GURENG GURENG

A Language Program Feasibility Study

Lesley Jolly

**Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit
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**THE UNIVERSITY
OF QUEENSLAND**

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Front Cover: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Festival, Bundaberg
Showgrounds, December 1993 (photograph by Lesley Jolly).

Introduction

This report was commissioned by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit at the University of Queensland, St Lucia, in consultation with the Gurang Land Council of Bundaberg. It was prompted by community concern to retain what remains of the Gureng Gureng language and investigate possibilities for its enhanced use in the community. Its aims, therefore, are:

- to review the current state of knowledge of the language in written sources;
- to review present use of the Gureng Gureng language;
- to review the community aspirations for the Gureng Gureng language;
- to make recommendations for a language program that meets community aspirations and takes into account the present state of the language.

It should be noted that although the spelling 'Gureng Gureng' is adopted by the author of this work, a number of other possibilities exist. Part of the work of any language program will be to decide just such matters, and the final decision will rest with the community.

As well as library research, this report is based on consultations with the following members of the local community:

Mr Mervyn Williams
Mr Colin Johnson
Mr Cedric Williams
Mr Michael Williams
Ms Marcia McCulloch
Mr Lloyd Appo

I owe a debt of thanks to these people for the time they spent working with me. I am also grateful to Sarah Brasch, Richard Robins and Professor Bruce Rigsby for making copies of Brasch's thesis and archival materials available. The recommendations and opinions expressed in this report are the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit or the Gurang Land Council.

The photographs throughout the report were taken by the author at the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Festival at Bundaberg Showgrounds on Saturday 4th December, 1993.

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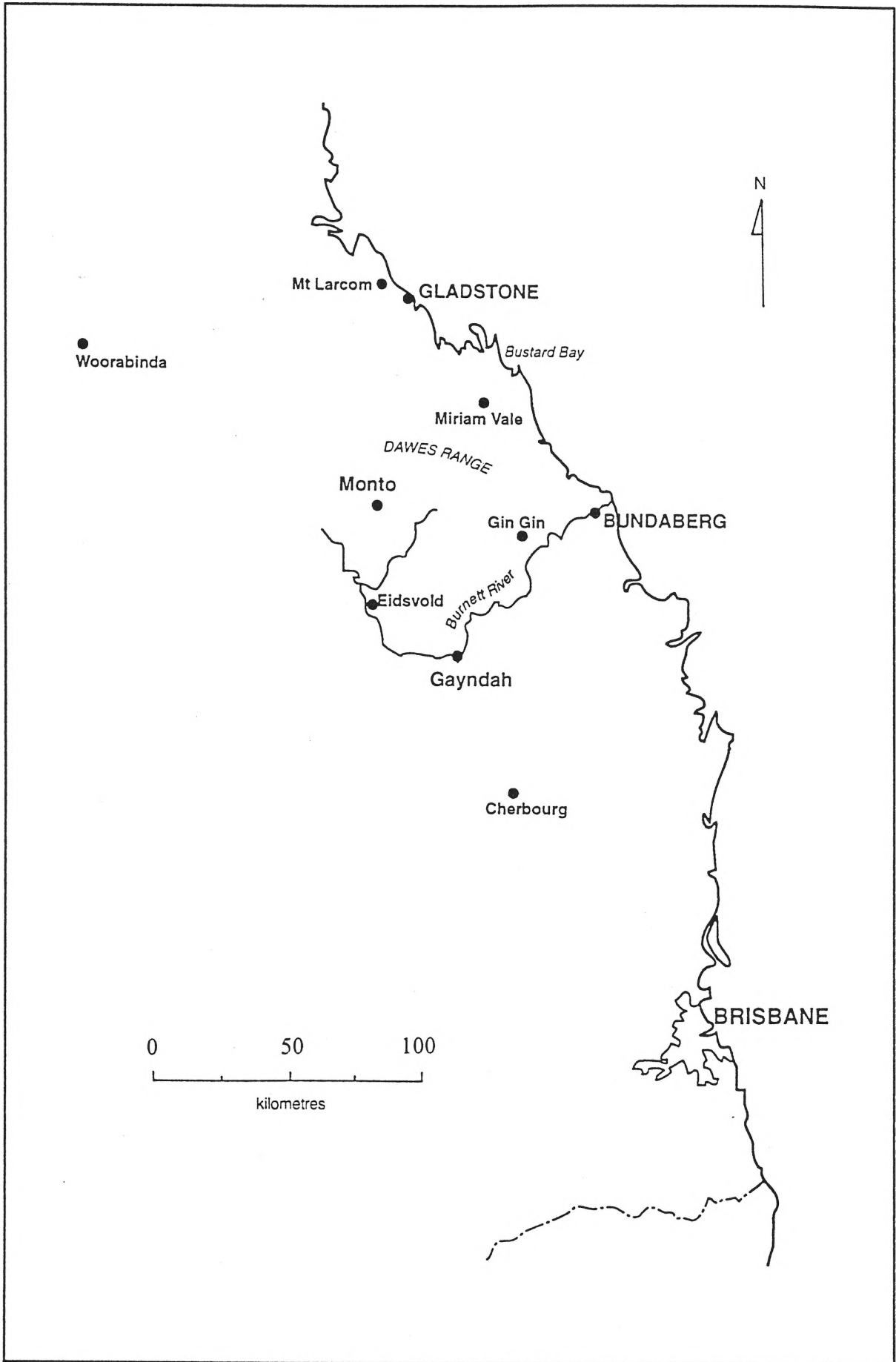Lesley Jolly

284 Riding Road
Balmoral QLD 4171

December 1993

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Figure 1: South East Queensland, showing places mentioned in the text.

Table of Contents

1 Historical Background

This chapter will review what is known of the original Aboriginal lifeways in the area from written sources. It is not possible to be precise in the definition of territorial boundaries, but suggestions will be made about the extent of country available to Gureng Gureng speakers, and the relationships between sub-groups within that region.

1.1 Gureng Gureng Territory

All the historical and anthropological sources (Curr 1887; Illidge 1887; Roth 1897; Mathew 1914; Tindale 1974) agree in locating groups of Aboriginal people speaking a language that can be identified as Gureng Gureng in the Burnett region of Southeast Queensland. Present-day speakers of Gureng Gureng identify mainly with the Bundaberg district although the dispersal resulting from European invasion has meant that there are Gureng Gureng people as far afield as Woorabinda, Cherbourg and Brisbane (Fig.1). The first authoritative mention of the Aboriginal people of the Burnett region is to be found in Palmer's (1884) *Notes on some Australian tribes*, but Palmer calls them the Goonine:

> The name of a tribe a little north of Wide Bay, on the lower Burnett River. Travelled as far north as Port Curtis, 150 miles, and south to Maryborough, 50 miles, spoke a dialect nearly similar to Wide Bay. *Narung* was the name of a tribe (they joined at Port Curtis to the north) that also used a dialect very similar to the Wide Bay tribes (Palmer 1884:278).

In passing, it may be mentioned that several sources record the Gureng Gureng word for 'small' as something like *goonine*. Mathew (1914) and others record a language group they call Duppil to the south of the Gureng Gureng territory. Duppil is very close to the Gureng Gureng word for 'baby', but the language recorded by Mathew and Ridley (1855) under this name seems closer to Kabi Kabi. Further investigation of any link between these two groups is left for a later date.

In E.M. Curr's *The Australian Race* (1887), four obviously related vocabularies are provided for the region: from Boyne River (Toolooa), Bustard Bay (Meerooni), Baffle Creek and the Upper Burnett. Nothing like the name Gureng Gureng is used by Curr but the vocabularies make it clear that his Burnett group, at least, spoke this language, and the other groups probably spoke related dialects.

When W.E. Roth, Northern Protector of Aborigines, visited the region in 1898, he met some people he identified as Koreng Koreng at Gladstone but he was informed that their main camp was at Miriam Vale. He described their territory as extending "...northwards as far as Gladstone, southwards to Bundaberg, and westwards out to Cania Station and the diggings" (Roth 1898:9). His informant, Mr C.E. Roe, told him that he had seen camps of up to 600 or 700 people at Miriam Vale, and that people travelled as far as the Bunya mountains. Roth (1989:67) also tentatively identifies a regional boundary in the Raglan/Parool/Bajool area north of Mt Larcom where tribal fights between northern and southern groups were held. This is the northern boundary recognised by present-day Gureng Gureng.
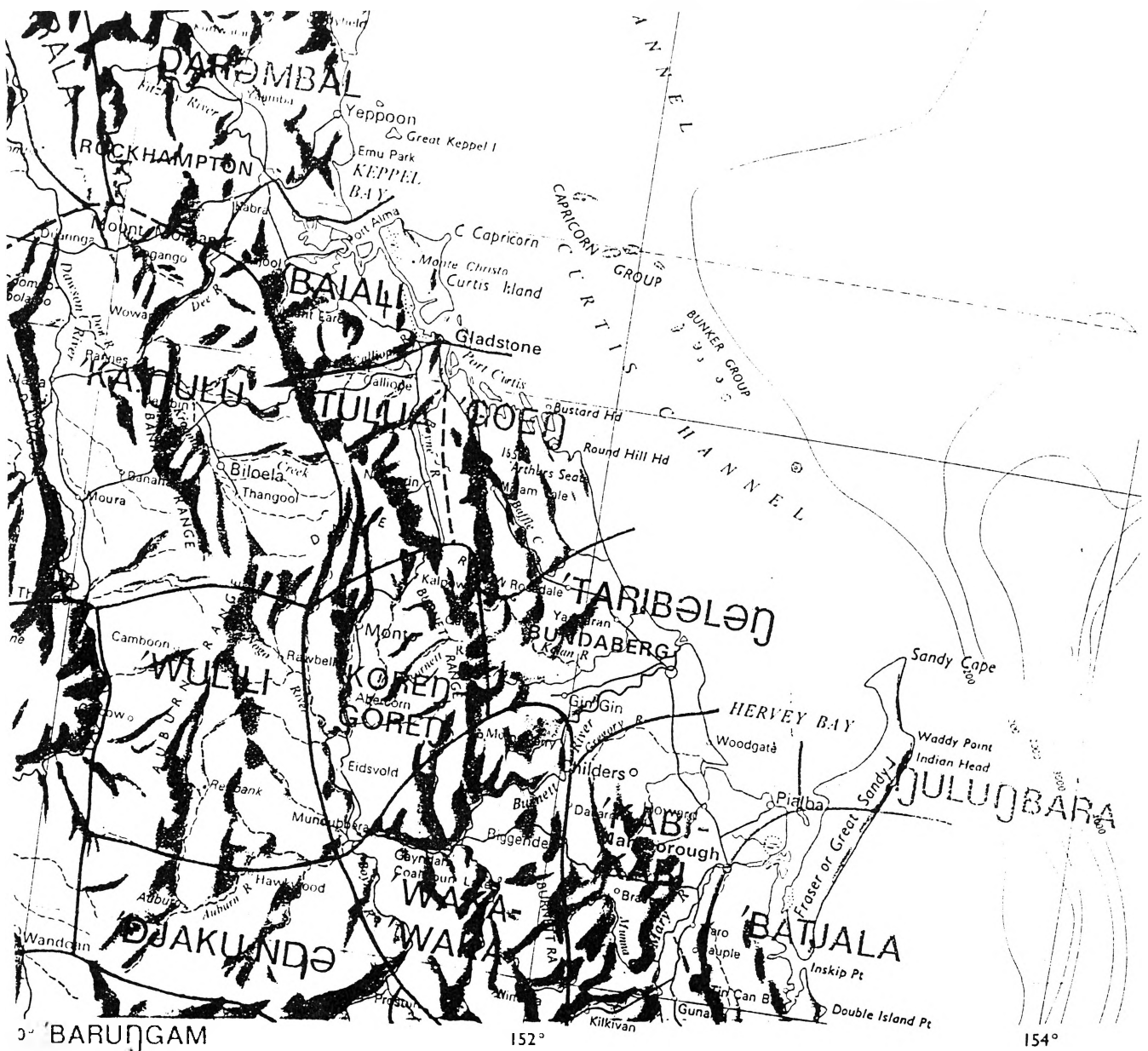
Figure 2: Tindale's (1974) map

Another early student of local Aboriginal language and customs, the Reverend Mathew (1914), specifically equates the Gureng Gureng with Curr's Upper Burnett and Baffle Creek groups and states that their territory "...covered all the basin of the Upper Burnett, from about Gayndah northward, and...embraced the basin of Baffle Creek also, and, therefore, extended right to the coast where that creek debouches" (Mathew 1914:435). So far, then, the early commentators suggest that the whole of the area from Bundaberg to Gladstone east of the ranges was Gureng Gureng country.

3

Norman Tindale's (1974) authoritative, if much disputed map (Fig 2), locates a language he calls Korenggoreng on the Monto side of the Burnett Range and notes it is not to be confused with the Goeng (Tindale 1974:177), a coastal language group found along Baffle Creek. He locates the Tulua inland from the Goeng, and the Taribelang (Tindale 1974:185) in the Bundaberg area (Fig. 2). These groupings can be related to the earlier accounts such as Curr's (1887) as follows:

Curr	Tindale
No 161 - Boyne River (Toolooa or Dandan Tribe)	Tulua
No 162 - Bustard Bay etc (Meerooni Tribe)	Goeng
No 163 - Baffle Creek	Taribelang
No 165 - Upper Burnett etc	Korenggoreng

On linguistic and cultural grounds (see p6 and p21), it is possible that these groups were closely-enough related to be seen as sub-groups of a larger entity. At present, there is more knowledge about the Gureng Gureng than any of the other groups and it may be that the loss of dialectal and other distinctions has resulted in their name becoming applicable to the larger group (but see page 11).

All of these accounts agree well with modern Gureng Gureng understandings of their territorial boundaries, which were described to me as extending from the Mt Larcom area north of Gladstone, south through the Burnett River drainage to include Gin Gin, the Many Peaks Range and Bundaberg, and extend at least as far as the Elliott River. The Dawes Range forms the western boundary at one point, though there is some doubt about the western extent of Gureng Gureng in the southern portion of their territory.

1.2 Lifestyle

No attempt will be made to provide more than an outline sketch of the lifestyle of the Gureng Gureng at the time close to first contact with whites. Curr (1887) gives a short sketch which will be quoted in full, and

more information is to be found in Roth (1898). Close attention will be paid to one aspect of social organisation — the marriage classes — since this reinforces the pattern of regional relationships to be seen in the historical linguistic sources. An understanding of these relationships is helpful in interpreting the early linguistic records.

1.2.1 General Outline

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Aboriginal people of the area enjoyed a fertile environment, much of which was covered in dense scrub supporting abundant animal life. Fishing was also an important economic activity. Not much is known directly of women's activities but we can assume that they would have provided a good proportion of the food supply through fishing, hunting small game and gathering vegetable products.

As noted above, Curr (1887) provides some linguistic and cultural information about the Aboriginal people of this region. His linguistic information is discussed below (p.16), but he also provides some ethnographic background for the Toolooa and Meerooni who lived in the north of the region, noting that there was very little difference in the accounts he had received of the two tribes (Curr 1887 Vol III: 126). He says:

> The country of the Toolooa tribe was the watershed of the Boyne River. It was occupied as squatting runs in 1854, at which time the tribe which inhabited it is estimated to have numbered 700 persons, many of whom appeared to be sixty years of age, and not a few seventy or eighty years and upwards... The number of the Toolooa tribe is now (1882) reduced to 43 persons. It is mentioned by my informant that dropsy was one of the diseases that helped to carry them off.

> Opossum-rugs are worn by the people of this tribe, who adorn themselves with necklaces made of reeds, cut into short lengths, and threaded, and also with netted bands round the head, each with a pearl shell attached to it. Feathers are also worn in the hair as ornaments. Their bags and nets are made of the bark of the grass-tree; their tomahawks are wedge-shaped stones ground smooth. They have boomerangs of both sorts; spears are thrown by hand; and some of their weapons

are carved, and coloured with red ochre. Animals are cut open
with a pointed stick, hardened in the fire.

Many of the tribe who are over forty years of age bear the
marks of small-pox. On this subject the tradition of the
Toolooa people is that about the year 1835 they were visited
by the Burnett tribes, who brought the disease and gave it to
them. Such great numbers died of it that the survivors were
unable to bury them. The Toolooa name for small-pox is
deeum.

Polygamy prevailed, and marriages within the tribe are said to
have been rare, the men exchanging their daughters and
sisters for Byellee and Maroonee girls. Infanticide, which
always existed, is now the rule. The usual ornamental scars
are made, and the septum of the nose is pierced. Circumcision
and the terrible rite are unknown in this tribe, who bury their
deceased males in the ground, and place the remains of
females in the trunks of hollow trees (Curr 1887 Vol III:120-
2).

The fact that Toolooa intermarried with Byellee and Merooni suggests
that the coastal and the more inland peoples were distinct groups who
had close social ties. It will be argued below that this pattern of regional
relationships, with a coastal-inland distinction, can be discerned also in
the linguistic evidence. The visit of the Burnett people referred to
indicates wider regional links beyond the coastal-inland division, also to
be seen in linguistic relationships. Early settlers reported (Bloxsome
1945:344) that the Dawson River people used to raid the Burnett, which
might suggest that regional links extended as far westward as the Great
Dividing Range, but no further. A certain mutual tolerance on the part of
those people to the east of the range is indicated not only by the marriage
patterns Curr describes, but by reports (Bloxsome 1945:347) of the
movement of large groups through this territory to visit the Bunya
harvest. Such patterns reinforce the land-language relationships suggested
in the preceding section.

