

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE PILBARA - PAST AND PRESENT

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Since the subject of this paper is largely of a geographical nature its presentation might be supported most suitably by several maps.¹

The area concerned is situated roughly between the 20th and 26th degree southern latitude and the 113th and 121st degree eastern longitude. Expressed in territorial terms this means the North West Division of Western Australia, bounded north by the De Grey and Oakover Rivers, south by the Wooramel River, west by the Indian Ocean and east by the Great Northern Highway.

To avoid a lengthy title, and for want of a better, deservedly Aboriginal name, I have used the term 'Pilbara' to cover this region, although it should be noted that this name is more generally applied to the mining district between the De Grey, Oakover and Fortescue Rivers.

The history of linguistic exploration in the Pilbara begins with the Ngarluma vocabulary of 78 words collected by P. Walcott. He was a member of the expedition under Gregory which opened up the northern Pilbara for squatters in 1861. Since then the language situation there, being substantially part of the tribal situation, has aroused only sporadic interest. Until not too long ago none of the observers whose names and works are listed in historical order in the Bibliography to this paper, was a linguist. Radcliffe-Brown, at that time the only trained anthropologist to work in the area, published the first useful map (No.1) in 1912. A later one (No.2), by Connelly (1932), is not as complete as the corresponding section of Tindale's tribal map (No.3) of 1940. The tribal boundaries which Tindale introduced for the first time were of necessity a matter of conjecture.

During the first phase of exploration in the Pilbara, the linguistic approach was characterised, as elsewhere in Australia, by the collection of vocabularies, occasionally supplemented by a few phrases. Allowing for the limited

value of the methods employed we must admit that much more was done for the Pilbara languages in the 50 years between 1860 and 1910 than in the subsequent period between 1910 and the late 1950s. If this fact is not well known it is only because the main source - Daisy Bates' great collection² of "Native Vocabularies" - lies forgotten in the Battye Library in Perth, Western Australia - untouched for the last 60 years. Comprising about 380 folio pages, and including some questionnaires and grammatical notes, these documents deal with 12 of the Pilbara languages in 19 vocabularies, only two of which have been published. When compared with the results of more recent research the older sources may prove quite valuable, particularly with regard to the movements of languages and possible changes in their vocabulary. After the First World War, no linguistic research was carried out until a new era began with Capell's "New Approach" (1956) and the field work undertaken by Hale and O'Grady.³

Supported by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies I started field work in the Pilbara in 1964 and have continued my research there during the winter seasons. The work has been carried out at 3 levels simultaneously. Whilst "survey" was followed by "study", wherever the opportunity arose I concentrated on planned "depth study" of Ngarluma, Jindjiparndi and Njijapali which is spoken by the Paljgu. I singled out these 3 languages because Ngarluma and Jindjiparndi not only provided an ideal combination for interior linguistic comparison but also proved representative of the whole coastal group. Njijapali, on the other hand, is interesting as the westernmost member of the large Western Desert group. The map (No.6) showing the 3 levels of study-intensity may give an idea of how much more needs to be done in the Pilbara.

Altogether there are 52 Aboriginal names, representing 40 languages and some sub-groups, which are localised on the maps No.4 to No.6. Of these, 32 names belong to the "survey" - 10 to the "study"- and 9 to the "depth-study"-level.⁴ I mention in passing that the distribution of all these names reveals a density pattern which is proportional to the density of watercourses on the map. Similar patterns are met with in northern Victoria.

As far as the meaning of the tribal or language names is concerned I found only a few still intelligible to the Aboriginals themselves. Paljgu, for instance, means the 'Pleasant' or 'Gentle' ones, in accordance with their ancestral heroes, the two Tamiarra or 'Gentlemen'. Not so flattering are the names Ngarluma, which has to do with the root

ngarlu-ma- for 'to poison', and Kariëra, containing the adjective kari 'bitter, sour, sharp'. Others refer to geographical features: the Marduthunira are the 'Flat- or River-landers' showing mardu 'flat, low' which occurs in a similar compound as Marduiddja⁴, the name for the lowlands of the upper Fortescue River. The Tjururu are also 'Lowlanders' in contrast to their neighbours, the Kurama or 'Highlanders'. Likewise a sub-group of the Jindjiparndi, the Marndanjingu (Montanyingu), correspond to the French 'montagnard', both derived from homophonic stems monta- for 'mount, stone'. Another group takes the points of the compass as names. We find them mainly in Wadjarri country: Wardal 'east', Pidungu 'west', and Jaburru 'north'. There is also Jaburrara for the 'Northern' Ngarluma. Another group again consists of names indicating the usage of one peculiar word in this tribe, e.g. Pinikurra from pini- 'to go' or Njijapali from njija 'this'.⁵ The warngga-names⁶ belong here also: Ngaala-warngga and Ngaja-warngga denote a speech in which the pronouns ngaala and ngaja are used, and Pundju-warngga is the Njamal 'heavy-speech'. The Ju'unna, also a Njamal sub-group, are the people who say ju'u for 'yes'. Wadjarri may be a derivative of wadji 'not', the two representing the well-known group in Australia of negative or affirmative names. A certain pride is expressed in the name Iirra-Wadjarri, which means the 'mouth' or 'genuine' Wadjarri in contrast to the rest of the large group. Jardira is a collective name for the Kauarindjarri, the 'Westerners' and the Kurama, the 'Highlanders', because they live both 'on the (one) side', as seen from the Marduthunira. But let us leave the analysis of names and turn to the classification of the languages in the Pilbara.

Two basic types are represented there which stand out also by their regional distribution. To give a clearer picture of their nature I must digress and leave the Australian scene for a while.

Many typological divisions can and have been made in order to classify the languages of the world. The one I wish to introduce here is not yet so well known in its universal application, and its terminology still needs further clarification. Nevertheless more attention should be paid to it, because it seems to hold clues to the evolution of certain grammatical cases in the Indo-European languages, semantically as well as phonemically.

If I call the two opposed terms relating to 'transitive action' of verbs, *PVC* and *AVC*, which stand for 'Passive Verbal Concept' and 'Active Verbal Concept', to name the

older one first, it should be emphasised that the two well worn classical terms 'Passive' and 'Active' have been retained mainly so they may not lose their polarity potential in any comparative study. Strictly speaking, the real contrast would be between an older 'Neutral Verbal Concept' and a younger 'Active-Passive Verbal Concept'. The term 'passive verb' is certainly not valid for some non-Indo-European languages. But most substitutes so far offered, like 'verbal noun', 'nominal verb', or 'transitive and intransitive' cling again to the same tradition and do not offer a better set of opposites to operate with in comparative studies. The dilemma has been realised for a long time.⁷ In my opinion methods and terminology will of necessity continue to suit the 'active' linguist and not the 'passive' language type under analysis as long as linguistics is dominated by European background and tradition.

