

UMBUYGAMU: THE CLASSIFICATION OF A CAPE YORK PENINSULAR LANGUAGE

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1. Introduction
2. Phonology
3. Morphology
4. Syntax
5. Lexicon
6. Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

The most widely acclaimed classification of Australian languages so far has been that of O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) which is reflected almost directly in a map (O'Grady, Wurm and Hale 1966) and less directly in subsequent revisions by Oates and Oates (1970), Wurm (1972a) and Oates (1975). There are many unsatisfactory features of the original classificatory survey: languages were omitted, the lexico-statistics (on which the classification was based) were never published, there was little discussion of classificatory criteria, and what criteria were employed can only be described as arbitrary (O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966:10-4). These classifications have nevertheless provided a proximate framework within which linguists can operate in pursuing research. They have also been a basis — however inadequate — for talking about various groups and subgroups of languages, and if precision has been lacking there has nevertheless been a tacit agreement amongst linguists that these groups will be refined and better delineated, rather than vitiated, by subsequent research.

One of the better understood subgroups is Northern Paman — described by K.L. Hale (1964, 1976a,b) as part of the loosely defined Paman group

of languages, spoken by inhabitants of Cape York Peninsula. In all this area, relatively recent but pervasive and highly innovative phonological developments have taken place, thus earning for its languages adjectives such as "aberrant", "atypical" and even "un-Australian". From a relatively conservative bloc of languages immediately south of Hale's Northern Paman he was able to reconstruct stems for various ranks of a proto-language that he called Proto Paman. These reconstructions suggest an ancestor language that resembled — in phonology at least — the vast majority of Australian languages outside the group.

Other workers in the Peninsular area during the 1960's had been Lamont West Jr and Donald Laycock. In pursuing his research to publication, Laycock (1969) leaned on West's informal notes and summaries. Plagued in the field by failing batteries in unreliable recorders, camp interruptions, or by aged or difficult informants, and pressed for time, Laycock's ultimate strategy was to report without extended comment all that could be recovered at that time on three languages from the Princess Charlotte Bay area that he described as "Lamalamic". On inspection, one of these languages — Umbuygamu — appeared to share with the still ill-defined Central Paman subgroup certain obvious phonological developments. The Central Paman subgroup was proposed by Sommer (1969) as one which extended geographically from the lower reaches of the Mitchell River to the western side of the Dividing Range. The languages were characterised by phonological innovations such as

- loss of the initial consonant of reconstructed stems;
- loss of contrastive length on the first vowel; and
- the development of plosive onsets by nasals following the first vowel, under certain phonological conditions.

The literature confirmed Laycock's material. In 1933-4 H.M. Hale and Tindale published the findings of their 1927 field trip to Princess Charlotte Bay, and in their record of Yetteneru is seen a close parallel of both Laycock's Umbuygamu and a word list of Yeiya made by linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.) in 1954. Alongside contemporary data from certain Central Paman languages the similarities in development were striking:

	Sommer: Oykangand	Sommer: Ogh Uñḍan	Laycock (1969): Umbuygamu	S.I.L. (1964): Yeiya
'foot'	ebmal	ebmal	apmal	apmal
'mosquito'	ogṇol	(ombolom)	okṇal	ɔkṇal
'water'	og(o)	ogṇa	okṇa	ɔkṇa
'boomerang'	egṇal	igṇal	—	ikṇal
'man'	abm(a)	abma	apma	apma ('all')

Supported by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (A.I.A.S.)¹ I undertook extensive field work in 1972, and briefer trips in 1973 and 1974, with the aim of defining more precisely the Central Paman subgroup. As was seen very clearly at the time, this involved essentially a classification of the status of Umbuygamu. It was still possible to interview informants from all three of the "Lamalamic" languages that Laycock had proposed, and to extend and refine his data. For Umbuygamu I was fortunate enough to interview Mrs Nellie Salt - West's informant of 1961 - when she was at least eighty years of age, and was able to check some of his forms. Mr Bob Bassini of Coen - also retired - provided fuller data, while Mrs M. Liddy and Mrs N. Gunnawarra, both ladies in their thirties, checked these materials and added to them. The late Mrs Daisy Salt provided materials in "proper Lamalama" and her husband Frank matched these in Bariman Gutinhma.

