NOTES ON THE LIST OF NATIVE WORDS OF THE OYSTER BAY TRIBE, PRESENTED BY

MR. J. W. BEATTIE. (1)

By Hermann B. Ritz, M.A. (Read 8th Sept., 1913.)

This list bears the colophon "H.W.M., 1824," which may mean that it was drawn up by Sergeant Montgomery, of the 51st Foot (King's Own Light Intantry), stationed in Tasmania in 1824. There certainly was such a person here at that time, and the list itself shows that it was written by a man who conscientiously paid strict attention to details, and recorded them faithfully, as far as his literary attainments enabled him to do so. The punctilious respect for persons in authority is shown by the way the recorder mentions "the Minister, Rev. Mr. Bedford," and "His Honor the Governor," both of whom entered upon their duties in 1824, the former as Incumbent of St. David's, and the latter as Lieutenant-Governor.

In taking down the native words, H.W.M. evidently took great pains, getting the Aboriginals to pronounce them in syllables, and carefully, and on the whole very successfully,

separating these by hyphens.

At first sight, these words seem quite different from those recorded in the lists previously published; but on closer inspection they are found to be quite in harmony with them; indeed, more than half of them are practically identical with them.

In my paper, "The Speech of the Tasmanian Aborigines," read before the Royal Society of Tasmania, on the 14th June, 1909, (2) I explained my theory on the etymology of the Tasmanian vocabulary, and the present list decidedly confirms my conclusions, as will be seen when we examine each word of H.W.M.'s list in detail. I may fairly claim to have shown in my previous papers on this subject, that by my theory every Tasmanian word and phrase that has been published, can be rationally explained to be in strict accordance with the known primitiveness of the life and manners of the Tasmanian Aboriginals, and the present list strongly confirms the soundness of my theory. It will be

⁽¹⁾ See pages 79-81.

⁽²⁾ These Papers and Proceedings, 1909, pp. 44-81.

convenient to readers of the present paper, to have a brief statement of the principal point of my theory, as regards the etymology of Tasmanian words.

They are:

- (a) The Aboriginal's mind worked on the same lines as those followed by a very young child. The first object to be distinguished is one that moves while the objects surrounding it are at rest. The speech-sounds, or rather, the constraints, most naturally expressing motion are the continuants, viz., l, m, n, r, ng. The sibilants are not found in the Tasmanian speech, and the vowels are too indistinct to serve as characteristics.
- (b) Next, the modifications of motion would be observed; if motion came *before* rest, it would be expressed by the group b, p, w, m; if motion came *after* rest, it would be expressed by the group g, k, w, r, ng; while rest itself would be expressed by the group d, t, l, n.

(c) The members of each group are readily interchangeable, practically at the discretion of the individual speaker, though, of course, some forms may have become

conventionally fixed.

(d) The vowels are interchangeable, within certain limits.

(e) Each syllable begins normally with a consonant; where a vowel is found as initial, it is most likely the remains of a syllable originally beginning with w.

(f) In a group of syllables, any interior letter is liable to be sturred, and eventually elided, if the syllable to which it belongs does not bear the phrase-accent.

In my discussion of the details of Mr. Beattie's list,

(a) The spelling will be uniform, chiefly on the lines followed by H. Ling Roth, in Appendix F. of his "The Aborigines of Tasmania."

(b) The statements will as a rule be positive, though they are necessarily based on conjecture. Still, the harmony of the facts with my theory is so consistent, that there is no justification for excessive diffidence on my part. Hence, my statements may fairly be considered as valid pending disproof based on facts and logic.

(c) The following abbreviations will be used:—

(1) "H.W.M.," for the original recorder of the present list.

(2) "H.L.R," for H. Ling Roth: "The Aborigines of Tasmania.

(3) "H.B.R.," for Hermann B. Ritz: "The Speech of the Tasmanian Aborigines" (3).

⁽³⁾ These Papers and Proceedings, 1909, pp. 44-81.

Mr. Beattie's List.

(The words actually on the list are printed in *italics*, and are transcribed exactly as they appear in the original list. They are marked with consecutive numbers for reference.)

1. Buc-ga-na = What do you call this or that thing.

This is "pugana," meaning "big thing." i.e., "the thing that engrosses the attention for the moment."

