Introduction

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The first language documented by R. H. Mathews was Gundungurra, the tongue of the Blue Mountains and Southern Highlands of New South Wales.[1] Published by the Royal Society in Sydney, the paper was co-authored with Mary Everitt, a Sydney school teacher, with whom Mathews intended to collaborate further, but disagreements developed between them and Mathews never again worked with another writer.[2] He was essentially a one-man operation. He maintained great enthusiasm for linguistic study after that initial publication in 1900. Language elicitation can be found in 36 of his 171 works of anthropology. They describe, in varying detail, some 53 Australian languages.

That he commenced with Gundungurra is intriguing. Mathews once said of his upbringing near Goulburn that 'black children were among my earliest playmates'.[3] According to the boundaries set out in his own writings, the people indigenous to that district would have spoken Gundungurra or the adjacent and related tongue, Ngunawal. His interest in Aboriginal language is important to understanding all aspects of his ethnographic research. When, as a young surveyor at Narran Lakes, he made notes of Aboriginal words in a field book (see the general introduction to this volume), he would have noticed the difference between this language and the one he had heard as a child. This may not seem particularly astounding, but we must remember that few white people at that time had any idea of the linguistic diversity of Aboriginal Australia.

The two linguistic articles published here, 'The Wailwan Language' (1903) and 'Language of the Kurnu Tribe, New South Wales' (1904), are translated from the French. As Mathews explains in the latter article, he had published a discussion of Kurnu in a paper dated 1902,[4] but unusual features of the grammar demanded further investigation. So he travelled by railway from his home in Sydney to western New South Wales. Kurnu, which linguists classify as a dialect of the Paakantyi language, was spoken along the Darling River north of Wilcannia.[5] The northern reaches of Kurnu territory are flanked on the eastern side by Wailwan country. Although described here as a language, Wailwan is technically the northernmost of two dialects spoken by Ngemba people.[6] It is likely that research on both Wailwan and Kurnu occurred concurrently. Mathews' diary records field trips to Brewarrina, Byrock and Bourke in the winters of both 1902 and 1903.[7] He went there on other occasions as well, and corresponded with several policemen in the area who advised him of the whereabouts of Aboriginal people whom they had come to know when distributing blankets and food rations. He discussed language and many other

topics during his visits to these communities. The myths, kinship system and material culture of western New South Wales are all described at length in his writings. The short description of Djadjala (Mathews' Tyatyalla), appended to 'The Wailwan Language', resulted from separate fieldwork in Victoria.

Mathews tried as much as possible to carry out his linguistic research in person. As he writes in the Kurnu paper, 'I personally collected the following elements of the language in Kurnu territory, from reliable and intelligent elders of both sexes'. While words to this effect accompany most of his language elicitation, there are exceptions. A 210-word vocabulary of the Jingili language was prepared with the aid of a Northern Territory correspondent.[8] The Lutheran missionary Carl Strehlow supplied information for a paper on Luritja, the Central Australian tongue.[9] There are a few other examples.[10] Strehlow was a unique ally in such labour. His grasp of Aboriginal language was sufficient to allow him to translate parts of the New Testament into Arrernte and he was connected with the anthropological scene in Germany through his association with Moritz von Leonhardi (whose letters to Mathews appear in this volume). Scholars of Strehlow's calibre were of course rare in the backblocks of Australia, and since they had their own ambitions in terms of publishing, they were often cagey about sharing their findings. For the majority of Mathews' correspondents, who were not highly educated, the elicitation of detailed grammatical information was a considerable challenge. The consistent notation of Aboriginal words was also a problem. Although he met with only limited success, Mathews made some effort to tutor correspondents in this labour. He self-published a pamphlet titled *Thurrawal Grammar* (1901). In it a précis of Dharawal is presented as a model for grammatical research, followed by a section headed 'Directions for Obtaining Information'. It provides insight into the strategies used by Mathews in interview situations. He was intrigued by the fact that unlike English, Aboriginal languages have two forms of the pronoun 'we': one that includes the person being spoken to; and another that excludes him or her. Mathews suggests that the researcher first make a note of a common verb—he gives the example of 'to strike'. From there the various forms of the pronouns can be elicited by asking the speaker to say, 'I struck', 'Thou struck', 'He struck', etc.[11]

