?

banya

abiri, awiri ?

bungkurda ?

mandha ?

murida 'cold'

midhara 'frost'

adyadi ?

wangkara

ngudha ?

ngadhaRa or

ngidhaRa

muRa, wandyala ?

yaba- ?

awa

binda-

wanga- ?

wuna- 'to lie'

undhi- 'to die'

badhadya ?

ayimba

baRibaraRin ?

Cf. 83

Cf. Biri yayi

B karda, kara in some other Mari dialects

See 207; cf. also B ngudya- 'to know'

B

B

See after 212 and cf. B yini- 'this, here'; the sentence may be  
'Is the man here?'

See the sentence following; cf. Gn wandha 'where'.

"bulla" may be a plural suffix, cf. Dh 71

iluka ? munga ?

yayi or iya

arda, ara

ngaya

inda

inidya ?

wandhi

## 4.6.3 Wadjabangayi

	Holt	Notes	Phonemicisation
2 man	'mari	B mardi	mari
3 woman	'maijara	Cf. Mg mayada 'younger sister' and see Dh 3. 18, 20	mayada ?
6 young		'kaula given as 'initiation ceremony', but kawula is given as 'young man' for many nearby dialects; see Dh 6	kawula
38 head	'tongo	B	dhunku
39 hair	wuru	B	wuru
41 forehead	'balga	B	balka
42 eye	'dili	B	dhili
43 eyebrow	'milkan	B	milkan
44 nose	'go:	B	kuwu
45 mouth	ãa:	B	dhaa
46 lips	'bigi	B	biki
47 tongue	'talainj	B	dhalany
48 teeth	'jira	B	yira
49 ear	'maña	B	manga
50 jaw	'ñalgi	B 'cheek'	ngalki
51 chin	'ñaiñkal	Cf. B ngandhany, Kn nganthil	ngandyal ?
52 moustache	'munðu	Cf. B munu 'lip'	mundhu
53 beard	jaranj	B	yadany
54 hand	'mara	B marda	mara
55 breast	'ñamun	B	ngamun
57 belly	'banbu	B	banbu
59 kidney	'momirinj	B mumird, Gangulu mumuriny	mumiriny
60 back	burku -> bu(l)ko	B	budku
62 anus	'punçi	B	bundhi
63 faeces	'kuna	B	kuna
64 penis	'buña	B	bunga
65 testicles	'ñara	Mg ngarda	ngara
66 vulva	'balgun		balkun ?
67 urine	didjin		dhidyin ?
70 foot	ðina -> 'çina	B	dhina
74 blood	'kom:a	B	kuma
76 sky	'bandara	B bandarda	bandara
77 sun	'diñgan	B dhinngan 'hot weather', see 180	

78 moon	kakara	B kakarda	kakara
79 star	'boɔo	B	budhu
84 cloud	'ju:kan	B	yukan
85 lightning	'maçañara	B	madhangala?
87 rainbow	'montañara	B	mundangada
89 rain	kam:u	same as water, 91	kamu
90 wind	'bum:al	Probably 'wind' in the sense of 'breath', cf. B bumal kangkuda 'to be tired, to be winded'	bumal ?
91 water	'kam:o	B	kamu
93 ground	'nandi	B	nhandhi
94 stone	'bañgu	B	bangku
95 mountain	'bañgu	Same as stone	bangku
96 plain	'barukala		baRukala or badkala ?
97 scrub	wadju	B	wadyu
98 forest	'mankala	Cf. B mangkala 'sandhill' mongulla 'the desert country' in Blackall place names list	mankala ? (or mangkala 'sandhill' ?)
99 fire	bori	B burdi	buri
100 smoke	'buriâu:ka	B dhuka and see 99	buri dhuka
101 dog	'ñu:ra	B	nguda
102 dingo	'kombina	B	kumbina
103 kangaroo	'ñaruko	B 'grey kangaroo'	ngadku 'grey kangaroo'
104 wallaby	waija	B 'scrub wallaby'	waya
105 rock wallaby	'ba:gu	B	baku
106 bandicoot	'wudjala	B	wudyala
107 kangaroo rat	'bandunj	B	banduny
108 (o)possum	'dañur	B	dhangur(d)
109 porcupine (echidna)	'bar:bira	B badbirda	badbira
110 native bear (koala)	âi:çanj	B	dhidhany
111 native cat	'bau'bau	B balumbalu, or perhaps an onomatopoeic name for the European cat	bawubawu or balumbalu
112 egg	'kabunj	B	kabuny
113 emu	'kondolo	Gangulu	kundulu
114 plain turkey	'waruka	Wadjigu	wadka
115 scrub turkey	'kokobinj	B	kukubiny
116 native companion (brolga)	'ko:rolç	Cf. Dh 116	kururd ?
117 pelican	'jalbaburu	B yalbalulu given for 'swan'	yalbabulu ?

		and 'plover'	
120 black duck	'manarun	Given also for 'whistling duck'; Cf. B 'duck (gen.)'	manarun 'duck'
121 eaglehawk	'ko:çala	B	kudhala
122 crow	'waçakan	Gugu Badhun	wadhakan
124 magpie	'kol'bo	B	kulbu
125 white cockatoo			
	'çikari	B	dhikadi
128 carpet snake	'kabul	B	kabul
129 brown snake	bumbara	Tindale adds "(red bellied snake)"; B 'brown snake'	bumbara
130 black snake	kojuñara	B 'rock python'	kuyungara (species unclear)
131 whip snake	çi:dju	B	dhidyu
132 sand goanna	'ça:kanj	B	dhakany
133 black goanna	'ñobaburu		ngubabuRu
134 frilled lizard	'binañara	B	binangala
135 turtle	'nindjibun	B	nhindyibun
136 frog	badju	Gunggari	badyu
140 eel, freshwater			
	makuru	B	makuru
152 corkwood	buruko	Same as shield (which is made of it), see 160	budku
153 yam	'kawu	Tindale adds "(sweet yam)". kawu heard in B as an alternative to kuwa	kawu
155 camp	'jamba	B	yamba
156 spear	'miranj	Tindale has an addition which is not clear but may be "2 barbed hand spear"	miRany
158 boomerang	'wañal	B	wangal
159 nulla nulla	'miru	Ngawun, Mayi-Kutuna mirru	midu
160 shield	'buruko	B	budku
161 tomahawk	'ba:ru	B	baru
162 knife	kangai	B	kankayi
(stone fighting knife)			
163 playstick	'medju	Tindale adds "man who could throw furthest along ground. Use heap of grass".	midyu
164 grass baskets	'windjin	B	windyin
165 dilly bag	'bo:djo	B	budyu
166 string	'bunåa	B	bundha
168 food	jiri	See 169	
169 meat	jiri	B yurdi	yuri
175 salt water	'kari'kari	B 'sour, bitter'	kadikadi

180 heat		See 77	(probably 'bitter, salty')
184 one	'wañgara	B	dhinngan
185 two	'bularu	B bulardu	wangkara
187 four	'bularu 'bularu	See 185	bularu
189 walk	'wadja	B	bularu bularu
191 come here	'joko'watja	B	wadya-
			wuku wadya,
			wuku 'hither'
192 go away	'kondo watja	B	kundu wadya,
			kundu 'away'
193 run	'wa:ka'wadja	Cf. 189; perhaps waka means 'fast'. However, cf. B wakani	waka- ?
206 yes	'jo:	B	yuwu
207 no	'kara	B karda	kara

## 4.6.4 Yiningayi

Alice River	Cunningera		Notes	Phonemicisation
1 the blacks	cubbee-cubbee	Cf. Kn kapu	kabikabi ?	
3 a black woman	kumbee		B	kambi
4 an old man	mogaree		cf. Gu mu(wu)parri	mukaRi ?
5 an old woman	mogaree			mukaRi ?
6 a young man	cowalaa		See Dh 6, and see 15	kawula
7 a baby	candoo		B	kandu
9 a white man	coyn		Cf. Wargamay guuny, Gugu-Badhun and Dyirbal guwuy Kg "gooing" 'ghost'	kuwuny ?
12 father	yaboo	kiama	B yabu; cf Yandjibara 12	yabu kayama
13 mother	yuna	yangana	B	yanga(na)
14 father's sister		bangula	Cf. Dh 14	
15 mother's brother		cowla	See 6 and 21	
16 mother's sister		kum-na	See 18, also Dh 22 and Gu 15	
17 elder brother	taagunya	karunua	B dhaku; see also 18	dhakun(y)a
18 elder sister	kommie	taguna	See 16, also Dh 22	kami(na)
19 younger brother		bamuna	Cf Mg bama 'brother'	bamana ?
20 younger sister		nylo		
21 father's mother		kongana	Cf. B kangany 'mother's brother', also kunkayila 'husband'	kangana ?
24 man's brother's wife		amena	Cf. Gn ngamala 'female', Kn ngamanya and ngamirni 'mother', Mayi ngamirn and ngamari 'mother's brother', etc.	ngamina ?
25 man's sister's husband		warrara		
26 man's son		billa	Cf. 31	
27 man's daughter		mercon	Cf. Mg, Gn mudguny 'old woman'; see also 34	
28 man's son's wife		tanara	Cf. B dhuwana 'son'	
29 man's daughter's husband		bunjadilla (+ -0, -nila,	Cf. B bundya	bundyardila ?



			-gandila) 'mother-in-law', bundyayila 'mother-in-law's brother'	
30	man's father's brother's son	adena	Cf. B ngadhi 'mother's father'	ngadhina ?
31	man's father's brother's daughter	billa	Cf. 26	
32	man's mother's sister's son	willeru	Cf. 35	
33	man's mother's sister's daughter	ogarry		
34	man's father's sister's son	mourcan	Cf. 27	
35	man's father's sister's daughter	willeru	Cf. 32	
		Cunningera	Notes	
36	man's mother's brother's son	tickibarunna		
37	man's mother's brother's daughter	mamena	Cf. 24	
38	head	ulkey	B 'cheek', Wadjabangayi 'jaw', see 50	
39	hair of the head	kuttar	B ('head' in Mg)	kadha
42	eye	tillee	B	dhili
44	nose	ningo	Gu (see Gu 26) (and cf. Kn mingku)	nyingku ?
45	mouth	towa	Gu	dhawa
48	teeth	pirra	Cf. Kg "berra"	piRa
49	ear	munger	B	manga
50	cheek, jaw		See 38	ngalki
53	beard	unga	Mg, Gu	nganka
54	hand	murra	B marda	mara
55	breasts	poorqua	Gu, Pirriya purrku 'chest', 56	
56	chest		See 55	budku
57	stomach	goonar	See 63	
61	bowels	goona	See 63; it is not uncommon for this word to represent 'bowels' as well as 'faeces'	
63	excrement	goona	B	kuna
68	thigh	pular	See Dh 69, and see 69	
69	leg		See 68	bala ?
70	foot	teena	B	dhina
72	skin	yangoona		
73	bone	yaroona	B yadun	yaduna
74	blood	kooma	B	kuma

75 fat	tommee	B	dhami
77 sun	tooru	B dhurdu	dhuru
78 moon	kakara	B kakarda	kakara
79 star	bootoo	B	budhu
80 day	buttal		badhal ?
82 night	ngo	Gu	nguwa
86 thunder	baringa	See Yandjibara 86	badinya or badi- ?
88 storm		See 89	munngubayi ?
89 rain	moogabaa	Cf. Dh 88; see 88	
90 wind	yerga	B	yadka
91 water	kummoo	B	kamu
93 ground	yamber	B 'camp, place', see also 155	yamba
94 stone	banko	B	bangku
99 fire	kourree	Probably misreading of bourree; cf. B burdi	buri
100 smoke	hatchoo		ngadyu ?
101 tame dog	moora	B	nguda
103 kangaroo	majumba	See Dh 103	madyumba
108 (o)possum	tangoor	B dhangurd	dhangur ?
112 egg	tandoo	Mayi	dharndu
113 emu	koolburra	B etc. gulbari, Wm kulbarra	kulbara ?
116 native companion (brolga)	toogoonoo		dhukunu ?
117 pelican	tarra	Kn, Mg dharta	dhara
119 wood duck	malla boonga		malabunga ?
120 black duck	yalla murra	Gu	yalamaRa
122 crow	worgan	Mg, Gn	wakarn
125 white cockatoo	teekaree	B	dhikadi
127 snake	cabbool	B etc. 'carpet snake'	kabul (prob. 'carpet snake')
137 fish	narbunnee		
141 crayfish		See 142	bukili ?
142 lobster	boligar	Cf. B etc. bukili 'crayfish', 141	
145 mosquito	boonyee	Yandjibara	bunyi
147 wood	toola	Gu, Biri 'tree'	dhula
154 grass	yaako	Gu, Yirandhali, Gugu-Badhun, Warungu	yaku
155 camp	yamber	B; same as ground, 93	yamba
156 war-spear	koolyar		kulya ?
158 boomerang		See 159	wangala
159 throwing stick	wonala	B etc. wangal	

		'boomerang', 158	
160 shield	toombooroo	Kn thumpurru	dhumbudu
161 tomahawk	ballune	Mg, Gn	baluny
168 food	cuppar	See 176, but cf. also B kaba 'honey'	
169 meat		See 195	yuri
172 good	mickan	B	mikany
173 bad	angaburree	Cf. B wandyu, and the suffix -badi added to some descriptive terms	wandyubadi ?
176 hungry	cubbar	See 168 and cf. Dh 176	kabar
180 heat	yakal	B etc. yakal 'cold', 181	
181 cold	mittara	B midhard 'frost, ice' and see 180	yakal ? midhara 'frost'
182 big	bunya	Gn	banya
183 little	kio	B karu, rarely kayu	kayu
184 one	wongara	B	wangkara
185 two	booladie	Gn (B bulardu)	bulardi
186 three	koorbaddie, courbaladie	Mg gudbara 'a few', Gu, Mayi kurrpara 'three'	kudbardi ?
187 four	booladie-booladie	See 185	bulardi bulardi
188 plenty	mooraa	Cf. Yandjibara 188	muRa
189 walk	waagilgo	B	wadya-
190 come on	oakoo	B	wuku 'hither'
194 sit	bundelgo	B	binda-
195 eat	yooree	B yurdi 'meat', 169; see 196	yuka-
196 drink	youkalgo	B 'eat, drink', see 195	yuka-
197 sleep	ookar	B 'asleep'	wuka 'asleep'
198 dead	goondilla	Mg, Gn gundhi- 'to die'	kundhi- 'to die'
199 see	nukalgo	B	nhaka-
203 today	nilyar	B	nhiyila ?
205 tomorrow	burran		baRan ?
206 yes	wathee		wadhi
207 no	kurra	B karda	kara
209 I	ngia	B	ngaya
210 you	inda	B	yinda

## APPENDIX 4.1

From 'Aboriginal Place Names with their Meanings' : Blackhall [sic] District.

It is not clear whether the Aboriginal name given in the first column is the equivalent of the English name given in the second column or just a name for some geographical feature on that property or in the general area. The latter seems much more likely.

The area covered by these names seems to be partly – perhaps mostly – Yandjibara country, partly Dharawala and partly Wadjabangayi. Localities to the west, south-west and north-west of Blackall, as well as Blackall itself, are probably Yandjibara; this includes Terrick Terrick, Malvern Hills, Avington and Bloomfield, as well as La Plata and Duneira<sup>1</sup>, which are very close to Blackall on the south-east. Localities to the north and north-east could be Wadjabangayi; these are Alice Downs, Evora and Maryvale and perhaps Skeleton Creek. Localities to the south, south-east and east may be Dharawala; these are Ravensbourne, Listowel, Northampton Downs and perhaps Lorne. Barcoo River and Boree Creek could be either Yandjibara or Dharawala. Four words are apparently not place names; these are the tree names, and three of them seem to be tentatively identifiable as Yandjibara because of their phonetic nature – loss of initial /k/ in one case and presence of /rd/ rather than /r/ in the other two. The only other words that could perhaps be added to the vocabulary lists are Yb *budha* 'ashes' and Dh *bidyu*- 'to throw'.

Name	English	Contributor's comments	Notes
Dungarun	Blackhall	Plenty of opossum there at one time	<i>dhanguru</i> 'possum', 108
Winalin	Terrick Terrick	A fighting ground	
Wyelba	Malvern Hills	A meeting place	
Beechal	Listowel	The place where a blackfellow was speared	B <i>bidyula</i> 'throw-past' (perhaps Dh)
Bools also Butha	Avington	Big waterhole; the place where the blacks first saw the big comet	Bools may be misreading of Buda; cf. <i>budhu</i> 'star', 79
Boothong	Lorne	An old camp, containing a quantity of ashes from fires	B <i>budha</i> 'ashes' (perhaps Yb)
Boodey	Boree Creek	A battlefield	
Antun	Ravensbourne	A burying place	
Autun	Northampton Downs	A fishing place	
Moora	Alice Downs	Plenty of dingos	<i>nguda</i> 'dog', 101
Urnosa	Evora	A battle ground between the Aramac and Barcaldine and the Blackall blacks	
Mongulla		The desert country	B <i>mangkala</i> 'sandhill'

<sup>1</sup>I am grateful to The Queensland Place Names Board for locating La Plata, Duneira and Skeleton Creek for me. The name “Duneiva” given in *Science of Man* is not in their records, and no doubt Duneira is intended.

Name	English	Contributor's comments	Notes
Ichemen	Maryvale	The place where water wag-tails are numerous	
Barcoo	Barcoo River	Ice on the water in cold weather	
Bootha	Bloomfield	White	B <i>budhabudha</i> (from <i>budha</i> ‘ashes’)
Oburda		Gidya tree	B <i>kuburdu</i> (presumably Yb – note deletion of initial g)
Burcum		Myall tree	
Mullurd		Coolibah tree	B etc. <i>malard</i> ‘box tree’ (not coolibah); see Dh 151 (prob. Yb)
Wooburt		Dead-finish tree	B <i>wuburu</i> (prob. Yb)
Mlonerabe	La Plata	Painting the war shield on (or?) heelaman	
Toomburn	Duneiva	Plenty of snakes	cf. B <i>bumbara</i> ‘brown snake’ (Dh and Wb 129); also Kn, Pi <i>thumpa(r)n</i> ‘crayfish’
Barnaghita	Skeleton Creek	Scene of a great spear-throwing contest	
Wooba	4-mile garden, E of Blackall	The place for preparing the warriors for battle	cf. B <i>wuba</i> ‘flower’
Duivel	5-mile waterhole W. of Blackall	The haunt of the night-bird	Cf. B <i>dhuril</i> ‘bower bird’

#### APPENDIX 4.2

From ‘Aboriginal Place Names with their Meanings’ : Tambo.

No indication is given of how wide an area this list covers. It is probably a fair assumption, however, that it is all Dharawala country. The number of names that can be related to known Dharawala or Bidjara words is disappointingly small.

The reference to the Barcoo River as dividing country belonging to two tribes of blacks supports the boundary between Wadjalang (Dharawala) and Wadjabangayi shown on Tindale's map, which roughly follows the river.

