

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

Margaret C. Sharpe

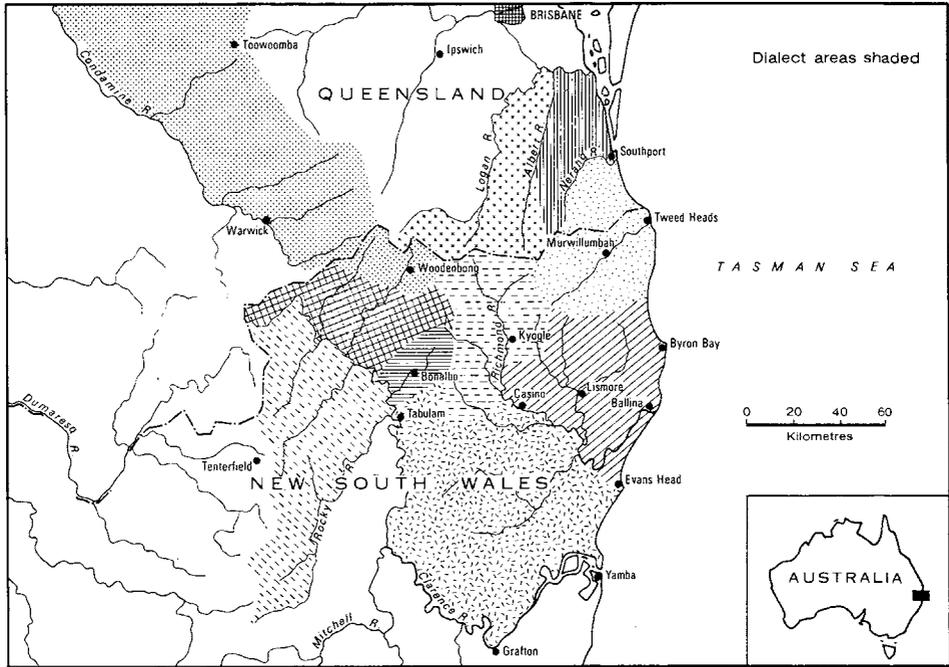
SYNOPSIS.

The Bundjalung (Bandjalang) dialects, including Gidabal,¹ formed a particularly well-defined language group in a clearly defined geographical area as shown in Map 1. As a group of dialects Bundjalung was well recorded, with the earliest grammar of one of the dialects being published over 90 years ago (Livingstone 1892); there are earlier word lists (Curr Vol.3, 1887), and grammars of other dialects published in 1913 (Allen and Lane), 1942 (Smythe), 1967 (Cunningham), 1971 (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek), 1978 (Crowley), and 1985 (Sharpe). Archaeological work and sacred sites have also been well documented in this area, and there are studies of the social organisation. An attempt to reconstruct migration and social contact patterns using a cross-disciplinary approach therefore seems worthwhile. Archaeological, language, geographical, ethnohistorical and ethnomusical data are looked at in this paper.

Margaret Sharpe is a lecturer at Armidate College of Advanced Education in the Centre for Multicultural Studies. She has spent part of her academic life studying the Alawa and Bundjalung languages of the Northern Territory and Northern New South Wales-Southern Queensland area respectively. Since 1969 she has published two monographs and numerous articles on these languages as well as other articles on Aboriginal English and Northern Territory Kriol and a children's novel based on her research in these areas.

¹ Bundjalung is the preferred ethnospelling of the language/dialect, with *u* for the short /a/ sound (as in English /but/) in the first and third syllables, ensuring that the unsophisticated English-speaking reader pronounces the name correctly. In recent linguistic studies the name is usually spelt Bandjalang, and within the language itself, the preferred spelling would be Banjalang. To this day (1985) Gidabal people, whose home area is around Woodenbong in northern N.S.W., maintain their dialect name Gidabal in opposition to other Bundjalung dialects. In recent times other Bundjalung people have all laid claim to the name Bundjalung, though within the last 50 years many of them would have used distinctive names for their own dialect groups, such as Yugambeh, Wiyabal, Wahlubal, Galibal, etc. (using linguistic spellings).

The two phonemes /d/ and /dj/ (alveolar and alveopalatal stop respectively) collapse together in intervocalic position, and in rare word/syllable final use. This collapsed phoneme is symbolised *d* in Gidabal, and as *j* in the other dialects. Except intervocalically, /dj/ (*j*) was realised as an alveopalatal affricate in Yugambeh, identical with English /j/; in other dialects it is usually an alveopalatal stop. However intervocalically the collapsed phoneme can vary; it is always a dental fricative in Gidabal (and is considered there an allophone of /d/); it varies between a dental fricative, an alveopalatal fricative and an alveopalatal stop in some other dialects, and in some it has a distinctly sibilant sound, a type of fricative [z] (and is thus perpetuated in the name Warrazambil Ranges from *wardam/wardjam* 'mythical monster, eel, whale'); in Wahlubal and other more southerly dialects it appears to be an alveopalatal stop. Interestingly, in Woodenbong, the spelling of the dental fricative as *d* is causing a spelling pronunciation of this group name to develop among school children.



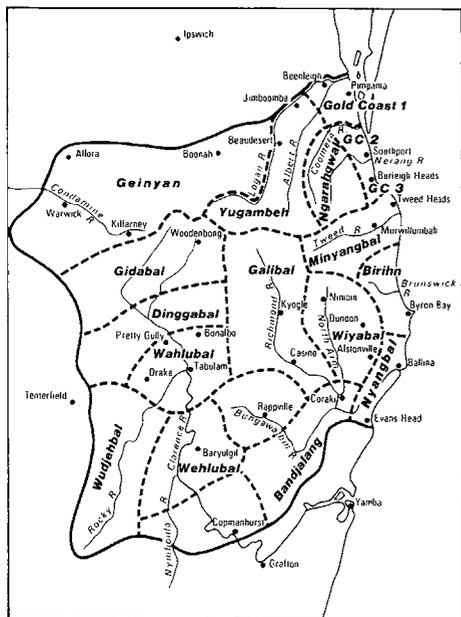
Map 1: Bundjalung Dialects (after Hausfeld 1960)

PREAMBLE.

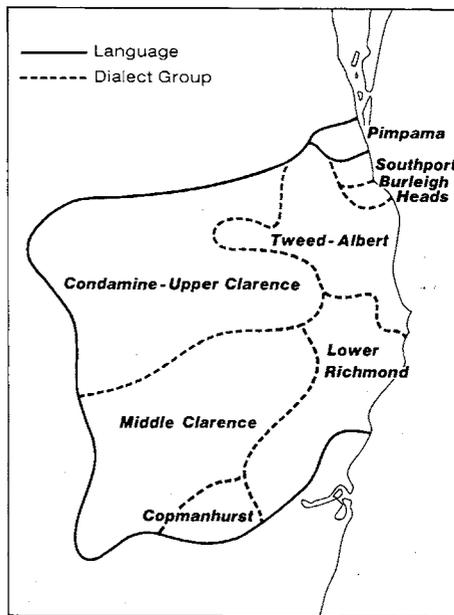
The Bundjalung, including those who identify as Gidabal, are a group who have maintained to this day a sense of identity, a knowledge of their traditional territories and borders, some knowledge of the language (substantial for older people, items of vocabulary incorporated into English for younger people), and much of their mythology. With these in many cases is a healthy self-esteem for their own communities and ways of doing things. For example, a Baryulgil high school girl a few years back could reject a well meaning correction of her pronunciation by a school peer by saying 'I was reared up as saying X'.

Crowley (1978), in connection with his work on the Tabulam, Baryulgil and Rappville dialects of Bundjalung did considerable work collecting and comparing grammars, word lists, etc. of the Bundjalung dialects, and made some suggested groupings of dialects, estimating that there were originally (i.e. immediately preceding white contact) somewhere between one and two dozen separate dialects (or in some cases languages) in the Bundjalung group (1978:144). He lists and describes briefly some 19 of these (1978: ch.6). While he made some grammatical and phonological comparisons, most prominently he used a list of common nouns that differed in the various dialects: the words for man, woman, boy, eye, hand, sun, spear, and some other items. His map showing dialects, and his groupings of the dialects, are shown in Maps 2 and 3.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION



Map 2: Bundjalung Dialects (after Crowley 1978:158)



Map 3: Bundjalung Dialect Groupings (after Crowley 1978:163)

In intermittent contact with and work on some of the dialects since 1966, I had often speculated on the avenues of contact between the different groups. In particular the late Joe Culham's description of his country round Beaudesert as *manaldjahli*² or 'hard, baked ground' intrigued me, and I speculated on reasons for the name until in the late spring of 1977 I approached this area from the south instead of the north, and noted the striking difference in climate each side of the New South Wales-Queensland border: lush and green to the south, and dry and yellow to the north at the end of the dry time. This suggested some comparison with the land to the south of the border, though some sources suggest there was little such contact in this area (as opposed to near the coast). However it is also possible to consider the contrast as being with coastal territory.

The task of comparing the dialects and reconstructing probable lines of communication proved to be much more than could be encompassed in the scope of a paper such as this, based on the limited time I had to devote to the task. I therefore see this paper as exploratory, summarising some of the language and other data, and suggesting a possible field for intensive research by a scholar who could devote a stretch of uninterrupted time to it, and

² *h* is used throughout my transcription to indicate vowel length. Bundjalung dialects have four long vowels /ah/, /eh/, /ih/, /uh/, and three or four short vowels /a/, (/e/), /i/, /u/. The phonemic status of short /e/ is in doubt in some dialects, as it only occurs word finally fluctuating with /i/ or /a/, or word medially from a shortening of long /eh/.

perhaps invoke computer help in correlating the many factors and variables. I have therefore gone to some pains to include in the references all sources which could be of use, whether directly used by me or not, with some annotation where I felt it helpful.

