CHAPTER 6
Hunter–Hastings languages

Introduction to Chapter 6

In the previous two chapters we have dealt with the southernmost of the coastal NSW language groups: the South-east NSW languages and the the Sydney–Hawkesbury languages. In this chapter we turn to a group of languages that were spoken to the north of the Sydney–Hawkesbury languages: we call them the "Hunter–Hastings" languages. The Hunter–Hastings languages covered an area that extended roughly from Brisbane Water in the south to the Wilson River[98] in the north, and from the coast almost to the Great Dividing Range.

There are only two languages in this group: the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language (HRLM) and the Lower North Coast language (LNC), and each had a number of dialects. In the case of HRLM, the major division was probably between coastal and inland dialects. For LNC, it seems likely that the distinction between northern and southern dialects was more significant.

This group is named after the two major rivers of the region. The Hunter River flows through the territory associated with the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language, and the Hastings River flows through the country in which the Lower North Coast language was spoken.

Languages in this group

6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie Language	6.1.1.1 Awabakal
	6.1.1.2 Karikal (Kuringgai)
	6.1.2.1 Wanarruwa
	6.1.2.2 Kayawaykal (Geawegal)
6.2 Lower North Coast Language	6.2.1.1 Gadhang (Taree dialect)
	6.2.1.2 Warrimay
	6.2.1.3 Guringay (Gringai)
	6.2.2 Birrbay

Treatment of these languages as a group

We begin by considering the relationship of the two Hunter–Hastings languages to their neighbours, then their relationship to each other.

External relationships of the Hunter–Hastings languages

We treat this group separately from the Macleay–New England languages (Group 7), the Central Inland NSW languages (Group 8), the Northern Inland NSW languages (Group 9) and the East Queensland Border languages (Group 13), even though other writers have proposed classifications which group some of these languages together.

Oates (1975), following Schmidt (1919), includes the Hunter–Hastings languages in the Kuri Subgroup of the Yuin-Kuric Group, along with Dhanggati and its dialects (our Group 7)[99] and also Yugambal (our Group 13).[100] Dixon (2002) groups together the Hunter–Hastings languages, which

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98. Since there are several Wilson Rivers in Australia, and two in NSW, we specify that the Wilson River referred to here is the one that flows into the Hastings near Port Macquarie.

99. Oates omits Anaiwan/Nganyaywana (our Group 7) as being a "residue" language, that is, one not yet able to be classified.

100. Godwin (1997: 303) and Crowley (1997: 284) also link Dhanggati with Yugambal. See chapters 7 and 13 (below).

he calls the "Awabagal/Gadjang subgroup" (labelled Na*), with the Djan-gadi/Nganyaywana subgroup (Nb*), which corresponds to our Group 7, the Central Inland NSW subgroup (Nc*), which incorporates the languages of our Group 8 (Gamilaraay etc.), and also "Muruwarri" (Nd) and "Barranbinja" (Ne), which are included in our Group 9.[101]

We have preferred not to make any claims about higher order relationships between the groups we recognise, since these relationships remain to be demonstrated in detail. We observe, nonetheless, that there seems to be a fair degree of consensus that the Hunter–Hastings languages (the group we deal with in this chapter) and the Macleay–New England languages (our Group 7) constitute some kind of higher order grouping. On the other hand, the relationship of the Hunter–Hastings languages to the Central Inland NSW languages (our Group 8) is not so clear. Austin, Williams and Wurm note that "grammatically, there are large differences between the two groups of languages. In fact, the mountain range appears to form a linguistic as well as natural boundary" (1980: 172).

Internal relationships of the Hunter–Hastings languages

It has been asserted or implied by a number of earlier writers (e.g. Elkin 1932: 359; Enright 1933: 161; Holmer 1966:1; Tindale 1974: 193, 201) that the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language and the Lower North Coast language are *dialects of the same language*. The most explicit formulation of this view comes from Enright, who believed that "the Awabakal spoke Kattang" (1932a: 76).

However, in recent years a consensus has developed among linguists who have examined the data (e.g. O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966: 48; Oates 1975, 2: 203; Dixon 2002: xxxiv) that HRLM and LNC (whatever names may be given to them[102]) are distinct but closely related languages. This is in spite of the evidence (e.g. Elkin 1932: 359; Enright 1933: 161) that the two languages may have been to some extent mutually intelligible. Our own investigations (see Wafer & Lissarrague forthcoming) provide support for the consensus view. This is not the place to make the case in detail. But we note that there are a number of significant morphological differences between the two languages (for example, HRLM has some bound pronouns whereas LNC doesn't); and the cognate density is probably only around 65%.

Rationale for the grouping of language varieties

6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie Language

6.1.1.1 Awabakal
6.1.1.2 Karikal (Kuringgai)
6.1.2.1 Wanarruwa
6.1.2.2 Kayawaykal (Geawegal)

Earlier researchers (e.g. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966, Oates 1975, and Dixon 2002) have generally recognised that Wanarruwa and "Awabakal" are dialects of a single language. We propose that this language had other dialects as well, two of which have come to be known (e.g. Brayshaw 1986: 40) by the names "Kuringgai" and "Geawegal". We use the name "Karikal" instead of Kuringgai, for reasons we explain below. And we spell "Geawegal" in the orthography that Lissarrague (2006b: 117) has developed for HRLM, as "Kayawaykal".

6.1.1.1 Awabakal
In the first half of the 19th century the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld wrote a series of studies of "the language as spoken by the aborigines, in the vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, &c. New South Wales" (Threlkeld 1834). As far as we have been able to ascertain, Threlkeld himself never used the name "Awabakal" for the language. Horatio Hale noted, after his visit to Threlkeld,

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101. Dixon (2002: xxxiv) places Yugambal in his Central East Coast Group (M), along with such languages as Bandjalang, Gumbaynggirr and Yaygirr (our Group 14).

102. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966: 49) treat "Wanarua" and "Worimi" as the reference dialects; Oates (1975, 2: 203–47) lists "Wanarua" and "Gadhang" first among the varieties of the two languages; Dixon (2002: xxxiv) treats "Awabagal" and "Gadjang" as the reference dialects.

that "we are not aware if [the people] have any general word by which to designate all those who speak their language. None is given by Mr. Threlkeld, to whom it would doubtless have been known" (1846: 482).

The name "Awabakal" appears to have been the invention of John Fraser, who published a revised compilation of Threlkeld's materials (with those of others) in 1892. As he said, "a considerable portion of this volume consists of Mr. Threlkeld's acquisitions in the dialect which I [our emphasis] have called the Awabakal, from Awaba, the native name for Lake Macquarie (Fraser 1892: v).[103]

We have retained something akin to Threlkeld's original terminology by using the name "Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language" (HRLM). But we use this as the superordinate language term rather than as the name for the particular dialect studied by Threlkeld, which, following a long-standing tradition, we continue to call "Awabakal". ("Eastern HRLM" would be a possible alternative.) Awabakal was evidently the dialect spoken at Lake Macquarie and Newcastle. How far it extended up the Hunter River is unclear.

Threlkeld was a dedicated grammarian and left a fairly extensive record of the morphology of HRLM (e.g. Threlkeld 1834, 1850). His work on the phonology (e.g. 1836) and lexicon (e.g. in Fraser 1892) of the language is unfortunately patchier. He also translated two complete biblical texts (the gospels of Luke and Mark). One of these was published after his death (in Fraser 1892), and the other has been recently transcribed, and is available on-line (see Threlkeld 1837).

6.1.1.2 Karikal (Kuringgai)

We begin our discussion of the dialect that has been called "Kuringgai" by making a distinction between two phonologically similar but disparate dialect names. The name "Guringay" (Gringai), which will be discussed below under the section on the Lower North Coast language, is distinguished from "Kuringgai" by the absence of a velar stop after the velar nasal (i.e. there is no g after the ng).

The origins of "Kuringgai", as with the name "Awabakal", are probably attributable to John Fraser.[104] According to James Kohen (1993: 14), Fraser invented the former name by using Mathews' Dharug grammar (1901) to add the (Dharug) possessive case form -nggai to the (HRLM) word kuri or "man". Fraser evidently intended the name to mean something like "belonging to the (Aboriginal) men".

Fraser uses this term, in his compilation of the works of Threlkeld, as a superordinate name to refer to "one great tribe" (1892: v) that purportedly extended from just north of Port Macquarie as far south as Bulli. There is no evidence that such a "tribe" ever existed, and the languages in this region include members of three different groups: the Hunter–Hastings languages in the north; the Sydney–Hawkesbury languages in the middle; and the South-east NSW languages in the south.

