1. Phonetics/Phonology

This chapter describes the phonological system of Yugambeh-Bundjalung, and includes the instructions on spelling systems used by Livingstone (1892), Allen and Lane (1913), Watson (1943), and Smythe as well as some decisions made by certain of the local groups.

Yugambeh-Bundjalung is a stress-timed language, where unstressed syllables have less prominence both in volume and in timing. Unstressed vowels can be centralised to or towards the neutral vowel [ə], or could be interpreted as one vowel from one source and another from another source. This is one of the reasons very similar forms with same or almost the same meanings are grouped together in the all-language dictionary.

1.1   Vowels

The various Yugambeh-Bundjalung dialects have three to four short vowels and four long vowels which correspond in position to the short vowels. Possibly in some dialects there is no short /e/ phoneme.

/i/, /ih/ high front vowel

/e/, /eh/ mid front vowel

/a/, /ah/ low central vowel

/u/, /uh/ mid to high back vowel

Vowel length is symbolised by *h* following the vowel in question. A number of verb suffixes *begin* with *h*, meaning they lengthen the preceding vowel. This language has a contrast between long and short vowels; the contrast is of length only, not a change in quality[1]. With rare exceptions long vowels do not occur in successive syllables in the data. First syllable is stressed, unless another syllable has a long vowel, when this may take the stress. Geytenbeek and Cunningham/Sharpe found a 'length-hopping' phenomenon. Holmer sometimes marked length in the first syllable, but not elsewhere. Smythe sometimes indicated stress on a syllable that Geytenbeek's, Crowley's and Sharpe's analysis would have shown was long. Holmer also only showed three vowels in his Bandjalang analysis, whereas my work suggests four[2]. Holmer showed *five* vowels in his Manandjali, whereas I only had four in my transcriptions of Yugambeh or Manaldjahli.

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[1] Some verb affixes beginning with *h* do change a preceding vowel, if it is /i/ (and according to data from some linguists /u/), to /e/.

[2] At the time of his earlier work (Holmer 1971) it is suspected he was influenced by the prevailing dominant view that Australian languages only had three vowels. However his tapes show he was aware of more than he wrote down. Three vowels only is common in Australian languages, but not universal.

In a number of dialects, the final vowel in the absolutive form of the third person singular masculine pronoun, and in the singular demonstratives for the visible or unmarked set can vary between /a/ and /e/, in others between /e/ and /i/, although dialects to the south favour /a/ and to the north favour /i/. For example, *nyula* (Wa), *nyule*/*nyula* (Gd), *nyule*/*nyuli* (Y, Ga) 'he', *mala* (Wa) *male*/*mala* (Wi), *male*/*mali* (Y, Ga) 'that'. Otherwise short /e/ only occurs when a long /eh/ is shortened (see below under long vowels §1.6.). Geytenbeek commented that

> /e/ occurs in both Gidabal and Dinggabal as a fourth short vowel phoneme, but it appears unlikely that it is a separate phoneme in the other extant dialects. (Geytenbeek 1971:3 footnote)

However Crowley lists the short *e* vowel as a phoneme in Wahlubal (Crowley 1978: 13).

The low central vowel (long or short) can be fronted and raised following a palatal consonant, or backed following a velar consonant. The sequence /ay/ is often pronounced [ey]. The high front and back vowels vary from high close to high open with context. The /e(h)/ vowel varies little allophonically, and is generally quite open. Unstressed short vowels can be neutralised as happens in English. Crowley noted in particular the contraction of the inchoative verb *wen.ga-* 'be, become', which can result in a number of intermediate forms, or be reduced to the neutral vowel ə. The effect following a velar consonant makes /a/ more like *o* in English *cot, what*.

There is evidence, from reduplication patterns and from verb affixes in particular, to suggest vowel length has phonemic status of itself. Certain verb affixes lengthen the stem vowel (or vowel of a preceding affix), and reduplication of nouns commonly lengthen the vowel in the final syllable of the repeated form. There are no sequences of dissimilar vowels to suggest that the length can be analysed as a double vowel. Any apparent sequences of dissimilar vowels are analysable as two vowels separated by a semivowel (/w/ or /y/). Syllable forms are CV or CVC, where V can be either long or short. To symbolise vowel length in Yugambeh-Bundjalung, *h* has been the common choice in practical orthographies. Crowley doubled the vowel in some of his writings, or used the colon, which Holmer and Smythe also used. Here I use *h* which is more distinctive than the colon; lengthening (of a preceding vowel) is also part of some verb suffixes.

1.2   Consonants

Table 1.1 The consonants

	bilabial	alveolar	lamino-palatal	velar
obstruents	*b*	*d*	*j, dj*	*g*
nasals	*m*	*n*	*ny*	*ng*
lateral		*l*		
rhotic		*r*		
semivowels			*y*	*w*

The archiphoneme *dj* occurs within and in rare occasions at the ends of words, and varies between lamino-palatal articulation, an interdental fricative, and a sibilant fricative according to dialect, with some free variation. *d* only occurs word initially, or following *n* within a word. In Gidjabal (or Gidhabal) it is always a voiced interdental fricative, except between two /i/ vowels, when it is a lamino-palatal stop *j* as at the beginnings of words. In northern dialects, *dj* can be pronounced as a voiced lamino-palatal sibilant, as in *Zhivago, measure*.

The lamino-palatal nasal has sometimes been spelt *yn* at the ends of syllables or words. This format was used in the original *dictionary of Western Bundjalung*, but after recent consultation, *ny* has been used throughout this publication.

1.2.1   Obstruents: Crowley used the term 'obstruent' rather than 'stop', as fricative or affricate allophones of these consonants are more common than stop allophones. Obstruents are lenis and lightly voiced or devoiced except following a homorganic nasal where they are voiced stops. Word initially and before a long vowel (i.e. when the syllable is stressed), there is less noticeable voicing, particularly with /g/. The peripheral obstruents (*b, g*) are often realised as fricatives except when following a homorganic nasal, in which position they are voiced stops.   Obstruents do not occur syllable finally, except for /j/ (*dj*), which occurs rarely in syllable or word final position, and one other exception found with *g*: *jihbag* 'spit' (Y).

The velar obstruent is most like a voiceless stop either word initially or followed immediately by a long vowel. It is this perception which was behind the spelling system chosen by the Kombumerri people, including Pat O'Connor, and used in the *Dictionary of Yugambeh including neighbouring dialects* (1998). In the recent Mibinyah dictionary the /g/ has been restored.

The alveolar and lamino-palatal obstruents contrast word initially and following a nasal (except that /d/ does not occur following /ny/). The palatal obstruent is commonly pronounced with the blade touching the alveolar ridge and the tongue tip behind the lower front teeth. Intervocalically, and in rare word-final occurrence, /d/ and /j/ fall together as a laminal stop or affricate symbolised as /dj/, a somewhat sibilant palatal flat fricative, or a voiced interdental fricative, the particular realisation varying from dialect to dialect, as well as exhibiting some free variation. Intervocalically this archiphoneme is always voiced. In Wahlubal this archiphoneme can fluctuate between a laminal stop or affricate and an interdental fricative; in Gidhabal it is most commonly a voiced interdental fricative (like the *th* in *weather*) but also occurs as a palatal affricate preceding /i/ or /ih/ with some speakers[3]; in Bandjalang and Wiyabal it is most commonly a laminal stop or affricate (although occasionally it is heard as an interdental fricative), and in Yugambeh it varies between the laminal stop or affricate and a flat sibilantised fricative. Smythe recorded all these variants in his data[4]. In practical orthographies chosen in consultation with speakers

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[3] In *jijimahm* 'Lilly Pilly' (a shrub), and *giji-giji* 'ticklish' Geytenbeeks noted that the intervocalic /j/ is always an affricate (Geytenbeek 1971:57), influenced by the vowel /i/ before and after it.

[4] Crowley questioned the existence of a sibilant allophone in Smythe's record; it was foreign to the material he gathered at Tabulam and Baryulgil, but definitely present at least as a variant in material from northern dialects and in Smythe's data. The existence of a sibilant allophone is attested in the gazetted name of the Warrazambil

and descendants of speakers of the various dialects, the symbols *j, dj* or *dh* have been used for this archiphoneme. Here I am using *dj* both for the archiphoneme and for the lamino-palatal obstruent after another consonant. It should be noted that in Gidhabal and western dialects in particular, this can be realised as a voiced interdental fricative between vowels or syllable finally, but not following word internal consonants.

1.2.2 Nasals: Word or syllable final nasals, as well as the lateral, often have a stop onset as a free variant, especially following a long vowel. This is due to a slight timing difference in the movement of the articulators — the oral closure occurring just before the nasal release for nasals, or the alveolar closure preceding lateral release for /l/. The Geytenbeeks also noted that in Gidhabal this could occur in intervocalic position preceded by at least two syllables and followed by no other lateral or nasal, except that this is blocked by suffixes beginning with *l* or *hl* (Geytenbeek 1971:4). The Geytenbeeks give the following examples (Geytenbeek marked stress with ´ before the stressed syllable):

/jang/ [tʸaᵍ ᵑ]/[tʸa ᵑ] 'bad'
/yalal / [´yælaᵈl]/[´yælal] 'fragile'
/gihlgil/ [´ki:ᵈlgiᵈl]/[´ki:lg l] 'middle'
/bunduhny/ [´p n.d :ᵈñ]/[´p n.d :ñ] 'lizard'
/gurilah/ [´k r ´ᵈla:]/[´k r ´la:] 'old'
/namanibeh/ [´namaᵈn b :]/[´naman b :] 'grabbed
/gile/ [´k l] 'that'
/bandjalahm/ [´paᵈñdja´la:ᵇm]/[´pañdja´la:m] 'moth'
/ngamahla/ [ᵑa´ma:ᵈla]/[ᵑa´ma:la] 'on the goanna'
/namahla/ (/na´ma:ᵈla/) [na´ma:la] 'holds (hold-prog)'

1.2.3 Lateral: The lateral can be flapped (or have a stop onset) syllable finally as shown in the above examples. In Wahlubal, Crowley also noted that the word medial consonant cluster /lg/ is often pronounced as though the lateral was lengthened, or else as though a quick neutral vowel intervened between the /l/ and the /g/. He proposed that /lg/ developed from an earlier /lVg/ (where V is a vowel); /lVg/ is attested in other dialects in the same words; although Wahlubal's word for 'shoulder' lacks a vowel between /l/ and /g/ (*walgan vs walagan*).

1.2.4 Rhotic: The rhotic tends to be flapped between vowels, and trilled syllable finally, although it can occur as a continuant, similar to /r/ in English, particularly intervocalically. It is not thoroughly certain whether this pronunciation as a continuant has come from the influence of English, the loss of teeth in older speakers, or is a long-standing variant. The area where the language was spoken is adjacent to areas where the languages spoken had a contrast between a continuant and a flapped rhotic (and in some cases a third rhotic), and cognates show contrast between the flap and the continuant has been lost in Yugambeh-Bundjalung. Current evidence (2013) from partial speakers suggest that only flapped or trilled variants occur.

1.2.5 Semivowels: Semivowels occur word initially and finally and between dissimilar vowels. Word initially, as is rather common in Australian languages, the

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Ranges close to the border area of New South Wales and Queensland: *wardjam* is the mythical monster or bunyip, or 'eel, whale'; *wardjambil* is the plural form.

sequences *yi* and *wu* may phonetically lack the semivowel. Crowley found the semivowel could be replaced by a glottal stop, although I cannot confirm this.[5]

1.3 Stress: Stress falls on the initial syllable and on syllables with long vowels. In two syllable words with a short syllable followed by a long one, stress varies freely between the two syllables, but if the word is longer the stress falls on the long syllable(s). The language is stress timed, and unstressed short vowels tend to be centralised and shortened, often being heard as the neutral vowel (schwa). In this respect the language is similar to English in its stress pattern and vowel reduction.

1.4 Syllable patterns: Syllables are of the form CV or CVC within words. All consonants except /l/ and /r/ may begin words; although /l/ occurs initially in words borrowed from English, e.g. *laygima-* 'to like'. /l/ and /r/ can also occur intervocalically within words, but not after other consonants. Except for a few words which have been recorded as ending in /dj/[6] and one in/g/, obstruents are almost absent at the ends of words or syllables; only nasals, the lateral or rhotic and vowels may end words. Long vowels do not occur in successive syllables, see §1.6.

1.5 Permitted consonant clusters: Geminate clusters do not occur, neither do clusters with an obstruent as first member, except for suffixation of a rare stem ending in /dj/ by verbal suffixes *-ba-* 'say/sound' or *–ma-* 'cause to'. All homorganic nasal-obstruent clusters occur. The sequence of alveolar nasal followed by a velar obstruent is written *n.g*[7]. A number of clusters are created by suffixing morphemes beginning with /b/, /m/ and /dj/. Consonant clusters, some rare, which occur (within words, both within stems and across morpheme boundaries) are:

> *djb, djg*[8]
> *mb, mdj, mg, mny, mng, mw*
> *nb, nd, n.g, nm, nny, nng, nw*
> *nyb, ndj* (and *nydj*), *nyg, nym, nyng, nyw*
> *ngb, ngdj, ngg, ngm, ngny, ngw*
> *lb, ldj, lg, lm, ln, lny, lng, lw*
> *rb, rdj, rg rm, rn, rny, rng, rw*
> *wb, wdj, wg,wm, wny, wng*
> *yb, ydj, yg, ym, yny, nyg, yw*

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[5] The evidence is that speakers available during Crowley's research were not fluent first language speakers of the language. The Geytenbeeks had access to fluent speakers, as did no doubt Calley.

[6] One of these examples is a bird name *yahdj* 'night hawk' (Gd): the final /dj/ could be onomatopoeic. Another is the word for 'tickle' *gidjgidjba-* (Gd), where the final /dj/ could well have sound symbolism. The word *ngadjga-* 'whisper' (Gd, Wa) also suggests sound symbolism.

[7] However it should be noted that in earlier lists the velar nasal ng (/ ŋ /) was usually not distinguished clearly from either the sequence of alveolar nasal and velar obstruent (n.g) or the velar nasal followed bvy a homorganic stop (ngg).

[8] These two are somewhat rare, and occur when a word ending in /dj/ takes a verb suffix *–ba* or *–ga*. Crowley also notes one example of the sequence *rd*; cross-dialect comparison suggests it is a contraction of *rir*: *yirdiyn* 'bird' (Birihn dialect), cf. *yiririyn* (Bj).

Geytenbeek notes that in clusters we can have

     m, n, ng, ny, l, r, w, y as first member

     b, d, g, m, ng, ny as second member

and also *rn, ln, rw* and rarely *lw, db, djg* (Geytenbeek 1971:2)

or, as Crowley notes, in most general terms there can be a cluster of continuant + consonant, *l, r* and *y* never appear as the second member of a cluster (i.e. starting a syllable word internally), *n* can only be preceded b*y l* and *r*, and there are no geminate clusters. Any geminate clusters resulting from suffixation are de-geminated (Crowley 1978:26). A few three member consonant clusters are optional variants of unreduced sequences of *r/l + V + ng*.

For example   *bugalwen.gahla* —> *bugaln.gahla* 'getting better'

                ngabarwen.gahla —> *ngabarn.gahla* 'getting faster'

Crowley also gives examples of other contractions which result in consonant clusters in Wahlubal at least:

     yagarani —> *yagarni* 'followed'

     ngahrini —> *ngahrni* 'danced'

     ngahrila —> *ngahrla* 'is dancing'

     yirali —> *yirli*   'whiteman' (Crowley 1978: 27)

The absence of certain sequences may help account for the allomorphs of the stems of certain irregular verbs. 'While hitting' is *bumanyun*, not **bumnyun* which could have been predicted from the patterns of other irregular verbs, and irregular verbs whose stem ends in /n/ lose /n/ and lengthen the vowel in the analogous forms, e.g. *yanyun* 'while going/walking', not **yannyun*[9].

1.6   **Long vowels:** As Crowley points out (1978:16) vowel length and the contrast between /e/ and /eh/ are partly predictable. One syllable words generally have a long vowel, and long vowels do not occur in successive syllables. However some affixes have long vowels, and some add length to a stem final vowel. When whole words are reduplicated, the final syllable is often lengthened, or if already long the first repetition loses the length. Certain affixes also lengthen the final vowel in the stem to which they are affixes. Long vowels are never lengthened further, and if affixation would result in two successive syllables with long vowels, the second syllable will be short.[10] For the progressive affix[11] in Gidjabal and Yugambeh, the lengthening appears to 'hop' a syllable if two long vowels would otherwise result, but in Wahlubal this was not noted by Crowley. When a tense/aspect affix which lengthens the stem

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[9] By convention, non-existent forms are shown with an asterisk.

[10] I have one example which contradicts this statement, and from examination of all the data, it appears it has arisen as a rhotic was lost comparatively recently between two identical vowels: *nguhn.gahla* 'it is hot/warm'. *Nguhn* has, it appears, been a recent contraction of **ngurun* 'hot', a form recorded in an early list; note also that Smythe records *nguwun* for this word in the Casino dialect. There is some evidence of rhotic loss between identical vowels elsewhere in the language.

[11] or present tense according to most older analyses, see discussion under §3.2.

vowel is added to a verb stem ending in /i/, or follows the reciprocal/reflexive (and antipassive) affix –*li*, the lengthening of the /i/ vowel also results in /eh/.

> *gannga-* + *-hla* —> *ganngahla*
> hear   prog   'hears'
>
> *gannga-* + *-li* +   *-hla* —> *ganngalehla*
> hear/feel refl/recip prog   'hear each other/feel oneself'
>
> *nyah-* + *-h* —> *nyah*
> see   imp   'see!'

(Gd)   *burdji-* + *-hn* —> *burdjehn*
        pelt   impf   'pelted'

> *nyah-* + *-hla* —> *nyahla*
> see   prog   'sees'
>
> *nyah-* + *-li* +   *-hla* —> *nyahlela(h)*
> see   refl/recip prog   'look at each other'

When this pattern results in /eh/ being shortened, the resulting vowel is /e/. But Crowley says that in Wahlubal the change of /i/ to /e/ only happens if the vowel can be 'made long' in the first place. Compare

e.g. (Gd)   *ngahri-* +   *-h*   —>   *ngahre*
              play/dance   imper   'play!/dance!'
              nyah- + *-li* +   *-hla* —> *nyahlela(h)*
              see   refl/recip prog   'look at each other'
  (Wa)   *ngahri-* +   *-h*   —>   *ngahri*
              play/dance   imper   'play!/dance!'
  (Wa)   *nyah-* + *-li* + *-hla* —>   *nyahlila*
              see   antipass prog   'look at each other'

When nouns are reduplicated, the whole word is repeated and the final vowel lengthened unless it is already long. In a very few cases where the last vowel is already long, Geytenbeeks note that this vowel is shortened in the first occurrence and the length is retained in the repetition. The suffixation of –*bur* 'a little one' and –*gir* 'class' often also induces a lengthening of the final vowel of the stem. Reduplication in verbs and other words does not show vowel lengthening.

> *baygal* 'man' *baygal-baygahl* 'men' (Wa), 'little man' (Gd) (of a boy
>   wearing a man's hat)
> *yawun* 'afternoon'   *yawun-yawuhn* 'evening'
> *gumbi* 'many'   *gumbi-gumbih* many-many 'some, a few'
> *yabur* 'one'   *yabur-yabuhr-be* one-one-only
>   'only one here or one there'
> *muli* 'hill'   *muli-mulih* 'small hill'
> *ngagam* 'dog'   *ngagahm-bur* dog-dim 'little dog'

dubay 'woman'   *dubahy-gir* woman-class 'looks like a woman' (in a blurred picture)

Reduplication pluralises some nouns, has an attenuating or diminutive meaning with some other nouns, and has a distributive and attenuating action for verb stems. See §3.1 (Nominal Morphology), §4.2 (Verbal Morphology).

1.7   Morphophonemic change in case affixes

Among the affixes which have been classed as case affixes are a number which vary in form to harmonise with the final consonant of the noun or adjective final vowel. There are two series, of forms *-DV* and *–NV*, where D is commonly an obstruent, and N commonly a nasal, and V a vowel, /a(h)/, /i/ or /u/. These case affixes are:

-Du	ergative (agent, instrument)	*-Nu*	ablative (from, out of)
-Da(h)	locative (in, at, on)	*-Na(h)*	possessive
-Di	locative past (Gd, Y)	*-Nahdjil*	past possessive (Gd, Y)
		-Ni	accusative

The vowel in the locative and possessive is long in Gidhabal and Yugambeh, and possibly Bandjalang Proper, but not, it seems, in Wahlubal.
Following a nasal, /D/ is realised as the homorganic obstruent, and /N/ is lost. The table below shows all the forms.

Table 1.2 'Harmonising' suffix patterns

word ending in	*-DV* suffixes	*-NV* suffixes
m	*-bV*	*-V*
n	*-dV*	*-V*
ny	*-djV*	*-V*
ng	*-gV*	*-V*
l/r	*-V*	*-nV* with loss of *l/r*
dj (Gd)	*-V*	*-ngV*
y (often dropped except in Wa)	*djV*	*-nyV (-nyi, -nga, -ngu* in Wa)
w (Wa)	*-bV*	*-mV*
w (other dialects), V	*-yV*	*-ngV, -nVh* (Wa sometimes)
Special cases, demonstratives, etc.		
gahri	*-yV*	*-nV*
mahnyu, manyeh sets (Gd,Wa), *mayu, gayu* (Gd, Wa), *-a* dependent verbs (Gd), and following *–nah* poss, *-bah 'towards'*	*-lV*	*-nV*

There are a few special cases in various dialects, including the affixation of a suffix indicating plural kin terms (noted by the Geytenbeeks in Gidjabal).

1.8   Vowel 'harmony'

A verb stem final vowel /a/ shifts to /i/ in a small number of cases before the antipassive affix *-li*; the most common are these:

bum-/buma- 'hit, kill'   *bumili-* 'fight, hit each other'
(mi)nyanga- 'do what, do something'
(mi)nyangili- 'do something to each other', paint each other'

1.9   Intonation

The only descriptions of intonation we have is a brief paragraph at the end of the Geytenbeeks' grammar and a note in Crowley. Geytenbeeks note (Geytenbeek 1971:48):

> Basically intonation patterns are the same as in English, perhaps due to the increasing amount of English spoken at Woodenbong. One question intonation pattern which differs appreciably from English has been noted. A rising intonation reaches a peak on the last stressed syllable of the sentence and then falls suddenly.

Geytenbeeks do not indicate which type of question this non-English intonation applies to. Almost certainly it does not apply to wh-questions, i.e. those introduced by an interrogative (which in many languages have about the same intonation as statements, with perhaps a higher pitch initially). Crowley (1978:133) notes that echo questions can be introduced or ended by *nyang* 'what?, something', or ended with the interrogative particle *ngi* 'isn't it? (etc.)', both of which have a sharply rising intonation.

1.10   Orthography

In various publications on the Y-Bj language, slightly varying orthographies have been used, in accordance with local community wishes. In addition in technical writings other symbols have been used. Below is a list of the symbols I am using here, and variants to be found in different publications or manuscripts.

From workshopping the spelling system in 2013 with Bundjalung people, including some who spoke some of it, in practical orthographies at Baryulgil and Lismore, and elsewhere, j is used for the word medial archiphoneme which is symbolised in the dictionary as dj.

Table 1.3 Orthographic symbols

Used here	Used in other dictionaries and publications
b	sometimes bh in materials used for Bandjalang Proper in the Coraki area
j word initially j used in practical orthographies throughout in 2013 almost everywhere	dj word medially in this dictionary except that in a few words j is used[12], j (Coastal), dh (Western, Yugambeh), th, dj
g	k, g (both k and g are used in the Yugambeh dictionary)
ny (yn in some lists)	ny, yn ñ
ndj, yndj/nydj*	ndj (Western), nj (Coastal), ynj, nydj, etc.
ng	ng (Coastal), ŋ
r	r, rr
y	y

* In many cases in the dictionaries the 'correct' *yndj* has been simplified to *ndj*.

In Bandjalang Proper, some local choices were to use an 'English' system for the vowels, thus:

i	i, ee
ih	ee
a	u
ah	uh
e	e
eh	eh
u	oo
uh	ooh

In old lists a word initial *ng* was often not heard, sometimes written gn or h. The velar fricative was also sometimes heard as h. *j* and *dj* could be spelt ty, ch, etc. The lamino-palatal nasal (*ny*, and *yn* syllable finally was often not heard as distinctive; at was heard variously as *n, ng*, and *m*. Where older sources have included a pronunciation guide, these are shown below; also I have made comments on Smythe's system of spelling words.

1.11   Livingstone's orthographic system in Minyung

From L.E. Threlkeld as edited by John Fraser in *An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal*, and presumed followed by Livingstone in the appendix to this volume (Fraser p. 1). Note that in Fraser's notes, an older convention on punctuation is used than is common today:

PRONUNCIATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Pronunciation is the right expression of the sounds of the words of a language. Words are composed of syllables, and syllables of letters. The letters of the language of the aborigines of New South Wales are these: —

A B D E G I K L M N Ng O P R T U W Y.

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[12] *jijimahm* and *giji-giji*, where the word medial *j* is pronounced exactly like the word initial *j*, even in Gidhabal.

Note : – It is very doubtful if *d* belongs to their alphabet; the natives generally use the *t*.

VOWELS.

A is pronounced as in the English words 'are,', 'far', 'tart'.

E is pronouned as slender *a* in 'fate,' or *e* in 'where.' I is prounced as the short *i* in 'thin,', 'tin,' 'virgin,' or *e* in 'England.' O is pronounced as in the English 'no.' U is pronounced as *oo* in the words 'cool,', 'cuckoo.'

When two vowels meet together they must be pronounced distinctly; as, noa, niuwoa, the pronoun 'he'; bountoa, 'she;' so also when double vowels are used in the word; as, wiyéen, 'have spoken.'

A diphthong is the union of two vowels to form one sound; as,

1. *ai*, as in kul-ai 'wood'; wai-tawan, 'the large mullet.'
2. *iau*, as in nau-wai, 'a canoe'; tau-wil, 'that … may eat.'
3. *iu*, as in niu-woa, the pronoun 'he'' paipiu-wil, 'that it may appear.'

Note. — *ai* is sounded as in the English word 'eye'' *au* as in 'cow'; *iu* as in 'pew.'

CONSONANTS

G is sounded hard, but it often has also a soft guttural sound; *g* and *k* are interchangeable, as also *k* and *t*.

Ng[13] is peculiar to the language, and sounds as in 'ring,' 'bung,' whether at the beginning, middle or end of a word.

R, as heard in 'rogue,' 'rough'; whenever used, it cannot be pronounced too roughly; when double, each letter must be heard distinctly.[14]

The other consonants are sounded as in English.

Europeans often confound *d* with *t*, because of a middle sound which the natives use in speaking quickly; so also the confound *t* with *j*, from the same cause.

ACCENTS.

The language requires but one marked accent, which serves for the prolongation of the syllable; as, bón, 'him'; bún, the root of 'to smite'. The primitive sound is thus retained of the vowel, which otherwise would be affected by the closing consonant, as bun, the root of the verb 'to be' accidental, thymes with the English word 'bun,' but bún, 'to smite,' rhymes with 'boon.'

ORTHOGRAPHY.

In forming syllables, every consonant may be taken separately and be joined to each vowel. A consoant between two vowels must go to the latter; and two consonants coming together must be divided. The only exception is Ng, which is adopted for want of another character to express the peculiar nasal sound, as heard in hanger, and, conseuently, is never divided. The following are general rules:—

1. A single consonant between two vowels must be joined to the latt5er; as, ku-ri, 'man'; yu-ring, 'away'' wai-ta, 'depart.'
2. Two consonants coming together musrt always be divided as, tet-ti, 'to be dead,' 'death';; bung-gai, 'new.'

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[13] Livingstone has replaced *ng* with as *g* with a dot in it, as does Fraser lower in his instructions on spellings.

[14] Neither Livingstone nor any other researcher has established that there are two rhotic sounds in any Yugambeh-Bundjalung dialect, but only one.

3. Two or more vowels are divided, excepting the diphtongs; as, ngato-a, 'it is I'; yu-aipa, 'thrust out.' A hyphen is the mark where the diphtong is divided; as, ká-uwa, 'may it be' (a wish); ka-ama, 'to collect together, to assemble.'

4. A vowel in a root-syllable must have its elementar sound; as, búnkilli, 'the action of smiting'; ta, the root-form of the verb, 'to eat.'

5.

ACCENTUATION.

In general, dissyllables and trisyllables accent the first syllable; as, puntimai, 'a messenger'; piriwal, 'a chief *or* king.'

Compound derivative words, being descriptive nouns, have the accent universally on the last syllable; as, wiyellikán, 'one who speaks.' from winelli, 'the actionof speaking';so also, from the same root, wiyelli-ngél, 'a place of speaking,' sch as, 'a pulpit, the stagw, a reading desk.'

Verbs in the present and the past tenses have their accent on those parts of the verb which are significant of these tenses; as, tatán, 'eats'; wiyán, 'speaks'; wiyá, 'hath told.' This must be particularly attended to; else a mere affirmation will become an imperative, and so on; as, ká-uwa, 'be it so, (a wish); ka-uwá, 'so it is' (an affirmation).

Fraser has more to say on spelling and orthography, but it is more relevant to his account of Awabakal and other languages and spellings chosen by other workers, many with less understanding of the 'principles of phonology'.

1.12 Allen and Lane's spelling

Letters		Sounds, etc.
Vowels:-	a	as "a" in "father."
	e	as "e" in "fen."
	i	as "ee" in "beet."
	o	as "o" in :mote."
	u	as "oo" in "boot."

short vowels:		when te consonant following the vowel is doubled, the vowel sound is shortened. Example – "but" is sounded as the word "boot", "butt" as "butt."

Diphthongs:	ai	as "i" in "ice."
	au	as "ow" in "now."
	ei	as "ey" in "they."

Consonants:- b,d,f,j,k,l,m,n, p,r,t,v,w,y The same as in English consonant sounds.

q. s	are not used.
c, h	are not used as single letters.
g	always hard as in "gap."
z	only used in one word, "giz-gizba" = to tickle
ch	as "ch" in "chat."
ng	represents a difficlt sound, a combination of the "ng" as in "sing", with a sort of guttural aspirate.

ny	is like the Spanish "ñ" in "cañon."
hn	is a nasal guttural.

Accent:- Words of two sylllables when ending in a vowel are accented on the first syllable; when ending in a consonant the two syllables are equally sounded.
Words of three syllables generally have the accent on the first syllable, with a secondary accent on the last syllable if the word ends in a consonant. In words with vowel endings the accent is often on the penultimate.
The acute accent is used to mark exceptions from these rules.

1.13   Watson phonetics

In the study of the aboriginal toponomy of South-east Queensland, i.e. of the territories of the Kabi, Waka, Yugarabul and Yugumbir tribes, it is necessary to note the following philological peculiarities:-

(1) A consonant which is not represented by any character in the English alphabet, but which may nearly be represented by the digraph dh. This consonant may be nearly pronounced by attempting to sound the initial letter in the English word jew, or dew, without touching the palate with the tongue, thus converting it from a palatal to a dental.
This consonant has been wrongly rendered by translators variously as t, d, ch, and j

(2) — D and t and used optionally.

(3) — P and b are used optionally and sometimes are inseparable.

(4) — K and g (hard) are used optinally and sometimes are inseparable.

(5) — K and g (hard), when occurring between vowels, are sometimes elided.

(6) — F and v only occur in conjunction with p and b respectively, as in the word brunga, meaning 'to know,' which thus becomes pfrunga or bvrunga.

(7) — The aspirate does not occur.

(8) — The sibilants s and z do not occur.

(9) — No word begins with l or r.

(10)   — The digraph ng at the beginning of a word is difficult to master, but it is like ng in sing but wihout the preceding vowel. Its sound may be nearly approached in pronouncing the word finger by dividing it into two syllables thus, fi-nger. Latter day aborigines frequently omit the sound of g.

In the list of aboriginal place names herewith, pronunciation is as hereunder indicated:—
a as in the English word hat.
ä as in the English word far.
â as in the English word law.
e as in the English word hen.
ë as in the English word rein.
i as in the English word pin.
ï as ee in English seem.
o as in English top.

ö as in English bone.
u as in English bull
ŭ as in English but will use ù
ü/û macron as in English mood
ai as in English aisle
au as in Latin aurum, or German haus
ng as in English sing, without i
ny as Spanish n in canon (cañon)
g as in English garden
ku as qu in English queen.
dh as explained in note (1)
Other letters as commonly used in English.

That's what he says before his vocabularies and word lists.
But it is clear that mostly:
ù is as in English but
â is [a:] orthographically ah
ê is [e:] orthographicaly eh
î is [i:] orthographically i or ih
êî is orthographically eh
ô is [o:], probably orthographically uh (or ah)
û is [u:], orthographically uh
Except that it is possibly that some symbols were misread in the printed
version, and at times he has both ù and u in successive versions of the
spelling of some words. In a list he gave of sounds, he has the dierisis
rather than the 'carrot' over the (presumed) long vowels.

n'g implies ngg, i.e. a break between the sound before and after the
apostrophe
' apostrophe or ´ usually marks a syllable break, though one needs to take
into account the value of the letters he uses.

Watson diacritics as I have understood their import:
ù   /a/
â ä   /ah/
ê ë   /eh/

1.14   Notes on my respelling of Smythe's sentences

Smythe's spelling is often a good clue to the pronunciation, though I have used
phonemic spelling for the main entries.
For example:
yogombe for (probably) phonemic *yagambe*
bogol for 'good'
wongah for *wangah* 'your'
Continually remind yourself that /a/ adjacent to /g/, /ng/, or /w/ shifts to an o sound,
like a in English what, watt
and /a/ adjacent to /j/, /dj/, /ny/, /y/ shifts to an /e/ sound, so *yalgan* 'sun' sounds like
yelgun, *jang* like jeng, etc.

