THE LAST WORDS OF PIRLATAPA

PETER AUSTIN

1. INTRODUCTION

As a result of the field research of Luise Hercus, Gavan Breen and Bernhard Schebeck carried out over the past 25 years, we now have a reasonably detailed picture of the Aboriginal language situation in north-eastern South Australia. Traditional locations of language-owning groups have been identified, and in most cases we have lexical and grammatical data on the languages. In some instances this data is quite extensive, e.g. Diyari, Wangkangurru and Yandrruwandha, and includes textual material recording the traditions of the people who originally occupied the area.

The Pirlatapa (or Biladapa as the name is more commonly spelled) are however somewhat of an enigma. While we have information from a number of sources that allows us to accurately locate their territory, the group appears to have become extinct early this century and there is almost nothing reliable on their language. Almost nothing, that is, apart from a brief recording of the last person able to speak Pirlatapa. This recording was made on the morning of 18 January 1966 by Luise Hercus when she interviewed Fred Johnson at Nepabunna Mission Station in the Flinders Ranges. The interview was tape-recorded on Hercus' fieldtapes NS22 and NS23 and lasted for approximately 45 minutes. These were the last words of Pirlatapa collected, as Fred Johnson died in November of the following year.

In this paper I present a transcription and analysis of the data on Pirlatapa collected by Luise Hercus, considering it in the context of what we know about the language from earlier sources and from comparisons with neighbouring languages. Using Fred Johnson's material it is possible to arrive at a fairly clear idea of how Pirlatapa was related to these other languages and to place it in the emerging genetic classification of north-east South Australian languages. Were it not for Luise Hercus' efforts however, it would be almost impossible for us to make any reliable statements on this issue.

I take great pleasure in offering this essay in honour of Luise Hercus, whom I first met in 1972 when I was an undergraduate student in Bob Dixon's initial Australian Linguistics class at the Australian National University and she was looking for someone to work on Diyari. In 1974 I began my fourth year honours research in linguistics and Luise introduced me to the Aboriginal community of northern South Australia and showed me how to carry out fieldwork. It is as a result of her guiding influence that I began research on South Australian Aboriginal languages, and I have been

grateful for her continuing interest over the years. We shared a number of fieldtrips to South Australia and southern Queensland and I have benefitted greatly from her immense store of knowledge about the people, languages, traditions and history of the Lake Eyre region. She has also been a wonderful classificatory *ngandrri* to me and my family.

2. BACKGROUND

It is clear from the historical and ethnographic data that the Pirlatapa lived in the area north and west of Lake Frome in northern South Australia. At the centre of their territory was Blanchewater Creek and its many deep pools. According to Capell (1963:L11) quoting Tindale (1940), Pirlatapa territory was:

> North East of the Northern Flinders Range; North of Lake Frome, east to Callabonna and almost to Tilcha; North West to Lake Blanche and Blanchewater; South to Wooltana and Hamilton Creek.

Tindale (1974:217) has exactly the same location (see also Oates 1975), but adds:

> They practiced circumcision, but not subincision, as an initiation rite for males. The poor soil of their country, resembling dung ['kuna], was the basis of a derogatory term applied to them by tribes in the Flinders Ranges.

The approximate location of Pirlatapa country and the names of their neighbours are shown on the map (see also the maps in Elkin (1931-2:45); Austin (1981:7); Kerwin and Breen (1986:18)).

There are several variant spellings of the tribe and language name. Speakers of Diyari and other neighbouring languages call the group *pirlatapa*. Tindale (1974:217) lists a number of alternative spellings: 'Pidlatapa (valid alternative), Piladapa, Pilladapa, Pillitapa (MS), Billidapa, Pulladapa, Berluppa, Pilliapa, Jarikuna (derogatory term applied by the Wailpi), Yarrikuna'. I have been able to locate the following sources for the variant spellings:

Biladapa	Capell 1963 (AIAS standard spelling)
Biladaba	Hercus (1982:5)
Bilatappa	Davis and McKenzie (1985)
Billatapa	Reuther (1981:2)
Piladapa	Schoknecht (1947), Elkin (1931, 1938)
Pilardapa	Kerwin and Breen (1986:18)
Pilatapa	O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966)
Pilladapa	Gason (1895)

