

EARLY RECORDS OF THE WARDANDI LANGUAGE



Rupert Gerritsen

EARLY RECORDS OF THE WARDANDI LANGUAGE

FEBRUARY 1998

© 1998 **Rupert Gerritsen**

My thanks go to Jenny Ward, Bill Lines, Rolf Gerritsen, Bill Gerritsen, Annabelle Murray as well as the staff of the National Library and Battye Library for their assistance. I am also greatly indebted to Bill Lines for drawing my attention to the word list contained in Appendix 1. Finally I would like to acknowledge the contribution of the South Australian Museum, especially Kate Alport, in providing a copy of the Layman Manuscript.

Published by **I P Publications**
LPO BOX A145
Australian National University
Canberra
ACT 2601

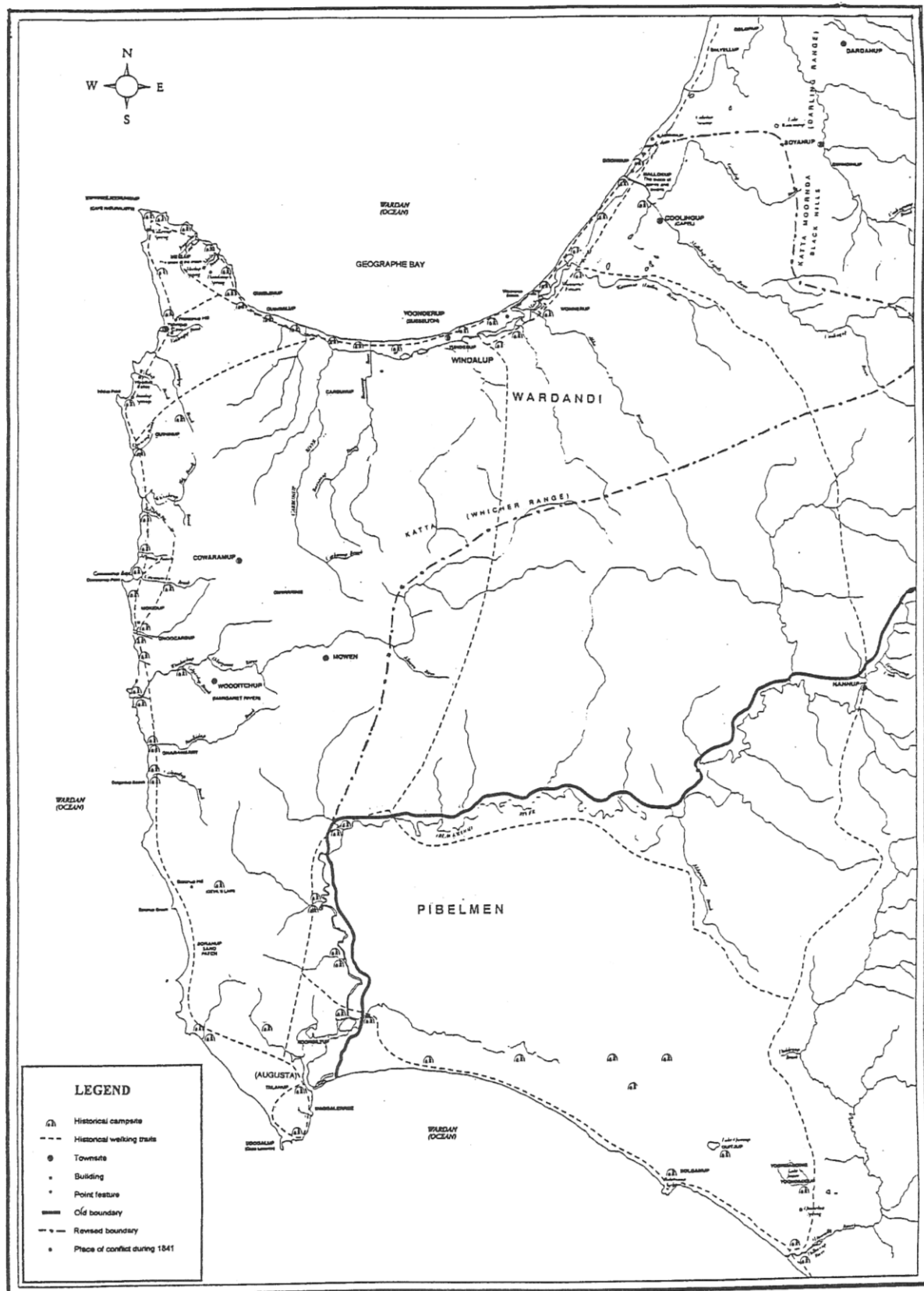
NOTE: This is a reproduction of the 1998 edition, with some minor corrections as well as small changes in formatting, grammar and pagination.

© **Rupert Gerritsen 2011**

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Sources	6
Methodology	6
Linguistic Features	8
Comparative Linguistics	9
Conclusions	13
Wardandi Ethnographic Terms	
—— Section A	18
—— Section B	27
—— Section C	46
—— Section D	46
<i>Appendix 1</i>	50
<i>Appendix 2</i>	58

MAP 1 *The Wardandi Language Area*



(Adapted from Collard 1994: Interpretation Map)

EARLY RECORDS OF THE WARDANDI LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

Wardandi is a recognised Aboriginal language of the Nyungar language subgroup (Thieberger 1993:16,60) of the south-west of Western Australia which, with the passage of time, has now become subsumed within the modern language form of Neo-Nyungar. A number of general works on the Nyungar languages have been published in recent times but no specific analysis of *Wardandi* has been attempted, commentary being confined to brief references in general works and in comparative literature.

Analysis of the Nyungar languages in terms of their features and relationships from a historical linguistics perspective has been greatly hampered by the paucity of early records. Even where extensive recordings were made, as with *Wadjuk*, they represented at best only a small percentage of the total language information. These records also exhibited many shortcomings such as idiosyncratic recording methods, biases arising from the recorders' preoccupations (e.g. with nouns), limited understanding of grammatical structure and, in many instances, a profound ignorance of the cultural context of the information. Consequently much of the richness and meaning engendered in these languages was not successfully transmitted.

In spite of this some valuable language information was gathered around the time of European colonisation of the south-west of Western Australia. The first attempt to document the spoken word here occurred at Wonnerup on 5 June 1801 when members of the French Baudin expedition encountered a group of *Wardandi* men (Peron 1809/1975:70-1). Although only two words of unknown meaning were preserved at the time they appear to represent only the third instance of the recording of any Western Australian Aboriginal language, following Dampier's fragments in 1688 and 1699 (Dampier 1703:469;1709:146). The Bussell family, who were in the vanguard of the European occupation of the *Wardandi* traditional lands in the 1830s, fortunately provided the most substantial early records of *Wardandi*, principally through George Grey (1840) and George Fletcher Moore (1884/1978). Two further vocabularies currently ascribed to *Wardandi* (Thieberger 1993:60) appeared in 1886 in E M Curr's *The Australian Race* (I:352-7) and Daisy Bates also acquired a considerable amount of information from a number of informants, principally Baaburgurt and Ngilgee, in the early 1900s. Descendants of the Bussells, such as Deborah Buller-Murphy (Buller-Murphy n.d.) and Alfred Bussell (Bussell n.d.) similarly transcribed or compiled some of the language in the latter part of the last century and the early part of this century. The only other attributable *Wardandi* language records of any significance to have reached the public domain since that time were provided by Sam Isaacs II in 1949 (Brockman 1949) and Herbert Dyson (Gilke n.d.), although Kurong Kurl Katitjin at Edith Cowan University and the Noongar Language and Culture Centre in Bunbury are continuing research in this area.

Purposes and Parameters of the Compilation and Analysis

This compilation and analysis attempts to provide, in the first instance, baseline data on *Wardandi* by collecting and collating all language information recorded during the initial interaction between European explorers and colonists and the traditional occupiers of the

region. The intent of this is to provide information which can, within reason, be unequivocally ascribed to *Wardandi* speakers at the time of "first contact".

Such an exercise is valuable for a number of reason including:

1. Providing raw data for reconstructive analysis.
2. Assisting in the determination of some of the linguistic features of the language.
3. Assisting in the examination of the relationship between *Wardandi* and other Nyungar languages.
4. Providing a reference point for later sources.
5. Providing a reference point in the charting of subsequent language development.

In this study the analytical component will only consider the linguistic features of the language and its relationship to other Nyungar languages and dialects. Some propositions arising from this analysis will be put forward for consideration.

A "cut-off" date of 1842 has been employed in the compilation of the language information contained in this study. The selection of this date is not a purely arbitrary one but conditioned by events that took place in the previous year. Up until that time there had been a temporary, though at times sorely strained, accommodation between the *Wardandi* and the colonisers. However, the spearing of George Layman on 21 February in that year immediately led to major punitive expeditions and reprisals resulting in up to 7 or more *Wardandi* deaths (Shann 1978:117-8). It appears this may have caused the remnants of the northern *Wardandi* clans to move to Australind, just outside of Bunbury, and beyond, possibly on a permanent basis (Collard 1992:61 Informant G).

These events also took place in the context of a developing pattern of social disturbance which became general in the south-west of Western Australia following colonisation and had a significant and almost immediate impact on all Nyungar languages (Douglas 1976:6-7). This caused them to rapidly evolve, becoming in time what is now known technically as Neo-Nyungar. This process resulted in considerable loss of language information as well as changes in grammatical construction and phonology which must be taken into account in later records (Douglas 1976:29). Consequently, the origins of any of the language information acquired subsequently must be closely examined. Amateur vocabularists, often with little awareness of linguistic differences and divergences, frequently assumed that if an informant lived in a particular locale their language was purely representative of that originally spoken in the area or the whole region. In some cases the individual, or their forebears, may have actually been displaced from elsewhere or been influenced by speakers of other languages. In such circumstances it is imperative, though not always possible, that the informants' *bona fides* be established before one can safely ascribe their language information to a particular language or dialect, and this is applicable to *Wardandi* recordings after 1841.

Boundaries of the *Wardandi* Linguistic Unit

Critical to any compilation and analysis of *Wardandi* is a determination of the boundaries of the linguistic unit. The Nyungar language subgroup has been divided up into between 6 and 13 linguistic units by various analysts (cf. Dench 1994:175; Thieberger 1993:32) of which *Wardandi* is usually nominated as a particular language or dialect. While dialectal differences often form a continuum, usually differences in grammar, phonology or key terms (cf. Dixon 1980:31,33), as well as other natural and cultural factors (e.g. similar customs, preferential relations, tribal boundaries, water resources, ecological zones and economies), play a significant role in identifying particular units (Peterson 1974; Dixon 1980:31-8). However, in the final analysis, individual perceptions of what constitutes a significant differences must be taken into account as the defining characteristic, although, where there is limited language information this may be difficult to identify.

Tindale (1974:259) placed *Wardandi* in the region from Bunbury to Cape Leeuwin, along the coast, at Geographe Bay, Nannup and Busselton. This delineation, which is partially shown on Map 1, is also given in *The Handbook of Western Australian Languages South of the Kimberley Region* (Thieberger 1993:60). This ascription appears to principally derive from Nina G Layman (Layman n.d.) and Daisy Bates (1985:48-9,54) who, with the exception of a small area lying between Wonnerup and the Capel [Mallokup/Coolingup] River, described the people in the region from Augusta [Talanup/Koorbilyup] to the Bunbury district [Gomborrup] as speakers of what she called "Burrong wongi". Bates' notes are, however, somewhat inconsistent (cf. MSS XII 1:37/143-5) and the basis of her characterisation is uncertain, though probably founded on a subjective assessment of lexical differences (cf. Bates 1914:78). Similarly there is no clear basis to the Layman's areal attribution (Layman n.d.:1) which is couched only in general terms.

Sociolinguistic analysis, taking into consideration these sources and historical sources not previously utilised, or perhaps given due regard, produces an alternative delineation which is represented on Map 1. This more restrictive delineation entails the establishment of a northern boundary a little to the north of the Capel River and a northward shift in part of the boundary held in common with the Pibelmen. This delineation is confirmed to some extent by subsequent lexicostatistical analysis.

The earliest recorded comment on the *Wardandi* language is attributable to John Garrett Bussell who, with others, made an overland trip from Augusta to the Vasse [Busselton] district in November 1831. North of the Blackwood River they encountered an old man who Bussell observed "recognised none of the words we had acquired from the natives of Augusta" (Bussell 1831:308). Unfortunately this information, while suggestive, is of limited value due to the many unknowns in the encounter (was their pronunciation correct?, was the man shocked or frightened?, was he deaf perhaps? and so forth). More useful is a comment Bussell made a little later when he and his companions reached the Vasse district noting, on the basis of a lengthy exchange with some local men, "considerable evidence of a connexion between them and the Savages of Cape Leeuwin" (Bussell 1831:309).

Diary entries by Ann E Turner in Augusta in 1833 (Turner 1929:18-27) also confirm to some extent the close relationship between the people from the Busselton district and those from the lower Blackwood river [Talanup/Koorbilyup], with frequent visits and interactions being recorded.

In respect to the northern boundary, Bates (1914:66; 1938:73; 1985:50) was the first to specifically draw attention to a northern horde she termed the "Dunan wongi" [Dunan speakers], occupying the country from Wonnerup to the Capel district:

"The hunting grounds of the Dunan wongi section were between the Capel and Wonnerup [sic] Rivers, the eastern boundary being the hills from which these rivers take their rise." (Bates 1985:50)

Although Bates repeated this ascription in various statements, principally drawing information from 2 informants, Baaburgurt and Ngilgee, in one instance she also includes Busselton [Yundorup] and a place called Quindeengup, 13 km south of Bunbury (Bates MSS Notebook 15:71;II 3d:4/157) in the area where "Doonan wongi" was traditionally spoken.

Some support for the identification of this area forming part of the northern boundary can be found in Lieutenant Bunbury's account of an overland journey that took him through Gomborup [Bunbury] to Yundorup [Busselton] in December 1836.

