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Hale, K.

- 1964 Classification of Northern Paman languages, Cape York Peninsula, Australia: a research report. *Oceanic Linguistics* 3(2):248-265.
- 1976 "Phonological developments in particular northern Paman languages", in *Languages of Cape York*, by Peter Sutton (ed.), pp. 7-40. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Australian Aboriginal Studies, Research and Regional Studies No. 6.