The neighbours of the Pirlatapa were the Adnyamathanha and Kuyani to the west and south, the Yardliyawarra to the east, the Yandrruwandha to the north-east and the Diyari to the north-west. It is clear that a major linguistic boundary runs between the Kuyani-Adnyamathanha group and the languages spoken to their north and east (see Breen 1971; O'Grady et al. 1966; Austin 1981). Yardliyawarra also belongs to a different language grouping, being linked to Malyangapa and Wadikali in western New South Wales. The position of the Pirlatapa in terms of linguistic groupings is thus of some interest.
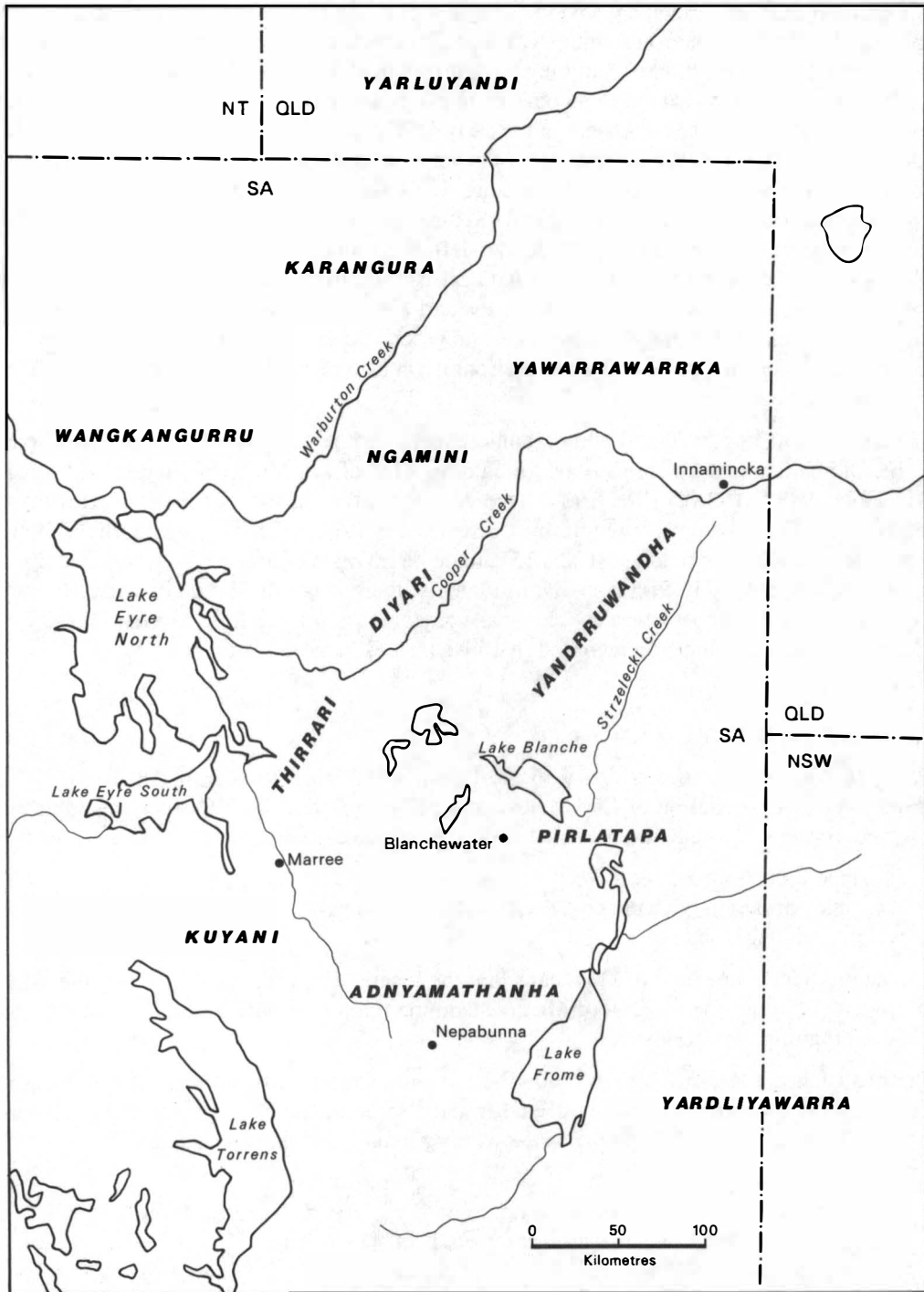
THE APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF PIRLATAPA COUNTRY

It is unlikely that the Pirlatapa were ever a large group. As Hercus (to appear b) notes: 'They were dispossessed early from their best country, particularly Blanchewater, where a station was set up as early as 1857 (Tolcher 1986:56) and they sought refuge at Killalpaninna, where they intermarried with Diyari people'. It was at the Lutheran mission station at Killalpaninna that Pirlatapa people were interviewed by Pastor Carl Schoknecht in the early 1870s; he took down five words of their language and described the location of their traditional territory (see section 2.1). Pirlatapa were also known to Pastor J.G. Reuther in the 1880s, and there are a few Pirlatapa words and sentences in Reuther's massive dictionary of Diyari (see Reuther 1981; and section 2.2). By early this century however, there seem to have been only two Pirlatapa men left, Blanche Ned and Blanche Tom, who, according to Wangkangurru people Luise Hercus (to appear b) interviewed in the 1960s, 'called themselves after the mythological Ancestors, *Karnarampa* and *Karrapanha* respectively'. Blanche Ned was killed in an argument at Killalpaninna sometime before the mission closed in 1914 (see Hercus to appear a), and Blanche Tom died in tragic circumstances on Mundowdna Station in the 1930s (see Murray and Austin to appear).

The only recent linguistic and ethnographic material we have on the Pirlatapa is a discussion of their totemic beliefs and kinship system (including a list of kinship terms) recorded by A.P. Elkin (1931, 1934, 1937, 1938) in the 1930s (see section 2.3), and the outlines of a Pirlatapa myth collected from Wangkangurru people by Luise Hercus (to appear b). In March 1965 Bernhard Schebeck recorded on his fieldtape T22 a 15 minute monologue of Murtee Johnny, a Yandrruwandha man, said to be speaking in Pirlatapa. Unfortunately, there is no translation of what Murtee Johnny said on the tape and Schebeck was unable to take any notes or make a transcription. Finally, we have the interview with Fred Johnson recorded by Luise Hercus in 1966 (see section 3).

2.1 SCHOKNECHT'S DATA

Carl Schoknecht was a missionary to the Diyari at Killalpaninna from 1871 to 1873. In the introduction to his translation of Carl Schoknecht's Diyari dictionary, J.C. Schoknecht provides the following information which he says comes from a small note book written by the missionary:

> Piladapa. Location: Same as No. 11.
> Examples of language: wuitacha, spear; keracha, boomerang; marachanala, hand; tampo, water; mai, veg. food

The annotation 'Same as No. 11' means that the location was recorded as being the same as the 'Jandruwonta' tribe, namely: 'East of Manuwakkanina (kaljumaru) large salt lake, Mandraparukulu Creek and Tingitingana Creek'.

