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Reflections on his life and legacy

© Queensland Museum
PO Box 3300, South Brisbane 4101, Australia
Phone: +61 (0) 7 3840 7555
Fax: +61 (0) 7 3846 1226
Web: qm.qld.gov.au

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Leichhardt: His contribution to Australian Aboriginal linguistics and ethnography 1843-44

Anthony JEFFERIES

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In March 1843 Ludwig Leichhardt left the Newcastle district travelling overland to Brisbane via the New England tableland. He spent the best part of the following year in southeast Queensland, recording in his diaries much of the botany, zoology, geology of the region before returning to Sydney in March 1844. Amongst Leichhardt's scientific interests was the study of the Indigenous languages and cultures he encountered in his travels, usually obtaining his information from the Aboriginal men he employed as his assistants and advisers. This essay explores the contribution Leichhardt's work of this period contributes to our present knowledge of these languages and their distribution.

❑ *Leichhardt, linguistics, ethnography, bunya festival, Queensland, Durundur, Archer, Kabi, Wakka, Yagara.*

Tony Jefferies
42 Safety Beach Drive, Safeety Beach, NSW, 2456
tonyjefferies@optousnet.com.au

THE REGION AND ITS LANGUAGES

Leichhardt's journals (Darragh and Fensham, 2013) cover his journey from Sydney to the nascent Moreton Bay colony on the Brisbane River and his subsequent explorations around the settlement, predominantly in an arc of about 100 kilometres to the north and north-west. Leichhardt makes observations and comments relevant to language and ethnography over the entirety of his travels; they are, however, concentrated on those of south-east Queensland, particularly the Wakka and Kabi languages.

It is thought Wakka and Kabi belong to one familial sub-group, Wakka-Kabic. It is a complex and deeply differentiated linguistic sub-group and covers languages and dialects extending from the Dawson River in the west, the Boyne River in the north, and south to the outskirts of what is now the city of Brisbane. There is a general sub-division between the inland Wakka and the generally coastal Kabi languages. They follow the Pacific Ocean coastline from just south of Gladstone to Brisbane, and include Fraser Island (in the form of the Kabic dialect-group known as Batjala). The significant inland exception to Kabi's coastal distribution is the Mary River, which appears to have been occupied by Kabi-speakers to its headwaters. Wakka is deeply differentiated and comprises in the order of 12 to 15 separate languages, a fact that has been overlooked by modern-day linguists and anthropologists who have assumed one Wakka language (usually Duungidjawu) can be representative of the entirety. In fact Wakka is an old language sub-group, some of whose sub-divisions appear to have been in place before the significant familial split between Wakka and Kabi. It includes, among others, separate sub-groups such as Gurang in the vicinity of Mount Perry and Monto, and the Yi:man dialects of the Dawson River. The other significant Queensland language Leichhardt encountered was Yagara, the language of the Brisbane River (with the exception of its north arm which is Wakka) and Moreton Bay, including its islands (with the exception of Moreton Island (Jefferies, 2012)).

Current knowledge of these languages, particularly knowledge of their familial interrelationship and evolution from a proto-language, is not substantial. This is despite there having been, in the case of Wakka and Kabi at least, some recent and scholarly analysis of individual languages of this sub-group (Holmer, 1983; Wurm, 1976; Kite and Wurm, 2004). Holmer's work was essentially an overview of material he was able to collect from those Wakka-speakers still living (or perhaps, in most instances, those with some knowledge of Wakka). Wurm's data (and Kite's later analysis of it) was obtained from the eminent Aboriginal authority Gaiarbau ('Willie McKenzie') whose Wakka language was Duungidjawu. Despite the depth of Kite and Wurm's work, compatible with analyses of languages still spoken, and despite the undoubted relevance this has to Wakka as a whole, it is still a study of one Wakka language only. Wurm and Kite's work, however, forms a basis around which further research into Wakka and Kabi can build.

Contemporary knowledge of the languages that Leichhardt's data contributes to is not great – particularly that of their origin and inter-relationship. This is not to say that a line should be drawn under that knowledge base to conclude: 'we have understood all that can be understood'. Far from it: one of the outstanding problems – if one can call it a 'problem' – has been the differentiation between synchronic and diachronic linguistics. The former views language in the abstract 'present', in other words, a description of the language as it is found – its phonology, grammar, syntax and lexicon – without venturing into what its wider language relationships might be and how

these might be interpreted as evolution and interrelationship. Most language description in Australia falls into this category and studies of Wakka, Kabi and Yagara are no exception. Diachronic or historical linguistics – the study of language as it has evolved through time – explores the evolutionary dimension of language. Our understanding of these languages will always be a long way short of ideal; nonetheless, the material we have, from the many small and individually incomplete sources that make up our corpus, allows the work of historical linguistics to proceed. This avenue, moreover, has the greatest potential to inform our knowledge of the social and cultural past, not just the linguistic past. These, for me at least, are the interesting questions: what does it mean that Wakka and Kabi at some stage in their history split? How do separate, but related, languages such as Gurang emerge from the Wakka sub-group? What do these occurrences mean in terms of the prehistory of the peoples speaking these languages?

It is fortunate that most of the ethnographic and linguistic material in Leichhardt's diaries concerns the exploratory work he did around Durundur, Archer's station at the head of the Brisbane and Stanley Rivers. This is because, of all the areas of this region, this is the best documented, largely through the information provided by Gaiarbau ('Willie Mackenzie') to L.P. Winterbotham in the early 1950s (Winterbotham 1955; 1957), but also to Caroline Tennant-Kelly at Cherbourg in 1934 (Tennant-Kelly 1935, Trigger, D. et al. 2011). Gaiarbau was one of the last initiated men of his tribe, the Yinibara, whose country is exactly that in which Leichhardt also conducted his enquiries. Gaiarbau was also a scholar, and perhaps most significantly, a man determined to see that his heritage did not pass away unnoticed and unrecorded. As a consequence, we have a description of social organisation for the Yinibara that is probably unequalled for a similar group in Queensland. The interesting feature of the Yinibara is that it was composed of four smaller groups, each of which spoke a distinct language or dialect: two Wakka dialects (including Gaiarbau's own Duungidjawu), a Kabi dialect, and a fourth that looks like a Wakka dialect that has borrowed a considerable amount of Kabi lexicon. Leichhardt's observation of the interaction between these groups, as well as the linguistic data he recorded from these groups, is all the more valuable because, through Gaiarbau and Winterbotham, we have a context in which to understand its significance.