Calley (1959) speculated that the Bundjalung once occupied much more territory, and were driven back into less accessible fastholds by other encroaching tribes and cultural influences; he surmised that already schooled in resistance before the coming of the whites, they were more able to maintain their identity after this time, not only against the very different white culture but even against other Aboriginal groups. Calley pointed out that uniquely in this area of New South Wales/Queensland, the Bundjalung had no section system, although he detected evidence of an incipient and uneasy attempt to amalgamate this system with their own. The two systems conflicted in marriage rules.

Linguistically, the difference among the Bundjalung dialects is not great, at least as far as our records will allow comparison. Bundjalung people often refer to the dialects as 'different languages'; this may be as much a social attitude as a linguistic one. At least, on classical assumptions of language change, our evidence points to a fairly small time depth for the current differences, of possibly less than 500 years. Certainly the Bundjalung dialects are much more like each other grammatically, phonologically and lexically than English and German. The differences are comparable to those between English dialects. By contrast, adjacent languages, while sharing the occasional vocabulary item in the same form, and with some other words which are clearly cognate, differ quite obviously in the pronouns and common vocabulary, and in grammar and grammatical forms. The frequent lenition in Bundjalung of 'stop' phonemes (/b/, /d/, /dj/, /g/) has no counterpart in neighbouring languages to my knowledge.

Most place names in the Bundjalung area have forms and meanings clearly recognisable from Modern (1880-1977) Bundjalung. One well known exception, the place name Unumgar (Nganamgah) had no meaning that anyone was able to find, and is claimed by Gidabal people (from the Woodenbong area) to be from an older language or people. The Bundjalung in recent times had no intercourse with tribes to the south of the Clarence, and intermittent contact with Wakka Wakka and Gabi to the north. Even now there is suspicion of those to the south. The Queensland government policies worked towards movement of peoples from their traditional lands into reserves further north, which disrupted the pre-European patterns of movement and contact, in which, as Calley suggests, outside cultural influence was mainly from the north and on the Bundjalung groups north of the present state border.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

Archaeologically, there is evidence of Aboriginal settlement in the Bundjalung area going back to at least the mid fifth millenium B.C., and evidence of continuity in material culture north and south of the Clarence (McBryde 1974). Sullivan (1965) claims that in basic tools the Bundjalung resembled more closely those to the north, while burial practices reflected a connection to the south and a differentiation from the north. She suggests economic innovations spread more rapidly among those in social contact than religious practices. McBryde discovered evidence of a change in technology which took place about 2000 B.C., and another, a shift to bone and wood for many finer tools, took place after 1000 A.D. While Calley endorses Sullivan's view on there being free social contact in the north and none to the south, he warns against the assumption that allegiances and hostilities expressed in the ethnographic present would necessarily have been maintained

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

unchanged over a long time depth, either among the Bundjalung groups or towards those outside them.

GEOGRAPHY.

Map 1 indicates the extent of presumed Bundjalung occupation as described by Bundjalung people this century. Along the coast the territory stretched from somewhere north of the Clarence to somewhere north of Southport. In the upper reaches, the territory spread across the Clarence River, encompassed the Richmond River basin, and extended as far west as Tenterfield on the Tablelands in New South Wales and Allora (beyond Warwick) in Queensland. Further north there is no record of territory extending beyond the Boonah/Moogerah area.³

Apart from the Tablelands area of Tenterfield and further north, there are many mountainous areas in this section of country, many of which formed traditional territorial boundaries; a number of these were penetrable only with difficulty. Beliefs about hostile spirits in the mountains (i.e. ones that belonged to no tribe or family and therefore had no allegiance) reinforced this. However there were a number of more negotiable routes, even across the McPherson Range on the New South Wales—Queensland border, which formed the biggest barrier.

Between present New South Wales and Queensland there is evidence of communication channels up the Numinbah Valley (Gresty 1946-7), and I suggest, on the basis of vocabulary similarities between Gidabal and Yugambah, that there must have been some western routes used. Travel in the area (not as extensively as I would like — some footwork would have been invaluable) has helped in knowing about possible routes through the Border Ranges. Apart from a route well to the west (past Warwick), a route through northwest of Koreelah and Koreelah Creek towards Boonah, through the pass with the Boonah border gate, was and is open eucalypt forest and grassland, and seems quite passable.

The middle and lower reaches of the rivers were very fertile, and the climate was mild ('Summerland' the tourist maps proclaim it today). While places like Warwick and Tenterfield on the Tablelands could be very cold, with frosts and the rare snowfall (Warwick had a traditional 'cold increase' site, and Gidabal folk etymology links the name Warwick with their word *waring* for 'cold'), frost free times in the lower areas were quite long. Summer and autumn were the wettest times; late winter and early spring the driest (Sullivan 1965:2).

At the time of European settlement, there were basically three types of vegetation: a subtropical rain forest was far more widespread than today; much of this fertile land is now cleared, except in the mountains. The rainforest (the big scrub or *gabal*) reached right to the riverbanks in most places, and its past existence is responsible for the 'un-Australian', relatively eucalypt-free pastures of today in the Northern Rivers area. The rainforest extended into the McPherson Range and north to Mt Tamborine, but did not extend inland much further than Mt Lindesay. Sometimes near the rivers, further back from them, and in the higher lands, there was a mixed eucalypt forest. Along the coast there were heaths and swamps.

³ Moogerah (*mugar*) is a recognisable Bundjalung word (it could also have been the word in Yagarabal to the north). Its meaning is /storm, thunder/, and storms are common around the peaks surrounding today's Moogerah Dam.

Possum was plentiful in the rain forest area, and their skins were used to make blankets. The nature of the rainforest precluded use of some weapons of the hunt useful in more open country; this applied to much of the eucalypt forest area in the territory also. Both animal and vegetable food was plentiful, and the Bundjalung could live a more settled life than many other groups. Fairly large buildings, some 8-30 feet in length and up to six feet in height were observed by early European explorers and their Aboriginal helpers. Nonetheless seasonal movements did occur as sea and land foods came into season. For at least some of the Bundjalung groups, the most extensive movement was a roughly triennial visit to the Bunya Mountains to take part in the bunya nut feasts, after which early reports are that they returned looking particularly well nourished.

PHYSIQUE.

Early European observers commented on the fine stature and physical condition of the Bundjalung people when compared with those further inland. Some of this is perhaps retained today. For those who know Bundjalung people, there is a distinctive squareness of jaw which often sets them apart from other groups, despite the perhaps 50% European ancestry of the Aboriginal population of this area. As marriage is mainly within the Aboriginal community the proportion of European ancestry has not changed much in the last fifty years.

THE BUNDJALUNG MYTH OF THEIR ARRIVAL.

Bundjalung myths still current today include one on the origins of the Clarence River and one on how the Aborigines first came to Australia. Calley suggests the latter myth was imported from tribes to the south or southwest, but those Bundjalung and Gidabal who tell the story claim it as their own.⁴ I have included three versions of the same story, arranged in chronological order of their collection. The first version is from the Minyangbal group, near Byron Bay. (In this first account, I have substituted *ng* for the symbol *g* (*g* with a dot in the centre) used by Livingstone (1892) for the velar nasal. ' indicates an accented vowel, and although the symbol 'a' (*a* with a dot in the centre, for which I have substituted *ǎ*) is not explained clearly, it probably indicates an unaccented neutral vowel).

Berrungen korillabo, ngerring Mommon, Yaburong. —

'Berrung came long long ago, with Mommom (and) Yaburong'.

Thus begins a Minyung Legend to the following effect:-

Long ago, Berrúng, with his two brothers, Mommóm and Yaburóng, came to this land. They came with their wives and children in a great canoe, from an island across the sea. As they came near the shore, a woman on the land made a song that raised a storm which broke the canoe in pieces, but all the occupants, after battling with the waves, managed to swim ashore. This is how 'the men', the paigal black race, came to this land. The pieces of the canoe are to be seen to this day. If any one will throw a stone and strike a piece of the canoe, a storm will arise, and the voices of Berrúng and his boys will be heard calling to one

⁴ Hoddinott 1978 outlines myths from the Gumbaynggir area, which show overlap with these myths, particularly in the name /Birugan/, though I had not checked this reference at the time of writing this paper.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

another, amidst the roaring elements. The pieces of the canoe are certain rocks in the sea. At Ballina, Berrung looked around and said, nyung? and all the paigal about there say nyung to the present day, that is, they speak the Nyung dialect. Going north to the Brunswick, he said, minyung, and the Brunswick River paigal say minyung to the present day. On the Tweed he said, ngando? and the Tweed paingal (sic) say ngando to the present day.⁵ This is how the blacks came to have different dialects. Berrung and his brothers came back to the Brunswick River, where he made a fire, and showed the paigal how to make fire. He taught them their laws about the kipara and about marriage and food. After a time, a quarrel arose, and the brothers fought and separated, Mommóm going south, Yaburóng west, and Berrung keeping along the coast. This is how the paigal were separated into tribes.

The second account is told by Alexander Vesper, and quoted in Robinson (1965:40-43) and in *Australian Dreaming* (Isaacs 1980:13,14).

This story has been handed down by the Aboriginal people through their generations. This story cannot be altered.

