



## **Historical Language Names of the Goldfields Region, Western Australia: A Preliminary Investigation**

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## Introduction

This paper is a preliminary exploration of a list of twenty one language names of the Goldfields region of Western Australia. The list comprises language names that have arisen from historical documents or in field recordings undertaken with speakers with the Goldfields Aboriginal Language Centre Aboriginal Corporation (GALCAC), and for which speech communities have not been located as of 2020.

This paper represents an initial step in determining the status of these reported languages, in regard to their being an alternate name for a previously or currently analysed language, a dialect of one of these languages, or a language which will require further research.

At the time of writing, GALCAC recognises that there are sixteen Aboriginal languages spoken in the Goldfields-Esperance region. Of these languages, 13 are endemic to the region and 3 are from either South Australia or the Northern Territory but significant numbers of speakers are found in the Goldfields due to marriage, migration and multilingualism.

- Tjupan – AIATSIS code A31
- Kaalamaya -AIATSIS code A4
- Ngadju – AIATSIS code A3 (Kaalako)
- Ngalia – AIATSIS code C2
- Cundeelee Wangka – no AIATSIS code
- Kuwarra – AIATSIS code A16
- Maduwongga – AIATSIS code A86
- Manytjilytjar –AIATSIS code A32 (Nakako)
- Wangkatja – AIATSIS code A12 and A103, possibly is also Pindiini AIATSIS code A102
- Mirniny – AIATSIS code A9
- Marlpa – no AIATSIS code, appears to be a dialect of Ngadju or Kaalamaya
- Ngaanyatjarra – AIATSIS code A38
  - Nyanatjarra – a dialect of Ngaanyatjarra
  - Ngaatjatjara – AIATSIS code A43, a dialect of Ngaanyatjarra
- Pitjantjantjarra – AIATSIS code C6
- Yankunytjatjara– AIATSIS code C4
- Pintupi – AIATSIS code C10
- Walpiri AIATSIS code C15

Pintupi and Walpiri are from the Northern Territory region, and Yankunytjatjara from South Australia however with intermarriage and migration, there are significant populations of speakers in the Ngaanyatjarraku Shire region of the Goldfields.

There are still other names for which no records can be found other than mention of them by Tindale (1966) in recordings made in Kalgoorlie, W.A. These purported language names are *Wiiki* and *Wawuula*. Tindale explains in the recording that old

people told him these names. No further information has been found of these names other than the mention in these recordings.

The language names documented in this report have arisen from historical documents and speaker stories, but are yet to be located or documented. The names may be:

1. Alternate names for the existing 16 languages found in the Goldfields.
2. Dialectical names.
3. Family or group names.
4. Single use or specific purpose names.
5. Names misinterpreted by early European writers.
6. Colloquial or slang names used by Aboriginal informants.
7. Languages that are extinct.
8. Groups that have intermarried into other language groups and no longer identify as the first language groups.
9. Groups that are extinct.
10. Fabricated names.
11. Communilects - names for people or family groups rather than a language name.
12. Ceremonial names.

This report collates information and attempts to clarify these language names. Each language entry contains a dot-point series of references with their data, followed by a summary proposing the next stage of investigation, where applicable.

The orthographic representations used throughout this document reflect the spellings employed in the source materials. Each segment heading provides a bracketed representation which employs the contemporary GALCAC orthography.

### Djalgandi (Tjalkanti)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Talkumara, Tjalkandjara, Tjalkakari, Tjalkatjara, Wordako, Dituwonga

**Name references:**

Capel	1963
O'Grady	1966
Tindale	1974
Horton	1996

- The AIATSIS website records that the identity of *Djalgandi* (A26) is currently uncertain.
- Horton's map (1996) places *Tjalkanti* north of Laverton, bordering with *Mandjindja*, *Nyanganyatjara*, *Wangkathaa*, *Kuwarra*, *Nana*, and *Ngaanyatjarra*.
- O'Grady et al. (1966a) refer to *Djalgandi* as *Barduwonga*.

- Tindale (1974) lists *Talkumara*, *Tjalkandjara*, *Tjalkakari*, *Wordako*, and *Dituwonga* which is recorded as a term used by speakers of *Waljen* (AIATSIS A11). Tindale also reports that the *Tjalkatjara* were the primary speakers of *Djalgandi* and were forced northwest from their land at the end of the nineteenth century by *Nangatjara* people, placing the *Tjalkatjara* people north of Laverton.
- There appears to be next to nothing in terms of documentation at present.
- The AIATSIS website mentions that Bates and possibly von Brandenstein worked on data collection for this language, but provides no further information.
- Capel (1963) refers to *Djalgandi* as a Western Desert language.

Summary: If *Djalgandi* is still spoken today, it is likely to be in the area north of Laverton.

#### Gula (Kula)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Kulujarra, Kulu Nyatha

**Name references:**

Tindale	1974
Hercus	1993

- Tindale (1974) records a former language group known as *Kula*, *Kulujarra* or *Kulu Nyatha* in discussion with Don Roundhead and his wife, in Kalgoorlie. The Roundhead's say that all the *Kulujarra* people had died. The tape indicates that this language group was around the Riverina Station area in the Goldfields.
- Hercus (1993) identifies *Kula* as a dialect of *Paakantyi* (AIATSIS D12).

Summary: The only references made to *Gula* as a language of the Goldfields region is in the Tindale tapes. No further information has been found about this group of people.

