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CHARLES A. FERGUSON

BIDYARA AND GUNGABULA :  
GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY

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PL 7104. S.S. 247. 1932

PREFACE

The preparation of this preliminary grammar of Bidyara and Gungabula has been hastened by the interest being taken in the language and customs of the Aborigines of the Charleville-Augathella area by Mr. P.G.W. Ford of Charleville. Mr Ford, whose work as the only dental surgeon serving a large area of Western Queensland brings him into contact with and gives him the confidence of many Aborigines, is hoping to arouse the interest of the younger Aborigines in their culture and language. As one means to this end he has been attempting to learn the language from some of the older speakers. It is hoped that this grammar and vocabulary will be useful to him and to any young Aborigines or other local people who may be interested. The appendices and a few of the footnotes, however, will be of interest to linguists rather than to non-specialist readers.

I have tried to keep technical terminology to a minimum and have given brief explanations of those terms which seemed to be unavoidable or were justified by the resulting simplification.

The work on which this publication is based has been financed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Publication costs have been shared by the Departments of Linguistics and Japanese, Monash University. I wish also to acknowledge my debt to my informants, especially Mr Kruger Fraser and Mr Michael Tatten, to Mrs Claire Johansen who is responsible for the typing and to Mr Barry Blake and Mr Neil Chadwick who read and commented on the manuscript. Some of the latter's suggestions were not followed only because the relevant sections had already been typed.

J.G. Breen  
Monash University, 1972

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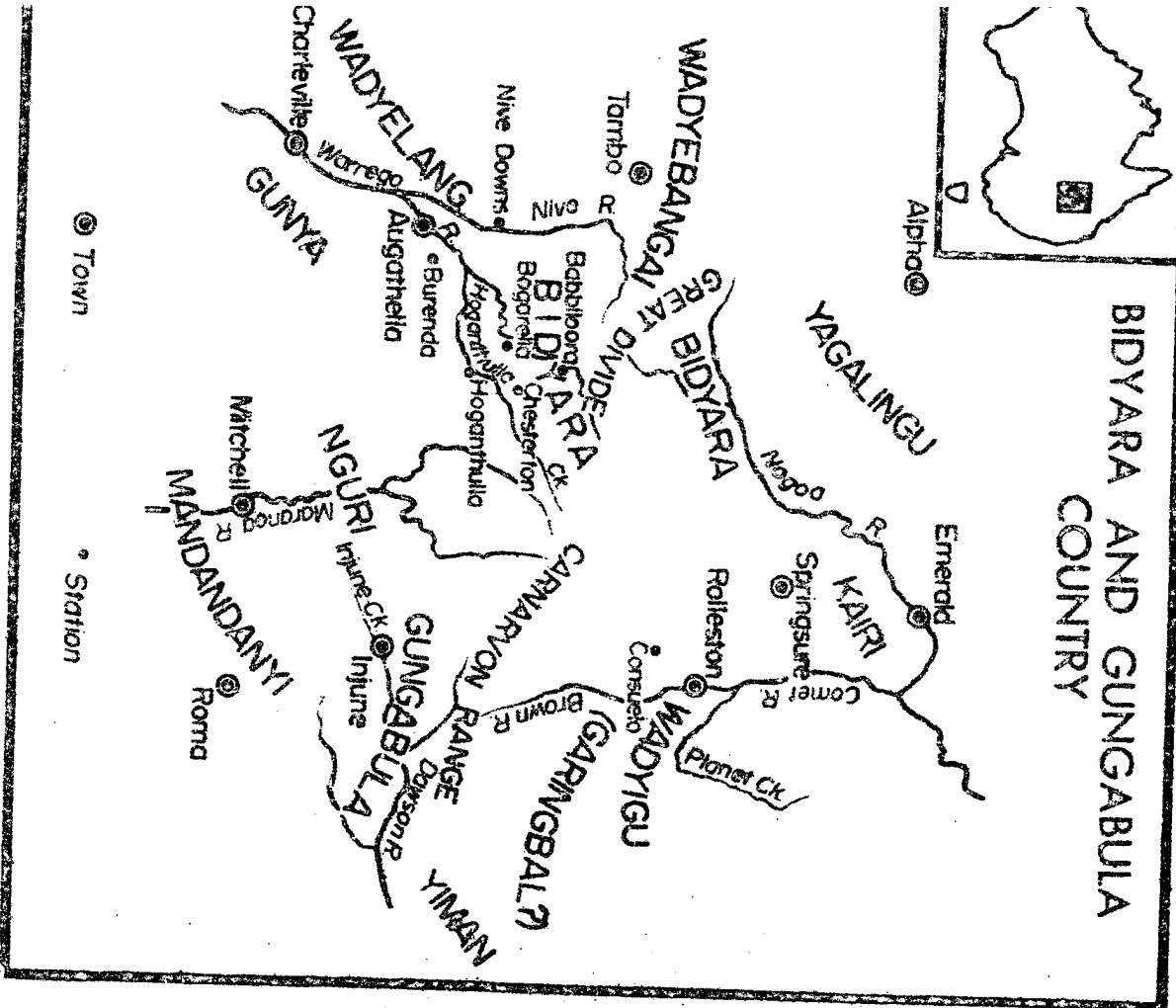
1. INTRODUCTION  
1.1 The Language

A large area of central and southern Queensland was inhabited at the time of first white settlement by tribes speaking varieties of a closely related group of languages known to students of the Australian languages as the Mari languages, from their word for (Aboriginal) person. The Aborigines of this area, and even of some other parts of Queensland where this word is not used, often refer to themselves as "Murries" and their language as "Murry talk".

There is very little information available on the locations of the Bidyara and Gungabula tribes at the time of white settlement, or on the neighbouring tribes, and present day informants can provide nothing reliable. Tindale (1), who is generally reliable, gives the Bidyara country (Pitjara in his spelling) as: Headwaters of Nogoa and Warrego Rivers; south to Caroline; east to Killarney and Chesterton (2); west to Nive River.

(1) N.B. Tindale, Distribution of Australian Tribes: a field survey, Trans. Royal Society of South Australia, 64, 140-231, (1940). See in particular p 163 and p 170.

(2) These three names do not appear on most readily available maps. Estimated from Tindale's map, Caroline appears to be on or close to the Warrego River, about 20 miles upstream from Augathella; Killarney a little to the west of Hoganphulla; Chesterton about 20 miles north-east of Killarney. Tindale's map shows Bidyara country extending considerably further east than Killarney and Chesterton.



◎ Town

• Station

He gives as alternative spellings Bidjera and Peechera. The territory of the Gungabula (Kongabula, with Khungabula as an alternative) is: Junction, east and north of Dividing Range, south of Carnarvon Range.

Neighbouring tribes marked on Tindale's map are (in the writer's spelling in cases where he has first-hand knowledge of the name, with Tindale's spelling, if different, in brackets):

Gunya (Ku:nja) south of Bidyara;  
(Wadjelang) (1) west of Bidyara;  
(Wadjebangai) (1) west of Bidyara, with only a very short common boundary  
(Jagalingu) north-west of Bidyara  
(Kairri) north-east of Bidyara  
"Garingbal (Karingbel) east of Bidyara and north of Gungabula  
(Ji:man) east of Gungabula  
(Mandandanji) south of Gungabula  
Nguri south-east of Bidyara and west of Gungabula.

Bidyara and Gungabula have a very short common boundary at the north-western extremity of Gungabula country and approximately in the centre of Bidyara's eastern boundary.

(1) Breen, Linguistic Communications 5, 1971, comments on the genuineness of the language or dialect names, p 13-14.

The map published by Wurm, Hale and O'Grady (1966) gives Bidyara a much smaller area and shows no common boundary between it and Gungabula.

Present day Bidyara and Gungabula people are concentrated in two main groups; one at Augathella and Charleville (many have moved from A to C during the last few years) and the other at Clermont. There are also some at Mitchell, as well as individuals in other places. The southern group of Bidyara speakers regard their tribal territory as comprising approximately the country drained by the upper Warrego (above Charleville) and usually call their language the "Warrego Language". The only neighbouring language about which they seem to know anything much is the "Maranoa Language" or "Mitchell Language", which seems superficially to be almost identical - the most noticeable difference is a phonological one involving the loss of initial g as illustrated by the following examples:

Warrego Maranoa

woman	gambi	ambi
child	gandu	andu
nose	guwu	uwu
blood	guma	uma
water	gamu	amu
egg	gabuny	abuny

Gungabula people now regard the Bidyara country as also their own, and have no knowledge of the country marked as theirs by Tindale. It appears that they must have been displaced from that country at a very early

stage in the white settlement. Their language is now virtually identical to that of the Bidyara but the main informants agree that there were greater differences in the early days.

The northern (Clermont) group call themselves Bidyara and speak the same dialect (with isolated differences in vocabulary) but are generally referred to by the southern speakers as Wadyaningu or Wadyaninga. (Another version, Wadyami, may have been a mishearing.) It is not known whether this is a name used by the Bidyara on the inland side of the Great Divide for those on the seaward side, or whether it was a Bidyara name for a language to the north and is mistakenly applied to the Clermont people.

A related dialect, known to its last partial speaker as Wadyigu, was spoken around Rolleston. This does not seem to correspond to any of Tindale's names; he places Garningbal in this area but present day informants do not agree.

### 1.2 The Data

A total of 16 hours has been recorded by the writer in Bidyara, 10 hours in Gungabula and 1 1/2 hours in Wadyigu. First recordings in Bidyara were made in 1967, when survey recordings were made with informants at Augathella, Charleville and Mitchell. Little more was done until 1970, when the writer returned to Augathella and found two informants (including the first definite Gungabula speaker to be recorded) who had not been living there in 1967, and who were superior in intelligence and, as their memory of the language returned, in

knowledge to other informants. A more intensive study of the language was then begun.

It has not yet been possible to obtain recordings of more than an insignificant amount of conversation or of text in the language. However, it is hoped that work begun recently by P.G.W. Ford (see 1.4) will remedy this defect, at least with regard to texts.

### 1.3 The Informants

Most of the material included in this grammar was obtained from Kruger Fraser (Bidyara) and Mick Tatten (Gungabula), both of Augathella. The former was born in Augathella about 1898 and the latter at Burenda about 1889. Both have a good, but not complete, knowledge of the language and are cooperative informants willing to work for long periods. However, neither enunciates clearly and both are in the habit of speaking in rapid bursts in which some words become hopelessly slurred; to give an example, an utterance from Kruger Fraser that was heard as 'nganimugu dhurradhi' proved, on further enquiry, to have been intended as 'nganimugu dhunggaladhi'. Mick Tatten's frequent response to the elicitation of a sentence, if it is at all difficult, is a torrent of words containing many false starts, hesitations and repetitions, so that it is difficult to sort out the final sentence. Both are capable of repeating a sentence slowly, one word at a time, but then almost invariably leave out the less essential parts, such as the very common so-called "emphatic suffixes", and occasionally omit even essential inflections. Mick Tatten is hard of hearing. Both were, at the beginning of this study, very much out of practice in

the use of the language; in fact, Kruger Fraser had been working in distant places for 32 years before retiring to Augathella in 1968, and during this period had never heard Bidyara spoken or had occasion to use it. Their ability to act as useful informants after such long periods of absence is remarkable. Approximately seven hours of recording has been done with each.

Others who have been recorded are listed below, with brief comments. Unless otherwise stated, recordings made with these informants amounted to no more than about half an hour.

#### Bidyara:

**John Fraser**, Charleville, born Augathella probably about 1890, elder brother of Kruger, died in October 1971. He had a good knowledge of the language but his usefulness as an informant was limited by his senility. 2 hours recording.

**George Solomon**, of Clermont, born Springsure, is the best of the northern group of Bidyara speakers although his knowledge of the morphology is far from complete. 2 hours recording.

**Hugh Gadd**, of Mitchell, born Hogananthulla, recorded in 1967 and has since died. A fair informant, although not well at the time.

**Harold Gadd**, of Augathella and born there. Mediocre. **Bill Geebung**, of Augathella, born Nive Downs.

A fair informant (i.e. he knows some grammar).

**Frank Geebung**, of Augathella and born there. Poor. **Sid King**, of Clermont, born Springsure. Fair. **Bob Martin**, of Clermont. Poor.

**Mrs Annie Fraser**, of Barcaldine, born at Springsure, died in 1968. Fair.

#### Miss Bettta Mailman (Augathella). Poor.

**Wally Saunders** (Mitchell). He says his native language is the Maranoa language but wanted to be recorded in Bidyara. Fairly extensive vocabulary, at least in some fields, but no grammar. 1 hour recording.

#### Gungabula:

**Jimmy Lawton**, of Blair Athol, born Augathella, is a fairly good informant. 1 1/2 hours recording.

**Bill Lawton** (Charleville). Poor, probably due to senility.

**Mrs Beattie Thompson** (Stafford, Brisbane), would have been good but is becoming senile and losing her memory. She is probably Gungabula but could be Bidyara.

**Bert Mailman**, of Mitchell, born at Augathella. Poor. He could be Bidyara - he wasn't sure.

#### Wadyigu:

**Mrs Amy Miller**, of Springsure, born Consuelo. Fair, but very limited. 1 1/2 hours recording.

**Mrs Jessie Turner** (Charleville), a sister of the Fraser brothers, would have a good knowledge of Bidyara but firmly refuses to act as an informant. Fred Tatten, Mick's brother, knows Gungabula but will not admit it. Some others who have not been approached would have some knowledge of the language.

#### 1.4 Other Work on these Dialects

The only early linguistic data on Bidyara seem to be the lists published in Curr (*The Australian Race*, 1886-7) and supplied by T.H. Hyde, H.C. Bell, T.W. Powell ("Tarawalla Dialect") and C.F. Dalhenty (see Vol III,

pp 78-87). In recent years a little work, including some recording, has been done by Sharpe, Dixon and Holmer.

No work seems to have been done on Gungabula before the present study. According to Oates and Oates (*A Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia*, 1970) the vocabulary supplied to Curr by Bridgeman and Bucas is of this language, but this is a mistake resulting from a confusion of two similar names. On a later page they correctly name this vocabulary Yuwibara.

During the last couple of years Ford has been recording in Gungabula, with Mick Tatten as his main informant. This work was originally completely independent of the writer's, but now that we know of each other's existence we are co-operating. At the time of writing Ford had begun to concentrate on obtaining texts (i.e. stories, of any kind, told in the language), with some success. These will be a valuable addition to the data.

## •5 The Neighbouring Languages

Of the tribes listed above (1.1) as neighbours of Bidyara and Gungabula, the only one on whose language any modern linguistic study has been done is Gunya. The present writer has a few hours of recording containing a fair vocabulary and the main essentials of the phonology and grammar; it appears that Gunya and Bidyara are closely related, but so closely as to be regarded as dialects of a single language. However, much work remains to be done before the relationship of the Mari languages can be described with confidence.

## 2. PHONOLOGY : THE SOUND SYSTEM

### 2.1 The Phonemes

A phoneme of a language is a group of similar sounds which are all regarded (usually unconsciously) by the speakers of the language as being the same. Thus, an English speaker regards the sound of *t* in *tar*, *star*, *sit*, *tick*, *butter*, *hits* as all the same and does not perceive the small differences between them. In some languages (such as Thai), *t* as pronounced in English *tar* and as in English *star* are significantly different (i.e. the Thai speaker has to learn to notice the difference between them, whereas the English speaker does not), and two words may differ only in that one has one of these sounds and the other has the other. Thus these sounds belong to a single phoneme in English but to two different phonemes in Thai. In many Australian languages the sounds we write as *t* and *d* are not distinguished as separate sounds and so belong to one phoneme; there is thus no point in using both *t* and *d* in writing the language and we choose one or the other and use it in all cases.

A tentative table of phonemes for Bidyara-Gunga-bula is given below. The pronunciation of these phonemes will be briefly described in the following pages; these will also include some explanation of the terms used in the table.

Table 2.1

The Phonemes of Bidyara - Gungabula

## Consonants

	Bi-labial	Inter-dental	Al-veolar	Retro-flex	Lamino-alveolar	Velar
Stop	b	dh	d	rd	dy	g
Nasal	m	nh	n	r	ny	ng
Lateral			l			
Flap			rr			

between nasals; thus the number of nasal phonemes is the same as the number of stop phonemes. In the above table there are six stops but only five nasals, and even one of them is doubtful. In Appendix I the evidence for the table of consonant phonemes as given above is discussed.

## 2.2 Description of the Consonants

Glide	w
	r

## Vowels

High front i	High back u
Low a	

The orthography, or spelling system, used throughout this book will correspond to the phoneme system, with the following exceptions:

alveolar nasal followed by velar stop will be written with a hyphen, n-g, to avoid confusion with the velar nasal ng; the nasal + stop clusters that would correctly be written nh and nyd will be simplified to nh and ny respectively; capital letters will be used only for proper names, e.g. Runabayi 'Augathella'.

The reader should note particularly that phonemes written with two letters in the table above are single sounds, and that it is necessary to use two letters to represent them only because of the limitations of the English alphabet, which has o letters to represent these sounds.

In most Australian languages the distinctions made between top phonemes are matched by corresponding distinctions made

follow are based on the sounds as heard more than on observation of the tongue positions, etc., of the informants. All statements made below require confirmation by careful and repeated listening to taped utterances as well as further observation of speakers.

## 2.2.1 The stops

A stop is a sound which is made by blocking the flow of air through the mouth and then suddenly releasing it. The blockage, or stop, may be made in various ways, i.e. by closing the lips (as in English p and b) or by blocking the air flow with the tongue at various points in the mouth. The sound produced with any particular type of blockage may be varied in several ways: the air stream may be quite strong, as in the English p at the beginning of a word, which is accompanied by aspiration - a noticeable puff of air; or much weaker as in p following s, in which case much of the available air has already been used up in producing the s. It may be voiced, i.e. the vocal chords may be vibrating when the sound is produced, as in English b (contrasted with p). Other variants are possible but will not be mentioned here.

The typical form of the stop in Bidyara and Gungabulla seems to be fairly weak, i.e. unaspirated, and voiced, but not as strongly as English voiced stops. It seems to resemble the English voiced stop more closely than the voiceless, and so the symbols representing the voiced stop - b, d etc - have been chosen to represent it, rather than p, t etc.

The bilabial stop, b, is formed by blocking the flow of air by closing the lips (hence the name, 'bi:two; labia: lips'). It may, in the speech of some people, sometimes be lurred so that it becomes a w (i.e. the lips are not completely closed) or disappear altogether, and in one or two cases it is not clear whether the different forms noted for a word should be regarded as alternatives or just careless pronunciations. For example, should the words wambawamba and umbaumba, both meaning 'deaf', be regarded as acceptable and alternative pronunciations or just careless pronunciations, a word bambabamba (which has, in fact, never been heard by the writer)?

The interdental stop is formed by protruding the tongue lightly between the teeth, the blockage being made by the contact between the teeth and the blade of the tongue (hence e more specific name lamino-dental; lamino refers to the blade, or portion of the tongue 'behind the tip'). The release of the blockage is not as rapid as with some other types of stop (possibly for physiological reasons - you just can't get the tongue back out of that position so quickly) so that the stream of air is somewhat impeded in the early stages, and the resulting friction produces a sound similar to the English th; one of the more perceptive amateur students of Australian languages have therefore written the interdental stop as tth dth. At least partly because of this friction, the interdental

stop may sound voiceless, especially when it follows the stressed vowel of a word but also (more with some informants than others) in other positions, e.g. word-initial or following a nasal. A frequent un-careful pronunciation is as a fricative - like English th, voiceless as in thick, or more commonly voiced as in this. However, these variants are of no significance as regards the meaning of a word and the interdental stop or intended interdental stop is always written dh.

The blockage for the alveolar (or more correctly apico-alveolar; apico refers to the apex or tip of the tongue) stop, d, is produced by contact between the tip of the tongue and the alveolum - the ridge at the front of the palate, behind the upper teeth.

The blockage for the lamino-alveolar (or possibly lamino-alveo-palatal) stop, dy, is produced by contact between the blade (hence lamino) of the tongue and the alveolum (or the alveolum and the front part of the palate). The tip of the tongue touches the lower teeth. The release of this stop is accompanied by a sound resembling the English consonant y and the early writers who represented the stop by ay or ty were more accurate than those who used j or ch.

The retroflex (or apico-post-alveolar) stop, rd, is produced by blocking the air flow by contact between the tip of the tongue and the roof of the mouth behind the alveolum, and then releasing it. The tongue tip is curled upwards to make the contact, and the sound is very similar to a common American pronunciation

of rd in word, for example. In careless pronunciation rd may become a glide r.

The blockage in the case of the velar (or dorso-velar) stop, g, is produced by contact between the back part of the tongue (dorsum; back) and the velum, or soft palate, which is the back part of the roof of the mouth. Some speakers have a tendency to produce a voiceless sound in this case, and another common variant is a voiced fricative resulting from incomplete stopping of the air stream. Word-initial g is occasionally dropped altogether (compare the Marano language, where this is often the normal pronunciation, see J.).

2.2.2 The nasals.

A nasal sound is produced in a similar way to a stop, so the extent that an obstruction is produced in the mouth to prevent the air flowing out. However, it differs in that the air flow is not stopped but is diverted through the nose.

The two laminal nasals (i.e. nasal sounds in which the blade of the tongue makes contact with some other part of the mouth to form the obstruction) are followed by an audible release, in the same way as the corresponding stops, when followed by a vowel, and thus have a longer duration than other nasals. The other three nasals - m, n, ng - are similar to the corresponding English sounds. Nasals are always closed, as are all of the other phonemes described below.

2.2.3 The lateral.

A lateral is a sound produced by causing an obstruction to the air flow with the tongue, in such a way that the air

can still flow past the side of the tongue. The only lateral in Bidyara-Gungabula is alveolar, similar to the English l at the beginning of a word. In other positions English l is often velarised, i.e. the back of the tongue rises towards the soft palate. This does not happen with l in Bidyara-Gungabula.

2.2.4 The flap.

The flap is produced by tapping the tongue tip on or just behind the alveolum to produce a momentary obstruction, resembling that in the pronunciation of d but quicker. It can also be compared to a rolled r, except that instead of the repeated tapping of the tongue against the alveolum in that case, there is only a single tap. The flap is written rr.

2.2.5 The glides.

In these cases the movement of the tongue and/or lips is towards the position for the corresponding stop (bilabial, retroflex or lamino-alveolar) but far enough only to modulate the tone produced by the vocal chords. The bilabial glide w is also velar - the back of the tongue is raised.

w, y and r in Bidyara-Gungabula are very similar to their English counterparts, e.g. w in wet, y in yet, r in red. r may be a little more retroflexed than the English r.

In certain environments the glides y and w may often be dropped in pronunciation; for example, the suffix bayi 'having' is most commonly pronounced as

one syllable with the two vowels coalescing into a diphthong, like the English bay. Similarly, the awu in awurra 'kangaroo' is more often heard as a diphthong au. The sequence iyi in many kinship terms is probably always heard as a single long vowel. Also an initial glide may not be pronounced if it is followed by the corresponding vowel, i.e. y by i and w by u. Thus yinda 'you' is normally heard as inda; wugu 'to here' is always heard as ugu. Initially y may also be dropped before a, e.g. abangu for abangu 'there', amana for yamana 'is doing'.

This raises the question of why we write the glide at all in such cases. The decision to do so is somewhat arbitrary and is based on what seems to be the preferred syllable patterns in the language. Thus, the initial syllable 'every word begins in a consonant except for these cases where we must choose between yi and i, wu and u. If we choose and wu we have the simple rule, with no exceptions, that every word begins with a consonant phoneme. We must add a rule that if the initial syllable begins in yi or wu the initial consonant may be dropped in pronunciation, but we had made the other choice and decided to write words with initial i and u we would have then had to introduce a rule allowing v and w to be pronounced in such cases. (1)

It is not permissible to write i sometimes and yi sometimes because this would introduce a distinction that is not perceived by the speakers of the language. It would not be possible for these dialects to have two different words, inda and yinda.

The argument for writing ayi, iyi, awu and so on instead of ai, ii, au etc is similar, although not so strong because it is impossible to avoid one cluster of two vowels - aa. On the other hand it would be impossible, except by writing sequences of three vowels and introducing extra rules of pronunciation, to avoid glides between vowels in such groups as awi, iwa, aya etc.

### 2.3 Description of the Vowels.

Vowels, like glides, are produced by modulating the tone produced by the vocal chords by means of the lips and tongue. The main differences are that vowels have a longer duration than glides and form the nucleus or central part of a syllable.

It is necessary to distinguish only three vowel sounds in Bidiyara-Gungabula, as in most Australian languages. The symbols a, i and u are used for these vowels, but the range of sounds covered by each of these symbols is different in some respects from the sounds for which the English letters a, i and u are used.

i is a high front vowel (i.e. the tongue is raised so that the air flow is constricted high in the front part of the mouth) and is produced with slightly spread lips. Its most common pronunciation is about that of i in English bit (even when it occurs word final), e.g. bigi 'lip'. When preceded (except word-initially) by y or when stressed and followed by another consonant in which the obstruction is in the same part of the

mouth (i.e. *dy*, *ny* or *y*) the tongue is raised further, the air flow is more constricted, and a sound closer to *ee* in English *beet* is produced, e.g. in *biya* 'park'. The sequence *iyi* is usually pronounced as a single long vowel, e.g. *waburdiyila* 'young brother'; an exception is *bidiyigu* 'tomorrow'.

*u* is a high back vowel and the lips are rounded. Its normal pronunciation is about that of English *oo* in *foot* (even when it is word-final), e.g. *budhu* 'star'. When it is stressed and preceded by *y* or followed by *w* it is raised and approaches the sound of *oo* in *boot*. The sequence *uwu* is pronounced as a single long vowel, e.g. in *guwu* 'nose'.

*a* is a low vowel, usually fairly centralised (i.e. the tongue is low, but raised to a certain extent towards the alate). The most common pronunciation is similar to the English *u* in *but*, e.g. *mara* 'hand'. When stressed and receded by *y* it is usually, but not always, pronounced more as a front vowel, resembling *a* in *hat*, e.g. *yarrga wind*, exceptions *yabu* 'father', *yanga* 'mother'. When followed by *y* it is raised towards the sound of *a* in *bay*? even higher if it follows the *y*, e.g. in *Yunabayi Augathella*. There is a tendency for it to be raised, at least over the last part of its duration, before *ny* or *dy*, e.g. *wandyu* 'nest'. It becomes a back vowel (like *a* in *wand*) when stressed and preceded by *w*, e.g. *wagu* 'nest'.

The long vowel, written *aa*, is further back and lower than the most common pronunciation of *a*, and is similar to in English *hard*, e.g. *dhaa* 'language'. In a few cases, however, where the two vowels are separated by a boundary between two morphemes (see 4.1) they may be pronounced

separately, e.g. *bambaamba* 'deaf', *wadyaandyarrala* 'was walking along'.

#### 2.4 Examples of the Phonemes

The following examples show words in which the consonant phonemes occur word-initially (some never occur in this position), inter-vocally (i.e. between vowels), as part of a cluster of two consonants (if a consonant can occur as either first or second member of a cluster, examples of both are given) and word-final (most never occur in this position).

	Initial	Inter-voc.	Cluster	Final
b	baga 'tree'		gaba 'honey'	balbara 'river'
dh	dhaga 'to enter'		gadha 'hair'	rhandhi 'dirt'
d	(1)	yidi 'smell'	yinda 'you'	(1) badhirda 'porcupine'
dy	dyabudyabu 'soft'	gadya 'rotten'	bardba 'pademelon'	malard 'box tree'
g	gaga 'half way'	bigi 'lip'	warrgu 'bad'	
m	malu 'shade'	guna 'blood'	mambu 'song'	wardalma 'to drop'
nh	nhan-ga 'young'	minhaminha 'flat'	dhundha 'wet'	
n	naga 'to see'	guna 'faeces'	dhungga 'spider'	dhan-gum 'gum-tree'

(1) There are no confirmed examples of either initial or final *d*. There are three or four unconfirmed examples of each.

ny	wanyu 'whenever'	wandyu 'bad'	buwany 'hot'
ng	ngadnyu 'my'	bangu 'stone', wanngu 'woman'	
l	bulardu 'two'	milgan 'eyebrow'	dharri 'sinew'
rr	burra 'to go away'	warrba 'near'	gurrurr 'mopoke'
waga	waga 'to climb'	Waganwagan 'place name' (?)	
r	bura 'to go up'		
yagal	yagal 'cold'	ngaya 'I'	
<b>5 Phonemotactics: the Arrangement of Phonemes in Words.</b>			
Three types of syllable are possible in Bidyara-			
ungabula - V, CV and CVC (where C represents any consonant and V any vowel). A word must contain at least two syllables and must begin with a consonant; thus the shortest possible word is of the form CV, e.g. dhaa 'language'. A long vowel, as occurs in this word, is regarded as two separate vowels and is written with a double letter (aa) or as vowel-glide-dewel (iyi and uu). Thus a is the only possible V syllable. Apparent word-initial occurrences of i and u can all be interpreted as variants of initial yi and uu (e.g. yindiya 'there', dhun 'grass').			
Well over 50% of word stems (i.e. words not carrying suffixes to mark case, tense etc.) have two syllables and most of the remainder have three syllables. The most common forms are:			
CVCV e.g. yurdi 'meat', gamu 'water', diami 'fat'			
CVCVC e.g. migany 'good', philin 'finger', ngamun 'breast'			
CVCCV e.g. ngarrgu 'grey kangaroo', dharra 'gap', binda 'to sit'			
CVCCVVC e.g. dhunman 'mud', dhumbul 'dust', yan-gard 'thumb'			
CVCVCV e.g. bawurra 'red kangaroo', yabangu 'over there', wagani 'to run'			
CVCCCVCV e.g. balbara 'river', gulbayi 'emu', wangara 'one'			

Reduplicated words, such as biyalbiyal 'soldier bird', budhabudha 'white' and mugamuga 'blind' are fairly common.

The only CV combination that never occurs is ngl. It is fairly rare and never begins a word.

Any consonant can begin a word except rd, ny, l, rr and r (see 2.4). The only consonants that can end a word are d (?), rd, n, ny, l and rr. Any vowel can end a word and most words (about 80% of word stems and a higher percentage of suffixed words) end in a vowel.