Name	Meaning given	Notes
Mouglyway	Waterhole	Cf. B <i>-bayi</i> ‘having’
Muldara	Box tree	Dh 151

Dungun	Gum tree	Dh 150
Dinden gunilla bagger	Trees struck by lightning	See Dh 85, 86, 201; Dinden may be <i>dhindungku</i> 'lightning-erg.', with the last syllable perhaps elided or not heard because of the similar syllable following
Barkavilla	Tambo country, because it is plains	cf. Dh <i>baka</i> 'tree'
Gumbanaway	Tambo station, because it has a big waterhole	cf. B <i>-bayi</i> 'having'
Motheraway	Waterhole near black camp, because snakes go into the water	cf. B madhangada 'death adder', <i>-bayi</i> 'having'
Goryaway	A waterhole about a mile from blacks' camp, because there is fish in the waterhole	See Dh 137
Broolbilly	A creek in police paddock, because they used to get grass there	Fourth letter of name not clear
Derauga	A scrub near Police Paddock because they...	A line or more has been omitted
Mooka	Plenty ducks and wild dogs	
Billebbilla	Plenty of wallaroos	cf. B <i>birabira</i> 'young kangaroo or wallaby'
Coolgubberinya	Frogs in the ground	
Mootiferacurna	Plenty of emus	
Moreabulla	A big cave	
Mutchabilka	Iguanas in water	
Miththee	Snakes numerous	
Matchumba	Killing kangaroos	cf. Dh (also Yi) 103
Purrilla	A lagoon	
Coorcurna	Plenty of fish	cf. Dh 137
Coberrie	Big mob of ducks	cf. Dh 120
Wappila	Place with a cave	cf. B <i>wubin</i> 'cave'
Mundaburrie	Hut erected by blacks	
Toomburra	Scrubby with small hills	
Weea	A spring	cf. Kg, Kd " <i>weeya</i> " 'I don't know'
Mullba	Water with snakes in	
Meenya	Water containing mussels	cf. Gu etc. <i>minha</i> or <i>minya</i> 'meat'
Thulley	Crows walking	

Name	Meaning given	Notes
PillaPilla	Stoney country	
Coolabooka	Where wild potatoes grow	
Cooarrew	Grubs in the water	See Dh 143; crabs has been misheard
Wandeleenya	Where two creeks join	
Tinnerraburree	Blackfellow's track	See Dh 70, 71
Oolambulla	Plenty grasshopper	
Be-elburroo	Emu apple tree	
Moondah	Carpet snake	See Dh 127-8
Talumdilly	Hurke emu apple tree	Hurke must be a misreading of something
Omo	Batchery country, belong to blacks shot	Batchery may be Bidjara; Badjidi country is much further away
Barcoo	Berya river, dividing country belonging to two tribes of blacks	Berya must be a misreading (of big?, large?); see also Barcoo in Appendix 4.1.
Walhalla	sandy ground	
Busthimia	A sandy patch of country on the desert	
Casino	Water	See Dh 91; obviously a misreading of Camo or Cammo
Yacca	Wind	See Dh 90
Munglo	Thunder	See Dh 86
Muttangra	Lightning	See Dh 85
Wejah	Wallaby	See Dh 104
Nargoo	Kangaroo	See Dh 103
Itchoora	Spring	
Tenburra	Mountain	
Yambuna	Big Hill	
Wiwondella	Big Hill	
Anayama	Waterhole	
Ambo	Waterhole	
Lubra Creek	Black gin	The word <i>lubra</i> comes from a NSW lg

#### ADDITIONAL PLACE NAMES

Curr gives the Aboriginal name of the Barcoo River in 'this part of its course', i.e. the part covered by the five lists numbered 155, as Mekkardi. (The word *mukadi* means 'hailstone' in Bidjara.)

A list of place names from Stonehenge in *Science of Man* 8 (no.1) : 14 includes Balvaway ‘A paddock near Tambo, because there are black stones there’, and also Coobungo ‘Greendale station, because there are dead trees’ (cf. B *guburu* ‘stump’). The wording of these glosses (as well as the locality – Greendale is not far west of Tambo) makes it seem that these two words really belong to the above Tambo list.



## CHAPTER 5

## GUWA

Barry J. Blake and Gavan Breen

## 5.1 TERRITORY AND SOURCES

Guwa (/kuwa/) is an extinct language of Western Queensland and known to us only through word lists in Curr (1886-87), Roth (1897) and *Science of Man*, and from a list notated by Tindale in 1938. The word *kuwa* appears in a number of Queensland languages (e.g. Gugu-Badhun, Ngawun) meaning ‘west’ and since language/tribe names are sometimes derived from words for directions, we can take it that Guwa probably means ‘west’.

According to Tindale (1974:175) the territory of the Koa (as he spelt it) comprised the ‘Headwaters of the Diamantina north to Kynuna and Hamilton Creek divide; west to Middleton Creek; east to Winton and Sesbania; south almost to Cork’. The existence of what is clearly a Guwa wordlist from Opalton (although there are only very few items in it comparable with well-established Guwa words, there are seven clear correspondences, four other words corresponding to items from one other source, and only a couple of doubtful discrepancies) casts doubt on Tindale's southern boundary, however. Opalton is some distance south of Cork and lies well within the territory that Tindale gives as “Malintji” (in his 1974 book; it is not mentioned in his 1940 paper). This is based on a name given by Mathews (1900, 1905) as “Mullinchi”; there seems to be virtually no justification for locating it where Tindale does. Tindale gives Goamalku (also spelt Goamulgo) as an alternative name for Koa, and Goa as an alternative spelling. He states: ‘There are dialect differences east and west’.

Sources (numbers 1 to 9 are according to the columns in the vocabulary – 5.5) are:

1. List 139 – ‘Head of Diamantina’ submitted by Montagu Curr (1886) to E.M. Curr *The Australian Race* (1886-87).
2. List 140 – ‘Diamantina River, Middleton Creek – The Goa Tribe’ submitted by Edward Curr (1887) to E.M. Curr (1886-87).
3. List 141 – ‘Western River’ submitted by John Haines (1887) – at the request of Sir Samuel Wilson – to E.M. Curr (1886-87).
4. Comparative tables in Roth (1897:44-55, 60).
5. (a) A list for “The Coah or Coa tribal dialect near Kynuna, Queensland” appearing in a comparative table in *Australasian Anthropological Journal* (1897), reprinted, with the exception of a few words and with one small difference in the spelling of a word, in *Science of Man* (1912).

(b) A list of words and place names from the “Opallon” (i.e. Opalton) district in *Science of Man* (1906, 8/1:14-16), supplied by J.S. Dutton. This has been included as Appendix 5.2, but the ‘words’ have also been included in the same column as Coa in the vocabulary, marked ‘O’.

6. A ‘Goa’ list in a comparative table in *Science of Man* (1899, 2/9). The list was supplied by E.C. Lamb who also supplied the list of Goa and Myalli (Mayawali) place names in the 1904, 7/2 issue. The latter list is practically useless and it has not been included in our comparative table. However, since one of our objects is to collate all Guwa materials to facilitate future reference, we have included this list as Appendix 5.1.

7. (a) The “Goa” entries in a comparative table in *Science of Man*, 3/12, supplied by H.S. Dutton (1901), the Chief Secretary, Brisbane.

(b) A “Goa” list in *Science of Man* 9/1:11, supplied by the Hon. J.C. Dutton (1907), Under-Secretary, Brisbane. This list is apparently another copy of the preceding one, differing only in the interpretation of the handwriting of the original (cf. “*rungu*” and “*rungee*” ‘moon’), and possibly in one or two misprints. These two sources have been combined in our table and where there are variants we have included both e.g. “*wagi, waga*” for ‘lake’. The column is headed ‘Dutton’.

8. (a) A short list (16 items) appearing under the heading ‘Diamantina District, Language of the Goore Tribe’ in *Science of Man* (March 1, 1906, 8/1:15).

(b) A short list (52 items) appearing under the heading ‘Kynuna’ in *Science of Man* (March 1, 1906, 8/1:16). These lists have been combined in our table; “Goore” items are labelled ‘G’.

9. An unpublished list notated by N.B. Tindale (1938).

10. A recording of Kalkatungu vocabulary made at Palm Island in 1970 by Blake. The informant was Mrs Louie Hunter. She gave as Kalkatungu a number of words not otherwise attested for the language, but attested for Guwa (as well as a few Wunumara and Mayi-Thakurti words). These are referred to in the notes but not included in the vocabulary lists.

Of the old sources, Roth is the most reliable partly because he was experienced and partly because he broke words up into syllables and used diacritics. Roth indicated stress, shown in the source by italics, here by underlining. Tindale's 1938 list is, of course, far superior to any of the earlier sources.

## 5.2 PHONOLOGY

From what we know of the phoneme inventories of other languages in the area (see map 5 in Dixon 1980:141), we would expect Guwa to have had stops and nasals at the six common points of articulation for Australian languages, at least one and up to four laterals, a tap and/or trill, the three common glides and three vowels. In general, the evidence seems to confirm this; only the tap/trill situation is completely unclear. It is possible, in view of the absence of evidence for intervocalic /t/, that the alveolar stop and tap were in complementary distribution, as they are in Bidjara, Margany, Gunya, Wangkumara, Yandruwandha and probably other languages of south-west Queensland. Most of these languages also have a trill and most of them have an opposition between voiced and voiceless stops (and in these the complementary distribution is with the voiced stop). The exception in both cases is Bidjara. There is some doubt that all four of the possible laterals existed. A suggested phoneme inventory is shown in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1  
GUWA PHONEMES

	Peripheral		Apical		Laminal		Other
	Labial	Velar	Alveolar	Retroflex	Dental	Palatal	
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ty</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	
Lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>(rl?)</i>	<i>(lh?)</i>	<i>ly</i>	
Tap or Trill			<i>rr</i>				
Glide		<i>w</i>		<i>r</i>		<i>y</i>	
Vowel		<i>u</i>				<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>

### 5.2.1 STOPS

All the stops can be expected to have occurred word initially, except that there is likely to have been a neutralisation of the distinction between the two apicals in that position. The apical is likely to have been of low frequency and we cannot confirm it in this position, but Tindale's initial *d* in 'dardo'ana is likely to reflect an initial apical as opposed to a lamino-dental, since initial apical stops often sound more voiced than initial lamino-dentals.

	initial		intervocalic	
<i>p</i>	<i>panya</i>	woman	<i>kupa</i>	father
<i>t</i>	<i>tartuwana</i>	rainbow	?	
<i>rt</i>			<i>ngurtu</i>	testicles
<i>th</i>	<i>thili</i>	eyes	<i>withu</i>	white man
<i>ty</i>	<i>tyirruwali</i>	flock pigeon	<i>wityala</i>	bandicoot
<i>k</i>	<i>katha</i>	head	<i>yuku</i>	star

### 5.2.2 NASALS

The distribution of the nasals is likely to have matched that of the stops. As it happens we cannot confirm an initial apical nasal. Early recorders could not normally distinguish initial apical nasals or laterals from their lamino-dental counterparts. The initial /nh/ in *nhimuna* is suggested both by cognates in other languages and the spelling “*ngimunna*” in Curr 139 which, bearing in mind Roth's spelling “*ni-moo-na*”, suggests an initial nasal which Curr heard as different from English /n/ (see item 143). Velar and palatal are not likely because Roth probably would have heard them.

	initial		intervocalic	
<i>m</i>	<i>manga</i>	ear	<i>mikamu</i>	dog
<i>n</i>	?		<i>thina</i>	foot
<i>rn</i>	?		<i>malpurnu</i>	wind
<i>nh</i>	<i>nhimuna</i>	fly	<i>minha</i>	meat
<i>ny</i>	<i>nyungalka</i>	smoke	<i>manyu</i>	good
<i>ng</i>	<i>ngathina</i>	brother-in-law	<i>yanga</i>	mother

### 5.2.3 LATERALS

All laterals would have occurred intervocalically and in clusters. An apical/laminal opposition seems to be confirmed in this position, but for a dental/palatal opposition we have to rely on two possible variants of one word. Tindale recorded “*wiljara*” for ‘tomahawk’ (183). This, together with *n(h)ayuwulya* ‘little’ (192), seems to confirm /ly/. Curr 140 records “*willara*” for ‘tomahawk’ and Tindale (1938-39) gives “*wil:ara*” for ‘stone axe’ in Gunggari (which has only one lateral phoneme, basically alveolar). Blake recorded Mrs Louie Hunter as giving *wilara* where the /l/ is certainly not palatal. It is hard to tell whether it is lamino-dental or apical, but one possibility is that it is the former and is a dialect cognate of *wilyaRa*. There is no internal evidence for the apical/retroflex opposition, although we have phonemicised a couple of words with /rl/ or /(r)l/. No initial laterals have been established. Initial laterals are usually of very low frequency in Australian languages.

	initial		intervocalic
<i>l</i>	?	<i>mala</i>	arm
<i>rl</i>	?	?	
<i>lh</i>	?	<i>wilhaRa</i>	tomahawk
<i>ly</i>	?	<i>wilyaRa</i>	tomahawk
		<i>n(h)ayuwulya</i>	little

### 5.2.4 RHOTICS

The rhotics are a problem. We have assumed that Guwa has a tap /rr/ and a retroflex glide /r/. It is possible that it also had a trill like Pitta-Pitta, but we have no way of determining this. One cannot distinguish one type of rhotic from another in old sources. Our method has been to write *rr* where neighbouring languages have a tap or trill in the same root, whether borrowed or cognate, and *r* where neighbouring languages have a retroflex glide. We have assumed also that a preconsonantal rhotic was a tap. In the majority of instances we are uncertain which rhotic is present and so in these cases we write *R*.

/rr/ and /r/ probably occurred intervocalically. In the few words recorded from Louie Hunter, intervocalic /rr/ occurs but not /r/. Initially /r/ probably occurred, but is likely to have been rare.

	initial		intervocalic
<i>rr</i>	?	<i>kurrihala</i>	eaglehawk
<i>r</i>	<i>rirra</i>	<i>mara</i>	hand
	teeth		

### 5.2.5 GLIDES

/w/ and /y/ occurred initially and intervocalically. On the basis of other languages in the area it is likely that there was no opposition between /i/ and /yi/ initially, nor between /u/ and /wu/. The presence or absence of a glide is not likely to have been contrastive in the sequences *a(y)i*, *a(w)u*, *i(y)a*, *u(w)a*, *u(w)i* and *i(y)u*, so we have regularised these with the glide.

initial	intervocalic
---------	--------------

w	wakarna	crow	piwi	lips
y	yanga	mother	kaya	father's sister

/r/ is of course a glide, but it is convenient to consider it along with /rr/ under the label **rhotic**, since the two are confused in the old notations.

### 5.2.6 VOWELS

It seems that the usual three vowel system operated in Guwa. There is ample evidence for /i/, /u/ and /a/ and no evidence for any other vowel.

### 5.2.7 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Using cognates or borrowings in other languages to interpret the lists, we can confirm that expected homorganic clusters of nasal-stop and lateral-stop occurred intervocalically. We have simplified the clusters as in the orthography (see Sources and conventions).

<i>mp</i>	<i>thampu</i>	breast
<i>nt</i>	<i>kuntara</i>	snake
<i>rnt</i>	<i>warnti</i>	penis, thunder
<i>nth</i>	<i>wintha</i>	dark
<i>nty</i>	<i>puntyu</i>	body hair
<i>ngk</i>	<i>pungkinya</i>	mosquito
<i>lt</i>	<i>yiltaRa</i>	sheep
<i>rlt</i>	?	
<i>lth</i>	<i>kulthurru</i>	broilga
<i>lty</i>	<i>ngaltyi</i>	moon

Heterorganic clusters of apical nasal, apical lateral or /rr/ plus a peripheral stop or nasal seem to have occurred. There is evidence also for clusters of /rr/ plus laminal stop and of apical nasal plus peripheral nasal.

<i>np</i>	<i>panpa</i>	blanket	<i>rnp</i>	?
<i>nk</i>	<i>nganka</i>	beard	<i>rnk</i>	?
<i>lp</i>	<i>yalpa</i>	give up	<i>rlp</i>	?
<i>lk</i>	<i>nyungalka</i>	smoke	<i>rlk</i>	<i>ngarlka</i> cheek
<i>rrp</i>	<i>mukarrpa</i>	cloud		
<i>rrk</i>	<i>ngarrkuna</i>	wallaroo		
<i>rrty</i>	<i>murrtya</i>	spear		
<i>rrth</i>	<i>ngurrtha</i>	eat/drink		
<i>nm</i>	<i>punmaRa</i>	calf (of leg)	<i>rnm</i>	?
<i>nng</i>	?		<i>rng</i>	?

### 5.2.8 WORD SHAPE

Words seem to have had a lower limit of two syllables. They probably all ended in a vowel and they probably all began with a consonant. Tindale recorded some final consonants but we suspect,

on the basis of our experience of other languages in the area, that he may have heard consonant-final phonetic variants of vowel-final stems. For example, Pitta-Pitta has only vowel-final stems but one informant, Linda Craigie, sometimes omitted a final vowel, pronouncing, for instance, *panya* (a word that occurs in Guwa, see item 2) as [panʏ]. Dutton has recorded *junie* which suggests a variant *yanay* of a probable *yanaya* ‘walk’ (210) and *nukie* ‘see’ which suggests *nhakay* where Lamb recorded *nukiah*, presumably *nhakaya*. Guwa has a number of vowel-final words cognate with consonant-final words in neighbouring languages – some examples are *thalanya* ‘tongue’, *thangaru* ‘possum’, *wakarna* ‘crow’, *nhimuna* ‘fly’, *ngamanya* ‘bread’ – and this strongly suggests that a final consonant was not permitted.

### 5.3 MORPHOLOGY

#### 5.3.1 NOUN INFLECTION

Guwa nouns presumably inflected for case. The expression given for ‘release’ (235) looks as if it is *mara-ngku wana-ya* where *mara* is ‘hand’ and *-ngku* probably an allomorph of the instrumental. A probable locative allomorph *-ngka* can be discerned in *kaRa-ngka* ‘tomorrow’ (239) and *thuru-ngka* (77) given as ‘day’ but likely to be an inflected form of *thuru* ‘sun’. Along with *thuru-ngka* there is a form *thuru-ngka-Ru*. The meaning of *-Ru* is unknown. A form *thuRa-ku* or *thuRu-ku* is given for ‘comet’ (72). This may contain a dative allomorph, *-ku* being a dative form in many Australian languages.