Smythe spells *ngadju* (I-agent) as ngaidju; this shows the probable glide in the vowel as /a/ precedes /dj/, although he could have been influenced by *ngay* for 'I' (intransitive). On the other hand, he may have been correctly reflecting a form *ngaydju*, and I've been wrong to change it.

Smythe's spelling rarely gives a clue as to how the archiphoneme /dj/ is pronounced. Sometimes in his dictionary he shows that it is a voiced 'th' sound (which I sometimes symbolise as dh). Similarly with /g/, which is often pronounced as a fricative [γ]. As a clue, in dictionary lists etc. I have twice written it as [gh].

Sometimes there are examples that don't quite gel with the analysis I have made. That will be so for any analysis of any language — there are subtleties the analyst will always miss. You may or may not find clarifying clues in the material you have; if you do, let me know!

2.   General Grammar Notes

2.0   Overview

Livingstone (1892:1) commented:

> It is well known that the Australian dialects are agglutinative, everything in the nature of inflection being obtained by suffixes. To this, the Minyung is no exception; so that, if I give an account of its suffixes, that is nearly equivalent to giving an exposition of its grammar.

Smythe commented (1978:308)

> In Bandjalang the various elements in a sentence are recognisable by the attached suffixes. One can tell subject from object and others by a glance at their morphology.   For this reason the order of these elements in the sentence is not of such importance as it is in, say, English. And in fact Bandjalang word order is so variable that it is difficult to decide what is the normal.

Nonetheless, Smythe himself, as well as others, have drawn out a number of tendencies in the syntax.

In both phrases (noun phrases, etc.) and clauses, word order is rather free. Although word order in much recorded material of the language may have been influenced to some extent by the frequent use of English by speakers, there is some indication that the default order in verbal clauses was SOV. However there is also a common preference for leaving much unstated, including the action, agent or object, when this was clear from the immediate verbal or non-verbal context, or for use of short 'clause fragments' to which further information could be added in successive 'fragments', just as occurs commonly in spoken dialogue in English and other languages with a literate tradition. Case inflection allows freedom of ordering while showing who is doing what.

While there is preferred or non-marked word order, the core of the grammar is in the morphology. Nominals and verbs have ordered sets of suffixes; these mark case etc. in nominals, and aspect etc. in verbs. There are also sentence level particles and suffixes, which can be added to nominals, verbs and minor word classes.

The following four points summarise some of the distinctive features of the language.

• The most common verb affixes mark aspect, not tense.
• In dialects which retain them, there are four genders: masculine, feminine, arboreal and neuter. Male and female humans are masculine and feminine respectively, though common words for humans are not so marked — adjectives applying to them are.
• Trees show the arboreal gender; all else is neuter.
• Demonstratives show three relative degrees of distance, and also mark whether the item or place is visible or not, or perhaps currently present or no longer present.

2.1 Simple sentences

Simple sentences are of two types, verbal and non-verbal. Smythe considered there were a number of normal patterns of ordering, and that similar orderings applied in placing of verbs and predicative adjectives, i.e. in both verbal and non-verbal clauses. Crowley noted that within noun phrases order was variable, and in one place refers to a 'scrambling rule', which to my mind is to state word order could be variable. The patterns Smythe described, and examples he gave are shown below (Smythe 1978:308-9). Crowley noted that the first of Smythe's patterns was the same in Wahlubal; in fact they all are.

1. Simple statement: subject-object-verb-accessories
   Gale-wahr bugal. 'That's good.'
   this-but good

   Ngaywahr bugal bayahny. 'I'm alright today.'
   1SG-but good today

2. Rhetorical statement and commands: verb-subject-object-accessories
   Bugal male. 'That's good.'
   good   that

   Jang ngay ngububu. 'I was no good yesterday.'
   bad   1SG   yesterday

   Yana-h wudjeh wangah-gu   jagun-gu. 'Go to your place/country.'
   go-IMP 2SG   2SG-POSS-GOAL country-GOAL

   Yengan-eh   ngaliyu   galahni baygalni waybargu.
   bring-IMP   1PL-ERG   this-ACC man-ACC camp-gOAL
   'Let's take this man home.'

   Yeh-ni   nyule bani-djar-gan-bah. 'He went to his wife.'
   go-COMP 3M   dspouse-CLASS-FEM-TWD

   Wahri-ni   nyula-yu bulang ngadjah-ba. 'He carried the meat to me.'
   carry-COMP 3M-ERG   meat   1SG-BEN-TWD

3. Interrogative sentence: interrogative-subject-object-verb-accessories
   (accessories: expressions of time, indirect objects and other explanatory words or phrases)
   nyang-gur wudjeh gibing? 'Are you ill?
   what-RESP 2SG   ill

   Smythe includes here examples showing different emphasis:
   Wudjeh-gur gibing? 'Are *you* ill?'
   Gibing-gur wudjeh? 'Are you *ill*?'

Nyang wehlu malah-ni nyah-ni   garbe-yah gayindi-nyun? [1]
what 2M-ERG that-ACC see-COMP creek-LOC   swim-SYNC
'Did you see him swimming in the creek?'

Yila-ma-hla   nyule? Where is he going?'
where-CAUS-CONT 3M

Jiyah-gur   wudjeh ngububu? 'Where were you yesterday?'
where-RESP 2SG   yesterday

Questions can also be asked using statement grammar and question intonation.
Answers to questions:

nyang! 'What!', 'I haven't any idea.'   *Yaway* 'Yes'
 yagam(be)/yugambe(h)   'No'   *guram* Perhaps', 'Maybe'
Yagambe ngay ganngahla. 'I don't know/understand/hear.'

4.   Negative statements: negative-subject-object-verb-accessories
Yagam-be ngay-war yan.gahny ngumbiny-gu. 'I will not go to the house.'
not-EMPH 1SG-ADVS go-IMM   house-GOAL

Yagam-be male bugal. 'That's no good.'
not-EMPH that good

Although Smythe does not mention it here, a location or time referent word is often placed first in a clause.

Galah-ya   ngali yan.ga-hn guhl wahng-ma-li-yah.
this.way-LOC 1PL go-IMPF   gold work-CAUS-APAS-PURP
 'We would go there to work gold.'

Gilah yana-h   duwa-le-h   dam-gu. 'Go there (distant) to dig for yams.'
thereD go-IMP   dig-APAS-IMP yam-GOAL

ngubu   ngali yan.ge-hn gilah   dun.gun-gu nyah-li-yah.
one.day.off 1PL   go-IMPF   that.wayD hill-GOAL   see-APAS-PURP
'Yesterday we went over there to the hill to watch.

Within noun phrases, word order is also variable; however Smythe found the following orderings (Smythe 1978:309-310):

1.   Demonstratives, numerals and possessives usually precede the noun, and the demonstrative occurs first when there is more than one modifier.
gale baygal   'this man'
yabur dubay   'one woman'
wangah ngumbiny   'your house'
bulahbu yabur juwan 'three spears'
male nganyah juwan 'that spear of mine'

---

[1] *gayindi-* can be further analysed as *gayi-* 'enter' + *-ndi* 'carry'.

munahmba   wangah   bargan   'that boomerang (that you had)'
that.invis-LOC your(sg) boomerang
munahmba nganyah bulahbu bargan 'those two boomerangs (that I had)'
that.invis-LOC my two-BACK boomerang

2. Other adjectives follow nouns denoting humans and animals, but precede
    those denoting trees and neuters.
    Baygal bugal behn. 'The good man fell.'
    Bugal juwan behn.   'The good spear fell.'
    Jehnah guhndjar behn. 'The big tree fell.'
    big-ARB tree(?) fall-IMPF (this word for tree not in dictionary)
    Yabur berang buluny-buluny gawani. 'One small cup was broken.'
    one   little   RDP-round break-COMP

3. a) *baginy(dja)* and *dagal* precede the verb to which they refer.
    Dagal   nganyi   buma-ni ngadjang-bihny-dju   bargan-du.
    nearly   me   hit-COMP grandfather-OWN-ERG   boomerang-INST
    'Grandfather nearly hit me with a boomerang.' (Wa)

    Yabur jahdjam dagal beh-n.   'One child almost fell.' (Gd)
    one   child   almost fall-IMPF

    Guram guwang   badji-le-hny   yuh. 'It might rain later.'
    perhaps rain   punch-apas-imm later.on

    b) *bundahng* a strong intensifier, and *wanyi* 'perhaps' follow the word or
    phrase referred to, as does *jungul* 'for nothing'.
    Male-war bugal bundahng. 'That's very good.'
    that-ADVS good   very

    Bani-gir-gan-I mahnyu-lu bumga-hla jungul.
    spouse-CLASS-FEM-ACC those-ERG hit-PROG for.nothing
    'They hit their wives for nothing.' (Wa)

    Gale   wanyi   bugal bargan. 'This may be a good boomerang.'
    this   perhaps good boomerang

    Ngihn banyarganjahng — baygal wanyi,   murung   wanyi?
    who   fat-INTENS   man perhaps woman   perhaps
    'Who's the fatter, the man or the woman?'

    c) Interrogatives are sentence initial, except that when *nyang* is used as a
    marker of an interrogative clause, it can occur clause initially or finally,
    and the tag question marker *ngi* is always final in the clause.

    Nyali-gur wudjeh   yan.gahny? 'When are you going?'
    when-RESP you(sg)   go-IMM

    Nyahgu   gile   jabuh dunggahla? 'Why is that boy crying?'

what-GOAL yonder boy   cry-CONT

Ngehndu   dungbihn   mani? 'Who made him cry?'
who-ERG cry-NOM   CAUS-COMP

Waring, ngi? 'It's cold, isn't it?'
cold   QSTN

Yilahgu   wahlu? 'Where are you going?' (Gd)
where.to-GOAL you(sg)

Ngubu   wahlu nyulagan-i   nyah-ni,   ngi?
yesterday you(sg)   she-ACC see-COMP QSTN
'You saw her yesterday, didn't you?'

Nyang nyule gangga-le-hn-i? Is he the one who was shouting?
what   he   call.out-APAS-IMPF-SEQ

Ngali guriyabu wahng-ma-le-hn   guhl nyang?
we   long.ago   work-CAUS-APAS-IMPF gold what?
 'We used to work for gold a long time ago, didn't we?'

Yil-e   baygal galga-le-hn-i   jali?
where-LOCNPR man   cut-APAS-IMPF-SEQ tree
'Where is the man who chopped down the tree?' (Gd)

2.2   Other syntactic information: This will be dealt with (file 05 Syntax).

2.3   Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Stands for	Usual form
		(when applicable)
1pl, we	1st person plural	*ngali*
1sg, I	1st person singular	*ngay, nga-*
2sg, you(sg)	2nd pers sing.	*wudjeh **etc.***
3f, she	3rd pers sing feminine	*nyahn(gan), nyulagan*
3m, he	3rd pers sing masculine	*nyula, etc.*
abl	ablative (through, out of, from)	*-Nu*
acc	accusative	*-Ni*
advs	adversative	*-nyi*
antec	antechronous	*-nah*
apas	antipassive, reflexive	*-li*
arb	arboreal gender	*-Nahn*
assoc	associative	*-bah*

B	brother	
back	back, again, back on self	*-bu*
ben	benefactive	*-gaye* etc.
caus	causative	*-ma*
d (that.wayd etc.)	distant	*gilah,* etc.
desid	desiderative (want, like)	*-gi(r)*
desid	desiderative, want	*-gi*
detrans	detransitiviser (see apas)	*-li*
dim	diminutive	*-buhr*
dist	distant	
dnom	derivational nominaliser	*-l, -y, -ny*
emph	mild emphasis	*-be*
erg	ergative case	*-Du*
F	father('s)	
f, fem	feminine gender	*-gan*
function	function	*-gubih*
goal	goal	*-gu*
habit	habitual	*-du*
imm	imminent, potential	*-hny*
imp	imperative	*-h*
impf	imperfect	*-hn*
inch	inchoative	*-wan, -wen, -an.ga-*
inst	instrumental (same form as ergative)	*-Du*
intens	intensive, very	*-djahng*
invis	invisible	
learnt.to	learnt to	*-bilahm*
lim	limiter (merely, only)	*-bu*
lim	limiter, only, just	*-be(h)*
loc	locative case	*-Da(h)*
locnpr	locative non-present case	*-Di(h), -De*
m, masc	masculine gender	*-gali*
neut	neuter gender	*-gay, -ø*
new, ntop	new topic	*-nguy, -ngu*
nom	nominaliser	*-h, -bih*
N	north	northern dialects
ntop, new	new topic	*ngu(y)*
perf	perfect, completive	*-ni, etc.*
perm	permissive	*-(lih)n*

person	person suffix	*-gihny, -giny*
place	place	*-bi(h)ny*
poss	possessive	*-Na(h)*
progp	progressive in the past	*-luhr, -lugu*
progpt	progressive participle	*-yan*
purp	purposive (verb)	*-yah*
qstn	question	*nyang*
refl	reflexive	*-li, -bu*
rep	repetitive	*-wa*
resp	respectful	*-gur*
S	son	kin marking
S	south	southrn dialects
seq	sequential	*-i*
assoc	associative	*-ba(h)*
sync	synchronous	*-nyun*
type	type suffix	*-gali*
type	type	*-gali*
vbr	verbaliser	*-wan*
Y	younger	kin marking
Z	sister	kin marking

3. Nominal morphology

Nouns and adjectives make up the nominal category in Yugambeh-Bundjalung, and can be distinguished from each other on some syntactic and morphological criteria.

1. Adjectives are much more likely to take the inchoative verbaliser 'be, become' than are nouns. This verbaliser, probably from an earlier irregular stem *wan-*, takes forms *wen.ga-, -n.ga-*, etc. (Wa), *an.ga-* (Y), *we-, wen.ga-* (We), etc. (cf. Crowley 1978:29, Holmer 1971:13).

2. If there is case marking in a noun phrase, it is most likely that case is only marked on the noun.

3. In some dialects at least some adjectives are inflected for gender, although the noun may not be overtly marked (Livingstone 1892, Smythe 1978, Geytenbeek 1971).
    dubay   gamay-gali-gan
    woman big-TYPE-FEM

4. Adjectives can generally take a complement whereas nouns cannot (Crowley 1978:29-30).
    Guyir mahny jahdjam malah-nyi ngabam-ni.
    afraid those child   that-ADVS dog-ADVS
    'The children are afraid of the dog.'

Nouns and adjectives are not distinguished from each other in form.

3.1   Reduplication of nominals

Reduplication of nominals fulfils a number of functions, according to the stem and context. Generally the second vowel of a reduplicated two syllable word is lengthened (unless the phonological rules do not allow it) – or if this vowel is long in the unreduplicated word, it is shortened in the reduplication.

On some noun stems it indicates plural; these nouns are shown in Table 3.3 for Wahlubal words.

Otherwise it adds a diminutive meaning, or for certain stems the reduplicated word is used as a specific name for some item.
Examples:

muli 'hill'	*muli-muli(h)* 'hilly'
bidjang 'little'	*bidja(ng)-bidjang* 'only a little'
jahdjam 'child'	*jahdjam-jahdjam* 'little child' (Wa)
buluny 'kidney'	*buluny-buluhny* 'cumulus cloud' (puffs of the cloud resemble kidneys)
deber 'white' (Wa)	*deber-debehr* 'plover' (Wa) (the bird is mostly white and grey in colour)
ngamban 'ritual scar'	*ngamban-ngambahn* 'snake with stripes on its back

Many bird names are in reduplicated form, even if the unreduplicated form is not known/used.

> *mumbir-mumbir* 'Tawny Frogmouth' (onom.)
> *bihm-bim* 'Noisy Miner'
> *dihn-din* 'peewee'
> *bun-bun* 'owl'

Monosyllabic borrowings from English are reduplicated without lengthening:

> *bing-bing* 'pig' (final obstruent is replaced by the corresponding nasal)
> *jugi-jugi* 'chook (domestic fowl' adding /i/ avoids replacement of *k*
> *jaw-jaw* 'Chinese person' ('chow')

3.2 Nouns

Certain nominal grammatical categories can be distinguished on the basis of suffixes which can occur on some but not others. Smythe (1978:272ff) distinguishes the following noun types:

> (1) Personal nouns   A Relationship terms (i) Free
>   (ii) Enclitic
>   B Common
> (2) Animal nouns
>
> (3) Neuter nouns   A Object nouns
>   B Local nouns and parts of the body
>   C Arboreal nouns
> (4) Place names
>
> (5) Directional nouns

Smythe notes:

> Personal nouns are distinguished from all others by a distinct declension-type. They include all nouns applied to human beings, and any other nouns personified as human beings.
>
> Relationship terms, free and enclitic, are those denoting the various members of the family. They generally have plurals, many have masculine and feminine forms, and all may take enclitic possessives except the enclitic relationship terms to which a prefixed possessive is obligatory.
>
> > *nganyahbany* 'my father[1] (*nganyah* 'my')
> > *wangahbany* 'your father' (*wangah* 'your(sg)')
> > *nyulangahging* 'his mother' (ny*ulangah* 'his')
> > *dubaydjar, duba(h)djar* 'his woman, wife'
> >   (*dubay* 'woman', *-djar* 'own')

---

[1] Orthography has been changed in these examples to the one I am using in this grammar. Other adjustments to vowel length have been made to bring forms in line with the most agreed forms from his and other data.

wadjungbihnygan 'your mother' (mother-your-fem)
wadjunggara 'my father' (mother(class)-my)
ngarinygirgan 'aunts' (aunt-pl-fem)

Common personal nouns comprise all nouns applied to human beings, except those mentioned in the previous paragraph. Note that terms for females in this list do not have the suffix *-gan*, except occasionally *jahdjamgan* is found for a female baby or toddler.

baygal/*mibiny* 'man' (*mibiny* in the north)
dubay/*jalgany* 'woman'   (*jalgany* in the north)
jabuh/*jananggan* 'boy' (*jabuh* in more northerly dialects)
jabun/*dubaydjin* 'girl' (*jabun* in more northerly dialects)
jahdjam 'child'
Bigibahbany a woman's name
wiyun 'clever man'
wulbung 'young girl'

Animal nouns (at least for larger animals) resemble neuter nouns regarding declension-type, but follow personal nouns in having plurals and a separate accusative (or objective) case.

guyahny 'possum'   *guyahnyi* 'possum-ACC'
guyahnybir 'possums'   *guyahnybiri* 'possums-ACC'
                              (Smythe 1978:272)

As Crowley notes in a commentary on this section (Crowley 1978:273), Smythe has recognised a hierarchy presented in Crowley (1978:112), and Crowley continues 'the person nouns and animal nouns are distinguished from the neuter nouns in that they have a special objective form' (Crowley 1978:273).

Smythe continues:

Neuter nouns all have the same declension pattern, with no separate accusative. Object nouns are undistinguished neuters such as:

jarul   'stone'[2]
ngumbiny   'house'
waybar 'fire, firewood, camp'
dugun 'mountain'   (Crowley 1978:272-3)

Local nouns (as Smythe called them) or location words, with locative case suffix and a noun with similar case, are much used to take the part played by English prepositions, for example:

numbihl 'behind'   *numbihla ngumbinydjah* 'behind the house'
                        behind-loc house-loc

---

[2] The word for stone, probably originally **jarul*, has lost final /l/ and often medial /r/ in some dialects, e.g. *dawgay* (*daw-gay*), *jaru*, *dehyu* according to dialect.

The Geytenbeeks, working on Gidhabal, were the only researchers to define an order of noun suffixes, and occurrence or non-occurrence of certain suffixes helps define noun types. Geytenbeeks placed nominal suffixes into ten orders, not all of which were exclusive to nouns and other nominals. Although the use of a long series of suffixes is of low frequency, examples from a number of dialects support the order they have postulated. A rough semantic content of the ten orders is given here:

1. function, class, plural suffixes; these can be suffixed to selected nouns, and a number of them to nominalised verbs also.
2. feminine suffix –*gan*; this) can be suffixed to nouns referring to human females (though not to a number of common terms for females such as 'Aboriginal woman', 'girl'), and to the third person singular feminine pronoun, and in some dialects also to the third person plural pronoun.
3. diminutive suffix –*bur*, which can be suffixed to the same nouns as listed for order 2, to nominalised verbs and a few nouns with the first order suffix –*bihny* 'place', and to human status nouns marked for plural.
4. possessive suffixes (present and past), which follow morphophonemic rules as shown in §1.7, and can be suffixed to nouns, nominalised verbs with or without certain suffixes, adjectives with or without gender or plural marking, and to pronouns.
5. 'same as', 'similar to', 'with', 'without' suffixes. Suffixes are –*djahr* 'same as', -*ginyer* (Wa) or -*nginyehr* 'similar to', -*djam* 'without' and –*nguhrgan* 'with'. In northern dialects, -*djam* can also be suffixed to verb stems and nominalised verbs.
6. 'movement towards' suffixes -*bah* 'motion towards' and –*mir* 'motion to nearby'. The first, –*bah*, bleached of meaning, is also added to human nouns before certain of the case suffixes in order 7, the particular list varies slightly in different dialects.
7. case suffixes. There are eleven suffixes, a number of which obey the morphophonemic rules shown in §1.7; the others are invariant. They indicate ergative subject, accusative (for humans and some large animals), location, and a number of other relationships.
8. two modifiers which add enhancement or a limitation to the word they are attached to: -*djahng* 'very' (intensifier) and –*bu* 'merely, only, now' (limiter). These, as well as ninth order suffixes, occur on all major and several minor word classes.
9. a mild intensifier –*be(h)* which has been glossed 'indeed', and which can occur on all major and several minor word classes.
10. sentence level clitics, which occur on most word classes. Many of these are suffixed to the first word in an utterance, but some occur suffixed to another word, often the last in the utterance.

The last three orders of suffixes, classed as 'universal suffixes', will be discussed in chapter 5 (Syntax) under §5.4. They can be added to other types of words as well as nouns.

3.2.1   Nouns: First to third order suffixes

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show Gidhabal suffixes (designated first order suffixes by
Geytenbeek (1971:8) which occur on various types of nouns and which therefore
differentiate some noun types. Table 3.2 shows the plural suffixes. These can be
further suffixed with syntactic and other suffixes; not all exclusive to nominals as
already noted. The Geytenbeeks list the feminine suffix *–gan* as a second order suffix,
which can be suffixed to nouns referring to humans derived from nouns in groups 1-7
in Table 2.1, and *–bur* 'a little one' (diminutive) as a third order suffix, which can be
suffixed to derived nouns in Table 2.1 groups 1-8, and to plurals of nouns referring to
humans. We have less information on these suffixes from other dialects. Although
there are differences between the suffixes in different dialects, the distinctions made
are much the same, and most suffixes shown in Table 1 are attested with only slight
variation in form and meaning elsewhere.

Noun suffixes orders 1-3, as described by the Geytenbeeks, are stem-oriented,
whereas suffixes in orders 4-10 are syntactic and general, and the last three orders
occur on other word classes.

3.2.1.1 First order suffixes except for number suffixes

Table 3.1 shows the first order suffixes except for those that mark plural.

Table 3.1 First order noun suffixes and their dialect attestation

Nouns appropriate to first order suffixes	First order suffixes
1. human status nouns, body part nouns, injury nouns	*-gir* 'class' (Gd) *-djin/-gihny* clothing on that part of body (Wa)
2. male kin nouns, female kin nouns, 'child', 'cousin'	*-gir* 'class' (Gd) *-djar* 'own' (Gd,Y), *-gar* (Cas), *-djal* (Y:Holm), *-gara* 'my' (Cas) *-bihny* 'your own' (Gd)
3. place name nouns	*-bari* 'inhabitant' (Gd, Wa, Cas, Y)
4. place name nouns topographical nouns	*-nginy* (1) 'dweller' (Gd,Wa), (2) 'area' (Gd) *-ngany* 'dweller' (not in usual habitat) (Gd)
5. all nouns (excl. pronouns, names, place names	*-gali* 'typified by' (Gd, Wa, Y:Holm)
6. 'thief', 'a cry'	*-buhny* 'typified by' (Gd, Bj)
7. all non-human nouns	*-giny* 'person' (Gd, M)
8. nominalised verbs, a few nouns	*-bihny* 'place' (Wa)
9. tree nouns	*-gir* (Gd), *-gah* (Wa) 'class'
10. all nouns (excl. place names and topographical nouns)	*-gubih* function

Examples (from Gidhabal unless otherwise noted):

-djin, -gihny 'clothing covering part of body'

    jinangdjin 'shoe' (Cas); *jaranggihny* trousers' (Cas)

-gir 'class' (Table 3.1 rows 1, 2, 9)

    man.gar-gir redgum-class 'redgum class of tree'

    muru-gir nose-class 'person with an injured nose'

    guyba-ny-gir-gan burn-nom-class-fem 'a woman who has been burnt'

    wulbung-gir teenage girl-class 'teenage girl'

    gawang-gir mother's brother-class 'mother's brother class of person'

    dubahy-gir gah woman-class there distant '(That looks like a) woman over there.'

-djar 'own' only occurs with human kin nouns, and is always singular.

    bani-djar spouse-own 'own husband'

    nyule-ngah mahmang-djar he-poss father-own 'his own father'

-gara 'my' (with certain kinship nouns only)

    banigara (spouse-my) 'my husband'

-bihny 'your own' has a similar meaning to *–djar* 'own' but may be either singular or plural, and is used when talking to a person about his/her kin.

    bani-bihny-gan spouse-your own-fem 'your wife'

    wangah banam-bihny you-poss younger brother-your own 'your younger brothers'

    ngirihmang-ah mudjum-bihny you(plur)-poss child-your own 'your (plur) sons (and daughters'

    ngirihmang-ah mudjum-bihny-gan 'your(pl) daughters'

-bari 'inhabitant of, dweller' is used only with reference to human beings, and is affixed only to place name, usually referring to a person's place of birth, but sometimes to the area where the person is currently living.

    garugah-bari 'one born (and/or living) near Kyogle'

-nginy (1) 'inhabitant of', 'dweller'; (2) 'area'

(1) When occurring on topographical nouns and referring to animate beings other than humans this indicates their usual habitat.

    gung-nginy 'water-dweller' (fish, water-beetle)

    gabal-nginy 'scrub-dweller' (e.g. scrub wallaby)

(2) When occurring on either topographical nouns or place names this may also mean 'immediate area'.

    muli-nginy 'near the hill; hill dweller'

-ngany 'dweller out of its usual habitat'

    gung-ngany 'water-dweller not in the water'

    gabal-ngany 'scrub-dweller out on a plain'

-gali 'typified by, fond of' occurs with all nouns except person names, place names and pronouns, and not to be confused with *–gali*, the masculine gender suffix with adjectives.

    nangany-gali food-type 'one fond of food'

gunuhm-gali stump-type 'place with many stumps'
ngagam-gali dog-type 'dog-lover'
dalagar-gali mud-type 'muddy place', or 'child fond of mud'

-buhny 'typified by' is rarely used but similar to *–gali* 'typified by' with a stronger meaning.
dung-buhny cry-type 'child who cries constantly'
wuyuhr-buny thief-type 'confirmed thief'
buhn-buny coil-type 'small whirlwind'

-giny 'person', also similar to *–gali* 'typified by' but less common, occurs with a non-human noun to form a human noun (note that *–gali* does not necessarily do this).
nangany-giny-gan food-person-fem 'woman fond of food'
gunuhm-giny stump-person 'stocky person'

-bihny 'place', 'affair' may occur on any nominalised verb, and occasionally on derived nouns and other nouns.
ngahri-ø-bihny play-nom-place 'playground'
wahng-biny work-place 'work site'
Mindji-h-biny *bumi-le-hn* *nyulangam*. 'They were fighting over
laugh-nom-affair fight-refl-past they that time he laughed.'

-gah 'tree'
bigarbah 'ironbark' (Cas) (*bigar* Gd)
bagahgir 'coral tree' (Gd, Ca)
gihmbigah 'stinging tree' (Wa)
man.gurgah 'a wattle sp' (Wa)

-gubih 'function', can be glossed 'thing(s) (to do with)'
danggan-gubih (Gd) hand-function, 'hand-thing, a handle'
duwa-li-h-gubih (Gd) dig-apas-nom-func 'thing for digging, a spade'
yagah-li-ø ̀-gubih (Gd) fix-apas-nom-func 'fixing person, repair man'
jinang-gubih (Gd) 'foot-things, shoes'

3.2.1.2 First order suffixes: Plurals

In general, number was not indicated by affixation of nouns, although, as seen in Table 3.2, it is shown by suffix for certain classes of noun. Geytenbeek includes these affixes as first order suffixes. Reduplication marks plural for some nouns in some dialects, e.g. *baygal-baygahl* 'men' (Wa). Singular and plural can also be indicated by the form of a demonstrative, see §2.2.2.

Table 3.2 Plural suffixes in Gidhabal (first order suffixes)

1. 'boy', 'girl'	*-mang* can be followed by *–bur*
2. 'man', 'woman'	*-djahli* can be followed by *–bur*
3. other human status nouns	*-girmam* can be followed by *–bur*
4. most other animate nouns	*-ngehn, -garah*
5. trees, a few topographical nouns	*-hngbil*
6. other topographical nouns, some food and animals	*-mir*

The plural suffixes vary somewhat from dialect to dialect. In Wahlubal a small number of nouns pluralise by reduplication and the lengthening of the final vowel in the repeated stem (Crowley 1978:42):

Table 3.3 Nouns where reduplication shows plural in Wahlubal

	singular	plural
'Aboriginal man'	*baygal*	*baygal-baygahl*
'young man'	*baling*	*baling-balihng*
'bubble'	*buwiny*	*buwiny-buwihny*
'rock'	*dawgay*	*dawga-dawgahy*
'mountain'	*dugun*	*dugun-duguhn*
'orphan'	*jabuhng*	*jabuhng-jabuhng*
'tree'	*jali*	*jali-jalih*
'stick'	*garany*	*garany-garahny*

Table 3.4 shows the Wahlubal examples where suffixation shows plural (Crowley 1978:39-42).

Table 3.4 Wahlubal nouns showing plural by suffixation

	singular	plural
'old man'	*dandaygam*	*dandaygambihn*
'boy'	*janagan*	*janagandah*
'blue gum (a eucalypt)'	*jihrgan(gah)*	*jihrganman(gah)*
'who	*ngihn*	*ngihn.garah*

As Crowley points out, many nouns have no distinct plural form at all, or else none was remembered. There is a limited set of numeral words: *yabur* 'one' and *buruhr/bulah(bu)* 'two' can be used in sequence (*bulah yabur, bulah bulah*) for 'three' and 'four', the word *danggan* for 'hand' has occasionally been noted for 'five'. There is a word for 'many'.

Smythe notes what he calls 'plural enclitics':
>   *-gam* follows the plural of simple adjectives
>   *-bir, -gir,-mir, -djihn, -da, -biny* form plurals of various person nouns and
>   names of animals
>   *-mang* forms plural of some pronouns and two person nouns

Examples   *beranggam dubaygir* 'small women'

jehrgam bagul 'big canoes'

guyahnybir 'possums'
dubaymir 'women'
wulbungbiny 'young girls'
mirungmir, mirungdjihn 'women'
dubaygir 'women'
baygalbir 'men'
buyuhnygir 'married men with families'
mudjumgir 'sons'
ngadjanggir 'grandfathers'
ngandan.gir 'corpses'
gawanggir 'uncles, nephews'
bugahygir 'sons-in-law'
janangganda 'boys, youths'
jahdjamgir 'children'

nyulamang 'they'[3]
jabumang 'sons'[4]
jabunmang daughters'

Smythe also found a couple of 'superplurals':
ngalih(r)ban 'we all, all of us'
bulaganmihr 'you all, all of you'

3.2.2 Second order suffix: Feminine suffix

The feminine suffix *–gan* indicates female humans, and can occur following a first order suffix in noun types 1-7, except for male kin terms; it does not co-occur with a noun plural suffix. A number of common words for human females do not have the suffix, e.g. *dubay* 'woman', *wulbung* 'girl'. In some dialects *-gan* can be suffixed to the third person plural pronoun to indicate women. Although a number of other words end in /gan/, it is only likely that this can be assumed to be the feminine suffix in a few of them, e.g *waringgihn.gan* 'The Pleiades, the Seven Sisters'[5].

3.2.2.1 Gender/Class

The data we have shows that in at least Gidhabal and Minyangbal there were four gender classes:
masculine: the natural gender of human males

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[3] Yugambeh also has *ngirihmang* 'you plural'; *nyulamang* is often metathesised in a number of dialects to *nyulangam*.
[4] Although Smythe glosses these as 'sons' and 'daughters', in other dialects these are general words for 'boys' and 'girls'; *mudjum* is the word for 'son, *mudjumgan* for 'daughter'. Smythe also lists these (1978:446).
[5] Myths about these being a group of women pursued by a man (often the constellation Orion) are common in Aboriginal Australia. *Waringgihn.gan* has the meaning of 'winter women' (winter-feminine): the Pleiades rise in the early morning in winter, referring to their visibility in early morning in winter rather than their visibility in the evening in summer.

feminine: the natural gender of human females
arboreal: trees and wood products (canoes, spears)
neuter: all other nouns, including non-human animates

Genders were shown by inflection of adjectives. Geytenbeeks found in Gidhabal that gender suffixes were obligatory for size adjectives (except when modified by *baray* 'not much, not very' or *budjay* 'almost'), but optional on quality adjectives (Geytenbeek 1971:20). Smythe apparently did not find evidence to regard arboreal as a distinct category in his data. Crowley's reading of Livingstone's material says Livingstone recognised four genders, but rather than arboreal one gender was for all animals and places. However when Livingstone describes adjective, the third gender is almost certainly arboreal, as it only included examples of items made of wood.   In addition, as noted above, certain terms, in particular kinship terms and nominalised adjectives applying to females, had a suffix *–gan* 'feminine'. Names of trees can have a suffix *–gah*, and in some dialects this appears obligatory or widely used, although *–gir* is used on some tree names in Gidhabal, but mostly no suffix occurred.