My initial reaction was that Umbuygamu was poorly placed in the Lamalamic subgroup, but the problem of its classification is much more complex than was then believed, and in this paper I intend to explore phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical evidence in determining its status. In doing so, it is well to keep in mind the relative geographic location of various linguistic groups (see Map). The Umbuygamu dwelt along the coast of the Bay in the vicinity of Balaculta Creek, while the shores of the Bay to the south and east were occupied by the "proper Lamalama" of Daisy Salt's close kin. To the south of them, Bariman Gutinhma speakers claimed the land behind the coastal clans and merged to the south with the Koko-Rarmul group of Roth (1898). To the west of the Umbuygamu were the Olgolo, a Central Paman linguistic group; to the north they encountered speakers of Umpindhamu and southern Umpila dialects.

2. PHONOLOGY

The Phoneme inventory of Umbuygamu is unusual enough; it shows considerable development of the putative Proto Paman consonant system, at the expense of comparable developments in the vowel system.

Umbuygamu						*Proto Paman (Hale 1964)			
p	t̪	t	tʃ	k	ʔ	*p	*t	*tʃ	*k
b	d̪	d	dʃ	g					
ɸ	θ			χ					
m	n̪	n	ñ	ŋ		*m	*n	*ñ	*ŋ
	l̪	l					*l		
		r	R			*r	*R		
w			y			s		y	

i	u	*i	*u
a		*a	
+uà		+ length	

The oddity of Umbuygamu is however not fully apparent until canonical word shapes are examined. Hale's reconstruction of Proto Paman has provided an inventory of putative stems, which conform to the general pattern

$$*C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 (C_3 (V_3))$$

where C_2 is the only position in which consonant sequences are attested (and then of a restricted type, not unlike the sequences found in contemporary Paman Nyungan languages).

Compared with this pattern, Umbuygamu exhibits more startling contrast:

akɲár	'devil'
urúlřa	'gum' (unusual CC sequence; phonetically [lř])
uɸuá	'sand'
uθám	'bird sp. black cockatoo'
l'é'ar	'echidna quill'
uʔámal	'bone'

These result however from regular phonological changes, the basic order of which can be traced:

The first rule is that of consonant gradation.

C_1 Gradation

$$C \Rightarrow \emptyset / \# ___$$

In Umbuygamu, all initial consonants were lost, leaving stems with a vowel in initial position. These vowels lost distinctions of length by a successive rule: V_1 Shortening.

V_1 Shortening

$$V \Rightarrow [-\text{long}] / \# ___$$

As a result of these two rules Umbuygamu has

$$*mala > ala(m) \text{ '(right) hand'}$$

but

$$*tja:wa > awa \text{ 'mouth'}$$

The loss of length in V_1 was compensated by phonological developments in the nasals of C_2 . Simple nasals in this position developed a plosive onset if V_1 had been short – and remained unchanged if V_1 had been long:

*pina	>	itna	'ear'
*tamal	>	apmal	'foot'
*waŋar	>	akŋar	'devil'

but

*ñi:na-	>	ina-	'sit'
*wa:ña	>	aŋa	'liver'

Although this appears to be the effect of a separate rule, the phenomenon of preploded nasals is in fact only a corollary of V_1 Shortening. Prior to the application of the shortening rule, Umbuygamu is presumed to have signalled vowel length phonetically in both V_1 and C_2 segments, where C_2 was a nasal, after the following fashion:

[itna]	*/ina/	'ear'
[a:ŋa]	*/a:ŋa/	'liver'

Umbuygamu, in which the C_1 Gradation rule only softens (to resonants) the initial consonant of Proto Paman stems, maintains to this day a non-phonemic distinction in nasals in the same position, correlating with vowel length:

*ni:na-	>	ni:na-	'sit'	[ni:na]
*wuna-	>	wuna-	'lie'	[wun:a]

Preservation of the hitherto non-phonemic plosive onset to Umbuygamu nasals persisted after the length on vowels was lost, making the contrasting onset distinctive. The development of simple nasals in Central Cape York Peninsular languages varies considerably in detail, but the mechanism is the same: compensation for loss of vowel length in V_1 . In Oykangand and the Olgol dialects, the prenasal plosive manifests a voiced onset