Mathews' unpublished notebooks in the National Library of Australia testify to the amount of linguistic research he did in person. They often name the individuals who taught him the language—a courtesy only seldom replicated in the published material. Notebooks indicate that in his study of Kurnu, Charlie Elliott, Melbourne Fanny, Eliza Knight and Melbourne Tommy were among his teachers.[12] He often found occasion to check or recheck his work, even after descriptions of the language had been published. Evidence of his method can be found in an offprint of 'Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria', the 1902 article in which his first description of

Kurnu appeared. Unlike the French text, the earlier article contains a vocabulary of 220 words. The list in the offprint is extensively corrected and a pencilled annotation reads: 'Checked with Melb.n Tommy & Charlie Elliott & Liza Knight.'[13]

A reluctance to name sources is apparent in much of Mathews' published work—not only his linguistic research. The fact that he had little trouble finding publishers is evidence that such lack of attribution was not a great problem for many of his peers. But standards were changing in the period in which Mathews worked. Anthropology was becoming more professional. A letter survives among Mathews' papers in which John L. Myres, honorary secretary of the Anthropological Institute, London, requests amendments to the paper 'Languages of the Kamilaroi and Other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales' (1903).[14] Myres informed him that

> all three referees have independently asked that precise and full particulars should be given in each case as to the circumstances (locality, date, collector, & c.) under which the information contained in these papers was collected.[15]

Mathews revised the paper to a standard that the journal deemed acceptable, but instead of naming informants he gave generalised statements about how he acquired the data: 'all my information had to be obtained orally from the natives by visiting them at their camping places'.[16] The evidence of the notebooks establishes beyond doubt the veracity of these claims. Mathews' reluctance to name his sources was partly a consequence of a research culture that honoured the researcher above the Aboriginal speaker, and was no doubt exacerbated by the fractious anthropological scene in Australia. Mathews resisted naming his Aboriginal sources lest his rivals should use this information to track them down.

Mathews' unpublished papers reveal an ongoing labour of checking and refinement, long after the publication of an article. They give many insights into the challenges he faced when recording language. Inevitably, he encountered differences in accent and pronunciation within language groups, and given that many speakers were conversant in a number of Aboriginal tongues, there may well have been confusion about what language he was documenting. The contact experience brought linguistic transformation; old words were lost or transformed and new terms were needed. All these factors presented challenges to the linguist who was also struggling with the problems of identifying sounds and working out how to transcribe them. He was obliged to revise his work not only because he sometimes met speakers who seemed more authoritative, but because his ear for Aboriginal language improved the more he listened. What his Aboriginal friends thought of his steely determination to describe grammar and produce word lists is not recorded. But it must have seemed strange and rather mechanical. Not surprisingly, the linguistic documentation in Mathews' notebooks often