Roth noted many cultural similarities throughout the district and indeed
we now know that some of these are common to many Aboriginal groups
throughout the country. For instance, Roth describes hunting and fishing
technology (Roth 1898:23) and cultural practices such as in-law
avoidance (Roth 1898:19), the observation of certain food taboos (Roth
1898:27) and the playing of games (Roth 1898:36) which were to be

found elsewhere in Queensland. One peculiarity of this district that he records is the existence of female healers, quite distinct from the male sorcerers usually described as 'doctors'. Roth describes the operations of these healers thus:

> Throughout the district a woman-doctor would "cure" sickness of various kinds and degrees by first of all tying the breast and chest of the patient round and round with twine (wattle- or grass-) and then, with the free end of the string, rubbing her lip across her back teeth, from side to side until it began to swell and bleed: this "bad' blood which it was somehow believed actually came from the sick person, she then spat out (Roth 1898:14).

Roth's report is too lengthy to discuss in detail here, covering aspects of life as diverse as astronomy, technology, burial practices and warfare. The main points of interest for the present study are the vocabularies he provides and his identification of the various groups in the region and their relationships and differences. Important links were forged throughout the region by the regulation of marriages through a system of marriage classes that transcended linguistic groupings and was common over a wide area. This system is discussed by several authors and will be dealt with separately.

1.2.2 Marriage Classes

Palmer (1884:305) was the first to record the marriage classes of the region from Wide Bay to Moreton Bay as follows :

Male	Marries	Children are
Balcoin	Therwine	Bundah
Therwine	Balcoin	Baring
Bundah	Baring	Balcoin
Baring	Bundah	Therwine

This agrees well with other commentators such as Illidge (1887) and Mathew (1914), and today's Gureng Gureng know their marriage class membership according to this system, even if it is no longer adhered to

in arranging marriages. However, Palmer (1884:305) also asserts that
names were given to each of the families thus formed such that:

Balcoin (man)	Bundah (man)
Therwine (woman) = Yorome	Baring (woman) = Malaume
Bundah (child)	Balcoin (child)
Therwine (man)	Baring (man)
Balcoin (woman) = Avong	Bundah (woman) = Goomee
Baring (child)	Therwine (child)

It is hard to know what to make of this information as family names of
this type are not reported elsewhere in Australia. Palmer goes on to say
that the relationship among the sections was represented by the
Aborigines with two crossed sticks thus:

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Balcoin} \\
| \\
\text{Therwine} \quad\rule[0.5ex]{2em}{0.4pt}\quad|\quad\rule[0.5ex]{2em}{0.4pt}\quad \text{Baring} \\
| \\
\text{Bundah}
\end{array}
$$
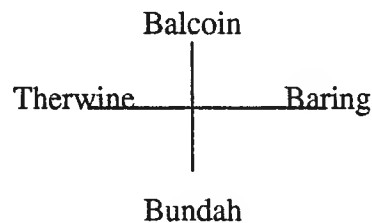
He says (Palmer 1884:305) that the child takes its "name" (marriage
class) from that opposite to its father's name.

Roth (1898:26) recorded the class names as Deroin, Bunda, Barung and
Balgoin, which are clearly cognate with Palmer's forms. He noted that
most of the people he was discussing grouped the first two of these
classes together as "Yungaroo" moiety and the other two as "Wootaroo"
moiety, except for the Gladstone and Miriam Vale people, that is to say,
the Gureng Gureng.

Mathew, on the other hand, describes (1914:435) a four-class marriage
system with exogamous moieties, similar to that of the Wakka to the
south. He calls the moieties "Dilbai" (Bonda and Dherwain classes) and
Kapaiin (Barang and Bandyur classes) and maintains that a person's class
membership had to be of the same moiety of the mother but the opposite
class — hence matrilineal. Bandyur is the name of the class sometimes
called Balkuin elsewhere (Mathew 1914:436).

Mathew's account of this system is basically the same, allowing for orthographic variation, as that recorded by Roth, except for the moiety names. Another grouping of the marriage classes was recorded by Thomas Illidge in 1887 (Illidge ms.) Illidge gave the marriage rules thus:

Bunda cannot marry a Bunda
Bunda cannot marry a
Barrong
Bunda cannot marry a Tarrawan
Bunda **can** marry a Bunjure

A Bunda man marries a Bunjure woman, their children are Barrong.

Barrong cannot marry a Barrong
Barrong cannot marry a Bunda
Barrong cannot marry a
Bunjure
Barrong **can** marry a Tarrawan

A Bunda woman marries a Bunjure man, their children are Tarrawan.

Tarrawan cannot marry a
Bunda
Tarrawan cannot marry a
Bunjure
Tarrawan cannot marry a
Tarrawan
Tarrawan **can** marry a Barrong

A Tarrawan woman marries a Barrong man, their children are Bunda.

A Tarrawan man marries a Barrong woman, their children are Bunjure.

Bunjure cannot marry a
Tarrawan
Bunjure cannot marry a Barrong
Bunjure cannot marry a Bunjure
Bunjure **can** marry a Bunda

Present-day Gureng Gureng (C. Williams, M. Johnson, C. Johnson pers. comm.) know their class names as Balgoyne, Deroine, Bunda and Barang and explain the marriage rule as follows:

Male Balgoyne should marry female Deroine,
    their children will be Bunda
Male Deroine should marry female Balgoyne,
    their children will be Barang
Male Bunda should marry female Barang,

their children will be Balgoyne
Male Barang should marry female Bunda,
their children will be Deroine

Obviously a *de facto* moiety system is in operation here which groups the classes the same way as Roth and Mathew, but not Illidge, did. By the logic of this system everyone's class membership is the same as their mother's mother's class membership, and this has doubtless been an important mechanism in the preservation of Gureng Gureng social organisation under colonial conditions. Where people are of mixed descent it is much more likely to have been their female ancestors who were Gureng Gureng and their male ancestors who were (possibly transient) foreigners. For those who identify nowadays as Gureng Gureng, it is thus the female links to the past which are often of paramount importance and this system allows them to situate themselves in a Gureng Gureng social universe regardless of any recent heterodox history.

1.3 Contact History

White people first appeared in the Upper Burnett in the 1840s but the difficulty of finding suitable grazing land kept them out of the lower reaches of the river until the 1860s (Nolan 1978:5). The first Europeans entering the region sometimes had occasion to be grateful to its Aboriginal inhabitants, as when the naturalist Bidwill and his party were carried to Durundur Station after being lost in the scrub (McKinnon 1940:98). As the number of settlers increased, however, violent clashes occurred between pastoralists and Aboriginal owners of the land. Between 1847 and 1853, twenty-eight squatters and shepherds were killed by Aborigines (Dignan 1964:10). and each incident prompted punitive raids by the whites which resulted in heavy loss of Aboriginal life. This was against Colonial Office policy and, in an attempt to reduce the slaughter, the Burnett became one of the first areas in Queensland to be "protected" by the Native Mounted Police (Nolan 1978:20). The commandant of this force, Frederick Walker, thought that murder of and by Aborigines was inevitable, given the competition for food and water created by the settlers and their stock, and took, for his day, a generous view of Aboriginal rights in the area. He was quickly removed from office by the agitation of a party of squatters led by Forster of Gin Gin (Dignan 1964:12). The force Walker had introduced to Queensland ultimately contributed significantly to the ruthless appropriation of

10

country by the whites. Nolan (1978:24) comments that the area was quickly pacified; but it is also possible that disease had preceded the settlers, as Curr's evidence suggests, and done its part in opening up the country for white exploitation. For a while the dense scrubs remained a refuge for local people but eventually the land was cleared and the original owners were forced into more and more dependant positions.

Some Aboriginal people worked for the whites on stations and as timber getters (Nolan 1978:34) but many more were forced into a marginal existence in fringe camps such as that at Miriam Vale, or were removed to reserves. Roth (1898:9) noted that it took him some time to win the confidence of the Miriam Vale people because they were afraid he had come to have them shipped off to the reserve on Fraser Island, which had been established by the Methodist church in 1873. After the Queensland Government passed the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* in 1897, Aboriginal people began to be forced away from the more populated areas into reserves in large numbers. Thus many people from the Burnett were sent to live at Cherbourg (Tennant Kelly 1934:462) and Woorabinda. By attaching themselves to a whitefella boss, Aboriginal people here, as elsewhere, were at least able to remain on their own country, pass on something of their own traditions to their children and keep using their own language, at least at some times and to some people

When the particular histories of individuals and families have been fully researched it may be possible to identify the original groups to which those who were removed belonged. On the reserves and missions, where people from widely separate localities were forced to live together and construct an Aboriginally-significant social universe, marriage classes and totems became more important than fine-grained local distinctions between groups. However, everyone retained the knowledge of where they had originally come from and in recent years more and more Aboriginal people have elected to return to their traditional regions. As elsewhere, this has happened in the Burnett but not all these returned people identify as Gureng Gureng. There is, for instance, one group who identify as Taribelang. It is doubtful that they will want to be subsumed under the name of the Gureng Gureng, although for linguistic purposes such a coalition may be advantageous to both groups.

1.4 Colonisation and Language Use

One of the first effects of colonisation was the introduction of new diseases for which there was no local immunity. As Curr's informant (quoted above p6) was aware, disastrous epidemics could precede the physical presence of whites. Where great loss of life ensued, survivors would have had to join with previously distinct groups. As a result, dialects and languages were probably lost completely simply through loss of speakers, either because of disease or warfare with the whites. Such circumstances could result in increased dominance by one or two groups, or a group's gaining ascendancy in areas where it had not been very significant previously.

Not many of the early settlers were interested in learning, much less preserving, the languages of the Aboriginal people they came into contact with. It was fondly hoped by many whites that the Aborigines were doomed to pass away anyway and this is an attitude to be found in some of the more scientific writers also. Many of those quoted above, who had a linguistic interest, were intent on comparing Aboriginal languages in search of proto-forms that would explain Aboriginal spread over the continent or putative relationships between Aboriginal groups. Curr and Mathew both fall into this category. Others, like Roth, were more disinterested but none of them ever advocated the active fostering of any Aboriginal language. While it is likely that a few of the early settlers (or their children) learned some of the local language, most insisted on using English, a practice that May have been made easier by the fact that Aboriginal people were already multi-lingual and the acquisition of another language came easier to them (Dixon 1980:69).

More destructively, once Aboriginal people came under close administrative control on missions and reserves, official attitudes militated against the intergenerational transmission of indigenous languages. With a few exceptions in the more remote parts of the state, missionaries generally imposed English in their churches and schools, and government officials on reserves certainly did. Children were often separated from their parents and spent most of their time in dormitories with children from other language groups. While they sometimes evolved their own idioms there (T. Blake pers. comm.), it was not easy for them to maintain their home languages, especially when teachers and others punished children for the use of their own languages even in play.

As a result of this history there has been a great deal of language loss in the Burnett region. Whole language varieties have disappeared through their speakers having been killed or politically absorbed by other groups. The destruction of family and community groups and the enforced use of English on the reserves and missions interrupted normal language transmission. Where indigenous languages survived, their use tended to be limited to the most private contexts, with consequent reduction in complexity. Under such circumstances it is remarkable that anything has survived at all and indicates how important language has always been to the people of the Burnett.

> **Summary Box**
>
> The name Gureng-Gureng has been applied to speakers of a number of closely related dialects which were traditionally found in country extending from at least Mt Larcom north of Gladstone to the Elliott River south of Bundaberg, and includes all the country from the coast to at least the Dawes Range in the west. Precise boundaries are neither achievable nor desirable and this probably represents the minimum territory traditionally associated with the Gureng-Gureng language, where that term may be understood to cover a language family.
>
> Common marriage class names were used over a wide area from Rockhampton to Moreton Bay. In the past this was one mechanism that tied a number of independent groups into a loose regional network of association. Today these names are familiar to people from a number of different language groups, and may be used as markers of regional, but not linguistic, identity.
>
> Despite a devastating contact history, a strong sense of regional identity persists amongst Burnett people, even if their families had been moved into other areas. The current interest in cultural, including language, reconstruction is an important step in undoing some of the effects of this history.
>
> The effect of colonisation on language use has been to interrupt to a large degree the intergenerational transmission of the indigenous languages.

2 The Gureng Gureng Language

The most important corpus of Gureng Gureng is that currently held by the remaining speakers of the language. For them, the designation Gureng Gureng is usually understood to refer to the Aboriginal stratum of their language only — not the Aboriginal English or Standard Australian English they might mix with it. From the linguist's point of view these other strata are interesting and important, both theoretically and practically, since "it is the system of interrelated varieties which make up the total phenomenon called language" (Devlin 1990:63). A complete language program would be enriched by taking account of this fact and this will be discussed further below (p.47). For now, references to the Gureng Gureng language can be understood to mean the indigenous language or languages spoken in the Burnett region before European invasion, and the descendants of those languages to the present day.

None of the early sources was in a position to use the International Phonetic Alphabet or any other standardised system of phonetic transcription, so the idiosyncrasies of these authors' transcriptions mean that they usually only approximate each other at best. For instance, Illidge uses voiceless stops (t, k, etc.) where Mathew will sometimes use voiced stops (d, g). Furthermore, many of these writers had no particular training or experience in linguistic study and tended to be deaf to sounds that did not occur in English. There is a handwritten note on one page of the Illidge papers that records: "Mr. I says that the natives pronounce their words — some guttural, some more clearly and in any case in such a way that it is exceptionally difficult to spell exactly as pronounced" (Illidge 1887). The discrepancy between English pronunciation and English spelling was another source of inconsistency in authors who thought they were spelling what they heard phonetically. Their limited interest in Aboriginal life and culture meant that their lists also tend to be repetitive, each going over the same restricted area of vocabulary with very few excursions into syntax. Obviously, then, care must be taken in the use of such sources, but they are linguistically valuable, not to mention their status as evidence for the continuing association of the Gureng Gureng people with the Burnett region. However, none of these sources could be used for linguistic analysis or incorporation into a dictionary, without some standardisation of transcription and weeding out of anomalous material.

A certain amount of guesswork is inevitable in the present state of knowledge when discussing and comparing these sources. Brasch (1975) deals competently with the linguistic analysis and it is not within the scope of the present study to repeat or add to that work. However, a short discussion of the historical sources follows in order to assess their usefulness for a Gureng Gureng Language Program.

2.1 Historical Sources

The first records of language from the Burnett are those in Palmer (1884), which he calls Goonine. The transcriptions here are particularly problematic but the list is included in Appendix III for the sake of completeness.

The first written record of a language that is recognisably Gureng Gureng is to be found in Curr's *The Australian Race* of 1887, based on data collected a few years earlier. The Illidge manuscripts in the Queensland Museum are dated 1887 and amongst them are two lists entitled "Cooran Cooran" and "Kooang dialect". These agree well with modern speakers' knowledge of the language (Michael Williams pers. comm.). The other early source of note is Mathew (1914). This author knew the region well and published extensively in the area of Australian ethnography generally and South-east Queensland in particular. His vocabulary agrees well with Curr's and Illidge's and is rather more extensive, including the pronoun paradigm. Mathew appears to have been a careful listener and consistent transcriber and his list is linguistically very useful, though doubtless some standardisation will have to be applied to it. Owing to its length, Mathew's list is included in photocopy form as Appendix IV. Other word lists are found in Marks (1899) and Roth (1898).

2.1.1 E. M. Curr

Curr's language groups are rather vaguely identified by geographical extent. His numbered languages seem to correspond to Tindale's named groups as follows:

> 165 = Korenggoreng
> 163 = Taribelang
> 162 = Goeng
> 161 = Tulua

Comparison of Vocabularies from Curr, 1887

English	No.165	No.163	No.162	No.161
kangaroo	booroo	booroo	goorooman	booroo
opossum	dthelul	nugai	googina	kooree
tame dog	mirri/merri	mirri	meeree	karrang
wild dog	karoom	garrome	karoom	mirree
emu	moa/moabang	moi	nooree	nurra
black duck	naap	ngurra	nurra	mering
wood duck		nguloarr	mering	penang
pelican	wongi	boolumbullum	parwon	parung
laugh. jack	karkungoon	karroogul	doowal	doonwill
nat. comp.	daroo	koolooragun		
w. cockatoo	gair-gair	garre-garre	belim	keegoom
crow	wong	wong	whakoon	toowell
swan	goloin	goloin	konkekool	koonkool
egg	dile	dail	wang	umma
footprint	dthumpool	moola	dinnong	ditna
fish	goorole	daam	gooral	pam
crayfish	kakine			wunmeen
mosquito	moongoroo	biuam	tibing	nimkin
fly	dthippin	wongain		moowin
snake	tuppoo		wooni	wonki
the blacks	dthan, marree	dan	daan	kungun dan
blackfella	dthan	dan		dan
black woman	mooni	mouee(?)	keen	wanmoo

English	No.165	No.163	No.162	No.161
nose	mooroo	mooroo	mooroo	mootoo
hand	peeroo, birroo	birroo	gillee	peri
2 blacks	dthan boolla	boola dan		boodla dan
3 blacks		dan boola neula		inkanna dan
one	noola, noolang	neula	karlim	karroon
two	boolla	boola	boolla	boodla
three	boolangoola or noolangboolla	boola-neula	goodthina	numma(?)
four		bomboin	boolla-boolla	
father	papa, papilum	babon	paboon	beya
mother	yoo, ya	ya	nabong	nabba
Z+	watchim	wuthim	yaroon	yaoona
Z-	kakure	undalgun	guntal	kontalgan
B+	dtchar	thet-thow	nooan	kargo
B-	tapil	goonmee	guntal	kontalim
young man	gippar	gadekoorrr	nogoin	karraa
old man	goorawel	wooroobalrin	goorki, girkil	konkon
old woman	mookine	mootram	goorgina	konnooan
baby	dappil		karkar	butcham
whitefella	woo		moothar	barram
children	dappilwarra	gooinnee		
head	warrole	warrole	karm	karm
eye	meel	meel	meel	meil
ear	binna	binnea	bidna	pidna
mouth	kaam	kairm	karlee	talli
teeth	deera	deera	teeta	toota