*pama	>	abm(a)	'man'
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Lamalama has the reverse; a voiced plosive release:²

*pama	>	mba	'man'
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Bariman Gutinhma has only a voiced plosive

*pama	>	ba	'man'
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contrasting with the simple nasal that followed long vowels:

*ni:na-	>	ina-	'sit'
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The plosive onset to Umbuygamu nasals, which developed in the above fashion, is now being lost. In the speech of the elderly Mrs Salt, the plosive can always be perceived. In that of Mr Bassini, some twenty years her junior, the lenition of the plosive to a voiceless nasal is quite common, hence:

*waŋar > akŋar > 'devil'

In the speech of Mesdames Liddy and Gunnawarra, nasals from this source are optionally lengthened in citation forms, but the length entirely disappears in discourse, hence

*waŋar > akŋar > aŋ(:)ar 'devil'

Leaving the nasals now, and turning again to the total sequence of historical rules which affected Umbuygamu phonology, we find a rule of **U Copying*. I have argued elsewhere (1976a) that this rule is the first of a sequence of two rules, the net result of which is familiar to us as metathesis.

*kulan > uluán 'possum'
 *kuta > utuá 'dog'
 *wuna- > utnuá- 'lie'

**U Copying* contributes to the gross effect of metathesis when the original initial u suffers subsequent deletion. Verbs evidence metathesis consistently;³ other categories attest it according to phonological environment. Note the form of the verbs in the sentence following

luán lalaŋan, ɸualán lalaŋan. #
 poured we it covered we it
 'We poured some (water in, and) covered it up.'

and compare the form for 'two' in the pair of sentences below:

ɸuár ɤañin ya, inə #
 two caught I fish
 # ya ɤañin uɸuár, inə #
 'I caught two fish.'

These same rules — **U Copying* and **U Deletion* — combine to effect metathesis in other Princess Charlotte Bay languages, in some of which the specification of the affected vowel is more general (Sommer 1976a).

* * *

It is these rules which most obviously alter canonical word shapes into Umbuygamu. For completeness sake, however, several other rules will be mentioned. First is a rule that derives a from *i or *u in V₂ position, as in

*kuɤira > uɸuár 'two'

Now this rule can be shown to follow **U Copying*. An important constraint on the copying rule is imposed by the phonological character of *V₂. If both *V₁ and *V₂ are *u, then the rule is prevented from applying. So then the stem *wuŋul 'mosquito' would not have met the

conditions of *U Copying in Umbuygamu, but at this time can be safely assumed to have had the form *ukɲul. The rule

$$V \Rightarrow [-\text{high}] / C ___$$

followed, giving ukɲal, as found in contemporary Umbuygamu. If this rule had applied prior to *U Copying then the $V_1 = V_2$ constraint would not have applied, and the contemporary form would have been ukɲual. But there is no evidence for this ordering.

Another rule derived voiced stops from homorganic sequences of resonant + plosive, with deletion of the continuant or nasal as the first member of the proto-cluster:

*ɲaɲtaR	>	aɲar	'tongue'
*malta-	>	da-	'climb'

Voiced reflexes of Proto Paman stops also appear following original long vowels

*ma:ɬuR	>	aɲar	'pelican'
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Voiceless reflexes of Proto Paman stops appear elsewhere:

*kaɬa	>	aɬa	'rotten'
*yapa	>	apay	'older sister'

Sequences of a lateral or rhotic plus stop were reduced by deletion of the stop, unless as in the case of *lt, the sequence fell under the previous rule.

*kalka	>	ala	'spear'
*yi:rka-	>	ira-	'speak'

* * *

The reason for such a rapid review of these rules is that the previous ones, especially those that concern nasals, pose the vexing question. Umbuygamu shares with the Central Paman languages the sequence of rules which resulted in preploded nasals, and with the languages of the Bay area those rules which effect the metathesis of initial vowels – in this instance *u. Is therefore this language properly Central Paman, with evidences of influence in its phonological development from the Bay languages, or vice versa?