I am sixty-seven years of age. I heard this story from my grandfather who was a full-blood of the Ngarartbul tribe near Murwillumbah. On my grandmother's side the tribe was Gullibul, from Casino and Woodenbong. I heard this story also from many old Aboriginals who came from other tribes.

The first finding of this unknown land, Australia, was made by three brothers who came from the central part of the world. The names of these three brothers were Mamoon, Yar birrain and Birrung. They were compelled to explore for land on the southerly part of the world because they forced out of the centre of the world by revolutions and warfare of those nations of the central part.

They came in a sailing ship. As they made direct for the south, coming across different islands and seeing the people in these islands, they kept in the sea all the time until they came to Australia, to the eastern part of this continent.

Their first coming into the land was at Yamba Head on the Clarence River. They anchored just on the mouth of the Clarence. This was the first landing of men in this empty continent. They camped, taking out of their empty ship all their camping belongings, such as a steel axe and many other things of the civilized race in the central part of the world.

After they had rested from the voyage, through the night a storm started to rise from the west. The force of wind broke the anchor and deprived them of the ship, which was driven out to sea and never seen again.

These three brothers had each a family of his own and they had their mother. Their three wives were with them. When they knew that the ship was gone, they reasoned among themselves and said, 'The only possible chance is to make a canoe and return from here from island to island'. So they went up the Clarence River and they came across a blackbutt tree. They stripped the bark off it, made

⁵ *Baygal* is the most common word for '(Aboriginal) man' in the Bundjalung dialects. It is also used adjectivally (*baygalnah* with possessive suffix) to mean 'Aboriginal/Bundjalung/Gidabal'. *Ngahn(du)/ngehn(du)* is the word for 'who(erg)'.

a big fire, a long fire, and heated the bark until it was flexible, until you could bend it about as you pleased. Out of this long sheet of bark, they made a canoe. Three of these canoes were made.

They went back to their families and told them to get everything packed up as they were about to leave. Their families said, 'Yes, we'll pack up, but mother has gone out for some yams. She was looking for something to eat'. So they sang out. They searched along the beach, among the honeysuckle and the tea-tree along the coast, trying to find the old woman. But she had wandered too far out of reach of their search. She thought within herself that her sons would not be able to make the canoes so quickly.

The three brothers said, 'Well, she might have died. We'll have to go back into the sea'. So they packed up and took to the ocean in the three canoes with the intention of returning to where they came from.

After they got a distance out from Yamba Head, the old woman arrived back at the camp they had left. She went up to the top of the hill and started singing out for them. And then she saw them far out on the ocean. She was trying to wave them back, but it seemed to be impossible for her to draw their attention. So she was angry with them. She cursed the families and said to the ocean to be rough. As she cursed them and spoke to the ocean to be rough, the ocean started to get fierce. They attempted to continue on against the tempest, but they were driven back to the northern shore beyond Yamba. They were compelled to come in to land at the place which is now known as Evans Head.

They made the first settling place in Australia at Evans Head. One of the sons returned to Yamba when the ocean was calm and found the mother still alive. She had lived on yams. They as how Yamba got its name. Well, that word 'yam', it comes from a civilized word. It means 'sweet spud'. So that word alone will give you a clue as to where those first people came from.

So one brother went back to Yamba and brought the mother to Evans Head. When they settled there, in the course of time, they increased their families. One family race generated northwards on the Australian coast, one to the west and one to the south. As they were generating, they were keeping on extending, and they kept in touch with each other all the time.

They went on in that manner and eventually they became tribal races, and the first language of their origin we call Jabilum, that means, 'The Originals'. Tabulam is the word the white man made out of this word. The first language of these Jabilum was the Birrein tongue. And the second was Gumbangirr, of the Grafton tribe. Weervul is the Ballina lot. And Gullibul, that is between the two. Gullibul sprang out of the centre from Tweed Heads.

The third account is from Ted McBryde, as told to Creamer in 1977. It appears this has been influenced by recent hypotheses on the origin of humankind in Africa, and on lower ocean levels in the past, with extensive land bridges through the Indonesian archipelago and land-hopping by raft or other craft.

Way back in the Dreamtime, there was a family came, originated I suppose from Africa, and they came across country and in those days we believe that Java and New Guinea were all joined to Australia and they eventually ended up here. They came by canoe and landed at Yamba . . . The three brothers, the eldest one

was Bundjalung, the second eldest was Gullybal and the third, the youngest fellow was Gidabal. Bundjalung, the eldest boy, he took up the Lismore to Byron Bay area to just below Kyogle. And then the next son, Gullybal, he took in this area here and the youngest man, he went on to the Woodenbong area. So that's where we originated from, as far as I know.

When we consult written records of language data, we also are not immune to some re-interpretation. The point has often been made by linguists that old word lists, compiled by interested but linguistically untrained people, can be interpreted in the light of more recent material collected by trained linguists. There is much truth in this, but a little danger also. At times the interpretation is clear in the light of more recently compiled data, but it is also possible to twist old records in the light of current data. Can we be sure that the phonology has remained unchanged? Has English had any influence over the years on some of the sounds? An interesting shift of vowel in some words between /u/ and /a/ in some recently recorded Bundjalung dialects makes us cautious about too hasty judgements on earlier transcribers in this notoriously confused area, let alone others. Even the qualified linguists, especially those using a phonemic model, bias readers' interpretations of sounds (and the reader includes themselves). For example, many people are aware that the vowel written *u* in English has undergone a shift in some English dialects; we discuss it and hear it as a much more marked shift in vowel quality than it often is, merely because we impose our own phonemic grid or transcription grid on the phonetic sounds heard. For this reason, in writing this paper, I have referred back to the detailed description of sounds and their variants in the various sources, wherever these are available, and pre-eminently have drawn on my own hearing of speakers from eight purported dialects. With unlimited time, referring back to tape recorded records, where available, would be valuable.

CLAN, HORDE AND TRIBE.

Accounts of names of Bundjalung 'tribes' and their boundaries show some confusion which is due, at least in part, to some of the following factors:

- (1) What a particular group called itself and what its neighbours called it were not always the same. For example a group called Birihn 'south' by those to the north of it would hardly merit the same name from those to the south of it. The name Galibal (Gullybul, Gullyvul, etc.) could be applied to any group who pronounced the final vowel of *gala/gale/gali* 'this' as *i*, by a (neighbouring) group which did not. Such groups called 'Galibal' could be distinguished among themselves using some other difference, e.g. the use of *nyang* versus *minyng* for 'what', or the shape of the second person singular nominative pronoun (*wiya/wiye/wuhye/wuhje* etc.), or the pronunciation *yugambeh* (versus *yagambe*) for 'no'.
- (2) Like anyone else it seems a Bundjalung person could identify him/herself in relation to others by naming a smaller or greater unit they identified with, both present or past, in the same way that I could variously identify myself as a south-hiller, an Armidalean, a New South Wales person, a Sydneysider or an Australian — or I could identify myself by a number of parental family names. Thus the late Joe Culham could call his group *Yugambeh* (those who say *yugambeh* for 'no') or *Manaldjahli* (referring to the Beaudesert area). In the second origin story quoted above you will note how Vesper identifies two Bundjalung groups with which he has affiliations through his grandparents, and moreover uses the term Galibal to refer inclusively to what are generally conceded to be two dialects, that of Casino and

Woodenbong. For this reason the territories identified with different groups by different sources vary in extent also, depending on the perspective of the source.

(3) Quite early on in European contact times there is evidence of some identification of groups with places which only got onto the map after European settlement, e.g. town names such as Rathdowney, Boonah, Beaudesert, Casino and Kyogle. Particularly under Queensland policy many Bundjalung people were shifted from their ancestral territories. Those who were not moved to reserves much further north soon appeared to identify themselves by a town which was developed in their territory, which may or may not have been on the land their family had most close associations with. We therefore cannot take at face value statements on territories of different 'tribes'. Generally statements which use the term 'clan' or 'horde' are less subject to misreading. We can assume that statements which describe the territory of the Gidabal as extending as far as Allora, and others which assign the western region to another group (Geinyon according to Woodenbong Gidabal people, who also claim it is a very different language) can be reconciled. My own bias is to regard names ending in *-bal/-wal* or names based on the word for 'no' as dialect names, and the others as clan names, but even this is suspect. As an Appendix I have included a list of all names of tribes/clans I have encountered.

ETHNOMUSICAL DATA.

Over the years, linguists, musicologists, radio programmers and others have collected between them a large number of songs from Bundjalung and Gidabal people. Many of these are repeats of performances recorded on other occasions, and a lot are poorly recorded. Margaret Gummow, of Sydney University, is at present engaged in further study of many of these songs. I have probably heard the bulk of available recordings, and have helped in transcribing words of some of them.

All but possibly one of the songs known to me refer to post European contact times,⁶ and a number have a mixture of English and Bundjalung/Gidabal, or some admixture of English words. Tunes are mainly non-Western, with varying 'scales', some compatible with Western music, some not. None are sung by the original composer, though the singer often named the composer. When this was done, the indication was that the song dated from the 1880s to the 1920s. At least one English song sung by Bundjalung singers was sung in other areas of Australia (Mary Brunton's work on detribalised Aboriginal music is worth referring to here).

