

Part 1. Grammar

1.1. The Yagara language

1.1.1. Yagara dialects

Yagara is a Pama-Nyungan language traditionally spoken in what is now South East Queensland. Yagara, which is sometimes spelled *Yuggera*, *Jagera* and other variations, is traditionally spoken from the Great Dividing Range in the west, to Stradbroke Island in the east, encompassing present-day Ipswich and Brisbane, and extending down into the Fassifern Valley in the south (Bell 1934, 13; see Figure 1.1). Yagara is the source of the Australian English words *yakka* ‘work’ (from *yaga*), *dilly* ‘dilly bag’ (from *dili*), *humpy* ‘traditional temporary shelter’ (from *ngumbi*);¹ and possibly *jackaroo* ‘cattle/sheep station worker’ (from *dagairu* ‘stranger’).

Though Yagara is linguistically one language, some of its dialects belong to distinct groups and are associated with particular Countries (O’Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966; Wurm 1972, 1994; Oates 1975; Walsh 1981; Bown and Atkinson 2012). The differences between the Yagara dialects are socially and politically important, but linguistically small. The dialects have fewer phonological and lexical differences than Australian English and New Zealand English, for example, and all seem to have identical morphosyntax.

1 Though the vowel in English *humpy* might be expected to originate from Yagara *a*, not *u*, three sources record *ngumbi* with *oo*, which indicates Yagara *u*.

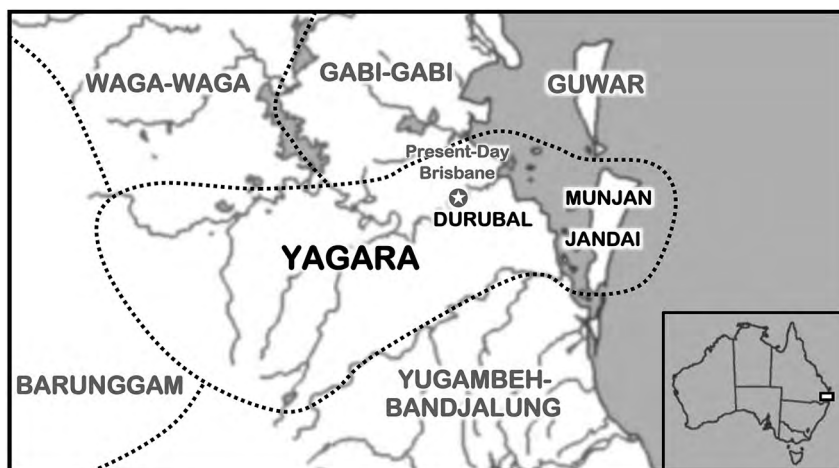


Figure 1.1: Yagara (in black font) and surrounding languages (in grey).

Dialects are not shown, with the exception of the Durubal dialect traditionally spoken around the present-day Brisbane CBD, and the Yagara saltwater dialects Jandai and Munjan (small black font).

Source: Authors' approximation based on Birch (1873), Watkins and Hamilton (1887), Watkins (1891), Harper (1894), Welsby (1916), Bensted (1924), Bell (1934), Meston (1894, 1923a–c), Watson (1943), Hardcastle (1946–7), and Holmer (1983). This map is hesitant and relevant only to the discussion of this section. As highlighted by Aird (2020) and Aird et al. (2020), concepts of language and tribe are less reliable for Native Title Claim purposes than research based on visible (photographic) evidence of real-life events and people.

It is unclear whether the mainland Yagara-speaking clans considered themselves speakers of the same language. All recorded mainland Yagara speakers used the word *yagara* to mean ‘no’, for example. A different word for ‘no’ can be a signal that a dialect is considered a distinct language, so it is possible that all the mainland Yagara-speaking clans identified as speakers of the same language despite belonging to socially distinct groups.

The map in Figure 1.1 labels three Yagara dialects: Durubal, Jandai and Munjan (see Figure 1.1). These are the dialects for which we have the most information. Several other potential names for Yagara dialects are listed in Section 2.2.

The Durubal or *Turrbal* speakers are the traditional caretakers of the present-day Brisbane city centre, and their dialect differs from the saltwater dialects and potentially from the dialects farther south, as described later in this section. The Durubal dialect is also the main source of information

on Yagara morphosyntax in the current grammar, due mainly to the Bible stories that Ridley elicited from the boy Tom Petrie in 1855 (see 1.1.4 and 3.5–3.7). Other dialects are represented by wordlists and short sentences.

Mainland dialects like Durubal can also be called freshwater dialects, whereas Jandai and Munjan are saltwater dialects, based on the language groups' traditional identities as inland (freshwater) people and coastal (saltwater) people (Jefferies 2011, 79).

The two documented saltwater dialects, Jandai and Munjan, have their own words for 'no'. Instead of *yagara* 'no' as in mainland Yagara, Jandai uses *jandai* 'no' and Munjan uses *munjan* 'no'. These two island dialects, while similar to each other, differ phonologically from all the mainland dialects in documented ways.

Jandai is traditionally spoken by the Jandaiwal people of central and southern Stradbroke Island (Watkins and Hamilton 1887, 222). Munjan or *Moondjan* is a northern Stradbroke dialect that belongs to the Nunagal or *Noonuckle* people (Tindale 1974; Watkins and Hamilton 1887, 222). The Guwanbal or *Gowanpul* people are a clan of the Nunagal, according to Holmer (1983, 405).

There is general agreement that the Jandai and Munjan dialects are extremely similar. Watkins (1891, 49) comments that Jandai and Munjan 'are very much alike and resemble the Yuggera of the Yerongpan tribe, south-west of Brisbane'. He observes that Guwar, the language spoken on Moreton Island, is in contrast 'very distinct' (1891, 49). When Watkins and Hamilton sent their Jandai and Munjan wordlists to Curr for publication in the volume *The Australian Race*, Curr agreed that the lists were highly similar. In fact, he declared that there was no need to publish the Munjan list, 'which much resembles Jandai' (1887, 221), and the Munjan list was discarded and lost.

The general similarity of Yagara dialects is also underscored by the claim from an 1894 observer that Yagara speakers had one name that referred collectively to their languages. Edward 'Old Ned' Harper writes in the *Queenslander* that 'The whole of the Blacks along the south side of Moreton Bay and all along its shores to Amity Point use the word Yug-ger-a-bool to signify their respective dialects' (Harper 1894, 410). Meston (1894) disagrees with Harper, writing:

the ‘Yuggera’ dialect was spoken nowhere in Moreton Bay, but began with the ‘Coorpoóroo-jaggin’ tribe of South Brisbane and the ‘Yeerongpan’ and Jepparra tribes of the Eight-mile and Brown’s Plains, and extended from there to Cunningham’s Gap and the head of the Brisbane. Yuggera was spoken at Ipswich. (Meston 1894, 549)

Meston’s characterisation of Yagara as a mainland language is corroborated by Holmer, who in 1983 observes that the language termed ‘Yugarabul’ by Watson (1943):

is a mainland language (or in any case one which comprises neither Stradbroke nor Moreton Island ...). Indeed, the term *jagarabal* (or *jagarabul*), that is Watson’s ‘Yugarabul’, was not recognised on the island as a language name and the basic word from which the name is derived, *jagara* ‘no’, was hardly known at all by our island informants. (1983, 393)

As noted, the only recorded difference between the Jandai and Munjan dialects is the typical word for ‘no’, which is *jandai* in Jandai and *munjan* in Munjan. However, both saltwater dialects do seem to differ in several respects from the mainland freshwater dialects of Yagara. For example, *a* is raised to *i* in some words in the saltwater dialects. Holmer notes this process when he observes that unstressed /a/ is likely to be raised in Munjan, with the result that it is often written *i*. The language name *Waga-Waga* (Wakka-Wakka) was spelled *Waky-Waky* by Munjan speakers, reflecting their pronunciation of the name (Holmer 1983, 395). According to Nunagal and Badjala woman Myrtle Thompson, one of Holmer’s informants, the word pronounced *dagai* ‘flayed corpse; white man’ on the mainland was *digi* in Munjan. The latter form was also supplied by Mabel Brown, a consultant on Nunagal living at Dunwich (Holmer 1983, 394). Holmer notes a similar dialectal contrast in words including ‘moon’, pronounced with *a* on the mainland (*gilan*) and *i* in Munjan (*gilin*); and the name Meeanjin (Brisbane), which is *Miganjin* or *Miyanjin* in mainland Yagara and *Miginjin* in Munjan. This name is also impacted by the lenition of unstressed intervocalic /g/ to /y/ in some dialects, resulting in *Miyanjin* rather than *Miganjin* (the lenition is discussed further in 1.3.2).

Hardcastle (1946–7, 22) claims that *malara* ‘man’ is *mallara* in the Brisbane area but *mullara* in the Boonah area; that *magil* ‘water dragon’ is *magil* in Brisbane but *muggil* in Boonah; and that ‘in these and several other words it will be noticed that the Boonah dialect has a short “u” sound where the Brisbane dialect has a short “a” sound’ (1946–7, 22). When Hardcastle

read Petrie's transcriptions of Brisbane-area words aloud to Boonah-area Yagara speakers, they attributed the differences to Petrie being a 'salt water fella' (1946–7, 21). It is possible, however, that Hardcastle simply misread Petrie's transcriptions. Petrie spelled 'man' as *mallara* and 'water dragon' as *magil*, but Hardcastle may have read these words aloud with the vowels in Standard Australian English (SAE) *mall* or *mark*, for example, whereas Petrie doubtless intended a vowel closer to SAE *mull*. It is also possible that the southern Yagara pronunciation of words such as *magil* genuinely has a different first vowel than in northern dialects.

The differing words for 'no' in the freshwater and saltwater dialects may have been accompanied by other lexical differences. For instance, Petrie (1904, 106) writes that the mainland word for 'dilly bag' is *dili*, whereas the form used on Stradbroke Island is *gulai*. However, these words could also have referred to distinct types of bags. Meston writes that 'goanna' is *bara* on the mainland and *giwa* in Munjan, but other sources make it clear that *giwa* denotes a lace monitor and *bara* indicates a smaller species of monitor lizard.

In consideration of the incomplete data on all of the dialects, it is difficult to say whether the absence of a word in one dialect means that the word was not used, or that the word was simply not documented for that dialect. Readers are encouraged to check the reference list after each dictionary entry to see which researcher collected each word, and refer to section (1.1.4) to see where the data was gathered, in order to have greater certainty that a specific word belongs to a given dialect.

1.1.2. Previous linguistic studies

Revitalisation work on Jandai, traditionally spoken on Stradbroke Island (Minjerribah), has been led by the traditional owners of the language. Notably, the Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders in Council (MMEIC) have produced a series of materials including the *Jandai Language Dictionary* (2011) with around 700 Jandai and Guwar words, compiled with the help of linguist Colleen Hattersley. A list of around 400 Yagara and Guwar words was self-published by Guwanbal and Gabi-Gabi woman Kerry Charlton and Barry Brown (Charlton and Brown 2019). Quandamooka artist and language advocate Sandra Delaney has created various Jandai reference materials.

In the past 20 years, several significant academic works have been published covering the languages traditionally spoken in the area around present-day Brisbane. In 1998 Margaret Sharpe published a dictionary of the northern varieties of Yugambeh-Bandjalang, which in 2020 evolved into a dictionary and grammar more accessible to the layperson. The Yugambeh-Bandjalang varieties described in Sharpe's volumes are traditionally spoken as far north as the Gold Coast area in southern Queensland, and belong to the Bandjalangic family, which is the grouping most closely related to Yagara, according to Bown and Atkinson (2012). A more southern Yugambeh-Bandjalang language, Wangerriburra, is documented in a 2001 sketch grammar and dictionary compiled from data collected in 1913 (Kombumerri Corporation for Culture 2001; based on Allen and Lane 1914). Guwar, the traditional language of the Ngugi people of Moreton Island (Bannister 1982; Jefferies 2011), does not yet have a grammar, though Anthony Jefferies' 2011 Masters thesis considers the historical relationships between the Guwar, Yagara and Bandjalang languages and speakers. In 2004, Suzanne Kite published a grammar of the Duunjdjau language spoken to the north-west of Brisbane, based on data collected by Stephen Wurm in the mid-1900s. Duunjdjau is one of four mutually intelligible dialects belonging to a language that Kite and Wurm label as Waga-Waga following RMW Dixon (Kite and Wurm 2004, 3). Jeanie Bell, a Yagara and Dulingbara woman, compiled wordlists for Gabi-Gabi and Badjala in 1994, and wrote a sketch grammar of Badjala, traditionally spoken on K'Gari (Fraser Island), as her Masters thesis in 2003. Badjala artist Fiona Foley published a Badjala dictionary in 1996 (Foley 2019).

1.1.3. Language loss and reclamation

Proponents of language revitalisation such as the MMEIC are fighting a long history of Indigenous language suppression in the area. The Queensland government began legislating the destruction of Aboriginal culture and society in 1865, when the *Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act* allowed Indigenous children to be taken away to white-run missions. Government attacks on Indigenous culture and language continued to build for over a hundred years, culminating in the *Aborigines Act 1971* (Qld), which banned Aboriginal cultural customs, censored their reading material and devalued the work of Aboriginal people living on reserves. This Act was repealed in 1984.

Archibald Meston, who collected some of the Yagara words and sentences used in this grammar, led early legislation that was devastating for the Yagara language and its speakers. Meston's *Report on the Aborigines of Queensland*, written in his capacity as the government-appointed Special Commissioner, was presented to the two Houses of Parliament in 1896. The report made the case for the containment of Aborigines in isolation from colonial settlements that were established on their lands, to contain 'remnant tribes' and 'half-caste children' away from towns in the south-east of the state. His report emphasised the need to restrict the movement of women and girls outside the confines of Deebing Creek and Myora Mission Stations so as to avoid 'a permanent increase of half-caste population' (Meston 1896, 9). Meston described Deebing Creek as 'a home and a refuge for the scattered remnants of tribes within a radius of thirty or forty miles', and Myora's purpose as 'chiefly to provide protection and education for aboriginal and half-caste children scattered about Moreton Bay' (1896, 12). His use of terms such as 'remnant' and 'scatter' allude euphemistically to the ongoing genocide, removal and imprisonment of Aboriginal people to clear the way for land theft. Meston's recommendations led to the implementation of the *Aboriginal Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act 1897* (Qld), which enforced control by state and church authorities over every aspect of the lives of Aboriginal people or any 'half-caste' individuals who associated with them.

Subsequently, the *Queensland Aborigines Preservation and Protection Act* and *Torres Strait Islanders Act* (both 1939) legalised the forced removal of people from their homelands to distant reserves; the abduction of children from their families (the stolen generations); restrictions on movements; the destruction of language and kinship groups; the compulsion to work for low wages; the withholding of wages without consent (stolen wages); the random seizure of property; exclusion from voting; and curtailment of access to processes of justice that were available to the rest of the community.

Despite the imposition of these instruments of control, traditional languages continued to be spoken in secret by older members of the community. They were reluctant to pass on their linguistic knowledge, however, because their children and grandchildren could be seized and sent away. As a result of this suppression, later generations of Indigenous language owners have worked hard to revive the languages that are their birthright, both through private transmission of cultural and linguistic knowledge, and through public endeavours such as the MMEIC's publications.

There is undoubtedly private language knowledge that has not been included in the present volume. The private language knowledge that has been passed down through families and communities, sometimes at great risk to themselves, is an irreplaceable resource. We hope that the current volume will in no way be taken to supersede or supplant the vocabulary, meanings, pronunciations and spellings that are the heritage of language owners whose knowledge has been handed down from native speakers.

This volume is primarily an attempt to collect all publicly available language information in one place as an easily accessible resource. In Part 2: Dictionary and Part 3: Texts, the original source materials are presented in two formats: (1) their original spellings, word boundaries and translations; and (2) spellings, morpheme breakdowns and glosses as analysed and standardised by the authors. Though the standardised versions may be more accessible to some readers, the inclusion of original materials will make it easier, in the future, to correct the authors' inevitable mistakes or adapt the work for other purposes. Our goal is not to present an authoritative volume, but rather to provide access to comprehensive textual resources to be used as a tool in the ongoing struggle for language preservation.

1.1.4. List of sources

As a result of the suppression of Indigenous languages in the area, there are presently no fluent native speakers of Yagara. The current grammar is therefore based on a corpus of vocabulary lists (which form the basis of Part 2: Dictionary) and longer written texts (all of which are included in their entirety in Part 3: Texts) rather than direct elicitation from native speakers.

First Nations scholars seek to decolonise research by adopting an 'Indigenist' methodology (Rigney 1997), which is distinguished by its reconceptualist intent. Reconceptualism 'focuses on and learns from the array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalised groups that often go unrecognized and unacknowledged' (Yosso 2005, 69). This section provides brief contextual information about the sources on which this volume is based, to facilitate viewing the source material through the lens of our distinct historical experiences of colonisation (Harward-Nalder and Grenfell 2012).

Habitually, colonial collectors established their authority by presenting ‘scientific’ papers in the Western tradition or publishing their wordlists in the newspapers of the day, usually without acknowledgement of their Indigenous informants. Several engaged in arguments through letters to editors in attempts to correct each other and thereby re-establish their authority. In line with a critical approach to these texts, this section provides contextual information about the authors of the major sources of information on Yagara, without reference to subsequent debates about their reliability by non-Indigenous writers. For example, the authors’ cultural backgrounds provide information about their reasons for collecting specific words or texts, and offer insight into why they might have understood and translated these words and texts in particular ways. Their language backgrounds and habits of transcription shed light on how they might have heard and written Yagara words.

The list below is organised in roughly chronological order of the language data collection, with relevant information about the context to assist readers to form their own opinions of the sources.

Threlkeld, Lancelot (1788–1859). A London-born Congregational minister, Threlkeld was appointed as missionary in January 1825 at Reid’s Mistake (Belmont) on Lake Macquarie (Awaba). He kept a handwritten journal of his time at Lake Macquarie covering the period 1828–1846.

Clunie, James Oliphant (1795–1851). Born in Scotland to a minister and his wife, Clunie served in the 17th Regiment, seeing conflict in the War of 1812. His regiment served in Australia from 1830 to 1836, after which he was appointed Commandant of the Moreton Bay Convict Settlement. Clunie provided a list of 107 words for publication in Major Thomas Mitchell’s (1792–1855) *Journal of Three Expeditions*, first published in 1838. In this list, a silent final *e* on words is used to modify the quality of the previous vowel.

Lang, John Dunmore (1799–1878). Scottish-born Lang was a Presbyterian evangelist and Scottish migration advocate. He arrived in Australia in 1823 and brought a large contingent of German Lutheran missionaries to Queensland in 1838, including Eipper (see entry below). Lang first visited Moreton Bay in 1845. He appears to be the author of a 404-word ‘anonymous’ wordlist from 1846, since the first page of the manuscript records the maritime birth of Lang’s son. In 1847, Lang published *Cooksland* which contained ‘a specimen of the Moreton Bay dialect of the Aboriginal

language'. Lang generally transcribes *oo* for /u/ and *u* for /a/; his final *-cre* indicates /gar/; and final *-are* may mean /ari/, though a final *-ere* often indicates /ir/ with no following vowel. Lang transcribes prestopping (see 1.3.2) more reliably than any other source.

Eipper, Christopher (Rev.) (1813–1894). German-born Eipper was a Presbyterian minister and missionary. He taught Christianity to Aboriginal people at the Zion Hill Mission in Nundah, translating biblical texts into Aboriginal languages. Eipper's 1841 publication *Mission to Aborigines* includes Yagara vocabulary and sentences from a Durubal consultant.

Leichhardt, FW (Ludwig) (1813–c.1848). A German explorer and naturalist, Leichhardt was famed for his exploration of northern and central Australia. After his arrival in Sydney in 1842, a specimen-collecting trip took him to Moreton Bay, following which he undertook his first epic journey from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, north of Darwin. In the rainforests of Moreton Bay, his botanical language was almost exclusively derived from the various dialects of Aboriginal informants. In addition to scientific data, his journals and lecture notes contain Indigenous knowledge he elicited about the ecology of the areas he explored.

Ridley, William (1819–1878). Reverend Ridley was born in Essex and was among the missionaries recruited by JD Lang (see entry above), arriving in Australia in 1850. After teaching at the Australian College for a short time, Ridley spent several years proselytising to First Nations peoples in the New England and Moreton Bay areas as an itinerant missionary for the Scots Church. In 1855, Ridley convinced 13-year-old Tom Petrie (see entry below) to translate three Bible stories into the Yagara dialect of the Durubal people (see 3.4–3.6), as recounted in *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences* (Petrie 1904, 143). In Ridley's transcriptions, the velar nasal *ng* is often accurately recorded, but the alveo-palatal nasal *ny* is usually written as *n*. Like most authors, Ridley alternately transcribes the same stops (*b*, *d* and *g*) as voiced and voiceless. He often writes *u* for *a*, though word-finally his *u* indicates *u*. He sometimes records *o* for *u*.

Petrie, Thomas (1831–1910). Petrie was brought to Australia from Edinburgh as an infant, and moved to Moreton Bay at age 6. Here, he played with the local Durubal children and became a fluent speaker of the Durubal dialect of Yagara. Petrie paraphrased Bible stories for the Rev. Ridley at age 13 (see entry above). A few additional Durubal words and

phrases occur in the book *Tom Petrie's Reminiscences* penned by Petrie's daughter (Petrie 1904, 143) and in brief articles he authored in 1901 and 1902 (Petrie 1901; 1902).

Turner, George (1818–1891). Turner was a Scottish member of the London Missionary Society. In 1861 he published his recollections (*Nineteen Years in Polynesia*), which includes a list of words in a column headed 'Dialect spoken by the Aborigines of New Holland, near Moreton Bay' in a table of Eastern Polynesian dialects. Turner transcribes *r* with accuracy, but writes *m* for *ng*.

NNW. These initials represent an anonymous source who collected a wordlist from Turrbal man Nunungga in the Pine River area, 20 miles north of Brisbane, in an edition of *Our Paper* in 1868. NNW's list was collected at the time of the rush by colonists to the town of Gympie after reports that gold had been found. NNW likely spoke a non-rhotic dialect of English, because *r* is transcribed post-vocally where it is not found in Yagara. NNW tends to write *oe* for *a*.

Watkins, George (1848–1916) and Hamilton, James (unknown–1891). Watkins was born in England and arrived in Queensland in 1867. Both Watkins and his ex-Scottish policeman co-author Hamilton were assigned to work at the Dunwich Benevolent Asylum on Stradbroke Island in 1868. Their transcriptions of the Jandai variety of Yagara usually omit initial *ny* and *ng*, though they sometimes write the latter sound as *gn*.

Finch, Charles Wray (1809–1873). An English-born Australian politician, Finch migrated to Sydney in 1831 as a soldier. Initially he farmed land near Wellington, while a police magistrate at Patrick's Plains. In the 1850s he settled a pastoral property in the Parramatta area, serving on the NSW Legislative Council and Assembly from 1853 to 1873. The Charles Wray Finch Papers held at the State Library of Queensland contain an Aboriginal wordlist that Finch's son, Edward, collected while droving stock to Moreton Bay, accompanied by Aboriginal stockman Jemmy Ruine.

Bunce, Daniel (1813–1872). An English botanist and gardener, Bunce emigrated to Tasmania in 1833. In 1839 in Port Phillip, he joined a party of Aboriginal people on a journey to Western Port, and made an intensive study of their spoken language. In 1846 Bunce joined Ludwig Leichhardt (see entry above) on his second attempt to cross Australia, leaving the Darling

Downs in December. Bunce's notebooks from the 1839 and 1846 journeys contain language data that form the basis of Bunce's 1859 *Language of the Aborigines* (Bunce 1859).