English	No.165	No.163	No.162	No.161
head hair	warrole	moningil	monion	moonoon
beard	yerrbi, unbay		yaree	yara
thunder	boowoomga	booroomga	baroongi	boomga
grass	baan	ban	boogalgan	boogargan
tongue	dthunome	djienome		doonnan
stomach	mappoo	booloo		budloo
breasts	maam, mam	maam, ngamoo		ummore
thigh	darra, bee	bu		beyoo
foot	dinna	djinna		didna
bone	digarl			pigul
blood	dee	dee, du		dee
skin	uline	yulaine		kooba
fat	bulgi	bultree		balkee
bowels	koona tenta	maapo		wogooway
excrement	koona, kun	goona		koodna
war-spear	kunni	gunna		kanna
wommera	mokko, makkoo			
shield	goodmarri, kolemarri	goomurray		koodmary
tomahawk	boorgoo	booroogoo		moogan
canoe	kundool	kundole		kooga
sun	kinmine	giumine		witpar
moon	alloolum	ngaloolum		nelan
star	tookoongul	doojoongul		kootingal
light		girree		koogal

English	No.165	No.163	No.162	No.161
dark	mean			kooroom
cold	yittoon	ngrrtoon		nethar
heat		ngeugame		whyoom
day	allara, tookim			witeabery
night	mean	ngooloo		kooroomkann-um
fire	moon, oone	ngoon		wi
water	goong	koongo		koonkool
smoke	boolim	boolun		doomoo
ground	dthow, jaow	dou		parr
wind	ban			booran
rain	boonoo	boonoo		dookoo
ghosts	barriumne	ngoothoong		
boomerang	bookan	buggun		bukkan
hill	wontoo	windundo		wondo-wondo
wood	dalline	doo		too
stone	tukkeel	wellae		wolba
camp	waibay	wibai		darr
yes	yo-i	yo-i		yooi
no	korang, goora-ng	gooraong		karbi
I	atchoo, yeen	nge		nin
you	ngini,kuga	ngun		innoo
bark	doora	toora		durra
good	kullungul			balka
bad	worrang	warang		woote

English	No.165	No.163	No.162	No.161
sweet	toorn			
food	daingole,jalm	tcheugarlar		
hungry	dookalli			
thirsty	iditalgo,nango	guamboolgun		eburnboo
eat	jalm-dalgo	thaltroe		dagga
sleep	koonim	yoonmag		koonim
drink	goong-dalgo	koongo thaltroe		
walk	bego	thaggo		yenna
see		naggim		natha
sit	giname	yinnago		ena-ena
yesterday	wurrung	woorowung		woolko-woolko
today	kalooroo	woonnee		woongee
tomorrow	karngo	butchungo		wootoowa
Where are the blacks?	winthalla dthan?	woodtha dan?		wontha dan?
I don't know	goorang atchu	woodthala gam		darginbal
plenty	walloon	yingatho		
big	yingarra			
little	goonine	gooninni		karkoogarkool
dead	boontin	boonthegim		kunman
baimbi	gurra	kurra		karra-karra
come on	beye,yunna	kowai		kowi
milk	mam	maam		kokkill
eaglehawk	gullia	goollae		nunkar
wild turkey	wakoon	waggone		wargoon
wife	mooni	ginbellum		woonmoolan

20

Notes: No 162   tingal = smallpox
          No 163   yinyatho used to express all numbers over four

Of the 121 words and phrases in Curr's lists, some are not translated for all languages. The transcriptions are idiosyncratic, each having been supplied by different informants. Curr himself comments on the uncertainty introduced by misleading questioning on the part of the interviewers. One cannot, therefore, be too dogmatic about similarities and differences between languages. Brasch (1975:8E) notes that phonology and syntax are surer indices of relationship than lexis; nevertheless, the following comparisons are suggestive.

Of the words in Curr's lists for these four languages, 29 (24%) show close similarities. That is to say, allowing for the uncertainty of transcription, 29 words are similar enough to be counted as identical in the four languages. Only 18 of these 29 words are also identical in Kabi (as described in Curr), suggesting that these four languages are more like each other than they are like their nearest southern coastal neighbour. Within the group of four languages, 32 items indicate a difference between the northern two languages and the southern two. That is, there is a slight pattern of similarity between Tulua and Goeng on the one hand, and Korenggoreng and Taribelang on the other. As with the ethnographic detail discussed above (p.6), the pattern suggests a distinction between coastal and inland groups, who are still more like each other than they are like their neighbours to the north and south. With this sort of data this can be no more than a suggestion and in the absence of further documentation for Tulua and Taribelang, it is not unreasonable to see Gureng Gureng and Goeng, at least, as dialects of each other as Holmer (1983) and Brasch (1975) do. For the Burnett region as a whole, the linguistic evidence suggests a pattern of broadly similar languages. As a result people could probably have been readily understood throughout the region. Judging by the amounts of shared vocabulary, there may have been a tendency for groups whose countries centred near the coast to distinguish themselves from inland mobs. It certainly seems safe to say that there was a linguistic as well as political border in the vicinity of the Burnett River and another at the Calliope.

2.1.2 T. Illidge

Thomas Illidge was a postmaster at a number of places throughout the region, notably Gayndah and Gladstone. He seems to have taken an

interest in Aboriginal matters and collected weapons and other artefacts as well as language data. The Illidge word lists exist only in manuscript form but copies of these original manuscripts have kindly been made available by the Queensland Museum. Since they have not been published elsewhere, the two rather long lists of most immediate interest here are included in this report as Appendices I and II. They are recognisable to contemporary speakers of Gureng Gureng, especially the list called "Cooran Cooran", but, as Brasch (1975:5A) noted, shortcomings in Illidge's ability to hear the sounds of the language or appreciate its morphology and syntax have resulted in some inconsistencies and mistakes. As with other of these early sources, then, it would be rash to adopt Illidge's forms without further linguistic analysis and regularisation.

2.1.3 W. E. Roth

In 1898 Walter Roth, Northern Protector of Aborigines, sent a report to the Commissioner of Police entitled *The Aborigines of the Rockhampton and Surrounding Districts*. In it he reports meeting with Koreng Koreng (*sic*) at Gladstone, but he states that their main camp was at Miriam Vale. He provides vocabularies from eight localities but notes:

> Gladstone and Miriam Vale appear to have roots common to themselves yet distinct from all the remaining localities [he visited, which were to the north], the vocabularies of which are undoubtedly closely related. The definiteness of this ethnological boundary, somewhere between Rockhampton and Gladstone is borne out by what has been already stated concerning tribal fights at Raglan, the differences in fighting weapons, in domestic implements (e.g. fishing-nets), in the names relative to distinctions of social nomenclature, and in the fact that only five terms (e.g. eye, abdomen, foot, excrement, urine) are identical in these two places, though they are only about 100 miles distant (Roth 1898:67).

Since Roth identifies a close similarity between the Gladstone and Miriam Vale languages, both word lists are reproduced here. His transcription aims for and largely achieves phonetic accuracy and consistency and is thus one of the more useful of the early sources.

English	Gladstone	Miriam Vale
adult man	dân	wou (white man) gĭb-bĭ
adult woman	wâ-mō	mō-nĭ
head	kâm	wâ-rō
hair of scalp	woo-dĭl	mō-rĭng-gĭl
forehead	dĭng-kō	dĭng-gō
eyebrow	mēn-mēn	yĭ-pĭn nē-hēn (eyelashes)
eye	mēl	mēl
nose	moo-tō	mō-rō
nostril	poong-kō	nŭl-lă-mō-rō
lip	dŭl-lĭ	yĭl-lĭm
tongue	too-noom	tō-noom
tooth	tĭ-tă	dĭ-ră
beard	yâ-rĭ	yĭn-bār
chin	ŭng-kăn	yĭn-bār
cheek	tŭng-kŭl	wŭng-gōm
ear	bĭn-nă	bĭn-nă
neck	wŭn-tŭl	bĭm-bĭ
shoulder	gĭ-loon	gĕ-lōn
breast	kâ-kŭl	nŭm-mō
umbilicus	boo-room	wă-goy
flank	tĭl-pă	dĕl-bĕ
dorsum, back	bool-pool	doom-bă
buttocks	koon-tŭn	goon-dŭn
penis	doon	dō

English	Gladstone	Miriam Vale
testicles	dĭl-lō	dĭl-lŭn
vulva	mē-gă	dōn-ōl
arm	gĭ-nĭ	gĭ-nĭ
forearm	dēm	mĭ-tĭ-gĭ-nĭ
elbow	kŭm-kō	gŭm-gō
hand (as a whole)	bē-rĭ	bĕ-rō
thumb	same as hand	moor-gĭn (bĕ-rō)
forefinger	same as hand	same as hand
middle finger	same as hand	same as hand
ring finger	same as hand	same as hand
little finger	same as hand	same as hand
thigh	thă-tă	dă-ră
knee	bōn	wĭl-lĕ-rō
leg (shin)	boo-yoo	bē
ankle	woo-gŭl	wō-gŭl
foot	tĭn-nă	tĭn-nă
toes	all, same as foot	moor-gĭn moor-gĭn (tĭn-nă) = big toe, other toes same as foot
nail	gĭ-lĭn	gĕ-lān
bone	tā-kŭl	dī-gŭl
blood	dē	dē
bowels	mă-pō	mâ-bō
excrement	koo-nă	koo-nă
urine	kâ-bō	kâ-bĭ
dingo	mĭ-tĭ	kâ-room mĕ-rĭ-gă-răn (dog)

English	Gladstone	Miriam Vale
porcupine	kâ-kă	kâ-gě
opossum	koo-rĭ	noo-gī
kangaroo	boo-roo	mō-â
snake (all sorts)	tā-kŭl-gŭl (whip snake)	wŭ-gī
iguana	wâ-rĭ	wă-roy, mâ-room, doom-bŭl doom-bŭl
lizard	tâ-koo-lŭ-kŏl	koo-lŏn-yŭl
frog	tŭ-rĭl	gŭng-ŭm-bĭl
fish (all sorts)	goo-rool	koo-rŏl
bird (all sorts)	koo-loom (magpie)	koo-dō-dō
emu	mŭr-rě	mō-â-vīn
small brown hawk	mē-goo-goo	kăl-lŭn
large eagle hawk	bood-thă	gool-lě
crow	doo-wŭl	wŭng-wŭng
white cockatoo	kē-goom	kār-kār
galah etc.	bē-ēr	too-lār
whistler duck	nŭr-ră	rŭl-bâ (wood duck) rŭr-ră
pigeon	bâp-pă	băp-pă
spider	wē-kă	mŭn-rĭng
fly	mō-ĭn	wŭng-ŭm
mosquito	nĭm-kĭn	bē-nâm
ant	kēng-gō	mĭng-oo-lŭm
bee	kŭl-kō	nō-ī
sugar bag (honey)	kī-bă, koo-tă	kă-wī
hill, mountain	wŭn-tō	wŭn-dō

English	Gladstone	Miriam Vale
creek, river	thă-tă	dă-râ
water	koon-kō	koong-gō
short meadow grass	bō-â-rĭl	bân
moon	nē-lŭn	nă-nō-lĕm
star	koon-tĭl-gŭn	too-goon-gŭl
sun	wē-kă	gĭn-mīn
fire	wē	nō-hōn
night	koo-room	nōl, mēng (pitch dark)
north	dă-rĕ	dă-rī
south	yoon-koor	yoong-kŏr
east	koon-tō	koon-dō
west	băn-yō	bâ
shield	koon-mă-rĭ	goon-mă-ri
boomerang	bă-kŭn	bă-gŭn
spear	kân-nĭ	kŭn-nâ
fighting stick (nulla)	dŭl-kă	măr-kō (little one) doo-hō-vâ (large one)
stone knife	tâ-gĭl	gōr-houl
stone tomahawk	mō-gĭm	wĕl-lĕ-nŭr-râ
net (fish)	pŭn-tĭl-lĭ	pun-tĭl-lĭ
dilly bag	wŏ-kĭr (made from grass "in the rough")	bĭb-pĭl
one	kâroon	noo-lâ
two	boo-lâ	boo-lâ
three	gō-ă	boo-lâ roo-lâ
four	yoom	băm-boom

26

English	Gladstone	Miriam Vale
big mob	yoon-kō-rō	ĭng-gâ
white	bŭr-răn	bŭr-răl
red	koo-tĭm	kō-tĭm
yellow	tē-rĭng-ŭl	moo-ling-ŭl, yē-nă-hâ-ĭl
blue	goo-room	nool-gĕ
black	goo-room	nō-hōn-yĕ
green		bân-boo-lŭm
good	bŭl-kĭ	kă-lăng-ŭm
bad	woo-tĭ	wă-răng
big	yŭm-pŭn	ĭng-gâ-dō
little	kă-koo-ră-kŏl	koo-nĭn-nĭ
yes!	yoy	yoy
no!	kăb-bĭ	goo-rĕng
older brother	kâ-rō	dŭd-thă
younger brother	koo-nĭ	dŭd-thă
older sister	yă-woo-năn	wâ-dĭm
younger sister	yē-lăn	wâ-dĭm
mother's brother	bâ-bĭ	mŭm-mâ
mother	nŭb-bă	you (blood mother) mâ-mĭ (group mother)
brother-in-law	kĭ-noo-lŭm	moo-nĕ-lŭm
sister-in-law	ĭn-wŏn	moo-nĕ-lŭm
father	pē-yă	bâ-bâ
father's sister	bâ-bō	yăb-bĭ
husband	tŭn-gă-lŭm	koo-lŭm-boo-lŭm

27

English	Gladstone	Miriam Vale
wife	wŏm-mă-lŭm	gĭn-bĕ-lŭm
father's brother	pē-yă (father)	bâ-bâ (father)
mother's sister	kŭn-nĭ-ăm	yâ-gĭ
father's father	yĕ-loo-loo	mī-bĕ-nŭn
mother's father	nŭd-thă	nŭt-tŭm
mother's mother	kŭm-mĭ-mĭ	gŭm-mĭ
father's mother	kō-kō	
son's son	kŭm-mĭ-lŭm	mī-bē
son's daughter	kŭm-nŭ-ăn	mī-bē
daughter's son	yē-lăn (younger sister)	nŭt-tŭng-ă-lŭm
daughter's daughter	yē-lang-ăn	nŭt-tŭng-ăn
son, brother's son	nō-kō-lŭm boo-tŭm (any little boy)	nō-gā-rĭ
(brother's) daughter	noo-kĭn-găn	nō-gĭn-găn
sister's son	bă-răng-ŭn	bă-ră-nĭl
sister's daughter	bă-răng-ă-kăn	bă-răl-găn
man's mother-in-law	noo-lăn-gă-lŭm	yăb-bĭ (father's sister)
woman's son-in-law	kâ-nĭ-ŭm	woon-gĕ-lŭm
woman's mother-in-law	bâ-bō (father's sister)	yăb-bĭ (father's sister)
woman's daughter-in-law	nō-gĭl	nō-gĭn-găn

2.1.4 H. J. Marks

In 1899 *The Science of Man* published a short list of "Aboriginal words and meanings" comparing items from two languages from Queensland and two from New South Wales. One of the Queensland languages is

identified as coming from the Burnett River and was supplied by H.J. Marks of Eidsvold. The following is the list in its entirety.

English	Burnett	English	Burnett
Water	goung	One	nular
River	gourone	Two	bular
Sea	yallam	Three	bular-nular
Lake	boungah	Four	bular bular
Rain	wairie bunno	I	gnigh
Swamp	goungara	Mine	gnundur
Fire	gnoon	We two	gnarlee bullar
Lightning	theal	We	gnarlee
Heat	nangyam	Our	gnarlee
To burn	ballyegam	Us	gnarlee
Sun	ginmine	Yow[*sic*] two	gneam
Light	gerre	You	gnintar
Moon	allulaum	He	marione
Star	duccoognarl	She	munchone
Dawn	thoughneppagim	Good	garlinan
To shine	yillar	Bad	warrang
Day	allora	Any	baurl
Night	gnoulgo	Many	warlar
Head	varrowl	None	gourangkiname
Head Hair	mounglgil	Other	kilam
Beard	gneanbay	Same	muthing
Eyes	meel	To make	yunkala

English	Burnett	English	Burnett
Nose	mouro	To give	wookrool
Mouth	gamn	To take	buntalo
Ear	biama	To hold	mungo
Face	goongoon	To release	buntalo
Skin	uline	To give up	wooko
Neck	bimpea	To see	mucko
Shoulder	keelvan	To feel	ginmende
Back	dumpar	To hear	bidnabooranglim
Chest	denta	To know	booronglim
Arm	gianta	To walk	thoupal
Wrist	buevle	To run	millagam
Hand	berro	To speak	yathcoleaggim
Fingers	beno	To die	bunchigim
Thigh	tharra	To go away	yangame
Leg	bee	To come here	yarrie beeye
Foot	thidnar		
Ancle[sic]	woogool		
Man	tharn	What do the	buckton
Woman	moonee	marks on their	buckum?
Boy	coppobo	bodies mean?	
Girl	moonee moonee		

The transcription here is fairly impressionistic and there are some anomalies but, with some imagination where spelling is concerned, we can discern quite good agreement between this list and Mathew (1914)

and Curr's (1887) lists, especially No.165 in the latter, the one correlated above with Tindale's (1974) Korenggoreng. This list may therefore be considered potentially useful as a source of Gureng Gureng vocabulary items, particularly verbs, after the necessary corrections have been made to standardise the transcription.

2.2 Linguistic Studies

The first linguistic study of Gureng Gureng was written by Sarah Brasch in 1975. She utilised the historical sources mentioned here and the field notes and recordings made by Dr Margaret Sharpe. Some of Sharpe's informants had also worked with Nils Holmer, who had written his *Linguistic Survey of South East Queensland* in time for Brasch to refer to it, although it was not published until 1983. Further recordings exist, including some of people who have since passed away, and they will doubtless contain as yet unrecorded linguistic detail on Gureng Gureng. Until these recordings and present day speakers' knowledge is thoroughly investigated, Brasch's study remains the most useful linguistic analysis of Gureng Gureng.