Accompanied by a *Binjarub* man, Monang, Bunbury initially appears to have encountered a local group that differed from Monang's around Myallup swamp north of Gomborup (Bunbury 1930:72). Judging by their reactions to Monang and his response relations between this group and Monang's appear to have been amiable and familiar. This state of affairs continued as they travelled south, attracting considerable attention from large numbers of the local population as they went. (Bunbury 1930:72-89). However, when 11 kms south of Picton Junction, in the vicinity of Bates' Quindeengup, another group were encountered. They invited all who were present to what was presumably to be a corroboree at "a swamp two miles [3.2 km] to the eastward" (Bunbury 1930:89-90), probably Lake Waneragup. Monang "evidently did not like the company we had got into" Bunbury reported (90), began to evince considerable fear of attacks by strangers (91) and was clearly unfamiliar with the country (91). After some misunderstanding and negotiation a guide was provided to lead Monang and Bunbury to Yundorup. They proceeded, fording the Capel River upriver at Coolingup, rather than at Mallokup (93), another ford and traditional camping site close to where the river approaches the sea.

George Layman's statement that "the Capel natives were quite distinct from Geewar's [a.k.a. Gaywal's] group" (Hallam & Tilbrook 1990:131) at Wonnerup supports this interpretation as do the events following the spearing of George Layman Snr. in 1841. According to Source G in Collard (1992:61) and other sources (cf. CSR 101/93) the Wonnerup group initially moved to Mallokup by a circuitous route. Following the ensuing massacre they then shifted a little further north to Minninup, were attacked again, and finally fled to Australind, perhaps beyond. The initial decision not to move beyond the Mallokup vicinity, in spite of the dire threat posed by colonists' reprisals, can now be interpreted in terms of the putative northern boundary, Mallokup being the last camping place before moving in to "foreign" territory. Similarly, congregation at Minninup ["Meenenup"], apparently a bartering place (Ommanney 1840a:642), normally considered "neutral ground", can also be viewed in these terms, the local people evincing a reluctance to move beyond their perceived boundary.

Bolstering this case is a legend collected around the turn of the century which, it is presumed, reflected a traditional reality. The Dordenup "Pool of Death" legend recorded by Buller-

Murphy (Buller-Murphy 1958:32) records how, following a tragic series of events "the whole camp moved to the Swan River which for about thirty miles from the sea was the northern boundary of their territory." In this instance the "Swan River" is not the well-known one on which Perth is situated but appears to be the traditional name of the upper Capel River, Coolingup - from "kool[d]jak", the common word in this region for the swan (Curr 1886:I:346,354,356,358,360,362; Bunbury 1930:73; Dench 1994:184). Corroboration of this can be found in the designation of Mallokup on the lower reaches of the Capel as the "place of spirits and swans." (Collard 1992:Interpretation Map).

Frequent references deriving from this time period (1840-43) to the people from the area north of Bunbury to south of the Preston River as a distinct group called the "Elaap" (Ommanney 1840a:612; Roth 1903:45; Wollaston 1948:48) further strengthens the case for a social demarcation to the north of the Capel River. At a later date Bates similarly indicated the presence of a separate social group in the Bunbury area, although she dubbed them the "Kunniung" (Bates 1985:49), a designation reflected in the recently published *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia* (Horton 1994:II:1011-Southwest Region Map).

As for the southern boundary, both ethnohistorical and anthropological evidence show the need to shift that boundary northward. Ommanney (1840a:642), as well as a number of colonial records (cf. CSR 58), makes reference to "mountainous tribes" adjacent to the Vasse district, seemingly making a distinction between them and the people of the coastal plain or elsewhere. Bates (1985:47) also made this distinction, and elaborated:

"All Coastal Bibbulman were Waddarndi [sic] - sea people, and called themselves, and were called by their inland neighbours. The inland tribes were distinguished by the character of the country they occupied. They were either Bilgur (river people...), Darbalung (estuary people), or Buyun-gur (hill people)"

and her informant, Baaburgurt, stated that "[t]hey do not go over the hills to the eastward where the Kakarra burnang (Easterners no good) live" (Bates MSS Section II 3d Notebook 15:4/165).

A more recent theoretical analysis (Anderson 1984) suggests that generally the scarp line of the Darling Scarp marked the division between people of the coastal plain and those of the laterite plateau, each with their own "core territories" (37), linked by the river valleys. This distinction presumably applied to the *Wardandi*, with the Whicher Range [Katta] effectively being a south-western extension of the Darling Scarp [Katta moornda]. In this area, it will be recalled, Bates had described the Dunan "hunting grounds" as having been:

"between the Capel and Wonnerdup [sic] Rivers, their eastern boundary being the hills from which these rivers take their rise"

Here the Whicher Range rises steeply before reaching the hilly plateau, leading to the conclusion that the *Wardandi*, beyond the coastal plain, only occupied the northern foothills of the Whicher Range, perhaps extending further inland up the river valleys. Presumably other groups occupied the hilly country extending south beyond this area.

Some support for this surmise is evident in E G Hester's "Blackwood District" vocabulary, in Curr (1886:I:360-1). In this instance Hester nominates his informant(s) as being from the "Kardagur Tribe", which produces an internally consistent translation of "hill people" [Karta =

Hill], a characterisation supported by Layman who also refers to the "Beblemen" as "the hill tribe" (Layman n.d.:1)

In conclusion it can be seen that a revision of the *Wardandi* boundaries may well warranted. However the delineation described here largely characterises a social unit and not necessarily a linguistic unit. Consequently the nature of the language spoken in this area and its relationship to other Nyungar languages will now be considered.

SOURCES

According to *The Handbook of Western Australian Languages South of the Kimberley Region* (Thieberger 1993:60-1) no *Wardandi* language material is available for the period prior to 1886. This is, however, incorrect. Two well-known sources, Grey (1840) and Moore (1884/1978) contain within their respective word lists a significant component of *Wardandi* material, collected around 1838-9 from "Messrs Bussel" [sic]; Grey (1840:viii,xvii); Moore (1884:341,Descriptive Vocab. iv-v)

From these and 6 other minor sources 188 *Wardandi* terms have been identified for the period ending 1841. Members of the Bussell family contributed 180 terms with Georgiana Molloy the only other significant contributor (4 terms).

Had the boundaries of *Wardandi* as originally defined by Tindale been considered two other sources of language information could also have been included, Roth (1903) and Bunbury (1930). Neither are listed in the *Handbook of Western Australian Languages* as *Wardandi* language sources, Roth, it appears, being incorrectly attributed to *Binjarub* by Thieberger (1993:45,47) and Bunbury overlooked entirely. As both these pertain to the Bunbury area they have now been excluded as *Wardandi* sources, though they are valuable comparative sources, having originated in the same time period.

One further source came under consideration in this compilation, a short word list discovered in Georgiana Molloy's papers (WASA: Acc.3278 A/1). This word list (Anon. n.d.) was not in Molloy's handwriting however, was undated, and there was no direct indication as to its origin or the informant. Following further research it is now believed that this word list was transcribed between 19 January 1833 and 30 March 1833. There are also strong grounds for believing the author was Capt. John Molloy and that the principal informant was possibly Pilgaiung Munyana [a.k.a "Kenny"]. However, because the criterion for inclusion was that material must be "unequivocally" ascribable to the *Wardandi* language, this word list could not be included in the compilation and is attached in Appendix 1 instead. A fuller discussion of the dating, authorship and ascription is also contained in Appendix 1.

METHODOLOGY

To recover and analyse the extant linguistic information collected prior to 1842 individual terms, along with two lines of text, were initially extracted from the relevant sources. From this four sections were then created:

Section A: Wardandi - English

Section B: English - Wardandi

Section C: Tarlma - English

Section D: Texts

All the early *Wardandi* terms in their original form of transcription were listed in Section A, with the exception of those clearly deriving from the *Tarlma* local group of the Talanup/Koorbilyup area [Hardy Inlet/Augusta/Cape Leeuwin] which were placed separately in Section C for comparative purposes. Terms were listed alphabetically, except in cases where they were obviously identical but showing minor variations in spellings. These variants were grouped together and treated as single terms. Lastly the given English translation and the identity of the source for each term and its variants were listed alongside.

A similar approach was taken with Section B except that terms were listed alphabetically in accordance with the given English translation, with the *Wardandi* term listed alongside. The intent of this was to firstly to identify additional common terms where there was greater variance in spelling and, secondly, to ascertain if there were any dialectal differences within the language material.

An extensive search of other records, compilations and research was also made in an attempt to match each term with an equivalent one from other Nyungar languages, the result being listed alongside. By this means some idea of the likely form of each word could be determined where necessary, the accuracy of the transcriptions could be assessed and unusual terms or atypical linguistic features possibly identified.

Mindful of the effects of the linguistic disturbance factors discussed earlier, and wishing to minimise their influence, preference was given in matching to sources in which the language information was collected within the same timeframe as the early *Wardandi* set. Consequently there is frequent recourse to works such as Grey (1840), Nind (1831) and so forth. Such sources of course have their own recognisable weaknesses, and characteristics such as Nind's apparently idiosyncratic rendition of the word-initial nasal velar **ng** as **un** and Moore's (1884/1978:Descriptive Vocab. 1) subjective assignment of terms to areas where they were "chiefly spoken" necessitated caution. Accordingly Moore, for example, was used sparingly as a result of concerns about his lack of rigour.

Where there was no direct equivalent apparent from these contemporaneous sources, later (i.e. post-1841) sources, analyses and compilations were further relied upon. These are indicated in the listings in **bold**. As far as possible equivalent terms representative of those used in surrounding regions were listed so as to provide some indication of the degree of linguistic variance. In such instances the general or common terms identified in modern analyses were also included as another indication of this.

Section C was established in the hope of providing a means of ascertaining if dialectal differences were discernible between the clans at Talanup/Koorbilyup and those around Yundorup. The treatment of the aggregated terms was essentially identical to that carried out in Section B, with English alphabetical listing and comparative examples following. Unfortunately only 4 terms were identified and from this perspective little useful information or insight was gained.

Finally lines of text were gathered in Section D so as to provide some indication of the grammar traditionally used by the *Wardandi*.

LINGUISTIC FEATURES

A number of comments regarding the recording and characteristics of *Wardandi* can be made based on the material collected and collated. Each of these is discussed below.

Phonetics

As stated earlier 188 *Wardandi* terms were revealed by searches of early word lists, records, diaries and such like. Again 180 of those terms can be sourced to members of the Bussell family.

The recordings show some of the problems inherent in early language recordings where, lacking a standard orthography, most compilers attempted to record terms utilising common English phonemes. This is evident, for example, in the variant vowels and the inconsistent transcription of the allophonic stops **g/k**, **t/d** and **b/p**. The former is readily apparent in the many small inconsistencies in spelling which can be noted in Section A. The latter is less obvious but when the material was ordered in accordance with its given English meaning, as in Section B, the more variant spellings become obvious, with **Bu-ga-lo/Pu-ga-lo** and **Oor-do/Urdo** being classic examples.

The recorders, the Bussells in the main, appear to have successfully recorded at least some examples of the word-initial dental stop **dj** (e.g. **djoue**), a feature often not recognised by many of the 19th century vocabularists. This did not necessarily extend to its appearance in the word-final position however, with **dardage** a clear example which could have been more consistently rendered as **dardatj**, as it would be employing a modern orthography (cf Whitehurst 1992:v). But the fact that they recognised this phoneme at all, as well as the nasal velar **ng** indicates the recorders, specifically the Bussells, were relatively sophisticated in their transcription compared to others of this era. Many of the early vocabularists had considerable difficulty with this latter phoneme (Blake 1991:11,73; Dixon 1980:150), Nind (1831) appearing to have recorded it as **un** in his work and in this regard even Grey (1840:viii) acknowledges his debt to the Bussells for drawing his attention to it.

Semantics

Semantic difficulties are also apparent in the transcriptions, admitted in one case, **kore**, by Grey, but others certainly exist. The scope for misunderstandings to arise where neither party fully comprehends the other's language and culture is enormous. The rendition of **dar-dage** as "the back" may be a case in point. Grey provided a *Wadjuk* term he transcribed as **dar-dtche**, "vertebrae that projects at bottom of neck". Consequently it is quite possible one of the Bussells mistook a term describing a part of the back for the whole back, an easy error to make.

Another possible misunderstanding is the term **ben-o-wai** or **benoah!**, translated as "Go!". As no comparable term could be found, and no root term apparent elsewhere, other possibilities were considered in the derivation of this expression. The context in which it was used, directed at unwelcome Europeans when friction arose, suggested one possibility - that it was the common English expression "Be on your way", translated into familiar phonology by the

Wardandi and fed back to the British colonisers who then thought it was a *Wardandi* expression. Historian W J Lines agrees with this interpretation, having independently arrived at the same conclusion (Pers. comm. May 1997). While the conjecture cannot be proven, it does, however, remain a distinct possibility, especially as similar instances have been noted elsewhere.

Neologisms

Even at this early stage linguistic adaption was evident with the formation of neologisms such as **bumla** (flour), **dirila** (glass) and **ngaro** (pig). There would seem to be little doubt that words such as these arise from the application of pre-existing terms to novel phenomenon.

Grammar

With extremely limited textual material available from the period in question, a mere 2 lines, a detailed analysis of the grammar is not possible. Clearly *Wardandi* was predominantly a suffixing language and appears to follow the constructional forms typical of other Nyungar languages of *Subject-Object-Verb* (Dench 1994:191). On the basis of the material available up to the end of 1841 little more can be said however and readers are referred to Douglas (1976:38-52) for a fuller discussion of Nyungar grammar.

COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

Three areas of comparative linguistics are relevant to this study. The first involves a lexicostatistical analysis to determine the validity of the proposed alteration of the boundaries of the *Wardandi* linguistic unit, the second entails the identification of any dialects within *Wardandi* and the third examines particular linguistic features that may differentiate this language from other Nyungar languages.