The major cultural rift that existed in this region was that between inhabitants of the coast and those of the interior. These were two separate and distinct economies and cultures. They could transcend language but usually did not, as is seen in the evolution of Wakka and Kabi from the same language family: Wakka at no point touches the sea, Kabi only rarely goes 40 or 50 kilometres into the interior and is then associated with a riverine environment. Where such a distinction did not correlate naturally with language it was created artificially, as for example in the way Yagara speakers differentiated the Moreton Bay dialects from those along the Brisbane River and its tributaries (that is, with very little actual linguistic difference in the dialects). Leichhardt never comments on this distinction directly, but his observations about the cultural differences between coast dwellers and their inland cousins are insightful; for example the way various contusions on the hands and arms of individuals, made in the course of their particular environmentally conditioned hunter-gathering techniques, identified men as one or the other, (Petrie, 1904:73). Despite differences of economy and culture, interrelationship between the two cultures was essential to the health, prosperity and security of each. As Leichhardt documents,

both peoples would travel to visit and stay with each other, to enjoy the different foods the other's environment had to offer, and, most importantly, to interact socially. The last, consisting of ceremonies, corroborees and fights, was often a prelude to alliances cemented by the contracting of marriages with the other party. Leichhardt's diary also describes regional interaction facilitated by the bunya nut harvest in the Blackall Ranges that drew people from all over south-east Queensland and beyond (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 370-371; Petrie, 1904: 15).

LEICHHARDT: SCIENTIST AND ETHNOGRAPHER

Ludwig Leichhardt stands out among the celebrated early explorers of Australia as a man of the Enlightenment, a philosopher and intellectual, in the company of careerist soldiers and sailors. He was also, of course, a foreigner, a Prussian amongst Britons. This, and the fact of his independence in the conduct of his explorations, places his work in general in a different category to that of most of his fellow explorers. Where accounts by these explorers often read like travelogues, with perhaps overmuch attention to latitude and longitude, the reader of Leichhardt's journals is immediately struck by the lucid empiricism of his scientific outlook, Leichhardt's intense preoccupation with scientific research. His training allowed him to bring the same acuteness of observation that he applied primarily to plants to all aspects of life he encountered, including the human. Apart from his native German, Leichhardt spoke or had knowledge of five languages, French, English, Italian, Hebrew and Sanskrit. He was, therefore, in a better position to draw conclusions about the Indigenous people he encountered and to record their language, culture and habits than were most of his contemporaries. Leichhardt's great virtue, probably the result of his botanical vocation, is attention to detail. Further, he describes what he sees in uninflected prose, free from speculation and embroidery. Leichhardt's journals are a remarkably full account of, in particular, material culture and economy, but add to our knowledge of traditional Indigenous social life generally. The willingness with which his Aboriginal companions divulged what they knew and thought of the seen and unseen worlds is a tribute to the friendship and understanding Leichhardt was able to cultivate with them. The first thing we owe Leichhardt is recognition of his broad-minded generosity that neither feared nor disrespected his Aboriginal companions who were, in effect, his colleagues in scientific enterprise. Leichhardt well knew, and acknowledged, that access to the knowledge he sought would have been infinitely more difficult, and much less complete, without that assistance. Without his Aboriginal assistants Leichhardt's endeavours would have been far less successful: 'The sharpness with which the Blacks differentiate the various trees of the scrub is extraordinary' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 313). Leichhardt had with him loyal Aboriginal offsiders, such as Charlie, Nikki and Jimmy. As he travelled about (and we are fortunate that Leichhardt records precise details of his location at any given time) it is clear he was conducting a school of question and answer with his Aboriginal informants.

As a product of the Enlightenment, he sought to view the Aborigines he encountered with an open and sympathetic mind. With all that, Leichhardt could hardly avoid being a man of his times and as a consequence not entirely free of its prejudices. His prescient views on the imminent demise of the people he encountered and fraternised with are both sadly realistic and in accord with the Europeans' conviction of their own superiority. It is notable however that

Leichhardt does not view the Aborigines as altogether alien or as sub-human but instead likens them to his ancestors, '… when the free German lived in his cold forest, it seems to me that there is not much difference from the Blacks of this region' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 325).

The very few sources for many of these languages that have come down to us show how rare it was for Europeans to take an interest in Aboriginal language and culture and commit what they learned to paper. Leichhardt's material is in notebook form, the record of observations he made in the field and wrote up verbatim in the evenings as he sat around the campfire. While they contain a good deal of useful material they are not language studies per se. Their primary value is that they add to a slender knowledge base that now profits disproportionately from any addition. His diaries require patient and exhaustive analysis and interpretation. Unsurprisingly, the language Leichhardt records is primarily the lexicon of botany, secondarily the animal kingdom, and only less so from other semantic fields, with fewer examples still of simple grammar.

INTERPRETATION

Leichhardt's material provides the researcher with more than a few analytical challenges. For the most part Leichhardt was travelling through the bush collecting names for plants, animals, birds and other natural phenomena. Invariably he collected the Indigenous names from his Aboriginal companions, usually, although not always, noting which informant provided the name next to the item he recorded. There are two problems: often it is not possible to identify the particular species of plant or animal Leichhardt is referring to, and secondly, the disproportionate number of Indigenous names for botanical and zoological species does not necessarily provide useful material for inter-language comparison. Leichhardt did not know the languages he was recording (although he did note the names by which his informants called them – names, however, can be problematic in themselves). The dialects and place of origin of his Aboriginal guides and assistants have to be inferred from the diary – they are never stated outright. Leichhardt does not identify these languages (at least not in a way we can readily comprehend); he records data from them, and it is up to the researcher, by cross-lingual comparison, to attempt to identify them from the fuller body of data that exists for these languages.

Although Leichhardt never attempted to analyse these languages or place them in a regional context he was well aware that his informants spoke different languages. At one point he refers to the 'three local language families', presumably meaning Kabi, Wakka and Yagara (Darragh and Fensham, 2013:311). In general, and not unexpectedly, Leichhardt's analysis of these languages is superficial; his one comparative comment recognises the lexical similarities and differences between the coast and inland: 'The diversity of languages is recognised very easily in the names of the trees. In Brisbane they call the Bloodwood 'Bunah'; between Brisbane and here 'Bunar'; here 'Bunairr'. Another man from the mountains called it 'Bun' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 286).

