

# Handbook of Australian Languages

Volume 2

edited by

R.M.W. Dixon and  
Barry J. Blake

This book was published by ANU Press between 1965–1991.

This republication is part of the digitisation project being carried out by Scholarly Information Services/Library and ANU Press.

This project aims to make past scholarly works published by The Australian National University available to a global audience under its open-access policy.

# Handbook of Australian Languages

Volume 2

Wargamay  
The Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri  
Watjarri  
Margany and Gunya  
Tasmanian

edited by  
R.M.W. Dixon and  
Barry J. Blake

The Australian National University Press  
Canberra 1981

First published in Australia by the Australian  
National University Press, 1981  
Printed in Australia.

© 1981 R.M.W. Dixon and Barry J. Blake and the  
several authors, each in respect of the paper  
contributed by him; for the full list of the names of  
such copyright owners and the papers in respect of  
which they are copyright owners see the Table of  
Contents of this Volume.

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for  
the purpose of private study, research, criticism, or  
review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part  
may be reproduced by any process without written  
permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

National Library of Australia  
Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

---

Handbook of Australian languages. Volume 2.

Bibliography.  
ISBN 0 7081 1212 9

1. Aborigines, Australian — Languages.
  - I. Dixon, R.M.W. (Robert Malcolm Ward), 1939-
  - II. Blake, Barry J

499'.15

---

# Contents

<i>List of maps</i>	xiii
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Books available on Australian languages</i>	xvii
<i>Contributors' addresses</i>	xxi
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xxii

## WARGAMAY by R.M.W.DIXON

1	THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	
1.1	Linguistic type	1
1.2	Dialects	2
1.3	Surrounding languages	4
1.4	Sections	5
1.5	Contact history	6
1.6	Previous work on the language	9
1.7	Sources for this study	13
2	PHONOLOGY	15
2.1	Consonants	16
2.2	Vowels	17
2.3	Stress	20
2.4	Phonotactics	21
2.5	Probabilities of occurrence	22
2.6	Phonological processes	23
2.7	Cognation with neighbouring languages	24
3	MORPHOLOGY	27
3.1	Nominals	28
3.1.1	Case inflections	28
3.1.2	Accusative suffix -pa	32
3.1.3	Stem-forming suffixes	32
3.1.4	Reduplication	35
3.1.5	Interrogative members	36
3.2	Locational qualifiers	37

3.3	Time qualifiers	37
3.4	Pronouns and deictics	
3.4.1	Personal pronouns - form and function	39
3.4.2	Personal pronouns - analysis	41
3.4.3	Local forms	43
3.4.4	Demonstratives	44
3.5	Verbs	
3.5.1	Paradigm in W dialect	45
3.5.2	Conjugational sets	47
3.5.3	Differences in Biyay dialect	48
3.5.4	Inflections	52
3.5.5	Transitivity-preserving derivational suffixes	57
3.5.6	Syntactic derivational suffixes	59
3.5.7	Reduplication	59
3.6	Post-inflectional affixes	59
4	SYNTAX	
4.1	Simple sentences	
4.1.1	Core	59
4.1.2	Syntactic and local extensions	61
4.1.3	NP structure	62
4.1.4	VC structure	62
4.1.5	Minimal sentences	63
4.1.6	Order of elements	63
4.2	Correspondences between transitive and intransitive constructions involving transitive verbs	63
4.3	Complements	
4.3.1	Dative and purposive	69
4.3.2	Complement clauses	70
4.3.3	'Favourite constructions'	70
4.4	Relative clauses	72
4.5	Reciprocals	74
4.6	Possession	75
4.6.1	Alienable possession	75
4.6.2	Inalienable possession	75
4.6.3	'Giving' constructions	76
4.7	Comitative constructions	77
4.8	Instrumentals	
4.8.1	Instrumental NPs	78
4.8.2	Instrumental constructions	79
4.9	Verbalisation	
4.9.1	Inchoatives	80
4.9.2	Causatives	81
4.10	Particles	82
4.11	Questions	83
4.12	Interjections	83
5.	HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT	83
5.1	Noteworthy features of Wargamay	
5.1.1	Transitivity classes and conjugation classes	84
5.1.2	Double transitivity	87

5.2 Syntactic constraints in Dyirbal and Wargamay	90
5.3 Diachronic changes in Wargamay	91
5.4 Examples of semanticisation	97
5.5 Future syntactic development	99
APPENDIX - CARL LUMHOLTZ ON WARGAMAY	101
TEXTS	106
VOCABULARY	
Alphabetical vocabulary	112
Vocabulary by semantic fields	121
LIST OF AFFIXES	142
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	143
THE MPAKWITHI DIALECT OF ANGUTHIMRI by TERRY CROWLEY	
1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	
1.1 Linguistic type	147
1.2 Tribal and language names	148
1.3 Territory and neighbours	148
1.4 Place names	150
1.5 Social background	150
1.6 Present situation	151
1.7 Past investigations	151
2 PHONOLOGY	
2.1 Phonemes and their realisations	
2.1.1 Consonants	152
2.1.2 Vowels	153
2.2 Phonotactics	155
2.3 Stress	155
2.4 Morphophonemics	156
2.4.1 Sandhi	156
2.4.2 Vowel harmony	157
2.4.3 Semi-vowel deletion	157
2.5 Historical phonology	157
3 MORPHOLOGY	
3.1 Parts of speech	162
3.2 Noun morphology	
3.2.1 Case inflections	163
3.2.2 Derivational affixes	167
3.3 Pronoun morphology	169

3.4	Demonstratives	171
3.5	Interrogatives	172
3.6	Verb morphology	
3.6.1	Transitivity	172
3.6.2	Conjugations	173
3.6.3	Verbal irregularities	176
3.6.4	Inflectional suffixes	176
3.6.5	Verbal derivation	177
4	SYNTAX	
4.1	Constituents and constituent order	178
4.2	Word level derivations	179
4.3	Sentence transitivity	180
4.4	Possession	182
4.5	Complex sentences	182
4.6	Imperatives	183
4.7	Particles and interjections	184
	VOCABULARY	
	Alphabetical vocabulary	184
	Vocabulary in semantic fields	189
	WATJARRI by WILFRID H. DOUGLAS	
1	THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	
1.1	Linguistic type	197
1.2	The speakers	199
1.3	Dialects and neighbouring languages	199
1.4	Past work on the Watjarri language	201
1.5	Neighbouring languages referred to by Watjarri speakers	201
2	PHONOLOGY	
2.1	The phonemes and their distribution	203
2.1.1	General description of phonemes	203
2.1.2	Vowel length	204
2.1.3	Phonotactics	205
2.1.4	Stress placement	206
2.1.5	Minimal and analogous contrasts	207
2.1.6	Morphophonology	207
2.2	A practical alphabet	208
3	MORPHOLOGY	
3.1	Parts of speech	210
3.2	Noun morphology	
3.2.1	Stem formation of common and proper nouns	211



3.2.2	Case inflections of common and proper nouns	214
3.3	Adjectives	
3.3.1	Stem formation of adjectives	220
3.3.2	Derivation of adjectives	220
3.3.3	Derivation of verbs from common nouns and adjectives	221
3.3.4	Classes of adjectives	221
3.3.5	Inflection of adjectives	222
3.4	Pronoun morphology	222
3.5	Positional pronouns or demonstratives	222
3.6	Adverbs	224
3.7	Verb morphology	
3.7.1	Stem formation	226
3.7.2	Verb inflection	229
3.8	Bound pronouns and other moveable suffixes	
3.8.1	Pronominal suffixes	232
3.8.2	Sundry additional forms of the pronominal suffixes	234
3.8.3	The emphatic suffix	234
3.8.4	Imminent action or punctiliar suffix	234
3.8.5	Negation	235
3.9	Interrogatives	235
4	SYNTAX	
4.1	The basic (non-expanded) clause types	236
4.1.1	The intransitive statement	237
4.1.2	The intransitive command	237
4.1.3	The transitive statement	237
4.1.4	The transitive command	238
4.1.5	Verbless clause types	238
4.1.6	Dependent clause types	239
4.2	Phrase structure	
4.2.1	The noun phrase	240
4.2.2	Adjectival phrase	244
4.2.3	The verbal phrase	244
4.2.4	Temporal phrase	244
4.3	Conjunctions and sentence formation	245
4.4	Sentence particles	245
	VOCABULARY	246
	Alphabetical vocabulary	246
	Vocabulary in semantic fields	261
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	271
	MARGANY and GUNYA by J.G.BREEN	
1	THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	
1.1	Linguistic type	275

1.2	Tribal and language names	276
1.3	Territory and neighbours	277
1.4	Sociolinguistic information	279
1.5	Present situation	281
1.6	Past investigations	282
1.7	Conventions	282
2	PHONOLOGY	
2.1	The phonemes	282
2.2	Description of the phonemes	286
2.3	Phonotactics	290
2.4	Stress	295
2.5	Intonation	296
2.6	Morphophonology	297
2.7	Phoneme correspondences	298
2.8	Orthography	299
3	MORPHOLOGY	
3.1	Word classes	300
3.2	Nominal paradigms	301
3.3	Nominal inflection	
3.3.1	Nominative	305
3.3.2	Accusative	306
3.3.3	Absolutive	306
3.3.4	Ergative	307
3.3.5	Instrumental	307
3.3.6	Locative	308
3.3.7	Genitive	308
3.3.8	Dative	309
3.3.9	Allative	309
3.3.10	Ablative	310
3.3.11	Locative-2	310
3.3.12	Locative-3	310
3.3.13	Locative-4	311
3.3.14	Locative-5	311
3.4	Noun stem formation	311
3.4.1	Number markers	312
3.4.2	Concomitant	312
3.4.3	Privative	313
3.4.4	Resemblance	313
3.4.5	Nominalisation	314
3.5	Margany verb morphology	
3.5.1	Conjugations	314
3.5.2	Inflection	315
3.5.3	Verb stem formation	319
3.6	Gunya verb morphology	
3.6.1	Conjugations	324
3.6.2	Bound pronouns	324

- 3.6.3 Inflection 325
- 3.6.4 Verb stem formation 329

#### 4 SYNTAX

- 4.1 Introduction 333
- 4.2 Simple sentences 333
- 4.3 Imperative sentences 337
- 4.4 Question sentences 337
- 4.5 Intransitivisation 339
- 4.6 Transitivity 339
- 4.7 Coordination 339
- 4.8 Subordination 340
- 4.9 Adverbs and particles 341
  - 4.9.1 Negation 342
  - 4.9.2 Directional particles 343
  - 4.9.3 Perfective particles 343
  - 4.9.4 Frequentative 344
  - 4.9.5 Repetition 344
  - 4.9.6 Potential 344
  - 4.9.7 'Nearly' 345
  - 4.9.8 'In vain' 345
  - 4.9.9 Purposeless action 345
  - 4.9.10 Possessive particle 346
  - 4.9.11 Demonstrative particle 346
- 4.10 Miscellaneous clitics 346
- 4.11 Copula verb 348

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 349

#### TEXT 349

#### VOCABULARY 350

- Alphabetical vocabulary 350
- Vocabulary in semantic fields 359

#### Appendix I - Margany and Gunya vocabularies from Curr 378

#### Appendix II - Tindale's Marukanji vocabulary 388

#### Appendix III - Vocabulary collected by Barry Foster, Thylungra 391

#### ADDENDUM 392

### TASMANIAN by TERRY CROWLEY and R.M.W.DIXON

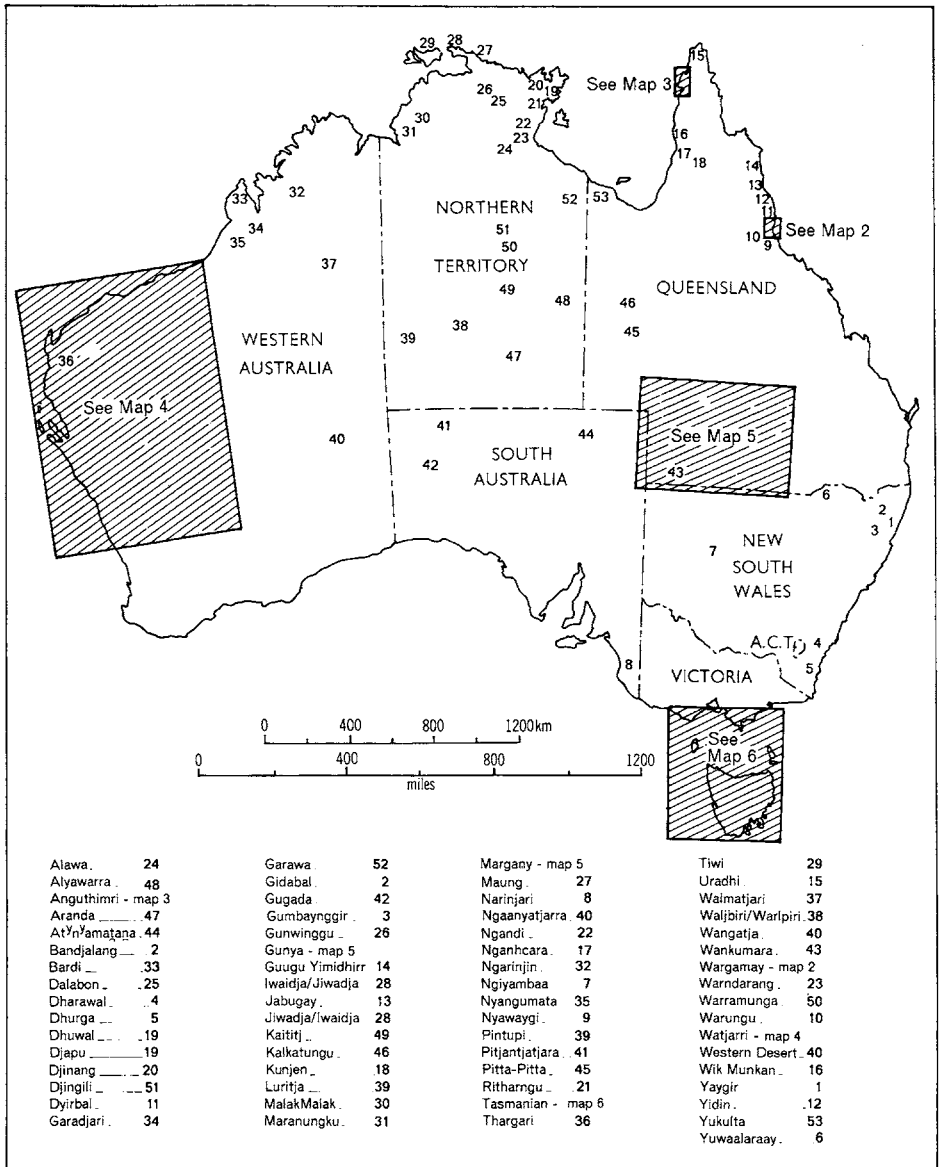
#### 1 LANGUAGES AND SPEAKERS

- 1.1 Linguistic type 395
- 1.2 Background information 396
- 1.3 Linguistic sources 396

1.4	Dialects and languages	399
2	PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY	
2.1	Interpretation of written records	404
2.2	Consonants	407
2.3	Vowels	411
2.4	Stress	413
2.5	Phonotactics	414
2.6	Summary	414
3	GRAMMAR	
3.1	Noun and verb suffixes	415
3.2	Pronouns	417
3.3	Syntax	419
4	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP WITH AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES	419
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	421
	REFERENCES	423

# List of maps

- 1 Australia, showing approximate locations of languages referred to in Preface and in list of Books available on Australian languages, and location of Maps 2-6 xiv
- 2 Wargamay and its neighbours xxiv
- 3 Anguthimri groups and neighbours, with original place names 146
- 4 Original Watjarri area and surrounding languages, as identified by Watjarri speakers 196
- 5 Margany, Gunya and other languages of the Upper Bulloo and Warrego 274
- 6 Tasmania, with localities to which vocabularies were assigned 394



Map 1: Australia, Showing Approximate Locations of Languages Referred to in Preface and in List of Books Available on Australian Languages

# Preface

This *Handbook* is intended to make available short grammatical sketches of Australian languages. Each grammar is written in a standard format, following guidelines provided by the editors, and includes a sample text (where available) and vocabulary lists. Volume 1 was published in 1979 and has been generally well received; about 80% of the printing for the Australian market had been sold within the first eighteen months after publication. It contained an introduction by the editors, discussing some of the recurrent features of languages across the continent, together with grammars of Guugu Yimidhirr, by John Haviland; Pitta-Pitta by Barry J. Blake; Gumbaynggir, by Diana Eades; and Yaygir by Terry Crowley.

The contributions to this volume are salvage studies, giving all the information that is available on four languages which are on the point of extinction, and an assessment of what linguistic impressions can be inferred from the unsatisfactory material that is available on the extinct languages of Tasmania.

The main interest of the *Wargamay* grammar centres on the occurrence of transitive verbs in intransitive constructions (marked by distinctive tense allomorphs and case affixes), which may be the beginnings of a change from an absolutive-ergative to a nominative-accusative grammatical system. *Anguthimri* shows a quite different phonological outline from most Australian languages and Crowley shows how it has in fact evolved from a language of the regular type through the operation of about twenty ordered diachronic changes; these have given rise to series of fricatives, prenasalised stops, and nasalised vowels, among other features. *Watjarri* was spoken about three hundred miles north of Perth and Wilf Douglas discusses its interesting similarities to, as well as important differences from, the Western Desert language. *Margany* and *Gunya*, from southern Queensland, are effectively dialects of a single language. Breen carefully enumerates the dialectal differences (for instance, only *Gunya* has bound-form pronouns) and also assesses older sources on this language.

It is planned that Volume 3 will contain a grammatical sketch of Djapu - a Yolŋu dialect spoken at Yirkkala in Eastern Arnhem Land - by Frances Morphy. There should also be some of the following: Warumungu by Jeffrey Heath and Jane Simpson; the Yadhaykenu, Angkamuthi and Atampaya dialects of Uradhi, by Terry Crowley; Nyawaygi, by R.M.W. Dixon; Yukulta, by Sandra Keen; Jabugay, by Elizabeth Patz; Warungu, by Tasaku Tsunoda and Peter Sutton; Kaititj, by Harold J. Koch; Nganhcara by Ian Smith and Steve Johnson.

Each contributor to the *Handbook* is normally responsi-

ble for having his grammar typed according to a standard style-sheet, and providing camera-ready copy for the editors. Authors are responsible for their own sub-editing and proof-checking. For this volume Margany/Gunya was typed at Monash University by Joan Juliff; all of the remaining contributions were typed by Ellalene Seymour, at the ANU. It is a pleasure to extend thanks to the typists whose skill in using five different golf-balls and variable 10/12 pitch contributes so much to the quality of the Volume. Rose Butt gave invaluable help with checking manuscripts and proofs for style and consistency; and Val Lyon drew the maps with her customary care and skill.

R.M.W.Dixon

February 1981

Barry J. Blake



# Books available on Australian languages

The following list of books on Australian languages that are currently in print includes all works which in the editors' opinion contain reliable information.

Publishers are:

- AIAS - Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, P.O. Box 553, Canberra City, A.C.T., 2601. Distributor for North and South America: Humanities Press Inc., 171 First Ave., Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 07716, U.S.A. Postage extra
- CUP - Cambridge University Press, P.O. Box 91, Albert Park, Victoria 3206 (and offices in U.K. and U.S.A.)
- IAD - Institute for Aboriginal Development, P.O. Box 2531, Alice Springs, N.T. 5750. Prices include postage; payment to accompany order.
- ML - Mount Lawley College, 2 Bradford Street, Mount Lawley, W.A. 6050. Postage extra.
- OLM - Oceania Linguistic Monographs - The Secretary, Oceania Publications, Mackie Building, University of Sydney, Sydney, N.S.W., 2006. Prices include postage; payment to accompany order.
- PL - Pacific Linguistics, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600. Postage extra.
- SIL - Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, P.O., Berrimah, N.T. 5788. Postage extra.

## GENERAL SURVEYS AND AREAL STUDIES, ETC

- Blake, B.J. *Case marking in Australian languages*, 1977, AIAS. \$A8.95
- Brumby, E. and Vaszolyi, E. (editors) *Language problems and Aboriginal Education*, 1977, ML. \$A4.
- Capell, A. *A new approach to Australian linguistics*, 1956, OLM. \$A2.50
- Dixon, R.M.W. *The languages of Australia*, 1980, CUP. \$A19.95 paper, \$86.50 hard (in Australia); £9.95 paper, £30 hard (in U.K.)
- Dixon, R.M.W. (editor) *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 1976, AIAS. \$A23 paper, \$A39 hard.
- Heath, J. *Linguistic diffusion in Arnhem Land*, 1978, AIAS. \$A8.95
- Sutton, P. (editor) *Languages of Cape York*, 1976, AIAS. \$A11.50.
- Sutton, P. and Walsh, M. *Revised linguistic fieldwork manual for Australia*, 1979, AIAS. \$A4.95.
- Wurm, S.A. *The languages of Australia and Tasmania*, 1972. Mouton: The Hague

Wurm, S.A. (editor). *Australian linguistic studies*, 1979, PL. \$A29

## GRAMMARS, DICTIONARIES, TEXT COLLECTIONS

- Birk, D.B.W. *The MalakMalak language, Daly River (Western Arnhem Land)*, 1976, PL. \$A7.50
- Blake, B.J. *A Kalkatungu grammar*, 1979, PL. \$A8
- 'Pitta-Pitta' in *Handbook of Australian languages, Volume 1*
- Capell, A. *Some linguistic types in Australia* [Waljbiri, Garadjari, Dalabon, Jiwadja], 1961, OLM. \$A4.50
- *Cave painting myths: Northern Kimberley*, 1972, OLM. \$A4
- Capell, A. and Hinch, H.E. *Maung grammar, texts and vocabulary*, 1970. Mouton: The Hague
- Chadwick, N. *A descriptive study of the Djingili language*, 1975, AIAS. \$A3.50
- Coate, H.H.J. and Elkin, A.P. *Ngarinyin-English dictionary*, 1974, OLM. \$A10.
- Coate, H.H.J. and Oates, L.F. *A grammar of Ngarinjin, Western Australia*, 1970, AIAS. \$A4.50. Companion tape and booklet \$A2, or cassette and booklet \$A3
- Crowley, T. *The middle Clarence dialects of Bandjalang* 1978, AIAS. \$A13.95.
- 'Yaygir' in *Handbook of Australian languages, Volume 1*
- Dixon, R.M.W. *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*, 1972, CUP. \$A22 paper, \$A70.50 hard (in Australia); £7.95 paper, £25 hard (in U.K.)
- *A grammar of Yidin*, 1977, CUP. \$A35 (in Australia), £35 (in U.K.)
- Dixon, R.M.W. and Blake, B.J. (editors) *Handbook of Australian languages, Volume 1*, 1979. ANU Press, Canberra - \$A16 (in Australia); John Benjamins, Amsterdam - Hfl 90 (in rest of world).
- Donaldson, T. *Nginyambaa, the language of the Wangaaybuwan*, 1980, CUP. \$A55 (in Australia); £26 (in U.K.)
- Douglas, W.H. *An introduction to the Western Desert language, Australia*. Revised edition, 1964, OLM. \$A4
- *The Aboriginal languages of the south-west of Australia*, Second edition, 1976, AIAS. \$A5.00
- *Illustrated topical dictionary of the Western Desert language*, Revised edition, 1977, AIAS. \$A2.50
- Eades, D.K. *The Dharawal and Dhurga languages of the New South Wales south coast*, 1976, AIAS. \$A6
- 'Gumbaynggir' in *Handbook of Australian languages, Volume 1*
- Furby, E.S. and C.E. *A preliminary analysis of Garawa phrases and clauses*, 1977, PL. \$A4.50
- Geytenbeek, B. and H. *Gidabal grammar and dictionary*, 1971, AIAS. \$A7
- Glass, A. and Hackett, D. *Ngaanyatjarra texts*, Revised edition, 1980, AIAS. \$A7
- Hansen, K.C. and L.E. *Pintupi/Luritja dictionary*, Second edition, 1977, IAD. \$A8.50
- *The core of Pintupi grammar*, 1978, IAD. \$A8.50
- Haviland, J. 'Guugu Yimidhirr' in *Handbook of Australian languages, Volume 1*

- Heath, J. *Ngandi grammar, texts and dictionary*, 1979, AIAS. \$A18.95
- *Dhuwal (Arnhem Land) texts on kinship and other subjects with grammatical sketch and dictionary*, 1980, OLM. \$A8.50
- *Basic materials in Ritharngu: grammar, texts and dictionary*, 1980, PL. \$A9.50
- *Basic materials in Warndarang: grammar, texts and dictionary*, 1980, PL. \$A7.50
- Holmer, N.M. *Notes on the Bandjalang dialect spoken at Coraki and Bungawalbin Creek, N.S.W.*, 1971, AIAS. \$A6
- Hudson, J. *The core of Walmatjari grammar*, 1979, AIAS. \$A9.45
- Hudson, J., Richards, E., Siddon, P., Skipper, P. et al. *The Walmatjari: an introduction to the language and culture*, Second edition, 1978, SIL. \$A4.75
- Kilham, C.A. *Thematic organization of Wik-Munkan discourse*, 1977, PL. \$A11
- Klokeid, T.J. *Thargari phonology and morphology*, 1969, PL. \$A3
- McDonald, M. and Wurm, S.A. *Basic materials in Waŋkumara (Gaḷali): grammar, sentences and vocabulary*, 1979, PL. \$A5
- Metcalfe, C.D. *Bardi verb morphology (northwestern Australia)*, 1975, PL. \$A8
- Oates, L.F. *A tentative description of the Gunwinggu language (Western Arnhem Land)*, 1964, OLM. \$A3.50
- O'Grady, G.N. *Nyangumata grammar*, 1964, OLM. \$A2
- Osborne, C.R. *The Tiwi language*, 1975, AIAS. \$A12.50. Companion tape or cassette, \$A3
- Platt, J.T. *An outline grammar of the Gugada dialect, South Australia*, 1972, AIAS. \$A7
- Pym, N. *Papers on Iwaidja phonology and grammar*, 1979, SIL. \$A6.25
- Reece, L. *Dictionary of the Wailbri language of Central Australia, Part I, Wailbri-English*, 1975, OLM, \$A4.50; *Part II, English-Wailbri*, 1979, OLM, \$A7
- Sandefur, J.R. *An Australian Creole in the Northern Territory: a description of the Ngukurr-Bamyili dialects (Part 1)*, 1979, SIL. \$A5.20
- Sandefur, J.R. and J.L. *Beginnings of a Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole Dictionary*, 1979, SIL. \$A4.50
- Sayers, B. *The sentence in Wik-Munkan: a description of propositional relationships*, 1976, PL. \$A7.50
- Schebeck, B. *Texts on the social system of the Atŋn̄yamaṭana people, with grammatical notes*, 1974, PL. \$A11
- Sharpe, M.C. *Alawa phonology and grammar*, 1971, AIAS. \$A10
- Sommer, B.A. *Kunjen phonology: synchronic and diachronic*, 1969, PL. \$A4
- *Kunjen syntax: a generative view*, 1972, AIAS. \$A9.50
- Tryon, D.T. *An introduction to Maranungku (Northern Australia)*, 1970, PL. \$A5
- *Daly family languages, Australia*, 1974. PL. \$A14
- Waters, B. *A distinctive features approach to Djinang phonology and verb morphology*, 1979, SIL. \$A4.80
- Williams, C.J. *A grammar of Yuwaalaraay*, 1980, PL. \$A7.50
- Yallop, C. *Alyawarra: an Aboriginal language of central Australia*, 1977, AIAS. \$A9.95
- *Narinjari*, 1975, OLM. \$A3.50

## LANGUAGE LEARNING COURSES

*Pitjantjatjara*, 10 cassettes and written material, IAD.  
\$A45.15 (\$A35.95 to students)

*Pintupi*, 8 cassettes and written material, IAD. \$A39.30  
(\$A32 to students)

*Warlpiri*, 11 cassettes and written material, IAD. \$A58.75  
(\$A48.63 to students)

*Eastern Aranda*, 6 cassettes and written material, IAD.  
\$A29.80 (\$A24.25 to students)

*Western Aranda*, 7 cassettes and written material, IAD.  
\$A33.55 (\$A27.00 to students)

*Teach yourself Wangkatja*, 4 cassettes and book, ML. \$A13

*Kriol language learning course*, 6 cassettes and written  
material, SIL. \$A24

There are also several series of volumes each containing a number of papers on aspects of Australian languages: Pacific Linguistics has published 14 numbers of *Papers in Australian Linguistics*, and *Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell* (edited by S.A.Wurm and D.C.Laycock) contains a dozen papers on Australian Linguistics; AIAS has put out four miscellaneous collections of papers; and SIL has two series of Work Papers.

# Contributors' addresses

*Barry J. Blake*, Department of Linguistics, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, 3168

*J.G.Breen*, School of Australian Linguistics, Batchelor, Northern Territory, 5791

*Terry Crowley*, Department of Language, University of Papua New Guinea, Box 4820, University P.O., Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea

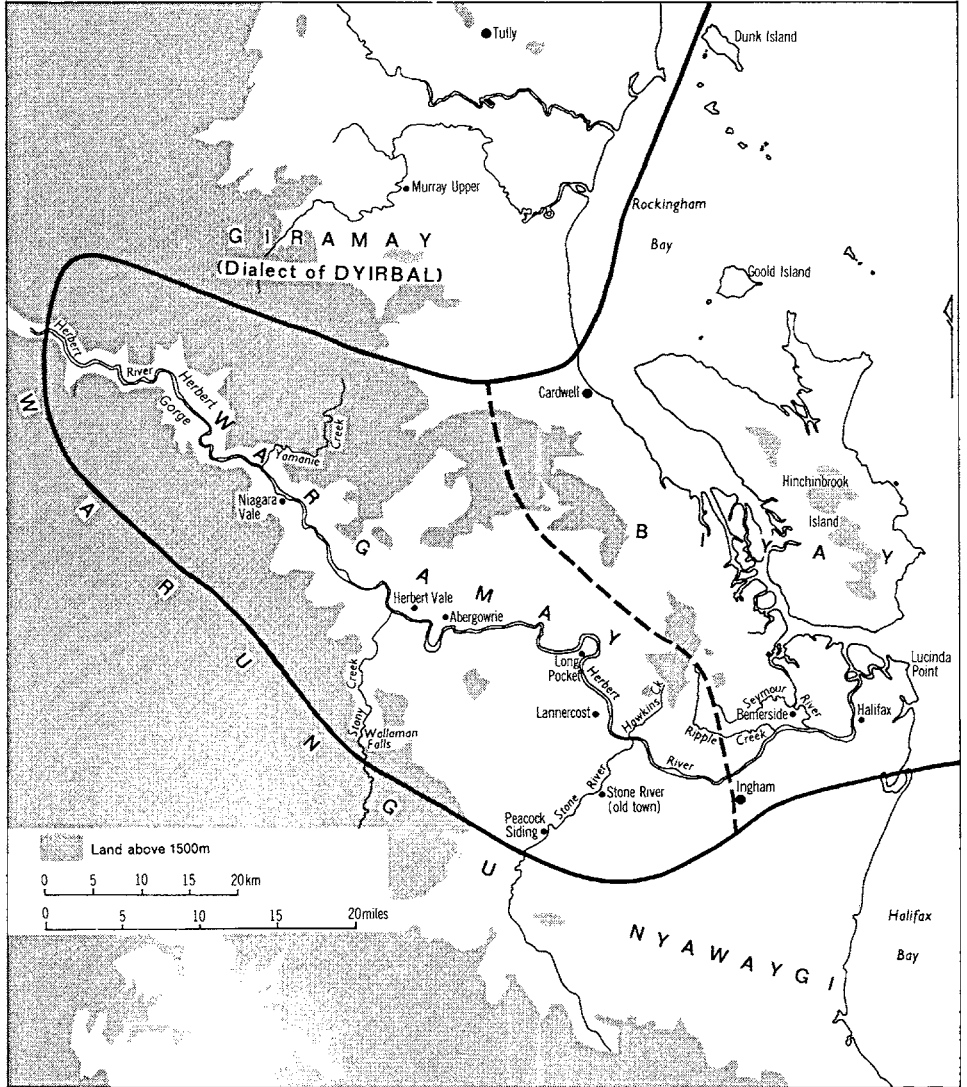
*R.M.W.Dixon*, Department of Linguistics, SGS, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T., 2600

*Wilfrid H. Douglas*, United Aborigines Mission Language Department, 53 Varden Street, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, 6430

# Abbreviations

A	transitive subject (function)	IMPERF	imperfect
ABL	ablative (case)	INCH(O)	inchoative (deriving intransitive verb from noun or adjective)
ABS	absolute (case)	INST	instrumental (case)
ACC	accusative (case)	INT	interrogative (verbal affix)
AVERS	aversive (case)	INTR	intransitive
ALL	allative (case)	IRREAL	irrealis (verb inflection)
C.A.	concurrent action (verb affix)	IV	intransitive verb
CAU	causal (case)	LOC	locative
CAUS	causative (deriving transitive verb from noun or adjective)	NEG	negative
COMIT	comitative (nominal affix)	NOM	nominative (case)
COMP	comparative (nominal affix)	NOMLSR	nominaliser
CON	concomitant (nominal affix)	NON-FUT	non-future (tense)
CONJ	conjunctive (verbal affix)	NP	noun phrase
CONSEC	consecutive (verbal affix)	O,OBJ	transitive direct object
CONT	continuing action (verbal affix)	PERF	perfect (verb inflection)
CONTIN	continuative (verbal affix)	PL	plural object (verbal affix)
DAT	dative (case)	pl	plural form of pronoun
DESID	desiderative (verbal affix)	POSS	possessive (case)
DIMIN	diminutive (nominal affix)	POT	potential (verbal affix)
du	dual form of pronoun	PRES	present (tense)
ERG	ergative (case)	PRIV	privative (nominal affix)
FUT	future (tense)	PROHIB	prohibitive (particle)
GEN	genitive	PROP	proprietary (nominal affix)
HAB	habitual (verbal affix)	PROX	proximate (verbal affix)
IMMED	imminent action (verbal affix)	PURP	purposive (verb inflection)
IMP	imperative (verb inflection)	REC PAST	recent past (verbal affix)
		RECIP	reciprocal (verbal affix)
		REFL	reflexive (verbal affix)
		REDUP	reduplicated
		S	intransitive subject (function)
		sg	singular form of pronoun
		STAT	stative (verbal affix)
		SUBORD	subordinate clause

	(verb marking)	VC	verb complex
TR	transitive		
TV	transitive verb		
UNMKD	unmarked (verb inflection)	1	first person
UNEXP	unexpected action (verb	2	second person
	affix)	3	third person



Map 2: Wargamay and Its Neighbours (tribal boundaries are only approximate)



# Wargamay

*by R.M.W. Dixon*

## 1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

### 1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Wargamay is a fairly typical Australian language with a suffixing, agglutinative structure and free word order. Its most notable characteristic is the fact that transitive verbs can occur in intransitive, as well as in transitive, construction types, mainly to satisfy an 'ergative' syntactic constraint on subordination. In chapter 5 it is suggested that the grammatical changes which have recently taken place in Wargamay could eventually lead to a shift from the present split-ergative morphology to an entirely accusative system.

The consonant inventory consists of four stops (labial, apical, laminal and dorsal), a nasal corresponding to each, one lateral, two rhotics and two semi-vowels. There are three vowels, with a length distinction occurring only in the initial syllable of a word. The dozen or so monosyllabic words all involve a long vowel. Stress goes onto a syllable involving a long vowel if there is one; otherwise onto the first syllable of a disyllabic word but onto the middle syllable of a trisyllabic form.

There are clearly defined classes of nominal (noun and adjective), locational qualifier, time qualifier, pronoun, demonstrative, verb, particle and interjection. Pronouns show singular, dual and plural forms for all three persons (although the 'third person singular' has a wide usage, and may not properly belong in the pronoun class).

There is a system of nine cases for nominals and pronouns, with locational and time qualifiers taking a limited selection from these. There are three systems of case marking for the main syntactic functions of transitive subject (A), transitive object (O) and intransitive subject (S). Nominals and the third person singular pronoun distinguish absolutive (S,O) from ergative (A) case; first and second person non-singular pronouns have separate forms for nominative (S,A) and accusative (O); the remainder -

first and second person singular, third person non-singular, and the interrogative pronoun - have distinct case forms for all three syntactic functions.

Verbs do not show any category of tense; there is instead a rich aspectual-type system. Verbal inflections comprise 'unmarked aspect', perfect, purposive, irrealis, positive imperative, negative imperative and subordinate. There is also a 'continuative' derivational affix, and a comitative suffix that derives transitive from intransitive stems. In addition, transitive and intransitive verbal stems can be derived from nominal and from some interrogative and local roots.

Almost every verbal suffix has two allomorphs - one used on verbs in intransitive constructions with the other being employed on verbs in transitive constructions. Verbal stems fall into two classes: 'intransitive' verbs occur only in intransitive constructions whereas 'transitive' roots can occur in transitive or in intransitive constructions (taking the appropriate inflectional allomorphs).

The scanty material available for Wargamay does not yield overmuch syntactic information. There are, however, well defined complement constructions and also relative clauses. A great deal of the work that is done by syntactic derivation in other Australian languages is achieved in Wargamay by careful employment of transitive verbs in either transitive or intransitive constructions; the kinds of correspondence between these two types of construction are important, both synchronically and diachronically.

Sentence modification is achieved through a set of non-inflecting particles ('not', 'perhaps', 'only' etc). It appears that polar questions can be shown only by a marked intonation pattern.

## 1.2 DIALECTS

What I refer to as the 'Wargamay language' appears to have had three distinct dialects (shown on the map):

(1) The people living in the rich forest country along the lower reaches of the Herbert River - from just west of the present town of Ingham, through Hawkins Creek, Long Pocket, Herbert Vale and Niagara Vale to Yamanic Creek and the Herbert Gorge - were called Wargamaygan, and referred to their language as Wargamay.

This group had territory on both sides of the river extending just a few miles from the banks; thus Wallaman Falls and the township of Stone River, on the south side, are said to have been included within Wargamaygan territory. *gu:n* was the name given to the Herbert River at the gorge and just downstream from it; and speakers of Wargamay can also describe themselves as *gu:nbara* (-*bara* 'belonging to' is a productive derivational affix - see 3.1.3). (It is not known for certain whether *gu:nbara* was synonymous with Wargamaygan, or whether it described just one local group of the tribe speaking Wargamay.)

The origin of the name 'Wargamay' is not known. There

may be something in William Craig's suggestion, made in 1898 (see 1.6 below) that the last syllable of 'Wargamay', and of 'Giramay' (which is spoken immediately to the north), is related to *maya*, the word for 'no' in these two dialects. Certainly the other dialects of the Wargamay language are directly named by their word for 'no'.

(2) The people living around the mouth of the Herbert River (including the present towns of Halifax and Bemerside) called their language *Biyay* (which was their word for 'no') and could refer to themselves as *Biyaygiri*, involving the productive derivational affix *-giri* 'with' (see 3.1.3). The *gu:nbara* would refer to speakers of *Biyay* as *gupinbara* using the common noun *gupin* 'the coast, people/things from the coast'.

*Biyay*, from the mouth of the Herbert River, and *Wargamay*, spoken up river from it, are mutually intelligible dialects. They have about 90% common vocabulary and very similar grammars - morphological differences include the form of the 'continuative' verbal suffix, and the paradigm of the single irregular verb *gi:(gi)-* 'to sit' (differences of verbal morphology are detailed in 3.5.3; lexical differences are fully catalogued in the Vocabulary by semantic fields).

(3) The people living on Hinchinbrook Island and the adjacent mainland (south from the present town of Cardwell), a country of mountainous jungle and flat mangrove swamps, also appear to have spoken a dialect referred to as *Biyay* (and to have been themselves called *Biyaygiri*). Tindale quotes a tribal name 'Bandjin'; this is the common noun *banjin* 'sea water', and thus on a par with names *gu:nbara* and *gupinbara*.

Hinchinbrook *Biyay* did show some lexical differences from Halifax *Biyay*, but more than 90% of their vocabularies are identical. Since no speakers survive for this dialect, and the only information is from a few short word lists of fifty and more years ago, no details of the grammar are known. However, from informants' comments it is likely that the grammar would have been very close to that of the other two dialects.

These three dialects are recognised, by their speakers and by those of neighbouring languages, to form a tight-knit group - to be, effectively, dialects of a single language. Indeed, the name 'Wargamay' is commonly used to refer to this language. Thus Nora Boyd, the informant for the Halifax dialect, would sometimes say that she spoke *Wargamay* but at other times (especially if emphasising some difference from the dialect spoken upstream) might specify it more exactly as *Biyay*. Similarly, speakers of *Giramay* would talk of *Wargamay* being spoken over the whole Cardwell/Herbert Vale/Halifax area, but would mention that the variety spoken at Cardwell itself was called *Biyay*.

We are thus taking over the usage of speakers in referring to (1-3) as the *Wargamay* dialect, the Halifax *Biyay* dialect, and the Hinchinbrook *Biyay* dialect of the *Wargamay* language. To avoid confusion *Wargamay* is used below for

the language name, with initial letters normally being employed to refer to dialects:

- W - (1) Wargamay dialect
- B - (2) Halifax Biyay dialect
- H - (3) Hinchinbrook Biyay dialect

### 1.3 SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

To the north of Wargamay is Giramay - the most southerly dialect of the large 'Dyirbal language' (see Dixon 1972) - spoken by the Giramaygan tribe. Giramay and Wargamay have around 48% common vocabulary, squarely within the 'equilibrium figures' predicted for languages that have been in contiguity for a substantial period (Dixon 1972:331-7, 1980a:254-60); a comparison of verb forms shows only 32% being completely or almost completely identical (differing only as regards vowel length, etc) suggesting that the languages may not be closely genetically related.

To the south-east is Nyawaygi which shows about 45% common vocabulary with Wargamay (the figure is about the same for verbs and for non-verbs). Again, there is no evidence for strong genetic connection.

Inland from Wargamay, to the west and south-west, is Waruṅu, the northmost member of the closely related 'Maric' group of languages that extends as far south as the New South Wales border. There is less lexical overlap here - the common vocabulary stands at 35% and a verb count shows 29%. (The Waruṅu data comes from Alf Palmer who also knows Dyirbal and Wargamay and tends to mix these languages together. As a result, the figures quoted for Wargamay-Waruṅu common vocabulary may be somewhat higher than they should be.)

When one turns to grammar there are again no overwhelming similarities in any one direction. Waruṅu is fairly different, but both Giramay and Nyawaygi show interesting points of congruence. Giramay, Wargamay and Nyawaygi do, in fact, have virtually identical paradigms for first and second person pronouns. Wargamay resembles Giramay in having only two verbal conjugations, in having separate inflections for dative and genitive, and in having no monosyllabic verb roots. It resembles Nyawaygi in having contrastive vowel length, in the form of some verbal affixes, and in the form of the interrogative pronoun.

In sum, although Wargamay shows strong similarities to the north (Giramay) and to the south (Nyawaygi) the evidence does not permit us to put forward a close genetic connection in either direction. (Dyirbal and Nyawaygi differ so markedly that there is no chance of connecting all three languages in terms of some 'low node' on the Australian language tree.)

## 1.4 SECTIONS

Some information about the life and beliefs of the Wargamaygan is included in Lumholtz (1887, 1888, 1889, 1921), and in Craig's letters to A.W.Howitt (see 1.5, 1.6).

Each member of the tribe belonged to one of the four sections. These interrelated as follows:

a man who is:	must marry a woman	their children being:
	who is	
wungu	gurgurayngan	gurgila/gurgilayngan
gurguru	wungurayngan	wuguru/wugurayngan
gurgila	wugurayngan	wungu/wungurayngan
wuguru	gurgilayngan	gurguru/gurgurayngan

Note that the feminine forms involve the addition of -rayngan to a disyllabic masculine form and -ayngan to a tri-syllabic form (with the -a- replacing the final -u of a masculine form); this is probably related to the feminine suffix -gan which occurs in a number of eastern languages (see Dixon 1972:12-13, 31, 319).

Lumholtz (1889:199) mentioned these terms in an interesting paragraph: 'The black man whom I had persuaded to go with me was related to one of my men, Yanki. He was Yanki's *Otero*. In the tribes the words *otéro*, *gorgéro*, *gorilla*, *gorgorilla* are found, which designate various kinds of relations. Sometimes a man would be called *otero* or *gorgero* without the addition of any other name, and still everyone knew who was meant. There are similar words to designate female relations, in which case the termination *ingan* is substituted for the final *o* or *a*, thus *oteringan*, *gorgeringan*, etc.' Lumholtz has clearly transcribed two of the section names reasonably well, but has used *gorilla* and *gorgorilla* where /gurgila/ and /wungu/ would be expected (the Dyirbal equivalent of wungu is *gungara*, which is no more recognisable here). See also Birtles (1976:15).

In his correspondence with Howitt, William Craig transcribed the section names quite accurately: his letter of 2nd June 1898 give the masculine and feminine forms as *woon-goo/woon-goo-ringan*, *goorgoo-roo/goor-goo-ringan*, *goor-gil-ah/goor-gil-ingan*, *wooth-oo-roo/wooth-oo-ringan*. John Murray (1886) gives identical section names for Hinchinbrook Biyay: *woongo*, *kookooroo*, *koorkeela*, *wootcheroo*. Note that a corresponding four-section system is employed by the Dyirbalgan (Dixon 1972:27-31) and in fact over much of south-eastern Queensland (Murray 1886 states equivalences between Hinchinbrook and Wide Bay section names).

A little information has been obtained in the totems associated with each section. Speakers emphasised that there were many more totems, which they could not recall:

- wungu - gargay 'small hawk'
- gurguru - gungunu 'thunderstorm'; gurguru 'small hawk'  
(the latter totem was given by Craig, but is not remembered by present-day informants).
- gurgila - 'eel'; yungubala 'black python'; yamani 'rainbow';  
waga 'crow'

wuguru - walguwuçu 'brown snake'; gurigala 'eagle hawk'.

### 1.5 CONTACT HISTORY

The first Europeans to visit Wargamay territory were Captain King and the crew of the survey cutter *Mermaid* who anchored off Goold Island - five miles north of Hinchinbrook - from 19th to 21st June 1819. King (1827:199-203) records how he traded fishing hooks and lines for Biyaygiri baskets and turtle pegs, and describes the canoes, forms of bodily decoration, etc.

Goold Island became a favoured place of call for water. The first vocabulary - of some fifteen words - was procured by Mr Evans, master of Captain Blackwood's survey ship *Fly*, in late May 1843 (see Jukes 1847, I:93-4).

A settlement was established at Cardwell in January 1864. The inevitable clashes followed - Aborigines felt they had a right to spear European cattle feeding on their tribal lands and the settlers were so incensed by this that they took human life in return, whereupon the Aborigines retaliated by taking white lives. Dorothy Jones' *Cardwell Shire Story* (1961) provides an excellent history of settlement in the area, paying some attention to the affect it had on Aboriginal society.

On 9th March 1872 a party of police and troopers led by Sub-Inspector Robert Johnstone beat a cordon across Hinchinbrook Island and cornered almost all the tribe on a point. According to Jones' (1961:170-1) interview with an early settler 'those who were not shot on land were shot as they attempted to swim away'; she remarks that what was reported in the paper as the killing of 'a few unfortunates' amounted to 'almost total massacre of the tribe'. The slaughter was purportedly in retaliation for an attack by Aborigines on Europeans shipwrecked from the brig *Maria* (Jones 1961:164-70).

This massacre did attract national publicity. The *Pastoral Register*, a Sydney paper, mentioned that 'a writer in the *Central Australasian*, who proposes to give a narrative of the expedition to the wreck of the ill-fated "Maria" says:- "We brought off with us Mr Johnston, Sub-inspector of Native Police; and from hearing his conversation with some of our fellows, I got my first insight into the atrocious state of public opinion in North Queensland with reference to the blacks. He spoke of killing whole camps - not merely men, but girls and piccanninies - with the greatest coolness"'. The matter was brought up in the Queensland Parliament with the Colonial Secretary stoutly denying that the government 'pursued a policy of extermination in dealing with the blacks'; rather 'the policy of the Government towards the blacks had been for the repression of crime' (*Queensland Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, 1871, pp 323-4). Nowhere in the Colonial Secretary's statement, or in the cables he quoted from Johnstone, was there any denial concerning the Hinchinbrook slaughter.

Even after this the white attitude appears not to have softened and in the note by M. Armstrong, Esq., Inspector of

Police, on the Aborigines of 'Hinchinbrook Island and the Mainland Adjacent' in Curr's *Australian Race* (1886, II:418-21) it is said that 'the tribe wore no clothes in their original state, but *those who are now* (in 1880) *allowed to come to Cardwell* do so' (my italics). Indeed, Cardwell continues to this day to be a town with an intransigent attitude towards Aborigines. On commencing fieldwork in October 1963 I enquired of the Cardwell policeman (who was, under the laws in force then, local Protector of Aborigines) whether there might be anyone left with language competence and received the answer 'there are no niggers in this town'.

Murder was only one of the dangers to which the Biyay-giri were exposed. In 1882 a Mr Cunningham was sent by the American showman Barnum to bring back some Australian Aborigines for exhibition. He gathered five men, two women and one baby from Hinchinbrook Island and from Palm Island (twenty miles to the south-east). There was an incident in Melbourne when one Aborigine, Tambo, is said to have killed a policeman who complained about his lack of clothing. But, despite protestations in Parliament and in the press, the party left for America (one Aborigine dying en route); they were then 'exhibited' in London, Brussels, Cologne, Berlin and Paris (see Houzé and Jacques 1884:97-9). There is no record of whether they were ever returned to their tribal lands.

The Wargamaygan, up on the Herbert River, were less affected by European and Chinese contact. They had sufficient numbers and freedom to continue with a recognisable tribal life until the end of the century. The Norwegian zoologist Carl Lumholtz lived among them, by an abandoned cattle station at Herbert Vale, from August 1882 until July 1883. Lumholtz's classic *Among Cannibals* (1889, see also 1887, 1888, 1921), has a great many observations on the life and customs of the tribe. He said that their 'culture - if indeed they can be said to have any culture whatever - must be characterised as the lowest to be found among the whole genus *homo sapiens*' (viii). But Lumholtz himself must be assessed as an unobservant and uninsightful anthropological observer. For instance, he refers (201) to *Yamina*, a monster which lived in a certain water hole and 'of which the natives stood in mortal dread... A gun would be of no use, they said, for the monster was invulnerable'. This was almost certainly the rainbow-serpent, *yamani* - in this and other instances Lumholtz made no effort to delve below the surface of his informants' comments, and plainly did not realise they had such things as myths. However, despite the shallowness of Lumholtz's cultural understanding and insight (and his failure to learn to speak the language) the information he gives on the break-up of tribal life, in the face of European contact, is outstanding.

William Craig had been running a cattle station at Niagara Vale - a little higher up the Herbert River than Lumholtz's base at Herbert Vale - for some years before, in 1898, he opened up a correspondence with the anthropologist A.W. Howitt in Victoria (Craig mentions that he had written several articles on Aborigines for the *Queenslander*). The letters to Howitt give the section system, marriage laws,

totems and some other cultural information; they appear mostly to deal with the Wargamaygan although there may be some intrusions from Giramaygan (when quoting numbers, for instance, in the letter of 14th April 1898, he gives Giramay bulari 'two' rather than Wargamay yaga). (These letters are in the A.W.Howitt papers, National Museum of Victoria.)

Craig was concerned with the welfare of the Wargamaygan and on 26th January 1898 had written to Parry-Okeden, the Commissioner of Police in Brisbane:

'In the interests of the aboriginals here I take the liberty of writing to you. There are about 80 here who have not yet got down the river and mixed with the Chinese and colored races or learnt the opium habit to any great extent. While I have been here I have found horses and packed the Govt blankets allowed them and always permitted them to camp on my run and hunt through my cattle and gave them medicines as far as I was able. I also killed any waster cattle I had for them.

'As the ticks killed nearly all my cattle, and I am about to leave here, seeing that the Govt intend to do something for the amelioration of the aborigines I think it would not be amiss in the interests of those here to supply you with some information about them, so that if you think fit you may be able to do something for them, as other station owners do not care to have them hunt and camp about their runs or homesteads and they will surely drift down among the Chinese and Malays where the opium charcoal and disease will soon finish them.

'I think there is a splendid place here for the Govt to make a reserve in which they could gather most of the blacks from around the lower Herbert where they are mixed with the alien colored races and dying from opium charcoal and disease. This country has become useless for grazing on account of the heavy undergrowth but the blacks get a good deal of food from the Yu-boo-loo tree nuts (ground to flour) and the Wong-ah or Chestnut. [Craig is probably referring to gubula, *Podocarpus amarus*, and waga, *Castanospermum australe*]. From here over to Cardwell in a straight line about 20 miles there is a range covered with dense coast scrubs in which this food with scrub turkeys eggs etc. is plentiful, and Sea View Range on the other side shuts the Herbert into a gorge and is good hunting and food ground also, while if any agriculture is desired there are enough isolated rich flats that will grow anything tropical...'

Craig's letter was forwarded to the Inspector of Police at Townsville, who asked Constable Holmes of Cardwell to comment. Holmes confirmed that 'the particular tribe of blacks spoken of by Mr Craig are rather a superior class of the general run of blacks in the district the greater proportion of them being free from disease and opium charcoal is a thing almost unknown to them. The Constable has seen these blacks in numbers of from 50 to 60 on the Bora ground about 14 miles to the North West of Cardwell on Saltwater Creek. Not only does the wild fruit that Mr Craig mentions grow here but a great many others.' Holmes was not, however, in favour of making a reserve at the location suggested by Craig because it was hard to reach from Cardwell (the very reason Craig thought it would be suitable, this inaccessibility serving as a protection against the temptations available on the coast). Craig's letter was acknowledged from Brisbane with the assurance that 'the subject is receiving attention'. (Craig's and Holmes's letters are



held in the Archives Section of the Public Library of Queensland.) But nothing positive was ever done. In fact those Aborigines who did not succumb to the Chinaman's opium stood a good chance of being hunted and shot by the 'native police' (cf Kennedy 1902); the only text obtained from Lambert Cocky (see 1.7) in 1972 told of attacks and massacres by this force around the turn of the century.

Still, those Aborigines who did survive were able to live a fairly free life. In 1896 E.J. Banfield went to live on Dunk Island - twenty miles north of Hinchinbrook - and his four volumes of diary and reminiscence (Banfield 1908, 1911, 1918, 1925) contain a good deal of information about Aborigines and their habits, with Aboriginal names for a fair number of plants, animals, etc. In *Confessions of a Beachcomber* (1908:8) Banfield stated that only four of the original 'Dunk tribe' were alive when he settled there, and maintained that their language was nearer to that of Hinchinbrook than to the mainland. Banfield's narrative freely mixes words from Biyay and from dialects of Dyirbal, but in one passage (1908:292-3) he does focus on language and gives parallel 18-word vocabularies from two Aborigines, Tom and Nelly. 'Tom's totemic title, "Kitalbarra", is derived from a splinter of a rock off an islet to the south-east of Dunk Island. "Oongle-bi", Nelly's affinity, is a rock on the summit of a hill on the mainland, not far from her birth-place.' Whereas the words from Nelly are recognisable as a dialect of Dyirbal, those given by Tom appear to be Hinchinbrook Biyay. This may be taken as evidence that Dunk Island was in fact part of Biyaygiri territory.

The period of freedom ended in 1914 when most of the surviving Aborigines were rounded up and taken, some in chains, to the Hull River Mission - Banfield expressed regret at what he considered an unnecessary step in *Last Leaves from Dunk Island* (1925). When the settlement at Hull River was destroyed by a cyclone, in 1918, its inmates were transferred to Palm Island.

It is worth noting that all my informants for Wargamay and Biyay would have been children at the time William Craig left Niagara Vale. No one born in the following generations learnt anything of the language.

## 1.6 PREVIOUS WORK ON THE LANGUAGE

There are several early vocabularies of the Biyay dialects:

(1) 15 words collected by Mr Evans of HMS *Fly*, May 1843 (Jukes 1847, I:93-4). All but two of these are clearly recognisable as H.

(2) Houzé and Jacques (1884) give about 200 words from 'Île D'Hinchinbrook', taken from 'Bob' and 'Billy'. In most cases only one item is quoted but where there are two variants that given by Billy appears to be Hinchinbrook Biyay whereas that from Bob is Halifax Biyay. There are some general comments on the language and its pronunciation; the quality of transcription is fair.

(3) Edward Curr in his compendium *The Australian Race* (1886, II:418-21) included under 'Hinchinbrook Island and the Mainland Adjacent' a few cultural notes by M. Armstrong, Esq. Inspector of Police, and a vocabulary of about 130 words (together with details of sections) by John Murray. Robert Johnstone wrote of Murray that he was a 'keen observer, a first class bushman with a thorough understanding of the blacks, [and that he] spoke fluently the languages of the tribes of Rockingham Bay, Wide Bay, Rockhampton, the Murray River and the Edward River of N.S.W.' (Jones 1961: 106, quoting from 'Spinifex and Wattle', a series of articles by Johnstone in *The Queenslander*, 1903-4). Murray's vocabulary is predominantly of H (although there may be a few Giramay words mixed in - both biyay 'no' and maya 'no' appear, for instance) and the standard of transcription is again fair.

(4) Banfield's (1908:292-3) 18-word vocabulary gathered from 'Tom' is of H, and is rather well transcribed. The majority of the commonest nouns and verbs Banfield quotes throughout his narratives belong to Dyiru or other dialects of Dyirbal, showing that he had more contact with speakers of this language than with the Biyaygiri (indeed there were at the time many more Dyirbal speakers around than there were Biyaygiri).

(5) On 28th October 1938 N.B. Tindale recorded on Palm Island a vocabulary of about 80 words that was headed 'Bandjin (Biyay)'. This was taken down from Jimmy Banfield, whom I met on Palm Island in 1964, being told that he was the last of the Hinchinbrook tribe; Banfield told me that he knew no Biyay and this was confirmed by other informants. It is thus not surprising that the vocabulary Banfield gave Tindale is almost straight Dyirbal with just a handful of Biyay words interspersed (kai 'ground', kakakau 'walk' and one or two more). It is worth noting that for 'no' Tindale first wrote down imba (the Dyirbal word is yimba) but then crossed it out and inserted bijai with the parenthetic comment 'this is the word which defines their language'.

(6) William Craig recorded a few Biyay words in a letter to Howitt - see (10) below.

(7) Archibald Meston's papers include seven words from Cardwell on page 6 of his notebook Folio 1 (in the Oxley Library, Brisbane); most of them are forms that occur in both Giramay and Wargamay.

The material gathered on the W dialect comprises:

(8) Lumholtz included a page of grammatical comments on the language in *Among Cannibals* (1889:308-9). About 120 words (with just a few Biyay and Giramay intrusions) are scattered throughout the text and also gathered together in a vocabulary at the end (312-3). Lumholtz's ear was not outstanding - thus he spent a great deal of his time trying to obtain a specimen of the tree-climbing kangaroo (*Dendrolagus lumholtzii*) called in Wargamay bulŋgarī, but Lumholtz consistently called it 'Boongary', failing for a year to hear the -l-. But on the whole Lumholtz's language material is fair and useful. In view of the importance of Lumholtz's book a full commentary on his language material

is included in an Appendix at the end of this grammar.

(9) Kendal Broadbent noted about a dozen Aboriginal names for plants and animals in his diary of a trip collecting for the Queensland Museum in the Cardwell district, 1886 (the diary is now in the Queensland Museum Library). Some words are close to some of those obtained by Lumholtz; others appear to be Wargamay or Giramay.

(10) In a letter to A.W.Howitt dated 24th July 1898 William Craig correctly identified the 'tribes' of the region as Warga-mi, Kirra-mi, War-oong-oo, Bei and Nowa-gee. He did not like the term 'tribe', saying that they were more like Scottish clans. Craig took 'language' to be a defining characteristic of this grouping (cf Dixon 1976a), thus:

'I give below the groups or clans with their name; it appears to me it is connected with language more than anything else as it does not bind them for aggression or tribal organisation nor prevent intermarrying... I give you the five groups close here and a few of their commonest words, so you can see what you can make out of it.

Group	Sun	Moon	Fire	Water	No	Yes	Where	go
(no)	Currie }		Wiibara					
War-ga-mi <sup>a</sup>	Woo-ee }	Ballanoe	Wagoon	Ull-oo	Mia	I-ee	minya	yan-ee
(no)								
Kirra-mi <sup>a</sup>	Currie	Ballanoo	You-goo	Com-oo	Mia	In-yan	wan-ja	yan- <sup>ee</sup> <del>ee</del>
War-oong-oo	Yuln-gun	Ballanoo	Boor-ee	Com-oo	Nowa	Yae-oo	wan-ja	yan-ulgoo
(no)								
Bei	Woo-ee	Ballan	Mingoo	Com-oo	Be-i	Iba	wan-ja	moom-a-goo
(no)								
Nowa-gee	I cannot give you this just now but Nowa means No							

'I give you here some words that I have got from a boy who has been on the Johnstone to the N.of Cardwell and says he knows their talk Uth-an -

(yes)	Sun	Moon	Fire	Water	No	(yes)	(where)
Uth-an	Currie	Cug-a-lum	Boan-ee	Bun-a	Imba	Uth-a	min-ya-goo'

Most of the words in the Wargamay and Biyay lines are quite recognisable. 'Woo-ee' indicates wi: 'sun' (gari occurs only in Dyirbal), 'moon' is in fact balanu in W and balan in B, 'fire' is wagan, 'water' is galu in W and gamu in H, 'no' is maya in W and biyay in B, 'yes' is in fact gayi in both dialects, 'where' is based on the root wanğa- (mipa is 'what') and 'go' should be gaga- (yani is a Waruṅu form). 'Wiibara' may relate to wi: 'sun' and the derivational affix -bara 'belonging to' (3.1.3) but mingoo and moom-a-goo from the Biyay lines are not recognisable. The inclusion of gamu for 'water' indicates that Craig may have taken the Biyay line from a member of the Hinchinbrook group (Halifax Biyay has galu, like W). The Giramay and Waruṅu lines have a similar sprinkling of errors and the last line (from the Johnstone River) appears to be a northerly dialect of Dyirbal, probably Ngajan (Craig's 'Uth-an').

(11) On 3rd November 1938 N.B.Tindale collected a Wargamay vocabulary on Palm Island. This is, like all Tindale's material, well transcribed and is clearly identifiable as W, with a few B intrusions.

However, Tindale's placement of Wargamay and Nyawaygi on his tribal maps (1940 and 1974) is not correct. He attributes the Bandjin/Biyay tribe solely to Hinchinbrook Island (presumably on Jimmy Banfield's testimony); in fact it occupied the adjacent mainland (attributed by Tindale to Giramay) and the land around the mouth of the Herbert River. In the case of Wargamay, Tindale describes the territory as 'coast at Halifax Bay, inland to slope of Coast Range; north to Ingham and Lucinda Point; south to Black River, twenty miles north of Townsville (seven hordes are mentioned in the literature)'. The literature cited by Tindale is the entry by Cassady and Johnstone in Curr (1886, II:424-31); but this in fact refers to the Nyawaygi tribe (the name is not given but comparison of vocabularies - for instance, those gathered by Tindale himself in 1938 - establishes this quite conclusively). In fact, the territory Tindale ascribes to Wargamay was occupied partly by Biyay but largely by Nyawaygi, a coastal people who Tindale mistakenly attributes to an inland tract. As already noted, the Wargamaygan occupied territory on both sides of the Herbert River - Tindale allocates that on the north bank to Giramay and the southerly portion to Nyawaygi.

(12) About 1961 La Mont West Jnr worked at Palm Island with Jimmy Johnson (Johnson died a few months afterwards). West lent me his notes in 1964. They involve 1300 numbered items (mostly single words), which appear to have been dictated almost randomly by Johnson, with West making no attempt to cross-check or systematise the data he was writing down, or to gain any understanding of the language. Glosses are often misleading and the transcription is phonetically poor - for instance, item 1032 is given as 'wuripa bulumbi wa·kunka - take stick away and chuck in bush'; this is almost certainly (following West's use of voiceless stop symbols) wurpi pugmbi waku·nta 'big-ABS throw-IMP tree-LOC'. In most cases West missed the important, phonologically-distinctive vowel length in initial syllables.

West made a tape-recording of songs, pronouns and a few somewhat halting texts; the tape is deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The quality of recording is very poor, and when I played it to Alf Palmer, in 1967, he professed himself unable to make it out. However, it was possible to check with Palmer and with other informants some of the words and grammatical forms, from West's transcriptions of the tape and from my listening to it.

Johnson undoubtedly had a fair command of Wargamay and was said to be an excellent raconteur. But it is clear from the material (corroborated by other informants) that he tended to mix Giramay in with Wargamay. This, together with the poor quality of the Johnson material, severely limits its value. I did use it during my own field work to suggest forms, but always required careful corroboration from a Wargamay informant (see 1.7).

(13) In 1970 Peter Sutton contacted John Tooth, at Minna-moolka Station, and recorded a few minutes Wargamay on tape; no written notes were taken. Sutton made the tape available to me and suggested Tooth as a potentially useful

and reliable informant.

(14) About 1974 Tony Beale recorded a few score words from Nora Boyd, at Ayr, and passed these on to me. (I had previously contacted Mrs Boyd, but Beale discovered her whereabouts quite independently).

(15) Tasaku Tsunoda worked intensively at Palm Island with Alf Palmer (born about 1890) on what was described in 1971 as Kutjal and in 1972 as Waruḡu - see Tsunoda's MA thesis (1974). The material Palmer gave on Waruḡu is splattered with Dyirbal words and morphemes and ideally requires checking with another speaker of Waruḡu. Although Palmer's parents were Waruḡu, he has lived most of his life in Wargamay- and Dyirbal-speaking districts (and, for the last thirty or so years, Dyirbal has been the only one of these languages to be actively *spoken* in everyday affairs).

In September 1974 Tsunoda elicited some Wargamay material from Palmer (as I had done ten years before - see 1.7), making this available to me. A few months later Palmer told Peter Sutton that he had given Tsunoda some Wargamay, but was afraid that a bit of Waruḡu had got muddled in! This material does in fact contain intrusions from Waruḡu and from Dyirbal; it also mixes together the distinct W and B dialects of Wargamay (for instance, Palmer uses both the -ball and -ni varieties of the continuative verbal suffix - 3.5.3).

Most tribes in this area have an extensive 'avoidance vocabulary' used in the presence of (amongst others) a parent-in-law of the opposite sex. The Dyirbal and Yidiḡ term for this speech-style is Dyalḡuy; it is often referred to in English as 'mother-in-law language'. I asked Palmer in 1964 concerning a Wargamay avoidance style and he affirmed there was one, but he could only remember three words (quoted in 1.7 below). However, during 1971-4 Palmer would, apparently randomly, tell Tsunoda that a certain Waruḡu or Wargamay item was 'Dyalḡuy' (especially when, say, two words had been given for the same thing). None of these later Dyalḡuy labellings has any veracity; almost all are straightforward Waruḡu, Wargamay or Dyirbal items.

## 1.7 SOURCES FOR THIS STUDY

I did some peripheral work on Wargamay in 1964 and 1967 (whilst primarily concerned with Dyirbal) gathering material from Alf Palmer (ḡimbiḡay) at Palm Island. A comparative vocabulary of some 500 items was elicited in Wargamay, Waruḡu, Dyirbal and Giramay and some basic grammatical paradigms in Wargamay were also obtained. In addition, Palmer spoke Waruḡu and Wargamay material of his own choosing (words and simple sentences) onto tapes after I left the field, under the auspices of Jack Doolan of Palm Island. He consistently declined to give any textual material. At this time Palmer volunteered just three words in the Dyalḡuy 'avoidance style' of Wargamay - biḡubara 'foot', guygara 'water' and maḡila 'hand'; the correspondent forms in the unmarked 'everyday style' of Wargamay are biḡar, ḡalu and mala respectively. Note though that maḡi

is the form for 'hand' in the H dialect (attested in sources (1) - (4) of 1.6). Palmer did not appear very certain of these items, and it was not possible to obtain confirmation from any other informants.

Intensive study of the language ran from 1972 to 1980 and involved work with John Tooth and Lambert Cocky (W dialect) and Nora Boyd (B dialect). Each of these informants was less liable to muddle in material from other languages than were Jimmy Johnson (1.6) and Alf Palmer but it was still necessary to exercise extreme care in separating out Wargamay from the Giramay dialect of Dyirbal. Every putative Wargamay lexical item - given by Alf Palmer and/or Jimmy Johnson - was checked with at least one, and preferably two or all three, of Tooth, Cocky and Boyd. Particular care was taken in checking items which appeared to coincide in Wargamay and Giramay. The grammar was also carefully sifted to exclude extraneous elements.

At first Giramay was used as a means of elicitation. But since Giramay forms and constructions are often close to - but not identical with - Wargamay this sometimes tended to confuse speakers; they would continue in Giramay, or say that Wargamay was 'the same' when in fact there were slight differences. Because of this, most of the later elicitation was done using just Wargamay and English (in which all of the informants were quite fluent).

John Tooth's name is guraminbal, literally 'shoot the cloud' (this relates to the thunderstorm, a totem of his section, gurgugu). Born at Abergowrie of a Giramay mother and Malay father, he was brought up by his Wargamay stepfather at Lannercost and Stone River; Tooth speaks the W dialect but is also quite at home in Giramay. He remembers as a boy walking with his tribe to a corroboree near Innisfail; to another at the Argentine Gold Mine, about 40 miles inland from Townsville; and to a third at the tin mine on the Charters Towers/Lynd road. Tooth has worked most of his life at cattle stations on the tablelands north of the Herbert and was contacted in 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1977 at Glen Ruth (formerly Cashmere). His knowledge of Wargamay was rather rusty but this was compensated by his intelligence and application. It was possible to record from him two very short texts, to obtain or check the best part of a thousand lexical items and to elicit on a wide range of grammatical points. John Tooth has a fine linguistic sense; if I made mistakes in trying to construct Wargamay sentences he would reject them because 'it doesn't seem to rhyme', his way of saying they were ungrammatical.

The fact that John Tooth also speaks Giramay (and of course there have been more people to speak to in Giramay than in Wargamay, over the last few decades) affects his Wargamay a little. Tooth tends to use the irrealis inflection -ma mostly in the 'lest' sense, probably because the Giramay verbal inflection -bi#a is restricted to a 'lest' sense; he would use -ma with a simple future sense sometimes but less often than would Cocky (or Boyd). Tooth would also use transitive verbs in intransitive constructions a little less often than Cocky or Boyd; in Giramay transitive verbs can *only* occur in transitive constructions.

Lambert Cocky (or Atkinson) is named burayngubaçu and belongs to the wuǰuru section. One parent was Wargamaygan and one Biyaygiri; thus although Cocky's dialect is predominantly W there is some B mixed in (but scarcely any Giramay). Like John Tooth, he was probably born a few years before 1900. Cocky was interviewed in 1972 and 1973 at Dan Sheahan's cane farm, on the bank of the Herbert River, just east of Abergowrie (in original Wargamaygan territory) and in 1974, 1975, 1977 and 1980 at the Eventide Home, Charters Towers. Cocky may have been more fluent in Wargamay than John Tooth but was at first a difficult informant, not inviting direct questions. Despite this, it was possible to check several hundred lexical items with him and to clarify a number of grammatical points; he also recorded one short text (see 1.5).

Nora Boyd, named at birth girǰul, later called ɲuɲuɲu, was the only source for the Halifax Biyay dialect. She was interviewed at Ayr in 1973 and 1974 and at Halifax in 1975. Nora Boyd was reported to be in her nineties (she had a son in an old folks' home, and went to visit him periodically) but was as mentally agile as John Tooth or Lambert Cocky, each of whom was a dozen years her junior. Mrs Boyd spoke pure Biyay and although she could sometimes recognise preferred items to be in the W dialect or in Giramay she would never mix these into her own speech. Nora Boyd did not give texts but was unfailingly courteous in volunteering and checking all manner of lexical and grammatical points. Only a limited amount of work was possible with Nora Boyd, before her death in late 1976; it was not possible to check a number of grammatical points, or whether many W lexemes also occurred in B.

Arthur Wild, named gububaǰi, (born at Abergowrie) was interviewed near Halifax in 1972 and 1973 (he died in 1974). Although most helpful, he was too old and semi-senile to yield any information that had not already been obtained from Tooth and Cocky.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

This description is in part conceived of as a section of an areal study of the languages in the Cairns/Townsville region. These are, from north to south, Yidiɲ (Dixon 1977a); Dyirbal with major dialects Ngaɲan, Mamu, Dyirbal and Giramay (Dixon 1972); Wargamay with dialects Biyay and Wargamay; and Nyawaygi.

Yidiɲ, Dyirbal and Wargamay have an identical set of sixteen segmental phonemes. In Nyawaygi original \*d has changed to r or ɟ except within a consonant cluster; in modern Nyawaygi [d] and [r] can be grouped together as allophones of a single phoneme, giving an inventory of just fifteen phonemes.

The four languages differ in the occurrence of vowel length. Length occurs only in initial syllables in Nyawaygi and Wargamay, only in non-initial syllables in Yidiɲ, and in any syllable in the northerly dialects of Dyirbal.

The southern Dyirbal dialects do not show contrastive vowel length.

It is likely that Wargamay and Nyawaygi preserve a length distinction that was in a proto-language, ancestral to the four modern tongues (Dixon 1980a); this initial length contrast has simply been lost in Dyirbal and Yidiɲ. Yidiɲ has evolved a length distinction in non-initial syllables by a series of recent changes (documented in Dixon 1977a:42-88, 1977b), while the Ngagan and Waɟi dialects of Dyirbal have developed long vowels in all types of syllables through a recent change of a quite different type (Dixon 1972:342-5, 1980b). A comparative survey of the occurrence of vowel length in languages of the Cooktown/Cairns/Townsville area is in Dixon, 1976a.

## 2.1 CONSONANTS

Wargamay has

	labial	apical	laminal	dorsal
stop	b	d	ɟ	g
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ
lateral		l		

There are also

two semi vowels: dorso-labial w and laminal y  
and two rhotics, distinguished mainly in terms of place of articulation (although the frontmost rhotic is more often a trill, and tends to involve more taps):

- r normally an alveolar trill (sometimes a single flap)
- ɾ either a semi-retroflex (post-alveolar) continuant or else a flap or short trill articulated towards the back of the alveolar ridge.

Rhotic minimal pairs include *gambara* 'cyclone', *gambaɟa* 'body'; *gurugu* 'grog' (a loan), *guɟugu* 'dove'. Minimal pairs distinguishing /r/ from /d/ include /*bari*/ 'stone', /*badi*/ 'hook fish'.

Apical stop, nasal and lateral involve the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge; sometimes an apico-postalveolar (retroflex) allophone occurs following u. Intervocally, /d/ can be realised as an alveolar flap [ɾ]. It appears that [ɾ] can be an allophone of both /d/ and /r/ - we have [bari] in free variation with [bari] - featuring a trill - for /bari/ 'stone', and [bu:riya] alternating with [bu:diya] for /bu:diya/ 'take!'.

Phonemes in the laminal column normally have lamino-palatal realisation. However, lamino-interdental allophones have been encountered before a and before u (following a normal Australian pattern - Dixon 1970): [ɲaɟa] alternates with [ŋaɟa] '1sg pronoun, A function' and [ɟana] with [ɟana] '3pl pronoun, S function'. Wargamay is mid-way between Dyirbal, which has no interdental sounds, and Nyawaygi, where interdental is the major allophone for laminal stop and nasal.

The labials and velars do not show as much allophonic variation. But /g/ can be labialised when u follows (and, probably, only when there is a dorsal consonant in the



following cluster) e.g. [g<sup>w</sup>uygaɪ] 'long-nosed bandicoot'. And /b/ has been heard lenited to a bilabial fricative when non-utterance-initial e.g. [ŋi:ɾaβada], /ŋi:ɾa bada/ 'tie up the dog!'.

Most words beginning in /yi.../ can be realised either as [yi...] or as [i...]; thus /yimirigi/, [imirigi] 'be glad-PERFECT'; /yigara/, [igara] 'crayfish'. However, the initial /y/ must be pronounced in, for example, /yira/, [yira] 'tooth'; it may be that initial [y] can be omitted before [i] only when followed by a nasal or stop. Note that initial /w/ is always pronounced, even before /u/, thus [wudu] 'nose', [wurbi] 'big' (never [udu] or [urbi]). Compare with Yidiɲ where initial /y/ and /w/ are always pronounced (Dixon 1977a:34-5) and Dyirbal where either semi-vowel can usually be elided before a homorganic vowel (Dixon 1972:278).

## 2.2 VOWELS

In the second or later syllable of a word, Wargamay has three vowel phonemes:

- u close back
- i close front
- a open

In the initial syllable of a word there is a contrast between short and long vowels - effectively a six-term system, u, u:, i, i:, a, a:. The vowels occurring in non-initial syllables are most similar in length and quality to the short vowels in initial syllables.

Since Wargamay is an entirely suffixing language it will be seen that all long vowels occur in roots; affixes exclusively involve short vowels.

There are in fact just two examples of long vowels in a non-initial syllable - ɟi:ɟi: 'bird (generic)' and bi:|bi:l 'peewee (*Grallina cyanoleuca*)' (the latter, at least, is onomatopoeic). Note that these appear to be reduplicated, although the non-reduplicated forms (ɟi: and bi:l) are not attested. However, in other Australian languages roots that involve 'inherent reduplication' pattern phonologically like compounds - that is, the intramorphemic boundary half-way through the root allows the phonotactic possibilities normal for intermorphemic boundaries (cf Dixon 1977a:36-7 for Yidiɲ) - and these two forms do not therefore pose any serious counterexample to our generalisation that long vowels are restricted to initial syllables.

Minimal pairs involving a length contrast are:

ŋana	'1pl pronoun, SA form'	ŋa:na	'interrogative pronoun, O form'
badi-	'to hook a fish'	ba:di-	'to cry, weep'
giba	'liver'	gi:ba-	'to scratch'
ɟura	'cloud, sky'	ɟu:ra-	'to rub'
ɟulu	'buttocks'	ɟu:lu	'black'
nuba	'bark bag'	nu:ba-	'to sharpen'
ganda-	'to burn, cook'	ga:nda-	'to crawl'

Of the 920-word Wargamay lexicon, 90 items (almost 10%) involve a long vowel. And note that although verbs make up

only 16% of the total lexicon, 38% of long vowel items are verbs. (Comparative evidence suggests that Wargamay vowel length goes back to a proto-language. The fact that such a high proportion of verbs involves long vowels may be partly explained by the fact that, in the course of linguistic evolution, verbs are less likely to be tabooed - and replaced by a form borrowed from a neighbouring language - than are words from other parts of speech.)

Nineteen of the long vowel roots are trisyllabic and 56 are disyllabic e.g.

bu:nguray	'a snore'	gu:gal	'mud cod'
gu:gaɟa	'urine'	ga:la	'empty'
gu:lnguɟun	'navel'	ma:ngay	'silly (person)'

There are thirteen monosyllabic words in Wargamay, each containing a long vowel (that is, there are no monosyllables with just short vowels). Seven comprise a closed syllable:

gi:l	'a black bird'	gu:n	'spirit of a man'
gi:n	'eyebrow'	ma:l	'man'
gu:l	'salt' (a loanword)	yi:l	'name'
gu:n	'Herbert River/Gorge'		

and six an open syllable:

di:	'tea' (a loanword)	wi:	'sun'
ga:	'jaw' (B)	wu:	'hoe' and 'war' (two homonymous loan words)
ɟa:	'not'	ya:	'top of a tree'

The actual phonetic length of a vowel appears to depend on the following consonant (cf Lehiste 1970:27):

(a) the shortest variety appears before a stop - [gi·gin], /gi:gin/ 'swamp wallaby';

(b) a slightly longer variety occurs before a nasal - [ma:ni-], /ma:ni-/ 'hold in hand, catch hold of'.

(c) the longest variety of all is encountered before the semi-retroflex rhotic continuant (whether this is itself prevocalic or preconsonantal) - [du::ɟa-], /du:ɟa-/ 'to pull up', [gu::ɟuɟu], /gu:ɟuɟu/ 'beetle'.

In the case of the longest vowels, type (c), I sometimes heard (and transcribed) a long vowel, and sometimes a sequence of vowel-semivowel-vowel i.e. [duwuɟa] etc. Type (b) were consistently transcribed with a long vowel. Many type (a) words were noted sometimes to have a long vowel, and other times to have a short one, in my early transcription. Further questioning was undertaken to resolve the inconsistency, and I was corrected when I said, for instance, [gɟgin], the informant especially stressing and lengthening the vowel, [gi:gin], to indicate the correct pronunciation.

