For almost 40 years, Michael Walsh has been working alongside Indigenous people, documenting language, music and other traditional knowledge, acting on behalf of claimants to land in the Northern Territory, and making crucial contributions to the revitalisation of Aboriginal languages in NSW. This volume, with contributions from his colleagues and students, celebrates his abiding interest in and commitment to Indigenous society with papers in two broad themes. 'Language, identity and country' addresses the complex relations between Aboriginal social groups and countries, and linguistic identity. In 'Language, identity and social action' authors discuss the role that language plays in maintaining social identities in the realms of conversation, story-telling, music, language games, and in education. 'Indigenous language and social identity' will be of interest to students of linguistics, Indigenous studies, anthropology, and sociology.

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Brett Baker, Ilana Mushin,
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Indigenous language and social identity: papers in honour of Michael Walsh

edited by
Brett Baker,
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Pacific Linguistics
College of Asia and the Pacific
The Australian National University
Ku Thitjay Sugarbag Dreaming by Lawrence Kolomboor.

The people left the place Mooyurt became two women drowned as they tried to recover their dirty bags of eydol nuts that they had been soaking. The eydol nuts are poisonous if they are not prepared and cooked properly.

The ancestors travelled throughout the country forming hills, creeks and waterholes. The ancestors settled in different places.

Ku Thitjay (Native Bee) and Ku Ngulyuway (Ichitar) continued to the hill known as Buhik and they settled there.

Ngulyuway said, "I am going up to the top of the hill and I will stay there."

Thitjay said, "I am too tired and my legs are too short for me to climb up there, I will stay here at the bottom."

Ku Thitjay stays in the stone arrangement at the base of the hill.

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Michael Walsh
Painting by Ros Fraser
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Table of contents
List of contributors

Brett Baker
University of New England
brett.baker@une.edu.au

Paul Black
Charles Darwin University
paul.black@cdu.edu.au

Joe Blythe
Max Planck Institute for
Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen
blythe.joe@gmail.com

Toni Borowsky
University of Sydney
toni.borowsky@usyd.edu.au

Jo Caffery
Australian Catholic University
Josephine.Caffery@acu.edu.au

Sally Dixon
University of Sydney
sdix4950@uni.sydney.edu.au

Nick Evans
Australian National University
nicholas.evans@anu.edu.au

Rus Fraser
Austimmar, NSW
walsh.fraser@yahoo.com.au

Rod Gardner
Griffith University
r.gardner@griffith.edu.au

Jenny Green
University of Melbourne
jenny.green@iinet.net.au

Diane Hafner
University of Queensland
d.hafner@uq.edu.au

Mark Harvey
University of Newcastle
Mark.HARVEY@newcastle.edu.au

Clair Hill
Max Planck Institute for
Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen
Clair.Hill@mpl.nl

Harold Koch
Australian National University
Harold.Koch@anu.edu.au

Amanda Lissarague
Many Rivers Aboriginal Languages
Centre
ablue@harboursat.com.au

Jim Martin
University of Sydney
jmartin@mail.usyd.edu.au

Patrick McConnell
Australian National University
patrick.mcconell@anu.edu.au

Hana Mushin
University of Queensland
h.mushin@uq.edu.au
List of contributors

David Nash
Australian National University
David.Nash@anu.edu.au

Nick Reid
University of New England
nreid@unec.edu.au

Nick Riemer
University of Sydney
nick.riemer@arts.usyd.edu.au

Bruce Rigsby
University of Queensland
brigsby@bigpond.net.au

David Rose
University of Sydney
d.rose@edfac.usyd.edu.au

Jane Simpson
University of Sydney
jhs@mail.usyd.edu.au

Lesley Stirling
University of Melbourne
lesley@s.unimelb.edu.au

Peter Sutton
South Australian Museum
Sutton.Peter@sa.gov.au

Myfany Turpin
University of Queensland
myfturn@netspace.net.au

James Wafer
University of Newcastle
James.Wafer@newcastle.edu.au

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The editors are grateful for the assistance of the following individuals and institutions:

Ros Fraser, who undertook missions of discovery for photos of Michael, and who lived with a terrible secret

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Introduction

1.1 General introduction

In this chapter we aim to give a necessarily brief overview of Michael Walsh's major contributions to the field, as well as a synopsis of the chapters to follow.

1.2 Michael's work

Michael is inimitably unique. We won't talk here of his seemingly unshakable good humour, his dedication to the welfare of students, and his compassion for the downtrodden more generally. We will instead focus on his contributions to scholarship and public life, which have been both extraordinarily broad and also far reaching.

Apart from his broad interests within linguistics itself, in historical linguistics, lexical semantics, discourse and pragmatics, and morphosyntax, his wide-ranging mind has led him into fields such as anthropology, education, history, native title and forensic linguistics, song, and digital technology and archiving. Language, though, has remained at the core, and his passion for language is evident throughout his work.

Michael's PhD, awarded in 1976 (Walsh 1976), started him on what has become a lifelong association with Murrinh-Patha (as he spelled it then). This is a language whose complexities are widely acknowledged to be truly fiendish, spoken at Wadeye in the Daly River region of the Northern Territory, south of Darwin. His association with the community of Wadeye continues to the present day. His grammar of Murrinh-Patha (as it is now known) was the first detailed description of an Australian language with a multiple classifier system, and revealed much of the interesting behaviour of these systems (Walsh 1997). Based on his fieldwork, Michael published a number of other studies of Murrinh-Patha which broke new ground in Australian linguistics: on imperical constructions (1987b), on body part incorporation (1985), on the 'category squish' of 'vouns and herbs' (Walsh 1996), and more recently on Murrinh-Patha song (Walsh, Barwick, Marcti, Ford, & Reid 2005).

But Michael didn't stop at Murrinh-Patha. His first post-PhD professional job was as Linguistic Research Officer at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now AIATSIS), from 1975-1981. Here, he started a one-man publishing tradition of overviews of Australian languages (e.g. 1979, 1981, 1984, 1987a, 1991a, and especially his book Walsh & Yallop 1993/2005). He also produced the first practical guide for budding fieldworkers, on the lexicon and grammar (Walsh & Sutton 1979a, 1979b), and on recording and archiving materials (Walsh 1983), and thus influenced a generation of Australian linguists.
In addition to being an outstanding descriptive fieldworker, there has always been a strong applied aspect to his work. Most prominently, he has for a long time been dedicated to the fight for Aboriginal land rights. He was centrally involved throughout the difficult Kanbi land claim, which ran for nearly three decades, during which he wrote numerous reports and made numerous appearances as an expert witness. He also made important contributions to other land claims for the Northern Land Council, for example, in the Wadeye region (Walsh 1991b). And he wrote a significant submission on Aboriginal identity for the Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991d). These efforts marked him out early on as a person who was truly committed to the betterment of Aboriginal people.

Based partly on his experiences in land claims, he pioneered (with a handful of other Australian linguists such as Diana Eagles) the now burgeoning field of study of Indigenous interaction, and in particular the differences in conversational style between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians (e.g. Walsh 1991a, 1994). His work has highlighted the extent to which misunderstandings can arise between Aboriginal witnesses and white lawyers and judges. His (1999) paper, for example, demonstrated how courtroom transcriptions can seriously misrepresent what Aboriginal witnesses say in court, with potentially serious consequences for land claims.