Latham, Robert Gordon (1812–1888). An English ethnologist and philologist, Latham was interested in tracing the origin of races through the genealogical relationships of languages. In 1852 he published *Man and His Migrations*, and in the same year provided an appendix to John Macgillivray's *Narrative of the Voyage of HMS Rattlesnake* listed as 'Remarks on the Vocabularies of the Voyage of the *Rattlesnake*'.

Birch, Gustavus (1820–1883). Birch was born in Australia as the eldest son of English migrants. He became a government agent and resident of Amity Point, Stradbroke Island, living as a recluse on the campgrounds of the Ngugi and Nunagal for over 30 years. Birch distributed supplies, recorded tribal names and kept track of the comings and goings of the families in his annual diaries, which also included words from the Munjan variety of Yagara. In his diary for 1873, Birch writes unstressed non-final *a* as *e*. His length marking on vowels is reliable. He writes *kg* for *g* and *dt* for *d*, presumably to show that he is unsure of voicing. He sometimes adds post-vocalic *r* when not present.

Meston, Archibald (1851–1924). Scottish-born Meston arrived in Australia in 1859. He framed the 1897 Queensland Act of Parliament that enabled the forced removal of Aboriginal people to white-run missions (see 1.1.3). As Protector of Aborigines for southern Queensland from 1898–1903 he interpreted the culture and languages of 'a dying race' for the state's white population, through articles and columns published in various newspapers. He also staged 'Wild Aborigine' performances using actors transported from the missions and reserves that he had established. Meston uses *h* after a vowel to indicate length. He writes *gn* for initial *ng*. His use of *r* is fairly accurate, and he identifies *ny* better than most sources. He appears to use *d*, *j* and *ch* interchangeably.

Curr, Edward Micklethwaite (1820–1899). Curr was the Australian-born son of English free settlers associated with the Van Diemen's Land Company. The company acquired large tracts of land for sheep raising during the frontier wars in Tasmania, and the family acquired additional runs through squatting in Victoria. Curr served as a member of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines from 1875. He compiled an *Australian Comparative Vocabulary* in 1881, drawing on information from a network

of farmers and rural workers who provided him with Aboriginal words matching those on a list he circulated. In 1887, he published *The Australian Race: Its Origins, Languages, Customs and Place of Landing in Australia*.

Gibson, James (unknown–1908). Gibson's family moved from the UK to Queensland in 1864. Gibson farmed the property 'Stanmore' in the sugar cane growing district of Yatala. He was involved in local government and the debate led by Parliamentarian William Brookes about 'Coloured Labour' vs European immigration. In the 1850s he travelled around Queensland with the explorer William Landsborough. In 1882 Gibson wrote a letter to British anthropologist AW Howitt about the Chepara Tribe and their language, to accompany the artefacts that he also sent (see 3.2; Pitt Rivers Museum 2012). Howitt (see entry below) subsequently published this information in *The Native Tribes of South East Australia* (1904).

Harper, Edward (Ned) (1826–1896). Harper was a timber getter who arrived in the Tweed in 1845, subsequently establishing Harper's Wharf on the Nerang River. He penned an article under the heading 'Some Errors About the Blacks', published in *The Queenslander* newspaper of 1 September 1894 for a series entitled 'Early Days on the Tweed'. This article established his authority as a speaker of Aboriginal languages, coming from his nearly 60 years of experience with Aboriginal people, and corrected some of the many errors in articles on Aboriginal culture and language submitted by Archibald Meston.

Donovan, Dan (1828–1909). Australian-born Donovan was a member of the Natural History Society and attended their Laidley meetings. In the 1870s he contributed to local newspapers a series of columns on native timbers (Donovan 1888a–1888d). On 30 November 1895 it was reported in *The Queenslander* that Donovan had read a paper titled 'The Bora at Gatton' at a meeting of the Royal Society at the Queensland Museum, held on 8 November 1895. His paper described a corroboree held in the Gatton Scrub which he attended with a member of the Laidley tribe. The contribution of his paper was valued because it included a large number of 'native words'.

Suttor, John Bligh (Jr) (1859–1925). A descendant of the Suttor family of Bathurst who were known for their friendly relations with the Aboriginal people whose lands they occupied, Suttor provided a table entitled 'Linguistics' that was published in *The Australasian Anthropological Journal* in 1897. One column is a wordlist from Moreton Bay.

Blackman, Frederick Archibald (1835–1906). Blackman was a pastoralist, inventor, naturalist and author who provided commentary via letters to the editor on the article ‘Aboriginal Names of Places, Etc., with their Meanings’ published in the 21 June 1900 edition of *Science of Man*. Blackman based his authority on time spent growing up and living among Aboriginal people in the Wide Bay – Port Curtis area between 1850 and 1879.

Cadell, William Thomas (1845–1922). In the 1870s, Australian-born Cadell was a co-purchaser of ‘Deepwater Station’ in the highlands now known as Glen Innes, established on the lands of the Ngarabal people in 1839. Cadell was a successful sheep and cattle breeder and champion of agricultural shows. He travelled widely to provide expert advice to pastoralists in the New England and Darling Downs areas, keeping extensive records, including lists of Aboriginal words.

Watson, Frederic James (1868–1947). Watson arrived in Australia as a child in 1876. His obituary noted that he had worked as an ‘officer of the Queensland Department of Agriculture and Stock’ for 25 years (*Courier-Mail* 1947, 6), and that on retirement, he took an interest in the traditions and languages of the south-eastern Aboriginal tribes (Gabi-Gabi, Waga-Waga, Yugambeh and Yagara). He became a fellow and an associate member of the Queensland Place Names Committee. All of his Yagara data are apparently derived from other sources, but he sometimes adds observations that seem based on firsthand experience.

Howitt, Alfred William (1830–1908). An educated English migrant, explorer and natural scientist, Howitt came to Melbourne in 1852 to try his luck on the goldfields. After spending some time farming his uncle’s property he took to the bush as a drover. He was also recruited to examine the pastoral potential of the Lake Eyre district, and to lead an expedition in search of missing explorers Burke, Wills and King. Following this, in 1863, he began a career as a public servant, travelling long distances on horseback in the state of Victoria as a magistrate, and publishing the results of his geological investigations. Influenced by the writings of Charles Darwin, Howitt developed an interest in Aboriginal society, and published substantial papers and books on the topic between 1880 and 1904.

Lenet, George William (1868–1960). English-born Lenet worked at the Mt Biggenden Mine. In 1904 he published Yagara wordlists from the Beaudesert District and Cleveland District.

Roth, Walter Edmund (1861–1933). A British colonial administrator, anthropologist and medical practitioner, Roth was appointed the first Northern Protector of Aborigines in 1898 and was based in Cooktown, Queensland. From 1904 to 1906 he was chief protector and part of his duties was to record Aboriginal Australian cultures. He produced a series of articles that often include mainland Yagara words. Roth often omits unstressed vowels.

Hinchcliffe, Frederick William (1864–1934). An Australian-born printer and journalist, Hinchcliffe was the son of English migrants, and worked at his father's printing company in Brisbane, Logan and surrounds. Hinchcliffe was also among the critics of Meston's work, publishing a revised list of mainland Yagara words with corrections. Hinchcliffe omits all initial *ny* and *ng*, and generally uses English orthography, writing *gym* for the sequence *jim*, for example. He often adds extra post-vocalic *r*.

Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald (1881–1955). An English social anthropologist, Radcliffe-Brown developed the theory of structural functionalism and coadaptation. He arrived in Western Australia in 1910 and spent the next two years undertaking fieldwork on the workings of the societies there with biologist and writer EL Grant Watson and Australian writer Daisy Bates. His book, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes* was published in 1930. An earlier (1914) presentation to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Melbourne drew accusations of plagiarism from Daisy Bates who had sent an unpublished manuscript to Radcliffe-Brown for comment.

Lauterer, Joseph (1848–1911). Lauterer was a German-born medical practitioner who worked in South Brisbane for 25 years. He collected a 'Yerongpan' (mainland Yagara) wordlist. Lauterer writes *h* after vowels to show length.

Welsby, Thomas (1858–1941). Born in Ipswich, Queensland, Welsby was a businessman, parliamentarian, sportsman and historian who holidayed in Amity Point on Stradbroke Island. In the 1920s he published serialised newspaper columns containing factual and fictional historical accounts of the First Peoples and their families and of the seamen and public servants who frequented Amity Point. Welsby often adds an extra *r* or *h* at the end of a vowel-final word. Like other sources, he often writes *u* for *a*.

Hanlon, William Egan (1862–1941). An English migrant, WE Hanlon arrived in the Logan district as a one-year-old child with his parents in 1863. They were part of a contingent of cotton manufacturers encouraged to join the Manchester Cotton Company by the offer of land. In June 1931 he submitted a letter to *The Brisbane Courier-Mail* contributing to the discussion on Aboriginal placenames. He subsequently read a paper entitled ‘The Early Settlement of the Logan and Albert Districts’ before the Historical Society of Queensland on 27 March 1934, which contained Aboriginal placenames and stories.

Bell, Enid (1889–1965). Bell was born at Coochin Coochin near Boonah, Qld. She recorded the legends of the Yagarabal tribe in the ‘Coochin’ Valley, as told in language and song by her friend Susan, whose traditional name and status was Bunjoey daughter of Moolpaljo, Chief of the Yagarabal tribe. Bell contributed to *Aboriginal Language: Dialects of Vanished Tribes* published in 1934.

Jackson, George Kenneth (Ken) (1914–1943). Australian-born Jackson developed a keen interest in Aboriginal history and artefacts while working at Thylungra Station between Quilpie and Windorah in south-west Queensland as a jackaroo. He was appointed to the staff of the Queensland Museum as a cadet assistant in ethnology in 1937, in which role he developed a list of Durubal words. At the outbreak of World War II, Ken was among the first few hundred to enlist in Brisbane. He continued to collect materials while serving in the armed forces, but was killed in action.

Hardcastle, Thomas William (1885–1960). Hardcastle was an Australian-born farmer who lived at Dugandan in the Boonah district for most of his life. Hardcastle contributed an article on the vocabulary and accounts of events of the local Aboriginal tribe, the ‘Ugarapuls’ (Yagarabal), in 1947, for publication in the *Queensland Geographical Journal*. However, it is possible that Hardcastle’s wife Maggie, a Queensland University graduate, may have written the article, due to its academic tone. Hardcastle writes a silent final *e* on words to indicate a difference in the quality of the previous vowel, as in the English spelling of words such as *mat* vs *mate*. As a speaker of a non-rhotic variety of English, Hardcastle adds an *r* post-vocally where this sound is not present in Yagara. His double *ee* seems to indicate a long *ii* and never a short *i*, which is valuable, because this distinction is otherwise rarely recorded. He writes *j* as *tch*, which is a reasonable English-orthography approximation of what *j* probably sounded like in a stressed syllable.

Winterbotham, Lindsey Page (1887–1960). Australian-born Winterbotham, a medical practitioner, developed an interest in anthropology, and enjoyed talking to and corresponding with Aboriginal people. This led to his becoming a founding member of the Anthropological Society of Queensland and honorary curator of the Queensland University Anthropological Museum. In 1955 he recorded the stories of the Jinibara people and neighbouring groups in south-east Queensland, as told by Gaiarbau (Willie MacKenzie).

Flint, Elwyn Henry (1910–1983). Australian-born Flint, an ordained Anglican priest and army chaplain, learned Japanese to assist with intelligence work during World War II. This experience led to an academic career in linguistics, and his undertaking the Queensland Speech Survey during the 1960s. The survey comprised recordings and field notes in Aboriginal communities, including Stradbroke Island, where in 1960 he recorded stories and songs from Gaiarbau (Willie MacKenzie) and a Jandai speaker (references to the latter have been redacted from this volume at the request of a family member).

Wurm, Stephen (1922–2001). Hungarian-born Stephen Wurm was a Professor of Linguistics at The Australian National University from 1968 to 1987. His 1960 recordings from Woodenbong, NSW, included the elicitation of a few words and phrases in Yagara from a non-fluent anonymous consultant.

Tindale, Norman Barnett (1900–1993). An Australian anthropologist, archaeologist, entomologist and ethnologist, Tindale undertook fieldwork that aimed to map the various tribal groupings of Aboriginal Australians. While Tindale's collected works have status and value within academic disciplines, his methods continue to be criticised by descendants of his research subjects as contributing to racialised ideas about Australian Aboriginal people (Ah Kee 2012; Baker 2019) and as superficial and unreliable by comparison with the decades-long endeavours of those researching genealogies, tribal boundaries, and languages (Aird 2012, 2020). These criticisms are particularly concerning as Tindale's representations continue to inform judgements in contemporary legal contexts without serious examination, and are given precedence over evidence provided by Aboriginal knowledge-holders (Monaghan 2003; Aird 2020).

Bannister, Dennis Daniel (1917–1990). Bannister copied vocabularies and sentences recorded between 1838 and 1975, and consolidated those for languages in the Brisbane region into Turrubul–English and English–Turrubul wordlists, and Guwar, Njula, Gurai–English and reverse wordlists. These included wordlists from the Meston collection at Oxley Library. In some cases, Bannister attempted to analyse the languages’ grammar and standardise their spelling.

Colliver, Frederick Stanley (1908–1991) and Frank Palmer Woolston (1911–1998). FS Colliver, a field naturalist for over 40 years, arrived in Brisbane in 1948 to fill the position of curator of the University of Queensland’s Geology Museum. Woolston, an optometrist by profession, was an active member of the Anthropological Society of Queensland and an associate member of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Woolston recorded and documented ethno-history and Aboriginal cultural heritage relating to North Queensland, establishing a long and valued relationship with rainforest area and Mornington Island Aboriginal groups. Their work, entitled *Aboriginals in the Brisbane Area*, was first published in *Brisbane Retrospect – Eight Aspects of Brisbane History*, by the Library Board of Queensland in 1978. It contained a table of Aboriginal placenames gleaned from sources dating from the time of first contact until the 1900s.

Holmer, Nils (1904–1994). Swedish-born Holmer was professor of linguistics at Lund University before undertaking field work in Australia 1980–1983, where he gathered linguistic data across the whole of south-east Queensland. Holmer collected Yagara data on Stradbroke Island, and therefore records mainly saltwater (i.e. Jandai and Munjan) forms. His transcriptions are fairly reliable, but the lateness of his data collection means that speakers were often less certain of word forms, meanings and origins than earlier generations.

Steele, John Gladstone (1935–2016). Steele was an Australian-born academic in Environmental Physics at the University of Queensland, with a passion for local history and bushwalking. Steele’s *Aboriginal Pathways* (1984) includes Yagara vocabularies, mostly repeated from Meston, Watkins and Petrie, but with a number of placenames that Aboriginal informants may have provided directly to Steele. He saw *Pathways* as a companion volume to *Petrie’s Reminiscences* (Petrie 1904).

1.2. Kinship

1.2.1. Moieties, sections and totems

Vocabulary related to family and marriage in Yagara relies on an understanding of *moieties*, the two groupings into which all members of the community are divided; and the two *sections* within each of these moieties. A four-section system of this general type is found across much of Australia and is the dominant system in Queensland (McConvell 2018).

Every individual in Yagara society belongs to one of the two moieties, either *Gabai* or *Gamil* (Clark 1916), with ramifications for kinship, marriageability and other social roles and obligations. The Gabai moiety is named for the small native bee *gabai*, a term which is cognate with moiety names across Queensland (McConvell 2018). The name *Gamil* has unclear origins and lacks cognates. The term does not refer to another bee species as might be expected based on the pattern found in other Queensland languages (McConvell 2018). One could speculate that it might be related to *gaming* ‘mother’s brother’, which is recorded as *garnill* in an article in *The Queenslander* (Hinchcliffe 1890).

Moiety membership is inherited matrilineally (Mathews 1898, 83; Clark 1916, 8; Tennant-Kelly 1935, 471; Radcliffe-Browne 1930, 239; Winterbotham 1957, 21; cf. Howitt 1904, 230; Ridley 1855). Matrimeoieties are common in Queensland and are found among speakers of the Waga-Waga and Gabi-Gabi languages (McConvell 2018, 255; Kite and Wurm 2004, 9).

Each moiety is divided into two *sections* (Tennant-Kelly 1935, 472), which are also called *skins* or *skin names* (Dousset 2011). The Gabai moiety is divided into the sections Banjur and Barang (for males) and Banjurgan and Baranggan (for females), whereas Gamil consists of Jarawany and Bunda (for males) and Jarawanygan and Bundagan (for females). Each female section name consists of the male name plus the feminine suffix *-gan*. The four section names are nearly identical to those in Duunjdjawu, which for males are *Bandjur*, *Barang*, *Banda* and *Djoronj* (Kite and Wurm 2004, 9).

In addition to a section, every individual has a totem, or *yuri* ‘meat’ (Holmer 1983), which must be one of the *yuri* appropriate for their section (see Table 1.1 for examples). Totems and sections are similarly related in Duunjdjawu (Kite and Wurm 2004), Gabi-Gabi (Meston 1893; Tennant-

Kelly 1935) and Jinibara cultures (Winterbotham 1957), for example. To illustrate, one of the *yuri* suitable for Barang is *gabai* ‘small native bee’, so this *yuri* could belong to a Barang man or Baranggan woman, but presumably not to a member of a different section. A woman’s *yuri* could be passed on to descendants, particularly those who belonged to the same moiety or section (Howitt 1904, 230; Tennant-Kelly 1935, 471; Macdonald 2010, 49).

Yagara speakers’ *yuri* are represented by native animal species. Members of the *yuri* are the spiritual brothers and sisters of the animal of their *yuri*, and they are not allowed to kill or eat this animal, or eat its products, such as honey (Roth 1910, 102; Winterbotham 1957). Anyone who wishes to hunt or eat the species represented by the *yuri* must ask the *yuri* members for permission, and it is considered bad form to kill an animal of a person’s *yuri* in front of that person (Tennant-Kelly 1935, 469–70; Winterbotham 1957, 19–20). Members of a *yuri* are also responsible for performing increase rites for the animal represented by their *yuri*, which is done at special places that are important for the animal. These ‘totem-centres’ are called *jurbil* (Radcliffe-Browne 1930, 239).

In effect, people of a particular *yuri* have the job of overseeing the sustainable management of the species represented by their *yuri*. Speakers would commonly introduce themselves using their *yuri* and section as well as their names, which indicates the importance of these concepts to individuals’ identities (Howitt 1904, 234; Tennant-Kelly 1935, 472; Winterbotham 1957, 12).

Though it is not recorded which animals are associated with which *yuri* specifically for Yagara speakers, Tennant-Kelly (1935) lists the Gabi-Gabi totems associated with the two Gabi-Gabi moieties, which are equivalent to the two Yagara moieties; Meston (1867–1960) lists a few Gabi-Gabi totems associated with the Gabi-Gabi sections, which also equate to the Yagara sections; and Winterbotham (1957, 14) includes a number of totems of the Jinibara people, whose sections likewise have one-for-one equivalents in the Yagara system. These are laid out in Table 1.1 in order to give an idea of the types of *yuri* that may be associated with each Yagara section.

Table 1.1: Yagara moieties and the totems of equivalent Gabi-Gabi and Jinibara moieties.

Yagara moiety	Yagara section	Jinibara totems (from Winterbotham)	Gabi-Gabi totems (from Meston)	Gabi-Gabi totems (from Tennant-Kelly)
Gabai	Banjur(gan)	possum	magpie lark	carpet snake, sweet-and-sour sugar bag, possum, turtle (two kinds), bunya nut, long eel, grass tree, cockatoo, turkey, wood duck, small owl, tree snake
	Barang(gan)	emu, bee	emu, mosquito	
Gamil	Jarawany(gan)	kangaroo, eaglehawk	hawk	brown snake, ground goanna, eaglehawk, turtle (two kinds, having distinct markings as opposed to the two kinds in the other moiety), eel (two kinds), porcupine, sand goanna, king parrot
	Bunda(gan)	brown snake	kangaroo, caterpillar	

Source: Authors' summary of Winterbotham (1957), Meston (1867–1960) and Tennant-Kelly (1935).

A person's section not only determined their *yuri*, but also delimited their marriage partners. In order for a marriage to be socially acceptable, or *straight*, a man or woman of a particular section needed to marry a partner of a specific other section, as listed in Table 1.2 (Radcliffe-Browne 1930, 238; Watson 1943, 90; cf. Meston 1893, 2). For example, a Bundagan woman would be expected to marry a Barang man. Note that a person's appropriate marriage partner is always of the opposite moiety. If a 'straight' marriage is not possible, the second-best option would be to marry the non-ideal section within the opposite moiety. For example, a Bundagan woman (who is Gamil) should marry a Barang man (who is Gabai), but the next-best option for her would be a Banjar man (Gabai), who is at least of the correct moiety.

Table 1.2: 'Straight' marriage moieties and sections.

Moiety and section	marries	Moiety and section
Gamil; Jarawany(gan)		Gabai; Banjar(gan)
Gabai; Banjar(gan)		Gamil; Jarawany(gan)
Gabai; Barang(gan)		Gamil; Bunda(gan)
Gamil; Bunda(gan)		Gabai; Barang(gan)

Source: Authors' summary of Radcliffe-Browne (1930) and Watson (1943).

Some people did not marry the appropriate section, or even the appropriate moiety. In the 1930s on the Cherbourg mission, ‘wrong’ marriages were frequent, according to Tennant-Kelly (1935, 470). The pressure to marry straight was doubtless much stronger among Yagara speakers who were not forcibly displaced to the mission. Marrying the correct moiety was of great importance among the neighbouring Jinibara, for example (Winterbotham 1957). It is noteworthy that even on the Cherbourg mission in the 1930s, it was considered ‘incestuous’ and ‘unclean’ to marry someone of the same *yuri* (Tennant-Kelly 1935, 471, 473; Winterbotham 1957, 12).

Moiety and section inheritance was matrilineal, in that a woman’s children would receive the same moiety and section even if the woman did not marry straight (Mathews 1898, 83; Tennant-Kelly 1935, 470; Winterbotham 1957, 21). The moiety of children would always be the same as their mother. For example, the children of a Gamil woman would also be Gamil. However, the section of the children would always be the opposite section within the same moiety as the mother. For example, a Jarawanygan woman (who is Gamil) would always have Bunda sons and Bundagan daughters (who are also Gamil). Table 1.3 lists the moiety and section of children based on that of their mothers.

Table 1.3: Children’s moieties and sections are based on those of their mothers.

Mother’s moiety and section		Children’s moiety and section
Gamil; Jarawanygan	gives birth to	Gamil; Bunda(gan)
Gabai; Banjurgan		Gabai; Barang(gan)
Gabai; Baranggan		Gabai; Banjur(gan)
Gamil; Bundagan		Gamil; Jarawany(gan)

Source: Authors’ summary of Mathews (1898), Radcliffe-Browne (1930), Tennant-Kelly (1935), Watson (1943) and Winterbotham (1957).

As noted, totems were also inherited matrilineally (Tennant-Kelly 1935, 471; Howitt 1904, 230), commonly from a person’s mother’s mother, who would always share the person’s section (Macdonald 2010, 49). Figure 1.2 illustrates how a granddaughter would share the section of her maternal grandmother. For example, a Bundagan woman’s daughter would be Jarawanygan, and the Jarawanygan woman’s daughter would be Bundagan, and so the cycle would continue, repeating every two generations.