The following definition is summary and rather simplified: in *PVC* our term 'action' is presented as a happening, being related or equated to somebody or something. The focus is on the person or thing 'related' to the happening as its grammatical and literal 'subject'. The person who caused the happening is of less importance and stays instrumental or lateral.⁸ Needless to say that there can be no passive voice in *PVC* as there is no active voice. If the voice has to be named it should be called 'neutral' as already pointed out above.

In *AVC* the focus is on the acting person, playing the dominant role in the action. The former 'related' person or thing is removed from his or its equational impartiality and is raised to the actor's level of involvement by becoming the 'direct object'.⁹ In this concept a passive voice can logically be expected and is often found.

AVC, the 'Active Verbal Concept', is younger and seems to be the result of a 'transformation' from *PVC*. This has been concluded from the existence of a nominative and accusative case in a number of Indo-European languages for non-neuter nouns, based on the rudimentary phonemes -s and -n. Prior to the transformation, these endings had represented the agentive *-s and essive *-n(a) case in the equating *PVC* constructions.¹⁰ This historical transformation must have ultimately taken place as the result of a change to more individualistic thinking. Accordingly languages without such change might have to be regarded as residual or reflecting a persistingly impersonal society. It is not difficult to infer also that growing interest in or actual

trend back to *PVC* could be a lingopsychic indicator of a looming social reversion.

To round off the general picture of the *PVC:AVC* partition, seen as a *PVC* to *AVC* transformation, I may enumerate the main members of the *PVC* language family.

Their number is by no means small. In Europe the sole survivor is Basque. In Asia one centre is situated in the Caucasus, where Churrian and Biainian¹¹ formed the oldest *PVC* group known. It flourished from the 19th to the 8th century B.C. in a wide circle from the Zagros mountains to the Syrian coast. The tribes or bands speaking Churrian vanished linguistically after they had helped in the conquest of Egypt and India. The Biainians became a victim in turn of the Assyrians, Persians and Armenians. Today the only *PVC* language of a similar type is the North-Caucasian Dagestan language Avaric with about 170,000 speakers, whilst Georgian, of the South-Caucasian group, stands more apart. If we look further east it is interesting to note in connection with the fate of the *PVC* allies of the conquerors of India, that a *PVC* substratum, apparently dormant until the 13th century (A.D.), has eventually reproduced *PVC* features in modern offspring like Hindi, Benghali, Nepali, etc. Going south-east we come across traces of *PVC* on Timor¹⁹ and - returning for a moment to Australia - we find *PVC* prevailing over a large part of the Suffixing Languages of the interior, perhaps the best known being the Western Desert group. Leaving aside an ambiguous brand of *PVC* in Indonesia and the Philippines⁷ we have, further east, the widespread Polynesian group, well illustrated by its eastern branch Maori. Finally we reach South America and close our list with Kechua in Peru and neighbouring states.

I have mentioned only the better known members of this group. There are some more, but we cannot enter into details here. Also the interesting question of what other traits *PVC* languages have in common and whether there are any historical links, cannot be followed up. We must return to the Australian scene, because there, and specifically in our Pilbara region, we meet a unique situation which the more time-ruled rest of the world cannot offer anywhere: the synchronous side-by-side existence of the two opposed types, *PVC* and *AVC*, neatly arranged on the map within conceivable boundaries and evidently used by the same stock of population, and using the same Common Australian stock of words.

This situation is indicated on map (No.5) by different shadings. You see 3 belts of languages: coastal, inland, and intermediate.

The unshaded coastal belt, reaching from the Ngarla in the north to the Malgana in the south, covers pure *AVC* languages. It contrasts with the fully shaded inland belt which shows the beginning of the pure *PVC* languages. Their territories extend inland, large and wide. On this map only the Njangumarda, Njijapali, Purditharra and Wardal can be seen.

In between the two belts I have inserted, in half shade, the intermediate belt, representing the Njamal, Pandjima, Tjururu and Wadjarri. Here different degrees of mutual intrusions from either of the contrast belts are noticeable. We may say that in Njamal, for instance, *AVC* intrusions on a now predominantly *PVC* type occur, whilst in the neighbouring Pandjima, *PVC* intrusions on a predominantly *AVC* type can be observed. There is no doubt, however, that the movement on the *PVC:AVC* front is one-way only, following the general trend of the tribal push towards the coast which always was and still is - increasingly so under contact conditions - dictated by the search for easier and better living. But this tendency does not hold for the vocabulary in the Pilbara. Although eastern words have moved westward with the spread of circumcision and subincision rites, and indeed do belong mainly to this ritual sphere, a countermove of western words is now more prominent. A number of terms for the coastal landscape, flora and fauna, and technical terms introduced through contact with the Whites in the coastal towns, have spread inland.

Of the *PVC* group the western-most Njijapali is interesting, because it has taken on the western *AVC* incorporated object marker *l/r/n* limited to the non-compound transitive verb group. The object marker thereby becomes a subject marker.¹²

It is sometimes wrong to assume longer periods for assimilation processes of this kind in intermediate areas. With regard to Njijapali we know that the *AVC* influence has been induced by White contact. A considerable number of Paljgu people had been enticed away from their home grounds around Nullagine to replenish the dwindling coastal tribes, working more or less as forced labour in the early pearling industry. Such measures have also helped the advance of circumcision to the coastal towns.

The so-called Circumcision Line, marked on nearly all maps of the Pilbara to show how far the circumcision practising tribes had moved west, was established at the time when Radcliffe-Brown worked there and has been repeated

ever since. It indicates the position in 1910. In the meantime the old tribal life on the former grounds has ceased to exist, but the tendencies of tribal movement towards the coast are still felt and circumcision has reached all coastal towns. Although the fluctuation within the new station-, town- and Reserve communities, dictated or tolerated by our social system, is considerable, and often difficult to observe, two movements are at present discernable: a shift from inland station to coastal town or Reserve and, in the same search for easier living, a steady stream of individuals from the desert regions in the north-east towards urban civilisation, expressed mainly in Njangumarda and Wanman infiltration to the tin-mining district of Marble Bar. The only other inland place attractive to eastern desert roamers now is Jigalong which has become the new centre of Aboriginal spiritual activity, exerting considerable influence as far as the coast, in the Pilbara and further south, and this in spite of being a mission station.

