

Language Maps

The following maps were based on a compilation of sources made over the period 2008-2020. The maps show language family locations to the extent known. The drawing of the language maps and decisions about which varieties and names to represent is described in more detail in Chapter 7. The following notes should be taken into account especially.

As should be clear, the placement of languages in physical space is an abstraction and an idealization. Languages are used by people, who are often multilingual. While some Indigenous groups view language as being particularly associated with geographical regions (that is, that tracts of land belong to certain languages and people speak those languages by virtue of being in that space; see Rumsey 1989, 1993, Rigsby 2005, Sutton 1978, for example; see further discussion in Chapter 1 and 49 of the current volume), not all groups view language in that way.

These maps are also ‘atemporal’; that is, they are not a specific snapshot of a particular point in time. Language locations change over time. All Indigenous language locations have been affected, to varying degrees, by colonial settlement (cf. NILR (2020)). This is not a map of contemporary language use, but it’s probably also not a map of traditional language locations for some parts of the country. At best, it could be a reconstruction for some areas, contemporary continuation for others, and contemporary change in yet other areas. These maps should be considered as a way to relate linguistic groups to one another in space. It should help to visualize the approximate distances between groups, abstracting away from multilingualism, population density, and Indigenous settlement patterns.

This map represents my best attempt to reconcile the myriad of conflicting information about Australian languages and their traditional and contemporary locations. It is important to note that even “reliable” sources are sometimes irreconcilable. Reasons for conflicting information include a difference in the time period represented, working with different groups or individuals, different ideas of what constitutes a “language”, different choices of which varieties to group together, vagueness in prior maps, and even esthetic mapping choices that change information. For these and other reasons, I may have come to different decisions than others about how to

represent language-land relationships in Australia, although for the most part, this map is broadly similar to others. Perhaps the biggest difference is the number of languages represented: 490, rather than the “250” that linguists have tended to work with (as further discussed in Chapter 7).

The language map is keyed to the classification given on page **XX** above. Since that is a classification of *languages* (rather than all named *varieties*), only *languages* are shown on the map. This means that groups where the language name and the name of the group are different, show the language names rather than the group names. For some parts of the country, the ethnonyms and the language names are identical (this is true for most, though not all, of the Western and Central blocs of Pama-Nyungan, for example). In parts of Eastern Australia, however, language names were not identical to names for social groups.

Maps 1 and 2 include classification information, such as families and subgroups. Pama-Nyungan subgroup boundaries are represented by dashed lines; language families have solid lines. These subgroups of Pama-Nyungan are the ones most familiar to Australianists. They descend from the earlier classifications of roughly 30 groups that were originally not linked more closely together (cf. the Pama-Nyungan rake model described in Bower 2011). The classification presented on the map is somewhat conservative. For example, it does not show substructure within Paman or Maric in Map 2. The map was designed with historical linguistic uses in mind (for example, units for reconstruction). It does not show groups with cultural affinities to one another (for example, the languages of the Victoria River district) or other ways of grouping languages.

Map 3 does not present boundaries between individual languages. This decision was not undertaken lightly. It was done because it is impossible to represent boundaries accurately in too many cases. The reasons differed in different areas. In some places, the boundaries themselves are unknown; single fixed boundaries are not the best way to represent the way languages in particular regions shaded into one another; boundaries are disputed; boundaries have changed over the last few hundred years; and other reasons. Of course, the boundaries given in Maps 1 and 2 are derived from the language locations in Map 3, and are subject to some of the same types of considerations. They should be treated as indicative rather than definitive.

