A Reference Grammar of Gamilaraay, Northern New South Wales

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Preface

The Gamilaraay people (or Kamilaroi as the name is more commonly spelled) have been known and studied for over one hundred and sixty years, but as yet no detailed account of their language has been available. As we shall see, many things have been written about the language but until recently most of the available data originated from interested amateurs. This description takes into account all the older materials, as well as the more recent data.

This book is intended as a descriptive reference grammar of the Gamilaraay language of north-central New South Wales. My major aim has been to be as detailed and complete as possible within the limits imposed by the available source materials. In many places I have had to rely heavily on old data and to 'reconstitute' structures and grammatical patterns. Where possible I have included comparative notes on the closely related Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay languages, described by Corinne Williams, as well as comments on patterns of similarity to and difference from the more distantly related Ngiyampaa language, especially the variety called Wangaaypuwan, described by Tamsin Donaldson.

As a companion volume to this grammar I plan to write a practically-oriented description intended for use by individuals and communities in northern New South Wales. This practical description will be entitled *Gamilaraay, an Aboriginal Language of Northern New South Wales*. The present volume is a more technical work which seeks to document in detail all the structural patterns on which data is available. It is meant to stand as a reference source for the other volume.

I have prepared a reference dictionary of Gamilaraay which gives all the recorded vocabulary together with a full list of their various spellings and sources. This dictionary entitled *A reference dictionary of Gamilaraay, northern New South Wales* was published in 1993.

Preface 2013

This grammar was written between 1989 and 1993 and is presented here in the form in which it was completed in 1993. Much subsequent work has been done on Gamilaraay grammar, lexicography and language learning and teaching by John Giacon and others (see www.yuwaalaraay.org for references) and the materials included here are now out of date. I present this volume for whatever historical value it might have.

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Acknowledgements

Abbreviations and conventions

Languages

GM	Gamilaraay
MW	Murawari
NG	Ngiyampaa, Wangaypuwan
YR	Yuwaalaraay
YY	Yuwaaliyaay
WL	Wayilwan

Gamilaraay examples are numbered sequentially in each chapter and have a three or four line format. I distinguish between examples taken from the fieldnotes of Austin, Dixon, and Wurm, and examples from other sources:

1. for examples from Austin, Dixon, and Wurm's fieldnotes the first line gives my phonemicisation of the Gamilaraay forms, with hyphens preceding suffixed morphemes;

2. for examples from other sources, the first line is a verbatim quotation of the example. Under this is a second line which gives my phonemicisation of the Gamilaraay forms, with hyphens preceding suffixed morphemes.

The second (or third) line gives morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, and the final line is an English translation of the whole. When the sentence is taken from fieldnotes, following the translation there is an indication of the data source in square brackets. The sources are coded as [AApNN], where AA is a code giving the name of recorder of the sentence, and pNN is the page number of the relevant fieldnotes. Recorder codes are as follows:

PA	Peter Austin
NT	Norman B. Tindale
SW	Stephen A. Wurm

The following symbols and conventions are also employed:

*	precedes a reconstructed form (see ***)
%	precedes a reconstituted form (see ***)
?	indicates no gloss can be assigned, or precedes a form or analysis that is speculative
–	morpheme boundary
'...'	enclose translations of examples given verbatim by Gamilaraay speakers, and all other direct quotations from spoken or written sources
'...'	enclose other English translations

Abbreviations used in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses are:

ablat	ablative
cm	conjugation marker
cont	continuous
dat	dative
dl	dual
erg	ergative
fut	future tense
habit	habitual
imper	imperative
loc	locative
nfut	non-future tense
pl	plural
pres	present tense
prog	progressive
purp	purposive
rel	relative clause
sense	sensory evidence
tr vb	transitive verbalizer
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Gamilaraay

Gamilaraay (or Kamilaroi as it is also commonly spelled) is an Australian Aboriginal language which was spoken over a vast area of north central New South Wales when Europeans first settled in Australia. The traditional home of the Gamilaraay covers much of the area now referred to as the north-west slopes and plains. It extended from as far south as Murrurundi on the Great Dividing Range, to Tamworth, Narrabri, Moree, Boggabilla, Mungindi, Walgett and Gunnedah (see Map).

The name Gamilaraay can be divided into two parts. It consists of *gamil* meaning 'no' and *araay* meaning 'having', that is 'the people who have *gamil* for no'. This method of naming people after their word for 'no' was widespread throughout New South Wales (and Victoria); the western neighbours of the Gamilaraay were the Yuwaalaraay, who say *waal* for 'no', and the south-western neighbours were the Wayilwan who say *wayil* for 'no' (*wan* in their language means 'having').

Many of the place names in the north-west of New South Wales originate from Gamilaraay names (usually misspelled and mispronounced by the white settlers), and it is often possible to break the names down into their parts and show the meanings. Many of the place names contain the same *araay* or *baraay* ending meaning 'having' that appears in the language name *Gamilaraay* (*araay* follows words ending in an *l*, and *baraay* follows all other words). Some examples of place names and their meanings are:

Boggabilla	*bagaaybila*	place full of creeks (*bagaay* is creek, *bil* means 'full of')
Boggabri	*bagaaybaraay*	place of creeks ('having creeks', *bagaay* is creek)
Boomi	*bumaay*	hitting
Breewarrina	*burriiwarrinha*	acacia standing up (*burrii* is acacia pendula and *warrinha* means 'standing')
Bukkulla	*bagala*	place of leopard wood (*bagal* is leopard wood, and *a* means 'at')
Bundarra	*bandaarra*	place of kangaroos (*bandaarr* is kangaroo, and *a* means 'at')
Coghill	*gagil*	bad
Collarenebri	*galariinbaraay*	place of blossoms ('having blossoms', *galariin* is eucalyptus blossom)
Drilldool	*tharrilduul*	little reeds (*tharril* is reed, and *duul* means 'small')
Goonoo Goonoo	*guna guna*	faeces, excrement
Gunnedah	*gunithaa*	orphan, child with no parents
Narrabri	*nharibaraay*	place of knotty wood ('having knotty wood', *nhari* is 'knotty wood')

Pallal	*balal*	bare
Tarilarai	*tharrilaraay*	place of reeds ('having reeds', *tharril* is reed)
Yalaroi	*yarralaraay*	place of stones ('having stones', *yarral* is stone)

Many other names of towns, stations, rivers and other geographical features can be shown to have Gamilaraay origins, providing evidence of prior occupation of a vast area by the Gamilaraay long before whites settled the north-west.

1.2 Names and Spelling

As with most other Aboriginal languages, there are a great variety of ways that the name of the Gamilaraay has been spelled by previous researchers. The following table sets out the spellings in the sources I have examined (see 1.**):

TABLE 1.1: Spelling of Language Name

Spelling	Reference
Cam-ell-eri	Peckey 1871
Camelaroy	Bucknell 1897
Cammealroy	F.N.B. 1896 AAJ 1(1)
Comileroi	Milson n.d.
Commilr(a)i	McMaster n.d.
Gamilarii	Scarlett 1969
Gamilray	Austin 1972
Gommil'yarrai	Richards 1903 SM 6(8)
Kahmilari	Greenway 1901 SM 4(10)
Kakmilari	Greenway 1901 SM 4(11)
Kamil-ari	Bucknell 1902
Kamilari	Vernon 1901 SM 5(2)
Kamilaroi	Bootle 1899
Kamilaroi	Bucknell 1899
Kamilaroi	Howitt 1902
Kamilaroi	Mathews 1903
Kamilaroi	Ridley 1875, Curr 1186
Kamilaroi	Tindale 1938
Kamileroi	J.C.W. 1896 AAJ 1(2)
Kamilray	Greenway 1901 SM 4(7)
Kammee'larrai	Richards 1903 SM 6(8)

MAP GOES ON THIS PAGE

1.3 Neighbours and their languages

To be written

1.4 Previous investigations

Interested white people have recorded a great deal of information about the Gamilaraay people and their language, beginning in February 1832 with the explorer Major Thomas Mitchell. Mitchell says in his journal (1839:108):

> '[n]one of the names, which we had written down from Barber's statements, seemed at all familiar to their ears; but Mr White obtained a vocabulary, which shewed that their language was nearly the same as that of the aborigines at Wallamoul; the only difference being the addition of na to each noun, as 'namil' for 'mil', the eye etc.'

The location given by Mitchell is 29 degrees south and he says (loc cit.) '[t]heir name for the river was understood to be 'Karaula''. This appears to be a reference to the Macintyre river at about Mungindi. On Mitchell's map 'Wallamoul' is a short distance upstream on the Peel River from where Tamworth is now situated.

The next record we have is a list of thirty three words for the 'Peel River language' given by Horatio Hale in his report on Aboriginal languages for the Wilkes expedition. This material appears to similar to Mitchell's vocabulary (see **.**).

*** MORE TO ADD HERE ***

TABLE 1.2: Written records of the Gamilaraay language

Reference	Contents
Mitchell 1839	words
Hale 1842	33 words
Ridley 1855	paradigms, grammar notes, 27 words
Ridley 1856	words, short sentences, bible translations
Ridley 1856	bible translation
Ridley 1856	draft grammar notes
Ridley 1872-3	grammar notes
Ridley 1875	grammar, vocabulary, bible translation, songs, anthropological notes
Greenway 1877	
Curr 1886	vocabulary
McMaster 1890	vocabulary
Mathews n.d.	sentences, vocabularies, paradigms, myths and legends, bible translation (apparently correction of Ridley 1856)
Mathews 1902	initiation language
Mathews 1903	grammar, vocabulary

Greenway 1910	copy of Ridley 1875 with minor changes
Greenway 1911	bible translations (similar to Ridley 1856)
Laves 1930?	vocabulary, sentences, songs, kin terms, riddles
Tindale 1938	14 words, short sentences, kinship terms, Emu and Brolga text
Reay 1945	sociolinguistic notes
Reay 1947	sociolinguistic notes, vocabulary, songs
Wilkie 1948	vocabulary
Wurm 1955	sentences, vocabulary
Court 1963	odd vocabulary items
Dixon 1971	100 words
Austin 1972-5	200 words
Thompson n.d	26 words
Austin & Tindale 1985	Emu and Brolga text
Austin 1986	sociolinguistics, vocabulary

1.5 Research Up to 1950

See Dixon (MS) for a complete bibliographical list. Comments on the contents etc. of each source have yet to be prepared. It is hoped that a detailed write up of this section will be completed when more time becomes available.

1930? Gerhard Laves - worked with George Murray (Laves papers, p1399) recording kinship terms; Ada Murray at Angledool recording Yuwaalayaay vocabulary and kinship terms (p1392)

1938 Norman B. Tindale - recorded Gamilaraay kinship data in June 1938 from Harry Doolan (see photo in Tindale 1976:18), with additional details on Collerenbri variations from George Murray (the same consultant Laves had interviewed) (Tindale NSW Notebook p39ff, and Kinship sheet 53).

Tindale collected some vocabulary and a short text (Emu and Turkey - see Austin and Tindale) in Gamilaraay with English translation from Harry Doolan.

1945? Marie Reay did a sociological study of the contemporary Aboriginal community in Moree. She makes a number of comments on language use and the replacement of Gamilaraay by English (Reay, Marie. 1945. A Half-Caste Aboriginal Community in North-Western New South Wales. Oceania 15.296-323.)

1.6 Research after 1950

The most recent work done on Gamilaraay which inculdes phonetic transcription, morphological and syntactic data and magnetic tape recording began in 1955 when Professor

S.A. Wurm visited the north-west of New South Wales. Wurm worked on Gamilaraay at Moree with Burt Draper (see below) and at Boggabilla with Peter Lang, the last fluent speaker of the language. Wurm's materials, which he has kindly lent to me, consist of twenty-two double-sided sheets (i.e. 44 pages) of fieldnotes and approximately 12 minutes of tape recording. The fieldnotes (a copy of which has been deposited with the AIATSIS, Canberra) are in phonetic transcription. I have phonemicized Wurm's materials on the basis of my own later fieldwork, analysis of the source materials outlined above, and comparisons with the description of Yuwaalayaay given in Williams (1980).

In 1961 at the meeting where the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies was founded, Wurm summarized the results of research carried out in New South Wales up till that time. This was published in the form of a table (Wurm 1963:137). I have slightly rearranged the table to fit on the page:

LINGUISTIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED IN TWO AREAS

Language	Gamilaroi	Jualjai	Juwalarai
Rank	3	3	3
Speakers			
- fair to good knowledge	2	2	2
- incomplete knowledge	4	4	3
Vocabulary	2	4	2
Structure	2	2	2
Recordings (minutes)	12	15	15

In the key to the table the following translations of these figures are given:

Ranking of Languages
3. a few, mostly old, individuals can still speak the language more or less fluently.
Number of Speakers
2. under 5
3. 5 - 10
4. 10 - 50

Vocabulary. Lexical information secured to date
2. approximately 500 items
4. over 1,000

Structure
2. a fair amount of information is available on main structure features.

As this table indicates, Wurm's materials on the language he calls Jualjai (which corresponds to the Yuwaalayaay of Williams 1980) are more extensive than those he collected for Gamilaraay. Wurm has kindly made all his fieldnotes available for study to me.

Capell (1963:Area D p5) gives the following information in his listing for Gamilaraay:

'Recent study has been done by SAW. who lists as consultants the following:-

Peter (Herb) Lang,	95	Boggabilla Aboriginal Station
Ted Murphy,	72	Walgett Aboriginal Station
Bingi (Fred) Pitt,	76	Moree Aboriginal Station
Billy Troutman,	80	Mungindi
Mrs. (H)ynch,	70	Moree Aboriginal Station
Leslie Mundi	70	Collarenebri Aboriginal Station
Robert Mundi	70	Collarenebri Aboriginal Station
Charlie Kennedy,	70	Walgett
Jack McPherson,	70	Dalby
Jack Hill,	75	Bollon
Billy Dutton	80	Bourke-Wanaaring-Engonnia

Wurm (1963:138) commented on the data in his tables as follows:

'As can be seen from these tables, detailed information can at present still be obtained for most of the languages listed in the two tables if linguists are given the time and opportunity to undertake the necessary lengthy fieldwork.'

Capell (loc cit.) makes similar comments in respect of Gamilaraay:

'The speakers are mostly elderly but possess considerable knowledge. SAW. has recorded some 300-500 items and a fair amount of structural information, along with 12 minutes of tape recording. Up to 50 speakers have been located. Gamilaroi is one of a number of related dialects in NW N.S.W. and a comparative study of the whole series of dialects might well be made.'

Unfortunately the time and opportunity seem not to have arisen for Wurm since he never again visited the area. It was sixteen years before another professional linguist took an interest in the Gamilaraay language and by that time the remaining fluent speakers were all deceased.

In 1967 Mrs Janet Mathews (and under her guidance Harry Hall) began recording Gamilaraay vocabulary with Billy Reid (Bourke), Burt Graves (Sydney), Ivy ('Granny') Green (Walgett), and Charlie Dodd (Lightning Ridge) (AIATSIS Archive tapes A1236, 1237, 1180, 1946, 1995). Mrs Mathews did not transcribe her tapes but they serve as a useful source of vocabulary data. Williams was able to use the extensive materials collected by Mathews on Yuwaalayaay as part of the source materials for here grammar. Janet Mathews recorded Leila Orcher (see below) at Boggabilla in June 1976. In the late 1960's J. Gordon also recorded some Gamilaraay corroboree and dance songs (AIATSIS Archive tapes A1176,

1177, 1178, 1219, 1220) but since he provided no transcription or analysis of the recordings, they have not been included here.

In November 1971 R.M.W. Dixon spent a few days at Moree and Boggabilla when his car broke down, interviewing possible consultants for Gamilaraay. According to his fieldnotes, Dixon found that 'no one remembers more than a few words'. Dixon was able to work with the following people:

Moree
1) Tom Binge (born at Boomi Aboriginal station in about 1900)
2) Charlie White (or Dubby Paine, born at Narrabri in 1897)
3) Glen Cutmore (born at Terry Hie Hie in about 1900)
4) Arthur Davey

Boggabilla
5) Leila Orcher
6) Ron McIntosh (born about 1901)

Together these people knew about 150 vocabulary items but no morphology or syntax. Recordings of the first two consultants have been lodged at AIATSIS Canberra (AIATSIS Archive tape 2615).

In 1972 Dixon passed his fieldnotes to me and they provided part of the data upon which an essay entitled 'The Kamilaroi Language' was based. In May 1972 I visited Moree and Boggabilla for three days and worked with the following people, some of whom had recorded materials with Dixon:

Moree
1) Arthur Pitt (born Moree approximately 1896) whose father had spoken Gamilaraay fluently but who only remembered vocabulary.

2) Burt Draper (born about 1896, estimated by Wurm (in Capell 1963) to have been born in 1893) who had been Wurm's consultant seventeen years earlier and who also knew some Wayilwan vocabulary.

3) Mrs. Draper (born about 1897), a native of the New England region who knew some Gamilaraay vocabulary but mixed in Yugumbal words. Chris Court (Sydney University) had interviewed her at Tingha in the 1960's and obtained some vocabulary items which are clearly Gamilaraay, again mixed with words from other languages.

Boggabilla
4) Leila Orcher
5) Ron McIntosh

The two Boggabilla consultant, Leila Orcher and Ron McIntosh, provided most of the material used in the essay written at that time and clearly had the most extensive knowledge of what survived of the Aboriginal language formerly spoken in the area.

In December 1973 Austin again visited Moree and Boggabilla this time spending over a week in the area and tape-recording all the material available. As well as seeing the consultants he had worked with before for a second time he also spoke to:

Moree

6) Mary Brown who was Arthur Pitt's sister. Her knowledge of the language was extremely limited but she did provide some material to fill in gaps.
7) Grace Munro
8) Charlie French
9) Malcolm Green

Boggabilla

10) Hannah Duncan who proved to be the most proficient of all the consultants interviewed. She had by far the greatest vocabulary (about 200 items) and could form simple sentences. She also sang a corroboree song in Gamilaraay.

Tamworth

11) Florence Munro (born about 1900) was a native of the New England region and mixed Gamilaraay words with words from languages of that region.

While visiting the Toomelah Mission station at Boggabilla I was informed by the manager that Darrel Tryon of the Australian National University had visited the area some years before but had only stayed for a day or two and 'couldn't find anything'. Tryon (pers. comm.) reports that he collected no data.

At the beginning of 1974, then, the situation was that eleven consultants had been interviewed, about one hour's tape recording had been made and the data stood at 212 cross-checked vocabulary items and half a dozen sentences. I deposited a copy of my fieldnotes with AIATSIS. It seemed that the prospects of any further data being collected, or morphological or syntactic material becoming available, were very small.

In January 1975 I again visited the Gamilaraay consultants, this time taking a copy of Wurm's 1955 fieldtape with me. I played the tape to Arthur Pitt, Burt Draper, Leila Orcher, Hannah Duncan and Ron McIntosh. Hannah Duncan and Ron McIntosh remembered watching Peter Lang and S.A. Wurm making the recording and listened to the tape with great interest. Although they (and the other people I interviewed) were able to pick out odd vocabulary items that they recognised, no-one could understand what Peter Lang had told Wurm twenty years before. Gamilaraay as a functioning language can now be declared extinct. All that remains of it are the two hundred odd words remembered by the last handful of elderly Gamilaraay descendants.