Looking again at map No.6 we notice that the Circumcision Line of 1910 is almost identical with the boundary line between the coastal *AVC* and the intermediate belt. I suggest that at some earlier time the Circumcision Line corresponded to the more easterly boundary running between the intermediate and *PVC* belts, and I further suggest that the intermediate tribes belonged fully to the *AVC* group at that time. The process of linguistic type change from *AVC* to *PVC* would naturally take much longer than any cultural superimpositions, as e.g. circumcision over arm-tying. Evidently the loss of tribal coherence has put an end to the process of amalgamation, or rather, conversion from *AVC* to *PVC* in the intermediate belt. It will be interesting in the future, to watch the chances of *AVC* versus *PVC* within the new linguistic pattern in the polyglot urban communities of the Pilbara. The most important factor there will be the outcome of the struggle between the 'gaining' and the 'losing' languages. So far 3 *linguae francae* have emerged out of it: Njangumarda (*PVC*) in the north, with Port Hedland and Marble Bar as centres, Jindjiparndi (*AVC*) together with Pandjima (Intermediate) in Roebourne and Onslow, and the Wadjarri (Intermediate group) in the south, with Mullewa as main centre. Provided the rapid growth of the Aboriginal population continues and there is no slackening of migration from the north-east, we can forecast *PVC* as the ultimate winner in future typological development in the Pilbara. Considering the historical relation of *PVC* to *AVC* as the younger group, the visualised win of *PVC* in the North West

must be regarded as unnatural and contact-induced. In precontact-times the coastal tribes were always powerful enough to hold their own against pressure from the interior 'spinifex blacks' or 'lizard-eaters'. The question then remains: How did the *AVC* languages become established on the coast in the first instance? Is there an indigenous law of centrifugal development from interior *PVC* to exterior *AVC*, a possibility which could only be considered on the strength of a continent-wide occurrence? Or was the north-west coast of Australia, with the De Grey River forming a conspicuous boundary, once invaded by a southward spreading *AVC*-possessing people? These and related questions, although directly concerning the language situation in the Pilbara, are too complex to be discussed or answered within the framework of this paper.

We can say more about the effect which the new social order of urban contact life has had in working towards a common vocabulary in the Pilbara. It is particularly evident in the poetical language. Although not everyone is a *njiniri*, a musician-composer who can 'pull' a corroboree, nearly every initiated man is able to produce 'Taabi' songs, individual poems sung to popular tunes borrowed from the more gifted *njiniris*, and accompanied by scraping a wooden *mir mba* or fork, rhythmically across a row of notches cut into the spearthrower for the occasion. These songs deal with anything non-ceremonial, from dreams and desires to admiration of technical feats, or important events. Skill and elegance in the composition of these songs is displayed by the poet's versatility not only in the use of his tribal kennings, but also of those from other dialects. Some songs produced by influential half-castes in Port Hedland contain kennings of all the languages known to them. Such contributions are helping to create a type of universal Pilbara poetical language which is widely enjoyed because of its use of a minimum of disturbing grammar and a maximum of polyglot kennings or epithets.

The tendency to borrow foreign words, however, is not new. It is noticeable also in the different *padupadu* languages of the Pilbara. *padupadu*, a word common to all Pilbara languages, is the secret name for the 'in-law' speech which I was fortunate to extract from my hesitant informants. Until very recently the secrecy surrounding *padupadu* had increased with the decrease of tribal law. But now the elders seem more communicative. I found that *padupadu* was once a powerful cultural feature in the whole of the Pilbara, with the exception of *Njangumarda*.¹⁴

padupadu is used wherever a potential in-law relation is recognised or anticipated, and is accordingly extended to the relation between circumcisor and circumcised. It is a language in its own right, apart from the ordinary speech, and differs from it in vocabulary but not in grammar. The following are affected: family names of the other moiety, all nouns classifiable as totemic, the majority of verbs (which tend to become compounds), and the demonstrative pronouns (which appear grossly inflated). As the avoidance of personal references in the address is typical *padupadu* style, some of these demonstratives are used instead of the second personal pronoun.

The origin of the word material for *padupadu* is interesting from the linguistic point of view. As in the case of the recent poetical language development, so in the case of *padupadu* - but here perhaps over a longer period - 'big' words were taken over from other parts of the country in order to make the creation of respectful expressions easier, as well as to give them status. Some *padupadu* words, e.g. *tjirdamarra*, perhaps 'ray-maker'(?), for 'eye', are identical all over the Pilbara, others appear to be taken mainly from almost extinct coastal ordinary languages like *Ngarla* and *West Ngarluma*. Some of these words may be of great age, others, I found, were quite ordinary only 100 years ago.¹⁵

My attempt to condense into this short paper information on a number of diverse and complex linguistic phenomena, must also include a few words on type relation or differences within each of the main groups *PVC* and *AVC*. The *PVC* part may be omitted here because already quite an extensive literature exists on its representative, the Western Desert group. But the little known coastal *AVC* group deserves attention here, however brief.

As a result of my comparative studies two linguistic relation types within the *AVC* coastal belt came to light, which might have originated from geographical position and intermarriage. The contrast here is between 'Language Couples' and 'Language Brothers'.

The 'Couple' consists of one coastal tribal language ruling the marine sphere of phenomena, and a direct hinterland neighbour which is pretender to this position, whilst the 'Language Brothers' are neighbours along the coast or along the hinterland. The linguistic differences between co-ordinated 'Brothers' are either too insignificant for comparative treatment or too substantial for it, whilst the differences between the subordinated partners of a 'Couple' seem to express themselves in 'breakdown'¹⁶ by lenition¹⁷ or

in 'alteration by bias'¹⁸ of the hinterlander's sound system, whilst the coastal partner retains the same system unaltered. The 'Couple' hereby becomes an ideal object for etymological study. I suggest that there are more of such language relations to be found in Australia.¹⁹ In my opinion only the comparative study of such pairs will render possible the complete phonological, morphological and semantic understanding of either language, and if there is this choice, single dialect studies on the second and third intensity level should be abandoned.

I come now to the last item of my sampling of the linguistic diversities in the Pilbara, an instance of foreign influence in the vocabulary. In spite of its singularity so far, this case has in my opinion great historical significance.

Between Nichol Bay and the mouth of the De Grey River, i.e. in the Ngarluma, Kariara and Ngarla language the word for 'turtle' is *tartaruga*, sometimes *thartharuga* in the mouth of elderly people, which at once calls to mind the Italian as well as the Portuguese word for 'turtle'. The underlying original Late Greek *tartarouchos*, taken over by Late Latin as *tartarūcus*, the name for an underworld demon, is supposed to be a creation of early Christian symbolism which had applied the feminine form *tartarūca* to the turtle to express the hellish nature of the sea-monster. On the other hand, all my informants insist that *tartaruga* is an old word and not a recent acquisition as are so many others of which they are well aware. For this reason and for the lack of finding any tangible Italian influence in the colonial period in this part of the Pilbara, only the Portuguese origin of *tartaruga* can be considered.²⁰ It seems impossible for a 9-letter word to develop in Romance and Australian languages independently as an identical name for the same animal, if we know that Portuguese ships were cruising in the Timor Sea, for the special reason to obtain tortoiseshell as one of the most fashionable and precious materials traded in those days.