The *cha* (which I transcribe as *ja*) found at the end of the first two words of Carl Schoknecht's data reappears in the missionary data of Reuther and also in the more recent recordings of Hercus and Schebeck. We can identify all but one of the words given by Schoknecht as follows:[1]

wuitacha	*wita-ja* 'spear' cf. Ngamini *wita*
keracha	*kirra-ja* 'boomerang' cf. Diyari, Ngamini *kirra*
marachanala	*mara-ja-nala* 'hand' cf. Diyari *mara*
tampo	?
mai	*mayi* 'vegetable food' cf. Kuyani, Adnyamathanha *mai*

The words *kirra* 'boomerang' and *mayi* 'vegetable food' are confirmed by Hercus' recording.

2.2 REUTHER'S DATA

There is a small amount of Pirlatapa data in Reuther (1981) who (p.2) refers to the 'Billatapa tribe'. Over the following few pages (no 'Billatapa' material appears after p.13) there are a small number of items given in the comparative word lists:

BILLATAPA	DIARI	ENGLISH GLOSS	
bakanatja	*bakanamata*	also	(p.4)
baru	*baru*	yellow ochre	(p.6)
bakuna	*bakuna*	to dig	(p.9)
bakina	*bakina*	to break open, burst open, crack	(p.10)
bamana	*bamana*	positively to see	(p.13)

There are also four sentences to be found:

(1)	*nganji bakanatja wapanantju*	I also would like to go.	(p.2)
(2)	*ninkida nau banbanatja warai*	Here he came to a halt.	(p.5)
(3)	*ngato ngapa bakuna wonti*	I have dug for water.	(p.10)
(4)	*nauja ngani banki ngunari*	It is I on the right side.	(p.13)

It is clear from Reuther's data that these four sentences correspond almost exactly to the equivalents he provides for Diyari. We can give them the following retranscription and suggested morphemic analysis (under each retranscribed Pirlatapa example I include the corresponding Diyari translations with their morpheme-by-morpheme glosses for comparison – see Austin 1981 for the abbreviations):

(1)   *nganji bakanatja wapanantju*

       nganyi   pakarna-ja   wapa-rnanju
       nganhi   pakarna-matha   wapa-rnanthu
       I   also-IDENT   go-IMPL.DS
       I also must go.

(2)   *ninkida nau banbanatja warai*

       nhingkirda   nhawu   panpa-rna-ja   warra-yi
       nhingkirda   nhawu   panpa-rna-matha   warra-yi
       here   he   stop-PTCPLE-IDENT AUX-PRES
       He stopped here.

(3)   *ngato ngapa bakuna wonti*

       ngathu   ngapa   paku-rna   wanthi-yi
       ngathu   ngapa   paku-rna   wanthi-yi
       I   water   dig-PTCPLE AUX-PRES
       I dug water.

(4)   *nauja ngani banki ngunari*

       nhawu-ya   nganyi   panki   ngunari
       nhawu-ya   nganhi   panki   ngunari
       he-here   I   side   right
       This is I on the right.

These examples demonstrate several features common to Diyari and its close relative Ngamini (and to a lesser extent Yarluyandi), and to Yandrruwandha and Yawarrawarrka. The common features are:

(a)   the first person pronoun has separate forms for intransitive subject and transitive subject functions, as follows:

PIRLATAPA	DIYARI	NGAMINI-YARLUYANDI	
nganyi	*nganhi*	*nganyi*	intransitive subject
ngathu	*ngathu*	*ngathi*	transitive subject

Notice that Pirlatapa shares one pronoun with Diyari and one with Ngamini-Yarluyandi. Exactly these pronouns are found in Yandrruwandha and Yawarrawarrka (see Table 1.2 in Austin 1981:9 and also Austin to appear).

(b)   the use of the implicated-different subject marker to code necessity (see Austin 1981:203-204). The form of this suffix is:

PIRLATAPA	DIYARI	NGAMINI-YARLUYANDI
-rnanju	*-rnanthu*	*-ili*

Notice that Pirlatapa has *-nju* where Diyari has *-nthu*; that is, it has a lamino-palatal cluster where Diyari has a lamino-dental cluster. A correspondence such as this between lamino-palatals and lamino-dentals is found regularly between Ngamini and Diyari lexical items and morphemes:

NGAMINI	DIYARI	GLOSS
nganji	*nganthi*	meat
winja	*wintha*	when
kanyini	*kanhini*	mother's mother
warrkaji	*warrhukathi*	emu
-jarrhi-	*-tharrhi-*	reflexive suffix

(c)   the use of an auxiliary verb to mark past tense is a feature common to Diyari and Ngamini, but not found in Yandrruwandha or Yawarrawarrka. The immediate past tense auxiliary is *warrayi* in both Diyari and Ngamini (see Austin 1981:88-92).

Much of this analysis of Reuther's Pirlatapa is confirmed by information in the Fred Johnson recording.

2.3 ELKIN'S DATA

Elkin 1938 includes a comparative table of kinship terms in a number of the languages spoken to the east of Lake Eyre. He gives terms from 'Pilatapa' as follows (for comparison I have added Diyari and Yandrruwandha kin terms taken from fieldnotes collected by Breen and myself – note that upper case glosses are for males, lower case for females):

ENGLISH	PIRLATAPA	DIYARI	YANDRRUWANDHA
FF,ffz,sc	*niyi*	*yanku*	*jindrra*
fm, FMB,zsc	*kami*	*kami*	*kami*
MF, mfzdc	*ngata*	*ngardarda*	*ngardrra*

mm, MMB, zdc	*kanyni*	*kanhini*	*kanyini*
F	*ngapari*	*ngapiri*	*ngapiri*
fz	*papa*	*papa*	*parli*
MB	*kaka*	*kaka*	*ngama*
m	*ngandri*	*ngandrri*	*ngandrri*
MMBS, WMB	*kupa, paiera*	*payara, ngathamurrha*	*ngathalki, pajari*
mmbd, wm	*kupa* or *papa, paiera*	*payara, ngathamurrha*	*ngathalki, pajari*
MMBDH, WF	*ngatani*	*thinara tharu*	*ngalari tharu*
mmbsw, fmbd	*ngatani*	*thinara tharu*	*ngalari tharu*
eB, MMBSS	*niyi*	*nhiyi*	*nguthu*
yB, yz	*tukali*	*ngathata*	*ngatharri*
ez, mmbsd	*kaku*	*kaku*	*kaku*
mbc	*kami*	*kami*	*kami*
w	*noa*	*nhuwa*	*nhipa*
WB	*kadri*	*kardi*	*kardrri*
S, d	*kupa*	*ngathamurrha*	*ngathalki*

