

CHAPTER ONE

WUNAMBAL PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

1.1 Location

Wunambal is an Australian language traditionally spoken in the most north-westerly part of the Kimberley region of Western Australia. Country associated with Wunambal extends from north of the Prince Regent River taking in the Mitchell Plateau, Scott's Strait and Cape Voltaire, and some inland *gira* 'countries', as shown on Map One. Some 'clans' also exploited the resources of the adjoining small islands, especially *Wuyurru* (Bigge Island), Prudhoe, Corneille and Cassini islands although, apart from Bigge Island, these islands were not permanently inhabited.

Wunambal language and territory was loosely bounded to the south (on the coast) by Worrorra, to the south-east by Ungarinyin¹ and (following the coastline to the north-east) by Gamberre, as indicated on Map Two. Linguistically Gamberre may be regarded as a dialect of Wunambal. The next most Eastern language group is Kwini, which is also related to Wunambal. In fact this is a simplification of the recent situation. There appear to have been many named and unnamed linguistic varieties associated with various 'clan' groups or *gira* 'countries', as well as the larger social/linguistic groups and geographical regions. The situation is discussed further in sections 1.5 and 1.6 below.

1.2 Classification

Linguists have classified Wunambal as non-Pama-Nyungan, belonging to the Worroran (McGregor 1988; Hudson & McConvell 1984; O'Grady et al. 1966:35) or Northern Kimberley (Capell 1940 & 1984) language 'family' on typological grounds. Other adjacent non-Pama-Nyungan language families are Nyulnyulan to the south-west, Bunuban to the south, and Jarrakan to the east. All of these languages are noted for pronominal prefixing. The Nyulnyulan, Bunuban and Jarrakan families are all adjacent to languages to the south and east belonging to the non-prefixing Pama-Nyungan 'family', comprising the Ngumpin and Western Desert types.

Worroran languages differ from the Nyulnyulan, Bunuban and Jarrakan family languages in the use of noun class prefixes. Although all of the languages in the four families have pronominal prefixes, there are generally only 2 or 3 classes (masculine and feminine or masculine, feminine and neuter genders) in the Jarrakan languages and they

are usually marked by suffixes, while languages in the Nyulnyulan and Bunuban families do not have noun classes at all.

All of the linguistic varieties in the Worrوران language family have noun classes and all have verbs that take subject and object prefixes. For example, in Wunambal the transitive verb *a-ngu=minda-ngi* 'I took it' has a third person A-class (usually animate non-humans in Wunambal) object prefix *a-*, followed by a first person subject *-ngu* prefix, in turn followed by the verb root *=minda* 'take' and a past tense suffix *-ngi*. The five-way noun class system for Wunambal is described in section 3.1.

Capell (1940) was the first to distinguish the Northern Kimberley languages (Worrوران) on typological grounds as prefixing languages with "multiple classification of nouns": "[the group include] those [languages] that classify nouns according to a number of classes involving concord throughout the sentence" (pp. 245, 254). This definition of a class of languages identifies the Northern Kimberley (Worrوران) languages with a geographically non-contiguous group from Arnhem Land, equivalent to Evans' (1991:11) Arafuran family, that have the same characteristics but little common vocabulary (Capell 1940:262). Capell noted of North Kimberley languages, however, that "this group of languages possesses a higher percentage of vocabulary in common than is usual in Australia — probably as high as 50%." For this reason the Worrوران family has sometimes been referred to as a 'phylic' language family (O'Grady et al 1966). As McGregor, (1988:1) has noted for Kimberley languages in general:

Capell's classification is based principally on shared characteristics of the languages, rather than on demonstrated historical relationships between them. In their 1966 paper entitled 'languages of the world: Indo-Pacific Facsimile 6', O'Grady, Voegelin, and Voegelin take over this classification in all its essential details. Although they claim that their classification is based on lexico-statistic data (percentages of shared words), there is no evidence that the counts were ever done for all Kimberley languages (a number lacked adequate word lists). Some of the principal characteristics of the families are mentioned....

Language/dialect sub-classification

Three sub-groupings of language and dialects are generally recognized for the Worrوران 'phylic' family: Wunambalic, Ungarinyinic, and Worrوران. Capell (1984) uses the terms Northern², Central and Southern, respectively, to refer to these three groupings of languages and dialects. McGregor (1993:7) claims that his own lexico-statistical analyses confirm these three major groupings³. The information in the table below is taken from McGregor (1988a: 118-130).

Table 1.1: Worroran 'family'

Worroric type (Southern)	Ungarinyic type (Central)	Wunambalic 'type' (Northern)
Worrorra, Umiida, Unggarrangu, Unggumi, Winjarumi, Worrorra, Yawijibaya	Guwuj, Munumburru, Ngarnawu, Ungarinyin, Walajangarri/Worla, and Wolyamidi	Gamberre, Gunin/Kwini, Gulunggulu, Miwa, Wilawila ⁴ , Wunambal, Yijji

At this level of division, the Wunambalic group is again distinguished from the other languages by typological-semantic criteria: "because they share the lack of distinction between masculine and feminine..." (Capell 1940:260). For example, in Wunambal there is a single third-person prefix *bu-* for all 'human' subjects or objects (the prefix also appears on bound body part nouns, demonstrative and some adjectival roots), whereas in Ungarinyin and Worrorra (except in the plural) human third-persons have either a 'masculine/animate' or a feminine class prefix. Within the Wunambalic group, Capell further noted that:

...the Drysdale [probably including Kwini, Miwa and possibly Wilawila] dialects and Gambre may be grouped together, though Gambre has more vocabulary agreement with Ungarinyin than the more Eastern dialects." (p262)

McGregor (1993: 7-8), however, has used data from a survey of Kimberley languages conducted by Glasgow et al. (n.d.), supplemented by his own lexico-statistical counts to distinguish two different sub-groups for the Wunambalic group; an Eastern group associated with Gunin, "Oombulgurri" and Yijji, and a Western sub-group comprising Wunambal and Gamberre. His "figures for the varieties in each sub-group suggest status as dialects (based on 70% or more shared cognates)" (ibid p8). However, closer scrutiny of the table from McGregor (1993: 7), reproduced below, indicates closer relationships between 'south-eastern' Oombulgurri and 'western' Wunambal (78%) and between 'western' Gamberre and 'eastern' Gunin/Kwini(81%).

Table 1.2: Lexicostatistical comparison of Wunambal and select Worroran languages

Adapted from McGregor (1993: 7); bracketed nos. from Glasgow et al. (n.d.: 6)

Gunin (76)	Oombulgurri (78)	Wunambal (71)	Wilawila (71)	Gamberre (75)	Miwa (74)	Yijji (73)	Worlaja (84)	Ngarinyin (51)	Worrorra (6)
54(69)	(68)	(73)	(71)	75	—	60	30	20	—
65(81)	(64)	(68)	(77)	—	—	60	30	20	—
85	—	68	—	75	—	60	30	20	—
(80)	(98)	(68)	(76)	(74)	—	60	30	20	—
(65)	(76)	(66)	(77)	(72)	60	(73)	30	20	—
28(64)	(60)	(62)	(70)	(72)	30	(66)	30	20	—
24	—	32	—	31	20	—	16	51	Worrorra

There is a discrepancy between Glasgow et al's figures and McGregor's for the relationship between Gunin and Wunambal, and Gunin and Gamberre. As noted by McGregor, this could be result of bias depending where the recordings were made, (speakers of different dialects could have been given the same label). A word list in Capell (1941:305-308), comparing vocabulary from 'Northern', 'Southern' and 'Roe River' Wunambal (all of which come under Wunambal in the table above), demonstrates how a bias could easily develop. Rumsey (1982: vii-viii) too, indicates considerable difference between western and eastern Ungarinyin. Glasgow et al's (No date: 6) data for Wunambal and Ngarinyin was recorded at Kalumburu in 1970. The dates at which the various vocabularies were recorded could also be a factor, perhaps allowing for development of communilects at the major settlements. Further discussion of dialects of Wunambal appears below.

McGregor also mentions the small number of words involved in the two analyses but does not specify how many words were compared by him, neither does he directly indicate whether his own counts are based on his own 'personal' data or his own data combined with data from other sources⁵. If we follow only Glasgow et al's figures Wunambal and Gamberre do still qualify as dialects of a single language (73%), but so do the languages mentioned previously. 'Western' Gamberre and 'Eastern' Gunin could also be dialects of a single language (81% as opposed to McGregor's 65%). Additionally the figures for Wunambal and Oombulgurri well to the east do indicate a close relationship (78%).