2. Ba-mi-en-da = Emmu.

The spelling of "Emu" seems to show that the orthoepy of the initial vowel has changed since 1824.

H.L.R. gives "punamunta" for "emu." This is an abbreviation of "pugana-munta," where "pugana" means "big" Now "palla" also means "big" (H B.R.), and it is often shortened to "pa." Hence "pa-munta" means the same as "punamunta," and is the standardized form of "ba-mi-en-da."

3. Cran-wan-wa = to step,

This is "krana" (a shortened "krakana"), meaning "to stand," + "pena," meaning "moving forward," + "pe," meaning "to act" (H.B.R.). The whole of it means:—"The action of (alternately) standing and moving forward."

4. Cham-not-ca = Sheep.

This is "kana," to speak, + "muna," mouth, + "itya," diminutive suffix. Hence: - "The thing that speaks with a little mouth," the voice of a sheep being "little" in comparison with its bulk.

5. Dre-na-kena = Kangeroo.

This is "ta(g)-rena-kana," meaning: -- "walk-quick-noise." Thus: -- "The thing that walks quickly and noisily."

6. Lee-naa = Kangeroo.

H.L.R. gives "lena" for "brush-kangaroo." It is "the swift thing."

7. Dig-e-na Man-a-Waa = the Minister, Rev. Mr. Bedford.

This is "tigana-muna-pa(lla)," that is "heart, mouth, big" (H.L R.). Thus:—"He that speaks with great sympathy"; literally:—"He that has a big heart in his mouth." This would certainly be an excellent designation of Dr. Bedford, whose sympathy with the unfortunate Aborigines was very deep, and who had, moreover, just arrived, and would realize their misery more keenly than many of those who had become accustomed to this state of affairs.

8. En-cli-be-na = good or palatable.

This is "an" (for "wan" (v. No. 3) or "pena") meaning "the moving or pointing thing," i.e., "the hand," + "ka," "the chin or jaw," + "lipa," "moving with a purpose" (H.B.R.), + "na," the common suffix for nouns. Hence:—"The thing which the hand moves to the jaw or mouth," because it is "good to eat."

9. Governor-Waa = His Honor the Governor.

The English origin of "Governor" is obvious. "Waa" is a form of "palla," meaning "big," or "important." This form of "palla" occurs also in Nos. 7, 10, 41, and probably in No. 61 (q. v.).

10. Le-gun-tha-Waa = Kangeroo dog.

11. Le-gun-tha = $Common\ dog$.

No. 10 is simply No. 11 with the addition of "Waa," "big." The common part "leguntha" is "lagan(a)-ta(gana)," i.e., "swiftfoot." "Lagana" and "tagana" are really identical, as "1" and "t" are interchangeable. The meaning is "moving away" (H.B.R.). If the motion is emphasized, the "1" is used; the use of the "t" indicates that the "thud" of the footfall is in the speaker's mind. Most of the names of animals given in the existing lists mean simply "the moving thing," and appear in one form or another of the combination "liquid + guttural" (H.B.R.).

12. Lim-pu-ga = Shoping.

"Shoping" is clearly an error for "shipping," for "lina" means "water," and "puga(ta)" means "to float" (H.L.R.). The word thus means:—"the thing that floats on the water." "Puga(ta)" is "pa-ka-ta," where "pa" is "motion before rest," "ka" is motion after rest," and "ta" is "rest." The whole phrase "pugata" describes very well, in a primitive way, "the thing that moves up and down, but does not move from the spot," that is, "a boat riding at anchor." "Puga," of course, also describes the "bobbing" motion. Hence "lin-pu-ga" is "the thing that moves up and down on the water." When the recorder pointed out some ships, the native would first notice the water ("lina"), and only on further prompting would he notice the things that moved up and down ("puga").

13. Lag-wee = Walking.

This is "laga-pe," "foot-action."

14. Lo-ru-me-na = scratching.

This is "lori" (finger) (H.L.R.) + "mena" (for "pena") (lance). "Lori" itself is "lag-ri," "the movable foot." H.L.R. gives "riena" for "hand" and also for "finger"; it means simply "the most agile members of the body," from "rene" "quick." "Lorimena" means "making a lance of the finger," which describes the operation of "scratching" very aptly. H.L.R. gives "larre" for scratch.