The realisations of Wargamay short vowels /u/ and /i/ range from close to half-close, and that of /a/ from open to half-open. It seems, however, that long close vowels can have more distant allophones - thus /yu:ɟigi/, [yɔ:ɟigi] 'grow-up-PERFECT' for instance.

In a monosyllable /u:/ can be realised as [u:] or [uwu], /i:/ as [i:] or [iyi], and /a:/ as [a:] or as [a?a]. Thus we have [yiyil] alternating with [yi:l], [ma:l] with [ma?a:l],

and [ŋa:], with [ŋa?a], etc. ([a?a] also occurs in inflected forms of /ma:l/ e.g. [ma:lɗu]~[ma?aɗu] 'man-ERGATIVE'; but [a?a] has not been encountered as the realisation of /a:/ in any form that involves a polysyllabic root.)

Note that there are arguments against interpreting long vowels as, phonologically, vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences; that is, against writing /bu:di-/ 'to take' as /buwudi-/, and so on. There is a critical morphophonological rule that is sensitive to the number of syllables in a word: for transitive verbs in the W dialect imperative is -ya after a disyllabic stem ending in -i, but is -∅ in all other circumstances (after any stem ending in -a, or after a trisyllabic in -i). Thus we get:

stem	wugi-	imperative	wugiya	'give!'
	baba-		baba	'spear!'
	gungari-		gungari	'cut!'
	bu:di-		bu:diya	'take!'

The fact that bu:di- (and also ma:ni- 'take hold of', da:lbi- 'scoop water up' and so on) takes -∅ imperative suggests that the root here involves just two syllables.

There is, however, no morphological criterion applying to monosyllables, and we could consider treating long vowels in monosyllables differently from those that occur in polysyllabic roots. There are no examples of contrast (in monosyllabic or polysyllabic forms) between -iyi- and -i:- or between -uwu- and -u:- so we could assign the sequences -iyi- and -uwu- to underlie surface [i:] and [u:]. There is difficulty, however, with [a:]. The most likely solution here is /awa/ but this is ruled out since it does contrast with /a:/. Thus /mawa/ 'shrimp' is never realised as [ma:] or [ma?a] and demands to be treated in a different way from [ma:l]~[ma?aɗ]. The only way completely to avoid postulating forms which are phonologically monosyllables would be to have an additional phoneme /ʔ/ that would appear in just four roots! The long vowel interpretation, outlined above, is surely preferable to this.

In Dyirbal, sequences /awa/, /uwu/ and /iyi/ can be realised as [a:], [u:] and [i:] respectively, but these are less frequent realisations than [awa], [uwu] and [iyi]; the latter pronunciations are always given in lexical elicitation (Dixon 1972:278). There are in Dyirbal morphological reasons for preferring a vowel-semivowel-vowel interpretation; for instance, locative case is -ŋga onto a disyllabic but -ga after a trisyllabic root ending in a vowel, and the locative of guwumba 'a wild fruit' is -ga (not -ŋga). Note that only about 1% of the Dyirbal lexicon involves /awa/, /uwu/ or /iyi/ sequences, whereas 10% of the Wargamay corpus shows a long vowel.

Plainly Dyirbal imposes its 'vowel-semivowel-vowel' interpretation on any phonetic long vowel (and this is related to a requirement that every word in Dyirbal have at least two syllables) whereas Wargamay would interpret a phonetically identical sound as a phonological long vowel. Thus we have correspondences:

Dyirbal	/giyil/	'starling'	Wargamay	/gi:l/
	/biyilbiyil/	'peewee'		/bi:lbi:l/
	/yawa/	'top of tree'		/ya:/
	/gawa/	'doorway'		/ja:/ 'jaw'

and close cognates:

Dyirbal	/guwuy/	'spirit of a man'	Wargamay	/gu:p/
---------	---------	-------------------	----------	--------

Both Dyirbal /giyil/ and Wargamay /gi:l/ could be pronounced [giyil] (and similarly for the second line). This does not, however, hold for the third and fourth pairs. Dyirbal allows /awa/ to be realised as [a:] whereas Wargamay maintains a distinction between /awa/ and /a:/ (the Wargamay phonetic sequence [a?a] is missing from Dyirbal).

### 2.3 STRESS

Stress is assigned as follows:

(1) if the first syllable involves a long vowel, then it must receive primary stress;

(2) if there is no long vowel in a word,

and (a) the word is disyllabic or quadrisyllabic, primary stress goes on the first syllable;

(b) the word is trisyllabic or quinesyllabic, primary stress goes on the second syllable.

Secondary stress goes on the syllable next but one after primary stress, except that a final syllable can never bear stress.

Thus:

(1)	mú:ba	'stone fish'	gí:baça	'fig tree'
(2)(a)	báda	'dog'	gí:gawúlu	'freshwater jewfish'
(b)	gagára	'dilly bag'	guçágay-mìri	'Niagara Vale-FROM'

It will be seen that stress shifts between the absolute form of a noun (which involves zero inflection) and an oblique form, e.g.

múgan	'mountain-ABS'	muçán-da	'mountain-LOC'
-------	----------------	----------	----------------

The Wargamay stress assignment rules make it impossible to get two successive stressed syllables; and two successive unstressed syllables are only possible in a word with an odd number of syllables and the initial vowel long, as gí:baça above.

A non-initial vowel that bears primary stress may be phonetically lengthened e.g. [muçán:nda] 'mountain-LOC'; this must be carefully distinguished from the phonologically contrastive length in initial syllables (which has stronger and more consistent quantitative realisation). Phonological and phonetic length specifications do in fact function at different 'levels'. Thus we have, in the following order:

1. Underlying forms with phonological length specification.
2. Stress rule - onto the first syllable of a disyllabic word, or a word of any length involving a long vowel; but onto the middle syllable of a trisyllabic word with all vowels short.

### 3. Optional phonetic lengthening of non-initial stressed syllable.

That is, phonetic lengthening is dependent on stress placement, which in turn depends on the occurrence of phonological length.

(Pre-Yidip probably had stress assignment and phonetic lengthening rules rather like modern Wargamay. It then introduced a rule deleting the final syllable of words with an odd number of syllables, under certain phonologically- and grammatically-defined conditions; this made the placement of stress in a word phonologically contrastive, as *malá·nu* > *malá·n* 'righthand-ABS' contrasting with *málan* 'river-ABS'. Finally, contrastive stress (with concomitant lengthening) was replaced by contrastive length (which determines stress placement) - /*malá:n*/ versus /*málan*/. See Dixon 1977a,b.)

## 2.4 PHONOTACTICS

A Wargamay root has phonological structure:

either  $C_1V:(C_3)$

or  $C_1V(:)C_2V(C_2V)^n(C_3)$  where  $n \geq 0$

In these structures:

V is any vowel (a, i or u);

$C_1$  can be any consonant except l or r; that is, it can be a stop, a nasal, a semi-vowel, or  $\zeta$ ;

$C_3$  can be  $\gamma$ , l, r or any nasal other than  $\eta$ ; that is, it cannot be a stop, w,  $\zeta$  or  $\eta$ ;

$C_2$  can be

- (i) any single consonant; or
- (ii) a homorganic nasal-stop sequence; or
- (iii) l, r,  $\zeta$  or  $\gamma$  followed by a non-apical stop, or nasal, or nasal-stop sequence, or by w; or
- (iv) n followed by a non-apical stop or nasal.

The following clusters, which would be predicted by these generalisations, have not been encountered:  $l\eta$ ,  $\eta\eta$ ,  $\zeta m$ ,  $\zeta r$ ,  $\gamma r$ ,  $\gamma w$ ; they are assumed to be 'accidental gaps' in the data. Only one example is known of each of  $lw$ ,  $\eta\eta$ ,  $rmb$ ,  $r\eta$ ,  $rw$ ,  $\zeta n\zeta$ ,  $\zeta\eta$ ,  $\zeta w$ ,  $\gamma\eta$ .

In addition,  $-i\gamma-$  must be immediately followed by a vowel (that is, this sequence can never occur at the end of a syllable).

There are just three words not covered by the general statement. 'Male kangaroo' has been heard as *yáwuymbàçì* and as *yáwuyñbàçì*, but when I enquired about the pronunciation it was said slowly as *yáwuy báçì*. It seems that a nasal is inserted between second and third syllables and can be assimilated in place of articulation *either* to the preceding *or* to the following segment. *gú:lŋgucur* 'navel' was treated similarly - it was said slowly simply as *gú:l gúçur*, without the nasal segment. The third item is *yuçúynbi*

'bank of river', which occurs only in a song.

There are considerably wider cluster possibilities across a morpheme boundary, effectively C<sub>3</sub> followed by C<sub>1</sub> (affixes can begin with almost all segments that can commence words). Across a nominal stem+inflection boundary we can also get possibilities not included under C<sub>2</sub> e.g. -ld- or even -lnd- (for ergative case - see 3.1.1).

Loans generally follow the possibilities outlined above. The only exceptions noted (and these may be ad hoc 'loans', rather than items that were properly assimilated into the language at a time when it was actively spoken) are drayga 'tracker' and layn '(fishing) line'. The mapping of English into Wargamay phonotactics in loans generally follows the principles described for Dyirbal (Dixon 1972: 325-6). Noteworthy examples include bagir 'basket' - where English -s- is lost before the velar stop, and final -t is rendered as -r (Wargamay words cannot end in a stop) - and qabiɓbil 'Herbert Vale', where the initial consonant is supplied as ɓ, for an English loan that begins in an open vowel (or h plus open vowel).

## 2.5 PROBABILITIES OF OCCURRENCE

Relative probabilities of occurrence were calculated, from the 920-item lexicon, for initial, C<sub>1</sub>, and final, C<sub>3</sub>, consonants. The C<sub>1</sub> count covers all parts of speech whereas the figures for final consonants exclude verbs (which all have roots ending in -a or -i, see 3.5.2).

	root initial		root final	
b	0.19	}		0.60
d	0.02			
g	0.15			
ŋ	0.24			
m	0.12	}	0.015	} 0.49
n	0.007		0.365	
ɲ	0.02		0.11	
ŋ	0.07			
y	0.07	}	0.16	0.17
w	0.10			
l	0.001			
r			0.31	} 0.35
ɹ			0.04	
ɕ	0.01			

The relative probabilities for vowels are (with initial syllable figures covering all parts of speech but the non-initial count excluding verbs):

	initial syllable	non-initial syllable
a	0.43	0.47
i	0.18	0.21
u	0.39	0.32

There was no significant difference between figures for open or closed syllables, or for short versus long vowels.

About 63% of non-verbal roots end in a vowel; this compares with figures of 50% for Dyirbal, 44% for Yidip

and 60% for Nyawaygi.

At C<sub>2</sub>, homorganic nasal-stop clusters (mb, nd, ŋg, ŋg) outnumber non-homorganic clusters (nb, ng, ng) by about four-to-one. Nasal-nasal clusters are much rarer than in Dyirbal - only three examples of -nm- and one of -nŋ- were encountered.

## 2.6 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

[A] *Yotic deletion*. This is the one important morphophonemic rule in Wargamay. We have already noted that a sequence -iy- must be followed by a vowel, never by a consonant or word-boundary. If an illicit sequence is generated by morpheme combination, then the -y- is simply dropped:

YOTIC DELETION RULE -iy- → -i  $\begin{cases} -C \\ -\# \end{cases}$

There is an identical rule in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:287) and in Waruŋu, and a similar one - in which -iy is sometimes replaced by -i: - in Yidiŋ (Dixon 1977a:77-83).

[B] *Nasal insertion*. There are sporadic examples of a nasal being inserted between a syllable-final y or ɪ and a syllable initial stop. Three examples of apparent nasal insertion within roots were given in 2.4. Locative and ergative case inflections, with canonical shapes -da and -du, become -nda and -ndu after a stem ending in -ɪ (3.1.1). There is also a nasal in gubimbulu 'very wise man', presumably based on gubi 'wise man' and -bulu 'very' (3.1.3). An inserted nasal can be assimilated in place of articulation to the following, or sometimes to the preceding, segment.

Ergative and locative case allomorphs provide further examples of assimilation, this time of a stop to a preceding nasal or y (3.1.1).

[C] *Haplology*. There are in the grammar a number of examples of a syllable being omitted from a longish form when it is phonologically identical to or similar to the preceding or to the following syllable.

(i) the inchoative verbaliser has allomorphs -mbi (following a vowel)~ -bi (following a nasal)~ -i (following l or r. The -bi- is omitted from the postvocalic allomorph -mbi when continuative suffix -bali follows. Thus:

nominal	bi:ga	'fear' but gubii 'whistle'
+inchoative	bi:gambi-	gubii-
+inchoative+continuative	bi:gambali	gubilibali

Note that -bi- is phonologically similar to the following -ba-, and that it *must* be omitted in this environment; a fuller discussion is in 4.9.1. The continuative suffix cannot be added directly to a nominal root, so there is no possibility of ambiguity here.

(ii) purposive inflection is -lagu onto an intransitive stem. However, the -la- is sporadically omitted after a tri-syllabic stem - all the examples noted have third syllable -ra- or -li- (quite close in form to -la-). Thus guwara~~l~~agu and guwara~~l~~agu were both recorded for 'stand-PURPOSIVE'; when elicitation was directed to this point the informant preferred the canonical form guwara~~l~~agu. In one of the texts

recorded by Jimmy Johnson the disyllabic root wula- 'to die' plus purposive -lagu was said as wulagu (not wulalagu). See 3.5.4.

(iii) we surmise in 3.5.3 that an original monosyllabic verb gi:- 'to sit' has effectively been reanalysed as having a disyllabic root gi:gi- in the W dialect. But the -gi- can optionally be omitted before continuative -balli; thus gi:giballi~gi:balli. This could be explained in either of two quite different ways - through the general syllable elision tendency of Wargamay, or in terms of the reanalysis of gi:- in terms of gi:gi- being not quite complete. Or it could be due to the intersection of these two rather disparate factors. (But note that -gi- is rather different in form from the following syllable -ba-; the preceding gi:- is unlikely to be relevant since -gi- does not drop from gi:gi- with any other suffix.) See 3.5.3.

(iv) there are other isolated instances of syllable elision in my corpus. For instance, gumba- 'put in, go in' plus -balli was heard as gumballi-, and gi:ba- 'scrape, scratch' plus -balli was said as gi:balli, as in (140) below (I was in fact corrected when I said gi:baballi). But note that the reciprocal suffix -ba- is never dropped from buɽba-ba-y 'hit-RECIP-UNMKD'; if it were the verb would be indistinguishable from the non-reciprocal form buɽba-y (see 4.5).

Syllable elision could almost be described as a 'personality trait' of Wargamay grammar (nothing of this nature has been noticed in surrounding languages). It is - except in the case of (i) - almost always a sporadic phenomenon.

## 2.7. COGNATION WITH NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

The majority of words cognate between Wargamay and a neighbour are identical in form in the two languages. There are, however, some systematic differences:

[A] *Long vowels*. Generally, a long vowel in Wargamay simply corresponds to a short vowel in Dyirbal and Waruɽu, languages that have no contrastive length. Thus:

Wargamay	ba:lba- 'to roll'	Dyirbal, Waruɽu	balba-
	bu:di- 'to take, bring'	Dyirbal	budi- 'to carry'

In the case of most of the long/short vowel minimal pairs, listed in 2.2, only one member occurs in Dyirbal. For instance:

Wargamay	Dyirbal
ɽana 'lpl pronoun, SA form,	ɽana
ɽa:na 'interrogative pronoun, O form'	wapuna
badi- 'to hook a fish'	badi-
ba:di- 'to cry, weep'	dungara-
giba 'liver'	giba (northern dialects)
	giba (Giramay dialects)
gi:ba- 'to scrape, scratch'	giba-

But there is one example of a minimal pair in Wargamay



corresponding to homophones in Dyirbal:

Wargamay	gura	'cloud, sky'	Dyirbal	gura
	gu:ra	'to rub'		gura-

Correspondences between long vowels in Wargamay monosyllables, and vowel-semivowel-vowel sequences in Dyirbal, were mentioned in 2.2.

Long vowels in Wargamay normally correspond to long vowels in Nyawaygi and in other, widely separated, languages (in cases where there is a corresponding form). For instance, Wargamay ma:ni 'hold in the hand' corresponds to ma:- 'hold in the hand' in Nyawaygi and also to ma:- 'take' in Guugu-Yimidhir (next language but two to the north of Yidiṇ, spoken around Cooktown). Similarly, 'cry' is ba:ri- in Nyawaygi, ba:di- in Wargamay and ba:ḍi- in Guugu-Yimidhir. It is this sort of correspondence which leads us to suggest that length in the initial syllables of Wargamay, Nyawaygi and Guugu-Yimidhir words is rather ancient, and has simply been lost in the intervening Dyirbal/Yidiṇ block (Yidiṇ has simply ba:di- 'to cry', and ma:ni- 'to catch in a trap', for instance). (Further discussion of long vowel correspondences will be found in section 2.7 of my Nyawaygi grammar.)

[B] *Final* ɟ. The main phonotactic difference between Wargamay and its northerly neighbour is that in Dyirbal, but not in Wargamay, roots and words can end in the retroflex grooved continuant, ɟ. There are in fact a number of cognate pairs in which the Wargamay member simply has a vowel following what is final -ɟ in Dyirbal:

Wargamay	baguɟu	Dyirbal	baguɟ	'sword'
	gu:gaɟa		gu:gaɟ	'urine'
	ɲamiɟi		ɲamiɟ	'hungry'

In each of the nine examples of this type of correspondence, the vowel following ɟ in Wargamay is identical with the preceding vowel. It is thus, on this data, equally plausible that Dyirbal dropped a final vowel, or that Wargamay introduced one (say, at a time when it adopted a constraint that words could not end in ɟ). Eight other trisyllabic Wargamay roots ending in ɟ-plus-vowel have identical form in Dyirbal, e.g.:

Wargamay	ɣiŋaɟi	Dyirbal	ɣiŋaɟi	'cave'
----------	--------	---------	--------	--------

Five of these have the same vowel on each side of ɟ, and three have different vowels. (There are five quadrisyllabic Wargamay words ending in ɟ-plus-vowel that have cognates in Dyirbal - the Dyirbal and Wargamay forms are all identical.)

There is, however, phonotactic evidence that can help us decide between the two alternatives mentioned in the last paragraph. There is in Wargamay, as in most Australian languages, great similarity between the set of consonants that can commence a consonant cluster, and those that can end a word (that is, between the closing segments of non-final and of final syllables). Note that although ɟ cannot end a word, there are more than two dozen examples of medial clusters beginning with ɟ (and ɟ does here con-

trast with *r* - as in the minimal pair *wirga* 'nulla nulla (club)', *wirga-* 'to bathe'). This surely favours the hypothesis that originally Wargamay allowed *ɹ* at the ends of all syllables - as Dyirbal still does - and at a late stage eliminated word-final *ɹ* by simply repeating the vowel of the preceding syllable.

[C] *Initial ɹ*. Leaving aside loans, only 7 roots in my Wargamay lexicon begin with *ɹ-*, less than 1% of the total; in contrast, Dyirbal has 3% of its lexical roots commencing with *ɹ-*. (Four of the seven Wargamay roots do occur in identical form in Dyirbal.)

There are two isolated correspondences involving *ɹ*-initial items in Dyirbal:

Wargamay	wuɹugu	Dyirbal	ɹugu	'Torres Straits pigeon'
	guwa		ɹuwa	'west'

[D] *Final -ɹ*. Eleven per cent of the consonant-final roots in Wargamay end in the laminal nasal, *ɹ* (2.5), a figure almost twice that for Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:279). There are in fact four cognate pairs in which Wargamay *-ɹ* corresponds to *-y* in Dyirbal:

Wargamay	gagan	'sand guana'	Dyirbal	gagay
	gawɹ	'hot'		gawuy
	gu:ɹ	'spirit of a man'		guwuy
	wagɹ	'sea'		waguy
				'sand'

And there are four correspondences in which Dyirbal also has a final *-ɹ*:

Wargamay	bundɹ	'grasshopper'	Dyirbal	bundɹ
	gulɹ	'east'		gulɹ
	wargɹ	'boomerang'		wargɹ
	gubɹ	'slow'		gubɹ
				'gentle, quiet'

Note that all *-ɹ* final items in Wargamay also have the nasal in Dyirbal; the sequence *-iy* is not permitted at the end of a syllable in either language. But four out of the five roots ending in *-ɹ* or *-ɹ* in Wargamay have a final *-y* in Dyirbal. This suggests that final *-ɹ* was lenited to *-y* in Dyirbal in cases where it did not follow the homorganic vowel *-i*. (gubɹ could have been a loan from Wargamay after the lenition rule operated, or there may be some other explanation for this form.)

[E] *gi- and gi-*. In many languages of eastern Australia can be found cognate pairs involving a correspondence between *gi* and *gi* or *gi*. For instance:

- (i) the comitative suffix on nominals is *-giri* in Wargamay (3.1.3), *-gi* in Nyawaygi, *\*-gir* in Waruṅu and Yidiṅ, *-gir* in Guugu-Yimidhir, etc. (see Dixon 1976b:203-310);
- (ii) both Nyawaygi and Guugu-Yimidhir have a small closed verbal conjugation which includes *wu-* 'to give' and *pa:-* or *pa:-* 'to see'; the past/perfect inflection on this conjugation is *-gi* in Nyawaygi and *-gi* in Guugu-Yimidhir;
- (iii) *gi* is 'liver' in Wargamay and in the Giramay dialect of Dyirbal, and 'stomach' in Nyawaygi; *gi* is 'liver' in

the northern dialects of Dyirbal and in Waruṅu, and ḡiba is 'liver' in Guugu-Yimidhir;

(iv) 'mother's father' is ḡagi in Dyirbal, ḡayginan in Wargamay, ḡaygi in Nyawaygi, ḡagi in Waruṅu and ḡagi in Guugu-Yimidhir.

It appears that this set of correspondences covers a large geographical area (and should not be regarded as something particular to Wargamay).

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

For Wargamay the following word classes, with mutually exclusive membership, can be set up:

noun	}	nominal
adjective		
locational qualifier		
time qualifier		
pronoun		
demonstrative		
verb		
particle		
interjection		

Noun and adjective have almost the same morphological properties; there is, of course, a clear semantic difference. Locational and time qualifiers take a subset of nominal inflections, but show enough minor differences to be considered separate word classes. Pronouns show inflections that are quite similar to those on nominals, but also demonstrate important differences (and some irregularities). Verbs have a separate set of inflections from nominals, pronouns, etc.

The closed classes are fully listed below: pronouns and demonstratives in 3.4, particles - which provide modal-type qualification of a complete sentence - in 4.10 and interjections in 4.12.

Members of the remaining, open, classes are listed in the vocabulary; the semantic content of these parts of speech is best seen from examination of this list. Generally, the semantic contents are quite close to those for Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:39-41). Significant differences are (i) Dyirbal has a set of adverbs, inflecting like verbs e.g. 'do well', 'do slowly'; Wargamay appears to specify value and speed entirely through adjectives; (ii) where Dyirbal has adjectives 'angry', 'sleepy', 'frightened', Wargamay appears to have abstract nouns 'anger', 'sleepiness', 'fear', a modifying stem being formed by the derivational affix-giri 'with' (3.1.3).

Each root in Wargamay belongs to just one word class. There are a number of processes that derive a stem of a different class - forming verbs from nominals, adjectives from nouns, etc. In Dyirbal, Yidip and Nyawaygi every verbal root is strictly specified for transitivity (half-a-dozen exceptions are known in Dyirbal, none in the other

two languages); Wargamay is unusual among languages of this area in having a large number of verbal roots (probably, two-thirds of the total) able to take either the transitive or the intransitive conjugational inflections.

### 3.1 NOMINALS

A noun or adjective in Wargamay must involve a root and a case inflection (one choice being absolutive, which has zero realisation). Between root and inflection can come one or more derivational affixes, listed in 3.1.3. All nominals in a noun phrase must agree in case inflection.

3.1.1 CASE INFLECTIONS. The full set of case inflections is:

<i>absolutive</i>	ϕ
<i>ergative</i>	} -ngu~-du
<i>instrumental</i>	
<i>locative</i>	} -nga~-da
<i>aversive</i>	
<i>dative</i>	} -gu
<i>allative</i>	
<i>ablative</i>	W -nɪp, B -n~-ɪp
<i>genitive</i>	-gu~-u

We now take these in turn, giving the formal and functional possibilities:

[1] *Absolutive*. This always has zero realisation, absolutive form coinciding with the stem. It marks intransitive subject and transitive object functions.

[2] *Ergative-instrumental*.

*FORM* - -ngu after a vowel e.g. bari 'stone', ERG baringu  
 -du after a consonant, with assimilation of the -d- in place of articulation to a stem-final nasal e.g. gi:gin 'wallaby', ERG gi:gindu; mupinip 'black ant', ERG mupinipgu; walam 'tick', ERG walambu.

After the yotic, *y*, there is again assimilation; the stem-final -y can optionally be dropped before ergative -gu e.g. ma:ngay 'silly', ERG ma:ngaygu~ma:ngaɟu.

After the lateral, *l*, an -n- can be inserted before ergative -du; the stem-final -l can be dropped only when the -n- is present. Thus ma:l 'man', ERG ma:lndu~ma:lɟu~ma:ndu (but not \*ma:du).

After the trilled rhotic, *r*, ergative is simply -du e.g. guɟur 'brolga', ERG guɟurdu.

*FUNCTION* - A nominal in transitive subject function must bear ergative inflection. The same inflection is used to mark the instrument or tool used in an action e.g. 'hit with a stick', 'tie with a rope'; note that the instrument can be a body part e.g. 'hit with the hand', 'blow with the mouth'. With a verb of giving, instrumental inflection marks the noun phrase referring to 'that which is given' - 4.6.3.

If a basically transitive verb is used in an intransitive construction then its 'object' NP will bear ergative-

instrumental inflection - 4.2. Note that the interrogative *mija* 'what' does have distinct ergative and instrumental case forms (3.1.5), supporting the recognition of two distinct cases, with identical realisation.

[3] *Locative-aversive*.

*FORM* -nga after a vowel e.g. *ŋalu* 'water', LOC *ŋaluŋga*  
 -da after a consonant, with assimilation of the -d-  
 in place of articulation to a stem-final nasal e.g. *muŋan*  
 'mountain', LOC *muŋanda*; *gulgiŋ* 'scrub', LOC *gulgiŋga*; *yiŋam*  
 'Ingham', LOC *yiŋamba*,

After *y*, locative is -ga e.g. *bu:ŋguray* 'snore', LOC  
*bu:ŋgurayga*; elision of the stem-final -y has not been encountered.

After *!*, locative is normally -nda e.g. *ŋagul* 'deep', LOC  
*ŋagulnda*. Elision of *n* or *!* (as for ergative) may be possible,  
 but has not been encountered.

After *r*, locative is simply -a e.g. *milbir* 'pine tree',  
 LOC *milbira*.

It will be seen that locative exactly parallels ergative (the two cases differing only in the final vowel) except after -r, where ergative is -du and locative -a. (There may also be different possibilities of elision after -y and -!). Locative and ergative allomorphs after -r may be effectively reversed in *Biyay*. *Nora Boyd*, the only informant for this dialect, gave *yimbur* 'pelican', ERG *yimburu* and *milbir* 'pine tree', LOC *milbira*. (Or it may be that both types of allomorph are possible for both cases in all dialects!)

*FUNCTION* - The main use of locative case is to indicate a position of rest ('at', 'in' or 'on'):

- (1) *ŋayba yugaray ŋaluŋga* I swam in the water
- (2) *ŋayba muŋanda walagi!* I climbed the mountain

Locative can also be used to indicate accompaniment; e.g. added to *yunguŋa* 'another one':

- (3) *ŋayba gagabali yunguŋga* I'm going with another fellow

And it can have a temporal sense; from *balanu* 'moon' is obtained *balanuŋga* 'in the moonlight':

- (4) *ŋali ŋinba gagalagu balanuŋga gaŋaragu ŋunilagu*  
*ldu-SA 2sg-S go-PURP moon-LOC possum-DAT hunt-PURP*  
 You and I'll go hunting possums by moonlight.

There is similarity between the use of locative in (4) and that in

- (5) *ŋayba ŋa: bungi / ŋinunda bu:ŋgurayga*  
*lsg-S NOT sleep-UNMKD you-LOC snore-LOC*  
 I couldn't sleep for your snoring.

In (5) *ŋinunda bu:ŋgurayga* could be glossed 'during your snoring', but the causal sense 'because of your snoring' is also implied. This usage merges into the aversive sense, where the inflection -nga~-da indicates some person or thing that is to be avoided, with the action referred to by the main verb normally being directed towards this avoidance:

- (6) ḡayba bimbirigi waybalanga  
 lsg-S run-PERF white man-AVERS  
 I ran away from the white man

This case is also used on the complement of a verb of fearing, 'that which is feared' - see (64) in 3.4.1. The nominal aversive inflection has close semantic connection with the apprehensional sense of the irrealis verbal inflection - 3.5.4.

The interrogative *mipa* 'what' has distinct locative and aversive case forms (3.1.5), supporting the recognition of two distinct cases, with identical realisation.

A final use of this inflection - probably best included under the 'locative' label - is to mark a language or speech-style being used e.g.

- (7) puḡa banmalagu wargamayḡa He can talk Wargamay

[4] *Dative-allative*

FORM - -gu after all stems e.g. miḡa 'camp', DAT-ALL miḡagu; ḡulḡip 'scrub', DAT-ALL ḡulḡingu.

FUNCTION - This inflection can have a purely local usage ('allative'), indicating motion towards some place or thing, e.g.

- (8) ḡayba banalagu miḡagu I must return to the camp

Notice, though, that in some cases where English would use 'to', the locative is preferred in Wargamay; e.g. with *ḡumba* 'to enter':

- (9) miḡanga ḡumbaga Come into the camp!

-gu also has a non-local use ('dative'), marking indirect object, etc - examples are in 4.3.1, 4.6.3. This use shows up in *mipagu* 'what for, why?' from *mipa* 'what?', as in

- (10) miḡagu ḡinba ba:digi Why did you cry? (=What did you cry for?)

There is reason in Wargamay to distinguish allative and dative cases, that have identical realisation on nominals. Allative will cooccur with an allative deictic such as *paḡunḡa* '(to) there' (3.4.3) whereas dative would choose the dative form of the third person pronoun, *puḡangu* 'to/for him/her/it' (3.4.1). Compare:

- (11) ḡinba ḡagaga paḡunḡa miḡagu You go there to the camp!

- (12) ḡayba ḡagay puḡangu miḡagu (ḡundalagu) I'm going to the camp  
 (to look at it)

The inclusion of a dative NP in (12) implies that the actor is going to the campsite to do something to it (e.g. clear it, mend it, or look it over to see what condition it is in). There is the expectation of a verb in purposive inflection being included in a sentence with a dative NP - but not in one with an allative NP - to form a 'favourite construction' (4.3.3). Thus, when the first three words of (12) were put to Nora Boyd she added *ḡundalagu*.

Note that a sentence in Wargamay can involve both an allative and a dative NP:

- (13) *nuga ma:nğa buçmbi / ɲalugu / ɟa:bugu*  
 3sg-SO line-ABS throw-UNMKD water-ALL fish-DAT  
 [I've] thrown the line, into the water, for fish

[5] *Ablative*

*FORM* - in W: -*nip* after all types of stems e.g. *ɲalu* 'water', ABL *ɲalunip*; *yɪŋam* 'Ingham (loanword)', ABL *yɪŋampip*. The initial -*n*- can be dropped following a consonant e.g. *balgan* 'house', ABL *balgampip*-*balganip*.

in B: -*n* after a vowel e.g. *ɲalu* 'water', ABL *ɲalun*  
 -*ip* after a consonant e.g. *yugan* 'rain', ABL  
*yuganip*

*FUNCTION* - This suffix has a predominantly local sense, indicating 'motion away from':

- (14) *nulangga ma:ldu du:ɟay ɲana ɲalunip*  
 3sg-A man-ERG pull-UNMKD lsg-O water-ABL  
 The man pulled me from the water.

It can also be used with time qualifiers (3.3) and with nominals, indicating temporal sequence:

- (15) *wugarnip ɲayba walay*  
 sleep-ABL lsg-S get up-UNMKD  
 I got up from sleep

In just one or two instances, -*nip* indicates the cause of some state:

- (16) *ɲayba wi:gimbigi magul(n)ip*  
 lsg-S no good-INCHO-PERF work-ABL  
 I'm tired from work.

[6] *Genitive*.

*FORM* - -*ŋu* after a stem ending in a vowel, *l*, *r* or *y* e.g. *waybala* 'white man', GEN *waybalaŋu*; *ma:l* 'man', GEN *ma:lŋu*; *gugur* 'brolga', GEN *gugurŋu*; *ɟilbay* 'knowing', GEN *ɟilbayŋu*  
 -*u* after a stem ending in a nasal e.g. *gilar* 'old man', GEN *gilaru*; *gaçamgaçam* 'seagull', GEN *gaçamgaçamu*; *girawan* 'scrub hen', GEN *girawanu*.

*FUNCTION* - the syntactic behaviour of genitives is given in 4.6.1-2.

Note that pronominal genitives do decline, taking case inflections [1-5] above (3.4.1). Although, despite several attempts, no examples have been obtained of nominal genitives declining, it seems very likely that they will do so (as they do in every - or almost every - other Australian language). In view of this, genitive could well be regarded as a stem-forming (derivational) affix, rather than an inflection (for discussion of this point in Yidiŋ see Dixon 1977a:134ff).

It will be seen that there is, in the Wargamay case system, no strict morphological distinction between 'local' and 'non-local' functions. The inflections which indicate local relations all show, in addition, non-local senses. Thus allative coincides with dative, locative is the same as aversive, and -*nip* can have causal as well as ablative meaning.

3.1.2 ACCUSATIVE SUFFIX *-pa*. The suffix *-pa* is quite frequently encountered in Australian languages, marking transitive object function. It is normally found on pronouns but sometimes also on proper nouns, extended in a few cases to common nouns that have human reference (or even to all common nouns).

Non-singular pronouns in Wargamay involve the accusative affix *-pa* (3.4.1-2). There are also, in the corpus, half-a-dozen examples of *-pa* being suffixed to a common noun; in each case the noun is in transitive object function. Thus, from text 6 line 6:

- (17) [gurigalangu ] yubaymay binbigalpa  
 eaglehawk-ERG stolen-CAUS-UNMKD parrot-ACC  
 [The eaglehawks] stole the parrots (in this myth the eaglehawks took away the black wallabies' wives, the parrots, while the wallabies were out getting water).

Another example is:

- (18) ma:Indu gulngu banay / muymapa  
 man-ERG neck-ABS choke-UNMKD boy-ACC  
 The man choked the boy

The other nouns with which *-pa* has been found are *gana* 'father', *wigiyan* 'white woman', *ma:l* 'man' and *wagun* 'tree, wood'. The last example shows that *-pa* is not confined to occurrence with human nouns. (In (17) *binbigal* is referring to two human females - the myth explains how they were turned into birds.)

The first segment of *-pa* can optionally be deleted following a stem-final consonant - thus *wagunpa* alternates with *waguna*.

It appears that *-pa* can be added to a nominal in O function almost at whim. Thus, when 'you go and kiss that girl' was asked, Lambert Cocky gave

- (19) wigi yana nu:nga / wigiyan nu:nga ginda  
 white woman-ACC kiss-IMP white woman-ABS kiss-IMP 2sg-A  
 Kiss the white woman! You kiss the white woman!

including the accusative suffix in the first clause but leaving it out on repetition.

3.1.3 STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES. There are nine derivational suffixes that derive nominal stems from nominal roots:

[1] *Comitative* *-giri* 'with'. This can be added to any nominal and derives a stem that has both semantic and syntactic characteristics of a derived adjective.

*-giri* forms frequently refer to characteristics of a person, thing or place. Either physical characteristics, as

- (20) punggagi wagun mangagiri  
 THAT tree-ABS flower-COMIT-ABS  
 That tree has a flower

- (21) ginu mala pigingiri  
 2sg-GEN-ABS hand-ABS fingernail-COMIT-ABS  
 Your hand is full of nails (i.e. your fingernails are long)



or some mental or physiological state:

- (22) ḡayba bimbirigi/ bi:ḡagiri / ḡagay miḡagu  
 1sg-S run-PERF fear-COMIT-ABS go-UNMKD camp-ALL  
 I had run away in fear, and went to the camp (Text 5.19)
- (23) ḡayba ḡabingiri I've got belly-ache (diarrhoea)
- (24) ḡapa ma:ldu wuḡargiringu ḡunday  
 1sg-O man-ERG sleepiness-COMIT-ERG see-UNMKD  
 The sleepy man saw me

-giri can also be used to refer to something alienably possessed by a person:

- (25) puḡa ma:i wurbigiri waguḡgiri  
 3sg-SO man-ABS big-COMIT-ABS stick-COMIT-ABS  
 The man has a big stick

An NP that involves a modifier in comitative form can be used in a verbal sentence to indicate someone at rest or in motion, accompanied by some thing or person:

- (26) puḡa ma:i ḡuwarabali baḡaygiri  
 3sg-SO man-ABS stand-CONTIN-UNMKD spear-COMIT-ABS  
 The man is standing with a spear (in his hand)
- (27) puḡa ḡulmbuḡu ḡi:ḡibali ḡaḡagiri  
 3sg-SO woman-ABS sit-CONTIN-UNMKD child-COMIT-ABS  
 The woman is sitting with a child
- (28) ḡayba ḡagay ḡalugiri I'm going with (i.e. carrying) water
- (29) puḡa ḡilap ḡabaygiri wuḡabali The old man is walking around  
 with (the aid of) a walking stick
- (30) puḡa ḡulmbuḡu wuḡabali ḡiḡuḡgiri The woman is walking around  
 with (her) baby

Note that -giri cannot be used to refer to a time or season (as the cognate affix -ḡi can in Yidiḡ - Dixon 1977a:297; cf Dixon 1976b:203-310); instead, locative inflection must be used, as in (4) above.

'Biyay-giri' is used for the name of the tribe which speaks the Biyay language, characterised by the particle biyay 'no' (1.2).

Like the other affixes described in this section, -giri derives a stem that takes the full range of nominal inflections - ergative was exemplified in (24). -giri can be added to a noun and to its modifying adjective, as in (25), deriving a modifying NP within an NP.

[2] *Privative*. -biḡay W, -biyay B 'without'. This is the complement of -giri and has an almost identical syntactic-semantic range. For instance:

- (31) ḡayba ḡalubiḡay I've no water
- (32) ḡagaga ḡulmbuḡugu ḡambibiḡaygu muḡuḡu / ḡambingu  
 go-IMP woman-DAT clothes-PRIV-DAT naked-DAT clothes-INST  
 ḡinda wuḡiya  
 2sg-A give-IMP  
 Go to the woman who is naked, without any clothes. You give  
 some clothes (to her)!

Just as we have *gawangiri* 'anger-COMIT' for 'angry', so *gawanbiḡay* appears to be possible, for emphasising that a person is not angry. However, informants did not accept *bi:ḡabiḡay* 'fear-PRIV'.

[3] *-bara* 'belonging to, pertaining to'. This affix occurs with identical form and function in a large number of Queensland languages including *Dyirbal* (Dixon 1972:224-5), *Yidip* (Dixon 1977a:144-5) and *Nyawaygi*. It is typically used for the naming of local groups, in terms of the type of territory they inhabit (see 1.2). *-bara* can be suffixed to a nominal or to a deictic (3.4.3):

(33) *ḡayba yalanbara* I'm from here (i.e. I'm a person belonging to this place)

[4] *-bulu* 'very, lots of' occurs with a number of adjectives and a few nouns. *ḡagarambulu* 'very small' is in fact more frequent than *ḡagaram* 'small'. (Although it could be that this is at least partly due to the fact that *-m*-final forms are not common in *Wargamay* - my corpus of 900 forms showed only 4 roots ending in *-m*. There may be a progressive tendency towards eliminating *-m* in word-final position.) Other examples include *ḡundilbulu* 'very heavy', *ḡiyalbulu* 'very sweet', *ḡawanbulu* 'very savage (used of a dog)', *wupanbulu* 'very lustful, promiscuous' and *ḡalḡanbulu* 'lots of froth'. However, I was not able to elicit *-bulu* with other adjectives, suggesting that it is not fully productive.

The noun *ḡubi* refers to a clever man or 'doctor'; *ḡubimbulu* is used for 'very clever man' - this presumably involves *-bulu*, with a nasal inserted and assimilated in place of articulation to the following *b* (2.6).

[5] *-baḡun* 'really' can be suffixed to adjectives e.g. *wurbibaḡun* 'very big', or to nouns e.g. *ma:ibaḡun* 'really a man'. With *mipa* 'what' it can emphasise the speaker's bewilderment, as in:

(34) *mipa puḡa/ mipabaḡun/ ḡuyḡan* 'What's that?' 'I don't know what it is. [Maybe it is] a female ghost?' (Text 5.8-9)

See also 3.1.5.

[6] *-baḡa* is a comparative. In all but one of the instances obtained it was suffixed to an adjective e.g.

(35) *ḡawunḡu ḡalunḡu wuḡiya / maya puḡa ḡidul /*  
*hot-INST water-INST give-IMP NO THIS cold-ABS*  
*ḡawunbaḡanḡu wuḡiya*  
*hot-COMP-INST give-IMP*  
 Give [me] some hot water! No, this is cold. Give [me] hotter [water]!

An example of *-baḡa* suffixed to a noun is in (245).

[7] *-miri* 'as a result of, from'. This appears to have a largely 'causal' sense:

(36) *ḡayba maḡay ḡunḡulmiri*  
*1sg-S full-ABS food-miri-ABS*  
 I'm full from [eating] food

- (37) *ḡayba magulmiri /ḡi:baligu*  
 1sg-S work-miri-ABS sit-CONTIN-PURP  
 I'm (tired) from work, and need to sit down

But it has also been found in a local sense, 'from':

- (38) *ma:ḡangu bu:dipu ḡulinmiri*  
 God-ERG bring-PERF spirit home-miri  
 'God brought [spirits] from heaven' (here Lambert Cocky  
 was explaining how spirits are placed in unborn babies)

It seems that *-miri* is properly a derivational affix and not a further case inflection (Lambert Cocky gave *-miri* followed by ablative); but the data available are slim and not totally clear.

[8] *-ḡaru* 'like a', is used to mark a physical or behavioural resemblance. Only two or three examples have been noted, including:

- (39) *ḡaḡa ḡunday ḡulubuḡu / miḡa puḡa ḡu:ḡaru*  
 1sg-A see-UNMKD stump-ABS what-ABS 3sg-SO ghost-ḡaru-ABS  
 I saw a stump. What was it - it was like a ghost.

[9] *-ḡaman* can be suffixed to kin terms when the speaker is referring to the addressee's relationship to a person. Thus (80) and

- (40) *wanḡanga ḡinu yabuḡaman*  
 WHERE-LOC 2sg-GEN mother-KIN  
 Where's your mother?

Note that in replying the child could only say *ḡaygu yabu* 'my mother' (and not *\*ḡaygu yabuḡaman*).

*-ḡaman* can only be employed with kinship terms (e.g. *ḡaḡa* 'father', *murḡin* 'son') and its use is always optional. It cannot be suffixed to terms that classify age-groups (i.e. *-ḡaman* is not a permissible suffix with *ḡaḡa* 'child').

The suffix *-yara* 'another' appears in a text given by Jimmy Johnson (*miḡayaragu* 'to another camp') and was given by John Tooth as the equivalent of Giramay *-ḡabun*, 'another' but was not recognised by Tooth on a later field-trip; nor could clear confirmation be obtained from other informants.

Four of these derivational affixes occur - with the same form and meaning - in Dyrbal; they are *-bara*, *-baḡun*, *-baḡa* and *-ḡaru*. (*-ḡaru* was only heard in Wargamay after it has been used in Giramay elicitation, and there must remain a slight element of doubt as to whether this is a bona fide Wargamay affix.)

3.1.4 REDUPLICATION. Nominal reduplication appears to indicate plurality, and to involve repetition of the complete form (as in Dyrbal - Dixon 1972:242-3). Thus *wurbi-wurbi* 'lots of big (things)', *ḡilangilaḡ* 'lots of old men', *ḡamiḡiḡamiḡi* 'lots of hungry (people)'. The nouns *yibi* 'child' and *ḡambi* 'old woman' are more frequently than not encountered reduplicated - *yibiyibi* 'children', *ḡambiḡambi* 'group of old women'. (But, outside these two instances, nominal reduplication has been obtained only through elicitation.)

3.1.5 INTERROGATIVE MEMBERS. There are two interrogatives relating to the class of nominals: *mipa* 'what' and *mipaŋ* 'how many'.

[1] *mipa* 'what' effectively ranges over the class of nouns that have non-human reference (and over third person pronouns, when these refer to something non-human).

*mipa* inflects exactly like a noun in all cases but two. There are distinct forms for ergative, instrumental, locative and aversive:

<i>ergative</i>	<i>mipa</i> +ŋgu
<i>instrumental</i>	<i>mipa</i> +lu
<i>locative</i>	<i>mipa</i> +ŋga
<i>aversive</i>	<i>mipa</i> +la

Thus:

- (41) *mipaŋgu* *ŋapa* *ŋanbay*  
 what-ERG 1sg-O hit-UNMKD  
 What hit me? (Said by someone sitting under a tree, when something fell from the tree on his head)
- (42) *mipalu* *ŋinda* *buŋbay* *ŋapa*  
 what-INST 2sg-A hit-UNMKD 1sg-O  
 What did you hit me with?
- (43) *mipaŋga* *ŋinba* *gi:gibali*  
 what-LOC 2sg-S sit-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 What are you sitting on?
- (44) *mipala* *ŋinba* *bi:ŋambali*  
 what-AVERS 2sg-S fear-INCHO-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 What are you frightened of?

Note that *baŋgu-ŋga* 'axe-LOC/AVERS' could be given as a reply to (43) or (44). In the first case it would indicate that the speaker was sitting on an axe (involving the 'locative' sense of the -ŋga nominal inflection), and in the second case that he was scared of the axe (the 'aversive' sense of the nominal suffix -ŋga). Typical examples of the use of *mipala* in discourse are in text 8, line 5 and text 9 line 2.

Over the continent, -lu alternates with -ŋgu as ergative inflection and -la with -ŋga as locative (Dixon 1980a: 301-21). In a number of North Queensland languages the regular inflections are -ŋgu and -ŋga, with -lu and -la occurring on just three or four nominals, almost always including *mipa* (we are here assuming that *mipa* 'edible animal' is cognate with the indefinite/interrogative form *mipa* - see Dixon 1980a:376, 495 for discussion of this point, and examples).

It is likely that in an earlier stage of Wargamay -lu and -la occurred only with *mipa*, for the ergative-instrumental and locative-aversive inflections respectively. And that the language then generalised nominal -ŋgu and -ŋga for ergative and locative marking, keeping -lu and -la just for the instrumental and aversive functions of *mipa*. Thus, -lu and -la, originally just allomorphic irregularities - adding complication to the grammar without making any contribution to its functional task - have been exploited in

order to distinguish between ergative and instrumental, and between locative and aversive, in the case of the important item *mipa*. (A further change might then be for *-lu* and *-la* to be generalised as instrumental and aversive markers with all nominals, thus consistently distinguishing these functions throughout the grammar.) See also 5.4.

*mipa* can be verbalised to form intransitive *mipambi-* and transitive *mipama-* 'do what?' - see 4.9.

[2] *mipap* 'how many' ranges over the subclass of number adjectives; it declines like a nominal. Thus:

- (45) A: *gina gunday mipangu*  
 2sg-0 see-UNMKD how many-ERG  
 How many [people] saw you?  
 B: *gumaɽbaringu*  
 a lot-ERG  
 A lot [did].

In most Australian languages, a single form can bear both interrogative and indefinite sense. In elicitation *mipa-baɽun*, 'very' (see 3.1.3) was given for 'something'; it has not been possible to obtain corroboration of this. See also (34) above.

### 3.2 LOCATIONAL QUALIFIERS

This set of roots includes *galaga* 'up', *yu:nu* 'down', *gungari* 'north', *guyabay* 'the other side (of a river)', *bamba* 'a long way', *ga:lungal* 'in front' and so on.

These forms can occur with local (locative, allative, ablative) but not with syntactic case-inflections, e.g.

- (46) A: *wingingu napa gungapu* / B: *wanganga* / A: *yu:nunga*  
 snake-ERG 1sg-0 bite-PERF where-LOC down-LOC  
 A: A snake bit me. B: Where? A: Down [there on my leg]

However, a locational qualifier can occur without any inflection, the context usually making it clear whether 'at', 'to' or 'from' is intended. An uninflected locational qualifier may occur with a nominal, which must have a local case inflection. In (47) the 'locational phrase' includes *muɽan* 'mountain', in locative case, and *galaga* 'up' without any inflection:

- (47) A: *ɽayba ɽamiɽi* / *gagaragu ɽunilagu* /  
 1sg-S hungry-ABS possum-DAT hunt-PURP  
 B: *wanganga* / A: *muɽanda galaga*  
 where-LOC mountain-LOC up  
 A: I'm hungry, and I'll hunt for possums.  
 B: Whereabouts. A: Up in the mountain.

### 3.3 TIME QUALIFIERS

A time qualifier will most frequently (although not invariably) begin a sentence. The semantics of time qualifiers is oriented to 'now'; probably the most frequent forms are *gaɽambul* 'earlier on today' and *gaɽu* 'later

today' (for a discussion of other types of temporal semantics in Australian languages see Dixon 1977a:498-9).

Time qualifiers occur most often without any inflection:

- (48) *ḡayba ḡirwaḡa banama*  
 1sg-S tomorrow return-IRREAL  
 I'll return [home] tomorrow

However, words referring to a time in the future can take *-gu* with the meaning 'until' (note that this is identical with the dative-allative inflection on nominals); and words referring to past time appear able to take *-ḡir* 'since' (this is identical with nominal ablative). See (103) and

- (49) *ḡayba ḡi:ḡibali ḡirwaḡagu* I'm staying here until tomorrow

The locative inflection *-ḡa~da* cannot, it seems, occur with 'temporal shifters' like 'yesterday' or 'later today' (words whose reference is constantly changing as time progresses), but it can be added to non-shifters, as in text 9, lines 12 and 19, and

- (50) *birḡibaḡaḡa ḡayba ḡiduligi*  
 winter-LOC 1sg-S cold-INCHO-PERF  
 I got cold in the wintertime

And see *balanḡa* 'moon-LOC' used for 'in the moonlight' in (4) above. In (51) the shifter *ḡirwaḡa* occurs sentence-initially without inflection but *biligiḡa* 'at daybreak' follows the verb (note that this is the preferred position for words in locative inflection that have spatial reference):

- (51) *ḡirwaḡa ḡayba ḡaḡalagu biligiḡa*  
 tomorrow 1sg-S go-PURP daybreak-LOC  
 I'll go at daybreak tomorrow

Words referring to temporal duration - for instance, *ḡaray* 'for a long time', *ḡamu* 'for a short time', *yurmay* 'all the time' - cannot, for semantic reasons, take any inflection.

There is a suffix *-mira* 'for -- nights' which derives temporal qualifiers from number adjectives e.g.

<i>yungul</i> 'one'	<i>yungulmira</i> 'for one night'
<i>yaga</i> 'two'	<i>yagamira</i> 'for two nights'
<i>ḡumaḡbari</i> 'a lot'	<i>ḡumaḡbarimira</i> 'for a lot of nights'

as in

- (52) *yagamira ḡayba buḡilagu yala* I'm going to camp here for two nights

*Wargamay* has a single temporal interrogative, *waḡamira* 'when'. This appears to involve the suffix *-mira*, but it is attached to the locational interrogative root *waḡa* 'where' (3.4.3) (and not to *ḡiḡaḡ* 'how many' as we might have expected). Unlike 'number'+*mira* forms, *waḡamira* does not specifically refer to duration, but is used to enquire about the point in time at which something happened, or will take place e.g.

- (53) wangamira ŋinba banalagu/ gapu 'When are you going to return home?' 'Later on today'
- (54) wangamira ŋinda puŋa ŋundanu/ ŋugulu 'When did you see him?' 'Yesterday'

There is a formal-semantic similarity between -mira and the Yidiŋ affix -m 'during -- days/nights' (which also forms a time interrogative, but in this case from 'how many?') - Dixon 1977a:201-3.

### 3.4 PRONOUNS AND DEICTICS

3.4.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS - FORM AND FUNCTION. We can recognise ten personal pronouns for Wargamay - singular, dual and plural numbers for first, second and third person, and an interrogative pronoun 'who' (that is not specified for number). The main forms are set out in Table 3.1.

Wargamay does not have separate forms for inclusive and exclusive varieties of non-singular pronouns. Inclusion can be shown by placing the 2sg pronoun in apposition to a 1du or 1pl form (or, presumably, 2du to 1pl) - ŋali ŋinba 'you and I' appears in (4) above. Exclusion can be shown by juxtaposing a noun, or else the 3sg pronoun, to 1du or 1pl:

- (55) ŋali bada gumbagi miŋaŋga  
 1du-SA dog-ABS enter-PERF camp-LOC  
 The dog and I went into the camp

An alternative way of indicating 'me and someone else' is shown in (3).

The ten personal pronouns in Table 3.1 are not in fact semantically homogeneous. Eight of them - the first and second person forms, as well as 3du and 3pl - are strictly specified for number and can only be used with human reference (occasionally extended to include tame dogs). But what we have termed 'third person singular', puŋa, can refer to anything - human or non-human. Further, although its unmarked reference is to singular number it *can* be used for two or more things, or even for something uncountable. puŋa typically occurs in an NP with nominals, or with other pronouns.

An example of puŋa in an NP with a nominal that has human reference is:

- (56) ŋapa wuŋalgaŋi puŋaŋga bulimandu  
 1sg-O chase-CONTIN-UNMKD 3sg-A policeman-ERG  
 The policeman was chasing me

and with a nominal that has non-human reference:

- (57) maya puŋa ŋalu wurbiŋbigi  
 NO 3sg-SO water-ABS big-INCHO-PERF  
 No, the water [hole] has become [too] deep [to swim in]

and with the third person plural pronoun (which always has human reference):

TABLE 3.1 - Main pronominal forms

	intrans- itive subject [S]	trans- itive subject [A]	trans- itive object [O]	genitive	oblique stem	
1 sg	ɲayba	ɲaɟa	ɲana	ɲaygu	ɲaygun-	'I'
1 du		ɲali	ɲalɪpa	ɲalɪgu	ɲalɪn-	'We two'
1 pl		ɲana	ɲanapa	ɲanaɲu	ɲanan-	'We all'
2 sg	ɲinba	ɲinda	ɲina	ɲinu	ɲinun-	'You'
2 du		ɲubula	ɲubulapa	ɲubulaɲu	ɲubulan-	'You two'
2 pl		ɲura	ɲurapa	ɲuraɲu	ɲuran-	'You all'
3 sg	ɲuɲa	ɲulanga	ɲuɲa	ɲuɲaɲu	ɲuɲan-	'He/she/it'
3 du	bula	bulangu	bulapa	bulanaɲu	bulan-	'They two'
3 pl	ɟana	ɟanaɲu	ɟanapa	ɟanaɲu	ɟanan-	'They all'
Interr- ogative	ɲa:ɲa	ɲa:ndu	ɲa:na	ɲa:nu	ɲa:nun-	'Who'

Dative-allative -gu, locative-aversive -da and ablative -ɲ are all added to the oblique stem.

- (58) ɲuɲa ɟana ɲuɲigi  
 3sg-SO 3pl-S dance-PERF  
 A lot of people danced

Indeed, ɲuɲa can occur with a first or second person pronoun. A common form of greeting, corresponding to English 'Hello' is ɲinba ɲuɲa ɟaɟaɲu 'Oh, you've come'. (Greetings in Wargamay, as in most Australian languages, normally refer to speaker and/or addressee's motion to and from the place of encounter. There are no absolutely set forms, it being more in the nature of 'variations on a theme'. One way of saying 'goodbye' is ɲayba ɟaɟabali 'I must be going now'.)

The 'A form' of ɲuɲa can also be used to refer to an instrument, as in (217) and

- (59) ɲaɟa ma:l babay / ɲulanga ɲaɲaɲu  
 1sg-A man-ABS spear-UNMKD 3sg-INST spear-INST  
 I speared the man with a spear.

Note that all of the other forms in the A column of Table 3.1 are restricted to transitive subject function.

From a semantic point of view we could think of the personal pronouns (with human reference) as constituting a 3 x 3 matrix with a gap in the 3sg box. ɲuɲa is then a form outside this system, ranging over all numbers and all persons (but with an unmarked sense '3sg' that does correspond to the empty box).

Deictic verbs derived from ɲuɲa - transitive ɲuɲama- and intransitive ɲuɲambi- - are described in 4.9.

What we have called the 'interrogative pronoun' ɲa:n- always has human reference, and is thus complementary to



the interrogative nominal *mipa* that is restricted to non-human use (3.1.5). *na:n-* effectively ranges over the set of eight personal pronouns with human reference, and over the human nominals. It can cooccur with *puŋa*:

(60) *na:ŋga puŋa gagay*  
 WHO-S 3sg-SO go-UNMKD  
 Who's that going?

Parallel to *mipabaŋun* 'something' (3.1.5), John Tooth added *-baŋun* (3.1.3) to a *na:n-* form to translate 'someone' e.g. *na:nabaŋun* 'someone-O'; but it was not possible to obtain corroboration of this.

We saw in 3.1.1 that nominals follow an 'absolutive-ergative' paradigm. One case form ('ergative') indicates transitive subject (A) function, whereas the unmarked 'absolutive' form shows intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O). The extra-systemic pronoun, *puŋa*, inflects in the same way.

The remaining nine pronouns, however, inflect on a quite different pattern from nominals and *puŋa*. There are two subtypes - non-sg 1st and 2nd person pronouns use one form for A and S subject functions and a different form for object function. The remaining five forms - 1sg, 2sg, 3du, 3pl and interrogative - have distinct forms for the three major syntactic functions S, A and O.

Genitive pronouns can decline, the case inflection being added directly onto the forms given in Table 3.1. A genitive pronoun (and presumably also a genitive noun) functions like an adjective, and takes the normal set of nominal inflections e.g.

(61) *ŋinŋgu badangu ŋapa guŋgay / waga*  
 you-GEN-ERG dog-ERG 1sg-O bite-UNMKD shin-ABS  
 Your dog bit my shin

*-gu* forms of pronouns can have both dative and allative sense - 'he came for me', and 'he came to me'. An ablative pronoun will indicate 'motion away from', just like an ablative nominal:

(62) *ŋinba gagaga ŋayguniŋ* You get away from me!

The locative-aversive forms of pronouns appear to have the range of usage available to locative-aversive nominals:

(63) *puŋa ŋinunda gagay* He passed you by

(64) *na:nunda ŋinba bi:ɕambali* Who is it you're scared of?

3.4.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS - ANALYSIS. The non-singular first and second person pronouns show the most transparent structure, with

<i>Roots</i>	1du - <i>ŋali</i>	2du - <i>puɓula</i>
	1pl - <i>ŋana</i>	2pl - <i>puŋa</i>

The root alone is used for S and A functions, while O and genitive forms involve inflections identical to those on nominals:

Accusative (O) -pa  
Genitive - -ngu

We can now consider 1du dative-allative ḡalingu, locative-aversive ḡalinda and ablative ḡalinip (and similar forms for 1pl, 2du and 2pl). If we regarded these as involving suffixes added to the root ḡali, the forms of the inflections would be significantly different from those on nominals - dative-allative -ngu rather than the expected -gu, locative-aversive -nda where a nominal would have -ḡga, and ablative -nip instead of -ḡip. The simplest solution is to say that the root is augmented by a stem-forming suffix -n, yielding ḡalin, and that ḡalin does take the expected allomorphs for the three oblique cases (save that the first segment of ablative -ḡip, which is optionally dropped after a nominal stem ending in a consonant, is obligatorily lost after a pronominal stem ending in n).

3du and 3pl show roots bula and ḡana which - like the 1du, 1pl, 2du and 2pl roots - occur in many other Australian languages (see Dixon 1980a:327-62). They decline on the pattern just described with one exception - the root alone is restricted to S function, and an ergative inflection -ngu (identical to that on nominals) is brought in to mark A function.

1sg, 2sg and interrogative pronouns cannot, in the same way, be given a synchronic analysis. However, reference to comparative work on a wide range of Australian languages and reconstruction of the original singular pronominal forms for an ancestor language (Dixon 1980a:339-46) does provide a diachronic explanation. Basically, the proto-language allowed all types of monosyllables (not just monosyllables with a long vowel, like modern Wargamay). The 1sg and 2sg roots were ḡay and ḡin respectively, and these were probably used in S function; oblique cases were formed on the nominal pattern, by ergative -du (with assimilation), accusative -pa and probably genitive \*-gu. Thus:

proto-forms	S	A	O	GENITIVE
1sg	ḡay	ḡay+du	ḡay+pa	ḡay+gu
2sg	ḡin	ḡin+du	ḡin+pa	ḡin+gu

Development to modern forms included (see also Dixon 1980a:339-46): (i) dropping of -y- before -g- and -p-, probably to satisfy a phonotactic constraint; (ii) replacement of final -u by -a in the A forms; this is a change that has occurred in many Australian languages, its isogloss almost coinciding with the change \*u>a in the past tense inflection \*-pu; (iii) augmentation of S forms by -ba, when phonotactic constraints shifted so that monosyllabic roots which involved only short vowels were proscribed; (iv) simplification of 2sg accusative ḡin+pa>ḡina; one example of -ḡn- is known for modern Wargamay but this cluster is not a popular one; (v) dropping of -g- from the 2sg genitive ḡin+gu; this cannot be explained, although it does appear to relate to ḡa:n+gu>ḡa:nu in the interrogative pronoun.

Comparative work also suggests an original interrogative root \*ḡa:n-, which inflected on the same pattern as 1sg and 2sg pronouns (Dixon 1980a:372-4). There are two important differences: the change of final u to a in A

forms has not applied to ɣa:ndu; and the final syllable of the S form ɣa:nga is -ga, against -ba for 1sg and 2sg. (No explanation is known for this -ga.)

Finally, we can consider the ubiquitous 'third person singular' pronoun. Most of the forms of this pronoun are most similar to those of non-sg pronouns, with genitive involving the addition of -ŋu to the root ɣuŋa and other oblique inflections being based on a stem ɣuŋan-. Note, however, that the root covers S and O functions, whereas the roots of non-sg 1st and 2nd person pronouns cover S and A functions.

Comparative reconstruction suggests an original 3sg form \*ɣu in a distant proto-language, with A form \*ɣulu. This form is found in a number of eastern languages, and in others the final vowel has shifted to a, giving 3sg A ɣula (see Dixon 1980a:356-62). It is possible that Wargamay 3sg A form ɣulaŋga relates to ɣula (which is the 3sg form for both A and S functions in Waruŋu) plus ergative -ŋgu, with the shift from final u to a having applied a second time. This is, however, a fairly speculative hypothesis. (Further work may conceivably show that the Wargamay 3sg root ɣuŋa is also related to an original \*ɣu.)

In sum, leaving aside the A form, it will be seen that 3sg ɣuŋa inflects on a nominal pattern, save that dative-allative, locative-aversive and ablative are based on a stem derived from the root by the addition of -n, and not directly on the root.

Wargamay first and second person pronouns are almost identical to those of Giramay and of Nyawaygi. The only differences are (a) 2du has root ɣubula in Wargamay and Nyawaygi but ɣubila in Giramay; (b) genitive is just -ŋu in Wargamay and Nyawaygi whereas Giramay has -ŋu after disyllabic and -nu after trisyllabic stems; (c) dative of non-singulars is based on the accusative form in Giramay (just as dative of non-singulars is based on genitive) but on the root in Wargamay and Nyawaygi (and also in the northerly dialects of Dyirbal); (d) Nyawaygi has distinct inclusive forms of 1du and 1pl (involving an increment to ɣali and ɣana, which are here the exclusive forms), unlike Wargamay and Nyawaygi.

In Giramay bula functions both as the 3du pronoun and as the number adjective 'two'. Wargamay and Nyawaygi restrict bula to pronominal function and have yaga for 'two'. bula and yaga can cooccur in an NP in Wargamay, to stress that *exactly two* people are involved:

(65) yaga bula ma:l bimbirigi The two men had run away (Text 5.18).

3.4.3 LOCAL FORMS. There are two deictics - 'here' (near speaker) and 'there' (distant from speaker) - that have allative, locative and ablative forms, parallel to the local cases of nominals. These are shown in table 3.2, together with the interrogative deictic 'where'.

Morphologically this is a highly unusual pattern. Most languages - in Australia and elsewhere - would have roots for 'here' and 'there' with affixes for allative, locative and ablative (locative often having zero realisation). This is what is found with the interrogative in Wargamay - alla-

TABLE 3.2 - *Deictic paradigm*

	allative	locative	ablative
'here'	nagu	yala	yalan
'there'	pagunga	yalanga	yalangan
'where'	wangagu	wanganga	wangan

tive -gu, locative -nga and ablative -n are added to the root wanga. But with the non-interrogatives we have suppletive forms nagu 'to here' and yala 'at here' from which 'there' deictics are obtained by adding -nga. Ablative involves the addition of -n to the locative (with the -nga- in yalanga being simplified to -ga- in yalangan). That is, we would expect one root for each row in Table 3.2, with inflections distinguishing the columns; but we find that suffixes derive some of the forms in the second row from corresponding forms in the first row.

These forms are very common in Wargamay and there is no doubt as to the correctness of Table 3.2. Equivalences with Giramay (which has a more usual system - Dixon 1972:57) were given by informants as a further check. Thus (G = Giramay):

nagu = G yalu      yala = G yalay      yalan = G yanum  
 pagunga = G balu      yalanga = G balay      yalangan = G banum

A deictic will typically cooccur with a nominal, with which it must agree in case - an example was given at (11) above.

There is a further set of deictics that appear to have aversive function; they involve -ga, the regular locative-aversive allomorph after -n, added to the ablative form -yalanga, yalangan, wanganga. Thus, in a text about early massacres, Lambert Cocky said:

- (66) nayba bimbirigi/ yalanga      bulimanda      / gulgingu  
 lsg-S run-PERF      HERE-ABL-AVERS policeman-AVERS scrub-ALL  
 I ran away, from the policeman here, into the scrub (Text 7.1)

Note also

- (67) wanganga ninba bi:ɕambigi      Where did you get frightened of?  
 (i.e. What place were you frightened of?)

The time interrogative wangamira 'when' appears to be based on the root wanga - see 3.3.

3.4.4 DEMONSTRATIVES. There are two demonstratives in Wargamay:

punga 'this one (near speaker)'  
 pungagi 'that one (distant from speaker)'

Each has a single form and can be used only in S or O function. (When I tried to obtain these in A form, the informants insisted that one could only use pulanga, the A form of the 3sg pronoun - 3.4.1).

A demonstrative can be used - alone or in an NP with a nominal - for deictic reference to any kind of person, ob-

ject or place. Thus, John Tooth was eating a mango during one elicitation session and then said, holding out the stone:

- (68) punga mayngu    ŋaɣa    ɟulbambagu/    mamu       yu:ɟilagu  
 THIS mango-ABS lsg-A bury-PURP    by-and-by grow up-PURP  
 I'm going to bury this mango [stone], so that by-and-by  
 it'll grow [into a mango tree]

Other examples include

- (69) punga bada walbari    This dog's barking

A demonstrative can occur in an NP with a 3du or 3pl pronoun e.g.

- (70) punggagi gana / ɲalunga    yugarabali  
 THAT    3pl-S water-LOC swim-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 All those people are swimming in the water

or even with a first person pronoun - line 13 of text 7. Note also that punggagi miɣa was given as the translation of Giramay balabawal miɣa 'camp over there' (cf Dixon 1972:44-5, 48).

### 3.5 VERBS

3.5.1 PARADIGM IN W. DIALECT. A verb in Wargamay involves an obligatory root and inflection. Between these may occur one (or more) of a set of derivational affixes, i.e.

Root (+ Derivational affix(es)) + Inflection

There are two conjugational patterns, depending on whether the construction in which the verb occurs is transitive or intransitive. These are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3, in fact, deals with just the W dialect. Differences found in B are given in 3.5.3.

The continuative allomorph -balli, added to an intransitive root, derives an intransitive stem that again takes inflections from the first column. Continuative form -lɣani is added to transitive roots and derives transitive stems, taking inflectional allomorphs from the second column. Comitative -ma is added to intransitive roots and derives a transitive stem, taking an inflection from the right-hand column. Instrumental -ma effectively derives a ditransitive from a transitive form; this still takes transitive inflections.

The only morphological alternation that is not fully determined by transitivity concerns positive imperative. With intransitives this is simply -ga, but with transitive stems it is -ya after a disyllabic root ending in -i but -∅ in all other cases (that is, after a trisyllabic stem ending in -i, or after any stem ending in -a).

The Yotic Deletion Rule -iy→i/-# (2.6) plays an important role in verbal morphology. One effect of this rule is that the most frequent inflection, that we are calling 'unmarked aspect', is realised as -y after a but as ∅ after i; thus:

TABLE 3.3 - *Verbal suffixes in W dialect*

Conjugation:	Intransitive	Transitive
<b>Inflections:</b>		
Positive imperative	-ga	-ya~-ø
Negative imperative	-ga	-lga
Irrealis	-ma	-ima
Purposive	-lagu	-gu
Perfect	-gi	-pu
Unmarked aspect	-y	-y
Subordinate	-pu	-pu
<b>Derivations - transitivity-preserving</b>		
Continuative	-balli-	-lгани-
<b>Derivations - transitivity-changing</b>		
Comitative	-ma-	—
Instrumental	—	-ma-

	Root	+unmarked inflection	+perfect inflection	+continuative +unmarked	+continuative +perfect
<i>intr</i>	wigga 'bathe'	wiggay	wiggagi	wiggabali	wigabaligi
	wa:gi 'laugh'	wa:gi	wa:gigi	wa:gibali	wa:gibaligi
<i>tr</i>	ɲunda 'see'	ɲunday	ɲundapu	ɲundalɲani	ɲundalɲanipu
	balmbi 'smell'	balmbi	balmbipu	balmbilɲani	balmbilɲanipu

In the case of transitive trisyllabic stems ending in -i, positive imperative thus falls together with the unmarked inflection, both being just the stem.

Sporadic syllable dropping from purposive -lagu (to give -gu), with some intransitive stems, all of them trisyllabic, is detailed in 3.5.4.

It will be noted that -pu occurs twice in the transitive column of Table 3.3. That is, perfect and subordinate inflections, which are distinct in the case of intransitive verbs, fall together on transitives i.e.

	intransitive	transitive
perfect	-gi	} -pu
subordinate	-pu	

In most Australian languages -pu (or some reflex of \*-pu) marks past tense; this would be closest in meaning to perfective -pu in Wargamay. (Note that in Dyirbal the relative clause inflection on verbs, -ɲu, appears to be taking on a perfective meaning - Dixon 1972:104).

Detailed discussion and exemplification of the inflectional and derivational suffixes is in 3.5.4-6.

There is in Wargamay just one irregular verb gi:gi- 'to sit'. In the W dialect it behaves as a regular intransitive root with the following exceptions:

(i) positive imperative was consistently given as gi:giya by John Tooth, but as the expected gi:giga by Lambert Cocky;

(ii) the -gi- of the stem may optionally drop before continuative -balli. That is, gi:gibali- alternates with gi:balli- (see 2.6); gi:balli is the most frequent form before non-zero inflections e.g. gi:baliga, and gi:gibali is preferred with the

unmarked inflection, which is  $\emptyset$  after a stem ending in *i*.  
The paradigm of *gi:gi* in W, and in Biyay, is in 3.5.3.

3.5.2 CONJUGATIONAL SETS. Verbal roots in Wargamay fall into two, mutually exclusive, sets:

[a] *Intransitive* e.g. *gaga* 'go, come', *barma* 'talk', *wa:gi* 'laugh'. These can only take the 'intransitive allomorphs', from the first column of Table 3.3. They occur only in intransitive constructions, that is, with an S NP (they cannot occur with a nominal in ergative, or with a pronoun or nominal in accusative case).

[b] the other set can be termed '*transitive*' - it includes *bu:di* 'take, bring', *muga* 'eat', *ḡunda* 'see' and so on. Roots in this class can occur *either* in transitive constructions (with A and O NPs) and then take allomorphs from the transitive column of Table 3.3, *or* in intransitive constructions (with just an S NP) and then take suffixes from the intransitive column. Thus we can have both (with English translations exactly as given by informants):

(71) *ḡaḡa ma:l ḡundalḡani* I'm looking at the man

(72) *ḡayba ḡundabali (ma:lndu)* I'm having a look (at the man)

The syntactic consequences of this 'double transitivity' behaviour of what we have termed 'transitive roots' is dealt with in 4.2, while chapter 5 puts forward a hypothesis about the diachronic development of this feature of present-day Wargamay. In the surrounding languages each root is (with very few exceptions) strictly specified for conjugation and also for transitivity; the parameters of conjugation and transitivity do not coincide in any of Wargamay's neighbours (or, indeed, in languages from other parts of Australia - Dixon 1980a:378-430).

Note that although all 'transitive roots' *can* occur in intransitive constructions they are always more frequently encountered in transitive function - the circumstances in which a 'transitive root' is likely to occur in an intransitive construction are discussed in 4.2, 5.3.

Roots in the 'intransitive set' in Wargamay are definitely restricted to intransitive inflections, and occurrence in intransitive constructions. That is, we can have

(73) *ḡayba wa:ḡibali* I'm laughing

but not *\*ḡaḡa ma:l wa:ḡilḡani*. Transitive stems can be derived from intransitive roots, but this process is always morphologically marked by the comitative suffix *-ma*. Thus:

(74) *ḡaḡa ma:l wa:ḡimalḡani* I'm laughing at the man

Examination of Table 3.3 shows that transitive negative imperative and irrealis allomorphs are identical to the intransitive forms save for an initial *-l-*. This affix-initial *-l* also occurs in the derivational form *-lḡani* (and in the transitive allomorph *-lani* of the continuative in the B dialect - 3.5.3). We can regard the *-l-* as constituting a distinct 'conjugation marker' morpheme that intrudes between a transitive stem and these four suffixes. It is certainly appropriate to do this in other Australian langu-

ages, where the conjugation marker appears before almost all verbal suffixes (Yidip is a very clear example - Dixon 1980a:382-99, 1977a:207). In Wargamay -l- is more restricted in occurrence, so that although we do prefer to recognise it as a separate morpheme the decision is a fairly marginal one. In contrast, the intransitive column can be said to have zero conjugation marker. (The -l- in -lagu, the *intransitive* allomorph of purposive, is probably derived from the *transitive* conjugation marker -l-, through a process of diachronic reanalysis - see 5.3.)

Of the 140 verbal roots in my corpus just one-third belong to the intransitive set, and are restricted to intransitive function. The remaining two-thirds belong to the 'transitive set', and can function either transitively or intransitively.

Verb roots all end in -a or -i, never in -u. It is probably significant (within the context of a comparative study of the development of conjugational systems in the Australian language family) that 56% of the intransitive roots end in -i, whereas only 24% of the transitive set do.

There are no monosyllabic verb roots in the W dialect (gi:- in B is discussed in 3.5.3). Two roots in the corpus are quadrisyllabic, 30 are trisyllabic and the remainder disyllabic. 14 of the trisyllabics are intransitive, and 16 out of the 30 end in -i.

Dyirbal has just a few verbal roots ending in -u, all of them in the predominantly transitive -l conjugation. There are two cognates in Wargamay:

<i>Dyirbal</i>	baygu-l 'shake, wave, bash'	<i>Wargamay</i>	bayguri
	buybu-l 'spit at'		buybuçi 'make "raspberry" at'

In each case Wargamay has a trisyllabic root. There are altogether ten trisyllabic verbal roots in Wargamay whose third syllable is -ri-, like bayguri (but there are no further examples of a third syllable -çi-, as in buybuçi, a verb form which is probably onomatopoeically based). It is possible (but of course by no means certain) that what was originally a productive affix -ri- has been incorporated into some modern root-forms, and that it is this which has helped to eliminate verbal roots ending in -u. (There is no affix -ri- in present-day Wargamay. The Dyirbal reflexive -rî~-yirî~-mári is not a likely candidate since it always derives intransitive stems; of the -ri- final roots in Wargamay only half are intransitive. Similar remarks apply in the case of the verbal comitative/instrumental suffix -çi- in Waruğu; this always derives transitive stems - Tsunoda 1974). An alternative hypothesis would be that *no* earlier stage of Wargamay allowed verbs to end in -u, and that Dyirbal originally had roots bayguri and buybuçi with the modern forms being obtained by elision of the final syllable.

3.5.3 DIFFERENCES IN BIYAY DIALECT. Verbs in B are almost identical to those in W. Although the following differences are minor, they are crucial to an investigation of the historical developments that have led to the verb systems



TABLE 3.4 - The irregular verb 'to sit' in W and B

	W dialect	B dialect
positive imperative	gi:giga~gi:giya	gi:ga
negative imperative	gi:giga	?
irrealis	gi:gima	gi:gima
purposive	gi:gilagu	gi:gigu
perfect	gi:gigi	} gi:gi
unmarked aspect	gi:gi	
subordinate	gi:gipu	gi:gipu
continuative stem	gi:(gi)bali-	gi:gani-
comitative stem	gi:gima-	?

of modern dialects (5.3). Differences from W are:

[i] B has, like Nyawaygi but unlike W, a *reciprocal derivational suffix* -ba. This is discussed in 4.5 below.

[ii] The *continuative derivational suffix* is -ni in the intransitive and -lani in the transitive column. Thus:

	root		continuative+unmarked	
		W dialect		B dialect
<i>intransitive</i>	wi[ga]-	'bathe'	wi[ga]+bali	wi[ga]+ni
<i>transitive</i>	gunda	'see'	gunda+lani	gunda+lani

It may be that the B continuative goes back to \*-gani, with developments \*-gani>-ni in the intransitive and \*-l+gani>-lani in the transitive column. (Note that -gani- 'do repeatedly' is a verbal derivational affix in Dyirbal, occurring there with verbs from both conjugations - Dixon 1972:248.) The full form -lani is maintained for transitive verbs in W; no origin is known for the intransitive W allomorph -bali.

[iii] The *irregular verb* 'to sit' has a rather different paradigm in B. Whereas in W the root can be taken as gi:gi-, in B the root appears to be basically just gi:-. This is the only monosyllabic verb root in the language; but note that it must take an inflection that is at least one syllable long, so that each verb word has at least two syllables. (The twelve nominals and a particle that actually form monosyllabic words were listed in 2.2.)

The paradigm of 'to sit' in the two dialects is shown in Table 3.4.

In the right-hand column positive imperative and perfect/unmarked appear to involve the regular inflections -ga and -gi added to root gi:-. Other inflections are added to these forms. Thus, irrealis -ma and purposive -gu (not -lagu, the regular intransitive allomorph) are added to gi:gi-, while continuative -ni is based on gi:ga. (Negative imperative and comitative forms were not obtained from Nora Boyd, the only B informant, before her death in 1976).

We remarked that -ni, the continuative suffix in B, may be related to -gani, the transitive allomorph in W. The form gi:gani, which could be analysed as gi:+gani, might be thought to provide support for this position. But it is not the strongest type of support, since the paradigm of gi:- is highly irregular, and gi:ga is an independently motivated

form within it.

[iv] In B the *positive imperative inflection* on intransitive verbs is -ga, exactly as in W. In the case of verbs functioning transitively B has - $\emptyset$  for the positive imperative on stems ending in -a, again exactly like W. With transitive stems ending in -i, however, the inflections are quite different. Whereas W has -ya with a disyllabic and - $\emptyset$  with a trisyllabic root, B has - $\emptyset$  with a disyllabic root and in the case of trisyllabics it substitutes -a for the stem-final -i. Thus

	root		positive imperative in W	positive imperative in B
<i>intransitive</i>	gaga	'go'		gagaga
	wa:gi	'laugh'		wa:gi ga
	mi:gi ri	'wait'		mi:gi ri ga
<i>transitive</i>	gunda	'see'		gunda
	bu:di	'take'	bu:di ya	bu:di
	wa:gi ri	'overturn'	wa:gi ri	wa:gi ra

There are in addition just two disyllabic transitive verbs - in B only - that replace final -i by -a in the positive imperative:

root		positive imperative	
ma:ni	'hold in hand'	W ma:ni ya	B ma:na
wugi	'give'	W wugi ya	B wuga

We can suggest that originally all -i-final transitive stems took positive imperative -ya. The affix was dropped from trisyllabic stems in W, while in B the change:

— i + ya > — a  
root inflection

took place. With disyllabics -ya was retained in W but dropped in B.