Lexicostatistics

Lexicostatistical techniques determine the degree of relatedness of language on the basis of cognate density, the percentage of terms common to the languages under consideration. Typically a range of percentages are deemed to indicate a particular type of linguistic relationship. This can be seen in the standard linguistic categories below:

0 -15%	Different language families
16-25%	Different groups of the same family
26-50%	Different subgroups of the same group
51-70%	Different languages of the same subgroup
71-100%	Different dialects of the same language

(Thieberger 1993:15)

Some caution is required in employing this form of language categorisation for two reasons. One is that the percentage sets are arbitrarily, not empirically, derived. They are not an objective measurement of perceived relatedness and they do not, therefore, necessarily correspond with levels of relatedness perceived by the speakers themselves. Another shortcoming of lexicostatistics lies in its "one dimensional" character, in the sense that it only measures one form of relatedness, whereas grammatical and phonological differences may in

fact be a more significant indicators of relatedness. Consequently lexicostatistics can only be taken as a guide to nature of the relationships between the "languages" in question.

Caution is also necessary when applying lexicostatistical methods so as to avoid any distortions or ambiguities and steps must be taken to eliminate this as far as possible. Consequently plurals (e.g. **yugoumen**), localised social (e.g. **namyungo**) or geographic terms (e.g. **geral**), neologisms (e.g. **bumla**) and terms where the given meanings were ambiguous or lacking in specificity (e.g. **doon-goin**) were excluded from consideration in this element of the study.

Keeping in mind these limitations and qualifications the issue of the boundaries of *Wardandi* will now be addressed, specifically whether the language spoken by the *Elaap* clans from the Bunbury area should be included as part of *Wardandi* language area. It is in this context the application of lexicostatistics may be of some value.

Lieutenant Bunbury (1930) appended a 107 item word list to the edited accounts of his exploration and travels in Australia, a copy of which is included in this work (Appendix 2). Although this word list is not specifically ascribed to the *Elaap*, Bunbury spent a considerable proportion of his time in Western Australia in the area, around 1836, and many of the terms in the word list appear in the text describing his journeys in this region. Robert Austin also lived in the Bunbury area, as a teenager, shortly after (Erickson 1987:91), from 1841-43 (Roth 1903:45), and his experiences and observations were later recorded by W E Roth at the turn of the century. Scattered through the resultant publication (Roth 1903) are many terms noted by Austin at the time of his residence. By comparing these two sources, 17 terms were found in common. Of these 17 common terms, making due allowance for variant spellings, 16 (94.1%) were found to be in agreement. While not conclusive this must be taken as a strong indication that Lieutenant Bunbury's word list did pertain to the *Elaap*, though an examination of Bunbury's accounts did reveal one clear exception, **Buggia windi**, obtained in the Vasse district (Bunbury 1930:93).

When Bunbury's word list was compared to the early *Wardandi* material 32 corresponding terms were found. Of these 22 (68.8%) were in agreement and 10 (31.2%) were not, indicating that separate languages, not dialects, may have been spoken in the respective areas. This evidence does not, of course, constitute conclusive proof but may be tested by further analyses utilising later language sources, such as Curr (1886).

Dialects

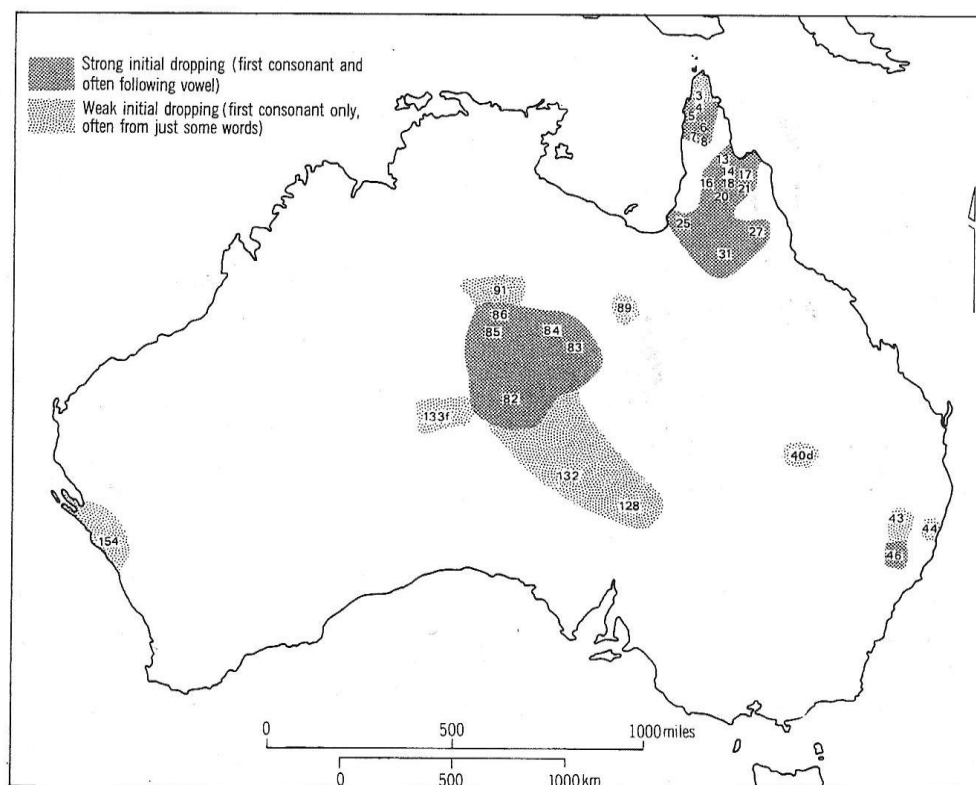
It would appear that within *Wardandi* there were 2 dialects recorded in the transcriptions made prior to 1842. Two lines of evidence indicate that this is the case. In the first instance a number of examples of dual expressions can be found in Section B for the same terms. "Ear", for example, was recorded as **donga** and **jija**, "eye" as **me-al** and **yelit**, "woman" as **yugou** and **ei-ya** and [edible] wild game as **dow-er** and **di-ja**. There is little scope for ambiguity in terms such as these and consequently it seems likely they arise from a real dialectal difference. A number of other terms may also reflect this dialectal difference, the pronouns particularly. However in regard to the pronouns this cannot be seen as certain because their form is often conditioned by the grammatical context, based on who is being referred to.

The other series of terms appearing to show a regular divergence exhibit a feature called "initial phoneme dropping". This can be most clearly seen in the dual terms for "sick/ill/sore", **ngarn-**

din and **arn-din** and "we", **ngil-lel** and **el-el**. Another 8, possibly 9, additional examples of initial phoneme dropping are identifiable through comparison with other Nyungar language materials. Six of these, "younger brother", "calf of leg", "down", "I", "where" and "who" are, in their *Wardandi* equivalents, described as "corruptions" by Grey (1840), seemingly indicating initial phoneme dropping. For example "younger brother", **oor-do** or **urdo** Grey describes as a corruption of the *Wadjuk* equivalent **wor-der**. Similarly **oo-lo-it**, "calf of leg", Grey described as "a corruption of walgyte", with the initial **w** being dropped. The other examples from Grey can be noted by reference to the relevant terms in Section B. Two further examples of initial phoneme dropping terms, **ee-el-lung**, "of us/ours" and **e-nung**, "whose/of whom", are discernible through general comparative analysis. A third, **orl-ga** "a tooth", is also nominated as a "corruption" by Grey, though this instance may have arisen from semantic confusion between "tooth" and "teeth" or simply be related to a southern term like **orlock** (King 1827/1969:II:144).

Pronouns figure prominently in this compilation, accounting for 5 of the 10 clear examples of phoneme dropping. In all these cases the nasal velar **ng** is the absent phoneme. This phoneme is the also the one apparently dropped in the example of "sick/ill/sore". Perhaps one of the Bussell brothers was missing this phoneme, a quirk noted with other recorders. However this seems unlikely given that they alerted Grey to the existence of the phoneme and also noted 14 terms with a word-initial **ng** (See Section A). The dropping of other word-initial consonants, principally **w**, goes against this argument as well.

Technically this phoneme dropping feature is known as "weak" initial phoneme dropping and is a relatively rare phenomenon in Western Australia (See Map 2). It was present in at least the *Nhanta* language (Kardu Subgroup) as shown on Map 2 though it may also have been a feature of *Balardong* (cf Bates MSS Sect.XII Grammar:37/35).



MAP 2 Regions with initial phoneme dropping (Dixon 1980:198)

With evidence of this nature it seems reasonable to conclude that, as proposed earlier, different dialects existed within *Wardandi*. Reinforcing this conclusion is the occurrence of a number of terms in the early language records which appear to be highly atypical. These terms will be considered below once the issue of the possible location of the different dialects is addressed.

Dialectal Loci

As it appears different dialects have been identified it would be of some value if the locations in which these dialects were spoken could be identified. Current information points to the possible existence of at least 3 local groups termed the *Tarlma*, the *Dordenup* and the *Doonan* but whether they corresponded with any dialectal units is, based on the data presented here, an open question.

The existence of the *Tarl[e]ma* is attested to by two early sources, seemingly from the 1830s, Ann Turner (Turner 1929:28) and Edward Dawson (Hasluck 1990:280n17). They occupied the area around modern-day Augusta, known traditionally as Talanup (Collard 1992:23,37). Nomination of a local group around Wooditchup [Margaret River] as the *Dordenup* people comes from Deborah Buller-Murphy (1958; n.d.) and A J Bussell (n.d.), though whether they called themselves that is not certain, while the *Doonan* from the Wonnerup-Capel area were discussed earlier.

The Bussells originally located themselves at Augusta before relocating to Windalup ["Cattle Chosen"] beginning in 1834 (Shann 1978:55-6). Consequently it is reasonable to assume that most, if not all, the language information they preserved came from Aboriginal people occupying or in the vicinity of these localities. At Augusta the Bussells clearly had some acquaintance with the language spoken there (cf Bussell 1831:309; Shann 1978:57,94-7) by the *Tarlma*, but at Windalup it is not known what local group originally occupied this land, lying between the *Doonan* and the *Dordenup*. It may well be that the Windalup people were simply part of one of these groups, but that is by no means certain.

According to Ommanney (1840b:653) the tracts west of Windalup were known as *Comba* and "said to be the property of the native Oalong". But the only specific information on the Windalup local group of a linguistic nature is J G Bussell's comment of 1831 (309) drawing attention to the "considerable evidence of a connexion" between the people he encountered in this area and the *Tarlma*.

Further clouding the issue is the likelihood the Bussells also had some contact with the *Doonan* when at Windalup, being only a short distance from their grounds. Consequently the pre-1842 language recordings could possibly incorporate material from up to 4 different local groups. It is not possible, therefore, to ascertain any dialectal loci from the pre-1842 material.

Atypical Items

Another comparative approach employed in this study involved matching *Wardandi* terms with those from other Nyungar languages, thereby identifying any unusual or atypical terms that may have been present. The methodology employed was described earlier. This approach also seems to indicate the presence of an unusual element within part of the *Wardandi* material. When matching was carried out it was found, as would be expected, that equivalent

expressions, with minor variations, were to be found for the vast majority of terms in one or more of the Nyungar languages. In many cases it was not even necessary to look beyond the earliest records such as Nind (1831), Lyon (1833), Grey (1840) and Moore (1884/1978). With some terms (e.g. **be-gan**, "unfasten/untie/open"), however, lack of comparable examples precluded any meaningful matching. For another small proportion of terms (e.g. "cold") there is considerable variation between languages, with a different term in most languages. Usually such variability is found where the terms are semantically general, subjective, abstract or specific to local environments (directions, trees, less common animals). But there is another class of terms which show little variability between languages. Virtually identical examples can be found for some terms in every Nyungar language. These basic terms usually relate to major body parts (e.g. "head"), kin relations or significant classes of people (e.g. "father", "woman"), important environmental elements (e.g. "fire", "hill", "woman's digging stick") as well as pronouns. It is in these domains that the unusual terms in *Wardandi* are most apparent.

Firstly, with the phoneme dropping examples cited previously, it was noted that 5 are pronouns. A further 3 of the remaining 6 examples relate to body parts (**Oo-lo-it**, **Orl-ga**) or kin relations (**Oor-do**/**Urdo**).

Most striking, however, are the terms **yelit**, "eye", and **jija**, "ear". The common term for "eye" in all other Nyungar languages takes forms such as **mel**, **miyal**, **myaal**. The only exception that could be found was **kourah**, "eyes", (Hammond 1933:80) which may have affinities to **kooroo**, the common term in the Kardu, Kanyara and Mantharda subgroups to the north. Similarly with "ear" the cognate follows the form **dwank** without exception in the Nyungar languages. Other examples include **dow-er**, "[edible] wild game", normally **daadja**, **ceto**, "river", usually **bilya**, and perhaps *ei-ya*, "woman/mother", usually **yoka** or **ngank**. This latter example, however, could alternatively be related to a *Minung* equivalent, **eecher** ("mother"), recorded in one instance (Nind 1831:50).

Locational indications are known in two of these examples, **yelit** being obtained from the vicinity between Windalup and the Whicher Range (but related back to *Tarlma*) (Bussell 1831:309), and **ceto** from the west of Windalup (Ommanney 1840b:653). But being such a small and uncertain sample they do not shed much light on the question raised earlier regarding dialectal loci. However, if such terms were actually present as an element of *Wardandi* then this raises another question - how, when and why these unusual terms came to be in the language. This is, of course, not known at this stage and the data on *Wardandi* collected before 1842 offers no clues. Even before this question can be considered, however, the presence of these terms must firstly be verified, if possible, perhaps through utilisation of later language transcriptions and ethnographic information.

CONCLUSIONS

Careful examination of some of the earliest efforts to record and document Nyungar languages has revealed 188 *Wardandi* terms deriving from the period prior to 1842. Though representing only a tiny fraction of the language spoken at the time of initial contact between Europeans and the traditional owners of the region this data, even with its imperfections, nevertheless embodies a significant and valuable language resource.

