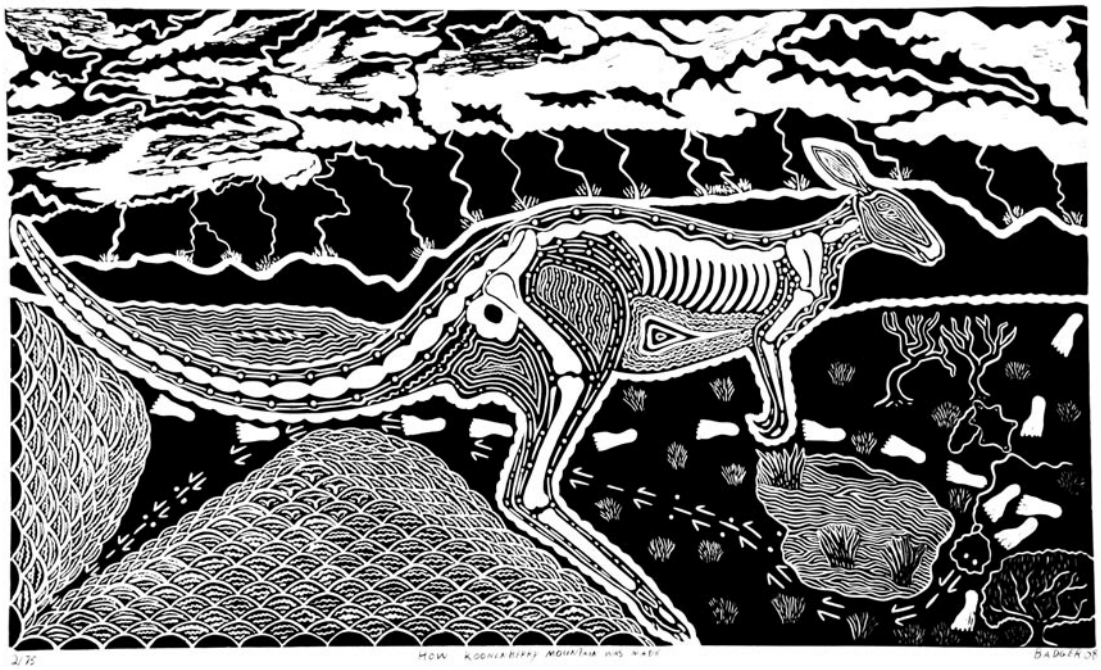
MUTAWINTJI

Aboriginal Cultural Association with Mutawintji National Park



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Legislation for returning culturally significant national parks to Aboriginal ownership and joint management was a legislative process which enjoyed universal support in the New South Wales Parliament. The return of the Mutawintji lands, some 10 years ago, was historic as the first implementation of this handing-back process. It was a major step for the New South Wales government in the reconciliation process.

However, laws are merely words of European construction and lack a concrete and direct connection with the real people who may be directly impacted by them.

In 1994, the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation published, as part of its eight Key Issues Papers, a discussion paper called *Understanding Country - the importance of land and sea in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Societies*. This paper sought to explain, to non-indigenous Australians, the significance of connections with country to Australia's indigenous inhabitants – the peoples who had been dispossessed by European settlement.

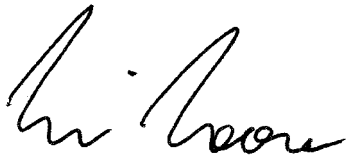
That paper explained why our understanding indigenous connections with country (and the significance of this cultural link) are an essential prerequisite in any ongoing reconciliation process.

In the case of the Mutawintji lands, this study enables us to have an understanding of the history of the people whose continuing cultural association with the Mutawintji lands has enabled significant practical steps for reconciliation and cultural recognition to be achieved.

During the mediation leading up to the hand back of the Mutawintji lands, I came to know and respect the Aboriginal Owners who took part in the process. I also came to have, as best an outsider could, a love of and appreciation for the beauty and cultural richness of Mutawintji. To have this further material about the Aboriginal Owners' families' cultural connections to the lands gives me a greater insight to their links with their lands and a better understanding of why the lands are important to them.

The authors are to be commended on the breadth and depth of the work undertaken in producing this study.

I thank the Aboriginal participants who have provided, over the years, the information in it for their generosity in doing so and for enriching our broader understanding and appreciation of the significance of Mutawintji – to them, to we who are outsiders and to reconciliation.



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Acknowledgements

Mutawintji: Aboriginal Cultural Association with Mutawintji National Park is drawn from original research reports prepared by Jeremy Beckett, Luise Hercus and Sarah Martin for the Mutawintji National Park Research Project. The Office of the Registrar, *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* ("the Office of the Registrar, ALRA") and the three authors who conducted the original research acknowledge the contribution of many Aboriginal families from the north-west of New South Wales, as well as the Mutawintji Local Aboriginal Land Council ("LALC") and the Broken Hill LALC. It is impossible to name all the individuals who have given their time and personal and family memories, but we thank you for your patience and hospitality.

We thank the South Australian Museum for their permission to reproduce photographs taken at Brewarrina Mission by Norman Tindale. The National Library of Australia and the Broken Hill Library kindly provided photographic material, as did Jeremy Beckett, Sarah Martin, Adam Black, Kim O'Donnell, Claire Colyer, Brett Norman and Peter Thompson. We also thank Graeme Bell and Mick Dare (NSW Department of Lands) for producing the maps for this report.

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Jeremy Beckett, anthropologist and author of an original research report on the history and ethnography of Mutawintji, would like to thank the late George Dutton, Alf Barlow, Walter Newton, Hannah Quayle and Anna Moysey, who taught him so much. Among colleagues, Jeremy also acknowledges his friendship and collaboration with Luise Hercus, Sarah Martin and Badger Bates.

Luise Hercus, author of an original linguistic report on languages of Mutawintji and far north-western New South Wales, extends her thanks to the Aboriginal people on whose knowledge her report is based. Luise particularly thanks Rachel Lenehan of the Office of the Registrar, ALRA for her valuable editing assistance.

Sarah Martin, archaeologist and ethnohistorian and author of an original report on the history, families and ancestors of the Mutawintji cultural area, recognises the families associated with Mutawintji National Park who contributed information about their genealogies, and William Charles Bates, former Chairperson of the Mutawintji LALC and former Chairperson of the first Mutawintji National Park Board of Management. Further, she thanks Luise and Jeremy for their generosity in giving freely of their time and knowledge.

Finally, the Office of the Registrar, ALRA extends its thanks to Claire Colyer (editor), Rachel Madden (little ray) and Paul Woolford (Bloxham & Chambers Printers) for their professionalism during the editing, design and printing process for publication.

Abbreviations

ALRA	*Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW)*
AO	NSW Archives Office (now NSW State Archives)
APB	Aboriginal Protection Board
AWB	Aborigines Welfare Board
BC	Birth Certificate
BCC	Baptism record, Catholic Church
CI	NSW Birth, Deaths and Marriages Computer Index
DC	Death Certificate
LALC	Local Aboriginal Land Council
MC	Marriage Certificate
MS, MSS	Manuscript(s)
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSW	New South Wales
NP	National Park
NPWA	*National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW)*
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW)
NR	Nature Reserve

Figure 1

Mutawintji National Park 2007 (photo courtesy of Claire Colyer)

1. The Mutawintji research project

1.1 Introduction

The National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 (NSW) ("NPWA") and the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW) ("ALRA") provide the legislative framework for the involvement of Aboriginal people in the Aboriginal ownership and joint management of land in New South Wales that is recognised as being of Aboriginal cultural significance and high conservation value. In September 1998, Mutawintji National Park, Mutawintji Historic Site and Mutawintji Nature Reserve in north-western NSW became the first lands of such significance and value to be handed back to Aboriginal owners and jointly managed under this legislation.

These lands, collectively referred to as Mutawintji National Park, are now held on behalf of Aboriginal owners by the Mutawintji LALC and are leased to the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service ("NPWS"). Mutawintji National Park is governed by a board of management, the majority of representatives being Aboriginal owners.

The purpose of the Mutawintji National Park Research Project was to provide comprehensive information to assist the Office of the Registrar, ALRA to identify and, with their consent, place the names of the Aboriginal owners of Mutawintji National Park on the Register of Aboriginal Owners.

This report is drawn from the reports of the research project team: the focus is Aboriginal family history, cultural associations with Mutawintji National Park, and Aboriginal traditions, observances, customs, beliefs and history in relation to that land.

1.1.1 Legislative provision for Aboriginal ownership and joint management of national parks in New South Wales

The joint management process was introduced into the NPWA and the ALRA in 1996 with the passage of the *National Parks and Wildlife Amendment* (Aboriginal Ownership) *Act* 1996 (NSW) ('the Joint Management Act'). The majority of the amendments came into effect in May 1997. Since then, legal title to certain lands in NSW has been able to be transferred under Part 4A of the NPWA and the ALRA to Aboriginal Land Council(s) for joint management with Aboriginal people. The central theme underlying the legislative changes is the recognition that certain lands in NSW are of cultural significance to Aboriginal people and high conservation value.

The title of this land(s) is held by the relevant LALC(s) on behalf of the Aboriginal owners. This land is then leased to the Minister administering the NPWA, currently the Minister for Climate Change and the Environment, making the land accessible to the public. Such land(s) are jointly managed under the NPWA.

1.1.2 The Register of Aboriginal Owners

Section 171(2) of the ALRA provides that the name of an Aboriginal person can only be placed in the Register of Aboriginal Owners when that person:

a) is directly descended from the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the cultural area in which the land is situated, and
b) has a cultural association with the land that derives from the traditions, observances, customs, beliefs or history of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the land, and
c) has consented to the entry of their name in the Register.

The Register of Aboriginal Owners is held by the Registrar, ALRA and its establishment is a separate process to that whereby land(s) come under joint management, however, it is closely linked. Aboriginal people may request that the Registrar, ALRA enter their name on the Register for particular lands, in this case, Mutawintji National Park. The Registrar, ALRA is required by the relevant legislation to give priority to registering Aboriginal people who have a cultural association with lands listed in Schedule 14 of the NPWA.

Aboriginal people who wish to have their name placed on the Register of Aboriginal Owners must provide the Registrar, ALRA with information about their family history, their cultural area and cultural association with the land.

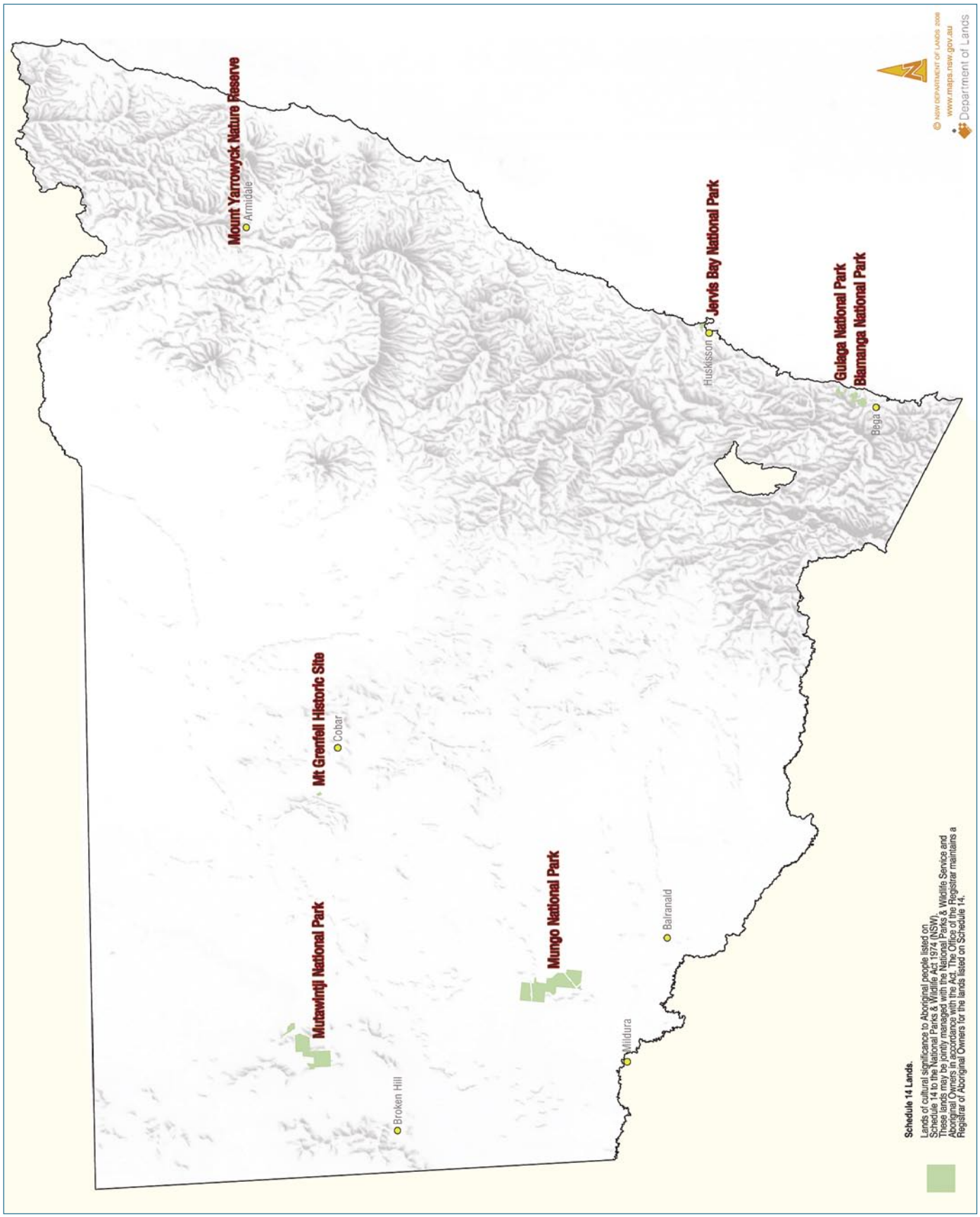


Figure 2

Shedule 14 Lands in New South Wales

1.2
Research methodology

Three original, independent research reports were prepared for the Mutawintji National Park Research Project, which was initiated by the Office of the Registrar, ALRA in 2002.

The authors were Dr Jeremy Beckett (coordinator and principal researcher), Dr Luise Hercus (principal researcher) and Dr Sarah Martin (ethnohistorian and field researcher). This research team was guided by the Office of the Registrar, ALRA, in particular by Stephen Wright (Registrar, ALRA), Rachel Lenehan (Senior Research Officer) and Adam Black (Research Officer). Various other government agencies provided assistance throughout the project including NPWS and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

The information gathered during the Mutawintji National Park Research Project provides advice about the cultural area in which the park is located, the nature of the cultural association Aboriginal people have with Mutawintji National Park, and the ways an Aboriginal person with cultural association to this land may be directly descended from the original inhabitants. This information assists the Registrar, ALRA to register persons as Aboriginal owners for Mutawintji National Park.

This research is a work in progress. New information will emerge as people read and discuss this information, and remember personalities and locations that they have experienced or been told about which are equally important to the Mutawintji story. Most importantly, it is acknowledged that Aboriginal people are associated with and connected to Mutawintji National Park and their land in many ways that may not be expressed in this report.

Figure 3
The Mutawintji National Park Research Project team, 2003. Left to right: Dr Sarah Martin (Ethnohistorian and Field Researcher), Rachel Lenehan (Senior Project Officer, Office of the Registrar, ALRA), Dr Luise Hercus (Principal Researcher) and Dr Jeremy Beckett (Coordinator and Principal Researcher).

1.2.1
Defining the cultural area(s) and original Aboriginal inhabitants

As the term “original Aboriginal inhabitant” is not defined in the legislation, the research team was asked to address this term as it applies to the cultural area(s) in which Mutawintji National Park is situated, and to examine the nature, and extent to which Aboriginal people may be said to have ‘inhabited’ the cultural area(s). To the extent this is possible, consideration was to be given to whether “original Aboriginal inhabitants” were those Aboriginal people present at the time of first contact with Europeans, at the time of European settlement or at some time later, and whether different groups of Aboriginal people inhabited the cultural area(s) at different times.

The research gave particular consideration to family groups (Barlow/Tyler, Dutton, Gibson, Quayle/Williams and Bates) that have been identified as being directly descended from the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the cultural area in which Mutawintji National Park is situated.

1.2.2
Direct descent

Different approaches to the concept of descent and what constitutes direct descent may come from the fields of biology, history, archaeology, anthropology and law.

The research team was asked to consider the notion of direct descent, including cultural descent as understood by the Aboriginal community in relation to the cultural area in which Mutawintji National Park is situated. It considered the community’s contemporary beliefs, and the beliefs of the original Aboriginal inhabitants.

Notions of cultural descent include the context: ‘what is being handed down?’ This might include legal rights, rights to speak for country, inheritance rights, and responsibilities for country, knowledge, and stories.

1.2.3
Cultural association

The key term 'cultural association' is used throughout the legislation, which frequently refers to Aboriginal people who have a cultural association with the land and the various rights that accrue to such people. Although the term 'cultural association' is not defined in the ALRA, a reading of the legislation suggests that the term 'culture' is used to include 'traditions, observances, customs, beliefs and history'. 'Cultural association' with the land within Mutawintji National Park must therefore be derived from the traditions, observances, customs, beliefs or history of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the land.

The research team was asked to consider the question of cultural association from the perspectives of Aboriginal culture and from the disciplines within which the researchers work, taking into consideration current debates within those disciplines.

Bearing in mind why the land is considered to be culturally significant, the research was to focus on the traditions, observances, customs and beliefs as they relate to association with the land within Mutawintji National Park, and as they relate to land within the cultural area generally.

Figure 4

Mutawintji landscape 2003 (photo courtesy of Adam Black)

1.3
Spelling of names in this report

While there is much contemporary debate about which version is correct and appropriate, the spelling adopted by the Office of the Registrar, ALRA for the purposes of this report is *Mutawintji*, as in Mutawintji National Park.

Many name variations appear in written descriptions and maps, dating back to the first visits to the area by European explorers in the 1800s. Variations in these early days included, for example, Mutanié, Motuanje, Mootwingee, Motwinji, Mootanié or Moutanié (ranges), Motwingé (camp) (Beckler 1993).

The original research reports by Beckett, Hercus and Martin used each author's preferred spellings of place names and locations e.g. Mutawinji (Beckett), Mootwingee (Hercus) and Mutawintji (Martin). In drawing together these reports for publication, the Office of the Registrar, ALRA has opted for consistency in the use of contemporary spellings for the sake of simplicity and ease of reading. The name 'Mutawintji' is used to refer to the cluster of culturally significant sites in the area of Mutawintji Gorge and the same spelling is used for the present day Mutawintji National Park. The spelling 'Mootwingee' is used to refer to the original Mootwingee station which is now part of the national park. Further information about spelling of Paakantyi words and the derivation of place names in the Mutawintji area is provided in Chapters 5 and 6. The following table shows some of the alternative spellings of commonly used names, places and languages.

Alternative spellings of commonly used names, places and languages

Boorungie (station)	Boorangie, Borungie
Brindiwilpa (location)	Birndiwalpa
Euriowie (gorge and significant art site)	Yuriowey
Karenggapa (language)	Karenganpa, Karenggaba, Karrengappa, Garanggaba
Kungardutyi (language)	Gungadidtji, Gungadidyi, Kunatatchee, Kungathidthi, Coongerdotchie
Kurlawirra (Ancestral being)	Kulawirru, Kurluwirru, Kurluwirra, Koolawiru, Coolabooroo
Kurnu (language)	Gurnu
Malyangapa (language)	Maljangapa, Mulya-apa, Milyappa, Milya-uppa, Mulya napa, Malyangaba, Maljangaba
Menindee (town and mission)	Menindie
Mutawintji	Mutawinji, Mootwingee (station), Mootawingee, Mootawingie
Naualko (language)	Naualko (Tindale), Nhaawu-palku, Nguna-palku, Nawalgu
Ngatyi (Ancestral being)	Ngatji
Nundora (station)	Nundoro
Nuntherungie (station)	Noonthorungee
Paakantyi (language)	Paakantji, Parkengee, Bakundji, Barkindji, Bâgandji, Barkunjee
Pantyikali (people and language)	Bandjigali
Peak Hill (south of Milparinka)	Mintiwarda
Punthamara (language)	Panthamara, Bunthamurra
Paaruntyi (language)	Paroondji, Baroongie, Barundji
Tarrawingee (town, on Poolamacca station)	Tarrawangee, Torrawingee, Tarrowangee, Torrowangie
Torowoto (Swamp)	Torrowotto, Torrowoto, Torowotto
Yancannia (station)	Yencanya
Wadikali (language)	Wadigali
Wangkumara (language)	Wonkumara, Wongumara, Wonkamurra, Wankumara
Wanyiwalku (language of Pantyikali people)	Wanyipalku,Wanyuparlku, Wainyubalgu, Wonyiwalku, Wanjiwalku, Wonyiwolku, Wainjiwalku, Wainjawalku, Wainjuwalku, Wanyawalku, Wanywalgu
Wilyakali (language)	Wilyali
Wonnaminta station	Wonominta

2. A brief history of Mutawintji and its people

Figure 5

Hand stencils, Mutawintji National Park, 2007 (photo courtesy of Claire Colyer).

2.1 Introduction

Mutawintji is the name the Aborigines of far western New South Wales gave to this sacred place, famous for its many rock engravings and paintings. It is situated in semi-arid northern New South Wales, approximately 130 kilometres north-east of Broken Hill, in the country of the Pantyikali people. These people spoke Wanyiwalku, a dialect of the Paakantyi language.

Mutawintji and the country around it is criss-crossed by the tracks of the *muras* or culture heroes of the 'dreamtime'. Mutawintji was celebrated in traditional Aboriginal lore and mythology and was used for rain making ceremonies. To date, more than 300 archaeological and cultural sites have been recorded, including occupation sites (hearths and open artefact scatters), stone arrangements, scarred trees, quarries and some of the best Aboriginal rock art in the country, incorporating well preserved painting and engraving sites. A source of permanent water in a dry country, Mutawintji was an important meeting place for Aboriginal people over a long period.

The Aboriginal peoples of the country west of the Darling River were highly mobile, and the Pantyikali came into regular contact with other Paakantyi-speaking peoples, as well as with western and northern neighbours who, although they spoke other languages, also knew some of the stories associated with Mutawintji country and participated in certain ceremonies.

Mutawintji was mentioned by the early European explorers as a watering place, and, along with the rest of the far north-west of the state, was subject to pastoral settlement from the 1860s. In the early days of settlement there was a sheep station, and later the Rockholes Hotels were built in and near what is now the Historic Site. The ruins of the second hotel are visible from the vehicle tourist trail in Mutawintji National Park. The present day Mutawintji National Park and Nature Reserve takes in all of the old Mootwingee station and parts of Gnalta and Nuntherungie stations. Today there is regular tourist traffic, mainly via Broken Hill.

2.2
The Aboriginal people west of the Darling

Documentary sources on the Aboriginal people who lived west of the Darling River include the passing descriptions of the early explorers – particularly Charles Sturt, who travelled from the Darling to Coopers Creek in the 1840s – and the accounts of European settlers from the second half of the 19th century. A few of the early settlers wrote memoirs, notably Frederic Bonney (1883; Bonney Papers 1886-1915) and S. Newland (1887-8); others provided information in response to the requests of early anthropologists such as A.W. Howitt (1904), Edward Curr and R. H. Mathews.

2.2.1
Habitat and economy

The west Darling region is arid with effective rainfall limited to four months, and, in the western-most part of NSW, to two months of the year (Allen 1972) and is subject to periodic drought. At Yancannia station to the north of Mutawintji (a place where several Aboriginal owners grew up), the mean annual rainfall for the years 1909-1968, was 218 mm, ranging from 577 to 79 mm (UNSW 1971).[1]

Harry Allen's doctoral dissertation, subtitled *Man and Land in the Darling River Basin* (1972), provides useful information on Aboriginal life west of the Darling, derived from the writings of the explorers, particularly Sturt, and the early settlers. Allen's work shows that the people along the Darling lived well, enjoying plentiful supplies of fish, crustaceans and water fowl, as well as vegetable foods of various kinds, particularly seeds.

Regarding food resources, Sturt wrote:

> *'…their food varies with the season. That which they appeared to use in great abundance were seeds of various kinds of grasses…; of roots and herbs, of caterpillars and moths, of lizards and snakes, but of these there are very few… they sometimes take the emus and kangaroos, but they are never so plentiful as to constitute a principal article of food. They take ducks when the rains favour their frequenting the creeks and lagoons… with nets stuck to long poles. They also wander along the sand ridges after a fall of rain to hunt the jerboa and talperoo; of which they secure vast supplies; but these sports are temporary, particularly the latter as the moment the puddles dry up, the natives are forced to retreat and fall back on previous means of subsistence* (Sturt II, p. 140).

Sturt described the people he met at the southern end of the Grey Ranges as 'robust, active and full of life'. Allen remarks that "With people going to the Darling River in the south and Bulloo in the north, the inhabitants of all of that region must have had the typical riverine diet for at least some part of the year, unless there was a drought" (1971, p. 88).

It is uncertain how dense the population was west of the Darling, but Sturt's figure of 100 (1849 II, p. 135) is most likely an underestimate, given the peoples' tendency to spread out across the landscape.

Fish and birds were less plentiful in the winter, and at this time of year it seems the river people travelled westward 100 miles and more in search of game such as rock wallaby.[2] They would also head inland in search of food if the river ceased to run.

Similarly, people in the back country travelled down to the river in times of drought, but were 'glad to get to their hunting grounds near the ranges' when the rain fell to replenish the back creeks (Bonney 1883, p. 92). This suggests that people had a primary association with a territory, whether riverine or inland. Sturt thought he was able to distinguish the tall and robust river dwellers from the shorter inlanders.

It is less clear whether people along the Northern Barrier and Grey Ranges travelled as far as the Darling or whether there were normally sufficient resources closer to hand,[3] however it seems likely that there was a good deal of movement for ritual and economic reasons even before the displacements set off by settlement, so the back country people would have had contact with the river dwellers even if they did not come to the river themselves.

A very early detailed description of the Mutawintji area and the country to the south and north, including Torowoto Swamp, was given by Dr Herman Beckler, a member of the ill-fated Burke and Wills party that travelled through the area seeking a route north to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

[1] Readings for Yancannia station between 1877 and 1890, average 12.03 inches; between 1891 and 1910, the average was 7.3 inches.
[2] Sturt 1849; Bonney nd.
[3] A pioneer settler, James A. Reid claimed that the people living around Yancannia station and the Torowoto swamp lived confined to a fairly restricted area, never going to the Darling or to Coopers Creek (1924, p. 17).

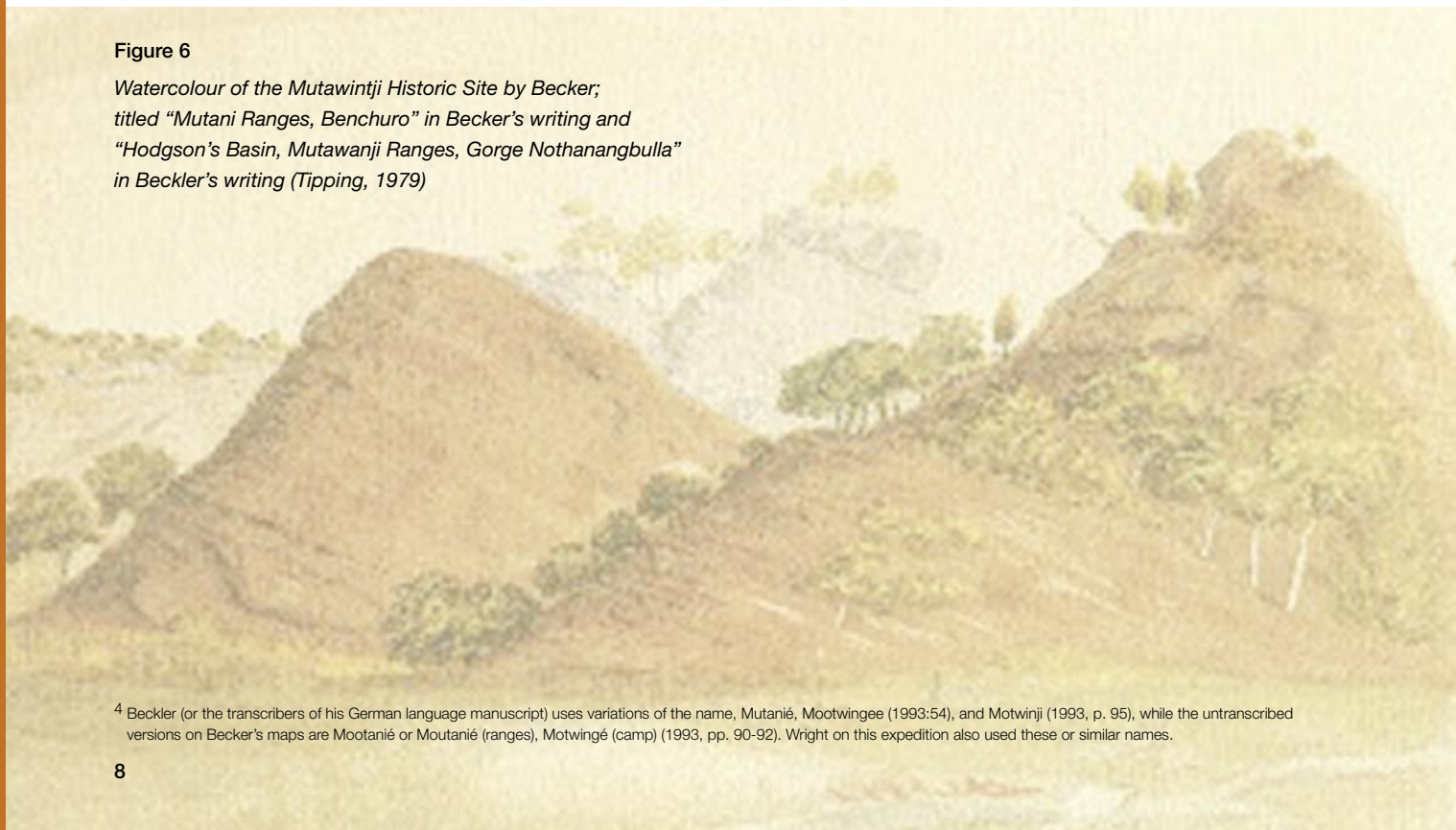
Beckler resigned from the expedition, but travelled from Menindee to Torowoto and back in late 1860 and again in early 1861 (Beckler 1993). His description of the country, particularly the Mutawintji area, and the illustrations and maps of another member of the expedition, naturalist Ludwig Becker, provide a glimpse of a "true oasis" (Beckler 1993, p. 54).[4]

On Beckler's first trip, his guide Peter, a Menindee man, named the country as he went, after being instructed by Dick (also called Mountain) who had accompanied and then saved the lives of two men sent north with dispatches for the Burke expedition (1993).

Beckler gave the names of the five gorges at Mutawintji from south to north as Langarerra, Motuanje (Mutanié), Yolkorko, Bengora and Nothangbulla (1993, p. 108). Wills refers to the range as the Mt Doubony Range and Mutwongee "gully" as midway between Langawirra Gully and Bengora Creek (Wills 1996, p. 25, p. 129). Langarerra or Langawirra is still retained as the name of a lake and station, but in the context given by Beckler and Wills must refer to Waverley Creek which fills Langawirra Lake. Mutwongee, Mutanie etc. refers to Mutawintji Gorge; Yolkorko must refer to Amphitheatre Gorge; Bengora to Homestead Gorge (and is likely to be the origin of the name Byngnano, the ranges in which Mutawintji is located); and Nothangbulla is still in use as Nootumbulla Creek in the Historic Site.

Figure 6

Watercolour of the Mutawintji Historic Site by Becker; titled "Mutani Ranges, Benchuro" in Becker's writing and "Hodgson's Basin, Mutawanji Ranges, Gorge Nothanangbulla" in Beckler's writing (Tipping, 1979)



[4] Beckler (or the transcribers of his German language manuscript) uses variations of the name, Mutanié, Mootwingee (1993:54), and Motwinji (1993, p. 95), while the untranscribed versions on Becker's maps are Mootanié or Moutanié (ranges), Motwingé (camp) (1993, pp. 90-92). Wright on this expedition also used these or similar names.

2.2.2 Water in a dry country

The early explorers, with their horses and stock, were often desperately in need of water. The Aboriginal inhabitants needed less: even in the mallee country they could drain water from the roots of the trees. Sturt noted that in the rocky country along the Barrier and Grey Ranges "water collects in crevices and rock holes" (Sturt 1849). Creeks, shallow lakes and swamps were filled by local rainfall which evaporated after a few weeks, but provided water and food for a short period. Further north, the overflow from the Bulloo came as far south as Salisbury Downs station, inundating the country for several weeks, bringing flocks of water birds and triggering plant growth. People probably lived spread out thinly across the landscape during good seasons, coming in to the rare permanent sources of water when the back country dried out.

Several large bodies of water failed only when drought was severe. Among these were: Mutawintji; Cobham Lake,[5] south of Milparinka; Depot Glen, which saved the lives of Sturt and his men; and Yancannia Creek, further to the east. Yancannia Creek seems rarely to have failed, and it periodically fed water into other lakes, the largest of which was Yantara.[6]

In the early contact period, water was always of prime concern for everyone, and giving up knowledge about water sources was not always voluntary. The usually calm and understanding Charles Sturt lost his temper with his guide, Topar, in the Broken Hill area in 1844. After partaking of water shown to them by Topar in the rock hole at "the Gorge" to the east of Broken Hill, and then the big waterhole close to where the Stephens Creek Reservoir is now, Sturt's party had trouble finding more water. This enraged Sturt, who accused Topar of guiding them away from the water and wrote "I was exceedingly provoked by Topar's treachery" (Sturt 1849, p.102).

James Field Crawford's 1859 prospecting expedition to the Barrier Ranges encountered a similar problem with their guide Billy. The waterholes noted by Sturt were dry and Crawford set out to find more water. After being directed away from water by Billy, he found some "fine water holes to the north" and commented;

> *I cannot help noticing here the duplicity and cunning of the natives and their general aversion to show anyone the places where they know there is water… In this instance I feel firmly convinced that Billy knew of the water being at this place… they are not to be trusted in anything* (Crawford 1860).

Keith Brougham, the son of John Brougham, the owner of Poolamacca (and brother of John Brougham Jnr of Gnalta station, now part of Mutawintji National Park), describes how the first pastoralists mapped out their original station boundaries by including the best waterholes:

> *The wild aborigines were a help by following their tracks, as they knew of any existing water away from the river…One old aborigine who claims to be from one of the wild tribes told me the walkabout was a good sign to watch for - at that time a mob were having a hunt for a new hunting ground and had camped about midday. While they were stopped a pregnant woman had a baby there. Next day they were off again, mother and child and went straight to a waterhole, which the white people found by following their tracks* (Brougham c. 1920, p. 14)

[5] Reid wrote that Cobham Lake had a local water shed (1924, p. 11).
[6] Reid claimed that these lakes were filled every seven years (1924, p. 11)

2.3
The early pastoral period

In 1862, the area north-west of Mt Murchison on the Darling River near present day Wilcannia was still frontier country. Mt Gipps station[7], set up in 1865 (Kearns 1982), was the first station in the Broken Hill area. It included the country to the north of Broken Hill and the hill that was to become the Broken Hill mine and city. Mt Gipps was followed soon after by Poolamacca, Corona and Mundi Mundi.

No actual descriptions of the annexation of Mutawintji by pastoralists have been found so far, but as permanent waterholes are few to the north-west of the Darling River, descriptions of the annexure of other important water sources such as Yancannia in the mid 1860s suggest that there was likely to have been conflict. Yancannia station, to the north of Mutawintji, had been established by 1865 and contemporary accounts describe conflict with the local Aboriginal people. By 1872 the Aboriginal people of Yancannia gave the owners "very little trouble" and "a few of them [were] very useful" (Reid in Shaw 1987, p. 104).

Frederic Bonney, who was based at Mt Murchison station and then at Momba to the east of Mutawintji from 1865 to 1881, states bluntly that in this period "natives killed by settlers – shot like dogs" (1866 – 1915 MSS).

The Crown Lands Commissioner Sharp reported from Cumpedore near Tilpa on his attempt to find the bodies of two white men reportedly killed by the Paroo people:

> *report the return….this day from the Paroo without having been able to discover any portion of the remains of Messrs. Curlewis and McCullogh. We were informed that the Blacks have destroyed everything, some by burning them, and others by putting them in water holes (Sharp 1862).*

The Wilcannia Police record mentions several cases of "accidental deaths" of Aboriginal people which were not investigated, including one person whom it was implied shot himself in the head on Murtee in 1885. The following entry of 1876 described life in the back blocks:

> *One chap of Depot Glen - back blocks - reported to Constable Harper, that a Blackfellow in his employ had stolen a sheep from him and his partner had followed up the Blackfellow, and when he charged him, the Blackfellow, with stealing the sheep, the chap was attacked by the Blackfellow who used a tomahawk and that in self-defence he was compelled to shoot the Black Man.*

In the same year Constable Harper arrested a man named Harry Giles, charged with "shooting and wounding with intent to murder on Tommy, an Aborigine of NSW". Tommy died a short while later. Harry Giles was remanded for eight days but there is no further mention of him in the record (Wilcannia Police Duty Book 9/6014).

[7] The ruins of the old Mt Gipps head station are on the Tibooburra/Mutawintji road to the north of Broken Hill.