The two odd disyllabics that undergo a vowel change can be explained historically. Some Australian languages (including Nyawaygi) have a few monosyllabic verbs, normally including (ŋu~)wu- 'give' and ma:- 'hold in the hand'; these typically have imperatives wuga and ma:na and tense forms wugi, ma:ni (a full discussion is in Dixon 1980a:382-430). It is likely that a recent ancestor of Wargamay had these monosyllabic verbs, and that they have - in the modern language - been reanalysed as having disyllabic roots; but the original imperative form is maintained in B and now correlates well with the -i→-a rule for trisyllabic imperatives.

We could suggest that in B the root of 'to sit' is simply gi:gi (as in W) and that positive imperative gi:ga is formed by the type of process just dealt with. But there are other oddities in the paradigm of 'to sit' in B (positive gi:gigu rather than gi:gilagū, and continuative gi:gani-) so that there is still need for an ad hoc analysis of this verb in terms of a root gi:-. (It is very probable that gi:- is the last of a number of original monosyllabic verb roots in Wargamay which have been reanalysed as having disyllabic roots. This diachronic change, with gi:gi- taking over from

gi:-, is all but complete in W - although the alternation gi:gibali~gi:balli in the continuative stem may show a relic of the original root gi:- - but has only proceeded part-way in B.)

[v] Finally, B differs from W in the *association of conjugation with transitivity*.

Dyirbal is typical of surrounding languages in that it has two conjugation classes, there being a statistical correlation - but far from an exact coincidence - with transitivity classes; the -y conjugation in Dyirbal has about 80% intransitive members and the -l conjugation around 80% transitive members. A major point of interest concerning the W dialect of Wargamay is that conjugation exactly coincides with transitivity. Comparing the verbs cognate between the two languages we find that all the intransitive members of the -y conjugation in Dyirbal do, of course, fall into the 'intransitive set' in W; and the transitive members of the Dyirbal -l conjugation are in the 'transitive set' in W. But there are also two or three verbs common to the two languages that, although intransitive, are members of the -l conjugation in Dyirbal; in W these receive intransitive inflectional allomorphs. This can be illustrated with a sample inflection (purposive) of representative verbs in each language (conjugational membership in Dyirbal is shown by -y or -l suffixed to the stem; the purposive inflection in Dyirbal is -ygu onto a stem of the -y conjugation and -li onto a form from the -l class):

		<i>W dialect</i>		
		<i>root</i>	<i>purposive</i>	
intransitive	{	wula 'die'	wula+lagu	
		bungli 'lie down'	bungli+lagu	
transitive		gi:ga 'tell to do'	gi:ga+gu	

		<i>Dyirbal</i>		
		<i>root</i>	<i>purposive</i>	
-y conjugation	(intransitive)	wula-y	'vanish'	wula+ygu
-l conjugation	(intransitive)	bungli-l	'lie down'	bungli+li
	(transitive)	giga-l	'tell to do'	giga+li

It looks from this as if W has reanalysed conjugational membership to coincide exactly with transitivity subclasses. That is, the 'exceptions' like bungli-l have been transferred to the class with which their transitivity value has the strongest connection.

However, this has not happened in the B dialect. Here the intransitive root bungli takes only allomorphs from the transitive column of Table 3.3. Sample forms in the two dialects are:

	<i>W dialect</i>	<i>B dialect</i>
positive imperative	bungli+ga	bungli
purposive	bungli+lagu	bungli+gu
irrealis	bungli+ma	bungli+lma

Note, however, that John Tooth consistently gave bungli+ya as the positive imperative, parallel to his gi:giya 'sit-IMP' mentioned earlier; Lambert Cocky gave bungli+ga and gi:gi+ga.

The slender evidence available suggests that two other

intransitive verbs take allomorphs from the 'transitive' column in B (but regular intransitive allomorphs in W); these are *ga:nda-* 'crawl' and *wa:la-* 'ascend'; there are no cognates in Dyirbal. The only other verbs which are intransitive members of the -| conjugation in Dyirbal and also occur in Wargamay are Dyirbal *walnga-|*, W *walnga-* 'float' and Dyirbal *ga:|ba-|*, W *ga:|ba-* 'be stuck'. These occur only with the unmarked inflection in the limited B corpus; they take normal intransitive inflections in W (except that the irrealis form *ga:|balma*, rather than expected *ga:|bama*, was once given by John Tooth; the other forms he gave were regular intransitive *ga:|babali* and *ga:|bagi*, besides *ga:|bay*).

The inchoative verbaliser, deriving intransitive verbal stems from nominals etc (4.9.1) is *-mbi~bi~i* in Wargamay, surely cognate with the corresponding suffix *-bi-|* in Dyirbal. This belongs to the -| conjugation in Dyirbal, although it does form intransitive stems. However, the inchoative suffix takes only intransitive allomorphs in Wargamay, in both W and B dialects (Nora Boyd gave *ganu-mbi-gi* 'broken' and *magul-i-gi* 'worked', for instance). It seems that that reassignment of original -| conjugation intransitive forms to the intransitive class probably commenced with this derivational affix, which now belongs in the intransitive set in both W and B; but for lexical verbs such as *bungi-* 'lie down' the reassignment has thus far taken place only in the W dialect.

It has already been stressed that what we are calling 'transitive roots' in W and B can occur with either transitive inflection (corresponding to -| conjugation endings in Dyirbal) or with intransitive inflection (corresponding to Dyirbal -y conjugation allomorphs), depending on the type of construction in which the verb is functioning. Most transitive verbs cognate between the two languages belong to the -| conjugation in Dyirbal, but there are a few verbs - such as *galgi-* 'cook' - that are in the Dyirbal -y class. There has plainly been a shift here too. A verb like *galgi-* would originally have occurred only in transitive constructions, and would then have taken inflections from the first column of Table 3.3. It now takes endings from the right-hand column of Table 3.3 in transitive sentences, and when it takes endings from the left-hand column it is functioning in intransitive constructions. (A full account of the diachronic changes that can be surmised to have taken place in the development of the modern Wargamay verb system - which are presupposed by the comments above - is in chapter 5.)

3.5.4 INFLECTIONS. We will now take the seven inflections in turn, describing their form and function.

[1] *Positive imperative.*

intransitive -ga

transitive

on stems ending in -a,  $\emptyset$

on disyllabics ending in -i, -ya W,  $\emptyset$  B

on trisyllabics ending in -i,  $\emptyset$  W, -a B (where this -a replaces the stem-final vowel i.e.  $V_1V_2 \rightarrow V_2$ )

The irregular forms of the imperative for *gi:(gi)-*, *ma:ni-wugi-*, and *bungi-* were described in 3.5.1, 3.5.3.

The function of imperatives follows the pattern of most other Australian languages. The (A or S) subject is normally a singular, dual or plural second person pronoun, which can freely be omitted - see (9), (11), (35), (62), (82), (85). One example has been recorded in which the subject of an imperative is a 1du pronoun (implied: inclusive):

- (75) *ŋali bari buŋmbiya ŋalugu*  
 1du-SA stone-ABS throw-IMP water-ALL  
 We must throw the stone into the water

[2] *Negative imperative.* This construction is the same as positive imperative but for the obligatory inclusion of particle *ŋaru* 'don't' before the verb, and the use of inflections

intransitive -*ŋa*  
 transitive -*lŋa*

Examples are at (83-4) and (166) below.

[3] *Purposive.*

intransitive -*lagu*  
 transitive -*gu*

The intransitive allomorph is occasionally shortened to *-gu* after trisyllabic stems. The only examples that have been remarked are *ŋuwaragu* 'stand-PURP', *bandali+gu* 'burst-PURP', *magul+i+gu* 'work-INCHO-PURP' and *gi:+bali+gu* 'sit-CONTIN-PURP' (see (37)). However, when elicitation was directed to these words the informants gave *ŋuwaralagu*, *magul+i+lagu* etc as the 'correct' forms. It seems that this sporadic elision of *-la* (after *-ra-* or *-li-*) is an instance of the haplologic-type syllable omission that occurs at a number of places in the grammar of Wargamay (2.6). The truncation of *-lagu* to *-gu* has only been encountered on a basically intransitive root, never with a 'transitive stem' used intransitively (if it did happen in the latter case it would obscure the difference between intransitive and transitive variants of purposive with roots from the 'transitive set').

Purposive has an important syntactic function, marking an 'in order to' complement clause - see 4.3.2-3. But purposive inflection can also occur in a main clause (that is, in the first clause of a discourse) and then indicates necessity - that the subject wants to or has to undertake some action. See (4), (51-3), (68) and:

- (76) *ŋinba wagunda biŋbalagu ŋulgaŋanga*  
 2sg-S wood-LOC jump-PURP log-LOC  
 You'll have to jump over the log
- (77) *ŋayba gagalagu magulgu*  
 1sg-S go-PURP work-DAT  
 I want to go for work
- (78) *mamu ŋayba ŋuwaragu*  
 by-and-by 1sg-S stand-PURP  
 I'll stand up by-and-by

- (79) ḡaḡa ḡina bu:digu mamu / ḡinta migirilagu ḡaygungu /  
 1sg-A 2sg-0 take-PURP by-and-by 2sg-S wait-PURP 1sg-DAT  
 maḡulḡu  
 work-DAT  
 I'll take you by-and-by. You should wait for me (and I'll take  
 you) for work.

Purposive can also be used to indicate ability, as in (7).

[4] *Irrealis*.

intransitive -ma  
 transitive -lma

This inflection can be used on the verb in a main clause for unmarked reference to the 'future' e.g. (48), (230) and:

- (80) Q - ḡubula bulḡuḡaman waḡḡamira ḡagama  
 2du-SA wife-ḡaman WHEN go-IRREAL  
 When are you and your wife going?  
 A - ḡirwaḡa ḡali ḡagama We'll go tomorrow
- (81) ḡayba ḡa:walama  
 1sg-S NOT ascend-IRREAL  
 I'm not climbing (any more, because I'm tired)

It is also, with an 'apprehensional' sense, used to refer to something unpleasant that might happen; a -ma clause is then often subordinated to a main clause (which will typically be in positive or negative imperative - or in the unmarked - inflection), indicating action that should be taken to avoid this unpleasant possibility e.g. (125) and

- (82) ḡinba mu:ḡambiga / bulimandu ḡundalma  
 2sg-S hidden-INCHO-IMP policeman-ERG see-IRREAL  
 You hide, lest the policeman see (you)!
- (83) ḡaru ḡilwalḡa / ba:dima  
 DON'T kick-NEG IMP cry-IRREAL  
 Don't kick (him) lest (he) cry!
- (84) ḡayḡu bundurup ḡaru ma:nilḡa / ḡibungu ḡina  
 1sg-GEN-ABS bag-ABS DON'T touch-NEG IMP ḡibu-ERG 2sg-0  
 ḡuḡḡalma  
 bite-IRREAL  
 Don't touch my bag, or the Nyibu (a 'mythical spider', who is  
 supposed to punish some types of wrongdoing) might bite you!

Note that if there is an NP common to main and subordinate clauses, and if it is in O or S function in each clause, it can be deleted from the second clause, as in (82), (83) and (125).

A verb in irrealis inflection can be used to explain why an instruction is not followed:

- (85) A: ḡinda ḡanba / B: maya ḡapa ḡundalma  
 2sg-A follow-IMP NO 1sg-0 see-IRREAL  
 A: You follow (him)! B: No, (he) might see me.

See also text 8, line 6 and text 9 line 3. There is a close semantic connection between this sense of irrealis and the aversive nominal inflection - 3.1.1, 3.1.5.

Dyirbal and Yidiñ each has a verbal suffix that has an exclusively 'unpleasant' meaning - corresponding to (82-5) here. (The forms are -bila~ba in Dyirbal and -gi in Yidiñ - Dixon 1972:112-3, 1977a:350-7.) Wargamay -ma~-lma refers to 'something that might happen and should be avoided' in more than half its occurrences, but it *can* also have a straightforward predictive function, as in (48) and (80-1) and it is in view of this that we name it 'irrealis'. (For the corresponding suffix, -ma, in Nyawaygi the straightforward future meaning is rather more frequent than the 'undesirable' sense. It appears that there is a gradual shift in the semantic effect of this category as one proceeds south from Yidiñ and Dyirbal through Wargamay to Nyawaygi.)

Any action in the future must be referred to by one of the four verbal inflections we have described thus far. Commands and instructions involve the positive or negative imperative. An action that the subject is likely to have volitional control over will be shown by purposive inflection - something he wants to do, or has to do to fulfil some social obligation or physiological need. An action that is outside the sphere of control of the subject - something that just 'might happen', a simple prediction - is shown by irrealis.

There appears to be some overlap of meaning between purposive and irrealis. Thus, the English sentence 'I'll go by-and-by' could be rendered by either of

(86) mamu ŋayba gaŋalagu

(87) mamu ŋayba gaŋama

But there can be a difference in meaning between these two sentences: (86) could indicate that the speaker has a reason for going soon, whereas (87) would suggest that he might take it into his head to depart, although there is no real need to.

[5] *Perfect*.

intransitive -gi  
transitive -ŋu

This inflection indicates that some action is irretrievably finished. Thus gaŋa - unmarked inflection on gaŋa 'go' - can be used to indicate that someone has gone away; in contrast, the perfect gaŋagi suggests that he has gone away for good (with the implication that he may never return). There is a tendency for verbs in perfect inflection to be referring to an event in the distant past (a few days or longer ago) but this is not necessarily the case.

Note the contrast between a shout of discovery (involving unmarked inflection on the verb):

(88) ŋaŋa ŋuŋga baygi ŋaymbay I've found this bag

and a narrative recounting a past discovery (with perfect inflection):

(89) gu:ŋaŋa ŋaymbaŋu ŋuŋga baygi [I] found this bag a long time ago

The meaning of a perfect form can often be brought out

by comparison with a continuative (in unmarked inflection)  
e.g.

(90) wagon gandabali  
wood-ABS burn-CONTIN-UNMKD  
The wood is burning

(91) puṅa miḡa gandagi  
3sg-SO camp-ABS burn-PERF  
The camp has all burnt up

and see (101-2) below.

Perfect inflection is frequently used with non-durative verbs e.g. biḡbagi 'jumped (with fright)', dagigi 'fell down', wulagi 'died'. However, it can also be used with durative verbs, as in (91).

Sequence of actions can be shown by the use of perfect, in conjunction with unmarked inflection. Thus, in

(92) bulimandu ḡapa wuḡay / ḡayba bimbirigi  
policeman-ERG 1sg-0 search-UNMKD 1sg-S run-PERF  
The policeman searched for me; but I had run away.

the speaker indicates that he had left a given locality *before* the policeman commenced to search for him there.

As a final illustration, an informant gave for ma:nɪ, in unmarked inflection, the gloss 'I grab something, catch hold of it' but for the perfect ma:nɪpu he gave 'I bought it up', plainly showing that the action is finished.

[6] *Unmarked aspect*, has realisation -y with all verbs (the -y being eliminated after i by the yotic deletion rule, 2.6).

This is the most frequent verbal inflection in Wargamay and can most simply be described as complementary to the four 'future' possibilities (imperatives, purposive and irrealis) and to perfect. It can, in addition, be used where any of the three non-imperative and non-subordinate inflections are possible e.g. 'he died' could be either puṅa wulagi or puṅa wulay, and 'I'll go' might be ḡayba ḡagama, ḡayba ḡagalagu or just ḡayba ḡagay.

It will be noticed that Wargamay does not have anything that could be referred to as a tense system. It is, instead, possible to make a positive aspectual or modal specification by use of perfect, irrealis, purposive, etc inflections. But if this is not considered necessary, or if none of these choices would be appropriate (e.g. for an action begun in the past and continuing into the present) then the verb is suffixed by the 'unmarked aspect' -y. (Wargamay does, of course, have lexical time qualifiers, for explicit reference to points in the past and future, or to the present - 3.3.)

Verbs in -y inflection can refer to past, present or future time:

(93) ḡanumbul ḡayba ḡagay  
earlier on today 1sg-S go-UNMKD  
I went earlier on today.

(94) piṛwapa ḡayba ḡagumbi  
tomorrow 1sg-S HERE-INCHO-UNMKD



I'll come tomorrow

An example of present time reference is (60) above.

-y is the normal inflection for narratives - see texts 5-9.

[7] *Subordinate* -nu. This suffix marks the verb in a relative clause. A full discussion of its syntactic possibilities is in 4.4.

3.5.5 TRANSITIVITY-PRESERVING DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES. There is one frequent and well-attested transitivity-preserving suffix - the continuative. Two other affixes, -lga- and -yandi, that have only been encountered in a handful of examples, are mentioned under [2], [3] below.

[1] *Continuative*.

intransitive -bali W -ni B  
transitive -lgani W, -lani B

This is a very common suffix, being followed in the overwhelming majority of cases by the unmarked inflection (realised as zero after stem-final -i). -bali~-lgani etc then indicates either that an action is now taking place and has a fair duration ('present continuous') or that the subject typically performs this action ('habitual') e.g. (49), (70) and

(95) nayba galunga guwarabali/ I'm standing in the water.  
galu gidul The water's cold.

(96) mipagu puṅa pagaram guyibali  
what-DAT 3sg-SO small-ABS cry-CONTIN-UNMKD  
What is the child crying for?

(97) gagan gi:gindu muḡalgani  
grass-ABS wallaby-ERG eat-CONTIN-UNMKD  
Wallabies eat grass

(98) pulanga ṅaygu muḡalgani He [always] eats my [food]

See also (182) below. And note that yaraman bimbirini 'horse-ABS run-CONTIN-UNMKD' was translated as 'that's a fast horse'.

The contrast between a verb with the continuative suffix and one without is brought out by an informant's translations for:

(99) pulanga ṅapa ṅundalgani 'He stand there one place watching me'

(100) pulanga ṅapa ṅunday 'He only just seen me there, he went away'

An important contrast is between continuative (plus unmarked inflection) and perfect inflection, as in (90-1) and:

(101) maya ṅayba ṅa: buyabali No, I don't smoke

(102) maya ṅayba ṅa: buyagi No, I never smoked

-bali~-lgani etc can refer to an action performed a number of times in quick succession e.g. minbalgani 'hit and hit and hit and hit...' It can also be used to indicate an habitual association of actions. Thus, in Text 7, Lambert

Cocky tells how about the turn of the century his tribesmen were hunted and shot at by the 'native police'. He uses a series of verbs, all in the continuative form - a black tracker would show (milbalgani) the policeman the tracks of the Wargamaygan, the policeman would follow (nanbalgani) them, and then shoot (bungalvani) at the Aborigines.

A verb with continuative plus unmarked inflection can refer to the present, the past or the future. Thus puḡa wuḡabali was normally glossed 'He's walking about now' but an informant pointed out that it could refer to a person who was going to set out soon (and could be specified more exactly by insertion of an appropriate time qualifier - 3.3).

Although continuative is normally followed by the unmarked inflection it can take the full range of verbal inflections. It is followed by purposive in (37), by imperative in (103) and by perfect in (104):

(103) gi:baliga yalanga mamugu  
sit-CONTIN-IMP THERE by-and-by-UNTIL  
Sit down there for a while!

(104) miḡagu ḡinda ḡundalḡaniḡu ḡulmbuḡu  
WHAT-DAT 2sg-A see-CONTIN-PERF woman-ABS  
Why did you keep on watching that woman? [A wife berating her husband]

Examples of -bali~-lḡani etc with the subordinate inflection are in (186) and (189) of 4.4. No non-zero inflections were recorded following B -ni~-lani in the limited corpus obtained from Nora Boyd.

[2] -lḡa. In Text 7 (lines 8 and 15) Lambert Cocky twice said wuḡa-lḡa-y, suffixing -lḡa- to the transitive root wuḡa 'chase'. He explained that it meant 'chase a lot of people' (thus corresponding in meaning to the verbal affix -ḡa- in Dyirbal - Dixon 1972:249-50). However when the text was replayed he seemed to prefer wuḡalḡani over wuḡalḡay.

Other informants were not happy with -lḡa- as a Wargamay suffix, and gave instead -bali~-lḡani etc forms. When elicitation was directed to this point Lambert Cocky did give wuḡalḡalḡani puḡanga bulimandu 'The policemen are chasing [Aborigines] all the time', involving -lḡa- and -lḡani-; but he did not use -lḡa- spontaneously on any other occasion.

-lḡa- may be an intrusion from Giramay or, speculatively, a derivational affix that was used in the now-extinct Hinchinbrook Biyay dialect.

[3] -yandi. In the texts recorded by La Mont West Jr from Jimmy Johnson (1.6) there are half-a-dozen occurrences of a verbal affix -yandi-; in every case but one it is followed by -may (that is, presumably comitative -ma- plus unmarked inflection -y). Of my informants Lambert Cocky recognised this form but did not use it himself (preferring -bali). -yandi (which is not similar to any Dyirbal affix) may have occurred only in Hinchinbrook Biyay. Examination of the glosses given by Jimmy Johnson suggests that its meaning may possibly have been 'away', 'going' e.g. bimbiri-yandi 'run away', gagayandimay 'take away'. Alternatively it

could conceivably have been the Hinchinbrook Biyay equivalent of -balli~-lgani etc.

3.5.6 SYNTACTIC DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES. There are three affixes that change the syntactic function of a stem to which they are attached:

[1] comitative -ma-, added to an intransitive stem derives a transitive stem. Discussion and exemplification is in 4.7.

[2] instrumental -ma-, added to a transitive stem derives a stem that still takes transitive inflections, but functions ditransitively - see 4.8.

[3] in B only there is a reciprocal suffix -ba. Details are in 4.5.

Just three verbs have been recorded with both a transitivity-preserving and a syntactic derivational affix - comitative -ma- followed by continuative -lgani. One example was quoted at (74), another is at (207), and the third is bayibayimalgani 'REDUP-be tangled up-COMIT-CONTIN-UNMKD' i.e. 'keep tangling [something] up'.

3.5.7 REDUPLICATION. Verbal reduplication is used very sparingly. It appears to involve repetition of the first two syllables of the root and to indicate that an action is repeated over and over again. For example, with verbal roots gaga 'go' and bayguri 'shake':

(105) ḡayba gagagagagi I kept on going and going

(106) bada puḡa baygubaygurigi ḡungiri  
dog-ABS 3sg-SO REDUP-shake-PERF tail-ABS  
The dog swished its tail (Literally, the dog's tail swished)

### 3.6 POST-INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

There are a number of affixes that follow inflections. Only two or three examples of each have occurred. They appear not to have any clear semantic or syntactic effect but rather to involve a type of stylistic emphasis. These affixes are:

- ḡan - see Text 6 lines 10 and 16;
- ban e.g. mipaguban 'I don't know' from mipagu 'what-DAT';
- bi e.g. puḡgabi 'Will this one do?' from demonstrative puḡga 'this';
- bai - occurred in the texts given by Jimmy Johnson to La Mont West Jr. Its meaning and function are not understood.

## 4. SYNTAX

### 4.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

4.1.1 CORE. Each sentence must involve a 'core' of obligatory elements in order to constitute a complete semantic unit. There are two types of core configuration:

TABLE 4.1 - *Types of case marking.*

A	} pubula	{ ɲaɟa	pulɲga	ma:lɲdu	
S		{ ɲayba	} puɲa	ma:l	
O	pubulɲpa	ɲapa		} 3sg	'man'
	2du	1sg			
	i	ii	iii		

*Intransitive construction* - NP in 'intransitive subject function' (S) and VC showing intransitive inflection;

*Transitive construction* - NP in 'transitive subject function' (A), NP in 'transitive object function' (O) and VC showing transitive inflection.

Here NP (noun phrase) indicates a number of nominal and/or pronominal elements, and VC (verb complex) is one or more verbs (agreeing in inflection); details of NP and VC composition are in 4.1.3-4.

Different parts of speech have different ways of marking the three core syntactic functions, S, A and O. Representative forms are shown in Table 4.1.

In column i non-singular first and second person pronouns have a single ('nominative') form for S and A functions, and a different marked form - involving the 'accusative' suffix -pa -for O function. This is usually referred to as a 'nominative-accusative' pattern of inflection.

Thus:

- (107) ɲali gagay We two are going  
 (108) pubula gagay You two are going  
 (109) ɲali pubulɲpa ɲunday We two are looking at you two  
 (110) pubula ɲaliɲpa ɲunday You two are looking at us two

At the opposite extreme, iii, nominals (nouns and adjectives) and what we are calling the 3sg pronoun have one form ('absolute case') for S and O functions, and a marked form ('ergative case') for A function. Examples of sentences involving forms that inflect in an 'absolute-ergative' pattern are:

- (111) puɲa gagay It is going  
 (112) ma:l gagay The man is going  
 (113) pulɲga ma:l ɲunday It is looking at the man  
 (114) ma:lɲdu puɲa ɲunday The man is looking at it

In the middle of the diagram, at ii, we find that there exist distinct forms for all three functions; this applies to 1sg, 2sg, 3du, 3pl and the interrogative pronoun. (A

general semantic account of 'split' case systems, which perfectly covers the Wargamay situation, is in Silverstein (1976).

Sentences can, of course, mix NPs of all these types. Consider for instance:

(115) ɲali ma:l ɲundaɪma

Now ɲunda- 'see, look' can occur with transitive or intransitive inflections. -ɪma identifies it as transitive in this instance (see Table 3.3 in 3.5.1) and we would then look for an A NP and an O NP. We know that the form ɲali can be used for S or A function and ma:l for S or O function. Hence ɲali must here be A and ma:l O, so that (115) can only mean 'we two will look at the man'.

There is a possibility of ambiguity here, due to the free occurrence of 'transitive roots' with transitive or intransitive inflections, and to the fact that two of the seven inflections have identical form in intransitive and transitive conjugations (3.5.1). Suppose that the verb were in unmarked inflection, which is -y irrespective of transitivity. Then:

(116) ɲali ma:l ɲunday

could be taken as transitive, like (115) - 'We two are looking at the man'. Or (116) could be taken as intransitive with a single S NP involving both ɲali and ma:l - 'we two men are looking'.

Note that this ambiguity could only happen with a 'nominative' non-singular first or second person pronoun, and with the verb in unmarked (or possibly in subordinate) inflection. 1sg and 2sg pronouns have distinct forms for S and A functions, so that corresponding to the two senses of (116) we have two distinct sentences:

(117) ɲaga ma:l ɲunday I am looking at the man

(118) ɲayba ma:l ɲunday I, a man, am looking.

Further discussion, explaining the two interpretations of (116), is in 4.2.

4.1.2 SYNTACTIC AND LOCAL EXTENSIONS. To the obligatory core members of a sentence (whether transitive or intransitive) can be added one or more NPs indicating, for instance, the purpose (dative case) or cause (ablative case) of the action:

(119) ɲuɲa ɲayɲungu gaɲabali He's coming for me

See also (16), (77), (79). Purposive NPs are discussed further in 4.2, 4.3.

Other syntactic extensions of the core are an aversive NP indicating something that is feared, as in (6), or an NP referring to some instrument that is used (see 4.8.1).

There are also local extensions, indicating motion 'to' or 'from' or rest 'at' some place. Thus (75), (76) and:

(120) ɲayba gaɲay ɲaluɲu I'm going to the water (river)

(121) ɲilɲaniɲ ɲu:ɲɲigi gaɲara  
hole-ABS emerge-PERF possum-ABS

A possum came out of the hole

- (122) *ŋaŋa gaŋaranga gaŋa buyŋgari*  
 lsg-A dillybag-LOC child-ABS hang up-UNMKD  
 I hung the baby up in a dilly-bag.

Further examples were given in the discussion of nominal cases - 3.1.1.

4.1.3 NP STRUCTURE. It appears that an NP, whatever its syntactic function, can involve any collection of nominals, deictics, pronouns, so long as semantic plausibility is preserved; every constituent in the NP must bear the appropriate case marking. Thus, we encounter noun plus adjective:

- (123) *ŋaŋa biŋal gaŋarŋaŋar ŋu:may*  
 lsg-A bark-ABS rough-ABS feel-UNMKD  
 I felt the rough bark

and pronoun plus adjective, as in:

- (124) *ŋaŋa ŋuŋa bu:di / ŋamiŋiŋgu ŋaŋa muŋagu*  
 lsg-A 3sg-SO take-UNMKD hungry-ERG lsg-A eat-PURP  
 I took it, I'm hungry so I'll eat it

In (124) the 'transitive subject' NP involves the ergative form of *ŋamiŋi* 'hungry' and the A pronoun *ŋaŋa* 'I' (the translation provided is a fairly free one).

An NP can involve two nouns, as *wagun* 'tree, wood' plus *gulgaŋa* 'log' in (76); an example of an NP with two pronouns is an 'inclusive' combination such as *ŋali ŋinba* - see (4) and 3.4.1. A noun and a pronoun can cooccur, as in (116) and (118). In (65) the NP involves a noun *ma:l* 'man', an adjective *yaga* 'two' and the 3du pronoun *bula*; there is a similar structure in line 17 of text 9.

The so-called 'third person pronoun' *ŋuŋa* appears to be able to feature in an NP with any other constituents (3.4.1). The demonstratives are restricted to S or O function (3.4.4).

In 4.6 we discuss the occurrence within an NP of an embedded genitive NP (normally indicating alienable possession), or of an apposed 'part' noun (inalienable possession).

Note that although the subject of a transitive sentence is normally animate, it can be inanimate, as:

- (125) *miŋanga gumbaga / yugandu bargilma*  
 house-LOC enter-IMP rain-ERG wet-IRREAL  
 Come into the house, lest the rain wet you!
- (126) *ŋalungu ŋapa gu:ŋay*  
 water-ERG lsg-O wash away-UNMKD  
 The water (i.e. flood) washed me away

4.1.4 VC STRUCTURE. Although most simple sentences involve a single transitive or intransitive verb, the VC *can* involve more than one verb; these must have been the same inflection (which implies that they must, of course, agree in transitivity). Typically, the second element in a VC may be a verbalised adjective, providing adverbial-type modification of the lexical verb. See (194), (232-3), (238)

and

- (127) galguḡu pulanga wi:gimay                      ganday  
 meat-ABS 3sg-A no good-CAUS-UNMKD cook-UNMKD  
 She cooked the meat badly (glossed by the informant as 'She  
 burnt the meat')

4.1.5 MINIMAL SENTENCES. Like other Australian languages, Wargamay does have a minor sentence type which involves no verb. This typically involves an adjectival or locational 'comment' (in absolutive case) on a nominal or pronominal 'topic' (which is in S function). See the second clause of (95) and:

- (128) ḡalu bamba    The water's (too) far away  
 (129) ḡayba gidul    I'm cold

4.1.6 ORDER OF ELEMENTS. Wargamay shares with Dyirbal the property of allowing great freedom of ordering - not only of words within a phrase and phrases within a sentence, but also of words within a sentence. (In contrast, the order of morphemes within a word is quite fixed.) Little textual material is available so that it is not possible even to suggest ordering preferences. The wide range of possibilities encountered can be seen from examination of the examples quoted throughout this grammar (leaving aside sentences (130-41), (143-155), (274-8), (284-7) in some of which the word order has been normalised in order to draw attention more easily to particular grammatical correspondences). See also 3.3.

#### 4.2 CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS INVOLVING TRANSITIVE VERBS

We mentioned in 3.5 that each verb root falls into one of two classes. Intransitive verbs can only occur in intransitive constructions - with a single S NP - and must take intransitive inflections, from the first column of Table 3.3. Thus we can have yugarabali 'is swimming' but not \*yugaralḡani. (Transitive stems can be *derived* from intransitive roots by suffixing the comitative -ma; this takes transitive inflections. See 4.7.)

A root from the 'transitive set' can occur in a transitive construction - with A NP and O NP - taking an inflection from the transitive column, or in an intransitive inflection - with just an S core NP - taking an intransitive inflection. In neither case is any syntactic derivational affix required.

The NP accompanying a verb from the intransitive set must involve forms from the 'S row' of Table 4.1:

- (130) puḡula yugarabali    You two are swimming  
 (131) ḡayba yugarabali    I am swimming  
 (132) puḡa ma:l yugarabali    The man is swimming

In a transitive construction one NP must involve forms from the 'A row' of Table 4.1 and one NP forms from the 'O

row':

- (133) *pubula ŋapa ŋundalgani* You two are watching me  
 (134) *ŋaŋa puŋa ma:l ŋundalgani* I'm watching the man  
 (135) *pu:lŋa ma:lndu pubulapa ŋundalgani* The man is watching you two

An NP like *puŋa ma:l* occurs in S and in O functions. Its precise function in any particular sentence can be inferred from the pronominal forms that may fill the same slot. Thus *puŋa ma:l* in (132) is interchangeable with *pubula* and *ŋayba*, indicating S function; and in (134) it is interchangeable with *ŋapa* and *pubulapa*, indicating O function. Similarly, whether a non-singular first or second person pronoun like *pubula* is in S or A function in a particular sentence can be inferred from comparison with singular pronouns and nominals that can occur in the same slot.

We can now turn to intransitive constructions involving transitive verbs. There are basically two varieties.

[1] *Subject effectively identified with object, reflexive-type meaning.* Here, if the agent does something to himself, an intransitive construction will be used. Often a body-part noun - referring to the effective 'object' - will be included in the S NP, apposed to the head noun or pronoun (in an 'inalienable possession' construction - 4.6.2). Thus, corresponding to transitive

- (136) *ŋaŋa wagun gandapu*  
 lsg-A wood-ABS burn-PERF  
 I've burnt the wood
- (137) *ma:lndu gaŋan gi:balgani*  
 man-ERG grass-ABS scratch-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 Man is scratching up grass
- (138) *ŋaŋa ŋalgucu gunbay*  
 lsg-A meat-ABS cut-UNMKD  
 I've cut the meat

we have the intransitive constructions, with reflexive-type meaning:

- (139) *ŋayba mala gandagi*  
 lsg-S hand-ABS burn-PERF  
 I've burnt my hand
- (140) *ma:l gambaŋa gi:bali*  
 man-ABS body-ABS scratch-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 Man is scratching his body
- (141) *ŋayba bingan gunbay*  
 lsg-S foot-ABS cut-UNMKD  
 I've cut my foot

and see (106). In each of these sentences the body-part noun could be omitted - thus *ŋayba gandagi* 'I've burnt myself', *ma:l gi:bali* 'Man is scratching himself' and *ŋayba gunbay* 'I've cut myself' are all perfectly acceptable Wargamay sentences.

Note, though, that an intransitive construction is not obligatory for describing someone doing something to himself



(although it does seem to be preferred). Instead of (141) one could use a transitive construction

- (142) *ŋaɟa gunbay bingap ŋaygu*  
 lsg-A cut-UNMKD foot-ABS lsg-GEN  
 I've cut my foot

Here the O NP has *bingap* 'foot' as head, modified by the possessive pronoun *ŋaygu* 'my' (see 4.6.2).

In the W dialect, reciprocal sense is also shown by using a transitive verb in an intransitive construction, with a plural S NP. Examples are given in 4.5.

[2] *Distinct subject and object.* For most intransitive constructions involving a transitive verb the subject and object are quite distinct, just as in a normal transitive construction. The A NP in the corresponding transitive sentence becomes the intransitive S NP and the transitive O NP now normally takes on ergative-instrumental inflection.

Thus:

- (143) *Transitive* *ŋaɟa gungul muɟalgani*  
 lsg-A vegetables-ABS eat-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 I'm eating vegetables

- (144) *Intransitive* *ŋayba gungulndu muɟabali*  
 lsg-S vegetables-ERG/INST eat-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 I'm having a feed of vegetables

There is at most a very slight difference in meaning between (143) and (144), shown by informants' glosses 'I'm eating' / 'I'm having a feed' (and 'I'm looking' / 'I'm having a look' for (71-2) in 3.5.2). The reasons for having 'deep transitive subject' in surface S function are most frequently syntactic; this can help satisfy the complementation and subordination rules of Wargamay, which work in terms of identity of S and O NPs (never A NPs) between clauses. Discussion of these complementation and subordination processes is in 4.3, 4.4.

Note that most transitive verbs can occur in both type [1] and also type [2] of intransitive constructions. Thus, in addition to (143-4) we can have the reflexive construction:

- (145) *ŋayba (mala) gungabali* I'm biting my (hand)

In (143-5) the transitivity was immediately apparent from the form of the singular pronouns (quite apart from the form of the verb) - *ŋaɟa* is only used for A and *ŋayba* only for S function. But where both NPs involve just nominals, their function can be harder to determine. Take, for instance, the B sentence

- (146) *ɟa:buŋgu yimbur muɟani*  
 fish-ERG pelican-ABS eat-CONTIN-UNMKD

Leaving aside any extra-linguistic knowledge we may already have concerning which of pelicans and fish eat the other, let us determine this from syntactic analysis. If this were a transitive sentence we would expect the A NP to be in ergative case and O NP to be in absolutive. If it were

intransitive then S NP (corresponding to transitive A) should be in absolutive and the NP which corresponds to transitive O should be in ergative-instrumental inflection. That is, the form of the NPs is perfectly compatible with a transitive interpretation 'fish eat pelicans' or with an intransitive interpretation bearing the opposite meaning 'pelicans eat fish'.

It is in fact the form of the verbal suffix that resolves this difficulty. The continuative suffix (in B) is *-lani* in the transitive conjugation and *-ni* with intransitives (3.5.3). Thus *yimbur* is to be identified as S NP in (146) and the sentence translated as 'pelicans eat fish'.

Note, though, that (146) would involve a syntactically-irresolvable ambiguity if the verb had just unmarked inflection, since this is *-y* for both transitive and intransitive conjugations. This relates to our comments in 4.1.1 on the ambiguity of (116).

Now in an intransitive construction involving a transitive verb, if the verbal inflection is anything other than purposive, the 'deep object' will normally take ergative-instrumental inflection, as in (144) and (72).

But if the verb is in purposive inflection (in a main clause or in a subordinate clause) then the 'deep O' NP can take either ergative-instrumental or dative case inflection. Thus corresponding to transitive

(147) *qali biya gannagu* We want to drink beer

either of the intransitive alternatives

(148) *qali biyangu gannalagu* <=(147)>

(149) *qali biyagu gannalagu* <=(147)>

is acceptable. Whereas with an inflection other than purposive, the transitive

(150) *qali biya gannalgani* We're drinking beer

has a single corresponding intransitive:

(151) *qali biyangu gannabali* <=(150)>

(Most of these constructions are exemplified in text 5.)

This is one example of the strong syntactic connection that exists in *Wargamay* between nominal dative inflection *-gu* and verbal purposive *-lagu~gu*. The formal similarity between these suffixes recurs in many Australian languages so that it seems likely that they do have a common genetic origin (cf Capell 1956:77-8, Dixon 1972:11, 141-7, 1976b:421-82).

In fact, more than half the occurrences of transitive verbs in an intransitive construction are with purposive inflection, often as the second clause of a conjunction 'X in order to Y' where purposive marks the 'in order to' relation between events (see 4.3).

All the examples we have given thus far of transitive verbs in an intransitive construction have involved a nominal 'deep O'. We can now ask what happens in the case of a pronominal transitive object, as in

- (152) *ŋinda ŋapa ŋa:ra*  
 2sg-A 1sg-O listen-IMP  
 You listen to me!

There is no ergative-instrumental inflection of pronouns so that we cannot form an intransitive correspondent of (152) along the lines of (143-4). It seems, in fact, that dative can be used in this instance, even though the verbal inflection is not purposive:

- (153) *ŋinba ŋaygungu ŋa:raga* <=(152)>

In another instance locative was used to mark a pronominal 'deep O' NP in an intransitive construction:

- (154) *transitive* *yugandu ŋapa bargilgani*  
 rain-ERG 1sg-O wet-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 Rain is falling on me.

- (155) *intransitive* *yugan ŋaygunda bargibali*  
 rain-ABS 1sg-LOC wet-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 <=(154)>

Note that the A form of a pronoun can *not* be used for the 'deep O' NP in a transitive sentence. That is, \**ŋinba ŋaga ŋa:raga* and \**yugan ŋaga bargibali* (with the sense 'the rain wet me') are totally unacceptable. *ŋaga* can only be used in an NP that is in surface as well as deep 'transitive subject' function.

Confronted by (146) the reader may have wondered why it could not be called a special type of transitive construction - after all it does have a subject and an object, and formal marking of absolutive and ergative-instrumental inflections. The reasons for calling it 'intransitive' are

(a) the 'subject' NP in a construction like (146) is always chosen from the middle row in Table 4.1, involving 1sg *ŋayba* and 2sg *ŋinba* (forms that only occur in S function for intransitive sentences);

(b) whereas a nominal in A function in a transitive sentence *must* be in ergative case and one in S or O function *must* be in absolutive case, the 'deep O' NP (*ŋa:bu*) in a sentence like (146) can be in ergative-instrumental or dative or even in locative case;

(c) the suffixes available to the verb in sentences like (146) are all from the intransitive column of Table 3.3; these are the inflectional allomorphs that *must* be used with intransitive roots like *yugara* 'swim' and *wa:gi* 'laugh'.

A sentence will normally be expected to have the full set of core elements (4.1.1). Although some of these may be deleted in running texts, in elicitation informants would tend always to supply an A NP and an O NP for a transitive sentence, and so on. In contrast, the 'deep O' NP in an intransitive construction need not be stated at all. In fact a transitive verb is sometimes used in an intransitive construction simply because the speaker does not want to, or cannot, specify the 'object'. Contrast:

- (156) *pulanga bada ŋundalngani* He is looking at the dog

(157) puṇa ḡundabali He is looking around

In this way, the 'deep O' NP in an intransitive construction behaves like an 'extensional' (4.1.2) and not like a core NP. (Compare ḡayba ḡunday in line 17 of Text 5 with ḡaḡa ḡunday ḡuyḡgan in line 7.)

In the discussion so far we have implied that the S NP in an intransitive construction is always coreferential to the A NP in the corresponding transitive construction (involving the same transitive root). There is just one known exception to this generalisation - ḡumba can mean 'go in' or 'put in' e.g.

(158) puṇa bada ḡumbagi balganda  
3sg-SO dog-ABS go in-PERF house-LOC  
The dog went into the house

(159) bada ḡaḡa ḡumbay balganda  
dog-ABS 1sg-A put in-UNMKD house-LOC  
I put the dog into the house

Note that the S NP in (158) is coreferential to the O (and not the A) NP in (159). Since this is a unique example we can perhaps suggest that there are two homophonous verbal roots - intransitive ḡumba 'go in' and transitive ḡumba 'put in'. We would then, of course, expect the transitive root to be able to occur in an intransitive construction in the normal way. But in fact

\*(160) ḡayba puḷaḡa badaḡu ḡumbagi

appears not to be acceptable. We can put this down to 'interference' from the homonymous intransitive root, as in (158); to avoid the possibility of ambiguity it seems that the transitive root ḡumba- can only be used in transitive constructions.

We have said that all or almost all 'transitive verbs' can occur in transitive or in intransitive constructions. In fact, each of them functions transitively the majority of the time, this being the unmarked construction type for 'transitive verbs'. They occur in intransitive constructions for specific reasons - to indicate reflexive meaning, to put the 'deep A' NP into surface S function in order to satisfy coordination and subordination constraints, to avoid having to specify the 'object', or for reasons of semantic or stylistic emphasis. About half the transitive roots collected did appear in both transitive and intransitive construction types; checking a sample of the remainder suggests that almost all of these also have the potentiality of occurring in intransitive constructions (with, potentially, any intransitive inflection).

In fact, some transitive verbs commonly occur in intransitive constructions, others do so occasionally, and others almost never do. This is simply a function of their semantic nature, and consequent syntactic behaviour. A verb like ḡi:ba- 'to scratch' will often be used reflexively (and note that the pair of roots ḡiba-y/ḡiba-l 'scratch' is one of only five known intransitive/transitive pairs in Dyirbal - see 5.1.2 and Dixon 1972:315-6); and with verbs like ḡunda- 'to see, look' ḡa:ra- 'to hear, listen', baya- 'to sing', buya-

'to blow' and *muga*- 'to eat', the speaker occasionally may not wish to specify an object. Other verbs typically occur in complement clauses - *ḡuni*- 'to hunt for' often occurs in sentences like 'go to hunt for animals' - and will then take the intransitive purposive inflection *-lagu*. But *gi:ga*- 'tell to do, let do' has none of these properties - it has never been encountered used reflexively, the object is always specified, and it tends to occur in the main clause (not the subordinate clause) of a complement construction (e.g. 'tell him to catch animals'). It is thus quite natural that *gi:ga*- should not have been encountered in an intransitive construction, and could not be elicited in one. Another verb that has never been heard in an intransitive sentence - and could not be elicited in one - is *wuji*- 'give'.

### 4.3 COMPLEMENTS

4.3.1 DATIVE AND PURPOSIVE. In his brief comments on the grammar of Wargamay, Lumholtz (*Among Cannibals*, 1889:308) singled out for special mention the suffix *-gu*:

'The suffix *go* literally means "with regard to", and is usually added to nouns to give them a verbal meaning, but it is also sometimes added to verbs. The question *Wainta Morboro?* - that is, "Where is Morbora?" - can be answered by saying only *tityengo* (he has gone hunting *tityen*) (wallaby), (literally, with respect to wallaby); or, for example, *mittago* he is at home (literally, with regard to the hut). *Mottaigo* means "he is eating" (literally, with regard to eating). "Throw him into the water," is expressed simply by *ngallogo*. As is evident, this is a very convenient suffix, as it saves a number of moods and tenses.'

There does seem to be, as Lumholtz suggested, a connection between the dative case *-gu* and verbal purposive *-lagu* *~-gu*. Thus, in

(161) *ḡinba miḡirilagu ḡaygungu*  
2sg-S wait-PURP 1sg-DAT  
You must wait for me

(162) *ḡinda baya gama ḡaygungu / ḡaḡa ḡa:ragu*  
2sg-A sing-PURP songstyle-ABS 1sg-DAT 1sg-A hear-PURP  
You sing a gama-style song for me. I want to hear (it).

the dative NP and purposive verb have in each case similar semantic overtones, indicating 'need' and 'desire'.

We can however go beyond semantic feelings and demonstrate a fairly formal syntactic relationship between the nominal and verbal inflections. First, note that a core sentence may be extended by either a dative NP, or a purposive verb, to indicate something to which the action referred to by the main verb is directed, as in:

(163) *ḡayba ḡagay wubirigu* I'm going for sugar-bag (i.e. bee's  
honeycomb)

(164) *ḡayba ḡagay wiḡgalagu* I'm going to bathe

In 3.5.4 we gave examples of purposive inflection on the verb in a main clause, marking necessity or desire (a kind of 'volitional future'). (164) shows a rather different

use of purposive, to mark the verb in a complement clause; -lagu in (164) seems to link the action referred to by the verb in the main clause with that in the complement clause - 'go *in order to* bathe'.

4.3.2 COMPLEMENT CLAUSES. The condition for two clauses to be joined in a complement construction is that they have a common NP that is in surface S or O function in each clause. The verb of the main clause can bear any inflection (except subordinate) and the verb of the complement clause shows purposive inflection. Semantically, the action of the main clause was performed *so that* the action of the complement clause should be possible.

We can thus recognise four types of complement construction, according to the functions of the common NP.

[a] S function in main clause and in subordinate clause  
e.g. (164).

[b] S in main clause and O in subordinate clause e.g.

(165) puṅa ma:l gu:ṅdigi / ṅuimbuṅgu ṅundagu  
3sg-SO man-ABS emerge-PERF woman-ERG see-PURP  
The man came out so that the woman would see him

[c] O in main clause and S in subordinate clause e.g. (68)  
and

(166) ṅaru ṅungarilga wagun / wana / ḡuwaralagu  
DON'T cut-NEG IMP tree-ABS leave-IMP stand-PURP  
Don't cut the tree down! Leave it to stand (there)!

(167) ṅaga buṅmbi puṅa / bandaligu  
1sg-A throw-UNMKD 3sg-O burst-PURP  
I threw it (a bottle) down, so that (it) burst.

[d] O in main and in subordinate clause e.g. the last two clauses in line 1 of Text 7, and

(168) ṅinda baba ḡi:ḡin / ṅaga ḡunbagu  
2sg-A spear-IMP wallaby-ABS 1sg-A cut-PURP  
You spear a wallaby, so that I can cut it up.

4.3.3 'FAVOURITE CONSTRUCTIONS'. Suppose that we wish to join in a complement construction two clauses, and that they have a common NP which is in S or O function in the first but in A function in the second e.g.

(169) ṅayba ḡagay I'm going

(170) ṅaga wubiri ḡungarigu I want to cut sugar-bag

In order to form a complement construction the common NP must be in S or O function in each clause; to meet this syntactic constraint we have to use not (170) but the corresponding intransitive construction (4.2) i.e.

(171) ṅayba wubirigu ḡungarilagu <=(170)>

We then obtain, with the normal deletion of the second occurrence of the common NP:

(172) ṅayba ḡagay wubirigu ḡungarilagu I'm going to cut sugar bag

Note the similarity between (172) and

(163) *ḡayba ḡagay wubirigu* I'm going for sugar-bag

In fact, any sentence with a dative NP, such as (163), can be extended by a transitive verb in *-lagu* inflection, indicating what the referent of the S/O NP of the first clause wants to do to the referent of the dative NP. A dative NP thus carries the expectation of a following transitive verb, in intransitive purposive inflection (cf (12) in 3.1.1).

We can refer to (172) as a 'favourite construction'. (There are parallels to the 'favourite construction' described for Dyirbal - Dixon 1972:73-4. Further discussion is in Chapter 5.) The first clause can be transitive or intransitive; its S or O NP will be coreferential with the 'deep A' NP of the second clause - this actually appears in surface S function through choice of the intransitive construction (which was necessary to meet the S/O condition on coreferential NPs for complement constructions).

Further examples of favourite constructions with intransitive main clause are line 15 in text 5 and line 4 in text 6. A favourite construction with transitive main clause is

(173) *waybalangu ḡana ḡi:ḡay ḡalḡuḡugu ḡalḡilagu*  
 whiteman-ERG lsg-O tell-UNMKD meat-DAT cook-PURP  
 The white man told me to cook the meat

Note that the main clause can involve any inflection including purposive (as in (4)). Or the main clause can be a 'minimal sentence' involving, say, an adjective (but no verb), as in (47).

The crucial role of intransitive constructions involving transitive verbs can thus be seen - they are needed to form complement clauses where the underlying A NP is coreferential to S or O NP in the main clause. We noted in 4.2 that if a transitive verb appears in an intransitive construction with purposive inflection, then the 'deep O' NP can be in dative or in ergative-instrumental inflection, that is, we can have either *ḡayba ḡagay ḡannaḡalagu biyagu* or *ḡayba ḡagay ḡannaḡalagu biyangu* 'I went to have a drink of beer' (cf. (148-9)). But in purposive complement clauses, dative is much the commoner marking on the 'deep O' NP, as in (172-3), (12), (4) and (47).

Little text material is available in Wargamay and little can be said about conditions for coordination of two sentences that fall outside complement constructions (i.e. where the second sentence does not show purposive verbal inflection). The indications are, though, that it is again necessary for there to be a common NP that is in S or O function in each clause. In 3.5.4 we mentioned a type of subordinate clause whose verb is marked by irrealis inflection *-ma--lma*, referring to something unpleasant that is to be avoided. For this construction-type there is generally an NP common to the two clauses and it is usually in S or O function in each clause; certainly the common NP can only be deleted from the second clause if this syntactic condition is satisfied - see (82), (83) and (125).

We have not said anything about complex sentences where

there is a common NP that is in A function in the main clause but in S or O function in the subordinate clause. In fact there are no examples of this type in the corpus collected, and when elicitation was directed to this point a straightforward sequence of transitive and intransitive clauses was obtained, with no syntactic interrelation between their noun phrases, and no NP deletion:

- (174) *nana nulaŋga gaygay / nuna bungilagu*  
 lsg-O 3sg-A hunt away-UNMKD 3sg-SO lie down-PURP  
*wugargiri*  
 sleepy-COMIT-ABS  
 He sent me away then he could sleep.

#### 4.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES.

The syntax of relative clauses is almost identical to that of complement clauses. There must be a common NP that is in S or O function in each clause. The verb of the main clause can bear any inflection except subordinate, while the verb of the relative clause must be in subordinate inflection. A relative clause refers to an action that is simultaneous with, or previous to, the action of the main clause.

Exemplifying in terms of the function of the common NP:

[a] S function in main clause and also in relative clause

- (175) *nayba wi:gimbigi wunanu*  
 lsg-S no good-INCHO-PERF walkabout-SUBORD  
 I, who had been walking about, felt no good (i.e. tired)

- (176) *nayba magulipu gi:gilagu*  
 lsg-S work-INCHO-SUBORD sit-PURP  
 I, who have been working, want to sit down

[b] S in main clause and O in subordinate clause

- (177) *nuna bigbabali naga nundanu*  
 3sg-SO jump-CONTIN-UNMKD lsg-A see-SUBORD  
 It (the kangaroo) which I saw was jumping

- (178) *gu:gaga naga bayguripu wulay*  
 goanna-ABS lsg-A bash-SUBORD die-UNMKD  
 The goanna which I had bashed (on a tree) died

- (179) A: *gumubuŋgu naga wugipu / nulumbuŋu dagigi /*  
 beef-INST lsg-A give-SUBORD woman-ABS fall-PERF  
 B: *miŋambipu / A: gumubuŋu gundil /*  
 what-INCHO-PERF beef-ABS heavy-ABS  
 A: 'The woman, whom I had given meat to, fell down'.  
 B: 'How was it (she fell)?' A: 'The meat was (too) heavy.'

- (180) *naga ganbanu / nuna dagigi*  
 lsg-A hit-SUBORD 3sg-SO fall-PERF  
 He, who I had hit, fell down.

[c] O in main clause and S in subordinate clause

- (181) *naga nulumbuŋu ganbay ba:dipu*  
 lsg-A woman-ABS hit-UNMKD cry-SUBORD  
 I punched the woman who was crying.



(182) ɲaɟa ɲuɲa ɟumubuɟu buɟmbilgani /  
 1sg-A 3sg-SO beef-ABS throw-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 buɟambɪɲu  
 rotten-INCHO-SUBORD  
 I throw away beef which has gone rotten.

(183) ɲaɟa ɲa:ray ɲina bu:ɲɟuraymbɪɲu  
 1sg-A hear-UNMKD 2sg-O snore-INCHO-SUBORD  
 I heard you snoring (last night)

[d] O function in both clauses

(184) ɲaɟa ɲunday ɲuɲa ɟilwɲu  
 1sg-A see-UNMKD 3sg-SO kick-SUBORD  
 I saw him being kicked

(185) ɲana ɟanɲay ɲalu waybalangu bu:dɪɲu  
 1pl-SA drink-UNMKD grog-ABS whiteman-ERG bring-SUBORD  
 We are drinking the grog which the white man brought

A continuative suffix can, of course, come between root and subordinate inflection, as in:

(186) ɲuɲa ɲulmbuɟu ɲunda wa:ɟibalɪɲu  
 3sg-SO woman-ABS look-IMP laugh-CONTIN-SUBORD  
 Look at that woman laughing!

We described two uses of the purposive inflection -lagu ~-gu, marking a main verb, or the verb in a complement clause. If we were restricted to the transitive conjugation we could suggest that -ɲu patterned in a similar way - as a perfect inflection in the main clause, and as the marked of a relative clause. The similarity between main and subordinate uses of -lagu~-gu (both implying futurity and purpose) is paralleled by a semantic overlap between main and subordinate uses of -ɲu (the former must and the latter can refer to completed actions). But in the intransitive conjugation perfect is -gi, quite distinct from subordinate -ɲu, and it is partly in view of this that we recognise two separate inflections in this case (as against one inflection, with two functions, for -lagu~-gu).

It is in fact sometimes difficult to decide whether a verb in -ɲu form should be regarded as 'perfect' or 'subordinate'. (176) is a typical example: we could take ɟi:ɟilagu as the main verb and maɟulɪɲu as a subordinate clause; or alternatively maɟulɪɲu could be the main verb in perfect inflection with ɟi:ɟilagu a complement clause. On semantic grounds the first interpretation seems most plausible in this instance - that is, we prefer 'I, who have been working, want to sit down' over 'I worked in order to sit down'.

In many cases there is a considerable semantic difference between perfect and relative interpretations. In (181), for instance, if ba:dɪɲu were in perfect inflection the sentence could only mean 'I punched the woman (after she) had completely finished crying' (and if this interpretation had been intended ba:dɪɲu should normally have preceded ɲaɟa danbay).

If the common NP involves just nominals they will have the same form for S and O functions; then the second occurrence of the common NP is likely to be deleted. In the case

of pronouns, different forms are used for the two functions and both occurrences may be retained, as in:

- (187) *ḡayba bimbirigi /ma:ldu ḡapa wuḡapu*  
 1sg-S run-PERF man-ERG 1sg-O chase-SUBORD  
 I, who was being chased by the man, ran away (i.e. 'I ran away with the man chasing me')
- (188) *pulanga ma:ldu ḡapa du:ḡapu / ḡayba dagigi*  
 3sg-A man-ERG 1sg-O pull-SUBORD 1sg-S fall-PERF  
 I, having been pulled by the man, fell down (out of the tree-fork)

Just as in the case of complement clauses, a transitive verb may be used in an intransitive construction in order to meet the syntactic condition on relative constructions e.g.

- (189) *ḡulmbuḡungu ḡunday ḡiḡu muḡabalipu*  
 woman-ERG see-UNMKD child-ABS eat-CONTIN-SUBORD  
*ḡunguldu*  
 vegetables-ERG/INST  
 The woman watched the child eating vegetables

Another way of dealing with this situation (of the common NP occurring in A function in one clause) is simply to employ two separate sentences:

- (190) *ḡaḡa ḡilway puḡa wiḡiyan / ḡalḡipu pulanga*  
 1sg-A kick-UNMKD 3sg-SO white woman-ABS burn-PERF 3sg-A  
*ḡalḡuḡu*  
 meat-ABS  
 I kicked the white woman. She had burnt the meat.

No example is known of a relative clause construction in which a common NP can be in surface A function in either clause.

It will be noticed that a relative clause normally follows the main clause. It may, however, precede it (normally forming a separate intonation group in this case) as in (179-80), (188). And there are examples of relative clauses being inserted into the main clause, normally after the occurrence of the common NP - as (176), (178).

#### 4.5 RECIPROCAL

There is, in the B dialect only, a suffix *-ba* that can be added to transitive verb roots, deriving an intransitive stem with reciprocal meaning:

- (191) *ḡali mayḡabay yaḡa* We'll talk together here (literally 'tell each other')
- (192) *ḡawanbigi puḡa buḡbabagu*  
 anger-INCHO-PERF '3sg'-SO hit-RECIP-PURP  
 They have become angry and want to fight each other.

In text 9 line 15 John Tooth used a B reciprocal form *buḡbabay*.

Note that in (192) the purposive inflection is *-gu*, from the transitive column in Table 3.3, rather than intransitive *-lagu*. This was given on two separate occasions,

and buɟbabalagu explicitly rejected, so that it is unlikely to be an error.

In (193) ɲunda+ba-, literally 'look at oneself', has the semi-idiomatic sense 'wait (for)':

(193) ɲayba yala ɲundabay ɲinungu I've been waiting here for you.

A reciprocal verb can, of course, function in a subordinate clause e.g.

(194) ɲaga ɲubulana yagamay ɲingay buɟbabapu  
 1sg-A 2du-O two-CAUS-UNMKD stop-UNMKD hit-RECIP-SUBORD  
 I stopped you two from fighting

The W dialect will simply use a transitive verb in an intransitive construction in order to show reflexive and also reciprocal sense e.g. ɲana buɟbabali 'they are fighting' ɲana buɲɟbabali 'they are shooting each other'; the inclusion of adjective ɲalma 'on one's own' can emphasize the reflexive interpretation.

Nyawaygi also shows a reciprocal verbal suffix -ba, identical to that in B.

#### 4.6 POSSESSION

In common with most Australian languages, Wargamay distinguishes between inalienable possession - covering whole-part relationship - and alienable possession - covering possession of artefacts, pets, language, and also kinship relations.

4.6.1 ALIENABLE POSSESSION. The genitive case -ɲu must be used to mark alienable possession. Genitive is added to each word of the 'possessor' NP, and this NP then modifies the 'possessed' head noun. The inflection appropriate for the head noun is added after the genitive inflection, on words of the 'possessor' NP. (The only examples of a declined genitive that have been gathered involve pronouns e.g. (61).)

See (84) and

(195) ɲuɲa bada ɲagunɲa ɲambigambigu  
 3sg-SO dog-ABS THERE old woman-REDUP-GEN-ABS  
 The dog over there belongs to the old women

(196) bada ɲaga ɲunday ɲanaɲu  
 dog-ABS 1sg-A see-UNMKD 3pl-GEN-ABS  
 I saw the dog belonging to all (those people)

4.6.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSION. For indicating a part of some object either a genitive construction can be used, as for alienable possession, or else the 'part noun' can just be apposed to the 'whole noun' in an NP (modifying it as an adjective would). In this 'appositional' construction there is no overt marking of possession; both nouns simply take the case inflection appropriate to the function of their NP.

Either a genitive or an appositional construction can be used quite freely for inalienable possession, although

apposition is probably a little commoner. (In this Wargamay is quite different from Dyirbal, which cannot use the genitive for inalienable possession - Dixon 1972:61-2. The data available for Wargamay is not rich enough to allow us to investigate whether there is a semantic hierarchy motivating the alternation, as there is for Yidiñ - Dixon 1977a: 360-4.)

Thus, one could say either of

(197) *ŋaygu bingap wiŋip* My foot is sore

(198) *ŋayba bingap wiŋip* <=(197)>

Other examples of the appositional construction are at (61), (106), (139-41), (243) and line 11 of text 9. A minimal sentence with adjectival comment and a topic NP that involves inalienable possession is:

(199) *ŋayilŋgara ŋayba marŋa*  
neck-ABS 1sg-S sore-ABS  
My neck is sore

Note also:

(200) *ŋayba yira ŋamugay* My tooth aches (literally 'My tooth has toothache')

It appears that a person's name is regarded as inalienably possessed, just like a body part - either the genitive *mipa ŋinu yi:l* or appositional *ŋinba mipa yi:l* can be used for 'what's your name?'

4.6.3 'GIVING' CONSTRUCTIONS. The most frequent construction involving the verb *wugi* 'give' has the 'giver' in A function, the 'recipient' in O function, and 'what is given' in instrumental inflection. Thus (32), (35), (179) and

(201) *bugangu gumbubuŋgu ŋana pulanga waybalangu wugiŋu*  
rotten-ERG/INST beef-INST 1sg-O 3sg-A whiteman-ERG give-PERF  
The white man gave me rotten beef

(202) *yunguŋgu ŋana baŋgaygu wuga*  
another-INST 1sg-O spear-INST give-IMP  
Give me another spear!

The alternative 'giving' construction is to have 'giver' in A function, 'what is given' in O function, and 'recipient' as alienable possessor (marked by genitive) within the O NP e.g.

(203) A: *ŋa:nu ŋinda wugi gaygamali /*  
WHO-GEN-ABS 2sg-A give-UNMKD flour-ABS  
Who did you give the flour to?

B: *ŋaŋga ŋulmbuŋgu wugi*  
THERE woman-GEN-ABS give-UNMKD  
(I) gave it to the woman over there

Note that the recipient would not normally be in dative case. The possibility of using dative (but not to mark ultimate recipient) with *wugi* is seen in (204). John Tooth had asked me to take a trunk full of crockery to his son in Cairns, and told me to say:

- (204) bagigi punga ganangu wugipu haygungu/ wugigu  
 trunk-ABS THIS father-ERG give-PERF 1sg-DAT give-PURP  
 ninu  
 2sg-GEN-ABS  
 (Your) father gave this trunk to me (for me) to give (it) to  
 you

Here the dative haygungu 'to me' indicates that I (who was intended to be the speaker of this sentence) was not the eventual recipient of the crockery; I had to deliver it to the intended addressee, John Tooth's son, and ninu 'your' is in genitive form.

#### 4.7 COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The addition of derivational suffix *-ma* to an intransitive root derives a transitive stem. John Tooth contrasted:

- (205) balbay bandaligi The bottle burst  
 (206) balbay bandalimay (Someone) burst the bottle

The first sentence involves the intransitive verb *bandali-*, and implies that the explosion was spontaneous. In contrast, the inclusion of transitive *bandalli+ma-* in (206) indicates that there was an agent (and an A NP could of course be included in this sentence).

The S NP in (205) corresponds to the O NP in (206), with an agent brought in as A - literally 'Someone made [the bottle burst]'; note that here there is a change of state, for the bottle. However, in most of the *-ma* constructions I have collected it is transitive A NP which corresponds to intransitive S (and there is no change of state involved). For instance:

- (207) pulanga nulmbugungu ginḡu wuḡamalgani  
 3sg-A woman-ERG child-ABS walkabout-COMIT-CONTIN-UNMKD  
 malanga  
 hand-LOC  
 The woman is walking about with the child [holding it] by the  
 hand
- (208) puḡa nulmbuḡu wuḡabali ginḡugiri  
 3sg-SO woman-ABS walkabout-CONTIN-UNMKD child-COMIT-ABS  
 <=(207)>

Here the A NP in (207) is identical to the head noun (and 3sg pronoun) of the S NP in (208); and *ginḡu*, which is in O function in (207), takes the nominal comitative suffix *-giri* (3.1.3) to function as a modifier within the S NP in (208).

In most of the *-ma* examples collected there is a correspondence between the O NP in the transitive comitative construction and a noun in nominal comitative form in the underlying intransitive sentence, as in (207-8); it is in view of this that we refer to *-ma* as the verbal comitative suffix (and (206-7) as 'comitative constructions'). Other examples are

- (209) muḡma ninḡa banama  
 boy-ABS 2sg-A return-COMIT-IMP

You return with the boy!

- (210) *ŋaŋa ŋulmbuŋu ɡi:ɡimay*  
 lsg-A woman-ABS sit-COMIT-UNMKD  
 I'll sit with the woman (this has the idiomatic meaning 'I'll marry the woman')

But there are some comitative constructions where the O NP corresponds to a dative or locative NP in the corresponding intransitive sentence; see (74) and

- (211) *ŋaŋa ŋaygu yibi ba:dimay*  
 lsg-A lsg-GEN-ABS child-ABS cry-COMIT-UNMKD  
 I'm crying for my child (if, say, she is lost)
- (212) *ɡi:balɡani pulanɡa ɡaɡanɡan /*  
 scratch-CONTIN-UNMKD 3sg-A grass-REDUP-ABS  
*bungimagu pulanɡa*  
 lie down-COMIT-PURP 3sg-A  
 He (the bandicoot) scratches grass together, to lie down on it

Intransitive verbs - like *bandali*-'burst', *bana* 'return', *wa:ɡi* 'laugh', *ɡi:(ɡi)* 'sit' and *ba:di* 'cry' - can only take intransitive inflections. But comitative *-ma* derives transitive stems which can then take either transitive or intransitive inflections (according to the circumstances outlined in 4.2). Thus we can have both

- (213) *transitive ŋaŋa ɡaŋa banamagu* I must take the child home  
 (214) *intransitive ŋayba ɡaɡagu banamalagu* <=(213)>

Note the contrast between intransitive use of the transitive stem *bana+ma*- 'go home with, take home' and the intransitive root *bana* in:

- (215) *intransitive ŋayba banalagu ɡaɡagu* I must go home to the child

(Word order is *not* significant in any of these examples.)

The comitative derivational affix *-ma* coincides in form with the intransitive irrealis inflection *-ma*. Thus *ɡagama* could be intransitive 'go-IRREAL' or transitive 'go-COMIT-POS IMP'. In most cases the other constituents in the sentence would help resolve this ambiguity. We can also, of course, get comitative *-ma* followed by irrealis *-lma*:

- (216) *puŋa ɡaɡangu bu:dilma / wuŋamalma*  
 3sg-ABS child-ERG take-IRREAL walkabout-COMIT-IRREAL  
 The child might pick it up and walk around with it

#### 4.8 INSTRUMENTALS

4.8.1 INSTRUMENTAL NPs. If an action crucially involves a weapon or tool then this can be shown by an NP in instrumental inflection, as in (59) and

- (217) *puŋa waguŋ ɡuŋari pulanɡa baɡguŋu*  
 3sg-SO tree-ABS cut-IMP 3sg-INST axe-INST  
 Cut the tree with the axe!
- (218) *puŋa ɡuŋɡa rubuŋu ŋinda*  
 3sg-SO tie-IMP rope-INST 2sg-A

You tie it up with rope!

The instrument may be a body part, as in

(219) *paŋa bingangu gilwa* Kick him with (your) foot!

(220) *mulindu ŋaŋa wagun buyay*  
lip-INST lsg-A fire-ABS blow-UNMKD  
I blew the fire with (my) mouth

(221) *gaŋan puŋaŋa mulindu du:ŋaŋani*  
grass-ABS 3sg-A lip-INST pull-CONTIN-UNMKD  
It (the bird) kept pulling up grass with (its) mouth

Instrumental NPs can also refer to liquids:

(222) *gurmalindu baŋga ŋinda*  
blood-INST paint-IMP 2sg-A  
You paint (it) with blood!

Note that the instrumental inflection will only be used if the tool or body part is crucial to the action and if it is used to *affect the state* of the referent of the O NP.

Thus in (221) the bird used its beak to pull the grass out of the ground, and instrumental inflection is appropriate.

But in

(223) *gaŋan puŋaŋa mulinda bu:dilgani*  
grass-ABS 3sg-A lip-LOC take-CONTIN-UNMKD  
It (the bird) carries grass in (its) mouth

the bird simply carries the uprooted grass back to its nest in its beak; here locative inflection is used.

A further use of instrumental is to mark 'what is given' in the most common type of giving construction - 4.6.3.

4.8.2 INSTRUMENTAL CONSTRUCTIONS. There are in my corpus just four or five examples of a derivational suffix *-ma* added to a transitive root. For instance:

(224) *warŋay ŋaŋa bu:digu ŋinbamagu ga:bugu*  
fishspear-ABS lsg-A take-PURP spear-INST-PURP fish-DAT  
I'll take the fishspear to spear fish with

This appears to have the same meaning as

(225) *warŋay ŋaŋa bu:digu* I'll take the fishspear

(226) *ga:bu ŋaŋa ŋinbagu warŋaygu* I'll spear fish with the fishspear

We can thus suggest that *-ma* effectively derives from (226):

(227) *warŋay ŋaŋa ŋinbamagu ga:bugu* <=(226)>

That is, it places the instrumental NP in surface O function (absolute case) so that it can enter into complement constructions etc (which demand a common NP in S or O function in each clause); and the deep O NP is now marked with dative case; (224) involves (225) as main and (227) as complement clause, with the common O NP *warŋay* - and also the repeated A pronoun *ŋaŋa* - being deleted from the second clause. (This is, in fact, syntactically identical to the instrumentive construction in Dyirbal - Dixon 1972:95-6.)

Another example is:

- (228) puṅa gagara bu:diya / waṅagu gumbamagu  
 3sg-SO dillybag-ABS bring-IMP beans-DAT put in-INST-PURP  
 Bring the dillybag to put beans in!

In view of its connection with nominal instrumentals, we call the suffix *-ma*, when added to a transitive verb, an 'instrumental' derivational affix

No example has been gathered of *-ma* added to *wugi-* 'give' with the 'what is given' NP (normally in instrumental case with *wugi-*) going into absolutive case with *wugima-*. 'What is given' NP's do behave like other types of instrumental NP in Dyrbal, and it is quite likely that they would also do so in Wargamay.

Note that only an instrumental NP can go into absolutive case within a *-ma* construction. Although ergative and instrumental have identical formal realisation, ergative is not affected by the *-ma* derivation.

#### 4.9 VERBALISATION

4.9.1 INCHOATIVES. From any noun or adjective can be derived an intransitive verbal stem, through the addition of an inchoative derivational affix that has the following allomorphs:

- mbi following a vowel,
- bi following a nasal (n, ŋ or m),
- bi~mbi following y
- i following l or r.

Inchoatives take the full set of intransitive suffixes, from Table 3.3. There is just one irregularity in that before the continuative suffix *-bali*, *-bi* drops from the post-vocalic inchoative allomorph *-mbi*. Thus (cf. (44)):

nominal	bi:ṅa	gawan	gubii
inchoative stem	bi:ṅambi-	gawanbi-	gubili-
+perfect inflection	bi:ṅambigi	gawanbigi	gubiligi
+continuative+unmarked	bi:ṅambali	gawanbibali	gubilbali
	'fear'	'anger'	'whistle'

This *-bi* dropping - which appears to be obligatory - is a further instance of the haplologic-like syllable deletion tendency mentioned in 2.6.

The intransitive verbaliser is most frequently added to adjectives or abstract nouns and indicates a state of 'becoming'. Examples have been given at (50), (57), (64), (67) (82), (182), (192); there are in addition examples throughout the texts. Also:

- (229) ṅayba palambuṅumbigi  
 1sg-S good-INCHO-PERF  
 I feel good
- (230) ḡilap gawanbima  
 old man-ABS anger-INCHO-IRREAL  
 The old man might get mad

It is also frequently used to derive intransitive verbs from nouns such as bu:ṅuray 'snore' - as in (183) - and magul



'work' - as in (176) and (240). The verbaliser is often found with nouns referring to noise - thus *gubil* 'a whistle', *gubili-* 'to whistle'; *gawal* 'a call', *gawali-* 'to call out'. The W verb *banma-* 'to speak' is missing from B and instead *mayay(m)bi-*, a verbalisation of *mayay* 'language', is employed. (In W *mayay(m)bi-* can be used in alternation with *banma-*.)

In fact, any sort of noun can be verbalised. In line 18 of Text 6 *waɟala+mbi+gi* refers to two 'dreamtime men' changing into black wallabies, *waɟala*. And in:

- (231) *ɲapi ɲuŋa ma:i gi:ginbigi*  
 face-ABS 3sg-SO man-ABS wallaby-INCHO-PERF  
 The man's face has become like a wallaby's

inchoative *-bi* is used as an alternative to the nominal suffix *-ɲaru* 'like a' (3.1.3).

When added to *mɪpa* 'what' the intransitive verbaliser derives an interrogative verb *mɪpambi-* 'do what, do how' - see (179), line 14 of Text 6 and line 4 of Text 9. With the locational root *waŋɟa* 'where' we obtain *waŋɟambi-* 'do where', as in

- (232) *ɲuŋa waŋɟambilagu yugaralagu* Which way will he swim?

With what we called the third person pronoun, *ɲuŋa*, *-mbi* derives a deictic verb 'do like this':

- (233) *ɲinba ɲugiga ɲuŋambiga* You dance like this!

There is also a verb *ɲagumbi-* 'to come' that is based on the form *ɲagu* 'to here' (3.4.3); it is used in (94). It appears, however, that *-mbi~-bi~-i* cannot be productively added to all forms from Table 3.2.

4.9.2 CAUSATIVES. A transitive verbal stem can be formed by adding *-mato* any noun or adjective root. These causatives have much the same properties as inchoatives; examples are at (17), (127), (194) and

- (234) *ɲalu gidul / ɟawupma* The water is cold, heat it up! (literally 'make it hot')

- (235) *wɪŋɟingu ɲana bi:ɟamay*  
 snake-ERG 1sg-S fear-CAUS-UNMKD  
 The snake frightened me

- (236) *ɲulanga ɲana ɟilbaymay*  
 3sg-A 1sg-O know how to do-CAUS-UNMKD  
 He taught me (how to do it)

- (237) *ma:ldu ɲana gungamay*  
 man-ERG 1sg-O alive-CAUS-UNMKD  
 The man cured me

- (238) *ɲaɟa ɟalɟuɟu ɟargiɟimay gunbay*  
 1sg-A meat-ABS finished-CAUS-UNMKD cut-UNMKD  
 I finished cutting the meat up

There are also transitive verbs *mɪpama-* 'do what', *ɲuŋama-* 'do like this' and *ɲaguma-* 'bring':

- (239) *mɪpamagu ɲuŋa ma:l*  
 what-CAUS-PURP 3sg-SO man-ABS  
 What will (you) do to the man?

## 4.10 PARTICLES

There is a set of non-inflecting particles that provide modal/logical-type qualification of a complete sentence. With the exception of *nuri*, they have only been encountered occurring before the verb.

[1] *na*: 'not'. This is used to negate any clause (excepting imperatives). Examples are (5), (101-2), Texts 5.24, 6.17, 7.10 and

(240) *puŋa wi:gina / na: maguligi ma:l* He's no good, the man won't work

(241) *wi:gi ŋulan / na: waguŋ guŋgari* The axe is no good, it won't cut wood

(242) *puŋa ŋunigi ŋayguŋgu / maya ŋana na: ŋunday*  
3sg-SO look for-PERF lsg-DAT NO lsg-O NOT see-UNMKD  
He was looking for me - but no, (he) didn't see me.

(243) *mala ŋana guŋday / maya ŋaŋa na: gi:gay*  
hand-ABS lsg-O bite-UNMKD NO lsg-A NOT let go-UNMKD  
(She) bit my hand - but no, I didn't let go (of her)

[2] *ŋaru* 'don't'. This is used in negative imperative sentences, in conjunction with verbal inflection -*ga~-lga*. See 3.5.4.

[3] *wara* indicates that an event concerned the wrong person or thing as referent of the S or O NP e.g.

(244) *puŋaŋa waguŋ wara guŋbay* He cut the wrong tree down

(245) ...*wara ŋamunbiŋu / maya bandaŋabaŋaŋa*  
PARTICLE breastmilk-INCHO-PERF NO bottle-COMP-LOC  
(When I was a small child I was fed milk) that was not the right type; it was like mother's milk but no, it was in a bottle

[4] *mari* 'might be' e.g.

(246) *mamu mari ŋaŋa puŋa guŋdagu* I might burn it by-and-by

Only five examples of *mari* are in the corpus but in each it is second element in the sentence, suggesting that it may properly be regardable as a clitic to the first word of the sentence.

[5] *gamu* 'just, only', as in

(247) Q: *miŋagu ŋiŋba gagay* Why did you go (to that man)?

A: *gamu / ŋaŋa baŋbay* I just went to ask (him something)

(248) *gamu ŋiŋba miŋiriŋagu* You must just wait (here for me)

[6] *nuri* 'in turn':

(249) *ŋaŋa puŋa buŋbay nuri* I'll hit him back

[7] *na:ŋa* 'can't do (despite trying)

(250) *guŋubuŋu muŋuru / na:ŋa ŋaŋa guŋday*  
beef-ABS hard-ABS PARTICLE lsg-A bite-UNMKD  
The meat is hard, I can't bite it

There is also a transitive verb *na:ɟamba-* 'try to do, but fail' e.g.

- (251) *na:ɟambay naɟa wagun gungari*  
 fail-UNMKD lsg-A tree-ABS cut-UNMKD  
 I tried to cut the tree but couldn't

Six of these particles - *ɲaru, wara, mari, ɟamu, ɲuri* and *na:ɟa* - appear with similar or identical meaning in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:118-21).

#### 4.11 QUESTIONS

We have mentioned the various interrogatives used in non-polar questions:

- mipa* 'what' - 3.1.5, 4.9 (and *mipap* 'how many' - 3.1.5); *mipagu* 'what-DAT' means 'what for' or 'why' - see Text 5 line 22, Text 8 line 2 and Text 9 lines 8 and 10.  
*na:n-* 'who' - 3.4.1, 3.4.2.  
*wanɟa-* 'where, when' - 3.4.3, 3.3, 4.9

There is no segmental indicator of polar questions in Wargamay; these are simply shown by final rising intonation (and also, of course, by various extralinguistic expressions and gestures).

#### 4.12 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections either make up a complete utterance, or else normally begin a sentence. Those encountered are:

- W maya, B biyay* 'no' - see (242-3)  
*ɲayi* 'yes'  
*gawu* 'come on!'  
*gala* 'try again'  
*guli* exclamation when startled.

### 5. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

There are a number of remarkable features of Wargamay grammar, when measured against the normal patterns encountered in languages of the Australian family. Firstly, every Australian language clearly distinguishes transitive from intransitive verbal stems, and almost every language has two or more distinct verbal conjugations, but Wargamay is the only example known to me where transitivity classes and conjugation classes exactly coincide. The second noteworthy feature is the free occurrence of 'transitive stems' with either transitive or intransitive inflectional allomorphs, while intransitive stems are confined to intransitive inflections.

In this chapter we compare Wargamay with the prevailing patterns found in Dyirbal and in other Australian languages, and attempt to explain the evolution of these two features. We also try to explain the occurrence of *-lagu* as intransi-

tive allomorph of the purposive inflection, and suggest that the -l- in this form is a reflex of the transitive conjugation marker. Finally, we speculate on the likely direction Wargamay might move in if the changes that have begun were carried to a logical conclusion.

