

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

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SALVAGE STUDIES OF WESTERN QUEENSLAND  
ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

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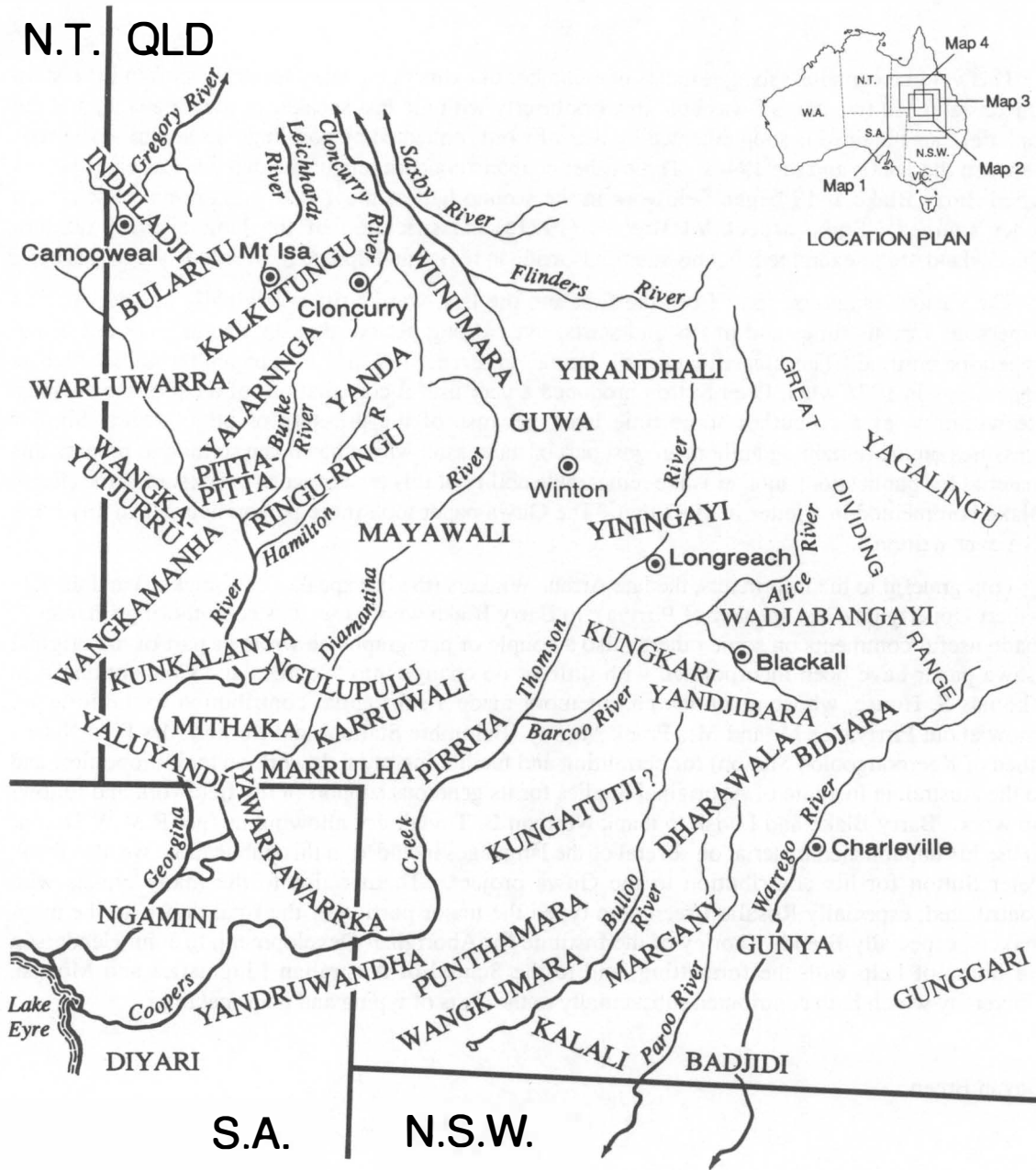
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**Map 1.**  
**LANGUAGES OF WESTERN QUEENSLAND**  
 (Located approximately as at the time of first white settlement)



## 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)  
Karruwali (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; Dalhenty 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 Arremte)  
 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/; *mng* 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 *r* 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 Yalamnga (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 Yalamnga. However, while the absolutive form in Kalkutungu and Yalamnga 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>
Yalamnga	<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, Yalamnga 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 Yalamnga).

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 Karuwali;

*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';

*kulthuur* (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;

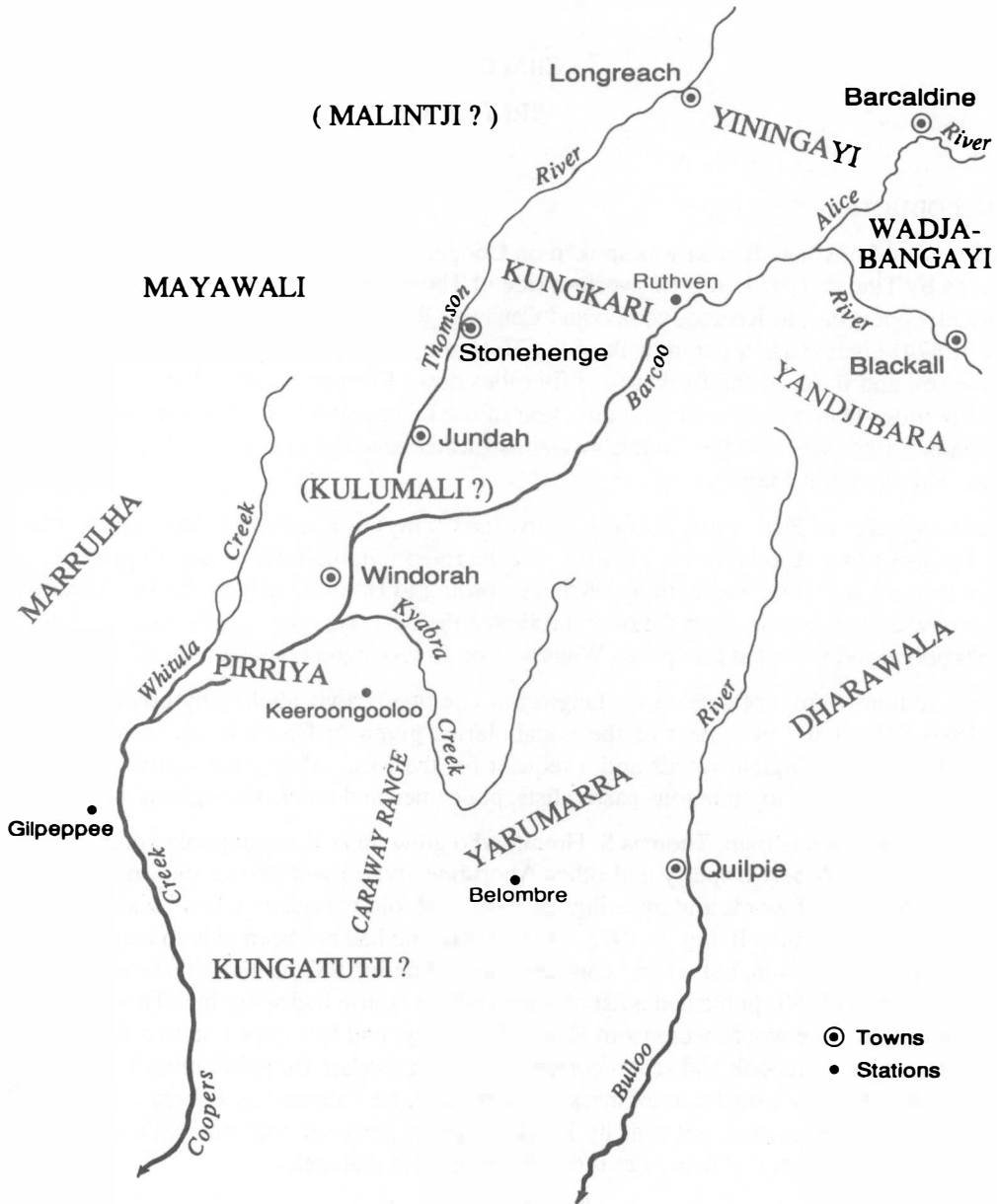
*ringkan* 'heat' in Yanda, Gu, Kn (probably borrowed by B as *dhingkan*; probably not related to *rungka* 'lightning' in Kl, Yl, Gu, and Mayi-Thakurti (Mayi));

*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-Yalarnga group and Kungkari and Pirriya at least.

**Map 2.**  
**KUNGKARI AND PIRRIYA COUNTRY**



⊙ Towns  
 • Stations

## 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 Karruwali (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 Karruwali (the Morney Plain is in Karruwali 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>m</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: *watyimwatyim* 'hot' from *watyim* '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 [kambən], 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 *-mi*: *ngamarni* 'mother' (and Curr's "*narmaquia*" seems to show that *ngama* is the root), *kurkarni* '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, yandawinangalinha*

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 *-langa* 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 *m*, as in

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

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

*yandawina ngalinha yadamartu* ‘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, [anʔi] ‘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

*ngayuwa* (or *ngayawa*) ‘my’ in

*ngayuwa(?)*

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 nhanamuku 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 *nhanamuku* (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
E	English
Ka	Kalali
Kw	Karruwali
Mt	Mithaka
Pn	Punthamara
Yn	Yandruwandha

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
(Aboriginal) man	"miru" kulukulu karkuru	C H U,W	Prob. 'many'; see Kg, Kd "mirty" cf. (?)karkura in Kg, Kd
(Aboriginal) woman	"muchmali"	C	
old man	karrukarru	U	= Karna
old woman	walku	C	= 'big', also 'big' in Kn; both 'old woman' and 'big' in Kg, Kd; cf. Wm warlganhuga 'old woman', lit. 'woman-big'
boy	kandu	U	= 'child' or 'baby' in Mari
girl	kayu	H	Earlier given as 'woman'
female	[wimbritya] prob. wimpirrya	H	Not only human; also given for 'heifer'
baby	"mararida" wayiwiya	C H,U	= Wm 'little' + masculine suffix, note also Wm wariwa 'child'; H adds "applies to all young"
white woman	watyina	H	Given for 'woman', but comes from E 'white gin'; common in Aboriginal lgs
medicine man (priest)	minakiki	H	
ghost	[brrumatya]	H	Also given as 'water spirit (bunyip)'; "broomature" in H notes
spirit	kulma	H	
mother	ngamakwiya or ngamakwaya ngamarni	C H,U	Names based on ngama are widespread = Kn (which also has ngamanya); earlier 'father'
father	thatha(nya)	C,H,U	= Kg. May "doothun" 'brother' is an error; H notebook has "duthanya" 'father'
brother	patharn	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	"purghi"	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>purtku</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 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> 'knee'
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-Yutjurru, 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	[ <i>mudi</i> ]; cf. " <i>murra</i> " 'sun'
night	<i>miila</i>	H	cf. sky
clouds	[ <i>yurru</i> ] <i>yana</i>	H U	" <i>yurru</i> " in his notes Not on tape; also given for 'hailstone'; cf. Bitharra " <i>yanna</i> ", "Wonkomarra" " <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 said to be 'way down, on the Cooper'
Fish Hole	<i>Karawangka</i>	U	
unidentified waterhole	<i>Ngaminy</i>	U	
fire	<i>watyim</i>	C,H,U	cf. Kd, Kg ' <i>wichun</i> ' ?= <i>watyarn</i>
smoke	<i>thurrka</i>	C,U	= Bitharra; Mari <i>dhuga</i>
light	<i>pitya</i>	H	cf. Gn <i>bija</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>woomanga</i> "	C	B <i>wanany</i> 'doe possum'
porcupine (echidna)	<i>parrpirta</i>	H,U	= Ka, Mari
rat	[ <i>koradat</i> ]	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	[ <i>tambriwalku</i> ]	H	cf. <i>thampu</i> 'testicles', <i>walku</i> 'big'
bullock	[ <i>kaadi</i> ]	H	" <i>cardi</i> " in notes; cf. <i>kathi</i> 'meat'
milking cow	[ <i>milgoni</i> ]	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
broilga	<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	[kik]bædi	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>yirrantlyal</i>	H	Second vowel not clear; cf. Wm <i>thirindala</i>

English	Pirriya	Source	Notes
galah	<i>kilapuru</i>	H,U	cf. Gu, Kl, Yl <i>kilawuru</i> , Wm <i>kilampara</i> ; H [gɪlabrrum], spelt "gillabrum" (May has "gillabrun")
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 "boonawoorā" but H gave him "goonawoorā"
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>wangku</i>	H	Biri, Mayi-Kutuna <i>wanggu</i> 'type of goanna'
type of goanna	<i>kamamarriny</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	
	[ampəda]	H	cf. <i>ngampuru</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, 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>pingkana</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>pimpirri</i>	H,U	Yl; Kn <i>pinpirri</i> ; Kl <i>pirmpirri</i> 'coolibah'
coolibah	<i>kumula</i>	H,U	cf. Wm <i>kirra</i>
bloodwood	<i>karriri</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 add "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	" <i>yanghaburri</i> " 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>pula wara</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>watyimwatyim</i>	U	cf. <i>watyim</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>parkula</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; "pundiappa" 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
	"mirti"	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>
	<i>yandawina</i>	W	ending is Pi, <i>wina</i> Kn (and
	<i>yantarra</i>	H	perhaps Pi) the <i>nga</i> and <i>rra</i>
	<i>yantanga</i>	H	endings Wm, <i>ngidi</i> not known;
	<i>yan tangidi</i>	H	<i>yantanga</i> 'come' in May,
	<i>yan tangidi</i>	H	'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 "culturah" but H gave him "dulturah"
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>wurthinha</i>	W	= Kn
kill	[ <i>altala</i> ]	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>tumpiriyil</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 [ŋ], [ŋg], [ng] or [ŋg] or [nʏdʏ]) is not the same as Howitt's (1904:62) Yankibura, (in which the nk might be [ŋk], [nk] or [ŋk]) 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:ngàrəwɪna] 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>wirmanj</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>Tyirityirri</i>	foot, place name
<i>nhingka-, nhitha-</i>		<i>nyina-</i>	to cry, to smell, to sit
	<i>/d/</i>	<i>/r/</i>	<i>/r/</i>
<i>kudithala</i>		<i>kurimarra</i>	eaglehawk, carpet snake
		<i>murri</i>	sun, cold
		<i>Purrakura</i>	place name, waddy
<i>kulpadi</i>	<i>kangkarri-</i>	<i>purarl</i>	emu, to be sore, egg
<i>walapada</i>	<i>Kayaparra</i>	<i>kukari</i>	spear, place name, caught(?)
		<i>malanypara</i>	

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 *pilirman* 'policeman'). Using bound morphemes we get contrasts such as that between *thananha* 'they' and *thanaanhi* 'is standing', *kupanhaya* 'cooked' and *kupaanhya* '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:əl] '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 intervocalically 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 intervocalically at various positions in a word (voiceless in *thimpurany* 'type of lizard' and voiced in *pathupathu* 'boomerang', *thurmtithiri* (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.

/r/ 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 /r/ or /r/. On the other hand it was sometimes hard to decide whether a consonant was /r/ 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 [ɐ] 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 [ɪ], 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 [ʊ]. (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 /r/, /m/, /n/, /r/ 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%), /r/ (3%), /m/, /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%, /r/ 1%), nasals 16% (/m/ 5%, /ng/ 3½%, /n/ 3%, /ny/ 2%, /nh/ 1½%, /r/ 1%), laterals 5% (/l/ 3%, /r/ 1½%), /r/ 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* 'camey (or bearded dragon)', cluster /yp/ in *paypu* 'pipe', cluster /mk/ in *kikimkarnta*- 'to kick' and *mathirimkarnta*- 'to muster' and cluster /rrm/ in *pilirman* '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 Kalkutngu and Yalarnga. 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 Kalkutngu and Yalarnga, 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 *mii* 'eye' and *manga* 'ear' respectively; *mutyu* is similar to some other words for 'blind': *putyu* in Karna languages, *mutyuparri* in Kalkutngu, *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 wurrthinaya; 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) *yarramamtu nganha wangkamanayi*  
horse-op I(abs) kick-past(?)  
'A horse kicked me'
- (12) *yandawina ngalinha yarramamtu*  
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 panthakarntaanhi 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 wurthila 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) *... wupalaku pulithiku*  
go-fut-purp cattle-purp  
‘... going mustering’

<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 parntaanhiya 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 nhalpaanhiya*  
 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 Palkarapparri*  
 go-past Bulgroo-abl  
 '(I) came over from Bulgroo'
- (31) *tharnapparriya 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	<i>ngayu</i> (2), (3), (7)	<i>nginku</i>		
	1 dual	3 dual	2 plural	3 plural
absolutive	<i>ngalinha</i> (1), (42)	<i>pulanha</i> (32), (106)	<i>nhurranha</i>	<i>thananha</i> (35), (38)
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 absolutive 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?
absolutive	<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 kinkaaniya*  
 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) *karinhaaniya nhunayi, kurimarra*  
 eat-?-pres it- carpet snake  
 “might be carpet snake he might be eating”
- (37) *nhunayi long time, thanaani 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 - wupalaku 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, wurrthilanuma 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) *wurrthityanuma kathi*  
kill-imper-there snake  
‘Kill that snake’
- (50) *he panthakarntawinanuma pilirman*  
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’, *murirakarnta*- ‘to cool down’, *muyukarnta*- ‘to be smoky (of a fire)’. Sentential examples include (15), (50), (65), (79) as well as the following:

- (51) *wilthakarntaanhiya manga*  
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 katyamirmi*  
 ? 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).

- (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!”

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’.

### 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) ~ -iilthi(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) *kungkiparrikamtawina nganha; kungkiparrikarntaanhiya nganha*  
 thirsty-incho-pres I(abs) thirsty-incho-pres I(abs)  
 ‘I’m thirsty’

- (65) *pithiringkarntawana*[sic] *nganha*; *pithiringkarntaanihiya 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 *-aanihiya*) is always used with active verbs. *-aanihiya* 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) *kayalpathawina nganha*  
 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 nhanamuku wurla*  
 you(op)-? chop-pres it-? firewood  
 'You're chopping that wood'

## 3.3.3.6 ACTIVE PRESENT

The suffixes *-aanihi*, *-aanihiya*, *-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 *-aanihi(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.