In 1970 Arthur Capell published an article in which he gave the term a new meaning. On the basis of manuscript documents by Threlkeld (n.d.) and J. F. Mann (n.d.), Capell attempted to show that "a language separate from Awaba" was spoken from Tuggerah Lakes to the northern shore of

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103. Threlkeld himself recorded the name of Lake Macquarie as "Nik-kin-ba", from nikkin "coal", and -ba "place of" (quoted in Gunson 1974, 2: 64; cf. Threlkeld 1834: 83). The editor of Threlkeld's papers, Niel Gunson (1974, 1: 151), includes a map from 1841 by W. Proctor that contains the name "Awaba or Lake Macquarie". So the use of "Awaba" as the name for the lake appears quite early. But we have been unable to trace this name in the writings of Threlkeld himself. On the subject of placenames: J. D. Lang (1834, 2: 64) recorded the name of the Hunter River as "Coquun". This is almost certainly the same word recorded by Threlkeld as ko-ko-in, by Hale (1846) as kokoin, by Fawcett (1898b) and Miller (1887) as kukun and by Mann (n.d.) as kukun, all with the meaning "water" (Lissarrague 2006b: 118, under entry kukuyn). Its use as a name for the river is probably a misunderstanding on Lang's part. Albrecht (2000: 9 and 2003: 4) notes two other names recorded for the Hunter: "Myan" (Canon J. C. W. Stretch) and "Coonanbarra" at Morpeth (Lt. E. C. Close). We have also found a record of the name "Terrybong" used for the Hunter by people who spoke the "Wanneroo" (Wanarruwa) language (Anon n.d.). "Myan" is probably Gamilaraay mayan "waterhole", "creek" (Ash, Giacon & Lissarrague 2003: 110); "Coonanbarra" resembles Gamilaraay guna "faeces"+-baraay, comitative suffix (Ash, Giacon & Lissarrague 2003: 95, 33–4). "Terrybong" is harder to pin down. The suffix -bang occurs in the Lower North Coast language, where it is used to form placenames associated with trees, so the "Terry" part of the name could perhaps come from LNC dharii (~djarii), "sandpaper fig".

104. We say "probably" because J. F. Mann had already used a similar word, "Kuringa-Gai", in 1842, not as the name of a language or group, but of "one of several 'pleasant camping places'" (Smith 2004: 23).
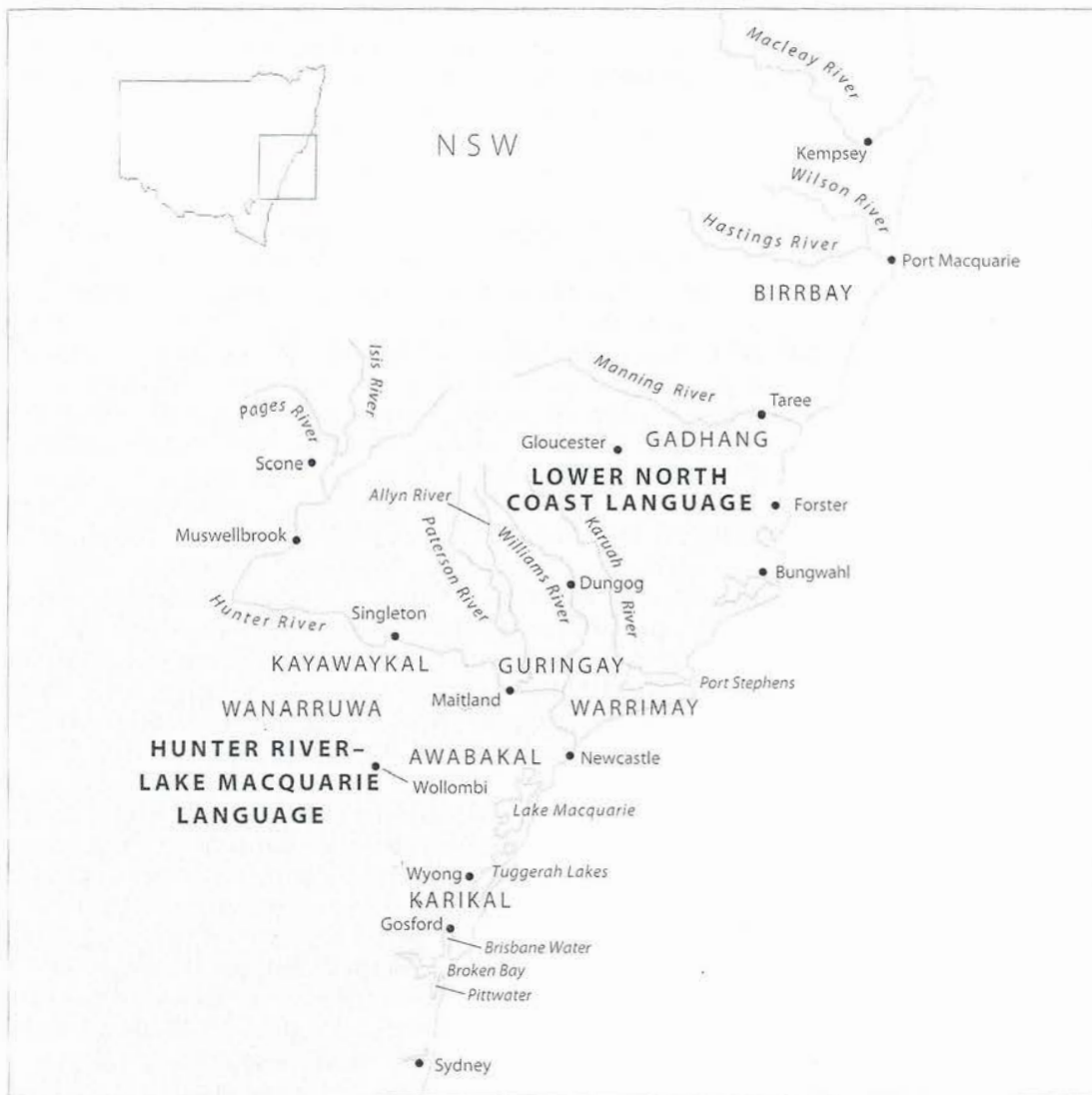
Port Jackson. He called this language "Kuringgai", because the name was "convenient" (1970: 21, 24). We have provided detailed evidence elsewhere (Wafer & Lissarrague forthcoming) that Capell was wrong to treat "Kuringgai" as a distinct language, and to extend its boundaries so far south. A brief summary of our argument follows.

Mann collected the material for his manuscript in the Gosford region (Kohen 1993: 245; Smith 2004: 18–20), so the language material it contains comes from the northern part of the area claimed by Capell for Kuringgai. Capell overlooked another source from the same region (Brisbane Water and Tuggerah Lakes), by the surveyor James Larmer (1898: 224–5). Mann's and Larmer's data pertain to the same language variety. It's unclear where, geographically, the Threlkeld material comes from. But there is little doubt that it was collected from a speaker or speakers of this variety (Smith 2004: 20–1).

This language variety is, as Capell says, "separate" from Awabakal. But it is only different enough to be called a separate dialect, not a separate language. The three main sources of data for it contain a large number of functional, inflectional and lexical morphemes, including several bound pronouns, that occur in the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language but not in any other languages of the region. Where the lexicon differs from that of HRLM, the vocabulary items are

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often identical with words from the Darrkinyung or the Sydney language. But the variety in question is clearly not a member of the Sydney–Hawkesbury language group.

Capell asserts that "Kuringgai" was spoken "on the north side of Port Jackson, and extended at least to Tuggerah Lakes" (1970: 21). We believe there is good evidence to link this language variety with the region now known as the Central Coast, where the Tuggerah Lakes are located. But we do not believe that it extended any further south than Brisbane Water.

Capell bases his case largely on the fact that Mann says he obtained the data in his manuscript from "Long Dick an influential native of the Cammeray tribe, a son of Bungaree and Queen Gooseberry". Capell concludes that the language recorded in Mann's manuscript "is the language of the Pittwater people, and included the well-known Cammeraygal on the extreme south, along the northern shores of Port Jackson" (Capell 1970: 24).

The historian Keith Smith has disputed Capell's conclusion. In his thesis on Eora clans (2004), Smith makes a strong and convincing case that the language variety we are concerned with here was not indigenous to the north side of Sydney Harbour. It was "first brought to the north shore opposite Sydney Cove by Bungaree and his people at the turn of the nineteenth century" (Smith 2004: 2; cf. 16–24, 135–50; pers. comm. 29/09/2004).[105] In other words, Bungaree and his people appear to have created a colony of speakers of this language variety on the north shore of Port Jackson, which is otherwise usually associated with the "tribal" or language name "Cammeray".[106] They were not long-standing residents of this area, and came originally from somewhere in the north.

Smith calls this language variety "Gari-Gari", by analogy with the names of other Australian languages formed by reduplicating the word for "no". His interpretation of the morpheme *gari* is based on the title ("Karr,ee") of the manuscript attributed (probably correctly) to Threlkeld (Smith 2004: 18, 20–1, 23).[107] Smith assumes that *gari* means "no", on the grounds that Threlkeld transcribed the word for "no" as "koori" in HRLM (Smith 2004: 23), in his publication of 1827.[108] In fact the only word Threlkeld gives for "no" in this work is "kaahwi" (1827: 16, sentence 15), also translated as "not" (1827: 20, sentence 16).[109]

While *kari* (Threlkeld's "Karr,ee") would perhaps be plausible as a dialectal variant of "kaahwi"[110], there is no evidence that the reduplicated form (Smith's "Gari-Gari") was ever applied to the dialect in question. Our general principle is to prefer language names for which there is confirmation that they were used by the speakers, or at least by their neighbours. Smith provides us with several choices in this case.

Smith (2004: 19, 95) notes that the Brisbane Water clans were called the "walkeloa" in the blanket lists of the 1830s. It is difficult to know how to reconstruct this word; but it seems possible that it consists of *waka* ("west" or "above" in HRLM; Lissarrague 2006b: 140) and the perlative suffix *-uwa* (Lissarrague 2006b: 28). Still, this would leave unexplained the intervening consonant *l*. It would also difficult to account for the use of the term "west" in relation to a group whose heartland was on the coast.

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105. Smith (2004: 23) acknowledges his indebtedness to the anthropologist F. D. McCarthy for earlier observations about this matter.