1.7 Notes on kinship and social organisation

In this section I present a brief discussion of the traditional Gamilaraay society, looking at the kinship and section systems. The discussion here is mainly based on my studies of materials collected by Norman Tindale and Gerhardt Laves in the 1930's. Tindale studied Gamilaraay kinship in June 1938 with Harry Doolan, collecting additional details on slightly different

usages at Collerenbri from George Murray (the details are in Tindale's NSW Notebook page 39 onwards, and his Kinship sheet 53). Gerhardt Laves studied with George Murray.

1.7.1 Sections

Traditionally, Gamilaraay society was divided into four groups or sections. The sections are socio-centric categories which are important for figuring marriages and also for working out how people are related to one another. There are four sections but eight terms since gender of the referent is distinguished. For example, in one section the men are called *yibaay* and the women *yibatha*. Notice that some family names in north-western New South Wales are still connected with the section terms: the Hippi family name apparently comes from the traditional Gamilaraay section term *yibaay*.

Every person in Gamilaraay society was classed into one of these sections when they were born; the section that a person was placed in depended on what section their mother and father were in. Also, marriage was exagomous and additionally restricted to certain sections.

The four sections and the eight terms are as follows:

Section 1:	men	*yibaay*	women	*yibatha*
Section 2:	men	*gabi*	women	*gabutha*
Section 3:	men	*gambu*	women	*buuthaa*
Section 4:	men	*marrii*	women	*matha*

The marriage system works as follows. Usually, men in Section 1 could marry women in Section 2 and their children would be in Section 4. Men in Section 2 could marry women in Section 1 and their children would be in Section 3. Men in Section 3 could marry women in Section 4 and their children would be in Section 2. Men in Section 4 could marry women in Section 3 and their children would be in Section 1. We can summarise the system like this:

Man	marries	Woman	Children are
Section 1		Section 2	Section 4
Section 2		Section 1	Section 3
Section 3		Section 4	Section 2
Section 4		Section 3	Section 1

This information can be summarised as a diagram. In this diagram:

==   means 'marries'
--> means 'father-child link'
==> means 'mother-child link'

```
        +==>   Section 1          ==          Section 2 <==+
        |                                                  |
        |                                                  |
        |                                                  |
        +==> Section 3           ==          Section 4 <==+
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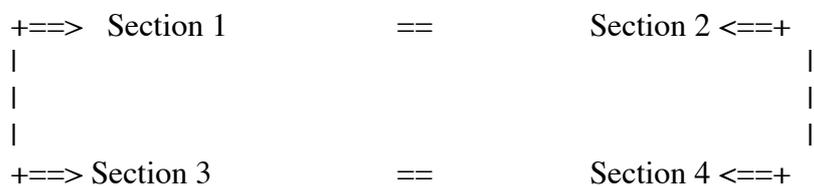
The system and the actual Gamilaraay terms are:

Male	marries	Female	Male child	Female child
yibaay		*gabutha*	*marrii*	*matha*
gabi		*yibathaa*	*gambu*	*buuthaa*
gambu		*matha*	*gabi*	*gabutha*
marrii		*buuthaa*	*yibaay*	*yibathaa*

The following is an example of how this works.

If ego is an *yibaay* man all his brothers will be *yibaay* too, and all his sisters will be *yibatha* (the female equivalent in Section 1). If ego is *yibaay*, then his father must be *marrii* and his mother must be *buuthaa*.

An *yibaay* man must marry a *gabutha* woman, so ego's wife will have to be *gabutha*, his sons will then be *marrii* and his daughters will be *matha*. (Notice that ego's son and father are in the same group). Now, if ego's son marries, he must take a *buuthaa* woman as his wife (recall that ego's father was *marrii* and his wife (ego's mother) was *buuthaa*). Thus, ego's son's sons will be *yibaay* (the same as ego) and his daughters will be *yibatha* (as for ego's sisters). So, the section for ego and his son's sons is identifcal; so also is the section of father's father. If ego's daughter marries she will have a *gambu* husband (because *matha* women marry *gambu* men). Her sons will be *gabi* and her daughters will be *gabutha*. So, ego's daughter's daughter will be in the same group as his wife.

The pattern we have described so far is the usual marriage system ('regular marriages'). It was also possible on special occasions for people to marry differently ('irregular marriages'). Tindale recorded the following pattern for irregular marriages (notice that this would be like men marrying their sisters under the usual rules):

Male	marries	Female	Male child	Female child
yibaay		*yibathaa*	*gambu*	*buuthaa*
gabi		*gabutha*	*marrii*	*matha*
gambu		*buuthaa*	*yibaay*	*yibathaa*
marrii		*matha*	*gabi*	*gabutha*

In addition to these four groups or sections, everyone in Gamilaraay society had a *totem*, which is an animal that the person has a special relationship with. Totems are called *yaruthaga* and some examples are *thinawan* 'emu', *bandaarr* 'kangaroo', and *bigibila* 'porcupine'. It is forbidden to kill or eat the totem animal. Totems are matrilineally inherited. For example, if your mother is *wan.guy* or 'pademelon wallaby' then you will be *wan.guy* too. A man's children will not have the same totem as he does, but will take the totem of his wife (because totems go from the mother to the child).

1.7.2 Kinship

Kinship is an ego-centric relationship system. Gamilaraay has a kinship system of the Aranda type with four lines of descent. Tindale has mapped the system for a male ego and provides a number of kinship terms (but not the whole system unfortunately). The following diagrams lay out as many details as can be recovered.

TABLE 1.3: Gamilaraay Kinship System (Male ego)

Generation	Term1	Term2	Kinship	English Gloss
+2	*dhilaa*		FF, FFZ	paternal grandfather or grandaunt
	garrimay	*nganga*	FM, FMB	paternal grandmother or granduncle, mother-in-law
	dhaadhaa		MF, MFZ	maternal grandfather or grandaunt
	badhii	*wabi*	MM, MMB	maternal grandmother or granduncle
+1	*bubaa*	*baayina*	F	father
	baaman	*walgan*	FZ, FMBS	father's sister, paternal aunt
	garruu		MB	mother's brother, maternal uncle, father-in-law
	ngambaa		M	mother
	buyal		MFZS, MFZD	maternal grandfather's sister's child
0	*dhaya*		eB	older brother
	galumaay		yB	younger brother
	baawaa		eZ	older sister
	bagaan	*bariyan*	yZ	younger sister
	biraman		ZH, WB	brother-in-law
	guliir		W	wife
	nganuwaay			potential wife
-1	*gaay*		S, D	son, daughter
	garruu		SW	son's wife, daughter-in-law
	bambuy		DH	daughter's husband, son-in-law
	gunubinga		ZS	sister's son, nephew
-2	*gunungaay*		ZD	sister's daughter, niece
	waruu		*SS, SD,*	*son's child, grandchild*
	dhaadhaa		*DS, DD*	*daugher's child, grandchild*
	dhagaan		*ZDS, ZDD*	*sister's daughter's child, niece's child*

Note: where there is more than one term these seem to indicate dialect differences

Chapter 2: Dialect and Language Relationships

In this chapter I survey the data available for various parts of the north-west slopes and plains to ascertain what evidence there is for dialect variation within Gamilaraay. I then examine the wider connections of the language and present evidence that it is related to its immediate southern neighbours, Ngiyampaa (comprising Wayilwan and Wangaaypuwan) and Wiradjuri.

2.1 Dialects (from old sources)

The source materials listed in 1.4 were recorded at various places throughout the area which is generally identified with that occupied by the Gamilaraay tribe, although some authors have used different names for the language they were recording. By arranging the materials, mostly in the form of comparative vocabulary lists, into groups by geographical origin, some very interesting differences in vocabulary are seen to appear. Since in most cases the data are so scanty that reliable conclusions regarding shared cognate percentages cannot possibly be drawn, it is preferable to consider those regional differences in vocabulary as indicators of probable dialect differences at the time of recording which have since been extinguished. That is, the source materials fall into seven groups which should best be seen as dialects (or regional variants) of one language. These groups (named after the negative particle) are:

1. Gawanbaraay (Gawan)
2. Northern Gamilaraay (Gamil)
3. Wirrayaraay (Wirra)
4. Guwinbaraay (Guwin)
5. Waalaraay or Yuwaalaraay (Waal)
6. Yuwaaliyaay (Waal)
7. Gamilaraay

We examine each in turn.

2.1.1 Gawanbaraay (gawan)

Alternative Name: Kawambarai

Sources: Mathews (1902), Mathews (M.S.)

Location: Mathews (1902) gives the following location for Gawambaraay:

> '[t]he Kawambarai language - This dialect of the Kamilaroi language is spoken on the Barwon River about Boggabilla, Boobera and Tulbara, New South Wales. The Pikumbil people adjoin the Kawambarai on the north-west, and the Yukumbil on the south-east.'

Tindale (1974) disagrees with Mathews and places this dialect in the Coonamble, Warren, Gilgandra, Gulargambone area:

> 'Loc: Upper Castlereagh River, the middle Macquarie River, and part of Liverpool Plains south to near Dubbo. Mathews (1903) encountered them at Gunnedah, which is east of their real country.'

It is quite obvious that there has been an error here and that Tindale has confused the Gawambaraay with the Guwinbaraay who did occupy an area near the one indicated by this comment. It was the Guwinbaraay (his Guinbarai) that Mathews (1903) encountered near Gunnedah, not the Gawambaraay (see above). As we shall show (see Guwinbaraay below), Tindale further confuses the situation by identifying this group with both the Wirrayaraay and Wirraadhurray tribes.

The works of Mathews mentioned above are the only sources for this dialect that I know of, so it is difficult to see how Tindale arrived at his conclusion about the location of the area occupied by Gawambaraay speakers.

DATA:

As far as vocabulary items are concerned, Mathews' (1902 and MS.) data is particularly poor since it is fairly obvious that he was attempting to show the different morphological processes exhibited by Gawambaraay as compared to Gamilaraay (which he later reported - see Mathews 1903), without taking much interest in vocabulary differences which may have existed. What the data do show, however, is that Gawambaraay had enclitic personal pronouns suffixed to the verb. It is thus an example of what Capell (1967) terms 'pronominalization' type language. Capell (1967:25) in fact includes the 'Gamilaroi group' of languages among those which lack the feature of 'pronominalization' although it is clear from Mathews' data the Gawambaraay did mark the subject of a verb by the addition of a suffix. These pronominal suffixes can be seen to derive from a reduced form of the free standing subject pronoun. Thus Mathews (1902:146) gives the set of forms for the verb 'to beat' which I phonemicise as follows:

	Indicative Mood -Present Tense	**Subject Pronoun**
1sg	*buma-lda-thu*	*ngaya*
2sg	*buma-lda-ndu*	*ngindu*
3sg	*buma-lda-nguru*	*nguru*
1dl	*buma-lda-li*	*ngali*
2dl	*buma-lda-ndaali*	*ngindaali*
3dl	*buma-lda-gali*	*(nguru)gali*
1pl	*buma-lda-ni*	*ngiyaani*
2pl	*buma-lda-ndaay*	*ngindaay*
3pl	*buma-lda-nugu*	*ganu*

Notice that the first person singular bound pronominal affix is *-thu* (Mathews writes this both as dhu and dyu, possibly indicating some fluctuation in the pronunciation of the laminal), while the free form pronoun is *ngaya* (Mathews' ngaia). Languages to the south and south-west, e.g. Wirraadhurraay, Wayilwan and Wangaypuwan have first person singular free pronoun *ngathu* and bound first person enclitic *-DHu* (where *DH* indicates *dj* after *i* and *th* elsewhere, see *** and Donaldson 1980:124). We may speculate that either:

1. Gawambaraay had an original pronoun **ngathu* which was later lost in all but the affix form. The first person singular free pronoun was replaced by *ngaya*, a borrowing from one of the other Gamilaraay dialects; or

2. the affix *-thu* was borrowed from some other source, possibly the southern languages.

For the second analysis to be acceptable we would need to explain why the intervening Gamilaraay dialects lack bound pronominals on their verbs.

Mathews (1902:146-7) also lists imperative forms which show the bound pronominals on the Gawambaraay verb. Positive imperatives of the verb 'to beat' are given by Mathews as follows:

bumullandu	beat thou!	*buma-la-ndu*
bumullandali	beat you two!	*buma-la-ndaali*
bumullandai	beat you all!	*bumu-la-ndaay*

For negative imperatives there are two possibilities:

1. in the singular no affix appears on the verb and the negative imperative particle *gariya* precedes it, as in:

kurria bumulla	beat not!	*gariya buma-la*

Mathews (loc cit.) says: '[f]or the dual and plural the suffixes in the last example [i.e. positive imperative - PA] can be used'.

2. the pronominal suffixes may be attached to the negative particle *gariya* rather than to the verb. Mathews gives the forms:

kurriandu bumulla	beat thou not!	*gariya-ndu buma-la*
kurriandale bumulla	beat not you two	*gariya-ndaali buma-la*
kurriandai bumulla	beat not any of you	*gariya-ndaay buma-la*

This is the pattern followed by Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay (see ***). One piece of evidence suggests that in addition to this, Gawambaraay allowed optional affixation to other types of words in sentence-initial position. Mathews (MS) is clearly a draft of Mathews (1902), but the former contains the following example which is crossed out and does not appear in the published version (probably because it does not follow the pattern Mathews

had hypothesised):

I am strong (well)　　　　　*warrunga ginyidhu* or *warrungadhu ginyi*

This possibly represents:

%waRungga ginyi-thu or　*%waRungga-thu ginyi*

where the affix *-thu* is added either to the verb *ginyi* be-nfut or to the initial (?adjective) word. Unfortunately, we will never know if this was an error corrected by Mathews or it represents a genuine alternative structure. (NB. Ridley (1875:14) gives the term '*warunggul*' with the gloss 'mighty').

2.1.2 Northern Gamilaraay (gamil)

Alternative Names: Karendala, Nundle, Commelary
Sources: Mitchell (1839), Milson (n.d.), Curr (1886) vocabulary 181
Location:

Mitchell's vocabulary list was taken at a place he called 'Karaula' on the Darling River at latitude 29 degrees, which would place it about present day Mungindi township. As yet, a firm location for the Milson vocabulary has not been established but, as we shall show, similarities in vocabulary place it closer to Mitchell's vocabulary than to the Gamilaraay recorded by Wurm and Austin. The Curr vocabulary which was taken by a 'Bench of Magistrates' at Nundle [a small town on the Great Dividing Range near Tamworth] also contains items which would link it with Mitchell's vocabulary. It seems highly likely that the informant who provided the Curr vocabulary was not from Nundle itself but from further north west and was visiting the area when interviewed. Evidence from vocabularies taken at points nearby further strengthen the suggestion that the Nundle vocabulary is atypical for that area (which is actually in Gamilaraay territory).

Since there is no strong evidence to the contrary we shall refer to this dialect as Northern Gamilaraay (on a 50 word list it shares 92% common vocabulary with Gamilaraay) and locate it in the area bounded by the Barwon River from Mungindi to Boggabilla, the Whalan Creek and the Gwydir River from Mogil Mogil to Moree (see map p*), thus including the present day townships of Boomi, Garah and Ashley. This location has been determined by Mitchell's Mungindi location and taking nearby natural boundaries (i.e. rivers) as likely territorial limits. We can, of course, never be sure to any great degree in cases such as these where the data are lacking.

DATA:

Comparison of the three vocabulary lists shows that where comparable forms exist, there are just three words where all three sources agree in having a form which differs from the corresponding equivalent in Gamilaraay proper. These are:

TABLE 2.1: Northern Gamilaraay Vocabulary

Gloss	Mitchell	Milson	Nundle	Reconstitution	Gamil
head	*kanga*	*gungaw*	*gunga*	*%ganggaa*	*gawugaa*
possum	*cooy*	*cooe*	*gooee*	*%guwi*	*muthay*
stone	*cullur*	*coller*	*gulla*	*%gala*	*yarral*

Notice that Mitchell gives the word for 'no' in his notes as weri, which I take to be *%wirraay* (cf. Wirrayaraay below). Unfortunately, neither of the other sources includes this item.

The Mitchell and Curr lists contain no morphological data but, if our identification is correct, the Milson (MS.) contains sufficient data on case endings and verb inflections to show that it represents a dialect of the Gamilaraay language.

2.1.3 Wirrayaraay (wirra)

Alternative names: Wirraiari, Wirriwirri, Wiriwiri, Wiraiarai, Weraerai
Sources: Mathews (1903), Mathews (M.S.), Barlow (1873)
Location:

The location given by Barlow (1873), namely:

'Wirriwirri Balonne Country'

is far too general and in any case conflicts with that given by Mathews (1903) although the vocabulary items in both sources are nearly identical. Mathews (1903 p) gives the following location:

'the Wirraiarai are neighbouring tribe(s) adjoining to Kamilaroi towards the north'

Ridley (185 p) also mentions a similar name:

'Wiraiarai - lower down the Barwon'

although it seems likely that he has in fact given the Gamilaraay name for the Wiradjuri tribe, that is negative particle *wirraay* plus the commitative *-araay* (but notice that the comitative is usually *-baraay* following roots ending in *y* - see ***). This same confusion is seen for Thomas (1900:166) whose vocabulary entitled 'Wiraiari' comes from Dubbo in the heart of Wiradjuri territory. An examination of the contents of the word lists given show that it is indeed Wiradjuri and not Wirrayaraay which has been recorded. Dixon (M.S.) provides the following interesting note which illustrates this problem of tribe and language names from the Wiradjuri viewpoint:

'Note well that in Daniel Bruce's journal (from about 1848) there is - at the end of a Wiradhuri word list on p102 - a discussion on tribal names as based on negative 'no'. And he gives the name Gamil-dudhai (should it be -durhai?) immediately above Wirrai-durhai. Were the Gamilray called Gamilduray by the Wiradhuri (as Dyirbalngan are called Dyirbaldyi by their northerly neighbours) ???'

It would thus seem probable then that the Gamilaraay knew the Wiradjuri as Wirraayaraay and the Wiradjuri knew the Gamilaraay as Gamilthurraay. Such a situation could well lead to confusion when the Wirrayaraay are included in the picture.

Tindale (1940) gives the following information:

''Weraerai loc. Gwydir River from Moree to Bingera, north to Warialda and Gilgil Creek.

Alt. Wiraiarai, Wallaroi, Wolroi, Walarai, Wolaroi, Wollaroi etc (often confused with a different tribe Ualorai)'

Tindale's (1974) map locates the tribe in exactly this position. It would be interesting to know from where Tindale obtained such an exact location for this tribe. Notice that he appears to have confused Wirrayaraay with Waalaraay (see below), the latter, in fact, being close to Yuwaaliyaay and often confused, by others, with it. Capell (1963) repeats Tindale's location under the name 'Wiriwiri'.

If, as we have done for Northern Gamilaraay (above), we take natural boundaries such as rivers and mountains as being probable limits of territorial areas of Aboriginal tribes then the Wirrayaraay were probably located in the region bounded by the Dumaresq River from Boggabilla to north of Ashford, the Great Dividing Range from Ashford to Bingara and the Gwydir River from Bingara to Moree. Their western boundary with the Northern Gamilaraay would then probably run from Moree north to Boggabilla (see map p*). This more or less coincides with Tindale's (1974) location.

DATA:

A comparison of the Mathews (1903 and M.S.) and Barlow vocabularies allows some few possible reconstitutions for the dialect to be suggested. The following list gives the source spellings and possible phonemicization. Note the words for 'man', 'possum', and 'emu', the first and last of which resemble words in languages to the south west:

TABLE 2.2: Wirrayaraay Vocabulary

Gloss	Barlow	Mathews	Reconstitution	Gamil
man	*my-ee*	*mai*	*%mayi*	*mari*
possum	*mak-koor*	*mugga*	*%maga*	*muthay*
emu	*noo-ree*	*nguri*	*%ngurri*	*thinawan*
no	*wirri*	*wirra*	*%wirra*	*gamil*

NB. Ridley (1875:15) gives the negative for 'wiraiarai' as '*wira*'.

There are a number of forms in the Wirrayaraay data that show similarities with languages to the south. Thus the word for 'man' *%mayi* is cognate with the Wayilwan and Wangaaypuwan forms, not with Gamilaraay or Yuwaaliyaay. The item for 'emu' which we have reconstituted as *%ngurri* may be cognate with the Ngiyampaa form *ngurruy*. Note that Tindale (1938:124) recorded a form '*nguri*' for 'emu' from Harry Doolan (and a form '*denorn*', ie. *thinawan* as the corresponding word for 'emu' at Boggabilla). Also, Barlow's list, which is considerably longer than Mathews' has:

Gloss	Barlow	Gamil	Other cognates
head	*pol-la*	*gawugaa*	*bala* Wangaaypuwan *wala* Wayilwan *balang* Wiradjuri
sun	*too-nee*	*yaray*	*thuni* Yuwaalaraay *thuni* Wangaaypuwan
stone	*wul-la*	*yarral*	*walang* Wiradjuri
grass	*ka:r*	*gararr*	

There is also some evidence that the historical shift from *r* to *y* in intervocalic position that we will document for Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay (see ***) has at least particlally affected Wirrayaraay. Consider the following forms in Barlow's list, my reconstitution of them, and the Gamilaraay cognates:

Gloss	Barlow	Reconstitution	Gamil
man	*my-ee*	*%mayi*	*mari*
hand	*my-ya*	*%maya*	*mara* (cf. YW *maa*)
grass	*ka:r*	*%gaarr*	*gararr*
dive	*ooyungay*	*%wuyunga-y*	*wurunga-y*

NB. Williams (1980:191) gives the Yuwaaliyaay word for 'bathe' as *wunga-y*, it may be that the vowel length has been missed here; *wuunga-y* would be what we would expect as a cognate for the Gamilaraay form.

The following are exceptions to the *r* to *y* shift in Barlow's data:

Gloss	Barlow	Reconstitution	Gamil	Yuwaal
tooth	*ee-ra*	*%yira*	*yira*	*yiya*
dust ('rain')	*eu-ro*	*%yuru*	*yuru*	*yuu*
dog	*boo-roo-mar*	*%buruma*	*buruma*	*buyuma*

Mathew's (1903 and M.S.) gives five sentences which provide some indication of Wirrayaraay noun morphology. Thus, the genitive case appears to have been realized by *-gu* after *i-* and *-u* after *l-* (in Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay the corresponding form is uniformly *-gu*). Thus, Mathews gives:

The big man's boomerang

boonaloo maigoo burran (Mathews MS)
maigu bunalu burran   (Mathews 1903)

These may have been:

> *%bunal-u* *mayi-gu* *barran*
> big-dat man-dat boomerang

The ergative case appears to have had at least two allomorphs as the following examples show. They are *-thu* after *i-* and *-u* after *l-* and *r-* (exactly the forms of the ergative in Gamilaraay). Mathews gives:

The big man killed the possum
boonaloo maidhu mugga bumi   (Mathews MS)
maidhu   bunalu mugga bumi   (Mathews 1903)

which may be :

> *%bunal-u mayi-thu maga   buma-ay*
> big-erg man-erg possum kill-nfut

and :

The kangaroo scratched me
bundaru ngunna nhimmi (Mathews MS)

which may be :

> *%bandaarr-u* *nganha* *nhimi-y*
> kangaroo-erg 1sgO scratch-nfut

An unpublished example in the Mathews (MS) indicates that the second person singular