It is uncertain whether all dialects made these distinctions by adjective suffixes; our data is meagre on some dialects, and it is possible that in Wahlubal the remaining part-speakers of the language had ceased to make the distinction clearly. However two adjectives, considered by Geytenbeeks to be obligatorily marked for gender, retain these 'masculine gender' affixes in dialects where we have no other evidence of gender inflection on adjectives.

3.2.3   Third order suffix: -bur 'a little one'

Geytenbeeks states that a third order suffix *–bur* 'a little one' or diminutive, can follow both first order suffixes and *–gan* feminine. Often there is a vowel length change in the preceding syllable or in the suffix itself.
  ngaga(h)m-bur (Gd) 'little dog'
  buhn-buny-buhr coil-type-dim 'tiny whirlwind'

3.2.4   Fourth order: Possessive

The possessive affix allows a variant pattern when compared with other 'case' suffixes; and can be used to make derived nouns from nouns, pronouns, adjectives and nominalised verbs. Words with this suffix can function as nouns and take further case suffixes. The language can be referred to as *baygalnah* 'belonging to baygals', and *baygalnahnu* ('from baygal's) can be glossed 'in Bundjalung'. All dialects have this possessive suffix; northern dialects also have another suffix derived from it to mark possession in the past or non-present time. The possessive suffix is *–Nah* (see §1.7 and Table 1.2); the possessive past is *–Nahdjil*. If the stem final syllable has a long vowel, the length in the suffix 'hops' a syllable to become *-Nadjihl*.

  bawur yaraman-ah 'the horse's head'
  head   horse-POSS

  yuwahn-gali-gan-ah 'kind woman's'

kind-TYPE-FEM- POSS

malah-na 'that one's'
that- POSS

yanba-y-gali-ngah 'traveller's'
go-NOM-TYPE-POSS

baygal-nah-nu 'in Bundjalung' (lit. 'from Aboriginal man's)[6]
Aboriginal man-POSS-ABL

yirili-ngah-nu 'in English' (lit. 'from whiteman's')
white person-POSS-ABL

balugahn-adjihl 'once belonged to Balugahn'
Balugahn-POSSP

bilin-ahdjil 'once belonged to a parrot' (Billinudgel, a place on
parrot-POSSP   the NSW northern coast)

Jubar-nahdjil. '(That hole) once belonged to a witchetty grub.'
witchetty-possp

Possessive case is often not used when applying to a body part of a person mentioned. The following examples are from Smythe (1978:329)

Bawur ngay jang. 'I have a bad head (I have a headache).'
head   I   bad

Nyula-yu badji-ni   nganyi   bawur. 'He hit my head' or
HE-ERG   hit-PERF I-ACC head   'He hit me on the head.'

Ngadju gawga-ni   nyula-ngi   jambay. 'I cut his hand.' or
I-ERG cut-PERF he-ACC hand   'I cut him on the hand.'

3.2.5 Fifth order suffixes

There are three fifth order suffixes according to Geytenbeeks. To these *nginyehr* should almost certainly be added.

-djahr 'exactly like' contrasts with *-nginyehr/-ginye(h)r* 'similar to', and usually occurs on a demonstrative or on a possessive sub-phrase, rather than on the actual noun to which it refers (Geytenbeek 1971:12).

Gale malah-djar. 'This one is exactly like that one.'
this that-EXACTLY.LIKE

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[6] The pattern of using the 'from, out of' affix where English would use 'in' in phrases like 'in English', in French' is commn in Australian Aboriginal languages.

Gahnga-le-hny gaybe   nyule-ngah-djar.
get-APAS-IMM another he-POSS-EXACTLY.LIKE
'I will get another one exactly like his.'

Jagun   gunu nga-nyah   wahng-biny-djahr.
country here I-POSS work-place-exactly.like
'The country here is exactly like the place where I work.'

-nginyehr 'similar to' was not analysed as a suffix by Geytenbeeks, but its variant *-ginyehr* in Wahlubal and the Casino dialect was treated as one by Crowley and Smythe respectively.

Wangah   bawur yagam burbi-ngah-ginyer yirali! '
your(sg) head   not   koala-POSS-SIM whiteman
Your head is not like a koala's, whiteman!'[7] (Wa)

Ngumbiny-dje nyah-ni   bargan   gale-nginyehr?
house-LOCNPR see-PERF boomerang this-LIKE
'Did you see a boomerang like this one in the house? (Gd)

Gaybe baygal yagam-beh nyule-nginyehr.
another man   not-EMPH 3M-like
'The other man is not like him.' (Gd)

Bargan-nginyehr-u   naba-ni   nyule-ngi.
boomerang-like-INST hit-PERF   he-ACC
'A boomerang-shaped object hit/killed him.'   (Gd)

Yagam-bu nyah-ni   bayahny-nginyehr. 'Never before have I seen a day
not-AGAIN   see-PERF today-LIKE   like today.' (Gd)
Male-war jahdjam-ginyehr. 'That fellow is like a child.' (Cas)
that-BUT child-LIKE

Jahdjam jehr bidjang-djar-ginyehr. 'The child is as big as his father.' (Cas)
child   big   father-CLASS-LIKE

-djam 'without'; in northern dialects it can also be found on nominalised verb stems.
gung-djam 'waterless, without water'
water-without

nyah-bi-djam 'without seeing'; *nyah-djam* nickname of a blind man (Y)
see-NOM-without   see-without[8]

nyule-djam 'without him'   *Nyule dalahn-djam*. 'He has no white ones.'
he-WITHOUT   he   white-WITHOUT

Gale jagun nyabay-djam. 'This place is waterless.' (Wa)

---

[7] Crowley guessed this was an idiom. What is probably well known to Aboriginal people but not to others, is that the koala's brain itself is about the size of a walnut in an otherwise empty skull, an adaptation to the koala's low nutritional diet (Flannery 1994:86). Crowley was being complimented on speaking the language!

[8] In this example it appears *nyah-* is being treated as a regular verb, which adds vowel length as a nominaliser. As the vowel is already long, no further lengthening can take place.

this   land   water-WITHOUT

-nguhrgan 'with', 'having' indicates that the referent of the stem to which it is suffixed is under the control or in the possession of some other being.

> *Nyule ngagam-nguhrgan*. 'He has a dog.'
> he   dog-WITH

> *Mahnyu jali   baling   wurahng-ngurgan*. 'Those trees have new leaves.'
> those   tree   young   leaf-WITH

> *Gale jagun nyabay-ngurgan*. 'This place has water.'
> this country water-WITH

> *Gandjabul   nyule-nguhrgan yeh-ni*. 'The policeman took him away.'
> constable   he-WITH   go-PERF

A shortened form *–ngur* occurs in Smythe's data; the motivation could be to avoid an ending implying the word refers to a female: *dubay-ngur* 'married man' (woman-with).

3.2.6   Sixth order: movement towards

-bah 'motion to, motion towards' may occur with any concrete referent. Nominalised verbs require some other noun suffix or syntactic suffix preceding *–bah*. An allomorph *–Nah* occurs with place names and with *yil-* 'where?' In some dialects, if not all, *-bah* is also used before some seventh order suffixes with stems referring to human animates (and in Gidhabal on pronouns) unless they already have a suffix of an earlier order; the suffix, which Geytenbeeks labelled associative in these cases, has no semantic meaning, and is present before the following seventh order suffixes in Gidhabal:

-gi/-gir 'want, like'   *-Nu* 'from'   *-De* locative non-present
-Dah locative present   *-gu* goal   *-gahl* 'after'
-nyi 'than, for fear of' (adversative)
-ni accusative (in some dialects)

mamahng-bah-nu 'from father'
father-ASSOC-ABL

 Yahn.ga-n nyule yabur-bah-ye. 'He was sitting alongside one man.'
 sit-IMPF   he   one-ASSOC-LOCNPR

Ngagam yanba-le-hn baygal-bah-ye 'The dog went with the man.'
dog   go-APAS-IMPF man- ASSOC-LOCNPR

Nyule-ngi gidja-h-ban   ngali-bah-gu   yangguwa-yah ngubuh.

he-ACC   tell-IMP-ALSO we-ASSOC-GOAL   come-PURP[9]   one.day.away
'Tell him also that he should come to be with us tomorrow.'

The list of words requiring the associative *–bah* varies slightly from dialect to dialect, and information is incomplete in many dialects.

-mir 'motion to near' signifies motion to the vicinity of the stem and only occurs with inanimate stems. The few examples I obtained in Yugambeh imply 'motion to'.

Nyule yeh-ni   jali-mir. 'He went to a spot near the tree.'
he go-perf tree-TO.NEAR

Yana-h ngali ngumbiny-mir. Let us go over near the house.'
go-IMP we   house-TO.NEAR

3.2.7   Seventh order

The eleven suffixes in the seventh order mark various cases. They are shown below with examples of their use.

1. *-Du* ergative and instrumental marks the person or large animal transitive subject, and also instrument, which is usually non-animate. At least in Gidhabal, it can also mark accompaniment.

Gidhabal examples:
Nyule-yu darbang-gu badji-ni jabuh. 'He hit the boy with a stick.'
he-ERG   stick-INST   hit-perf boy

Ngali yanba-le-hn bulah-yu   Townsville-gu. 'We went with cattle to
we   go-APAS   cattle-INST Townsville-GOAL   Townsville.'

Nyule-yu gidja-ni   nga-nyi "j--------" ba-hla ngandur-u.
he-ERG   tell-perf   I-ACC   "j------" say-PROG others-ABL
'He warned me about saying "j-----" in the presence of others.'

Wahlubal examples:
Jarge-h   gindil-u   jambay-dju walange-h. 'Get down on your hands and
stoop-IMP knee-INST hand- INST crawl-IMP   knees and crawl.'

Mahnyu-lu bunihny nyah-li-la   ngali-ngi jiyaw-bu. Those echidnas are
those-ERG echidna see-APAS-PROG we-ACC eye-INST   staring at us.'

Mala baygal yehn.ga-la garbulu malung-ga.
that   man   sit-PROG   buttocks-INST shade-LOC
'The man is sitting down on his backside in the shade.'

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[9] Historically *yang guwa-* or *yanggiwa-* appears compounded from *yang* 'this way'; some dialects have *yang* 'this way' and *giwa-* 'go' as independent words.

Mala balahya-ni gulungba-dju.   'That man died from the flu.'
that   die-PERF   flu-INST

Mahny dabahy   yung-ba-le-hla   gibam-bu mali-yu.
those   dog   bark-say-APAS-PROG moon-INST that-INST
'The dogs are barking becsuse of the moon.'

Mala dabahy gibing-we-hn guygum-bu.   'The dog got sick because of
that   dog   sick-INCH-IMPF salt-INST   the salt.'

Wanah yirali-ngah-dju-ma-h!   'Don't speak (in) English!'
don't   whiteman-POSS-INST-CAUSE-IMP

2. *–Ni* accusative/dative, marking the object of a transitive verb and the recipient
    of 'ditransitive' verbs like 'give', 'say to', 'show (to)'. The use of *–Ni* with
    non-human and non-animates is rare and only for emphasis or clarity.
    Both *–Du* ergative and *–Ni* accusative are optional if no ambiguity results;
    otherwise either or both may occur.[10] Their use where there is no ambiguity
    tends to emphasise the referent they mark. However in the dative sense *–Ni* is
    obligatorily present, and the object has no case suffix unless it is a pronoun.

Ngagam gahdja-le-hn   nyule-ngi. 'A dog chased him.'[11]
  dog   chase-APAS-IMPF 3M-ACC

Nyule-yu yigam wula-ni   ngagam-i. 'He gave meat to the dog.'
3M-ERG   meat give-PERF dog-ACC

Ngay wa-hnyi wula-hny   ganydjabul-ni. 'I will give you to[12] the policeman.'
  I   you(sg)-ACC give-IMM constable-ACC

Baygal jabuh-ngi yana-h ba-ni. 'The man said to the boy "Go away!"'
man   boy-ACC   go-IMP say-perf

Nyule-yu galga-ni male jali. '***He*** chopped down that tree.'
he-ERG   cut-PERF that tree

Nyule galga-ni male jali-ngi. 'He chopped down that ***tree***.'
3m   cut-PERF   that tree-ACC

3. *–gaye/-gayi* benefactive can only occur on animate referents.

Gunu   gung   mahmang-gaye. 'This water is for father.'
this.gen water father-BEN

Bira-h   gale burehn bunduhny-gaye. 'Throw this bread to the lizard.'
throw-IMP this bread lizard-BEN

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[10] Whether this was historically so or in part an artefact of the influence of English is not known.
[11] The subject here is not ergative as the verb has *–li*, the antipassive marker.
[12] Note that the person something is given to takes accusative case in Yugambeh-Bundjalung, whereas
in English it is the indirect object. This is typically so in Australian Aboriginal languages.

Yeh-ni gabal-gu gahnga-li-yah muruhn ngali-gaye.
go-PERF scrub[13]-GOAL fetch-APAS-PURP wood we-BEN
'He went to the scrub to get wood for us.'

Mala jahdjam dunga-ni gumbil-gu. 'The child cried to get some milk.'
that child cry-PERF milk-GOAL

4. *-Dahgan* 'to get'

gudjim-bahgan 'to get wild game'   *muruhn-dagan* 'to get firewood'
game-TO.GET   wood-TO.GET

mani-yahgan 'to get wallaby'   *gung-gahgan* 'to get water'
wallabhy-TO.GET   water-TO.GET

5. *-gi* desiderative '(want, like') can occur on nouns and on nominalised verbs. Livingstone's description of Minyangbal preserves a longer form *-gir*. There is no change in the initial consonant of the suffix.

burehn.gi-bu 'wants bread again'   *Nyule nangany-gi*. 'He wants
bread-DESID-BACK   he   food-DESID   food.'

Gawari-h-gi   nyule. 'He wants to run.' *Guwang-gir ngay*.
run-NOM-DESID he   rain-DESID   I
                                             'I wish it would rain.' (M)

Yugum ngay mala-gir   jalgany-gir. 'I do not like that woman.' (M)
not   I   that-DESID woman- DESID

Gawari-h-gi nyule.   *Ja-b-ih-gi   wuya?*
run-IMP-DESID he (Gd)   eat-PURP-NOM-DESID you(sg)
'He wants to run.'   'Do you want a feed?' (Bj)

Yanbih-gi 'want to go, must go'   *juga-lih-gi* 'wants to drink, is thirsty'
go-PURP-DESID   drink-NOM-DESID

Holmer considered that *-gi* suffixed to a verb stem indicated 'intentional' in Manandjali.

6. *-Nu* 'from, through, over'

Miyi-ngu gaye-hn   barehny. 'The splinter pierced the eye.' (Gd)
eye-ABL   enter-IMPF splinter

Yaraman waruwaruh-ngu julba-ni. 'The horse jumped over the fence.'
horse   fence-ABL   jump-PERF   (Gd)

Jahdjam julba-ni   diranggir-nu. 'The child jumped from the log.'
child   jump-PERF   log-ABL   (Gd)

As is common in Australian Aboriginal languages, *-Nu* 'from, out of, through' is used where English would use 'in' when talking about languages:

baygal-nah-ngu   'in Bundjalung'   *yirali-ngah-nu*   'in English'
Aboriginal man-POSS-ABL   white man-POSS-ABL

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[13] 'Scrub' is widely used in this part of Australia for open forest. The 'big scrub' is rain forest.

7. *-Da(h)* locative ('in, at', on') in all dialects: *-Da(h)* has a long vowel in northern dialects (Gd, Yg, and probably also Bj), and a short vowel in south-western dialects (Wa etc.).

Jabuh male jali-yah. 'The boy is in the tree/on the log.'
boy   that tree-LOC   (Gd)

Jahhjam munah   numbihl-a ngumbiny-djah. 'The child is behind the house.'
child   that.invis behind-LOC house-LOC

For both this suffix and the locative non-present, there are a number of preposition-like location nouns which can more closely define location, as shown in the above example. See §2.1.2.3 below.

8. *-De/-Di(h)* locative non-present. Northern dialects also have a suffix *–De* (Gd), *–Di(h)* (Yg), which has been interpreted as meaning 'in, at, on in the past (or not at present time)', although in Gidhabal the Geytenbeeks found that *–Dah* (Gd) was also used in narratives of past events. Smythe considered the difference between *–Dah* and *–De* to be that the first indicated where something lies or is, and the second where something is put or some action takes place, although his textual examples in particular would allow the other interpretation, especially as what Smythe (and Geytenbeek and myself) analysed as tense affixes in the verbs are more neatly analysed as signalling aspect. Crowley found that his Baryulgil consultant used both forms, but he did not have sufficient data to see any pattern.

gung-ge (Gd) 'was/will be in the water'
water-LOCNPR   (Gd)

bala-yah   danggan-dah 'is under the hand'
under-LOC hand-LOC   (Gd)

Gayih-nde-n   gung-gah   nyule. 'He dived! He is in the water now.'
enter-CARRY-IMPF water-LOC 3M

9. *-gu* goal can be used on nouns and nominalised verbs. This suffix does not change form.

Nyule yeh-ni gabal-gu. 'He set out for the scrub.'
3m   go-perf scrub-GOAL   (Gd)

Ngalawa-le-hla guruman-gu. '(He) is hunting for kangaroo.'
hunt-APAS-PROG kangaroo-GOAL   (Gd)

Nyule gawari-h-gu. 'He intended/intends to run.'
3M   run-NOM-GOAL

Gunu gung budjuh-gu. 'This water is for the shrub.'
this.gen water shrub-GOAL   (Gd)

10. *-(ng)gahl* 'after' has two allomorphs, *-gahl* and *–nggahl*, the latter occurring on nominalised verbs.

Ngudjumbuny-gahl   bahya-ni   jubar-e.
Woodenbong-AFTER   appear-PERF   Glen Station-LOCNPR   (Gd)
'After leaving Woodenbong I arrived at Glen Station.'

Guwang-gahl gawuny   weh-n   mandjahy
rain-AFTER   refreshed become-IMPF feeling   (Gd)
. 'After the rain I felt refreshed.'

Galga-li-h-nggal   ngurahmbil weh-n.

cut-APAS-NOM-AFTER sleepy   become-IMPF   (Gd)
'After the chopping he felt sleepy.'

11. *-nyi* aversive 'than, for fear of' is used in comparison statements, and also to indicate something that needs to be countered, and to indicate something an animate being is afraid of. When used in the sense 'than', an adjective will have the suffix *–jahng* 'very'.

Waybar   ma-h   waring-nyi. 'Make a fire because of the cold!'
fire   make-IMP   cold-ADVS

Gile ngagam dulung malah-nyi baygal-bah-nyi.
yon   dog   afraid that-ADVS man-ASSOC-ADVS
'That dog is afraid of that man.'

Gale bugal-djahng   malah-nyi. 'This one is better than that.'
this   good-VERY   that-ADVS

Jarge-h malah-nyi deberdebehr-gan-bah-nyi.
stoop-IMP that-ADVS plover-pl-ASSOC-ADVS
 'Duck down because of the plovers!   (Wa)

 Mani   mala gaware-hn jali-nyi malah-nyi mahny-i   yala-nyi.
kangaroo that run-IMPF tree-ADVS that-ADVS those-ADVS bee-AVS
'The kangaroo ran away from the tree because of the bees.' (Wa)

3.4.8   Eighth to tenth order suffixes

These occur on other words as well as on nominals, and will be discussed in §5.4, together with other sentence level suffixes.

3.5   Compound nouns

Formation of compound nouns is not particularly common, but has been found in Wahlubal, Gidhabal and Yugambeh. The compound for 'black swan' is found in Yugambeh as well as in Wahlubal.

From Wahlubal:
    nugal 'jaw' + *dalahn* 'white' —> *nugal-dalahn*
           'species of turtle with white jaw'
    muru 'nose' + *gudjihny* 'red' —> *muru-gudjihny*
           'black swan' (it has a red bill)
    ganggar 'neck' + *bundur* 'rough' —> *ganggar-bundur*
           'species of turtle with a rough neck'
    bawur 'head' + *biriny* 'crack' —> *bawur-biriny*
           name of a place where a hero made a crack in a rock with his head

From Gidhabal:
    bilang 'River Oak' + *duwa-hny* 'dig-imm' —> *bilang-duwahny*
                  'a large species of bandicoot'

    ganggar-gali 'neck-type' = 'bull'

From Yugambeh
    jalngay 'a light, shiny' + *ngahri-yan* 'dance-PROGPT' —> *jalngay ngahriyan* 'dancing lights', the Richmond Birdwing butterfly'[14]

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[14] Before intensive white settlement, these large butterflies, with iridescent blue and black wings, used to be seen in large flocks. Their food plant has been replanted more recently and the numbers of these butterflies are increasing.

3.6   Nominalisation of verbs

A nominaliser –h may be suffixed to any verb, and followed either –ndi or –li. It may also immediately attach to the root in verbs with stems ending in /i/. This suffix never shifts /i/ to /eh/ (Geytenbeek 1971:25). The nominalised verb may optionally take the first order noun suffixes –gubih 'function', -giny 'person', -gali 'type', and –bihny 'place' with or without any of the syntactic suffixes (Geytenbeek 1971: 25).

Irregular verbs take the suffix –bih rather than –h, see Table 4.2.

When a nominalised verb does not bear one of these first order noun suffixes, only the following syntactic suffixes of orders five and seven may occur with it.

-djam 'without'	-gu 'goal'
-nguhrgan 'with'	-gi 'want' (-gir in M)
-yu 'actor'	-nu 'from'
-nggahl 'after' (this is an allomorph of –gahl, which occurs only with nominalised verbs.)	

In addition to the above suffixes, nominalised verbs may take –bilahm 'has learned to', which is restricted to occurrence with nominalised verb and derived nouns (Geytenbeek 1971: 25).

galga-li-h-gubih
chop-APAS-NOM-FUNCTION
'an axe, an axeman'

gahdja-li-h-giny
chase-APAS-NOM-PERSON
'chaser, e.g. cattle dog, a drover'

gahdja-li-gali
chase-APAS-TYPE
'one fond of chasing'

wandi-h-gu
climb-NOM-GOAL
'intends to climb'

wandi-hndi-ø-gu
climb-CARRY-NOM-GOAL
'climbing with something'

gurgun-ma-li-h-biny
talk-CAUS-APAS-NOM-PLACE
'public hall'

  Galga-li-h-yu   giriny-ma-ni. 'The chopping made me tired.'
chop-APAS-NOM-ERG tired-CAUS-PERF

  Galga-li-h-gu   giriny-we-n.   'I became tired through the chopping.'
chop-APAS-NOM-GOAL tired-INCH-IMPF

  Nama-li-h-nggal   warahy bira-ni-beh.
grab-APAS-NOM-AFTER long.time throw-PERF-INTENS
'After holding it a long time, he just threw it away.'

wandi-ndi-h-gu
climb-CARRY-NOM-GOAL
'intends to take it up'

gurgun ma-li-h-biny
talk   CAUS-APAS-NOM-PLACE
       'public hall'

Galga-li-h-yu girihny ma-ni. 'The chopping made me tired.'

chop-APAS-NOM-ERG tired CAUS-PERF

galga-li-h-ngu girihny we-n. 'I became tired through the chopping.'
chop-APAS-NOM-ABL tired INCH-IMPF

Nama-li-h-nggal warahy bira-ni-beh.   'After holding it a long time he just
hold-APAS-NOM-AFTER long.time throw-PERF-LIM   threw it away.'

walanggi-h-bilahm   'has learnt to crawl'
crawl-NOM-LEARNT.TO   (Geytenbeek 1971: 26)

Geytenbeeks found three derivational nominalisers and stated (1971:26):

> There are three derivational nominalisers, *-l, -y* and *–ny*, which may occur
> directly on the verb root, or follow *–ma* 'causative'. All verb roots may take
> at least one of the three derivational nominalisers. Several verb roots take two,
> but the conditioning factors that would indicate which two of the three have
> not yet been identified. No verb root has been recorded as taking all three.

> The following meanings given to the derivational nominalisers account for
> most, but certainly not all of the data: the suffix *–ny* often indicates a state of
> being which resulted from the action of the verb; *-l* refers to one able to
> perform the action; *-y* refers to one actually doing the action at the time of
> speaking.

However, patterns do not seem to be entirely consistent here, and the analysis may not
reflect the entire reality.

yarbi- 'sing' (verb stem)   *yarbil* 'song'
                                 yarbil-gali 'one who likes to sing'
                                 yarbil-nginy one who can sing' (Wa)
jaluba- 'urinate'   *jalubay* 'urine' (G, Wa, Bj)
yan- 'go. walk'   *yanbay* 'a journey/walk' (G, Wa,Bj),
                                 'a traveller' (G, Wa)

wahri-ny 'things which have been carried'   *galga-ny* 'carved ornament'
carry-DNOM   chop-NOM

guyba-ny-gir-gan 'woman who has been burnt'
burn-DNOM-CLASS-FEM

gawari-ma-l 'a thing wh ich may be made to run' (e.g. a car)
run-CAUS-DNOM

gawari-ma-y 'a thing being made to run'
run-CAUS-DNOM

wayah-li-ma-l 'a thing which may be made to fly' (e.g. a boomerang)
fly-DETRANS-CAUS-DNOM

wayah-li-ma-y 'a thing being made to fly' (e.g. an aeroplane)
fly-DETRANS-CAUS-DNOM

gahja-l 'chaser' (e.g. a cattle-dog, or a drover)
chase-DNOM

gahdja-y 'one engaged in chasing'
chase-DNOM
(a cattle-dog that is always chasing things and will not stop)

Like the *–h* nominaliser, the derivational nominaliser *–y* may take *–bilahm* 'has learnt to'. Derived nouns are the only other words which can take *–bilahm*.

walanggi-h-bilahm 'has learnt to crawl'
crawl-NOM-LEARNT.TO

jahna-y-bilahm 'has learnt to stand up'
stand-DNOM-LEARNT.TO

yanba-y-bilahm 'has learnt to walk'
walk-DNOM-LEARNT.TO

Verb stems can also be nominalised by lengthening the final vowel, i.e. by suffixation of the nominaliser *–h*; this suffix is distinct from *–h* imperative: if a stem or affixed stem ends in /i/, the nominaliser produces /ih/, whereas the imperative produces /eh/. These forms can then be suffixed as nouns.
    bumili- 'fight' (verb)   *bumilih-gu* 'for fighting'
Most nominalised forms from irregular verbs are derived from the stem followed by the suffix *–bi(h)*.

Where semantically appropriate, nominalised verbs may take the possiessive suffix *–Na(h)*.

3.7   Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns, personal, demonstrative and interrogative/ indefinite. All have singular and plural forms, and forms corresponding to the fourth and seventh order of noun suffixes. The third person singular feminine personal pronoun usually incorporates the feminine suffix *-gan*. In addition, at least in some dialects, the third person plural pronoun, if referring to an all-female group, can have this same suffix. In the personal pronouns Smythe found some duals in the dialect he studied (Smythe 1978:284), as did Livingstone for his Minyangbal (1892:6) and Holmer for Manandjali (1983:419). However, Smythe's and Holmer's duals are based on *bulah(bu)* 'two', and Livingstone's forms are compounds, one of which I also found in Yugambeh: *ngaliwahlu* (Y); also in Minyangbal *ngaliweh* (M) 'we-you(sg)', and *ngalibulah* 'we two', almost certainly coined to reflect patterns in languages to the north which distinguish first person exclusive and inclusive plural pronouns. The other forms from Minyangbal either add *ngering* 'both' to the pronoun (*weh ngering* 'you(sg) both, you and another'), or are based on the word for 'two' (*bulayli(gan)* 'you/they two (fem)').

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3.7.1 Personal pronouns

Three persons and singular versus plural are distinguished in the pronouns. Masculine and feminine are distinguished in the third person singular and with rare exceptions these pronouns are only applied to humans[15]. Holmer found a singular/dual/plural contrast in his research on Manandjali; no other researcher has found this distinction in any of the dialects studied, including Manandjali (which I called Yugumbir at the time, Cunningham 1969, Holmer 1983). This dialect, adjacent to Yagara(bal), a language with some inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural, had a coined pronoun for the inclusive: *ngaliwahlu* from *ngali* 'we' and *wahlu* 'you singular subject'.

In the next two tables, stem 2 is used before *–djahr* 'same as' and *nguhrgan* 'with, and stem 1 before all others, including *–djam* without', *-bah* 'motion towards' (as well as when bleached of meaning), with the exception of *–yahgan* 'to get'.

Table 3.5 First person singular pronoun

	Wa	Casino	Gidhabal	Yugambeh	Bj	Wiyabal	Minyang-bal
nom	*ngay*	*ngay*	*ngay*	*ngay,* *ngayu*	*ngay*	*ngay*	*ngay* <ngai>
erg	*ngadju*	*ngadju*	*ngadju*	*ngayu,* *ngaw*	*ngayu*	*ngayu*	*ngayu* <ngaio>
obj	*nganyi*	*nganyi*	*nganyi*	*nganyi*	*nganyi*	*nganyi*	*nganyi* <ngunyi>
poss	*nganyah*	*nganyah*	*nganyah*	*nganyah*	*nganyah*	*nganyah*	*nganyah*
ben	*ngadjah*	*ngadjah*	*ngadjah*	*ngayah*	*ngayah*	*ngayah*	*ngayah*
stem 1	*ngadj-*	*ngadj-*[16]	*ngadj-*	*ngay-*	*ngay-*	*ngay-*	*ngay-*
stem 2			*ngay-*				

Pronouns for other persons and numbers inflect regularly for the various cases, e.g. *nyulayu* 'he-erg', *nyulangi* 'him (acc)', *nyahn.ganah* 'her (poss)', *nyulangambu* 'they-erg', *ngaligaye* 'for us'. Some researchers did not find evidence of case inflection for all cases for some of the plural pronouns.

Table 3.6 Second person singular pronoun

	Wa	Casino	Gidhabal	Yugambeh	Bj	Wiyabal	Minyangbal
nom	*wudja*	*wudjeh*	*wahlu*	*wahlu*	*wuhye*	*wiya*	*wih* <wé>
erg	*wahlu,* *wehlu* (We)	*wehlu*	*wahlu*	*wahlu*	*wahlu*	*wahlu*	*wahlu* <walo>
acc	*wihnyi*	*wihnyi*	*wanyi*	*wanyi*	*wangah*	*wungah*	

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[15] We have one example of *nyulagan* 'she' applied to specify a kangaroo doe. However there were also separate words for the male and female larger kangaroos,and possibly the feminine pronoun may have been used because the speaker could not remember the word for the doe kangaroo.

[16] Smythe has *ngay* before *gali* and *–ginyehr*.

poss	*wangah*	*wangah*	*wangah*	*wungah*			
ben	*wudjah*	*wudjah*	*wudjah*	*wuyah*			
stem 1	*wudjah-*	*wudjah-* [17]	*wudjah-*	*wuyah-*			
stem 2			*wahlu-*				

Table 3.7 Other personal pronouns

	Wa	Casino	Gidhabal	Yugambeh	Bj	Wi	Minyang-bal
3m 'he'				*nyule/ nyuli*	*nyula*		*nyuli*
3f 'she'			*nyulagan*	*nyulagan*	*nyahn.gan*		*nyahn*
1pl	*ngali*	*ngali*	*ngali*	*ngali*	*ngali*	*ngali*	*ngali* \<nguly\>
2pl		*bulagan*	*ngirihmang*	*ngirihmang*	*bula*		*buli* \<buly\>
3pl	*nyula-mang, nyula-ngam*	*bula-gan* (dual)	*nyula-ngam, nyula-mang*	*janabang*	*nyula-mang*	*nyula-mang*	*janabi*

Notes: Holmer also recorded *wahlungah* for 'your (singular)' from one speaker, although it is likely this form is due to language loss.
In the Casino dialect and probably elsewhere *-gan* can be suffixed to the 3rd person plural form when referring to an all-female group.
Minyangbal also has some duals, one being a sequence of two words:

> *wih ngering* 'you two, you both'
> *bulayli* 'they two (masc.)
> *bulayligan* 'they two (fem)'

In the Casino dialect, Smythe has recorded 1st and 2nd person 'superplurals': *ngalihrban, bulaganmihr*, duals *bulahbu* 'you two (masc)', *bulahbunahgan* 'you two (fem)' (these from *bulah(bu)* 'two', and *nyulamanggan* 'they (fem)'.
Inclusive first person plurals have been coined in some dialects: 'we and you' *ngalibula* (M), *ngaliwudjeh* (Casino), *ngaliwahlu* and *ngaliwahnyi* according to Smythe.

In Hanlon's list from Jenny Graham (Y, Hanlon 1935), *ngayul* is recorded for the first person singular pronoun nominative.

From other dialects of the language, as well as from comparison with other languages, we can be sure that *nyahn* was the original form for third person singular feminine; Wahlubal and Bandjalang Proper have added the feminine suffix, hence the form *nyahn.gan*. *Nyulagan* has been calqued from *nyula/nyuli* 'third person singular masculine' with the addition of a feminine suffix. While Wahlubal, Bandjalang and

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[17] Smythe has *wudjeh-* as the stem before *gali* and *ginyehr*.

Minyangbal have a second person plural form derived from *bulah* 'two', Gidhabal and Yugambeh use *ngirihmang*. If, as Crowley noted, the plural pronouns in Yugambeh-Bundjalung are derived from more widespread duals, the **wudjeh* proto-form for second person singular as well as the *ngirihmang* form for second person plural appear to be innovations in this language.