W.H. Tietkens (n.d.) described the beginning of the takeover of the Yancannia area with its permanent waterholes to the north of Mutawintji. *'Yencanya'* station had just been formed in 1865:

Yencanya

We started westward from Yencanya… camped at Pingiwilpi spring, a beautiful spot…..[then] Torowoto Swamp…. On return to Yencanya we learnt that the blacks had again mustered in considerable force to avenge their fallen comrades and to burn and destroy the station and its inhabitants. The breech loading rifle and revolvers had again sent them off with serious loss.

[a few months later on a trip to] Cobham Lake… we were in country infested with blacks and during the day I had observed the tracks of several of them. [at] Yantara Lake …. We had an engagement with a large body of natives – It appears that some Salt Water blacks had joined the local tribe with view of hunting us out of their territory… a large body of blacks were camped upon the North and North West shore of the lake – Their long row of camp fires were easily discernible through the timber and all night long they made the night hideous with their war chants and corroborees. We kept watch until day break when a body of them were observed coming towards our camp under cover of the timber near the creek, we fired upon them when they immediately rushed in but they were met with a second salute which steadied a good many of them; but about a dozen charged into the camp and were soon engaged with our men, Sawers and myself, stood by the store tent, and kept them away from the provisions, which they were evidently determined to secure. They got such a very rough handling that they retreated to the lake. One of our men got a nasty flesh wound from a spear…

The Salt Water blacks soon after this left the neighbourhood much to our relief. With the Yantara tribe we were soon on good terms though among them were men whose reserved and sullen demeanour would occasionally break out in acts of violence and plunder, men whose natures were savage and who never will be influenced by their fellows, or overtures from the white usurpers of their wide domains.

(Tietkens, W.H (n.d.) Reminiscences: 1859-87, MS, State Library of South Australia).

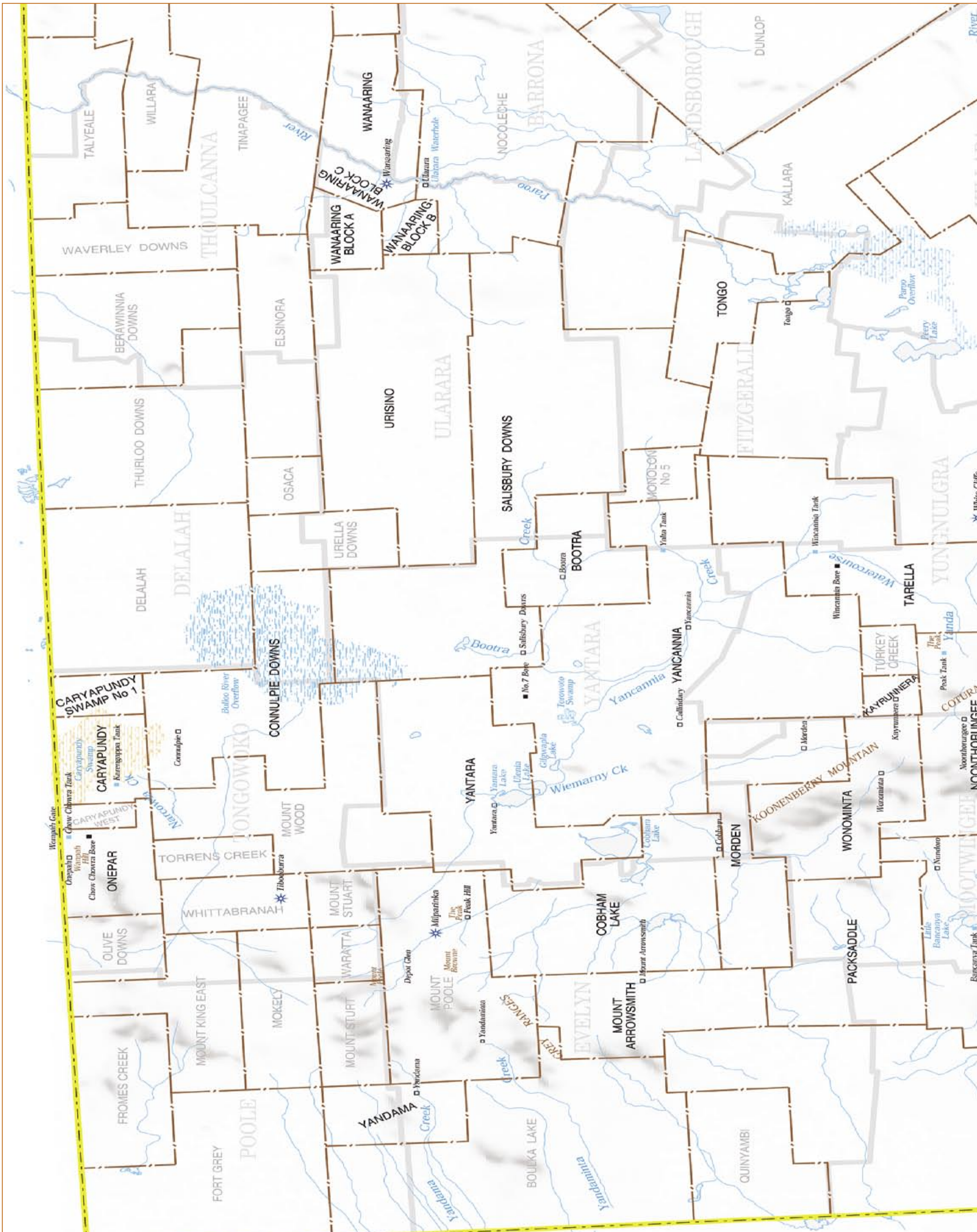
2.3.1 Indigenous life in the early years of settlement

Pastoral settlement west of the Darling had a profound effect on Aboriginal life. By the 1860s, the first pastoralists had set up their stations near places with permanent water (such as Yancannia and Mutawintji), virtually forcing the Aboriginal people into a state of dependence during dry seasons. The installation of bores in later years enabled the pastoralists to further expand into the back country. The Aboriginal population, though displaced, remained in the area, either working on stations or camped along Yancannia Creek, or later on the fringes of tiny towns such as Tibooburra and White Cliffs.

The runs were vast in the early years, leaving some space for the Aboriginal inhabitants to live in the old way when the creeks were running. However, they had to share the big water holes with the settlers and their stock, and had to make themselves useful to the new owners to be able to stay on their country during droughts. There appears to have been some fighting, but there are few details (see Hardy 1976). It seems likely that the Aboriginal population, suffering displacement and debilitated through lack of access to the old foods, succumbed to various epidemics.

The region also attracted hundreds of gold miners to places such as Tibooburra and Mt Brown in the 1880s, but in most places the ore was soon exhausted. The only large scale and lasting mineral deposit was at Broken Hill, still by far the largest city in the far west.

Frederic Bonney of Mt Murchison and then Momba station, to the east of Mutawintji, respected and looked after the people camped on the station, and truly liked them. Bonney published a paper in 1883 and, long after he had returned to England to live, campaigned for better treatment of the Aboriginal people and tried to educate the public about the complexity of Aboriginal culture (Bonney 1883; Bonney MSS 1866-1915; Lindsay 1983). The Bonney papers and photographs are a treasure of information about the Aboriginal people living there between 1864 and the late 1880s.


WAVERLEY DOWNS
TALYEALE
WILLARA
THOULCANNA
TINAPAGEE
WANAARING
WANAARING BLOCK C
WANAARING BLOCK A
WANAARING BLOCK B
NOCOLECHE
BARRONA
LANDSBOROUGH
DUNLOP
KALLARA
TONGO
BERAWINNIA DOWNS
ELSINORA
URISINO
ULARARA
SALISBURY DOWNS
FITZGERALD
THURLOO DOWNS
OSACA
URELLA DOWNS
MONOLON No 5
YUNGNULGRA
DELALAH
BOOTRA
TARELLA
CONNULPIE DOWNS
YANTARA
YANCANNIA
TURKEY CREEK
KAYRUNNERA
CARYAPUNDY SWAMP No 1
CARYAPUNDY
CARYAPUNDY WEST
TONGOWOKO
MOUNT WOOD
ONEPAR
TORRENS CREEK
WHITTABRANAH
MOUNT STUART
OLIVE DOWNS
WARATTA
COBHAM LAKE
MORDEN
WONOMINTA
KOONENBERRY MOUNTAIN
PACKSADDLE
MOUNT KING EAST
MOKELY
MOUNT STURT
MOUNT POOLE
FROMES CREEK
EVELYN
MOUNT ARROWSMITH
GREY RANGES
POOLE
YANDAMA
BOULKA LAKE
FORT GREY
QUINYAMBI
Paroo River
Bulloo River Overflow
Paroo Overflow
Peery Lake
Bootra Creek
Yancannia Creek
Wiemarny Ck
Watercourse
Yandama Creek
Yandaminta

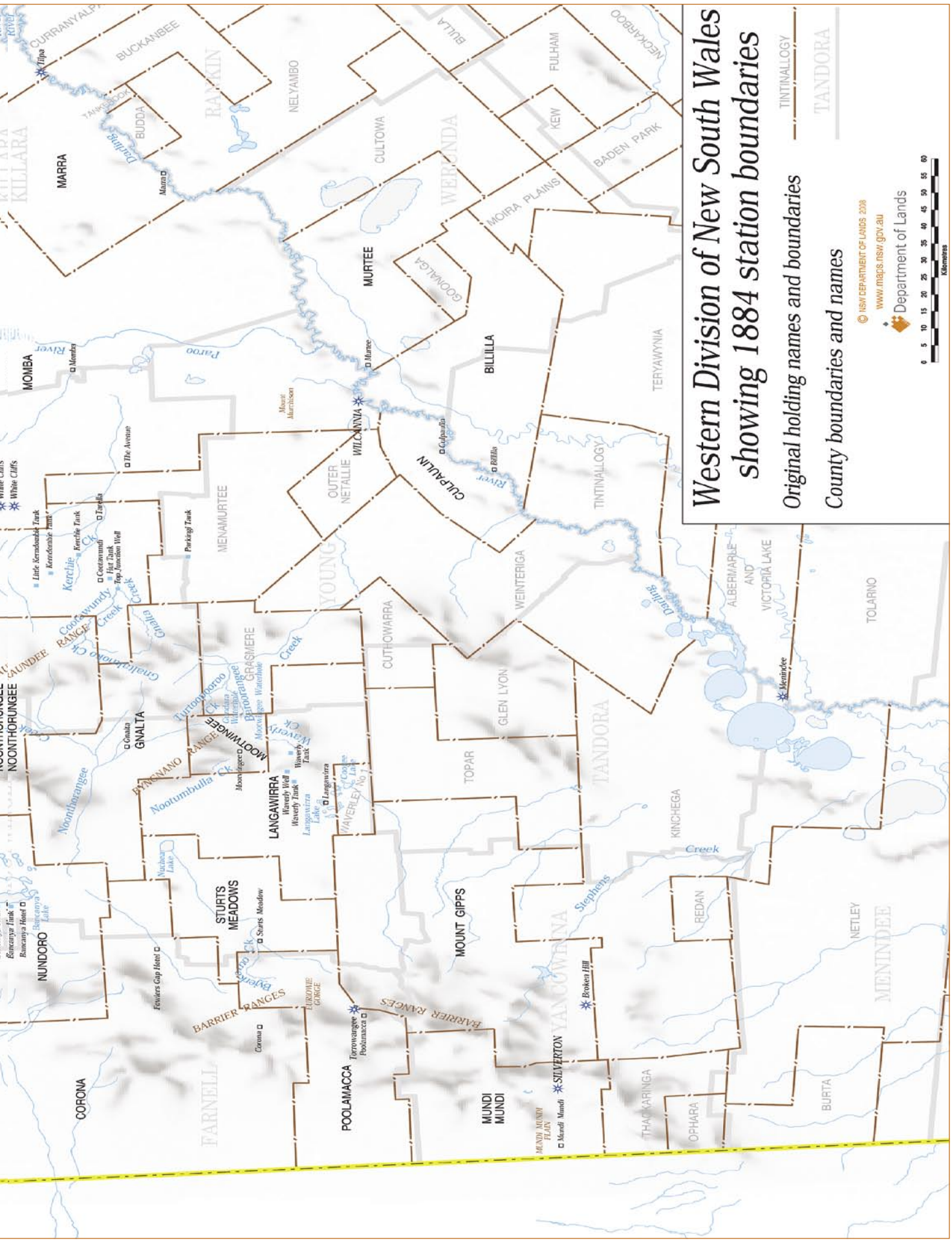


Figure 7

Western Division of New South Wales showing 1884 station boundaries

Figure 8

Corroboree on Wonnaminta station July 1888 (photo by IRH Kennedy in Hardy 1976)

It is clear from the Bonney records that people moved backwards and forwards between Yancannia, Momba, Tarella, Wonnaminta, Poolamacca and Gnalta/Mootwingee stations from the 1860s and through the 1880s. Bonney lists about 44 people as living at Momba and Tarella around 1881; some of the people from Momba have been traced and the descendents of some of the people Bonney described are Aboriginal owners of Mutawintji National Park.

There was also movement between Momba and Mt Murchison on the Darling River, near what is now Wilcannia. Mount Murchison and Momba had sizeable Aboriginal populations in the early years, though Bonney reported their declining numbers as the years passed. Settlers further west reported similar trends (Curr II, p.158). Other records and oral history indicate this movement continued until the very recent period when people settled in Wilcannia.

Other sources that provide clues about the movements of Aboriginal people during the early pastoral period include pastoral and police records, census records and the records of the Aborigines Protection Board (APB). The records are incomplete: for example, census records sometimes give details of the number and sometimes the names of Aboriginal people resident on stations; police records may keep track of blankets issued or rations requested.

The 1884 Wilcannia Police Records mention sending 12 blankets to Mootwingee station, 12 blankets to Culpaulin on the Darling River below Wilcannia, six to Billilla, and 12 blankets to Momba (Wilcannia Police Duty Book 9/6014); eight blankets were sent to Mt Arrowsmith in 1883 and again in 1884. The Protector of Aborigines Report records a total of 65 Aboriginal people living at Mt Gipps in 1882 (in Beckett 1978). The 1886-88 returns of the Board for the Protection of Aboriginal People do not list separate stations, but indicate that there were 77 people in the Silverton District (which included Mootwingee station), 133 in the Milparinka District and 114 in the Wilcannia District (see Table 1, Appendix 1). Pastoral records are few but the figures quoted in Shaw (1987, p. 237) suggest that numbers of Aboriginal people living on Tarella station, just to the east of Mootwingee, rapidly reduced. The amount of money spent on 'blacks' in 1881 was £69/6/1; £19/7/7 was spent in 1896 and nil was spent in 1901.

The 1891 Census lists the number of Aboriginal people at each household on each station (see Table 2, Appendix 2 which shows that people were spread out all over the Milparinka and Silverton districts).[8] No Aboriginal people are listed at Mootwingee in 1891, but there are large groups on neighbouring stations such as Wonnaminta (13 people) and Yancannia (19 people). This Census actually names some of the Aboriginal 'householders' or 'heads of the house' in far Western NSW, unlike most areas that refer to 'blacks camp' or 'roving aborigines'. One of these 'householders' was Outalpa George, whose descendants are amongst the Aboriginal owners of Mutawintji National Park (see section 7.5.2 below).

In 1892 about 50 Aboriginal people, including Outalpa George, were camped near Olary. At about this time they moved to Poolamacca station which "under the regime of the late owner, Mr J. Brougham, constituted a sanctuary for the last remaining

[8] Unfortunately, Wilcannia figures which include Momba and Tarella on the eastern side of Mootwingee station are missing

Aboriginal inhabitants of the Barrier Ranges and adjacent areas" (Mawson & Hossfeld 1926).

Keith Brougham, the son of John Brougham, writes about the 1890s:

> *[in] 1892 [at] Poolamacca ... we were amazed by the number of Aboriginals that were there.... I had a boy mate staying with me and about two hundred blacks were camped in a sort of inlet in the hills of Silverton Hill, as it was called west of the homestead … The Aboriginals were practically in their wild state and did not speak our language* (Brougham MS n.d, p.1)

> *… cotton dresses, high coloured and a great favourite of the [women] went as soon as they were landed, and olive oil for the [women's] hair, always in demand* (Brougham MS n.d, p.2).

> *[the Aboriginal people] were very handy in the woolshed at shearing time. The [women] did all the piece picking and men on the tables and picking up. The pickers were excellent at their job and all had a good eye, male and female* (Brougham MS n.d, p.3)

> *... At Poolamacca my mother … employed a … girl who was neat and tidy, an extra good worker, and in 1896 she was really good* (Brougham MS n.d, p.12)

> *... [at] Euriowie we had a lot of aboriginals working in the creeks surrounding this country picking up slugs of pure tin and bagging it* (Brougham MS n.d, p.23).

The APB minutes recorded between 1890 and 1901 seldom mention the Mutawintji area. The only stations in the far north-west that received help from the APB were Poolamacca, occasionally Sturts Meadows, and the fringe camps at Milparinka, Tibooburra, Wanaaring and Wilcannia. The only station that consistently received rations throughout 1890-1901 was Poolamacca. Sturts Meadows (just to the west of Mutawintji) received rations in 1893, 1897 and 1898. Most stations either managed to fully employ the Aboriginal people living there or provided food and clothing of some sort without asking for compensation.

A photo of the 'Wonnaminta Homestead Staff 1892' indicates that 23 adults and children were included amongst the homestead staff and family, probably more worked the stock.

At Wonnaminta in 1897, Keith Brougham recorded:

> *the Kennedy family had a … boy who did the house work and waiting at the table called Yarrowie, also a black boy who was chasing horses and had a fall due to a rabbit burrow and he got caught in the stirrup and was dragged some distance with his head bumping on the ground. After Mrs Kennedy treated him, rode in the races the following day. He was eventually a police tracker in Broken Hill (Brougham MS n.d:19) … and another by a full blooded aborigine named Duncan, worked in the house.* (Brougham MS n.d:15A)

Figure 9

Brougham family photograph titled 'Visitors to Shearers Cook, Poolamacca, about 1900'

Figure 10

Servants at Wonnaminta Homestead (Hardy 1976)

During John Brougham's time at Poolamacca during the 1890s and early 1900s, the station was something of a sanctuary for Aboriginal people but many had moved on by the time the Brougham family left. Some followed the Broughams to Gnalta station (now part of Mutawintji National Park) while others went to stations like Yancannia, where a large number of Aboriginal people lived and worked (Shaw 1987).

Keith Brougham provides the only early written account of Aboriginal people at Gnalta:

> *[at] Gnalta 1909 [there were] wild oranges at Dauboney Well … and at Mootwingee they were small but had the scent of an orange … Away at the back of Gnalta that is where you see the pick of the black boys ride (Brougham MS n.d.:16A).*
>
> *... there was one old black fellow camped at the station in his own humpy who was expert at carving anything you gave him ... Emu eggs, boomerang, or any weapons of the black fellows*[9] (Brougham MS n.d: no page number).

The 1901 Census (see Table 3, Appendix 1) does not list any Aboriginal people resident at Mootwingee station, although we know from a Besley family photo that the boy 'Wigee' was living at (or visiting) Mootwingee around 1900. This Census indicates that Aboriginal people were still living out on stations, but were not spread out over as many and were often on different stations to the ones listed in 1891.

The Bourke figures are missing from the census records, so it is difficult to compare the 1891 and 1901 Census, but it is clear that by 1901 the Momba people described by Bonney (1866-1883 MSS) had moved out. What is immediately different about this Census is the very large group of people clustered at the Milparinka gold fields (51 males and 19 females), compared with the total of 24 'old and infirm' in the Milparinka District who had been receiving clothing but not rations from the APB consistently from 1892 to 1901 (see Table 4, Appendix 1).

Conditions had changed dramatically towards the end of the century due to severe drought at that time. At Poolamacca, John Brougham's correspondence with the APB recommended that "meat be added to the rations during the winter or until the end of the drought" (APB Minutes 20/6/1901) and the Milparinka Police recommended rations for 90 people (APB Minutes 23/4/1901), stating that people were unable to find work on the stations because of the drought. Aboriginal people concentrated around the Milparinka/Mt Brown goldfields, presumably to get rations and because the policeman at Milparinka was helpful, as evidenced by his constant correspondence with the APB requesting clothing, rations and medical attention for the Milparinka people. Fragments of oral history also suggest that people congregated at Milparinka and Tibooburra in hard times because they were able to make some money or supplement rations by fossicking for gold.

Figure 11

Photograph taken in the Mootwingee homestead shade house of 'Wigee' with Maude and Hazel Besley about 1900, Broken Hill Outback Archives.

[9] See also section 7.6.2 Fanny Bates and Sam Bonney: Sam's occupation was 'emu egg carver' and both Brougham and Bonney (1886-1883 MSS) mention his artistic talents

2.4
The early 20th century

The following years brought a period of increasing dependence for many Paakantyi people as the drought, land degradation and depression took their toll on the pastoral holdings and it became increasingly difficult for Aboriginal people to compete for and gain work on the stations. About 1910, areas at Pooncarie, Milparinka, Tibooburra and White Cliffs were set apart as Aboriginal reserves and the Aborigines Protection Act 1909 came into force.

Sub-division of the big holdings began soon after Federation, and this, together with the soldier settlement schemes introduced after World War I and World War II, resulted in the dispersal of the 'station blacks' over the next 25 years. Single stations could no longer support full-time Aboriginal communities and groups divided their time among several properties that still provided refuge and employment (Hardy 1981 pp. 174-178). In the early 20th century, the main concentration of Aboriginal people in the country near Mutawintji was at Yancannia station (Shaw 1987), though groups seem to have been associated with stations such as Poolamacca, Yandama, Gnalta, Morden and Tarella.

According to George Dutton, who was born on Yancannia station, there was a sizeable Aboriginal population at Poolamacca until about 1910, but almost none thereafter. George Dutton told Jeremy Beckett:

> *At Poolamacca in 1901 there was a big mob of blackfellas, two hundred men without the women and kids. When I went back in 1910 there was only two boys left and graves all round (Beckett 1978, p.19).*

Dutton's statement implies that the Poolamacca people died, but it is likely that many people had moved on after the Brougham family left. According to Barbara Brougham, Keith Brougham's daughter, many Aboriginal people followed her family from Poolamacca to other stations including Gnalta, now part of Mutawintji National Park (Martin interview 2003). There were also many deaths during the early part of the 20th century from tuberculosis and from the Spanish Flu epidemic of 1919.

Some Poolamacca people, including the Tylers and the Gibsons, went to Yancannia where a large number of Aboriginal people lived and worked (Shaw 1987). Most of the people who provided information about Mutawintji in the mid-twentieth century were either born on Yancannia station or lived there for periods.[10] It is not clear whether Yancannia station distributed Government rations in hard times but it seems to have been home to a considerable number of Aboriginal families, even after Kidman took over the place in 1916.[11] The place was associated with various *muras*, and particularly Birndiwalpa further up Yancannia Creek.

A prolonged drought in the 1920s, combined with subdivision into smaller units, brought an end to this way of life, and those whose home it had been had to camp on the fringe of small towns such as Tibooburra and White Cliffs (Shaw 1987, pp. 219-220). However, men continued to work on stations like Yancannia and Yandama, and individual families might live on them for periods. From the 1920s to the 1940s, White Cliffs became the base for families working on stations around the area. Willy Riley, who was born at White Cliffs in 1934, recalled that his father George Riley and grandfather Jack Quayle sank the big tank in the middle of White Cliffs, called Riley's Tank, now surrounded by pepper trees, waterbushes and wild plums.

The Catholic Church baptism records (see Table 5, in Appendix 1) indicate that members of the Bates, Dutton, Quayle (and Hunt) families spent time in Tibooburra between 1931 and 1937.

[10] A list of Yancannia contributors to the war effort in 1914 includes Alf Barlow, Walter Newton, and several members of the Tyler family.
[11] Hardy 1979, pp. 2-3; Shaw 1987, p. 217. Sydney Kidman was remembered by older Aboriginal people as someone who liked having them working on his stations.

2.5
The mid 20th century

In 1938, the NSW Aborigines Protection Board forcibly moved families from Tibooburra to its managed station at Brewarrina.

Elsie Coombes (nee Bates) was born at Yandama around 1920-22 and grew up at Milparinka. Her son Hector was born in 1937 at Tibooburra and in 1938 they were forced to leave everything and get on trucks which took them to Brewarrina Mission:

> *We was all trucked out – [they] never said nothing – three trucks there were. Alf* [Bates] *didn't get sent because he was working on a station. We were in Bre not very long – in 1942 went to Wanaaring for a while, then Wilcannia. 1942 went to Dareton then Yancannia. Went up there to Tibooburra for a look sometimes – never went back though*. (Martin tape and notes 1992).

Kath Beer (nee Monaghan) also remembered the people being trucked to Brewarrina. "[There was an] old truck with wooden cabin ... people crying and dogs wailing" (Martin interview 1990).

Figure 12

Some of the Tibooburra people in a truck on which they were moved to Brewarrina Mission 1938 (New Dawn, 1 January 1974: copy held at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

Some escaped this removal, and others returned to the Corner Country some years later. Photos taken by Tindale record the Bates and Dutton families at Brewarrina, but none of them stayed for long. George Dutton refused to live under the conditions at Brewarrina and told the manager "this is no good to me". "You can't go", the manager said, "I'm going to" said George and loaded up "the turn-out" straight away (Beckett 1978, p. 21).

The escape from Brewarrina of Albie Bates and his wife Ivy Quimby is recorded by their daughters Alice and Peggy (Wharton 1994). Evelyn Crawford (1993) also describes her family's similar escape. Albie Bates' family took more time than George Dutton and fixed up an old truck and stored up food in secret, as they were terrified that the children would be 'taken' if they were found out;

> *At last they were ready. One night they sneaked away from the mission, heading for the Queensland border and what they hoped would be freedom…. that old T-model Ford, minus its windscreen and hood…chugging along only at night with no lights…one of the group would be standing on the running board with a torch, lighting the way to freedom* (Wharton 1994, pp. 115-117).

By the mid 1940s, the small Darling River town of Wilcannia had become the main centre of Aboriginal population, some coming up the river from Menindee, Pooncarie and Wentworth, others coming in from the back country around White Cliffs, Wanaaring and Tibooburra.[12]

Catholic Church baptism records indicate that members of the Bates, Barlow and Quayle families were in White Cliffs between 1932 and 1941. After 1941 most baptisms of the Bates, Quayle and Dutton families took place in Wilcannia, which was increasingly being used as a base by the Mutawintji families as well as Darling River Paakantyi and Ngiyampaa people from Menindee Mission. Some people were still living at White Cliffs and surrounding stations into the 1950s (for example, Alf Bates was living at The Avenues station when his mother died in 1952). The Births, Deaths and Marriages register also shows similar movements for the Gibson family.

By the 1960s the last of the big pastoral holdings had been broken up and, with increasing mechanisation, there was little need for the Aboriginal labour that had helped to establish the industry, although individuals continued to work on the stations including Mootwingee and others in the area.

[12] A few came from Queensland, South Australia and eastern NSW.

Figure 13

This photo was taken in about 1950 at Box Vale near White Cliffs. From left to right are: Margaret Quayle, Dorothy Barlow, Vera Quayle, Vincent Quayle, Laurie Quayle, Cyril Hennesy, Bert Brown, Kay Quayle, Jack Melrose, Corral Hennesy and Raeline Quayle (New Dawn, October 1973: copy held at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

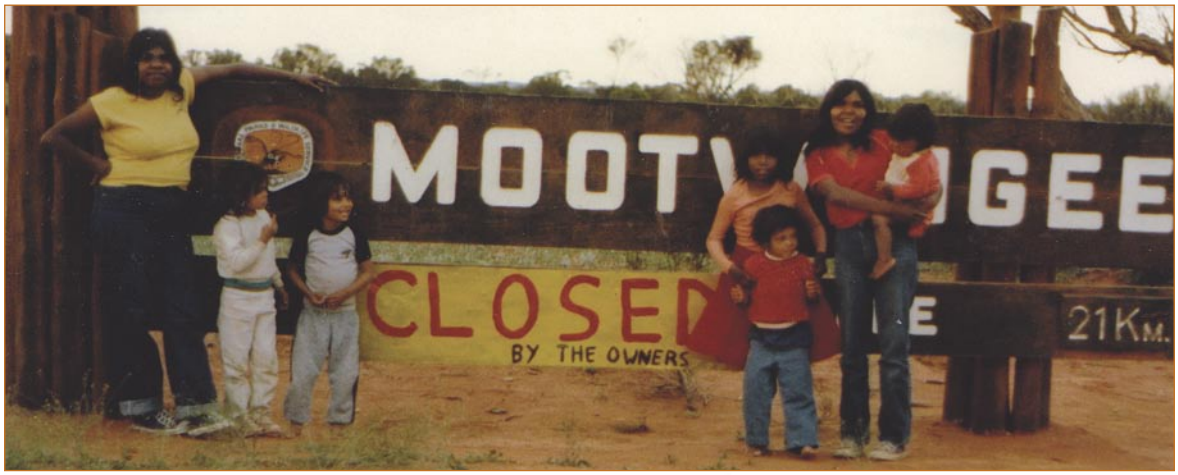


Figure 14

Mootwingee closed by the owners, September 1983. Left to right: Elizabeth Hunter, Natalie Harris, Warlpa Thompson, Tracey Hunter, Terrence Hunter (in front), Colleen Hunter holding Eric Hunter (photo courtesy of Peter Thompson).

2.6 The struggle for Mutawintji

The Mutawintji LALC was established in 1984 after the passage of the ALRA. Over the next eight years Mutawintji LALC lobbied the New South Wales government to acknowledge Aboriginal interests in the three reserves and to negotiate ownership and management arrangements for the park. In the early 1990s, Tim Moore, then Minister for the Environment in New South Wales, took up the issue and in 1991, introduced the first *National Parks and Wildlife (Aboriginal Ownership)* Bill into Parliament. Its provisions proposed the lease back of Mutawintji National Park to the Mutawintji LALC for 99 years, with options for renewal.

In proposing the legislation, Tim Moore paid special tribute to the Mutawintji people in Parliament, acknowledging that the spirit of the legislation

> *....comes from people like William Bates, or Badger Bates, the people from the land council and the local community out in western New South Wales. They first gave to me the germ of the idea that led to this legislation. It is particularly to those people – the ordinary Aboriginal men and women of New South Wales who feel a deep spiritual and cultural affinity with sites such as the four that are named in this legislation – that we say we wish to return ownership to them, acknowledging still the importance of these sites to all of us within the community and the need to conserve and preserve them for the future, while allowing responsible access to them in consultation with and management by the Aboriginal community, so that we can enjoy and understand the beauty of these places as well as their enormous significance to the local Aboriginal communities.*

The Bill was referred to a Committee of the Legislative Assembly, composed of three members of the Government and three members of the Opposition, including the then Shadow Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Col Markham. After more than 30 public hearings, many held in rural New South Wales, and much deliberation, the comprehensive *Report of the Legislative Committee on the National Parks and Wildlife Aboriginal Ownership Amendment Bill 1992* made 29 recommendations, resulting in 66 amendments.

The redrafted bill was later shelved, following the resignation from Parliament of Tim Moore, who had been the main driving force, in 1992. Col Markham retained his passion for returning national parks to Aboriginal ownership, however, and in 1994 gained the support of his party to introduce the legislation as a Private Member's Bill. The Bill was introduced in September 1994. Passage of the legislation was further delayed, but by its support to the Private Member's Bill the issue had become part of Labor Party policy. After the election of the Carr Labor Government by a narrow margin in 1995 an expanded version of the Bill was introduced by the new Minister for Environment and National Parks, Pam Allen. The Bill amended the *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 and the Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983*. It was finally passed in December 1996 and remains unchanged and still in force today.

The *National Parks* and *Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996* enabled Aboriginal ownership of national parks such as Mutawintji through a 30 year lease back arrangement to the NPWS, with the option of extension of this lease through negotiation. After passage of the legislation Mutawintji LALC wrote to the Government proposing to commence negotiation of the lease. In a further act of bi-partisanship, Minister Allen appointed the former Minister, Tim Moore, to facilitate the negotiations, while the LALC appointed a negotiating team and its own legal and park management advisers. Negotiations commenced in May 1997 and concluded in July or August 1998.

Mutawintji

We went from Homestead Gorge up to the Rock Quarry where our ancestors made stone axes, knives and other stone tools and nardu dishes. Standing up there and looking down the valleys and waterholes makes you think of the hardship our people must have went through in the last few thousand years. So you see, a place like this must not be destroyed by anyone.

When you walk up the valleys you get a very strange feeling about the place, as if you are coming home again after a long time away. It's like the places is especially decorated for you, and a mother with open arms and saying "welcome home, son".

And the birds and flowers are so pretty it makes you wonder why people would want to destroy them in such a place as this. It's a place of much beauty.

The lookout is just like the dreamtime, especially when the sun is coming up. It is as if the whole plains and the hills are waking up to another day and the whole countryside comes alive with birds of many colours. And when the sun goes down the colour goes out of the hills, the birds disappear again until another day.

The rock holes and water holes in the hills meant water for many generations of Aboriginal people. The story of their culture is told in the paintings and engravings that may be seen on the rocks and in the caves.

White people don't see the place as Aboriginal people do, and you see it is very hard to explain to them: they have their treasures and places of beauty, and we don't destroy them, we admire them; and that is what they should do to a place like Mutawintji (John A Quayle, December 1984).

ABORIGINES BLOCK ACCES TO MOOTWINGEE SITE

It has been reported to local police that Aborigines have blocked the road to Mootwingee Historic Site.

It is understood the Aborigines are blocking the road as a combined protest about alleged slowness in granting land rights to the Aboriginal people, and as a protest against white man's desecration and exploitation of sacred sites.

It is believed the Aborigines have erected tents on the Mootwingee Road, and that tourists (who include visitors to the city) cannot gain access to the historic site.

Police are also investigating the painting of protest slogans (in black and red paint) on various buildings on Sunday night.

2.7
Mutawintji National Park

On 5 September 1998, the Mutawintji National Park was handed back to Aboriginal owners. It encompasses three parcels of land: Mutawintji National Park, Mutawintji Historic Site and Mutawintji Nature Reserve (formerly Coturaundee Nature Reserve). The park and nature reserve take in all of the old Mootwingee station and parts of Gnalta and Nuntherungie stations. The park is located in the Byngnano Ranges and is notable for its beautiful gorges, rockpools and dry creek beds lined with river red gums, as well as for its magnificent galleries of rock art and engravings. The total park area is approximately 75,000 hectares of rangelands, and hill and gorge country.

The lease of Mutawintji National Park was the first lease agreement under the *National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996*. Under the agreement, the land remains a conservation estate of New South Wales but is managed by a Board of Management, the majority of which are Aboriginal owners. The Mutawintji LALC is represented on the Board, as is the Department of Environment and Climate Change, local government, conservation groups and neighbouring property owners. The principles and practical issues of joint management and land management are considered, as well as provisions for the resolution of disputes.

Figure 15

Cooling off in a Mutawintji waterhole. Left to right: Colleen Probert, Maryann Hausia, Letisha O'Donnell and Elizabeth Hunter, 2003 (photo by Brett Norman, courtesy of Kim O'Donnell)

3. Ethnography

The sheep stations and the mostly ephemeral mining ventures had already disturbed Aboriginal life when the first generation of anthropologists began making their enquiries. A.P. Elkin interviewed some Aboriginal people from this area in the early 1930s, and Norman Tindale met some Tibooburra people on Brewarrina Settlement in 1938.

It was not until the 1950s and 1960s that there was intensive study of this region and its peoples by researchers such as Beckett (anthropology), Wurm and Hercus (linguistics), McCarthy, Macintosh and Allen (archaeology/pre-history), and Hardy and Martin (ethno-history). Although ceremonial activity and prescribed marriage had long since ceased, some old people remembered and could explain these practices. Several Aboriginal languages, particularly Paakantyi, were spoken by middle aged and older people. George Dutton, Hannah, Alf Barlow, Walter Newton, Hero Black and Anna (Grannie) Moysey, as well as a few younger people such as Elsie Jones, May Barlow and Alice Bugmy, were able to provide information, particularly on language, ritual, kinship and mythology.

Various writers produced partial accounts of the Mutawintji engravings and paintings from the 1920s on, but the study by archaeologist/pre-historian F.D. McCarthy, then Curator of Anthropology at the Australian Museum and N.W.G. Macintosh (1962)[13] then Professor of Anatomy at the Unversity of Sydney, is still the most comprehensive. These authors provided a detailed description of the place, including excavation reports of several camping sites, but were principally concerned with the drawings and paintings. They were not accompanied to the site by any Aboriginal informant, but interviewed George Dutton several times in Wilcannia and in Bourke, obtaining his comments on some of the drawings and his account of Aboriginal beliefs relating to the place. They report that he declared himself unable to identify many of the engravings.