1.3 Previous work on Wunambal

Linguistic records and investigations

The earliest person to document the Wunambal language was probably J.R.B Love. Love was in charge of the Protestant mission at Kunmunya (previously Port George IV) in the period 1927-1940, and he had also worked at the mission on an earlier occasion in 1914 (McKenzie, 1969: 37). He included some information on Wunambal in his 1934 MA thesis on the Worrorra language (McGregor 1988: 119). At Kalumburu Fr. Thomas Gil wrote some translations in the 'Pela' language (possibly a Miwa or Kwini dialect) associated with the mission site (McGregor 1993: 13). The anthropologist Elkin (1979) visited the Kimberley 1927-28 and later encouraged Arthur Capell to make a linguistic survey.

In his 1954 monograph on the Wunambal written in German, Andreas Lommel, art expert and orientalist relates Wunambal kinship terms, vocabulary for material culture, and cultural information collected during the 1937-8 Frobenius expedition. An English edition of this work appeared in 1997. One of my informants recalled meeting other members of the party who sketched some of the children then resident at Kunmunya mission.

Arthur Capell also visited the Kimberley in 1937-38. Capell (1938) recorded information on language and myth. His 1941 paper gives a good outline, grammatical sketch of the Southern 'dialect' of Wunambal, with vocabulary. Most of his research was on Ungarinyin and the Forrest River languages (Eastern Wunambalic type languages). Many of his other publications on Kimberley and other Northern Australian languages included data from the Wunambalic languages, e.g. Capell and Elkin 1937-8 and Capell 1938, 1939, 1940, 1972a, 1979, 1984. The 1972a publication has some short texts.

Capell collaborated with Howard Coate to produce *Comparative studies in Northern Kimberley languages* (Capell and Coate 1984). Early in 1996 I accessed Capell's archives at the home of his literary executor Peter Newton in Sydney. They included a Wunambal vocabulary and assorted grammatical notes. Most of these notes appear to have been used to prepare the 1984 volume with Coate. The material has since been deposited with the Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS).

Howard Coate is an amateur linguist and medical missionary who has spent a great deal of time in the Kimberley since the 1930s. He began as an itinerant missionary for the United Aborigines Mission, and first learnt the Ngarinyin language for communication purposes. He also devoted some time to recording Wunambal vocabulary, songs and texts. He is responsible for a collection of taped textual material

and a substantial English to Wunambal vocabulary which he kindly gave permission for me to access from the AIATSIS archives. He also contributed data for Capell's work.

A 1970 Summer Institute of Linguistics survey of North-east Kimberley languages produced manuscript and taped word lists with speakers of Wunambal at Kalumburu and Wyndham (Summer Institute of Linguistics, No date a & b, circa 1971).

Eric Vasse (formerly Vászolyi) conducted fieldwork from 1970 to 1971 at Mowanjum and at Kalumburu in 1972. Some of the speakers he worked with include the late Collier Bengmoro⁶ (CB - dec.), Laurie Utemorrah (/Yudmarra/ LU -dec.) at Mowanjum, and Geoffrey Manglamara⁷ (GM -dec.) in Kalumburu. The first two men passed away during my field work in 1996-7. The latter died some years earlier. At Mowanjum Vasse was also assisted with translation and transcription by Sam Wulagoodja (dec.), and other Worrorra men. Published work by Vasse includes a paper on Wunambal verbal constructions (Vászolyi 1976a) and nominals (Vasse 1992). Other published papers on Wunambal grammar are 1976b and 1976c. His 1979 article also includes Wunambal examples.

There are also manuscripts containing a narrative collection which was recorded and transcribed by Vasse with CB (Vászolyi 1972), and some draft papers on phonology (Vászolyi 1973a), demonstrative and nominal paradigms (Vászolyi 1973b), noun classification (Vászolyi 1973c) as well as a vocabulary held at AIATSIS (I have not yet acquired a copy of the vocabulary). The Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC) also holds copies of some of these materials. Dr Vasse also gave me a copy of his inflecting verb paradigms (n.d.) for four transitive verb stems, which have been invaluable to me where I found paradigmatic gaps, especially in the pronominal prefixing system. The Wunambal variety he recorded is close to the variety I describe in this thesis.⁸

In 1984 people from Mowanjum were involved in a KLRC pilot study and contributed word lists from their Worrorra, Wunambal and Ungarinyin languages. McGregor (forthcoming a) will contain word lists from a variety of sources, including his own fieldwork.

The late Daisy Utemorrah (dec.), a Worrorra speaker and writer who had a Wunambal step-mother and also married into the Wunambal Karndiwal⁹ clan, has recorded Wunambal and Wilawila words, phrases, and cultural material for KLRC (some based on her fieldwork at Kalumburu and Mitchell Plateau 1989-1990) and for Magabala Books (Utemorrah 1990). Sadly, most of the work for KLRC, including tapes, was destroyed by rain, due to the rough living and travelling conditions in that wet season, and only a few unpublished notes remain. Difficulties applying a consistent spelling system, as well as considerations about the expected readership, meant that Magabala

abandoned their plan for a bilingual publication with Worrorra and Wunambal as well as English texts.¹⁰ Utemorrhah has since been a major contributor with others to linguist Mark Clendon's work on Worrorra for the KLRC (Clendon 1984 ; KLRC 2000 a, b, c, d and e) and toward a pending Adelaide University PhD thesis (Clendon 1999; forthcoming). In 1989 I made some Wunambal language tape-recordings for the KLRC with Wilfred Goonak. These are also archived at AIATSIS. At Kalumburu GM (Mangglarmara et al 1991) recorded Wunambal names for plants and animals found in Wunambal country and visited Mitchell Plateau with officers for Conservation and Land Management (CALM) in W.A., while assisting with their research on the conservation of rainforest pockets in the Kimberley.

McGregor (1993) has published a sketch grammar of Gunin/Kwini. A KLRC project lead by linguist Margaret Howard (nee Sefton) is currently underway at the request of language speakers at Kalumburu, particularly Mary Pandilo, a speaker of Kwini/Gunin with knowledge of Gamberre and Wunambal. A Kwini wordbook and individual publications of Mary's story collection are in preparation (Pandilo, Cheinmoro and Puruwan 2000; Pandilo (with Howard) forthcoming) by the KLRC, Hall's Creek.

It is hoped that a similar publications may be possible from the draft story collection and electronic dictionary file I am currently preparing with the Wunambal speakers for use by their families in the schools and community.

Other relevant research

There has been a fair amount of ethnographic work by other researchers, some of which contains some Wunambal words or phrases. This includes the work of anthropologist Elkin (1930, 1932, 1979), (Capell and Elkin 1937-38), who first conducted fieldwork in the Kimberley 1927-28 and made contact with Wunambal people's neighbours, the Ungarinyin, 'at the head of Walcott inlet' (Elkin 1979: 298), possibly a reference to Munja government station and the Yiidji (Yiiji) at the Forrest River mission (now the site of Oombulgurri community). Hernández (1941), a missionary who lived at Kalumburu (then known as Drysdale Mission) in the 1930s, described social organization there. Lommel (1997) visited in 1937-38 and again 1954-55. Another two members of the original Frobenius party, Petrie and Fox, travelled overland from Sale River, near Kunmunya, to Kingana (Gamberre country, and the site of a camp where Wunambal people, relatives of the Gamberre, worked for a man called Willie Reid) and the Catholic Drysdale mission in 1938. Petrie and Fox contributed notes to Perez (1997). Petrie has published mostly on the Ngarinyin group.

Archaeologist Ian Crawford (1968, 1969, 1977, 1979, 1982, 1983) has conducted archaeological, historical, anthropological and ethno-botanical research with the

Wunambal-Gamberre and Kwini and their neighbours since the 1960s and still visits Kalumburu. Anthropologist and sociologist Peter Lucich (1969, 1987) also conducted fieldwork at Mowanjum and Kalumburu in the 1960s. With Mowanjum mission as a base, Valda Blundell (1974, 1975, 1980), Robert Layton and many other researchers followed. Blundell still visits in the area, and has been involved with the setting up of community archives at Mowanjum. Although their research focussed more on the southern Ungarinyin and Worrorra groups, Blundell and Layton (1978) included information on some of the Southern Wunambal 'clan' groups in their publications. A continuing interest in the *Wandjina* and *kuyon* (Bradshaw) art of the region (since Grey, 1841 first attempted to describe the Wandjina paintings and Captain Bradshaw described the *kuyon* style in 1891) has attracted a number of researchers and other visitors, including tourists and media, and other personalities with competing views as to their origins, some of them quite extreme, see for example: Walsh (2000/1994, 1988:30-33, 172-202 & 182-219) for an enthusiast's point of view, Crawford (1968 & 1997) for the archaeologist's and Doring et al. (2000), Mowaljarlai & Malnic (1993), Utemorrah (1990) and Utemorrah et al. (1980) for Aboriginal points of view. Tacon (1999) gives a balanced overview on 'Bradshaw' art for the lay person.