To place the question in perspective, it must be clear that the preploded nasals of Umbuygamu and Central Paman languages are simply *one* variant of the compensatory development for loss of length in V_1 evinced by Proto Paman nasals in C_2 position, and that the Bay languages share in that development but evince different variants of it – voiced stops in Bariman Gutinhma, and postploded nasals in Lamalama. The difference

between Central and Bay languages is therefore in the precise form that was taken by nasals in the compensatory development for loss of length in V_1 . The development of nasals in this fashion is limited to the Central Paman group and the Bay languages; it is distinctive of the two groups within the Peninsular language family.⁴

In other words, common nasal developments place the "Lamalamic" languages of Laycock's 1969 study in an ancient-order language group with the Central languages, possibly not far distant from Proto Paman itself. If this is so, then there are important and unavoidable implications for a theory of domestic phonological development and innovation within Cape York Peninsula. The popular contention (Capell 1956, Wurm 1972a) that the Peninsular languages owe their phonological oddities to Papuan linguistic influence has yet to be supported by any irrefutable evidence, and Wurm (1972b) is now more cautious about this claim. The counter evidence is beginning to take more definite shape: not only are the phonological changes of the Peninsula being attested elsewhere in the continent, remote from Papuan influence, but the Peninsular languages themselves are posing awkward questions to this theory. For example, why did languages south of Princess Charlotte Bay, inland almost to the opposite coast and south to Normanton and Georgetown, and back again as far as Petford, show rich phonological innovation yet the more accessible sea-faring fishermen of both north-east coast (Guugu Ya'u) and north-west coast (Wig Munggan) comprise the extremities of a bloc of highly conservative languages ranged right across the Peninsula? Or why can these phonological innovations not be traced in Mabulag, the most patently accessible of all Australian languages? Now we can add: the "Lamalamic" languages share gross phonological changes with a bloc of languages which are much less accessible to "foreign" linguistic influence, so could it be that this, and other changes, are in fact "domestic" after all? The entire issue deserves a more rigorous examination.

Turning now to phonological evidence for the classification of Umbuygamu, we find only one other rule is shared by it with another language; it has in common with Lamalama a version of the consonant cluster reduction rule.

	Umbuy.	Lama.	
*kalka	ala	ala	'spear'
*yi:rka	ira-	ria-	'speak'

This is a relatively insignificant rule, affecting as it does only a very small proportion of the lexicon (though it may account for the appearance of l in these languages, by reduction of earlier * lC sequences).

For more crucial evidence it is necessary to turn from phonology to morphology, syntax and lexicon. In doing so, we will represent the Central Paman subgroup by Igaranggal and Ogh Uñdan, and compare Umbuygamu with both these and the Bay languages.

3. MORPHOLOGY

The nominal morphology of each of the languages shows the typical Paman pattern: Agentive, Instrumentive and Locative postpositions coincide in phonological shape. All except Ogh Uñdan have the unmarked form /aw/, with a small number of stems manifesting /l/ or /ly/ as suffixes. Ogh Uñdan, one of the Central Paman languages, has the form /aβ/, but #aw# is derived by rules from certain stems, and I have suggested elsewhere (1976b) that both /aw/ and /aβ/ can be traced to a common source in *mpu.

The morphology of other surficial cases is more definite evidence. The Central Paman languages do not differentiate Dative and Allative from Purposive morphology; the suffix is /ay/. Umbuygamu joins the Bay languages in having -ma/-a for the Dative, and -ra/-a for the Purposive. In the Ablative, Umbuygamu shares -m/-am with Lamalama, and Ogh Uñdan -ŋin parallels Bariman Gutinhma -ŋan.

Turning from the nouns to the verbs of these languages, we find that Umbuygamu shares with the coastal languages the same aspectual morphology:

Present	Future	Past	Pluperfect	Imperative
-m	-y	-n	-r	-l

Ogh Uñdan on the other hand has two conjugations, and has an Irrealis in lieu of a Pluperfect:

	Present	Future	Past	Irrealis	Imperative
I	-l	-ly	-n	-ŋdery	-ŋ
II	-R	-ry	-n	-ŋdery	-ŋ

Verb morphology is much less stable in the Peninsular languages than are the case postpositions; nevertheless Umbuygamu shows closer correspondence to the Bay languages than those of the Central subgroup on the sample offering most direct comparison. Shared alternations between l, R and n in Ogh Uñdan and Umbuygamu appear occasionally in Agentive, Instrumentive and Locative use however, but may be traceable to some ancient rank of proto-language within Paman; much as the phonological rule concerning nasals must be so imputed. Syntactic evidence provides better criteria.