With the acceptance of Portuguese origin for *tartaruga* we have gained a new and better lead to establish Portuguese landings on the North-west Coast of Australia. The importance of the famous French sea charts of the 16th century from Dieppe which show Portuguese names and a fairly accurate outline of the North-west Coast, is in my opinion greatly enhanced by the new linguistic find. I draw your attention to a paper read to this society at the 22nd Congress in 1935 by Thomas Dunbabin who quite convincingly

connected the time and place of the mentioned sea charts with the death of Jean Parmentier de Dieppe who was guided by Portuguese pilots on his last voyage to Sumatra in 1529.

According to the spread of the term *tartaruga* Portuguese landfalls are indicated on the coast between Nichol Bay and the mouth of the De Grey River. I am confident that traces of Portuguese ships, landings or trade activity will one day be found somewhere along the shores of the Pilbara.

NOTES

1. For the sake of uniformity 7 maps have been designed by using *one* common base-pattern. They are all identical in size and geographical features. Numbers 1 to 3 were adapted from earlier sources by the superimposition of tribal names and boundaries known between 1910 and 1940. Number 4 shows the results of my own inquiries, numbers 5 and 6 differ for their shading, one to show distribution of language types, the other to indicate the degree of intensity of my studies. Numbers 1 to 6 deal with the past, number 7 with the present situation.
2. None of the vocabularies are put down by D. Bates herself, but some are re-written in her orthography.
3. The information given for a great number of W group languages in A. Capell's *Linguistic Survey of Australia*, Sydney, 1963, refers to the fieldwork undertaken by K.L. Hale and G.N. O'Grady. The results are not yet published. O'Grady 1959 makes use of them.
4. A non-tribal designation of the upper Fortescue flats between Roy Hill and Jigalong. This is often used with reference to the origin of rites and songs. For an alphabetical list of these names see Index.
5. The ending -kurra 'having' (literally 'to side') is very common in geographical names and can often be translated with 'country'; -pali is a plural suffix.
6. warŋga < *waru - ŋga, not *wonga 'speech, language'.
7. In favour of 'verbal noun' and 'nominal verb' is A. Capell, *Verbal Systems in Philippine Languages*, The Philippine Journal of Science, vol.93, No.2, Manila 1964, pp.231-249; in favour of 'transitive' and 'intransitive' G.B. Milner, *Active, Passive or Perfective in Samoan, A Fresh Appraisal of the Problem*, Symposium of Malayo-Polynesian Languages, 10th Pacific Science Congress, Honolulu, 1961; against it Holger Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, vol.

XXV; '2, København 1938, par.63. K.L. Hale, in a paper entitled *Case and Voice in Some Australian Languages*, also read at the 39th ANZAAS Congress, uses the terms 'accusative' and 'ergative' for AVC and PVC.

8. To illustrate this I give an example from the ambivalent Pilbara language Njamal:

ṇaḍa -lu wia - n -na -na n'una -n'a

me -by see -it -Past-me by thou -as

he having - seen-it by me (is) you =

I have seen you.

9. My example is again from Njamal:

ṇaḍ'a wia - n -na n'una -ṇu

I see -it -Past thou -Object = I have seen you.

10. As for the Nominative this has been suggested already by Uhlenbeck, *Indogermanische Forschungen* XII, 170 sq., and Holger Pedersen, loc.cit. (Note 7) par.63 sq. As for the personal Essive my own material and studies have not yet been published.

11. A. Goetze, *The Hurrian Verbal System*, Language 16, 1940, pp.217-223. Biainian is the more suitable name and also a self-designation of the Urartians, i.e. the inhabitants of Urartu, the Ararat of the Bible.

12. For Bunak see A. Capell, *Peoples and Languages of Timor*, Oceania XIV (1943), pp.312-337, and L. Berthe, *Sur quelques distiques Buna'*, Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 115:4, 1959, pp.336-372.

13. e.g. the AVC form, preserved in Njamal:

wia -n -na, becomes in Njijapali PVC

wia -l -bi

see -it-Past

14. This seems to contradict O'Grady's secret language malj of the Njangumarda (1956, see Note 2). Judging from the words given by O'Grady, a north-eastern Western Desert origin of malj is more likely than a genuine Njangumarda creation. Therefore my information that Njangumarda lacks padupadu might still hold for earlier times.

15. I found that the words for 'axe', 'barbed spear', 'emu', 'granite' and 'horse', given in the Walcott vocabulary

of 1861 as ordinary words, are now only known in padupadu Ngarluma.

16. The term used by the Jindjiparndi for this breakdown of their own language in contrast to Ngarluma, is kur'daanjarri- 'short-hold-Medium' = 'to keep oneself short'.

17. So far I have avoided burdening this paper with detailed language material. But I think, I should give at least a few striking cases to illustrate this.

Two single oblique word forms will serve well as examples for Jindjiparndi and Ngarluma. I put them first in Sydney-School style transcription (Jindjiparndi):

1. gauna'lau 'with-foreskin-Obl.'
2. bu'au 'cormorant-Obl.'

It would be difficult to analyse these forms correctly without the corresponding lenition-free forms in the partner language (Ngarluma):

1. 'gabungalaragu
2. 'buraguragu

It will at once be clear from this confrontation that the transcription used is insufficient and that a more etymological type must be employed to the advantage of morpheme-boundary and vowel-length indication. We have then:

- | (Ngarluma) | | (Jindjiparndi) |
|-------------------|---|---------------------|
| 1. 'kabunkalaragu | > | 'kaun'a'laa'u |
| 2. 'purakuragu | > | 'pua'aa'u > pu'aaau |

displaying third-stage or zero-lenition of the medial stops (k)/g and (p)/b as well as of medial untrilled r, elision or morpheme- (but not word-) initial k/(g) and the assimilation of the resulting vowel cluster ua to aa. In normal, i.e. fast, speech only the shift of stress from the first syllable will reveal vowel length, in these cases 'aa and 'aaa. Such shrinking of the consonantal word skeleton, however, has not led to a 'Polynesianisation' of Jindjiparndi.

18. Characteristic of the bias-ruled Couple-relation between Talandji and its hinterland partner Purduna is, amongst others, the change of nC and ŋC > CC, in other words, gemination, not loss, as a result of bias against clusters with n and ŋ in first position. This peculiarity often makes Purduna sound like Talandji spoken with a heavy cold.