Most researchers travelled fairly directly between the major European settlements, but Mr Coate was an exception, walking through much of the Kimberley region. It seems that, except by boat, travel to the Mitchell Plateau area was severely restricted until the 1980s, although Easton had surveyed the Mitchell Plateau area (Easton 1922) travelling by horse and mule, along the eastern side of the Mitchell River to Crystal Head on the coast as early as 1921 (also cited in Wilson 1981: 7). Locations along the coast, including Cape Voltaire, and locations in the coastal regions of the Gamberre (Vansittart Bay, Hat Point and Parry Harbour) were frequented by coast in luggers and schooners, mostly associated with the pearling fleets in the Broome area, from the 1860s onward, and before that by the Macassan trepanning fleets (Baudin 1974, Earl 1863, King 1969 (1827), Crawford 1969, Macknight 1976, 1986, Urry & Walsh 1981, Campbell & Wilson 1993, Morwood & Hobbs 1997). The Macassans called the Kimberley coast Kaju Djawa (Crawford 1969) or Kai Jawa (Urry & Walsh 1981: 101, citing Earl 1863: 177). Crawford used a pearling lugger in the 1960s to access sites on the rugged north-west coast. Crawford and Campbell & Wilson indicate two distinct phases of Indonesian voyaging to the Kimberley before and after 1900.

After the discovery of bauxite on the Mitchell Plateau, a major biological survey was carried out on the Mitchell Plateau in 1976-7 (Wilson 1981) and adjoining islands (Burbidge & McKenzie 1978). Further work persisted through the 1980s and on a smaller scale in the 1990s (McKenzie et al. 1991; Keneally et al. 1993). With the

improved access by road and air, Aboriginal site surveys with Wunambal people were also conducted on the Mitchell Plateau in the 1970s to 1980s (Veitch 1996: 68, citing Crawford, et al. 1981) by WA museum staff. Glenn Wightman (pers. comm.) has recently carried out ethno-botanical research with community members at Kalumburu and Mitchell Plateau. Tom Vigilante (pers. comm.) a post graduate student from Northern Territory University (NTU) is currently investigating fire management in Wunambal country and at Kalumburu.

Archaeologist Veitch (1991, 1996) investigated archaeological sites and conducted field work on-site on the Mitchell Plateau in 1988. More recently, Morwood and Hobbs (1997), Stone (1999), and others have re-investigated rock art and trepanning sites, again making use of boats. Recent anthropological work by Kim Doohan (pers. comm.), Tony Redmond (pers. comm.), Alan Rumsey (1993, 1996) and others has revolved around the collection of information and preparation of reports for Native title land claims under the direction of, and on behalf of, the Wunambal and Gamberre and their neighbours.

Song recordings

An area of research of interest to the Wunambal elders has been song recording. These are considered by the Wunambal to be quite valuable in the present day context. News of collections recorded by researchers at Mowanjumb and Kalumburu, held at AIATSIS and elsewhere, evoked considerable interest during the period of my own research, and copies of some recordings performed by close relatives were requested. These songs include songs in the Wunambal language e.g. "the rain songs" which are especially significant to Mr Goonak's group, songs sung in other languages of the region, and songs from the desert languages to the south and east. Lirrga songs are said by informants to originate in Port Keats in the Northern Territory. Other song/dance types are balga, wangga and janba/jamba. Guluwarda songs are 'just for fun'. Some song cycles have their own names. The song recordings were made by Howard Coate, Ian Crawford, Robert Layton, Peter Lucich, Alice Moyle and the KLRC, in the 1960s to 1980s. They are archived at AIATSIS and elsewhere. Moyle (n.d.) and Langton (Mowaljarlai 1982) have provided transcriptions for some of the songs.

Historical writings

Some historical research and other narrative accounts of historical interest which pertain to the Wunambal in one way or another since early contact, include Campbell & Wilson 1993, Catalan 1935, Choo 1995, the previously mentioned works by Crawford, Deakin 1977, Easton 1922, Idriess 1939 & 1991[1947], Jebb 1996 & 1998, King 1969 [1827], Love 1936, McKenzie, M. 1969, McKenzie, N. et al 1991, Mowaljarlai & Malnic 1993,

Perez 1977, (Perez), Pratt & Millington 1981, Torres et al. 1987, Utemorrah et al 1980 and Wilson 1981. Most of these works have very little information which is specific to the Wunambal. I put this down to the fact that there were no long-term post-contact settlements in Wunambal country, and the Wunambal have lived in larger, multilingual communities outside their country since the 1940s. Some of these works do, however deal with the period when the Wunambal were visitors to the various European settlements in the period 1910s to 1940s and 50s, and also give some perspective, sometimes only hints as to the nature and ramifications of early contacts between non-Aborigines and the Wunambal and their neighbours.

Involvement in research

More lately Aboriginal controlled organizations based in the Kimberley have been collecting and archiving material of cultural and linguistic significance, and do their best to regulate, or at least be kept informed of the work of outside researchers. In addition to working with government bodies like the WA Museum and the state Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority, the Wunambal have been involved with the KLRC (Hall's Creek), Gulingi-nangga, an independent Cultural Resource Centre (Derby from circa 1990, now defunct), Kamali-nangga Land Council, Derby (now associated with Ngarinyin Aboriginal Corporation) and the Kimberley Land Council (Derby and Kununurra).

Mowanjum residents may have had a much longer history of influencing the direction of research, especially individuals: Crawford reports that Albert Barunga (The Worrorra husband (dec.), of one of my informants) for example had some influence in initiating cave art recording by the WA museum in the early 1960s (Crawford 1979: 472). Through his personal contacts David Mowaljarlai (1993) (dec.) who has been associated with researchers since his boyhood in the 1930s, including linguists and AIATSIS became influential in the research area (in the seventies and through to the nineties). It is likely that others have had considerable influence over the fieldwork component, if not the direction and final results, of research efforts.

The Kandiwal-Mitchell Plateau group have also been able to exercise considerable control over recent research efforts related to the Wunambal through the Wanan-ngarri Aboriginal Resource agency, Mowanjum Corporation, Kandiwal Corporation (at Kandiwal outstation and Mowanjum), and Kalumburu based organizations including Wunambal-Gamberre association. For example, the field-work component of Bruce Veitch's archaeological research, Kandiwal's 1998 video project (a project initiated by the Kandiwal group, and carried out by cave art conservator Phil Haydock and a film maker with the group), and my own research have been under the direction of the senior member of this group, Mr Wilfred Goonak.

1.4 Number and distribution of speakers today

Today the number of speakers of the Worroran languages is severely reduced, to the extent that most of the Worroric and Wunambalic varieties are all but 'finished', though there remain a somewhat larger number of speakers of Ungarinyic languages. In 1996 I was able to identify only ten 'proper' or full speakers¹¹ of Wunambal, four living at Mowanjum (near Derby) and another six at Kalumburu. Two of the four Mowanjum speakers had passed away by 1998, and I judge the remaining informants to be aged in their sixties to late eighties. I have made at least one 'free'¹² Wunambal text tape recording and transcription with each of these speakers, except for two individuals. One of the latter recorded only short sentences and phrases, but assisted with transcribing and translation of texts by the others. With the other I made some written notes on elicited sentences, but no tape-recordings. Some formal elicitation was carried out with all of the above. Most assisted me to transcribe their own tape-recordings and discussed them with me. Further details regarding these speakers appear in 1.7 and in table 1.4.

There are, of course, many more individuals who identify as Wunambal. There may be speakers of Wunambal amongst the older children of my informants who are aged from teenage to their fifties. Many understand Wunambal to some extent, but this is difficult to establish. As the oldest generation of speakers recedes, the generation now in their 40s to 50s may emerge as experts. A limit on transmission has been that people in this age group are not numerous, due partially to historical, social and health factors.

There are also older speakers of other Worroran languages living at Mowanjum, Dodunun-Mt Elizabeth Station and Kupungarri-Mt Barnett Station (off the Gibb River Road north of Derby) and Kalumburu who know and perhaps even speak Wunambal fluently. None, however, speak Wunambal as their dominant language and they were not considered to be suitable informants by my major informant.

In 1989 I was able to record some Wunambal wordlist material with Wunambal women at Kupungarri. In 1996 I recorded a short text with an elderly Wunambal woman at Derby Hospital (Mary Darlali), who had been living at Dodunun, and was associated with Eastern Karunjie, well south of Kalumburu. Her speech variety differed from that of my other informants. One told me her language was similar to Ungarinyin. I could not establish whether this is because the woman had lived amongst Ungarinyin speakers for some time, or because her Wunambal dialect is one with more Ungarinyin-like features. There are still a number of Kwini speakers living at Kalumburu. The last full speakers of Gulunggulu and Miwa are said to have passed away. There may still be speakers of Wilawila living at Dodunun-Mt. Elizabeth Station.¹³ The Wunambal

speakers I worked with have some knowledge of, at least, Gamberre, Gunin/Kwini and Wilawila (as well as Ungarinyin and Worrorra).