McCarthy and Macintosh could not get any report of engraving taking place within living memory and speculated that this practice may have been discontinued some time before the arrival of Europeans. They were less sure about the paintings. William Gibson, a Wilyakali informant of A.P. Elkin,[14] attributed similar engravings at nearby Euriowie Gorge[15] to the mythological Seven Sisters, but (nevertheless) described the kind of chisel they had used (Elkin 1949). William Gibson told Elkin he had made stencils as a child (though neither Dutton nor anyone else around Wilcannia claimed to have done this). Without being able to date either form, McCarthy and McIntosh concluded that the rock art and less certainly the painting had been done at some time in the distant past, after which the practice had been discontinued (1962, p. 276). More recent research identifies evidence (such as use of blue raddle pigment, stencilled European objects such as clay pipes and shear blades, and painting over European graffiti) that pigment art, mainly stencilling but also painting and drawing, was still being practised after contact.[16]

It is clear that Aboriginal people of George Dutton's generation had traditional knowledge about the place. McCarthy and Macintosh quote Dutton as saying that rain-making ceremonies were performed there. He gave Beckett an eye-witness account of the ceremony at "Badjakana Waterhole in Yuriowey country", which lay further west in Wilyali country,[17] while Walter Newton told Beckett that much the same kind of ceremony was performed at Mutawintji (Beckett 1993). Hero Black, a Kurnu man, spoke to Marie Reay in 1945 of the *karku maarni* (red ochre) corroboree being performed at Mutawintji. Evelyn Crawford wrote of people travelling from Brewarrina to Mutawintji as late as the 1930s (Crawford 1993).[18]

There are no documented accounts of large inter-tribal gatherings at Mutawintji, but the availability of permanent water would have made it an attractive spot and there are extensive remains of Aboriginal campsites in the vicinity.[19] George Dutton told McCarthy and Macintosh that his father (stepfather) had shown him this country as a child, but said that 'the people had gone, they were not so many, they became fewer, there weren't enough for gatherings and they moved away' (1962, p. 276).

[13] McCarthy, F.D & Macintosh, N.W.G 1962 'The Archaeology of Mootawingie, Western New South Wales' Records of the Australian Museum XXV, 13, pp. 249-298.
[14] Elkin did not name the informant, but his note books reveal that it was William Gibson (Elkin Archive, University of Sydney Archives).
[15] Rock faces at Euriowie Gorge feature numerous engravings, stencils and paintings, indicating that this was an important site. Tin was mined in the area in the 19th century and the ruins of an abandoned town and hotel remain in the Euriowie Reserve on Poolamacca station.
[16] Gunn, R.G. and Sale, K. M. 1995, Homestead Gorge Rock Art Documentation and Condition Assessment (Mootwingee National Park, NSW) with Additional Notes on Sites within Amphitheatre Gorge, Galleries Track and on the Western Ridge; Report to the Mutawintji Land Council and AIATSIS, Canberra.
[17] Dutton stated that the place for rain making for Pantyikali was at Pirntiwalpi on Yancannia Creek (Beckett field notes).
[18] Crawford seems to be referring to the 1930s, when she was a small child.
[19] Dr Dan Witter, pers.com. to Beckett.

Hannah Quayle visited the place with her husband when she was newly married (in the mid 1890s) and remembered some of the stories associated with it (Hardy 1979, pp. 3-4). Others seem to have worked at the station in the early years of the twentieth century.

While George Dutton was only a 'lad' when he was shown the Kurlawirra pathway, he was with his knowledgeable and authorised stepfather. He also went to Mutawintji around 1914 when he took a mob of cattle there (Beckett 1978, p. 16). For reasons he did not explain, Dutton was uncomfortable visiting the place with Beckett in 1965, and refused to leave the vehicle or camp there overnight. Beckett later learned that he had told his children to stay away from Mutawintji.[20]

It is clear that there was a period of time when Aboriginal people were discouraged by elders from visiting the powerful places at Mutawintji, without the appropriate mentors with them. In later times people were told not to go to particular places. Alice Bugmy said "Alf Barlow wouldn't let us come to Mutawintji – he said to never go there. We just went past." (Martin interview 1992). They went to Mutawintji as it was on the main road, but the young people were not allowed to go to any dangerous places.

At an Aboriginal owners meeting in March 2003, Mary Ann Hausia (nee Bates) said that when the Quayle family camped at the tank or dam near the Mootwingee station shearer's quarters in the 1950s:

> *We weren't allowed to go up into the hills without an adult. Even to go walking down the creek we had to have an older person with us … We camped behind the tank here on the way from White Cliffs to Broken Hill. We were told there was something in the hills – to stay away* (pers. comm. Martin 2003).

When Badger Bates started working at Mutawintji National Park in 1983 he was always careful not to be caught in the hills on dusk or after dark. He says:

> *My grandmother always said to me "be careful and respect Mutawintji". You shouldn't walk those hills after dark, because that's respect for the people who passed on and the spirits that's in the hills.*

> *Even today I won't take the young people to the men's special places until they show more respect for Mutawintji. I know where the women's sites is because Alice Bugmy showed me and Ethel Edwards told me, and Grannie Moysey told me and in my mind I know where these places are. I won't tell anyone about them because Ethel and Alice made me a guardian of the women's sites when they was alive. I always told them that the women's sites were OK. I never sat in the women's sites, I always talk to them and I came away with a better feeling inside myself. I will not tell anyone yet until the time is right and everyone shows respect, and then I will tell the story about these sites and take them there* (Martin interview 2003).

3.1 Language and country

Mutawintji National Park is generally agreed to be in the country of the Pantyikali, a Paakantyi-speaking people[21] who spoke Wanyiwalku.

However, defining a 'cultural area' for Mutawintji – the broader region within which the Aboriginal inhabitants have, or traditionally had an acknowledged significant cultural relationship with the site – is a more complex task.

For example, although the Pantyikali spoke a form of Paakantyi, this does not mean that all Paakantyi speakers had the same relationship with Mutawintji.

Paakantyi speakers are widely distributed over an area running virtually the whole length of the Darling River, extending westward from the Darling, across the South Australian border and along the Warrego and Paroo rivers into Queensland (see map in Chapter 4).

Paakantyi means 'River People' (referring to the Darling River region from Wentworth to Bourke). These Paakantyi spoke the same language with only some differences of dialect.

The same language was also spoken by people west of the Darling River (and well into South Australia), but with more significant differences of dialect (see Chapter 4). These Paakantyi-speakers were known

[20] Eveline Dutton, Lionel Dutton pers.com. 1985.
[21] Paakantyi is also variously spelt as Bakundji, Barkindji, etc (see table section 1.3).

by other names, often referring to the kind of country they inhabited: for example, Paaruntyi (those who lived along the Paroo River) and Pantyikali (Creek People) and/or to the language they spoke, as in the case of Wanyiwalku (the language spoken by the Pantyikali).[22] In addition to these, the names most often remembered are Thangkaali, Wilyali,[23] lying to the south and west of Broken Hill respectively, and Kurnu, the people who lived along the upper Darling, around Louth and Tilpa.

The Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku seem to have differed from the Paakantyi people living to the south in certain cultural practices. In addition, it seems they had significant relations with the Malyangapa, Wangkumara and other neighbours to the north and north-west, at least in the years immediately after contact, but also most likely before.[24] In contrast, there is no evidence that all Paakantyi-speaking people ever came together in one place.

This context poses the problem of weighing the Pantyikali's interaction with neighbours who primarily spoke other languages (and may also have spoken Paakantyi) compared with their interaction with the wider community of other Paakantyi speakers. Language was an important way of differentiating people in certain situations – even minor dialect differences could be given social significance – but it was only one of a number of ways in which Aboriginal people structured their world. Other kinds of social grouping, relating to country, kinship, ritual and mythology, cut across language groupings.

Despite displacement and depopulation, George Dutton was able to give a comprehensive account of the countries of the various 'tribes', by reference to the names of creeks and water holes (both English and Aboriginal) and latter-day sheep stations (see Appendix 2). He identified some places as having been inhabited by two named 'mobs'. He also indicated boundaries in his telling of mythological travelling stories, noting that at a particular place the ancestor or *mura* started speaking a different language (see Chapter 4). As Alan Rumsey puts it (1989), this is indicating the space where a language belongs but not the limit of people's movement.

The Malyangapa, whose country lay in the far north-west corner of the state (the country around Cobham Lake) and the Wadikali (referring to the dry country in the furthermost corner formed by the state boundaries) spoke a distinct language, as did the Wangkumara and Kungardutyi, whose country included the Bulloo overflow.[25]

The early reports speak of declining numbers and individuals from neighbouring tribes coming together, causing 'a great mixture of dialects', however this mixing may always have taken place, particularly given the arid character of the country west of the Grey Ranges.

It seems that the 'mob' who lived on Yancannia station around the turn of the 20th century included both Paakantyi speakers (mainly Wanyiwalku) and people from their northern neighbours, with whom they intermarried. George Dutton's first wife was a Wangkumara, and his second wife was Malyangapa. Hannah Quayle and Alf Barlow seem also to have been Malyangapa although they were fluent speakers of Wanyiwalku. It was in this somewhat heterogeneous group that ritual life was perpetuated, at least for a while, and knowledge of the country around Mutawintji National Park was transmitted, so that as late as the 1960s it was possible for Beckett and others to record the accounts of it that have been described here.

The 19th century sources include some names that mid-20th century informants did not recognise and which seem to have dropped out of use, perhaps because the discriminations were no longer significant under conditions of settlement. Howitt's *Native Tribes of South East Australia (1904)* included many names which were unknown in 1957 to the oldest people, such as George Dutton and Hannah Quayle. These included Itchimundi for all the groups west of the Darling, Kongait (located in what we call Malyangapa country), Tongaranka which seems to be the eastern part of Pantyikali country, and Bulalli who seem to be the same as the Wilyali. Howitt locates the Wilyakali around the Grey Ranges, which we identify with the Wadikali.

[22] The record is somewhat confusing. Bonney (1883) uses 'Waynudulckoo' for the language spoken by both the river Paakintyi and the 'Bungyarlee', as well as 'Baroongie' and 'Mulya-apa'. Dutton was identified by Tindale (1938) as speaking Wainyubalku, presumably because Dutton told him. However, Dutton identified himself to Beckett and later Hercus as speaking Pantyikali. His map distinguishes this group from Wainyubalku. In fact, the linguistic differences are negligible.

[23] Elkin and others use the term Wilyakali to refer to what seems to be the same group; however, Dutton and also Dougal and Peter McFarlane, who claimed this identity, used the shorter term, Wilyali.

[24] The traditional stories about the heaps of boulders around Tibooburra and similar sites around Broken Hill are that they are the various groups of the whole region, turned to stone after a cataclysm.

[25] James Reid, one of the early settlers, recorded a 'Torrowoto' vocabulary which he believed to be Malyangapa but Paakantyi words predominated (Curr 179); however, Hercus was able to record Malyangapa language in the '60s, and Elkin (Elkin archive) and Beckett recorded the kinship terminology.

3.2 Kinship

All the Paakantyi speakers used much the same kinship terminology and were organised into matrilineal totemic clans and moieties. Some Kurnu also knew about sections[26] as a result of intermarrying with their Ngiyampaa neighbours to the east. The social organisation of the Malyangapa, Wadikali and probably Wangkumara, was different only in minor details. There seems to have been frequent inter-marriage between them and Paakantyi people.

Malyangapa, Wadikali and probably Wangkumara matriclans were divided into Hot and Cold Wind people. So, according to George Dutton, were the Wilyali and Pantyikali. Hot and Cold Wind affiliations were inherited through the mother. George Dutton explained that only classificatory brothers of the opposite wind could have access to a man's wife. It was also a man of the opposite wind who performed the physical acts involved with boys' initiation, whether circumcision or tooth avulsion.[27]

3.3 Men's initiation rites

Some of the north-western neighbours of the Paakantyi practised circumcision. Sturt, who passed through the Corner Country on the way to Cooper's Creek in the 1840s, remarked that 'you would meet with a tribe with which that custom did not prevail, between two with which it did' (Sturt 1849 II, p.140). Elkin suggested that the practice was diffusing down from Central Australia, perhaps coming into NSW about the time that the settlers were also arriving.

The early settlers as well as the early anthropologists were particularly interested in circumcision, perhaps because of its biblical associations.[28] Morton and Bonney claimed that the Malyangapa practised it, however James A. Reid, who had taken up Torowoto station said that they did not, although their neighbours did. This was confirmed by Dutton, who said that the Wangkumara, Kungardutyi and Wadikali (as well as others to the north) practised circumcision but the Malyangapa knocked out a tooth, like some Paakantyi (Beckett 1957). However, the situation on the borders between groups was complicated.

Paakantyi speakers recognised two rites of male initiation, *thaalara* and *thaamba*. It may be that some regions practised one and not the other; however Dutton and also Bonney (1883) implied that they were a matter of choice. In *thaalara* the boys' forearms were tightly bound with a ligature and he was covered with red ochre. *Thaamba* included knocking out a tooth. William Gibson described a version of the *thaalara* among the Wilyali on the west side of the Barrier Range (Elkin Papers 1/2/6, p. 210).

Although the various local groups were associated with particular kinds of initiation, the matter did not end there. Dutton said, "We were all mixed up, and how the boys were put through depended on who was running it [the ceremony]." He explained, "If I caught you and put you through the rules, your brother or uncle (mother's brother) might come along and say, 'You put Jerry through...' Then they can take one of my people and put them through their way." This may have been what happened in his own case. This reciprocal initiation practice may have been long-standing, intensified to cope with the tensions of a mixed community created by displacement.

The rite practised by the north-western groups, including circumcision, was called the *milya*. Dutton's account of his own initiation indicated that as a Pantyikali he was expecting the *thaalara* rite, but was in fact put through the *milya*. He recalled that his father called him to Milparinka and then took him to Mt Brown, where the operation was performed. To deceive him about what was afoot, the father told him that he would be *thaalara*, 'and would have to go back to Yancannia for that'. Yancannia was in Pantyikali country.

The *thaalara* rite seems to have been practised throughout Paakantyi country, but the *mura* track associated with the Pantyikali rite was confined to Pantyikali and Wilyali country.[29] It began at Yancannia then circled around the periphery of Mootwingee station, through Morden, Wonnaminta, Nundora, Bancannia, Fowler's Gap, Sturts Meadows,

[26] 'sections' refers to the division of the two moieties into four sections according to generations; this structure regulated marriage.
[27] removal of a particular tooth.
[28] Some early commentators refer also to sub-incision – 'the terrible rite' – but it does not seem that this practice of Central Australian Aborigines had penetrated into NSW.
[29] Gibson spoke of the Tinyano, north of the Wilyali, around Yuriowie. Their country was also crossed by this *mura* track.

Poolamacca, Campbell's Creek, Cobham Lake and Yantara.

The *milya* song line was more 'cosmopolitan', heading northward through the country of several language groups. It started from Cobham Lake then through Milparinka and across the Queensland border as far as Nockatunga and Durham Downs. Cobham Lake figures on both tracks, perhaps making it permissible for boys to go through either form of initiation. Alf Barlow, identified as mixed Wangkumara and Malyangapa, also went through the *milya*.

The north-western Paakantyi had also adopted a higher rite from their neighbours in South Australia, a version of the *wilyaru*, called *yama wilyaru* (meaning without cicatrices[30]). This was widely practised in north-eastern South Australia and was also recognised among Wilyali/Wilyakali and Wanyiwalku. Alf Barlow was also a *wilyaru* and George Dutton went through the Arabanna version of this ceremony during a droving trip into this country which included cicatrices across his back (Beckett 1978, p. 27). The elders recognised this when he returned home.

3.4 *Muras* and *mura* tracks

Milya was the name of the initiation rite practiced by the north-western groups, and also the name of a 'story person' who began the practice of circumcision. He was one a of a number of 'story people', known by the term widely used in north-eastern South Australia, *mura*.[31]

This kind of story is characteristic of Central Australia but less so of the southeast, where song lines seem to be relatively unusual.[32] The *mura*, who may be an animal but who has human characteristics, travels from place to place, naming and forming the country and perhaps finally being transformed into some topographic feature. In this part of the country, the place names tend to be water holes, and where there is a spring, a *ngatyi* (supernatural rainbow serpent) may still be there. The *muras* are often snakes, whose movements form the meander of creek beds and coiled sand hills, but might also be a bronze-wing pigeon, a kangaroo, euro, emu, dog or porcupine. Their journeys may be confined to a particular area or cover vast distances, as in the case of the two *ngatyi* who travelled from near White Cliffs, through Yancannia (in one version sidetracking south towards Mutawintji) across to the Flinders Ranges and then returned.

The *mura* text may be no more than a string of place names, which can be recited, but they were usually sung and danced at gatherings of people who came together to 'sing the country'.[33] People might not know the full extent of the *mura* track, performing only the part they did know, and giving way to those who knew the next stretch. Dutton said that 'the song might last for years and be carried on in other places' along the track.

Both women and men were named after some place on a *mura* track, at birth and later at initiation. The one naming them might be their father's father, father or brother, or perhaps other kin. These names were not spoken for some years after the owner died. It seems that new *mura* songs – *maani*, were composed as a result of a dream: 'Your spirit travels. Then you make a corroboree about it. Others correct you on the names of places missed out. As you come to each man's country you have to act his *mura*.'

The north-west corner of New South Wales and neighbouring South Australia and Queensland are crisscrossed by numerous *mura* tracks, many of which were recorded either by George Dutton or Alf Barlow, or both. These tracks often linked Pantyikali to their non-Paakantyi speaking neighbours to the north. Thus, regarding the *Kurlimuku* corroboree, Barney Coffin told Hercus 'Malyangapa, Wadikali and Kungardutyi and Wanyiwalku, that is four nations. They all sing that.' By comparison, there are few tracks linking Pantyikali to their Paakantyi-speaking neighbours to the south or the east, whether because settlement had erased these memories, or because they did not tell this kind of story. The main exception is the *Kurlawirra*.

30 scarring.
31 In north-east South Australia, the word is doubled as in *mura-mura* (Elkin).
32 See for example Fred Myers study of the Pintupi (1986).
33 Dutton did not say whether particular designs were associated with places.

3.4.1 The Kurlawirra

The *Kurlawirra*, according to Hannah Quayle and George Dutton, was a snake but also 'became a man'. Hannah Quayle, along with Walter Newton, equated him with the Christian God. His main creative acts were first, creating or transforming the main topographic features of the country, particularly around Mutawintji National Park, and second his control of water, including the *ngatyi* or rainbow serpents who were the supernatural essence of water.

According to George Dutton (Beckett notes) the *Kurlawirra* came up from the south, though there is no account of his route. He came up along Giles Creek (in the area of the Mutawintji Historical Site), making the rock holes at Mutawintji and placing a *ngatyi* (rainbow serpent) in each as he cried out 'kakuru' (literally, 'hole', but containing the *ngatyi*). According to Walter Newton (1993) and George Dutton, he left a footprint when he leapt up into the sky. Hannah Quayle stated that he had made the engravings at Mutawintji while the rocks were still soft from the primordial flood that he had caused, according to Newton, to 'punish the people'.

Walter Newton equated the *Kurlawirra's* leap into the sky with Christ's Ascension, ending his retelling of the old stories here (Beckett 1993). George Dutton has him travelling on.

> *He camped on Thurley's Hill, White Cliffs, made the basin there. Camped there two or three days, called it Kuraldan. Got in a creek, saw a lot of gum grubs, called it Kiraru. Met two boys there. Cut away down onto the Darling. They started mustering up the water with a little bull-roarer. He sent the nephew down to Dilburu water hole and they'd swing it and the water'd go. Then he'd be there with the bag and he'd fill it, emptying the water hole. And so on up the River. He went right up through different languages and right up to the end. That's where he's supposed to be. Every time the rains come he opens the bag. But he left the spring (i.e. the water snake) in every water hole* (Beckett field notes, n.d.).

Frederick Bonney (Bonney papers 1886-1915) related a myth (partially illegible) in which the 'Goolawiru or Coolabooroo' makes a water bag out of the skin of a kangaroo and takes up the water of Peri Lake (part of the Paroo overflow) into his water bag, along with the *ngatyi*, leaving the people to die. He later releases them at the headwaters of what is now the Darling. He still resides there. The motif of the *mura* gathering up the water and *ngatyi* in his water bag and later releasing it recurs in George Dutton's telling of the Bronze-wing Pigeon story (Beckett 1976, pp. 29-30).

A Kurnu man, Hero Black, also told Marie Reay that "God walked on earth in the form of two snakes named Guldabira and Wartanuring". Wartanuring went down the river, whereas Guldabira travelled north. Guldabira's course lay between the Darling and the Paroo (Reay field notes n.d.).

There is no mention of the *Kurlawirra* among Paakantyi-speakers to the south of Pantyikali-Wanyiwalku country. The southernmost group, the Maraura (whom Howitt called Wimbaio) recognised an 'All-father' called Nurelli (Howitt 1904, p. 489). We cannot say whether their beliefs differed or whether the oral tradition has simply been broken.[34] It is remarkable, however, that there is no record of southern Paakantyi-speakers participating in any of the ceremonies described by Dutton and his contemporaries. It may be that the Paakantyi-speakers along the southern part of the Darling – originally, it would seem, a very numerous group – may have had their own local social and cultural focuses. A clue comes from the well-known story of Crow and Eaglehawk (see section 3.4.2).

[34] Beckett encountered no southern Paakantyi who had been initiated during his first field work in 1957 and it did not seem that anyone was still alive by this date.

Kurlawirra

The people were Wanyuparlku, Paruntji, Paakantji, Malyangapa and Kungatitji and people from further out. God was the Kulawirru.*

Thinya, the fog, misled the people instead of teaching them right. So God had to punish the people. He had a word with Thinya and took his power away from him.

The Holy Kulawirru punished the people at Broken Hill. All where the mine is now the people were punished and buried there. Their veins turned into silver. The boulders on one side of the hill, that's their flesh. There came an explosion, earth flew up and covered the bodies. The hill's called Wilyawilyarru. It means 'trillions' of people.

Then the Holy Kulawirru came and punished the people at Mayala Lake. He took all their water and they perished.

He went to Mutawintji and made ranges and water holes.

He went on a few miles from there and his bodyguard caught a kangaroo, and that kangaroo – only one – fed thousands of people. But he said to the bodyguard – don't interfere with the stomach, take it over there about thirty yards. I'm going to do something you can remember me by. They were laughing and talking with happiness. They looked over to the stomach and it had grown enormous. He said – there something you can remember me of. By an hour's time it was fifty feet high and a hundred yards across. About two hours later it was a hundred foot high and about two hundred across. Later it got 150 yards high. He waved his hands and formed it into a solid rock, and it's as smooth as this pail, and all the shapes of the stomach is there. He named it Yunta-anu. It's on the White Cliffs side of Mutawintji: it stands out from the other hills, not a tree or a weed grows on it.

Then he went on from there and came to Kuntuwanti. Kulawirru certainly picked out a number to go on in the world again. He stood them apart and he punished the people all around him. There were convulsions. The ground blew up. They were standing up, and he said – you can stay as you are. He threw dust over them and they're now formed into rocks. They rose up to 1,000 feet high. He made a flat top. But on one end it's rough and jaggy: that's where the people were saved; they had to live there. All this happened a little bit away from his temple, Nhanthurrantji. Really, it's a very holy place.

Then he called the Seven Sisters to him – they're stars in the sky now. They were called the Wirtuwitulinya. They were going round teaching the people to come right, but the Thinya misled them like I told you. When the people were gathered together they said goodbye to the people – but we'll always be looking down on you.

Then Kulawirru made a great rain and a thunderstorm. There was a tribe living at Tibooburra and another at Mt Brown and he destroyed them with lightning. Then he caused a convulsion which threw them all into a heap and all their eyes blew out of their heads and all flew about thirty miles from there to a place out from Mt Arrowsmith. You can pick up natural eyes there; white folk call them 'cat's eyes'.

Then he brought a great rain and the whole of the land was under water. The people he couldn't kill or get near were drowned. But the good people were able to stop up on Nhanthurrantji and Koonenberry Hill, and God made sure there was enough food for them.

The Kulawirru then just flew up into a big cloud and went to heaven, and he told them before he left – I won't be down amongst you people any more.
(Walter Newton 1957)

*note: the spellings of *Kurlawirra* [*Kulawirru*] and *Ngatyi* [*Ngatji*] in these stories reflect the notation of the time when these stories were recorded.

The Two *Ngatji* – Rainbow Snakes

The She-Ngatji laid eggs at Yularrata Waterhole on the Paarru before they set out. They set off along the Paarru, then they came to Piirri Lake, that's where they left the Paarru, and made up toward White Cliffs way. They were crawling around near where the opal dump is. Those opals were the Ngatji's shit. Then they went out past the race course and they were rolling about, making a few swamps there and when they were going along they made a big wind that cleared the country and made it clear of trees.*

Then they got into a big gum creek and went past Nuntherungie station and got up into a hill and made a big gap in the hill, but the old fellow said this was not the place, and they went down the creek. At Blackfella's Waterhole they saw a lot of blackfellas there – Wiimpatja Yaparra.

They came to Pankanya Lake and made it. They went up into the sand hill country. You can see their track – about thirty yards wide. Then they made Starvation Lake and then over the sand hills again. They rolled around in Lake Muck. Then they came to Pulka Lake.

From Lake Boolka (Pulka) the Two *Ngatji* came to and made these places:

Thilarrka Waterhole, past Cooney Bore, Milika Lake, on into South Australia where they were stopped by some other Ngatjis, back to Pulka Lake, over a stony rise, down Box Creek, past Coally Bore at Thurru Yapa, to a spring at Salt Lake Tank, Yantara Creek, into Yantara Lake – named Yurlitinya – Yulunpuku Waterhole, past Wimarni Bore, to Thilingka Swamp, Thirrkawapulu Waterhole, Kakalpi Swamp, Thinyawirrka – Fog's camp – then up to Yancannia Creek to Ngatjikalpathitji where they left the main creek, then to Mungkulpirri – Horseshoe Swamp.

They camped at Mungkulpirri one night and away they went. And they could hear a noise. It was their young singing. They got down the spring and shut the young ones in the hole and got in themselves. The eggs had come down an underground hole from the Paarru. This was at Pirntiwarlpa.
(Pop Alf Barlow, 1957)

3.4.2
The myth of Crow and Eaglehawk

The story about the rivalry between Crow and Eaglehawk occurs throughout inland south-eastern Australia and shares certain basic themes.[35] Briefly, Crow – a lecherous figure – wants to take two women who are not right for him to marry. Eaglehawk, their guardian, refuses. Subsequently, Crow kills Eaglehawk's son. Eaglehawk tries to kill him, but he escapes. Crow kills Eaglehawk, but he is revived. Finally, Eaglehawk sets fire to Crow's hut and he flies out as a black bird. There are several variations on this metamorphosis.

Tindale recorded an extended version of this story in 1936 among Maraura, who described the incidents as occurring through the Manara Range on the eastern side of the Darling, and back down onto the Lower Darling. Fred Biggs, a Ngiyampaa man, also located the story in these places (Beckett field notes). Bonney collected a version of the story. He does not situate it, but his informants would have been either northern Paakantyi or Wanyiwalku, working either on Mt Murchison station (on the river above Wilcannia) or Momba station (further west) where he collected his information. George Dutton told Beckett part of virtually the same story, situating it on the west side of the Darling, in the vicinity of Mutawintji.[36] He set the story of Moon and his nephew in the same locality. Walter Newton, whose mother (later called Maggie Tyler) spent part of her life at Poolamacca station among Wilyali, located the story at Mundi-Mundi station on the other side of the Barrier Range from Broken Hill. In other words, although these Paakantyi-speakers shared the same stories, they situated the events in their own part of the country.

[35] Joanna Blows has discovered some twenty versions in the archives (1995).
[36] It is remarkable that the stories of Crow and Eaglehawk and also Moon and his Nephew did not seem to be plotted along a track of named places, and they did not form the landscape. Dutton who had memorised the tracks of a score of *muras* provided nothing of the kind, while faithfully relating the dialogue.

The Story of Crow and Eaglehawk

Waku the Crow was camping with Pilyara, the Eaglehawk, and Eaglehawk's son who was also called Eaglehawk. I don't know how that was. [They were camping near Mutawinji]. The old fellow [Eaglehawk] was away hunting. Crow was sitting by the fire. The boy came up with a bandicoot he'd just killed. Waku said, 'My son, that's you!' It was funny calling the boy son and the Bilyara cousin. 'Nyi,' said the young feller and started cooking the bandicoot. When it was cooked he pulled it out. The old Waku said to him, 'Give us a bit of the liver son?' 'No, my father's spear might slip.'

The boy goes down to the river to have a drink of water. When he comes back from the water the old Crow sings out to him, 'Come here, you lost the bandicoot's heart' 'I ate the lot.' Crow still said, 'No it's here.' The boy comes over. 'No, open your mouth.' So the boy opens his mouth. Crow pulls out a little pebble from the fire dropped it into his mouth. He killed the boy.

He set to work making lots of tracks. The father came back and saw him. Then the old Crow said, 'cousin, some ghost got him.' The Eaglehawk said, 'Intya — oh!' So they went down and dug a hole. The Eaglehawk said, 'lie down and measure the hole.' When the Crow did this, he threw the kid in the hole and threw earth into it. Crow hopped about in the grave, dodging the earth, 'I'll come out over here —I'll come out over there.' Eaglehawk buried them and went away. But Crow burst out of the grave, 'Hello cousin, here I am!'

By that time Eaglehawk had got away. Crow followed him. He made a trap. He arranged some sticks to look like a bandicoot's nest, with a sharp bone hidden inside, and making it move by pulling a string to look like there was a bandicoot inside. Eaglehawk came along and Crow said, 'Cousin, here's a bandicoot.' Eaglehawk said, 'I'll get him with a spear'. Waku said, 'Don't scare him. You might miss him. Tread on him.' So he jumped on it and the bone went through his feet and killed him. Crow went away.

Old Kunpara, Spider, comes along with some dogs. The dogs came and told Spider. Spider said, 'where is he?' The dog said, 'I think he's dead, here's his feather.' 'We'll go and look for him.' One of the dogs went and came back with a feather. "Intya — Here we are.' Spider said, 'give it to me, go and look for more.' The dogs came back with more 'Here's more'. The Spider would say, 'go again.' They'd find some more. Spider heaped them up and brought Eaglehawk back to life. He lifted the body up and blew on him. He said, 'you can go with this song, uncle.' And Spider said, 'you can do the same to him.'

When Eaglehawk saw Crow going ahead he cried out, 'Is that you cousin?' 'Yes. 'He caught up with him and they camped together that night. Eaglehawk made a little rain drive through Crow's door. So the Old Crow got up and moved the door. Then Eaglehawk made rain come in that door, so he got up and closed it altogether. The Old Pilyara came over and set fire to it. Then he sings out, 'Get me cousin!' 'Where?' 'Here', and he shoved another fire stick in. The same thing over there.

So the Crow got burned and black like he is today. But came alive again to what he is today, as a bird. (George Dutton, 1957)

3.5
Where's your real country?

William Gibson, a Wilyali man, gave Elkin the words for asking, 'What's your real country?' (*windya ama gira?*) (Elkin Archive 1/2/11, p. 224). The answer he gave to that question was, 'a person's country is where he was born'. A person born under a box-tree was a box tree man or a certain water hole man because born there. Dutton also told Beckett, "If you were born there, that's my home." This does not quite clarify the issue of affiliation to a stretch of country. Dutton told Beckett after prolonged questioning that he didn't know how to explain it.

Another way of asking the question might be, 'Where can you go without asking permission?' Barlow told Beckett that if one approached a water hole or spring that was unfamiliar one might be attacked by the *ngatyi* (rainbow serpent). However "they only come after strangers. You've got to say '*Ngabeda angaga giredja'*, meaning 'It's me. I've been reared here'." 'Rearing' here may mean not only being brought up but also being 'shown the country' and knowing the stories as George Dutton's father showed him around Mutawintji country and told him the stories.

This poses the question of whether one could be shown a country other than one's birth place. Beckett's conclusion was that one could be 'introduced' to it; otherwise how would the people who provided us with our knowledge of the area move about as they did during the course of their lives? In fact, many of the people mentioned here were born near the big waterhole on Yancannia station or spent their early years there. Yancannia station is situated on the northern edge of Pantyikali country and is linked to the country that is included in the Mutawintji National Park through a number of *mura* tracks (see Appendix 2).

Five family groups are currently identified as the Aboriginal owners of Mutawintji National Park. These are all descended from individuals who knew about the country. As it happened, all of them had either been born on Yancannia station or had spent time there around the turn of the century. Their descent from parents born before European settlement can be documented (see Chapter 7). As we have seen, some stories, in particular the story of the *Kurlawirra* and his association with Mutawintji, were known to the people of the upper Darling, so it is also possible that people living further away had visiting rights to Mutawintji country.

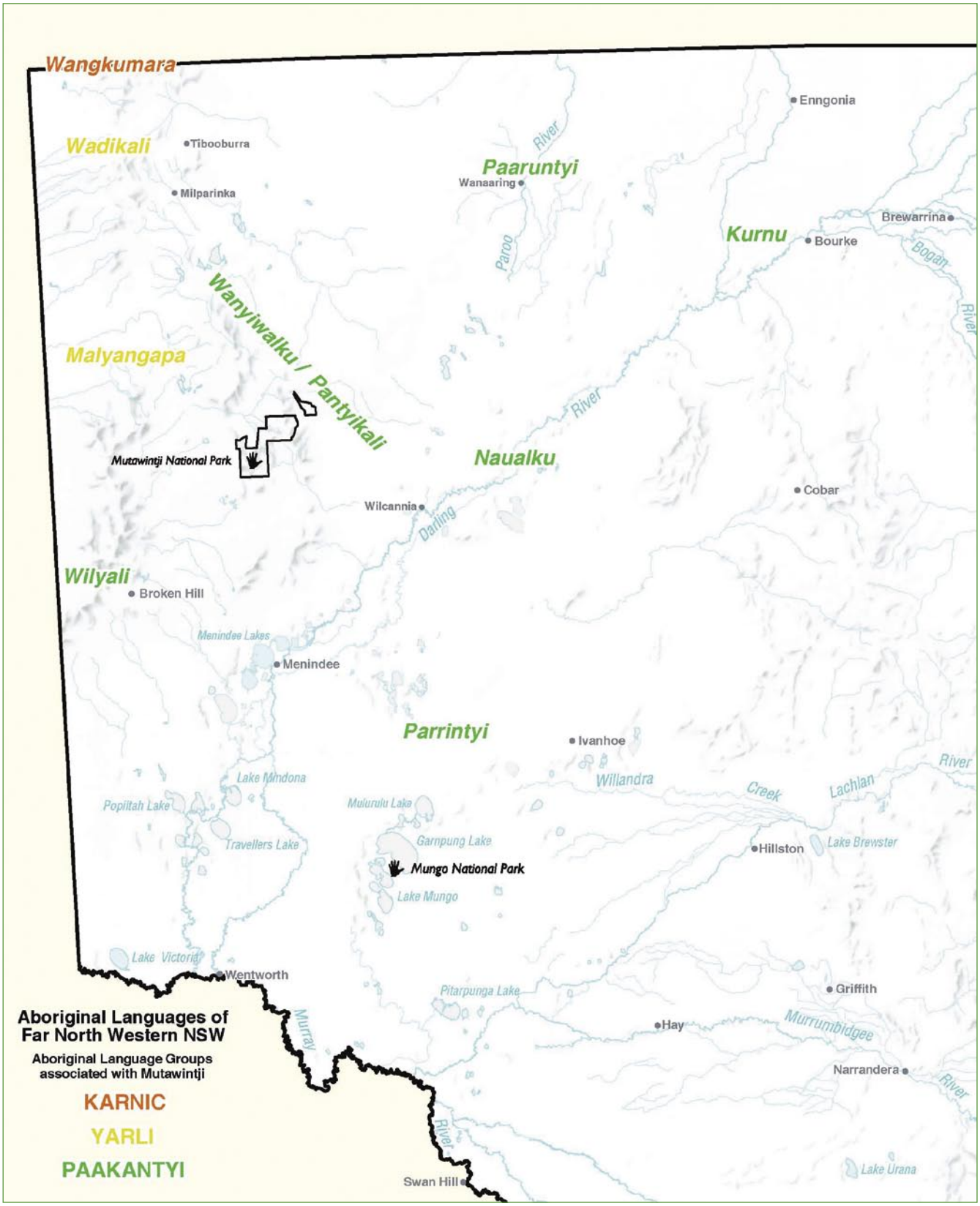


Figure 16

Languages associated with Mutawintji

4. Languages in far north-western New South Wales

4.1 Introduction

There is overwhelming evidence that the group of Paakantyi who owned Mutawintji National Park were the Pantyikali: their language, Wanyiwalku, was a dialect of Paakantyi. Mutawintji National Park must have been a major resource area for these 'Creek People', particularly at times when other places dried out.

These people had significant relations with their non-Paakantyi neighbours to the north and north-west – the Malyangapa (referring to the country round Cobham Lake), the Wadikali (referring to the dry country in the corner formed by the state boundaries), and the Wangkumara and Kungardutyi, whose country included the Bulloo overflow.

As shown in Chapters 2 and 3, ritual life and knowledge, including an interest in Mutawintji country, lived on among people who lived on Yancannia station, who by the end of the nineteenth century were 'a somewhat heterogeneous group'.[37] Knowledge and respect also existed among the neighbouring Paakantyi groups, Wilyakali, Paaṟuntyi and Kurnu people.

The evidence available suggests that at certain ceremonial events people came from a wide region to Mutawintji, and that these groups may have had significant ceremonial and other traditional rights (for example, to visit) and obligations. In contemporary terms, this knowledge may be helpful in defining the broader 'cultural area' of Mutawintji.

This chapter provides a brief outline of the languages of far north-western New South Wales and the linguistic evidence that adds to our understanding of Aboriginal cultural associations with Mutawintji National Park.

It is difficult to be precise about the exact regional locations of the different language groups and dialects in New South Wales as they existed before contact with Europeans. This is partly because of the impact of white settlement and the dislocation of people from their country, and partly because these complex relationships were not well understood or accurately recorded in the early days.

Before white settlement, the vast western region of NSW was totally occupied by local groups. As Aboriginal people were displaced from their land and waterholes, and the wells and hunting grounds were usurped by pastoralists, many were forced to move to pastoral stations. This process of migration and sometimes forced removal led to confusion among white settlers as to who had originally belonged where. As each group had their own section of country, but at the same time belonged to a larger group, people might give either of these identities when asked about their background and this too could create confusion.