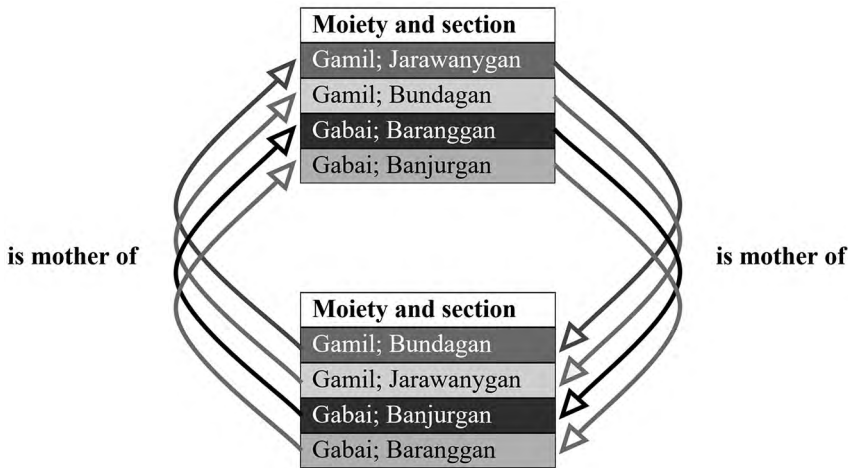


Figure 1.2: Alternate female generations have the same sections.

Source: Authors' summary of Mathews (1898), Radcliffe-Browne (1930), Tennant-Kelly (1935), Watson (1943) and Winterbotham (1957).

If straight marriages are assumed throughout, then a person's father's father would also share the person's section. For example, a Bunda man would ideally marry a Baranggan woman (see Table 1.2). Their son would be Banjurgan (see Table 1.3), and he should marry a Jarawanygan woman (Table 1.2). The son of the Jarawanygan woman then would be Bunda (Table 1.3) like his paternal grandfather.

A person's maternal aunt's children and paternal uncle's children would be their 'parallel cousins' and would share their own section. On the other hand, the person's maternal uncle's children and paternal aunt's children would be 'cross cousins', who would be of the appropriate section for the person to marry. For example, a Banjurgan woman's mother is Baranggan (see Table 1.3). The mother's brother is Barang, so he should marry a Bundagan woman (see Table 1.2). The sons of a Bundagan woman would be Jarawany, which is the appropriate section for the Banjurgan cousin to marry, though this marriage would be considered 'too close' and would be forbidden nonetheless (Howitt 1904, 232; Tennant-Kelly 2011). The distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins is important in the kinship system, discussed in section (1.2.2).

A few Yagara-speaking individuals' totems have been recorded. Putingga (Sam), a Durubal man, stated that his family totem was *gabul* 'carpet snake' (Petrie 1904, 118). Gaiarbau (Willie MacKenzie), a Jinibara man who was familiar with Yagara, had the 'honey bee totem' and was of the Barang section (Winterbotham 1950, 1957).

Animal totems are associated with communities or regions as well as with moieties. According to Jefferies (2011), the totem of the Brisbane River is *muruguji* 'black swan', and the Nunagal totem is a red hawk with a white neck (2011, 78, footnote 72). Other Nunagal totems are the dolphin and the carpet snake, whereas Ngugi totems include the shark and the red-bellied black snake. A totem that is associated with a community can nonetheless be the family totem of an individual in a different community (Winterbotham 1957, 15). For example, even though *gabul* 'carpet snake' is a Nunagal totem, it was also the family *yuri* of Putingga, who was a Durubal man.

Finally, Petrie (1904) writes that among the Durubal people:

[the] nighthawk had some connection with the origin of all the women, while a small bat held similar relationship to all the men. These hawks and bats might perhaps correspond with the so-called sex-totems in other parts of Australia. (1904, 118)

This hypothesis resembles Howitt's (1904, 110–11) claim that in a number of groups, including the Wotjobaluk of present-day Victoria, the bat was a 'brother' of all men and the owl-nightjar a 'sister' of all women. The Yagara word *wumanggan* 'owllet-nightjar' also means 'mother-in-law'.

1.2.2. Kinship terms

As in most Australian languages, Yagara kinship terms obligatorily distinguish between relatives on the mother's side of the family versus those on the father's side, following the Dravidian kinship system (Dousset 2011, 45). For example, in Yagara, a person's maternal grandfather is their *najang* whereas their paternal grandfather has the entirely distinct name *yuguny*. Yagara also obligatorily distinguishes older and younger siblings. In Yagara, a person's younger brother is their *duwanggal*, whereas their older brother is their *ngabang*, for example.

In accordance with the Dravidian system, a person's relatives usually have the same term if those relatives are same-sex siblings. For instance, the sisters of a person's *bujang* 'mother' are also called *bujang* 'mother' (Ballard 2007, 39), and a person's father's brothers are also the person's *bing* 'father'. The same is true for grandparents' siblings, such that the sisters of a person's *baabang* 'mother's mother' are also their *baabang* 'mother's mother'. The equivalence between kin members and their same-sex siblings is shared by neighbouring languages Badjala, Duunjdjawa and Duunjbura, as set out in Tennant-Kelly (2011), and Yugambeh, as described in Sharpe (1998, 159), and is a standard feature of the Dravidian system that is 'identifiable in all Australian Aboriginal kinship terminologies' (Dousset 2008; 2011, 45).

Because of this convention regarding same-sex siblings, a person's parallel cousins (the children of their mother's sister or their father's brother) also have the same titles as the person's own siblings. For example, the person's younger brother is their *duwanggal* 'younger brother', and the son of their maternal aunt is also their *duwanggal* 'younger brother'. It is unclear whether a person's maternal aunt's sons would be *duwanggal* 'younger brother' or *ngabang* 'older brother' based on whether they are older or younger than the person themselves, or whether the status of *duwanggal* 'younger brother' versus *ngabang* 'older brother' would be determined by the relative ages of the maternal aunt and the mother. That is, if the maternal aunt is older than the mother, but her sons are younger than the mother's children, it is unclear whether the aunt's sons would be *duwanggal* 'younger brother' based on the children's ages or *ngabang* 'older brother' based on the mothers' ages. The latter system is found in Western Desert languages, for example (Dousset 2011).

Since siblings belong to the same section, a classificatory *bujang* 'mother' will generally belong to the same section as the biological *bujang* 'mother'. Likewise, a parallel cousin who is a classificatory *duwanggal* 'younger brother' (for example) will usually belong to the same section as a biological *duwanggal* 'younger brother', because the cousin's mother or father is generally of the same section as the person's own mother or father. Two persons who share a term such as *bujang* 'mother' will always belong to the same section if all the relevant marriages are 'straight' (see Table 1.2), though they may belong to different sections if marriages diverge from this pattern.

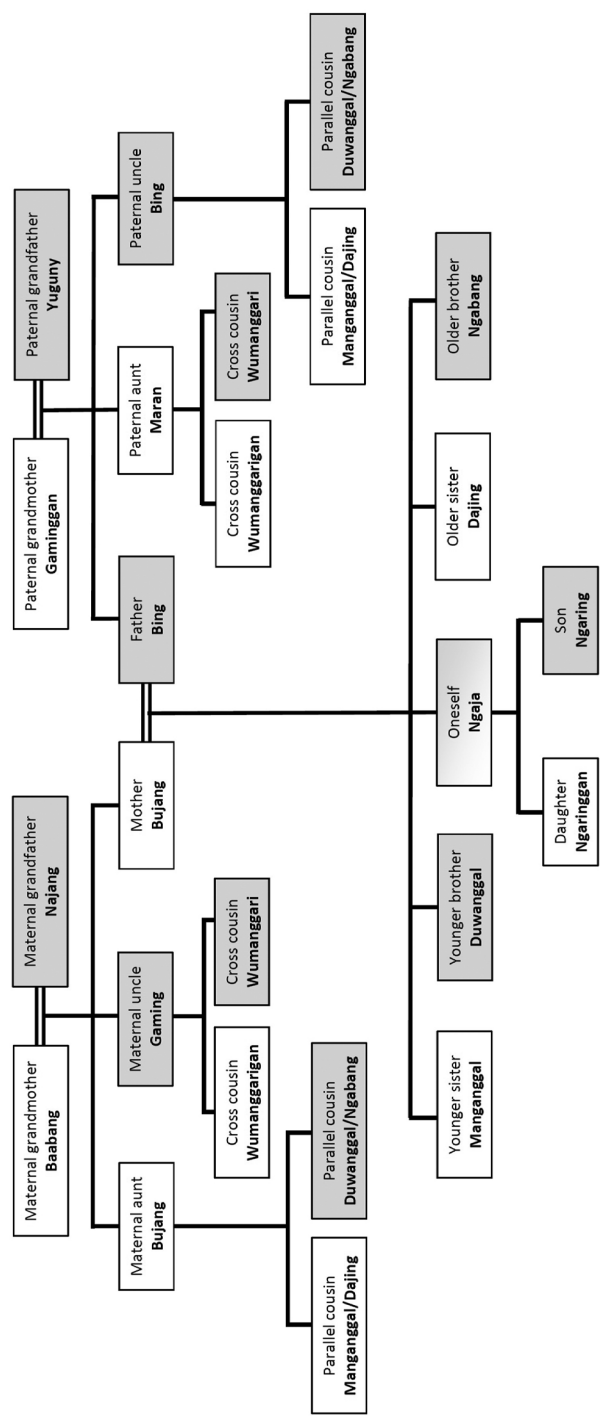


Figure 1.3: Selected kinship relations in Yagara.

Shaded boxes represent male individuals.

Source: Authors' summary based on sources listed in 2.2.

The children of a person's parents' opposite-sex siblings are their cross cousins, who belong to a different section and cannot be considered siblings. Specifically, a person's cross cousins belong to the section that they would be expected to marry, as in Table 1.2, though marriage to first cousins was forbidden (Howitt 1904, 232; Tennant-Kelly 2011). For example, a Bundagan woman's husband should be Barang. Her maternal uncles' children, and her paternal aunts' children, will likewise be Barang and Baranggan. Female cross-cousins are called *wumanggarigan* and male cross-cousins are *wumanggari*.

Parallel cousins, cross cousins and other basic family relations are shown in a family tree in Figure 1.3. Shaded boxes represent male individuals.

Figure 1.3 shows only a selection of the kin terms in Yagara. Certain other roles, not shown in Figure 1.3, share the names of the roles that are shown. For example, the wife of a person's *gaming* 'mother's brother' is their *maran*, the same word as *maran* 'father's sister', assuming that Yagara patterns like nearby languages (Tennant-Kelly 2011). It is likely that the husband of a person's paternal aunt (*maran*) is also their *gaming* 'mother's brother'.

A person's *baabang* 'mother's mother' will, like their *bujang* 'mother', belong to their own moiety. If all the marriages in a family are straight (see Table 1.2), their *yuguny* 'father's father' will also belong to the same moiety, as described in Section 1.2.1. However, there is no record of the term for same-moiety grandchildren. A strong possibility is that same-moiety grandchildren may be called by the same names as same-moiety grandparents, that is, *baabang* 'mother's mother' for 'daughter's daughter' and *yuguny* 'father's father' for 'son's son'. This pattern of reciprocal naming occurs in Yugambah (Sharpe 1998, 43, 103) and other Pama-Nyungan languages (Dousset 2011).

Cross-moiety grandchildren may be labelled as cross cousins, as in Gabi-Gabi and Duunjdjau (Winterbotham 1957, 31; Tennant-Kelly 2011). In this case, a *gaminggan* 'father's mother' and *najang* 'mother's father' would call a female grandchild *wumanggarigan* 'female cross cousin' and a male grandchild *wumanggari* 'male cross cousin'.

A husband (*nyugunbing*) and wife (*nyugunbinggan*) use a different set of terms for each other's relatives than for their own. As in many societies around Australia, certain Yagara in-laws have a special status, which in Yagara is called *bugui* 'subject to the in-law respect relation'. For a male,

his mother-in-law and brother-in-law are *bugui*, and he should not look at them, speak directly to them, nor should they touch each other's food (Ridley 1855; Winterbotham 1957, 22; Tennant-Kelly 2011).

For a male, the spouse's family includes the *wumanggan* 'mother-in-law', *wumang* 'father-in-law' and *gabagiri* 'brother-in-law'. The same word *gabagiri* 'brother-in-law' likely refers to either a wife's brother or a sister's husband, as in Duunjdjau (Winterbotham 1957, 31). This is consistent since these two individuals would have the same section as each other. For example, a Jarawany man's wife is Banjurgan and her brother is Banjur, while the man's sister is Jarawanygan and her husband is Banjur, so both the wife's brother and the sister's husband have the same section. The word for 'sister-in-law' is not recorded, but could be *gabagirigan*, the feminine form of *gabagiri* 'brother-in-law'. The term *wumang* 'father-in-law' is likely reciprocal, as in Yugambah (Sharpe 1998, 167), meaning that a son-in-law would also be called *wumang*. The same stem *wumang* likely occurs in the terms for cross cousins, *wumanggari* and *wumanggirigan*, and may allude to the taboos regarding both in-laws (who are *bugui*) and cross cousins (whom one cannot marry).

For a female, the relationship with in-laws is less restrictive. A woman is the *nguwun.gin.gan* 'daughter-in-law' of her spouse's parents. This term is probably reciprocal, meaning that her husband's mother is also called *nguwun.gin.gan* 'husband's mother'. If the two feminine suffixes *-gin* and *-gan* are removed from *nguwun.gin.gan*, this results in *nguwun*, which could be the word for 'husband's father'. A woman's *wumang* 'son-in-law' is *bugui* 'subject to the in-law respect relation' and she may not speak to him.

1.3. Phonology

The Yagara corpus employed here consists of written texts and brief recordings. Phonetic and phonological analysis based on these limited resources necessarily leaves much to be desired. The texts in the corpus were, however, collected by a wide range of individuals, as described in 1.1.4, so words in the corpus are frequently transcribed in a number of different ways. These different perspectives can be helpful in reconstructing what the words actually sounded like. For example, *giba* 'initiated male youth' is written *kipper* (Birch 1873; Clunie 1839), *kippa* (Ridley 1875; Meston

1986a; Watson 1943; Hardcastle 1946–7), *gibar* (Holmer 1983), and *gip-pa* (Colliver and Woolston 1978). These variable spellings suggest several features of the original word that the authors were hearing.

Firstly, a comparison of the spellings of *giba* indicates that some researchers heard the first sound in the word as the voiced stop [g], whereas others heard the sound as the voiceless stop [k]. This variability suggests that [g] and [k] are underlyingly the same sound in Yagara. Since these sounds were phonologically the same, Yagara speakers could use a stop that was either more voiced (more like a [g]) or less voiced (more like a [k]) without being misunderstood. In other words, voicing of stops is not contrastive in Yagara. Secondly, when the spellings of *giba* are compared with other words transcribed by the same authors, it becomes apparent that certain authors tended to write a final ‘r’ when none was pronounced, on the basis of (non-rhotic) English spelling (see 1.1.4 for summaries of the authors’ influences and transcription styles). The diversity of authors and spellings in the corpus therefore makes it easier to deduce the original phonology of *giba*. The full set of spellings found in the original sources, which together formed the basis of the reconstructed phonological forms, are listed following these forms in Part 2.

This volume employs the orthography developed by the Minjerribah Moorgumpin Elders in Council (MMEIC) as utilised in the Jandai Dictionary and other MMEIC publications. The current orthography differs from the MMEIC system in that the long vowels, which are not indicated in the Jandai Dictionary, are here represented as *ii*, *aa* and *uu*. In the tables, figures and descriptions in this chapter, phonemes are labelled in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), with the MMEIC-based orthography (when different) in brackets. Elsewhere the MMEIC orthography is used.

In the MMEIC orthography, the stop series in Yagara is represented with the voiced segments /b/, /d/ and /g/, with the palatal stop written /j/. Voicing is not contrastive in Yagara, as noted above, so the choice to represent these sounds as voiced (as *b* rather than *p*, for example) is arbitrary.

The alveolo-palatal nasal /ɲ/, as in English *canyon*, is written *ny*. This nasal occurs in *ganyara* ‘one’ or *nyamal* ‘child’, for example.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is written *ng*, whereas an alveolar nasal /n/ followed by a velar stop /g/ is written *n.g*. For example, *bing* ‘father’ ends in roughly the same sound as English *sing*, whereas in *bin.ging* ‘short-necked turtle’

the *ng* is more like in English *ten grams*. A velar nasal followed by a velar stop is written *ngg*; the *ngg* in *bangga* ‘quickly’ is similar to the *ng* in English *stronger*.

The phonemic inventory of Yagara, as inferred from the source texts, consists of twelve consonants (Table 1.4) and three vowels with a length distinction (Table 1.5).

Table 1.4: The consonant inventory of Yagara.

	bilabial	alveolar	lamino-palatal	velar
Stop	b	d	ɟ (j)	g
Nasal	m	n	ɲ (ny)	ŋ (ng)
Tap	–	r	–	–
Glide	w	–	j (y)	–
Lateral	–	l	–	–

Source: Authors’ summary, based on the source texts.

Table 1.5: The vowel inventory of Yagara.

		front	Central	back
high	short	i	–	u
	long	i: (ii)	–	u: (uu)
low	short	–	A	–
	long	–	a: (aa)	–

Source: Authors’ summary, based on the source texts.

1.3.1. Consonant inventory

Yagara resembles many Australian languages in having nasals, stops, glides, a lateral and a rhotic, as summarised in Table 1.4. Like most Australian languages, Yagara has both a nasal and a stop at each place of articulation. Yagara has four stops (/b/, /d/, /ɟ/ and /g/) and four nasals (/m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/).

The /ɟ/ stop, written here as *j*, was frequently perceived as an affricate. For example, *jugung* ‘tongue’ is recorded as *tsurugung* (Lauterer 1891), *djurgoom* (Curr 1887), *jurgan* (Welsby 1916), *gugen* (Holmer 1983) and *choorgoong* (Meston 1986a).

Somewhat unusually among Australian languages, Yagara appears to have only a single rhotic /r/. In this respect Yagara resembles the neighbouring languages Yugambeh (Sharpe 1998) and Gabi-Gabi (which likewise has only one rhotic according to Holmer [1983]). Holmer observed only a single rhotic in Yagara (in the Munjan dialect that he called ‘Nunagal’; 1983, 395), and the MMEIC decided on a single rhotic for use in the 2011 Jandai Dictionary. Though some Yagara source texts include both single *r* and double *rr*, this choice seems based on English conventions. In the original spellings of the source texts in Part 3, all 161 tokens of *rr* are written between vowels, as are all 112 tokens of *ll*, for example, even though Yagara /r/ and /l/ occur in a wide range of positions (see 1.3.5). This suggests that transcribers simply tended to write double consonants between vowels. The choice of *r* versus *rr* in the source texts does not therefore seem to distinguish two different rhotics.

The Yagara rhotic /r/ is typically produced as a tap in the song recordings of Gaiarbau, a Jinibara man who was familiar with Yagara (Winterbotham 1950), though the rhotic is an approximant in a later Yagara recording from an unidentified non-fluent informant (Wurm 1960). Holmer describes the rhotic as a ‘(slightly) trilled continuant’ (1983, 395).

Final vowels after /r/ were often dropped by speakers, particularly when the final vowel was the same as the vowel before the /r/. The word *jara* ‘country’, for example, is transcribed as *gera* (Finch 1842), *tsarra* (Lauterer 1891) and *djara* (Watkins and Hamilton 1887), but also is written as *dar* (Eipper 1841a, 10–12) and *ta* (Turner 1861, 537). Other sources list both variants. Verbs ending in the suffix *-ra* show the same variation as roots ending in /rV/. For example, Holmer (1983) transcribes *jabu-ra* ‘be.frightened-NEG’ as *gfabur(a)* with brackets around the final vowel, perhaps indicating that the vowel was optional.

The lateral approximant /l/ is always voiced in the recordings of Gaiarbau and Wurm’s informant, and seems to have been a ‘light l’ similar to the /l/ in the word *light* in Standard Australian English (SAE).

1.3.2. Phonological rules affecting consonants

Several environmental effects can be extrapolated from the text corpus. For example, unstressed intervocalic /g/ is often reduced or omitted entirely, particularly in southern dialects. This process has affected the name for Brisbane, *Miyanjin*, which evolved from *Migan-jin* ‘point-place’. In the

sources, lenited /g/ is frequently omitted in this name, as in Colliver and Woolston's (1978) *me-an-jin*; or it may be transcribed as *y*, such as when Watkins (1891) writes *Meeyantin*. The variation between *mulwara* 'ritual scar' and the variant *mulgara* may also be due to the lenition of *g* in *mulwara*; and the variation between *ngara-ngarawai* 'wild heather' and *ngara-ngaragai* could be attributed to the same process.

According to Meston (1867–1960), Brisbane was called *Meeannjin* in the south and *Maginchin* around Moreton Bay. However, Watkins (1891, 50) probably collected the lenited form *Meeyantin* on Stradbroke Island; Birch (1873, 20) and Holmer (1983, 406) collected lenited forms of *ngara-ngarawai* on the island; and Ridley (1875, 81) collected lenited *mulwarra* around Brisbane; so the process seems to have occurred in more northern areas as well. The same lenition process has affected Bandjalangic languages in which the shift has spread out from the coastal Mibiny-speaking area, which is adjacent to Yagara (Jefferies 2011, 82).

Prestopping of the nasals and the lateral in Yagara was noted by Holmer (1983, 395), Jefferies (2011, 74) and Bell (2003); and observed in Yugambeh-Bandjalang by Cunningham (1969, 78) and Sharpe (1998, 15). The process is evident in transcribers' tendency to write sequences such as *bm*, *dn* and *dl*, which are phonologically impossible in Yagara (see section 1.3.5). The Yagara word for 'two', for example, has been transcribed *budla* (Ridley 1875), *boodela* (Curr 1887) and *boodla* (Watkins 1891). Notations such as *dl* in *budla* appear to represent non-phonological prestopped nasals and laterals similar to those described in other Australian languages (Butcher and Loakes 2008; Round 2014). The *bm*, *dn* and *dl* sounds are therefore allophones of /m/, /n/ and /l/.

The prestopped allophones occur when /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ or /l/ follows a stressed short vowel, as in *bula* 'two'. The short /a/ in *wali* 'bad' similarly conditions prestopping and is transcribed *wadley* (Watkins and Hamilton 1887) and *wadli* (Ridley 1875). The same occurs for the /i/ in *bina* 'ear', which leads to the transcriptions *pitney* (Eipper 1841a), *pitney* (Lang 1847), *pidna* (Watkins 1891; Meston 1986a) and *bidna* (Clunie 1839). Prestopping of /ɲ/ was not observed in the current data, and only a single instance of /ɲ/ was found (*banyu* 'ridge, backbone' was recorded as *padnoo* in Lang 1846); however, the lack of documentation for prestopped /ɲ/ and /ɲ/ is likely due to the authors' general tendency to omit or misrepresent /ɲ/ and /ɲ/ rather than to an absence of prestopping in these contexts.

The degree of voicing of the laminal palatal stop /j/ (written *j* in the orthography used elsewhere in this volume), along with its degree of frication, changes before /i/. In this environment, /j/ becomes more affricated and less voiced. This encourages transcriptions that indicate a voiceless affricate such as *tch* or *ch* or even the fricative *s*. For example, *jina* ‘foot’ is transcribed as *chidna* (Clunie 1839; Meston 1986a), and *tchindna* (Watson 1943; Meston 1986a) as well as *cidne* (Lauterer 1897) and *sidney* (Lang 1847). (Note that the *d* in these examples is evidence of prestopping.) The effect of /i/ is even more pronounced in unstressed syllables with /j/, which are five times more likely to be transcribed in the source texts as voiceless (*ch*, *tch* or *s*) than when followed by /a/ or /u/.