4. SYNTAX

Much of the syntax of the Paman languages varies little from language to language, with SOV the unmarked order, free pronouns usually following the verb, and morphology typically "ergative". The typological criteria for classification are therefore among the less apparent syntactic structures, but will support the emerging picture above. For example, most Central Paman languages have a Negative Imperative (Proscriptive)

NEG₁ # # Verb Stem + Imper.

where the negative is some reflex of *kaRi 'not'. A second negative – usually idiosyncratic to the language – appears to negate declarative propositions. Only Ogh Uñdan and Igaranggal disturb the pattern of Negative Imperatives with

NEG₁ # # Verb Stem + n

where n is homophonous with the marker for Past Definite Action. But the Bay languages have the structure

NEG₂ # # Verb Stem + y

where y may be the Future aspect marker. The negative in this instance is derived from *Cama.⁵ Reflexes of *kaRi appear in all the Bay languages, but never in Proscriptive formulae. These facts suggest some irregularity of Proscriptive structure early in the history of these languages, but suggest even more strongly the unity of Umbuygamu with the other languages.

Auxiliary verbs provide some of the firmest typological criteria. The Central Paman languages universally attest an auxiliary verb which functions in reciprocal and reflexive constructions, and to which aspectual morphemes are suffixed. Contemporary languages suggest the reconstruction *irpa- or *irpi-; the form is /iβ/ in Ogh Uñdan:

ondu-w etur-iβ-θ il
scrub-L copulate-REFLEX-PRES they 2
'They are copulating in the scrub.'

No parallel exists in the Bay languages:

na	mo-m	lua	(Umbuygamu)
REFLEX	copulate-PRES	they 2	
da	dengenga-m	luo	(Bariman Gutinhma)
nda	muana-m	lua	(Lamalama)

Reciprocal/reflexive structures in these languages simply do not depend upon verb morphology at all.

The auxiliary /*amba-*/ 'cause', common to the Central Paman languages, is also missing from the Bay group. The function of /*amba-*/ can be well seen from its use with Ogh Uñdan /*ilŋga-*/ 'break', which is intransitive. Hence

alk ilŋgi-n
spear break-PAST
'The spear broke.'

but

alk ilŋg-ambi-n el
spear break-cause-PAST he
'He broke the spear.'

The differences between transitive and intransitive uses of 'break' are effected in the Bay languages by different verbs:

	<i>break</i> (intr)	<i>break</i> (tr)
Umbuygamu:	<i>gua-</i>	<i>tua-</i>
Lamalama:	<i>kua-</i>	<i>ndopa-</i>
Bariman Gutinhma:	<i>ilŋga-</i>	<i>ŋgiri-</i>

Similar patterns emerge for pairs such as 'fall' and 'drop' (= 'cause to fall'), 'return' and 'bring back' (= 'cause to return'). There is therefore a major cleavage between the Bay languages and the Central Paman subgroup when auxiliaries are considered. There is also a consequent difference in vocabulary structure.

Pronouns constitute the final syntactic criterion; both Bay and Central Paman languages differentiate eleven basic person-number forms, but each group treats these forms distinctively. The Central languages assemble pronouns in the order

Verb# # Nominative pronoun# # Oblique/Genitive Pronoun#.

These pronouns are free forms; the interesting feature being the possibility of a final Genitive form.

alk egŋen amba-r inaŋ aden
spear break cause-PAST you mine
'You broke my spear.' (Oykangand)

The Bay languages share this possibility – a fact that Laycock (1969: 81) grappled with without success – but the nominative and whatever pronoun follows are phonologically fused:

la nduapa-n ʔa-daw
spear break-PAST you-mine (Lamalama)

There is another difference too in that the relative order

nominative/oblique-genitive

is reversed in certain sequences where a first person pronoun would be placed in final position. Compare therefore

la ŋaŋi-l lunu-ta!
spear return-IMP ours-you
'You bring back our spear!' (Lamalama)

and

ama-l utua-pin maraŋa-n na-la
man-A dog-COM chase-PAST me-he
'The man with the dog chased me.' (Umbuygamu)

but Central Paman (Oykangand):

iŋaŋar-al ari-r il adun, iyaraŋgal!
aunt-A hit-PAST she me hard
'Aunty hit me hard.'