Notice that Elkin's *kanyni* is cognate with the Ngamini term *kanyini*, which illustrates the regular correspondence between lamino-palatals and lamino-dentals discussed in section 2.2 above. Apart from *nhuwa* 'spouse' which appears in Fred Johnson's data, we cannot confirm the material in Elkin's list.

3. THE FRED JOHNSON RECORDING

Fred Johnson was a very well known identity in the northern Flinders Ranges. He was of Yardliyawarra descent and had lived among the Adnyamathanha for a considerable time. His genealogy is given on page 174 of Davis and McKenzie 1985, and there are photographs of him on pages 159 and 177. He spoke Adnyamathanha and Yardliyawarra, of which he recorded some vocabulary with Bernhard Schebeck (to appear) in 1965. As a result of his having travelled widely, he also spoke some Yandrruwandha and Malyangapa. On the tapes he was conscientious about keeping words and expressions from each of these languages distinct.

The recording was made on the morning of 18 January 1966 at Nepabunna Mission Station. It is clear that the tapes were made under very difficult conditions, and unfortunately they are not of high auditory quality. No notes or transcriptions to accompany the tapes are available. Some time before Luise Hercus spoke to him Fred Johnson had had a stroke and on the tapes he is difficult to understand at times. According to Davis and McKenzie (1985:174) he died on 18 November 1967.

The material on the tapes ranges over a wide range of topics, including language, songs, totemic beliefs and mythology. In the appendix I present a transcription of Hercus' fieldtape NS22 but, because it is based on my listening to the tape only, the transcription must be treated with care and should not be taken as definitive. In the following I have extracted the Pirlatapa sentences, and for each sentence I propose a free gloss (based on the prompt given by Luise Hercus, plus my analysis

of the Pirlatapa), a transcription of the Pirlatapa response, a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis and then comments (where possible) on the grammatical structure:

(1)   I go for kangaroos.

     nganyi waparna jukurrhungarri

     nganyi wapa-rna jukurrhu-ngarri
     I:NOM   go-PRES   kangaroo-DAT

Note: This example shows the first person intransitive subject pronoun *nganyi* also found in Reuther's data, along with the *-rna* affix marking a general present tense in Diyari and Ngamini. The verb root *wapa-* 'to go' also occurs in Diyari and Ngamini (Yandrruwandha has *thawa-*). The noun *jukurrhu* 'kangaroo' is cognate with all the northern neighbours. The affix *-ngarri* may be cognate with the Yandrruwandha dative case inflection (cf. Diyari *-ya*, and Ngamini *-ngka*).

(2)   to kill a kangaroo

     jukurrhungarri pandrrilha

     jukurrhu-ngarri pandrri-lha
     kangaroo-DAT   kill-IMPL.SS

Note: Here we have the typical purposive pattern of Diyari and Ngamini, using the implicated same-subject clause marker to code purpose. The form *-lha* is identical to the Diyari and Ngamini forms (cf. Yandrruwandha *-nga*). The verb stem *pandrri-* is cognate with the corresponding Yandrruwandha verb.

(3)   I go for kangaroo to kill for meat.

     nganyi waparna jukurrhungarri pandrrilha ngakangu nganjingarri

     nganyi wapa-rna jukurrhu-ngarri pandrri-lha ngakangu nganji-ngarri
     I:NOM   go-PRES   kangaroo-DAT   kill-IMPL.SS I:LOC   meat-DAT

Note: The form *ngakangu* is cognate with the Diyari first person locative pronoun. It appears to be indicating a benefactive function in this sentence. In Diyari, the dative *(ngakarni)* has this function. The word *nganji* 'meat' is cognate with the Ngamini word (cf. Diyari *nganthi*, Yandrruwandha *kathi*).

(4)   There's a big mob of kangaroos.

     jukurrhu mapu thana thikarna

     jukurrhu mapu thana   thika-rna
     kangaroo mob   they PL:NOM return-PRES

Note: This example gives *mapu,* a probable loan from English, and the third person plural pronoun *thana,* cognate with the northern languages.

(5)   I go travelling for kangaroo.

     jukurrhungarri nganyi parlkarna

     jukurrhu-ngarri nganyi parlka-rna
     kangaroo-DAT   I:NOM   travel-PRES

Note: The verb root *parlka-* 'to travel' is cognate with Diyari *parlka-* and Ngamini *parka-*.

(6)   I go travelling to kill a kangaroo for my meat.

jukurrhu nganyi parlkarna pandrrilha ngakangu nganjingarri

jukurrhu nganyi parlka-rna pandrri-lha ngakangu nganji-ngarri
kangaroo I:NOM   travel-PRES kill-IMPL.SS I:LOC   meat-DAT

(7)   I am a man.

karna nganyi

karna nganyi
man   I:NOM

Note: This sentence demonstrates the typical existential structure of all eastern Lake Eyre languages, including the lack of a copula in the present tense.

(8)   Where are your mates?

wardaarri yingkarni mitangarri

wardaarri yingkarni mita-ngarri
where:LOC you:DAT   mate-plural?

Note: This example illustrates the affinity of Pirlatapa to Diyari in having *wardaarri* (also pronounced *wardayarri*) for 'where locative'. We find 'where locative' is *wardamu* in Ngamini and *yilanggi* in Yandrruwandha. The word *mita* seems to be a loan from English. I am not sure if *-ngarri* is to be analysed as a plural suffix here.