The process of compiling information was as follows. The starting point for this project was the compilation of a language map and list of “standardized” language names for use in the Chirila database (Bowern 2016). The language map included both centroid (point) locations and polygons showing the approximate boundaries of languages. In order to be as complete as possible, data were compiled from all available sources on language locations, as well as the language names used in general sources about Australian languages. Numerous compilations exist in the prior literature, with the most important continent-wide surveys including O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966), Tindale (1940; 1974), Wurm and Hattori (1981) and Dixon (2002). Regional surveys were also important, and included both published sources (e.g. McGregor 2004, Wafer and Lissarrague 2008) and unpublished or locally published maps and pamphlets from regional Aboriginal language centres (for example, the Pama Language Centre, VACL, Wangka Maya, the Goldfields Language Centre, and Noongar Boodja Aboriginal Culture Language Centre). The maps were overlaid and geocoded in Google Earth to facilitate comparison. These were checked against the Austlang web site from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies. Some decisions about mapping are given in the notes to the classification, starting on page XX above. In general, I privileged information from Language Centres and from specific reference grammars over the older maps such as Tindale (1974). For the most part, sources were in broad agreement, as might be expected since they were not compiled independently. However, there were substantial minor differences, particularly around boundaries.

1. Non-Pama-Nyungan language families

2. Major subgroups of Pama-Nyungan

3. Language locations

4. New Indigenous languages

Key to Language Maps

Name	Map No.			
		Biri	47	Gandangara
		Birrpayi	48	Gangulu
		Boonwurrung	49	Ganulu
Adnyamathanha	1	Bukurnidja	50	Gara-gara
Aghu Tharnggala	2	Bularnu	51	Garandi
Agu Aloja	3	Bunganditj	52	Garig
Agwamin	4	Bunuba	53	Garingbal
Alawa	5	Burarra	54	Garlali
Alngith	6	Central Arrernte	55	Garwa
Alyawarr	7	Condamine-		Gija
Amangu	8	Upper-Clarence	56	Giya
Amurdak	9	Copmanhurst		Giyug
Andajin	10	Language	57	Gold Coast
Angkamuthi	11	Cundeelee		Pimpana
Anguthimri	12	Wangka	58	Golpa
Anindilyakwa	13	Dagoman	59	Gonbudj
Anmatyerr	14	Dalabon	60	Gooniyandi
Antakirinya	15	Darrkinyung	61	GoorengGooreng
Antekerrepenhe	16	Daungwurrung	62	Goreng
Ara-ara	17	Dhangu	63	Gubbi Gubbi
Arabana	18	Dharawal	64	Gudang
Aritinngithigh	19	Dharawala	65	Gudanji
Atampaya	20	Dharuk	66	Gudjal
Athima	21	Dharumba	67	Gugu Badhun
Awngthim	22	Dharumbal	68	Gugu Djangun
Awu Alaya	23	Dhay'yi	69	Gugu Wakura
Ayapathu	24	Dhudhuroa	70	Gumbaynggir
Ayerreyenge	25	Dhurga	71	Gungabula
Baanbay	26	Dhuwal	72	Gunggari
Badimaya	27	Dhuwala	73	Gunya
Badjiri	28	Diyari	74	Gurindji
Balardung	29	Djabugay	75	Gurrongi
Barada	30	Djadjawurung	76	Guugu-Yimidhirr
Bardi	31	Djangu	77	Guwa
Barna	32	Djinang	78	Guwamu
Barranbinya	33	Djinba	79	Guwar
Barrow Point	34	Djirbal	80	Guweng
Barunggam	35	Djirringany	81	Guyambal
Batjjamalh	36	Dungaloo	82	Guyani
Batyala	37	Duungidjauw	83	Guynmal
Bayali	38	Eastern Arrernte	84	Hunter River Lake
Bibbulman	39	Emmi	85	Macquarie
Bidawal	40	Eora	86	Ikarranggal
Bidjara	41	Erre	87	Ilgar
Bigambal	42	Flinders Island	88	Iwaidja
Bilinarra	43	Gaagudju	89	Jabirrabirri
Binbinka	44	Gabalbara	90	Jaminjung
Bindal	45	Gajirrebeng	91	Janday
Bininj Kunwok	46	Gamberre	92	Jardwadjali
		Gamilaraay	93	Jaru
				141