At Oombulgurri, where I visited briefly in 1997, little Aboriginal language is spoken. There are apparently no longer any speakers of Wunambal at Wyndham, although Mona Williams, a speaker who is associated with the Oombulgurri and Kalumburu communities, taught a language variety regarded as Wunambal at the school in Wyndham in 1996.¹⁴

On Map Two I have tried to indicate the direction of movement of known speakers when they left their country for a time in the 1940s and 1950s to join mission and other settlements. The historical, social and cultural reasons for the current dispersal of remaining Wunambal speakers is of interest, and affects the transmission of the language, but cannot be discussed here. In 1.6.2 I will take up the current sociolinguistic situation in the communities in more detail.

1.5 Wunambalic languages, dialects and social identity

Various ascriptive labels are used by the Wunambal and their traditional neighbours at different levels of inclusiveness. Linguists, such as Capell, have not found it easy to establish labels for the linguistic variation that they found in the Wunambalic languages or 'dialects'. McGregor (1988a: 81) suggested that the situation is not dissimilar to dialect chains in the Western Desert, where different ways of speaking are distinguished by the speakers but on lexico-statistical counts the named varieties would be considered to form a single language.

From the Worrorra perspective in the 1930s at Kunmunya Mission, immediately to the south of Wunambal country, the names Wunambal, Gamberre, Kwini and Miwa were apparently current. Love (1936: 217) records a gathering sometime pre-1936:

Attracted by the fame of the mission, a large gathering of men and women of the Wunambal, Kambre, Kwini and Miwa tribes came to pay a visit to the Worora in Worora territory. The Wunambal were all well known to the Worora. Most of the rest were strangers, never before seen by any of the Worora men.

Early Kalumburu (in Kwini-Miwa or 'Pela' country) mission records, on the other hand, appear to have used place/country/estate or clan names to identify groups of people visiting the mission, e.g. Pago for the people who were associated with the first mission site on the north coast of Napier Broome Bay at a place called Pago. The early missionaries recorded what they labelled the Pela/Bela language which Deakin 1977: 162 claims to be a variety of Wunambal with the distinguishing feature of a demonstrative

bela 'that'.¹⁵ The recorders also applied regional-political terms like *Kularri* for 'south-westerners' (Perez, 1977, Perez, Pratt & Millington 1981, Torres et al. 1986), which probably extended to the Gamberre and, later, to the Wunambal and Worrorra. Hernández (1941: 212), who lived at the mission for seven years, and wrote a couple of articles apparently at Capell's request, clarifies the situation somewhat. He identifies the following 'languages' (the bracketed spelling is in KLRC 1988 orthography, see e.g. McGregor 1988a&b, unless otherwise indicated): "Unambal (Wunambal), Kambera (Gamberre but ?Gambera KLRC 2000f), Pela, Miwa, Kuna ?(Gunin), Uriat and Taib" and what he took to be associated 'tribes', each a use of the respective language name followed by the nominal suffix *-nge* (*-ngarri* or *-ngayi* 'characterized by' in Wunambal). He noted, however, that in the context of the mission settlement at Kalumburu:

These names are very seldom used by the natives, so that one may live amongst the members of a particular tribe for several years and never hear its name. They usually employ the appellations of Kulari (Westerner), Kuini (Easterner), Warmala or Premere (Southerner) etc., according to the direction from which each person hails; or again those of Alya, Uladjara, Walmei and Pembar meaning people from the coast and Walmbi and Nyawalngana meaning people from inland. [1941: 212]

Today Gunin/Kwini is regarded as a language variety associated with the Kalumburu area and east of there. The other terms are still used, not as directional terms per se, but to identify cultural 'blocs'. *Gularri* (Deakin 1977; Perez 1977; Pratt & Millington 1981) is still used for the cultural bloc that includes Wunambal and Worrorra, although school children from Kalumburu at High School in Broome in the early 1980s used *Kularri* to refer to *languages* spoken by the people who came from West of Kalumburu (published on a map in an early edition of *Kimberley Past and Present*).¹⁶

Mr Goonak also told me that from the perspective of language groups from further south such as the Bardi of One Arm Point (many are connected with or have relatives in Derby), the Wunambal and Ungarinyin are *Wulanggu*. He explained that the term *Wulanggu* (like *gularri*) refers to 'one people, different language'. He gave the following example as a context where the term could be used as a term of self-ascription: 'If I'm playing cards, we stop in Nyikina country, ¹⁷ "I come from Bardi, Nyikina, Wulanggu ..." ¹⁸ . (Trans: Say I'm playing cards, in the town Derby, and being in Nyikina country, each player might identify themselves as either Nyikina, Bardi or Wulanggu). In the town of East Kimberley town of Kununurra people of Miriwoong/Ngarinyman and Kija/Worla backgrounds also referred to the language of the Kalumburu people to the West as *Wilanggoo*. Thus while language groups are recognized social groups, larger

cultural and socio-political groups of closely related language groups are also recognized, and used by outsiders and, in certain contexts, by insiders.

The name Wunambal is used as a language name by Wunambal speakers like my informants, and also by Ungarinyin and Worrorra people living at Mowanjum today. They also sometimes use terms like "Kalumburu language" or "Oombulgurri language" when speaking about the language of people living at those communities. Residents at Kalumburu still refer to the Wunambal, Gamberre, and the Worrorra people as Gularri. The terms Wunambal-ngarri, literally 'characterized by Wunambal', is sometimes used to refer to a Wunambal person or a Wunambal speaker, including self-ascription. For example, the following are the opening lines of a song sung by Laurie Utemorrah (dec.) at Mowanjum, which goes on to refer to the activities of the Kwini.

<i>Ngaya</i>	<i>nginja</i>	<i>Wunambal</i>	<i>-ngarri...</i>
I	who	Wunambal	-CHAR
<i>Gunin</i>	<i>-ngarri</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>burrngane</i>
<i>Gunin</i>	<i>-ngarri</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>burr -nga -ne</i>
<i>Gunin</i>	<i>-CHAR</i>	see	3PL -1SG =WU:PAST

I, a Wunambal, I saw (them), the Kwini ..., [LU/WG97, fnb21:5]

The Wunambal also use language names like Wilawila and Gamberre, etc, but for people descended from those groups there is a growing tendency to use Wunambal as a cover-term.

Perhaps because the differences between labels for *gira* 'countries', for languages/dialect, and for the larger socio-cultural groupings were difficult to pin down, Capell and Coate tended to label the linguistic material they collected according to geographic location, using non-Aboriginal terms on the map. It is not always clear, however, whether they refer to the location of the speakers' country or the location where the data was collected. As mentioned earlier, Capell visited Kunmunya Mission, Munja government station on the Walcott Inlet to the south-west of Wunambal country, and Forrest River mission to the East in 1939. It is not known whether he travelled further afield at that time. Mr Coate, who later collaborated with Capell, did travel extensively throughout the Kimberley. In their later work (e.g. Capell and Coate 1984), they also included some data from anthropologist Peter Lucich who conducted fieldwork at Mowanjum, and at Kalumburu in the 1960s. In Table 1.3 below I set out some correspondences between Capell's labels, recognized language names, and associated settlements (since European contact). The final column is based on discussion with Mr Goonak.

1.6 Dialects of Wunambal

Capell (1941) and Capell and Coate (1984) identified, again on typological grounds, Southern and Northern dialects of Wunambal proper (1984: 5). The Northern 'dialect' has five noun classes, whereas the Southern dialect has only 3.¹⁹ Southern Wunambal is unlike any other named Wunambalic languages in this respect, except perhaps Wilawila. Other noticeable differences evident in my own data are in 'accent' (e.g. the use of the short mid/central vowel is associated with Northern speakers), the forms of some of the subject and object prefixes, modal and tense inflection on the verb, and variant demonstrative pronoun forms. These are mentioned throughout the grammar.

Table 1.3: Wunambalic dialects and some other associated labels.