An epenthetic bilabial nasal *m* sometimes occurs before a bilabial stop. This is apparent in the name *Mulumba* ‘Point Lookout’ from *mulu* ‘stone’ and the suffix *-ba* ‘place’, which Colliver and Woolston (1978) write *Mooloomba* and Birch (1873) writes *Moodloomba*. Epenthetic *m* occurs in a similar context when Ridley (1875) writes *ngunu-bu* ‘night-DUR’ as *ñünũmbo*, and when Lauterer (1891) writes *marumba-bany* ‘good-INCH’ as *marumbambanyi*, for example.

The source texts provide evidence of several morphophonemic rules that simplify sequences of sonorant consonants. The first rule affects the small set of Yagara verbs that end in /n/, /ɲ/, or /l/. (All other verbs end in vowels; see 1.3.5.) First, the final consonants of verbs ending in /n/, /ɲ/, or /l/ are lost before the four verbal suffixes beginning in /r/ or /l/ (that is, *-ra* ‘DEST’; *-ri* ‘PST’; *-la* ‘OBLG’; and *-li* ‘FUT’). For example, /garubabari/ ‘throng’ with /ri/ ‘PST’ results in /garubabari/ ‘throng-PST’; /ɲan/ ‘go’ with /ra/ ‘DEST’ results in /ɲara/ ‘go-DEST’; /ɲan/ ‘go’ with /la/ ‘OBLG’ results in /nyala/ ‘go-OBLG’; and /yagapi/ ‘heal’ with /li/ ‘FUT’ produces /yagali/ ‘heal-FUT’.

The final consonants of verbs are retained in unsuffixed roots, as in /ɲan/ *nyan* ‘go’; and before most suffixes, as in /wuɲanba/ *wuɲan-ba* ‘give-SBJV’, though they disappear in imperatives such as /wuɲa/ *wuɲa* ‘give-IMP’. No nominal suffixes begin with /r/ or /l/, and free morphemes cannot begin with /r/ or /l/, so suffixed verbs such as *garubabany* and *nyan* are the only contexts in Yagara where a consonant precedes /r/ or /l/. Since /n/, /ɲ/, and /l/ disappear in these contexts, it would be accurate to say that all consonant clusters ending in /r/ or /l/ are reduced to /r/ or /l/.

Final /l/, on any part of speech, also disappears before the central nasals /n/ and /ɲ/, but not before the peripherals /m/ and /ŋ/. When verbs ending in /l/ take the present-tense suffix /ɲa/ *-nya*, the verb's final /l/ is omitted, as occurs with /galimal/ *galimal* 'punish' in /galimaɲa/ *galimal-nya* 'punish-PRS'. Similarly, the third-person singular pronoun /ɲupaɲ/ *ngunyaɲ* and the noun /ɲundaɲ/ *jundaɲ* 'woman' lose their final /l/ before accusative *-na*, in /ɲupaɲa/ *ngunyaɲ-na* '3.SG.ACC' and /ɲundaɲa/ *jundaɲ-na* 'woman-ACC', both occurring multiple times in Ridley (1875). Two other nouns ending in /l/, *Immanuel* and *Mumbal* (literally 'thunder', which Ridley uses to mean 'God'), occur several times with accusative *-na* in Ridley (1875) but never lose their final /l/; this may be because Reverend Ridley considered these to be holy names that should not be abbreviated. Elsewhere the loss of /l/ before /n/ and /ɲ/ is universal. The peripheral nasals /m/ and /ŋ/ do not cause /l/ to be lost. These nasals may occur following /l/ within a single morpheme, as in *Mugulngura* 'woman's name' and *walmuram* 'sand goanna', or in reduplicated morphemes, as in *ngal-ngal* 'dingo'. In sum, central nasals, but not peripheral nasals, condition the loss of /l/.

Finally, there is no evidence for long or geminate consonants in Yagara. When a lateral, rhotic or nasal would be followed by the same phoneme due to suffixing or compounding, the two identical consonants are simplified to a single segment. For example, *dany-nya* 'lie-PRS' is transcribed by Ridley (1875) as *daina*, who elsewhere writes *dany* as *dain*, with no indication that the /ɲ/ in *dany-nya* is longer than in *dany*.

The verb /daɲ/ *dany* 'lie' therefore loses its final /ɲ/ before /ɲ/, as well as prior to /l/ or /r/ as discussed previously. Other verbs with final consonants are similarly affected. An analogous situation may have led to the loss of verbs with final consonants in the neighbouring Yugambah language, for which Sharpe identifies a set of verbs that previously ended in consonants (1998, 31). If these consonants disappeared in many contexts, as in Yagara, this may have contributed to their eventual loss in Yugambah.

The possible sequences of consonants in Yagara and attested examples of each are shown in Table 1.7 in 1.3.5.

1.3.3. Vowel inventory

Yagara has a three-vowel system consisting of /i/, /a/ and /u/ with a phonological length distinction. As noted, though vowel length is not systematically represented in the original MMEIC orthography, here long

vowels are indicated as *ii*, *aa* and *uu*. The length distinction is indicated by the minimal pairs *biigi* ‘sun’ and *bigi* ‘Bangalow palm’; *jaan* ‘Aboriginal man’ and *jan* ‘wet’; and *baguuru* ‘tree’ and *baguru* ‘be amazed’.

Most written sources indicate vowel length in some way. Holmer rarely transcribes long vowels, but does so in *naara* ‘black duck’, for example, which he writes as *nár* (Holmer 1983). Several speakers of non-rhotic dialects of English transcribe length in Yagara using a post-vocalic *r*. For instance, Hinchcliffe (1890) writes *guwaa* ‘cloud, rain’ as *guwar*, and Hardcastle (1946–7) writes *jaraagil* ‘frog’ as *jerargil*. Other sources indicate length by adding *h* after a vowel. Lauterer (1897) transcribes *guwaa* ‘cloud, rain’ as *guwah*, and Meston (1867–1960) writes *jaraagil* ‘frog’ as *charáhgill*, for example. Vowel length distinction is also apparent in that short vowels condition the prestopped allophone of nasals and the lateral, as discussed in 1.3.2.

With the available data, diphthongs cannot satisfactorily be distinguished from vowel-glide sequences. Of the potential six diphthongs (/ai/, /ui/, /au/, /ia/, /ua/ and /iu/), /ai/, /ui/ and /au/ are here considered present in Yagara. This decision is informed by consideration of neighbouring languages. In Yugambeh-Bandjalang, all diphthongs end in /i/ (Sharpe 1998, 16), which supports the plausibility of the /ai/ and /ui/ diphthongs in Yagara. In Duunjdjawu, which Kite and Wurm consider a dialect of Waga-Waga (2004), no diphthongs are identified (2004, 19). However, Holmer suggests that both Waga-Waga and Yugambeh-Bandjalang had /ai/ and /au/ sequences, but that these sequences became /e/ and /o/ in these languages (Holmer 1983, 15–19). If so, Yagara may have retained the /ai/ and /au/ formerly found in these languages and does not seem to have developed /e/ and /o/ (see Section 1.3.4). The presence of /ai/, /ui/ and /au/ in surrounding languages is only faint evidence for their presence in Yagara, and transcription of these sequences as /ayi/, /uwi/ and /awu/ (or of /iyal/, /uwal/ and /iyu/ as /ia/, /ua/ and /iu/) may be found to be more accurate or desirable than the system used here.

1.3.4. How stress affects vowel quality

Unstressed vowels are significantly centralised (see Section 1.3.6), with the result that unstressed /u/ may sound more like [o], for example. The current section argues that the vowels transcribed as mid-central vowels in the corpus are not phonological vowels, but are allomorphs of /a/, /i/ and /u/ conditioned by a lack of stress.

In the source texts, unstressed vowels are sometimes transcribed as vowels that are neither low nor high, such as *e* and *o*, with *e* representing /i/ and /a/, and *o* often standing for /u/ and occasionally /a/. However, the vowels represented as *e* and *o* seem to be mid-centralised allomorphs of /a/, /i/ or /u/, as suggested by the absence of minimal pairs contrasting *e* or *o* with other vowels. The non-phonemic status of *e* and *o* is also indicated by their distribution in the corpus. For example, the authors in the corpus differ more in their use of *e* and *o* than they do in their choice of *a*, *i* or *u*. There is no word in the corpus that is consistently transcribed with *e* or *o* in all sources, whereas all sources frequently agree on *a*, *i* or *u*. In *waril* ‘creek’, for instance, all nine sources of the word transcribe both *a* and *i*; and in *mumbal* ‘thunder’, all five sources agree on the *u* and *a* (though Jackson 1937 transcribes the word as *moonbal*). If the sounds written as *e* and *o* are derived allophones of /a/, /i/ or /u/, their production might be expected to vary more than the basic allophones [a], [i] or [u], depending on the speed and care of the transcribed speech, for example, so the inconsistent transcription of *e* and *o* in the corpus is evidence that these vowels are allophones rather than phonemes.

In fact, the use of *e* and *o* can vary even between transcriptions of the same word by the same researcher. For example, Clunie (1839) writes *wali* ‘bad’ as both *wadle* and *wadly*, and Holmer (1983) transcribes *gurung* ‘black’ as both *gurung* and *gurong*. Throughout the texts, the sounds transcribed as *e* and *o* are mostly unstressed vowels, as in the second syllables of *wali* and *gurung*, which indicates that allomorphs written *e* and *o* tended to occur in this environment.

This trend emphasises the influence of stress on vowel quality and supports the analysis of *e* and *o* as mid-centralised allophones that occur in unstressed syllables.

There are doubtless other phonological rules affecting vowels. For example, Holmer (1983) observes that /a/ becomes more rounded when adjacent to /w/ and higher after /j/ (1983, 395). Place assimilation of the former type may have contributed to the transcription of *wana* ‘do not’ as *wonnah* (Clunie 1839), for example. However, there is only incidental evidence for these effects in the corpus.

1.3.5. Syllable structure and phoneme distribution

Syllables are CV(V)(C). That is, all syllables must have a consonant onset, followed by a short vowel, a long vowel, or a diphthong (see 1.3.3); optionally followed by a sonorant consonant coda. As in the neighbouring Badjala, Duunjdjawan and Yugambeh languages (Bell 2003; Kite and Wurm 2004; Sharpe 1998), words may consist of a single syllable.

All consonant segments can be syllable onsets. Neither the lateral /l/ nor the rhotic /r/ can be word onsets, though four verbal suffixes begin with these phonemes. Closed syllables may end with a nasal, lateral or rhotic, but not a stop or glide. The above restrictions on onsets and codas appear identical to those in Duunjdjawan (Kite and Wurm 2004, 21) and similar to those in Yugambeh-Bandjalang, though Yugambeh-Bandjalang suffixes can begin with vowels (Sharpe 1998).

Yagara differs from some of its neighbours in that it allows verbs to end in nasals or laterals. Badjala and Duunjdjawan verb roots all end in vowels (Bell 2003, 87; Kite and Wurm 2004, 69), as do Yugambeh-Bandjalang verb roots (Sharpe 1998, 31), though Sharpe observes that ‘a few, now irregular verbs, probably had stems ending in consonants’ (1998, 31; see 1.3.2). Gabi-Gabi verbs may end in nasals or rhotics in addition to vowels (Bell 1994). The vast majority of Yagara verbs end in a vowel, as in *biya* ‘throw’. However, a small number of verbs end in /n/, /p/ or /l/.

The permissible segments at syllable- and word-boundaries are listed in Table 1.6. Morpheme boundaries have the same restrictions as syllable boundaries.

Table 1.6: List of consonant phonemes (in IPA) acceptable in various syllable and word positions.

Syllable-initial	b, d, g; ʝ; m, n, ɲ, ŋ; w, j; r; l
Word-initial	b, d, g; ʝ; m, n, ɲ, ŋ; w, j
Syllable-final	m, n, ɲ, ŋ; r; l
Word-final	m, n, ɲ, ŋ; r; l

Source: Authors’ summary, based on the source texts.

Table 1.7 is a matrix of attested combinations of permissible syllable codas followed by permissible syllable onsets. Final consonants disappear before /l/ and /r/; final /l/ is lost before /n/ and /ɲ/; and sequences of the same consonant simplify (see 1.3.2). All other combinations are apparently possible.

Table 1.7: Attested combinations of permissible syllable codas followed by permissible syllable onsets.

	Nasal coda	Rhotic coda	Lateral coda
Stop onset	<i>mumbal</i> ‘thunder’ <i>jirban-di</i> ‘bone-LOC’ <i>bin.ging</i> ‘short-necked turtle’ <i>garang-garang</i> ‘clothing’ <i>wanji</i> ‘when’	<i>jirban</i> ‘bone’ <i>dur-dur</i> ‘nape’ <i>gar-gar</i> ‘type of gum’ <i>bularju</i> ‘swamp mahogany’	<i>ngunyal-ba</i> ‘3SG-ABL’ <i>gudal-di</i> ‘bushes-LOC’ <i>dabil=gu</i> ‘water=PURP’ <i>jimbaljin</i> ‘female friend’
Nasal onset	<i>nyan-ma</i> ‘go-CAUS’ <i>bugany-ma</i> ‘sleep-CAUS’ <i>nyalang-ma</i> ‘lie-CAUS’	<i>miir-miir</i> ‘full of holes’	<i>ngal-ngal</i> ‘dingo’ <i>walmuram</i> ‘sand goanna’
Glide onset	<i>gun-gunwan</i> ‘emerald dove’ <i>bangwal</i> ‘fern root’	<i>barwan</i> ‘wide’	<i>bulwalam</i> ‘nose piercing’ <i>dalwalbin</i> ‘cotton tree’
Rhotic onset	N/A (nasals are lost before /r/)	N/A (/rr/ simplifies to /r/)	N/A (laterals are lost before /r/)
Lateral onset	N/A (nasals are lost before /l/)	<i>bumagarla</i> ‘kill’	N/A (/ll/ simplifies to /l/)

N/A: Not applicable.

Source: Authors’ summary, based on the source texts.

Only one long vowel can occur within a single morpheme, as in the nearby language Badjala (Bell 2003, 24). Reduplicated words may have two long vowels, as in *buunyi-buunyi* ‘bunya’, *waa-waa* ‘crow’ or *biigi-biigi* ‘regent bird’.

1.3.6. Stress

Stress is normally initial in Yagara, as in Duunjdjawan (Kite and Wurm 2004, 22) and Yugambah-Bandjalang (Sharpe 1998, 18). Watson notices the initial stress pattern in Yagara (1943, 8), which is confirmed by the Yagara words in Wurm’s recording (Wurm 1960).

Prestopping, which occurs with stressed short vowels (see 1.3.2), also points to initial stress regardless of word length. For example, Ridley writes *ginabulum* ‘tree species’ as *kidnabullum* and *mulagu* ‘next day’ as *mūdelago*, in which the *d* indicates prestopping after the first vowel.

Though stress is generally initial, long vowels in the second syllable attract stress, as occurs in the nearby Yugambah-Bandjalang and Badjala languages (Sharpe 1998, 14; Bell 2003, 24). For example, Meston (1867–1960) places a stress mark over the second syllable of his notations of *magiiba* ‘friend’ and *jaraagil* ‘frog’, which would otherwise have initial stress. In Wurm’s recordings, *diyiin* ‘today’ and *waliinggara* ‘old woman’ have stress on the second syllable rather than the first.

Compounded words keep the stress patterns of the component words. The compound *bina-wali* ‘ear-bad; deaf’ is transcribed by Ridley as *pidnwuddeli*, in which the *d* in *pidn* and the *dde* in *wuddeli* indicate prestopping and therefore stress. The placename *Guji-mulu* ‘red-stone; Cuchiemudlo’ is transcribed *Coochie Mudlow* by Lenet and *coodgee mudlow* by Watkins, with the prestopping in *mudlow* demonstrating that the third syllable in the compound is stressed. In these compounds, then, the first and third syllables appear to be stressed. These syllables correspond to the syllables that are stressed in each of the compounded words when they occur in isolation.

1.3.7. Phonological analyses in the sources

Four sources, Holmer, Ridley, Lauterer and Watson, provide phonological information about Yagara and attempt to transcribe the language systematically. This section will begin with Holmer (1983), move on to Ridley (1875) and Lauterer (1895), and then finish with Watson (1943). Unlike Holmer, Ridley and Lauterer, Watson confesses to having no personal experience with Yagara, so his analysis is given less attention here.

In Part 3 of his *Linguistic Survey of South-Eastern Queensland*, Holmer (1983) uses the same transcription system for numerous Queensland languages, so the system includes sounds found in Gunggari, for example, that are not present in Yagara. The Yagara dialect that Holmer analyses is Munjan, spoken by the Nunagal people of northern Stradbroke Island. Holmer calls this language ‘Nunagal’ (Holmer 1983, 398).

Table 1.8: Holmer’s vowel transcriptions for Yagara and three other languages in Part 3 of his *Linguistic Survey*.

Holmer’s vowel	Holmer’s description
a	more or less as in (standard or Australian) English ‘ <u>c</u> ut’
e	more or less as in English ‘b <u>e</u> d’
i	more or less as in English ‘s <u>i</u> t’
o	more or less as in (standard or Australian) English ‘g <u>o</u> t’
u	more or less as in English ‘p <u>u</u> t’
aa	more or less as in English ‘f <u>a</u> ther’
ee	more or less as in English ‘w <u>h</u> ere’
ii	more or less as in English ‘b <u>e</u> ’
oo	more or less as in (standard or Australian) English ‘c <u>a</u> ll’
uu	more or less as in English ‘d <u>o</u> ’

Note: the various indications of length used in the sources are replaced here with the double vowels used elsewhere in the volume. The relevant sounds in English examples in the tables have also been underscored and boldfaced for clarity.

Source: Authors’ summary of Holmer (1983).

As shown in Table 1.8, Holmer identifies five distinctive vowel qualities (a, e, i, o and u) whereas only three are posited here (a, i and u; see Table 1.5), for reasons outlined in Section 1.3.4. However, we will argue that Holmer’s identification of the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ is rare and often tentative.

Though Holmer proposes a five-vowel system, whereas the current analysis suggests a three-vowel system, it should be noted that Holmer’s vowels /e/ and /o/ occur rarely in his transcriptions. Holmer identifies no instances of long /ee/ or long /oo/ in the Munjan data he analyses, and uses short /e/ and short /o/ in only a few words. In fact, he includes /e/ or /o/ in the first (presumably stressed) syllable of only four words out of the 450 in his list: *bang* ‘dead’ (Holmer’s *boŋ*); *gung-gung* ‘egg’, a loanword (Holmer’s *goŋ-goŋ*), *gin-gin* ‘redbreast’ (*gen.gin*), and *Ngirubin* ‘a place name’ (*ŋerobin*). The /e/ and /o/ in unstressed syllables can be attributed to centralisation and can be considered a less significant point of disagreement than the occurrence of these vowels in stressed syllables (see Section 1.3.4).

Furthermore, of the instances of /e/ and /o/ that Holmer identifies, he designates about half of the instances of /e/ as variants of /a/, and attributes some of these variants to the saltwater trend of raising /a/ to a higher front vowel, as noted here in Section 1.1.1. Holmer also hypothesises that some

instances of /u/ may be mispronounced due to ‘features of Queensland pronunciation of English’ (1983, 479), such that *jalu* ‘fire’ may sound more like *jalou*, he suggests. This may result in some instances of /u/ being pronounced more like /o/. In consideration of these factors, the choice of a three-vowel system, as described in 1.3.3, does not seem to deviate substantially from Holmer’s phonology.

Holmer’s list of around 450 words includes 16 vowel sequences, consisting of six instances of *ai*, eight tokens of *ua* and two of *ia*.

In contrast to Holmer’s vowels, his consonants for Munjan align exactly with the system proposed here (see Table 1.4), though Holmer writes /ɟ/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ as *g*, *n* and *ŋ* rather than *j*, *ny* and *ng* as in the following sections of this volume. Holmer recognises that voicing on stops is not distinctive and uses the voiced forms *b*, *d*, *g* and *g* throughout.

It is useful to note the consonants that Holmer did *not* find in Munjan. Holmer’s list includes not only the consonants recognised in this volume (see Table 1.4), but also others found in the non-Yagara languages that Holmer examines. These include ‘palatalised interdental’ stops, a ‘slightly retroflex’ stop, two types of trills and a retroflex rhotic. Notably, Holmer never makes use of these symbols in his Munjan transcriptions. Instead, he limits himself to equivalents of the consonants included in the phonemic inventory in Table 1.4. This suggests that Holmer did not observe retroflex stops, multiple types of trills or a retroflex rhotic in Munjan, even though he was aware of these sounds and identified them in other languages.

Ridley’s 1875 book *Kámilarói, and Other Australian Languages* presents the system in Table 1.9 for representing the vowels of the languages in the book, including the Durubal dialect of Yagara (Ridley 1875, 3).

Ridley uses all the vowels listed in Table 1.9 in his transcriptions of Durubal. He is inconsistent in his choices, however, writing *ngaja* ‘I’ as *yutta*, *ŋutta* and *atta*; *yan* ‘beard’ as *yeren*, *yarran*, and *jurra*; and other variations. Ridley’s use of *u* and *a* is particularly interchangeable. Though he typically writes *u* to indicate /a/, as suggested by Table 1.9, his *u* usually indicates /u/ word-finally, for example, based on comparison with other sources.

Table 1.9: Ridley’s vowel transcriptions for Yagara and nine other languages in his *Kámilarói, and Other Australian Languages*.

Ridley’s vowel	Ridley’s description
a	as in <u>ma</u> t
e	as in <u>ne</u> t
i	as in <u>it</u>
o	as in <u>on</u>
u	as in <u>tu</u> n
aa	as in fa <u>th</u> er
ee	as in obe <u>y</u>
ii	as in rav <u>i</u> ne
oo	as in t <u>o</u> ne
uu	as in mo <u>o</u> n
ai	as in wi <u>n</u> e
ao	as in ho <u>w</u>
oi	as in no <u>i</u> se

Source: Authors’ summary of Ridley (1875).

Ridley distinguishes voiced and voiceless stops even though these are not phonological in Yagara, and writes both *p* and *b*, for example. He consistently ignores initial /p/ and omits or misrepresents initial /ŋ/ before /u/. His system of consonants otherwise is the same as in this volume (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.10: Lauterer’s vowel transcriptions for Yagara in ‘*Outlines of a Grammar*’.

Lauterer’s vowel	Lauterer’s description
a	as in fa <u>th</u> er
e	as in t <u>e</u> n
i	as in k <u>i</u> ss
o	as in g <u>o</u>
u	as in tr <u>u</u> e
æ	as in ha <u>pp</u> y
œ	as in bu <u>t</u>

Source: Authors’ summary of Lauterer (1895).

Lauterer's (1895) pronunciation guide differs in several respects from Ridley's, which Lauterer attributes to dialectal difference between the 'Yaggara dialect, spoken in the "sandy country" (Yerongpan) between Brisbane and Ipswich', and 'the true Turrabul as it occurs in Ridley's grammar' (1895, 619). However, many of these purported differences are likely due to Ridley and Lauterer's individual abilities and methods, plus the 40 years between their times of data collection (see 1.1.1 on dialectal differences).

Lauterer lists the Yagara consonants as '*k, n, n', d, t, b, p, m, w, r, l, s*'. He also includes '*y* (as in yes)' but lists this glide with the vowels (1895: 619). Unlike Ridley, Lauterer recognises the palatals /*ɲ*/ and /*ɟ*/ (his *n'* and *s'*) and observes that they 'have a sound not easily pronounced by an English tongue, being identical with the Slavonian *n* and *s* before *i*' (1895, 619). Though Lauterer does not directly recognise /*ŋ*/ as a separate sound from /*n*/ and /*ɲ*/, he nonetheless uses *ng* to represent a velar nasal in his transcriptions. Like Ridley, he distinguishes voiced and voiceless stops. In other respects, Lauterer's consonantal system is the same as the one used here.