#### Kalarko (Karlaku)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Karlako, Kala:ko, Kalaku, Kalaako, Kalaaku

**Name references:**

Tindale	1939, 1966, 1974
O'Grady	1959, 1966
Wurm, Douglas & Oats	1975
Horton	1996
Douglas	1999

Bowen 2011  
Hanson 2020

- There exists a considerable number of references to *Kalarko* which disagree on a number of classificatory points, but nevertheless all place the language somewhere within the area between Kalgoorlie, Southern Cross and Esperance.
- Tindale records *Kala:ko* as a name for the Southern Cross area (1939).
- In Tindale recordings with Don Roundhead and his wife, in Kalgoorlie, Mrs. Roundhead mentions *Karlaku* as people who used fire. She states that *Karlaku* and *Ngadjumaya* (*Ngadju*) are different peoples and that there is a boundary between the two groups. (Tindale 1966 tape)
- Brian Champion's daughter mentions that the pronunciation is closer to *Kalaku*. 2020
- O'Grady et al. (1966a p.36, p.38) describe the following language relationships:

XXIX PAMA-NYUNGAN FAMILY  
Southwest Group

f. Mirniny Subgroup

Mirning (Mirniñ, Mining, Meening, Wanbiri, Warnabirrie,  
Warnabinnie, Wanmaraing, Yirkla, Ikala, Ikula) - Ngadjunma  
(Bardojunga) - **Kalarko** (Malba)  
Kalamai (**Takalako**, Njindango, Natingero)

- Both *Kalarko* (Malba) and *Takalako* could conceivably be references to *Kalaako*, if indeed it is a single language.
- *Kalarko* is placed east of the *Ngadju* area on O'Grady et al.'s map (1966b), which is reasonably closely reflected in Tindale (1974) who uses the term *Kalaako*, and in Horton's map (1996) who uses the name *Malpa*.
- In conversation with GALCAC linguists, Brian Champion claims that *Kalaako*, *Kalamaya*, and *Mirniny* all refer to the same language. Brian Champion's business card also states, 'Brian Champion Kalamaia Kalarku Kaprun Elder'. 2020
- Tindale mentions that both *Kalaako* and *Malba* are used for this group, specifying that *Malba* is a term used by *Wudjari* speakers to refer to groups immediately to the north of them, meaning 'circumcised and subincised ones' (1974 p.243).
- Thieberger (1993) mentions that O'Grady (1959) contains a wordlist, but I have been unable to find this anywhere. Thieberger mentions that Tindale records *Jawun* is used for the north-western subset of this group, but does not specify the reference, and I have been unable to uncover this. Thieberger lists several similar alternate names for the language, (as well as *Marlba*), but

interestingly also lists *Kaburn*, which is the name used by speakers of Kaalamaya to refer to their people. Thieberger also references Graham (p.c.) in mentioning that *Kaprun* refers to those from Southern Cross.

- The Austlang website uses the spelling *Kalarko* and mentions that there are no speakers today, which is reflected in the historical records available.
- Both von Brandenstein (1970) who uses the term *Kallaar* and Morphy (1985) mention that there is insufficient data to clearly determine the nature of *Kalarko* in relation to *Ngadju* and *Malpa*, mentioning that *Kallaar* means ‘man’. Von Brandenstein (1980) however, later claims that *Malpa* and *Kalarko* are dialects of *Ngadju*.
- Based on analysis of Wurm and Douglas, Oates (1975) classifies *Kalarko* as a dialect of *Wudjari*.
- Several online resources refer to Bowen (2011) as classifying *Kalarko* as part of the Nyungic family of south-west Western Australia, however the article itself makes no reference to anything along these lines.
- Oates and Oates (1970) record that Douglas records speakers of this language referring to it as *Kalarko*. Oates and Oates also report that Douglas describes *Kalarko* as meaning ‘return to camp’. Oates and Oates further state that *Takalako* is the *Njanginjagi* name, and classify *Kalarko* as within the *Mirninny* Subgroup, from the Fraser and Bremer Ranges area.
- Douglas (1999) refers to *Kalaaku* (Karlaku) as being,  

the answer to the question re. ‘Who is the stranger coming?’ if the stranger is known to the one questioned as a *Kalaamai* (Kaalamaya) speaker (.)  
(Douglas 1999, p. 4)
- Daisy Bates records two vocabularies which appear to document a *Kalako* language:  

Compiled by NIMBOOL , m. Of Wajjeemoola NORSEMAN Magisterial District Tchaa kalaaga people.

Compiled by Bandila, Paralysed of Dooronginya, Dundas and Norseman Magisterial District, Tchaa kalaaga people, speaking different tongue.
- GALCAC linguists suggest contemporary spelling of the *Kalarko* name to be *Karlaku* which is glossed in *Kaalamaya* and *Ngadju* as *karla* ‘fire’ and *-ku* ‘reflexive’, meaning ‘I am of the fire (people)’. *Ngadju* people refer to themselves as ‘fire people’ as the Great Western Woodland covers a large portion of their land and cool burning was an essential survival strategy. (O’Conner and Prober 2010) As is also the case for the *Kaprun* people as a significant portion of *Kaprun* land is also covered by woodlands. *Ngadju* people state that fire management through cool burns of the woodland’s fuel load was essential to prevent fierce firestorms through the woodlands which would destroy the water trees and endanger life. Water trees were an



essential water source for these people. The term *Karlaku* ‘of the fire people’ therefore makes sense in response to a question asked, ‘who are you?’ These people were the ones who controlled fires. (Hanson 2020)

Summary: *Kalarko* appears to be a dialect of or synonymous with either *Kaalamaya* or *Ngadju*, or both languages.

#### Madoitja (Martuyitja)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Marduidja, Milamada, Wainawonga, Konin, Waula

**Name references:**

Tindale	1966
Bates	date unknown

- Tindale in a 1966 recording with Kaprun man Don Roundhead and his wife, mentions *Martuyitja*. Mrs. Roundhead says that this is the *Martu* people from Meekatharra. The *Martu* people is the collective name for people from the *Manyjilyjarra*, *Kartujarra*, *Putijarra*, *Warmun* and *Nyiyaparli* groups centred around Jigalong Mission which is now Jigalong Community. The *Putijarra* people’s land finishes near Meekathara, at the southern end of the Canning Stock Route near Meekatharra. The morpheme *-itja* is a locative case used by the Roundheads and this is used in many Goldfields languages.
- Tindale identifies the language group as being east of Three Rivers Station and Old Peak Hill and Lake Nabberu, which is the traditional area of the *Putijarra* people. Bates is mentioned by Tindale as identifying this group as located north-northeast of the *Wadjeri* people. Again, this would be the location of the *Putijarra* people, which is the southern end of the five language groups that collectively call themselves the *Martu* and as speaking the creolised language, *Martu Wangka*.