(9)   Where are they?

wardaarri thanaya

wardaaarri thana-ya
where:LOC   they PL:NOM-here

(10)   I'm old now.

kala nganyi ngarringarri

kala   nganyi ngarringarri
already I:NOM   old

Note: This sentence shows a simple predicate adjective pattern. The particle *kala* is cognate with the corresponding Ngamini form (cf. Diyari *maja*).

(11)   Two are on that hill.

mandrru nhangkayingarri pamparrha nhangkayi pamparrhangarri

mandrru nhangka-yi-ngarri pamparrha nhangka-yi pamparrha-ngarri
two   lie-PRES-?   hill   lie-PRES   hill-DAT?

Note: This sentence is difficult to analyse, as the functions of *-ngarri* on the second and last words are unclear. It may be that *nhangka-* represents a verb root 'to lie' and that *-yi* is cognate with the present tense affix in Diyari and Ngamini.

(12)   I went for water.

ngapangarri parlkarna wirriya

ngapa-ngarri   parlka-rna   wirri-ya
water-DAT   travel-PTCPLE AUX-PAST

Note: This sentence seems to exhibit the auxiliary verb structure found in Diyari and Ngamini but not in Yandrruwandha. In Diyari *wirrhi-* is an auxiliary that marks recent past tense; it co-occurs with the past tense marker *-ya* and requires the future tense inflection *-lha* (rather than the participle *-rna*) on the verb it is in construction with (see Austin 1981:89). Evidence for other auxiliaries in Pirlatapa comes from the materials collected by Reuther (see section 2.2 above).

(13)   Can you understand me?

kana yundrru ngararna nganyi

kana   yundrru ngara-rna nganyi
can   you:ERG hear-PRES I:NOM

Note: This example shows a simple transitive clause and the ergative case second person singular pronoun *yundrru*, as in Diyari and Yandrruwandha (Ngamini has *yindi*). The final word *nganyi* is unexpected here as the usual transitive object form is *nganha* in all the other languages. Notice the use of *ngara-* 'to hear' to also mean 'to understand'.

(14)   It is fat.

marni pirna

marni   pirna
fat   big

Note: In Diyari and neighbouring languages *pirna* 'big' is used with body parts and abstract common nouns (see Austin 1981:34) to indicate possession of a characteristic (e.g. *mawa pirna* 'hungry', *yapa pirna* 'frightened').

(15)   I eat meat.

nganji ngathu thayi-rna

nganji ngathu thayi-rna
meat   I:ERG   eat-PRES

Note: This example shows the first person transitive subject pronoun *ngathu*, as confirmed by Reuther's data (see section 2.3).

(16)   I am going today.

nganyi waparna karraringkarri

nganyi wapa-rna karrari-ngkarri
I:NOM   go-PRES   today-LOC?

Note: The affix *-ngkarri* is unclear here as temporal modifiers are usually uninflected in Diyari and neighbouring languages when indicating temporal location (see Austin 1981:51).

(17)   I am going with a spear.

waparna nganyi kajingkarri

wapa-rna nganyi kaji-ngkarri
go-PRES I:NOM spear-LOC

Note: If *-ngkarri* is indeed the locative (as (17) and (16) suggest) then it differs in form from the affix found in all the other languages of the area. Interestingly, locative case has a different form in almost all the languages (e.g. Diyari *-nhi*, Ngamini *-mu*, Yandrruwandha *-yi*, Yawarrawarrka *-pi* – cf. also Adnyamathanha *-nga*). The use of locative to indicate accompaniment is typical of all the languages (for Diyari see Austin 1981:142ff.).

(18)   I strike the boomerangs.

kirra nganyi kartakarta

kirra   nganyi karta-karta
boomerang I:NOM   crack-crack

Note: In Diyari *karta* is used to denote a cracking sound and *kirra karta* is employed to describe the sound of boomerangs knocked together when singing. This example also shows that Pirlatapa seems to have had a voicing contrast from medial apico-domal stops, as in all the neighbouring languages.

(19)   Kill a kangaroo for me.

nandrrarna ngakangu jukurrhu

nandrra-rna ngakangu jukurrhu
kill-PRES   I:LOC   kangaroo

(20)   (I) go for firewood.

karlangarri waparna

karla-ngarri wapa-rna
fire-DAT   go-PRES

The following Pirlatapa vocabulary material appears on Tape NS23 (* indicates Diyari cognate):

ngapa*	water
mayi	vegetable food (cf. Adnyamathanha *mai*, confirmed by Schoknecht's data – see section 2.1)
thirti	tea (loan from English)
juka	sugar (loan from English)
yawarrha*	word, language
pirna*	big
minha*	what
mandrru*	two
parrkulu*	three
wanyu	bad news e.g. of a death
karrhawara*	eaglehawk
kurarri	rainbow
pirli	lightning

| *ngapa pilti* | thunderstorm |
| *madla* | dog (cf. Arabana *madla;* Diyari has *kinthala*, Ngamini *thirritha*) |

4. CONCLUSIONS

Considering the data on Pirlatapa given by Fred Johnson in the context of the earlier sources and the neighbouring languages, there is sufficient commonality to confirm that the forms he remembered are genuine Pirlatapa.

In the linguistic literature Pirlatapa has been subjected to various linguistic classifications (despite the lack of available data on the language). Thus, O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966) classify it as a member of the Karna subgroup of Dieric (within the Pama-Nyungan phylum), related to its neighbours as follows:

DIERIC

1. Ngura subgroup

2. Yalyi subgroup

3. Karna subgroup
    a. Dieri – Tirari – Ngameni – Karanguru – Jeljendi – Jandruwanta
    b. Jauraworka
    c. Pilatapa

Wurm (1972:132) repeats this grouping. Breen (1971) revises the classification of the Karna subgroup to have Diyari-Ngamini-Yarluyandi as one language chain and Yandrruwandha-Yawarrawarrka as another. He does not mention Pirlatapa. However, on Map 1 in Kerwin and Breen (1986:18) 'Pilardapa' is placed in the same group as Malyangapa, *not* with its northern and eastern neighbours.