5. LEXICON

The effect of the auxiliary *amba-* 'cause' on the economy of vocabulary among the Central Paman languages is already evident. It correlates with an entirely different vocabulary structure amongst the Bay languages. But there are other differences, too. The Bay dwellers' livelihood depends upon the tides and what they expose or bring to the multiplicity of reefs, channels and creeks of that area. Consequently the vocabulary is centred on that rich marine and estuarine environment. The Central Paman communalects have no access to such an environment at all, but depend just as crucially on the annual monsoonal flooding of the great western rivers: the Mitchell, the Alice, the Coleman and the Nassau – and of course vocabulary reflects this different life-style of subsistence pattern. Even the categories defined by the noun classifiers are different.

The figures confirm the coherence of the Central Paman pair (59%) but place the remaining languages in no clear contrasting subgroup. Umbuygamu shares 47% with Lamalama; this figure confirms the relationship already suggested by shared phonological developments. Bariman Gutinhma stands equidistant from the neighbouring Lamalama and the not-too-distant Igaranggal. The languages intervening geographically between Bariman Gutinhma and Igaranggal are poorly attested and need more attention – it is quite conceivable that intervening cognate densities could indicate that the two languages comprise segments of a typical "dialect chain" (O'Grady *et al.* 1966:10-4).

The important conclusion is however that Umbuygamu relates much more closely to Lamalama (47%) than it does to any other language under discussion (24-25%).

The 100-item list of "central" or "core" vocabulary items completed by O'Grady (Sommer 1969:61) provides a matrix of shared cognates as follows:

Ogh U	59	30	25	18
	Ika	32	24	21
		BG	26	32
			Umb	47
				LL

The figures nevertheless correct an erroneous impression created by Laycock's opening sentence:

The three languages here grouped as "Lamalamic" are called "Bay Paman" by O'Grady and Voegelin [4ic] (1966), a name that is rejected here on the grounds that these languages apparently show a very low cognate density with Paman languages, if the Proto Paman reconstructions by Hale (published in Sommer 1969) are any criterion. (1969:71)

The fact is that Hale's reconstructions depended on only thirty of the Peninsular languages — perhaps a third of those we know existed — and not all reconstructions are attested by reflexes in each subgroup. When compared with contemporary daughter languages of Proto Paman, the "Bay" or "Lamalamic" languages are much less extraordinary. The shared cognates for Umbuygamu and Lamalama itself suggest that these are closely related languages, and the percentages for Bariman Gutinhma are not unexpected in view of the figures available for other pairs of geographically contiguous Paman languages (see Sommer 1969:12 for example). There is much more precision needed in assigning reconstructions to various well defined ranks of the proto-language, and in determining the limits of that proto-language — both tasks to which this paper is ultimately addressed.

6. CONCLUSION

Despite the *prima facie* case for assigning Umbuygamu to the Central Paman subgroup on phonological grounds, a fuller investigation of historical phonology, its morphology, syntax and core vocabulary leave no doubt that it is a "Lamalamic" or "Bay" language, closely related to Lamalama proper. This should not obscure the fact that the "Bay" and Central languages developed from some intermediate order of proto-language, in which a nasal strengthening rule appeared. Developments since that time require that perhaps three subgroups should be proposed: the Central Paman, Bay Paman and Waric Paman (to subsume Bariman Gutinhma with Roth's (1898) Koko Wara under the one rubric). There appears to be no compelling case yet for excluding Laycock's "Lamalamic" languages from any "Paman" group.

NOTES

1. The support of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies is gratefully acknowledged. I have enjoyed discussions of Umbuygamu data with Paul Black and profited from participants' comments on an earlier draft read to the 1975 Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Australia.