Other possible noun suffixes are found in:

73	<i>ngaltyi-:n</i>	moon
74	<i>yuku-nung</i>	star
203	<i>mara-pithu-Ru</i>	five (cf. 77 <i>thuRu-ngka-Ru</i> )
185	<i>kantukantu-la</i>	pannikin (a locative allomorph?)
141	<i>thuka-pa</i>	mussel
Appendix 5.1	<i>thuka-muRa</i>	(“Torcomorra” related to ‘mussel’; may be Mayawali)
105	<i>kuntyu-paRi</i> or <i>kantyu-paRi</i>	rat
Appendix 5.1	<i>kuntyu-muRa</i>	(“Canjamoora” related to ‘rat’; may be Mayawali)
10	<i>mangana-ngi</i>	sorcerer (‘having’ suffix)

This last form is presumably a calque of the widespread pattern ‘deathbone-having’ used for tribal doctor. The stem also occurs in other languages meaning ‘deathbone, bone used in “pointing the bone”’:

Kalkatungu	<i>mangarn-aan</i>	deathbone-having
Pitta-Pitta	<i>mangarni-marru</i>	deathbone-having
Yalarnnga	<i>mangani-rri</i>	deathbone-having
Mayi-Thakurti	<i>manga(r)ni-puna</i>	deathbone-having

## 5.3.2 PRONOUNS

Data on pronouns are:

	<b>Dutton 1901</b>	<b>Dutton 1907</b>	<b>Coa/Kynuna</b>	<b>Others</b>
I	<i>guyah</i>	<i>gnyah</i>		<i>wito</i> (Curr 141) <i>unja</i> (Lamb)
my	<i>gnitu</i>	<i>gnitu</i>	<i>ngiya</i>	
mine	<i>gnitu</i>	<i>gnitu</i>	<i>ngichu</i>	
thou	<i>yanunah</i>	<i>yanunah</i>	<i>intu</i> ‘you’	<i>yena</i> ‘you’ (Curr 141)
thine	<i>thanunah</i>	<i>thanunah</i>		
thee	<i>yanu</i>	<i>yanee</i>		
he	<i>wattly</i>	<i>wattly</i>		
his	<i>watty</i>	<i>watty</i>	<i>watthee</i>	
him	<i>watty</i>	<i>watty</i>	<i>eeyah</i>	
she	<i>wattby</i>	<i>wattly</i>		
her	<i>warrurah</i>	<i>warrurah</i>	<i>yunnee</i>	
hers (two)	<i>warrurah</i>	<i>warrurah</i>		
it		<i>wattly</i>		
we (two)	<i>gnuly</i>	<i>gnuly</i>		
us (two)	<i>lulingo</i>	<i>lulingo</i>		
our (two)	<i>woorah</i>	<i>woorah</i>		
we	<i>gnully</i>	<i>gnuly</i>	<i>ngihlee</i>	<i>udgoo</i> (Lamb)
our	<i>gnungangoo</i>	<i>gnungangoo</i>	<i>wuntoogeene</i>	
us	<i>gnuna</i>	<i>gnuna</i>		
you, your	<i>wyah</i>	<i>wyah</i>		
you (two)	<i>gnuly</i>	<i>gnuly</i>	<i>yoonoowathina</i>	
they (two)	<i>yanu</i>	<i>yanee</i>	<i>goonee</i>	
they	<i>yanu</i>	<i>yanee</i>		
their, them	<i>woorah</i>	<i>woorah</i>		
these	<i>worrah</i>	<i>woorah</i>		
these (two)	<i>yenniburrah</i>	<i>jenniburrah</i>		
those (two)	<i>boolango</i>	<i>boolango</i>		<i>odgoo</i> (Lamb)
this	<i>yiny</i>	<i>ziney</i>		
that	<i>gnongu</i>	<i>gnongee</i>	<i>thinnee</i>	
those	<i>boolango</i>	<i>boolango</i>	<i>wuntongo</i>	

A tentative pronoun paradigm based on this material is shown in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2  
GUWA PRONOUNS

		nominative	accusative	genitive
singular	1	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>nganha</i>	<i>ngatyu</i>
	2	<i>yintu</i>	<i>yina</i>	<i>yunu</i>
	3	<i>wathi</i>	<i>wathin(h)a</i>	
dual	1	<i>ngali</i>		<i>ngalingu</i>
	2			
	3	<i>pula</i>		<i>pulangu</i>
plural	1	<i>ngana</i>		<i>nganangu</i>
	2	<i>yurra</i>		
	3	<i>yanu</i>	<i>yanun(h)a</i>	

The source material is very inconsistent and full of contradictions, and is impossible to interpret with any semblance of confidence. The above table is therefore quite speculative.

The form *ngaya* is entirely to be expected. Pronouns in Pama-Nyungan languages usually have an accusative form and sometimes an ergative. The spelling “*wito*” suggests *ngathu* which is a regional ergative form, but it could also just as well be *ngatyu*. Lamb's “*unja*” suggests Pitta-Pitta *ngantya* but could also possibly be the common accusative form *nganha* (absolute in Kungkari), and the spellings “*gnitu*” and “*ngichu*” for ‘my’ and ‘mine’ suggest *ngatyu*. (So do “*udgoo*” and “*odgoo*”, which are given with quite different meanings.) The forms *ngaya* ‘I’, *nganha* ‘me’ and *ngatyu* ‘my’ are common in Mari languages and since the first and third of these are fairly well established it seems probable that Guwa pronouns follow a similar system to Mari.

Forms such as “*yanu*” and “*yanee*” do not match any known form for second person singular and are given also for third person dual and plural. However, “*intu*” suggests a form *yintu* which resembles ergative second person singular in many parts of Australia but suggests a nominative in this part (where Mari languages have nominative *inda* and Mayi languages have *yuntu*). “*yena*” suggests the common second person singular accusative form *yina* (absolute in Kungkari). The form “*yoonoowathina*”, given as ‘you (two)’, could combine *yunu* ‘your’ (as in Bidjara) with *wathi* (see next paragraph), with perhaps an accusative suffix *-n(h)a*.

Some Australian languages have zero for third person singular, but have demonstratives that can function as a third singular; *wathi* may be such a form. Cognates are hard to find, but there is *warti* in Ngawun and Mayi-Kulan. The spellings with *l* and *b* in the last syllable probably result from misreading of *h*.

The first dual *ngali* is almost ubiquitous among Pama-Nyungan languages and *-ngu* is common as a genitive or dative marker.

The next two forms on the list, *pula* third person dual (inferred from Dutton's “*boolango*” ‘those (two)’ and *ngana* first plural, are the expected forms. The expected second plural is *yurra* and this seems to have been elicited by Dutton for ‘two’ (see item 200); it contrasts with *wurra*, which seems more likely to be the numeral, and which is given with various other meanings by Dutton in the above list of sources.



The expected third plural is *thana*. The nearest to this in the sources is Dutton's "*thanunah*" 'thine' and "*thinnee*" 'that' in the Coa/Kynuna list. The most likely form, however, seems to be *yanu* (which is found in Warluwarra). The two Dutton lists differ in the interpretation of the handwriting, a digraph *ee* in the 1907 list corresponding to *u* in the 1901 list. Note, for instance, "*rungu*" 'moon' in 1901 and "*rungee*" in 1907 for what is (from the evidence of several other sources) *rangi*. Such errors are not uncommon. In this case, however, it may be that the error is in the other direction; the form "*yanunah*" in both Dutton lists suggest that *yanu* may be correct. The suggested accusative *yanun(h)a* is given despite Dutton's gloss 'thou'.

*Yini* seems a likely form for the demonstrative 'this' (as it is in Margany), but note that it is the second person singular nominative pronoun in Karna languages (and Kalkatungu has *nyini*). "*Jenniburrah*" and "*yenniburrah*" are the same form with a suffix *-paRa*, which may be dual or plural. *Ngungu* is probably 'that', as in Bidjara.

The meaning of other forms in the pronoun list such as *wara* and *waya* is not clear. The word for 'who' in some Queensland languages is *warra* or *wara*. In Yalarnnga *waya* is a demonstrative meaning 'that'.

### 5.3.3 VERB INFLECTION

The following formations can be segmented:

- ya*     *yana-ya* (go away 212), *yana-y* (walk 210), *wara-ya* (run 211), *thuwa-ya* (feel 224), *nhaka-ya* (see 225), *yimpa-ya*, *yimpa-ya-nga* (hear 226), *ngathi-ya* (speak 229), *matyima-ya* (make 230), *muka-ya* (take 232), *ngathakama-ya* (hold 233, retain 234), *wana-ya* (release 235), *yalpa-ya* (give up 236), *wuka-ya* (give 231).  
(Perhaps also "*workutindyer*" (bad 190) has *-ya*.)
- nga*     *yana-nga* (walk 210), *wara-nga* (run 211), *wangka-nga* (sit 214), *wuna-nga* (sleep 219), *thili-ngaRi-nga*, *puyu-ngaRi-ng(a)* (both die 223), *kanta-nga* (go away 212), *ngalkuRi-nga* (be hot 194), *thukaRu-nga* (burn 216), *mirili-nga* (shine 218), *paRama-nga* (feel 224), *ngurrtha-nga* (eat/drink 220, 221), *thakayi(?)*-*nga* (drink 221), *matyima-nga* (make 230), *wuka-nga* (give 231), *thangki-nga* (fall (of rain) 85), *yimpa-ya-nga* (hear 226).
- ni*     *uku-yana-ni* (come here 213)
- nya*     *uku-yana-nya* (come here 213), *wara-nya* (run 211)
- la*     *nhaka-la* (see 225), *wangka(?)*-*la* (know (?) 228), *panti-la* (carve (?), after 244)
- l*     *nganthi-l* (speak 229)

There is no clear indication of the meaning of any of these suffixes. *-nga* occurs with some verbs that are likely to have been elicited in the present tense or continuous aspect ('sit, sleep, die, be hot, burn, shine, fall (of rain)') and is reminiscent of the stative suffix *-nga* in Gunya. Bidjara has a stative *-langa*, *-nga* being future.

The suffix *-la* marks past tense in some Mari languages. Pitta-Pitta, and perhaps Yanda, has a present tense suffix *-ya*. The form *-nya* occurs with *wara-* and *yana-* for 'come here' ('run here' and 'come here' presumably). It may be a hither suffix, although this would be redundant in *wuku yana-nya* and similar forms if *wuku* has the meaning 'hither' as in Mari languages.

#### 5.3.4 VERB DERIVATION

The two terms for ‘die’ (223) could be construed as follows on the basis of formations such as Kalkatungu *milthithati* and Yalarnnga *miliya* ‘to be born’ (lit. ‘eye-become’).

<i>thili-nga-rrri</i>	eye (24)-lacking-become
<i>puyu-nga-rrri</i>	breath/chest (46)-lacking-become

Bidjara has an inchoative *-da*, Yirandhali a reciprocal *-Ri*, and *-rrri* also occurs as an inchoative in more distant languages such as Warluwarra.

Very many Australian languages have a verbal suffix or auxiliary stem *ma*. It has a variety of functions including causative and it is found with this function in the Mari languages. A first order suffix *-ma-* seems to be present in the following:

<i>paRa-ma-nga</i>	feel (224)
<i>matyi-ma-ya</i>	make (230)
<i>ngathaka-ma-ya</i>	hold (233), retain (234)

#### 5.4 DIALECT DIFFERENCES

As noted above, Tindale states that there are dialect differences between eastern and western Guwa. He gives no details, so an attempt was made to find regional differences in the available data (scanty though it is). It is worth noting, firstly, that if we compare the various lists with the overall Guwa vocabulary, we find that the two that we would expect to be most reliable, Tindale and Roth, both show a 97% correspondence. Other figures (excluding those where there are only a dozen or so words that can be compared) are (using the labels of the vocabulary tables) Coa/Kynuna 96, Dutton 91, Curr 141 89, Curr 140 86, Kynuna 83, Lamb 78 and Curr 139 75.

Some particular locality within the Guwa area is specified for six of the sources. Curr 139 is in the far west, Coa/Kynuna and Kynuna in the north, Curr 140 in the south, Opallon far south and Curr 141 east. A list of thirteen items in which there are clear differences in different groups of sources was made up; see Table 5.3. There are two alternatives in each case. For each item, the form occurring in Curr 139 was labelled + and the other -. These were tabulated to show the difference between the four regional varieties. The lefthand word in each row is the + word.

As it happens, the Kynuna and Opallon lists make no contribution to the table.

TABLE 5.3  
COMPARISON OF REGIONAL VARIETIES

		west	north	south	east
<i>muwuparri / kayarra</i>	old man	+		-	-
<i>nganka / ngathanya</i>	beard	+	-	+	-
<i>thampu / ngamina</i>	breast	+		-	+
<i>purru / matya</i>	stomach	+		-	-
<i>kuwaRu / ngurrki</i>	blood	+		-	-
<i>rangi / ngaltyi</i>	moon	+	-	+	+
<i>wintha / nguwa</i>	night	+	-	+	
<i>kungku / parri</i>	stone	+	+	-	+
<i>thangaru / mangaRa</i>	possum	+		+	-
<i>parampara / wilh(ly)ara</i>	axe	+		-	-
<i>wangka / kuRunyu</i>	one	+	-	-	-
<i>pularV / wurra</i>	two	+	-	-	-
<i>pangku / thunga</i>	many	+	-	-	-

This display seems impressive at first sight; however, it must be remembered that it does not include the many vocabulary items that show no sign of regional variation. Also there are one or two items that seem anomalous; *ngaltyi* ‘moon’ is found in Kungkari, to the south, but only in the northern (and unspecified) wordlists in Guwa; *thangaru* ‘possum’ is cognate with a widespread Mari word (to the east) but is in the western and southern Guwa lists, not the eastern. Nevertheless, it does seem to show some sort of division into west (which, as noted above, shows the lowest degree of correspondence with the overall Guwa list) versus others.

We are not justified in saying more than that the evidence seems to suggest that Tindale was right. The numbers are far too small and there are too many unknown factors for us to give much weight to the figures.

## 5.5 WORDLISTS AND PHONEMICISATIONS

The sources are given in full in the following tables and our attempt at phonemicisation is given at the right. The two versions of the Dutton list have been combined; where they differ both entries have been included. The Opallon list has been combined with the Coa one and the short Goore and short Kynuna lists have also been combined. Opallon words in the table are identified by the addition of O and Goore words by G.

	CURR 139	CURR 140	CURR 141	ROTH
1. man	kandoo	kanto	gundo gundo-toonga (see Plenty)	<i>kan-do</i>
2. woman	bunya	nogommora	bunya	<i>bun--ya-na</i>
3. boy				
4. girl				
5. young man	kubbenā	mabungoroo	bookeruma	
6. old man	mooburree	kaera	kyerra	
7. old woman		pandoro	pundoora	
8. children			bungonia	
9. baby		kampala	milla-milla	
10. sorcerer				
11. white man	wit-thoo	witto		
12. father		kobba	goopa	<i>koo-pa</i>
13. mother	yanga	yanga	yunga	<i>yung-a</i>
14. older brother	yabba	yabba	yuppa	<i>yup-pa</i> 'brother'
15. older sister	kurromee	kammi	karmi	<i>ka-mi</i> 'sister'
16. mother's brother				<i>kung-a</i>
17. father's sister				<i>ki-ye</i>
18. sister-in-law				<i>par-go</i>
19. brother-in-law				<i>nut-ti-na</i>
20. head	wooma	katta	kutta	<i>ka-ta</i>
21. hair (of head)	cudthaa	katta	tounya	<i>yak-ko</i>
22. forehead				<i>go</i>
23. face				
24. eyes	dthillee	telli	tilli	<i>til-li</i>
25. eyebrow				<i>berl-ga</i>
26. nose	ningo	ningoo	ningo	<i>ning-o</i>
27. ear	munga	munga	munger	<i>mung-a</i>
28. cheek				<i>url-ga</i>
29. mouth	dthawa	towa	bewi	<i>be-we</i>
30. lips				<i>be-we</i>
31. tongue	dthalango		talinya	<i>to-lun-ya</i>
32. teeth	eerra	irra	irra	<i>rir-ra</i>

33. chin					<i>ut-tun-ya</i>
34. beard	unga	nanga	nartinya		<i>ut-tun-ya</i>
35. throat					<i>tor-o-mo</i>
36. neck, nape					<i>bom-ba</i>
37. shoulder					<i>wing-ka</i>
38. arm					<i>mul-la</i>
39. elbow					<i>u-ri-chi-mo</i>
40. forearm					<i>mung-go</i>
41. wrist					
COA/KYNUNA	LAMB	DUTTON	GOORE/	TINDALE	OPALLON KYNUNA
ceoondoo	cundo	gundo	yanga	'kandæ	kantu
bunnyunna		bunyanah		'banjan	panya(n(h)a)
					n(h)ukumuRa
walburro	bungoonia	walburrah			walpara
cumbulla	cumbulla	gumballah			kampala
					kapina
					mapunguRu
					pukaRana
					kayarra
					mu(wu)parri
					pantuRu or
					pantuRa
					paNGun(a)ya
					milamila
munganungee					manganangi
			wanboo		withu, wanpu
					kupa
					yanga
					yapa
					kami, karrmi(?)
					kanga
					kayi
					pa(rr)ku
					ngathina
cultha	cutha	cutah		kaβa	katha
udoonoo	bunju (see 45)	turringya		'jur(d)unu	thurinya
					yurtunu
					kuwu
goowoo	coon	gowah			kuwu
dilly	tille	dilly		teli	thili
					pa(r)lka
ningo	ningoo	vingo		'njiŋgo	nyingku
munga	munga	yakora		'maña	manga, yakuRa

		munga		nga(r)lka
towooa	towa	towah, gowah 'ta:wa	thawa	piwi
			'talanja	thalanya
			'jira	yira, rira
ngthunya	unga	notunyah		ngathanya
				ngathanya, nganka
				thuRumu or
				thuRuna,
				manu
boombah	manoo	thuroonah		pumpa
		muno		
wingah	winga	wingah		winka
nullah	mulla	mullah		mala
				yurityimu
				mangku
mullah-girree	murrah	bigo		malatyiri or
				malakiRi, piku
42. hand	murra	murra	murra	<i>mur-ra</i>
43. fingers				<i>nun-yo-la-mur-ra</i>
44. thumb				<i>yup-po</i>
45. body hair (see 21)				
46. chest				<i>po-yo</i>
47. breast	dthambo	manginna	tumbo	<i>um-mi-na</i>
48. back				<i>tul-ko-pa-ra</i>
				<i>toon-goo</i>
49. stomach, abdomen	purra	machi	mitcha	<i>mi-cha</i>
50. navel				<i>noorn-din-ya</i>
51. side				<i>bi-bal-bi-bal-a</i>
52. penis				<i>won-di</i>
53. testicles				<i>oor-do</i>
54. vulva				<i>tim-be</i>
				<i>ber-ga</i>
55. buttocks, anus				<i>mi-ri</i>
				'buttocks'
56. bowels		munda-munda	muttura	<i>mun-da mun-da</i>
57. excrement	koonna	konna	koonna	<i>koo-na</i>
58. urine				<i>gib-ba-ra</i>
59. thigh	walalla	tarra	turra	<i>ta-ra</i>
60. knee				<i>moo-rin-di</i>
61. leg, shin				<i>mo-ko</i>

62. calf					<i>poon-ma-ra</i>
63. ankle					<i>pa-ra-ko</i>
64. foot	d'theena	tinna teena 'track of a foot'	tinna		<i>tin-na</i>
65. big toes					<i>yup-po</i>
66. little toes					<i>tin-na-nun-yo-la</i>
67. nails					<i>min-ji-li</i>
68. skin	binna	pinganya	killena		
69. bone	mogo	toa	toola		<i>tol-la</i>
70. blood	koo-ur-roo	morki	wurki		<i>gwa-ro</i>
71. fat	tammee tammi	toota	tommi		
72. sun	dthooroo	toroo	tooroo		<i>toor-ro</i>
73. moon	yoongee eungee	rangi	rungi		<i>nul-ji</i>
74. star	yoogu	yookoo	yooko		<i>u-ko</i>
75. light	kunba	karra			
76. dawn					
77. day		toorongaro			
78. dark	windtha	winta	mutchaberri		
79. night		winta	dilli-nirringa		<i>win-ta</i>
80. cloud					
COA/KYNUNA	LAMB	DUTTON	GOORE/	TINDALE	OPALLON KYNUNA
murrah, murra	murrah	murah		'mara	mara
mingley		cawillah			n(h)anyula mara, kawila yapu pentyu puyu, purrku
booyoo	urmura coura	burgo, burgoo			
		dungo			thampu, ngamina, ngamakuRa thulkuparra, thunku(parra) purru, matya n(g)u(r)ntinya pipalpipala warnti ngurtu thimpi, pirrka mirri or mithi
dthoongoburra				'buru	
				'warndi	
				'ñurdu	
				timbi	
				miçi	