## 5.1 NOTEWORTHY FEATURES OF WARGAMAY

### 5.1.1 TRANSITIVITY CLASSES AND CONJUGATION CLASSES.

The typical situation in an Australian language is for each verbal root, and each derived verbal stem, to have fixed transitivity. That is, it is either intransitive, and must occur with an S NP, or it is transitive, and occurs with an A NP or an O NP. (These types of NP are easily recognisable from the case inflection appropriate to nouns and to pronouns in S, A and O functions respectively.) A transitive stem can usually be derived from an intransitive root, and an intransitive stem from a transitive root, but this will always be marked by a derivational affix.

We can illustrate from the Giramay dialect of Dyirbal (which has a paradigm for first and second person pronouns that is almost identical to that for Wargamay, and similar nominal case inflections). The intransitive verb *yugara-y* 'swim' can only occur in an intransitive construction, as (252-3), and not in the transitive (253-4).

(252) *bayi yağa yugarapu* The man is swimming

(253) *ḡayba yugarapu* I am swimming

\*(254) *baḡgul yaḡaḡu balan ḡaḡa yugarapu*

\*(255) *ḡaḡa ḡina yugarapu*

Whereas the transitive verb *gunba-l* 'cut' can only occur in a transitive construction, (258-9), never in intransitives, (256-7).

\*(256) *bayi yağa gunban*

\*(257) *ḡayba gunban*

(258) *baḡgul yaḡaḡu bala yugu gunban* The man cut the tree

(259) *ḡaḡa ḡina gunban* I cut you

(Note that (256) could be an elliptical version of a transitive sentence with the A NP deleted, 'The man was cut (by someone)'. This interpretation is possible since absolutive case marks either S or O function. It is the unacceptability of (257) which indicates that *gunba-l* cannot occur in an intransitive construction.)

We can form a derived transitive stem *yugaraymba-l* 'swim with' by adding the comitative suffix *-mba-l*:

(260) *baḡgul yaḡaḡu balan ḡaḡa yugaraymban* The man is swimming  
with the child

(261) *ḡaḡa ḡina yugaraymban* I am swimming with you

And similarly the reflexive stem *gunbari-y* will function intransitively:

- (262) bayi yaça gunbariṇu      The man cut himself  
 (263) ṇayba gunbariṇu          I cut myself

I have chosen to use two verbs that also occur in Wargamay. yugara- is intransitive in Wargamay, and can only occur in intransitive constructions - compare (130-2) with (252-3). gunba- is in the complementary Wargamay class - that we have called 'transitive' - and can occur in either transitive or intransitive constructions. Compare (256-9) with (138) and (141) above.

The point we are making is that in most Australian languages a verb is strictly categorised as transitive or intransitive. We do not come up against the difficulty involved with the English verb *eat*, for instance. *Eat* is clearly transitive in *I have eaten lunch* but it also occurs in grammatical sentences like *I have eaten*. It is not clear whether it is functioning intransitively in the latter case (as in *I have slept*) or whether *I have eaten* is a reduced form of a transitive sentence, with the O NP being non-specified in this instance.

Wargamay does have two mutually exclusive transitivity classes; as for other Australian languages it is a straightforward matter to decide which class any given stem belongs to. It differs from other languages in that the transitive class can function in either type of construction whereas the intransitive class cannot. We return to this point in 5.1.2.

The second type of classification of verbal stem that is encountered in almost all Australian languages is into conjugation classes. There are usually two open classes, one whose members are predominantly transitive and the other with predominantly intransitive membership. Some languages also have a number of smaller, closed conjugations, often involving mostly monosyllabic roots (Nyawaygi is a language of this type).

Generally, the most revealing analysis of verbal forms in Australian languages is to take the root to end in a vowel, and to recognise a 'conjugation marker' morpheme that intrudes between stem and most suffixes. For instance, the forms for four out of the seven verbal inflections in Yidip are (cf. Dixon 1977a:207)

	-n conjugation (56% intransitive)	-l conjugation (81% transitive)	-ɕ conjugation (87% transitive)
present-future	-ŋ	-l	-ɕ
past	-ṇu	-l+ṇu	-ɕ+ṇu
purposive	-na	-l+na	-ɕ+na
'lest'	-n+gi	-l+gi	-ɕ+gi

We can recognise past tense as -ṇu, purposive inflection as -na and 'lest' as -gi. The conjugation markers -l- and -ɕ- intervene between stem and each of these three suffixes whereas the -n- marker only occurs before 'lest'.

But, typically, not every suffix can be explained in this way. The most frequent and important inflections may not show a conjugation marker (in synchronic analysis at least) or may have other irregularities. Thus 'present-past' in Yidip has -ŋ in the -n conjugation but -l and -ɕ (appar-

ently, just the conjugation markers) in the other two cases.

The combination of regular 'conjugation marker plus invariable suffix' for some categories, with irregularities in the case of the more frequent inflections, is well exemplified in the Giramay dialect of Dyirbal:

	-y conjugation (80% intransitive)	-l conjugation (80% transitive)
present-past	-pu	-n
future	-n+gay	-l+gay
purposive	-y+gu	-li
participial	-y+muŋa	-l+muŋa
repetitive aspect	-n-gani-y	-l-gani-y

In this paradigm the invariable morphemes -gay future, -muŋa participial and -gani-y repetitive aspect are preceded by marker -l- for the second conjugation and by either -n- or -y- in the first column. One purposive allomorph can be segmented into -y+gu (the -gu recurring in Wargamay, and in many other Australian languages) but the -li is not susceptible to analysis (there is no record of a purposive -i). And present-past forms -pu~-n do not relate, in a synchronic analysis, to the conjugation markers (although there is evidence that -pu<\*-y+pu and -n<\*-l+pu - see Dixon 1972:354-8).

Now the open conjugation which has predominantly transitive membership has, in a wide range of languages from every part of the continent, a conjugation marker -l-, as in the Yidiŋ and Dyirbal paradigms just given. The other recurrent open conjugation, with mostly intransitive membership, has as conjugation marker sometimes -y-, occasionally -n- (or even -y~-n- as in Dyirbal), and often  $\phi$ .

Wargamay does have two conjugational patterns, corresponding to the Australian norm. And examination of Table 3.3 shows that there are grounds for recognising -l- as conjugation marker for the transitive column, contrasting with  $\phi$  in the corresponding intransitive forms (3.5.2).

What is unusual about the W dialect of Wargamay is the exact coincidence of transitivity with conjugation classes. Every intransitive verb occurs only with allomorphs from the left-hand column of Table 3.3 (with conjugation marker  $\phi$ ); every transitive verb occurs predominantly with allomorphs from the right-hand column (conjugation marker -l) although it can also function intransitively and then takes allomorphs from the left-hand column. It appears that the W dialect has reassigned conjugational membership for those items that are exceptions in related languages. We mentioned in 3.5.3 that intransitive *bungi* 'lie down' belongs to the -l conjugation in Dyirbal, but it takes only intransitive inflections in W. (The Biyay dialect, in contrast, appears not to have undertaken this reassignment and in B *bungi*-still takes inflections from the transitive column of Table 3.3, although it only functions intransitively.)

In summary, whereas most Australian languages show statistical correlation between transitivity and conjugational classes, the W dialect is a unique example of conjugational and transitivity classes exactly coinciding.

5.1.2 DOUBLE TRANSITIVITY. A survey of 'ergative languages' (both inside and outside of Australia) suggests that they tend to show stricter transitivity than 'accusative languages'. That is, a verb in an ergative language will normally be classified as one and only one of intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and so on; whereas a verb in an accusative language may have more fluid transitivity membership and be able to occur equally easily with one or two (or three) core NPs. It will pay us to look into possible reasons for this phenomenon before considering in more detail the ability of 'transitive verbs' in Wargamay to function in transitive or in intransitive constructions.

First note that a language may typically have a number of pairs of verbs that have the same (or almost the same) semantic content, but differ in transitivity. We can exemplify from Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:296-9):

<i>transitive</i>		<i>intransitive</i>	
buwa-y	'tell'	wurba-y	'talk, speak'
ganga-y	'eat'	manga-y	'eat (to appease hunger)'
banḡa-l	'follow'	maṛi-l	'follow'
bundi-l	'take out'	mayi-l	'come out'

What could be more natural than for the transitive and intransitive members of such a pair to have *the same form* and to differ only in conjugational membership. There are, in fact, just five such pairs known for Dyirbal; with -l conjugation inflectional allomorphs they function transitively and with -y conjugation allomorphs they function intransitively. These pairs include (Dixon 1972:315):

<i>transitive</i>		<i>intransitive</i>	
yalama-l	'do like this to'	yalama-y	'do like this'
giba-l	'scratch, scrape'	giba-y	'scratch (oneself)'
gaba-l	'immerse in water'	ḡaba-y	'bathe'

A simple event could be described using either the transitive or the intransitive member of a pair:

(264) *baṅgul yaḡaṅgu balan ḡaḡa buwaṇu* The man told the child

(265) *baṅgi yaḡa wurbaṇu* The man spoke

Most transitive-intransitive pairs involve semantic identification of A and S NPs as here: the A NP, *baṅgul yaḡaṅgu*, in (264) and the S NP, *baṅgi yaḡa*, in (265) are coreferential. (Note that not all pairs involve  $S \equiv A$  identification. In fact two of the pairs just quoted are of the  $S \equiv O$  type - thus *he took it out (of the hole)/it came out (of the hole)* and *he immersed her in water/she bathed*. But  $S \equiv O$  pairs are outnumbered by  $S \equiv A$  pairs in Dyirbal and it is likely that  $S \equiv O$  items are greatly outnumbered by  $S \equiv A$  pairs in most other languages.)

Suppose that a single verb root can function either transitively or intransitively (and that it is of the majority syntactic type  $S \equiv A$ ). That is, in an 'accusative language' it can occur either with just a nominative (S) NP, or with both a nominative (A) and an accusative (O) NP. It is likely that an NP could be deleted from a transitive sentence, so that if we encounter

(266) 'alligator'-NOM 'eat'-PAST

we could not be sure whether it was a complete intransitive sentence, or an elliptical form of a transitive construction with the object (which would be in accusative case) omitted. But in the case of a nominative-accusative language this syntactic indeterminacy is semantically quite inconsequential. In either case (266) would be translated by 'the alligator ate'. That is, there is no possibility of semantic confusion.

Consider the corresponding example in an 'ergative language'. Suppose that a verb could occur either with just an absolutive (S) NP, or with both an ergative (A) and an absolutive (O) NP; and that an NP can be omitted from the surface representation of a transitive sentence. Then

(267) 'alligator'-ABS 'eat'-PAST

is ambiguous between a reading where 'alligator'-ABS is the S NP, or where it is the O NP in a transitive construction (with deleted A NP). In this case the syntactic ambiguity leads to a real semantic impasse - in the one case (267) means 'the alligator ate', and in the other it indicates that '(something) ate the alligator'.

We thus see that the consequences of allowing verbs to have fluid transitivity can lead to unacceptable semantic ambiguity for a language with ergative case marking (but not to the same extent if the case marking follows a nominative-accusative paradigm). This is likely to be at least one reason why ergative languages tend to have a fairly rigid assignment of verbal roots into transitivity classes.

Of course a verb could be permitted to function either transitively or intransitively if it took a different set of conjugational affixes in the two functions (ideally, there would have to be a distinct allomorph of each inflection for the two conjugations). In this case transitivity would be inferrable from conjugation; the meaning of a sentence like (267) would be unequivocally known on the basis of whether 'transitive' or 'intransitive' allomorph of past tense were used.

In most Australian languages transitivity correlates statistically with conjugation class but does not coincide with it; that is, transitivity can not definitely be inferred from conjugational membership. This may in part account for the small number of transitive/intransitive pairs *with the same form* (as Dyirbal *yalama-l/yalama-y*) in comparison with the larger number of pairs *with different forms* for intransitive and transitive function (e.g. Dyirbal *buwa-y/wurba-y*).

But in the D dialect of Wargamay transitivity does coincide with conjugation. The type of construction involved can be inferred from the conjugational class of the verb ending. It is, in view of this, perfectly reasonable that roots from the 'transitive set' should *all* be 'double transitivity verbs' (like the five pairs known for Dyirbal).

(There may be a connection between the *degree* of co-relation between transitivity and conjugation classes in a given language, and the *number* of verb roots which can fun-



ction transitively or intransitively. Thus Yidiñ has a relatively low degree of correlation - 81% of -l conjugation and 87% of -ɟ conjugation roots are transitive, but only 56% of -n conjugation roots are intransitive. Yidiñ has no verbal roots that can function transitively or intransitively according as they take different conjugational endings. Dyirbal has a better correlation - about 80% of -l conjugation roots are transitive and around 80% of -y conjugation roots are intransitive; here there are five transitive/intransitive pairs. Then Wargamay has coincidence of conjugation and transitivity classes, and two-thirds of its verbs (i.e. all or almost all those in the 'transitive set') have double transitivity.)

It will be seen from Table 3.3 that each Wargamay inflection has different allomorphs in the intransitive and transitive columns excepting 'subordinate' -pu and the most frequent ending of all, 'unmarked aspect' -y. If a 'transitive root' is in one of these inflections a Wargamay sentence like (267) is indeed ambiguous, with the two possible readings being completely opposite in meaning. (This has already been pointed out in 4.2, and in the discussion of (116) in 4.1.1.)

There is, however, one further factor that mitigates possibilities of this sort. Nominals in Wargamay follow an absolutive-ergative pattern but pronouns do not. The singular first and second person pronouns have in fact distinct forms for all three of the major syntactic functions, S, A and O. We are thus only likely to find ambiguity of the type exemplified in (267) if the verb is in unmarked or subordinate inflection (and in the latter case there may well be other clues in the construction to help resolve things) *and* if the single NP is a nominal or the third person singular pronoun. (There *is still* a real possibility of confusion; and it seems to be the price that must be paid for the extensions and generalisations that have recently taken place in Wargamay grammar - 5.3.)

One important question to ask about Wargamay is *why*, although the set of 'transitive roots' can occur in either transitive or intransitive constructions (with the appropriate inflectional allomorphs), the set of intransitive verbs is restricted to intransitive constructions. If transitivity is inferrable from conjugational ending why should the property of 'double transitivity' be restricted to only two-thirds of the verbs, and not extended to apply to every verb in the lexicon?

This question is in essence a diachronic enquiry. From comparison with other Australian languages we infer that the 'transitive roots' in Wargamay - which correspond to verbs that can *only* function transitively in other languages - must at one time have been confined to occurrence in transitive constructions. Their function has been extended so that they now also function in intransitive constructions, taking intransitive inflections. What has motivated this generalisation? And why have intransitive roots not had their function extended analogously, to allow them to occur with transitive inflection in transitive constructions? We return to these two questions in 5.3 below.

## 5.2 SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS IN DYIRBAL AND WARGAMAY

In Dyirbal two clauses can be coordinated if they have a common NP which is in S or O function in each clause (that is, there are four possibilities: S-S, S-O, O-S and O-O). If the NP involves only nominals they must be in absolutive case in each clause - which is the reason this type of constraint has been referred to as an example of 'absolutive-ergative' syntax (but note that the S=O constraint also applies if the common NP involves pronouns, which do not have the same form for S and O functions - Dixon 1972:130-4).

The same constraint applies to the formation of complement clauses in Dyirbal (these are subordinate clauses whose verb bears the purposive inflection). Thus (quoting examples in the Giramay dialect), from

(268) bayi yaça banaganu The man returned

(269) bayi yaça baggun gumbuçu pungalali For the woman to kiss the man  
we can derive the complement construction:

(270) bayi yaça banaganu baggun gumbuçu pungalali The man returned to  
be kissed by the woman

Here bayi yaça is the S NP in (268) and O NP in (269), thus satisfying the syntactic condition on coordination/complementation.

However, (268) and

(271) balan gumbul baggul yaçangu pungalali For the man to kiss the  
woman

cannot be simply combined, since the common NP bayi yaça is in S function in (268) but in A function (showing ergative case) for (271).

In cases such as this Dyirbal derives an antipassive version of a transitive sentence - the deep A NP goes into surface S function, the deep O NP into dative (or, occasionally, into instrumental-ergative case) case, and the verb takes the derivational affix -l+(ŋ)a-y (onto an -l conjugation stem)~--na-y (onto a -y conjugation stem). Thus from (271) is derived:

(272) bayi yaça bagun gumbulgu pungalaygu <=(271)>

where bagun gumbulgu is in dative case. Thus (268) and (272) can be combined to form

(273) bayi yaça banaganu bagun gumbulgu pungalaygu The man returned  
to kiss the woman

Note that the antipassive suffix -l+(ŋ)a-y--na-y derives an intransitive stem that takes the full set of derivational and inflectional possibilities. For instance:

	<i>intransitive root</i>	<i>derived</i> <i>intransitive stem</i>	<i>transitive root</i>
	banaga-y 'return'	pungal(ŋ)a-y 'kiss'	punga-l 'kiss'
present-past	banaganu	pungal(ŋ)anu	pungan
future	banaganday	pungal(ŋ)anday	pungalgay
purposive	banagaygu	pungal(ŋ)aygu	pungali

The occurrence of -ŋ- in the antipassive suffix is a dialect-determined phenomenon. The northerly Mamu dialect always includes -ŋ-, the central Dyirbal dialect can include or omit -ŋ-, whereas Giramay, the most southerly dialect, obligatorily omits it. We thus get:

Mamu dialect	pungalŋa-y
Dyirbal dialect	pungal(ŋ)a-y
Giramay dialect	pungala-y

If we were writing a grammar of the Giramay dialect alone we should doubtless set up the antipassive suffix (onto an -l conjugation stem) as simple -a-y, preceded by the conjugation marker -i-. But dealing with the language as a whole we prefer to posit a canonical form -ŋa-y, and then state a rule of '-ŋ- dropping' that is optional for the Dyirbal dialect but obligatory in Giramay.

The syntactic constraint on complementation in Wargamay is identical to that in Dyirbal. There must be a common NP that is in S or O function in both main and subordinate clauses (4.3). That is, from

(274) ma:l banay The man returned

and

(275) ma:l gulmbuŋgu pu:ngagu For the woman to kiss the man

is derived:

(276) ma:l banay gulmbuŋgu pu:ngagu The man returned to be  
kissed by the woman

pu:ngga 'to kiss' belongs to the transitive set of verbs in Wargamay and appears most frequently in transitive constructions, like (275). However, if a sentence like 'for the man to kiss the woman' is required to be joined to (274) then pu:ngga must be put into an intransitive construction:

(277) ma:l gulmbuŋgu pu:ngalagu For the man to kiss the woman

yielding

(278) ma:l banay gulmbuŋgu pu:ngalagu The man returned to kiss  
the woman

Thus the fact that the NP which is subject of the intransitive main clause is deep transitive subject (A) for the complement clause is marked in different ways in the Dyirbal sentence (273) and in the Wargamay sentence (278). In (273) the verb shows antipassive derivational affix -(ŋ)a-y whereas in (278) it simply takes the intransitive allomorph of purposive, -lagu. When -(ŋ)a-y is absent - as in Dyirbal (271) - or when pu:ngga takes the purposive allomorph from the transitive column of Table 3.3 - as in Wargamay (276) - then the main clause S is understood to be identified with the deep transitive *object* (O).

### 5.3 DIACHRONIC CHANGES IN WARGAMAY

It is worthwhile carefully comparing the forms of the verb in a complement clause whose deep A NP is coreferential

with the main clause S or O NP - that is, in a sentence like (273) or (278). We can compare these forms over the three dialects of Dyirbal, in north-to-south order, and in Dyirbal's southerly neighbour Wargamay:

Dyirbal language	{	Mamu dialect	pungalɲaygu
		Dyirbal dialect	pungal(ŋ)aygu
		Giramay dialect	pungalaygu
Wargamay language			pu:ŋalagu

We have purposely chosen the cognate roots *punga-l* and *pu:ŋa-*. The only other difference between the Giramay and Wargamay forms is the absence of *-y-* in the latter. But *-y-* is a conjugation marker in the Giramay form and we know that the intransitive conjugation in Wargamay has  $\emptyset$  marker. In view of this, are the forms in Giramay and Wargamay not grammatically identical?

In fact they are not. Morphemic segmentation yields

*Giramay*    *punga-l-a-y-gu*  
kiss-CONJ MARKER-ANTIPASSIVE-CONJ MARKER-PURPOSIVE

whereas we cannot go beyond

*Wargamay*    *pu:ŋa-lagu*  
kiss-PURPOSIVE

In Wargamay *-lagu* is simply the allomorph of the purposive inflection onto the verb in an intransitive construction (whether the verb belongs to the intransitive or the transitive set). An example of *-lagu* onto an intransitive root is in

(279) *ma:l banay yugaralagu*    The man returned to swim

It is impossible to obtain *-la-* followed by any other inflection (thus *\*-lay*, for instance, is quite unacceptable as a verbal ending); so *-lagu* cannot be segmented in terms of a synchronic analysis of Wargamay. And while Giramay *pungalaygu* and Wargamay *pu:ŋalagu* are almost identical in form, the first can be analysed into five morphemes and the second only into root plus *-lagu*.

However, the similarity between these Giramay and Wargamay forms is significant, and surely suggests that there may be a diachronic connection between them.

Let us look again at those verbal affixes in W and B that involve *-l-*:

	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>
negative imperative	-ga	-lga
irrealis	-ma	-lma
purposive	-lagu	-gu
continuative derivational suffix	W -balli-	-lgani-
	B -ni-	-lani-

There are four occurrences of *-l-* as 'conjugation marker' in the transitive column (we suggested in 3.5.3 *\*-gani>-ni* and *\*-lgani>-lani* for the continuative forms in B). The odd man out here is *-lagu*, where an *-l-* appears in the intransitive column, but not on the transitive side.

Now the *-l-* in *-lagu* might be quite unconnected with the transitive conjugation marker. On the other hand, the simi-

ilarity between Giramay pungalaygu and Wargamay pu:ngalagu - forms which fill the same syntactic slot in exactly parallel construction types - suggests that it may be worthwhile pursuing the hypothesis that there *is* a relation here.

We will posit a hypothetical earlier stage of Wargamay (in which it is syntactically more like its neighbours than is the modern language) and then investigate whether any natural series of changes could yield the modern system. Firstly consider, at some time in the past:

#### STAGE A

Suppose that at this time pre-Wargamay showed the following features:

(i) Like other Australian languages, each verbal stem was strictly specified for transitivity. A transitive form could only occur in a transitive construction, just as an intransitive form could only appear in an intransitive construction (any other possibility had to involve explicit syntactic derivation, morphologically marked by an appropriate affix).

(ii) As in other Australian languages, conjugation classes correlated statistically with, but did not totally coincide with, transitivity classes.

(iii) Like modern Wargamay and Dyirbal, Stage A had an 'absolute-ergative'-type syntactic constraint on coreferential NPs in complement constructions. That is, the surface S or O NP of the main clause had to be coreferential with the surface S or O NP of the subordinate clause (and the latter token could then be deleted).

In order to satisfy (iii), within the restrictions imposed by (i), pre-Wargamay would have had to have a transformation that put a deep A NP into surface S or O function. The most likely possibility is an antipassive construction, parallel to that in modern Dyirbal.

The Dyirbal antipassive was alluded to in 5.2. The deep A NP goes into surface S function, deep O NP takes dative or instrumental(-ergative) inflection, and the verb is marked by the antipassive derivational affix -l+(ŋ)a-y-na-y. Thus a Dyirbal transitive construction such as (quoting Giramay forms, with verbs in present-past inflection):

(280) balan gumbul bangul yaŋaŋu puŋaŋ The man kissed the woman

or

(281) ŋaŋa balan gumbul puŋaŋ I kissed the woman

can be transformed into

(282) bayi yaŋa {bagun gumbulgu}puŋaŋaŋu <=(280)>  
                  {bangun gumbuŋu}

or

(283) ŋayba {bagun gumbulgu}puŋaŋaŋu <=(281)>  
                  {bangun gumbuŋu}

respectively.

Now in Dyirbal an antipassive construction will only normally appear in a non-initial clause, and it is used in order to meet the coreferentiality demands of coordinate constructions (thus (282) could be the second clause in

'the man returned and kissed the woman'). Most frequently the verb in such a non-initial clause will be in purposive inflection, marking a complement construction, as (273). (And whereas the deep O NP can be in dative or in instrumental(-ergative) inflection in an antipassive construction if the verb is not in purposive inflection, if the verb takes purposive inflection -gu then this NP can only be in dative case, also realised by -gu. See Dixon 1972:69, 170-6.) An important point here is that while the *overall* most frequent inflection on a verb root is present-past -nu~-n, the most commonly encountered inflection *on an antipassive stem* (involving derivational affix -l(η)a-y~-na-y) is undoubtedly purposive -y+gu.

Suppose, for the sake of exemplification, that Wargamay had an antipassive derivational affix similar to that in Dyirbal, with form -a- preceded by the conjugation marker -l-. We would then have had, for 'the man returned to kiss the woman':

(284) ma:l banay ŋulmbuŋugu nu:ŋalagu

This is identical to the attested modern construction, (278). However, we are supposing that at Stage A the verb was segmentable into nu:ŋa+l+a+gu. That is, we posit an original system of verbal inflections that would have been, in part:

	<i>predominantly intransitive conjugation</i>	<i>predominantly transitive conjugation</i>
irrealis	-ma	-lma
purposive	-gu	-gu
pos.imperative	-ga	-ya

Our suggestion is that antipassive stems, ending in -la- would take the full range of intransitive inflections. Thus, increments to the root would comprise:

(A)	<i>derived</i>		
	<i>intransitive root</i>	<i>antipassive stem</i>	<i>transitive root</i>
irrealis	-ma	-l+a+ma	-l+ma
purposive	-gu	-l+a+gu	-gu
pos.imperative	-ga	-l+a+ga	-ya

So that typical complement sentences would be (284), with a (deep) transitive complement clause, and

(285) ma:l banay ŋugigu The man returned to dance

with a (deep) intransitive complement clause.

#### STAGE B

Sentences (284) and (285) are parallel constructions, and in each case the complement clause is intransitive at the surface level. It would thus be quite possible for the ending on the verb in (284) to be generalised, so that it also functioned as the ending on the verb in (285). We are suggesting that -lagu replaced -gu as the purposive inflection for intransitive verbs. Paradigm A would then be superseded by:

(B)		<i>derived</i>	
	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>antipassive</i>	<i>transitive</i>
	<i>root</i>	<i>stem</i>	<i>root</i>
irrealis	-ma	-l+a+ma	-l+ma
purposive	-lagu	-l+a+gu	-gu
pos.imperative	-ga	-l+a+ga	-ya

The most frequent type of complement construction is one in which the underlying A NP of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the S or O NP of the main clause (indeed, this is referred to as the 'favourite construction' in 4.3.3 above, and also in my grammar of Dyirbal - Dixon 1972: 73-4); thus, -lagu would probably have been the commonest ending on a complement clause verb. This may have been part of the explanation for why -lagu was generalised to replace -gu in the left-hand column. We can also note that -gu could scarcely have been generalised from the left-hand column to replace -lagu in the middle column without a form like pu:nga-gu becoming irretrievably ambiguous between the interpretation as a simple verb in a transitive sentence, e.g. (275-6), and that as the verb in a derived antipassive intransitive construction, like (277-8).

At this stage -lagu would have become the purposive inflection on intransitive roots in complement clauses, like (279), and also in *main* clauses, like (76-8) in 3.5.4. A crucial point here is that in an antipassive clause -lagu is segmentable into transitive conjugation marker -l-, plus antipassive derivational suffix -a-, plus purposive -gu, whereas with intransitive roots -lagu is functioning as a simple morph, the (unanalysable) intransitive allomorph of purposive.

#### STAGE C

The next obvious generalisation (or, really, simplification) is to have just one set of forms for the first and second columns in the paradigm. We have suggested that antipassive -lagu was extended to the intransitive column, partly because of its greater frequency. But for the other verbal inflections (irrealis, imperative, and so on) the intransitive allomorphs would be much more frequent than the antipassive variety; and, unlike purposive, all of the other inflections (leaving aside the unmarked ending -y) do have different forms in the left-hand and right-hand columns. We might thus expect that for inflections other than purposive (and also for the 'continuative' derivational suffix), the intransitive allomorph might be generalised to the second column, giving:

(C)	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive root in</i>	
	<i>root in</i>		
	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>intransitive</i>	<i>transitive</i>
	<i>construction</i>	<i>construction</i>	<i>construction</i>
irrealis		-ma	-lma
purposive		-lagu	-gu
pos.imperative		-ga	-ya- $\phi$

and so on.

This would only work if there were, at approximately the same time, a tidying-up of conjugation-transitivity membership. Exceptional items - transitive verbs in the

ø conjugation or intransitive stems in the -l class - would have to be reassigned to the majority class, if severe confusion were not to result. We can see that such a tidying-up must have taken place very recently in the W dialect, simply because it has not been completed in the B variety (in 3.5.3 we mentioned that B has a few verbs like bungil-'lie down' which take transitive inflections although they do only occur in intransitive constructions).

With the replacement of -lama by -ma, -laga by -ga and so on in the middle column, the justification for analysing -lagu into three morphemes would have disappeared; since -la *only* occurs in -lagu it cannot be segmented out as a distinct morpheme. Now -lagu would be felt to be indivisible, simply an allomorph of purposive, whether affixed to intransitive or to transitive roots.

(It is likely that Stage C very quickly followed Stage B; indeed the changes may have been more-or-less simultaneous, so that Stage A effectively gave way to Stage C. The original -lagu in the middle column of Paradigm A was analysed into -l+a+gu, the last element being the intransitive allomorph of purposive; once this allomorph, -gu, had been replaced by -lagu a pivotal point for the analysis of -lagu would have been lost. If, in the middle column, -lagu - and also -lama and -laga - were no longer felt to have recognisable components, what more natural than that the latter two forms should have been replaced by -ma and -ga from the left-hand column.)

This diachronic hypothesis explains the modern intransitive allomorph -lagu as being derived from the transitive conjugation marker -l-, plus -a- as a residue of an original antipassive derivational affix, plus the early intransitive allomorph of purposive, -gu. We can posit a form \*-Ca- for the antipassive suffix at Stage A (where C indicates some consonant that can occur word/affix initially). Suffixes in Wargamay, as in surrounding languages, almost invariably have canonical forms commencing with a consonant, and the change \*-l+Ca->-l+a- exactly parallels \*-l+gani>-l+ani suggested for the continuative suffix in the B dialect.

The antipassive form *could* have been -ŋa-, identical to the suffix in modern Dyirbal, and then the reduction \*-l+ŋa->-l+a- in Wargamay would exactly parallel that in Giramay. But there is no way of verifying this. Dyirbal and Wargamay do show striking similarities but there are also many differences, and there is simply not enough evidence to support their close genetic relationship (that is, to justify suggesting proto-Dyirbal-Wargamay as the ancestor of these two languages and of no others).

It does seem a little surprising that the transitive allomorph of purposive is -gu rather than -lgu, which would parallel -lma, -lga and -lgani- in the transitive column of Table 3.3. We can note, however, that Nyawaygi has a verbal system that shows important similarities to that of Wargamay; a number of the inflectional allomorphs for the -l conjugation in Nyawaygi do begin with -l (e.g. irrealis -lma, negative imperative -lgam) but in Nyawaygi - as in



modern Wargamay - the purposive inflection is just -gu in the -l conjugation. This makes it seem quite likely that at Stage A purposive was -gu for *both* Wargamay conjugations; indeed, this identity is one of the reasons why the intransitive inflection could scarcely have been generalised onto the middle column in the change from A to B.

In summary, we have suggested that Wargamay had a derivational process that formed an intransitive stem from a transitive root, and that this was largely motivated by the 'absolute-ergative' syntactic constraint on complementation (and perhaps on coordination generally). Through morphological generalisation - allied to an 'elimination of exceptions' that led to an exact coincidence of conjugation and transitivity subclasses - this has developed into the possibility of using transitive verbs in either transitive or intransitive constructions, with the appropriate conjugational allomorphs in each case.

Transitive verbs occur the great majority of the time in transitive constructions; it appears that all or almost all of them *can* function intransitively although - for the syntactic and semantic reasons outlined at the end of 4.2 - some do so more frequently than others. A transitive verb will generally only appear in an intransitive construction in marked syntactic circumstances - to signify a reflexive relation, or to satisfy the constraint on complement constructions, and so on. There is no such syntactic reason for intransitive verbs to function transitively, and there has thus been no change to the original restriction that intransitive verbs can occur only in intransitive constructions.

(As a final note, it is worthwhile comparing the case assignment in intransitive constructions involving transitive verbs, for Wargamay, with case assignment in an antipassive construction, in Dyirbal. The deep O NP from a transitive construction in Wargamay must be in ergative-instrumental inflection in the corresponding intransitive sentence *unless* the verb has purposive inflection (-lagu) in which case it can take either ergative-instrumental or dative (-gu) case. The deep O NP in a Dyirbal antipassive can be in ergative-instrumental or dative inflection *unless* the verb has purposive inflection (-qu) when it can only take dative inflection (-gu). This underlies the recurrent connection - first pointed out by Capell (1956:77-8) - between nominal dative -gu and verbal purposive -gu. And it also emphasises that - whatever the syntax of the postulated antipassive construction in Stage A - intransitive constructions with transitive roots in modern Wargamay do not by any means bear an *exact* syntactic correspondence to antipassive constructions in Dyirbal.)

#### 5.4 EXAMPLES OF SEMANTICISATION

Languages typically have a number of alternations that are morphologically determined - one set of roots may take one allomorph while another set may take an allomorph of a quite different shape (with the membership of the sets

often having simply to be learnt, as a list). These alternations add nothing to the communicative function of the language but simply provide complication, and take some of the users' efforts away from the main semantic task in hand - that of communicating meaning between speaker and hearer.

There is always a tendency to eliminate irregularities and contentless alternations in order to simplify and streamline the language, and to enable its speakers to concentrate their energies on the major semantic tasks. This process of rationalisation can often proceed very slowly; typically, new irregularities crop up as old ones are being ironed out.

Wargamay, and especially the W dialect, shows a pronounced tendency (more than any of its neighbours) to do something about irregularities or morphologically-conditioned alternations. It will sometimes eliminate them; at other times it will provide reinterpretation so that they come to fulfil a useful communicative role. We can quote four examples of this tendency:

[a] *Inflections on mipa* 'what' (see 3.1.5).

In other languages of the area -ngu serves for both ergative and instrumental functions, and -nga for locative and aversive functions. There are sometimes two or three irregular items that take -lu in place of -ngu and -la instead of -nga; mipa is a frequent member of this 'irregular subset' (see Dixon 1980a:376,495).

This is likely to have been the situation at an earlier stage of Wargamay. But the language has now taken the previously contentless alternation between -lu, -la (on mipa) and -nga, -nga (on all other nominals) and invested it with semantic power. In the case of mipa, -lu indicates instrumental and -la aversive functions, while -ngu and -nga have been generalised from the remainder of the class for ergative and locative functions. This is a paradigmatic example of morphological change, with a given morpheme being replaced - by analogic generalisation - in its primary function (ergative, locative), but retained in what was originally the secondary function (instrumental, aversive) - see Kurylowicz 1964:11.

A possible next step would be for the semantic contrast between -lu and -ngu, and between -la and -nga, to be generalised to *all* nominals.

[b] *The irregular verb gi:--gi:gi-* 'to sit' (see 3.5.3).

Data from the B dialect suggests that in an earlier stage of Wargamay there was an irregular verb, with monosyllabic root, gi:-. We showed in 3.5.3 that this appears to be in the process of being reinterpreted as a regular disyllabic form gi:gi-, and that it has proceeded much further in this direction in the W than in the B dialect. Thus is an irregularity apparently in the process of being eliminated through creation of a disyllabic in place of an original monosyllabic root. (See also the comment in 3.5.3 on irregular imperatives ma:na and wuga suggesting that two more originally monosyllabic verbs, ma:- 'hold in hand' and wu- 'give', have been restructured as disyllabic roots ma:ni- and wugi- respectively.)

[c] *Conjugation-transitivity iconicity*

Distinct verbal conjugations are plainly a complexity that can serve no communicative function if they do not, say, coincide with transitivity classes. In Yidiṁ, for instance, 56% of verbs in the -n conjugation are intransitive and 44% transitive; plainly no speaker could make a sure syntactic inference from conjugational class membership. Wargamay has taken this morphologically-determined alternation and, by making transitivity exactly coincide with conjugation, given it an important syntactico-semantic role. The fact that this tidying-up has not fully taken place in the B dialect confirms that pre-Wargamay must have been like modern Yidiṁ and Dyirbal and had only a *degree* of correlation between conjugation and transitivity classes. The W dialect has assigned a communicative role to this previously asemaantic distinction. This has, in turn, paved the way for the fourth example of simplification in modern Wargamay.

[d] *Loss of antipassive derivational affix.*

It will plainly be to the advantage of a language to use the smallest number of morphemes in some grammatical task. Originally, in order to use a transitive verb in an intransitive construction - to satisfy a syntactic constraint - the antipassive derivational suffix must have been required between root and inflection. Presumably one had to say, in pre-Wargamay, something like:

(286) ṅinba gagaga baya-l-a-ga You go and sing!

Nowadays the transitive verb baya- can simply be used with the intransitive inflection:

(287) ṅinba gagaga baya-ga You go and sing!

This is a clear gain in simplicity and cannot fail to assist the communicative power of the language. It is only possible, of course, because of the coincidence of conjugation and transitivity, mentioned under [c].

We thus have four examples of the semanticisation or elimination of irregularities/alternations that had no semantic force in pre-Wargamay. (It will be seen that this tendency is most pronounced in the W dialect, although points [a] and [d] do appear also to hold for Biyay.)

## 5.5 FUTURE SYNTACTIC DEVELOPMENT

Wargamay has not been actively spoken for some years, and is only 'remembered' by the last two or three users. It will thus not be possible to observe the further changes that would surely have occurred, following on from the sequence outlined in 5.3. Would 'intransitive verbs' have been generalised also to appear in transitive constructions, taking transitive inflections? If this happened, *every* verb in the language could appear in a construction of either transitivity type, marked by an appropriate inflection.

It is possible to do no more than speculate about the

changes that might have occurred. But one line of development - that seems to me more likely than that mentioned in the last paragraph - deserves to be briefly followed through, because of its important theoretical implications.

Recall that the developments in 5.3 were motivated by a syntactic constraint that identifies intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) functions. Because of this a co-referential deep A NP in a complement clause has to be placed in surface S function. This may originally have been achieved through a derivational process but is now handled by simply letting transitive verbs appear, with intransitive inflection, in intransitive constructions.

Transitive verbs still occur much more often in transitive than in intransitive constructions. But, unlike antipassive clauses in Dyrbal, an intransitive Wargamay clause involving a transitive verb *can* occur as an utterance-initial main clause. Suppose that this state of affairs gradually shifted so that:

*First* - transitive verbs appeared more frequently in intransitive than in transitive constructions;

*Then* - original transitive constructions eventually ceased to be used; A forms of 1sg and 2sg pronouns (*ŋaŋa* and *ŋinda*) dropped out of use and the transitive allomorphs in Table 3.3 were simply discarded.

Transitive verbs would now only occur with their subject (A) NP in what we have called absolutive case - this is also used for the subject (S) of an intransitive verb - and their object (O) NP in ergative-instrumental (or perhaps, in specially marked circumstances, in dative) inflection. But this is simply a 'nominative-accusative' case system, and it would surely be appropriate to rename absolutive as 'nominative' and ergative-instrumental as 'accusative'.

Now the syntactic constraint on complement constructions, that the common NP must be in surface S or O function in each clause, would become 'the common NP must be in surface S or A function in each clause'.

More details would of course have to be worked out, but the end result is clear enough. By extending the natural set of changes described in 5.3, that were orientated towards meeting 'absolutive-ergative'-type syntactic constraints, Wargamay would change so that it was, morphologically and syntactically, a 'nominative-accusative' language!

(Some other Australian languages have followed changes of the type just described and in two instances this *has* led to the development of a fully nominative-accusative morphology. Discussion and further references are in Dixon 1980a:449-57, 498).

## APPENDIX - CARL LUMHOLTZ ON WARGAMAY

Lumholtz did not give any tribal or language names, but his grammatical and lexical comments clearly concern the W dialect of Wargamay with just a few intrusions from the B dialect of Wargamay and from the Giramay dialect of Dyirbal. In the left-hand column below we quote Lumholtz, providing phonemicisation and commentary on the right.

*Among Cannibals*, p.308-9

Commentary

The language of the natives on Herbert river is imperative and brief. A single word frequently expresses a whole sentence. 'Will you go with me?' is expressed simply by the interrogation *nginta?* (thou?), and the answer, 'I will stay where I am,' by *karri ngipa* (I remain). 'I will go home,' *ngipa mittago* (literally, I in respect to the hut).

*nginda* 'you (singular)'  
*ngayba* 'I'; 'karri' is not recognised by modern speakers.  
*ngayba midagu* 'I camp-to'

The suffix *go* literally means 'with regard to', and is usually added to nouns to give them a verbal meaning, but is also sometimes added to verbs. The question *Wainta Morbora?* - that is, 'Where is Morbora?' - can be answered by saying, only *tityengo* (he has gone hunting *tityen*) (wallaby), (literally, with respect to wallaby); or, for example, *mittago* he is at home (literally, with regard to the hut). *Mott-ai-go* means 'he is eating' (literally, with regard to eating). 'Throw him into the water,' is expressed simply by *ngallogo*. As is evident, this is a very convenient suffix, as it saves a number of moods and tenses. It may also be used to express the genitive - for example, *toolgil tomoberogo*, the bones of the ox.

-gu is dative-allative case with nouns, and purposive inflection with verbs in transitive sentences.

*wanganga* 'where'

*gi:gin* 'wallaby' (Lumholtz's accent is clearly motivated by the long vowel) + dative-allative -gu  
*miga+gu* as above  
*muga+gu* 'eat-purposive'

*ngalu+gu* 'water-dative/allative'

*gulgil* is 'bone' and *gumubu* 'bullock' but genitive is -ngu not -gu

There frequently is no difference between nouns, verbs, and adjectives. *Kola* means wrath, angry and to get angry. *Poka* means smell, to smell and rotten; *oito* means a jest, and to jest.

*guli* 'wild, angry'; *buga* 'rotten, stinking'; 'oito' is not recognisable (informants suggested wudu 'nose' or wa:gi- 'laugh' when this was read to them). Verbs are in fact derived from nominals by the inchoative suffix -mbi~-bi~-i (4.9).

*wi: wurbi* 'sun big'  
*wi: pagaram* 'sun tiny'

'It is noon' is *vi ōrupi* (sun big). 'It is early in the morning,' is *vi naklam* (sun little). 'It is near sunset', is *vi molle mongan*. *Kolle* is a very common word. It is, in fact, used to call attention to a strange or remarkable sound, and means 'hush!', *Kolle mal!* 'Hush,

*vi molle mongan* means 'the sun is near the mountains' (*Among Cannibals* p 177); it involves *mulu* 'near' and

there is a strange man!' *kólle* is also used to express indignation or a protest, 'far from it'. A superlative of an adjective is expressed by repetition - for example, *krally-krally*, 'very old'.

The vocabulary is small. The language is rich in words describing phenomena that attract the attention of the savage, but it lacks words for abstract notions. The natives, being utterly unable to generalise, have no words for kinds or classes of things, as tree, bird, fish, etc. But each variety of these things has its own name. Strange to say, there are words not only for the animals and plants which the natives themselves use, but also for such as they have no use for or interest in whatever...

On Herbert River I found, to my surprise, various names for flame and coals. *Vákkun* meant camp fire, coals, or the burning stick of wood, while the flame was called *koyilla*.

...Several tribes have three numerals, as, for instance, Herbert Vale tribe - 1 *yóngul*, 2 *yákkán*, 3 *kárbo*, 4, etc. is usually expressed by *taggin* (many).

*muḡan* 'mountain'.

Surprisingly, in view of Lumholtz's comments, 'kolle' is not used by present-day speakers. *ma:l* is 'man'

'krally' was not recognised.

I collected 900 words from informants who have not spoken the language actively for two score years (whereas Lumholtz only collected 140 in a year!). These comments are a reflection on Lumholtz's lack of interest in learning the language. Wargamay would certainly have had a vocabulary of at least 5-10,000 words, like every other natural language.

Generic terms include *ganal* 'frog', *wiḡi* 'snake', *gi:gi:* 'bird', *ḡa:bu* 'fish', *guḡḡal* 'bee', *bangay* 'spear', *bari* 'stone', *wagun* 'tree', *gungul* 'vegetables'. Each of these has a number of specific terms included under it.

Wargamay is particularly rich in abstract nouns e.g. 'anger', 'fear', 'odour' (-*giri* can be suffixed to derive an adjective, or -*mbi~bi~i* to form an intransitive verb).

*wagun* is used for tree, wood and fire. *guyila* was said to mean 'charcoal' by Lambert Cocky (although he did not seem very certain about this word). Note that accents here correctly identify the stressed syllable (but there is no long vowel in *wagun*, as in *gi:gin* above).

*yungul* 'one', *yaga* 'two', *gaḡbu* 'three', *ḡagin* 'a lot'

*Among Cannibals*, pp.312-3 Commentary

COLLECTION OF WORDS FROM HERBERT RIVER

(*g* before *i* and *a* pronounced hard)

Allinkpa, we two	gali ginba - 'we two', first person dual pronoun, plus 'you', second person singular pronoun added to mark it as 'inclusive'
Am̄mery, hungry	gamigi
Ammon, breast	gamun
Atta [Moreton Bay and Rockhampton: atta], I.	gaga, transitive subject form of first person singular pronoun
Bággoro, sword, serpent-liver	bagugu
Bállan, moon	balanu W, balan B
Bámbo, egg	bambu
Bámpa, distant	bamba
Bátta, take	possibly bu:di- 'take, bring'
Bému, brother's son	bimu 'father's elder brother'
Bíngan, foot, footprint	bingan
Bínna, ear	bina
Boongary, <i>Dendrolagus lumholtzii</i>	bulngari 'tree-climbing kangaroo'
Bórboby, battle, duels	buɟbabay 'hit each other'
Bórrogo, a variety of <i>Pseudochirus</i>	buɟugu
Deerbera, tomorrow	possibly gidalgu
Dómbi-dómbi, woman	ɟambiɟambi, 'old women'
Era, teeth	yira
Etaka, tuft	not recognised
Evin, <i>Calamus australis</i>	gamin
Faringa, stone, rock	bari+nga 'stone' plus locative inflection
Gangitta, handkerchief	plainly a loan from English
Gilgla [the <i>l</i> to be pronounced with thick palatal sound], cassowary	gilngiga
G'rauan, <i>Megapodius tumulus</i> (bird, egg, nest)	girawan 'scrub hen and nest'
-Go [suffix, Moreton Bay: -co], in regard to.	-gu dative-allative case inflection on nouns; purposive inflection on verbs in transitive constructions.
Gómbian, Echidna	gumbiyan
Góri, blood	guɟi
Hánka, whence?	possibly wanɟa- 'where?'
Káddera, opossum ( <i>Trichosurus vulpecula</i> )	gaɟara
Kádjera, <i>Cycas media</i>	gaɟira 'zamia fern'
Kainno, to-day	ganu 'later on today'
Kainno-kainno, well, sound	not recognised
Kakavagó, go	gaga- 'go' probably with purposive inflection -lagu
Kalló, come on!	probably one of the two interjections gawu 'come on!', gala 'try again'

Kāmin, climbing implement	gamín, a loya vine and climbing implement made from it
Kāmo, water	gamu is 'water' in Giramay and HB; the term in W and B is ḡalu
Kárbo, 3	gaḡbu
Kárri, remain	not recognised
Kawan, nausea	gawan 'anger'
Káwri, axe	not recognised
Kedool, cold	gidul
Kelan, old man, sir [word of address]	gilap
Kóbi, arts of witchcraft	gubi, 'doctor' who practises these arts
Kola [subst and adj], anger, angry	guli 'wild, angry'
Kólle, hush!	not recognised
Kómorbory, many, large multitude	gumaḡbari
Kóna, excrements	guna
Kónka, unharmed, raw, not roasted	gunga 'unripe (vegetable), raw (meat), alive (person)'
Kóntagan, nice weather	possibly gundabaḡa 'fine weather'
Kontáḡberan, dark, dark night	gundambula
Koonduno, thunder	gunḡunu
Koráddan, a kind of fruit	not recognised
Koyílla, flame	guyila 'charcoal' (?)
Králly, old	not recognised
Kuroonguy, thirsty	Nora Boyd suggested that ḡulḡgu 'throat' might have been intended ḡulḡgu ḡarala 'dry throat' can mean 'thirsty'.
Kootjary, <i>Talegalla lathamii</i>	guyḡari 'scrub turkey'
Kvíkkal, <i>Perameles nasuta</i>	guygal 'long-nosed bandicoot'
Kvíngan, evil spirit, devil	guyngan 'spirit of a woman'
Mah, } not, no	maya 'no'
Maja, }	
Mal [Moreton Bay: malar. Yelta: malle], man, especially of a strange and hostile tribe	ma:l 'man' (not necessarily of a strange or hostile tribe)
Mállan, hand	mala
Mally, good, excellent	mali
Mami, master	not recognised
Mánta, <i>membra virile</i>	manda 'penis'
Manta korán, an oath of uncertain meaning, also a word of abuse	this could conceivably involve guran 'long'
Márbo, louse	maḡbu
Márgin, gun	margin
Máwa, crawfish	mawa
Mílka [verb], produce rain	milga is actually a noun, referring to a piece of painted bark (in later days, iron) placed in the root of a tree just in the water, as a 'rain-maker'. It is



	mentioned by Banfield in <i>My Tropic Isle</i> p.278 and <i>Last leaves from Dunk Island</i> p.127
Míll, eye	not a Wargamay item
Minna [cf. Moreton Bay: menäh], how?	mína 'what?'
Minná-minnana-gó, how in the world?	mína-mína-gu 'what-REDUP-DAT' i.e. 'why?'
Mítta, hut	míga
Mogil [Moreton Bay: magul] head	muga
Mólle, near	mulu
Móngan, mountain	mugan
Móngan, <i>Pseudochirus herbertensis</i>	mungan
Móttai [verb and subst.], eat, food	muga- 'to eat' (only a verb)
Móyo, anus	muyu
Nahyee, no	not recognised
Naiko [verb], own	gaygu 'my', first person singular possessive pronoun
Naklam [the ʎ to be pronounced with thick palatal sound], little	pagaram 'tiny'
Ngallo, water	ḡalu
Ngalloa, <i>Dactylopsila trivirgata</i>	ḡaluwa 'flying squirrel'
Nginta, you	ḡinda, transitive subject form of second person singular pronoun
Ngipa, I	ḡayba, intransitive subject form of first person singular pronoun
Nongáshly, only	not recognised
Nili, girl	nayili, girls
Oito, jest	not recognised
Oonda, see	ḡunda- 'to see, look'
Ōrupi, large	wurbi
Peera [subst and adj], fear, afraid	bi:ḡa
Pipu [from the English], pipe	baybu
Poka, hair; smell [Echuca: boka]	buga 'rotten, stinking'
Pókkán, grass-land, grass	bugan 'grassland'
Pul [verb], smell	Nora Boyd suggested that this could only relate to buga 'smelly' (see above)
Púlli, flea	buli
Sinchen, rash, syphilis	not recognised
Suttúngo, tobacco	not recognised
Tággín, many, much, also the numeral 4	ḡagín 'a lot'
Takólgoro [a word of exclamation], poor fellow	ḡagul 'sorry, pitiful' perhaps with an affix such as -bulu 'very'
Tálgoro, human flesh	ḡalguḡu '(any) meat'
Tállan, tongue	ḡalan
Tamín, fat	ḡami is 'fat' in Giramay
Tchíggá, sit	ḡi:ḡa 'sit-IMPERATIVE'
Títýen, wallaby	ḡi:ḡin 'swamp wallaby'
Tobola, a kind of fruit	ḡubula 'black pine'
Tomóbero, cattle, meat	ḡumubuḡu
Toollah, <i>Pseudochirus archeri</i>	ḡula 'striped possum'
Toolgil, bone, bones	ḡulḡil

Toolgin, scrub	gulgin
Toongna, drink	ganna- 'to drink'
Toongu, sweet	gunu 'odour'
Towdala, <i>Orthonyx spaldingii</i>	possibly Giramay gawuḡala
Vákkun, coals	wagun, 'tree, wood, fire'
Vaneera, hot	baniga 'sweat'
Vee, sun	wi:
Veera, a kind of fig which grows on grass-land	wira 'black fig'
Vikku, bad	wi:gi 'no good'
Víndcheh, snake	wingi 'snake (generic)'
Vómba, belly	wumba
Vónda, an edible root of a climbing plant	bundu
Vooly [adj], dead	wula-, verb 'to die' plus unmarked aspect -y
Vooroo, nose	wudu or wuḡu
Vótel, sleep	wudil, adjective 'asleep'
Vukka, thigh	waga 'shin'
Wainta, where?	wanga+nga 'where?'
Yáby, <i>Pseudochirus lemuroides</i>	Giramay yabi 'light grey possum'
Yákkán, 2	yaga
Yálla, remain	yala 'here'
Yamina, a monster (p 201)	yamani 'rainbow'
Yanky, a kind of fig	not recognised
Yárrí, <i>Dasyurus</i>	not recognised (but yari is <i>Das- yurus maculatus</i> in Giramay)
Yári, honey	Nora Boyd suggested wubiri might have been meant
Yeergilíngera, star	yirgingara
Yókkán, fog, rain	yugan 'rain'
Yóngul, 1	yungul
Yopolo, <i>Hypsiprymnodon moschatus</i>	not recognised

## TEXTS

Texts 5-7, which were tape-recorded from John Tooth and Lambert Cocky, and Texts 8 and 9, dictated by John Tooth, are given here. These have been slightly edited, by the omission of repetitions and false starts.

Texts 1-4 were recorded by La Mont West Jr from Jimmy Johnson at Palm Island in 1964. The transcription and analysis that can be provided is not sure enough to merit inclusion here.

Tapes of Texts 1-7 (and West's transcription of Texts 1-4) have been deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, P.O. Box 553, Canberra City, A.C.T., 2601, Australia.

### TEXT 5

A story told by John Tooth about seeing a ghost after having been drinking. (Recorded 4th November 1972 at Glen

Ruth Station; lasts 2½ minutes.)

1. ma:l naga baɣbay / gannaɣagu ɳaluŋgu I asked a man, for a drink.
2. nuɣaŋga ga:may / ɳali ɳinba gannaɣagu ɳaluŋgu / He said 'We'll have a drink'.
3. ɳayi / yunguɣaŋgu ga:may / ɳayi / gannaɣagu 'Yes', the other man said, 'yes, (we'll) drink.'
4. gaɣbu gagay / gaɣbu ɳayba gagay / The three of us went.
5. ɳalu waybaɣaŋgu bu:diɳu / The white man had brought grog.
6. gaɣbu gannaɣabali / ɳaluŋgu gannaɣabali / guɣuɣuŋgu gannaɳu / We three were drinking, drinking liquid - drinking grog.
7. *by-and-by* naga ɳunday guyŋgaŋ / gaɣabali / By-and-by I saw a female ghost. (It) was walking about.
8. yunguɣaŋgu ma:ldu ga:may / miɳa nuɳa / The other man said (to me) 'What's that?'
9. miɳabaɣun / guyŋgaŋ *I think* / guyŋgaŋ / ɳayi / 'I don't know what. A female ghost, I think - yes.' (I replied.)
10. maya maya waybala nuɳa / *torch*-giri wuɳabali / 'No, no, no. that's a white man. Walking about with a torch.' (Another said.)
11. ɳayi / 'Yes' (I replied)
12. gannaɣabali gannaɣabali / (We) continued drinking.
13. naga ɳunday *again* / I saw (it) again.
14. nuɳa guwarabali / guyŋgaŋ / 'That ghost, she's standing (there).'
15. naga biɣbagi / gaɳbalagu I had jumped, to hit (it).
16. maya buɣulbigi / But no, it had disappeared.
17. ɳayba ɳunday / maya / I looked. There was nothing.
18. yaga bula ma:l bimbirigi / The two men (who were with me) had run away.
19. ɳayba bimbirigi / bi:ɣagiri / gagay miɣagu / I had run away (too) with fright; I went to the camp.
20. naga baɣbay / nuɳa ma:l / gannaɣagu / I asked the (two) men to have a drink.
21. maya maya bi:ɣambigi ɳayba / 'No, no, I'm frightened' (they each said).
22. miɳagu / 'What of?' (I asked them).
23. ɳayba gagay / ɳayba bi:ɣambigi *too* / ɳayi / I went. I was frightened too, yes.
24. ɳa: ɳunday naga / yaɣaŋga buɣuligi / I didn't see (the ghost); (it) had disappeared there.
25. naga ɳalu naga / banamay / I brought the drink back (to my friends).
26. yaɣaŋga ɳalu gannaɳu / (We) drink the grog there.

Note that alcoholic drink is at first referred to by ɳalu ('water, any drinkable liquid') and then in line 6 is specified more explicitly as

guɟugu 'grog'.

The perfect inchoative form of buɟul 'vanished' was said as buɟulbiɟi in line 16, but corrected to buɟuligi on playback; it was said as buɟuligi in line 24 (see 4.9.1).

When the three men saw the ghost for the second time they dropped the bottle and ran off (lines 18-19). At the end John Tooth returns alone to retrieve the bottle.

## TEXT 6

A traditional myth told by John Tooth. (Recorded 5th November 1972 at Glen Ruth station; lasts 2½ minutes.)

The story concerns six mythical people. The two Gurigala, who were good hunters, had no wives, whereas the two Waɟugala each had a wife called Binbiɟal. One day the two Gurigala asked the Waɟugala to go and get water; while they were away the Gurigala stole their wives. When the two Waɟugala came back they looked everywhere for Gurigala and Binbiɟal. They heard a cooing noise that they thought might be them, but it was only two trees rubbing against each other. Then they saw all four of them way down in the Herbert Gorge. The Waɟugala descended the gorge but the Gurigala and their captives were on the opposite side of the river and the Waɟugala could not swim. They threw stones into the water to make a bridge across, but then everything started to change. The Waɟugala saw the others high up on a ridge. Then the Waɟugala men turned into black wallabies (waɟugala), Gurigala into eaglehawks (gurigala) and Binbiɟal into parrots (binbiɟal). The eaglehawks and parrots flew away, into the scrub.

Text 1, by Jimmy Johnson, is another version of the same myth. Johnson said that the sparrow-hawk taught Waɟugala how to hear a hunter, and that in revenge Gurigala stole the sparrow-hawk's wife and opened her vagina with a sliver of quartz.

1. gurigalangu / miɟa binday / The eaglehawk (gurigala) built a camp.
2. puɟa ɟana waɟugala / wuɟabali (on playback John Tooth corrected ɟana to bula) The two black wallabies (waɟugala) were walking about.
3. *by-and-by* puɟa gi:ɟay ɟalugu / gurigalangu / waɟugala / *By-and-by* the eaglehawks told the black wallabies (to go) for water.
4. ɟagay ɟalugu / bu:dilagu / (The black wallabies) went to fetch water.
5. puɟa ɟagay / (The wallabies) went out.
6. yubaymay / binbiɟalna / (The eaglehawks) stole the parrots (binbiɟal) (who were the wives of the black wallabies).
7. waɟugala ɟawaligi / ɟawaligi ɟawaligi / puɟa puɟa puɟa ɟalaga / puɟa ɟuɟuɟa / The black wallabies cried out, they called out (in every direction). 'There they are, up on the ridge!'
8. ɟali ɟagabali / 'We're going' (the black wallabies said to each other, as they traced a cooing noise).

9. maya gunbin punga / wayumbigi / 'No, (there's just) these twisted trees rubbing together. (It) has changed into something.' (they said)
10. gu:ngugan / gana biray / waꞗugaluṅgu ṅunday / They (the eagle-hawks and their captives) all went down to the gorge, and were seen by the black wallabies.
11. puṅgagi gana / ṅaluṅga yugarabali / 'There they are, swimming in the water' (the wallabies exclaimed).
12. waꞗugala bimbirigi / bimbirigi / The black wallabies ran (down to the bottom of the gorge).
13. yaḷuga puṅa gana / guyaḃay guwarabali / 'They're all there, standing on the other side' (one wallaby said to the other).
14. miṃambilagu / 'What are we going to do now?' (one wallaby said).
15. maya ḡamu ṅali / bari buṅmbiya ṅaluḡu / 'We must just chuck stones into the water (to make a bridge', the other wallaby replied).
16. ṅali ṅinba gaḡalaguḡan / 'You and I must go now' (one eaglehawk said to the other).
17. maya puṅa *all together* / puṅa gaḡabali ḡuṅḡuḡa / bamba *now* / bamba bamba / ṅa: ṅunday / (The wallabies watch the eaglehawks progress and say to each other:) 'They're all going along the ridge now. Now they're a long way off, and no longer visible.'
18. miṃa puṅa wayuwayumbigi / waꞗugalaḃbigi / They (the eaglehawks) changed into something. (And the Waꞗugala changed from men) into black wallabies.
19. puṅa ḡurigaḷa yinbi / biṃbiḡal yinbi *too* / yaḷaṅga buḡuligi / The eaglehawks flew away, and the parrots flew away too. They vanished from sight there.

## TEXT 7

A reminiscence of massacres by the native police, as told to Lambert Cocky by his father and grandfather. (Recorded by Lambert Cocky, 6th November 1972 at Sheahan's farm near Ingham; lasts 2 minutes.)

1. ṅayba bimbirigi / yaḷaṅga buḷimanda / ḡuḡiḡuḡu / buḷimandu ṅana wuṅay / buṅḡagu ṅana ḡaybuḷindu / I had run away, from the policeman here, into the scrub. The policeman was chasing me, to shoot me with a rifle.
2. maya puḷaṅga drayḡaḡu miḷbaḡani ṅayḡuḡu / buṅḡagu ṅana / The trackers would show (the white police where) I (was) so that (they) could shoot me.
3. ṅana yubaḡi / ḡuḡiḡuḡuḡuḡu / gaḃaligi / We all ran away, from scrub to scrub, calling out.
4. puṅa drayḡa ṅaḃbaḡani / buḷimandu / The policeman would follow the trackers.
5. ṅaḡu ḡuḡiḡuḡu / muṅaḃmuṅaḡu ṅana gaḡay / We went into this scrub, and then (from hilltop to scrub) to hilltop.

6. maya nuna bulimandu nanbalgani / bungay yunguça / But no, the policeman would follow them (my tribesmen), and shoot one.
7. nayba nunga dagigi / I fell down.
8. galaga gagay muṅangu / gaymbiri gaymbiri nanapa wuṅalḡay bulimandu / (We) went up the hill, but the policeman chased us everywhere.
9. drayga / gawaligi nanangu / wanga ninba / The tracker called out to us 'Where are you?'
10. maya nana na: na:ray/... nana bi:ḡambigi / No, we didn't listen, we were frightened.
11. bulimandu bungalḡani / napa / The policeman would always shoot at me.
12. galaga nana gagay / We went up.
13. nunga nayba / ninda na:ra gu:naça / gu:naḡanin / *where* na:ralma napa / I'm that one. You listen to (this story) from a long time ago. (Now) you'll listen to me (telling another story).
14. gi:ḡigin / na:ra napa / gi:ḡigin nayba *Hawkins-Creek*-miri / yalanga nanapa bulimandu paṅḡay / Romulus (gi:ḡigin) - listen to me - I'm Romulus from Hawkins' Creek. The policemen rushed us there.
15. nanbay nanapa ma:l / malanmalan / galaga / muṅangu / gala gagay / ḡulḡingu / gaymbiri nanapa wuṅalḡay / bungay / bungay / bulimandu / (Policemen) followed all the (Aboriginal) men, up the rivers, up the hills. They went into the scrub, and were chased everywhere (by the policemen); and shot by the policemen.

Note that Romulus was an Aboriginal leader during Lambert Cocky's youth.

#### TEXT 8

An ad hoc conversation dictated by John Tooth (at Glen Ruth, 13th December 1974).

1. A: nayba balḡanda ḡumbagi / I went into the house
2. B: minagu / What for?
3. A: ḡulmbuḡugu ḡundalagu / To see the woman.
4. B: ninba mulḡaça / You're game!
5. A: minala nayba bi:ḡambilagu / What should I be frightened of?
6. B: ma:lndu nina buḡbalma / The man (belonging to that woman) might hit you.
7. A: maya / ḡulmbuḡu naḡa yungul ḡaymbay / No, I only found one woman there (no men)
8. B: nina nu:ḡay / Did (she) kiss you?
9. A: nayi / naḡa mala ma:ni / naḡa yubaymay / Yes. I grabbed (her) hand, I stole (her) away.
10. B: wangaḡu ninda bu:di/ Where did you take (her) to?

11. A: gungari ḡayba gagay / ḡalwagirigu / waybalangu ḡapa /  
gulbunmay ḡapa / I went north to Abergowrie (ḡalwagiri).  
And the white man married me (to the woman).
12. B: birigingu ḡinda / You're a bugger (marrying another  
man's woman).
13. B: ḡinba mulḡaḡa / You're game.
14. A: ḡayi Yes.

## TEXT 9

An ad hoc conversation dictated by John Tooth (at Glen Ruth, 8th November 1977).

1. A: ḡinba mu:ḡambiga / You hide!
2. B: miḡala / For fear of what?
3. A: waybalangu ḡina ḡundalma / Lest the white man see you.
4. A: ḡinba yubaybiḡu / miḡambiḡu ḡinba bimbirigi / You ran away  
(from him). Why did you run away?
5. A: waybalangu ḡapa buḡbaḡu / The white man hit me.
6. B: miḡala ḡina buḡbay / What did (he) hit you over?
7. A: yaramanda ḡapa buḡbay / (He) hit me over a horse.
8. B: miḡagu ḡinda buḡbay / What did you hit (the horse) for?
9. A: yaramandu ḡapa buḡmbi / The horse threw me.
10. B: ḡuḡa wayabala gawanbigi / miḡagu / Why did the white man  
get wild?
11. A: ḡaḡa yaraman mugal buḡbay / I hit the horse in the head.
12. A: ḡulmuḡungga ḡayba yubaybigi / (That) night I ran away.
13. A: yala ḡapa waybalangu ḡaymbay / The white man found me here.
14. A: ḡapa waybalangu bu:di / ḡapa balgangu banamay / The white  
man took me back to the house.
15. A: yalanga ḡali buḡbabay / The two of us had a fight there.
16. A: ḡaḡa ḡanbay / ḡagal / ḡuḡa dagigi I hit (him) in the jaw;  
and he fell down.
17. A: yunguḡangu waybalangu yagangu ḡapa ma:ni / ḡubunggu ḡapa  
ḡi:ḡay / yalanga ḡapa wagunda ḡi:ḡay / Two other  
white men grabbed me, and tied me up with rope, tied me  
to a tree there.
18. A: ḡayba yalanga ḡulmuḡugu ḡi:gi / I stopped there until  
the night (and all through the night).
19. A: biligingu / buliman ḡu:ḡigigi / In the morning the policeman  
arrived.
20. A: bulimandu ḡapa bu:di / burgumangu / yalanga ḡapa wanay /  
The policeman took me to Palm Island, and left me there.

## VOCABULARY

## ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

The vocabulary by semantic fields gives the fullest available information on meanings (with example sentences and cross-references to grammar and texts), dialect distribution, etc. This alphabetical listing is intended for cross-reference purposes; many glosses are given only in abbreviated form. The alphabetical order followed is:

a, a:, b, d, g, g, i, i:, l, m, n, n, n, r, r, u, u:, w, y

Word class membership is indicated by:

- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| N - noun  | Time - time qualifier |
| Adj - adjective   | Part - particle       |
| Loc - locational qualifier  | Int - interjection    |
| Proper - proper name, of person or place  |                       |
| Vint - intransitive verb (occurs only in intransitive constructions)                    |                       |
| Vtri - transitive verb (attested in both transitive and intransitive constructions)     |                       |
| Vtr - transitive verb (attested only in transitive constructions in the data collected) |                       |

As discussed in 3.5.2 and 4.2 it appears likely that all or very nearly all transitive verbs can also occur in intransitive constructions, with the appropriate inflectional allomorphs and case marking on noun phrases. Almost all the more frequently occurring verbs were encountered in both construction types, but some of those for which only two or three instances were recorded were only in transitive constructions - shown by Vtr. No systematic effort was made to obtain *all* transitive verbs in intransitive constructions; it is likely that most or all Vtr could be extended to Vtri.

The few proper names recorded are included in the alphabetical list, but not in the vocabulary by semantic fields. Grammatical words such as pronouns and demonstratives are in neither list - they are fully discussed in the grammar, section 3.4.

- |                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| baba, Vtri: pierce, spear     | balbay, N: bottle                |
| babi(lan), N: father's mother | balbi, N: sloping bank           |
| bada, N: dog                  | balbirigan, N: large shark       |
| badi, Vtri: hook fish         | balgin, N: male cross-cousin     |
| baqa, Adj: shut, blocked      | balgan, N: house, hut            |
| baqala, N: flat rock          | balgubalgu, N: hat               |
| baqigal, N: saltwater turtle  | balgun, Adj: clear, open         |
| baqingila, N: spangled drongo | balmbi, Vtr: smell               |
| baquru, N: money              | balmbuca, N: drum, its noise     |
| bagigi, N: box, trunk (Loan)  | balngira, N: throwing implement  |
| bagir, N: basket (Loan)       | bama, N; Adj: male               |
| Bagir, Proper: Ingham         | bamba, Loc: long way             |
| bagucu, N: sword              | bambaqa, Adj: white              |
| balan ~ balanu, N: moon       | bambu, N: egg                    |
| balangal, N: dugong           | bana, Vint: return, go/come home |
| balbala, N; Adj: fat          | bana, Vtri: bend, choke          |
| balban, N: lumps              | banba, N: red fig tree           |



- bandaḡala, Adj: full  
 bandali, Vint: burst, smash, break  
 bandaḡa, N: bottle  
 baniḡa, N; Adj: sweat, heat from sun, summertime; hot from sun  
 banma, Vint: talk  
 baḡin, N: sea, saltwater  
 baḡal, N: water goanna  
 baḡa, Vtri: paint, write  
 baḡal, N: upper arm, shoulder  
 baḡara, N: blue-tongue lizard  
 baḡgay, N: spear (generic)  
 baḡgila, N: woomera  
 baḡipu, N: a tree fern  
 baḡguru, N: freshwater turtle  
 baḡḡi, Vtr: (rain) falls on, wets  
 baḡgil, N: brown rat  
 bari, N: stone  
 barul, N: vine-like plant  
 baḡba, Vtri: ask  
 baḡgu, N: English axe  
 baḡḡan, N: kangaroo rat  
 bawuḡu, N: rock wallaby  
 baya, Vtri: sing  
 bayal, N: yellow native bee  
 baybu, N: pipe (Loan)  
 baygaḡi, N: river fig  
 bayḡi, N: bag (Loan)  
 bayguri, Vtr: shake, wave, bash  
 bayi, Vint: go around, get tangled up  
 bayil, N: file (Loan)  
 bayima, Vtr: buy (Loan)  
 bayḡgaḡa, Adj: tired  
 bayḡḡiḡa, Adj: hot  
 bayuḡa, N: a coastal ginger  
 bayumbi, Vtri: shake, wave, swing, turn  
 ba:di, Vint: cry, sob, weep  
 ba:lba, Vtr: roll  
 ba:lballi, Vint: roll  
 bidaman, N: conjiboy plant  
 bidi, Vint: shake with cold  
 biḡal, N: bark of tree  
 biḡilbara, N: whistling duck  
 bigin, N: shield  
 bilga, N: pitch/gum from grass tree  
 billi, Vint: run  
 biligi, Time: daybreak, early in morning  
 bilil, N: rough-necked turtle  
 bilmba, Vtr: push  
 bilmbu, N: hip, side, flank  
 bilḡgiri, Adj: wide  
 bilu, N: hip(bone)  
 bilun, N: hook spear  
 bima, N: death adder  
 bimiri, Vint: run, run away  
 bimū, N: father's elder brother  
 bimulan, N: father's sister  
 bina, N: ear  
 binbiḡal, N: king parrot  
 binda, N: shoulder  
 binda, Vtri: put standing up, build; defecate, urinate, spit  
 bindi, N: female genitalia  
 binga, Vtr: make fire blaze up  
 bingan, N: foot  
 bingira, Adj:(do) quickly, hurry up  
 bini, N: black beetle  
 bira, Vint: descend  
 biranbiran, N: bee bird  
 birbubirbu, N: throwing implement of crossed sticks  
 birgibaḡa, N: wintertime  
 biriḡi, Adj: nuisance  
 birḡga ~ birḡanbirḡan, N: grey hair, grey-haired person  
 birugay, N: umbilical cord  
 biḡba, Vint: jump  
 biya, N: beer (Loan)  
 biyay, Int: no  
 Biyay, Proper: name of dialect  
 biyu, N: small creek, gully  
 bi:bal, N: small budgerigar  
 bi:lbi:l, N: pee-wee  
 bi:ḡa, Adj; N: frightened; fear  
 bubun ~ bubunba, N: pheasant  
 budam, N: matter inside a blister  
 buḡi, Vint: fall down  
 buḡi, N: fart  
 buḡu, N: paperbark tea-tree  
 buḡul, Adj: vanished, disappeared  
 buḡa, Adj: rotten, stinking, dead  
 buḡan, N: forest, grasslands  
 buḡan, N: big bush or grass fire  
 buḡawu, N: long-neck turtle  
 buḡulbay, N: scrub wallaby  
 bula, 3 du pronoun  
 bulal, N: firefly  
 bulbu, N: old person  
 bulbuḡu, N: spotted gum  
 bulgan, N: shrimp, prawn, lobster  
 bulgu, N: wife  
 buli, N: flea  
 bulibuli, N: nightowl  
 buliman, N: policeman (Loan)  
 buliḡi, N: staghorn fern  
 bulḡgari, N: tree-climbing kangaroo  
 bumaga, N: wasp  
 bumba, N: dust  
 bunabuna, N: weeds, rubbish, couch grass

- bundin, N: grasshopper  
 bundu, N: edible root  
 bundurup, N: English-style bag  
 bunga, Vtri: shoot  
 bunggi, Vint: lie down  
 bunu, N: smoke  
 bunul, N: march fly  
 buḡan, Adj: stinking  
 buḡa, Vint: swell up  
 buḡal, Adj: glad, proud, happy  
 buḡgil, N: rock wallaby  
 buḡgu, N: knee  
 buḡgul, Adj: full with food  
 buḡun, N: drum and its noise  
 Burayḡubaḡu, Proper: Lambert  
     Cocky  
 burḡanu, N: snake species  
 Burguman, Proper: Palm Island  
 burubay, N: boil, pus  
 buḡan, N: song style  
 buḡba, Vtri: hit with stick, etc  
 buḡmbi, Vtri: throw  
 buḡḡgan, N: white ant and nest  
 buḡḡul, Adj: rotten (e.g. wood)  
 buḡugu, N: possum species  
 buḡun, N: fighting ground  
 buya, N: shooting star  
 buya, Vtri: blow, smoke  
 buyana, N: white cockatoo feather  
     decoration  
 buybuḡi, Vtr: make a raspberry at  
 buyin, N: eyebrow  
 buymaran, N: sand  
 buyḡul, N: small tree lizard  
 buyḡgari, Vtr: hang up  
 buyu, N: head  
 bu:di, Vtri: take/bring, carry  
 bu:giya, N: mullet  
 bu:ḡguray, N: snore
- dabugay, N: a wild cherry  
 dagi, Vint: fall down  
 dagu, N: carpenter bird,  
     hammer bird  
 Dali, Proper: Tully (Loan)  
 dalḡa, Adj: hard  
 dalḡgal, N: spider and web  
 dalu, N: palm tree  
 daman, N: new-born baby  
 daḡa, N: wing of bird  
 Dawunbil, Proper: Townsville  
     (Loan)  
 da:lbi, Vtri: scoop up water  
 di:, N: tea (Loan)  
 drayga, N: tracker (Loan)  
 dubi, N: worm  
 Dumban, Proper: Ripple Creek
- dumbil, N: flange of tree  
 dumbul, N: bump on shield opposite  
     handle  
 dumbulan, N: ant species  
 du:ḡa, Vtri: pull
- ḡabali, N: whip-tail kangaroo  
 ḡabini, Adj: sharp(ened) (Loan)  
 ḡaga, N: baby  
 ḡagabaḡa, N: grass tree  
 ḡagal, N: jaw  
 ḡagan, N: sand goanna  
 ḡagardḡagar, Adj: rough, prickly  
 ḡagari, N: fat  
 ḡagiḡ, Adj: a lot, much  
 ḡagul, Adj: worried, sorry, pitiful  
 ḡalaba, N: a long yam  
 ḡalan, N: tongue  
 ḡalbaḡa, N: beard  
 ḡalgawuḡu, N: big parasitic fig  
 ḡalgi, Vtri: cook  
 ḡalḡuḡu, N: meat  
 ḡalmbu, N: younger brother  
 ḡalmbuyan, N: younger sister  
 ḡalḡḡiḡa, N: moaning funeral chant  
 ḡalḡgan, N: froth  
 ḡalḡulan, N: tongue  
 ḡalḡuy, N: avoidance speech style  
 ḡalun, N: short spear with hook  
 ḡambal, N: snake (generic)  
 ḡambara, N: large nulla nulla  
 ḡambi, N: old woman  
 ḡambun, N: grub  
 ḡamiya, N: stone tomahawk  
 ḡamu, Part: only, just  
 ḡamugan, N: daughter  
 ḡana, 3 pl pronoun  
 ḡanba, Vtri: hit with rounded  
     implement  
 ḡandi, N: older sister  
 ḡanḡu, N: small grass dilly-bag;  
     kangaroo pouch  
 ḡanguḡa, N: turpentine tree  
 ḡanḡa, Vtri: drink  
 ḡanu, Adj: broken  
 ḡaḡa, N: father; father's younger  
     brother  
 ḡaḡal, N: honey  
 ḡaḡala, N: obscene song style  
 ḡaḡali, N: stinging tree  
 ḡaḡumbi, Vtr: fan  
 ḡara, N: thigh  
 ḡariḡ, N: woomera  
 ḡaruḡa, N: trousers (Loan)  
 ḡarḡala, N: mangrove tree  
 ḡawun, Adj: hot from fire  
 ḡayga, Vtr: hunt away

- gaymba, Vtr: find  
 gayngiri, N: scrub carpet snake  
 ga:, N: jaw  
 ga:bu, N: fish (generic)  
 ga:gi, N: cousin (Loan?)  
 ga:la, Adj: empty  
 ga:lba, Vint: be stuck  
 ga:lungal, Loc: in front  
 Dya:ni, Proper: Johnny (Tooth)  
 (Loan)  
 ga:ngi, Vint: sleep  
 ga:yaçi, N: horse  
 gidalgu, Time: tomorrow  
 gidu, N: chider hardwood tree  
 giğari, Vtri: put down  
 giğuluruy, N: forest kingfisher  
 giga, N: cigarette (Loan)  
 giğubina, N: falling star  
 gilba, Vtr: dig  
 gilbay, Adj: know how to do  
 something  
 gilgan, N: hole  
 gilin, N: hot coals, charcoal  
 giliwuru, N: lungs  
 giinga, Vtr: pour water on  
 gilwa, Vtr: kick, shove with knee  
 giman, N: firestick; species of  
 tree from which it is obtained  
 gimbara, N: small throwing stick  
 ginaman, N: boots, shoes  
 ginambaçan, N: cramp  
 ginaça, N: root  
 ginba, Vtri: spear in water  
 Dyimbilçay, Proper:  
 Alf Palmer  
 ginda, N: waterfall  
 ginda, Vtr: blaze tree  
 gindaçigan, N: grass tree  
 gindi, N: chest  
 giğibiri, Adj: big (of fish  
 only)  
 giğila, N: moreton bay ash/  
 messmate tree  
 giğara, Adj: shallow  
 giingu, Loc: down (hill??)  
 giğara, Vint: dream  
 giğilli, N: singlet (Loan)  
 giğgin, N: female genitalia  
 giğgirigiğgiri, N: willy  
 wagtail  
 Dyirbal, Proper: name of  
 language  
 giğbinga, Adj: very good-look-  
 ing (woman, girl)  
 giğibi, N: quail  
 giwural, N: pubic hair  
 giya, N: chair (Loan)
- gi:~ gi:gi, Vint: sit down, live  
 gi:gi:, N: birds (generic)  
 gi:gin, N: swamp wallaby  
 gi:l, N: shining starling  
 gi:n, N: eyebrow  
 Dyubaru, Proper: Peter Wallace  
 (a Dyirbal man)  
 gubi, N: married couple  
 gubula, N: black pine  
 gubun, Adj: slow, slowly  
 gudu ~ gudulu, Adj: short  
 gula, N: striped ringtail possum  
 gulbamba, Vtr: bury (deeply)  
 gulbun, Adj: married  
 gulbungin, N: woman who claims her  
 promised husband  
 gulgaça, N: log  
 gulgil, N: bone  
 gulgin, N: scrub  
 gulngu, N: throat  
 gulu, N: buttocks  
 gulumbara, Adj: straight  
 gumba, Vtri, go in, enter, put in  
 gumubuçu, N: bullock  
 gungiri, N: tail  
 gunguru, Adj: (do) hard  
 gunguy, N: tendon, sinew, gristle  
 gunma, Vtr: squeeze, knead  
 gungaga, N: erection of penis  
 guçu, N: odour  
 gura, N: cloud, sky  
 gurala, N: flood  
 gurga, Vtr: tie up, join on  
 Dyuçagay, Proper: Niagara Vale  
 Dyuçaminbal, Proper: John Tooth  
 guçbay, N: fishing rod and line  
 guçu, N: shoulder, upper arm, ridge  
 guwara, Vint: stand  
 gu:birin, N: small bark lizard  
 gu:gaça, N: urine  
 gu:guru, N: navel  
 gu:ga, Vtri: swive, copulate with  
 gu:l, N: salt  
 gu:nguçun, N: navel  
 gu:lu, Adj: black  
 Dyu:n, Proper: Herbert River at the  
 Herbert Gorge  
 gu:nga, Adj: black  
 gu:ngi, Vint: come out, arrive  
 gu:ra, Vtr: rub, wipe  
 gu:yi, Vint: feel around
- gabağala, N: small bream  
 gaban, N: acacia tree; grub in it  
 gabangiça, N: dollar bird  
 gabay, N: walking stick  
 gabin, N: belly ache, diarrhoea