15. Lee-na = Water.

This is simply "lina," "the movable substance." H. L. R. gives "lina" for "water" (v. No. 6).

16. Ly-en-na = Water.

H.L.R. gives "liena" for "water." The points of difference between "lina" and "lienua" are, that the latter has a diphthong, "ie," instead of a simple vowel, "i," and it has the suffix "na" (v. No. 8). This diphthong often indicates "not straight," the vocal flexion describing the local one; e.g., 'rianna riacunna" (H.L.R.), "dance," means "varied motion + varied voice" ("kanna); "mina" or "pena," "stick" or "leg"; "miena," "knee" (H.L.R.), and "piena," "leech" (H.L.R.).

17. Lod-the = tree's.

The apostrophe as part of the sign of the English plural is usual in this list. Lod-the is simply "lotta," "Eucalyptus tree" (H.L.R.). The only sign of the plural in the Tasmanian speech is the reduplication of a word. "Lotta" is a contraction of "lagata," i.e., "laga" ("foot") + "ta" (stationary). To the Aboriginal, a tree was a living thing, and its trunk was its foot, which was fixed to the spot.

18. Lu-gu-na = leg's.

This is the same as "lagana" (v. No. 11).

19. Log-Wan-na = Wife.

H.L.R. gives "lowanna" and "lowa," for "woman."
This is "lag-pen-na," "the nimble-footed" servant, who had to do all the work incidental to camp life.

20. La-ge-na = salt.

H.L.R. gives "legana" for "water." This is "lagana," "foot" in another aspect, the water "resting on the ground and moving at times." It is doubtful whether the Aboriginals used salt as seasoning. In the case of the present word, it is probable that when the native tasted the salt presented to him for nomenclature, he meant to say that it had the

same taste as the sea-water, and therefore said "lagana," which the recorder took down as the native word for "salt." In the existing lists, quite a number of such natural misapprehensions can be traced. (H.B.R.)

21. Le-bta-la = Hobart Town.

This is "li-pa-tal-a," or, in full, "lina-palla-tagala"; that is, "water-big-walk," meaning "(the goal of) a long journey by water." With the primitive boats of the Aboriginals, it would be a long journey from Oyster Bay to Hobart.

22. tha-gen-na = Hobart Town.

This is simply "tagana," i.e, "a journey."

23. Wag-ge-na = Hobart Town.

This is "Pa(lla)-kan-a," meaning "the big talk," i.e., the place where there is much noise, in contrast to the bush. "The big smoke" for "London" or any other large city, would be an analogous expression.

24. Lun-na = House.

H.L.R. gives "lenna" for "house." As the shelters of the Aboriginals consisted merely of some pieces of bark or wood brought to the spot, they were "movable" things, and "lenna" would express this idea (v. No. 6).

25. Me-a-nen-qua = Will you live with me.

This is "mena-nina-ka," i.e., "I-you-talk," meaning "we keep company together." It is evident that if two people intended to talk to each other, they must remain near each other; e-pecially as the Aboriginal "talk" largely depended on gestures.

26. Me-yalla-cas-an-a-rea = talking.

The "s" is clearly out of place in a word consisting of purely Tasmanian elements; it is therefore probably an error. If we read it as "n," we get "mialla-kan-ana-ria," which would mean "varied motion (v. No 16)-voice-hand-fingers," graphically expressing "speech aided and illustrated by gestures"

27. My-yen-na = you.

The common Tasmanian word for "you" is "nina," i.e., "that thing," "the other person." The explanation of the word here given is suggested by "My-he-na = Body" (v. No. 31). The word is, in each of these cases, "miena," that is, "a thing that is or can be bent." H.L.R gives "miack" for "corpse," that is, "mien-k," the thing that was capable

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of being bent, but is so no longer, for "k" is the sign of "rejection" (H.B.R.). It is probable that H.W.M. pointed at a native and told him "This is you," and the native promptly said "This is my body"; whereat H.W.M. wrote: "miena = you" (v. No. 20).