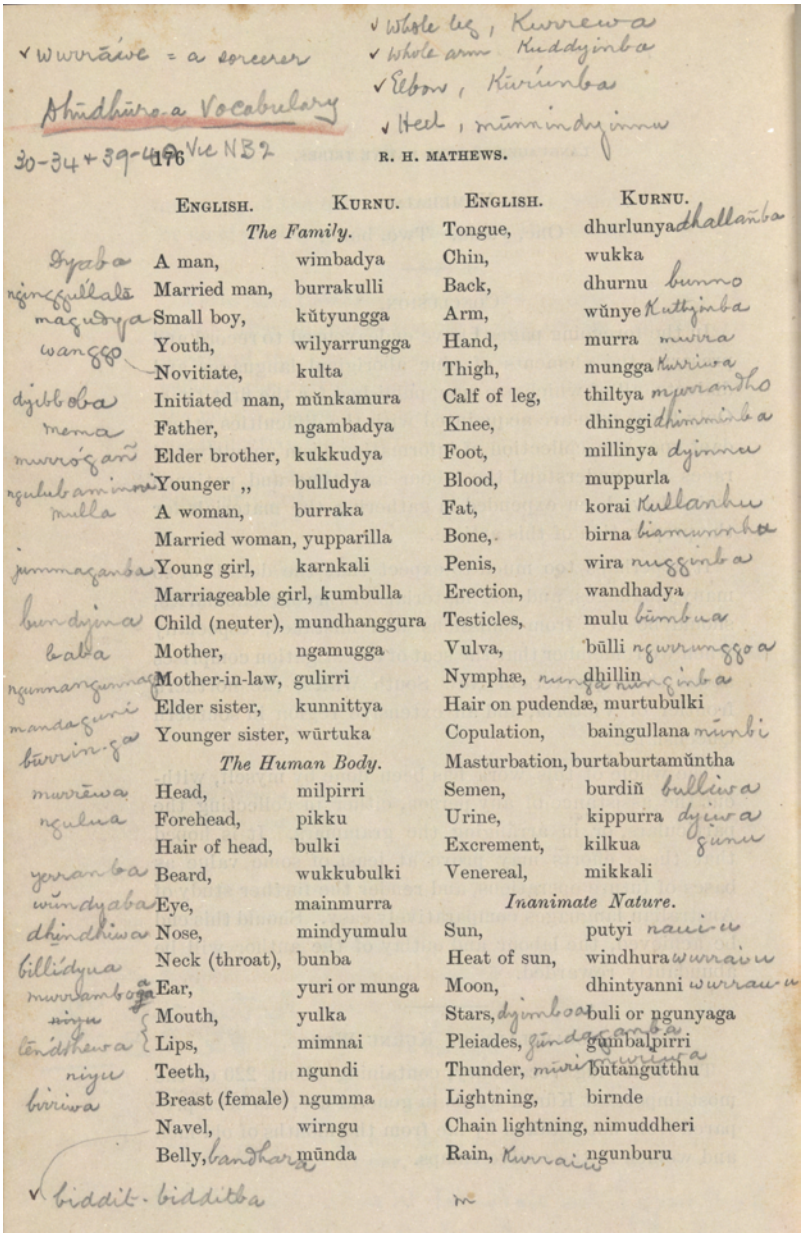
segues into accounts of legends or lists of totems. Campfire conversation did not conform to the neat categories suggested by the published writings. That men and women contributed to the Kurnu study is fairly typical of Mathews' work on linguistics. Language research was not usually gender-specific.[17] The significant contribution of women helps explain the amount of linguistic ground he covered. At places such as Bourke and Brewarrina, men were often absent labouring in the pastoral industry. Women and children predominated at the Aboriginal stations and reserves where Mathews tended to visit.

Readers of his linguistic publications will notice that a consistent template was used throughout. Of the two works reproduced here, 'The Wailwan Language' is the more substantial, and is generally typical of his work on language. First, the grammar is explained under headings that were replicated in every article. Then comes the vocabulary, first with the word in English and then its Wailwan equivalent. Words are grouped in categories which were loosely replicated in article after article: 'The Family', 'The Human Body', 'Natural Surroundings', 'Mammals', 'Birds', 'Fishes', 'Reptiles', 'Invertebrates', 'Adjectives' and 'Verbs'. The lack of a vocabulary in the Kurnu translation is due to his having published one in the earlier article, despite its limitations.[18]

Immediately noticeable, even in the longer Wailwan publication, is the brevity of this work: vocabulary is represented in 200 words. Admittedly, this is on the shorter end of the scale. Mathews often gave 300 words from a language and on one occasion 460.[19] Yet even this is a very partial representation, of limited use to a potential speaker. These days, Mathews' work is often consulted by Aboriginal people, sometimes in the hope of reconnecting with their heritage or revitalising the languages he recorded. Mathews, however, never anticipated such a readership, and was usually pessimistic about the future of Aboriginal culture. His methods were very much at odds with current expectations, so to understand his inscription and presentation of languages, we have to think about his motivations.