Were we dealing with a modern language, comparing say the dialects of two European languages, the analytical task would be reasonably straightforward. However, as regards the Aboriginal languages Leichhardt recorded, there are inherent difficulties in the dialects themselves (that is beyond the textual difficulties already alluded to). Many regional languages for example shared some of the same words, and this is particularly so for the species of animals, birds and plants that constitute the majority of Leichhardt's record. There are two reasons for this: the

common ancestral origin of Australian languages; and 'borrowing', the acquisition of words from neighbouring languages. The languages of the Pama-Nyungan family cover the southern two thirds of the continent, and include all the languages Leichhardt encountered. The inter-relationship of the languages descended from the Pama-Nyungan proto-language is not well understood: there are many words, *kula* 'koala', *bangku* 'sugar glider', *bilaar* 'spear', for example, shared by widely distributed languages for which no direct genetic inheritance can be made. We might conclude these are 'borrowings', words that through a virtually unknown prehistory have become distributed across genetic boundaries. However, these words too can have a very broad distribution, sometimes over several languages and many thousands of square kilometres, in which case they are referred to as *Wanderworter*, 'wandering words'. One explanation for such broad distributions in Aboriginal Australia is that the particular words are highly significant culturally – they represent 'totems' that symbolise cultural rapprochement and shared understandings. Often these totemic symbols take the form of a species of animal, bird or reptile such as *guruman* 'old man kangaroo' and *gabul* 'carpet snake'. Other borrowings of terms for flora and fauna appear to be localised and must reflect an inter-relationship between the languages and the region they share. In analysing his language material therefore we are obliged to continually refer to other wordlists from the region to determine the languages of Leichhardt's informants – it is not as though Leichhardt's data informs us of the identity of these dialects. Were it not for the entirety of the linguistic and ethnographic material collected, Leichhardt's contribution would be considerably less – simply because we could make less of it. As it is these long lost diaries become another treasure trove of hitherto unknown information.

LEICHHARDT'S INFORMANTS

Having completed his preliminary explorations around the Brisbane and Pine Rivers, Leichhardt travelled up to Durundur, located in the vicinity of present day Woodford. In 1843 Durundur was at the frontier of European expansion to the north-west of the Moreton Bay colony and it is from this point in Leichhardt's diaries we begin to find his most intensive study of Indigenous culture and language. Archer's station was drawing Aboriginals from miles around, eager to experience the new and fantastic resources the Europeans were rumoured to have brought with them: 'All these tribes visit here [Archer's property] and we have the opportunity daily to see new Blacks arriving …' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 286). Although a good many are mentioned (all with Europeanised names) Leichhardt had three main Indigenous informants: Charley, Nikki and Paddy. Leichhardt makes a straight forward a comparison of their lexicon of these three, its usefulness, however, undermined by the reference terms all being botanical (Darragh and Fensham, 2013:323). Leichhardt does not identify all these botanical terms in English or Latin. The comparison highlights some of the points made about regional languages; some terms are identical across all three dialects: *mana:m* 'spotted gum', for example. As I suggest below two of the dialects (those of Charley and Paddy) are Wakka, the other (Nikki) is Kabi. Even so, as can be seen, Charley's dialect actually has about as many of these botanical terms in common with Nikki's Kabi as it does with Paddy's fellow Wakka dialect. We are unlikely to ever know the precise reasons for this in every case; certainly some of it has to do with lexical borrowing related to the type of country in which the particular species is found. In the case of terms shared by both Wakka dialects they may have a common ancestral origin.

LEICHHARDT'S JOURNEY NORTH

The first linguistic material Leichhardt collected was in New South Wales, as he followed the Hunter River up from Newcastle into the New England Tableland following the routes taken by squatters on their way to the newly opened Darling Downs. He seems to have recorded less actual language on his way north but nonetheless makes many general observations, both of language and culture. Under the heading 'Dialects', for example, he records the following:

> 'They speak Commalaroy (Commal-wal is 'no') on the Upper Hunter, Goulburn, Mudgee and Bilah. On the Peel and Namoy they speak Walaroy (a dialect of the same language). On the upper part of the Mainila River they speak good Commalroy, on the Gwidyir and Big River, Walaroy, on the lower part of the MacIntire good Commalaroy, on the upper part of the MacIntire, Piccumbil (Yuccumbill). There are various dialects in Bathurst. Some Blacks speak various dialects (Jimmy 7) and they boast about it. On the boundaries they usually speak both dialects or at least understand both' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 218).

Additional information on the New South Wales languages is recorded from the New England area during Leichhardt's return journey from Moreton Bay to Sydney (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 451-454).

YAGARA

The first language Leichhardt records in detail is Yagara, whose speakers Leichhardt encountered on his arrival in Moreton Bay. Yagara extends from the Great Dividing Range east to Moreton Bay and North Stradbroke Island (but not Moreton Island) and includes most of what is now Brisbane City. Leichhardt appears to have had three Yagara informants: Anonymous, who was an Indigenous guide known only from Leichhardt's description as 'The Black who accompanied me to the other side of the river' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 251), Eipper, a Lutheran missionary of Nundah (who provided a list of 24 botanical terms), and Baker, a runaway convict who had recently returned to civilization. A probable fourth Yagara speaker from whom Leichhardt recorded a short list (17 words, mostly botanical) was Jacky, 'a Black who belongs to Dr. Simpson's station' at Limestone (Ipswich) (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 413). In addition to this material there is another short list of Yagara material collected by Leichhardt in Brisbane on his return from Archer's station (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 402-403). Although not attributed to any named informant, it does include some easily identified Yagara words, for example, *mumba* 'thunder', *djalu* 'fire', and *mugamba* 'the name of the wide belt that they wear around the lower body'. This material includes some of the few grammatical examples collected by Leichhardt in his travels. As is usual with the material of this period the sentences are simple: *gnai yai yauin* 'now me go', and similar.