Arguably Michael's most important and long-lasting contribution came in the late nineties, when he turned his energies to another major project: language revitalisation in New South Wales. Starting with an (infamous) roadtrip through regional NSW with colleagues Jaky Troy and Tony Lonsdale (described in the contribution by Michael's partner Ras Fraser in Ch. 2), Michael began an intense and fruitful engagement with Aboriginal groups throughout the state. One of the many positive results that stemmed from this initial effort was the K-10 Aboriginal Languages Syllabus for NSW, so that for the first time Indigenous languages are now being taught seriously in many NSW schools. The K-10 Syllabus, and other initiatives, have led to a renaissance in the study of traditional languages by Indigenous people in NSW (described in Walsh 2001). This flowering of Indigenous scholarship is still unfolding. The impact has reached politicians, educationalists and language planners, as well as linguists interested in language endangerment. Michael is these days considered a world authority on language endangerment and language revival, as demonstrated by a major survey contribution to the *Annual Review of Anthropology* (Walsh 2003). "Will Indigenous languages survive?"

Most recently, Michael has been working with a team of linguists and ethnomusicologists on Aboriginal song, for a long time a seriously neglected field of Aboriginal studies. His article on Aboriginal song language (2007), entitled 'So many questions, so little to work with', raises a host of crucial questions that will stimulate scholars in this emerging field of studies.

Michael's research cannot be measured merely by his publications in journals and books, impressive as these are. He has been an inventive speaker at conferences, disseminating his thoughtful and often unconventional ideas to diverse audiences; he has gained the trust of Indigenous Australians with his long-term commitments; and he has written numerous reports that have had a significant impact on land claims, courtroom procedures, and education, and ultimately on the day-to-day lives of Indigenous Australians.

---

### 1.3 Contributions to the volume

The range of contributions to this volume reflects many of Michael Walsh's interests over the years, as set out in the previous section.

The first half of the volume focuses on the relationship between people, language and country. The complexity of this relationship, both historically and today, has been a central focus of Michael's research and his professional activities in land claims. In particular, he has been concerned with the effects of colonisation, dispossession and catastrophic population decline on the relationship between Aboriginal people and their land.

Rigby and Hopper consider in their chapter the notions of place, land, country, and property, specifically for the Lamalama people around Yintjingga (Port Stewart) in Cape York. They summarise the history of contact with Europeans, with land appropriations and the exclusion of the Indigenous people, and the later transfer back to the Lamalama people under freehold tenure. This arose out of recognition and protection of traditional customary Lamalama property rights and interests at Yintjingga through several forms of tenure under Queensland law in cooperation since about 1986 between the Lamalama people and the state and commonwealth governments. The authors argue that this result could not have been attained through litigation.

Sutton, who has known Michael since their undergraduate days, takes a journey back to Tindale's work in the Western Desert region, spanning the middle part of the last century. He shows how linguistic identities in this region proved difficult to establish, probably because this region was settled only a few centuries ago. Thus, there was still flux in social organisation, due also to the environmental extremes, including lack of rainfall. As Sutton puts it, 'Desert people were still culturally in migratory expansion mode', resulting in less rigid linguistic identities.

Dixon's chapter is based on her work with the Walmajarri people in Western Australia. She reports on a dictionary project of Juwailey, a dialect of Walmajarri, in which she compares the lexicon and morphology of the two varieties. She finds major differences in the lexicon, but generally similar nominal and verbal morphology, and also some phonological differences. For Juwailey speakers, these differences are sufficient for them to want their own language materials.

Baker's chapter uses historical records, together with modern recollections in the community, to trace the trajectory of the name 'Yukul' from its probable origins as a language name to its current use as a collective term for Roper River people. The Yukul land-owning group were greatly affected by systematic massacres in the early colonial period, and by 1900 there appear to have been very few Yukul land owners and Yukul speakers. Understandings of Yukul identity were very attenuated during the 20th century. The associations of this identity became highly variable, and it acquired generic uses which were not characteristic of pre-colonial society. However, certain kinds of more specific links between totemic, social groups, country, and semi-rituals appear to have survived the devastating impacts of European colonisation.

Harvey's chapter reflects on another aspect of Michael's work. This is the interaction between Aboriginal and European conceptions of land tenure. Harvey focuses on the problems that arise from the fact that European conceptions offer a binary owner vs non-owner choice whereas Aboriginal conceptions normatively involve degrees of ownership. He discusses an area in which Michael has been very active, and one where the effects of colonisation have been very significant: Darwin and its hinterland.

Koch also delves into history in his discussion of the languages of the Canberra region, using primarily word lists and a sketch grammar of Nganawal which are available for these
no-longer-spoken languages. He sifts through the linguistic evidence to argue for a reassessment of the relationships between the languages.

Walsh and Lissarague undertake a similar project, drawing on his 'Language map of southeast Australia and Tasmania' (Walsh 1981), and his knowledge of NSW languages more generally, as a starting point for their synthesis of currently available knowledge of the languages of the Central Coast of NSW. They focus on 'Kuringgai', a name given, variously to a language or a group of closely related languages spoken around Sydney. They conclude that most likely there were at least five distinct languages, belonging to three distinct language groups. Therefore, Finser's (1892) proposal that the name 'Kuringgai' refers to a single "super-language" lacks support.

Nash's contribution investigates the evidence, from historical records of the Sydney Language, for the operation of an unusual phonological process whereby nasal-stop clusters in the inland variety correspond to nasals in the coastal variety. Nash names the pattern 'Dawes' Law' after Lt. William Dawes, to whom we owe the relatively rich record we have of this language. Nash speculates that the pattern may have been a marker of linguistic identity.

Stirling addresses the cross-linguistic diversity of systems for referring to space, drawing on narrative data from the Torres Strait language Kala Lagaw Ya (KLY). She asks what the significance of the environment is in shaping the system of spatial reference in this language, which uses the parameters of wind direction (leeward/windward), and land and sea (up/down), as well as ego-centred deixis. KLY is one of the few languages that have linguistic evidence pairing the future with a metaphorical 'behind ego' and the past with metaphorical 'in front of ego'. Stirling suggests some reasons why wind direction, rather than topographical reference, might be better suited as a metaphorical basis for time reference, and for the particular pairing we observe between these two reference systems.

In the second half of the volume, we see a diversity of papers addressing the general theme of language as a basis for identity through social action in various kinds. One of Michael's pioneering and enduring interests in this area has been the discourse level, which has in recent years attracted greater interest in studies of Australian languages. Two papers consider conversational style, and in particular the differences between Aboriginal and Australian white middle class ways of talking.

Mushin and Gardner use Conversation Analysis to explore a different aspect of conversational interaction, taking up Michael's challenge to investigate aspects of conversational style, in this case turn-taking patterns in Garawa as they relate to what Michael calls 'non-dyadic' and 'continuous' conversational style. While they find a similar underlying architecture to turn-taking in Anglo-Australian norms, they also note some potentially widespread differences in how silences, overlapping talk and response takes are used.

Blythe's chapter concentrates on the language which has been a focus of Michael's linguistic career: Murrin-Rutha. Using a Conversation Analysis method, Blythe analyses narrative storytelling, and specifically the use of prosody and rhythm to achieve particular interactional objectives.

Mit also focuses on narratives, in this case on repetition across speakers in collaborative storytelling. This chapter focuses on two Cape York languages - Umpila and Kuuk Yau - to illustrate what Michael considers the canonical mode of multi-party storytelling in these communities. Hutter distinguishes between primary and secondary narrator roles, and finds that repetition of turns spoken by the secondary narrator are most typically elements previously told, and have the function of emphasizing important themes in the story.