28. Mier-men-na = smooking.

This is "mia-mina," i.e., "bent-stick" and refers to the tobacco-pipe, to which H.W.M. may have pointed when telling the native that he was "smooking" (v. No. 20)

29. Min-Man-a-wee-bob-ar-ree = fighting.

This is "mina-mina-pe-pa(lla)-pa(lla)-an(a)-ria," that is, "stick-stick-active-big-big-hand-fingers," meaning "Stick is active against stick in a very great effort made with hands and fingers."

30. My-ett-ta = five.

This is "miatta," a variant of "matta," i.e., "lump," meaning a "lump formed by bending the fingers"; compare the English "bunch of fives."

31. My-he-na = Body.

See No. 27. The emphatic "h" is characteristic of H.W.M.

32. Mad-tha = privates.

This is "matta" (v. No. 30).

33. Mun-na = Mouth.

H.L.R. gives "muna" for "lips" (v. No. 20).

34. Mi-gun-na = Nose.

H.L.R. gives "meuna" for "bird's bill." The standardized form of these words is "pe-kan-na," i.e., "pointed (upper) jaw." The use of "beak" for "nose" is found in many languages.

35. Min-gra-nith-ka = bad, or disagreable.

This is "mina-karana or kanana-ka." i.e., "I or my — mouth— (H.L.R.) rejects," because it is "disagreeable or bad" to my taste.

36. Mi-hilk-a-la-ma = silence.

This is "mial-kala or kana-pe," i.e., "Sit down, or stop-talk-do, or make," meaning "make the talk take a rest."

37. Ma-va-den-na = boat.

This is quite unlike any Tasmanian word for "boat." If it were "pa-pata-na," i.e., "big stamp," it might mean

"boot"; the bare foot would make a "little" stamp. It is probable that "boat" is a mistake for "boot."

38. Mou-thig-na = Eyes.

H.L.R. gives "mongtena" for "eye." This suggests that the word is "mun-tigana" or "mun tena" (in contracted form), and means "mouth-heart" (v. No. 7), that is "a mouth-like opening that expresses feelings." "Mou-thigna" may be an error for "Mon-thig-na."

39. Nu-ge-na = stealing.

This is probably a variant of "lugana," i.e., "quick, nimble."

40. Nu-ga-lantha = Possum.

H.L.R. gives "neulangta" for "opossum." This is "nuga or luga-lagata" (v. No. 17), meaning "nimble" on the "tree," which is characteristic of the opossum.

41. Olumptha = Head.

H.L.R. gives "ulumpta" for "head." This is one of the few words that have a vowel as initial. The rule of the consona tal initial is so generally observed, that it is reasonable to assume that in the case of the exceptions an initial consonant has been lost. Here, the original form may be "Wa-len-matta" or "Pa(lla)-len-matta," that is, "the big moving round-thing." (Compare the English idiom "pumpkin.") The characteristic point would be the "moving" or "movableness," and therefore "len" would be strongly accented, with the result that the first and third words would be slurred, and become "Wa" and "mta." The "w" would impress its character on the following vowel and make it "u"; thus "u-len-mta," and, by further assimilation and contraction, "ulumta."

42. Oyster bay Waa = Oyster bay.

"Oyster Bay" is obviously English. "Waa" is "Palla," big" (v. No. 9). The locality is even now called "Big" Oyster Bay.

43. Penin-na = Laughter.

H.L.R. gives "peninna" for "laugh."

44. Po-co-la = Bullocks.

This confirms H.B.R's contention that this is a Tasmanian word, and not, as Jorgensen and his followers asserted, a variant of the English "bullock." It is "puga-la(ga)," that

is, "the big thing (with) feet." The English plural forms given in this list, as in the others found in H.L.R., have no equivalents in Tasmanian speech. The Aboriginals had no abstract ideas, and the only way in which they could express plurality was by enumerating the individuals, that is, by repeating the name given to an individual. A striking instance is the word given for "ten," viz., "karde-karde," i.e., "kata-kata," that is "five-five" (fingers). See H.B.R. See also No. 17.

45. Po-eo-na = smoke.

This is a misprint for "po-ee-na," i.e., "poina," meaning "long" (pena) + "not straight" (oi diphthoug, v. No. 16). The word means therefore "a curling column" (of smoke). (Compare No. 28.)

46. Pa-matt-ta=potatoes.

Fenton, in his History of Tasmania, quotes from Robinson's journal:—'Parmatter—potatoes" (p. 96). There is no native word for "potatoes" in H.L.R. The word is "pa(lla)-matta," i.e., "big-round thing."