It has further been found that the boundaries of *Wardandi*, which have come under close scrutiny here, may require some revision. This conclusion is supported by ethnographic evidence as well as by lexicostatistical analysis utilising contemporaneous recordings.

Features such as inconsistent phonetics and semantic problems were evident in the identified material when tabulated in accordance with the study's methodology. Such weaknesses are typical of early endeavours to record Aboriginal languages. More significantly analysis revealed the presence of weak initial phoneme dropping in a portion of the aggregated material, an uncommon linguistic feature in the Western Australia. Analysis also provided strong indications that the material actually contained two dialects. Unfortunately the location of these dialects could not be identified. Finally several highly atypical terms were noted as a consequence of comparative analysis.

In conclusion it should be noted that the findings in this study cannot be considered definitive and require corroboration where possible. This could conceivably be achieved by drawing upon the later language information, making due allowance for the effects of linguistic disturbance and changes that may have taken place in the intervening period. Such a project is recommended as a research priority for the future.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations: WASA = Western Australian State Archives [Battye Library]

Anderson, J. 1984 *Between plateau and plain*, Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra.

Anon. n. d. 'Anonymous Word List'. In Molloy Papers WASA: Acc. 3278 A/1.

Bates, D. M. 1914 A few notes on some South-Western Australian dialects. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 44:65-82

——— 1938 *The passing of the Aborigines*, John Murray, London.

——— 1985 *Native tribes of Western Australia*, I. M. White (ed.), National Library of Australia, Canberra

——— n.d. Bates Manuscripts MSS 365, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
[File and Folio Nos.]
Acc.1212A, Western Australian State Archives,
Perth.

Blake, B. J. 1991 *Australian Aboriginal languages: A general introduction*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.

Brockman, F. S. 1949 'List of native names of the South-West tribe'. WASA: PR 342.

Buller-Murphy, D. 1958 *An attempt to eat the moon and other stories*, Georgian House, Melbourne

——— n.d. 'Papers of Dr Deborah Buller-Murphy'. WASA: Acc. 1648A/9 in MN 269.

Bunbury, H. W. 1930 *Early days in Western Australia*, Oxford University Press, London.

Bussell, A. J. n.d. 'South West Aboriginal language or dialect the Aboriginal term 'Dordenup' wongi...'. WASA Acc.1648A in MN 269.

Bussell, J. G. 1831 'Mr Bussell's journal of an expedition to the River Vasse from the Blackwood'. In *Exploration Diaries*. Vol. 1 WASA: PR 5441.

Collard, L. 1994 *A Nyungar interpretation of Ellensbrook and Wonnerup Homesteads*, Edith Cowan University, Mt Lawley WA.

CSR: Colonial Secretary's Records. WASA: Acc. 36. [File and Folio Nos.]

Curr, E. M. 1886 *The Australian race: Its origins, language customs, place of landing ...*, 4 vols, John Ferres, Government Printer, Melbourne.

Dampier, W. 1703 *A new voyage round the world: Vol. 1*, James Knapton, London.

- 1709 *A voyage to New-Holland in the Year 1699: Vol. 3*, James Knapton, London.
- Dench, A. 1994 "Nyungar" Section 9. In *Macquarie Aboriginal words: a dictionary of words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages*, N. Thieberger and W. McGregor (eds.), Macquarie Library, Macquarie University.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1980 *The languages of Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Douglas, W. H. 1976 *The Aboriginal languages of the South-West of Western Australia*, 2nd ed., Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Erickson, R. (ed.) 1987 *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands. Vol. 1.
- Gilke, E. n. d. 'List of words spoken by Herbert Dyson of Busselton' TS
- Grey, G. 1840 *A vocabulary of the dialects of South Western Australia*, T. & W. Boone, London.
- Hallam, S. and L. Tilbrook (eds.) 1990 *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands. Vol. 8.
- Hammond, J. E. 1933 *Winjan's people*, Imperial Printing Co., Perth.
- Hasluck, A. 1990 *Portrait with background*, Fremantle Art Centre Press, South Fremantle.
- Horton, D. (ed.) 1994 *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*, 2 vols., Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- King, P. P. 1827/1969 *Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and western coasts of Australia ... 1818 – 1822*, 2 vols., Library Board of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Layman, N. G. n. d. 'Layman MS' In Tindale Papers, Anthropology Archives, South Australian Museum.
- Lyon, R. M. 1833 'A glance at the manners and language of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia with a short vocabulary'. *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* March/April 1833.
- Moore, G. F. 1884/1978 *Diary of ten years eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, University of WA Press, Nedlands.
- 1884/1978 'A descriptive vocabulary in two parts'. In *Diary of ten years eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, University of WA Press, Nedlands.
- Molloy, G. n. d. 'Molloy Papers'. WASA: Acc.3278 A/1.
- Nind, S. 1831 'Description of the natives of King George's Sound and adjoining country'. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1:21-51.

- Ommanney, H. M. 1840a 'Rough notes of a circuitous route from Eundilup to Elaap during the month of January 1840'. In *Exploration Diaries*. Vol.3 WASA: PR 5441.
- 1840b 'Rough notes of an excursion from Busselton to the Western sea coast'. In *Exploration Diaries*. Vol. 3 WASA: PR 5441.
- Peron, M. F. 1809/1975 *A voyage of discovery to the Southern hemisphere*, Richard Phillips, London.
- Peterson, N. 1976 'The natural and cultural areas of Aboriginal Australia'. In *Tribes and boundaries in Australia*, N Peterson (ed.) AIAS, Canberra.
- Roth, W. E. 1903 'Notes on a savage life in the early days of West Australian settlement'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland* 17(2): 45-69.
- Shann, E. O. G. 1978 *Cattle chosen*, University of WA Press, Nedlands.
- Thieberger, N. 1993 *Handbook of Western Australian languages south of the Kimberley region*, Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra.
- Tindale, N. B. 1974 *The Aboriginal tribes of Australia*, ANU Press, Canberra.
- Turner, A. E. 1929 'Diaries of Ann E Turner'. *Early Days (Journal and Proceedings of the Western Australian Historical Society)* 1st Series 1(4): 17-29.
- Whitehurst, R. 1992 *Noongar dictionary*, Noongar Language and Cultural Centre, Bunbury.
- Wollaston, J. R. 1948 *Wollaston's Picton Journal (1841-1844)*, Pitman & Son, Perth.

WARDANDI ETHNOGRAPHIC TERMS

SECTION A : WARDANDI - ENGLISH ***** PRIOR TO 1842

WORD	MEANING	SOURCE
Ardakat Ar-di-kut	Low, down, downwards Down	Moore p.2; Grey p.1
Arn-din Arndinyang Arn-dinyung	Sick, ill, sore " "	Moore p.2; Grey p.1 " Grey p.1
Bad-jark	Putrid, stale	Grey p.3
Bad-jeen	Bite/Slay, to	Grey p.3
Ballal Bal-lul	He/she him/herself "	Moore p.3 Grey p.5
Bar-rab Ber-rap	Sky (Skies), the Skies, the	Moore p.6; Grey p.7 Grey p.10
Bar-u	Blood	Moore p.7; Grey p.8
Beda	Thread, Sinew/a Path (from kangaroo's tail)	Grey p.8
Be-gan	Unfasten/untie/open	Moore p.7; Grey p.9
Ben-o-wai	Go ! [Be gone !]	1 p.127
Ber-da	Go, to	Grey p.9
Be-wel	Paper-bark tree	Moore p.7; Grey p.7
Bi-eul/Bi-u-le/Bi-yule/Boyal	West (also: left bank of river)	Grey pp.10,12 Grey p.12
Bil-le	Other, the	Moore p.9; Grey p.11
Boi-loit	Skilful/dextrous	Moore p.12; Grey p.13
Boi-ya	= Boya[Stone]	Grey p.13
Bow-an	Kindle/Heat/Warm, to	Grey p.17
Bug-ga-lo	Him, to	Moore p.14; Grey p.19

Bug-ga-long	His	Moore p.14; Grey p.19
Buggia windi	Ground bad [Bad track]	Bunbury p.93
Buk-kan	Bite/Attack, to	Grey p.19
Bul-lal-el	They [not common usage]	Moore p.15; Grey p.19
Bul-lal-e-lang	Their	Moore p.17; Grey p.19
Bumla	Flour	2 p.98
Ceto	River	3 p.653
Daan	Foot	Bussell p.309
Da-ba	Knife	Grey p.24
Da-kar-ung	Break, to	Moore p.17; Grey p.24
Danja	<i>Hakea</i> sp. [<i>Pimela spectabilis</i> ?]	4 p.73
Dar-dadge	Back, the	Grey p.26
De-i-dung	Cut, to	Moore p.19; Grey p.26
Di-ja	Game, wild - of any kind	Grey p.27
Dil	Crayfish found in swamps	Moore p.19; Grey p.27
Dirila	Glass	1 p.127
Dje-go	Sister, a	Grey p.28
Djoue/Dyoue	Not/Not so	Grey p.30
Donga	Ear/Hear, to	Bussell p.309; Grey p.30
Doona-ginge	Thus/So	Grey p.31
Doon-goin	Such	Grey p.31
Door-ga	Wind, the	Grey p.31
Door-gooll	Straight/In a straight line	Grey p.31
Dow-er	Game, wild - of any kind	Grey p.27

Dun-dung	Climb, to	Grey p.33
Dyin-da	Plume, a	Grey p.34
Dy-in-dy-a	Spear, toy - for boys practice	Grey p.34
Ein-ya	I	Grey p.36
Ein-ye-lin	Me	Grey p.36
Ei-ya	Woman/Mother	Grey p.36
Ei-ya-men	Women/Mothers	Grey p.36
E-ja	Place, to	Grey p.36
El-el	We	Grey p.36
El-el-ung	Us, of/Ours	Grey p.36
E-ly-an	Secreted/Concealed	Grey p.36
En-da	Who	Grey p.37
E-nung	Whose/of whom	Moore p.26; Grey p.37
Eu-ga	Stand, to	Grey p.37
Eun-ga	Give, to	Grey p.37
Eur-da	Home/a House [Sleeping Place/Camp]	Grey p.37
Eure-up	Upright/Up high	Grey p.37
Gabbytch/Gab-baitch	Water, running	Moore p.27; Grey p.40
Gain-ing	Separated/Alone/One	Grey p.40
Gan-ga	Carry/Bear/Bring, to	Grey p.41
Ge-da-la	Day, a	Moore p.29; Grey p.41
Ge-i-jut	Immediately/Directly	Grey p.42
Ge-ral	East (right bank of river)	Grey p.42

Gin-ge	Concerning/Around/ Pertaining to	Grey p.42
Gol-yun-bur	Morsel/Fragment, a	Grey p.42
Goo-lang-ur	Boy, a	Grey p.43
Go-nar	Eh?	Grey p.42
Guaid-ja	Bone, a	Grey p.47
Gun-bur	Wing, a	Grey p.47
Gwinda	Bandicoot, the	Grey p.48
Idi-yal	I myself	Moore p.34
I-ja	I	Grey p.51
Indi	Who	Moore p.35
In-je	Where	Grey p.51
In-ye-ne	Here	Moore p.35; Grey p.51
Ja-dam	Hard/dry	Moore p.35; Grey p.53
Jan-ning	Proceeding	Grey p.53
Jija	Ear	Moore p.36
Kai-jart	Cut/Separate, to also : Distant/Far off	Grey p.58
Kail-yung	Wattle, black Gum from black wattle	Grey p.58
Kar-la	Fire	Grey p.62
Karrbung	Make, Fashion, Sharpen?, to	Grey p.62
Kar-ring	Fine [Weather]/Bright/Sunny	Grey p.62
Kat-ta-jiuje	Listen/Pay attention/ Comprehend, to	Grey p.62
Koat	Hair	Bussell p.309
Ko-bel-ya	Sleep	Grey p.64

Ko-mal	Possum, the	Grey p.65
Koo-a	Laugh, to	Grey p.66
Koo-nam	Successful hunting/Plentiful	Grey p.67
Koon-ark	[Marron] Crayfish	Grey p.67
Koor-da	Separately/Apart	Grey p.68
Kore	Has become? [Again?] [It appears amongst others to be the sign of the preter-perfect tense "has" and to be used as we should "has become" "Eurda kore perdook" ("Sleeping place has become near")]	Grey p.69
Kore kat-jinjie	Understand, do you	Grey p.62
Ko-ta	Bag/Sack, a [Woman's bag]	Grey p.70
Kun-dil-goor	Heavy	Grey p.71
Kur-ram	Formerly	Grey p.71
Kur-ry-aat	Cold	Grey p.72
Man-dy-ar	Meeting of tribes for purpose of exchange/Fair, a	Grey p.79
Maggo/Mug-go	Naked	Moore p.47; Grey p.89
Ma-ri	Cry/Lament, to	Grey p.80
Mar-o-loo/Marog	Formerly	Grey p.80
Mar-rain	Food (farinaceous)	Grey p.80
Ma-un	Off/Away	Grey p.81
Me-al	Eye, the	Grey p.81
Meg-ka	Moon, the	Grey p.82
Me-mar-dup	Tomorrow, shortly hence?	Grey p.82
Mendenah	Eyebrow	Bussell p.309

Me-ra	Woomera	Grey p.83
Mern-dong	Belt, hair [possum hair] also Cord/Rope, a	Grey p.83
Mi-er	House/[Hut], a	Grey p.84
Mochlia, mochliah	Too much, too much	4 p.71
Mokin	Like/Equal	Grey p.85
Mool-jung	Frightened	Grey p.85
Mool-yer	Nose, the	Grey p.86
Moon-ark	Sunshine/ Firmament, the	Grey p.86
Mouye	?	Peron p.71
Mu-go-ro	Rainy Season, commencement of	Grey p.89
Mulgar radock	Magic Man/Sorcerer	2 p.106
Mundang Mundamang	All/the whole "	Moore p.57 "
Mun-dum-ung	Together	Grey p.91
Na gin-ge	What concerning	Grey p.42
Naminngo	Emu Section ?	Bussell p.308
Nam-yun-go	Emu Local name for the Dtondarup "family" in the Vasse District	Grey p.96
Nar-ra	Burn, to	Grey p.98
Narrik	Plenty/abundance	Moore p.60
Nar-ring-ur	Plenty/Liberal	Grey p.98
Nar-rung-ur	Warm/Hot	Grey p.98
Ne-apel	Truth, in/Forsooth	Grey p.98