Black also deals with Cape York narratives in his chapter. Drawing on Michael's observation that in traditional Aboriginal narratives co-construction is the norm, he presents a story that is delivered by two narrators, from the Koko-Bera people.

Eavis has a different take on narrative, picking up on foundational work by Michael and others on Aboriginal multilingual oral arts. He takes up Sutton's (1997) seven propositions, which note, amongst other observations, that languages are owned by speakers, and tied to specific places. Polyglot narrative texts reflect complex linguistic practices and relationships, harnessing multiple languages for aesthetic purposes, for example indexing country affiliations and characterisation, or the location of an event, or accommodating the audience's language. He ends by raising some questions for future attention, notably 'What makes a "good story" good?'

In his final chapter, we come to another of Michael's interests: song. The Anindilyakwa languages form a closely related group of varieties spoken close to the geographical centre of Australia. Whilst language and country are strongly connected, Turpin and Green find that in Anindilyakwa, there are often words, verses and even whole songs that use a neighbouring variety, a phenomenon also found elsewhere in Australia. This pattern is also found with respect to registers. Turpin and Green suggest that the role of language in song and respect is different from its role in other domains. In everyday life, the choice of particular words and particular areas of country are directly linked, and the use of a particular word evokes its country. In song and respect registers, the choice of particular words is not so focused on evoking country. Rather, the choice of distinctive song or respect forms serves to distinguish the register from everyday registers.

Reid's chapter is also on song, this time back to where Michael began his Australasian journey: Wadye and Murrin-Rutha. Reid examines the Djinba song repertory, and the ways in which it has served to reinforce social identities, with particular emphasis on social interactions between social groups in Wadye since colonisation. He proposes that the central function of the repertory is to overtly mark the links between the worlds of the living and the dead. The performance of Djinba helps maintain links at significant points of change in the life cycle, such as funerals and circumcisions, when these two worlds come into contact.

Martin and Rose again address the discourse level, focusing on 'cultural frontiers' in the story genre. They argue that the maintenance and restoration of Indigenous language and culture not only needs a record of the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of language; it also requires community members to be involved in replacing language practices. As schools have become the main institution for cultural reproduction, it is necessary for members of the community to be involved in schools to tell their stories and talk about cultural activities, and for cultural traditions to be incorporated into school curricula.

In her paper, Borowsky examines a language game played by Pitjantjatjara teenagers, and uses as a means of reinforcing in-group identity. Borowsky proposes an account of this language, which involves triconsonantal formations and specific features of morphological and phonological systems. The analysis of the language, together with the description corpus, leads to the conclusion that it is a new language, and that it is important for further studies of this language.

Rimmer's chapter picks up Michael's abiding interest in lexical semantics, in a reconsideration of the basis for claims of polysemy. One prominent analysis is guided by the lexicalist-derivational position, which proposes that polysemy maps directly to syntax, and specifically to alternative verb subcategorisations. Rimmer argues that this model is...
unworkable if cases are found in which differences in syntax are not accompanied by differences in meaning. He presents examples (mainly from English, but also from Indigenous Australian languages) of just such cases.

Whilst a number of chapters in the volume allude to education, the role of Simpson, Caflery and McCaffrey is strongly focused and argued contribution on the role of education in maintaining Indigenous languages. In particular, they go to great lengths to show how the education system in New South Wales and other Australian states is failing to cater to the educational, cognitive, social and health benefits of retaining children’s benefits at a time when, if anything, the trend is retrogressive. The chapter also provides a valuable contribution to the history of bilingual education, focusing on the Northern Territory.

In sum, this volume perhaps succeeds in something that many would consider next to impossible: covering close to the entire range of Michael’s interests in language in Australian Indigenous societies. We therefore hope that it would constitute a book that he would enjoy reading, notwithstanding his characteristic hesitation in offering an opinion.

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10 Dawes' Law Generalised: Cluster Simplification in the Coastal Dialect of the Sydney Language

DAVID NASH

10.1 Introduction

The records of the Sydney Language can be tantalising; dating from the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788, they are uneven, from disparate sources, but with enough detail in parts to allow a number of inferences about properties of the language. This paper assembles the evidence for just one: the simplification of nasal-stop clusters in the ancestry of the coastal dialect generalising on an unpublished observation made by Dawes in 1791.

Vocabulary is drawn mostly from Troy's (1994a) helpful compilation of the partial records of the Sydney Language. I have usually (but not always) checked the primary source for the words quoted below. Selected vocabulary from Troy (1994a) and both of these were drawn on for Word-List 5A of Wafer and Lissarrague (2008:617-624). As with any language known only from disparate inexpert historical sources, the word forms need to be reconstructed from the available evidence, and the process of reconstruction improves with repeated attempts: once patterns are detected from clearer parts of the data, they can be discerned in more 'noisy' parts, and I hope the particular phonological patterns studied in this paper can help illuminate other aspects of the Sydney Language.

I am pleased to associate this study with Michael Walsh, a Sydney siders with long interest in language and country, especially given his key role in fostering the heritage of the Aboriginal languages of NSW, and in the recent dual naming of features on Sydney Harbour (Troy & Walsh 2009). I have benefited from ongoing discussion with David Wilkins about the Sydney Language, I am also grateful to Harold Koch (who kindly provided some of the supporting data from other NSW languages, and in particular drew my attention to the relevance of the data in Table 10.7) to the participants at Kooka, where I presented a version to the Australian Languages Workshop (21 March 2009), and to William McGregor. Primary source abbreviations are listed at the beginning of the References. Spelling convention: bold for reconstructed spellings (equivalent to Troy’s (1994a:23) ‘reference orthography’); index for quoted spellings (except in tables) and for modern spellings. My transcription mostly agrees with Troy (1994a) but I have amended some reconstructions, and to avoid ambiguity I use n for the velar nasal and reserve ng for the corresponding nasal-stop cluster. Voicing is not distinguished; b is used medially (rather than gb), and k and q finally (rather than g and d) to conform with the phonetics implied by the sources; d and t are used for the terminal stop (comprising probable labio- dental [d] and labio-galatal [t] articulations), and the cover symbol Ȧ is used for a consonant indeterminate between a glide (as in English) and a flap or trill.

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10.2 Correspondences

The correspondences between the inland and coastal dialects of the Sydney Language are assembled in this section, organised by the point of articulation. The alveolar correspondences are presented first as this correspondence has been previously noted (although I have been able to add more examples).

10.2.1 Alveolars

Lt William Dawes amusingly noted a correspondence between the dialects of the Sydney Language1 that we can call coastal and inland, in the course of a 1791 expedition inland. Dawes’ notebook has a comparative table of six pairs of roots clearly showing the regular correspondence between intervocalic -nd- in inland Bururranggali with -n- in coastal lyura. (The table is reproduced in Steele 2005:156, and Wilkins & Nash 2008:489, Collins 1798 has a related table reproduced by Troy 1994a:10). In the light of information recorded later, Dawes’ observation is generalisable to what I propose to call Dawes’ Law, a regular difference between lyura and all of the neighbouring dialects or languages, as demonstrated by the set of correspondences in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Dawes’ Law correspondences between medial nd in inland varieties and n in the lyura dialects of the Sydney Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inland</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>Ningi (D), hundi (R), nyindi (M)</td>
<td>ngi/ni (Db), gnee-ne (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kano</td>
<td>Bindag (Db)</td>
<td>Binan, bindag (Db)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>navel</td>
<td>Mibindmu (Db)</td>
<td>Miiwiru (Db), mii-ne-re (T), moore-nd (Sib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>foot</td>
<td>Mangkrawi (Db), mambdwo ‘leg’ (M), mambaa-i (R), Moundow ay (Larnar)</td>
<td>Mangkrawi (Db), ma-noe (An), ma-no-e (C), mo-noe-wa (A), menoe (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>laughing jackass</td>
<td>kogondu (R), kucundu (M)</td>
<td>goo-gine-gan (HSB), goo-gin-ne-gine (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>dandi (M)</td>
<td>diwendo (Db), tooone (An)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>munda (M)</td>
<td>moono ‘the bill of a bird’ (AH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>kunda (verb) (M)2</td>
<td>can-ne (An), gooja-nurra ‘a stink or bad smell’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2 Cf Ngjyurung ‘kurna’ (Dardunab 1997:28).