Indication of why he recorded language has appeared already in this volume. In 'The Natives of Australia' (1902) he expressed his views on Aboriginal migration.

> Some of the southerly reaches of this flood of emigrants reached the north and north-western coasts of the Australian continent and spread across the largest part of Australia as well as Tasmania, which was then joined to New Holland. These first occupants can be seen as the Aborigines of Australia. Other branches of the same migration reached New Guinea, New Caledonia, Melanesia and Polynesia, where not only fragments of the race can be found, but also traces of a common language, because a language can adopt foreign words without changing its



Dhūdhūroa Vocabulary

R. H. MATHEWS.

English.	Kurnu.	English.	Kurnu.
The Family.		Tongue,	dhurlunya
A man,	wimbadya	Chin,	wukka
Married man,	burrakulli	Back,	dhurnu
Small boy,	kŭtyungga	Arm,	wŭnye
Youth,	wilyarrungga	Hand,	murra
Novitiate,	kulta	Thigh,	mungga
Initiated man,	mŭnkamura	Calf of leg,	thiltya
Father,	ngambadya	Knee,	dhinggi
Elder brother,	kukkudya	Foot,	millinya
Younger ,,	bulludya	Blood,	muppurla
A woman,	burraka	Fat,	korai
Married woman,	yupparilla	Bone,	birna
Young girl,	karnkali	Penis,	wira
Marriageable girl,	kumbulla	Erection,	wandhadya
Child (neuter),	mundhanggura	Testicles,	mulu
Mother,	ngamugga	Vulva,	bŭlli
Mother-in-law,	gulirri	Nymphæ,	dhillin
Elder sister,	kunnittya	Hair on pudendæ,	murtubulki
Younger sister,	wŭrtuka	Copulation,	baingullana
The Human Body.		Masturbation,	burtaburtamŭntha
Head,	milpirri	Semen,	burdiñ
Forehead,	pikku	Urine,	kippurra
Hair of head,	bulki	Excrement,	kilkua
Beard,	wukkubulki	Venereal,	mikkali
Eye,	mainmurra	*Inanimate Nature.*	
Nose,	mindyumulu	Sun,	putyi
Neck (throat),	bunba	Heat of sun,	windhura
Ear,	yuri or munga	Moon,	dhintyanni
Mouth,	yulka	Stars,	buli or ngunyaga
Lips,	mimnai	Pleiades,	gŭmbalpirri
Teeth,	ngundi	Thunder,	bŭtangutthu
Breast (female)	ngumma	Lightning,	birnde
Navel,	wirngu	Chain lightning,	nimuddheri
Belly,	mŭnda	Rain,	ngunburu

R. H. Mathews used this offprint of 'Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria' (1902) in later fieldwork. A vocabulary for Dhudhuroa (the language of the Mitta Mitta and Kiewa Rivers) has been pencilled alongside the printed documentation of Kurnu (a language spoken in western NSW). By permission of the National Library of Australia. (R.H. Mathews Papers, NLA MS8006/8.227).

> fundamental character. Comparative philology and ethnology must always be studied at the same time.[20]

Other comments confirm this motivation. His study of Dharawal in 1901 was prefaced with the hope that the information would be valuable to philologists, 'enabling them to compare our aboriginal languages with each other, and also with those of the people of Polynesia and the East Indian Archipelago'.[21] The idea that language could be a scientific indicator of racial and geographical origins was quite acceptable in Mathews' period. The idea went out of vogue when it was recognised that the human race, and indeed the cosmos, are much older than was thought by the Victorians.[22] Working with this framework, Mathews never thought of glossing a language in such detail that someone would speak it. Instead, his research was a form of survey in which sets of uniform and quite restricted data were gathered from diverse language groups for comparative purposes.