Nerno	Soft also: Clay	Grey p.99
Ngar-o	Pig, a	Grey p.99
Ngarra/Nga-ra	Back, the	Moore p.66; Grey p.105
Ngarn-din Ngar-den-yung	Sick/Sore "	Grey p.106 "
Ng-era	Lie, to	Moore p.66; Grey p.106
Ngil-lel	We	Moore p.66; Grey p.106
Ngille-lung/Ngil-lel-ung	Our/of us	Moore p.66; Grey p.106
Ngo-liup	Expended/Used/Consumed	Grey p.107
Ngo-mon	Big	Grey p.107
Ngon-do	Brother, elder	Moore p.66; Grey p.107
Ngon-do-men	Brothers, elder	Grey p.107
Ngo-ri-uk	Much, very	Moore p.67; Grey p.107
Ngul-yap	Hungry/Empty	Moore p.67
Ngun-ga	Sun, the	Grey p.108
Nin-da	Tail, a	Grey p.99
Nin-jan	Kiss, to	Grey p.100
Nolk	Tooth	Bussell p.309
Noon-da	You	Grey p.100
Nu-bul-lel-long	Thine (plural)	Grey p.101
Nu-nal-long	Thine (singular)/Yours	Grey p.101
Nunyungi	People, Aboriginal [Vasse] [Possibly Totem Group, Moiety or Section]	2 pp.97-8
N-yelingur/Nye-lin-gur	Stingy	Moore p.63; Grey p.102
Nye-na	You	Grey p.102

Nye-na	Sit, to	Grey p.102
Nye-nel-in	You (accusative)	Grey p.102
Oo-lo-it	Calf of leg	Grey p.110
Oo-nern	Duck, a	Grey p.110
Oor-do	Brother, younger	Grey p.110
Oo-re	Tall	Grey p.110
Orl-ga	Tooth, a	Grey p.110
Perdook	Near [As in "Eurda kore perdook"]	Grey p.69
Po-ko	There [in that place]	Grey p.112
Pug-ga-lo	Him, ... to	Grey p.112
Pug-ga-long	His	Grey p.112
Quap-ul	Steal, to	Grey p.114
Urdo	Brother, younger	Moore p.67
Velou	?	Peron p.70
War-de-kut-tuk	Large/Immense	Grey p.124
War-ma	Another/Other, the	Grey p.124
Wellang/Wela-welung Wel-lang/Wela-wel-lang	Quickly "	Moore p.75 Grey p.127
We-yang/Wa-yung	Mix, to	Moore p.76; Grey p.126
Wol-jar-b[a/u]ng	Parrot species	Moore p.78; Grey p.128
Wol-lo	Day, the [opp. to 'night']	Grey p.128
Wol-lya	Kangaroo Rat	Grey p.129
Wonnang Won-nong	Throw, to/Cast, to "	Moore p.78 Grey p.129
Woor-ra	Kangaroo Rat, female	Grey p.131

Woot-ern	Sea, the	Grey p.131
Word-an	North	Moore p.78; Grey p.131
Yar-lin	Flesh	Grey p.135
Yelit	Eye	Bussell p.309
Y-jo	I	Moore p.83
Y-jul	I will	Moore p.101
Youngaree	People, Aboriginal [Vasse] [Possibly Totem Group, Moiety or Section]	Bussell p.308
Yug-gou	Woman/Wife, a	Grey p.138
Yug-gou-men	Women/Wives	Grey p.138
Yulibue-yulibue	Hungry	2 p.98
Yungari	People, Aboriginal [Vasse] [Possibly Totem Group, Moiety or Section]	2 pp.97-8

SECTION B : ENGLISH - WARDANDI **** PRIOR TO 1842

NOTES

- 1a.** All comparative terms are in accordance with the Regional Definitions in Dench (1994:175) except for the modifications proposed in the boundaries of the Wardandi.

[G] = General to all Nyungar Dialects/Common in Nyungar Dialects

[E] = Eastern Nyungar Dialects

[N] = Northern Nyungar Dialects

[S] = Southern Nyungar Dialects

[SE] = South-Eastern Nyungar Dialects

[Sp] = Sporadic Occurrences

- 1b.** All terms in von Brandenstein (1988) are taken as deriving from South-Eastern Nyungar Dialects [SE].

- 2.** (v) = Variant vowel sound – i.e. NIL,a,o,u etc.
(..) = Additional letter(s) in some dialects

- 3.** All original spellings in both historical materials and modern comparative analyses are retained.

- 4.** Comparative Terms in **Bold** are applied:

- where the language information was acquired post-1841

- to modern comparative compilations and analyses.

- 5.** Terms where no equivalent of any sort could be found for the purpose of comparison are indicated thus *****

WORD	MEANING	COMPARISON
Mundang Mundamang	All/the whole "	Mun-da [N] ^{Grey} [Altogether/Collectively]
War-ma	Another/Other, the	Wauma [N] ^{Grey}
Dar-dadge	Back, the	Dar-dtche [N] ^{Grey} [Vertebrae that projects at bottom of neck]
Ngarra/Nga-ra	Back, the	Na-nuk [N] ^{Grey} [Back of neck] Nang-ga [N] ^{Moore} [Back of neck]
Ko-ta	Bag/Sack, a [Woman's bag]	Ko-to [N] ^{Grey}
Gwinda	Bandicoot, the	Kwent [S] ^{Grey} Kwinder [N] ^{Hammond}
Kore (It appears amongst others to be the sign of the preter- tense "has" and to be used as we should "has become". Thus "Eurda kore perdook" ["Sleeping place has become near"]) ^{Grey}	Has become ?	Kar-ro [N] ^{Grey} [Again] Ko-re [S] ^{Grey} [Just now] perfect Per-dook [N] ^{Grey} [Near]
Mern-dong	Belt, hair [possum hair] also : Cord/Rope, a	Mun-dung [N] ^{Grey} [A species of hair belt]
Ngo-mon	Big	Ngoo-moon [N] ^{Grey} [Large/Fat/Big]
Buk-kan	Bite/Attack, to	Bak-kan [N] ^{Grey} [to Bite/Hurt/Pain/Ache]
Bad-jeen	Bite/Slay, to	Bal-la-jin [N] ^{Grey} [to Attack/Assault/Slay]
Bar-u	Blood	Bar-u [S] ^{Grey}
Guaid-ja	Bone, a	Kweitch [S] ^{Grey}
Goo-lang-ur	Boy, a	Goo-lang [N] ^{Grey} [Child]
Da-kar-ung	Break, to	Takkanin [N] ^{Moore}
Gan-ga	Carry/Bear/Bring, to	Gon-ga [N] ^{Grey}

Ngon-do	Brother, elder	Ngoon-do [N] ^{Grey} [Brother]
Ngon-do-men	Brothers, elder	Ngoon-do [N] ^{Grey} [Brother]
Oor-do	Brother, younger	Wor-der [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Wor-der"] Kardang [N] ^{Grey, Moore} Kooboding [N] ^{Curr 18} Kardong [S] ^{Curr 25} Mardial [E] ^{Curr 23} Kullung [SE] ^{Curr 32} Kurlong manti [G] ^{Do}
Urdo	Brother, younger	Wor-der [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Wor-der"] Kardang [N] ^{Grey, Moore} Kooboding [N] ^{Curr 18} Kardong [S] ^{Curr 25} Mardial [E] ^{Curr 23} Kullung [SE] ^{Curr 32} Kurlong manti [G] ^{Do}
Nar-ra	Burn, to	Ngar-ra [N] ^{Grey}
Oo-lo-it	Calf of leg	Walgyte [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Walgyte"] Wallit [N] ^{Lyon} Toy [S] ^{Grey} Wulitj/Wurlitj [G] ^{Do} Woorlitj [G] ND Wulitj [G] ^{De}
Nerno	Soft - also: Clay	Na-no [N] ^{Grey} [Mud] Nano [N] ^{Moore} [Mud]
Dun-dung	Climb, to	Den-dang [N] ^{Grey}
Kur-ry-aat	Cold	Goorgyng [N] ^{Lyon} Gurrgal [N] ^{Grey} Nyet-ting [N] ^{Grey} Nug-ga [N] ^{Grey} Nag-o [N] ^{Grey} Mulgan [S] ^{Nind}

Gin-ge	Concerning/Around/ Pertaining	-inye [E] ^{Do}
Dil	Crayfish found in swamps [Gilgie]	Dtjil [S] ^{Grey} Jel-ke [N] ^{Grey}
Koon-ark	Crayfish [Marron]	Ko-nah [N] ^{Grey}
Ma-ri	Cry/Lament, to	Mee-ra [N] ^{Grey} [to Cry]
De-i-dung	Cut, to	Jee-ran [N] ^{Grey} [to Cut/Sunder] Ngo-yar [N] ^{Grey} [to Cut] Bora-ung-an [S] ^{Grey} Bor-noot [N] ^{Grey} [to Cut Up] Kureckna [N] ^{Stokes} [to Cut Up] Dhakarn [Sp] ^{De}
Kai-jart	Cut/Separate, to also: Distant/Far off	Kar-jut [N] ^{Grey}
Ge-da-la	Day, a	Beerat [N] ^{Lyon} Giltah [N] ^{Hammond} Kittalgup [S] ^{Curr 25} [Light] Benang [Sp] ^{De}
Wol-lo	Day,the [opp. to ‘night’]	Woo-loo-lan [S] ^{Grey} ["about 9 in the morning"] Waualla [N] ^{Moore} [Dawn/daylight] Warla [N] ^{Curr 17} Woolaran [SE] ^{Curr 32} Worl[G] ^{Do} [Sky/Heaven]
Kai-jart	Cut/Separate, to also: Distant/Far off	Kar-jut [N] ^{Grey} [to Cut] Woor-rar [N] ^{Grey} [Distant/Far/Remote]
Ardakat Ar-di-kut	Low, down, downwards Down	Ar-duk [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Nar-duk"] Nar-duk [N] ^{Grey} [Downwards/Low] Borak [N] ^{Moore}

		Dom-burn [S] ^{Grey} Ngarta (+nyininy) [G]^{Do} Ngarda(k) [G]ND Ngardi [Sp]^{De}
Oo-nern	Duck, a	Onun-na [N] ^{Grey} Wainern [S] ^{Nind} Ngoon-un [N] ^{Grey} [A bird of the duck kind] Oonanah [N] ^{Stokes} [Brown duck]
Donga	Ear/Hear,to	Toon-ga [N] ^{Grey} Twonk [S] ^{Grey} Twangk/twonga/ tongka [G]^{Do} Dwank [G]ND Dhwongk [E]^{De}
Jija	Ear	Toon-ga [N] ^{Grey} Twonk [S] ^{Grey} Twangk/twonga/ tongka [G]^{Do} Dwank [G]ND Dhwongk [E]^{De}
Ge-ral	East (right bank of river)	Dependent on tribal location
Go-nar	Eh?	Ka-na [N] ^{Grey}
Nam-yun-go	"Emu" Local name for Dtondarup "family" [Section] in the Vasse District	Wid-jee [N] ^{Grey} Noor-ruk [S] ^{Grey} Wait [S] ^{Nind} Ki-yun-bur-re [S] ^{Grey}
Naminngo	Emu Section?	See Above
Ngo-liup	Expended/Used/Consumed	***** [Hungry?/Empty?]
Me-al	Eye, the	Mail [N] ^{Grey} Meal [S] ^{Nind} Kourah [N]^{Hammond} [Eyes] Mel/miyel/miyal/ miyol [G]^{Do} Miyal [G]ND Myaal/Mayel [G]^{De}

Yelit	Eye	Mail [N] ^{Grey} Meal [S] ^{Nind} Kourah [N] ^{Hammond} [Eyes] Mel/miyel/miyal/ miyol [G] ^{Do} Miyal [G] ND Myaal/Mayel [G] ^{De}
Mendenah	Eyebrow	Meem-bat [N] ^{Grey} Ming-urt [S] ^{Grey} Min-dur-bul [S] ^{Grey} [Eyelash]
Kar-ring	Fine [Weather]/Bright/Sunny	Monak [N] ^{Moore} [Fine, sunshiny weather] Kar-ring [S] ^{Grey}
Kar-la	Fire	Kal-la [N] ^{Grey}
Yar-lin	Flesh	Yel-line [N] ^{Grey}
Bumla	Flour	Marrine [N] ^{Bunbury}
Mar-rain	Food (farinaceous)	Maryne [N] ^{Grey} [Vegetable Food]
Daan	Foot	Jee-na [N] ^{Grey}
Kur-ram	Formerly	Caram [N] ^{Bunbury} Corram [S] ^{Nind} [Some time since] Karram [Sp] ^{De}
Mar-o-loo/Marog	Formerly	Myre-ook [N] ^{Grey} Maraghan [N] ^{Bunbury} [Yesterday]
Mool-jung	Frightened	Mool-tjen [N] ^{Grey} Moolghen [N] ^{Bunbury}
Di-ja	Game, wild - of any kind	Dadja [N] ^{Grey} [animal fit to eat, or the flesh of such an animal] Di-ja [S] ^{Grey} Daadj [G] ^{Do} Daadja [G] ND [Meat] Dhatj/dhadja [E,N,S] ^{De}