Culham gave me the form *janabang* for 'they, whereas southern dialects use *nyulamang* or the metathesised *nyulangam*, a form clearly developed from *nyula* 'he' plus a pluralising suffix *–mang*. Note Holmer lists this second form for 'they two'. *Janabang* or *janabi* (M) continues a form used in a number of languages across Australia, and is clearly the older form.

3.7.2   Interrogative/indefinite pronouns

As is common in many Australian languages, the same words function as interrogatives and as indefinites. Table 2.9 lists the various basic interrogative/indefinite pronouns. Case inflections are the same as for nouns.

Table 3.8 The interrogative/indefinite pronouns

Form	Meaning	Comments	Derivatives
ngahn (North), *ngehn* (Gd), *ngihn*(*South*)	'who, someone'	case inflection as for nouns; used for people and for their names	*ngahn.garah* (etc.) plural
nyang (South), *minyang* (North)[18]	'what, something'	case inflection as for nouns; also an irregular verb stem; *nyanggu* (what-inst) contrasts with *nyahgu*'what for'	*(mi)nyahgu* 'what for, why'; *(mi)nyahgi* 'what want', *(mi)nyangbu* 'how many'
jiyah (Wa), *yile/yinydje* (Gd), *yinyu* (G)	'where, somewhere' particular place, seen or unseen	corresponds to both the *gadji* and *gadjun* sets of locational demonstratives	*yinydjegahl* 'where from' (Gd), *yinydjah* 'which' (Gd), *yinydjahgan* 'when, which time' (Gd)
junu	'where, somewhere' general area, seen or unseen	corresponds to both the *gunu* and *gayu* sets of demonstratives/locational demonstratives	*jununu* 'where from'
yile (Gd), *yila* (Wa)	'where to'	corresponds to the *galah* set of locational demonstratives	

(Mi)nyang 'what, something' can be inflected as a verb for 'do what, do something', see Table 4.1. The 'who' forms are always used when asking names of people, as is common in other Aboriginal languages and in Aboriginal Englishes.

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[18] The form *minyang* is used in Yugambeh and by some Wiyabal and Bandjalang Proper speakers; *nyang* is used elsewhere.

Ngehn wangah nyari/   'What's your name?"
who   your   name

Ngihn-du nganyi nyah-ni?   'Who saw me?'
who-erg   me   see-perf

Nyah-ni ngihn-du nganyi.   'Somebody saw me.'
see-perf who-erg me

Ngadju ngihn-i nyah-ni.   'I saw someone.'
I-erg   who-acc see-perf

Nyang ngadju nyah-ni?   'What did I see?'
what   I-erg see-perf

With the suffix *–bu*, the 'what' pronoun becomes 'how many'.

Nyangbu wangah jahjam?   'How many children have you?'
how.many your   child

An interrogative verb can be made from *(mi)nyang*; see Table 3.1.

Nyang or *minyang* can also be used as a question marker, used at the beginning or end of a statement it turns it into a question.

3.8   Demonstratives

To the best of our knowledge, distinctions made in the demonstratives in Y-Bj are not shared by any neighbouring language. As well as distinguishing singular and plural, Y-Bj demonstratives distinguish three degrees of distance, whether the demonstrative refers to something visible or not, present now or formerly, and whether the referent is extended in space or localised. However, the 'visible' series is the default or least marked series, and this series is often used in the way 'this' or 'that' can be used in English, to refer to something or someone in a narrative, even though the referent may not be visible or even currently in existence. The demonstratives are often used to indicate singular or plural, as only a minority of nouns have overt marking for this. The most common 'unmarked' demonstratives used in this way are *mala/male/mali* (according to dialect) for the singular, roughly equivalent to English *the* and *mahny(u)* for the plural, roughly equivalent to English *some, the*. Also *gale* 'this' is very often used after the first person singular absolutive pronoun, where it appears to just add emphasis.

Livingstone either did not recognise or did not have enough data to see this pattern, and both I (Cunningham 1969) and Holmer (1971) also had insufficient evidence from our Yugambeh/Manandjali data to establish the pattern described, although Holmer correctly noted that the words for 'this', 'that' and 'yon' were also used as 'here', 'there' and 'yonder' respectively. Smythe does not seem to have recognised the visible/invisible pattern, and his texts do not have many examples of any

'invisible' series. There appears to be a slight difference in semantics between time reference of the two singular number non-visible or non-present series in Wahlubal and Gidhabal, the dialects for which we have the best information, although a comparison of the examples in Crowley's Wahlubal texts suggest the same analysis that Geytenbeeks made for Gidhabal would hold. It could be presumed that Wahlubal *gunahmir* series has been coined by using one of the plural suffixes on the *gunah* series. The stems for the three degrees of distance are *ga-*, *ma-* and *gah-*; they indicate relative distance which could be near the speaker, near the hearer, and further off, or at spacings of kilometres or more. Demonstratives, like other word classes, can be reduplicated, although no analyst has been able to define any semantic difference between reduplicated and unreduplicated forms. In reduplicated forms, the first CV is reduplicated, without length in the case of those with a long vowel, hence *gagale, gagahm(u)*. Table 2.8 below compared the series and their descriptions for Gidhabal (Geytenbeek 1971:17) and Wahlubal (Crowley 1978:39, 71-76, 103). Table 2.9 shows the case marked forms.

The case suffixes for these demonstratives are generally the same as for nouns, although the ablative suffix is always *–nu*, and ergative and locative suffixes have forms *–lu* and *-la(h)* with a number of the forms. The *gala/gale/gali* series and the *gahnyu* series have different stems for some or most suffixes. These are:

gala/gale/gali etc.: *gali-* or *galah-* etc. before the ergative, *galah-* etc. elsewhere. When referring specifically to humans, the 'associative' suffix *–bah* is added before some of the suffixes, as it is for human nouns, and in its sense 'motion to' is used on demonstratives rather than *–gu* when the motion is towards a person.

Table 3.9 The demonstratives/locationals

Gidhabal (Geytenbeek's analysis)	Wahlubal (Crowley's analysis)
identificational demonstratives	**noun markers**
gale, male, gile in sight, singular	*gala, mala, gila* visible, singular
gahnyu, mahnyu, gahmu in sight, plural	*gahnyu, mahnyu, gahmu* visible plural
gunah, munah, gahba not in sight, but still present, singular	*gunah, munah,* invisible, formerly present, singular
	gunahmir, munahmir, gahbamir invisible, formerly present, plural
gayah, mayah, gahya not in sight, presumed removed, singular	*gayu, mayu, mayah* invisible, not formerly present, singular
ganyeh, manyeh, gahnye not in sight, plural	*ganyih, manyih, gahnyi* invisible, not formerly present, plural
locational demonstratives	**verb markers**
gadji, madji, gah in sight, specific area	*gadji, madji, gah* visible, particular place
gadjungun, madjungun, gahngun not in sight, specific area	*gadjungun, madjungun, gahngun* invisible, particular place
gunu, munu, gundeh in sight, general area	*gunu, munu, gundeh* visible, general area
gayu, mayu, gahri not in sight, present tense	*gayu, mayu, gahri* invisible, general area
gaye, maye, gahye not in sight, non-present tense, general area	
galah, malah, gilah general direction	*galah, malah, gilah* any direction

gahnyu series: these are often contracted to *gahny*, *mahny* and *gahm* in the absolutive, or when reduplicated to *gagahny*, etc. Aversive case forms are *gahnyi*,

mahnyi and *gahmnyi* in Wahlubal, and the accusative forms for these are *gahnyuni, mahnyuni* and *gahmuni*.

Crowley states that the ablative –*Nu*, aversive –*nyi* and the desiderative –*gi* are derived regularly, but follow the 'associative' suffix –*bah*.

In all dialects the singular visible series stems are *galah-, malah-, gilah-* before possessive (-*na*), ergative (-*yu*, although forms *gali* etc. may occur before this suffix), accusative (-*ni*, but only used when referring to humans and large animals), locative (-*ya*), and other case suffixes, although some dialects add -*bah* before these affixes.

> *Bugal male nangany.* 'The food is good.'
> good that food

> *Bugal munah nangany.* 'The food (we ate) was good.'
> good that.invis food

> *Jiyah gunah jiyaw-nyah-li-ø-gu?* 'Where are those spectacles?
> where this.invis eye-see-APAS-NOM-GOAL (they are here somewhere)'

> *Malah-yu baygal-u galga-ni gile jali.* 'The/that man chopped down
> that-ERG man-ERG chop-PERF yon tree that tree yonder.'

> *Mali-yu baygal-u gahdja-le-hn gilah-ni jahdjam-i.* (Gd)
> that-ERG man-ERG chase-APAS-IMPF yonder-ACC child-ACC
> 'The man was chasing that child.'

> *Gunah mih-gubih gayu ngehr.* These spectacles are somewhere here.'
> this.invis eye-funct here.gen somewhere

> *Yile gayah ngagam?* 'Where is the dog that was there?'
> where that.NPR dog

> *Yinydje gingge-hn mayah jabuh walany-weh-n-i.*
> how be-IMPF that.invis.NPR boy vanish-INCH-IMPF-SEQ
> 'What happened to that boy who was lost?'

> *Gayah dagay yeh-ni.* 'That white man went away.'
> that.invis.npr whiteman go-PERF

> *Nyah malah-ni!* 'Look at that!'
> see-IMP that-ACC

> *Manyeh gidjuhm gidja-ni nganyi munah.* 'Those old men told me that.'
> those old man tell-perf me that.invis

> *Mali-yu guyba-hla bulang gahm-gu ngaring-gah-gu.* (Wa)
> that-ERG cook-PROG meat those.dist-GOAL across.LOC-GOAL
> 'He (visible to me) is cooking some meat for those men
> across there (visible).'

Gahnyu-lu baygal-u gahnga-ni munah bulang. (Wa)
these-ERG man-ERG take-PERF that.invis meat
'These men took the meat away (so that it is no longer visible).'

Yilah-we-n munah?   'Where has he gone? (he could be seen
where-INCH-IMPF that.invis   a moment ago).'

Gawa-ni mali-yu dubahjar-u munah bilahr nyahn.gan-ah.
break-PERF that-ERG girl-ERG that.invis spear she-POSS
'That girl broke her spear (and therefore it is no longer a spear).'

Except for the *gala* series with /l/ before the final vowel, the ergative forms have *–lu*
and the locative *–la(h)*; the ergative of the *gala* series has the suffix *–yu* following the
nsubstantive pattern.

3.9   Location words

As noted above, there are words, sometimes called location nouns, that can add
precision to the less defined locative case 'in, at, on'. They occur inflected for
locative case when used with a noun, but also occur uninflected when used alone. A
list of many of these is below, followed by examples of their use.

A list of most of these follows, and underneath it are some examples. There are some
differences in the different dialects.

babar 'above' (Gd, Wa), 'top, up, upwards, north, over there, sky' (Cas)
bagar 'beyond' (Gd), 'too, often, too much' (Cas), *bagar* 'far away' (Wa)
bahm 'halfway' (Gd)
bale 'beneath' (Gd), *bala* 'below (Wa, Wi), *juhdjah, judje, balaya,* Ca) *bala*
'underneath, bottom, bases' (Cas)
bulun 'inside' (Gd), 'body, chest' (Cas)
bundagahl 'near' (Gd)
buram 'rear, behind' 'back, rear (Gd, Wa, Cas)
burgar 'far away' (Gd)
dilany 'outside' (Gd*), jiliny* 'outside' (Cas)

garin 'close, beside' (Wa), 'side, beside' (Cas)
gawalang 'outside' (Wa), 'outside, exterior' (Cas)
gihgtil 'middle' (Gd), *gilgil* 'middle, centre' (Cas) *gimbal* 'far away' (Wa),
gihmbal 'over there (Gd via Sm)
guhgar 'inside' (Gd), 'inside, interior' (Cas)
gayuhnybar 'far' (Cas)
jay 'over there' (Gd)
junim 'right' (Gd)
juwe 'middle' (Gd)
juy down there' (Gd)
numbihl 'behind' (Wa), 'back, rear, behind' (Cas)

ngaring 'across' (Gd), 'on the other side' (Wa), 'over, across' (Cas)
ngulung 'in front' (Gd, Wa), *ngalung* 'front, anterior part (Ca locn) *Ngunda-
ni nyula-ngi ngalung-ga*. 'He watied for him in front.' *Buwi-h wehle
ngulung(mban)u*. 'You pull in front.'
wangan 'the other side out of sight' (Wa)
waram 'left' (Gd)
waygan 'on' (Gd), 'on top' (Wa), 'top' (Cas) *wungan* 'over' (Gd) in
compounds Ca incl. *wunganwahr* the other side, opposite side, far side,
around' (Ca locn)

Wagalngin wande-hn babar balugahn-ba.
  spirit   climb-IMPF above Balugahn-place
'His spirit climbed up to the spirit home.'

Ngay gilah babar. 'I'm going up yonder.'
  I   yonder above

Gah nguy   nyahn.gan babar-e   guygum-be   yehya-ni.
yonder NTOP 3F   above-LOCNPR sand-LOCNPR   sit-PERF
'There she sat on top of the sand dune.'

Balugahn gile   babar-ah
Balugahn yonder above-LOC
'Balugahn was up (a tree) yonder.'

Mul   bala-ya   bigi-ya. 'The tobacco is under the coolamon.'
tobacco under-LOC coolamon-LOC

Wangah yuna-ma-h wagar jaru-li   bala gimbadji.
  your   lie-CAUS-IMP axe stone-LOCNPR   under-somewhere-LOC
'Put your axe under the stone.'

'Guyahny ja-le-hla wurahng buram-ba ngumbinydjah.
 possum eat-APAS-PROG leaf behind-LOC house-LOC
'The possum is eating leaves behind the house.'

Gawalang gehye. 'Go outside.'
outside   go-IMP

Ban.ge-h gawalang-gi   ngumbiny-dji   yehn-a. 'Go and sit outside.'
go(?)-IMP outside-LOCNPR house-LOCNPR sit-IMP

Ngay-dju buranibu   gawalang gine-ni, gudjim yaguwe-hn-a   waybar-ah.
1S-ERG   pull-PERF-again outside do how-PERF meat cook-IMPF-ANTEC fire-LOC
'I pulled it out again, the wallaby having been cooked in the fire.'

Gilgil-a gahwang-ga male.   'It was in the centre of the lagoon.'
middle-LOC lagoon-LOC that

Yahn-a guhgar-i ngumbiny-dji. 'Sit down inside the house.'
sit-IMP inside-LOCNPR house-LOCNPR

Balun yuna-hla gihl-a dugun-dah.
river lie-PROG   middle-LOC mountain-LOC
'The river runs between the mountains.' (Cas)

Jahjam munah   numbihl-a ngumbiny-djah. 'The child is behind the house.'
child   that.invis behind-LOC house-LOC

Ngay gilah   juy. 'I'm going down there.'
 I   yonder down

Bunbahr guyuwa-le-hn   gilah   juy. 'The log rolled down the hill.'
log   roll-APAS-IMPF yonder down

Jahna-ni nyule numbihl-a ngumbiny-djah 'He stood behind the house.'
stand-PERF 3M   behind-LOC house-LOC

Dubay-djar gaware-hn numbihl-gu. The woman ran back.'
woman-CLASS run-IMPF behind-GOAL

Yehn-a-ga numbihl-gimbadji malah-yi baygal-bahnyi. 'Sit behind that man.'
 sit-IMP-PLEASE behind-somewhere   that-ACC   man-ASSOC-ADVS

Yehna-ga ngadjay numbuhl-madji. 'Sit down behind me.'
sit-IMP-PLEASE 1SG-BEN behind-there

Bahn-de-n   nyule   numbih-nu-bu   bidjangdjarbah-nu.
appear-(?)[19]-IMPF 3M   behind-ABL-again father-than
'He arrived after his father.'

Nyule yaruhma-ni ngaring balun-di.
 he   swim-PERF across   river-LOCNPR
'He swam across the river.'

Nyule gaware-hn ngaring bridji. He ran over the bridge.'
 he   run-IMPF across   bridge-LOCNPR

Yuna-ma-ni   waygan-di   bala-yi.
lie-CAUS-PERF top-LOCNPR kangaroo skin-LOCNPR
'She put it on top of the kangaroo skin.'

Yehn.ga-la marahn waygan-da ngumbiny-djah.
sit-PROG   bird   above-LOC house-LOC
 'There's a bird sitting on top of the house.'

Gaware-hn nyule wungan-wahri ngumbiny-dji.
run-IMPF   3M   round-LOCNPR house-LOCNPR
 'He ran round the house.'

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[19] Due to a scarcity of examples, we cannot determine whether this is an allomorph of *–ndi* 'do while carrying' or what Geytenbeek calls the potential. It would certainly be the expected form of the 'potential'.

Garbeh wunangwahr-a galah-ya muli-ya.
creek   other.side-LOC this-LOC hill-LOC
'The creek is on the other side of this ridge.'

3.10 Adjectives

Another group of nominals can be subsumed under the class of adjectives. Yugambeh-Bundjalung had a system of gender marking on adjectives, although it was not shown in all the dialect data we have, and was confined to a small number of adjectives in Gidhabal. The gender marking is obligatory on the four size adjectives (big, little, tall/long, short), but not for quality adjectives.

The four genders were masculine for male humans, feminine for female humans, arboreal for trees, and neuter for all other objects. In Gidhabal they were marked with the following suffixes (Geytenbeek 1971:20):

-gali   masculine
-galigan feminine (normal quality)
-gan   feminine (weaker quality)
-Nahgan feminine (size)
-Nahn arboreal
-gay   neuter

Geytenbeeks also note that adjectives with these inflections can act as nouns, e.g. *bugalgaligan* 'good woman'. They state that

> Of the two forms of feminine for quality adjectives, the second conveys a weaker meaning than the first. For feminine referents this form of weakening of meaning, omitting *–gali*, is preferred to reduplication of the stem used with referents of the other three genders. (Geytenbeek 1971:20)

gulil-gali 'active man'	*gulil-gulihl-gali* 'fairly active man'
gulil-gali-gan 'active woman/girl'	*gulihlgan* 'fairly active woman/girl'
	gulil-gulihl-gan 'fairly active woman'
yuwahn-gan 'fairly kind woman/girl'	
jehnagan (*jehr* + *-Nahgan*)	'big woman/girl' (Cas)

Geytenbeeks also note (Geytenbeek 1971:20) that the four size adjectives occur frequently, and are among the few adjectives which can be applied to items in all four genders. For these, the pluraliser *–gam* is used for all four genders, although *–hngbil* may also be used for plural arboreal. These adjectives are *bidjang* 'little', *gamay* 'big', *gurahr* 'long', and *mul* 'short'; *Gamay* has a plural allomorph, *gamadjihn*, and *bidjang* and *mul* take a variant affix *–galang* for masculine referents, in preference to *–gali*. In dialects where the gender suffixes are little used, *bidjanggalang* and *mulgalang* (and especially the latter) are the common forms for 'little' and 'short' respectively[20].

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[20] One syllable words with short vowels seem not to be used; this may have contributed to the 'favouring' of the form *mulgalang*.

Adjectives can be created from nouns or pronouns with the privative suffix *–djam* 'without', the proprietive suffix *-nguhrgan* 'with, having', by the affix *–gali* (or *–galigan*) 'typified by', and by a suffix *–ginyehr* or *-nginyehr* 'similar to'.

> *Mala jahdjam guyir malah-nyi dandaygambah-nyi dirang-djam-bah-nyi.*
> that   child   afraid that-avs   old man-assoc-avs   teeth-without-assoc-avs
> 'The child is frightened of the old man with no teeth. (Wa)

> *Mala bargan-nguhrgan   gaware-hla*. 'He is running with a lot of
> that   boomerang-having run-prog   boomerangs.' (Wa)

> *Gabay-nguhrgan mala jali*. That tree has got some honey in it.' (Wa)
> honey-having   that   tree

3.11   Quantitative words and numerals

As is common in hunter-gatherer groups, highly developed numeral systems are rare. Words for 'one' and 'two', 'many/all', 'some/little' and 'some/others' are used, and can be considered to function like other adjectives. 'Three' and 'four' are made by juxtaposition of 'two one' and 'two two'; 'five' is either '2 2 1' or 'hand'. No distinction is made between 'many' and 'all', and the word for 'little, small' can be used for 'a little'. Words differ somewhat in the different dialects. The forms are shown below.

> 'one'   *yabuhr, yabur*
> 'two'   *buruhr* (Gd), *burur* (B), *bulah(bu)* (Wa)
> 'five'   *danggan* (hand)
> 'a few, a little'   *bidjang*   (= 'little')
> 'many, all'   *mabehr* (Bj, C), *gumbi(h)* (Wi, G, Wa, We), *garahl* (Wi, Ng, Y)

Smythe regarded four words (including the last on this list) as 'indefinite pronouns'. They could be classed with these words, and possibly all of these including words for 'two', etc. could be grouped with adjectives.

> *gulgih*   'other, another'
> *wule*   'any, some, anyone'
> *banang* 'all, everyone'

> *Gahnyu mabehr-u nyula-ngi buma-ni*. 'They all struck him.'
> *Nyang wehlu nyah-la wule?*   'Do you see anyone/anything?'
> *Wula-hny ngay-dju malah-ni gulgih-ni*. 'I'll give it to that other (person).'

3.12   Temporal demonstratives

With the addition of the time suffix *–gan*, the *gunah* and *gayah* sets of demonstratives are used as temporal demonstratives. In Gidhabal they may also optionally take the present locative suffix and/or *–bu* 'still' (see §5.4.1). While the *gunah* set is often used when telling of events at which the speaker was present, and the *gayah* set when the speaker was not, the distinction is not always observed. (Geytenbeek 1971:19)

Gunah-gan nyule-ngi nyah-ni nyula-ngah-ye. 'I saw him recently at his place.'
this-time   he-acc   see-perf he-poss-locnp

Gahba-gan-dah-bu gidja-yah munah wahlu.
that-time-locpr-still say-purp that you
'You should have said that at the time (of the argument).'

Mahmang-ngehn-du mayah gabal galga-dja-hn mayah-gan.
father-pl-erg   that.invis scrub chop-past-impf that-time
'Our fathers chopped down that scrub at that time.' (Geyt expls)

Smythe *nyali* 'when' Geyt *yinydjah-gan* when?

3.13   Time words

Below is a list of words with temporal reference. As noted below the list, some can take case inflections.

bayahny 'now, today' (Gd, Ca)
buruhgan 'hot season' (Gd), *burgurgan* 'summer' (Cas)
danggahlir 'early ;morning, early night' (Cas)
dihlbi-dihlbi early dawn' (Gd)
gubanydjahy 'short time' (Gd)
jubuny 'night' (Gd)
jubunydjahbu 'morning' (Gd)
mulagan 'morning' (Gd), 'early morning' (Cas)
ngagu 'night, quiet place' (Cas)
ngaluh 'darkness' (Gd)
ngubuh 'one day away' (Gd), *ngubu* 'yesterday, tomorrow' (Cas)
ngubuhwar 'two days away' (Gd)
numgir 'day' (Gd), 'midday, middle part of day, day (generally)' (Cas)
warahy 'long time' (Gd, Ca)
waringginy 'cold season' (Gd)
yawun 'afternoon' (Gd, Ca)

gurihnyganbu 'very long ago' (Gd), *guriyahbu, gurihbu* 'a long time ago, a long time hence' (Cas)
gurubu 'long ago' (Gd)
guyguy 'permanent' (Gd)
mumugahy 'sometimes' (Gd)
yuh 'later' (Gd), 'soon, later, by-and-by' (Cas)

Orders 4-7 of the syntactic suffixes can occur with the last five time words in the above column. The following suffixes may occur with all other time words: (Gd)

-Du instr (but not erg or acc) *-De* locative non-present
-Dah locative present
-gu goal 'to, for, for the purpose of'
-gi desiderative 'want, like'
-gahl 'after' _____ *-nyi* 'than'

Deleted: ¶
-nyi 'than' ¶

4. Verbal Morphology

Unlike the pattern in many other Pama-Nyungan languages, including others in New South Wales, there is only one conjugational class, and there is no marking for person of the actor or subject, i.e. no reduced pronominal forms attached to verbs. There are some changes in suffixes, but these are generally predictable from the phonological rules governing long vowels. There are six orders of suffixes, the most productive of which, the sixth order, has numerous suffixes marking different aspects. Only Holmer recognised these as (mainly) marking aspect; all of the rest of us had classified most of these affixes as marking tense. Most verb stems in Yugambeh-Bundjalung end in a vowel, most commonly /a/. Other stem final vowels found are /i/, /eh/, and more rarely /u/ and possibly /uh/ and /ah/.

4.1   Irregular verbs

There is a small group of irregular verbs, most with stems which appear to have ended in consonants. Some, if not all, of these are 'old' stems which are found in Proto-Gunwinyguan, from whose ancestor language it is now considered that the Pama-Nyungan family developed (Evans 2003:10), and that languages with 'conjugational classes' developed their conjugational classes. Crowley lists fourteen of these verbs that would have been irregular in the proto-language. Some of these have been regularised or partially regularised in some dialects, some have been replaced, and some are not markedly irregular. The two least irregular end in a vowel (/a/ and /ah/), one ends in /m/, six in /n/ and five in /ng/. Those ending in a nasal have forms augmented by the addition of -a or -ga used with different selections of suffixes. The verb stem *yan-* also has an 'augment' –*ba* in northern dialects before –*li* the antipassive suffix. For some irregular verbs, there are alternate stems ending in /rwa/. The patterns of irregularity correlate with the last sound in the stem. Table 4.1 below lists these verb stems, and their variant forms. These verbs also take a suffix –*bi(h)* where regular verbs have –*yah* for the purposive form; this is the only marker of *nyah-* 'see' as an irregular verb. Nominals can be converted to verbs by the addition of certain suffixes: -*ba* 'say', –*ma* causative suffix, and –*wen/-wan* 'be, become' (inchoative).   For example:

> *yerehng* 'scream' (noun)   *yerengba-* 'scream' (verb)
> *mala* 'that, there' (demonstrative)   *malama-* 'put there'
> *gidjuhny* 'big' (adjectives)   *gidjuhnywen-* 'become big'
> *nguhn* 'hot' (weather)   *nguhn.ga-*   'be/become hot'

Crowley drew attention to a correlation between the final vowel of a verb stem and its transitivity. In his sample he found 79% of verbs ending in /a/ or /ah/ were transitive, and only 21% intransitive, whereas 46% of those ending in /i/ were transitive, and the remainder (54%) intransitive. Excluding irregular verbs, compound verbs (those with –*ma* causative, -*ba* 'say' and –*wen* inchoative) and doubtful entries, Table 4.3 shows figures I obtained. The figures exclude ten verbs in Wahlubal and Gidhabal which seem to end in /ah/ (5 transitive, 4

intransitive, one uncertain) and four which appear to end in /eh/ (2 transitive, 2 intransitive). In all samples, over 70% of the verbs ending in /a/ are transitive, whereas those ending in /i/ are more evenly spread between transitive and intransitive. Too few verbs end in /ah/, /eh/, /u/ or /uh/ to show any clear correlation with transitivity.

The Tables 4.1 and 4.2 here show how the stems for certain affixations contrast on the irregular verbs when compared with a regular verb (in Table 4.2). In table 4.1 northern dialect forms are shown with N, and more southerly forms by S.

Table 4.1 Irregular verbs and their stem forms

English gloss	basic stem	+ *a*	+ *ga*	*eh* form	*rwa* form
hit, kill	*bum-**	*buma-*	*bumga-*		
kick	*bang-*	*banga-*	*bangga-*		
bite	*ying-*	*yinga-*	*yingga-*		
bring	*gahng-*	*gahnga-*	*gahngga-*		
cry, weep	*dung-*	*dunga-*	*dungga-*		
do what, do something	*(mi)nyang-*	*(mi)nyanga-*	*(mi)nyangga-* also *(mi)nyanggi-*		
go, walk	*yan-*	*yana-*	*yan.ga-*	*yeh-*	
sit, stay	*yahn-*(N)**, *yehn-* (S)	*yahna-* etc.	*yahn.ga-* etc.	*yeh(ya)-*	
be, become	*-(w)an-* (N) *-wen –* (S)	*-(w)ana-*, *-wena-*	*-(w)a.nga-*, *-wen.ga-*, etc.	*weh-*	*-werwa*
fall	*ban-* (N), *bin-* (S)	*bana-*, *bina-*	*ban.ga-*, *bin.ga-*	*-beh-*	*barwa-*, *birwa-*
emerge, appear	*bahn-*	*bahna-*	*bahn.ga-*	*bahya-*	*bahrwa-*
die†	*balahn-*	*balahna-*	*balahn.ga-*	*balahya-*	*balahrwa-*
eat	*ja-*	*jah-*			
see	*nyah-*				

* In Minyangbal, Livingstone's examples show variation in the stem *bum-* 'hit, kill'. Sometimes it has the –*ga* augment and sometimes just –*a* with the same following suffixes. Similarly with *nyah-* 'see'.

† This stem has been lost in northern dialects and is replaced with a euphemism *juluhnggi-* 'go down' or *gilangwana-* 'become dead'.

** In northern dialects, *yan-* adds –*ba* befor –*li*, hence *yanbalehla*.

Table 4.2 shows in table form how the 'stem' to which affixes are attached vary with the affix immediately following.

Table 4.2 Stem variants on which different orders of suffixes occur
(adapted from Geytenbeek 1971:27 and applying to Gidjabal primarily)

Gloss		Stem	perf -ni	sync -nyun	Other 6th order	Pot	Perm, purp, nom
hold **(regular)**		*nama-*	*nama-*	*nama-*	*nama-*	*nama-ye*	*nama-n*
(irregular)							*
be, become	A	*wan-*	*weh-*	*wa-*	*wan.ga-*	*wan-de*	*wanbih-*
fall		*ban-*	*beh-*	*ba-*	*ban.ga-*	*ban-de*	*banbih-*
go		*yan-*	*yeh-*	*ya-*	*yan.ga-†*	*yan-de*	*yan-bih*
rise, arrive, appear		*bahn-*	*bahya-*	*bah-*	*bahn.ba-*	*bahn-de*	*bahnbi-*
sit, dwell		*yahn-*	*yahya-*	*yah-*	*yahn.ga-*	*yahn-de*	*yahnbi-*
kick, tread on, arrive at	B	*bang-*	*banga-*	*bang-*	*bangga-*	*bang-ge*	*banga-*
cry		*dung-*	*dunga-*	*dung-*	*dungga-*	*dung-ge*	*dunga-, dung-bih-/djih-*
bite		*ying-*	*yinga-*	*ying-*	*yingga-*	*ying-ge*	*yinga-, yingbih-/djih-*
bring		*gahng-*	*gahnga-*	*gahng-*	*gahngga-*	*gahng-ge*	*gahnga-, gahngbi-/dji-*
eat	C	*ja-*	*jah-*	*jah-*	*ja-*	*ja-*	*ja-bih, ja-yah††*
see		*nyah-*	*nyah-*	*nyah-*	*nyah-*	*nyah-*	*nyah-bi, nyah-ya*
be, become	D*	*wara-*	——	*wara-*	——*	*wara-*	*wara-yah*
fall		*barwa-*	——	*barwa-*	——*	*barwa-*	*barwa-yah*
rise, arrive, appear		*bahrwa-*	——	*bahrwa-*	——*	*bahrwa-*	*bahrwa-yah*

† In northern dialects, the form is *yanba-* preceding *–li.*
* only *–bih* forms for the nominalised irregular verbs; no nominalised forms for group D variants on *wan-, ban-/bin-, bahn-*.

Table 4.3 Transitivity correlation with stem final vowels

	Wahlubal and Gidhabal	Smythe	Bandjalang and Wiyabal	Yugambeh
Total verbs	*a* 57 *i* 31	*a* 71 *i* 22	*a* 26 *i* 11	*a* 33 *i* 10
% transitive	*a* 72% *i* 52%	*a* 75% *i* 41%	*a* 73% *i* 45%	*a* 82% *i* 15%
%intransitive	*a* 14% *i* 35%	*a* 18% *i* 41%	*a* 15% *i* 55%	*a* 50% *i* 40%
uncertain	*a* 14% *i* 13%	*a* 7% *i* 18%	*a* 12% *i* 0%	*a* 3% *i* 10%
ratio *a:i* (%)	65%	76%	70%	77%

4.2   Reduplication of verbs

Reduplication in verbs usually indicates a distributed or less directed action, for example:

Bahn.ga-la   male baygal gabal-nu. 'The man emerged from the scrub.'
emerge-PROG that   man   scrub-ABL

Mahny   juruhn   ba-bahnga-la   ngihrgil-a   gah.
those   scrub leech RDP-emerge-PROG hillside-LOC yonder
'Those leeches emerge all over the place on that hillside.' (Wa)

Male jahdjam wandehla munah-ya jali-ya. 'The child climbs the tree.'
that child climb-PROG thatinvis-LOC tree-LOC

Juruhng   mahnyu wandi-wandeh-hny   'The leeches will climb all around.'
scrub leech those   RDP-climb-IMM   (Wa)

Yagah-le-lah nyule 'He is fixing (the fence).'   (Gd)
fix-APAS-PROG he

Yaga-yagah-le-lah nyule   'He is fixing (the fence) in places.'   (Gd)
RDP-fix-APAS-PROG   he

Mali-yu buma-ni mala dabahy. 'He killed/hit the dog.' (Wa)
that-ERG hit-PERF that   dog

Mali-yu buma-buma-ni mala dabahy. ' He hit the dog about (but didn't kill it).'
that-ERG RDP-hit-PERF that   dog   (Wa)

Reduplicated verbs are then suffixed in the same manner as unreduplicated verbs.