2. Irwin Howard suggested to me that these developments might be traceable to metathesis and deletion, after the following stages:

*m > bm > mb > b

but there is as yet no evidence to bear on this question. If this proposal can be sustained it would draw the Central and Bay (or Lamalamic) languages together more decisively in some deep ranking proto-language within the Paman group.

3. But not, it would seem, in *utnua*- '*lie*'; perhaps the preploded nasal inhibits the rule as #CC clusters are not attested in Umbuygamu.

4. Paul Black is working on a language (Walangama) attested only in the writings of anthropologists and early settlers, which appears to share the nasal preplosion development without being necessarily a clear member of either Central or "Lamalamic" subgroups. His findings are awaited with some interest.

5. In which *C represents some as-yet-unidentified initial consonant.

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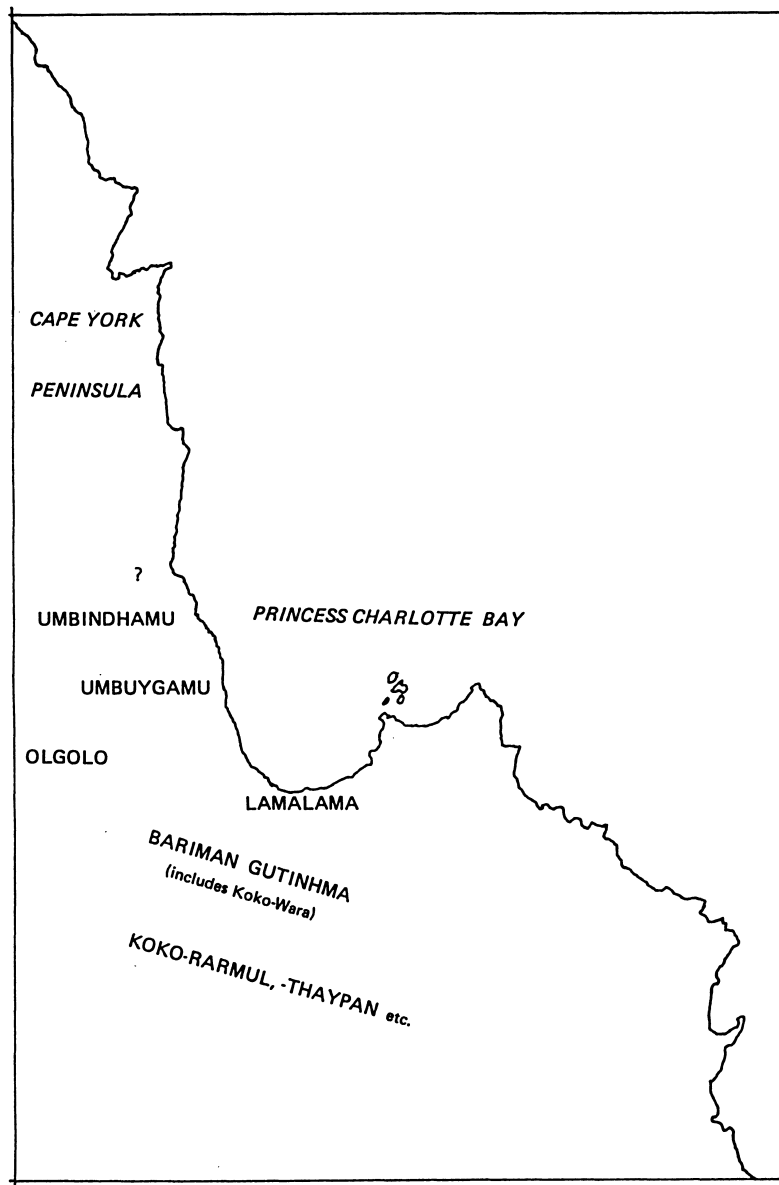
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RELATIVE LOCATION OF THE TRADITIONAL TERRITORIES
IN CAPE YORK PENINSULA CLAIMED BY SPEAKERS
OF LANGUAGES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT





Mr Bob Bassini of Coen. Of the handful of remaining Umbuygamu speakers, Mr Bassini's knowledge and understanding of the language is probably the best. Photographed at his home in 1972.