Dow-er	Game, wild - of any kind	Dadja [N] ^{Grey} [animal fit to eat, or the flesh of such an animal] Di-ja [S] ^{Grey} Daadj [G]^{Do} Daadja [G]ND [Meat] Dhatj/dhadja [E,N,S]^{De}
Eun-ga	Give, to	Yung-a/Yon-ga [N] ^{Grey}
Dirila	Glass	Borryl [N] ^{Moore} Boryl [N] ^{Moore} Irilbarra [N] ^{Moore}
Ben-o-wai	Go! [Be gone!]	Wat-to [N] ^{Grey} [Go away] Wol-la [N] ^{Grey} [Be off] Wun-ja [N] ^{Grey} [to Leave/Quit] Bulloco [S] ^{Nind} Ward bard [G]^{Do} [Go Away!] Perhaps a mispronunciation of the English expression, "Be on your way."
Ber-da	Go, to	Bar-do [N] ^{Grey}
Buggia windi	Ground bad [Bad track]	Bood-jur [N] ^{Grey} [Earth/Ground] Win-do [N] ^{Grey} [Old/Useless]
Koat	Hair	Katta mungarra [N] ^{Grey} [Head hair]
Danja	<i>Hakea</i> sp.	Dy-an-da [N] ^{Grey} [<i>Hakea</i> sp.] Jan-ja [N] ^{Symmons} [<i>Hakea</i>]
Ja-dam	Hard/dry	Tda-bitch [S] ^{Grey} [Dry] Dadim [S] ^{Moore} [Anything hard, dry, unpalatable]
Ballal Bal-lul	He/she him/herself "	Bal [G] ^{Grey}

Kun-dil-goor	Heavy	Kun-dung [N] ^{Grey} [Slow/Awkward/Clumsy] Gundip [N] ^{Moore} [Heavy]
In-ye-ne	Here	Nag-a-bel [N] ^{Grey} [This spot/place] Na-al [N] ^{Grey} [Here/Present] N-yin-ya [N] ^{Moore} Belli-belli [N] ^{Moore} To-nait [S] ^{Grey} Ni-/nidja/niny [G]^{Do} Nidja/nitj/yimniy [G]ND
Bug-ga-lo	Him, to	Bal [G] ^{Grey}
Pug-ga-lo	Him, ... to	Bal [G] ^{Grey}
Bug-ga-long	His	Bal-uk [G] ^{Grey}
Pug-ga-long	His	Bal-uk [G] ^{Grey}
Eur-da	Home/a House [Sleeping Place/Camp]	Eurda [N] ^{Grey} [Place last slept]
Mi-er	House/[Hut], a	My-a/My-ar [N] ^{Grey}
Ngul-yap	Hungry/Empty	Yoo-lup [N] ^{Grey}
Yulibue-yulibue	Hungry [very]	Yoolup-Yoolup [N] ^{Grey}
Ein-ya	I	Ngan-ya [N/G] ^{Grey} Idya-a [N] ^{Grey} ("corruption of Adjo") [I/I will] Ngany/ngaya/ngetj [G]^{Do} Ngany/ngoongan/ ngoonya [G]ND
I-ja	I	Ngan-ya [N/G] ^{Grey} Idya-a [N] ^{Grey} ("corruption of Adjo or Nadjo") [I/I will] Ngany/ngaya/ngetj [G]^{Do} Ngany/ngoongan/ ngoonya [G]ND

Y-jo	I	Ngan-ya [N/G] ^{Grey} Idya-a [N] ^{Grey} ("corruption of Adjo") [I/I will] Ngany/ngaya/ngetj [G] ^{Do} Ngany/ngoongan/ ngoonya [G] ND
Idi-yal	I myself	Idee-yal [N] ^{Grey}
Y-jul	I will	Adjo/Nadjo [N] ^{Grey} Ngadjul [N] ^{Grey/Moore} Idee-yal [N] ^{Grey} [I myself]
Ge-i-jut	Immediately/Directly	Yalga [N] ^{Lyon} Go-re-jut [N] ^{Grey} [First/Before]
Wol-lya	Kangaroo Rat	Wal-li-ow [N] ^{Grey}
Bow-an	Kindle/Heat/Warm, to	Poorne [S] ^{Nind} [Wood] Bo'nu [N] ^{Hammond} [Wood]
Nin-jan	Kiss, to	Nin-dyan [N] ^{Grey}
Da-ba	Knife	Dtab-ba [N] ^{Grey}
War-de-kut-tuk	Large/Immense	Warda-gaduk [N] ^{Grey} [A great warrior/ renowned individual]
Koo-a	Laugh, to	Go-a [N] ^{Grey}
Ng-era	Lie, to	Ngwoon-dow [N] ^{Grey} [to Lie Down]
Mokin	Like/Equal	Mo-quin [N] ^{Grey}
Kat-ta-jiuje	Listen/Pay attention/ Comprehend, to	Kat-tidje [N] ^{Grey} [to Understand/Know etc.]
Mulgar radock	Magic Man/Sorcerer	Malkarkarrak [G] ^{De}
Karrbung	Make, Fashion, Sharpen?, to	Gar-bung [N] ^{Grey}

Ein-ye-lin	Me	Ngan-ya [N/G] ^{Grey} Nen-ne-a [N] ^{Grey} Un [S] ^{Nind} Ngany/ngaya/ngedj [G] ^{Do} Ngaany/Ngatj [G] ND
Man-dy-ar	Meeting of tribes for purpose of exchange/Fair, a	Mund-ja [N] ^{Grey}
We-yang/Wa-yung	Mix, to	Widang [N] ^{Moore}
Meg-ka	Moon, the	Me-ga/Me-ki [N] ^{Grey}
Gol-yun-bur	Morsel/Fragment, a	Gool-yum-bur [N] ^{Grey}
Ei-ya	Woman/Mother	Ngan-gan [N/G] ^{Grey} Eecher [S] ^{Nind} Yago yoo-lung-idie[N] ^{Grey} [Woman who has had children] Incan [N] ^{Curr 18} Ngank [E] ^{Curr 23} Kun [SE] ^{Curr 32} Naunga [S] ^{Curr 25} Ngank [G] ^{Do} Ngank [G] ND Ngangk(a) [E,N] ^{De}
Ei-ya-men	Women/Mothers	Ngan-gan [N/G] ^{Grey} [Mother] Eecher [S] ^{Nind} [Mother] Yago yoo-lung-idie[N] ^{Grey} Incan [N] ^{Curr 18} Ngank [E] ^{Curr 23} Kun [SE] ^{Curr 32} Naunga [S] ^{Curr 25} Ngank [G] ^{Do} Ngank [G] ND Ngangk(a) [E,N] ^{De}
Mochlia, mochlia	Much, too [repeated]	*****
Ngo-ri-uk	Much, very	Na-ri-ik [N] ^{Grey} [Plenty]
Maggo/Mug-go	Naked	Bal-ja-ra [N] ^{Grey} Boka-broo [N] ^{Grey}

Perdook	Near	Per-dook [N] ^{Grey}
Word-an	North	Dependant on tribal location
Mool-yer	Nose, the	Mool-ya [N] ^{Grey}
Djoue/Dyoue	Not/Not so	-burt [N] ^{Grey} [Not/No/None] Ki-an [N] ^{Grey} [No/Not/Nothing] -bart [G]^{De}
Ma-un	Off/Away	Bardo [N] ^{Grey} [to Go/Move Off] Mun-da Yan-na [N] ^{Grey} [Together Proceeding] Mun yenna [N]^{Bates f,v} [Go]
Bil-le	Other, the	Bal-(goon) [G] ^{Grey}
Ngille-lung/Ngil-lel-ung	Our/of us	Ngan-neel-luk [G] ^{Grey} Ngarlang [G]^{Do} [Our/Ours] Ngalang/Ngalla [G]ND [Our] Nanakat/Ngalardong [G]ND [Ours]
El-el-ung	Us, of/Ours	Ngan-nee-lung [G] ^{Grey} Ngarlang [G]^{Do} [Our/Ours] Ngalang/Ngalla [G]ND [Our] Nanakat/Ngalardong [G]ND [Ours]
Be-wel	Paper-bark tree	Be-wel [S] ^{Grey}
Wol-jar-b[a/u]ng	Parrot species	Wol-jar [N] ^{Grey} [Vulture] Walta [N] ^{Stokes} [A bird]
Nunyungi	People, Aboriginal [Vasse] [Possibly Totem Group, Moiety or Section]	Yoon-gar [N] ^{Grey} [People] Nyungaa [G]^{De} [Person]

Youngaree	People, Aboriginal [Vasse] [Possibly Totem Group, Moiety or Section]	Yoon-gar [N] ^{Grey} [People] Nyungaa [G]^{De} [Person]
Yungari	People, Aboriginal [Vasse] [Possibly Totem Group, Moiety or Section]	Yoon-gar [N] ^{Grey} [People] Nyungaa [G]^{De} [Person]
Ngar-o	Pig, a	Magooroo [N] ^{Lyon}
E-ja	Place, to	E-jow [N] ^{Grey}
Narrik	Plenty/abundance	Na-ri-ik [N] ^{Grey}
Nar-ring-ur	Plenty/Liberal	Na-ri-ik [N] ^{Grey}
Dyin-da	Plume, a	Dyin-da [N] ^{Grey} [A species of possum, parts of fur worn in hair]
Ko-mal	Possum, the	Ko-mal [N] ^{Grey}
Jan-ning	Proceeding	Yan-na [N] ^{Grey} [to Walk/Proceed slowly]
Bad-jark	Putrid, stale	Bid-jak [N] ^{Grey} [Stinking/Offensive]
Wellang/Wela-welung Wel-lang/Wela-wel-lang	Quickly "	Kit kit [N] ^{Bunbury} Yar-ra-gil [N] ^{Grey} Kite-kite [S] ^{Grey} Yoor-ril [S] ^{Moore} Ketiba [G]Do
Mu-go-ro	Rainy Season, commencement of	Mag-go-ro [N] ^{Grey}
Ceto	River	Yaragan [N] ^{Lyon} Belo [N] ^{Grey} Beel [S] ^{Grey} Peerle [S] ^{Nind} Yolgah [N]^{Hammond} Birl [G]^{Do} [Creek] Bilya [G]ND Bil [E,S]^{De}
Woot-ern	Sea, the	Woo-dern [N] ^{Grey}

E-ly-an	Secreted/Concealed	Bore-a [N] ^{Grey} Ko-pin [N] ^{Grey} [Secretly/Hidden] Bal-lar [N] ^{Grey} [Secretly] Ballar ijow [N] ^{Moore} [Secretly place something]
Gain-ing	Separated/Alone/One	Gain [N] ^{Grey} [One]
Koor-da	Separately/Apart	Kort-do [N] ^{Grey}
Arn-din Arndinyang Arn-dinyung	Sick, ill, sore " "	Ngan-dyne [N] ^{Grey} [Unwell] Kia-murg-ar [S] ^{Grey} Mo-ran-gur [S] ^{Grey} Mendeit [S] ^{Nind} Mentitj [Sick/Ill] [G]^{Do} Menditj/minditj [G]ND
Ngarn-din Ngar-den-yung	Sick/Sore "	Ngan-dyne [N] ^{Grey} [Unwell] Kia-murg-ar [S] ^{Grey} Mo-ran-gur [S] ^{Grey} Mendeit [S] ^{Nind} Mentitj [Sick/Ill] [G]^{Do} Menditj/minditj [G]ND
Dje-go	Sister, a	Dju-ko [N] ^{Grey}
Nye-na	Sit, to	Ngin-now [N] ^{Grey} Nyin(y)/Ngin [Sp]^{De,Do}
Bar-rab Ber-rap	Sky (Skies), the Skies, the	Good-jyte [N] ^{Grey} Maar-book [N] ^{Lyon} [Firmament = Sky Cloak] Marr [G]^{De}
Boi-loit	Skilful/dextrous	*****
Bad-jeen	Bite/Slay, to	Bal-la-jin [N] ^{Grey} [to Attack/Assault/Slay]
Ko-bel-ya	Sleep	Ko-pil [N] ^{Grey}

Eur-da	Home/a House [Sleeping Place/Camp]	Eurda [N] ^{Grey} [Place last slept]
Eurda kore perdook	Sleeping place has become near	"
Nerno	Soft also: Clay	Na-no [N] ^{Grey} [Mud]
Dy-in-dy-a	Spear, toy - for boys practice	Gin-jing [N] ^{Grey}
Eu-ga	Stand, to	Yug-ow [N] ^{Grey}
Quap-ul	Steal, to	Quipal [S,N] ^{Nind,Hammond} Quip-pel [N] ^{Grey}
N-yelingur/Nye-lin-gur	Stingy	Ngo-u-dung [N] ^{Grey}
Boi-ya	= Boya[Stone?]	Bo-ye [N] ^{Grey}
Door-gooll	Straight/In a straight line	Wee-ring [N] ^{Grey} Kan-ge [S] ^{Grey}
Koo-nam	Successful hunting/Plentiful	Gunam [N] ^{Moore} [An expert marksman] Gunal-yata [N] ^{Moore} [Successful in killing game]
Doon-goin	Such	*****
Ngun-ga	Sun, the	Ngan-ga [N] ^{Grey}
Moon-ark	Sunshine/Firmament, the	Maar-book [N] ^{Lyon} Moonak [N] ^{Lyon} ["Heaven"] Monak [N] ^{Moore} [Fine, sunshiny weather] Munag [Sp]^{Do} [Sun]
Nin-da	Tail, a	Nin-da [S] ^{Grey}
Oo-re	Tall	Or-ree [N] ^{Grey}
Bul-lal-el Bul-lal-e-lang	They [not common usage] Their	Bal-goon [G] ^{Grey} Bal-uk [G] ^{Grey}
Po-ko	There [in that place]	Po-ko [S] ^{Grey}
Nu-bul-lel-long	Thine (plural)	Nume-o-luck [G] ^{Grey}
Nu-nal-long	Thine (singular)/Yours	Nu-rang-uk [G] ^{Grey}