*-aanihi(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) *ngaltyi ngathu nhakaanhiya*  
 moon I(op) see-pres  
 “That’s the *ngaltyi* up there, I tellim nother fellow”
- (77) *ngaltyi there thanaanihi*  
 moon stand-pres  
 ‘The moon is there’
- (78) *minya yinda (yindi?) kupaanihiya? oh kathi ngathu kupaanihiya*  
 what you(op) cook-pres meat I(op) cook-pres-?  
 (+ indecipherable final syllable)  
 ‘What are you cooking?’ ‘Oh, I’m cooking meat’
- (79) *panthakarntaanihiya rirangu*  
 sick-incho-pres tooth-op  
 ‘(I) have a toothache’
- (80) *kuya ngathu manaanihiya*  
 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) *thalapariya 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 karinhanhaya nhunuma 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 *wurrthinahaya* ...; I *wurrthinahaya* 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 manaynha* [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); *-lawu* in (101) (and note also (94)).

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

(94) *ngathunuma wurthilaw 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 wurthila 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 wupalaku*  
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 gotta *warntawarntalanga*; 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)

*-mi* 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, *warstawarnta*- '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 wurthila 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, wurthilanuma 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 wurthinhaya*  
 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-possessed (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-possessed 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 wirmany*  
 who he-there small  
 'Who's the little one?'

- (120) *Puthurrunha 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) *kangkariwina 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) *murirakarntawina*  
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 wapiilthayalanga; oh nganha wapiilthayalanga*  
 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) *yadamartu 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 nhinama(?) 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 wapilthi(?) 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(?) wathiya(?) 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 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.

## KUNGKARI VOCABULARY

English	Kungkari	Notes
(Aboriginal) man	<i>kapu</i>	cT, W2
(Aboriginal) woman	<i>kurnpiri</i>	cT, W2
child	<i>walpara</i>	cW2
boy	<i>murmintyimpa</i>	
white man	<i>walpala</i>	From E
	<i>thipa</i>	W2 "the pa"
white woman	<i>watyikan</i>	From E
policeman	<i>kantypulu</i>	From E
	<i>pilirman</i>	From E
name	<i>yipi</i>	T
initiation	<i>muda</i>	T; also in Kama 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>yarkuninya</i>	
mother-in-law	<i>wamaninya</i>	
father-in-law	<i>tharu(nha)</i>	
head	<i>pumpa</i>	
	?	W2 "teerang"
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

English	Kungkari	Notes
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"
ear	<i>manga</i>	cT
beard	<i>nganka</i>	cW2
throat	<i>pinkl</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>pinkl</i>	Also 'throat'
breast	<i>ngamaRa</i>	T
rib	<i>rarrany</i>	
stomach	<i>ngayimala</i>	
back	<i>piru</i>	
penis	<i>kimti</i>	T
testicles	<i>ruku</i>	T
vulva	<i>parliny</i>	T " <i>parlij</i> "
anus	<i>rindi</i>	T; cf. Mg <i>indhi</i>
faeces, bowels	<i>kuna</i> or <i>kurna</i>	T " <i>kurna</i> ", 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 Kama 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>ngalnyi</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>thumtithirri</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 "gurindy"
thunder (verb)	<i>pukadu-</i>	cC; see example (66)
hailstone	<i>mukarti</i>	
thunderstorm	<i>munnguRinhaya</i>	C "mungerenie" (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 "nappera", from Kama?
brackish water	?	W1 "Cutherie"; cf. <i>katya</i> 'rotten'
spring	?	S "Bringine", may be place name
lagoon	?	S "Wooroogena", may be place name
waterhole	?	C "allore", S "Eleroo", may be place name
creek, waterhole, place	<i>watya</i>	
plain	<i>kunadi</i>	
	?	S "Broomarra", may be place name
watershed	?	W2 "boorgidjeagoorah", 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>thurkaruka</i>	
sand, sandhill	<i>wityu</i>	cJ, S
stone	<i>karany</i>	
stone, mountain	<i>parri</i>	T, C? "corri", S "parrarree"; cf. Mg, Gn <i>barri</i>
forest, scrub	<i>ru(r)la</i>	W2; and see 'fire, firewood'
stockyard	<i>winmil</i>	J "winmill", 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>Tyirityirri</i> <i>Ngaltha</i> <i>Purakura</i>	
Maroo	<i>Thiwiny</i>	
Tampoon	<i>Thanpun</i>	
Ray	<i>WathakuRa</i>	Not recorded on tape
Belombre, Eromanga	<i>Yirungkula</i>	[yɪrɒŋgələŋ], prob. anglicised; note that Eromanga is on Erounghoola Creek
Keeroongooloo	<i>Yala</i>	
?	<i>Kunathulpa</i>	W1 "Coonathoolba" 'Where "Bora" was held'
?	?	W1 "Toongapindara" 'Never-failing waterhole'
?	<i>Pathilpuru</i>	W1 "Bathillboro" 'Spring on top of mountain'
?	<i>Pukapuka</i>	W1 "Booga-booga" 'Small mountain'
?	?	S "Mangoongooli" 'Aboriginal camping reserve'
?	?	S "Oongoomgooberri" 'A large waterhole'
?	<i>PuluRu</i>	S "Booloroo" '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>  <i>parlkan?</i>  ?	cT 'wallaroo', C, S; 'red kangaroo' also in Gn, Kalali  W1 "Barracoa" 'Kangaroos plentiful'; cf. Pi <i>parlkan</i> 'kangaroo'  W1 "Thumbul" '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 "Thoolahoogun" 'Plenty opossums'
bandicoot	<i>wityula</i>	S
porcupine (echidna)	<i>yarawityu</i>	
	<i>paka(nga)ntyī</i>	S "puckanjī"; cf. Gu "pa-ka-un-jī"
horse	<i>yarramam(i)</i>	Loan
	<i>kurrtha</i>	W2; = 'dog'
cattle	<i>pulithi</i>	From E
	<i>puliyaRu</i>	W2 "Booliaroo"
sheep	<i>mangki</i>	From E 'monkey'
pig	<i>pikipiki</i>	From E
cat	<i>puhikad</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
broilga	<i>kulthudu</i>	cT
pelican	<i>tharta</i>	cT, W1
swan	<i>muNGulu</i>	W1 "moongooloo"
black duck	<i>yalamana</i>	Not recorded on tape
type of duck	<i>kumayukun</i>	
duck	?	W1 "derunna"
type of waterbird	?	W1 "Imbeenbengully" '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- tailed kite)	<i>wampirmtada</i>	
crow	<i>wakam</i>	cT
	?	W1 "yilla" 'Plenty of crows'
curlew	<i>kuyilpiny?</i>	Not on tape; cf. Mg <i>guyibiny</i> , B <i>kuyilba</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 "Narithunka" 'dead goanna', prob. a place name; cf. Mithaka, Ngamini <i>nhari</i> - 'to die', Karna lgs <i>thungka</i> 'rotten'
camey (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 "teta" '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>pimpirri</i>
coolibah	<i>yakuRa</i>	W2 "yacoorah"
box	<i>pulawiRi</i>	Not recorded on tape
bloodwood	<i>marlku</i>	
gidgea	<i>marru</i>	cC "murri"

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>batthawattha</i> " 'spear'
nulla-nulla	<i>mityin</i>	cT 'club'
club, waddy	<i>purarl</i>	
	<i>ngandithirri</i>	T " <i>ḡandiḡari</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 <i>pituri</i> – 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>mamkiri</i>	
red	<i>rikirikiridi?</i>	
big	<i>walku(nya)</i> <i>yukuma</i>	Perhaps 'long'; attested only as descriptive of a stick
small	<i>wimany</i>	cS "weening" '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 "ingoon" '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>kurparu</i>	T "kuruparu", but cf. <i>Mayi</i> lgs, Mg, Kl, Yl <i>kurpara</i> and similar forms, never with a vowel between the rhotic and the <i>p</i>
many	<i>ngakarl?</i>	T "gaka:l"
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 "wabalingo" '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 thanaani 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>tanjamalani</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>yikumaty-</i> or <i>yikamatya-</i>	
cook	<i>kupa-</i>	
chop	<i>parnta-</i>	Possibly <i>parnta</i>

English	Kungkari	Notes
hit	<i>wurrthi-</i>	
hit with missile ?	<i>wutya-</i>	Heard only in a sentence transcribed [wutʷárɪŋga.ðu báðubàðuŋgu] and translated “He chuck the boomerang thataway”; The sentence could be <i>wutyaadingki ngathu pathupathungu</i> - pot l(op) boomerang-op
kick	<i>wangkama-</i> <i>kikimarntama-</i>	
break	<i>ranthi-</i>	From E
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>	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”
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> <i>yantya</i>	c?W2 “ <i>nou</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: SONGS

The following is a transcript, slightly edited, of some songs and associated comments and explanations, recorded from Arthur Winkers at Belombre, 3rd August 1968. / denotes a pause in the song and ·, : and :: various degrees of length in vowels.

[wela:ŋali:ŋayɪŋama·ða·ŋayi·ŋali·nʷdʷa·ŋa::ŋaga:lgu·ŋuŋali:ŋayi:ŋali·nʷdʷa·ŋa: /  
wila:dʷabu·ŋaŋali::ŋa:li·ŋa:la:ŋa:ŋabi:ŋdndabi·ŋða: /  
biŋða:ŋa:gagu:ŋubaŋa·linʷdʷa·ŋa:ga·ða:ŋayɪŋdalinʷdʷa:ŋa:ŋabaðada:ŋa/(g?)ali:nʷdʷa:ŋa::bur]

That's all I can sing you. That mean you going along and picking up song. That's a different lingo again; that'd be on the Barcoo – song, see. Very near in my lingo just the same. That mean:

[ba:ra·linʏdʏa:naga:guŋugi:ndalenʏdʏa]  
that mean going down the river;

[gagu:ŋuŋa-li:n̄a:n̄ayin̄dali:nʏdʏa:n̄aba-ŋaŋawandali:nʏdʏa:ŋa / a:n̄abára]  
two fellow going down the river, going fishing;

[guya:guŋa-li:n̄awabalin̄iyari:n̄a::]  
wapalinhiya; that means we going down to the river. That's in my talk. And some talking mix up in the other, like that again, see. We all going down fishing.

(New song; small portion at beginning unrecorded)

[---guya:guŋa-li:n̄ayin̄da / yan̄aba:ra-ŋa /  
guya:guŋa-li:n̄ayin̄dalinʏdʏa:ga:n̄a<sup>w</sup>abi:l̄dir̄aŋali:n̄a]  
wapiilthiya mean we going along down to the waterhole.

[kaku:dadin̄ali:n̄ayin̄dali:nʏdʏaŋaguyaguwabi:l̄dir̄aŋaldi:n̄aŋa::na-bin̄dabin̄dali:nʏdʏa /  
bin̄da:bin̄dali:nʏdʏa]  
that's a sort of – song again, same song.

(Partly unrecorded, sung a few minutes after the previous one, with some discussion and elicitation of language intervening)

[---indali:nʏdʏa:laŋa::n̄abuŋ / i:nʏdʏa-ŋi: / indali:nʏdʏa:ŋ /  
guya:guŋa-li:n̄ariyindali:nʏdʏa:ba:ra:nawaraŋagaku:ŋuwiŋali:nʏdʏa /  
bar̄ŋa:li:nʏdʏa:n̄aŋali:n̄agagugun̄ali:n̄aŋaŋali:n̄d̄aŋali:nʏdʏa:ŋa: / ali-nʏdʏa-ŋa::]

A few words can be identified in these songs: *ngalinha* 'we(du)-abs', *kaku* 'water' with suffixes *-ku* 'purposive' and *-thari* 'allative', *kuyaku* 'fish-purp', *wapalinhiya* 'go-?-pres' and *wapiilthiya* 'go-pres'. Most of these recur from time to time. (See section 4.10 for a reference to the frequently occurring sequence *-lintya*.)

### APPENDIX 3.2: "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 carcoora</i>	<i>barcoola murina</i> <i>karkoora</i>	Pi <i>marinha</i> 'one'
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>	

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongeri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
baby	(male) <i>oornoo</i> (female) <i>urtoo</i>	<i>oornoo</i>	Kn <i>ngartu</i> 'daughter'
ghosts	<i>goondtha</i>	<i>goeing</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>buntyoo</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) "chiora"
blood	<i>coorooka</i>	<i>kurooka</i>	Pi (Curr) "karuga"
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) "yichi"
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> )

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongeri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
rain	<i>birta, yookun</i>		Kn <i>pirta</i> 'sky', <i>yukan</i> 'rain'; Wm <i>pirta</i> 'rain'
water	<i>cacoa</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>watyim</i>
smoke	<i>mooyoo</i>	<i>mooyoo</i>	Kn <i>muyu</i>
wild dog	<i>deethee, conatha</i>	<i>deethee</i>	Kn <i>kurrtha</i> ("conatha" 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 "woornanga"; 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> ("goonging" could be this); Pi <i>wirrka</i>
broilga	<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>
snake	<i>thoolperoo,</i> <i>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, ririka</i>	<i>wokka</i>	Pi <i>waka</i> , Kn <i>ru(r)la</i> , both 'stick'
bark	<i>wathorra,</i> <i>pirrabirra</i>	<i>wathoora</i>	Pi "wadura" in Curt
grass	<i>condtha</i>		Kn?, Pi <i>kantha</i>
camp	<i>oora, woaira</i>	<i>oora</i>	Kn, Pi <i>ngurra</i>

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongeri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
war spear	<i>moortya, canna</i>	<i>kanna</i>	Kn <i>kanha</i> , Pi <i>kaniny</i> ; Gu <i>murrtya</i>
shield	<i>thum beroo</i>	<i>thum boora</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, binganbundy</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>koongeri</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>ngakar!</i> ; prob. Pi " <i>mirti</i> " in Curr
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>wandthee wandthee</i>	
I	<i>boorko, nutho</i>	<i>iowa</i>	Kn <i>ngathu</i> (op.), Pi <i>ngayawa</i> ; Pi etc. <i>purtku</i> 'chest'!!
you	<i>ingowa, yinti</i>	<i>enowa</i>	Kn <i>yinti</i> (op.), Pi <i>yinawa</i>

	<b>Kungarditchi</b>	<b>Koongeri</b>	<b>Notes</b>
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>wantheilica 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:

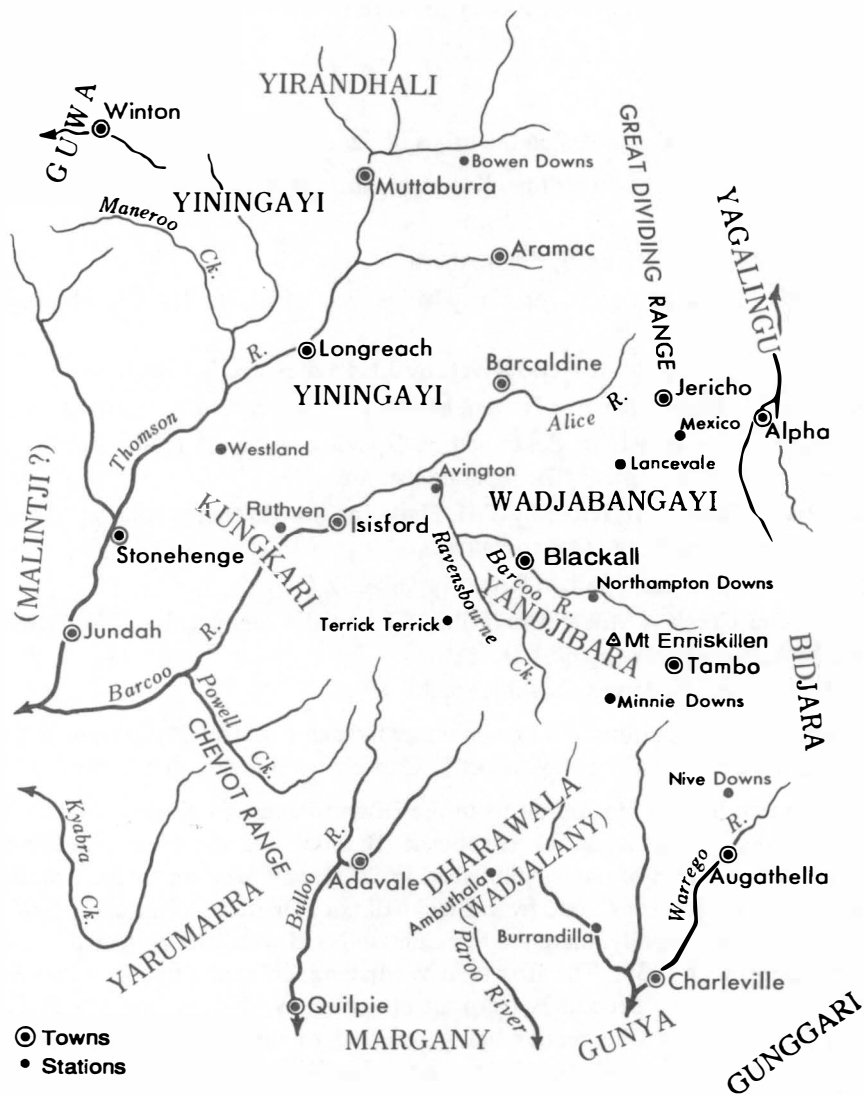
	Koongeri	Kungarditchi (a)	Kungarditchi (b)
Pirriya	78 (59 / 76)	65 (55 / 84)	51 (40 / 78)
Kungkari	55 (43 / 78)	48 (39 / 81)	74 (60 / 81)

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'; "*cotyaminnī*" 'dead' may have a suffix *-inhi* (cf. *wapalinhiya* in one of the Kungkari songs).

Map 3.