#### Mankulatjarra (Mankulatjarra)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Mangula, Mangundjara, Man-gula, Bida-mangkula, Wangka Mankulatjarra

**Name references:**

Douglas	1958
Berndt	1959
Capel	1963
Tindale	1974
Douglas	1988

- Various sources suggest that *Mankulatjarra* is a language of Western Australia, however the placement of its speakers geographically is diverse.

- Capel (1963) refers to *Mangula*, but only within a list of Western Desert languages with no additional information.
- Tindale (1974) records *Mangula* as being synonymous with;
  - Kalgonei, Kalgoneidjara (language name applied by Ngadadjara to this tribe and to the Wenamba), Mandjindjara (valid extension of name), Mandjindji, Mandjindjiwongga, Mandshindshi [sic], **Man-gula**, **Mangundjara** (variant pronunciation by a member of the tribe), Manjinjiwonga, Mantjila, Nanggar-angu (lit. 'hostile men ' a term applied by the Pitjandjara as also to the Ngalea)
- The Austlang website (2020) refers to *Mangula* (A23) as an alternate name for *Mantjiltjara* (*Manytjilytjarra*), reflecting Tindale (1974).
- *Mangula* or more specifically *Bida-mangkula* is mentioned in Berndt (1959), among a list of alternate names for *Pitjantjatjarra*.
- Douglas (1988) refers to *Wangka Mankulatjarra* as 'a dialect spoken in Kalgoorlie – Mulga Queen area, stem ma- to get. -rra class verb'. The location of this 'dialect' is confusing however, as Mulga Queen likely refers to the Mulga Queen Aboriginal community, 485 kilometres north of Kalgoorlie. If Kalgoorlie is indeed the intended location, this could conceivably refer to a number of languages in the region.
- Berndt (1959) mentions that *Mankulatjarra* is Douglas' (1958) term for Berndt's *Mangula*, also pointing out that *mankula* is the present tense of the verb 'to get', i.e. *Mankulatjarra* are the people who use the word *mankula*. Berndt is more specific regarding the location of Mulga Queen as the community halfway between Laverton and Lake Carnegie, and records that the people there identify as,

Ngalia; Ngalia-Mandjindja; Ngalia-Madilgu-Manjiagadi; Mandjindja-Wanudjara (probably of the Western Desert bloc); Wanudjara-Mandjilabagal; Mudalga (said to be linguistically different to Bindjandja, but included in the Western Desert bloc)...

Summary: *Mankulatjarra* may be a language or dialect of a language originating somewhere between the south-central Pilbara and South Australia. If it is still spoken, the Mulga Queen Community (150km north of Laverton) is the best place to seek further clarification. *Mankulatjarra* may be related to present day *Ngalia* as indicated by Berndt's references.

#### Marawa (Marawa)

#### Alternative language spellings and names: Mara Name references:

Berndt	1942, 1959
Capell	1963
Oats and Oats	1970

- *Marawa* (AIATSIS A22) is a language name which has arisen in a few historical documents but there are very few references in other documents.
- Berndt (1959 p.85) marks an area south of Warburton as *Mara*, which is subsequently referred to as *Marawa* (p.87). Berndt does not record any further information, but this would place the *Marawa*-speaking area somewhere in the *Ngaanyatjarra* or *Mandjindja* (*Manytjilytjarra*) areas according to Horton's map (1996).
- Berndt (1942) refers to *Mara* as a dialect of *Pitjantjatjarra* spoken north-east of Laverton, in an area that would fall within Horton's (1996) *Nyanganyatjara* area.
- Both Capell (1963) and Oates & Oates (1970) mention *Marawa* with no further information other than it being a Western Desert language.
- Berndt (1942), while acknowledging close connections, differentiates *Murunitja* from *Mara* by placing the *Mara* area to the north of the *Murunitja* area on his map, and in the passage:

These people, including 'Kokata, 'Anting'ari, 'Ngalia, 'Kukata (Aluridja), 'Pitjantjatjarra, 'Bung'gura, 'Man'gula, 'Nang'ga'rang'gu, 'Man'tyilytjarra, '**Mara**, 'Murn'itja, 'Tjal'gandi, 'Marning and 'Wonggai'i, all belong to the one Desert culture, and speak dialects of the one language. This language for convenience sake is called 'Pidʒan'dʒa, because it is so called by 'Anting'ari, 'Man'dʒin'dʒi, 'Ngalia and 'Kokata informants at Ooldea (p. 324).

Summary: *Marawa* may be a dialect of *Ngaanyatjarra* or *Pitjantjatjarra*, but there is insufficient data to clarify this as of 2020.

### Mudalga (Mutalka)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Mutalka, Mudalga

**Name references:**

Berndt	1959
Capell	1963
Oats and Oats	1970

- There is at present only quite scarce information on *Mudalga* (AIATSIS A27).
- Both Oates & Oates (1970) and Capell (1963) refer to *Mudalga*, but only record that it is a Western Desert language.
- Mura, the AIATSIS library and audio-visual archive catalogue on the AIATSIS website, claims that Daisy Bates constructed a wordlist, which looks as though it is referring to, '*Wajida* of *Warngun* and *Yalladhoolgu*, North West of

Peak Hill *Waianwonga*, however this location and the name *Waianwonga* make this more likely to be an example of *Watjarri*.