Jawi	142	Kuuku Yani	191	Minkin	240
Jawoyn	143	Kuuku-Ya'u	192	Miriwoong	241
Jingulu	144	Kuwarra	193	Mirniny	242
Jiwarli	145	Kwini	194	Mithaka	243
Jiwarliny	146	Ladji Ladji	195	Miyan	244
Jukun	147	Lamalama	196	Mpakwithi	245
Jurruru	148	Lardil	197	Mpalityan	246
Kaanju	149	Larrakia	198	Mudburra	247
Kala Lagaw Ya	150	Limilngan	199	Muk-Thang	248
Kalaamaya	151	Linngithigh	200	Muluriji	249
Kalaw Kawaw Ya	152	Lower Aranda	201	Murrinh-patha	250
Kalkatungu	153	Lower Richmond	202	Muruwari	251
Kamu	154	Luthigh	203	Muthanthi	252
Kaniyang	155	Luthigh	204	Nakara	253
Karajarri	156	Mabuiag	205	Nari Nari	254
Karangura	157	Magati Ke	206	Narrungga	255
Kariyarra	158	Malak Malak	207	Nauo	256
Karlaaku	159	Malkana	208	Ndjebbana	257
Karranga	160	Malngin	209	Ndra'ngith	258
Kartujarra	161	Malyangapa	210	Ngaanyatjarra	259
Karuwali	162	Mangala	211	Ngadjuri	260
Katthang	163	Mangarrayi	212	Ngaduk	261
Kurna	164	Manjiljarra	213	Ngaiawang	262
Kayardild	165	Maranunggu	214	Ngajumaya	263
Kaytetye	166	Margany	215	Ngalakgan	264
Keramin	167	Marra	216	Ngalia	265
Kokatha	168	Marramaninyshi	217	Ngaliwuru	266
Kokiny	169	Marrgu	218	Ngamini	267
Koko Bera	170	Marri Ammu	219	Ngan'gikurunggurr	268
Koko Dhawa	171	Marri Dan	220	Ngan'gityemerri	269
Koko-Babángk	172	Marri Tjevin	221	Nganakarti	270
Kolakngat	173	Marringarr	222	Ngandi	271
Koogobatha	174	Marrithiel	223	Ngantangarra	272
Kugu Nganhcara	175	Martuthunira	224	Nganyaywana	273
Kukatj	176	MathiMathi	225	Ngardi	274
Kukatja	177	Matngele	226	Ngarigu	275
Kuku Thaypan	178	Mawng	227	Ngarinyin	276
Kuku Yalanji	179	Mayawali	228	Ngarinyman	277
Kunbarlang	180	Mayi-Kulan	229	Ngarkat	278
Kungarakany	181	Mayi-Kutuna	230	Ngarla	279
Kungkarri	182	Mayi-Thakurti	231	Ngarlawangga	280
Kurnai	183	Mayi-Yapi	232	Ngarluma	281
Kurnu	184	Mbabaram	233	Ngarnka	282
Kurrama	185	Mbara	234	Ngaro	283
Kurtjar	186	Mbeiwum	235	Ngarrindjeri	284
Kuthant	187	Mengerrdji	236	Ngawun	285
Kuuk Thaayorre	188	Menthe	237	Ngintait	286
Kuuk Yak	189	Middle Clarence	238	Ngiyambaa	287
Kuuk-Narr	190	Minang	239	Ngomburr	288