# LANGUAGES OF THE BARCOO AND THOMSON



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.Dalhunty (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 [ŋ].) 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 interdental nasals may occur initially but alveolar nasals 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 ("*tulɖu*" and "*'tulɖu*" '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 intervocally 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, “*augunda*”, 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 *huri* 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 *dhinnngana* ‘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>m</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 mardī?</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'
suffix used with some descriptive terms (meaning not known)	<i>-badi</i>	173	B

Nature of suffix	Form	Sources	Notes
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 *huri dhuka* 'smoke' (lit. 'fire smoke') in which *huri* 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 'wommera', sometimes as 'wommera 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

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
1. The blacks	<i>murrie</i>	<i>murrenooyo</i>	<i>malkaloo</i>	<i>murrimulgoo</i>	
2. man, a blackfellow	<i>murrie</i>	<i>murri</i>		<i>murri</i>	<i>murdie</i>
3. woman, a black woman	<i>kumbi</i>	<i>kumbi</i>	<i>kampe</i>	<i>kumby</i>	<i>kambi</i>
4. an old man	<i>watoring</i>	<i>kiara</i>	<i>anger</i>	<i>kooba</i>	<i>kaiara</i>
5. an old woman	<i>poodgan</i>	<i>kooderi</i>	<i>gycher</i>	<i>boonargun</i>	<i>coble-coble.</i>
6. a young man	<i>kourla</i>	<i>nungar</i>	<i>nangoo</i>	<i>nunger</i>	<i>cowwoola</i>
7. a baby	<i>kantoo</i>	<i>kundoo</i>	<i>kandoo</i>	<i>kamdoo</i>	<i>cando</i>
8. children	<i>kantoonoo</i>	<i>kundanoo</i>	<i>kandoo</i>	<i>kamdonoo</i>	<i>canelo</i>
9. white man	<i>weeto</i>	<i>widdoo</i>	<i>withoo</i>	<i>womboo</i>	<i>wittee</i>
10. ghosts	<i>weta</i>				<i>bincoon</i>
11. God	<i>bogu</i>				
12. father	<i>yarboo</i>	<i>yabbo</i>	<i>yarboon</i>	<i>yakkoeela</i>	<i>yabbono</i>
13. mother	<i>younger</i>	<i>younga, youngamoo</i>	<i>youngara</i>	<i>youngereela</i>	<i>youngardi</i>
14. father's sister					
15. mother's brother					
16. mother's sister					
17. elder brother	<i>turgoon tiller</i>	<i>tarkanoo</i>	<i>targanoo</i>	<i>targoongeela</i>	
18. elder sister	<i>buya tiller</i>	<i>beanoo</i>	<i>pina</i>	<i>murrangeela</i>	<i>tagoono nyarra</i>
19. younger brother	<i>waboo</i>				
20. younger sister	<i>waboogan</i>				<i>wabboono nyarra</i>
21. father's mother					
23. wife	<i>koererow</i>				
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	
<i>mari</i>	<i>mari</i>	B <i>mardi</i>	<i>mari, mardi</i>
<i>'kambi</i>	<i>kambi</i>	B; see also 18, 20	<i>kambi,</i> <i>mayada</i> 'female' ?
		B <i>wadhurany</i> 'old man', <i>kayada</i> 'old', <i>kuba</i> 'grey', also Mg <i>gubabari</i> , <i>gubaguba</i> 'old man'; for <i>anger</i> cf. 21	<i>wadhurany,</i> <i>kayada,</i> <i>kuba</i>
		Gangulu <i>bunngan</i> ; see 4 re <i>coble-coble</i> ; no other obvious cognates	<i>bunngan</i>
		B <i>nanka</i> 'young', <i>kawula</i> 'young man who has been through a certain grade of initiation' – details not known	<i>nhanka,</i> <i>kawula</i>
		B	<i>kandu</i>
		B; <i>-nu</i> is plural suffix	<i>kandunu</i>
		B <i>widhu</i> , also 'dead person', <i>wanbu</i> uncommon in B but occurs in other Mari dialects	<i>widhu,</i> <i>wanbu</i>
		See 9	<i>widhu</i> <i>buku</i> ?
		B (with suffixes <i>-Ø</i> , <i>-nu</i> , <i>-wila</i> )	<i>yabu, yabunu,</i> <i>yabuwila</i>
		B (with <i>-Ø</i> , <i>-nu</i> , <i>-yila</i> ), Mg, Gn <i>yangardi</i>	<i>yanga, yanganu,</i> <i>yangariyila,</i> <i>yangardi, yangaRa</i>
	<i>baugella</i>	Or <i>bangella</i> ? Cf. B <i>barindyila</i> 'elder sister'	
	<i>tagingella</i>	See 17	
	<i>kiamilla</i>	cf. <i>kyga</i> in 17, also 28, 31, 32	
	<i>kyga</i>	B <i>dhaku</i> (with <i>-Ø</i> , <i>-nu</i> , <i>-ndyila</i> )	<i>dhakunu,</i> <i>dhakundyila</i>
	<i>kooligin</i>	B <i>bari</i> (with <i>-Ø</i> , <i>-nu</i> , <i>ndyila</i> ), once <i>bayi</i> ; <i>bayi</i> also in Wadjigu and sometimes Gg; suffix <i>-rdiyila</i> on some kin terms in B; B <i>marandyila</i> 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 <i>mayada</i> 'younger sister' in Mg, 'woman' in Wb (see 3)	<i>bayinu,</i> <i>bayirdila</i> <i>marandyila</i> ?
	<i>waburra</i>	B; no suffix identifiable with "rra"	<i>wabu, wabunu,</i> <i>wabuRa</i> <i>wabukan</i>
	<i>karroogan</i>	B <i>wabukanu</i> (-kan 'feminine')	
	<i>unganella</i>	cf. 13	
	<i>kooyarra</i>	B <i>kuyardiyila</i> , Mg, Gn <i>guyarda</i>	<i>kuyaru</i>
	<i>kungalla</i>	See 23	
	<i>nygu</i>	B <i>kunkayila</i> , Mg, Gn <i>gun-gal</i> 'husband'	<i>kunka(yi)la</i>

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
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	<i>togoo</i>	<i>tungoo</i>	<i>tungoo</i>	<i>doongoo</i>	<i>doongo</i>
39. hair of the head	<i>woorow</i>	<i>wooroo</i>	<i>wooroon</i>	<i>wooroo</i>	<i>monga</i>
40. body hair					
41. forehead					
42. eye	<i>teeley</i>	<i>dilli</i>	<i>dilli</i>	<i>dilli</i>	<i>tilli</i>
43. eyebrow					
44. nose	<i>kao</i>	<i>nunderoo</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>noondooroo</i>	<i>ko</i>
45. mouth	<i>tarr</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>moonoo</i>	<i>moonoo</i>	<i>tha</i>
46. lips					
47. tongue	<i>tarlang</i>	<i>tullini</i>	<i>tallyne</i>	<i>tarding</i>	<i>dulline</i>
48. teeth	<i>teer</i>	<i>teea</i>	<i>teer</i>	<i>deeya</i>	<i>yearra</i>
49. ear	<i>manger</i>	<i>munger</i>	<i>mungar</i>	<i>munga</i>	<i>munga</i>
50. jaw					
51. chin					
53. beard	<i>yarong</i>	<i>yarrine</i>	<i>nangur</i>	<i>yaring</i>	<i>nunga</i>
54. hand	<i>murra</i>	<i>murra</i>	<i>murra</i>	<i>murra</i>	<i>murda</i>
55. breasts	<i>wanker</i>	<i>amoo</i>	<i>nammoon</i>	<i>nammoona</i>	<i>namoone</i>
56. chest					
57. stomach, belly	<i>yooillkoo</i>	<i>munda</i>		<i>pontoo</i>	<i>bangurd</i>
58. heart					
59. kidney					
60. back					
61. bowels	<i>booltang</i>	<i>bundoo</i>	<i>goonna</i>		
62. anus					
63. faeces, excrement	<i>yoonner</i>	<i>goorna</i>	<i>goonna</i>	<i>goonna</i>	<i>goonna</i>
64. penis					

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
	<i>irampe</i>	Spelling not clear in source	
	<i>kyangilla</i>	cf. 16 and 17	
	<i>nadingella</i>	B <i>ngadhi(ndyila)</i> 'mother's father'	<i>ngadhindyila</i>
		Mg, Gn <i>ngadhiny</i> 'father's father'(?)	
	<i>kyello</i>	See 16, 17, 28, 32	
	<i>kyello</i>	See 31	
	<i>tabiara</i>		
	<i>kungangella</i>	B <i>kangany, kangandyila</i> 'mother's brother'	<i>kangandyila</i>
	<i>tranna</i>		
	<i>waburra</i>	See 19	
	<i>koonganna</i>	See 25 (?)	
' <i>ɔungu</i>		B	<i>dhunku</i>
' <i>kaʔa</i>		both B; cf. 'head' in Mg, Gu	<i>wuru</i> (North?),
→ ' <i>kaʔa</i>			<i>kadha</i> (South?)
		See 39 (Conn); B etc.	<i>mundya</i>
' <i>balga</i>		B	<i>balka</i>
' <i>dili</i>		B	<i>dhili</i>
' <i>melgan</i>		B	<i>milkan</i>
' <i>nonɔor:</i>		B <i>kuwu</i> and (?) <i>ngundurd</i>	<i>kuwu, nhunduru</i>
' <i>ɔa:</i>		B	<i>dhaa</i>
' <i>biki</i>		See also 45; both B (one speaker gave <i>biki</i> 'top lip', <i>munu</i> 'bottom lip'); see also Wb 52	<i>biki, munu</i>
		B	
' <i>ɔalanj</i>		B etc. <i>yira</i> ; Kalali <i>thiya</i>	<i>dhalany</i>
' <i>jira</i>			<i>dhiya</i> (North?),
			<i>yira</i> (South?)
' <i>maŋa</i>		B	<i>manga</i>
<i>ɔakal</i>		B	<i>dhakal</i>
' <i>ŋantanj</i>		B	<i>ngandhany</i>
		B <i>yadany</i> ; Gn, Mg, Gu, etc. <i>nganka, ngankard</i>	<i>yadany</i> (N?)
' <i>mara</i>		B <i>marda</i>	<i>nganka</i> (S?)
' <i>ŋamun</i>		B	<i>mara, marda</i>
		See 55 (Torraburri); B (also Mg, Gn <i>wamga</i> )	<i>ngamun</i>
			<i>wanka</i>
' <i>ban'bu</i>		both B ( <i>bandyurd</i> given as 'stomach of animal'). cf. B <i>mandha</i> 'vegetable food', also 'full (of stomach)'; see also 58 but note Wargamay <i>yulku</i> 'belly, stomach, bowels, guts'	<i>banbu, bandyurd</i>
		See 57 (Torraburri); B (also Gn <i>yuriku</i> ) – but see 61	
		B	<i>yulku</i>
<i>momird</i>		B	<i>mumird</i>
' <i>buruku</i>		See also 57, 63. Biri, Baradha <i>buldany</i> 'heart'	<i>budku</i>
			<i>buldany?</i>
		B	
' <i>punti</i>		B	<i>bundhi</i>
<i>kuna</i>		B	<i>kuna</i>
<i>buŋa</i>		B	<i>bunga</i>

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
65. testicles					
66. vulva					
67. urine					
68. thigh	<i>pillar</i>	<i>pillar</i>	<i>bull</i> (?)	<i>daria</i>	<i>balla</i>
69. leg					
70. foot	<i>tinner</i>	<i>deena</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>dinna</i>	<i>dinna</i>
71. track of a foot	<i>teener</i>	<i>dinna</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>dennerboola</i>	<i>dinna-y-chulla</i>
72. skin	<i>nomen</i>	<i>nooman</i>	<i>numen</i>	<i>noomun</i>	<i>gerring</i>
73. bone	<i>yarrowoon</i>	<i>yarroon</i>	<i>yarroon</i>	<i>yarroon</i>	<i>narco</i>
74. blood	<i>koomer</i>	<i>kooma</i>	<i>kooma</i>	<i>kooma</i>	<i>cooma</i>
75. fat	<i>tammy</i>	<i>tommi</i>	<i>tamme</i>	<i>tommi</i>	
76. sky					
77. sun	<i>tarow</i>	<i>taro</i>	<i>toro</i>	<i>yooro</i>	<i>doordo</i>
78. moon	<i>kagerer</i>	<i>kogera</i>	<i>koggera</i>	<i>kokkera</i>	<i>kuckardo</i>
79. star	<i>dundoo</i>	<i>boodoo</i>	<i>boothoo,</i> <i>tandoo</i>	<i>boodtha</i>	<i>neeworra</i>
80. day	<i>gadrow</i>	<i>goondagoon</i>	<i>toro</i>	<i>bombi</i>	<i>neelga</i>
81. light	<i>elierow</i>	<i>yambatilli</i>		<i>bombi</i>	<i>boyn</i>
82. night	<i>balkeron</i>	<i>kanalgo</i>		<i>gonda</i>	<i>goobega</i>
83. dark	<i>kangder</i>	<i>koonda</i>	<i>karrangalla</i>	<i>gonda</i>	<i>noorundi</i>
84. cloud					
85. lightning					
86. thunder	<i>teegroo</i>		<i>dindoo</i>	<i>moongoo</i>	<i>nullo-nullo</i>
88. rain storm					
89. rain	<i>kammoo warber</i>	<i>kumbundelong</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>komo</i>	<i>caroo bathing</i>
90. wind	<i>yerker</i>	<i>yarraya</i>	<i>yorka</i>	<i>yarega</i>	<i>yarraca</i>
91. water	<i>kammoo</i>	<i>kammoo</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>komo</i>	<i>canno</i>
92. river					
93. ground		<i>nundee</i>	<i>nante</i>	<i>nundee</i>	<i>nanthe</i>
94. stone	<i>pageao</i>	<i>bungo</i>	<i>woothun(?)</i>	<i>bungoo</i>	<i>bangoo</i>
95. hill, mountain					
96. plain					
97. brigalow scrub					
99. fire	<i>burri</i>	<i>booree</i>	<i>boree</i>	<i>boori</i>	<i>boordi</i>
100. smoke	<i>toker</i>	<i>togar</i>	<i>toongin</i>	<i>dooger</i>	<i>dookan</i>

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
<i>toko</i> ' <i>tembanj</i> ' <i>dudara</i>		B B B etc. <i>dhudhard</i> B; Mg, Gn <i>dharra</i> ; see 69 See 68; B <i>bala</i> 'lower leg', Gn <i>bala</i> , Mg <i>barla</i> 'leg'; Gn <i>burla</i> 'calf'	<i>dhuku</i> <i>dhimbany</i> <i>dhudhara</i> <i>dhara</i> <i>bala</i>
' <i>qina</i>		B See 70; " <i>boola</i> " may be a plural suffix <i>-bula</i> ; " <i>y-chulla</i> " is <i>wadyala</i> 'go-past'	<i>dhina</i> <i>dhina</i>
		B <i>numan</i>	<i>nhuman</i> , <i>dyiRiny?</i> <i>yadun</i> (N?), <i>ngaku</i> (S?)
		both B	<i>kuma</i> <i>dhami</i> <i>bandara</i> <i>dhuru</i> , <i>dhurdu</i> <i>kakara</i> , <i>kakarda</i> <i>budhu</i> , <i>dhandu</i>
' <i>kom:a</i>		B B B <i>bandarda</i>	
' <i>bandara</i> <i>quru</i> , <i>tulqū</i> ' <i>kakara</i> ' <i>boto</i>	' <i>tulqū</i> ' <i>kakara</i>	B <i>dhurdu</i> B <i>kakarda</i> B <i>budhu</i> ; Gg <i>dhandurd</i>	
		} B <i>dhurdu</i> (= 'sun'); <i>niyila</i> 'now, today' (see 203); " <i>goondagoon</i> " see 82-83; " <i>bombi</i> " poss. 'light (weight)' cf. B <i>bumbi kura</i> 'to float'; B <i>yilaru</i> 'this morning, early'; " <i>yambatilli</i> " perhaps <i>yamba</i> (see 155, and cf. Breen 1973:163-164) and <i>dhili</i> 'awake'? cf. 42); B <i>buwany</i> 'hot'; 'daytime' in Mg	<i>dhuru</i> (= 'sun') <i>yilaru</i> 'this morning, early' <i>buwany</i> <i>yambadhili</i>
		} B <i>kunda</i> 'dark, night-time'	<i>kunda</i>
' <i>jukan</i>	<i>muttangka</i>  <i>munglo</i>	B First two B (see 86); see 86 also for <i>dhindu</i> B <i>munngu</i> (see also 88); " <i>teeegroo</i> " see 85; Gg <i>ngulungulu</i> ; see also Tambo place-names list	<i>yukan</i> <i>madhangala</i> , <i>dhikuru</i> , <i>dhindu</i> <i>munngu</i> , <i>ngulungulu</i>
<i>mongobai</i>		B (lit. 'thunder-having') cf. 91; cf. also Mg <i>waba</i> 'to go', B <i>bunda</i> 'to run (of liquid)', G1 <i>kamu bandi-</i>	<i>munngubayi</i> <i>kamu waba?</i> , <i>kamu bunda?</i> , <i>kamu badhi?</i> <i>yadka</i> <i>kamu</i>
' <i>jaraga</i> <i>kam:u</i>	' <i>kam:u</i> , <i>casino</i>	B B	
' <i>balbara</i> ' <i>nanti</i> <i>banggu</i> <i>banggo</i>		B B B <i>bangku</i> ; cf. <i>wudhun</i> 'grass' See 94	<i>balbara</i> <i>nhandhi</i> <i>bangku</i> <i>bangku</i>
' <i>gun:ai</i> ' <i>wadju</i> <i>huri</i> ' <i>qoga</i>	<i>huri</i>	B B 'scrub' B <i>burdi</i> B <i>dhuka</i> , Mg <i>dhunguny</i>	<i>kunayi</i> <i>wadyu</i> <i>huri</i> , <i>burdi</i> <i>dhuka</i> , <i>dhunguny</i>