Beda	Thread, Sinew/a Path (from kangaroo's tail)	Bee-dee [N] ^{Grey} [A Vein/Path]
Wonnang Won-nong	Throw/Cast, to "	Boomak [N] ^{Lyon} Gwart [N] ^{Grey/Moore} Quart [N] ^{Grey}
Doona-ginge	Thus/So	Woon-no-itch [N] ^{Grey}
Mun-dum-ung	Together	Mun-da [N] ^{Grey} [Altogether/Collectively]
Me-mar-dup	Tomorrow, shortly hence?	Mey-e-ra [N] ^{Grey} [Tomorrow/Shortly] Ma-ni-a-na [N] ^{Grey} [Tomorrow morning] Maniana [S] ^{Nind} [Tomorrow] Wulu(nan) [Sp]^{De}
Nolk	Tooth	Nalgo [N] ^{Lyon} [Teeth] Nor-luk [S] ^{Grey} [Tooth] Orlock [S] ^{King} [Teeth] Orlock [S] ^{Nind} [Teeth] Ngorlak [G]^{Do} Ngorlak [G]ND Ngorlak [E]^{De} Ngarlku [N]^{De}
Orl-ga	Tooth, a	Nalgo [N] ^{Lyon} [Teeth] Nor-luk [S] ^{Grey} [Tooth] Orlock [S] ^{King} [Teeth] Orlock [S] ^{Nind} [Teeth] Orlgo [N] ^{Moore} ["corrupted from Nalga, a tooth"] Ngorlak [G]^{Do} Ngorlak [G]ND Ngorlak [E]^{De} Ngarlku [N]^{De}
Ne-apel	Truth, in/Forsooth	Nee-bel [N] ^{Grey} [Truly/In truth]
Kore kat-jinjie	Understand?, do you	Kat-tidje [N] ^{Grey} [to Understand/Know]

Be-gan	Unfasten/untie/open	Bil-yan-win [N] ^{Moore} [Unloosening/Unfastening Throwing off - of Cloak] Yol-gar-roon [N] ^{Grey} [Open] Baann [SE]^{vB} [Open]
Eure-up	Upright/Up high	E-ra [N] ^{Grey} [Upright/Elevated]
El-el-ung	Us, of/Ours	Ngan-nee-lung [G] ^{Grey} Ngarlang [G]^{Do} [Our/Ours] Ngalang/Ngalla [G]ND [Our] Nanakat/Ngalardong [G]ND [Ours]
Ngille-lung/Ngil-lel-ung	Our/of us	Ngan-nee-luk [G] ^{Grey} Ngarlang [G]^{Do} [Our/Ours] Ngalang/Ngalla [G]ND [Our] Nanakat/Ngalardong [G]ND [Ours]
Nar-rung-ur	Warm/Hot	Kal-uk [N] ^{Grey, Moore} Carloc [S] ^{Nind} [Hot] Nanga banya [N] ^{Lyon} [Hot Sun/Weather] Narrowin [N] ^{Moore} [Burning/Dry]
Gabbytch/Gab-baitch	Water, running	Gabby gurrjyte [N] ^{Grey}
Kail-yung	Wattle, black Gum from black wattle	Kile-yung [N] ^{Stokes}
El-el	We	Ngan-nee [N] ^{Grey} Ngal-/ngarl- [G]^{Do} Ngalak [G]ND
Ngil-lel	We	Ngan-nee [N] ^{Grey} Ngal-/ngarl- [G]^{Do} Ngalak [G]ND
Bi-eul/Bi-ule/Bi-yule/Boyal	West (also: left bank of river)	Dependant on tribal location

Na gin-ge	What concerning	Na-ga-nait [N] ^{Grey} Na-inye [E] ^{Do}
In-je	Where	In-djala [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Winjalla"] Wintja [G] ^{Do} Naatj/nadja/nayidja [G] ND
En-da	Who	In-da [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Ngan-do: Who is the <i>agent</i> ?"] Nginang [G] ^{Do} Ngiyan [G] ND
Indi	Who	In-da [N] ^{Grey} ["corruption of Ngan-do: Who is the <i>agent</i> ?"] Nginang [G] ^{Do} Ngiyan [G] ND
E-nung	Whose/of whom	Ngan-nong [N] ^{Grey} Nginap/nginy [G] ^{Do} Nginap [G] ND
Yug-gou	Woman/Wife, a	Kar-do [N] ^{Grey} [Married or betrothed person] Koort [E] ^{Curr23} Koart [SE] ^{Curr32} Yooka/koort [S] ^{Curr25} Yok/kurt [G] ^{Do} Koort [G] ND [Spouse] K(v)rd(v) [E,N] ^{De} [Spouse] Y(v)k(v) [E,N] ^{De} [Woman]
Yug-gou-men	Women/Wives	Kar-do [N] ^{Grey} [Married or betrothed person] K(v)rd(v) [E,N] ^{De} [Spouse] Y(v)k(v) [E,N] ^{De} [Woman]
Door-ga	Wind, the	Door-ga [N] ^{Grey} [NE wind]
Gun-bur	Wing, a	Kan-ba [N] ^{Grey}

Ei-ya	Woman/Mother	Ya-go [N] ^{Grey} Yock [S] ^{Nind} Babelyah [N] ^{Stokes} Yawk [E] ^{Curr23} Yook-mooan [SE] ^{Curr32} Yok/nyarlu [G] ^{Do} [Married woman] Kurt/kuri/manga [G] ^{Do} [Unmarried woman] Yok/yoka [G] ND Yok/Yaku [E,N] ^{De}
Yug-gou	Woman/Wife, a	Ya-go [N] ^{Grey} Yock [S] ^{Nind} Babelyah [N] ^{Stokes} Yawk [E] ^{Curr23} Yook-mooan [SE] ^{Curr32} Yok/nyarlu [G] ^{Do} [Married woman] Kurt/kuri/manga [G] ^{Do} [Unmarried woman] Yok/yoka [G] ND Yok/Yaku [E,N] ^{De}
Ei-ya-men	Women/Mothers	Ya-go [N] ^{Grey} Yock [S] ^{Nind} Babelyah [N] ^{Stokes} Yokaman [G] ^{Do} Yok/yoka [G] ND [Woman] Y(v)k(v) [E,N] ^{De} [Woman]
Yug-gou-men	Women/Wives	Yokaman [G] ^{Do} Y(v)k(v) [E,N] ^{De} [Woman]
Me-ra	Woomera	Mer-ro [N] ^{Grey}
Noon-da	You	Nu-rang/Ngin-nee [G] ^{Grey} Nhune-doo [N] ^{Grey} [You do ...]
Nye-na	You	Nu-rang/Ngin-nee [G] ^{Grey}

Nye-nel-in	You (accusative)	Nhune-doo [N] ^{Grey} [You do ...] Nyinok [E,S,SE] ^{Bates a,i,n,s}
Mouye	?	*****
Velou	?	*****

Abba A word of friendly salutation *****
Arba with the natives about Augusta,
accompanied by rubbing the
breast with the hand, and
spitting at the same time. Moore p.1/2p57

Perhaps a mispronunciation of the English expression, "Be on your way."

Dillilah	Spears ^{2 p.96}	Pil-lar-ra [N] ^{Grey} [Double-barbed spear] Jil-lup [N] ^{Grey} [Sharp, fine-pointed spear] Didar [E]^{Bates e} [Spear] Burdan [G]^{De} [Long spear] Burraly [G]^{De} [Quartz-headed spear]
----------	--------------------------	---

Eurda *kore* *perdook* Grey p.69
Sleeping place becoming/getting near
[Sleeping place has become near/getting nearer]

46

ORIGINAL SOURCES

KEY: WASA = Western Australian State Archives (Battye Library)

Bunbury = Bunbury, H. W. 1930 *Early days in Western Australia*, Oxford University Press, London, Appendix 1:197-8.

Principal Informants: Unknown [December 1836]

Bussell = Bussell, J. G. 1831 'Mr Bussell's journal of an expedition to the River Vasse from the Blackwood'. In *Exploration Diaries* Vol. 1 WASA: PR 5441

Principal Informant: J G Bussell [November 1831]

Grey = Grey, G. 1840 *A vocabulary of the dialects of South Western Australia*, T. & W. Boone, London.

Grey "Two Expeditions" = Grey, G. 1841/1983 *A journal of two expeditions of discovery in North-Western and Western Australia 1837-1839*, 2 vols., Hesperian Press, Victoria Park.

Principal Informant: Mr Bussel [sic] [1838]

Moore = Moore, G. F. 1884/1978 'A descriptive vocabulary in two parts'. In *Diary of ten years eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, University of WA, Nedlands

Principal Informants: [Vasse] George Grey, Messrs Bussell [1838]

Peron = Peron, M F 1809/1975 *A voyage of discovery to the Southern hemisphere*, Richard Phillips, London, pp.70-71.

Principal Informant: M. Depuch [5 June 1801]

1 Hasluck, A. 1990 *Portrait with background*, Fremantle Art Centre Press, South Fremantle.

Principal Informant: Georgiana Molloy [1830-1841]

2 Shann, E. O. G. 1978 *Cattle chosen*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

Principal Informants: Bessie Bussell, Fanny Bussell, Lenox Bussell [1833 - 1841]

3 Ommanney, H. M. 1840 'Rough notes of an excursion from Busselton to the Western sea coast'. In *Exploration Diaries* Vol. 3 WASA: PR 5441.

Principal Informant: H. M. Ommanney [1840]

4 Pickering, W. G. 1929 'The letters of Georgina [sic] Molloy'. *Journal and Proceedings of the WA Historical Society* 1st Series 1(4):78.

Principal Informant: Georgiana Molloy [1840]

5 Watson, R. 1973 'James Woodward Turner of Augusta'. *Early Days* 3rd Series 7(5):26.

Principal Informant: James Woodward Turner [c 1839]

COMPARATIVE SOURCES

Bates = Bates, D. M. v.d. In P. Bindon and R. Chadwick [comps. & eds.] 1992 *A Nyoongar wordlist from the South-west of Western Australia*, Anthropology Department, WA Museum, Perth.

- a) Albany
- e) Bridgetown
- f) Bunbury
- i) Esperance
- n) Katanning
- s) NE Albany
- v) Swan

Principal Informants: Various [c1905-10]

vB = Brandenstein, C. G. von 1988 *Nyungar anew*, Pacific Linguistic Monograph - Series C, No. 99, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU, Canberra.

Principal Informant: Charlie Taap (Dab) [c1976]

Bunbury = Bunbury, H. W. 1930 *Early days in Western Australia*, Oxford University Press, London, Appendix 1:197-98.

Principal Informants: Unknown [December 1836]

Curr = Curr, E. M. 1886 *The Australian race: Its origins, customs, languages...*, 4 vols., J. Ferres, Govt. Printer, Melbourne:

17: Victoria Plains - Minnal Yungar I:322-3

Principal Informant: H. J. Monger [c1880]

18: Newcastle I:326-7

Principal Informant: G. Whitfield [c1880]

23: Kojonup and Etipup I:350-1

Principal Informant: W. H. Graham [c1880]

25: Blackwood District - Kardagur I:360-1

Principal Informant: E. G. Hester [c1880]

32: Kent District - Warrangoo I:390-1

Principal Informant: G. Chester [c1880]

De = Dench, A. 1994 Nyungar'. (Section 9) In *Macquarie Aboriginal Words: a dictionary of words from Australian Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages*, N. Thieberger and W. McGregor (eds.), Macquarie Library, Macquarie University.

Do = Douglas, W. H. 1976 *The Aboriginal languages of the south-west of Western Australia*, 2nd ed., Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Grey = Grey, G. 1840 *A vocabulary of the dialects of south Western Australia*, T. & W. Boone, London, 1840.

Hammond = Hammond, J. E. 1933 *Winjan's people*, Imperial Printing Co., Perth, pp.80-84.
Principal Informants: Unknown [c1870s]

King = King, P. P. 1827/1969 *Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and Western coasts of Australia ... 1818 – 1822*, 2 vols., Library Board of South Australia, Adelaide, II:144-147.
Principal Informants: Unknown [31 December 1821]

Lyon = Lyon, R. M. 1833 'A glance at the manners and language of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia with a short vocabulary'. *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* March/April 1833
Principal Informant: Yagan [March/April 1833]

Moore = Moore, G. F. 1884/1978 'A descriptive vocabulary in two parts'. In *Diary of ten years eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, University of WA Press, Nedlands.

Nind = Nind, S. 1831 'Description of the natives of King George's Sound and adjoining country'. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1:21-51.
Principal Informant: Mokare? [1826-29]

Stokes = Stokes, J. L. 1846 *Discoveries in Australia with an account of the coasts and rivers 1837 – 1843*, 2 vols., T. & W. Boone, London, II:132,217-9.
Principal Informants: Miago and others [1838]

Symmons, C. 1842 'A grammatical introduction of the study of the Aboriginal language of Western Australia'. In C. Macfaull [comp. & ed.], *Western Australian Almanack*, Macfaull, Perth.
Principal Informants: Part derivative, rest uncertain

ND = Whitehurst, R. 1992 *Noongar dictionary*, Noongar Language and Cultural Centre, Bunbury.

6 Hassell, A. A. n.d. 'Notes and family papers MS (c1894?)'. In P. Bindon and R. Chadwick [Comp. & Eds] 1992 *A Nyoongar wordlist from the south-west of Western Australia*, Anthropology Department, WA Museum, Perth.