3 This pair was noted by Troy (1994b): ‘mamndaw (mamndaw ‘foot’; -nd- suggests inland dialect).’

4 Cf. Darkinyung, gunnda ‘to smell’, and the supposed origin of the place-name ‘Gummamatta Bay’.

The evidence for item 13 is in these recorded expressions (cf. Troy 1994a:31, and for the allomorphy see section 10.3.1 below):

13(a) yarrabuni yarsboudie ‘mind your work!’ (literally ‘do not fatigue yourself’) (Db), cf. yarrba ‘tire’, yare-bi ‘tired’ (C), yarabba (Db), yareba (Da), yare (An) ‘weary, tire or ache’; yarrabandi hambundi ‘old person in bad condition’ (M)

13(b) garabuni gurbin ‘no era!’—said to a person who was not answering a call’ (Db), cf. guri ‘eat’; kurbabindi ‘dead’ (R), kurbubundi (R)

13(c) garabubndo kurbubindo ‘stammering’ (R); compare garrna gurrna (An) ‘spake’

13(d) darabundi tarrabundi ‘toothless’ (R), cf. darr ‘tooth, teeth’

13(e) byarabindi pierribundi ‘burnt’ (Db), cf. biya- ‘bite’

13(f) yarramni yemnini ‘not go’ (Da)

13(g) bunbulaba bumbulaba ‘take off (as a coat)’ (Db), cf. bula- ‘make’. This expression is a pun, unless the item to be removed is expressed by an immediately preceding nominal to which bula is suffixed.

10.2.2 Bilabials

The Dawes’ Law pattern extends to intervocalic bilabial nasal-stop clusters inside stems. Table 10.2 shows words known in the Sydney Language (or failing that another Pama-Nyungan language) with a medial mb in reconstructed form, together with each source form. The table columns are in two groups: a word with mb in the left half of each row, and the corresponding word showing a corresponding mb in the right half.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inland</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>kirda ‘virtuicals’ (R)3</td>
<td>can-no-can ‘Any vegetable fit to eat’ (A); cf. lenié ‘A full stomach. I have ate or drank enough’ (Db), canmo (A) ‘full belly’; can-no ‘rock lily’ (HSSB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>jandiga (verb) (M)</td>
<td>janna (F), jen-o-bo (C), tanhoba (An), dyenmibbe (A) ‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>nandu (A), Dharrawal aganda</td>
<td>guya (Db), gua (An), gua-a (C), nand (H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>who-Ergative</td>
<td>Darkinyung aganda</td>
<td>giŋka giydi (Db) ‘Who gave it to you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>without,</td>
<td>-bundy</td>
<td>-buny -muni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. Hunter River & Lake Marquis kaNa ‘food: vegetables, fruit and bread (i.e. not fish)’ (Listerwegge 2005) based on Kroo (P), corboke (T), Gelimbarra kaNdili ‘hungry’.

2 On the basis of the nasal form, Wilkins has suggested (Wilkins & Nash 2008:490b) that possibly some words in Lyura varied between having only a and having nd.

3 The vowels do not correspond, unless perhaps the mucronate on the vowels of this form in (R) are a printer’s error for breve, a suggestion I owe to Harold Koch (pers. comm.).
### Table 10.2 Correspondences between medial mb in inland varieties and m in the lyrca dialect of the Sydney Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inland</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>wirimbi</td>
<td>weecrambi (C), weewirimb ‘flying fox’ (WFR)</td>
<td>wirimbi</td>
<td>weecram-my (An)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wiryambli</td>
<td>wee-ree-am-by (C)</td>
<td>wiryambli</td>
<td>wee-ree-a-min (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>grass</td>
<td>bambar *</td>
<td>bumbur (Malone)</td>
<td>bambaru</td>
<td>hâmoro (Db)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>wombat*</td>
<td>wamba *</td>
<td>wom-bat (B), wom-bach (C), wombat (Fl), wombok (Fl)</td>
<td>wamat*</td>
<td>womat (Fl), brown, womat (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>call</td>
<td>gamba</td>
<td>kumba ‘to shout (cowwheel)’ (R)</td>
<td>gama-</td>
<td>kama, kamabur ‘I will call’ (Db), ca-mas, ca-nil, kē-nil (An), ca-rana (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>sacred kingfisher</td>
<td>dyiRamba*</td>
<td>jirramba (M)</td>
<td>dyiRamak</td>
<td>dara-s-mak (HSB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
<td>[<em>gamba</em>]</td>
<td>gamal ? ‘a degree of relationship (Db), coo-nil ‘brother’ (Sth), go-mul ‘a term of friendship’ (C)</td>
<td>guman</td>
<td>go-man ‘grandfather’ (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>kin term two generations from Ego</td>
<td>[<em>gamba</em>]</td>
<td>gamal ? ‘a degree of relationship (Db), coo-nil ‘brother’ (Sth), go-mul ‘a term of friendship’ (C)</td>
<td>guman</td>
<td>go-man ‘grandfather’ (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>blow with your breath</td>
<td>bumbli</td>
<td>bumbli (M)</td>
<td>bumbli</td>
<td>bo-s-me (An), bo-me ‘breathe’ (C), bo-me ‘breathe’ (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>geebung (plant)*</td>
<td>mambaRa</td>
<td>mamba-ra (M)</td>
<td>mambaRi</td>
<td>mo-me-re ‘a fruit’ (An)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Collins’ ‘fox rat’ should probably be read as ‘fox bat’, a suggestion that has also been made by Steele (2005).

For a detailed account of the wombat word see Nash (2009).

* Dyirbal gamba [McD/Rd/B/S], Mc/Pivi, Mc/Pivi; Fa/Fa/Si, Fa/Fa/Si, Fa/Fa/Si, Fa/Fa/Si self-referential (Dixon 1989:247); jirramba, ‘a daughter’s child (of woman)’ (Alpher pers. comm.).

---

The records in the middle column, showing -mb-, are all from inland varieties as recorded by (M), (R) and (WR), whereas the examples with corresponding -m- in the right columns are from Sydney Cove and the coastal variety (allowing for Collins having recorded words from both varieties).

Steele (2005:157) has also noted that *-mb* is a non-persistible BB combination (where BB is Bilyal-Bilyal, Steele’s preferred name for the coastal variety), but did not state what happens to etymological mb.

Table 10.3 collects all the other known Sydney Language words with a medial mb, showing that they are all recorded from the inland dialect. The blanks in the right columns show there is no recorded -m- equivalent of the -mb- words in those rows, and all those -mb- words are from the definitely inland sources (M) and (R). In my view the lack of corresponding coastal forms is primarily due to gaps in the record: there is generally no recorded coastal word for each relevant meaning.