subject pronoun was *nginda* and the first person singular object pronoun was *nganha* (see example above). The relevant sentence is:

> nginda ngunna boomadhu nhimme (Mathews MS)
> Thou scratch me.

This is possibly:

%nginda	*nganha*	*?*	*nhimi-y*
2sgA	1sgO	?	scratch-nfut

There is no further data on this language to corroborate Mathews' observations.

2.1.4 Guwinbaraay (guwin)

Alternative names: Koinbery, Coo-in-bur-ri, Guinbrai, Guinberai, Goinberai, Koinbere, Koinberi

Sources: Barlow (1872), Mathews (1903), Mathews (MS)

Location:

Barlow (1872) does not seem to mention the location from which her Coo-in-bur-ri vocabulary was taken but Mathews (1903) notes:

> 'The Guinbrai tribe is located about Gunnedah'

Ridley (1876) locates them in approximately the same area as Mathews, with the comment:

> 'Koinberi - on part of Liverpool Plains and Castlereagh River'

This would tend to define their western boundary as the Castlereagh River, probably around the present day location of Coonamble. Tindale (1940) repeats this location given by Ridley with the words:

> 'Koinberi - Upper Castlereagh River and part of Liverpool Plains (may be part of Weilwan, which see)'

as does Capell (1963). Tindale (1974) however shifts their area further to the south and names the group Kawambarai (sic!) obviously confusing it with the Gawambaraay (above) whose location given by Mathews (1902) is hundreds of kilometers away. He further confuses this group with the Wirrayaraay, listing as alternative names for Kawambarai :

> 'Alt: Wirriri (a valid alternative name for the tribe ['wir:i = no]), Wirriwirri'

Mathews and Barlow clearly indicate that the correct word for 'no' is *%guwin*. One further error on Tindale's part is the alternate name Wooratherie (obviously Wiradjuri was

intended) and the note:

> 'Richardson says they are closely related to the Wiradjuri. The data given by Tibbets appear to belong to this tribe'

An examination of both Richardson and Tibbets materials (and also the Curr vocabularies mentioned as references by Tindale) indicates that they are in fact Wiradjuri and that confusion has been created by the indiscriminate use of the word 'no' and the Wiradjuri and Gamilaraay commitative affixes (see above under Wirrayaraay). The only sources which I can find for Guwinbaraay are those listed above and hence the location of the group will be in the area given by Ridley and Mathews, that is, south-east along the Namoi River from Walgett to Gunnedah, south-west to Coonabarabran and north-west to Coonamble and the Castlereagh near Walgett (see map p). This gives an area of the Liverpool Plains bounded by the Castlereagh and Namoi Rivers (see the 'natural boundary' criterion discussed above).

DATA:

Mathews (1903 and MS), who incidentally obtained his data from the wife of his Waalaraay informant Billy Barlow (see below), lists a few vocabulary items and a pronoun paradigm which more or less coincides with the set of Gamilaraay pronouns. Barlow's (1872) vocabulary is more extensive and contains some items which coincide with those given by Mathews. None of the coincidental forms differ from the corresponding Gamilaraay cognates.

The pronouns given by Mathews (MS) are almost identical with both the Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay forms. The only difference is third person singular which can be reconstituted as *%nguuma*. In Gamilaraay the form is *nguru*, while Yuwaaliyaay has *nguu* (this form shows the *r* to zero shift discussed in ***).

2.1.5 Waalaraay (waal)

Alternative names: Wallarai, Wolaroi, Wallerri, Walarai, Walari, Nguri, Ngoorie, Peel R., Yuwaalaraay
Sources: Barlow (1873), Mathews (1903), Mathews (MS), Hale ( ), O'Byrne (1886), Williams (1980)
Location:

This is the language which Barlow (1873), and others since, called Ngoorie (or Nguri). The vocabulary items she gives coincide well with Mathews 'Wallarai' and Horatio Hale's 'Peel River language' (the Peel River runs through Tamworth and Hale obviously has mistaken the source of his vocabulary, perhaps in the same way that he referred to the Awabagal language as 'Kamilarai') as we see below. Barlow places the location of the Waalaraay as follows:

'Ngoorie and Yowalleri towards Moonie River'

This of course is extremely general, as is Mathew's location:

'The Wallarai are neighbouring tribe(s) adjoining the Kamilaroi towards the north'

Mathews (MS) contains a note that his informant Billy Barlow was interviewed at Terriahai (i.e. Terry Hie Hie between Moree and Narrabri) although this indicates little about his origins since the large Aboriginal station at Terry Hie Hie, at that time, was occupied by people from a large area of New South Wales and Queensland.

Ridley (18) appears to have mistaken the Waalaraay for the Wirrayaraay, as Tindale (1974) did, by his comment:

'Woolaroi - on the Bundarra or Gwydir [River]'

Capell (1963) locates the Nguri some distance away in Southern Queensland:

'Nguri from Donnybrook north to Merivale on West Side of Dividing Range; West to Hillsdale and Redrord:

This would appear to be too far north for the people Barlow and Mathews were describing and it would seem that the area occupied by the Waalaraay was probably south from St. George along the Balonne to around Hebel, west along the present NSW-Qld border to the Barwon at Mungindi and then north along the Moonie River towards Nindigully. This is based on the assumption that rivers were natural boundaries but is a fairly weak claim since it has less support from the old sources than any of the other locations so far proposed (see map p).

Williams (1980) presents detailed information on this language under the name Yuwaalaraay. She shows that it has approximately 80% shared vocabulary with Yuwaaliyaay, and essentially the same grammatical system.

2.1.6 Yuwaaliyaay (waal)

Alternative names: Euahlayi, Yualeai, Yuwaaliyaay

Sources and location: See Williams (1980)

DATA:

Williams (1980)

Williams study of Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay outlines the major linguistic features of the two varieties. A comparative vocabulary count for Yuwaaliyaay and Gamilaraay shows 65% cognate density for the vocabulary as a whole, but when verbs alone are compared the figure rises to 76%. A number of phonological changes have occured in Yuwaaliyaay and these are documented in *** below.

2.1.7 Gamilaraay (gamil)

Alternative names: see Tindale (1974) for an exhaustive listing

Sources :   See above 1.4

Location:

Ridley (1856) gives the following location:

> 'This language is spoken about the upper Darling, or Barwon, and its tributaries ; over Liverpool Plains and the upper part of the Hunter River district.'

which is almost exactly the area delineated by Mathews (1903):

> 'The Kamilaroi territory may be roughly described as extending from Jerry's Plains on the Hunter River as far as Walgett and Mungindi on the Barwon, taking in the greater part of the Namoi and Gwydir Rivers.'

Schmidt (19) more or less repeats Mathews' statement except that he extends the northern boundary to Boggabilla (in the territory we have ascribed to Northern Gamilaraay and Wirrayaraay) and places Jerry's Plains (which is in the upper Hunter Valley) on the coast:

> 'KAMILAROI: Its territory begins in the west on the Barwon River near Walgett, where the Wailwun territory ends, includes the basin of the Namoi River and the whole bend of the Barwon River as far as Boggabilla in the north. South of the Namoi River it extends as far as the Liverpool Ranges, indeed crosses these and penetrates right to the Coast in the valley of the Upper Hunter (Goulbourn) River as far as Jerry's Plains'

Tindale (1940), repeated by Capell (1963), selects the names of some towns, both within and outside the area described by Ridley and Mathews, as an indication of the originial location of the Gamilaraay people:

> 'Kamilaroi - Walgett NSW to Nindigully Qld, Talwood, Gorah, Moree, Bingara, Tamworth, Quirindi, Bundara, Giwabegar, Come-by-chance.'

However, Tindale (1974) changes this slightly and criticizes Mathews for overgeneralizing:

> 'Walgett, NSW, to Nindigully, Qld.; near Talwood and Garah; at Moree, Mungindi, Mogil Mogil, Narrabri, Barraba, Gwabegar and Come-by-chance; on headwaters of Hunter River. Mathews (1904) [sic!] with a broad-brush type of statement suggested the Kamilaroi language extended to Jerry's Plains this including about one half of the Geawegal territory and also some Wonnarua country. In his 1917 paper he included Boggabilla, which is well within Bigambul territory, in his Kamilaroi tribe area; perhaps a slip of the pen.'

Taking all these references into consideration and following our general principle of natural barriers outlined above, the probable location of the Gamilaraay at the time of first white contact is:

'East of Barwon river from Walgett to Mingindi, south of Gil Gil Creek and Gwydir River from Mingindi to Bundarra, west of Great Dividing Range from Bundarra through Nundle, Mururundi to Coonabarabran and north of Namoi River to Walgett.'

This location is given on the map below (see ***)

DATA:

The following chapters outline the grammar of the Gamilaraay language as far as it is known from all the available sources listed above. The lexicon (p) gives a complete list of all vocabulary items cross-checked.

2.2 Maps

The following sketch map gives the locations (at approximately the time of first white contact) that I have hypothesised for the country owned by the Aborigines speaking the languages being described. For details see under each of the entries above.

MAP 1: LOCATION OF GAMILARAAY AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

* MAP 1 GOES HERE *

This map should be compared with the relevant section of the NSW map sheet given in Tindale (1974 vol.2) a copy of which follows. The Gamilaraay (Tindale's Kamilaroi) area is outlined for ease of comparison. Notice Tindale failure to include the Northern Gamilaraay, Guwinbaraay and Waalaraay groups and his erroneous location of the Gawambaraay and Wirrayaraay. Only the Yuwaaliyay seem to have been more or less assigned to their correct area.

MAP 2: TINDALE (1974)

* MAP 2 GOES HERE *

2.3 Comparative vocabularies

A comparison of the data available in the materials discussed above shows that certain items show dialect differences while certain others are identical for all the dialects under study. There are twenty vocabulary items which show differences according to where they were recorded while fourteen are identical throughout the whole area. These two lists are given below. A hypen (-) for any dialect means that the item is either lacking or that the sources conflict. A question mark (?) before an entry indicates that it is tentatively assigned that form although other interpretations are possible. Note that some entries, e.g. 'grass' *gararr* or *gaarr* provide evidence for the historical processes outlined below.

Gloss	Guwin-baraay	Gamil-araay	Nth Gamilaraay	Wirra-yaraay	Waal-araay	Yuwaal-iyaay
man	*mayi*	*mari*	*mari*	*mayi*	*thayin*	*thayin*
child	*gawi*	*gaay*	-	*burraay*	*birralii*	*birralii*
father	*buwadjarr*	*bubaa*	*buwadjarr*	*buwa*	*buwadjarr*	*buwadjarr*
mother	*guni*	*ngambaa*	-	-	*ngambaa*	*gunidjarr*
head	-	*gawugaa*	*gang(g)a*	*bula*	*thaygal*	*thaygal*
hand	-	*mara*	-	*maya*	*maa*	*maa*
possum	-	*muthay*	*guwi*	*maga*	*guwi*	*muthay*
emu	-	*thinawan*	*nguRi*	*nguRi*	*thinawan*	*thinawan*
dog	-	*buruma*	-	*buruma*	*buyuma*	*maathaay*
earth	*thawun*	*thawun*	*thawun*	*thawun*	*thaymaarr*	*thaymaarr*
stone	-	*yarral*	*gala*	*wala*	*maayama*	*maayama*
water	-	*gali*	*gali*	*gali*	*gungan*	*gungan*
grass	-	*garaarr*	*garaarr*	*gaarr*	*buunhu*	*buunhu*
sun	-	*yaraay*	-	*thuni*	*thuni*	*yaay*
moon	*gilay*	*gilay*	*gilay*	-	*baaluu*	*baaluu*
turtle	-	*waraba*	-	-	*waaba*	*wayamba*
one	-	*maal*	*maal*	-	*biirr*	*milan*
big	*bunal*	*burrul*	*burrul*	*bunal*	*burrul*	*burrul*
cold	-	*garriil*	-	*garriil*	*baliyaa*	*baliyaa*

2.4 Relations with neighbouring languages

Some tentative notes on this subject have been made by Dixon (MS) although some of his conclusions were based on available data:

> 'Gamilray (T31) is most similar to its westerly neighbour, Wiradhuri (which also has a fair geographical and dialectal spread) - noun cases are almost identical (with a distinctive ergative/locative/ablative series differing perhaps only in final vowels u/a/i, and the preceding consonant being - unusually-dental dh after vowels). Pronouns, both free and bound, show sufficient similarity to suggest a common proto-system, and there are verbal similarities. The lexical score is an 'equilibric' 47%, but this advances to 58% when 26 verbs are compared. It seems pretty clear that Gamilray and Wiradhuri are two languages in a genetic family (lots of tense/time distinctions in common).'

Notice that there is an error here. The major allomorph of ergative case in Gamilaraay is in fact *-gu* (and for the locative *-ga*), not the *-thu* (or *-tha*) that Dixon suggests. Similarly, the ablative is *-thi/-dji* and there is no close parallel in CV shapes such that we have *u/a/i* for

ergative/locative/ablative.

Dixon goes on to discuss more distant comparisons:

> 'To the NW, T31 scores about 38% with Bigambul and may be grammatically close (there is scarcely any grammatical data on Bigambul, at my present stage of research) - it may be closer to Bigambul than any language outside Wiradhuri. Going up the east coast, lexical scores are quite small: T22, 12%; T23 (coastal)10%; T23 (Wanarua), 18%; T25, 22%; T26, 12%; T28, 25%; T29, 24%; T30, 20%. There are some grammatical similarities eg. the u/a/i: erg/loc/abl with Dyanggatti etc. Only a few T31 verbs are available for comparison, but these do not score more that about 25% with any coastal language.'

While Dixon's findings were based upon inadequate data, particularly for Gamilaraay, I feel that his general conclusion that Gamilaraay is most similar to its south-westerly neighbours is still correct. In fact it is possible to show that a number of historical changes have taken place relating Gamilaraay dialects to an ancestor language whose other descendants include Wiradjuri and Ngiyampaa (Wayilwan and Wangaypuwan).

2.5 Historical phonology and reconstruction of the proto-language

When Casey's (1974) work on Yuwaaliyaay became available it was noticed that a number of Gamilaraay cognates in that language showed systematic differences. These differences were very regular and could be explained as products of phonological change by the setting up of historically related forms common to both languages. Our work on Gamilaraay dialects provided further evidence for the conclusions reached and so we decided to look at Wiradjuri and Wangaaypuwan-Wayilwan to see if further phonological changes could be uncovered. Data to support the reconstruction of a proto-language from which Gamilaraay (including the various dialects), Wiradjuri and Wangaaypuwan-Wayilwan were descended was forthcoming and a write up prepared. This was shown to Terry Crowley and Lynette Oates who added comments based on their knowledge of NSW Coastal languages and Muruwari respectively and a second draft prepared. Peter Sutton (AIAS) read this and added notes from Queensland languages and common trends in Australian languages in general. This write up, which was done in the form of an independent paper is presented here and will be integrated later into this general summary of Gamilaraay grammar.

2.5.1 Comparing Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay

Comparison of Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay shows a high degree of cognacy for basic lexemes. There are a number of regular phonological correspondences between forms in the two languages which suggest that Yuwaaliyaay has undergone a number of innovative phonological changes. These changes primarily involve the intervocalic apico-post-alveolar continuant *r* in Gamilaraay which corresponds to either *y* or zero in Yuwaaliyaay. Thus we find:

1. Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay cognates showing *r* in Gamilaraay and *y* in Yuwaaliyaay:

Gamilaraay   **Yuwaaliyaay**

biruu	*biyuu*	'far away'
bura	*buya*	'bone'
buruma	*buyuma*	'dog'
burutha	*buyuga*	'bull ant'
garaay	*gayaay*	'nits of louse, sand' (Williams records 'sand' as *gayay*)
guraarr	*guyaarr*	'long'
guru	*guyu*	'bandicoot'
muraay	*muyaay*	'white cockatoo'
muru	*muyu*	'nose'
thigaraa	*thigayaa*	'bird'
thuuraay	*thuuyaay*	'flame, light'
waraba	*wayamba*	'turtle'
waragaal	*wayagaal*	'left hand'
waramba	*wayaba*	'turtle'
warawara	*wayawaya*	'crooked'
wuru	*wuyu*	'throat'
yira	*yiya*	'tooth'

We can show other cognates where both Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay have **y**:

Gamilaraay   **Yuwaaliyaay**

baarrayi-l	*baarrayi-l*	'to split'
baaya-l	*baaya-l*	'to chop'
baayama	*baayama*	'Baime'
baayin	*baayin*	'sore'
buyu	*buyu*	'shin
galiyaa-y	*galiyaa-y*	'to climb'
giyal	*giyal*	'afraid'
giyan	*giyan*	'centipede'
maayal	*maayal*	'myall tree'
maayama	*yarrul*	'stone'
maayin	*marayin*	'wild dog'
maliyan	*maliyan*	'eaglehawk'
miyay	*miyay*	'girl'
thibaayu	*thibaayu*	'whistling duck'
thuuyaal	*thuruyaal*	'right hand'

thuyul	*thuyul*	'hill'
wayama	*waayamaa*	'old man'

These cognates can be explained by hypothesising that the ancestral language (proto-GY) had *r* and that there has been a MERGER in Yuwaaliyaay whereby *r* has shifted to *y* to merge with the reflex of *y*.

2. Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay cognates showing *r* in Gamilaraay and *0* (zero) in Yuwaaliyaay:

Gamilaraay	**Yuwaaliyaay**	
bara-y	*baa-y*	'to jump'
biri	*bii*	*'chest'*
garay	*gaay*	'word, language'
mara	*maa*	'hand'
nguru	*nguu*	'3sgpronoun'
yaray	*yaay*	'sun'
yuru	*yuu*	'cloud, dust'
barayamal	*baayamal*	'black swan'
marayin	*maayin*	'wild dog'
tharayan	*thaayan*	'hail'
thuruyaal	*thuuyaal*	'right hand'
wuruyan	*wuuyan*	'curlew'

Notice that these forms all differ from the forms in the correspondence under 1. above in being MONOSYLLABLES or polysyllables with a *y* in a later syllable in the word. Thus *r* in proto-GY is lost in Yuwaaliyaay between identical vowels in monosyllables or polysyllables containing a *y* later in the word.

There is also some evidence that the historical shift from *r* to *y* in intervocalic position that we have proposed for Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaaliyaay has at least partially affected Wirrayaraay. Consider the following forms in Barlow's list, my reconstitution of them, and the Gamilaraay cognates:

Gloss	**Barlow**	**Reconstitution**	**Gamil**
man	**my-ee**	*%mayi*	*mari*
hand	**my-ya**	*%maya*	*mara* (cf. YW *maa*)
grass	**ka:r**	*%gaarr*	*gararr*
dive	**ooyungay**	*%wuyunga-y*	*wurunga-y*

NB. Williams (1980:191) gives the Yuwaaliyaay word for 'bathe' as *wunga-y*, it may be that the vowel length has been missed here; *wuunga-y* would be what we would expect as a

cognate for the Gamilaraay form.

The following are exceptions to the *r* to *y* shift in Barlow's data:

Gloss	Barlow	Reconstitution	Gamil	Yuwaal
tooth	ee-ra	*%yira*	*yira*	*yiya*
dust ('rain')	eu-ro	*%yuru*	*yuru*	*yuu*
dog	boo-roo-mar	*%buruma*	*buruma*	*buyuma*

2.5.2 Comparing Gamilaraay with Ngiyampaa and Wiradjuri

In this section I compare forms in Gamilaraay (Gamil) and Yuwaaliyaay/Yuwaalaraay (Yuwaal) with cognates in the languages to the south, namely Ngiyampaa (comprising Wayilwan and Wangaaypuwan), and Wiradjuri (Wirraa). These comparisons show that there are a large number of regular correspondences; these correspondences are evidence for genetic unity. Additionally, we can suggest subgrouping within this genetic group on the basis of shared innovations. The subgrouping places Gamilaraay-Yuwaal in one group, Ngiyampaa in another and Wirraa in a third. The relevant innovations are:

1. loss of word-final non-apical nasals in all languages except Wirraa (with Ngiyampaa retaining evidence for nasality in inflected forms)

2. shift of *y* to *w* word-initially in Ngiyampaa

3. shift of *r* to *rr* following *i* and *a* in Ngiyampaa. Unfortunately the Wirraa sources do not allow us to unambiguously reconstitute the medial rhotic in cognates in that language

4. shift of medial *b* and *g* to *w* in Gamil and Yuwaal

We examine each of these in turn.

1. **Loss of Final Nasals**

Wiradjuri allows a larger number of nasals to occur in word-final position than Gamil/Yuwaal or Ngiyampaa. Wiradjuri words may end in apical *n*, laminal *ny*, and velar *ng*, while Gamil/Yuwaal and Ngiyampaa allow only *n* word-finally. Ngiyampaa however shows an intrusive nasal in suffixed forms of some roots (see Donaldson 1980) and we can show that this corresponds to the non-apical nasals of Wiradjuri. Basically, I hypothesise that Gamil/Yuwaal, Ngiyampaa and Wiradjuri can all be seen to descend from a common ancestor language (proto-GNW). It is possible to reconstruct the following phonological changes between this ancestor and the modern descendants:

1. Gamil/Yuwaal has lost all final non-apical nasals through the following:

      a. *ng descends as zero word-finally; and

      b. *ny descends as y word-finally after *a; and

      c. *ny descends as zero word-finally after *i

2. Ngiyampaa has lost final non-apical nasals, except for retention of a nasal component (written as N by Donaldson) in suffixed forms:

      a. *ng descends as N; and

      b. *ny descends as yN after *a and *u; and

      c. *ny descends as N after *i

The following cognates illustrate the regular correspondences we use to reconstruct these changes:

1. *ny in word-final position after *a

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
blood	guway	guwayN	guwany
cockatoo	muraay		muraany
mouth	ngay		ngany
this way	thaay	thaayN	thaany
beard	yaray	yarrayN	yarrany
skin	yulay	yulayN	yulany

2. *ny in word-final position after *i

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
heart	gii	giiN	giiny
anus	ngii	ngii	ngiiny
fire	wii	wiiN	wiiny

3. *ng in word-final position

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
chest	biri	birriN	biRing
brolga		burraalgaaN	burraalgaang

liver	*gana*		*ganang*
leaf	*girran.girraa* (Yuwaalaraay)	*girraaN*	*giRaang*
faeces	*guna*	*gunaN*	*gunang*
breast	*ngamu*	*ngamuN*	*ngamung*
face	*ngulu*	*nguluN*	*ngulung*
thigh	*tharra*	*tharraN*	*tharrang*
foot	*thina*	*thinaN*	*thinang*
meat	*thinggaa*	*thinggaaN*	*thinggaang*
lip	*yili*	*wiliN*	*yiling*
rain	*yuru*	*yuruN*	*yuRung*

2. Shift of initial *y in Ngiyampaa

Ngiyampaa has shown a dissimilatory shift of *y to *w word-initially preceding *i, as in:

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
cooked		*wigi*	*yigi*
woman	*yinarr*	*winarr*	
lip	*yili*	*wili*	*yiling*
tooth	*yira*	*wirra*	*yiRang*

3. Shift of *r in Ngiyampaa

Ngiyampaa (and possibly also Wiradjuri) shows *rr* after *i* and *a* where Gamil/Yuwaal has *r*. Following *u*, both languages have *r*. We cannot be sure of the identity of the rhotic in Wiradjuri so I have reconstituted *%R* in the forms. There appears to have been a merger in Ngiyampaa as there are cognates between Gamil/Yuwaal and Ngiyampaa where both groups have *rr*. The examples of the correspondences are:

1. Gamil *r* Yuwaal *r/y/0* Ngiyampaa *rr*

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Yuwaaliyaay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
fly	*bara-y*	*bara-y*	*barra-y*	*baRa-y*
chest	*biri*	*bii*	*birriN*	*biRing*
tooth	*yira*	*yiya*	*wirra*	*yiRang*
clever man			*wiringan*	*wirringan*

2. Gamil *r* Yuwaal *r/0* Ngiyampaa *r*

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Yuwaalaraay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
jump	*bara-y*	*baa-y*	*baara-y*	*ba(a)Ra-y*
testicles	*buru*	*buru*	*buru*	*buRu*
rain/dust	*yuru*	*yuu*	*yuruN*	*yurung*

3. Gamil *rr* Yuwaal *rr* Ngiyampaa *rr*

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Yuwaaliyaay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
quick	*barraay*	*barraay*	*barraay*	*baRaay*
wagtail	*thirrithirri*	*thirriirrii*	*djirridjirri*	
homeland		*ngurrampaa*	*ngurrampaa*	
stand	*warra-y*	*warra-y*	*warra-y*	*waRa-y*
pick up			*warruma-l*	*warruma-l*
beard	*yarray*	*yarray*	*yarrayN*	*yaRany*

4. Shift of **b/*g* in Gamil/Yuwaal

Gamilaraay and Yuwaaliyaay/Yuwaalaraay show sporadic shift of **b* and **g* to *w*. Cognates showing this are:

Gloss	Gamilaraay	Wangaypuwan	Wiradjuri
egg	*gawu*	*gabugaaN*	*gabugaang*
dirt	*thawun*	*thagun*	*thagun*

Chapter 3: Phonology

3.1 Consonants

Gamilaraay has fifteen consonant phonemes comprising five stops, five nasals, one lateral, an alveolar flap, a retroflex continuant and two semi-vowels. The consonant phonemes are set out in the following table:

TABLE 3.1: Gamilaraay Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Lamino-dental	Apico-alveolar	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Stop	*b*	*th*	*d*	*dj*	*g*
Nasal	*m*	*nh*	*n*	*ny*	*ng*
Lateral			*l*		
Flap			*rr*		
Continuant			*r*		
Semi-vowel	*w*			*y*	

The normal articulation of each consonant is discussed in the following sections.

3.1.1 Stops

b – unaspirated voiced bilabial. In word-initial position and medially between vowels Wurm occasionally records it in his fieldnotes as being released as a fricative [B]. Tindale's 1938 notes also show examples of the clitic *-bathaay* (see ***) recorded as [waDa:i]. I have not heard this articulation of *b* from contemporary speakers.

th – unaspirated voiced lamino-dental stop, produced with the tongue tip between and protruding from the teeth, and the tongue blade touching the back of the upper teeth and alveolar ridge. Although my informants showed phonological interference from English (see *r* below) the articulation of *th* was clearly not identified with any English sound and retained much of its peculiar Gamilaraay character. Note that Wurm generally recorded this phoneme with the symbol [D].

d – unaspirated voiced apico-alveolar stop, apparently identical in articulation to English [d]

dj – unaspirated voiced lamino-palatal stop, produced with the tip of the tongue behind the lower teeth and the blade touching the soft palate. This is often replaced in the speech of present day informants by the English affricate [dJ]

g – unaspirated voiced dorso-velar stop, apparently identical to English [g]

3.1.2 Nasals

All Gamilaraay nasals are voiced and produced at the same point of articulation as their corresponding stop phonemes (but see note on *nh* below). Note that interference of English in the speech of present day informants had not gone so far as to rule out initial *ng* which was clearly indicated.

3.1.3 Lateral

The lateral *l* appears to be pronounced as a clear apico-alveolar lateral.

3.1.4 Rhotics

It is in the articulation of 'r-sounds' that the greatest degree of phonological interference from English has taken place in the speech of people who still know Gamilaraay vocabulary. The distinction between *r* and *rr* is often lost and both are replaced by the English alveolar continuant [r]. Thus, for example, some informants gave ['muru] for 'nose' while others glossed it as 'anus, bum'. A check of Wurm's data (and Williams 1980 for comparative evidence) shows that *muru* 'nose' (cf. Yuwaaliyaay *muyu*), and *murru* 'anus, bum' had been collapsed to the one word by the replacement of both phonemes by the single English sound.

One informant (Bert Draper) was particularly careful to articulate *rr* as a strongly trilled sound, particularly in intervocalic position, but it seems that generally *rr* was traditionally realized as a flap [\]. In word-final and preconsonantal positions *rr* is usually an unreleased apico-alveolar stop. Present-day informants often substitute English [d], which is also not released word-finally, for *rr*. In his fieldnotes, Wurm records *rr* as [d], [rd] and [D] in word-final position, apparently in free variation. When a word ending in one of these phonetic articulations is suffixed, *rr* is realised medially as a tap, as in:

bandaarr	'kangaroo'	realized as [bUnd·a:d—]
bandaarru	'kangaroo-erg'	realized as [bUnd·a:\ø]

O'Grady et al. (1966:63) give the following phoneme inventory for Gamilaraay (retranscribed into the orthographical conventions employed above):

TABLE 3.2: O'Grady et al. (1966) Gamilaraay Phonemes

p	*th*	*t*	*rt*	*ty*	*k*
m	*nh*	*n*	*rn*	*ny*	*ng*
		l		*ly*	
		rr			
w			*r*	*y*	

This phonemicisation was provided by Wurm. It seems likely that Wurm's transcription of final *rr* as [rd] led him and O'Grady et al. (1966) to ascribe a retroflex stop and nasal to the phoneme inventory they list for Gamilaraay. Notice however that Wurm's fieldnotes contain no examples of retroflex nasal [rn], and [rd] only occurs in variation with the other allophones of *rr* word-finally. The O'Grady et al (1966) inventory is also overdifferentiated

in listing *ly* as a separate phoneme. The phonetic sequence [lj] occurs under two circumstances:

1. in Wurm's notes the word for 'eaglehawk' is transcribed as [maljan]. I take this to be *maliyan* with elision of the *i* before *y* (Williams confirms a form of this shape in Yuwaaliyaay).

2. in my fieldnotes the word *mubalyaal* occurs with a medial *ly* cluster. I suggest (see ***) that this word contains an old morpheme boundary so that we have a consonant cluster here rather than a unit phoneme.

The target pronunciations for the two rhotics most likely were:

rr – voiced apico-alveolar flap in intervocalic position. It is pronounced as a single tap against the alveolar ridge but is sometimes released after a relatively long occlusion making it difficult to distinguish from the apico-alveolar stop *d*.

– voiced apico-alveolar unreleased stop in word-medial position before another consonant, and in word-final position.

r – voiced semi-retroflex continuant, often difficult to distinguish from *l* in Peter Lang's speech. Wurm (fieldnotes) for example records 'grass' *garaarr* as [gala:l] and *yiraala* 'later' as [jila:lu].

3.1.5 Semivowels

Both *w* and *y* are pronounced as in English, although possibly *w* was formerly pronounced with spread rather than rounded lips.

3.1.6 Phonemic contrast

The following minimal and sub-minimal pairs and sets illustrate the major consonant phonemic oppositions. Notice that *d* and *n* do not occur word-initially, and that *th*/*dj* and *nh*/*ny* do not contrast in morpheme-initial position. Only *th* occurs at the beginning of words, and *th* and *dj* are in complementary distribution at the beginning of suffixes (*dj* follows *i* and *y*, *th* follows *a* and *u*; the same is true of *nh* and *ny*).

STOPS
Word-initial

b – th – g
    bigibila   'echidna, porcupine'
    thii   'meat'
    giidjaa   'black ant'

Intervocalic

b – *th* – *d* – *g*

gaba	'good'
matha	'female section name'
madamada	'knotty (hair)'
gagali	'call out-fut'

The contrast between the laminal stops *th* and *dj* is only weakly established. The stop *dj* primarily occurs in the immediate environment of *i*, that is following or preceding *i*. The following is a list of all the words in the corpus containing *dj* (note that two of these are borrowings from English):

gandjibal	'policeman' [from English 'constable']
giidjaa	'black ant'
gindjurra	'frog'
mirrindjaa	'shrimp'
wadjiin	'white woman' [from English 'white gin']

There are two exceptions to the usual co-occurrence of *dj* with *i*:

buwadjarr	'father'	(recorded by Wurm and cognate with Yuwaaliyaay, the usual form in other sources is *bubaa*)
madjamadja	'sorry'	(compare this with the Yuwaaliyaay form recorded by Williams (1980:167) as *madjagurra*)

Intervocalically, we do find *th* preceding and following *i* in the following items:

gunthi	'house'
mithirr	'type of bush'
yithiyan	'small mopoke owl'

These items (together with *buwadjarr* and *madjamadja*) can thus serve to establish the contrast between *th* and *dj* in intervocalic position.

Word-initially *th* appears before *a*, *u*, and *i*. Some words with initial *thi* show fluctuation with a pronunciation with *dji*, for example:

thigurraa	'bird'	recorded as [thigurraa] and [djigurraa]
thirithiri	'willie wagtail'	[thirithiri] and [djiridjiri]

We also have in the fieldnotes the following words with [*dj*] preceding *a* word-initially, a location where it would not be expected:

djamali	'will bring' [SWNp14.2]
djami	'brought' [SWNp14.2]
djaagarri	'bed roll'

The first of these two forms seem to be phonetic transcriptions of forms of the verb *thiyama*- 'to bring' (ie. the initial [d] represents *th* and the *i* vowel of the first syllable preceding *y* has

been elided. Williams confirms the existence of a verb of this shape in Yuwaaliyaay.) The last word only occurs in Dixon's and Austin's notes, and it is not found in Wurm's materials or any of the early sources. It may be a loan from another language. I think it is safe to eliminate these as genuine Gamilaraay forms.

In suffix-initial position *th* and *dj* do not contrast but are conditioned variants. See the discussion of suffix allomorphy in Chapter 4.

NASALS

Austin's fieldnotes contain no examples of interdental *nh* as a phoneme in either word-initial or intervocalic position and Wurm (fieldnotes) does not notate [nh] in his transcriptions. The following, however, may be a minimal pair to illustrate the *nh* versus *n* contrast (data from Williams 1980 substantiates this claim):

n – nh

nhangana	'boot, shoe'
nganha	'me', 1sg accusative

Also, the demonstratives which Wurm records as [numu] and [nama] may well begin with *nh*, i.e. *nhumu* and *nhama*. Note that the segments *nhu-* and *nha-* form the bases for demonstratives and third person pronouns over a wide area of South Australia and southern and western Queensland. Williams' 1980 data on Yuwaaliyaay confirms the occurrence of *nhama*.

The phoneme *ny* only occurs preceding or following the vowel *i*. The full set of Gamilaraay roots recorded as containing *ny* is:

gabinya	'boy'
ginyi	'be-pres'
minya	'what?'
munyi	'louse'

There is a contrast intervocalically between *ny* and *n* as shown by:

ny – n

minya	'what?'
thiinaa	'honeycomb', 'native bee bread'
munyi	'louse'
guniinii	'queen bee'

No examples have been found where the two laminals *nh* and *ny* contrast. Williams (1980) was similarly unable to find convincing evidence of a contrast between them in Yuwaaliyaay. She presents the following pair (Williams 1980:18):

nginaanya	'you plural object'
giyaanha	'be-present progressive'

and then goes on to say:

'[t]his does not seem to be a very sound basis for assigning phonemic status to /ny/. Note, though that it is a common characteristic of Australian languages to have a nasal phoneme corresponding to each stop phoneme. The phonemic status of /dj/ is moderately well attested, and this is considered to lend weight to the hypothesis that [ny] is a phoneme in its own right.'

I do not find a 'gap in the paradigm' argument such as this convincing. It may simply be the case that the contrast for laminal nasals is not established.

In suffix-initial position *nh* and *ny* do not contrast since *nh* follows *a* and *u* while *ny* follows stems ending in *i*. An example of the alternation is to be found in the tense forms of verbs (see ***)

RHOTICS

As I noted above, *rr* and *r* contrast as in :

rr – r

murru	'bottom, anus'
muru	'nose'
marrii	'women's section'
mari	'person, human being'
yarral	'stone, money'
yaraay	'sun'

SEMIVOWELS

The contrast between the semi-vowels is readily observed:

w – y

guway	'blood'
guya	'fish'
yaray	'small intestine'
waraba	'turtle'

In word-initial position there is optional phonetic elision of the semi-vowels before the corresponding high vowels. That is:

wu	is pronounced as	[wu] or [u]
yi	is pronounced as	[yi] or [i]

Examples of these are:

wugan	'wood'	['wugan] or ['ugan]
yinarr	'woman'	['yinad] or ['inad]

3.2 Vowels

Gamilaraay has six vowel phonemes, three long and three short (alternatively there are three vowels and phonemic length). The vowels are:

i   a short high front unrounded vowel, tending to [ɪ] in unstressed syllables

ii   a long high front unrounded vowel: [i:]

u   a short high back rounded vowel, tending to [ʊ] in unstressed syllables

uu a long high back rounded vowel: [u:]

a   a short mid front vowel [e] following *y* in the first syllable of a word
      a short mid back vowel [ɔ] following *w* in the first syllable of a word
      a short low front vowel [a] in stressed syllables
      schwa elsewhere [ə]

aa a long low front unrounded vowel: [a:]

The phonological length contrast is demonstrated by the following sub-minimal pairs:

i − ii
    bigibila   'echidna, porcupine'
    wiibili   'to be sick'

    garriil   'cold'
    ngarrili   'to sit'

u − uu
    gundal   'bread'
    yuundu   'axe'

    marumali   'to fix, to mend'
    gumuuma   'gecko'

a − aa
    tharril   'reed'
    thaarri   'will copulate'

    gali   'water'
    waali   'to throw'

Monosyllables may contain long or short vowels. Examples of long-vowel monosyllables (both closed and open monosyllables) are:

    ngaa   'yes'
    baan   'mistletoe'
    maal   'one'

gii	'heart'	
wii	'fire'	
giirr	'really, truly'	
thuu	'smoke'	
yuul	'vegetable food'	
buurr	'string, fishing line'	

There are only three (closed) monosyllables that have a short vowel:

mil	'eye'
ngay	'1sg poss'
yal	'pretend'

3.3 Diphthongs

There are four phonetic diphthongs in Gamilaraay which I analyse phonemically as combinations of a vowel plus following semivowel (plus vowel, for two of the four). The first two are low rising diphthongs:

[ɛɪ] which is the phonetic realization of *ay*

[aːi] which is the phonetic realization of *aay*

These two contrast in a number of words, for example:

garay	'sandlewood tree'	[·ga«Ei]
garaay	'nits of louse'	[g´·«aːi]
gaygay	'catfish'	[·gEigEi]
gaayli	'child'	[·gaːilê]

Notice that we could analyse these as *ayi* and *aayi* respectively. This would eliminate all *y*-final stems and simplify the statement of phonotactics and morphophonemics. There is no evidence, however, that the [ɛɪ] and [aːi] diphthongs form two syllables (unlike the diphthongs to be described below).

The other two phonetic diphthongs are rising but the rise is to a high back position. I analyse these as a sequence of vowel plus semi-vowel plus vowel. They are:

[ou] which is the phonetic realization of *awu*

[oːu] which is the phonetic realization as *uwa*

Examples of these are:

gawu	'egg'	[·gOu]
thawun	'earth'	[·DOun]

thuwarr	'bread'	[·DO:ud—]
buwadjarr	'father'	[·bO:udj´rr]

The phonetic diphthong [O:u] also occurs in free variation with [UwU] in a number of words. I analyse these as having *awa* medially, for instance:

thinawan	'emu'	[·DênO:un] or ['DênUwUn]
balawagarr	'lizard type'	[·bœlO:ug´d—] or [·bœlUwUg´d—]

These last two seem to be genuine free variants, with the former occurring in fast speech.

Presumably the occurence of the diphthongs [Ou] and [O:u] led Wurm (in O'Grady et al. 1966:63) to give the following phoneme inventory for Gamilaraay vowels:

i	*u*
a	*o*
plus length	

Apart from the examples given above of the occurrence of [O] as an allophonic variant of *a* either after *w* word-initially, or in diphthongs, there is no evidence in the corpus to warrant positing a vowel phoneme /o/ which contrasts with the other vowels described above.

3.4 Vowel deletion and labialization

A number of examples in Austin's (fieldnotes) corpus show the labialization of *g* to [gʷ] when followed by the short high back vowel *u*. In one instance, the following *u* occurs before *y* and is fronted and unrounded, approaching [ê] in its articulation:

guwaalda	'is speaking'	[gʷa:ldU]
guya	'fish'	[gʷujU] or [gʷêjU]
guway	'blood'	[gʷEi]
guwaagi	'will cook'	[gʷE:gi]

Williams (1980:32) noted similar labialisation for Yuwaaliyaay.

3.5 Stress

Stress in Gamilaraay is predictable from the phonological shape of words and can be assigned by rule. We need three basic principles, two applying to primary stress and one to secondary stress:

PRIMARY STRESS

1. assign primary stress to long vowels. When a word contains two long vowels in adjacent syllables then both are stressed equally.

Examples are:

maatha	'white man'	[·ma:Da]
thalaa	'where'	[Da·la:]
thiinaa	'honeycomb'	[·Di:·na:]
giidjaa	'black ant'	[·gi:·dja:]
guniinii	'queen bee'	[gu·ni:·ni:]

The assignment of stress equally to both syllables in examples such as these would appear to be an unusual characteristic for an Australian language. Normally, these languages prefer stressed and unstressed syllables to be adjacent i.e. S–U or U–S.

2. if a word contains no long vowels, assign primary stress to the vowel of the first syllable. Examples are:

mara	'hand'	[·mU«U]
bumali	'hit'	[·bumUli]
thulumay	'thunder'	[·DulumEi]

SECONDARY STRESS

Secondary stress is assigned to the second and fourth vowels counting backwards or forwards from the vowel which has primary stress, except that final syllables cannot not bear secondary stress. Examples are:

gaarrumali	'steal'	[ga!:\umU~li]
ngandabaa	'red snake'	[NU~ndUba!:]
galinggalii	'intestine'	[gU~liNgali!:]

Notice that the result of the application of these stress rules is that there is a regular alternating stress pattern in polysyllables. Thus, four syllable words have a stress pattern that is either of the form S–U–S–U or U–S–U–S.

The comitative affix *-(b)araay* 'having' (see ***) has variable pronunciation according to the structure of the root to which it is suffixed. When added to disyllabic roots the first *a* vowel is pronounced very short or elided completely. Examples are the following:

gamil-araay	'Gamilaraay'	[gU~mêl«a!:i] or [gU~mêl´«a!:i]
thawun-baraay	'dirty'	[DO~unb«a!:i] or [DO~unb´«a!:i]
milim-baraay	'cow'	[mi~lêmb«a⁄:i] or [mi~lêmb´«a!:i]

Ridley (1875:4) describes this reduction of *a* in unstressed syllable as follows:

> '[s]ome who have reduced this language to writing call it Kamilroi, some Gummilroy; but the aborigines insert a short sound between the *l* and the *r*. It is about equal to the sheva or half-vowel, as pronounced by Hebrew scholars; and, following the method of expressing the composite sheva in the Hebrew grammars, this word may be written thus — 'Kamilaroi.'‘

It is likely that this reduction is connected to the preferred stress pattern in such words. Since

the long vowel of *-araay* carries primary stress, reduction of *a* results in a stressed–unstressed–stressed (S–U–S) pattern.

3.6 Phonotactics

All words in Gamilaraay must begin with one and only one consonant. As noted above, initial *w* may phonetically elide before *u* and *y* before *i*. Words may end in one and only one consonant.

Gamilaraay morphemes (roots and suffixes) generally begin with a consonant and vowel (CV), however there are a few suffix morphemes in Gamilaraay which begin with a consonant cluster. They are:

lda	continuous
nda	2sg bound pronoun
ndaali	2dl bound pronoun
ndaay	2pl bound pronoun
ndaay	dependent clause

Not all stops and nasals may occur word-initially. The apicals *d* and *n* do not appear there, nor does *ny*. As we noted above, *dj* is very rare word-initially. Other word-inital consonants are the semivowels *w* and *y*. The lateral *l*, flap *rr* and retroflex continuant *r* are never found in word-initial positions.

In word-medial position between vowels all consonants occur (but see note on *nh* above), but there are restrictions on which segments are permitted in word-final position. Finally we find all vowels and the consonants *l*, *rr*, *n* and *y*. We can summarise this distribution as follows:

WORD-INITAL CONSONANTS
b *th* *g* *m* *nh* *ng* *w* *y*

WORD-FINAL CONSONANTS
l *n* *rr* *y*

Notice that *y* is the only consonant which can both begin and end words.

In intervocalic position Gamilaraay allows combinations of up to two consonants in a cluster. Two-element medial intramorphemic consonant clusters are limited to the combinations set out in the following table (note that in the practical orthography, for the laminal nasal-stop clusters point of articulation is indicated by the stop only and not by the nasal. Thus *nh* plus *th* is written *nth*, *ny* plus *dj* is written *ndj*):

TABLE 3.3: Gamilaraay intramorphemic consonant clusters

1. homorganic nasal-stop clusters: *mb ngg nth ndj nd*
2. homorganic lateral-stop cluster: *ld*
3. other clusters:

	b	*g*	*m*	*rr*	*n*	*l*
y	*yb*	*yg*		*yrr*	*yn*	*yl*
n	*nb*	*n.g*	*nm*			
l	*lb*	*lg*				
rr	*rrb*	*rrg*				

Notice that the set of consonants which are first members of non-homorganic clusters is identical to the set of consonants which may occur in word-final position. This means that word-final and syllable-final are identical as far as consonant selectional restrictions are concerned for Gamilaraay.

Words illustrating these sequences are the following:

1. homorganic nasal-stop:
   wamba 'mad'
   mantha 'bread'
   bandaar 'kangaroo'
   gindjura 'frog'
   thanggal 'mussel type'

2. homorganic lateral-stop:

3. non-homorganic:

a. first member *y*
   buuybuuy 'pennyroyal'
   gaygay 'jew fish'
   marayn 'dingo'
   gaayrri 'name'
   gaayli 'child'

b. first member *l*
   giyalbula 'afraid'
   thiilguyn 'type of wild potato'

c. first member *rr*
   burrgaan 'cat'
   murrgu 'oak tree'

d. first member *n*

thinbirr	'knee'
wun.gali	'to return'
ganmali	'to catch, hold'

Two examples of apparent three-element intramorphemic consonant clusters have been found. They are:

ynm	as in	*gaaynmara*	'small child'
yngg	as in	*gaaynggal*	'baby'

A morpheme boundary may occur after *y* here, cf. *gaay* 'son, daughter', *gaayli* 'child', although it is impossible to be sure what the morphemes in these words could be.

Intermophemically a greater range of consonant combinations is found (and even more are predicted although they do not occur in the corpus) but again the first element of a cluster is restricted to one of the consonants which can occur word-finally, as the following table shows (a question mark indicates predicted but not found in corpus):

TABLE 3.4: Gamilaraay intermorphemic consonant clusters

	b	*m*	*d*	*dj*	*g*	*ng*
y	yb	ym		ydj	yg	?yng
l	lb	lm	ld		lg	lng
rr	rrb	rrm			rrg	rrng
n	nb		nd		n.g	?nng

Examples of the observed and predicted clusters are:

yb	*?yaray-baraay*	beard-comit	'bearded'
	bagaay-bil	creek-full	'full of creeks'
ydj	*miyay-djuul*	girl-dimin	'small girl'
yg	*walaay-gu*	camp-dat	'to camp'
? yng	*?gaygay-ngin*	jew fish-want	'wanting a jewfish'
lb	*?yarral-bil*	stone-full	'full of stones'
ld	*maal-duul*	one-dimin	'little one'
lg	*?burrul-gu*	*big-dat*	*'of the big one'*
lng	*yuul-ngin*	food-want	'hungry'

rrb			
rrg	*buwadjarr-gu*	*father-dat*	*'father's'*
	bandaarr-gu	*kangaroo-dat*	*'for kangaroo'*
rrng	*ʔguliirr-ngin*	spouse-want	'wanting a wife'
	ʔthuwarr-ngin	bread-want	'wanting bread'
nb	*thawun-baraay*	dirt-comit	'dirty'
nd	*ʔbarran-du*	boomerang-erg	'with a boomerang'
ng	*ʔthinawan-gu*	emu-dat	'of the emu'
ʔnng	*ʔbarrran-ngin*	boomerang-want	'wanting a boomerang'

The following intermorphemic clusters are only found with verbs. In these clusters the first element can be analysed as a verb conjugation marker (see ***):

ym	*yanaa-y-mayaa-nyi*	go-dist past	'went long ago'
ʔ yng	*yanaa-y-ngari-nyi*	go-rec past	'went yesterday'
ld	*buma-l-da*	hit-cont	'hitting'
lm	*buma-l-mayaa-nyi*	*hit-dist past*	*'hit long ago'*
	ngami-l-mayaa-nyi	see-dist past	'saw long ago'
rrm	*wu-rr-mayaa-nyi*	*give-dist past*	*'gave long ago'*
	thu-rr-mayaa-nyi	*spear-dist past*	*'speared long ago'*

There is also one word *mubalyaal* meaning 'pregnant' which seems to show the possible occurrence of *ly* as a cluster. I suggest that there is a frozen morpheme boundary here since we find *mubal* 'stomach'. It is common in a number of Australian languages to find frozen comitatives preserved in the word for pregnant. An example is Burduna (Western Australia) *ngarluwarri* 'preganant', where the usual comitative is *-wardu* (*-warri* is the comitative in neighbouring Tharrkari). I am not aware, however, of *-yaal* as a comitative in any language near Gamilaraay.

3.7 Historial phonology

For a treatment of Gamilaraay historical phonology see 2.5 above which discusses, among other things, the conspiracy of phonological changes which has led to the elimination of nasals other than apico-alveolar **n** in word-final position in Gamilaraay.

Chapter 4: Morphology of Nouns and Adjectives

4.1 Nouns and adjectives

The word class of nouns in Gamilaraay may be isolated by the fact that its members take case affixes which indicate their function within the sentence. Adjectives, which generally precede nouns, modify their meaning and are not normally inflected for case. Mathews (1903:262) appears to have been in error when he stated:

> 'Adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, and take the same inflections for number and case.'

He gives as an example:

> 'Nominative agent - murridu buralu kainggal bumulda, the big man is beating the child'

The corpus presently under study contains a number of examples of adjectives preceding the qualified noun; in such sentences the adjective is not inflected for case. For example, we have the following:

(4.1) *Bandaarr* *gaa-waan*. *bulaarr* *mari-dhu*

kangaroo two man-erg

carry-cont

'Two men carry the kangaroo.' [SWNp11.1]

Semantically, adjectives fall into the following groups:

(I)	DIMENSION	
	burrul	'big'
	gaaynmara	'small '
(II)	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	
.	*balal*	'dry'
	garaar	'long'
	wamu	'fat'
	burabura	'thin'
(III)	COLOUR	
.	*balaa*	'white'
	buluy	'black'
(IV)	VALUE	
.	*gaba*	'good'
	gagil	'bad'

(V)	HUMAN PROPENSITY	
.	*wamba*	'mad, stupid, deaf'
	muga	'blind'
(VI)	NUMBER	
.	*maal*	'one'
	bulaarr	'two'
	gulibaa	'three'
	burrulaa	'many'
	gulbirr	'some'

4.2 Stem-forming affixes

In the corpus there are examples showing noun and adjective stems built up from roots by the addition of six types of noun and adjective stem-forming affixes. They are discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

4.2.1 Comitative (comit)

The comitative or 'having' affix forms an adjective from a noun stem. The adjective may then be used to qualify another noun in the manner described above. The affix has two allomorphs (see 3.* above for the vowel deletion rule):

> *-baraay* after noun stems ending in a nasal or vowel

> *-araay* after noun stems ending in *l-* (possibly also *r-*)

The following examples have been recorded (author's fieldnotes):

Comitative stem	Gloss	Root	Gloss
dhawun-baraay	'dirty'	*dhawun*	'earth, ground, dirt'
gali-baraay	'slaked'	*gali*	'water'
yuul-araay	'sated'	*yuul*	'vegetable food'
gamil-araay	'Gamilaraay'	*gamil*	'no'

The comitative is also attached to an apparent loan word from English in the following (note that Gamilaraay words do not normally end in *m*):

> *milim-baraay*   'cow'   *milim*   'milk'

The name of this language and others neighbouring it to the north end and south-west is derived through the addition of the comitative affix to the negative particle (see *** above).

   Greenway (19**) gives some further examples of the comitative under the heading 'suffixes'. He writes as follows:

'Arai or rai signifies possession and has the sense of -ous. Thus, yi:na-arai = having a wife (i.e. <yina 'woman'); kolia-arai = having a spouse (i.e. from guliir 'spouse'); kiwi:ra-rai = having a husband (i.e. from giwir 'man'); yaraman-arai = having a horse (i.e. from yaraman 'horse'); milimbrai = milkers, cows having milk [cf. above - PA]; junbabrai = shepherd, having sheep [possibly *thimba* 'sheep' was meant here - PA], yu:larai = having food, full [cf. above - PA].'

Ridley (1875:14) has the following similar note under Derivation and Composition:

'Adjectives are also formed by adding suffixes to nouns. From 'yu:l' (food) come 'yu:larai' (full, satisfied) and 'yulngin' (hungry) [c.f. below - PA]; from 'kolle'(water) 'kollengin' (thirsty). From 'yinar' comes 'yinararai' (having a wife); from 'giwi:r' comes 'giwi:rarai' (having a husband); from 'gu:li:r' comes 'gulirarai' (having a spouse) — three terms for married. The suffix -arai (having) is applied by the blacks to the English work milk, to make 'milimbrai' (milkers i.e. cows giving milk). From 'bul' (jealousy) comes 'bu:larai' (jealous).'

Not all these forms appear in the modern corpus, but it is clear that both Greenway and Ridley were writing about the comitative affix. Mathews (1903) contains no mention of it.

The forms given by Greenway and Ridley are the only evidence we have for the form of the affix after *rr*, namely *-araay*, as in *yinarr-araay* 'having a wife', *guliirr-araay* 'having a spouse', and *%giwiirr-araay* 'having a husband'. Similarly, Greenway's *dhimba-baraay* supports the occurrence of the *-baraay* allomorph following vowels.

4.2.2 Excess

The suffix *-bil* is added to nouns in Gamilaraay to derive an adjective used to refer to something with a characteristic excess of the thing(s) denoted by the root. The only evidence for *-bil* in Gamilaraay comes from a place name and comparisons with Yuwaalayaay. The place name is:

Excess stem	Gloss	Root	Gloss
bagaay-bil-a	Boggabilla	*bagaay*	creek

Notice incidentally that this example shows us that *-bil* precedes the locative case suffix *-a*. Williams (1980:41) gives an example of *-bil* with the Yuwaalayaay word for 'earth' *dhaymarr-bil* meaning 'full of dirt'. Donaldson (1980:112) notes the occurrence of an cognate affix in Ngiyampaa of the form *-bil* which she glosses as 'with a lot'.

It is possible that the term for 'echidna' *bigibila* contains a fossilised instance of the *-bil* affix. Donaldson (1980:113) discusses a similar form *dhigarrbila* in Ngiyampaa (and names for 'echidna' in other languages which involve the productive comitative).

4.2.3 Wanting

Gamilaraay has a derivational affix of the form *-ngin*. This is attached to noun roots and indicates a lack of something together with the desire for it. Only two examples have been recorded, and both involve desire for sustenance. Thus we have:

Wanting stem	Gloss	Root	Gloss
yuul-ngin	'hungry'	*yuul*	'vegetable food'
gali-ngin	'thirsty'	*gali*	'water'

Examples of the use of these are:

(4.2)   *Yuul-ngin   ngay   ginyi.*
         food-wanting   1sgnom   be-pres

         'I am hungry.' [PANp**]

(4.3)   *Gali-ngin   ngaay   ngaru-gi.*
         water-wanting   1sgnom drink-fut

         'I want to drink water.' [SWNp5.1]

The two examples *yuul-ngin* and *gali-ngin* are also to be found in the writings of Greenway and Ridley (see above). Williams (1980:41) records an affix in Yuwaalayaay of the shape *-nginda* meaning 'wanting', and Donaldson (1980:113-6) gives Ngiyampaa *-nginda* which she glosses as 'caritative' (or 'wanting').

4.2.3 Diminutive (dim)

The diminutive suffix is added to nouns to indicate a small instance of the object denoted by the root. This affix has several allomorphs:

   -duul   following *l* and *n*

   -djuul   following *i* and *y*

   -dhuul   elsewhere (i.e. after *a*, *u*)

Diminutive stem	Gloss	Root	Gloss
maal-duul	'one little one'	*maal*	'one'
mil-duul	'little eyes'	*mil*	'eye'
miyay-djuul	'little girl'	*miyay*	'girl'
mari-djuul	'small man'	*mari*	'man'

Greenway (1903) mentions this affix in his section on suffixes:

   'u:l or du:l = like, having the quality of'

Ridley (1875:14) give the following:

> ' '-dul' is an adjective suffix, as 'ya:rul' a stone, 'yaruldu:l' stony. -dul is used with a diminutive meaning; thus, 'warunggul' mighty, 'warungguldu:l' somewhat mighty or strong, 'ngarage:' other, 'ngarage:du:l' another; 'birradul' (youth) and 'mie:du:l' (maiden) meaning having something of the boy, and having something (not much) of the girl left.'

Mathews (1903) gives two forms in his vocabulary list that coincide with the last two noted by Ridley:

'small boy   **birre**   male child   **birredyul**

girl, till puberty **mea**   female child **meadyul**'

From the lists of Ridley and Mathews we may reconstitute the following:

Diminutive stem	Gloss	Root	Gloss
%yarral-duul	'stony'	*yarral*	'stone'
birray-djuul	'little boy'	*birray*	'boy'
ngarrigi-djuul	'another'	*ngarrigi*	'other'
%waRunggul-duul	'little strong'	*waRunggul*	'strong'

4.2.4 Possessive

In Gamilaraay, kinship terms may take a suffix with the following allomorphs:

-di   following *n* or *l*

-dhi   following *a* or *u*

Examples from Gerhard Laves research (Laves papers p1399) are:

-di
  bagaan-di   younger sister

-dhi
  bubaa-dhi   father
  ngambaa-dhi   mother
  dhaya-dhi   elder brother
  buwa-dhi   elder sister
  garu-dhi   mother's brother, wife's father

The suffix here seems to indicate that the kin term is possessed, probably by a first person singular ('my ...'). Williams (1980:40) notes the occurrence of an affix *-dhi* which she

glosses as a 'kinship possessive'. She provides examples where the possessor has either first or third term reference. Additionally, Williams (1980:142-3) includes in her kinship vocabulary list a number of forms with *-dhi/-ji/-di* as their final syllable, or else with these syllables in brackets (presumably indicating that they are optional). The relevant forms are:

dhagaan(di)　　　　older brother
bawa(dhi)　　　　　older (?) sister
ngambaa(dhi)　　　mother (familiar)
nhanuwaayji　　　son's or daughter's child

It is possible that the form given for 'uncle' *garugii* is a mistranscription of *garu-dhi* (cf. forms in Laves manuscript).

Notice that Williams' data suggests there is a third allomorph (as we might predict from the complementary distribution of the laminal stops morpheme-initially):

-dji　　　　　　following *i* or *y*

There are no Gamilaraay examples to support postulation of this allomorph.

Donaldson (1980:124) shows that Ngiyampaa has bound possessive markers for all numbers of first person (singular, dual and plural), and for second person singular. She lists the bound possessive markers as follows:

1sg	1dl	1pl	2sg
=DHi:	*=ligi:*	*=ngiyanigi:*	*=nu:*

where *DH* stands for variation between *dh/dj/d* and = indicates a clitic boundary.

Note the vowel length in the Ngiyampaa form for first person singular. It appears from the available sources that Gamilaraay had a short vowel in the corresponding affix.

4.2.5 -baa

There are two words in the Gamilaraay corpus which apparently show a derivational affix of the form *-baa*. They are:

-baa stem	Gloss	Root	Gloss
walaay-baa	'home'	*walaay*	'camp'
wanda-baa	'ghost'	*wanda*	'white man'

Williams (1980:42-3) gives similar examples showing a *-baa* affix which she glosses as 'place of', although she notes that this gloss is inapplicable to at least one instance *burrul-baa* 'many', based on *burrul* 'big'. Donaldson (1980:118) describes an affix of the form *-baaN* glossed as 'domain' in Ngiyambaa. This occurs with nouns to indicate weather and

season, and it is also found in *ngurrambaa* 'homeland, tribal territory' (where *ngurra* means 'camp', cf. *walaay-baa* above). The affix thus seems to be cognate with the Gamilaraay and Yuwaalayaay forms.

In the case of *wanda-baa* it seems that this is a Gamilaraay neologism since the advent of white men. The term *wanda* seems originally to have meant 'ghost'; it has been specialised to 'white man' and the new term *wanda-baa* created. Tindale (1938) glosses this terms as follows: ''evil spirit (short stature, comes at night, if you see him you die)''

4.3 Case inflection

The available data indicate that there are six noun cases in Gamilaraay each covering a number of syntactic functions of the noun phrase within the sentence. The functions of the cases are discussed in detail in 7.**.

4.3.1 Absolutive

The absolutive case is identical in form to the citation form of a noun or adjective. It marks the subject of an intransitive verb, as in:

(4.4) *Nhurraay*   *yarral-a*   *baabi-li*.
      snake   stone-LOC   sleep-FUT
      'A snake sleeps on the stone.' [SWNp13.1]

Absolutive also marks object of a transitive verb, as in :

(4.5) *Mari-dhu*   *dhuwarr*   *nhama*   *ngay*   *garrama-y*.
      man-erg   bread   that   1sgdat   steal-nfut
       'That man stole my bread.' [SWNp10.1]

For further discussion see 7.**.

4.3.2 Ergative (erg)

The ergative case has the following realizations:

-dhu	after stems ending in *i* and *y*
-u	after stems ending in *rr* (and possibly also *l*, see below)
-du	after stems ending in *n*
-gu	after stems ending in *a* or *u*

The following table sets out case forms actually occurring in Wurm's data, or reconstituted from the earlier sources, for the different phonological environments:

TABLE 4.1: Gamilaraay case forms in data

	ABS	ERG	LOC	DAT	ABLAT
a-final					
'sheep'	*dhimba*	*dhimbagu*			
'whiteman'	*wanda*			*wandagu*	
u-final					
'stick'	*dhulu*	*dhulugu*			
i-final					
'meat'	*dhii*				*dhiidhi*
'person'	*mari*	*%maridhu*	*%maridha*	*%marigu*	*%maridhi*
y-final					
'creek'	*bagaay*		*bagaaydha*		
'camp'	*walaay*			*walaaygu*	*%walaaydhi*
l-final					
'scrub'	*yurrul*		*yurrula*		
rr-final					
'kangaroo'	*bandaarr*				*%bandaarri*
'woman'	*yinarr*	*yinarru*		*%yinarrgu*	
n-final					
'eagle'	*maliyan*	*%maliyandu*	*%maliyanda*	*%maliyangu*	*%maliyandi*

The following table sets out likely words exemplifying each of the cases.

TABLE 4.2: Gamilaraay noun case forms

	Abs	Erg	Loc	Dat	Ablat
'whiteman'	*wanda*	*wandagu*	*wandaga*	*wandagu*	*wandadhi*
'dust'	*yuru*	*yurugu*	*yuruga*	*yurugu*	*yurudhi*
'person'	*mari*	*maridhu*	*maridha*	*marigu*	*maridji*
'girl'	*miyay*	*miyaydhu*	*miyaydha*	*miyaygu*	*miyaydji*
'big'	*burrul*	*burrulu*	*burrula*	*burrulgu*	*burruli*
'woman'	*yinarr*	*yinarru*	*yinarra*	*yinarrgu*	*yinarri*
'earth'	*dhawun*	*dhawundu*	*dhawunda*	*dhawun.gu*	*dhawundi*

The ergative case has a number functions, including marking the transitive subject, as in:

(4.6) *Nhama*   *garaarr*   *dhimba-gu*   *dha-lda*.
      that   grass   sheep-erg   eat-pres

      'The sheep are eating grass.' [SWNp1.1]

It also signifies the instrument with which an action is performed. An example is:

(4.7) *Nhama*   *mari*   *ngaay*   *dhulu-gu*   *buma-li*.
      that   man   1sgnom   stick-erg   hit-fut

      'I shall hit the man with this stick.' [SWNp6a.1]

All earlier writers on Gamilaraay failed to notice that there are four allomorphs of the ergative case affix. Ridley (1875:5), for example, says:

> 'There are two nominative cases... the second indicating the agent of the act described in a verb. Often, however, the agent suffix is omitted, even before an active verb. The suffixes are -du: (the sign of the agent)'

Ridley (1875:6) exemplifies the second nominative with:

> '2nd Nom   mulliondu:, an eagle as agent'

What we have here is *maliyan-du* 'eaglehawk-erg', illustrating the post-nasal allomorph. Interestingly enough, both Ridley and Greenway used the other allomorphs of this case affix correctly in their Bible translations, without making note of them in their respective grammars.