47. Par-a-pel-a = Cook.

This is "palla palla," i.e., "very big (man)," referring either to the stature of a particular cook, or else to the cook's great importance for the comfort of the community.

48. Pae-a-nu-bra = the Sun.

This is a misprint for "palla-nubra," i.e., "big eye" (H.L.R.).

49. Per-ni-per-na = the Sun.

H.L.R. gives "perenna" for "lance." Hence this word is "perenna-perenna," i.e., "many lances" or "many beams" (of light), as seen when the sun shines through foliage or crevices in the wall of the "lenna."

50. Pig-e-na = Hair.

51. Wig-e-na = Hair.

These words are practically the same. H L.R. gives the variant "poinghana" for "hair matted with other" (so as to form "sticks"). See H.B.R.

52. Pa-gen-gun-ya = Horse.

This is "Pa(lla)-kan-kan-ka," i.e., "big-voice-voice," meaning "the thing that repeats the same sound loudly"; this is a very natural description of a horse's "whinnying."

53. Par-a-wee = I want.

H.L.R. gives "parrawe" for "to abstain," also for "to throw away." "I want," therefore, means here "I lack," and not "I desire." Norman gives "parra(r)wa(r)" for "go away." H.L.R. gives "pagra" for "woe's me," and "pakara" for "to fling." This last meaning explains the word: it is "pa-ka-ra," i.e., propulsion + violent expiration + motion (of the missile). "Away" therefore covers all these meanings, and the final "wee," i.e., "pe," is simply an emphatic repetition of the initial "pa." "Parawee," i.e., "pa-ka-ra-pe," thus means "the thing that is away" (from me, to my sorrow).

54 Pud-ka = fish.

H.L.R. gives "pugale" and "pugra" for "to swim," where "le" and "ra" simply mean "motion." The word is therefore "pug-ra," i.e., "the big thing that swims." As the "Native words spoke quick with a guttural sound' (H.W.M.), the native word might be written phonetically as "pudka" or "pukka" or "pugra," indifferently.

55. Rung-wee = to run, or make haste.

H.L.R. gives "rene" for "to run"; "rung" is a regular variant of "rene" (H.B.R.); "pe" is sign of emphasis (v. No. 53).

56. Re-gun-na = Oyster.

H.L.R. gives "lugana" for "oyster"; "reguna" is a regular variant of this. H.L.R. gives also "regana" for "basket" (used in gathering oysters) (v. No. 20). It is the same as "lagana," "foot," and means "alive, but resting on the spot" (v. Nos. 11 and 17.)

57. Re-nea = hand.

H.L.R. gives "riena" for "hand." It is a variant of "renea," and means "the moving member par excellence."

58. Tta-van-ya = Cloathing.

The doubling of the initial letter is clearly otiose; and the "v" is simply an error for "w." The standardized form of the word would be "tawanna," i.e., "tagana." Norman gives "tuernar" (i.e., "tugena") and "tuernarnar" (i.e., tu(g)enana") for "clothing"; it means "moving off," i.e., "the things that can be taken off" (v. No. 11).

59. Ta-gar-a-ga = Crying.

This represents another aspect of "tagana" or "tagara," viz., "the thing that falls down." H.L.R. gives "tagarena"

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for "tear," and "tagara-mena" for "to weep." The final "ga" is simply "ka," "voice." "Tagaraga" means therefore "weeping and wailing."

60. Ta-Wal-a-wee Eating.

This is "tagala" (or "tagana") + "pe," i.e., " to go down-make," meaning "to put down" (food).

61. Ta-ken-a-pee = to give me.

This also is "tagana-pr", "i.e., "to lay down" ("for me to take"). This alludes to the practice, commonly observed among primitive races, of laying on the ground such things as are to be given to another individual, instead of passing them from hand to hand.

62. Talla-Walla-Wa = Come heare.

This is "ta(g)ala pallawa," i.e., "walk (to the) big man," the "big man" (H.L.R.) being the "warrior" (Sergeant Montgomery).

63. Tag-wee = go there.

This is "taga-pe," i.e., "move (your) foot." ('ompare Nos. 11 and 13.