Example:

(Talandji)

(Purduna)

kangara tjirndinga = kadgara tjirddigga = 'high in the sky'.

19. K. Hale found regular changes governing aberrant systems in North Queensland. S.A. Wurm, *Aboriginal Languages. The Present State of Knowledge*, 1961 Research Conference on Australian Aboriginal Studies, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.5, expects to find such conditions in the 'marginal areas' of Arnhem Land, Cape York and Victoria.

20. Although it seems absurd to consider, even as a last possibility, the Australian origin of tartaruga and its spread to Europe during the Great Peoples' Migration by returning Roman, Greek or Teutonic seafarers, it should at least be mentioned. In this connection I have hesitantly to draw attention to a considerable number of genuine Australian word-stems which could be connected easily with Romance *resp.* Indo-European stems:

wida- > wia-	'to see'	videre
monda-	'mountain, stone'	mons
malu(r)-, madu(r)-	'middle'	mēdium
mala ~ madha	'honey'	mēl n. (Sanskrit: madhu n.)
njuba	'married, wife'	nubere

to mention only a few.

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Index of Tribal Names

SYMBOLS:				
<i>A</i>	=	AVC		
<i>I</i>	=	Intermediate (AVC+PVC)	LANGUAGE TYPE	
<i>P</i>	=	PVC		
<hr/>				
<i>x</i>	=	Survey		
<i>xx</i>	=	Study	INTENSITY	
<i>xxx</i>	=	Depth Study		
<hr/>				
ext.	=	extinct		
10-	=	not more than 10	POPULATION FIGURES	
<hr/>				
Inikurdira	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	ext.	
Inggarda	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	10-	
Iirra-Wadjarri	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	?	sub: Wadjarri
Jaburrara	<i>A</i>	<i>xxx</i>	ext.	sub: Ngarluma
Jaburru	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	?	
Jana	<i>P</i>	<i>x</i>	?	
Janadjina	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	?	
Jardira	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	10-	sub: Kauarindjarri & Kurama
Jau(r)nmalu	<i>A</i>	<i>xxx</i>	50-	sub: Jindjiparndi
Jindjiparndi	<i>A</i>	<i>xxx</i>	1000-	
Ju'una	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	10-	
Kariera	<i>A</i>	<i>xx</i>	10-	
Kauarindjarri	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	10-	
Kurama	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	50-	
Ma(a)ndi	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	ext.	
Maja	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	ext.	
Malgana	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	10-	
Marduiddja				ritual & landscape term
Marduthunira	<i>A</i>	<i>xx</i>	10-	
Marndanjingu	<i>A</i>	<i>xxx</i>	?	sub: Jindjiparndi
Ngaala-warngga	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	?	
Ngaja-warngga	<i>P</i>	<i>x</i>	?	sub: Pidungu
Ngarla	<i>A</i>	<i>x</i>	10-	
Ngarluma	<i>A</i>	<i>xxx</i>	80-	
Ngaunmardi	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	?	sub: Ninaanu
Ninaanu	<i>I</i>	<i>x</i>	?	sub: Ngaunmardi

Njangumarda	P	x	1000-	
Njamal	I	xx	100-	
Njijapali	P	xxx	50-	
Nuala	A	x	20-	
Pajunggu	A	x	10-	
Paljgu	P	xxx	50-	= Njijapali
Pandjima	I	x	100-	
Pardu	P	x	?	
Parndikurra	P	xxx	ext.	sub: Njijapali
Pidungu	P	x	?	
Pinikurra	A	xx	10-	
Purditharra	P	x	100-	
Purduna	A	xx	10-	
Purnukundi	A	xxx	?	sub: Jindjiparndi
Talandji	A	x	100-	
T(h)arlgardi	A	x	?	
Tedei	A	x	?	
Teen	A	x	?	sub: Tjiwarli
Tjiwarli	A	x	?	
Tjururu	I	xx	2	
Wadjarri	I	xx	300-	
Wadjiba	P	x	?	sub: Njijapali
Wardal	P	x	?	
Warngga-pundju	I	xx	?	sub: Njamal
Warrijangga	I	xx	10-	
Wirdakarri	I	xx	?	sub: Njamal

Corrigendum

In the discussion which followed the reading of this paper K.L. Hale remarked that to his knowledge the Talandji language was *PVC* and not *AVC* as I had insisted. Checking on this point in the field (August 1967) I found that Hale was right indeed and wish my above statements to be corrected accordingly.

At least Talandji and Purduna are based on *PVC* and do not seem to possess a suffix to express passive voice. Their system, however, shows anomalies by the loss of agentive endings for all First Persons (sg., d., pl.). This fact together with an inconsistent, i.e. often *AVC* usage, by my earlier polyglot informants gave rise to my above statement on their *AVC* grouping. The maps should be re-interpreted on this point.

As a consequence the existence of this bar by *PVC*, reaching the coast east of Onslow and cutting off the northern Pilbara coastal belt languages, could tip the scales, when weighing the chances of the two theories hinted above: *AVC* : *PVC* as a general Australian coast-inland development feature versus *AVC* : *PVC* as a result of local history, i.e. foreign influence, in favour of the latter.