2.2.1 N. Holmer

Holmer collected his Gureng Gureng data during a long fieldtrip in 1964 and return visits in the late 1960s and early 1980s. It was published in 1983 as part of his *Linguistic Survey of Southeast Queensland*, which dealt with Waka Waka, Kabi Kabi and several other languages of the region. As Brasch (1975:4A) notes, there is some inaccuracy and inconsistency in Holmer's work, and the analysis is not very thorough. It does have the advantage of being available in print and could be a useful source of lexical material. However, Brasch's comment that there is some foreign data in the corpus means that care must be taken even in using it for this purpose.

2.2.2 S. Brasch

Brasch's work on Gureng Gureng was undertaken in part fulfilment of her B.A. Honours degree from the Department of Linguistics, Australian National University. She has kindly given permission for community use of her material. As noted above, she made use of nearly all the historical sources as well as field recordings, although she did not go into the

community herself. The resultant analysis is thorough and consistent, and constitutes an important resource for any Gureng Gureng language program.

She describes the language as having two dialects which exhibit regular phonological differences but have 94% cognate roots. She nevertheless analyses the data as belonging to one language. In her estimation Gureng Gureng is more similar to Waka than Kabi, contrary to the opinions of early commentators such as Mathew. However, similarities between all the languages of the region lead her to posit (Brasch 1975: Section 5.3) an areal language continuum from northern NSW to the Boyne River, all these languages having preserved many features of Common Australian (Brasch 1975: Section 5.4). As noted above, early commentators also saw the similarities of the languages in this region as being significant. Brasch describes Gureng Gureng as a suffixing-type Pama-Nyungan language with the following phoneme inventory:

	Bilabial	Apical	Laminal	Velar
Stop	b	d	ɟ	g
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
Lateral		l		
Rhotic		r		
Semi-vowel	(w)		y	w
Vowel	High Low		i (:) e (:) a (:)	u(:)

The lack of rhotic contrast and laminal/apical stop contrast, usually found in Aboriginal languages, brings this inventory closer to English and thus easier to acquire for those who have English as their first language.

Unlike English, but like other Aboriginal languages, Gureng Gureng is inflected for nominal cases with free word order within noun phrases and clauses. As in other Australian languages, there is both Nominative/Accusative and Ergative/Absolutive patterning in the nominal cases. Here, the ergative pattern applies to all but third person pronouns. There are no dual pronouns. Verbs are inflected for past/non-past time of

action with future time being expressed by the addition of the adverbial *ga:ngu* or the purposive suffix. There are two verb conjugation classes. Simple sentences in Gureng Gureng may be either stative, transitive or intransitive. Complex sentences may contain adjoined, conjoined or subordinate clauses. Negative sentences are formed by the addition of the negative particle *gureŋ*. Interrogatives may be formed by use of rising intonation, the particle *ŋa* or the appropriate interrogative pronoun. While shortage of informants has meant there are still some gaps in this grammar, a good framework exists here for a teaching grammar that will cover most everyday uses of the language. Such gaps as do exist may be able to be filled in with the help of older speakers or the speech community may develop new forms to cover them.

Although this description was written less than 20 years ago, there appear to be some changes in current language use, not surprisingly in the direction of English. This will be dealt with in more detail in the following section.

2.3 Current Community Use

From a linguistic point of view, the extent and nature of language use within the Gureng Gureng community can only be definitively described after long and careful observation. Such observation would include not only the use of words from the Aboriginal sub-stratum of Gureng Gureng, but the occasions, extent and nature of its admixture with English. It would be important to know who uses what kind of language to whom on which occasions or in which settings, as this may well influence decisions about the scope, target audience and setting of any proposed language program. However, the urgency felt by some members of the community for a language program to be started, as well as the limited scope of this survey, precluded any such detailed observation. The following remarks are based only on the author's three short visits to the community and self-reporting of community members. Since for most people language use is largely unconscious, self-reporting is unlikely to be completely accurate. Should appropriate funding become available, and if the community is willing to accept the long-term presence of a linguist, such detailed observation would certainly be worthwhile.

2.3.1 The Extent of Language Use

It was the decline in language use in the Gureng Gureng community that prompted this study. Although every generation since records began has tended to be described as the last remaining speakers, it is currently felt that knowledge of Gureng Gureng has declined to such an extent that if measures are not taken to preserve it now, it will be lost within a generation. There are a few older speakers with good knowledge of the language but no-one now uses it in all or most of their daily lives. For most people, Gureng Gureng appears as isolated words in their everyday Aboriginal or Standard English. As such, it still functions as a distinctive marker of Gureng Gureng identity and is important to its users. However, enthusiasm has recently increased for extending Gureng Gureng language use.

Figure 3: Dancing kangaroo. One of the Gurang Gurang Dancers, 4 December, 1993.

An important manifestation of increased interest in Gureng Gureng language and culture has been the formation of the Gurang Gurang [sic] dancers, one of whose aims is to "learn and understand Aboriginal Culture". This troupe of children dance in the traditional style and play the didgeridoo, but also incorporate traditional movements into more contemporary style dances to the music of groups such as Yothu Yindi.

34

They also sing modern songs with Aboriginal reference, and in all these activities demonstrate the relevance of traditional culture for modern urban Aborigines. They are trained by Mervyn Johnson and his daughter Norelle Watson, and Mervyn has recently composed a new song for them in Gureng Gureng about a kangaroo hunt. The story illustrates aspects of traditional life such as the fact that men hunted while women gathered, and that the catch was taken back to camp for the whole group to share. As well as the dancers learning the songs and thus increasing their language use, the words are translated for audiences.

Recently the Queensland Education Department has also expressed an interest in incorporating Aboriginal language into the school curriculum, and requests for some language tuition have been received from a pre-school. Such initiatives raise issues of which Aboriginal language to teach, how much of it to teach and by what means. Some Gureng Gureng people feel very strongly that any Aboriginal language taught in local schools should be the language of the region and not, as is sometimes done now, Waka Waka or one of the Northern Territory languages. Cedric Williams of Gladstone has recently obtained a small amount of funding to prepare some materials illustrating the potential for the incorporation of Gureng Gureng into the curriculum. As often happens in such cases, the time frame is very brief and seriously limits what might be achieved, but such support is a promising sign for the continuation of language programs in the Burnett region. School-based programs are discussed further below.

Figure 4: The Gurang Gurang dancers act and sing aspects of their ancestral Aboriginal culture.

2.3.2 Today's Gureng Gureng

I have only had the opportunity to work with one speaker of Gureng Gureng, Mr Mervyn Johnson, although two others were present and assisted on that occasion. The following short summary of contemporary Gureng Gureng should therefore be seen more as a suggestion of where more research needs to be done than a definitive description.

The following is a short word and phrase list collected from Mr Johnson on 1 December 1993.

English	Phonetic transcription
Face	gúngun
Eye	míl
Nose	múru
Mouth	gám
Tongue	dáŋka
Hands	bíru
Feet	ჳín̪ŋ
Man	gíbi
Woman	múni
Teeth	díra
Father	bápa
Mother	naβá
Head	ga:m
Hair of head	wáral
Crazy	béreñₐm
Lips	yílim
Beautiful girl	múni gálan
Naughty	ñánaI
Kangaroo	búru
Koala	gúla
Turkey	wágun
Dog	míri
Dingo	míri gáram
Goanna	márun
Pheasant	búnbun
Snake	wángaI
Cow	búla
Two	búla
One	ñúla
Possum	dílal
Turtle	mílbi
Fish	gúraI
Milk	má:m
Crocodile	garáβi
Porcupine	gégè
Witchetty grub	búyum
Emu	mábιŋ
Flying fox	bálgυιn
Owl	ñála
Native companion	kulúlugùm
Kookaburra	kukúngum
Crab	gákin

37

Frog	gáŋinbìl
Ants	yílɪm
Honey/native bee	kábaI
Black	núlgi
Red/ochre	gáↄi
White	bégɪgɪm
To sit	yína
Sit down!	yínalù
To stand up	bálba
Yes	yóɪ
No	gúraŋ
No more	gúraŋ yáma
Nothing	búrɪnʲ
Nulla nulla	máku
Spear	gánaI
Boomerang	bágan
Camp/house	wálbe
Young boy	gúŋgari
Shield	gunmári
Paper	bɪpára
Tobacco	bálmgu
Hat	bíŋga
Bag	búnbi
Clothes	búlaI
Trousers	dárɪ๒ↄs
Sun	gínmaIn
Sun coming up.	gínmaIn wábaIn
Sun above (noontime)	gínmaIn bára
Sunset	gínmaIn gʌnmaIn
Good morning	wány⌃ŋ
Children	dápɪl
I'm going	náI yéngɪm
Gone	yáŋgu
Going	yɪnándi
We go (that way)	dówa yéngɪm
Man coming!	gíbi wában/wapan
I'm going for turtle	náI yéngɪm mílbi
I'm going for fish (going fishing)	náI yéngɪm gúral
Ten (10)	ñúla gúraŋ
Look!	yágaI
Uncle	yáloŋ
Soil	dú
I'm going to sleep	náI yéngɪm yúnma

Obviously, compared with earlier sources, there are changes here in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. For these speakers, word-initial ŋ seems to be undergoing some changes. For instance, Brasch and Holmer both record the word for 'black' as *ɲulgi*, whereas here it appears as *nulgi*. Initial ŋ is of course unknown in English. In morphology, case suffixes seem to be dropped and word order has become invariably SVO, again as in English, to compensate. It is rather surprising to find that the pronouns have been reduced to two, a singular and a plural nominative form. All of these changes would need to be verified with more speakers but this last particularly will bear further investigation. Finally some words of everyday use in the older sources, such as 'mother', *ya:ya*, have been replaced with borrowings, in this case *naβa* (probably phonemically /naba/), from one of the northern languages (Roth 1897). This kind of lexical borrowing is a well-attested phenomenon in all Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1980:28) but this list also illustrates the kind of borrowing and semantic extension for items new to the culture that is indicative of vitality in a language. Nor should the changes towards English mentioned here be seen as degeneration. Rather, they illustrate adaptation to new circumstances and happen in the strongest of languages. Nevertheless, their generality within the speech community needs to be determined and the community needs to consider whether the language program will enshrine current norms, or aim for what might be felt to be the purer Gureng Gureng possibly spoken by older people. There is also an awareness that there are local variations in, for instance, pronunciation, and this will have to be considered, as will the status of dialects such as Goeng and Taribelang.

Summary Box

There are a number of archival sources which can be taken to record languages ancestral to today's Gureng Gureng. However, many of these lists contain material from other languages as well as mis-transcriptions and cannot be used without further analysis. Notwithstanding, they will be valuable sources of Gureng Gureng lexical items.

Brasch's linguistic description of Gureng Gureng provides a good framework for understanding the language. It also makes clear that there are features of the language which will make it relatively easy for those whose first language is English to learn.

Currently, Gureng Gureng is used in a restricted range of settings but there is much interest in extending language use. Differences between the Gureng Gureng described by Brasch and probably still spoken by older people, and the language used by younger generations will have to be addressed in any language program.

3 Options for Language Programs

The first question to be answered is whether language programs should be pursued at all. It could be argued that any funding available to the Aboriginal community could be used to meet other needs. It has also been argued that the funding available for language programs should be spent only on those languages with a good chance of complete revival (Dixon 1989:31). But it is not for anyone other than community members to define what a community's needs are (Johnson 1987:54), nor is it always possible to predict which languages will be most susceptible to engineering (Spolsky 1990:129). As was pointed out in the report of the inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander language maintenance, *Language and Culture - A Matter of Survival*:

> The significance and value of partially lost languages is still very high to those belonging to those language groups. It is inappropriate to further disadvantage those whose language has been weakened or partially lost, often through external pressures, by not providing support to that language (Commonwealth of Australia 1992:13).

There is awareness in the Gureng Gureng community that language and other aspects of the Aboriginal past are being lost, to the impoverishment of the community. Gureng Gureng people are upset that Northern Territory languages, and other closer but still foreign tongues such as Waka Waka and Bandjalung, are being used in the region as examples of Aboriginal languages generally. Gureng Gureng people rightly point out that the effect of this is to write them and their ancestors out of the history of their region. It is as if no Aborigines lived there before colonisation, and none live there now with continuous links to the past. This is the opposite of the truth, and the community's desire to correct this representation of history should be the prime and only necessary justification for the institution of a language program. However, it is possible to justify such a move from an academic and a bureaucratic viewpoint and since this will be necessary in making funding applications I will rehearse the argument here.

Dixon identifies a number of stages in language loss and has recommendations for each of them. The present state of Gureng Gureng falls within his Stage 3, where only a few old people still have fluent control of the language, most people think in and speak English, and younger people using the language simplify the forms (Dixon 1989:29). As noted above, younger Gureng Gureng speakers have changed the forms to be more like English ones in some cases and this is presumably what Dixon means by 'simplification'. Speakers are simplifying their internal grammars by reducing the number of rules they have to know, applying the rules of their first language to the second one also. Of such

languages, Dixon says: "[They] are well on the way towards being replaced by English. But this process may be halted, or at least slowed down, if the right sort of programs are introduced. These are the languages for which there is some chance of survival..." (Dixon 1989:31). He adds that a language's chances of survival rest heavily on the attitudes of its speakers, and that funding alone will not maintain a language if its speakers are not committed to increasing their own and their children's use of the language (Dixon 1989:32). In the Gureng Gureng community the right attitudes for language survival are certainly present and any program must include strategies for supporting and extending this commitment to language work.

Having decided to pursue language programs, it is necessary to examine the range of programs that might be instituted under what is often called "language maintenance". I have avoided using this term because it is defined differently by different authorities, and because, as Johnson (1987:54) has pointed out, it assumes certain definitions of 'language' and 'maintenance' which may not be relevant in any particular case. Before proceeding to a review of language program possibilities, I will explore these definitions for Gureng Gureng.

3.1 What Counts as Language

Language is often seen as an important marker of identity, particularly where the language in question is different from others around it, and the more different the language, the more obvious a marker it becomes. Aboriginal languages obviously mark their speakers as different from Australians of European descent. But, as Diana Eades points out: "While many Aboriginal people may speak English as their first language, the context of conversation has significant Aboriginal cultural and social aspects which lead to distinctively Aboriginal interpretations and meanings" (Eades 1988:97). In this way, English becomes an Aboriginal language too. While the differences between Aboriginal English and Standard Australian English are often subtle and hard to capture in linguistic analysis, they are marked enough to be a recognised cause of miscommunication, particularly in schools (Commonwealth of Australia 1992:30, 40).

At present, discussions of language programs in the Gureng Gureng community focus almost exclusively on the indigenous language, but there are potential benefits to the community in remembering that any language is made up of a number of varieties, all of which are worthy of

attention. Some of these varieties include dialects, named or otherwise, of Gureng Gureng. When a language comes to be written down there is inevitably some flattening out of the variety that is natural in the spoken language. While economic factors alone will probably make it necessary to have written materials in a single variety, there is no reason why that variety should be insisted on in speech, as long as communication is still possible.

Another thing that should be considered is that important aspects of contemporary Gureng Gureng life are carried out in, and are perhaps best explained in English. Gureng Gureng people are no less Gureng Gureng for speaking English and the wider society sometimes needs to be reminded that one does not have to speak an indigenous language to be a 'true' Aborigine. It may also be the case that some members of the community may not have an interest in acquiring the Gureng Gureng language but they may wish to be involved in recording aspects of Gureng Gureng culture, be they traditional or contemporary. Extension of a language program to include community use of English would allow for this. Having said all this, it is of course the case that the most urgent need in language matters is for programs which foster the traditional language.

3.2 What Counts as Maintenance

Programs for the fostering of minority, or not politically dominant (Johnson 1987:57), languages are variously labelled language revival, language renewal or language maintenance. Whatever they are called, the implicit assumption is often that the goal of the program is to reinstate the target language as the vernacular of the community. But if an important social function of languages such as Gureng Gureng is their identification with a particular culture, and if the aim of a program is to foster self-respect through the strengthening of identity, language programs do not need to aim for total "intergenerational proficiency" (Fishman 1991; Thieberger 1991:21). The language may fulfil significant social functions when used only in very restricted contexts and in a form significantly influenced by the first-language status of English. A language program that aimed to provide such facility is one possibility that should be explored.

This does not exclude the preservation of as much of the language as possible in the event that community members may at a later date want to extend the contexts and modify the forms of indigenous language use.

Spolsky (1990:129) reminds us that Hebrew had no native speakers for 1700 years and was kept alive only in liturgical contexts. A generation or two after the establishment of Hebrew language schools there were native speakers again. The point here is that the use of language in restricted contexts now, for some sections of the community, does not necessarily mean that the language will always and everywhere be so restricted. In the last analysis it is up to community members, those who will have to do the work of language learning and transmission, to decide on the scope of any language program. My aim here is to provide information that will enhance the community's ability to make informed decisions on such matters.

3.3 A Minimum Program - Language as Cultural Property

The community could preserve their language in artefacts which could be kept, like other tangible cultural property, in a keeping place or museum, without necessarily being used for language learning at all. This would not be sufficient in itself to meet the present aspirations of the community, but such artefacts could be produced in such a way as to be useful in language programs, and manufacturing language artefacts as cultural property opens up new possibilities for funding. Some of the relevant artefacts might include:

- a map of the district using Gureng Gureng names and indicating sites of significance to the Gureng Gureng community;
- short books, some illustrated, describing Gureng Gureng life and using the whole spectrum of Gureng Gureng language varieties, including English;
- audio and video tapes of members of the community telling stories, both traditional and contemporary, in whatever language comes naturally to them;
- recordings of songs and dances, from post-contact as well as traditional times;
- an archive of the historical and linguistic studies of Gureng Gureng, including tape recordings and their accompanying transcripts;
- a Gureng Gureng dictionary.