4.2 Language sub-groups of New South Wales

The languages of far north-western NSW belong to three different subgroups, ***Karnic***, ***Yarli*** and ***Paakantyi***, which are all part of the larger *Pama Nyungan* language family of central and southern Australia. These sub-groups differ from each other not only in vocabulary but also in major structural features.

The ***Paakantyi*** subgroup comprises the languages spoken along the Darling River all the way to Victoria and in adjacent areas far into South Australia. The *Paakantyi* languages of far north-west NSW are Kurnu, Paaṟuntyi,[38] Naualko/Ngunnhalku, Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku and Wilyakali.

The ***Karnic*** languages are a large subgroup that spans much of the Lake Eyre Basin. Of this group, the Wangkumara subgroup (including Punthamara, Kungardutyi, Karenggapa, and Pono) spans the borders of what is now far south-western Queensland, far north-western NSW and South Australia. Wangkumara is the only *Karnic* language that reaches into NSW.[39]

The ***Yarli*** subgroup comprises Malyangapa and Wadikali in New South Wales, and Yardliyawara in South Australia.

Within the subgroups, neighbouring people would have readily understood one another, so for example, Malyangapa and Wadikali speakers (*Yarli* subgroup) would have understood each other and Wanyiwalku people would have understood Wilyakali (*Paakantyi* subgroup), even though there were considerable differences.

[37] All those involved, Mrs Hannah Quayle, Alf Barlow and George Dutton could speak a Paakantyi language, Paaṟuntyi, Pantyikali and Wilyakali respectively.
[38] As most of the languages involved had three r-sounds, r is used here for front tapped r, rr is used for the trilled r, and ṟ is used for the retroflex r.
[39] The neighbouring language, Karlali, with its dialect Bityara (in Queensland), almost certainly does not belong to this subgroup; see Breen, Gavan, 2007, "Reassessing Karnic", Australian Journal of Linguistics, vol 27, pp. 175-199.

4.3 Paakantyi languages

In this section we will only consider the languages that belong to the northern part of Paakantyi country, the area most relevant to Mutawintji National Park. Unfortunately, we have limited knowledge of many of the dialects.

Most names of Paakantyi groups are formed in the following ways (note that the second and third rows in the table below [addition of – *ntyi* and – *(p)alku* or – *(w)alku]* are unique to Paakantyi):

the addition of ***(k)ali*** ('people')	Wilyakali Thangkakali Bula-ali, 'the Hill People' Pantyikali, 'the Creek people' *(whose language was called Wanyiwalku)*
the addition of ***ntyli*** ('belonging to')	Paakantyi, 'belonging to the river (Darling)' Paaruntyi, 'belonging to the Paroo', Parrintyi, 'belonging to the scrub'.
the addition of ***(p)alku*** or ***(w)alku*** ('speech')	Naualko/Ngunnhalku, Wanyiwalku These terms referred to the language, and hence to the people who spoke it

4.3.1 Pantyikali / Wanyiwalku

Pantyikali is the name for the 'Creek People' who belonged not to the big rivers, the Darling and the Paroo, but to the many smaller creeks that rise from the tablelands north of the Darling River. Pantyikali refers to the language of the 'Creek People' as well as to the people themselves.

Pantyikali was the language of the Mutawintji, Yancannia and White Cliffs area, and the term appears to be synonymous with Wanyiwalku. George Dutton, the last speaker of Pantyikali, always used this term when speaking with Luise Hercus, although he referred to his language as Wanyiwalku when speaking with Tindale nearly 40 years earlier. George Dutton recorded myths and stories with Beckett and some linguistic material with Hercus in 1966-8.

Some of the earliest information about Pantyikali comes from one of the early settlers, James A Reid, who recorded a 'Torrowoto' vocabulary which he believed to be Malyangapa (he referred to the people as 'Milyappa' or 'Milya-uppa') (in Curr: II, p. 180). Reid's 'Milya-uppa' vocabulary from Torowoto is neither 'Karenggapa' as stated by Tindale, nor Malyangapa, but straight Paakantyi (Pantyikali). There is evidence that there was a mixed population at Torowoto, some Paakantyi, some Malyangapa, and the vocabulary must certainly have come from Paakantyi people.

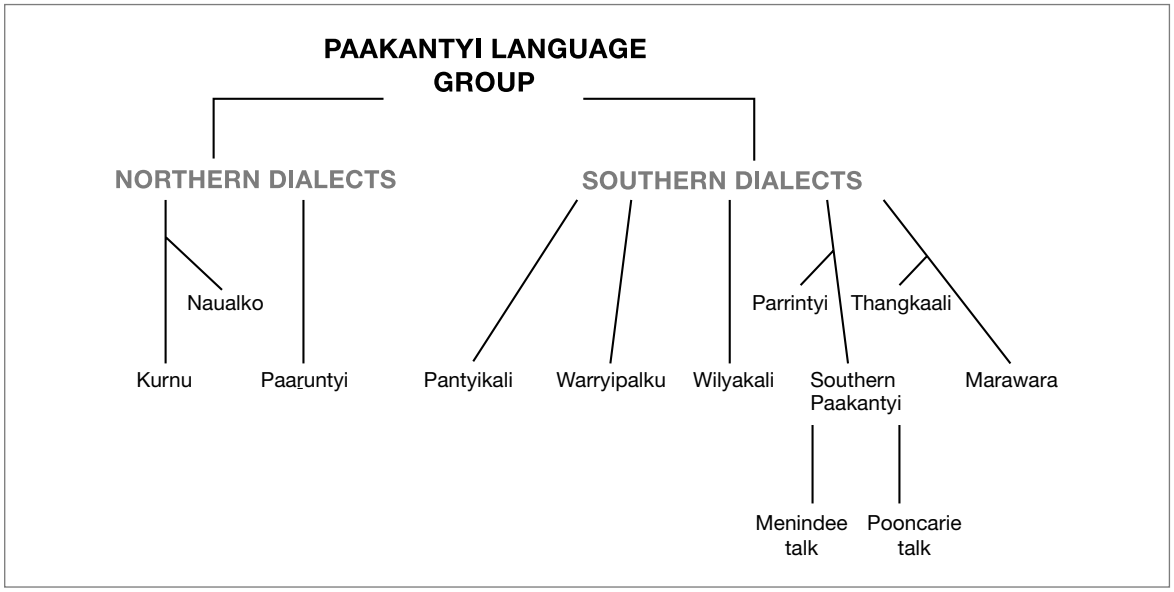


Figure 17

Paakantyi language group

The group called 'Milpulo' were apparently associated with the same area and further to the south. We have only fragmentary early evidence about this language in the Curr compilation (Tindale 1974, p. 200).[40]

In 1938, Tindale recorded that the area associated with 'Wainjiwalku' was "Yantara in NW to Mootwingee in SE to Tongo and NE to Salisbury Downs", and that the "important camps" were Yantara, White Cliffs, Bootra, and Mootwingee, confirming that Mutawintji was an important site for Pantyikali / Wanyiwalku people (Tindale 1938-9 Journal p.158).

Tindale thought of 'Wainjiwalku' (Wanyiwalku, a Paakantyi language) and Malyangapa (a Yarli language) as being 'the same', although he placed them in different areas. This idea may have arisen because his main informant, George Dutton, was a fluent speaker of both languages.

There is no linguistic data on Malyangapa in Tindale's work and it seems he had no means of comparing the two languages. In fact, there is little similarity between any Paakantyi language and Malyangapa (as shown in Appendices 3 and 4).

Pantyikali /Wanyiwalku shares a number of features with southern Paakantyi, such as the use of the marker - *ayi* for the first person singular possessive. It has, however, other grammatical features that tie it closely to the Paakantyi languages further east, Paaṟuntyi and Kurnu.

4.3.2 Kurnu

Kurnu[41] was the language of the river area down from Bourke. Because this was an important river town in the second half of the last century, many people took an interest in the area and there is more early information about Kurnu than any other Paakantyi dialect. Grenville N. Teulon's contribution to Curr[42] is one of the most careful and thorough studies in the whole work, written with understanding and a real feeling for the language. There are also good word-lists by W.C. Pechey (contributed to Taplin, 1879) and by R.H. Mathews (1902), as well as two grammatical sketches (1902 and 1904).

Additional information became available in the 20th century. The widely respected Kurnu man, Hero Black, was born on Marra station which was a haven for Kurnu people. He was a fluent Kurnu speaker and contributed information on language and cultural history to Marie Reay in Bourke in 1945. Most of the modern Kurnu information that is available, however, comes from recordings made with the remarkable centenarian Anna Moysey. She was born near Ford's Bridge on the Warrego and learnt Kurnu from her grandmother. She maintained some knowledge of the language and a deep interest in traditional matters until her death in the late 1970s. Almost all the Kurnu data in the grammar and in the Paakantyi dictionary come from her (Hercus 1982, 1993) and three of her songs have been included in the Paakantyi CD.

4.3.3 Paaṟuntyi

Paaṟuntyi was the language of the area around the Paroo to just north of Hungerford. Paaṟuntyi shares some of the grammatical features of Kurnu and differs from the southern forms of Paakantyi in tense formation. In vocabulary, it is closest to Pantyikali.[43]

Mrs Hannah Quayle was a fluent speaker of Paaṟuntyi.[44] In 1957 she gave important grammatical information to Wurm and also discussed traditional matters with Beckett. Another speaker was George Harrison: he had become used to speaking Wangkumara (a *Karnic* language), but he was born at Wanaaring and recalled some Paaṟuntyi.

Figure 18

Hannah Quayle, a fluent speaker of Paaṟuntyi, photographed by Jeremy Beckett in 1957 (Photo courtesy of Jeremy Beckett)

[40] Tindale assigns the lists from Morton (near the north-western corner of New South Wales) and Crozier (Evelyn Creek) to Wanyiwalku but these lists are not Paakantyi at all: they belong to the Yarli subgroup of languages and are probably Wadikali.
[41] Kurnu is referred to by Tindale as 'Kula'. He regarded Kurnu as a less 'valid' name, but this is the most commonly used name for this group and the only one that has survived.
[42] Curr E.M (ed.) 1886. The Australian Race. vols I & II, Government Printer, Melbourne, (1886 II, p. 186-223).
[43] The Curr compilation contains a Paaruntyi vocabulary by G. Scrivener, who obviously had an understanding of the language. From the turn of the century, we have important manuscript material from Mathews, mainly dealing with grammar.
[44] Most of the Paaruntyi information in the grammar and dictionary of Paakantyi comes from Mrs Hannah Quayle's work with Wurm.

4.3.4
Naualko/Ngunnhalku

Naualko, once spoken around Wilcannia, was lost very early. There is only a brief vocabulary cited in the Curr collection (in no.76, Curr 1886) by Sir Samuel Wilson and W. Henderson from 'fifty miles below Bourke on the Darling'. This consists of 100 words, yet from this it is shown that Naualko was closer to Kurnu than to Southern Paakantyi. There are no modern recordings or studies of this language.[45]

4.3.5
Wilyakali (Wilyali)

Wilyakali was spoken in the Broken Hill area and as far west as the Olary district. The Bulali or 'uplands people' of the Barrier Range could be regarded as a subgroup of the Wilyakali. Unfortunately very little was written down last century: we only have the vocabulary from Boolcoomatta contributed by W.J. Lake Dix[46] and an anonymous list[47] from 'country north-west of the Barrier Range'.

Dix gave the word for kangaroo as *kurloo* (i.e. *kurlu*). *Thalta* is the word for 'kangaroo' in all the other Paakantyi dialects; *kurlu* is characteristic of Ngadyuri and the other Thura-Yura languages which adjoined Wilyakali to the west.

By the late 1950s, there was still a speaker of Wilyakali, Dougal Macfarlane. He spoke to Wurm and Beckett in 1957. The vocabulary learned from him clearly indicates some influence from the languages to the west. George Dutton also knew Wilyakali well. He showed how pronouns could optionally lose their initial -ng, and he made some important comments, again confirming western influences:

> *Wilyakali can say ika for coming back, where we say thika.*

This corresponds to sound changes found in the neighbouring Ngadyuri language and further west.

4.4
Karnic languages: Wangkumara / Punthamara

The Wangkumara subgroup (including Punthamara, Kungardutyi, Karenggapa and Pono) spans the borders of Queensland, New South Wales and South Australia, and is the only *Karnic* language that reaches into NSW.

Constable D. McKeering, stationed at Nocundra in far south-west Queensland, wrote to R.H. Mathews in 1898:

> *the name of the tribe on Naryilco [station] is the Wankamurrie; at Durham Downs, the tribe is the Wallah; at Nocundra, it is the Bunthamurra.* [48]

Constable McKeering got his information from "my Tracker who is a native of Tinappera station and from other old Warriors round here".

Wangkumara (meaning 'south') referred to the 'south people', and came to be used to identify the more southerly of the Wangkumara/Punthamara people of the Cooper Creek (Queensland-South Australia) and Wilson River regions (Queensland). Gradually, other groups (the Walli, Ngantangura, and the Thereila) were absorbed within the general term 'Wangkumara'.

The word *Kungardutyi*, like Wangkumara, was originally a noun. It meant 'circumcised', as A.N. Hughes of Nockatunga explained:

> *Any blackfellow who is circumcised is 'coongerdootchie', for instance all the blacks on the Wilson River are coongerdootchie - in the Bulloo River one tribe is 'coongerdootchie' (circumcised) and a second one called Booroo which is uncircumcised.* [49]

It appears that these were people who spoke a form of Wangkumara-Punthamara and that the term *Kungardutyi* was used to differentiate them from neighbouring groups that did not practice circumcision.

All this evidence places Kungardutyi in the area immediately east and north-east of Tibooburra and around the southern parts of the swampy areas

[45] Hercus has included some of the old data in the Paakantyi Dictionary. There is only one page of notes by R.H. Mathews (Mathews papers, National Library), furthermore in his paper of 1909, p.7 he mentions Harry Perry (dec. 1908), who was probably a Naualko speaker.
[46] Curr (1886 II, p. 176) The very brief list by Dix clearly shows the pronunciation dn for medial n, shared with Thangkaali. This phonetic change is certainly of westerly origin as it is found in Ngadyuri and Andyamathanha.
[47] (1886 II, p. 173).
[48] Located by Fiona Powell in the Mathews papers (F. Powell, pers. comm. to L.Hercus.).
[49] Howitt quotes A.N.Hughes of Nockatunga writing to him to say that the term means 'circumcised (man)'. (Howitt Papers Box 1, Folder 8, Paper 2). The detailed list of 'Coongerdotchie' kinship terms Hughes provided were Wangkumara-Punthamara. One would expect that people would feel the need to call themselves 'the circumcised ones' in areas where they are in close proximity with people who are not. This is what appears to have happened.

around Lake Bulloo. This was in the area that was attributed 'Karenggapa' by Tindale.

In his account of the Kangaroo and Euro Story, George Dutton has the Kangaroo speaking a form of Wangkumara near the Carryapundy Swamp. As related by George Dutton to Jeremy Beckett:

> *'They then begin to speak in Wangkumara and they go to Carryapundy waterhole and from there to Djaudjaururu waterhole'. This is Chow Chowra of modern maps, very close to the Wompah Gate on the Queensland border. Here they are still definitely speaking a form of Wankumara.*

On the edge of the Carryapundy Swamp, a few kilometres from Chow Chowra, is a tank named Karenganpa Tank. This presumably was the name of the locality and it is probably from there that the 'tribal' name 'Karenggaba' was derived. The first mention of the name 'Karenggapa' was in Curr in 1886.[50]

The place names in the Karenggapa / Kungardutyi area are unmistakably Wangkumara-Punthamara. For example, the following place names are derived from *ngaka* ('water'):

Nockathinna waterhole	Ngaka-thina 'Water footprint'
Narcowla	Ngaka-ula 'Two Waters'

This is the same name as Naccowlah waterhole and Naccowlah Billabong (*Ngaka-ula* 'Two waters'), which is in the easternmost channel of the Cooper down from Karmona.

There is also the evidence of other speakers including Frank Booth, recorded at Enngonia by Gavan Breen in 1967 (Breen undated MS):

> *At this stage a brief discussion of the relationship between Wangkumara and Punthamara was held. Mr Booth agreed that these two were the same language and he said that Kungardutyi was the only other language he knew of that was also the same.*

In 1905, R.H.Mathews wrote (p. 81):

> *The Wonkamurra extends southerly into New South Wales as far as Milparinka.*

and Stanner wrote to Elkin in April 1934:

> *Starting from the Bulloo River in S. Qld the Kungathidthi seem to be just over the border say east and north east of Yalpunga.*

The senior people of New South Wales in the 1960s recalled some of the older local groupings. The only 'Kungardutyi' people known to them were the ones associated with an area to the south-east of Naryilco, mainly in NSW.

> *In his story of the Bronzewing Pigeon, George Dutton speaks of a mixed camp of people at Mt Poole. Here Madi, the Pigeon, is speaking Wangkumara and Kungardutyi (which were practically the same)* (Beckett 1978, p. 30).

The senior Paakantyi people spoke of Kungardutyi people as being their neighbours, joining in with them in ceremonies.[51] Yardliyawara speaker, Barney Coffin recalled:

> *That's Kurlimuku. Malyangapa, Wadikali and Kungardutyi and Wanyiwalku, that is four nations. They all sing that.* (Barney Coffin, tape 178)

Whether the Karenggapa called themselves Kungardutyi, or whether they were a subgroup of Kungardutyi is not clear. Mathews (1898, p. 242) mentions 'Karenggappa' as a separate group alongside Kungardutyi:

> *The Kunatatchee and Karrengappa tribes are about Lake Bulloo, Tibooburra and Delalah Downs.*

This mention does not split Kungardutyi and Karenggapa with regard to location, and so we simply do not know what the relationship between those two names was. It is clear however that the name Kungardutyi was used by people in the 1960s. The name Karenggapa had been forgotten by then and must have been out of circulation for a considerable period: George Dutton, George McDermott and their contemporaries had long memories and they did not recall Karenggapa.

[50] Curr 1886, p. 180: "The tribes which bound the Milya-yuppa are... those of the Paroo to the east and the Karengappa on the north."
[51] Evidence from Mrs Moysey and George Dutton.

4.5 Yarli languages

The Yarli languages include Malyangapa in far western New South Wales and Wadikali in the 'Corner Country' in NSW (near the borders of South Australia and Queensland). Like many other groups, the people of this region were divided up into a number of local clans, but most of this information has been lost because of the disruption and depopulation that took place in the 19th century. In early times, police and pastoralists sometimes referred to groups of people by names that are otherwise unknown (such as Pono). These may be references to small local groups which were displaced by the first European settlement.

This area was particularly vulnerable because of the discovery of gold in the Milparinka-Tibooburra area, however there is general agreement that the area was originally occupied by speakers of Yarli languages. Hercus was able to record Malyangapa language in the 1960s, and Elkin (Elkin archive) and Beckett recorded the kinship terminology. The most important of these sources is Beckett's published and unpublished work with George Dutton in 1957-8.

4.5.1 Malyangapa

As mentioned by Tindale (1974, p. 196), Malyangapa country is sometimes given as further east than was the pre-contact situation because of post-European settlement migrations. George Dutton spoke of Malyangapa people being at Salisbury, Cobham, Yantara Lakes, Mt Pool and Mt Arrowsmith. Wurm's main consultant, Hannah Quayle, placed Malyangapa country very much as Dutton had, as 'Tibooburra, Salisbury Downs and Milparinka.'

The country in the vicinity of Yancannia station was not originally Malyangapa,[52] however by 1909, Malyangapa people were living at Yancannia station along with Pantyikali and Wilyakali, as is clear from a letter to Howitt by C. White (the total population was then only 24). White also mentions Wanyiwalku [Pantyikali] people being at Mutawintji.

This language was recorded by Wurm in 1957 with Hannah Quayle (born about 1875), George Dutton and Alf Barlow.[53] Hercus also recorded Dutton in the mid-1960s discussing Malyangapa; Beckett had previously worked with him on social and cultural traditions. Hercus also recorded Laurie Quayle, son of Hannah Quayle, checking some of the earlier materials. He passed away in 1976, and with his death, the language became extinct.

4.5.2 Wadikali

The name Wadikali might suggest that the language belongs to the Paakantyi subgroup as there are similarly formed names for Paakantyi people using the term *kali*, which is said to be an archaic word meaning 'people',[54] but the use of the term kali is not confined to Paakantyi. For example, Malyangapa people called the Adnyamathanha ('the Stone People') of the Flinders Ranges by the term Yarnda-ali, which is simply a translation that also means 'the Stone People'.[55] As the linguistic evidence in Appendix 3 shows, Wadikali is not a Paakantyi language: it is clearly part of the closely-knit subgroup of Yarli languages. George Dutton stated:

> *Wadikali, like Malyangapa* [i.e. it is close to Malyangapa]*, go from Mt Pool, Mt Sturt, Yandama, Tilcha from there to Lake Frome.*

There has been some confusion regarding the location of Wadikali people 'from Tilcha to Lake Frome'. This was caused by a statement in the work of R.H. Mathews (1898, p. 242):

> *At Lake Boolka and Tilcha are the Endawarra and Berluppa people respectively.*

Mathews based his information on correspondence, including letters from the Police Sergeant B. Hynes from Tibooburra in 1897-8, who had written: "the Tilcha Blacks are called Berluppa." In a later communication (too late to be used by Mathews in his article), he wrote: "Tilcha is now only a back station of Yandama and I believe there are no blacks there at present." Hynes was passing on information he had been given by R.B.Daws, the manager of Tilcha, and was talking about the state of affairs at that particular time, not about the ancestral homeland of particular groups of people. There may well have been a group of them visiting Tilcha.

'Berluppa' or 'Biraliba' are variant spellings for the 'Pirlatapa', who were not linguistically associated with

[52] see quote from Sergeant B.Hynes at Tibooburra in 1897-8 in section 4.5.2,
[53] Peter Austin has made a detailed study of the data recorded by Wurm (Austin 1986; Hercus & Austin, 2004).
[54] Hence we have the names Wilyakali, Thangkakali, Bula-ali and Pantyikali ('the Creek people') whose language was called Wanyiwalku.
[55] Hercus has also done comparative work on Wadikali in an unpublished paper (1987) and in Hercus & Austin 2004 as quoted in Appendix 1.

the Yarli, but were closely akin to Diyari (Austin 1990b). The Pirlatapa were the immediate neighbours of the Wadikali and the Yardliyawara. They were strongly associated with the Blanchwater area as is clear from oral evidence from South Australia (Hercus & Koch 1996) and according to Dutton (Beckett 1958).[56]

There is a major change in Tindale's maps between 1940 and 1974 for this area. On the 1974 map, Tindale has inserted another group, Ngurunta, in the area previously referred to as Yardliyawara and Wadikali country, reaching into far western New South Wales along the South Australian border. None of the senior people in South Australia or on the New South Wales side in the 1960s mentioned the Ngurunta, including Barney Coffin who travelled frequently between the two states. Tindale's information seems to be from a person interviewed by him in the 1960s, so memory of the group as an entity had survived in this limited way. The area in question, mainly inhospitable sand hill country, was generally regarded by the senior people in New South Wales as being part of Wadikali and Yardliyawara country.[57] All the available evidence, and especially that of Tindale, points to the extreme northwest of New South Wales being Wadikali country.

The only relatively modern first hand work on this language is a 72 word vocabulary in Tindale's 1934 Diamantina notebook, taken down at Pandie Pandie from Ned Palpilina ('Blanche Ned'), said to be the last Wadikali. His country was Yandama Creek but his mother had left just before he was born and he had spent much of his life at Blanchwater in Pirlatapa country (Hercus 1987; Hercus & Koch 1996). There are descendants of Wadikali people but the language has not been spoken since the 1930s.

4.6 George Dutton: myths, languages and country

George Dutton met the noted scientist and anthropologist N. B. Tindale at Brewarrina in July 1938, shortly after the Tibooburra Aboriginal families had been forcibly moved there. Tindale went there in the course of his Harvard-Adelaide Expedition of 1938.[58] George, then about 50, was widely respected as an authority on traditional matters.

> *G Dutton came from Tibooburra; he is an F_1 halfcaste reared among his own tribe and interested; he speaks his own and some 8 other languages. Unable to read or write, he retains much of the old tradition of his people. Among his own folks he is referred to as an authority.*

Among the many languages he spoke, George Dutton was the last speaker of Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku. With Dutton's cooperation, Tindale was able to compile extensive information about grammatical forms of this language that are still of enormous value to linguists today.

George Dutton placed great emphasis on the relationship between landscape and language (see section 3.1 and Appendix 2). The stories he related to researchers illustrate how the Dreaming stories and especially how the languages in which the *muras* speak relate to country.

Dutton told Tindale three myths relating to Mutawintji in Wanyiwalku language:

- The *Mura Kanpara*, The Spider Ancestor (Tindale Journal 1938-39, Vol.1, p. 189), a brief story telling how the Spider was challenged by a man to wrestle.The Spider won and threw the man into the fire. This story is introduced as "A Story in Wainjiwalku of near Yancannia NSW."
- The Moon and his Nephew (see Appendix 6). This story is introduced with a statement that indicates the events of the story happened in the region now called Mutawintji National Park and some more precise locations at Mutawintji are given, including one particular tree.
- A version of the Eaglehawk and Crow story, "A story of Mootwingee, spoken in the Wainjuwalku language" (Tindale Journal 1938-39, Vol.1, pp.190 –199). At the end the statement is repeated and underlined "This history happened around Mootwingee".

These stories can be seen to be closely connected to the area now known as Mutawintji National Park and provide further confirmation of the relationship between Mutawintji and the Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku language and people.

[56] According to Dutton, they were at: Callabonna, Quinyambie station and through to Lake Elder, Congie Bore and Cooney Bore

[57] Two of the Curr vocabularies are connected to Wadikali: No. 69 Evelyn Creek by H. Crozier, Esq, Curr (1886 II, p. 154) (This is probably Wadikali with some admixture of Wangkumara and Pirlatapa); and No. 69a Near the North-west Corner of New South Wales by A.W. Morton, Esq, Curr (1886 II, p. 160). This seems to be mainly Wadikali, though the introduction speaks of 'Mulya napa' people living in the area. There is a problem here: the manuscript version of Curr has the Dewhurst and Morton vocabularies as being at Evelyn Creek and the Crozier vocabulary as being 'near the NW corner of NSW', ie. the location of the Crozier and Morton vocabularies have perhaps been reversed in the printed book, (RMW Dixon.p.c.). This makes little difference as they appear to be both Wadikali.

[58] Tindale, N.B. 1938-39 MS Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropology Expedition, Vol 1-2; Extracts from the Field Journal. South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives.

In 1957-58, George Dutton, then living in Wilcannia, spoke to Jeremy Beckett (Beckett MS). Two of the myths he related to Beckett ("The Kangaroo and the Euro" and "The Two *Ngatyi*") relate to Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku country. Throughout these stories, he made it clear that the Ancestors were speaking in the language of the place where they were travelling, and he usually mentioned when there was a language change.

4.6.1 Kangaroo and Euro

The Kangaroo and Euro story starts at 'Noonthorangee'. Here the Kangaroo and Euro are speaking in Pantyikali. They are having an argument about yams, *nhanthura* (hence the name Noonthorangee).

Dutton states, "When he started from Noonthorangie they were two Wainyubalgu same as Bandigali and Malyangapa." It seems as if he were equating 'Wainyubalgu' with both Pantyikali and Malyangapa, but we don't know how he said this. He may have meant to clarify that 'Wainyubalgu' [Wanyiwalku] and 'Bandigali' [Pantyikali] were the same. For example, he may have expressed it as 'they were two Wainyubalgu same as Bandigali, and Malyangapa'.

There is no Malyangapa in this story except for the one phrase 'dalda ngadjara', *thalta ngatyara* 'roo camp' (the word *thalta* for 'roo is found in both Paakantyi and Malyangapa, but *ngatyara* 'camp' is Malyangapa) and that belongs to a place near *Mindiwarda* (Peak Hill) south of Tibooburra.[59]

4.6.2 The Two *Ngatyi*

Another important myth told to Beckett followed the travels of the Two *Ngatyi* (the two Water-Snakes) (see also section 3.4 which includes a version of this story told by Alf Barlow). George Dutton was so precise in his retelling of this story that in several parts of the story it is still easy to follow the *Ngatyi* on a map. The story also records which language the *muras* were speaking at different places in the journey.

The story of the Two *Ngatyi* and the associated place names give a clear indication that the area travelled by the Two *Ngatyi* between the Wanaaring area and Torowoto Swamp was Paakantyi: Paa̲runtyi at first and then Pantyikali.

The Two Snakes 'were Paroondji first' (Paa̲runtyi), starting from Ularada waterhole near Wanaaring. They travel through Urisino station to (Salisbury Downs) Number Seven Bore, and from there to the south-west to Yalta Tank (these bores and dams were constructed at the site of old springs and watercourses).

Here the *Ngatyi* change language from Paa̲runtyi to Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku. Then they follow the creek. The exact sites on this part of the journey are not quite so clear because European names are now in use, or English spellings have obscured Aboriginal names. They come to a place called Big Wunu and Little Wunu (the site of two dams now called 'Noona Tank' and 'North Noona'). These places were probably called Nguna.[60] This corresponds to the 'seven miles from the station' mentioned by George Dutton in telling the story. After that their journey down the creek past Yancannia station can't be fixed precisely, as the names have no equivalents on the map. It is clear that the *Ngatyi* are still speaking Pantyikali because the place names are Paakantyi.[61]

The area between the Torowoto Swamp and Yantara Lake, far to the north of Mutawintji, appears to have had a dual occupation by Pantyikali and Malyangapa.

The *Ngatyi* travel through Torowoto, where they seem to be speaking Malyangapa. Then the situation becomes confused as some names contain some otherwise unknown words. Some are clearly Pantyikali (for instance, 'ngatji galbadidji' = *Ngatyi kalparityi* [the Snakes split up], with the typical Paakantyi past tense marker – *tyi*) and others are Malyangapa such as 'wi:mani' which contains the Malyangapa words *wiyi* (fire) and *mani* (to get).

The table (following page) shows place names in the sequence of the journey of the Two *Ngatyi* from Torowoto Swamp. On the return journey the *Ngatyi* find their young at Brindiwilpa, and 'they talk in the Malyangapa language'; this can be analysed in Beckett's transcription and has unmistakable Malyangapa grammatical structure. Nevertheless, *Birndiwalpi* is a Paakantyi name and the place was used by Pantyikali people as a rain-making site.

[59] There are two 'Peak Hills' in far western New South Wales: the one referred to here is approximately 45 km south of Tibooburra, about 5 km south-east of Milparinka; the other Peak Hill is located approximately 30 km west of Broken Hill, a little to the south-west of Silverton.

[60] the nasal ng, when followed by u is often not clearly audible to English speakers, hence the differences in the European spellings.

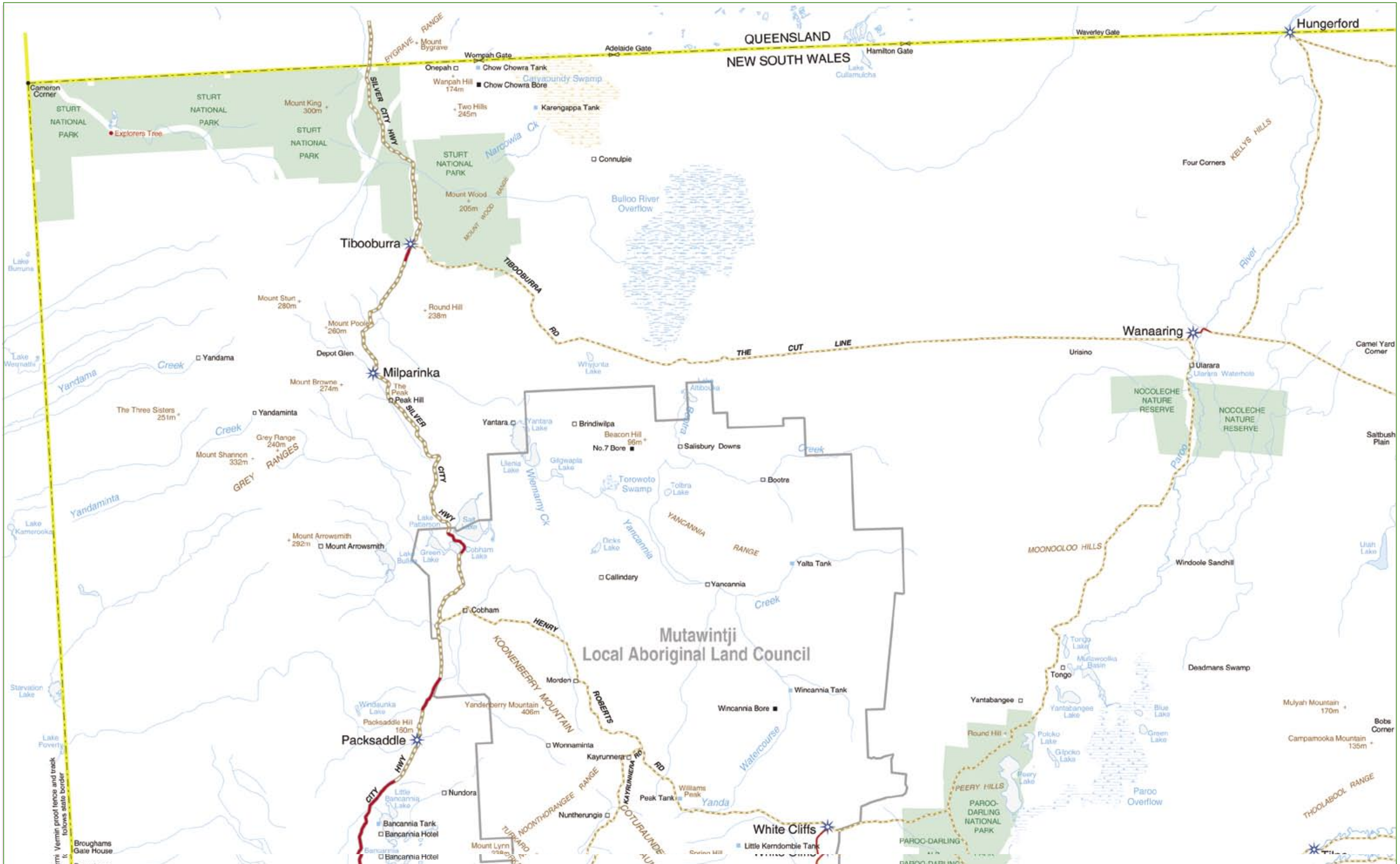
[61] For example, the following names are drawn from Beckett's original transcription: 'ngindatji' (poor) must be nhintatya (skinny); 'Galkwanbara' is explained as being from 'garlku' (black oak): this must come from kalyku (black oak) + ampala (with, accompanied by). The suffix –ampala (with) is found only in Paakantyi and occurs again soon after in the story.

Further on, *imamba (Dirli galbalu imamba)* is a form that is unmistakably Paakantyi: the verb *(ng)ima* (to lie down) is straight Paakantyi; the ending '– *mba* you' (2nd person singular intransitive subject) is a typical Paakantyi structure, very different from anything in Malyangapa.

There is a 'Wanjuwalku Bore', north of Yantara Lake and four kilometres south of the Milparinka-Wanaaring Rd, but the significance of this name in a locality so far north is not known.