106. It's interesting that the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language could supply a possible etymology for the name "Cammeray", since *kamarr* (or something similar) was the word for "north" in that language (Lissarrague 2006b: 113. The word is recorded as "kummari" in Fraser 1892.) But "Cammeray" (variously spelt) was recorded as the name for the north side of Port Jackson (Attenbrow 2002: 25) *before* Bungaree and his people moved there (if Smith's dating is correct). One possible interpretation of these data is that the Sydney language used the same, or a cognate, word for "north". We have been unable to trace any information about the words used for the cardinal points in the Sydney language that might confirm this.

107. Smith suggests that Threlkeld's informant may have been Boio ("Long Dick")—the same person who provided the information to Mann. Alternatively, it may have been Bungaree (Smith 2004: 20).

108. Smith (2004: 29, note 113) gives the page number as 126; but the document is only 26 pages long. We have been unable to find the word "koori" on p. 26—or anywhere else in the document.

109. Other words he translates as "not" include "korah" (1827: 20, 22, 24, 26) and "korean" (1827: 15, 24). According to Lissarrague, *-kura* is a negative derivational suffix (2006b: 66), and *kuriyan* is a negative particle (2006b: 97).

110. Lissarrague (2006b: 117, 155) interprets the underlying form as *kayaway*, based on a comparison with Threlkeld's later transcriptions, while the word for "yes" is reconstructed as *kawa* (2006b: 116, 163). Both may be derived from the copula verb *ka-*, "be" (2006b: 91–2).

Smith also observes that Mathews gave the name of "the 'language of Brisbane Water [Broken Bay] towards Wollombi' as <u>Wannerawa</u>", while he "named the language spoken from Lake Macquarie to Lane Cove as '<u>Wannungine</u>' (Wanungany)" (Smith 2004: 24).

Mathews' "Wannerawa" are almost certainly the speakers of the Wanarruwa dialect of HRLM. Their country evidently did extend towards Wollombi; but the available evidence suggests that they were an inland group, distinct from the people of Brisbane Water. Nonetheless, "the Brisbane Water people were friends and allies of the 'Wolombi [Wollombi] tribe'", and the two communities held joint ceremonies (Smith 2004: 146).[111] Mathews appears to have conflated the two groups.

As for the "Wannungine" ("Wanungany"): the only etymology we can suggest would link this name to *wanang* (~*wanayn*), which means "which way?", "which place?" in HRLM (Lissarrague 2006b: 141). Mathews collected his data some considerable time after Bungaree's people moved to the north shore of Sydney Harbour, so his treatment of this word as a name for the language from Lake Macquarie to Lane Cove was possibly accurate at the time he was writing. Still, it is too broad and unspecific for us to regard it as suitable as a name for the Brisbane Water dialect.

Smith's other name for this dialect is the one recorded by Governor Phillip as "Caregal" (in Hunter 1793: 460–3), and re-transcribed by Capell as "Carigal" (1970: 23). Phillip was speared, in 1790, by a man said to be "Caregal", interpreted to mean that he belonged to the "Cari" tribe of Broken Bay (Smith 2004: 18). Capell (1970) observed the coincidence between this name and the word "Karr,ee" in the title of the manuscript attributed to Threlkeld. Capell's hunch was probably right. As noted above, the language data in this manuscript are consistent with others that are clearly linked to Brisbane Water (Mann n.d. and Larmer 1898); and Brisbane Water is the northernmost gulf of Broken Bay. So we have adopted the name "Karikal" as our preferred alternative to Capell's "Kuringgai" and to Smith's "Gari-Gari".

We spell the name using the contemporary practical orthography for HRLM (Lissarrague 2006b: 16). At this stage of the research we can find no direct evidence that *kari* means "no" in this dialect, though Smith's attribution of this meaning to the word (2004: 23) seems quite plausible. We know that the name of one of the northern dialects of HRLM, "Kayawaykal" is formed by adding the suffix -*kal*[112] to the word for "no", *kayaway*, which probably contrasted with a different word for "no" in another dialect. We suggest that this dialect may have been Karikal. If this hypothesis is correct, the name would mean "(the language of) the people who say *kari* to mean 'no'".

Smith treats Gari-Gari (our "Karikal") as the name of the people who occupied a region "in the Pittwater–Broken Bay area straddling the mouth of the Hawkesbury River and reaching north to Tuggerah Lakes" (2004: 17). As mentioned in Chapter 5, we do not believe there is strong evidence for the view that Karikal was spoken in the Pittwater area, or anywhere on the south side of Broken Bay. Smith himself (2004: 20) quotes a newspaper article of 1886 in which Mann opines that the territory of the Brisbane Water people "was bounded on the south side by the Hawkesbury River, which separated them from the Sydney or Cammeray tribe, with whom they were on terms of friendship".[113]

We have no reason to cast doubt on Smith's assertion that Bungaree brought Karikal to the north shore of Port Jackson. Nor do we dispute his major conclusions about the extent of the language spoken by the "Eora", where he proposes that this language was spoken as far north as the (southern side) of Broken Bay (2004: 21). What we do suggest is that there is still not enough evidence to link Karikal to any location south of Brisbane Water—that is, at least, until Bungaree moved to the north side of Sydney Harbour. Moreover, there remains the fact that the language

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111. By contrast, the Brisbane Water people were said, by J. F. Mann, to be "at enmity" with the Newcastle tribe (Smith 2004: 146).

112. Lissarrague calls this the "belonging suffix" (2006b: 113). It could perhaps be called a "gentilic" suffix, but its semantic range appears to be wider than that of cognate gentilics in other languages (such as Sydney and Lower North Coast). It means something like "pertaining to", "associated with", so it may perhaps be better described as an "associative suffix". This matter is discussed further below, under "Etymology of the language names".

113. Mann's opinion concerning the northern extent of Karikal also coincides with our own. Smith (2004: 146) quotes a newspaper article in which Mann states that the territory of the Karikal was bounded to the north by by Lake Macquarie "or the boundary of Newcastle, or 'Moolabinda [sic] tribe', with whom they were at enmity".

(In the Lower North Coast language the common negative particle is *guriyn*.[117] In Gamilaraay it is *gamil*.) Fison and Howitt mention two other items of vocabulary, namely *koradji*, "wizard, medicine man" (1880: 281) and *murramai* "rock crystal" (1880: 283), both of which are also found in HRLM.[118]

Further, the language name Geawegal contains the derivational suffix /-kal/, which has a gentilic function in HRLM (cf. Lissarrague 2006b: 13, 62–3). This suffix also occurs in the Lower North Coast language.[119] In addition, Kayawaykal had (Fison & Howitt 1880: 280) words for the "class divisions" Yippai (/yipay/) and Kombo (/kampu/).[120] Among the speakers of the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie dialects, the Wanarruwa also had these class divisions (Fawcett 1898b: 180), technically known as "sections", and the speakers of the eastern dialect (Awabakal) did not. These names were used in Gamilaraay (Howitt 1904: 104; Ash, Giacon & Lissarrague 2003: 10), Darrkinyung (Mathews 1897: 170–1) and Guringay (the western dialect of LNC) as well (Howitt 1904: 266–7).[121]

This admittedly very small body of language material suggests that, on the balance of probabilities, Geawegal was a dialect of HRLM, and not a dialect of any of the other neighbouring languages, such as LNC or the Darling Tributaries language (Gamilaraay etc.). For this reason we spell the name of this language variety using the contemporary HRLM orthography as "Kayawaykal".

Our analysis also suggests that the location given by Fison and Howitt for Kayawaykal is probably more accurate than that propounded by Tindale.[122] Apart from the data in the Scone police list, there is other evidence (e.g. MacDonald 1878) that the language of the upper Hunter River, from Aberdeen northwards, was a dialect related to Gamilaraay. If the speakers of Kayawaykal were indeed based in an area centred on Glendon (near Singleton), this means that their country overlaps with that of the Wanarruwa. This may imply that the Kayawaykal were a subset of Wanarruwa. If not, further research is needed to disambiguate the extent of their respective territories.

Grouping of the dialects of HRLM

There are so few data available for Wanarruwa, Karikal and Kayawaykal that any suggestions about their relationship to each other and to Awabakal must be very speculative. We have noted above that it's unclear whether Kayawaykal is distinct from Wanarruwa or a subdialect of Wanarruwa. In either case, it seems likely that these two dialects had more in common with each other than with Awabakal. One sociolinguistic indicator is that both dialects used section names related to those of the surrounding languages, such as Gamilaraay and Darrkinyung, whereas Awabakal did not. There is no evidence either way in the case of Karikal, although we can at least say that section names do not occur in the small Karikal corpus.[123]

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117. As spelt in the orthography developed by Lissarrague for this language. See Lissarrague (2006a: 38).

118. In HRLM, /maRamay/ (our reconstruction) is "a sacred object, crystal", and /kuratji/ is a "native doctor, clever man" (Lissarrague 2006b: 120).

119. In the orthography presently in use for LNC, this suffix would be spelt as -*gal*. Its meaning is probably similar to that of -*kal* in HRLM. But in LNC, as far as we can tell at the present stage of reconstruction, it is only used in the naming of groups of people, e.g. *gamay-biyn-gal*, "(the people) associated with spears (*or* a clump of spear-trees *or* [the place known as] "Spears" [etc.])". (cf. Lissarrague 2005: 9, 28. A number of other occurrences can be found, e.g. in Enright 1900: 104; Elkin 1932: 360.) In HRLM the use of the suffix -*kal* seems to be wider, and it looks rather more like an associative suffix. (See the discussion below, under "Etymology of the language names".)

120. It's unclear why Rusden recorded only two names for the "class divisions", where the neighbouring languages that use cognate terms have four. (There are usually four terms for males, and four corresponding terms for females.) Rusden himself admits that he could "not recollect all their class divisions" (Fison & Howitt 1880: 280), so it seems more likely to be a result of the recorder's faulty memory than a reduction of the four "section" terms to two.