Geographical references used by Capell (1940, 1941) and Capell & Coate (1984)

Geographical reference	Language or dialect name(s)	Associated modern settlement	Associated ancestral figures
Forrest River	Yiji-Miwa-Gunin/Kwini	Oombulgurri (formerly Forrest River Mission)	
Drysdale languages	Miwa-Gunin/Kwini, (Capell included a 'Galumburu dialect' (1940:244)	Kalumburu (formerly Drysdale Mission), 1910-30s and Kalumburu Mission 1930s-60s	
INLAND: Walmbi/ (Ngalmbu), Barurungari (1941)	Galumburu dialect, Wilawila		
Vansittart Bay	Gamberre	King Anna outstation/ Gingana (1926-40s)	
Cape Voltaire	Gamberre, Wunambal		
Scott's Strait (Northern)	Wunambal, Wilawila	Banarr-ngarri ²⁰ in the 1930s/1940s	
Northern Wunambal	Wunambal	Kandiwal (Mitchell Plateau)	<i>Gulingi</i> , the rain Wandjina
Roe River Wunambal	Wunambal	?Munja government station ~ 1925-1940s	
Southern Wunambal ²¹	Wunambal	?Port George mission 1912-1916, Kunmunya (1912-1950)	<i>Wirrila-wirrila</i> , the gardener/ harvester/ yam-man Wandjina

1.6.1 Linguistic variety described in the thesis

I accessed both the Northern and Southern Wunambal varieties through my Wunambal informants. In the main I have described the five class system, but I have not excluded data from people who appeared to use a three-way or a four-way noun class system, so long as they distinguished their speech from Worrorra and Ungarinyin 'ways of talking'. The Southern Wunambal three-class system is still distinct from the Worroric (and Ungarinyic) systems because, like the other Wunambalic varieties, it lacks a masculine-feminine distinction for humans in the prefixing system. Eric Vasse described the five-class system in his Vászolyi 1976 and Vasse 1992 papers.

Three of the six speakers from whom I recorded narrative texts appear to operate within a reduced noun class system. I considered whether this could be evidence of a super-classifying system used in some contexts only (e.g. as described for other Australian languages with noun classification by Harvey (1997b: 156-159), but it appears more likely to be evidence of a three-class dialect. It has also been suggested to me that the three-class system is the result of language death but this seems unlikely (a) because there are also speakers of five-class Wunambal and Kwini in the community and (b) Capell had already identified the three-class system as early as 1940. A final factor which is not fully explored in the thesis, is the use of the third-person human prefix to denote a collective mass of a substance or entity which would otherwise trigger non-human class marking (See nominal classification in Chapter 3.1).

It is beyond the scope of this work to ascertain what the exact differences or influences from the absorption of Gamberre and Wilawila speakers into the 'Wunambal' fold might be; however, where speakers have made suggestions or comments I will mention these. I am satisfied that most of the Wunambal speakers I worked with, and who also knew Worrorra, Ungarinyin or Kwini, consciously sought to avoid influence from any of those three languages when recording their language with me. It should be acknowledged, however, that there are terms and expressions in common parlance amongst Wunambal speakers in the respective communities, that are considered to be from other languages, and these may be in more frequent use than the Wunambal equivalents.

1.6.2 A speaker's view on dialects of Wunambal

As mentioned in section 1.1 above, Capell has identified on linguistic grounds, "Southern" and "Northern" dialects of Wunambal. The Wunambal make no such distinction and for some time when I questioned WG and PB regarding differences that I had noticed in their lects, WG would say 'that's Wilawila' (referring to speech recorded

by Pudja, Basil, Lily etc). Pudja, on the other hand, insisted her language was proper Wunambal and that Wilfred must be speaking 'another language, I don't know what language that is', suggesting to me that it was like the way people speak at Kalumburu.

After examining together with me some data from Capell's 1941 paper on "Southern Wunambal", both agreed, however, that this variety was indeed Wunambal. Eventually one speaker came up with the following 'native labels'. *Gulingi*²² 'rain, wandjina' Wunambal for his own 'northern' variety, after the 'rain wandjina' he is directly associated with (*Jogulamarra*); and *Wirrila-wirrila* Wunambal for the 'Southern' variety, after the wandjina associated with the growth of plant foods, also known in English as 'the harvester' or 'the gardener'. Presumably representations of these wandjinas are to be found in their respective countries.²³ The wandjina (*wanjina/wanjurna*) are powerful creative forces or beings associated with particular *gira* or countries. The *wanjina* are represented in the cave art of the region. They are believed to have put themselves there in/on the rock, and their images were maintained by Aboriginal custodians of the sites.

I do not attempt to apply these labels in the thesis, as I do not believe they are in common usage. I use Capell's term Southern Wunambal when I notice associated features (based on his 1941) description. In this way it is clear that I am making a distinction on linguistic, rather than on native, grounds. The terms *Gulingi* and *Wirrala-wirrala* demonstrate that speakers can come up with a way of representing such differences. Goonak's explanation is of particular interest because it emphasizes the importance of spiritual/ancestral 'beings', the wandjinas as they are known Kimberley-wide, and land-based links to language and dialect, such as the belief that language itself comes from these 'powers'. Although these beings are associated with particular individuals through clan membership it was not the clans themselves that were called on, but the 'higher powers' associated with the landscape. There is a concomitant recognition that language/dialect is not necessarily distinct for every clan group.

1.7 Speakers consulted and data used in the description

The data described in this grammar was collected by myself on trips to Mowanjum and Kandiwal communities, via Derby, and briefer stays at Kalumburu community in 1996, 1997 and 1998. I have also made use of a Wunambal text (*gurnu* in Appendix 5) recorded for the KLRC with Wilfred Goonak in 1989. In the main I have included data from Capell, Coate and Vászolyi, only by way of comparison or contrast. Where information was lacking, however, I made more use of Vasse's work. All of this work is acknowledged whenever examples are used. Vasse's descriptive work in particular provided an important stepping stone to my own research and a point of reference as my knowledge of Wunambal increased. I have likewise found it useful to make comparisons

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with similar linguistic forms and grammatical categories in Kwini, Ungarinyin, and Worrorra from the work of McGregor, Rumsey, and Clendon respectively.

In the table below I have identified each of the speakers I recorded and worked with in the course of my fieldwork 1996-98. The spellings for names as used in this thesis appear first, an orthographic rendering and/or alternative bush name follows in square brackets to give some idea of pronunciation. I have also listed some speaker affiliations. The first is language, and the second clan. A person's clan group identifies them with a geographical area so I have tried to give a near English equivalent geographical term although of course the English name will not reflect the boundaries of a Wunambal *gira* or 'country' nor will it give any hint as to the inter-marriage affiliations of the group. A Wunambal person and members of other languages in the region would associate a particular clan also with the clans of their mothers, and in-laws and thereby have access to the history of contact with other languages and dialects. I have also tried to indicate whether the clan's territory is in the North [N] or South [S] of Wunambal country and/or near the Roe River [RR] area to assist with delineation of possible dialect regions nominated by Capell 1941 and Capell and Coate (1984) when referring to Wunambal 'proper' (i.e. excluding other named Wunambalic dialects/languages). A possible influence on the Wunambal dialect spoken by some speakers that is not covered in the list because of the differing degrees of relationship and the complexity vis a vis other dialects and languages is that at least half of the speakers listed also have Wilawila affiliations, although they did not claim to speak that language. Next listed in brackets is the place or places of residence of the speakers in the period of the fieldwork 1996 to 1998. Finally I indicate only very close family relationships between the speakers listed where I know of them. All of the speakers are related by 'blood' or marriage.

One speaker, Pudja mainly assisted with interpreting and transcription and was reluctant to be recorded speaking her Wunambal language. She identified most closely with the Wunambal language spoken by her aunt Lily Karadada. Speaker ages are approximate, some speakers may be in their eighties. All were born in the bush pre-WWII. Note that where I have referred to 'clan' above and below Wunambal people use the English terms 'tribe' and also 'totem' and 'symbol' as well as the Wunambal term *gira* 'country' when referring to the type of identity which is passed on through their father, associated with their own family group and with an identifiable territory. Most clans have a number of associated ancestral figures, animals, birds, plants and other natural features or 'totems' with which they are associated, therefore the clan can be identified by a number of names.