### Table 10.3 Words with medial mb, all in inland varieties of the Sydney Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inland</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td>dyambl</td>
<td>jambli</td>
<td>(R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>cattle—horned</td>
<td></td>
<td>gambbagalak*</td>
<td>kumbkalak (R)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>def</td>
<td>gambbaRabalug</td>
<td>kumborobulung (M)</td>
<td>gambbaRabalug or kumborobulung (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>stars</td>
<td>gambbaRa</td>
<td>kumbural (M), kumbural (R)</td>
<td>gambbaRa</td>
<td>kumbural (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>sprat</td>
<td>maswumbi</td>
<td>mumbi (M)</td>
<td>maswumbi</td>
<td>mumbi (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>quail</td>
<td></td>
<td>bimbul</td>
<td>bimbul</td>
<td>p-b-mul (An), p-e-mul (C), p-e-mul (C), p-mul (A), bimul (Pa), b-e-mul (Sth), b-e-mul (Sth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Note that item 29 is included even though it is not specifically relevant, but because of the similar NSW Enng., word Bimbul = ‘earth’ (‘Barangwane’), Thirteenth 1834:4), gimbil = ‘districts, tribal land, earth’ (Walker & Liljencrantz 1908:314) the medial mb of which does not participate in Dawes’ Law. As Harold Koch observes (pers. comm.), a *-bimbul form cannot be sourced to a particular NSW language and bimbal may

---

The plant name was copied from the Sydney Language name recorded by Dawes as *tybul* (DB).

The vowels written u by Rowley are uncertain between a and u; I have chosen a as the basis of southern NSW evidence assembled by Harold Koch (pers. comm.). It is also possible that this word shares a root something like ‘gamba’ with item 25.
have been copied from coastal Sydney bimodal with English phonetic b. Support for this comes from the potential cognate *blumung* "plume" in the Murngin (south of Canberra) (Walter & Linnear 2008:684, 55).

10.2.3 Varia

The parallel correspondences for varia are gathered in Table 10.4, showing that Dawes’ Law can be generalised also to that place of articulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inland</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>flying</td>
<td>bagnu</td>
<td>bangg (M), bunggo (M), biebgo (M1)</td>
<td>bagnu</td>
<td>bong-g (Aa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>marang ‘blowfly’</td>
<td>mayangan</td>
<td>mayangan</td>
<td>m-iun-ga, m-iun-a (Shh), miangah (An), mi-i-ung (C), my-ung-ga (A1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>yuranjil</td>
<td>yuranjil</td>
<td>yuranjil</td>
<td>yoo-ri-rong-i ‘black duck’ (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>thunder</td>
<td>murungal (M), murungal (M), m-rung-al (M), mi-rungal (R)</td>
<td>murungal</td>
<td>murungal</td>
<td>m-rung-a-m, m-rung-ai, m-rung-ga (shh), m-rung-a (A), m-rung-al (M1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>maga or maga</td>
<td>maga</td>
<td>maga</td>
<td>mung-he (An), mung-hi (An), mung-a (A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11 CC. Darlkyung bangu (Jones 2008), Ngumawal (Mathews 1904:303), Bunggool Buteman’s Bay (C), bongg (fly fox) Datunala: Dinggo (Fader 1976:76)

To the second vowel might be u, cf. Darlkyung yuranjil (Jones 2008).

20 The spelling, mero-ga, implies the third syllable begins with a velar stop, preceded by a nasal which could be homo-organic or organic. I choose the homorganic interpretation to fit with the evidence of a simple velar nasal in the coastal forms. Also, source (A) is usually the coastal dialect, but in my analysis it seems here the expected inland nasal-stop cluster.

22 Colello (1982) has an entry morug-maga ‘surprised’ which Tony (1994:467) analyses as ‘mamnyi maga (mas- u-a) maga (shander)’. In this analysis, the final u is the allomorph (after a consonant) of the ergative/meatalional case suffix (Steele 2005:246), and the final two syllables of murungal have been elided into one syllable. Alternatively the ‘lightning’ word 34 is the stem.

37 In the reconstituted forms I have reconstructed the initial consonant as a labial stop and the first vowel as u, but the reconstruction could be elug = elug, say. However it is just the medial consonant(s) that is relevant to the discussion here.

38 This word is actually glossed ‘Common name’ and is the first entry under the heading ‘BEASTS’; it includes here because of the close fit with the form, and the meaning association. The similar word yara (R), cf. pyaramgo (Ml), could be cognate but borrowed from the west.

39 This identification (repeated by Haines 1965:30) is at odds with the derivation of the inland word “Wonga Pigeon” is normally referred to as ‘Wonga Pigeon’. Note that the source HBZ applies one term ‘Gori’ to six other ‘Wonga Pigeons’ under "family". Note that the source HBZ applies one term ‘Gori’ to six other ‘Wonga Pigeons’ under "family".
promounced d'ingu (coastal) and d'inggu (inland), fitting the variation in homorganic nasal-stop clusters. A corresponding form is found outside the Sydney region only in the north, in Awabakal, the Lake Macquarie Language, for which Threlfall (1834) lists

- Kin-ku, a she dog (1834:10)
- Ting-ko, A bitch (1834:92)

Both these spellings would represent a nasal-stop cluster, but from the available Awabakal data Lissarrague (2006) has not been able to distinguish heterorganic ng or ngk from homorganic 6g. The possibility of a heterorganic cluster ng or ngk cannot be ruled out. The ng possibility could be what is behind the high front vowel pronunciation implied by The ng possibility could be what is behind the high front vowel pronunciation implied by Threlfall’s notes. 

The situation with the dingo word is murkier than entry 35 in Table 10.4 implies. There are early coastal records indeterminate between a medial nasal-stop cluster and a medial velar nasal dingo (T), tingo (A), jingo (Pa); and other coastal records that imply a medial nasal-stop cluster: Tun-go-Wo-re-gal (An), t'ing-go (C), d'ing-go (C). The simplest account of the variation in the records of the medial consonants is that there were two

### Gloss | Inland | Source | Coastal | Source
--- | --- | --- | --- | ---
42 | banksia | wadagaru | wadagaru | wa-lang-gre 'The Banksia which bears the bottle washer' (An)
42a | plant sp. | wadangal | wadangal | wa-lang-gre 'The Banksia which bears the bottle washer' (An)
43 | tree sp. | daRagaRga | daRagaRga | Taung'ongu, Torrungara E 'pincus lotus' (Calyx)
44 | group name | Burubirangal | Burubirangal | Burubirangal (Dawes 1791:60a)

The situation with the dingo word is murkier than entry 35 in Table 10.4 implies. There are early coastal records indeterminate between a medial nasal-stop cluster and a medial velar nasal dingo (T), tingo (A), jingo (Pa); and other coastal records that imply a medial nasal-stop cluster: Tun-go-Wo-re-gal (An), t'ing-go (C), d'ing-go (C). The simplest account of the variation in the records of the medial consonants is that there were two
### 10.2.5 Heterorganic clusters

An obvious consideration is whether the simplification applied to a heterorganic cluster, or only to homorganic clusters. It is difficult to tell as the data generally neutralises the contrast between homorganic and heterorganic nasal-stop clusters, the main examples are gathered in Table 10.6.