121. Apparently the Guringay had a somewhat modified form of the "Kamilaroi" section system. "Most of the Gringai were named Kumbo, but there were some Ipai, Kubbi and Murri among them" (Howitt 1904: 266). Howitt goes on to observe what he regards as a "complete breaking down of the old Kamilaroi system" among the Gringai (1904: 267). An alternative possibility is that it was a different system, but used the same names for the "marriage classes". The northern dialect of the Lower North Coast language (Birrbay) also used section names, but these are cognate with the section names in Gumbaynggirr (Howitt 1904: 105; Radcliffe-Brown 1929: 400; Muurrbay 2001: 158–9), Dhanggati (Lissarrague 2000: 188, 195, 201, 203) and Anaywan (Crowley n.d.: 23).

122. Tindale's location for Geawegal is reflected also in the maps by the Central Mapping Authority (1987), Horton (1996), and Brayshaw (1986: 39).

123. It is remotely possible that the speakers of the eastern dialect of HRLM (Awabakal) used section names that were

Karikal was spoken in an area immediately adjacent to (and to the south of) Awabakal, with no major geographical obstacles separating them, so it seems likely that they would have more in common with each other than either would have with the other dialects. Karikal shows, as Capell (1970: 25) has demonstrated, a considerable degree of lexical influence from Darrkinyung and the Sydney language.

The little evidence available about Kayawaykal suggests that it was spoken inland, at some distance from the coastal areas associated with Awabakal and Karikal. Wanarruwa was also an inland dialect, probably spoken to the immediate west of Awabakal (and possibly of Karikal as well).

The Wanarruwa sources give "kurry" (Fawcett 1898b: 181) and "kurri" (Miller 1887: 356) as the word for "(Aboriginal) man". Lissarrague (2006b: 120) reconstructs this word as *kari*, whereas it is *kuri* in Awabakal. It would be tempting to see Threlkeld's "Karr,ee" (in the title of the undated manuscript attributed to him) as yet another spelling of the word for "man". But this is very unlikely to be the case, since the word Threlkeld gives for "blackfellow" in the manuscript in question is "kooree". (As we have suggested above, Threlkeld's "Karr,ee" is more likely to be the word for "no" in Karikal.) In other words, if *kari* is indeed the word for "man" in the Wanarruwa dialect, it contrasts with *kuri* in both Awabakal and Karikal.

A priori, some influence from Darrkinyung could be expected in Wanarruwa, since they shared a long, common boundary. But it would be unsurprising if Wanarruwa showed less influence from the Sydney language than Karikal.

We suggest that the dialects of HRLM were probably divided into two major groups: the coastal dialects and the inland dialects. Of the four dialects about which information is available today, it appears that there were two coastal dialects, here called Awabakal and Karikal, and two inland dialects, here called Wanarruwa and Kayawaykal. It's possible that the closest relationship between coastal and inland dialects was between Karikal and Wanarruwa, since their speakers were "friends and allies" (Smith 2004: 146).

6.2 Lower North Coast Language
6.2.1.1 Gadhang (Taree dialect)
6.2.1.2 Warrimay
6.2.1.3 Guringay (Gringai)
6.2.2 Birrbay

Earlier surveys have generally identified two or three varieties of the Lower North Coast language. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966: 49) recognise Warrimay and Birrbay, with Gadhang as a subvariety (or perhaps alternative name) of Warrimay. Oates (1975: 204) and Dixon (2002: xxxiv) both recognise Gadhang, Warrimay and Birrbay. We propose that this language had another dialect as well, which is sometimes called "Gringai". We spell this name as "Guringay". We note that the term "Gadhang" has been used with a number of different meanings (see below). At the present time it seems most appropriate to use it in reference to the Taree dialect.

Ethnolinguistically these four dialects fall into two groups: the northern dialect (Birrbay); and the southern dialects (Gadhang, Warrimay and Guringay). This is clear from the work of Enright. On the basis of speaker testimony, he divided the Lower North Coast language into "Birripai" and "Kattang". He applied the former term to the variety spoken north of the Manning, and the latter to all those varieties spoken south of the Manning (1932a: 76; 1932b: 102). He observed also that the "Birripai" speakers "had class divisions for marriage purposes, but the Kattang speaking people had no such divisions". He noted "a very striking similarity" between these section names and those of the Gumbaynggirr to the north (Enright 1932b: 102).[124] We are not aware of any research

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simply never recorded by the people who wrote down the language (such as Threlkeld). But there is such a (relative) abundance of material in this dialect that the absence from it of any information about section names seems a likely indication that they were not used. In the case of the Central Coast dialect (Karikal), the data are too thin for us to be able to draw such a conclusion with any confidence. We also know (Smith 2004: 146) that the Wanarruwa and Karikal held joint ceremonies. This makes it more likely that the Karikal would have used section names.

124. We note that these names are also the same, or cognate, in Dhanggati and Anaywan. It is necessary to qualify Enright's statement by observing that the speakers of Guringay also had names for the "marriage classes" (Howitt 1904:

that has examined the linguistic grounds for this classification of the dialects of the Lower North Coast language. So we present it here as a hypothesis that merits further investigation.

6.2.2 Birrbay

The Birrbay heartland appears to have been the region around the Hastings River, since the sources of language material designated as Birrbay generally give this as the location where the data were collected. For example, Curr refers to the material contributed by John Branch (1887: vol. 3, list 186; 338–50 "Additional Words") as "the Bripi or Port Macquarie tongue" (1887: 339).[125] And the language material provided in an 1898 article by Brown is called "Birripi of the Hastings and Wilson Rivers".[126] The information in Enright (1932b: 102; 1932a: 76) and the other writers just cited permits a deduction that Birrbay extended from the Manning north to the Hastings and Wilson rivers, towards the Macleay. The western extent of this dialect is unspecified. [127]

6.2.1.1 Gadhang (Taree dialect)

The referent of the term "Birrbay" is comparatively unambiguous. The same cannot be said of the name "Gadhang". We have found this term, variously spelt, used in four different ways. We list them as follows:

1. as a superordinate name for the whole Lower North Coast language (Enright 1923: 267; Elkin 1932: 359; Holmer 1966: 1; Crowley 1997: 285 and passim)
2. as a superordinate name for the southern dialects of LNC; that is, those south of the Manning (Enright 1932b: 102; Holmer 1996: 1)
3. as a name for the language of "the tribes lying between Port Stephens, West Maitland and Paterson" (Enright 1900: 104)
4. as a name for the Taree dialect (Holmer 1966: 2).

There is no way of determining at the present point in time which of these usages is a better reflection of the term's original referent. It's even possible that the name "Gadhang" has always contained at least some of these ambiguities. The use of language names that have shifting referents depending on the sociolinguistic context is not unfamiliar in Australia (cf. Sutton 1991: 57).

One way of achieving some degree of onomastic disambiguation would be to specify which meaning is to be understood each time the name "Gadhang" is used. But clearly this would be very cumbersome. Instead we propose, as mentioned above, that the term be used only in reference to the Taree dialect.

Our rationale for the latter suggestion is that Holmer's informants appear not only to associate this dialect with Taree, but also to distinguish it from both the Port Stephens dialect (Warrimay) and the "Gloucester dialect" (Birrbay) (Holmer 1966: 1–2). Moreover, it seems clear from the work

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266–7; cf. 315–16). But in this case the section names were cognate with those used by the speakers of Gamilaraay, Wanarruwa, and Darrkinyung.

125. Tindale notes that some of Branch's data relate to the adjoining "Ngaku" tribe (that is, Dhanggati).

126. Brown's data were collected from an informant from Mortons Creek, near Wauchope (on a tributary of the Hastings). The vocabulary collected by Kemp (1899) is called "Roland Plains, Wilson River, N.S.W.", but does not use the name Birrbay.

127. The Horton / AIATSIS map (1996) shows Birrbay country extending as far south as the Myall Lakes. Enright had said that the "Birrimbai" occupied an area "in the neighbourhood of Bungwall [Bungwahl] Flat" (1900: 104), that is, on the Myall Lakes. While it is true that Holmer gives "Birrimbai" as one of the alternative names for Birrbay (1966: 1), Enright himself does not make a connection between his "Birrimbai" of 1900 and the "Birripai" of his article of 1932. Horton may, of course, have had evidence unknown to us. But in the light of the evidence we have, we treat with caution the notion that Birrbay reached so far south. Holmer (1966: 1) regards Birrbay as the dialect spoken around Gloucester. This information appears to have been provided by his informants at Taree, and concurs with (part of) Tindale's (1974: 192) account of the location of Birrbay. However that may be, we propose to treat Birrbay as the most northerly dialect of the Lower North Coast language, with a heartland around the Hastings and Wilson rivers and their tributaries. This dialect may have been spoken in a larger area, possibly extending as far to the south-west as Gloucester, or even further to the south, as far as the Myall Lakes, but our view is that more evidence is needed to make a case for this.

of Enright that the Birrbay speakers did not regard the term Gadhang as applicable to themselves (cf. Enright 1932b: 102). And, while it's possible that the speakers of the Port Stephens dialect may once have recognised the term Gadhang as applying to their language, their contemporary descendants are more definitely identified with the name Warrimay.