4.3   Verb suffixes

The predominant focus of verb suffixes is on aspect. The Geytenbeeks distinguished six orders of suffixes, of which the fifth has a large number of suffixes, some of which they analysed as tense, as Crowley also did, and some as modes. When the available data from a number of dialects is compared, the designation of this order of affixes as indicating aspect is preferable, making descriptions simpler. The Geytenbeeks and Crowley also assigned quite differing glosses to a number of affixes in other orders; examination of the examples and of texts shows how these glosses can be reconciled.

Table 4.4 shows the orders of verb affixes. Horizontal lines show which 4th, 5th and 6th order suffixes can co-occur.

Table 4.4   The verb affix orders

1	2 'carry'	3 antipassive	4	5	6
-ba	*-ndi*	*-li*	*-dja* *-ma* *-wa*	*-hn*	*-du* *-i*
-ba	*-ndi*	*-li*	*-ma* *-wa*	*-hny*	*-i/-dje*
-ba	*-ndi*	*-li*	*-ma* *-wa*	*-h* *-hla* *-nyun* *-nah/-hna* *-luhr/-lugu* *-De* *-yan** *-yah* *-(lih)n†* *-niban(?)††*	
-ba	*-ndi*	*(-li-ma)*	*-ma*	*-ni*	

* -yan appears to change a stem final *a* to *i*.
† only in the Gidhabal data
†† only in the Minyangbal data

Table 4.5 shows the meanings given to these various affixes by different researchers.

4.3.1   First order suffix *-ba*

Livingstone considered that this affix is derived from *ba* 'to make', 'to cause to be'; however some (but not all) of his examples show they derive from suffixation of a word referring to a call or sound by *ba-* 'say' (1892:16). He noted that 'it is also attached to the past tense, and is often used when a secondary verb is in the sentence' (1892:17), and gives the following example:

<monno wébaro kunjillinneban nobo>
Munu wehbar-u ganydji-li-ni-ba-hny ngubu.   'That fire will be lighted
that.gen area fire-instr kindle-APAS-PERF-*ba*-IMM[1]   (made to burn) to-morrow.'

Smythe glossed this affix 'cause to be, allow to be' (Smythe 1978:291). Crowley considered that *-ba* marks a greater intensity of action (1978:93). Geytenbeeks (1971:21) considered it indicated that the action 'is initiated by the choice of the actor', and note that the causative suffix *–ma*, the fourth order suffix *-wa* and the imperative do not occur immediately following *–ba.* Northern dialects (Gidhabal and Yugambeh) suffix *–ba* to the irregular verb *yan-* 'go' before the antipassive *–li*, but not otherwise, but the southern dialects do not seem to attest this form,

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[1] This is the only example in which what is apparently the completive suffix *–ni* precedes *–ba* and the imminent *–hny*.

and use *yan.ga-* but never with *–li.* On the data we have, we cannot pinpoint the core meaning of this affix; however it can be said it appears to add a definiteness or strength to the action.

Table 4.5 Verb affixes and their meanings according to various researchers

	Gidhabal Geytenbeek	Wahlubal Crowley	Casino dial. Smythe	Bandjalang Holmer	Minyangbal Livingstone	Manandjali Holmer	Yugambeh Cunningham	Wangerriburra Allen&Lane
-ba	choice	greater intensity	'cause to be, allow to be'	derivative suffix	causative	causative	not analysed	
-ndi	reason	carrying, having	carry while doing	derivative suffix	made/did sense, etc.	suffix	not analysed	carry while doing*
-li	repetitive	refl/recip, antipassive	continuous	refl/recip voice	progressive (?)	reflexive	repetitive	reflexive/ reciprocal*
-dja	2nd hand	remote past				—		
-ma	causative	causative	'make, cause to be, go'	causative, 'do, make'	causative	causative	causative	
-wa	definite	repetitive	'go'†					
-h	imperative	imperative	imperative††	imperative	command, wish	imperative	imperative	imperative, pres tense/infinitive.
-hn	past indef tense	past indef tense	aorist	terminative/ perfective	historical past tense†3	terminative? (only traces)	past tense	past tense
-hla	present tense	present tense	present tense (indef aspect)	progressive/ imperfective	present action	imperfective	non past tense	future and progressive
-hny	future tense	future tense	future tense	imminent or 'future'	future action		might (?)	
-ni	aorist	past definite	imperfect tense	terminative/ perfective	unfinished past action	perfective	past tense	
-luhr, -lugu	—	—	perfect tense 'has …ed'	past habitual	finished action	preterit, & myth.contexts		
-yah, (-bih on irreg vbs)	subjunctive 'should/could have'	purposive	subjunctive	'at/while …ing', 'to (purpose)'	fut after leading vb, infin./nom.	'if, when' (?), purpose	infinitive	
-yan †4	—	—	—	'when …ed' (like *-nyun*)	past tense		-ing (?)	perfect
-nyun	'while …ing' indep clause	lower sent. tense marking	synchronous participle	'…ing, …ed'	synchron. from examples			
-nah	'after', action ended before that of indep clause	relative clause, also reason	antechronous participle	'when' (= 'after')	antechron. from examples	'if, when' or gerund		
-De (-ye)	potential, no tense spec. 'may, may have …ed'		potential	'if'	'subjunctive'			
-hni -i w. *-hn*	'when, while', sequence/ overlapping		'while' (sync no grmtcl connection to main verb					
-hndje -hnyi -i (w. *-hny)*	same as above		same as above					
-n	permissive	—					(?)	
-du	habitual	habitual action						

* my analysis from the data.　　　　　† Smythe lists *–li*(*-liwa*) as continuous definite or inceptive definite aspect

†† also action at time of reference　　†3 often as aorist participle　†4 verb stem final *a* changes to *i.*

** w/ passive sense when required

Ngagam-bu   gahdja-ba-le-hla   jimbang.
dog-ERG   chase-INTENS-APAS-PROG sheep
'The dog is persistently chasing (the) sheep.'[2]

Yaruhma- 'swim'   *yaruhmaba-* 'swim faster' (Wa)
duwa-   'dig'   *duwaba-*   'dig faster'   (Wa)

There is also, as noted above, a verb stem *ba-* 'say, make a sound', which can be suffixed to nouns for 'cough', 'scream' etc., or may stand independently, compare:

Mahdja baygal-ni gidja-ba-le-hn   munah.
boss   man-OBJ   tell-INTENS-APAS-IMPF that.invis
'The boss insisted on telling the man about that.'[3]

mahja baygal-ni gidja-h   ba-le-hn.   'The boss said to the man, "Tell me!"'
boss   man-ACC tell-IMP say-APAS-IMPF

From Wahlubal (Crowley 1978:93)

    yaruhma- 'swim'   *yaruhmaba-* 'swim faster'
    naba- 'pelt'   *nababa-* 'pelt harder'
    dung- 'cry'   *dungba-* 'cry louder'
    duwa- 'dig'   *duwaba-* dig faster'

From the Casino dialect (Smythe 1978)

    Yanggu-ba-ni   ngali. 'Then we went home again (came back again).'
    come-INTENS-PERF we   (Text 5 sentence 10)

From the Wiyabal (Lismore) dialect (Smythe 1978)

    Ngubu ngay mulagan yan.ga-hny, malah-ni ngay yehn-bi-ba-hny.
    tomorrow I morning go-IMM   that-ACC   I   stay-NOM-CAUS-IMM
    '(His uncle thinks) "Tomorrow I'll go hunting and make him stay behind."'
          (Text 10 sentence 9)

    Guyahny-bir nguy yerehng-ba-le-hn,
    possum-PL NTOP   scream-say-APAS-IMPF
    nyula-yu nguy janguy-ma-ba-le-hla gahm-i guyahny-i.
    he-ERG NTOP angry-CAUSE-INTNS-APAS-PROG those.dist-ACC possum-ACC
    'Then the possums began to scream because he was annoying them.'
          (Text 10 sentence 25)

Crowley's suggested meaning, perhaps somewhat bleached of meaning, may account for the *–ba* extension of the irregular verb stem *yan-* 'go', which is often

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[2] Geytenbeeks gloss this as 'The dog is chasing the sheep of his own accord.'
[3] Geytenbeeks gloss this as 'The boss chose to tell the man about that.'

used in the more northerly dialects before *–li* (Gidhabal, Yugambeh, etc.) The form *yan.gahla* shows the *–ga* augment which is used with the majority of irregular verbs before the progressive, imminent or imperfect suffixes (5th order). Compare

> *yanbalehla ngay* (Nth) and *yan.gahla ngay* (Sth) 'I'm going.'

4.3.2 Second order suffix *-ndi*

Smythe glossed this affix 'do while carrying'. It indicates carrying or having, or occasionally perhaps 'sticking with' an action. Geytenbeeks considered that it indicated that the reason for the action 'is known to or identifiable by the hearer', and '(t)he reason may be stated or left implicit'; they also noted that the affix was commonly followed by the antipassive suffix *–li*. They also noted an allomorph *–hndi* which seemed preferred for many verb roots ending in /i/. There seemed to them to be no significant change of meaning, and for some roots both allomorphs were recorded (Geytenbeek 1971:22)

Crowley gives the following examples:

ngahri- 'dance'   *ngahri-ndi-* 'dance while holding something'
gawari- 'run' *gawari-ndi-* (also found as *gawa-ndi-*[4]) 'run while holding something'
gayeh- 'enter' *gayeh-ndi-* 'carry into'
yarbi- 'sing' *yarbi-ndi-*   'sing with a baby in one arm'
gulgih 'different' *gulgih-ndi* 'have a different one'

Gawa-nde-h-ga   *mahnyu-lu*. 'Run with those.'
run-carry-imp-unav   those-inst
Mala ngahri-nde-hla   *bilahr-u* 'He is dancing with a spear.'
that   dance-CARRY-PROG spear-INST

Geytenbeeks give the following examples.
Dubay   gahdja-ndi-wa-hla   jahjam-i
woman   chase-CARRY-REP-PROG child-OBJ
'The woman is persisting in chasing the child.'[5]

Jugi-jugi gangga-nde-hla mangarehm-bu. 'The hen is cackling about an egg.'
hen   call-CARRY-PROG egg-INST   (i.e. is laying an egg)

Banydja-ndi-li-wa-hla   *nyule ngumbiny-djah.* 'He is concealing it in the house.'
cover-CARRY-APAS-REP-PROG   he   house-LOC

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[4] It is possible that the 'stem' *gawari-* is a suffixed form of *gawa-*; Livingstone recorded *–ri* as a variant of *–li*, and the form *gawandi-* also suggests that the stem is *gawa-*. However it is possible that /r/ has been lost before /n/; noun case forms show this phenomenon.
[5] Geytenbeeks gloss this 'The woman is chasing the child for some reason.'

Yarbi-nde-h! **or** *Yarbi-hnde-ø!* 'Sing (the baby to sleep)! (i.e. holding the baby)
sing-CARRY-IMP

Smythe has the following examples (Smythe 1978:292, 294). The *–dji* suffix is
not attested from elsewhere, and its meaning is hard to ascertain.
nyah-dji-ndi- look after, take care of'
see-*?*-CARRY

ngunda-dji-ndi- 'look after, take care of'
wait for-*?*-CARRY

Gawunggan guh-la nyahn-gan yehn-da-la jahdjam-bu yarbi-nde-hla.
Gaunggan far-LOC she-FEM stay-CARRY-PROG child-INST sing-CARRY-PROG
'Some distance away, Gaunggan was sitting down holding her baby and singing
to it.' (Smythe's translation)

4.3.3 Third order: the reflexive/reciprocal and antipassive suffix *–li*

Crowley was the first to recognise the range of usages of this suffix. Holmer
recognised that it marks reflexive or reciprocal, and from comparative evidence,
this is its origin. In Gidhabal, the Geytenbeeks saw it as apparently more
commonly used to indicate a repetitive action. However all examples from the
various dialects show that even for actions recognisable as transitive, the
ergative inflection is not used on the subject, even though an object is often
marked as accusative case.

Ngay galga-le-hn nganyi-bu. 'I cut myself.'
  I chop-REFL-IMPF me-BACK

Mahny bulahbu dabahy yinga-le-hla nyulamang-i-bu. 'Those two dogs are
those two dog bite-RECIP-PROG they-OBJ-BACK biting each other.'

4.3.4 Fourth order suffixes

4.3.4.1 Fourth order past action *-dja*
This is the only clearly tense-like affix among the verb suffixes, and is always
followed by the imperfect aspect suffix *–hn*. Crowley described it as 'remote
past', Geytenbeeks as 'second hand information', and Smythe apparently did not
record it.

The suffix *-ga*, marking an obligatory or unavoidable action, is found on many
imperative verbs in Wahlubal (Crowley 1978:95). Crowley notes (1978:96)

> This *–ga* suffix looks rather like the *–ga* which occurs as the imperative
> marker on verbs in a great many Australian languages. It is possible that
> this usage in Waalubal is either derived from the imperative suffix, or that
> the imperative *–ga* was originally a 'universal' suffix as it still is in
> Waalubal.

4.3.4.2 Fourth order –*ma* 'causative'

The suffix –*ma* has been recognised by all researchers as a causative, having the sense of 'make (someone) do'. However, as Crowley pointed out, a transitive verb stem must be detransitivised by adding –*li* before –*ma*. –*ma* can also be suffixed to adjectives or nouns, e.g. *jehrma-* 'make big'. There is also a constructive *ma-* which can follow a noun or adjective, but is not an affix. The stress pattern would indicate that it begins a new word.

> *Juluh-ma-ni   naruny-we-hn   nyule*.
> down-CAUS-PERF   happy-BECOME-IMPF he
> 'He looked down and was glad.'

> *Bagul   gimbadje   ga-gah   waybar-ma-le-hn*,
> Williamstown part   RDP-there camp-CAUS-APAS-IMPF
> 'Williamstown way we made camp.'

4.3.4.3 Forth order –*wa* 'repetitive'

The suffix –*wa* was considered by the Geytenbeeks to mark definiteness, whereas Crowley found it to be marking repetitiveness. Geytenbeeks' examples can easily be interpreted as marking repetitiveness. Like –*ma*, -*wa* can be used in sequence following *li*, and when this happens, the subject is not in ergative case. Examples below show *ma, -wa* or both. -*ma* can be suffixed to a nominal to make a verb; a transitive verb must be detransitived with –*li* before turning it into a verb which indicates that someone makes someone/something else do an action. Note that the sequences –*li + -ma* and –*li + -wa* can coo-occur in either order or be repeated, at least in the in the Gidhabal data, and the sequence –*ma + li + -ma* also occurs.

Gidhabal examples (Geytenbeek 1971:23) with his translations

> *Mahja galga-li-wa-hn   jali*. 'The boss was chopping down trees.'
> boss   chop-APAS-REP-IMPF tree

> *Mahja nyule-ngi galga-li-ma-hn   jali.*
> boss   he-ACC chop-APAS-CAUS-IMP tree
> 'The boss was making him chop down trees.'

> *Mahja nyule-ngi galga-li-wa-li-ma-dja-hn.*
> boss he-ACC chop-APAS-REP-APAS-CAUS-PAST-IMPF
> 'The boss made him keep on chopping trees.'

> *Nyule-yu jabuh banydja-li-ma-li-wa-hla.*
> he-ERG   boy   cover-APAS-CAUS-APAS-REP-PROG
> 'He is making the boy cover (the holes).'

Mahja nyule-ngi galga-li-ma-li-ma-dja-hn.
boss   he-ACC   chop-APAS-CAUS-APAS-CAUS-PAST-IMPF
'The boss encouraged him to keep on chopping.'[6]

Gahri   nyule galga-li-wa-li-wa-n.
there.dist he   chop-APAS-REP-APAS-REP-PERM
'Let him keep on chopping over there.'

ginibi bundagah-li-nyun nama-nyun   wuru-gah-wa-nyun.
goose near-APAS-SYNC   grab-SYNC neck-GO-REP-SYNC
'(We) would get near the magpie goose and grab it and wring its neck.'

Ngandur-ni wahng-ma-li-ma-hn.
others-ACC   work-CAUSE-APAS-CAUS-IMPF
'(The boss) had others working (for him).'

Yalgan   gahyi-dja-hn-i   nangany-ma-li-dja-hn-du.
  sun   go.down-past-impf-seq food-cause-apas-past-impf-habit
'When the sun went down (they) used to prepare the food.'

Bandjalang Proper examples (Holmer 1971:29-30)

Yugum-be ngali gila-ma-ni. 'We didn't go there (we never went there).'[7]
 not-EMPH we   yonder-CAUS-PERF

Wuya   gi-gila-ma-hny-i   yalyal-an.ga-hny.
 You(sg) RDP-yonder-CAUSE-IMM-SEQ sick-BECOME-IMM
'If you go there you might get sick.'

Ngeh, juluh-ma-le-hla   luhdja-ngi. 'Yes, looking down on the loser'
yes   down-CAUS-APAS-PROG loser-ACC

Casino dialect (Smythe 1978:371-2)

Nyahn-du giya-ni 'Way-ma-ni   bagul-i   jalum.'
 she-ERG say-PERF above-CAUS-PERF canoe-LOCNPr fish
'She told (her mother) '(I) put the fish on top of the canoe.'

 Galgir-ma-ni   nyahn-i   jarmam-gu. '(He) canoed her to the island.'
canoe-CAUS-PERF she-ACC island-GOAL

4.3.5. Fifth order suffixes: the aspect suffixes

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[6] Repetition of verb stems, like this affix repetition, often adds a distributive or weakened sense to the concept. Here the affix repetition appears to weaken the sense from 'making him do it' to 'encouraging him to do it'.

[7] In the context, where 'there' was where 'clevermen' went, the speaker is emphasising that they avoided going there, with a completive finality.

There are about eleven suffixes in this order, although some are only attested in older sources, and a number of them are poorly attested, with only a few examples, so the exact meanings are unclear. One of them, -*ni* is used for an action viewed as a complete whole; others indicate a more extended action or state, which might give the context for another 'complete' action. Some show a blend of aspectual and modal meanings, and some show an extended action, but situate it in the past, or relative to another action in time. One appears to have shifted from an imminent meaning in southern dialects to a more modal irrealis sense in Yugambeh. The imperfect (-*hn*) and the imminent (-*hny*) can both be followed by a sequence suffix, and the imperfect is the only affix of this order that can be preceded by –*dja* 'past tense' and followed by –*du* 'habitual action'. Geytenbeek (1971:23) considers that this order is obligatory for all verbs (they actually regard –*nyun* as a sixth order suffix, but claim either this suffix or a fifth order suffix is obligatory).

A number of these suffixes begin with the vowel lengthener (orthographically *h*), and where the phonological rules allow this lengthening (or in more northerly dialects 'length hopping'), lengthening occurs, with a vowel shift from /i/ to /eh/ in verb stems ending in /i/ or after –*li* antipassive.

The shades of meaning of many of these affixes are not easy to convey in English, and often are only clarified by the use of different affixes on verbs in the same utterance, as well as by the way they have been translated into English. Texts collected by the Geytenbeeks, Smythe and Holmer, together with some of the sentences recorded by Joshua Bray (1887) clarify many points.

4.3.5.1 -*hn* 'imperfect'

Apart from in Yugambeh, where some limited evidence suggests the possibility that –*ni* and –*hn* are allomorphs of each other conditioned by the verb stem ending, -*hn* is used to indicate an extended action, often within which some other action takes place, and is commonly translatable as a past tense. On the other hand, -*ni* seems to mark an action regarded as a complete entity, often within a context of more extended time shown by a verb with –*hn*. The examples below are successive sentences from a text collected by Smythe (1978, Text 7)

> *Nyah-ni   nangmi-le-hn   Gawunggan.*
> see-PERF look.backwards-APAS-IMPF Gaunggan
> 'Gaunggan saw him by looking over her shoulder.'

> *Baya-ni   gahnga-ni jahdjam-i yani-nde-hn-be*.
> arise-PERF fetch-PERF child-ACC take-CARRY-IMPF-INTNS
> 'She sprang up and went away with the child.'

> *Gehga-n   banidjar baygal-bu nyah-le-la.   Yeh-ni-be   nyule.*
> descend-IMPF spouse man-SELF   see-APAS-PROG   go-PERF-INTNS he

'The man saw her husband climbing down. He (the man) went away.'

As noted above, the imperfect affix –*hn* is the only one that can be preceded by –*dja* 'past tense' or followed by –*du* 'habitual action'.

4.3.5.2 -*hny* 'imminent' or 'potential'

In most dialects, the affix –*hny* indicates an action which is imminent or about to happen or be done at the time of reference, which may be in the present (i.e. near future) or the past. However in Yugambeh it appears, on the basis of the limited examples, to have a more modal meaning of irrealis, and can perhaps be glossed 'might'. Except for the Yugambeh data, -*hny* is used where English might use future tense, or an imminent action ('was about to do'). In Yugambeh, any attempt I made to elicit a 'future' tense form resulted in a verb with the progressive suffix –*hla*.

> *Yan.giwa-ba-le-hny   ngali ngahri-gal,*
> come-INTENS-APAS-IMM we   play-AFTER
>
> *Yan-ba-le-hny ngali   yaruhn, jarany-we-hn   ngali, ...*
> go-INTENS-APAS-IMM road   afraid-BECOME-IMPF we
> 'We were about to come from the pictures, we were about to turn into the road. We got a fright.' (Bj Text 1)
>
> *Ngubu yan.ga-hny ngay town-gu.* 'Tomorrow I will go to town.' (Bj)
> tomorrow go-IMM I   town-GOAL
>
> *Wuna-h gaware-h, ban.ga-hny wahlu.* 'Don't run, you might fall.' (Y)
> leave-IMP run-IMP fall-IMM   you(sg)   (informant's translation)
>
> *Ngawuy yaga-hny ngumbiny, ngumbiny ngaw buga-ni.*
> I-ERG   make-IMM house house   I-ERG build-PERF
> 'I build a house.' (Y) (informant's translation: prob. a more accurate gloss would be 'I might build a house (and I'll complete it if I do).'

The two affixes –*hn* and –*hny* may be followed by an affix –*i* (-*dje* in Gd following –*hny*) which indicates a sequence of actions, glossable either as 'while ...' or 'when ...'. See 4.3.6.2.

4.3.5.3 -*h* 'imperative'

The imperative is shown by a lengthening of the final vowel of the verb stem, unless it is already long, or follows a long syllable. There is some indication in Allen and Lane's verb tables that it may also have been used in a way that it could be translated as a present tense without a sense of extended or progressive action. However the earlier works including Allen and Lane (1913) did not mark long vowels as such, so we cannot be sure that the form was the same as the imperative form.

4.3.5.4   *-hla* 'progressive'

This affix is often translatable as a present progressive or continuous tense, but can be used for a past action, or (especially in Yugambeh) for a future action. Holmer also notes that it can be used as an imperative (a progressive imperative), e.g. *nyahla* 'see, look!'

> *Yan.ga-hla ngay.* 'I'm going, I'm leaving.' (Sth)
>   go-PROG   I

> *Ngubu*   *yanba-le-hla*   *ngay.* 'I'm going tomorrow.' (Y)
> tomorrow go-APAS-PROG   I

> *Nyah-ni nyula-yu gile Gawunggan.* *Gannga-hla nyula-yu yarbi-l.*
> see-PERF he-ERG yonder Gaunggan hear-PROG   he-ERG   sing-DNOM
> 'He saw Gaunggan over there, and listened (was listening) to her song.' (Cas)

4.3.5.4   *-nyun* 'synchronous action'

This affix usually marks an action as contemporaneous with another action in the utterance, but can also be used to describe things that are done or were done as a matter of course. In the first use it has been seen by analysts as a dependent verb. It may take the form *–nyan* in Bandjalang, according to Holmer (1971:17)

> *Yan-ba-le-hny ngali*   *yaruhn, jarany-we-hn*   *ngali,*
> go-INTENS-APAS-IMM road   afraid-BECOME-IMPF we

> *nyah-ni ngali baygal yehn.gi-nyun jali-ya, baygal juhma-le-nyun.*
> see-PERF we man   sit-SYNC   tree-LOC man   smoke-APAS-SYNC
> 'We were about to come from the pictures, we were about to turn into the road. We got a fright, we saw a man sitting on a long, a man smoking.' (Bj Text 1)

> *Yaruhm-ma-ni-nyun* *gahwang-ge ginibi-bah.*
> swim-CAUSE-PERF-SYNC lagoon-LOCNPR goose-TWD

> *Ginibi bundagah-li-nyun nama-nyun wuru-gah-wa-myun*
> goose near-APAS-SYNC   grab-SYNC   neck-GO-REP-SYNC
> '(They) would swim in the lagoon towards the geese. When the goose came close, (they) would grab (it) and wring (its) neck.' (Gd)

> *Galga-nyun nyule nyah-dja-n guruman-i.*
> chop-SYNC   he   see-P-IMPF kangaroo-ACC
> 'While he was chopping he saw a kangaroo.'   (Gd)

> *muli*   *gadja-le-hla*   *jahna-nyun jamba-li-nyun.*

back ache-APAS-PROG stand-SYNC   wash-APAS-SYNC
'My back is aching while I am standing up washing clothes.' (Gd)

Words with this and the next suffix (antechronous action) can also act as nominals and take noun suffixes.   The examples below are from Crowley 1978:126).

Mali-yu gawari-nyun-du baganuma-ni malah-ni.
that-ERG run-SYNC-ERG knock-PERF that-ACC
'The car knocked him over.'

Mala baygal jahna-la madji nyabay-dja mahnyu yaru-yaruhma-nyun-da wagany.
that   man   stand-PROG there water-LOC those RDP-swim-SYNC-LOC catfish
 'The man is standing in the water while the catfish are swimming about.'

While I have included *–nyun* with the other aspect suffixes in group 6, it attaches to a different derived stem of irregular verbs than the others do (at least in Gidjabal), see Table 4.2.

4.3.5.5   *-nah/-hna* 'antechronous action'

This affix, which has an allomorph *–hna* noted by the Geytenbeeks in Gidhabal, refers to an action prior to that of the main verb or present state. Geytenbeeks found enough examples of the form *–hna* to analyse it as *–hn +-a.* Crowley includes examples where this form takes case suffixation.

Mu-munah   gi-gila nyimbuny-u   buma-nah gundeh
RDP-there.invis RDP-yon Nyimbun-FROM? hit-ANTEC there.invis
 burung-gahl ma-ni-n.
noise-AFTER   cause-PERF-PERM?
'That fellow, Nyimbun, when he struck (against them) there, he made a noise.' (Bj)

Holmer has the following examples (1971:17):
Bula   yan.giwa-na(h) waring. 'When you came it was cold.'
You(pl)   come-ANTEC   cold (Bj)

baya-na (h) 'when (the sun) came out'
appear-ANTEC

 buma-nah 'when (he) bumped' (Bj)
  hit-ANTEC

Ngadju nyah-ni   wang-ma-li-nah. 'I saw him, he having been working.'
I-ERG see-PERF work-CAUSE-APAS-ANTEC   (Cas)

Gahny dam ngadju duwa-nah malah-ya-ma-h dugul-duguhl-a yuna-ma-h.

these yam I-ERG dig-ANTEC that-LOC-CAUS-IMP dillybag-LOC lie-CAUSE-IMP
'Put these yams that I dug up in the dilly bag.'   (Wa)

yagam-beh-ngay mahny-gi guyir-we-nah.
not-INDEED I those-LIKE afraid-BECOME-ANTEC
'I don't like them (leeches) (because) (I'm) afraid of them.' (Wa)

Yagam-beh ngay yeh-nah wilgulga-ngah, ngay-dju nyulangi wulima-yi.
  not-EMPH I go-ANTEC Woolgoolga-TO I-ERG him find-POT
'If I had not gone to Woolgoolga, I could have found him.' (Cas)

Wahlu dunga-nah   'if you cry'
2SG-ERG cry-ANTEC   (Mn Holmer 1983:422)

4.3.5.6 *-luhr/-lugu* 'progressive in the past'

All sources agree that this suffix, *-luhr~-lur~-lugu* refers to a past action. In Livingstone's Minyung, we get the clue that it refers to an action that has ceased. A meaning 'progressive in the past' seems to fit for examples we have enough information on to define. See Table 4.4. The suffix is added to the same form of the stem as is the reflexive/reciprocal *–li*.

Ngayu gannga-ni gahm mindji-ni. 'I heard them laughing.' (M)
1SG-ERG hear-PERF those.yonder laugh-PERF

ngayu ganla-ni mindji-luru-bi. 'I heard them laughing.' (M)
 I-ERG hear-PERF laugh-PROGP-LIM?   (laughing not finished)

Minyang-i-le-hla wahlu? – Yugum ngay nganduru-ma-le-hla.
 what-VBR-APAS-PROG you(sg) not I other-CAUS-APAS-PROG

Minyang-a-luhr weh ngubu? – Ngayu gangga-luhr jalum Nungnung-gayi.
what-VBR-PROGP you(sg) yesterday I-ERG get-PROGP fish Nongnong-BEN
What are you doing? I'm doing nothing. What did you do yesterday? I caught fish for Nongnong.' (M)

Gayindi-lugu ngali, yan.ga-ni ngali, gahnga-n jali, gani-yan gahyindi-li-h-gu
swim-PROGP we go-PERF we fetch-PERM tree tie-PROGPART swim-APAS-NOM-GOAL

bahn-bi balun-da yan-bi-h-gu bira-li-h-gu.
arise-NOM river-LOC go-AUG-GOAL throw-APAS-NOM-GOAL (Bj)
'We used to swim, (we) went, we got a log, tying it, in order to swim, to climb (get on top of the log) in the river, to go fishing.'

Wuyun-gir wayahli-luhr dugun-gu, guriyahbu baygal ja-lur bidjaguny.
clever-CLASS fly-PROGP hill-GOAL long ago man eat-PROGP pipis[8]

---

[8] a type of shellfish found in tidal areas of a beach.

'The clever men used to fly to the island. In the olden time the men used to eat pipis.' (Bj)

Gahngi-lu 'they used to get' (Bj)   *Gayindi-lugu ngali.* 'We used to swim.'
get-PROGP   swim-PROGP   we (Bj)

wang-ma-luhr 'has worked'   *wadji-luhr*   'has spoken' (Cas)
work-CAUS-PROGP   speak-PROGP

Mahmi baba-ngehn nguy yehn.gi-luhr, yehn.ga-ni ga-gah.
mother father-TYPE NTOP stay-PROGP   stay-PERF RDP-yonder   (Bj)
' Mother and Father used to be living, they lived there.'

Yan.gi-luhr nyahn   biri-li-yah   jalum gawang-gah
go-PROGP   SHE throw-APAS-PURP fish billabong-LOC   (Cas)
'She (the daughter) went fishing in the billabong.'

Ginyehr-gu wehlu yan.gi-luhr bigabin-di gindi-yu   gahngi-yah.
like-GOAL you(sg)-ERG go-PROGP alone-LOCNPR yonder-ERG take-PURP
'You might have expected her to be taken, that's what you get for going about alone.'

<Munno webara kunjillorobo> 'The fire is lighted.' (Mn, Livingstone)
 Munu waybar gandjiluhr-bu.
 that.invis fire   kindle-PROGP-LIM

-lur, lugu added to same stem of the verb as the refl-recip *li*
jalur 'used to eat'
jugalur used to drink
gahngilur 'used to get'
yan.gilur 'used to go'
yehn.gilur 'used to stay'
gayindilur 'used to swim'
gayindilugu ngali 'we used to swim'
ngahrilur 'used to play'
wayalilur 'used to fly across'

4.3.5.7   –*De* 'potential'

This affix is only attested in Minyangbal, Gidhabal and the Casino dialect, and we only have a few examples of its use. It follows the same phonological rules as the ergative and locative nominal suffixes. It is therefore of the form –*ye* (or –*yi*) after regular verb stems, and has an obstruent homorganic to the final nasal of irregular verbs, thus *bumbe, wande, dungge*, etc. Smythe records the vowel as /i/:

wangma-yi can, could, will be able to work' (Cas)
wadji-yi 'able to speak' (Cas)

badji-ye 'may hit, may have hit' (Gd)
yagah-ye 'may fix, may have fixed' (Gd)
gahdja-ye 'may chase, may have chased' (Gd)

Yagam-beh ngay yehnah wilgulga-ngah, ngaydju nyulangi wulima-yi.
  not-EMPH I   go-ANTEC Woolgoolga-TO I-ERG he-ACC find-POT
'If I had not gone to Woolgoolga, I could have found him. (Cas)

Buma-nah gilang-we-hn ngirihmang-ah wan-de ganar gadji.
hit-ANTEC dead-BECOME-IMPF you(pl)-POSS become-POT battle there
'If you beat us in battle, the battle will be yours.' (Cas)

4.3.5.8   *-yan* 'progressive participle'

-yan is glossed as a past tense form in the sources we have. Livingstone (M) gives meaning but no examples. Examples we have allow for interpretation as a progressive participle, rather than a past tense form *per se*. It appears that the stem final vowel it follows is shifted to /i/.

Guriyahbu nguy baygal way-ah-li-yan   gila-gu   hailan or dugun-gu,
long ago NTOP man above-LOC-APAS-PROGPART yonder-GOAL island or hill-GOAL

mabehr nguy gayindi-luhr gi-gila-gu.
many   NTOP swim-PROGP RDP-yonder-GOAL(Bj)
'Long ago the men used to fly to that island, others used to swim there.'

Gayindi-lugu ngali, yanga-ni ngali, gahnga-n jali, gani-yan gahyindi-li-h-gu
swim-PROGP we   go-PERF we fetch-PERM tree tie-PROGPARTT swim-APAS-NOM-GOAL (Bj)
'We used to swim, (we) went, we got a log, tying it, in order to swim.'