- Berndt (1959, p.87) places a *Mudalga* area north of Mt. Shenton near Cosmo Newberry on a map, also including *Mudalga* as a language claimed to be spoken by people at Mulga Queen Aboriginal community between Laverton and Lake Carnegie:

Ngalia; Ngalia-Mandjindja; Ngalia-Madilgu-Manjiagadi; Mandjindja-Wanudjara (probably of the Western Desert bloc); Wanudjara-Mandjilabagal; **Mudalga** (said to be linguistically different to Bindjandja, but included in the Western Desert bloc)...

- These sources generally indicate that there are no speakers today.

Summary: *Mudalga* may have been spoken in an area near Cosmo Newberry. The Mulga Queen and Cosmo Newberry Communities would be the best place to seek further clarification. *Ngalia* is a recognised language of the Goldfields region so perhaps *Mudalga* is referring to this language.

#### Murunitja (Murunitja)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Mooroon, Murnidja, Kogara  
**Name references:**

Curr	1886
Davidson	1938
Tindale	1940, 1974
Berndt	1941, 1942, 1959
Oats	1975
Horton	1996
Dousset	1999
Hanson	2014

- Berndt (1942) records *Murunitja* within the *Cundeelee* area, however Oates (1975) mentions that it is a derogatory term used by another group to refer to *Cundeelee Wangka* speakers (Cundeelee Mission).
- In recordings made by Tindale (1966) with Don Roundhead and his wife, Tindale asks them about *Murunitja* and they say they don't know about it or haven't heard of it. They mention *Martuyitja* and say that these are the *Martu* people from Meekatharra way. The *Martu* is the collective name for people from *Nyiyaparli*, *Putijarra*, *Kartujarra*, *Warman* and *Manyjilyjarra*. These people developed an indigenous creolised language called *Martu Wangka* (people's talk) which developed at Jigalong Mission during the 1940s – 70s. The morpheme –tja is a locative used in many Goldfields languages and is used frequently by the Roundheads in their discussion with Tindale about language groups.
- Tindale (1974) places the *Murunitja* area in the eastern part of Horton's map's (1996) *Nyanganyatjara* area, specifying:

Northern margin of Nullarbor Plain from Naretha to about north of Loongana; northward for about 100 miles (160 km.); at Rawlinna and Walawuluna Rockhole.' (p.249).

- Tindale also records a *Mirniny* word *murun* meaning 'a fat/stout person'.

The *Miming* (*Mirniny*) word for a fat or stout person is ['murun]. The men of this tribe tend to be of the heavy Murrayian physical type.

- Tindale refers to a *Murunitja* wordlist by Williams in Curr (1886), however Oates (1975) claims that this is *Ngadju*, whereas the AIATSIS website reports that Mura considers this list to be *Mirniny*. Tindale also records that alternate names for this group as *Mara* and *Mooron*, which is possibly pure coincidence in relation to *Marawa* (see entry above).
- Dousset (1999) suggests that the *Mara* people are likely also the *Murunitja* (Mooroon), and are also known as the *Nyanganyatjarra*.
- Hanson (2014) mentions that in the late 1930's/early 1940's the *Murnitja* moved from Karonie east to Cundeelee, based on the recollections of Cundeelee Missionary linguists, Dawn and Brian Hadfield.
- Berndt (1942), while acknowledging close connections, differentiates *Murunitja* from *Mara* by placing the *Mara* area to the north of the *Murunitja* area on his map, and in the passage:

These people, including 'Kokata, 'Anting'ari, 'Ngalia, 'Kukata (Aluridja), 'Pitjantjatjarra, 'Bung'gura, 'Man'gula, 'Nang'ga'rang'gu, 'Man'tyilytjarra, 'Mara, '**Murn'itja**, 'Tjal'gandi, 'Marning and 'Wonggai'i, all belong to the one Desert culture, and speak dialects of the one language. This language for convenience sake is called 'Pidʒan'ɟa, because it is so called by 'Anting'ari, 'Man'ɟin'ɟji, 'Ngalia and 'Kokata informants at Ooldea (p. 324).

- Berndt (1941) also describes an expedition to Ooldea in South Australia in 1939, during which Berndt encountered *Murunitja* people who had been pushed from their country by European occupation. Berndt again mentions that the groups:

...'Ngardadjara, Mandjindja, 'Nangatadjara, Wongga:i, Ngalea, Tjeraridjal, **Murunitja**, 'Mirning, Pitjandjara, 'Jangkundjara, and 'Anta'kirinja are all allied to the one desert culture...' (p.4).

- A map in Berndt (1941, p.2) plots this movement of *Murunitja* people from the Karonie area to Ooldea. Berndt also recounts several stories as told by Ja:ndut, a *Murunitja* representative.

**Summary:** *Murunitja* likely refers to a far western *Ngaanyatjarra* group that originated around Karonie, travelled through Cundeelee and through to Ooldea in South Australia after European contact.

## Nangantja (Nangantja)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Nangandjara, Nana, Nona  
**Name references:**