Among such songs were some claimed to be Gumbaynggir or Gamilraay, indicating some contact with people from those tribes to the south and west; however the singer could give no meaning for these. For most of the purportedly Bundjalung songs, meanings could be given, and in some cases enough of the vocabulary of the song was *said* also to enable me to transcribe the words of the song with reasonable confidence. The Geytenbeeks transcribed a number of songs also. A few songs were claimed to be of the nonsense type, where meanings

⁶ The one song claimed to be 'really old' was recorded in two contexts. In one it was stated to be a song of blessing sung by a grandmother over her grandson; in the other it was claimed to be associated with the story of the arrival of people in the area from overseas. The words, though not fully transcribable, appear to be recognisably Bundjalung.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

could not be assigned. For those I could not transcribe, there was at least enough evidence to determine whether the words were Bundjalung or another language.

Words changed phonologically in the singing. Initial stops were often prenasalised, or stops lenited to sound like nasals (an extension of a general unique feature of Bundjalung towards lenited or fricativised 'stop' phonemes). Length of vowels was tailored to the music, not to what linguists have described for the dialects.

Different versions of songs showed some indications of dialect shifts with different singers, though there was also evidence of retention of forms of one dialect when sung by someone who would normally use different forms. The presumed more original version of one song (the 'Getting a bride' song) had a more 'Aboriginal' melody and style with English words, whereas a version I recorded at Cabbage Tree Island from Douglas Cook had some Bundjalung verses, a change of place name to suit the area, but more western Bundjalung features of grammar.

The late Dick Donnelly (died 1977) was one of the more well known singers, and his repertoire (none composed by himself) included Gumbaynggir and Gamilaray songs, as well as songs from different Bundjalung regions. Some referred to travel to the Northern Tablelands area (Armidale and further south), although they clearly postdate the construction of roads in the wording we have. The same collection of songs from different languages and places occurred with other singers also, so we can assume there were social contacts between these different groups.

Outside the collection of songs I have heard is one from the Gabi Gabi people (who inhabited the Bunya Mountains area of Queensland) recounting the visit of people from the south (presumably Bundjalung) (Eve Fesl, personal communication).

There were Ngarahgwal (Nerang area, Qld coast) and Geinyon (Warwick area) songs sung by Gidabal people; these songs were passed on to them by grandparents, etc. from these groups (Geytenbeek, MS).

To date, study of such song collections does not add significantly to our knowledge of migration patterns within the Bundjalung area, but does hint at more contact to the south and west beyond the Bundjalung area than Calley spoke of.

LINGUISTIC DATA.

In classical techniques of tracing back related languages and dialects to a postulated original source language, the assumption is often made that groups split off from the original group and migrate, having little or no further contact; gradual shifts and borrowings occur, so that the dialects and languages gradually diverge. On this type of assumption, proto-Germanic, predating current Germanic languages (English, Dutch, German, Swedish, Danish, etc.), is assumed to have been spoken some 2000 years ago, and proto-Indo-European some 4000 years ago. On this model, the Bundjalung dialects would have a common ancestor no more than perhaps 500 years ago. Opinions differ on the mutual intelligibility of the extreme dialects. Crowley suggests a figure of about 50% (1978:143). Bray (1899) states that:

the language of the Aborigines is sometimes completely different 30 miles away. I remember in 1863, that I cut a road from the Upper Tweed to the Upper Richmond. I had some Aborigines with me, and we came across others belonging to the Richmond River District, those with me could not understand a word the others said. I acted as an interpreter. I could speak to mine in their own language

and could make the others understand me. So, again, the Aborigines 30 miles north of here (Kynnumboon) speak a totally different language, although some of the word may be the same.

Yet Rankin quoted Mr Frances McQuilty from near Lismore (Rankin 1900:132) as claiming:

he can converse easily and fluently with the natives in the neighbourhood of Lismore, and says that the same language, with slight variation, is spoken on the Tweed, and extends inland from the seaboard of the Richmond and Tweed districts for about 150 miles, but the language spoken by the natives on the Clarence seaboard and inland is quite distinct from that on the Richmond.

The last account agrees closely with what is known of the different languages south of the Clarence, and with the linguist's impression of the mutual intelligibility of the Bundjalung dialects.

If social organisation as observed during early European contact times and even today is any guide, there was, among the Bundjalung as elsewhere in Australia, considerable intermittent social contact between different groups, and intermarriage with groups who were not ones' neighbours. While Bundjalung were organised along patrilineal and patrilocal lines, and one presumes (on modern evidence) that children were expected to speak their fathers' dialect, it is hard to envisage that some influence on vocabulary, grammar and phonology did not occur from the wives brought from other places, particularly if they spoke mutually intelligible dialects. In addition prospective husbands often visited and stayed in the territories of their future wives for 1-2 years as *ngarbindja* (Calley 1959:65), allowing their possible future in-laws to judge their suitability in character and economic provision. Unless Bundjalung Aborigines are very different from other people, intermittent importations of vocabulary, grammatical and phonological variants must have occurred. Conversely, when relationships between certain clans was strained by warfare, it is entirely possible that small differences of dialect could be deliberately increased or emphasised, just as it has been in the New Guinea area, again among small population groups (Wurm 1983).⁷ However evidence from all sources, including my own contacts, indicate that some differences Bundjalung people point out as marking distinct dialects were really quite small, and in many cases minor enough that the second language learner of Bundjalung would barely notice them. The problem for Bundjalung and Gidabal people with these differences, as they explain it, is that sometimes an acceptable word in one dialect has a 'rude' meaning in another. Embarrassment or the fear of offending another about such items looms large for many of them.

The Bundjalung language, while sharing some vocabulary with neighbouring languages, does not appear to me to show the type of relationship with them that could indicate any close connections within the last one or two thousand years. A possible exception is Yeygir, a small language group between Bundjalung and Gumbaynggir in the coastal Clarence area, which may show some influence or similarities. It is purportedly a language which mixes

⁷ According to recent research by Wurm and others (Wurm 1983), there is mounting evidence that in the Pacific and in New Guinea among small population language and dialect groups innovations and shifts can at times be very rapid. In a small group, the innovation or conservatism of one significant person can quickly be transmitted to the whole population in a way that simply cannot occur in language groups of the size represented by the Indo-European language groups.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

features of Bundjalung and Gumbaynggir.⁸ In times from the earliest European contact to the present, there is evidence of very little social contact between the Bundjalung and those to the south of the Clarence on the coast, or with those in the New England Tablelands area south of Glen Innes. Evidence on social contact to the west into the New England Tablelands to the southwest is not clear. As noted above, some post-contact Bundjalung songs refer to travelling to the Tableland area, and Gumbaynggir and Gamilraay songs were passed on to Bundjalung singers. There are conflicting accounts of how much friendly contact there was between different Bundjalung hordes or clans, and which of them had social contact with groups to the north and northwest of them in present Queensland, but there is clear evidence of regular contact between some of the Bundjalung groups and those to the north, particularly when the bunya nuts were in season, when it is known Bundjalung groups went north for the feasts to the Bunya Mountains, some 300 km away (see Map 1).

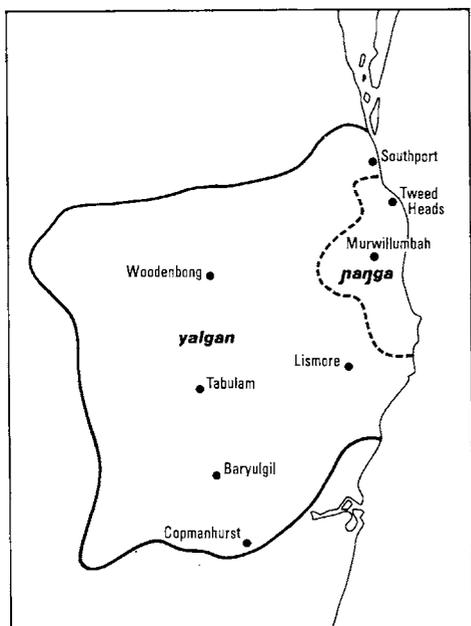
As noted earlier, Crowley put forward a grouping of Bundjalung dialects. He did this with commendable caution. In all the older word lists there are omissions which cloud the picture. Also in some cases (and some of these are modern studies), we cannot be sure where the home territory (and therefore presumed home dialect) of the informants are or were, nor whether their language had been influenced in any way by the dialect of those they lived with. Smythe, for example, stated his grammar was based on data from informants of the Bundjalung (the term he uses for the Baryulgil dialect), Wiyabal (the Lismore dialect) and Galibal (which he claims is from Warwick). Crowley claims the only possible source for Smythe's dialect is the middle Richmond River area round Casino, where Smythe's fieldwork was centred. Crowley had access to some lists I have not been able to view, but I have perhaps looked at two or three of our common sources in more detail, and obtained some further data on the Lismore and Coraki dialects.⁹

Items which Crowley compared across dialects were the following, on which I will comment as I go:

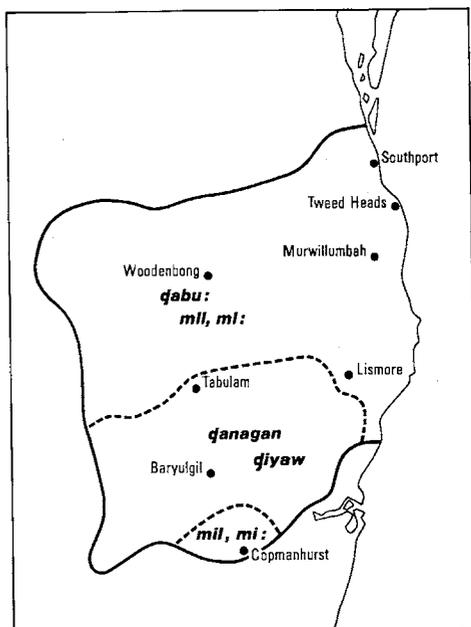
(1) A list of common vocabulary items, the words for man, woman, boy, eye, hand, spear, sun. Three of his maps showing isoglosses are reproduced as Maps 4, 5, 6 here. The isoglosses for 'man' and 'woman' are the same. However a number of older lists lack the word for 'woman' (and 'girl' — a bias on the part of male collectors of their generation!) and a careful look at some of the old word lists suggests the word *baygal* and *mibiny* were both used in some areas, perhaps the second more as a plural for 'the Aborigines'. (At Tabulam, Woodenbong and Lismore-Coraki, *mibiny* is recorded with the meaning 'face', sometimes 'person'; in Gidabal and Wiyabal *mibiny* also has the verbal meaning 'know'). Crowley's isogloss for the two forms for the word 'hand' appears inaccurate for both Woodenbong and Lismore

⁸ From recent communication I have had with Joyce Clague in Maclean, it would seem that considerable information on Yeygir may still be available, and the community is considering putting it into a book or books.