    Mathews (1903p*) also described the ergative case and noted that it has a number of different realizations, although he only distinguished two of the four possible forms:

> 'In illustrating the declension of the nouns and adjectives it will be observed that the suffixes vary in the same case, according to the termination of the word to which they are attached, apparently for the sake of euphony. For example, the nominative agent has du in some instances, and u in others, as murridu, burrandu, inaru, buralu, etc.'

4.3.3 Locative (loc)

A nominal which serves to indicate the location at which an action was performed or an event occurred is inflected for locative case. The forms of the realizations of the locative are identical to those of the ergative, except that they have final *a* instead of *u*. That is:

    -dha   after stems ending in *i* or *y*

    -a   after stems ending in *l* (possibly also after *rr*)

    -da   after stems ending in *n*

    -ga   after stems ending in *a* and *u*

The modern corpus contains no examples of nouns ending in *u* or *rr* inflected for locative case, although the corresponding ergatives are found to end in *-gu* and *-u* respectively. Notice also that although there are no ergative case inflected nouns whose absolutive form ends in *l*, the occurrence of locative *-a* after stems ending in *l* supports the reconstitution of ergative in this environment as *-u*.

An example of locative is:

(4.8) *Wii*   *nhama*   *gudha-waan*   *yurrul-a*.
       fire   that   burn-cont   scrub-loc
       'A fire is burning there in the scrub. [SWNp8.2]

Ridley (1875:6) differentiates two locative cases:

> '-da: (in); -ku:nda (with, ie, remaining at rest with; this suffix is related to ku:ndi, a house)

Ridley gives the following example (which unfortunately doesn't seem to make much sense):

> 'mullionda   in an eagle
>
> mullionkunda   with an eagle at rest'

Ridley makes use of -ku:nda (*%-gunda*) in his Bible translations, as does Greenway, although neither Mathews nor Wurm recorded it. Whether or not this represents a separate locative case is unclear.

4.3.4 Dative (dat)

The dative has a single allomorph *-gu*, attached to all noun stems. It has a number of functions including indicating the locational goal of motion (allative sense), as in:

(4.9) *Nhama*   *ngaay*   *yana-waan*   *walaay-gu*.
       that   1sgnom   go-cont   camp-dat
       'I am going to the camp.' [SWNp6.1]

Dative also marks a goal of purpose, and possession. The latter function is exemplified in:

(4.10) *Nhama*   *wanda-gu*   *guliirr*.
        that   whiteman-dat spouse
        'This is the wife of a whiteman.' [SWNp***]

Ridley (1875:6) has the suffix marking possession in Gamilaraay as *%-ngu*, as in:

> ' -ngu: (of or belonging to) - example mullionngu:, of an eagle'

Mathews (1903) recorded the dative as having two allomorphs, *%-gu* and *%-u*, with the latter

occurring after stems ending in *rr*:

'Genitive - murrigu burran, a man's boomerang; inaru buruma, a woman's dog'

Evidence from contemporary sources show that Mathews is incorrect and that he was perhaps attempting to overgeneralise along the lines of allomorphy for the ergative.

Williams (1980:39) records dative as *-gu* in Yuwaalayaay, as does Donaldson (1980:83) for Ngiyampaa.

4.3.5 Ablative (abl)

There is one example in Wurm's corpus of a noun phrase inflected for what could be termed resultative case, the realization of which is *-dhi* (after *i*). This is the following:

(4.11) *Wiibil   ngaay   gidhan   nhama   dhii-dhi*.
        ill   1sgnom   be-cont   that   meat-abl
        'I am sick from that meat.' [SWNp**]

Identification of this affix with ablative, that is the 'source' from which motion proceeds, is based upon Ridley and Mathew's observations. Ridley (1875:6) has:

'-di: (from) - examples: mulliondi, from an eagle'

We can reconstitute this as *%maliyan-di*, showing a *-di* allomorph following *n*. Mathews (1903 p*) gives:

'Ablative - wullaidhi, from the camp; murridhi, from the man; bundari, from the kangaroo'

Mathews' data suggests that other allomorphs of the ablative are:

-dhi	following stems ending in *i* and *y*
-i	following stems ending in *rr*

This gives a set of allomorphs similar to the ergative except in having *i* instead of *u* finally. Unfortunately, we do not know what the ablative of *a* and *u* final stems is. If it is *-gi* then the parallel with the ergative (and locative) is correct, if it is, as we suspect, *-dhi* then there is no parallel.

Williams (1980:37) gives the ablative for Yuwaalayaay as:

-i	following stems ending in *l* and *rr*
-di	following stems ending in *n*
-dji	following stems ending in *i* and *y*
-dhi	following stems ending in *a* and *u*

In Ngiyampaa the case inflection glossed as 'circumstantive' by Donaldson (1980:84) has exactly these allomorphs.

4.4 The interrogative nominal

Gamilaraay has a nominal *minya* which acts as an interrogative for the set of nouns with non-human reference (c.f. *** below). It appears to be inflected for nominative case (as a citation form it appears to take *-nha* although details are not clear) and for dative case as the following examples show. Notice that *minya* can host the pronominal clitics (see ***).

(4.12) *Minya-nha.*
        what-?
        'What is that?' [SWNp6.1]

(4.13) *Minya-nda   guwaa-lda.*
        what-2sgnom   say-cont
        'What are you saying?' [PANp**]

(4.14) *Minya-gu   yana-waan.*
        what-dat   go-cont
        'For what did you come?' [SWNp6.1]

(4.15) *Minya   ngaay winanga-li.*
        what   1sgnom   hear-fut
        'What talk?' ('What will I hear?') [SWNp2.2]

(4.16) *Minya-nda   baabi-li*
        what-2sgnom   sleep-fut
        'Where do you camp?' [SWNp6.1]

It appears that *minya* takes a suffix to indicate 'how many'. Mathews (1903) give '*minyangguddha* how many times? minyungai how many?' and Ridley (1875:7) has 'minyunggai how many?'. From this I reconstitute:

    minya-nggaay   'how many'

and its locative form:

    minya-nggaay-dha

which would code 'how many times' ('on how many occasions').

The interrogative *dhalaa* 'where' is the interrogative used for non-human location and direction of motion. Consider the following examples:

(4.17) *Dhalaa*   *ngay*   *yuundu*.
        where   1sgdat axe
        'Where is my axe?' [SWNp6.1]

(4.18) *Dhalaa*   *dhuwarr*.
        where   bread
        'Where is the bread?' [PANp***]

(4.19) *Dhalaa*   *ngay*   *yuundu*   *gaa-nhi*.
        where   1sgdat   axe   take-nfut
        'Where have you taken my axe?' [SWNp6.1]

Note that *dhalaa* is not inflected for case and always occurs in sentence-initial position. This interrogative can host clitic pronouns (see ***), as in:

(4.20) *Dhalaa-ndaay*   *yana-waan*.
        where-2plnom   go-cont
        'Where are you going to?' [SWNp]

    Williams (1980:56) records a stem *minya* 'what' for Yuwaalayaay. She gives three inflected forms:

        absolutive   *minya*
        dative   *minya-gu*
        ablative   *minya-dhi*

Donaldson (1980:266) gives *minyaN* 'what' in Ngiyampaa. The dative here is *minyang-gu*.

    Williams does not give a form for 'where'. In Ngiyampaa (Donaldson 1980:267) it is *wandha*.

Chapter 5: Morphology of Pronouns and Demonstratives

5.1 Pronouns

Gamilaraay has two sorts of pronouns: free pronouns and bound clitic pronouns. The bound pronouns only exist for the second person (singular, dual and plural) and are suffixed to sentence initial interrogative nominals and particles, and to the negative imperative particle *gariya*. Bound pronouns are discussed in 5.1.2. In the following sections, free pronouns are discussed and exemplified.

5.2 First and second person pronouns

Whereas nouns in Gamilaraay follow a syntactic pattern of Ergative-Absolutive marking the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb as absolutive and the subject of a transitive verb as ergative, the first and second personal pronouns follow a Nominative-Accusative syntactic pattern. That is, transitive (A) and intransitive (S) subject are marked as nominative while transitive object (O) pronouns are marked for accusative case. We reconstitute the the accusative marking for all the pronouns as *%-nha*, although, as noted above (p**), it is comparative evidence which supports postulation of the laminal here, rather than contemporary data.

Personal pronouns may substitute for noun phrases with human reference. For the first and second person pronouns there are three numbers, singular, dual and plural. It is not clear if a distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive reference for the first person dual or plural in Gamilaraay. Ridley (1875:6) records what appear to be inclusive and exclusive dual first person pronouns:

> 'ngulle, we two - thou and I
>
> ngullina, we two - he and I'

This would give us *%ngali-na* 1dlexcl where *-na* marks exclusive reference. Such an affix would be cognate with the exclusive pronominal suffix in Ngiyambaa given as *-naN* by Donaldson (1980:123).

Mathews (1903) claims to have found an inclusive-exclusive distinction for both dual and plural numbers:

> 'There are two pronouns in the first person of the dual and plural - one which is used when the person addressed is included, and another which excludes the person addressed (see pronouns). Rev. William Ridley in a short grammar of the Kamilaroi gives two forms in the dual number, but makes no mention of their existence in the plural, which leads to the inference that they escaped his notice.'

The actual forms which Mathews recorded for the exclusive pronouns are dual 'ngullingura' and plural 'ngeanyel'. The first person dual exclusive 'ngullingura' is clearly a combination of first person dual *ngali* and third person singular *nguru*, probably fabricated by an informant in response to Mathews persistent enquiries. The first person plural exclusive

seems to consist of the plural pronoun *ngiyani* plus some affix. Whether this is a genuine form is unclear. Unfortunately Wurm's fieldnotes contain no examples of first person plural pronouns so the issue of an inclusive-exclusive contrast must be left unresolved. Williams (1980:51) is similarly inconclusive regarding Yuwaalayaay.

The following table sets out the Gamilaraay pronouns as recorded or reconstituted from the sources. Note that Wurm recorded the first person singular nominative as both *ngaya* and *ngaay* (ie. [ngai] rather than [ngaia] with elision of the final vowel. This contrasts with *ngay* [ngei], the dative form.)

TABLE 5.1: First and second person pronouns

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
1sg	*ngaya*	*nganha*	*ngay*
1dl	*ngali*	*ngalinya*	*ngalingu*
1pl	*ngiyani*	*%ngiyaninya*	*%ngiyaningu*
2sg	*nginda*	*nginunha*	*nginu*
2dl	*ngindaali*	*%ngindaalinya*	*ngindaalingu*
2pl	*ngindaay*	*ngindaaynya*	*ngindaayngu*

The locative and ablative forms are based upon the dative for all pronouns, except first person singular where locative and ablative are based upon a root ** nganu*. Consider the following:

TABLE 5.2: Locative and Ablative pronouns

	Locative	Ablative
1sg	*nganunda*	*nganundi*
1dl	*ngalingunda*	*ngalingundi*
1pl	*ngiyaningunda*	*ngiyaningundi*
2sg	*nginunda*	*nginundi*
2dl	*ngindaalingunda*	*ngindaalingundi*
2pl	*ngindaayngunda*	*ngindaayngundi*

Data from Tindale's 1938 notes suggests that the ablative form of the first person dual may be *%ngali-gi(i)-ngundi* (see 'ngaleikengundi' and 'ngaleiki ngundi' in Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:13). Compare this with the oblique root for Ngiyampaa recorded by Donaldson (1980:122) as *ngaligiiN*. There is no other data to confirm the Tindale forms.

Examples showing the use of the pronouns are:

(5.1) *Wanda-gu*   *nganha*   *buma-li*   *thulu-gu*.
       whiteman-erg   1sgO   hit-fut   stick-erg
       'The whiteman will hit me with a stick.' [SWNp4.2]

(5.3)   *Thalaa   nginu   barran ngaay   ngami-li.*
         where   2sgdat   boomerang 1sgnom   see-fut
         'Where is your boomerang? I want to see it.' [SWNp11.1]

(5.4)   *Nhama   ngali yana-waan   marayn   buma-li.*
         that   1dlnom go-cont   dingo   kill-fut
         'We two go to shoot dingoes.' [SWNp11.2]

(5.5)   *Ngindaali   nhama ngarri-li.*
         2dlnom   that   sit-fut
         You all will camp' [SWNp***]

See Williams (1980:47) for the pronouns of Yuwaalayaay, which correspond closely to the Gamilaraay ones, and Donaldson (1980:120ff) for the Ngiyampaa ones.

5.3 Bound pronouns

Gamilaraay has a limited set of bound pronouns that appear suffixed to certain sentence-initial words. The bound pronouns mark subject function (nominative case) and are limited to the second person only. They distinguish the three numbers: singular, dual and plural. As Blake 1977 shows, Gamilaraay is on the boundary which divides languages with bound pronouns from those without. It is possible that the bound pronouns were recently acquired in the language. The forms are patent reductions of the corresponding free pronouns. The three forms are:

   -nda   second person singular   cf. *nginda*

   -ndaali second person dual   cf. *ngindaali*

   -ndaay second person plural   cf. *ngindaay*

It seems that when these forms are added to a word which ends in a consonant they cause the final consonant to be deleted. The example we have to support this is from Tindale 1938 (Austin and Tindale 1985 sentence 14):

(5.6)   kaminda   burula: ŋuďaruldeigo
         Gamil-nda   *burrulaa*   *%nguthaRu-lda-ygu.*
         not-2sgnom   many   feed-prog-purp
         'Then you won't have to feed so many.'

Williams (1980:52) recorded exactly the same bound pronouns for Yuwaalayaay, and the same distribution as for Gamilaraay. In Ngiyampaa there is a full set of bound pronouns for nominative and oblique functions (Donaldson 1980:124). Interestingly, the second person singular nominative is *-ndu* (dual and plural are marked by the addition to the singular forms of suffixes *-bulaa* and *-gal* respectively). The *n* of this form is deleted when it follows words ending in *l*, *rr* or *n* (Donaldson 1980:125).

The bound pronouns are attached to the following word classes:

 a. **particles** - included here is the negative particle *gamil*, seen in (5.6) above, and the negative imperative particle *gariya*, as in:

(5.7) *Gariya-*

 b. **interrogatives** - interrogative particles and nominals can host the bound pronominals, as in:

(5.8) jamanda   nama ŋai wu:ri
    Yaama-nda   *nhama ngay wu-rri.*
    Q-2sg   that 1sgdat give-fut
    'Will you give that one to me?' [NTNp121]

(5.9) *Minya-nda*   *guwaa-lda.*
    what-2sgnom say-cont
    'What are you saying?' [PANp**]

(5.10) *Thalaa-nda*   *yana-waan.*
    where-2sg   go-cont
    'Where are you going?' [SWNp6.1]

(5.11) *Ngaanu-nda*   *gayrri.*
    who dat-2sgnom name
    'What is your name?' (literally 'Who is your name?') [SWNp6.1]

Notice that the pronouns follow case inflections, if any, as in:

(5.12) *Minya-gu-nda*   *yana-waan.*
    what-dat-2sgnom go-cont
    'What did you come for?' (glossed as 'I have come to talk.') [SWNp6.1]

 c. **locationals** - there is one example in Wurm's notes:

(5.13) *Yurrul-a-nda*   *baabi-la.*
    scrub-loc-2sgnom sleep-imper
    'Camp in the scrub!' (glossed as 'I camp in the scrub.') [SWNp6.1]

5.5 Third person pronouns

The data on third person pronouns in Gamilaraay is extremely conflicting and may never be completely sorted out. In his fieldnotes Wurm recorded only one third person pronoun, the plural *ganu* 'they'. Ridley (1875:7) gives the following:

'nge:rma   he or she

nge:rngu or ngu:ndi   his or her

nga:rma   they

Indefinite Pronouns

ka:nu:ngo:, all; gu:no:, all

ngarage:, other; ngaragedu:l, another (hence ngarageduli, at another time)'

Mathews (1903) has (reorganizing his presentation slightly):

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative
Singular	nguru	numma	ngurungu
Dual	ngurugale	ngummagalena	ngurugullingu
Plural	ngurugunnaga	nummagunnunga	ngurugunnungu

Wurm (p.c.) reports that he read through Mathews' forms suggesting them to his informant and was able to document the occurrence of a set of forms based on *nguru*. We may compare this with the third person singular recorded for Yuwaalayaay by Williams (1980:47), namely *nguu*. By the regular historical processes outlined in Chapter 2 this would descend from *nguru*. Using this evidence, I reconstitute the third person pronouns as follows (note that the singular object cannot be reconstituted. Mathews' 'numma' is the demonstrative *nhama*, discussed below):

TABLE 5.3: Third person pronouns

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Locative
Singular	*%nguru*		*ngurungu*	*ngurungunda*
Dual	*%ngurugaali*	*ngurugaalinya*	*gaalingu*	*gaalingunda*
Plural	*ganu*	*ganunga*	*ganungu*	*ganungunda*

The one example Wurm recorded is the following (it appears to have been incorrectly glossed in his fieldnotes):

(5.14) *Ganu*   *yana-waan*   *yinarr*   *thaa-rri*.
          3plnom   go-cont   woman   fuck-fut
          'They are going to have intercourse with the woman.' (glossed as 'I want to go with the woman to have intercourse.') [SWNp3.1]

5.7 Demonstratives

Gamilaraay appears to have two main demonstratives, one proximate and one distal. They are recorded in Wurm's notes with initial apical, but I suggest they begin with a laminal:

>   *nhama*   'that there'
>   *nhumu* 'this here'

Neither demonstrative is inflected for case.

   Williams (1980:91) has *nhama* in Yuwaalayaay, though she notes it is also pronounced as *nyama* and *ngama*. For 'this' she gives *nhalay*.

   Some examples of the Gamilaraay demonstratives are the following:

(5.15)   *Nhama*   *ngay   gunthi.*
         that   1sgdat   house
         'That is my house.' [SWNp3.2]

(5.16)   *Nhama*   *ngay   gunthi-gu   yana-waan.*
         that   1sgdat   house-dat   go-cont
         'He is coming to my house.' [SWNp3.2]

(5.17)   *Ngay*   *nhumu*   *bilaarr.*   *Nginu*   *nhama*   *bilaarr.*
         1sgdat   this   spear   2sgdat   that   spear
         'This is my spear. That is your spear.' [SWNp7.2]

(5.18)   *Barran*   *nhama thaay ngami-la.*
         boomerang   that   this way   look-imper
         'Look at this boomerang!' [SWNp7.2]

   Tindale 1938 gives one example that shows *ngama* meaning 'that', namely:

(5.19)   ŋama   ŋinu   kuli:r
         Ngama   *nginu   guliirr.*
         that   2sgdat spouse
         'That is your wife.' [NTNp121]

It appears that *nhama* could bear a suffix indicating plural, probably of the form **-gali** (cf. Mathews' forms quoted above). There are two examples in Wurm's notes and in both the affix is written [dhali], though I take this to be a mistranscription. In the second example there is apparently a dative (possessive) suffix *-ngu* after the plural marker:

(5.20)   *Nhama-gali*   *bulaarr baabi-li.*
         that-pl   two   sleep-fut
         'Those two are sleeping.' (glossed as 'You two are sleeping.') [SWNp9.1]

(5.21)   *Nhama-gali-ngu*   *buruma.*
         that-pl-dat   dog
         'Their dog.' (glossed as 'Your (plural) dog.') [SWNp9.1]

There are a large number of other demonstrative forms in the earlier sources. The following is a list with illustrative examples:

1. forms based on *ngaarri-*. Here we have:

  a. *%ngaarrima* 'over there' (ŋa:ruma Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:11)

  b. *%ngaarringa* 'over there' (ŋeiruŋa Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:11)

Ridley (1875:7) includes in his list of demonstratives: '*ngu:ruma* that by you (iste)' which appears to be the same as Tindale's ngaarrima. Ridley (1875:36) also gives:

  'ngurri there (in front)

  u:riellona or ngu:riellona   on this side

  urriga:lina or narrikolinya   on the other side'

All these seem to have a root *%ngaarri-*. Williams (1980:89) lists a number of Yuwaalayaay locational demonstratives apparently based on a root *ngaarri-*, including:

  ngaarrima   'here'

  ngaarribal   'over there'

  ngaarrigulay   'over that way'

  ngaarrimalay   'that way (there?)'

  ngaarringaarri(*nga*)   'right over there'.

2. forms based on *marra* - here we have *marra-bathaay* 'out there' (maruwađai Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:14) and Mathews 1903 'murrugumadhai round this way' (where 'dhai' is the particle *thaay* 'this way'). Williams (1980:88, 90) gives two similar forms for Yuwaalayaay:

  marrama 'usually translated as 'there' (possibly + 'close?')'.

  marragulay 'over this way'

3. forms based on *yala-*

  a. *yalaygul* 'this way' (jaleigol Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:14)

  b. *yalaay-bathaay* 'this way' (jalai wađai Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:16)

Williams (1980:88) has a Yuwaalayaay form *yalagidaay* 'right round'.

4. forms based on *ngima-*

  a. *ngima-balanga* 'away' (ŋimabalanga Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:15). This could be Ridley's ngerma, Williams (1980:91) *nhirrma* 'there'?

5. there are two other miscellaneous forms which have not been sorted out:

ngiirr 'long distance away'   (ŋeir tala Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:15)

ngiiliminya 'from here'   (ŋiliminja Tindale 1938, Austin and Tindale 1985:15),
                                cf. Williams (1980:88) *ngiilay* ''from here' (with
                                reference to the speaker)'

5.8 Interrogative pronoun

The interrogative pronoun is only represented in Wurm's corpus by three examples which unfortunately do not make it possible to completely fill in the paradigm. There are two forms represented, a nominative *ngaana* and a dative (possessive) *ngaanu*.

Under 'Interrogative Pronouns' Ridley (1875:7) lists only:

'a:ndi? Who? [hence the verb 'anduma', tell who]

Mathews (1903p) provides a few more examples:

'Interrogatives - A few of the interrogatives are Nganna who? ngannu whose? ngandu bundar bumi, Who the kangeroo hit? ngannudyi, who from?'

This suggests that interrogative pronouns may have been inflected on an ergative-absolute syntactic pattern. I reconstitute the Gamilaraay interrogative pronouns as follows:

TABLE 5.4: Interrogative pronoun

Ergative	Absolutive	Dative	Locative	Ablative
%ngaandu	*ngaana*	*ngaanu*	*%ngaanunda*	*%ngaanundi*

We can compare these with the forms given by Williams (1980:54) for Yuwaalayaay, namely: ergative *ngaandu*, absolutive *ngaana* (*ngaandi* in Yuwaalaraay) and dative *ngaanngu*. The Ngiyampaa cognates given in Donaldson (1980:150) are: ergative *ngaandu*, absolutive *ngaandi* and dative *ngaan.gu*.

Wurm's examples suggest that the interrogative pronoun can be followed by a suffix **-wa** to express an indefinite meaning ('someone' rather than 'who'). This seems to correspond to the Ngiyampaa clitic **-waa** glossed 'exclamative' by Donaldson (1980:258ff).

The examples of interrogative-indefinite pronouns are:

(5.22) *Ngaana-wa*   *nhama yana-waan.*
        who-?   that   go-cont
        'Someone is coming there.' [SWNp6.1] (glossed as 'Who comes there?' [SWNp5.2])

(5.23)   *Ngaana-wa*   *nhama* *bilaarr*.
     who   that   spear
     'That is someone's spear.' [SWNp7.2]

(5.24)   *Ngaanu-nda*   *gayrri*.
     who dat-2sgnom   name
     'What is your name?' (literally 'Who is your name?') [SWNp6.1]

Chapter 6: Morphology of Verbs

The following are scattered notes about verb forms and not a proper account of the verbal morphology. Examples of verb morphology include:

-waabu-l-

yilaal mari   gindama-waabu-lda.
soon   man   laugh-coll-cont
'The man has laughed.' [SWNp21.2]

mari-thu   gindama-waabu-lmayi-nyi
man-erg   laugh-coll-?-nfut
'The man laughed some time ago.' [SWNp21.2]

Williams (1980:86):

> '**-aabulda** is a stem affix which is best translated as 'together'. It does not change transitivity of the verb, nor does it inflect for tense. It has only been recorded on *-l* and *-y* class verbs.'

forms: *-l-aabulda*   (*l* conj)
        -y-aabulda   (*y* conj)

NB also:

Williams (1980:80) *-(w)aaba-l* 'indicates the completive aspect, and adds the meaning 'all' to the sentence. The suffix operates ergatively, indicating 'all' O for a transitive sentence, 'all' S for an intransitive'.

forms: *-l-aaba-l* (*l* conj), *-waaba-l* (*y* and *ng* conj), *-rr-aaba-l* (*rr* conj)

-l-mayaa- 'some time ago'
-rr-mayaa-

mari   thuwarr   nhama ngay   garruma-lmayaa-nyi
man   bread   this   I dat   steal-recent-nfut
'This man stole my bread a while ago.' [SWNp22.1]

nhama mari   barran thurri-lmayaa-nyi
this   man   boomerang   make-recent-nfut
'This man made a boomerang a while ago.' [SWNp21.2]

ngay   nginda thuwarr   wu-rrmayaa-nyi.
1sg dat 2sg   bread   give-recent-nfut
'You gave me bread the other day.'   (glossed as 'I gave you bread the other day.')
[SWNp21.1]

bulaarr   mari   buma-lmayaa-nyi.
two   man   hit-recent-nfut
'The two men were fighting a few days ago.' [SWNp21.2]

gaayli gubi-lmayaa-nyi.
child   swim-recent-nfut
'The children were swimming a few days ago.' [SWNp21.2]

ngay   buwadjarr   balu-mayaa-nyi.
1sg dat father   die-recent-nfut
'My father died two days ago.' [SWNp21.2]

Williams (1980:76):

> '*-mayaa-* 'seems to indicate a more distant past, although it is occasionally glossed as 'yesterday'. It sometimes has overtones of action in the evening. ... The conjugational affiliation of this suffix is not known.'

-(l)-thii-

ngali   bandaarr   ngami-l-thii-nyi.
1dl   kangaroo   look-CM-?-nfut
'We are looking at the kangaroo for a long time.' (glossed as 'I am') [SWNp20.2]

nhama mari   buruma   buma-thii-nyi.
this   man   dog   hit-extend-nfut
'The man is hitting the dog for a long time.' [SWNp20.2]

nhama mari   thii   tha-thii-nyi.
this   man   meat   eat-extend-nfut
'This man is eating meat for a long time.' [SWNp21.1]

Chapter 7: Syntax

7.1 Functions of cases

7.1.1 Absolute

The functions of absolutive-marked nominals are as follows:

a) subject of an intransitive verb, as in:

(7.1) *Nhurraay* *yarral-a* *baabi-li.*
snake stone-loc sleep-fut
'A snake sleeps on the stone.' [SWNp13.1]

(7.2) *Mayarr* *nhama yana-wan.*
wind that come-cont
'The wind is coming.' [SWNp5.2]

b) object of a transitive verb, as in :

(7.3) *Mari-thu* *thuwarr* *nhama* *ngay* *garrama-y.*
man-erg bread that 1sgG steal-nfut
'That man stole my bread.' [SWNp10.1]

(7.4) *Thaay* *ngay* *barran* *wu-na.*
this way 1sgG boomerang give-imper
'Give me a boomerang.' [SWNp11.1]

There are some examples of transitive subject noun phrases in the corpus appearing in absolutive case form. Apparently, the ergative case (see below) is not necessary when other morphology makes the meaning clear, for example, when an object pronoun occurs, as in the following:

(7.5) *Buruma* *nganha* *yii-li.*
dog 1sgO bite-fut
'The dog bites me.' [SWNp1.2]

When the situation makes for just one reasonable interpretation then the ergative may be omitted, as in:

(7.6) *Buruma* *yii-lu* *wanda.*
dog bite-fut white man
'The dog bites the white man.' [SWNp1.2]

7.1.2 Ergative

The ergative case the following range of functions:

a) subject of a transitive verb, as in:

(7.7)   *Nhama*   *garaarr*   *thimba-gu*   *tha-lda*.
     that   grass   sheep-erg   eat-pres
     'The sheep are eating grass.' [SWNp1.1]

(7.8)   *Nhaaybu*   *nhama*   *gaayli-thu*   *gaarrama-y*.
     knife   that   child-erg   steal-nfut
     'That boy stole the knife.' [SWNp9.2]

(7.9)   *Garramay-thu*   *wii*   *garra-lda*.
     brother-erg   fire   chop-cont
     'My brother chops wood.' [SWNp11.2]

b) the instrument with which an action is performed. The corpus contains four examples of sentences containing an instrumental noun phrase, all of them having a transitive verb and ergative subject. The four examples of instrumental noun phrases are:

(7.10)   *Thulu-gu*   *buruma*   *buma-la*.
     stick-erg   dog   hit-imper
     'Hit the dog with a stick!' [SWNp15.2]

(7.11)   *Nhama*   *mari*   *ngay*   *thulu-gu*   *buma-li*.
     that   man   1sgS   stick-erg   hit-fut
     'I shall hit the man with this stick.' [SWNp6a.1]

(7.12)   *Bandaarr*   *bilaarr-u*   *nhama*   *ngay*   *thu-nhi*.
     kangaroo   spear-erg   that   1sgS   spear-nfut
     'I speared the kangaroo with a spear.' [SWNp18.2]

(7.13)   *Nhama*   *mari-thu*   *bandaarr*   *bilaarr-u*   *thu-nhi*.
     that   man-erg   kangaroo   spear-erg   spear-nfut
     'That man speared the kangaroo.' [SWNp**]

7.1.3 Locative

Locative marks location in a place or location in time. Verbs in such sentences may be intransitive, as in (7.1) and:

(7.14) *Nhama*   *gunthi-tha*   *ngarri-li.*
        that   house-loc   sit-fut
        'He is sitting in the house.' [SWNp**]

(7.15) *Gaayli*   *gubi-li*   *bagaay-tha.*
        child   swim-fut   river-loc
        'The children swim in the river.' [SWNp8.2]

Locatives also occur with transitive verbs, as in:

(7.16) *Nginda*   *muthay*   *waa-la*   *wii-tha.*
        2sgS   possum   throw-imper   fire-loc
        'You put the possum on the fire!' [SWNp22.2]

(7.17) *Giirr*   *nhama*   *bindayaa*   *thuma-y*   *nhama*   *ngay*   *thina-ga.*
        already   that   burr   take out-nfut   that   1sgS   foot-LOC
        'I have already taken the burr out of my foot.' [SWNp**]

7.1.4 Dative

This case, whose realization is *-gu*, is the best exemplified in the available data. It appears to have a number of functions:

a) the goal towards which motion proceeds (allative sense). The following intransitive sentences illustrate this (see also 4.**). Notice that the allative goal may be inanimate or animate:

(7.18) *Gabinya*   *yarraan-gu*   *galiya-wan.*
        boy   gum tree-dat   climb-cont
        'The boy is climbing the tree.' [SWNp8.1]

(7.19) *Nhama*   *ngay*   *yana-wan*   *maatha-gu.*
        that   1sgS   go-cont   boss-dat
        'I go to the boss.' [SWNp2.2]

A transitive sentence involving a verb of motion and a dative NP is the following:

(7.20) *Nhama*   *bandaarr*   *gaa-wan*   *walaay-gu.*
        that   kangaroo   bring-cont   camp-dat
        'They bring the kangaroo to the camp.' [SWNp**]

b) the purpose or goal for which an action is carried out. In this function the dative occurs with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Intransitive examples are:

(7.21) *Bulaarr*   *galamay*   *bandaarr-gu*   *yana-wan*.
two   brother   kangaroo-dat   go-cont
'The two brothers went for kangaroo.' [SWNp**]

(7.22) *Gabinya*   *muthay-gu*   *galiya-wan*.
boy   possum-dat   climb-cont
'The boy climbs for possums.' [SWNp8.1]

Occurrence with a transitive verb is illustrated in:

(7.23) *Nginda*   *nhama*   *wii*   *garra-la*   *wii-gu*.
2sgS   that   firewood   chop-imper   fire-dat
'Chop wood for the fire!' [SWNp20.1]

c) the recipient of a gift when the verb of the sentence is *wu-* 'to give'. For example, we have:

(7.24) *Nginda*   *thii*   *wu-na*   *buruma-gu*.
2sgS   meat   give-imper   dog-dat
'Give the dog meat!' [SWNp20.1]

(7.25) *Ngay*   *bilaarr*   *wu-rri*   *mari-gu*.
1sgS   spear   give-fut   man-dat
'I shall give the spear to the man.' [SWNp21.1]

d) the possessor of an object - examples illustrate both alienable and inalienable possession (see (7.**) also):

(7.26) *Bungun*   *nhama*   *thigaraa-gu*.
arm   that   bird-dat
'That is the wing of a bird.' [SWNp9.2]

(7.27) *Thalaa*   *nhama*   *mari-gu*   *galamay*.
where   that   man-dat   brother
'Where is that man's brother.' [SWNp12.1]

(7.28) *Ngay*   *buwadjarr-gu*   *buruma*.
1sgG   father-dat   dog
'This is my father's dog.' [SWN14.1]

Notice that Wurm (fieldnotes) incorrectly recorded the last example as *wanda-ga*.

The dative *-gu* affix is attached to the future of verbs in purposive complement sentences. This function is discussed below (see ***).

7.2 Particles

Gamilaraay has a number of particles which occur in or near sentence-initial position and which are uninflected. They include the following.

7.2.1 Negative particles

Gamilaraay has three negative particles, *gamil* 'not' used to negate statements, *gariya* 'don't' used in negative imperatives, and *gamila* 'cannot' which is used to express inability.

Examples of each of these are:

From Tindale 1938 (Austin and Tindale 1985 sentence 10) we have:

(7.29) kamila   ngudharulundai
       Gamila   *%nguthaRu-laa-ndaay.*
       cannot   feed-prog-rel
       'I was unable to feed (them).'

7.2.2 Directional particle

There is a directional particle *thaay* meaning 'in this direction, towards the speaker'. This particle is used with verbs of motion (including induced motion), and *ngami-l* 'to see, look'. Some examples are (7.4) above and:

(7.30) *Ngumbaa*   *thaay*   *yana-waan*   *nganunda.*
       mother   this way   go-cont   1sgloc
       'Mother comes to me.' [SWNp5.2]

(7.31) *Thaay*   *gaa-nga*   *nhama*   *bandaarr*   *nganha.*
       this way   bring-imper   that   kangaroo   1sgacc
       'Bring that kangaroo to me!' [SWNp5.2]

Although Mathews 1903 noted the use of *thaay* and gives an example:

(7.32) Dhai   ngunnanda   yannunga
       %Thaay   *nganunda*   *yana-nga.*
       this way   1sgloc   go-imper
       'Come to me!'

Mathews includes in his vocabulary an entry: 'come' 'thaiyannunga', combining particle and verb as one word, just as Ridley (1876:33) had done 27 years previously with his 'taiyanani' (i.e. *thaay yana-nhi* 'this way go-nfut').

7.2.3 Modal particles

1. **assertion** - the particle *giirr* is used sentence-initially to emphasise an assertion, as in:

(7.33)

See also examples recorded by Tindale 1938 in Austin and Tindale 1985, sentences 13, 19, 21, 41, 42, 45.

Ridley (1875:8) points out:

> ''Gi:r (verily), an adverb of emphatic affirmation, is frequently used with the past indicative.'

Williams (1980:109) says:

> '[t]he particle *gi:r* (or its variant *gi:ru*) is found sentence initially in a large number of examples ... It has been translated by informants as 'really'. The examples with which it occurs are all declarative, so itr seems to act simply as a prefaratory marker with these sentences.'

2. **exclusive** - the particle *yiyal* has the function of making an assurance and expressing exclusivity, that something is just or only being done, and nothing else.

Ridley (1875:8) describes the particle as follows:

> ''Yeal' (merely) is commonly used with the same tense [the past indicative], when the intention is to give assurance that the speaker having told the truth, will add nothing more as a reason or excuse for the fact. In answer to the question, Why did you come? a blackfellow may say, 'yeal yanani,' I just came; that's all.'

Mathews 1903 list the word 'yel' glossed as 'only'.

Williams (1980:110) recorded just one example of *yiyal* in Yuwaaliyaay, and she notes:

> '[i]t seems that we could translate *yiyal* as 'just' or 'only', and that it indicates the exclusiveness of an action. (That is, that the action of the verb in the sentence is the only action being carried out at that time.) More examples are needed before we can be sure of this definition.'

A Gamilaraay example is to be found in the text recorded by Tindale (Austin and Tindale 1985:14):

(7.34)	najil	bula:r	ijil	ka: wa:na
	%Nhayil	*bulaarr*	*yiyal*	*gaa-waa-nha*.
	now	two	only	bring-prog-pres

'Now I only bring along two.'

3. **question** - the particle *yaama* occurs in sentence-initial position to indicate that the sentence is intended as an question, ie. a request for information. Examples are:

(7.35)

Notice that *yaama* may host the bound pronominal suffixes (see ***).

4. **potential** - ability to do something is expressed with the particle *murru*, as in:

Ridley (1875:9):

> '[f]or the potential they use a compound of the indicative future with an adjective: thus, -

> murru: ngai goalle able (good) I will speak ... I can speak
> yamma nginda murru goalle? (word of interrogation) you able will speak ... can you speak?'

Mathews 1903 list murru meaning 'well'.

7.2.4 Temporal particles

There are a number of uninflected words which occur in initial position to set the temporal frame of a sentence. The corpus contains the following:

Root	Gloss	Source
yalu	'again'	Tindale 1938 jalu:, Ridley (1875:14) yealo (also)', Ridley (1875:35) 'yealo again', Mathews 1903 'yalu again', Williams (1980) *yalu* 'repeat, again'
yilaa	'soon'	Ridley (1875:8) 'yila: soon', Ridley (1875:35) yi:la then (at once) [yila or i:la denotes any near time, past or future], Mathews 1903 'ila soon'
yilaathu	'now'	Ridley (1875:35) 'yeladu now (immediately)', Mathews 1903 'yilladhu now'
yilambu	'long ago'	Ridley (1875:35) 'i:lambo long ago', Mathews 1903 'yilambu long ago'
yiraal	'later'	SWNp5.1 *yilaalu* 'by and by', SWNp9.2 *yirralu* 'later', SWNp10.2 *yiraalu* 'by and by', SWNp14.1 *yilala* 'later on', Tindale 1938 'jera:la bye and bye, iralabadhai when like this', Ridley (1875:8) 'yera:la:' 'soon' and 'by-and-by', Ridley (1875:35) 'yera:la hereafter', Mathews 1903: 'yirala by and bye', Mathews 1903 yiralea wuddhai sometime (NB. clitic *-bathaay*)

bululuy	'evening'	Mathews 1903 'bulului this evening', Williams (1980:167) '*bululuwi* evening'
ngurrugu	'tomorrow'	SWNp6.2 *ngurrugu*, Ridley (1875:8) ''nguruko to-morrow', Mathews 1903 'ngurugo tomorrow'

Ridley (1875:14):

> '[f]rom the particle yeal (merely or just so) come yealo (also) yealokwai (like) yealokwaima (likewise)'

and (Ridley 1875:35):

yalwunga   'always'

Mathews (1903) has:

bungarabi   'early morning'

Williams (1980:109-112) gives:

> *yal*   'just pretend'
> *ngadhanga:*   'hypothesis'
> *yila:(l)*   'soon, directly'
> *yila:lu*   'long ago''

and (Williams 1980:167):

> *wanu*   next morning
> *bulaya:gawu*   this morning'

7.3 Interjections

We can reconstitute a number of interjections for Gamilaraay:

aa   'ah' (Tindale 1938 **a!**)

gathabul   'wonderful!' (Ridley (1875:37) kuttabul, Mathews 1903 kutthabul 'noise of the friction while copulating')

madjamadja   'sorry!' (Wurm, cf. Williams (1980:167) *madjagurra* 'oh dear!)

ngaa   'yes' (Tindale 1938 'nga! yes', Williams (1980:167) '*nga***:** yes'

ngaayay   'I see, alright!' (Tindale 1938 'nga jei I see')

ngarragaa   'what a pity!' (Tindale 1938 'ngaraka poor things!', Ridley nguraga**:**, Williams (1980:167) *ngarragaa*)

ngarrathul   'what a pity' (Mathews 'ngurradhul')

ngibaay   surprise (Ridley (1875:37) ngi:pai, Mathews ngibai)

ya   'hey' — attention getter (Mathews 1903)

Appendix: Gamilaraay Secret Language

The following materials on the 'secret language' or initiation code of the Gamilaraay come from recordings of data made by R.H. Mathews at the turn of the century. Mathews referred to the code as 'Yauan' and called it a 'mystic language'. He published two slightly different accounts of 'yauan', Mathews 1902 and 1903. We also have his manuscript notes on the subject.

   A check on Mathews manuscript fieldnotes reveals that he published virtually all the data he collected, although he changed the spelling slightly, unfortunately writing both 'oo' and 'a' of the manuscript as 'u' in the publications.

   A close analysis of the data on 'yauan' reveals that:

      1. it probably had the same grammatical system as ordinary Gamilaraay;

      2. some 'yauan' vocabulary seems to consist of ordinary Gamilarray words plus one or more suffixed syllables in a regular pattern;

      3. some 'yauan' vocabulary consists of an apparently prefixed pair of syllables;

      4. some 'yauan' vocabulary may be derived from loans from neighbouring languages.

'Yauan' and Gamilaraay grammar

The few sentences of 'yauan' that Mathews gives (see below) appear to show that this code used the same grammatical structures as ordinary Gamilaraay. Consider the following examples:

(1) Let us dance on the turf/yauan.

Mathews MS	*oongga-gurrilee*	*yauanda*
Mathews 1903	*ungogurrili*	*yauanda*

This might be analysed as:

%wunggagarri-li	*yawan-da*
dance-fut	turf-loc

where **-li** and **-da** are the usual Gamilaraay non-future tense and locative case affixes respectively.

(2) I am going to camp to bed.

Mathews MS	*nyeemarrai*	*ngaia*	*woonggowi*	*oongoobeeleegoo*
Mathews 1903	*ungomarai*	*ungolillegu*	*nyimarai*	*wunggowi*

This might be analysed as:

%nyimaRay	*ngaya*	*wunggawa-y*	*wunggubi-ligu*
camp	I	go-nfut	lie-purp

where **-y** is the usual non-future tense suffix and **-ligu** is a purposive verb form. Note also the first person pronoun is the normal Gamilaraay *ngaya*.

(3) Look, a man is going along.

Mathews MS	*oongomille*	*maiambanga*	*oonggwa-lan-dhai*
Mathews 1903	*ungomile,*	*maiambanga*	*wunggwallandha*

We could analyse this sentence as:

%wunggami-la	*mayimbanga*	*wunggawala-ndaay*
look-imper	man	go-rel

Here *-la* is one of the regular imperative verb affixes and *-ndaay* is a relative clause marker. Again, the grammar is perectly regular for Gamilaraay.

'Yauan' vocabulary

Mathews 1903	Mathews MS	English gloss
maimbang	maimba	a man
muddhagala	muddhala	old man
wallamara	wallamara	stone
wungothubbil	oongodhubbil	water
buddhabulli	buddhabulli	tree
bungumurragan	boongomurrugan	fire
birgilnga	birgilnga	wood
wanggarribul	wanggarribull	boomerang
gungo	goongoo	foot
binneyulaui	binneyulawa	ear
	woongogurrilli	copulation
	dharumu	sexual desire
	ngaimballambu	mouth
	millungga	eye
	budha:lbudha:lnga	hair of head
	ngulumblal	forehead
	kubbadhirba	head
	yirrambunna	teeth
	murrumburnga	anus
	dhoonburringa	penis

	bu:ru:mbunna	testicles
	biddheru	vulva
	wu:ngodhe	vulva
	nyeemarrai	camp
	gunnimbar	clapping on thigh in secret
	bu:nganna	bone with meat on
	muddhagala	thigh bone
	muddhamunna	father
	muddhunga	elder brother

Sentences

Mathews MS

woongwalliwan	He's coming
ngar woongwali gibbeawan	He's going
oongomille maiambanga oonggwalandhai	Look, a man is going along
nyeemarrai ngaia woonggowi onngoobeelegoo	I am going to camp or bed
oongomarai oongoobilegu	
woonggwallawadhai	You can go
oongga-gurrilee yauanda	Let us dance on the yauan
wimmilwanga woonggwallanda	Woman walking along
boonggoo murroo gandoona oongunna	Fire burns me
warranganda bindheela	String hanging up
moo-ggai wir-re-da	Shingleback lying

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