Leichhardt's anonymous informant was clearly a Yagara speaker and the river in question the Brisbane River. Anonymous provides 28 words, all of which are botanical names. Leichhardt (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 252-254) obtained a good deal more language and ethnography from Baker, a convict who had spent some 14 years living with the Brisbane Valley Aboriginals. The fact that Baker was able to do so undetected gives a good idea of the isolation of the penal colony and the slow progress the European made in bringing the Moreton Bay region under their control. Leichhardt (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 245) describes Baker's knowledge of Aboriginal languages

as follows: 'The man (Baker), who lived for so long among the Blacks, speaks three languages. That of the Downs is the most dissimilar from that of the coast […]'. Leichhardt further described the language distribution of south-eastern Queensland as described by Baker: 'The Blacks towards the Condamine speak the Combal language (Combal no!). The Downs Blacks say Weerri for no, that of the tribe with whom Baker lived Yagarra (their language Yagarajul).' The language Baker learnt and spoke during his 14-year sojourn is undoubtedly Yagara. Some of Baker's other identifying distinctions are not clear: the negative *weerri /wi:ri/* 'no', for example, is not known from any other source. The 'Downs' language Leichhardt refers to, however, was probably a dialect of Wakka, and the 'Combal language' of the Condamine was probably Bigambal.

Baker also provided Leichhardt (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 249) with the distribution of the different language groups located in the vicinity of the Brisbane River settlement. These distributions, by and large, conform to what we know from ethnographic and historical sources generally: 'A large number of tribes live on this side of the Range. The Geri Blacks from Eagle Farm to Amati Point. The Bodschella to the Bunya Bunya region. They are extremely quick. The region from here to Breakfast Creek is called Megandsin (Jimmy), Makandschin (Baker). Warrilpon the Canoe Creek Blackfellows. Brogoa is the upper part of the Brisbane. Dscherwampon the lower (Amati Blacks)' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013:253).

Some of these names are found in other source material; a few occur only in these diaries. Ethnonyms (the names of groups of people) usually need to be taken with a grain of salt ¬– much depends on who is referring to whom, and their circumstances (are they friends or enemies, for example). In regard to the data Baker provided Leichhardt my interpretation is as follows: 'The 'Geri Blacks' are undoubtedly the Yagara-speakers who occupied some of north Brisbane and all of the country south of the Brisbane River to the Logan River. Their country stretched westward from Eagle Farm (Breakfast Creek to be precise – see Clark, n.d.; also Petrie, 1904: 161-165), and south of the river to the foreshores of Moreton Bay and Stradbroke Island (hence 'Amati Point' i.e. Amity Point). According to Baker these 'lower' Yagara-speakers (presumably of the lower Brisbane River) are the Dscherwampon (/Djarwamban/), a name otherwise unrecorded. North of the settlement Baker lists the Bodschella, extending to the Bunya Bunya region. I am interpreting Bodschella to be Batjala, a name usually associated with Fraser Island and Hervey Bay. It is possible this very general name was used to reference coastal Kabi-speakers by those (such as Baker) only tangentially familiar with their country. This reference to the Batjala confirms that the Bunya Bunya region referred to is not the well-known Bunya Mountains situated near Kingaroy but the Blackall Ranges in the vicinity of Woodford, which also supported bunya pines and drew migrations of Aboriginal peoples from far and wide. *Megandsin* (obtained from Jimmy) and *Makandschin* (Baker) (/*Migandjin*/), usually a name applied specifically to the Botanical Gardens at the eastern end of George Street, Brisbane City, would appear from this information to encompass all the country adjoining the northern bank of the Brisbane River where Yagara was spoken (see Petrie, 1904; Meston, 1923). The Warrilpon (from *waril* 'freshwater creek') of Canoe Creek is also known from another source (Meston, 1901); the name Brogoa 'the upper part of Brisbane', presumably that towards Brookvale or Ipswich, is unknown.

Leichhardt records Baker's initial encounter with the Brisbane River Aboriginals, and the reason for his acceptance by them:

> I had the pleasure of seeing old Baker, who had lived 14 years with the Blacks. He escaped from the settlement about 1826 at the age of 26 years. Presently he is 43-44 and suffers extremely from rheumatism. He has small mischievous eyes, but is well-behaved and has made himself useful by discovery of a new road from the Downs to the coast. At first when he left the settlement and travelled towards Limestone, all the Blacks, who saw him, fled and none wanted to come near him, so on the next day he stood behind a tree and waited for an old man. He jumped out towards him and he could not now flee. At first he trembled, but as Baker showed no hostility, the whole folk assembled around him, took him to their camp and prepared a bark hut for him for the night. However, on account of his security Baker had to move further away from the settlement, where 300 lashes awaited him and he met another tribe after he crossed the Brisbane, who had their seat between Mt Forbes and the Range. Fortunately the idea exists among the Blacks that the Blacks change into Whites after their death and an old man, who had just lost his son, thought to recognise the departed again in Baker and cries of joy resounded around him from the sisters, brothers and relatives, when the father made the find known. Baker now lived for a long time with these Blacks… (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 249).

Leichhardt's description of Baker's further odyssey among the Aboriginals of the region includes much valuable information on the inter-relationship between the groups east and west of the Great Dividing Range:

> Later he went over the main range to another tribe, who stood in blood relationship with the Blacks of this side. You see the young men of the tribe are not allowed to marry the daughters of the tribe. They must seek women of another tribe and give their daughters and sisters also to other tribes … (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 249).

Baker's information supports the notion that in this part of Australia Aboriginal groups, for the most part, stayed within a prescribed territory, and that these countries were 'worked' in systematic fashion, that is that groups moved from camp to camp across their territory as resources became exhausted and newer, localised resources came into season. The insight Baker provided Leichhardt into the culture of the Brisbane Valley Aboriginals outweighs his modest addition to our knowledge of the Yagara language. Undoubtedly Leichhardt's interrogation of Baker was helped by the fact he could converse with Baker in English, a procedure less possible with his Indigenous informants who, although most could converse in English, would have been less able to answer Leichhardt's more searching enquiries. As regards language, Baker provides some 73 Yagara words, divided into the following semantic domains: 31 of mammal species, 5 of bird species, 12 reptile species, 4 species of fish and aquatic life, 18 arboreal species, 2 of terrestrial (i.e. landform) features, and one of anatomical relevance. There is a complete absence of words to do with humanity (including kinship), culture and anatomy. In addition, Baker provided Leichhardt with three words 'from the other side of the range', presumably Wakka.