Ngumbarl	289	Ritharrngu	338	Wangkajunga	387
Ngunawal	290	Southern Anaiwan	339	Wangkangurru	388
Nhanda	291	Southern Kaantju	340	Wangkayutyuru	389
Nhirrpi	292	Southern		Wangkumara	390
Nhuwala	293	Paakantyi	341	Wanyjirra	391
Nimanburu	294	Takalak	342	Wapabara	392
Nukunu	295	Thaagurda	343	Wardaman	393
Nulit	296	Thalanyji	344	Wardandi	394
Nungali	297	Thanggatti	345	Warlmanpa	395
Nunukal	298	Thanguuai	346	Warlpiri	396
Nyaanyatjarra	299	Tharrayi	347	Warluwarra	397
Nyaki Nyaki	300	Tharrgari	348	Warndarrang	398
Nyamal	301	Thawa	349	Warnman	399
Nyangumarta	302	Thiin	350	Warray	400
Nyawaygi	303	Thirarri	351	Warrgamay	401
Nyikina	304	Tiwi	352	Warriyanga	402
Nyulnyul	305	Tjapwurrung	353	Warrnambool	403
Nyunga	306	Tjupan	354	Warrwa	404
Ogh Awarrangg	307	Turrbul	355	Warumungu	405
Ogh-Alungul	308	Tweed-Albert	356	Warungu	406
Ogh-Angkula	309	Tyerraty	357	Wathawurrung	407
Ogunyjan	310	Umbugarla	358	WathiWathi	408
Olkola	311	Umbuygamu	359	Waywurru	409
Omeo language	312	Umiiida	360	Wemba Wemba	410
Paakantyi	313	Umpila	361	Western Arrarnta	411
Paaruntyi	314	Umpithamu	362	Wiilman	412
Pakanh	315	Unggarranggu	363	Wik Iyanh	413
Palyku	316	Unggumi	364	Wik Me'anh	414
Pantiykali	317	Uradhi	365	Wik Mungkan	415
Panyjima	318	Urningangk	366	Wik-Alkan	416
Parnkala	319	Uw El	367	Wik-Ep	417
Parrintyi	320	Uw Oykangand	368	Wik-Ngathan	418
Payungu	321	Uw-Olgol	369	Wik-Ngatharr	419
Peramangk	322	Uwinymil	370	Wik-Paacha	420
Pinikura	323	Waanyi	371	Wilyakali	421
Pinjarup	324	Wadikali	372	Winjarumi	422
Pintupi-Luritja	325	Wadjabangayi	373	Wiradjuri	423
Pirlatapa	326	Wadjigu	374	Wirangu	424
Pirriya	327	Wagaman	375	Wirri	425
Pitjantjatjara	328	Wagiman	376	Woiwurrung	426
Pitta-Pitta	329	Wailwan	377	Worimi	427
Pungupungu	330	Wajarri	378	Worla	428
Punthamara	331	Wajuk	379	Worrorra	429
Purduna	332	WakaWaka	380	Wotjobaluk	430
Putjarra	333	Wakaya	381	Wubuy	431
Raminyeri	334	Walangama	382	Wudjari	432
Rembarrnga	335	Walmajarri	383	Wulguru	433
Ribh	336	Wambaya	384	Wuli Wuli	434
Rimanggudinhma	337	Wanamara	385	Wulna	435
		Wangan	386		

Wulwulam	436	Yulparija	485
Wunambal	437	Yunggurr	486
Wurlayi	438	Yupngayth	487
Wurrugu	439	Yuru	488
Wuthathi	440	Yuwaalaraay	489
YabulaYabula	441	Yuwaliyaay	490
Yadhaykenu	442		
Yagalingu	443		
Yagara	444		
Yalarnnga	445		
Yambina	446		
Yan-nhangu	447		
Yanda	448		
Yandjibara	449		
Yandruwandha	450		
Yangga	451		
Yangman	452		
Yankunytjatjara	453		
Yanyuwa	454		
Yapurarra	455		
Yaraldi	456		
Yardliyawarra	457		
Yari-Yari	458		
Yarluyandi	459		
Yatay	460		
Yawarrawarrka	461		
Yawijibaya	462		
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Yaygirr	464		
Yetimarala	465		
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Yilba	467		
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Yindjilandji	470		
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Yir Yoront	476		
Yirandhali	477		
Yirrk Thangalkl	478		
YithaYitha	479		
YortaYorta	480		
Yu-Yu	481		
Yugambal	482		
Yugul	483		
Yukulta	484		