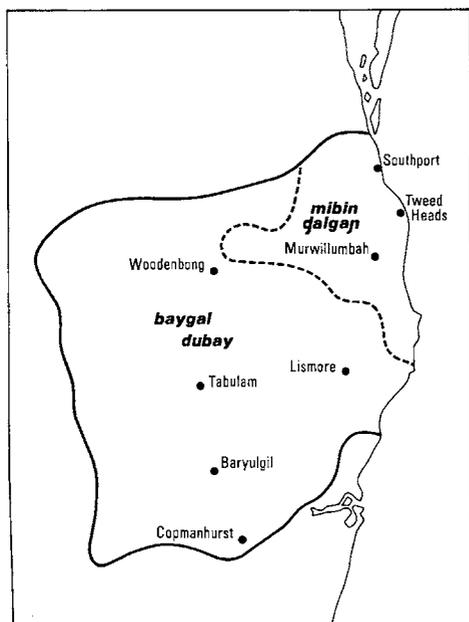
⁹ Calley's study indicated that in general Bundjalung and Gidabal people of that time lived in what had been their ancestral territory or in an area which traditionally bordered it. As Smythe's linguistic work predated Calley's study by only a decade or so, presumably the dialect or dialects he worked on would have been reasonably close to his place of recording, i.e. Casino, according to Crowley 1978.



Map 4: Isoglosses for baygal/mibiny 'man' and dubay/jalgany 'woman' (after Crowley 1978:160)



Map 5 Isoglosses for djabuh/djanagan 'boy' and mil/djiyaw 'eye'¹ (after Crowley 1978:161)



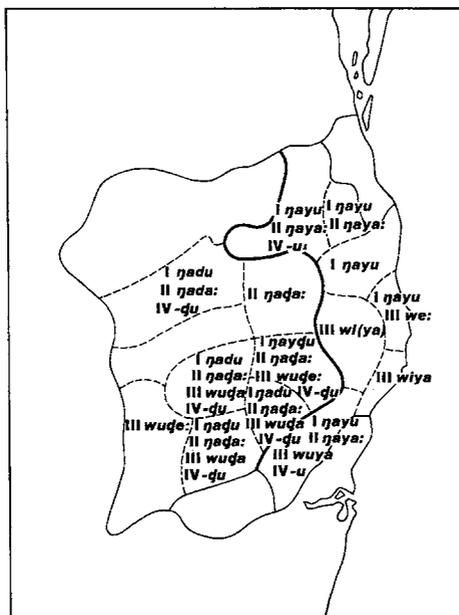
Map 6: Isogloss for yalgan/nyangga 'sun'² (after Crowley 1978:163)

- 1 At Lismore Cunningham (Sharpe) recorded both *djabuh* and *djanagan* from Turnbull (Cunningham 1979). Crowley gives *djanagan* for Copmanhurst area also.
- 2 The form *nyungga* may also occur in the north and Cunningham (1967) lists *nyung-gulgan* for 'summer' in Yugambeh.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

dialects, on the data I have. Regarding the forms for 'spear', a lot of vocabulary lists have both *djuwan* and *bilahr*, which raises the question as to whether the occurrence of just one in a brief list of words is highly significant.

(2) Lenition of /dj/ (alveopalatal stop) through dental or sibilant fricative forms in some dialects to /y/ in other dialects. Map 7 reproduces Crowley's map showing distribution of the



Map 7: Distribution of lenited and unlenited forms (after Crowley 1978:170)

lenited and unlenited forms for three pronoun forms and the ergative suffix after /y/. There are gaps in the data, unfortunately, but there is enough data to show the general trend.

(3) Irregular verbs. Crowley postulated an original list of 14 of these. Apart from two monosyllabic stems, it appears the other twelve were unlike other Bundjalung verb stems in ending in consonants. The irregularities occur because of the addition of different augments for different tenses, aspects, etc. of the verb. The verbs are:

- eat *ja-*
- see *nyah-*
- go *yan-*
- fall *bin-/ban-*
- become *-wen-/wan-*
- sit *yehn-/yahn-*
- emerge, arise *bahn-*
- die *balahn-*
- leave *wun-/wan-*
- take, get *gahng-*

do what *nyang-*
 bite *ying-*
 hit, kill *bum-*
 kick *bang-*
 cry *dung-*

The added augment is *-a/-ga* with most stems and tense forms, and *-a/-ga/-ba* with *yan-*; *-bihny/-biny* is used as augment before certain nominalised or participialised forms.

(4) Some grammar, in particular forms of the personal pronouns 1st sg, 2nd sg, 3rd sg fem, 2nd and 3rd pl. My guess is that the form *nyahn.gan*¹⁰ 'she' could have been an older form which some dialects dropped in favour of the more transparent *nyulagan* from *nyula* 'he' + *-gan* feminine suffix. The third person plural form *djanabang/djanabi* occurring in northern dialects is rather close in form to the corresponding pronoun in languages immediately to the north. Again the more 'regular' *nyulamang* (or its metathesised form *nyulangam*)¹¹ appears to be a coined regularised form.

(5) /i/, /e/, or /a/ final vowels on the demonstrative series *gali* etc., *mali* etc., *gili* etc. this, that, that yonder. In all data recorded by Crowley, Geytenbeeks and myself, the final vowel fluctuates in these words, from /e/ towards /a/ in more southern dialects, and from /e/ towards /i/ in the more northern ones. A similar fluctuation occurs in the final vowel of *nyula* 'he'. Livingstone (1892:6) lists 'nyuly' for 'he', 'nyan' for 'she', 'ngully' for 'we', 'buly' 'you pl', 'channaby' 'they' and 'ngai' 'I'. As the form *ngali* 'we' seems unchanged in all recorded dialects, I assume *y* is to be interpreted as /i/, and therefore in Minyangbal 'he' ends in /i/ most commonly.

(6) *minyang/nyang* alternation for 'what, something'. Interestingly there is an overlap in use; both are used in the Lismore area. Languages to the north of the Queensland Bundjalung dialects used *minya* for 'what'.

To the above list of variants which Crowley notes, I would add the following:

(7) /e/ vs /a/ vowel in some past tense forms (and future forms, where these exist) in the irregular verbs, notably *yan.gehn* vs *yan.gahn* 'went', and in *yehn-/yahn-* 'sit'. The /e/ form occurs in Yugambeh and the Cabbage Tree Island dialect of the Cook family, but not in other records I have examined.

(8) Vowel shift from north to south (using these directions loosely) of /a/ to /e/ (sometimes also to /i/) in some items, such as 'who' *ngahn/ngehn/ngihn*, and 'you sg erg' *wahlu/wihlu* is attested in one old list seen by Crowley.

(9) Vowel shift from north to south of /u/ to /a/ in some items:

'no' *yugam/yagam* (most occurrences have the suffix *be/-beh* (thus *yugambeh*, etc.)
 'food (vegetable)' *nungany/nangany*
 'leave' *wuna-/wana-*

Yet older fluent Gidabal speakers today (1985) sometimes use a low back vowel [ɔ] in the first two syllables of *yagambeh*.

¹⁰ I use a period to separate /n/ and /g/ when these occur in sequence, to distinguish the sequence from the velar nasal.

¹¹ A number of metathesised words appear to occur in Bandjalang. One of the most obvious is *gung* for water in some dialects (other dialects have a different form) – a common Australian form is *ngugu*. To my knowledge, this metathesising tendency is not shared with neighbouring languages.

(10) Some other vocabulary items, in particular those for 'girl', 'big', 'two', 'camp'. There are three different words for 'big' in different dialects, 'two' has two slight variants, and in the south (N.S.W.) the word for 'camp' equates with *waybar* for 'fire, firewood, matches', whereas in Yugambeh it equates with *diman* 'ashes'. Also the /ay/ sequence assimilates to resemble /e/ in the pronunciation of many from dialects south of the Queensland border; the few records I have seen from the north of the border do not contain this, but it is not ruled out.

(11) Consonant 'harmony' rules for some suffixes: the consonant in the suffix after /w/ varies. Wahlubal, and presumably Wehlubal and Birihn, had a different rule to other dialects.

(12) Past/non-past locative suffix distinction. Yugambeh, Minyangbal and Gidabal have this distinction attested; other dialects do not. Gidabal and Minyangbal have recorded the suffix *-nahdjil* 'past possessive', and it is preserved in the place name Billinudgel a little to the north of the Minyangbal territory.