Consonant clusters can contain only two members. Clusters occurring within a morpheme (see 4.1) can be of the following types:

) This is the only example of a cluster containing w, and is formed by reduplication of a morpheme wagan.

alveolar, etc.) mb, ndh (more correctly nhdh), nd, ndy (more correctly nydy), ngg. These are by far the most common clusters. Examples: gambi 'woman', gundha 'to steal', munda 'snake', gandya 'to swallow', mangala 'sandhill', non-homorganic nasal-stop nb, n-g, nyb, nyg; e.g. ngumirria 'to swim', bun-gany 'plain turkey', gunybird 'sweat', banygalu 'old man kangaroo'. nyb and nyg are rare.

nasal-nasal (all uncommon) nm, nng, nym; e.g. numma 'to break', wanngu 'woman', wanyma 'to make' (e.g. a boomerang).

lateral-stop (fairly common) lb, lg; e.g. wilbird 'type of lizard', galgany 'large intestine'.

lap-stop (fairly common) rrb, rrg; e.g. gurrrba 'to come', irrrgu 'shield', pademelon<sup>(1)</sup> op-stop (rare) db, rdb; e.g. badbirda 'porcupine', bardba

Clusters occurring across a morpheme boundary (i.e. across the "boundary" between a stem and a suffix, or between parts of a compound stem such as a reduplicated word) include:

(1) For the benefit of any non-Australian readers, porcupine is the common name for the echidna or spiny ant-eater. It is not the same as the porcupine of other countries) the pademelon is a small animal of the kangaroo family, not to be confused with the paddy melon, pronounced the same but a type of melon.

homorganic nasal-stop, ndh and nd; e.g. dhilgindhilgin 'sharp-pointed', ngumanda 'on the skin'.

non-homorganic nasal-stop, nb, n-g, nyb, nyg; e.g. yarramabai 'on horseback', burru-ju 'to the lake', baganybagany 'crooked', widhanyu 'belonging to a stranger'.

nasal-nasal, nm, nym; e.g. ngadyumundu 'from me', nhimanymundu 'from the ants'.

lateral-stop, lb, lg; e.g. wangalbayi 'having a boomerang', dhawulgarrri 'cheeky'.

stop-stop, ab (?), rdb, rddh, rdg; no examples of the first 'one available'; bungardbayi 'hungry', dhanbarddhanbard 'grey', malardgu 'on the box tree', stop-nakal, dm (?) (no example), rdm, midhardmundu 'because of the cold'.

lateral-nasal, lm, gandyibulumdu 'from the policeman'.

flap-stop, rrb and rrg; bungurrbayi 'snoring', no example available for rrg unless gurrqurr 'mopoke' can be regarded as a reduplicated form. However, a word such as gurrqurrugu 'belonging to the mopoke' would certainly occur.

flap-nasal, rrm, no example available, but it would be easy to elicit a sentence with, for example, the word gurrqurmudu 'from the mopoke'.

nasal-glide, nw, Waganwagan 'a place name'.

There is one example of a cluster dyn, but it is not clear whether the morpheme boundary is before or after the stop: ngubadyma 'to show how'.

## 2.6 Stress

This can be described in terms of a series of rules:

- 1. The primary or main stress, marked on the vowel of the appropriate syllable in the examples, is always on the first syllable:

wádyá 'walk!', binda 'sit down!', ngúrra 'dog', bídýula 'threw', wádyana 'is walking', gáyarra 'old'.

- There is secondary stress (marked \*) on any long vowel (aa, iyi, uuu) or on the sequence ayi if it does not carry primary stress and is not word-final. There is no secondary stress on any vowel immediately preceding or following the long vowel, irrespective of what any later rule may prescribe.

yúbalinyamíndu 'because of you two', yánnala 'did', wáburdiyila 'young brother', Wárrbáyigu 'at Augathella Station'.

There is secondary stress on the third syllable of a ur syllable word:

báganybágany 'brooked', wádyanána 'is walking around', 'wáganíla 'ran', bídýulámba 'threw (emphatic)'.

- 
4. If a compound word (containing two or more morphemes - see 4.1) contains a morpheme of two or three syllables (other than the first morpheme in the word) the first syllable in that morpheme carries a secondary stress.

yárrramanbáyi 'on horseback', mágardamágarda 'policeman', bámbagúnmala 'broke'.

5. If three successive syllables of a word have not been assigned a stress by any of the preceding rules, the second of the three has a secondary stress.

yúbalinyamíndu 'because of you two'.

These rules can be used to determine the stress on any word apart from a small handful of long words whose make-up, in terms of simple morphemes, is not known, e.g. the proper name Mangilbagalindya (Mángilbagalindya).

Stress on other than a word level and intonation will not be described in this preliminary grammar.

## 2.7 Pronunciation in Normal Speech

The most notable feature of speech at normal conversational speech is the abbreviation of certain very common demonstratives, which are then incorporated phonologically into the preceding word, i.e. pronounced as if they were part of that word. For example, the word yulungu 'this, here', which is commonly used with ngaya 'I' (see 4.15), is abbreviated to lungu:

ngayalungu yurdigarra  
= ngaya yulungu yurdigarra  
I this meat-lacking 'I've got no meat'.

Other words abbreviated and incorporated in this way include ngungu 'that, there', nguna 'that (object of verb)', and ngungundyu 'there', abbreviated to ngu, na and ngundyu respectively.

The final vowel is sometimes dropped, especially from yulungi or lungu, and from yabangu 'there'.

In general in normal speech the tendency for stops to become fricatives, glides or to disappear (see 2.2.1) and for glides to disappear (see 2.2.5) is greater than in slow and careful speech.

### 3. THE FORMATION OF SENTENCES 3.1 Some Definitions

No formal definition of a word will be given until a later stage (9.1); the reader's concept of what a word is will be sufficient.

A sentence is a unit or utterance made up of words which combine together to communicate some idea to the hearer (or reader).

A phrase is a unit made up of one or more words which do not make a complete sentence but fulfil some function in a sentence. For example, in the sentences you hit me and the fat man hit me, the phrase (consisting only of one word) you and the phrase the fat man both perform the same function, that of telling who did the hitting.

A main clause is a unit which could function as a sentence, but does not because the sentence also contains one or more subordinate clauses or other main clauses.

A subordinate clause consists of a unit which could function as a sentence plus a phrase which relates it to a main clause. For example, in the sentence the fat man hit me when I turned my back, the fat man hit me could function as a complete sentence and is a main clause, and I turned my back could function as a complete sentence but is made subordinate to the main clause by the phrase (here a single word) when.

When a sentence contains more than one main clause the clauses are normally, in English, linked by conjunctions, such as and, or, but. However, Bidyara and Gungabula do not have conjunctions (see 3.9).

An incomplete sentence may communicate an idea if the context (e.g. something that has already been said, or something that the hearer can see) supplies the part of the idea which is missing from the sentence.

Words can be divided into various classes; in English the main classes are nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. These need not be defined and at present we will regard Bidyara-Gungabula words as being divided up in the same way. Later this assumption will be reviewed.

These classes of words can be grouped together to a certain extent: nouns, pronouns and adjectives belong together, since pronouns substitute for nouns and adjectives qualify or specify nouns; the words in this group of classes can be called nominals. Verbs and adverbs can be grouped together because adverbs qualify verbs.

Any phrase consisting of or basically of nominals is a nominal phrase, e.g. the fat man, he, in this house. Any phrase composed of a verb with or without an adverb or another phrase qualifying it is a verb phrase, e.g. ran, ran along, fell over, fell on to the ground. If a nominal phrase has an adverbial function, i.e. qualifies a verb, it forms part of the verb phrase, e.g. on to the ground in fell on to the ground, and can be called an adverbial phrase. If a nominal phrase qualifies or specifies a nominal (e.g. a noun) it can be called an ad-

jectival phrase, e.g. in this house in the man in this house is very old or big in big dogs. If a nominal phrase is not an adverbial phrase or an adjectival phrase it is a noun phrase. An adjectival phrase forms part of a noun phrase in the same way as an adverbial phrase forms part of a verb phrase. In the example above the man in the house is a noun phrase made up of a noun phrase the man and an adjectival phrase in the house.

Note that English nominal phrases often contain an article a or the. There is no equivalent for either in Bidyara-Gungabula. However, demonstratives such as *yulungu* 'this' and *ngungu* 'that' are very frequent constituents of nominal phrases.

### 3.2 Verbless Sentences

One type of simple sentence in Bidyara-Gungabula contains no verb; for example, it may consist of only two nouns. The English translation of such a sentence would most commonly use a verb such as is or are.

mardi widhany  
man stranger

'The man is a stranger.'

Belonging to the same type are sentences made up of a noun and an adjective, or a pronoun and a noun or adjective - in other words, two noun phrases.

manga	wandyu
ear	bad

'My ears are no good.'

ngaya	guliginy
I	old

'I'm an old man.'

nhimun wudya fly many 'There's a lot of flies around.'

One or both of the noun phrases may be expanded to two or more words

rhandhi yulungu budyi ground here dry 'The ground's dry.'

ngayalungu mardi guliginy (= ngaya yulungu) I here man old 'I'm an old man now.'

mardi yurdi dhala man meat expert

'He's a good hunter' (i.e. an expert at getting meat or killing animals; yurdi means either 'meat' or 'animal').

mayarragan ngungu gunabarduny woman that pregnant 'That woman's pregnant.'

Another common variant is expansion of one phrase by means of a suffix which specifies its relationship to the other phrase.

ngurra ngadyu dhagundylagu

dog my brother-of

'That dog belongs to my brother.' (-gu here means 'of' or 'belonging to'. ngadyu is irregular and cannot be divided into stem and suffix, but is equivalent to 'me-of'.)

dhunuman gandugu gawunda mud child-of dress-on

'There's mud on the little girl's dress'. (-gu 'of', -da 'on')

gamu yulungu dhunmanbayi water this mud-having

'This water is muddy.' (-bayi 'having')

ngaya yulungu yurdigarrba I this meat-lacking 'I've got no meat.' (-garba 'lacking')

gurri ngungu ngadyu ngurrumugu blanket that my dog-of 'That blanket belongs to my dog' (-mugu 'of', 'belonging to')

yinda yindiyagunda you where-to-emph

'Where are you going?' (-gu 'to', -nda is one

of many suffixes - see 8.1 - whose meaning is not

clear but which may be used to provide emphasis. They will always be represented in the literal

translation of an example by the abbreviation emph.

Perhaps a better translation of this sentence might be 'Where the devil are you going to? However, this is just a guess.)

A sentence containing two main clauses of this type is:

ngaya mardi guliginy, yinda mardi nhan-ganhan-ga dog I man old , you man young 'I'm older than you.' (literally, 'I'm an old man, you're a young man', but this sentence could be used by an old man speaking to another man almost as old. The comma denotes a pause.

A more complex sentence with three noun phrases is given below.

ngungu mardi gadha gurrgandharrinda, mayarragan-gadhindhi  
hat man hair long -emph, woman -like-emph

That man's got long hair like a woman.' (-gadhi 'like',  
nda and ndhi "emphatic" suffixes).

here is a pause, shown by the comma, between the second  
nd third phrases. The third phrase can be regarded as an  
incomplete clause, so that the whole sentence is a short-  
ned form of the sentence

ngungu mardi gadha gurrgandharrinda, ngungu mardi  
ayarragan-gadhindhi.

It is possible to omit the second occurrence of the phrase  
jungu mardi because the context makes it unnecessary.

Verbless sentences are not common in Bidyara-Gungabula  
perhaps less common than in many other Aboriginal lang-  
ages, because this language does have a verb approximately  
equivalent to the English verb 'to be' (in some of its uses),  
which is used in cases where other languages would use a  
verbless sentence. Examples of the use of this verb, wiyi,  
will be given later (10.10.9).

### 3 Imperative Sentences

Another very simple type of sentence is that consisting  
ly of a verb. An intransitive verb in the imperative form  
n function alone as a complete sentence, e.g.

dhana 'Stand up!'

However, this is very rare and the speakers of the  
language prefer to expand such a sentence by including  
the subject of the verb as a vocative (i.e. the subject  
addressed, not usually by name but more commonly by  
a term, e.g. dhagu 'brother', by a term such as mardi  
'or gandu 'child', or simply by a pronoun such as

yinda 'you'). Thus

yinda dhana 'You stand up!'  
or mardi yinda dhana 'Man, you stand up!'

would be much more likely than the simple form  
given above.

Another common expansion is by means of an  
adverb. Thus the imperative form of wadya 'to walk,  
to go' is rarely heard without a qualifying wugu:  
'in this direction, here' or gundu 'away from here':

wugu wadya 'Come here!'  
gundu wadya 'Go away!'

When the imperative is expanded in this way the  
speakers seem no longer to feel such a strong need  
to add a vocative. However, imperatives such as  
gandunu, gundu wadya  
children, away go 'Go away, you kids!'  
are common.

Other examples of expanded imperatives are  
given below. It can be seen that the verb may be  
qualified by an adverbial phrase as well as by a  
simple adverb, e.g. by gundi gu, which means 'into  
the house', in the third example.

wandyu waga  
well climb

'Climb carefully!' or 'Be careful when you climb!'

yinda ngungundyu binda  
you there sit 'You sit down there!'

gandunu yura dhagalgarrini gundigu  
children you(plural) enter-plural house-in  
'Come inside, you children!'

burdimundu wugu wadya fire-from here come 'Come away from the fire!'

A transitive verb is a verb that takes an object, which will be a noun phrase; if the verb is transitive a complete imperative sentence must therefore have an object.

burdi bulbu fire blow 'Blow the fire!'

As with intransitive imperatives, such unexpanded forms are uncommon.

munda yinda guni nguna snake you hit that 'Hit that snake!'

man you water dip up

'Get some water!' (or 'Man, you get some water!')

At least one verb – gumba 'to give' – can have two objects.

ngurra yurdi gumba dog meat give 'Give the dog some meat!'

### 3.4 Intransitive Sentences

The simplest intransitive sentences – intransitive imperative sentences – were described in the preceding section. Intransitive indicative sentences differ in that,

for the sentence to be complete, the subject must be included. In addition, the verb carries one or more suffixes in almost all cases.

gandumu warraana children play-ing (1) 'The children are playing'

dhibiliny wagana bird fly-s 'The bird is flying'

As with other types of sentence, the basic form is uncommon and there is usually an expansion of the noun phrase (subject), or verb phrase, or both.

ngaya wadyaala balbaragu I go-was river-to 'I was going to the river.'

bula ngungu ngalgayala gurrigan they two there talk-was long

'Those two have been talking for a long time.'

(1) In the literal translation of verbs, s will be used to denote the present tense suffix (cf. the s in sits), ing to denote a present continuous form (cf. is sitting), ed to denote past tense (cf. walked), was to denote past continuous (cf. was walking), will to denote future tense (will sit), will be to denote future continuous (will be sitting), and for to denote a purposive form (for eating). In fact the continuous forms of the verbs are formed with two suffixes, but they need not be translated separately. The literal translations of most other suffixes will be obvious, usually being the appropriate English preposition. Other explanations, where necessary, will be given in later footnotes.

ngaya gamugu wadyanga  
I water-for go-will

'I'm going to get some water.'

burdi yabangu ngandhan burrbana  
fire there blaze comes

'The bushfire is coming.'

yinda ngadyunda wadyanga ?  
you me-with go-will

'Are you coming with me?'

### 3.5 Transitive Sentences

Transitive sentences differ from intransitive in that the verb requires an object as well as a subject (both being noun phrases), so that, if the sentence is not imperative, the basic form consists of three words - subject, object, verb. If the subject is a noun it occurs in the operative form, an inflected form (i.e. a form of the word having a suffix) used for the agent or instrument of an action (see 4.4).

gandumungu banggu bidyuwina  
children-op stone throw-ing  
'The children are throwing stones.'

(1) The operative form, when used for the agent of an action, is represented in the literal translation by op, as there is no appropriate English word that can fulfil the purpose. When it is used for the instrument of an action, with is used. See 4.4 for the different forms of this suffix.

ngurrandu ngadyuna badhala  
dog-op me bite-ed 'The dog bit me.'

The following examples illustrate the more common form where there is some expansion of one or more constituents of the sentence.

yarrgangu ngune biba gundu burramala  
wind-op that paper away go away-make-ed

'The wind blew the paper away' (more literally, 'The wind made the paper go away').

ngaya nguna waya marrgindu gudyala  
I that wallaby gun-with shoot-ed

'I shot the wallaby'. (gudyala normally means 'to hit with something thrown' but the addition of the adverbial phrase marrgindu 'with the gun' shows that the meaning 'to shoot' is intended.)

gandungu ngadyuna banggungu bugany gudyal  
child-op me stone-with try hit-ed  
'The boy tried to hit me with a stone'.

ngaya yulungu ngamany gubanymenya burdi buhagu  
I here damper cook-will fire ashes-in  
'I'm going to cook the damper in the ashes'. (The word burdi 'fire' here forms part of a phrase burdi budha 'ashes'; although budha alone can mean 'ashes'. Phrases of this type will be discussed in 4.15.)

### 3.6 Reflexive and Reciprocal Sentences

A reflexive sentence is a sentence in which the agent of the action described by the verb is also

the recipient of the action. In English the reflexive is formed by using a reflexive pronoun, e.g. myself, yourself, themselves etc. Some Australian languages use a similar system but most use instead a modification to the verb. In Bidyara and Gungabula this is the suffix -li, which is added to the verb stem, before tense and other suffixes. Compare

ngaya	yurdi	babilia
I	meat	cut-ed
with		'I cut the meat!'
ngaya	babilila	

I	cut-self-ed
	'I cut myself.'

A reciprocal sentence is one in which there are two or more agents acting on one another. English expresses this idea with phrases such as each other, one another. Bidyara-Gungabula modifies the verb by adding a suffix -mi to the stem. Compare

ngaya	nhunguna	nagala
I	him	seen-ed
and		'I saw him.'

ngali	ragamila
We	two see-o.a.-ed <sup>(1)</sup>

ngaya	marda	babilila
I	hand	cut-self-ed
		'I cut my hand.'

yinda	yulungu	babilingadhi	nayibungu
you	here	cut-self-will-emph	knife-with
		'You'll cut yourself with the knife'.	

mardindu	wangalu	gudiyandyina
man-op	boomerang-with	hit-o.a.-ing
	'The men are fighting with boomerangs.'	

The above examples show that reflexive and reciprocal sentences are similar to intransitive sentences in that a complete sentence requires only a noun phrase and a verb phrase. However, in some respects they are similar to transitive sentences. The first example below shows a reflexive sentence with a second noun phrase in the object

### 3.7 Incomplete Sentences

(1) The reflexive suffix -mi will be translated, in the literal translation, by the abbreviation o.a., for ne another.

position; its real function is to specify the object (which is already shown by the -li to be the same as the subject) more accurately. Thus it tells which part of "myself" was cut.

The second example shows a reflexive sentence with an instrument, and the third a reciprocal sentence with an instrument and with the subject/object also in the operative form. Normally the subject of a reciprocal sentence is not in the operative form (see the fourth example) and it is not known at this stage whether the presence of an instrumental in the sentence requires the presence of an subject and whether this applies also to reflexive sentences.

ngurra	yabangu	badhamina
dog	there	bite-o.a.-s
		'The dogs are fighting'.

Some examples of incomplete sentences are given below. The missing part is enclosed in square brackets

in the translation. The item omitted is almost always the subject or object, and in practice it can always be inferred from the context.

mardi garda dhiwa  
man not wake  
'Don't wake [him] up!'

ngaya bulardu maraha  
I two catch-ed  
'I caught two [fish].'

guliru burrala  
yesterday go away-ed '[He] went away yesterday'.

gardadha gumbala  
not-emph give-ed  
'[He] didn't give [it to me]'.

Omission of the verb from a sentence is rare (verb-less sentences are not sentences from which the verb has been omitted, but sentences which are complete without a verb). An example of a sentence which is incomplete because of the omission of the verb is:

yinda yindiyagunda ?  
you where-to-emph 'Where are you [going]?'

Examples of the omission of part of one clause in a two-clause sentence can be found in about half of the examples of the next section (3.8).

The one-word sentences yuwu 'yes' and garda 'no' are common.

### 3.8 Complex Sentences

Complex sentences are sentences which have one or more subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause in an English sentence may be related to the main clause by any one of a number of words or phrases, depending on its function - because, when, so that, if, who, etc. These distinctions are not made explicit in Bidyara-Gungabula; the subordinate clause is marked by the suffix -yi attached to its verb and the precise nature of the relationship between the two clauses may not be clear. Thus the first example below could be translated with when instead of because; this does not make much difference to the meaning in this case, but if we translated the second example with when instead of if there would be a more significant difference. In the examples below the translation is the one appropriate to the circumstances of elicitation - usually it is the sentence that was given for translation into the language.

Note that many clauses, especially subordinate clauses, are incomplete; for example, the subject of the subordinate clause in the first example is omitted because it was mentioned in the main clause. There are two possible interpretations in this case but one is nonsensical.

nhula ngungu ngurran gunila wan-gullayi  
he there dog hit-ed bark-ed-sub  
'He hit the dog because it was barking'.

widhu wadyangayi , ngali ngalgaaningu  
white man come-will-sub , we two talk-ctn (1)  
'If the white man comes we'll have a talk.'

ngaya dhagany yugana , ngaya gunilayi  
I goanna eat-s , I kill-ed-sub  
'I'm eating the goanna I killed.'

yinda wandy Wardangayi

you careful fall-will-sub

'Be careful, you might fall.' (The main clause here is verbless. Wandy is an adjective here, but can also function as an adverb.)

nardi rhula wadyaaleyi , yurdi yugaala

nan he walk-was-sub , meat eat-was

'That fellow was walking along eating meat.'

ngaya rgudyana , yinda bindaalayi

i know-s , you stay-was-sub

I know where you were.'

yinda yangganga yama, ngayagadhlungu yamanayi

(= ngayagadhi yulungu)

you this way do , I-like this does-sub

'Do it this way, just like I'm doing it.'

ngayalungu waganihayi , barrgu ngaya dharrbilmala

(= ngaya yulungu)

I here return-ed- me dog-op bite-ed

sub

'As soon as I got here the dog bit me.'

ngayalungu ganalayi ngadyuna ngurrandu badhala

(= ngaya yulungu)

I here return-ed- me dog-op bite-ed

sub

'Watch me swim!'

ngaya ngaya ngnbirdanayi

watch I swim-s-sub

'I sprained my ankle while I was running.'

I here run-ed-sub , ankle I sprain-ed

ngayalungu waganihayi , barrgu ngaya dharrbilmala

(= ngaya yulungu)

I here run-ed-sub , ankle I sprain-ed

'Come away from the fire or you'll get burnt.'

mundangu ngungu yurana (1) 'badhangga, yinda garda guningayi snake-op that you-obj (1) bite-will, you not kill-will-sub

'The snake will bite you if you don't kill it.'

burdimundu wugu wadya, gubanangayi yinda ngungundyu fire-from here come , burn-will-sub you there

'Come away from the fire or you'll get burnt.'

There is some evidence that the subject noun of a transitive verb in a subordinate clause does not take the operative suffix, but this needs checking.

(1) The abbreviation obj refers to the suffix marking the object of a sentence. In general such a suffix is used only with pronouns and need not always be translated obj because English has objective forms of most pronouns - me, him, us, them.

(1) The abbreviation ctn is used for a continuous form of the verb with tense unspecified, see 6.7.2.

(2) The abbreviation sub refers to the marker on the verb of the subordinate clause.

ngayalungu nayibu marala , gandu gardaru maralayi  
 I here knife take-ed , child not take-ed-sub  
 'I took the knife before the baby could get it.'

mardi ngungu burdi yebangu bandyunayi , ngungu  
 man that wood there chop-s~sub , that  
 nardindu mani ngadyu gundhala  
 man-op money my steal-ed  
 'That man chopping wood, he's the one who took my money.'

### 3.9 Compound Sentences

Compound sentences have two (or more) main clauses; they are thus formed, like complex sentences, by combining sentences, but none of the clauses is arked as subordinate. In some of the examples given below one might have expected one clause to be so arked; probably the English translations given are not always accurate, but it is also likely that in certain cases the subordinate marker is not required, thus if one verb carries the affix -ndhi (1) (meaning about to', 'on the point of') as in the third example, the subordinate marker seems never to be used.

; could be that it is part of the function of -ndhi ; act as a subordinate clause marker. The same remarks apply to the purposive suffix -lgu ('for') (seventh example).

ali nhula wadyaandyarala , ngalgayala  
 two he walk-along-was , talk-was  
 e (he and I) were walking along talking.

) This is different from the emphatic suffix -ndhi.  
 See 6.8.

ngaya yagal , banbanana  
 I cold , shiver-s

'I'm shivering from the cold' (or 'I'm cold and shivering.')

ngaya yulunyu wungard wudyayindhila , yindadhi burrbala  
 I here asleep lie-about-to-ed, you-emph come-ed

'I was just about to go to sleep when you came.'

ngaya gandu garumaranay ngaya wanyu wan-gadinba barriyil  
 I child small I bad much-emph cry-was  
 'When I was a baby I used to cry a lot.'

ngaya ngarigu wanya gunimaala, ngaya walbara wiyilla  
 I kangaroo many kill-was , I young man be-ed  
 'I used to kill a lot of kangaroos when I was young.'  
 mardi yinda yulunyu dhanani  
 man you here stand-ct imp (1) , we two away go-will be  
 'You stay here, we're going away!'

ngadyunda baru gumbama , ngaya burdi bandyalgu  
 me-to axe lend , I wood chop-for  
 'Give me an axe so I can chop some wood.'

baga ngaya marala , munda guninga  
 stick I get-ed , snake kill-will  
 'I've got a stick to kill the snake.'

ngana yulunyu bugany widyayilgina, nhandhindhi yulunyu  
 we here try camp-would , ground-emph here  
 dhundha wet

'We were going to camp here but it's too wet.'

(1) The abbreviation ct imp stands for continuous imperative, and the suffix means 'keep on (doing so-and-so), e.g. here 'keep on standing'.'

A compound sentence may be used to make a comparison, e.g.

ngaya guliniginy, yindabi galamuginy  
I old , you-emph young

'I'm older than you.' (see the similar sentence above -  
.2, second last example.)

yinda gurrngandharri, mardi ngungu gudryugudu marra  
you tall , man that short a little  
He's a bit shorter than you.'

#### .10 Questions

A question sentence may be of two types:

a) a question containing a question word, such as who?,  
hat?, why? or phrase such as how many?

b) a question not containing a question word. This type of question requires either a yes/no answer or a choice between alternatives. In Bidyara-Gungabula such a question is distinguished from a statement only by the intonation;

statement ends with a fall in the intonation while with a question of this type the intonation does not fall but remains level or rises at the end of the sentence. As no attempt has been made to study intonation in the language in any detail, nothing further will be said about it at this stage.

The following examples illustrate both types of question.

ngani yinda yamaala ?  
what you do-was 'What were you doing?'

nganimu gunila ngadyuna ?  
what-for hit-ed me 'Why did [you] hit me?'

nganimuranga dhurdunga yinda nguna dhaarbarrlia?  
how many-in day-in you that made-ed  
'How long did it take you to make it?'

ngundhurru yinda wiyina ?  
who you be-s 'Who are you?'

nhayi yinda ngundhurru wiyina?  
name you who be-s 'What's your name?'  
ngundhurru nguna yinda ngalgamaala?  
who that you talk-was  
'Who were you talking to?'

ngaya dhaganga?  
I enter-will 'Can I come in?'

gandu yubalunyanda wiyila?  
child you two-with be-ed  
'Was the boy with you two?'

mardi ngayila yulungu mardi bindana Gungabula dhaa  
man any here man sit-s Gungabula language  
ngalgaana?

talk-ing

'Can anyone here speak Gungabula?' (The repetition of mardi in this sentence may be unintentional, or the first mardi may be vocative.)

wina wudayabarri wiyila , garumarany?  
fish big be-ed , small  
'How big was the fish?' (more literally, 'was it a big fish or a little one?')

### 3.11 Negative Sentences

A negative sentence differs from the corresponding expanded form of this word precedes the verb, or, if here is no verb phrase, is added to the beginning or end of the clause. Occasionally a demonstrative or adverb may come between the negative and the verb; see the fifth and sixth examples.

mardi garda dhiwa

man not wake 'Don't wake [him] up!'

ngurran garda wan-gulila

dog not bark-ed 'The dog didn't bark.'

ngadyu garda , ngurra mardi ngungundyu

my not , dog man that--of

'It's not my dog, it's his.'

ayarragandu nambu nguna garda nagaalgu

oman-op corroborate that not watch-for

The women aren't allowed to watch the corroborate.:

agani gumbirda yurdı garda ngunachi maralgu

atch-ct imp hawk near not that-empl take-for

See that the hawks don't take what mea'.:

jali ngungu shulbenayila , gandyorlu ngalinyana garda

two there hide-was , policeman-op us two not

properly see-plur-would-sub(1)

'e hid so the policeman couldn't see us.'

.) The abbreviation plur here refers to the suffix -rda which denotes that the verb has a plural object.

### yamu gardabarri water none '[He's] got no water.'

#### 3.12 Word Order

The basic word order in a sentence can be represented by the formula SOV, in which S is subject, O object and V verb. Any of these constituents may be absent, e.g. an intransitive sentence would be SV, a transitive imperative OV etc. Variations from this order, such as OSV, appear to be rare.

Other items in a sentence may be added either internally or externally to the basic sentence as follows:

A vocative takes first position in a sentence,

e.g. mardi yinda gamu dhunga

man you water dip up 'Get some water!'

A question word takes first position even if it is the object of the sentence. See the examples in 3.10.

A directional adverb (wugu, gundu) immediately precedes the verb<sup>(1)</sup>:

gurra wugu wadya

back here go 'Come back here!'

A negative precedes the verb; see the examples in 3.11.

A demonstrative usually immediately follows the subject of the sentence:

(1) In fact, if the verb is wadya it is often pronounced as if it and the directional were a single word. There is one known example of another adverb coming between the directional and the verb.

mundangri    ngunu    yurana    badhangra  
snake-op    there    you-obj bite-will  
'The snake will bite you.'

The position of adverbs (other than the 'directionals') and adverbial phrases is comparatively free except that the latter rarely begin sentences (but see the third example of 3.10, where the adverbial phrase is also a question phrase).

guli	ngaya	burrbala
long ago I	came-ed	'I came here a long time ago.'
ngaya	guli	bindaala
I	long ago	live-was
		Yinabayigu
		Angathella-at
		'I used to live at Augathella.'
ngaya	bagaala	guli
I	dig-was	long ago
		'I dug [lit] a long time ago.'
waragan	bagagu	walbanana
crow	tree-in	sits
		'There's a crow sitting in the tree.'