KABI

Leichhardt acquired two of his Aboriginal companions and informants at the German Mission at Nundah which he visited shortly

after his arrival in Moreton Bay (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 241). These were Nikki and Jimmy, whose names as informants first appear in July 1843 (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 251,253), that is shortly after Leichhardt's visit to Nundah and before he had left Brisbane. The identity of Nikki's language can be definitely identified from remarks made in the text, as well as the words themselves, Jimmy from dialect comparison alone. Both Nikki and Jimmy were Kabi speakers, almost certainly of the Ngunda dialect spoken by the Yundanbi whose coastal territory extended in a narrow strip from Noosa Heads to Breakfast Creek on the northern bank of the Brisbane River, and included the site of the Nundah Mission.

Nikki was the informant from whom Leichhardt obtained his most comprehensive information, and his name appears consistently throughout Leichhardt's diaries. Leichhardt refers to Nikki giving him 'the following explanations to several cross examinations' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 311). Leichhardt, states that 'Nikki (Nigui), bore the name of one of the mission brothers [i.e. Nique]' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 310). Leichhardt first met Nikki at the German Mission at Nundah, indicating his language was probably the Ngunda dialect of the coastal Yundanbi. Leichhardt describes Nikki's language in the following terms: 'Nikki spoke Karwa (Karrwa), which is spoken by the Bunya Bunya tribe, Ubi Ubis, by the Blacks of the coast and by those of Wide Bay' – in other words, Kabi. The name Karwa or Karrwa is unknown in connection with Kabi or any of the other southeast Queensland languages. This, however, does not present a difficulty: synonyms abound for these languages, and there are many variables, including, as is probably the case, sub-divisions of the languages such as Kabi. Leichhardt (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 311) provides a list that at least partially confirms the same identification (note: Leichhardt's list includes persons and places on the left margin, language names with which they are associated on the right):

Gumerigo [informant]	Karredo
Nicki	Karrwa
Ubi Ubi	Karrwa
Wide Bay	Karrwa
Ninga Ninga	Karruba?
Yarrun	Girra
Brisbane	Girrar (Gerrie Blacks of the missionaries)

The only anomaly is the name for the Ninga Ninga which is Karruba (which Leichhardt queries). As these are Kabi-speakers, and specifically Yundanbi, (who were usually associated with Toorbul Point opposite Bribie Island) the meaning of the different term is unclear. Leichhardt appears to have been in no doubt that the name was synonymous with Karrwa (i.e. Kabi): 'They told me that Paddy the one-handed Black on Archer's station spoke Badda and that the Ninga Ninga Blacks (?) the oyster eaters, spoke Karruba, which however, probably seems to be one and the same word as Karrwa …' Yarrun is Bribie Island; elsewhere Leichhardt states specifically the Bribie Island language is Girra ('The Brisbanetown Blacks speak the Girrar language, and the Blacks of Brieves Island Girra'). Again the name Girrar is used to refer to the Yagara-speaking occupants of Brisbane City, as stated, a name unfamiliar from any other source.

Analysis of the lexicon from Nikki confirms that his language is Kabi. Leichhardt (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 336) provides a list obtained from Nicki: 'The following words from Nicki belong to the Karrwa language'. This list includes words that are easier to identify because the semantic dimension of the list is broader. In addition to this general

similarity (which is more than enough to identify the dialect as Kabi), Leichhardt recorded from Nikki a number of words for specific cultural objects that place beyond doubt the identity; for example he records:

> The day before when I was occupied in the bush with collecting specimens of wood, Nicki carved a small piece of wood about 7-8 inches long and hardly an inch wide and two inches thick, narrowing at both ends. He bored a hole through this at one end, tied a cord 3-4 feet on it and fastened this like a whip on a stick. Then he swung the little piece of wood around his head. It began to hum and to buzz and to drone and to roar and as he lashed with it like a whip, it produced such a peculiar penetrating sound that I let my axe fall quite astonished and watched his activity. He called it *pannanpadda* and told me that the children, kippers and women must not see it; that the elders make them believe it is the voice of the devil and he is coming to eat them, and that they anxiously hide themselves when they hear it.' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 379).

There are a number of attestations for the word 'bullroarer' (or one type of bullroarer to be exact) in Kabi:

small bullroarer

bondaban	Watson (1944)
bundindowar	Winterbotham (1957)
bundanndeba	Meston (c.1890e.)
bundanndeba	Trigger *et al*., 2011
bandanda	Tindale (1938)
pannanpadda	Darragh and Fensham (2013)

Similarly, Leichhardt gives Nikki's description of the bora ceremony:

The borah – *dorr* (Nikki) is a round, shallow depression surrounded by a slight earth wall, from which a foot path leads about 2000 paces to a creek. The women sit in the borah. The Kippers around them. Those who are to become young men are led along the footpath by two old men. One leads the youth by his right hand, the other puts his hand on the head of the youth and both forbid him to look around. So he slowly walks with bowed head up to the end of the path under a shady tree. Here are small trees or posts rammed into the earth and on the trees there seem to be Blacks. Having arrived here, the elders say to the youth 'look up look up'. He looks up and sees the tree with the Blacks and the old man, who swallows a large stone, draws it forth again, and now hands it to the youth to do the same thing. The latter is in great fear and does it […]' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 312).

The Kabi word for 'bora' is dhu:r (although used also in some Wakka dialects):

bora

doorh	Winterbotham (1955)
dhu	Mathew (1910)
dhur	Mathew (1910)
door	Meston (c.1890e)
du	Tindale (1938)

Jimmy appears less frequently throughout the diaries than does his tribesman Nikki, and, on occasion, Leichhardt makes clear that Jimmy is providing him with information that usually he would have obtained from Nikki, implying that both spoke the same language ('After I returned to Kirkringa I killed a long Murrai snake … Jimmy mentioned that a snake Yarra which Nicki had not yet named for me' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 341-342). This is confirmed in lexical comparison. Jimmy's dialect is almost certainly the same as Nikki's, that is, Ngunda, the Kabi dialect of the coastal Yundanbi. While most of Jimmy's lexicon is scattered throughout the diaries there is

one exception, a rather lengthy comparison of terms for fauna between Jimmy and Charley's language (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 407-409). In addition, Leichhardt also has another uncredited list that was also provided by one or other, or both, of these informants (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 404-405). The significance of this list is that in contains a word that can be distinctly linked to the Ngunda dialect of the Yundanbi, *karai* or *krai* 'spear', a distinctive weapon (with a distinctive name) that was a term unique to the Ngunda dialect (Meston 1890d.).