Table 1.4 Wunambal language speakers consulted

Name	Initials	Gender, age Language and clan group affiliation, geographical cross reference, residence and relationships
Wilfred Goonak [Gunag] Goonack (McGregor, 1993:8), Gunak [Doring et al 2000]	WG	Male, 70+ Wunambal, Karndiwal clan: Mitchell Plateau [N] (Mowanjum, Kandiwal), older brother to WB.
Basil Djanghara [Jan.gara, Dumul]	BDj	Male 60+ Wunambal, Kalumburu ?Wunbanggurrwanggurr clan: Prince Regent, ?Birregural, [S], (Kalumburu), cousin to LyK
William Bunjuck [Banjag] Bunjak (Mowaljarlai & Malnic 1993)	WB	Male, 60+ Wunambal, Karndiwal: Mitchell Plateau: [N] (Kalumburu, Kandiwal), younger brother to WB.
Jack (left-hand) Karadada [Omayi] Karradada (Veitch 1991:3)	JK	Male 70+ Wunambal, Layo clan: Cape Voltaire [N] (Kalumburu), ?(older) brother to Lewis, husband to LyK.
Lewis Karadada Louis Karradada (Veitch 1991:3)	LsK	Male 60+ Wunambal, Layo clan: Cape Voltaire [N] (Kalumburu), ?(younger) brother to JK.
Lily Karadada [Mirndinda1, Mirndindir1], Karradada (Veitch 1991:3)	LyK	Female 60+ Wunambal, Wunban.gurrwan.gurr/ Wunbanggurrwanggurr: Prince Regent [S] (Kalumburu). Cousin to BDj, wife to JK.
Pudja Barunga (Pajawala) Pudgawola (McKenzie 1969: 265)	PB	Female ~70 Wunambal, Landarrngarri clan [?RR, S] (Mowanjum), calls LyK 'auntie'
Ignatia (Danguwala)	Ig	Female 70+ Wunambal and/or Gamberre (Kalumburu)

Elsewhere I have mentioned the names of Wunambal speakers and their relatives who were not recorded specifically for this research, but from whom comments or data recorded by other researchers is available. I have also mentioned individuals whose recordings are not used as data for this thesis, though their comments may have been. Any contribution from these individuals is acknowledged where referred to. I also indicate there what relationship those speakers had to the speakers listed above.

1.8 Current sociolinguistic setting

At the time of the fieldwork, Wunambal was not used by speakers in many situations. Both Pudja and Wilfred's families use English or Kriol extensively. Pudja's children have knowledge of Worrorra, Wunambal and Ungarinyin. There was very little expectation that an outsider like myself would learn to communicate in the language. Mr Goonak, perhaps noticing my slow progress with the language, particularly saw my role as recorder/documenter of the language rather than as a language learner. However, other interested people at Mowanjum would inquire how I was getting on with the language. At Kalumburu I heard a little more 'language' used, though it was not always clear whether it was Kwini or Wunambal.

As in other Kimberley communities I know of where the language is threatened, older speakers always showed pride in the youngest, often pre-school age, children's ability to learn or 'pick up' Aboriginal languages.

Attitudes to the inability of young adults to speak the language range from dissatisfaction to a philosophical attitude about the current situation and social pressures of the times. Several young adults at Kalumburu reported that they were not interested in traditional languages, and as yet I have not found anyone interested in for example, writing the languages.

Many middle age people at Kalumburu do have some knowledge of Kwini, Wunambal or other dialects. They appear to be less able than the older speakers to distinguish between the language varieties (possibly using a communilect). On the other hand, they may use clan or place or regional names to describe their linguistic affiliations. It is difficult to ascertain the extent of their knowledge as they either defer to or are not acknowledged by the older people as experts. There may also be some mixed feelings about the status of the old languages.

Of the speakers consulted, Pudja, Basil, Lewis, and Bunjuck had experienced some exposure to literacy and a small amount of Standard Australian English in childhood through schooling at Kunmunya Mission. Mr Goonak and Mr Jack Karadada had had no Western schooling but had been exposed to English and Pidgin varieties in their working lives. Impressionistically, Pudja and Lewis used English consciously, Basil,

Bunjuck and Jack used quite a lot of 'Kriol' or interlanguage, and Goonak's interlanguage was more basilectal.

Mowanjum

Mowanjum is an Aboriginal community composed primarily of Worrorra, Wunambal and Ngarinyin families who moved from Kunmunya-Wotjulum in 1958. They are situated only 12 kilometres from the Derby township, and currently all shopping, schools and most community services (apart from the community office which handles community business/finances, CDEP and some out-station business) are situated in the town. Other Aboriginal people in the town come from diverse language backgrounds, including the Nyul-nyulan languages Bardi and Nyikina, Pama-Nyungan Mangarla, Walmajarri and possibly Karajarri, as well as 'Eastern' Ngarinyin associated with the cattle station communities and a few speakers of Kija, a Jarrakan language. The Mowanjum families also host visits from family members living in other communities along the Gibb River road (mostly Ngarinyin, with cattle station backgrounds) and Kalumburu.

At Mowanjum, Wilfred Goonak and Pudja Barunga are amongst the last full speakers of Wunambal. Two other first-language full speakers, Laurie Utemorrah [LU], a younger brother to Goonak and Bunjuck and Collier Bengmoro [CB] a 'grandfather' (mother's father) to the brothers, passed away in 1996-1997. Neither of these gentlemen were well enough to work with me when I began fieldwork in 1996, but both had worked with Eric Vászolyi in 1970-71. Another senior man David Mowaljarlai [DM], who had assisted many other investigators with translations in Worrorra, Wunambal and Ngarinyin (his primary language) in the past also died while I was in Derby. There are still some second language speakers of Wunambal amongst the oldest people in the Derby-Mowanjum community, though this multilingual group are fast disappearing.

There are also some younger people (aged 35-60) related to these families with knowledge or understanding of Wunambal. Unfortunately Wilfred's own children and those of his brothers (who would have fallen into this age group) are deceased leaving a gap in cultural and linguistic transmission. Pudja's adult children have some knowledge of their father's language, Worrorra, and she claims that her eldest son learnt a lot of Wunambal from his grandmother, her Wunambal mother. Those younger members of the community who have had more contact with Kalumburu possibly know more Wunambal.

The younger (under 35) generation at Mowanjum speak English and Kriol, the Kimberley lingua franca, almost exclusively although some know Ngarinyin, Wunambal and/or Worrorra words and expressions, some place names, etc. Depending on family connections some have learnt a little Bardi or Walmajarri.

Language maintenance, renewal, literacy and recording at Mowanjum.

Residents at Mowanjum have long been aware of the threat to their language and culture. Over the years, adult literacy programmes which included Worrorra, Wunambal and Ngarinyin have run in the community. Elders visited the town schools to tell stories and transmit cultural information for the benefit of all the children. The last of the Mowanjum writers, a group who were educated at Kunmunya died in 1997. These individuals wrote down some of their experiences and traditional stories in English, Worrorra and Ngarinyin (Utemorrah et al 1980, Utemorrah 1990, Mowaljarlai 1993).

Daisy Utemorrah (dec.) worked with the KLRC to record not only her own language, Worrorra, but to add to the available information on the more northerly languages Wunambal, Wilawila, Gamberre and the English varieties spoken historically in the north-west coastal regions. On her visits to Kandiwal and Kalumburu 1989-1990 she investigated Wilawila with Geoffrey Manglamara (dec.).

There is an awareness in the community, not only of the loss of multilingualism in traditional languages, but the survival of a special identity of the community as a united group from different language backgrounds or 'tribal affiliations'. When I was planning the field-work for this project in late 1995 the then community chairperson, Donny Wulagoodjah, urged me to work on all three languages (as he had when I worked in the community for a short time in 1989). He and others wanted the languages taught in the community and for all three to be given equal weight. Donny was possibly also concerned about the emergence of political and social divisions amongst Mowanjum families in their approaches to land rights and economic development.²⁴

In 1994-5 classes for the young adults were run in Ungarinyin with the help of a KLRC linguist, and non-Aborigines from the town attended. Up until 1998, the state-run town school had not implemented a LOTE (Languages other than English) style programme such as the ones which have been introduced in other Kimberley schools for the last six or so years. The only essential to get a programme up and running is community request and availability of a 'speaker of the language/s' who becomes a member of the school-based language team planning and implementing the programme. It seemed likely that a programme would begin in 1999, although Wunambal was not likely to be taught. Warrwa is the language traditionally associated with the Derby townsite. Nyikina, Bardi, Walmajarri, are also spoken in addition to Worrorra, Ngarinyin and Wunambal.

A Worrorra "language nest" was planned for pre-schoolers at Mowanjum in 1998. The recent production of grammar, narrative and dictionary material in Worrorra has highlighted a desire to pass on what oral knowledge is still available.

Kandiwal community

Kandiwal outstation was established in the 1980s. When first established, the older generation associated with the area used the site most. With some of the founding group's illness and death, the camp has been manned by young people for all but the wettest part of the year in recent years. Due to remoteness, lack of reliable communication, transport and access to health and educational services, the extended families have until recently occupied the site for only part of the year. The languages used vary with the population. Kriol and English are most prevalent, with Ngarinyin also spoken. With escalating concerns for their country the Wunambal are no longer willing to wait for essential services and aim to stay put on the Plateau as long as possible. The community are concerned about issues like tourism, a mooted national park, and the fishing and pearling industries in the area, which bring many visitors to the area.