				'anus'	mantamanta, mathaRa
				'kun:a	kuna kipara tharra muRinti muku punmaRa parrku, piNGu thina
thurra		turrah			
moogoo	turrah	moko			
bingoo	vutella	purakoo			
deenah	dinna	dinah dinnah		'tina	
					yapu thina n(h)anyula mintyili pinkanya thula
bingutchu	bingunna	bengunyah		'koaru	kuwaRu, ngurrki thami, thutha thuru
dthoora	durroo	ringuna turoo	turu (G), tura turaku 'comet'	'turu	
gnulchu	rungi	rungu rungee	algee	ñaltji:n	rangi, ngaltyi
ugo	ucoo	uko	yukin	'juk:anuñ	yuku
beeyah	beir	beah			piya, kaRa, kanpa
thurra	turroo	waconna buirrah	burrah		thuru wakana, puRa (?) thuru(ngka) wintha
dthooronga	turro-vittu	turoo			wintha, nguwa
oowunga	mooa	gnoah		'mokarpa	mukarrpa
81. lightning					
82. thunder	yamberri	worndi	wondi		
83. rainbow					
84. wind	mulloonoo	malboorno	mulboona		
85. rain	kamoo	kammo	kamoo		
86. water	kamoo	kammo	kamoo		ka-mo
87. flood					
88. river					pa-ra-go
89. swamp					
90. lake					



91. dam or waterhole					
92. sea					
93. ground	kinburra	yamba	yumba		
94. stone	koongoo	parri	gungoa		<i>koong-go</i>
95. hill, mountain					<i>koong-go</i>
96. red ochre					
97. fire	oola	olla	oola		<i>oo-la</i>
98. smoke	yumaroo	maiyo	yunkerga		
99. tail					
100. kangaroo	wungunna	maikumba	mutumba		<i>mung-go-rong-o</i> <i>na-goon-a</i>
101. wallaroo					
102. wallaby					
103. possum	dthangaroo	tannaroo	mungera		<i>mung-a-ra</i>
104. bandicoot					<i>we-ja-la</i>
105. rat					<i>koon-jo-pa-ri</i>
106. echidna					<i>pa-ka-un-ji</i>
107. dog, dingo	kooba	mikamo	mikum		<i>mik-ka-mo</i>
108. horse					
109. sheep					
110. bird					
111. emu		kolperi	goolburra		<i>kool-pa-ri</i>
112. brolga	bilbungata	kooltooroo	gootumba		
113. pelican	ooandgo	wolkiperri	wulkurberri		
114. black duck	mungara	yallamurra	tibia		
115. wood duck		yammoroo	goonumbi		
116. whistler duck					<i>ben-do-ra</i>
COA/KYNUNA	LAMB	DUTTON	GOORE/	TINDALE	OPALLON KYNUNA
roonkah	murra bunga	runga	ronga		rungka,
		rimga	'storm'		marapanka
					yanpirri, warnti
				'dardo'ana	tartuwana
			mullburna (G)	'mu:tpanu	malpurnu,
					murrpanu
camoo-tunginga		camo	como	'kam:u 'tañkiña	kamu (thangki-)
camoo	cummoo	cormo	camoo (G)	'kam:u	kamu
		coomo	como		
			turrageasanu		thurra-
baragoo	buracoo	burego	buracoo	'bar:ku	parrku
barracoo (O)					
coonabuggera		toolby			thulpi,
					kunapakaRa
baragoo-beealah		wagi, waga			waki, waka

	beella cummoo		bindamaru (G)		pintamaRu
			tabilla		thapila
			yamba	'jamba	yampa, kinpaRa
			coogee	'kun'gu	kun(g)ku,
			'big stone'		parri
			mudgambilla	'small stone'	
			goongoo	'njirekani	kun(g)ku,
					nyiRikani
mudtha					matha
oolah	oolla	woola	hoolah (G)	'wula	wu(r)la
			oolah		
				'njuñal'ka	yumaRu, mayu,
					nyungalka
goolga (O)					kulka
mutchumpa (O)			mudgamba	'matjumba	matyumpa,
					munkurungu
			nargoona		ngarrkuna
yargunyah (O)					yakanya
tangaroo (O)				'mañara	thangaru, mangaRa
wichello (O)					wityala
					kuntyu(paRi)
					pakangantyi
mukum (O)			migamo	'mikamu	mikamu
			yarramaur (G)		yarraman(a)
			yaraman		
			ildurra		yiltaRa
			yinyara		yinyaRa
				kulbari	kulpari
					pilpangkarra,
					kulthurru,
					kuthampa
walginburi (O)			muldemurio (G)		walkirriparrri,
					marlimarru
gooberrie (O)					mangarra, kupiri,
					yalarra, thipiya
					or tyipiya
					yamuRu, kunampi
					pinturra
117. type of duck					
118. eaglehawk					oo-lo-pa-ri
119. hawk					ka-cha-pa-ri
120. crow	wa-cun-na	wawkana	wokkerna		wa-ka-na
121. corella,		poonmenberri			koo-rel-la

white cockatoo			kurrumboola	
122. black cockatoo				
123. galah				<i>ge-lou-ro</i>
124. ground parrot				
125. plain turkey				
126. noise made by plain turkey				
127. flock pigeon				<i>je-ro-a-li</i>
128. finch				
129. egg		kotto	gootoo	
130. snake		mungoo	goonderra	<i>koon-da-ra</i>
131. brown snake				
132. carpet snake				
133. python (mountain)				
134. sand goanna				<i>pa-ri-pa-ra</i>
135. lizard				<i>wol-ka-do</i>
136. frog				<i>te-ra-pa-ji</i>
137. fish		palpi	dugera	<i>pa-ta-pa-lo</i> <i>wor-ka-ni</i>
138. yellowbelly (fish)				
139. crayfish, lobster		pirrinoo	mundi	
140. crab				
141. mussel				
142. spider				<i>ta-ma-ro</i>
143. fly	ngimunna		nimunna	<i>ni-moo-na</i>
144. mosquito		poonginyoo	boogena	<i>boong-kin-ya</i>
145. ant				<i>wa-to</i>
146. hair louse				<i>po-ko-yo</i>
147. wood, tree	oola	oroo	toola (see bone)	
148. bark	koolgooburra	koolkobar	goolkurberra	
149. gum tree				
150. coolibah				
151. gidgea				
152. lancewood				
153. boree				
154. cork tree				
155. whitewood				
156. beefwood				
157. wild plum				
158. prickly bush				
159. lignum				
COA/KYNUNA LAMB	DUTTON	GOORE/	TINDALE	OPALLON KYNUNA
		coolbam 'wild duck' (G)		kulpam(V),
		googaree 'ducks'		kukaRi

	woodaburn	'kori'tale	kurrihala, wuluparri katyaparri
	workano	'wakurna 'ka:ræm'bulæ	wakarna kuRila, punminpiRi (or -paRi), karrampula
	gerangela (G)		kaRangkala
	gelengir (G)		kilawurru, kilantyi
	oonamberrie (G)		wunampiRi (or -paRi)
murrumurro (O)		'par:ka'mu	parrkamu maRumaRu
jigiroo (O) 'small red bird'			tyirruwali tyikiru
tumbulla (O)	gondura	'koʃo	kuthu maNGu, thampala
		'kondara 'tañabari	kuntara thangaparri
ratno (O)		'paribara	paRipaRa
	wangarange		walkartu, waNGaRaNGi
	turabadgee 'big'		thiRapatyi,
	yilli 'small'		nyili palpi, takaRa, wakani
pradaboola (O)	purtabulu		partapulu
	moondi		piRinu, munti
	gonaru		kunaRu or kuwaru
	turgaba		thuka(pa) thamaru nhimuna pungkinya
maginna (O) 'ants, anthills'			wathu, matyina pukuyu
	thulla (G), tulla		thula kulkuparra
binburri (O)			pinpirri
	muckaroo		makaru
	budjera		patyarra

moolcha (O)			muraga	murrtya
ginburri (O)				tyinpaRi
purrum (O)				paRamV
wornboroo (O) 'currajong'			woomberoo	wurnpVRu
homeberoo (O)				ngumpVRu
conka-berri (O)				kangkaparri
		gogbula		
		gilengerra		
160. grass	yagoo	yakko	yakko	<i>po-ka-ra</i>
				<i>yak-ko</i>
				<i>poon-jo-lo</i>
161. cane grass				
162. river grass				
163. mistletoe				
164. spinifex				
165. yam				
166. small kind of yam				
167. camp	yamba	yamba	yamba	
168. house				
169. grave				
170. blanket				
171. shield	koonbura	yamboro	goonburra	<i>koon-pa-ra</i>
172. boomerang				<i>kool-ka</i>
173. (war-)spear	moorja	murcha	morretcha	<i>moor-i-ja</i>
174. (reed-)spear	kundwurra	kandoora		<i>kun-dor-a</i>
175. woomera	woorra		gundaworra	<i>moor-ja</i>
176. stone knife				<i>kun-kur-i</i>
177. fighting pole				<i>wa-ren-ja</i>
178. coolamon (for women)				<i>wing-a-ra</i>
179. coolamon (for men)				<i>oom-bo</i>
180. dillybag				<i>poong-go</i>
				<i>koon-ya koon-ya</i>
181. pigeon net				<i>mo-ko-a-ri</i>
182. head net				<i>yen-du-la</i>
				<i>poo-la-roo</i>
183. tomahawk	parumburra	willara	wheelera	
184. billycan				
185. pannikin				
186. food				
187. beef				
188. bread				
189. good		manyo	manu	<i>mun-yo</i>
				<i>koon-jung-i-a</i>



			ninnah (G) armanua	minha or minya ngamanya manyu, kuntyangaya warrkuthu, withimu piyala, kulkantaRa n(h)ayuwulya, n(h)anyula
munyu	gunjanier	munyu		
ooguja	bungerrungoo	woorytoo woongtoo	biella nanolu	
ohribul (O) 'round mountain'				
ngalgooringa	oola ulungi	mulgooringa		ringkana, ngalkuRi-, wulawula(ngi) wiling(k)a, milinyu, muwiRa or murirra wiNGaRa, kanula
197. thirsty			goongindunga	
198. blind				
199. one	wonga	koorbno	goorinyer	koo-ron-yo
200. two	poolaroo phiddee	orra	oro	oo-ra
201. three	koorburra	koorborra	goolpurra	oo-ra-panta koo-ron-yo
202. four		nadera	toongar	oo-ra-pan-ta oo-ra-pan-ta
203. five				
204. many, plenty	pungoo	toona	toonga	toong-a
205. any				
206. some				
207. none				
208. same				
209. other				
210. walk		yananga	yaninga	
211. run				
212. go away				
213. come here, come on	yunna	kowi	ookullya yananyer	
214. sit		wonta	wongunga	
215. fall (of rain)				
216. burn				

217. rise (of sun)

218. shine

219. sleep

wonoga

oonunga

220. eat

minna

ooltunga

221. drink

orrtanga

tarkeinga

222. live

223. die

poyoonaring

tillingerringa

'dead'

'dead'

224. feel

225. see

nakala

bimbururra

226. hear

227. know

228. I don't know

kurra wungungala

229. speak

230. make

231. give

232. take

233. hold

COA/KYNUNA LAMB

DUTTON

GOORE/

TINDALE

OPALLON KYNUNA

kuNGinta(nga)

mutyuparri

cooroo

cooronya

goowinyu

yorrah

yoorah

goorburra

korinju

bulara

kuRunyu, wangka

wurra, pulara

or pularu

gooburra

wurabanakorinju kurrpara,

wurrapanta kuRunyu

wurrapanta wurrapanta

murrabuttoo

thoonga

toonga

woorabundah

murbitooroo

gnitterah

pangku

marapithu(Ru)

thunga, pangku,

ngithaRa or

ngathaRa

betoo-bundier

pithupantaya,

wyinnih

wayini

oolburra

yapoo

goolgibitto

yapu, kulkipithu

warra

warrah

warrih

waRa

watthuyaro

yerra-band-ayer

watiguche

wathuyaRu,

yaRapantaya,

wathikutyi

beethoo

gnoony

pithu, nguni

yunnungah

yanunga

junie

janañ

yana-

warriah

warunga

wariah

waraña

wara-

unreeyunneeyah

gund-anga

juniah, yuniah

kanta-,

ngarni yana- ?



waarunyah	ucoo-yananni	warranyah	'oko 'janænjæ	wuku yana-, kawi waNGa- thangki- walthuka, thukaRa- waku- or waka- mirili-  wuna- wultha- or wurrtha- (as for <u>eat</u> ) tyuwa- thilingaRi-, puyungaRi- thuwi- or thuwa, paRama- nhaka- yimpa- waya- kara waNGungala nganthi-  matyima- or matyama- wuka- muka- thakama-
walthooga	too-carunga	tookarunga		
		merlignah merlingah		
geewannah	tua	wangunga		
dthillingurree	biroo-uringa	tilliwgeringa	dilingarrina	
		tillingeringa	'dead'	
toowyah	burra-munga	tooyah		
nurchiah	nukiah	mikie, nukie		
imbyangah	nunger	umbia		
murringmamah	currah	wyana		
ngundeeah	undier	gnundtel gnundal		
mutchumyah	amungah	magimunga maginunga		
wookia	ookaa	oogungo		
eboondooyah	yalbrah	mokiah		
athuckamyah	unkamiah	likuniah tikimiah		
234. retain				
235. release				
236. give up				
237. yesterday			winappolo	
238. today		paringoo	kyeemba	
239. tomorrow		karra	karrunga	
240. by and by			kyemba kandaga	
241. hither				
242. yes	ngia	nia	kay	
243. true, right				
244. no	kurra	kurra	kurra	

Dutton (1907) gives a few more Guwa words as quoted below. *Turoo* ‘sun’ and *Rungee* ‘moon’ appear in the above list; there is no further indication of the meaning of the other words. Coorabaree may be the English word ‘corroboree’. “Bellalah” may be *piyala wula* (see 97 and

191). “Pundilla” may be a verb ‘carved’.

Name of each circle	Cumbah and Yerally				
In Bora rites what is the name for sun?	Turoo				
For moon	Rungee				
Great Fire	Bellalah				
What is added to the stick, hair, feathers etc?	Feathers, Kangaroo bones and leaves				
And with what meaning?	Coorabaree				
What do the carvings on the trees mean?	Pundilla				
What do the various marks on their bodies, shields, rugs, etc., mean?	Murdooroo				
COA/KYNUNA LAMB	DUTTON	GOORE/	TINDALE	OPALLON	KYNUNA
cuthegurra	gurawoorduah			katyikaRa,	
athuckamayah	garawoorduah		kaRawurtu-		
murrangoowunyah	wonuya			wan(h)a-	
	yalbiah			yalpa-	
				winapulu	
				paRi(ngku),	
				kayimpa	
				kaRa(ngka)	
				kayimpa,	
				kantaka	
				wuku	
ucoo			'oko		
		aah (G)		ngiya	
			'jendja	yantya	

## NOTES TO THE LISTS

Additional abbreviations used in these notes:

GB	Gugu-Badhun
LH	Mrs Louie Hunter
MT	Mayi-Thakurti
Mw	Mayawali
Wn	Wunumara
Wrl	Warluwarra
WY	Wangka-Yutjuru
Yd	Yanda
Yn	Yandruwandha
Yr	Yirandhali

1. 'man' cf. some Mari dialects, e.g. B, Gn *gandu* 'child'. For "*toonga*" see 204. For *yanga* see 13.
2. 'woman' Mayi lgs have *panya* 'woman'. Note the *n(h)a* element. Cf. *pukaRana* and *kapana* given for 'young man' and *ngathina* for 'brother-in-law'. Some lgs of the area have a suffix of similar form on kinship terms and sometimes other human nouns – Yr is one – and note especially "*bunya*" given for 'woman' and "*bunyanna*" for 'girl'. B has a *-nu* suffix that can be added to kinship terms. Wrl has *-nha* (*-nya* after stem-final *i*) which is added to kinship terms and a handful of other words such as *thurta* 'boy' and *papa* 'girl'.
3. 'boy' cf. Kn *walpara* 'child' and B *walbara* 'boy', 'young man'.
5. 'young man' cf. Kl *kupangurru* 'old man' and *mapa* 'head'. "*kubben*" could also be *kapina* (and see note 2). cf. Kl *kalpin*.
6. 'old man' cf. Gn *gayadambal* (*d* a tap), B *mardi kayada*, some Mayi dialects *muwa*, Kl *muuparri* 'grey-haired'.
9. 'baby' cf. 4.
10. 'sorcerer'. Prob. *mangana* and *-ngi* 'having'; several lgs of N-W Qld have a word, usually translated 'doctor' or 'medicine man', based on a similar word. (Mayi, Kl, PP; see 5.3.1 above and Breen 1981b:117).
11. 'white man' cf. B *widhu*, Mg, Gn *wanbu* 'ghost, devil', MT *wanbu* 'ghost'.
12. 'father' cf. Kl *kupangurru*, PP *kupakupa*, Mg *gubaguba* and *gubabari*, all 'old man'; Yd "*koopon*" 'father'.
13. 'mother' Mari lgs, LH *yanga*.
14. 'older brother'. Also Wn.
15. 'older sister' cf. Mg, Gn *gaminy*, B *kami*, Mayi dialects *kami*, all 'mother's mother'.
16. 'mother's brother' cf. B *kangany*, Wn *kaNa* (*N* an indeterminate nasal), GB *kalnga*.
17. 'father's sister' cf. GB *kaya* 'father', Yl *kaya* 'small child'. In Roth's spelling final *e* seems always to represent /i/ and is not uncommon after a palatal.

19. 'brother-in-law' cf. Mayi lgs *ngathiya* given for 'spouse' and also in some cases for 'brother-in-law' or 'sister-in-law'.
20. 'head' Mg *gadha*; the same word is 'hair' in some Mari dialects.
21. 'hair' Mg *dhuriny*; for final *nya* in Guwa corresponding to final *ny* in Mari dialects see also 31 and 144. Re *bunju*, see 45.
- 22, 23. 'forehead, face' *kuwu* or *kuu* is common in Mari dialects for 'nose' and sometimes 'face'.
24. 'eyes'. Found throughout Mari area.
25. 'eyebrow' cf. B *balka* 'forehead'.
26. 'nose' Mayi-Yapi, MT *nyingga*. *nhingku* is also a possibility despite Tindale's "nj"; it seems unlikely that all of the other sources would have misheard initial [ny], whereas [ng] could easily represent /nh/ – a nasal sound heard as different from [n].
27. 'ear'. Throughout Mari area *manga*.
28. 'cheek' Mg, Gn *ngurlku*, B *ngalki*.
29. 'mouth'. This and similar forms, e.g. *thaya*, *thaa*, are widespread.
30. 'lips' cf. B *biki*, Kn *piyi*.
31. 'tongue' *thalanya* and near cognates are widespread. LH *thalinya*.
32. 'teeth'. Most Mari dialects (y)*ira*; Kn, GB *rirra*.
34. 'beard' *nganka* and close cognates widespread.
35. 'throat' see also 36. *manu* is 'throat' in some Mari dialects, however, it is 'neck' in GB and *mana* is given as 'neck' in some Mayi dialects.
36. 'neck, nape' cf. Kn, Pi *pumpa* 'head', B *buba* 'back of head'. Roth gives the gloss 'nape, back of neck', others 'neck'; perhaps *pumpa* is 'nape' and *manu* 'neck'.
37. 'shoulder' cf. Kn, Wm *winka*; B *winkal*, Mg, Gn *win-gal*. Roth probably anticipated a homorganic nasal.
38. 'arm' *mala* and close cognates common in Mari and Pama lgs.
39. 'elbow' cf. B *yurdu*, some far-western Qld lgs *yuru* or *yurumuku*.
40. 'forearm' Mg *manggu* 'arm', B 'wrist'.
42. 'hand' *mara* widespread.
43. 'fingers' see 67 and 192. *kawila* accepted and repeated by LH; *n(h)anyula mara* probably 'little finger'.
44. 'thumb' cf. Mari lgs *yabu* 'father' and note Pertame *iltyenyakwere* 'thumb', literally 'hand-father-his'.
45. 'body hair' see 21 and cf. Wm, Kl, Yl *puntju*; however, it is 'head hair' in Kn and possibly Yd and some dialects of the PP group.
46. 'chest' Pi, some western Mari dialects *purrku* (but B *burrku* 'back'). Possibly *puyu* means 'breath', as it does in B, Mg and Gn; see also 47. Re "*urmura coura*" cf. MT *ngamakuRa*

‘breast’; see also 47 note.