In other words, speakers of other dialects of LNC identify more closely with other names. This leaves the name "Gadhang" more or less uncontested as the only Indigenous name appropriate for the Taree dialect, even though it may once have had a broader set of referents. We note that Taree people often spell the dialect name as "Kattang".[128]

In contexts where Gadhang has been used as a superordinate name for the whole language we propose to use the term "Lower North Coast language" (LNC). And in contexts where Gadhang has been used as a superordinate name for the whole group of dialects from Paterson to Port Stephens to the Manning, we propose to use the term "southern dialect group of LNC".

6.2.1.2 Warrimay

In 1887 John Branch glossed the term "Worimi" as "language and country near Maitland" (1887: 349). This is possibly the first printed usage of the name that we spell here as "Warrimay". In later publications, spanning a period of more than 30 years, Enright used the same name (variously spelt) in a number of different ways—as we have seen he also did this with the name Gadhang. In 1900 he wrote of the "Warrimee" and "Kutthung" as being just two among eight "tribes" inhabiting the area "between Port Stephens, West Maitland and Paterson" (1900: 104). He later came to believe that the various local groups he had named in his article of 1900 "were but hordes of the Kattang-speaking tribe called the Worimi" (1932a: 75).

In other words, both Gadhang and Warrimay started out, in Enright's writing, as the names of particular local groups. But Gadhang became a superordinate term for all the southern dialects of LNC, and Warrimay became the name of the whole "tribe" speaking those dialects.

In the 1960s Holmer's informants treated Warrimay as the name of a dialect; specifically, the dialect associated with Port Stephens (Holmer 1966: 1–2). This is not unlike Enright's original use of the term. In his 1900 article, Enright (1900: 104) regarded the name Warrimay as referring to a "tribe" which lived "between Telegherry Creek, Port Stephens, the Sea Shore and the Hunter River". The reference to Telegherry (today, "Tiligerry") Creek suggests that this group inhabited the southern shore of Port Stephens.

At this point in time it's impossible to know whether Enright's earlier or later usage is more accurate. What we can say, however, is that there seems to be no disagreement that the area around the southern shore of Port Stephens, perhaps extending west towards Maitland, was the heartland of the people who called themselves Warrimay. Moreover, we can extrapolate from Enright and Holmer that these people spoke a dialect regarded, ethnolinguistically, as distinct from other southern dialects of LNC, such as Gadhang (the Taree dialect). The convention at the present time is to call this dialect Warrimay, and we see no good reason to do otherwise.

6.2.1.3 Guringay (Gringai)

"Guringay" (Gringai) is a language name that rarely appears on today's maps or lists of Indigenous languages of NSW, although it is used quite frequently in the early records. Enright doesn't mention the Gringai in his 1900 article, but they do appear in his articles of 1901, 1932a and 1933. The name is also recorded in Howitt (1904: 85, 266–7 and passim) and in Scott's *The Port Stephen's Blacks* (first published in 1929, but written much earlier[129]). According to Scott, who was born at the Australian Agricultural Company's holdings at Carrington (Port Stephens) in 1844 and spent 29 years there, the Gringai were "a sub-branch of numerous native people that once inhabited the lower portions of the Hunter and Karuah River valleys" (1929: 1). A comparison of Scott's Gringai vocabulary (1929: 44–50) with Holmer's data on the Taree dialect (1966, 1967) leaves no doubt that the two bodies of linguistic material pertain to the same language.

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128. Holmer (1967: 11) wrote that "the Kattang are often referred to as the 'Shark tribe', which according to FB [Fred Bugg] inhabited the country between Telegraph Point or Port Macquarie and the Hawkesbury River".

129. Scott left Port Stephens in 1873, but compiled his language information before that date.

Enright notes that "Scott is the only one who applies that name [Gringai] to the aborigines of Port Stephens or its neighbourhood" (1932a: 76). In support of an alternative view, he cites the opinion of Howitt and Fraser that the name Gringai applies to the Aborigines of "the district around Dungog" (1932a: 76; 1933: 161).

Howitt's accounts are as follows: "the name Gringai may be used . . . for those blacks living in that part of the country lying about Dungog" (1904: 85); "the Gringai tribe . . . inhabited country on the Hunter River" (1904: 570); and "the tribe which inhabited the country about Dungog . . . appears to be part of the great group to which the Gringai belong" (1904: 574. This "great group" is presumably the Lower North Coast language as a whole). Enright (1901: 80) himself says that the habitat of the Gringai was "the district about Paterson".

Presumably Enright's reason for believing that Scott applied the name Gringai to the Aborigines of Port Stephens is that Scott, or his editor, Gordon Bennett, entitled his book *The Port Stephen's Blacks*. Moreover, one might be tempted to speculate that Scott collected his Gringai vocabulary in the area taken up by the A.A. Company, on the northern and western shores of Port Stephens (see Troy 1994a: xv, map 19)[130], since this is where he lived. But in fact Scott's only reference to the location of the Gringai tells us, as we have seen already, that they were "a sub-branch of numerous native people that once inhabited the lower portions of the Hunter and Karuah River Valleys" (1929: 1).

The Karuah River flows into Port Stephens on its western shore. A short distance to the west is the Williams River, on which Dungog lies. As short distance further still is the Paterson River, on which Paterson lies. The Williams and Paterson are both tributaries of the Hunter River.[131] In other words, the various reports of the location of the Guringay are not quite as contradictory as it may first appear. If we assume that the Guringay occupied an area from the Karuah to the Paterson, this covers all the locations mentioned in the early reports, including Port Stephens, or at least its western reaches, and Dungog.

We have mentioned above that the Allyn River vocabulary appears to contain material from a variety of the Lower North Coast language. Since the Allyn River is a tributary of the Paterson, between the Paterson and Williams rivers, we suggest that the dialect to which this vocabulary pertains is most probably Guringay.

It seems likely that the Guringay's neighbours to the west were the Kayawaykal, and that they met somewhere between the Paterson River and Glendon Brook. It's unclear whether the Guringay occupied land on the Hunter River itself.

Grouping of the dialects of LNC

What we have done above is argue that the Lower North Coast language probably had four major dialects: the Hastings dialect (Birrbay), the Taree dialect (Gadhang), the Port Stephens dialect (War-rimay) and the Karuah–Paterson dialect (Guringay). Research into LNC dialectology is not suf-ficiently advanced at this point in time to say anything with certainty about the linguistic rela-tionship of these dialects to each other. But from an ethnolinguistic perspective, we can make a number of extrapolations.

Enright's later articles (1932a, 1932b, 1933) make it fairly clear that the speakers of these dialects divided them into two major groups: the northern dialect, Birrbay; and the southern dialect, which included the rest. Of the southern varieties, Enright's informants distinguished between a coastal dialect (here called Warrimay) and one or more inland varieties. "William Manton, of Karuah, informed us that Kattang with a different twang was spoken at Dungog. Howitt and Fraser refer to the people of that district as the 'Gringai'. Manton called them Nangongan, which means from the back of the hill. We were also informed that Kattang was spoken at the Bowman, which lies west of Gloucester" (1933: 161).

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130. It is worth noting in passing that the A.A.'s holdings on Port Stephens were the place where, according to Troy, NSW Pidgin was consolidated in the years 1825–30. See Troy (1994a, ch. 4).

131. We observe that Lang (1834) recorded names, presumably both in the Guringay dialect of LNC, for these two rivers. The name he gives for the Williams is *Dooribang*, and for the Paterson *Yimmang* (Albrecht 2000: 9; Albrecht 2003: 4).

Since we have a couple of linguistic sources related to Guringay, we treat Guringay as the main southern inland dialect. If Holmer's informants were correct, the variety spoken at Gloucester was Birrbay (Holmer 1966: 1–2). But since Gloucester lies south of the Manning, this conflicts with the view of Enright's informants, who believed that Birrbay was only spoken to the north of the Manning (Enright 1932a: 76). We have been able to trace one source ("Kyoorie" 1914) that relates to the variety spoken at Gloucester, and the data it contains are inconclusive in this regard.

The language material in this brief article consists largely of placenames. Many of them are recognisably derived from morphemes that are common in the Lower North Coast language. There is one striking difference, in that morphemes that would end in a nasal in most LNC sources are transcribed with a final stop of the same point of articulation. For example, the name of the mountains called "the Gloucester Buckets" appears to incorporate a variant form of LNC *bagan* "stone", "iron"; and the place name "Koorabakh" appears likewise to be a variant of LNC *gurabang* "bloodwood tree" (cf. "Kyoorie" 1914: 141). There are numbers of other examples.[132]

This could conceivably reflect idiosyncratic transcription on the part of the people who first wrote down the placenames. But the alternation between word-final nasals and stops is attested in a number of common nouns in the LNC word-list in Part B (see "eye", "hair", "head", "nose" and "skin", to take just the examples in "body parts").[133] The evidence suggests that it is a genuine variation, involving all the nasals that occur word-finally (alveolar, laminal and velar). More research would be needed to determine whether it is dialectal, and we have no evidence at this point that it was restricted to the Gloucester region. It's possible that the relevant nasals and stops are interchangeable at the end of at least some words, in all dialects.

It's unclear whether the variety spoken at Taree (Gadhang) is a "traditional" dialect or, as Holmer believed, a "mixture of languages and dialects" resulting from "the fusion of people originally belonging to different tribes and languages, but living on the same reserve" (1966: 2). However that may be, it seems likely that the Taree dialect, having developed in a boundary area between the northern and southern dialects, would show some of the characteristics of both. We nonetheless include it with the southern dialects, on the grounds that the name Holmer's informants give it, "Gadhang", appears to be ethnolinguistically distinguished from the northern dialect, Birrbay.