Place names in the journey of the Two *Ngatyi* from Torowoto Swamp

Name or feature on maps	Name in Beckett MS	'Practical orthography'	Meaning	Language
Torowoto Swamp	Duru gardu	thurru kartu	snakes's windbreak	Malyangapa
creek branches	(Ngatji) galbadidji	Cockulby Creek and Swamp	The *Ngatyi* split up	Pantyikali
Brindiwilpa – here the two branches join up again [note station location has changed]	Birndi walpi	pirnti-walpi	thunder-pit ["This is where the Pantyikali made rain" (Dutton)]	Pantyikali
The snakes wander among minor swamps which are the next few locations				
	Bilamora	Pilamura	pigweed	
	Badu duru			
	Gadu warlandi	Katu-warlandi		
	Diewaluru			
Gilgwapla Lake	Gilgurbula		Gilgurbula	
	Munyu baruda bagu			
	Gaganganda			
	Dirli galbalu imamba	Thirli kalpalu imamba	penis-split you are lying down	Pantyikali
Wiemany	wi:mani		wi: fire, fire-wood; mani: get (get firewood)	Malyangapa
	Muninngga		full of green ants	Malyangapa
Ulenia Lake	Yulidinya		ducks	Malyangapa
Yantara Lake	Yantara		Yantara	Malyangapa
	Galili gurna			
	Wanaginyi	Wana-kinyi	broken boomerang	
Double lake, north of Yantara (no name on map)	Galti bula	Kalthi pula	two emus	Paakantyi
	Meruna	Mirinha	his face	Paakantyi
	Gurnana		shit	
	Gani gudjana	Kani kutyana	lizard climbing	Malyangapa
Mt Browne	Mt Browne			


QUEENSLAND
NEW SOUTH WALES
Hungerford
Wanaaring
Tibooburra
Milparinka
Packsaddle
White Cliffs
Mutawintji
Local Aboriginal Land Council
STURT NATIONAL PARK
NOCOLECHE NATURE RESERVE
PAROO-DARLING NATIONAL PARK
Cameron Corner
Explorers Tree
Waverley Gate
Hamilton Gate
Adelaide Gate
Wompah Gate
Onepah
Chow Chowra Tank
Chow Chowra Bore
Karengappa Tank
Connulpie
Bulloo River Overflow
Four Corners
KELLYS HILLS
Camel Yard Corner
Saltbush Plain
Urisino
Ularara
THE CUT LINE
TIBOOBURRA RD
SILVER CITY HWY
Depot Glen
Yandama
Yandaminta
The Three Sisters 251m
Mount Sturt 280m
Mount Poole 260m
Mount Browne 274m
Round Hill 238m
Mount Wood 205m
Mount King 300m
Grey Range 240m
Mount Shannon 332m
GREY RANGES
Mount Arrowsmith 292m
Mount Arrowsmith
Yantara
Brindiwilpa
Beacon Hill 96m
No.7 Bore
Salisbury Downs
Bootre
Torowoto Swamp
YANCANNIA RANGE
Yalta Tank
Yancannia
Callindary
Cobham
HENRY
ROBERTS RD
KOONENBERRY MOUNTAIN
Yandenberry Mountain 406m
Morden
Wonnaminta
Kayrunnera
Nuntherungie
Peak Tank
Williams Peak
Wincannia Tank
Wincannia Bore
MOONOOLOO HILLS
Windoole Sandhill
Deadmans Swamp
Tongo
Yantabangee
Round Hill
PEERY HILLS
Paroo Overflow
Mulyah Mountain 170m
Campamooka Mountain 135m
Bobs Corner
THOOLABOOL RANGE
Nundora
Bancannia Tank
Bancannia Hotel
Packsaddle Hill 150m
Little Kerndombie Tank
Broughams Gate House
Vermin proof fence and track follows state border

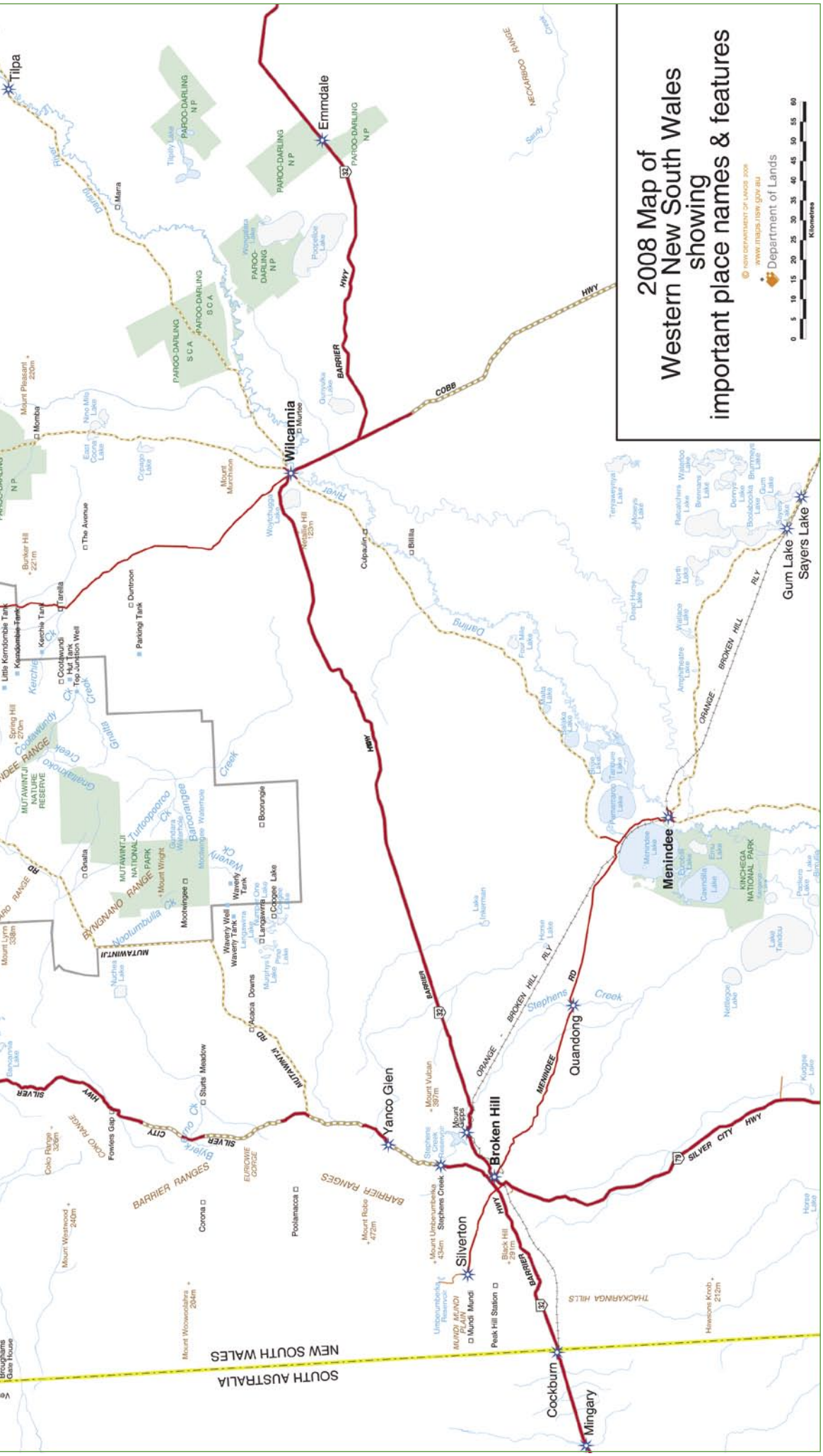


Figure 19

2008 Map of Western New South Wales showing important place names and features

5. Modern Paakantyi

The various dialects of Paakantyi are no longer spoken, however modern Paakantyi, based mainly on the southern form, is still widely known. It is the only traditional language spoken in far western New South Wales (and in most of NSW), that has *lively* speakers (i.e. those who speak in sentences, not just words). These speakers are anxious that their language live on.

There have been community-inspired programs to teach Paakantyi at schools in Wilcannia and to a lesser extent in other centres for over 25 years, with varying degrees of success. Some storybooks have been produced. Elsie Jones and Karen Donaldson's version of *The Story of the Falling Star* has been particularly successful. There are also some stories written for schools such as Elsie Jones's *A Paakantji Story: Kilampa wura Kaani, the Galah and the Frill Neck Lizard*, transcribed by Peter Thompson.

Paakantyi speakers also made the production of a language CD by Hercus and David Nathan possible.[62] The main participants were Rene Mitchell, Lottie Williams, Badger Bates and John Mitchell. The linguistic knowledge of senior Paakantyi people is of major cultural significance.

5.1.1 Writing and Pronouncing Paakantyi

Past Orthographies

The sound system of Paakantyi is very different from English and there have been attempts to cope with this from the earliest days: the transcription used by Teulon for Kurnu (Curr 1886) is more thorough than most. Richards' work in 1903 was ahead of its time, but unfortunately his dictionary has been lost, apart from the published section which ends with the letter b.

In *A Bâgandji Grammar* (1982), Luise Hercus used the linguistic spelling that was more or less the rule, employing voiced consonants, i.e. 'g' for the sound that is 'g/k', 'b' for the sound that is 'b/p'. Beckett also used this spelling, considered standard at the time. Retroflex consonants – consonants that are pronounced with the tongue curled backwards towards the roof of the mouth, which have no exact equivalent in English – were marked with a dot underneath. The interdental sound was marked with a line underneath.

In a practical orthography, retroflex consonants are much better represented by prefixing an r (as in 'rt', 'rn', 'rl') because that is more or less what they sound like. For interdental sounds, use of *th* and *nh* is preferable.

Hercus's Orthography

The practical orthography now used by Hercus differs only in minor respects from that used by Thompson in the work on the texts from Elsie Jones (see above). The spelling system is explained in detail in the *Paakantyi Dictionary* (1994) (see Appendix 5). The spelling is illustrated with audio-examples in the revised grammar that forms part of the Paakantyi CD.

Hercus prefers the spellings – *ty*, *ny* – and – *ly* in transcribing Paakantyi palatal consonants, because *lj* and *nj* are likely to be pronounced with a 'j' as in 'judge': for instance words like *pilyara* (eaglehawk), if written piljara, would tend to be pronounced with a sound like the 'lg' in 'bilge'.

Spelling and pronunciation

What has been discussed above is the linguistic transcription of Paakantyi words *within the framework of Paakantyi*. When writing Paakantyi words, particularly place names, so that they can be pronounced approximately in English we have to follow the sound system and spelling patterns of English, which differ greatly from Paakantyi.

Thus the spelling of 'Mundi Mundi Plain' as an English version of *marnti* '(flat) ground' is satisfactory. Paakantyi 'rnt' can sound a little like 'nd' and we can be reasonably sure that people would not pronounce the final 'i' as in 'Bondi'. To avoid the 'Bondi' pronunciation it is probably better to write 'ee' for the final 'i', and this is what has happened in many place names, not only Mootwingee and Tarrawingee, but many others like Moonamurtee (perhaps *muna* 'green snake' + *marti* 'bank'). *Marti* ('bank') is quite common in Paakantyi place-names, for example, *Wirtu-marti* ('big bank'), the original name of Bourke.

Paakantyi makes a distinction between the short 'u' sound as in 'foot' and the long 'uu' sound as in 'food'. It is impossible to make this distinction in written English and so we basically have to use one English spelling ('oo') to render two Paakantyi sounds. There is a problem writing the Paakantyi 'u' as the English

[62] unpublished, but available through AIATSIS.

'u' because that may lead English speakers to pronounce the 'u' as in 'cut, 'rut', 'nut', etc.

The change of spelling of Mootwingee to its current spelling, Mutawintji, illustrates this problem. Because the majority of English speakers pronounce 'u' as in 'cut', the name 'Mootwingee' is now often mispronounced.

Mootwingee can be analysed linguistically as

muthu ('grass') + *wintyi* ('fresh' 'green')

In the original name *muthu* + wintyi the final '*u*' of *muthu* is barely pronounced: it is there, but in rapid speech it is an indeterminate vowel. In a really close phonetic transcription, the weak vowel 'shwa' [ə] would be used, however it is standard practice in practical orthography to use the slow speech full version of the vowel so as to avoid confusion. Thus the spelling 'Mutawintji' has tried to convey this indeterminate vowel by inserting an 'a'. This spelling has some disadvantages and is less likely to be pronounced in a way that reflects the original meaning in Paakantyi.

Figure 20

Creek Bed at Mutawintji National Park, 2004 (photo courtesy of Adam Black)

6. Place names

In the eyes of Aboriginal people, the landscape was alive. The landscape spoke of events of the Dreamtime and it spoke in the language of the people belonging to that country.[63] In George Dutton's view of the landscape, the Ancestors always spoke in the local language.

Aboriginal place names are complex. They often cannot be analysed and can be simply names, though in cases where they can be analysed, this can be an important help in determining which language the place belongs to.

Most important of all they can be a part of myths, as is illustrated again and again in the myths told by George Dutton. Ancestors give names to places according to events in the myths. This makes the whole landscape become alive and meaningful, and the names will still be there to carry on the meaning for future generations. Sometimes names that can be analysed are descriptive. They can have quite unexpected meanings such as 'caterpillar nest' or 'sewing a rug', because they belong to a story. Unless we have been told by a traditional person, we cannot be certain that an interpretation is correct.

Under European influence many of the old names have been replaced by English terms that tell us little, like the numerous ones of the type 'Five Mile Creek', or names bestowed in honour of individuals, such as 'Sullivan's Hill'. Peak Hill, south of Milparinka, was once named *Mintiwarda*; Mt Arrowsmith was called *Pinpili.* Both these sites feature in George Dutton's story of the Two Snakes (see section 4.6.2).

Aboriginal place names are significant and it is important to retain as much of their original meaning and pronunciation as possible. The renaming of the Coturaundee Nature Reserve as 'Mutawintji Nature Reserve' illustrates this: Coturaundee and Cootawundy (the name of the creek) appear to be renderings of the Paakantyi name *Kuntu-(ng)arnti* 'Guts (full of) wild banana tubers'. This refers to the myth of the Kangaroo and the Euro. In this story the two Ancestors have a fight there over *ngarnti* tubers and over yams *(nhanthuru)*. The name of the reserve, Coturaundee, commemorates the tubers in the story, and the name of the creek goes with the yams. These old names belonged to the myth and to the landscape, and with them the land can still tell a story.

6.1.1 Some Paakantyi place names

The suffix '-ntyi'

This suffix is usually spelt in English as –ngee or -ngie. It means 'belonging to' and it occurs in a few common nouns in Paakantyi, e.g. yarra-ntyi 'possum' (yarra 'tree'). It is quite common in place names too, though many are uncertain.

Mootwingee can be analysed linguistically as

muthu ('grass') + *wintyi* ('fresh' 'green')

There is a close parallel in the name, Tarrawingee, seven kilometres north of Poolamacca in Wilyakali country. This is almost certainly:

thara ('hopbush') + *wintyi* ('fresh' 'green')

We can be reasonably sure that the suffix *–ntyi* is involved if the complete name is of three syllables, such as Boorungie. Longer names can sometimes[64] be compound nouns as is the case with Tarrawingee (on Poolamacca) and Yantabangee (*Yarnta-Pantyi* = 'Stone Creek') which is about 40 kilometres north-north-east of White Cliffs, and these do not involve the suffix *-ntyi* at all.

Suffix: -cannia

There are some well known places in the general area which end in *–cannia*, for example: Yancannia, Wincannia (north of White Cliffs), Wilcannia, and Bancannia. It is not clear how these names are formed, or even whether we are dealing with a suffix (*–cannia*) added to an abbreviated noun. The noun that forms the first part of the name could have been abbreviated because of haplology (the omission of one of two identical consecutive syllables). A good example from Wilyakali country is:

Paatyirka – karnu	*Paatyir - karnu*
white stone	(Byierkerno Creek, north of Euriowie)

So 'Wilcannia' could be from a hypothetical *wilka-kanya* from a widespread word for 'dog' *(wilka)*. This suggestion is pure guesswork, however the above names are all in Paakantyi country (Bancannia is near the edge of it) and it seems unlikely that this is just coincidence.

[63] There are some exceptions in that some song cycles had verses that were carried from one group to another, and into different language areas.
[64] This excludes names ending in –rangee because words cannot begin with r in Paakantyi.

6.1.2
Place names in the Mutawintji area

The language of the area in which Mutawintji National Park is situated is clearly Paakantyi. The following interpretations of some names in the Mutawintji area[65] have been suggested by Luise Hercus (those of which she is most certain shown in **red**).

Place name	Possible Paakantyi (Pantyikali) form	Meaning
Nuchea Lake	Ngatyi + ya	water-snake
Gundara	**Kaantara**	blood
Turtoopooro	**Thartu**-puura	covering over one's head (to protect it). The word for 'head' is certainly there, the rest is not so clear. *Thartu* can mean 'hill' as wll as 'head'
Noonthorungie, Nuntherungie, Nanthurungee (German spelling by Beckler)	**Nhanthuru-ntyi**	[Dutton-Beckett *'nanduru'* – yam] belonging to yams, yam-place (from the story of Kangaroo and Euro)
Baroorangee	? + **ntyi**	? + belonging to
Boorangie	puuri + **ntyi**	Ghost +belonging to (?)
Kerchie Creek	Karti	Gidgee
Nootambulla	-m-pula	? + hill
Gnalta Creek	**Ngalta**	waterhen
Gnaltaknoko Creek	**Ngalta-nguku**	waterhen-water
Parkingi Tank	**Paakantyi**	this may be a relatively modern name
Kayrunnera	*KaRiirana* contracted form used only in Pantyikali, not other Paakantyi.	from *kaaru kiirana* 'a different place'. George Dutton used this phrase. The name may refer to the Kangaroo ancestor jumping off to a different place from Noonthorangie
Kerndombie	*Karntu-wampi*	storm flying
Yanda watercourse	***Yarnta***	stone
Yerntambool	***yarnta-m-pula***	stone hill (an m-glide is common in compounds when the second member begins with 'p')

[65] These place names are shown on Nuchea map, ref no. 7335 (left column, from Nuchea to Boorangie), Grasmere map ref no.7435 (Kerchie Creek to Parkingi Tank) and the Kayrunnera map ref no. 7436 (from Karyrunnera to Yerntambool).

6.1.3 Some Malyangapa place names

Torowoto Swamp, about 15 km west-south-west of Salisbury Downs, was included in Malyangapa country by both George Dutton and Hannah Quayle. (Both spoke both Malyangapa and Paakantyi: George Dutton spoke Pantyikali-Paakantyi and Hannah Quayle spoke Paaṟuntyi-Paakantyi.)

The late Laurie Quayle explained to Luise Hercus that the name Torowoto was derived from:

thurru	snake
katu	windbreak

George Dutton gave the same derivation to Beckett in his account of the story of the Two *Ngatyi* (Water-snakes):

> *Then they went to another swamp and they seen a snake there. And he said 'oh we'll call it the snake break, duru gardu.* (Beckett MS)

The word *thurru* ('snake') is shared by Malyangapa and Paakantyi, but *katu* ('windbreak'), which is common in languages further west, has so far only been recorded for Malyangapa, not Paakantyi, where the equivalent word is *nhantu*. Snakes hate hot strong winds and there are a number of such names for sites that figure in mythology. Laurie Quayle implied that the snake in the story was sheltering from a hot wind.

Nearby Bootra Creek, which flows through Salisbury Downs, is probably derived from the shared and widespread word *puthara* ('hot wind', 'dust-storm'), which occurs in both Malyangapa and Paakantyi. The myth is that of the water-snakes, the *Ngatyi*, which ranges a long way, but the local explanation fits in with Malyangapa and with the statements of George Dutton and Hannah Quayle that Salisbury Downs (Homestead) was Malyangapa. It appears to have been on the very far south-eastern edge of Malyangapa country and Paakantyi people were there too, as shown by the vocabulary from Torowoto (see section 4.3.1).

There are other place names that are most likely Malyangapa. For example, *milpa* means 'eye' in Malyangapa, and figures in the name of 'Milpa' station and probably also 'Milparinka'.

The suffix '-mintha'

The Malyangapa suffix *mintha* does not seem to change the meaning of a noun; it may be just slightly emphatic. For example, *kaka* is a widespread word for 'head'; in Malyangapa the word is *kakamintha*. This feature is only found in Malyangapa and does not appear to be shared even by the other two Yarli languages.

The placename Yandaminta could therefore be explained as *yarnta* 'stone' + *mintha*. Yandaminta Creek is situated in an area where there are many Aboriginal stone-quarries, and George Dutton emphasised to Tindale that the high hills round there were a good place for getting 'flint'.

Similarly Wonnaminta was probably *wana* 'boomerang' (another widespread word) + *mintha*. It appears to have been near the southern edge of Malyangapa country.

7. People and places – families and ancestors of Mutawintji

7.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the information we have about individuals and families connected with Mutawintji, where they lived and what we can glean about their lives from the time of early European pastoral settlement.

Five families are currently recognised as being directly descended from known, named ancestors who were born in some cases before white settlement, or within 10 to 20 years of the earliest pastoral enterprises in their area. These are the Duttons, the Quayles, the Tyler/Barlows, the Gibsons and the Bates family.

7.2 Quayle / Williams / Hamilton family

7.2.1 Fanny Buugali Williams (1856 – 1916) and Cobham Tommy Williams

Fanny Buugali Williams was born around 1856. Fanny's meat was *nhaampa* or bony bream, belonging to the *Kilpara* moiety, and she was known as Buugali [Puukali] (P. Thompson interview May Barlow 1994, Alma Bates-Hannah 1997).

Fanny married Tommy Williams, who was also known as Cobham Tommy. Tommy's mother, Yancannia Kitty was born around 1814, was married at Salisbury Downs station and died at Morden station in 1920, where she was buried at the reputed age of 106 years (DC). According to her DC, Tommy was still living at that time, but at this stage we do not know any more about his history.

Cobham Tommy and Fanny had two children, Gilbert and John Williams. Fanny also had an older child, **Hannah,** the daughter of Hamilton, the white station manager and co-owner of Morden station. This little girl was accepted as part of the Williams family. When Fanny died at Yancannia on 22 March 1916, her children were listed on her DC as Gilbert and John Williams and Hannah Quaill (Quayle). According to Hannah Quayle (Hercus Tape 1963, Hardy 1979) there was an older (half) sister, a full sister to Gilbert and John. The other sister is not listed which indicates that she died before Fanny.

Hannah Quayle (nee Hamilton) (c. 1873 – 1965)

Hannah Hamilton was born around 1873 at Morden or Nundora station (Nundora was part of Morden in the 1880s), and although accepted into the Williams family she took the name of her father, Hamilton (BC and MC of children). She spent time as a child at Yancannia station where she learned a number of different languages and skills from the diverse group of Aboriginal people who found refuge there (Hardy 1979). As a girl she also worked in the station houses where she learnt the very different skills used there, including the crochet and fine embroidery that she was so proud of throughout her life.

Figure 21

Hannah Quayle (photo courtesy of William Bates)

Hannah met and married **John (Jack) Quayle** and started her own family. All the large Quayle family descend from this couple (see next page). Hannah, also known as Grannie Quayle, was widely respected by the western New South Wales community. She spoke many languages, including Malyangapa and Paaṟuntyi Paakantyi, which she recorded with Professor Wurm in the 1950s. Mrs Quayle also spoke to Luise Hercus and Jeremy Beckett about language and cultural matters (Hercus tape, Beckett notes). Hannah Quayle and Anna Moysey provided the information on Paaṟuntyi Paakantyi and Kurnu Paakantyi respectively for the article on the grammar

of these language dialects (Wurm & Hercus 1976). In this article, her name is given as Malyalari. It is stated that she spoke Malyangapa as her first language and had learnt Paaṟuntyi Paakantyi as a child, and also used it daily in 1957 when she was interviewed by Wurm.

She was called Malya, a shortened form of Malyalari, by May Barlow (P. Thompson pers. comm.). Hannah Quayle passed away in Wilcannia in 1965.

Hannah Quayle left an important legacy to her family, handing down her values and cultural knowledge to her children and grandchildren. Her stories about the area known as Mutawintji National Park were an impetus in the movement to blockade and ensure better management of the park. Some of her knowledge has been handed down through the documentation of Jeremy Beckett, Luise Hercus and Professor Wurm. She described hunting wallabies amongst the rocks at Mootwingee station with her husband when they were young (Hardy 1979, p. 4), and told the story of Kurlawirra walking up the creek in the former Mutawintji Historic Site (Hercus Tape 1963).

Her granddaughter Ethel Melrose (or Edwards) (nee Riley) passed on knowledge about Mutawintji National Park and neighbouring places to younger generations and this information was incorporated by Badger Bates and William Bates into the Mutawintji LALC cultural heritage tours. Ethel also passed on information about women's birthing places and medicine used at Mutawintji National Park (O'Donnell and Martin 1993, and Badger Bates [Martin pers. comm.]). Ethel said she "used to walk all around" the Mutawintji area from about 12-14 years old and she knew about art sites, the waterholes, and where the men's and women's sites are. She said "Gran used to always tell us about it" (Martin Tape 1992). Hannah's granddaughter Alma Bates-Hannah also received a store of cultural knowledge handed down to her from her grandmother (Martin pers. comm. 2003).

Johnny Williams (c. 1890 - ?)

Fanny and Cobham Tommy Williams' sons Gilbert George Williams and John Williams were half-brothers to Hannah. John Williams was born at Cobham station around 1890. He married Elsie Podmore from Hungerford in 1913 (MC) at Tibooburra (or on a nearby station). Elsie had a baby, Lawrence, at Salisbury Downs in 1914 (BC), but sadly both mother and child died shortly after (CI). Nothing more is known about this branch of the family at this stage.

Figure 22

Photo of Johnny Williams playing the accordian to a group at the Yancannia camp, probably pre World War 1 (photo courtesy of May Hunt)

Gilbert Williams (c. 1884 or 1892 – 1937)

Gilbert Williams was also known as Thintyu (Martin Notes, Thompson 1997), as was his mother's brother (Hercus Tape 1963). His DC indicates he was born around 1884 at Bulla Downs station and was a drover, but his 1917 World War I enlistment indicates he was born around 1892 at Gonelie station (a mistake, made clearer on his WWI medical history as Connulpie station). Bulla Downs and Connulpie stations are close together on either side of the Queensland border. Gilbert enlisted in the Light Horse Regiment at Broken Hill on 3 April 1917, listing his next of kin as Mrs Quail of Yancanyer [Yancannia] station, and a son, Allan. He was described as physically fit and a "bushman" and went on to Adelaide, but was discharged there in September 1917 on the grounds of being "Aboriginal, deficient physique" (NAA item 1807866).

Figure 23

Gilbert Williams in uniform c. 1917 (Hardy 1976)

By this time, Gilbert was a widower, as shown on his army discharge. His first marriage was at Broken Hill in 1916. His wife Leata (or Leta) McCulloch (or McCullough) was born at Poolamacca station in about 1895 (DC and MC). Their son, Allan Williams was born 15 March 1912 at Tarrawingee, a small village on Poolamacca station. Leata passed away in Broken Hill from tuberculosis in 1917.

Allan went on to enlist in the Australian military in 1940 and died in action during World War II. His enlistment noted his next of kin as his "auntie" Mrs M. Bates (Minnie Bates nee Williams). Allan may have been brought up by Minnie after his mother died and his father enlisted. Allan fought in the Middle East and then New Guinea, where he was promoted to corporal in January 1943. Two weeks later he was killed in action (NAA Series B883 item number SX10789) and is listed on Panel 3 of the Port Moresby Memorial (Commonwealth War Graves Commission) and on the Menindee war memorial, where some of his surviving soldier "mates" honoured him.

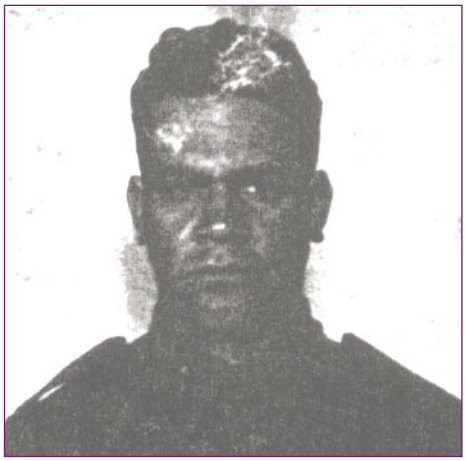


Figure 24

Allan Williams' enlistment photo (NAA Series B883 item number SX10789)

Gilbert's second marriage was at Mildura to Daisy Robinson. They had four sons, James F. (Jimmy), Johnny, Georgy and Stanley T., a daughter who had already passed away when Gilbert died (Gilbert's DC), and another baby daughter, Christina, who was born at Menindee Mission and died at Broken Hill hospital in 1938 aged 7 months (Christina's DC). Gilbert died at Broken Hill hospital in 1937, one of the many people living at Menindee Mission who were victims of the epidemic of tuberculosis among the people there (Martin 2001). Daisy also died from tuberculosis in 1938 (DC with little detail) just a few days after her baby daughter Christina had died of pneumonia and malnutrition (almost definitely a result of the mother's illness). Three of the boys, Jimmy, Johnny and Georgy were sent to Kinchela Boys home. It is not known whether Stanley was also sent there. Willy Riley remembers they came back to Wilcannia in the 1940s and were widely known as boxers. Georgy died in 1999 and was buried in Wilcannia with his people. Johnny Williams was living in White Cliffs in 1973 (*Barrier Miner* 15/9/1973).

7.2.2
Judy (Quayle (c. 1853 – 1908)

Judy Quayle was born about 1853 (or possibly a little later). Judy was about 15 years old when she married John Quayle (often spelt Quaill or Quail), a white man from the Isle of Man in the British Isles, who died at Tibooburra in 1897 (DC). The Bonney papers (Bonney 1886-1915) mention John Quayle as being at Momba sometime earlier than 1881:

> *bag… of the caterpillars, is used by natives to heal sores. Quayle recommended to try it over his sore hand* (Bonney 1866-1883, MSS Item 2).

According to Hardy (1979, p. 3) Judy was Malyangapa, but as she had her three sons John, James and William Quayle at a very young age on Momba and Tarella stations, near White Cliffs (various BDM records), she may have been Paakantyi. She apparently left the family when the three sons were young (1979, p. 3). Judy died at Yalpunga just south of the Queensland border in 1908 where she is buried.

John Quayle was born around 1870-73 on Momba station. James Quayle was born "near Wilcannia" around 1873 and died on 29 July 1921 at Wilcannia (DC). It appears he did not marry. His brother, John, and Willie Morris were witnesses at his burial.

William (or Bill/Bert) Quayle was born at or near White Cliffs around 1878-1885 (DC & MC) and died at Wilcannia in 1940 (DC). William married Eva Bridge in 1922, a Paaruntyi Paakantyi woman from Wanaaring. They were both living at Tongo station at that time, in the area that is considered to be close to the junction of Pantyikali/Wanyiwalku, Paaruntyi and Kurnu country. Their daughter, Eva, died at Bourke in 1936. It appears William did not have any other children.

Oral history suggests that there was a half brother to the Quayle brothers, Charlie Bull (Martin notes from Ethel Edwards), but this needs to be confirmed. Charlie Bull is listed as being at Salisbury Downs in 1919 when he buried Panga (DC).

7.2.3
John and Hannah Quayle and their family

John (Jack) Quayle (c. 1870-73 – 1934)

John (Jack) Quayle was born around 1870-73 at Momba station, near White Cliffs, and died at White Cliffs in 1934. It appears he met **Hannah Hamilton** at Yancannia station and they started their family around 1895 (see section 7.2.1).

John Quayle was well-respected in western NSW. On his son Frank's 1917 BC he is described as a 'contractor'. He travelled far and wide, undertaking fencing and tank sinking contracts. He was also a horse breaker and could turn to a wide range of station work. The family always travelled with a good wagonette and horses, and camped in well set up tents, always keeping their distance from "missions" and the APB (Hardy 1979, p. 4).

Figure 25

John Quayle at Tarella station, dressed as the "buggy boy", probably early 1890s. The photo was published in New Dawn (1 January 1974) with the caption: "The stern looking gentleman in riding gear is Jack Quayle. The photo was taken when he was twenty-one and working at Toorella station near White Cliffs". (Original photo Ethel Edwards, provided courtesy of Willy Riley)

John and Hannah's granddaughter, Ethel Edwards said:

> *Grandfather Quayle … he was reared here at Tarella … him and old Uncle Bert [William] Quayle. They from around White Cliffs, Tarella and around that way … they were buggy boys for Quinns at Tarella (Martin tape and notes 1992).*

It is not known what John Quayle's meat was, but we know he belonged to the *Makwara* moiety, because his marriage to Hannah Quayle (*Kilpara nhaampa* from her mother) was "suitable" according to the elders (Hardy 1979, p. 4). Beckett's 1957-8 notes confirm that this was a traditional marriage arranged by the families. [In this arrangement Rosie Stapleton, John Quayle's "kin" sister, married Albert Bates (see section 7.5.1). John was therefore able to marry Hannah Hamilton, who must have been a "kin" sister of Albert Bates.]

Recalling his childhood in 1992, John and Hannah's grandson Willy Riley, and Willy's nephew Arthur Melrose remembered the Quayles' camp at White Cliffs out towards the Government tank on the pipeline that took water into town. The family could get water from the 'standpipe'. John Quayle was working at Yancannia most of the time, then when the children grew up the Quayles moved to Wilcannia. Their daughters Edith (Edie) and Monica and her son Beno (Vincent Quayle) stayed on at their old house (Bates and Martin 1999). John Quayle died at White Cliffs in 1934 (DC).

John and Hannah Quayle had a large family including Ruby, May, Marjorie, Jack, Lawrence, Eileen, Monica, Frank and Edith, and at least six who died as babies or children.

Ruby Quayle (c. 1899-73 – 1920)

Ruby Quayle was married at Tibooburra in 1916 to George Riley from Elderslie station, Winton (MC). George was born in Winton around 1880. Ruby gave birth to daughters Ada, in 1916 at Yancannia, and Mary, at Wilcannia. Ruby died 3 June 1920 at Wanaaring.

In 1992, Elsie Coombes (nee Bates) then in her 70s, recalled that Mary Riley used to work like a man, as a gun shearer and rouseabout (Martin tape and notes, 1992).

Figure 26

A wedding photo of Ruby Quayle and George Riley (Hardy 1976)

May Hunt (nee Quayle) (1900 – 1974)

May was born in 1900 at Milparinka (Hardy 1979) and married William Hunt in 1921 in Wilcannia. Their children were Harold, Eric, Roy, Beulah, Doreen, and Rachael Hunt. She later married Bill Hennessy and their children were William, Edward, Cyril and Coral Hennessy.

May was an excellent horserider and stockwoman; she lived in various places in far western New South Wales including Yancannia, Tibooburra, Wanaaring, Coallie Bore, Tarrawingee, Willangee, White Cliffs and Bourke (Hunt 2006).

Figure 27

May Hunt, (wrongly captioned as Walter Newton), in riding gear, holding horse whip (Hardy 1976)

May and William Hunt's son, Harold, now in his 80s and himself a well-known identity of the far north-west, has recorded his memories of his mother and his childhood in *Memoirs of the Corner Country: the story of May Hunt*, published in late 2006.[66] The story of May and her family is also found in Hardy 1979.

Marjorie Quayle (1902 – 1936)

Marjorie was born about 1902 at Tibooburra and married George Riley in 1922 at White Cliffs (MC). George and Marjorie had Ethel Mary (b.c1918-20), Ronnie, Clarry, Cecil (b.1932) and William (b.1934). There was also a daughter called Hannah (b.1923), who drowned in the ground tank at White Cliffs in 1932 (DC). Marjorie was living at Bootra station when she married, then she lived at White Cliffs and various stations, and died in Wilcannia in March 1936.

In 1992, Ethel Mary recalled life around White Cliffs:

> *We used to have punti [nulla nulla] to get meat – no rifles – we used to get the meat, the women at White Cliffs. We had the goats trained [to come to us] – with bread in a bag.*

and an earlier period when she was a child living out on stations:

> *As kids we lived in tents … we'd walk all day long and live on wild tucker, mukuli, moallie apples, yams.*

Marjorie's youngest son William (Willy) Riley was born in 1934 at White Cliffs. He worked on stations all around the White Cliffs and Mutawintji area – on Yelcowinna and Acacia Downs to the west of Mootwingee, Grasmere, Willandra and Moonavale to the south and east, and Cootawindi next door – although not on Mootwingee itself. He was also at Duntroon station for seven years (Martin pers. comm. 2003). Willy has lived at Mutawintji National Park for many years, working for NPWS and the Mutawintji LALC, and was a founding member of the Mutawintji Board of Management.

In 1999, Willy recorded his memories of White Cliffs. From the 1920s -1940s White Cliffs was a base for the families working on stations around the area (Bates and Martin 1999). Willy's mother Marjorie died when he was about 20 months old and his older sister, Ethel Mary (later Melrose then Edwards) helped bring him up. He was seven when he left to go to Wilcannia to live in 1941. Willy's father George Riley and Jack Quayle sank the big tank in the middle of White Cliffs called Riley's Tank.

Riley's Tank

The dam had no fluming – it uses the natural slope and three drains. There was a galvanised tank on a stand which filled up from windmill. Ships tanks were buried underground below ground level to fill up overflow from windmill and rainwater. Ethel Mary used to grow veges – had a big vege garden – we watered by hand with buckets from tanks. Used to sell some veges to town people. There was a goat yard and milking shed – made butter – town people used to buy milk and butter. The kids used to run around the hills getting in the goats for milking. Ethel Mary also collected and sold some opal and worked part time at the pub.

The house was near the tank, near the windmill and tank stand. It was a timber and iron house – father and Uncle Laurie and Uncle Sonny Quayle built it. It is now at Glenowrie where it was taken – father sold the house when we moved to Wilcannia but never got paid for it. Ethel Mary lived at Riley's Tank house and looked after the younger ones – me, Clarrie and Cecil. Sister Ada was at Kaolin station, Ronnie was at Monolon and up to Nocoleche. Dad [George Riley] worked on Monolon then at Cawnalmurtee. I went to school at White Cliffs. When I went past Degoumois pub on the way to school they would get me to sing for pennies, put me up on the bar. I started singing on the bar when I was six. We lost one sister, she drowned in one of the tank drains.

Arthur (Popeye) Melrose (b.1940 at White Cliffs), the eldest son of Ethel Mary, also remembered his time at White Cliffs (Bates and Martin 1999). He remembered the children he used to get around with were Vera Quayle, Mavis Quayle, and Violet Bates; "Raylene [Quayle - Lawrence's daughter] was too small". Arthur used to barter his mother's goat's milk for food and they used to get yabbies at the Government Tank. Ethel Mary and Arthur later lived in the old house still standing behind the store in town (after George Riley moved to Wilcannia).

[66] Hunt, Harold, *Memoirs of the Corner Country*: the story of May Hunt, Magabala Books, Broome, 2006

John Alexander Quayle Junior (1904 – 1967)

John (known as Jack or Sonny) was born on 11 February 1904 at Salisbury Downs "near Milparinka" (MC, DC and Defence Records NAA). Jack enlisted in the AIF in September 1942 and was discharged in December 1945 at the end of World War II. He served as a mechanic in Australia and New Guinea and received four medals: the 1939/45 Star, the Pacific Star, a War Medal and an ASM. When he enlisted he was described as an Aboriginal labourer and stated his relevant skills as being able to drive a car and lorry, ride a motor cycle, make running repairs, cook and butcher animals. He married Amy Johnson (or Clark) in 1946 at Wilcannia (MC). Their nine children were Elizabeth, John, Gloria, Mary, Clement, Gerald, Greg, Mark and Timothy. Amy lived in Wilcannia until her death in 2006.