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
101. (tame) dog		<i>mora</i>	<i>mora</i>		<i>ngoora</i>
	<i>karirer wangal</i>				
102. wild dog, dingo		<i>koombinea</i>		<i>goombina</i>	<i>wanti</i>
	<i>karirer kabin</i>				
103. kangaroo	<i>narka</i>	<i>naragoo</i>	<i>narko</i>	<i>nargoo</i>	<i>bowra</i>
104. wallaby					
105. rock wallaby					
107. kangaroo rat					
108. (o)possum	<i>tangoor</i>	<i>tungooroo</i>	<i>tangool</i>	<i>dongeroo</i>	<i>tanurd</i>
109. porcupine (echidna)					
110. native bear (koala)					
112. egg	<i>kubaon</i>	<i>karboin</i>	<i>kobboo</i>	<i>kobin</i>	<i>carboon</i>
113. emu	<i>kolbey</i>	<i>koolbi</i>	<i>koolberra</i>	<i>koolby</i>	<i>goolby</i>
114. wild turkey, plains turkey	<i>baanguke</i>				<i>bookine</i>
115. scrub turkey					
116. native companion (brolga)	(none)	<i>kooroora</i>	<i>kooro</i>	<i>coordodo</i>	
117. pelican	<i>winner youerilly</i>		<i>miarwa</i>	<i>derraroorooboolcoon</i>	
		<i>kararoo</i>			
118. swan	<i>yourie</i>				<i>bigooro</i>
119. wood duck	<i>manaan</i>	<i>munan</i>		<i>murra boon</i>	
120. black duck	<i>kobery marer</i>				<i>munara</i>
		<i>koobaree</i>			
121. eaglehawk	<i>kotelow</i>				<i>coothalla</i>
122. crow	<i>woterkan</i>	<i>woddon</i>	<i>wawder</i>	<i>wardergun</i>	<i>watta</i>
123. laughing jackass (kookaburra)		<i>kakaburra</i>	<i>kargooburra</i>	<i>kargooburra</i>	<i>karcoburra</i>
	<i>kakoburry</i>				
124. magpie					
125. white cockatoo		<i>dikkari</i>	<i>diggari</i>	<i>tikkari</i>	<i>teecurri</i>
	<i>teaerburry</i>				
126. black cockatoo					
127. snake	<i>monda</i>	<i>moonda</i>	<i>kobbool</i>	<i>kokoolo</i>	<i>munda</i>
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
'goran		B <i>nguda</i> , <i>ngudan</i> ; "karirer" could be <i>nguda</i> ; "wanga!" may mean 'tame'	<i>nguda</i> , <i>ngudan</i>
'kombina		B <i>kumbina</i> , <i>wandhi</i>	<i>kumbina</i> (N?), <i>wandhi</i> (S?)
'garuko	<i>matchumba</i> , <i>nargoo</i>	B <i>bawuda</i> 'red kangaroo', <i>ngadku</i> 'grey kangaroo'; <i>matyumpa</i> in some languages to the north	<i>bawuda</i> 'red k' <i>ngadku</i> 'grey k' <i>madyumba</i> ?
'waija	<i>wejah</i>	B 'scrub wallaby'	<i>waya</i>
'bako		B	<i>baku</i>
'bandunj		B	<i>banduny</i>
'dapuru		B <i>dhangurd</i>	<i>dhanguru</i> , <i>dhangurd</i>
<i>badbira</i> → <i>badbi(d)a</i>		B	<i>badbirda</i> or <i>badbira</i>
'ditanj		B	<i>dhidhany</i>
'kabunj		B	<i>kabuny</i>
'kulbai		both B	<i>kulbari</i> , <i>kulbayi</i>
'bunkanj		B	<i>bunkany</i>
'kokobinj		B	<i>kukubiny</i>
'goral (second vowel not clear)		Gg <i>kural</i> , GB etc. <i>kururr</i> ; see also Yb, Yi item 116	<i>kurura</i> (N?), <i>kural</i> , <i>kurdurdu</i> (S?) <i>dharaRu</i> ?
		cf. Kn <i>tharta</i> , Mg <i>dharta</i> , also <i>dharruru</i> 'black cormorant'; for Torraburri cf. <i>wina</i> 'fish' and <i>yuka</i> 'to eat'; others not known	
		"yourie" = <i>yuri</i> 'meat'	
		B <i>manarun</i> , G1 <i>marabun</i> , both 'duck (gen)'	<i>bikuRu</i> ?
	<i>coberrie</i> "duck"	cf. Biri, Baradha <i>kuburi</i> , GB <i>kubiri</i> 'duck'; but see Yb 119	<i>manarun</i> , <i>marabun</i>
		B	<i>kubiri</i> ?
'ko;al		B	<i>kudhala</i>
'waragan		B <i>warakan</i> , Yirandhali, Gg <i>watha</i>	<i>warakan</i> , <i>wadha</i> <i>wardakan</i> ?
		B	<i>kakubada</i>
<i>kolbo</i>		B	<i>kulbu</i>
'tikari:		B	<i>dhikadi</i>
'kongi:'da:l		B B; see also 128	<i>kungkidala</i> <i>munda</i>
'kabal	<i>moonda</i>	B	<i>kabul</i>
<i>kombara</i>		B and others <i>bumbara</i>	<i>bumbara</i> ?
<i>kolari</i>		B <i>kuridi</i> , Gn <i>gulirdi</i> 'tiger snake', Mg <i>gulirdi</i> 'bilby snake'	<i>kuliri</i> ?
<i>barakan</i>		B <i>badka</i>	<i>badkan</i>
'wariq		B	<i>waruny</i>
'binajara		B	<i>binangala</i>
<i>nindjubun</i>		cf. B <i>nindyibun</i>	<i>nhindyubun</i> ?
<i>badju</i>		Gg	<i>badyu</i>

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
137. fish	<i>winner</i>	<i>biabree, wiarer</i>	<i>piaberni</i>	<i>weena</i>	
138. barramundi					
139. catfish					
140. eel (freshwater)					
141. crayfish	<i>koarow</i>	<i>boogalli</i>	<i>boogarli, quarroo</i>	<i>kandera</i>	<i>bowgili</i>
142. lobster	<i>bookill</i>				
143. crab					
144. fly	<i>nemara</i>	<i>negeroo</i>	<i>nimmoon</i>	<i>neemeroo</i>	<i>nimmun</i>
145. mosquito	<i>ellpin</i>	<i>boodoin</i>	<i>boothun</i>	<i>booding</i>	<i>bootoin</i>
146. tree					
147. wood	<i>biggar</i>	<i>toolgarra</i>	<i>barga</i>	<i>warker, pugger beya</i>	<i>peea</i>
148. bark	<i>kooker</i>	<i>beear</i>	<i>beer</i>		
149. native pitch, gum					
150. gum tree					
151. box tree					
153. yam					
154. grass	<i>wakoo</i>	<i>widdoon</i>	<i>woothun</i>	<i>woodthon</i>	<i>woottoon</i>
155. camp	<i>yamber</i>		<i>yamba</i>	<i>yamber</i>	<i>yamba</i>
156. war-spear	<i>baggar</i>	<i>bukka</i>	<i>barga</i>	<i>pugger (none)</i>	<i>barca</i>
157. reed-spear	<i>weleyburry</i>				
158. bocmerang	<i>wongnell</i>				<i>wongal</i>
159. throwing stick, nulla-nulla	<i>kottkoo, betoo</i>	<i>meeroo</i>	<i>mora</i>		<i>mooro</i>
160. shield	<i>boorkoo</i>	<i>burrayoo</i>	<i>bulgoo</i>	<i>boorgoo</i>	<i>booro-coo</i>
161. tomahawk	<i>purow</i>	<i>burroo</i>	<i>baroo</i>	<i>baroo</i>	<i>burroo</i>
164. grass basket					
167. canoe	<i>weeter</i>	<i>tangin</i>			
168. food	<i>woran</i>	<i>ngulgo</i>	<i>inde</i>	<i>euri</i>	<i>urdie</i>
169. meat					
170. honey					
171. milk	<i>kammoon</i>				<i>namoone</i>
172. good	<i>megin</i>	<i>mikkane</i>	<i>mekinni</i>	<i>meginee</i>	<i>mickineberri</i>
173. bad	<i>begar</i>	<i>iudabooia</i>	<i>banya</i>	<i>bunya</i>	<i>kungardi</i>
174. sweet	<i>tarbooy</i>		<i>jaer</i>	<i>garber</i>	<i>yeara</i>
176. hungry	<i>guper</i>	<i>kobarree</i>	<i>kobarde</i>	<i>karberri</i>	<i>cabardi</i>

Solomon	Other	Notes	Phonemicisation
	<i>goryaway</i> , <i>coorcurna</i> "plenty of fish"	B <i>kuyu</i> , <i>wina</i> ("goryaway" may be <i>kuyuwayi</i> 'fish-having')	<i>kuyu</i> , <i>wina</i> , <i>bayabaRi</i> ?
<i>jangula</i> <i>'kakora</i> <i>makuru</i>		Not barramundi, prob. yellowbelly B B B <i>bukili</i> ; see also 142, 143	<i>yankula</i> ? <i>kakuru</i> <i>makuru</i> <i>bukili</i>
	<i>cooarrew</i>	See 141 B <i>kuwardu</i> ; see also 141 B <i>nimun</i> , <i>nimudu</i> from one speaker; cf. Yb "nugaroo"	<i>kuwaru</i> <i>nhimun</i> , <i>nhimudu</i> , <i>nyigaRu</i> <i>budhuny</i>
	<i>bagger</i>	B B <i>dhulkarda</i> 'log'; see also 146; Tambo gloss 'wood (or tree)' B <i>biya</i> ; <i>kuka</i> 'bark from elbow of tree'	<i>baka</i> <i>dhulkara</i> 'log'  <i>biya</i> , <i>kuka</i>
<i>'mokanj</i>		B (also <i>makan</i> and <i>mukan</i> )	<i>mukany</i>
	<i>dungun</i> <i>muldara</i>	B B <i>malard</i> B B <i>wudhun</i> ; cf. Gu, Yi <i>yaku</i>	<i>dhankun</i> <i>malara</i> ? <i>kuwa</i> <i>wudhun</i> , <i>waku</i> ?
<i>'goa</i> <i>jamba</i>	<i>'jamba</i>	B cf. 146 (this is also 'stick' in B) cf. Kn <i>walapada</i>	<i>yamba</i> <i>baka</i> <i>wilibaRi</i> ?
<i>'wanal</i> <i>mero</i>		B B <i>mu</i> ; Ngawun, Mayi-Kutuna <i>mirru</i> ; "kottkoo" could be <i>budku</i> (see 160); 'nulla-nulla' is Tindale's gloss	<i>wangal</i> <i>mu</i> , <i>midu</i>
<i>'boroko</i> (corkwood) <i>'baro</i> <i>windjin</i>		B B B	<i>budku</i> <i>baru</i> <i>windyin</i>
<i>manta</i>		B <i>mandha</i> 'vegetable food'; "ngulgo" may be a misreading of <i>ugulgo</i> = <i>yukalku</i> 'eat-purp'; "euri" and "urdie" (and perhaps "inde" = <i>iude</i> ?) are 'meat', see 169	<i>mandha</i>
<i>juri</i>		B <i>yurdi</i> ; see 168  B; see 174 'sweet' See 55 'breasts' B  B <i>kungkardi</i> 'to vomit' (and <i>bika</i> 'quiet?'); "iudabooia" may be <i>inda</i> <i>banya</i> 'you bad', but no cognates of <i>banya</i> are known "garber" see 170; "yeara" (and "jaer"?) may be 'teeth' ('sweet' misheard) but cf. B <i>yidi</i> 'taste, smell' Mg, Gn <i>gabird</i> 'hunger', <i>gabira</i> 'to be hungry'	<i>yuri</i> (N?), <i>yurdi</i> (S?) <i>kaba</i> <i>ngamun</i> <i>mikany</i> , <i>mikanybadi</i> <i>kungkardi</i> 'to vomit' <i>banya</i>
			<i>kabiri</i> , <i>kabirdi</i>

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarrawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
177. thirsty	<i>kogeener</i>	<i>ikomeobla</i>	<i>monargallelen</i>	<i>boongerroo</i>	
178. full (of stomach)					
179. sore	<i>weeteen</i>				
180. heat	<i>garrymully</i>	<i>quinqueean</i>	<i>boine</i>	<i>dingun</i>	<i>boeyoo</i>
181. cold	<i>magder</i>	<i>medaree</i>	<i>yakkal</i>	<i>medurra</i>	<i>yakkul</i>
182. big	<i>muller muller</i>		<i>mulla-mulla</i>	<i>bunga</i>	
183. little	<i>errow</i>	<i>wigga</i> <i>kioo</i>	<i>kooger</i>	<i>kya</i>	<i>kioo</i>
184. one	<i>wangier</i>	<i>wongera</i>	<i>wongera</i>	<i>wongera</i>	<i>wongarra</i>
185. two	<i>boolaroo</i>	<i>boollaroo</i>	<i>boolaroo</i>	<i>bulleroo</i>	<i>boolardo</i>
186. three	<i>boolaroo wangier</i>		<i>boolaunga</i>	<i>bulleroo wongera</i>	<i>boolardo-wongarra</i>
187. four	<i>boolaroo boolaroo</i>	<i>boollarongera</i>	<i>nalira</i>	<i>karkooroo</i>	
188. plenty	<i>talkay</i>	<i>boollaroo-boollaroo</i> <i>mulquarlo</i>	<i>mulkerloo</i>	<i>telgi</i>	<i>boolardo-boolardo</i> <i>mulla-mulla</i>
189. walk	<i>wotkillkoo</i>	<i>wongaridga</i>	<i>wyjalgo</i>	<i>woodgealgo</i>	<i>wychung</i>
190. come on	<i>yaukkomunderly</i>	<i>kolle</i>	<i>wooger,</i> <i>wyger</i>	<i>koole,</i> <i>ow-wo</i>	<i>wooko-wicka</i>
191. come here					
192. go away					
193. run					
194. sit	<i>binder</i>	<i>binda</i>	<i>bindalgo</i>	<i>binda</i>	<i>beendung</i>
195. eat	<i>yookolloo</i>	<i>yoordoo</i>	<i>ukalgo</i>	<i>eurii</i>	<i>ookung</i>
196. drink	<i>yookolloo</i>	<i>kamogallo</i>	<i>ukalgo</i>	<i>komo, ngulgo</i>	
197. sleep	<i>wangerkoo</i>	<i>oongaue</i>	<i>onga</i>	<i>woga</i>	<i>carmo-ookung</i> <i>wookawonung</i>
198. dead	<i>odelow</i>	<i>koondilla</i>	<i>kongella</i>	<i>goondella</i>	<i>goonteela</i>
199. see	<i>nugiby</i>	<i>ianugulla</i>	<i>nekalgo</i>	<i>nugalgo</i>	<i>nuckung</i>
200. look for					
201. hit					
202. yesterday	<i>kaboow</i>		<i>kooleroo</i>	<i>konberroo</i>	<i>goolieure</i>
203. today	<i>gadrow</i>	<i>wychal</i>	<i>naler</i>	<i>kargega</i>	<i>neilga</i>
204. by and by			<i>kygarroo</i>	<i>kurando</i>	<i>kickardo,</i> <i>babo</i>
205. tomorrow	<i>begdigoo</i>	<i>bedgi</i>	<i>kunderoo</i>	<i>bidgigo</i>	<i>goondarro</i>
206. yes	<i>yoo</i>	<i>yoo</i>	<i>indindi</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>yoe</i>
207. no	<i>kurri</i>	<i>kartoo</i>	<i>kurra</i>	<i>karra</i>	<i>curda</i>

Solomon	Others	Notes	Phonemicisation
		B <i>bungkud</i> ; other items cannot be identified See 57 Given for 'smallpox'; B 'a sore' B <i>buwany</i> 'hot', <i>dhinngan</i> 'hot weather'	<i>bungkuru</i>  <i>mandha?</i> <i>widhiny</i> <i>buwany</i> <i>dhinngan</i> 'hot weather' <i>yakal</i> ; <i>midhara</i> 'frost, ice' <i>wudya?</i> , <i>banya?</i> , <i>malamala</i> <i>kayu</i> , <i>aru</i> ; <i>kudyu</i> 'short' <i>wangkara</i> <i>bularu</i> , <i>bulardu</i> <i>bularu wangkara</i> , <i>bulardu wangkara</i> <i>bularu bularu</i> , <i>bulardu bulardu</i> <i>dhalkayi?</i> , <i>malkalu?</i> <i>wadya-</i> , <i>manda-</i> <i>wuku</i> 'hither'; <i>kuli?</i> <i>wuku wadya</i> <i>kundu wadya</i> <i>wakani-?</i> <i>binda-</i> <i>yuka-</i>
		B <i>yakal</i> 'cold', <i>midhard</i> 'frost, ice'	
		B <i>wudya</i> ; Gn <i>banya</i> ; see also 173 and 188 B <i>karu</i> (rarely <i>kayu</i> ), <i>kud yukudyu</i> 'short'	
		B B <i>bulardu</i>	
		<i>nalira</i> may be <i>ngadhaRa</i> , see Yb 187 cf. Gg <i>malgadya</i> 'big'; see also 182 B <i>wadya-</i> , rarely <i>manda-</i> (see 190) B <i>wuku</i> 'hither' and see 189; <i>kuli</i> in B is 'before'	<i>wadya-</i> , <i>manda-</i> <i>wuku</i> 'hither'; <i>kuli?</i> <i>wuku wadya</i> <i>kundu wadya</i> <i>wakani-?</i> <i>binda-</i> <i>yuka-</i>
		See 190 B <i>kundu</i> 'away' B <i>wakani-</i> , Mg <i>wara-</i> B B <i>yuka-</i> 'eat, drink'; for <i>euri</i> see 169 See 195 and 91	<i>wadya-</i> , <i>manda-</i> <i>wuku</i> 'hither'; <i>kuli?</i> <i>wuku wadya</i> <i>kundu wadya</i> <i>wakani-?</i> <i>binda-</i> <i>yuka-</i>
'wadjan'djarala			<i>kamu yuka-</i> 'drink (= eat) water' <i>wuka</i> , <i>wunga?</i> 'asleep' <i>wuna-</i> 'to lie' <i>undhi-</i> , <i>kundhi-</i> 'to die' <i>(k)undhila</i> 'dead' <i>nhaka-</i>
'oko'wadja 'kundu wadja warukani barala			
		B; "ia" in Bell's word would be <i>ngaya</i> 'I' See 208 B B <i>kuliru</i> B <i>niyila</i> 'now, today', <i>kadyukayi</i> 'later on'	<i>nhidyu-</i> <i>kuni-</i> <i>kuliru</i> <i>nhiyila?</i> <i>kadyukayi</i> 'later' ? <i>kadyaru</i> , <i>kadyardu</i> , <i>babu</i> <i>bidiyiyiku</i> <i>kundaRu?</i> <i>yuwu</i> <i>kara</i> , <i>karda</i>
	<i>gunilla</i>	Sources: B <i>kadyarda</i> 'directly'; old Mg, Gn <i>babu</i> 'by and by, directly'; cf. B <i>kabu</i> 'later' B <i>bidiyiyiku</i> ; <i>kunda</i> 'dark, night-time' in B, 'yesterday' in Gn B <i>yuwu</i> B <i>karda</i> , and cf. Gl <i>gangu</i>	
(?jo:) 'kanula			

	<b>Torraburri</b>	<b>Bell</b>	<b>Tarrawalla</b>	<b>Tambo</b>	<b>Conn</b>
208. I don't know	<i>kurri ebelli</i>	<i>inde adee</i>	<i>kurra nidula</i>	<i>dongodi</i>	<i>interra angabe</i>
209. I	<i>ier</i>	<i>yooloo</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>ngia</i>
210. you	<i>ender</i>		<i>inda</i>	<i>inda</i>	<i>yenda</i>
211. this					
212. where					
Where are the blacks?	<i>murri nuntder?</i>	<i>murri indeea?</i>	<i>indu bendang malkaloo?</i>	<i>murri indea?</i>	<i>inter murdie?</i>

## 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, *-baya* '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  
 B  
 See 209  
 B *yindiya*; see the translations of the following question and 208 *mari/mardi* 'man', see 2; *malkalu* 'plenty', see 188; re "*nunter*" cf. Gn *wandha* 'where', B *ngundhuru* and *ngandhuru* 'who'

*ngaya*  
*yinda*  
*yulu*  
*yindiya*

## 4.6.2 YANDJIBARA

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

## Notes

B *mardi*

See 1; "*leowla*" could be a misreading of *kowla*, see 6;  
 "*yanja*" could possibly be *yandya* 'right, indeed' as in  
 B *kambi*, *wanngu*; "*annoo*" could be *andu* 'child', see 7, 8  
 Gu *mu(wa)parri*, *muwa* in some Mayi dialects,

B *wadhurany*

cf. *kuba* – see note to Dh 4, and Gg *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; Gg *muginy* 'woman'

See note to Dh 6, and see 2

cf. B *kandu*, and see 3 and 8

"*Onund*" could be *andunu*, with plural *-nu* (cf. B *kandunu*)

B

Mg, Gn

cf. 12 in Cunningera list (4.6.4), also Gu 17, GB

*kaya*; there may be a root (k)*ayi* or (k)*iya*;

see also Dh 16, 17, 28, 31, 32

B *yang*a (with *-Ø*, *-nu*, *-yila*)

Yirandhali *mudyi*; cf. GB *mukina*; for *yaku* see 18

(but cf. B *dhaku*-)

cf. Mg *mayada* 'younger sister' and Wb 3; "*yaggoarre*"

'elder sister' in Curr's "Wonkomarra" list

cf. B *wabu*-, Mg, Gn *waburdu* (possible softening of *b* to *w*?)

cf. B *wabuwandila*, *wabuganu*

cf. Wadjigu *kumbu*

B *dhunku*

B *wuru*; "*minga*" may be *mundya* 'body hair', as in B

See 39

B

cf. G1 *wudha*, GB *kudha*

Gu *thawa*; *baka* could be 'lip' (B *biki*)

See 45

B *dhalany*, Gu, Wm etc. *thalanya*

B

B

See Dh 53

B

Gu *ngamina*, B etc. *ngamun*; Gu, Pi *purru* 'chest'

See 55

Mg, Gn *barti*; "*oorina*" could be a misreading of

"*oonna*", see 63; cf. Gu *pudu*

cf. B *mandha* 'full (of stomach)'

B *kuna*; "*thaline*" must be *dhalany(a)* 'tongue' – the  
 informant obviously having heard "dung" as "tongue"

See Dh 68; Gu *punmaRa* 'calf'

See 68, 73

B *dhina*

See 70

B *numan*

B *yadun*; *bala* see Dh 69

B *kuma*

B

## Phonemicisation

*mari*

*mari*

*ambi*, *wanngu*

*muwi*?