47. ‘breast’ Mayi lgs *thambu*. For *ngamina* (the second vowel of which must be regarded as doubtful) cf. most Mari dialects *ngamun*, Yr *ngamuna*, some W Australian lgs *ngamana*, Kl ‘chest’; S-W Qld lgs etc. *ngama*.
48. ‘back’ cf. Yl, MT, Wn, LH *thulkuparra*; note that Breen (1981b:104-5) was unaware of the Yl and LH words and spelt the Mayi word *thalkupaRa*; cf. also Ngawun *thunkun*.
49. ‘stomach’ Curr’s gloss is ‘stomach’, Roth’s ‘abdomen’, Tindale’s ‘belly’; cf. Yl, Kl *purtu*, Mayi lgs *ngaparra*.
51. ‘side’ cf. Kl *pipalpipal*, *pipali* ‘rib’.
52. ‘penis’ cf. 82.
53. ‘testicles’ cf. Kl *ngurtu*.
54. ‘vulva’ cf. B, Gn *dhimbany*.
55. ‘buttocks, anus’ Tindale usually hears interdental stop correctly or as alveolar stop and his  $\Omega$  could possibly represent a trill; however, cf. Kl *mithinthi* ‘anus’.
56. ‘bowels’ B *bundubundu* ‘small intestine’ only remotely possible cognate.
57. ‘excrement’ *kuna* is spread all over Australia.
58. ‘urine’ *kipara* occurs in a number of languages, e.g. Kn, Pi, some Mari and Mayi lgs.
59. ‘thigh’ cf. Mg, Gn *धाररा*, *tharra* in some Mayi and *tharr* or close cognates in some other Gulf lgs; however, B *dhara* and Ngamini *tharamuku*.
61. ‘leg, shin’ cf. Wm, Yn, Diyari etc. *muku* ‘bone’, and B, Mg, Gn ‘knee’. In some lgs the general term for ‘bone’ is also used to mean ‘shin’.
62. ‘calf’ cf. Yb, Dh *dhala*.
63. ‘ankle’ cf. B *badku*, Mg, Gn *barrgi*; cf. 88.
64. ‘foot’ *thina* is widespread.
65. ‘big toes’ see 44.
66. ‘little toes’ see 43 and 192.
67. ‘nails’ cf. Ngawun, Wn *mindjil*; see 43.
68. ‘skin’ cf. Wm *pikanya*, Mg *bikany*, Gn *bin-gun*y, all ‘nails’.
69. ‘bone’ see 61, 147 and 148.
70. ‘blood’ some Mayi dialects *kuwaRu*; Mw, Yl *ngurrki*; cf. Yl *kurrurru*.
71. ‘fat’ cf. many Mari dialects *dhami*, Kd, Pi, PP, WY, Yr *thutha*.
72. ‘sun’ Mari lgs *dhuru*. For “*ringuna*” see 194.
73. ‘moon’ cf. Kn, LH *ngaltyi*, PP *yangi*, WY, Yn *tyangi*, Ngulupulu, Mithaka *nyangi*. Perhaps Curr 139’s “*yoongee*” is a mishearing and “*eungee*” a misreading of “*rungee*”.
74. ‘star’ cf. Mayi-Kutuna, Wn, LH *yuku*.. The Tindale entry seems to contain a suffix (plural?).

75. 'light' cf. some Mayi dialects *kamba*, Yl *miya*, Yr *kaRi*, all 'sun'.
76. 'dawn' cf. B *dhurdu wakana*, Mg *dhuru waganhi*, similar in other Mari dialects, all 'the sun is rising'.
77. 'day' cf. 72, *-ngka* is prob. a locative suffix.
78. 'dark' "*mutchaberri*" is probably 'blind' and is recorded under 198, cf. Kl *mutyupari* 'blind'.
79. 'night' cf. some western Mari dialects *nguwa*, Wm *ngawu*, Yr "*now-now*" 'dark'; "*dilli-nirringa*" would include *thili* 'eye', see 24. Note the probable locative suffix in "*oowunga*".
80. 'cloud' cf. B *mukadibayi* (*d* a tap) 'hailstorm' (hail-having), Yi "*moogabaa*" 'rain'; Kn *mukarti* 'hail', Wm *mukura* 'hail'.
81. 'lightning' cf. Kl *rungka*, *marapanka*, Yl *rungka*.
82. 'thunder' cf. Kl *yanpirri* 'lightning'; Mayi lgs *yanbarri* 'lightning, thunder'; *warnti* may be equated with *warnti* 'penis' a common word expresses 'lightning' and 'penis' in a number of Australian lgs, e.g. PP *piripa*, Wm *karli*.
84. 'wind'. These spellings may all represent the one word.
- 85, 86. 'rain, water' *kamu* is 'water' in some Mayi dialects and throughout the Mari area, see also 215.
87. 'flood' cf. Kl *thuurra*.
88. 'river' cf. 63; one or the other could be *paRaku*.
89. 'swamp' "*Coonabuggera*" may be a place name; *kuna* 'faeces' is a common component of place names in Australia, often denoting the colour brown.
90. 'lake' "*baragoo-beealah*" is *parrku piyala* 'big river' – or maybe better 'big waterhole'.
91. 'dam or waterhole'. Poss. a place name; it may contain PP *-madu* 'having' as a second element.
92. 'sea'. Gloss doubtful; "*beela cummoo*" is *piyala kamu* 'big water'.
93. 'ground' cf. 167 camp; *yamba* is 'ground', 'place', 'camp' in the Mari lgs.
- 94, 95. 'stone, hill, mountain'. The same word has all of these meanings in many Australian lgs. Cf. Mg, GB *barri*. Perhaps *nyiRikani* is a place name.
97. 'fire' cf. Kn *yurla*, *wurla*.
98. 'smoke' cf. Kn *muyu*.
100. 'kangaroo' cf. several western Qld lgs *matyumpa*, Mt, Wn *munkurungu*; note Wn *matjumpa* 'scrub kangaroo'; there may be two species involved.
101. 'wallaroo' see also 100; cf. Kl *ngarrkun*, Yl *ngarrkunu*.
103. 'possum' cf. Mari dialects *dhangurd*. GB *mangara* 'grey kangaroo'.
104. 'bandicoot' cf. B *wudyala*.
105. 'rat' cf. PP *kanytya* 'rat', "*Canjamoora*" (which could be Mayawali) in Appendix 5.1.
106. 'echidna' cf. Kn "*puckanji*".

107. 'dog' *mikamu* heard occasionally from Mayi speakers.
108. 'horse' *yarraman* (with a final vowel if necessary) is widespread in E Australia.
110. 'bird'. Could be a particular species; reminiscent of some names for zebra finch, for example.
111. 'emu' *kulpari* is a widespread word in W Qld; however, Wm has *kulbarra*, with *kulbarri* as a rare alternative.
112. 'brolga' cf. Yr "*pilbunggra*", Kl *kulthuurt*, Kn *kulthudu*.
113. 'pelican' cf. Yl, Kl *walkirriparrri*, PP *marlimadu*. The latter must be a borrowing in Guwa (being analysable as 'bag-having' in PP).
114. 'black duck' cf. Mg, Gn *mangarra*; *tyipiya* and similar words mean 'whistler duck' in many lgs. GB *gubiri* 'duck (generic)', *yalabarra* 'black duck'.
115. 'wood duck' cf. Mg *gurnma*, Kalali, Badjidi, Pi, Kd *kunari*, Yn *kunapika* (derived from *kuna* 'faeces'), Gamilaraay (Kamilaroi) *kunampay*.
116. 'whistler duck' cf. Mayi lgs *pindurra* 'black (?) duck' (not whistler).
117. 'type of duck' "*googaree*" could be a mishearing of *gubiri* (114).
118. 'eaglehawk' Kn, PP, WY, GB and others *kurrithala*; Mayi lgs *kurrithila*, Mari *gudhala*. Re *wuluparrri*, cf. Kl *uhuyan* (where *-yan* is the derivational suffix 'having'); *-parri* is a widespread 'having' suffix.
119. 'hawk' Mayi-Kulan, MT *katjaparri*, Yl, Kl *katyapi*. Probably 'kitehawk' (= fork-tailed or black kite, *Milvus migrans*).
120. 'crow'. Similar words are widespread; note especially some Mari dialects, Badjidi, Kn *wakarn*, Kalali *wakarna*, Yr "*wagunna*".
121. 'corella, white cockatoo'. The second vowel of *kuRila* could be *a*. There could be two species involved: the little corella (*Cacatua sanguinea*) and the sulphur-crested cockatoo (*C. galerita*). GB has *karrambula* for 'black cockatoo'.
122. 'black cockatoo' cf. Yr "*karrung-gulla*".
123. 'galah' Kl, Yl, MT, Wn *kilawurru*; many languages *kilakila*; PP, Mithaka *kilanytyi*.
125. 'plains turkey' Yl, Kl, Yd, Ringu-Ringu, MT *parrkamu*.
127. 'flock pigeon' Kl, MT, Wn *tyirruwali*.
128. 'finch' Kl *tyikuru*.
129. 'egg' Kl *kuthu*.
130. 'snake' Mg, Gn *dhambal*.
131. 'brown snake' Kn, Yd, Mw, Ringu-Ringu, Kl *kuntara* 'snake' (generic or a species); see also 130.
132. 'carpet snake' cf. Kl *parriparrri*.
134. 'sand goanna' cf. Kn *maRapaRi*.

135. 'lizard' cf. some Mayi dialects *walkartu*, Kl *walkaartu* 'type of lizard', Wl *wankarta* 'blue-tongue lizard'.
136. 'frog' cf. Wm *tharramangga*. The word "*yilli*" is glossed only 'small', but as it immediately follows that glossed 'big frog' and is separated from another word glossed 'little' and as Roth gives a similar word for 'small frog' in MT, it is assumed to mean 'small frog'. Roth's word is "*neil-li*", which, together with the spelling "*yilli*" here, suggests *nyili*.
137. 'fish'. Some of these words prob. (one certainly, see 138) denote species of fish; cf. Kl *wakari*, Yl *wakarri*, Mayi-Yapi *wakayi*, *palpi* in all Mayi dialects.
140. 'crab'. The form given here may be a misprint or misreading of the manuscript; cf. Mg, B *kuwardu*.
141. 'mussel' Yn, Yawarrawarrka, Ngulupulu *thuka*. Note also "*Torcomorra*" (which could be Mw) in Appendix 5.1.
142. 'spider' cf. GB *thamara*, Ngawun *tjamarr*.
143. 'fly' Kn, Gn, Mg *nhimun*, Gunggari *ngimun* and B *nimun* (both from earlier *nhimun*), Yr "*nimunoo*", Mayi lgs *nyimul*.
144. 'mosquito' Mg *bungginy*, LH *pungkinya*.
145. 'ant' some Mayi dialects *withu*, Kn, Wm, Mari lgs *kathu* 'ant', Kl *wathi* 'black ant'; "*maginna*" may be 'termite'.
147. 'wood, tree'. Curr lists give gloss 'wood', others 'tree'. Biri *dhula* 'tree, stick', GB *dhulay* 'tree', B *dhula* 'sandalwood', Kl *thularr* 'stick', Mayi-Kutuna *tula(rr)* 'stick'. See also 69 and 97.
148. 'bark' cf. Yl *kulkaparra*, WY *kurrkuparra*.
149. 'gum tree' cf. Kn *pinpirri*, Pi, Yl *pirnpirri* 'river gum' (but Kl *pinpirri* 'coolibah').
150. 'coolibah' cf. Kl *makaru*, Yl *makarri*, also Wm *makurra* 'tree, stick'.
151. 'gidgea' Kl *patyarra*.
152. 'lancewood' = 'spear' 173.
155. 'whitewood' cf. Yr "*woombooroo*" 'whitewood', GB *wurmbarru* given doubtfully for 'lancewood'.
156. 'beefwood'. This may be the same as 155.
157. 'wild plum' Mayi *kanggaparri*; widely known as conkerberry in English.
158. 'prickly bush'. Could be the same as 157.
160. 'grass' GB, Yr *yaku*; PP, WY, Yd *pukarra*; Wn *pundjul*. Perhaps one or two of these names are more specific.
162. 'river grass' cf. "*yango*" (160).
167. 'camp' see 93 'ground'.
168. 'house' *kunti* is a NSW word spread by Europeans; it usually refers, at least in Qld, to a European-style house.



170. 'blanket' Wrl *panpa* 'saddle'.
171. 'shield'. Both of these words occur in Mayi dialects; also *kunparra* in Palku, *yampurru* in Kl.
- 173, 174. '(war-)spear'. The glosses 'war-spear' and 'reed-spear' are used in Curr lists; other sources use 'spear'; cf. Kd "*moortya*", Yr "*moorrcha*" etc., Mw "*moolcha*", Wb "*bakar*". *baka* is 'stick' in many Mari dialects. See also 152 and 175.
175. 'woomera' see also 173 and 174. The confusion supports Tindale's comment.
176. 'stone knife' *kankari* is a widespread word.
177. 'fighting pole'. Poss. *warrantya*; cf. Kl *warrawarra* 'stick'.
180. 'dilly bag' cf. Yl, Kl *pungkuwarri*, Mayi *kunyakunya*.
181. 'pigeon net' cf. PP, Kl *mukuwarri* 'net'.
183. 'tomahawk' Kl, Yl, PP, Ringu-Ringu *waramparta*, WY *waranparta*. Mrs Hunter's word is transcribed *wilaRa* (i.e. with indeterminate rhotic – and the lateral could very well be interdental). Gunggari "*wil:ara*" 'stone axe' (Tindale 1938-39). Note also "Willeria" in Appendix 5.1 and "Willarra" in Appendix 5.2.
186. 'food' Pi, Wm *kunga*.
187. 'beef' see also 220. *minha* or *minya* is common in E and N Qld. 'Beef' in Aboriginal English refers to any meat; 'meat' is commonly used to mean 'edible animal'.
188. 'bread' B *ngamany*.
189. 'good' Wn, Yn *manyu*, some Mayi dialects *kultjin*, Palku *kuyungu*. The forms given by Roth and Lamb could be *kuntya ngaya* 'I'm good'.
190. 'bad'. This whole row is full of problems and definite cognates in neighbouring lgs are not forthcoming; the only possibilities noted are B *warrku*, *wandyu*. Informants may have misheard 'bad' out of context in some cases; in Aboriginal English 'bad' is 'no good'.
191. 'big' cf. B *kudkan(dhadi)* 'long'.
192. 'little' see also 43 and 66. Note also "*yilli*"; see note to 136.
194. 'heat' Kn *ringkan*. *ngalkuRi-* would be a verb. *wulawula* (or *wurlawurla*) is a reduplication of 'fire'; this is a common way to derive a word 'hot'. See also 72.
195. 'cold' "*willinga*" may be a noun in locative case, or a verb. Note also Kd "*moorana*" and Kn *murirra*.
196. 'hungry' "*karnolingya*" may be *kanula ngaya* 'I'm hungry'; cf. Yr "*kurnwooli*", "*karwoorongna*", "*win-gin-a-roo*".
197. 'thirsty'. Possibly a verb, cf. Yr "*kunga*", Kn *kungkipara*, Yd "*goongindia*" 'hungry'.
198. 'blind'. This word has been transferred from 78 on the basis of Kl *mutyuparri*.
199. 'one' Mayi dialects *wangga* and *kuruyun*, some Mari dialects, including Yr, *wangkara*. There may be some confusion in the Coa/Kynuna list; if it had "*cooronya*" for 'one' and "*ooroo*" for 'two' it would correspond well with others.

200. 'two'. Both *pulara* and *pularu* may be correct; cf. Kd "*boolara*", Yr "*booleroo*", also Badjidi *pulana*, Kn *pulari*, Mari dialects *bulardi* or *bulari*. For *wurra* cf. Mg *urra* and note also Gu "*woorah*", translated variously as 'our (2)', 'their', 'them', 'these'. Dutton's spellings are a problem.
201. 'three' some Mayi lgs *kurrpara*, other Mayi lgs, Kl, Yl, Yr have close cognates. *-panta* seems to be a conjunction; thus *wurrapanta kuRunyu* 'three' is 'two-panta one'. *Kurrpara* prob. means 'a few' and *wurrapanta kuRunyu* specifically 'three' (see 206). See also entries 199, 200, 202.
202. 'four' see 200, 201. For "*nadera*" and "*toongar*" see 204; see also Yb 187.
203. 'five'. Literally 'hand-other'.
204. 'many, plenty' see 202, and cf. Wn *panggu* 'many'.
205. 'any' cf. 209 (*pithu*), 201 (*-panta*). Re *wayini* cf. Yn *wayini* 'how many?'. Alternatively, it might be *wayi yini* 'question this'; *wayi* is a question particle in a number of languages, e.g. Ngawun (see Breen 1981b:70).
206. 'some' "*goolgibitto*" could be *kulyipithu*; see 209 for *pithu*. "*oolburra*" may be a mishearing of *kurrpara* 'three', which might be better translated 'a few'. It is common for a word meaning 'a few' to be given for 'three' in elicited material.
208. 'same' see 201 re *-panta*. The other words might contain the demonstrative *wathi*.
209. 'other' B *bidhu*. See 205; cf. Yd *kunipa* 'one'.
210. 'walk' cf. some eastern and northern Mari dialects *yani*, Pi *yanda*, Wm *yantha*.
211. 'run' Mg *wara*.
212. 'go away see' 210. "*unree-*" may represent a prefix or preposition meaning 'away'; cf. some Mari dialects *kundu*. Re *kanta*, cf. Kl *kaanta* 'go away', PP *kanta* 'go'.
213. 'come here, come on' Curr's gloss is 'come on', the others '(to) come here'. See 210, 211, 241. *kawi* is prob. an interjection, not a verb, like similar forms in other lgs, e.g. Mithaka *kawi*, Mayi lgs *kapi*, some other W Qld lgs *kawa*.
214. 'sit'. Note the same word in 222; the verb 'to sit' probably has a wide range of meanings and a copula function at times as do the corresponding verbs in many other Australian languages.
215. 'fall (of rain)' see 85.
216. 'burn' "*walthooga*" could possibly be "*wu(r)la thuka*" 'fire burn' or even "*well thuka*" with the English hiatus filler 'well'. Note, however, Mithaka, Yaluyandi, Karuwali *wilturu* or *wulturu* 'hot'; also Mari lgs *wadhu* 'cook, burn'.
217. 'rise' (of sun) See 76.
218. 'shine' cf. B *mirdili*.
219. 'sleep' cf. many Mari dialects (w)*una*, Wrl, Yl, Pi, Kn *nguna*.
- 220, 221. 'eat, drink' "*minna*" is probably the word for 'meat', see 187. "*ooltunga*" and "*orrtanga*" must be same word; Mari lgs have the same word for 'eat' and 'drink'. "*tarkeinga*" may mean something else (however, note Yl *thuka* 'drink').