Figure 28

Amy and Jack (Sonny) Quayle (foreground) with their children. Harold Hunt and Lilly O'Donel sit behind them (New Dawn, 1 July 1975: copy held at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

Lawrence Quayle (c. 1907 – 1976)

Lawrence was born about 1907 and married Ethel Bates at White Cliffs. Laurie and Ethel had nine children: Myrtle, Keith, Margaret Patricia, Vera May, Lawrence junior, Mavis Jean, Kayrose, Raylene Mary, and Richard. They lived at White Cliffs and on stations all around the far west. Laurie Quayle was interviewed by Hercus (tape 502) speaking Malyangapa; he gave his name as Kulpandiya, and provided the following names for his brother and sisters: Jack was Maladiya, May was Miruwandiya, and Marjorie Riley was Pirdawandiya.

Laurie Quayle worked as a motor mechanic on stations, mended windmills and built the shearer's quarters at Polpa between White Cliffs and Peery.

Willy Riley (Lawrence's nephew) and Arthur Melrose (Willy's nephew) recalled "Uncle Laurie and Auntie Bubba (Ethel nee Bates) Quayle's house" had sleeping quarters made out of bush timber and twitched wire, with tin walls. Attached to this was a large cane grass shed with walls and roof made out of wire netting holding in the cane grass. This 'summer house' was where the whole family had Christmas dinner and used to eat and spend most of their time. They had a large vegetable garden, fed by the ship's tank that held water near the house at White Cliffs. A goat yard was about 200 metres away. The whole area was enclosed with a substantial iron fence. The remains of all this can still be seen today (Bates & Martin 1999).

Figure 29

Jack Quayle and his son Laurie Quayle at White Cliffs in the early 1930s (New Dawn, 1 July 1975: copy held at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

Eileen Veronica Quayle (1915 – 1939)

Eileen was born in 1915 at Tibooburra and married William Bates in 1939 at Wilcannia. Eileen died 12 October 1939 after giving birth to a premature baby who also passed away.

Monica Quayle (c. 1915 – ?)

Monica was born around 1915. She married Frank McKellar and they had one son, Vincent Quayle. Vincent married Patsy Johnson and their family lives in Broken Hill and Menindee.

Frank (Joseph Francis) Quayle (1917 – 1958)

Frank was born on 31 October 1917 at White Cliffs. He was a well known stockman on stations around White Cliffs and Wanaaring. Frank did not marry.

Edith Quayle (1923 – ?)

Edith was born on 6 September 1923 at White Cliffs, and married James Bates at Wilcannia in 1941. They had a large family of 14 children, including Ackland, Alma, Mary-Anne, Michael, Caroline, Jimmy jnr, William Charles, Paul, Edith Clair, Jennifer, John, Daniel, Dean and Doreen Bates. William was the first Chairperson of the Mutawintji Board of Management.

7.3
The Tyler / Barlow family

7.3.1
Maggie Tyler (Cate Newton and Jack Tyler

Cate Newton / Maggie Tyler (c. 1861 – 1933)

Maggie was living at Tarella station between White Cliffs and Mootwingee around 1889-90 when she had her first child, Walter Newton, who was named after his father, the white overseer at Tarella station. At this early stage, she was known as Cate Newton (J. Tyler's DC), (however for most of her life she was known as Maggie).

Cate/Maggie belonged to the *Kilpara* moiety and *nhampaa* or bony bream meat. According to her son, Walter, Maggie and her parents came from Yancannia to Tarella, and they all returned there after she gave birth to him (Beckett 1958, p. 103). She then left Walter at Yancannia, married **Jack Tyler** and moved to Poolamacca. From this time she was known as Maggie Tyler. Jack Tyler was a Wilyakali man born around 1857 at Bimbowrie station to the west of Broken Hill (in South Australia).

Maggie had her daughters **Molly** and **Topsy Tyler** at Poolamacca. A son, Patrick (Paddie) was also born at Tarrawingee, Poolamacca between 1901-12.

By 1914 Jack, Maggie and their children had moved to Yancannia (see Table 5 in Appendix 1) and they continued to live in the Yancannia, Wonnaminta, White Cliffs, Mootwingee area. The family was at Gnalta station (now partly incorporated into the Mutawintji National Park) in 1922, when Jack Tyler was listed as the undertaker for Sam Bonnie. George Dutton also visited them there some time before 1925 (Beckett 1978, p. 19). Jack died on 17 March 1926 at Broken Hill (DC). Maggie died at White Cliffs in 1933. Their son, Patrick, died at Wilcannia in 1936 (DC). It appears that he did not have any descendants.

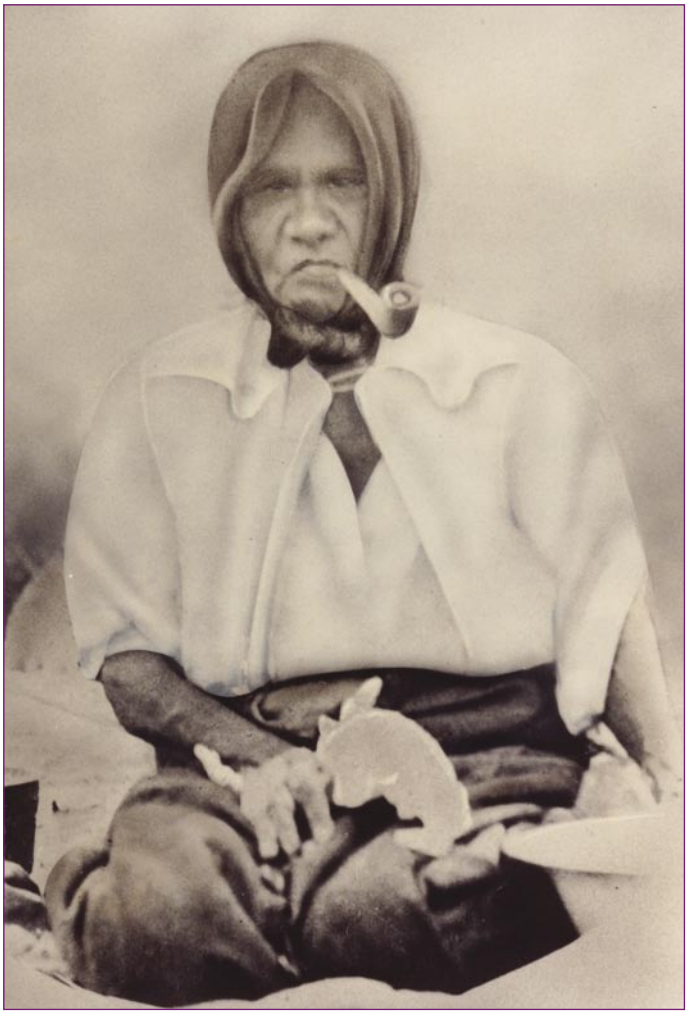


Figure 30
Maggie Tyler (courtesy of Dori Hunter)

Walter Newton (c. 1889 – 1963)

Walter Newton was born at Tarella around 1889-90, and grew up at Yancannia station. His mother moved away when he was about ten and he remained at Yancannia in the care of the manager, Edward Peter Tapp, employed on various jobs around the station, including as a "buggy boy". He was listed as living at the station in 1914 (see Table 5, in Appendix 1). His relationship with Tapp was to become a lifelong friendship. In February 1917, he and E. P. Tapp enlisted in the Australian Imperial Force and were allocated to the 9th Light Horse Regiment.

Walter married Emma (or Emily) Pantoney (or Pantoni) from Milang in South Australia at Broken Hill in April 1917 (MC, Berndt & Berndt 1993). Emma is described as doing domestic duties at Tarrawingee, the limestone mining town on Poolamacca. It appears that Walter and Emma separated early and had no children. Emma stayed in the area and was at Menindee Mission for a period of time where she died in 1937 (DC).

In June 1917, Walter and E.P. Tapp left Australia to serve with the Light Horse in Palestine; Walter was one of only some 400 Aboriginal servicemen accepted by the AIF. After he returned from World War I and was discharged from the army in 1919, he found work in the Broken Hill mines. Although these jobs were normally reserved for sons of miners, after the war returned servicemen were given a chance to work in the mines, however as he told Beckett, he only stayed for a short period because he "got tired of it". Walter Newton went back to work for E. P. Tapp, who by then was in partnership with Sidney Kidman and a co-owner of Yancannia and other stations, and looked after the important place Peak Tank on Nuntherungie station (now part of Mutawintji National Park), probably around 1920 or shortly after (Beckett 1993).

Walter dictated a series of stories to Jeremy Beckett in 1957 (Beckett 1993), some of which describe the country around Broken Hill, Mutawintji National Park and up to Tibooburra, and include Paakantji Ancestors such as *Kurlawirra* and the Eaglehawk and Crow. Beckett suggests that the mining of the silver ore in the sacred *Kurlawirra's* "Broken Hill" was heartbreaking for Walter, and that it was difficult for him to reconcile the *Kurlawirra* story with what the miners were doing, and that is why he left and went back to look after his country on Nuntherungie station.

Later in life he came back to Broken Hill, worked for the Council and then retired there. May Barlow remembered catching the bus to Broken Hill and staying with her Uncle Walter (pers. comm.). Walter Newton died at Broken Hill in July 1963.

Molly Tyler (c. 1902 – 1937)

Molly was born around 1902-1904 at Poolamacca (DC). Tindale described her as a Wanyiwalku woman of White Cliffs (1938). Molly had five sons: Ross (or Alf) Barlow born in 1925 (the son of Alf Barlow, who later married Molly's sister, Topsy) (see below); Jacky Dougal McFarlane (the son of Dougal McFarlane) (see below), and Hector, Albert (Bertie) and Wilki (Wilkinya) Bates (the sons of Jim (Karu) Bates). Bertie, Hector and Wilki were born at White Cliffs in 1926, 1929 and 1932 respectively. Jim (Karu) Bates died in 1933 at White Cliffs. Then, in 1936, the Wilcannia Police record shows that:

> *Const. Buck White Cliffs Police arrived this station per hired motor car, conveying Molly Bates and family to Wilcannia en route to Menindee station [Mission]* (Duty Book 9/6031).

Molly married Percy Ford at Menindee but was taken to Broken Hill hospital where she died on 30 May 1937. After her death, the three younger boys Albert (Bertie) Bates, Hector Bates and Wilki (Wilkinya) Bates were taken to Kinchela boys home (Tindale 1938).

Molly's niece, May Barlow (Topsy's daughter), recalled how her cousins were taken away:

> *In 1936 Alf and Topsy [Barlow] caught the mail truck to Menindee Mission (travelling down the east side of of the river). They stayed there about three months. Molly Bates [nee Tyler] became ill and was taken to Broken Hill. Uncle Dougal McFarlane arrived with their donkey cart and they came back to Wilcannia (through Menindee Town, Pamarmaroo to Wilcannia). They got the news that Molly had died and the kids were taken away (Bertie, Hector, Wilki)* (Peter Thompson notes 1990).

It appears that of Molly's children, only Albert (Bertie) Bates, has descendants. Albert married Sheila

Athorn; they had 11 children, who live in Broken Hill, Bourke and elsewhere.

Topsy Tyler (1907 – 1954)

Topsy was born in 1907 at Tarrawingee on Poolamacca station, and died at Wilcannia in 1954. Topsy's oldest child, May, was born in 1920 at Bootra station, near Yancannia. May's father was Peter McFarlane from Poolamacca station (Dougal's brother) (see section 7.3.3).

Topsy later married Alf Barlow (see section 7.3.2) and they lived at Yancannia in the 1920's, at White Cliffs, Wilcannia and Wonnaminta station in the 1930s, and in the 1940s, at Junction Well / Cootawundi Hut at the edge of the Mutawintji Nature Reserve. Topsy and Alf's children include Len, Don, Doris (Dori), and three girls who passed away in early childhood. Don and Dori and their children were played an important part in the Mutawintji blockade in 1983 and were founding members of the Mutawintji LALC. Dori and her son William were foundation members of the Board of Management of Mutawintji National Park.

In 1936 the Wilcannia Police records show the following entry:

> *Const. Buck White Cliffs Police arrive per hired motor lorry, escorting Topsy Barlow …to Wilcannia hospital* (Wilcannia Police Duty Book 9/6031).

After this the Barlows went to Menindee Mission (see May Barlow's recollection above), but did not stay there long.

Willy Riley (Marjorie Quayle/George Riley's son, see above) recalled that the Barlow family lived not far from the Rileys at Riley's Tank, White Cliffs, about 150-200 metres towards the town. Willy remembers Alf and Topsy, May, Lennie, Don (Donny) and Dori living there. There used to be a little tank at the Barlows where they used buckets to get water, and a big old pepper tree. When the Barlows left they went to Wonnaminta.

Here the family took the young Alice Bugmy under their wing. Alone, afraid and far from her family for the first time, Alice had been sent to Wonnaminta station from the Menindee Mission by the Aborigines Protection Board as a housemaid. She came across Topsy and Alf Barlow and the children May, Dori, Lennie and Donny. Topsy said to Alice "you our own people" and took her in. Topsy was referring to the fact that Alice's father Tommy Bugmy was Wangkumara as was Alf Barlow's mother. At Wonnaminta, Topsy handed down stories to her children and Alice Bugmy, including the story of the Three Sisters.

In 2002, on a trip to Wonnaminta, Dori Hunter (nee Barlow) remembered being pushed around the garden in a pram by her older sister May, and pointed out the mud-walled house where they used to live in the late 1930s and early 1940s (Martin interviews 1992 and 2002). Dori also remembers living at Junction Well and Cootawundi Hut (both on the edge of the former Mutawintji Nature Reserve, now part of Mutawintji National Park) in the 1940's (Thompson 1997).

In later life, May and Lennie worked at Yancannia and at Calindery for Stuart Day where May 'brought up' Roger Day. Donny worked at many stations in the area, including Mootwingee, as a shearer and stockman (Patsy Ann Bugmy, pers comm. to Martin 2003).

7.3.2 The Barlow family

Jimmy Barlow (c. 1855 – 1928)

Jimmy Barlow was born around 1855 and married Jennie at Yancannia station around 1880. **Jennie** was born at Connulpie to the north of Yancannia station towards the Queensland border. Jennie, who was Wangkumara, belonged to the *Makwara* moiety and was brolga meat. According to Jimmy's DC and Jennie's DC they had only one son, Alf, and one daughter who had passed away by 1920.

Warlpa Thompson believes that there were more children who ended up at Cherbourg Mission and then moved down into NSW to the Moree area and further south (pers. comm.), but further research for this report was not possible.

Jenny died at Yandama in 1920 aged about 70, and was buried in the Yandama cemetery (DC). Jimmy died at Tibooburra in 1928. He lived at Yandama before he became ill and was taken to the Tibooburra Hospital (DC). He was described as a "labourer", a general term which was often used.

Alf Barlow (c. 1888 – 1961)

Alf Barlow was born in the Tibooburra-Yancannia area around 1887 or 1888. Following his mother, Alf belonged to the *Makwara* moiety and was brolga meat.

Alf married Molly and then Topsy Tyler. Alf and Molly's son, Ross (Alf) was born in Tibooburra around 1925 and passed away in 1943.

Alf and Topsy had six children (see above under Topsy Tyler). Alf passed away at Wilcannia on 10 May 1961.

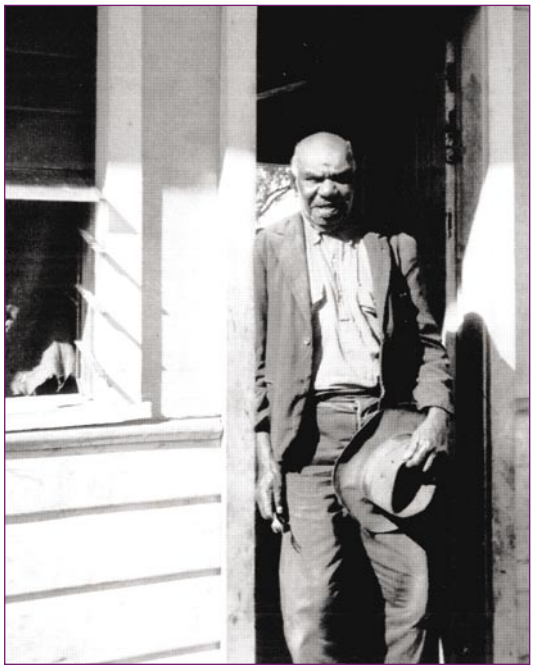


Figure 31

Alf Barlow in 1957 (Photo courtesy of Jeremy Beckett)

Alf Barlow was interviewed by Wurm in 1957 at Wilcannia, who described him as aged about 70 years, from Tibooburra area, half Malyangapa and half Wangkumara (Wurm 1957 courtesy of Luise Hercus). Alf was also interviewed by Jeremy Beckett in 1957-8 and told him some of the very important stories from Mutawintji, Yancannia and further west into South Australia. This included the Kangaroo and Euro story which takes place along Nuntherungie Creek, the former Mutawintji Nature Reserve, and Koonenberry Mountain, and the story of the Two *Ngatyi* or Rainbow Serpents who travel into South Australia (Beckett notes 1957-8).

Alice Bugmy, who lived with the Barlows, recalled "Alf Barlow wouldn't let us come to Mutawintji – he said to never go there. We just went past." (Martin interview 1992). They went to Mutawintji as it was on the main road, but the young people were not allowed to go to any dangerous places. From the information given by Alice in more recent years it is clear that she was taken to some places at Mutawintji, including the women's site at Amphitheatre Gorge.

We know that Alf Barlow was at Gnalta station in the early 1920s as he is listed on Sam Bonnie's death certificate in 1922. In the 1930s-early 1940s, while based at White Cliffs, Willy Riley recalled that Alf, along with George Dutton and others, worked at Yancannia.

Figure 32

Dressed up to visit White Cliffs. From left to right on the back of truck: Lawrence Quayle, unknown child, unknown man, unknown man, Topsy Barlow, Dori or May Barlow, Alf Barlow, standing left to right, unknown, Frank Quayle, unknown woman and child, Doreen Hunt, unknown (photo courtesy of Alma Bates Hannah, from May Hunt's collection).

7.3.3
Dougal McFarlane (c. 1900 – 1967) and Peter McFarlane (c. 1902 – 1972)

Dougal and Peter McFarlane are considered here because they married Molly and Topsy Tyler (see above) and are an important part of the Tyler-Barlow family history. Peter and Dougal were born at Poolamacca station and were the only people recorded speaking the Paakantyi dialect Wilyakali (Wurm notes). Their father was Garrie, Garibaldi or Carrie Naltie and their mother was Kitty Lowry or Kitty Palamica (DC of Garrie, Kitty and Jacky Dougal). The Aborigines Protection Board Annual Report of 1915 noted that there were 24 Aboriginal people living at Tarrawingee or Poolamacca, including Peter and Dougal McFarlane.

Dougal was born at Poolamacca in about 1900 and died in Wilcannia in 1967 (DC). He married Molly Tyler and they had a son in about 1920, known as Jack McFarlane or Jacky Dougal. Jacky Dougal apparently died in 1941 at the Broken Hill hospital but there is some confusion in the information provided in his death certificate. Family history provided by May Barlow states that Jacky Dougal died at this time, but the death certificate gives the name and birth place for his father Dougal, and a birth date that is too early even for his father. It is possible that the Broken Hill hospital already had records for Dougal and mixed up the two men when Jacky Dougal died.

Peter was born about 1902 at Poolamacca and died in 1972 in Wilcannia. Peter married Topsy Tyler and their daughter May Barlow was born at Bootra in 1920. Oral history also suggests that Peter had another daughter but this was unable to be confirmed for this report.

Peter and Dougal were well known stockmen in the Yancannia, White Cliffs, and Wanaaring areas until they retired to Wilcannia.

7.4
The Dutton family

Kutyi of Yancannia (? – c. 1895)

When interviewed by Tindale at Brewarrina in 1938, **George Dutton** gave his mother's name as **Kutyi** and Tindale listed her as "Kutyi of Yancannia". Kutyi had a daughter, who may have died young, and then a son, George, to the "Scotchman" George Dutton.

The name Kutyi may have derived from the same word or name that was used for Coogee Lake and Coogee station near the former Mootwingee station (this was first noticed by Warlpa Thompson). Kutyi belonged to the *Kilpara* moiety and *nhaampa* or bony bream meat.

There are several lines of circumstantial evidence that suggest that Kutyi was a sister (or similar kin) of Maggie Tyler (see above). George Dutton and Walter Newton were cousins (on the mother's side) (Beckett 1978, p. 24). Both Kutyi and Maggie Tyler were *Kilpara nhampaa* (bony bream) meat. In the Tindale genealogy taken from Percy Forde at Menindee Mission in 1939, George was mistakenly shown as a son of Maggie Tyler and a white man, Dutton, when in fact Maggie's son to a white man was Walter Newton. Instead of Walter Newton, Percy Forde put George in as the half brother of his wife Molly Tyler, an unusual mistake (Tindale 1938-9). According to Walter Newton, Maggie and her parents came from Yancannia station to Tarella, and they all returned there after his birth; Kutyi gave birth to George at Yancannia (Beckett 1958, pp. 97 & 103), implying they all came from around Yancannia. In addition May Barlow always referred to George Dutton as her uncle.

Further, George Dutton told Beckett that he visited his mother's sister at Gnalta ("I always had to look after her and give her money"), a while before 1925 (Beckett 1978, p. 19). We know that the Tylers were at Gnalta in 1922, where John Brougham was the manager, and that Jack Tyler was an undertaker at Sam Bonnie's funeral. Dutton also used to visit Poolamacca station around 1901 and 1910, when the Tylers were living there (Beckett 1978, p. 19), and John Brougham was manager/owner there.

George Dutton (c. 1888 – 1968)

George Dutton was born at Yancannia station around 1888 and died in Wilcannia in 1968. George was named after his white father, an English-born drover, George Vicars Dutton, but was brought up by his stepfather, Jerry Tup:i of Cobham Lake (Tindale 1938-1939).

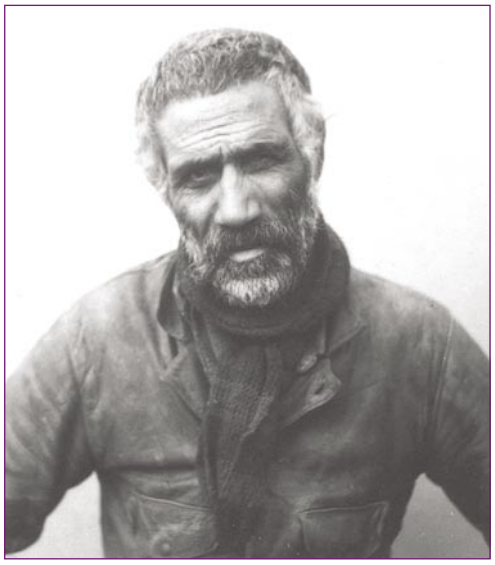


Figure 33

George Dutton as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

Around the late 1890's to 1900, George was taken as a 'lad' by his step-father up Nootumbulla Creek (in the Mutawintji National Park) along the pathway of the ancestral law-maker *Kurlawirra*, and some of his very early years were spent near the site of the original Rockholes Hotel (McCarthy & Macintosh 1962, p. 274). George and his step-father, and presumably other family members, stayed at Mootwingee station for an extended period. He was able to describe the landscape, waterholes and art sites of the larger Mootwingee station area and knew of a rainmaking ceremony carried out there when he was a very small boy. He learnt major stories that were played out at Mootwingee station, including the Eaglehawk and Crow story (McCarthy & Macintosh, p. 275), and the Moon and his Nephew story recorded in detail by Tindale (1938) (see Appendix 6). George also went to Mootwingee station around 1914 when he took a mob of cattle there, and visited the Tyler/Barlow family at Gnalta station in the early 1920's (Beckett 1978, p. 16, p. 19).

George Dutton married twice (Beckett 1978, p. 19; Tindale 1938). He had several children with his first wife, Charlotte, of whom only **Willy Dutton** is known to have survived. George lived with Charlotte at a number of places, including Tibooburra (DC of daughter Lily in 1914), Naryilco (son Willy was born there about 1910 MC) and Nockatunga in Queensland (Beckett 1978, p. 19). Charlotte is described in the Tindale records of 1938 as "a Wadikali but moved early and speaks Wankumara" (on another sheet he has her father as "Tommy: Malyangapa of Yancannia and mother Fanny: Wangkumara of Naryilco"). Charlotte married several times and was the mother of Rosie Jones (who married Harry Bates and then Albert Ebsworth Senior), and May, Jack and Queenie Hines.

Willy Dutton married Hilda Gibson (see section 7.5.3) and they had one surviving son, Victor. Willy later married Hannah (Annie) Black, a daughter of Eliza Knight, a Kurnu Paakantyi matriarch from the Louth area. They had three sons, Trevor, Lionel and Neville. Lionel was a founding member of the Mutawintji Board of Management.

George later married Alice Bates. He told Beckett this was a "traditional" marriage. Alice was *Makwara kali* (dingo), and George was *Kilpara nhampa* (bony bream), a correct marriage. George told Beckett;

> *My second wife was … born on Yandama station. I'd just come back from South Australia in 1925 to see her father – I knew him, he'd come from Yancannia. Her father and uncle wanted me to marry her. She was booked up for me…the old feller said, "You'd better stop with us and help us out"* (Beckett 1978, p. 19).

George and Alice had six children who survived into adulthood: James (Jim), Evelyn, Lorraine, George, Norma (who became a founding member of the Mutawintji Board of Management) and Charlie. Other children who died young included Maisie, Shirley, and Eileen.

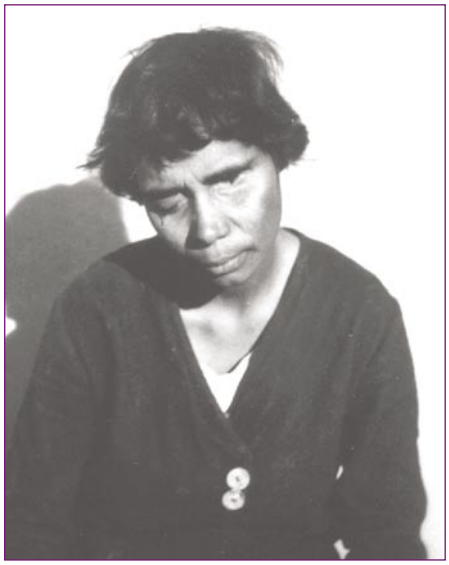


Figure 34

Alice Dutton (nee Bates) as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

George settled the family in the Tibooburra area until their forced removal to Brewarrina Mission in 1938. Predictably, they only stayed at Brewarrina a short while, moving out despite threats from the manager (Beckett 1978, p. 21) (see section 2.5). In a wonderful stroke of luck for later generations, George happened to be in Brewarrina when Tindale arrived there to describe people and record cultural information. As outlined in sections 3 and 4, he gave Tindale detailed information on group boundaries, social organization, stories including "the Moon and his Nephew" at Mutawintji, and a whole book on Wanyiwalku grammar and vocabulary. The Tindale photos show a very disgruntled George and a sad, shy Alice. From Brewarrina the family moved to the Wilcannia area.

In his younger years George travelled widely, learning languages and ritual songs, and he was widely known as an exceptionally clever man. He spoke many languages, including various dialects of Paakantyi, Malyangapa, Wangkumara, Yandruwantha and Arabanna (Beckett 1978, Wurm & Hercus 1976). In the stories he dictated to Beckett he changed language as the story passed into another language area. One story travelled from Wanaaring to the Flinders Ranges and he was able to speak all the languages (Beckett notes). When conversing with Anna Moysey, he spoke Pantyikali Paakantyi and she spoke Kurnu Paakantyi; "they agreed to differ, as to them it was all Ba:gandji [Paakantyi] anyway" (Wurm & Hercus 1976).

Daisy Kennewell (nee Neale)

According to the Tindale genealogies, Kutyi and the "Scotchman" Dutton also had a daughter who was older than George but who passed away before 1938, possibly as a young child as she is not given a name. However, according to the family history recollection of Norma Dutton and Elsie Coombes (nee Bates), George did have someone he called a 'sister', who was Daisy Kennewell and who later lived in Mildura. Elsie Coombes remembers her well and Norma remembers the Dutton family visited Daisy in Mildura when she was young. This information was corroborated by Luise Hercus (pers. comm.) who adds that Daisy lived on a fruit block on the outskirts of Mildura and had a son and daughter living with her when Luise visited in the 1960s.

Recent information from Daisy's descendants in Adelaide suggests that Daisy may have been a step-sister or cousin of George, but not the sister mentioned in the Tindale records. Daisy was born in the north-western corner of NSW at Bulka Lake. Her father was Samuel Edward Neale (non-Aboriginal), a hawker. Daisy's mother is listed on her marriage certificate as 'Pollerie (Native Woman)'. The family is listed in the 1889 Census as the household of S. Neale living at Mt Browne (see Table 2, in Appendix 1). Daisy was living at Limestone Siding near Silverton when she married James Kennewell there in 1910 (MC). Daisy had a sister Lily (George Dutton's' daughter Lily may have been named after her). A collection of stories from Victorian elders includes the life story of Brian Kennewell-Taylor, one of Daisy's grandchildren (Kennewell-Taylor 2003).

7.5
The Gibson / Teetalpa / Crancey family

7.5.1
Outalpa Dick

We have little information about the ancestor Outalpa Dick. Outalpa Dick and Mary Bone were the parents of Outalpa George, who was born in the Silverton area before contact with Europeans.

7.5.2
Outalpa George (c. 1851 – 1907) and Emma Beans

Outalpa Dick and Mary Bone's son, Outalpa George was born in the Silverton area around 1851, before white contact except for the intrepid Sturt. During his lifetime, George moved around Wilyakali country, including Outalpa, Silverton and Poolamacca, and died in Broken Hill in 1907 (DC).

Outalpa George and Emma Beans had two children, **Tottie (or Dottie) Teetalpa** and Georgy Boy Teetalpa. It is through Tottie and her family that the line of descent comes through to the present generation.

Tottie Gibson (nee Teetalpa) (c. 1889 – 1936)

Tottie (Dottie) Teetalpa was born at old Mundi Mundi station around 1889-90 (Births, Deaths and Marriages Register). Mundi Mundi homestead was in the hills to the north of Silverton (now on Eldee station). Tottie belonged to the *Kilpara* moiety and was *kalti* or emu meat (Elkin 1930 1/2/8, p. 9). As well as her own children, Tottie raised Nancy Bates (nee Gibson) after the death of Nancy's mother.

Georgy Boy Teetalpa (c. 1890 – 1940)

Tottie's brother, Georgy Boy Teetalpa was "buggy boy" for the Broughams at Poolamacca and later followed them to other stations. A Raven family photograph has Georgy Boy on a horse lined up with four others at the 1915/16 race meeting on the flat area where the Mutawintji National Park airstrip is today, near the Ravens' second hotel.

Georgy Boy died at White Cliffs in 1940 (DC) and does not appear to have any descendants.

Figure 35

The caption of this blured photo reads "The race meeting – 1915/1916 on the airstrip (won by Ben). Left to right: Georgie Boy, Eric Russell, Ben Raven, Harry Raven, Ed Raven".

7.5.3
Tottie (nee Teetalpa) and Taylor Gibson and their family

Tottie married a Wilyakali Paakantyi man, **Taylor Gibson** (also known as Will Gibson, Billy Gibson, or Matjulum). They lived at Poolamacca during the early 1900s and around 1909-1911, where their two daughters Hilda and Ethel were born. They later moved to places further north, including Yancannia, where daughter Mabel was born in 1913. They are listed in the Yancannia station records in 1914 (see Table 5, in Appendix 1). From there Taylor and his family moved to Yandama where Tottie was witness for the birth of William Muka Bates in 1915. They were back at Yancannia in 1919 when Tottie's brother Georgy Boy Teetalpa brought Nancy from Poolamacca to live with them after her mother, Crancey, died (see section 7.5.4).

Tottie was also known as Bulka, (O'Donnell & Martin 1993). She died in Wilcannia in 1936 (DC).

Figure 36

Photograph taken about 1912, possibly at Yancannia. Left to right: Tottie Gibson holding Ethel, Taylor holding Hilda, Jim Bates (father of Bertie, Hector and Wilki), unknown (Photo from Ethel Edwards' collection).

Taylor Gibson (1868 or 1875 – 1931)

Taylor Gibson was born at Mt Gipps station on the northern side of Broken Hill in about 1868-1875, according to his death certificate and a daughter's birth certificate. Mt Gipps was set up in 1865 (Kearns 1982) and was the first station in the Broken Hill area, followed soon after by Poolamacca, Corona and Mundi Mundi. The Elkin notes refer to him as Will or Taylor, and he is named as Taylor on his DC; oral history of Ethel Edwards (nee Riley) indicates he was also called Billy or Matjulum (Martin tape 1992).

Taylor was at Mootwingee station as early as the late 1870s-early 1880s when he was a boy. He was interviewed by A.P. Elkin in 1930 when he was living to the north of his country, at Tibooburra. Elkin's notes of the interview record:

> *Stencillings at Mootawingee (red, black and white) – a lot done … when a boy but there were a number of places around where women and children were forbidden to go* (Elkin 1930 1/2/6, p. 209).

Taylor Gibson died at Tibooburra in 1931 and was buried by George Dutton (DC).

His birth date and place, and the information he gave Elkin clearly define him as Wilyakali Paakantyi. He told Elkin that Wilyakali country included Mannahill, Cockburn, Mundi Mundi, Silverton, Broken Hill, Stephens Creek (eastern boundary), north to Poolamacca. He called the local group at Euriowie the Tinyano, and the local group around Broken Hill, the Bolali (Pulali) (Elkin 1930 1/2/6). Elkin also interviewed Albert Bates at Tibooburra who gave details about Wilyakali and Malyangapa, and he was able to construct a complete Wilyakali kinship system from the information given by these two men, possibly the most detailed available for NSW (Elkin 1930, 1938 and 1940).

Elkin also recorded Taylor Gibson speaking about the significance of Euriowie on Poolamacca station, including the link between the rock engravings and the Seven Sisters, and explaining that the engravings were done with a narrow hand chisel (Elkin 1930 1/2/6, p. 220).

Taylor also told Elkin other important information about boundaries, the Kilpara and Makwara moiety system and the names for the cold and hot weather divisions. He also described the importance of where you are born. You would be asked "windya ama gira" (or "wintya ngamma kiira"; "Where is your breast country?" (Hercus 1993). "A person's country is where he was born, one person is a box tree man born under one or is a certain waterhole man – born there" (Elkin 1930 1/2/6, p. 224).

Taylor belonged to the *Makwara* moiety, and *martuka* or stick nest rat meat, and his father was *Kilpara kalti* or emu meat (Elkin 1930 1/2/6, p. 206). He was identified by Albert Bates as *Makwara* and *pulykinya* or bandicoot meat (Elkin 1930 1/2/8:9); by this time stick nest rats were probably extinct in the area and Albert may have either used a more general term or substituted another meat to solve the problem of the loss of a "meat".

Hilda Gibson (1909 or 1910 – 1974)

Hilda or Ruby Hilda was born at Poolamacca around 1909-1910. She married Willy Dutton in 1932 at Wilcannia (MC) and had four boys, only one of which (Victor) survived. She died in Bourke in 1974 and some of her descendants still live there.

Ethel May Gibson (1911 – 1936)

Ethel May was born around 1911 at Poolamacca. She married Rupert Crowe, a Paaruntyi man from Wanaaring, at White Cliffs in 1931. The couple had two sons: Henry, born at White Cliffs in 1927, and Alfie, born at Tibooburra in 1934. Ethel May and their third son died in Wilcannia in 1936, after moving from Tinapagee near Wanaaring not long before.

Both sons married. Henry Crowe married Phyllis Mitchell; their children were Janet (Jenny), Lorna, and Sloyd Crowe and Henry's stepdaughter Pansy Mitchell. Alfie married Iris Harris and they had a daughter, Pauline Harris.

Mabel Gibson (1913)

Mabel was born at Yancannia station in 1913 (BC) and died as a baby in the same year (DC).

7.5.4 Crancey (c. 1899 – 1919)

Crancey died in the Broken Hill hospital in 1919 when she was only 20 years old. She was described on her death certificate as an Aboriginal woman from Poolamacca (DC). Her parents were married at Tarrawingee, the village on Poolamacca station (father's DC). Her father, Joe, was a general labourer who was born in South Australia around 1871 and died in 1906 at the Broken Hill goal. Her mother was Fanny.

Although Crancey's death certificate does not mention any children, she did have two children, Frank and Nancy, whose father is said by Ethel Edwards (nee Riley) to have been the white shearer's cook at Poolamacca (O'Donnell & Martin 1993).

Crancey is spelt several ways in different documents, Cranzie on Nancy's MC, Crancy in Tindale's 1938 Brewarrina genealogies, Crancey on her DC and Clance on her son Frank's DC. It is tentatively spelt Krancie or possibly Francie on her fathers' DC.

Nancy Bates (nee Gibson) (c. 1916 – 2001)

Nancy was born at Poolamacca around 1916 and adopted by Taylor and Tottie Gibson in 1919 after her mother, Crancey, died at Broken Hill hospital (see above). Georgy Boy Teetalpa is said to have taken Nancy to his sister Tottie after Crancey died. Ethel Edwards told this story:

> *Old Georgy Boy Teetalpa – he was buggy boy for Brougham and that's how he got her – when Nancy was born and there was no-one to look after her and they were going to put her in a home he got her and drove all the way from Poolamacca right across to Yancannia for Tottie to rear up* (Martin Tape 1992).