A free morpheme is a morpheme which can exist in isolation as a word. Most morphemes are free morphemes. A bound morpheme exists only in combination with other morphemes, e.g. ing, s (the morpheme which forms the plural of many nouns) or ly (as in full, heavily etc.).

#### 4.1 Introduction

The constitution of nominal phrases and the function of the different types of these phrases in sentences will be described in this chapter. 4.2 deals with the uses of the simplest type of nominal phrase - an uninflected nominal (noun, adjective or pronoun). Other simple (i.e. one word) phrases, most of them generally functioning as adverbial phrases, i.e. qualifying a verb, will be considered in 4.3 to 4.14, and complex nominal phrases (more than one word) in 4.15.

At this stage the term morpheme will be defined. A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit in a language. In other words, it is a sequence of sounds which has some meaning or grammatical function and is not made up of a combination of shorter meaningful or grammatically functional sequences of sounds. For example, to take a word from the last sentence, meaningful is made up from meaning and ful (=full) each of which has its meaning; meaning can be further divided into mean and ing, the former having a meaning and the latter a grammatical function; ful cannot be further subdivided into units with meaning or function and neither can mean and ing, so all three are morphemes.

Australian languages in general make extensive use of bound morphemes to form simple noun phrases (and also verb phrases) - much more so than does English, which usually uses prepositions in, to, because of etc. instead. Bound morphemes may also be used in the formation of a noun; however, this will not be dealt with at present (see Chapter 9) and noun stems, as they appear in the vocabulary, will not be analysed at this stage.

Bound-morphemes in Bidyara and Gungabula occur at the end rather than at the beginning of a word, i.e. they are suffixes rather than prefixes and the language can be described as a suffixing language. Most words in a sentence would have from one to two suffixes but up to six or possibly even more is possible.

Suffixes comprise (a) stem formatives (see Chapter 9), inflections, which help to specify the function of the word in a sentence (e.g. munggu 'hill', munggugu 'to the hill', ggumundu 'from the hill') and (c) suffixes which, for want of any real knowledge of their functions, are called diachronic suffixes (e.g. munggugunda 'to the hill'). The first form seems to add nothing to the meaning of the sentence, although they do presumably make some contribution which is too subtle to appear in the translation. For further discussion of these see 8.1. One suffix, appearing only in Gungabula, does not fit into any of the above categories and is discussed in 8.2.

If an inflected noun is an adjectival phrase it fills a position in a sentence that could be filled by a noun or adjective and it should therefore be able to be inflected; as a noun or adjective would be, i.e. to take a second suffix. However, there are no examples of this, and it may

be that a speaker would always avoid this by using the inflected word with another word (normally the name of the thing qualified by the adjectival phrase) in a two word phrase, and adding the extra inflection only to the other word. For example, instead of saying 'The white man's [dog] bit me', they might say 'widhugungul ngadyuna badhala white man-of-op me bite-ed' 'The white man's dog bit me', even if the context made the use of the word for 'dog' superfluous. This requires further investigation.

In addition to suffixes proper, there are certain words which may be incorporated phonologically into the preceding word and thus pronounced as if they were suffixes; see 2.7.

#### 4.2 Functions of Nominal Stems

A noun or adjective stem (1) occurs without any inflectional suffix (i.e. in the nominative case) in the following sets of circumstances:

- as the subject, i.e. the first phrase, of a verbless sentence, e.g.

(1) With a few exceptions, such as certain kinship terms and possibly place names (see also 4.3. and 4.4.).

ngurra njadyu dhagundylagu  
dog my brother-of  
'That dog belongs to my brother.'

āhuman gandugu gawunda  
mud child-of dress-on  
'There's mud on the little girl's dress.'

b) as the second phrase of certain verbless sentences,  
e.g.

manga wandyu  
ear bad 'My ears are no good.'

mardi wiidhany  
man stranger 'The man is a stranger.'

) as a form of address. The use of kinship terms and  
words such as mardi 'man' and gandu 'child' for this  
purpose is very common.

mardi nganalungu Gundu burralgu  
(= ngana yulungu).  
man we here away go away-for  
'We've got to leave.' ('Man, we've got to leave.')

gandu, burdigu yinda wardanga  
child, fire-in you fall-will  
'You might fall in the fire' (addressed to a child).

) when it is the subject of an intransitive verb.

dhurdu wagana  
sun rises 'The sun is rising.'

nganimu ngungu gandu barrila ?  
what-for that child cry-ed  
'Why was that kid crying?'

nardi ngungu nhingarru wadyambanana  
man that slow walk-about-s  
'That man's walking very slowly.'

(e) when it is the object of a transitive verb.

burdi ngandhalma  
fire burn-make 'Light the fire!'  
  
munda yinda nguna guni  
snake you that-obj hit  
'Hit that snake!'

gandumungu banggu bidywina  
children-op stone throw-ing  
'The kids are throwing stones'.

The nominative form of a pronoun occurs in  
circumstances (a), (c) and (d) above. There are no  
examples of one occurring in (b), and a different  
form of the pronoun (see 4.3) is used in (e).  
However, the nominative form of a pronoun is used  
in one additional case, where it is the subject of  
a transitive verb.

ngaya wina maranga.  
I fish catch-will  
'I'm going to catch some fish.'

ngaya nagaala gandumu warrayalayi  
I see-was children play-was-sub  
'I saw the kids playing.'

ngali yarraman nagamaana  
we horse watch-plur(1)-ing  
'We're watching the horses.'

There is some doubt whether kinship terms function like nouns or like pronouns when subject or object of transitive verbs. The first two examples below and the examples in the next section (4.3) suggest that they behave like pronouns, but the last two examples below and the examples in 4.4. suggest that they are like nouns. It may be that both types are permissible or the informants may have made mistakes; further checking is required.

yabunu ngadyuna gunila

father me hit-ed

'My father hit me.'

ragadu dhagundyila (2) gabuny maraanga

my brother egg get-will be

'My brother will get some eggs.'

ngaya yangayila ngudyurrana

I mother look for-s

'I'm looking for my mother.'

I'm looking for my mother.' (cf. first example, 4.3)

(1) The abbreviation plur here refers to the suffix -ma which denotes a plural object of the verb. See 6.9.

(2) Kinship terms may appear in three forms; the short form (e.g. yabu, dhagu), the -nu form (e.g. yabunu, dhagunu) and the -ila form (e.g. yabuwila, dhagundyila). These will be discussed later (see 5.2 and 9.3.1); it can be assumed at this stage that they are interchangeable.

ngaya nhunyu dhagundyila nagalanba  
I his brother see-ed-emph  
'I saw his brother.' (cf. second example, 4.3)

#### 4.3 Objective Case Forms

The only words which are inflected to mark their function as object of a transitive verb are kinship terms (or some of them, at least) and pronouns (i.e. personal pronouns and demonstratives). In both cases the suffix -na is used. In the case of pronouns it is not added to the nominative form of the pronoun but to another, usually expanded, form; see 5.3.

ngaya yangananba ngudyurrana

I mother-obj-emph look for-s

'I'm looking for my mother.'

ngaya dhaguna nagalanba

I brother-obj see-ed-emph

'I saw my brother.'

dhugangu ngadyuna yulungu ngan-gan gundhuna

smoke-op I-obj (= me) here cough causes-s

'The smoke makes me cough.'

yubalunyana ngaya nagardala guliru

you two-obj I see-plur-ed yesterday

'I saw you two yesterday.'

ngundhurru yurana gunila?  
who you-obj hit-ed 'Who hit you?'

ngaya      nguna      baga      dhammamala  
 I            that-obj    stick    stand-make-ed  
 'I stood the post up.'

#### 4.4      The Operative Case.

The operative suffix has three functions

- (a) to denote a noun phrase functioning as subject of a transitive verb
- (b) to denote the instrument of an action. The nominal phrase in this case is an adverbial phrase qualifying a transitive verb.
- (c) Optionally, to mark the nominative form of a place name.

The operative case suffix can take any one of five forms, depending on the noun to which it is attached:

- (i) the words mardi 'man, Aboriginal' and ngurra 'dog' take -ndu, i.e. mardindu, ngurrandu (1)
- (ii) all other nouns and adjectives whose stem ends in a vowel take -ngu, e.g. mundangu (mundu 'snake'), gambingu (gambi 'woman'), binungu (binu 'other');
- (iii) words ending in n take -du, e.g. waragandu (waragan 'crow'), mayarragandu (mayarragan 'woman');
- (iv) words ending in ny change the final consonant to nh and take -dhu, e.g. bandundahu (banduny 'kangaroo rat'), buwandhu (buwany 'hot') (2);
- (1) The word for 'dog' has two forms — some speakers use ngurra and some ngurran. For the second form the operative case form would again be ngurrandu (see (iii)). See also 4.7, footnote (1).
- (2) This may be a relic of a day when the pairs of sounds nh and ny, dn and dy were not separate phonemes but simply two varieties of one phoneme, as they are now in some Australian languages. (See Dixon, Oceanic Linguistics 2, no. 2, 79-103.)

(v) words ending in rd, d (no confirmed examples), l and possibly rr (no examples have been heard) take the suffix -u, e.g. wangalu (wangai 'boom'erang'), changurdru (dhangurd 'possum').

The following sentences give examples of the use of the operative case, as the subject of a transitive verb in all except the fourth and sixth examples (in which the subjects of the transitive verbs are pronouns, which do not have an operative case) and as an instrumental in the third, fourth and sixth examples.

wabungu   ngurran    gunila  
 young brother-op    dog    hit-ed  
 'My young brother hit the dog.'

mardindu   gundhaladha  
 man-op   steal-ed-emph  
 'The other man took [it].'

gandungu   bugany      guyyalala  
 child-op   stone-with   try   hit-ed  
 'The boy tried to hit me with a stone.'

nayibu nguna wanda , yinda yulungu babilingadhi  
 knife that leave , you here cut-self-will-emph  
 nayibungu  
 knife-with  
 'Leave that knife alone, you'll cut yourself with it.'

ngadyu    dhagundyilangu   ngarrru      gudiyala  
 my           elder brother-op   kangaroo kill-ed  
 'My brother killed a kangaroo.'

ngaya ngaru babala dhandyengu ngarugu nguna  
 I nearly passed sparrow-with Kangeroo that  
 'I nearly speared that kangaroo.'

The third use of this case form is very unusual, if not unknown, in other languages; and the designation 'operative' is not really appropriate here. It seems to be optional and there are no examples available of this usage in a sentence, but when the name of a place is used for it is sometimes given in this form, e.g.  
 Cudhingu instead of Cudibi 'Heganthulus', Babiligulungu instead of Bailligulu 'Babbiocra', Wabiganau instead of Wabigan, another name given for Babbiocra.

#### 4.5 The Locative Case

The locative case suffix has five forms which differ from the corresponding forms of the operative suffix in that they have the vowel a instead of u; thus the forms are -nda, -nga, -da, -da and -a. Pronouns, which do not have an operative case, take the -nda form, e.g. ngadyunda 'with me', ngalinyanida 'with us two', bulanyenda 'with them two'. The only other difference in usage is one which requires checking - is that dhagu 'elder brother', and probably other kinship terms if this proves to be correct, take the -nda form. Dhagunda and dhagunga, as well as dhagundiyilanga, have been heard.

The function of this suffix is not easily defined, as the types of stem to which it can be added are restricted in what seems at first a rather complicated way. Thus it cannot be added to most stems which denote an inanimate object. However, it can be used with parts of the body and with clothing (only one example of the latter).

It can also be used with names of inanimate things if the resulting phrase refers to time rather than place. Thus 'in the middle of the night' is

dhudhunga	gundanga
middle-in	night-in

with the locative suffix, -nga; but 'in the middle of the lake' is

dhudhugu	burun-gu
middle-in	lake-in

in which 'in' is denoted by another suffix, -gu, which will be described in 4.7. The explanation seems to be that the locative suffix expresses

location in terms of something whose location in space is not regarded as fixed. Location in terms of a fixed object - a hill, a tree, a house - is expressed by the suffix -gu (which also has several other functions). This explanation needs to be checked.

The locative suffix therefore seems to have the following functions:

- (a) to mark location (hence the name locative) in terms of a moveable object, i.e. the nominal phrase formed by adding the suffix to a nominal stem can denote the location of some action or of some person or thing.

ngadyunda yulungu balanga nganiyida wagana  
 me-on here leg-on something-emph crawl-s  
 'I can feel something crawling on my leg.'

ngurra ngungu dhbanana gamburga  
 dog that stand-s woman-at  
 'The dog is standing alongside the woman.'

dhumanan gandugu gawunda

mud child-of dress-on

'There's mud on the little girl's dress.'

(b) to mark time when, or time during which, or number of times.

#### 4.6 The Comitative

gundanga ngaya burrbala  
night-in I come-ed 'I came in the nighttime.'  
ngaya yulungu bulardunga yulurygu gurrbala  
I here two-times here-to come-ed  
'I've been here twice.'

nganimurranga dhurdunga yinda nguna dhaarbarilla?  
how many-in day-in you that make-ed  
'How long did it take you to make it?'

Note, however, that 'for a long time' is gurrgan,  
not gurrganda.

(c) to mark accompaniment:

ngaya yulunyu mardinda yulunda gundu wadyana  
I here man-with this-with away go-s  
'I'm going with this man.'

ngaya gundu burrala , miyayilanga  
I away go away-ed , brother-with  
'I went away with my brother.'

(d) to mark the goal of motion, but only with personal pronouns. For other words this function is fulfilled by -gu (see 4.7).

marai ngadyunda wugu wadyana

man me-to here come-s

'The man is coming up to me' (or 'towards me').

The case suffix which will be referred to as comitative seems to be used only with demonstratives, and is probably derived from the locative suffix. The term comitative is usually used to describe a case form which denotes accompaniment, as does the locative case in its use illustrated above under (c) and the comitative case in the first example below. The suffix is -ninga.

ngaya yuluninga wadyaalgu  
I this-with go-for  
'I'm going with this fellow.'

ngali yuluninga gundu wadyaalgu, or alternately  
ngali yinininga gundu wadyaalgu  
we two hee-with away go-for  
'We'll go this way.'

yabanninga garda gundu wadya  
there-with not away go  
'Don't go that way!'

There are no definite examples of a corresponding form of the other demonstrative, ngunu. However, the word nguninga, translated 'there' in

nguninga bidyu 'Throw it there!'

may be an abbreviated form of ngunguninga.

dhurman gandugu gawunda  
mud child-of dress-on  
'There's mud on the little girl's dress.'

- (b) to mark time when, or time during which, or number of times.

gundanga ngaya burrbala  
night-in I come-ed 'I came in the nighttime.'  
ngaya yulungu bulardunga yulunyu gurrbala  
I here two-times here-to come-ed  
'I've been here twice.'

nganimurranga dhurdunga yinda nguna dharrbarilla?  
how many-in day-in you that make-ed  
'How long did it take you to make it?'

Note, however, that 'for a long time' is gurgan,  
not gurrnganda.

(c) to mark accompaniment:

ngaya yulunyu mardinda yulunda gundu wadyana  
I here man-with this-with away go-s  
'I'm going with this man.'  
ngaya gundu burrala , miyayilanga  
I away go away-ed , brother-with  
'I went away with my brother.'

(d) to mark the goal of motion, but only with personal pronouns. For other words this function is fulfilled by -gu (see 4.7).

mardi ngadyunda wugu wadyana  
man me-to here come-s  
'The man is coming up to me' (or 'towards me').

#### 4.6 The Comitative

The case suffix which will be referred to as comitative seems to be used only with demonstratives, and is probably derived from the locative suffix. The term comitative is usually used to describe a case form which denotes accompaniment, as does the locative case in its use illustrated above under (c) and the comitative case in the first example below. The suffix is -ninga.

ngaya yuluninga wadyaalgu  
I this-with go-for  
'I'm going with this fellow.'

ngali yuluninga gundu wadyaalgu, or alternately ngali yinininga gundu wadyaalgu  
we two here-with away go-for  
'We'll go this way.'

ngali yabaninga garda gundu wadya  
there-with not away go  
'Don't go that way!'

There are no definite examples of a corresponding form of the other demonstrative, ngunu. However, the word nguninga, translated 'there' in

nguninga biayu 'Throw it there!'

may be an abbreviated form of ngunguninga.

## The Purposive Case

This case form has a wide range of uses that could not be adequately covered by any one label. The term *purposive* has been chosen partly because it can also be used for a related affix used with verbs (see 6.5). The usual form of the suffix is -gu; -n-gu is used in two instances, with mardi and ngurra, the two nouns which take -ndu for the operative and -nda for the locative. (1) An expanded form, -mu-gu, seems to have a narrower range of functions, but none which are not also fulfilled by the purposive. It will be considered separately under the name benefactive (4.8). A suffix with similar functions, used only with personal pronouns, will be described under the heading genitive pronouns (4.9).

The purposive suffix has the following functions:

(a) to mark the purpose of an action.

(1) Probably a better way to handle these words is to say that the word for 'man' has two forms, mardi and mardin, and that the latter form combines with the operative, locative and purposive suffixes and the former occurs in all other circumstances. It is already necessary to say that the word for 'dog' has two forms, ngurra and ngurran; here we could say that ngurran occurs in the same conditions as mardin and also optionally, depending on the speaker, in other circumstances. This enables us to reduce the number of forms of the operative and purposive suffixes, since -ndu and -n-gu would no longer be needed. For the locative case -nda would still be needed for pronouns.

ngaya gamugu wadyana  
water-for go-S  
'I'm going to get some water.'

mardi ngungu websala gabagu  
man that hunt-was honey-for  
'That man was looking for honey.'

(b) to mark the beneficiary of an action or thing (1).

ngançhurugu ngungu yurdì? ngurran-gu  
who-for that meat dog-for  
'Who's that meat for?' 'It's for the dog.'

(c) to mark the owner of something.

yamba ngungu widhanygu  
camp that stranger-of  
'That camp belongs to a stranger.'

(1) The distinctions between 'beneficiary' (when it is marked by an adjectival phrase) and 'owner', on the one hand: '*the meat is for the dog*', '*the meat belongs to the dog*', and between 'beneficiary' (when it is marked by an adverbial phrase) and 'purpose', on the other hand: '*I'm going for* (i.e. to get) *the baby*', '*I'm going for* (i.e. on behalf of) *the baby*', are probably artificial, i.e. not corresponding to the facts of the language. The first pair of examples would both be translated ngungu yurdì ngurran-gu and the second pair ngaya gamugu wadyana. Thus any example illustrative of the function (b) could be allocated to function (a) (if the phrase is adverbial) or function (c) (if it is adjectival).

ngadyu yabunugu gundi burdingu gubala  
 my father-of house fire-on burned  
 'My father's house got burnt.'

- (a) to mark the location in terms of an object whose location is fixed.

ngaya gamugu yambird nagalina  
 I water-in self see-self-s  
 'I can see myself in the water.'

ngaya guli bindaala Yunabayigu  
 I long ago live-was Augathella-at<sup>(1)</sup>  
 'I used to live at Augathella.'

waragan bagagu walbanana

crow tree-in sit-s

'There's a crow sitting in the tree.'

- (e) to mark the goal or apparent goal of motion (i.e. where to), except with personal pronouns.

ngaya wadyana balbaragu

I go-s river-to

'I'm going down to the river.'

ngaya gundu Burandalagunda burranga

I away Burenda-to-emph go away-will

'I'm going to Burenda.'

- (f) there is a single example of -gu marking the reason for or cause of an action (cf. 4.10)
- yangayila ngungu barrina , dhilgiyanailagu mother that cry-s , daughter-for 'That woman's crying because of her daughter.'

#### 4.8 The Benefactive

The suffix -mugu is rarely heard, but the available information indicates that it can be used for the first three of the functions of -gu. It seems to be an optional alternative, except that ngani 'what?' combines only with -mugu (nganimugu 'what for?', why?'). This is sometimes shortened to nganimu.

##### (a) Purpose.

nganimu ngungu andu barrila?  
 what-for that child cry-ed  
 'Why was that kid crying?'

##### (b) Beneficiary.

wrudhun yarramanmugu  
 grass horse-for

'The grass is for the horse.'

##### (c) Owner.

gurri ngungu ngadyu ngurraramugu  
 blanket that my dog-off  
 'That's my dog's blanket.'

(1) There is one example of a place name taking the locative suffix -nga but this is probably a mistake, as there are numerous counter-examples, some involving the same name.

## Genitive Pronouns

The genitive suffix on personal pronouns is basically *ngu*. The first person singular genitive pronoun is *ngadju* 'my', an irregular form which cannot be divided into base plus suffix. Another irregular form is *yunu*, which is an alternative to *yurangu*, the second person singular genitive pronoun ('your').

The interrogative pronoun *ngundhuru* 'who' has a genitive form *ngundhunu* 'whose'.

The genitive pronouns fulfil two functions, marking 'owner' and beneficiary.

<i>yurangu</i>	<i>rgungu</i>	<i>yin-giny</i>	<i>wudyayina</i>	(or <i>yunu</i> )
your	there	swag	lie-s	
'That's your swag lying there.'				

<i>yunu</i>	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>wadyila</i>	(or <i>yurangu</i> )	
for you	I	bring-ed		
'I brought [it] for you.'				

### 4.10 The Ablative Suffix

The ablative suffix -mundu has a range of functions which can be divided into two groups:

- (a) it marks the source or origin from which a person or thing moves, or is moved, or appears to move, and can thus be translated 'from';
  - (b) it marks the cause of or reason for some state or action, and can be translated 'because of' or, again, in many cases, 'from'.
- There is no clear separation between the two and it is

impossible to say in some cases that the function is one rather than the other.

*ngaya* Yunabayimundu burrbala  
I Augathella-from came-ed  
'I come from Augathella.'

*ngaya* yamba dharbarilla dhalamundu  
I hungry make-ed bush-from  
'I made a humpy out of bushes.'

*ngungu* mayarra bundyaana gandumunduru  
that woman sick-ing child-from-emph(?)  
'That woman has been sick since she was a girl.'

*ngaya* mundamundu dhunggananda  
I snake-from be afraid-s-emph  
'I'm frightened of the snake.' (This could also be translated 'I'm running away from the snake.')

*mardi* ngungu yamunu ngan-ganmundu wulala  
man that so-and- bad cold-from die-ed  
'That man (whose name I don't know) died of the flu.'

*ngaya* gandyibulmundu dhulbananga  
I policeman-from hide-will  
'I'm going to hide from the policeman.'

*ngaya* yurdi walbala, nhimanymundu  
I meat hung-ed , ant-from  
'I hang the meat up, away from the ants.'

yambagu dhaga , gamumundu  
humpy-in enter , rain-from  
'Come inside before it rains.'

## The Directional Suffix

This suffix has the meaning 'towards'. There are very few examples and the correct form of the suffix is in some doubt; there may be two alternative forms, -malu and -malagu.

mardi gundimalu gundu dhanana  
man. house-towards away stand-s

'The man's facing towards the town (and away from us).'

mardi ngungu gundimalagu wadyandyarrana  
man that house-towards walk-along-s

'The man's walking towards the house.'

ngayalungu Gudhimalu gundu wadyandyarranga  
(= ngaya ylungu)

I here Hoganthulla- towards away go-along-will

'I'm going nearly to Hoganthulle.'

ngaya yuramnalagunba bindana  
I you-towards-emph sit-s

'I'm sitting facing you.'

12 -bayi 'having'

This suffix is added to a word to show that the object,

stance or quality denoted by that word is possessed in one way by some person or thing. It is translated as 'aving'. The following examples should make its use clear.

mardi yurdii wudyabayi bindana  
man meat much-having sits-s

'That man's got plenty of meat.' (The use of the

verb binda 'to sit' in such a sentence is common; it often serves as an equivalent for the English verb 'to be'. Note also that only one of the constituents of the phrase yurdi wudya 'plenty of meat' needs to have the suffix attached; it is not necessary to say yurdibayi wudyabayi. yurdibayi wudya 'would be acceptable.)

mardi dhandyabayi burbala , wangalbayi  
man spear-having come-ed , boomerang-having  
'That fellow came here with his spear and his boomerang.'

nhula gurra wadyana , gababayi  
he back come-s , honey-having  
'He's bringing back some honey.'

gamu yulungu dhurnanbayi  
water this mud-having  
'This water is muddy.'

ngaya gundu yarramanbayi wagana  
I away horse-having runs-s  
'I'm going on horseback.'

muringubayi lightning-having 'a thunderstorm'

Buyabayi breath-having  
a place name, said to mean 'long-winded.'

4.13 -garra 'lacking'

This is opposite in meaning to -bayi. For example:

ngaya yulungu yurdigarrba  
here meat-lacking 'I've got no meat.'

yarramangarbadha gurra gurnbala  
horse-lacking-emph back come-ed  
'[He] came back without a horse.'

4.14 -gadhi 'like'

This suffix is generally used for comparisons.

It is also used with some adverbs of time, and its function in such cases is not clear (see the last two examples). Occasionally, in Gungabula only, the suffix is -gayi.

ngungu mardi gurrgandharinda , mayarragan-gadhindhi  
that man hair long - emph , woman-like-emph  
'That man's got long hair like a woman.'

(1) Note that it is not necessary with one's own body

parts to use -bayi 'having'. Compare

ngungu mardi dhandyabayi gurrgandharri  
that man spear-having long  
'That man has a long spear'

and

ngungu mardi bala gurrgandharri  
that man leg long  
'That man has long legs.'

ngungu mardi murrumagala ngurragayi wudyayina  
that man curl up-ed dog-like lies

'That man's lying curled up like a dog.'

yinda yanganga yana , ngayagadhlungu yamanayi  
(= ngayagadhi yulungu)

you this way do , I-like here do-s-sub  
'Do it this way, just like me.'

ngaya nguna banggu nguna wangalgadhibu nagala  
I that-obj rock that-obj boomerang-like-seed  
'I saw a rock shaped like a boomerang.'

ngayana badyurd gumbanga gabugadhi  
(= ngaya nguna)

I that-obj money give-will later-like  
'I'll give you some money later.'

ngamu burrbana gadyardagadhi wudya bardanga  
water come-s directly-like much become-will  
'The river's starting to run, it'll be getting bigger  
soon.'

4.15 Complex Nominal Phrases

Complex nominal phrases consist of more than one word - usually two. The most common is a noun plus a demonstrative, such as ngungu mardi 'that man', ngarrgu nguna 'that (obj) kangaroo', or a pronoun plus a demonstrative such as ngaya yulungu, literally 'I here' or 'this I', but translatable only as 'I', since English has no phrases of this type. (1) Footnote see page 74

Other common complex phrases consist of noun + noun, noun + adjective, genitive pronoun + noun.

mardi ngadyu mani gundu dhungardiyila  
man my money away run with-was  
'The man ran away with my money.'

mardi yundi dhala  
man meat expert 'He's a good hunter.'

Gungabula shaa  
'the Gungabula language'

ngarigu guma  
'kangaroo blood'

ngaya bundyana yurai gadya yugeala  
I sick-s meat rotten eat-was  
'I'm sick because I ate rotten meat.'

ngungu mardi gadia gun'gandhazinda  
that man hair long enough  
'That man's got long hair.'

ngaya nhungu dhagurdyila nagalanba  
I his brother see-emph  
'I saw his brother.'

Footnote from page 73

(1) With rare exceptions, e.g. 'Hey, you here!'

In normal speech the demonstratives are often abbreviated and incorporated phonologically with the preceding word, i.e. they are pronounced as if they were simply a suffix to the preceding word, which need not belong to the same phrase (see 2.7). Thus we have such combinations as *winiallungu* (*yinda yulungu*) 'you here', *mardingu* (*mardi ngungu*) 'man that' = 'that man', *ngayama* (*ngaya nhungu*) 'I that' where *I* is the subject of the sentence and (*ngi*)na the object or part of the object noun phrase.

Some two-noun phrases could possibly be regarded as classifier + noun, where the classifier is a word which describes the class of things and the second noun specifies which member of that class. This is common in some languages where, for example, the word for 'animal' is used in conjunction with specific animal nouns, the general term for 'tree' with names of different kind of trees, and so on. There are a few examples of this in Bidyara-Gunga-bula, such as *baga bunarra* 'apple gum', where *baga* means 'tree', but *bunarra* can be used alone with the same meaning, 'apple gum'. Other possible examples are phrases such as *mardi widhany* 'stranger' and the group with *burdi* 'fire': *burdi ngandhan*, 'flame', *burdi budha* 'ashes', *burdi dhuga* 'smoke', *burdi milgird* 'hot coal'.

When a complex noun phrase is expanded by addition of a suffix, the suffix may be added to one or both words in the phrase (see 4.12, first example).

ngaya yulungu ngamany gubanymanga burdi budhagu  
I this damper cook-will fire ashes-in  
'I'm going to cook the damper in the ashes.'

mardindu binungu gundhaladha  
man-on other-on steal-ed-emph  
'Another man took [it].'

nganimurranga dundunga yinda nguna dharrbarilla?  
how many-in dgit-in you that make-ed  
'How long did it take you to make it?'

ngacyu diagundyilangg ngarngu gudyal a  
my brother-OP is-a spear-ed  
'My brother speared a *bengarooc*. (There are no examples known of a suffix being added to a genitive pronoun.)

ngaya nguna yinda, geragadhi yimbalila

I that-cnj something centipede-like think-ed  
nganyunda balinga wagaiyit  
me-on leg-on climb-ed-sub  
'I felt something on my leg and I thought it was a centipede.'

An adverbial phrase may contain an adverb and a nominal.

ngaya yulungu balbagu warra wudayayila (1)  
I here river-at near lie-ed  
'I camped near the river.'

Noun phrases of more than two constituents are rare. The following example has three.

nanggi nanggugu yabunru dhanala  
sheep hill-on on the other stand-was  
'The sheep were on the other side of the hill.'

(1) A similar phrase has been heard with the noun uninflected *munda warra* instead of *mundanga warra* 'alongside the snake'. It is not known whether this is permissible or a mistake on the part of the informant.

gurrangandu ngadyunda wugu wadyala ngaya nguna  
behind me-to here come-ed I that-obj  
garda nagala  
not see-ed

'He came up behind me and I didn't see him.'

There are rare examples of a discontinuous noun phrase, i.e. one in which one or more words come between the two constituents of the phrase.

munda yinda guni nguna  
snake you hit that-obj  
'Hit that snake.'

bandung ngaya nguna wagumudu dhiwala  
kangaroo rat I that-obj nest-from wake-ed  
'I woke that kangaroo rat [and frightened him] out of the nest.'

ngadyu yabunru gundi burdingu gubala  
my father-of house fire-op burn-ed  
'My father's house got burnt.'