The data from Fred Johnson and the earlier sources we have considered shows that lexically Pirlatapa seems to have been most closely akin to Diyari (and slightly less to Ngamini), while showing a few cognates with Yandrruwandha to the east (e.g. *pandrri-* 'to kill') and Adnyamathanha to the south (e.g. *mayi* 'vegetable food'). Grammatically, it seems to have been closest to Diyari, although the materials are limited and it would be rash to draw too many conclusions from them. It seems reasonable to propose then that Pirlatapa was probably quite closely genetically related to Diyari (and hence in the same immediate language group as Ngamini and Yarluyandi – see Austin 1981, and to appear), and less closely related to Yandrruwandha and Yawarrawarrka. It almost certainly did not belong to the same groups as Adnyamathanha and Kuyani, or Yardliyawarra and Malyangapa.

As a result of the tragic history of the Aboriginal people of north-eastern South Australia, these few words and sentences taken down at the last moment in 1966 are indeed the last words of Pirlatapa. We can but be grateful to Luise Hercus for recording them for posterity.

APPENDIX

Transcription of Hercus Tape NS22. LH indicates Luise Hercus, FJ stands for Fred Johnson, CE for Catherine Ellis, [ch1, ch2...] indicate voices of unidentified children and [w1, w2...] those of

unidentified women. // indicates that the tape-recorder is stopped briefly and [...] that the words on the tape are indistinct.

LH: You can talk Pirlatapa and if I record a little bit more

FJ: I don't think there's any Pirlatapa alive

LH: Can you talk to me a little bit about Pirlatapa?

FJ: Pirlatapa

LH: If we were talking about, if you wanted to say in the language 'I'm going out to look for a kangaroo', how would you say that in Pirlatapa?

FJ: *nganyi waparna jukurrhungarri, jukurrhungarri pandrrilha* see I can't talk too much

LH: No, you're doing alright though

FJ: *nganyi waparna* that means I'm going

LH: Yes, *nganyi waparna*

FJ: *jukurrhungarri, jukurrhu* is kangaroo

LH: Yes

FJ: *jukurrhungarri pandrrilha ngakangu nganjingarri* that's meat you see

LH: *panjimakangu*

FJ: I'm going to get kangaroo for meat

LH: Yes, then you could say 'I can see a big mob of kangaroos over there', how would you say that?

FJ: Well you see a big mob of kangaroos you can say *jukurrhu mapu thana thikarna* you see not much of a lingo that Pirlatapa, easy, anybody can talk it

LH: Oh no, I wish I could. How did you say

FJ: If you got in amongst the native people round about you'd learn a lot

LH: I've been learning off them up there but that's a different language

FJ: I told that chap, [...] that Austria bloke, he, I learned him a lot

LH: Well if you teach me some more I'll hand it //

FJ: I forgot what to say

LH: A big mob of kangaroos

FJ: Long time, ah

[w1]:   Good morning

FJ: I forget now, the language come to that *jukurrhungarri nganyi parlkarna* [...] *pandrri jukurrhu nganjingarri* some calls it *nguthi* comin' into that mob. But a

[ch1]:   *nguthi*'s mean meat

FJ: *nguthi* meat you see, I'm travellin', I'm goin' away to get a kangaroo *jukurrhu nganyi parlkarna pandrrilha ngakangu nganjingarri*

[ch1]:   That's mean goin' for kangaroo

FJ: [...]

[ch1]:   He's askin' you if you listenin'

LH:	Yes
FJ:	Now, that's an easy lingo I reckon, Pirlatapa
LH:	Pardon?
FJ:	He's easy lingo, but I been forgettin' all those
[w1]:	Pirlatapa he said Pirlatapa
FJ:	[...] here he's taken a lot out of it, we forgettin' our lingo
LH:	Yes that's a shame
FJ:	We goin' more into you people
[w1]:	More on the English side
LH:	Yes, that's a pity
FJ:	*karna nganyi, karna nganyi parlkarna, karna nganyi parlkarna jukurrhungarri pandrrilha ngakangu nganjingarri* can you understand that?

[Laughter]

LH:	No
FJ:	That's Pirlatapa
LH:	That's Pirlatapa is it?
FJ:	Yeah, ah *wardaaarri yingkarni mitangarri* eh?
LH:	Pardon
FJ:	*wardaarri yingkarni mita*
LH:	Oh
FJ:	*wardaarri thanaya*
[w1]:	That's mean what are you thinkin' about, that what he said, what you mean
FJ:	I'm askin' you where are your mates
LH:	They're coming
FJ:	All right
LH:	I can say it back again in Arabana, I can say it in Arabana and I can say it in the other language but not in Pirlatapa
FJ:	You been up Alice Springs?
LH:	Where?
[w2]:	Alice Springs
LH:	No, no
FJ:	Wipe my eye, startin' to [...] I'm gettin' too old for the country
LH:	Oh, no, no
FJ:	*kala nganyi ngarringarri*
LH:	We'll go on talking about kangaroos then, you're going hunting for one and then
FJ:	*jukurrhu wapalha nganyi*
[ch2]:	She's askin' you what you're sayin' when you goin' huntin'
FJ:	I been tell her
LH:	Yes, we've been talking about that, we'll go on with the story