Nancy was brought up at Yancannia station and later at White Cliffs by Tottie Gibson, who was according to her daughter Maureen "the right person to bring Mum up", implying a close relationship between Crancey and Tottie Gibson, who both came from the Wilyakali group and from the western side of Broken Hill. Nancy married Alfred George Bates at White Cliffs in 1933 and they had eight children, including Valda, Alfred (jnr) (Alfie), Harold, Maureen, Kevin, Colin, Barbara and Robert (see section 7.6.1 under Alfred Bates).

Frank (Bates) (c. 1913 – 1955)

Nancy's brother Frank Bates was adopted at Poolamacca by Minnie Bates (see below) after Crancey died. Frank was born in about 1913 at Poolamacca and died at Broken Hill in 1955. Frank's DC names him as 'Francis Williams known as Francis Bates', and records that his father was Frank Williams and his mother was 'Clance', surname unknown. He is listed on the DC as a station hand (although the address given is that of Minnie Bates' family in Broken Hill). It appears that Frank did not have any children although some oral history suggests he may have married.

Minnie Bates (c. 1880 – 1974)

Minnie Bates (nee Williams) was an Aboriginal woman from Poolamacca related to Crancey and the Tylers. She was born around 1880 and died in Broken Hill in 1974 (DC). Minnie married a white man called William Bates (not to be confused with the Bates family described below). Minnie had several children including James, Ada, Ruby, Gladys and William, and adopted Frank (Crancey's son). Some of her descendants still live in Broken Hill.

The Aboriginal Welfare Board files indicate that Minnie's son, James Kurwood Bates, was living at Tarrawingee on Poolamacca in 1954 (File 8099, Box8/2842). Ada Bates, mentioned as being present at the burial of Sam Bonnie at Gnalta in 1922, may be Minnie's daughter, Ada, who was born in 1906. She probably moved from Poolamacca to Gnalta with the Broughams. May Barlow remembered that Minnie's younger son William (or Billy) Bates also worked at Gnalta (Thompson 1997).

As well as raising Frank, Minnie is listed as the "auntie" of Allan Williams (son of Gilbert Williams, see section 7.2.1) in his enlistment papers, suggesting a close relationship with the Williams/Quayle family. Davey Williams, who worked at Mootwingee station for some years, is also said to have been related to Minnie (Martin notes, interview with Elsie Jones 1992).

7.6
The Bates family

7.6.1
Albert Bates (c. 1870 – 1931) and Rosie Bates (nee Stapleton) (c. 1875-85 – 1952)

Albert Bates was born at Cobham around 1870 (DC and children's BC). Like George Dutton, Albert had an Aboriginal mother and a white father, but was brought up by his Aboriginal step-father. Albert's sister, Fanny, born in the Yancannia district in 1860, married Sam Bonnie (Bonney) (see section 7.6.2).

Albert was interviewed by Elkin in 1930 and gave detailed information about the Wilyakali and Malyangapa kinship system, and information about totems, ceremonies, boundaries and the differences between the various languages such as Wilyakali, Kungardutyi and Malyangapa (Elkin 1930 1/2/8). Albert's moiety was *Kilpara* and his meat or totem was *kuruma* or "small marsupial making nest in saltbush"; his step-father was *makwara malka* or mulga tree meat (Elkin 1930 1/2/8, p. 9).

Albert married **Rosie Stapleton (Staplyton or Broadribb)**. According to Tindale (1938), Rosie's mother, Nellie, was from Cobham station. Rosie was born at Mt Arrowsmith and belonged to the *Makwara* moiety and *karli* or dingo "meat" (Elkin 1930 1/2/8:9). Rosie had a sister Alice, and two brothers, Jimmie and Willie Stapleton (Tindale 1938). Alice Stapleton (or Williams) married Richard William Gilby and had a large family.

Albert and Rosie had nine children (Alfred, Alice, Ethel, Gilbert, Albert [Albie], William, James, Elsie and Maud) (see following pages).

Albert and Rosie lived at Yancannia, Yandama, Milparinka and Tibooburra. Albert died at Tibooburra in 1931 (DC). In 1938, Rosie and the younger children, including Albie, his wife Ivy (nee Quimby), Elsie and Maude, were forcibly taken to Brewarrina Mission (see section 2.5). Like George Dutton and his wife Alice Bates (also a daughter of Rosie), they did not stay for very long, soon moving out to Wanaaring and then gravitating back to familiar stations and to Wilcannia.

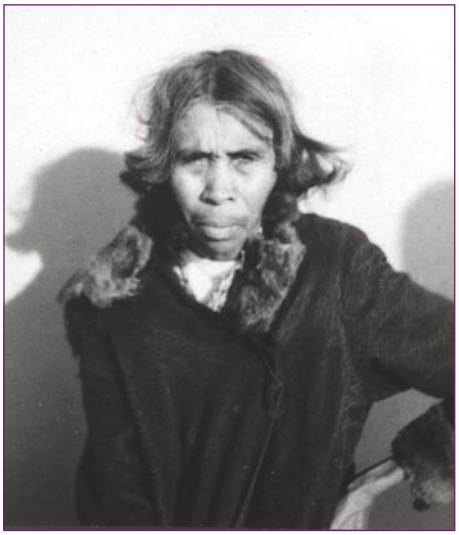


Figure 37

Rosie Bates as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

Alfred George Bates (c. 1901-03 – 1971)

Alfred George Bates was born around 1901 at Yancannia station (MC) and died in 1971 in Broken Hill. He married Nancy Gibson in 1933 at White Cliffs and they had eight children including Valda, Alfred junior (Alfie), Harold, Maureen, Kevin, Colin, Barbara and Robert (see also section 7.5.4 Crancey, above).

The family lived at White Cliffs and on various stations including Momba, Youldoo, Cawnlamurtee and Mulga View. In about 1939-1940, Alfred Bates was the head stockman at Momba, working with his brothers Jim, Mucka (William) and Gilbert Bates. Alfred was working at The Avenues near Wilcannia at the time his mother, Rosie, died in 1952 (Bates & Martin 1999).

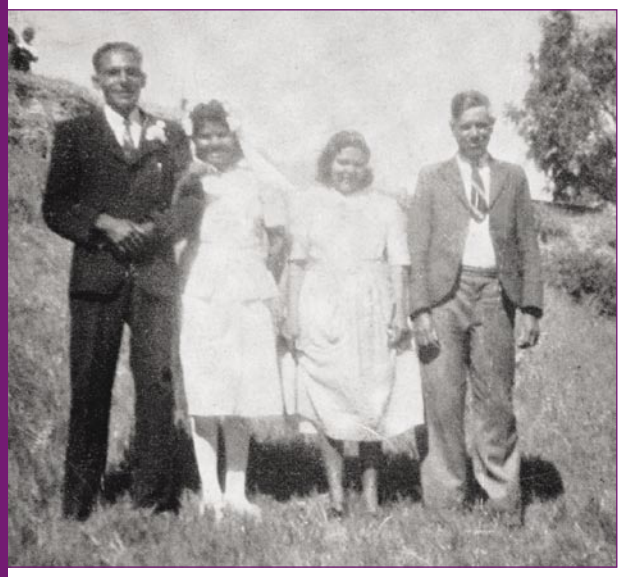


Figure 38

Jack Quayle, Amy Quayle, Nancy Bates and Alf Bates taken in Wilcannia c. 1944 (New Dawn, 1 July 1975: copy held at the Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW).

Alice Bates (c. 1905 – 19?)

Alice Bates was born about 1905 at Yandama and married George Dutton around 1925. They had six children who had descendants and at least four children who died young (see section 7.4 under George Dutton).

Ethel Bates (c. 1908 – 1992)

Ethel (Bubba) Bates was born around 1908, probably at Yandama, and married Lawrence Quayle. They had nine children and a large number of descendants (see section 7.2.3 under Jack and Hannah Quayle above)

Gilbert Bates (1910 –)

Gilbert Bates was born in 1910 at Tibooburra (BC) and married Emily Clark, the youngest daughter of Anna Moysey, a Kurnu matriarch from the Louth area. They had a son Johnny, born in 1943 in Wilcannia, and then a daughter named Dorothy who died young. The couple separated not long after William Brian (Badger) was born in 1947 but Gilbert continued to be a father figure to all of Emily's children even though the younger ones, Badger, Muriel, Adrian, Douglas, Gus and Robert Charles had different fathers.

Albert (Albie) Bates Junior (c. 1912-14 –)

Albert (Albie) Bates junior was born around 1912 at Milparinka (MC) and married Ivy Quimby, a Paaruntyi woman from Wanaaring, at Tibooburra on 28 December 1937 (MC). Ivy and Albie had five children (Alice, Malcolm [Johnny], Peggy [Margaret Joan], Albert Rex and Thelma Joyce). The family was forcibly taken to Brewarrina Mission in 1938 (see section 2 and above under Albert and Rose Bates) but later returned to Tibooburra. The couple separated and Ivy later married Bill Gorringe and moved to Western Queensland where Ivy and Bill had more children. Ivy and Albie's family are mainly based in western Queensland but they retain strong ties with the family and regularly make the long trip back to visit the rest of the Bates family.

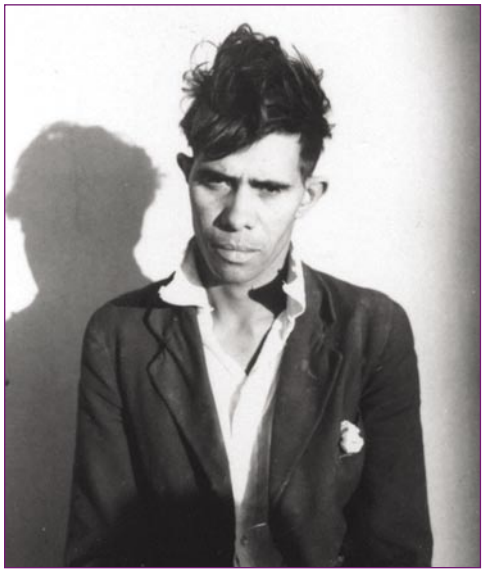


Figure 39

Albert (Albie) Bates Junior as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

William Bates (1915 – 1943)

William (Muka) Bates was born in 1915 at Yandama (BC) and married Eileen Veronica Quayle. Tragically, Eileen and her baby died in 1939; William hung himself at Momba four years later, on the anniversary of his wife's death.

James Bates (1917 – 198?)

James (Jim) Bates was born in 1917 at Tibooburra and married Edith Quayle at Wilcannia on 24 December 1941. Jim and Edie had a very large family of 14 children (see section 7.2.3 under Jack and Hannah Quayle).

Elsie Coombes (nee Bates) (c. 1920 –)

Elsie (Parm) Bates was born at Yandama around 1920-22 and grew up living in a tent near Milparinka:

> *...at Milparinka where an old couple had a big humpy, caught on fire and 2 dogs burnt in it. I remember living there. I was blind: we used to get grubs for the old people and a boy hit me in the eye with wire – got marrow out of bullock and put on my eye. We had a tent.*

Elsie married Albert Ebsworth Junior and had two children, Hector, then Violet. Hector was born in 1937 at Tibooburra and in 1938 they were forced to leave everything and get on trucks which took them to Brewarrina Mission (see section 2.5).

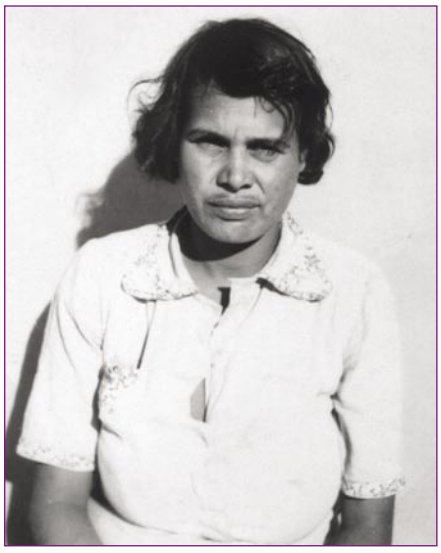


Figure 40

Ivy Bates (nee Quimby) as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

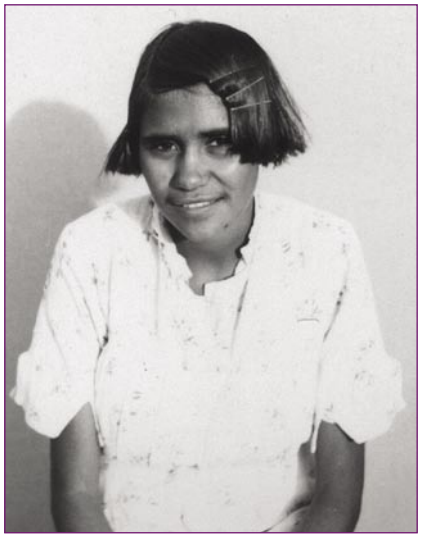


Figure 41

Elsie Coombes (nee Bates) as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

They did not stay long at Brewarrina. In 1942 they went to Wanaaring, then Wilcannia, Dareton and then Yancannia. She and her children, Hector and Violet, stayed at Yancannia until the late 1940s with Vincent Quayle and also Billy Brown and Billy Kemp. They sometimes went back to Tibooburra "for a look" but never went back to live there. Elsie later married Archie Coombes from Balranald, but they had no children.

Maude Bates (1923 –)

Maudie Bates was born around 1923 at Tibooburra and married Jack Bugmy in 1941 in Wilcannia. She later married Harold Johnson and had two children, Johnny and Doreen Rose.

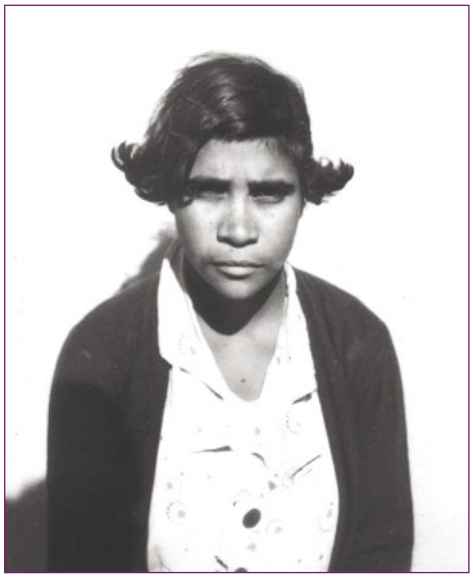


Figure 42

Maude Bates as photographed by N.B Tindale at Brewarrina Mission 1938 (held in South Australian Museum Anthropology Archives).

7.6.2 Fanny Bates (c. 1860 – ?) and Sam Bonney (Bonnie) (c. 1850 – 1922)

Fanny Bates is first mentioned by Frederic Bonney in his manuscripts dated before 1881 (Bonney 1886-1915). He describes her as "Fanny ….from Yencanyah", and indicates she had a white father. She married Sambo, later called Sam or Sambo Bonney or Bonnie, after his mentor (there is no suggestion he was Bonney's son as he did not have a white father). Fanny is described as Albert's sister in Elkin's notes (1930 1/2/8, p. 28), and he also mentions her son Harry. Sam's DC states he was born at Momba and had married Fanny at Wonnaminta. Sam is mentioned as living at Yantara in 1906, where he buried Dick Warkeelie in the "bush cemetery" there. Sam's occupation is described in his DC as "emu egg carver", and both Brougham (MS n.d.) and Bonney (1866-1883 MSS) mention his artistic talents. Sam died and was buried at Gnalta in 1922.

Harry Bates/Bonnie

Fanny and Sam's son, Harry, was "still living" when Sam died in 1922. It is tempting to think that the Harry Boy listed in the 1899 Yandama station records may be Fanny and Sam's son. He is not mentioned in the oral histories collected in the 1980s or 1990s, which suggests that he moved away from western NSW, possibly into South Australia or Queensland.

Harry Bates/Bonnie married Rosie Jones, the daughter of Charlotte, George Dutton's first wife (see section 7.4 under George Dutton). Harry and Rosie had a daughter Ruby, who was born on Olive Downs station near Tibooburra in about 1900.

Ruby married George McDiarmid or McDermott at Tibooburra in 1921 (MC) and they had a daughter Edith (later Edith (Eddie) Edwards of Bourke). Ruby later married Donald Johnson from the north-eastern Flinders Ranges, and they had a big family including Steve, Lenny, Ronnie, Gladys, Amy and Roy (Tindale 1938 and Tindale photos), and younger children born after 1938 including Karen (Kerin) and Charlie. Ruby and Donald and their family were among the people forcibly moved from Tibooburra to Brewarrina, later moving to Bourke. Ruby passed away in 1964 and Donald in 1970, both in Bourke, and many of Ruby's descendants are based at Bourke.

7.6.3
Other Bates

Jim Bates (not to be confused with the son and grandson of Albert Bates) was born around 1871 and died at White Cliffs in 1933 (DC). Unfortunately, few details are known about Jim, except that he had three children with Molly Tyler (see Tyler family, section 7.3.1).

Jim was about the same age as Albert Bates, but did not have a white father. There is no firm evidence to suggest that Albert and Jimmy were half-brothers or related in some other way. Ethel Edwards nee Riley described this Jim Bates in these terms: "he was a blow in – didn't talk Yancannia lingo … Granny Quayle and Rosie [Bates] couldn't connect him in their tribe" (Thompson interview 1991). In another interview, May said this Jim Bates used to talk about Nockatunga, Innaminka and Yandama (Thompson interview 1995). This suggests he may have come from Queensland or South Australia, possibly working for Kidman. A Jimmy Bates also married a woman called Maggie who died at Wilcannia in 1926 (DC) and they had a son living at that time and a daughter deceased (no other details given), but the details are not sufficient to identify whether this was the same Jim Bates.

There are other mentions of Bates in the records but we don't know enough about them to assign them to the family of Albert Bates. These include Peter Bates (son of Charlie), who died at Tibooburra in 1915 (DC), and Ada Bates who was at Gnalta in 1922 (DC of S. Bonnie). It is likely that Ada was the daughter of Minnie Bates from Poolamacca.

7.7
The families' association with Mutawintji

The history of the Quayle, Dutton, Tyler-Barlow, Gibson and Bates families indicate that there was a consistent association between members of these families and the Mutawintji National Park. There is evidence of families living at and visiting Mootwingee station, and more particularly Gnalta station and Nuntherungie station (both now partly incorporated into the Mutawintji National Park). This association can be traced back to the early phase of the pastoral period of the 1870s-1890s and continues to the present time. Whilst Mutawintji lies within the country of the Pantyikali-Wanyiwalku dialect of the Paakantyi language group, people from surrounding Paakantyi dialect groups, including the Wilyakali, Paaṟuntyi and Kurnu also visited Mutawintji and married into Pantyikali-Wanyiwalku. The Malyangapa-speaking people from the north-west also came to Mutawintji and married into Pantyikali-Wanywalku. Recorded traditional information about Mutawintji comes both from Paakantyi speakers and Malyangapa speakers who had a close association with Paakantyi speakers.

The movement of people over the last 150 years indicates that it was commonplace for the five families to move about and intermarry within the region roughly defined by the country belonging to the Wilyakali, Pantyikali-Wanyiwalku and Malyangapa, and also the Paaṟuntyi belonging to the Paroo River immediately to the east. The earliest records in the 1870's (Bonney 1866-1915) indicate that the Pantyikali-Wanyiwalku moved frequently between Yancannia station, Cobham station, Momba station, Tarella station and Mt Murchison station, the earliest and largest pastoral enterprises in the area.

Records from the late 1800s and 1900s show that the five families were moving frequently between the stations that now comprise the Mutawintji National Park, and other stations in the region including Poolamacca, Sturts Meadows, Tarella, Momba, Yancannia, Wonnaminta and Yandama, and a large number of stations around the small towns of White Cliffs and Wilcannia.

The historical records show that movement was often circular, driven both by cultural traditions and

the ever-changing relationships between Aboriginal people, the pastoral industry and the Aborigines Protection Board/Welfare Board. The people of the region were adept at finding work and safe places on stations and avoiding 'the welfare'. Even the forced removal of some members of the Bates and Dutton families to Brewarrina was thwarted by their determination to return to familiar country. The avoidance of 'the welfare' by the Bates, Quayle, Tyler-Barlow, Gibson and Dutton families has resulted in a paucity of records about these families in Aborigines Protection Protection/Welfare Board archives, but allowed the families to remain strong and closely associated with their traditional country.

These families worked as major players in the pastoral industry of far western NSW from the 1870s until the 1970s, and to a lesser extent until the present time. They filled varied roles including stockmen and stockwomen, horse tailers, horse-breakers, dam sinkers, windmill mechanics, motor and vehicle mechanics, builders, fencers, shearers, drovers, carters, nannies, cooks, domestics, station foremen and overseers.

In the 1980s-1990s these same families blockaded the Mutawintji Historic Site and negotiated the handback of Mutawintji to the Aboriginal owners. More than 150 years after the appearance of the *purri*, the descendants of the people who gazed with surprise and foreboding at the strange-looking and rudely-mannered intruders, continue to fill important roles in the management of the Mutawintji National Park.

8. Appendices

Appendix 1
Historical records

Table 1: Board for the Protection of Aboriginal People, Returns of Aboriginal People 1886-8 NSW AO 5/18423.2

Place	Aborigines				Died
	M	F	C	Total	
Far Western Districts					
Bourke	84	50	63	197	7
Louth	20	23	70	113	
Wentworth	8	1	0	9	
Cal Lall ? Creek	14	12	4	30	
Pooncarie	14	11	8	33	1
Menindie	13	7	6	26	
Silverton	49	15	13	77	
Wilcannia	61	36	5	102	
Milparinka	61	50	22	133	2

Table 2: Census 1891, AO City Microfilm Reels 2534,2533, far north-west and Darling River

District / Subdistrict	Place	Householder	Aboriginal Male	Aboriginal Female	Notes
Milperinka	Mt Stuart	WO Thomson	5	1	
	"	"	2	2	
	Yalpunga	Jacky	1	1	total
		Sandy	1	3	total
	Repar ? Run	Frank	2	2	total
	Olive Downs	Bandycoot	4	2	total
	Connulpie Downs	J.Jackson	3	2	1 non-Ab in household
	Onepar	Nallaalie (sp)	4	2	total
	Wori wori	Hugh Bill	0	1	
	Olive Downs		1	0	
	Fromes Creek		1	0	
	Yandama		1	0	

Table 2 cont.

District / Subdistrict	Place	Householder	Aboriginal Male	Aboriginal Female	Notes
	Yandama	Tilcha Polly	2	2	total
	Boulka	Jimmy	7	8	total
	Quinyambie	Old Tiga	2	1	total
	Tibooburra	Blacks Camp	9	7	
	Milparinka	P.Murphy	1	1	total
	Mt Browne	S.Neale	2	2	Plus 2 non-Ab
	Mt Browne	Billy	2	0	
	Cobham	G.Barrow	2	0	
	One Tree	Will Wheatley	2	0	total
	Yantara Aboriginal Camp	Emily	5	7	total
	Yancannia Aboriginal Camp	Davey Campbell	12	7	total
	"	Nellie	1	3	total
	Yancannia Artesian Bore		1		total
Silverton	Poolamacca	(N.Davies)	8	4	6 dwellings
	Nundora Head station		1		
	Wonnaminta	(W.Walter)	10	3	total
	Mundi Mundi	Outalpa George	9	4	total
		Tommy Windo	5	4	(to collect last 2 had to travel an exta 65 miles)
	Broken Hill	Chloride St Police station	1		
Wilcannia	All Missing				
Bourke	Reel 2533	2/8419-20			
A.	Yanda	George Hails	4	12	
	Yanda	George Hails	5	2	
	Gunderbooka				None
	Winbar				"
	Bloxham station sp?		1	2	
	Travellors	Chas Stewart	4	6	total 11 M & 7F in house
		Tommy	3		

Table 2 cont.

District / Subdistrict	Place	Householder	Aboriginal Male	Aboriginal Female	Notes
	Wiltagoona	Head station		1	
	Pulpulla	Blacks Camp	3	5	
	Nocoleche	Batchelors Q	1	1	
	Wanaaring	Aboriginals	10	5	
	Kallara		1		
	Warloo		1	2	
	Eulo Marra		5		
	Kallara		1		Warloo
	Mara		5		Eule Hut
	Wirrabreand ?		1		Gumbalie area
	Kearnie			1	
	Dunlop & Kearnie	Aboriginals	5	5	
	Tayeale		4	2	
	Kerribree		5	1	
	Tinapagee	Blacks camp	10	4	
	Willara		5	3	
	Wangamana		1		
	Multagoona		1		
			3		
				1	
				1	
	Tooralie		2	3	

N.B word 'total' in notes means all people in household were Aboriginal

Table 3: Census 1901 far north-west and Darling River NSW, AO City Microfiche 2/8452

District / Subdistrict	Place	Householder	Total Number		Aboriginal People		Notes
			M	F	M	F	
Bourke	Missing						
Milparinka	Mt Poole	Duffield	16	1	2	1	
	Yandama	Davies	18	2	3	2	
	Mt Browne				1		
	Packsaddle	Colman	11		1		
	Nundora	Hughes	5		1		
	Quinyambie	G. McDiarmid	3	1	1	1	
	"	M.O'Keif	3				
	"	Aborigines	2	4	2	4	
Tibooburra	Tibooburra station	G. Smith	3	3	1		
	Tibooburra	J. Richards	3	7	1	1	
	Tibooburra	'Tommy'	5	4	5	4	
	Onepah	'Aboriginal'	1	1	1	1	4M 8F crossed out
	Cobham	Robinson ?	6	4	1	1	
	Milparinka township	Rich. Gilby	3	1			Not recorded as Aborig. Should be 2M 1F
	Mil Goldfield	Aborigines	51	19	51	19	
	Yancannia	Aborigines	4	7	4	7	
	Salisbury	J.Welsh	18	2		2	
	"	"	16	4	2	0	
	Bootra	J. Harrison	13	2	2	1	
Wilcannia	Reid St	R. Bunworth	5	4		1	
	Reid St	R.D. Hoare	3		1		
	Blacks Camp		12	5	12	5	Tents
	Common	M.A. Smith		3		3	
White Cliffs	Momba	travellers hut	7	1	0	1	
	Cobrilla station	James Larkin	9	4		1	
	Marra	Fred Beale, J. Leif					
	Marra	Aboriginal Camp	5	3	5	3	

Table 3 cont.

District / Subdistrict	Place	Householder	Total Number		Aboriginal People		Notes
			M	F	M	F	
	Lilydale	Peter	1		1		
	10 Mile Point	Jones	1	2		2	S of Wilcannia
Broken Hill	Euriowie Rd	JW Brougham	12	8	1	1	
	Campbells Ck	JW Brougham	7	2	3	1	
	Euriowie Rd	JW Brougham	2	1		1	
	Mootwingie	Raven					
	Mootwingie	BC Bisley					
	Menindie	Cabbage (Blacks)	6	9	6	9	Camped on river
B H town	Beryl St	J. Nhenan ?	3		1		
B H town	Wyman St	Bartlett Mary Eaves	2	4	1		
	Sturts Meadows	HS Cubitt (owner, not Ab)	1	4	1	4	
	Sturts Meadows	Richard ? Arthur	1		1		
	Sturts Meadows	?irru/Jerry's or Jimmy's lake	8	4	8	4	
	Sturts Meadows run		1		1		

Table 4: Mentions of far north-west NSW in APB Minutes, September 1890 – June 1901

Date	Place	Rations (£.s.p.)	Clothing	Notes
20/11/1890	Tibooburra		10 adults	Police recommendation
17/12/1891	Milperinka district		22	11M & 11F
28/1/1892 18/2/.1892	Milperinka			Medical attendance for girl “Minnie”
21/7/1892	Wanaaring	rations		Tender accepted
10/11/1892 2/11/1893 22/11/1894 7/11/1895 21/10/1897 17/11/1898 23/11/1899	Milperinka District		24 “ “ “ “ “	Police rec. – approved for “24 old and infirm” 12 men & 12 female
11/5/1893	Wilcannia			Complaint from “Cocoa”
13/7/1893	Torrowangee Police for Poolamacca	12	12	Letter from J. Brougham of Poolamacca – approved for 12 “old” people
26/10/1893	Euriowie Police for Sturts Meadows	4	4	Police rec. issue to 4 old people at Sturts Meadows
18/10/1894	Poolamacca			Medical attention – 1female
19/9/1895	Wilcannia	3		Police rec. rations for destitute woman & children
7/11/1895	Torrowangee Police for Poolamacca	7		For “old & infirm” at Poolamacca
7/11/1895	Weinteriga	3 people	3	Police rec. for 2 old & infirm & 1 sick person
30/11/1896	Louth	1 person		Police rec.
2/9/1897	Menindee			Sick person sent to Broken Hill
14/10/1897	Poolamacca	£ 21.7.11		Brougham
	Sturts Meadows	£ 6.3.3		
	Wilcannia	£ 4.14.6		
	Torrowangee	£ 8.6.0		medical
	Wilcannia	£ 0.10.0		medical
25/11/1897	Wilcannia		3	Plus tent, old fem & children
20/1/1898	Poolamacca	£ 22.0.9		
	Sturt Meadows	£ 5.2.9		
	Wilcannia	£ 4.11.7		

Table 4 cont.

Date	Place	Rations (£.s.p.)	Clothing	Notes
27/1/1898	Mt Stewart	4 people		Police Tibooburra rec.
28/2/1898	Tibooburra	rations		approved
14/4/1898	Milperinka		14.8.0	
	Poolamacca	£ 19.2.11		
	Sturts Meadows	£ 3.12.9		
	Wilcannia	£ 4.1.0		
19/5/1898	Tibooburra	£ 2.14.0		
30/6/1898	Wilcannia			Iron hut for female & 2 children
14/7/1898	Tibooburra	£ 8.15.0		
	Wilcannia	£ 3.7.6		
4/8/1898	Wanaaring	£ 10.16.8		
11/8/1898	Poolamacca	£ 19.8.3		
20/10/1898	Tibooburra	£ 7.9.6		Meat rations
	Wilcannia	£ 2.14.3		Plus medical attention
19/1/1899	Poolamacca	£ 2.1.10		Brougham
	Tibooburra	£ 8.4.0		
	Wilcannia	£ 2.16.3		
23/2/1899	Poolamacca			Medical attention
20/4/1899	Wanaaring	£ 8.0.0		Meat rations
	Wilcannia	£ 2.14.3		
	Tibooburra	£ 7.9.6		
27/4/1899	Poolamacca	£ 21.10.6		Brougham
13/7/1899	Poolamacca	£ 23.6.4		
27/7/1899	Wanaaring	£ 8.13.4		
	Wilcannia	£ 2.6.6		
	Tibooburra	£ 7.9.6		
	Poolamacca			Medical attention
17/8/1899	Poolamacca	£ 6.15.0		Brougham
7/9/1899	Wilcannia		1.4.6	Mary Ann & 2 children
20/10/1899	Tibooburra	£ 6.14.4		
	Wilcannia	£ 2.14.3		
	Wanaaring	£ 0.12.8		
23/11/1899	Milparinka		14.8.0	12 men & 12 women

Table 4 cont.

Date	Place	Rations	Clothing (£.s.p.)	Notes
1/1/1900	Poolamacca	2 sheep / week		Police rec. for 14 old and infirm people - approved
18/1/1900	Poolamacca	£ 25.7.11		
	Tibooburra	£ 7.11.8		
25/1/1900	Wilcannia	£ 2.16.11		
1/2/1900	Poolamacca	milk		Police Tarrowangee rec. Brougham to issue condensed milk to baby daughter of Nellie who died of pneumonmia
19/4/1900	Tibooburra	£ 6.14.4		
	Wilcannia	£ 2.14.3		
	Wanaaring	£ 1.18.0		
3/5/1900	Poolamacca	£ 34.4.8		Meat & rations
10/5/1900	Wilcannia			Police rec. meat ration for Mary Ann & 2 children
12/7/1900	Poolamacca	£ 24.4.4		Brougham
19/7/1900	Poolamacca	19 people	19 people	7 men & 7 females & 5 children
19/7/1900	Wilcannia	£ 2.6.6		
	Tibooburra	£ 6.14.4		
26/7/1900	Wanaaring	£ 6.19.4		
18/10/1900	Wilcannia	£ 1.19.0		Meat rations
25/10/1900	Wanaaring	£ 3.16.0		
8/11/1900	Milperinka		24 people	Ages from 40 to 55
10/1/1901	Wilcannia	£ 2.12.9		
	Poolamacca	£ 24.0.3		
	Wilcannia	£ 2.1.8		Meat rations
	Wilcannia			Medical attention
24/1/1901	Wanaaring	£ 2.14.4		
31/1/1901	Tibooburra	£ 8.3.6		
25/4/1901	Torrowangie	£ 24.9.4		Brougham
	Wanaaring	£ 8.17.4		
2/5/1901	Tibooburra	£ 7.3.0		
	Wilcannia	£ 2.12.9		
23/4/1901	Milperinka			Police rec. rations for 90 people unable to obtain employment - approved
20/6/1901	Poolamacca			Brougham rec. meat be added to rations during winter or until end of drought

Table 5: Miscellaneous lists of people in far north-western NSW

Date	Place / record	People
1899	Yandama Store Record Broken Hill Outback Archives	Jimmy Thompson Duncan J. Harrison McDiammid (George?) & unnamed Teddy Harry Boy
1914	Yancannia Shaw 1987 Subscriptions to War Effort	Walter Newton George Barton Alf Barlow J. Tylor (Jack) M. Tylor (Molly) Topsy Tylor Mrs Tylor (Maggie) Tommy Tracker
1922	Gnalta DC of Sam Bonnie	Jack Tyler Tommy Windoo (from Poolamacca) Alf Barlow Ada Bates? Sam Bonnie (husband of Fanny Bates)
1938	Brewarrina Tindale Photos of Bates & Dutton family	Rosie Bates Albert Bates Jnr Ivy Bates nee Quimby Alice Dutton nee Bates Elsie Bates (Parm Coombes) Maude Bates Myrtle Bates George Dutton Eileen Dutton
1931	Tibooburra Baptism - Catholic Church (BCC)	Rachel Hunt Keith Francis Quayle Gilbert Bates Albert Bates William Bates Elsie Bates Maude Bates Myrtle Bates James Dutton Eileen Dutton Mary Dutton
1932	White Cliffs BCC	Cecil James Riley
1933	White Cliffs BCC	Margaret P. Quayle
1933	Tibooburra BCC	George Dutton Snr Alice Bates
1934	White Cliffs BCC	Valda Bates Dorothy Barlow
1934	Tibooburra BCC	William Edward Hunt

Table 5 cont.

Date	Place / record	People
1935	Tibooburra BCC	Evelyn Dutton
1937	Tibooburra BCC	George Dutton Jnr Hector Bates
1940	White Cliffs BCC	Arthur John Melrose
1941	White Cliffs BCC	Stella Rose Melrose Mavis Jean Quayle Margaret Joan Bates
1940	Wilcannia BCC	Violet Bates
1941	Wilcannia BCC	Maureen Bates Alfred (Jnr) George Bates Harold Bates James Bates Snr Ackland James Bates
1943	Wilcannia BCC	Alma Bates
1944	Bourke BCC	Brian Stanley Hunt
1945	Wilcannia BCC	John Bates (Gilbert's son) Mary Ann Bates Michael John Bates
1947	Wilcannia BCC	Caroline Bates Charles Dutton William Brian Bates
1948	Wilcannia BCC	John Alexander Quayle Jnr

Table 6: Number of persons at various locations drawn from combined APB and AWD records

Place	1882	1891	1901	1915	1940	1943
Milparinka	154	132	122	40		
Tibooburra	108			27	8	3
Wilcannia		missing	22			140
Mt Gipps	64	-	-	-		
Torrowangie / Poolamacca	-	49	26	24		
Broken Hill	-	-	2	8		
Wanaaring		52	missing	41		
White Cliffs			13	13		
Menindee			15		210	234

Appendix 2
George Dutton on "tribal" distribution in north-western NSW

(Beckett Field Notes, Broken Hill 1957)

Cobham Lake - Malyangapa - to Milparinka - Tibooburra. There the Wangkumara goes up through Connulpie. Around Connulpie Swamp, Kungardutyi. Wompah to Olive Downs on the Warry Creek where they Mamwuru - at Nerialco they start, on to Yanco, and they run right up to Bransbury.

Then the next tribe Thereila starts at Paddypaddy, runs up to Noccundra and Nockatunga. At Conbar are Punthamara (Dick Smith's mob - he lives at Murrin Bridge now) and they run right up to Mt Margaret. At Eromango they are Pundawanduru. Across to Thargomindah - Orient - Norley - Karlali. From Orient back to the Bulloo down to Tickalara and Woodburn and Paiumpha - Bitjara.

From Yancannia Creek, Pantyikali, up to Yantara Lake and across to Mordern, to Wonaminta, Milparinka where they mixed with Malyangapa, then back to White Cliffs, where they mix with Wanyipalku. These go away to Momba and Piree Lake. Here the Paaṟuntyi start - up to Hungerford, across to Clifton Downs, Gorimba and Nockoleche. From Wanaaring to Thurloo Downs, Berawinna, Owen, Salisbury Downs (mixed with Pantiyikali), Questa Park, mixed Wanyipalku, Purnanga, Carnamultie, Moonalong (mixed with Pantyikali).

Wadikali (they like Malyangapa) go from Mt Pool, Mt Sturt, Yandama, Lake Stuart, Tilcha. From there down to Lake Frome, Biralapa, Callabonna, Quinyambie station and through to Lake Elder, Congie Bore and Cooney Bore.

