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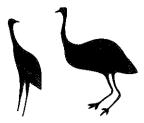
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The cover design carries the text of the opening paragraphs of the Kamilaroi Myth, Emu and Brolga, the subject of the article by Peter Austin and Norman B. Tindale in this issue. The emu and brolga images are based on western New South Wales cave paintings recorded by Mr F.D. McCarthy. Cover design by Richard Barwick.

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EMU AND BROLGA, A KAMILAROI MYTH

Peter Austin and Norman B. Tindale

INTRODUCTION¹

The Kamilaroi (or Kamilaraay)² are an Aboriginal people who traditionally occupied a large tract of country in north-central New South Wales (Tindale 1974, Austin, Williams and Wurm 1980). The Kamilaroi language was spoken in several dialect forms and is closely related to Yuwaaliyaay (the Euahlayi of Parker 1896, 1978) and Yuwaalaraay to the west (see Austin et al 1980, Williams 1980). It is more distantly linked to Wiradjuri and Ngiyampaa of central New South Wales (Austin et al 1980, Donaldson 1980 — see Map 1).

Information about the Kamilaroi language has been collected sporadically for more than a century, beginning with early recordings in the 1850s. Highlights of these materials are Ridley (1875) and Mathews (1903). More recently, Tindale collected vocabulary items and kinship terms in 1938 (Tindale 1938); and Wurm worked with the last fluent speaker, Peter Lang, in 1955 (Wurm 1955). Dixon and Austin were able to check vocabulary between 1971 and 1973 (see Dixon (1984:217-8)). A description of the language utilising all available materials is being developed (Austin and Wurm (in preparation)).

To date, the only text materials available for Kamilaroi are Bible translations compiled by Rev. William Ridley during his mission among the people of the Namoi region (Ridley 1856, 1875 — see also Greenway 1911). No mythological texts have been published. We present here a Kamilaroi traditional story as recorded by Tindale in 1938. The text concerns Emu and Brolga and is part of a widespread Australian tradition.

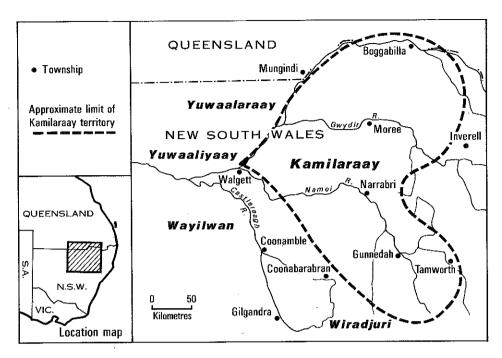
Peter Austin studied at the Australian National University, completing a thesis on the Divari language of northern South Australia in 1978 (published by Cambridge University Press in 1981). He has carried out linguistic fieldwork in Northern New South Wales (on Kamilaraay), in northern South Australia (Divari and Ngamini) and the north-west of Western Australia (Kanyara and Mantharta language groups). His current research focus is the Western Australia languages for which he is preparing dictionaries, grammars and text collections. He is presently senior lecturer and Head of the Division of Linguistics, La Trobe University.

Norman B. Tindale studied linguistics at the University of Adelaide in a special course under Professor J. Fitzherbert, following earlier instruction in orthography under Baldwin Spencer in Melbourne. His data gathering commenced with the Ingura people of Groote Eylandt in the Northern Territory in 1921-22 and has included gatherings of texts within every State of the Commonwealth, including one Tasmanian text. Many of his parallel tribal vocabulary lists are currently being studied.

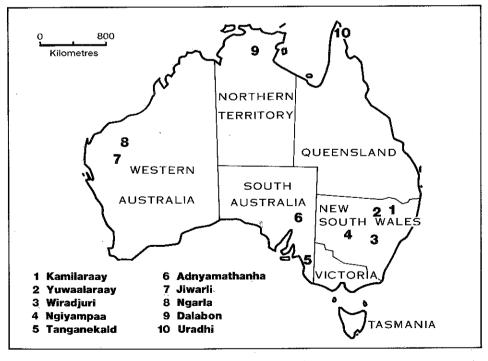
Tindale wishes to indicate that he is not linked with the devising of the new system of orthography used in this paper. His preference still is International Phonetics for text material and Geo. II for geographical terms

- Peter Austin wishes to thank Burt Draper, Hannah Duncan, Ron McIntosh, Leila Orcher and Arthur Pitt for sharing their knowledge of Kamilaroi with him. Thanks are also due to R.M.W. Dixon and S.A. Wurm for access to their unpublished fieldnotes. This paper has benefitted from a number of helpful suggestions from Tamsin Donaldson.
- 2 The name Kamilaroi is spelled Kamilaraay in the transcription adopted by Austin (see Footnote 4 and Austin and Wurm (in preparation)).