Tindale	1935
Hanson	2019

- The only clear source for the *Nangantja* language is from a conversation on the first of August 2018 between GALCAC senior linguist Sue Hanson, and *Wangkatja* speakers Doreen Harris and Roslyn Sullivan. Harris and Sullivan refer to *Nangantja* as a language which is no longer spoken, the last speakers having passed away. The two ladies believe *Nangantja* to be a dialect of *Ngaanyatjarra* (spoken in the north-eastern Goldfields, AIATSIS A38). The two ladies mention that there are some descendants of speakers alive today, who may speak *Nangantja* when inebriated. *Nangantja* is reported to have been spoken in the area near the Patjarr Community (aka Karilywara), at the northern end of the Goldfields-Esperance region bordering the Pilbara, which would place it within what some sources records at the Pintupi-speaking area (AIATSIS C10). Roslyn Sullivan identifies her grandmother as a *Nangantja* speaker, but that she herself does not speak the language. The ladies report that Wilf Douglas made field recordings of *Nangantja*, although I have been unable to find references to this. The ladies also mention that Helen Ashwin of Ninga Maya Community is related to this group, and that the Stokes were *Nangantja*-speaking *Ngaanyatjarra* family. Doreen Harris also records that her husband would speak to his parents in *Nangantja*. The ladies maintain that *Nangantja* is a distinct, recognisable language and identity that was once very clear. Hanson 2019
- The 1969 census for Papunya, a community north of Alice Springs in the Northern Territory, contains an entry for a *Pintupi* gentleman called *Tjampu* (European name Charlie) whose father's name is recorded as *Nangantja-lya*, also a *Pintupi* man (Centre for Indigenous Family History Studies n.d.).
- Tindale's 1974 references to the *Nana* language name includes reference to *Ngan:adjara* (*Ngaanyatjarra*) and *Nangandjara*. It is possible that *Nangantja* is this group and is a dialect of *Ngaanyatjarra*. Either way, *Nangantja* is very closely related to *Ngaanyatjarra*, based on the information provided by Doreen Harris and Roslyn Sullivan of Laverton.

**Summary:** *Nangantja* may have been a dialect of *Ngaanyatjarra* which was spoken between Laverton and *Pintupi* Country. Further investigation may be conducted by:

- Consulting SIL Linguist Jan Mountry in Alice Springs.
- Consulting the Stokes family of Kalgoorlie.
- Consulting Janice Scott and Helen Ashwin at Ninga Maya Community.

- Conducting genealogical research with Roslyn Sullivan and Doreen Harris of Laverton.
- Trawling Wilf Douglas' recordings from the Laverton/Leonora for references to the language.

### Natingero (Natingero)

#### **Alternative language spellings and names:** Njindango, Natingero **Name references:**

Curr	1886
Tindale	1974
O'Grady	1966
Dixon	2002
Marmion	2008
Champion	2011

- Marmion (2008) mentions that Curr (1886) only refers to one group of the Kalgoorlie region, calling them the '*Natingero tribe*'. Marmion claims that it is clear that this vocabulary is not a Western Desert language, proposing that this vocabulary is likely *Patimaya*, with some similarity to *Noongar*. This description fits the GALCAC linguist's analysis as of 2020 of *Kaalamaya* language. *Kaalamaya* data indicates that it is not a Wati family language, although it shares some features, and has features of *Noongar* and *Patimaya* languages. (Hanson 2020)
- Likewise, Dixon (2002) and Nash calculate that the *Natingero* vocabulary recorded in Curr is only 43 and 36 percent similar to that which was recorded for *Kaalamaya*, suggesting more distinction than a dialectal relationship.
- Curr's placement of this group is based on the records of policeman Thomas Adam, locating the *Natingero* people '*200 miles north east of Newcastle (Toodyay)*', i.e. around Lake Barlee, and within what is generally identified as the *Kaalamaya*-speaking area.
- Tindale (1974) references *Natingero* as *Kalamaia (Kaalamaya)*.
- Kaprun Elder Brian Champion (2011) refers to *Natingero* as the northern Kaprun. The vocabulary in Curr (1886) however is significantly dissimilar to *Kaalamaya* as it is understood as of 2020.
- O'Grady et al. (1966a p.36, p.38) refers to *Natingero* as a subgroup of the *Kalamai (Kaalamaya)* group, alongside *Takalako* and *Njindango*.

**Summary:** *Natingero* may be *Kaalamaya* itself or a dialect or communilect of northern *Kaalamaya* located more towards *Patimaya* country. However beyond Curr's recordings there is unlikely to be any further material to analyse.



## Nganta (Nganta)

### Alternative language spellings and names:

#### Name references:

Bates	unknown date
Tindale	1974
Nash	2002

- Nash (2002) records *nganda(g)a* as a word meaning ‘person/man’ alongside the more documented *marlpa* centred on the Kalgoorlie region. The AIATSIS library contains microform MF 6, which is recorded as containing:

...location of tribal and linguistic groups of Ingada, Djalgudi, Malgana, **Nganda**, Bidungu, Wanmala, Wadjari, Ngugan, Badimaia...
- Daisy Bates records *nganda* as meaning ‘forbidden/forbidden food’ in the Northampton and Murchison Magisterial District records. This location, alongside its formal resemblance to it, suggests that *Nganda* is a variation of *Nhanta* (AIATSIS W14).
- Tindale (1974) lists *Ngandada* as an alternative name for *Mirniny*. The *Mirniny* reference alongside the Nash and Bates references to this language’s names are all to the south-east of the Goldfields region and do suggest the same location.
- In Tindale recordings of discussion between Don Roundhead (Kaprun man) and his wife, there is mention of *Nyata* or *Nganta*. The recordings are very difficult to hear. Mrs. Roundhead mentions *Nyata* and Tindale asks if this is from Carnarvon way which Mrs. Roundhead confirms. (Tindale 1966)

**Summary:** *Nganta* may be a variation on the language name *Nhanta* from the Murchison region. However, given the references by Nash and Bates, *Nganda* is more likely to be *Ngandada* which is a Tindale alternative name for *Mirniny*.

## Nyanatrara (Nyanatrara)

### Alternative language spellings and names:

#### Name references:

- Non-linguists have made references to Nyanatrara, however no evidence has arisen about a language with this name.
- It could be that this may be another term for *Ngaanyatjarra* (AIATSIS A38).

**Summary:** *Nyanatrara* is very likely a misrecording of the language name *Nyaanyatjarra*.



## Nyanya (Nyanya)

### Alternative language spellings and names:

#### Name references:

- No clear references to a language by the name of *Nyanya* have been located other than those made by a *Tjupan* speaker.
- Sue Hanson records a field note referring to *Nyanya* as a language reported by *Tjupan* speaker Keith Sceghi. Sceghi reports that *Nyanya* is an extinct language group towards Wongawol Station way, which was spoken by Sandy Billy, Dusty Stevens and Sandy Clause north of the Barwidge Station region. Sceghi also provides the example sentence, *Inyani yuka*, meaning 'give it to me'. This information is recorded on both the 20th of November 2013 and again on the 8th of August 2017.