If the community had been able to establish a school while the speakers were fit and healthy travellers, a formal language-and-culture programme may have flourished. As it is, Mr Goonak and others have been passing on as much as they can to their grandchildren, in their own way, including knowledge of land-use, hunting and fishing, religious sites, etc. He is also enthused at the various schemes for viable small-scale economic development to exploit some of the natural resources of their country that he hopes will be controlled by the families and benefit the families by providing employment and a measure of economic independence. Mr Goonak recently completed (with assistance of Lewis Karadada and William Bunjuck) filming of significant sites and rock art/stories for family use. It is his wish that the stories I have recorded be available for his grandchildren's use in the future. He takes care to have any previous work on his mob 'archived in Derby' and dislikes the thought of material being stored out of his jurisdiction at Kununurra, W.A. Museum in Perth, or universities elsewhere in Australia and overseas.

Kalumburu community

Languages spoken by the oldest generation living at Kalumburu today include Kwini, Gamberre, Wunambal and Ungarinyin, as well as other dialects. Although there are more families with Gunin/Kwini associations at Kalumburu, there are probably more Wunambal speakers than Gunin/Kwini speakers. Some of the oldest residents have been associated with the mission all their lives but many, particularly Wunambal-Gamberre speakers, lived in the bush in their youth. A few received some schooling at either Kunmunya mission or Kalumburu mission. Other ways of learning English historically,

included working with boat skippers and other passers-by, at the Derby (*Bungarun*) leprosarium, in prison in Wyndham, and the southern centres of W.A. including Fremantle and, later, at Truscott and other Army bases during World War II. Two of my older informants acquired some knowledge of "Malay" working on the boats and in the ports.

The early sociolinguistic situation during the establishing of the mission must have been fascinating. The earliest missionaries were English and Spanish speakers (Torres et al. 1987) accompanied by helpers from the Philippines, Aborigines 'borrowed from Sunday Island Mission' (perhaps Bardi and 'Pidgin English' speakers) and 'half-caste boy children' from the south-easterly Hall's Creek and Fitzroy valley regions. No doubt some communication was mediated through these latter individuals who had no knowledge of Worroran languages. At their first encounter on the Barton River, a Fr. Nicholas Elmo tried to use Nyul-Nyul (from the Beagle Bay-Broome area) to communicate with the people they met. Fr. Gil, who learnt the local language, which he called *Pela*, later translated one of the Gospels into '*Pela*'.

Contact with Aborigines from other areas, luggers plying up and down the coast, nearby cattle and dingo scalp depot stations, the police, Wyndham, and, later, army personnel, would have helped establish a variety of English as the dominant lingua franca, but amongst families traditional language would have been maintained. I imagine some elderly people would have used English infrequently. The mission records quote some brief verbatim 'contact pidgin'.

The 'middle' generation who learnt English in school 20-30 years ago, and those who completed their schooling 'down South' (some went to New Norcia near Perth, others to Geraldton), are most proficient in 'standard' English. Up until 1941, when the missionaries began to build houses for families at the Kalumburu mission, children left with or kept by the missionaries were housed separately from their families, who camped nearby and continued their links with their country. This process was interrupted after the bombing of Kalumburu in 1943 but resumed by the 50s. Some of this generation undoubtedly have a good knowledge of traditional languages and speak English. It would take more time and effort to establish individual competencies. I spoke to one woman in her late 40s who had lived away from her parents as a child and away from the community as a young woman and knew very little 'language'.

Government-trained teachers replaced the sisters in 1962 and the school at Kalumburu has been government run since then (Perez 1977: 145). Although the mission no longer runs the community administration or the school, church personnel have remained at Kalumburu. Until recent times there appears to have been little encouragement to retain traditional languages and a corresponding lack of concern for

their survival at Kalumburu by mission, school or community bodies. A language and story recording project was initiated by KLRC in 1996, in response to a 1994 request from an elderly language speaker at Kalumburu, Mary Pandilo, to record her languages.

Today Kalumburu is no longer severely isolated. There is access to television, radio, telephone, and there are several charter flights a day in and out of the community. Nevertheless it is a long drive to Kununurra or Wyndham, and even further to Derby (usually requiring an overnight stop), and many school-age and younger children have never been out of the community. English-speaking visitors to the community include tourists, clinic, mission and school staff, and police visits. Some children from Wunambal families spend time at Gibb River, a Ngarinyin cattle station community on the Gibb River Road.

Young people in their thirties and twenties, teenagers and younger children speak English, or, increasingly, a creole language variety. Impressionistically the creole language spoken at Kalumburu is more similar to Broome and Wyndham 'Aboriginal English' than to 'East Kimberley Kriol', the creole language concentrated in Hall's Creek and Fitzroy Crossing and nearby communities. This creole is also spoken at Kununurra and increasingly by youngsters in the Derby area. Some of the children I met at Kalumburu school who had been to Hall's Creek easily recognized and commented on the difference. School-age children appeared interested in and proud of their knowledge of traditional 'language'²⁵ words and phrases, although they are not 'full speakers'. As in most Kimberley communities, the oldest generation are keen to have the children learn. The young adult to middle-aged generation appeared to show the least interest, but as I was not close to these people my impressions may not reflect fairly their interest levels.²⁶

Attitudes and education issues at Kalumburu

In the early days of the mission they were relatively isolated from other Catholic communities. More lately they have had more contact with, for example, Jaru and Kija Catholics who use 'language' in songs and prayer. Curiously this may be an avenue for future 'language renewal work' in the community. Although no longer altogether necessary to communicate the Christian message, seeing other groups display their language and cultural heritage in this context has impressed some community members. To date the fundamentalist (Christian) movement which has swept into Kimberley centres in the last 20 years, and who generally disapprove of traditional culture and language, have had little influence at Kalumburu.

At the school the teachers have recently been in-serviced in the programme FELIKS (Fostering English Language in Kimberley Schools) which educates teachers about the various language situations in the Kimberley, particularly with regard to those arising in

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the post-contact period: 'Aboriginal English', 'Kriol' and/or creoles and pidgin languages, and the educational implications, encouraging teachers to appreciate their students linguistic heritage. Strategies for teaching English as a second dialect are introduced.

As a result of this approach the school has adopted the term "Kalumburu talk" for the previously unnamed English-based variety spoken by the children, and "City talk" for the language of the teachers and the many non-Aboriginal visitors (roughly corresponding to Standard Australian English). The strategies are designed to heighten the student's awareness of their developing abilities in at least two codes, and develop more opportunities to practice their emerging oral skills in "City talk". It is hoped that there will be an educational advantage in increasing teacher's knowledge of the children's language competence and experience, encouraging teachers to assist students with oral English, as well as, or as a means to, improving English literacy and general education outcomes, in addition to developing awareness and confidence in the students own knowledge and linguistic abilities in an equally valid first language.

Some teachers are also learning, and including as much as they can about, traditional languages and culture, inviting elders to the classroom to paint or talk, and occasionally organizing bush trip excursions for students with the elders. Up until 1998 a LOTE style programme had not been requested by the community, or adopted by the school. Although this is a possibility it is more likely that a combined language and cultural studies unit may be taught with community support, including some oral history and art.²⁷

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NOTES

1 Ungarinyin is the W-class prefixed form, see discussion of noun classes in chapter 2.. According to Rumsey (1982:fn1, pvii & 53-55) in the Ungarinyin language (W)ungarinyin refers only to the language whereas the bare root Ngarinyin is used for either the language or the people. Language(s) and or speech is usually classified W-class in Worroran languages and may account for the large number of Worroran family language names beginning in Wu, Wi, Wi, U, or Ga-). Note that 'country' is also W-class. Ngarinyin however is the more general term used most often where the people/speakers and/or their tongue is referred to. Accordingly in this thesis although I use both terms in reference to language I use Ungarinyin most when focussing on words/speech/linguistic features but sometimes use Ngarinyin (see e.g. Map 2) to refer to language to be more inclusive of the 'owners' of the language, and in keeping with the general usage in the community these days.

2 A difficulty in applying Capell's terminology is that he switches between use of the labels North and South to refer (1) Northern Worroran Languages, as opposed to other Kimberley languages and language families, (2) Northern, Central and Southern to refer to Wunambalic, Ungarinyic and Worroric types respectively and (3) within the Wunambalic type designated as Wunambal by speakers of Wunambal and neighbouring languages to refer to Northern Wunambal, as opposed to "Southern" Wunambal 'dialects'.

3 Although Wunambalic, Gamberre shares 72% vocabulary with Ngarinyin and 73% with Wunambal. (Glasgow, Hocking and Steiner's figures; Capell confirms close vocabulary between Ngarinyin and Gamberre).