The clearest example of a correspondence is in item 48, which shows that the corresponding coastal word has the nasal corresponding to the stop. Other coastal equivalents of a heterorganic nasal-stop cluster may be in items 49 and 50, where the corresponding coastal word lacks an equivalent of the stop. The apparent suffixes in the coastal forms are not fully understood, and, as Mark Harvey (pers. comm.) observes, the correspondence in item 49 involves different inflected forms of the verb stem.

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**Table 10.6 Some heterorganic clusters in the Sydney Language**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Inland</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>ligird</td>
<td>bunghRa</td>
<td>bunburra (M)</td>
<td>bunumRI</td>
<td>bun-merre-re (An)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>list</td>
<td>bujuyay</td>
<td>bonge (M)</td>
<td>bunya-ya</td>
<td>A;  'kiss each other': bong-ay (An), bunai-le (Pa), bunai-abley (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>[gambil] attested only as a common word in languages south of Sydney</td>
<td>gaun--gani</td>
<td>Kanembaang 'burn', Kanambaraang 'I set it on fire', and Kada angang 'It is burnt in the fire' (Dic11), cunningaang 'burn' (A)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, there is some (rather poor) evidence of coastal heterorganic nasal-stop clusters. First, note the couple of anomalous examples near the end of section 10.2.3 above, which both possibly involve a persisting heterorganic nasal stop cluster. Another possible example is the placement 68 below, where if Dawes has an accent over the n it could be interpreted as heterorganic from the following g and thus the placement can be reconstituted with a medial heterorganic cluster ng. Also see the discussion of the ‘dingo’ word, item 35 above.

Most of the evidence for heterorganic nasal-stop clusters in the coastal dialect is in personal names. If Steele (2005:155) cites ‘the personal names “Marnharn”, “Bawinbarra”, “Bunda”’, which, as he later (2005:157) comments are ‘perhaps not bound by the non-prominibility rule’ – the names of these individuals may well derive from the inland dialect (or from another language of the region). There are a couple of other names that can be added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>ornaments in general</td>
<td>bangoda</td>
<td>ben-gad-da (An), ben-gad-da (T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>thumb</td>
<td>wiyangara</td>
<td>wi-an-gal-ik (Sa); wiyanumang wi-an-man (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>[person’s name]</td>
<td>garangara</td>
<td>Karang.ang (Db)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53a</td>
<td>‘the name of a boy from Botany Bay’</td>
<td>garangara</td>
<td>Carrangarra:’y (Anon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>‘name of a little girl’</td>
<td>gununguti</td>
<td>Goinan-goli (Anon)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

39 It is common in Australian languages for the word for pregnant to be based on the word for ‘belly, stomach’. Note that the two Mathews words link ‘pregnant’ and ‘belly’.
31 There is Teyak-wa-teyak (Aa) (symbat in Troy 1994a:55, 1994b:73), but, as Steele (2005:158) suggests, this could be a garbling of the stem attested in Teyak-wa-teyak ‘I am tired’ (An) and elsewhere (see item 130 above), perhaps from a misreading of handwriting.
Troy (1994a) reconstitutes 53a as garangarani, another possibility is garak-gara, both possibilities have a heterorganic cluster at the reduplication boundary. However it may well be that item 53a is an inferior rendering of the same name as 53.

For completeness, note that the Sydney Language does have some (heterorganic nasal+nasal clusters, apparently in the coastal dialect, as shown in the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Coastal</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>woman’s name (Patoyo)</td>
<td>gunnagun</td>
<td>Kamntgali (Db)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>‘Farn Cove’</td>
<td>wuganmugulya</td>
<td>Wogun-ma-gule (Anou)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>‘point called the dooks’</td>
<td>barayimma</td>
<td>Pa-rein-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>‘Eucalyptus harmansteeni’</td>
<td>wajnari</td>
<td>Wong’ary (Caley)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However there is no evidence that these nasal+nasal clusters correspond to a nasal-stop clusters elsewhere.

In summary, the slim evidence is that Dawes’ Law probably applied to a heterorganic nasal-stop cluster and nasalised the stop.

10.3 Discussion

10.3.1 Morphophonological rule

As well as noticing some of the correspondences between dialects in Table 10.1, Dawes (1979b) had also explicitly noticed a synchronic assimilation rule in the coastal dialect (Nyara) inherent in his note to the form Bederimnin: ‘Note. If Barin had not ended with an n it would have been bunin instead of munin’.

This can be restated as: across a morpheme boundary a potential n+b cluster is realised as n+m. Dawes’ observation was not published until Troy (1994a:27) included it, but as a ‘comment on phonotactics’ with respect to birnin. ‘Analysis of the verbal morphology of the language provides further evidence for the transformation of b to m following n’ (Troy 1994a:27).

In the late 1980s Wilkins noticed that the observation could be generalised, and recently made published mention of this: ‘In the coastal dialect, there is a morphophonological rule which changed the initial stop consonant of a suffix to the homorganic nasal when that suffix was attached to a stem ending in a nasal’ (Wilkins & Nash 2008:48).

I propose to call this Dawes’ Rule. An effect of Dawes’ Rule is to eliminate any nasal+stop cluster that might otherwise arise across a morpheme boundary, in other words, the synchronic Dawes’ Rule enforces the phonotactic pattern due to the diachronic Dawes’ Law. As Dawes noted, the rule applies to the privative suffix -buni (item 13 in Table 10.1) accounting for its allomorph -muni; and in his suffix vocabulary for the suffix ‘belonging’ there are two forms ‘Birung or Mitrong’. Troy (1994a:27) added ‘Analysis of the verbal morphology of the language provides further evidence for the transformation of b to m following n’, presumably thinking of the alternation in the tense suffix, item 59.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>-ba – -ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>belonging to, Assistive</td>
<td>-biraq – mhir ‘Hirong or Mitrong’ (Db)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Steele (2005) made counts of consonant combinations, though not distinguishing intramorphemic combinations from clusters across a morpheme boundary:

The non-permissibility of ‘b’, and also of ‘d’, after a nasal, is a dialectal feature of Biyal-Biyal. While all the surrounding languages permit, and have many examples of, -db, -mb and -nd (one of -md) […] there are none in Biyal-Biyal except in the personal names ‘Budarni’, ‘Ruvinda’ (-ab) (one of Bemlong’s names), and ‘Bunda’ (-nd); and in two suspect records in the ‘Anon’ notebook. Where the combination might normally have been expected, as when the b-initial privative suffix buni or future tense marker ba might otherwise have followed a syllable ending in -n, these were replaced by mun (see X.3 above) and ma (see XI.1, and X.6 below) respectively (Steele 2005:155).

The statement of Dawes’ Rule (across a morpheme boundary) is to be modified slightly when it applies to a homorganic cluster, in that it produces a simple nasal, not a geminate nasal. The alternation for the homorganic velar cluster can be seen in Table 10.7 in some words of human reference apparently involving a feminine suffix galyung (items 61-63), and a suffix gali ‘two’ (items 64-65), cf. Darkinyung ‘gali two’ (Kinchinpat) (Jones 2008:158).