## 5. NOMINAL PARADIGMS

### 5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the types of suffix used with nominal stems and their functions were described. This chapter contains a tabular summary of the way in which the various functions are divided among the different suffixes, together with tables of suffixed forms for typical nouns and adjectives and for all pronouns. Tables of this type are known as paradigms.

### 5.2 Suffixes and Functions

These are summarised in Table 5.1. A blank in the table indicates that no examples have been heard. In some cases none would be expected; for example, a sentence in which a kinship term would be used with an instrumental function (such as 'I hit him over the head with my grandmother') may be possible in theory but may never occur in practice.

Table 5.1

see page 79

Interrogatives and the one indefinite pronoun have not been included in Table 5.1, mainly because of lack of data. See 5.6 for data on these.

Function	Suffix fulfilling this function				
Kinship Terms	Other Nouns	Adjectives	Personal Pronouns		
subject of intransitive or verbless sentence	nom	(1)	nom	nom	nom
form of address nom	nom		nom		
object of transitive verb obj	nom	nom	obj	obj	
subject of transitive verb nom	op	op	op	nom	nom
instrument, 'with'	op				
location 'at, in, on, near etc.'	loc	loc <sup>(2)</sup>	purp(?)	loc	loc
accompaniment 'with'	loc	loc			
purpose 'for'		purp <sup>(2)</sup>	benef		
beneficiary 'for'		purp <sup>(2)</sup>	benef	gen	
owner 'of'		purp <sup>(2)</sup>	benef	purp	
motion to 'to'		purp		loc	
motion from 'from'	abl	abl	abl	abl	abl
cause 'because of, from'	abl	abl			
motion towards 'having'	direc	direc			
'lacking'	-bayi	-bayi			
'resemblance like'	-garra				
	-gadhi				

(1) Or operative, optionally, for place names. See 4.4

(2) See 4.5

No difference has so far been found between nouns and adjectives in the way in which they combine with bound morphemes, and comparison with related languages suggests that none will be found. In fact, it seems likely that there is no real distinction in the language, and that the division into nouns and adjectives is artificial. A word such as budhabudha 'white' is perhaps better translated 'white one', and does not need to be associated with any noun in a sentence. (1)

In the following tables all gaps have been filled in where the missing form can be predicted with confidence.

The numerals probably function as nouns (or adjectives); the only example of an inflected form is bulardunga 'on two (occasions)', i.e. 'twice'.

(1) Note also that some words which in English are adjectives are translated into Bidiyara-Gungabula by verbs, e.g. 'bundya 'to be sick', ngan-ga 'to be jealous'.

Table 5.2

Typical Noun / Adjective Paradigm

	'man'	'stone'	'long (one)'	'goanna'	'boomerang'
Nominative	mardi	banggu	gurrgan	dhagany	wangal
Operative	mardindu	banggungu	gurrgandu	dhagandhu	wangalu
Locative	mardinda	(1)	gurranda	dhagandha	(1)
Purposive	mardin-gu	banggugu	gurrgan-gu	dhaganygu	wangalgu
Benefactive	mardimugu	banggumugu <sup>(2)</sup>	gurrganmugu	dhaganymugu	wangalmugu <sup>(2)</sup>
Ablative	mardimundu	banggumundu	gurrganmundu	dhaganymundu	wangalmundu
Directional		banggumalu or banggumalagu	gurrganmalu or gurrganmalagu	dhaganymalu or dhaganymalagu	wangalmalu or wangalmalagu
'having'		banggubayi	gurrganbayi	dhaganybayi	wangalbayi
'lacking'		banggugarrba	gurrgan-garrba	dhaganygarrba	wangalgarrba
'like'	mardigadhi	banggugadhi	gurrgan-gadhi	dhaganygadhi	wangalgadhi

(1) These words would probably not have a locative case because of the restrictions on the functions of this case, discussed in 4.5; if one existed the forms would be bangguna and wangala.

(2) There is no evidence that this case actually exists for nouns denoting inanimate objects.

Table 5.3  
Kinship Noun Paradigm

Nominative	dhagu	dhagumu	dhagundiyila
Objective	(none ?)	dhaguna	(none ?)
Operative	dhagungu	(none ?)	dhagundiyilangu
Locative	dhagunga	dhagunda	dhagundiyilanga
Purposive	dhagugu	dhagunugu	dhagundiyilagu

There are no examples of other case forms with kinship terms. Some aspects of this table (e.g. placing dhagunda in the column under dhagunu) are very tentative.

#### 5.4 Personal Pronoun Paradigm

Table 5.4 shows the personal pronoun paradigm. Most of the singular forms are irregular in that the suffixed forms are not based on the nominative but on the genitive. The base form of non-singular pronouns to which suffixes are added, apart from a few exceptions in alternative forms, is the nominative augmented by the suffix -nya, which has no meaning in itself. Note also the two parallel series of second person singular forms; it is possible that one may be from original Bidyara and the other from original Gungabula.

Table 5.4  
Personal Pronoun Paradigm

		you	he, she, it	we two	you two
Nominative	ngaya	yinda	nhula	ngali	yubalu
Objective	ngadyuna	yuna, yurana	nhunguna	ngalinyana	yubalunyana
Genitive	ngadyu	yunu, yurangu	nhungu	ngalinyangu	yubalunyangu
Locative	ngadyunda	yununda, yuranda	nhungunda	ngalinyanya	yubalunyanya
Ablative	ngadyunmuntu	yunumuntu, yuranmuntu		ngalinyamuntu, ngalimuntu	yubalunyamuntu, yubelumuntu
		they two	we (plural)	you (plural)	they (plural)
Nominative	bula	ngana	yura	dhana	
Objective	bulanyana	ngananyana	yuranyana	dhananyana	
Genitive	bulanyangu	ngananyangu	yuranyangu	dhananyangu	
Locative	bulanyanya	ngananyanya	yuranyanya	dhananyanya	
Ablative	bulanyamuntu	ngananyamuntu,	yuranyamuntu	dhananyamuntu	
		nganamuntu			

There is also one example of a directional, yuranmalagu 'towards you (sing.)'.

- (1) See 9.3.1 for discussion of the three stem forms of this and other kinship terms.

### 5.5 Demonstrative Paradigm

The demonstratives seem to be used in some circumstances as adverbs without being inflected at all, i.e. always in the nominative form. However, they may also be inflected as shown in Table 5.5

Table 5.5

Demonstrative Paradigm

Nominative	yulungu	'this, here'	'this, here'	'that, there'	'that, there'
Objective	yuluna	ngungu	yabangu		
Locative	yulunda (1)	nguna	yaba (once)		
Comitative	yuluninga	yinininga	ngunguninga (?)	yabanninga	
Purposive	yulunygu	yinigu	ngungundyu (2)	yabanygu	
Ablative	yulumundu	ngungumundu	ngungumundu	ngungummundu (?)	

Mick Tatten has given a plural locative form of yabangu - yabandyalana.

The yini forms are very rare. The differences in meaning between them and the yulu-forms, and between the ngu-forms and the yaba-forms, are not known.

- (1) There are some occurrences of yulunga, which may be an alternative locative form, and needs checking.
- (2) It is doubtful whether ngungundyu is a purposive or an alternative locative form.

A form which seems to be related to yulungu is yulura 'anywhere, somewhere else'. There is one example:

ngaya yulluradhu	wadyanana	gurrbangayi
I somewhere else-emph	walk around-s	come-will-sub

'I'll be walking around somewhere else when [he] comes'.

A similar form based on yini- is yiniya or yiniyana 'somewhere'.

mardi yiniya(na?)	wadyanana
man somewhere	walk around-s

'He's walking around somewhere'.

Two other forms derived from demonstratives, and functioning as adverbs, are yulumbarru 'on this side' and yabumbarru 'on the other side'; see 9.5.

### 5.6 Interrogatives and the Indefinite Pronoun

The forms of those interrogatives which take inflectional suffixes, and of the indefinite pronoun, are shown in Table 5.6. The other interrogatives - ngandhangga 'how' and yindinymirra 'when' - should probably be classified as adverbs.

Table 5.6

Paradigms of Interrogatives and Indefinite Pronoun

'who?'      'what?'      'how many?'      'where?'      'someone'

Nominative      ngun'hurru, ngani      nganimurra      yindiya      yamurru,  
ngandhuru  
(none)      (none)

Objective      (none)      nganingu      nganimurranga      yamunda,  
yamunu  
(none)

Locative

Purposive      ngundhungu,  
ngandhurgu

Benefactive      ngundhurryumunu

Ablative

The nga-forms of 'who?' have been heard from only one informant, Jimmy Lawton.

The nga-forms of 'who?' have been heard from only one informant, Jimmy Lawton.

**6.2 The Verb Stem as a Phrase**  
 The verb stem functions as an imperative or command, as described above (3.3). In addition it can occur with the adverb bulaaarra 'maybe' to form a phrase functioning as a potential form of the verb (i.e. a 'might' form). Since it is possible also for this adverb to be associated with the future tense of the verb it will not be discussed further here (see 7.5).

**6.3 Other Imperative Forms**

Three modified imperative forms are discussed below: the continuous imperative is translated by a sentence of the form 'keep doing so-and-so!', as compared to the normal imperative 'do so-and-so!'; the weak imperative would be 'you'd better do so-and-so!'; and the non-singular imperative differs from the

(1) The object of a transitive verb is not regarded as part of the verb phrase, but as a noun phrase, of the same status as the subject noun phrase.

## 6. SIMPLE VERB PHRASES

### 6.1 Introduction

normal imperative in that the command is addressed to more than one person. These three forms are not known to combine with other suffixes, except for the cases illustrated below. A fourth form would be described as a plural imperative (addressed to more than two people) but as it does not seem to be confined, like the other three, to the imperative form it will be discussed later (6.9.3).

### 6.3.1 Continuous Imperative (ct imp)

The form of the continuous imperative suffix is -ni, except that when it follows the suffix -ndyarra 'along' (see 6.7.5) it becomes -i and replaces the final vowel of that suffix (see the fifth example below). Although it contains the idea of continuing action as part of its meaning, it can still be used in conjunction with a suffix such as -a (see 6.7.1), which also denotes continuing action (see the third and fourth examples).

mardi	yinda	wandyaya	yamba	nagani	,	munda	bulaarra	wudayayinayi
man	you	well	ground	watch-ct-imp	,	snake	maybe	lie-s-sub
'Keep	a good	look	out for	snakes	as you	go along.		
dhagu	wuga	wudayayini						
let	asleep	lie-ct imp						

'Let him sleep.' (i.e. 'Let him keep on lying asleep.')

ngadyuna	dhurradhu	,	ngundhurru	bulu	gunimiyyina?
me	tell-w	imp	,	who	they two hit-o.a.-ing
'Tell me, who are these two (who are) fighting?'					
In the following example it seems to refer to the likelihood of an occurrence, or possibly it is a wishful imperative.					
gabugadhi	balgadhurra				
later	fall-	w	imp	'It'll rain directly.'	

(1) Note that no indication of plural subject is included in the verb here; there are no examples of a continuous non-singular imperative.

(Rain is usually described as 'water falling', i.e. the word *gamu* 'water' is included. However, this is not necessary, as *balga* 'to fall' seems to be used only with rain. The normal word 'to fall' is *warda*.)

### 6.3.3 Non-singular imperative (n s imp)

The suffix is *-ra*. It can combine with the weak imperative suffix, which then follows it.

wugu	wadyara		
here	come-n s imp	'Come here!'	(to two or more)
gandumu	mumba	wudyayira	
children	all	lie-n s imp	'Lie down, you kids!'
mardi	yubalu	gamu	dhun-gara
man	you two	water	dip up-n s imp
		'Get some water, you two!'	
yubalu	gundigu	dhagaradhuura	
you two	house-in	enter-n s imp-w imp	
		'You two had better go inside.'	
5.4	Tense		

Bidyara-Gungabula verbs have three forms that have been interpreted as tenses - past, present and future. There is some doubt whether the last is really a tense; in some cases it seems to have a purposive function (see 6.4.3, fourth example) and sometimes it appears to function as a potential form (6.4.3, last two examples).

### 6.4.1 Past Tense (ed)

The past tense suffix is *-la*.

ngurrandu	ngadyuna	badhala
dog-op	me	bite-ed
'The dog bit me.'		

### 6.4.2 Present Tense (s)

The normal form of the present tense suffix is *-na*. An occasional form is *-nana* (last example); the difference in meaning, if any, is not known.

mardi	ngungu	wandu	wadyana
man	that	often	comes
			'That man comes here often.'
ngaya	yulungu	Yunabayigunda	bindana
I	this	Augathella-at-emph	live-s
		'I live at Augathella.'	

ngaya	wudyayina	balbaragu
I	camp-s	creek-at
		'I'm camping at the creek.'
ngayana (= ngaya nguna)	gandu	bindina
I	that-obj	child
		mind-s
		'I'm minding the baby.'

mardindu gambi dhunggadimanana  
man-op woman frighten-s  
'The man is frightening the woman.'

### 6.4.3 Future Tense (will)

The suffix is -nга.

ngaya wina maranga  
I fish get-will 'I'm going to catch some fish.'

yinda ngadyunda wadyanga?  
you me-with come-will 'Are you coming with me?'

ngaya dhaganga?  
I enter-will 'Can I come in?'

baga ngaya marala, munda guninga  
stick I get-ed, snake hit-will  
'I've got a stick to hit the snake.'

bidiyyigu gamu balganga  
tomorrow water fall-will 'It might rain tomorrow.'

ngurrandu yurana badhanga  
dog-op you-obj bite-will 'That dog might bite you.'

### •5 Purposive Forms

The purposive form of a verb marks the purpose of an action, in the same way as does the purposive form of a noun; thus the sentence 'I went for meat' would include a purposive form of the noun 'meat', while 'I went for a swim' would use a purposive form of the verb 'to swim'..

It is also used to mark intention; this is likely to be translated into English with a future tense form and it is, therefore, difficult to completely separate the functions of the future tense and simple purposive forms.

A third function is to denote compulsion or necessity.

#### 6.5.1 Simple Purposive (for)

The simple purposive suffix is -lgu; compare the suffix -gu used for the purposive form of a noun.

nagani gumbirda yurdi garda ngunadhi maralgu  
watch-ct imp hawk meat not that-obj-emph get-for  
'See that the hawks don't take that meat!'

mardi, yambagu wugu wadyra, ngaya yurana yurdi gumbalgu  
man, camp-to here come, I you-obj meat "give-for  
'If you come to my camp I'll give you some meat.'  
(or 'Come to my camp for me to give you meat.')

ngadyunda baru gumbama, ngaya burdi bandyalgu  
me-to axe lend, I wood chop-for  
'Give me an axe so I can chop some wood.'

ngali gundu wadyaalgu  
we two away go-ct-for 'We're going away now.'  
yinda ngudyana, wangal yidbilgu?  
you know-s, boomerang make-for  
'Do you know how to make a boomerang?'

mayarragandu mambu nguna garda nagaalgu  
woman-op corroborer that-obj not watch-ct-for  
'The women aren't allowed to watch the corroborer.'

In the first and last of the examples above the function seems to be compulsion or necessity (the hawks must not take the meat, the woman must not watch). In the fourth it is intention and in the others purpose. This may not be clear in the second last example, and perhaps if the translation is rewritten 'Do you have the knowledge for making a boomerang?' it may be clearer.

In the following examples the purposive suffix may be combined with the past tense suffix -la (in the form - wula, or more likely the -wu may be a suffix denoting continuing action, cf. 6.7.1) to give a form denoting past intention. Since there seems also to be an emphatic suffix -wula (see 8.1), this interpretation requires confirmation, but does seem feasible.

juliru ngadyuna gumbalguwula , gardadha gumbala  
before me give-for-was , not-emph give-ed  
'He was going to give it to me a while ago, but he didn't.'

yinda ngadyunda yambagu wadyalginayi , ngaya yurana  
you my-to (1) camp-to go-would-sub , I you-obj  
yurdi gumbalgina  
meat give-would

'If you had come to my camp I would have given you some meat.' (Compare 6.5.1, second example.)

yinda guliru garda wadyala , yangana ngadyuna  
you before not come-ed , mother-obj my-obj (1)  
nagalginayi  
see-would-sub

'If you had come here yesterday you would have seen my mother.' (Or, more literally, 'You didn't come here yesterday; you would have seen my mother', with the clause 'if you had' implied before the second clause.)

There are two other examples like the second; unfortunately in none of these cases did the informant complete the sentence by translating the second clause.

(1) It appears that some, at least, of the inflected forms of ngadyu 'my' may be the same as the corresponding inflected forms of ngaya 'I'. This requires checking.

#### 6.5.2 Past Purposive (would)

##### Past Purposive (would)

This suffix, -lgina, does not function as a marker of past intention (see -lguwula in the preceding section) but does fulfil the past time form of the other functions of the simple purposive. It also seems to translate an English past conditional form, and thus in a sentence of the form 'If you had ..., I would have ...', both verbs can carry the past purposive suffix. In addition, the verb in the if clause is marked as subordinate (cf. 3.8). The alternative is to convert the if clause into a negative past tense clause, in which case the other verb is marked as subordinate ('You did not ..., I would have ...').

yinda ngadyunda yambagu wadyalginayi , ngaya yurana  
you my-to (1) camp-to go-would-sub , I you-obj  
yurdi gumbalgina  
meat give-would

'If you had come to my camp I would have given you some meat.' (Compare 6.5.1, second example.)

yinda guliru garda wadyala , yangana ngadyuna  
you before not come-ed , mother-obj my-obj (1)  
nagalginayi  
see-would-sub

'If you had come here yesterday you would have seen my mother.' (Or, more literally, 'You didn't come here yesterday; you would have seen my mother', with the clause 'if you had' implied before the second clause.)

(1) It appears that some, at least, of the inflected forms of ngadyu 'my' may be the same as the corresponding inflected forms of ngaya 'I'. This requires checking.

### 6.5.2 Past Purposive (would)

ngaya nhunguna dhurrala gamu ãhun-galginyai  
 i him tell-ed water dip up-would-sub  
 'I made him get the water.' (compulsion)

### 6.6 Stative (is)

This suffix describes a state or condition and a stative verb phrase corresponds to an adjective in English; in particular to the type of adjective that describes a state that is not permanent. It is not clear whether the suffix implies present tense or whether tense is not specified. The form of the suffix is -langa.

balgi bindalanga  
 sulky sit-is      '[He] is sulky.'

gandu ngungu ngadyunnundu dhunggalanga:  
 child that me-from afraid-is  
 'That kid's frightened of me.'

ngayalungu bundyalanga , bala warrgurralla  
 (= ngaya yulungu)

I this sick-is , leg bad-become-ed  
 'My legs are tired.' (Alternatively, ngayalungu warrgurralla,  
 bala bundyalanga.)

yinda ngadyunda yambagu wadyalginayi , ngaya yurana  
 you my-to (1) camp-to go-would-sub , I you-obj

yurdi gumbalgina  
 meat give-would  
 'If you had come to my camp I would have given you some meat.' (Compare 6.5.1, second example.)

yinda guliru garda wadyala , yangana ngadyuna  
 you before not come-ed , mother-obj my-obj (1)  
 nagalginayi  
 see-would-sub  
 'If you had come here yesterday you would have seen my mother.' (Or, more literally, 'You didn't come here yesterday; you would have seen my mother', with the clause 'if you had' implied before the second clause.)

ngali wudayayilgina yamba dhundhalanga  
 we two camp-would ground wet-is  
 'We were going to camp here but it's too wet.'

### 6.7 Forms Denoting Continuing Action

The continuous imperative -ni has already been discussed (6.3). Three other suffixes are considered here;

This suffix, -lgina, does not function as a marker of past intention (see -lguwula in the preceding section) but does fulfil the past time form of the other functions of the simple purposive.

It also seems to translate an English past conditional form, and thus in a sentence of the form 'If you had ..., I would have ...', both verbs can carry the past purposive suffix. In addition, the verb in the if clause is marked as subordinate (cf. 3.8). The alternative is to convert the if clause into a negative past tense clause, in which case the other verb is marked as subordinate ('You did not ..., I would have ...').

(1) It appears that some, at least, of the inflected forms of ngadyu 'my' may be the same as the corresponding inflected forms of ngaya 'I'. This requires checking.

ngaya nhunguna dhurrala gamu dhun-galginayi  
 I him told-water dip up-would-sub  
 one added to the verb stem or following the  
 continuative, and forming a continuative verb with  
 tense unspecified, and the third added to the verb  
 stem or following the continuative, and denoting  
 that the action is carried out while the actor is  
 moving along, i.e. the action is continuous over  
 distance as well as over time.

### 6.6 Stative (is)

This suffix describes a state or condition and a  
 stative verb phrase corresponds to an adjective in English;  
 in particular to the type of adjective that describes a  
 state that is not permanent. It is not clear whether the  
 suffix implies present tense or whether tense is not  
 specified. The form of the suffix is -langa.

balgi bindalanga  
 sulky sit-is

'[He] is sulky.'

gandu ngungu ngadyumundu ahunggalanga;  
 child that me-from afraid-is

'That kid's frightened of me.'

ngayalungu bundyalanga, bala warrgurralla  
 (= ngaya yulungu)

I this sick-is , leg bad-become-ed  
 'My legs are tired.' (Alternatively, ngayalungu warrgurralla,  
 bala bundyalanga.)

This has a number of different forms, depending  
 on the final vowel of the verb stem and, in some  
 cases, on the following suffix. Most forms are pred-  
 icable; a few are not and some are variable. Thus  
 'was running' has been heard as waganiyala and waganiyila,  
 'was playing' as warrayala and warraala, 'was eating'  
 as yugayala and yugaala. In general, if the verb stem  
 ends in a the suffix is -a, if it ends in -i the  
 suffix is -yi, and if it ends in u the suffix is -wu;  
 in other words, phonetically the final vowel of the  
 verb stem is lengthened. The following exceptions to  
 this rule have been noted:

in the past tense certain verbs whose stems end  
 in a take -ya instead of -a (ngalgayala 'was talking',  
 warrayala 'was playing' (alternative form), yugayala  
 'was eating' (alternative form), dhadryayala 'was  
 discussing'), one verb with stem-final i can  
 (optionally) take -ya (waganiyala 'was running')  
 and one with stem-final a takes -yi (dhulbanayila  
 'was hiding');

The continuous imperative -ni has already been dis-  
 cussed (6.3). Three other suffixes are considered here;

in the present tense one verb with stem-final i takes -ya instead of -yi (wudayayiyana 'is lying') and one with stem-final u takes -wi instead of -wu (bidyuwina 'is throwing').

Since these are the only examples of verbs with stem-final i and u combining with the continuative in the present tense, and since there are no other examples of such verbs combining with the continuative in any circumstances other than the past tense, the "rule" is very tentative.

The following examples illustrate the use of the continuative. We will continue to use was rather than act-ed, ing rather than ct-s and will be rather than ct-will for the continuative forms in past, present and future tense, respectively.

cula	ngunyu	ngalgayala	gurrgan
they two	there	talk-was	long
'Those two have been talking for a long time.'			
ngaya	guli	bindaala	Yunabayigu
long ago	live-was	Augathella-at	
'I used to live at Augathella.'			
ngani	yinda	yulungu	bindanga
what	you(plur)	see-ing	nagaana?
'What are you looking at?'			
ngani	yura	nagaana?	
what	you	see-ing	
'What are you looking at?'			
mardi	yinda	yulungga(?)	dhanani
man	you	here	stand-ct
wadyaanga			imp, we two
go-will	be		away
'You stay here, we're going away.'			
ngali	gundu	wadyaani	gabu
we two	away	go-ct-ct	imp, later sit-ct-for
'Let's keep on going, and have a rest later.'			
guli	ngaya	dhurramaala	gandunu
before I	tell-plur-was	children	yuranyanya
gundu	wadyaalginiayi	you(plur)-obj	
away	go-ct-would-sub		
'I told you kids to go away.'			

gandunu	warraama	'The kids are playing.'
children	play-ing	
wunga	wudayayiyana	dhurdungandhi
asleep	lie-ing	day-in-emph
'He sleeps all day.'		
ngani	yura	nagaana?
what	you	see-ing
'What are you looking at?'		
ngani	yulungu	bindanga
I	here	sit-will
ngaya	yulungu	bindanga
ngani	yura	nagaanganda
I	here	see-will
'I'm going to sit down facing you.'		
mardi	yinda	yulungga(?)
man	you	here
wadyaanga		stand-ct
go-will	be	
'You stay here, we're going away.'		
ngali	gundu	wadyaani
we two	away	go-ct-ct
imp, later sit-ct-for		
'Let's keep on going, and have a rest later.'		
guli	ngaya	dhurramaala
before I	tell-plur-was	children
gundu	wadyaalginiayi	you(plur)-obj
away	go-ct-would-sub	
'I told you kids to go away.'		

See 6.7.2 for examples of -a-ningu, 6.7.3 for examples of -a-ndyarra and 6.8 for an example of -a-ndhi.

We've been hiding so the policeman doesn't see us.'

.7.2 Continuative form with tense not specified (ctn)

The interpretation of this suffix, -ningu, as a continuative form with tense not specified is tentative as there are very few examples. However, it could seem to be related to the continuous imperative ni.

ldhu wadyangayi , ngali ngalaaningu

lite man come-will-sub, we two talk-ct-ctn

If the white man comes we might have a talk. !

jal bindaaningu, ngali gurrgan ngalaaningu

; two sit-ct-ctn, we two long talk-ct-ctn

'We're going to have a long talk.'

ngali gundu wadyaningu

; two away walk-ctn 'We've been walking.'

rda binda , ngali wadyaaningu

t sit , we two walk-ct-ctn

on't sit down, keep on walking.'

Kruger Fraser explained the difference between niningu (hit-ctn) and guninga (hit-will) in the following way: "gumingu is when you're belting him; ninga is only one hit."

7.3 -ndyarra 'along'

The affixing of -ndyarra to a verb stem indicates at the action is taking place while the actor is wing along.

Compare	gandu	dhumballa
and	ngarru	dumbandyarrala

kangaroo jump-along-ed

'The kangaroo hopped along.'

Other examples of verb stems modified by the use of this suffix include:

yarrindyarra 'to drag' (i.e. 'to walk along while pulling') from yarri 'to pull',

gugandyarra 'to limp along' from guga 'to be lame',

gubandyarra 'to burn along' (as a bush fire) from guba 'to burn',

yugandyarra 'to eat while travelling' from yuga 'to eat',

ngalgandyarra 'to talk while walking along' from ngalga 'to talk'.

The use of this suffix to form words like wadyandyarra 'to walk along' from wadya 'to walk' and wagandyarra 'to run along' from wagani 'to run' seems to be superfluous but is common.

The function of -ndyarra is not so clear in a few cases, e.g.

mardi ncungu wandyu bardandyarrana man that well become-along-s

'He's getting better' (said of a man who has been sick).

yadhandyarranga walbara grow-along-will boy 'The boy is growing.'

An example of combination of this suffix with the continuative is:

ngali yulungu wadyaandyarrala , ngarrgu gudyamandyarrala  
we two this walk-ct-along-ed, kangaroo spear-plur-along-ed  
'We were killing kangaroos while we were going along.'

### 6.8 Inceptive (about to)

There are no examples of this suffix from a Bidyara informant and Kruger Fraser does not recognise it. It refers to an action that is just about to take place. The suffix is -ndhi.

burdi yulungu wulandhinga  
fire here die-about to-will  
'The fire's just about to go out.'

gamu yulungu balgandhingandhi

water here fall-about to-will-emph  
'It's just going to start raining.'

ngaya yulungu wungard wudyayindhila , yindadhi burrbala

I here asleep lie-about to-ed, you-emph come-ed  
'I was just going to go to sleep when you came.'

gandunu ngungu warraandhingandhi

children there play-ct-about to-will-emph  
'The kids are just about to start playing.'

### 6.9 Number Markers (plur)

In addition to the non-singular imperative marker (see 6.3) Bidyara and Gungabula have three number markers

that are used with verbs; two mark non-singular (i.e. dual or plural) object and the third plural subject.

#### 6.9.1 Non-singular object of sense verbs

The suffix -rda is used with sense verbs - naga 'to see', yimba 'to hear', ngudha 'to smell' and possibly one or two others - to denote that the object is non-singular. The suffix does not seem to be obligatory, i.e. it can be omitted. Compare

ngaya yurana yimbala  
I you-obj hear-ed 'I heard you.'

ngaya yuranyana yimbardala (or yimbala  
I you(plural)-obj hear-plur-ed  
'I heard you lot.'

Other examples are:

yubalunyana ngaya nagardala guliru  
you two-obj I see-plur-ed yesterday  
'I saw you two yesterday.'

yurdingu ngalinyana yidi ngudhardala  
animal-op us two scent smell-plur-ed  
'The animal smelt us.'

yulungu mardilungu burrbala yambalungu  
(mardi yulungu) (yamba yulungu)  
here man here come-ed place here  
wandya nagardaala  
well see-plur-was  
'This man came here and had a good look around.'

### 6.9.2 Non-singular object of other verbs

If the verb is not a sense verb a non-singular object is marked by the suffix -ma. Like -rda, this suffix is not obligatory.

gull ngaya dhurramaala gandunu yuranyana  
before I tell-plur-was children you(plural)-obj  
gundu wadyalginayi  
away go-would-sub

'I told you kids to go away.'

ngaya ngarrgu wudya gunimaala ngaya walbara wiylayi  
I kangaroo many kill-plur-was, I boy be-ed-sub  
'I used to kill a lot of kangaroos when I was young.'

Jandunungu bubany wungamaana  
children-op lizard chase-plur-ing

'The kids are chasing lizards.'

Note that a verb such as naga can take the suffix -ma instead of -rda; in such a case it means 'to watch' rather than 'to see'. (1)

ngaya gandunu nagamana warranayi  
I children watch-plur-s play-s-sub  
'I'm watching the children playing.'

Similarly, yimba can take -ma if the meaning 'to listen' rather than 'to hear' is intended. Thus there is a distinction made in these pairs 'see-watch' and 'hear-listen', (1) B.J. Blake suggests that the distinction between -rda and -ma may not be a matter of sense verbs versus other verbs but of involuntary versus voluntary action.

but only if the object is non-singular. It is not clear exactly where, for example, 'seeing' ends and 'watching' begins; note the last example of 6.9.1 where 'have a look around' is treated as 'see', rather than 'watch'.