Summary: There is no further data available to suggest *Nyanya* as a language of the Goldfields-Esperance region beyond the report by *Tjupan* speaker Keith Sceghi. Further recordings with Keith Sceghi may elicit more information and should be undertaken as soon as possible due to his age.

## Nugara (Nukara)

### Alternative language spellings and names: Nungara, Nung'ara

#### Name references:

Wurm	1972
Berndt	1940
Berndt and Berndt	1942
O'Grady	1966

- The AIATSIS website refers to *Nugara* as a synonym for a language called *Nungara* (A5), but apart from this there is little information on this language. The AIATSIS website displays a peculiar reference on its search page which cannot be found on the *Nungara* page itself, nor on the page entries for each of the other languages that it is apparently a quote from (AIATSIS n.d.): '*Nugara* Wurm (1972) puts *Muliara*, *Widi*, *Wardal*, ***Nugara***, and *Bardimaya* together in a dialectal relationship.'
- The AIATSIS Thesaurus website also has an entry which describes *Nugara* as a people, and *Pindiini* as a narrower term (AIATSIS Pathways n.d.).
- Berndt's map of 1940 places this language east of Kalgoorlie, however if this language is indeed grouped with *Watjarri* (A39) and *Badimaya* (A14) areas (*Wardal*) as some sources would place it, it should be northwest of Kalgoorlie.

- O'Grady et al. refer to *Nugara* as part of the *Kardu* (Kartu) subgroup of the Southwest Pama-Nyungan family 'Muliara (Malleyarra, Meloria) -Widi (Cheangwa) -Wardal (Wajari)-**Nugara**- Bardimaya' (1966a).
- Berndt and Berndt (1942) refer to *Nung'ara*, citing no counterpart in Tindale (1940) and Elkin (1930).
- The name *Nugara/Nungara* is conceivably also a version of the same root word signifying 'man' that is reflected in the names *Nungar*, *Njunga*, etc.

Summary: *Nugara* is most likely a Kartu language, possibly a dialect of *Patimaya*, which would place its speakers in the region researched by the Irra Wangga Language Centre in Geraldton. Wurm's data may provide further information about this language or dialect.

### Pindiini (Pintiini)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Bindinini, Bindunda, Wonggai, Wangkatja

**Name references:**

Tindale	1974
Hanson	2015

- The AIATSIS website designates *Pindiini* its own code (A102), however it does specify that the term is essentially synonymous with *Wangkatja*.
- Geraldine Hogarth, *Kuwarra* speaker of Leonora, identifies her group as being *Pintini* people or *Pintini* language speakers. (Hanson 2015)
- Tindale (1974) places the *Pindiini* area in what Horton (1996) would consider to be the eastern half of the *Nyanganyatjara* region. Confusingly, Tindale then also records that *Pindiini* is simply another name for speakers of *Wangkatja*:
  - **Bindinini**, Bindunda, Wonggai, Wongaidya, Wongaii, Wonkai (variant pronunciation by a member of the tribe when deriding the name), Wanggada, Wanggaji (p. 255).
- Tindale also records that the *Pindiini* people had largely left the region during the 1930's, first moving to Ooldea in South Australia, before finally settling in Yalata to the south. Tindale interestingly claims that the term *Pindiini* was promoted by its speakers in response to the term *Wonggai* being used to refer to them. Tindale records that *Wonggai* is a *Pitjantjatjarra* term referring to thieves, or more specifically, mice stealing flour from a bag.

The name **Pindiini** was first heard at Ooldea in 1934; its definitive character was only learned after 1940 when some men objected to the term *Wonggai*. According to the *Pitjandjara*, who name them ['Wonggai :'wati], the term has the implication of 'thievery.'

- Ameer Glass (1978) states that *Wangkatja* is a catch phrase used by Aboriginal people to refer to people who speak like themselves. It is possible

that *Pintiini* is used similarly to refer to the peoples of the mid-north Goldfields region.

The origin of the term *Wangkayi* is now somewhat obscure. However it is mainly used by white people to refer to the Aborigines living in the Eastern Goldfields of Western Australia. The (Aboriginal) people themselves use the term *Wangkatja* (meaning people who talk our talk) (*wangka+tja* 'talk'+ 'LOC' *editor*) to distinguish themselves from others who talk completely unrelated languages (including English). Glass 1978

Summary: *Pintiini* may very well be another name for the groups of people who now identify as *Wangkatja* or more likely it is a socio-linguistic term for a group of people from the Leonora to Laverton region including the *Kuwarra*, *Ngalia* and *Wangkatja* people. The Tindale reference suggests that a second group of *Pintiini* people left for South Australia as some time in the early 1900s.

Tjalkatjarra (Tjalkatjarra)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Djalgandi, Talkumara, Tjalkandjara, Tjalkakari

**Name references:**

Mathews	1907
Berndt and Berndt	1942
Capell	1963
Tindale	1966
Tindale	1974
Hanson	2017

- Tindale (1974) uses *Tjalkadjara* as the term for what others would call *Djalgandi*. Tindale states

Capell (1963) incorrectly associated this tribe with the Pini under his term 'Birni' and 'Biniridjara.' They were driven northwestward to Darlot after 1900 by pressure from Nangatadjara. Possession of their red ochre mine at Taralguta, north of Laverton, was a cause of conflict with other tribes people.