222. 'live' cf. B *dhuwa* 'to be alive'. See 214.
223. 'die'. If *puyu* means 'breath' (see 46) *puyungaRi* could mean literally 'breath-lacking-become'. Similarly, *thilingaRi* could mean 'eyes-lacking-become'. Compare K1 *milthithati* 'to be born', literally 'eyes-become'.
224. 'feel' cf. Palku lgs *pata* 'hold'.
225. 'see' Kn, Y, Gn, B and many other Mari dialects *nhaka* or close cognates.
226. 'hear' many Mari dialects (y)*imba*. "*nunger*" may be *manga* 'ear'.
227. 'know' "*currah*" is *kara* 'no'.
228. 'I don't know'. The full phrase is "*kurra wungungala*"; this could be *kara* 'not' plus a word meaning 'know' (and cf. Palku lgs and Y1 *wangama* 'know') or *kara* 'no' and a word meaning 'I don't know'. It is common for languages to have a single word, unrelated to the verb 'to know', meaning 'I don't know', such as Kg, Kd "*weeya*", Wrl *wayi*; cf. 227.
229. 'speak' Mg, Gn *ngandhi*. Yanyuwa *nganthai* 'tongue'.
231. 'give' cf. Mayi *waka*, Mg and Gn *wa*.
232. 'take' Gn, Badjidi, GB *muga* 'get'; see also 236.
234. 'retain' "*gura*"/"*gara*" could be *kara* 'no' and the meaning could be something like 'don't let go'; see also 233.
235. 'release' "*murrangoo*" would be 'hand-ergative'; cf. B *wandha* 'let go', Y1 *wana* 'throw', GB *wanda*- 'leave behind, lose'.
236. 'give up' "*yalbiah*" could be the same as "*yalbrah*" (see 232) despite the opposite meanings given.
238. 'today' Mg *gayimba*; Dh *ayimba*; Yn, Mithaka *kayirri*; Kn *kayali*; Yd "*kiya*"; Gn *bardaardu* 'now, today'; Dh "*parri-perrin*" 'by and by', Wm *parla* 'today, now'.
239. 'tomorrow' cf. Ngamini *karrangurumu* 'by and by'.
240. 'by and by' see also 238.
241. 'hither' taken from 213. Mari lgs (w)*uku*.
242. 'yes' Mayi-Yapi, MT *ngiya*; also a number of lgs *yiya*.
243. 'true, right' Mg and Gn *yandya* 'true, right', B 'really, indeed'. (The difference in glosses probably reflects lack of knowledge of the full range of functions in all these dialects.)
244. 'no' Mari lgs *gara*, *garda*.

## APPENDIX 5.1: GOA AND MYALLI LANGUAGES (Lamb 1904:27)

The society is indebted to Mr E.C. Lamb of Brighton Downs, Diamantine [sic] River, for this information.

Ooroonoo	Big mobs of blackfellows.
Raroo	Two mountains.
Pitchicanana	Plenty of mussels.
Billia	Battle between blacks.
Booningi	Blacks hung up bags for drums.
Warratana	Sand hill waterhole.
Wkiki	Blacks had big corroborees.
Matumba	Plenty of kangaroos [see 100 above]
Willeria	Blacks lost tomahawks [see 183 above]
Callgall	Small round mountain.
Rumulla	Plenty of emus.
Gungoo Matunga	Plenty of white stone [see item 94 above]
Tillery	Creek with thick scrub.
Yera Beri	Flat top mountain.
Epul Dugger	Haunted spot (avoided by blackfellows). [Epul = English evil?]
Tolboo	Blacks caught lots of ducks, leaving a lot of feathers scattered about.
Narrigi	Blacks used to get a lot of water lillies.
Buttoo warrior	Several clay pans.
Mundoo	A favorite fighting place of Blacks, and good hole for fish.
Moondoo	Mud.
Pirea	Mice.
Millie Pappa	Grass. [PP <i>papa</i> “puppa grass”, a grass whose seeds were used for food]
Wallungerie	Big coolaman.
Binburrie	Gum tree. [See note to 149 above]
Winburra	Polygnum.
Tippoorarie	From Tippoороо – to breathe.
Bucklburrinya	A savage kind of fish.
Nangarie	Large fishing-net.
Mundawera	Water circling – as on an eddy.
Booningie	Hair that has been cut. From Boonjos, hair. [cf. 45 above]
Parepichaurie	Long creek or waterholes. [PP <i>paripi tyuwarri</i> ‘river long’]
Copera	Larva of large moth found in bark of trees (caterpillar state). [PP <i>kapara</i> ‘grub’]
Mulcurriberrie	Full of devil-devils (favourite abode of the bad spirit).
Moorcoco	A kind of lizard.
Pillinga, or Pilliga	Big plains all about.
Mooringulla	Long sand hill.
Wallimy	Native flax ground.
Canjamoorra	Large devil-devil rat. [cf. 105 above]

Nacootnakera	Corrobborie ground.
Torcomorra	Large mussell, [sic] the special perquisites of the devils. [cf. 141 above]

## APPENDIX 5.2: OPALLON DISTRICT

From 'Aboriginal Place Names With Their Meanings' (J.S. Dutton 1906:14-16).

Billyblow	Rocky bed of creek
Ringgunnah	Mountain, with spring at foot
Bungarra	Springs, with old fire near it
Tamang-bullor	Waterhole with fish in it
Mudtha	Where red ochre is found
Purum	Cork tree (creek)
Conka-berri	Wild plum tree
Murrumuro	Noise made by plain turkey
Booyah	Mountain so called from the note of little birds on it
Ohribul	Round mountain
Maginna	Ants, anthills
Jigiroo	A small red bird which inhabits the place
Wichello	Bandycoot
Warrandaroo	Cane grass
Barracoo	Creek (a large one)
Gooberrie	Black duck (creek)
Pradaboola	Yellow belly (fish)
Mutchumpa	Kangaroo (plains)
Binburri Creek	Gumtree (creek)
Mukum Creek	Dingo (creek)
Bellarinya	Mistletoe
Tangaroo	Opossum
Walginburi	Pelican (waterhole)
Baroona	Name of mountain (meaning unknown)
Tumbulla	Snakes (of all kinds)
Ratno	Python (mountain)
Bandy	Spinifex
Willarra	Where stones to make tomahawks are found
Goolga	Boomerang. This word also means "tail".
Yargunyah	Wallaby
Banjoora	A small kind of yam
Toonaberrie	Yams
Moolcha	Lancewood tree
Wornboroo	Currajong tree
Ginburri	Boree
Homeberoo	Beefwood tree

## Chapter 6

### YANDA

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Yanda is an extinct language of Western Queensland, which was spoken, according to Tindale (1974:170) at the ‘head of the Hamilton River, north of Warenda. At Toolebuc and Lucknow.’ Warenda is about 60 miles north-east of Boulia.

The only source of linguistic data on Yanda is a vocabulary of about 110 words (including eight personal names) contributed to Curr (1886-87) by Ernest Eglinton (1886b), a police officer. A couple of old Aboriginal informants still alive in the 1970s knew the name, but none knew anything more. Roth (1897) mentioned it, and regarded it as being closely related to Pitta-Pitta; however, he gave no evidence. (He did, however, give four names of places which may be in Yanda territory.) Breen (1971a) compared Eglinton's vocabulary with that of neighbouring languages and concluded that it was most closely related to its eastern neighbour, Guwa, and to Kungkari, a non-contiguous language to the south, and thus more closely related to the Mari languages to the east than to the Karna languages (which include Pitta-Pitta) to the west or any other major language group. This classification is reexamined in Chapter 7.

Eglinton's vocabulary is poor in quality and the following account of Yanda is necessarily highly speculative.

#### 6.2 SOURCE

As stated above, the Yanda material was supplied by Ernest Eglinton to Curr (list no. 103). Eglinton also supplied Curr with lists in two other languages, Yalarnnga (Eglinton 1886a) and Pitta-Pitta (Eglinton 1886c), and, since most of the words in these lists have been recorded also by present-day linguists from the last speakers of these languages, I have been able to compare Eglinton's spelling of these words with their phonological form.

The conclusion is, briefly, that Eglinton's spelling is very poor; so much so that what would otherwise seem to be wild guesses at the form of some Yanda words (e.g. that “*mureda*” is *murla*) seem quite justifiable<sup>1</sup>. Some of the more unrecognisable spellings he gives for Yalarnnga and Pitta-Pitta words are “*ongya*” for *nganytya*, “*tii*” for *thuyuyu*, “*mileri*” for *marli*, “*ooia*” for *nguda* and “*wamumberoo*” for *waramparta*.

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<sup>1</sup>The Pitta-Pitta and Yalarnnga words in the following examples are spelt in the orthography that is introduced below for Yanda.

In general the bilabials seem to be accurately represented, as does the velar stop (but note “*booreroo*” for *kududu*, and “*cherkumber*” for *katyimpa* – in which the *k* and *ty* seem to have been interchanged). The velar nasal is often misheard, being written *m* or *n* intervocalically as well as word initially (e.g. “*olunamoo*” for *wulangama*) and also as zero initially.

The interdental stop is hardly ever distinguished from the alveolar (thus “*toota*” for *thutha*, “*diner*” for *thina*) and, naturally, the interdental nasal is never distinguished (“*koonoo*” for *kunhu*). /*ty*/ is written in a number of ways: as *ch*, *tch*, *t* (“*matumba*” for *matyumpa*, “*teera*” for *tyida*) and *g* (several times, including “*poingu*” for *punytyu* and “*geber*” for *tyipa*). /*ny*/ is *n* in “*nilki*” (and also, naturally, in /*nyty*/).

The alveolar stop and nasal are usually written correctly. Retroflexion was heard more often than not, and represented by *r* as the first member of a digraph, e.g. “*eremerdo*” for *imarta*, “*mernoo*” for *marnu*, but note “*kerli*” for *kali*.

The trill, tap and retroflexed glide are represented indiscriminately as *r* or *rr*; “*apari*” for *ngapiri*, “*karri*” for *kari*, “*thireri*” for *thidiri*, “*narrowa*” for *ngadawa*, “*moora*” for *murra*, “*toorra*” for *thurru*.

Vowels are very unreliable. Thus *o* represents /*a*/ and /*u*/ in “*monero*” for *mangudu*; /*a*/ is written *a* in “*wanera*” *wanyi* (in which the “*ra*” may be a suffix), *e* in “*nerkooner*” *ngadkunu*, *ar* in “*karko*” *kaku*, *u* in “*murra*” *mara*, *i* in “*kirti*” *karti*, *er* in “*kerli*” *kali*, *o* and *e* in “*nokkerdi*” *nhakarti* and omitted in “*nerilin*” and “*nerlyim*”, both *ngarrilima*. Initial /*yu*/ is written *u* as in “*umundero*” *yumunthudu*; /*ay*/ is written *y* as in *mya* /*mayi*/ or *i* as in *timia* /*timaya*/.

And so on.

Clearly Eglinton's spelling can rarely be of much use in determining the form of a word except in those cases, fortunately fairly common, in which there is a recognisable cognate in some neighbouring language. Where there is not there seems little point in attempting to determine a phonemic form, although the attempt is made in some cases.

### 6.3 PHONOLOGY

There is no evidence that Yanda is phonologically any more dissimilar from its neighbours than they are from one another, and we can probably safely assume that it had a triangular vowel system, no fricatives and a matching set of stops (with no voiced/voiceless distinction) and nasals. The evidence available in Eglinton's wordlist shows fairly convincingly that, like its neighbours, it had two laminal series (compare “*tina*” *thina* ‘foot’ with “*chiki-chiko*” *tyikutyiku* ‘fly’ and “*kardago*” *kathaku* ‘child’ with “*kitcha*” *katya* ‘cold’) and there is slight evidence (compare “*mureda*” *murla* ‘head’ (or possibly Eglinton's spelling actually represents *murla* with a suffix) with “*koona*” *kuna* ‘excrement’) that there were also two apical series. Other questions, regarding the number of laterals (certainly /*l*/, probably also /*rl*/, possibly also /*ly*/ and /*lh*/) and rhotics (at least two, but perhaps three as in Pitta-Pitta) cannot be answered. There seems to be no need to postulate phonemic length in vowels. It will be assumed that where a word seems to be the same as or very similar to the corresponding word in a neighbouring language it has the same phonemic form as in the neighbouring language. Thus “*murra*” *mara* ‘hand’ has a glide as in many languages, “*goonburra*” *kunpada* ‘shield’ has a tap as in Pitta-Pitta and “*bookurra*” *pukarra* ‘grass’ has a trill, as in Pitta-Pitta. The phonemes are thus assumed to be as tabulated (using orthographic symbols) below.

TABLE 6.1  
YANDA PHONEMES

	Labial	Velar	Interdental	Palatal	Alveolar	Retroflex	Open
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ty</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	
Laterals			<i>lh</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	
Trill					<i>rr</i>		
Tap					<i>d</i>		
Glides		<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		<i>r</i>	
Vowels		<i>u</i>		<i>i</i>			<i>a</i>

Probably all words began with a single consonant, although initial /yi/ and /wu/ could be pronounced with a zero allophone of the initial glide. The only permissible syllable types may have been CV and CVC. Most words ended in a vowel but final /n/, /m/, /ny/, /l/ and perhaps /rl/ and /d/ were permitted. There is some evidence that final /m/ was permitted but this is not normal in languages of this part of Australia, and similar evidence which can be found for Yalarnnga in Eglinton's (1886a) vocabulary of that language is wrong.

Intramorphemic consonant clusters included nasal or lateral + homorganic stop, apical nasal (perhaps only alveolar) + peripheral nasal, apical (perhaps only alveolar) nasal or lateral + peripheral stop, trill + peripheral stop.

It is safe to assume that primary stress was normally, probably always, on the first syllable, as in neighbouring languages.

#### 6.4 GRAMMAR

A suffix *-na* (perhaps *-nha* or *-nya*) may occur on kinship terms; the vowel is omitted in the case of “*koopon*” ‘father’, which may be a mistake, but note that Kungkari has *kurlany* ‘father’ but final *-nya* on some other kinship terms.

*-nga* on *wikanga* ‘tomorrow’ is probably a locative suffix as in the same word in Kungkari.

It appears that object of a transitive verb is unmarked, if “*karti*” in “*kartitingya*” ‘eat’ is a phrase with object noun *kathi* ‘meat’ (see 105 in the vocabulary, also 106, 15 and 21).

Number marking, if any, on nouns was not obligatory (see 1).

Possible noun stem formatives are *-yan* (item 14; compare the concomitant in Kalkutungu) and *-paRi* (item 62; *-parri* and *-pari* both occur in Mayi languages).

Possible verbal suffixes are:

1. “*ninga*”, perhaps *-ninga* (101, 103, 108 and possibly 102, 107). If 107 has this suffix it is probably a past tense marker; if 102 has, and 107 has not, it may be imperative;
2. *-ya* (94, 95, 105, 106 and possibly 104) – this may be present tense;
3. “*nga*” (102, if it is not part of “*ninga*”) possibly imperative;
4. “*linya*” (104) could be *-linya* or *-linaya* – in the latter case the *-ya* is probably as (2);



5. “*urga*” (107) if it is not really “*ninga*” I cannot phonemicise it but it is likely to mark past tense;
6. *-li*, possibly a nominaliser (16, 17 and probably 21).
7. *-ma* (15, 21) may have some sort of nominalising function.
8. *-ni* (15) may also occur in “*ninga*”.

## 6.5 VOCABULARY

In addition to the abbreviations given in Sources and conventions, the following are used in notes to the vocabulary.

Palku group:	Mw	Mayawali
	Ngu	Ngulupulu
	RR	Ringu-Ringu
	WY	Wangka-Yutjurru
Other Karna group:	Mt	Mithaka
	Pn	Punthamara
Other:	Wrl	Warluwarra

The term ‘secondary’ refers to a form recorded in a language in only one of several sources, other sources giving another form. Note that the orthography used for Kukatj and Kok-Nar has *e* for schwa.

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
1.	man	<i>warriki</i>	<i>warrki</i>	Glossed ‘the blacks’ and ‘a blackfellow’; also spelt “ <i>wariki</i> ”, see 116
2.	woman	<i>wongita</i>	<i>wangatha</i>	Roth gives PP <i>wung-a-ta</i> ‘adult woman in general’ but it was not known to modern PP informants; glossed “a black woman”
3.	old man	<i>kuntanna</i>	<i>kaNTana</i>	cf. 11; it may be the same word, especially as the final <i>na</i> suggests a kinship term; see also 9
4.	old woman	<i>yunganna</i>		See 10
5.	child	<i>kardago</i>	<i>kathaku</i>	Mayi; glossed ‘children’ but prob. not a plural
6.	baby	<i>karrinunna</i>	<i>kaRinana</i>	Final <i>na</i> suggests it may be a kinship term, perhaps meaning ‘son/daughter’
7.	white man	<i>gungi</i> ,	<i>kungi</i>	Kg “ <i>gooing</i> ” ‘ghost’ <i>goongia</i>
8.	ghosts	<i>bikerri</i>	<i>pikiRi</i>	
9.	father	<i>koopon</i>	<i>kupan(a)</i>	Gu <i>kupa</i> ; this or a form derived or reduplicated from it is ‘old man’ in Yl, Kl, PP, RR, Ngu, Mg