Malyangapa, Milparinka up to Mokely where they mix with the Wankumara. Mt Pool, Mt Brown, Mt Shannon, Mt Arrowsmith (mixed with Wadigali). Pooncally, Sampah, Tindara, Tielta, Bancannia (mixed with Pantyikali), Packsaddle, Boxhole, Boullia, Milba, Nundoro (mixed with Pantyikali) Meirapinna, Koonawarra, Wonominta (mixed Pantyikali). Kayrunnera, Pantyikali.

Mutawinji, Pantyikali, Grasmere, Cuthawarra, Menamurtie, Sturts Meadows, Fowler's Gap (mixed with Wilyali).

Wilyali, Corona and Fowler's Gap, Mundimundi, Polamacca, Campbell's Creek, Rat Hole Plain, Cockburn, Silverton, Mingeri, Manna Hill, Olary, Titalpa.

Appendix 3
Comparative Table of Two Yarli Languages with Wangkumara (Karnic) and Paakantyi

The shaded portions of this table (see opposite) indicate cases where the Yarli languages differ from all the surrounding languages.

Most of the entries for Wadikali are from the 1934 manuscript notes of N.B.Tindale, which is in phonetic script. This has been adapted to the practical orthography used for the other languages. The same could not be done for the entries from A.W.Morton (1886) which have the random spelling of many of the nineteenth century word lists. These entries have therefore been left in their original spelling, but in bold.

The shading indicates words in Malyangapa-Wadikali which are practically the same and unlike their immediate neighbours. This is to show that they are very closely related.

This is part of a more extensive table from Hercus and Austin, 2004.

Table 7: Comparative Table of Two Yarli Languages with Wangkumara (Karnic) and Paakantyi

English	Wangkumara	Wadikali	Malyangapa	Paakantyi
arm, upper	*wanyi* *nguna*	*thatyabalka*	*wilparru*	*wanyi,* *wanykara*
bad, no good	*mipa* Pirlatapa *wanyu*	**wyonoo**	*wanyu*	*thulaka*
be hungry	*kunga-ngantya*	**purra-karkinda**	*puRa Kaki*	*wilka-wilka*
beard	*nganka*	*nganku*	*ngankuRu*	*waka-pulyki*
big	*nhuga* Diyari *pirna*	*pirna* **pina**	*pirna*	*kumpatya*
bird	*marranga* *thili* (small bird)	yu:li	yurli	no general term, but in Pantyikali *yurli* means 'duck'
bite	*patya*		*thatya-*	*parta, thatya* Pantyikali
blood	*pandalya*		*karti*	*kaantaRa*
bone	*muku*		*muku*	*pirrnha*
boomerang	*pakaranyi*	*wan:a*	*wana*	*wana*
boy	*kangu*	*yali pata*	*yarli-patha*	*marli-parlu*
breast, milk	*ngama*	*ngama*	*ngama*	
bring	*waltha*		*pardu-*	*watu*
burn	*marri*		*thingka-*	*warnta*
camp	*ngura*	*ngatyara*	*ngatyara*	*yapara*
catch, chase	*yaka*		*yaka-*	*witu-witu*
chest	*murna*	*munakádra*	*munapiri*	*puna*
cook	*kukala* *marrpa to* grill		*marrpa*	*nguuwa*
creek	*nguku*	*par:i*	*paRi*	*pantyi*
crow	*wakaratyi*	*wak:ala*	*kuwulka*	*waaku*
cry	*kanguri*		*thumi-*	*yanma*
dig	*nganbi, wirrpa*		*pika-*	*thampa*
dog	*thithi*	*kunnu*	*kunyu*	*karli*
drink	*tapa*	**tapa-eta**	*thapa-*	*wiitya*
dry	*mugu,* to be dry		*purna*	*tharla*
ear	*ngaRamanda*	*yuri*	*yuRi*	*yuRi*
eat	*thaltha*		*thala-*	*thayila*
egg	*kapinya*	**karpi**	*kapi*	*parti*

Table 7 cont.

English	Wangkumara	Wadikali	Malyangapa	Paakantyi
emu	*kulbara*	*kalarti*	*karlityi*	*kalthi*
euro		*wanguru*	*wanguru*	*yuuRuru*
eye	*puldru*	*melpa*	*milpa*	*miiki*
fall down	*puli-*	*pure-*	*purdi-*	*paatha*
father	*ngaritya*	**koomarde**	*kuma*	*kampitya*
fire	*wiyi*	*kal:a*	*wiyi*	*kunika*
fly (n)	*muguntya,*	**ulberu**	*yulpuru*	*win.nguru*
food, vegetable	*kunga*	*man:u*	*marnu*	*marnu*
foot	*thina*	*ten:a*	*thina*	*thina*
girl	*nayi*	*mankara*	*mankarra*	*nhuunggu-parlu*
give	*ngutya*		*nguki-*	*nguka*
go	*yan.ga*	*paka*	*paka*	*pari*
good	*tharli*	**minko**	*mingku*	*paliira*
ground, soil	*thaka*	*nat:i*	*nharti*	*marnti, nharti*
hand	*maRa*	*mara*	*maRa*	*maRa*
head	*kuka*	*kak:arti*	*kakamintha*	*thartu*
hear	*ngaRa*		*ngaRa*	*thalti*
hit with a stick	*kalka parndi*		*pumi-*	*palka*
kangaroo	*thaldra*	*kol:o*	*tharlta*	*tharlta*
know	*ngalka*		*thilkata-*	*waanta*
leg	*warta*		*mangka*	*yalku*
lie down	*waga*	**unangi**	*ngurna*	*(ng)ima*
little	*wayiwa*	*patha* **pumpa**	*patha pumpatha*	*katyiluku*
man, male	*karna*	*yali*	*yarli*	*wiimpatya*
meat	*nguthi*	*wanka*	*wanka*	*warn.ga*
moon	*mirkaRinyi*	*pitali*	*pitali*	*paatyuka*
mother	*ngamatya*		*ngama*	*ngamaka*
mother's brother	*kawali*	**wolenbeti**	*walinti*	*wakatya*
mouth	*thaya*	*taia, teia*	*thaya*	*yalka*
night, dark	*ngawu*	**owoo**	*ngawu*	*thungka*
no	*walya*	*minarta*	*kurri*	*ngaatha*
nose	*mulha*	*mul:anat:a*	*minti*	*mintoolu*

Table 7 cont.

English	Wangkumara	Wadikali	Malyangapa	Paakantyi
old man	*karrukarru*	**karoo**	*karrukarru*	*marta*
old woman	*walka nhuka*	*koralai*	*walka nhuka*	*nhuunggu*
one	*watyu, watyuwarli*	**koola**	*kula*	*ngitya*
		waiyuka		
possum	*maRatharra*	*pilta*	*pilta*	*pilta, yarrantyi*
put down	*kalawarri*		*yipa, kungi-*	*(ng)ipi*
rain	*pirta*	*kulpi*	*kulpi*	*makara*
return	*thika*		*kami-*	*thika*
sandhill	*kukithi*	*dandindya*	*pamparra*	*pamparra*
see	*nhadya-*		*thitha-*	*pami-*
sit	*kula*		*nhinha-*	*ngiingga*
skin	*mana*	*tupintya*	*paltha*	*paltha*
speak	*yandha*		*kulki*	*kulpi*
star	*dityi*	*pul:i*	*purli*	*purli*
steal	*mama*		*thingma-*	*karnma*
stick	*makura*	**tula**	*thulu*	*yarra*
stomach	*ngayimala*	*yunta*	*yurnta*	*kuntu*
stone	*yaldra, yandra* pebbles, money	*yanda*	*yarnta*	*karnu, yarnta* pebbles, money
swan	*kutaRa*	*kuturu*	*kutuRu*	*yungkuuli*
take	*waltha*		*mani-*	*malka, karnma*
teeth	*draya*	*teia*	*thiya*	*nganti*
throw away	*winbi*		*pulkata*	*pingki, malpa*
water	*ngaka*	*ngap:a*	*ngapa*	*nguku*
what	*minha*		*minha*	*minha*
where?	*ngala*	**wonda**	*wantha*	*wintyara*
who	*waRa*		*waRa(nha)*	*wintyika*
wind	*kugathari*	*yat:u*	*yartu*	*yartu*
woman, wife	*warlga nhubatya*	*kumbaka*	*kumpaka*	*nhuungku kumpaka*
word, language	*yawara nanthina*		*yawara*	*palku*
yes	*kawu*	*ankanyi*	*ngaga*	*ngii*

Appendix 4
Grammatical differences between Malyangapa and Paakantyi

There are very good reasons for recognising that while there are some cognates and some lexical borrowings from Paakantyi, such as *kumpaka* 'woman, wife', *yartu* 'wind', *wanka* 'meat', the grammatical systems of the two language groups are quite distinct. This is evident from the pronouns, both free and bound, as shown in Table 8. The Malyangapa singular forms are given here, with any divergences in Yardliyawara being noted:

Table 8

	Malyangapa		Paakantyi	
1 sg – ERG	*ngathu*	*-thu*	*ngathu*	*-thu*
1 sg – NOM	*nganyi*	*-nyi*	*ngapa*	*-apa*
1 sg – ACC	*nganyinha*	*-nyi,* in Yardliyawara also *-ayi*	*ngayi, nganha*	*-ayi, -anha*
2 sg – ERG	*yintu*	*-ntu*	*ngintu*	*-ntu*
2 sg – NOM	*yini*	*-ni*	*ngimpa*	*-mpa*
2 sg – ACC	*yininha*	*-ni*	*nguma*	*-uma*

Note that:

- the only shared pronouns are 1sg ERG *ngathu* (and in the dual the first person *ngali*), but these are also well known outside these languages and descend from a more distant ancestor.
- -the bound second person ergative form.
- *-ayi*, an optional form in Yardliyawara, heard from Barney Coffin, was probably due to Adnyamathanha influence.
- in the Yarli languages the singular bound pronouns follow an ergative-absolutive pattern while in Paakantyi the pronouns have three distinct forms. In both languages in the dual and plural the systems are nominative-accusative.

Verb morphology shows a range of differences also. Both language subgroups have a single verb conjugation and a general verb structure of Root+Tense+NOM pronoun for intransitive sentences and Root+Tense+ERG pronoun+ACC pronoun for transitive sentences.

The forms and meanings of their inflectional categories are however rather different. This is shown particularly in tense marking as indicated in Table 9:

Table 9

	Malyangapa	Paakantyi
past	*-nganta-*	*-tyi-*
yesterday past	*-la-*	
last night past	*-ngantinta-* absent from Yardliyawara	
this morning past	*-miRinganta-* absent from Yardliyawara	
present	*-rnta-*	*-O-*
future	*-yi-*	*-t-*
evening future	*-ngantiyi-*	
morning future	*-miRiyi-*	
imperative	*-O-*	*-O-*

There are particularly great differences in case-marking.

	Yarli	Paakantyi
Ergative	*-ngu-*	*O or-thuru*
Dative	*-tha*	*-ri*
Allative	*-tha*	*-miri*
Locative	*-nga*	*-na*
Ablative	*-tyali*	*-ntu*
Purposive	*-tha*	*-manti*
Comitative	*-ampala*	

Appendix 5
Method of language transcription

A general practical orthography has been followed in this report.

Paakantyi consonant system

	labial	velar	dental	palatal	alveolar	retroflex
stop	p	k	th	ty	t	rt
nasal	m	ng	nh	ny	n	rn
lateral			lh	ly	l	rl
semivowel	w			y		
r-sounds, tap					r	
trill					rr	
glide						R

Only the consonants in shaded boxes can begin a word. Initial ty- is found only in borrowed words such as tyampuka ‘sheep’ and tyuku ‘sugar’.

There is no voicing contrast in Paakantyi consonants. Only the unvoiced consonants have been used in transcription: they are closer to the actual pronunciation, hence we write:

th not ‘dh’
t not ‘d’
p not ‘b’
k not ‘g’

There is one exception to this, the velar plosive after an **n** (<u>not</u> after **ng**) is strongly voiced and the sequence of **n** and **g** has therefore been written as

n.g	in order to differentiate it from
ng	which is a single consonant, the velar nasal

Velar nasal

The digraph ‘**ng**’ is used to mark the velar nasal, which is pronounced the same as final ‘ng’ in English, but can occur readily at the beginning of a word. Tindale, in his transcription of Marawara used the phonetic symbol for this sound which is ‘N’.

Dentals

As shown above, **h** is used to mark the dental consonants, pronounced with the tongue against the teeth.

Palatals

y marks the palatal consonants, i.e. **ty**, **ny** and **ly**. The palatal nasal **ny** is similar to the English 'ny' of 'canyon', but pronounced as a single consonant, while **ly** is close to the English 'lli' of 'million', but pronounced as a single consonant. **ty** is rather like 't' and 'y' pronounced simultaneously.

Retroflexes

r is used to mark the following consonant as retroflex, pronounced with the tip of the tongue curled toward the hard palate: **rt**, for instance, resembles the American pronunciation of 'rt' in 'Martin'.

Clusters

In dental and palatal clusters the 'h' and the 'y' respectively are written only once, at the end of the cluster, hence:

nth	instead of	'nhth'
lth	instead of	'lhth'
nty	instead of	'nyty'
lty	instead of	'lyty'

Similarly, in retroflex clusters the 'r' is only written once, at the beginning of the cluster, hence:

rnt	instead of	'rnrt'

r-sounds

The Paakantyi dialects have three r-sounds:

r is a lightly tapped r, with the tip of the tongue behind the teeth-ridge

R is a retroflex glide, like the English West country pronunciation of r

rr is a trilled r. It is not common in Paakantyi words and was in earlier work (Hercus 1982) thought of as a variant of the tapped r.

	paka	to dance	is pronounced as [pakka]
but	paaka	river	is pronounced as [pa:ka]
	thupa	to spit	is pronounced as [thuppa]
but	thuupa	to burn down	is pronounced as [thu:pa]
	thulaka	bad	is pronounced as [thullaka]
	walya	don't!	is pronounced as [waòòa]
	pami	to see	is pronounced as [pammi]
	wana	boomerang	is pronounced as [wanna]
	parna	goanna	is pronounced as [pan5n5a]
but	marni	fat	is pronounced as [man5i]

Doubling of consonants

At the end of the first syllable (unless that contains a long vowel) there is a conspicuous doubling of plosive consonants. This is most marked in the case of the peripheral consonants **k** and **p** and all the laterals, as well as the nasals except in words beginning with nasals, and it is least noticeable in the case of retroflex consonants:

There is ample evidence throughout the published data to suggest that this doubling of consonants was shared by all the Paakantyi dialects.

Vowels

In Paakantyi words:

i is used to represent [i] as in 'bit',

u is used to represent [u] as in 'put'

a is used to represent [a] as in 'father'

Long vowels are written as double vowels: **aa**, **ii**, **uu**. Tindale used the standard phonetic symbol [:] to mark length, so this occurs in words quoted from him. The distinction between long and short vowels is phonemic: it differentiates between words, as for instance, in the following pair:

marni fat
maarni corroboree

The first syllable of a word always carries the accent, and vowels in this syllable are more clearly articulated. This is noticeable particularly with the vowel **u**. When **u** is in a final or otherwise unaccented position it may lose some of its rounding and become lowered to approach a close 'O'. This is reflected in transcriptions, as for instance those of Tindale who nearly always writes an 'o' in these circumstances, e.g. 'ga:ro' for **kaaRu** 'other'.

The following other phonetic rules apply to vowels:

w+a

The vowel **a** (***not*** **aa**) following **w** is slightly rounded and raised and approaches the position of an open [O]. This is reflected in some of the early transcriptions, e.g. Teulon 'wokka' for **waka** 'chin', and 'wonnga' for
wan.ga 'meat'. This does not apply when a palatal follows, hence **wanyi** [wann^{y}i] 'wing', not *[wOnn^{y}i].

a+w

When **w** follows **a** the labialisation is anticipated and there is some slight diphthongisation of [a] to [a^{u}] as in the dialect name **Marawara** [Mara^{u}wara].

y+a

The vowel *a* but ***not*** *aa* following *y* is slightly fronted and raised and approaches the position of an open 'e'; thus **yarra** 'tree' is pronounced [yerra], **yalthi** 'long' is pronounced [yelthi]. This is reflected in some early transcriptions such as Teulon's 'yertu' for **yartu** 'wind', 'yernda' for **yarnta** 'stone' (K).

Appendix 6
The Moon and his Nephew – transcription and analysis

Story from G. Dutton [Wainjiwalku language, Brewarrina, N.B.Tindale, July 1938]

Introductory note

N.B.Tindale's introductory note, from George Dutton's dictation, reads as follows:

> *The story happened at Mootwingee just down from the station*[67] *before the blacks were about, a long time ago anyway. The waterhole where the emus were killed is about 1½ miles north of the station, name not remembered. The place where the boy sent the moon man up the tree by blowing it is about 3 miles up east from the station. The tree, a large gum tree is there still. I've never seen the tree but my stepfather told me of it. My stepfather was Jerry Tupi of Cobham Lake, a Wainjiwalku man of Makwara class and malka (mulga) totem.*

Free Translation

1. A pair of relatives, uncle and nephew went out hunting. The two of them stopped as soon as they got to a waterhole.
2. (The uncle said) 'Let us two climb up a tree to keep a look out for emus.'
3. The boy climbed right up the tree and sat there watching for emus coming down the track for water.
4. (The boy whispered) 'Hey! Uncle! There are a couple of emus coming down. Two of them.'
5. The moon (ie. the uncle who was to turn into the Moon said) 'Come down immediately, the two of them might see you!' 'All right,' (the boy said).
6. (The uncle said, once the boy had got down) 'You stand there so that the emus do see you (while I sneak up from behind with the net).' They two killed the two emus in the net.
7. 'All right uncle' (said the boy), 'you have killed meat for the two of us.'
8. (The uncle said) 'Hurry up and come here so that we can both drag them away.' The two of them dragged the two emus to the fire. He (the uncle) opened up the guts and took out the offal.
9. (The boy said) 'Give me the liver, I am hungry.' 'No!' (said the uncle) 'Clear off and eat pigface!'

   (Meat was considered the most desirable food, pigface was the most inferior: in fact the expression 'go and eat pigface' could be used metaphorically without reference to food to be roughly equivalent to the modern 'get lost!' or 'go and play in the traffic!').
10. 'All right,' (said the boy). He went off to eat pigface, and returned to camp and fell fast asleep, without getting any meat.
11. The nephew got up at first light (saying) 'Let us two go out (hunting) for meat'. (The uncle was very full, having eaten two emus, and was still wanting to sleep) (He said) 'All right.'
12. They both slept (some more). They got up later in the morning and went to the same place, the same stopping place (where they had caught the emus the day before).
13. (The uncle said) 'Climb up the tree looking out for emus.' 'Yes!' (said the boy) and climbed right up. He sat in the tree watching as one emu was coming down for water.
14. (The boy whispered) 'Eh, uncle! Here is an emu coming down.' 'Oh,' (said the uncle) 'come down here, he might see you.'
15. 'Yes!' 'Stand there and the emu will you see you!' 'Yes.' He stood there. The emu saw him and so it ran into the net.
16. (The nephew said to himself) 'My uncle killed the game belonging to us two, so that we can eat it.' (The uncle called out) 'Hey, come down (here), so that we can both drag it to the fire.' 'Yes,' (said the boy). He dragged it and cut open the belly and took out the offal.
17. (The boy said) 'Give me the liver, uncle!' (He answered) 'Clear off and eat pigface!' 'Yes' the nephew said. (He had evidently climbed back up the tree and went on to say) 'Uncle, there are grubs here!'

[67] This refers to the old station, not the present day location.

18. (The uncle replied) 'All right, you come down here.' 'Yes,' (said the boy). (The uncle) climbed up the tree and cut out grubs. The boy however started blowing. 'Hey, what are you blowing (away)?'

19. 'It's grub dung,' (the nephew said) and he blew again. (The boy, by means of this blowing, made the tree grow higher and higher). 'What are you blowing, grubs'dung?' (asked the uncle again, up in the tree). 'Oh Uncle,' (said the nephew) 'what's up there in whatever it is, this sky?'

20. 'Feel this thing, feel it (and hang onto it) hard!' (the boy said, and just as by magic he had made the tree rise right up into the sky, he now made it so that) the tree shrank down. He left the Moon man up in the sky.

21. The nephew of the moon went back to the camp. He got there and sat down. The Moon's two wives said:

22. 'Eh, where is your uncle?' The nephew said: 'He went over that way.' 'All right!' (said the two women).

23. The two women said to that boy: 'He is crying for his uncle. Here! What have you been crying for?'

24. 'No, I have not been crying, I am singing a song.' 'All right' (said the women). 'Hey' (said the boy) and he showed them the moon. 'That's your husband!'

25. 'I am your husband now!' 'Oh' ('is that so!' said the two women). The boy lay down in the middle between the two wives. One of the women said to the other one (out of his hearing) 'Come on, let's get away from here!'

26. (The two women planned a stratagem which succeeded in making the boy step right into faeces.)

27. The boy spoke.... (uttering a string of obscenities).

28. (One of the two women said to the other) 'The two (of us, you and I) are going off this way'. The boy went back all on his own.

The following text is adapted from that which appears in the Paakantyi CD. Tindale's ŋ (which indicates a 'velar n') has been replaced by ng.

Translation / analysis key

line a	Tindale's original	Pareitjithu:lu
line b	Tindale's translation	They two went
line c	Hercus's reanalysis of Tindale	Pari-tyi thulu
line d	translation of Hercus's re-analysis	Go-Past they two

ACC accusative, object form

COMP completive suffix, as in **pingangka**-' to climb right up to the top', as opposed to **pinha** - 'to climb'

CONT continuatice participle 'keeping on doing something'

INT intensive suffix

IRR irrealis, referring to something that might happen

PAST past tense marker

PERF past perfect

PERFT perfective aspect marker

PTC participle

PURP purposive suffix

SG singular

TOP topicalising suffix, as in **pami-la** - to look at, as opposed to **pami** - to see

Palkuruṯuna	´Patjo:kan:a
Story	of Moon

amended title

Palku:ṯuna	´Patjo:kan:a	´kein´gutja´rtuna
Story	of moon	and nephew
Palku-thu-na	paatyuka-na	kiingkutya -thu-na
Story this one of	moon-of	nephew this one-of

1.

Pareitjiṯu:lu	wa:keilanji[68]	wanga-mandli
They two went	uncle-nephew	meat-wards
Pari-tyi- thulu	waakalinya	wan.ga-manti
Go-PAST -they two	uncle-nephew	meat-for

I:ngatji[69]	pinḏa:lu	Tilburu keiranu.
	they came	water hole
iingga-tyi	pinta-lu	thilpuru-kiira-na
sit-PAST	arrive-PERF	water-place-by.

2.

Ja!	pina:nga´:li	jarana	kalṯi	bami:u
Hey	climb up	tree	emu	see
Ya!	pinha-ngali	yarra-na	kalthi	pami-wu
Eh	climb up-we two	tree-on	emu	see-PURP

3.

´pinanggatji ṯu	´bal:u	´jara´na	´inggaiju	bam:iu	kalṯi
He climbed up	boy	tree	sit down	seeing	emu
Pinha-ngka-tyi-thu	parlu	yarra-na	iingga-tyu	pami-wu	kalthi
Climb-COMP-PAST-he	boy	tree-on	sit-PAST he	see-PERF	emu

bilka´:na	tilburu mandli.
coming down (the track)	for water
pilka-ana	thilpuru-manti.
come down-PTC	water-for

[68] Tindale has a note: wakatja =uncle, wakalanji = nephew and his uncle. This word was usually pronounced wakalinya, and was one of a series of 'kinship pair' terms, which were formed from the stem of the word for the more senior relative of the pair with the addition of the suffix linya , e.g. kaakulinya 'a pair of brothers', from kaakutya 'elder brother'.

[69] This has written below it an alternative: iNgaiju pudlu 'come along and sat down'

4.

Ja!	´wa:katja	´bilka:ṯulu	kalṯi:ngulu.	Pa:rukulu.
Hey	uncle	coming down	emus	Two
Ya!	waakatya	pilka-athulu	kalthi-ngulu	Parkulu!
Hey	uncle	come down-they two	emu-two.	Two!

5.

Patjorka	kulp..?:	Indja.	´bil´keili
		Oh.	come down
Paatyuka	kulpir(athu ?)	Intya.	Pilka-ili!
Moon	say--he	All right.	Come down-immediately!

´pamin´da:tu´lu:ma
they might see you
pami-nta-athulu-uma
see-IRR- they two- you ACC.

6.

ngei!	ṯari:mba	kalṯiwa	pame´arturu´manḏi
Right	stand	emus	see you
Ngii	thari-impa	kalthi-wa	pami-athulu-manti
All right.	Stand-you SG	emu-EMPH	see -they two-for

bartatjiṯu:lu	´kalṯi:ngulu	monṯar´na
kill	emus two	with net
parta-tyi-thulu	kalthi-ngulu	muntha-na.
kill-PAST-they two	emu-two	net-in

7.

ˊngei!	ˊwa:katja	ˊbalkaˊwundu	wanˊga:lina.
yes	uncle	you kill	our 2 meat
Ngii	waakatya	palka-wu-ntu	wan.ga-alinha.
Right	uncle	kill-PERF-you SG ERG	meat-belonging to us two.

8.

Wa:katja	ˊjauˊbaripa	wa:roˊarllimandi.	ˊWa:ruˊtjitu:ulu
uncle	come over	we'll drag them	dragged
Waakatya	Yaa-pari-pa	waa:ru-ali-manti.	ˊwaaru-tyi-thulu
Uncle:	Here-come INT	drag-we two-for.	drag-PAST-they two

kalti˝ngulu	koneik:adi.	Punti-tjituru	munˊjartuna	punkaiju	korna.
emus two	to the fire	Cut it	guts	took out	guts
kalthi-ngulu	kunika-ri.	Purnti-tyi-thuru	muntyarla	purnka-tyu	kuna.
emu-two	fire-towards.	Cut-PAST-he ERG	guts	take out-PAST	offal.

9.

tyangganja	ˊngoka:ˊrna	ˊwelka welkaˊ ngarpa.	
liver	give me	I'm hungry.	
Thangkunya	nguuka-anha	wilka-wilka	ngapa.
Liver	give-me	hungry	I.

nganggi!	ˊwaraˊbaripa		ˊkarmbi	ta:ilu.
No	Go away		pigface	eat
Ngangki	warra	pari-pa	kaanpi	thayi-lu.
No!	And now	go-INT	pigface	eat-PURP.

10.

ngei!	Paritjitu	kanbi	´tjailu	´thekarlo	´japara´mandi
Right	Went	pigface	eating		camp
Ngii!	Pari-tyi-thu	kaanpi	thayi-lu	thika-lu	yapara-manti
All right	Go-PAST-he	pigface	eat-PURP	return-PURP	camp-to

´im´:arka´l:o	nga:ta	´wan´gatji.
went sleep	without	meat'
ima-ka-lu	ngaatha	wan.gatya.
sleep-PERFT-PURP	nothing	meat-having

11.

´Keingutja	´paparu´kemba	wambina	´pari:m´bali
Nephew	arose	morning	to go
Kiingkutya	paparu-ka-mba	wambi-na	pari-mpa-ali
Nephew	rise-PERFT-now	dawn-at	go-now-we two

wanga-mandi.	'ngei!
Meat-getting.	Yes
wan.ga-manti.	Ngii!
meat-for.	All right

12.

'anbanja	jap:ara:tana.	
same place	same camp (as where they caught emus before)	
anpanya*	yapara	itha-na.
same place	camp	this-in

13.

´Pinangga	´jaran´a	kal̲ti	bam:ui.	ngei!	pinangga ´tjitu
Climb up	tree	emu	see	Yes	climb up him
Pinha-ngka	yarra-na	kalthi	pami-wu.	Ngii!	pinha-ngka-tyi-thu
Climb-COM	tree-on	emu	see-PURP	Yes	climb-COM-PAST-he.

nginggaiu	´jara´na	pam:iu	´ngetja	kal̲ti	bilka:na
sit down	tree	see	one	emu	coming down
Ngiingga-yu	yarra-na	pami-wu	ngitya	kalthi	pilka-ana
sit-PERF	tree-on	see-PERF	one	emu	come down-PTC

tjilburu´man̲di.
for water
thilpuru-manti.
water for

14.

Ija!	´wa:katja	jeke	´bilka:na	´itja	kaltt̲i.
Hei	uncle	here is	coming down	one	emu
Iya!	waakatya	iki	pilka-ana	(ng)itya	kalthi.
Eh!	uncle	here	come down-PTC	one	emu

indja!	´jaubil´ka:	pam:enda:turuma
Oh	come down	he might see you
Intya!	Yaa-pilka	pami-nta-thuru-uma.
Oh	here-come down	see-IRR-he ERG-you sg ACC

15.

ngei!	tari:mba	´pamendaṯuruma	kalṯiwa.
Yes	stand	for he will see you	emu (will)
Ngii	thari-impa	pami-nta-athuru-uma	kalthi-wa.
Yes	stand-you SG	see-IRR-he ERG-you-ACC	emu-EMPH

ngei!	tharitjiṯu	pam:itjituru	benka:lo	mon´ta:ri
Yes	stand	so he stood	ran in	net (mont∞a = net)
Ngii!	thari-tyi-thu	pami-tyi-thuru	pin.kaa-lu	muntha-ri
Yes	stand-PAST-he	see-PAST he ERG	run-PURP	net-into.

16.

´bal´katji´ṯuru	´waka´tjaiwa.	´Wanga:´lina	taeila-mandi.
killed-	my uncle did	Meat our	to eat
Palka-tyi-thuru	wakatya-ayi-wa	wan.ga-alinha	thayi-la-manti
kill-PAST-he ERG	uncle-my-indeed	meat-our two	eat-TOP-for.

´Jau bil´ka	´waru´waḏi´mandi	koneik:adi.	ngei!
Come down	to drag	to fire.	Yes
Yaa-pilka	waruwa-li-manti	kunika-ri.	Ngii!
Here-come down!	drag-we two-for	fire-to.	Yes.

´waru´tjituru	´kananja	punṯi	konawa´tui..	
dragged it	belly	cut	gutted it.	
waru-tyi-thuru	kananya	purnti	Kuna	watu-tyi
drag-PAST-he ERG	belly	cut	offal	take out-PAST

17.

´Tangga´nja`	´ngo:kana	wa-katja.	‘wara’baei’pa	
Liver	give me	uncle.	Go away	
Thangkunya	nguuka-anha	waakatya.	Wara	paripa
Liver	give-me	uncle.	Then	go

´kainbi	´taielu.
pigface	you eat
kaanpi	thayii-iu
pigface	eat-PURP

ngei!	´keingutja	kulparitji.	Wa:katja!	parṯi	iki.
Yes!			uncle!	grubs	here.
ngii!	kiingkutya	kulpa-ra-tyi	Waakatya!	pardi-	iki!
Yes	nephew	say-TOP-PAST:	Uncle!	grubs	here!

18.

Intja	´Jau´bilka	ngei!	Pinanggatjiṯu	wakai
Yes	come down!	Yes!	he climbed up	To cut
Intya	Yaa-pilka	ngii!	pinha-ngka-tyi-thu	waka-yi
All right	Here-come down!	Yes!	climb-COM-PAST-he	cut-NAR

parṯi.	‘Po:paityi	´padlu´wa.	lja	mi’neinḏu	´pu:´pa:na?
grubs,	Blew	the boy	Hey	what you	blowing
pardi.	Puupa-tyi	parlu-wa.	lya!	minha-intu	puupa-ana?
grubs.	Blow-PAST	boy-EMPH	Hey!	what you (ERG)	blow-PTC

19.

ˊparṯi	kurna.	ˊpu:patjiṯuru	ngaja,	min:a	ˊbo:ˊpa:ana	parṯi
grubs	dung.	blew	again,	what	blowing	grubs
Parti	kuna.	Puupa-tyi-thuru	ngaya,	minha	puupa-ana	parti
Grub	dung.	Blow-PAST-he ERG	again,	what	blow-PTC	grub

Inˊtja!	ˊwa:katja	min:aˊtjiṯu		ˊwinˊdja:na	ˊitana	ˊkarkanja
Oh	Uncle	what's that		which	up there	sky
Intya!	Waakatya	minha-tya	ithu	wintya-na	itha-na	karkanya
Oh!	Uncle	what-having	this	which-in	this-in	sky

ˊjeke.
this is it here.
iki.
this.

20.

ˊkurṯa	‘jeke	ˊnurenja	ˊkurta	ˊja:ritjiṯu		jara.
feel	this	hard	feel	come down		tree.
kurta	iki	nhurrinya	kurta	yaari-tyi	ithu	yarra.
Feel	this	hard	feel	shrink down-PAST	this	tree.

ˊNgantjiu	ˊpatjoka	ˊkarka ˊnjari.
Left	the moon (man)	up in sky.
Ngantyi-wu	paatyuka	karkanya-ri.
Leave-PERF	moon	sky-to.

21.

´keinku´tjartuna		´patjo:kana	tek:a:latji	´japa´ra´mandi
Nephew		of the moon (man)	returned	to camp
Kiinkutya	‘thu-na	paatyuka-na	thika-la-tyi	yapara-manti
Nephew	this-of	moon-of	go back-TOP-PAST	camp-to

´Eengga-´bindlalu,	´Patjo:kana	kumbaka	ngudluwa	wantjitji
sat down	Moon	wife	two	said
iingga-pinta-lu.	Paatyuka-na	kumpaka -ngu(d)lu-wa		wantyi-tyi[70]
sit-arrive-PERF.	Moon-of	Wife-two-EMPH		say-PAST

22.

´Eija!	´windja	´wa:katjama.	Keinkutja	kulparitji:
Hey	where	your uncle,		
Iya!	wintya	waakatya-ama.	Kiinkutya	kulpari-tyi:
Hey	where	uncle-yours?	Nephew	speak-PAST

wata´nanki´	pari´pitu.	`Indja.
over that side	he went	Oh.
watha-nhanki	paripi-thu	Intya
over that way	Go-he	All right

23.

nonggo	ngodlowa	kulparitji	´inan:a	´badlu	´Jan´da:latjitu
Women	two	said	to	boy	crying (he is)
Nhuungku-ngudlu-wa		kulpari-tyi	inha-na	parlu	yantaa-la-tyi-thu
Women two-EMPH		say-PAST	that-to	boy	cry-TOP-PAST-he

´wa:ka´tjatunamandi.	Ja!	´min:amandi	´jarn’da:la	ngimba.
for his uncle.	Here	what	crying	you
waakatya-thuna-manti	Ya!	minha-manti	yantaa-la	ngimpa.
uncle-his-for.	Here	what-for	cry-TOP	You?

[70] This word is not known from modern sources. If Tindale had not been quite as accurate one might be tempted to think that it stood for ngaantyityi ‘asked.

24.

nga:ṯa	jidla	ja:ndala	nga:pa	marnei	´bak:eeng´garṯu
No	I'm not	crying	I'm	song	singing
nggaatha	ki(d)la	yantaa-la	ngapa	maarni	paki-ngka-athu
No.	Not	cry-TOP	I,	song	sing-COM-I

´Indja!	i´ja!	Badluwa	kernkardji	inana	patjo:ka.
Oh!	he!	boy	pointed	to	moon,
Intya	iya!	par(d)lu-wa	kirka-tyi	inha-na	paatyuka
All right,	Eh!	boy-EMPH	point-PAST	that-to	moon

´i:tu	´ma:´li:pan:a	´pa´tju:ka.
there	your husband	the moon
ithu	marli-ipana	paatyuka.
There	husband-your two	moon.

25.

ngapeile	´ma:leipana.	in´dja!.	´im:artjitu	´padlu
I am	your husband	Oh!	camped	boy
Ngapa-ili	marli-ipana	Intya	ima-tyi-thu	par(d)lu
I-now	husband-you two of	Oh!	lie down-PAST-he	boy

´kombaka´ngu:lu	tan´karna.	Nonggu	kulparatji	enana
with the two women	middle	Woman	said	to
kumpaka-ngulu	thanka-na.	Nhuungku	kulpara-tyi	inha-na
wife-two	middle-in.	Woman	say-PAST	That one-to

ka:ru	nonggu.	ja	kaba	parika:(d)li.
other	woman	eh!	come here	go.
kaaRu	nhuungku	ya	kapa	pari-ka-ali.
other	woman	Hey!	come on	Go away-we two.

(Only Tindale's text is given here, not his translation)

26.

ˈkarkoˈkartur ˈralina	ngai	jina	kerṯuˈrtjia	ˈtep:a
ˈmanngaiˈen ṯu	‘ˈṯowanṯo	ˈka:turu	ˈngaṯowa	ˈkurnai.
Padlo	paritji	ˈnambartu ˈkurnatuna.		

(The two women planned a stratagem which
succeeded in making the boy step right into faeces)

27.

ˈPadlo	ˈkulparitji	‘ˈngaji	ˈtjituru kurna:wa	ˈkurˈnapana
boy	said			
ˈkadlaˈkailkaritja	ˈbokoˈboraboˈreitjaˈ	ˈwirṯu	ˈwalja	ˈngolo.

The boy spoke... (uttering a string of obscenities)

28.

ˈParipa	ˈngolo	ˈngap:a	ˈanga:naki	ˈṯek:a rla:na,
You	two	and me	back	go back this way.
Paripa-ngulu		ngapa	anganaaki[74]	thika-la-ana.
Go-two		I	this way	go back-TOP-PTC.

ˈPadlo	ṯek:alatji	ˈjalpa.
Boy	went back	himself.
Par(d)lu	thika-la-tyi	yalpa
The boy	go back-TOP-PAST	by himself.

[71] This word is not attested elsewhere, but a closely parallel word is attested for Pantyikali, wathanaaki 'that way'.

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