- gabugala, N: plains turkey  
 gabul, N: forest carpet snake  
 gadala, Adj: dry, shallow  
 gaḡan, N: blady grass  
 gaḡara, N: grey possum  
 gaḡaḡu, N: small striped fish  
 gaḡin, N; Adj: female; yamstick  
 gaḡira, N: zamia fern  
 gaḡiya, N: young girl  
 gaḡu, N: white tree ant and nest  
 gaga, Vint: go/come  
 gagal, Adj: hard  
 gagara, N: cane dilly-bag  
 gagul, N: white-breasted heron  
 gala, Int: try it!, try again!  
 galaga, Loc: up hill, up in sky  
 galambu, N: grub in gum tree  
 galbay, N: wattle  
 galgabara, N: she oak  
 galgay, N: spear (generic)  
 galmaḡa, Time: long time ago  
 galmbula, N: ironbark tree  
 galmuḡu, N: yellow clay  
 galuḡu, N: scrub mouse  
 galun, N: testicles  
 gama, N: song-style  
 gamanday, N: spear (generic)  
 gambaḡa, N: cyclone  
 gambaḡa, N: body  
 gambay, N: big lawyer vine  
 gambi, N: clothes  
 gambila, N: bark blanket  
 gambunu, N: black duck  
 gamin, N: a lawyer vine  
 gamu, N: water  
 ganal, N: frog (generic)  
 ganbaymu, Adj: very old  
 ganda, Vtri: burn, make fire  
 gandil, N: jabiru, stork  
 gandu, N: dog  
 gani, Loc: up river  
 ganibara, N: dingo  
 gaḡḡa, Adj; Vtr: stealing; steal  
 gaḡḡaba, Vtri: spear  
 gapu, Time: later on today  
 gaḡambul, Time: earlier on today  
 gaḡaligan, N: mythical devil woman  
 garay, Time: for a long time  
 garba, Adj: stupid  
 gargagarda, N: prickle  
 gargal, N: arm, limb of tree  
 gargay, N: little chicken hawk  
 gargiḡi, Adj: finished  
 garḡa, N: spittle  
 gaḡamgaḡam, N: seagull  
 gaḡamu, Adj: huge  
 gaḡaḡgala, Adj: strong (man)
- gaḡbu, Adj: three  
 gaḡiḡi, Adj: cranky (Loan)  
 Gaḡul, Proper: Cardwell (Loan)  
 gaḡwun, N: green ant  
 gawal, N: a call  
 gawamba, Vint: vomit  
 gawan, N; Adj: anger; angry, savage  
 gawanan, N: mother's younger brother  
 gawangawan, N: rice  
 gawar, N: large intestine  
 gawarala, N: crane, ibis  
 gawu, Int: come on!  
 gawulgawul, N: wind  
 gawuy, Adj: quickly  
 gayambula, N: white cockatoo  
 gayba, Time: now  
 gayga, N: eye  
 gaygamali, N: (non-flesh) food  
 gayi, N: ground  
 gaymbiri, Adj: (do) everywhere  
 ga:guḡu ~ ga:guḡuḡ, N: cockroach  
 (Loan)  
 ga:ma, Vtr: do (say) like this  
 ga:nda, Vint: crawl  
 ga:ḡa, N: centipede  
 giba, N: liver  
 gida, Vtr: poke with stick  
 gidul, Adj: cold  
 giḡa, Adj: small  
 giḡawulu, N: freshwater jewfish  
 Giḡubal, Proper: Rosevale  
 gilap, N: old man  
 gilangan, N: old woman  
 gilḡan, N: a bad cold  
 giḡgiḡa, N: cassowary  
 gimbi, Vtr: (wind) blow  
 ginba, N: bark water container  
 giḡu, N: offspring, chick  
 Giramay, Proper: language name  
 girawan, N: scrub-hen  
 Giḡul, Proper: Nora Boyd (name  
 given at birth)  
 giḡingan, N: lady finger tree  
 giḡuḡiḡu, N: small intestine  
 giḡabay, N: brown rock lizard  
 giyal, Adj: sweet, savage, poisonous  
 gi:ba, Vtri: scratch, scrape, shave  
 gi:baḡa, N: large fig tree; mark  
 on message stick 'one hundred'  
 gi:ga, Vtr: tell to do, let do  
 Gi:ḡigin, Proper: Romulus (an olden-  
 days Wargamay man)  
 gubana(n), N: father's father  
 gubaḡa, N: tree with red bark  
 gubi, gubimbulu, N: wise man  
 gubil, N: whistle  
 gubu, N: small leaf

- Gububađi, Proper: Arthur Wild  
gubur, N: sticky black native bee  
gubuđa, N: magpie  
guda, Vtri: block, shut, close  
gudi, N: water rat  
guđagay, N: alligator  
guđila, N: short-nose bandicoot  
guđiyan, N: boil, pus  
gugulbara, N: whirlwind  
gugi, N: black flying fox  
gugigugi, N: butterfly, moth  
gugu, Time: meanwhile  
gugulu, N: stick for accompanying ęanala-style songs  
gugun, N: older brother  
gugungal, Loc: behind  
guguwun, N: blue pigeon  
gulalbi, N: black cockatoo  
gulađu, N: blue gum tree  
gulawun, N: Leichardt tree  
gulbila, Loc: south  
gulbiđa, N: spear grass  
gulbu, Adj: foreign, strange  
gulgal, N: black pigeon  
gulgiđi, Adj: prettily painted  
gulguma, Vtr: bring in, muster  
guli, Int: exclamation when startled  
gulip, N: land of spirits in east  
gulmbal, N: good friend  
gulmbuđa, N: woomera  
gulngu, N: nulla nulla  
gulubu, N: wind  
gumađbari, Adj: a lot, many  
gumbay, N: mother  
gumbi, N: forest carpet snake  
gumbi, N: thumb  
gumbiyan, N: echidna, porcupine  
gumbuna(n), N: mother's mother  
gumbur, N: dew  
gumburu, N: fog, mist  
gumu, N: mosquito  
gumul, N: bark blanket  
guna, N: faeces, shit  
gunayngil, N: white cockatoo  
gunba, Vtri: cut into, cut open, cut a piece out  
gunbin, N: two trees rubbing together; noise they make  
gundabađa, N: fine weather  
gundambuła, N: very dark (night)  
gundamu, N: freshwater garfish  
gundanga, Time: last night  
gundil, Adj: heavy  
gundulu, N: emu  
gunga, Adj: unripe, green (vegetables), raw (meat), alive (person)  
gungari, Vtri: cut down, cut through  
gungul, N: non-flesh food  
gunugunu, N: sandfly  
gunđa, Vtri: bite  
gunđi, N: top grinding stone  
gunđunu, N: thunderstorm  
gunin, Loc: people, goods and places from south; 'coast'  
gungaga, N: grey kookaburra  
gungari, Loc: north  
guran, Adj: long  
gurga, N: back of neck  
gurgiga, N: ring-tail rat  
gurgila/gurgilayngan, N: section  
gurigala, N: eaglehawk  
gurmal, N: blood, vein  
gurugan, N: bloodwood  
gurugu, N: grog (Loan)  
guđalal, N: grey kookaburra  
guđambal, N: blue mountain parrot  
guđbal, N: half-caste  
guđbala, N: wild banana tree  
guđgal, N: bee, sugarbag (generic)  
guđgala, N: billy-can  
guđgay, N: big grey kangaroo  
guđguru/guđgurayngan, N: section  
guđi, N: blood, vein  
guđil, N: storm bird  
guđga, N: mud  
guđugu, N: dove  
guđur, N: native companion, brolga  
guwa, Loc: west  
guyabay, Loc: other side of river  
guyan, N: quartz, sharp quartz knife  
guyđari, N: scrub turkey  
guygal, N: long-nose bandicoot  
guyguy, N: mosquito  
guyi, Vint: cry, sob, weep  
guyibara, N: curlew  
guyila, N: charcoal, flame  
guyma, Vtri: give birth to  
guymbi, N: eel (generic)  
guymbiđa, N: cicatrices (tribal marks) and men who bear them  
guyngan, N: spirit of a dead woman; white woman  
guyngin, N: honey  
guyumulu, N: quandong  
gu:ba, Vtr: cover with water  
gu:đa, Vtr: (water) washes away  
gu:gal, N: mud cod  
gu:gađa, N: black goanna  
gu:n, N: spirit of a dead man; white man; 'devil'; 'ghost'  
gu:ņađa, N: rubbish (e.g. in river)  
gu:ņađa, Time: very long time ago  
gu:đuđu, N: beetle (generic)

- layn, N: fishing line (Loan)
- mada, Adj: salty  
 mada, Vtri: paint
- maḡal, N: cocky apple tree  
 maḡila, N: white clay  
 maguwargi, N: mate  
 magira, N: red clay  
 magu, N: arm, wing of bird  
 magul, N: work  
 mala, N: hand  
 malan, N: creek  
 malanbaḡa, N: right hand  
 mali, Adj: good  
 malugan, N: chicken snake  
 mamu, Time: by-and-by  
 manda, N: penis  
 mandi, N: hand  
 mangi, N: a lawyer vine  
 mani, N: money (Loan)  
 maḡabagay, Adj: ugly  
 maḡalmaḡal, Adj: stinking,  
     bitter, dirty  
 maḡḡay, Adj: full up with food  
 maḡaḡa, N: big kangaroo  
 maḡga, N: flower  
 maḡgu, N: mango (Loan)  
 maḡguḡu, N: big flying squirrel  
 maḡguḡu, N: mother's elder sister  
 mara, N: leaf  
 margara, N: youth ready for  
     initiation  
 margin, N: gun (Loan, from musket)  
 mari, Part: might be  
 marna, Adj: wet  
 marḡḡa, Adj: sore; bitter, salty  
 maḡaḡa, N: cherry tree  
 maḡbal, N: fly  
 maḡbu, N: louse  
 maḡgun, Adj: grey  
 mawa, N: shrimp, prawn, lobster  
 maya, Int: no  
 mayay, N: (everyday style)  
     language  
 mayba, N: fire  
 maybaḡa, N: alligator  
 mayḡala, N: lightning  
 mayḡga, Vtri: tell  
 mayḡgu, N: mango (Loan)  
 ma:ḡa, N: boss, 'God'  
 ma:ḡaya, N: bee's wax  
 ma:l, N: man  
 ma:ni, Vtri: hold in hand, hold  
     onto, catch hold of, catch, grab  
 ma:ḡḡa, N: fishing line, string  
 ma:ḡḡay, Adj: silly  
 midī, N: leech
- midin, N: grey possum  
 miḡa, N: camp, house  
 miḡiri, Vint: wait  
 miḡu, N: brain  
 miḡulu, N: white man (Loan)  
 miḡara, N: ribs  
 miḡba, Vtr: show  
 miḡbir, N: slippery blue fig  
 miḡburu, Adj: straight  
 miḡgun, N: type of cousin  
 miḡga, N: painted bark rainmaker  
 miḡgal, Adj: greedy  
 miḡmuḡu, Adj: spinning, fast  
 minba, V: hit with thrown stick etc  
 mindi, N: grass dilly-bag  
 mindi, N: corroboree ground  
 mudap, N: lump on body  
 mudiḡa, N: motor car (Loan)  
 muga, Vtri: eat  
 muḡi, N: semen  
 muḡuḡaḡa, N: mud crab  
 muḡuḡu, N: big locust  
 muḡal, N: head  
 muḡaḡu, N: fish net  
 muḡay, N: elbow  
 muḡul, N: knee  
 muḡulan, N: mother's elder brother  
 muḡundurū, N: hailstone  
 muḡuru, Adj: hard, strong  
 muḡa, Adj: half-blind  
 muḡgaḡay, N: green ginger  
 muḡgaḡa, Adj: game, brave  
 muḡgun, N: backbone  
 mulin, N: lip, mouth, bird's beak  
 mulmbin, Adj: blunt  
 mulu, Loc: near, close up  
 munma, N: paperbark hornet  
 Munungul, Proper: Younger Creek  
     (place in Giramay territory)  
 mupara, Adj: by oneself, alone  
 mupḡal, Adj: soft, weak  
 mupḡu, Adj: naked  
 mupī, Vint: blink  
 mupinip, N: small black ant  
 mupunmupun, N: chocolate bats  
 muḡan, N: mountain  
 mungḡan, N: Herbert River ringtail  
     possum  
 muray, N: head hair  
 murgalḡan, N: seven sisters  
 murgin, N: son  
 murḡbal, N: quandong  
 muwari, N: any big shady tree  
 muyma, N: boy  
 muymba, Vtr: extinguish fire/light  
 muyḡul, N: oldest boy  
 muyḡulḡan, N: oldest girl

- muyu, N: bottom, arse  
 muyun, N: large blue kingfisher  
 mu:ba, N: stone fish  
 mu:guꞑu, N: perch  
 mu:gil, N: freshwater black bream  
 mu:ngi, Vtr: make cold, make shiver  
 mu:ꞑa, Adj: hidden, out of sight  
 mu:ꞑi, N: tree with small blue fruit  
  
 naybu, N: knife (Loan)  
 nayi (plural: nayili), N: young girl  
 nibal, N: coals, opium  
 nuba, N: bark water container  
 nugumba, Vint: vomit  
 nu:ba, Vtr: sharpen, grind  
  
 paba, Adj: ripe  
 pagaram, Adj: tiny  
 pagumbi, Vint: come  
 palambuꞑu, Adj: good  
 palbay, N(Adj?): totemic identification  
 palmu, N: large nulla nulla  
 palngingan, Adj: pretty (woman, girl)  
 pamu, Time: for a short while  
 pandu, Int (or Adj?): I don't know  
 pangal, Adj: heavy  
 pangga, Vtri: rush in on, raid, arrest  
 pa:ꞑa, N: light (in distance)  
 pibu, N: mythical spider  
 pigin, N: finger-/toe-nail  
 pimbaꞑa, N: body hair, fur  
 pinga, Vtr: stop, block  
 pirwaꞑa, Time: tomorrow  
 pigiqara, N: maggot  
 pubi, N: (classifactory) father-in-law  
 pugi, Vint: dance  
 purbira, Vint: be ill, sick, feverish  
 purꞑu, N: hitting/bumping noise  
 pu:nga, Vtri: kiss  
  
 qaba, Vtr: soak  
 Ngabila, Proper: a mountain near Sheahan's farm (which is where the Abergowrie road crosses the Herbert River)  
 Ngabiqbil, Proper: Herbert Vale (Loan)  
 qadaymbi, Vint: come  
  
 qaguba, N: Burdekin plum tree  
 qagul, Adj: N: deep; deep waterhole  
 qalma, Adj: one's own  
 qalmangara, N: light  
 qalu, N: fresh water  
 qaluwa, N: black and white flying squirrel  
 Ngalgwiri, Proper: Abergowrie  
 qama, N: shield handle  
 qamiꞑi, Adj: hungry  
 qamugay, N: toothache  
 qamun, N: (female) breast  
 qamuꞑu, N: armpit  
 qanba, Vtri: follow  
 qangul, N: chin  
 qani, N: face  
 qarala, Adj: dry, shallow  
 qarinqi, N: orange (Loan)  
 qaruu, Part: don't  
 qarꞑi, N: country (generic)  
 qarꞑur, N: chin  
 qarꞑi, Vtr: answer  
 qaraba, N: vine used as fish poison  
 qarqina(n), N: mother's father  
 qayl, Int: yes  
 qayl, N; Adj: voice; thirsty  
 qayilngara, N: neck  
 qa:, Part: not  
 qa:ba, N: bottom of ribs  
 qa:ra, Vtri: hear, listen  
 qa:ꞑa, Part: can't do (despite trying)  
 qa:ꞑamba, Vtri: try to do (but fail)  
 qiqqima, Vtri: tickle (in sex play)  
 qiqqinqiqqii, N: 'nymphomaniac'  
 qiyanma, Vtr: ask  
 qiyaꞑa, N: ribs  
 qiyaꞑuda, Vtr: grab with hand  
 qi:ꞑa, Vtri: tie up  
 qudan, N: large black snake  
 quꞑu, Adj: pretending, lying, malingering  
 qugi, Adj: stinking, bad smell  
 quꞑu, N: mopoke owl  
 qulan, N: stone tomahawk  
 qulgaꞑa, Time: yesterday  
 qulmbuꞑu, N: woman  
 qulmuꞑu, N/Time: darkness, night  
 qulngiqin, Adj: wet  
 qulqiri, N: lots of noise  
 qulubuꞑu, N: stump  
 qumbulu, N: black snake with red tail  
 qunda, Vtri: see, look  
 quni, Vint: search for, hunt for  
 qupin, N: reflection, shadow, spirit

- Nguguꞑu, Proper: Nora Boyd (name given later in life)  
 ꞑuri, Part: in turn/retribution  
 ꞑuꞑꞑi, N: a ginger species  
 ꞑuꞑꞑmbun, N: tapping noise  
 ꞑuꞑu, N: nose  
 ꞑu:ꞑa, Vtri: test, taste, try out  
 ꞑu:ma, Vtri: feel  
 ꞑu:ꞑu, N: heel  
  
 ꞑaba, N: forked stick, fork of tree  
 ꞑabi, Adj: (do) quickly  
 ꞑaybul, N: rifle (Loan)  
 ꞑaygi, N: old clothes (Loan, prob. from rag)  
 ꞑimbi, N: forehead  
 ꞑubu, N: rope (Loan)  
 ꞑugulu, Time: the other day OR yesterday  
 ꞑulgu, N: heart  
 ꞑulmbura, N: ashes  
 ꞑuꞑꞑꞑa, Vtr: suck  
 ꞑuyu, Adj: playing around  
  
 waꞑa, N: crow  
 waꞑa, N: mud  
 waꞑan, N: small native bee  
 waꞑangara, N: crow  
 waꞑiri, Vtr: overturn, spill, pour  
 waga, N: shin(bone) W, thigh B  
 wagaꞑala, N: yellow flying fox  
 Wagaꞑaba, Proper: Long Pocket  
 wagun, N: fire, wood, tree  
 wagun, N: sea, saltwater  
 wala, Vint: arise, go up  
 walam, N: tick  
 walguwugu, N: poisonous brown snake  
 walmbari, Vint: (dog) barks  
 walmbi, Vtri: lift up, pick up, waken  
 walꞑan, N: a river tea-tree  
 Walꞑanbara, Proper: Peacock Siding (up Stone River)  
 walꞑga, N: air in lungs  
 walꞑga, Vint: float on water  
 walꞑgarnꞑi, N: eldest child in family  
 wambuy, N: fire, wood, tree  
 wana, Vtr: leave (it) be  
 wangawa, N: bird like pigeon  
 wapuy, N: round yam  
 waꞑa, N: black bean  
 waꞑal, N: boomerang  
 wangu, N: small goanna  
  
 wanguri, Vint: kneel down, squat  
 wara, Part: inappropriate S or O NP  
 wardal, Adj: sharp  
 wardan, N: raft  
 Wargamay, Proper: language name  
 wargayꞑa, N: spear with stingaree sting  
 wargin, N: boomerang  
 wargubala, N: left hand  
 warguy, N: left hand  
 warꞑay, N: fish spear  
 warumbil, N: whistle  
 warun, N: sand  
 waꞑabi, N: dog  
 waꞑꞑumba, Vtr: wash  
 waꞑꞑala, N: black wallaby  
 waꞑꞑgay, N: short fishing rod and line  
 waꞑuwaꞑu, Adj: crooked  
 waybala, N: white man (Loan)  
 wayili, N: red bream  
 waymin, N: (classificatory) mother-in-law  
 wayu, Adj: turning into  
 wa:ba, Vint: look up (for sugarbag only)  
 wa:ꞑi, Vint: laugh  
 wa:ꞑan, N: crow  
 wa:nda, Vtr: rouse on, tell on  
 wigiyan, N: white woman  
 wiꞑi, N: snake (generic)  
 wiꞑin, Adj: sore  
 wira, N: black fig  
 wiran, N: blood  
 wirga, N: small nulla nulla  
 wiri, N: bird's nest  
 wiru, N: husband  
 wiꞑba, N: little stick  
 wiꞑꞑu, N: frilly lizard  
 wiꞑꞑa, Vint: bathe, bogey  
 wi:, N: sun  
 wi:ꞑi, wi:gina, Adj: no good  
 wubiri, N: English bee  
 wuda, Vtr: take off  
 wudil, Adj: asleep  
 wudu, N: nose  
 wudugalꞑuꞑu, N: bird like ibis  
 wuguru/wugurayꞑan: section  
 wugar, Adj; N: sleepy; sleepiness  
 wugi, Vtr: give  
 wugu, N: breastbone  
 wula, Vint: die  
 wulbu, N: pheasant  
 wulgamu, N: green scrub pigeon  
 wulgu, N: bark canoe  
 wulgugu, N: Torres Strait pigeon  
 wulman, N: old man (Loan)



- wuma, N: shade  
wumba, N: belly, stomach, bowels, guts  
wumbugiri, N: star  
wunduy, N: freshwater shark  
wungu/wungurayngan, N: section  
wunan, Adj: lustful, larrikin  
wuṅa, Vint: go walkabout  
wuṅa, Vtr: chase  
wurbi, Adj: big  
wuṅamba, N: scrub turkey  
wuṅigala, N: barramundi  
wuyga, N: snake skin (after having been shed)  
wuygul, N: whip snake  
wuymbi, Vtr: lick  
wu:, N: war (Loan)  
wu:, N: hoe (Loan)
- yabu, N: mother and mother's younger sister  
yabuḡu, N: son  
yabulga, N: morning star  
yabun, N: big camp  
yaga, N: two  
yagabayan, N: large gum tree  
yagal, N: pandanus  
yalbaṅ, N: flat ground  
yalgay, N: road  
yalṅgabaḡa, Adj: a very large number  
yalṅgay, N: a single person  
yaluga - although included in text 6.13 this is a Giramay form (Dixon 1972:259)  
yamani, N: rainbow  
Yamani, Proper: Yamanie Creek  
yamaṅa, N: man  
yanbaḡa, N: kangaroo spear  
yaṅal, yaṅabaḡa, yaṅandari, N: long, tall  
yaṅabula, N: long eel species  
yaṅgal, N: freshwater black bream  
yaman, N: horse (Loan)  
yawuyṅbaḡi ~ yawuyṅbaḡi, N: big grey kangaroo
- yayimbali, Vint: play about  
ya:, N: top of tree  
yibi, N: child  
yigara, N: crayfish  
yigir, N: disease like smallpox  
yilgan, N: moon  
yimba, Vtr: put on (clothes)  
yimbur, N: pelican  
yimiri, Vint: feel glad, be glad  
yinbi, Vint: fly  
yiṅḡin, N: (cane train) engine (Loan)  
Yiṅam, Proper: Ingham (Loan)  
yiṅaḡi, N; Adj: cave; hollow  
yira, N: tooth  
yirawuḡu, N: forest carpet snake  
yirgal, Adj: itchy  
yirgaṅḡi, Loc: people, goods and places from north  
yirḡingara, N: star (generic)  
yiribara, N: blue gum tree  
yiriṅgila, N: horse fly  
yi:l, N: name  
yubay, Adj: be away  
yubaybi, Vint: run away  
yubayma, Vtr: steal, take  
yudi, N: long-nosed frog  
yugan, N: rain  
yugara, Vint: swim (from A to B)  
yulba, N: end of branch  
yulgu, N: belly, stomach, bowels,  
yulguḡuy, Loc: inside  
yumbuḡu, N: late stage of tadpole  
yumuru, N: son (said by mother)  
yungun, N: swamp  
yunga, N: skin  
yungubala, N: copper-headed python  
yungul, Adj: one  
yunguḡa, Adj: another one  
yurmay, Time: do all the time  
yuḡalbara, N: big river  
yuḡuyṅbi, N: river-bank (in song)  
yu:mba, Vtri: bury (to shallow depth)  
yu:nu, Loc: down (river?)  
yu:ḡa, Vtr: swallow  
yu:ḡi, Vint: grow, sprout

#### VOCABULARY BY SEMANTIC FIELDS

Dialect attestation of lexemes is shown to the left of each entry. There are three columns (see 1.2 above):

- column 1 W - occurs in Wargamay proper  
column 2 B - occurs in Halifax Biyay  
column 3 H - occurs in Hinchinbrook Biyay

A dash, -, in a column indicates that informants stated this item did *not* occur in that dialect.

All lexemes included here (for the W column) have been fully checked out with at least two speakers; this has always included at least one, and usually both, of John Tooth and Lambert Cocky. Words in B which differ from those in W were generally checked on two occasions with Nora Boyd. Information on H comes only from old sources - see 1.6.

In a small number of cases different informants gave rather different meanings for a form. These are noted below, using abbreviations.

JT - John Tooth  
LC - Lambert Cocky  
NB - Nora Boyd

AP - Alf Palmer  
JJ - Jimmy Johnson

Several hundred words that were at one time suggested as Wargamay were eliminated from the final vocabulary since corroboration could not be obtained of this. Most of them are in fact from Giramay, Waruṅu or Nyawaygi although a number are not attested for any surrounding language (some of these are probably from the H dialect, for which no speakers remain).

A few words for which full corroboration could not be obtained are included here, preceded by a star to indicate that they could not be checked as fully as the remainder of the vocabulary. These are:

- (i) Obtained from LC, and checked with him, but not checked with any other speaker (some were given by LC in 1980 and I did not have the opportunity to revisit JT after that, to obtain his corroboration): bayngaṅa, bumba, gaṅgulan, ga:ngi, ginambaṅa, giṅgili, gaṅgarga, guli, muwari, ḡiyapma, ḡulḡiri, wa:nda, waḡumba, wiran, yayimbali.
- (ii) Given by JT and checked with him as definitely W items, but could not be obtained from LC: ḡagabaṅa, ḡalmbula, maḡal, yabun, yimba.
- (iii) Given by NB but could not be checked with her before her death (the identification of the rhotic is uncertain in each case, at the least): biṅgira, daṅa, ḡulḡiriṅ (NB alternated between this form and ḡulḡiriṅ), warumbil.
- (iv) ḡulmbuṅa 'woomera' was given by Arthur Wild and recognized by LC but not JT; but when asked on a later occasion LC did not acknowledge this item. yaḡbaṅ was in the material recorded by La Mont West Jr from Jimmy Johnson. LC recognised it but JT did not. However, on a later date LC would not admit it as a W form.

There must without doubt be further mistakes, of transcription and glossing, in a project of this nature, despite the care that has been taken in checking.

Abbreviations int, tri and tr for verbs correspond to Vint, Vtri and Vtr above; they are explained in the introductory note to the alphabetical vocabulary.

#### NOUNS

A - *Body parts*  
W- mugal, head  
-BH buyu, head  
W miḡu, brain

WB muray, head hair  
W birṅga ~ birṅganbirṅgan, grey hair, grey-haired person  
W ḡimbi, forehead  
W H ḡani, face

- WBH gayga, eye  
 WB -gaygabağa, blind  
 W -gaygabala, blind  
 W- buyin, eyebrow  
 -B gi:n, eyebrow  
 W- wudu, nose, point, headland,  
 end of penis, pencil  
 -BH nuçu, nose, etc.  
 WBH bina, ear  
 WB -binabağa, deaf  
 W-H gagal, jaw  
 -B ga:, jaw  
 W- ngangul, chin  
 -B ngagun, chin  
 WBH mulin, lip, mouth, bird's  
 beak  
 WB galbağa, beard  
 WBH yira, teeth, seed, point  
 of spear  
 W namugay, toothache  
 WBH galan, tongue  
 W \*galngulan, tongue  
 WBH garğa, spittle  
 W nayilngara, neck  
 WBH gulngu, throat  
 W gurga, back of neck  
 W nayi, voice (also Adj,  
 thirsty)  
 W binda, shoulder  
 W guçu, shoulder, upper arm,  
 ridge  
 WB namuçu, armpit  
 WB mugay, elbow  
 W bangal, upper arm (JT, JJ);  
 shoulder along to neck (LC)  
 W H magu, arm, wing of bird  
 W gargal, arm, limb of tree  
 WB mala, hand  
 --H mandi, hand  
 W malanbağa, right hand  
 W- wargubala, left hand  
 -B warguy, left hand  
 WB gumbi, thumb  
 W H nigin, fingernail, toenail,  
 claw of bird - see (21)  
 WBH namun, breast  
 W gindi, chest  
 W guymbiğa, cicatrices  
 WBH wugu, breastbone  
 W- niyağa, ribs  
 -B milara, ribs  
 W na:ba, bottom of ribs  
 W H bilu, hip(bone)  
 -B bilmbu, hip, side, flank  
 W- yulgu, belly, stomach, bowels  
 guts (and front of boomerang,  
 woomera)  
 W -yulgugiri, full of food  
 -BH wumba, belly, etc (as yulgu)  
 W- gu:lnguçu, navel  
 -B gu:guru, navel  
 WB birugay, umbilical cord  
 W gawar, large intestine, 'tripe'  
 (and 'big paunch')  
 W giçugiču, small intestine  
 W çulgu, heart  
 W giba, liver  
 B giliwuçu, lungs  
 W walnga, air in lungs  
 W mulgun, backbone (and back of  
 boomerang, woomera)  
 WB gulu, buttocks  
 WB muyu, bottom, arse  
 W H gara, thigh  
 W- bunggu, knee  
 -BH mugul, knee  
 WB waga, shin(bone) W; thigh B  
 WBH bingan, foot  
 WB nu:çu, heel  
 W manda, penis  
 W gungğa, erection of penis  
 e.g. manda gungğambigi  
 W H galun, testicles  
 W muçi, semen  
 W giwural, pubic hair  
 W bindi, female genitalia (pre-  
 ferred term in W)  
 W giğin, female genitalia  
 (Giramay term, also used in W)  
 WBH guna, faeces, shit  
 W buçi, fart, e.g. nayba  
 buçimbigi 'I farted'  
 W gabin, belly-ache, diarrhoea  
 W gu:ğağa, urine  
 W gambağa, body  
 W niмбаğa, body-hair, fur  
 WBH yungğa, skin  
 WBH gulgil, bone  
 W- gurmал, blood, vein  
 -BH guçi, blood, vein  
 W \*wiran, blood  
 WB gunguy, tendon, sinew, gristle  
 W balbala, fat (also used to  
 describe fat person)  
 W gagari, fat (e.g. kidney fat)  
 WB baniğa, sweat, hot sun (making  
 one sweat), summertime  
 W gilnan, a bad cold  
 W- burubay, boil, pus  
 -B guçiyan, boil, pus  
 -B budam, matter inside a blister  
 W yigir, a disease like smallpox  
 that makes one scratch (per-  
 haps Jiggers)  
 W- balban, a lump on body (and  
 warts on bark of tree)

- W -balbanbalban, lumpy all over body  
 -B mudap, lumps on body  
 W \*ginambagan, cramp (+ body part)  
 WB gungiri, tail (on animal or fish)  
 W \*gargagarga, any prickle (e.g. echidna spike, or lawyer cane prickle)
- B - Human classification*  
 W bama, male (human or animal)  
 W gagin, female (human or animal)  
 WBH ma:l, (Aboriginal) man  
 W yamaça, (Aboriginal) man [may be preferred for referring to a group of men]  
 WBH nulmbucu, (Aboriginal) woman  
 W ginđu, offspring (human child or animal chick)  
 WB daman, new-born (human) baby  
 W gağa, baby  
 WBH yibi, child (especially reduplicated, yibiyibi, children)  
 WB walngarnin, eldest child in family  
 WB muyma, boy  
 W margara, teenage boy (of age for initiation but not yet initiated)  
 W guymbiça, cicatrices (tribal marks) and man with them  
 W-H gilap, old man  
 W -gilangan, old woman  
 -B bulbu, old person  
 W wulman, old man (Loan)  
 W gağiya, young girl  
 -B nayi (pl nayiil), young girl  
 WBH gambi, old woman (especially reduplicated to refer to group of old women, gambigambi)  
 W yalngay, single person (spinst-er/bachelor, or widow/widower)  
 W gubi, wise man  
 W gubimbulu, very wise man  
 WB mağuwargi, mate, friend  
 WB guimbal, mate, friend  
 WB nupin, reflection, shadow, spirit (semi-corporeal)  
 W gu:p, spirit of a dead man (non-corporeal); also white man, 'ghost', 'devil'  
 W waybala, white man (Loan)
- W migulu, white man (Loan)  
 W guynğan, spirit of a dead woman (these are believed to exist as birds); white woman  
 WBH wigiyan, white woman  
 W guçbal(guçbal), half-caste  
 W gağaligan, mythical 'devil woman', invoked to frighten people not to stray too far  
 W nibu, mythical spider e.g. nibungu ğina mani:lma 'Nyibu might catch you (and make you sick)', and (84)  
 W buliman, policeman (Loan)  
 W ma:ğa, boss (also used by LC for God, described as 'big boss in heaven')  
 W drayga, (black) tracker (Loan)
- C - Kinship*  
 W mugulan, mother's elder brother  
 W gawanan, mother's younger brother  
 W mangucu, mother's elder sister  
 WB yabu, mother, mother's younger sister  
 H gumbay (?), mother and younger sister  
 W bimü, father's elder brother  
 WB gağa, father, father's younger brother  
 WB bimulan, father's sister (elder or younger)  
 W- gumbunan, mother's mother  
 -B gumbuna, mother's mother  
 W- ñayginan, mother's father  
 -B ñaygina, mother's father  
 W- babilan, father's mother  
 -B babi, father's mother  
 W- gubanan, father's father  
 -B gubana, father's father  
 WBH çandi, elder sister  
 W çalmbuyan, younger sister  
 W H gugun, elder brother  
 WBH çalmbu, younger brother  
 Above four terms also cover father's brother's and mother's sister's children  
 WB çamugan, daughter  
 W murgin, son  
 -B yabuđu, son  
 W yumuru, 'son' (said by mother to avoid using his name)  
 W muyngul, eldest boy  
 W -muyngulgan, eldest girl  
 W balgin, mother's brother's son;

father's sister's son  
 W milgun, mother's brother's daughter, etc.  
 W ga:gi, cousin (Loan?)  
 WBH bulgu, wife  
 WB wiru, husband  
 W gubi, man and wife  
 W waymin, (classificatory) mother-in-law  
 W pubi, (classificatory) father-in-law

*Ca - Sections and Identification*

W H gurgila/gurgilaynggan, wuguru/wuguraynggan, wungu/wunguraynggan/, gurgucu/gurgucaynggan, male/female section labels - see 1.4  
 W nalbay, identification with totem or country e.g. gungunu nalbay naygu 'the thunderstorm is my totem'

*D - Mammals*

WB gumbiyan, echidna, porcupine  
 W gurgiga, ring-tail rat  
 WB bargil, brown rat and/or house mouse  
 W galugu, scrub mouse  
 WB gudi, water rat  
 WB gugila, short-nose bandicoot  
 W guygai, long-nose bandicoot  
 W- gagara, grey possum  
 -BH midin, grey possum  
 W gula, striped ringtail possum (Pseudochirops archeri)  
 W munggan, Herbert River ringtail possum (Pseudocheirus herbertensis)  
 W bucuqu, a possum species  
 WB galuwa, black and white flying squirrel (Dactylopsila trivirgata)  
 W mangucu, large flying squirrel  
 W bulngari, tree-climbing kangaroo (Dendrolagus lumholtzi)  
 W managa, large kangaroo  
 W yawuybari ~ yawuybari, big grey kangaroo (male)  
 W gucgay, big grey kangaroo (female)

W gabali, whip-tail kangaroo  
 W wagajala, black wallaby  
 W gi:gin, swamp wallaby  
 W bulguibay, scrub wallaby  
 W- bawucu, rock wallaby  
 -B bungil, rock wallaby  
 WB baggan, kangaroo rat  
 WB gugi, black flying fox  
 W wagajala, yellow flying fox  
 WB mununmunun, chocolate bat  
 WB bada, dog  
 W wagabi, dog  
 W ganibara, dingo  
 H gandu, dog  
 W yaraman, horse (Loan)  
 W ga:yaci, horse  
 WB gumubuqu, bullock, beef

*E - Reptiles and Amphibians*

W H gugagay, alligator ('main Wargamay word')  
 W maybaga, alligator (alternative term, less preferred)  
 WBH bagigal, saltwater turtle  
 WB banguru, freshwater turtle with round belly  
 W bilil, freshwater turtle with flat belly and long rough neck  
 W bugawu, long-neck turtle (not good to eat)  
 WB bangara, blue-tongue lizard  
 W giyabay, brown rock lizard  
 WB wigdu, frilled lizard  
 W buyngul, small tree lizard  
 WB gu:birin, small bark lizard  
 WB gu:gaga, black goanna  
 WB gagan, sand goanna  
 W bagal, water goanna  
 W wangu, small goanna  
 WBH winqi, snake (generic) (preferred Wargamay term)  
 W gambal, snake (generic) (said to be a Giramay term, also used in Wargamay)  
 W wuyga, snake skin (after being shed)  
 WB gabul, forest carpet snake (female)  
 W- yirawucu, forest carpet snake (male)  
 -B gumbi, forest carpet snake (male)  
 W gayngiri, large tree-climbing scrub carpet snake (also used as generic term for any carpet snake)  
 WB malugan, chicken snake (edible)  
 W bima, death adder

- WB nudan, large black snake  
 W numbulu, small poisonous black snake with red tail  
 W wuygul, whip snake  
 W walguwuçu, poisonous brown snake  
 W burganu, big, lazy brown snake (also said to be tiger snake; taipan)  
 W yungubala, copper-headed python  
 WB ganal, frog (generic)  
 W yudi, long-nosed frog (used as bait for barramundi)  
 WB yumbuçu, late stage of tadpole
- F - Birds*  
 W gi:gi:, bird (generic)  
 WBH bambu, egg  
 W wiri, bird's nest  
 -B \*daça, bird's wing  
 WB giŋgiça, cassowary  
 W H gundulu, emu  
 W guçur, native companion, broilga  
 W gawarala, crane, ibis  
 W wuduğalguçu, bird like ibis  
 W gandił, jabiru, stork  
 W gagul, brown heron with white chest  
 -B yimbur, pelican  
 W guyibara, curlew  
 W gabugala, plains turkey  
 W- wuçamba, scrub turkey  
 WB guyğari, scrub turkey  
 WB girawan, scrub hen  
 W guçuğu, dove  
 WB guguwun, blue pigeon  
 W gulgal, black flock pigeon  
 W wulgamu, green scrub pigeon  
 WB wulguçu, Torres Strait pigeon  
 W wangawa, a bird like a pigeon, which scratches around on the ground  
 WB nugu, mopoke owl  
 W bulibuli, night owl  
 W bi:bi:l, pee wee  
 W gubuça, magpie  
 W- wağa, crow  
 -B- wağangara, crow  
 WB -wağaç, big mob of crows  
 --H wa:gan, crow  
 W-H gungaga, grey jackass, kookaburra  
 B guçalal, grey jackass, kookaburra  
 W muyun, large blue kingfisher  
 W giğuluruy, small forest kingfisher
- WB giŋgiŋgiŋiri, willy wagtail  
 W-H gayambula, white cockatoo  
 -B gunayngil, white cockatoo  
 W gulalbi, black cockatoo  
 W binbiçal, king parrot  
 W guçambal, blue mountain parrot  
 W bi:bal, small needle-tail budgerigar, eats bees  
 W biránbiran, a needle-tail bee bird  
 W giçibi, quail  
 W gabangiča, dollar bird  
 W bagingila, spangled drongo  
 W gi:l, shining starling  
 W -gi:lgi:l, flock of these  
 W dagu, carpenter bird, hammer bird  
 W guçil, storm bird  
 WB gurigala, eagle hawk  
 W gargay, small chicken hawk  
 W gambunu, black duck  
 W biğilbara, whistling duck  
 W- bubunba, pheasant  
 -B bubun, pheasant  
 -B wulbu, pheasant  
 W gaçamgaçam, sea gull
- G - Fishes, etc*  
 WBH ga:bu, fish (generic)  
 W giŋgibiri, big (used only of fish)  
 WB giğawulu, freshwater jewfish (catfish)  
 WB gu:gal, mud cod  
 W bu:giya, freshwater mullet  
 W gağaç, small white fish with black stripes, used as bait for catching barramundi  
 W- mu:gil, freshwater black bream  
 -B yaŋgal, freshwater black bream  
 W wayili, freshwater red bream  
 W gabağala, smaller bream  
 W mu:ğuru, perch  
 W wuçigala, barramundi  
 WB mu:ba, stone fish  
 W gundamu, freshwater garfish  
 W balbirigan, large saltwater shark  
 W wunduy, freshwater shark  
 W balangal, dugong  
 WB guymbi, eel (generic)  
 W yağabula, a species of long eel  
 W muğugaça, mud crab  
 WBH yigara, crayfish, yabby  
 W bulgan, shrimp, prawn, lobster (preferred Wargamay term)  
 WB mawa, shrimp, prawn, lobster

H - *Insects, etc*

- W buḡḡan, white ant (and its antbed)  
 WB gaḡu, white ant on tree (and antbed)  
 WB dumbulan, sugar ant (JT), big red ant (LC), bull ant (AP)  
 W muḡinḡ, little biting black ant  
 W gaḡwun, green ant (makes a nest on a tree like a hornet)  
 B bumaga, wasp  
 W- munma, paperbark hornet (makes nest in gum tree)  
 WB ga:ḡa, centipede  
 W ḡiḡḡara, maggot  
 WBH maḡbal, (common) fly  
 W bunul, march fly  
 W yiriḡḡila, horse-fly  
 W bulal, firefly  
 W- gumu, mosquito  
 -BH guyguy, mosquito  
 -B gunugunu, sandfly  
 W gugigugḡ, butterfly, moth  
 WB gambun, grub  
 WB gaban, grub in acacia tree  
 W galambu, grub in gum tree  
 WB gu:ḡḡuḡu, beetle (generic), including cane beetle  
 -B bini, black beetle (as on lamp) NOTE that NB gave these as two distinct designations in B, but LC said that gini was the B equivalent of Wargamay gu:ḡḡuḡu  
 WB ga:ḡuḡu(g), cockroach (Loan), LC included a final ḡ but NB did not  
 WB midi, leech  
 WB dubi, earthworm  
 WB bundip, grasshopper  
 WB muḡuḡu, large locust  
 WB maḡbu, louse  
 WB walam, tick  
 WB bull, flea  
 W guḡḡal, bee, sugarbag (generic)  
 WB gubur, large black savage sticky native bee  
 W waḡan, small yellow native bee with white behind  
 WB bayal, a yellow native bee  
 WB wubiri, English bee  
 W gaḡal, honey  
 W guḡḡin, honey

- W ma:ḡaya, bee's wax  
 W daḡḡal, spider, web

I - *Language, ceremony, noise*

- WB mayay, language (everyday style)  
 W -mayay(m)bi, Vint, talk  
 W gaḡḡuy, avoidance style  
 W gawal, a call  
 W -gawali, Vint, call out  
 W yi:l name  
 W gama, song-style  
 W buḡan, song-style borrowed by Wargamaygan  
 W gaḡala, song style (predominantly obscene)  
 W- gaḡḡiḡa, moaning funeral chant recounting deeds of dead person  
 WB buḡun, drum used by women (and noise)  
 W balmbuḡa, as buḡun  
 W wu:, war (Loan)  
 W bu:ḡḡuray, a snore; see (5)  
 W -bu:ḡḡuray(m)bi, Vint, snore; see (183)  
 W gubil, a whistle  
 W -gubili, Vint, whistle  
 -B \*warumbil, whistle  
 W \*ḡulḡiri, lots of noise (e.g. cattle lowing, or from people)  
 WB purḡu, a noise e.g. hitting a drum, breaking a stick, bumping into something  
 W ḡuḡmbun, a tapping noise e.g. tapping feet  
 W gunbin, two trees rubbing together, and the noise they make

J - *Artefacts*

- WBH wargin, boomerang (the 'best' Wargamay word)  
 W waḡal, boomerang  
 W birbubirbu, throwing implement made of two crossed sticks  
 W balḡgira, as birbubirbu [balḡgira may possibly be an adjective 'crossed']  
 WB ḡimbara, small throwing stick, 2-3' long, big head and tapering body, mostly a toy  
 WB ḡambara, larger nulla nulla (throwing stick), for fighting  
 W wirga, small nulla nulla, a little bigger than ḡimbara,

- mostly used to throw up into tree to knock fruit down  
 WB gulngu, a nulla nulla  
 WB palmu, large nulla nulla, 5-6' in length with big head, used by women in fighting  
 -B gagin, yamstick  
 W gabay, walking stick  
 W gugulu, stick for accompaniment in gajala song-style  
 W- bangay, spear (generic)  
 -B gamanday, spear (generic)  
 --H galgay, spear (generic)  
 W galun, short spear with hook, used for fighting  
 W yanbaga, long spear, used for hunting kangaroos  
 W wargayga, prickly spear, with stingaree sting  
 W bilun, hook spear  
 W warnay, fish spear  
 W garin, (straight) woomera  
 -B bangila, (straight) woomera  
 W \*gulmbuga, (straight) woomera  
 WB bagugu, sword  
 WBH bigin, shield  
 W gama, shield handle  
 W dumbul, bump at reverse of handle on shield  
 WB gulan, stone tomahawk  
 -B gamiya, stone tomahawk  
 WB baggu, English axe  
 W guyan, quartz, sharp knife made from quartz  
 W naybu, knife (Loan)  
 W bayil, file (Loan)  
 W wu:, hoe (Loan)  
 W gungi, (top) grinding stone  
 W giman, firestick  
 W mugaçu, fish net  
 W ma:nga, fishing line, string  
 W guçbay, fishing rod (about 4' long) and line  
 W waçugay, fishing rod (about 1' long) and line  
 W layn, fishing line (Loan)  
 B çubu, rope (Loan)  
 WB wulgu, bark canoe  
 W wargan, raft  
 WB gagara, cane dilly-bag  
 W mindi, grass dilly-bag  
 W gangu, smaller grass dilly-bag (used for carrying valuables around); kangaroo pouch  
 W nuba, bark water container  
 WB ginba, bark water container  
 W ma:gaya, bee's wax, used for sealing nuba/girba  
 W biiga, pitch/gum from grass tree, used for sealing  
 W guçgaça, billy can  
 W bandaça, bottle  
 W balbay, bottle  
 W bundurun, English bag  
 W baygi, bag (Loan)  
 W bagir, basket (Loan)  
 W bagigi, box, trunk (Loan, prob. from baggage)  
 WB gambi, clothes  
 W gambila, bark blanket  
 B gumul, blanket from stinging tree bark  
 W balgubalgu, hat  
 B çaygi, old clothes (Loan, prob. from rag)  
 W ginaman, boot, shoe  
 W garuga, trousers (Loan)  
 W \*gingili, singlet (Loan)  
 WB milga, water-maker: piece of painted bark (later, iron) placed in the submerged root of a tree just below water level. See Lumholtz and Banfield references given on p.104-5 above.  
 W buyana, white feather from chest of white cockatoo (corroboree decoration)  
 W mani, money (Loan)  
 bari 'stone' also used; and biba 'paper' for paper money  
 B baçuru, money (probably a yaraman-type loan)  
 W baybu, pipe (Loan)  
 W çaybul, rifle (Loan)  
 W margin, gun (Loan, from musket)  
 W mudiga, motor car (Loan)  
 W giya, chair (Loan)  
 W yingin, (cane train) engine (Loan)  
 K - *Food, fire, water*  
 W H galguçu, meat  
 WB gungul, non-flesh food i.e. fruit, vegetables, honey  
 W gaygamali, (non-flesh) food  
 W gu:l, salt (Loan)  
 W gawangawan, rice  
 WB- wagan, fire, tree, wood  
 W mayba, fire (less-used alternative to wagan)  
 --H wambuy, fire, tree, wood  
 WB guyila, charcoal (Lumholtz: flame)



W bugan, big bush fire or big grass fire  
 W gilin, hot coals, charcoal  
 WB nibal, coals, opium  
 WB cumbura, ashes  
 WBH bunu, smoke  
 W nalmandara, light, e.g. lighted torch  
 W -nalmandarama, Vtr, make a light  
 W na:ga, light (in distance)  
 W giga, cigarette (Loan)  
 WB nalu, (fresh) water  
 --H gamu, (fresh) water  
 W wagun, sea, salt water  
 H bangin, sea, salt water  
 W yugalbara, big river  
 WB malan, creek  
 W biyu, small creek, gully  
 W gurala, big flood  
 W ginda, waterfall  
 W yungun, swamp  
 W galngan, froth (on waterfall or gully)  
 W gurugu, grog (Loan)  
 W biya, beer (Loan)  
 W di:, tea (Loan)

L - *Celestial, weather*

WB wi:, sun (sometimes pronounced [wui])  
 W- balanu, moon, month  
 -B balan, moon, month  
 --H yilgan, moon, month  
 W yirgingara, star (generic)  
 WB wumbugiri, star  
 W yabulga, morning star  
 WB murgalngan, seven sisters  
 WB buya, shooting star  
 W gīgubina, falling star (mythical person 'ugly old bugger')  
 W gulmuçu, dark, darkness, night  
 W gundambula, very dark (night)  
 W biliqi, daybreak, early in morning  
 W gundabaça, fine weather  
 W baniça, summertime, hot sun, sweat  
 W birgibaça, wintertime  
 WB wuma, shade  
 W H yamani, rainbow  
 WB gura, cloud, sky  
 WB gumburu, fog, mist  
 B gumbur, dew  
 W- gulubu, wind

-B gawulgawul, wind  
 W gugulbara, whirlwind  
 WB gambara, cyclone  
 WBH gungunu, thunderstorm, thunderclap  
 WB maygala, lightning  
 WBH yugan, rain  
 WB mugundururu, hailstone

M - *Geography, etc*

W H miğa, camp, house  
 W H balgan, house, hut  
 W \*yabun, large camp, lots of people camping together  
 W mindi, corroboree ground  
 WB buçun, fighting ground  
 WB yalgay, road, track, path  
 WBH gayi, ground, earth, dirt  
 W \*bumba, dust  
 WB warun, sand  
 WB buymaran, sand  
 WB guçga, mud  
 BH waça, mud, clay  
 WB magila, white clay  
 W galmuçu, yellow clay (and any yellow object)  
 W H magira, red clay  
 WB gilgan, hole  
 WB yinaci, cave, hollow (also Adj, hollow)  
 W \*yalbaç, flat ground  
 WBH bari, stone (generic)  
 W guyan, quartz, quartz knife  
 W baçala, flat rock  
 W -mugal baçala, bald head  
 W muğan, mountain  
 W balbi, sloping bank  
 W guçu, ridge, shoulder, upper arm  
 W yuçuuyubi, river bank (only in song)  
 W bugan, forest, grasslands  
 WB gulgin, (thick) scrub  
 WB naçdi, country (generic) e.g. naçgu punğa naçdi 'this is my country'  
 W gupin, coast (also 'south')

N - *Flora*

WB wagun, tree, wood, large stick, fire  
 --H wambuy, tree etc  
 W wiçba, small stick  
 W \*muwari, any big tree (providing shade)  
 WB mara, leaf [LC and NB gave mara but JT gave maça]

- W gubu, small leaf (including tea leaves), typically in piles
- W manga, flower
- W bigal, bark
- WB ginaça, root
- W dumbil, flange of tree
- W ya:, top of tree e.g. gagara  
wagunda ya:nga 'the possum is at the top of the tree'
- W gargal, branch, arm
- W yulba, end of branch
- WB gulumbuçu, stump
- W gulgaça, log
- W çaba, forked stick, fork of tree
- W gağan, blady grass (used for grass huts)
- W gulbiça, cane grass, spear grass
- W bunabuna, couch grass, weeds/rubbish
- W gu:gaça, rubbish, weeds
- W \*gargagarga, (any) prickly
- WB bulbuçu, spotted gum, bubbly gum (possum eats leaves)
- W yagabayan, large hollow gum tree in scrub - *Eucalyptus grandis*
- W- yiribara, blue gum tree
- B gulaçu, blue gum tree
- WB gurugan, bloodwood
- W galgabara, she-oak (on river)
- W gidu, chider hardwood tree, and light made from it - *Halfordia scleroxyla*
- W giñila, moreton bay ash (JT); messmate tree (LC)
- W giman, firestick tree
- W \*galmbula, iron bark tree
- W milbir, slippery blue fig, used for shields
- W gubaça, coastal tree with red bark, used for yamsticks
- W gulawun, Leichardt tree
- W gubula, black pine - *Podocarpus amarus*
- WB waņa, black bean - *Castanospermum australe*
- W maçađa, river cherry tree
- WB dabugay, wild cherry (clusters of sour fruit on a small plant, used for jam)
- W gaçgala, mangrove (used for boomerangs and spears)
- W galbay, wattle tree
- W walngan, river tea-tree (fruit eaten by birds)
- W buçu, larger paperbark tea-tree, bark used for humpy and torch
- W galaba, long wild yam (can be eaten after minimal cooking)
- WB wanuy, round yam (requires cooking)
- W bundu, edible root of a climbing plant (see vondo in Lumholtz 1889:207,313)
- W gamin, lawyer vine
- W gambay, big lawyer vine - *Calamus australis*
- W mangi, lawyer vine used for dilly-bags
- W nayaba, seaside vine, grows in the sand just above high water level, used as fish poison
- W bidaman, conjiboy plant
- WB barul, a vine-like plant in the mountains
- W gi:baça, very large fig tree
- W banba, red fig - prob. *Ficus destruens*
- W wira, black fig, with rough sandpaper leaf
- W baygaçi, a river fig
- W galgawuçu, big fig, grows as parasite on another tree
- W naguba, Burdekin plum
- W giñdarigan, grass tree on river bank (used for dilly bags) - *Lomandra longifolia*
- W \*gagabaça, a grass tree
- W gaçira, zamia fern and fruit
- W buliçi, staghorn fern
- W baggiņu, a tree fern
- W yagal, pandanus
- W dalu, palm tree - *Archontophoenix alexandrae*
- W muçmbal, quandong (edible blue fruit)
- W guyumulu, quandong (edible blue fruit)
- W mu:çi, tree with small blue fruit, size of a peanut (bark used for canoes)
- W guçbala, wild banana tree
- WB girgingan, lady finger tree, edible berry-like fruit
- W mulgalgay, green ginger
- W bayuđa, a coastal ginger
- W nuççi, ginger, bears no fruit but leaves used to wrap fish for baking
- W gaban, acacia tree, and the

- white grub in it  
 W \*magal, cocky apple tree  
 W ganguça, turpentine tree,  
 bark used for canoes
- WB gaçali, stinging tree -  
 Dendrocnides moroides  
 W manggu ~ maynggu, mango (Loan)  
 W narinçi, orange (Loan)

## O - ADJECTIVES

*Number and identity*

- WBH yungul, one  
 W yunguça, another one  
 WBH yaga, two  
 WBH gaçbu, three  
 WB gumaçbari, a lot, many (e.g. people, animals, leaves)  
 WBH gaçin, a lot, much (e.g. dirt, fish, water, food)  
 The difference in meaning between these two words is not clear.  
 W yaingabaça, a very large number e.g. big mob of cockatoos, huge  
 pile of leaves  
 W gi:baça, mark on message stick to indicate approximate number of  
 people from a group planning to attend a corroboree, glossed as  
 'a hundred'  
 WB munara, by oneself, alone - nayba munara gagabali nirwaga 'I'll  
 be going on my own tomorrow'; nayba gi:gibali munara 'I was  
 sitting by myself'; ninda gi:ba munara 'you scratch yourself!'  
 W nalma, one's own (object or section, etc) - waçal nalma 'one's  
 own boomerang'; nuça nalmambigi gunbagi 'he cut his own [foot];  
 nuça nalmambigi bangagi 'he paints himself'; naygu ninba nalma  
 'you're my friend'  
 W gulbu, anything strange (strange thing or foreign person)

*Colour*

- W- gu:lu, black - muray gu:lu 'black hair'  
 WB gu:nga, black  
 W bambaga, white  
 W maçgun, grey

*Dimension*

- WBH wurbi, big - wagan wurbi 'big tree'; wurbi yagan 'big rain'; gungul  
 wurbi 'plenty of tucker'  
 W gaçamu, huge - bingan gaçamu 'huge feet'  
 W giñgibiri, big (used only of fish)  
 WB giça, small (also used as N, child)  
 W -giçaru, mob of small children  
 W pagaram, tiny (especially pagarambulu, very tiny); shallow (water)  
 W- yaçal, long, tall; and also yaçabaça, yaçandari with same gloss  
 -B guran, long, tall  
 W- çudulu, short  
 -B çudu, short  
 WB bilngiri, wide - wurbi nuça bingan bilngiri 'he has large wide  
 feet'  
 W balbala, fat (person)  
 W nagul, deep (also used as N, deep water hole)  
 W dingara, shallow (water) [see also gadala/narala, dry, shallow]  
 W- gulumbara, straight  
 W milburu, straight - yaçgay milburu 'straight road'  
 W waçuwaçu, crooked

*Physical property*

- WB bandagala, full - ṅaygu gagara bandagala 'my dilly-bag is full'  
 W ga:la, empty  
 WB gawun, hot (from fire) - ḡilin gawun 'hot coals'  
 B bayngiḡa, hot  
 WB baniḡa, hot (sun), summertime, sweat, hot (from sun)  
 WBH gidul, cold - ṅapa giduldu mu:ngi 'the cold makes me shiver';  
 gulubungu ṅapa gidulmay 'the wind makes me cold'; see also (50)  
 W- marna, wet  
 -B \*ḡulngirin, wet  
 W- gadala, dry, shallow  
 -B ṅarala, dry  
 W ḡabini, sharp(ened) (Loan) - puṅa ḡabinima bayindu 'sharpen it  
 with a file!'  
 WB wargal, sharp - ḡamiya wargal 'sharp tomahawk'  
 W mulmbin, blunt  
 W gundil, heavy - ṅaygu mugal gundiligi 'my head feels heavy'  
 W ṅaṅgal, heavy (a Giramay word, also used in Wargamay)  
 W ḡagardagar, rough, prickly (skin, leaf, etc)  
 W ḡagal, hard, solid - wagun ḡagalḡagal 'solid tree'; ḡamun  
 ḡagalḡagal 'firm breasts (on woman)'  
 W- dalṅa(dalṅa), hard - ḡalguḡu dalṅadalṅambigi 'the meat got hard'  
 -B muguru, hard (e.g. meat, wood), strong (e.g. person, spear)  
 WB yiṅaḡi, hollow (also N, cave, hollow)  
 WB muṅgal, soft (e.g. cooked meat), weak (e.g. person)  
 WB naba, ripe  
 WB gunga, green, unripe (vegetables), raw (meat), alive (person)  
 W- ḡuṅu, (good or bad) odour [this is probably best regarded as an  
 abstract noun]  
 W ḡugi, bad smell, stinking  
 W ḡiyal, sweet (food, honey), savage (e.g. dog), poisonous (e.g.  
 fangs of snake)  
 B mada, salty  
 WB marṅa, salty, bitter, sore  
 W maṅalmaṅal, stinking, bitter, dirty - ṅaru muḡalḡa ḡawambama  
 maṅalmaṅal 'don't eat the stinking thing, it will make you  
 spew up'  
 W- buṅap, stinking  
 WB buga, rotten, stinking, dead - see (182)  
 W buḡul, rotten (e.g. wood - dry and light)  
 WB ganu, broken - wargin ḡanumbigi 'the boomerang broke'; waṅal ganu  
 'the boomerang is broken'; ḡaranga ḡulḡil ḡanumbigi 'a bone  
 broke in [his] thigh'; yulba ḡanuma 'break the branch!'  
 W baḡa, shut, blocked - ṅayba bina wi:gimbigi/ baḡambigi 'I forget  
 it' (literally 'my ear has become no good, has become blocked');  
 also bina baḡa 'deaf', ḡayga baḡa 'blind'  
 WB muṅgu, naked - see (32)  
 W balgun, clear, open - ṅayba balgunda ḡuwaray 'I stand out in the  
 open (when a cyclone comes)'

*Age and value*

- W ganbaymu, very old (person, object, or action - done many years  
 ago)  
 WB palambuḡu, good (general term) - ṅinu ṅayi palambuḡu 'you have a  
 good voice (for singing)'; and see (229)  
 WB mall, good, pleasing (especially food and drink, but can be  
 applied to anything)  
 These two terms seem fairly synonymous, and can be alternated

- for felicity of discourse e.g. Question *yalgay nalambuḡu* 'is the road good?', Answer *ḡayi, mali* 'yes, it's good'
- WB *nalḡḡirgan*, good-looking, pretty (woman, girl) - *ḡuḡa yibi nalḡḡirgan/ ḡara wurbi* 'that girl's pretty, she has big thighs'
- W- *ḡirbinga*, very good-looking (woman, girl)
- W *ḡulḡiḡi*, prettily painted (e.g. man) - *ḡuḡa ḡulḡiḡimay baḡḡay* 'he is painted prettily'
- WB *wi:ḡi*, no good - *ḡabaḡa ḡayba wi:ḡimbiḡi* 'my body feels no good (e.g. I'm tired)'
- W *wi:ḡina*, no good - *wi:ḡina ḡuḡa buḡa* 'that fellow no good, he stink'; *ḡaḡa wi:ḡinamay* 'I made a mess of it'
- The difference in meaning between these two words is not clear
- W *maḡabagay*, ugly - *miḡaḡu wa:ḡibali/ ḡaḡa ḡunday maḡabagay* 'why is he laughing?' 'he saw me looking ugly'

*Human propensity*

- W *ḡilbay*, know how to do something - see (236)
- W *mulḡaḡa*, game to do something, brave, see text 8.4,13
- W *bunḡal*, glad, proud, happy - *ḡulaḡḡa babay baḡḡayḡu/ ḡuḡa bunḡaligi* 'he speared [a kangaroo] and now he's proud'
- W *ma:ḡḡay*, stupid, silly - *ḡulaḡḡa ma:ḡḡaḡu ḡunbaḡi biḡan* 'the silly person cut his own foot (on purpose)'
- B *ḡarba*, stupid
- W *birigi*, general term of disapproval, to describe someone who is a nuisance or 'no bloody good'; translated as 'bugger' or 'bastard'; see text 8.12.
- W *ḡuḡu*, pretending, lying, malingering
- WB *ḡaḡḡa*, stealing (see *Vtr, ḡaḡḡa*, steal) - *wi:ḡi ḡuḡa ḡaḡḡabulu* 'he's no good, a real thief'
- WB *miḡḡal*, greedy
- W *bi:ḡa*, frightened (also N, fear) - *ḡayba bi:ḡambiḡi* 'I was frightened'; see also (44), (64), (67), (235)
- W *ḡaḡul*, worried, sorry, pitiful, 'poor fellow'
- W *ḡuyu*, playing around - *yibiḡiyibi ḡuyumbigi* 'lots of kids are playing around'; see also *yayimbaḡi*, *Vint* under *V* - Corporeal verbs
- W *wuḡan*, lustful, promiscuous; and *wuḡanbulu*, larrikin, harlot
- W *ḡawan*, angry, cheeky (person), savage (dog) (also N, anger) - *ḡayba ḡawan* 'my temper is up'; and see (230)
- W *ḡaḡiḡḡi*, cranky (Loan) - *ḡaḡiḡḡibara* 'cranky person'

*Corporeal*

- W *ḡaḡḡaḡala*, strong (man)
- B *muguru*, strong (person, spear), hard (meat, wood)
- WB *muḡḡal*, weak (person), soft (e.g. meat)
- W *balbala*, fat (person)
- WB *ḡamiḡi*, hungry - *ḡayba ḡamiḡimbiḡi/ miḡaḡu/ ḡunḡul ḡaḡa muḡaḡu* 'I'm hungry' 'What for?' 'I want to eat vegetables'
- W *maḡḡay*, satiated, full up with food - *ḡayḡu yulḡu maḡḡay* 'my belly is full'; see also (36)
- B *bunḡul*, satiated, full up with food
- WB *ḡayi*, thirsty (also N, voice) - *ḡayba ḡayu ḡaḡuḡu/ ḡaḡḡalaḡu* 'I'm thirsty for a drink of water'
- W *wuḡar*, sleepy (and N, sleepiness) - *ḡuḡa wuḡarḡiri* 'he's sleepy'; *wuḡar ḡuḡa ma:l bunḡilaḡu* 'this sleepy man wants to lie down (and sleep)'; and see (15), (24), (174)
- WB *wudil*, asleep, - *ḡaḡa ḡiḡa wanaḡu/ ḡiḡba wudilḡiri bunḡilaḡu* 'I left you to lie sleeping (i.e. I didn't wake you, although your snores

- disturbed me)  
 W \*bayngaga, tired (from work or other effort), rendered by LC as 'buggered up'  
 -B yirgal, itchy - yirgal/ nayba gi:bay 'I'm itchy and I scratched myself'  
 WB marnga, sore (+ body part), bitter, salty - nayba nayilngara marnga 'my neck is sore'  
 WB winjin, sore - bingan naygu winjin 'my foot is sore'  
 W mulga, half-blind (and see gayga baja 'blind')  
 WB gunga, alive (person), raw (meat), green, unripe (vegetable) - see (237)

*Speed and adverbial*

- W milmuçu, spinning (e.g. top or boomerang), moving fast (of wheeled vehicle - literally, wheels are spinning) - wargin milmuçumbigi 'the boomerang is spinning'  
 WB gawuy, (do) quickly - bu:diya gawuy 'pick it up quickly!'  
 W çabi, (do) quickly - çabi bimbiriga 'run quickly!'  
 These two words were said to be synonyms  
 -B \*bingira, (do) quickly, hurry up  
 WB gubun, slow, slowly - bilmba ninda gubun 'push it slowly'  
 WB gunguru, (do) hard - gulubungu gimbi gunguru 'the wind blew hard'; gunguru nayba bimbirigi 'I ran hard (to escape the bullock that was chasing me)'; nana nunday gunguru '[he] stared at me'; gunguru ni:ça 'tie it tight'  
 WB gargiçi, finished - naga muğay gargiçi gungul 'I've eaten all the food up'; naga gargiçimay gunbay, translated by informant as 'cut finish'

*Positional*

- W- gaymbiri, everywhere, all over the place - see text 7.8,15  
 W mu:ça, hidden, out of sight, (fire) extinguished - ninba mu:çambiga 'you hide!'; nulumbuçungu mu:çamay naga nundalma 'the woman hid [the food] lest I see it'  
 W buğul, vanished, disappeared - see texts 5.16,24, 6.19

*Miscellaneous*

- W wayu, turning into - see text 6.9,18  
 WB gulbun, married - na:ndu gulbunmay 'who married her?'; and see text 8.11  
 WB -gulbunma, Vtr, marry (alternative is gi:gima, from gi:(gi) 'sit down')  
 W -gulbungin, N woman who claims her promised husband - nuna gulbungin nulumburu ma:lgu nunigu 'the woman is going to search for her promised man'  
 W magul, working (also N, work); most often verbalised - wanganga ninba magulipu 'where do you work?'; see also (16), (37), (77), (176), (240)  
 W yubay, be away  
 W -yubayma, Vtr, take, steal - ma:Indu yubaymay nulumbuçu 'he stole the woman'; see also text 6.6  
 W -yubaybi-yuba, Vint, run away - nulumçunga nayba yubaybigi 'that night I ran away'; see also texts 7.3, 9.4,12

## VERBS

*P - Motion and induced motion*

- WB gaga, int, go/come. The unmarked sense is motion away from speak-

- er - *ŋaru gagaga yulbanga* 'don't go to the end of the branch (lest it break)!'. However it is sometimes used to indicate motion towards the speaker - *puŋa ŋaygungu gagabali* 'he's coming for me'
- WB *ŋadaymbi*, int, come. This has the form of a verbalisation, although no root *ŋaday* has been encountered
- WB *ŋagumbi*, int, come. This involves productive verbalisation of the deictic *ŋagu* 'to here' (3.4.3) - see (94). One informant contrasted *ŋadaymbiga* 'come here!' and *ŋagumbiga* 'come closer!'; this meaning difference has not been confirmed
- WB *wuŋa*, int, go walkabout - *wanŋanga pura wuŋabali* 'where are you going walkabout'; and see (29), (30), (175), (207-8), (216)
- WB *wuŋa*, tr, chase - *gumubuŋungu ŋapa wuŋalgaŋi* 'the bullock is chasing me'; see also text 7.1,8,15 and (56), (92), (187)
- W *gu:ŋgi*, int, come out, emerge, arrive - *puŋa walŋga gu:ŋgi* 'he sighed'; see also text 9.19 and (121), (165)
- W *gumba*, tri, go in, enter, put in - *gulgiŋga ŋayba gumbagi* 'I went into the scrub'; *puŋga maŋa gumbalgaŋi* 'he [a bird] keeps putting leaves into [a nest he is building]'; *ŋaru ŋalu di:ŋga gumbalga* 'don't put water in the tea!'; *ŋaluŋga gumbay miŋga/yugangu* '[I] put the rainmaker [in position] in the water, for [to make] rain'; *gumba puŋa* 'put it [a handle on the axe]'; and see (125), (158-9), (228)
- W *wuda*, tr, take off - *ŋinda gambi wuda* 'you take [your] clothes off!'; *biŋal wuda* 'take the bark [off a tree, to make a canoe]!'
- W \**yimba*, tr, put on (clothes) - *balgubalgu ŋaga yimbay* 'I've put [my] hat on'
- WB *bayi*, int, go around, get tangled up - *wagunda puŋa bayigi/mu:ŋambigi ŋaygunda* 'he went around the tree, hiding from me'
- W *bana*, int, return (person or boomerang), go home, come home - *ŋayba banalagu miŋagu* 'I must return to the camp'; see also (209), (213-5)
- W *ŋanba*, tri, follow (person, tracks, path, river) - *ŋinda ŋanba yalgay* 'you follow the path!'; see also (85)
- W *gayga*, tr, hunt away (person, dog, etc) - see (174)
- W *ŋarŋga*, tri, rush in on, raid, arrest - see text 7.14
- W *ba:lba*, tr, roll - *bari ŋinda ba:lba* 'you roll the stone over'
- W *ba:lballi*, int, roll, tumble over and over - *bari puŋa ba:lballigi* 'the stone rolled [down the hillside]'; *ŋayba ba:lballigi* 'I rolled over'
- WB *ga:nda*, int, crawl. Data in B from NB has transitive inflections on this intransitive verb - *ga:ndalma*, *ŋaru ga:ndalga*, *ga:ndalani*; data from LC on the W dialect shows regular intransitive inflections e.g. *ga:ndabali* (see 3.5.3)
- WB *biŋba*, int, jump - *gi:giŋ biŋbay* 'the wallaby is jumping'; *ŋayba biŋbagi/wiŋgiŋgu ŋapa bi:ŋamanu* 'I jumped when frightened by the snake'; see also (76), (177)
- W *puŋgi*, int, dance - *miŋdiŋga ŋayba puŋilagu* 'I want to dance in the corroboree ground'; see also (58), (233)
- W *yinbi*, int, fly - *gi:gi: yinbigi* 'the bird flew away'; *puŋa maŋbal yinbiyinbibali* 'the fly is flying around'
- WB *bimbiri*, int, run, run away - see (6), (187)
- B *billi*, int, run
- W *dagi*, int, fall down - *biŋgaŋga puŋa dagigi* 'it [the boomerang returned and] fell at my feet'; *ŋayba gagima* 'I might fall down (if I go that way)'; see also (179), (180), (188)
- B *buŋgi*, int, fall down - *buya buŋgi* 'the shooting star fell'

- (through the sky)'
- WB wala, int, arise, go up (tree/mountain) - ṅayba walagu gaḡaragu ya:ṅa 'I go up to the top of the tree for possums'; ṅaḡa ḡanbanu/ puṅa daḡigi/ puṅa walay/ puṅa bimbirigi/ ṅaḡa wuṅay 'I hit her and she fell down, then she got up and ran away, and I'm chasing her'; and see (2), (15), (81) [This verb may take transitive inflections in B.]
- WB bira, int, go down, descend
- WB wiḡḡa, int, bathe, bogey - ṅayba gaḡabali wiḡḡalagu 'I'm going for a bathe'; see also (164)
- WB yugara, int, swim (i.e. travel through water to get from one point to another - most instances of English 'swim' i.e. 'swim about in one area' would be rendered by wiḡḡa)
- W ṅaba, tr, soak (food or tea, etc) - ṅalunḡa ṅaba ḡubula 'soak the black pine nuts in water!'
- W \*waḡḡumba, tr, wash (e.g. children, clothes) - puṅaḡa ḡambi waḡḡumbagu ṅaygu 'he [went] to wash my clothes'
- W walmbi, tri, lift up, pick up, wake (someone) up - ḡalaba ṅinda walmbiya 'pull up that yam'; ṅaḡa puṅa walmbinu/ wuḡargiri 'I woke him from sleep'
- W da:lbi, tri, scoop up water in container - ṅinba gaḡaga/ ṅalugu da:lbiḡagu/ ḡuḡḡaḡa ṅinda bu:diya 'you go and scoop up some water and bring the billy-can [full of water, back here]!'; ṅalu da:lbiya 'scoop up some water!'
- WB ma:ni, tri, hold in hand, hold onto, catch hold of, catch something thrown, grab - ṅaḡa puṅa mala ma:ni 'I grabbed her hand'; ṅaṅa ṅayilḡara ma:ni 'he choked my neck'; ḡarindu baḡgay ma:na 'hold the spear in the woomera!'; see also (84)
- W- ṅiyawuda, tr, grab with hand (e.g. grab woman)
- WB bu:di, tri, take/bring, carry - ṅaḡa puṅa ma:l bu:di/ ṅayḡungu ḡulmbal 'I take this man [to go] with me as a mate'; ṅaḡuma ṅinda bu:diya 'you bring it!'; see also (38), (79), (185), (216), (224-5)
- WB ḡulḡuma, tr, bring in, muster - ṅaḡa waḡun ḡulḡumay 'I bring the wood up'
- WB ḡu:ḡa, tr, (water) washes (something) away - ḡuḡalangu ṅaṅa ḡu:ḡalma 'flood might wash me away'; and see (126)
- WB ḡu:yi, int, feel around e.g. put hand into log to see if possum or sugarbag is there - ṅinba ḡu:yiga/ waḡunda ḡida 'you feel in the log, poke with a stick!'; ṅayba ḡu:yigi/ maya 'I felt around, there is nothing there'
- WB ḡida, tr, poke (something) with a stick e.g. poke stick into hole to see if an animal or sugarbag is there - wiḡbaḡu ṅinda ḡida gaḡara 'you poke for possum with a stick!'
- WB du:ḡa, tri, pull, pull up, pull out - gaḡan ḡiḡiriḡiḡiriḡu mulindu du:ḡalḡani bayibayimalḡani 'the willy wagtail pulls up grass with his mouth and tangles it up [for his nest]'; mala ṅinba ḡumba/ gaḡara ṅinda du:ḡa 'you put your hand in [hollow in tree] and you pull out a possum!'; and see (14), (188)
- WB bilmba, tr, push - puṅa bilmbay ḡuḡalangu ḡu:ḡaḡa 'the flood washed all the rubbish down'
- WB buḡmbi, tri, throw, chuck, throw away, cast line into water - ḡaṅumbul ṅaṅa buḡmbi yaṅamandu 'a horse threw me earlier on today'; ḡuḡbay puṅa bu:diya/ buḡmbilagu ḡa:buḡu 'take the fishing line, to throw it out for fish'; ḡarḡa buḡmbilḡani puṅaḡa baḡaḡu 'he spat at (literally, chucked spittle at) the dog'; and see (13), (75), (167), (182)



- W gilnga, tr, pour water on - wagan gilnga/ minagu/ gaḡan gandama 'pour water on the fire [to extinguish it]!', 'why?', 'lest the grass catch on fire'; ḡaru ḡaluḡu gilḡaḡa/ di: gidulmalma 'don't pour water into the tea, lest it make it too cold'
- WB waḡiri, tr, overturn, capsize, spill/pour (water) - ḡaḡa waḡiri ḡalu 'I spilled the water'
- W bayumbi, tri, shake (e.g. tree), wave (e.g. hand), swing anything round, turn oneself around - ḡaḡa wagan bayumbi 'I waved a stick OR I shook a tree'; puḡa wagan bayumbiḡi 'the tree is waving (in the breeze)'
- WB ḡaḡumbi, tr, fan - baḡubaḡuḡu ḡaḡumbi puḡa wagan 'fan the fire with [your] hat!'

Q - *Giving*

- WBH wuḡi, tr, give - see 4.6.3; also ḡamundu wuḡiya 'breastfeed [baby]'; ḡilḡaḡu ḡana wuḡi '[he] gave me [his] cold'
- W bayima, tr, buy (Loan from buy, verbalised) - ḡaḡa bayimay ḡinaman 'I bought the boots'
- WB ḡaḡa, tr, steal (see also Adj, stealing) - puḡaḡa ḡaḡaḡani mani 'he's stealing money'

R - *Position and induced position*

- WBH ḡi:(ḡi), int, sit, sit down, live (see 3.5.3) - wumanga ḡayba ḡi:ḡibali 'I'm sitting in the shade'; ḡulubuḡuḡa ḡayba ḡi:ḡilagu 'I'll sit on the stump'; yḡamba ḡayba ḡi:ḡibali 'I live in Ingham'; see also (49), (103), (176), (210)
- W -ḡi:ḡima, tr, marry - ḡaḡa puḡa ḡi:ḡimay 'I married her'
- W waḡuri, int, kneel down, squat on haunches
- W ḡuwaḡa, int, stand, stand up - see (78), (95), (166)
- W binda, tri, put standing up, build (house); defecate, urinate, spit (with faeces/urine/spittle in instrumental or absolute case): ḡayba ḡu:ḡaḡa/ḡu:ḡaḡaḡu bindaḡu 'I need to pee'; miḡa ḡaḡa bindaḡu 'I'll build a camp'; puḡaḡa ma:ḡindu miḡa binday 'the man put the rainmaker in position'
- WBH buḡi, int, lie down, sleep, live (takes transitive inflections in B - 3.5.3) - ḡayba yaga balan buḡiḡma 'I'll camp here for two months'; and see (52), (174)
- W \*ḡa:ḡi, int, sleep [Obtained only from LC who then said that buḡi was properly 'lie down' and ḡa:ḡi 'sleep'. However buḡi does have the sense 'lie down to sleep' in other elicitation.]
- WB waḡa, int, float (on water)
- WB ḡa:lba, int, be stuck e.g. person stuck in mud or fence etc, meat stuck in throat, branch stuck and can't be budged - ḡayba ḡa:lbaḡ ḡilḡanda 'I got stuck in the hole (in the ground)'
- WB ḡiḡari, tri, put down - wumanga ḡaḡa puḡa ḡiḡari/ ḡidulilagu 'I put it down in the shade, to cool'
- W buyḡari, tr, hang up - see (122)
- W wana, tr, leave (it) be - ḡinba ḡaḡaḡa/ ḡulmbuḡu ḡinda wana 'you go away, you leave the woman alone'; ḡurugu ḡaḡa wanay 'I've left off grog (i.e. stopped drinking it)'
- W ḡuda, tri, block, shut (door), close - ḡuda ḡilḡan 'shut the door (literally: shut the hole)'; maḡaḡa ḡudaḡi 'flower closed up'
- WB bana, tri, bend (e.g. to describe manufacture of boomerang by warming and bending) - ḡulḡu bana 'choke'  
See ḡaḡaḡa/ḡa: bana 'yawn' under Corporeal.