### Suggested

	English	Eglinton	phonemic form	Notes
10.	mother	<i>yunganna</i>	<i>yangana</i>	Gu, Mari <i>yanga</i> ; also given for ‘old woman’
11.	elder brother	<i>kardunna</i>	<i>kaNTana</i>	cf. 3
12.	elder sister	<i>karginna</i>	<i>kakina</i>	Palku and other Karna lgs <i>kaku</i> ; note also Pi, Kg, Kd <i>kurrkani(nya)</i>
13.	younger brother	<i>tita</i>	<i>thitha</i>	cf. Palku <i>thithi</i> ‘elder brother’
14.		<i>ilpildirrien</i>	<i>yilpiltiRiyan</i>	cf. Kl <i>-yan</i> ‘having’
15.	personal names	<i>kudimulinem</i>	<i>kathi mulinima</i>	May be <i>kathi</i> ‘meat’ plus a verb or nominalised verb, cf. 105; alternatively a reflexive verb, cf. PP <i>-mali</i> ‘refl./recip.’
16.	(male)	<i>nituli</i>	<i>nityuli</i>	cf. B <i>nidyu</i> , Mg <i>nityu</i> ‘to look for’; note also Palku <i>nhitha</i> ‘to steal’ and <i>-li</i> nominaliser; also Kn <i>nhitha</i> ‘to smell’
17.		<i>mantuli</i>	<i>maNTuli</i>	
18.	personal names	<i>karriwono</i>	<i>kaRiwunu</i>	
19.		<i>ranginta</i>	<i>raNGinta</i>	
20.	(female)	<i>rubun</i>	<i>rupan</i>	
21.		<i>karkoomaralim</i>	<i>kaku maRalima</i>	Prob. <i>kaku</i> ‘water’ plus a verb or nominalised verb, root <i>maRa-</i> , perhaps ‘to get’ or ‘to carry’, cf. similar root in most lgs of the area, e.g. Ngawun, Mayi-Kulan <i>marra-</i> ; B <i>mara-</i> ; Yl, Kl <i>mani</i> ; Palku <i>madi</i> .
22.	head	<i>mureda</i>	<i>murla</i>	Yl
23.	hair of the head	<i>bungu</i>	<i>punytyu</i>	Gu, Kn; in some other lgs this means ‘body hair’
24.	eye	<i>meal</i>	<i>miyil</i>	Kn, Pi <i>miil</i> ; also Wunumara <i>mil</i> ; Yl and some Mayi dialects <i>mili</i> ; WY, Wangkamanha <i>milarti</i> ; PP <i>miyi</i> ; some Karna lgs <i>milki</i> ; Kl <i>milthi</i>
25.	nose	<i>tirki</i> or <i>tuki</i>		cf. 75
26.	ear	<i>talgan</i>	<i>thalkan</i>	cf. Karna <i>thalpa</i>
27.	mouth	<i>tya</i>	<i>thaya</i>	Kn, Pi and some Karna lgs; note also Gu, Yi <i>thawa</i> ; Mari <i>dhaa</i>
28.	tongue	<i>tyela</i>	<i>thalany</i>	Kn, Mari; Gu, Karna <i>thalanya</i> ; Palku <i>tharli</i>
29.	teeth	<i>ira</i>	<i>yira</i>	Pi, Gu, Mari; Kn <i>rirra</i> ; Yl <i>irrali</i>
30.	beard	<i>talbarri</i>	<i>thalpadi</i>	Yl <i>thalpirri</i> ; Kukatj <i>thalperr</i> ; Kurtjar <i>lpaarr</i>

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
31.	hand	<i>murra</i>	<i>mara</i>	Many lgs (but not Yl, Kl, Mayi)
32.	chest	<i>beriko</i>	<i>purru</i>	Glossed ‘breasts’ but see 33; ‘chest’ in Gu, Kn, Pi; given as ‘breasts’ in Dh, Wb, Yi; Ngawun <i>parrkun</i> ‘chest’; Mayi-Kulan <i>lurru</i> ‘chest’
33.	breasts, milk	<i>tambo</i>	<i>thampu</i>	Glossed ‘milk’, but ‘breasts’ and ‘milk’ are the same in many lgs and both are <i>thambu</i> in Mayi lgs, <i>thampu</i> ‘breasts’ also in Gu, ‘testicles’ in Pi and Karna
34.	stomach	<i>booroo</i>	<i>pudu</i>	Gu; Yl, Kl <i>putu</i> ; Kukatj <i>puurr</i> ; Yb “ <i>oodoo</i> ”
35.	excrement	<i>koona</i>	<i>kuna</i>	Many lgs (but not Kl, Mayi)
36.	thigh	<i>tara</i>	<i>thada</i>	Gu, Pi, Mw; B, Dh, Yb <i>dhara</i> ; Pama <i>tharr</i>
37.	calf	<i>eulo</i>	<i>yulu</i>	RR <i>tyalu</i>
38.	foot	<i>tina</i>	<i>thina</i>	Also given for ‘track of a foot’; many lgs (but not Kl, Mayi)
39.	bone	<i>bunda</i>	<i>punta</i>	Also given for ‘wood’; Mw “ <i>punda</i> ”
40.	blood	<i>karruga</i>	<i>karruka</i>	Kn, Pi; Mt <i>katjuka</i> ; Karuwali “ <i>kaluka</i> ”
41.	skin	<i>binmin</i>	<i>pinmin</i>	
42.	fat	<i>mulki</i>	<i>nyilki</i>	Yl
43.	sun	<i>tooro</i>	<i>thuru</i>	Also given for ‘light’ and prob. (as “ <i>toro</i> ”) ‘yesterday’; Gu, Mari; note also some Karna lgs <i>thurru</i> ‘fire’
44.	moon	<i>multchi</i>	<i>ngaltyi</i>	Gu, Kn
45.	star	<i>markatto</i>	<i>makathu</i>	
46.	light	<i>tooro</i>		See 43
47.	day	<i>narthanya</i>	<i>ngathanya</i>	
48.	night	<i>winta</i>	<i>wintha</i>	Also ‘dark’; Gu and poss. Mw “ <i>whin-ga</i> ”
49.	dark	<i>winta</i>		See 48
50.	thunder	<i>ooraturri</i>		
51.	wind	<i>wipar</i>	<i>wipa</i>	cf. Kukatj <i>wulperr</i> , Ngamini <i>wamara</i>
52.	ground	<i>marpan</i>	<i>marrpan</i>	See 77
53.	stone	<i>goongo</i>	<i>kungku</i>	Gu
54.	water	<i>karko</i>	<i>kaku</i>	Kn, Pi
55.	rain	<i>karko</i>	<i>kaku</i>	Same as water, 54
56.	fire	<i>eula</i>	<i>yurla</i>	Kn <i>wurla</i> ~ <i>yurla</i> ; Kd “ <i>oorla</i> ”; Gu <i>wu(r)la</i>
57.	smoke	<i>toorko</i>	<i>thu(rr)ka</i>	Pi <i>thurrka</i> but note Kn <i>thurrkaruka</i> ‘dust’; Mari <i>dhuka</i>

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
58.	kangaroo	<i>matumba</i>	<i>matyumpa</i>	Kl, Gu, Yi, Mw, RR, Wangkamanha, Mayi-Kutuna, Mayi-Kulan ('scrub kangaroo, <i>Macropus antelopinus</i> ' in the last two)
59.	possum	<i>mungera</i>	<i>mangaRa</i>	Gu
60.	dog	<i>mikamo</i>	<i>mikamu</i>	Given for 'tame dog' and 'wild dog'; Gu, also secondary in Mayi-Kulan, Mayi-Yapi
61.	egg	<i>kudo</i>	<i>kuthu</i>	Gu, Kl; Kok-Nar <i>kuuthem</i>
62.	emu	<i>kookaburri</i>	<i>kukapaRi</i> <i>kulpari</i>	RR, Mw, Kn, Pi, Gu, Mari <i>kulparri</i> or
63.	plains turkey	<i>berkammo</i>	<i>parrkamu</i>	Glossed 'wild turkey', also (as " <i>bercamo</i> ") given for 'black duck'; Gu, RR, Yl, MT and secondary form in Mayi-Yapi; note also Karuwali, Kg " <i>wurkum</i> "
64.	brolga	<i>booralga</i>	<i>puRalku</i>	Glossed 'native companion'; Palku, Yl <i>purralku</i>
65.	pelican	<i>umbleterri</i>		
66.	black duck	<i>bercamo</i>		See 63
67.	kookaburra	<i>kowitchi</i>	<i>kawityi</i>	Glossed 'laughing jackass'
68.	crow	<i>wokkola</i>	<i>wakurla</i>	Yl, Wrl; Kl <i>wakarla</i> ; Gu <i>wakarna</i> ; related forms in Mari and Karna
69.	snake	<i>goondaro</i>	<i>kuntara</i>	Gu ('brown snake'), RR, Mw, Kn, Kl ('mulga snake') (mulga snake and king brown snake are alternative names for <i>Pseudechis australis</i> )
70.	fish	<i>wokarri</i>	<i>wakari</i>	Kl, Mw; Gu <i>wakani</i>
71.	crayfish	<i>toomban</i>	<i>thumparn</i>	Kl, Kn; Pi <i>thumpan</i>
72.	fly	<i>chiki-chiko</i>	<i>tyikutyiku</i>	Given as 'fly' but is 'maggot' in Kl, Mt, Ngu; may be 'blowfly' (which is the same as 'maggot' in some lgs)
73.	mosquito	<i>moonya</i>	<i>munya</i>	cf. Yi " <i>boonyee</i> "; Wb " <i>boonyi</i> "
74.	wood			See 39
75.	bark	<i>tirki-tirki</i>		cf. 25
76.	grass	<i>bookurra</i>	<i>pukarra</i>	Palku, secondary in Gu
77.	camp	<i>marrpan</i>	<i>marrpan</i>	Also <i>marrpan</i> 'ground'
78.	war spear	<i>bipaparro</i>		See 79
79.	boomerang	<i>bepaporo</i>	<i>pipapurru</i>	Pi, Kd; secondary in PP

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
80.	shield	<i>goonburra</i>	<i>kunpada</i>	Gu, Palku, Wunumara, Mayi-Thakurti
81.	throwing stick	<i>tulumberri</i>	<i>thalimpidi</i>	Yl 'nulla-nulla', Kl 'club', Mayi 'fighting stick' (prob. not for throwing)
82.	tomahawk	<i>warrambuda</i>	<i>waramparta</i>	Kl, Yl, PP, RR, WY; <i>parampara</i> secondary in Gu
83.	chisel	<i>kumbarli</i>	<i>kumpa(r)li</i>	Kl <i>kumpatha</i> ; PP, WY, Wrl <i>kumpaltha</i>
84.	women's corroboree ornament	<i>bowra</i>	<i>pawuda</i>	cf. Mari <i>bawuda</i> 'kangaroo', also secondary in Pi, and note that the Mayi-Thakurti used an ornament made of kangaroo teeth
85.	meat		<i>kathi</i>	See 105; Palku, Kn, Pi, Mayi lgs
86.	food	<i>workia</i>		May be a verb
87.	vegetable food			( <i>kunga</i> ) See 94; Gu, Pi, Pn
88.	good	<i>kalamundiri</i>		
89.	bad	<i>karlokoto</i>		
90.	big	<i>beali</i>	<i>piyali</i>	Gu <i>piyala</i> ; note also Yl <i>piyarri</i> 'long', some Karna lgs <i>payirri</i> 'long'
91.	little	<i>nekowla</i>	<i>nhakuwulya</i>	cf. Gu <i>nhayuwulya</i>
92.	heat	<i>ringen</i>	<i>ringkan</i>	Kn
93.	cold	<i>kitcha</i>	<i>katya</i>	Ngawun
94.	hungry	<i>goongindia</i>	<i>kunga yintaya</i> or <i>kungintanga</i>	May be <i>kunga</i> 'food' (see 87) followed by a verb <i>yintaya</i> ; compare Gu "goongindunga" which could be <i>kunga yintanga</i> , but which, unfortunately, is given for 'thirsty'; note also Kn <i>kungkipara</i> 'thirsty'
95.	thirsty	<i>mundia</i>	<i>mantaya</i>	Prob. a verb
96.	one	<i>gooniba</i>	<i>kunipa</i>	Means 'shade' in PP
97.	two	<i>boolari</i>	<i>pulari</i>	Kn, some Mari
98.	three	<i>ruto (?)</i>		It is not clear whether the question mark was added by Eglinton because he wasn't sure of the word or by Curr because he couldn't read Eglinton's writing
99.	four	<i>ecarra</i>		See 100
100.	plenty	<i>ekari</i>	<i>yikada</i>	Yl <i>ikata</i>
101.	walk	<i>yannananga</i>	<i>yana-</i>	Gu; Pi <i>yanda-</i> ; Pn <i>yantha</i>
102.	come on	<i>towari eninga</i>	<i>kawaRi yana-</i>	Kg "kowally", Kd "cowally"; <i>kawa</i> in many lgs; and see 101
103.	sit	<i>ninananga</i>	<i>nhina-</i>	Yl, some Karna lgs; Kn, Wrl <i>nyina</i>

English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
104. sleep	<i>mutchelinya</i>	<i>mutyi-</i>	Palku; cf. also Mayi lgs <i>mutja</i> ‘die’
105. eat	<i>kartitingya</i>	<i>thiNGa-</i>	“ <i>karti</i> ” may be <i>kathi</i> ‘meat’, see 85; “ <i>ekarra</i> ” may be <i>yikada</i> ‘plenty’, see 100.
106. drink	<i>ekarratingya</i>		Note Wrl <i>thangurna</i> ‘to eat (meat)’
107. dead	<i>pullaurga</i>	<i>pula-</i> ‘to die’	Poss. misreading of “ <i>pullanina</i> ” cf. B, Gu <i>wula-</i> , Yl <i>ulanga-</i> , Kl <i>uli-</i> , Pn <i>palu-</i> , Kw, Mt, Yawarrawarrka <i>pali-</i> , all ‘to die’
108. see	<i>bingininga</i>	<i>piNGi-</i>	Note Wb “ <i>bunginunga</i> ” ‘eat’
109. yesterday	<i>toro</i>		See 43, but note PP <i>thurru</i> ‘by and by’
110. today	<i>kiya</i>	<i>kaya</i>	Kn <i>kayali</i> ; Gu and some Mari <i>kayimpa</i> , PP, Ngamini <i>kari</i> ; Mt, Yawarrawarrka, Yandruwandha <i>kayidi</i> ; Wrl <i>kaliya</i>
111. by and by	<i>wichunga</i>	<i>wikanga</i>	Kn, Pi <i>wika(nga)</i> ‘tomorrow’; Pn <i>wikala</i> ‘tomorrow’, <i>wika</i> ‘day, light’
112. yes	<i>eallamarra</i>	<i>yiya lamaRa</i>	cf. Yl <i>tyala marra</i> ( <i>tyala</i> ‘this’); Eglinton gives Yl “ <i>lamerer</i> ” ‘yes’; note also Yl, RR, WY, Wb, Wrl <i>iya</i> ‘yes’
113. I don't know	<i>narrimo</i>		
114. I	<i>anga</i>	<i>ngantya</i> or <i>nganha</i>	PP, RR, Mw, Ngu.
115. you	<i>imba</i>	<i>yinpa</i>	Kn; ‘me’ in many lgs
116. Where are blacks?	<i>wariki</i> <i>wonarkika</i>		PP, RR, Mw, Ngu; Wakaya has <i>imp</i> cf. 1; note Kd “ <i>wantheilica</i> ”, Kg the “ <i>wanthera</i> ”, Yb “ <i>wondi</i> ”, Mayi, Gu <i>wantha</i> , PP, Ngu <i>wintha</i> , all ‘where?’
Roth's (1897) place names are:			
117. Warena	<i>wa-rin-ta</i>	<i>waRinta</i>	
118. Mt. Datson	<i>gop-pa gop-pa</i>	<i>kupakupa</i>	
119. Mt. Ninmaroo	<i>nin-ma-roo</i>	<i>ninmaRu</i>	
120. another hill	<i>boo-doo-wa-ri</i>	<i>putuwaRi</i>	

## CHAPTER 7

### VOCABULARY COMPARISONS AND GENETIC RELATIONSHIPS

In addition to his remarks on the reliability of cognate counts around the 50% mark (referred to in Chapter 1), Dixon claims (1980:254) that there is no ‘basic vocabulary’ which is less susceptible to change than less ‘basic’ vocabulary, and cites the similarities between cognate counts based on long and short wordlists. My experience confirms this similarity for wordlists as a whole, but nevertheless leads me to believe that certain classes of words are more or less likely to undergo change than others. Counts on numerous pairs of languages in western Queensland and neighbouring areas, resulting in the figures given in Breen 1971a, seemed to show that verbs were less likely than nouns to undergo loss and replacement. Furthermore, some semantic classes of nouns were more stable than others. (I do not claim priority for either of these observations, however. For example, Blake (1979a:129) refers to the greater likelihood of borrowing in certain semantic fields, and Austin (1981:5) gives separate cognate counts for verbs.)

A brief investigation into the available figures was made in order to quantify this impression. Counts for several of the semantic fields in which the nouns were grouped – human classification, body parts, fauna, inanimate nature, material culture – were compared. It was found that cognate figures were generally higher for the body part and fauna fields than for the others. The higher count for the body part field is attributed to its relative stability (which is also manifested by the high proportion of Common Australian forms which belong to this field – see Capell 1956, Chapter 4). This field also contains items of regional vocabulary, which are often not a good indication of genetic relationship because regional boundaries generally do not coincide with genetic group boundaries. Fauna counts are high probably because these terms are particularly likely to be borrowed and become regional forms. The other groups tend to have low cognate counts unless there is a genetic relationship<sup>1</sup>, although names of cultural items are sometimes borrowed. Table 7.1 illustrates these points; it is based on 29 counts; five in group A (contiguous and genetically related languages), eight in group B (contiguous but not related), four in group C (non-contiguous but related) and twelve in group D (non-contiguous and not related). The figures in brackets give the range of numbers of items compared in each field.

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<sup>1</sup>I am using the term ‘genetic relationship’ to mean ‘strong genetic relationship’ in the way it is used by Dixon (1972).

TABLE 7.1  
AVERAGE COGNATE COUNTS FOR NOUNS IN SEMANTIC FIELDS, AND VERBS

	Human classif'n (8-17)	Body parts (16-44)	Fauna (12-48)	Inanimate nature (8-19)	Material culture (8-16)	Verbs (5-33)
Group A	56	63	53	49	53	62
Group B	5	18	19	10	7	9
Group C	21	24	24	11	20	40
Group D	7	19	16	6	12	11

These figures are only a first approximation (a few are anomalous) and need refining and extending. Allowance must be made for different degrees of relationship and perhaps for regional differences in borrowing patterns. It is likely that only computerisation can allow the mathematics of this approach to be adequately handled. However, an attempt is made here to use this table to help to determine likely relationships between languages when overall cognate counts do not. The actual figures are not the most significant thing; rather, it is the relationship between them. For example, if two contiguous languages share 50% vocabulary but have only 40% of verbs in common, this can be taken as an indication that they are not as closely related as the overall figure might suggest (if we forget Dixon). The vocabularies have come to 50% in common from a lower figure. In fact, it can reasonably be concluded that they are not even as closely related as the 40% figure would suggest, because presumably the verb figure is approaching 50% and so started at a lower level than 40%. And, of course, if they have 60% of verbs in common the conclusion is that they were previously much more similar in lexicon and they have a fairly close genetic relationship. It should be possible to derive the same sort of information by just counting cognates in certain fields – say body parts, fauna and verbs – and comparing the figures obtained. One does not try to eliminate loanwords in this method, as one does in ordinary lexicostatistics.

To illustrate, some comparisons will be shown (Table 7.2) for languages whose relationships seem to be fairly straightforward. Wakaya, Bularnu and Warluwarra seem very clearly to belong in a group; evidence includes their very similar pronoun systems and consistent sound correspondences (for example, *\*ngalpa* ‘to enter’ has descended to Wakaya as *ngalp*, Bularnu as *ngapa* and Warluwarra as *ngalwa*). Warluwarra and Bularnu are contiguous; Wakaya is separated from Bularnu by another related language, Indjilandji, and from Warluwarra by both of these. These languages have not borrowed much vocabulary from unrelated neighbours (see the Wakaya/Wanyi comparison, as an example). Wordlists used are 250-word lists as used for Breen 1971a. (Table 7.1 also is based on these wordlists, but later tables will be based on all readily available items in the various fields.)

TABLE 7.2

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Warluwarra/Bularnu	52	53	50	26	42	46	76
Warluwarra/Wakaya	26	6	16	21	16	12	59
Bularnu/Wakaya	43	25	32	42	27	35	59
Wakaya/Wanyi	11	14	12	15	0	25	8



The next comparison (Table 7.3) involves the two Arandic dialects (Western Anmatyerr and Western Alyawarr), the Arandic language Kaytetye (not mutually intelligible with the first two) and the distantly related and superficially very different language Warlpiri. Only body part nouns, fauna names and verbs have been counted. Western Anmatyerr and Warlpiri are contiguous; Western Alyawarr country is contiguous with neither but is contiguous with Kaytetye. There has obviously been a substantial amount of borrowing in the fauna field and, it seems for Kaytetye and Western Alyawarr, in the body part field; the other figures may perhaps be consistent with the actual genetic relationships. It is interesting that Western Anmatyerr, the Arandic dialect most involved in lexical interaction with Warlpiri, seems to have no more verbs in common with Warlpiri than does Western Alyawarr.