EMU AND BROLGA



Map 1: Kamilaroi (Kamilaraay) and neighbouring languages.



Map 2: Distribution of Emu and Brolga/Bustard myths.

THE TEXT.

Tindale carried out anthropological and linguistic research on Kamilaroi during fieldwork conducted as leader of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition of 1938-39. On 18 June 1938 he began work with Harry Doolan³ and two other old Aboriginal men on Kamilaroi social organisation and language. In his journal (page 125), he recorded that on Tuesday 21 June he 'obtained the first part of the legend of the Brolga and the emu in text'. The following day, Wednesday 22 June, he notes that he:

obtained the rest of the legend of the Brolga and the emu in text from Harry Doolan, assisted by Stanford. The men were at first at difficulties with their own language because it has not been used by them for some years, except occasionally in conversation. After yesterday they thought out the details carefully and gave me a very useful text in the Kamilaroi of the Namoi River. The story resembles closely the emu and brolga story of the Tanganekald of the Coorong, S.A., in the first half; the sequel is different. I could not get any hints of localization of the legend. It is a camp fire story told by men to their children.

Tindale transcribed the story (journal pp.127-137) in the International Phonetic Alphabet (which had long been standard for writings of the Adelaide School) and obtained from Harry Doolan a word by word translation into English, and for the first nineteen lines plus lines 42 and 43 a running translation of each sentence.

In 1979, when on a visit with Tindale at his home in Palo Alto, California, Austin learned of the text and obtained a copy of it. Because of its uniqueness and historical importance, we decided to publish it in full in the present collection.

In the following, each sentence of the legend is presented in five lines. The first two are the transcription and word by word gloss, exactly as recorded by Tindale, except that the sentences are numbered and capitals at the beginning of sentences are not used (thus obviating the need to print upper case n). The third line is a respelling of the Kamilaroi words into a phonemic orthography devised by Austin, 4 plus a division of the words into their likely morphemes, indicated by hyphens. The fourth line presents morpheme-by-morpheme glosses;5 this glossing is based upon analyses of all the available Kamilaroi material plus William's (1980) grammar of the closely related Yuwaalaraay language. Because no native speaker of Kamilaroi is presently available, the grammatical analysis and glossing must be seen as tentative and in some cases speculative. Where no interpretation could be suggested a ? is employed. The fifth line is the free English translation of each sentence; for the first nineteen sentences (and 42, 43) this translation was supplied by Harry Doolan. Austin has prepared a free translation for the remainder (sentences 20 to 41, 44-48) based on the grammatical analysis, and this is included in brackets. Harry Doolan provided some additional comments throughout the telling of the story and these are given in angle brackets.

- 3 A photograph of Harry Doolan may be found in Tindale (1976:18).
- 4 The spelling is intended as a practical orthography and follows usual Australianist conventions: th and nh represent lamino-dental stop and nasal respectively; ng is the velar nasal; ny is a lamino-palatal nasal; rr is a flap, and r a retroflexed continuant; R indicates that it is unclear whether rr or r is intended. Vowel length is indicated by doubling. Where a word occurs nowhere else in the Kamilaroi materials, it is preceded by *; spelling of these words is particularly doubtful.
- 5 Abbreviations used in the glosses are: ablat ablative case; cont continuous; dat dative case; dl - dual; erg = ergative case; fut - future tense; habit - habitual; imper - imperative mood; loc locative case; nfut - non-future tense; pres - present tense; prog - progessive; purp - purposive; rel - relative clause; sense - sensory evidence; tr vb - transitive verbalizer.

EMU AND BROLGA

'dinewan 'pular 'puralka

1.	'dinewan emu (female)	<i>pular</i> with	<i>puralka</i> brolga (female)	jana _Ŋ ila goes gath	ni wu ðuka: ko. nering wu ðuka	
	thinawan	pulaarr	purralka	yana-ngila-1	nhi wuthukaa-ku	•
	emu	two	brolga	go-cont-nfu	ıt root type-dat	;

'The emu went with the brolga to gather wuthukaa roots.'