(13) Length 'hopping' in verb suffixes. In general Bundjalung words avoid two successive long syllables. When these would occur in some verb affixation, the second lengthening is dropped in Wahlubal and possibly Wiyabal, but shifts to the right one syllable in Gidabal and Yugambeh. The presence of length is often signalled by stress when it is not in the first syllable, yet in fluent speech, length, even for the linguist who 'believes' it is there, is often not heard where it 'ought' to be. In songs, as noted above, the length is more clearly dictated by the tune and its rhythm and note lengths than by the words. I am reminded that one Gidabal speaker has often told me 'our languages weren't meant to be written down'!

(14) Length vs no length in the vowel of locative and some other suffixes. Wahlubal appears to lack this length, Gidabal and Yugambeh to have it. Holmer did not record it; he did not generally record length in vowels, nor the contrast between [i] and [e], though he did comment on some variability in vowel length and quality. Both Oakes and I have noted length contrasts in our records of the Lismore-Coraki dialect(s). Because of the way they were recorded, we cannot be sure about some of the other dialects.

(15) Existence of an inclusive first person plural pronoun. This appears to be coined in northern dialects (Yugambeh, Minyangbal) from the first person plural pronoun (*ngali*) and the 2nd person singular ergative pronoun (*wahlu*) to make *ngaliwahlu*. Languages to the north have a distinct pronoun for this inclusive, so it was probably coined under this influence.

(16) Presence or absence of the 'without' suffix *-djam* (Gidabal *-dam*, and/or its use on nouns only, or verbs also. Gidabal and Yugambeh in our records allow this suffix on verb stems, but such use is not attested elsewhere.

(17) Use of *-lur/-ur* (Livingstone has '-oro') as a past habitual suffix. Old records of northern dialects have this, also Holmer's record of Wiyabal, but a different form is used in Gidabal.

(18) Use or frequent use of the suffix combination *-lehla* for present continuous as opposed to its rare use, also the meaning which is most closely assigned to the *-li* suffix (*-lehla* = *-li* + *-hla* 'present tense'). In Yugambeh and Gidabal the meaning seems to be continuous, whereas Crowley (1978) analyses it as antipassive for Wahlubal. There is indication that, while the continuous aspect is most in focus in Gidabal and Yugambeh, it has the other

function also in these dialects.¹² Livingstone notes its presence in Minyangbal, suggests the meaning progressive, but states doubt. He comments:

In fact, it may be stated, once for all, that while there is an abundance of forms (in the verbs), the aborigines (sic) do not seem to make very exact distinctions in meaning between one form and another. (Livingstone 1892:15)

This may mean, of course, that they could not explain it to him any better than most of us can explain the subtleties of English, or that he failed to grasp subtleties of meaning in what we know from the Geytenbeeks' and Crowley's accounts, to be a rather intricate system.

(19) The extent of use of the gender system. At most there were four genders in Bundjalung: masculine, feminine, arboreal and neuter. Northern dialects, recorded earlier, indicated an extensive agreement between adjectives and nouns, whereas more recent work in southern dialects shows it less in use. Allen and Lane (1913), for example, have much more detail on noun morphology than I could obtain in 1965-6. Allen, it must be realised, was a first language speaker of 'Wangerriburra', though he had apparently not used it for some 50 years when he co-authored the paper.

(20) Possible substitution of /g/ (usually in its fricative allophone) for /dj/ in *djahdjam* 'child' in some dialects. One of the old lists has *chargun* for 'child', and the late Lyle Roberts of Lismore and others from that area appeared to use the fricative allophone of /g/ medially at times, as well as /dj/ in its alveopalatal stop and dental fricative allophones.

(21) Shift of /ay/ sequence towards a mid glide /ey/ in *baygal*, *waybar* etc. This seems most marked in dialects to the south of Lismore, Kyogle and Woodenbong. Yet in May 1985 I heard the same 'southern' pronunciation of *waybar* in conversation between two Gidabal speakers.

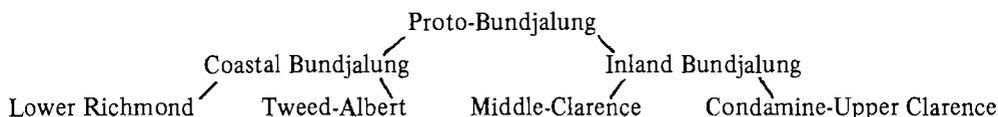
(22) Lack of distinct future tense inflection in Yugambeh (as recorded by me), so that the 'present tense' inflection is used for any non-past. The 'future' form seemed also lacking in the older record of the dialect (Allen and Lane 1913). Yet Gidabal speakers can optionally substitute present tense for future today, and I am sure others from other dialects have done so, just as in English we can use the present tense for future. Absence of future inflection from Joe Culham's speech could have been considered idiosyncratic and in part due to lack of use of the language for years, except that firstly he was resident at Woodenbong (Mulli Mulli) where a future tense form was in use, and secondly Allen and Lane's list also lacked it. The future tense inflection in Bundjalung, *-hny* is confusable with the past indefinite inflection *-hn* for English speakers, but it would have been less so for Bundjalung/Gidabal speakers, who had both phonemes in their language.

SUGGESTED DIALECT GROUPINGS AND/OR MOVEMENTS.

Map 3 reproduces Crowley's suggested grouping of the dialects. Below is shown his suggested pattern of dialect splits.

¹² A check through Geytenbeeks' data and mine reveals, I think, only one occurrence of the ergative suffix occurring on a subject of a verb with the *-li* affix. This could be regarded as a performance slip. Brian Geytenbeek, when I discussed the point with him, felt that Crowley's analysis could well also apply to Gidabal.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION



At this stage I would generally agree with Crowley's analysis, but would feel that the Albert-Logan group (or groups) had some regular contact with the Gidabal groups to the south.

It is hard for the normal human brain to keep all the factors listed above in mind at once. The task is considerably complicated because of gaps in data and some uncertainty as to which part of the Bundjalung/Gidabal territory the recorded speaker(s)' dialect was from. However as I see it, I would suggest the following refinements to Crowley's picture:

- (1) The centre of greatest variation in features (especially phonological features) is usually in the Casino/Kyogle area, indicating that this area can be regarded as some type of central area in the dialects.
- (2) I would postulate a vague (necessarily so, because of continued contact between groups) split between a group shifting south from one shifting north, then a spread of the northern group up the coast into present Queensland and also along the inland area south of the Border Ranges. This accounts in general for phonological differences in the dialects. It also accounts for past tense locative forms being common to Gidabal and the northern coastal dialects (evidence for the *-nahdjil* past locative suffix in coastal dialects is preserved in the place name Billinudgel *bilinahdjil* 'once belonged to parrots', there is other evidence of the past tense locative vowel shift from /ah/ present to /ih/ past in records of Gidabal and Yugambeh).
- (3) Contact with languages further north in Queensland accounts for a few features of northern dialects, e.g. the inclusive 1st person plural pronoun, the 3rd person plural pronoun, the *minyng* form for 'what', etc.
- (4) Easy geographical proximity could account for the gradual shift in some phonological features (the dental fricative /d/ intervocalically in Gidabal and from speakers at Tabulam whose ancestral lands were between Tabulam and Woodenbong contrasting with the /dj/ phoneme at Tabulam and further south). Vocabulary differences place Gidabal closer to the more eastern dialects in some respects.
- (5) My postulated route of contact between Gidabal and Yugambeh through the Boonah border gate area could account for some similarities in vocabulary between these two dialects which do not seem to be reflected in the more coastal dialects.

CONCLUSION.

As the reader will agree, a lot of miscellaneous information has been collected but few firm conclusions have been reached. My hypotheses above are very tentative, more as ideas to be played with than anything I would consider even tentatively established. However, I present the discussion believing that if progress is to be made in reconstruction of past social and language shifts in Australia, a multidisciplinary approach is essential. It can also give pointers to what are useful things to look for in the various subdisciplines. A bringing together of available specialists in the various fields could be more useful than one person researching all sources. Geographical features and evidence of changes in vegetation can point up possible trade, contact or migration routes, as can the spread and alteration of songs, or evidence of trade (cf. McBryde 1983).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is divided into two sections: A, those works consulted, and B, those works not consulted.