- Tjupan speaker, Keith Sceghi mentions that *Tjalkatjarra* people are currently going through native title. (Hanson 2017) This is confirmed by the notice of an application for determination of native title in the state of Western Australia published on the 8th of May 2019 (National Native Title Tribunal).
- *Kuwarra* speaker, Geraldine Hogarth, classifies herself and her language as being *Pintiini Tjalkatjarra*. The *Kuwarra* people's native title claim is located from Leonora to the Darlot region, which fits with Capell's findings of the *Pini* people being driven to the Darlot region by the *Ngaanyatjarra* people. Hanson (2017)
- Mathews 1907, Berndt and Berndt 1942 and Capell 1963 also mention this language name.

- In a 1966 Tindale tape recording with *Kaprun* man, Don Roundhead and his wife, Tindale asks about *Tjalkatjarra* and the Roundheads say they have not heard of it.

Summary: *Tjalkatjarra* may be investigated in more detail by contacting the group representing the native title claim: Ivan Forrest & Ors. Whether this is a language name or a social group name is unclear and needs clarification.

### Tjapanmaya (Tjapanmaya)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Tap:anmai, Tjapanmay

**Name references:**

Douglas	1968
Tindale	1974

- Douglas (1968) classifies *Tjapanmaya* as a dialect of *Noongar*, placing its speech community in the New Norcia-Goomalling region of WA. Douglas also mentions a dialect called *Tjapanmaya* in the vicinity of Nukarni out from Merredin.
- The same area is recognised by Tindale (1974) and is described as the *Balardong*-speaking area, with Tindale further stating that *Tap:anmai* is the term used in Goomalling.
- *Tjapanmay* is recorded as a language by Douglas (1999), with its derivation consisting of *tjapan* (to pick up) + *may* (suffix deriving a group and/or language name from a noun, verb, or descriptor). Minnie Winmar (York), and Paddy Dick (Goomalling) are recorded as being good speakers, and Walter Ellis (Merredin and Southern Cross) is recognised as having originated in an area to the east but who grew up in New Norcia and learned *Tjapanmay*. The close proximity of the *Balardung* area to the traditional *Kaalamaya*-speaking region would explain in some part why references to Tjapanmay were recorded with Teddy Champion.

Summary: *Tjapanmaya* is very likely a dialect of *Balardung Noongar* traditionally spoken in the Goomalling-New Norcia region.

### Tjeraridjal (Tjiriritjal)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Tjerari'djal, Tjeradidjaal (Tindale), Djeraridjal

**Name references:**

Tindale	1974
Berndt	1941
Capel	1963

- *Tjeraridjal* is recorded in some detail.

- Austlang refers to *Tjeraridjal* (A17) as a synonym for *Nyanganyatjarra*, based on the claim that Horton (1996) does so, however the *Nyanganyatjarra* area on Horton's map is much larger than the *Tjeraridjal* area might be reckoned to be, based on Tindale (1974). Austlang maintains the position that *Tjeraridjal* may merely refer to the people and not a language, but that until further clarification is made it will be tentatively considered a dialect of the Western Desert language.
- Horton's index states 'see *Nyanganyatjara*' under *Tjeraridjal*.
- Tindale (1974) marks the *Tjeridjal* area as extending east of Kalgoorlie, which would place it in an area taking up the south-east *Wangkathaa* (*Wangkatja*) and south-west *Nyanganyatjara* regions on Horton's map (1996).
- Tindale (1953) also refers to *Tjeraridjal* as an adjoining tribe to the *Ngadjunma* (*Ngadju*, AIATSI A3), which would support the southern *Nyanganyatjara* premise.
- Berndt (1941) mentions that the groups:

...'Ngardadjara, Mandjindja, 'Nangatadjara, Wonggari, Ngalea, **Tjeraridjal**, Murunitja, 'Mirning, Pitjandjara, 'Jangkundjara, and 'Anta'kirinja are all allied to the one desert culture...' (p.4).
- Berndt also places the *Tjeraridjal* area east of Kalgoorlie (p.2).
- Capel (1963) refers to *Djeraridjal* simply by defining the speech community area along Tindale's lines.

Summary: *Tjeraridjal* is likely a southern group of *Nyanganyatjara*, however evidence for a distinct language/dialect is scarce.

### Walgan (Walkan)

**Alternative language spellings and names:** Waljen, Walkan, Koara (Kuarra)  
**Name references:**

Tindale	1966, 1974
Horton	1996
Capel	1963
Brownley	2019
Sceghi	2017

- In a discussion between Tindale (1966) and *Kaprun* man, Don Roundhead and his wife, *Walgan* is identified as being the language of the people around the Mt. July area near Menzies. Don Roundhead mentions that the *Walgan* people have all passed away. That they were the original people in that location before newcomers came to live there. It is presumed that the newcomers he refers to are the *Wangkatja* people as of 2020 the Aboriginal people residing in Menzies identify as *Wangkatja*.

- *Walgan* may be a reference to *Waljen*, placed by Tindale (1974) in an area south of Laverton. Tindale mentions that the *Waljen* people moved south to near Kalgoorlie in the 1890's. Tindale also records that the *Waljen* are referred to as *Wonggai-jugara* by *Maduwongga* and *Kaalamaya* speakers, which he understands to loosely mean 'aggressive men' or 'usurpers'.
- Horton (1996) merely directs readers to *Wangkatja*, leading the AIATSIS website to consider *Waljen* (A11) to be a synonym for both *Maduwongga* and *Wangkatja*.
- For *Waljen*, Capel (1963) mentions that nothing has been recorded, which is claimed again in Oates and Oates (1970).
- Wangkatja speaker Miriam Brownley (2019) stated that her father was a *Walyan* man and that we can talk to her regarding this. According to Miriam, Dora Cotterel was the last *Walyan* speaker, and Yvonne Frewen should be able to help as well.
- Keith Sceghi also believes that *Walgan* refers to *Waljan*. (2017)
- Tindale (1940) lists *Koara* (*Kuwarra*) as an alternative name for this group. Current day *Kuwarra* people reside in Leonora. Mrs. Roundhead in the 1944 Tindale tapes says that *Kuwarra* means 'later on'. Tindale identifies this as meaning the 'late comers' and that the word is applied to 'any friendly people who have moved into an area'. The morpheme *kuwarra* 'tomorrow, later' is found in several Goldfields languages.