*wadhurany*?

*uba*--?, *wadhu*--?

*kawula*

*andu*

*andunu*

*widhu*

*wanbu*

*ayi(na)*

*yang*a(*nanu*)

*mudyi(nu)*

*mayada*?, *yaku*?

*um(b)u*?

*dhunku*, *yali*?

*uru*

*mundya*?

*dhili*

*udha*, *ngudha*?

*dhawa*

*baka*?

*dhalanya*

*dhiya*

*manga*

*yadany*, *nganka*

*mara*

*ngamina*, *ngamunu*?

*budku*

*bardi*, *udu*?

*una*

*dhara*

*bala*;

*punmaRa* ('calf'?)

*dhina*

*dhina*

*nhumana*

*yadun(u)*

*uma*

*dhami*

	<b>Yangeberra</b>	<b>Blackall</b>	<b>Mt Enniskillen</b>
77. sun	<i>thurroo</i>	<i>dooroo</i>	<i>doonoo</i>
78. moon	<i>aurgunda</i>	<i>howra</i>	<i>aurra</i>
79. star	<i>bootoo</i>	<i>boothoo</i>	<i>boodthoo</i>
80. day	<i>ouchoorpeni</i>		<i>oonoola</i>
81. light		<i>dokkungo</i>	
82. night	<i>bonoo</i>	<i>howha</i>	<i>ooa</i>
83. dark	<i>wa, mongeend</i>	<i>mungari</i>	
86. thunder	<i>amobareelud</i>	<i>barringa</i>	<i>moongo</i>
89. rain	<i>amo bundango</i>	<i>ammoo</i>	<i>ammoo</i>
90. wind	<i>yarraka</i>	<i>hurrica</i>	<i>yarga</i>
91. water	<i>awo</i>	<i>ammoo</i>	<i>ammoo</i>
93. ground	<i>yamba</i>	<i>yamba</i>	<i>yamba</i>
94. stone	<i>byar</i>	<i>barrie</i>	<i>unga</i>
95. hill	<i>birree</i>		
99. fire	<i>booree</i>	<i>boree</i>	<i>boori</i>
100. smoke	<i>thugar</i>		<i>dooau</i>
101. tame dog	<i>oochapeni</i>	<i>moora</i>	<i>moora</i>
102. wild dog	<i>ombemia</i>		<i>oombina</i>
103. kangaroo	<i>baoord</i>	<i>bowra</i>	<i>naralkoo</i>
108. (o)possum	<i>tangoord</i>	<i>dungroo</i>	<i>oongeroo</i>
112. egg	<i>damdu</i>	<i>tandoo</i>	<i>parroo</i>
113. emu	<i>umbaile</i>	<i>oolbury</i>	<i>oorai</i>
114. wild turkey, plains turkey	<i>bungoonya</i>		
116. native companion (brolga)	<i>krteertha</i>	<i>oordatto</i>	<i>mooroella</i>
117. pelican	<i>tarda</i>	<i>mungaran</i>	<i>durra</i>
118. swan	<i>dundurra</i>		
119. wood duck	<i>geeweela</i>		<i>oobuddi</i>
120. black duck	<i>obendia</i>	<i>hooire</i>	<i>oora</i>
121. eaglehawk	<i>urella</i>		
122. crow	<i>wogana</i>	<i>wogana</i>	<i>waugan</i>
123. laughing jackass (kookaburra)	<i>oolbarra</i>	<i>nookoo</i>	
125. white cockatoo	<i>dgurdid</i>	<i>dioordi</i>	<i>diggari</i>
127. snake	<i>mimda</i>	<i>moondah</i>	<i>moonda</i>
137. fish	<i>burtabulloo</i>	<i>biarbarri</i>	<i>akroo</i>
138. yellowbelly			
139. catfish			
141. crayfish	<i>oovarroo</i>	<i>acheroo</i>	
144. fly	<i>nioora</i>	<i>nugaroo</i>	<i>newra</i>
145. mosquito	<i>bunyeal</i>	<i>boonyi</i>	<i>bothing</i>
147. wood	<i>boodi</i>	<i>doola</i>	<i>doola, baa</i>
148. bark	<i>mookool</i>	<i>biya</i>	<i>beia</i>
154. grass	<i>undoo</i>	<i>woothanoo</i>	<i>oonoo</i>

## Notes

B *dhurdu*  
cf. B *kakarda*  
B

Gu *nguwa* (but compare "howha" with "howra" 'moon')  
"wa" may be *nguwa*; see 82

B *munngu*, Mg, Gn *barriny*, *amu* see 89; poss. *amu badila* (cf. B *badi*- 'to cry'); if so "*barringa*" may 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)'

B

B *kamu*

B 'camp, place'

Mg, Gn *barri*; "*unga*" poss. related to Gu *kun(g)ku*

Same as stone, 94

B *burdi*; see also 147

B (but cf. Mg *dhunguny*)

B *nguda*; "*oochapeni*" not known (but cf. "*ouchoorpeni*" 'day' in the same list)

B *kumbina*

B *bawuda* 'red kangaroo', *ngadku* 'grey kangaroo'

B *dhangurd*

Mayi *thamdu*; perhaps "*parroo*" is 'axe' (161) – "eggs" misheard as "axe"

B *kulbari*, Gg *nguruny*

B *bunkany*

cf. Dh 116 for "*oordatto*"; perhaps "*krteerth*" is *kurdurdu*

Kn *tharta*, Mg *dharta*; Mg, Gn *mangarra* 'black duck'

cf. Mayi-Kutuna *tjipilya* 'whistler duck' and similar names for types of duck, usually whistler, in other lgs (e.g. Mg, Gn, Kl); see also Dh 120

cf. Wm *ngawarra*; see also 117

B *kudhala*

Mg, Gn *wakam*

B

B

cf. 139 and Dh 137, Gu 137

Gu; see 137

B *kakuru*; see 137 and 141

B *kuwardu* 'crab' and see 139

cf. Dh "*negeroo*"

B *budhuny*; Yi "*boonyee*"

Biri *dhula* 'tree', see Gu 146-7; see 99; cf. B *baka* 'tree'

B *biya*; *mookool* not known (but cf. B *mukan*, *mukany*, *makan* 'gum')

B *wudhun*

## Phonemicisation

*dhuru*  
*akarda*, *awara*  
*budhu*

*nguwa*

*munngu*, *badinya*  
or *badi*-?

*amu*, *amu bunda*-  
*yadka*  
*amu*  
*yamba*  
*badi*?

*buri*, *burdi*?  
*dhuka*  
*nguda*

*umbina*  
*bawud(a)* 'red k.'  
*ngadku* 'grey k.'  
*dhangurd*, *dhanguru*  
*dhamdu*

*ulbari*, *nguruny*?  
*bunkany*

*urdurdu*,  
*kurdurdu*?  
*dhara*, *dharda*

*dyyiwila*?  
'whistler duck'?  
*ubadi* 'duck sp.'  
*nguwaRa*?  
*mangada*?  
*udhala*?  
*wakam(a)*

*dhikadi*  
*munda*  
*bayabaRi*  
*bardabulu*  
*akuru*  
*uwaru* ('crab')?  
*nyuRa*? *nyukaRu*?  
*bunyi*, *budhuny*  
*dhula*, *baa*?  
*biya*  
*mukul* (poss. 'gum')  
*wudhunu*, *un(h)u*?

	<b>Yangeeberra</b>	<b>Blackall</b>	<b>Mt Enniskillen</b>
155. camp	<i>yamba</i>	<i>yamba</i>	<i>titheringalli</i>
156. war-spear	<i>bara</i>	<i>bakar</i>	<i>bugra</i>
157. reed-spear	<i>bar</i>		
158. boomerang	<i>wongela</i>	<i>wungulla</i>	
159. throwing stick, nulla-nulla	<i>aramend</i>		<i>metoo</i>
160. shield	<i>tumberoo</i>	<i>doombooroo</i>	<i>toombaroo</i>
161. tomahawk	<i>baroo</i>	<i>baroo</i>	<i>baoo</i>
167. canoe	<i>wogara</i>	<i>doombatung</i>	<i>oorun</i>
168. food	<i>udi</i>	<i>unga</i>	<i>nanoo</i>
169. meat			
170. honey			
171. milk	<i>namunoo</i>		
172. good	<i>weem</i>	<i>weemo</i>	<i>boodi</i>
173. bad	<i>banya</i>	<i>undinga</i>	<i>indawannia (?)</i>
174. sweet	<i>weem</i>	<i>abba</i>	
176. hungry	<i>wongulla</i>	<i>abberri</i>	<i>awirindilla</i>
177. thirsty	<i>amo</i>	<i>boogidung</i>	
178. full (of stomach)			
180. heat		<i>werequong</i>	<i>dinganna</i>
181. cold	<i>moorara</i>	<i>weedurrah</i>	<i>moori</i>
182. big	<i>badbreda</i>	<i>buchana</i>	<i>padberra</i>
183. little	<i>baythana</i>	<i>aranoo</i>	<i>adyeri</i>
184. one	<i>wongara</i>	<i>wongoroo</i>	<i>wonga</i>
185. two	<i>muta</i>	<i>wootah</i>	<i>woodtha</i>
186. three	<i>our</i>	<i>hoodperry</i>	<i>woodburri</i>
187. four	<i>adava</i>	<i>mathari</i>	<i>ngithera</i>
188. plenty	<i>mooral</i>		<i>ungilla</i>
189. walk	<i>yarrano</i>	<i>yabbanoo</i>	
190. come on	<i>wooa</i>	<i>yobbanoo</i>	<i>awae</i>
194. sit	<i>bendano</i>	<i>bindunga</i>	<i>bindanna</i>
195. eat	<i>wono</i>	<i>bunginunga</i>	<i>daka</i>
196. drink	<i>wono</i>	<i>ungunga</i>	<i>amoo</i>
197. sleep	<i>woodnano</i>	<i>ooa</i>	<i>ooa</i>
198. dead	<i>undilla</i>	<i>oondilla</i>	<i>audinga</i>
199. see	<i>yabona</i>	<i>nurrunga</i>	<i>nangannoo</i>
202. yesterday	<i>matidga</i>	<i>vatucha</i>	
203. today	<i>aimba</i>	<i>jimba</i>	<i>jambuginni</i>
204. by and by	<i>parrri-perrin</i>	<i>batacher</i>	
205. tomorrow	<i>yeelokkur</i>	<i>munga</i>	<i>yellukka</i>
206. yes	<i>ee</i>	<i>yea</i>	<i>yea</i>
207. no	<i>arda</i>	<i>urra</i>	<i>alla</i>
208. I don't know	<i>nuirda</i>	<i>urra</i>	
209. I	<i>ngia</i>		
210. you	<i>inda</i>		
211. this, here			
212. where where are the blacks?	<i>murribulla wondi?</i>	<i>inicha murri?</i>	

## 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 prob. *dhumbudu* (see 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; see also 195-196  
*amu* is *amu* ‘water’; B *bungkurd*; see also 195-196  
 See 61  
 B *dhinngan* ‘hot weather’  
 Kn *murirra*; B *midhard* ‘frost, ice’ (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. Gl *badyarri*  
 B

Mg *gudbara* ‘a few’, Gu, Mayi *kurpara* ‘three’  
 See Gu 202, 204

cf. Yi 188; Gl *wandya*  
 See also 190 and 199  
 Wm *kawa*, and see 189

B  
 See also 176 and 196; “*daka*” may be English “tucker”  
 Same as 195; “*amoo*” is *amu* ‘water’  
 B *wuna-* ‘to lie’; see also 82 and B *wuka* ‘asleep’  
 Mg, Gn *gundhi-* ‘to die’  
 cf. 189, 190; something like *nhaka-* would be expected  
 See also 204  
 Mg *gayimba*

cf. 83  
 cf. Biri *yayi*  
 B *karda, kara* in some other Mari dialects  
 See 207; cf. 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’  
 “*bullu*” may be a plural suffix, cf. Dh 71

## Phonemicisation

*yamba*  
*baka, baa*

*wangala*  
*midu?*

*dhumbudu*  
*baru*

*unga*  
*yurdi*  
*aba*  
*ngamunu*  
*wimu?*  
*banya*

*abiri, awiri?*  
*bungkurda?*  
*mandha?*  
*dhinngana*  
*murida* ‘cold’  
*midhara* ‘frost’

*adyadi?*  
*wangkara*  
*ngudha?*  
*udbari*  
*ngadhaRa* or  
*ngidhaRa*  
*muRa, wandyala?*  
*yaba-?*  
*awa*  
*binda-*  
*wanga-?*

*wuna-* ‘to lie’  
*undhi-* ‘to die’

*badhadya?*  
*ayimba*  
*baRibaRin?*  
*iluka? munga?*  
*yayi* or *iya*  
*arda, ara*

*ngaya*  
*inda*  
*inidya?*

*wandhi*

## 4.6.3 WADJABANGAYI

	Holt	Notes	Phonemicisation
2. man	' <i>mari</i>	B mardi	<i>mari</i>
3. woman	' <i>majara</i>	cf. Mg <i>mayada</i> 'younger sister' and see Dh 3, 18, 20	<i>mayada?</i>
6. young man		' <i>kaula</i> given as 'initiation ceremony', but <i>kawula</i> is given as 'young man' for many nearby dialects; see Dh 6	<i>kawula</i>
38. head	' <i>tongo</i>	B	<i>dhunku</i>
39. hair	<i>wuru</i>	B	<i>wuru</i>
41. forehead	' <i>balga</i>	B	<i>balka</i>
42. eye	' <i>dili</i>	B	<i>dhili</i>
43. eyebrow	' <i>milkan</i>	B	<i>milkan</i>
44. nose	' <i>go:</i>	B	<i>kuwu</i>
45. mouth	' <i>ða:</i>	B	<i>dhaa</i>
46. lips	' <i>bigi</i>	B	<i>biki</i>
47. tongue	' <i>talainj</i>	B	<i>dhalany</i>
48. teeth	' <i>jira</i>	B	<i>yira</i>
49. ear	' <i>maŋa</i>	B	<i>manga</i>
50. jaw	' <i>ŋalgi</i>	B 'cheek'	<i>ngalki</i>
51. chin	' <i>ŋaiŋkal</i>	cf. B <i>ngandhany</i> , Kn <i>nganthil</i>	<i>ngandyal?</i>
52. moustache	' <i>munðu</i>	cf. B <i>munu</i> 'lip'	<i>mundhu</i>
53. beard	' <i>jaranj</i>	B	<i>yadany</i>
54. hand	' <i>mara</i>	B marda	<i>marā</i>
55. breast	' <i>ŋamun</i>	B	<i>ngamun</i>
57. belly	' <i>banbu</i>	B	<i>banbu</i>
59. kidney	' <i>momirinj</i>	B <i>mumird</i> , Gl <i>mumuriny</i>	<i>mumiriny</i>
60. back	' <i>burku</i> → <i>bu(l)ko</i>	B	<i>budku</i>
62. anus	' <i>punði</i>	B	<i>bundhi</i>
63. faeces	' <i>kuna</i>	B	<i>kuna</i>
64. penis	' <i>buŋa</i>	B	<i>bunga</i>
65. testicles	' <i>ŋara</i>	Mg <i>ngarda</i>	<i>ngara</i>
66. vulva	' <i>balgun</i>		<i>balkun?</i>
67. urine	' <i>didjin</i>		<i>dhidyin?</i>
70. foot	' <i>ðina</i> → <i>'dina</i>	B	<i>dhina</i>
74. blood	' <i>kom:a</i>	B	<i>kuma</i>
76. sky	' <i>bandara</i>	B <i>bandarda</i>	<i>bandara</i>
77. sun	' <i>dingan</i>	B <i>dhinngan</i> 'hot weather', see 180	
78. moon	<i>kakara</i>	B <i>kakarda</i>	<i>kakara</i>
79. star	' <i>boðo</i>	B	<i>budhu</i>
84. cloud	' <i>ju:kan</i>	B	<i>yukan</i>
85. lightning	' <i>maðagara</i>	B	<i>madhangala?</i>
87. rainbow	' <i>montanara</i>	B	<i>mundangada</i>
89. rain	<i>kam:u</i>	same as water, 91	<i>kamu</i>
90. wind	' <i>bum:al</i>	Prob. 'wind' in the sense of 'breath', cf. B <i>bumal kangkuda</i> 'to be tired, to be winded'	<i>bumal?</i>
91. water	' <i>kam:o</i>	B	<i>kamu</i>
93. ground	' <i>nandi</i>	B	<i>nhandhi</i>
94. stone	' <i>banġu</i>	B	<i>banġku</i>
95. mountain	' <i>banġu</i>	Same as stone	<i>banġku</i>