*S - Affect*

- WB buɕba, tri, hit with long rigid implement, held in the hand -  
 nulaŋga ŋaŋa buɕbay wagundu 'he hit me with a stick'; ɟana  
 buɕbalagu wu:ŋga 'people have to fight each other in a war';  
 buŋun ŋulmbuɕuŋgu nulaŋga buɕbalgaŋi malangu 'the women are  
 continually banging drums with their hands'; see also (192),  
 (194), (249)
- W minba, tr, hit with long rigid implement (e.g. stick or boomerang)  
 which is thrown - ŋaɟa ŋuŋa wagundu minbay 'I hit him with a  
 stick'
- WB buŋa, tri, shoot - buŋa ŋuŋa bada 'shoot that dog'
- WB ɟanba, tri, hit with rounded implement, held or thrown (e.g. stone,  
 fist) - malangu ŋaŋa ɟanbay '[he] punched me'; see also text  
 5.15 and (180-1)
- WB ɟilwa, tr, kick - biŋaŋu ŋaɟa ɟilway; or shove with knee -  
 ɟilway buŋuŋgu; see also (184), (190)
- WB bayguri, tr, shake (e.g. dog swings its tail), wave, bash i.e. put  
 in motion in trajectory, holding on to it (may or may not impact  
 on some other object) - ŋaɟa gu:gaɟa bayguri ɟuŋgiringa 'I  
 [picked up] the goanna by its tail [and] bashed it [on a tree,  
 to kill it]'; and see (106), (178)
- WB ɟinda, tr, blaze, make steps up tree to assist climbing
- WB bargi, tri, (rain) falls on, wets (someone) - see (125), (154-5)
- WB ɟunma, tr, squeeze e.g. knead flour for damper - ŋalu ɟunma  
 'squeeze water [out of something]'; ŋaɟa ɟunmay ɟuŋgu 'I  
 squeezed the fruit'; ŋaɟa ɟunmagu budam 'I must squeeze matter  
 (from the blister)'
- W badi, tri, hook (fish); also hook woman (to take as wife) - ŋaɟa  
 ŋulmbuɕu badi/ ŋaygu bulgumagu 'I'm hooking the woman, to make  
 her my wife'
- W- baba, tri, pierce, spear (specifically: spear on land), rub fire-  
 stick to make fire - ŋa:ndu ɟi:ɟin babay 'who speared the  
 wallaby?'; ŋaɟa ɟiman babagu 'I must spin the firestick'; see  
 also (59), (168)
- B ɟaŋɟaba, tri, spear (probably = baba)
- W ɟinba, tri, spear something in the water - ŋaɟa ɟa:bu ɟinbay 'I  
 speared a fish'; see also (224), (226-7)
- WB ɟilba, tr, dig - ŋaɟa yaga ɟilbay ɟilgan 'I dug two holes'; ŋaɟa  
 ɟaɟan ɟilbay 'I dug the grass'
- W ɟulbamba, tr, bury (deeply) e.g. bury a body in a graveyard - see  
 (68)
- WB yu:mba, tri, bury (to shallow depth); in intransitive construc-  
 tions it was glossed as 'hide [oneself]'
- W nu:ba, tr, sharpen, grind - nu:ba ŋuŋa baɟgu baɟingu 'sharpen the  
 axe on a stone.'
- WB ɟi:ba, tri, scratch, scrape, shave - ɟayi ŋaɟa ɟi:bay 'I scratched  
 up the ground'; ŋayba ɟambaɟa ɟi:baɟi 'I scratched my body';  
 ɟalbaɟa ŋaygu ɟi:balagu 'I want to shave'; ɟuɟilangu ɟi:balgaŋi  
 ɟaɟan/ buŋimagu nulaŋga 'the bandicoot is scratching up grass  
 (heaping it up) to camp on it (i.e. for a nest to lie on)'; see  
 also (137), (140), (212)
- WB ɟungari, tri, cut down, cut through - see (166), (170-2), (217),  
 (241)
- WB ɟunba, tri, cut a piece out of, cut into, cut open - ŋulubuɕuŋgu  
 ŋaŋa ɟunbay 'the stump cut me (when I backed into it)'; ŋayba  
 ɟunbay ɟurmaliɟu 'I cut myself so that blood flowed'; see also  
 (138), (141), (142), (168)

- W bandali, int, burst, smash, break (e.g. chicken comes out of egg) - see (167), (205-6)
- WB ganda, tri, burn, make fire, be burning - galguḡu ḡaḡa ganday 'I burnt the meat'; ḡiman ḡinda baba/ wagun gandagu/ ḡayba ḡidul 'you rub the firestick to make fire, I'm cold'; see also (90-1), (127), (136), (139), (246)
- WB galḡi, tri, cook - ḡinda ḡumubuḡu ḡayḡu galḡi 'you cook beef for me!'; ḡunguḡndu ḡayba galḡibali 'I'm cooking tucker'; and see (173), (190)
- WB biḡḡa, tr, make fire blaze up (by fanning, blowing on it, stoking it up, etc) - ḡinda wagun biḡḡa galḡigu midin 'you make the fire blaze, to cook the possum [on it]'
- W muymba, tr, extinguish fire, put light out - wagun muymba ḡalungu 'extinguish the fire with water'; ma:ni puḡa muymba 'press the button and the light goes out!'
- WB ḡurḡa, tr, tie up with rope, join on - see (218)
- W ḡi:ḡa, tri, tie up - ḡaḡa ḡumaḡbari yaraman ḡi:ḡay 'I've tied up lots of horses'; ḡubungḡa ḡaḡa ḡi:ḡay '[someone] tied me with rope'
- WB ḡu:ra, tr, rub, wipe
- W baḡa, tri, paint (e.g. shield, person) (with lawyer cane brush), write - see (222)
- WB mada, tri, paint (e.g. shield, person for corroboree) - ḡinda biḡin mada 'you paint the shield!'
- WB ḡu:ba, tr, cover with water e.g. the moon covers grass with dew  
See Corporeal for ḡimbi, (wind) blow

*T - Attention*

- WB miḡiri, int, wait - yala ḡayba miḡiribali/ ḡaḡara ḡu:ḡḡilagu/ ḡaḡa ma:nigu 'I'm waiting here [by the possum hole], for the possum to come out, then I can catch him'; ḡinba ḡaḡaga/ malanda ḡinba miḡiriga ḡayḡungu 'you go ahead, you wait for me at the river!'; see also (79), (248)
- WBH ḡunda, tri, see, look - puḡanga ḡaḡa ḡundalgani 'he's watching me'; puḡa ḡundabali 'he's looking'; ḡaḡa ḡunday ḡalungḡa ḡupin 'I saw my shadow (or reflection) in the water'; see also (12), (54), (71-2), (82), (99-100), (156-7), (177), (193)
- WB wa:ba, int, look up, for sugar-bag (bee's nest) only - ḡayba wa:balagu wubiḡu 'I'll look up (in the tree) for English bee's nests'
- W ḡuni, int, search for, hunt for - bambuḡu ḡayba ḡunilagu 'I'll search for [scrub-hen] eggs'; see also (4), (47), (242)
- W ḡaymba, tr, find - yala ḡaḡa waybalangu ḡaymbay 'the white man found me here'; see also text 8.7, (88-9)
- W miḡba, tr, show - wargin ḡaḡa miḡbay ma:lgu 'I showed the boomerang to the man'; see also text 7.2
- WB ḡa:ra, tri, hear, listen - ḡaḡa ḡawal ḡa:ray 'I heard a shout'; ḡuḡuḡuḡu/ ḡaru ḡa:raḡa 'he's a liar, don't listen to him!'; see also (152-3), (162), (183)
- WB ḡu:ma, tri, feel - ḡulmuḡungḡa ḡayba ḡu:maḡu:mabali 'I'm feeling around in the night'; ḡara ḡaḡa ḡu:may 'I felt the [woman's] leg'; see also (123)
- WB ḡiḡgara, int, dream

*U - Talking, etc*

- W- banma, int, talk - puḡa banmabali ḡayḡungu 'he's talking to me'; see also (7). NOTE that NB gave mayay-bi, a verb derived from

- mayay 'language' as the B equivalent of barma
- WB maynga, tri, tell (addressee as Object) - ḡa:ndu ḡina maynggay 'who told you?'; bulimangu maynggalagu '[you] should tell the police'; see also (191)
- W \*wa:nda, tr, rouse on, tell on i.e. tell someone that the referent of the Object NP has done something e.g. tell the police that people are fighting - pulanga ḡapa wa:nday ḡuri 'he roused on me in return'
- W ḡi:ga, tr, tell to do, let do - when JT recommended I contact LC he told me to say to him: ḡa:ningu ḡapa ḡi:gay baḡbalagu/ ḡinda maynggayu ḡapa wargamaygu 'Johnny told me to ask you to tell me about Wargamay'; ḡa:na ḡinda ḡi:gay wagungu 'who did you send for wood?'; waḡnga ḡi:ga 'sigh (literally: let wind go)'; see also (243)
- W ḡinga, tr, stop someone, block something - see (194)
- WB baḡba, tri, ask - puḡa waybala gunguḡu baḡba 'ask the white man for vegetable food!'
- W \*ḡiyapma, tr, ask (LC said this was the 'high word' corresponding to baḡba)
- W- ḡaḡi, tr, answer - ḡaḡa puḡa ḡaḡilma mamu 'I'll answer him by-and-by'
- WBH bayā, tri, sing (Object is song or song-style) - ḡana bayalagu mindiḡa 'we'll sing at the corroboree ground; see also (162)
- W walmbari, int, (dog) barks - puḡa bada walmbaribali minagu 'what's the dog barking for?'; see also (69)
- See also ḡa:ma 'do like this, say' in W; and derived verbs ḡubil-i 'whistle', bu:ḡuray-mbi 'snore', ḡawai-i 'call-out', mayay-(m)bi 'talk' under I.

*V - Corporeal*

- WBH muḡa, tri, eat (meat or vegetables) - ḡayba ḡamiḡi muḡabali gungulndu 'I'm eating vegetables [because I'm] hungry'; see also (97-8), (124), (143-4), (146), (189)
- WBH ḡunḡa, tri, bite - ḡumungu ḡunḡalma 'the mosquitos might bit [us]'; see also (46), (61), (84), (145), (243), (250)
- W yu:ḡa, tr, swallow
- W ḡuḡḡa, tr, suck
- WBH ḡanḡa, tri, drink - ḡalu bu:diya ḡaygungu ḡanḡagu ḡaḡa 'bring me some water so that I can drink it!' - see also text 5, (147-51), (185)
- W ḡawamba, int, vomit - ḡayba ḡawambay/ bugangu ḡumubuḡungu ḡapa pulanga waybalangu wuḡiḡu 'I vomited because of the rotten beef the white man gave me'
- WB ḡugumba, int, vomit
- W ḡagal bana, int, yawn
- B ḡa: bana, int, yawn - ḡayba ḡa: banay 'I'm yawning'
- These forms involve the noun 'jaw' and transitive verb 'bend' - literally 'bend jaw'. Although bana 'bend' is basically transitive 'yawn' appears to be intransitive. They are probably compound verbs (and should then be written each as one word).
- W muḡi, int, blink (eyes) - ḡayga muḡibali 'blinking eyes'
- W H balmbi, tr, smell - ḡinda balmbiya bada buga 'you smell the dead dog'
- WB buya, tri, (person) blow, smoke (tobacco) - ḡinda wagun buya 'you blow the fire!'; ḡaḡa baybu buyalḡani 'I smoke a pipe'; see also (101-2), (220)
- W- ḡimbi, tr, (wind) blow - ḡambarangu ḡapa ḡimbi 'the cyclone is

- blowing me away'
- W niꞑꞑima, tri, tickle (mainly or wholly sexual petting) - ɳaɳa ɳulmbuꞑu niꞑꞑiniꞑꞑimay 'I tickled the woman'; ɳayba ɳulmbuꞑuɳu niꞑꞑimalagu 'I want to tickle the woman'
- NOTE niꞑꞑiniꞑꞑi was also given as N, glossed 'nymphomaniac'
- WB ɳu:ɳa, tri, kiss - ɳinda ɳuɳga ɳulmbuꞑu ɳu:ɳa 'you kiss this woman!'; ɳinba ɳagumbiga ɳu:ɳdalagu 'you come here to kiss [someone]'; see also text 8.8, (19)
- W buybuꞑi, tr, make a raspberry at someone in derision [p<sup>h</sup>e] - ɳana ɳulanga buybuꞑi 'he made a raspberry at me'
- Compare with ɳarɳa binda, ɳarɳa buꞑmbi 'spit at' (under R and P above)
- W wuyɳbi, tr, lick - badangu ɳana mala wuyɳbi 'the dog licked my hand'
- W ɳu:ga, tri, swive, copulate with, fuck - ɳinda ɳulmbuꞑu ɳu:ga 'you fuck the woman!'
- W ɳuyma, tri, give birth to (used of human or animal) - yabungu gubu bu:ɳilgani ɳuymagu ɳulanga 'mother [rat] takes leaves [into her hole] so that she can give birth [to her young in an adequate nest]'
- W yu:ꞑi, int, grow (children, animals), sprout (plants) - see (68)
- WB ɳurbira, int, be ill, sick, feverish
- W bidɳi, int, shake with cold - ɳayba bidɳibidigi 'I shook with cold'
- W mu:ɳgi, tr, make cold, make shiver (subject generally winter or wind or similar) - birgibaꞑangu ɳana mu:ɳgilma 'winter might make me cold'
- See also gidul 'cold', gidul-i 'become cold' under O, Physical property.
- W buɳga, int, swell up - ɳaygu waga badangu ɳuɳgay/ ɳaygu waga buɳgay 'my shin was bitten by a dog, and my shin has now swelled up'; ɳurmal buɳgagi malanga 'a vein swelled up on [someone's] hand'
- WB wula, int, die - mamu ɳayba wulalagu 'I want to die by-and-by'; ɳuɳa wulama 'he might die'; see also (178)
- W- ba:ɳi, int, cry, sob, weep - ɳuɳa ɳulmbuꞑu ba:ɳigi ɳaygungu 'the woman cried for me'; ɳana ɳalɳɳiga ba:ɳigi 'a mob of people all cry and mourn'; see also (10), (83), (181), (211)
- WB ɳuyi, int, cry, sob, weep - see (96)
- WB wa:gi, int, laugh - ɳana waybalangu wa:gimay 'the white man is laughing at me', ɳuɳa wa:gibali ɳaygungu/ ɳaɳa buꞑbay 'he was laughing at me and I hit him'; see also (186)
- W yimiri, int, be glad, feel glad - ɳayba yimirigi 'I felt glad'
- W \*yayimbali, int, play about (having joke, or making nuisance of oneself). See also ɳuyu, Adj under O, Human propensity
- W - *Adverbial*
- W ga:ma, tr, do like this (without any accompanying verb the unmarked sense is 'say [like this]', with reported speech following) - ga:ma ɳinda ɳungari 'you cut [the tree] like this!'; ɳaru ga:malga 'don't do (or say) that!'
- W ɳa:ꞑamba, tri, try to do (but fail) - wagun ɳaɳa ɳunbay ɳa:ꞑambay 'I tried to cut the tree down'. This is plainly related to the particle ɳa:ꞑa 'can't do' - see 4.10.
- W ɳu:ga, tri, test, taste, try out - ɳaɳa ɳalu ɳu:ɳay/ maya/ ɳuɳa ɳalu wi:gina 'I tried the water but no, the water was no good'

X - LOCATION	a week ago ('the other day');
W gungari, north(wards)	LC: yesterday
W gulbila, south(wards)	W gulganga, LC/JT: yesterday; NB:
W guwa, west, tablelands	tomorrow (NB gave as W
W yirgangi, people, goods and	equivalent of B gidalgu)
places from north	WB gundanga, last night
W gunin, people, goods and	W gapumbul, earlier on today
places from south;	W gayba, now
'coast'	WBH gapu, later on today, directly,
W gulip, place way out east	immediately; NB gave as
where spirits come from	'yesterday' in B, possibly
and go to (variously	an error
glossed by LC as 'heaven',	WB mamu, by-and-by
'hell')	W- nirwaga, tomorrow
W bamba, long way off - bamba	-BH gidalgu, tomorrow
ngayungu 'too far for me	W biligi, daybreak, early in
[to jump]'	morning
W mulu, near, close up	W gulmuçu, night-time
WB galaga, up hill, up in the	WB gugu, meanwhile, wait-a-while
sky	W namu, for a short while
WB gani, up river	W garay, for a long time
W yu:nu, down (river?)	WB yurmay, do all the time - nuga
W gingu, down (hill??)	wa:gini ngayungu yurmay
W guyabay, other side of river	'he's laughing at me all
W ga:lungal, in front, ahead	the time'
W gugungal, behind - ga:lungal	
ginba/ ngayba gugungal 'you	Z - INTERJECTIONS
go ahead and I'll come	W- maya, no
behind'; gugungal balganda	-BH biyay, no
'behind the house'	WBH gayi, yes
WB yulguçuy, inside - ngayba	WB gawu, come on!
yulguçuy balganda 'I [went]	B gala, try it!, try again!
inside the house'; guranga	W pandu, I don't know (this
yulguçuy 'inside a cloud'	might possibly be an Adj,
	knowing nothing, the
Y - TIME	opposite of gilbay - see
WB gu:naça, very long time ago	O, Human propensity)
WB galmaça, long time ago (a	W *guli, exclamation when
year to a few days)	startled - jump with
W çugulu, JT: from a few days to	fright and say [gulé:]

## LIST OF AFFIXES

As an aid to the reader, the following list shows all affixes from the grammar, with reference to the sections containing major discussion of their form and functions. Allomorphs formed by assimilation or shortening etc are referred to the appropriate canonical form.

-a, see -da locative-aversive	-ba, see -da locative-aversive
-a, see -pa accusative	-bagun, 'really' - 3.1.3
-a, see -ya positive imperative	-bal, post-inflectional affix -
-ani, see -lani continuative	3.6
	-bali (W), continuative - 3.5.1,
-ba, reciprocal - 3.5.3, 3.5.6, 4.5	3.5.3, 3.5.5

- ban, post-inflectional affix - 3.6 3.5.3, 3.5.5
- bara, belonging to, pertaining to' - 3.1.3 -lu, instrumental - 3.1.5, 5.4
- baṛa, comparative - 3.1.3 -ma, irrealis - 3.5.1, 3.5.4
- bi, inchoative - 4.9.1 -ma, comitative - 3.5.1, 3.5.6, 4.7
- bi, post-inflectional affix - 3.6 -ma, instrumental - 3.5.2, 3.5.6, 4.8
- biṛay, (W), 'without' - 3.1.3 -ma, causative - 4.9.2
- biyay (B), 'without' - 3.1.3 -mbi, see -bi inchoative
- bu, see -du ergative-instrumental -mira, 'for - nights' - 3.3
- bulu, 'very, lots of' - 3.1.3 -miri, 'as a result of, from' - 3.1.3
- da, locative-aversive - 3.1.1, 3.1.5, 3.2, 3.4.1 -nda, see -da locative-aversive
- du, ergative-instrumental - 3.1.1, 3.1.5, 3.4.2, 4.2, 4.6.3, 4.8 -ndu, see -du ergative-instrumental
- ḡa, negative imperative - 3.5.1, 3.5.4 -ni (B), continuative - 3.5.3, 3.5.5
- ḡa, see -da locative-aversive -ṇ ~ ṇiṇ, ablative - 3.1.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4.1-3
- ḡaman, addressee's kin relation - 3.1.3 -ṇa, accusative - 3.1.2, 3.4.2
- ḡan, post-inflectional affix - 3.6 -ṇu, perfect - 3.5.1, 3.5.4
- ḡu, see -du ergative-instrumental -ṇu, subordinate - 3.5.1, 3.5.4, 4.4
- ga, positive imperative - 3.5.1, 3.5.4 -ṇaru, 'like a' - 3.1.3
- gani (W), continuative - 3.5.1, 3.5.3, 3.5.5 -ṅgu, locative-aversive - 3.1.1, 3.1.5, 3.2, 3.4.1
- gi, perfect - 3.5.1, 3.5.4 -ṅga, 'there' - 3.4.3
- giri, 'with' - 3.1.3 -ṅgu, ergative-instrumental - 3.1.1, 3.1.5, 3.4.2, 4.2, 4.6.3, 4.8
- gu, dative-allative - 3.1.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4.1-3, 4.3 -ṅu, genitive - 3.1.1, 3.4.2, 4.6.1
- gu, purposive - 3.5.1, 3.5.4, 4.3 -u, see -ṅu genitive
- i, see -bi inchoative -y, unmarked aspect - 3.5.1, 3.5.4
- iṇ, see -ṇiṇ ~ -ṇ ablative -ya, positive imperative - 3.5.1, 3.5.3, 3.5.4
- l-, conjugation marker - 3.5.2, 5.1.1, 5.3 The following affixes have occurred in data gathered, but it has not proved possible to check them out:
- la, aversive - 3.1.5, 5.4 -lḡa - 3.5.5
- lagu, purposive - 3.5.1, 3.5.4, 4.3, 5.3 -yandi - 3.5.5
- lani (B), continuative - -yara - 3.1.3

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My major debt is of course to the remaining speakers of Wargamay and Biyay who shared their language with me - John Tooth, Lambert Cocky (or Atkinson), Nora Boyd, Alf Palmer and Arthur Wild. Whatever I have been able to salvage at this late stage is due entirely to their intelli-

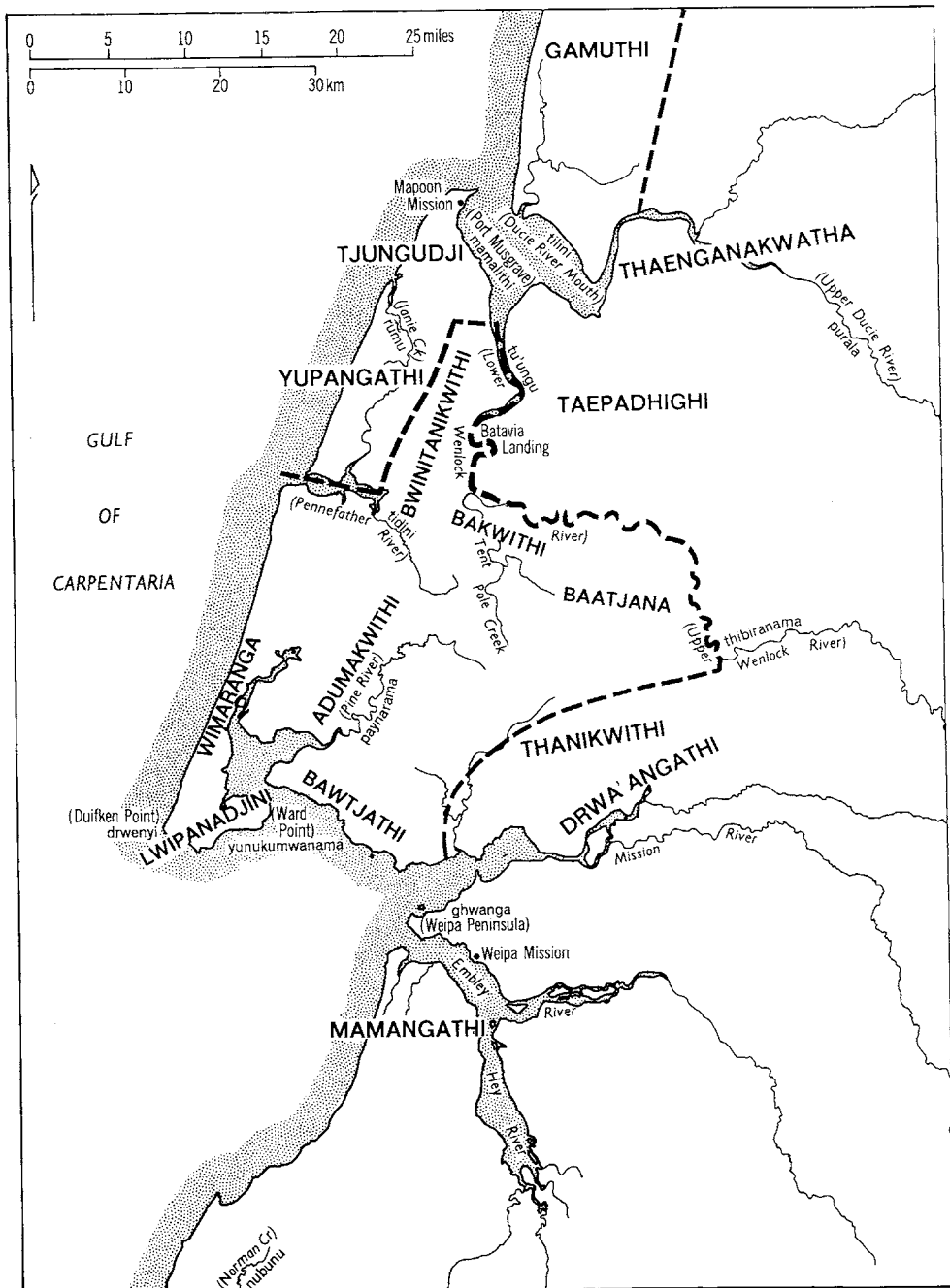
gence, patience, and wish to see the language recorded for posterity.

Field research involves a fair amount of detective work and depends on good leads. It is thus appropriate to thank the late Chloe Grant for suggesting Alf Palmer as informant; Peter Sutton for suggesting John Tooth; John Tooth for suggesting Lambert Cocky; George Watson for mentioning Arthur Wild; and all of Chloe Grant, John Tooth and Lambert Cocky for urging me to seek out and work with Nora Boyd.

Financial support came from the Australian Research Grants Committee and, in the earlier stages, from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

I am grateful to N.B.Tindale, Tony Beale, Tasaku Tsunoda, Peter Sutton and La Mont West Jr for making available material that they had recorded on Wargamay. Barry Blake and Sue Kesteven made valuable comments on an earlier draft. Sheldon Harrison provided useful ideas concerning the hypothesis in Chapter 5. Karl Rensch listened to the tapes and helped me make phonetic decisions concerning vowel length and stress. Alison Dixon sorted, arranged and copied the La Mont West Jr notes.





Map 3: Anguthimri Groups (1.2) and Neighbours (1.3), with Original Place Names (1.4)

# The Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri

*by Terry Crowley*

## 1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

### 1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

The Mpakwithi people (phonetically [mbakwiʔi], phonemically, /bakwiʔi/), who speak a dialect of Anguthimri, have a language with one of the most unusual phonological systems to be found in Australia. This language allows words to be of one syllable, and words can begin with a wide range of double consonants, or clusters of even three or four consonants (though the number and complexity of these clusters is reduced by treating certain phonetic sequences as phonological units). It is also unusual in that there is a phonologically distinctive fricative series, and a glottal stop. The vowel system is very rich - in fact the richest in Australia as far as the present writer knows - and rather unsymmetrical. There are several nasal vowels and also several front rounded vowels.

Despite its aberrant appearance, however, the language of the Mpakwithi is clearly derived from a proto-language which was very similar to the more 'Australian-looking' languages of other parts of Cape York Peninsula, particularly those to the east and the south. This language is in fact quite closely related to the languages clustered around the mouths of the Hey, Mission and Embley Rivers in Albatross Bay, and also to the languages between Port Musgrave and Albatross Bay. It is also related, though slightly less closely, to the hinterland languages. See 2.5 for a discussion of the phonological changes we can deduce to have taken place in the language spoken by the Mpakwithi.

In its grammatical structure, this language is, however, far from aberrant. Like all of the languages of Cape York Peninsula (and indeed, the rest of Queensland), it is a wholly suffixing language. Verbs are divided into four basic conjugational classes, which correspond in some degree to transitivity classes (conjugations 1 and 2 being predominantly transitive and conjugations 3 and 4 being predom-

antly intransitive). There is also a fair number of irregular verbs. There is no pronominal incorporation in the verb.

Nouns mark the following cases: absolutive, ergative/instrumental, dative/purposive, genitive/benefactive, ablative/causal, locative/allative and desiderative. Nouns with human reference also optionally take a suffix when they are used as the object of a transitive verb. Nouns are divided into declension groups which determine the form of the ergative/instrumental and genitive/benefactive suffixes. There is no obvious semantic or phonological basis for these declension classes.

The pronoun system marks the same case functions as the noun system except that while nouns mark an ergative-absolutive contrast, pronouns mark nominative-accusative contrast and there is only a single pronominal 'oblique' form for locative/allative/dative/purposive. The pronominal number and person distinctions made are the same as for a great many other languages of Australia, i.e. three numbers with an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person non-singular.

The basic word order pattern is S-O-V.

## 1.2 TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

The people whose language is being studied are called the bakwiṯi and they called their language aṁuṯimṁi (spelt here as Anguthimri), which is derived from the first person singular pronoun aṁu by adding the proprietive suffix -ṯimṁi. Thus, the language name means '(the people) who use aṁu', in contrast to other people who have different forms for the first person singular pronoun.

There are several other known Anguthimri speaking groups apart from the Mpakwithi (their geographical distribution is shown in map 3):

- bwinitankwiṯi - around Batavia landing
- bakwiṯi - around Tent Pole Creek
- ba:ṯana - Wenlock River as far as Gibson Waterhole
- bawṯaṯi - Mission River to Pine River
- adumakwiṯi - Pine River to Pennefather River
- lwipanagini - Ward Point
- wimaraga - Duyfken Point to Pennefather River

Thomson (1934) also mentions the kalikwiṯi and the depakwiṯi; the location of these groups was not known by my consultant. Consultants from groups other than the Mpakwithi are apparently no longer available, so it is not possible to check to what degree dialectal differences did exist among the various Anguthimri-speaking groups.

## 1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

Map 3 shows that the Anguthimri-speaking groups occupied an area from the mouth of the Mission River, west to Duyfken Point, north to the Pennefather River, and as far

as the southern and western banks of the Wenlock River between about Batavia Landing and Gibson Waterhole.

The area surrounding the Anguthimri speaking groups was one of some linguistic complexity, and there seems to be some contradiction among the sources. However, from my consultant, I have been able to verify the locations of the following groups:

(i) To the north of Port Musgrave, along a narrow coastal strip, we find the gamuŋi (calling themselves aŋkamuŋi), who speak a language very different to Anguthimri. (A separate study of Angkamuthi is being prepared for publication - in a later volume of the *Handbook*.)

(ii) To the east and north of the Wenlock River were the t̄apaðiyi and along the southern bank of the lower Ducie River were the closely related t̄aŋanakwaŋa. Their language was probably also closely related to Anguthimri. (About a dozen or so words were remembered by a Thaenganakwatha consultant, suggesting that her speech could not really be considered to be a dialect of Anguthimri.)

(iii) Between Cullen Point and Janie Creek was the ŋuŋuŋi group, who spoke the yaŋaŋimri language (yaŋa 'I', -ŋimri 'proprietary'). This is also closely related to Anguthimri, though still a distinct language. (The Mpakwithi consultant was able to remember over one hundred Yangathimri lexical items.) The Tjunguntji are fairly well known in the ethnographic literature, mainly from Thomson.

(iv) Between Janie Creek and the Pennefather River were the yupuŋaŋi (called 'Nggerikudi' - presumably gerikwiŋi - by Hey; the Linngithigh called these people the yupŋayŋi), whose language was called yupuŋimri (from yupu 'I').

(v) East of the Anguthimri, on the northern side of the Mission River, were the various awŋŋim-speaking groups (from awŋ 'I' and -ŋim 'proprietary'). The known Awngthim groups are:

- ŋanikwiŋi (called ŋyanŋayŋi by the Linngithigh) - the mangrove area north of the Mission River
- dŋwaŋaŋaŋi (called dŋwaŋayŋi by the Linngithigh) - also in the Mission River area
- mamaŋaŋi (called mamŋayŋi by the Linngithigh) - Urquhart Point

(vi) Another language which my consultant could not accurately place was in the area between the Mission and Hey Rivers: linaŋaŋi (i.e. linaŋiŋiŋi as they called themselves).

Data for most of the surrounding languages is scarce, but lexical comparisons with some of these languages can be made. The following lexicostatistical figures are presented as a rough means of comparison to Anguthimri:

Yangathimri	- 67.5%
Yuputhimri	- 60.0%
Angamuthi	- 21.4%

## 1.4 PLACE NAMES

My consultant was able to remember the following place names:

purala	upper Ducie River	tidini	Pennefather River
tilini	Ducie River mouth	paynarama	Pine River
mamaliṭi	Port Musgrave	dʷweni	Duifken Point
rūmu	Janie Creek	yunukumwanama	Ward Point
tuʔuŋu	lower Wenlock River	ywaŋa	Mission River Point
ṭibirinama	upper Wenlock River	nubunu	Norman River

## 1.5 SOCIAL BACKGROUND

There has been no anthropological study of the Anguthimri speaking groups, though Sharp includes all of these local groups within what he calls the 'Tjunguntji type', which extends from just north of Port Musgrave to just south of Albatross Bay, the constituent groups of this general type having the same descent and marriage systems. The Anguthimri and the Tjunguntji also share the ṣiṣiri cult, which was described by Thomson (1934) for Tjunguntji.

Since the marriage system of the Anguthimri has not been investigated, the apparently identical system of the Tjunguntji will be presented here from data contained in Thomson (1934) and Sharp (1939). The moiety/section/sub-section system of most of Australia is absent in what Sharp calls the Tjunguntji type. The group is divided up geographically into nine exogamous clans. The clans are grouped geographically into four as follows (using the terms used by the Mpakwithi rather than the Tjunguntji):

ma-aṃara	eastern group
ma-gwaṭa	northern group
ma-ṣata	southern group
ma-ṭuru	western group

and these groups are exogamous. Thus, one can marry from a clan that is not within the same clan-group as one's own.

Roth and Mathews, from data provided by Hey, a former missionary at Mapoon, present a very different picture, with moieties and sections. The names used for the sections (though not for the moieties) are all found to be misinterpretations of other terms. Thus, the section terms used are given below, with their correct form and reference:

<i>Roth</i>	<i>Mathews</i>	<i>mistaken for</i>	
nama-kurgi	namegoree	namakwiṃi	Tjunguntji clan name
bakurgi	packwickee	bakwiṃi	Anguthimri clan name
lanrganama	lankenamee	lananama	Tjunguntji clan name
ba-marango	pamalang	pamalun	Taepadhighi 'son'

The origin of Mathews' moiety names jamakunda and kamanutta are not known, however.

Thus, extending the Tjunguntji system to Anguthimri, we can assume that the local groups listed in 1.2 were exogamous and were grouped further into exogamous clan-groups.

## 1.6 PRESENT SITUATION

The present study of the Mpakwithi dialect of Anguthimri is a salvage study only. The German missionaries who began their mission at Mapoon in 1891 were very much responsible for the virtual extinction of most of the languages of the area. Although Rev. Hey (his colleague Rev. Ward died in 1895) did attempt to learn one of the languages, that of the Pennefather River (i.e. yupuṭimri), its use among the various Aboriginal groups who settled at Mapoon as a refuge was actively discouraged. Children were separated from their parents at an early age and placed in dormitories where only the use of English was permitted. The only known speaker of the Mpakwithi dialect today, Mr. Don Fletcher of New Mapoon (near Bamaga), was also isolated from his language as a youth, and it was only by rebelling and going back to the old people after his schooling had finished that he is now able to speak the language at all. The writer owes his gratitude to Mr. Fletcher for allowing his speech to be used as a basis for this description.

Most of the descendants of the Mpakwithi speak a Creolized variety of English (see Crowley and Rigsby, 1979). Presumably, as numerous groups with mutually unintelligible languages came into contact at the various mission stations, and the use of these languages was also actively discouraged by the missionaries, an English-based pidgin developed as a secondary means of communication. Since then, this pidgin has become the first language of many people of the entire Cape York and Torres Strait area, and is the first language of almost all the descendants of the Cape York, Port Musgrave and Albatross Bay Aborigines.

## 1.7 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

The terms 'Anguthimri' and 'Mpakwithi', as has already been mentioned, have been used in the literature on the area, though there was no linguistic material recorded in earlier sources. The earliest reference to the Anguthimri language and the Mpakwithi clan (apart from Roth's and Mathews' misinterpreted usage of the terms) is in Thomson (1934). Sharp (1939) refers to the 'Mbakudi' and McConnel to the 'Angutimi'. The other Anguthimri local groups mentioned above have been mentioned by Roth (ṭanikwiṭi), Meston (kalikwiṭi, lwipanaḡini, adumakwiṭi), McConnel (ba:ṭana) and Thompson (bwinitanikwiṭi).

For the surrounding tribes, there is a fair amount of data, and the 1920's and the 1930's saw a flurry of anthropological activity among the Tjunguntji and other groups by Thomson, McConnel and Sharp. See Craig (1967).

## 2. PHONOLOGY

## 2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

2.1.1 CONSONANTS. The consonant inventory for Anguthimri is shown in Table 2.1. There is a considerable range of phonetic variation in the realisations of some of these consonants.

All stops have aspirated and non-aspirated alternants in free variation, e.g.

/t̪iti/	'fishhawk'	[t̪ <sup>h</sup> it̪ <sup>h</sup> i, t̪iti]
/kili/	'king parrot'	[k <sup>h</sup> ili, kili]
/tʀokanwi/	'lagoon'	[t <sup>rh</sup> ok <sup>h</sup> anwi, tʀokanwi]

The labial stop is generally realised as a fricative when it is followed by a continuant consonant such as w or ɹ. This is clearly an assimilation rule, with the stop taking on continuant (i.e. fricative) articulation when followed by a continuant, e.g.

/pwe:ke/	'groper'	[fwe:ke, ɸwe:ke]
/pwi/	'seed'	[fwi:, ɸwi:]
/pɹuʔu/	'worm'	[fɹuʔu, ɸɹuʔu]
/pɹulu/	'monsoon season'	[fɹulu, ɸɹulu]
/dupɹiyi/	'old lady'	[ndufɹiyi, nduɸɹiyi]

This assimilation rule also occasionally applies with the palatal stop, e.g.

/t̪wama/	'hill'	[t̪wama, ɹwama]
----------	--------	-----------------

The post-alveolar stop is pronounced with the tip of the tongue placed slightly behind the alveolar ridge. This is not the same sound as the retroflex stop symbolised as ɖ in other Australian languages. In Anguthimri, the post-alveolar stop is always followed by a sharp trill and auditorily in no way resembles a retroflex. The justification for treating the post-alveolar consonants as single units rather than as sequences of stop followed by r is given in 2.2.

The prenasalised stops are pronounced as voiced stops preceded by non-syllabic homorganic nasals, i.e. as [mb, nd, ndʀ, nd̪, nɹ, nɹɹ]; this applies even in word initial position. See 2.2 for justification of the treatment of such sequences as single phonemes.

The fricatives β, ð, ʒ, ɣ and r, when in word initial position, are optionally preceded by a prothetic schwa. Thus, we find alternants such as:

/βaði/	'intestines'	[βaði, əβaði]
/ðay/	'mother'	[ðay, əðay]
/ʒoɣa/	'fly'	[ʒoɣa, əʒoɣa]
/ɣama/	'child'	[ɣama, əɣama]
/ra/	'stomach'	[ra:, əra:]

The phoneme r is generally articulated as a single post-alveolar flap, though occasionally it is a genuine trill. It is treated as a fricative in Anguthimri because it patterns with β, ð, ɣ and ʒ in that it optionally participates

TABLE 2.1 - Consonant phonemes

	labial	alveolar	post-alveolar	alveolar	dental	palatal	dorsal	glottal
stop	p	t	t <sup>r</sup>	t̪	t̪	k		ʔ
nasal	m	n		n̪	n̪	ŋ		
prenasalised								
stop	b	d	d <sup>r</sup>	d̪	d̪	g		
fricative	β		r	ð		ʒ(ʃ?,s?)		
lateral		l						
retroflex								
continuant		ɭ						
semi-vowel						y	w	

in the schwa prothesis discussed above.

The retroflex continuant ɭ generally causes the vowel of the preceding syllable to be ɭ-coloured. This colouring is clearly noticeable even when the vowel and ɭ are separated by a consonant, e.g.

/gwapɕa/	'is eating'	[ŋwaɭfɕa]
/ruɕiɭimɕi/	'pregnant'	[əruɕiɭiɭmɕi]

The Anguthimri consonant inventory also contains the possible phonemes s and ʃ. These sounds have been found only in a very small number of words, so no minimal pairs are available. In fact, the corpus contains only the following words with s and ʃ:

/səla/	'milkwood'
/ʃiʔi/	'green snake'
/ʃiβiri/	'culture hero'

It would appear that in neighbouring Yangathimri, ʃ is a genuine phoneme, so these words could have entered Anguthimri through borrowing. (It is also possible that s and ʃ are conditioned variants but the corpus is insufficiently broad to allow final judgement.)

Minimal and subminimal pairs are presented below to show that various suspicious pairs contrast phonologically:

β-p	/βaɕaka/	'long time ago'	/paɕupaɕaɕi/	'cottonwood tree'
ð-t	/ðutu-/	'follow'	/tuɕi/	'trochus shell'
ð-t̪	/ðu-/	'sew'	/tu/	'west'
t̪-t̪ <sup>r</sup>	/t̪ama/	'thumb'	/t̪ama-/	'jump'
t̪-t̪ <sup>r</sup>	/tuɕi/	'trochus shell'	/t̪ru/	'urine'
ʒ-t̪	/ʒi-/	'blow'	/t̪i-/	'see'
ɣ-k	/ɣama/	'child'	/kama/	'gum species'
k-ʔ	/t̪ɕoka/	'head'	/d̪ruʔa/	'this'
r-ɭ	/rama/	'empty'	/ɕama/	'recently'
t̪-t̪	/t̪i:ni/	'thigh'	/ti:ni/	'swamp'
n-n	/nana/	'you-ACC'	/nana/	'we-ACC'
ʔ-ø	/ʔwa/	'dog'	/wa/	'grey hair'

2.1.2 VOWELS. The vowel inventory is shown in Table 2.2. This system with sixteen (possibly even seventeen) members is probably the most complex vowel system in Australia.



TABLE 2.2 - *Vowel phonemes*

	front		back
	unrounded	rounded	
	oral	nasal	
high	i(:)	ĩ	ü
high-mid	e(:)	ẽ	(ö?)
low-mid	æ(:)	ǣ	o
low	a(:)	ã	

The only really doubtful vowel is ö, which is found only in *köy̥i* 'left-hand side'. The fact that there are words such as *goy* 'wallaby', suggests that the following *y* is not conditioning non-distinctive fronting of *o* to ö. It seems likely that this ö may well be a seventeenth vowel which is of very low functional load.

In various structural positions of the word in Anguthimri, the number of vowel oppositions is reduced by neutralisation. In word-initial position, there is only a contrast between *i*, *a* and *u* and, in word-final position, there is only a four-way contrast between *i*, *e*, *a* and *u* (with distinctive nasalisation, however). (However, see 3.6.2 where there is discussion of rules in the verbal paradigm which derive surface *ü* and *æ* word-finally from underlying *u* and *a*. This *ü* always varies freely with *i* and the *æ* with *e*.) If the vowel of the penultimate syllable is *æ*, the opposition between *i*, *e*, *æ* and *a* (i.e. the front unrounded vowels) is lost in the following syllable. The phonetic realisation of this archiphoneme (which will be written in this description, arbitrarily, as *a*), varies anywhere through the front unrounded vowel range, e.g.

/pæʔa/ 'elbow' [pæʔæ, pæʔa, pæʔe, pæʔi]

In monosyllables, the length contrast is lost, and all vowels in monosyllabic words are phonetically long. However, if a monosyllabic word is made polysyllabic by the addition of a suffix, the vowel is short, e.g.

/ra/ 'stomach' [əra:]  
/raŋa/ 'stomach-LOC' [əraŋa]

In polysyllabic words after a non-prenasalsed stop (i.e. *p*, *t*, *tʳ*, *t̥*, *t̥ʳ*, *k*, *ʔ*), a final vowel is generally devoiced. In all other positions, vowels are fully voiced, e.g.

/bakwi̥i/ 'clan name' [mbakwi̥i̥]  
/yibḁi/ 'plains turkey' [yimbḁi̥]  
/ba:ʔana/ 'clan name' [mba:ʔana]  
/kwini:yi/ 'cassowary' [kwini:yi]

As justification for the complex set of vowel distinctions presented above, the following minimal and subminimal pairs are presented:

V-V: /pana/ 'friend' /pa:na/ 'level'

i-e	/ɕiɕi/	'oak'	/ɕeɕi/	'crow'
e-æ	/geʔekeka-/	'tickle'	/gæʔama-/	'laugh'
æ-a	/lədi/	'grass tree'	/lədi/	'girl'
u-ü	/bumɕu/	'we-GEN'	/pümɕu/	'you two-GEN'
V-Ŵ	/rumu/	'fish-net'	/rümü/	'Janie Creek'
	/pwi/	'bone'	/muwɿ/	'fig tree'
	/ɕe:ye/	'you-NOM'	/rëye/	'whitefish'
	/laya/	'lizard'	/rãya/	'shade'
u-o	/zuʔu/	'lily species'	/zoʔa/	'fly'

## 2.2 PHONOTACTICS

Word initially in Anguthimri, we can have:

- (a) Any consonant;  
 (b) One of i, a, or u (in short form only);  
 (c) Any of the clusters below:  
 (i) ɕ following any labial (i.e. pɕ-, mɕ-, βɕ-, bɕ-);  
 (ii) w following any consonant;  
 (iii) y following any dorsal, glottal, labial or post-alveolar consonant, (i.e. my-, tʳy-, ʔy-, gy-, ky-, ʔy-, dʳy-, but no recorded occurrences of βy-, py-, by-, ry- and ɳy-).

This is quite a simple statement of the word-initial phonotactic possibilities for Anguthimri. The simplicity derives from the treatment of phonetic clusters such as the following:

[tr, ndr, mb, nd, nd, nɳ, ɳg]

as unitary phonemes. Thus, it will be observed that Anguthimri treats t, tʳ and dʳ similarly as far as the phonotactic patterns are concerned. If we were to analyse these phonetically complex units as being phonemically complex, our statement of the phonotactics would have to account for initial clusters such as, for example, [ndrwamɕa] 'woman'. With the phonology as it is, this has a simple two member Cw- cluster: /dʳwamɕa/.

Intervocally, we can have any single consonant (except sibilants) and also the following consonant clusters:

	p	β	k	m	b
w	pw	βw	kw	mw	bw
ɕ	pɕ	-	-	mɕ	bɕ

i.e. a labial followed by w or ɕ and also kw (but note that the corpus lacks βɕ). There are also intervocalic semi-vowel + consonant clusters, e.g. -yy-, -wɿ-, -ym- and -wɳ-.

Word finally, Anguthimri allows only the vowels -i, -e, -a, and -u (which may be nasalised) and the two semi-vowels -y and -w (though there is rare final æ and ü; see 3.6.2).

## 2.3 STRESS

The Anguthimri stress pattern is as follows:

## (C)V́(C)CV(C)CV́(C)CV...

i.e. the first syllable and every alternate syllable receives stress. The long-short distinction with vowels is only ever made in stressable syllables, and then only rarely in any syllable but the first. Thus, we find:

/ðúʔu/	'yamstick'
/pá:na/	'level'
/kálipwa/	'gully'
/árana/	'toenail, fingernail'
/dʔé:gwati/	'trevally'
/bwáʔa/	'meat'
/ʔúnuwána/	'blister'
/máyuʔí:ni/	'mullet'

Note however that if an otherwise stressable syllable is the last of a word, it is not stressed.

## 2.4 MORPHOPHONEMICS

In this section, we discuss the phonological rules that are frequently found to apply in the morphology, but which are best treated as general phonological rules. There are several phenomena that are worthy of mention in this section.

2.4.1 SANDHI. Anguthimri has a series of optional sandhi rules which are used only in quick speech. Normal elicitation does not provide many examples of sandhi, though the consultant clearly recognised the distinction between 'fast' and 'slow' speech, the difference being (except for speed of utterance) the application of sandhi rules in the former style and their non-application in the latter. The rules that apply are:

- (i) With monosyllables ending in a high vowel, the corresponding glide is inserted before another vowel over a word boundary, e.g.

	<i>slow form</i>	<i>fast form</i>
'Come here!'	/dʔu wi aŋiʔi/	/dʔu wiy aŋiʔi/

- (ii) With words of more than one syllable ending in a high vowel, the vowel itself becomes a glide before another vowel over a word boundary, e.g.

	<i>slow form</i>	<i>fast form</i>
'Go away!'	/dʔu garu aŋiʔi/	/dʔu garw aŋiʔi/

- (iii) With words of more than one syllable with a nasal preceding the final vowel, the final vowel is deleted before a vowel over a word boundary, e.g.

	<i>slow form</i>	<i>fast form</i>
'Go to the beach'	/dʔu bʔepiŋi aŋiʔi/	/dʔu bʔepiŋ aŋiʔi/

2.4.2 VOWEL HARMONY. Many of the noun and verb suffixes of Anguthimri vary according to the nature of the final vowel of the root. Basically the vowel of a suffix becomes a repetition of the final vowel of the stem (but see 2.4.3). Harmonising suffixes known from the corpus include:

ergative/instrumental: -gV, -rV, -ɿV	privative: -(kV)ɿana
locative/allative: -ŋV	present tense: -nV
ablative: -mV	past tense: -ɣV, -nV
dative/purposive: -kV	future tense: -ɣV, -ɿV
accusative: -ŋV	imperative: -ʔV
desiderative: -kVga:	purposive: -ŋVkumu

This synchronic alternation is the result of a historical change whereby the final vowel of the proto-language was lost (as evidenced by the present Linngithigh situation) and a later change, whereby the vowel-final character of Anguthimri was restored by this echo-vowel rule (see 2.5).

2.4.3 SEMI-VOWEL DELETION. Where a word-final semi-vowel is followed by a suffix beginning with a prenasalised stop, the semi-vowel is deleted, e.g.

gaw 'that', ergative gagu  
baw 'tooth', instrumental bagu

Note that this deletion rule must apply after the vowel harmony rule, as the vowel of the suffix will take its quality from the semi-vowel if there is one in this position, rather than the preceding vowel. Where the suffix begins with a consonant other than a prenasalised stop, the semi-vowel is retained:

pay 'forehead', locative payŋi  
goy 'wallaby', ergative goyri

## 2.5 HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

It is not possible to set out in full detail the phonological changes that have taken place in the history of Anguthimri as adequate data on closely related languages and dialects has not yet been assembled, nor has sufficient work been done in the reconstruction of the proto-language. Hale (1976) has gone some of the way towards reconstructing this proto-language, however. His reconstructions are used as a basis for the study of Anguthimri historical phonology. In this section, the major changes are outlined, with examples.

There are cognate sets which indicate that the initial consonant of a word in some cases had an effect on the consonant or consonant cluster of the following syllable. What happened was that if a word originally had an initial labial consonant (either m-, p- or w-), then an alveolar segment in the following syllable became post-alveolar. This change was involved in the derivation of the following forms from proto-Northern Paman (PNP). (The proto-forms are taken from Hale (1976) or reconstructed according to his statements.)

*pinta	d <sup>r</sup> ya	'arm'
*wanta	d <sup>r</sup> a-	'leave'
*wantuŋu	d <sup>r</sup> aŋu	'where-LOC'

Intuitively, it seems somehow that this change was assimilatory, though one would be hard pushed to express the change in terms of phonological features. What probably happened was that the alveolars were retracting towards the periphery, to match the peripheral feature for labials. An argument against this, however, is the fact that initial velars do not seem to trigger this kind of alveolar retraction.

After alveolar retraction took place, the language then simply lost all initial consonants. This is a change which Anguthimri has in common with a very great number of Northern Paman languages (except for some of the languages of the extreme tip of Cape York peninsula, which have mysteriously retained some of these consonants).

At some early stage in its history, Anguthimri unconditionally merged the proto-phonemes  $\zeta$  and  $t$ , into the new phoneme  $?$ . This merger is the origin for all glottal stops in modern Anguthimri. It would seem probable that there was first of all a shift of the form:

$$\zeta > t$$

and subsequently a shift of the form

$$t > ?$$

A one-stage shift of  $\zeta$  to  $?$  is implausible enough, and for this change to have been paralleled exactly by a shift of  $t$  to  $?$  is even more implausible. This suggestion that the shift took place in two stages is backed up by the fact that there are related languages which have undergone the first shift, but have maintained the  $t$  and have not shifted this to  $?$ . Thus \*ma $\zeta$ a 'hand' in Atampaya (from the MacDonald River) became mata. This sequence of changes in Anguthimri is involved in the derivation of the following forms (C indicates an original consonant, whose value has not been reconstructed with certainty):

*ma $\zeta$ a	?a	'hand'
*kuta	?wa	'dog'
*kalmpa $\zeta$	bwa?a	'meat'
*Cita	?ya	'hair'
*Cuta	?wa	'cut'

Note that the shift of  $\zeta$  to  $t$  must be ordered after the retraction of alveolars following an initial labial. If the  $\zeta > t$  rule applied first, the  $t$  would then become either  $t$  or  $t^r$ , which does not happen;  $?$  is the regular reflex.

Following the shift of  $\zeta$  to  $?$ , there was a shift:

$$y > \zeta$$

This change is involved in the derivation of:

*pakay	ka $\zeta$ a	'down'
*kampiy	ba $\zeta$ i	'up'
*Ci:puy	βü $\zeta$ u	'smoke'

This change must follow the change  $\zeta > ?$ . If the ordering were reversed the  $\zeta$  derived from \* $y$  and the original

\*ɕ would have the same fate and \*ɕ and \*y would end up as ʔ; this does not happen.

After the shift of y to ɕ took place in Anguthimri, the language then underwent the change:

- | > w before a consonant
- > y elsewhere (i.e. between vowels or at the end of a word).

This change was involved in the derivation of:

*Cɪpaɪ	pe:pe	'close'
*kaɪmpaɕ	bwaʔa	'meat'
*kaɪka	kweʔe	'spear' (final syllable unpredictable)
*ɱkaɪ	kwe	'foot' (ay then became e)
*paŋkuɪ	goy	'wallaby'

Note that in some cases the original glide derived from the lateral has subsequently undergone coalition with the vowel or undergone other changes. The shifts that have occurred will be discussed below. This change must have followed the shift of y to ɕ since the y which have evolved from \*ɪ have not changed to ɕ.

The next phonological change to take place depended on whether the vowel of the first syllable was long or short. If this vowel was long, then a following stop or nasal-stop cluster was lenited and became a fricative of the same or a nearby place of articulation. By this change, k and ŋk became ɣ; t, ʃ, nʃ and nt became ʃ; and p and mp became β. This change explains the origin of the fricatives in the words below:

*ka:ɕa	ɔay	'mother'
*Cu:ŋkun	yunu	'distant'
*Ca:nʃim	ɔaymɕi	'hungry'
*Ni:mpi	βüyi	'ashes'
*ya:ɕi	ɔadi	'burn'
*Cu:mpi	βwi	'die'

Following the lenition of the intervocalic stops and nasal-stop clusters, the long vowel generally reduced to a schwa (central vowel [ə]). This stage is attested in some of the languages closely related to Anguthimri, and although there is now no underlying schwa in Anguthimri, it still does exist as an optional phonetic variant before word initial fricatives (2.1).

If the initial vowel was short, and sometimes also (unpredictably) when long, then metathesis of the vowel and the following consonant applied. This change can be stated as:

VC > CV

This is an extremely frequent and regular change, and it is attested in quite a number of other Northern Paman languages. The usual claim that metathesis is a sporadic and unpredictable change cannot be upheld for these languages.

Actually, the statement of change above should contain the symbol (C)C rather than just C, because the vowel exchanged places not only with the following consonant, but also the following consonant cluster. This brought nasal-stop clusters to the beginning of the word. It was stated in 2.2 that these phonetic clusters should be analysed as

unitary phonemes. It was at this stage of the history of Anguthimri that this reanalysis would have taken place.

Following the original consonant of the second syllable there was of course invariably a vowel, and the metathesis rule brought the initial vowel and the original post-consonantal vowel together. The language could not tolerate adjacent vowels and so applied a number of changes to avoid the situation:

(i) If the two vowels were identical, one was deleted, e.g.

*pama	ma	'man'
*puŋku	gu	'knee'
*ŋipima	pimi	'one'

(ii) If the two vowels were not identical and if one was a high vowel and one was a low vowel, then the high vowel shifted to the corresponding semi-vowel. This change applied whether the original high vowel preceded or followed the original low vowel, e.g.

*muŋka	gwa	'eat'
*tuma	mwa	'fire'
*ŋaŋku	gaw	'that'
*pinta	d <sup>ɾ</sup> ya	'arm'
*yapi	pay	'forehead'
*ŋampu	baw	'tooth'

(iii) There were some cases however, where high vowels did not simply become semi-vowels. Rather, they coalesced with the low vowel and formed a new vowel. This process was apparently the origin of many of the 'unusual' vowels of Anguthimri. It is not possible at this stage to state the conditions under which these changes took place, nor is it possible to specify precisely what the forms of the changes were. The following kinds of reduction have been observed:

au, ua > o	e.g.	*CutakV > t <sup>ɾ</sup> oka	'head'
		*paŋkul > goy	'wallabv'
ai > æ	e.g.	*kali > læ	'go walkabout'
		*ŋali > lægi	'we'
ui, iu > ü	e.g.	*Ci:puy > βüɟu	'smoke'
ia > e	e.g.	*ŋiɟa > ɟe:ye	'you'

Anguthimri at some stage in its history also underwent a change by which all word final vowels were deleted. However, this only occurred in polysyllables; all monosyllables have retained their vowels. Because monosyllables were treated differently, it seems that this rule must have applied after monosyllables were created, i.e. after the metathesis of VC and the accompanying vowel changes. Linngithigh shares with Anguthimri this loss of final vowels. Thus, in modern Linngithigh, there is a great range of word-final consonants and consonant clusters. However, Anguthimri has innovated further and added a vowel at the end of each word, which repeats the vowel preceding the final consonant or final consonant cluster. The fact that the echo-vowels are only ever -i, -e, -a and -u, even when the preceding syllable contains vowels such as æ or ü, suggests

TABLE 2.3 - Historical changes in Anguthimri phonology

- 
- Alveolar retraction (alveolar becomes post-alveolar if word began with a labial)
  - Loss of initial consonant
    - ç > t
    - t > ?
    - y > ç
    - l > glide (>w before a consonant, >y elsewhere)
  - Lenition of stop or nasal-stop cluster to a fricative, after long vowel
  - Long vowel > schwa
  - Schwa deletion
  - Metathesis of (C)C and short vowel
  - Nasal-stop clusters reanalysed as unit phonemes
  - Identical vowel deletion
  - High vowel > semi-vowel
  - Final vowel deletion
  - Echo-vowel added to end of word
  - Vowel coalescence
  - Glide deletion
    - ç insertion (sporadic)
    - r > y or ɿ (sporadic)
- 

that the application of this rule took place before these vowels had developed in the language. If words such as büyu 'scorpion', pəʔa 'elbow' and püŋu 'you-ACC' already had ü and ə when the vowel was added, we would expect to find büyü, pəʔə and püŋü.

Two other changes must have applied after the echo vowel rule. The first involved the deletion of any glide which immediately preceded a consonant. This change is involved in the derivation of Anguthimri forms such as mayu 'armpit' and kayu 'skin'. A historically prior stage of these two forms is attested in Linngithigh, where they are mayɿ and kayɿ respectively. The echo-vowel rule operating on these forms would presumably have yielded a final -u, and then the glide must have been deleted. The second change involved ç insertion. In Anguthimri, the last m of a word was sporadically affected by a change which inserted a ç after it. This change was frequent, but not universal in application. Its conditioning is not understood. It was involved in the derivation of the following forms:

*Ca:ɲim	ðaymçi	'hungry'
*-ɲima	-ɲimçi	'proprietary'
*-namu	-namça	'genitive'



Finally, there was a change whereby *r* shifted sporadically to either *y* or *ɿ*. The conditioning factors are not known. There is no way of knowing how this change was ordered with respect to the remaining changes. This change is involved in the derivation of:

* <i>ɲa:mur</i>	<i>mayu</i>	'armpit'
* <i>Cakur</i>	<i>kayu</i>	'skin'
* <i>kuŋkar</i>	<i>gwaɲa</i>	'north'
* <i>yi:par</i>	<i>βaɲa</i>	'south'

The main phonological changes that have taken place in the history of Anguthimri are summarised in Table 2.3, with the necessary chronological ordering shown at the left.

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

The parts of speech we can set up for Anguthimri are listed below, with justification for each lexical class recognised. Words generally belong to only one underlying part of speech though, by various derivational processes, membership can be changed. Membership of the parts of speech is assigned on the basis of shared syntactic and morphological behaviour and also on the basis of shared semantic content. The parts of speech in Anguthimri are:

(i) *Nouns*. These inflect for case according to an ergative-absolutive system, though nouns with human reference optionally take the suffix *-nV* when acting as the object of a transitive verb. Nouns on the whole refer to concrete objects - people and animals, parts of the body of humans and animals, trees and plants, environmental phenomena (e.g. 'ground', 'river', 'sea', 'fire', 'forest', 'lightning' etc), particular places and people and various cultural artifacts. Non-observable objects such as spirits are also expressed as nouns. Abstract concepts such as kinship relationships are nouns. Other abstract nouns are rare, though there is a noun for 'sickness'.

(ii) *Adjectives*. These potentially take the same case suffixes as nouns, though they do not inflect for case unless the head noun is absent. Adjectives generally also occur in sentences with the inchoative verbaliser *-geni*, though they can also appear without it. There is a very great semantic difference between adjectives and nouns. Adjectives refer only to qualities that characterise the referents of nouns. Syntactically, we can make the generalisation that adjectives follow nouns within noun phrases. Adjectives can express speed ('fast'), dimension ('tall', 'short', 'deep', 'small'), physical property ('heavy', 'cold', 'blunt'), colour ('black', 'red', 'blue'), human propensity ('greedy', 'worried', 'knowledgeable'), value ('good', 'bad'), and number ('one', 'many').

(iii) *Verbs*. These inflect for tense. It is also on the verb that sentence subordination is marked. Semantically, verbs express motion, state and change of state, vocalisation, thought, noise-making, body functions ('laugh', 'cry', 'defecate', 'ache'), impact and violence, and holding, possessing and transfer.

(iv) *Pronouns*. These constitute a closed set of items. The members of this part of speech can be described semantically using the features of person, number and inclusiveness-exclusiveness. Pronouns inflect for case, as do nouns and adjectives, but make a smaller number of formal case distinctions.

(v) *Particles*. These are all uninflectable items. There are three semantic groups of particles: (a) *Time particles*, expressing 'for a long time', 'now', 'yesterday' etc; (b) *Place particles*, expressing 'up', 'down', 'near', 'far', 'this direction' etc; (c) *Miscellaneous particles*, expressing for example 'too much', 'again', 'asleep', 'by mistake' and so on. There are no apparent morphological or syntactic properties that could distinguish between the three types of particle on formal grounds.

(vi) *Interjections*. These are forms that can exist alone without being considered in any way ungrammatical or elliptical.

## 3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 CASE INFLECTIONS. The case functions of all nouns in Anguthimri are expressed through suffixes to the noun. In this section, the various inflectional suffixes of the language are presented, with a discussion of the roles each suffix expresses. Examples of each of the cases are given.

(i) *Intransitive subject (S)*:  $\emptyset$  (zero suffix), e.g.

- (1) t<sup>r</sup>ya- $\emptyset$  lanu- $\eta$ u ge $\eta$ a  
 shark-S sea-LOC live-PRES  
 Sharks live in the sea.

Patient nouns in non-verbal sentences are also marked by - $\emptyset$ , as in:

- (2) ma- $\emptyset$   $\eta$ u- $\eta$ ana  
 man-S clothes-PRIV  
 The man is naked.

Note that in elicitation, nouns are always cited with no suffix.

(ii) *Transitive object (O)*. This is also ordinarily marked by  $\emptyset$ , e.g.

- (3) d<sup>r</sup>wam $\eta$ a- $\eta$ a papa $\eta$ i-ri ri $\eta$ i-ni d<sup>r</sup>we- $\emptyset$  bwa- $\eta$ a  
 woman-A stone-INST hit-PAST shell-O break-PAST  
 The woman hit the shell with a stone (and) broke it.

However, any noun which has human reference, when it is in object position, can optionally carry the suffix - $\eta$ V, e.g.

- (4) lu ma-ra yama(-na) riŋi-ni ʃanaʃi-ŋikumu  
 he-A man-A child-O hit-PAST run-CONSEC  
 The man hit the child and it ran away.

There is one noun which is known to have a slightly irregular -ŋV form. This is ɔay 'mother', which becomes ɔaŋa (rather than the expected \*ɔayŋi).

(iii) *Transitive subject (A)*. Marked by ergative case suffix: -rV~-gV~-iV. There is no apparent phonological or semantic conditioning factor involved in the choice of allomorph for any particular noun and the only solution seems to be to divide nouns into three distinct declensions. A few examples of members of each group are listed:

*DECLENSION I*

kyabara-ga	'crocodile'	ku-gu	'stick'
t <sup>r</sup> ya-ga	'shark'	ɔurupu-gu	'small'
βüyi-gi	'ashes'		

*DECLENSION II*

ma-ra	'man'	d <sup>r</sup> aʃi-ri	'current'
kweʔe-re	'spear'	ʔwa-ra	'tame dog'
lwaga-ra	'fever'		

*DECLENSION III*

buʔu-tu	'ghost'	yeg <sup>i</sup> -ti	'wind'
waʔa-ta	'ear'	ŋaba-ta	'paddle'
pɕuʔu-tu	'ghost'		

It might be thought that the apparently random distribution of ergative allomorphy may have as its origin an early situation in the language with some kind of final segments that have since been deleted. This is known not to be the case however (see 2.5). In fact, at an earlier stage of Anguthimri, the final vowel was absent and there can be no question of this vowel having an earlier following consonant. Actually, data from many Cape York languages suggests that the proto-language itself had a slightly unpredictable ergative allomorphy after vowels. Many languages show reflexes of \*-lu, \*-mpu, \*-ntu, \*-ŋju and \*-ŋku postvocally. The system in Anguthimri may therefore have developed out of an earlier system that was itself only partially regular.

In addition to the allomorphy discussed above, there are some nouns that do not fit into any of the three declensions presented. The irregularities fall into two groups:

- (a) Nouns ending with -yi change the yi to ɕi; e.g.

ni:yi 'boy', ergative ni:ɕi  
 dupɕiyi 'old lady', ergative dupɕiɕi 'old lady'

- (b) Some nouns with stem final -i/-e change this to -a before adding -rV. E.g.

kwe 'foot', ergative kwara  
 aɕiki 'moon', ergative aɕikara  
 mɕiɕiki 'many', ergative mɕiɕikara  
 puɕiki 'many', ergative puɕikara 'many'

A couple of sentences are given below illustrating the use of nouns in ergative case:

(5) gaʔaga-ra kunu yeɟi gwa-na  
kookaburra-A now snake-O eat-PAST  
The kookaburra ate a snake then.

(6) pɟuʔu-ʔu naŋa kunu ʔa-na  
leech-A you-O now bite-NON-FUT  
The leech is biting you now.

Coinciding in form with the ergative suffix is the instrumental suffix. This expresses the inanimate instrument by which an action is carried out, e.g.

(7) na dʀuʔa kunu rwagaʔi-ri dʷa-na  
fish-O this now fishing-line-INST catch-NON-FUT  
[I] am catching fish with a line now.

(8) ʔa-ga lu dʀuʔa naŋi layu riŋi-ni  
hand-INST he-A this I-O cheek-O hit-PAST  
He slapped me with his hand.

Although the ergative and the instrumental suffixes coincide in form, there is evidence that we should recognise two cases. The evidence is:

(a) The fact that instrumentals can appear in non-transitive sentences such as (9), whereas ergative nouns can only appear in transitive sentences.

(9) lu ku-gu aŋi-ni  
he-S stick-INST walk-PAST  
He walked with a stick.

(b) The fact that transitive subjects can be affected by reflexivisation whereas instrumental noun phrases are not involved in this transformation. Thus:

(10) ɣama-ʔa dʀuʔa βüyi-gi ʔa-y  
baby-A this ashes-INST cover-PRES  
The baby is covering [it] with ashes.

can be related structurally to:

(11) ɣama dʀuʔa βüyi-gi ʔa-ʔi-ni  
baby-S this ashes-INST cover-REFL-NON-FUT  
The baby is covering himself with ashes.

where ɣamaʔa becomes ɣama but βüyigi does not change.

(iv) *Genitive*. The possessor noun in an alienable possession situation (and also, optionally, that in an inalienable possession situation) is marked by one of the following suffixes: -mɟa, -namɟa or -ɣamɟa. The -mɟa allomorph is used with monosyllabic nouns, e.g.

ma 'man', genitive mamɟa  
ʔwa 'dog', genitive ʔwamɟa

Polysyllabic nouns form the genitive by adding either -namɟa or -ɣamɟa to the stem. The choice of allomorph is lexically determined; there is no apparent phonological or semantic factor involved in the choice. Thus, we must once again set up declension classes, as illustrated by:

## DECLENSION A

gaʔaga-ɣamɕa	'kookaburra'	puʔu-ɣamɕa	'leech'
ɖwaladɪ-ɣamɕa	'dingo'	ladɪ-ɣamɕa	'girl'
goy-ɣamɕa	'wallaby'		

## DECLENSION B

d <sup>r</sup> waŋa-namɕa	'wife'	naɪi-namɕa	'father'
buʔu-namɕa	'ghost'	ɔwiɪ-namɕa	'two'
yama-namɕa	'child'		

The membership of the ergative and the genitive declensions is quite unrelated; the form of the ergative cannot be predicted from the form of the genitive and vice versa.

Sentences illustrating genitive constructions in Anguthimri are:

- (12) puʔa pana-ɣamɕa  
water-S friend-GEN  
The water belongs to [my] friend.
- (13) ɣyaŋa naɪi-namɕa  
axe-S father-GEN  
The axe belongs to [my] father.

The genitive suffixes in Anguthimri also express the benefactive relation, e.g.

- (14) bwaʔa gaw d<sup>r</sup>a-na ɖwaladɪ-ɣamɕa  
meat-O that-O leave-NON-FUT dingo-GEN  
[I] left some meat out for the dingos.

(v) *Dative*. Anguthimri has a case-marking suffix of the form -kV (which is cognate with the Common Australian suffix -ku). This suffix expresses a wide range of case relations. The basic function of this suffix is to express the purpose of an action, as in:

- (15) lu ruɕi gaw aŋi-ni waɣayi-ni gæ-y ɕəŋiŋana-ka  
he-S child-S that-S go-NON-FUT old man-O ask-FUT honey-DAT  
The child is going [and] will ask the old man for some honey.
- (16) aŋu bwaʔa-ka ɰi  
I-A meat-DAT look-PRES  
I'm looking for some meat.

The -kV suffix also expresses the causal relationship, as in:

- (17) ʔwa gægi yama-ka  
dog-S bark-PRES child-DAT  
The dog is barking because of the child.

and with various predicates of emotion, including fear, e.g.

- (18) d<sup>r</sup>u geʔe ɔitama-ʔa mɕæɕadɪ-ki  
you-S don't fear-IMP goanna-DAT  
Don't be frightened of the goanna.
- (19) lu ma ge-geŋi-ni ʔwa-ka  
he-S man-S good-INCH-PAST dog-DAT  
The man is happy with [his] dog.
- (20) lu ma d<sup>r</sup>waŋa-ka pay ɔuwi-ɔuwi  
he-S man-S wife-DAT ashamed  
The man is ashamed of his wife.

TABLE 3.1 - Nominal case suffixes

S	-∅
O	-∅, -ŋV
A/INSTRUMENTAL	-gV, -rV, -tV
GENITIVE/BENEFACTIVE	-mɕa, -namɕa, -yamɕa
DATIVE (/CAUSAL)	-kV
ABLATIVE (/CAUSAL)	-mV
LOCAL	-ŋV
DESIDERATIVE	-kVɕa:

(vi) *Ablative*. Anguthimri has a suffix of the form -mV which expresses 'motion away from', as in:

- (21) ʃigiri baya-ma pæ-ni  
joey-S pouch-ABL come out-NON-FUT  
The joey came out of the pouch.

The -mV suffix also expresses the causal function (which can also be expressed by -kV; see (17) above), e.g.

- (22) lu d<sup>r</sup>uʔa lanu-mu lwaga-ʃimɕi-geni-ni  
he-S this salt-water-ABL fever-PROP-INCH-NON-FUT  
He got sick because of the salt-water.

(vii) *Unmarked local case*. There is a suffix of the form -ŋV in Anguthimri which expresses the locative, allative and indirect object functions. This is therefore a general local case. Examples of this suffix in use are:

- (23) lu ʔwa ʔyüdi-ŋi ʃaʔaʔeɕa  
he-S dog-S scrub-LOC run-PRES  
The dog is running to the scrub.

- (24) naŋa ba-ŋa d<sup>r</sup>adaɕa  
we-S island-LOC live-PRES  
We live on the island.

- (25) aŋu ŋyunu waɕayi-ŋi kayi mwa ya-yi  
I-A he-LOC old man-LOC later on matches-0 give-FUT  
Later on I will give the man some matches.

(viii) *Desiderative*. Anguthimri also has a well-attested suffix of the form -kVɕa: (i.e. the dative followed by -ɕa:). This suffix is the only source for words in the language containing long vowels in a syllable other than the first. The suffix expresses a 'liking' or 'wanting' relationship, e.g.

- (26) lu ɣama ɕuʔu-kuɕa:  
he-S child-S milk-DESID  
The baby wants some milk.

Table 3.1 summarises the case-marking possibilities for Anguthimri nouns.

3.2.2 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES. In this section, the processes by which a nominal stem is derived from a noun root are discussed.

(i) *Proprietary*. Anguthimri has a suffix *-t̥imɕi*, corresponding in form to the suffix *-t̥im* in Awnghim and *-t̥i(ma)* in the Northern Peninsula group (i.e. Atampaya, Angkamuthi and Yadhaykenu). It has a fairly wide range of functions, including:

(a) To have something, not necessarily to be in possession of it, e.g.

- (27) lu ma d<sup>r</sup>uʔa n̄arama kweʔe-t̥imɕi  
 he-S man-S this stand-NON-FUT spear-PROP  
 The man is standing with a spear.

(b) To be in the company of someone, e.g.

- (28) ʔwa ruɕi-t̥imɕi geɕa  
 dog-S child-PROP sit-PRES  
 The dog is sitting with the child.

(c) To indicate a means of transport, e.g.

- (29) lu ma maruku-t̥imɕi aŋi-ni  
 he-S man-S horse-PROP go-PAST  
 The man went by horse.

- (30) lu waʔayi pat<sup>r</sup>a-t̥imɕi wi βama aŋi-ni  
 he-S old man-S canoe-PROP this way back go-PAST  
 The old man came back by canoe.

(d) To express an abstract state, e.g.

lwaga 'fever'	lwaga-t̥imɕi 'sick'
waʔa 'ear'	waʔa-t̥imɕi 'knowledgeable'
t <sup>r</sup> oka 'head'	t <sup>r</sup> oka-t̥imɕi 'worried'
ruɕi 'child'	ruɕi-t̥imɕi 'pregnant'
ŋu 'clothes'	ŋu-t̥imɕi 'clothed'

A noun with the proprietary suffix can qualify a noun with non-zero case inflection but does not itself inflect. Thus:

- (31) aŋu d<sup>r</sup>uʔa ma-ŋa geɕa ŋa-t̥imɕi  
 I-S this man-LOC sit-PRES beard-PROP  
 I am sitting down with the man with a beard.

(ii) *Privative*. There is a suffix *-(kv)ʔana* meaning 'without' or 'not having' e.g.

- (32) aŋu baw-kuʔana  
 I-S tooth-PRIV  
 I have got no teeth.

This suffix also does not seem to inflect for case, though it does function as a qualifier to non-zero marked nouns, e.g.

- (33) d<sup>r</sup>u ku-mu wi aŋi-ni ʔudu-kuʔana  
 you-S tree-ABL this way go-PAST leaf-PRIV  
 You came away from the tree without leaves.

(iii) *Diminutive*. Added to a noun, the suffix *-pwa* creates a new noun with a diminutive meaning. Thus, we find pairs such as:

ma 'man'	mapwa 'small man'
ba 'island'	bapwa 'small island'
raŋa 'river'	raŋapwa 'creek'

ku	'tree'	kupwa	'shrub'
?wa	'dog'	?wapwa	'pup'

This suffix can also be added to adjectives which have some kind of diminutive reference, but does not change the meaning, e.g.

puði(pwa)	'small'
bí:ni(pwa)	'short'

Nouns with the diminutive suffix with further case-inflection were accepted by my consultant, e.g.

- (34) ma-pwa-ra kwa-ra pu-yu  
 man-DIMIN-A foot-INST kick-PAST  
 The small man kicked [it] with [his] foot

(iv) *Plural*. Count nouns in Anguthimri probably have a plural form, which is marked with either -rV or -iV. This is an aspect of the grammar about which my consultant was very unsure, and elicitation produced little consistency. There is one known irregular plural:

d <sup>r</sup> wamɕa	'woman'	d <sup>r</sup> wabiɕi	'women'
----------------------	---------	-----------------------	---------

(v) *Reduplication*. This is a very peripheral process in the nominal morphology of Anguthimri, and no real generalisations can be made about its effect on the meaning of noun roots. Note the following examples:

t <sup>r</sup> oka	'head'	t <sup>r</sup> oka-t <sup>r</sup> oka	'end'
bɕuyi	'night'	bɕuyi-bɕuyi	'afternoon'

(vi) *Compounding*. This is a fairly common process in Anguthimri. Nominal compounds are of type N+ADJ or of the type N+N. The N+ADJ type is exemplified by:

kayu-ge	'palm of the hand'	kayu	'skin', ge	'good'
kayu-we:ye	'muscle'	kayu	'skin', we:ye	'fat'
bu?u-ge	'clever man'	bu?u	'ghost', ge	'good'
ɕi-yu?ukwi:yi	'jabiru, brolga'	ɕi	'nose' yu?ukwi:yi	'long'

The N+N type is exemplified by:

ɕwa-pay	'eyebrow'	ɕwa	'eye', pay	'forehead'
ywa-pay	'sandhill'	ywa	'sand', pay	'forehead'
pay-ga	'hillside'	pay	'forehead' ga	'ground'
pat <sup>r</sup> a-d <sup>r</sup> e:mɕi	'outrigger canoe'	pat <sup>r</sup> a	'canoe', d <sup>r</sup> e:mɕi	'outrigger'

### 3.3 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

Anguthimri pronouns have forms for the first, second and third persons; singular, dual and plural; and, for the first person non-singular, there is an inclusive-exclusive distinction. Note that the third person forms are not demonstratives (as in many Australian languages), but are genuine pronouns. All pronouns exist only as free forms, i.e. there are no pronominal forms bound to the verb.

Pronouns inflect according to the nominative-accusative pattern throughout, in contrast to the nouns, which generally inflect according to an ergative-absolutive system. The distinction made in the noun paradigm between the dative and



TABLE 3.2 - *Pronoun paradigm*

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.	Dat.*	Ablative	Desiderative
1sg	aŋu	ŋaŋi	ʔamŋu	ʔanu	ʔamŋumu	ʔaguga:
1du inc	lægi	læŋi	læmŋi	læni	læmŋimi	lægiga:
1pl inc	bwi	bʊŋu	bumŋu	buna	bumŋumu	buguga:
1du exc	nini	naŋa	namŋa	nana	namŋama	nagaga:
1pl exc	naŋa					
2sg	d <sup>r</sup> u	ŋaŋa	gyumŋu	gyunu	gyumŋumu	gyuguga:
2du	pi	pūŋu	pūmŋu	pūnu	pūmŋumu	pūguga:
2pl	ʔe:ʔe	ʔwaŋa	ʔwamŋa	ʔwana	ʔwamŋama	ʔwagaga:
3sg	lu	ŋyʊŋu	ŋyʊmŋu	ŋyʊnu	ŋyʊmŋumu	ŋyʊguga:
3du	lwepi	lwana	lwamŋa	lwana	lwamŋama	lwagaga:
3pl	amŋa					

\* This form covers dative, allative and locative functions.

allative/locative is not made for pronouns. The full paradigm is in Table 3.2.

These forms are only partly analysable synchronically. For the most part, the paradigms seem to be very irregular, and also very different from the pronouns of many other Australian languages. However, these forms can all be derived from an already reconstructed proto-system (see Hale 1976), in which there is a good deal of morphological transparency.

The reconstructed nominative forms are:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ŋayu	<i>inclusive</i>	ŋali	ŋampul
		<i>exclusive</i>	ŋana	ŋana
2nd person	puntu		pipul	pira
3rd person	pulu		pula	?