### 6.9.3 Plural Subject

The suffix -lgarri marks plural (not including dual) subject of a verb. In most examples it is used without further affixation as an imperative. In one case it appears to be followed by the continuous imperative -ni, although the use of a continuous form does not seem to be appropriate in that particular sentence. In one example it is followed by the past tense suffix. It is not obligatory and is usually omitted.

gandunu yura dhagalgarri gundigu, children you(plural) enter-plur-ct imp house-in, gamu gardaru balganayi water not fall-s-sub

'You kids, come inside out of the rain!'

yura bindalgarri gandunu  
you(plural) sit-plur children 'Sit down, you kids!'  
mardi wugu wadyalgarri  
man here come-plur 'Come here, you fellows!'

ngungu dhana mumbamba gundu wadyalgarria, there they all-emph away go-plur-ed,  
ngaya mama yulungu bindana  
I only here sit-s  
'They all went away and I'm the only one still here.'

### 6.10 Reflexive and Reciprocal

These have been described earlier (3.6). Some further examples are given below.

ngaya yulungu gurrigu gambalila

I here blanket-in cover-self-ed  
'I wrapped myself in a blanket.'

ngaya ..gamugu yambird nagalina

I water-in self see-self-s  
'I can see myself in the water.'

yambird here may provide emphasis of the reflexive quality of the sentence. However, it may also be required to make the meaning clear, because nagali

also has an idiomatic use which is illustrated in the next example.

mardi ngungu warrgunba nagalina

man that bad-emph see-self-s  
'That man looks sick.'

guminiyina bulawula

hit-o-a-ing they two-emph 'Those two are fighting.'

ngurra yabangu badhamina

dog there bite-o-a-s 'The dogs are fighting.'

munu ngundamiyina

lip kiss o-a-ing '[They] are kissing one another.'

### 6.12 Other Verb Suffixes

More data are required before the suffixes -burra or -lburra, -lburdi and -mba can be adequately described. The only examples available are given below.

mardi ngungu wan-gadi wagani burrana

man that fast run-?s  
'He's going like mad.'

mardi ngungu wan-gadi wadyal burdi

man that fast walk-?  
or

mardi ngungu wan-gadi wadyal burra ala

walk-?; was  
'He was walking very fast.'

Kruger Fraser said that wadyal burrala meant "going quick and going somewhere", and seems to regard the verb stem as made of wadya 'to go' and burra 'to go away'. It is doubtful whether Mick Tatten, who supplied the above examples, would analyse the word in this way.

vinda ngalgambani , ngaya yimbambana

you talk-?; ct imp , I hear-?; s  
'Keep on talking, I'm listening to you.'

yugu ngungu burdi gubanambanana

just that fire burn-?s  
'The fire's just smouldering.'

### 6.11 Subordinate Verb Marker

The function of this suffix, -yi, has been described above.

balbaragu gamu nhingarru bundambanana  
river-in water slow run-?-s

'The river's just starting to run' (or 'just barely running.')

mardi ngungu rhingarru wadyambarana  
man that slow walk-?-s  
'The man's walking very slowly.'

The first -mba example was given by Kruger Fraser and the others elicited from Mick Tatten. Note the use of -nana, rather than -na, to mark present tense in the last three.

### 6.13 Order of Verb Suffixes

The various verb suffixes described above can be tentatively grouped according to the order of their appearance after the verb stem. Thus, for example, as far as we know no other affix can precede the reflexive, reciprocal or a number marker, and only one from this group can be present in any word. Thus these form the first order suffixes.

There are five orders and, although no examples have been heard of a verb with a suffix from each order, it is easy to construct an example that seems plausible. For example:

yinda ngarngu gudymaandyarrangayi , ngana  
you kangaroo spear-plur-ct-along-will-sub, we(plural)

mumba yurdji wudyabayi wiyinga  
all meat much-having be-will

'If you go along spearing kangaroos all the time, we will all have plenty of meat.'

The full ordering of suffixes is as follows:

first order	: reflexive, reciprocal, number markers
second order	: continuative, stative
third order	: continuous imperative, non-singular imperative, inceptive, -ningu, -ndyarra, -lburdi, -(l)burra, -mba
fourth order	: tenses, purposives, weak imperative
fifth order	: subordinate

Some lower order suffixes cannot be followed by any higher order suffix (except possibly the fifth order one -yi); these are the stative -langa, the continuous imperative -ni, and -ningu and -lburdi.

7. ADVERBS  
7.1 Introduction

Adverbs qualify verbs or modify other adverbs or adverbial or adjectival phrases, and so usually form part of verb phrases. They can be classified into groups according to the type of function they fulfil. Adverbs do not combine with inflectional suffixes (there are rare forms which seem to be exceptions; see 7.3).

7.2 Adverbs of Place

The qualification of a verb for place is often done by means of such noun phrases as burrgunga 'at the back', dhudhugu 'in the middle', ngaragu 'on top', mindagu 'on the edge' and dharrgagu 'in the gap' (i.e. 'between').

- ngaya nhunguna yidhangga , gurrangandu  
I him leave-will, behind  
'I'm leaving him behind.'
- manggi yabumbarru manggalagu dhanaala  
sheep on the other side sandhill-at stand-was  
'The sheep were camped on the other side of the sandhill'.
- yambayina gaga binda  
ground-emph half way sit  
'Sit down half way across!'

yabangu gudhala gambarri yabangu gambirdama  
there eaglehawk long way there circle-s  
'The eaglehawk's circling very high up.'

ngaya nhandhigu wudiyayila , mardindu ngadyuna ngan-gany  
I ground-on lie-ed , man-op me over  
gundhula  
step-ed  
'I was lying on the ground and he stepped over me.'

If the sentence is verbless the adverb must be regarded as part of an adjectival phrase.

gara biyagu ganany  
centipede bark-at under  
'There's a centipede under the bark.'

Other similar concepts are expressed by such adverbs as ganigani 'in front', qurrangandu 'behind', ganany 'under', on the bottom', yulumbarru 'on this side', yabumbarru 'on the other side', bulambarru 'on both sides', gaga 'half way', warrba 'near, alongside', gambarri 'a long way away', ngan-gany 'over'.

There is some doubt whether a noun, when forming an adverbial phrase with an adverb of place, always carries the appropriate inflectional suffix (locative or purposive). It may depend on the particular

adverb concerned, but it generally seems that the suffix is required and the following example may be incorrect (compare the next one).

mayarra munda warrba dhanana  
woman snake alongside stand-s

'The woman is standing alongside the snake.'

ngaya yulungu balbaragu warrba wudyayila  
I this river-at near camp-ed  
'I camped near the river.'

### 7.3 Adverbs of Time

Qualification of phrases for time may be carried out by adverbial phrases such as dhurdunga 'in the daytime', gundanga 'at night', wanggaranga 'once', dhudhunga 'in the middle (of day, night, etc.)' etc. gurrgan, which is an adjective meaning 'long', also functions as an adverb of time 'for a long time'. Other adverbs of time include gulii 'long ago' (see 7.2.1), bidiyiyigu 'tomorrow', mugaru 'tomorrow', wanyu 'usually', every time', wandu 'often', gala 'now', gabu 'later' (see 7.2.2) and gadyarda 'directly' (7.2.2).

bidiyyigu gamu balganga  
tomorrow water fall-will  
'It might rain tomorrow.'

wanyu ngadyuna naganayi , ngadyuna badhana  
wherever me sees-sub , me bites  
'Whenever he sees me he bites me.'

ngali yamurru gundu wabaala yurdigu , wanyu  
we two so-and-so away hunt-was animal-for, usually  
ngali gurdunyurduny wedyaala  
we two separately go-was  
'That fellow (whose name I forgot for the moment) and I went hunting together [yesterday], but we usually go separately.'

mardi ngungu wandu wadyana  
man that often go-s  
'He comes here often.'

gala ngaya yulungu wangalbayi  
now I this boomerang-having  
'Now I've got a boomerang.'

dhurdu yulungu gala burrbala  
sun here now come-ed  
'The sun's come out again.'

7.3.1 gulii 'long ago'

The base form gulii is usually translated 'a long time ago' or 'before', but sometimes 'for a long time'. A derived form, guilibambany or guliambany, also means 'for a long time'. Two other derived forms, guliru and gulira, are often given as translations of 'yesterday'; but are probably more correctly 'a while ago'. Although both mugaru and bidiyyigu have been given as translations of 'yesterday', Kruger Fraser claims that the language actually has no word for 'yesterday', and both these words mean 'tomorrow'. It may be that they actually mean 'one day away' and the specific translation

depends on the tense of the verb. (1) However, on a couple of occasions when the verb has been omitted, idiyiyigu has had the meaning 'tomorrow'.

ngaya bidiyiyigu waganila (2)

I yesterday come-ed. 'I came yesterday.'

ngaya wunanga bidiyiyigu

I camp-will tomorrow

'I'm going to camp [there] tomorrow.'

ngaya gundu bidiyiyigu

I away tomorrow 'I'm going away tomorrow.'

The following examples illustrate the use of

guli, gulira and guliru.

guli ngaya burrbala

long ago I come-ed. 'I came here a long time ago.'

(1) This type of thing has been noted in other languages.

For example, Gidabal, of North-East N.S.W., (B. and H. Leytenbeek, 1971) has a word ngubu: meaning 'one day

way' (past or future); ngubu guna: means 'yesterday'.

In Warluwara, of far western Queensland, (Breen 1971)

the word ngupaa means 'tomorrow' but ngupaangupaa can

mean either 'this morning' or 'tomorrow'. The resemblance between the Gidabal and Warluwara words, as well as between

their functions, is notable.

(2) The informant who gave this sentence, Bill Geebung, uses agani (normally 'to run') instead of wadya 'to go, to come'.

yinda wangal guli wanyamala  
you boomerang before make-ed  
'Have you ever made a boomerang?'

ngaya bindaals guli

I sit-was long time

'I've been sitting down for a long time.'

ngaya gulira nagala

I a while ago see-ed

'I saw [him] yesterday.'

ngundhungu ngurra nyile guliru

who-of dog here a while ago

'Whose dog is that one that was here a while ago.'

Another word derived from guli is guliginy, derived from gulta 'now'.

ngaya guliginy, jindabu galamuginy

I old , you-emph young

'I'm older than you.'

### 7.3.2 gabu 'later' and gadvara 'directly'

A feature of these adverbs is that both can combine with the suffix -gadini which, at least when added to a noun, means 'like' (cf. 4.14). The function of this modification is not known. The suffixed form of gabu has also been heard as gabuwadhi and gabuwali.

gabuwadhi ngaya gunimanga yurana

later I hit-will you-obj

'I'll belt you later on.'

The three directional adverbs are wugu 'to here', gundu 'away from here' and gurra 'back'. The last can also mean 'behind', although the derived form gurrangandu is more common (see 7.1).

gayana badyurd gumbanga gabugadhi  
ngaya nguna) money give-will later

I that-obj

I'll give you some money later on.'

agaya gundu wadyanana yamba , ngaya gabuwalli

away walk about-s camp (1) I later

urra ganangayi , ngaya wungarddu wudyayinga

ack come home-will-sub, I asleep-emph lie-will

I'm going for a walk and then I'll come home and have

a sleep.'

gali Gundu wadyaani , gabu bindalgu

two away go-ct-ct imp, later sit-for

We'll keep on walking, and have a rest later.'

amu burrbana gadyardagadhi wudya bardanga

ater comes directly big become-will

The water has started to run and there will be a lot soon.'

advarda nhula naganga

irectly he see-will 'He'll see [you] directly.'

Mick Tatten uses ganyardu instead of gadyarda.

ardi ngungu ganvardu gananga  
in that directly come home-will  
he'll be home directly.'

gurna wugu wadya  
back here come 'Come back here.'

1) See 10.5.1

burdimundu wugu wadya  
fire-from here come

'Come away from the fire.'

mardi ngadyunda wugu wadyana

man me-to here comes

'He's coming up to me.'

ngadyumundu gundu dhunggana

me-from away run away-s

'[He's] running away from me.'

ngaya Gundu Burandalagu burranga

I away Burenda-to go away-will

I'm going to Burenda.'

ngaya waya muyiyila ngaya nguna murru

I wallaby creep-was I that-obj nullanulla

bidyulayi waya ngungu gundudu dhumbala

throw-ed-sub wallaby that away-emph jump-ed

'I crept up and threw the nullanulla but the wallaby jumped away.'

ngaya gurra gurrbalayi wina gundhalabu  
I back come-ed-sub fish steal-ed-emph

'When I came back the fish had been stolen.'

In the following examples the directionals wugu and gundu carry a suffix -gu, which may be related to the purposive suffix used with nouns.

mardindu yabangu wugugu nagana  
man-op there gundugu away look-s

mardingu (mardi ngungu) Gungabula wandyandi ngalgana  
man that Gungabula well-emph speak-s

'That fellow's looking this way.'  
'away from us.'

wugugu bindana  
gundugu sit-s

'Sitting facing this way.'  
'away from us.'

An example of a sentence in which gundu fulfilled the function of a verb, although it carried no verbal suffix, was given above (7.2.1, third example). In the following examples it fulfils the same function, but seems to be inflected for future as well as carrying a subordinate marker.

ngaya gundungayi , ngurra ngaya wadyingadhu  
away-will-sub, dog I take-will-emph

I'm going to take my dog when I go away.'

ngaya gundungayi , ngurra ngaya wadyingadhu  
away-will-sub, dog I take-will-emph

I'm going to take my dog when I go away.'

ngaya gundungayi , ngurra ngaya wadyingadhu  
away-will-sub, dog I take-will-emph

I'm going to take my dog when I go away.'

ngaya gundungayi , ngurra ngaya wadyingadhu  
away-will-sub, dog I take-will-emph

I'm going to take my dog when I go away.'

ngaya gundungayi , ngurra ngaya wadyingadhu  
away-will-sub, dog I take-will-emph

I'll give you some money before I go.'

ngaya gumbanga , ngaya gundungayi  
ngaya nguna)  
I that-obj money give-will, I away-will-sub

I'll give you some money before I go.'

#### E Adverbs of Manner

This heading covers a motley collection of adverbs, one known from only one or two examples and others well tested. They are classified below into what seem to be fairly logical groups.

#### 7.5.1 wandya 'well' and warrgu 'badly'

wandya may also be translated 'carefully' or even 'truthfully'. It can also function as an adjective (see the fourth example).

mardingu (mardi ngungu) Gungabula wandyandi ngalgana  
man that Gungabula well-emph speak-s

'That man speaks Gungabula very well.'

nhula ngalgana wandya  
he talks well

'He's talking straight' (i.e. telling the truth).

wandya waga.  
well climb

'Be careful when you're going up'  
(i.e. 'Climb carefully!')

yinda wandya wardangayi  
you careful fall-will-sub

'Be careful or you'll fall.'

warrrgu may function as either an adjective

'bad' or an adverb 'badly'. The latter use is illustrated below.

ngaya warrrgu babala  
I badly spear-ed

'I missed him (with the spear).'

ngaya yamba warrrgu gundu wadyala  
I ground(1) badly away go-ed  
'I went the wrong way.'

(1) See 10.5.1

7.5.2 wan-gadi, wala, manban, marra

These words specify the intensity of the action or state; the first three refer to a high intensity, i.e. to do something vigorously or quickly or strongly, and the fourth to a low intensity.

ngaya wan-gadi waganiyila

I hard run-was  
'I've been running hard.'

buyu ngaya wan-gadi mungguna  
breath I hard breathes  
'I'm breathing hard.'

burdingu (birdi ngungu) walandi gubalanga

fire that well-emph burn-is  
'The fire's burning well.'

wala mara  
well hold 'Hold it tight!'

According to Kruger Fraser the last sentence means 'Hold it for a while!' and 'Hold it tight!' would be

manban mara. This is the only example of manban.

mardi bundyana marra  
man sick-s a little 'He's a bit sick.'

galalungu (gala yulungu) yamba yarnga dhanala marra  
now this place<sup>(1)</sup> wind stand-ed a little  
'The wind has eased up now.'

1) See 10.5.1

yinda gurrgandharri , mardi ngungu gudiyugudu

you tall , man that short  
marra  
a little  
'He's a bit shorter than you.'

7.5.3 gurru, wayarra

These adverbs are used to denote completeness of an action. It is not certain that gurru is an adverb; it could be a noun meaning 'the whole lot'.

galadhi yunanyadhu , gandumu gurru yugayala  
now-emph nothing-emph, children all eat-was  
'I got nothing, the kids ate it all.'

yabumu ngungu yugaladhu , diagany gurru yugala  
father there eat-ed-emph, goanna all eat-ed  
'My father ate the whole goanna.'

ngaya nguna wayarra babilia  
I that-obj finished cut-ed  
'I've finished cutting it.'

yulungu wayarrandhi  
this finished-emph 'That's enough.'

7.5.4 mana, yugu

These words can be translated 'only, just'. On one occasion an informant translated yugu 'for nothing', yuguru, which is presumably derived from yugu, is translated 'still'. In the first

example below mana was pronounced without stress, i.e. as if it were a suffix to the preceding word (as demonstratives often are; see 2.7).

yununu ngurrandu dhagany mana badhamana  
your-op dog-op goanna only bite-plur-s  
'Your dog only kills goannas.'

ngungu dhana mumbamba gundu wadyalgarilla, ngaya  
there they all-emph away go-plur-ed , I  
mana yulungu bindana  
only here stay-s  
'They all went away and only I stayed here.'

mardindu ngungu ngurran gunila , yugu  
man-op that dog hit-ed , only  
'That man hit his dog for nothing.'

ngali yulungu yugumba ngalgaana  
we two here just-emph talk-ing  
'We're just talking.'

yugu ngungu bardi gubanambanana  
just that fire burn-?-s (see 6.12)

'The fire's just smouldering.'

ngamu yuguru balgana  
water still falls  
'It's still raining.'

ngadyuna diadyaana yuguru  
me discuss-ing still  
'[They] are still talking about me.'

#### 7.5.5 yarrba 'unintentionally'

There is only one example, in Gungabula.

ngaya gunila yurana ngaya yarrba gunila  
I hit-ed you-obj I unint. bit-ed  
'I didn't mean to hit you.'

#### 7.5.6 yamburu 'the same'

The only example is from Gungabula.

ngungu ngurra bulardu yamburu nagalina  
there dog two the same see-self-s  
'Those two dogs look the same.'

#### 7.6 Potential Adverbs

There are two potential adverbs, bulaaarra 'maybe', known only from Gungabula, and marri 'can', known only from Biyara and of doubtful genuineness. The former is unusual in that it is often associated with the uninflected stem of the verb, and is pronounced as a suffix, with no primary stress, when it follows the verb. There are only two examples of marri.

mardi ngungu bula dhinggamiyilalba , ngaya  
ian there they two fight-o.a.-was-emph, I  
babangu gundigulanarba wudyanana , ngaya gunra  
here house-to-? go-s , I back  
urrbala , yugurru bula dhinggamiyila  
ome-ed , still-? they two fight-o.a.-was  
The two men were fighting. I went over to the house  
and when I came back they were still fighting.'

rarramandu yurana gara' bulaarra (or garanga bulaarra)  
horse-of you-obj kick maybe  
'The horse might kick you.'

ngurran garda wan-gulila  
dog not bark-ed  
'The dog didn't bark.'

lardi ngungu wugu wadya 'julaarre  
ian that here come maybe 'He might come.'  
lamu bulaarralungu 'balga  
(bulaarra yulungu)

'ater maybe here fall 'It might rain.'

uardi yinda wandiya yamba nagani , munda  
ian you well ground watch-ct imp, snake  
wulaarra wudayayinayi

aybe lie--sub

Watch out for snakes as you go along.'

gaya gardabadinba yabunu narridhi  
not - emph father can-emph

I can't [make one] but my father can.'

haguna ngaya maranga , ngaliumbangu narridhi  
rother-obj I get-will, we two together-op can-emph

I'll get my brother and the two of us will be able to  
lift it].'

#### •7 Negative Adverbs

The four adverbs grouped together here are garda  
gardaru, gardabarri or gardabadi) 'not', dhirra 'can't',  
guru 'nearly' and bugany 'try'. garda is also used as the  
negative particle 'no'. The second example seems to  
illustrate an idiomatic use of it. There is very little  
information on dhirra.

ngadryunda gardabu bindana  
me-with not-emph sit-s  
'He's not with me.'

dhurdru gardaru burrbala  
sun not come-ed  
'The sun hasn't come out.'

dhirra yimbabana  
can't understand- 'I can't understand.'  
ngaya ngarunba wardala  
I nearly-emph fall-ed  
'I nearly fell over.'

ngaya marda ngaru babilila  
 I hand nearly cut-self-ed  
 'I nearly cut my hand.'

ngaya nguru babala dhandyangu ngarrguna  
 I nearly spear-ed spear-with (ngarrgu nguna)  
 kangaroo that-obj

'I nearly speared the kangaroo.'

ngaya bugany wagalmana

I try lift-s

'I tried to lift it but I can't.'

gandungu ngadyuna bangungu bugany gudyaaala  
 child-op me stone-with try hit-was

'He tried to hit me with a stone.'

ngaya bugany niduwula

I try look for-was

'I've been looking for him.'

mandha ngaya bugany gumbala, garda marala  
 fruit I try give-ed, not take-ed

'I tried to give him some fruit but he wouldn't have it.'

#### •8 The Emphatic Adverb

There are only two examples of this adverb, which

as given, as yandya by Kruger Fraser and yandyan by Dick Tatton. It could be translated 'really' or, as raser gave it, 'dinkum'.

ngaya yulungu bundyalanga yandya

I this sick-is really  
 'Dinkum, I am sick.'

nayibu nguna maralayi, yandyan nguna  
 knife that-obj get-ed-sub, really that-obj  
 babilila  
 cut-self-ed

'As soon as he got the knife he cut himself.'  
 (When asked the meaning of yandyan, the informant repeated the second clause as 'he did cut himself'.)

#### 7.9 yambird 'oneself'

This word may function as a reflexive adverb, reinforcing the verbal reflexive suffix, as in the first two examples, but may also emphasise a pronoun, as in the last three examples.

ngaya gamugu yambird nagalina  
 I water-in self see-self-s  
 'I can see myself in the water.'

ngungu mardi wadyandyarralayi, yambird.ngalgalina  
 that man walk-along-ed-sub, self talk-self-s  
 'That man is walking along talking to himself.'

gabuwali nhula yambird buranga  
 later he self get up-will  
 'He'll get up of his own accord later on.'

yinda nguna yambird yamala  
 you that-obj self make-ed  
 'Did you make it yourself?'

8. OTHER BOUND MORPHEMES

8.1 Emphatic Suffixes

ngayana (ngaya nguna)	mardi	gardamba	dhurrala, rhula	wugu
I that-obj man	not-emph	call-ed , he	here	rambird wadyala self come-ed

'I didn't call him, but he still came.'

? .10 dhagu 'let'

There are very few suitable examples available to illustrate this morpheme, but its interpretation is meaning 'let' is not doubted. It is not certain, however, that it is an adverb (and not an imperative -erb).

dhagu wungard wudyayina  
let asleep lies-

dhagu wunana  
let lies

'Let him sleep.'

gaya rhunguna manga bandhagunila wardalmala  
him ear hit hard-ed knock down-ed,  
hagudhu nhula mardi bagurdaala  
et-emph he man crawl-was

I belted him over the ears and knocked him down, and left him crawling around.'

An emphatic suffix may be added to any word, and always follows any other suffixes. Occasionally two emphatic suffixes may be used on one word. Emphatic suffixes are very common and one or more occurs in probably the majority of sentences in natural speech. Some individual suffixes, however, are uncommon.

A number of suffixes whose functions are not really known are lumped together under the label emphatic suffixes. This label is probably appropriate for some of them but is unlikely to be correct for all. In their usage they have a number of features in common: they are used in speech at conversational speed, but if the sentence is repeated slowly they are omitted; the speakers are

unaware or hardly aware that they have used them and sometimes do not acknowledge their presence even if the sentence is repeated to them (this applies also to hesitations and repetitions - they tend only to hear what they meant, or finally, decided, to say); the speakers, when they do acknowledge the existence of these suffixes, can give no indication of their meaning or explanation of their presence (other than of the type "you just have to put it in there, that's all"). It is unlikely that an adequate description of these suffixes could be made except in a situation where the language is in more or less daily use or has been in the fairly recent past. However, further study of the data may allow some generalisations to be made.

An emphatic suffix may be added to any word, and always follows any other suffixes. Occasionally two emphatic suffixes may be used on one word. Emphatic suffixes are very common and one or more occurs in probably the majority of sentences in natural speech. Some individual suffixes, however, are uncommon.

The following suffixes are included in this group:  
-nda, -ndi, -ndhi, -nba (rarely -anba), -dha, -du, -dhi  
(-idhi, -widhi, -yidhi), -na, -arda, -bu, -ida (-yida),  
-wula. There may be others.

The use of some suffixes is restricted by the fact that an impermissible consonant cluster would be formed, but this may be overcome by adding a vowel - e.g. buganyanba (bugany 'try') - or by using two emphatic suffixes - e.g. dhuwardbindhi (dhuward 'alive'). -wula is known to occur only after final u and -arda only after final a. Emphatic suffixes occur most commonly on the final word of a clause. Some (but not all) occurrences of -na attached to a word, which have been interpreted in examples given earlier as an abbreviated form of nguna, may be better interpreted as the suffix -na.

The following examples illustrate the use, if not the function, of the emphatic suffixes:

ngaya gundu Burrandalagunda burranga  
I away Burenda-to-emph go away-will  
'I'm going to Burenda.'

ngungu mardi gadha gurrgandharrinda, mayarragan-gadhindi  
that man hair long- emph , woman - like- emph  
'That man's got long hair like a woman.'

gamu yulungu balganandhi  
water here fall-s-emph 'It's raining now.'

wugunāi wadyala  
here-emph come-ed

gullinba yubalu nganimugu ngalgaana?  
long time-emph you two what-for talking  
'My are you two talking so long?'

ngaya yanganamba ngudurrana  
I mother-obj-emph look for-s  
'I'm looking for my mother.'

ngali ngalgayalanbadhi  
we two talk-was-emph-emph  
'We've been having a long talk.'

ngadyu dhagundyila (1) gabuny maranga ngali  
my brother egg get-will we two  
wadhungadhu yugaangadhu  
cook-will-emph eat-will be-emph

'My brother's getting some eggs and we're going to cook them and eat them.'

dhina wambalmala , yarraman gardadha marala.  
foot lose-ed , horse not-emph get-ed.  
yarraman-garrbadha gurra gurrbala  
horse -lacking-emph back come-ed

'He lost the track and didn't get the horse. He came back without a horse.'

mardi nhula wagurdidhi  
man he big eater-emph 'He's a big eater.'

(1) The operative form, dhagundyilangu, would be expected here. This may be a mistake on the part of the informant.

## 3.2 The Suffix -gali

nhula wadyangayi	widhuwidhi	,	ngaya guninga
.e come-will-sub	white man-emph,	I	hit-will
If that white fellow comes here I'll hit him.'			
ngaya dhagangana?			
I enter-will-emph	'Can I come in?'		
nhimany yula	midhamidha	wudyarda	
black ant here(?) black	many-emph		
'There's a lot of black ants about.'			

gayana ngaya nguna)	yarrbabundhi		gunila
I that-obj unintentionally-emph-emph	hit-ed		
I didn't mean to hit him.'			
jaya nguna banggu nguna wangalgadhibu	nagala		
that-obj rock that-obj boomerang-like-emph	see-ed		
I saw a rock shaped like a boomerang.'			
jadyunda yulungu balanga nganiyida wagala			
~on here leg-on something-emph	crawl-ed		
I felt something crawling on my leg.'			
janiyida yugana mardi(nau?) yurdiiyida yugaana			
nat-emph eat-s man (-op?) meat-emph	eat-ing		
I eat or bread or something.'			
ngaya yulungu bundyagalinanba			
I here sick-gali-s-emph	'I'm sick.'		
ngurra yabangu badhamigalinya			
dog there bite-o-a-gali-ing	'The dogs are fighting		
yinda ngadyunda wugu wadyagalina ?			
you me-with here come-gali-s			
'Are you coming with me?'			

This type of suffix has been briefly discussed by the present writer (see Blake and Breen, The Pitta-Pitta Dialects, p.21-23). Some examples of the use of -gali follow.

ngaya yulungu Burrandalamundu burrhagaliyila			
I here Burenda-from	come-gali-was		
'I come from Burenda.'			
ngaya nguna munda ngungulgulu gunigalinga			
I that-obj snake stick-with hit-gali-will			
'I'm going to hit the snake with a stick.'			
ngaya yulungu bundyagalinanba			
I here sick-gali-s-emph	'I'm sick.'		
ngurra yabangu badhamigalinya			
dog there bite-o-a-gali-ing	'The dogs are fighting		
yinda ngadyunda wugu wadyagalina ?			
you me-with here come-gali-s			
'Are you coming with me?'			

On the first occasion on which he was recorded Mick Tatten claimed that Gungabula was distinguished from Bidyara by a "long way" of saying things.

This involves a suffix -gali, added to many of the verb stems and preceding tense and continuative suffixes. It appears to have no function other than to make the distinction between the dialects. He does not normally use it.

## THE FORMATION OF STEMS

### Introduction

A word is a unit which can occupy more than one position in a clause, but whose constituents are fixed in their position relative to one another. For example, the sentence

mardindu wangalu gudyamiyina  
man-op boomerang-with hit-o.a.-ing

; made of the units mardi, ndu, wangal, u, gudya, mi, , na, each with some meaning or function. Of these units, ndu can appear only immediately following mardi, that these form part of a single word. Similarly, angal and u belong to one word, in that order, and the other four units can only be combined with one another, and only in the order shown. However, wangalu could come before or after mardindu, so these are different words. Similarly, gudyamiyina could appear anywhere in one sentence in relation to the other groups of units, it is a separate word.

We could also define a word as a unit which can take a primary stress on its first syllable and no primary stress elsewhere, or as a unit which ends in an emphatic suffix or to which an emphatic suffix could be added.

The stem of a word is that form which normally appears in a dictionary or vocabulary. (1) Since it is

(1) That is, its meaning is not predictable from that its components. Thus such forms as reflexive and reciprocal verbs, noun forms in -bayi, etc. are excluded. However, some such forms will be found in the vocabulary.

therefore readily available, and since a knowledge of the way in which stems are made up from smaller meaningful units does not seem to be necessary in learning a language, the discussion of this subject has been reserved for the last chapter of the grammar.