### Table 10.7 Allomorphy of two nominal suffixes in the coastal dialect of the Sydney Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Stem with suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>buraq bo-raling(C) ‘nameake of a deceased male’</td>
<td>buraqgalyung bo-raling-al-le-on (C) ‘nameake of a deceased female’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>gawal ‘senior, big’ kowal</td>
<td>gawalgalyung kawalgalyung (Db) ‘elder sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>garaq ‘small’</td>
<td>garaqgalyung gariqgalyung (Db) ‘younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>biyan ‘father’ blina (Db)</td>
<td>biyanbalyung bicongally (Db), he-yung-olley (Db)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>magaq meliq ‘sweetheart or lover’ (Db), magaqgoli (C)</td>
<td>magaqgali magaqlin-ally, magaqli ‘husband, wife’ (Db), ma-qoli-ally ‘a temporary wife’ (C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rule appears not to have applied to the components of a compound: in the ‘favourite term of reproach’ guin-bada (guni ‘faces’, bada ‘eat’) go-nin-pat-in (T) (Troy 1994a:79), and possibly Parran-bana-jija ‘Eating (the act of)’ (Anu).
10.3.2 Replication boundary

There are one or two words that suggest that Dawes’ Law may also have applied at the internal boundary in a replication:

- garaqaraq [name of person] (Db see 53)
- garagaran ca-rang-l-rang ‘woman; also pretty’ (SIs)

Note that the source spellings are inconsistent with the words being a full replication, *gara-nararar. Note however that this replication is lexical; we do not have evidence of productive replication in the Sydney Language.

10.3.3 Parallels in other Australian languages

There are other subgroups of the Paama-Nyungar family where intervocalic homorganic nasal-stop clusters have simplified to the nasal. Where we have more information about the languages then we do about the Sydney Language, we can be surer of the internal processes, and so consideration of them may provide an instructive parallel.

One subgroup where a change akin to Dawes’ Law has applied is the Yolgu Matha languages of north-east Arnhem Land.

There is actually a systematic sound correspondence in evidence here whereby nasal consonants in the Yolgu languages match homorganic nasal-stop clusters in other Parram-Nyungar languages. This is most naturally interpreted in terms of a Proto-Yolgu sound change ND-N (Alphor 2004:122, with references to earlier recognition by O’Grady 1990:90 and McConville 1997:225). (Sutton & Koch 2008:46)

It is not clear whether erstwhile heterorganic nasal-stop clusters persist in the Yolgu languages, the modern languages do have heterorganic (and homorganic) nasal-stop clusters (and heterorganic nasal-nasal clusters), but there is only one attributable to inheritance, namely kawu ‘pandanus’ (Alphor 2004, pers. comm.).

In the Thura subgroup, illustrated by correspondences between Kaurna and Parnkalla (Simpson & Hercus 2004:190), there is evidence of simplification of apical clusters, and some evidence for velar clusters.

Other minor parallels are in Warmanpa and Eastern Warlipiri, which show diachronic simplification to the nasal of an erstwhile homorganic nasal-stop cluster in some nominal suffixes, e.g. -parra ‘having’ (Warlipiri-parra), and -nga ‘locative’ (Warlipiri-ngga). Synchronically, there is a general phonetic tendency towards nasal assimilation in clusters in western dialects of Gurindji. e.g. piika is often heard as [biŋa] (McConville 1988:150), and ‘Mudura’ also displays in an isolated case a third, regressive type of NASSAL CLUSTER DISSIMILATION (McConville 1988:155). The Kimberley language Gooniyandi’s ‘whi-wha-ma-call-it’ word ngqwa or ngqwa ‘i’a quite transparently constructed from the “personal’ indefinite ngwa “who” (McGregor 1990:148), though this is the only cluster reduction by stop-deletion in the language. Otherwise, Gooniyandi has a rule of nasal dissimilation of type ND-D, which ‘deletes the nasal in a homorganic nasal-stop cluster when it immediately follows ... any nasal-stop cluster’ (McGregor 1990:98); cf. similar rules in Gurindji and related languages (McConville 1988).

10.4 Implications

10.4.1 Loans to and from English

Australian English has borrowed a couple of the words listed above. These are gunnali ‘but’ (coastal form of item 46) and bingi ‘man’(inland form of item 47). The colonists at Sydney encountered the coastal dialect before the inland dialect and the dates of the earliest attestations as English (1803 and 1859 respectively according to the ANU conform to this order. Some pockets of Australian English also have (or had) gunyi – gunylian ‘but’, which matches the inland form of item 46, but the earliest citation is as late as 1876 and the ANU judges that it was borrowed from the cognate word in the inland NSW languages Wiradur and Kamilaroi gunyul ‘stringybark, a bit made therefore’, pCNWS *gunni (Austin 1997:30).

There is a separate inland word that probably also has been borrowed from these inland NSW languages: bunid ‘club—a plain club’ (M). Compare the ANU entry.

- bondi, n. 1 Also boodle, bandi, bundy. (Prob. a. Wiradur and Kamilaroi bunid,) 1.A large Aboriginal club.

Also the placename Boondi ‘Boondi’ (Thornton 1896 per Attenbrow 2002:12)

A couple of loans from English in the early days of the colony retained homorganic medial clusters, as recorded by Dawes (1790b): kandhl ‘candle’, winha ‘window’, Englant ‘in England’, and possibly blankli. These examples show that there was not a strong phonetastic prohibition against medial homorganic nasal-stop clusters.

10.4.2 Place names

Some Sydney-area placenames involve a nasal-stop cluster, and a few are recorded in variant form with a simple nasal instead of the cluster. The data in Table 10.8 is extracted mostly from Attenbrow (2002:9-11, 2009:31-42).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Nasal+stop</th>
<th>Nasal only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66 Macleay Point – Darling Point</td>
<td>Yarramby (Lamer, Mitchell) ‘Macleay Point’</td>
<td>Yarramby ‘Darling Point’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 Shark Island</td>
<td>Boom-billy (Lamer)</td>
<td>Bo-o-millie (An)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 North Head</td>
<td>Guran’ gel (Db), Car-rang-gel (An)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69 Middle Harbour, Warringah</td>
<td>Warri gá (Lamer)</td>
<td>Warriogha (Michel) (or nasal+stop?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 Mosman Reay</td>
<td>Guran bullagong – Gowangibang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 Darling Harbour</td>
<td>Tumbuling (Lamer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The standard modern spelling is bingi, ‘Also bingie, bingal, bikal, biny’ (ANU).
Consider 66 and 67 in Table 10.8 above. These two locations are on Sydney Harbour and in the district of the coastal dialect, and so the 'nasal only' pronunciation would be expected to be the 'real' pronunciation, and the inhabitants could easily also pronounce this. The attested nasal-stop versions can be attributed to inlanders, but quite by what process is not clear. The possibilities that occur to me are (a) the inlanders who came to live around Port Jackson retained an earlier pronunciation as appropriate to their dialect; (b) the placenames involve some kind of suffix, *-dabpid or *-bill, with the suffix-initial stop becoming a nasal after a rule described above in 10.2.1.4.

Further north, and outside the region considered by Attwood and Attenbrow (2002, 2009) and probably beyond the ambit of the Sydney Language, there is Barrunguny - Barrungunyai (Barrungunyai on an 1872 map, Steele 2005), the southern headland to Broken Bay. The word appears to contain a palatal nasal-stop cluster, which would be anomalous in the coastal dialect of the Sydney Language.

10.4.3 Bombora

The Australian English word bombora is known from earliest citations in the 1870s (AND) in the Sydney area, and its source is said to be [Prob. A. N. S. W. Aboriginal language], but beyond this its source has long been obscure. If the word genuinely had a homorganic (bilabial) medial cluster, then we can deduce it did not originate from the coastal dialect of the Sydney Language. Conceivably this word relates to bumbur 'grass', item 15 above (from weegrass on the under water feature?).