FJ:	*mandrru nhangkayingarri pamparrha nhangkayi pamparrhangarri*
[ch2]:	up on the hill
FJ:	Two layin' there on top of that hill I'm tellin' you
LH:	Yes
FJ:	*pamparrha* that call that
LH:	*pamparrha*
FJ:	hill, and man and wife that's *tharnduka* that's half Malyangapa, I can talk all different lingo, me
LH:	I'm sure you can
FJ:	I'm tellin' Pirlatapa now //

FJ:	[...]*pandrra ngakangu jukurrhungarri ngapangarri parlkarna wirriya, kala yundrru ngararna nganyi* eh?
LH:	What's he saying?
[w2]:	I wouldn't know
FJ:	I'm askin' you if you understand what I mean
LH:	No I don't
[w2]:	He talks to us like that and we don't understand it
LH:	No I can only talk the other language from over there
FJ:	When a kangaroo comes to water we kill'em in the water
LH:	Yes
FJ:	For meat
LH:	Can you say 'That's a big fat one'?
FJ:	Yeah
LH:	How do you say that?
FJ:	Eh?
LH:	'That's a big fat one', how do you say that?
FJ:	I can't hear what you say
LH:	A big fat one
FJ:	Fat kangaroo
[ch2]:	What you say for fat kangaroo?
[ch3]:	Fat kangaroo *wangkata*
[w2]:	Oh, *marni*
LH:	Is it *marni* like in the other language?
FJ:	*marni pirna*
LH:	*marni pirna*
FJ:	*marni pirna jukurrhungarri* well you understand *marni pirna jukurrhungarri* //

FJ: *marni pirnangarri* [...] *pandrrirna nganjingarri, kana yundrru ngararna nganyi* [...] *nganyi yawarrha wata ngathu* [laugh] that's Pirlatapa I'm tellin' you

LH: Yes, what are you telling me? Are you still

FJ: I'm tellin' you I go to the waterhole and wait for kangaroo, fat one, fetch him home for eat'em *nganji* call'em *nganji*

LH: *nganji*

FJ: *nganji* meat

[w3]: *nganji* mean a meat, kangaroo isn't it?

FJ: *nganji* is meat

LH: Oh

FJ: *nganji ngathu thayirna*

LH: *thayirna* ah, that's very much like the other language

FJ: *nganji ngathu thayirna, kalaji nganyi* [...] *pirlatapa yundrru ngararna, ngakangu yawarrha thana yinija* eh? You say yes, you say that I understand a little, I'm askin' you that you'll be able to understand Pirlatapa if you get amongst them

LH: Yes, I would, but there aren't enough

FJ: Not many of them livin' now you know

LH: No, but it's rather like the other language

FJ: A few livin', the odd ones here and there, Yandrruwandha mob that's another dead tribe again

LH: Yes, yes

FJ: They joinin' Pirlatapa, them, it's just about the one lingo, and you say when you're goin' away *nganyi waparna karraringkarri, karrari* means I'm goin' today, *karrari*

LH: *nganyi waparna*

FJ: *nganyi waparna karraringkarri jukurrhu pandrrilha ngakangu* I'm going' to kill a kangaroo *jukurrhungarri pandrrirna ngakangu*

LH: How would you say that you were going to spear it?

FJ: Eh?

LH: That you were going to spear it, how would you say that?

FJ: *waparna nganyi kajingkarri, wapalha kajingkarri, kaji*

[w3]: *kaji* mean a spear

FJ: Spear, *kaji* they call'em

LH: Yes, that's a

FJ: Oh, good mornin'

CE: Good morning how are you? //

FJ: That's Pirlatapa and Yandrruwandha *ngakarnandrru* again *nganyi waparna* that's two

LH: *nganyi waparna* that's Wangkumarra is it?

FJ: No, Yandrruwandha

LH:	Pardon?
FJ:	Yandrruwandha
LH:	Yandrruwandha, ah! Like Murtee Johnny
FJ:	They join in Pirlatapa them fellas, they joinin' Pirlatapa, I travel the country that's how I know
[w4]:	You know Bob Parker?
LH:	I know Dora Parker
FJ:	I'm tryin' to tell you people to pull you back here and I can't
[w4]:	Bob Parker and //
FJ:	[sings]
[w4]:	That's your own song isn't it?
FJ:	*nhaku*, *nhaku* means yes
LH:	*nhaku* means?
FJ:	*nhaku* means yes in Adnyamathanha talk that
LH:	Well how do you say it in Pirlatapa?
FJ:	Pirlatapa, what is it?
[w4]:	I don't know what you're sayin', you goin' away or comin' or goin' or something
FJ:	What's that?
LH:	In Pirlatapa how would you say yes?
[w4]:	*nhaku wangkai* [...]
FJ:	*ingkardani*
[w4]:	Oh, [...]
FJ:	Come here! *kithiya thana kurri ngakangarri, kithi karna kurriya ngakangarri* come in here
[w4]:	Come in here
FJ:	Understand that?
[w4]:	Understand that? Only a little bit you know
FJ:	If I can go your country you learn me I understand, pick'em up quick
LH:	Yeah
FJ:	Yeah, I been travellin' about the country and I picked up all different kind a lingo and corroboree. But I can't corroboree now I'm sorry to tell you people
CE:	We're very sorry to hear it too
FJ:	Come in now, well I'd like to do something for you, but I can't. I can't help people
[w4]:	I reckon
CE:	Yes, you've helped us as much as you could and that's a big help //
LH:	What are those two boomerangs you hit together?
FJ:	*kirra*
[w4]:	*wadna* we call'em *wadna*