	Holt	Notes	Phonemicisation
96. plain	' <i>barukala</i>		<i>baRukala</i> or <i>badkala</i> ?
97. scrub	<i>wadju</i>	B	<i>wadyu</i>
98. forest	' <i>mankala</i>	cf. B <i>mangkala</i> 'sandhill', "mongulla" 'the desert country' in Blackall place names list	<i>mankala</i> ? (or <i>mangkala</i> 'sandhill' ?)
99. fire	<i>bori</i>	B <i>burdi</i>	<i>burī</i>
100. smoke	' <i>burīḡu:ka</i>	B <i>dhuka</i> and see 99	<i>burī dhuka</i>
101. dog	' <i>ḡu:ra</i>	B	<i>nguda</i>
102. dingo	' <i>kombina</i>	B	<i>kumbina</i>
103. kangaroo	' <i>ḡaruko</i>	B 'grey kangaroo'	<i>ngadku</i> 'grey kangaroo'
104. wallaby	<i>waija</i>	B 'scrub wallaby'	<i>waya</i>
105. rock wallaby	' <i>ba:gu</i>	B	<i>baku</i>
106. bandicoot	' <i>wudjala</i>	B	<i>wud yala</i>
107. kangaroo rat	' <i>bandunj</i>	B	<i>banduny</i>
108. (o)possum	' <i>ḡapur</i>	B	<i>dhangur(d)</i>
109. porcupine (echidna)	' <i>bar:bira</i>	B <i>badbirda</i>	<i>badbira</i>
110. native bear (koala)	<i>ḡi:ḡanj</i>	B	<i>dhidhany</i>
111. native cat	' <i>bau'bau</i>	B <i>balumbalu</i> , or perhaps an onomatopoeic name for the European cat	<i>bawubawu</i> or <i>balumbalu</i>
112. egg	' <i>kabunj</i>	B	<i>kabuny</i>
113. emu	' <i>kondolo</i>	G1	<i>kundulu</i>
114. plains turkey	' <i>waruka</i>	Wadjigu	<i>wadka</i>
115. scrub turkey	' <i>kokobinj</i>	B	<i>kukubiny</i>
116. native companion (brolga)	' <i>ko:rolḡ</i>	cf. Dh 116	<i>kururd</i> ?
117. pelican	' <i>jalbaburu</i>	B <i>yalbabulu</i> given for 'swan' and 'plover'	<i>yalbabulu</i> ?
120. black duck	' <i>manarun</i>	Given also for 'whistling duck'; cf. B 'duck (gen.)'	<i>manarun</i> 'duck'
121. eaglehawk	' <i>ko:ḡala</i>	B	<i>kudhala</i>
122. crow	' <i>wadakan</i>	GB	<i>wadhakan</i>
124. magpie	' <i>kol'bo</i>	B	<i>kulbu</i>
125. white cockatoo	' <i>ḡikari</i>	B	<i>dhikadi</i>
128. carpet snake	' <i>kabul</i>	B	<i>kabul</i>
129. brown snake	<i>bumbara</i>	Tindale adds "(red bellied snake)"; B 'brown snake'	<i>bumbara</i>
130. black snake	<i>kojuḡara</i>	B 'rock python'	<i>kuyungara</i> (species unclear)
131. whip snake	<i>ḡi:dju</i>	B	<i>dhidyū</i>
132. sand goanna	' <i>ḡa:kanj</i>	B	<i>dhakany</i>
133. black goanna	' <i>ḡobaburu</i>	B	<i>ngubabuRu</i>
134. frilled lizard	' <i>binagara</i>	B	<i>binangala</i>
135. turtle	' <i>nindjibun</i>	B	<i>nhind yibun</i>
136. frog	<i>badju</i>	Gg	<i>bad yu</i>
140. eel (freshwater)	<i>makuru</i>	B	<i>makuru</i>
152. corkwood	<i>buruko</i>	Same as shield (which is made of it), see 160	<i>budku</i>

	Holt	Notes	Phonemicisation
153. yam	' <i>kawu</i>	Tindale adds "(sweet yam)"; B <i>kawu</i> heard as an alternative to <i>kuwa</i>	<i>kawu</i>
155. camp	' <i>jamba</i>	B	<i>yamba</i>
156. spear	' <i>miranj</i>	Tindale has an addition which is not clear but may be "2 barbed hand spear"	<i>miRany</i>
158. boomerang	' <i>waŋal</i>	B	<i>wangal</i>
159. nulla nulla	' <i>miru</i>	Ngawun, Mayi-Kutuna <i>miru</i>	<i>midu</i>
160. shield	' <i>buruko</i>	B	<i>budku</i>
161. tomahawk	' <i>ba:ru</i>	B	<i>baru</i>
162. knife (stone fighting knife)	' <i>kangai</i>	B	<i>kankayi</i>
163. playstick	' <i>medju</i>	Tindale adds "man who could throw furthest along ground. Use heap of grass"	<i>midyu</i>
164. grass baskets	' <i>windjin</i>	B	<i>windyin</i>
165. dilly bag	' <i>bo:djo</i>	B	<i>budyu</i>
166. string	' <i>bunḡa</i>	B	<i>bundha</i>
168. food	' <i>jiri</i>	See 169	
169. meat	' <i>jiri</i>	B <i>yurdi</i>	<i>yuri</i>
175. salt water	' <i>kari'kari</i>	B 'sour, bitter'	<i>kadikadi</i> (probably 'bitter, salty')
180. heat		See 77	<i>dhinngan</i>
184. one	' <i>wangara</i>	B	<i>wangkara</i>
185. two	' <i>bularu</i>	B <i>bulardu</i>	<i>bularu</i>
187. four	' <i>bularu 'bularu</i>	See 185	<i>bularu bularu</i>
189. walk	' <i>wadja</i>	B	<i>wadya-</i>
191. come here	' <i>joko'watja</i>	B	<i>wuku wadya,</i> <i>wuku 'hither'</i>
192. go away	' <i>kondo watja</i>	B	<i>kundu wadya,</i> <i>kundu 'away'</i>
193. run	' <i>wa:ka'wadja</i>	cf. 189; perhaps <i>waka</i> means 'fast', but cf. B <i>wakani</i>	<i>waka- ?</i>
206. yes	' <i>jo:</i>	B	<i>yuwu</i>
207. no	' <i>kara</i>	B <i>karda</i>	<i>kara</i>

## 4.6.4 YININGAYI

	Alice River	Cunningera	Notes	Phonemicisation
1. the blacks	<i>cubbee-cubbee</i>		cf. Kn <i>kapu</i>	<i>kabikabi?</i>
3. a black woman	<i>kumbee</i>		B	<i>kambi</i>
4. an old man	<i>mogaree</i>		cf. Gu <i>mu(wu)parri</i>	<i>mukaRi?</i>
5. an old woman	<i>mogaree</i>			<i>mukaRi?</i>
6. a young man	<i>cowalaa</i>		See 15 and Dh 6	<i>kawula</i>
7. a baby	<i>candoo</i>		B	<i>kandu</i>
9. a white man	<i>coyn</i>		cf. Wargamay <i>guuny</i> , GB and Dyirbal <i>guwuy</i> , Kg "gooing" 'ghost'	<i>kuwuny?</i>
12. father	<i>yaboo</i>	<i>kiama</i>	B <i>yabu</i> ; cf Yb 12	<i>yabu</i> <i>kayama</i> <i>yanga(na)</i>
13. mother	<i>yuna</i>	<i>yangana</i>	B	
14. father's sister		<i>bangula</i>	cf. Dh 14	
15. mother's brother		<i>cowla</i>	See 6 and possibly 21	
16. mother's sister		<i>kumina</i>	See 18, also Dh 22 and Gu 15	
17. elder brother	<i>taagunya</i>	<i>karunua</i>	B <i>dhaku</i> ; see also 18	<i>dhakun(y)a</i>
18. elder sister	<i>kommie</i>	<i>taguna</i>	See 16, also Dh 22	<i>kami(na)</i>
19. younger brother		<i>bamuna</i>	cf Mg <i>bama</i> 'brother'	<i>bamana?</i>
20. younger sister		<i>nylo</i>		
21. father's mother		<i>kongana</i>	cf. B <i>kangany</i> 'mother's brother', also <i>kunkayila</i> 'husband'	<i>kangana?</i>
24. man's brother's wife		<i>amena</i>	cf. Gn <i>ngamala</i> 'female', Kn <i>ngamanya</i> and <i>ngamimi</i> 'mother', Mayi <i>ngamim</i> and <i>ngamari</i> 'mother's brother' etc.	<i>ngamina?</i>
25. man's sister's husband		<i>warrara</i>		
26. man's son		<i>billa</i>	cf. 31	
27. man's daughter		<i>mercon</i>	cf. Mg, Gn <i>mudguny</i> 'old woman'; see also 34	
28. man's son's wife		<i>tanara</i>	cf. B <i>dhuwana</i> 'son'	
29. man's daughter's husband		<i>bunjadilla</i>	cf. B <i>bundya</i> (+ 0, -nila, - <i>gandila</i> ) 'mother-in-law', <i>bundyayila</i> 'mother-in-law's brother'	<i>bundyardila?</i>
30. man's father's brother's son		<i>adena</i>	cf. B <i>ngadhi</i> 'mother's father'	<i>ngadhina?</i>
31. man's father's brother's daughter		<i>billa</i>	cf. 26	
32. man's mother's sister's son		<i>willeru</i>	cf. 35	
33. man's mother's sister's daughter		<i>ogarry</i>		
34. man's father's sister's son		<i>mourcan</i>	cf. 27	
35. man's father's sister's daughter		<i>willeru</i>	cf. 32	
36. man's mother's brother's son		<i>tickibarunna</i>		
37. man's mother's brother's daughter		<i>mamena</i>	cf. 24	

	Alice River	Notes	Phonemicisation
38. head	<i>ulkey</i>	B 'cheek', Wb 'jaw'; see 50	
39. hair of the head	<i>kuttar</i>	B ('head' in Mg)	<i>kadha</i>
42. eye	<i>tillee</i>	B	<i>dhili</i>
44. nose	<i>ningo</i>	Gu (see Gu 26) (and cf. Kn <i>mingku</i> )	<i>nyingku?</i>
45. mouth	<i>towa</i>	Gu	<i>dhawa</i>
48. teeth	<i>pirra</i>	cf. Kg "berra"	<i>piRa</i>
49. ear	<i>munger</i>	B	<i>manga</i>
50. cheek, jaw		See 38	<i>ngalki</i>
53. beard	<i>unga</i>	Mg, Gu	<i>nganka</i>
54. hand	<i>murra</i>	B <i>marda</i>	<i>mara</i>
55. breasts	<i>poorqua</i>	Gu, Pi <i>purku</i> 'chest', 56	
56. chest		See 55	<i>budku</i>
57. stomach	<i>goonar</i>	See 63	
61. bowels	<i>goona</i>	See 63; it is not uncommon for this word to represent 'bowels' as well as 'faeces'	
63. excrement	<i>goona</i>	B	<i>kuna</i>
68. thigh	<i>pular</i>	See 69 and Dh 69	
69. leg		See 68	<i>bala?</i>
70. foot	<i>teena</i>	B	<i>dhina</i>
72. skin	<i>yangoona</i>		
73. bone	<i>yaroona</i>	B <i>yadun</i>	<i>yaduna</i>
74. blood	<i>kooma</i>	B	<i>kuma</i>
75. fat	<i>tommee</i>	B	<i>dhami</i>
77. sun	<i>tooru</i>	B <i>dhurdu</i>	<i>dhuru</i>
78. moon	<i>kakara</i>	B <i>kakarda</i>	<i>kakara</i>
79. star	<i>bootoo</i>	B	<i>budhu</i>
80. day	<i>buttal</i>		<i>badhal?</i>
82. night	<i>ngoa</i>	Gu	<i>nguwa</i>
86. thunder	<i>baringa</i>	See Yb 86	<i>badinya</i> or <i>badi-?</i> <i>munngubayi?</i>
88. storm		See 89	
89. rain	<i>moogabaa</i>	cf. Dh 88; see 88	
90. wind	<i>yerga</i>	B	<i>yadka</i>
91. water	<i>kummoo</i>	B	<i>kamu</i>
93. ground	<i>yamber</i>	B 'camp, place', see also 155	<i>yamba</i>
94. stone	<i>banko</i>	B	<i>bangku</i>
99. fire	<i>kourree</i>	Prob. misreading of <i>bourree</i> ; cf. B <i>burdi</i>	<i>buri</i>
100. smoke	<i>hatchoo</i>		<i>ngadyu?</i>
101. tame dog	<i>moora</i>	B	<i>nguda</i>
103. kangaroo	<i>majumba</i>	See Dh 103	<i>mad yumba</i>
108. (o)possum	<i>tangoor</i>	B <i>dhangurd</i>	<i>dhangur?</i>
112. egg	<i>tandoo</i>	Mayi	<i>dhamdu</i>
113. emu	<i>koolburra</i>	B etc. <i>gulbari</i> , Wm <i>kulbarra</i>	<i>kulbara?</i>
116. native companion (brolga)	<i>toogoonoo</i>		<i>dhukunu?</i>
117. pelican	<i>tarra</i>	Kn, Mg <i>dharta</i>	<i>dhara</i>
119. wood duck	<i>malla boonga</i>		<i>malabunga?</i>
120. black duck	<i>yalla murra</i>	Gu	<i>yalamaRa</i>

	Alice River	Notes	Phonemicisation
122. crow	<i>worgan</i>	Mg, Gn	<i>wakam</i>
125. white cockatoo	<i>teekaree</i>	B	<i>dhikadi</i>
127. snake	<i>cabbool</i>	B etc. 'carpet snake'	<i>kabul</i> (prob. 'carpet snake')
137. fish	<i>narbunnee</i>	See 142	<i>bukili</i> ?
141. crayfish		cf. B etc. <i>bukili</i>	
142. lobster	<i>boligar</i>	'crayfish', 141	
145. mosquito	<i>boonyee</i>	Yb	<i>bunyi</i>
147. wood	<i>toola</i>	Gu, Biri 'tree'	<i>dhula</i>
154. grass	<i>yaako</i>	Gu, Yirandhali, GB, Warungu	<i>yaku</i>
155. camp	<i>yamber</i>	B; same as 93 'ground'	<i>yamba</i>
156. war-spear	<i>koolyar</i>		<i>kulya</i> ?
158. boomerang		See 159	<i>wangala</i>
159. throwing stick	<i>wonala</i>	B etc. <i>wangal</i> 'boomerang', 158	
160. shield	<i>toombooroo</i>	Kn <i>thumpuru</i>	<i>dhumbudu</i>
161. tomahawk	<i>ballune</i>	Mg, Gn	<i>baluny</i>
168. food	<i>cuppar</i>	See 176, but cf. B <i>kaba</i> 'honey'	
169. meat		See 195	<i>yuri</i>
172. good	<i>mickan</i>	B	<i>mikany</i>
173. bad	<i>angaburree</i>	cf. B <i>wandyu</i> , and the suffix <i>-badi</i> added to some descriptive terms	<i>wandyubadi</i> ?
176. hungry	<i>cubbar</i>	See 168 and cf. Dh 176	<i>kabar</i>
180. heat	<i>yakal</i>	B etc. <i>yakal</i> 'cold'; 181	<i>yakal</i> ?
181. cold	<i>mittara</i>	B midhard 'frost, ice'; see 180	<i>midhara</i> 'frost'
182. big	<i>bunya</i>	Gn	<i>banya</i>
183. little	<i>kio</i>	B <i>karu</i> , rarely <i>kayu</i>	<i>kayu</i>
184. one	<i>wongara</i>	B	<i>wangkara</i>
185. two	<i>booladie</i>	Gn; B <i>bulardu</i>	<i>bulardi</i>
186. three	<i>koorbaddie</i> , <i>courbaladie</i>	Mg <i>gudbara</i> 'a few', Gu, Mayi <i>kurpara</i> 'three'	<i>kudbardi</i> ?
187. four	<i>booladie-booladie</i>	See 185	<i>bulardi bulardi</i>
188. plenty	<i>mooraa</i>	cf. Yb 188	<i>muRa</i>
189. walk	<i>waagilgo</i>	B	<i>wadya-</i>
190. come on	<i>oakoo</i>	B	<i>wuku</i> 'hither'
194. sit	<i>bundelgo</i>	B	<i>binda-</i>
195. eat	<i>yooree</i>	B <i>yurdi</i> 'meat', 169; see 196	<i>yuka-</i>
196. drink	<i>youkalgo</i>	B 'eat, drink', see 195	<i>yuka-</i>
197. sleep	<i>ookar</i>	B 'asleep'	<i>wuka</i> 'asleep'
198. dead	<i>goondilla</i>	Mg, Gn <i>gundhi-</i> 'to die'	<i>kundhi-</i> 'to die'
199. see	<i>nukalgo</i>	B	<i>nhaka-</i>
203. today	<i>nilyar</i>	B	<i>nhiyila</i> ?
205. tomorrow	<i>burran</i>		<i>baRan</i> ?
206. yes	<i>wathee</i>		<i>wadhi</i>
207. no	<i>kurra</i>	B karda	<i>kara</i>
209. I	<i>ngia</i>	B	<i>ngaya</i>
210. you	<i>inda</i>	B	<i>yinda</i>

## 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 /t/ 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?) heelman	
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'
Bamaghita	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

Name	Meaning given	Notes
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>-baya</i> 'having'
Motheraway	Waterhole near black camp, because snakes go into the water	cf. B madhangada 'death adder', <i>-baya</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	
Billebilla	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 "weeya" '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	
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	