THE NGUNDA DIALECT OF KABI

Leichhardt's friendship with Nikki would certainly have been of assistance to him when he travelled down from Durundur to visit the Yundanbi camp at Toorbul Point on Pumicestone Passage (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 321). Leichhardt, as usual, has some interesting observations to make on the Yundanbi people He notes, for example: 'When we returned to our camp, Charley and Nicki both our Blacks, came accompanied by a crowd of other Blacks, who were returning to their respective dwelling places from a battle with the Gonmonde Blacks on Worarba Creek …' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 323). This is supportive of evidence (Petrie 1904, Clark n.d.) we have from other quarters describing an on-going, land-driven conflict between the coastal Kabi-speaking Yundanbi and the Moreton Bay and Brisbane River-based Yagara-speakers of whom the North Pine people (the Gonmonde Blacks at Worarba Creek) appear to have formed a northern enclave. When encountered by the occupying Europeans the Yundanbi had progressed down the northern bank of the Brisbane River as far as Breakfast Creek, which effectively formed a hotly contested boundary between the two language-speaking peoples (see Petrie 1904:160-1).

One of the interesting offshoots of Leichhardt's brief encounter with the Yundanbi at Toorbul Point is the mention of an informant of the Bribie Island tribe, Simon ('Simon from Brieves Island'). As noted, Meston (c.1890c) collected the only significant data we have on the language of Bribie Island, which he called Nhulla, and which appears to be unrelated to any of three regional languages, that is, it is a language isolate. Leichhardt records the language as Girra ('The Brisbanetown Blacks speak the Girrar language, and the Blacks of Brieves Island Girra', (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 328). Unfortunately, there are only a few words recorded from Simon, and these have limited value in telling us anything about the language.

WAKKA

A much wider range of data exists for Wakka, the language of two of Leichhardt's chief informants, Paddy and Charley. Unlike Yagara, which has little dialectal diversity across its range, and Kabi, for which Leichhardt's two informants Nikki and Jimmy spoke the same dialect (Ngunda), Leichhardt's Wakka records are more diverse. There are two reasons for this: Leichhardt's two main Wakka informants spoke different dialects of the language, and Wakka differs from Yagara and Kabi in that it is a much more varied language sub-group. As noted in the comparison of botanical terms, in some semantic domains, variation between Wakka dialectal lexicon can be greater than between Wakka and Kabi.

It can be inferred that Leichhardt met Paddy at Durundur, making it likely that Paddy was a Wakka speaker. Leichhardt describes Paddy (and Ubi Ubi) as 'two very respected men among the Blacks' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 391). As Ubi Ubi (who died while Leichhardt was present at Durundur) was the acknowledged leader of the Nyalbu (Nalbo) who were Kabi speakers (otherwise

Leichhardt's 'Bunya Bunya Blacks') whose country was located between Durundur and the coastal Yundanbi, it is probable Paddy too was a head man of the local Wakka-speakers. Elsewhere, Leichhardt mentions that 'The old men of the tribe like Paddy, Ubi Ubi and Abel do not smoke …' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 313). Paddy suffered from a deformity, described by Leichhardt as follows: 'The Blacks are well-formed, but Paddy was one-handed; the left had had a well-formed upper arm muscle, the forearm weak and short, a rudiment of the hand and only a fleshy appendage, which was used like a finger …' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 389). This does not appear to have overly inhibited Paddy's ability to travel or subsist. Leichhardt commented on Paddy's 'strength in endurance' and noted 'Paddy and Croppi carried 60 lb on the head 16 miles and 16 miles back. Paddy brought the branch of a Bunya Bunya at least 70 lbs weight from the scrub on Nurum Nurum …' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 388). According to Leichhardt, '… Paddy the one-handed Black on Mr Archer's station, spoke Badda'(Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 311). This name, based on analysis of Paddy's vocabulary, is certainly that of a Wakka dialect, although Badda does not appear in any other source. Leichhardt compares the name of Paddy's dialect with that of his other informants:

> Gumerigo spoke Karredo and it seems that Abel belonged to Gumerigo's language family. (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 311)

Gumerigo	Karredo
Nikki	Karrrwa
Paddy	Badda

As Gumerigo and Abel's dialect, Karredo, was probably also a Wakka dialect, it is significant that Leichhardt distinguishes it from Paddy's Badda dialect. This is unsurprising as the Woodford area was at a convergence of quite diverse Wakka dialects (or perhaps languages) as well as Kabi. As Leichhardt comments, the novel attractions of Durundur drew tribesmen from a wide area (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 371).

Paddy provided Leichhardt with a list of words that, unlike most of his linguistic data, covers a range of semantic domains (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 336-337) :

	Paddy	**Wakka cognates**
man	tanga	/djan/ (i.e. /djan+ga/)
man	marin	/marun/ < marin bamann '3 come' >
child	nucker	/ngadya/
father	bubba	/buba/
mother	gnuin	/nguyang/
brother	borarr	/bu:ra/
sister	tatti	/djatji/ 'elder sister'
wife	namgan	/nyamgan/
hair	kunyarra	/gungara/
forehead	gnullung	/ngullung/
ear	binnang	/binang/
eye	mia	/miya/
eyebrow	dibindinn	/djibindjin/
nose	mi	/mi:/
cheek	uonga	/wangga/
mouth	tambirr	/damburr/ 'lip'
teeth	deong	/diyang/
tongue	dunnum	/djunum/
chin	yikka	/yiga/ *also* 'beard'
neck	bukkurr	/bugur/
fire	kujum	/gudjum/ *also* /guyum/
smoke	gunni	/guni/ 'firelight'
flame	goni	see above
sun	gnuim	/nguwim/
moon	kakkari	/gagari/

	Paddy	Wakka cognates
rain	gurrui	/guruwi/
wind	burran	/buran/
thunder	mire	/miray/
lightning	marra	/mara/
one	karro	/garu/

Wakka, being such a widely distributed and diverse language, exhibits a greater variation of even the most basic lexical terms than does Kabi and Yagara. To some degree, that helps narrow down the identity of the dialects. In the following comparison, by way of example, Paddy's words for 'sun' and 'moon' are matched against the variety of terms with these meanings found in Wakka dialects (space restrictions allow us only to identify these languages and dialects when directly comparable to Paddy's language).