Ngali used to *ngahri-yan nguleh.* 'We used to be playing also.'
  we   play-PROGPART also   (Bj, Holmer's translation)

jalngay ngahriyan 'dancing coloured lights, Richmond Birdwing butterfly'
light dance-PROGPART   (Y, Hanlon and Watson, and Sylvia Haworth pc)

juga-li-yan 'having a drink'   *bira-li-yan* fishing, (Bj)
drink-APAS-PROGPARTT   throw-apas-progpt

4.3.5.9   *-yah* 'purposive, infinitive'

-yah, which can follow *-li*, indicates a purposed action, neatly translatable into English as 'to', the infinitive. In irregular verbs *–yah* is not used, but an augment *-bi* is added, and the vowel lengthened where phonological rules allow it, usually followed by the goal suffix *-gu*. (The augment *–bi* is also used with other suffixes, see Table 2, etc.)

Ngayu yanggiwa-ni wahnyi gurgun-ma-yah.
 I-ERG come-PERF you(sg)-ACC talk-CAUS-PURP
'I have come to talk to you.' (Y)

Ngandur-ni   wahng-ma-li-ma-hn   wahng-gu   yan-bi-h-gu.
 others-ACC   work-CAUSE-APAS-CAUS-IMPF work-GOAL go-AUG-NOM-GOAL

… wahng-ma-li-yah   gahya ngehr   jumguy-jumguy-nguhrgan
    work-CAUSE-APAS-PURP yonder vicinity RDP-bundle-WITH
'He had others working for him. They went to work … to work in a distant place, with merchandise.'

 Gannga-li-dja-hn nyula yan-bi-gu-beh   nyange-hny   ngay gala dubay?
  think-APAS-PAST-IMPF he go-AUG-GOAL-EMPH what do-IMM I   this woman
 'Just before he left he thought (He was thinking when he was about to leave), 'What shall I do with this woman?'

Yang-bu   ngay ngubuh   nyah-bi-gu yindja ginggi-wa-hla.
come-AGAIN I tomorrow see-AUG-GOAL how be.like-REP-PROG (Gd)
'I'm coming back tomorrow to see how you are.'

Yeh-ni-beh   magandah-ya jalahndayahn-i
 go-PERF-EMPH catch.up-PURP koala.man-OBJ (Gd)
'She went to catch up with Koala-man.'

 Yaway gadji nyulangam   jahyi-le-hny   gannga-li-yah   gunah
  yes   here   they   assemble-APAS-IMM hear-APAS-PURP   this.invis
ngali-ngi gurgun.
 we-ACC   language
'Yes, they will gather here in order to hear us (speak) this language.'

Galah-ya   ngali yan.ga-hn guhl wahng-ma-li-yah
thisway-LOC we go-IMPF   gold   work-CAUS-APAS-PURP (Wa)
'We used to come along here to work the gold.'

Madji-ngu   gimba-le-hla   yulany wangah jigay yagam-beh-wen-bi /
there-NTOP wash-APAS-PROG   skin your(sg) sore not-EMPH-BECOME-PURP
'Then you wash your skin so there will be no sores.'

Ngali jarany yan-bi-h.
 we   afraid go-AUG-NOM
'We were afraid to go (there).'

4.3.5.10   *-(lih)n* 'permissive'

Only the Geytenbeeks list this suffix, for which they have some examples in Gidhabal. They state that the antipassive suffix –*li* (which they regard as repetitive), has the form –*lih* before this permissive suffix –*n*. Unfortunately the

examples they give are not in context. Holmer lists some examples ending in /n/ which could be related.

nama-n 'let him hold it'   *yagah-li-n* 'let me fix it'
hold-PERM   fix-APAS-PERM

gahja-lih-n 'let it do the chasing'   *yanba-li-wa-n* 'let him go'
chase-APAS-PERM   go-APAS-REP-PERM

4.3.5.11   *–niban*

This suffix or suffix combination is only attested in Livingstone (1892). He considers it to have some future or imminent and passive sense, and gives only one example (Livingstone 1892:17):

<monno wébaro kunjilinneban nobo>
Munu waybar-u gandji-li-ni-ban ngubu.
that.invis fire-INSTR(?) kindle-APAS-*niban*
'That fire will be lighted (made to burn) tomorrow.'

4.3.5.12   *–ni* **'perfect, completive'**

The suffix *-ni* indicates an action which is viewed as a complete whole. It can commonly be translated into English as a past tense action of known occurrence, but some examples show its use where a present or even future tense might be used in English.

Holmer wrote (1971:14):
> The difference between, for instance, *dja:la* (progressive) and *dja:hni* (terminative and 'perfective') is not one between present ('eat(s)') and preterit ('ate'), but between 'is **or** was eating (all the time)' and 'eat(s)' or 'ate'(at the moment); in the same way *ña:ni* means 'sees' or 'saw', while *ña:la* may mean 'is **or** was watching'. The imminent aspect does not in itself indicate future time, but merely that the action is or was on the point of taking place.

Wahlu   nyah-ni gilah-ni? <warlo nionee killarney> 'Do you see that?
You(sg)   see-PERF that-ACC   (Bray, Tweed R.)

Nyah-ni nyula-yu gile Gawunggan. Gannga-hla nyula-yu yarbil.
see-PERF he-ERG yon Gaunggan   hear-PROG   he-ERG   song
'He saw Gaunggan over there, and listened to her song.' (Cas)

Yan-ba-le-hny ngali   yaruhn, jarany-we-hn   ngali,
go-INTENS-APAS-IMM road   afraid-BECOME-IMPF we

Nyah-ni ngali baygal yehn.gi-nyun jali-ya, baygal juhma-le-nyun.

see-PERF we man sit-SYNC tree-LOC man smoke-APAS-SYNC
'We were about to come from the pictures, we were about to turn into the road. We got a fright, we saw a man sitting on a long, a man smoking.' (Bj)

Ngawuy yaga-hny ngumbiny, ngumbiny ngaw buga-ni. 'I build a house.'
 I-ERG make-IMM house house I build-PERF (Y)
(i.e. something to the effect of 'I might build a house (and I'll complete it if I do)')

4.3.13 Combinations of fifth order suffixes?

Two texts, both collected by the Geytenbeeks, show what appear to be combinations of two fifth order suffixes. The contexts and meanings given at least makes the combinations plausible.

Yabur galigir nyule magun-da-hla-ny gilah-ni gamay-gali-ngi.
 one youth he try-CARRY-PROG-IMM yon-ACC big-MASC-ACC (Gd)
'one youth tried to wear that big thing (i.e. heavy armour).'

Yaruhm-ma-ni-nyun gahwang-ge ginibi-bah.
 swim-CAUS-PERF?-SYNC lagoon-LOCNPR goose-TWD
'(We) would swim towards a goose in the lagoon.'

4.3.6 Sixth order suffixes

4.3.6.1 *-du* 'habitual action'
-du marks habitual action, and to the best of my knowledge only occurs following the imperfect affix *–hn*.
 Wudjima-hm-du gabay jalum nama-li-dja-hn-du.
 find-IMPERF-HABIT honey fish catch-APAS-PAST-IMPERF-HABIT
 'We used to find honey and catch fish.

 yan.ga-hn-du gabal-gu.
 go-IMPERF-HABIT scrub-GOAL
 '(We) used to go to the scrub.'

4.3.6.2 *-i* and *–i/-dje* 'precondition'

These affixes appear to be semantically the same, and in Wahlubal the form is *–i* only. In Gidhabal the form following *–hny* is *–dje*. It is attested in Crowley's Wahlubal data and in the Geytenbeeks' Gidhabal data. Geytenbeeks describe it as indicating a sequence or an overlapping of events in the past, and they describe the next affix (which in their data has the form *–je* as a sequence or an overlapping of events in the future, and notes that 'if the event is considered as merely possible the simple indefinite form of the verb is used', and 'if the event is considered quite probably the repetitive morpheme is included, and 'if the event is considered as being sure to happen the definite morpheme may also be included (Geyt 1971:25).

Examples from Gidhabal

> *Baygal yarbi-le-hn-i wulbung mindjid-dja-hn.*
> man   sing-APAS-IMPF-PRECON girl laugh-P-IMP
> 'When the man sang the girl laughed.'

> *Nyule jaru   nama-hn-i   ngagam gaware-hn.*
> he   stone grab-IMPF-PRECON dog   run-IMPF
> 'When he grabbed the stone the dog ran away.'

> Compare: *Nyule wahri-ni bilahr.* 'He carried the spear'
>   he   carry-PERF spear
> and *Nyule   wahre-n-i   bilahr, …* 'When he carried the spear, …'
>   he   carry-IMPF-PRECON spear

> *Galga-hny-dje male junbal yinggan wan.ga-hny ngay.*
> chop-IMM-PRECON that pinetree angry-BECOME-IMM I
> 'If he chops down that pine tree I will be angry.'

> *Galga-le-hny-dje junbal bin.geh nyule-ngah wuhrba-ny.*
> chop-APAS-PRECON pinetree hat he-POSS   hide-IMM
> 'While he is chopping down the tree (I) will hide his hat.'

Wahlubal examples (Crowley 1978:121-2):

> *Ngadju wihnyi badje-hny mala wahlu nganyah bargan gahnggal-ny-i.*
> I-ERG you(sg)-ACC hit-IMM that you(sg)-ERG my boomerang take-IMM-
> PRECON
> 'I will hit you if you take my boomerang.'

> *Wudja-ngu yan.ga-hny-i nganyi wahlu munah wangah bargan wula-h.*
> You(sg)-NTOP   go-IMM-PRECON me   you(sg)-ERG that   you-POSS boomerang
> give-IMP
> 'Give me your boomerang before you go.'

> *Wana-h munu-nu yana-h ngadju wadje-hny-i-djahng.*
> don't   there-ABL go-IMP I-ERG tell-IMM-PRECON-VERY
> 'Don't go from there unless I tell you.'

> *Wulima-hny-i dam munu nganyi-ngu gangga-h-ngula.*
> find-IMM-PRECON yams there me-NTOP call-IMP-TOO
> 'If you find some yams there, call me too.'

> *Gala badji-le-hny-i yagambeh ngali yan.ga-hny ngubuh-djang.*
> this hit-APAS-IMM-PRECON not we go-IMM tomorrow-VERY
> 'If it rains, we won't go tomorrow.'

Casino example:

> *Wudjeh   ngabar-we-hn-i   wehlu nyula-ngi maganda-hny.*
> you   quick-BECOME-IMPF-PRECON you-ERG he-ACC meet-IMM
> 'If you go quickly you'll catch him.' (Smythe 1978:345)

Examples from Bandjalang (Holmer 1971: 18)

wuya gi-gila-ma-ny-i   'if you (are to) go there,'
you(sg) RDP-yonder-CAUS-IMM-PRECON

yan.giwa-ny-i   'till (I) come'
come-IMM-PRECON

ngañi   nyah-ny-i   *wahlu*   'If you see me'
me   see-IMM-PRECON you(sg)-ERG

 Yan.ga-ny-i   ngay gila juy   nyah-ny   ngay[9] wa-nyi ga-gahba.
go-IMM-PRECON I there down   see-IMM   I   you-ACC RDP-there
'If I go down there, I will see you there.'

Gila-nguy gah ngay yehn.ga-n-i.   'There it is where I used to stay.'
yonder thatway I   sit-IMPF-PRECON

Examples from Livingstone (1892:26)
<Ngaio wanye bundan wianje, kulga ´cully ngaia>
Ngay-u wahnyi bandahn wiya-ny-dji   galga-h   jali ngayah.
 I-ERG   you-ACC tomahawk give-IMM-PRECON chop-IMP tree me-BEN
' I to you a tomahawk will give (if) you cut down a tree for me, or cut down a tree for me, (and) I will give you a tomahawk.'

4.4   Verbs derived from adjectives

Verbs can be derived from adjectives with the addition of an appropriate suffix, usually *wen-* the inchoative for intransitive verbs, and *ma-* the causative for transitive verbs.

Naruny-we-hn   nyule. 'He was happy.'
happy-BECOME-IMPF he

Buma-nah gilang-we-hn ngirihmang-ah wan-de ganar gadji.
hit-ANTEC   dead-BECOME-IMPF you(pl)-POSS   become-POT battle there
'If you beat us in battle, the battle will be yours.'

Manal-wan.ga-hn-i   numbuh-ndi-dja-hn-du.
  cooked-BECOME-IMPF-SEQ   return-CARRY-PAST-IMPF-HABIT
' When it was cooked we would take it home.'

Garbahn-wan.ga-hny garbahn-ma-ge-hny   maya ngehr."
exchange-BECOME-IMM exchange-CAUS-?-IMM there vicinity
'The mouse said, "Perhaps later I will be merciful to you in exchange."'

muli-yah-we-n. 'It became hilly.'
hill-LOC-BECOME-IMPF

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[9] The ergative *ngayu* would be expected here.

Julunggah-ni nyula-yu gabay gulihl-we-n nguy   nyule. Yeh-ni gundeh-nu.
 drink-PERF he-ERG   honey refreshed-BECOME-IMPF he go-PERF yonder-FROM
After he had drunk the honey-water he was refreshed.'

Bugal-we-hn   nyula,   bugal-we-hn-be.
 good-BECOME-IMPF he   good-BECOME-IMPF-EMPH
'He got better, became thoroughly well.'

Nyiragan-ba-le-hn   yan-bi-gu-be.
 hip-CAUS-APAS-IMPF go-PURP-GOAL-EMPH
'He put on (his?) hip ready to go.'

4.5   Adverbial verbs

Crowley notes a number of 'adverbs' which often co-occur with other verbs and modify their meaning, and which show the same aspect affixation as does their main verb. As with the derived adjectives illustrated above, the transitivity of the adverbial verb must match that of the transitive verb. Verbs derived from adjectives (etc) may be used in this way, as can a small class of verbs which should have verbal affixation matching that of the main verb.

Crowley lists the following 'adverbs':
　　jangma- 'do wrongly or badly (trans), cause to become bad, etc.') (*jang* 'bad')
　　jangwan- 'do wrongly or badly (intr), be or become bad, etc.'
　　jawingwan- 'stop (making a noise)'
　　jehrma- 'do loudly' (*jehr* 'big, loud')
　　jigini- 'do how, do with what; (trans)
　　jinggi- 'do how, do with what (intr)'
　　juluhnggi- do with head bowed down' (*juluh* 'downwards')
　　juwi- 'do downwards' (*juy* 'down')
　　ganga- 'finish doing (trans)
　　gulgihndi- 'do differently' (*gulgih* 'different')
　　gumbinyma- 'finish, use up' (*gumbiny* 'finished')
　　guni- 'try to do something'
　　guhbana- 'begin doing (trans)'
　　ngabarma- 'do (something) quickly, hurry up and do something' (*ngabar* 'quick')
　　ngambuhrma- 'do slowly or softly' (*ngambuhr* 'slow, soft')
　　numbuhnggi- 'go back, return ot go home' (*numbihl* 'behind')
　　yendihndi- 'do while carrying (trans)' (*-ndi* 'do while carrying')

Some examples are shown here.
　　Wehlu naba-ni jang-ma-ni. 'You (threw it) and missed.'
　　you   hit-PERF bad-CAUS-PERF

Mali-yu jahdjam-bu jang-ma-ni malah-ni bawur dunga-nah-yu.
that-ERG child-ERG   bad-CAUS-PERF that-ACC head cry-ANTEC-INSTR
'The child made her head ache by crying.'

Mala yarbi-le-hla   jang-un.ga-hla. 'He sings badly.'
that sing-APAS-PROG bad-BECOME-PROG

Jang-werwa-hla ngañah bawur. 'My head is aching.'
bad-BECOME-PROG   my   head

Mali-yu gangga-ni   jehr-ma-ni. 'He shouted at me loudly.'
that-ERG call.out-PERF big-CAUS-PERF

Jingge-hn mahny wudjang jahna-ni gadji?
Do.how-IMPF those grass stand-PERF here
'How did the grass grow here?'

Muhmbilihn-da   nguyay-ma-le-hla   gulgih-ndi-le-hla.
Tenterfield-LOC speech-CAUS-APAS-PROG different-CARRY-APAS-PROG
'At Tenterfield, they speak a different language.'

Nyang wehlu munah   gumbiny-ma-ni   jarwa-ni bargan?
QSTN   you that.invis finished-CAUS-PERF carve-PERF boomerang
'Have you finished making the boomerang?

Ngadju gumbiny-ma-ni   jah-ni   burehn.
I-ERG   finished-CAUS-PERF eat-PERF bread
'I ate up (finished up) all the bread.'

4.6   Concluding comment

There are a few loose ends not covered here.

Reference
Evans, Nicholas 2003. *The non-Pama-Nyungan languages of northern Australia: Comparative studies of the continent's most linguistically complex region*. Pacific Linguistics 552, Canberra.

5. Syntax

Smythe commented (1978:308)

> In Bandjalang the various elements in a sentence are recognisable by the attached suffixes. One can tell subject from object and others by a glance at their morphology. For this reason the order of these elements in the sentence is not of such importance as it is in, say, English. And in fact Bandjalang word order is so variable that it is difficult to decide what is the normal.

Nonetheless, Smythe himself, as well as others (as I noted earlier in the general section), have drawn out a number of tendencies in the syntax. Livingstone's comment on the importance of the suffixes was quoted earlier (§2.0). There are tendencies in word order within phrases, as also in sentences or clauses.

As also noted in the General Grammar Notes, in both phrases (noun phrases, etc.) and clauses, word order is rather free. Although word order in much recorded material of the language may have been influenced to some extent by the frequent use of English by speakers, there is some indication that the default order in verbal clauses was SOV (subject-object-verb). However, there is also a common preference for leaving much unstated, including the action, agent or object, when this was clear from the immediate verbal or non-verbal context, or for use of short 'clause fragments' to which further information could be added in successive 'fragments', just as occurs commonly in spoken dialogue in English and other languages with a literate tradition. Case inflection allows freedom of ordering while showing who is doing what, etc.

While there is preferred or non-marked word order, the core of the grammar is in the morphology. Nominals and verbs have ordered sets of suffixes; these mark case etc. in nominals and aspect etc. in verbs. There are also sentence level particles and suffixes, which can be added to nominals, verbs and minor word classes.

5.1 Word order within phrases

Within noun phrases, different elements (words) are most commonly ordered as follows: demonstrative, possessive pronoun, numeral, adjective, noun. However, Smythe had evidence that adjectives (or certain adjectives) followed nouns denoting humans and animals, but preceded those denoting trees and neuters.

> *Baygal bugal beh-n.*
> man   good fall-IMPF
> 'The good man fell.'

> *Bugal juwan beh-n.*
> good spear fall-IMPF
> 'The good spear fell.'

> *Jehnah guhndjar beh-n.*
> big-ARB tree   fall-IMPF
> 'The big tree fell.'

Yabur berang bulunybuluny gawa-ni.
one   little   RDP-round   break-COMP
'One small cup was broken.'

Other examples:
male baygal 'that/the man'
wangah ngumbiny 'your house'
male nganyah juwan 'that spear of mine'
mahny bulahbu 'those two'

Baygal male bugal.
 man   that   good
'That man's alright.'

munah-mba   wangah bargan
those.INVIS-LOC 2SG.POSS boomerang
'that boomerang (that you had)'

munah-mba   nganyah bulahbu bargan
those.INVIS-LOC my two   boomerang
'those two boomerangs (that I had)'

The demonstrative *gale* is often found following *ngay* 'I' in simple comments (but apparently not with the ergative form), and the *gale/male* series can be used similarly with a second or third person pronoun, or other middle-distance item, e.g.

Ngay gale bugal   *Ngay gale marahng.*
 I   this good   I this tired
'I'm well   'I'm tired.'

Ngay gale gaware-hla bugal-e-hnbe.
 I this run-PROG   good-INC-IMPF-EMPH
'I am running well.'

Ngay-wahr gale bugal-wan.ga-hla-be.
 I -BUT   this good-INC-PROG-EMPH
'I am happy.'

Gale nyule yan.ga-hny nyula-ngah-gu ngumbiny-gu.
this he go-IMM   he -POSS-GOAL   house-GOAL
'This one's going to his house.'

The negative *yagam(be(h))/yugam(beh)* precedes (not necessarily immediately) something negated, which can be a nominal or a verb. Similarly, words indicating an action or state not quite attained or of uncertain occurrence also precede the item they refer to.   The most common are listed here.
dagal 'nearly'   *guram* 'perhaps'
jungul 'for no reason'   *bigar* 'together'

An imperative verb is negated by *wanah/wunah* 'leave it', itself an imperative.

Yagambeh nganyah   bargan.
not-EMPH my   boomerang
'It's not my boomerang.'

Yagam-be male bugal.
not-EMPH that   good
'That's no good.'

Ngay-wahr yagam-beh yan.ga-hny.
 I -BUT   not-EMPH   go-IMM
'I'm not going.'

Male baygal yagam-beh gahdja-le-hna   bulah.
that   man not-EMPH   chase-APAS-ANTEC cattle
'That's not the man who chased the cattle.' (That man is not the chaser)

Yagam-be ngay-war yan.gahny ngumbiny-gu.
not-EMPH I -BUT   go-IMM   house-GOAL
'I will not go to the house.'

Yagam-beh baling ngumban-dah.
 not-EMPH   new blanket-LOC
'It's not on the new blanket.'

Gale garbeh yagam-beh jalum gumu. (Ca)
this creek not-EMPH   fish here.GEN
'This creek has no fish in it.'

Dagal   nganyi buma-ni ngadjang-bihny-dju   bargan-du. (Wa)
nearly me   hit-COMP grandfather-own-ERG boomerang-INST
'Grandfather nearly hit me with a boomerang.'

Guram guwang badji-le-hny yuh.
perhaps rain   hit-APAS-IMM later.on
'It might rain later.'

Ngali wudjeh bigar   bumi-le-h.
we   you(sg)   together hit-REFL-IMP
'Let's have a fight together.'

Wana-h   yan-ah.
leave-IMP go-IMP
'Don't go!'

Wana-h   nganyi bum-ah wahlu!
leave-IMP me   hit-IMP 2SG.ERG
'Don't kill/hit me!'

bundahng a strong intensifier, and *wanyi* 'perhaps' follow the word or phrase referred to.

Male-war bugal bundahng. 'That's very good.'
that-BUT   good   very

Gale wanyi   bugal bargan. 'This may be a good boomerang.'
this   perhaps good   boomerang

Ngihn banyargan-djahng — baygal wanyi,   mirung wanyi?
who   fat-very   man   perhaps woman perhaps
'Who's the fatter, the man or the woman?'

5.2.   Sentence types

Sentences can be divided into three main types, according to Geytenbeek (1971:47):
    (a) non-clausal sentences (fragments of clauses, or exclamations)
    (b) single clause sentences
    (c) complex sentences of two or more clauses

Single clause sentences can be divided roughly into those that have aspect-marked verbs and those that do not. Either can consist of a single word, or a number of words. The Geytenbeeks divided clause types differently to Crowley and Smythe, and included a category of 'motion clauses' which sometimes lacked an aspect marked verb, yet described movement, and which I have illustrated in §5.2.2.1 below.

5.2.1   Non-clausal sentences

As well as fragments of clauses, which may be additions to or clarifications of a previous utterance or situation, exclamations and responses belong in this category.

5.2.1.1   Exclamations

Exclamations may be spontaneous or a response, often to a question which the addressee does not know the answer to. Spontaneous exclamations include equivalents of *ouch!* and *watch out!* etc. and include:
    yagay! 'ouch'
    yu!. nyah 'Watch out!'
    wa mild surprise
    guway 'come here!'
    nyabi 'off you go!'
    nyang! 'what!'
    nganyi nganyi nganyi 'oh dear!'

5.2.1.2 Responses

Response fragments to information questions where the answer is not known (or avoided) are illustrated below. A word of the original question may be repeated or a question word used, often with *–nguy* suffixed.

Yile   nyule? — Yile-nguy.
where he   where-NEW
'Where is he? — I don't know (where indeed).'

Nyang nyah-ni   nyule? — Nyang-nguy.
what see-COMP he   what-NEW
'What did he see? — I don't know (what indeed).'

 Nyah-gu gawa-le-hn   mugim. — Nyah-gu-nguy.
what-GOAL break-APAS-IMPF axe   — what-GOAL-NEW
'Why was he breaking the axe? — I don't know (what for indeed).'

5.2.2 Simple non-verbal sentences

Non-verbal sentences minimally have a topic (which need not necessarily be stated) and a comment. There may also be a time word, usually at the end. The comment may consist of a noun, an adjective or a phrase, and may include words derived from verbs. Smythe illustrated difference of emphasis correlated with word order: the emphasised item tends to be initial.

Wudjeh-gur gibing? 'Are *you* ill?'
Gibing-gur wudjeh? 'Are you *ill*?' (Smythe 1978:309)

In the next examples, the first has no item with extra emphasis, and the others illustrate emphasising particular constituents.
Nyang-gur wudjeh yan.ga-hny ngubu?
what-RESP you(sg) go-IMM   tomorrow
'Are you going tomorrow?'

Wudjehgur yan.ga-hny ngubu? 'Are you going tomorrow?'
Yan.gahny wudjeh ngubu? 'Are you going tomorrow?'
Ngubugur wudjeh yan.gahny? 'Are you going tomorrow?'

Here are other examples:

Bugal (male). '(It's) good.'

Galah. '(It's) this way.'

Gurahr nyule. 'He is tall.'
long   he

Mala bilahr galan. 'The spear is sharp.'
that   spear   sharp

Mala waybar nyabay-dja. 'The wood is in the water.'
that firewood water-LOC

Mala baygal-nah. 'That is the man's.'
that   man-POSS

Gala wudjah. 'This is for you.'
this   you(sg)-BEN

Mahny jahdjam gadji. 'The children are here.'
those child   here

Nyule nangany-djam. 'He has no food.'
he   food-without

Jang ngay ngububu. Ngay-wahr bugal bayahny
bad   I   yesterday I-BUT   good   today
'I was no good yesterday. (But) I'm alright today.'

Gile   jabuh mugim-nguhrgan.
that.DIST boy   axe-with
'That (distant) boy has an axe.'

Nyule-ngah jumguy yabur-beh burehn.
 he-POSS   bundle one-LIM   bread
'His bundle consisted of only one loaf of bread.'

Nyule galga-le-hn-i   jali.
he   chop-IMPF-PREC tree
'He is the one who chopped down the tree.'

Gah-nguy   nyule. 'There he is.'
there.DIST-NEW he

Gile   jabuh mugim-nguhrgan.
that.DIST boy   axe-with
'That boy has an axe.'

Although I have included *–nyun* with the fifth order verb suffixes (aspect), here the form with *-nyun* is functioning like a noun.

Nyule jalum nama-li-nyun. 'He is a fisherman.'
he   fish   catch-APAS-SYNC

5.2.2.1   Motion clauses

Simple motion clauses may be found with or without the verb and with or without the 'goal' of the movement; however if the verb is absent, a location must be stated.

> *Yilah-gu wahlu?* 'Where are you going?'
> where-GOAL you(sg)

> *Yilah wahlu yanba-le-hla?* 'Where are you going?'
> where you(sg)   go-APAS-PROG

> *Gabal-gu nyule.* 'He went to the scrub.'
> scrub-GOAL   he

> *Yeh-ni yaraman-bah.* 'He went towards the horse.'
> go-COMP horse-TWD

5.2.2.2   Simple verbal clauses with aspect marked verbs

Examples follow.

> *Jahna-dja-hn.*
> stand-PST-IMPF
> '(He) stood still.'

> *Male yaraman julba-nde-hn.*
> that   horse   jump-carry-IMPF
> 'That horse bucked.' (with a rider on)

> *Waygalga-hn   nyule-ngi.*
> step.over-IMPF he-ACC
> 'It stepped over him.'

> *Nyule-yu   ngagam wula-ni   nganyi.*
> he-ERG   dog   give-COMP   me
> 'He gave me a dog.'

But as Crowley noted, orders of words can be 'scrambled', and even words from what we would regard as the same phrase can be separated. Compare the two sentences below, with the same meaning and constituents.

> *Mala munah   galga-le-hla waybar   baygal.* (Wa)
> that   that.NVIS cut-APAS-PROG fire(wood) man
> 'The man is chopping the firewood.'

> *Mala baygal munah   waybar   galga-le-hla.*
> that   man   that.NVIS fire(wood) chop-APAS-PROG
> 'The man is chopping the firewood.'

5.2.2.3 Location and time referents

A location or time referent is usually found clause initially or finally.

Gulgun ngaleh nyulangam-bu gaye.   (Gd)
talk   also   they-ERG   here
'They (will hear) lectures here also.'

Yeh-ni nyule bani-djar-gan-bah.
go-COMP he   spouse-own-F-TWD
'He went to his wife.'

Wahri-ni   nyula-yu bulang ngadjah-ba.
carry-COMP he-ERG meat   for.me-TWD
'He carried the meat to me.'

Galah-ya   ngali yan.ga-hn guhl wahng-ma-li-yah.
this.way-LOC we   go-IMPF   gold work-CAUS-APAS-PURP
'We would go there to work gold.'

Gilah   yana-h   duwa-le-h   dam-gu. 'Go there to dig for yams.'
there.D go-IMP   dig-APAS-IMP yam-GOAL

ngubu   ngali yan.ge-hn gilah   dun.gun-gu nyah-li-yah.
one.day.off we   go-IMPF   that.wayD hill-GOAL   see-APAS-PURP
'Yesterday we went over there to the hill to watch.'

Ngay yangguwa-ni numgir-bu.
  I   come-COMP day-LIM
'I came about midday.' *or* 'I came every day.'

Ngay yeh-ni   bulahbu numgir.
I   go-COMP two   day
'I went for two days.'

Yeh-ni ngay numgir-warahy.
 go-comp I   day-long.time
'I walked all day long.'

Ngay yangguwa-ni yawun-djahng.
I   come-COMP   afternoon-very
'I came late.' *or* 'I came/in the evening.'

Ngay yan.ga-hny yawun-di   bayahny.
I go-IM   afternoon-LOCNPR now/today
'I will go this afternoon.'

Ngay yan.ga-hny yawun-djang-gi   ngubu.
 I go-IMM   afternoon-very-LOCNPR one.day.off

'I'll leave tomorrow evening.'

5.2.2.4 Imperatives

Imperative clauses (including those regarded as hortatory in English) tend to have an initial verb. The subject pronoun, if present, follows.

Yana-h ngali town.gu/ 'Let's go to town!'
go-IMP we town-GOAL

Buma-h (wahlu) malah-ni ngagam! 'Hit that dog!'
 hit-IMP (you(sg).ERG) that-ACC   dog

Wana-h yana-h! 'Don't go!'
leave-IMP go-IMP

Yana-h wudjeh wangah-gu jagun-gu. 'Go to your place/country.'
go-IMP you(sg) 2SG.POSS-GOAL country-GOAL

Yangan-eh ngali-yu galah-ni baygal-ni waybar-gu.
bring-IMP we-ERG this-ACC man-ACC camp-GOAL
'Let's take this man home.'

5.2.2.5 Questions

Intonation distinguishes a question from a statement. If a question word is not used, there is rising intonation on the clause, which contrasts with the normal statement intonation. Yes-no questions can also have an initial or final question marker *nyang* or a tag question marker *ngi* finally. In questions with interrogative pronouns, the interrogative is clause initial and marked by a higher pitch than in statements.

Nyang male? 'What's that?'
what that

Ngahn wungah nyari? 'What's your name?'
 who your   name

Nyang-gur wudjeh gibing? 'Are you ill?'
what-RESP you(sg)   ill

Yilah-gu wahlu? 'Where are you going?'
where-GOAL you(sg)

Nyali-gur wudjeh yan.ga-hny? 'When are you going?'
when-RESP you(sg)   go-IMM

Minyangi-le-hla   wahlu? 'What are you doing?'
what-VBR-APAS-PROG   you(sg)

Yinydje gini-ni? 'How did (she) do it?'

which do-COMP

Yeh-ni   nyulangam, ngi? 'They went, didn't they?'
go-COMP   you(pl)   Q

Waring, ngi? 'It's cold, isn't it!, It's cold, isn't it?'
 cold   Q

Ngehn-du dung-bihn-ma-ni? 'Who made (him) cry?'
who-ERG   cry-NOM-CAUS-COMP

Nyah-gu gile   jabuh dungga-hla? 'Why is that boy crying?'
what-GOAL that.DIST boy   cry-PROG

Yila-ma-hla   nyule? 'Where is he going?'
where-CAUS-PROG he

Jiyah-gur   wudjeh ngububu? 'Where were you yesterday?'
where-RESP you(sg)   yesterday

Nyang! Gahwang gile? 'Hey, is that a lagoon over there?'
 Q   lagoon   that.D

Ngubu   wahlu nyulagan-i nyah-ni,   ngi?
yesterday 2SG   3F-ACC   see-COMP Q
'You saw her yesterday, didn't you?'

Nyang nyule gangga-le-hn-i? 'Is he the one who was shouting?'
  Q   he   call.out-APAS-IMPF-PREC

Ngali guriyabu wahng-ma-le-hn   guhl nyang?
we   long.ago work-CAUS-APAS-IMPF gold   Q
'We used to work for gold a long time ago, didn't we?'

 Yil-e   baygal galga-le-hn-i   jali? (Gd)
where-LOC man   cut-APAS-IMPF-PREC tree
'Where is the man who chopped down the tree?'

Questions can be asked using statement grammar and question intonation.
As well as other responses, questions can be answered with:
       Nyang! 'what?'
       Yaway 'yes'
       yagam/yugam(beh) 'no'
       guram 'perhaps'
       Yagambe ngay ganngahla. 'I don't know.'
       etc.

Negative questions are answered logically, the reverse of English patterns, e.g.
       Yagam-beh yeh-ni   ngubu?   — Yuway.
       not-EMPH   go-COMP yesterday   yes

'Didn't he go yesterday?'   'Yes (he didn't go).'
or
    Yagam-beh, yeh-ni dihlbi-dihlbi.
    no-EMPH   go-COMP RDP-dew
    'Yes, he went very early.'
    (lit. 'No, he went very early.')