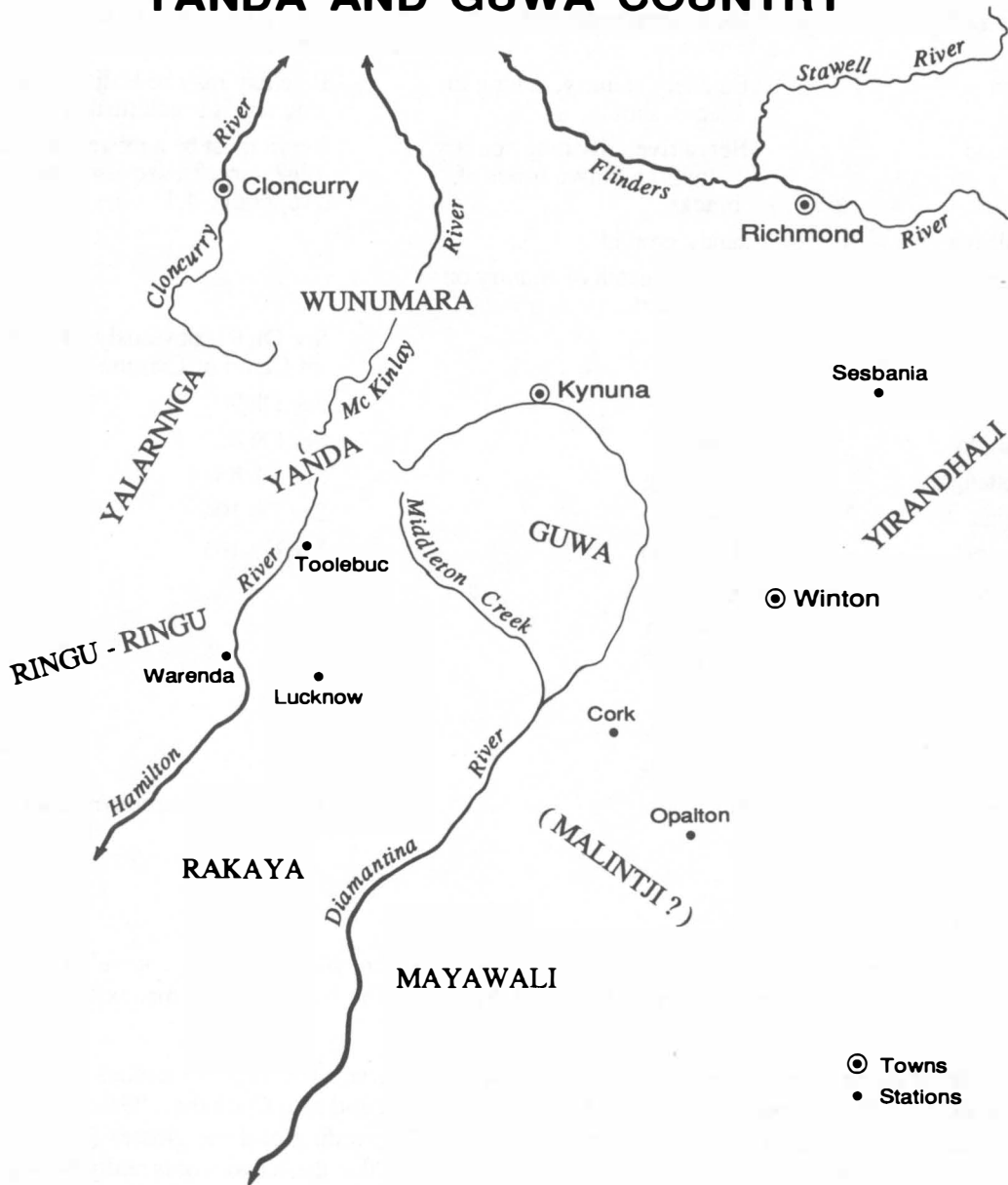
Name	Meaning given	Notes
Moondah	Carpet snake	See Dh 127-8
Talumdilly	Hurke emu apple tree	Hurke must be a misreading of something
Omo	Batchery country, belong to blacks shot	Batchery may be Bidjara; Badjidi country is much further away
Barcoo	Berya river, dividing country belonging to two tribes of 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 Mokkaidi. (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.

**Map 4.**  
**YANDA AND GUWA COUNTRY**



## 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 noted 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>m</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>m</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 intervocally 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 /ɾ/ 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*.

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

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

## 5.2.5 GLIDES

/w/ and /y/ occurred initially and intervocally. 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	
<i>w</i>	<i>wakarna</i>	<i>piwi</i>	lips
<i>y</i>	<i>yanga</i>	<i>kaya</i>	father's sister
	crow		
	mother		

/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 intervocally. 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>mt</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>rp</i>	<i>mukarpa</i>	cloud		
<i>rrk</i>	<i>ngarrkuna</i>	wallaroo		
<i>rty</i>	<i>murrtya</i>	spear		
<i>rth</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>mangam-aan</i>	deathbone-having
Pitta-Pitta	<i>mangarni-marru</i>	deathbone-having
Yalarnnga	<i>mangani-rru</i>	deathbone-having
Mayi-Thakurti	<i>manga(r)ni-puna</i>	deathbone-having

## 5.3.2 PRONOUNS

Data on pronouns are:

	Dutton 1901	Dutton 1907	Coa/Kynuna	Others
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>wathee</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 "*yane*" 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-ri</i>	eye (24)-lacking-become
<i>puyu-nga-ri</i>	breath/chest (46)-lacking-become

Bidjara has an inchoative *-da*, Yirandhali a reciprocal *-Ri*, and *-ri* 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	<i>kandoo</i>	<i>kanto</i>	<i>gundo</i> <i>gundo-toonga</i> (see 204 plenty)	<u><i>kan-do</i></u>
2. woman	<i>bunya</i>	<i>nogommora</i>	<i>bunya</i>	<u><i>bun--ya-na</i></u>
3. boy				
4. girl				
5. young man	<i>kubbena</i>	<i>mabungoroo</i>	<i>bookeruma</i>	
6. old man	<i>mooburree</i>	<i>kaera</i>	<i>kyerra</i>	
7. old woman		<i>pandoro</i>	<i>pundoora</i>	
8. children			<i>bungonia</i>	
9. baby		<i>kampala</i>	<i>milla-milla</i>	
10. sorcerer				
11. white man	<i>wit-thoo</i>	<i>witto</i>		
12. father		<i>kobba</i>	<i>goopa</i>	<u><i>koo-pa</i></u>
13. mother	<i>yanga</i>	<i>yanga</i>	<i>yunga</i>	<u><i>yung-a</i></u>
14. older brother	<i>yabba</i>	<i>yabba</i>	<i>yuppa</i>	<u><i>yup-pa</i></u> 'brother'
15. older sister	<i>kurromee</i>	<i>kammi</i>	<i>karmi</i>	<u><i>ka-mi</i></u> 'sister'
16. mother's brother				<u><i>kung-a</i></u>
17. father's sister				<u><i>ki-ye</i></u>
18. sister-in-law				<u><i>par-go</i></u>
19. brother-in-law				<u><i>nut-ti-na</i></u>
20. head	<i>wooma</i>	<i>katta</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<u><i>ka-ta</i></u>
21. hair (of head)	<i>cudthaa</i>	<i>katta</i>	<i>tounya</i>	<u><i>yak-ko</i></u>
22. forehead				<u><i>go</i></u>
23. face				
24. eyes	<i>dthillee</i>	<i>telli</i>	<i>tilli</i>	<u><i>til-li</i></u>
25. eyebrow				<u><i>berl-ga</i></u>
26. nose	<i>ngingo</i>	<i>ningoo</i>	<i>ningo</i>	<u><i>ning-o</i></u>
27. ear	<i>munga</i>	<i>munga</i>	<i>munger</i>	<u><i>mung-a</i></u>
28. cheek				<u><i>url-ga</i></u>
29. mouth	<i>dthawa</i>	<i>towa</i>	<i>bewi</i>	<u><i>be-we</i></u>
30. lips				<u><i>be-we</i></u>
31. tongue	<i>dthalango</i>		<i>talinya</i>	<u><i>to-lun-ya</i></u>
32. teeth	<i>eerra</i>	<i>irra</i>	<i>irra</i>	<u><i>rir-ra</i></u>
33. chin				<u><i>ut-tun-ya</i></u>
34. beard	<i>unga</i>	<i>nanga</i>	<i>nartinya</i>	<u><i>ut-tun-ya</i></u>
35. throat				<u><i>tor-o-mo</i></u>
36. neck, nape				<u><i>bom-ba</i></u>
37. shoulder				<u><i>wing-ka</i></u>
38. arm				<u><i>mul-la</i></u>
39. elbow				<u><i>u-ri-chi-mo</i></u>
40. forearm				<u><i>mung-go</i></u>
41. wrist				

Coa/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
<i>ceoondoo</i>	<i>cundo</i>	<i>gundo</i>	<i>yang</i>	'kanda	<i>kantu</i>
<i>bunnyunna</i>		<i>bunyanah</i>		'banjan	<i>panya(n(h)a), n(h)ukumuRa</i>
<i>walburro cumbulla</i>	<i>bungoonia cumbulla</i>	<i>walburrah gumballah</i>			<i>walpara kampala kapina, mapunguRu, pukaRana kayarra, mu(wu)parri pantuRu or pantuRa paNGun(a)ya milamila manganangi withu, wanpu kupa yanga yapa kami, karmi (?) kanga kayi pa(r)ku ngathina</i>
<i>munganungee</i>			<i>wanboo</i>		
<i>cultha udoonoo</i>	<i>cutha bunju (see 45)</i>	<i>cutah turringya</i>		<i>kaʃa 'jur(d)unu</i>	<i>katha thurinya, yurtunu kuwu kuwu thili pa(r)lka nyingku manga, yakuRa</i>
<i>goowoo dilly</i>	<i>coon tille</i>	<i>gowah dilly</i>		<i>teli</i>	
<i>ningoo munga</i>	<i>ningoo munga</i>	<i>vingo yakora munga</i>		<i>'njingo 'maga</i>	
<i>towooa</i>	<i>towa</i>	<i>towah, gowah</i>		<i>'ta:wa 'talanja 'jira</i>	<i>nga(r)lka thawa piwi thalanya yira, rira ngathanya ngathanya, nganka thuRumu or thuRuna, manu pumpa</i>
<i>ngthunya</i>	<i>unga</i>	<i>notunyah</i>			
<i>boombah</i>	<i>manoo</i>	<i>thuroonah muno</i>			
<i>wingah nullah</i>	<i>winga mulla</i>	<i>wingah mullah</i>			<i>winka mala yurityimu mangku malatyiri or malakiRi, piku</i>
<i>mullah-girree</i>	<i>murrah</i>	<i>big</i>			

	Curr 139	Curr 140	Curr 141	Roth
42. hand	<i>murra</i>	<i>murra</i>	<i>murra</i>	<u>mur-ra</u>
43. fingers				<u>nun-yo-la-mur-ra</u>
44. thumb				<u>yup-po</u>
45. body hair (see 21)				<u>po-yo</u>
46. chest				<u>um-mi-na</u>
47. breast	<i>dthambo</i>	<i>manginna</i>	<i>tumbo</i>	<u>tul-ko-pa-ra</u> <u>toon-goo</u> <u>mi-cha</u>
48. back				<u>noom-din-ya</u> <u>bi-bal-bi-bal-a</u> <u>won-di</u> <u>oor-do</u> <u>tim-be</u> <u>ber-ga</u> <u>mi-ri</u> 'buttocks'
49. stomach, abdomen	<i>purra</i>	<i>machi</i>	<i>mitcha</i>	<u>mun-da</u> <u>mun-da</u>
50. navel		<i>munda-munda</i>	<i>muttura</i>	
51. side				<u>koo-na</u> <u>gib-ba-ra</u> <u>ta-ra</u> <u>moo-rin-di</u> <u>mo-ko</u> <u>poon-ma-ra</u> <u>pa-ra-ko</u>
52. penis				
53. testicles				
54. vulva				
55. buttocks, anus				
56. bowels				
57. excrement	<i>koonna</i>	<i>konna</i>	<i>koonna</i>	
58. urine				
59. thigh	<i>walalla</i>	<i>tarra</i>	<i>turra</i>	
60. knee				
61. leg, shin				
62. calf				
63. ankle				
64. foot	<i>d'theena</i>	<i>tinna</i> <i>teena</i> 'track of a foot'	<i>tinna</i>	<u>tin-na</u>
65. big toes				<u>yup-po</u> <u>tin-na-nun-yo-la</u> <u>min-ji-li</u>
66. little toes				
67. nails				
68. skin	<i>binna</i>	<i>pinganya</i>	<i>killena</i>	
69. bone	<i>mogo</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>toola</i>	<u>tol-la</u> <u>gwa-ro</u>
70. blood	<i>koo-ur-roo</i>	<i>morki</i>	<i>wurki</i>	
71. fat	<i>tammee</i> <i>tammi</i>	<i>toota</i>	<i>tommi</i>	
72. sun	<i>dthooroo</i>	<i>toroo</i>	<i>tooroo</i>	<u>toor-ro</u>
73. moon	<i>yoongee</i> <i>eungee</i>	<i>rangi</i>	<i>rungi</i>	<u>nul-ji</u>
74. star	<i>yoogu</i>	<i>yookoo</i>	<i>yooko</i>	<u>u-ko</u>
75. light	<i>kunba</i>	<i>karra</i>		
76. dawn				
77. day		<i>toorongaro</i>		
78. dark	<i>windtha</i>	<i>winta</i>	<i>mutchaberi</i>	<u>win-ta</u>
79. night		<i>winta</i>	<i>dilli-nirringa</i>	
80. cloud				

Coa/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
<i>murrah, murra mingley</i>	<i>murrah</i>	<i>murah cawillah</i>		<i>'mara</i>	<i>mara n(h)anyula mara, kawila yapu puntu pu yu, purku</i>
<i>booyoo</i>	<i>urmura coura</i>	<i>burgo, burgoo</i>			<i>thampu, ngamina, ngamakuRa thulkuparra, thunku(parra) purru, matya</i>
<i>dthoongoburra</i>		<i>dungo</i>		<i>'buru</i>	<i>n(g)u(r)ntinya pipalpipala wamti ngurtu thimpi, pirka mirri or mithi</i>
				<i>'warndi 'gurdu timbi</i>	
				<i>miḏi 'anus'</i>	
<i>thurra</i>		<i>turrah</i>		<i>'kun:a</i>	<i>mantamanta, mathaRa kuna kipara tharra muRinti muku punmaRa parrku, piNGu thina</i>
<i>moogoo</i>	<i>turrah</i>	<i>moko</i>			
<i>bingoo</i>	<i>vutella</i>	<i>purakoo</i>			
<i>deenah</i>	<i>dinna</i>	<i>dinah dinnah</i>		<i>'tina</i>	<i>yapu thina n(h)anyula mintyili pinkanya thula kuwaRu, ngurki thami, thutha</i>
<i>bingutcha</i>	<i>bingunna</i>	<i>bengunyah</i>		<i>'koaru</i>	
<i>dthoora</i>	<i>durroo</i>	<i>ringuna turoo</i>	<i>туру G, tura turaku 'comet'</i>	<i>'turu</i>	<i>thuru</i>
<i>gnulchu</i>	<i>rungi</i>	<i>rungu rungee</i>	<i>algee</i>	<i>ḡaltji:n</i>	<i>rangi, ngaltyi</i>
<i>ugo bee yah thurra</i>	<i>ucoo beir turroo waconna</i>	<i>uko beah burrah buirrah turoo</i>	<i>yukin</i>	<i>'juk:anug</i>	<i>yuku piya, kaRa, kanpa thuru wakana, puRa (?) thuru(ngka) wintha wintha, nguwa mukarpa</i>
<i>dthooronga</i>	<i>turro-vittu</i>	<i>turoo</i>			
<i>oowunga</i>	<i>mooa</i>	<i>gnoah</i>		<i>'mokarpa</i>	

	Curr 139	Curr 140	Curr 141	Roth
81. lightning				
82. thunder	<i>yamberri</i>	<i>worndi</i>	<i>wondi</i>	
83. rainbow				
84. wind	<i>mulloonoo</i>	<i>malboorno</i>	<i>mulboona</i>	
85. rain	<i>kamoo</i>	<i>kammo</i>	<i>kamoo</i>	
86. water	<i>kamoo</i>	<i>kammo</i>	<i>kamoo</i>	<i>ka-mo</i>
87. flood				
88. river				<i>pa-ra-go</i>
89. swamp				
90. lake				
91. dam or waterhole				
92. sea				
93. ground	<i>kinburra</i>	<i>yamba</i>	<i>yumba</i>	
94. stone	<i>koongoo</i>	<i>pari</i>	<i>gungoa</i>	<i>koong-go</i>
95. hill, mountain				<i>koong-go</i>
96. red ochre				
97. fire	<i>oola</i>	<i>olla</i>	<i>oola</i>	<i>oo-la</i>
98. smoke	<i>yumaroo</i>	<i>mai yoo</i>	<i>yunkerga</i>	
99. tail				
100. kangaroo	<i>wungunnia</i>	<i>maikumba</i>	<i>mutumba</i>	<i>mung-go-rong-o</i> <i>na-goon-a</i>
101. wallaroo				
102. wallaby				
103. possum	<i>dthangaroo</i>	<i>tannaroo</i>	<i>mungera</i>	<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	<i>kooba</i>	<i>mikamo</i>	<i>mikum</i>	<i>mik-ka-mo</i>
108. horse				
109. sheep				
110. bird				
111. emu		<i>kolperi</i>	<i>goolburra</i>	<i>kool-pa-ri</i>
112. brolga	<i>bilbungata</i>	<i>kooltooroo</i>	<i>gootumba</i>	
113. pelican	<i>ooandgo</i>	<i>wolkiperi</i>	<i>wulkurberri</i>	
114. black duck	<i>mungara</i>	<i>yallamurra</i>	<i>tibia</i>	
115. wood duck		<i>yammoroo</i>	<i>goonumbi</i>	
116. whistler duck				<i>ben-do-ra</i>

Coa/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
roonkah	murra bunga	runga rimga	ronga 'stom'		rungka, marapanka yanpirri, warnti tartuwana
			mullburna G	'dardo'ana 'mu:tpanu	malpurnu, murtpanu
camoo-tunginga camoo	cummoo	camo cormo coomo	como camoo G como turragasanu buracoo	'kam:u 'taŋkiŋa 'kam:u	kamu (thangki-) kamu
baragoo barracoo O coonabuggera	buracoo	burego  toolby		'bar:ku	thurra- paraku
baragoo-beealah		wagi, waga	bindamaru G		thulpi, kunapakaRa waki, waka pintamaRu
	beellacummoo		tabilla yamba coogee 'big stone' mudgambilla 'small stone' goongoo	'jamba 'kun'gu	thapila yampa, kinpaRa kun(g)ku, parri
mudtha oolah	oolla	woola	hoolah G oolah	'wula	kun(g)ku, nyiRikani matha wu(r)la
				'njuŋal'ka	yumaRu, mayu, nyungalka kulka
goolga O mutchumpa O			mudgamba  nargoona	'matjumba	matyumpa, munkurungu ngarrkuna yakanya
yargunyah O tangaroo O wichello O				'majara	thangaru, mangaRa witjala kuntyu(paRi) pakangantyi mikamu yarraman(a)
mukum O			migamo yarramaurG yaraman ildurra yinyara	'mikamu	yiltaRa yinyaRa kulpari pilpangkarra, kulthuru, kuthampa walkiriparri, marlimarru
walginburi O			muldemurio G	kulbari	mangarra, kupiri, yalamarra, thipiya or tyipiya yamuRu, kunampi pinturra
gooberrie O					