The rules discussed in 2.5 can be applied to this proto-system to derive the Anguthimri nominative paradigm, e.g.

\*pulu > lu 'he/she/it'

\*pipul > pi 'you two'

\*ŋali > læ(+gi) 'we two'

\*pira > ʔe:(+ʔe) 'you all'

\*ŋampul > bwi 'we all'

Some of the forms are slightly irregular in that there are accretive syllables (e.g. the -gi of lægi). Others go back to an earlier form that is slightly different to that reconstructed for proto-Northern Paman. For example, aŋu appears to be derived from \*ayʊŋ (i.e. \*ayʊŋ > yaŋ > aŋ > awŋ > aŋu). This is a rather peculiar proto-form; a possible explanation is that it is derived from \*ŋayu by a kind of sporadic metathesis. d<sup>r</sup>u 'you' may be derived from \*puntu by some (as yet not understood) type of change.

The oblique forms are for the most part derived from pronominal stems which Hale (1976) has reconstructed as:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ŋaʃu-	<i>inclusive</i>	ŋali-	ŋampul-
		<i>exclusive</i>	ŋana-	ŋana-
2nd person	niŋku-		niɸul-	niɸa-
3rd person	niŋu-		ɸula-	ɸula-

These have developed into the Anguthimri stems:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ʃa-	<i>inclusive</i>	læ-	bu-
		<i>exclusive</i>	na-	na-
2nd person	gyu-		ɸü-	ɸwa-
3rd person	nyu-		lwa-	lwa-

which can in almost all cases be derived directly by the rules discussed in 2.5. The suffixes by which the various oblique cases are derived from the oblique roots are:

-ŋV	accusative
-mɸV	genitive
-nV	dative/allative/locative
GEN+-mV	ablative
-gVɸa:	desiderative

The V segment takes its quality not from the final vowel of the oblique root as it does in the modern language; rather, this V was added at a time in the language when the oblique roots were:

	<i>singular</i>		<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st person	ʃaw-	<i>inclusive</i>	lay-	bu-
		<i>exclusive</i>	na-	na-
2nd person	gyu-		ɸyu-	ɸwa-
3rd person	nyu-		lwa-	lwa-

Synchronically, we cannot really recognise roots as abstract as these, though they can be justified on diachronic grounds.

The only irregular forms, which do not fit into the historical pattern presented above, are the modern first and second person singular accusative forms *ŋaŋi* and *ŋaŋa* respectively.

### 3.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are evidently only two demonstratives in Anguthimri. These are:

d <sup>r</sup> uʔa	'proximate' i.e. 'this', 'here'
gaw	'distant' i.e. 'that', 'there'.

Their inflectional paradigm is in Table 3.3. This is for the most part regular, with the following exceptions:

- (i) The allative/locative of d<sup>r</sup>uʔa is d<sup>r</sup>uʔana rather than \*d<sup>r</sup>uʔaŋa.
- (ii) The genitive of gaw is gawrama rather than \*gawmɸu.

TABLE 3.3 - *Inflection of demonstratives*

Absolutive	Proximate d <sup>r</sup> u?a	Distant gaw
Ergative/Instrumental	d <sup>r</sup> u?aʒa	gagu
Genitive	d <sup>r</sup> u?ayamɕa	gawrama
Dative	d <sup>r</sup> u?aka	gawku
Allative/Locative	d <sup>r</sup> u?ana	gawŋu
Ablative	d <sup>r</sup> u?ama	gawmu
Desiderative	d <sup>r</sup> u?akaga:	gawkuɕa:

## 3.5 INTERROGATIVES

The interrogative pronouns are:

?ani	'who'
ræyi	'what'
d <sup>r</sup> amanama	'when'
d <sup>r</sup> a	'where'

All of these, except d<sup>r</sup>amanama 'when', inflect for case, as shown in Table 3.4. These paradigms are only partly regular. The root ?æ- is used in association with the pronominal markers of oblique cases as set out in 3.3, but with irregular S and ergative-instrumental forms. The root of 'what' seems to be ræ-, with somewhat idiosyncratic inflectional behaviour. The interrogative of place has the root d<sup>r</sup>a-, but the locative suffix is -ŋu (presumably to distinguish it from the allative -ŋa).

Note that the interrogative forms can also be used indefinitely, e.g.

- (35) aŋu gyunu ræyi tʒwa-tʒa  
 I-A you-DAT something-O tell-FUT  
 I will tell you something.

## 3.6 VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.6.1 TRANSITIVITY. Verbs in Anguthimri are always clearly either transitive or intransitive, though there are derivational means of changing transitivity. An intransitive verb has a nominal subject in the absolutive case or a pronominal subject in the nominative case, while a transitive verb has a nominal subject in the ergative case or a pronominal subject in the nominative case and an object which, if nominal, is usually marked as being absolutive, but which, if pronominal, is marked for accusativity.

A breakdown of the lexicon for verbal transitivity (out of a total verb corpus of 97 items) is:

Transitive	56 = 58%
Intransitive	41 = 42%

TABLE 3.4 - *Inflections of interrogatives*

	'who'		'what'		'where'
S	ʔani	}			-
O	ʔæŋi		ræyi		
Ergative/Instrumental	ʔayi		ræri		-
Genitive	ʔæŋi		-		-
Allative	ʔæŋi		-		dʳaŋa
Locative	ʔæŋi		-		dʳaŋu
Ablative	ʔæmi		-		dʳama
Desiderative	ʔægija:		ræyi:		-

3.6.2 CONJUGATION. Anguthimri verbs are all assigned membership in one of four conjugational classes, each of which has two sub-classes. There is a significant number of irregular and partly irregular verbs which lie outside the four regular conjugations. A brief summary of the regular conjugation system is given in Table 3.5.

There are some obvious similarities to Hale's Linngithigh verbal paradigms (Hale 1966). Anguthimri paradigm I obviously corresponds to 4 in Linngithigh and Anguthimri IV to Linngithigh 1. The Anguthimri suffixes have obviously undergone final vowel deletion as have the Linngithigh suffixes, but the Anguthimri forms have subsequently added an echo-vowel (see 2.5).

A more detailed discussion of each of the conjugations follows.

(a) *Conjugation I*. It can be seen from Table 3.5 that there are two sub-conjugations, differentiated only by the form of the vowel of the suffix. In the (a) subclass, the suffixal vowel is V (i.e. takes its quality from the preceding stem vowel; see 2.4.2), while in the (b) subclass, the vowel is u/ü.

There are some morphophonemic changes that are brought about by the  $\gamma$  segment in the future tense of this conjugation (and in fact by any  $\gamma$  of any suffix in Anguthimri). These changes are:

(i) a stem final a or u, when followed by  $\gamma$ , is optionally assimilated towards the  $\gamma$  in place of articulation. Thus, a optionally becomes æ and u optionally becomes ü, giving rise to the following kinds of variation in the future forms: ya~yæ 'will give', ʔa~ʔæ 'will split', ʔyu~ʔyü 'will spear', pu~pü 'will kick'.

(ii) a suffixal a or u obligatorily shifts to æ or ü, and optionally then shifts further to e or i respectively, following the  $\gamma$ . This rule is the only source in Anguthimri for word final æ and ü.

(iii) in the future tense forms, phonetic sequences of æyæ (from underlying a+ya) optionally reduce to become æy~æ~e (in free variation). Thus, from a future form dʳa~ya 'leave-FUT', we can derive the possible surface forms: dʳayæ~dʳaye~dʳæyæ~dʳæye~dʳæy~dʳæ~dʳe. The result in some of these phonetic forms is that future tense is distinguished from the stem

TABLE 3.5 - *Verbal inflections by conjugation*

	Ia	Ib	IIa	IIb	IIIa	IIIb	IVa	IVb
pres.	-nV	-nu	-nV	-nV	(-y)	(-y)	-∅	-∅
past	-yV	-yu						
fut.	-yV	-yü	(-yV)	(-yV)	-yi	-yi	-tV	-tV
imper.	-?V	-?u	-?V	-?V	-?i	-?i	-?V	-?V
consec.	-nVkumu	-nukumu	-nVkumu	-nama	-nikumu	-nama	-nVkumu	-nama

TABLE 3.6 - *Sample Paradigms of conjugation I verbs.*

	present	past	future	imperative	consecutive
1a 'blow'(tr)	zini	ziyi	ziyi	zi?i	zi <sub>n</sub> ikumu
'kick'	nunu	nyu	nyü~nyüi~ nyü~nyüi	nu?u	nu <sub>n</sub> ukumu
1b 'poke'	ganu	gayu	gayü~gayi~ gäyü~gäyi	ga?u	ga <sub>n</sub> ukumu
'rub'	ranu	rayu	rayü~rayi~ räyü~räyi	ra?u	ra <sub>n</sub> ukumu

by vowel ablaut.

A couple of sample paradigms are given in Table 3.6 to illustrate the behaviour of these morphophonemic alternations.

The known membership of conjugation I from the corpus is listed.

There are 15 verb roots in the corpus belonging to conjugation Ia: zi 'blow', bwa 'break', ya 'give, bring', ?i: 'wake', yyu 'spear', ?i: 'see, look at', pu 'do', pu 'throw', kwi: 'have, keep, look after', nu 'kick', a 'pull', ðu 'sew', napu 'swallow', ge?ekeka 'tickle', ?a 'split', ga 'make'. Note that all these are transitive. Just two are known for conjugation Ib (both are transitive): ga 'poke', ra 'wash, rub'.

(b) *Conjugation II*. The forms of the suffixes are identical for the two sub-classes, except in the form of the consecutive suffix - see Table 3.5. Note that in conjugation II there is no distinction between the past and present tenses. Note also that the future tense can be marked by either -yV or -∅. Sample paradigms of conjugation II verbs are given in Table 3.7.

The transitivity breakdown for conjugation II is:

	IIa	IIb	II	Total
transitive	23	3	0	26
intransitive	12	5	1	18

Thus, the membership is predominantly transitive. The third column covers ðitama 'be afraid', whose sub-class is not known.

TABLE 3.7 - Sample paradigms of conjugation II verbs

		non-future	future	imperative	consecutive
IIa	'come out'	pəni	pəya	pəʔa	pəni:kumu
	'dig'	ŋana	ŋayə~ŋəyə~ ŋəy~ŋə~ŋe	ŋaʔa	ŋaŋakumu
IIb	'follow'	ðutunu	ðutuyü	ðutuʔu	ðutunama
	'bend'	rumunu	rumuyü	rumuʔu	rumunama

TABLE 3.8 - Sample paradigms of conjugation III verbs

		past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
IIIa	'kill'	bwi:ni	bwi	bwi:yi	bwi:ʔi	bwi:ŋikumu
	'cover'	ʔani	ʔay	ʔayi	ʔaʔi	ʔaŋikumu
IIIb	'hit'	riŋini	riŋi	riŋiyi	riŋiʔi	riŋinama
	'reciprocal'	-pɕini	-pɕi	-pɕiyi	-pɕiʔi	-pɕinama

The known membership of class IIa is: ŋa 'dig', kaŋaŋa 'find', -geŋa 'causative', pə 'come out', karagwa 'crawl', ʔama 'jump', gəʔama 'laugh', dʔa 'leave, put down', ʔwaðaga 'wash', ʔə 'push, send, move', pɕa 'rub, wash', winiga 'scratch', riŋiga 'smash', gə 'ask', twiniga 'bash', bwəni 'break(intr)', ʔa 'stand'; 'bite'; 'burn/cook'; 'tie', ðə:pa 'bury', dwa 'catch', bɕiŋi 'dirty', ŋwiʔa 'pour out, empty', paʔa 'fix, make', ʔwarama 'float', ðwata 'flow down', ʔwaka 'heap up', ʔiyiga 'smash', aŋima 'suffer', luluma 'swell up', lay 'carry', aɕu 'bark', ʔabə 'chase', gawri 'look for'. Known members of IIb are: maʔaʔaŋa 'lift up', -i 'reflexive', ðwimi 'tell lies', dʔaʔi 'lie down', rumu 'bend down', ðutu 'follow', ʔi:ni 'go down', yumu 'cook in ashes'.

(c) *Conjugation III*. The only difference between the two sub-classes is once again the form of the consecutive suffix. Note that as word-final sequences of iy are prohibited in Anguthimri, i final stems do not change in the present tense. Sample paradigms are given in Table 3.8.

The transitivity breakdown for conjugation III is:

	IIIa	IIIb	III	Total
transitive	6	1	0	7
intransitive	2	4	2	8

The third column covers ðadi 'burn' and dʔadaʔa 'live, lie down', whose sub-class is not known.

The attested membership of IIIa is: ɕi: 'fall', bwi: 'kill', ɕi 'suck', ɕi: 'light fire', ʔa 'cover', mə 'get up, wake up', ma 'hear, listen to', ʔi: 'see, look at'. Members of IIIb are riŋi 'hit, punch', waʔi 'dive', pwe: 'go in', -pɕi 'reciprocal', bɕiŋi-bɕiŋi 'be noisy'.

(d) *Conjugation IV*. The only difference between the two sub-classes is again in the form of the consecutive suffix. This conjugation is illustrated by paradigms in Table 3.9.

TABLE 3.9 - *Sample paradigms of conjugation IV verbs*

	past	pres.	future	imper.	consecutive
IVa 'stand'	ḡaramana	ḡarama	ḡaramaṭa	ḡaramaʔa	ḡaramaḡekumu
'go walkabout'	læni	læ	læṭi	læʔi	læḡikumu
IVb 'bend over'	rumunu	rumu	rumuṭu	rumuʔu	rumuḡama

TABLE 3.10 - *Fully irregular verbs*

	past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
'say'	ṭiṭi-ṭwi:ni	ṭæṭa-ṭwi	ṭoye	ṭwi	ṭwanakumu
'sit'	rāna	geṭa	gya	rē	rāḡakumu
'cry'	wimṭirāna	wimṭigeṭa	wimṭigyā	wimṭirē	wimṭirāḡakumu

The transitivity breakdown for conjugation IV is:

	IVa	IVb	Total
transitive	2	0	2
intransitive	4	1	5

Although attested membership is small, this is a predominantly intransitive conjugation. The known membership of IVa is ḡarama 'stand', ṡwagaṭa 'swim', læ 'go walkabout', ga 'peel', bṡeʔeṡa 'play', ṭwa 'tell'. The only root attested for IVb is rumu 'bend over'.

3.6.3 VERBAL IRREGULARITIES. The Anguthimri corpus contains just over a dozen verbs with partly or completely irregular conjugations. There are three completely irregular verbs, set out in Table 3.10. The remaining eleven irregular verbs can be related to the already established conjugations. There is one set of four verbs, set out in Table 3.11, which are identical to conjugation I verbs except for the form of the present, which is not formed by suffixing -nV. There is a further irregular set of verbs containing seven members, which take conjugation IV suffixes, but show irregularity in the forms of the roots. They are given in Table 3.12.

3.6.4. INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES. Anguthimri has three basic tense distinctions. The *present* refers to events occurring now (though not continuously) and also expresses the existential:

(36) tṛya lanu-ḡu geṭa  
shark-S sea-LOC sit-PRES  
Sharks live in the sea.

(37) ṡay dṛuʔa ḡwata-na  
rain-S this flow down-NON-FUT  
It is raining (now)

The *past* tense suffix refers to events that have already

TABLE 3.11 - Irregular verbs relating to Conjugation I

	past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
'pick up'	pɔana	pɔeɔe	pɔaya	pɔaʔa	pɔaŋakumu
'eat, drink'	gwana	gwapɔa	gwaya	gwaʔa	gwaŋakumu
'cut, chop'	ʔwana	ʔweʔe	ʔwaya	ʔwaʔa	ʔwaŋakumu
'shout'	gæni	gægi	gæya	gæʔa	gæŋikumu

TABLE 3.12 - Irregular verbs relating to Conjugation IV

	past	present	future	imperative	consecutive
'run'	ʔaʔaʔi:ni	ʔaʔaʔeɔa	ʔaʔaʔaʔa	ʔaʔaʔiʔi	ʔaʔaʔiŋikumu
'inchoative'	-ɔeni	-ɔeni	-ɔanaʔa	-ɔenaʔa	-ɔaŋakumu
'vomit'	zenini	zeni	zænaʔa	zeniʔi	zæŋikumu
'dance'	mwimi	mwi	mwamaʔa	mwamaʔa	mwamaŋama
'climb'	banini	bana	bananaʔa	baniʔi	bananaŋama
'go come'	aŋini	aŋa	aŋaʔa	aŋiʔi	aŋanaŋama
'die'	βwi:ni	βwi	βwaʔa	βwiʔi	βwaŋakumu

happened and which are now completed, or events which began in the past and are finishing in the present. Thus, the inchoative verbaliser with a past suffix often refers to a present state since the change of state began in the past but is now completed, e.g.

(38) lu d<sup>r</sup>uʔa yegɪ d<sup>r</sup>e:ni-ɔeni-ni  
 he-S this wind-S different-INCH-PAST  
 The wind has changed (= is now different).

(39) lu d<sup>r</sup>uʔa t<sup>r</sup>alawati-ɔeni-ni  
 he-S this red-INCH-PAST  
 He has turned red (= is now red).

Note that with conjugation II verbs, the distinction between present and past is merged into a general non-future.

The *future* suffix refers to an unbegun or uncompleted event, i.e. a state can have begun changing, but not yet be changed, e.g.

(40) d<sup>r</sup>u t<sup>r</sup>alawati-gana-ʔa  
 you-S red-INCH-FUT  
 You will be red (but are not yet red, though you have begun to change).

Imperative inflection is discussed in 4.6 and consecutive in 4.5.

3.6.5 VERBAL DERIVATION. Anguthimri has the following suffixes that derive verbs from other verbs or other parts of speech:

- ɔena causative (Adjective→Transitive verb)
- ɔeni inchoative (Adjective→Intransitive verb)
- ʔi reflexive (Transitive→Intransitive verb)



-pɕi reciprocal/anti-passive (Transitive→Intransitive verb)

Further discussion of these derivational suffixes and their syntactic function is in 4.2 and 4.3.

Verbal reduplication also plays a role in the derivational morphology of Anguthimri. The semantic effect of reduplication can be:

(i) Lack of intensity (and possibly also, repeated action),

riŋi 'hit', riŋi-riŋi 'pat (e.g. dog)'

(ii) Continuity, e.g.

gwa 'eat', gwa-gwa 'keep eating'

Note that when verbs are reduplicated in Anguthimri, either just the root or else the entire root + suffix can be repeated.

## 4. SYNTAX

### 4.1 CONSTITUENTS AND CONSTITUENT ORDER

The main constituents in any Anguthimri sentence are:

NP (noun phrase)  
VP (verb phrase)  
COMP (complement)

There are also minor constituents such as TIME, PLACE, etc, which occur only occasionally.

A noun phrase will always have either a noun or a pronoun as its head; this is marked for case according to its function in the sentence. Either of these can be optionally followed by a demonstrative, either d<sup>r</sup>u?a 'proximate' ('this') or gaw 'distant' ('that'), and in the case of nouns, but not of pronouns, also an adjective. The following adjective or demonstrative never inflects for case unless the noun or pronoun is deleted by ellipsis; if this has happened the full responsibility for marking case must then fall on this secondary NP constituent. Thus, we might get:

(41) lu ɲaŋi ku-gu d<sup>r</sup>u?a riŋi-ni  
he-A I-O stick-INST this hit-PAST  
He hit me with this stick.

but

(42) lu ɲaŋi d<sup>r</sup>u?a-ta riŋi-ni  
he-A I-O this-INST hit-PAST  
He hit me with this [stick].

A noun in subject position (i.e. in A or S function) can be preceded by a pronoun, apparently functioning as some kind of deictic, e.g.

(43) d<sup>r</sup>u ruɕi wi aŋi  
you-S child-S this way go-IMP  
Come here child!

- (44) lu ma-ra ?wa kwa-ra pu-yu  
 he-A man-ERG dog-O foot-INST kick-PAST  
 The man kicked the dog with his foot.

A verb phrase has only ever been found to consist of a single lexical verb and nothing more. The complement constituent can consist of an NP (as already described) or of an S (i.e. an embedded sentence, see 4.5).

As far as ordering of constituents is concerned, Anguthimri is basically an S-O-V language, i.e. the first constituent of a sentence will normally be the subject (the S or A noun phrase) and if there is an object, it comes second, with the verb last. This kind of ordering is exemplified by:

- (45) ?wa-ra yama-na ʔa-na  
 dog-A child-O bite-PAST  
 The dog bit the child.

- (46) lu aŋi-ni  
 3sg-NOM go-PAST  
 He went.

Also, a complement constituent, if it is an NP, generally immediately precedes the verb (though an S complement will follow it; see 4.5). Thus, we might find:

- (47) ?wa-ra bwa?a ba-gu ʔa-na  
 dog-A meat-O teeth-INST bite-PAST  
 The dog bit the meat with his teeth.

- (48) d<sup>r</sup>u ku-mu wi aŋi-?i  
 2sg-NOM tree-ABL this way come-IMP  
 Come away from the tree.

In any transitive sentence where discourse provides details of the participants, either the ergative NP or the absolutive NP can be deleted (though not both). Thus, the corpus contains sentences such as:

- (49) aŋu kayi yyu-yü  
 2sg-NOM later on spear-FUT  
 I will spear [e.g. a wallaby] later on.

- (50) bwa?a gaw d<sup>r</sup>a-na  
 meat-O that leave-PAST  
 [He] left the meat there.

It should be noted however, that the S-O-Complement-V order is not rigidly fixed in Anguthimri and deviations do occur, albeit rather infrequently. Generally, however, it is the verb and the object that change position. The subject tends to stay at the beginning of the sentence. Also, a complement NP might go after the verb or between the subject and object of the sentence.

## 4.2 WORD LEVEL DERIVATIONS

In 3.6.5 mention was made of the existence of mechanisms in Anguthimri for creating verbs out of other parts of speech. The two verbalisers are:

- geṅa *transitive verbaliser*  
 -geni *intransitive verbaliser*

These can be added to adjectives, nouns, place constituents and even inflected nouns. The transitive verbaliser -geṅa has a causative meaning 'to cause X to become Y' if the kernel sentence is of the form 'X is Y'. Thus, we can have an underlying adjective in:

- (51) aṅu tʰalawati  
 I-S red  
 I am red.

which becomes a transitive verb in:

- (52) ṅwa-ga ṅṅi tʰalawati-geṅa-na  
 sun-ERG I-O red-CAUS-PAST  
 The sun has made me turn red.

An example of a causative sentence in which the -geṅa suffix is found on a constituent other than an adjective is:

- (53) lu ma-ra tʰoka kaṅa-ṅa-geṅa-na  
 he-A man-ERG head-O down-LOC-CAUS-PAST  
 The man lowered his head.

which comes from an underlying:

- (54) tʰoka kaṅa-ṅa  
 head-S down-LOC  
 [His] head is lowered (=down).

The intransitive verbaliser -geni can be added to the same kinds of constituents as the transitive verbaliser and the meaning is simply inchoative 'to be/become X', e.g.

- (55) aṅu kayu tʰalawati-ḡeni-ni  
 I-S skin-S red-INCH-PAST  
 My skin has become red (=is red).

which comes from:

- (56) aṅu kayu tʰalawati  
 I-S skin-S red  
 My skin is red.

and also:

- (57) lu ma yunu-ḡeni-ni  
 he-S man-S there-INCH-PAST  
 The man went a long way away.
- (58) lu ma kaṅa-ṅa-ḡeni-ni  
 he-S man-S down-LOC-INCH-PAST  
 The man went down.

#### 4.3 SENTENCE TRANSITIVITY

Mention was also made in 3.6.5 of two derivational affixes that can change the transitivity of a verb. Normally, every lexical verb must be described as being either transitive or intransitive, and to change transitivity one must use a derivational affix, except for the single verb:

bwa 'break transitive'  
 bwæni 'break intransitive'

which has two clearly related root forms differing in transitivity.

There are two derivational means of changing the transitivity of a sentence in Anguthimri.

(a) The *reflexive* suffix to a verb in Anguthimri is -t̥i (and all reflexive verbs belong to conjugation IIa). From an underlying sentence of the form:

NP<sub>A</sub> NP<sub>O</sub> V

where NP<sub>A</sub> and NP<sub>O</sub> are marked in some way as being coreferential, the reflexive transformation applies to derive a sentence of the form:

NP<sub>S</sub> V-t̥i

Thus, we might find the verb ?a 'cover' in a transitive sentence of the form:

- (59) aŋu pwi ?a-ni  
 I-A bone-O cover-PAST  
 I covered over the bones.

Undergoing the reflexive transformation, ?a can also occur intransitively in a sentence such as:

- (60) aŋu ?a-t̥i-ni  
 I-S cover-REFL-PAST  
 I covered myself over.

(b) *Reciprocal*. Transitive sentences with a plural subject and a coreferential object, and a verb indicating that the participants acted on each other, undergo the reciprocal transformation, in which the verb takes the suffix -p̥ci (which puts the verb into conjugation IIIb). Thus, to a transitive sentence of similar structure to (15) we can relate a sentence such as:

- (61) am̥ca ?wa bwi:-p̥ci-ni  
 they-S dog-S kill-RECIP-PAST  
 The dogs killed one another.

(c) *False reciprocal*. The corpus contains sentences such as:

- (62) kwe?e bwa-p̥ci-ni  
 spear-S break-RECIP-PAST  
 The spear broke.
- (63) ku t̥a-p̥ci-ni  
 log-S split-RECIP-PAST  
 The log split.

Here the reciprocal suffix -p̥ci causes the sentence to change its transitivity, with the ergative NP becoming absolutive, yet the verb does not carry the reciprocal meaning. It is clearly impossible to interpret these sentences as 'the spears broke each other' and 'the logs split each other'.

This is a type of antipassive construction, but it does not parallel the antipassive in a number of other Australian

languages (e.g. Dyirbal, Bandjalang) where a verb with a false reciprocal (or false reflexive) suffix can have a patient, usually in some oblique case (say, dative or locative). The corpus contains no occurrences of sentences similar to (62) or (63) with an underlying accusative that has become some oblique case.

#### 4.4 POSSESSION.

The morphology of alienable possession was outlined in 3.2.1. It was pointed out that the possessor noun is marked by a suffix, either *-m̩ʃa*, *-nam̩ʃa* or *-yam̩ʃa*. This process is generally reserved for situations of alienable possession. Where the possessor NP is in a non-zero case inflection, the genitive NP can agree with it. The morphology of non-zero case-marking on genitive NPs is quite regular. Thus:

- (64) *lu waʃayi-yam̩ʃa-ma paʔa-ma pæ-ni*  
 he-S old man-GEN-ABL canoe-ABL come out-PAST  
 He got out of the old man's canoe.

Inalienable possession can be indicated in the same way, but it seems to be generally indicated by apposition without suffixation. Things that are regarded as inalienably possessed in Anguthimri are:

- (i) Parts of the body: *aŋu kaʃu* 'my skin'  
                                   I skin
- (ii) Kin: *aŋu ruʔi* 'my grandson'  
           I grandson  
           *lu naʔi* 'his father'  
           he father
- (iii) Parts of some kind or whole: *ʔuʔu ʔya* 'leg hair'  
   leg hair  
           *dʔya mwɪŋi* 'sore on an arm'  
           arm sore  
           *gaʔu ŋa* 'beard'  
           chin beard

When inalienably possessed NP's occur in non-zero case-frames, the case suffixes follow the last item.

#### 4.5 COMPLEX SENTENCES

In 3.6, the paradigms listed include a 'consecutive' suffix of the form *-n̩ama*, *-n̩vkumu*, *-n̩ukumu* or *-n̩ikumu*, according to conjugation and sub-conjugation membership. In form, most of these variants (i.e. the *-n̩vkumu*, *-n̩ikumu* or *-n̩ukumu*) are probably originally purposives. The *-nu* is the nominaliser found in other Northern Paman languages such as Lingi-thigh and the Northern Peninsula group, and the *-ku* is clearly the common Australian dative. Only the *-mu* syllable cannot be explained at this stage. However, although his-

torically only a purposive, this suffix now carries a much wider range of functions; it generally indicates simply sentence subordination and sentence coordination of various types. It also occurs in simple sentences such as the following, but with a desiderative reading:

- (65) aŋu gwa-ŋakumu  
I-A eat-CONSEC  
I want to eat (something).

In complex sentences, this suffix expresses the following ideas:

(i) *Purposive*. The presumed historically original meaning of the suffix is maintained in Anguthimri. The verb of the sentence acting as a purpose complement is marked by the consecutive suffix. If there is a common NP, it may be deletable under some identity conditions; however, there is no need for there to be a common NP, e.g.

- (66) lu ku ?wa-na ʔa-ŋakumu  
he-A wood-O cut-PAST burn-CONSEC  
He cut the wood for burning.
- (67) lu ma gəgi amça ruçi garu aŋi-ŋama  
he-S man-S shout-PRES they-S child-S there go-CONSEC  
The old man is shouting for the children to go away.

(ii) *Symmetric conjunction*. The suffixes above have also developed another function in Anguthimri, that of expressing 'and then' constructions. Symmetric conjunction is a possible structure for (67) where two readings would be possible, i.e. the one given, and also 'The old man is shouting, and the children ran away [after that]'. The sentence below is an example where a purposive reading is unlikely, and a conjunctive reading is to be preferred:

- (68) lu ʔwe læ-ni aɟima-ŋakumu  
he-S too much walkabout-PAST suffer-CONSEC  
He walked about too much and is now suffering.

#### 4.6 IMPERATIVES

To express a positive imperative, the second person pronouns (i.e. dʔu 'sg'; pi 'dl'; ʔe:ye 'pl') are used with the verb following with the imperative inflection (as presented in 3.6.2), e.g.

- (69) dʔu ɲa yumu-ʔu  
you-A fish-O cook in ashes-IMP  
Cook that fish in the ashes!
- (70) pi ɲarama-ʔa  
you-S stand-IMP  
You two stand up!

To express the negative imperative, i.e. the prohibitive, the particle yuyu is placed before the verb:

- (71) dʔu yuyu βi:ni-ʔi  
you-S PROHIB go down-IMP  
Don't go down (there)!

## 4.7 PARTICLES AND INTERJECTIONS

Those known are:

ge?e	'no'	garu	'that way'
yuyu	'don't'	βaw	'cheerio'
kati?i	'perhaps'	βama	'again'
wi	'this way'		

## VOCABULARY

## ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

Below is presented an alphabetical listing of words recorded from Mr. Don Fletcher of New Mapoon, the consultant for this study. The list is exhaustive for the corpus that was assembled. (It should be pointed out at this stage that no textual material can be presented for this language. The sketch grammar that has been written is based entirely on elicited data, as the speaker no longer uses the language, and his degree of fluency was such that he did not feel competent to speak spontaneously into a tape recorder in the form of a monologue.) The alphabetical order that is chosen for this wordlist is as follows:

a, ə, b, d, d̥, d̥, d̥, d̥, ð, e, g, γ, i, k, ʔ, l, m, n, ŋ, ŋ, ŋ, o,  
 ö, p, r, ʃ, s, ʃ, t, t̥, t̥, t̥, u, ü, β, w, γ, ʒ

with long vowels being ordered after short vowels, and nasal vowels after oral vowels.

The abbreviations employed are as follows:

N	noun	T	time
ADJ	adjective	tr	transitive
PART	particle	intr	intransitive
INT	interjection	irr	irregular
LOC	locational		

Details of conjugation membership and transitivity are given for each verb. Where the ergative declension (I, II and III) and/or the genitive declension (A or B) of a noun is known, this information is also given. Note that there are a few examples of a root being recorded with allomorphs from two different conjugations, or two different declensions.

a, Vtr (Ia): pull	arana, N: toenail, fingernail
adi, N: ritual scar	aɽu, Vintr(IIa): bark
aɽiki, N(II): moon	awɽilɑɽi, N: eldest sister
aɽiki, ADJ: yellow	awɽipwa, N: middle sister
aɽiti, N: wrinkle	ay, N: vegetable food
aɽima, Vintr(IIa): suffer	
anu, N: hip	ba, N: island
aɽa, Vintr(irr): go, come	baya, N: bag, marsupial's pouch
aɽukwiɽi, N: mother's brother	bana, Vintr(irr): climb
aɽurud̥i, N: my grandchild	banu, N: wattle species
aɽuɽa, N: daughter	barana, N: carpet snake

baŋi, LOC: up  
 baw, N(I): tooth  
 bay, N: barracouta  
 ba:nu, N: wild cucumber, grape  
 bi:ni(pwa), ADJ: short  
 bɔadʔa, T: long time ago  
 bɔaŋa, N(II,III;B): husband  
 bɔeʔeŋa, Vintr(IVa): play  
 bɔeŋi, N: beach  
 bɔi, N(I): mud, red paint  
 bɔiŋi, Vintr(IIa): be dirty  
 bɔiŋi-bɔiŋi, Vintr(IIIb): be noisy  
 bɔuyi, T: night  
 bɔuyi-bɔuyi, T: afternoon  
 buʔu, N(III;B): ghost  
 buʔu-ge, N: clever man  
 bũyu, N: scorpion  
 bũwutu, N: large crab species  
 bwa, Vtr(Ia): break  
 bwaʔa, N(III): meat, flesh  
 bwana, N: bream  
 bwaraka, N: Torres Strait pigeon  
 bwani, Vintr(IIa): break  
 bwini, Vtr(IIIa): kill  
 bwini, N: back

dadi, ADJ: fast  
 dimigiŋi, N: water goanna  
 duðu, N: word  
 dupɔiyi, N(A): old lady  
 duru, N: four-prong spear  
 duwiði, N: name  
 du:lu, N: garfish  
 du:nu, N: small whiting  
 dwaya, N: beach  
 dwakwabaŋi, N: salmon  
 dwiri, N: sugarbag bee

ga, N: chips of wood, splinter  
 gaɣu, N: testicles  
 gaʔa, N: grass  
 ga:ʔamana, N: sap  
 ga:wai, ADJ: greedy  
 ge:ni, N(III;B): wasp  
 gi, N: smooth-bark tea tree  
 gi, Vtr(IIIa): suck  
 giŋi, N: New Guinea sago  
 guɔi, N: kingfisher  
 gwa, N: eye  
 gwa-pawa, N: eyeball  
 gwa-pay, N: eyebrow  
 gwa, Vtr(IIa): catch  
 gwaladi, N(II;A): wild dog  
 gwiʔi, N: buttocks  
 gwimi, N: string  
 gwini, N: vine  
 ga, N: ground  
 ge, Vtr(Ia): make

ga:tini, N: reef  
 ge, ADJ: good  
 geɔi, N: whitebark tree in mangrove  
 gi:, Vintr(IIIa): fall  
 gi:, Vtr(IIIa): light fire  
 guʔu, N: breast, milk, lump on tree  
 dʔa, Vtr(IIa): leave, put down  
 dʔadaŋa, Vintr(III): live, lie down  
 dʔaŋi, N(II): current, tide  
 dʔaŋi, Vintr(IIb): lie down  
 dʔe:bɔi, N: umbrella palm  
 dʔe:gwati, N: trevally  
 dʔe:mɔi, N: outrigger, shirt  
 dʔe:ni, ADJ: different  
 dʔe:ŋimɔi, N: shirt  
 dʔi, N: throat  
 dʔi:giŋi, ADJ: sweet  
 dʔwaʔara, T: today, daytime  
 dʔwala, N: long-tom  
 dʔwamɔa, N(III;B): woman  
 dʔwanga, N(II,III;B): wife  
 dʔwe, N: shell  
 dʔwili, N: broilga  
 dʔya, N: wing, arm

ðawŋiki, N: white kangaroo  
 ðay, N(I,II): mother  
 ðaymɔi, ADJ: hungry  
 ðadi, Vintr(III): burn  
 ðæ:na, Vtr(IIa): bury  
 ðitama, Vintr(II): be afraid  
 ðu, Vtr(Ia): sew  
 ðuʔu, N: yamstick  
 ðurupu, ADJ: small  
 ðutu, Vtr(IIb): follow  
 ðwata, Vintr(IIa): flow down  
 ðwimi, Vintr(IIb): tell lies  
 ðwiŋi, ADJ(II;B): two

ga, N(I): mouth  
 ga, Vtr(Ib): poke  
 ga, Vtr(IVa): peel  
 gaʔaga, N(II;A): kookaburra  
 gaʔu, N: chin  
 gaʔu-ŋa, N: beard  
 gamaraŋu, N: pannikin  
 gapɔa, ADJ: bad  
 garu, PART: that way  
 garuʔana, N: spear type  
 gaɔaka, N: star  
 gatʔali, ADJ: sour  
 gawðayi, N: crocodile  
 gawri, Vtr(IIa): look for  
 gæ, Vtr(IIa): ask  
 gægi, Vintr(irr): shout  
 gæʔama, Vintr(IIa): laugh  
 gedŋana, N: emu  
 geʔe, INT: no



- geʔekeka, Vtr(Ia): tickle  
 geɕa, Vintr(irr): sit  
 goy, N(II;A): buck wallaby  
 gu, N: knee  
 guwana, N: curlew  
 gu:nu, ADJ: heavy  
 gwappa, Vtr(irr): eat, drink  
 gwaɕa, LOC: north  
 gwe:ni, N: lily  
 gwunu, N: ankle, knuckle  
 gya, N: native cat  
  
 yaɣu, N: messmate tree  
 yama, N(III;B): taro, wild  
     cucumber, child  
 yara, N: large cabbage tree  
 yaɕu, N: bloodwood  
 yay, N: rain  
 yeɕi, N: snake (generic)  
 yunu, LOC: distant  
 yurupiɕi, ADJ: tall  
 ywa, N(I): sand  
 ywa-pay, N: sandhill  
 ywagaɕa, Vintr(IVa): swim  
 ywaʔaɕi, N: small crab species  
 ywini, N: coughing, breathing  
 yyaŋa, N(III): axe  
 yyu, Vtr(Ia): spear  
 yyüdi, N: scrub, dry forest  
  
 iɕi, N: loya cane  
 iyí, N: termite mound, snapper  
 iyiti, ADJ: brown  
  
 kaɕaka, N: oyster  
 kaɕi, N: black ibis  
 kaɣu, N: skin  
 kaɣu rimi-rimi, ADJ: jealous  
 kaɣu-ge, N: palm of hand  
 kaɣupaɕaɕi, N: coconut palm  
 kaɣu-βwaɕi, N: mixed race person  
 kaɣu-we:ye, N: muscle  
 kali, N: hole  
 kalipwa, N: gully  
 kama, N: gum species  
 kaŋaŋa, Vtr(IIa): find  
 karagwa, Vintr(IIa): crawl  
 karuku, N: beer  
 karupu, N: buck red kangaroo  
 kaɕa, LOC: down  
 katiʔi, PART: perhaps  
 katiʔi, T: soon  
 kaɕi(ni), ADJ: deep  
 kaw, N: lice  
 kayi-kayi, T: later on  
 kerimi, ADJ: clean, shiny  
 killi, N: king parrot  
  
 kiri-kiri, N: wood duck  
 kiɕi, N(III): knife  
 köyɣi, N: lefthand side  
 ku, N(I): tree, wood, stick  
 kubu, N: blackfruit  
 kuku, N: mother's father, father's  
     sister  
 kukulæ:ye, N: Islander  
 kukuɕaɕi, N: scrub hen  
 kumala, N: sweet potato  
 kumugini, N: woodpecker  
 kunu, T: now  
 kutɕaka, N: fighting stick  
 kuwati, N: grub  
 kwabi, N: quandong  
 kwaɕaʔa, N: crane  
 kwana, N: nape of neck  
 kwe, N(II): foot  
 kwe-räya, N: footprint  
 kweʔe, N(II): straight spear  
 kwiʔiɕi, N: long yam  
 kwiniɣi, N: possum  
 kwini:ɣi, N: cassowary  
 kwi:, Vtr(Ia): have, keep, look after  
 kwi:ɣi, N: eldest sister  
 kwumɕu, N: wrist  
 kyabara, N(I;A): alligator  
  
 ʔa, N(I): hand  
 ʔa, Vtr(IIIa): cover  
 ʔi:, Vtr(Ia): wake  
 ʔunuwana, N: blister  
 ʔwa, N(II;B): tame dog  
 ʔwapwa, N: pup  
 ʔweʔe, Vtr(irr): cut, chop  
 ʔwi:ni, N: chest, rib  
 ʔya, N: hair  
 ʔya-gwa-pay, N: eyelashes  
 ʔya:na, N: twigs  
 ʔyucu, N: white gum  
  
 la, N: wattle species, black snake  
 laɕi, N: marrow  
 laɕi, N(III;A): girl  
 laɕu, N: hawk  
 laga-laga, N: leg corroboree  
 laya, N: lizard (generic)  
 layu, N: jaw, cheek, temple  
 layubɕeɕi, N: white cockatoo  
 lali, N: harpoon  
 lamalaɕi, N: stranger  
 lana, N: tongue  
 lanu, N: sea  
 laɕimi, ADJ: alive  
 lay, Vtr(IIa): carry  
 la:gaʔa, N: death adder  
 læ, Vintr(IVa): go walkabout

lædi, N: grass-tree  
 læ:ya, N: fork in tree  
 lu?u, N: mangrove  
 luluma, VINTR(IIa): swell up  
 lwaga, N(II): sickness  
 lwagati, N: kingfish  
 lwagaɬimçi, ADJ: sick  
 lwe, N: lake  
 lwi:yi, ADJ: angry  
  
 ma, N(II;B): man  
 ma, VTR(IIIa): hear, listen to  
 maya, N: small brown snake  
 mayu, N: armpit  
 mayu?i:ni, N: saltwater mullet  
 mayunu, N: lips  
 ma?aɬana, VTR(IIb): lift up  
 ma?æni, N(A): father's brother,  
 elder brother  
 malyari, N: corroboree (generic)  
 mamaliɬi, N: message stick  
 marapi, N: bamboo  
 maru, N: queenfish  
 maruku, N: horse  
 mawkwiyi, N: countryman  
 mayi, N: father's father  
 mæ, VINTR(IIIa): get up, wake up  
 miɬi, N: club, spear thrower  
 mɬæpaɬi, N: land goanna  
 mɬæti, N: black duck  
 mçiɬiki, ADJ(II): many  
 mu, N: buttocks  
 mu?u?u, N: firestick  
 muruɬi, N: fish (generic)  
 mutu-mutu, N: anthole  
 muɬiɬi, N: white ibis  
 muwã, N: fin  
 muwi, N: fig-tree  
 mwa, N: fire  
 mwa-rwi?i, N: hot coals  
 mwɬi, VINTR(IRR): dance  
 mwɬini, N: sore  
 myúyu, N: short yam

nabu, N: tree sp. in mangrove  
 nama, N: rough-bark tea tree  
 namaraŋu, N: frying-pan  
 napu, VTR(Ia): swallow  
 natabani, N: sweat  
 natimi, ADJ: tired  
 naɬi, N(III;B): father  
 ni, N: place, camp  
 ni:yi, N(A): boy  
 nubuɬi, N: navel  
 nu:nu, N: wild potato  
  
 na, N: fish (generic)

ŋagu, N: fern  
 ŋamweye, N: ironwood  
 ŋarama. VINTR(IVa): stand  
 ŋedi, N: small cabbage tree  
 ŋu, ADJ: different

ŋu, VTR(Ia): kick

ŋa, N: beard, moustache  
 ŋa, VTR(IIa): dig  
 ŋaba, N(III): paddle  
 ŋu, N: clothes  
 ŋu:bwa, ADJ: hot  
 ŋu:lu, N(III;A): mosquito  
 ŋwa, N(I): sun  
 ŋwa?aɬa, N: catfish  
 ŋwaɬi, N: bandicoot  
 ŋwiɬa, VTR(IIa): pour out, empty

paɬiki, T: recently  
 paguru, N: yawn  
 pa?u, N: blue-tongue lizard  
 palawara, N: flower  
 pana, N(A): friend  
 papaɬi, N(I,II,III): stone  
 paɬupaɬaɬi, N: cottonwood  
 paɬa, VTR(IIa): fix, make  
 paɬa, N: canoe  
 paɬa-d'e:mçi, N: outrigger canoe  
 pawa, N: egg  
 pawɬi, ADJ: blunt  
 pay, N: forehead, face  
 pay ŋuwi-ŋuwi, ADJ: ashamed  
 pay-ɬa, N: hillside  
 pa:na, N: riverbank, level  
 pæ, VINTR(IIa): come out  
 pæ?a, N: elbow  
 pemini, N: thunder  
 pimi, ADJ: one  
 pɬa, VTR(IIa): rub, wash  
 pɬaŋa, T: morning  
 pɬeɬe, VTR(IRR): pick up  
 pɬo?a, N(III;A): frog, tadpole  
 pɬu?u, N(III;A): maggot, worm, leech,  
 ghost  
 pɬulu, N: rainy season  
 pu, VTR(Ia): do, throw  
 puɬi(pwa), ADJ: small  
 pu?a, N(III): water  
 pulugiɬi, N: blanket  
 puluku, N: bullock  
 puɬuku, ADJ: hard  
 puɬiki, ADJ(II): many  
 puɬu, N: sailboat  
 puyimi, N: billycan  
 pwa?akwiɬi, N: kangaroo rat  
 pwapu, N: lily species

pwe:, VINTR(IIIb): go in  
 pwe:ke, N: groper  
 pwi, N: bone, seed  
  
 ra, N: stomach  
 ra, Vtr(Ib): wash, rub  
 ragu, N: sandpaper tree, prawn  
 rayu, ADJ: clear  
 rama, ADJ: empty  
 rana, N: sky  
 rana, N: river  
 ranapwa, N: creek  
 ranji, N: bailer shell  
 raw, ADJ: black  
 rāya, N: shade  
 rēye, N: whitefish  
 ri, N: excrement  
 riŋi, Vtr(IIIb): hit, punch  
 riyiga, Vtr(IIa): smash  
 roga, ADJ: grey  
 ruđi, N: grandson  
 rugu, N: bulrushes  
 rugunu, N: file stingray  
 ruluku, N: taipan  
 rumu, N: fish net, side  
 rumu, VINTR(IIb,IVb): bend down  
 rumuprana, N: kidney  
 ruŋi, N(III;A): mother's sister,  
 child  
 rwa, N(I): white paint  
 rwagaŋi, N(II): fishing-line  
 rwamaŋi, N: bamboo pipe  
 rwiŋi, N: charcoal  
 rwili, N: native almond  
  
 ŋama, T: recently  
 ŋa:deye, N: jabiru  
 ŋaŋina, N: honey, grease  
 ŋeŋi, N: crow  
 ŋi, N: nose  
 ŋiđi, N: nasal mucus  
 ŋi puŋuku, ADJ: jealous  
 ŋidi, N: freshwater turtle species  
 ŋi-yuŋuki:yi, N: jabiru, brolga  
 ŋiŋi, N: oak  
  
 səla, N: milkwood species  
  
 ŋiŋi, N: green snake  
 ŋiŋiri, N: culture hero  
  
 tabwa, N: small bee  
 tapiŋi, N: wife's brother  
 tarama, N: drum  
 taŋa, N: road  
 taŋayama, N: wife's brother  
 tiyati, ADJ: soft  
 tini, N: tin

tiri, N: tick  
 ti:ni, N: swamp  
 tugumu, N: cliff  
 tuŋi, N: trochus shell  
 twala, N: plain  
 twinina, Vtr(IIa): bash  
  
 ŋa, VINTR(IIa): stand  
 ŋa, Vtr(IIa): bite, tie, burn/cook  
 ŋabæ, Vtr(IIa): chase  
 ŋabwa, N: younger brother/sister  
 ŋalu, N: shoulder  
 ŋama, N: thumb  
 ŋapi, N: wing  
 ŋarana, N: spotted snake  
 ŋaraŋa, ADJ: cold  
 ŋariti, ADJ: cold  
 ŋata, N: fighting spear  
 ŋæ, Vtr(IIa): push, send, move  
 ŋæŋi, ADJ: blue, green  
 ŋidini, N: wax in ears  
 ŋilini, N: saltwater turtle species  
 ŋimŋiŋi, N: large grasshopper  
 ŋimŋiŋi, N: large grasshopper  
 ŋinipŋeŋe, N: lady apple  
 ŋinipŋi, N: large grasshopper  
 ŋiribwiŋi, N: porcupine  
 ŋitiri, N: willy-wagtail  
 ŋiyiga, Vtr(IIa): smash  
 ŋi:ni, N: spear type, thigh  
 ŋu, N: west  
 ŋudu, N: leaf  
 ŋuŋu, N: leg  
 ŋumu, ADJ: dead  
 ŋwara, N: eagle  
  
 ŋa, N: language, speech, song  
 ŋa, Vtr(Ia): split  
 ŋaya, N: tail  
 ŋakara, N: large whiting  
 ŋaŋaga, N: long-tail stingray  
 ŋaŋaŋeŋa, VINTR(IRR): run  
 ŋama, VINTR(IIa): jump  
 ŋaŋa, Vtr(IRR): say to  
 ŋeŋiyeci, N: burr  
 ŋigiri, N: joey, doe wallaby  
 ŋiti, N: fishhawk  
 ŋi:, Vtr(Ia,IIa): see, look at  
 ŋuyubu, N: tobacco, cigarette  
 ŋumu, ADJ: three  
 ŋwa, Vtr(IVa): tell  
 ŋwađaga, Vtr(IIa): wash  
 ŋwaka, Vtr(IIa): heap up  
 ŋwama, N: hill  
 ŋwana, N: wave  
 ŋwarama, VINTR(IIa): float  
 ŋwe:ye, N: flood  
 ŋwi, Vtr(IRR): say to  
 ŋwiŋina, N: beeswax

tʁaða, N: barramundi  
 tʁalawati, ADJ: red  
 tʁay, N: penis  
 tʁæ:ni, N: green turtle  
 tʁelimi, N: blood  
 tʁoka, N: head  
 tʁokaβaʁi, N: scrub turkey  
 tʁokanwi, N: lagoon  
 tʁoka-tʁoka, N: end  
 tʁu, N: urine  
 tʁya, N(I;A): ant, shark

ubu, N: red gum

βa, PART: back, again  
 βaði, N: intestines  
 βama, PART: back, again  
 βaʁaka, T: long time ago  
 βati, N: righthand side  
 βaʁa, LOC: south  
 βaw, INT: goodbye  
 βi:ni, VINTR(IIb): go down  
 βʁeʁe-βʁeʁe, ADJ: slippery  
 βʁiʔi, N: vagina  
 βüʁu, N: smoke  
 βüyi, N(I): dust,ashes,fog,cloud  
 βwagi, N: milkwood species  
 βwe, N: brains  
 βwe:ni, N: dream  
 βwi, VINTR(IRR): die  
 wa, N: grey hair

waʔa, N(III): ear  
 walapanu, N: hat, dinghy,  
 whaleboat  
 waʁa, N: flat-tail stingray  
 waʁayi, N(III;A): old man  
 waʁi, VINTR(IIIb): dive  
 we, N: owl  
 we:ye, ADJ: big, fat  
 wi, PART: this way  
 wimʁigeʁa, VINTR(IRR): cry  
 winiga, VTR(IIa): scratch  
 winimi, N: spotted stingray  
 wuyulabi, N: frill-neck lizard  
 wunaʁimʁi, T: tomorrow  
 wuʁi, N: house

ya, VTR(IA): give, bring  
 yayara, N: centipede, dragonfly  
 yara, N: seagull  
 yaraʁa, N: small parrot species  
 yeʁi, N(III): wind  
 yeri, N: feather  
 yeti, N: bird (generic)  
 yibaʁi, N: plains turkey  
 yugi, N: loggerhead turtle  
 yumu, VTR(IIb): cook in ashes

zeni, VINTR(IRR): vomit  
 zi, VTR(IA): blow  
 zoʁa, N: fly  
 zuʔu, N: lily species

## VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

### NOUNS

#### *A - Body parts*

tʁoka, head  
 βwe, brains  
 ʔya, hair  
 wa, grey hair  
 pay, forehead, face  
 ɔwa, eye  
 ɔwa-pay, eyebrow  
 ɔwa-pawa, eyeball  
 ʔya-ɔwa-pay, eyelashes  
 ʁi, nose  
 ʁiði, nasal mucus  
 waʔa (III), ear  
 ʁiɔini, wax in ears  
 layu, jaw, cheek, temple  
 gaʔu, chin  
 ga (I), mouth  
 mayunu, lips  
 gaʔu-ʁa, beard  
 ʁa, beard, moustache

baw (I), tooth  
 lana, tongue  
 dʁi, throat  
 ywini, breathing, coughing  
 kwana, nape of neck  
 ʁalu, shoulder  
 mayu, armpit  
 dʁya, arm, wing  
 pæʔa, elbow  
 kwumʁu, wrist  
 ʔa (I), hand  
 kayu-ge, palm of hand  
 ʁama, thumb  
 arana, toenail, fingernail  
 guʔu, breast, milk  
 ʔwi:ni, chest, rib  
 rumu, side  
 βati, righthand side  
 köyyi, lefthand side

anu, hip  
 nubuʔi, navel  
 ra, stomach  
 rumupɕana, kidney  
 βaʔi, intestines  
 bwɪ:ni, back  
 mu, ɔwiʔi, buttocks  
 ʔuʔu, leg  
 ʔi:ni, thigh  
 gu, knee  
 gwunu, ankle, knuckle  
 kwe (II), foot  
 kwe-rāya, footprint  
 tʔay, penis  
 ɔayu, testicles  
 βɕiʔi, vagina  
 ri, excrement  
 tʔu, urine  
 kayu-we:ye, muscle  
 kayu, skin  
 pwi, bone  
 ladi, marrow  
 tʔelimi, blood  
 natabani, sweat  
 mwipi, sore  
 ʔunuwana, blister  
 aɕiti, wrinkle  
 adi, ritual scar  
 lwaga (II), fever, sickness  
 βwe:ni, dream  
 paguru, yawn

*B - Human classification*

ma (II;B), man  
 dʔwamɕa (III;B) woman  
 ɔama (III;B), ruɕi (III;A), child  
 ni:yi (A), boy  
 waʔayi (III;A), old man  
 laɕi (III;A), girl  
 dupɕiyi (A), old lady  
 mawkwiyi, countryman  
 kayu-βwaʔi, mixed race person  
 kukulə:ye, Islander  
 ʃiβiri, culture hero  
 buʔu-ɕe, clever man  
 lamalaʔi, stranger  
 pana (A), friend  
 buʔu (III;B), pɕuʔu (III;A),  
 ghost

*C - Kinship*

aɔukwiɕi, mother's brother  
 ɕay (I,II), mother  
 ruɕi, mother's sister  
 naʔi (III;B), father  
 maʔæni (A), father's brother  
 kuku, father's sister,

mother's father  
 mayi, father's father  
 maʔæni (A), elder brother  
 ʔabwa, younger brother/sister  
 awɔnilaɕi, kwi:yi, eldest sister  
 awɔnipwa, middle sister  
 aɔuʔa, daughter  
 (aɔu)ruɕi, (my) grandchild  
 bɕaɔa (II,III;B), husband  
 dʔwaga (II,III;B), wife  
 tapiʔi, taβayama, wife's brother

*D - Mammals*

ʔiribwiʔi, porcupine  
 gya, native cat  
 ɔwaɕi, bandicoot  
 kwiniyi, possum  
 goy (II;A), buck wallaby  
 karupu, buck red kangaroo  
 ɕawʔiki, white kangaroo  
 ʔigiri, joey, doe wallaby  
 baya, pouch of marsupial  
 ʔaya, tail  
 pwaʔakwiʔi, kangaroo rat  
 ɔwaladi (II;A), wild dog  
 ʔwa (II;B), tame dog  
 ʔwapwa, pup  
 maruku, horse  
 puluku, bullock

*E - Reptiles*

gawɕayi, crocodile  
 kyabara (I;A), alligator  
 tʔæ:ni, green turtle  
 yuɕi, loggerhead turtle  
 ʔilini, saltwater turtle species  
 ɕiɕi, fresh-water turtle species  
 laya, lizard (generic)  
 paʔu, blue-tongue lizard  
 wuyulabi, frill-neck lizard  
 mɕaɕagi, land goanna  
 dimigiɕi, water goanna  
 yeɕi, snake (generic)  
 barana, carpet snake  
 ʃiʔi, green snake  
 la:gaʔa, death adder  
 ruluku, taipan  
 la, black snake  
 maya, small brown snake  
 ʔarana, spotted snake

*F - Birds*

yeti, bird (generic)  
 pawa, egg  
 ʔapi, dʔya, wing  
 yeri, feather  
 gegiɔana, emu

kwini:yi, cassowary  
 d<sup>r</sup>wili, ʕi-yuʔukwi:yi, broлга  
 ʕa:deye, ʕi-yuʔukwi:yi, jabiru  
 kwaḡaʔa, crane  
 guwana, curlew  
 yibaʕi, plains turkey  
 t<sup>r</sup>okaʕaʕi, scrub turkey  
 kukuḡaʕi, scrub hen  
 bwaraka, Torres Strait pigeon  
 we, owl  
 kumugini, woodpecker  
 ʕeʕi, crow  
 gaʔaga (A), kookaburra  
 duʕi, kingfisher  
 ʕiʕiri, willy-wagtail  
 layubʕeʕi, white cockatoo  
 yaraʔa, small parrot species  
 kili, king parrot  
 laḡu, hawk  
 ʕiti, fishhawk  
 ʕwara, eagle  
 kaḡi, black ibis  
 muʕiʕi, white ibis  
 mʕaʕiʕiri, black duck  
 kiri-kiri, wood duck  
 yara, seagull

*G - Fish, etc.*

muruti, na, fish (generic)  
 muwā, fin  
 rēye, whitefish  
 dwakwabaʕi, salmon  
 ʕakara, large whiting  
 du:nu, small whiting  
 du:lu, garfish  
 ḡwaʔaʕa, catfish  
 bwana, bream  
 maru, queenfish  
 maʕuʕi:ni, salt-water mullet  
 t<sup>r</sup>aḡa, barramundi  
 d<sup>r</sup>wala, long-tom  
 d<sup>r</sup>e:gwati, trevally  
 bay, barracouta  
 lwagati, kingfish  
 iyi, snapper  
 pwe:ke, groper  
 t<sup>r</sup>ya (I;A), shark  
 winimi, spotted stingray  
 waʕa, flat-tail stingray  
 ʕaʔaga, long-tail stingray  
 rugunu, file stingray  
 kaḡaka, oyster  
 ʕwaʔaʕi, small crab species  
 būwutu, large crab species  
 d<sup>r</sup>we, shell  
 raḡi, bailer shell  
 tuʕi, trochus shell

*H - Insects*

iyi, termite mound  
 mutu-mutu, anthole  
 t<sup>r</sup>ya, ant  
 de:ni (III;B), wasp  
 tabwa, small bee  
 dwiri, sugarbag bee  
 ʕwiʕigana, beeswax  
 ʕaḡigana, honey, grease  
 būyu, scorpion  
 yaʕara, centipede, dragonfly  
 p<sup>r</sup>uʔu (III;A), maggot, worm  
 zoʕa, fly  
 ḡu:lu (III;A), mosquito  
 kuwati, grub  
 ragu, prawn  
 p<sup>r</sup>oʔa, (III;A), frog, tadpole  
 ʕimʕiʕi, ʕimʕiʕi, ʕinipʕi, large  
 grasshopper  
 tiri, tick  
 kaw, lice

*I - Language, ceremony, etc*

ʕa, language, speech, song  
 duwiḡi, name  
 duḡu, word  
 maʕyari, corroboree (generic)  
 laga-laga, leg corroboree

*J - Material artefacts*

kut<sup>r</sup>aka, fighting stick  
 mamaliʕi, message stick  
 ḡuʔu, yamstick  
 miḡi, club, spear-thrower  
 ʕaʕa, fighting spear  
 kweʔe (II), straight spear  
 duru, four-prong spear  
 garuʔana, spear type  
 ʕi:ni, spear type  
 lali, harpoon  
 kiʕi (III), knife  
 ʕyaḡa (III), axe  
 muʕuʕu, firestick  
 rumu, fish net  
 rwagaʕi (II), fishing-line  
 dwimi, string  
 pat<sup>r</sup>a, canoe  
 walapanu, dinghy, whaleboat, hat  
 ḡaba (III), paddle  
 put<sup>r</sup>u, sailboat  
 pat<sup>r</sup>a-d<sup>r</sup>e:mʕi, d<sup>r</sup>e:mʕi, outrigger  
 canoe  
 d<sup>r</sup>e:ʕimʕi, d<sup>r</sup>e:mʕi, shirt  
 ḡu, clothes  
 pulugini, blanket  
 baʕa, bag  
 tini, tin

tarama, drum  
 puyimi, billy can  
 gamaraŋu, pannikin  
 namaran̄u, frying-pan  
 rwamaŋi, bamboo pipe  
 rwa (I), white paint

*K - Food, fire, water*

bwaʔa (III), meat, flesh  
 ay, vegetable food  
 ʔuyubu, tobacco, cigarette  
 karuku, beer  
 mwa, fire  
 ku (I), wood  
 rwiʔi, charcoal  
 mwa-rwiʔi, hot coals  
 βüyi (I), ashes  
 βüŋu, smoke  
 puʔa (III), water  
 lwe, lake  
 tʔokanwi, lagoon  
 lanu, sea  
 ʔwana, wave  
 dʔaŋi (II), current, tide  
 ranapwa, creek  
 ran̄a, river  
 pa:na, riverbank, level  
 ʔwe:ye, flood  
 ti:ni, swamp  
 yay, rain

*L - Celestial, weather etc*

nwa (I), sun  
 räya, shade  
 aŋiki, moon  
 gaçaka, star  
 rana, sky  
 βüyi, dust, fog, cloud  
 yeŋi (III), wind  
 pemini, thunder  
 pçulu, rainy season

*M - Geography*

ni, place, camp  
 wuŋi, house  
 taβa, road  
 ga, ground  
 bçeni, dwaya, beach  
 ywa (I), sand  
 ywa-pay, sandhill  
 ga:tini, reef  
 ba, island  
 bçi (I), mud, red paint  
 kali, hole  
 kalipwa, gully  
 twala, plain  
 ʔwama, hill

pay-ga, hillside  
 tugumu, cliff  
 papaŋi (I,II,III), stone  
 tʔoka-tʔoka, end

*N - Arboreal*

ku (I), tree, wood, stick  
 læ:ya, fork in tree  
 ʔudu, leaf  
 ʔyüdi, scrub, dry forest  
 ʔya:na, twigs  
 ga, splinter, chips of wood  
 da:ʔamana, sap  
 palawara, flower  
 pwi, seed  
 daʔa, grass  
 n̄agu, fern  
 ʔeçiyerçi, burr  
 gwe:ni, lily  
 pwapu, zuʔu, lily species  
 ubu, red gum  
 yaŋu, bloodwood  
 ʔyuŋu, white gum  
 kama, gum species  
 paçupaçati, cottonwood  
 namweye, ironwood  
 sæla, βwagi, milkwood species  
 yaŋu, messmate tree  
 ragu, sandpaper tree  
 dʔe:bçi, umbrella palm  
 çiči, oak  
 luʔu, mangrove  
 geçi, whitebark tree in mangrove  
 nabu, species of tree in mangrove  
 banu, la, wattle species  
 ç̄i, smooth-bark tea tree  
 nama, rough-bark tea tree  
 neç̄i, small cabbage-tree  
 yara, large cabbage tree  
 læç̄i, grass-tree  
 muwŋ, fig-tree  
 ç̄iç̄i, New Guinea sago  
 kwabi, quandong  
 kayupaçati, coconut palm  
 ʔinipçerçe, lady apple  
 rwiili, native almond  
 myüyu, short yam  
 kwiʔiç̄i, long yam  
 kumala, sweet potato  
 nu:nu, wild potato  
 ba:nu, wild cucumber, grape  
 yama, taro, wild cucumber  
 kubu, blackfruit  
 iç̄i, loya cane  
 marapi, bamboo  
 rugu, bulrushes  
 ç̄wini, vine

*O - Adjectives*

pimi, one  
 ðwiti (II:B), two  
 ʒumu, three  
 mɕitiiki (II), puʒiki (II), many  
 raw, black  
 tʁalawati, red  
 ʒæβi, blue, green  
 iyiti, brown  
 roga, grey  
 adiki, yellow  
 we:ye, big, fat  
 puði(pwa), ðurupu, small  
 yurupigi, tall  
 bi:ni(pwa), short  
 kaʒi(ni), deep  
 nu:bwa, hot  
 ʒaʒa, ʒaʒiti, cold  
 puʒuku, hard  
 tiyati, soft  
 gu:nu, heavy  
 rama, empty  
 βɕeʔe-βɕeʔe, slippery  
 dadì, fast  
 pawʒi, blunt  
 dʁi:giti, sweet  
 gatʁali, sour  
 kerimi, shiny, clean  
 rayu, clear  
 ge, good  
 gapɕa, bad  
 pay ðuwi-ðuwi, ashamed  
 lwi:yì, angry  
 dæ:waʒi, greedy  
 ʒi puʒuku, kayu rimi-rimi,  
 jealous  
 ʒumu, dead  
 laʒimi, alive  
 lwagaʒimɕi, sick  
 natimi, tired  
 ðaymɕi, hungry  
 nu, dʁe:ni, different

## VERBS

*P - Motion*

aŋa (intr)irr, go, come  
 læ (intr)IVa, go walkabout  
 pwe: (intr)IIIb, go in  
 pæ (intr)IIa, come out  
 βi:ni (intr)IIb, go down  
 ðutu (tr)IIb, follow  
 ʒabæ (tr)IIa, chase  
 karagwa (intr)IIa, crawl  
 ʒama (intr)IIa, jump  
 mwì (intr)irr, dance  
 ʒaʔaʒeɕa (intr)irr, run

bɕeʔeŋa (intr)IVa, play  
 gi: (intr)IIIa, fall  
 bana (intr)irr, climb  
 ywagaʒa (intr)IVa, swim  
 waʒi, (intr)IIIb, dive  
 ðwata (intr)IIa, flow down

*Q - Rest*

geɕa (intr)irr, sit  
 rumu (intr)IIb, IVb, bend down  
 mæ (intr)IIIa, get up  
 ʒa (intr)IIa, ɲarama (intr)IVa,  
 stand  
 dʁaʒi (intr)IIb, lie down  
 ʒwarama (intr)IIa, float

*R - Induced position*

kwi: (tr)Ia, have, keep, look after  
 dʁa (tr)IIa, leave, put down  
 ŋwiʒa (tr)IIa, pour out, empty  
 maʔaʒaŋa (tr)IIb, lift up  
 ʒwaka (tr)IIa, heap up  
 pɕeɕe (tr)irr, pick up  
 dwa (tr)IIa, catch  
 lay (tr)IIa, carry  
 ya (tr)Ia, bring, give  
 a (tr)Ia, pull  
 ʒæ (tr)IIa, push, send, move  
 pu (tr)Ia, throw  
 kaŋaŋa (tr)IIa, find

*S - Affect*

bwi: (tr)IIIa, kill  
 yyu (tr)Ia, spear  
 twiniga (tr)IIa, bash  
 riŋi (tr)IIIb, hit, punch  
 nu (tr)Ia, kick  
 ga (tr)Ib, poke  
 ŋa (tr)IIa, dig  
 ʔweʔe (tr)irr, cut, chop  
 ga (tr)IVa, peel  
 winiga (tr)IIa, scratch  
 bwæni (intr)IIa, break  
 bwa (tr)Ia, break  
 ʒa (tr)Ia, split  
 riyiga tr(IIa), ʒiyiga(tr)IIa, smash  
 gi: (tr)IIIa, light fire  
 yumu (tr)IIb, cook in ashes  
 ðadi (intr)III, ʒa (tr)IIa, burn  
 ʒa (tr)IIa, tie  
 bɕiŋi (intr)IIa, be dirty  
 ra (tr)Ib, pɕa (tr)IIa, rub, wash  
 ʒwaðaga (tr)IIa, wash  
 ʒa (tr)IIIa, cover  
 ðæ:pa (tr)IIa, bury  
 ga (tr)Ia, make  
 paʒa (tr)IIa, fix, make  
 ðu (tr)Ia, sew



pu (tr)Ia, do

*T - Attention*

t̥i: (tr)Ia, IIIa, see  
gawri (tr)IIa, look for  
ma (tr)IIIa, hear, listen to

*U - Talking, etc*

t̥æɾa (tr)irr, t̥wi (tr)irr, say to  
t̥wa (tr)IVa, tell  
ðwimi (intr)IIb, tell lies  
gæ (tr)IIa, ask  
gægi (intr)irr, shout  
aɾu (intr)IIa, bark  
bɕiŋi-bɕiŋi (intr)IIIb, be noisy

*V - Corporeal*

gwapɾa (tr)irr, eat, drink  
t̥a (tr)IIa, bite  
napu (tr)Ia, swallow  
d̥i (tr)IIIa, suck  
zeni (intr)irr, vomit  
ʔi: (tr)Ia, wake  
zi (tr)Ia, blow  
aɟima (intr)IIa, suffer  
luluma (intr)IIa, swell up  
geʔekeka (tr)Ia, tickle  
d̥adaɾa (intr)II, live, lie down  
βwi (intr)irr, die  
wimɾigeɾa (intr)irr, cry  
gæʔama (intr)IIa, laugh  
ðitama (intr)II, be afraid

W - LOCATION

gwaɾa, north  
βaɾa, south  
t̥u, west  
yunu, distant  
baɾi, up  
kaɾa, down

X - TIME

bɾad̥ra, βaɾaka, long time ago  
paɟiki, ɾama, recently  
kunu, now  
katiʔi, soon  
d̥waʔara, today, daytime  
bɾuyi, night  
kayi-kayi, later on  
wunaɾimɾi, tomorrow  
pɾana, morning  
bɾuyi-bɾuyi, afternoon

Y - INTERJECTIONS

βaw, goodbye  
geʔe, no

Z - PARTICLES

katiʔi, perhaps  
wi, this way  
garu, that way  
βa(me), again, back



Map 4: Original Watjarri Area (Shaded) and Surrounding Languages, As Identified by Watjarri Speakers

# Watjarri

*by Wilfrid H. Douglas*

## 1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

### 1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

The Watjarri language, spoken by the few remaining descendants of an Aboriginal tribe previously camped along a section of the Murchison River in Western Australia, is a suffixing type language similar to the Western Desert language (see Douglas 1958, 1964).

The phonemes of Watjarri are the typical Western Desert pattern with three significant vowels and 17 consonants. In Watjarri, however, there is no contrast between long and short vowels. Monosyllabic words predictably carry vowel length. There is contrast between dental, alveolar and apico-post-alveolar stops, nasals and laterals, and between two rhotics. A contrast between lamino-dentals and lamino-alveolars (sometimes mistaken for lamino-palatals) cannot be sustained on the ground of semantic distinction. Watjarri speakers, though, recognize the sound difference and refer to the lamino-dental articulation as 'light Watjarri' and the lamino-alveolar as 'heavy Watjarri'. Individual speakers fluctuate in their usage of these sounds.

The Watjarri syllable pattern is strongly CV or CVC; but words may begin with a vowel (as in Eastern dialects of the Western Desert) and there is a strong tendency to have a vowel as word-final phoneme. In utterance-medial positions, words may end with one of the continuants except /m/, /ŋ/, /r/, /w/ or /y/.

Morphologically, Watjarri is not very complex. Monosyllabic words are comparatively rare. (Note the frequent occurrence of single-syllable words in Nyungar of the South-West, Douglas 1968). Noun and verb stems are predominantly bisyllabic. There is a distinction between common and proper nouns and pronouns. Bound pronouns may occur instead of free pronouns and may be found suffixed to noun, noun phrase or verb fillers on clause level to indicate Subject or Object. A bound pronoun suffixed to a free form of the pro-

noun produces an emphatic form of that pronoun.

The free pronoun system has singular, dual and plural distinctions as well as inclusive-exclusive distinction in the dual and plural forms. The bound pronoun system is restricted to 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular, 1st dual and 3rd plural with a restricted use of a 2nd dual. The accusative forms of the bound pronouns, from the data available, are restricted to 1st and 2nd singular only.

In addition to the personal pronouns, there is a set of positional pronouns or locationals which could be regarded as 3rd person pronouns except that they take the same case markers as nouns and carry a component of position in relation to the speaker as 'near', 'mid-distant', 'distant' or 'previously referred to'. In the noun phrase these forms function as demonstratives.

Admittedly it is difficult to maintain a distinction between nouns and adjectives in this description. Each of these categories is inflected in the same way and each may be derived from verbs in the same manner. A noun which is the head of a noun phrase may be said to be modified by an adjective, which is peripheral to the noun nucleus; but a generic noun may also be modified by a more specific noun. On the other hand, although an adjective may occupy a headless noun phrase, in a requested repetition the noun head will be supplied. For ease of description on this surface level, therefore, the adjective category has been retained. Semantically this category includes those forms which refer to state, quality, number or quantity, and size.

Transitive-intransitive contrast occurs within the verb system and there are two major conjugational classes, manifested by their differing inflectional suffixes, marking off the verbs as belonging to either the -YA class or the -LA class. The labelling is borrowed from the future tense allomorphic suffixes. A small number of irregular forms of the verb have been noted.

A notable feature of Watjarri is the presence of a nominative-accusative case system for pronouns, an ergative-absolutive system for common nouns, and an ergative-absolutive system associated with proper names but with a different marker for the absolutive form.

In the syntax, word order within the noun phrase is more fixed than in clauses generally. As the major functional units within the clause are clearly marked by the case endings, change of word order may change only the semantic focus. As in the Western Desert language, clauses may have verbal or verbless predicates. With clauses having verbal predicates, there is distinction between transitive and intransitive statement and command types. The verbless clauses may be equational, stative or locational. Dependent clauses indicate whether the action of the second predicate is simultaneous with or subsequent to the action of the main predicate. There is no 'switch reference system' in Watjarri.

Although a statistical analysis has not been attempted, the differences in Watjarri and Western Desert language vocabularies is obvious. There are, as can be expected, a number of shared cognates and also a number of obvious borrowings; but the vocabulary overlap between the two languages

is small. Syntactic overlap is greater; but even in this area there are notable differences.

## 1.2 THE SPEAKERS

In 1973, I estimated the number of Watjarri speakers as fewer than two hundred scattered between Meekatharra and Geraldton. Of these, probably fewer than fifty spoke the language fluently. On later visits, I found that many of these people had become unreliable as language informants because of alcoholism. In fact, it was difficult to find a person whose first language was Watjarri. Very few could tell a traditional story without using English. Recently, there have been signs of a cultural revival among the Watjarri people. A number of the people have attempted to retrieve the lost knowledge of their own language and culture. Parents, concerned now because their children had not learned the language in the home, have even requested that the children be taught the Watjarri language in primary schools.

Fink (1965) writing about the situation in the Murchison District in the years 1955-57 stated: 'Most of the coloured people in the district are descended from the original local tribal groups; but other Aborigines, brought in from South Australia by an early settler, have now intermarried and merged with the local people (who are Wadjari). The word "Jamadji" (yamatji) means "man" in the Wadjari language, and is commonly used by natives in the Murchison for anyone of Aboriginal descent who was born in the district. Other terms are applied to natives from other districts; for instance, Aborigines from farther east are called Wanmala, and those from the south-west, Nunga (Nyungar).'

The people from 'South Australia', referred to by Fink, were probably the group of Aborigines brought from Eucla by Reece and Scott about 1905. To-day, in the Murchison, they are referred to as the 'Yukala' people. Their language is also known as 'Yukala'; but only a few vocabulary items could be recalled by the informants approached. Elsewhere their language has been referred to as Mirniny or Mirning (Wurm 1972, Tindale 1974).

Since Dr. Ruth Fink did her research in the Murchison, there has been considerable movement of Watjarri people. Some families may still be found at Mullewa, Yalgoo and Mt. Magnet, at Meekatharra and Geraldton. Others have moved to places as far away as Kalgoorlie and Perth and there are a few individuals from the area who have travelled even more widely.

## 1.3 DIALECTS AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Curr in his *The Australian Race* (1886-7) Vol.1 p.310, includes reference to a language, 'Watchandie', spoken by a tribe camped at the mouth of the Murchison River. From the vocabulary lists supplied in Volumes I and IV, it seems obvious that this language was closely related to the Watjarri spoken higher up the river. No doubt there would have been

mutual intelligibility between dialects right along the river, although people at one end of the string may have regarded those at the other end as speaking something unintelligible. Watjarri speakers in the Murchison to-day do not know the name Watjanti (Watchandie) but refer to the people at the sea end of the Murchison River as either 'Wirlunyu' (Wirlunju) 'sea coast people', or 'Tja Urra', which refers to their use of the verb 'urra' (meaning 'He is coming') in their 'speech' or 'mouth', tja.

The Watjarri are surrounded by a multiplicity of languages. During the period of research (infrequent intervals between 1964 and 1977), Watjarri speakers referred to more than thirty languages or dialects of which they had some knowledge. This excludes their knowledge of English, of Aboriginal English, and of other European languages. I may mention that one excellent Watjarri informant, Joe Marlow, spoke English with a broad Scottish accent acquired from association with his long-time Scottish employer. A list of languages referred to by Watjarri speakers is supplied in 1.5 below.

In 1964, people of Watjarri background were located in Geraldton, Mullewa, Yalgoo, Mt. Magnet and Meekatharra towns. They were also to be found on pastoral stations along the Murchison, both on the south side and on the north. The farthest east Watjarri family was located at Mt. Fraser station, just north of where the river crosses the Great Northern Highway. Small numbers of people were also to be found at Trilbar, Moorarie, Koonmarra, Berringarra, Milly-Milly, Byro (a significant Watjarri centre), Nookawarra, Mileura, Curbar, Narryer, Meeberrie, Boolardy (another significant centre), Twin Peaks, Murgoo, Pinegrove, Bullardoo and Yuin.

As can be expected, dialects developed or were centred in some of these stations and towns. For example, Mrs. Lily Dann compared the 'heavy' and 'light' dialects in this way. Using the Watjarri word *katja* as the example, she said, 'On the Byro side it is light, *kaɬa*; but the heavy Watjarri (referring to the Boolardy side) is *kaʔa*'. The 'Byro dialect', being closer to Ingkarta, was possibly influenced by this language in which the lamino-dental stops are more common. Boolardy is regarded by people on the south side of the river as the centre of 'true Watjarri'. Compare Brandenstein's reference to *Iirra-Wadjarri* (Brandenstein 1967:3).

As the Watjarri people moved into towns along the railway line between Geraldton and Mt. Magnet, they came under the influence of the *Wirtimaya* (also called the *Watjanmay* by the *Nyungars*) around Yalgoo, and the *Patimaya*, who had moved from Paynes Find to Mt. Magnet township. They were also influenced by the *Nyungars* of the South-west, now moving into the towns of Geraldton, Mullewa and Mt. Magnet also (Douglas 1976). Other groups of Watjarri speakers were influenced by the Western Desert language in towns along the Great Northern Highway, especially at Cue and Meekatharra. Borrowings from these languages are evident in more recently collected vocabulary items. For example, the Watjarri negative is *watji*. To-day, Watjarri speakers at Mt. Magnet, Mullewa, at Meekatharra and even as far as Boolardy, may be

heard using the Wirtimaya negative, wirti. A number of Patimaya, Western Desert and other language borrowings may be found in the dictionary.

Northwards, at Woodlands Station, the negative is nanu, and this gives the name Nanu to the language which has a vocabulary overlap with Watjarri of approximately 70%, according to the local estimate. At Pingandie Station, further north, the language is referred to by the southern speakers as 'Watjarti'.

#### 1.4 PAST WORK ON THE WATJARRI LANGUAGE

The greatest amount of information on Watjarri seems to be contained in the writings of Mrs. Daisy Bates (c.1904). Her manuscripts are held in the Australian National Library. No.365 manuscript has a section (XII) which has an Outline of the Grammar and also Vocabularies from the Murchison area. These vocabularies, which incidentally confirm much of the material in the present work, come from various dialect areas within the Murchison district (Bates c.1904).

Reference has been made already to Curr's vocabulary list from 'the mouth of the Murchison', contained in Volume IV of *The Australian Race*, pages 4-45. Augustus Oldfield (1886), writing in Volume I of the same book, has a brief introduction to the Watchandi Tribe and then a short vocabulary list. He suggests that there may be some connection between watchu, meaning 'west', and the name of the tribe (see Oldfield 1865, 1886:310-313).

Other observations on the people of the Murchison were made by Helms (1896), Perks (1886), Richardson (1900), Vivienne (1901) and the Elder Scientific Exploring Expedition of 1891-2. More recently, Hambly (1931) described types of weapons in the area. Fink (1960) supplied an Appendix for her dissertation on social change in the Murchison District. The appendix is entitled 'Traditional songs' and contains some valuable material of a linguistic nature. A copy of this is held by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for 'Restricted use' only. Another paper of a restricted nature is one by Gratte (1966). This contains first hand observations of certain ceremonies; but also contains about 250 words from Watjarri speakers at Boolardy Station.