Once such artefacts exist they can be used as part of cultural awareness programs, particularly the songs and video recordings. That is to say, to teach people about the Gureng Gureng language, rather than teaching

them to speak it. Of course, they would also constitute a basic set of resources for any program aiming to teach people to speak the language, and as such represent the starting point for any language work that the community might envisage.

3.4 A Maximum Program - Language Revival

In the context of urban Southeast Queensland, the most ambitious language program might aim for bilingualism, but English is probably always going to be the dominant language. Jim Martin (1990:14) makes the point that "Bilingual communities can only survive as long as the role played by the different languages in the community is different. Each must enable members of the community to do different things." A major role of Gureng Gureng would doubtless be its ability to allow Gureng Gureng people to interact in culturally specific ways in appropriate contexts. These might include social gatherings, children's playgroups, cultural courses, bush visits and the transaction of community business in committees, the Land Council offices and so on.

At present, the Gureng Gureng community is far from being able to attain this ideal, but some steps could be taken towards it. First, enthusiasm must be maintained among community members for the use of the language in such contexts. Opportunities for Gureng Gureng to get together must be created and then the use of language be promoted. Some such venues exist already in, for instance, the after-school program for children and the offices of the Land Council and other organisations. However, for language use to be promoted, some formal language learning will have to take place, particularly for adults. Ideally, older members of the community with knowledge of the language should be involved, although this may be difficult owing to the dispersal of community members over a number of locations from Woorabinda to Brisbane.

In New Zealand, language revival has been based on "language nests", pre-school centres where Maori speakers, most of whom are of the grandparental generation, care for toddlers, who, when they enter school, are well placed to make the best of existing bilingual education programs (Spolsky 1990:123). The intervening generations are not well served by this system, a situation that Gureng Gureng people would be wise to avoid. Given the relative scarcity of older speakers Gureng Gureng may not be able to afford to skip a generation. Young adult and some middle-aged Gureng Gureng will have to put some time into acquiring oral

45

fluency and literacy in their language if any extensive revitalization is to take place. The difficulty of this task should not be underestimated. Adults have many responsibilities and demands on their time and many people find language learning slow and boring. Any program would have to build in meaningful rewards for such learners to keep up their commitment and have any chance of success.

Figure 5: The Gurang Gurang dancers in performance, Bundaberg, 4 December 1993.

3.5 School-based Programs

The teaching of any foreign language in schools is often slow, inefficient and alienating in the absence of significant opportunities for use of the language outside the classroom (Johnson 1987:55). Children tend to learn about a language rather than achieve any fluency in it. For Aboriginal languages and culture, mainstream schooling has been characterised as "the biggest threat to Aboriginal languages" (Johnson 1987:57) precisely because it removes language from its living context and presents it within a framework of foreign, English, language and understanding (Christie 1990). Support for language programs within the school system is also frequently slight and vulnerable to sudden budget cuts. Such schemes are liable to be dependent on the support of a sympathetic head teacher or other staff member who may be transferred or forced by a multitude of pressures to withdraw that support. The only sure support is community support (Thieberger 1991:10).

Nevertheless, children spend a great deal of their time at school and the existence of a language program there could be a useful adjunct to community use of the language. Such programs also create "Aboriginal space" within the school system, which is important to the process of cultural revival, demonstrates to the children and the community at large the positive status of the language, and thus helps to promote community interest in its extended use. School programs, then, are not to be refused as long as a number of issues are taken into account.

First and foremost, any school program should be under the control of the Gureng Gureng community with respect to content, setting, participants and integration with community programs. One authority is of the opinion that: "Self-help and self-regulation in everyday intergenerational mother tongue transmission contexts, safeguarded by boundary setting and boundary preservation, are the *sine qua non* of RLS [Reversing Language Shift]" (Fishman 1991:277). Widespread involvement of community members in such a scheme, either through the establishment of a Language Committee or more informally, would be one way of promoting language revival generally, as well as sharing the workload. The centres most likely to be involved in school programs are likely to be Gladstone and Bundaberg and it would be convenient to have community members in each such centre taking responsibility for the running of the programs.

With respect to content, the main issues to be decided by the community will concern standardisation of the language in spelling and grammar,

and the scope of the subjects discussed. It is important to introduce students to aspects of life most different from Anglo-Australian experience and deriving from the pre-contact past. But it is also important to demonstrate the contemporary daily life of Gureng Gureng people as inheritors of that tradition, living in the modern world. The extent to which issues of Aboriginal English use should be covered, as well as particular topics, would be issues for the community to decide. As to the standardisation of the linguistic forms, the community will have to decide whether and how much to aim for reconstruction of previous generations' pronunciation and grammar or whether to accept the present generation's usages, and which local variant of them to enshrine in print. Once such a decision has been made, help from a trained linguist will probably be necessary in developing systems of spelling and the like.

Just as Gureng Gureng people object to their children being taught other Aboriginal languages, so other groups might object to their children learning Gureng Gureng. One compromise would be to make the school-based language program voluntary for non-Gureng Gureng. Another, potentially more fruitful strategy would be to limit the scope of the school program so that it becomes a "learning about" language program, while keeping serious language learning efforts within the community, perhaps within after-school programs. This would allow all children in the region to learn about a typical Aboriginal language through the local variety, while not forcing it onto those whose primary linguistic affiliation is elsewhere. Whatever the origins of the students, the teachers of Gureng Gureng should definitely be Gureng Gureng people. If older speakers can be involved, that would be ideal, but adults who have recently re-acquired, or are in the process of re-acquiring their language are to be preferred over regular non-Gureng Gureng classroom teachers. There are qualified teachers in the community and their involvement would no doubt give the program greater credibility in the eyes of the education authorities.

The setting in which language is taught has often been found to be pedagogically and politically important, and is another matter the community needs to address. While the schools will expect to run Gureng-Gureng language classes in the way that they run all other classes, this can seriously cramp the style of a language program and result in its being seen as somehow secondary to other parts of the curriculum. One way this can be combated is in working to decorate the teaching space in a distinctively Aboriginal way. Another is to make the classroom an Aboriginal space for the duration of the lesson by insisting on Aboriginal forms of address, manners and so on. But the best way to avoid cultural domination in the school is to take the class elsewhere.

Visits to places of Gureng Gureng significance, whether it be story places or places significant in people's personal histories, are useful, as are bush trips for the identification of plants by their Gureng Gureng names, and so on. But such trips are expensive and require lots of planning and thus are usually not possible to arrange for every session, especially from urban centres. Taking the class out into the school grounds is easy and cheap, and running part of the program on community property or within community programs such as the after-school centre is another alternative.

Summary Box

Community enthusiasm for extending language use is the prerequisite for a successful language program.

The language to be addressed by a language program will mainly be one of the dialects of Gureng Gureng but consideration should also be given to the role of English as an Aboriginal language.

Daily intergenerational use of Gureng Gureng should not be seen as the only successful outcome of a language program. A minimum outcome might be the repatriation to the community of their traditional language in the form of books and recordings. The production of such artefacts will be a necessary first step in any more extensive program, the extent of which will depend upon the commitment of the adult learners.

School-based programs are a useful adjunct to community language work. However, on their own they cannot revitalise the language; they must be supported by socially meaningful use of the language.

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4 Setting up a Program

It is common for linguists dealing with situations of language loss and revival (eg Dixon 1991; Fishman 1991) to analyse the situation into a number of stages. This is a useful strategy as it accommodates a number of different aims for revived language use and thus potential different programs. These might run concurrently to meet varying functions and aspirations in various parts of the community, or one stage may provide information and stimulus for another one. The following suggestion for a staged approach to language work in the Gureng Gureng community aims to provide maximum flexibility. Although some basic work will be necessary to start any kind of program, there will be overlap between the stages. It is not intended to suggest that one stage needs to be completed before the next begins, or that a stage thought to be completed cannot be returned to. The outline suggested here is based loosely on Fishman (1991).

4.1 Stage One — Assembling Materials

There are two kinds of materials that will be necessary for any language program: archival and teaching. Some items might be both.

This report has gone some way towards gathering archival material, but some of the sources contradict each other and contain mistakes. To be useful to the community they will have to be checked with living speakers and a standardised spelling devised. If a dictionary is to be produced, these word lists and other tape-recorded data should be transcribed in some machine-readable form. Such work is technical and specialised but needs to be done in close consultation with the community. There are questions to be decided such as:

- which dialect to standardise in print,
- whether to reconstruct older or more modern styles of the language,
- what spelling to adopt.

While a linguist can give advice, in the last analysis the community must decide on such matters (but see McGregor 1986:71).

The linguistic work necessary for the production of useful archival material has a number of other uses. Once an orthography (spelling system) is decided on, teaching materials, maps and so on, can be produced. However, the fieldwork necessary to gather the necessary information can be carried out before an orthography is in place. For

instance, if the community wanted to produce a map showing local place names in Gureng Gureng, or a book listing plants and their uses, the necessary fieldtrips should be made by a party including a linguist, older speakers familiar with the subject and other members of the community, including children, interested in it. The proceedings could be recorded on audio and/or video tape. The session thus combines data-gathering with teaching and stimulation of language use among community members. Once decisions such as those regarding spelling have been made, the material can be put into print. A number of such productions would be helpful in language learning programs but such programs could begin by concentrating on the spoken language. The production of materials, then, will be an ongoing process throughout the life of any language program. While these materials will be useful for teaching, it is important that they should be attractive enough for people to want to use them for pleasure. Reading for pleasure is an important function of literacy and necessary for the continued health of the program.

Suggested Task List

1. A linguist needs to assess the degree to which Brasch's analysis meets the needs of today's speakers by examining the speech of speakers of all generations. Since it is likely that Brasch's study provides a good outline, needing only some modification to accommodate recent changes, this work will probably not need to be very protracted.

2. In the light of the linguistic analysis and in consultation between a linguist and community members, standardised written forms need to be agreed.

3. Initial materials produced should be fairly simple but significant to Gureng Gureng people. They may include the map already discussed and short books depicting aspects of Gureng Gureng life, illustrated with photographs or by artists from the community. Audio and video recordings of stories, life histories, songs and bush trips should also be made.

4. Existing tapes and archival material should be transcribed in both phonetic and practical alphabets. In this way a library of Gureng Gureng literature can be built up for community use and the first steps taken towards further linguistic work, such as the production of a dictionary.

4.2 Stage Two — Older Speakers and Literacy

Since it is older speakers who must pass their knowledge on to the younger generation it is of the utmost importance that they are encouraged to use the language as often as possible, both in speaking and writing. Because of past negative attitudes to the language amongst the wider community, some older people might be shy in coming out with their language, or feel they have forgotten a lot owing to lack of use, so it may take some time before the use of language to people other than close family members becomes spontaneous. Also, since people have many demands on their time, language work, and, particularly the acquisition of literacy in Gureng Gureng, might easily be seen as too much of a chore. Both these problems can be overcome by making language learning and transmission sessions as social as possible, particularly in the early stages. Providing opportunities for older people to get together on their own often provokes the kind of reminiscing that is relevant to linguistic work and enjoyable to the participants. Trips to significant places and involvement in cultural activities, such as the performances of the Gureng Gureng dancers, perform a similar function.

Gradually older people can be incorporated into the formal linguistic work by their presence at meetings making decisions on standardisation and other language matters. It would be highly desirable for older speakers to acquire literacy in the language so that they could enjoy the written materials to be produced. Literacy amongst older and more fluent speakers also acts as a check on the linguistic accuracy of such productions. A literacy course will therefore have to be developed, and in fact will probably emerge naturally out of the process of standardising the written language. Younger adults, especially those with teacher training, should also be encouraged to take part in any literacy course that is developed, since they will be called upon to teach in any courses funded by the Education Department. The existence of paid positions for language workers is probably the surest way to maintain commitment and application to a language program, and such positions should be occupied by appropriately qualified people from the community.

Suggested Task List

1. Organise social events for older people that encourage the use of the Gureng Gureng language. These may include picnics and visits as well as data gathering excursions. Once the participants are comfortable with the idea, audio and video tapes of such occasions could be made.

2. Involve older speakers in language work by asking for their advice in arriving at generally acceptable pronunciation, spelling and so on. Regular meetings could be set up for this purpose.

3. Train older speakers in writing Gureng Gureng.

4.3 Stage Three — Establishing Intergenerational Links

If Gureng Gureng is to survive it must be passed on to the children. In the normal course of events children acquire language by hearing it used in all sorts of contexts by the community around them. Where a language is confined to certain settings or certain functions, those functions must be important to the speakers to make the effort of remembering an extra language worthwhile. In the Aboriginal past and present multilingualism has thrived where it correlated with socially significant distinctions and uses (Dixon 1980:94-5). Today's Gureng Gureng children are unlikely to find school language programs important if they are disconnected from meaningful community use of language.

Letting children tag along on data-gathering trips with older speakers means that they will hear language being used and have their interest in it stimulated. They can also be the recipients of older people's reminiscences and stories. Involvement in cultural activities such as the dance troupe is also good for stimulating children's interest in and acquisition of language. Literacy needs to be acquired in more formal ways but that does not necessarily mean through normal chalk-and-talk methods. Children can be involved in the production of literacy materials by being allowed to make suggestions as to content, providing illustrations, and figuring in the stories told. They are more likely to be interested in a book containing photographs of them and people they know than in the standard sort of textbook.

More formal classes will have to be provided, of course, but they should be seen as supporting other activities, rather than being the focus of language work. After-school programs are a good venue for such courses and community organisations could stimulate such courses by offering prizes for various kinds of language work. School-based courses have been discussed above and have their place in any language program, but it cannot be stressed enough that it is the links between generations of speakers that ensure the health of a language and this cannot be maintained by school programs alone.

Suggested Task List

1. Expose children to language use by encouraging them to be part of the data-gathering occasions recommended above.

2. Introduce language to the after-school program, initially perhaps by singing traditional songs or inventing games based on traditional models and using language.

3. As materials become available, start telling and eliciting stories and by these and other means work up to formal literacy training.

4. Organisations and members of the community should offer prizes for the child who comes up with the best game, story or project using language.

5. Pursue school-based programs through such means as the Reference Group on Aboriginal Education to the regional education authorities.

Figure 6: Mr Mervyn Johnson sings and plays for the Gurang Gurang dancers, 4 December 1993.

4.4 Stage Four — Gureng Gureng and the Wider Community

Fishman (1991:269-277) sees the use of languages such as Gureng Gureng in settings such as work, media and higher education, as indicative of linguistic health, while acknowledging that it is the self-regulated domains of community language use that are crucial. At present it is this basic community level that needs attention in the Gureng Gureng case but some wider domains will be discussed briefly here.

Work

As yet knowledge of the language is not sufficiently developed in the community to hope for its use even in work settings where Gureng Gureng people interact with other Gureng Gureng, such as the Land Council. However, some steps towards increased language awareness can be made in such settings by strategies such as the use of Gureng Gureng in letterheads and signs. The use of greetings in Gureng Gureng, at social events as well as in work settings helps to define the occasion and the setting as a particularly Gureng Gureng one. When used over the phone such greetings may have to be prefaced by an identification in English. As language use becomes more general in the community, one would expect it to occur naturally in work settings as elsewhere.

Media

As Fishman (1991:270) points out, the use of languages other than English by the media has sometimes been more of a curse than a blessing, confirming a minority place in larger frames of reference. To be successful, language use in print or electronic media must not compete with mainstream offerings, but offer something locally relevant that the mainstream does not provide. A first step in this direction for Gureng Gureng may be the production of a newsletter on community, and particularly language, affairs. It could be produced fairly cheaply on a desktop PC in a mixture of English and Gureng Gureng.

Higher Education

Current interest in Gureng Gureng on the part of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit provides an opportunity for Gureng Gureng to achieve a higher profile in Aboriginal Studies courses in Southeast Queensland. However, the Unit has a wide constituency and the state of knowledge about the Gureng Gureng language does not permit of its being used in language courses as yet. There is then little immediate expectation of Gureng Gureng having a presence in higher education. However, such links as do exist may be exploited to gain access to research funding. For instance, if postgraduate students took an interest in Gureng Gureng their projects could be constructed in such a way as to accomplish some of the tasks suggested here in the course of their research. There is also the possibility of attracting ARC funding.

Suggested Task List

1. Use Gureng Gureng as much as possible on letterheads and signs in Gureng Gureng workplaces such as the offices of the Land Council.

2. Start a newsletter pertaining to language and other community matters.

3. Cultivate links with researchers who are in a position to publicise Gureng Gureng language efforts and attract funding.

4.5 Funding

A number of mainly governmental bodies provide funding for language work, each of them with different aims and in a position to support different aspects of the language program. Some, for instance, are keen to foster practical teaching programs while others insist on some degree of research being carried out. It will be necessary to tailor funding application to the aims of each of these bodies. The following list is meant to be suggestive rather than inclusive.

4.5.1 Australian Cultural Development Office

This office is part of the Commonwealth Department of the Arts and Administrative Services and offers "support to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the management and collection of their cultural heritage." While priority is given to the repatriation of human remains from museum collections, a case could be made for the repatriation and management of linguistic material such as the archival material discussed here. Other Arts funding may also be available for the production of books and other literacy materials.

Work that may be supported by this agency

*   retrieval of archival material and its transcription for purposes of standardisation of spelling and linguistic analysis.

4.5.2 Department of Employment Education and Training

Aboriginal Tutorial Assistance Scheme

This scheme exists to help students having trouble with curriculum subjects by providing extra tuition on a one-to-one or small group basis. Where Gureng Gureng was being taught as part of the school curriculum, such as in a LOTE program, it may be possible to apply for tutorial assistance for after-school work on the language.

Aboriginal Student and Parent Assistance

This is the project that provides the after-school home work centres. Applications may be made through their committees for increased funding to provide courses that increase cultural awareness, and language course, may be considered.