Watson, in his volume *Four Representative Tribes of South Eastern Queensland*, includes a pronunciation guide to the languages (Watson 1943, 8). Though Watson collected data directly from consultants for other languages in the volume, he bases his 'Yuggerabul' wordlist mainly on Ridley and Petrie. 'The accentuation of word syllables in the Yugarabul vocabulary herewith is not recorded by the personal knowledge of the compiler, but on general principles of aboriginal practice', Watson writes (1943, 9). Watson's pronunciation guide is therefore not included here, except for his equivalents of vowels in the other transcription systems as listed in Table 1.11.

Across the various phonological descriptions, the vowels vary more than the consonants. Table 1.11 lists approximate equivalents in Holmer (1983), Lauterer (1895), Ridley (1875) and Watson (1943), along with the system employed here.

Table 1.11 is intended only to give an impression of equivalents across the various systems. In the rest of this volume, vowel transcriptions deviate from this table when they take into consideration contextual factors and transcriptions in sources other than Holmer, Lauterer, Ridley and Watson.

Table 1.11: Approximate correspondence of vowel transcriptions based on explanations in the sources.

Current volume	Holmer (1983)	Lauterer (1895)	Ridley (1875)	Watson (1943)
a	a, e, o	æ, œ, e	a, u, o	a, ũ, o
aa	aa	a	aa	aa
ai	ai	–	ai, ee	ai, ee
au	–	–	ao	au
i	i, e	i, e	i, e	i, e
ii	ii	–	ii	ii
u	u, o, oo	u	o	u, â, o
uu	uu	u	uu	uu
ui	–	–	oi	–

Source: Authors’ summary of Holmer (1983), Lauterer (1895), Ridley (1875) and Watson (1943).

1.4. Parts of speech

The limited scope of the Yagara text collection leaves room for varying interpretations regarding the parts of speech found in Yagara. For example, the sets of words here considered as ‘adjectives’ and ‘nouns’ occur in distinct contexts in the texts. However, it is possible that ‘adjectives’ can appear in all the positions that ‘nouns’ do, but that we simply lack the evidence for this in the texts. The parts of speech distinguished here are based on the available Yagara data and comparison with surrounding languages. In particular, the categories proposed here are functionally identical to the parts of speech identified by Kite and Wurm for Duunjdjawu (2004, 23) and nearly the same as those distinguished for Badjala by Bell (2003, 26).

- Nominals:
 - Nouns
 - Adjectives
 - Quantifiers
 - Location and time words
 - Pronouns
 - Demonstratives
 - Interrogatives
- Verbs
- Particles and interjections

Several properties allow the above parts of speech to be distinguished. First, nominals are the only class that may be inflected for case, which is assigned on the basis of the nominal's role in an event (see 1.5.2). Each of the nominal types listed above (nouns, adjectives, etc.) is documented at least once in the texts with a case-marking suffix, whereas no verbs or particles have these suffixes. Moreover, certain derivational suffixes occur only on nominals (see 1.5.4). Nouns can additionally take plural suffixes. Nouns, pronouns, quantifiers and interrogatives may be arguments of verbs or other predicates. All classes of nominals may modify other nominals.

Verbs may be inflected for tense, aspect and mood, and also take inflections that change their valence (that is, whether they require an object or not) or mark the verb as being in a subordinate clause. Verbs also take a few derivational suffixes, though only the poorly attested negation suffix *-ra* is specific to verbs (see 1.6.9), so these do not generally help distinguish verbs from other classes.

Particles and interjections never inflect or undergo derivation. However, like the other classes, they may take clitics (see Section 1.8).

Words rarely belong to multiple classes. For example, few words in the texts function as both a nominal and a verb. The clearest examples in the data are *bina*, which numerous sources attest as meaning both 'ear' and 'hear'; *yigil*, which indicates both 'cold' and 'be cold'; and *baan*, which means both 'nasty; angry' and 'be nasty; be angry'. Both *yigil* and *baan* occur as a modifier of nouns and with verbal inflections. Though few words are found as both a nominal and a verb in the texts, many words function as more than one type of nominal, such as an adjective and a noun. In addition, words can change their grammatical category through the addition of derivational suffixes (1.5.4 and 1.6.9).

The parts of speech and their morphological properties are described in the following sections.

1.5. Nominal morphology

1.5.1. Nouns

Yagara nouns in the text collection have the following structure:

ROOT – (DERIVATION) – (INFLECTION) = (CLITICS)

Inflection consists of case marking (Section 1.5.2) and plural marking (1.5.3). Derivational suffixes change the meaning of a stem and often change its part of speech (1.5.4). Clitics occur on any type of phrase or clause (1.8).

1.5.2. Noun cases

The Yagara noun cases are listed in Table 1.12. Following the table are descriptions and examples of each case.

Table 1.12: Noun cases.

Case	Case suffix	Abbreviation
nominative	-Ø	-NOM
ergative	- <i>du</i>	-ERG
accusative	- <i>na</i>	-ACC
possessive	- <i>nuba</i>	-POSS
locative	- <i>di</i>	-LOC
allative	- <i>nga</i>	-ALL
ablative	- <i>ba</i>	-ABL
durative	- <i>bu</i>	-DUR
accompaniment	- <i>ba-nga</i>	-ABL-ALL
colocalisation	- <i>ba-di</i>	-ABL-LOC

Source: Authors' summary, based on the source texts.

The core cases (nominative, accusative and ergative) indicate subjects and objects. Ergative case, which is always optional in Yagara, marks the subject of a transitive verb. Accusative case, which is optional on nouns but obligatory on pronouns (Section 1.5.10), marks the object of a transitive verb. Nominative case marks the subject of an intransitive verb.

The optional ergative and accusative case marking in Yagara is echoed by neighbouring languages. Yugambeh similarly allows both accusative and ergative case marking on nouns (Sharpe 1998, 34), whereas Duunjdjawu and Badjala both have obligatory ergative marking on nouns but a split system with nominative, accusative and ergative marking on pronouns (Bell 2003, 30; Kite and Wurm 2004, 25).

The subject of an intransitive clause in Yagara has nominative case and is always unmarked, such as *guiyar* 'fish' in (1).

- (1) **guiyar** yara-dunga dabil-di
fish swim-IPFV water-LOC
 fish were swimming in the water.
kuiyūr yūrūdunga tabbilti. (Ridley 1875)

Most subjects of transitive clauses are also unmarked, though a few have the optional ergative marker *du*. All six examples with *du* are shown in (2)–(7). Subjects seem to be ergative marked when the subject is unexpected, such as when it previously had a non-subject role, as in (2); or when the subject is not human, as in (3)–(5). It is not clear why the subject in (7) is marked, though this sentence is also unusual in that the subject comes after the verb. All examples except (7) are from Ridley (1875).

- (2) barany ngunyal banman
 then 3SG.NOM pluck
 Then she plucked;
Burru wunnal pūnmān;
- nga da-ri nga dagai-na wujan
 and eat-PST and white.man-ACC give
 and ate, and gave to the white man;
ŋa turri, ŋa dugganu widdan;
- dagai-**du** da-ri
 white.man-**ERG** eat-PST
 The white man ate.
duggaidu turri.
- (3) yuwan-**du** ngana nyalang-ma-ri yaa-ri
 serpent-**ERG** 1SG.ACC tell.lie-CAUS-PST say-PST
 ‘The serpent told lies to me and spoke;
 ‘Yūndu ŋunna nulluŋmurri yari;
- (4) magui-**du** bargil ngunyal-ba-di nyinyi-du
 devil-**ERG** a.long.time 3SG-ABL-LOC dwell-ATEL
 An evil spirit had been living in him for a long time;
Maguikū barkil wunnalpuddi ŋinedu;
- (5) nga magui-**du** ngunyana gawany gadigal-di
 and devil-**ERG** 3SG.ACC drive forest-LOC
 and the demon drove him into the forest.
Ŋa maguīdu wunnana kawāne kūdigulti.

- (6) magui-**du** yaa-ri gurumba milin
 devil-**ERG** say-PST great many
 The demon said, 'We are a great many.'
Maguidu yari, 'Kurumba mulla.'

- (7) da-ma-nya malar-jin-**du**
 eat-CAUS-PRS man-PL-**ERG**
 People are eating it.
Junmino Ma-lardino.

Objects of transitive clauses are usually unmarked, but sometimes take the accusative *na*, as in (8)–(9). There are 24 instances of accusative *na* in Ridley (1875), though none in the other texts.

- (8) imanuwal wana dagai-jin-**na**
 Immanuel forbid white.man-PL-**ACC**
 Immanuel forbade the white men
Immanuel wunna duggatina

balga-du ngumbi-nga
 come-ATEL house-ALL
 going into the house;
bulgutu ùmpinga;

- (9) guna muya danga baguur-**na**
 heart desire that.DIST tree-**ACC**
 her heart desired that fruit.
kudna muiya dūṇa bagūrnū.

In addition to the core cases, Yagara has non-core cases that indicate possession, location and other relations. A noun that refers to an owner or recipient can take the possessive suffix *-nuba*, as in example (10) in which *yairu* 'Jairus' is the owner of the *ngumbi* 'house', or (11) where the *dagai-jin* 'white men' belong to the Commandant.

- (10) barany dagai-jin
 then white.man-PL
 Then the white men
Berren duggatin

ngumbi-nga yairu-**nuba** balga-ri
 house-ALL Jairus-**POSS** come-PST
 came to the house of Jairus;
umpiṅga Yāirūnubba bulkurri;

- (11) dagai-jin gamandan-**nuba** wira ngumbi-nga
 white.man-PL Commandant-**POSS** return house-ALL
 The Commandant's men returned to the house;
Duggatin Kommandantnūbba wirreni ūmpiṅa;

The locative *-di* is used for meanings similar to English *in, into, at* or *on*, as in the three instances in (12).

- (12) miir mara-**di** bimba-ri
 hole hand-**LOC** pierce-PST
 They pierced holes in his hands;
mīr murradi bimberri;
- nga miir jina-**di** bimba-ri
 and hole foot-**LOC** pierce-PST
 and pierced holes in his feet.
ṅa mīr tjidnendi bimberri.

nga ngunyali imanuwal baguur-**di** wura
 and 3PL.NOM Immanuel tree-**LOC** put
 and they put Immanuel on the trees;
Nya wunnale Imanuel bāgūrti wune: (Ridley 1875)

The allative *-nga* usually resembles English *to*, as in examples (13)–(14).

- (13) dagai-jin gamandan-nuba wira ngumbi-**nga**
 white.man-PL Commandant-POSS return house-**ALL**
 The Commandant's men returned to the house;
Duggatin Kommandantnūbba wirreni ūmpiṅa; (Ridley 1875)

- (14) wanya-**nga** nginda
 where-**ALL** 2SG.NOM
 Where are you going?
Woon-nanta-Intair? (Hardcastle 1946–7)

The ablative *-ba* can be glossed as *from* or *out of* as in (15) or (16).

- (15) ngunyali balgal-ma-ri baguuru-**ba**
 3PL.NOM arise-CAUS-PST tree-**ABL**
 They lifted him from the trees;
Wunnale bulgunmurri bagūrubba; (Ridley 1875)
- (16) barany ngambila magui nyan-dunga dagai-**ba**
 at.once all devil go-IPFV white.man-**ABL**
 At once all the demons are leaving the white man
Berren ṇāmbille magui yeatunga duggaipa (Ridley 1875)

The durative *-bu* occurs only on measures of time, and is similar to English *for/at/on/during* preceding a unit of time, as in (17)–(18).

- (17) imanuwal ngunu-**bu** ganggir dany-dunga
 Immanuel night-**DUR** dead lie-IPFV
 That night Immanuel lay dead;
Immanuel ṇūnūmbo kungir daieduṇa; (Ridley 1875)
- (18) nga nginda ngundu baluny biigi-**bu**
 and 2SG.NOM surely die day-**DUR**
 and on that day you will surely die.
Ṇa ṇinda ṇūndu balluia bigibu. (Ridley 1875)

The ablative-allative sequence *-ba-nga* indicates accompaniment, and is used when someone is going somewhere with the referent of the suffixed nominal, as in (19). This sequence is only found on the pronoun *ngunyali* in the texts, as in (19).

- (19) imanuwal nyan-dunga ngunyali-**ba-nga**
 Immanuel travel-IPFV 3PL-**ABL-ALL**
 Immanuel was travelling with them.
Immanuel yeatūṇa ṇulle buggā. (Ridley 1875)

The ablative-locative sequence *-ba-di* indicates that someone is in the same location as the referent of the suffixed nominal, as in (20)–(21). The colocalised participants are not in motion, as with *-ba-nga*, but are static in a shared location. The sequence *-ba-di* indicating colocalisation is found on a wide range of pronouns and nouns.

- (20) yaa-ri ngaja nginda-**ba-di** nyinyi
 say-PST 1SG.NOM 2SG-**ABL-LOC** dwell
 He said, 'I'm staying with you.'
Yari, 'ṇutta ṇintapuddi ṇinne.' (Ridley 1875)

- (21) nga dagai-jin-**ba-di** ngambila=bu yaa-ri
 and white.man-PL-**ABL-LOC** all=EMPH say-PST
 and in front of all the white men, said;
ŋa duggatin buddi ŋambillabo yari; (Ridley 1875)

The sequences *-ba-nga* and *-ba-di* may be considered compound cases, since their meaning is not strictly predictable from that of the component cases.

The locative cases (locative *-di*, allative *-nga* and ablative *-ba*) occur in sequences other than the ablative-allative *-ba-nga* as in (19) and the ablative-locative *-ba-di* as in (20)–(21). However, the other sequences seem to be relatively compositional. For example, when God takes a bone out of Adam's side, the locative-ablative sequence *-di-ba* in (22) compositionally describes this spatial movement, insofar as bone is moved from its position inside the body (locative) away from the body (ablative).

Note that Ridley uses the word *mumbal* 'thunder' to refer to God.

- (22) mumbal jirban guda-**di-ba** banman
 thunder bone side-**LOC-ABL** pluck
 God plucked a bone from his side;
Mumbal tirben kūtādibēr pūnmān; (Ridley 1875)

Case marking, when present in a noun phrase, always occurs on the head noun. Case marking is also found on possessive pronouns and adjectives (see 1.5.10 and 1.5.7), but it is impossible to say if it is obligatory in these instances, as discussed in the relevant sections. Case is optional on adnominal demonstratives (see 1.5.11). Yagara may follow the pattern of neighbouring language Duunjdjawa, where case marking is obligatory on a head noun but optional on all other elements in a noun phrase (Kite and Wurm 2004, 96). In Yugambeh-Bandjalang and Badjala, on the other hand, case marking is obligatory on adjectives as well as nouns and pronouns (Sharpe 1998, 34; Bell 2003, 136). It is possible that Yagara, like Badjala and Yugambeh-Bandjalang, requires case agreement on adjectives that modify a case-marked noun. The text collection contains too few relevant examples to indicate which elements in a noun phrase (other than the head noun) are required to have case marking.

The same set of cases found on common nouns and proper nouns, as shown in Table 1.12, also occur on pronouns (see 1.5.10) and interrogatives (see 1.5.13), with minor differences in form.

1.5.3. Plural marking

Plural marking of any kind occurs only on nouns in the text collections. On some nouns, plurality is indicated by reduplication, as noted in Section 1.5.5. More typically, plurality is indicated with the suffix *-jin*, as in *malara-jin* ‘men’. This marker is not obligatory and plurals are usually not overtly marked. The plural marker occurs inside case marking, as in *malara-jin-du* ‘man-PL-ERG’ or *dagai-jin-na* ‘white.man-PL-ACC’; but outside derivation, as in *wali-bany-jin* ‘bad-INCH-PL; blind people’. The plural *-jin* may indicate a wide range of quantities, from the small but indeterminate number of pig-keepers in (23), to everything in existence in (24). The suffix is not limited to human referents, though (24) is the only example in the texts that includes inanimate referents.

- (23) *dagai-jin* *biing-biing* *nyundal-dany*
 white.man-**PL** pig keep.animals-RNP
 The pig-keeping men
 Duggatin pigpig inēlta

nyigiran *Miyanjin-di* *ngambila* *yaa-ri*
 run Brisbane-LOC all say-PST
 run to the city; they told everything.
Īgeren mientjinti; ŋambilla yari. (Ridley 1875)

- (24) *mumbal* *ngambila=bu* *nana-jin* *yaga-ri*
 thunder all=EMPH thing-**PL** make-PST
 God made everything.
 Mūmbāl ŋāmbillebu nunāntjin yugāri. (Ridley 1875)

In addition to the plural *-jin*, Yagara has two other nominal suffixes indicating quantity. Of these, *-bajagan* indicates a smaller number than *-jin*, and *-jangil* indicates a larger number. Both of these suffixes are mentioned only by Lauterer (1891, 1895). Lauterer (1895, 619) defines *-bajagan* as ‘more than one’, *-jin* as ‘many’ and *-jangil* as ‘plenty’. Later on, he claims that *-jangil* is appropriate for numbers ‘over five’ (1895, 621). However, other sources show that *-jin* may be used for quantities greater than five, as in (24).

All three morphemes appear to be suffixes, rather than quantifiers such as *milin* ‘many’ or *bula* ‘both’. Quantifiers typically precede the nouns they modify (see 1.5.8), whereas *-bajagan*, *-jin* and *-jangil* always follow nouns, as in Lauterer’s examples with *bing* ‘father’, *bingpas’agan* (*bing-bajagan*), *bingd’sin* (*bing-jin*) and *bingd’sangil* (*bing-jangil*) (1895, 619).

With the available data, it is impossible to conclude whether *-bajagan* is a dual or a paucal. Lauterer’s definition of *-bajagan* as ‘more than one’ rather than ‘two’ suggests a paucal, however.

The suffix *-jangil*, which indicates more referents than the plural *-jin*, must be considered a type of greater plural. The suffix *-jangil* could be specifically a ‘global plural’, as in the Arandic language Kaytetye (Corbett 2000, 33), which indicates all members of a category. Holmer (1983, 398) claims that *-jin* indicates ‘some’, which suggests that *-jangil* may mean ‘all’. However, the plural *-jin* can unambiguously mean ‘all’, as in (24), which makes a global plural interpretation of *-jangil* less probable. More likely, *-jangil* fulfils a different function of greater plurals, which is to signal an unexpectedly high number of referents. On this interpretation, *bing-jangil* might be roughly translated as ‘a whole lot of fathers’ or ‘heaps of fathers’.

Greater plurals, also called ‘plurals of abundance’, do not seem particularly common in the world’s languages. However, they are found in several languages besides the Kaytetye language mentioned above (Corbett 2000, 33), including Syrian Arabic (Cowell 1964, 369); Bangun and Fula, two Niger-Kordofanian languages (Corbett 2000, 31); and Hamar, a South Omotic language (Corbett 2000, 32).

1.5.4. Derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes change the meaning, and often the part of speech, of the stems they attach to. Most derivational suffixes in Yagara take a nominal stem (a noun or sometimes an adjective), though a few are found on verbs.

Yagara suffixes are agglutinative, so they can combine in long sequences with each suffix remaining recognisable and unchanged (except when affected by the phonological rules in Section 1.3.2). Though inflectional suffixes are limited in which suffixes may follow others (see Sections 1.5.2, 1.5.3 and 1.6.2), derivational suffixes’ only requirement is that they attach to a stem of a particular grammatical category.

Derivational suffixes are summarised in Table 1.13. In the second column of the table, the first abbreviation (N, etc.) indicates the type of stem the suffix attaches to. If the suffix apparently takes any sort of stem, this is indicated by 'X'. This designation is followed by an arrow and another abbreviation noting the sort of stem that results. For example, 'X → N' means that the suffix can attach to any stem type but results in a noun.

Table 1.13: Derivational affixes.

Derivational suffix	Grammatical categories of stem (before suffix is added) and word (after suffix is added)	Approximate meaning (where 'X' stands for the meaning of the stem)	Abbreviation (if used in Texts)
-ba	N → N	'place of X'	–
-ban	N → N	'product of X'	–
-bany	Adj/N → V	'be or become X'	INCH
-bila	Adj/N → V	'state typified by X'	STATE
-bin	N → N	'place of X'; -bin is also in plant names	–
-bira	N → N	'people of X'	–
-gaba	N → N	'item(s) for X'	ITEM
-gali	X → Adj/N	'very X'; 'person who is very X'	VERY
-gan	X → N	'characterised by X'	CHARACT
-gan/-gin	N → N	'female X'	F
-wal/-bal/-bul	X → N	'those who say X'	–

Source: Authors' summary, based on the source texts.

Descriptions and examples of each of the suffixes in Table 1.13 are listed below.

-ba

The best-known Yagara suffix might be *-ba* 'place of X'. This suffix is found in many present-day placenames, such as *Gurilba* 'Kurilpa; West End; place of rats', from *guril* 'water rat' and *-ba* 'place of X', or *Bulimba* 'Bulimba; place of peewees', from *bulim* 'peewee' and *-ba* 'place of X'. This suffix is probably related to the locative suffix *-bah* in Yugambeh-Bandjalang (Sharpe 1998, 35), which is also frequent in placenames.

-ban

The suffix *-ban* ‘product of X’ attaches to nouns, and results in a noun. It indicates an object or substance that is made from the referent of the stem. A headband made of the *bara* vine is a *baraban* ‘product of the vine’, for example, and milk is *ngamuban* ‘product of the breast’.

-bany

The inchoative suffix *-bany* ‘become X’ indicates the onset of a state. The suffix attaches to both nouns and adjectives and results in a verb, as in (25)–(26). In (25), it changes *jan.gali* ‘very wet’ into the verb *jan.galibany* ‘become very wet’.

- (25) *jan-gali-bany*
 wet-VERY-INCH
 I’ve become thoroughly wet.
Jungul-pun. ‘I’m a wet fellow.’ (Hardcastle 1946–7)

In (26), the suffix *-bany* changes the noun *dagai* ‘white man’ into the verb *dagai-bany* ‘become a white man’.

- (26) *ngunyal dagai-bany*
 3SG.NOM white.man-INCH
 He became a white man
Wunnal duggai punni (Ridley 1875)

-bila

The verbalising suffix *-bila* ‘state typified by X’ indicates that the subject is afflicted, infested or typified by the referent(s) of the suffixed noun, as in (27)–(28). In (27), the suffix forms the verb *banybila* ‘be sick’ from the adjective *bany* ‘sick’.

- (27) *jundal bany-bila*
 woman be.sick-STATE
 A woman was sick;
Jūndāl paiimbila; (Ridley 1875)

In (28), the suffix *-bila* makes a verb *garang-garangbila* ‘wear clothes’ from the noun *garang-garang* ‘clothes’.

- (28) *garang-garang-bila*
clothes-STATE
He is wearing clothes,
geran geran pilla, (Ridley 1875)

-bin

The suffix *-bin* resembles *-ba* in that it appears in placenames. For example, it is found in *Jin.gilingbin* ‘Bulimba ferry’, from *jin.gilinggan* ‘willie wagtail’, or *Murumurulbin* ‘ibis place (sandbank below Hamilton)’ from *murumurul* ‘ibis’.

Another apparent suffix *-bin* is common in the names of plants, as in *dagabin* ‘grass tree’ and *durbin* ‘bracken fern’, for example.

-bira

A few names for Aboriginal groups and placenames incorporate the suffix *-bira*, meaning ‘people of’ or ‘place of’. The suffix does not seem productive. It is found in *Winyambira* ‘people of the soldier crab’ and in five group names with stems of unknown meanings.