A. WORKS CONSULTED

- Ainsworth, James. 'Aborigines of the Richmond River', extract from *Reminiscences, 1847-1922: Ballina in the Early Days*. Lismore, c.1922. On hunting, fishing and customs.
- Allen, John and John Lane. 'Grammar, Vocabulary, and Notes of the Wangerriburra Tribe', *Queensland Parliamentary Papers* 3:1034-51, in 'Annual Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for the year 1913'. Brisbane, 1913:22-34. On the Yugambeh dialect.
- Anon. 'Reminiscences by "An Early Settler"', from a newspaper cutting dated 1st February, 1925. Lismore, 1925.
- Bonner, Neville. Personal communication, 1977.
- Bray, Joshua. 'On Dialects and Place Names', *Science* Nov. 21, 1899. An article quoting Bray and others, comments (mainly negative) on Aborigines, and short word list.
- Bray, J. 'Tribal Districts and Customs', *Science* Feb. 21st, 1901. Mr J. Bray J.P. was a police magistrate at Murwillumbah.
- Bundock, Mary. 'Notes on the Richmond River Blacks'. Richmond River Historical Society MS No.332. Lismore, c.1898. Also in Mitchell Library, Sydney (Bundock Papers A6939), and included in McBryde 1978:261-66. On food-gathering and social organisation.
- Calley, J.J.C. 'Aboriginal Pentecostalism: A Study of Changes in Religion, North Coast, New South Wales'. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Sydney, 1955.
- . 'Bandjalang social organisation'. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Sydney, 1959.
- Creamer, Howard F.W. 'Preliminary Report on Investigation of Aboriginal Sites in the Woodenbong Area of Northern New South Wales'. National Parks and Wildlife MS. Armidale, 1974.
- Creamer, Howard. Personal discussion, 1984.
- Crowley, Terry. 'Sociological Background to the Middle Clarence Aborigines', Ch.1 of currently untraced source. Canberra, n.d.
- . Correspondence in possession of M. Sharpe, 1977.
- . *The middle Clarence dialects of Bandjalang*. Canberra, 1978. On the Tabulam and Baryulgil dialects (Wahlubal and Wehlubal) with a few items from Rappville. Crowley's chapter 6 should also be consulted for sources of word lists and grammars not listed in this bibliography.
- Cunningham, M.C. 'Notes on the Lismore Dialect of Bandjalang', in possession of M. Sharpe, 1967.
- . *A Description of the Yugumbir Dialect of Bandjalang*. University of Queensland Papers, 1(8), Brisbane, 1979:69-122.
- Curr, E.M. *The Australian Race*, 4 vols. Melbourne, 1886-7.
- Daily Examiner*. 'Echoes of the Past: Some Richmond River Memories, by H.W.R.' *Daily Examiner*, Grafton, 31 December 1920. On ceremonies.
- Daley, Louise T. *Men and a River*. Melbourne, 1968.
- Dawson, R.L. 'Richmond River Dialect'. Richmond River Historical Society MS, Lismore, 1922. Word list.
- . *Aboriginal Words and Names*. Sydney, 1935.
- De Bertrodano, R.E. 'Description of an Aboriginal tribe', Typescript in the T.D. Campbell Collection (the papers of the late Professor Campbell of Adelaide University), and included in McBryde 1978:281-286. Adelaide, 1926.
- Fraser, Jill. 'A new Bundjalung Language: Baryulgil Square Talk', in Sharpe 1985:174-201.
- Fraser, John. *An Australian Language*. Sydney, 1892.
- Geytenbeek, Brian and Helen. *Gidabal Grammar and Dictionary*. Canberra 1971.
- Gill, William. 'The Bora Ground', *The Australian Engineer*, 7th December, 1944. Richmond River Historical Society MS No. 939A.
- Gresty, J.A. 'The Numinbah Valley: Its Geography, History and Aboriginal Associations', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (Queensland)*, 51(7), 1946-7:57-72.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

- Halliday, Ken. 'Tenterfield site is NSW's third sacred place', *Northern Magazine, The Armidale Express*, Armidale, Week commencing May 6, 1979:3.
- Hausfeld, R.G. 'Aspects of Aboriginal Station Management', Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney, 1960.
- Hoddinott, W.G. 'The languages and myths of the New England area', in McBryde, Isabel ed. *Records of Times Past*. Canberra, 1978:52-64.
- Holmer, Nils M. *An Attempt towards a comparative grammar of two Australian Languages*. Canberra, 1966. On Dhaggatti and Kattang.
- *An Attempt towards a comparative grammar of two Australian Languages Part II. Indices and vocabularies of Kattang and Thangatti*. Canberra, 1967.
- *Notes on the Bandjalang Dialect Spoken at Coraki and Bungawalbin Creek, N.S.W.* Canberra, 1971. Alleged by speakers of these dialects to be inaccurate in many details. I have checked his vocabulary list with speakers, in particular the late Albert Yuke.
- *Linguistic Survey of South-Eastern Queensland*. Pacific Linguistics D-54, Canberra, 1978.
- Isaacs, Jennifer (ed.). *Australian Dreaming*. Sydney, 1980.
- Livingstone, Rev. H. 'A Short Grammar and Vocabulary of the Dialect spoken by the Minyug People on the north-east coast of New South Wales', Appendix A in Fraser (1892). Sydney, 1892.
- McBryde, Isabel. *Aboriginal Prehistory in New England*. Sydney, 1974.
- (ed.). *Records of Times Past: Ethnohistorical essays on the culture and ecology of the New England tribes*. Canberra, 1978. Other references listed in various places in this work may be pertinent. I only noted ones that clearly referred to the Bandjalang area.
- 'Distributions in Interdisciplinary Contexts: Greenstone artefacts', Paper presented at the 15th Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, New Zealand, February 1983.
- Oakes, Marjorie J. 'Notes on Bundjalung vocabulary', MS. Lismore, n.d.
- *The Aborigines of the Richmond Area*. Richmond River Historical Society Pamphlet No. 2, Lismore, 1975 reprint.
- Correspondence in possession of M. Sharpe, 1977-83.
- Peterson, Nicolas ed. *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*. Canberra, 1976.
- Pierce, Russell. The evidence of J. Ainsworth on the diet and economy of the Ballina horde, in McBryde 1978:116-121.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. 'Notes on Totemism in Eastern Australia', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* LIX, c.1929:399-415.
- Rankin, T. 'Aboriginal Place Names and Other Words, with their Meanings, Peculiar to the Richmond and Tweed River Districts', *Science* 22 Sept. 1900:132-134. Rankin was a district surveyor. Word list with pronunciation guide.
- Richmond-Tweed Regional Library. *Place Names of the Tweed, Brunswick and Upper Richmond Regions*. Place Names of Northern New South Wales Series 2. Richmond-Tweed Regional Library, Lismore, 1984.
- Richmond-Tweed Regional Library and Richmond River Historical Society. *Place Names of the Richmond Region*. Richmond-Tweed Regional Library and Richmond River Historical Society, Lismore, 1983.
- Ridley, William. *Kamilaroi and other Australian Languages* 2nd ed. Sydney, 1875.
- Roberts, Lyle Snr 'Memories of Mr Lyle Roberts, Cubawee, N.S.W.' Richmond River Historical Society, Lismore, n.d.
- Robinson, Roland. *The Man who sold his Dreaming*. Sydney, 1965. A collection of stories given by Bundjalung and Gidabal people.
- Royal Australian Survey Corps. Joint Operations Graphic Maps of Brisbane, Grafton, Ipswich, Maclean, Tweed Heads and Warwick, scale 1:250,000. Aust. Govt Printer, c. 1969. Other maps also used.
- Ryan, John Sed. *The Land of Ulitarra*. University of New England, Dept of University Extension, Grafton, 1964. A collection of reminiscences, languages notes., etc.
- Sharpe, Margaret C. et al. *An Introduction to the Bundjalung Language and its Dialects* submitted as a project for the Graduate Diploma in Intercultural Studies, Mt Lawley College, W.A. 1978. Revised and published, Armidale Papers No.8, Armidale, 1985.

- Smythe, W.E. 'Bandjalang grammar', in Crowley 1978:247-478. Original, Casino, c.1942.
- _____ 'Elementary Grammar of the Gumbaingeri Language (North Coast N.S.W.)' *Oceania* XIX, 2 1948:130-191, XIX, 3 1949:254-299, XX, 1 1949:29-65.
- Springbrook National Parks. n.d. 'Aboriginal Names and Meanings'. Springbrook, n.d.
- Sullivan, Hilary. 'Aboriginal gatherings in south east Queensland'. Unpublished B.A. Honours thesis, A.N.U., Canberra.
- Sullivan, S.M. 'The Material Culture of the Aborigines of the Richmond and Tweed Rivers of Northern New South Wales at the time of the first white Settlement', B.A. Honours thesis, University of New England, Armidale, 1965.
- Sullivan, Sharon. 'Aboriginal diet and food gathering methods in the Richmond and Tweed Rivers valleys, as seen in early settler records', in McBryde 1978:101-115.
- Taylor, John C. 'Notes on Wanggeriburra typescript', MS in possession of M.C. Sharpe. Brisbane, c.1967. Biographical note on John Allen.
- Vesper, Alexander. 'The Three Brothers', in Robinson 1965:40-44.
- Watson, F.J. 'Vocabularies of Four Representative Tribes of South Eastern Queensland', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (Queensland)*, XLVIII, supplement, 1943.
- West, A.A.M. 'Nimbin: Blackfellows at Brookside', Richmond River Historical Society MS, n.d.
- Wurm, S.A. 'Grammatical Decay in Papuan Languages'. Paper presented at the 15th Pacific Science Congress, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1983. To appear in *Papers in Pacific Linguistics*, No.24 (Pacific Linguistics, A-70).