5.3. Complex sentences

Complex sentences contain more than one clause, or, by a different analysis, more than one verb. The simplest structure is a sequence of two or more concatenated clauses with similarly marked verbs. Other types include a verb sequence of 'go' plus another verb (much as in English *going to* constructions), quotative sentences and those which could be labelled as containing relative or subordinate clauses.

5.3.1 Concatenation of clauses

Geytenbeeks found sentences with up to five concatenated clauses. Such clauses may be linked by *ngeh* 'and', the adversative suffix *–wa(f)r*, or intonationally with no such linking morphemes.

    Ngandur ngulung bura-ni ngeh ngandur bihny-u   juhla-dja-hn. (Gd)
    others   ahead   move-COMP and others   back-ABL follow-PAST-IMPF
    'Some went ahead and others came behind.'

    Nyule-ngah waybar   gadji nyulagan-ah-war gahye-djahr-e. (Gd)
    he-POSS   fire/camp here she -POSS-BUT   there.D-same-LOCNPR
    'His camp was here, but hers was somewhere over there.'

    Galigiri-u buruhr yabur bidjang-gam jaru   muwa-n,i
    youth-ERG two   one   small-PL   stone move-COMP
    yabur jaru guyuhng-ge-ma-ni guyuhng bira-ni   malah-ni
    one   stone sling-LOCNPR-CAUS-COMP   sling   throw-COMP that-ACC
    gurahr-gali-ngi ngihr-e-djahng   naba-ni gilang buni-n. (Gd)
    tall-M-ACC   forehead-LOCNPR-INTN hit-COMP   dead do.thoroughly-COMP
    'The youth picked up a few small stones, put one in the sling, threw the sling, hit the tall man right on the forehead, and killed him.'

    Mala baygal yarbi-le-hla mala-nguy dubay ngahri-la.
    that man   sing-APAS-PROG that-NEW woman dance-PROG
    'The man sings and the woman dances.'

    Mali-yu jungur gahngga-n galga-n-nguy burehn. (Wa)
    that-ERG knife   take-IMPF cut-COMP-NEW   bread
    'He took a knife and cut the bread then.'

    Mala-ga ngayal-a yuna-ma-h balahya-ni nyula. (Wa)
    that-REC gound-LOC lie-CAUS-IMP die-COMP he
    'Put him in the ground, he's dead.'

5.3.2 Quoted and indirect speech

Quoted or indirect speech functions as the object of a verb of speaking, asking or thinking, and sentences with indirect speech are otherwise similar to concatenated clauses illustrated above.

> *Nyahn.gan-du wadji-ni "yan.ga-hny ngay."* (Wa)
> she-ERG   say-COMP go-IM   I
> 'She said, "I will go."'

> *Nyahn.gan-du wadji-ni yan.ga-hny nyahn.gan.*
> she-ERG   say-COMP go-IM   she
> 'She said she would go.'

> *"Wana-h-war nganyi yirali-ngah-yu-ma-h"   ba-ni   wihnyi.* (Wa)
> leave-IMP-BUT me whiteman-POSS-INST-CAUS-IMP sound-COMP you(sg).ACC
> '"Don't talk to me in English," you were told.'

> *Dubay male ganngal-le-hn dirahnggan-bu gile   ngadjah.*
> woman that think-APAS-IMPF witch-LIM   that.DIST for.me
> 'The woman thought, "That witch (will come) again for me.'

> *Nyule-yu nyulagan-i "yagam-beh-war wahlu ngadjah-ba-gi?"*
> he-ERG she-ACC   not-EMPH-BUT   you(sg)   for.me-SOC-DES
> 'He said to her, "But don't you want me?"'

> *"Yagam-beh" ba-dja-hn   mahdja-yu.* '"No," said the boss.'
>   no-EMPH   sound-PST-IMPF boss-ERG

> *Nyang-gur   bayahny badji-le-hny guwang, gannga-hla wahlu?*
> what-RESP today   hit-APAS-IM rain   think-PROG   you(sg)
> 'Do you think it will rain today?'

> *Mirung-mih-ni wadje-h gawari-yah gabal-gu.*
> woman-PL-ACC tell-IMP run-PURP   scrub-GOAL
> 'Tell the women to run into the bush.'

5.3.3 Purpose sentences

In these sentences, the second verb is marked with the purposive suffix *–yah*, or if irregular *–bih.* sometimes *–gu* is also added.

> *Baygal yeh-ni balun-gu jali galga-li-yah.* (Gd)
> man   go-COMP river-GOAL tree cut-APAS-PURP
> 'The man went to the creek to chop trees.'

> *Bira-h   male jaru dulung-ma-yah ngagam.* (Gd)

throw-IMP that stone afraid-CAUS-PURP dog
'Throw to stone to frighten the dog.'

Ngehn-du waybar-ma-hny jalum guyba-li-yah? (Gd)
who-ERG fire-CAUS-IM fish cook-APAS-PURP
'Who will make the fire to cook the fish?'

Mali-yu dandaygam-bu wadji-ni biridju nyula-ngi yangini-yah. (Wa)
that-ERG old.man-ERG tell-COMP honey he-ACC bring-PURP
'The old man told him to bring him some honey.'

Mala baygal yeh-ni jawiny-wan-bih mala jahdjam. (Wa)
that man sit-COMP quiet-BECOME-PURP that child
'The man sat down so the child would be quiet.'

Ngadju malah-gu guniny-ma-hny guyba-yah malah-gaya ja-bih-gu. (Wa)
I.ERG that-GOAL mixed.up-CAUS-IMM cook-PURP that-BEN eat-PURP-GOAL
'I will mix up (some bread) for her to cok for him to eat.'

Wadje-ni ngay-dju jahdjam-i bugal-wan-bih. (Ca)
tell-COMP I.ERG child-ACC good-INC-PURP
'I asked those children to behave themselves.'

Ngay-dju nyula-ngi bilahr-ma-ni bum-bih nyula-yu ngadjah mani. (Ca)
I-ERG he-ACC spear-CAUS-COMP hit-PURP he-ERG I.BEN wallaby
'I made him a spear so he'd get me a wallaby.'

Yagam-beh-war male-yu dubay gahng-gi gandji-li-yah nyula-bay. (Ca)
not-EMPH-BUT that-ERG woman get-DES kindle-APAS-PURP he-BEN
'He doesn't want to get a wife so he can marry her.'

Gunu-wahr bugal bundahng nyabay ngadjah juga-li-yah. (Ca)
here.GEN-BUT good very water for.me drink-APAS-PURP
'There is good water for me to drink (around) here.'

Yangini-yah-bu ga-gahm ngandur baygal jabu-mang
bring-PURP-LIM RDP-these other man boy-PL
ngeh jabun-mang ga-gadji ja-li-yah jugubay ngali-ngah.
and girl-PL RDP-here eat-APAS-PURP honey we-POSS
'So that (we) may bring those other people, boys and girls,
to eat our honey here.'

Ngay-dju wadje-ni nyula-ngi yan-bih. (Wa)
I-ERG tell-COMP he-ACC go-PURP
'I told him to go away.'

Smythe has one example that fulfils a similar function, but with a nominalised verb and the goal suffix:

Ngay-dju   waybar-ma-hny guybalih-gu nanganygu.
   I-ERG fire-CAUS-IMM   cook-NOM-GOAL food-GOAL
'I'll make a fire to cook the food.'

5.3.4 Synchronous and antechronous action

As noted earlier (§4.3.5.4, 4.3.5.5), verbs marked for synchronous or antechronous action can function as nominals also. All researchers have ascertained a similar meaning and usage for the symchronous affix, but with quite varying understandings of the antechronous suffix. Smythe's analysis of the latter suffix as antechronous appears to cover the wide range of uses as seen by the English speaker.

5.3.4.1 Synchronous action

The suffix *–nyun* may be used on an independent verb indicating a habitual routine, as in this extract from a text collected by the Geytenbeeks (nd:9)

   Gurubu   ngadjang-ehn   mahmang-ehn ginibi-gi-wa-nyun   gahwang-ga.
   long ago grandfather-PL father-PL   goose-DES-REP-SYNC lagoon-LOC
   Wudjang-nguy nyulangam-bu muwa-nyun gani-nyun juri gani-li-nyun.
   grass-NEW   they-LIM   gather-SYNC tie-SYNC   self tie-APAS-SYNC
   Yaruhm-ma-ni-nyun* gahwang-ge   ginibi-bah.
   swim-CAUS-COMP?-SYNC lagoon-LOCNPR goose-TWD
   'Long ago in grandfather's and father's time when (they) wanted a goose (they) would (go) to the lagoon. 2. They would gather grass (and) tie (it) on themselves. 3. (They) would swim in the lagoon towards the goose.'
   * This also appears to have two suffixes from the same order: the completive and the synchronous aspect.

And also, in another text (Geytenbeek 1971:43)
   gala jabuh yanba-li-wa-nyun nyah-li-wa-nyun   yanba-li-wa-nyun-bu
   this boy   go-APAS-REP-SYNC see-APAS-REP-SYNC go-APAS-REP-SYNC-LIM
   'this boy was going along looking around, While he was going along …'

However more commonly it marks an action at the same time as another, as in the continuation of the above text. Here are other examples.

   Nyule jali galga-li-nyun-de   nyah-dja-n   gumbi yaraman. (Gd)
   he   tree cut-APAS-SYNC-LOCNPR see-PST-IMPF many   horse
   'While he was chopping the tree he saw many horses.'

   Nyang wehlu   malah-ni nyah-ni garbe-yah gayindi-nyun?
   what you(sg).ERG that-ACC see-COMP creek-LOC   swim-SYNC
   'Did you see him swimming in the creek?'

   Mala baygal nguyay-ma-le-hla jarwa-li-nyun   mala bargan. (Wa)
   that   man   speak-CAUS-APAS-PROG carve-APAS-SYNC that   boomerang.
   'The man is speaking while carving the boomerang.'

Nadju   wihnyi   nyah-ni   nguyay-ma-li-nyun. (Wa)
I.ERG you(sg).ACC see-COMP talk-CAUS-APAS-SYNC
'I saw you talking.'

Nadju   bande-hla   gilah wagany waybar-a guyba-nyun. (Wa)
he\\I.ERG smell-PROG that.D catfish fire-LOC   cook-SYNC
'I can smell the catfish cooking on the fire over there.'

Mala dubay   jawiny-we-n-beh   yarbi-li-nyun. (Wa)
that   woman silent-INC-IMPF-EMPH sing-APAS-SYNC
'The woman has stopped singing.'

Verbs with –*nyun* can act as nominals. The first example is therefore a simple non-verbal topic-comment construction.

Jang juga-li-nyun.   'It's bad to drink/ Drinking is bad.' (Wa)
bad   drink-APAS-SYNC

Ngubuhbu ngay-dju   nyah-ni duba-nyi   guyba-li-nyun
yesterday I-ERG see-COMP woman-ACC cook-APAS-SYNC
bugal-ma-li-nyun. (Ca)
good-CAUS-APAS-SYNC
'Yesterday I saw a woman cooking beautifully.'

Mali-yu gawari-nyun-du baganuma-ni malah-ni. (Wa)
that-ERG run-SYNC-ERG knock-COMP   that-ACC
'The car (running thing) knocked him over.'

5.3.4.2 Antechronous action

Because –*nah* (sometimes in the form –*hna* according to the Geytenbeeks for Gidhabal) marks an action time b*efore* that referred to by the other verb in a sentence, it is often understood (in English) as marking the cause of a later action or state, or marking a relative clause. As with –*nyun*, words with –*nah* can be used as nominals and be inflected for case.

Jali galga-nah-yu   gabay wulima-nde-hn. (Gd)
tree chop-ANTEC-ERG honey find-carry-IMPF
'The one who had cut the tree found honey.'

Nyule yeh-ni jali galga-nah-gu   gudje-gu. (Gd)
 he go-COMP tree chop-ANTEC-GOAL honey-GOAL
'He went to the one who had chopped the tree for honey.'

Ngubuh-nguy   nyah-ny yangini-nah-ni   yaraman munah-gan-bu. (Gd)
tomorrow-NEW see-IM bring-ANTEC-ACC horse   that.NVIS-TIME-LIM
'Tomorrow (I) will see the one who brought the horse recently.'

Gale burehn galga-li-wa-hna-gaye. (Gd)

this   bread   chop-APAS-REP-ANTEC-BEN
'This bread is for the one who was chopping.'

Gala munah-na   baygal-nah yeh-na. (Wa)
this   that.NVIS-POSS man-POSS   go-ANTEC
'This belongs to the man who went away.'

Gale burehn galga-li-wa-hna-gaye. (Gd)
this   bread   cut-APAS-REP-ANTEC-BEN
'This bread is for the one who was chopping.'

Guyir-we-hn   mala munah-nyi   dabahy-nyi yeh-na(-nyi). (Wa)
afraid-INC-IMPF that   that.NVIS-AVS dog-AVS   go-ANTEC(-AVS)
'She was frightened of the dog that went away.'

Mala guyahny balahn.ga-n jali-ya gilah-ya galga-nah(-ya). (Wa)
that   possum die-IMPF   tree-LOC that.D-LOC chop-ANTEC(-LOC)
'The possum died in the tree that was cut down.'

Ngay-dju nyah-ni gala baygal-ni yangguwa-nah ngubuhbu. (Ca)
  I-ERG see-COMP this   man-ACC   come-ANTEC   yesterday
'I saw the man who came yesterday (the day before).'

Male-yu baygal-u wuhbi-li-ma-nah   nganyah   ngulbihny,
that-ERG man-ERG steal-APAS-CAUS-ANTEC my   boat
ngay-dju   malah-ni dagay-ma-hny. (Ca)
I-ERG that-ACC   dead-CAUS-IMM
'If that man steals my boat I'll kill him.'

Ngay-dju nyah-na   nyula-ngi, ngay-dju   wula-hny nyula-ngi. (Ca)
I-ERG see-ANTEC   he-ACC   I-ERG   give-IM he-ACC
'If I see him, I'll give it to him.'

Nyula-war yeh-ni jamgal-we-hn, yagam-bu ngay-dju nyah-na   nyula-ngi.
he-BUT   go-COMP quick-INC-IMP not-LIM I-ERG see-ANTEC   he -ACC
'He went before I could see him.'

Ngay-dju gahny yuna-ma-nah yalgan-di, ngagu-wan.ga-hny. (Ca)
  I-ERG   these lie-CAUS-ANTEC sun-LOCNPR black-INC-IM
'If I leave these in the sun they'll go black.'

There are a few examples of the use of the precondition suffix in sentences where –
nah seems the obvious choice, for example

Yile   baygal nama-le-hn-i   gahnyu guyahny? (Gd)
where man   catch-APAS-IMPF-PREC these   possum
'Where is the man who caught these possums?

5.3.4.3 The antipassive and linked clauses

The antipassive suffix *–li* can be used to detransitivise a transitive verb when there is no object in view, for example if one is looking around without seeing anything in particular, or for thinking about something.

> *Wubu-gan[1]   dihlbi-dihlbi bayha-ni gimi-gimi-le-hn   nyula.*
> next.morning-time RDP-dew   rise-COMP RDP-look-APAS-IMPF he
> 'Next morning towards day-break he got up. He was looking around.'

> *Gannga-le-hn-nguy   gugu-nu   ngi. Mahmang-gu yiririhny.*
> think-APAS-IMPF-NEW this.place yes   father-ERG   bird
> 'He was thinking "This is the place, eh! Birds (sent) by the Father."'

The next example shows two successive clauses, the first of which is antipassive, and the second ergative,   Interestingly the addition of *gumbuny* 'finish(ed)' reinforces the completive verb in the second clause.

> *Gila   nyula jubar-be   galga-le-hn.   Galga-ni nyula-yu jubar*
> *gumbuny.*
> that.D he witchetty-EMPH chop-APAS-IMPF chop-COMP he-ERG witchetty
> finish
> 'He was chopping out witchetties.   He chopped out plenty of witchetties.'

The antipassive suffix *–li* is also useful syntactically when two linked clauses are differing in transitivity, or where the subject of a usually transitive verb is the object of another verb. The first example illustrates the use of *–li* on the transitive verb *nyah-* when its subject is also the subject of an intransitive verb, the second example illustrates the situation where the object of the first verb is the subject of the second.

> *Gala jabuh yanba-li-wa-nyun nyah-li-wa-nyun.*
> this   boy   go-APAS-REP-SYNC see-APAS-REP-SYNC
> 'This boy was walking along looking around.'

> *Nyah-le-n-nguy   ngay gahnyu-ngi yiririhny wulbi-le-hla budjarahm.*
> see-APAS-IMPF-NEW I   these-ACC bird   sing-PROG   budjarahm
> 'I saw these birds singing Budharahm songs.'

5.3.4.4 Preconditions

As noted in §3.4.6.2, the suffix *–i/-dje* following the imperfect or the imminent marking indicates an action which precedes or ovelaps in time with another action, and can be regarded as a precondition for the occurrence of the following action or state.

> *Bahya-nah ngay nyah-le-n-i   nyah-ni budjigehn-bu.* (Gd)
> arise-ANTEC I see-APAS-IMPF-PREC see-COMP cat-LIM
> 'When I got up and looked, I saw only a cat.'

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[1] *wubu* is probably a variant of *ngubu* 'yesterday/tomorrow'.

('After I got up and then looked, I saw only a cat.')

Nyah-ny-bu   ngali gadji ban.gi-le-hny-dje   ngarihng-bil-nu baygal.
(Gd)
see-IM-LIM we   here arrive-APAS-IM-PREC across-PL man
'We will see the men again when they arrive here from overseas.'

Baygal yan.ga-hn gilah   jabuh ban.ga-hn-i-ye   ngayir-nu. (Gd)
man   go-IMPF   that.wayD boy fall-IMPF-PREC-LOCNPR cliff-ABL
'The man went over that way to the place where the boy fell from the cliff.'

Nyah-ny-bu ngali gadji bangi-le-hny-dje ngarihngbur-nu   baygal. (Gd)
see-IM-LIM   we   here arrive-APAS-IM-PREC overseas.land-ABL man
'We will see the men again when they arrive here from overseas.'

Ngay ja-li-yah,   yagam-be   ja-le-hn-i   ngay balahn.ga-hny.
  I   eat-APAS-PURP not-EMPH   eat-APAS-IMPF-PREC I   die-IM
'I must eat; if I don't eat I shall die.' (Ca)

Dandaygam yehya-ni gawa-le-n-i   nyula-ngah jarang.
old.man   sit-COMP   break-APAS-IMPF-PREC 3M-POSS   leg
'Having broken his leg, the old man sat down.' (Ca)

Ngay yeh-nah ngubuhbu, ngay-dju nyula-ngi bum-bi-bay. (Ca)
  I   go-ANTEC yesterday I-ERG   he-ACC   hit- AUG-(?)
'If I'd gone yesterday, I could have killed him.'

Yalgan gahyi-dja-hn   nangaym-ma-li-dja-hn-du. (Gd)
sun   go.down-PST-IMPF-PREC food-CAUS-APAS-PST-IMPF-HAB
'When the sun went down (they) used to prepare food.'

Bundagah-li-dja-hn-i.   "Nyangi-le-hn   gunah   wabuny?" (Gd)
near-APAS-PAST-IMPF-PREC what.do-APAS-IMPF here.NVIS younger.sister
'She came closer (to ask) "How did that happen, younger-sister?"'

Badjal   yina-hn-i   yawun-yawun bahn.ga-n nyule bahya
part.way lie-IMPF-PREC RDP-afternoon arise-IMPF   he   about
maganda-li-dja-hn-i. (Gd)
catch.up-APAS-PST-IMPF-PREC
'Along the way (the woman allotted to be his wife) caught up with him.'

Nyah-ny-bu wanyi ngali gunu munu bahn.ga-ny-dje (Gd)
see-IM-LIM perhaps we here there arrive-IMM-PREC
'Perhaps we will see ones from here and there when/after they arrive. '

Gila-mbe jamba yeh-ni gibam burga-hn-i (Gd)
that.D-EMPH effort go-COMP moon change-IMPF-PREC
marahng-we-hn-be jamba yeh-na, ...
tired-INC-IMPF-EMPH   effort go-ANTEC

'After they had walked for a long time, for a whole month, they were on the point of exhaustion from having walked so far, …'

Gurubu ngali yani-hndi-dja-hn-i ngagam bunihny-gu-bi
long.ago we go-carry-PST-PREC dog   echidna-GOAL-BEN
bunihny-gu   jubuny-dja.
echidna-GOAL night-LOC
'A long time ago we would take an echidna dog for echidna at night.'

Manal-wan.ga-hn-i   numbuh-ndi-dja-hn-du.
 cooked-INC-IMPF.PRECON   return-carry-PST-IMPF-HAB
'When it was cooked we would take it home.'

5.4   Sentence level suffixes

These are listed as 8th to 10th order suffixes by Geytenbeek (1971), and referred to in §3.4.8. They can occur on most classes of words.

5.4.1   Eighth order suffixes

-djahng acts as a strong intensifier or a comparative; it may occur on all major word classes except verbs, and also on location words, time words and numerals. As noted in §1.6, the long vowel in this affix is shortened if following a syllable which has a long vowel.

Waba-ndi-dja-hn   nyule-ngi motorbike jali-gu-djahng.
peer-carry-past-imperf he-acc   motorbike tree-goal-very
'The motorbike headed him straight for the tree.'

Nyule-djahng wan.ga-hla.
he-very   inch-prog
'He is being very self-important.'

Yalgan nguhn-djang bawur-gu.
sun   hot-very   head-goal
'The sun is too hot for your head.'

babar-ah-djang   *yuh-djang*
above-loc-intens   later-intens
'straight above'   'much later'

In conjunction with *–nyi* 'adverstive', *-djahng* occurs on adjectives and verbs to show comparison.
Gahnyu bugal-djahng mahnyu-nyi.
these.vis good-intens those.vis-advs
'These are better than those.'

Nyule garahyi-le-hn-djang nyulangam-bah-nyi.

he   hurry-apas-impf-intens they-assoc-advs
'He hurried faster than they did.'

-bu occurs on the same word classes as *–djahng*, and can usually be glossed 'merely', 'again', 'now', but in some contexts needs to be glossed differently. In conjunction with a locaqtive sufrix it indicates time, literally 'at the time of … still'; with verbs it means 'again'' with pronouns it may function as the reflexive marker; with topograhical nouns in a motion clause, it implies 'along'.

Wahlu nganyah banahm-gir-bu.
you(sg)   my   younger.brother-class-merely
'You are merely my younger brother.'

Gale mugim dumuny-bu.
this.vis axe blunt-again
'This axe is blunt again.'

Ngali-bah-djam-be-bu
we-assoc-without-locnpr-still
'before our time'

Nyule-bu gawga-ni jungur-u.
he-back cut-perf   knife-erg
'He cut himself with a knife.'

Balun-bu yeh-ni nyule.
creek-along go-perf he
'He went along the creek.'

yarbi-le-m-bu jahdjam.
sing-apas-imperf child
'The child sang again.'

5.4.2 Ninth order suffix

-beh is a mild emphasiser, often translatable as 'very' or 'only' (in the sense of 'exclusively', or 'indeed').

Nganyah-bu-beh male.   *bugal-beh*
my-now-emph that.vis   good-emph 'very good'
'That is mine now.'   (used as a greeting at Woodenbong)

gadji-be   *Buruhr-be gini-ni*
here-emph   two-emph do-perf
'right here'   'Only two did it.'

badji-li-wa-hla-beh guwang   *dagal-beh*
hit-apas-cont-prog-emph rain   nearly-emph
'It certainly is raining!'   'very nearly'

5.4.3 Tenth order suffixes: Sentence-level suffixes

The Geytenbeeks listed four of these as tenth order suffixes. They really belong with sentences, not just nouns. Possibly their meaning is a little different in Wahlubal.

-ban 'also', 'I agree'

Yaway-ban (Gd) 'Yes, I agree.'
  yes-also

Nguhn-ban. (Gd) 'Yes, it is hot.'
hot-also

Yeh-ni-beh nyula ngay-ban.
go-perf   he   I-also
'He went, and so did I.'

-ga is described by Geytenbeeks as a question suffix, but by Crowley says it denotes an action which can't or shouldn't be avoided. Both see it as occurring on imperative verbs and elsewhere. The examples Geytenbeeks give can be seen as having the same connotation.

    Yahna-ga wahlu.   (Gd) 'Will you sit down?'
    sit-unavoid you(sg)

    Gung-ga gundeh? (Gd) 'Did you say water just then?'
    water-unavoid there.invis

    Nyang-ga? (Gd) 'What did you say?' or 'Say it again!'
    what-unavoid

    Bumah-ga mahny jahdjam! (Wa) 'Hit those children!'
    hit-unavoid those child

    Birah-hla-ga jambay-dju gahnyu-lu/ (Wa)
    throw-prog-unavoid hand-erg these-erg
    'You throw it (the fishing net) out with your hands.'

    Mala-ga ngayal-a yuna-ma-h balahya-ni nyula.   (Wa)
    that-unavoid ground-loc lie-caus-imper   he
    'Put him in the ground, he's dead.'

    Nyangi-le-h-ga   wuhye! (Bj) 'You get ready!'
    what.do-apas-imper-unavoid you(sg)

-gur is used in Gidjabal and Bandjalang with the meaning 'please', or adding very little meaning. It adds an element of respect or politeness to an utterance.

Nyang-gur?   Gd, Bj) 'What did you say?'
    what-resp

    Nyahgu-gur gangga-le-hla? (Gd) Why is he calling out? (polite question)
    what.for-resp call-apas-prog

Nyanga-ni-gur wahlu? (Bj) 'What did you say?'
   what.do-perf-resp you(sg)

5.4.4   Clause level suffixes and particles

These include:
ngeh 'and' co-ordinates two clauses in a sentence or two similar items in a co-ordinate noun phrase.

> **ngaleh** 'also' can also join two noun phrases to form a co-ordinate phrase, but it follows the second of the two phrases.

> **-wahr** 'but' is a clitic which attaches to the first word in a clause, and contrasts the clause with a previous one or a previous implication, or something contributed by a previous speaker.

> **-nguy/-ngu** introduces focus on a new topic, and is usually suffixed to the first word of a clause.

5.5   Conclusion

Many of the examples given in this chapter and earlier are from texts included on this CD, and many also are from other published materials by the various researchers, including a collection of over 700 sentences that Smythe made (Smythe 1978:331-367).

A NEW BUNDJALUNG LANGUAGE: BARYULGIL SQUARE TALK

Jill Fraser-Knowles and Margaret Sharpe

6.0.   Introduction

As Marjorie Oakes said in New Words for New Ideas, a real living language changes. *Change* is a sign of life. Only a dead language doesn't change. Because the world of Yugambeh-Bundjalung people has changed a lot in the last 150 years, the language they use has changed too. Now most if not all of their descendants speak English more than they use Bundjalung. Older people can speak the language, but usually speak English. Many younger people used to *hear* or understand the language but they mostly speak English; and the *English* they speak is more like the English of country white people or working class white people. It is not the same as the English everyone learns in school, which Aboriginal people generally call 'flash talk'. Aborigines first learnt English from the early white settlers — drovers, graziers, cedar cutters; and many of these didn't speak school English.

But also, Yugambeh and Bundjalung people can use a lot of language words and expressions from their traditional language when they are 'speaking English'. This happens in other places too. Italian and Greek people in Australia take a lot of English words into their languages, and some Italian and Greek words into their English. At Baryulgil, in one of the areas where the name Bundjalung was used for the language, there are far more Aboriginal people than whites. Baryulgil is up to an hour's drive from both Grafton and Tabulam, and the people there have developed almost a new Bundjalung language, which many whites would find hard to understand at first. Most of this language is from English, but a lot of Bundjalung is used in it, and lots of expressions in English that people from other places (Aboriginal and white) would not understand. The speed and rhythm of talking is different, and the way some words are pronounced has been changed — both English words and Bundjalung words.

A linguist in Western Australia called a similar new language over there Neo-Nyungar, the new Nyungar. It had a lot of English, but some of the old Nyungar Aboriginal language in it as well. Whites couldn't understand it very well, and some Aborigines who spoke this new Nyungar didn't understand school English very well either. When you can't understand the language other people speak, you say they speak a different language. In some cases, you can 'tune in' after a while, in which case it is not a different language to yours, but just a different dialect of your language. So the new Bundjalung language at Baryulgil is a dialect of English, although there are some expressions that other Australians would not recognise or understand — most of these are from the traditional Bundjalung. The Baryulgil people who speak it called it Baryulgil Square Talk. They sometimes call school English 'flash talk'; they also call school English 'gabah', which is a general N.S.W. Aboriginal word for 'white fella' (it possibly comes from the English word ''government''; and sometimes they call it 'yirili', a Bundjalung word for 'white fella'.

6.1.   When, where, and by whom Baryulgil Square Talk is used

Baryulgil Square Talk has developed as a special Community language used by the people of the Square, Baryulgil. They have rules for when and where to use it and who to. It is the language the people know most about and feel most comfortable talking, though they can understand and speak a lot of the school English, 'gabah', 'yirili' or 'flash talk'. The people are proud of being beygel, Bundjalung Aboriginal, or Kuri/Guri, and especially of belonging to the Square, Baryulgil, so their language is a special symbol to them that they belong there and that others don't.

The first rule is that usually Baryulgil Square Talk is not used to or in the company of white people or 'flash' Aborigines. In the past, and even now, some ignorant white people have 'put down' the Baryulgil Square Talk and other Aboriginal languages like it, mainly because some of it sounds like English but is different from English. And this wrong attitude by white people has made the people of the Square a bit 'shame' to speak Baryulgil Square Talk to white people or in front of white people. That isn't the only reason they don't speak Baryulgil Square Talk to white people — they want to be polite and make sure the person they talk to understands what they are saying, and they know a lot of people wouldn't understand some of Baryulgil Square Talk. And another reason they don't use it when gabahz are around is that Baryulgil Square Talk is a special private language — sometimes it's good to be able to talk to your friends and relatives with a talk that outsiders don't understand, so it's important the outsiders don't learn too much of your special language. Sometimes people from The Square break this rule and will use Baryulgil Square Talk when white people are around; but this is so that the white people don't know what they're saying. Another time they will break this rule is with some white people who kind of belong to the Square Community, or are special friends. *They* are allowed to hear and speak some of the Baryulgil Square Talk. But mostly when white people are around, the Square people will try to speak school English, i.e. gabah/yirili or 'flash talk'.

Another rule for using Baryulgil Square Talk is that when you're with another Kuri, it is usually very rude and insulting to speak 'gabah' to him or her unless white people are around; you must use Baryulgil Square Talk. Even if a white person is there, a Kuri shouldn't talk 'flash' to another Kuri unless the Kuri spoken to can talk good 'flash talk' too.

When I (Jill) went to Baryulgil before 1980, I was the first white person who was interested in the community language, Baryulgil Square Talk, and wanted to study it and see if it could be written down in books for the people to read. I wanted to learn some of the Bundjalung too, especially what was used in Baryulgil Square Talk. Gradually the people taught me their talk, and we got around to writing it down and learning how to read and write it — but how would we spell it?

6.2. How to spell Baryulgil Square Talk

When we were starting to make books in Baryulgil Square Talk, we had to try a few different ways to do it. There are lots of English words in it and lots of Bundjalung, so we decided we would spell English words the English way and draw a line under them. All the other words and special endings of words that are not English, we decided to spell like Margaret Sharpe spells Bundjalung, except that when we have a

sound *o* as in pot we spell it o not *a* or *u*. However, in this grammar the underlining is omitted, except for the 'short a' vowel as in *car,* which is written <u>*a*</u>.

Here is an example of how it looks:
Den you gota get da jubal out—a da tree. Pull im out real steady.
Nyahga, biiig—one lu!
'Then you pull the witchety grub out of the tree. You must pull it out very slowly and carefully. Look, it's a really big one, see!'

6.3.   Use of Bundjalung in Baryulgil Square Talk: Introduction

Baryulgil has two areas where many Aboriginal people live, as well as places fairly nearby, like Coolum Station. Until a couple of decades ago, the Aboriginal people lived in 'The Square', a settlement they built themselves, often using asbestos sheets from the mines where many of the men worked. These people were never 'under Welfare', but were independent, many earning a living from the mines. They built many good houses, some with verandahs. Water was piped in, often to taps outside the houses, but there was no electricity.

But asbestos dust can kill, and the Government eventually took action to move people from The Square. They built a new settlement a few kilometres from The Square, though they did not ask the people if they liked that place! This chapter describes the way people at Baryulgil spoke what they called 'Baryulgil Square Talk when I was living and working with them before 1980.

Not all the residents of the Square (and now as well in the new settlement at MalaBoogilmah) were originally Bundjalung people, but all know some of it. Not all the Bundjalung people were speakers of the old Baryulgil dialect. I was told this dialect was 'Wiribi', and there were about one-third of the families at the Square who came from the original Baryulgil people. (The same probably applies at Mala Boogilmah.) A number of families came from Tabulam, or spent most of their lives there, so they knew the Wahlubal dialect from Tabulam, which is very close to Wiribi. Others in the Square came from Mulli Mulli (Woodenbong), where the dialect is Gidhabal. There has been and still is a lot of interaction between Baryulgil and Tabulam people, and to a lesser extent with Gidhabal people in Mulli Mulli, and people at Bonalbo, Kyogle, Casino and Coraki.

Some of the Baryulgil people are married to Gumbainggir people. This language is not closely related to Yugambeh—Bundjalung; there has also been interaction with fellow Kooris in Sydney and Maris in Brisbane. So there was more than one form of Yugambeh—Bundjalung spoken in Baryulgil in recent years, and how people spoke could have been affected by the dialects or languages spoken by their spouses, or neighbours, or relatives. And even when speaking Bundjalung or Wiribi, the language has been affected by English, especially with younger people, say under 25 years in 1980.