1871 Industr. Progress N.S.W. 789 Some [fishing grounds] are on sunken rocks in about 8 fathoms water, 'Bumbaras', as they are generally termed, from 1 to 3 miles distant from the shore others on rocky patches in deeper water. 1871 ibid. 791 A cable-length or so distant from 'Jiben Head', the southern point of the entrance to Port Hacking, lies Jiben 'bumbare', a fishing-mark of great repute. (AND)

18.4 'Bumpa-

Dawes(1790) unique record of kampa 'to dig' can be seen as a potential reflex of proto-Pama-Nyungan *kampa- 'cook in earth oven' vtr (Alpher 2004:431). The protoform is known to descend as 'cover, bury' in some languages of Cape York Peninsula and central Queensland, but Alpher (2004) has no reflexes in southeast Australia. Without another reflex of *kampa-city in the subgroup, there's a likelihood that kampa is a chance correspondence. Note that the other sound equivalences needed in this comparison are supported by PPN *kama 'excrement' (Alpher 2004:439-440) descending as Sydney kanti (M), polem (gunt 'excrement' in 'from') (Tenn) 'excrement'.

10.4.5 Dialect of the sources

Once the correspondences of Dawes' Law are accepted (on the basis of the data assembled in section 10.2 above) then in turn the historical sources can be classified according to whether or not they record the nasal-stop (inland) dialect. The situation is summarised in the note introducing the References below. In general, as might be expected from what we know of Sydney's history, the earlier sources record the coastal dialect and the later sources record the inland dialect. We can infer that Anonymous (1790) records some inland words, and that Collins (1802) mixes inland and coastal words.

10.4.6 Language group identity

Cross-clinal phonological variants are among the best known markers of shared and distinctive language identity, one of which the speakers are usually aware and can exemplify. Li Dawes effectively noticed a glimmer of this in 1791 for two varieties of the Sydney Language, and this paper has shown the wider extent of the regular sound correspondence that constitutes part of the dialect distinction. Unfortunately the historical record lacks explicit speaker comments on Sydney dialect differences, but in their absence we can perhaps discern some such awareness in two aspects of the data presented above.

The form of the womat variant of wombat (item 16) is curious given that wombats did not occur at Port Jackson, and when encountered in the 19th year of the nascent colony, The mountain natives named this new animal Wom-bat, and said it was good eating; but it was wholly unknown to those who were admitted into the settlement' (Collins 1802:99).

The form with the simple m can be taken to be due to correspondence mimicry (as argued by Nash 2009). All three sources for simple nasal variant womat (Flinders, Good, and Brown) used this variant when they voyaged together aboard HMS Investigator along with the Aboriginal man Bungaree who 'came with the remnant of his Broken Bay group to settle in Sydney' (McCarty 1956). Presumably the Sydney Language was a second language for thongone; someone in his situation, knowing a similar language, and used to acting as cultural broker, is just the person one might expect to apply correspondence mimicry, thereby showing a consciousness of the relevant sound correspondence.

The second kind of suggestive evidence is in the possible interpretation that there were two pronunciations of the group name Burubirajai (item 44), and in the couple of
placename doubles in section 10.4.2. Our default expectation will be that the form of a placename conforms to the dialect of the district where the place is located. When a variant is recorded that distinctively fits the sound pattern of another dialect, a conscious variation in the pronunciation can be suspected.

10.5 Conclusion

Through the varied orthographies of the partial records of the Sydney Language, a regular sound correspondence (Dawes’ Law) can be discerned whereby the coastal dialect simplified erwhile nasal-stop clusters to the nasal, generalising an unpublished observation made by Dawes in 1791. The correspondence fits with a phonetic constraint against homorganic nasal-stop clusters in the coastal dialect, which is led by a synchronic morphophonological rule (Dawes’ Rule, the effect of which was also noticed by Dawes).

References

Historical source abbreviations: (A) Collins, Philip and Hunter (1868:270-274), (An) Anon. c1790 (source e in Troy 1994a), (B) George Bass 1798, (C) Collins 1798, 1802, (Caley) Melden 1992 and Webb 1995 (D) Dawes c1790 (notebook a and b), (F) Fowell (1998-99), (Fll) Fllinders 1801, 1814, (G) Good, (H) Hunter 1793, (Hsd) Hindmarsh 1965 and Hunter 1989, (K) King (1793), (L) Larmer (1834:12-18; 1896:226), (McG) McGarvie c1826, (M) Matthews 1901 ‘Dharuk’, 1923, (M1) Matthews MS right column, in Jones & Laffan 2008 (MS) Matthews MS left column, in Jones & Laffan 2008 (Pa) Pale (1968:41-42), (R) Rawley 1781 in Riley, (Sa) Swampwell 1788 (T) Tench (1799:4951), (W) Russell 1914 Source location: Coastal: (F), (G), (H), (J), (A), (Pa) and mostly (An); Island: none (An), (McG), (F), (M), (Pa) and mostly (Caley), (L).


Breton, W.H. 1833. Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Diemen’s Land, during the years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833. London: R. Bentley.


Eades, Diana. 1976. The Dhurrung and Dhurrung languages of the New South Wales south coast. Canberra: AIAS.

Flinders, Matthew. 1810. Observations on the coast of Van Diemen’s Land, on Bass’s Strait and its islands and on part of the coasts of New South Wales: Intended to accompany the charts of the late discoveries in those countries. London: John Nichols. * PDF available at Google Books


Space, Time and Environment in Kala Lagaw Ya

Lesley Stirling

11.1 Introduction


It has also become a truism that ways of talking about time largely derive from terms initially used for location and motion in space (Boroditsky 2000, Casasanto & Boroditsky 2008, Clarke 1973, Cumla & Heine 1986, Evans 2004, Gentner 2001, Gentner et al. 2002, Jackendoff 1983, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999, Langacker 1987, Lyons 1977, Radden 2003). Niñez and Sweeny (2006:1) note ‘a few basic metaphor mappings from the spatial domain to the temporal one recur in language after language’. However, while there has now established evidence that spatial metaphors for time are cross-linguistically universal (see for example Evans 2004, Haspelmath 1997), this position is by no means uncontroversial (e.g. Cappelle 2006, Radden 2003). Furthermore, the links between linguistic patterns and cognition remain to be fully investigated: as Haspelmath (1997), Niñez and Sweeny (2006) and others argue, linguistic analysis by itself cannot conclusively answer such questions.

The data referred to here come chiefly from largely unpublished field notes for the two dialects of Kala Lagaw Ya from 1979, 1991 and 1992. I am very grateful to members of the Msabing, Safiel and Thurlby Island language communities for their hospitality, teaching and help in studying the language, and in particular to the late Mr Ephraim Bal, the late Father Michael Balu, Mrs Kainako Joseph, Miss Mariana Biba, Father Eairs Wajiga, and Mrs Besima Wajiga. I am also indebted to Rod Kennedy of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Bruno Rigby, Anna Sherfok and Nick Piper. Any remaining errors are of course my responsibility. My initial fieldwork was supported by an Australian Research Council small grant. Portions of this paper have been presented at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen; the Centre for Cognitive Science, University of Edinburgh; and the University of Colorado in Boulder in 1992; at Monash University, Melbourne in 1994; at the University of Sydney in 1995; at the University of Melbourne International Workshop on Australian Languages in 1997; and at the Australian Linguistics Society conference in Brisbane in 1998. I am grateful to all those audiences for their helpful comments and suggestions.

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