B. SOURCES NOT CONSULTED.

- Anon. 'Notes on the History of Tentenbar', Richmond River Historical Society Archives MS, n.d.
- Anon. 'Aborigines of Byron Bay', Richmond River Historical Society Archives MS, n.d.
- Atchison, John. *Place names of Northern New South Wales*. Compiled from a series of broadcasts by Dr J. Atchison on ABC Radio. Sydney, 1976.
- Calley, M.J.C. 'Three Bandjalang Legends', *Mankind* 5, 1958:208-13. Also in Ryan 1964.
- Campbell, Valerie. 'Two fish traps located on the mid-north coast of New South Wales', in McBryde 1978:122-134.
- Crowley, T. 'Phonological Change in New England', in Dixon, R.M. ed. *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. Canberra and New Jersey, 1976.
- Dawson, R.L. *Australian Aboriginal words and names, lower Clarence River dialect. With some recollections and records of the Clarence and Richmond River Aborigines*. Sydney, 1935.
- Donnelly, Dick. Songs and discussion. Most in possession of A.I.A.S., Canberra, and collected by various, incl. Geytenbeek, 1977 and other times.
- Enright, W.J. 'Notes on Kumbangerai', *Mankind* 1(10), 1934:239-40.
- _____ 'Notes on the Aborigines of the North Coast of N.S.W.', *Mankind* 2(4), 1937:88-91.
- Gummow, Margaret. Gummow is doing her M.A. on Bundjalung music through the University of Sydney.
- Hargrave, E. 'Aboriginal dialects - Woodenbong', *Science of Man* 6, 1903:6-7. Clarence River, *ibid*:9.
- Hodgkinson, C. *Australia from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay with descriptions of the natives, their manners and customs; the geology . . .* T. & W. Boone, London 1845.
- Howitt. University of Queensland MS notes etc. on the Bundjalung, Brisbane, n.d. The existence of these notes has just been drawn to my attention.
- McBryde, I. 'Radio carbon dates for northern New South Wales', *Antiquity* 40(160), 1966:285-92.
- McBryde, Isabel. 'Museum collections from the Richmond River District', in McBryde 1978:135-210.
- _____ ed. *Records of Times Past: Ethnohistorical essays on the culture and ecology of the New England tribes*. Canberra, 1978. There is a lot of pertinent material in various articles in this book.
- McCarthy, F.D. 'An analysis of the large stone implements from five workshops on the North Coast of New South Wales', in *Records of the Australian Museum* 21(8), 1947:411-30.
- McPherson, J. 'Ngarrabul and other Aboriginal tribes', *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales* 4, 1904:677-85.
- _____ 'Some Aboriginal place names in northern New South Wales', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 16(2), 1930:120-29.

BUNDJALUNG SETTLEMENT AND MIGRATION

- 'Some Aboriginal animal names', *The Australian Zoologist* 6(4), 1931:677-85.
- 'Some words from the New England vocabularies', *Mankind* 1, 1934:235-36.
- Mathews, R.H. 'Languages of the New England Aborigines, New South Wales', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Queensland* 17, 1903:63-67.
- 'Language and sociology of the Kumbaingeri tribe, New South Wales', *Australian Association for the Advancement of Science* 12, 1909:485-93.
- Oakes, H. 'Report on the Aborigines of the Macleay and Clarence Rivers', *Historical Records of Australia, Series 1*, 2265, 1842.
- Perry, Harry C. *Pioneering - The Life of the Hon. H.M. Collins*. Brisbane, 1923.
- Pierce, Russell. 'The evidence of J. Ainsworth on the diet and economy of the Ballina horde', in McBryde 1978:116-121.
- Petrie, Constance Campbell. *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland*. Hawthorn, Vic., 1904, republished Gladesville, 1975.
- Richmond Valley Naturalists Club and Lismore Gem and Mineral Society. *Geological Features of the Richmond Valley*. Lismore, 1975. Other publications of this type on surrounding areas may be useful as background also.
- Sullivan, Sharon. 'Aboriginal diet and food gathering methods in the Richmond and Tweed River valleys, as seen in early settler records', in McBryde 1978:101-115. This is a rich source of possibly relevant references, not all of which I have listed here.
- Thomas, J. 'Vocabulary of Aboriginal Dialects, Upper Clarence River', *Science of Man* III, 2, 1900:28.
- Williams, Charlotte. 'Three Ngarabngbal Songs', recorded by B. Geytenbeek, in possession of A.I.A.S., Canberra, c.1966.
- Williams, Stan and Charlotte Williams. 'Ngara:ngba l and other matters, and songs', recorded by B. Geytenbeek, MS in possession of A.I.A.S., Canberra, c.1966.

APPENDIX

LIST OF LANGUAGE/DIALECT/CLAN NAMES FOUND IN THE LITERATURE

- Balgabari: a section of the Yugambeh or Beaudesert dialect group, to the east of the Albert River, according to one of Holmer's informants (Holmer 1978:410).
- Bandjalang (Bundjalung/Banjalang): claimed originally to refer to the Coraki and Bungawalbin Creek dialect, but now claimed as a name by those in Lismore, Tabulam, Baryulgil, etc. Given by Calley as the dialect of the Gugin clan near Byron Bay and Murwillumbah. He also gives it as clan name and dialect name for Lismore, and dialect name of the Ngowaidjal (Gurigaiburi) clan of Coraki.
- Baryulgil: see Wehlubal.
- Birihn/Birihnal: 'south', 'south people', applied to those around Rappville (Crowley 1978:156), applied by Richmond River people to those on the Clarence River, and by those on the Tweed to those on the Richmond (Livingstone 1892:23).
- Bukibal: (transcription of first vowel uncertain, due to poor microfilm) a Bandjalang clan name of the group round Boonah (Calley 1959).
- Casino: according to Crowley (1978), little is known of the geographical extent of this dialect.
- Copmanhurst: Crowley (1978:157) suggests the dialect spoken around here was heavily influenced by Gumbaynggir.
- Dinggabai: only the Geytenbeeks give this name, from Woodenbong (Gidabal) informants. It applies to a dialect spoken on the Clarence River between Tabulam and Woodenbong, and was purportedly the dialect spoken by the late Dick Donnelly.
- Galibal: Geytenbeeks place this on the Richmond River around Kyogle, but the title Galibal can be applied more widely, to those who pronounce 'this' as *gali*. Given by Calley as both clan name and dialect at Grevillea.
- Geynyon: given as the language name of the Warwick/Allora area by informants at Woodenbong (Geytenbeeks and Sharpe).

- Gidjabal/Gidabal/Kithebal etc.: the dialect of the Woodenbong area.
- Giaail/Girlille: Gialil is given by Calley as a Bandjalang clan name located at Killarney and Warwick. Hausfeld gives Girlille as a dialect name in this area.
- Gugin/Kokin: 'north' Livingstone (1892) states the term was used by Richmond River Aborigines of those on the Tweed, and by those on the Tweed of those on the Logan. Gugin is given by Calley (1959) as the clan name of a Bandjalang dialect-speaking group at Byron Bay and Murwillumbah.
- Guribaiburi: (dwellers at Coraki) given by Calley as an alternative clan name for the Bandjalang-dialect speaking people at Coraki.
- Kitabal, Kitapul, Warwick dialect: spoken around Warwick, Allora, Killarney and the source of the Condamine and Logan Rivers. This, according to Crowley's investigations (1978), is another dialect from the Gidabal of the Woodenbong area.
- Manaldjahli/Munuldjali: the name preferred by the late Joe Culham for his dialect (Yugambeh of Beaudesert, Logan and Albert River basins) (Cunningham 1967, Calley 1959).
- Manandjali: another form of the name Manaldjali, recorded by Holmer (1978) and in some old records at the University of Queensland. The name is sometimes used in reference to Beaudesert (Holmer 1978: 410).
- Minyangbal: (Livingstone 1892) the dialect of the Brunswick River and Byron Bay areas. Calley (1959) attests it as a clan name and dialect located at Coochin.
- Murwillubah: Bray (1899/1900) gives this as the name of the tribe of the Murwillumbah area, after which he named the area the town later developed on.
- Nerang Creek: (Crowley 1978:147) I suspect the name Ngarahngbal (etc.) is what the name Nerang is derived from, though Crowley thinks this is a different dialect.
- Nganduwal/Ngando: (Livingstone 1892:3) along the Tweed River.
- Ngarahngbal/Ngarah?wal/Ngarahgwai: Gold Coast area, between the Albert and Tweed Rivers (Crowley 1978:145 and sources listed by him).
- Ngarabal/Ngarapal/Ngarabul given by Calley as a clan and dialect name of those on the Tweed River.
- Ngenduwal: claimed by Livingstone to be used by the Nganduwal of the Minyangbal of Byron Bay and Brunswick River.
- Ngogedjal: given by Calley as a clan name at Woodenbong, of the Gidabal dialect.
- Ngowaidjal or Guribaiburi: given by Calley as the clan name of the Bandjalang dialect speaking group at Coraki.
- Nyangbal: claimed by Livingstone to be the dialect spoken along the Richmond River. Crowley equates it with the Ballina dialect.
- Wahlubal Tabulam-Drake dialect: It appears (as I compare Calley's list with names I know of present families at Tabulam), than many of the present Tabulam people originally came from the Pretty Gully/Paddy's Flat area.
- Wangerriburra: (Allen and Lane 1913) given as the name of the group John Allen belonged to, in the Albert and Logan River area. The same dialect as Yugambeh (Cunningham 1967).
- Welhubal: a name for the Baryulgil dialect or others nearby where the 2nd person singular ergative pronoun form is *wehlubal*. Welhubal is given as the dialect name at Drake and Tabulam by Calley.
- Wiyabal: usually used of the dialect spoken around Lismore, Alstonville, Dunoon and Nimbin.
- Wudjehbal: according to Geytenbeeks, a dialect spoken along the upper Rocky River in the foothills of the ranges west of the Clarence River and in the ranges west of Cangai. Wudjehbal is given by Calley as a dialect name at Old Bonalbo, Bonalbo, Millera and Sandylands.
- Yagarabal (Jagarabal): given by Calley as a possible Bandjalang clan name of those living to the north of Boonah. Other opinion regards this as another language.
- Yugambal: A language or dialect to the west of the Bundjalung area, alleged by most sources not to be a Bundjalung dialect. However Halliday (1979) equates it with Dick Donnelly's dialect, which was certainly a Bundjalung dialect.
- Yugambeh/Yugumbir/Jukambe: (Cunningham 1967) the dialect spoken in the Logan and Albert River areas, including Beaudesert. According to some accounts it extended westwards to Boonah, but others (Hausfeld 1960) suggest Yagarabal was spoken there. It is also claimed by Bonnar (personal communication 1977) to be a name of the Lismore dialect, where 'no' is pronounced *yugambe/yugambeh*.