7 Maps in between
20a ↓ and 21

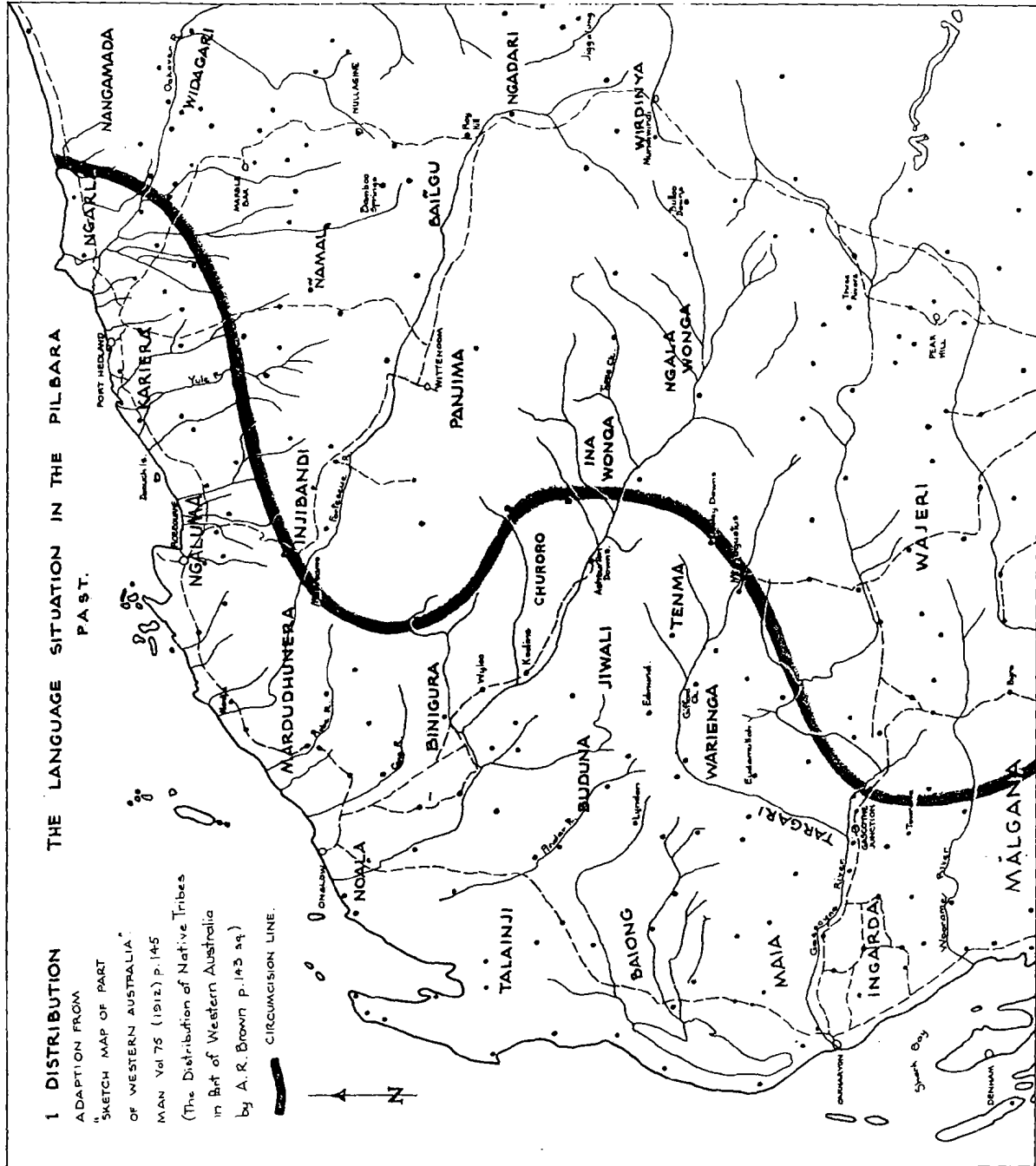
1 DISTRIBUTION

ADAPTION FROM
"SKETCH MAP OF PART
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA"
MAN Vol 75 (1912) p. 145
(The Distribution of Native Tribes
in Brit of Western Australia
by A. R. Brown p. 143 sq.)

CIRCUMCISION LINE.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE PILBARA

P.A.S.T.



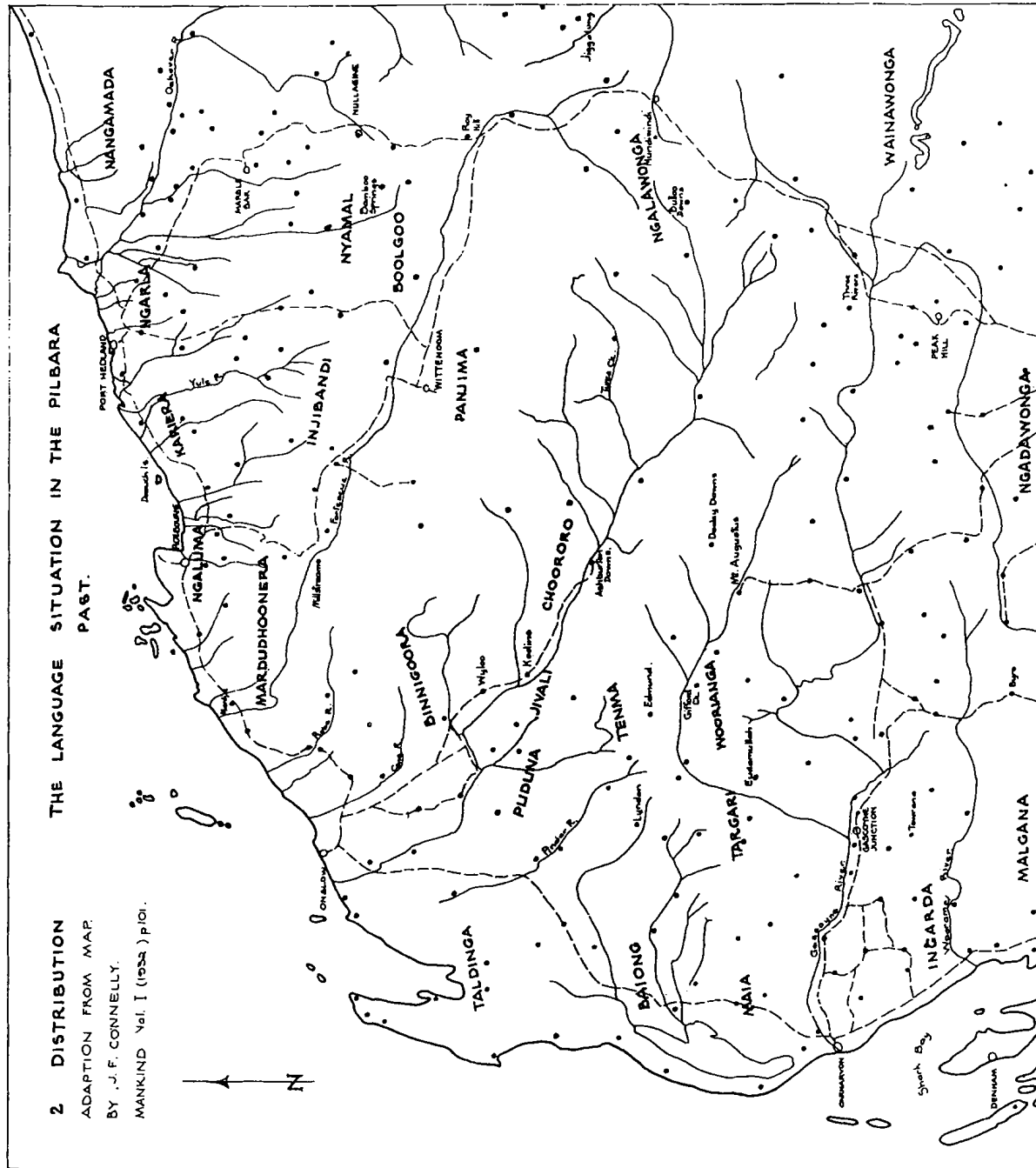
2 DISTRIBUTION

ADAPTION FROM MAP

BY J.F. CONNELLY.