FJ:	*kirra* Pirlatapa call'em *kirra*
LH:	*kirra*
FJ:	And I call'em *wadna*
LH:	I see, how would you say in Pirlatapa that you
FJ:	*kirra, kirra nganyi kartakarta, kirrangarri* I got some *kirra* in there but I can't find'em
LH:	*kirra //*
FJ:	*wimpaka* they call'em woman
LH:	*wimpaka*
FJ:	*pirlatapa wimpaka, parrara* young girl, you young girl, eh?
LH:	Oh, no!
[w3]:	'e got children
FJ:	Eh?
[w3]:	She got children, young woman you can say
LH:	What about, what do you call kids?
[w3]:	*yakardi* in our lingo
LH:	Yes, *yakardi*
FJ:	*wakawaka*
LH:	You don't call them *murrpa* like the other language?
FJ:	Eh?
LH:	*murrpa*
[w3]:	No!
LH:	*murrpa* that's what Granny Quayle calls them
FJ:	What?
LH:	Kids, *murrpa* Granny Quayle calls them
FJ:	Who? Oh, but that's Malyangapa
LH:	Yes, that's right
FJ:	Yeah, that's Malyangapa
[w3]:	We calls them *yakardi* here, we calls them *yakardi*
FJ:	And you can't mix the lingo
LH:	No, that's right. I'd like to learn a bit of Pirlatapa. How, we were talking about those kangaroos, how would you say that you killed one?
FJ:	Eh?
LH:	How would you say 'I just killed a kangaroo', how would you say that?
FJ:	*nandrrarna, nandrrarna ngakangu jukurrhu, jukurrhu nandrrarna ngakangu* means me kill a kangaroo, you say it, you say it, *nandrrarna ngakangu jukurrhu*
LH:	*nandrrarna ngakangu jukurrhu*
FJ:	There you are, you're alright

LH:	I don't know
FJ:	*nandrrarna ngakangu jukurrhu*
LH:	And would you say 'We'll light a fire'?
FJ:	*ardla*
[w3]:	We call it *ardla*, what they call it?
FJ:	*kardla*
[w3]:	*karla*
FJ:	*karlangarri waparna* that means make a fire *karlangarri waparna* they call it *karla* same as we do, Pirlatapa very near same
LH:	How would you say 'We'll collect some sticks for a fire'?
FJ:	What do you want to know?

[End Side 2 fieldtape NS22]

NOTE

1.   The transcription employed for Pirlatapa here is identical to that which I currently use for Diyari and neighbouring languages. It differs from the orthography of Austin (1981). The spelling generally follows Australianist practical orthography conventions: *th, nh, lh* are lamino-dentals, *j, ny, ly* are lamino-palatals, *rd, rt, rn, rl* are apico-domals (retroflex) and *ng* is the dorso-velar nasal. Note that Diyari and neighbouring languages have three 'r-sounds': *r*, a retroflex continuant; *rr*, an alveolar tap; and *rrh*, an alveolar trill. The vowels are *a, i, u*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AUSTIN, Peter, 1981, *A grammar of Diyari, South Australia.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
  to appear, A grammar of Ngamini. To appear in B.J. Blake and R.M.W. Dixon, eds *Handbook of Australian languages,* vol.5.
BREEN, J. G., 1971, Aboriginal languages of Western Queensland. *Linguistic Communications* 5:1-88. Monash University.
CAPELL, Arthur, 1963, *Linguistic survey of Australia.* Sydney: prepared for The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
DAVIS, Christine and Pearl McKENZIE, 1985, *Adnyamathanha genealogy.* Adelaide: Government Printer (Aboriginal Heritage Branch, South Australian Department of Environment and Planning).
ELKIN, A.P., 1931, The social organisation of South Australian tribes. *Oceania* 2:44-73.
  1934, Cult-totemism and mythology in northern South Australia. *Oceania* 5:171-192.
  1937, Beliefs and practices connected with death in north-eastern and western South Australia. *Oceania* 7:275-299.
  1938, Kinship in South Australia. *Oceania* 9:41-78.
GASON, Samuel, 1895, Of the tribes, Dieyerie, Auminie, Yandrawontha, Yarawuarka, Pilladapa. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain* 24:167-176.
HERCUS, Luise A., 1982, *The Bāgandji language. PL,* B-67.
  to appear a, Blanche Ned. To appear in Peter Austin, ed. *To the east of Lake Eyre.*
  to appear b, A Pirlatapa myth. To appear in Peter Austin, ed. *To the east of Lake Eyre.*

KERWIN, Benny and Gavan BREEN, 1986, Yandruwandha story. In Luise Hercus and Peter Sutton, eds *This is what happened: historical narratives by Aborigines*, 17-40. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

MURRAY, Ben and Peter AUSTIN, to appear, The death of Blanche Tom. To appear in Peter Austin, ed. *To the east of Lake Eyre*.

OATES, Lynette F., 1975, *The 1973 supplement to A revised linguistic survey of Australia*. Armidale: Christian Book Centre.

O'GRADY, Geoffrey N., Carl VOEGELIN and Florence VOEGELIN, 1966, *Indo-Pacific fascicle six. Anthropological Linguistics* 7/2.

O'GRADY, Geoffrey N., S.A. WURM and K. HALE, 1966, *Classification of Australian languages*. Map. Victoria, B.C.: University of Victoria.

REUTHER, J.G., 1981, *The Diari*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

SCHEBECK, Bernhard, to appear, A brief note on Yardliyawarra. To appear in Peter Austin, ed. *To the east of Lake Eyre.*

SCHOKNECHT, J.C., 1947, A dictionary Dieri-English and English-Dieri being a translation of the original German-Dieri and Dieri-German collated and compiled by the late Pastor Carl Schoknecht during his work as Lutheran Missionary among the Dieri Aborigines at Kopperamanna, Killalpaninna, etc., near Lake Eyre, South Australia, in the years 1871-1873. Translated and prepared by J.C. Schoknecht. MS, 37pp.

TINDALE, Norman B., 1940, Distribution of Australian aboriginal tribes: a field survey. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64: 140-231.

1974, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

TOLCHER, H.M., 1986, *Drought or deluge: man in the Cooper's Creek region*. Melbourne University Press.