-gaba

Terms for tools and clothing often incorporate the suffix *-gaba* ‘item(s) for X’. For example, *magulgaba* ‘hat’ consists of *magul* ‘head’ and *-gaba* and could be glossed as ‘item for the head’. The suffix *-gaba* occurs in several lexical innovations for European items, as in *biigigaba* ‘thing for the sun; clock’.

In two examples, *-gaba* apparently has the form *-ba*. In Yugambeh the cognate suffix *-gubi* ‘pertaining to’ is frequently shortened to *-bi* or *-ba* (Sharpe 1998, 39), and intervocalic /g/ in Yagara is frequently reduced (see 1.3.2), so this alternation seems plausible. This usage of *-ba* occurs in *bibaba* ‘waistcoat’ and *wanganba* ‘traditional upper-body garment’. The usage may however involve a distinct morpheme *ba* related to upper-body garments.

-gali

Hardcastle glosses the suffix *-gali* as an adverb, *kully* ‘very’. The morpheme is most common in the word *milin.gali* ‘very many’ as in (29). When the suffix occurs on nouns, the resultant meaning is not always predictable from that of the noun stem, as in *digirgali* ‘big eater’ from *digir* ‘belly’, or *gingali* ‘little girl’ from *gin* ‘girl; woman’. The suffix also occurs on verbs (see 1.6.2).

- (29) biing-biing milin-**gali** bibu-di da-ma-nya
 pig many-**VERY** hill-LOC eat-CAUS-PRS
 Many pigs are feeding on the hillside.
 Pigpig millenkolle bippudi tanmunna. (Ridley 1875)

-gan

The suffix *-gan* takes a nominal as input and produces a noun, and is found in *nyanggagan* ‘summer’ and *yigilgan* ‘winter’, which are derived from *nyangga* ‘hot’ and *yigil* ‘cold’ respectively. Many animal names end in *-gan*, which suggests that these nouns are derived from adjectives that are not otherwise attested; *jin.gilinggan* ‘willie wagtail’ is one such example. The suffix is also present in *gujalgan* ‘mischief’ which comes from *gujal* ‘gammon’. In one instance, *-gan* appears to attach to a verb stem (see 1.6.3).

-gan/-gin

The *-gan/-gin* suffix attaches to a noun, results in a noun, and indicates a female. The suffix is shared by surrounding languages (*-gan* in Duunjdjawu [Kite and Wurm 2004, 36] and *-gan* or *-gunn* [gʌn/] in Yugambeh [Sharpe 2020, 38; Kombumerri Corporation for Culture 2001, 18]). It seems much more productive in Yugambeh than in Yagara, for example, so it may be a borrowing. In Yagara it is found mainly in kinship and moiety terms, as in *Bundagan* ‘female member of the Bunda section group’ or *nyaringgan* ‘female offspring; daughter’.

-wal/-bal/-bul

The various allomorphs of a suffix that appears on group names, *-wal*, *-bal* and *-bul*, seem to be lexicalised as part of language and group names such as *Yagarabal* ‘Yagara speakers’ and *Jandaiwal* ‘Jandai speakers’. These group names can often be analysed as comprising a word that typifies the language spoken by the group, usually the word for ‘no’, followed by *wal/-bal/-bul*. This is the case for *Yagarabal* and *Jandaiwal*, which indicate people who say *yagara* ‘no’ and *jandai* ‘no’, respectively. Though this suffix usually attaches to interjections meaning ‘no’, it may attach to other parts of speech.

For example, Watson (1943, 5) claims that *Durubal* ‘Turrbal people’ comes from the noun *darau* ‘loose stones’ due to the ‘geological nature of the Brisbane area’ for which the Durubal are the traditional caretakers.

1.5.5. Reduplication

Nouns frequently reduplicate in Yagara, as do adjectives and at least one verb. All reduplication is complete reduplication and generally involves an identical base and reduplicant. Nonetheless, reduplicated words are subject to the deletion rules described in Section 1.3.2. For example, *nyamal-nyamal* ‘children’ becomes /nama-ɲamal/ instead of /ɲamal-ɲamal/ because /l/ disappears before /ɲ/ following the rule in Section 1.3.2. Reduplication can occur inside of derivational suffixes, as in the placename *Juruny-juruny-ba* ‘place of eels’, derived from *juruny-juruny* ‘eels’.

Reduplication of nouns usually indicates plurality and/or diminution. Reduplication seems particularly frequent when the referent is both small and plural, as in *gin* ‘girl’ and *gin-gin* ‘little girls’; or *gajal* ‘leaf’ and *gajal-gajal* ‘leaves’.

A substantial minority of animal and plant names involve reduplication, as in *diluny-diluny* ‘rosella parrot’ or *yugai-yugai* ‘fern-like herb’. However, many reduplicated names are found both with and without reduplication, as in *yugu* (-*yugu*) ‘pike’ and *jin.giri* (-*jin.giri*) ‘willie wagtail’. This suggests that the reduplication in many animal and plant names indicates plurality and/or smallness. On the other hand, some animal names so seem to be inherently reduplicated, as in *muga-muga* ‘spider’, *muri-muri* ‘butterfly’ or *biigi-biigi* ‘regent bowerbird’ (the regent bowerbird is named for the sun [*biigi*] because it has bright yellow feathers). All inherently reduplicated forms denote small species. Reduplication indicates diminution in the neighbouring language Duunjdjawu, which additionally has inherently reduplicated animal names (Kite and Wurm 2004, 49).

The names of games typically are reduplications, as in *bara-bara* ‘ball-ball; ball game’ or *muruny-muruny* ‘stick-stick; throwing sticks game’, in which the base form indicates the toy used in the game. This trend is compatible with the diminutive meaning of reduplication described above, plus a metonymy extending the term for the toy to the game that involves the toy.

The colour term *gawan-gawan* ‘red’ is clearly derived from *gawan* ‘blood’, following an apparently productive pattern for colour naming.

Adjectival reduplication indicates intensity, as in (30):

- (30) marumba marumba
 good good
 Very good
 marumba marumba (Lauterer 1895)

There is one example of a verb formed by reduplicating a noun. This is *mil-mil* ‘eye-eye; have a look’.

1.5.6. Compounding

Yagara has few compounds overall. Endocentric compounds (in which one element designates the type of referent the compound denotes) with two nouns are the most frequent. These include *murū-miir* ‘nose hole; nostril’, *mugara-mulu* ‘thunder stone; hailstone’, or *nyugum-mulu* ‘bucket stone’. Noun-adjective endocentric compounds are also possible, as in *bina-wali* ‘ear-bad; deaf’. In all N-N and most N-Adj endocentric compounds, the final noun or adjective is the head. One N-Adj compound, *dabil-baan* ‘water-salt; saltwater’, seems to have the initial noun as the head. In the few V-N compounds in the data, the verb seems to be the head. This is apparent in *banman-gilin* ‘pluck-fingernail; pick out as if with the fingernails’ and *nyan-jina* ‘go-foot; go on foot’.

There are two examples of exocentric compounds in the corpus (in which the resultant meaning is not obviously a subtype of the meaning of either element in the compound): *biigi-biribi* ‘sun-little; evening’; and *murū-guji* ‘nose-red’, which refers to the black swan due to the bird’s bright red beak.

1.5.7. Adjectives

The limited data in the text corpus does not allow us to state with confidence whether adjectives and nouns are different grammatical categories in Yagara. Many words can be used with both functions. Here, nominals are considered adjectives when they modify another nominal, as in (31), or when they occur as predicates in verbless sentences (see 1.9.1) as in (32).

- (31) ngunyali baguur **jubui** galga-ri
 3PL.NOM tree **straight** cut-PST
 They cut a straight tree;
 Wunnale bāgūr tūbui kulkurri; (Ridley 1875)

- (32) ngaja yagar **marumba**
 1SG.NOM not **good**
 I am not good;
 ngutta yugar murrumba; (Ridley 1875)

There is only one possible example in the texts of an NP with case that is modified by an adjective, shown in (33). In this example, if *jubui-di bibu-di* ‘straight-LOC hill-LOC’ is analysed as an NP in which *jubui-di* modifies *bibu-di*, then both the noun and modifying adjective bear case marking. However, *jubui-di* could also be analysed as a location word (see 1.5.9).

- (33) **jubui-di** bibu-di
 straight-LOC hill-LOC
 straight down the hill
 tubburti bipudi (Ridley 1875)

There are no other potential examples of case-marked nouns modified by adjectives, so it cannot be determined whether case agreement on adjectives was optional or obligatory.

Based on example (34), adjectives could have a comparative meaning when used with *ngi* ‘than’:

- (34) marumba ngaja **ngi** nginda
 good 1SG.NOM **than** 2SG.NOM
 I’m better than you.
 Marumban gaoia ngigninte. (Lauterer 1895)

Adjectives could be intensified by reduplication (see 1.5.5) or through the addition of another modifier such as *wali* ‘bad, badly’ as in (35) or *gurumba* ‘big, greatly’ as in (36).

- (35) **wali** wagara
 bad angry
 Very angry.
 Waldee wuggera. (Hardcastle 1946–7)

- (36) barany nguun **gurumba** ngaja
 now hot **greatly** 1SG.NOM
 Very hot now, I (think)
 Birran Norn Kooroomba Nutchair (Hardcastle 1946–7)

1.5.8. Quantifiers

Quantifiers indicate the number or amount of something. These include words such as *bula* ‘two, both, the two of them’; *milin* ‘many’; *ngambila* ‘all, everyone’, and so forth.

In Yagara, quantifiers may modify a following noun. In (37), for example, *ngambila* ‘all’ modifies *biing-biing* ‘pig’.

- (37)

barany	ngambila	biing-biing	jubuiban	nyigiran
then	all	pig	quickly	run

 then all the pigs quickly run
berren ŋamille pigpig tubbōrpun īgēren (Ridley 1875)

Quantifiers may also be used without a noun when the quantified referent is clear from context. In (38), for example, it is apparent that *ngambila* ‘all’ refers to ‘all the information’ or ‘the whole story’.

- (38)

dagai-jin	imanuwal-ba-di	nyinyi-du
white.man-PL	Immanuel-ABL-LOC	dwel-ATEL

 The white men staying with Immanuel
Duggatin Immanuelpuddi ŋīnēdo
- yaa-ri **ngambila**
 say-PST **all**
 tell the whole story.
Yari ŋāmbilla. (Ridley 1875)

1.5.9. Location and time words

The Yagara texts include numerous expressions that indicate time or location. These words, such as *barany* ‘now, soon’, may occur anywhere in a sentence, as (39)–(41) illustrate.

- (39)

ngaja	yaga-ri	barany
1SG.NOM	do-PST	now

 I’ve finished (it) now.
Ngutta yuggari berren. (Ridley 1875)

- (40) guba-nya nginda ngaja **barany** balgal-biny
 go.on-PRES 2SG.NOM 1SG.NOM **soon** come-BACK
 You're going ahead, I'm coming back soon.
Cobana-inter, utcha baro balgalpin. (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

- (41) **barany** nguun gurumba ngaja
now hot greatly 1SG.NOM
 Very hot now, I (think)
Birran Norn Kooroomba Nutchair (Hardcastle 1946–7)

Location and time words such as *barany* take no suffixes. However, additional words that describe time and place may be formed through the addition of case endings such as *-bu*, which expresses a duration as in (42), or *-di*, which indicates a location, as in (43).

- (42) imanuwal **ngunu-bu** ganggir dany-dunga
 Immanuel **night-DUR** dead lie-IPFV
 That night Immanuel lay dead;
Immanuel ḡūnūmbo kungīr daieduḡa; (Ridley 1875)

- (43) barany ngunyal **biram-di** nyinyi-nya
 now 3SG.NOM **sky-LOC** dwell-PRS
 Now he lives in the sky.
Berren Wunnal birradi ḡinnenna. (Ridley 1875)

1.5.10. Pronouns

Yagara pronouns distinguish three ‘persons’: first person (*I, me* in English); second person (*you* in English); and third person (*he, she*, etc. in English). Two types of plurality are distinguished in the first- and second-person paradigms. These are labelled ‘dual’ and ‘plural’ in Table 1.14 and throughout the texts in Part 3, though it will be argued that these labels are a simplification. Person and number will be abbreviated as ‘1, 2 and 3’ and ‘SG, DU and PL’ respectively, such that ‘first-person singular’ is abbreviated ‘1SG’.

Yagara pronouns are also divided into cases that show their grammatical role in the sentence. Pronouns may take any of the cases found on nouns (discussed in 1.5.2 and listed in Table 1.14). In addition, pronouns demonstrate a case not found on nouns in the text corpus, here called dative (abbreviated DAT). Presumably this case is possible on nouns, but simply did not occur on any nouns in the texts. The dative case mainly marks recipients as in (44), and occasionally beneficiaries as in (45).

- (44) **ngari** biribi wujan
1SG.DAT little give
 Give me a little
Ngare perpa oodar (Lang 1846).

- (45) dalbany-la **ngari** gimuman
 jump-OBLG **1SG.DAT** friend
 Jump over for me, friends
Dulpaiila ngari kimmoman (Petrie 1904)

There is no grammatical gender in Yagara, though this is present in adjacent Yugambeh-Bandjalang (Sharpe 1998, 24). There does not seem to be a distinction between inclusive *we* (meaning ‘you and I’) and exclusive *we* (meaning ‘us but not you’), though the dual *ngaliny* always means specifically ‘you and I’ in the texts. There are no instances in the texts of pronouns referring to inanimate objects. For example, *ngunyal* ‘3SG.NOM’ occurs in contexts where it could be translated as English *he* or *she*, but never *it*.

First- and second-person singular pronouns forms are well-attested across several sources. However, not all pronouns are equally well documented. The pronoun forms in Table 1.14 are based mainly on Ridley (1875), but are informed by the other sources that included pronouns, as indicated by the original source spellings beneath each pronoun in the table.

Pronominal cases follow a so-called ‘accusative’ pattern, in that the subjects of transitive and intransitive sentences share one form (the nominative), whereas the objects of transitives have a different form (the accusative). The ‘accusative’ pattern is often contrasted with an ‘ergative’ one, in which the subjects of transitive sentences have ergative marking.

Table 1.14: Yagara pronouns.

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Possessive	Examples of other cases
1SG	ngaja atu (Bl); nutchair (Ha); naḡa (H); atta (E); ngutta, atta (Ja); ngacia 'i'; ngaolia, gaoia (L); utter, ngutter (Lg); gnatcha, ngalta, gnatja, gnatya (M); ngatta (P); yutta, nutta, atta (R); atta (T); atcha, utcha (W); nutchair (We); ngaja (Wu)	ngana mi 'me' (Bl); nanee (H); ana (Lg); nganna (M); ḡunna (R)	ngari nari (H); naree (Ha); ngrai (L); ngari (P); ḡurri (R); naree (W); nuru (We)	ngariba ariba (E); nariḡa, nariwa, narijuba (H); ariba (Ja); ngaciaganowa 'my' (L); ngarebah, narebah (Lg); gnareeba, yahleḡaddie (M); ngariwar (N); ḡurriba (R); nurryyuba (We)	ngaja-ba-di (1SG-ABL-LOC) nuttapuddi (R)
2SG	nginda indo, neen (Bl); gintay (D); intair (Ha); ḡinda (H); inta (E); ēēn (G); inta 'thou', nginta, inda 'you' (Ja); nginte 'thou (boy)', nginta, gninte, nginto (L); ngidna, nginter, inter (Lg); guttay, intay, inta, yinta (M); ḡinda, ḡinta, inda 'thou' (R); ngintia 'they two'; inta 'thou' (T); inta, inter (W); inta, gninta (Wa); inter (We)	ngina inna, nanee (Ha); ine (W)	nginu ḡinoo (M); ḡinnu (R)	nginuba yeen, innoung (Bl); enuba (E); enuba (Ja); ngintenganowa 'thy', nguwa, ngowo (L); nenoobah, yanobah 'yours' (Lg); yinooba, inooba (M); ḡinnuba (R)	nginda-ba (2SG-ABL) ḡintaba (R) nginda-ba-di (2SG-ABL-LOC) ḡintapuddi (R)
3SG	ngunyal (nom.) ullum (Ha); wunnāl (Ja); ngalam 'he' (L); ḡnoonyal (M); unda, wunnal (R); ungda 'he' (T) ngunyalu (erg.) ḡonloo (Lg); wunnalu, wunyalu, wuunyalu (R)	ngunyana nudna 'him' (Lg); wunnana (R)	ngunyanu wunnaun, wunnanu (R)	ngunyanuba wonanabah (Lg); wunnanūbu, wūnnanūba, wunnanuba (R)	ngunyal-ba-di (3SG-ABL-LOC) wunnalpuddi (R)

	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Possessive	Examples of other cases
1DU	ngaliny linda, nalinda, nealinda 'we or you & I' (Lg); ngadi 'we' (L); gnalleen, gnahleen (M); nulin 'you and I'; nulle 'we' (R); allin 'we two' (T)	ngalinyana yalunga 'me' (Lg); nullenunna, nulin. ga (R)	ngalinyanu nullenunnu (R)	-	-
1PL	ngalba nulpa (Ha); alpa (M); nulpa (R); nhamba 'we' (T)	ngalbana nulpāna (R)	ngalbanu nulpunna (R)	ngalbanuba ngalpanganowa (L)	-
2DU	ngilbang ngilpung 'you two' (Lg); ilpūn, ilpū 'ye two' (R); inungei 'you two' (T)	-	-	-	-
2PL	ngilbula ngilputa 'thou (girl); (L); nilpūlla 'ye' (R); nuba 'ye' (T)	ngilbulana ilpūllāna, ilpultana (R)	-	-	-
3PL	ngunyali wunnate (R); layim 'they' (L)	ngunyalina wunnālina, wunnalina (R)	-	ngunyalinuba wonanewibah (Lg)	ngunyali-ba-nga (3PL-ABL-ALL) nulle buggā (R)

Source: Authors' summary: sources are listed by abbreviation throughout table, see 'Abbreviations and conventions' for further details.

Despite the general accusative pattern in Yagara pronouns, Ridley (1875) five times records an ergative form *ngunyalu*, as shown in (46)–(50). In (46) and (47), *ngunyalu* marks a subject that differs from that of the previous sentence. In these examples, the pronoun *ngunyalu* is preceded or followed by the name Immanuel, to clarify who the new subject is.

- (46) yaa-ri ngaja nginda-ba-di nyinyi
 say-PST 1SG.NOM 2SG-ABL-LOC dwell
 He said, 'I'm staying with you.'
 yari, 'hutta h̄intapuddi h̄inne.'

imanuwal **ngunyalu** yaa-ri
 Immanuel **3SG.ERG** say-PST
 Immanuel, he said, ...
Immanuel wunnalu yari, ... (Ridley 1875)

- (47) ngunyal nyan-dunga nga
 3SG.NOM travel-IPFV and
 He was travelling and
 Wunnal yeatun̄a, h̄a

dagai-jin ngambila=bu yaa-ri daun gurumba
 white.man-PL all=EMPH talk-PST thing great
 told the white men all the great things
duggatin h̄ambillabayari tōn̄ kurumba

ngunyalu imanuwal yaga-ri
3SG.ERG Immanuel do-PST
 he, Immanuel, did.
wunnalu Immanuel yugari. (Ridley 1875)

Example (48) consists of the two concluding sentences of Ridley's Resurrection (see Section 3.4). In the second sentence, the ergative-marked subject is not new, though it is transitive instead of intransitive as in the previous sentence.

- (48) barany ngunyal biram-di nyinyi-nya
 now 3SG.NOM sky-LOC dwell-PRS
 Now he lives in the sky.
 berren Wunnal birradi h̄innenna.

ngunyalu ngalbana nyaa-nya
3SG.ERG 1PL.ACC see-PRS

He sees us.

Wunnalu ṡulpāna nanna. (Ridley 1875)

Ridley lists examples (49) and (50) without context (see 3.3.3), so here the ergative seems to simply emphasise the agency of the subject.

(49) **ngunyalu** yaraman balga-ri
3SG.ERG horse bring-PST

He brought the horse.

Wūnyalu yaraman bulkaiani. (Ridley 1875)

(50) **ngunyalu** nyaring waya-ri
3SG.ERG son send-PST

He sent his son.

Wūnyalu nurriṡ waiari. (Ridley 1875)

The *ngunyal/ngunyalu* alternation can be compared with the alternation between bare nouns and nouns suffixed by *-du* (see section 1.5.2). The ergative forms in both alternations are rare in the texts.

In the first- and second-person paradigms, there are clearly two sets of non-singular forms. Though these are here labelled ‘dual’ and ‘plural’ for convenience, they in fact appear to distinguish a plural and a greater plural in the first person. There are fewer examples of second-person ‘dual’ and ‘plural’ pronouns than of first-person forms, so it can be concluded only that the ‘dual’ marks a smaller number than the ‘plural’ in the second person.

There are seventeen examples of the ‘dual’ first person across the texts, and three examples of the ‘plural’, all in Ridley (1875). The ‘dual’ *ngaliny* can refer to only a few referents, as in (51), up to the *gurumba milin milin* ‘very many many’ demons speaking in (52).

(51) wi **ngaliny** nyan-ba da-li-ba
hey **1DU.NOM** go-SBJV drink-SBJV

Hey, let’s go have a drink.

Wee gnahleen yieeba jaleeba. (Meston 1986a)

- (52) ngambila magui muyan
 all devil beseech
 All the demons beg,
Nāmbille magui muian,

wana **ngalinyana** waya-ba wungga
 do.not **1DU.ACC** send-SBJV hole
 ‘Don’t send us into the pit!’
 ‘*Wunna ḡulleḡunna waialta wunku.*’ (Ridley 1875)

All three instances of the first-person ‘plural’ refer to all of humankind everywhere, as in (53). This is consistent with an interpretation as a greater plural, along the lines of the greater plural suffix *-jangil* (see section 1.5.3).

- (53) ngunyal baluny **ngalbanu**
 3SG.NOM die **1PL.DAT**
 he died for us.
wunnal bällün ḡulpunna. (Ridley 1875)

The second-person forms may also designate a plural versus a greater plural, but they more obviously seem to distinguish two addressees from multiple addressees. There are four instances of the ‘dual’, three of which are used by God addressing Adam and Eve, as in (54). The remaining dual, (55), also specifies two people.

- (54) **ngilbang** bulabu baluny
2DU.NOM both die
 You both will die.
Ilpūḡ budelabu ballui. (Ridley 1875)

- (55) **ngilbang** nya-ra
2DU.NOM go-DEST
 You two go.
Ngilpung yera (Lang 1846)

The ‘plural’ second person oddly has the nominative form *ngilbula*, which appears to include the morpheme *bula* ‘two’. This suggests it arose from a dual. However, it can be used for more than two referents, as when Ridley addresses a crowd of hundreds in (56).

- (56) ngaja **ngilbulana** yaa-li
 1SG.NOM **2PL.ACC** say-FUT
 I'll talk to you
 ŋutta ilpūllāna yāli (Ridley 1875)

Of course, the 'duals' in (54)–(55) could be plurals that happen to involve two addressees, and the 'plural' in (56) could be a greater plural. If this were the case, then the uses of the 'dual' and 'plural' documented for the second-person paradigm would be analogous to those found for the first-person paradigm. However, it is entirely possible that both the first- and second-person paradigms included a dual or paucal, a plural, and a greater plural, and there is simply no evidence of one of these three forms in the texts. The nominal suffixes show a three-way number distinction (see 1.5.3), so a similar three-way distinction would not be unexpected in the pronoun system.