4 Wila-wila was identified as a Ungarinyic language by both Capell (1940: 244, 259) and O'Grady (O'Grady et al 1966: 35), although Capell noted similarities to the 'Drysdale language' which he grouped separately to the Ungarinyin group. "Wilawila is spoken in the country known as Barurungari or Walmbi, along the upper Drysdale, and naturally contains Drysdale vocabulary, but not so much grammatical variation as the other dialects. Part of Walmbi country is actually Drysdale speaking (Galamburu dialect)." (Capell 1940: 244, 259). By 1984, however, Capell regarded Wila-wila as a member of his northern group (equivalent to Wunambalic) type. The speakers that I discussed Wilawila with associated it not with inland *gira*'s/countries but with 'islanders' or coastal people who had been incorporated into other clans.

Surviving Wunambal speakers with Wila-wila associations include Basil Djanghara and Lily Karadada, and her husband Jack and his brother Lewis. (Jack and Lewis I believe through their mother's families/clans). Lily and Basil are members of the Manglarrmara family clan group, which has 'country' associations with both Ngalmbu and Wunban.gurrwan.gurr.

Ngalmbu may bear some relation to the Southern dialect 'Walmbi' mentioned by Capell (1940) as country for Wila-wila speakers and Walmbi 'people from inland', mentioned above by Hernandez (1941: 212). Lily's and her relative Basil Djanghara, another Wunambal informant, are also associated with Wumbangurr-wanggurr. Each of these speakers identifies as Wunambal and is recognized by the others as Wunambal-speaking and 'Wunambal'. In the text Lily recorded with me, she says: "Wunambal, LANGUAGE *ye: ngamingga, gira nyarra-ningge Wunbanggurrwan.gurr.*" I'm speaking Wunambal language, our country is Wumbangurrwanggurr. (Ly K96, text 1: Lily's country, on the same tape she talk about her father's affiliation with Ngalmbu).

5 Capell, Capell & Coate, Gil, SIL, KLRC worker's lists, Vasse or other sources. Elsewhere in that work McGregor does use data from a variety of sources: '...due to the limitations of my own corpus, I have employed information from various of Capell's writings-and from Summer Institute of Linguistics 1971' (McGregor 1993: 14).

6 This man's family name pronounced something like /Benymaru/ or /Benymarru/ has also been spelt Bangmora and Bangmorra (See Utemorrah et al 1980:35, Doring et al 2000:335).

7 I have not checked the spelling of this name with the family. This man's name 'Man.gularrmarra' in orthographic transcription has been spelt in the following ways in published sources: Manglamara (Veitch 1991:3), Manglarrmara (Manglarrmara et al 1991) and Mangalngamarra (Mowarlarlai & Malnic 1993).

8 Capell and Coate's 1984 paradigms were slightly less reliable (though recognizable), due to dialectal variation and/or time, place, and conditions of recording. The most difficult aspect of analysis for linguists seeking information on, for example, transitive prefixes and verb paradigms, is that both Capell (1941) and Vászolyi (1976) used the phonologically difficult verb stem =WU'effect' in examples.

9 I have chosen to indicate the retroflex when spelling the clan name but not for the spelling of the community outstation/corporation.

10 Daisy told me that she expected her story-books to reach the general Australian English language readership, as they have done. Utemorrah (1990), *Do not go round the edges* includes some Wunambal and Worrorra words. It received a national award for children's books.

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- 11 This is a narrow definition because all of these speakers are first language speakers, see later comments on second language speakers who may or may not be full speakers.
- 12 I usually suggested the topic at the speaker's request.
- 13 Jilgi Edwards was the input for Glasgow et al (n.d.: 4)
- 14 Mona now refers to her own language and country in the Wyndham/Cockburn ranges area as Arawarri. Elsewhere in the Kimberley Arawarri refers to a Southern Ungarinic speaking area. I am fairly certain however that Mona's language is a Wunambalic one.
- 15 More recently Mary Pandilo (2000) has used this term /bilaa/ to describe her language. I have not personally come across the term as a descriptive term, although the demonstrative form *bila* and other prefixed *-la* base forms is a feature of the speech of Basil Djanghara, one of the Wunambal speakers I recorded, who is associated with a *Southern Wunambal* group, although he has lived since childhood at Kalumburu to the North. Capell also identifies a Southern Wunambal dialect with *-la* demonstrative forms. See also Footnote 20.
- 16 Crawford (1969: 300) mentions an intriguing correspondence with an Indonesian word *kulun* 'west.' However *Gularri* seems to be cognate with words for 'west' in the languages spoken in and around Broome as well *gurlarra* 'south' from languages in the more easterly non-Pama-Nyungan language of the Kimberley, e.g. Jaru (Deakin 1977:162 believed that "...*kular* (*gularr*) derives from *aro* (*arru/arrgu*) meaning rock." and that the term *Kulari* (*Gularri*) referred to people from the rocky country to the west of Kalumburu. *Premerre* is almost certainly a term meaning something like 'bush-people', or 'people not directly associated with the mission', made up of the plural third person prefix *birr-* and *marai* 'bush, scrub' (Crawford's 1982: *brremorai*). *Wamala* or *Warrmala* are terms generally used in the Kimberley for a Southern cultural bloc, usually to refer to the desert groups. The term Waringarri 'many people' is also widely used in the Kimberley to refer to the Eastern Jarragan language speaking bloc. The names mentioned by Hernandez for coastal peoples include one term which may relate to *alyi* 'below', and another that may relate to Lommel's (1996:map) name for Harding Point (Ulaau). Amongst the names recorded by Hernandez for the inland peoples I have recorded *Ngalmbu* as a *gira* 'country' name, this may relate to Hernandez' *walnbi*. *Nyalangawa* appeared once in a Wunambal text I recorded, where it was translated as 'from there to here'. (See example 3.55 (a)).
- 17 Mr Goonak refers to the fact that Worrorra, Wunambal and Ungarinyin families now reside in Nyikina (Warrwa) country near Derby.
- 18 Mr Goonak stated *Wulanggu* would not include the Kwini people [WG97, fnb 21: 6].
- 19 Note that when Capell refers to a six-way noun class system, he is including plural as a 'class'. Thus a four-class system for Capell is a 3-way one in my terms.
- 20 Wilfred Goonak reports that he worked for a Mr Jack Haldane at Banarr-ngarri near Scott's Strait. Trading dingo scalps, growing peanuts and trepaning, were some of their activities. I cannot ascertain exact dates, however, Idriess (1939: 256) reported that while in Broome in the 1930s 'he met the Haldane family, who had taken a boat in the 1930s up the coast to establish a "station", been unsuccessful in their venture but were planning to try again. Their partner Cloverley according to Idriess had travelled overland from Wyndham to meet them but after getting sick was "carried by natives to Kunmunya.'" Idriess was a journalist who wrote what today might be termed docu-fiction. Idriess joined a police patrol as far as Kunmunya Mission in 1932.
- 21 Capell distinguished a separate dialect with only a three-class (four-class for Capell who includes a plural class) system and having the typical demonstrative root *-ila*.' spoken in a pocket between "the Hunter River and Lawley River on one side, and between the Roe river and the Prince Regent" (1984: 5).
- 22 *gulingi* means both 'rain' and 'wanjina' in WG's Wunambal language.
- 23 Crawford (1968) mentions *warrala-warrala*, yam-men cave paintings near the Prince Regent, Capell (1971: 152) includes a text about a wanjina '*Wuraulawuraula*' who took yam into the sky, Capell associates this wanjina with *djeraar* 'the name of a small bamboo' country. I have recorded *Jirarr* 'wild hibiscus with yellow or purple flower', WG told me on another occasion that *Birrejirarr* is associated with the country of Ngarinyin man DM (dec.) and close to PB's *Landarrngarri* country.
- 24 Happily some of these problems have since been resolved. Mr Goonak, on the other hand, was quite clear that we should work on the one language, 'no mixing'. Goonak was impressed by the work of KLRC consultant linguist Mark Clendon, who worked intensively with Goonak's sister-in-law DU et al to produce Worrorra learning and grammatical materials 1993-1994.
- 25 Probably Wunambal or Kwini depending on family background. I think the Wunambal families at Kalumburu are perceived to speak more 'language'.
- 26 This is difficult to judge because it is common to remain silent or defer to the older generation of fluent speakers where 'language' is concerned. On a return trip to Kalumburu in 2000, after the completion of the thesis, a handful of key people in the 20-40 year age group discussed language with me, two had been employed in language related activities since my last trip in '98, one with researchers

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recording plant names and uses and another in the school. Another had been exposed through work/study to young Aborigines from other parts of Australia who knew their traditional language and to white instructors asking the names of things and lamented the fact that his own father had not taught him to speak his language.

²⁷ Postscript: As mentioned above, there have been renewed efforts to include the Wunambal language in school activities in the period 97-2000.