So how did Mathews go about the complex task of documenting language? What models informed his process? One clue can be found in a comment made by his granddaughter-in-law Janet Mathews, who was familiar with his personal library. She claims that Mathews and his wife Mary returned from Europe in 1883 with 'a book containing the grammar of the Irish Gaelic language'.[23] This intriguing revelation is further evidence that Mathews was interested in matters linguistic long before he turned to anthropology in the early 1890s. It also hints at a further connection between his documentation of Aboriginal traditions and the influence of the folklore studies movement, which sought to investigate and preserve the folk culture of Europe, also thought to be endangered (see introduction to 'Part 3: Mythology', this volume).

The Gaelic grammar became part of Mathews' library, which occupied a room of his house in Parramatta. He also studied in the reading room of the Royal Society of New South Wales and at the Public Library in Sydney.[24] That is to say, he had access to a range of literature that guided him in the collection and presentation of linguistic data. This included manuals on anthropology, the best known of which was *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands*, issued by the Anthropological Institute in London. E. B. Tylor wrote the entry on language for the first edition of 1874 and Mathews seems to have heeded his stern counsel that the 'practice of judging of the affinities of a language by means of a short vocabulary of isolated words, without a guide to the grammatical structure, is to be condemned as loose and misleading'.[25] Mathews' approach to language was certainly more rigorous than the piecemeal collection of vocabulary, criticised by Tylor. His documentation of Aboriginal grammar was sufficiently impressive to win reserved praise from later, professional linguists including Arthur Capell and Diana Kelloway Eades.[26] His method was limited, however, by his dependence on European models. The

linguist Harold Koch argues that the 'grammatical framework used by Mathews seems to be based primarily on the system of Traditional Grammar that emerged from Greek and Roman grammarians'.[27] Koch claims that this prevented him from discerning certain distinctive features of Aboriginal language. His discussion of case is an example. Explicated under the categories 'Genitive', 'Ablative', 'Dative', etc., it seems directly drawn from a Latin primer such as Mathews or his children would have used. Koch notes that a 'remarkable absence from Mathews' case inventory is the Locative, which modern studies have found to be universally present in Australian languages'.[28]

Mathews' offprints of his own articles, sometimes crammed with marginalia, confirm Koch's analysis. A publication on one language provided not only the schematic framework for future studies, but the very paper on which they were written. This seems to have been the case with the corrected Kurnu vocabulary, previously mentioned. That he travelled with offprints on his field trips and annotated them directly by the campfire is certainly suggested by their often dilapidated condition. Nearly all his vocabularies were based on a standard set of English words, and rather than rewrite it time and time again, Mathews simply inscribed a new vocabulary alongside the list of English terms printed in the earlier article. This is apparent in various offprints of 'Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria' (1902). In one, a vocabulary for Dhudhuroa (the language of the Mitta Mitta and Kiewa rivers, and part of the Murray valley) has been pencilled alongside the printed documentation of Kurnu.[29] Although pre-emptive, the method was convenient and in its own way logical, for it allowed him to see at a glance the affinities between his present study and languages he had previously documented.

The notation used by Mathews to capture the phonetics of Aboriginal language opens other intriguing issues. To what extent does his notation approximate the utterances he heard? The challenges of transcribing foreign languages were keenly felt in the period when Mathews began his research. Comparative linguistics was an emerging field. Since linguists everywhere were hampered by the fact that there was no system of notation applicable to all languages, a group of language teachers convened in Paris in 1886 to deal with the problem. They established the International Phonetic Association and two years later they issued the first version of the International Phonetic Alphabet (I.P.A.), a system modestly 'intended to provide a standardized, accurate and unique representation for every sound element in human language'.[30] If Mathews was aware of this new form of notation, he made no attempt to master it. Rather, as he mentions in the Wailwan paper (and many others), he used a simpler form of orthography recommended by the Royal Geographical Society in London.