### 9.2 Types of stems

The stem of a word may comprise:

- (a) a single free morpheme, e.g. dhima 'foot', wugu 'this way', wangara 'one';
- (b) a reduplicated free morpheme, e.g. midhamidha 'black', mardimardi 'male', gurrigurri 'rag';
- (c) a combination of two dissimilar free morphemes, e.g. gulibambany 'for a long time', wangalama 'to fight with a boomerang', bambaguma 'to break';
- (d) a combination of a free morpheme and a bound morpheme, e.g. wudyabarri 'big', guliginy 'old', mugagan 'blind woman';
- (e) a reduplicated combination of free morpheme and bound morpheme, e.g. gunirdagunirda 'murderer', magardamagarda 'policeman'.

Most stems are simple, comprising only a single free morpheme. There are about thirty known reduplicated forms of the type illustrated in (b), many of which have not been heard at all in the simple form (e.g. buwabuwa 'butterfly',

*hanbardahanbard* 'grey'). In some cases the simple form has not been heard in a free form but does occur in other combined forms, e.g. murrumurru 'round', murruwaga 'to curl up' (murru means 'hulanulla' but this is probably not related to murumurru).

Type (c) is probably fairly common but in most cases cannot be positively identified because the constituents of the word are not known, e.g. gumbinybirrany 'wrestling', probably made up of gumbiny and birrany, but neither of these is known to the writer as a free morpheme or in any other combined form. Other similar forms are *irabarrrga* 'currawong' (a bird) and *Dhundugunindyayi*, place-name.

Type (d) makes use of stem formatives, i.e. bound morphemes whose function is to form a more complex stem on a simpler one. The various stem formatives, their function, and examples of their use will be studied in this chapter.

Type (e) is rare - the two examples given are the only ones known.

### 3 Noun Stem Formatives

The function of the noun stem formatives is to convert stem into a noun stem. In most cases the original stem already a noun stem and the formative converts it into related noun. Examples of conversion of a verb stem into noun stem (as, for example, the formative -er does in English, e.g. walk - walker) are rare.

#### 9.3.1

#### Stem formatives used with kinship terms.

Kinship terms appear in three forms, the simple form and two expanded forms. The expanded forms carry suffixes which vary in form with different words but are basically -ila for one form and -nu for the other. The functions of these suffixes are not known; informants have on some occasions tried to explain them but the explanations have been different on different occasions and none of them seems to fit the data. For example, it is a question of who you are speaking to; it depends on how far away the person concerned is; one form is Bidyara and another Gungabula.

The different forms of the -ila type suffix are:

-yila	e.g. yangayila 'mother', dhilgiyila 'son'.
-wila	e.g. yebuwila 'father', buxquwila 'niece'. (1)
-dyila	e.g. gangandyila 'uncle', gugundyila 'grandfather'; the basic forms here are gangany and gugunu.
-ndyila	e.g. dhagundyila 'elder brother', barindyila 'elder sister'.
-rdiyila	e.g. waburdiiyila 'younger brother', guyardiyila 'wife'.
-rriyila	e.g. bundhuriyila 'nephew'.
-dila	e.g. bundyagandila 'mother-in-law' wabuwandila 'younger sister'.

(1) Some of the translations given are only approximate; more detailed and correct translations are given in the vocabulary, 10.2.2.

The -nu suffix has been heard on only six of the kinship terms. The two forms are:

- nu e.g. yangamu 'mother', dhagamu 'elder brother';
- u e.g. wabugamu 'younger sister'<sup>(1)</sup>

### 9.3.2 The feminine suffix

The suffix -gan is added to a word to convert it into a feminine form. The extent of the use of this suffix is not clear; some informants would accept a wide range of use, so that mugagan could be used to mean 'blind woman' (mugamuga 'blind' or 'blind person'), wudyagan 'big woman' (wudya or wudyabarri 'big', 'big one') and so on. Others restrict it to kinship terms and a few other words denoting social groupings within the tribe and neighbouring tribes; thus, Kruger Fraser and his brothers are gurrigila and their sister Jessie Turner is gurrigilagan; they could marry a guburugan woman or a guburu man, respectively.

The suffix does not appear to be used for animals;

the few feminine terms known are quite different from the corresponding masculine or general terms. Thus, a possum is dhangurd but a doe possum is ngarriya; a red kangaroo is bawurra, but a doe is wura.

There are some irregularities in the formation of feminine kinship terms. The regular form appears in miyagandila 'granddaughter' (miyayila 'grandson') and

(1) This could also be interpreted as wabu + ga + nu but this would require the postulation of a form -ga for the feminine suffix which in every other case ends in -an.

bundyagandila 'mother-in-law' (bundyayila 'mother-

in-law's brother) but there is also a shorter form bundyanila 'mother-in-law'. Corresponding to

dhilgivila 'son' we have dhilgiyandila or dhiligandila (but not dhilgandila) and dhilgigan 'daughter'.

The feminine equivalent of dhuwaniyila 'nephew' is dhuwandila 'niece'. The form corresponding to wabunu 'younger brother' is regular - wabugamu 'younger sister' - but corresponding to waburdivila, also 'younger brother' is wabuwandila 'younger sister' (not wabugandila). The form -an occurs in gugunyandila 'granddaughter' (cf. gugundyila 'grandson').

### 9.3.3 The plural formative

Most Aboriginal languages have a suffix which may be attached to nouns to mark plural number, and a large number have also a suffix to denote the dual number. Bidyara and Gungabula seem to lack these.

There are, however, some special suffixes used only in very isolated cases. One of these is -nu, which is used to mark non-singular (i.e. either dual or plural) with the noun gandu 'child'. For example:

gandu warraana 'The child is playing'  
gandunu warraana 'The children are playing'.

Another suffix, which seems to be basically -any for masculine forms and -iny for feminine forms, is used only with the 'meat' names, i.e., the names of the tribal subdivisions that are associated with the marriage laws (see 10.2.3). The different forms

of this suffix are shown in the table below. Plural here presumably includes dual, but this has not been confirmed.

Note that the plural suffix precedes the feminine suffix (here -at).

Table 9.1  
Subdivision Names

Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Masculine Plural	Feminine Plural
ganbayi	ganbayigan	ganbarany	ganbarinyan
wun-gu	wun-gugan	wun-gurany	wun-gurinyan
gurrngilla	gurrngilagan	(not known)	(not known)
guburu	guburugan	guburany	guburany

#### 9.3.4 Other noun stem formatives

Three other suffixes which are added to certain noun stems are -garri, -dharri and -barri. None of these seems to be productive (i.e. they are associated only with certain stems and are never used with other stems to form new words) and there are few clues to their functions. -barri may be related to -bayi (see 4.12); the suffix corresponding to -bayi in some related dialects is -barri. This suffix is used also with the adverb garda 'not'; gardabarri 'not'.

Other examples are:

wudya 'a lot, many', wudyabarri 'big'  
gurrgan 'long', gurrganbarri 'very long' gurrgandharri 'longer still' (according to K. Fraser, but M. Tatten says that gurrgan and gurrgandharri have the same meaning).

All the examples of formation of a noun stem from a verb stem are given below.  
 guni 'to hit, to kill', gunirdagunirdar 'murderer'  
 marda maga 'to handcuff' (marda 'hand'),  
 magardamagarda or mardamagarda 'policeman'  
 (compare the above examples with the verbal suffix -rda, 6.9.1)  
 gundha 'to steal', gundhanyaala or gundhanyala 'thief'  
 dhungga 'to be frightened', mardi dhunggandyala 'frightened fellow'.  
 ngun-gandyala 'jealous person'.  
 ngandha 'to burn', ngandhan 'flame'.

#### 9.4 Verb Stem Formatives

A verb stem formative may be added to a noun stem or (most commonly) to a verb stem. Its function is to form a stem whose meaning is related in some way (depending on the particular formative) to that of the original stem.

##### 9.4.1 The causative (first form)

The causative formative is affixed to a verb stem (or, in at least one case, to a stem that can function

migany, migany migany, miganybarri 'good',  
dhawul 'pugnacious, bad tempered',

dhawulgarr 'cheeky, savage',

wardamba 'right side', wardambagarri 'on the right' (also the purposive form wardambagu 'on the right')

ngangun-garri 'strong' (no short form known).

as an adverb or adjective) and the resultant stem is a transitive verb meaning, approximately, to make or cause the action or state denoted by the original stem to happen or come into existence. The suffix is basically -ma, but -lma is common and -nnya and -lima also occur. In some cases different forms of the affix may be used with the same stem, even by the same informant.

The following examples show the formation of verb stems using the causative.

warrigu 'bad(lly)', warrguma 'to spoil'  
 burra 'to wake up' (intrans) or 'to get up', buralma  
 'to wake up (trans)' (i.e. to wake someone up) or 'to lift'  
 barri 'to cry', barrima or barrilma 'to make(someone) cry'  
 yadhi 'to laugh', yadhima 'to make (someone) laugh'  
 ngandha 'to burn (intrans)', ngandhalma 'to light (a fire)',  
 guba 'to burn (intrans)', gubayma 'to cook'  
 warda 'to fall', wardama or wardalma 'to drop'  
 wamba 'to be lost', wambalma 'to lose',  
 gudha 'to be shut', gudhama 'to shut'

In two cases it appears that the final vowel of the verb stem is dropped before the causative suffix is added:  
 gambirdma 'to twist', from gambirda 'to turn around' and  
 dhamna 'to stand (something) up' from dhana 'to stand'.

The next few examples further illustrate the use of different forms of the suffix with the same verb stem. In two cases the suffix seems to be added to the continuous imperative form of the verb (cf. 6.3.1) instead of the stem; the meaning would then seem to be 'to make (someone, something) keep on doing something'.

ngaya gunila rguna mardi wudyabarri , guna  
 I hit-ed that-obj man big , blood =  
 gurrbalimala  
 come-make-ed  
 'I hit that big fellow and made him bleed.'

ngadyuna yarrga gurrbalmala  
 me wind come-make-ed  
 '[He] knocked the wind out of me.'

mardindu ngungu ngadyuna warrgu bindanimana  
 man-op that me bad sit-ct imp-make-s  
 'That man is annoying me.'

gamu ngaya dhanalmala  
 water I stand-make-ed  
 'I spilled some water.'  
 ngaya nhunguna dhananimala  
 I him stand-ct imp-make-ed  
 'I made him stand up.'

~~rayana~~ baga dhanamala  
 (ngaya nguna)  
 I that-obj post stand-make-ed

In the last case there seems to be a double addition of the formative, since dhamma means 'to stand (something) up', being derived, with dropping of a vowel (see above), from dhana 'to stand'.

In a few cases, including three examples of addition of -ma to a transitive verb stem, its function is not clear. (Compare also the use of -ma

as a plural object marker, 6.9.2).

- gumba 'to give', gunbema 'to learn'  
yimba 'to hear', yimbama 'to understand'

- ngunbunguna yinda rgalgemaa?

- (ngunduru nguru?)  
who that-obj you talk-mas

'Who was that man you were talking to before?'  
ngalgeme also means 'to call' as in 'I call him cousin.'

- yindana dhun-ga nage badzaranedhi

- (yinda nguna) you that-obj spider watch bite-mas-emph

'Watch out for those spiders, they can bite you.'

#### 9.4.2 The causative (second form)

A suffix -i which replaces the final vowel of the verb stem, is used with only two intransitive verb stems, binda 'to sit', to stay, to be' and waltye 'to go, to come, to walk'. The transitive verbs so formed are bindi 'to keep, to look after' and wadya 'to take, to bring'.

#### 9.4.3 Intransitive verb formative

This rather vague name covers two suffixes, one, -rra, added to a noun stem and one, -na, added to a verb stem (which may already be intransitive). The former can be translated 'become'; the latter has no translation appropriate for all its functions.

-rra is uncommon; it is known to combine with only warryu 'bad' (or, as an adverb, 'badly') and yagal 'cold', which becomes yagali in the combined form. There is only one example of each and both are doubtful, due mainly to the difficulty of accurate transcription.

- ngayalungu warrgurrana bindana  
(ngaya yulungu)

- I here bad-become-s sit-s  
'I'm worrying.'

- genü nguna malbara garda guni, yugu bindana  
child that-obj lizard rot kill, just keep-<sup>v</sup> imp

'Don't kill the lizard, keep it!'

- yangaru nguna gandu bindine  
mother that-obj child look after-s

'The mother's looking after the baby.'

-na can be added to (a) a transitive verb stem to form the corresponding intransitive verb, (b) a verb stem which is not known to exist in the free

ngaya yunu mani gundu wadyiyila, ngaya  
I your money away take-was, I  
nganimugudu nguna marala  
what-for-emph that-obj take-ed  
'I took your money when I didn't know what I was  
doing.'

form, to form an intransitive verb, and (c) an intransitive verb, apparently to describe a state existing when the action denoted by that verb is prolonged or extended. The following examples may illustrate these uses.

- (a) ngaya gandyibulmundu      dhulbananga  
I policeman-from      hide-intr-will  
'I'm going to hide from the policeman.'

(The stem dhulba means 'to hide (something or someone)' and dhulbana 'to hide oneself'.)

- (b) yurdi ngungu bagagu walbanana  
meat that tree-in hang-intr-s  
'The meat's hanging up in the tree.'

(The corresponding transitive verb is walbama 'to hang (something) up'. walba is not known to occur as a verb stem.)

- (c) ngaya yugu wadyanana  
I just walk-intr-s  
'I'm just walking around.'

birdi yabangu gubananandhi

- fire there burn-intr-s-emph 'The fire's burning.'

ngali ngalgaanaala

- we two talk-intr-was  
'We had a long talk.'

The function of -na in some other cases is not clear.

merdindu gambi dhunggadimanana  
man-op woman afraid-cause-intr-s (?)

- 'The man is frightening the woman.' (The purpose of the

di in the verb is not known; possibly -dima is another form of the causative suffix.)

- nhula yinbanana  
he understand-intr-s  
'He's learning the language.'

## 9.5 Adverb Formatives

One suffix that is regarded as an adverb formative (although it could possibly also be interpreted as a nominal inflectional suffix forming a type of locative) is -mbarru. The function of this formative can be shown more easily by illustration than by description. It is added to the stems yulu 'here', this' (which possibly never occurs in this form; yulungu is the most frequent form), yaba 'there, that' (rare in this form, commonly yabangu) and bula 'two' (bula is the pronoun 'they two'; bulardu the numeral 'two'). The derived forms are:

- yulumbarru 'on this side'  
yabumbarru 'on that side', 'on the other side'  
bulambarru 'on both sides'.

Some adverbs combine with the suffixes -ru and -go other adverbs, but the function of the suffix is not known. yugu 'only, just' forms yuguru 'still'; garda 'no!' forms gardaru 'no', guli 'long ago', forms guilru 'before, a while ago' (and an aiternative form gulira). See the third example of 4.10 for an example of addition of -ru to the inflectional suffix -mundu.

10.2 Classified Vocabulary  
10.1 Introduction

The vocabulary in this chapter is organised in groups of words of related meaning or function: place names, animals, kinship terms, adverbs, verbs of going, verbs of vocalising and so on. It is felt that this type of vocabulary will be more useful than an alphabetical English-Aboriginal vocabulary.

Examples of the usage of a word are given where they are felt to be needed (e.g. for yamba) and references to the preceding chapters where they are useful. Pronouns are not included; see 5.3, 5.4, 5.5. A word is given in parentheses where it has not been heard but its existence is presumed (e.g. dhilgi in 10.2.2). In some cases these words may not exist at present in the language, but may be underlying forms on which existing terms are based (e.g. walba; see the example labelled (b) in 9.4.3).

Where a word is followed by (?) it is doubtful, either because it has been heard only once from an unreliable informant or because of the difficulty of hearing it correctly. Where a word or translation has been given by only one informant, who is reliable, his initials are often added, e.g. (KF).

The items in 10.2 to 10.6 inclusive are nearly all nouns. If a noun cannot be found see the corresponding verb (e.g. there is no known noun 'vomit', which would be found in 10.3.1, but there are two verbs 'to vomit', in 10.10.7)

10.2 The Human Race  
10.2.1 Human classification

Most of the following words refer specifically to Aboriginal persons; thus mardi is an Aboriginal man or person, etc.

mardi	man, person
gambi	woman (1)
mayarra,	woman
mayarragan	
waingu	woman
gandu	child
gandu mardimardi	boy
gandu gambigambi	girl
rhayili	unnamed baby (nhavi 'name')
mardi gayarra	old man
wadburany	old man
muranyan	old woman

(1) The word gambi has been replaced in the language of some informants by mayarra(gan) or waingu, since the death at Augathella in 1919 of a man called Gambin. This is a common practice in Aboriginal languages; if a person dies the other members of the tribe cease to use his name or any word that resembles it (see W.H. Douglas, An Introduction to the Western Desert Language, p 5). The word mayarra was probably taken from Marri, in which it means 'younger sister'. It is not clear in this case why not all speakers replaced the word gambi; it may be a matter of how well they knew Gambin. The writer knows a similar case in Warluwara where only the older speakers replaced a word, the younger ones still using the original word.

10.2.2 Kinship terms

wadhuwan	old woman
gawula	a young man who has been through a certain grade of initiation (further details not known)
walbara	boy, young man
yangubala	young fellow (borrowing from English?)
marrgan	girl, young woman (also gambi marrgan)
widhu	white man
wadyiga	white woman (possibly a borrowing from English, <u>white girl</u> )
gandyibul	policeman (from English, <u>constable</u> )
magardamagarda,	marda magarda
marda	policeman
(marda 'hand', marda maga 'to handcuff')	king <sup>(1)</sup>
maadha or madha	stranger
widhany	stranger
binu	mate, friend
gundhanyala or	thief
yanga, yangayila, yangamu	mother, mother's sister, sister's daughter's daughter
gundhanyala	sister, father's brother
(1) This word, or a similar one, appears in some other languages with the meaning 'boss' and in these cases it is probably a borrowing from English, <u>master</u> .	father's sister, grandfather's sister(?), father-in-law's brother(?), father's sister
However, according to the story told by Mrs Beattie Thompson, who contributed this item, Ma(a)dha was the name of a man who was king of the tribe (presumably so styled by the whites). He was also known as George Mothers, Mothers being the anglicised form of his name.	elder brother

The kinship terminology is quite complex and many aspects of it will probably never be sorted out. The word used to describe a relationship depends, at least in some cases, on whether the speaker and the other person belong to the same tribal subdivisions, as well as on the actual relationship. In addition, the explanations of a name given by different informants are sometimes contradictory. In general, an informant can explain a term for a distant relationship only if he can think of some person who stands in that relationship to him, and due to the disintegration of the tribe and the lack of use of the language this is not often possible.

yabu, yabuwila, yabunu	mother, mother's sister, sister's daughter's daughter
yabundiyla	father, father's brother
dhagu, dhagundiyla, dhagunu	father's sister, grandfather's sister(?), father-in-law's brother(?), father's sister
bari, barindyila, barinu (once bayi)	elder brother
wabu, waburdiyla, wabunu	elder sister
wabuwandila, wabuguru	younger brother
(gun-ga), gun-gayila	younger sister
(guya), guyardiyla	husband, brother-in-law
(dhlgi), dhlgiyila	wife, sister-in-law, daughter-in-law(?)
	son, brother's son, mother's brother's son(?)

dhilgigan, dhilgivandila, dhilgandila	mara, marandyila	sister's daughter's son,
burrkul (?)	magungan	mother's mother's brother, "uncle"(?)
burrquwila	mandhi	mother's mother (alternative to gami), "distant relation"
dhuwara	bundya, bundyanila, bundyagandila	uncle (alternative to gangany)
dhuwaniyila	bundyayila	possible mother-in-law
dhuwandila	dyidyiba, dyidyibara	mother-in-law's brother
(bundhu), bundhurriyila	son (when speaking to another of the same subdivision)	
bundhugandila	dhayirrmayila	"a man whose neice you could marry", son-in-law
gangany, gangandyila		
gami, gamindyila, gamlu		
mother's mother, sister's daughter		
(guguny), gugundyila		
mother's father, daughter's son (but in both cases only when addressing certain people),		
mother-in-law's children, son's son (?)		
daughter's daughter, son's daughter		
ngadhi, ngadhyila		
son, father's father(?)		
son's children(?)		
mimi, mimindyila		
miya, miyayila		
father's mother, daughter's daughter, wife's mother(?)		
father's father, son's son, child's son(?), father-in-law(?)		
brother (?), "distant brother", cousin (?)		
son's daughter, daughter's daughter(?)		

10.2.3 Social divisions

These divisions cut across language boundaries and, with some variations in the names, apply, together with the associated marriage rules, over a wide area. The main division is into yangurru and wudhurru (which are called "tribes" by informants, but clans may be a better word; see A.P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines*, Chapter IV). yangurru is subdivided into the two "meats" or sections ganbayi and gurrqila, and wudhurru into wun-gu and guburu. For the feminine and plural forms of these "meat" names see the table in 9.3.3. The following table shows the marriage rules; the symbol + means 'marries' and an arrow points to the children of the marriage.

Table 10.1.

Marriage Rules

gurrgila + guburugan  
 ↓           ↓  
 guburu + gurrgilagan

wun-gu  
 ↓  
 ganbayigan + wun-gu

ganbayi  
 ↓  
 ganbayi

guburu  
 ↓  
 guburugan  
 ↓  
 gurrgila  
 ↓  
 gurrgilagan

It can be seen that a yangurru always marries a wudhurru and vice versa, and that a person always belongs to the same

"meat" as his mother's mother and his father's father.

However, the mother's line belongs always to the same main division, while in the father's line there is alternation between yangurru and wudhurru.

The marriage choices are further restricted by another division, which cuts across those described above. This divides people into two groups or moieties (cf. Elkin, p 89) called bumbira and magula. Children belong to the same moiety as their mothers and it appears that one must marry outside one's own moiety.

An alternative form of the section name ganbayi - ganbari - has been heard.

## 10.2.4 Personal names

In a few cases a translation of the name was given by the informant. The names in these cases seem sometimes not to confirm to the grammar of the language or to correspond with independently known words.

The names of the members of the Fraser family (the first five names below) were given by Mick Tatten, who could not give any translations but said they were all "carpet snake names". The carpet snake is presumably the totem of one of the social divisions described above; the Frasers: are gurrgila(gan). The names do not seem to be normal words in the language, but probably have ritual significance.

Mundu(r)d, Mundu(r)damala	Jack Fraser
Mangilbagalindya	Jessie Turner
Dhirridi, Dhirridilayi	Kruger Fraser
Ngandyarragala	Ben Fraser
Gayurdilayi	Teaser Fraser
Mundhayi (means "clever")	Jimmy Lawton
Gadhirdi ("telling lies")	Les Lawton
Gulbindu	George Solomon
Miyardi ("relation")	uncle of George Solomon
Walgun ("mouse")	Beatie Thompson
Biran-gabinda (related to biran, see 10.6.1)	Bob Martin
Wabirdi	Sil King
Yalbi	Eddie Bundle
Gambin, Ma(a)dha; see footnotes to 10.2.1	

10.3	Body Parts and Products
10.3.1	Human and general
head	dhun-glu
hair of head	gadha, wuru
body hair	murdya
brains	gabury (also 'egg')
forehead	balga
eye	dhili
tears	dhanggird (when in the eye, KF)
eyebrow	ngurdun (when out of the eye, KF)
nose	milgan (also 'cliff')
cheek	guwu, rugul (?), ngundud (?)
face	ngalgi
mouth	dhaa (also 'word', language')
lip	bigi ('top lip', KF)
	mumu ('bottom lip', KF)
tongue	dhalanay
tooth	yira
ear	manga
chin	ngandhany
jaw	dhagal
beard	dhagal yarun ('jaw bone', Yarrany, ngan-gard, (JF))
nasal mucus	ngan-gan, ngunggumy
saliva	nhumba

liver	dhiba	thigh	dhara
kidney	mumird	knee	mugu
tripe(?)	widi	lower leg	bala
large intestine	galgany	ankle	barngu
small intestine	bundubundu	big toe	yan-gard
back	burrgu	skin	uman
waist	yandi	bone	dhina
hips	garrrga, waran	blood	guma
buttocks or	muudu (?)	fat	gungu, widha
arm	armpit	anus	sinew
elbow	gabard	dhulu,(1)	dhan-giny
wrist	yarudu	bunga,	widhiny
hand	mangu	dhaarrbinya or	bindhil
thumb	marda	dhugu	bunggurr,
little finger	marla nhilin,	dhimbany	bunggurriy
ringernail	nhilin marda	dhudhard	ngan-gan
language	miru, bindury (JF)	a snore	
right (hand)	bulimba	testicles	
left (hand)	wardamba	vagina	
chest	wan-ga, bambany	urine	
ribs	yilli	faeces	
breast	ngamun	guna	
stomach	guna (also 'faeces')	(1) bundhinga or bundhiya (incorrect ?) has been used to mean behind. (adverb of place):	
	bambu (also 'belly, gut')	bundhiya bidyula , dhandrya	
		behind throw-ed , spear	
		[I] threw the spear behind [him].	

10.3.2 Specifically non-human

mudyal	ear	wudyalala	pademelon	ngadyara,	bat
bandybird	stomach	dhanggu	bandicoot	madyambiny	dingo
bundyu	pouch (of kangaroo)	walgundhara, walgun	bilby	gumbina	pup (borrowing from English)
mulburringy	tail	bulguru	mouse	rigurra, ngurraran	dog
nguman	hide (cf. numan 'skin' in 10.3.1)	balumbalu	native cat	babibabi	horse ("old name", KF)
mundya	fur, woöl	changurd	possum	yarraman	horse
mala	wing (♂)	ngarryya	doe possum	wurruhdhala	horse ("old name", KF)
dhina	claw	dhidhany	koala	echidna	horse (JF)
gan-gal	feather	barbirda,	"porcupine"	gulagi	sheep
gabuny	egg	badbirda,	"porcupine"	manggi	nest (e.g. of rat)
				wagu	

10.4 Flora and Fauna

Many of the items given below have been elicited from Jack or Kruger Fraser and not so far confirmed to the writer by any other informant. However, Ford has elicited many names of flora and fauna from Mick Tatten and these will probably confirm many given below as well as adding others.

10.4.1 Animals

Introduced animals are given last.

yurdi	animal (also 'meat')	bagu	rock wallaby	gunggany	ngadvara,
bawurrara	red kangaroo	warraan	brush-tail wallaby	bun-gany	madryambiny
banygalu	old man kangaroo	bugara	swamp wallaby	gugubiny	bat
wura	doe kangaroo	birrama	whiptail wallaby	gunggany	dingo
ngarrgu	grey kangaroo	birrama	red-backed wallaby	gurrqurr	pup (borrowing from English)
guburrara	wallaroo	or grass rat	or grass rat	bulird	dog
waya	scrub wallaby	banduny	kangaroo rat,	wanagan	a species of nocturnal bird
			grass rat (?)	gagabarra	crow
				gulbu	kookaburra
				gagul	magpie, butcher bird (?)
				gugurin	crane (= heron) (?)
					spoonbill (?)

10.4.2 Birds

The approximate order is: large land birds, birds of prey and carrion, water birds, cockatoos and parrots, others.

gulbari, gulbayi	emu
gunggany	brolga (?)
bun-gany	plain turkey
gugubiny	scrub turkey
gudhala	eaglehawk
birilburu, wungalu	kite hawk (fork-tailed kite)
gumbirda	brown hawk
garrgany	sparrowhawk
gurrqurr	mopoke
bulird	a species of nocturnal bird
wanagan	crow
gagabarra	kookaburra
gulbu	magpie, butcher bird (?)
gagul	crane (= heron) (?)
gugurin	spoonbill (?)

yalbabulu	swan (?), plover (?)
manarun	duck (general)
dhilgarri	white cockatoo
dhilala	alah
gunngidala	black cockatoo
buwarri	quarrion
guridyala	peewee (= mudlark)
garabarra	tullywong, mountain magpie (= pied currawong)
daganygurany	leatherhead (= apostle bird ?)
dhirragua	happy family (species of babbler?)
diburrals	mutton bird (species of babbler?)
dyiridiyiri, dyigadyiga	willy wagtail
gulubula or gulubulu	species of pigeon
mamalu or mamaru	species of pigeon (squatter pigeon, JF)
wangga, wunggala(?)	wonga pigeon
gulbiny (?)	curlew
dubun-giya, dyubun-giya	swallow
biyalbiyal	soldier bird (= noisy miner)
dhibiliny	soldier bird (KF), but often appears to mean bird (in general) or small bird (in general)
windyardu	bird (probably any small bird)
wagu	bird's nest

0.4.3 Reptiles	10.4.4 Fish
munda	guyu, wina
mundangarra	fish
gabul	gardi
guridi	badhuny
bumbara	mulgu
madhamu	wabalgan
dhagany, barrga	gagada
	catfish
	bugili
	guwardu
	ngundhany
	dhuliny

10.4.5 Insects	nhimun, budhal (?)
	fly
	bulubura
	blowfly (JF)
	guduru
	maggot, blowfly
	honey
	muna
	bee
	nguwal
	swarm of bees (?)
	gaba
	bee's nest
	budhany or budhuny mosquito

buwabuwa	butterfly
dhun-ga	spider
gara	centipede
nhimany	ant, little black ant
gadhu	meat ant
murdun	greenhead ant
miliny	white ant
dhambun	Witchetty grub (grub from coolibah)
ban-gu	louse
10.4.6 Flora - general	
baga	tree, stick
waran	root
banda	butt
dhara	trunk
bidhal	bark (a piece of bark, KP)
binya	bark (the whole bark, KP, a large piece, as used to make a humpy, MT, also 'humpy')
guga	bark from elbow of tree (KP)
baga dhuru	limb
chala	leaf, bushy growth
magan	gum
wirrgi, ngunggulu	stick
dhulgarda,	log
baga dhulgarda	
10.4.7 Flora - specific	
dhan-gun	river red gum
bugulu, bagura	coolibah
malard	box tree (with round shiny leaves)

(Eucalyptus spp.)

gurany	Moreton Bay ash
gugurru	blackbutt (?)
gumbara	ironbark
bunarrga	apple ( <i>Angophora</i> sp.)
guburdu	gidgea
gugada	brigalow
wirral	( <i>Acacia</i> spp.)
myall	
ban-gani (?), mannam (?)	sandalwood
rhaniny	
yilbin	pine
yiga	wilga
dhanggil	wild orange (rough skinned fruit)
walbu	lime tree
dhandyala	bauninia
dharrany (?)	quandong
burrumu	blackberry (?)
wudhun	grass
dhin-gan	grass stubble
madhan	bindiye (prickly grass seed)
10.5 Inanimate Nature	
10.5.1 yamba	
<p>This is a widespread word meaning 'camp', sometimes 'ground', often 'humpy' and occasionally is given for 'house'. In Bidyara and Gungabula it is the normal word for 'camp' and is often used for 'humpy'. In addition, it is frequently used with a meaning that seems to be best translated as 'time' or 'place', although in practice it is often not translated. This type of use is illustrated by the following examples, as well as some given earlier (where footnotes refer the reader to this section, on pages 116, 119 and 120.</p>	

badugu

downstream (probably a purposive,  
cf. 4.7)

dhulgard

top

yala, burrgu

back

wirrgu

side, on one's side

minde

edge

dhudhu

middle

ngaya Babiliguluwu guli yamba bindaala

I time long sit-was

'I've been here a long time.'

yamba gunda wardana (or bardana ?)

place dark falls become-s

'It's getting dark.'

yamba buandha

place hot-in 'It's sultry.'

mardi gundanga gurrba(la?) yamba dhudhunga

man night-in come (-ed?) time middle-in  
'He came in the middle of the night.'

yambayina gaga binda

place-emph half way sit 'Stop half way across.'

yamba ngadyunda yulunqu bindabu

time me-with here sit-emph 'Wait a while!'

yamba yulunqu bindabu

time me-with here sit-emph 'Wait a while!'