Phonology and orthography of the language names

In the orthography developed for HRLM by Lissarrague (2006b), all the stops are represented by the voiceless series. This means that, if it were used to spell the dialect names of HRLM, "Awabakal" would become "Awapakal" and "Kuringgai" would become "Kuringkay". These forms run so counter to common usage that they are unlikely to be widely accepted.[134] So we have not changed the spelling of these two names (although, as mentioned already, we use the term "Karikal" in preference to "Kuringgai"). However, we have provided phonemicised spellings of "Karikal", "Kay-awaykal" and "Wanarruwa". The spelling of the latter is based on Lissarrague's premise (Lissarrague 2006b) that HRLM roots can't end in a continuant, and that -*uwa* is the perlative case suffix following laterals and rhotics.

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132. It is worth mentioning in particular the numerous placenames ending in the suffix "-bark" or "-bakh", and what Fitzpatrick (1914: 58) calls its "plural" form, "-bit" or "-beet". These morphemes alternate with the forms -*bang* and -*biyn*. Both "singular" and "plural" forms are used in the formation of placenames associated with trees, the former with single trees (as, for example, "Kookumbakh", from *gugang* "fig-tree" + -*bang*) and the latter with clumps of trees (as, for example, "Kirripit", probably from *girrii* "spotted gum" + -*biyn*). We note as well a possible connection of -*biyn* with the Western Bundjalung suffix -*bihyn* "place of", "place where something is or happens" (Sharpe 1995: 12), and with the Gumbaynggirr suffix -*biin*, plural "all" (Muurrbay 2001: 26). The reconstructed forms of the two variant suffixes ending in stops would probably be -*bag* and -*bidh* in the orthography we use for LNC.

133. These examples all involve an alternation between velar nasals and stops, which appears to be the most common of the three types of nasal/stop variants. But see also the source forms for "elder sister" and "old", which may imply an alternation between alveolar nasals and stops, and for "kangaroo" and "rain", which probably imply an alternation between laminal nasals and stops.

134. And it would seem odd to create phonemic spellings for Awabakal and Kuringgai, since these are names invented by John Fraser, not names used by the speakers of the languages they referred to.

Lissarrague has also developed an orthography for LNC, used in the LNC word-list included in the present work (and in Lissarrague 2005 and 2006a), and here, by contrast with HRLM, all the stops are represented by the voiced series. There is such wide variation in the spelling of the names associated with the Lower North Coast language that no previous spelling has established itself as the standard. So we have attempted our own versions, based on some tentative phonological reconstructions. In the case of our use of the spelling "Gadhang" we have used Holmer's interpretation of the phonology (1967: 11), based on the pronunciation of his informant Fred Bugg, who spoke this dialect.[135] This is supported by the earliest spelling of the name, by Enright, as "Kutthung" (1900: 104 and passim).[136]

In the case of "Birrbay", Enright spelt this dialect name as "Birripai" in 1932 (1932a: 75; 1932b: 102), and Holmer spelt it as "biḷbai (biṛbai . . .)" in 1967 (1967: 3). Holmer and/or his informant were evidently unclear about the pronunciation of the second consonant. Lissarrague has analysed Holmer's orthographic conventions, on the basis of comparison with other LNC sources (such as Enright) and cognates in closely related languages (such as HRLM and Dhanggati). She believes that Holmer's ṛ+C~ḷ+C represents an underlying tap or trill. So we propose a reconstruction of this dialect name as "Birrbay".[137]

The dialect we call "Guringay" has generally been spelt as "Gringai" in the earlier literature. Our rendering avoids one of the ambiguities in the earlier spelling by making it clear that there is no velar stop after the velar nasal, and thus plainly distinguishes this name from that of the HRLM dialect Kuringgai.[138] The other ambiguity is the quality of the rhotic. We treat the rhotic as a continuant, based on our hypothesis that this dialect name may turn out to be semantically and morphologically analysable as *guri* "man", and *-ngay* comitative suffix.

In both these cases there remains the question of whether the dialect names end in /ay/ or /ayi/. Holmer does not recognise such a phonological distinction, although it appears that both are possible. More research into the morpho-phonology of the Lower North Coast language may throw light on this matter.

We have left "Warrimay" till last as it is the most difficult of the LNC dialect names to reconstruct.

There is a fair degree of variation in the usage of contemporary Aboriginal people and in recordings of the last fluent native speaker, particularly in relation to the final vowel.

Enright maintained a consistency in his representation of this dialect name over more than 30 years. He spelt it as "Warrimee" in 1900 (1900: 104) and in 1932 (1932b: 102). His use of the alternative spelling "Worimi" in 1932 and 1933 (1932a: 75; 1933: 161) appears to have been under the influence of Elkin and Radcliffe-Brown, which presumably means that it was meant to be more "scientific". Both spellings are probably intended to represent a final vowel that would be written, in a more contemporary orthography, as *i*.

But there is good evidence in Holmer for a different interpretation of the phonology. Holmer's informant Fred Bugg pronounced this dialect name as *warimai* (Holmer 1967: 23). Holmer notes that "the diphthong ai" has a fronted pronunciation which makes it "indistinguishable from ei, which may further become e:" (1966: 23). So it seems at least plausible that this dialect name may indeed have ended in /ay/ (or /ayi/), pronounced in such a way that an early recorder, such as Enright, might hear it as the high front vowel.

As for the rhotic: according to Holmer's orthographic conventions, his spelling of the name

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135. Holmer elsewhere lists five informants. His main informant was Eddie Lobban, who articulates the pronunciation "Gadhang" several times in Holmer's recordings.

136. Enright later changed this to "Kattang", under the influence of Radcliffe-Brown and Elkin (1932a: 75). The allophonic variation between dental and palatal pronunciations of the second consonant are reflected in the spellings "Gadhang" (as here) and "Gadjang" (as in, e.g., Crowley 1997: 285 and passim). We note also that Laves (1929–32) wrote the language name as "Gadang", which indicates that he did not hear the second consonant as a laminal stop.

137. This accords also with the usage of Crowley, who spells the name as "Birrbay" (1997: 285), and with Breen's (1997: 84) generalisation about rhotics in the languages of NSW: "clusters of rrC are permitted but clusters of rC are not".

138. Our belief that there is no velar stop after the velar nasal is based on the pronunciation of contemporary Aboriginal people. Haslam spells the name as "Gringhai" in his unpublished notes, which seems to be intended to represent the same pronunciation. (See the Haslam manuscripts 1977–87, A6709[iv], e.g. 6/11/80.)

as *warimai* means that the rhotic is "alveolar" (1966: 13–14). These various considerations suggest that the representation of the dialect name as "Warrimay" (cf. Crowley 1997: 285) may be the most viable reconstruction of the original pronunciation that is likely to be achieved, at least in the present state of knowledge of the Lower North Coast language. The most probable alternative would be "Warrimi".

Etymology of the language names

The suffix *-kal* occurs several times in the names of the HRLM dialects, specifically, in the names "Awabakal", "Kayawaykal" and "Karikal". Many Aboriginal languages have a suffix of this kind, which is used in the formation of ethnonyms and language names, and sometimes called a "gentilic". Often its usage is wider than that of a gentilic, since it can be applied also to animals associated with a particular tract or type of land (Dixon 2002: 77). In this case it means something like "denizen of". The semantic range of *-kal* appears to be wider again, since it is not used only in reference to ethnic or geographical affiliation, and functions more like the associative suffix in other Australian languages. According to McGregor (2004: 150), the associative suffix means "characterised by, closely associated with the thing, activity, place, or whatever denoted by the root".[139]

Awaba is said by Fraser (1892: v) to be the name of Lake Macquarie[140], so "Awabakal" would mean "[the language of] the people from Lake Macquarie".

Kayaway is one of several negative particles ("no", "not") in HRLM (Lissarrague 2006b: 117, 155). So "Kayawaykal" means "[the language of] the people who say *kayaway* to mean 'no'".

We have argued above that the *kari* in "Karikal" possibly also means "no", and is used as part of the dialect name as a way of distinguishing it from the dialect (or dialects) where the word for "no" is *kayaway*.

According to Kohen (1993: 14), John Fraser's invented name "Kuringgai" adds the Dharug genitive suffix *-nggay* (Mathews 1901; cf. Troy 1994b: 28) to the Awabakal word *kuri*. Presumably this is supposed to mean "[the language of] the people who say *kuri* to mean 'man'".

The suffix *-uwa* in the name "Wanarruwa" indicates the perlative case ("through", "across", "along"). But we are unable to provide a meaning for this name, since there is there is no lexeme in the data that corresponds definitely to *wanarr*.[141]

We have not encountered any etymologies for the names "Birrbay", "Gadhang" and "Warrimay".

We have suggested above that the name "Guringay" may consist of the morphemes *guri* "man" and *-ngay*, comitative suffix. We observe that the Guringay were neighbours of the Wanarruwa, and the Wanarruwa word for "man" may have been *kari*. It is possible that the name "Guringay" has come about as a result of focusing on this difference.

The morpheme *-ngay* (*~-gay*), as far as we can determine at the present stage of reconstruction of the Lower North Coast language, was used as the final component of comitative pronouns, but not as a nominal suffix. Still, we know that in the closely related Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language, "proper nouns, and (in accusative and comitative) human nouns . . . share the same inflectional morphology" as pronouns (Lissarrague 2006b: 39). Lissarrague's examples of this phenomenon include in fact an example of the word for "man" (*kuri*) with the "pronominal" comitative suffix *-katuwa* (2006b: 44, example sentence 101).

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139. Threlkeld gave the example of the neologism used for "peach", *tjira-kal*, which consists of *tjira*, "teeth"+ *-kal*. He bases his explanation of the etymology of this word on the fact that a peach sets the teeth on edge (quoted in Lissarrague 2006b: 63).