Mathews' use of this system reveals how strongly his background as a surveyor influenced his anthropological methods. Through his surveying network

he would have received notice of the Royal Geographical Society's system of orthography, which was never intended for the student of ethno-linguistics. The society's concern was consistency in nomenclature throughout the colonies, which would have a beneficial effect on imperial administration. First published in 1885,[31] the system was refined in 1892 in the hope it would 'reduce the confusion existing in British maps with regard to the spelling of geographical names, in consequence of the variety of systems of orthography used by travellers and others to represent the sound of native place-names in different parts of the world'.[32] In complete contrast to the I.P.A., which used special characters to reproduce unique phonetic values, the Royal Geographic Society employed English notation

> to provide a system which should be simple enough for any educated person to master with the minimum of trouble, and which at the same time would afford an approximation to the sound of a place-name such as a native might recognise. No attempt was made to represent the numberless delicate inflexions of sound and tone which belong to every language, often to different dialects of the same language. For it was felt not only that such a task would be impossible, but that an attempt to provide for such niceties would defeat the object.[33]

Undoubtedly, the simplicity of the system must have appealed to Mathews. It was based on a few cardinal rules: vowels should be pronounced as in Italian; consonants as per English. All letters must be pronounced. The acute accent was the only diacritic admissible.[34] As we see in the 'The Wailwan Language', Mathews was compelled to modify the system slightly. He used the Spanish *ñ* to express the *ny* sound common as a word ending in Australian languages. The placement of a macron above some vowels denoted a 'long sound' (*ā*, *ē*, *ū*). His manuscripts sometimes use other diacritics, but they appear only spasmodically in the printed versions. The typesetters in Austria were willing or able to reproduce a wider range of diacritics than those in Paris.

The changes that occurred in translating English descriptions of Aboriginal language into German and French epitomise the complications that beset Mathews' project from its inception. In this volume we have tried as much as possible to weed out the mistakes of the original translators, though it is easy to empathise with their bewilderment. A living language is always in a state of flux. That is true of both English and the Aboriginal tongues that Mathews tried to capture. His linguistic foray is a reminder that Aboriginal languages were already influencing the English of white Australians, many of whom would recognise the 'laughing jackass' by its Wailwan name, *kuguburra*. But Oscar Schmidt, translating in Paris, was understandably flummoxed. The bird became a *pie riante*, literally a 'laughing magpie'. The word 'clever man' posed similar

problems. Schmidt translated it as *homme intelligent* (intelligent man), thus erasing most of its meaning.

When the context of Mathews' work on language is understood, any notion that his articles are literal representations of Aboriginal speech must be discarded. Like all his writings they are as much to do with the anthropologist and his culture as they are about the Aboriginal societies he visited. Certainly, they give tremendous insights into the thinking of Aboriginal people. Language is at the heart of how we interact with one another and the world around us. Through language we represent the past, negotiate the present and anticipate the future. Mathews' Kurnu paper is rewarding for anyone thinking about Aboriginal concepts of time. He outlines a grammatical system in which tense is marked by modification of the pronouns—a feature not found elsewhere in Australia. Typically, temporality in language is marked by modification of verbs. The Kurnu system seemed so unnatural to R. M. W. Dixon, the distinguished scholar of Australian languages, that he dismissed it as the concoction of 'a surveyor and amateur linguist' whose work 'must be treated with caution'.[35] But Stephen Wurm and Luise Hercus, who did linguistic fieldwork in the 1950s and 1960s with the last Paakantyi speakers, confirmed the veracity of Mathews' report.[36] This is testimony to the skill of his teachers and his own perception, which allowed him to overcome his lack of training and the limitations of grammatical models based on Latin and Greek.