## 10.5.2 Directions and parts

See also 10.9.1, adverbs of place.

dhurdu burrbala east (literally 'sun came')

dhurdu wardana west (" 'sun goes down'")

wardamba left

bulimba right

ngarragu on top, upstream (probably a purposive, cf. 4.7)

The first twenty or so items are terrestrial features, then a few items deal with the soil, then a few heavenly features, and about twenty items related to weather and climate.

yamba buandha

place hot-in 'It's sultry.'

yamba gunda wardana (or bardana ?)

place dark falls become-s

'It's getting dark.'

yamba buandha

place hot-in 'It's sultry.'

mardi gundanga gurrba(la?) yamba dhudhunga

man night-in come (-ed?) time middle-in  
'He came in the middle of the night.'

yambayina gaga binda

place-emph half way sit 'Stop half way across.'

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(1) These two items were given by Mrs. Beattie Thompson. gurragu could be derived from gurra 'back' (as in 'go back'). dhaalmardu could possibly be derived from dhaga 'to enter'.

sandhill	mangala
scrub	wadyu
road, clear area	ganarda
track	dhina (= foot)
gap	dharrga
cave	yingga, wubin (?) yuna, yurrga (1)
hole	nhendhi, mambiny (2)
dirt	bangu
stone, rock	dhunbul
dust	budharra
river sand	gardiya
desert or sandhill sand	dhumarat
mud	bimbirri (?)
red ochre	dnurdu
sun	gagarda
moon	budhanbil (?)
Milky Way	bandarda
sky	yugan, marrara ("usually in the distance" KF)
clouds	gamu (used with balga 'to fall') madhangala, dhiguru
rain	munngu
lightning	munngubayi
thunder	mugadi (also mugarri ?)
storm	mugarribayi (also mugadibayi ?)
hailstone	mundangarra
hailstorm	wardbu
rainbow	fog
fog	fog with rain
dew	dhugaburru
wind	yibuny (also 'navel') yarrga

(1) yurrga may refer only to a hole in the ground, and yuna may be a more general term.

(2) nhandi refers to dirt, in the sense of 'soil', 'ground', and mambiny to dirt in the unpleasant sense, e.g., 'filth'.

The first eleven names are of localities on the inland side of the Great Divide, and the remainder are on the seaward side. The last eight or so localities may be outside Bidyara country, possibly Wadyigu country.

Budhurradala	Warrego River (budhurra 'river sand')
Yunabayi	Augathella (yuna 'hole', -bayi 'having')
Warrbayi	"Old Augathella"
Burrandalala	Burenda
Gawumbadhalala	Ridge between Warrego River and Nive River (also given for Nive Downs and Tambo)
Gurdumu	Nive Downs or Nive Outstation
Bagarrala	Bogarella
Gudhi	Hoganthulla
Babiligulu	Babbiloora
Wabigan	Babbiloora

10.6.2 European material possessions

Madhondyalā	ridge east of Babbilora
Birribin	Cunglella
Gudhibilanya	Carnavon
Murdumbayi	Deep Dale, on Meteor Downe ("red; still there")
Gaganybilany	Borocnda ("greenhead ants")
Gabangudhud	Hornet Bank
Buyubayi	Ten Mile Waterhole on Consuelo
Dhanamany	rocky hole on Warrinilla ("short")
Waganwagan	hill on Warrinilla
Gulndhagany	lake on Warrinilla
Dhunduganjindayi	Purbrook
Gan-garni	mountain alongside Purbrook
	Planet Downs ("knife")
10.6.1	Possessions and Culture
	Aboriginal material possessions
yambe	jamp, humpy
binya	humpy
budyu	'dag
bumba	coolamor, basin
ngurru	little cot (?)
dhandya	spear
wangal	boomerang
murru	nuijanulla
bundi, mucha	waddy
burrgu, gungbarra	shield
baru, gugubara	axe, tomahawk
gagany	knife
gan-garni, gan-gayi	knife (for fighting, M)
bibu	flint tool for grooving boomerang
gane	Yonstick
biran	Walet strap to hold boomerang
yin-giny	sway, bundle
10.6.3	Food and cooking
	European items of food are included in the previous section. See also 10.10.7.
yurdi	meat
mandha	tucker (i.e. vegetable food)
ngamany	tucker, damper, bread

mayi	tucker, fruit
guwa (gawu ?)	yam
gaba	honey
gun-ga	raw, unripe
gubala (verb, past tense)	ripe
wadhuла, gubanymala (both verbs, past tense)	cooked
burdi	fire, firewood
dhuga	smoke
burdi milgird	hot coal
milgird	charcoal
ngandhan	flame
bungga, budha	ashes
bumbad	firewood (?)

#### 10.6.4 Language and ceremony

See also 10.10.5 for verbs of speaking.

dhaa	word, language, message
nhayi	name
Bidyara	language name
Gungabula	" "
Wadyanalinga,	" "
Wadyaningu	" "
Wadyigu	" "
Yingarnirri	English (borrowing from English)
mambu	dance, corroboree
warra, mambu warra	to dance
maya	type of corroboree
Waliny	type of corroboree
babardi	to dance by standing on one foot and stamping with the other

#### 10.7 Adjectives

##### 10.7.1 Colours

midhamidha	black
'budhabudha	white
gudhigudhi	red
gudhirri	yellow (Ji) "looks red at a distance" (KF)
guba, gubaguba, dhanbarddhanbard	grey (?), brown (KF) bay (horse)

#### 10.7.2 Size and shape

wudya, wudyaberrri	big
garu, garumarda,	
garunarany, gayu (?)	small, little
gurrgan, gurrgandharri,	
gurrganbarri	long, tall
gudyugudyu	short
dyumbu, dyumbul	narrow
murrumurru	round
minaminha, minamina	flat
dhurrundhurrun, dhun-gul	straight
gubu	bent
beganybagany	
yiniyagu	crooked, winding
wirring or wirdiny	winding (?)
bubara	heavy
gurdibala, gurdibagal	light
bulgurd	deep
	shallow

#### 10.7.3 Other physical properties

buwany	hot
yagal	cold

dhundha	west
budji, waran (?)	dry
walali	hard, solid
dyabudiyabu	soft
badhardbadhard	rough
dyurdudyurdu	smooth
dhilgindhilgin	sharp pointed
yirabayi, yiravaya	sharp edged (yira 'tooth')
mug1	tint
manbirbayi	airy
murgamurraga	clear (of water)
gurrbiny	bere
guliginy	old
galamugirri	new, recent
gadya	rotten
yidibadya	sweet, tasty
nuguwanahn wimbai	sweet (?)
dhayilabana (a verb, present tense ?)	sweet (KF)
garri-garni, garni	bitter, sour
10.7.4 Adjectives referring to living things	

See 10.10.7 for items not found here.

Old	gayerra	10.7.5 Miscellaneous adjectives
young	nhan-ga, han-jerhan-ga	good
alive	dhuward, (also dhuwa, 'to be alive')	migany, migany migany, miganybarri, (widha, 'fat', noun)
fat	widthibining or widthibilany, widthila (?)	wandy, wandya, murgamurrga
chin	nubarabourbaro	warrgu, wandy (in the sense 'I don't like it', KF)
thin, bony	bae-gebara	wandy
strong	ngangun-garri, gurrgi wudya (MT)	wandy
weak	budii (KF), gurrgi gardabarri	warrgu
	(literally 'not strong') (MT), bulird (?)	garrahyayi, yidalbi (?)
		(garrahy, noun, 'noise', garrahy yama, dha barda, verbs, 'to be noisy')

### 10.9.1 Adverbs of place

quiet	biga
fast	wan-gadi
slow	gundyu, nhingga, rhinggaarru,
shut	guya-guya (?)
empty	guéhu, mudiyimudyi (of eyes)
light (not dark)	(to be) shut, to (be) open, see 10.10.8)
dark	yadha
other	gunda
different	binubinu
10.8 Numbers and Quantities	
wanggara	one
bulardu	two
wudya	many, a lot
guáhu	a lot
munga	a lot
gurru	whole, all
ngayila	any
yunany	nothing, none
gurdury	on one's own
gurdurygurdury	separately
mumba	all, together
bidhu, binu	another
10.9.2 Adverbs of time	
guli	a long time ago, for a long time
gulirri, gulira	a while ago, before, yesterday
gulibambany, guliambany	for a long time
bidyiwigu	tomorrow, yesterday
mugaru	tomorrow, yesterday
bugardu	this evening
gala	now
niyila	now, today
gabu, gabugadhi, gabuwadhi, gabuwali	later
gadyugayi	later on (Kf)
gadyarda, gadyardagadhi, ganyardu	directly
wangu	usually, every time
wandu	often
yuguru	still (examples in 7.4.4)
wuli	already

### 10.9. Adverbs and Particles

Examples of the use of many of the adverbs given below will be found in the chapter on adverbs. Examples f adverbs listed in 10.9.1 are in 7.1, 10.9.2 in 7.2, 0.9.3 in 7.3, 10.9.4 in 7.4, 10.9.5 in 7.5 and 7.6, 0.9.6 in 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9.

### 10.9.3 Directional adverbs

wugu	to here, this way
gundu	away, from here, (possibly sometimes 'along')
gurra	back

### 10.9.4 Adverbs of manner

wandyā	well
Warrgu	badly
wan-gadi	hard, vigorously, intensely
wala	well, thoroughly
bandha	(1)
manban	tight (in manban mara 'to hold tight')
gurru	all
wayarra	finished, enough
mana	only
yugu	just, for nothing
yarrba	accidentally, unintentionally
yamburu	the same
yangganga	this way, thus, like this
(yinda yangganga yama	
you this way do	Do it this way!

### (1) The only examples of bandha are the sentence

ngaya	nbunguna	manga	bandha	gunila
I	him	ear	? hit-ed	

'I smashed him on the ear'.

and the phrase

bandha garala

? kick-ed

'Kicked and knocked down'.

### 10.9.5 Potential and negative adverbs

bulaarra	maybe
marri	can (?)
garda, gardaru, gardabarri, gardsabadi	not
dhirra	can't
ngaru	nearly
bugany	try

### 10.9.6 Other adverbs and particles

yandyā, yandyan	really, indeed, linkum
yambird	oneself, of one's own accord,
ngunbarany	on one's own
dhagu	let
ngunbarany	parted

The last is tentatively identified as an adverb. It is said to mean 'parted', i.e. 'separated' and the only example was given by Jack Fraser as a translation of the sentence 'I stopped those two from fighting', as follows:

ygaya ngunbarany , parted, gunimiyila, fighting.  
I parted hit-o.a.-was

yuwu	yes
garada	no

### 10.10 Verbs

As well as simple verb stems, a number of two word verb phrases are included below. In almost all of these cases the first word is a noun or adverb and the second a verb, e.g. manga gudha 'to forget', literally 'ear to be shut'; dhun-gu

wambana 'to be mad', literally 'head to become lost'. One exception is wula garrga 'to put out (a fire)', where wula is a verb stem but does not seem to be inflected when used in this phrase. warrgurrana binda 'to worry' seems to be composed of the present tense form of a verb plus a verb stem which can be inflected.

The verbs in each group except 10.10.7 and 10.10.9 are given in alphabetical order of the English equivalents.

#### 10.10.1 Verbs of going and moving

bring	wugu, wadyi
buck (as a horse)	dhumbba
chase	wunga
climb	waga
come	wadya (usually wugu wadya), burrba, gurrrba
come back	gurra wugu wadya, gurra burrba,
crawl	gurra gurrrba
creep	bagurda
dance	muyi
disappear	warra, babardi 'to dance by standing on one foot and stamping with the other'
enter	bardi (?), gunda yurdgayi (?)
fall	dhaga
fly	warda, balga (of rain)
follow	wagani (?), bura (?)
get down	bandi, yala wungga, wandima (?)
get up	dhugurda
go	bura
go across	wadya (some informants - the Gaddas and the Geebungas - use wagani, normally 'to run')
go away	gundhu
	gundu wadya, burra

go in	dhaga	go up	bura
hop	dhumba	hunt	waba
jump	dhumba	jump up	buran-ga
leave (transitive)	yidha		
look for			
make go away	midyu, midyurra (?), ngudyurra		
move (transitive)	burrama (1)		
play	burralma		
ride	walbana		
run			
run away			
run away with			
shift (camp)	dhungga		
sneak up			
swim			
take (with one)			
track			
turn around			
walk			
walk about			

#### 10.10.2 Verbs of staying still and posture

be bogged	yiba
bend over	gubu dhana
curl up	murruruwaga
hang (intr.), be hanging	walbana, yambirda (KF)
camp	wudayayi
hide (intr.)	dhuibana
keep quiet	biga binda

(1) For example:

yarrgangu	nguma	biba	gundu	burramala
wind-o <sub>o</sub>	that-obj	paper	away	go-make-ed

'The wind blew the paper away.'

kneel	barngurda, mugumbirra
dhana (cf. mugu 'knee')	wudiyayi, wuna
lie	wudiyayi, wuna
live	binda
perch	walbana
sit	binda
sit (not on the ground, e.g. in a tree)	walbana
squat	yan-gard dhana
stand	dhana
stay	binda
stoop	gubu dhana
wait	yiba

#### 10.10.3 Verbs of vocalising and thought

annoy	dhurri, warrgu bindanima
ask	ngundharda
bark	wan-gull
call (someone something)	ngalgama
call out	gangga
cry	barri, badi
discuss	dhadya
dream	bigiyi, (also bigiyi, noun, 'dream')
forget	manga gudha, wambalma
growl	dhawul waga
keep quiet	biga binda
know	ngudya
laugh	yadhi
learn	yimba
lie, tell a lie	bugi (?), gadhi
like	yidyma
make a noise	dhaa barda
make someone cry	barrima, barrilma
make someone laugh	yadhima

pester, persist in asking	dhurri
remember	wari badhi
rouse on	dhige
say	ngalga
scold	dhige
send (a message)	dhabi
sing	bayi
sing out	gangga
speak	ngalga
stop talking	dhalanji wana (?), biga barda
sulk	wambana (?), balgi binda
talk	ngalga
talk about	dhadya
tell	dhurri
tell a lie	gadhi, bugi (?)
think	yimbali (MF), yimba
think about	wari wiyi, wari badhi, wayi bindi
understand	yimba, yimbana (KF)
worry	wari badhi, warrgurrana binda

#### 10.10.4 Verbs of handling

carry	bundha
catch	mare
clip up (water)	chun-ga
drop	wardama, wardalma
gather	gani, baguma
get	mara, gani
give	gumba (1)
handcuff	marioa maga
heap up	munga dhamma

(1) This verb can take two objects; see the example in 3.3. This does not apply to gumbama 'to lend'.

hide (trans.)	dhulba
hold	mara
keep	bindi
lend	gumbana
let go	wandha (something not alive, KF)
lift	dhabi (something alive, KF)
pile up	wagalma
pour	munga dhamma
pull	galgu, barruma (?)
push	yarri, dhanggu (?)
put down	dhaba
put in	yidha
roll	dhaga (?)
steal	gambindayarra (?)
take	gundha
take away	mara, wadyi
turn over	gum-ga
10.10.5 Verbs of violence and damage	
belt	chinggama
bend	barruma (?)
break	gunma, bambagunma (both trans.)
bump	bamba (intr.) (or this may mean 'broken')
burn	gundhu (?)
chop	guba, ngandha
cut	bandyu
drop	babi
drawn	wardama, wardalma
fight	gawabinda
fight with boomerangs	gunimi, dhinggami (both reciprocal forms)
fight with spears	wangalama (?)
	bagangama (?)

hit	gumi, dhingga
hit by throwing	gnaya
hurt	gumi
kick	gars, baba (?)
kill (= hit, bite, spear etc., depending on the method)	kill ( = hit, bite, spear etc., depending on the method)
knock over	wardama, wardalma
pitch	nilinga
spear	haba
spill	charelama
split	badhi bandya
stab	baba
step on	gara
strain	champhima
thrust	dhingga
throw (an object)	bidyu
throw (a liquid)	ngadya (KF)
throw (a living creature)	bidyu (?) (1)
twist	gembidina
wrench	gambidina
wrestle	dhawabilma
	budvant (a reciprocal, budyu + mi) (also gumi nybilmany, noun (?), 'wrestling')
	gyerbina, gyerpelina
(1) yerraman dhinala, ngadyuna ngulgula	
horse bucked, me thrown	
(2) ngadynna yanya gyerbinalma	
me wind con-nake-ed	
[He] knocked the wind out of me, guma gurralimala	
blood cone-mak-ed	[it] made [him] bleed.

## 10.10.6 Verbs of working

bathe, have a bath	gamu dhumba
bury	buguma
care for	bindi
chip	ban-ga
cook	wadhu, gubanyma
cover	gambat��
dig	baga
do	yama, nama
erect	dhaarba
extinguish (fire)	wulama, wula garrga (MT)
grind	buba
hang up (trans.)	walbama, wandyima (JF)
heap up	munga dhamma
light (fire)	ngandhalma, bandyilma, madya (?)
look after	bindi
look for	nidyu, mudyarra (?), ngudyurra
make	yama, nama
make (e.g. a boomerang) wanyma, wanymama (?)	
make (e.g. a humpy)	dhaarba
make (a nest)	wagalma
mark	nimayi (?)
paint	gurr�� (KF), nambali (reflexive form of namba, 'to rub') (?)
pile up	munga dhamma
plane	vidbi (?)
pour	galgi, barruma (?)
prise out	galba (KF)
put out (fire)	wulama, wula garrga (MT)
rub	buba, namba
set alight (e.g. grass)	ngubardi, yugurdi, rugurdi (?)
show	ngubadyma, ngurrugurrima
show how	

stick (something to something) dhaarra

wash

warrgi yama, warrgi name

wrap oneself

gambali (reflexive)

## 10.10.7 Body functions and states

These verbs are given in the following order:  
 verbs of sensing; verbs of eating and breathing;  
 verbs connected with sleep; birth and death; health  
 and physical condition; fear and emotion; mis-  
 cellaneous (three verbs that do not seem to fit  
 into any of the other groups).

see, look, watch	naga
peep, look from cover	mindyu
hear, listen	yimba
smell	ngudha
taste	(yidi, noun, 'smell')
eat, drink	bandyama (?)
bite	badha
suck	dhundyi or dhundyu
swallow	gandy��
be full	mandha waga
shut (mouth)	gudhama
breathe	buyu munugu
blow	bulbu
shut (eyes)	gudhama, mudyi dhaga (?)
sleep	wuga wudiyai, wungard wudiyai
snore	bungurr dhama
wake up (intr.)	bura
wake (trans.)	dhiwa, buralma
be born	warda (?)
give birth, have (a baby), lay (egg)	nganiha
be alive	chuwa

grow  
die  
be sick  
be mad  
be lame  
get better  
cough

yungguna, waga (of grass)

wula  
bundy'a

dhuŋ-gu wambana  
guga

migany barda

ngan-gan gunda (KF)  
ngan-gan gunna (?)

ngan-gan gundhu (MT)  
mumyandyana (JF)

bugurda (?), bugarda (?)

dhanali

galari, gunggari (both JF)

baga

shake, shiver  
banbana

warrgurra

be tired, be winded bumal ganggurra  
be winded buyu wula

be frightened dhungga

frighten dhungadima

be happy niŋi

be jealous ngun-ga, muwu dhana

sulk balgi binda, wambana (?)

excrete (urine, faeces) dhadha

tickle yigima, yigilma

kiss munu rgunda

be wet

blow (of wind)

dirty (e.g. to dirty the water)

fall (of rain)

get hot (e.g. water in billy)

get low (e.g. water in waterhole)

give light wula

go out (of fire)

grow (of grass)

lie (of liquid)

run (" "

shine (as a fire)

shine (as glass)

spit (of rain)

stick (intrans.)

waga

gadyuna

bunda

bandha

mirdili

budhari (MT)

dharrana

#### 10.10.9 To be and to become

The closest approximation to the English verb 'to be' in Bidyara-Gungabula is wiyi. However, binda, normally translated as 'to sit', means 'to be' in the sense of 'to stay', 'to be living' and in phrases like biga binda 'to be quiet' and warrgu bindanima 'to annoy'. Another example is:

mardi yurdil wudyabayi bindana

man meat much-having sit-s

'That man's got plenty of meat.'

The use of wiyi is illustrated by the following examples:

ngaya ngarugu wudya gunimsala, ngaya walbara  
I kangaroo many kill-plur-was, I young man

be slippery dhurduli

be warm or become warm bungard barda (?)

nhayi	yinda	ngundhurru	wiyina	
name	you	who	be-s	'What's your name?'
coal	that	fire	fire	be-s
				'That coal's red hot.'
gandu	ngungu	buri	buri	wiyina
child	yubalunyanda	wiyila		
fish	big	be-ed	small	'How big was the fish?'
				It also occurs in the phrase wari wiyi 'to think about'.
barda	'to become'	is used in phrases such as dhaa		
barda	'to be noisy'	and biga barda 'shut up!'	Other examples	include:
ngana	bidiyyigu	gundu	gamu	garda bardala
we(plur)	tomorrow	away	water	not become-ed
				'We'll have to leave this camp, the water's too low.'
nigany	bardangayi	,	gundugu	gananga
good	become-will-sub,	away	go back-will	
				'When it's better I'm going back home.'

Less detail is given in this vocabulary than in the classified vocabulary. Thus, for example, only a simple and imprecise translation of a kinship term is given, and the reader is referred to 10.2.2 for further details.

Derived forms and phrases are given below the corresponding simple form, and set back a little from the margin. Where the simple form is in brackets it has been inferred from the combined forms and its existence has not been confirmed.

10.10.10	Other verbs			
wamba	seem	nagali	(refl.form of naga)	
warrguna	stop(trans.)	wundyima		
wambalma	(1.)	wara		

(1) The only example is:

nhandhi warala dhilinga

dirt -ed eye-in 'There's dirt in my eye.'

Possibly the verb is a mispronunciation of wardala, 'fell'.

## 11. ABORIGINAL - ENGLISH VOCABULARY

### 11.1 Introduction

This vocabulary is given in alphabetical order of the Bidyara-Gungabula words. Since some sounds are represented by a digraph (i.e. two letters, such as dh or ny) this order does not correspond exactly to the order of the letters in the English alphabet. The order is as follows:

a, b, dh, d, dy, rd, g, i, l, m, nh, n, ny, ng, r, rr, u, w, y. (Of these, a, rd, i, r, rr and u are never initial in a word.) Thus, for example, barda will come before baga, badhi before badhira, baru before barri and nhula before nama. The reader is reminded also that ndh is actually a cluster containing nh and dh, and ndy is composed of ny and dy. Therefore, for example, gundhu comes before gunda, mundhayi before muna and bangurda before bandyama.

Following the vocabulary is an index of bound morphemes, showing where each is described.

## 11.2 Vocabulary

baba	to spear, to stab
babardi	to dance by standing on one foot and stamping with the other
babi	to cut
babibabi	pup
Babiligulu	place name, Babbiloora
badha	to bite
badhardbadhard	rough
badhi	split
badhi, see wari	to split
badhuny	black bream
badbirda, barribirda	echidna, porcupine
badi, see barri	
badugu	downstream
badyurd	money
bara	to become
bardba	pademelon
bar'di	to disappear
baga	tree, stick
baga	to dig, to scratch
baganybagany	crooked
bagangama	to fight with spears
Bagarrala	place name, Bogarella
bagu	rock wallaby
bagurda	to crawl
baguma	to gather up
bagura	coolibah
bala	lower leg
balbara	river, creek
balga	forehead
balga	to fall (of rain)
balgi	sulky
balumbalu	native cat
bau'ca	to break (intr.) or broken
bambagunna	to break (trans.)
bambacumba	deaf
bambegunna, see bamba	
barbany	chest
bambi	to be open
bcov'nia	to shine
banbana	see 16, 9, 4, footnote
bandi	to shake, to shiver
bandi	stomach, belly, guts
barbar'ga	butt of tree
barcan	sky
ba' di, dhina	lizard sp.
bandi	bandi
bandi	to track
bandi	kangaroo rat
bar'-a	to chip
bar-i-cabarda	thin, bony
bar-i-gani	sandalwood
ban-ga	louse
barngurda	to kneel
ban'gama	to taste
ben'gyima	to light (fire)
bandi	to chop, see also badhi
barngu'nd	stomach (of animal)
ban'ygalu	old man kangaroo
banggu	stone
banggu wi'dyalarri	mountain
bar'i, barindylila,	
barinu, bayi	elder sister
baru	axe, tomahawk
barro'nda, see badbirda	
barre	sand goanna
barri'u	ankle
barri', badi	to cry
barruna	to pour, to bend

bawurra	red kangaroo
bayi, see bari	
bayi	to sing
bilou	flint stone for grooving boomerang
bidhal	bark, a piece of bark
bidhu	another
Bidyara	language name
bidiyigugu	tomorrow*, (sometimes yesterday)
bidyu	to throw (a thing)
biga	quiet, quietly
bigi	lips, top lip
bigiyi	dream, to dream
bimburd	red ochre
bindhal	clever
bindhil	itch
binangala	frill-necked lizard or jacky lizard
binda	to sit, to stay, to live, see also warrgu
bindanima, see warrgu	to keep, to look after
bindi	
bindi, see wayi	
binduny	fingernail
binu	stranger, other
binubunu	different
biran	waist strap to hold boomerang
Biran-gabinda	personal name, Bob Martin
birrama	red-backed wallaby or grass rat
Birrbirin	place name, Cungelella
birrilburru	kite hawk
biya	bark, piece of bark to make humpy, humpy
biyaga	tobacco
biyalbiyal	soldier bird
buba	back of head (or possibly back of neck)
buba	to rub, to grind

bubany	carney, bearded dragon
bubara	light (in weight)
bubirdi	whirlwind
budha	ashes
budha, budhal	flour
budhabudha	white
budhal, see budha	
budhanbil	fly
budhany, budhuny	the Milky Way
budharf	mosquito
budhil	to spit (rain)
budhu	weak
budhuny, see budhany	star
budhurra	river sand
Budhurradala	place name, Warrego River
budyi	dry
budyu	bag
budyu	to throw (a person)
budyumi	to wrestle
burdi	fire, firewood
bugarda, bugurda	to swell
bugardu	this evening
bugany	try (see 7.6)
bugara	swamp wallaby
bugi	to tell a lie
bugili	crayfish
bugurda, see bugarda	coolibah
bugulu	to bury
buguma	they two
bulala	two
bulardu	on each side, on both sides
bulambarru	
bulbu	to blow
bulgurd	shallow
bulguru	mouse

bulird	sp. of nocturnal bird
bulird	weak
bulimba	right (side)
bulimbagarri	on the right
bulubura	blowfly
bunal ganggurra	to be tired, to be winded
bumba	coolamon, basin
bumbad	firewood
bumbara	brown snake
bumbira	social division (see 10.2.3)
bundha	to carry
bundhi	anus
(burdhu)	
bundhuriyila	nephew
bundhugandila	niece
bunarrga	apple gum
bunbardbunbard	thin
bunda	to run (of liquid)
bundi	waddy
bundubundu	small intestine
bun-gany	plain turkey
bundya	to be sick
(bundya)	
bundyamila, bundyagandila	mother-in-law
bundyayila	mother-in-law's brother
bunga	penis
bunga	ashes
bungard	hungry
bungard barda	to become warm (?)
bunggud (?)	thirsty
bunggurr, bunggurriy	snore
bunggurr dhana	to snore
bura	to go up, to get up
buralma, burama	to lift, to wake(trans.)
buran-ga	to jump up
burrum	lake, lagoon
burra	to go away
burrama	to make (someone) go away
Burrandala	place name, Burenda
burrrba	to come, see also dhurdu
burrgu	back
burrgu	shield
burrgul	daughter
buju	niece
buju munggu	blackberry
buju wula	butterfly
Buyubayi	summer, hot weather, hot, sun
buwarri	quarrion (bird)
buya	breath
buyu	to breathe
buyu wula	to be winded
	place name, waterhole in Warrinilla
dhaa	mouth, word, language, message
dhaalmandu	the sea, when the tide is coming in
dhaba	to push
dhabi	to send (message), to let go (something alive)
dhadha	to excrete (urine, faeces)
dhadya	to talk about, to discuss
dhaga	to enter, to put in(?)
dhagany	sand goanna
dhagu	let (see 7.9)
dhagu, dhagundyila, dhagunu	elder brother
dhala	leaf, bushy growth
dhala	expert
dhalany	tongue, first trickle of flowing water
dhalany wana	to stop talking

dhambun	witchetty grub, from coolibah
dhami	fat
dhana	they (plural)
dhana	to stand, to be open (of eye, mouth), see also bungurr, gubu mugumbirra, muwu
dhanalii, see guma	
dhanalma	to spill
dhanma, dhanmama	to stand (something) up, see also munga
dhanamany	place name, hill on Warrinilla
dhanbardhhanbard	brown (or possibly grey)
dhan-garri	knife
dhan-giny	sinew
dhan-gun	river red gum
dhamma, see dhana	greedy
dhandya	spear
dhandyala	bauhinia (tree)
dhangird	tears (in the eye)
dhangil	wild orange (smooth skinned species)
dhang'u	to pull
dhangu	bilby (animal)
dhangurd	possum
dhara	thigh, trunk of tree, gully
(dharra)	
dharrama	to stick (trans.)
dharrana	to stick (intr.)
dhaarba	to construct
dharrbany	quandong (tree)
dharrbilma	to wrench, to strain
dharrbiny, dharrbinya	penis
dhaarrga	gap
dhaarrii	sinew, string
dhaarudyal, dhaarudyra	trousers