In the case of words for 'sun' it is clear that Paddy's term is cognate with Winterbotham's (1955) (Wi) Duungidjawu, the Wakka language spoken by the famous Gaiarbau ('Willie McKenzie') and located in the vicinity of Durundur (Winterbotham 1957: 34).

Similarly, among Wakka words for 'moon', Paddy's term is consistent with Winterbotham's (1955) (Wi) Duungidjawu word. Cognate words are also found in

moon

Paddy	Wakka 1	Wakka 2	Wakka 3
kakkari	goolouwar (W)	gileen (O)	gargkarai (Wi)
	goolowan (T)	kilan (Mw)	gargkarry (Wi)
	koolaua (K)	gilany (Qw)	kakurra (L&C)
	galauwa (M)	gneelan (M4)	kuk-e-ra (Q)
	goola (O)	keeyan (N)	gagarra (G)
	goo-la-ra (O)		garga-garair (L1)
	gulo: (Ti)		
	kulo (Ti)		
	kolo: (Tw)		
	gooloor (I)		
	goolangerra (Cu)		
	koo-rand-yarra (Hp)		
	gooea (C)		

Sun

Paddy	Wakka 1	Wakka 2	Wakka 3	Wakka 4	Wakka 5
gnuim	danarn (W)	ghigan (K)	gnooyim (Wi)	gnoonarr (B)	weeim (L&C)
	janahn (T)	jigam (M)	nooyim (Wi)	ng-aun-anth (N1)	weeim (Ie)
	jennang (I)	djiken (Ti)			m-weem (G)
	jun-un (Q)				
	genan (C)				
	tchenum (O)				
	dyanan (Qw)				
	dyunun (Mw)				
	thanan (P-O)				
	thunan (P-O				

see appendix 1 for table reference key

Landsborough & Curr's (1887) (L&C) 'Upper Brisbane River' Wakka dialect (Curr, 1887), the Burnett River dialect recorded in *The Queenslander* (Anonymous, 1894) (Q), J. Shirley's (1896) 'Upper Burnett River' dialect (G) and H.S. Bloxsome's (n.d.) Burnett River dialect. Although more widely distributed, it is probable that this word also belongs to the Duungidjawu dialect. There is not enough comparable data in Leichhardt to be absolutely sure, nonetheless the fact that Leichhardt based himself at Durundur, where he appears to have first met Paddy, and that Paddy's language is consistent with Duungidjawu, the Wakka language of this area, makes this a likely supposition.

Leichhardt's other major Wakka-speaking informant was Charley who appears consistently throughout the diaries. Charley is described by Leichhardt as 'my Black boy' ('My Black boy, Charley, who accompanied me from Archer's, is very afraid of the Blacks …') (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 271). Charley does not appear in Leichhardt's diaries until after his arrival at Durundur, making it likely that he too was a speaker of a local Wakka dialect (although not Paddy's dialect). Unlike Paddy and his other Archer's station informants Leichhardt does not identify Charley's dialect by name. The fact that Charley was afraid of the people around Durundur might indicate that he was not from that immediate area. Charley's lexicon invariably describes species of flora or fauna, making the task of distinguishing his Wakka dialect more difficult. The largest single concentrated source of Charley's language is at the close of Leichhardt's diaries where he compares terms for a variety of animals, birds, and reptiles (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 407-409). The evidence for the exact identity of Charley's dialect is limited (due to the poor diagnostic potential of the flora and fauna semantic domains); nevertheless, there are some indications:

black duck

Charley	Wakka 1	Wakka 2
gna (Ci)	knami (K)	narr (Da)
	njaim (G)	gnah (B)
	nyem (L&C)	nar (J)
	gnahm (T)	nga: (Td)
	ngyem (M)	
	ngeam (Mw)	
	nye:m (Ki)	
	nyerm (W)	
	nee-arm (Wi)	
	neam (Ie)	
	ngyim (J)	

As can readily be seen, Charley's word for 'black duck' is the monosyllabic word /nga :/, which it shares with four other Wakka sources: Tindale's (1938) (Td) Dal:a, Jimmy Daylight's 'Biloela Dialect' (Hall n.d .) (Da), Meston's (c.1890b) 'Gurai dialect of the Bo-obbera tribe of the Upper Brisbane and Stanley Rivers' (see Bannister 1985), and a list of dialectally unidentified Wakka words collected at Cherbourg (1999)(J). Although far from conclusive, this links Charley's word to Dalla, one of the Wakka dialects spoken around Durundur (the speakers of which, combined with the speakers of Duungidjawu, Nyalbu and Gurumgnar, formed the Yinibara tribe or confederation, (Winterbotham 1957)). Various other comparisons, although far from conclusive, point to the same identity:

red-bellied black snake

Charley	Wakka 1	Wakka 2	Wakka 3
domgo (Ci)	wenige (Mi)	mullar (G)	toomgoo (M2)
	wun.gi (Co)	mulo (M)	doomgoo (Wi)
	wanga (P-O)	muloo (D)	djumgu (Td)

Charley	Wakka 1	Wakka 2	Wakka 3
	wongay (Ia)	mooloo (B)	
	wungaa (L)	mullu (J)	
	wange (H)		
	wange (H)		
	onega (E)		
	woongee ngooroie (I)		
	won-gain (Cb)		
	wun-ge (Ce)		
	onega (Cu)		
	wange:r (Tw)		
	wongian (Ws)		

It is possible Charley spoke Dalla, a Wakka language containing a disproportionate amount of Kabi lexicon. This identification can only be tentative: it is also possible Charley's dialect was Duungidjawu and Paddy's Dalla. Leichhardt mentions another local Wakka dialect which he specifically contrasts with Paddy's, that of two other Durundur informants Abel and Gumerigo: 'Gumerigo spoke Karredo, and it seems that Abel belonged to Gumerigo's language family …'. Like Paddy and Ubi Ubi, Leichhardt describes Abel (whose Indigenous name was Burbillo) as one 'the old men of the tribe [who] do not smoke …' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 313). Gumerigo, however, is described as 'a kipper', a youth having undergone his initial initiation, and as 'a boy of 16-17 years [who] was the jester and clown of his tribe' . The data on Abel and Gumerigo's Karredo dialect is limited and found scattered throughout the diaries. It might be surmised that the dialect is another local Wakka dialect, perhaps that Winterbotham (1957) identified as Garumnga, the Wakka dialect of the Upper Brisbane River. The same caveats as mentioned in regard to Paddy and Charley must however also apply.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER SOURCES