Work that may be supported by this agency

- materials and teaching staff in after school programs.
- extra tuition in support of school-based language programs.

4.5.3 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission

ATSIC funding for language programs in Queensland is handled by a number of regional Language Maintenance Committees. The relevant committee here is administered by Thoorgine Aboriginal Corporation in Hervey Bay, but is responsible for an area that includes Mt Isa and Cunnamulla, so many groups compete for this committee's funding. The average grant given by this committee is in the region of $6000 to $8000, and projects with practical applications are favoured. The next round of grants is expected to occur in February or March 1994.

This committee foresees the development of a number of language centres and would not be sympathetic to a number of different groups applying for money to work on the same language. It would therefore be in the interests of people in the Burnett region to co-ordinate their efforts in language matters. A copy of this report should be sent to this committee.

Work that may be supported by this agency

- Production of materials of immediate benefit to the community such as the map discussed above.
- recording of language, historical and other data.
- literacy programs.

4.5.4 Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies

The Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies offers support for research projects, in both small and large grants. The small grants (up to $5000) are probably most appropriate for work on Gureng Gureng and could be applied for in order to complete data collection, dictionary production, and so on. Applications close on February 14 and June 30 each year.

Work that may be supported by this agency

- linguistic research into the current state of the language.
- linguistic transcription and other work towards the compilation of a dictionary.

4.5.5 Queensland Education Department

Languages Other Than English (LOTE)

There has been some interest in the Languages and Culture section of the Education Department in including Aboriginal languages in the LOTE curriculum but so far very little has been achieved in this direction. It would theoretically be possible for an Aboriginal language to be taught as a LOTE with enough support from the local community, the school and the regional administrators. It would require the services of a person with teaching qualifications as well as knowledge of the language. Aboriginal English would not be considered suitable as a LOTE.

National Aboriginal Education Policy

The department is beginning to address issues raised by this policy and a Reference Group has been set up in the Wide Bay region to advise the Department on a number of issues including language. At the moment they are still at the stage of assessing what languages belong to the region, how many speakers of each remain, and what the community

wants to have done with regard to language teaching. The potential exists here for Education Department support for in-school language programs but the process of starting them is likely to be a slow one. It is advised that copies of this report be sent to the relevant officer in charge of the program, Mr Barry Skinner, at the Wide Bay Regional offices of the Department.

Work that may be supported by this agency

- in-school language programs.

4.5.6 Department of Family Services, Aboriginal and Islander Affairs

This department provided grants for language work during 1993 in celebration of the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples. These grants will not be ongoing. At the moment it is unclear what support this department might provide in the future, but further investigation is warranted.

Summary Box

A staged language program is suggested for easier management of the work.

    Stage 1: Assembly of material.

    Stage 2: Adult language use and literacy.

    Stage 3: Intergenerational links.

    Stage 4: Gureng Gureng in the wider community.

These stages will overlap.

Funding is available from a number of organisations, each of which will support different kinds of language work.

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5 Appendix I - "Cooran Cooran" (Illidge 1887)

From a manuscript in the Queensland Museum marked:

Compiled by Thomas Illidge

"Cooran Cooran" from blackfellow Wonganyiko, Mount Perry

Sun	Kinmun
Moon	Ngar-loo-lum
Stars	Too-goon-bul
Clouds	Boonoo
Wind	Ben
Lightning	Til
Thunder	Booroorngun
White Man	Wow
Black Man	Tan
Woman	Woonee
Boy	Tabill
Girl	Gooninee woonee
Baby	Moonee = tabill goninnie
Husband	Tangallum
Wife	Moonamulgun
Father	Bubbar
Mother	Yow
Brother	Tutchar
Sister	Wathem
Cousin	Bunnee
Grandfather	Nutchum
Grandmother	Tedthow
Uncle	Mummar
Aunt	Yabbee
To cry	Toongilluggim
To laugh	Yarthimgin
Hair	Moonyunghill
Eyes	Mill
Nose	Mooroo
Mouth	Kem
Teeth	Teera
Tongue	Toonoom
Ears	Binnar
Eyebrows	Teeping
Fingers	Beeroo

Toes	Tinnar
Belly	Booloo
Teats	Marm
Navel	Wahgoee
Male	June
Female	Junool
Thighs	Kunneem
Knees	Wella
Calves	Bee
Foot	Jinnar
Wrist	Ginnee
Ancle	Woogul
Feet	Boolar jinnar
Small	Gooninnee
To taste	Muttaburrunigaloo
Nice	Kullung
Nasty	Warrang
Hear	Boorangalum
Wood	Challung
Kangaroo	Booroo
Emu	Mhoirben
Paddymellon	Kathoo
Kangaroo rat	Bi
Black snake	Wonghi
Carpet snake	Jupu
Platypus	Dunbi
Ceratodus	Chilbine
Eel	Yinbul
Bony bream	Kunyil
Catfish	Boor
Jewfish	Bunda
Mullet	Kurrool
Tortoise	Milbee
Water rat	Beegine
Water	Koong
Fire	Ngoon
Earth	Jow
Leaves	Kella
Bark	Durah
Heart	Toolgoo
Lungs	Boondeeboondem
Kidneys	Dilbee
Liver	Kunna
Rain	Boonoo

Stone	Willie
Grass	Barn
Boomerang	Buggun
Nulla Nulla	Mukkoo
Shield	Koonmurree
Opossum	Deebul
Bear	Koola
Native Bee	Kubbi
Camp	Wabee
Sleep	Goonyin
Awake	Yeenow
Fight	Begeggo
One	Ngulla
Two	Boolar
Three	Boolar ngulla
Four	Wharbar
Five or many	Yingar
Dog	Meeree
Puppy	Bulbum
Iguana white	Murroon
Iguana black	Warroi
Honey	Kubbi
Old man	Koorbel
Young man	Kippur
Old woman	Mookan
Young woman	Kakkore
Good	Kullung
Bad	Warrang
Young	Woongingee
Deaf	Beenamgur
Old	Woorbar
Married	Kenbellum
Cut	Kowwulmen
Blood	Dee
Mountain	Wondoo
Kill	Buggin
Sick	Tullee
To drink	Talgo koong
To eat	Talgo
Soft	Puttudum
Hard	Toolbar
To run	Peetheego
To walk	Yangim
Pellican	Charoo

Duck	Ngarra
Black swan	Kooloin
Crane	Kurkinyulum
Pigeon	Marm
Wonga	Woongalum
Crow	Woongwah
Hawk	Wahbee
Eaglehawk	Koorea
L. Jackass	Kargoongul
To die	Boondiggem
To sing	Tabullo
To dance	Ngarriggem
Corroboree	Wemngarriggem
Cough	Bimbeeingul
Sneeze	Kinnillegim
Spit	Kring
Long	Kooranna
Short	Wookkoon
Throat	Bimbee
Cold	Ngilloon
Frost	Tungem
Ice	Tungem
Meat	Jam
Fruit	Dime
Eggs	Dile
Plain Turkey	Kumbul
Scrub Turkey	Wahgool
River	Kooroon
Garfish	Kannabino
Fish net	Bunjillee
Dilly bag	Kunderegun
I love you	Ngi goolgin nginga
I hate you	Cooran ngi goolgin
Come here	Yarrajee
Go away	Ulla yenna
I go	Ngi yennun
You go	Ngin yenna
We go	Ngulla yengo
I come	Ngarduggan
You come	Yarradee
They come	Yarreebullooduggan
I sweat	Ngi ngumgun
We are going	Ngullim yungo
Come back	Boogadthee

I want to speak	Ngi kooalligo
Look here	Ninguggar
Are you sick	Ngeen dullee
Are you well	Ngeen kullung
Plenty fish	Warbar koorool
Plenty birds	Koothoodoo warbar
Tail	June
Wings	Woongul
Feathers	Woongungul
Where your brothers	Wonja nginda tutchar
Where your sister	Wonja nginda watheem
Came back soon	Mortungar boojayjee
I want you	Ngi yarree peedee
Let me go	Ngunyundo wannee ngi yungo
I want to go camp	Ngi wheebago boogay yungo
Where is your camp	Wonja nginda whyebay
Plenty rain soon	Boonoo whem wahbulleem
Not yet	Cooranbun
Will you come with me	Ngibunghoo ngin chargo
I am going fishing	Ngulindoo buggilloo
Have you a net	Yingare bungillee yennem
Have you a line	Yingare yurule kinninggillem
Will you come in scrub	Ngullim yengo wanna kubbul
How far you go	Wungar ngin yengin
When will you come back	Wunbar gurree yeenboogay wahbulleem
Today	Kinmunja woonyee wahbulleem
Tomorrow	Karngo boogay wahbulleem
Two days	Boolar wongee
Night	Ngooloo minga
One moon	Wongha ngalullim
Two moon	Boolar ngarbullim
I do not know	Cooran boorangalim
Some day	Wunbuggar ngin boogim boorbullimcurra
Long time	Mooranda woorbar
Go and get wood	Ngin woongoo-gee
Plenty wood here	Ngoon woolloon gitcher
Plenty water here	Koong gitcher whem
Make a big fire	Ngoon whamar yungar
Have you any fish	Woonja yeegurreekurrol bugginmin
Yes	Yolloi
No	Cooran
I have some fish	Ngiyea koorrool ngila bugginmee
Not many	Cooran wahbar
What will you give	Minya woogo ngindoo

Nothing	Coorang
I am hungry	Toogullee ngi boongin
I am thirsty	Khnogoo boongin ngi chalgor
I feel sick	Ngi tullee wonyune
I want some honey	Ngi koolgin cobbine
Do you want a drink	Ngin koongoo koolgietalgo
Bring it here	Yarree tundoo ngi buggar
Take it away	Ngulla tundee
To sleep	Koonyem
I am sleepy	Ngi koonyem mil
I want to lay down	Ngi yoonmow
You go to sleep	Ngin yoonmow
I will run away	Ngi bee duggim
No you wont	Cooran yeena
Yes I will	Yonoi ngi yungim
Don't go away	Wannee nginna
Give me a stick	Too nginyendoo woogar
I want a wife	Ngi koolgin moonee
I want a husband	Ngi dun koolgee
I want some fish	Ngi koolgin karrool wooga ngie
Have you any fish	Wonja nginga koorool buggimindoo
Iron tomahawk	Burgoo
Stone tomahawk	Wellaburgoo
Blue gumtree	Yeerangie
Ironbark	Toonoongee
Brigalow	Kurrum
Bottle	Booloothem
White cockatoo	Kaire
Black cockatoo	Tillembee
Parrot	Toiem
Who are you	Ngun ngin
Where did you come from	Wonyun ngin wahwunwin
When did you leave	Won buggarngindoo wonnimmin
I am hurt	Ngi tullee bugginmee
Where	Wonyune
In the leg	Beengunyabuggin
Who did it	Ngundoo
What for	Minyunghee
Did you hit him	Ngindoo buggin
What with	Minyungo buggin
Did you hurt him	Wonja indoo kooengoobuggin
Broke his head	Warrool buggin
Broke his arm	Kinnee kulgun
Did he fight	Wonja kurrin

66

Did he wrestle	Wonja bomgammin beeran
Did he hurt you	Wonja inna kowan tullee
No not much	Cooran tullee whem
I ran away	Ngi beethun
He ran too	Ngin beethun
Can you go	Wonja ngin yungo
I am afraid	Ngi yanjiggem
White man coming	Whow wowon
Where is he	Wonjaboon
On the hill	Yarree barnghee
He has a gun	Ngungahjew
He will kill us	Ngullinna boomgo
We will die	Ngullin boonjeego
Can you run	Wonja ngin beetheegim
Yes very fast	Youoi tullungun
He cannot catch me	Ngunya cooran mungo
Can you swim	Ngin woomgantullungan
I can swim	Ngi tullungun woomgan
You can swim	Ngin currin woomgan
They can swim	Chan woomgan
That is mine	Ngia muthen ngar
No not yours	Nginga cooran
I made it	Ngita yungunmee ngia
No you did not	Cooran ngindoo
I found it	ngilu ngemmen
I lost it	Ngitu ngomemmen
I am cold	Ngi ittoon
I am hot	Ngi ngoonburrum
Go and fish	Ngin kooloolgojee
I have no line	Ngin cooran yurule
You have some nooses	Nginga killingeling nginnem
I dropped them	Ngitu wannem
Where	Wonja
In the grass	Hineya barnee
Cannot find them	Cooran nguggan
Must get some	Ngullindoomungo
Fish very hungry	Coorool tuggulleewonjiggem
Must go now	Ngi yenmun
Goodbye	Hi yenmun
All right	Yonoi
Come back soon	Ngin mullunga boogayjee
Yes I will	Yonoi juggim
See you again	Tarjea bunnguggimmgitumginna
Very good	Kullung

Come and see my father	Ngin ngargo jee bubbar
I cannot go now	Ngi corran juggim
My foot is sore	Jinna tullee
I am tired	Ngi koolong boobeegun
I am big	Ngi whem
You are bigger	Ngin whem gooninnee
He is biggest	Ngungha whemda
I am young man	Ngi kippur
I am younger	Ngi kippur nginbungo
I am youngest	Ngi tabill kakkur
I run fast	Ngi currin peetheegim
You run faster	Ngin currin beetheegimkullung
He runs fastest	Minjee mullungacurrinbeetheegim
I am old	Ngi goorvil
You are older	Ngin currin goorvil
He is oldest	Ngiungha currin goorvil
Fish is good	Koorool kullung
Duck is better	Ngerra kullung currin
Pigeon is best	Marm kullungatulgo
Come here old man	Yarreejee korvill
Have you been sick	Unja ngin tullee yeenammin
How long you been sick	Wunba ngin tullee yeenammin
Where is your wife	Wonjainda monebumgun
Have you any children	Wonjainga tabbil yeenem
How many have you	Minyaumbul
Are they all boys	Wonjajannginnatabbil
How many boys	Minyumbultabbilnginga
How many girls	Minyumbul mooney
Where are you going	Wonja ngin juggin
Is it far away	Wonja wonhunghee unyajow
How many days walk	Minyumbul ngool unemuggo
Will you come back	Unja boogay juggim ngunmar
Are you tired now	Unja ugin kooloong boobeegim
Lay down and sleep	Ngin unema goonyim
Boy is crying	Tabill doonghilluggim
Take him away	Ngull tandee
He makes a noise	Wolli yungullem
He makes me angry	Ngi tugullee
I am going away	Ngi yennun
Going to another country	Wonna yungim
Come back two moons	Boogay worbarleem
If I don't die	Inja cooran boonjeego
I might die there	Ngi boonjeedogum
Never come back	Cooran boogay worbarloo

Where are my brothers	Wonja ngunyuneda tuchar
Where are my sisters	Wonja ngunyuneda watheem
Where is my father	Wonja bubbar
Where is my mother	Wonja yow
You go to camp	Ngin wyebago yenna
Go wash your face	Ngulla ngin ngarmarleekorago
Blood on your face	Murrooneedee ngin buggin
Blood on your hands	Dee ngin buggee beeroomee
Blood on your feet	Jeenunghee ngin buggie dee
Come and fight	Yerree jee ngullin bagago
You are no good	Ngin warrang
You cannot fight	Cooran ngin kullung bagago
I will fight you	Ngullim ngin bagago
I will kill you	Ngituna buggillim koingo
You cannot do it	Ngin cooran kullungur
You cannot kill me	Ngung yundoo cooran buggilloo
I am too strong	Ngi toolbah
I am too big	Ngi whem
I will choke you	Ngituna binibee mungo
Plenty clouds today	Boonoo werwun whem
Plenty rain coming	Boonoo yerree werwun
Can't see the sun	Kinmun cooran nguggim woondun
Thunderstorm soon	Booroonigun worbarleem woonyee
Very hot today	Woonyee ngumgun tullee kinmun
I think it will rain	Boonoogum worbarloo woonyer
I hear an opossum	Geelul ngitu boorangamin
I hear a bear	Goola ngitu boorangamin
I hear a snake	Wongi ngitu boorangamin
Snake will bite you	Wongiju nginna yeelgo
Kangaroos jump quick	Booroo bungoinmin
Wallabys very good to eat	Kaidoor kullungun talgo
I like fat fish	Koorool bulkee talgo
Fish very fat	Koorool bulkee
I am an old man	Ngi koorvell
You are a young man	Ngin kakkore
What do you want	Ngin minyungo koolkin
Come close to me	Yarree bengha nginjee
I will tell you	Ngituna yalloo
Some day I die	Kurru ngi boojigo
You have my wife	ngin mooninna ngindoobee
Take my children	Ngundo indoo jabinna
I cannot see them	Ngitu cooran kullung nguggim
Take them with you	Ngindoo bee ngulla
You are my friend	Ngin ngununeda kullung indoobee

Be good to me	Ngin kullungun ngia
Do not be afraid	Ngin wonnee yenjee
I wont hurt you	Cooran ngibuna yunigullim
Full moon three days	Ngullullum whem boola ngulla
Then we have corroboree	Ngullee ngarreego
Plenty men come then	Chan whem worbarleem
We dance all night	Ngareego ngullee karnyeebun
We sing new songs	Ngullee tubbulloo woonyengee
All the tribes coming	Ginja worbarleem wonghungha
I have one wife	Ngia mooney ngulla
I want two wives	Ngi mooney boolar goolgin
I have no children	Cooran tabbil
My mother is sick	Yow tullee
Mother get well soon	Curra kullungnir neego
My brother got killed	Tutcharunga buggin
Look at the moon	Ngunna ngarlulum
Look at the sun	Kinmun ngugga
The sun is hot	Kinmun bulleegim
The moon is cold	Ngarlulum ngittoon

6 Appendix II - Kooang (Illidge 1887)

From a manuscript in the Queensland Museum marked:

Compiled by Thomas Illidge 1887

Kooang dialect from Dootoom (boy giving information) Country Burnett, Rawbelle.