dhawul	pugnacious, bad tempered
dhawul waga	to growl
dhawulgarrri	savage, cheeky, a good fighter
dhayilabana	sweet
dhayilgarra	tired, lazy
dhayirmayilla	distant relation
dhiba	liver
dhibiliny	bird (general ?), soldier bird
dhidhany	koala
dhiga	to scold
dhigara	bay (horse)
dhigarri	white cockatoo
dhiguru	lightning
dhilala	galah
(dhilgi)	
dhilgiyila	son
dhilgigan, dhilgivandila, dhilgandila	daughter
dhili	eye
dhilgandila, see (dhilgi)	
dhimbany	vagina
dhina	foot, track of foot, see also bandi
dhin-gan	grass stubble
dhingga	hot weather
dhingga	to hit
dhinggama	to belt, to thrash
dhirra	can't
dhirraguda	happy family (bird)
Dhirridi, Dhirridilayi	personal name, Kruger Fraser
dhiwa	to wake up (trans.), to shift(camp)
dhudhard	urine
dhudhu	middle
dhurdu	sun, daytime
dhurdu burrbala	east
dhurdu wardana	west

dhurduli	to be slippery
dhuga	smoke
dhugaburru	fog with rain
dhuwu	testicles
dhugurda	to get down
dhulba	to hide (trans.)
dhulbana	to hide (intr.)
dhulgard	top
dhulgarda	log
dhuliny	mussel
dhulu	anus
dhumba	to jump, to buck (horse), to hop, see also gamu
dhundha	wet, to be wet
dhundhu	blue-tongue lizard
dhunbul	dust
Dhundigunindyayi	place name, mountain alongside Purbrook
dhun-ga	spider
dhun-ga	to dip up (water)
dhun-gu	head
dhun-gu marany	mad
dhun-gu wambana	to be mad
dhun-gul	straight
dhurman	mud
dhundyi, dhundyu	to suck
dhungga	to be frightened, to run away
dhunggadima	to frighten
dhunggardi	to run away with
dhuru	arm
dhurra	drunk
dhurranga	to tell
dhurri	to annoy, to pester, to persist in asking
dhurrundhurrum	straight
dhuwa	to be alive
dhward	alive

dhuwan	shirt
dhuwana	son (?)
dhuwandila	niece
dhuwaniyila	nephew
daganygurany	leatherhead (bird)
diburrala	mutton bird
dirran	tea
dubun-giya	swallow (bird)
dyabudiyabu	soft
dyidiyiba, dyidiyibara	son
dyigadyiga, dyiridyiri	willy wagtail (bird)
dyurdudyurd	smooth
dyumbu, dyumbul	narrow
dyunyarr	sugar
gaba	honey
gabard	armpit
gaban-gudhud	place name, waterhole on Consuelo
gabi	to set alight
gabi, gabugadhi, gabuwalli	later, in a while, for a while
gabuwadhi, gabuwalli	
gabuga	hat
gabul	carpet snake
gabuny	egg, brains
gabuwali, see gabu	
gadha	hair (of head)
gadhi	to tell a lie
gadhirdi	personal name, Les Lawton
gadhu	meat ant
gadya	rotten

gadyarda, gadyardagadhi	directly (time)	gamu garrigarri	rum
gadyugayi	later on	gana	to go back, to come back
gadyuna	to lie (of water)	gana	yamstick
garda	no, not, nothing	ganarda	clear (of ground or water)
gardabarri, gardabadi	no, not, none	ganany	on the bottom, underneath
gardaru	not	garbarany, garbarinayan, see ganbayi	garbarany, garbarinayan, see ganbayi
gardi	yellowbelly (fish)	ganbayi	social division, see 10.2.3
gardiya	sand	ganbarany	plural of ganbayi
gaga	half way	ganbarinayan	feminine plural of ganbayi
gagarda	moon, month	ganbayigan	feminine of ganbayi
gaganybilany	place name, Hornet Bank	gandu	child
gagubarra	kookaburra	gandu	gambigambi, girl
gaguda	catfish	gandu	gambiyambi, girl
gagul	crane, heron	gandu mardimardi	boy
gala	now	gandumu	children
galamuginy	recent, new	gan-gal	feather
galari	to vomit	gan-garri, gan-gayi	knife (for fighting)
galba	to prise out	Gan-garri	place name, Planet Downs
galgany	large intestine	gani	to get, to gather
galgi	to pour	ganigani	in front
gambadi, gambarri	a long way away	ganyardu	directly (time)
(gamba)		gandyra	to swallow
gambali	to wrap oneself (reflexive)	gandyibil	policeman
gambana	to cover (trans.)	gangany, gangandyila	mother's brother
gambi	woman	gangga	to call out, to sing out
gambigambi, gambiyambi	female, see gandu	ganggalbiny	whiptail wallaby
(gambi)		gangguny	blue crane <u>or</u> brolga
gambirda	to turn around, to go around,	ganggurra, see bunal	
gambirdma	to circle	gangu	empty
gambindyarra	to twist	gara	centipede
Gambil	personal name (see 10.2.1, first footnote)	gara	to step on, to kick
gami	mother's mother	garabarrga	pied currawong (bird)
gamu	water, rain	garu, garumaran, garumarda, gayu	small
gamu dhumba	to bathe, to have a bath	garmany	noise
		garranty yama	to be noisy

garraanybayi	noisy	(gudhi)
garraanygarrany	lively	Gudhibilanya
garrga	hip	place name, Deep Dale, on Meteor Downs
garrgany	chicken hawk	gudhigudhi
garrigarri	sour, bitter, see also gamu	gudhirri
garrun	sour, bitter	gudhu, see manga
gawa		gudhu
gawabinda		a lot
gawu, see guwa		maggot, blowfly
gawila	young man who has been through a certain grade of initiation	guduru
Gawumbadhala	place name, ridge between Warrego and Nive Rivers	gudyu
gawun	to drown	gudyu, gudyugudyu
gayarra	throat	short
gayu, see garu	to drown	gurdibagal, gurdibala
gayurdilayi	dress	deep
guba	old	Gurdumu
gubala	personal name, Teaser Fraser	place name, Nive Downs or Nive outstation
gubana	to burn	alone, on one's own
gubanyma	ripe	separately
guba, gubaguba	to get hot	bark from elbow of tree
gubu	grey	guga
gubu dhana	bent	guga
guburu	to bend, to stoop	gugada
guburany, see guburu	gidgea (tree)	gugubara
guburu	social division, see 10.2.3	gugubiny
guburany	plural of guburu	(guguyay)
guburugan	feminine of guburu	gugunyandila
gudha	to be shut, see also manga	gugundyila
gudhana	to shut (mouth, eyes)	gugurin (?)
gudhala		guguru
gudhu, see manga		gulagi
gudhala	eaglehawk	gulbari, gulbayi
gudhana, see gudha		Gulbindu
Gudhi	place name, Hoganthulla	personal name, George Solomon
		curlow (bird)
		magpie, butcher bird
		before, a long time ago, for a long time
		emu
		for a long time
		old
		a while ago, before, yesterday
		species of pigeon

Guludhagany	Place name, Purbrook
guma	blood
guma dhanali	to bleed
gumba	to give
gumbama	to lend
gumbara	ironbark
gumbina	brown hawk
gumbirnybirrany	dingo
gundha	wrestling
gundhandyala, gundhanyala	thief
gurduhu	to go across, to bump, see also ngan-gan
guna	stomach, faeces
gunabarduny	pregnant
gunayi	plain (geographical feature)
gunda	dark, nighttime
gunda, see ngan-gan	
gunda yurdayi	to disappear
gundi	house
gundu	away, from here
gun-ga	raw, unripe, green
gun-gayila	husband, brother-in-law
guni	to hit, to kill
gunirdagunirda	murderer
gunma	to break, to hurt, see also bamba, ngan-gan
gumarrri	shield
gumybird	sweat
gundyilgiya	hornet
gundyu	slow
gundyul	mate, friend
Gungabula	language name
gungangany	bucket, tin
gunggari	to vomit
gunggidala	black cockatoo
gunggulgunggul	bucket, tin
gunggumy	throat (?)
gungu	fat
gurany	Moreton Bay ash (tree)
guridi	tiger snake
guridyal	peewee, mudlark
gurra	back, behind
gurragu	the sea, when tide is going out
gurrangandu	behind
gurrrba	to come
gurrbalima, gurrbalma,	see 10.10.5, second footnote
gurrbiny	bare, bald
gurrga	neck
gurrga	to paint
gurrgan, gurrgandharri, gurrganbarri	long, tall, steep
gurrgi wudya	strong
gurrgila	social division, see 10.2.3
gurrgilagan	feminine of gurrgila
gurrgilany	plural of gurrgila
gurrgurr	mopoke (bird)
gurri	blanket, swag
gurrigurri	clothes, rag
gurru	all, completely
guwa, gawu (?)	yam
guwardu	crab
guwu	nose, face
guyardiyyila	wife, sister-in-law
guyu	fish
maadha, madha	king, see 10.2.1, second footnote
madhamu	death adder
madhan	bindieye (prickly grass seed)
Madhandyala	place name, ridge east of Babbiloora
madhangala	lightning

madya	to light (fire) (?)
madyambiny	bat
madyi	match
marda	hand, see also nhilin
mardi	to handcuff
marda mega	policeman
marda magarda	Aboriginal person, man
mardimardi	old man
maga, see marta	male, see gandu
magarnamagara	policeman
magau	gum
magula	social division, see 10.2.3
magungau	mother's mother
mala	wing
malard	box tree
malbara	species of lizard, probably wood adder
malu	shade
namalu, nemaru	sp. of pigeon, possibly squatter pigeon
mambiru	dirt, mess
manhu	song, corroboree
manbu warra	to dance
mandha	tucker, (vegetable food)
mandha	full (in the stomach)
mandha waga	to be full
mandhi	uncle
mana	only
manarun	duck
menban	tight
manbar mega	to hold tight
mani	mcney
mannamu	sandalwood (?)
manga	ear
manga gudha	to forget
manga gudhu	leaf
mangala	sandhill
manggi	sheep
mangu	wrist
Mangilbagalindya	personal name, Jessie Turner
mara	to catch, to get, to pick up, to take, to hold
maraddha	to take away (?)
mara, marandyila	distant relation
marany, see dhun-gu	
marra	a little, a bit
marrara	cloud
marrgan	girl, young woman
marrgin	rifle
marri	might, see 7.5
maya	type of corroboree
mayarra, mayarragan	woman
mayi	midhard
midhamidha	black
mirdili	to shine (as glass)
milgan	frost, ice
milgan, milgan gurrgandharri	tucker, fruit
milgaran	eyebrow
milgan, milgan, milgan gurrgandharri	cliff
milgird	bank (of river)
mimi, mimindyila	charcoal
minhaminha, minamina	father's mother
minda, mindaminda	flat
min-ga	edge, bank
miru	to pinch
(miya)	to peep, to look from cover
Miyardi	fingernail
Miyardi	Personal name, an uncle of George Solomon
miyagandila	son's daughter
miyayila	son's son, father's father

mudha	waddy
mudu	buttocks or anus (?)
mudyal	ear (of animal)
mudyi	
mudyi ahaga	to shut (eyes)
mudyimudyi	shut (of eyes)
murdur	greenhead ant
Murdumbayi	place name, Booroonda
mugamuga	blind
mugadi, (mugarri)	hailstone
(mugadibayi), mugarrabayi	hailstorm
mugaru	tomorrow, (sometimes 'yesterday')
mugi	blunt
mugu	knee
mugumbirra dhana	to kneel
mula	very cold, frosty
mulburrying	tail
mulgu	perch (fish)
muluny	mean, greedy
mumba	together, all
numird	kidney
Mundhayi	personal name, Jimmy Lawton
muna	bee
munda	snake
mundangarra	rainbow, mythical rainbow
Mundu(r)a, Mundu(r)amala	personal name, Jack Fraser
munngu	thunder
munngubayi	storm
munu	bottom lip
munu ngunda	to kiss
mundya	body hair
munymandyana	to fester, to swell
munga	mob, a lot
munga dharma	to heap up, to pile up
mungu	hill
munggu, see buyu	
muranyan	old woman
murragamurrga	good, clear (of water)
murru	nullanulla
(murru)	
	murrumurruru
	round
murrwaga	to curl up
Murrubu	place name, Carnarvon
murrumuru	see murru
murrin, murruna	shingleback lizard
murrwaga, see murru	
muwu	jealous
muwu dhana	to be jealous
muyri	to sneak (up), to creep
nhandhi	ground, dirt
nhan-ga, nhan-ganhanga	young
nhaninny	pine tree
nhayi	name
nhayillu, gandu nhayillu	baby (not yet named)
nhilin marda, marda nhilin	little finger
nhimany	little black ant
nhimun	fly
nhingga, nhinggarru	slowly
nhula	he
nhumba	saliva, spittle
nhungu	his
naga	to see, to look, to watch
nagali	to seem
nama	to do (cf. yama), see also warngi
namba	to rub
nambali	to paint (reflexive?)

nayibu	knife	ngan-gan	nasal mucus, a cold
nidyu	to look for	ngan-gan	gundhu, to cough
nigi	happy, to be happy	ngan-gan	gunda, gumma
niliny	white ant	ngan-gany	over
nimayi	to mark	ngani	what ?
nindyiman	turtle	nganimu, nganimugu	why ?
niyila	here, now, today	nganimurra	how many ?
nudyurrara	to look for	Ngandyarragal	personal name, Ben Fraser
mugurdì(?)	to show	ngangun-garri	strong
nugul	nose	ngaragu	on top, upstream
numan	skin	ngaru	nearly
		ngarrgiya	doe possum
		ngarrgu	grey kangaroo
		ngayila	any
	(nguba)	ngubardi	to show
		ngubadyma	to show (how)
ngagu	my	ngudha	to smell (trans.)
ngadyara	bat	ngudya	to know, to understand
ngalga	bone	ngudyurrara	to look for
ngalgama	to talk, to speak, to say	ngurdun	tears (when not in the eye)
ngalgi	to call (someone something)	nguman	hide, skin
ngali	cheek	ngundharda	to ask
ngamany	we two	ngundhany	shrimp
ngamun	tucker, bread, damper	ngundhungu	see ngundhurru
ngandha	breast	ngundhurru	who ?
ngandhan	to give birth, to have (a baby),	ngunda	whose ?
ngandhalma	to lay (an egg)	ngunda	see munu
ngandhany	to burn (intr.)	ngunbarany	Parted (see 10.9.6)
ngandhang	flame, blaze	ngunbirda	to swim
ngandhuru	to light (fire)	ngun-ga	jealous, to be jealous
ngandhurugu	chin	ngun-gany, ngun-gändyala	jealous person
ngana	how ?	nguninga	there
ngan-gard	who ?	ngunggulu	stick

ngungungy	nasal mucus
ngungu	that, there
nguna	that (object)
ngungundyu	there
ngura	shadow
ngurra, ngurran	dog
ngurrngurra	to show (how)
ngurru	"little cot"
nguwali	swarm of bees
nguwandhi	sweet

waga	to climb, to go up, to rise (of sun), to grow (of grass), see also dhawul, mandha
wagalma	to lift, to make (a nest) (only with some informants)
wagani	place name, lake on Marrinilla
Waganwagan	nest
wagu	well, thoroughly
wagurd	big eater
wala	hard, solid, strong
walali	
(walba)	
walbama	to hang (trans.)
walbana	to hang (intr.), to ride (a horse) to sit (not on the ground), to per-
walbara	young man
walbu	lime tree
walgun	mouse
Walgun	personal name, Beatie Thompson
walgundhara	mouse
waliny	type of corroboree
wamany	sulky (used of a child)
wamba, wambawamba	deaf
wamba	to be lost
wambalma	to lose, to forget
wambard, wambardwambard	mad
wambana	to sulk, see also dhun-gu
wandha	to let go (something not alive)
wana, see dhalany	
wandima	to track
wandu	often
wan-ga	chest
wan-gadi	hard, vigorously, fast
wan-guli	to bark
wanngu	woman
wandyia	right, true, good, well
wandyima	to hang (trans.)

wandyu	bad, no good
wanyima, wanyama(?)	to make (e.g. a boomerang)
wanyu	every time, usually
wangal	boomerang
wangalama	to fight with boomerangs
wangga, wunggala(?)	wonga pigeon
wanggara	one
wara	(see footnote to 10.10.10)
waragan	crow
waran	root, hip
waran	dry
wari	
wari badhi	to think about, to remember,
	to worry
	to think about
waruny	black goanna
warra	to play, to dance, see also mambu
warraan	brush-tail wallaby
warraa	next to, close, alongside
Warrbayi	place name, Old Augathella
warrgi	wash
	warrgi yama, warrgi nama to wash
warrgu	bad, to be bad
	to annoy
warrgu bindanima	to dirty (water), to hinder
warrguma	to be tired, to be bad
warrgurra	
	warrgurrana binda to worry
waya	scrub wallaby
wayarra	enough, finished
wayi bindi	to think about
widha	fat (noun)
widhibiliny, widhibilany, widhila	fat (adj.)
widhany	stranger
widhiny	a sore
widhu	white man
widi	tripe (?)
wirdiny, see wirring	
wilbird	flycatcher (species of lizard)
wina	fish
win-gal	shoulder
windyardu	bird, probably any small bird
wirral	myall (tree)
wirral, see nguwandhi	
wirrgi	stick
wirrgu	on one's side
wirrgi	heavy
wiyi	to be, see also wari
wubin	cave
wubin	opium
wudhun	grass
wudhurnu	social division, see 10.2.3
wudya	a lot many, see also gurrgi
wudyabbarri	big, see also banggu
wudyala	bandicoot
wudyayi	to lie down, to camp, see also
wuga, wungard	wuga, wungard
wuga.	asleep
	wuga wudyayi to sleep
wugu	to here, this way
wula	to die, to go out (of fire), to get low (of water in waterhole)
	wula garrga, wulama to put out (fire)
wuli	already
wuna	to lie down
wun-gu	Social division, see 10.2.3
wun-gugan	feminine of wun-gu
wun-gurany	plural of wun-gu
wun-guirinya	feminine plural of wun-gu
wundyma	to stop (trans.)
wunga	to chase, see also yala
wungard	asleep
wungard wudyayi	to sleep

wungalu	kite hawk
wungala, see wangga	yanga, yangayila, yangamu mother, mother's mother
wura	yanganga thus, this way, like this
wurali	yangubala young fellow
wuru	yangurru social division, see 10.2.3
wurru	horse
wurrudhala	horse
	shoulder
	unintentionally, accidentally
yaba, yabangu	yarrba beard
yabanninga	yarrga wind, lungs
yātumbarru	yarri to pull
yabu, yabuwila, yabunu	on the other side bone
yaburdiyila, yabundyila	father, father's brother to wait, to be bogged
yabundayila, see yaba	father's sister navel, dew
yadha	light, daylight to put down, to leave, to let go
yadhi	to laugh to plane
yadhima	to make (someone) laugh to follow
yagal	cold to be cold (?) to smell
yagalirra	behind, back
yala	to follow
yala wunga	plover or swan
yalbabulu	personal name, Eddie Bundle
Yalbi	to do, to cause, to make, see also garrany, warrgi
yama	camp, humpy, place, time (see 10.5.1)
yamba	oneself, on one's own, of one's own accord
yambirda	alike
yamburu	yamunu, yamuru someone, anybody, so-and-so, forgotten
Yamu	someone whose name one has forgotten
tea, tea leaves	tea, tea leaves
yanda	waist
yandi	thumb, big toe
yan-gard	to squat
yan-gard dhana	over here
yandya, yandyan	really, indeed
yanga, yangayila, yangamu	mother, mother's mother
yanganga	thus, this way, like this
yangubala	young fellow
yangurru	social division, see 10.2.3
horse	horse
horse	shoulder
horse	unintentionally, accidentally
horse	beard
horse	wind, lungs
horse	to pull
bone	bone
to wait, to be bogged	to wait, to be bogged
navel, dew	navel, dew
to put down, to leave, to let go	to put down, to leave, to let go
to plane	to plane
tasty, sweet	tasty, sweet
noisy	noisy
to like	to like
wild orange (rough skinned species)	wild orange (rough skinned species)
to tickle	to tickle
wilga (tree)	wilga (tree)
ribs	ribs
to hear, to listen, to understand, to learn, to think	to hear, to listen, to understand, to learn, to think
to think	to think
to understand	to understand
to hang (intr.)	to hang (intr.)
you (singular)	you (singular)
yindinga	which ?
yindinymirra	when ?
yindiya	where ?
yin-giny	swag, bundle
(yini)	(yini)
yingu	over here

## 11.3 Index of Bound Morphemes

yininnga	this way
yiniya	somewhere
yinyiyagi	winding
yingarrirri	English
yinggardi	cave
yira	tooth
yirabayi, yirawidya	sharp (of a blade)
yubalu	you two
yurdai, see gunda	
yurdu	meat
yuga	elbow
yugan	to eat, to drink
yugu	cloud
yuguru	only, just, for no reason
yugurdai	still, yet
yulba	to show
yulgu	money
yulungu	heart
yulumbarru	this, here
yuluninga	on this side
yulura	anywhere
yuna	this way
Yunabayi	you (sing., obj.)
yuna	hole
yunanyi	place name, Augathella
yunu	empty, nothing
yungguna	your (sing.)
yura	to grow
yurana	you (plural)
yurangu	you (sing., obj.)
yurraamu	your (sing.)
yurrqa	rum
yuwu	hole
	yes

a (noun suffix)	4.5	ila	9.3.1
a.(verb suffix)	6.7.1	la	6.4.1
arda	8.1	langa	6.6
an	9.3.2, 9.3.3	lburdi	6.12
any	9.3.3	lburra	6.12
barri	9.3.4	lgarri	6.9.3
bavi	4.12	lgina	6.5.2
bu	8.1	lgu	6.5.1
burdi	6.12	li	3.6, 6.10
burra	6.12	lima	9.4.1
dha (noun suffix)	4.5	lma	9.4.1
dha (emphatic)	8.1	ma	6.9.2, 9.4.1
dharri	9.3.4	malagu	4.11
dhi	8.1	malu	4.11
dhu (noun suffix)	4.4	mbaru	6.12
dhu (verb suffix)	6.3.2	mi	9.5
da	4.5	mugu	4.8
dila	9.3.1	mundi	4.10
du	4.4	ndhi (verb suffix)	6.8
dyilla	9.3.1	ndhi (emphatic)	8.1
rda	6.9.1, 9.3.4	n	9.3.4
rdiyila	9.3.1	na (noun suffix)	4.3
gadhi	4.14	na (verb suffixes)	6.4.2, 9.4.3
gali	8.2	na (emphatic)	8.1
garri	9.3.4	nba	8.1
gan	9.3.2	nda (noun suffix)	4.5
garrba	4.13	nda (emphatic)	8.1
gayi	4.14	ndi	8.1
gu	4.7	ndu	4.4
i	9.4.2	ni	6.3.1
idhi	8.1	ninga	4.6
ida	8.1	ningu	6.7.2

## Appendix I

## Phonemic Status of the Consonants

nu	9.3.1, 9.3.3
ny	9.3.4
nyala	9.3.4
ndyala	9.3.4
ndyarra	6.7.3
ndyila	9.3.1
nyma	9.4.1
nga (noun suffix)	4.5
nga (verb suffix)	6.4.5
ngu (pronoun suffix)	4.9
rany	9.3.3
rnny	9.3.3
ru	9.5
rra	6.3.3, 9.4.3
rriyila	9.3.1
u	4.4, 9.3.1
wadhi	4.14
wali	4.14
wan	9.3.2
wi	6.7.1
widhi	8.1
wila	9.3.1
wru	6.7.1
wula	8.1
ya	6.7.1
yan	6.3.2
yi	3.8, 6.7.1, 6.11
yidhi	8.1
yida	8.1
yila	9.3.1

Most of the consonants are clearly phonemic (see 2.4). The only cases which seem to require further discussion are d, rd, rr, nh and n. We must also consider the possibility that there is a retroflex nasal rn.

Considering first the two apical stops, ð and rd, we find that they are close to being in complementary distribution, i.e. with only a few exceptions ð occurs only in environments where rd does not occur (i.e. word-initial and as the second member of a consonant cluster) and rd occurs only in environments where ð does not occur (intervocally, and as the first member of a consonant cluster, and word final). The exceptions do not form convincing pairs - perhaps the best is wan-gadi 'hard'/babardi 'type of dance'. Perhaps the most convincing evidence so far that there is a phoneme ð is the fact that the existence of the phoneme n cannot be doubted, and no known Australian language has a nasal without having the corresponding stop.

It is even more difficult to find reliable evidence that rr and ð belong to different phonemes; in fact no convincing pairs have yet been found. The range of environments for rr is similar to that for rd. (There is no doubt that they belong to separate phonemes, c.f. for example marra 'a little', marda 'hand'). It is possible that further study will show that rr is an allophone of ð. The distribution may be: [d] word-initial and in the environments i-l (e.g. yidi 'smell'), rrV-V (e.g. Budhurradala 'place name'), n-V (e.g. gundu 'away');

both interchangeably in the environments a-(C)i (e.g. barri, badi 'to cry', badbirda, barbirda 'porcupine', gambarri, gambadi 'far'; however, wan-gadi 'hard, strenuous' is common but wan-garri has not been heard).

[rr] in other intervocalic environments and word final and in V<sub>1</sub>-CV<sub>2</sub> (where V<sub>1</sub> is not a and V<sub>2</sub> not i, e.g. warrgu 'bad') and in i-idi (e.g. Dhirridi 'personal name'; compare the second environment for [d] above).

Another opposition that is not well established

(unless rd or rr belongs to the phoneme d) is that between d and dh. The only contrasts found so far occur in nasal-stop clusters in which the nasals also contrast, e.g. bunda 'to run (of liquid)' / bundha (/bundha/) 'to carry'; banda 'butt of tree' / bandha 'to shine', gundu 'away' / gundhu 'to go across'. However, it is unlikely that the point of articulation of the stop is conditioned by that of the nasal, especially since we have intermorphemic ndh (presumably [ndh]) in words such as gurrgandharri 'long', derived from gurrgan 'long' plus suffix -dharri (whose function is not clear). The writer doubts whether an opposition between [ndh] and [ndh] is possible in a real language.

There is very little evidence that nh is a phoneme, partly because it seems to be very restricted in distribution and partly because it is very difficult to distinguish between [nh] and [n] in the speech of the writer's informants. [nh] clearly exists in nasal-stop clusters but this is no evidence for its phonemic status because it could be conditioned by the following interdental stop (as it seems to be in words like gurrgandharri 'long', dhilgindhilgin 'sharp' and dhurrundhurrun 'straight').

It does not appear to occur intervocally, except possibly in one word, minhaminha 'flat'. Mick Tatten does seem to make a contrast, however, in his pronunciation of the pair nhan-ga 'young' and naga 'to see'. It is hoped that further evidence will be found.

Since [rd] is a fairly frequently occurring phone and is probably phonemic, one would expect to find [rn] in the language. However, only a few very doubtful occurrences have been noted and these seem to be attributable to the speaker's mispronunciation, (e.g. [bimburn] for bimburd) or the hearer's error (e.g. [yurna] for yuna). There are no retroflex nasal-stop clusters.

Appendix II  
Distribution of Phonemes

Table II-1

Distribution of Consonants

Percentage Total Word- Initial Vocalic Cluster- Cluster- Word-  
of: Initial final final final

b	13	19	9	0	29	0
dh	8	13	7	0	8	0
d	3	0.6	2	0.3	13	2?
dy	3	0.7	4	0.6	9	0
rd	4	0	7	2	0	14
g	17	22	13	0	34	0
Stops	46	55	42	3	94	16
m	8	12	6	12	10	0
nh	2	1 1/2	0	8	0	0
n	8	1 1/2	7	26	0	28
ny	4	0	1	13	0	37
ng	5	6	4	11	1	0
Nasals	27	21	17	70	11	66
l	7	0	13	16	0	16
rr	5	0	10	12	0	2
w	5	13	3	0	0.3	0
r	3	0	8	0	0	0
y	6	10	7	0	0	0
Total Number (Approx)	2700	850	950	350	350	170

The following is based on counts made on a vocabulary of about 850 words, all free morphemes. Further study of the phonology cannot be expected to lead to significant changes in the figures except in isolated instances, e.g. the figures related to d and rr. Counts made on text or elicited sentences would be expected to differ in some ways; two obvious causes of differences are the greater average length of words in texts (because many are inflected) and the fact that fewer words would end in a consonant (because almost all bound morphemes end in a vowel).

55% of the phoneme occurrences (which totalled almost 5000) were of consonants and 45% of vowels.

The distribution of consonants, as a percentage of the total number, both overall and in various positions, is given in Table II-1. Table II-2 gives figures for the vowels.

Table II-2  
Distribution of Vowels

Percentage of:	Total	First Syllable	Second Syllable	Later Syllables	Word-Final
a	50	45	52	54	56
i.	21	15	22	28	21
u	29	40	26	18	23
Total Number (Approx.)	2200	850	850	550	600

Some interesting features shown by these tables are:

the greater frequency of stops, especially b and g, than other consonants, especially in word-initial position; the preponderance of nasals as the first member of a cluster, and the virtual monopoly of stops over the second position; the much greater frequency of a than other vowels; a is the most frequently occurring of all phonemes (22% of the total), followed by u (13%) and i and g (each 9%); the difference of the relative frequency of i and u in the first syllable (u much more common) and later syllables (i progressively more common).

More detailed tables would show up some other interesting points, e.g. the comparatively high frequency of rd in the third syllable of a word and of l in the fourth (the latter due mainly to the large number of kinship terms ending in ilâ).

57% of the words are of two syllables, 25% of three, 15% of four, 3% of five and a total of three words of six syllables. Few longer words would be encountered in text - seven-syllable words are uncommon and longer ones would be very rare.

Of the bisyllabic words, 45% are of the form CVCV, 26% CVCCV, 16% CVCVC, 13% CVCCVC and one word is CVV. Half of the trisyllabic words are CVCVCV and 28% are CVCCVCV. The remainder are divided among the several other possibilities. 38% of four syllable words consist solely of CV syllables. The next most common form is CVCVCCVVC (mostly reduplicated CVCVC forms) with 15%. About 20% of the four syllable words are reduplicated forms.

No count has been made of CV combinations except in word-initial position. There seem to be few biases for or against any particular combinations in this position; some points that may be worth noting are:

the absence of gi and ngi;  
w is biased towards a following a;  
y is biased towards a following i, but not greatly so;  
b and g are biased towards a following u, but not greatly so.