APPENDIX 1

WORD LIST IN THE MOLLOY PAPERS: Acc.3278 A/1

PART 1: Copy of Original

gabla	
Moco willye	If rain falls
Calla booban	blow the fire
Quog um	A Cow
Quaf ^m gāna	what is the name
koo nangcen	what is yr name
Boortica	By & By
Miera	Throwing board
Cobek	Sleep
Bigarah	moving
Bulera	stripped feather
Jaggerree	Phone
Bilgarnung	black sparrow
wardike	cobbles
Pilgarnung munana	Kenny
Bozan una	
anga gallak yua	to lie
dead on the ground	

Moorö tööd, brother
— Minen half brother
cugo to stand

Jami euga To stand up

Ardi nena — sit down

Da wanka — gape

Mollye wanka — sneeze

Muning hulgarung corra-culla
Bonamuck.

gr. black snapper is cooked again
luna to eat

ha dabae — no, not, did not

Dampir corran-una

Dampir presently shall be

White fellow Mungera

Black — Bunge-dong

Gue-parr burroughs. take hold of
it - or lift up

PART 2: Transcription

PHONETICS: Possible Key

ö = ou [bought]

ōō = oo [fool]

ñ = ny

ĩ/ŷ = iy [side]

řř = rr

ē = ee [sheer]

ĩ = rl

[..] = transcription uncertain

WORD

Gabba Moco Willye

Calla booban

Quog um

Qual̃graña

Noo nang[ee]n

Boortica

Miera

Cobele

Bigarah

Bulera

Yaggersea

Billgaruing

Waadike

Pilgaiung muñana

Boyan una

Enga yallale yena

GIVEN MEANING

If rain falls

Blow the fire

A cow [crow]

What is the name?

What is your name

By & By

Throwing board

Sleep

Moving

Stripped feathers

Plume

Black snapper

Cobbler

Kenny

V. to lie dead on the ground

Moorö böödŷ	Brother
———— mĩnēn	Half brother
[indecipherable]	
Yarri euga	To stand up
Ardi nena	———— sit down
Da wanka	———— gape
Mollye wanka	———— sneeze
Nunnong bulgarnung corraculla bonanuck	Your black snapper is cooked [indecipherable]
Nuna	To eat
Nadabae	No, not, did not
Damper corran uña	Damper [presently shall eat]
Mungerai	White fellow
Bungelong	Black ————
Gui jarrabuṛṛugh	Take hold of it - or lift it up

PART 3 : Discussion of Dating, Authorship and Language Ascription

The preceding word list was initially encountered by historian William J. Lines in the course of research for his book, *An All Consuming Passion*. Aware of my interest in *Wardandi* language material he subsequently drew it to my attention. By comparing the word list (Anon. n.d.a.) with all other known early Western Australian vocabularies I was able to ascertain that this was a previously unknown source.

The document was contained in a notebook following a previously unpublished account of an expedition from Augusta to the Vasse (Anon. n.d.b.). It preceded another word list identified as a partial hand transcription of a vocabulary compiled by Robert Menlie Lyon, which was published in weekly instalments in the *Perth Gazette* between 30 March and 20 April 1833 (Lyon 1833). All 3 documents were in different handwriting, none of which were Mrs Molloy's. Based on the order of the documents it was presumed that the word list was transcribed after the account of the expedition but before the publication of Lyon's vocabulary.

In order to date the word list it was necessary to establish in the first instance the date of the account of the expedition from Augusta to the Vasse. There is no date in the document which is in the form of a journal. However it begins with an entry for "Monday 7" and ends "Friday 18". Unfortunately this account does not correspond in any way with any of the previously published accounts of the expeditions that took place between Augusta and the Vasse in 1831 and 1832 (See *Exploration Diaries* Vol.1). The account does, however, make reference to a previous expedition led by Lt. Preston in April and May 1831 (Preston 1831). After that date "Monday 7" only fell on Monday 7 November 1831, Monday 7 May 1832 and Monday 7 January 1833 prior to the publication of the Lyon vocabulary beginning on 30 March 1833. J. G. Bussell undertook an expedition from Augusta to the Vasse district in November 1831 (Bussell 1831) and a "Mr Bussell" is mentioned on several occasions in the Anonymous Diary. However the account does not accord with the dates of the Bussell expedition of 1831, nor does it correspond in any of the details. Consequently this leaves 7 May 1832 and 7 January 1833 as the remaining options. The latter date is favoured because there are two references to hot weather (e.g. "Saturday 12 found the day oppressively hot.") and two indications of low water in the Vasse Estuary, both these types of comment pointing to the expedition having taken place in the summer.

It is possible that the word list and the Lyon vocabulary were transcribed at a later date. However the Lyon transcription is incomplete and only the material published on 30 March 1833, and part of 6 April 1833, are contained in the Molloy Papers. The extant material is arranged in columns headed "S.W.R." [Swan River] and "K.G.S." [King George Sound], as Lyon's material was, which suggests it may have been only partially transcribed at Mrs Molloy's request, for comparative purposes.

A degree of corroboration of the dating is possible because of the mention of Bilgaiung Munyaña ["Kenny"] in the word list. He first made an appearance in historical records as a "guide" to the Preston and Bussell expeditions of 1831. Subsequently frequent references were made to "Kenny", who was Gaywal's son, in historical records, especially between 1837 and 1841 (See Shann 1978:104,105,116n,119; Hallam & Tilbrook 1990:182). Shortly after the spearing of George Layman he was arrested and transported to gaol in Fremantle in March 1841 (Shann 1978:119), being listed as a prisoner there on 30 June 1841 (CSR 36/95). This seems to be the last ever mention of him and he is presumed to have died there or on Rottnest

Island. While not confirming the date of early 1833 for the word list, the inclusion of "Kenny" is consistent with it originating in the 1830s, or 1841 at the latest.

To ascertain the authorship of the word list it was presumed that it had been transcribed by a relative or friend of Georgiana Molloy. Several people were identified as likely candidates and attempts were made to obtain samples of their handwriting. One of these candidates was Mrs Molloy's husband, Captain John Molloy. A sample of his handwriting was obtained [See below], "Letter from Captain Molloy to Scotland 18 July 1846" (Molloy 1846), which showed 12 points of similarity when compared with the word list. In the 4 cases where differences were apparent both documents showed the same internal pattern of variation in letter formation. It was concluded from this that the author was Capt. Molloy.

There was of course no clear indication as to who the informant was for the word list. The mention of Bilgaiung Munyaña in the list, and his close association with the Augusta colonists and explorers, make it quite possible that he was the informant. If this was the case then it could be concluded that this is one of the earliest compilations of *Wardandi* language material but this is, of course, not certain. This conclusion is corroborated to some extent by the appearance of a several of distinctively lower south western terms such as **Quog um** [Crow] and **Boortica** [By & By] (cf. Bindon & Chadwick 1992). However, the size of the sample, the generality of some terms and the lack of any equivalents for most of the remainder precludes a more specific designation at this point.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations: WASA = Western Australian State Archives [Battye Library]

Anon. n. d. a. 'Word List'. In Molloy Papers. WASA: Acc. 3278 A/1.

Anon. n. d. b. 'Anonymous Diary' In Molloy Papers. WASA: Acc. 3278 A/1.

Bindon, P. and R. Chadwick [comps. & eds.] 1992 *A Nyoongar wordlist from the south-west of Western Australia*, Anthropology Department, WA Museum, Perth.

Bussell, J. G. 1831 'Mr Bussell's journal of an expedition to the River Vasse from the Blackwood'. In *Exploration Diaries*. Vol. 1 WASA: PR 5441

CSR Colonial Secretary's Records WASA: Acc. 36 [File and Folio Nos.].

Exploration Diaries. Vol.1 WASA: PR 5441.

Hallam, S. and L. Tilbrook (eds.) 1990 *The bicentennial dictionary of Western Australia*, Vol.8, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.

Lyon, R. M. 1833 'A glance at the manners and language of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia with a short vocabulary'. *Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* March/April 1833.

Molloy, G. n. d. Molloy Papers. WASA: Acc. 3278 A/1

Molloy, Capt. J. 1846 "Letter from Capt. Molloy to Scotland 18 July 1846", In 'Collection of Western Australian Letters 1806 – 1862'. MS 6649 National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Preston, Lt. W. 1831 'Report of an excursion in a whale boat.....'. In *Exploration Diaries*. Vol. 1 WASA: PR 5441.

Shann, E. O. G. 1978 *Cattle chosen*, University of WA Press, Nedlands.

PART 4: Sample of Capt. John Molloy's Handwriting

Port Western Australia
18th July 1846.

Dear Sir

I am apprized by Mr. D. D. Kennedy
of Craig that the interest payable on a devise
by the late Mrs Kennedy to my lamented wife (her
daughter) of a heritable Bond of £1000. But thousands
has been laying in your hands, at this distance I do not
know if there be any preliminary formalities to go
through before I can avail myself of the profits. or the
Amount thereof. Mr Kennedy informs me that the Gov
-t Bank had some claims on the late Mrs Kennedy
he believes were satisfied and that the proceeds above
that amount was held by you on my behalf - I am anxious
on account of a young family of fine Girls to go to Europe
as well for their Education, as to look after the remaining
properties that was left to us. and as every day at this period
of life is of the utmost importance in furthering such an object I
shall feel obliged by your early attention to my request. I am
now solely withheld from leaving this Colony for the want of
land, the value of Land & stock being so low, and money so
scarce that it could not be obtained but at a ruinous
price.

I am Dear Sir

Yours very faithfully

Capt. Molloy
Resident Magistrate
Port Western Australia (or Swan River)

APPENDIX 2

APPENDIX SOME NATIVE WORDS

<i>Ardenyeeena.</i> Sit down.	<i>Deena</i> or <i>jeena.</i> Foot.
<i>Baayoo.</i> Red nut of the Zaina.	<i>Derbal.</i> Estuary.
<i>Babing.</i> Friend.	<i>Dombat.</i> One.
<i>Bada</i> or <i>Bader.</i> Grub, Maggot.	<i>Doobuk.</i> Root, potato.
<i>Balgarr.</i> Blackboy.	<i>Dora</i> or <i>Doodi.</i> Dog.
<i>Ballicooyal.</i> Four.	<i>Gabbe.</i> Water.
<i>Bande.</i> Thigh or leg.	<i>Gabbe yulup.</i> Thirsty.
<i>Batta.</i> Grass.	<i>Ghidjil.</i> Spear.
<i>Bee.</i> Fish.	<i>Gianga.</i> Ghost, spirit.
<i>Beeri.</i> Blackboy gum.	<i>Gilba.</i> A flat.
<i>Belo.</i> River.	<i>Gonak.</i> Crawfish.
<i>Bibbi.</i> Mother or milk.	<i>Gongo.</i> Path, way, road.
<i>Bidjia.</i> Sleep, rest.	<i>Goomal.</i> Opossum.
<i>Bondo.</i> True, certainly.	<i>Gwa.</i> Yes.
<i>Bono.</i> Tree, stick.	<i>Gwabba</i> or <i>quabba.</i> Good.
<i>Booga.</i> A cloak, clothes.	<i>Gwangia.</i> Swamp Banksia.
<i>Booggia.</i> Ground, earth.	<i>Kadjoo.</i> Hammer.
<i>Boola.</i> Plenty, many.	<i>Kitkit.</i> Quick, fast.
<i>Boora.</i> Swamp.	<i>Kybra.</i> A ship.
<i>Boorda.</i> By and by, to-morrow.	<i>Mama.</i> Father.
<i>Booye.</i> Stone, rock.	<i>Manga.</i> Weir for fish.
<i>Calla.</i> Fire.	<i>Mangiara.</i> The hair.
<i>Caram.</i> Formerly, a long time ago.	<i>Maraghan.</i> Yesterday.
<i>Catta.</i> Head.	<i>Marra.</i> To take, seize.
<i>Cattamammerup.</i> Mountain.	<i>Marrine.</i> Flour.
<i>Cobel.</i> Belly, stomach.	<i>Matta.</i> Leg.
<i>Coojal.</i> Two.	<i>Mauer.</i> A few.
<i>Cooljak.</i> Black swan.	<i>Meeal.</i> See, to see.
<i>Cotto.</i> A bag, or sack.	<i>Mendag.</i> Sick.
<i>Dabba.</i> Knife.	<i>Mero.</i> Throwing stick.
<i>Dalielle.</i> Lie, to tell a lie.	<i>Mia.</i> House, Hut.
	<i>Miki.</i> Moon.

<i>Moco</i> . Water, rain.	<i>Nungarr</i> . Stars.
<i>Moolghen</i> . Afraid.	<i>Oonana</i> . Brown duck.
<i>Moolia</i> . The nose, smell.	<i>Ootan</i> . The sea, ocean.
<i>Mopo</i> . Blood.	<i>Quibble</i> . To steal.
<i>Moro</i> . A tail.	<i>Wanghi</i> . Talk, speech.
<i>Moro dabana</i> , <i>Catta booge</i> , or	<i>Warroo</i> . Female kangaroo.
<i>Goma booge</i> . A term of	<i>Wedgu</i> , <i>Wudgu</i> . Emu.
abuse, literally 'Bone of	<i>Widgeebande</i> . A gun.
Youert'.	<i>Wiena</i> . Afraid, frightened.
<i>Mulgair</i> . Thunder.	<i>Wilghi</i> . Red earth and grease.
<i>Mummerup</i> . Big, great.	<i>Windo</i> , <i>Windong</i> . Bad.
<i>Munghite</i> . Flower of the Banksia.	<i>Wingi</i> . Where.
<i>Munyana</i> . To-morrow.	<i>Womma</i> . Another, the other.
<i>Naga</i> . There.	<i>Woneghi</i> . Dead.
<i>Nalgo</i> . To eat.	<i>Wotto</i> . Walk, to walk.
<i>Nanga</i> . Beard.	<i>Wow</i> . Evil spirit.
<i>Nargagli</i> . Blackboy grub,	<i>Wullioo</i> . Kangaroo rat.
(Murray R.).	<i>Yabre</i> . Fast, Quick.
<i>Neumap</i> . Little.	<i>Yäe</i> . To-day, now.
<i>Noolaban</i> . Belt.	<i>Yowert</i> . Male kangaroo.
<i>Noorgo</i> . Egg.	<i>Yuadda</i> . No.
<i>Nooro</i> . Fly, gnat.	<i>Yulup</i> . Hungry.
<i>Nunga</i> . Sun.	<i>Yunga</i> . Give.