2.	′ ŋeiru ŋa	'mo: ŋi'lani
	They went over	digging up it
	ngaar ri nga	mawu-ngila-nhi
	over there	dig-cont-nfut

'They spent their time digging.'

3.	bularu	'purula:ko	'kaingil
	both	many	children (possessed)
	pulaarr-u	purrulaa-ku	kaaynkil
	two-dat	many-dat	child

'Both of them had many children.'

one of them (i.e. the emu) maal-u one-erg	thought of it (the plan to trick the brolga) winanga-nhi think-nfut
---	---

jale	'ŋurago	jana wondai
as	towards camp	went
yalu	ngurra-ku	yana-waa-ndaay
again	camp-dat	go-prog-rel
		2 C 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

'One of them thought of a trick (to play on the other) as she walked with him to camp.'

ka _{Ja} ari
olga was
ka ngarri-y
sit-nfut
l

'Next morning she saw the brolga over the way.'

kokoe
asked:
kaka-y
call out-nfu

^{&#}x27;The brolga asked.'

7.	"tala:ra	ŋ <i>inu</i>	' kaingal''
	where	your	children
	thalaa-?	<i>nginu</i>	<i>kaaynkil</i>
	where	you genitive	child
	WHOIC	1.11.1	

'Where are your children.'
Answered the emu:—

- 8. "a! 'bum:ai''
 ah! I killed them
 aa puma-ay
 ah kill-nfut
 'Ah I killed them.'
- 9. "'minjako?"
 what for
 minya-ku
 what-dat
 "Why?'
- 10. "'kamila 'nuðar'ulun'dai
 unable to feed them
 kamila *nguthaRu-laa-ndaay
 cannot feed-prog-rel
 'I was unable to feed them all.'
- 11. "'¡araka! 'minjako?

 poor things! what for?

 ngarrakaa minya-ku

 poor thing what-dat

 'Poor things why?'
- 'toarminia wu ilandai 12. "a! kamila their food feed them cannot thuwarr minya wuu-thila-ndaay kamila aa something food give-?-rel ah cannot 'I cannot give them food enough.'
- boma la:bilika tealumai 13. 'ninda 'bula 'kuli:r kola whether you can kill them ask husband you yourself puma-laa-pilika thayaluma-y kuwaa-la kuliir nginta-pulaa kill-prog-? spouse speak-imper ask-fut you-self 'You ask your husband whether you can kill yours also.'

EMU AND BROLGA

kaminda	burula:	nguðaruldeigo
you won't	the whole crowd	have to feed
kamil-nta	purrulaa	*nguthaRu-lta-yku
not-you	many	feed-prog-purp
not-you	шану	

'Then you won't have to feed so many.'

- 15. "naleikenundi tuar: kuraldana"
 from you and me food eat too much
 ngali-kii-ngunti thuwarr *kuRa-lta-nha
 we dl-oblique-ablat food take-prog-pres

 "They take too much food from us."
- ηai" "'ki:r! 'koei kuli:r 16. naija husband mine will tell yes kuliirr ngay kiirr kuwaa-y ngaya I genitive tell-nfut spouse yes. 'Yes I will tell my husband about it.'
- 'kainkal gulbiri." nali bomali 17. "ja:ma children some kill will we kaaynkil kulpirr vaama ngali puma-li child some kill-fut question we

'Husband - will we kill some of our children?'

'kuraldana 'minjamin' japul 'nundi 'naleiki 18. maneir everything eating from us why are they minyaminyapul *kuRa-lta-nha ngali-kii-ngunti everything we dl-oblique-ablat take-prog-pres

'Why are they eating all our food?'

"puralgalgar." 'bumali gaingal 19. ŋa ki:r! the greater part children ah! yes! kill purrul-kalkaa kiirr puma-li kaaynkil ngaa child big-plural kill-fut yes ah

'Oh yes. Kill most of the children.'

(The next day the female brolga meets the woman emu again while food gathering:-)

20. "ja:ma kara ŋal"
"how is it now"
yaama-karra-ngal
question-sense-?
['How's things?']

- 21. 'ŋa:, 'ki:r, boma'labekeir.''
 ah yes I killed them
 ngaa kiirr puma-laa-?
 ah yes kill-prog-?