140. Unfortunately Fraser does not provide a source for this name. Threlkeld himself, as mentioned above, recorded the name for Lake Macquarie as "Nik-kin-ba", from *nikkin* "coal", and *-ba* "place of" (quoted in Gunson 1974, 2: 64; cf. Threlkeld 1834: 83). As noted already, Gunson (1974, 1: 151) includes a map from 1841 by Proctor that contains the name "Awaba or Lake Macquarie".

141. Haslam, in his unpublished notes, interprets the dialect name to mean "people or place of the hills and plains" (file no. A7758[v].). The morpheme *wanarr* could conceivably mean "hills" or "plains", or something that links the two concepts, such as "undulating country". Certainly *wanarr* is likely to be a geographical term of some kind, since the most common use of the perlative case is with geographical referents.

So it seems plausible that the Lower North Coast language may have used the comitative suffix *-ngay* in the same way. If this is the case, the name "Guringay" would mean "belonging to the [people who call themselves] *kuri*".

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Maps are listed separately at the end of the list of references

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PART A • A GUIDE TO THE LANGUAGES OF NSW AND THE ACT

6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

6.1.1.1 Awabakal

Name and classification	
Name on Tindale map	Awabakal.
Name on Horton/AIATSIS map	Awabakal.
Name on CMA map	Awabakal.
AIATSIS classification and name	S66 Awabakal.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	S.066 Awabakal.
NLA/LC subject heading	Awabakal language.
Alternative names	*ILDB/OZBIB*: Awaba, Awabagal, Awabakal, Kuri, Kuringgai, "Lake Macquarie, Minyowa, Minyowie, Newcastle" tribe.
	Tindale: Awaba (place name of Lake Macquarie), Awabagal, "Lake Macquarie, Newcastle" tribe, Kuringgai . . . , Minyowa (horde at Newcastle), Minyowie, Kuri (general term meaning "man" in several tribes north of and around Sydney).
Capell classification and name	S.1 Awabagal.
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	U. Yuin-Kuric Group, b. Kuri Subgroup, 2.: Awabakal (Awabagal etc.) (listed under Wanarua as the reference dialect), p. 49.
Oates classification and name	89.2B Awabakal (under Kuri Subgroup of Yuin-Kuric Group), p. 203.
Dixon classification and name	CENTRAL NEW SOUTH WALES GROUP [N], Awabagal/Gadjang subgroup [Na*], Na1 Awabagal, p. xxxiv.

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Anonymous 1980; Austin 1997; Broughton 1892; Carey 2004; Department of Education 1984; FATSIL 2005; Fraser 1892a; Fraser 1892b; Gunson 1974; Hale 1846; Haslam 1977–87; Heath 1982; Lissarrague 2006; Maynard 1999; Maynard 2004; Müller 1876–82; Murray 1986; Oppliger 1984; Ridley 1873; Threlkeld 1825; Threlkeld 1826; Threlkeld 1827; Threlkeld 1828; Threlkeld 1831; Threlkeld 1834; Threlkeld 1836; Threlkeld 1836–37; Threlkeld 1837; Threlkeld 1839; Threlkeld 1850; Threlkeld 1858; Threlkeld 1873; Threlkeld 1892a; Threlkeld 1892b; Threlkeld 1902; University of Newcastle n.d.

Tindale references (see Appendix 2)
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6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

6.1.1.2 Karikal (Kuringgai)

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	Not included on map. For "Kuringgai", Tindale's preferred term is "Awabakal" (1974: 286).
Name on Horton / AIATSIS map	Kuringgai (located on the coast on either side of Broken Bay).
Name on CMA map	Guringai (but located between Broken Bay and Botany Bay).
AIATSIS classification and name	S62 Ku-ring-gai / Gameraigal.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	S.062 Ku-ring-gai / Gameraigal.
NLA / LC subject heading	No reference.
Alternative names	*ILDB/OZBIB*: Cameragal, Cammaragal, Cammerraygal, Gamaraigal, Kameraigal, Turruwul.
Capell classification and name	No reference.
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	No reference.
Oates classification and name	89.2c* Guringgay (under 89.c. Kuri Subgroup of Yuin-Kuric Group), p. 203.
Dixon classification and name	"Cameeragal" given as a dialect of Awabagal. Central New South Wales Group [N], Awabagal / Gadjang subgroup [Na*], Na1, p. xxxiv.

Bibliography

Capell 1970; Kohen 1993; Kohen 1995; Larmer 1898; Lissarrague 2006; Mann n.d.; Threlkeld n.d.

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6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

6.1.2.1 Wanarruwa

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	Wonnarua.
Name on Horton / AIATSIS map	Wonarua.
Name on CMA map	Wanaruah.
AIATSIS classification and name	S63 Wonnarua / Wanaruah.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	S.063 Wonnarua.
NLA / LC subject heading	No reference.
Alternative names	*OZBIB (from ILDB)*: Wanarua, Wanaruah, Wannah-Ruah, Wannarawa, Wannerawa, Wonarua, Wonnah Kuah, Wonnah-Ruah, Wonnarua, Wonnuaruah.
	Tindale: Wonnuaruah, Wannerawa, Wonarua, Wonnah Kuah (typographical error).
Capell classification and name	S.68, Wonarua.
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	U. Yuin-Kuric Group, b. Kuri Subgroup, 2.: Wanarua (reference dialect), p. 49.
Oates classification and name	89.2a, Wanarua (under 89.c. Kuri Subgroup of Yuin-Kuric Group), p. 203.
Dixon classification and name	Central New South Wales Group (N), Awabagal / Gadjang subgroup (Na*), Na1 Wonarua (listed as a "further dialect" of Awabagal), p. xxxiv.

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Department of Education 1984; Fawcett 1898a; Fawcett 1898b; Haslam 1977–87; Lissarrague 2006; Miller 1887; Needham 1981.

Tindale references (see Appendix 2)
Miller in Curr 1887; Mathews 1897 (Gr. 6430), 1898 (Gr. 6468); Fawcett 1898; Science of Man 1899; Enright 1901; Tindale 1940.

6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

6.1.2.2 Kayawaykal (Geawegal)

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	Geawegal.
Name on Horton / AIATSIS map	Geawegal.
Name on CMA map	Geawegal.
AIATSIS classification and name	E1 Geawegal (the bibliographic entries indicate a confusion between Geawegal of the Hunter River and Gweagal of Botany Bay).
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	E.001 Geawegal.
NLA / LC subject heading	No reference.
Alternative names	*Tindale*: Keawaikal, ['keawai] = no, Keawekal, Geawagal, Geawe-gal, Garewagal (not Gweagal, a horde of the Eora between Botany Bay and Port Jackson).
Capell classification and name	E.27. Geawegal. According to Capell, "no information is available, but the language is probably part of the Gadhang group".
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	AA. Wiradjuric Group, a. Main Subgroup 1. Geawegal given as a dialect of Wiradjuri, p. 51. [This is incorrect.]
Oates classification and name	Listed in brackets according to the same classification as in O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin, i.e. G. Wiradjuric Group, a. Main Wiradjuric Subgroup, 97.1b Gwiyagal (p. 220) but is cross-referenced to 88.2c* (p. 199), which is the Botany Bay "horde" mentioned above by Tindale.
Dixon classification and name	No reference to Geawegal.

Bibliography

Fison & Howitt 1880; Lissarrague 2006; Schoer 1995.

Tindale references (see Appendix 2)

Peron 1807; Threlkeld 1834; Hale 1845; McDonald in Ridley 1878; Rusden in Fison & Howitt 1880; Rankin 1901; Howitt 1904; Enright 1937.

Information applicable to all dialects of the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

Present numbers of speakers and their location	0 (ILDB, citing Ethnologue 13th).
People who have worked on the language recently	Amanda Oppliger; Amanda Lissarrague.
Contemporary word-lists	Lissarrague's salvage grammar contains a word-list of HRLM to English (2006: 113–46) and English to HRLM (2006: 147–63) of all the dialects of HRLM in a phonemic practical orthography. Words that come from original lists that are designated as pertaining to the various dialects are specified as such by reference to their source. The Arwarbukarl Cultural Resource Association is developing an Awabakal word-list based on the works of Threlkeld that uses the Association's practical orthography.
Texts	The longest continuous texts in the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language are Threlkeld's translations of the gospels of Luke and Mark. The former was published by John Fraser in 1892. A digital copy is held by the Arwarbukarl Cultural Resource Association, and is closed to public access. The latter has been transcribed by Susan West, and web-published as part of the Awaba Database project, University of Newcastle (see Threlkeld 1837). The URL as at August 2007 is: http://www.newcastle.edu.au/centre/awaba/awaba/group/amrhd/awaba/language/st-mark/index.html.
	Lissarrague's salvage grammar also contains a "database of sentences and phrases" in HRLM (2006: 165–276).
Contemporary grammar or sketch grammar	Amanda Lissarrague, *A salvage grammar and wordlist of the language from the Hunter River & Lake Macquarie* (2006). (The grammatical material occurs on pp. 26–110.)
Language programs	A language revival program is under way at the Arwarbukarl Cultural Resource Association in Newcastle.[142] The Wonnaruah Nation Aboriginal Corporation is in the process of planning a language revival program, and to this end engaged Amanda Lissarrague to produce *A salvage grammar and wordlist of the language from the Hunter River & Lake Macquarie* (2006). An earlier program operated from 1979 to 1984 (Heath 1982; Laughren 2000).
Language learning material	Language learning materials have been developed by the Arwarbukarl Cultural Resource Association. In 2008–09, the Many Rivers Aboriginal Languages Centre intends to design a course in HRLM for adult learners.
Literacy material	None known.