64. Te-bet-e-men-e-ana = go gather berry's.

H.L.R. gives "telbete lebea" for "to eat heartily," also "lepina" for "neck"; "tel" is "tagala" (v. No. 62), "to go down"; "te" is "to stop." Thus "telbete lebea" is a form of "tagala-pe-te-lepina," meaning "to make go down to stop in the neck," i.e., "to eat till you are full up to the neck." This accounts for the part "tebete." "Men-e-ana" is "me-ni-na," i.e., "I-you-there." The whole phrase is therefore "(let) me and you (go) there to eat"; "there" meaning "a berry-bearing bush" (pointed out to the pative).

65. Tid-qua=Sugar.

This is "teka" or "taga(na)," + "pa" or "wa," sign of emphasis; that is, "a thing to eat eagerly"; in standard form "tak-pa."

66. Ti-er-id-ka = Ship.

This is "tia-ri-taka," i.e, "a heap or mass—swift-move"; meaning "a bulky thing that moves swiftly." As an alternative, "ri" may be taken in its meaning of "hand" or "arm" (v. No. 57). The phrase would then mean "a bulky thing with a hand (i.e., an oar) (to enable it) to move." However, this would rather refer to a boat than to a "ship."

67. Tra-ban-na = Blankett.

H.L.R. gives "teri" for "basket"; if "banna" is a contraction of "palla-na," the phrase means "a big basket," that is, "a wrapper" in which men lie as if in a "basket."

68. Vestra = Star.

The "s" is foreign to Tasmanian speech; "v" is also foreign, but it may be written for "w" (v. No. 58), and could then stand for "p." If H.W.M. pointed ("pe") to a "star," saving at the same time "star," the native would most naturally say "pe-star," adding the usual final vowel, and laying stress on "pe," which word he knew, and slurring over "stara," which had no meaning to him; thus H.W.M. would get "we-st(a)ra," and write "vestra."

69. Weig-tha = Moon.

H.L.R. gives "wiggetena," "weetah." "weena," for "Moon." Our word, standardized, is "wig-ta," evidently a variant of those given by H.L.R.

70. Wag-grun-na = teeth.

This is "pag" (or "pug")-"rene-na"; H.L.R. gives the form "wughrinua" for "tooth." This would refer to the round or rather cylindrical things moving (with the lower jaw).

71. Wood-tha = Bird.

This is a variant of "mutta," which H.L.R. quotes as measing "pigeon." "Mutta" is a connection of "pugata," menning "a round or plump thing." Perhaps the "mutton-bild" (sooty petrel), the export of which is the stuple industry of the Tasmanian half-cast is settled on the islands of Bass Straits, was originally the "mutta-bird," i.e., the "plump" or "fit" bird; the description would be very apt.

72. Wan-a-pack-a-la-lea = Work, or Labour.

This is "Polla)-na pakalalia." "Palla" or "palawa" is "man"; "pakala" is "butlock"; "li-a" is "moving." The phrase would then mean "to move (like) a human butlock." Regular work was distasteful to the Tasmanian aboriginal man, and he would naturally speak of it as fit only for inferior beings.

73. Fa-cu-na = Rain.

74. pho-ca-nah = Rain.

These words are clearly identical. H L.R gives "pokana" and "pogana" for "roin." This is "the round thing (i.e., "drop") that makes a noise," viz., "pug(a)-kana"

75. Pee-bid-ka = Thunder.

H.L.R. gives the variant "poimettya" for "thunder." It is "pe(na)-matta-ka," i.e., "lance-big mass-noise," and means "a (fiery) lance (followed by) a big mass (falling with) a noise."

In the final note, H.W.M. mentions the rapid, guttural diction of the Aboriginals, which H.L.R. also mentions. His explanation of thunder shows that he was eager to do missionary service. He was probably in error when he took that old native to refer to the Second Advent; as thunder is rarely heard in Southern Tasmania, and the memory of primitive people is short, that native probably meant to ask simply whether there would be more thunder soon, evidently considering H.W.M. to be able to tell him what was going on in the sky.

In conclusion, I submit that I have now established the genuineness of Mr. Beattie's record, and considerably augmented the force of the arguments I have urged in support of my theory on the nature of the language of the Aborigines of Tasmania.