TABLE 7.3

	body	fauna	verbs
Warlpiri/W.Anmatyerr	23	46	19
Warlpiri/W.Alyawarr	19	27	20
W.Anmatyerr/W.Alyawarr	60	45	72
Kaytetye/W.Alyawarr	56	62	35

With the above points in mind, we will examine the relationships between some of the languages covered in this book and languages in neighbouring groups. (The upper Barcoo languages are not included; they are clearly members of the Mari group as is demonstrated in Chapter 4.) First, however, some remarks on the validity of the Mari and Karna groups need to be made. The relationship between Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga also is relevant.

As mentioned above, the Karna languages were classified as four separate groups by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966). One of these, their Mitakudic Group, resulted from a mistaken identity and can be disregarded (see Breen 1971a:20). The others were grouped together by Breen (1971a) using cognate counts which do not stand up to Dixon's criticism; i.e. they are between 40% and 60%. The Karna languages are, however, linked by their very similar pronoun systems: there are separate nominative, ergative and accusative forms for first and second person singular pronouns; third person singular pronouns are demonstratives with deictic suffixes; these demonstratives also have a feminine-non-feminine distinction. Interrogative pronouns are *wara* 'who' and *minha* 'what' in all. In phonology and phonotactics, there are no initial laterals or rhotics, no final consonants, no vowel length and no words of less than two syllables. In noun morphology, although there is a great deal of variation in inflectional suffixes, two negative features that distinguish this group from most other Pama-Nyungan languages are the absence of the relationship between ergative and locative suffixes in which they are identical except that the former has final /u/ and the latter final /a/ (see Dixon 1976) and the fact that the dative suffix is not *ku*. These features do not all apply to every Karna language, but every one (except Kalali and Badjidi, whose classification requires further work) can be related in other ways to others with these features. For example, Wangka-Yutyurru does not have the feminine-non-feminine distinction, but it can be related in other ways to its neighbour Pitta-Pitta; for example, similarity in inflectional systems and a sound correspondence *d/l* in bound morphemes.

Some other notable grammatical and phonological features seen in Karna languages seem to be regional or isolated: use of verbs as auxiliaries or formatives in the south-east; pre-stopping of nasals and laterals in the south; future tense marked in noun and pronoun inflections in the north.

Cognate counts on Karna language pairs (if the tentative theory outlined above is accepted) tend to either support the classification of Breen (1971a) or to be neutral. An example of contiguous languages belonging to different Sub-groups of the Karnic Group is Wangkangurru/Ngamini, which have 41% cognate overall but only 19% of verbs. These figures suggest a rather distant relationship. Another similar example (although the two were probably not quite contiguous) is Yandruwandha/Wangkumara with figures of 33% overall, 24% verbs. A pair of geographically distant languages belonging to the same Subgroup is Wangkangurru/Pitta-Pitta, which have 35% overall, 44% verbs. Distant language pairs belonging to the various Subgroups are Wangkumara/Diyari (22%, 25%), Wangkumara/Pitta-Pitta (20%, 19%) and Pitta-Pitta/Diyari (20%, 19%) (and note the set *nhatyi*, *thatyi*, *watyi* in Pitta-Pitta and *nhayi*, *thayi*, *wayi* in Diyari, meaning ‘see’, ‘eat’, ‘cook’). It is interesting to note that Pitta-Pitta and Diyari share 19% in the verb count and Wangkangurru (which is related to Pitta-Pitta) and Ngamini (closely related to Diyari) share the same figure; this seems to suggest that there has been no borrowing at all in this field between Wangkangurru and Ngamini. A comparison between a Karna language, Pitta-Pitta and a non-contiguous language in the Mari group, Bidjara, gives figures of 7% and 8%. Two contiguous languages giving a comparison between Karna and Mari are Wangkumara and Margany, the figures being 14% and 8%. More details are given in Table 7.4. The Karna Group is not definitely established by these figures, but the matter will not be pursued further here.

TABLE 7.4

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Wangkangurru/Ngamini	41	23	54	57	50	40	19
Wangkangurru/Pitta-Pitta	35	31	43	36	22	35	44
Yandruwandha/Wangkumara	33	41	40	34	17	35	24
Wangkumara/Diyari	22	22	26	14	11	28	25
Wangkumara/Pitta-Pitta	20	17	27	19	2	18	19
Pitta-Pitta/Diyari	20	22	31	28	18	11	19
Pitta-Pitta/Bidjara	7	0	12	7	0	5	8
Wangkumara/Margany	14	4	25	18	11	17	8

The Mari languages are essentially those comprising the Mari Sub-Group of the Pama-Maric Group in O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin's (1966) classification. They are superficially very similar throughout the wide area they cover, and this is well illustrated by a comparison of Bidjara (one of the more south-westerly members of the group) with Gugu-Badhun (one of the more north-easterly). These share 32% of 204 items including 42% of 43 body part terms and 46% of 39 verbs but only 22% of 59 comparable fauna terms. Sound correspondences are illustrated by (Bidjara forms first): *dhili/dyili* ‘eye’, *dhina/dyina* ‘foot’, *dhiba/dyiba* ‘liver’, *-kadhi/-kadyi* ‘like (semblative)’; *yira/rirra* ‘teeth’, *yulku/rulku* ‘heart’; *karrkany/karrkay* ‘type of hawk’, *kukubiny/ngukubiy* ‘scrub turkey’, *dhakany/dhakay* ‘type of goanna’. (The #k / #ng correspondence is not regular.) In the grammar, the nominative pronoun sets are nearly identical but there are some differences in the inflections. Most of the nominal and verbal affixes which are comparable do not provide evidence for close relationship because they are widespread. Some which do are *-kadba/-karrba* ‘privative’, *-kadhi/-kadyi* ‘semblative’ and *-kan* ‘feminine’. Both have *ngani* ‘what?’ (which is ‘who?’ in

Capell's (1956) Common Australian list). (Tsunoda (1983) arrives at similar conclusions in a comparison of Margany and Gunya with Warungu, Gugu-Badhun and Gudjal.)

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) classified Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga each as a Group containing only one language. Blake (1971) showed that they were closely related morphologically and closer lexically than at first appeared (the relationship being obscured by sound changes in Kalkutungu). On this basis Breen (1971a) regarded them as being Sub-groups of a Kalkatungic Group. The comparisons Blake gives in his revised (1979a) grammar of Kalkutungu show that he then counted many items as borrowed rather than cognate. A preliminary count (without any attempt to eliminate loans) gives 42% cognate overall, and 27% of verbs. These figures suggest that the lexical similarities are, to a fairly substantial extent, due to borrowing. A more critical comparison (as in Blake 1979a) supports this assessment and yields somewhat lower figures. The original classification of these two languages as separate Groups may (as Blake (1979a) also concluded) be more correct. Some relevant facts are:

1. Kalkutungu and Yalarnnga personal pronouns are not particularly closely related (in form); the relationship between them points to the languages both being Pama-Nyungan but not necessarily more closely related.
2. Verb pairs counted as cognate normally involve a sound change in the Kalkutungu form. Some of these are Common Australian forms and so are evidence for a relationship only at the Pama-Nyungan level, unless a closer relationship can be established from other data. These are (Kl forms first) *ini/nhina* 'sit', *rna/thana* 'stand', *rnu/nguna* 'lie' and perhaps *ulhi/wulanga* 'die'. Others are doubtful; Kl *ari* 'eat' seems more likely to be cognate with Kn *kari* than Yl *ngarri* (because of the *r/rr* difference). Kl *thu* 'cook' seems more likely to be cognate with Mari *wadhu* than Yl *ngathi*. Kl *itya* may be cognate with the widespread *patya* (or perhaps with Proto-Paman *\*tyitya* 'eat') rather than (or as well as) Yl *rtatya*. Kl *lha* 'hit' may be cognate with Pi *pala* rather than Yl *wa(la)*. This leaves the pairs *apii/wawi* 'sing' (which involves a sound change not otherwise noted), *ntya/wantya* 'smell' (which could be all right, but note the Arandic root *nty*) and *arnpa/pinpa* 'gather'.
3. This does not leave a great deal, but it does leave some very suggestive pairs, such as *muu/murtu* 'camp', *kuu/kunhu* 'water', *ati/warri* 'meat', *ngkaa/yangkata* 'yam', *rontuu/tharntu* 'hole', *tyaa/tyala* 'this'. These, and morphological correspondences, do support the belief that, while not closely related, these two languages form a group in the sense of being more closely related to one another than to any other languages. Blake's (1971) brief comparative study remains convincing.

The cognate percentages quoted in the preceding paragraphs have been based on counts of items taken from the five nominal semantic groups mentioned above and of verbs. Numbers of items involved range from about 180 to 280. When we come to the languages described in the preceding chapters, however, we find that numbers are quite low. As an extreme example, cognate counts for Yanda with Kungkari and Pirriya give figures of:

Yanda/Kungkari	28% overall, 17% verbs
Yanda/Pirriya	25% overall, 40% verbs

which suggests that Yanda is considerably more closely related to Pirriya than to Kungkari. But the 17% for Yanda/Kungkari verbs is not out of six, and the 40% for Yanda/Pirriya is two out of five!

Nevertheless, figures will be given and compared, for what they are worth. Firstly, the four languages are compared with one another (Table 7.5), and figures given for overall percentage cognates (of all comparable items except pronouns), then for the four nominal fields: human classification, body parts, fauna, inanimate nature, material culture, then for verbs. In each case there are two lines; the upper line gives the percentages judged cognate and the lower the number of items compared (which will be all available items in each category, not just those found in Breen's (1971a) 250-word lists).

It is apposite to say at this stage that the conditions for regarding words as cognate should not be the same in all cases but should depend on the degree of relationship of the languages concerned. To give some examples: *thalany(a)* and *tharli* 'tongue' are indicative of a distant relationship and so can be used as evidence that Karna languages and Mari languages are ultimately related, but cannot be used as evidence of relationship of two languages within the Karna Group. Wangkumara has *thalanya*; this might at first be counted as cognate with Mg *dhalany*, but when the weight of evidence shows that these two languages belong to two different Groups and that other languages that are clearly related to Wangkumara have *tharli*, then it must be assumed that Wangkumara has borrowed *thalanya*. Similarly, *thatyi* and *dhala* are ultimately related (along with many other forms for 'eat' with initial *tha* or *dha*), but do not suggest the sort of close relationship that is likely to exist between languages having, say, *thatyi* and *thayi*. In this case we have a Wangkumara form *thaltha* whose relationship to the others is not clear; it may be borrowed or it might form a link between the Groups. Similarly, the Wangkumara form *nhatya* 'to see' might form a link between Diyari *nhayi* and PP *nhatyi* on the one hand and Mg *nhaa*, Gn *nhaga* and B *naka* on the other. Clearly comparisons must be reviewed whenever substantial information becomes available from other relevant languages.

In the case of Pirriya and Kungkari the verb cognate count is only a little lower than the overall count but some of the verb pairs counted as cognate show irregular sound differences which suggest that the relationship is not close. Only *nguna* 'to lie' and *patya* 'to bite' are the same in both languages. The other pairs counted as cognate are (Pirriya first) *pinyi/pini* 'to run', *yina/nyina* 'to sit', *thina/thana* 'to stand' and *manga/panga* 'to give'. (There are a handful of noun pairs that are similarly doubtful.) The high body part and inanimate figures support the idea that these two are closely related, but the low human and culture figures do not. Overall, the evidence seems slightly against a close relationship.

The figures for Guwa and Yanda mostly suggest a typical situation of contiguous unrelated languages with a high fauna count and some borrowing of cultural items, except that the inanimate nature figure is unusually high for unrelated languages. However, all the numbers involved are small. The other counts involving Guwa, with low verb figures, do not suggest any close genetic relationship. Nor do the two other counts involving Yanda, although the figures involved here are hopelessly low.

TABLE 7.5

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Pirriya/Kungkari	49	17	67	62	60	38	43
	124	12	21	34	10	13	14
Pirriya/Guwa	24	0	52	26	10	10	25
	106	11	23	27	10	10	8
Kungkari / Guwa	32	22	44	37	9	33	20
	116	9	25	30	11	9	10
Pirriya / Yanda	25	0	53	15	11	50	40
	73	8	17	13	9	8	5
Kungkari / Yanda	28	0	50	36	25	25	17
	74	8	16	14	8	8	6
Guwa / Yanda	40	22	48	62	40	43	29
	84	9	21	13	10	7	7

Table 7.6 shows figures for comparison of these languages with Kalkutungu and Yalarnga.

TABLE 7.6

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Kalkutungu/Yanda	14	0	19	50	0	11	17
	90	11	21	14	8	9	6
Yalarnga/Yanda	20	0	43	25	0	11	43
	89	11	21	12	8	9	7
Kalkutungu/Guwa	21	8	13	43	21	33	11
	163	13	39	37	14	12	18
Yalarnga/Guwa	19	8	26	29	8	22	13
	131	13	31	24	13	9	15
Kalkutungu/Kungkari	14	8	15	25	0	8	20
	158	12	34	36	13	12	25
Yalarnga/Kungkari	14	9	24	12	0	8	20
	144	11	27	24	14	12	24
Kalkutungu/Pirriya	15	0	8	21	0	17	36
	139	14	24	43	11	12	14
Yalarnga/Pirriya	15	0	29	12	0	8	36
	117	14	22	24	11	12	14

The Kalkutungu/Yanda figures seem to be inflated by a high fauna figure and, since this is a category whose members tend to be borrowed within a region, this suggests that the common vocabulary these two have results mainly from borrowing. However, the Yalarnga/Yanda figures seem to suggest the reverse, with a high body part count and a low fauna count. Considering that Yanda is contiguous to both, however, the figures are all quite low. The Guwa figures do not suggest any close genetic relationship. Figures involving Kungkari and Pirriya suggest that both of these are more closely related to Kalkutungu and Yalarnga than the overall percentages would suggest. However, when the verbs are re-examined it is seen that some of the pairs involved could well be accidental resemblances rather than cognates, e.g. Kn *ngangka*, Yl *mangka* ‘hear’; Kn *patya* Yl *rtatya* ‘bite’. In all these cases the number of items involved is too low to allow any conclusions to be drawn with even a minimum of confidence.

A closer examination of the vocabulary items mentioned at the end of Chapter 1 shows that they are not as suggestive as they seemed at first. Some of them – *murumari*, *kuntara* and *thumpa(r)n* are not in Yalarnga and must be loans in Kalkutungu (since they have not undergone sound changes). *Pi(r)npirri* has a different meaning in Kalkutungu. This leaves little reason apart from the absolutive/ergative pronoun system for suggesting any genetic relationship.

Table 7.7 shows counts with Karna languages.

TABLE 7.7

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Pirriya/Wangkumara	28	31	38	27	15	29	21
	150	13	26	48	13	14	11
Pirriya/Pitta-Pitta	17	7	30	24	0	29	7
	138	15	27	37	12	14	15
Kungkari/Wangkumara	20	8	38	21	13	20	15
	189	12	34	43	15	15	33
Kungkari/Pitta-Pitta	16	8	27	17	6	27	12
	177	13	30	42	17	15	32
Guwa/Pitta-Pitta	11	0	17	21	0	21	6
	170	16	42	33	14	14	17
Yanda/Pitta-Pitta	24	20	29	38	0	56	17
	84	10	21	13	9	9	6

The verb count in this table is consistently lower than the overall count, so that the evidence, while not at all strong, does seem to point to a fairly distant relationship between these languages. However, it does not give any particular reason to suggest that the distance between some pairs, such as Pirriya and Wangkumara, is any greater than that between Wangkangurru and Ngamini.

Table 7.8 shows counts with Mari languages.

TABLE 7.8

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Pirriya/Margany	24	0	46	26	23	17	29
	143	14	26	43	13	12	14
Kungkari/Margany	28	0	39	29	28	36	37
	186	9	32	45	18	14	30
Kungkari/Dharawala	22	0	52	14	20	0	18
	80	7	21	22	10	9	11
Pirriya/Bidjara	20	7	42	17	8	25	21
	140	14	26	40	12	12	14
Kungkari/Bidjara	21	0	44	20	16	6	30
	183	12	34	40	19	19	27
Guwa/Bidjara	34	29	57	19	15	25	40
	163	17	44	32	13	12	20
Yanda/Bidjara	16	10	35	15	11	11	0
	83	10	20	13	9	9	7
Guwa/Gugu-Badhun	25	8	34	20	14	21	42
	118	13	35	30	14	14	12

The Yanda/Bidjara figures argue as strongly as a wordlist with only seven verbs could against Breen's (1971a) conclusion that Yanda was related to the Mari languages. Other figures do, however, suggest a relationship between Pirriya, Kungkari, Guwa and Mari languages. At least two of the five verbs Guwa and Gugu-Badhun have cognate are Common Australian, which detracts from the otherwise very convincing figures for these two languages. The data on Guwa pronouns (see 5.3.2), although not convincing, do tend to support the conclusion that it is related to the Mari languages. The figures for Kungkari support the supposition that it was contiguous with Margany rather than with Dharawala (see 3.1).

Table 7.9 shows counts with some of the Mayi languages. There are no figures for verbs for Wunumara because its corpus includes only one doubtful verb.

TABLE 7.9

	overall	human	body	fauna	inanimate	culture	verbs
Guwa/Mayi-Thakurti	26	7	24	47	19	29	9
	124	15	38	30	16	14	11
Guwa/Wunumara	32	21	29	52	14	25	
	81	14	31	21	7	8	
Yanda/Mayi-Thakurti	13	10	16	10	0	27	20
	71	10	19	20	8	9	5
Yanda/Wunumara	20	11	24	22	0	40	
	45	9	17	9	5	5	

Tindale's (1974) map shows Guwa contiguous with Wunumara along its whole northern boundary, with Mayi-Thakurti further north. A map by Parry-Okeden (1897) shows both Mayi-Thakurti and Wunumara contiguous with Guwa. While Parry-Okeden's map is not reliable (for example, both Yalarnnga and Yanda are missing), the figures in Table 7.9 suggest that he may be right at least in that respect. Guwa does not show any sign of close genetic relationship to either, however – note the high fauna figures and the low body part and verb figures. Yanda also shows no sign of relationship to the Mayi languages. On the whole, the evidence seems to point to the same sorts of relationships that Breen's (1971a) study found, although generally more distant than supposed then. Guwa seems to be close enough to Mari to be classified as a Subgroup of the Pama-Maric Group. Kungkari and Pirriya are perhaps close enough to one another to form Subgroups of a Group, but this is by no means sure. They seem to be related to the Mari languages, perhaps more closely than they are to one another. The Curr “Koongeri” and “Kungarditchi” lists do not help; the former is very close to Pirriya and may simply be Pirriya under a wrong name, while the latter is mixed (see Appendix 3.2). Yanda is hardest to classify, because of the absence of data, but seems to be closer to Guwa than to any other language. It is disappointing that this refinement of the lexicostatistic method has not led to any clear-cut classification; it remains to be seen what it will do with more promising material.



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