Several consultants are recorded as suggesting the additional forms *ngai* for 'I' and *ngin* for singular 'you'. These terms occur in no sentences or texts, however, and therefore seem not to have been in common usage at the time the sentences and texts were elicited. One of Holmer's consultants cites the forms *ŋai* 'I' and *ŋin* 'you' (1983, 392). Ridley also lists the forms *ŋāi*, *ai* and *ŋaia* for 'I', though he never includes these forms in his texts. Blackman lists both *indo* and *neen* as 'you' (1900, 60). Finally, Bannister (1986) analyses the first- and second-person nominative forms in Table 1.15 as ergative forms, and gives the nominative forms of these pronouns as *ngai* and *ngin*. In Guwar, Gabi-Gabi and Duunjidjawu, *ngai* and *ngin* are the nominative first-person and second-person forms (Bannister 1982; Mathew 1910; Kite and Wurm 2004). Yagara speakers would have been aware of these forms due to their ubiquity in surrounding languages, but do not appear to have used the forms when speaking Yagara.

Relatively few pronouns occur in cases other than the nominative, accusative, dative and possessive. Those that appear, however, are completely regular and take the same case suffixes found on nouns. For example, the 3SG.ABL is *ngunyalba* 'from him', which is a compositional combination of the 3SG root *ngunyal* and the ablative suffix *-ba*.

However, it should be noted that the final *l* on the third-person singular base form *ngunyal* disappears before *n* and *ny*, following the general rule formulated in Section 1.3.2. As a result, the base form *ngunyal* with the possessive *-nuba* lacks an *l* (*ngunyanuba*) but *ngunyal* with the ablative *-ba* retains it (*ngunyalba*).

Based on (57) below, it seems that case marking occurs on possessive pronouns in agreement with a head noun. The only two instances of a possessed noun with case both appear in the sentence in (57), and in both, case is marked on the possessive pronoun as well as the noun.

- (57) gaa jundal jirban jirban-**di** ngariba-**di**
 that.MED woman bone bone-**LOC** 1SG.POSS-**LOC**
 ‘This woman is bone of my bone,
 ‘Ka jundal tjirben tjirbenti ŋurribāti,
- nga baigal-baigal baigal-baigal-**di** ngariba-**di**
 and flesh flesh-**LOC** 1SG.POSS-**LOC**
 and flesh of my flesh:
 ŋa paigulpaigul paigulpaigulti ŋurribāti: (Ridley 1875)

1.5.11. Adnominal demonstratives

There is insufficient evidence in the texts to determine whether Yagara distinguishes two degrees of distance in its demonstrative system, as in Duunjdjawan and Badjala (Kite and Wurm 2004, 55–56; Bell 2003, 76), or three degrees, as in Yugambah (Sharpe 1998, 29–30). The proximal and distal are well documented both for adnominal and adverbial demonstratives. However, in both systems, there is an additional term that is less well documented, which could represent a medial or other function.

The grammar section in Ridley (1875) identifies two adnominal demonstratives, *danga* ‘this’ and *ngaranga* ‘that’. However, the single instance of *ngaranga* in Ridley (1875) is not obviously a demonstrative, and may instead mean ‘there is/was’. On the other hand, the distal demonstrative *diranga* occurs in Ridley (1875) and Meston (1986a). Another demonstrative with a less clear function, *gaa*, occurs twice in Ridley (1875).

Table 1.15 lists the adnominal demonstratives as used in the texts in Ridley (1875). These demonstratives always occur before a noun, as in *danga-na baguur-na* ‘that-ACC tree-ACC’.

Table 1.15: Yagara adnominal demonstratives.

Degree of distance	Adnominal demonstrative
Proximal (near to speaker)	<i>diranga</i>
Medial or other function	<i>gaa</i>
Distal (far from speaker and hearer)	<i>danga</i>

Source: Authors' summary of Ridley (1875).

Adnominal demonstratives seem to optionally take case marking. Case marking always appears on a noun with a demonstrative, as in *diranga baguuru-na* 'this tree-ACC', and may optionally be suffixed to the demonstrative, as in *danga-na baguuru-na* 'that-ACC tree-ACC'.

A *proximal* demonstrative term generally refers to something physically close to the speaker. The adnominal *diranga* appears to be a proximal term, since in contexts such as (58) and (59) the referents introduced by *diranga* are close to the speakers. In (58), the speaker is currently located in the Country that they are referring to. And in (59), the speaker is presumably poised next to the tree they are about to cut.

- (58) garulban ngaja **diranga** jar-di
 tired 1SG.NOM **this.PROX** Country-LOC
 I'm tired of being in this Country.
 Caroolcan gnatja teeran jargee. (Meston 1986a)

- (59) gau-Ø ngaja galga-li-ba **diranga** baguur
 stop-IMP 1SG.NOM cut-FUT-SBJV **this.PROX** tree
 Stop! I'm going to cut this tree.
 Kaahuu! Ngutta kulkulliba diranga bagur. (Ridley 1875)

A *distal* prototypically refers to something far from the speaker. In Ridley's version of Genesis (see 3.5), God describes to Adam and Eve the position of the Tree of Knowledge. The tree evidently is not visible to the speakers in this scene, or God would not need to explain where it is. After doing so, God makes the command in (60).

- (60) nginda wana **danga-na** baguur-na da-la
 2SG.NOM do.not **that.DIST-ACC** tree-ACC eat-OBLG
 do not eat from that tree.
 inta wunna dungama bagurna tulla. (Ridley 1875)

Two instances of distal *danga* appear to be discourse deixis, in which *danga* refers to something previously mentioned in the conversation. In this usage, *danga* is not adnominal, but occurs without a noun. The other demonstratives are not found with this function. Both instances occur in (61).

- (61) ngaja garuba yaa-li
1SG.NOM another say-FUT

I say to another,

ɲutta kurruba yali,

nginda **danga** yaga-li
2SG.NOM **that.DIST** do-FUT

“You will do that!”

ɲinta duɲa yuggali;

barany ngunyal yaga-ri
at.once 3SG.NOM do-PST

and at once he did.’

berren wunnal yuggāri.’

imanuwal **danga** bina
Immanuel **that.DIST** hear

Immanuel hears that.

Immanuel duɲa pīnaɲ. (Ridley 1875)

The texts provide only two examples of the demonstrative *gaa*, so it is difficult to determine the term’s exact meaning. In both examples of *gaa*, the speaker is talking ‘behind someone’s back’ – discussing one person while speaking to another. In both instances the exact spatial positions of the participants are unclear.

In Ridley’s Genesis, when God has just created Eve and brought her to Adam, Adam speaks as in (62).

- (62) **gaa** jundal jirban jirban-di ngariba-di
that.MED woman bone bone-LOC 1SG.POSS-LOC

‘This woman is bone of my bone,

‘Ka jundal tjirben tjirbenti ɲurribāti, (Ridley 1875)

In (62), God is showing Eve to Adam for the first time, so God is plausibly adjacent to Eve or holding her for Adam to view. God and Adam are certainly talking about Eve as an uninvolved participant.

The relative distance between the speakers and referent is also open to interpretation in (63), in which Jesus, after speaking to the ‘Commandant’, apparently turns to a disciple and says the following:

- (63) **gaa** gamandan ngana winanga-nya
that.MED Commandant 1SG.ACC believe-PRS
 That Commandant believes me.’
Kār Kommandant ηunna winuηunna.’ (Ridley 1875)

It is not clear whether the disciple is nearer to the Commandant than Jesus. Again, Jesus and the disciple are speaking about someone who is present, but not an immediate participant in the exchange.

Ridley claims that the word *ngaranga* is a demonstrative on the basis of the usage in example (64). Note that *Miyanjin* ‘Meeanjin; Brisbane’ is used throughout Ridley (1875) as a generic word for ‘city’.

- (64) gabarnaum Miyanjin **ngaranga** gamandan
 Capernaum Brisbane **there.is/was** Commandant
 Capernaum was a city. There was a Commandant,
Kapernaūm mīantjun; ηuruηa Kommandant:

Line (64) is near the beginning of the story paraphrased from Luke 7 and 8. It includes the first mention of the Commandant, who is a major character in the story that follows. It is difficult to identify the word’s meaning on the basis of this single example, but it may have a role in introducing the new character.

1.5.12. Adverbial demonstratives

The adverbial demonstratives include the proximal *ngagam* and the distal *naam*. There is potentially a third adverbial demonstrative, *yugu*, which could be interpreted as a medial.

The proximal *ngagam* ‘here’ occurs in contexts such as (65) and (66), where it unambiguously indicates the speaker’s current location. Though *ngagam* is often used to mean ‘come here’, as in (66), it can simply refer to the speaker’s location, as in (65).

- (65) nyan-ma-ba **ngagam**
 go-CAUS-SBJV **here.PROX**
 Let's go away from here.
 Yanmerpa nahga. (Meston 1986a)

- (66) **ngagam** ngaja yaa-li-ba ngina
 here.PROX 1SG.NOM say-FUT-SBJV 2SG.ACC
 Come here; I want to talk to you.
 Gorgoy-Nutchair-Yarlivar Intair. (Hardcastle 1946–7)

In (67), the demonstrative seems to indicate a specific item or task at the speaker's location.

- (67) **ngagam** nginda yaga-li-ba
 here.PROX 2SG.NOM do-FUT-SBJV
 Here, you do it.
 Gorgoy Intair Yuggar Liviar. (Hardcastle 1946–7)

The distal demonstrative *naam*, on the other hand, unambiguously indicates a location away from the speaker, as in (68).

- (68) **naam** nginda nya-ra-nya
 there.DIST 2SG.NOM go-DEST-PRS
 Go over there.
 Nun Nair Yur-on-ner. (Hardcastle 1946–7)

In addition to the form *naam* 'there', Ridley (1875, 87) records a version with an even longer vowel, *naa-m* 'there (very far off)'. The extra-long vowel in *naa-m* metaphorically represents an extra-long distance, such as when an English speaker says *faaar away* instead of *far away*, and the length distinction is probably not lexical.

The adverbial demonstrative *yugu* occurs only once in the texts, shown in example (69).

- (69) **yugu** dabingbila digi
 there.MED policeman white.man
 There, a policeman, a white man
 jugu dabingbila, dege (Holmer 1983)

This sentence warns the hearer that a policeman is nearby. If the policeman is nearer to the hearer than the speaker (perhaps coming up behind them), or a medium distance from the speaker, then *yugu* may be a medial adverbial demonstrative. The adverbial demonstratives are shown in Table 1.16.

Table 1.16: Yagara adverbial demonstratives.

Degree of distance	Adverbial demonstrative
Proximal (near to speaker)	<i>ngagam</i>
Medial or other function	<i>yugu</i>
Distal (far from speaker and hearer)	<i>naam</i>

Source: Authors' summary of Ridley (1875), Hardcastle (1946–7), Holmer (1983) and Meston (1986a).

1.5.13. Interrogatives

The roots *ngan* 'who', *wanya* 'where' and *minya* 'what' occur with various case suffixes, as listed in Table 1.17, to form a variety of interrogatives. The roots *ngan*, *wanya* and *minya* probably are compatible with the full range of cases found on nouns listed in Table 1.12. For example, 'whose?' or 'for whom?' might be written *ngan-nuba* 'who-POSS', and 'from whom?' might be *ngan-ba* 'who-ABL'. In most interrogatives with case suffixes, the roots *wanya* 'where' and *minya* 'what' have the forms *wanyang* and *minyang*, the latter of which is identical to *minyang* 'what' in Yugambeh-Bandjalang (Sharpe 1998) and Guwar (Bannister 1982).

Table 1.17: Yagara interrogative pronouns.

English translation	Interrogative
Who? (nom.)	<i>ngan</i>
Who? (erg.)	<i>ngan-du</i> (who-ERG)
Whose? Belonging to whom?	<i>ngana-nuba</i> (who-POSS)
How?	<i>ngan.gu</i>
When?	<i>wanji</i>
Where?	<i>wanya</i>
To where?	<i>wanyang=gu</i> (where=PURP)
From where?	<i>wanyang-ba</i> (where-ABL)
What?	<i>minya</i>
What? (accusative)	<i>minya-na</i> (what-ACC)
How many?	<i>minyambu</i>

English translation	Interrogative
Why?	<i>minyang-di</i> (what-LOC)
At what? What is the matter?	<i>minyang=gu</i> (what=PURP)
Belonging to what? Of what?	<i>minyang-nuba</i> (what=POSS)

Source: Authors' summary, based on the source texts.

Interrogative pronouns generally occur at the start of a question, as in (70)–(71).

- (70) **ngandu** ngina yaa-ri
who.ERG 2SG.ACC say-PST
 Who told you?
Ando ine yare? (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

The ergative *ngan-du* ‘who-ERG’ is used for every interrogative subject of a transitive in the source texts, as in (70). However, interrogative subjects of intransitives always use the nominative form *ngan* ‘who’, as in (71).

- (71) **ngan** dungi-nya
who weep-PRS
 Who is crying?
Arn Dungenina? (Hardcastle 1946–7)

The consistent use of the ergative for transitive subjects is unusual, compared with the low frequency of ergative *ngunyalu* ‘3SG.ERG’ (see 1.5.10) or the ergative suffix *-du* on nouns (see 1.5.2). It is possible that the ergative interrogative pronoun was more frequent than other ergative pronouns or nouns.

1.6. Verbal morphology

1.6.1. Verbs

Based on the examples in the text collection, Yagara verbs have the following structure:

ROOT – (DERIVATION) – (INFLECTION) = (CLITICS)

Yagara verbs may have a series of several inflectional suffixes. These are overviewed in 1.6.2. Derivational suffixes on verbs, discussed in 1.6.3, are more straightforward. These consist only of the negation marker *-na* and two of the suffixes that may also occur on nominals. Clitics are described in 1.8.

1.6.2. Verbal inflections

Verbal inflections are of several general types. First, there are suffixes that mark a subordinate or relative clause (here labelled ‘subordination’ suffixes). Next, there are suffixes that change the number of arguments that a verb requires (‘valence’ suffixes). Two suffixes elaborate on types of motion (‘motion’ suffixes); two indicate the structure of the events denoted by the verb (‘aspect’); three designate tense (‘tense’); and three mark mood (‘mood’).

The six types of inflection are summarised in Table 1.18. This section will discuss the suffixes of each type in turn.

Table 1.18: Verbal inflectional suffixes.

Type	Suffixes	Function	Position relative to other inflection in the corpus	Abbrev.
Subordination	<i>-ba</i>	T-relative/clause relativiser	Precedes Valence	-RTP
	<i>-dany</i>	NP-relative/NP relativiser	No co-occurrence	-RNP
Valence	<i>-li</i>	reflexive	After -RTP (<i>-ba</i>); precedes Tense	-REFL
	<i>-ma</i>	causative		-CAUS
Motion	<i>-ra</i>	indicates motion to a destination	Precedes Tense	-DEST
	<i>-biny</i>	indicates motion back the way one came	After -DEST (<i>-ra</i>)	-BACK
Aspect	<i>-du</i>	atelicity/unboundedness	No co-occurrence	-ATEL
	<i>-dunga</i>	imperfective		-IPFV
Tense	<i>-ri</i>	past	After -RTP (<i>-ba</i>), Motion and Valence; precedes Mood	-PST
	<i>-nya</i>	present		-PRS
	<i>-li</i>	future		-FUT
Mood	<i>-ba</i>	marks suggestions and intentions	After Tense and all other inflection	-SBJV
	<i>-la</i>	indicates obligation, ‘shall’/‘should’		-OBLG
	<i>-Ø</i>	imperative	No co-occurrence	-IMP

Source: Authors’ summary, based on the source texts.

1.6.3. Subordination suffixes (-*dany* and -*ba*)

The subordination suffixes, when present, are closest to the verb stem and indicate that the verb is the head of a dependent clause. This may be either a relative clause modifying a noun within the main clause (-*dany*), or a subordinate clause with a temporal or causal relation to the main clause (-*ba*).

The relativiser -*dany* occurs on the head verb of a relative clause. In all examples in the texts, the relative clause immediately follows the main-clause noun that it modifies, as in (72)–(73). The clause could therefore be analysed as embedded in the NP, unlike in some Australian languages (Hale 1976). Relative clauses can modify nouns with any grammatical role in the main clause, and the nouns may have any grammatical role in the relative clause.

- (72) dagai-jin biing-biing nyundal-**dany**
 white.man-PL pig keep.animals-**RNP**
 The pig-keeping men
 Duggatin pigpig inēlta

nyigiran Miyanjin-di ngambila yaa-ri
 run Brisbane-LOC all say-PST
 run to the city; they told everything.
 īgeren mientjinti; ŋambilla yari. (Ridley 1875)

- (73) nyaa-nya dagai-na bany=gu dany-**dany**
 see-PRS white.man-ACC sickness=PURP lie-**RNP**
 He sees the man who is lying sick.
 nānna duggana paingo daīda (Ridley 1875)

There is a relativiser -*na* in the nearby language Yugambeh with a similar functional range to Yagara -*dany* (Sharpe 2020, 33).

The subordinator -*ba*, like -*dany*, occurs on the head verb of the dependent clause. A -*ba* clause precedes the main clause. The -*ba* clause may indicate simultaneity of the events in the two clauses, as in (74), or may signal that the event in the -*ba* clause immediately precedes that of the main clause, as in (75) and (76).

- (74) ngunyal jiga-**ba**-li balga-ri
 3SG.NOM shake-**RTP**-REFL come-PST
 She shook as she came;
wunnal jikkebele bulkurri; (Ridley 1875)
- (75) barany ngunyal jirban guda-di-ba banman-**ba**
 then 3SG.NOM bone side-LOC-ABL pluck-**RTP**
 Then, plucking a bone from the side
Berren Wunnal tjirben kuttadiber pūnmānibēr
- junda-na yaga-ri
 woman-ACC make-PST
 he made woman.
jūndāna yugāri. (Ridley 1875)
- (76) ngunyal nguru bui
 3SG.NOM spirit breathe
 When he breathed spirit
Wunnal ŋuru pui
- guri-**ba**-ma-ri muru-di
 enter-**RTP**-CAUS-PST nose-LOC
 into the nose,
kurribunmurri murudi;
- barany dagai milbulbu-bany
 then white.man be.alive-INCH
 at once the white man came to life.
berren duggai milbūlpūbun; (Ridley 1875)

Examples (74) and (76) additionally show that the suffix *-ba* precedes both of the valence-indicating suffixes, *-li* in (74) and *-ma* in (76). The relativiser *-dany* is not found in combination with any other suffixes in the text collection.

It should be noted that in *wularaba gariyagan* ‘magpie goose’, which literally means ‘brolga that talks’, the suffix *-ba* acts like a relativiser on the verb *wulara* ‘talk’. This is inconsistent with the other uses of *-ba*, which marks a subordinate clause rather than a relative clause. It is possible that *wularaba gariyagan* ‘magpie goose’ is borrowed from, or influenced by, Badjala or

another language. There is a relative subordinator suffix *-bal-wa* in the Badjala language traditionally spoken on K’Gari (Fraser Island), though its behaviour and meaning are somewhat different than Yagara *-ba* (Bell 2003, 107).

1.6.4. Valence suffixes (*-ma* and *-li*)

Yagara has one suffix that adds a participant to an event, the causative *-ma*, and another that removes a participant, the reciprocal/reflexive *-li*.

The suffix *-ma* occurs on intransitive verbs and indicates that the process or state indicated by the verb was caused by another participant. For example, *balgal* ‘rise/get up’ and *milbulbu* ‘be alive’ are normally intransitive, but with the suffix *-ma*, they become transitive *balgal-ma* ‘cause to rise’ and *milbulbu-ma* ‘cause to be alive’ as in (77).

- (77) ngunyal ganggir balgal-**ma**-ri
 3SG.NOM dead arise-**CAUS**-PST
 he made the dead rise
 Wunnal kungir bulgunmurri,
 nga milbulbu-**ma**-ri
 and be.alive-**CAUS**-PST
 and made them be alive.
 ŋa milbulpumurri. (Ridley 1875)

The neighbouring languages Duunjdjawu (Kite and Wurm 2004, 86) and Yugambeh (Sharpe 2020, 32), like many other Pama-Nyungan languages, have a causative suffix *-ma*.

When *-ma* occurs on intransitive verbs, usually those denoting self-directed motion, as in (78), it has a different meaning.

- (78) yagara ngaja nyan-**ma**-nya
 not 1SG.NOM go-**CAUS**-PRS
 I’m not going.
 yagara ngacia yadmanya. (Lauterer 1891)

Here, *-ma* does not add an extra argument. Instead, it seems to indicate whether the subject chooses to undertake the motion or not. Example (78) could perhaps be paraphrased as ‘I won’t make myself go’. In suggestions and

invitations, as in (79), this sense of *-ma* often occurs with the subjunctive *-ba* (described in 1.6.2.6), which could indicate that the choice of going is offered to the addressee.

- (79) nyan-**ma-ba** ngagam
 go-**CAUS-SBJV** here.PROX
 Let's go away from here.
 Yanmerpa nahga. (Meston 1986a)

In Gabi-Gabi and Badjala, causative *-ma* has evolved into an 'auxiliary element' (Holmer 1983, 144–45) or 'stem extension' (Bell 2003, 96) that attaches to irregular verbs before other suffixes. In Yagara, however, *-ma* as in (78) and (79) may occur word-finally, so it does not serve the function of the Gabi-Gabi and Badjala 'auxiliary element'.

The reflexive *-li* indicates that an action is done to oneself, as opposed to some other object. This can be seen in (74), repeated as (80), in which the subject is shaking herself.

- (80) ngunyal jiga-ba-**li** balga-ri
 3SG.NOM shake-RTP-**REFL** come-PST
 She shook as she came;
 wunnal jikkebele bulkurri; (Ridley 1875)

Verbs that denote communal activities such as fighting, as in (81), can also take *-li*. In these contexts, the suffix could be considered a reciprocal.

- (81) nyubany бага-**li**-nya
 married.couple fight-**REFL**-PRS
 A married couple is fighting (each other)
 nuban bagaliṇa (Holmer 1983)

A reflexive suffix with the form *-li* is also found in Yugambeh (Sharpe 2020, 40).

Though reflexive *-li* and causative *-ma* must come after the subordinator *-ba* (as in [80]) and prior to tense-marking suffixes (see [77], [78] and [81], for example) they do not co-occur with the aspect-marking or motion suffixes in the texts.

1.6.5. Motion suffixes (-*ra* and -*biny*)

In the texts, the suffixes -*ra* and -*biny* attach only to motion verbs, and add information about the movement the verbs describe.

The semantic contribution of the suffix -*ra* is difficult to pinpoint. Verbs with -*ra* often co-occur with the naming of the destination, as in (82), in which the speaker is going to Meeanjin (Brisbane). Other examples, such as (83) and (84), also clearly imply a destination (the speaker's location in [82], and the location in which the addressee is being instructed to perform a task in [83]). The suffix -*ra* therefore is here considered to specify that motion has a clear endpoint or destination.

- (82) Miganjin ngaja nya-**ra**-nya
 Brisbane 1SG.NOM go-**DEST**-PRS
 I'm going to Brisbane.
megengŋen ŋaja jarana (Holmer 1983)

- (83) ngunyal yaa-ba-ri ngunyana gin balga-**ra**
 3SG.NOM say-RTP-PST 3SG.ACC girl come-**DEST**
 while saying to her, 'Girl! Come here!'
wunnal yambari wunnana; yari; 'kin! Bulkurai!' (Ridley 1875)

- (84) ngaja ganyar yaa nginda nya-**ra**
 1SG.NOM one say 2SG.NOM go-**DEST**
 I say to one, 'Go there!'
Nutta kunnar yā, 'ŋinta yerra'; (Ridley 1875)

In three of the four examples of -*biny* in the texts, the suffix attaches to *wira* 'return' as in (85)–(86). However, when -*biny* occurs on the verb *balgal* 'come', which does not necessarily imply 'returning', the suffix nevertheless indicates motion back towards one's origin as in (87). Lang (1846) also records the word *balgal-biny* 'come-BACK' as *bulgulin* 'to return'.