6.3.1   Pronunciation of Bundjalung in Baryulgil Square Talk

Sometimes the way the Bundjalung words were pronounced in Baryulgil Square Talk was different from the original. This seems to be mostly because the speakers were more used to saying things the English way. It is especially the younger people who used this different pronunciation.

Consonant sounds: Younger people find it hard to make the ŋ sound at the beginning of a word, as this never happens in English, so they sometimes say namahl or nyamahl 'goanna' instead of ŋamahl (*ngamahl*).

Sometimes the ny is hard to say at the end of a word, because that never happens in English. So buniny 'echidna' is often said buninj, with a 'j' sound at the end.

There is no 'z' sound in Bundjalung, but Baryulgil Square Talk often pluralises Bundjalung words by adding z, e.g. nyagz 'money', from nyaguhŋ.

There are more consonant sounds in Baryulgil Square Talk than in Bundjalung, but usually the new ones don't affect the pronunciation of the Bundjalung words in this speech.

Vowel sounds: The vowel sounds get changed too, as there are more vowel sounds in English than in Yugambeh—Bundjalung, and there are different vowel sounds in the other Aboriginal languages like Gumbainggir. So, for example, ŋamahl is sometimes said as nyamayl.

The o and oh sounds that are only allophones (variants) of a and u in Yugambeh—Bundjalung are full phonemes in Baryulgil Square Talk. In addition, the English vowel a̲ (as in *cat)* is used a lot in that language, though it is not in the original Yugambeh—Bundjalung dialects. So the extra vowels are as follows:

a̲ as in *cat* in Australian English

o as in *pot*

oh as in *port*

So, for example, guluy in Bundjalung is spelt guloy in Baryulgil Square Talk, and jalubay in Bundjalung is spelt jalebey in Baryulgil Square Talk.

6.3.2   Bundjalung Vocabulary used in Baryulgil Square Talk

A lot of Bundjalung words are used in Baryulgil Square Talk. All the people know a lot of words and sayings, especially for talking about certain subjects.

One such subject is that of local animal life, especially what can be hunted and eaten, or animals that feature in special sayings, e.g.:

ŋamahl (ngamahl) 'goanna'

bunihny   'echidna (porcupine)'

jubal   'witchety grub'

biŋgihŋ (binggihng) 'fresh—water turtle'

magil   'small lizard' (you can't eat this lizard, but from it you get the saying tip as a magil, meaning 'very well, in excellent condition')

Another subject is that of expressing human feelings or descriptions,

e.g.:

gubulgan   'show off'

junggul   'pretending, joking', e.g. jus junggul I'm tired
                                    ''I'm just presending to be tired.'

jahn.gan   'oh what a pity!'

bugim in da aht for   'in love with'
gurahm!   expression of sympathy for one who has missed out
nyambal   'soft and cuddly' (used of a small child)
'in love with'
expression of sympathy, for one who has missed out
'soft and cuddly' (used of a small child)

In the same area is a group of words to do with people relating with
each other, e.g.:
Ninginah   'Shut up!'
Gurabe bout that   'stop talking about that now!'
bumalang   'fighting', e.g. Dey bumalang all mornin.
               'They've been fighting (hitting each other) all morning.'
               Nyahga!   'Look!, take notice of!'

Baryulgil Square Talk speakers also use Bundjalung words a lot when they talk about
parts of the body, bodily functions, and clothing. Some of these words are:

binang	'ear'	binjil	'pregnant'
jinang	'foot'	jaragaynz	'pants, bloomers'
dirang	'tooth'	dulam	'head lice'
nyugum	'snot'	jalebey	'urine'
gunang	'shit'		

There are words to do with eating, smoking, drinking and shopping, like:
dahmbul 'damper, bread'
gabinj   'greedy'
gumbinj 'finished, full, over-satisfied' (withfood or other intake), as in
               Nyahga, white-fella gumbinj-nahla!
               'Look at that white-fellow, he's stoned' (high on pot)
guloy   'grog, alcoholic drink'
bulang   'meat, beef'
juhm   'cigarette' (smoke)
wager   'matches, fire'
nyaguhng/nyagz 'money'
gajalgahny   'tea' (the drink)
ngari   'cards' (from *ngahri* 'to play')
janggwin   'not sweet enough' (of tea; also figuratively as an expression of
                               sympathy for someone who is sad)

Bundjalung words are being used more in the Baryulgil Square Talk for people's kin
relationships with each other, and for white people, e.g.:

bahbany	'grandmother (mother's mother)'
gami	'grandmother (father's mother)'
janagan	'young boy'
dubay	'woman'
jahjam	'little child (boyar girl)'
dagay	'white fellow'
beygel	'Aboriginal man'
yirili	'white man'

yiriligan   'white woman'

Note that /j/ is used in the middle of words in the spellings of Bundjalung words in this chapter, as people at Baryulgil use this sound here.

Another subject important to the Baryulgil Square Talk speakers is that of the spirit world, but this is a private sphere for these people, and will not be discussed here.

As you can see the Baryulgil Square people have kept a lot of their traditional language words to use in their new language Baryulgil Square Talk. Some language words, as you can see, are used for everyday things, but many are used for talk on private matters so that outsiders can't eavesdrop.

6.3.3   Use of Bundjalung grammar in Baryulgil Square Talk

As well as using Bundjalung words, Baryulgil Square Talk speakers often use Bundjalung grammatical structures and word order instead of the English ones, even when English words are used.

The suffix -nah (from Yugambeh-Bundjalung -Nah possessive) is used instead of the English s to show possession, for example:

Donna-nah mother-nah mother   'Donna's mother's mother''
Dat Jill-nah dog.   'That's Jill's dog.'

The Bundjalung suffix -gali meaning 'liking'' is sometimes used in Baryulgil Square Talk, e.g.:

tea-gali (adj) describes a person who likes and drinks lots of tea
woman-gali (adj) describes a man who plays around with lots of different women

Standard (school) English uses quite a number of verbal auxiliaries like *was, are, is,* am, *will, had,* ... (as well as suffixes *-ed* and *-ing)* to go with verbs to show the tense and other things. But Bundjalung shows all these things in the same word as the verb, and so Baryulgil Square Talk *speakers often follow* this pattern, even when using English words, by leaving out verbal auxiliaries, e.g.:

Where you goin'?   'Where (are) you going?'

Compare this with the Bundjalung Talk:
form, which is also used in the Square Talk:

Yila wuja yan.gahla? 'Where you are going?'
What e ad, Jill?   'What (did) he have, Jill?'
She not done yet.   'She (has) not finished yet.'

In some instances you would think this could lead to some confusion as to what time/tense is being talked about, but usually you can work out what tense is meant by the situation.

Another way that Baryulgil Square Talk speakers follow a Bundjalung pattern is when they sometimes put a non-volitional or inanimate subject as actor in the sentence, where English would only put an animate actor, e.g:

Mal got me.   'I am very hungry.' (hunger gripped me)
Cold got me.   'I have a cold.' (cold gripped me)
Shorti-gandi got me.   'I'm out of breath.'
                      (shortness of breath gripped me)

In some situations in Bundjalung it is alright to leave out the subject of a sentence, if it is clear from the situation what the meaning is. (We sometimes do it in spoken English, but we pretend we don't!) Baryulgil Square Talk does this too.

Jus junggul I'm tired. 'I'm just pretending that I'm tired.'

E gana ring me: big-one too! 'He is going to throw a stone at me to hit me;
                                    it's a big one too!'

These examples show you that Baryulgil Square Talk often uses fewer words than the standard or school English to say the same things, by following the Bundjalung pattern. In addition, they sometimes shorten Bundjalung words in their talk, e.g nyagz for nyaguhng 'money' and dubz 'women' from dubay.

3.4   Use of whole Bundjalung sentences in Baryulgil Square Talk

As well as using Bundjalung words and structures but putting in English words, sometimes Baryulgil Square Talk speakers will use whole sentences of Bundjalung and even carry on short conversations in Bundjalung as part of their Baryulgil Square Talk. This is especially done in asking everyday questions, for greetings, and for farewells.

Yilah wuja yan.gahla?   'Where are you going?'
Ngay yan.gahla shop-gu.   'I'm going to do some shopping.'
Ginggala wuja?   'How are you?' (This is possibly not pure

Bundjalung, as it is used more by teenagers than adults, and adults questioned about its meaning were not clear about it)

Ngaja wihny nyahny ngubu. 'I'll see you tomorrow/later.'

6.4.4   The use of English in Baryulgil Square Talk

The Baryulgil area people's first contact with white people was back in the 1840s, and these white people came from many different backgrounds. Not many of them spoke the type of English taught in schools. Quite a lot of them spoke 'Cockney', a dialect of English which used a lot of 'rhyming slang', some were Scottish, and then after some time some Chinese people came, whose English was a type of 'Pidgin' English. So many Aboriginal people learnt an English that showed this mixture of backgrounds. The result could be called Rural Australian English. It is the English that many non-Aboriginal country Australians speak.

Naturally also, the Aboriginal people's own original language affected the Rural English they learnt too. So a lot of the English the Baryulgil people use in Baryulgil Square Talk has been changed. Sometimes it's just the pronunciation that changes, sometimes it is the meaning, and sometimes it is the way the words are used in a sentence that is changed.

When the people from the Baryulgil Square began to go to school, for the first time in 1917 and on and off since then, they were taught 'school English', i.e. 'flash talk', and realised that this was different from the type of English they spoke at the Square. They therefore sometimes referred to the English in Baryulgil Square Talk as 'the slang'. But for many there was a pride in it too. Margaret Sharpe heard one high

school girl correct a word another said, and the other replied "I was brought up as sayin' ..." I was driving in the Square one day and was told that it was not correct to ask "Are they home?" in the Square; instead I should ask "Demfelas 'ome?"

6.4.5   Pronunciation of English in Baryulgil Square Talk

One of the most noticeable differences you will hear between the English in Baryulgil Square Talk and school English is when they leave off a sound at the beginning or end of a word. There are also differences caused by replacing an English sound with a similar but more Bundjalung type sound. There are changes in vowel sounds used; there is a different quality of voice used.

6.5.1   Omissions and additions of consonants

At the beginning of a word the 'h' sound is almost always left off. Yugambeh-Bundjalung had no 'h' sound, and in addition much country English, going back to Cockney usage, often left off the 'h' sound at the beginning of a word.
For example unt from English *hunt,* means 'to send or chase away':

dem boys come tomorrow, unt em! 'If those boys come tomorrow, send them away.'
awm from English *home* for 'home'
ahd from English *hard* for 'tough, stiff'
        e.g. dahmbul ahd   'The bread/damper is stale/tough.'
On the other hand, when there's an English word with a vowel sound first, Baryulgil Square people (and other Aboriginal people, and even some country white people) sometimes add an 'h' sound in front of it. This practice can be traced to Cockney usage and was not considered good Baryulgil Square Talk, e.g. hahfta 'after'

When the vowel sound that begins the word is the vowel glide *iu* (or *yu* as in English *new)* the Yugambeh-Bundjalung ny sound is often used:
        nyusta   'used to'
This is also heard in some Rural Australian English.

6.5.3   Replacements of consonants

Another pronunciation practice, taken probably from Rural Australian English, is the replacing of the more standard ŋ sound at the end of the English - *ing* suffix by an *n* sound. There is no preference in the traditional language for this, in fact final *ng* is probably more common than final *n*.
     e.g.   shivrin from *shivering* meaning 'cold'
        ivnin from *evening* for 'afternoon, evening'

Except for Gidhabal and Wahlubal, Yugambeh-Bundjalung dialects did not have the 'th' sound as in English weather, and these dialects only had this sound in the middles of words. None of the other fricative sounds of English occurred, though the northern dialects sometimes had a fricative sound for dh which was a bit like the Russian sound we write 'zh'. English also distinguishes between voiced and voiceless stops

(e.g *p* vs *b),* but Yugambeh-Bundjalung did not make this distinction.

When Yugambeh-Bundjalung people first began to learn English, they tended to pronounce the new English sounds like their own familiar sounds. As they had more contact, they learnt the new sounds, but words that had been learnt early in contact tended to keep their first pronunciations. In the older borrowings,
English *k* became a Yugambeh-Bundjalung *g*;
English *p,* v, became b;
English *th, t* became *d* or *j* (or sometimes *ð* within words); English *z*, *s*, *sh*, *ch*, became *j* (or sometimes *ð (dh)* within words).

Also, as Yugambeh-Bundjalung words did not end in stops (*b, d, g*, etc.), the corresponding nasal was substituted at the ends of words. For example:
English *pussy-cat* became bujigan, and
English *constable* (policeman) became ganjibul

As the Baryulgil people now have no difficulty with English sounds, it is by choice and habit that they keep their older way of saying them. Some of these 'old' words are thought to be from Bundjalung.

Later adaptations which selectively used English sounds, but ones closer to the Bundjalung sounds than those in the original English word, include tita, meaning (in Baryulgil Square Talk) 'first sister' - used as a term of address when claiming close relationship for a favour or special consideration.

6.5.3 Adaptation of consonant clusters

When they first encountered the English language, the Aboriginal people had to cope with the strange practice of putting two or more consonants together at the beginning, middle or ends of words. Yugambeh-Bundjalung words begin with any of its possible consonants except /1/ and /r/, and they never begin with a consonant cluster. In the middle of a language word you may have a consonant cluster, but the first consonant must be one which can end a word, and the second consonant must be one that can start a word. You will remember that stops never — or almost never — end words. The medial cluster can never be of more than two consonants. There were several ways Aboriginal people adapted English words — and they were fairly similar across Australia, because the sound systems were fairly similar. Although we don't have a very wide range of examples from early word lists in the Yugambeh-Bundjalung area, we have examples still used in both Baryulgil Square Talk and in some other Yugambeh-Bundjalung dialects, so we can work out the processes.
If the English word started with a stop followed by *1*, *r*, *w* or *y,* a vowel was put between them, or the second consonant was left out, e.g.:
    giranggi   (English *cranky)* 'mad, mentally deranged'
    bahda (English *brother)* 'first brother' (used as a term of address when claiming
    close relationship for a favour or special consideration)

Almost certainly, when the English word began with two consonants, and the first was a sibilant *(s, sh* or *z),* the first was left out. We know this happened in the 'pidgin English' in Australia which started from a jargon for Aborigines and whites to talk to

each other around Sydney from 1788 onwards (this 'Pidgin' gave some words to the North Australian Kriol language). Now of course Baryulgil people can — if they want to — pronounce the full range of English sounds.

In the middle of a word, a difficult English consonant cluster may still be changed by putting a vowel between the consonants, or by leaving one of them out, e.g.:

(h)agali (from *ugly)* 'in a bad temper'

drekli (from *directly)* 'soon, when the right time comes' (also common in country English)

Note, in this last example, a vowel has been left out from the English word to make a consonant cluster at the beginning of the word - but this is the way many country white people also say it. Also note that in some Bundjalung dialects, the initial cluster /bl/ occurs in blagan 'you (pl)', and /gw/ in g(u)wang 'rain'.

6.5.4 Consonants at the ends of words

Yugambeh-Bundjalung words end with one of the consonants /m, n, ny, ng, l, r, w, y/ or with a vowel, and very occasionally with /dh/ or /dj/. They never end with two consonants. In Australian English, words can end in almost all of its consonant sounds (except /r/ — though we often pronounce an /r/ if the next word starts with a vowel). So originally, Yugambeh-Bundjalung people replaced any English word final stop with a nasal at the same place, or added a vowel, e.g.:

budhigehn	*(pussy-cat)*	'cat'
bulang	*(bullock)*	'cattle, beef, meat'
jugi jugi	*(chook-chook)*	'chook, hen, chicken'
bing bing	*(pig)*	'pig'
bohli	*(baldy)*	'bald, short-haired'

There is still a tendency among Baryulgil Square Talk speakers to add a vowel to avoid ending a word with a stop, e.g.:

shohdi   *(short)*   in shohdi-gandi got me 'I'm puffed.'

If there were more than one consonant at the end of an English word, the early Baryulgil people would have left the extra ones out, just as happened in the old Pidgin English. This still happens in Baryulgil Square Talk, as such patterns persist:

wayl *(wild)* 'angry, fierce'

fulles *(fullest)* 'very full'

fahs (fast) 'fast'

pahs *(pass)* 'past' (in gopahs)

arawn *(around)* 'around'

biyon *(beyond)* 'past hope'

However, Baryulgil Square Talk speakers do use the English consonant suffixes -ed for past tense on verbs and -(e)s for pluralising nouns, even on Bundjalung and Baryulgil Square Talk words, as well as on English ones, e.g.:

gumbinj + -d —> gumbinjd	'finished'
mal + -d —> mald	'very hungry'
(I'm mald up	''I'm very hungry.')

jaragayn + -z —> jaragaynz 'trousers'

ans + -z —> ansez 'ants'

Another situation where a consonant is dropped is when the word is a contraction, e.g.: d<u>as</u> 'that's', is 'it's'

6.5.5 Summary on sounds

The consonants of Baryulgil Square Talk are almost the same as in English: b, p, d, t, g, k, v, f, th, z, s, sh, (h), j, ch, m, n, ny, ng, l, r, w, y.

The vowels in Baryulgil Square Talk are all the Bundjalung vowels plus <u>a</u> (as in English *cat)*, o (as in English *pot)* and oh (as in English *port)*. So the full list is: i, ih, e, eh, <u>a</u>, a, ah, o, oh, u, uh. There are also five diphthongs: ey, ay, aw, <u>aw</u> and oy: ey as in *they,* ay as in *buy,* aw as in *oh*, <u>aw</u> as in *how*, and oy as in *boy*.

6.6. Vocabulary

We have already looked at how Baryulgil Square Talk vocabulary has developed from Bundjalung and from Rural Australian English. Now let's look at some distinctive vocabulary. The words listed are mostly from English, but the meanings have changed from the English meaning.
bohd 'annoyed'
muted-up 'exhausted'
kupi 'angry'
ehnshas 'anxious'
m<u>a</u>ld-up 'very hungry'
ahd 'tough'
kawji, bohli, bohli-kawj<u>ak</u>   'bald or short-haired'
putt-putt 'slow (of speed)'
bihyon, bihyond   'past hope'
bawni 'thin'
sound, s<u>a</u>wn 'very deeply asleep'

There are some special nouns to signify important relationships between people:
tita   'first sister' (blood sister or first female cousin through one's mother) (see above)
bahda 'first brother' (blood brother or male first cousin) (see above)
fulles cousin   'first cousin' (used to describe a first cousin through one's mother)
full cousin   'first cousin' (used to describe a first cousin through one's mother or father)
cousin 'cousin' (used to describe a wide group of relatives)

There is a large number of distinctive verbs, e.g.:
bunj   'to sulk'
land 'to arrive'
do   'to fight (and beat)'
muck-up   'to act disobediently, make a mess, act antisocially'
fall   'to drop, to fall'
ot   'to heat'
fox   'to follow'

pahs   to be bigger than'
gabinj 'to over-eat (reflexive)'
plahnt   'to hide'
gamin   'to pretend'
run   'to chase to a standstill'
gumbinj 'to finish (food)' (nothing left)
ring 'to throw an object at something and hit it'
gurabe 'let's talk about it later, not now'
sing-out 'to call'
jack 'to steal'
skint-up 'to scrape skin off oneself'
jah   'to scold'
sneak   'to steal'
jawna 'to bring bad luck to' (Jonah)
tie-up   'to confuse (mentally)'
kill[1] 'to finish, kill, beat badly'
weys   'to run out (of something)'
kup 'to get into a temper'
ya! 'watch out!', 'go away!'
la, lu   'look!, take notice!'

6.7. Grammar

Baryulgil Square Talk speakers have developed their own grammatical structures at all levels. Some of these structures can be seen to be derived from English or Bundjalung, but some seem distinctively Square Talk structures.

6.7.1 Word level

At the word level, there are a number of devices for intensifying meaning, or making the meaning stronger. These include vowel lengthening, addition of affixes, or modifying words and changing word order.

Vowel lengthening and adding a modifying word:
gud/guhd —> guuhd —> guhd agen —> real guhd agen —> real guuhd agen
 'good'   'very good' '*very* good'   'really <u>very</u> good'   'excellent'

Note that guhd is not usually used in a moral sense, but rather in the sense of 'competence' or 'quality'.
we flat   —> we flat agen
 'we went fast' 'we went very fast'

Addition of *the affix* -es
Although the suffix es is derived from the English superlative *-est*, it is used here as a strong intensifier, not to say the biggest, best, longest, etc.

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[1] In most Australian languages there is one word covering 'hit' and 'kill', e.g. *bum- (buma-, bumga-)* in Yugambeh-Bundjalung.

full cousin — > fulles cousin
'close cousin'   'very close cousin'
 big   — >   bigges
'big'   'very big'

Changing word order from English order

Is all-da-time stinging.   'It's stinging all the time.'
She only da one.   'She was the only one.'
We only da two goin.   'We are the only two going.'
You-felaz too-much ask for this and for that. 'You(pl) ask for things far too often.'

Modification of voice quality

A lowering of voice pitch and an accompanying gravelly quality of voice is often
used to emphasise meaning. This often goes with vowel lengthening and heavy stress
on that part of the word.

Look, it was **aahd** agen.   'It was really hard and dry.' (of cake)
dehz **lohda** bird.   'There were very many birds.'

6.7.2 Nominalising suffixes

Baryulgil Square Talk uses a lot of nominalising suffixes. Sometimes the new word
(usually a noun or pronoun) can also be used as an adjective, in which case the suffix
seems to intensify the meaning.

-way   long-way   'a long way'
              looong-way   'a very long way'
-time   night-time   'night'
               mornin-time
               looong-time
-one   big-one 'big person/thing'
        nada-one 'another person/thing'
-fela   white-fela 'white person/thing/animal'
        wayl-fela   'wild/angry person/animal'
        one-fela   'one'
        Tabulam-fela 'person from Tabulam'
        big-fela e.g. nyahga, big-fela <u>a</u>ns 'look out! Big ants!'

-part   early-part 'earlier'
        ed-part 'head part'
        dis-iya-part 'this part' (whatever is being referred to)
-mob   cheeky-mob 'cheeky group (people/animals)'
- bit   little-bit 'few'

Suffixes like -one, -fela, -bit can make adjectives, as the examples show.

6.7.3 Making plurals

When there is a word which shows a noun is plural (like a number), then the plural
suffix of English *(-s, -es)* is usually left out, e.g.
four leg 'four legs'

When there is no number or other word (e.g. dem 'those') to show a word is plural, then s/es (-z) is used. It is also used to make plurals of words that are irregular in English.

womans 'women'

foots 'feet'

Occasionally, - s is added to words that are also plural in English, especially if they are irregular in English:

        peoples 'people'   mens 'men'

Also, the plural marker is added to some words in Baryulgil Square Talk that do not take plural marking in English, e.g.

    toasts 'pieces of toast'   da barks   'the bits of bark'

    two breads 'two pieces of bread'   chalks 'pieces of chalk'

In addition, Baryulgil Square Talk had two distinctive plural suffixes -enat (from *and that)* and -enem (from *and them)*. -en<u>a</u>t was used to plural non-human discrete (separate) items. It could be used to indicate a group of items not all of one kind:

Where da cow-en<u>a</u>t? 'Where are the cows?'

-enem is used to indicate a group of two or more persons around a particular person focus, without specifying the other persons:

        e-enem   'he (i.e. Bob) and others'

        Kay-enem   'Kay and another (Vivienne)'

6.7.4 Pronouns

Baryulgil Square Talk has a distinctive set of pronouns based on the English forms. They are shown in the table above. Bundjalung pronouns are also sometimes used. The English-based pronouns maintain a clear distinction between male and female in the third person singular, unlike the practice in many forms of Aboriginal English; this is certainly because this distinction is made in Bundjalung (it is not made in a majority of Aboriginal languages). It is also interesting to note that BST pronouns make a distinction that, as far as we know, was only made in the Yugambeh and other northern dialects of Bundjalung (as well as languages to the north of Yugambeh), that is between inclusive and exclusive first person dual and plural pronouns. There are some gaps in the table, not because the forms would not be used, but because I was not able to get examples of all of them in the time I spent learning the language.

    I ride a orse before, e white-one.   'I rode a horse before, he was white.'

    Us-felaz was sound.   'We (not you) were sound asleep.'

Jill, deh'z a stapler up awm blongta mine. 'Jill, my stapler is up at my house.'

Pronouns

	Subject	Object	Possessive (adj)	Possessive (noun)	Reflexive
singular					
1st	I	me	my, nganyahz, blongta mine(s)	mines, nganyahz	me-self
2nd	you, youz	you, youz	your, wangahz, blongta yours	yours, wangahz	you-self
3rd masc	ih	im	iz (is)	iz	iz-self
3rd fem	she	eh	eh	ehz	eh-self
3rd neut	it	it			
dual					
1st excl (+m)	me-n-im	me-n-im	me-n-iz	me-n-iz	
1st excl (+f)	me-n-eh	me-n-eh	me-n-eh	me-n-ehz	
1st excl (common)	us-two	us-two	our, blongta ours	ours	
1st incl	m-n-you	me-n-you	me-n-you, me-n-your	me-n-yours	
2nd	youfela, youz, youfela(z)	youz	youfela, your, yourfela		
3rd	dey, dem-two, demfela	em			
plural					
1st excl	us-fela(z), us, we	usfela(z), us			
2nd	youfela(z), youz	youfela(z), youz			
3rd	dey, demfelaz				

6.8. A story

By now you are probably wondering just how all this fits together, and how the language goes in everyday life. Kayleen Robinson, a resident of the Square, wrote and illustrated the following story to explain how you would find, catch, prepare and eat jubal or witchetty grubs.

Untin for jubal (getting jubal)

Angga got me!   I'm all m<u>a</u>ld-up.   I'm cravin for jubal.

Hunger got me. I'm very hungry. I'm craving for jubal.

Me-n-you go for jubal, eh? Yeh, you git your Daddy-na axe.
Let's (us two) go for jubal, eh? Yes, you get your Dad's axe.

I'll git da wire an da tin. Where you go for jubal?
I'll get the wire and the tin. Where do you go for jubal?

You   gota   look for gum-tree or les you find wattle-tree.
You have to look for a gum-tree unless you find a wattle tree.

Nganyahz gum-tree over deh!   You gota look up da tree for dawz
My gum tree is over there.   You have to look up the tree for those

 little ting   yuno,   dawz bits of shavings. Lu! da little shavings
little things you know, those bits of sawdust. Look, the sawdust (is)

 fallin off da tree le! le!   I'm gana cut where da shavings —
falling off the tree, see! see! I'm going to cut where the sawdust (is)

 dehz a big ole deh.   Nganyahz wattle-tree over deh! What one?
there's a big hole there. My wattle tree (is) over there. What one?

Dat old-one wit allda gums an shavings? Yeh deh mightbe big-ones.
That old one with all the gum and sawdust? Yes, there might be big ones.

Ey, yuno da wattle-tree, ey?   Dehz two way to cut for jubal,
Now you know the wattle tree, eh? There's two ways to cut for jubal,

one in da roots gn one in da middle. Den you gota git da jubal
one in the roots and one in the middle. Then you have to get the jubal

outa da tree. Gimme wire. I'll git im. I gota pull im out real steady.
out of the tree. Give me wire. I'll get it. I must pull it out very carefully.

Nyahga biiihg-one, lu!
Look! It's a very big one, look!

Aw you cook jubal? Make da fire, lu! Now wait an da fire'll
How do you cook jubal? Make the fire, see! Now wait and the fire will

burn down to ashes. Den you wana put da jubal on. Dawn burn it now!
burn down to ashes. Then you should put the jubal on. Don't burn it now!

You-na make dahmbul. Is teys bestes wit dahmbul.
You should make damper. It tastes best with damper.

Youfela wana urry up. MaI got me. Gimme some eh?
You lot should hurry up. I'm really hungry. Give me some please.

Oo tita, me! No is gumbinjd now. Jih you gabinj .... Dats it!
Please sister!, for me! No it's finished now! Gee you're greedy. The end.

6.9 A Bible story in Baryulgil Square Talk

While I (Jill) was living at the Baryulgil Square, a number of us worked on translation of a small part of the Bible into BST, to see how it would sound, and to see if the people of the Square liked to have the Bible in their own language.

Most of them did like it, and felt it made the message clearer to them.
Jenny King was the main helper in the translation of the Prodigal Son story from the Gospel of Luke (15: 1-2, 11-32)

Now there was a big meetin, now, an Jesus was talkin to all da peoples. All peoples was comin, da bad ones, an da mens an womens all da time sleepin around an da poshy peoples, an dem goverment-felaz ... all peoples.

An Jesus, now, ih wasna snobby man. Ih wouldnt go past peoples. Ih never unted em away. Ih said, "I want you-felaz to come'n talk with me an I'll tell youz about God" … An lu, ih'd sit-down an av a feed with dem an av a drink an they'd av a good yarn.

Now but dem church-felaz, you know dem Pharisees an da church-teachers, dem-felaz was bunjin-it. They said "This-fela Jesus, shouldna' be goin round with all dihz bad-felaz! Ih reckon ih come to tell us about God."

So den Jesus reckoned ih'd tell dem church-felaz this story so'z ih could learn'em because they got the wrong idea. Jesus wanted to learn'em that God not snobby, same like Jesus not snobby. He want all da peoples to come not only just the good-felaz.

This da story Jesus told:
Dat man got two janagan.
Da younges janagan talkin to iz father, dis da janagan, "Daddy, you gana die one day. An den me-n my brother gana get everything you got, blongta yours, all da nyagz, everything. Steda dat, ey, you wana gimi nganyahz now, ey?"

An den, da father gave the two janagan both their share — ahf of it for da oldes janagan an ahf of it for da younges, ih gave demfelaz all is nyagz an everything.
Da young janagan went away drekli now, an ih took iz nyagz, you-know, what iz father gave im. An ih went loong-way, long-way from awm to another place.
But dat oldes janagan stopped awm with iz father.
Now, ey, this young janagan landed at that place. An ih stopped deh for da longes time.
An lu, ih spent iz money silly, ih nyusd-ap all iz nyagz on only guloy an dubz. An ih spent all of it. True, it was gumbinjd.

Well all iz nyagz was gumbinjd. An dat place got all dried-up. So all the peoples got no tucker, no nyagz. Dat young janagan was tellin demfelaz, "Gimi some nyagz, gimi some tucker! But they said, Get away. We got no nyagz, nothin! You get away, we dawn want you!"

An now the young janagan got work lookin after pigs, so'z ih could get some tucker. Lu, dey the dirty-es things dem pigs.

Dat fela, da young janagan was all mald-ap; no tucker, only pig-nah tucker. An so den ih said to imself, Iz I'm girahngi, or what? Demfelaz workin at Daddy-nah station, well, dey got more t'eat dan me — dem gabinj. But me, I'm pahs mald, me. Tha's aw come I'm not gana stop iya no more. I'm goin back awm to nganyahz father, ih mightbe gimi some work an some tucker.

Probli, ey nganyahz father, gana jah-me-ap, ey? What I'm gana say? This what I'm gana say, "I been bad, pahs bad an girahngi agen! God an you, masbe sayin, 'Dis young janagan make me wild, im! Kohz ih be' pahs bad!' An 1'm gana say, "I'm no good. You dawn want me for wangahz janagan no more. Steda dat ey, just let me work for you at your station, same like your workers."

Well, now, when dat young janagan reckon what ih'z gana say, ih set out for awm den. An iz father was lookin out for im. An so ih seen im come-in a loong-way off.

Dat father, ey, when iz young janagan landed, dis da father, "Jahnggan, julayn!" An ih 'ugged iz janagan an kissed im. But that janagan said, "Ey, Daddy, ey, I've been pahs bad to you an to God. I'm no good for you. You dawn want me for your janagan no more."

But iz father not wild at im, ih never jahd-im-ap, ih was just real glad for iz younges janagan come awm. An so den da father sang-out iz workers, "Ari-ap! Fetch the good clothes for im. An a ring an shoes ... Ari-ap you-felaz! Us-felaz gana av a party. We killin tonight. Kill that bullock, da fat-es one. We gana av a real good feed. Kohz nganyahz janagan come back awm."

This old-es janagan was workin at iz Daddy-nah station. Ih come awm drekli, an ih seen da party for iz young-es brother. An so ih chucked a wheelie, true ih was kup-in it, pahs wild im. An da father dis, "you wana come to the party too, come on!"

An ih said, "Come on, this party for your younger brother, ih left awm an me-n-you never knew where ih was, ih was lost. But now ih'z landed awm, me-n-you wana be real glad." But dat old-es son was kup-in it yet, this the janagan, "You never throw a party for me. An me all the time elp-in you. But disfela nganyahz brother been muckin up, spendin all wangahz nyagz silly. aw come you throwin in a party for im?" An the father said to da old-es janagan "all-da-time you was iya, all I got blongta you, anyhow. But disfela nganyahz young-es janagan ih was bad an now ihz sayin "I'm sorry". Ih went away an left us, ih went silly, spendin nganyahz nyaguhng silly, but now ih'z come back. Come on, me-n-you av something to drink an eat ey? An dawn be a Kup!"

Now den in this story, now, Jesus was tellin all da peoples that da father was the same like Jesus because Jesus real glad when any bad-fela wana twist an come awm to im, but some church-felaz, same like da old-es brother — dey kup-it an act ignorant to the bad-felaz what wana come back to Jesus because dey think they better than dem ... but nobody good, ey, but Jesus?

6.10. Conclusion

As you can see, the people of the Baryulgil Square have developed a rich and expressive community language worthy of respect. It is a language which is not only spoken, but may be effectively written. The people of the Square are proud of it, as

they are of their traditional Bundjalung. There were surprised and delighted that their own stories and Bible stories could be written in their language.

I hope that the Baryulgil people will go on writing their own stories in their own talk, and I am particularly grateful to all the people of the Square for giving me some knowledge of their language.

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