 ['Ah yes I killed them.']
- 'wa:na." ka: iiil bula:r 22. najil fetch along I only two now kaa-waa-nha yiyal pulaarr nhayil bring-prog-pres only two now ['Now I have only two to bring along.']
- 23. "a! 'keiru:mai."

 ah you did it

 aa giirru-ma-ay

 ah truely-tr vb-nfut

 ['Ah you did it.']
- 24. "'maruwa' ðai 'jene jene je'le out here (like this) they walk marra-bathaay yana-yana-yla-y there-like go-go-prog-fut

 ['There they are walking along.']
- 25. 'maraa' dai 'turali 'kaingal kul'gar
 out here all my youngsters come
 marra-bathaay *thuRa-li kaaynkil-kalgaa
 there-like ?-fut child-plural

 ["There the children come.']
- 'puru'la maruwa 'ðai ηaija 26. jalei gol! whole lot of "this way"! out here my purrulaa ngaya marra-bathaay *yalaykul many there-like this way 'kaingal 'kar ke reigul leading children I am kaaynkil kaa-? bring-? ['This way over there I am bringing my many children.']

EMU AND BROLGA

- 27. 'nima 'balana janani pu'ralka
 "away" went the brolga
 *ngima-palanga yana-nhi purralka
 away-? go-nfut brolga

 ['The brolga went away.']
- 28. 'neir ta'la nari wailani.
 long distance away remained "sat down" a long time
 ngiirr thalaa ngarri-yngayi-la-nhi
 there somewhere sit-habit-prog-past

['She stayed away for some time.']

(The brolga is very sad at being tricked into killing her children. She remains away "twelve months" and returns. She sees the emu walking about gathering food as before.)

- weilani. nareia wanda ta 'ta 29. "na! vou remained a long time far away ah where ngarri-vngayi-la-nhi thalaa wantha ngaa sit-habit-prog-past somewhere distant
 - ['Oh you stayed away a long time.']
- 30. o! ŋiliminja jeneweinje kamil wina ŋa ŋaileigu from here went off away so as not be thinking

 *ngiiliminya yana-waa-nhi kamil winanga-yngayi-la-yku from here go-prog-past not think-habit-prog-purp

['I went from here so as not to be thinking about them.']

(The brolga woman is feeding with her mouth, her arms are hidden behind her back. She is acting a part to trick the emu.)

- 31. "nominja taldanei
 why are you eating (as you are)
 ngaa minya tha-lta-nha
 ah what eat-prog-pres
 ['Why are you eating so?']
- bo yon 🧗 ginji a a werinja borei! 32. a! of me arms it happened sister oh kinyi pungun *puuRi be-press elder sister arm 'karal weinji."

we cut off away
karra-layla-nyi
cut-before-past

['Ah sister I cut off my arms.']

- 33. "minjako?"
 what for
 minya-ku
 what-dat
 ['What for?']
- 34. "jalai wa zai maru taldaigo"
 this way just like this I feed
 yilaay-pathaay maru tha-lta-yku
 thus-like good eat-prog-purp
 ['It is good to eat like this.']
- 35. "bo non dali ba:ga"

 arms feed not

 pungun tha-li?

 arm eat-fut

 ['I'll eat without using my arms.']
- 36. "ŋa jei!"
 "I see"
 ngaayay
 all right
 ['All right.']
- 37. 'ηindu ba δai bo ηon gara 'ηilia you arms cut it would be good ngintu-pathaay pungun karra-ngili-ya you-like arm cut-cont-imper ['You cut off your arms like this.']
- 38. 'minjako 'wara''
 what for do that
 minya-ku ?
 what-dat
 ['What for?']
- 'neia 39. o! taldainda maro wa zai eating will be like myself like this good maru-pathaay tha-lta-ntaay yila ngaya good-like eat-prog-rel ['Oh it would be good to eat like me.']

EMU AND BROLGA

- 40. "ya! iralabaðai jana wuindai
 ah! when like this I go back
 ngaa yilaala-pathaay yana-wuwi-ntaay
 ah this-like go-back-rel
 ['Ah I'll go back like this.']
- 41. *'ki:r!* 'weira ko:li daijalumi koli:r nai I will ask say husband mine yes kuwaa-li kiirr thayaluma-y kuliirr ngay speak-fut yes ask-fut spouse I genitive

kei 'riar
"he might"
kiirru-?
truly

['I'll ask my husband if he will say I can.']