Notes on the manuscript:

    all Gs pronounced hard
    u pronounced as in German
    a pronounced as in German
    spelling phonetic
    ng always nasal sound

Sun	Kinmine
Moon	Ngarboolum
Stars	Toongoonhul
Clouds	Ngooannim
Wind	Beean
Lightning	Deeal
Thunder	Booumgar
White Man	Whoo
Black Man	Kibbee
Woman	Moonee
Boy	Tubbiltandun
Girl	Tubbilmooneemoonee
Baby	Tubbil (= young)
Husband	Koolambillum
Wife	Kinbarebim
Father	Bubba
Mother	Yow
Brother	Tutchar
Sister	Watchem
Cousin	Bunnee
Grandfather	Nutcheem
Grandmother	Tedthow
Uncle	Mummar
Aunt	Yabbee
To cry	Ngi toonhilligim
To laugh	Ngi yarthigim
Hair	Gooppoo
Eyes	Meeal
Nose	Moo

Mouth	Kaam
Teeth	Deek
Tongue	Toonoom
Ears	Binnar
Eyebrows	Yeeping
Fingers	Peeoo
Toes	Dinnar
Belly	Mappoo
Teats	Marm
Navel	Wahgoee
Male	Dooan = penis
Female	Toonool = vagina
Thighs	Dair
Knees	Wella
Calves	Mumpoo
Foot	Dinnar same for toes
Wrist	Ginnee
Ancle	Woogool
Feet	Boolur dinnar = two foot
Small	Gooninna
To taste	Bamgulloo
Nice	Kullung
Nasty	wang
Hear	Booangalin
Wood	Tulline
Kangaroo	Boo
Emu	Mairben
Paddymellon	Karthoo
Kangaroo rat	Bi
Black snake	Wonghi
Carpet snake	Doopoo
Platypus	Bunbi
Ceratodus	Dilbine
Eel	Yinbul
Bony bream	Kunyil
Catfish	Buntha
Jewfish	Tarboo
Mullet	Kooul
Tortoise	Milvee
Water rat	Keemile
Water	Koong
Fire	Ngoon
Earth	Jow
Leaves	Kellare

Bark	Teebin
Heart	Toolgoo
Lungs	Yelwoon
Kidneys	Delbare
Rain	Buttin
Stone	Tydhil
Grass	Baru
Boomerang	Buggun
Nulla Nulla	Mukkoo
Shield	Koonmur
Opossum	Teebul
Bear	Koola
Native Bee	Kubbee
Camp	Waybare
Sleep	Goongim
Awake	Mealyennem
Fight	Beegeggo
One	Ngoolar
Two	Boolar
Three	Boolar ngoolar
Four	Warbar
Five or many	Yingar
Dog	Howum
Puppy	Bulbunbum
Iguana	Moron
Honey	Dool
Old man	Woorvar
Young man	Kakkore
Old woman	Mookun
Young woman	Ngoounigun
Good	Kuullungun
Bad	Wahan
Young	Kakkore
Deaf	Beenamkur
Old	Koorbarlum
Married	Moonee nemmenmen
Cut	Kowwalloo
Blood	Dee
Mountain	Wondoo
To kill	Bugginmee
Sick	Tullee
To drink	Koongtalgo (eat water)
To eat	Talgo
Soft	Butthu

Hard	Telgalgo
To run	Yungoongo
To walk	Yownduggo
Pellican	Whaal
Duck	Ngargo
Black swan	Kooloin
Crane	Marmgen
Pigeon	Barlbul
Wonga	Woongaloom
Crow	Warngwarng
Hawk	Deegoogoo
Eaglehawk	Koolyea
L. Jackass	Kargoongun
To die	Wonchelgo
To sing	Yeebarloo
To dance	Ngigo
Corroboree	Yearbar
Cough	Bimpeeyunkulloo
Sneeze	Kinnillegim
Spit	Karng
Long	Toonboora
Short	Moorragoo
Throat	Bumpee
Cold	Ngittoon
Frost	Tengam
Ice	Tengam
Meat	Koothoo
Fruit	Ngoorgoom
Eggs	Dile
Plain Turkey	Kumball
Scrub Turkey	Wahgoon
Watercourse	Ballarm
Garfish	Tunnibul
Fish net	Tentare
Dilly bag	Kintoo
I like you very much	Ngitu nginna ngungo
I hate you	Ngi kooang nginga gootgin
Come here	Yarebeeyee
Go away	Ngulla beethulla
I go	Ngi beethem
You go	Ngen beegee
We go	Ngullin beethargo
I come	Ngi duggim
You come	Ngeen beeyeeree

They come	Ngingerree beethembee
I sweat	Ngi ngumgun worbarleem
We are going	Ngulleem ngin beethargo
Come back	Boogar beejee
I want to speak	Ngi ngingar yaggoollagoo
Look here	nguggar
Are you sick	Ngeen tullee
Are you well	Ngeen kullungun yinnem
Plenty fish	Wharbar kunyil
Plenty birds	Wharbar koothoogoo
Tail	Dooan
Wings	Kinnee
Feathers	Woongul
Where your father	Wonja inta tutchar
Where your sister	Wonja inta watheem
Came back soon	Ngutchal boogare begee
I want you	Ngi ngingare koolgin
Let me go	Ngunya wannee intoo beethargo
I want go camp	Ngi wheabago beethargo towwoonagim
Where your camp	Wonjulla inta whyebo
Plenty rain soon	Yingargo bottin kunnargo
Not yet	Gooangbun
Will you come with me	Ngeen ngibunghoo targoo goolginyeenem
I am going fishing	Ngi kunyilgo yeenowgo tuggine
Have you a net	Inta dentare yeenam
Have you a line	Inta killingkilling
Will you come in scrub	Ngeen woolgeen yeenam kullalgotargo
How far you go	Wango Ngeen beethem
When will you come back	Wanbara ngeen boogare beechem
Today	Kulloowun
Tomorrow	Karngo
Two days	Boolar buggar
Tonight	Ngoolgoo
One moon	Ngoolar ngooloolum
Two moon	Boolar ngooloolum
I do not know	Ngitu kooang kooangalim
Some day	Karlim
Longtime	Kowanda
Go and get wood	Ngeen beeyee mungo woongoo
Plenty wood here	Ngungar meah
Plenty water here	Koong kingargoo
Make a big fire	Ngoon intoo yingargoo barlar
Have you any fish	Intoo kunyil menmen yingungare
Yes	Yonoi

No	Kooang
I have some fish	Woonyuneda kunyil
Not many	Kooang wharbar
What will you give	Minya intoo whoogim
Nothing	Kooang
I am hungry	Ngi toogullee
I am thirsty	Ngi koongoo wonjiggem
I feel sick	Ngi tullee doonjiggino
I want some honey	Ngi kubbigo koolgin yennam
Do you want a drink	Ngeen koolgin yennam tulgo
Bring it here	Yea beethendee
Take it away	Booga duntee
To sleep	Woonyem
I am sleepy	Ngi woonyem tuggen
I want to lay down	Ngi kooloin yunemahgo
You go to sleep	Ngeen yunemow
I will run away	Ngi yunegingin
No you wont	Ngeen kooang
Yes I will	Yonoi ngi yungoongoo
Don't go away	Wannee ngeen beeyee
Give me a stick	Ngia intu doo woogar
I want a wife	Ngi goolgin yeenam moonee
I want a husband	Ngi goolgin yeenam koolam beelum
I want some fish	Ngi kunyeen intoo woogar
Have you any fish	Inta kunyil yeenam
Iron tomahawk	Boorgoo
Stone tomahawk	Targill boorgoo
Blue gumtree	Toongun
Ironbark	Tunghun
Brigalow	Karm
Bottle	Goolloin
White cockatoo	KaireKaire
Black cockatoo	Teelembil
Parrot	Tooleel
Who are you	Wongyungha ngeen
Where did you come from	Ngeen wonyune wahwunwin
When did you leave	Intoo wonbarree wunhimmee
I am hurt	Ngi tullee ngunya intoo nguntunwin
Where	Wonyune
In the leg	Daanghoo
Who did it	Wonja inna ngundarnmin
What for	Minyungo
Did you hit him	Intoo bugginmin
What with	Minyungo

Did you hurt him	Intoo ngunyanmin marthoogino
Broke his head	Ngitu marthoogun koopoomantarnmin
Broke his arm	Kinnee ngitu kumnarngmin
Did he fight	Intewn walla beggammin
Did he wrestle	Inna mulloon dearmin
Did he hurt you	Inna ngungturnmin
No not much	Kooang umparree
I ran away	Ngi yannannun
He ran away too	Intoon yenmenmin
Can you go	Nginnguggar yungingin
I am afraid	Ngi encheegim
White man coming	Woo whoobun
Where is he	Wonchalla
On the hill	Ngulla wontoonnee
He has a gun	Ngungulla too wharbun
He will kill us	Mulloon boomgoongunghilla
We will die	Ngullee boonjeego kum
Can you run	Ngeennguggar yungingim
Yes very fast	Yonoi ngi ngoobane
He cannot catch me	Ngulloon ngunya mungoo
Can you swim	Ngeen koongoo wunpun ngeegim
I can swim	Ngi jooi wanpa ngeegim
You can swim	Ngeen wanpa ngeegim
They can swim	Woongul wanpun ngeegim
That is mine	Ngung nuneda
No not yours	Inta Kooang
I made it	Ngitu yunkarnmin
No you did not	Intoo kooang yunkarnmin
I found it	Ngitu ngenimen
I lost it	Ngitu ngoomemmen
I am cold	Ngi ngittoon
I am hot	Ngi ngumgum worbarleem
Go and fish	Ngulla ngeen beegee
I have no line	Ngia kooang killingkilling
You have some nooses	Inta yennem killingkilling
I dropped them	Ngitu mgoomeem
Where	Wonyune
In the grass	Ngutta barnoo
Cannot find them	Kooang ngitu ngoggun
Must get some	Ngitu kar mungim
Fish very hungry	Kunyill toogullee woonchin
I must go now	Ngi tuggimwyeabago
Goodbye	Kunna ngi karn
All right	Yonoi ngeen beegee

Come back soon	Ngutcharl boogay beegee
Yes I will come back soon	Yonoi kar ngi boogay beethem
See you again	Kar ngitu inna nguggim
Very good	Kullungun
Come and see my father	Ngeen beegee ngargoobeerbargay
I cannot go now	Ngi kooang koolgin
My foot is sore	Ngi dinna tullee
I am tired	Ngi boobeegun
I am big	Ngi yingargo
I am bigger	Ngi mgeem bunghoo yingargoo
I am biggest	Ngi yingargoo goonda
I am young	Ngi kukkore
I am younger	Ngi kukkore goonda
I am youngest	Ngi goonninnee
I run fast	Ngi ngoorven
You run faster	Ngeen wooben yenmenmen
He runs fastest	Ngintoon woobenvun
I am old	Ngi koorvell
You are older	Ngeen koorvarleem
He is oldest	Intoon koorvargoonda
Fish is good	Kunyill kullungun
Duck is better	Ngorrea kullungungoonda
Pigeon is best	Barwul kullungungoonda
Come here old man	Yea beeyee ngeen koorvell
Have you been sick	Ngeen bullee yeenarnmine
How long you been sick	Wunbarree ngeen tullee yeenarnmine
Where is your wife	Wonju inta kinbarlum
Have you any children	Inta Tubbil yeenem
How many have you	Minyambun inta tubbil
Are they all boys	Boorngul tarndun
How many boys	Minyambun tarndun
How many girls	Minyambun moonee
Where are you going	Wonyalla ngeen tuggin
Is it far away	Wonna ngin tuggin
How many days walk	Minyambun buggar tuggin
Will you come back	Ngun boogar tuggim
Are you tired now	Ngem tullee bulgun
Lay down and sleep	Yunemah ngeen tarbar goontoo
Boy is crying	Inta buggil toonhilligen
Take him away	Intoo tuntee
He makes a noise	Mulloon wulli yunkarleem
He makes me angry	Mulloon ngung yow yunkarleem
I am going away	Ngi tuggim
Going to another country	Kiarlungo ngi tuggino

Come back two moons	Boogay ngeenbeegee woolar ngarloolum
If I don't die	Ngi wonja booncheego
I might die there	Ngi kum booncheergum
Never come back	Kooang kum ngumma ngi boorbarloo boogay
Where are my brothers	Wonja ngunnuneda tutcha
Where are my sisters	Wonja ngunnuneda kooinnun
Where is my father	Wonja ngunnuneda bubbar
Where is my mother	Ngunnuneda yow wonja
You go to camp	Ngeen wyeabago beejee
Go wash your face	Ngeen beejee intoo koongoon
Blood on your face	Dee nginbunghoogoongoonoowumpun
Blood on your hands	Dee nginbunghoo beehoomee
Blood on your feet	Dee nginbunghoo tinhunghee
Come and fight	Yea ngeen beejee beygagoo
You are no good	Ngeen whang
You cannot fight	Ngeen kooang kullungun beegugoo
I will fight you	Ngitu beegagoo ngeen
I will kill you	Ngitu nginna buggilloo
You cannot do it	Ngitu ngun yow kooang
You cannot kill me	Ngitungunyow kooang buggilloo
I am too strong	Ngi ngingare toolbar
I am too big	Ngi ngingare yingargo
I will choke you	Ngitu nginna bimpee
Plenty clouds today	Yinkargo butteen kargo
Plenty rain coming	Butteen yinkargo
Can't see the sun	Kinmine ngitu kooang nguggen
Thunderstorm soon	Boomgar warbun
Very hot today	Kinmina ngumgun boorbarleem
I think rain now	Butteen kum woorbarloo
I hear an opossum	ngitu tillul boorangillim
I hear a bear	Ngitu koola boorangillim
I hear a snake	Ngitu wongki boorangillim
Snake will bite you	Wongurgo inna yulgo
Kangaroos jump quick	Boo bunkoin
Wallabys very good to eat	Toogar kullungun talgo
I like fat fish	Ngi tarleem
Fish very fat	Kunyil bulkee
I am an old man	Ngi koorwill
You are a young man	Ngeen kukkore
What do you want	Minyungo ngeen woolgul yeenem
Come close to me	Ngeen yea tutchem ngeen beejee ngia
I will tell you	Ngitu nginna yarloo
Some day I die	Karr ngi woncheego
You have my wife	Ngintoo nguneyuneda kinbellania

Take my children	Nguneyuneda intoo tarbeenow tuntee
I cannot see them	Ngitu kooang ngango
Take them with you	Intoo tuntee
You are my friend	Ngeen ngia koongun
Be good to me	Ngeen ngia kullungun
Do not be afraid	Wonnee ngia yantee
I wont hurt you	Ngitu inna kooang buggillim
Full moon three days	Gooninmee ngarloolum
Then we have corroboree	Ngullee yabbar ngiego
Plenty men come then	Tarn wahbar warbarleem
We dance all night	Ngullee ngiego kunyarbun ngoolgo
We sing new songs	Ngullee yabbar woonyingaywarbarlem
All the tribes coming	Koonultarn tuggim
I have one wife	Ngunyuneda kinbarelum
I want two wives	Ngia barlar kinbarelum
I have no children	Ngunyuneda kooang tubbil
My mother is sick	Ngunyuneda yow tullee
Mother get well soon	Yow ngunyuneda woonyeewunkullungun ngeegum
My brother got killed	Ngunyuneda tutchunnabugginmin
Look at the moon	Ngulla ngugga ngarloolum
Look at the sun	Ngulla kinmine
The sun is hot	Kinmine jo tullee poomgin
The moon is cold	Ngartoolum ngittoon

7 Appendix III - Goonine (Palmer 1884)

Father	baboon
Mother	ab ong
Sister	duabeen
Brother	debar
Elder brother	nune
Widower	gungee won
Widow	boolon
Fatherless	dool gun dum
Motherless	abbaubie
One whose child is dead	cockore mem
One whose Z is dead	dunbeen gunkewon
Uncle (FB)	kumme
Aunt (FZ)	yurerrie
Nephew	barrungun
Neice	barulgun
Husband	molinme
Wife	mollein minkin
Son	guppore
Daughter	newengin
Grandfather (FF)	miberam
Grandmother (FM)	goonyew
Man	geebe illa
Woman	geen ulla
Boy	kokore ulla
Girl	yarnun
Old man	mobbore bungole
Old woman	goreku urekul
Unmarried girl	yeube
Unmarried man	yore
Summer	guarm bulkul
Winter	tarra
Sun	bickey
Moon	barboon
Stars	barbun bulun
Clouds	woloi
Heavens	bookoon
Rain	eurong
Heat	goiekun
Cold	ditill borun
Hill	keena
Sand	getta
Land	yaroon
Stone	duckey

Water	koong
Sea	wool koong
Tree	
Canoe	goondool
Fish	gorool
Grass	barn
Lily	nulkine
Lily roots	yewrool
Dog	mirru
Kangaroo	mur re
Wallaby	yar goon
Kangaroo-rat	geenum
Bandicoot	woon kore
Opossum	koroi
Snake	woonka
Emu	moree
Native cat	ginying
Squirrel	auboor
Flying fox	geraman
Native bear	koola
Rat	moolbar
Spear	gunna
Boomerang	bulkun
Shield	heilaman
Nullah	kootha
Knife	duckey
Tomahawk	mogeme
Water kooliman	dungin
Yam stick	gunna
Fish net	bun gille
Fish spear	tungoo
Dilly bag	boonte
Big	goorgioma
Small	temorrow me
Good	kalangor
Bad	wuttera
Far away	woonungie
Close up	kulla beerun
Strong	gun kun
Weak	duppoorapore
Tired	dulkore-unkewon
Hungry	kargungu balome
Thirsty	dookore-unkewon
Dead	balome

Sick	pikey
Sores	team
Fat	marome-gootchee
Thin	cokokore
Tall	garow a run
Short	thalbor
Left handed	warrum *and* wottunga
Lame	dinong
Blind	mill bong
Deaf	beenunggăloom
Tongue	toonoom
Teeth	dunka
Ear	beenung
Foot	dinong *and* teena
Nose	mooroo
Eye	me *and* mil
Hair	karm
Head	karm
Bald head	karm belore
Grey head	gilkun gale
Neck	que kore
Sitting down	bogie nenarm
Walking	yenna
Running	bumquar
Standing still	nenarm bulba
Fighting	pikie
Swimming	wool ine
Diving	narm gwarry
Corroborry	arrieman
Afraid	witchim
To cry	nullayun karlin
Laughing	wathey
Beardless	woka moonyin
Whiskers	yarra moonyin
Long time ago	moony ountoon
Yesterday	balloloom
Tomorrow	marboono
Rainbow	karlewa
Wind	boorun
Falling star	
Carpet snake	wongi
Black snake	mooloo
Death adder	monulgum
Iguana	

Turtle	milbe
Black duck	gnah
Whistling duck	nulbar
Diver or darter	guttunda
Pelican	goolooluu
Crow	
Brown hawk	
Eaglehawk	bootha
Pigeon	woonkullun
Horse	yarraman
Gun	revoluer-berrelan
Axe	bulla deel
House	durah
Thunder	booroomgine
Lightning	tulberalbe
Rain	eurong
Red (colour)	butha butha
Blue	bookun
Green	boowon
Black	bookin
White	bootha
Smoke	woloi
Hail	karleme
One	bulla
Two	bupoorapa
Three	goore kunda
Four	dargilnool
Five	wonto
A round ball	muthar
Whitefellow	keen
White woman	pirre thugga
To drink with the hand	crammer, ? woora
To steal	gunkulewa
To call out	

8 Appendix IV - Gurang Gurang (Mathew 1914)

VOCABULARY.