- (85) ngaliny wira-ra-**biny**
 1DU.NOM return-**DEST**-**BACK**
 We came back home.
Gnalleen weerareppee. (Meston 1986a)

- (86) nguru wira-**biny**=bu
 spirit return-**BACK**=EMPH
 The spirit returns!
ŋūru wīrepinebu; (Ridley 1875)

- (87) guba-nya nginda ngaja barany balgal-**biny**
 go.on-PRES 2SG.NOM 1SG.NOM soon come-**BACK**
 You're going ahead, I'm coming back soon.
Cobana-inter, utcha baro balgalpin. (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

1.6.6. Aspect suffixes (-*du* and -*dunga*)

The suffix *-du* marks atelicity or unboundedness, meaning an event lacks a clear endpoint. For example, the event in *She ran* is atelic/unbounded, because the subject could run and then continue running. On the other hand, the event in *She ran 10 kilometres* is telic/bounded, because the subject could not run 10 km and then continue running 10 km. She could run 10 more km, but could not continue running the same 10 km.

The suffix *-du* primarily occurs on verbs that denote states or activities, as in (88)–(89), where it seems to emphasise that the event could potentially continue indefinitely.

- (88) mumbal baan-**du** ngalinyana
 thunder be.angry-**ATEL** 1DU.ACC
 God is angry with us.
Mūmbāl bāndu ḡulleḡunna. (Ridley 1875)
- (89) jina-di imanuwal-nuba nyinyi-**du**
 foot-LOC Immanuel-POSS sit-**ATEL**
 he is sitting at Immanuel's feet,
jidnendi Immanuelnūbba ḡinēdu, (Ridley 1875)

The suffix *-dunga* also has aspectual meaning and could potentially be analysed as *-du* followed by another suffix *-nga*. However, *-nga* does not occur without *-du* in the texts, nor does *-dunga* obviously incorporate the meaning of *-du*. Whereas *-du* attaches to verbs that denote states or actions, *-dunga* typically attaches to *nyan* 'go' as in (90).

- (90) dagai-jin Miyanjin-di-ba nyan-**dunga**
 white.man-PL Brisbane-LOC-ABL travel-**IPFV**
 The white men in the city were going,
Duggaitin miēntjintiber yeatunja, (Ridley 1875)

Other instances of *-dunga* modify stative verbs, such as *dany* ‘lie’ in (91). In all instances, *-dunga* appears to present as event as ongoing. In the texts, verbs with *-dunga* are often glossed using the English progressive construction *BE X-ing* as in *were going*.

- (91) imanuwal ngunu-bu ganggir dany-**dunga** nga
 Immanuel night-DUR dead lie-**IPFV** and
 That night Immanuel lay dead, and ...
 Immanuel ṛūnūmbō kungir daieduṅa; ṅa ... (Ridley 1875)

Example (91) demonstrates that *-dunga* can be followed by the conjunction *nga*. This further indicates that the suffix *-dunga* is distinct from the conjunction *nga* and does not merely consist of the suffix *-du* followed by *nga*.

Both *-du* and *-dunga* are always the sole suffix on verbs in the texts.

1.6.7. Tense suffixes (-ri, -nya and -li)

The tense-marking suffixes indicate whether an event is in the past, present or future relative to the time of speaking or other reference time.

The past tense *-ri* as in (92)—(93) is frequent in the texts and occurs in Ridley (1875), Watkins and Hamilton (1887) and Hardcastle (1946–7).

- (92) ngandu ngina yaa-**ri**
 who.ERG 2SG.ACC say-**PST**
 Who told you?
 Ando ine yare? (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

- (93) barany imanuwal biram-di wandi-**ri**
 then Immanuel sky-LOC rise-**PST**
 Then Immanuel rose to the sky;
 Burru Immanuel birradi wundāre; (Ridley 1875)

The present tense *-nya*, as in (94)—(95), occurs in Eipper (1841a), Ridley (1875), Watkins and Hamilton (1887), Meston (1986a), Lauterer (1891), Hardcastle (1946–7) and Holmer (1983).

- (94) ngan dungi-**nya**
 who weep-**PRS**
 Who is crying?
 Arn Dungenina? (Hardcastle 1946–7)

- (95) yagara ngaja nyan-ma-**nya**
 not 1SG.NOM go-CAUS-**PRS**
 I'm not going.
yagara ngacia yadmanya. (Lauterer 1891)

The future tense *-li* is used in reference to future plans for oneself (96) or for others (97).

- (96) ngaja galima-**li** ngunyalina
 1SG.NOM punish-**FUT** 3PL.ACC
 I will punish them.'
ɲutta kālīmūrri wunnālina.' (Ridley 1875)

- (97) nginda danga yaga-**li**
 2SG.NOM that.DIST do-**FUT**
 'You will do that!';
ɲinta duŋa yuggali'; (Ridley 1875)

Future *-li* also commonly occurs with the subjunctive suffix *-ba*, in which case it denotes a promise or request about a future action, as in (98)–(99).

- (98) gau-Ø ngaja galga-**li**-ba diranga baguur
 stop-IMP 1SG.NOM cut-**FUT**-SBJV this.PROX tree
 Stop! I'm going to cut this tree.
Kaahuu! Ngutta kulkulliba diranga bagur. (Ridley 1875)

- (99) jigan yaa-li imanuwal balga-**li**-ba
 insistently say-**FUT** Immanuel come-**FUT**-SBJV
 insistently they tell Immanuel that he should come
tiggen yali Immanuel bulkullibi (Ridley 1875)

The suffix *-li* can also indicate hypothetical future events, as in the protasis of the conditional in (100).

- (100) nginda wina danga-na baguur-na da-**li**
 2SG.NOM when that.DIST-ACC tree-ACC eat-**FUT**
 If you eat from that tree,
ɲinda winna dungama bagurna tulli,
 nga nginda ngundu baluny biigi-bu
 and 2SG.NOM surely die day-DUR
 on that day you will surely die.
ɲa ɲinda ɲundu balluia bigibu. (Ridley 1875)

1.6.8. Mood suffixes (-la, -ba and -Ø)

The suffix *-la* occurs in commands and other expressions of obligation, as in (101), or permission, as in (102).

(101) nya-**la**

go-**OBLG**

Go away!

Yallah! (Meston 1986a)

(102) nginda wana danga-na baguur-na da-**la**
2SG.NOM do.not that.DIST-ACC tree-ACC eat-**OBLG**
you may not eat from that tree.

inta wunna dungama bagūrna tulla. (Ridley 1875)

Like *-la*, the suffix *-ba* can occur in requests. It often occurs with the first-person dual *ngaliny*, in which case it comes across as a suggestion, as in (103) and the two instances in (104).

(103) ngaliny juruny=gu nyan-**ba**
1DU.NOM eel=PURP go-**SBJV**

Let's go to fish eels.

Gnahleen joanko yieeba. (Meston 1986a)

(104) wi ngaliny nyan-**ba** da-li-**ba**
hey 1DU.NOM go-**SBJV** drink-**SBJV**

Hey, let's go have a drink.

Wee gnahleen yieeba jaleeba. (Meston 1986a)

The suffix *-ba* occurs in other expressions of intention, as in (105), in which the white men are going with the intention of seeing something.

(105) dagai-jin Miyanjin-di-ba nyan-dunga
white.man-PL Brisbane-LOC-ABL travel-IPFV

The white men in the city were going,

Duggaitin miëntjintiber yeatuja,

nyaany-**ba** minya yaga-ri
see-**SBJV** what do-PST

to see what (someone) did.

nānnibēr minna yugari. (Ridley 1875)

The suffix *-ba* occurs in expressions indicating future intentions, often in conjunction with future *-li* as in (106).

- (106) *gau-Ø* *ngaja* *galga-li-ba* *diranga* *baguur*
 stop-IMP 1SG.NOM cut-FUT-SBJV this.PROX tree
 Stop! I'm going to cut this tree.
 Kaahuu! Ngutta kulkulliba diranga bagur. (Ridley 1875)

The imperative form, as in *gau-Ø* in (106), is used in commands that lack the mood suffixes *-ba* or *-la*. The imperative form is generally identical to the uninflected stem, as is the case in Duunjdjawa (Kite and Wurm 2004, 81). For example, *gau* 'stop' could either represent the uninflected verb *gau* or *gau-Ø* 'stop-IMP'. However, Yagara verbs roots that end in *n*, *ny* or *l* lose their final consonants in the imperative. This is apparent in the common greeting *wi balga* 'hey, come-IMP' in which *balgal* 'come' lacks the final lateral. The imperative of *wujan* 'give' has the form *wuja* 'give-IMP', and *gungany* 'shout' becomes *gunga* 'shout-IMP'.

1.6.9. Negation and other derivational suffixes

The only derivational suffix that occurs exclusively on verb stems is the negation suffix *-ra*. Two of the derivational suffixes that primarily appear on nominals (see 1.5.4) may also occur on verbs. These consist of *-gali* 'very X' and *-gan* 'characterised by X'. This section will discuss *-ra*, *-gali* and *-gan*, followed by a mention of the derivational suffixes listed in 1.5.4 that attach to nominal stems but produce verb stems.

-ra

Though not well attested, the suffix *-ra* may be used on verbs to indicate negation. The clearest instances of this process are in (107)–(109). The suffix is pronounced *-r* instead of *-ra* when the final vowel is dropped (see 1.3.1), as suggested by the brackets in Holmer's transcription *bugŋirən ɟabur(a)* in (108).

- (107) *ngaja* *jugu-ra*
 1SG.NOM know-NEG
 I don't know.
 Atcha djookoora. (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

- (108) bujirang jabu-**ra**
 boy be.frightened-NEG
 Don't be frightened, boy.
 buḡiranḡ ḡabur(a) (Holmer 1983)

- (109) wana ga-**ra**
 refuse.to give-NEG
 I will not give.
 Wonagra (Lang 1846)

In addition to the above example, *-ra* is documented on *wana* 'don't; forbid; refuse', resulting in *wana-ra-ra* 'no, no, don't!' collected by Lang (1846). Here, *-ra* apparently strengthens the negation meaning of *wana*. Presumably *wana-ra* 'no, don't!' with a single *-ra* suffix would be possible as well.

The usage of *-ra* to indicate negation may not be productive, since it is found on few verbs in the text collection. However, if the negation suffix *-ra* historically occurred on the verb *yaga* 'do, make', this could explain the origin of the negation marker *yagara*, which would have grammaticalised from *yaga-ra* 'do not'.

-gali

As noted in 1.5.4, the suffix *-gali* attaches to verb stems as well as nominal stems. In the texts, it usually occurs in verbless sentences such as (110). As such, it sometimes can be translated into English with a verb, as in (110). However, stems ending in *-gali* never occur in contexts where they are unambiguously verbs, whereas they may be unambiguously nouns (as in *digir-gali* 'big eater') or adjectives (as in *milin-gali* 'very many', which modifies nouns).

- (110) muyan-**gali** nginda
 ask-**VERY** 2SG.NOM
 You ask too much.
 Moee aculle intur (Lang 1846)

-gan

The suffix *-gan* 'characterised by X' takes nominal stems as described and exemplified in 1.5.4. In Bobbiwinta's Song (Petrie 1904; see 3.3.11), the suffix appears to attach to a verb, *dalan* 'close', as in (111).

- (111) *dalan-gan-bu* *ngaja* *nyinyi-dunga*
 close-**CHARACT**-DUR 1S.NOM wait-IPFV
 As (the water) closed over, I was waiting
Tallo canbu ngatta yiri duwa (Petrie 1904)

Though the derivational suffixes in 1.5.4 rarely attach to verb stems, they frequently change nominals into verbs. When a verb is created from a nominal through the addition of one of the derivational suffixes described in 1.5.4, the derivational suffixes are closer to the nominal stem than the verbal inflectional suffixes. For example, in (112) the inchoative suffix *-bany* changes the noun *nai* ‘name’ into the verb *nai-bany* ‘to name’. (The inchoative has the form *-ba* in this example due to the following rhotic; see 1.3.2.) In (112) the derivational suffix *-bany* is closer to the nominal stem *nai* than the inflectional suffix *-ri*.

- (112) *nga* *jara* *nai-ba-ri* *jar*
 and earth name-**INCH**-PST earth
 and named the earth, ‘land’.
Nya durrun naiburri Tār. (Ridley 1875)

1.7. Interjections

The source texts include around 25 exclamations such as *baguru* ‘wow’ and *yura* ‘hello’. Some of these have additional functions, whereas others do not. For example, *baguru* also is a verb meaning ‘be astonished’, whereas *yura* ‘hello’ seems to be only used as an interjection.

The interjection *wi* ‘hey’ is particularly frequent in the texts, and is recorded in sentences by Meston (1986a), Lauterer (1891) and Gibson (1863). In the sentences, it always occurs initially, as in (113).

- (113) **wi** *ngaliny* *nyan-ba* *da-li-ba*
hey 1DU.NOM go-SBJV drink-SBJV
 Hey, let’s go have a drink.
Wee gnahleen yieeba jaleeba. (Meston 1986a)

According to Lauterer (1891), *wi balga* ‘hey come’ was the usual Yagara greeting.

It is unclear whether *wi* ‘hey’ is related to the particle *wai* that occurs in songs, as in the line from the Star Song recorded by Lauterer (1891) in (114).

- (114) nyawang many barany **wai**
 nicely catch soon **SONG**
 Catch nicely, soon, *wai*!
 Nyiewang manpawo wae (Lauterer 1891)

In the examples included in Part 3 of this volume, *wai* occurs at the end of lines in song texts. However, in two non-Yagara songs sung by Yagara speakers, transcribed by Lauterer (1891) but not included in this volume, *wai* occurs at the start of lines.

Other well-attested interjections include *yawai* ‘goodbye’, *gurii* ‘wow’ and *gau* ‘hey; stop’.

1.8. Clitics

There are two apparent clitics in Yagara, the emphatic marker =*bu* and the purposive =*gu*.

The clitic =*bu* occurs following all derivation and inflection, and seems to occur on words of all grammatical categories. The clitic =*bu* indicates emphasis or absoluteness, and is particularly common on *ngambila* ‘everyone; all’, resulting in *ngambila=bu* ‘absolutely everyone; every last one’ and *yagara* ‘not’, producing *yagara=bu* ‘never; not at all’. However, it also is found on verbs, as in *wira-nya=bu* ‘return-PRS=EMPH; actually returning’ in (115), where it emphasises that the return trip really occurred—as opposed to the prior attempt to return, which was delayed.

- (115) barany imanuwal giram-di wira-nya=**bu**
 then Immanuel across-LOC return-PRS=**EMPH**
 Then Immanuel is finally returning across;
 Burru Immanuel kīrumti wirē nēbu; (Ridley 1875)

The clitic =*gu* seems to be a cognate of the purposive suffix found in many Pama-Nyungan languages, including Duunjdjawa (Kite and Wurm 2004, 30) and Yugambah (Sharpe 2020, 39). In the Yagara texts, =*gu* attaches to nouns, verbs or adjectives. It often indicates a purpose, such as when *ngalan* ‘bream’ becomes *ngalan=gu* ‘to catch bream’ or *dabil* becomes *dabil=gu* ‘to fetch water’, as in (116). However, it can also indicate a reason that is not a purpose, as in (117), in which being sick (*bany=gu*) is the reason for lying down (*da-nya*).

- (116) ngalan=**gu** jar=**gu** dabil=**gu**
 bream=**PURP** earth=**PURP** water=**PURP**
 To catch bream, to work the earth, to get water.
Woulanco, darco, dabilco. (Eipper 1841a)
- (117) ngunyanuba dagai bany=**gu** da-nya
 3SG.POSS white.man sick=**PURP** lie-PRS
 his white man was lying sick;
wunnanūbu duggai paingo daina; (Ridley 1875)

1.9. Syntax

1.9.1. Simple clauses

In the text collection, the most frequent word order in Yagara is SOV (subject–object–verb), as in (118)–(119).

- (118) ngaja ngina galgal-ba
 1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC cut-SBJV
 I'm going to cut you.
Utcha-ine kabal-wa. (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)
- (119) ngunyalu nyaring waya-ri
 3SG.ERG son send-PST
 He sent his son.
Wunyalu nurrin waiari. (Ridley 1875)

Though the subject is usually the first element in a sentence, other elements can be fronted to show topicality or emphasis. Example (120) illustrates a fronted object and (121) a fronted verb.

- (120) **Miganjin** ngaja nya-ra-nya
Brisbane 1SG.NOM go-DEST-PRS
 I'm going to Brisbane.
megengŋen ŋaja jarana (Holmer 1983)
- (121) **gindin** ngaja
laugh 1SG.NOM
 I laughed ...
Gindan utcha ... (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

Interrogative pronouns are usually initial, as shown in (122)—(123). Example (124) is an exception.

- (122) **minyanggu** nginda gindin
why 2SG.NOM laugh
 Why are you laughing?
Minango inter gindan? (Watkins and Hamilton 1887)

- (123) **wanji** balgal wira-biny
when come return-BACK
 When are you coming back?
Wanchee bagga weereppee. (Meston 1986a)

- (124) naam **ngandu**
 there.DIST **who.ERG**
 Who is that?
Naam ngandu? (Ridley 1875)

Yes/no questions may have an interrogative particle *ngi* that follows an initial predicate, as in (125)—(126), or that occurs initially, as in (127). The same particle *ngi* is occasionally found in questions that also have an interrogative pronoun, as in (128).

- (125) wayara **ngi** nginda
 be.hungry **Q** 2SG.NOM
 Are you hungry?
Wuaera ngi nginte? (Lauterer 1891)

- (126) bany **ngi** ngagam jundal
 sick **Q** here.PROX woman
 Is the woman here sick?
Bayi ngi ngalam ds'undal 'Is she sick?' (Lauterer 1891)

- (127) **ngi** nginda yaga
Q 2SG.NOM work
 Are you working?
Uney-Intair yeaca? (Hardcastle 1946–7)

- (128) wanya=gu nya-ra-nya **ngi** nginda
 where=PURP go-DEST-PRS **Q** 2SG.NOM
 Where are you going?
Wunyángo yadnanya ngi nginte? (Lauterer 1891)

Yagara does not have an overt copula, meaning that sentences do not always need a verb. Verbless sentences in the texts include the predicative nominal in (129) and the predicative adjective in (130).

- (129) nginda **magiiba**
 2SG.NOM **friend**
 You're a friend.
 Gninda mag'ieeba. (Meston 1986a)

- (130) ngambila=bu dagai-jin **wali**
 all=EMPH white.man-PL **bad**
 'All white men are bad;
 Nāmbillebu duggatin waddeli; (Ridley 1875)

Yagara sentences usually have an overt subject, unless the subject is the same as in a previous clause, in which case it is frequently implicit. However, second-person subjects are omitted in directives, as in (131). Questions in the texts usually have a subject, as in (132), but do not require one, as shown by (133).

- (131) ngari balga-Ø minyalang
 1SG.ACC bring-IMP thingamajig
 Bring me that whatever-it-is.
 Ngurri bulkai minyaluung? (Ridley 1875)

- (132) wanya-nga nginda
 where-ALL 2SG.NOM
 Where are you going?
 Woon-nanta-Intair? (Hardcastle 1946–7)

- (133) wanji balgal wira-biny
 when come return-BACK
 When are (you) coming back?
 Wanchee bagga weereppee. (Meston 1986a)

Subjects and other arguments may be omitted when they are the same as in the previous clause, as illustrated by the five-clause sequence in (134). The subject in the first clause, *jundal* 'woman', is the same in the second clause and is therefore omitted. The next clause *guna muya danga baguur-na* 'her heart desired that fruit' has a different subject, so when the woman returns as the subject in the next clause *barany ngunyal banman* 'then, she plucked (it)', the subject must be restated as *ngunyal* 'she'. The fruit is the object in

guna muya danga baguur-na ‘her heart desired that fruit’, and is also the object of the next three clauses, *barany ngunyal banman* ‘then, she plucked (it)’, *nga da-ri* ‘and (she) ate (it)’, and *nga dagai-na wujan* ‘and (she) gave (it) to the white man’, so the object can be omitted in all three of these clauses.

- (134) *jundal ngui-ba-nya nga yuwan winanga-ri*
 woman believe-RTP-PRS and serpent hear-PST
 The woman, believing, listened to the serpent;
Jūndāl ŋuiṗunāŋ yūunwīnuṗurri;

guna muya danga baguur-na
 heart desire that.DIST tree-ACC
 her heart desired that fruit.
kudna muiya dūŋa bagūrnu.

barany ngunyal banman
 then 3SG.NOM pluck
 Then she plucked;
Burru wunnal pūnmān;

nga da-ri nga dagai-na wujan
 and eat-PST and white.man-ACC give
 and ate, and gave to the white man;
ŋa turri, ŋa dugganu widdan; (Ridley 1875)

1.9.2. Complex clauses

Most relative clauses are indicated by the verbal inflections *-dany* and *-ba*, which are discussed in Section 1.6.2.

The morpheme *nga* ‘and’ often connects clauses, as in (135).

- (135) *barany ngunyal dabil nai-ba-ri dabilbaan*
 then 3SG.NOM water name-INCH-PST salt.water
 Then he named the water ‘sea’;
Burru wunnal tabbil naiburri Tabbilbon;

nga *jara nai-ba-ri jar*
and earth name-INCH-PST earth
 and named the earth, ‘land’.
Ŋa durrun naiburri Tār. (Ridley 1875)

Conditional constructions are sometimes introduced by *wina* ‘if/when’ in the protasis (that is, the conditional clause that describes the precondition for the main clause), as in (136)–(137), which constitute two of the three examples of *wina* in the texts, all in Ridley (1875). In these constructions, the main verb in the protasis has future tense *-li* and the main verb in the apodosis (that is, the main clause) has the subjunctive *-ba*. In the source texts, the protasis *wina*-clause precedes the apodosis clause. The opposite order may be possible but not instantiated in the texts; both orders are found in Duunjdjawu, in which the particle *wanja* has a function similar to *wina* (Kite and Wurm 2004).

- (136) nginda **wina** danga-na baguur-na da-li
 2SG.NOM **when** that.DIST-ACC tree-ACC eat-FUT
 If you eat from that tree,
 Ninda winna dungama bagurna tulli,

nga nginda ngundu baluny biigi-bu
 and 2SG.NOM surely die day-DUR
 on that day you will surely die.
ŋa ŋinda ŋundu balluia bigibu. (Ridley 1875)

- (137) nginda yagar baluny barany nginda
 2SG.NOM not die then 2SG.NOM
 ‘You will not die. As soon as you
 Ŋinta yugar ballui. Burra ŋinta

wina baguur-na ngurdi jiladu da-li
when tree-ACC in.the.area in.the.middle eat-FUT
 eat from the tree in the middle,
winna bagurna ŋurti jillerdu tulli,

mil nginda yagany-ba
 eye 2SG.NOM heal-SBJV
 your eyes will be healed;
mil ŋinta yuggaipa; (Ridley 1875)

Verbal complement clauses and purpose clauses are discussed in Section 1.6.2 as part of the explanation of the mood suffix *-ba*.

This text is taken from *Yagara Dictionary and Salvage Grammar*,
by Karen Sullivan and Glenda Harward-Nalder, published 2024 by
ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

doi.org/10.22459/YDSG.2024.01