42. "ŋa tara woinindai kara neileigo keir. cutting them off ves oh karra-ngili-yku ? -wuwi-ngintaay kiirr ngaa ? -back-rel ah' yes cut-cont-purp 'iera:la bye & bye yilaalu later

'Oh, yes we will cut them off tonight.'

- 43. kulibarga jereganda
 three suns
 kulipaa-ka *yaRakan-ta
 three-loc sun-loc
 'Three days later.'
- 44. "ja:ma 'gara nai"
 how cutting
 yaama-karra-ngay
 question-sense['How's things?']
- 45. ki:r boηon karaηilinji
 yes arms we have cut off
 kiirr pungun karra-ngili-nyi
 yes arm cut-cont-nfut
 ['Yes I cut off my arms.']

46. 'ŋa 'jei! ŋai waðai baragelei
Good like this I'll fly
ngaayay ngaya-pathaay parra-kila-y
all right I'll fly like this.']

47. 'dawunda jenelei
on the ground you will go
thawun-ta yana-la-y
ground-loc go-prog-fut
['You will go on the ground.']

48. 'ŋaija bala 'parai po ŋon baijai
I myself flying arms will fly
ngaya-pala parra-y pungun-paraay
I-only fly-fut arm-having
['Only I will fly with my wings.']

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Tindale (1938:137) has the following notes from the storytellers:

formerly both the emu and brolga had large families; the old emu took two with her and hid the others in a patch of bush. The emu tricked the brolga (and) that is why the brolga only lays two eggs today.

The brolga when he has his wings folded does not show them very much. After she had had her revenge, she danced and jigged with happiness — the brolgas still do this."

A story almost identical to this Kamilaroi myth is presented in Parker (1978:17-20) as 'Dinewan the Emu and Goomblegubbon and Bustard'. A Yuwaalaraay version of the text is given on pp.187-9. Williams (1980:131) presents the story of emu and brolga as told to her in Yuwaalaraay by Arthur Dodd in 1978; it is a very brief text which corresponds to the first half of the one told by Harry Doolan.⁶

EMU AND BROLGA

A mythological story similar to this is also known to descendants of the Wiradjuri who formerly occupied the country to the south of the Kamilaroi. Len ('Bushi') Kirby of Murrin Bridge has published a story entitled 'Emu and Native Companion' (Kirby 1982) which describes the trick played by brolga on emu, though no mention is made of the emu's hiding her children. Tamsin Donaldson (personal communication) recorded a text in English entitled 'The native companion and the emu' from Isobel Edwards of Darlington Point on 17th July 1980. Mrs Edward's text is almost identical to the Kamilaroi story except that the respective tricks of brolga and emu are presented in the opposite order to that presented in the text above.

The themes of these New South Wales texts recur, with some variations, across the continent. Reed (1978:114-7) presents an Emu and Brolga story from the Murray River region and Massola (1971:43) has one from south-eastern Australia (no more detailed localisation is given). In Massola's version the Emu burns (rather than cuts) her wings off and then tricks Brolga into killing (and eating) her children. The order of events is thus reversed from the Kamilaroi text, but the same as in the story collected by Donaldson, Tindale is preparing for publication a Tanganekald (South East of South Australia) legend similar to the Kamilaroi text. In one version of the Tanganekald story there is a contest between the two birds, involving an attempt at revenge by the brolga who causes a marine flood over a large area of land favoured by the emu. In South and Western Australia we find texts dealing with emu and bustard (wild turkey), rather than brolga. Schebeck (personal communication) recorded an Adnyamathanha (Flinders Ranges) myth in which emu and bustard appear as sisters (see also Mountford 1976). Events similar to those found in the Kamilaroi text occur. Austin has also recorded a traditional text of the Jiwarli (Gascoyne region, Western Australia) involving emu and bustard (see Butler and Austin 1985). In this story the two birds test who can fly best and who can run best. Emu's legs stick out when he⁷ flies but he is able to run fast, so he is advised by bustard to cut off his wings. There is no trickery involved in the Jiwarli text and no mention of emu tricking the other bird into killing his children. 8 A Cape York peninsula version of the story in the Yadhaykenu dialect of Uradhi told by Willie Somerset is presented by Crowley (1983:391-7). Again, emu and bustard are involved and similarities to the Kamilaroi text are striking, for example, the first line (in translation) reads '[There were] two of them going for scrub yams.' The bustard tricks the emu into burning her wings off and in return the emu tricks bustard into killing her children (cf. the reversal of themes in the texts recorded by Donaldson from a person of Wiradiuri descent and by Massola). Fire is again mentioned in a story entitled 'Nurrun the emu and manor the plain turkey' presented in English by Bozic (1972:57-9). Interestingly, the emu and bustard are described as a married couple; unfortunately there is no location given for the text but it is possible that 'Nurrun' is intended to represent Wiradjuri ngurruny 'emu'.