In many ways, Mathews' linguistic project is defined by the technology available to him at the time. Phonographs were the only system of sound recording available for fieldwork in the early 1900s. The maximum duration of a recording was only a couple of minutes, and the wax cylinders on which they recorded were famously unstable.[37] So Mathews made do with pen and paper. This means that he alone controlled the recording of data. While his Aboriginal friends were clearly willing to share their language, it is likely that they tried to push his education in directions that were meaningful according to their own values and mores. There are hints of this in the notebooks, but they are always excised from the publications. R. H. Mathews' documentation is thus very different to the tapes recorded by Janet Mathews in the 1960s.[38] Working on occasions with descendants of people who taught her grandfather-in-law, she documented song and music on a portable electric recorder. At her suggestion, Jimmie Barker, a speaker of Muruwari and sound recordist par excellence, produced invaluable tapes in which he appraised offprints of Mathews' writings on his language and corrected various mistakes.[39] Aboriginal people became newly empowered by this type of technology.[40]

Janet's tapes give intimation of the sorts of dialogues and misunderstandings that R. H. must have experienced. They allow us to think about the strategies used by the speakers when Mathews came visiting. While researching this

section of the book, I corresponded with the linguist Tamsin Donaldson who has studied the Ngemba dialects and other New South Wales languages. In collaboration with Bradley Steadman, a Brewarrina resident of Ngemba ancestry who is greatly interested in how his people were documented, she prepared a statement about the possible motivations of people who work with researchers. Donaldson and Steadman are convinced that speakers and singers are often untroubled by the conceptual limitations of the person asking the questions.

> When people sing songs for the tape recorder, they often first explain for the person with the microphone, sometimes in language and sometimes in English, that so and so 'gave me this song to sing behind'. This means that so and so had given them the song as an inheritance.
>
> When 'right through' [fluent] speakers of a language talk into the microphone they always make what they say part of a real conversation grounded in the reality of their own lives and the language they live them in, whatever the purpose of questions in English that they are being asked by the 'field worker' holding the microphone. If the question doesn't make sense to them in their own 'word-world' (the literal meaning of the language name Ngiyampaa) they will reframe it and answer it so that it does. And if the questioner is an outsider who is not able to 'take notice' and learn enough to become part of this conversation grounded in their here and now, they will speak past the questioner to another audience—the listeners of the future who are 'being given the language' to understand and 'talk behind'.[41]

ENDNOTES

[1] Mathews, R.H. and Everitt, M.M. 1900 'The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of N. S. Wales', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 34.

[2] See letters from Everitt to A. G. Stephens in Organ, Michael (ed.) 1993, *Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines*, Report at MS 3303, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, pp. 194-200.

[3] RHM 1904, 'Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 38, p. 203.

[4] RHM 1902, 'Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 36.

[5] Hercus, L. A. 1982, *The Bagandji Language*, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, p. 7.

[6] Donaldson, Tamsin 1985, 'Hearing the First Australians' in Donaldson, Ian and Donaldson, Tamsin (eds), *Seeing the First Australians*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney, p. 78.

[7] Diary 1893-1907, R. H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia (henceforth NLA) MS 8006/1/2. Entries for 20 June-12 July 1902 and 26 June–11 July 1903.

[8] RHM 1900-01, 'Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Northern Territory', *Queensland Geographical Journal*, vol. 16.

[9] RHM 1907, 'Languages of some Tribes of Western Australia', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 46.

[10] Egs RHM 1909-10, 'Notes on Some Tribes of Western Australia', *Queensland Geographical Journal*, vol. 25, and RHM 1907,'The Arran'da Language, Central Australia', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 46.

[11] RHM 1901, *Thurrawal Grammar: Part I*, self-published, Parramatta, unpaginated.

[12] Notebook with 'Criterion Hotel' on cover, R. H. Mathews Papers, NLA MS 8006/3/7, pp. 5 & 11.

[13] RHM, 'Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria', p. 175. Offprint at NLA MS 8006/8/231.

[14] RHM 1903, 'Languages of the Kamilaroi and Other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. 33.

[15] Myres to Mathews, 11 December 1902, R. H. Mathews Papers, NLA MS 8006/8/479. The author of the letter is significant. John Linton Myres was Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at Oxford and celebrated for 'introducing more systematic methods and promoting a definite progressive policy' at the Anthropological Institute in his roles as honorary secretary, editor of *MAN*, and as president. See Braunholtz, H.J and Firth, Raymond 1939, 'J. L. Myres: Past President of the Royal Anthropological Institute; Editor of "MAN"', *MAN*, vol. 39, no. 88.