NOUNS: Man, and his Relationships.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Aunt, father's sister	yapi
Aunt, mother's sister	ya
Baby	dappil
Blackfellow	dhan
Blackwoman	moni
Boy	dappil
Brother, elder	tya tya
Brother, younger	kunyi
Coast blacks	batyala
Child	dappil
Daughter	baranggul
Daughter-in-law	nepelóm
Father	papa
Father-in-law	mama
Girl	muni muni
Grandfather, paternal	maibin
Grandfather, maternal	ngatyem
Grandmother, paternal	kommi
Grandmother, maternal	tálnya
Husband	kuhanbilóm
Man, adult	kipar
Man, old	kurbol
Mother	ya
Mother-in-law	wóngalóm
Nephew, sister's son	baranil
Nephew, brother's son	nyukori
Niece, sister's daughter	bararkal
Niece, brother's daughter	bararkal
Sister, older	watyim
Sister, younger	kondulwal
Son	bonani
Son-in-law	wóngulóm
Uncle, father's brother	papa
White man	wu
White woman	wainnai¹
Widow	wintyimm
Widower	bulkun-bulkun
Wife	kin malim-gun
Woman	muni
Woman, old	moken

¹ Probably corruption of "white mary."

NOUNS: Parts of the Body.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Ankle	wukul
Arm	kini
Armpit	opunyóm
Back	tunba
Belly	mapu
Beard	ngombi
Blood	kakko
Bone	daikal

NOUNS: Parts of the Body.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Bowels	kunna
Breast	dhanté
Breasts	mam
Breath	ngangbiram
Calf of leg	bi
Cheek	wangkum
Chest	dhanté
Chin	nanbé
Collar-bone	kilun
Ear	pinna
Elbow	kamgu
Eyebrow	dhipin
Eyelash	munyunggil
Eye	mil
Face	kun gun
Fat	balgi
Finger	biru
Fingernail	gilin
Foot	dinna
Forehead	dinko
Hair	warul
Hand	piru
Head	warul
Heart	dalku
Hip-joint	kanim
Hocks	katyang
Inside	nólla
Knee	walé
Leg	tara
Lip	yilim
Liver	kónna
Loins	kóman
Lung	bupi
Milk	mam
Mouth	yira
Nape of the neck	wantal
Nose	muru
Phlegm	buga
Rib	kun-gi
Shoulder	walil
Shoulder-blade	kilun
Sinew	katyal
Skin	yulan
Stomach	mapu
Sweat	ngomgan
Tears	tingkim
Teeth	tira
Thigh	tara
Throat	kongkonggol
Toe	tinna
Tongue	tunam
Urine	kapi
Vein	yurulul
Whiskers	ngoumi

VOCABULARY—continued.

NOUNS: Names of Quadrupeds, &c.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Animal (generic name)	kutyu
Bandicoot	tunam
Bat	bonburom
Bear, native	kulla
Cat, native	kinyi
Dingo	kárum
Dog, domestic	miri
Flying fox, large bat	kungar
Horse	yiruman
Kangaroo	buru
Kangaroo, old man	mamkul
Kangaroo, female	yimér
Kangaroo rat	pai
Opossum, grey	nyukai
Paddimelon	karuri
Porcupine, Echidna	kakká
Wallaby	katyar
Wallaby, rock	turka

REPTILES.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Frog	kanganbil
Iguana	waroi
Lizard, Jew	pinang górun
Lizard, short	tungkal
Lizard, Sleepy	kulinugal
Lizard, Water	kunngil
Snake, Brown	mulin
Snake, Carpet	tupu
Snake, Deaf Adder	munóm
Snake, Whip	yuró
Turtle, fresh water	milbi

INSECTS.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Ant, common small	king
Ant, Jumper	puturu
Ant, small black	mingolón
Ant, White	karum karum
Bee, native dark	kutya
Bee, native grey	kapai
Butterfly	bóra bóra
Fly	dhipping
Grub, large edible	bim
Hornet, large	kour
Hornet, small	dyuar
Louse	munyu
Scorpion	mungurom
Spider	manyimg
Worm	wan gun

NOUNS: Names of Birds.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Bird	katyoju
Bustard, forest turkey	kainbar
Cockatoo, black	golembil
Cockatoo, white	kor kor
Crane	muru tunburu
Crow	wang wang
Duck, black	ngom
Duck (wood-duck)	wanur
Eaglehawk	kolya
Emu	moiabang
Fantail, Shepherd's Companion	tikigér
Hawk, large brown	wabi
Ibis	miguen-go
Laughing Jackass	kakangon
Mallee Hen or Scrub Turkey	wakun
Owl	tyipu
Parrakeet, Green Leek	worworkal
Pigeon, Wonga	wongilón
Pigeon, Bronzewing	dhilkkin
Swan, Black	kalun
Teal	tulongga
Water Hen, Porphyrio	wakun

NOUNS: Names of Plants.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Gunjevoi (Alocasia macrorrhiza)	yimbun
Grass	kin
Moss	moi moi
Punk, woody fungus	komuna
Sarsaparilla (plant so called)	kiken
Scrub berry, small	bimtam
Tree	dhi
Tree, Apple, native	kakorgor
Tree, Bloodwood	nguruwuru
Tree, Blue Gum	yéran-ge
Tree, Bottle	buloin
Tree, Box	ngaralge / murrung-go
Tree, Bunya	kinye
Tree, Currajong	kummari
Tree, Cypress Pine	danin
Tree, Dogwood	bakam
Tree, Grass	²akang
Tree, Ironbark, narrow-leafed	ngulung-ge
Tree, Ironbark, broad-leafed	dangan

FISHES.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Catfish	yaranbil
Mullet	kurun
Freshwater Salmon	tyilbain

VOCABULARY—continued.

NOUNS: Names of Plants.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Tree, Moreton Bay Ash	näng-ge
Tree, Oak (Swamp)	billai
Tree, Pine	kunnam
Tree, Red Gum	do
Tree, Stringybark	ngêm
Vine	yurul tukan

NOUNS: Inanimate Nature.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Bank	kan-gan
Bush, The	ngain
Cloud	bunu
Country	tau
Creek	kuain
Darkness	ngulku
Day	ngurunom
Daylight	ngupuyim
Dew	tyergu
Earth	tau
Fire	ngin
Flat, a	bangu
Flood	tulun
Frost	tun-gam
Gully	tarara
Hole	nölla
Light	ngurunom
Lightning	burunka
Mist	yinai
Mountain	wondo
Moon	ngarulom
Mul	wupirom
Night	ngulku
Quartz	dean
Rain	wunu
Rainbow	karabi
Ridge	mumtwola
Sea	
Shadow	
Sky	ngurunom
Smoke	bulin
Star	tukan ngil
Stone	dakkil
Summit	
Sun	kinmain
Sundown	kinmain wal-gom
Sunrise	kinmain nyil-dum
Thunder	wuranga
Twilight	tyangtjagom
Water	kung
Watershed	kunulgan
Wind	ban
Wood	dhu

NOUNS: Manufactured Articles.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Bag	bumbi
Bed	nalal
Boomerang	ba ' kan
Bunya Meal	pata
Camp	waibea
Dilly Bag	kintu
Fence	waru waru
Hat	pingga
Headband of native dog's tail	ngura ngura / kambany
Headband of twine	dhura
House	dhakil
Knife	maku
Nulla Nulla	waral
Nulla Nulla, rectangular	
Rope	yurun
Shield	kunmari
Spear, wood	kanai
Spear, reed	kumbu kumbu
Tomahawk	murgu
Water Vessel	wulguin

NOUNS: Miscellaneous.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Bark	taradang
Base	küntu
Beauty	ka hangan
Boil (tumour)	tapung
Bottom	kuiga
Branch	gil gil
Bush, the	bäm
Camp	waibea
Charcoal	ngun
Claw	dinna
Coal	tuwe
Crossing-place	balam
Crystals, Quartz (magic)	tapun
Crystals, Black (obsidian)	minkom
Cut, a	
Dead Tree	turi
Doctor, native	dalgo
Dung	kundir
Edge	guna
Egg	kän-gan
Evil Spirit	dail
Flesh	winggum
Food	tim
Food (tabu to minors)	tukari
Fool	tala
Froth	berogim
Fur	bôlu bôlu / munyungil

VOCABULARY—continued.

NOUNS: Miscellaneous.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Gammon	tangkaiyalim
Ghost (lit. shadow)	ngutyung
God (the great Spirit)	bira
Half	bäm
Half-caste	jil
Headman	kamaran
Horn	kar
House	dhura
Inside	nölla
Language	gêm
Leaves	kele
Little, a	wanini
Lie (falsehood)	tankakipeyim / dhan tankaki-peyim
Liar	
Log	tilga
Lump	mutuin
Many	wabu
Meat	täm
Messenger	marilöm
Middle	kinyo
Mourning (by fasting)	talkalka
Murderer	wungabakin-min

NOUNS: Miscellaneous.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Name	ngè
Name of Class	Bandyur
Name of Class	Barang
Name of Class	Bonda
Name of Class	Dherwain
Name of Phratry	Dilhui
Name of Phratry	Karpuin
Nose bubbles	buka
Noise	wului
Outside	tumbanni
Place	tiin
Red clay	muli
River	kurun
Road	tombar
Root (lit. thigh)	tara
Sap (lit. blood)	tariga
Scar (ornamental)	bakum
Scrub	kapal
Seed	yara
Song	yupar
Sorcerer	kundir
Spittle	kung
Stink	buka mutang-gil
Stump	warul kung
Sweat	ngumgun
Tail	tin
Tear (of the eye)	tengkom

PRONOUNS: Personal.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
1 Sing., I (simple)	ngai
1 Sing., I (agent)	atyu
1 Sing., Poss., My, Mine	nganyunda
	ngônyu
1 Sing., Acc., Me	ngin
2 Sing., Nom., simple, Thou, You	ngin
2 Sing., Nom., emphatic, Thou, You	ngiunginumin
2 Sing., Nom., agent, Thou, You	ngindu
2 Sing., Poss., Thy, Thine, You, Yours	ngiugulyunga
2 Sing., Dat., Thee, You	nginba
2 Sing., Acc., Thee, You	nginua
3 Sing., Nom., simple, He, She, It	you
3 Sing., Nom., agent, He, She, It	malun
3 Sing., Poss., His, Her, Hers, Its	maityigin
3 Sing., Dat., Him, Her, It	maityigin
1 Dual, Nom., Another and I	ngaila
1 and 2 Dual, Nom., You and I	ngalinngin
2 Dual, Nom., You two	bula
1 Plu., Nom., simple, We	ngalingal
1 Plu., Nom., agent, We	ngalindo
1 Plu., Poss., Our, Ours	ngaligo
1 Plu., Dat., Us	ngulia
1 Plu., Acc., Us	ngalinga
2 Plu., Nom., You, Yours	bula
2 Plu., Poss., Your, Yours	nguralage
2 Plu., Dat., You	ngurulanga

VOCABULARY—continued.

PRONOUNS: Personal.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
2 Plu., Acc., You all	nguralanga
2 Plu., Nom., You all	ngurare
2 Plu., Poss., Yours	ngurarige
2 Plu., Acc., You	nguralnga
3 Plu., Nom., simple, They	indyiringa
3 Plu., Nom., agent, They	indyori
3 Plu., Poss., Their, Theirs	indyirige
3 Plu., Dat., Them	indyiriba
3 Plu., Acc., Them	indyiringa

PRONOUNS: Indefinite.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Anyone, Everyone, Everybody	kolvange
Everyone	bunngal

Used with Personal Pronouns.

Self	nulam
By Oneself	nganyanda

Pronominal Adjectives.

Another's	wura
Other	kailôm
Some, Others	kailôm
This one	kanga
That one	karyula
That one's	aige

PRONOUNS: Interrogative.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Nom., simple, Who	wanyongu
Nom., agent, Who	wendyo
Poss., Whose	ngaiyo
Dat., Whom	wonage
Dat. and Acc., Whom	wônyanga
Nom., simple, What	minyu
Nom., agent, What	wandyu
Nom., What is the matter	yukorinin

ADJECTIVES.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Afraid	yundyigim
Alive	murul
Alone	nyulam
Amazed	nil yulo-wopalim
Angry	nôlla balwil-gem
Bad	warang
Bald	barwam
Big	yin-gar
Black	ngulgo
Blind	muka

VOCABULARY—continued.

ADJECTIVES.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Blunt	tinta
Bravo	gurang yin-dyigim
Bright	mil bungen keambôl
Brimful	muka
Bushy	kundir
Charmed	nôlla kalan-gin
Cheerful	
Clear	kalangin
Clean	yilar
Clever	wupin
Cold	ngitun
Cowardly	yantyirgim
Costive	tulum
Crooked	walgér
Curious (strange)	tyôrga
Dark	ngulgi
Dead	bundyimin
Deaf	pina muka
Done	mure
Dry	yumbi
Early	ngituunngal
Early (pace)	yayong
Empty	nôlla
Fat	kutyal
False	balgi
Fearful (in dread)	yantyigem
Fearful	butanyula
Few	mure
First	bunga
Flat	huka
Fly-blown	mapungal
Full	tappa
Free (gratis)	winyin-go
Frightened	yantyigim
Giddy	warul kileng-gôm
Glad	nôlla kalangin kalangen
Good	gil
Grey (of the hair)	daiktôkôm
Greedy	tulba
Hard	tulba
Heavy	barai
High	karngôl
Hot	gulkinyom
Humble	tunba
Hunched	tyukale
Hungry	baliiga
Ill-tempered	wuppin
Invincible	gingile
Itching	mil bilband-yigim
Jealous	

VOCABULARY—continued.

ADJECTIVES.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Kind	kônal
Lank (of animals)	tukalile
Large	yin-gar kulkindyom
Lazy	yir
Lean	tyulum
Left-handed	kundir
Life-possessing, life-giving	wupo
Light (in weight)	tunburu
Long	berogim
Mad	waba
Many	wukaban
More	nôla
One	môtyarl
Quick	kwér
Red	môrgo
Short	tatyar
Slow	kunini
Small	buka
Stinking	kanibalôm
Straight	tulba
Strong	tyukingal
Sweet	thmbôin
Tall	gungku
Thirsty	werbar
Three	bubigân
Tired	bulla
Two	dáli
Weak	gil
White	warang, dong-kar
Wicked, Wrong	kahum
Wild	

VERBS.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Be	kan nyennan
Beat	bakilim
Break	lakán
Bring	wopendigim, dante
Burn (trans.)	markim
Burn (intrans.)	boligim
Call	kankaligim
Camp	waibea yanggo dantingim
Carry	dantingim
Climb	walgim
Come	wapa, boyo
Cry	dungaligim
Cut	kauwagim
Die	buntyigim
Divide or deal out	wungilla
Drink	talgu
Eat	tyalgom
Fall	kannan

VOCABULARY—continued.

VERBS.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Fetch	dante
Fight	bekogim, pe-kergo
Find	nyeruan
Give	wukka
Go	yan-go
Hear	burannen
Kick	naronggen
Kill	bumán
Know	burangalim
Laugh	yatyigim
Leave	yupara
Like	gulgin
Make	yônggan
Marry	bindu
Run	milali
See	nyomen, nokko
Sing	yappa
Sit	ngimu
Sleep	gunyinu
Speak	yatyula, guál
Stand	bôlôm
Strike	bakilim
Take	bi, mana
Tell	yallo
Tell a lie	tangakipeyim
Walk	dakim, bigim
Weep	dungaligim

ADVERBS: Interrogative.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
How	minya
How getting on	yukurimin
How is it	yukurimin
How many	minyambôn
When (at what time)	wanhaga
Whoro	wendyo
Whorever	wendyaland-yin
Which way	wonngula
Whither	wandye
Why	yukurigin

ADVERBS: General.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
After, behind	bukanyi
Afterwards	kara
Before	ya-nge
Directly (at once)	winyi
Fast	môtyalal
Here	yeng
No	gurang
Yes	yauni

INTERJECTIONS.

ENGLISH.	GURANG.
Halloo, hi	kau

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