142. See *The Star* (Newcastle and Lake Macquarie), August 13 2003, 5.

6.1 Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

Bibliography for all dialects of the
Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language

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ASEDA files

Folder 0488 Curr Aust Race

File 0488 Austrace 136–204 contains "No. 188: The Hunter River".

6.2 Lower North Coast language

6.2.1.1 Gadhang (Taree dialect)

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	For "Gadang", Tindale's preferred term is "Worimi" (1974: 274).
Name on Horton/AIATSIS map	(Worimi, Biripi.)
Name on CMA map	Gaddhang.
AIATSIS classification and name	E2 Gadang/Kattang/Worimi.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	Given as an alternative for E.002 Worimi.
NLA/LC subject heading	Kattang language.
Alternative names	*OZBIB (from ILDB)*: Bahree, Cottong, Gadang, Gadhang, Gingai, Gooreenggai, Gringai, Guttahn, Karrapath, Katanga, Kathang, Kattang, "Katthung" language, Kittang, Kutthack, Kutthung, Molo, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens tribe, Warimi, Warramie, Warrimee, Watthungk, Wattung, Worimi.
	Tindale: Warrimee, Warramie, Gadang, Kattang (language name), Kutthung, Guttahn, Cottong, Wattung, Watthungk, Kutthack, Gingai, Gringai (a name nominated by Howitt), Gooreenggai, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens [sic] tribe, Molo (? horde), Bahree (? horde), Karrapath (? horde), Carapath, Warrangine (? horde at Maitland), Wannungine. (Other alternative names attributed to Tindale by ILDB:) Buraigal, Gamipingal, Garuagal, Gooreeggai, Goreenggai, Gourenggai, Maiangal, Watthung, Katang-Worimi.
Capell classification and name	E.22 Gadhang.
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	U. Yuin-Kuric Group, b. Kuri Subgroup, 3.: (Gadang is listed as an alternative name or dialect of Worimi), p. 49.
Oates classification and name	89.3a Gadhang (under 89.c. Kuri Subgroup of Yuin-Kuric Group), p. 204.
Dixon classification and name	Central New South Wales Group (N), Awabagal/Gadjang subgroup (Na*), Na2 Gadjang (Kattang). "Further dialects Warimi, Birbay", p. xxxiv.

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6.2.1.2 Warrimay

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	Worimi.
Name on Horton / AIATSIS map	Worimi.
Name on CMA map	Not listed (Gaddhang is shown in the area where Worimi would be expected to be).
AIATSIS classification and name	E2 Gadang / Kattang / Worimi.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	E.002 Worimi.
Other standard names	Warrimay.
NLA / LC subject heading	No reference.
Alternative names	*OZBIB (from ILDB)*: Bahree, Cottong, Gadang, Gadhang, Gingai, Gooreenggai, Gringai, Guttahn, Karrapath, Katanga, Kathang, Kattang, "Katthung" language, Kittang, Kutthack, Kutthung, Molo, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens tribe, Warimi, Warramie, Warrimee, Watthungk, Wattung, Worimi.
	Tindale: Warrimee, Warramie, Gadang, Kattang (language name), Kutthung, Guttahn, Cottong, Wattung, Watthungk, Kutthack, Gingai, Gringai (a name nominated by Howitt), Gooreenggai, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens [sic] tribe, Molo (? horde), Bahree (? horde), Karrapath (? horde), Carapath, Warrangine (? horde at Maitland), Wannungine. (Other alternative names attributed to Tindale by ILDB:) Buraigal, Gamipingal, Garuagal, Gooreeggai, Goreenggai, Gourenggai, Maiangal, Watthung, Katang-Worimi.
Capell classification and name	Capell writes "See Gadhang, E22".
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	U. Yuin-Kuric Group, b. Kuri Subgroup, 3.: Worimi (reference dialect), p. 49.
Oates classification and name	89.3c* Warrimi (under 89.c. Kuri Subgroup of Yuin-Kuric Group, p. 204). "Wurm classifies as a dialect of Gadhang, not an alternative name . . . ", p. 204.
Dixon classification and name	Central New South Wales Group (N), Awabagal / Gadjang subgroup (Na*), Na2. Warimi listed as a further dialect of Gadjang (Kattang), p. xxxiv.

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6.2.1.3 Guringay (Gringai)

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	Tindale's preferred term for "Gringai" is "Worimi" (1974: 276).
Name on Horton / AIATSIS map	No reference.
Name on CMA map	No reference.
AIATSIS classification and name	No reference.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	No reference.
NLA / LC subject heading	No reference.
Alternative names:	*OZBIB (from ILDB)*: Bahree, Cottong, Gadang, Gadhang, Gingai, Gooreenggai, Gringai, Guttahn, Karrapath, Katanga, Kathang, Kattang, "Katthung" language, Kittang, Kutthack, Kutthung, Molo, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens tribe, Warimi, Warramie, Warrimee, Watthungk, Wattung, Worimi.
	Tindale: Warrimee, Warramie, Gadang, Kattang (language name), Kutthung, Guttahn, Cottong, Wattung, Watthungk, Kutthack, Gingai, Gringai (a name nominated by Howitt), Gooreenggai, Port Stephens tribe, Pt. Stevens [sic] tribe, Molo (? horde), Bahree (? horde), Karrapath (? horde), Carapath, Warrangine (? horde at Maitland), Wannungine.
Capell classification and name	No reference.
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	No reference.
Oates classification and name	No reference.
Dixon classification and name	No reference.

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6.2.2 Birrbay

Name and classification

Name on Tindale map	Birpai.
Name on Horton / AIATSIS map	Biripi.
Name on CMA map	Birpai.
AIATSIS classification and name	E3 Birpai, Biripi.
ILDB Standard name and extended AIATSIS number	E.003 Birpai, Biripi.
Other standard names	Birbai, Birrbay.
NLA / LC subject heading	No reference.
Alternative names	*OZBIB (from ILDB)*: Biribi, Birippi, Birpai, Biripi, Birrapee, Birripai, Birripi, Bripi, Brippai, ? Waw-wyper.
	Tindale: Birripai, Birripi, Brippai, Bripi, Birrapee, Birippi, ? Waw-wyper.
Capell classification and name	E.11 Birbai.
O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin classification and name	U. Yuin-Kuric Group, b. Kuri Subgroup, 3.: Birpai (listed under Worimi as the reference dialect), p. 49.
Oates classification and name	89.3b Biribai (under 89.c. Kuri Subgroup of Yuin-Kuric Group), p. 204.
Dixon classification and name	Central New South Wales Group (N), Awabagal / Gadjang subgroup (Na*), Na2 Birbay (listed as a further dialect of Gadjang / Kattang), p. xxxiv.

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Information applicable to all dialects of the Lower North Coast language

Present numbers of speakers and their location	ILDB, citing Ethnologue 13th, says that Kattang/Gadhang is "recently extinct". Capell, writing in 1963, says that "it is possible that an informant [Gadhang] is still available at Purfleet, Taree" (E.24) and that there is "apparently one surviving speaker [Birrbay], James Davis, at Woodenbong Station" (E.11).
People who have worked on the language recently	Nils Holmer; Amanda Lissarrague.
Contemporary word-lists	Lissarrague 2005, 2006 and forthcoming.
Texts	There are texts in Gadhang in Holmer 1967 and Holmer and Holmer 1969. Holmer 1966 also contains many sentences. Eddie Lobban's stories have been transcribed and will be included in the Gadhang grammar and dictionary with Gadhang stories (Lissarrague forthcoming).
Contemporary grammar or sketch grammar	Holmer 1966, Lissarrague 2006 and forthcoming.
Language programs	Several community members are teaching Gadhang in schools and on culture camps. There are plans to establish a language room at Purfleet. Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre (MRALC) is engaged in language revitalisation activities in the language. In 2006–07 language workshops were held in Taree, Port Macquarie, Foster and Newcastle. MRALC has also developed a database in the Toolbox software application and is linking audio files to transcriptions in the Transcriber application. Following the publication of the Gadhang grammar and dictionary (Lissarrague forthcoming), there will be intensive community-based language workshops. See also http://www.muurrbay.org.au/kattang.html.

Yurlungar Enterprises offers an Aboriginal Studies program to schools. This includes a language component taught by Jeremy Saunders. Ralf Saunders has conducted culture camps for boys. The camps also include a language component. (A DVD of one camp has been produced.) |
| Language learning material | In 2008 Muurrbay/MRALC will publish Amanda Lissarrague's *Gadhang grammar and dictionary with Gadhang stories*. (A draft version has already been produced.) This will function as a reference for the production of teaching materials. In 2008–09, MRALC intends to design a course in Gadhang for adult learners.

Keith Kemp has produced a document called "Piirlpayi Pronunciation", which provides a guide to pronunciation of the dialect we here spell as "Birrbay". It has the advantage of including hyperlinked sound bites to illustrate sounds and words. It is based on samples of Gadhang (Kajaang in Kemp's orthography) spoken by Eddie Lobban at Purfleet in 1964. It has not been published and is available only from the author. At the end of the document it lists other relevant material (presumably by the same author): Kajaang Audio Dictionary; Kajaang Pronouns and Verbless Sentences; Stories by Eddie Lobban. Jeremy Saunders has produced a series of booklets for teaching Kattang (see bibliography). |
| Literacy material | Eddie Lobban's stories have been transcribed and will be included in the Kattang grammar and dictionary (Lissarrague forthcoming). |

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ASEDA files

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