	Curr 139	Curr 140	Curr 141	Roth
117. type of duck				
118. eaglehawk				<u>oo-lo-pa-ri</u>
119. hawk				<u>ka-cha-pa-ri</u>
120. crow	<i>wa-cun-na</i>	<i>wawkana</i>	<i>wokkema</i>	<u>wa-ka-na</u>
121. corella, white cockatoo		<i>poonmenberri</i>	<i>kurrumboola</i>	<u>koo-rel-la</u>
122. black cockatoo				
123. galah				<u>ge-lou-ro</u>
124. ground parrot				
125. plains turkey				
126. noise made by plains turkey				
127. flock pigeon				<u>je-ro-a-li</u>
128. finch				
129. egg		<i>kotto</i>	<i>gootoo</i>	
130. snake		<i>mungoo</i>	<i>goonderra</i>	<u>koon-da-ra</u>
131. brown snake				
132. carpet snake				
133. python (mountain)				
134. sand goanna				<u>pa-ri-pa-ra</u>
135. lizard				<u>wol-ka-do</u>
136. frog				<u>te-ra-pa-ji</u>
137. fish		<i>palpi</i>	<i>dugera</i>	<u>pa-ta-pa-lo</u> <u>wor-ka-ni</u>
138. yellowbelly (fish)				
139. crayfish, lobster	<i>pirrinoo</i>	<i>mundi</i>		
140. crab				
141. mussel				
142. spider				<u>ta-ma-ro</u>
143. fly	<i>ngimunna</i>		<i>nimunna</i>	<u>ni-moo-na</u>
144. mosquito		<i>poonginyoo</i>	<i>boogena</i>	<u>boong-kin-ya</u>
145. ant				<u>wa-to</u>
146. hair louse				<u>po-ko-yo</u>
147. wood, tree	<i>oola</i>	<i>oroo</i>	<i>toola</i> (see bone)	
148. bark	<i>koolgooburra</i>	<i>koolkobar</i>	<i>goolkurberra</i>	
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/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
			<i>coolbam</i> 'wild duck' G <i>googaree</i> 'ducks' <i>woodabum</i>	'koni'tale	<i>kulpam(V)</i> , <i>kukaRi</i> <i>kurrithala</i> , <i>wuluparri</i> <i>katyaparri</i> <i>wakama</i> <i>kuRila</i> , <i>punminpiRi</i> (or - <i>paRi</i> ), <i>karrampula</i> <i>kaRangkala</i> <i>kilawurru</i> , <i>kilantiyi</i> <i>wunampiRi</i> or - <i>paRi</i> <i>parrkamu</i> <i>maRumaRu</i>
			<i>workano</i>	'wakuma 'ka:ram'bula	
			<i>gerangela</i> G <i>gelengir</i> G		
			<i>oonamberrie</i> G		
<i>murrumurro</i> O				'par:ka'mu	
<i>jigiroo</i> O 'small red bird'					<i>tyiruwali</i> <i>tyikiru</i> <i>kuthu</i> <i>maNGu</i> , <i>thampala</i> <i>kuntara</i> <i>thangaparri</i>
<i>tumbulla</i> O			<i>gondura</i>	'koʔo	
				'kondara ' <i>taɲabari</i>	
<i>ratno</i> O			<i>wangarange</i>	'paribara	<i>paRipaRa</i> <i>walkartu</i> , <i>waNGaRaNGi</i> <i>thiRapatyi</i> , <i>nyili</i> <i>palpi</i> , <i>takaRa</i> , <i>wakani</i> <i>partapulu</i> <i>piRinu</i> , <i>munti</i> <i>kunaRu</i> or <i>kuwaru</i> <i>thuka(pa)</i> <i>thamaru</i> <i>nhimuna</i> <i>pungkinya</i> <i>wathu</i> , <i>matyina</i> <i>pukuyu</i> <i>thula</i> <i>kulkuparra</i> <i>pinpiri</i> <i>makaru</i> <i>patyarra</i> <i>murrtya</i> <i>tyinpaRi</i> <i>paRamV</i> <i>wumpVRu</i> <i>ngumpVRu</i> <i>kangkapari</i>
			<i>turabadgee</i> 'big' <i>yilli</i> 'small'		
<i>pradaboola</i> O			<i>purtabulu</i> <i>moondi</i> <i>gonaru</i> <i>turgaba</i>		
<i>maginna</i> O 'ants, anthills'					
			<i>thulla</i> G, <i>tulla</i>		
<i>binburri</i> O			<i>muckaroo</i> <i>budjera</i> <i>muraga</i>		
<i>moolcha</i> O <i>ginburri</i> O <i>purrum</i> O <i>womboroo</i> O 'currajong' <i>homeberoo</i> O <i>conka-berri</i> O			<i>woomeroo</i>		
		<i>gogbula</i>	<i>gilengerra</i>		

	Curr 139	Curr 140	Curr 141	Roth
160. grass	<i>yagoo</i>	<i>yakko</i>	<i>yakko</i>	<u><i>po-ka-ra</i></u> <u><i>yak-ko</i></u> <u><i>poon-jo-lo</i></u>
161. cane grass				
162. river grass				
163. mistletoe				
164. spinifex				
165. yam				
166. small kind of yam				
167. camp	<i>yamba</i>	<i>yamba</i>	<i>yamba</i>	
168. house				
169. grave				
170. blanket				
171. shield	<i>koonbura</i>	<i>yamboro</i>	<i>goonburra</i>	<u><i>koon-pa-ra</i></u>
172. boomerang				<u><i>kool-ka</i></u>
173. (war-)spear	<i>moorja</i>	<i>murcha</i>	<i>morretcha</i>	<u><i>moor-i-ja</i></u>
174. (reed-)spear	<i>kundwurra</i>	<i>kandoora</i>		<u><i>kun-dor-a</i></u>
175. woomera	<i>woorra</i>		<i>gundaworra</i>	<u><i>moor-ja</i></u>
176. stone knife				<u><i>kun-kur-i</i></u>
177. fighting pole				<u><i>wa-ren-ja</i></u>
178. coolamon (women's)				<u><i>wing-a-ra</i></u>
179. coolamon (men's)				<u><i>oom-bo</i></u>
180. dillybag				<u><i>poong-go</i></u> <u><i>koon-ya</i></u> <u><i>koon-ya</i></u>
181. pigeon net				<u><i>mo-ko-a-ri</i></u>
182. head net				<u><i>yen-du-la</i></u> <u><i>po-la-roo</i></u>
183. tomahawk	<i>parumburra</i>	<i>willara</i>	<i>wheelera</i>	
184. billycan				
185. pannikin				
186. food				
187. beef				
188. bread				
189. good		<i>manyo</i>	<i>manu</i>	<u><i>mun-yo</i></u> <u><i>koon-jung-i-a</i></u>
190. bad		<i>wittimo</i>	<i>workutindyer</i>	<u><i>wa-ra-kat-to</i></u>
191. big		<i>piala</i>	<i>goolkundurra</i>	<u><i>be-al-la</i></u>
192. little		<i>nowola</i>	<i>nowillyer</i>	<u><i>ni-ou-ool-ya</i></u>
193. round				
194. heat		<i>renkana</i>	<i>nulkoorinna</i>	
195. cold	<i>wilinga</i>	<i>milinyoo</i>	<i>mooerra</i>	
196. hungry	<i>wingurra</i>	<i>kannoola</i>	<i>karnolingya</i>	

Coa/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
			yango		yaku, pukarra, punt yulu
warrandaroo			yanga		waRantaRu yaNGa
bellarina O			gorimu		pilaRinya panti, kuRimu
bandy O				'jamba	thunapaRi pantyuRa
toonaberrie O			goondi		yampa
banjoora O			warbo		kunti
			bunba	"not used"	wapu
					panpa
					kunparra,
					yampuru
goolga O			barga	'kulka	kulka
				'kandu'waraða	murrtya, paka
				"no womera, hand thrown spears"	kantuwaRa
				'kan'gari	wuRa
					kankari
					waRintya
					wingaRa
					wumpu
					pungku,
					kunyakunya
					mukuwarri
					yant yula,
					pulaRu
willarra O				'wiljara	wilyaRa or
					wilhaRa,
					parampara
					thungkanu
			tongcanu		kantukantula
			gundogundula		kunga
			coongah G		min(h)a or minya
			ninnah G		ngamanya
			armanua		manyu,
munyu	gunjanier	munyu			kuntyangaya
ooguja	bungerrungoo	woorytoo			warkuthu,
		woongtoo			withimu
			biella		piyala, kulkantaRa
			nanolu		n(h)ayu wulya,
					n(h)anyula
ohribul O					ringkana,
'round mountain'					ngalkuRi-
ngalgooringa	oola ulungi	mulgooringa			wulawula(ngi)
					wiling(k)a,
					milinyu, muwiRa
					or murirra
					wiNGaRa,
					kanula

	<b>Curr 139</b>	<b>Curr 140</b>	<b>Curr 141</b>	<b>Roth</b>
197. thirsty			<i>goongindunga</i>	
198. blind				
199. one	<i>wonga</i>	<i>koorbno</i>	<i>goorinyer</i>	<i>koo-ron-yo</i>
200. two	<i>poolaroo</i>	<i>orra</i>	<i>oro</i>	<i>oo-ra</i>
	<i>phiddee</i>			
201. three	<i>koorburra</i>	<i>koorborra</i>	<i>goolpurra</i>	<i>oo-ra-panta koo-ron-yo</i>
202. four		<i>nadera</i>	<i>toongar</i>	<i>oo-ra-pan-ta oo-ra-pan-ta</i>
203. five				
204. many, plenty	<i>pungoo</i>	<i>toona</i>	<i>toonga</i>	<i>toong-a</i>
205. any				
206. some				
207. none				
208. same				
209. other				
210. walk		<i>yananga</i>	<i>yaninga</i>	
211. run				
212. go away				
213. come here, come on	<i>yunna</i>	<i>kowi</i>	<i>ookullya yananyer</i>	
214. sit		<i>wonta</i>	<i>wongunga</i>	
215. fall (of rain)				
216. burn				
217. rise (of sun)				
218. shine				
219. sleep		<i>wonoga</i>	<i>oonunga</i>	
220. eat		<i>minna</i>	<i>ooltunga</i>	
221. drink		<i>orrtanga</i>	<i>tarkeinga</i>	
222. live				
223. die		<i>poyoonaring</i>	<i>tillingerringa</i>	
		'dead'	'dead'	
224. feel				
225. see		<i>nakala</i>	<i>bimbururra</i>	
226. hear				
227. know				
228. I don't know			<i>kurra wungungala</i>	
229. speak				
230. make				
231. give				
232. take				
233. hold				

Coa/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
cooroo cooronya gooburra		goowinyu yorrah yoorah goorburra		korinju bulara  wurabanakorinju	kuNGinta(nga) mutyuparri kuRunyu, wangka wurra, pulara or pularu kurpara, wurrapanta kuRunyu wurrapanta wurrapanta marapithu(Ru) thunga, pangku, ngithaRa or ngathaRa pithupantaya, wayini yapu, kulkipithu waRa wathuyaRu, yaRapantaya, wathikutyi pithu, nguni yana- wara- kanta, ngami yana-? wuku yana- kawi waNGa- thangki- walthuka, thukaRa- waku- or waka- mirili-
murrabuttoo thoonga	toonga	woorabundah murbitooroo gnitterah		pangku	
oolburra warra wathuyaro	betoo-bundier yapoo warrah yerra-band-ayer	wyinnih goolgibitto warrah watifuche			
beethoo yunnungah warrah unree yunnee yah	yanunga warunga gund-anga	gnoony junie warrah juniah, yuniah		janaj waraja	
waarunyah	ucoo-yananni	warranyah		'oko' jananja	
walthooga	too-carunga	tookarunga  merlignah merlingah			wuna- wultha- or wurtha- (as for 'eat') tyuwa- thilingaRi-, puyungaRi- thuwi- or thuwa, paRama- nhaka- yimpa- waya- kara waNGungala nganthi-
geewannah dthillinguree	tua biroo-uringa	wangunga tilliwgeringa tillingeringa tooyah	dilingamina 'dead'		
toow yah	burra-munga				
nurchiah imbyangah murringmamah	nukiah nunger currah	mikie, nukie umbia wyana			
ngundeeah	undier	gnundtel gnundal			
mutchumyah	amungah	magimunga maginunga			matyima- or matyama- wuka- muka- thakama-
wookia eboondooyah athuckamyah	ookaa yalbrah unkamiah	oogungo mokiah likuniah tikimiah			

	Curr 139	Curr 140	Curr 141	Roth
234. retain				
235. release				
236. give up				
237. yesterday				<i>winappolo</i>
238. today		<i>paringoo</i>		<i>kyeemba</i>
239. tomorrow		<i>karra</i>		<i>karrunga</i>
240. by and by				<i>kyemba</i> <i>kandaga</i>
241. hither				
242. yes	<i>ngia</i>	<i>nia</i>		<i>kay</i>
243. true, right				
244. no	<i>kurra</i>	<i>kurra</i>		<i>kurra</i>

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/Opallon	Lamb	Dutton	Goore/ Kynuna	Tindale	Phonemicisation
<i>cutchegurra</i> <i>athuckamyah</i> <i>murrangoowunyah</i>	<i>wonuya</i>	<i>gurawoorduah</i> <i>garawoorduah</i> <i>yalbiah</i>			<i>katyikaRa,</i> <i>kaRawurtu-</i> <i>wan(h)a-</i> <i>yalpa-</i> <i>winapulu</i> <i>paRi(ngku),</i> <i>kayimpa</i> <i>kaRa(ngka)</i> <i>kayimpa,</i> <i>kantaka</i> <i>wuku</i> <i>ngiya</i> <i>yantya</i> <i>kara</i>
	<i>ucoo</i>		<i>aah G</i> <i>curah G</i>	<i>'oko</i> <i>'jendja</i> <i>kara</i>	

## 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-Yutjurru
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*a" 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 *mangu* '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 *ð* 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 *dharra*, *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-guny*, all 'nails'.
69. 'bone' see 61, 147 and 148.
70. 'blood' some Mayi dialects *kuwaRu*; Mw, Yl *ngurrki*; cf. Yl *kurruru*.
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' "*mutchaberi*" 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* (*da* 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 *walkirriparri*, 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 *gumma*, 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 *wuluparri*, cf. Kl *uluyan* (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 *parriparri*.
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 *pinpirri* '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 *mutyupparri*.
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 (*yimba*. "*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 Yl *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 *wai*; cf. 227.
229. 'speak' Mg, Gn *ngandhi*. Yanyuwa *nganthal* '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', Yl *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 "*kija*"; 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 Tippooroo – to breathe.
Buckburninya	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']
Mulcurribery	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.
Canjamoora	Large devil-devil rat. [cf. 105 above]
Nacootakera	Corroborie 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
Murrumurro	Noise made by plain turkey
Booyah	Mountain so called from the note of little birds on it
Ohribul	Round mountain
Maginna	Ants, anthills
Jigiuro	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
Walginbun	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, Yalamnga (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 Yalamnga 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 Yalamnga 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. “eremendo” 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 *thuru*.

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>m</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>goongia</i>	<i>kungi</i>	Kg " <i>gooing</i> " 'ghost'
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

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
10.	mother	<i>yunganna</i>	<i>yangana</i>	Gu, Mari <i>yangā</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.	personal names (male)	<i>ilpildirrien</i>	<i>yilpiltiRiyan</i>	cf. Kl <i>-yan</i> 'having'
15.		<i>kudimulinem</i>	<i>kathimulinima</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.		<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.		<i>kariwono</i>	<i>kaRiwunu</i>	
19.	personal names (female)	<i>ranginta</i>	<i>raNGinta</i>	
20.		<i>rubun</i>	<i>rupan</i>	
21.		<i>karkoomaralim</i>	<i>kakumaRalima</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>mit</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>
31.	hand	<i>murra</i>	<i>mara</i>	Many lgs (but not Yl, Kl, Mayi)
32.	chest	<i>beriko</i>	<i>purrku</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>lurrku</i> 'chest'

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
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>puđu</i>	Gu; Yl, Kl <i>putu</i> ; Kukatj <i>puurr</i> ; Yb "oodooa"
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 "punda"
40.	blood	<i>karruga</i>	<i>karruka</i>	Kn, Pi; Mt <i>katjuka</i> ; Karruwali "kaluka"
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 "toro") 'yesterday'; Gu, Mari; note also some Karna lgs <i>thuru</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 "whin-ga"
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 "oorla"; 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>
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

	English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
61.	egg	<i>kudo</i>	<i>kuthu</i>	Gu, Kl; Kok-Nar <i>kuuthem</i>
62.	emu	<i>kookaburri</i>	<i>kukapaRi</i>	RR, Mw, Kn, Pi, Gu, Mari <i>kulparri</i> or <i>kulpari</i>
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>umleterri</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
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

English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
87. vegetable food		(kunga)	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>ringan</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 " <i>goongindunga</i> " 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>yannanina</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 " <i>kowally</i> ", Kd " <i>cowally</i> "; <i>kawa</i> in many lgs; and see 101
103. sit	<i>ninanina</i>	<i>nhina-</i>	Yl, some Karna lgs; Kn, Wrl <i>nyina</i>
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>binginina</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'

English	Eglinton	Suggested phonemic form	Notes
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. Kn; 'me' in many lgs
115. you	<i>imba</i>	<i>yinpa</i>	PP, RR, Mw, Ngu; Wakaya has <i>imp</i>
116. Where are the blacks?	<i>wariki</i> <i>wonarkika</i>		cf. 1; note Kd " <i>wantheilica</i> ", Kg " <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 Yalamnga 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*, *watyj* 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', *ma/thana* 'stand', *mu/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/r* 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), *ntyawantya* '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', *mtuu/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 Yalamnga.

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
Yalamnga/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
Yalamnga/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
Yalamnga/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
Yalamnga/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)npiri* 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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