The linguistic data collected by Leichhardt at Durundur is entirely consistent with the most comprehensive ethnography for this area, the work undertaken by Winterbotham in collaboration with Gaiarbau (Willie McKenzie) in the immediate post World War 2 period (see also Trigger D. *et al* 2011). Winterbotham (1957:4) described the four component groups of the Yinibara as follows:

> 'Gaiarbau himself belonged to the Dungidau group of the Yinibara … the boundary of this local group was, starting at the junction of the Stanley and Brisbane Rivers … up the Brisbane River to Mooretown … then across eastwards to Durundur on the Dji:mna Range – down to Caboolture – and back to Gunundjin. The Da:la local group inhabited the mountains at the head of the Mary River – known now as the Conondale Range – and went down into the Mary River Valley … they were at one time at enmity with the other local group, the Nalbo who lived on the same range at the head of the Mary River and on the Mary River Plains, but after a big fight, long before his time, they became firm friends … The Garumnga occupied a large territory and were in contact with the Gitabal tribe in Ipswich and with the Dungibara tribe on their western boundary. Their dialect differed a great deal from the northern groups of the Yinibara tribe. Gaiarbau gives as instances of this that while he would call a boy < gimna >, they would call him < nu:nei > which in Dungidau means a girl – a girl they'd call < wongan > which was the same word in

> Dungibara, who in their dialect would call a boy < gim:ei > … The Garumnga territory extended across the Brisbane River …'

Tentatively, the dialects Leichhardt describes might be distributed this way:

Paddy's dialect	Badda	Duungidawu (Dungidau)
Charley's dialect		Dalla
Abel and Gumerigo's dialect	Karredo	Garumnga

The fourth dialect group component of the Yinibara, the Nyalbu (Nalbo), were Kabi-speakers, the group Leichhardt refers to as the 'Bunya Bunya Blacks' (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 306). Leichhardt confirms the Nyalbu were Kabi-speakers, including them in with the coastal Yundanbi and other Kabi ('Nikki spoke Karwa (Karrrwa), which is spoken by Ubi Ubis Bunya Bunya tribe, by the Blacks of the coast and by those of Wide Bay …') (Darragh and Fensham, 2013: 311).

CONCLUSION

The contribution Leichhardt's diaries makes to our knowledge of the languages and cultures of the Aboriginal people of south-east Queensland (and to a lesser degree parts of New South Wales) is significant. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the peoples and languages of this region, perhaps paradoxically so because we also possess other comprehensive sources, particularly for the Yinibara whose country was in the vicinity of Durundur. As a result, Leichhardt's contribution is rendered yet more useful than it might otherwise have been as we have more of a context into which to place it. Leichhardt's scientific drive, bringing with it thoroughness, quest for accuracy, and, importantly, scepticism of prevailing prejudices, places him head and shoulders above his contemporaries. In Leichhardt we see the precursor to the sort of scientific accuracy expected in today's research. Leichhardt's observations can be relied on, as can his commentary because he rarely seems to extend beyond what it is reasonable to assume from what he has witnessed or heard.

Leichhardt's main interest was botany and geology, with ethnography and linguistics an important although secondary consideration. By so saying, his attention to language and ethnography is not diminished; Leichhardt had the focus and discipline to make a worthy contribution to any science. Leichhardt's record does not provide the researcher with an easy or straightforward access to knowledge. Often, rather than Leichhardt's material informing our knowledge of these cultures, the researcher needs to interpret much of Leichhardt's work in the light of what is known about these languages and cultures from the record as a whole. The feature unique to Leichhardt's work is that it was made before the destruction of Indigenous society. It is not a recall from memory but 'participant observation' 19th century style, and as such much is revealed that escapes later accounts. Equal to this is the trust we can have in Leichhardt as an 'honest broker': he rarely allows prejudice to get in the way of lucid observation and reasonable analysis, for which we must be grateful.

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APPENDIX 1

Key	Reference	Subject
(B)	Meston (1890b)	Bo-obbera 27-04-1901
(C)	Commissioner of Police (1887)	Condamine and Charley's Creek – Murruminingama tribe'
(Ce)	BACCA (1999)	Wakka
(Co)	Eades (1979)	
(Cu)	Cunningham (1887)	Dawson River
(D)	Winterbotham (1955)	Dalla
(E)	Eipper (1841)	Wakka (collected at Humpybong)
(G)	Shirley (1896)	Gowrburra Tribe, Upper Burnett River
(Hp)	Barlow (1872-3)	Parrungoom
(I)	Illidge (1887)	Wokka Gayndah
(Ie)	Illidge (1887)	Tamburra about Wetherton
(J)	BACCA (1999)	Wakka
(K)	Shirley (1896)	Koolaburra Tribe, watershed Burnett R. & Brisbane R.
(Ki)	Kite & Wurm (2004)	
(L&C)	Landsborough & Curr (1887)	The Upper Brisbane River
(M)	Mathew (1926a)	Wakka Wakka
(M2)	Meston (c.1890a)	Wacca
(M4)	Mathew (1910)	
(Mw)	Mathew (1926b)	Wulili
(N)	De Brabant Cooper (1857)	Rudiments of the Neungir Dialect
(N1)	Bunce (1851)	'District of Wide Bay: Obtained from the station of W. Oliver, Esq., Nananga on the Burnett River
(O)	O'Connor (1887)	'a Woka dialect taken on the Burnett'
(P-O)	Parry-Okeden (1934)	Wakka, Hawkwood Stn.
(Q)	Gir-oonbah (1894)	Burnett River
(Qw)	Hall	Wuli-Wuli
(T)	Meston (c.1890c)	Toowoomba (Boondocooya)
(Td)	Tindale (1938)	Dalla
(Ti)	Tindale (1938)	Djakunde
(Tw)	Tindale (1938)	Waka Waka
(W)	Winterbotham (1955)	Wakka Wakka
(Wi)	Winterbotham (1955)	Duungidjawu
(Ws)	Sparks (n.d.)	