Evidently, the Kamilaroi text is one version of a widespread mythological complex involving several motifs:

⁶ Robinson (1966) 196-7) contains a text in English entitled Dinnawun and burralga, related to him by Maria Boney, 'Yoʻalarai' (i.e. Yuwaalaraay) tribe.

⁷ There is no indication in Jiwarli of the sex of the protagonists. The masculine English pronoun is intended in its unmarked sense. A running competition story is also found in Merritt (1983:14-15) where a myth involving emu and curlew (not brolga or bustard) is outlined. Merritt is of Wiradjuri descent.

⁸ Donaldson has brought to our attention Pritchard (1929[1975]) which contains a partial emu and bustard text in pidgin English from the Ngarla area (northern Pilbara).

- (a) emu and brolga (or bustard)
- (b) competition (and in some places trickery)
- (c) mutilation of emu by cutting or by fire
- (d) brolga (or bustard) murdering her children.

These themes and texts containing them, are as widely distributed across the Australian continent, if not more so, as the well-known eaglehawk and crow myths (see Map 2).9

The following are specific comments (mainly linguistic) on the Kamilaroi text:

- 1. line 1 pulaarr is the usual word for 'two'. Its occurrence between the two nouns here seems to indicate a use as a conjunction. wuthukaa is a type of edible root which grows in the black soil plains. Williams (1980:191) translates it as 'tar vine'.
- 2. line 3 the occurrence of dative -ku on purrulaa does not appear to be correct because the sense is 'of the two [there were] many children'.
- 3. line 8 preceding lines 8, 10, 12 in the margin Tindale wrote 'emu'. Preceding lines 9, 11, 15 in the margin is 'brolga'.
- 4. line 10 the root of the verb in this sentence is not to be found in other Kamilaroi materials. The use of the relative clause form here suggests it is offered as a reason 'because I cannot (continue to) feed them' (see also lines 12, 39, 40).
- 5. line 12 the element -thila- cannot be analysed here. The verb wuu- is in the rr class and derived forms normally involve this consonant, rather than th. It is possible that a continuous form -rrila- was intended.
- 6. line 14 this example shows a bound subject marker affixed to the negative particle. The medial I is morphophonemically deleted:
- 7. line 15 the vowel length of the oblique stem formant is not certain, but compare Ngiyampaa -kiiN- (Donaldson (1980:123)).
- 8. line 17 in the margin Tindale wrote 'brolga to husband'.
- 9. line 18 the word maneir is unclear; normally 'why?' is based upon minya 'what'.
- 10. line 19 in the margin Tindale wrote 'old man brolga'.
- 11. line 20 in the margin Tindale wrote 'emu'. The analysis of this sentence is somewhat tentative but it is likely that it is a greeting consisting of yaama, the question introducer, plus -karra, a clitic indicating a statement based upon sensory evidence. A parallel construction is found in Ngiyampaa (see Donaldson, 1986: 139).). Identification of the final syllable is unclear. There it is written as -ngal and in line 44 as -ngay. Austin recorded a Kamilaraay greeting yaamangay, which seems also to contain -ngay.
- 12. line 21 in this margin Tindale wrote 'brolga'. The analysis of bakeir is unclear. It may contain kiirr 'truly'.
- 13. line 23 in the margin Tindale wrote 'emu'.
- 14. line 25 the verb in this sentence is not found in other Kamilaroi materials.
- 15. line 27 a suffix -palanga is also found in Williams' text (1980:131). She was unable to gloss it.
- 16. line 29 in the margin preceding lines 29, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40 and 45 is 'emu'. Preceding lines 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 44 and 46 is 'brolga'.
- 17. line 37 under ba dai Tindale has 'wa dai, like this, 'better go, had better'.
- 18. line 42 in the margin Tindale wrote 'emu husband'.
- 19. line 43 the usual Kamilaroi term for 'sun' is yaraay.
- 9 See Maddock 1978 for a comparison of myths of this type (which he calls 'Southern') and Dalabon texts featuring the emu.

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