[16] RHM, 'Languages of the Kamilaroi and Other Aboriginal Tribes', p. 275.

[17] A significant exception to this rule are what Mathews called the 'mystic' languages—spoken only at men's ceremonies. Mathews gave sketchy documentation of several of these languages.

[18] RHM, 'Languages of some Native Tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria', pp. 175-9.

[19] RHM 1901-02, 'The Thoorga Language', *Queensland Geographical Journal*, vol. 17.

[20] RHM 1902, 'Les Indigènes d'Australie, *L'Anthropologie*, vol. 13, p.234. Reproduced this volume.

[21] RHM 1901, 'The Thurrawal Language', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol. 35, pp. 127-8.

[22] Research into genetics has brought new thinking about the value of correlating linguistic and genetic data when tracing the origins and movements of peoples. See Cavalli-Sforza, Luigi Luca 2000, *Genes, Peoples and Languages*, North Point Press, New York.

[23] Mathews, Janet 1994, *The Opal that Turned Into Fire*, Magabala Books, Broome, WA, p. 160.

[24] Thomas, Martin 2007, 'The Ethnomania of R. H. Mathews: Anthropology and the rage for collecting' in Poiner, Gretchen and Jack, Sybil (eds), *Limits of Location: Creating a Colony*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

[25] Tylor, E.B. 1874, 'No. LXIX—Language' in British Association for the Advancement of Science, *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands*, Council of the Anthropological Institute, London, p. 114.

[26] Capell, A. 1971, 'History of research on Australian and Tasmanian languages' in Sebeok, T. (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics: Linguistics in Oceania*, vol. 8, Mouton, The Hague, p. 667 and Eades, Diana Kelloway 1976, *The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, pp. 8-11.

[27] Koch, Harold (in press), 'R. H. Mathews' schema for the description of Australian languages' in McGregor, William (ed.), *Encountering Aboriginal languages: Studies in the history of Aboriginal linguistics*, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra, unpaginated.

[28] Ibid.

[29] RHM, 'The Aboriginal Languages of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria', 1902. Copy at NLA MS 8006/8/227.

[30] 'International Phonetic Alphabet', *Wikpedia*, viewed 11 July 2006. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Phonetic_Alphabet.>>

[31] Royal Geographical Society 1885, 'System of Orthography for Native Names of Places', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, vol. 7 (new series), no. 8.

[32] Duff, M. E. Grant 1892, 'Orthography of Geographic Names', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, vol. 14 (new series), no. 2, p. 116.

[33] Ibid, p. 117.

[34] Ibid, p. 118.

[35] Cited Wurm, S.A and Hercus, L. 1976, 'Tense-Marking in Gunu Pronouns' in Kirton, J.F., Sommer, B.A., Wurm, S.A., Hercus, L., Austin, P. and Ellis, R. (eds), *Papers in Australian Linguistics No. 10*, Research School of Pacific Studies, Canberra, p. 34.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Thomas, Martin 2007, 'The Rush to Record: Transmitting the Sound of Aboriginal Culture', *Journal of Australian Studies*, no. 91.

[38] Thomas, Martin 2003, '"To You Mrs Mathews": The Cross-Cultural Recording of Janet Mathews 1914-1992', *The Australasian Sound Archive*, vol. 29.

[39] Recordings by Jimmie Barker dated 1969, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Archive Tapes A1706a and A 1581a. The paper discussed was RHM 1902-03, 'The Murawarri and other Australian Languages', *Queensland Geographical Journal*, vol. 18.

[40] The recordings resulted in the posthumous publication of Barker's life story. See Barker, Jimmie and Mathews, J. 1980, *The Two Worlds of Jimmie Barker: The Life of an Australian Aboriginal 1900-1972 as told to Janet Mathews*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra [1st pub. 1977].

[41] Tamsin Donaldson and Bradley Steadman, pers. comm., 7 July 2006.