MANIKIND Vol. I (1932) p.101.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE PILBARA PAST.



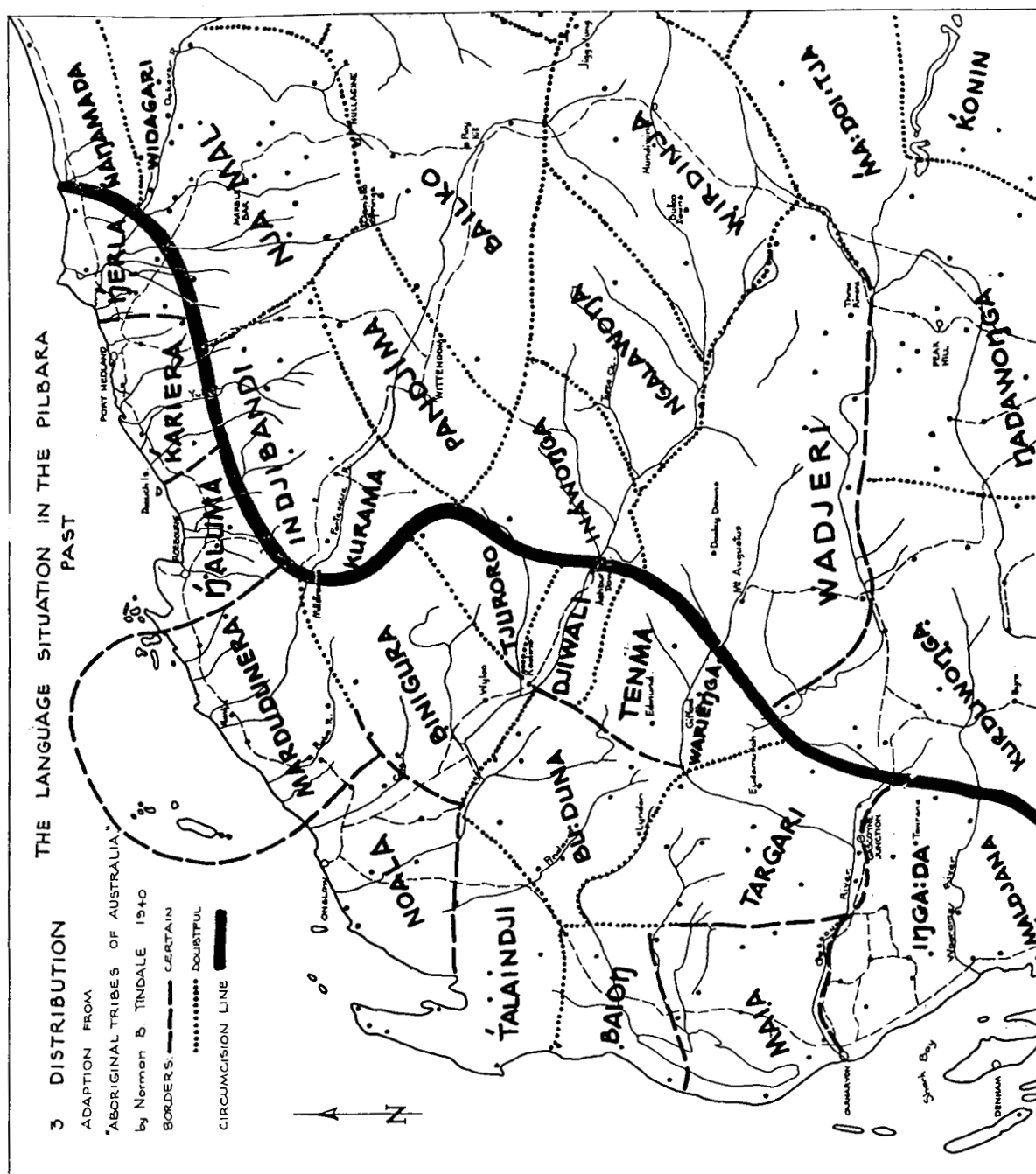
3 DISTRIBUTION

ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF AUSTRALIA

BORDERS: ~~some may~~ CERTAIN

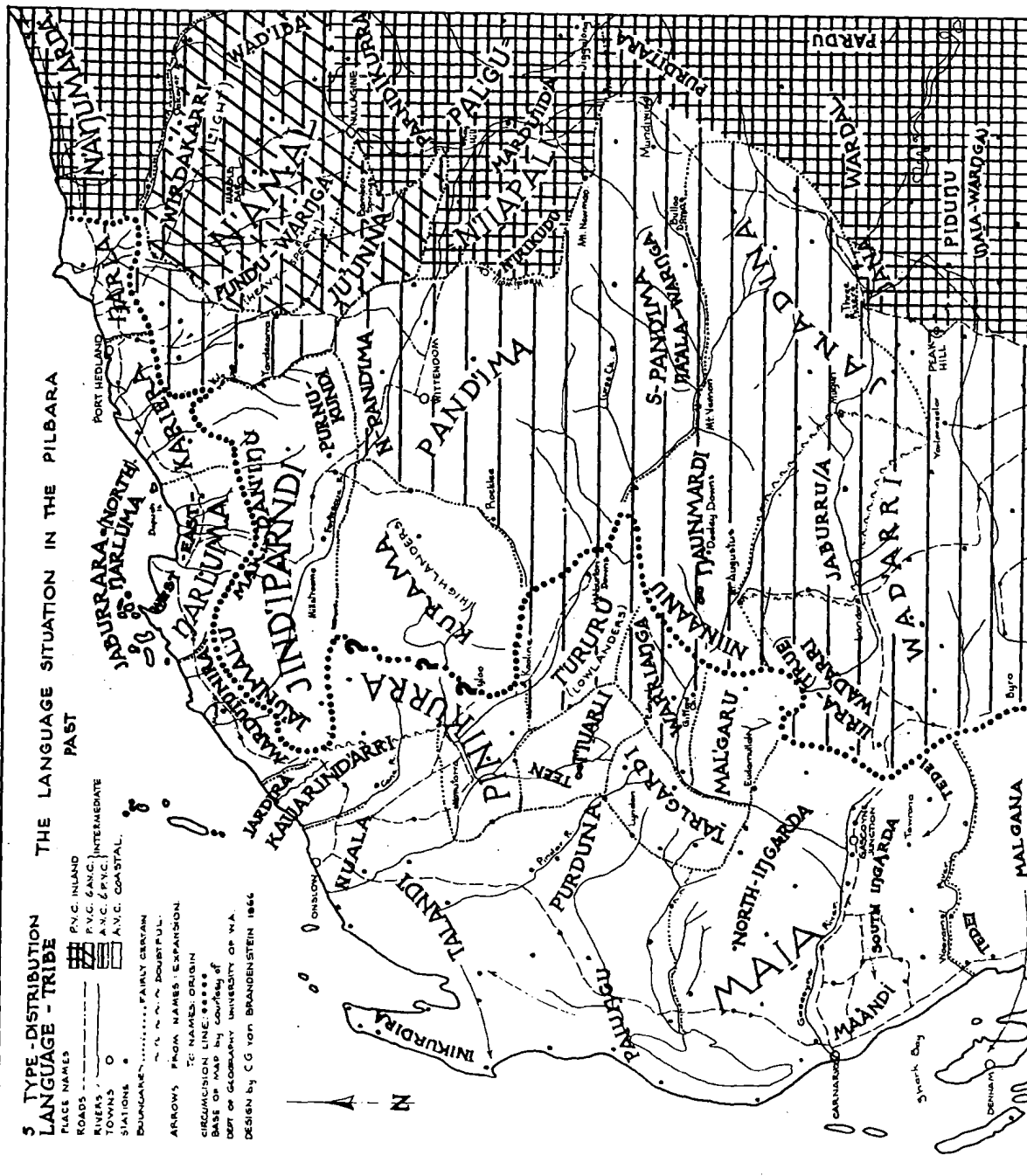
CIRCUMCISION LINE

CIRCUMCISION LINE



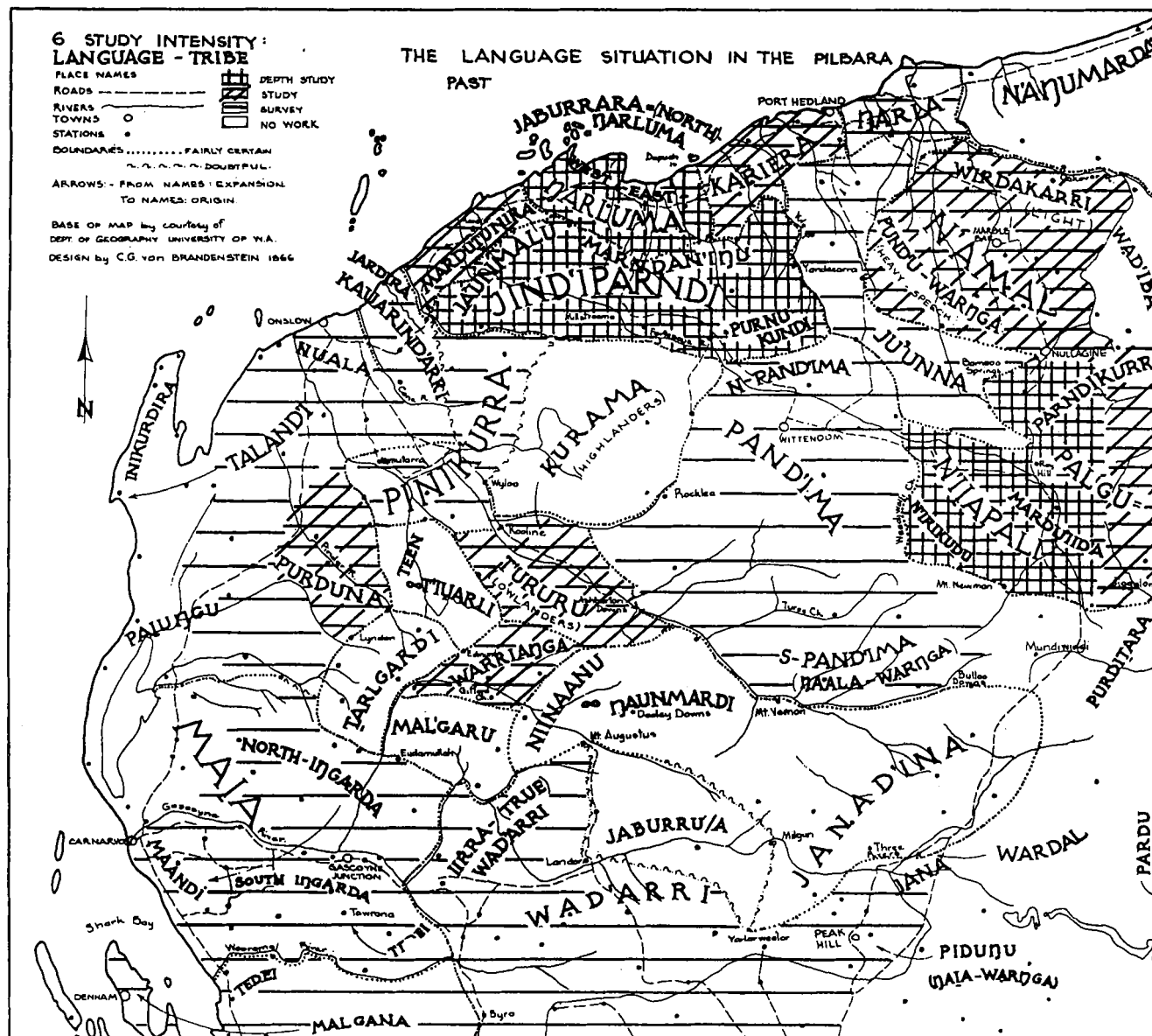
THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE PILBARA

PAST



THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE PILBARA
PAST

BASE OF MAP by courtesy of
DEPT. OF GEOGRAPHY UNIVERSITY OF W.A.
DESIGN by C.G. von BRANDENSTEIN 1966



PRONOMINALISATION IN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

A. CAPELL

Abbreviations:

BSOAS - *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (University of London); *NAAL* - *A New Approach to Australian Linguistics*, A. Capell, *Oceania Linguistic Monographs* No.1 (2nd ed.), Sydney, 1962.

INTRODUCTION

The term *pronominalisation* or *pronominalised languages* has never been used in regard to the languages of Australia. It is a term used in Indian linguistics, where it has a long history.¹ The *Linguistic Survey of India* helped in large measure to establish it as a recognised term. It has for some time seemed to the writer that the term with slight modifications in its uses might well be applied to Australian languages also, and this paper aims at showing a typological division of those languages which would result from its application.

In discussing the use of the term by Sten Konow in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol.5, Henderson writes:

"'Pronominalisation' has been taken to mean pronominal usage of a certain kind, particularly within the verbal complex, and has on the whole been regarded as a non-typical feature of Tibeto-Burman languages, probably to be accounted for by alien influences, and restricted within the Tibeto-Burman family, to the languages grouped together by Konow under the name 'Himalayan'."

A full list of the features included in the term 'pronominalised' is not needed in this paper, because it will be used with a somewhat different connotation here. Practically all the features mentioned by Henderson in his article on Chin can be found in various parts of Australia, but not