Summary: *Walgan* is very likely a variant name for *Waljen*, which may indicate that it is also synonymous with *Wangkatja*. Further investigation could be begun by consulting Wangkatja speakers, Miriam Brownley and Yvonne Frewen.

#### Watjanmay (Watjanmay)

#### Alternative language spellings and names:

##### Name references:

Thieburger	1993
Blevins	2001
Douglas	1981
Douglas and Hale	1960
Horton	1996

- Watjanmay (AIATSIS W45) is referenced in several sources, several of which seem to be referring to different things.
- Thieberger (1993) and Blevins (2001) refer to *Watjanmay* as a synonym for *Watjanti*, recognised by Blevins as a dialect of *Nhanda* (AIATSIS W14), spoken near the coast north of Geraldton.

- Douglas (1981) considers *Watjanmay* as a term referring to *Wirtimaya*, a contested synonym for the disputed *Widi* language (AIATSIS A13), spoken in an area east of Geraldton in an area intersecting with *Watjarri*, *Badimaya*, *Kuwaara*, and *Amangu* areas on Horton's (1996) map.
- *Widi* (AIATSIS A13) is described as a single language of which *Wirtimaya* is a synonym by Thieberger (1993) and Blevins (2001), whereas Oates (1975) refers to *Widi* and *Wirtimaya* as two separate languages.
- Douglas provides two different locations for *Watjanmay*, initially east of a New Norcia dialect of *Nungar*, in the *Yuat* area, and subsequently designating the *Wirtimaya* area as being northwest of the *Badimaya* area (1976 & 1981). Douglas (1981) also refers to *Watjanmany* as the term used by *Nungar* speakers to refer to the group.
- Blevins (2001) proposes that *Watjanmay*, *Watjandi*, and other related language names in the region are descended from the *Nhanda* word *wacu* meaning 'west'. This may possibly account for *watjanmay* seemingly being applied to so many different areas, and perhaps is a term for 'the speakers to our east' from several geographical perspectives in southern Western Australia. Nevertheless, most of these authors describe *Watjanmay*, regardless of how they define it, as a language with no more speakers.
- Manuscripts of Douglas and Hale (1960) contain very sketchy wordlists purported to be from *Watjanmay* as well.
- Horton lists *Watjanmay* in his map (1996), however this merely directs to *Kalaamaya*.
- Douglas (1999) records, ' *Watanmaya*', 'Mt Jackson, Moline'. This suggests that Douglas considers *Watanmaya* to be the correct name, and that the language is spoken around Mt Jackson. The significance of 'Moline' is less clear. Douglas goes on to mention that *Watanmaya* was Don Roundhead's mother's language, but that he may not have been able to speak it, although Henry Roundhead may have recalled it from his childhood. If this language is indeed *Watanmaya*, it can be translated quite easily from *Kaalamaya* as 'sea-home/sea-nation', suggesting a language spoken south or possibly west of Teddy Champion's country. Douglas records that *watjan* means fire, and that *Watjanmay* is thus derived from this (using the group/language identifying suffix *-may*). Douglas also crucially records, '∴<sup>2</sup> *watjanmay* = WDL<sup>3</sup> *warutjarra*'. This could have several interpretations:
  - a. *Watjanmay* is the language of the *Warutjarra* area close to the community of *Papulankutja* (Blackstone), approximately 100 kilometres from the Western Australia/Northern Territory/South Australia border intersection. This would place *Watjanmay* within a predominantly *Ngaanyatjarra*-speaking area (Shire of Ngaanyatjarraku n.d.).

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<sup>2</sup> Therefore

<sup>3</sup> Western Desert Language



*b. Watjanmay* is the *Kaalamaya* word for the Western Desert Language word *warutjarra*.

- Douglas further confuses the matter by then stating that, '*kalaamai* = WDL *warutjarra* (sic)', seemingly claiming that *warutjarra* is synonymous with the *Kaalamaya* language spoken east of Kalgoorlie and not part of the Western Desert Language/Wati language group.
- Using this information, it seems that what Douglas is saying is that both *Kaalamaya* and *Watjanmay*, which both very loosely mean 'language of the people who have fire' can be translated as *warutjarra* in Western Desert Languages. Indeed, *waru+tjarra* can be translated as such in *Ngaanyatjarra*, supporting this idea (Glass 2005). This may provide us with an answer, in that the name *watjanmay* may simply be a name for groups and/or their languages who have fire, which might explain why the name is used in so many different areas of Western Australia. Douglas (1965) confirms this idea, specifying that indeed *karlamai*, *wadjanmai*, and *warutjarra* all simply mean, 'the language having fire'.

Summary: *Watjanmay* may simply be the name of several Western Australian languages, used by some groups to refer to other groups.

## Yijitu

### Alternative language spellings and names:

#### Name references:

Donaldson                      1992

- Kaprun elders, Clem Donaldson (dec) referred to this language as being from the Edjudina Station region and from which the station took its name. Donaldson spoke some words on film in 1992, which he said were from this language. Edjudina Station is located 130km south of Laverton and 240km north east of Kalgoorlie in the Goldfields region.
- A document, 'Former Pinjin Townsite – European Heritage Survey' states that,  
  
*The traditional owners of the area are Wongatha and Maduwongga peoples.*
- The Pinjin Townsite document further states,

*The Newland brothers had a long association with the region. Watt Newland (European) had a relationship with Aboriginal woman, Goondair also known as 'Larrikin Kitty', with whom he had a son. This son, Windtharra or Arthur (Arthur Newland) moved to the Old Pinjin station and lived with his uncle until 1926.*



Summary: Other than these references to Yijidu, there are no available written records of the language as of July 2020.

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