#### 1.5 NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES REFERRED TO BY WATJARRI SPEAKERS

The initial spelling of language names in this section is in the practical alphabet described in chapter 2 and represents the pronunciation of the Aboriginal informant. To enable the reader to gain further information about the languages listed, references to the appropriate pages or sections in O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) and Oates (1975), Vol.I, are given. These two sources are abbreviated to 'O'Grady' and 'Oates' respectively. Other references are given in full. Comments by Aboriginal informants are given in quotes.

- ARNMANU - a coastal language. Some vocabulary supplied. Probably Nanta. O'Grady pp.119-28. Oates 53.4a.
- INGKARTA - 'Gascoyne Junction way'. O'Grady pp.114-118. Oates 53.2.
- INTJIWARNI - 'The language of Jack Smith'. Probably Jindj-ibandi. O'Grady p.90-6. Oates 50.4b.
- KANJARRA - Joe Marlow related the word to Yukala. O'Grady pp.103ff. Oates 51.
- KARIYARRI - 'The language spoken in the Port Hedland - Roebourne area.' Example of the language given. O'Grady pp.96ff. Oates 50.5a.
- MALIYARA - '... means East'. Informants indicated that it is synonymous with Wanmala (q.v.). O'Grady, in list p.37. Oates 53.5a.
- MALKANA - '...spoken at Hamelin Pool'. 'We can understand a bit of that.' O'Grady p.119. Oates 53.3a.
- NJANTA - '...more over Geraldton way. We can hear some of this talk.' O'Grady pp.119ff. Oates 53.4a.
- NANU - '...a dialect of Watjarri. Nanu means 'no'. 'The dialect of Alan Hill of Woodlands Station. He said, 'Watjarri means, "What's your word?"' See Tindale (1974) map, Ninanu north of Watjari. Not listed in O'Grady or Oates; but a Nanu listed under Ngurlu in Oates and Oates (1970:74).
- NGARLA - 'Around the Fortescue - Ashburton area'. About 60 expressions supplied showing considerable overlap with Watjarri and with Paljku-Pantjima. O'Grady pp.80ff. Oates 50.1.
- NJIYAPALI - 'Language of Tablelands to Jigalong'. Wurm (1972:23, 125). Oates 56.11a. See also Oates and Oates (1970:55, 80).
- NJUKARN - '...near Malkana...spoken near Northampton'. Oates 53.3b.
- PALTJIRI - 'Spoken at Williambury Station.' (N.E. of Carnarvon). In area indicated for Bayungu in O'Grady, p.108. Oates 51.2.
- PANTUMA - 'Language of Hammersley, Rocklea and Mulga Downs stations.' Prob. Pantjima, O'Grady pp.84ff. Oates 50A.2a.
- PATIMAYA - '...spoken in the Mt.Magnet - Paynes Find area.' O'Grady p.128. Oates 52.3.
- PINIKURRA - '...spoken at Nanutarra station'. O'Grady p. 103. Oates 50.7.
- PULINJA - '...old Geraldton talk..'. A small vocabulary collected showing about 60% overlap with Watjarri. Wurm (1972:126), Oates 53.4c.
- TALANTJI - '...spoken in the Pindar River country and at Towera station.' O'Grady p.103-7. Oates 51.1a.
- TARRKARI - '...in the Carnarvon area'. O'Grady p.111-2 Oates 51.3.
- TJA URRA - '...spoken around Murchison House and near Northampton.' 'I understand that; but they talk a little bit different...' 'Tja Urra and Watjarri are all mixed up.' (Inf. Joe Marlow). Not listed in O'Grady or Oates.
- WANMALA - 'Easterner', 'The desert people.' 'The Wanmala people at Meekatharra come from Wiluna...They are the warriors (avengers).' A common term for the people of the Western Desert. Not listed.



- WARTALJ - 'The Jigalong talk.' O'Grady p.37. Oates 56.3c.
- WATJARRI - 'The Murchison River language.' O'Grady p.128. Oates 52.1.
- WATJARTI - '...spoken at Pingandie station' (i.e. by the Scott family and by two or three other people mentioned by name). A variant of Watjarri. Not listed by O'Grady or Oates.
- WIRTIMAYA - '...spoken north of Paynes Find.' 'It was originally spoken at Yalgoo.' Also called Wirtiya. Speakers use *watjan* 'fire', a *Watjanmay* distinction. Douglas (1973), O'Grady p.128. Oates 52.4.
- WIRLUNJU - '...sea coast people.' *Wirilu* 'sea'. See under *Tja Urra*. Not listed in O'Grady or Oates.
- YUKALA - '...the original Eucla dialect.' Also known as *Mirninj*. See reference to *Yukala* under section 1.2 in this description. Oates and Oates (1970) 9Wr, p.64. Also 55.1a on p.62.
- YANARTI - '...spoken at Onslow.' '...original language of Onslow was *Purtuna*.' ? Oates and Oates (1970) 3Wr, p.64.
- YUNGKATJI - a dialect spoken north of Watjarri. Not listed in O'Grady or Oates.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 THE PHONEMES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION

There are 17 consonants and three vowels in Watjarri.

In this section, the phonemes will be symbolised with one symbol for each sound. In a following section a practical alphabet will be introduced in which digraphs will be used, partly to simplify printing and also to encourage literacy in the language. The consonants are set out in Table 2.1 and the vowels in Table 2.2.

#### 2.1.1 GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES

The *stops* are voiceless and unaspirated in the word initial position and in polysyllabic words; but become lightly voiced following nasals in the word-medial position, *ngarnka* 'cave' is phonetically [ŋaŋga]. There is also a tendency for bilingual (English-Watjarri) speakers to lightly voice medial stops in bisyllabic words such as *ika* 'bone'.

Lamino-dentals occur allophonically as definite interdentals preceding the vowels /a/ and /u/, especially in dialects north of the river; but as lamino-alveolars (or lamino-post-dentals) in the southern dialects. It has been noted that some speakers of the Byro dialect even retain the inter-dental articulation before the vowel /i/. (For example: in the word for the 'Ta-ta lizard', [tʃitʃi], which is in this dialect phonetically [tʃitʃi]). However, the general usage throughout the area is post-dental with a slight high-vowel off-glide preceding the vowel /i/. With increased Anglicisation there is a greater tendency to palatalise the dentals before /i/. When the

TABLE 2.1 - *Watjarri* consonants

<i>Manner of articulation</i>	<i>Place of articulation</i>				
	bilabial	lamino-dental	apico-alveolar	apico-post-alveolar	velar
stops	/p/	/t̪/	/t/	/t̺/	/k/
nasals	/m/	/n̪/	/n/	/n̺/	/ŋ/
laterals		/l̪/	/l/	/l̺/	
rhotics			/r/	/r̺/	
semi-vowels	/w/	/y/			

lamino-interdental stop is preceded by an apico-alveolar continuant ( /n/, /l/, /r/ ), regardless as to whether it is followed by /a/ or /u/, it assumes the lamino-post-dental (or lamino-alveolar) position as is usual before /i/. Examples include:

/t̪aka/	phonetically	[t̪aka]	'carrying dish'
/kuṭara/	"	[kuṭara]	'two'
/yamaṭi/	"	[yamaṭi]	'a person'
/winta/	"	[winta]	'an elder'
/t̪ina /	"	[t̪ina]	'foot'

A light palatal fricative, (ɣ), may be manifested for the lamino-dental stop preceding /i/ in some dialects (or, more correctly, idiolects), e.g., /waṭi/ 'no', phonetically [waɣi] becomes [waɣi]; /yamaṭi/ 'person', phonetically [yamaṭi] becomes [yamaɣi] in the speech of Joe Marlow, Meekatharra.

The *rhotics*, /r/ and /r̺/, are found in minimally contrastive words such as /waru/ 'the back' (body part) and /waṛu/ 'light', 'lamp'. /r/ occurs as an apico-alveolar flap in normal speech; but as a trill in emphasised speech. Because of the tendency of some speakers to lightly voice medial /t/ in two-syllable words, /t/ and /r/ are easily confused in this position and may even be said to fluctuate in this position. /r̺/ is a voiced, apico-post-alveolar or alveolar retroflex continuant.

As mentioned by O'Grady (1966:85) for Bailko (paɪyku), there may be fluctuation between /r̺/ and /y/ in Watjarri. For example: /kaṛimaṇa/ fluctuating with /kayimaṇa/ 'standing'; also /paṭaṛimaṇa/ fluctuating with /paṭayimaṇa/ 'becoming angry'.

There is also frequent fluctuation between /t̪j/ and /y/ (see 3.7.1[v](e)). Less frequently there is fluctuation between /r/ and /w/, see njararni--njararni-, and between /k/ and /w/, as in warluwura and warlukura.

2.1.2 VOWEL LENGTH. Words of a single syllable regularly manifest length of vowel phonetically and several borrowed words also manifest vowel length. Vowel length is not phonemic in Watjarri; but in borrowed words of more than one syllable it will be symbolised since sometimes it is an indication of stress in the second syllable. Examples include:

TABLE 2.2 - *Watjarri* vowels

	front	central	back
high	/i/		/u/
low		/a/	

*single syllable words, always long*

/t̪a/	phonetically [t̪a:]	'mouth'
/na/	" [na:]	'what?'
/wi/	" [wi:]	'where?' (or general interrogative)
/kan/	" [ka:n]	'gun' (from English)
/ku/	" [ku:]	'school' (from English)
/wan/	" [wa:n]	'creek' (from Patimaya)
/yal/	" [ya:l]	'how?'

*polysyllabic borrowings*

/kaapu/	'calf'		
/maaka/	'mug'		
/maata/	'boss', 'master', 'government official'		
/puraaku/	'dress', 'frock' (a word used in the days of the Afghan traders in Western Australia; probably from English 'frock')		
/turaapa/	'trough'	/wiitpala/	'whitefellow'
/tiipu/	'sheep'	/muuniya/	'pneumonia'

(In ordinary speech, these borrowed words tend to adapt to the short vowel pattern of the language.)

2.1.3 PHONOTACTICS. Unlike Ngaanyatjarra of the Western Desert, *Watjarri* permits the occurrence of vowels initially.

The canonical syllable pattern for *Watjarri* is:

CV	V		CV	C = consonant
	+ CV	.....		
VC	CVC		CVC	V = vowel

Any one of the three vowels may occur word-initially. There are no phonemic diphthongs in *Watjarri*. Any vowel also may occur word-finally.

Any consonant may occur initially except the following: /l/, /r/, /l/, /ŋ/, /r/. Although the word initial use of /r/ is found in neighbouring languages, there is a striking absence of its occurrence in this position in *Watjarri*. Neither in the author's field data nor in the historical material, including the extensive vocabularies of Daisy Bates, is this sound found in the word-initial position. It is also difficult to find cognates for words beginning with /r/ in neighbouring languages. Maybe such a cognate is /yira/ 'mouth' compared with Mangala r̪ira 'mouth', 'lip', 'tooth', 'teeth'.

Stops do not occur word-finally, except the two rare examples: yaṭ-yaṭ 'torn' and pilat 'fat' (probably from English). Continuant consonants may occur word-finally except the continuant consonants /w/, /y/, /m/ and /ŋ/.

Consonant clusters never occur initially or word-finally. In the morpheme medial position and across morpheme boundaries, a stop never occurs before a continuant except in the rare case of yaṭ-yaṭ 'torn'. The permitted sequence is

TABLE 2.3 - *Morpheme medial-consonant clusters*

		second member						
		p	k	m	ŋ	t̪	t	t̪
first member	m	x						
	ŋ		x					
	n̪	x	x	x	(x)	x		
	l	x	x	x	(x)	x		
	n	x	x	x	(x)	x	x	
	l	x	x	x	(x)	x	(x)	
	r	x	x	(x)	x	x		
	ŋ	x	x	x	(x)	(x)		x
	!	x	x	(x)	(x)	(x)		(x)

continuant plus stop or continuant plus continuant. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 give the full range of permitted sequences as evidenced by the data on hand; x indicates that there is evidence for the occurrence of the cluster; (x) indicates that the combination occurs in reduplicated forms and there is a strong probability it occurs also morpheme medially.

Note that within a morpheme consonant clusters are further limited as follows:

- /m/ is followed only by /p/
- /ŋ/ is followed only by /k/
- /n̪/ is never followed by /t/
- /n̪/ is never followed by /t̪/
- /r/ plus /t̪/ medially is manifested phonetically as [-rt̪ʷ-]
- /n/ plus /t̪/ medially is manifested phonetically as [-ndʷ-]
- /l/ plus /t̪/ medially is manifested phonetically as [-lt̪ʷ-]
- /l/ plus /p/ or /k/ is manifested phonetically as [-lʷp-] and [-lʷk-].

Note the phonetic differences in the following combinations:

- /-n̪t̪-/ is phonetically [-ndʷ-] i.e., the stop is voiced and alveolarised.
- /-n̪t̪-/ is phonetically [-nd̪-] i.e., both consonants are interdental.

and so for other examples of alveolar continuant plus dental stop or dental continuant plus dental stop, e.g., /-rt̪-/ is [-rt̪ʷ-].

For rules governing consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries see 2.1.6 below.

2.1.4 STRESS PLACEMENT. Primary syllable stress falls on the first syllable of each word except in a few borrowings from English, such as /puraaku/ 'frock' and /turaapa/ 'trough', in which stress on the second syllable is indicated by vowel length (which actually occurs phonetically). In three-syll-

TABLE 2.4 - Consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries within the word

		second member								
		p	k	m	ŋ	t̪	t	t̪	w	y
first member	ŋ	x	x	x	(x)	x				
	l̪	x	x	x	(x)	x	(x)			(x)
	n	x	x	x	(x)	x	x			
	l	x	x	x	(x)	x	x			(x)
	r	x	x	x	(x)	x				(x) (x)
	ŋ	x	x	x	(x)	x			x	
	!	x	x	(x)	(x)	x			x	

able words, secondary stress falls on the second syllable. In four-syllable words, secondary stress falls on the third syllable. In words of more than four syllables, secondary stress falls on the penultimate.

2.1.5 MINIMAL AND ANALOGOUS CONTRASTS. The following are examples only. Final decisions on what are the phonemes of Watjarri were based on more comprehensive data.

- /t̪/ v /t/ kati 'arm', kaṭi 'spear', tuwa 'house', tuwari 'red ochre'  
 /t̪/ v /t̪/ kaṭi 'arm', kaṭiṭa 'lift (meat from fire)'  
 /t̪/ v /t̪/ muṭi 'cold', muṭi 'husband'  
 /t̪/ v /r/ mitu 'mate', miru 'spearthrower', kuruṇ 'spirit', kankutu 'gun-less'  
 /ŋ/ v /n/ ŋapa 'what?', napa 'fat'  
 /n/ v /ŋ/ muni 'money', muṇi 'wife', ṭuna 'put it', ṭuṇa 'hitting stick'  
 /ŋ/ v /ŋ/ paṇa 'that', paṇa 'ground'  
 /n/ v /ŋ/ nuṛiṭ 'navel cord', ṇuṛi 'bag', ṇuṭiṇa 'afraid'  
 /l̪/ v /l̪/ muṭa 'nose', mula 'dead', kuṭu 'sweet potato', kulu 'flea'  
 /l̪/ v /!/ puṭi 'cockatoo', puṭi 'carpet snake', maṭa 'behind', mala 'will get'  
 /r/ v /r/ ṭura 'girl', ṭura 'put it', waru 'back', waṛu 'light', 'lamp'  
 /l̪/ v /!/ kaṭa 'armpit', kaṭa 'fire'  
 /!/ v /r/ waṛala 'will sing', waṭa 'egg', waṛaṇ 'song'  
 /t̪/ v /r/ maṛa 'hand', maṭa 'hill', ṭaṭa 'calf of leg', ṭaṛa 'shield'  
 /ŋ/ v /ŋ/ ṇana 'who?', ṇaṇa 'this one'  
 /a/ v /i/ v /u/ pika 'sore', puka 'covering', puku 'buttocks'

2.1.6 MORPHOPHONOLOGY The non-phonemic changes of components in consonant combinations within the morpheme have been described above. There are several changes which occur across morpheme boundaries for which a set of rules can be suggested.

Both the ergative suffix and the locative suffix (each being a single open CV syllable) have as their initial consonant an apico-stop. The ergative may be symbolized as - /{-tu}/ and the locative as - /{-ta}/. These forms occur following stems ending with a consonant, and each has an allo-

morph which occurs following stems ending with a vowel. In morphemics these may be displayed in this way:

subject stem ending with a vowel takes /-ŋku/ 'ergative'  
 subject stem ending with a consonant takes /{-tu}/ 'ergative'  
 location stem ending with a vowel takes /-la/ 'locative'  
 location stem ending consonant takes /{-ta}/ 'locative'

The stem-final consonant, however, may be dental, alveolar or post-alveolar (retroflex). The following rule then applies:

The apico-stop initial consonant of the suffix assimilates to the same point of articulation as the final consonant of the stem.

Thus:

/ŋakalalaŋ-tu/ 'The cockatoo did it.'  
 /kuŋulilin-tu/ 'The tadpole did it.'  
 /mapaŋ-ŋa/ 'on the magic stone.'

An exception to the rule occurs in the case of stem-final /r/, which is lost in the suffixation, producing an apico-post-alveolar (or retroflex) initial consonant of the suffix, e.g., /mayu maŋkur/ 'the three children', plus /{-ta}/ 'locative' becomes phonetically (mayu maŋkuŋa), 'on the three children'.

With suffixes beginning with /t/ (such as /-ŋara/, /-ŋanu/) following stems ending with a consonant, the same rules apply as for clusters within the morpheme (described above), that is

/-n + t-/ becomes phonetically [-ndʲ-]  
 /-ŋ + t-/ becomes phonetically [-ŋd-]  
 /-ŋ + t-/ becomes phonetically [-ŋdʲ-] etc.

Or, to state this as a rule, suffix-initial dental stop is interdental following a stem final interdental continuant or vowel; but following any other stem final continuant consonant it is alveolarised, i.e., it becomes a post-dental with a slight /i/ offglide.

## 2.2 A PRACTICAL ALPHABET

In choosing a practical orthography, I have been guided by recommendations from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, by the experience of linguists and teachers who have been engaged in bilingual education programmes, by the demands of typewriters and printing presses, and by appeals that the material supplied on this language may be easily compared with materials on other Western Australian languages, such as the Western Desert language, which have been in print for some considerable time.

A major problem in choosing a practical alphabet for an Australian language is that connected with the choice of b, d, g, or p, t, k, for the symbolising of the voiceless, unaspirated stops, /p/, /t/, and /k/. There are difficulties whichever choice is made. I would prefer to use b, d and g for Watjarri; but have chosen rather to adopt the voiceless symbols for several reasons, one of these reasons being that

TABLE 2.5 - *Phonetic symbols and practical alphabet correspondents*

Stops	/p/	p	/t/	tj	/t/	t	/ṭ/	rt	/k/	k
Nasals	/m/	m	/ṇ/	nj	/n/	n	/ṇ/	rn	/ŋ/	ng
Laterals			/ḷ/	lj	/l/	l	/ḷ/	rl		
Rhotics					/r/	rr	/ṛ/	r		
Semi-vowels	/w/	w			/y/	y				
Vowels					/i/	i	/a/	a	/u/	u

it makes for ease of comparison with the Western Desert language.

For the lamino-(/inter-)dentals, the symbol -j has been chosen to represent 'dentalness' consistently, viz. tj, nj, lj. Digraphs have been chosen also for the apico-post-alveolar (retroflexed) consonants, viz. rt, rn, rl. The symbol now recommended for the trilled or flapped rhotic is rr, and for the retroflexed rhotic the single r has been adopted. Where /ṇ/ or /ḷ/ occur before /ṭ/, the practical alphabet spelling will be rnt, rlt respectively. The phoneme /ṭ/ occurring singly will be represented by rt.

Table 2.5 shows the symbols used for both linguistic and practical purposes; each phonemic symbol is enclosed in slant lines and is followed by the practical representation.

**PUNCTUATION:** The comma (,) represents a tentative pause, rising pitch.

The stop (.) represents a final pause, falling pitch.

Questions are indicated by (?) and exclamations by (!)

Quotation marks (') will be used for direct quotations.

Punctuation as above is not based on a thorough study of the intonational features of the language. Such a study has not been attempted here.

Comparison of phonetic and practical orthographies:

<i>Phonemic</i>	<i>Practical</i>	
/ŋana/	ngana	'who?'
/ṇana/	njanja	'this one'
/muni/	muni	'money'
/muŋi/	murni	'wife'
/muṭi/	murti	'cold'
/muṭi/	mutji	'husband'
/miru/	mirru	'spear thrower'
/ṭuṭu/	tjurtu	'elder sister'
/kati/	kati	'arm'
/muja/	mulja	'nose'
/mula/	mula	'dead'
/ma!u/	marlu	'kangaroo'
/waru/	waru	'light/lamp'
/ya!ku/	yariku	'blood'
/waŋkamaŋa/	wangkamanja	'talking'
/yanaŋina/	yanatjinja	'came'
/maŋuŋu kulayimaŋa/	martungu kulayimanja	'my spouse is coming closer'

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

[i] *Nouns*. The term 'noun' may be used to cover two sub-classes as follows: (a) Common nouns, the major and open sub-class. Common noun stems may be derived or non-derived. (b) Proper names: distinguished from common nouns by the occurrence of allomorphic variants of certain inflectional suffixes which occur with this subclass of nouns.

These two classes may be further sub-divided by a phonological feature which affects the form of inflectional suffixes, namely, the occurrence of word-final consonant or word-final vowel.

Common nouns and proper names, marked with appropriate inflectional suffixes, are distinguished by fulfilling certain syntactic functions such as transitive or intransitive subject, direct or indirect object, possession, location, direction, instrument or benefactor. Common nouns and proper names may also occur in the verbless predicate of an equational clause.

[ii] *Adjectives*, like common and proper nouns, are divided into two phonological classes according to whether words end with a vowel or a consonant. Adjectives function as peripheral to the head noun of noun phrases; but, in rare cases may constitute a headless phrase, functioning as subject or object, taking the same inflectional suffixes as common nouns. They may be derived or non-derived.

Adjectives may also occur as predicates in verbless clauses, such as the stative clauses, or as modifiers of nouns in noun phrases occurring in the predicate of equational clauses. Adjectives may also serve adverbial functions, qualifying verbal predicates.

[iii] *Pronouns*. (a) Personal pronouns. This is a closed class with forms for singular, dual and plural pronouns with inclusive and exclusive forms for the dual and plural. (b) Positional pronouns or demonstratives. These function like the personal pronouns in that they can fill the function of 3rd person pronoun; but they may also function as do adjectives (or nouns) in that they can modify nouns in noun phrases. They are also distinct from personal pronouns in that they take some of the inflectional suffixes of common nouns. Semantically, they refer to 3rd person items according to position near, mid-distant or distant from the speaker.

[iv] *Adverbs* may be non-derived or derived from other classes. Adverbs function as manner, location, direction or time fillers in syntactic constructions.

[v] *Verbs*. Verb stems may be non-derived or derived from other classes. Derivational suffixes occur as first order suffixes on the stems, followed by tense/mood suffixes then by other optional affixes, e.g. subject or object indicators.

The major division of verbs is the syntactic distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. There are also a few verbs which are ditransitive. Transitive verbs may take a direct object, whereas an intransitive verb never



takes a direct object. Other transitive markers may also occur in clauses having a transitive verb in the predicate.

A further division, on phonological grounds, places verbs in two major conjugational classes according to which allomorph of the tense and mood suffixes they take. There is also a residue of irregular forms numbering probably not more than five or six.

As indicated above, verb inflection is by suffixation. In addition to tense-aspect and mood affixes, pronominal suffixes, negation and emphatic suffixes and other types of suffix occur following the stem.

[vi] *Interrogative substitutes*. This is a series of words which may supply a substitute for each of the other parts of speech in interrogative constructions. These cover such questions as 'Who?', 'What?', 'Whom?', 'Whose?', 'How?', 'Why?', 'When?', 'Where?', 'Doing what?', 'Becoming what?', and so on.

[vii] *Interjections and Exclamations*. Common and proper nouns and pronouns (usually second person) may fill a vocative role in utterances. Also, command forms of the verb may occur as attention attracters outside the regular grammatical constructions. There are, however, a few items which are used specifically as exclamations, or to indicate agreement, certitude, negation, and so on (see 4.4).

## 3.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1 *STEM FORMATION OF COMMON AND PROPER NOUNS*. Stems in these two sub-classes may be simple, compounded, reduplicated, or complex. A sample list of simple stems is given below, divided according to the significant phonological dichotomy - (a) stems ending with a vowel and (b) stems ending with a consonant.

(a)	ika	'bone'	(b)	maparn	'sorcerer'
	iku	'younger sister'		marnun	'upper arm'
	kaku	'crow'		murtinj	'a pre-initiate'
	kalja	'armpit'		nurilj	'umbilical cord'
	kami	'grandfather'		ngurlurn	'a windbreak'
	kamparnu	'uncle'		pakarn	'throat'
	kurri	'spouse'		panin	'seed'
	maka	'head'		pimpilj	'a rib/ribs'

Examples of proper names include:

Malka 'proper name of the nephew of Putjulkura in a sacred story'  
 Malura 'place name - the hill at Mileura'  
 Muluwi 'place name - Mullewa'  
 Para 'place name - Perth'  
 Tjampinu 'place name - Geraldton'

And the substitute name for a deceased person:

njatja 'sand', 'dirt', used metaphorically as Njatja  
 'name of deceased'

*Compound stems (noun plus noun):*

- makayarla 'doctor' (maka 'head' + yarla 'hole', referring to a 'third eye')
- marlukantja 'kangaroo-fur blanket' (marlu 'kangaroo' + kantja 'fur skin')
- marlupirri 'the Kangaroo Paw (*Anigosanthos Manglesii*)' (marlu + pirri 'claw')
- pilapirti 'a mallee tree (*Eucalyptus pyriformis*, etc.)' (pila 'spinifex' + pirti 'den')
- tjilinpiti 'magpie lark' (tjilin 'sweet potato' + piti 'carrying dish')
- tjinapuka 'boots' (tjina 'foot' + puka 'a covering')
- katjayara 'son-father relationship' (katja 'son' + yara 'relationship')
- mangkawarla 'hat' (mangka 'hair' + warla 'egg')
- wanatjilingka 'scorpion' (wana 'digging stick' + tjila/i 'tail' + -ngka locative, 'on'.)

*Reduplicated stems.* Reduplication may be partial or complete. Partial reduplication may be the result of loss of vowel when two similar vowels become juxtaposed on complete reduplication, or the combination may be simply onomatopaeic. Onomatopaeic words may prove to be a large sub-class of nouns owing to the popularity for this form of signification for birds. Complete reduplication of noun or adjective roots may indicate diminution (e.g. of size, quality or state) or, on the other hand, an extension of the meaning of the root meaning. Reduplication of verb root may indicate continuity of the action or process.

*Examples of partial reduplication:*

- ilili 'noise of wooden spears rattling together' (probably ili + ili with loss of repeated vowel)
- itjitji 'Ta-ta lizard' (probably itji + itji, from child speech)
- kakararra 'East'
- kurrkurtu 'owl' (Onom. kurr + kurr + -tu)
- ngakalalanj 'Major Mitchell cockatoo' (Onom. compare Western Desert language kakalyalya)
- parnparnkarlarla 'bell bird' (Onom. compare Western Desert language parnparnpalala)
- warurru 'cold season' (probably from waru-waru, referring to 'fires')
- wirlutjarutjaru 'plover'. (Onom. 'weeloo', plus tjaru-tjaru, referring to its hovering descent, from -tjaru 'downwards')

*Examples of complete reduplication:*

- karakara 'afternoon' (karangu 'sun')
- marinj-marinj 'black ant' (as an adjective, means 'proud')
- marta-marta 'a small lizard' (marta 'stone', 'pebble')
- mintin-mintin 'beetle'
- munga-munga 'evening' (munga 'night')
- ngarn-ngarn 'jaw' 'chin' (ngarna 'ate')
- njirri-njirri 'smell of meat cooking' (but parntilku more frequent)
- para-para 'gecko lizard'
- pirti-pirti 'butterfly' (pirti 'den') (compare Western Desert language pinta-pinta)
- titi/pipi/mimi 'breasts', 'nipples'
- yipilj-yipilj 'a night-flying bat'
- wirta-wirta 'honey ants' (wirta 'tall')
- yarlu-yarlura 'black gecko lizard' (yarlu 'gum leaf', -ra 'plural')

*Compound stems (noun plus adjective):*

- kaljawirri 'rock wallaby' (kalja 'armpit' + wirri 'black')  
 kurntuwara 'echidna' (kurntu/i 'hitting stick' + wara 'long')  
 kurupur|kartu 'the Sturt Pea' (kuru 'eye' + pur|ka 'big' + -rtu  
 'emphatic')  
 tjilawara 'long-tailed lizard' (tjila 'tail' + wara 'long')  
 Kurtayapula-Kurtayarapula 'The Two Brothers' (Mythic figures said to be  
 standing as white stones at Yuin Reef. kurta 'elder brother' +  
 -yara 'reciprocal relationship' + -pula 'dual'.)

*Complex stems.* Nouns derived from other parts of speech, but not on the regular pattern of derivation. Examples include:

- ngartingka 'a post initiate' (ngarti 'with force' + -ngka 'locative')  
 tjutila 'policeman' (tjutila, a verb meaning: 'he will tie/hand-cuff')  
 wirlunju 'sea-coast people' (wir|u 'sea' + -nju, from njuwa, 'having',  
 used as a general adjective-deriving suffix.)

These occur in the following sentences:

- (1) ngartingka yanatjimanja The initiate is coming.
- (2) yamatjilu tjutila pinja The man hit the policeman.
- (3) wirlunju mariaku yanmanja The sea-coast people are going back.

*Regular derivation of nouns.* From the limited amount of material salvaged, the following types of regular derivation occur:

(a) *Nouns derived from adjectives.* Evidence for the use of derivational affixes is absent. The practice is to use adjectives as subjects or objects in headless phrases, e.g.

- (4) kutiya karimanja  
 one stand-PRES  
 There is only one standing.
- (5) kurnin|pa mulayinja  
 pitiable die-PAST  
 The poor fellow died.
- (6) yungatja kutiya ngarnaku  
 give-to me one eat-PURP  
 Give me one to eat.

(b) *Nouns derived from adverbs.* Nouns may be derived from adverbs by the affixation of the nominalizer -tja. Compare:

- (7) ngatja marla njinamanja  
 I behind sit-PRES  
 I am sitting behind.
- (8) ngatja marlatja pika  
 I behind-NOMLSR sore  
 The calf of my leg is sore.

(c) *Nouns derived from verbs.* A verb stem plus the suffix -njtja produces a noun.

- (9) mayu yal|pa piyamanja  
 children all play-PRES  
 All the children are playing.

- (10) mayu yaljpa piyanjtja-ki yanmanja  
 children all play-NOMLSR-ALL go-PRES  
 All the children are going to the game.

Note that both adjectives and nouns are derived from verbs by the use of this same -njtja suffix. This shows again the difficulty in dividing these two categories. Only by expansions or transformations can a decision be made in many cases. For example, (10) may be interpreted to mean '(Someone) is going to all the playing children.' But if an elucidation were requested, the sentence above may be restated as, mayu yaljpa yanmanja piyanjtjaki, which is 'All the children are going to that which is being played.'

### 3.2.2 CASE INFLECTIONS OF COMMON AND PROPER NOUNS

(i) *Transitive subject* is marked by ergative inflection. This has different forms depending on whether it is added to a common or a proper noun, and depending on whether this ends in a vowel or in a consonant.

(a) common noun ending with a vowel. There is dialectal fluctuation between the use of -ngu and -ngku as ergative marker following stems ending with a vowel. The same speaker may use both when repeating a sentence. For this reason, examples will enclose the (k) in brackets.

- (11) mayu-ng(k)u tjutju pinja  
 child-ERG dog hit-PAST  
 The child hit the dog.

There is an alternative usage, however, which has semantic significance. The -lu suffix, normally used on proper nouns, may be affixed as the ergative marker to common nouns when the speaker wishes to show deference or to contrast 'personal' with 'impersonal', e.g.

- (12) njarlu-ng(k)u tjutju pinja winta-ngku  
 woman-ERG dog hit-PAST stick-INST  
 The woman hit the dog with a stick. (Impersonal)
- (13) njarlu-lu tjutju njanganja  
 woman-ERG dog see-PRES  
 My wife is watching the dog. (Personal)

(b) common noun ending with a consonant. The phonetic shape of the final consonant of the stem determines the allomorph of the suffix which occurs. Or, in process terms, the initial consonant of the ergative suffix assimilates to the same point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem. The allomorphs are: -tu~-tju~-rtu, as in:

- (14) murtinj-tju papa nganmanja  
 preinitiate-ERG water consume-PRES  
 The young man (pre-initiate) is drinking water.
- (15) maparn-tu pika njanganja  
 doctor-ERG sick see-PRES  
 The doctor is examining the sick(one).

In Watjarri, the ergative marker may be omitted when no ambiguity may occur, as, for example, when a direct object is marked or when a person occurs in the subject and an inani-

mate or non-personal item fills the direct object position, e.g.

- (16) kutjarra mayu njanganja ngalinja  
two children see-PRES us(dual)-OBJ  
The two children are watching us two.

(c) proper noun (name) ending with a vowel. These invariably take the suffix -lu, e.g.

- (17) Mungku-lu tjutju pinja  
Mungku-ERG dog-OBJ hit-PAST  
Mungku hit the dog.

(d) proper noun ending with a consonant. The same rule applies as for common nouns ending with a consonant. The allomorphs of the ergative suffix are -tu~-tju~-rtu, e.g.

- (18) Stan-tu tjutju pinja  
Stan-ERG dog hit-PAST  
Stan hit the dog.

(ii) *Intransitive subject* (including the subject of verbless clauses) and (iii) *Transitive object* are both marked by the absolutive case suffix which again has different forms depending on whether it is added to a common or a proper noun, ending in a vowel or in a consonant:

(a) common noun ending with a vowel:  $\emptyset$  (zero), e.g.

- (19) papa intimanja  
water-ABS flow-PRES  
The water is flowing.

(b) common noun ending with a consonant: -pa, e.g.

- (20) kurninj-pa mulayinja  
pitiabie one-ABS died-PAST  
The poor fellow died.
- (21) kuwiyarl-pa waku-ki yanmanja  
goanna-ABS hole-ALL go-PRES  
The goanna is going to the hole.

(c) proper noun ending with a vowel: -nja, e.g.

- (22) Mungku-nja njinamanja  
Mungku-ABS sit-PRES  
Mungku is sitting.

(d) proper noun ending with a consonant: -nga, e.g.

- (23) Mingkurl-nga njinamanja  
Mingkurl-ABS sit-PRES  
Mingkurl is sitting.
- (24) Mingkurl-nga pika  
Mingkurl-ABS sick  
Mingkurl is sick.

In traditional stories, the personalising of natural objects is indicated in the language by the use of the proper noun suffixes occurring with common nouns. (And, of course, there are many proper names which are simply common nouns personalised in this way.)

(iv) *Location*. The locative suffix indicates location 'at', 'on', 'in', and may occur with a noun in an adverbial phrase in which an adverb meaning 'near', 'above', etc occurs. There are again allomorphs sensitive to whether the noun is common or proper, and whether it ends in a vowel or a consonant.

(a) Common nouns ending with a vowel take either -ngka or -la (which seem to be in complete dialectal fluctuation at the time of writing except that speakers from Murgoo preferred -ngka rather than -la), e.g.

- (25) kuwiyar!pa marta-ngka kayinja  
goanna rock-LOC stand-PAST  
The goanna stood on the rock.
- (26) kuwiyar!pa marta-la kayinja  
goanna rock-LOC stand-PAST  
The goanna stood on the rock.
- (27) kuwiyar!pa marta-ngka kula kayinja  
goanna rock-LOC near stand-PAST  
The goanna stood near the rock.
- (28) yamatji njinamanja marta-ngka  
person sit-PRES rock-LOC  
The man is sitting on the rock.
- (29) mayu ngayimanja tjaka-ngka  
child lie-PRES dish-LOC  
The child is lying in the carrying dish.

(b) Common nouns ending with a consonant take one of the allomorphs -ta ~ -tja ~ -rta according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem, e.g.

- (30) puluku turayin-ta yanmanja Tjampinu-ki  
bullocks train-LOC go-PRES Geraldton-ALL  
The bullocks are going on the train to Geraldton.

(c) Proper nouns ending with a vowel take -la.

- (31) panja Tjampinu-la njinamanja  
he Geraldton-LOC sit/stay-PRES  
He is in Geraldton.

(d) Proper nouns ending with a consonant behave like common nouns ending with a consonant, e.g.

- (32) Kurtayarapula kayimanja Yuwin-ta  
The Two Brothers stand-PRES Yuin-LOC  
The Two Brothers are standing at Yuin Reef.
- (33) mayu panja kayimanja Mingkurl-ta kula  
child that stand-PRES Mingkurl-LOC near  
That child is standing near Mingkurl.

(v) *Direction towards*. The allative suffix indicates motion to or towards. This is -kuwi, often shortened to -ki, suffixed directly to the noun stem regardless as to whether it ends with a consonant or vowel, e.g.

- (34) ngatja marlaku yanmanja tuwa-ki  
I back go-PRES house-ALL  
I'm returning to the house.
- (35) yanmanja mungal marlaku-pa Carnarvon-ki  
go-PRES tomorrow back-IMMED Carnarvon-ALL  
I am going right back to Carnarvon tomorrow.
- (36) yamatji yanmanja tawun-ki warinj-ku  
man go-PRES town-ALL food-PURP  
The man is going to town for food.
- (37) martungu-kuwi-pa yanmanja  
spouse-ALL-IMMED go-PRES  
He's going straightaway to his wife.

Note that place names take -ki immediately following the stem, but personal name stems take the locative suffix (-la/ta) before -ki is added.

(vi) *Direction from.* The ablative suffix indicates 'motion away from'. It has one form, -tjanu. Following common nouns, whether ending with a consonant or a vowel, -tjanu immediately follows the stem. Following proper nouns ending with a vowel, the locative suffix has first position following the stem, followed by -tjanu. Proper noun stems ending with a consonant take one of the allomorphs of the locative suffix, according to the point of articulation of the final consonant (-ta~tja~rta), and -tjanu, e.g.

- (38) turapa-tjanu yanatjinja  
trough-ABL come-PAST  
He came from the (water-)trough.
- (39) mayu yanatjimanja kurl-tjanu  
child come-PRES school-ABL  
The child is coming from school.
- (40) Kuwiyarl-ta-tjanu pakarli kutjarra yanatjinja  
Kuwiyarl-LOC-ABL man two come-PAST  
From Kuwiyarl came the two initiated men.

(vii) *Instrument.* The instrumental suffix has the same form as the ergative suffix and obeys the same rules of affixation. Instrument occurs only in a transitive sentence and refers to the instrument used to carry out the action against the object. To translate certain 'instrumental' constructions in English, such as, 'to walk with a walking stick', 'to wash a child with water', the instrumental would not be used in Watjarri but rather a form such as -njuwa ('having', or 'equipped with') would be used following the noun or noun phrase in manner position.

(a) Common nouns ending with a vowel take -ngku or -lu. The choice of one or the other is a dialectal one and does not seem to bear any semantic overtones.

(b) Common nouns ending with a consonant take -tu~tju~rtu according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem.

(c) Proper nouns ending with a vowel take -lu.

(d) Proper nouns ending with a consonant take -tu~tju~rtu according to the rules above, e.g.

- (41) warlarnu-lu tjutju yuwaiku  
boomerang-INST dog strike-PURP  
.. To strike the dog with a boomerang.
- (42) yamatji-lu tjutju warlarnu-ngku pinja  
man-ERG dog boomerang-INST hit-PAST  
The man hit the dog with a boomerang.
- (43) njarlu-ngku tjutju pinja winta-ngku  
woman-ERG dog hit-PAST stick-INST  
The woman hit the dog with a stick.
- (44) makayarla-lu parnti-ya maparn-(r)tu  
doctor-ERG make good-FUT magic stone-INST  
The doctor will heal him with a magic stone.

(viii) *Possession*. The possessive suffix is -ku for both common and proper nouns, e.g.

- (45) yamatji-ku ngura It is the man's camp.  
(46) murtinj-ku mama It is the pre- initiate's father.  
(47) Mungku-ku kutjarta It is Mungku's spear.  
(48) Mingkurl-ku tjutju It is Mingkurl's dog.  
(49) njarlu-ku tjutjungku ngatjanja patjarna The woman's dog bit me.

Inalienable possession: for body parts, names of persons, one's language and other inalienable possessions, the -ku suffix is not used, but the noun precedes the thing possessed and is inflected according to case, e.g.

- (50) Akurtu wangka  
Akurtu speech  
It is the speech of Akurtu.
- (51) njinta Mingkurl-nga maka pinja  
you Mingkurl-OBJ head hit-PAST  
You hit Mingkurl's head.
- (52) yalipirri warla  
emu egg  
It is an emu egg.
- (53) murtinj yini wayi tjapin  
preinitiate name NEG ask-IMP  
Don't ask the pre- initiate's name.

(ix) *Purpose*. The purposive suffix is -ku also, and remains constant for common and proper nouns. This suffix may indicate purpose or reason, e.g.

- (54) yamatji yanmanja tawun-ki warinj-ku  
man go-PRES town-ALL food-PURP  
A man is going to town for food.
- (55) ngatja patjayimanja warinj-ku  
I become desperate-PRES food-PURP  
I'm becoming desperate for food.
- (56) njarlu papa-ku yanatjimanja  
woman water-PURP come-PRES  
A woman is coming for water.

(x) *Cause*. The causal suffix is -kutja, with no allomorphs. It is found as a suffix to a noun or noun phrase only. (Ver-



TABLE 3.1 - Summary of noun cases

	Common noun ending in		Proper noun ending in	
	vowel	consonant	vowel	consonant
Transitive Subject (Ergative)	-ng(k)u (-lu) rare	-(tu)*	-lu	-(tu)
Intransitive Subject	-ø(zero)	-pa	-nja	-nga
Direct Object (Absolutive)				
Location (Locative)	-ngka~-la ~-ku(r)la	-(ta)*	-la	-(ta)
Direction towards (Allative)	-kuwi~-ki	-kuwi~-ki	-laki	-(ta)ki
Direction from (Ablative)	-tjanu	-tjanu	-latjanu	-(ta)tjanu
Instrument (Instrumental)	-ngku~-lu	-(tu)	-lu	-(tu)
Possession (Possessive)	-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku
Purpose (Purposive)	-ku	-ku	-ku	-ku
Cause (Casual)	-kutja	-kutja	-kutja	-kutja
Indirect Object (Dative)	-kila	-kila	-la	-(ta)

\*-(tu) = -tu and its allomorphs, -tju and -rtu; -(ta) = -ta and its allomorphs -tja and -rta; according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem (a homorganic cluster is produced).

bal 'causes' are formed with purposive or reason verb markers), e.g.

(57) ngatja mayu-kutja mamanjimanja  
I child-CAU become angry-PRES  
I'm becoming angry because of the children.

(58) minga-kutja ngatja pakarna  
ants-CAU I rise-PAST  
On account of the ants I got up.

(xi) *Indirect object.* The indirect object or dative suffix is -kila for common nouns and -la for proper names (or on a common noun to stress personality or deference). For proper names ending with a consonant, an appropriate allomorph of -ta is used according to the point of articulation of the final consonant of the stem, e.g.

(59) tjutju-kila palu wangkanja yanayiku  
dog-DAT he tell-PAST come-PURP  
He told the dog to come.

- (60) wangkama, wuljpala-la ya-naku-pa  
tell-IMP whiteman-DAT go-PURP-IMMED  
Tell the whiteman to go now.
- (61) njinta Mungku-la wangkaya waraku  
you Mungku-DAT tell-FUT sing-PURP  
You will tell Mungku to sing.

Table 3.1 summarises the case inflections on common and proper nouns, and their allomorphs.

There is also a benefactive suffix *-tja* 'to me' that occurs only in sentences with the verb 'to give'. See 3.8.2.

### 3.3 ADJECTIVES

3.3.1 STEM FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES. Examples of simple stems, ending with a vowel:

- |      |         |                |                  |                       |
|------|---------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (62) | kampu   | 'cooked'       | kuka kampu       | 'cooked meat'         |
| (63) | kumuru  | 'blind'        | palu kumuru      | 'he is blind'         |
| (64) | malarti | 'tired'        | yamatji malarti  | 'a tired man'         |
| (65) | murla   | 'dead'         | mayu panja murla | 'that child is dead'  |
| (66) | ngurlu  | 'afraid'       | ngatja ngurlu    | 'I'm afraid'          |
| (67) | pika    | 'sick'         | mayu pika        | 'the child is sick'   |
| (68) | wanka   | 'raw', 'fresh' | kuka wanka       | 'raw (uncooked) meat' |

Examples of simple stems, ending with a consonant:

- |      |         |            |                  |                      |
|------|---------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| (69) | kartanj | 'broken'   | waru kartanj     | 'the lamp's broken'  |
| (70) | kurninj | 'pitiabie' | kurninj mama     | 'poor old father'    |
|      |         |            | mayu kurninjpa   | 'the pitiabie child' |
| (71) | wangunj | 'ashamed'  | ngatja wangunjpa | 'I am ashamed'       |

Examples of reduplicated stems:

- |      |                 |                       |                          |                            |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (72) | murrkar-murrkar | 'wise', 'clever'      | paluka murrkar-murrkarpa | 'he (emph) is wise'        |
| (73) | marinj-marinj   | 'proud'               | wuljpala marinj-marinjpa | 'a proud white-man'        |
| (74) | patja-patja     | 'drunk (intoxicated)' | patja-patjan             | 'you're drunk'             |
| (75) | tjirr-tjirr     | 'embarrassed'         | njarlu tjirr-tjirrp      | 'the woman is embarrassed' |
| (76) | watjarr-watjarr | 'leg-weary'           | ngatja watjarr-watjarrpa | 'I'm leg-weary'            |

3.3.2 DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES. The following affixes derive an adjectival stem:

[i] *-njuwa*, the comitative suffix, e.g.

- |      |                    |                           |                                 |  |
|------|--------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| (77) | papa-njuwa         | 'having water'            | <i>in</i> yirapiya papanjuwa    | 'a storm cloud heavy with rain'          |
| (78) | puta-njuwa         | 'having lice'             | <i>in</i> tjutju putanjuwa      | 'a lice-ridden dog'                      |
| (79) | martungu-njuwa     | 'having a spouse'         | <i>in</i> yamatji martungunjuwa | 'a married man'                          |
| (80) | njarlu pakatinjuwa | 'a bucket-equipped woman' |                                 |  |
| (81) | kurartu-njuwa      | 'equipped with a spear'   | <i>in</i> pakarli kurartunjuwa  | 'an initiated man equipped with a spear' |

[ii] -kutu, the privative suffix, follows stems ending with a vowel or a consonant. One borrowed word, kan 'gun', takes a vowel following the stem:

- (82) kan-a-kutu 'gunless' *in* pakarli kanakutu njinamanja 'the man without a gun is remaining here'  
 (83) panin-kutu 'seedless' *in* wirnta paninkutu 'the tree is seedless'  
 (84) kurartu-kutu 'spearless' *in* yamatji yaljpa kurartukutu 'all the fellows are spearless'

[iii] -yara, reciprocal relationship suffix. This is usually suffixed to relationship terms, and produces an adjective indicating that two or more people have a reciprocal relationship to each other.

- (85) martungu-yara 'husband-wife relationship' (martungu 'spouse')  
*as in* pula martunguyara 'they-two are married'  
 (86) katja-yara, mama-yara 'son-father', 'father-son' relationships respectively; yaku-yara 'a mother-child relationship'. Note that kamparnu 'uncle' + -yara becomes kamparnira.

[iv] -njtja, used to derive an adjective from a verb (gerundive suffix).

- (87) warni- 'to fall' *gives* warni-njtja *as in* papa warninjtja 'it is falling water (rain)' (see section 3.7.2 for the concurrent action suffix, -njtja with -YA class and -nta with -LA class verbs).

### 3.3.3 DERIVATION OF VERBS FROM COMMON NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

This rightly belongs under the heading of verbs; but it should be noted at this point that both common nouns and adjectives, by the addition of the appropriate suffixes, may be verbalised to become transitive or intransitive verbs. The following examples involving the verbalising suffixes -tji~yi 'to become' and -ma- 'to make' will give a general view of the manner of suffixation:

adjective murti 'cold': verb murti-tji-manja 'becoming cold'  
 noun karla 'fire', verb karla-tji-manja 'becoming hot'  
 adjective ngurlu 'afraid', verb ngurlu-ma-nmanja 'to make afraid/hunt'

In rarer cases the normal verb suffix may be used, e.g.,  
 noun wangka 'speech', 'language', verb wangka-manja 'talking', 'telling'.

3.3.4 CLASSES OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives may be divided into classes according to the order in which they may occur in descriptive phrases. The following classes may be noted:

#### *Adjectives of state:*

kumuru	'blind'	palparu	'stupid'
murla	'dead'	parnti	'good'
murti	'cold'	patja	'angry'
malarti	'tired'	yimpilj-yimpilj	'untidy'
ngurlu	'afraid'		

#### *Adjectives of colour*

wirri/mawurtu	'black'	pirinj/pilingki	'white', 'shiny'
piljinji/yariku	'red' (yariku 'blood')		

*Adjectives of number or quantity:*

kurriya (kutiya/kurri)	'one'	yaljpa	'many'
kutjarra (kutja)	'two'	wirti	'none'
marnkurr	'three'	kutju	'another'

*Adjectives of size:*

yarnta	'big', 'large'	wirtara	'tall'
tjintjamarta	'small', 'little', 'young'	wiljpirri	'thin'

See 4.2 for discussion of order of adjectives in the noun phrase. Demonstrative adjectives, or positional pronouns are dealt with in 3.5.

3.3.5 INFLECTION OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives are inflected in the same manner as nouns, depending on whether the stem ends with a vowel or a consonant and giving attention to the grammatical function the adjective is performing. This is dealt with more specifically under syntax; but, briefly, functioning as nouns or as the final word in a noun phrase, adjectives take the same inflections (case endings, etc.) as would nouns in these positions, e.g.

- (88) kutiya-lu karla kutjarna  
 one-ERG fire ignite-PAST  
 One (fellow) lit the fire.
- (89) mayu kutjarra yanatjimanja  
 child two-ABS come-PRES  
 The two children are coming.
- (90) njarlu yanmanja tjutju kutjarra-ku  
 woman-ABS go-PRES dog two-PURP  
 The woman is going for the two dogs.
- (91) pakarli-lu njarlu yarnta pinja  
 man-ERG woman big hit-PAST  
 The man hit the big woman.
- (92) pakarli-lu njarlu njanja-nja pinja  
 man-ERG woman this-person-ACC hit-PAST  
 The man hit this woman.

## 3.4 PRONOUN MORPHOLOGY

Table 3.2 shows the pronoun paradigm. It will be noted that the case system associated with pronouns is a nominative-accusative system differing from the ergative system associated with common nouns and adjectives. This means that 'Subject' in the table covers both transitive and intransitive subject as the pronoun retains the same form for each of these grammatical functions. 'Object' then refers to transitive object, which takes the accusative case.

## 3.5 POSITIONAL PRONOUNS OR DEMONSTRATIVES

Positional pronouns or demonstratives may fill a number of grammatical functions, such as transitive or intransitive

TABLE 3.2 - Pronouns and their inflections

Roots (used without suffix for subject function):

	singular	dual	plural
1 person inclusive	ngatja	ngali	nganju
1 person exclusive		ngalitja	ngantju
2 person	njinta	njupali	njurra
3 person	palu*	pula*	tjana

Suffixes

Object (accusative case)	-nja
Locative	-la
Allative (direction to)	-laki
Ablative (direction from)	-latjanu
Possessive	nganatjangu for 1sg ( <i>also</i> ngatjangu, nganayangu rarely) -ngu on all others
Indirect object	-laki--la on 1sg, 2sg, 3sg, 1 du inc -la on all others
Emphatic	-rna on 1sg -n on 2sg -ka on 3sg (non-singulars do not have emphatic form)

\* palu and pula refer to 3rd person singular and dual (respectively) within the local group. To refer to a third person (singular) outside the group palutja is used. To refer to third person dual outside the group pulatja is used.

subject, direct or indirect object, location-direction, and so on, taking the appropriate case markers on clause level. They may also function in the same manner as pronouns, both personal and non-personal, i.e., they may stand in the place of common and proper nouns (but with the added component of 'position in relation to the speaker'). As demonstratives they may also occur on phrase level, functioning as modifiers or specifiers.

Positional pronouns indicate the position of a third person or thing as 'near', 'mid-distant', 'distant' or as someone or something which was referred to previously, but is not now visible. They are inflected like nouns and not like pronouns. The stems are as follows:

njanja	'that which is near', 'this person/thing'
pala	'that mid-distant person or thing'
mawu	'that distant person or thing'
panja	'that person or thing previously referred to' (panjatja 'someone of the outside group referred to previously')

Examples, showing use of the case endings on positional pronouns:

*Transitive subject*

(93) mawu-lu kuka pawunmanja That (distant) person is cooking meat.

*Intransitive subject*

(94) njanja ngalilaki yanatjinja This person came to us-two

*Direct object, substitute for a common noun*

(95) karla-ki-n tjurra panja  
fire-ALL-2sg put-IMP that(previously mentioned)thing  
Put that thing in the fire.

*Direct object, a person*

(96) njarlu-lu pala-nja manmanja  
woman-ERG that-person-ABS get-PRES  
The woman is picking up that (child).

*Location-Direction*

(97) yamatji njanja njinamanja  
fellow here sit-PRES  
The fellow is sitting here.

To avoid ambiguity, this sentence may be repeated as:

(98) yamatji njinamanja <sup>o</sup>njanja  
fellow sit-PRES here  
The fellow is sitting here.

(With <sup>o</sup> indicating the onset of primary sentence stress, which, in the actual field situation, was not lacking in the first example of this sentence but was unmarked in the written example in the above description.)

As well as the directive, -ki 'to', 'towards', listed as a suffix to nouns, another suffix is frequently found following the positional pronouns in location-direction on clause level. It is the suffix -karti 'around', 'on the other side of', e.g.

(99) njarlu kutjarra panjakarti njinamanja  
woman two-ABS that-around sit-PRES  
The two women are around the other side there (referring to something previously referred to).

(100) yamatji panja palakarti njinamanja  
fellow that that-around sit-PRES  
That fellow (we were talking about) is sitting around there.

An additional suffix, occurring before -karti, the form -rni, probably referring to the speaker as object of the direction (compare -rni the pronominal suffix indicating 1st person object), is also used in some combinations such as:

(101) mayu yaljpa njanja-rni-karti yanatjimanja  
child many this-side of come-PRES  
All the children are coming on this side.

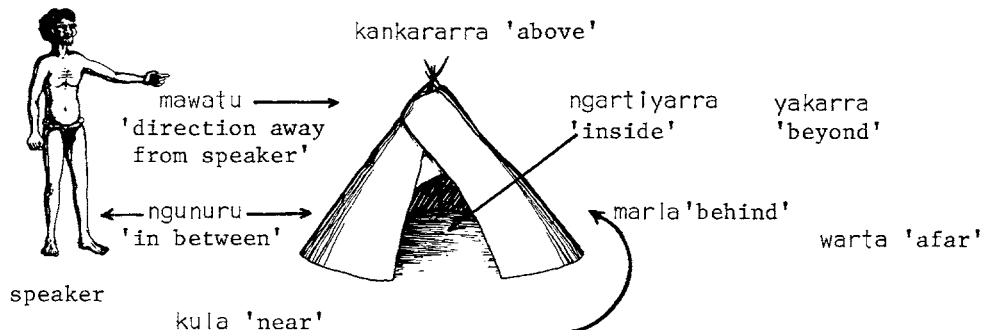
(102) mayu yaljpa panja-rni-karti marta-ngka njinamanja  
child many that-side of hill-LOC sit-PRES  
All the children are sitting on the other side of the hill.

## 3.6 ADVERBS

Under this heading there are three classes distinguished. There is a set of locational-directionals which occur in the location-direction clause-level 'slot' and which do

not require the locative suffixes required by nouns or noun phrases occurring in this position. Then there is a set of temporals which occur in the time 'slot' on clause-level. These also occur without the suffix which occurs with nouns or noun phrases in this position. A third set may be labelled 'adverbs of manner' in that they occur in the manner 'slot' immediately preceding the verb. These also are undeclinable except that they take the ergative suffix when the clause is transitive.

[a] *The locational-directions.* These may be diagrammed as follows:



[b] *The temporals.* These may be diagrammed according to whether they refer to time in relation to the present or to the time of day.

ukarla	kuwarti	(w)urta
'before'	'now'	'later'
'previously'	'today'	'in the future'
mungal	midday	tjuljara
'during pre-noon'	;	'during afternoon'
		munga-munga
		'late afternoon'

maruwara  
'early in the morning'

\*

marungapa  
'at sunset'

\*'midday' and 'midnight' are derived from nouns, tjurringka and munga-ngka respectively.

waparangu (from wapa-karangu)  
'another day'

Whether the time of day is past or future depends on the tense of the verb. For example:

(103) ngalitju                      mungal                      yarra  
we-two-inc-RECIP in the morning go-IMP  
Let us go away (with each other) in the morning.

[c] *Adverbs of manner.* A list of these forms will be found in the Vocabulary.

(104) mayu ngartara ngayimanja  
child crookedly lie-PRES  
The child is lying uncomfortably.

## 3.7 VERB MORPHOLOGY

## 3.7.1 STEM FORMATION

[i] *Simple Stems.* Simple verb stems may have one to four syllables, but most frequently consist of just two syllables.

<i>One syllable roots</i> (complete list)	<i>Two syllable roots</i> (examples)	<i>Three or more syllable roots</i> (examples)
pu- 'to hit'	patja- 'to bite'	malarti- 'to tire'
nja- 'to see'	njina- 'to sit'	mungalji- 'to night-fall'
tju- 'to put'	inti- 'to flow'	patawi- 'to stiffen'
ma- 'to get'	ngula- 'to cry'	
nga- 'to eat'	ngurli- 'to fear'	<i>Four syllable stem</i>
yu- 'to give'	paka- 'to rise'	(rare example)
ya- 'to go'	pawu- 'to cook'	kartapaya- 'to break meat'

[ii] *Reduplicated stems* usually indicate repeated action, e.g.

kiti-kiti- as in kitiki-manja 'tickling'  
 kula-kula- as in kula-kula-ri-manja 'becoming closer together'  
 mara-mara- as in mara-mara-nga-nja '(the child) crawled about'  
 mawu-mawu- as in mawu-mawu-yi 'keep moving over a bit further'  
 puti-puti- as in puti-puti-manja 'continually circling around'  
 ngangku-ngangku- as in ngangku-ngangku-# 'think about it' (ngangku  
 'listen')  
 ngantju-ngantju- as in ngantju-ngantju-manja 'being very bashful'  
 tilj-tilj- as in tilj-tilj-manmanja '(frogs) croaking'

[iii] *Complex Stems.* The etymology of polysyllabic stems is difficult to determine by the descriptive method without recourse to comparative and other branches of linguistics. Stems, such as kartapaya, are obviously compounds (karta- occurs in verbs to do with 'breaking' or 'cutting'); but -paya does not appear to occur as a meaningful unit in Watjarri. A number of other simple verb stems take suffixes to extend their meanings; but again it is difficult to assign specific meanings or functions to the various suffixes themselves.

A number of these forms will be dealt with under Derived Stems; but before listing these forms it will make for simpler presentation if the major classes of the verbs are introduced first.

[iv] *A preliminary note on verb classes.* Verbs may be divided into two inflectional classes, with a residue of irregular forms; and simultaneously into two syntactic classes.

Using the future tense marker as the identifying feature, the two major inflectional classes may be labelled the -YA class and the -LA class. The seven irregular verbs recorded each has a monosyllabic stem.

The two syntactic classes are the transitive (TV) and intransitive (IV) divisions. These classes are determined by occurrence of the verbs belonging to them in two differently marked types of syntactic constructions. The verbs themselves are not marked specifically for transitivity, although there are examples of known intransitive verbs changed to transitive verbs by the addition of a transiti-



vising suffix.

The two inflectional classes are clearly marked by the differing allomorphs of the tense suffixes as follows:

the -ya class	Present tense -manja, e.g. ngulamanja 'crying'	(IV)
	Past tense -nja, e.g. yanatjinja 'came'	(IV)
	Future tense -ya e.g. intiya 'will flow'	(IV)
the -la class	Present tense -nmanja, e.g. tjapinmanja 'requesting'	(TV)
	-rnmanja following stems with final a or u	
	Past tense -rna~-na e.g. wararna 'sang (a song)'	(TV)
	Future tense -rila~-la e.g. pakarla 'will arise'	(IV)

[v] *Derived verb stems.*

-YA class verbs:

(a) *noun, adjective or verb root + nga.* Transitive and intransitive verbs are formed with the suffix -nga. Apart from its verb-forming function, the meaning of -nga is obscure. Most examples of its occurrence are listed below.

karla-nga-ya (TV)	'will cause to be hot'	(karla 'fire')
mara-nga-ya (IV)	'will crawl'	(mara 'hand')
parnti-nga-ya (TV)	'will smell it'	(parnti 'smell')
pitja-nga-ya (IV)	'will prowl'	(pitja 'locomote' Western Desert language)
pukurna-nga-ya (IV)	'will run'	(puku 'buttock', pukurnta- 'to run along')
tjakula-nga-ya (IV)	'(the sun) will set/enter'	(tjakula, meaning uncertain)
tjakultju-nga-ya (IV)	'(the water) will flow'	(tjakul+-tju but meaning uncertain)
karta-nga-ya (IV)	'will break/become broken'	(kartanj 'broken')
kartiya-nga-ya (TV)	'will lift meat'	(karti- 'to lift')
piya-nga-ya (IV)	'will play'	(piya 'play') (piyamanja 'flying')
ngari-nga-ya (IV)	'will lie down'	(ngari-/ngayi- 'to lie/be lying down')
wilala-nga-ya (IV)	'will spill/leak'	(wila 'creek', but wilala uncertain)
yara-nga-ya (IV)	'will tear/rip/split'	(yara 'torn', 'ripped')

(b) *verb root/noun root + -ranga.* The combinations, -la-nga and -ya-nga (as in wilalangaya and kartiyangaya above) may be interpreted as allomorphs of -ranga; but the evidence seems to be inconclusive at this stage. Transitive and intransitive verbs are formed with this suffix. Its lexical meaning is uncertain. It functions as both a verbalising suffix and to extend the meaning of simple verb roots. These examples are virtually the total number of examples of this form recorded.

njina-ranga-ya (IV), 'will sit down (from a non-sitting position)'.  
Compare njina- as the root of the verb 'to sit', referring to the act of being in a sitting position.

paka-ranga-ya (TV) 'to rouse, raise'. Compare the IV paka- 'to rise',  
-LA class.

yurla-ranga-ya (IV) 'to smoke/to be smoky (as a fire)', (yurla 'smoke' (noun)).

(c) *root* + *-rni*. The root may be a verb or other root, sometimes its origin is uncertain. The suffix seems to indicate 'direction towards the speaker'. These are the recorded examples:

- kangka-rni-ya (TV) 'will fetch/bring' (compare *kangka-* 'to take (away)')  
 pungku-rni-ya (IV) 'will sleep' (meaning of *pungku*, unless related to 'hit' or violent action, is uncertain)  
 njara-rni-ya (IV) 'will become hungry' (meaning of *njara-* in this context not known)  
 tjampa-rni-ya (IV) 'to run', 'will hurry' (tjamparn 'hurry!', 'hurriedly')  
 tjupa-rni-ya (IV) 'will straighten out' (tjuparn 'straight')

(It could be stipulated that *tjuparn* + *-rni*, by loss of final consonant of the stem, becomes *tjuparni-*, and so with *tjamparn*; but it seems unnecessary to engage in a circular argument as to which is the basic form in such a brief description of *Watjarri*.)

(d) *noun, adjective, adverb or verb root* + *-ri~yi*. Intransitive verbs only are formed by this combination. The suffixes are found in free fluctuation and will be symbolised in the lists below by *-yi* alone. The morpheme, manifested by the variants *-ri* and *-yi*, functions as a verbalising suffix and carries the meaning of 'to be' or 'to become'. It may be added to any noun or adjective.

- karla-yi-ya 'will become hot' (karla 'fire')  
 kula-yi-ya 'will become near/close' (kula 'near/close')  
 murla-yi-ya 'will become dead' (murla 'dead')  
 paljpa-yi-ya 'will become tired' (paljpa 'tired')  
 patja-yi-ya 'will become angry' (patja 'angry')  
 pika-yi-ya 'will become sick/ill' (pika 'sick')  
 tjuka-yi-ya 'will become happy' (tjuka, not recorded in isolation)  
 tjintja-yi-ya 'will become small' (tjintja 'small')  
 tjuna-yi-ya 'will become clothed' (tjuna probably from the verb 'to put')  
 wilja-yi-ya 'will become splashed, sprinkled, bathed' (wilja- 'to splash')

(e) *root* + *tji~yi*. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are formed. The root may be a verb root or derivative or a root of unknown etymology. The function and meaning of the suffix is uncertain, sometimes changing a transitive verb into an intransitive verb, changing the direction of an action, or, in one case, carrying a meaning similar to *-ri~yi* above. The list below probably includes all the examples recorded.

- kalpa-tji-ya (IV) 'will climb' (kalpa not recorded elsewhere)  
 tjarta-tji-ya (TV) 'will insert' (tjarta 'calf of leg')  
 wangka-tji-ya (IV) 'will talk/converse' (wangka 'speech', wangka- (TV) 'to tell')  
 watji-tji-ya (IV) 'will become finished/complete' (watji 'no', 'nothing')  
 yana-tji-ya (IV) 'will come (towards the speaker)' (ya- 'to go')  
 mana-tji-ya (TV) 'will lift up' (ma- 'to get')  
 karla-tji-ya (IV) 'will become hot' (karla 'fire')  
 murti-tji-ya (IV) 'will become cold' (murti 'cold')

**-LA class verbs.**

[a] *noun or adjective root* + *-ma*. The suffix *-ma* may produce transitive or intransitive verbs. The suffix may be related to the verb *ma-* 'to get'; but it is difficult to assign a lexical meaning to it. The following are the only recorded examples:

- puntu-*ma-la* (TV) 'will close/shut it' (puntu not found in isolation)  
 warntu-*ma-la* (TV) 'will skin it' (warntu '(animal) skin')  
 par|ku-*ma-la* (IV) '(dog) will bark' (par|ku not found in isolation)  
 ngurlu-*ma-la* (TV) 'will hunt/sool' (ngurlu 'fear' in Western Desert language)  
 tjunku-*ma-la* (IV) 'will swim/splash about (in water)' (tjunku, etymology uncertain)  
 waljtji-*ma-la* (TV) 'will corrupt/belittle' (waljtji 'bad')  
 ya|*ma-la* (TV) 'will do what?' (ya| 'interrogative')  
 mika-*ma-la* (TV) 'will make it' (mika 'make', probably English borrowing)  
 mili-*ma-la* (TV) 'will light (a fire)' (mili 'light', 'daylight')  
 kar|a-*ma-la* (TV) 'will heat it' (kar|a 'fire')

[b] *root* + *-tja*. Only two examples are recorded, one intransitive the other transitive. One root is adjectival, the other a verb root. The meaning of the suffix is uncertain; but, in the case of its occurrence with the adjective root, it could be related to the Western Desert form *-tjarra* meaning 'having', 'equipped with'.

- murti-*tja-la* (TV) 'will become cold' (murti 'cold')  
 warni-*tja-la* (TV) 'will throw it' (warni- 'to fall')

[c] *root* + *-tju*. All verbs produced by the suffixation of *-tju* are transitive. The suffix itself is probably related to the verb *tju-* 'to put'.

- ngari-*tju-la* (TV) 'will cause to lie down' (ngari-/ngayi- 'to lie/recline')  
 waka|*-tju-la* (TV) 'will scratch/write it' (waka- 'to spear')  
 pina-*tju-la* (TV) 'will burn it' (pinma 'light' in Patimaya)  
 yur|a-*tju-la* (TV) 'will cause to smoke' (yur|a 'smoke', 'smoke signal')

3.7.2 VERB INFLECTION. Table 3.3 shows the inflections of the two conjugational classes of regular verbs and Table 3.4 has all forms recorded for the seven irregular verbs (all of them have monosyllabic roots).

The *-YA* class is the largest verb class with approximately 63% of the total number of verbs (48% intransitive, 15% transitive). The *-LA* class comprises about 36% (10% intransitive, 26% transitive). The irregular verbs make up the remaining 1% (or less); all irregular verbs are transitive excepting *ya-* 'to go'.

The following inflectional suffixes occur with the regular verbs. In the list of suffixial allomorphs below, the allomorph associated with the *-YA* class is listed first, followed by the *-LA* class allomorph or allomorphs.

- (i) *-manja~rnmanja/-nmanja* (stems ending with *-i* take only *-nmanja* in *-LA* class, but stems ending *-a* or *-u* may take *-rnmanja* or *-nmanja* by dialectal choice or in fluctuation) 'present tense' or 'continuous aspect', e.g.

TABLE 3.3 - *Inflections of regular verbs*

	present	past	future	perfect impera- tive	imperfect impera- tive	purpo- sive	concurrent action
-YA class	-manja	-nja	-ya	- $\emptyset$ (zero)	-ma	-ku ~-wu	-njtja
-LA class	-rnanja ~-nmanja	-rna ~-na	-rla ~-la	-n	-nma	-lku	-rnta ~-nta

- (105) njarlu yanatjimanja  
woman come-PRES  
The woman is coming.
- (106) nganalu pawunmanja, kuka [pawunmanja and pawurnmanja  
who-ERG cook-PRES meat fluctuate dialectically]  
Who is cooking it....the meat?
- (ii) -nja~-rna (or -na following stems ending in -i), 'past  
tense' or 'completive aspect', e.g.
- (107) kutiya karinja  
one-ABS stand-PAST  
One only stood.
- (108) mayu njinanja parnangka  
child-ABS sit-PAST ground-LOC  
The child sat on the ground.
- (109) palu wayi ngangkurna  
he-NOM not hear-PAST  
He did not hear it.
- (iii) -ya~-rla (or -la following -i): 'future tense' or 'poten-  
tial aspect', e.g.
- (110) papa urta intiya  
water-ABS later flow-FUT  
The water will flow by and by.
- (111) palu ngakarla kuwarti  
he-NOM catch-FUT now/directly  
He will catch you directly.
- (iv) - $\emptyset$  (zero)~-n, 'perfect imperative mood' or 'completive  
command'. Used in commands and as a hortative or  
desiderative with first person subjects, e.g.
- (112) njinaranga Sit down!  
(113) kulayi Come closer!  
(114) kuka pawun Cook the meat!  
(115) tjapin Ask him!  
(116) ngatja njina I want to sit down, or Let me sit down.
- (v) -ma~-nma, 'imperfect imperative' or 'continuous command'.  
be used as a polite form of command (or request) or  
may indicate 'permission', e.g.

TABLE 3.4 - *Inflections of irregular verbs*

	present	past	future	perfect imperative
pu- 'hit'	pumanja~ pinjmanja	pinja	pumaya	(pumaya)*
nja- 'see'	njanganja	njanja~ njinja	njangaya	njanga
tju- 'put'	tjunmanja	tjuna	tjunaya~ tjIya	tjurra
yu- 'give'	yungamanja	inja	yungaya	yunga
ya- 'go'	yanmanja	yana	yanaya~ yara	yarran
ma- 'get'	manmanja	mana	mara~mala	marra
nga- 'eat'	nganmanja	ngarna	ngala	(?ngala)*

	imperfect imperative	purposive	concurrent action
pu- 'hit'	puma	pinjaku~ pinjakurlu	pinjanjtja
nja- 'see'	njangama	njangaku~ njinjanawu	njinjanta
tju- 'put'	tjunma	(?tjunawu)	tjunanjtja
yu- 'give'	yungama	injangawu	(?injanjtja)
ya- 'go'	yanma	yanaku~ yanakulu	yananta
ma- 'get'	manma	manaku~ manawu	mananta
nga- 'eat'	nganma	ngarnaku~ ngarnangawu	(?ngarnanta)

\*The future tense, or potential aspect, is sometimes used for the imperative.

There is some evidence for an HISTORIC PAST, see (240).

(117) njinama, pintu Remain sitting and be quiet!

(118) kuwa, wangkama Yes, keep telling it!

(119) ngatjanja ngangkunma Continue to hear me!

(vi) -ku~-lku, 'purposive', marking a verb in a dependent clause of purpose or reason. (Note that in some of the examples the irregular form -kulu or kurlu may be

shown with an irregular verb.)

- (120) ngapuri, njinta njinaya wangkaku palanja  
 brother-in-law you sit-FUT tell-PURP him  
 Brother-in-law, you will stay to tell him (the story).
- (121) palu warlarnu mana tjutju yuwalku  
 he-NOM boomerang get-PAST dog strike by throwing at-PURP  
 He got the boomerang to hit the dog.

Note that *-ku* has an allomorph, *-wu*, which follows the low vowel *-a*; but this seems to be dialectal choice rather than by rule as in *Walmatjari* (see *Hudson 1978:12-13*). For example, Mrs. Dann corrected Joe Marlow's *manawu* to *manaku*, but allowed Fred Simpson's use of the same suffix. The *-wu* suffix manifests phonetically as [-u] following *-a* and *-u*, e.g., *kutiyalu kartiyangawu* '...so that one could take the meat out of the fire', shown phonetically as [kutiyalu kaɽiyaŋau].

- (vii) *-njtja~rnta/-nta* 'concurrent action (C.A.)' is marker for a verb in a dependent clause functioning as object, time, or other clause level 'filler' in which the action or event is occurring simultaneously with the action or event of the main clause, e.g.
- (122) tjatjan mayu tjamparninjtja pinjakurlu  
 chase-IMP child(ren) run-C.A. hit-PURP  
 Chase the children who are running away in order to punish them!
- (123) ngatja ngangkuna winjtju yuwakanta  
 I-NOM hear-PAST wind blow-C.A.  
 I heard the wind blowing.
- (124) ngatja njinja yamatji yaljpangku mama karinjtja  
 I-NOM see-PAST fellow many-ERG ceremony performing-C.A.  
 I saw a number of fellows performing a ceremony.

The forms of the inflectional suffixes occurring with the irregular verb roots are not completely predictable and, to complicate the picture, the stems themselves change shape for some tenses or moods. Not all tenses, aspects and moods have been recorded. The forms obtained are given in Table 3.4. Forms which have not been recorded but which are hypothesised are enclosed within parentheses in the table. Note that although *ngangkula* ('will hear it') is not listed as an irregular verb, it will be noted that in an example the purposive form is written *ngangkunku* instead of, as would be expected, *ngangkulku*. Further research may clarify this point.

### 3.8 BOUND PRONOUNS AND OTHER MOVEABLE SUFFIXES

3.8.1 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES. The low number of examples of the occurrence of bound pronouns seems to indicate that, in *Watjarri* (unlike in some Western Desert dialects), the preference is to use free pronouns much more frequently than bound pronouns.

In a large mass of conversational material recorded there are only a few examples of the use of bound pronouns

functioning as subject of a clause. 1st and 2nd singular, 1st dual and 3rd person plural forms have been noted. 1st and 2nd person object forms have been recorded also, but only on rare occasions. Bound forms have been more closely associated with commands, and there are examples of the bound forms occurring with the free forms of the pronoun to form emphatic pronouns.

The following tables summarise the basic information extracted from the recorded data:

*Pronominal suffixes, subject form (also used in emphatic pronouns):*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-rna	-li	---
2nd	-n	(-pula)	---
3rd	-#	---	-ya

The bound subject pronoun occurs as the final suffix to the first grammar functioning item or 'tagmeme' in a clause, e.g.

- (125) ngatja-rna ngarinja I (emphatic) lay down.  
 (126) yanmanja-rna urta I am going away shortly.  
 (127) urta-n kariya You will dance by and by.  
 (128) yarra-pa-li ngali Let us (dual inclusive i.e. you and me)  
 go now.

Note that there is no inclusive-exclusive distinction with the bound pronouns; but (128) shows how the distinction can be made by combining free and bound pronouns.

*Pronominal suffixes, object form:*

	Singular
1st	-rni
2nd	-nta

The bound object pronoun also occurs following the first clause level unit as a final suffix, e.g.

- (129) ngatja-nta watji pinja I did not hit you.  
 (130) pinja-rni-n ngatjanja  
 hit-PAST-1sg0-2sgA 1sg-0  
 It was definitely me whom you hit.

*Vocative forms of the pronominal suffixes (as associated with commands):*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
2nd	- $\emptyset$ (zero)	-pula	-ya

The vocative suffix, while most frequently occurring on the verb, as a final suffix, may also occur as a suffix to an item or phrase preceding the verb if another clause level construction occurs in the initial position in the clause, e.g.

- (131) yanatji- $\emptyset$  You come here; you (singular) come.  
 (132) yanma-pula You (dual) go on!, you two, proceed!  
 (133) yanma-ya You (plural) proceed!  
 (134) tampatja-pula yunga You (dual), give me damper!

### 3.8.2 SUNDRY ADDITIONAL FORMS OF THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

The following have been noted:

[i] -tja '1st person benefactive', as in (6), (134) and

- (135) *tampatja yunga* Give me damper!  
 (136) *yungatja tampa* Give me damper!  
 (137) *yungatja kutiya ngarnaku* Give me one to eat!

[ii] -ra '3rd person dative' (only one example noted):

- (138) *njintara wangka* You say it to him!

[iii] -tju '1st person possessive', e.g.

- (139) *kurtatju yanmanja kuwarti* My brother is going directly.

(This suffix occurs with nouns or noun phrases; but most frequently with kin terms, e.g., *kangkutju* 'my uncle', *mamatju* 'my father', etc.)

[iv] -tju 'reflexive-reciprocal suffix', occurs in association with transitive verbs and often as a suffix to a pronoun, e.g.

- (140) *njupali wangkatju* "You two are talking to each other" *or* (Lit.)  
 You two, talk to each other!  
 (141) *mutukakula wangkatjinjtja ngalitju* In the motor car, we two  
 were conversing with each other.

### 3.8.3 THE EMPHATIC SUFFIX. -rtu 'emphatic or intensifier suffix' may follow any part of speech which needs to be emphasised, e.g. *tjamparn* 'Hurry up!' and

- (142) *tjamparntu, njanjura* Make it quick, I'm hungry! (in which  
 'Make it quick' is a colloquial expression for 'Hurry more').

### 3.8.4 IMMINENT ACTION OR PUNCTILIAR SUFFIX. -pa is not a tense or aspect marker in the strict sense. It may occur with any part of speech in any part of a clause, drawing attention to the imminence of the action itself (as a suffix to the verb) or in relation to any specific clause level item. The meaning of -pa remains rather elusive, so a number of examples are supplied. The suffix, when occurring with verbs, is a second order suffix, following tense or mood affixes and preceding pronominal suffixes.

- (143) *njintapa wangka* You say it now!  
 (144) *njupalipa wangka* You two say it now!  
 (145) *nganalupa warala* Who will sing now?  
 (146) *martungunjuwapa* It was a married person (? 'probably' or  
 'just observed')  
 (147) *ngakanpa* Grasp him immediately!  
 (148) *wangkama wuljpalala yanakupa* Tell (politely) the whiteman  
 to go away now (i.e. 'not to hesitate to leave').  
 (149) *yarrapartu* Let's definitely go away right now.  
 (150) *kurninj, yanmanja puluku traintapa tjampinuki* What a pity,  
 the poor bullocks are on the train already to go to  
 Geraldton.  
 (151) *nawupan wangkamanja yaljpa wangka nganatjunga* Why are you at  
 this point talking all my language?



3.8.5 NEGATION. The negative, *watji*, has a variant, *wayi* (which in some dialects is *wayi*, where [y] is a voiced lami-no-alveolar fricative) which is frequently used to negate verbs. However, some speakers prefer to retain the form, *watji*, for this purpose.

- (152) *watji*, *wayi njanganja* No, I cannot see it.  
 (153) *ngatja wayi ngurlimanja* I'm not becoming afraid.  
 (154) *watji*, *wayi pawurna* No, its not cooked.  
 (155) *ngatjanta watji pinja* I did not hit you.  
 (156) *watji nganayangu ngura* Not my camp.

### 3.9 INTERROGATIVES

There are interrogative substitutes for most grammatical functions on all levels - word, phrase and clause. The substitute for a common noun is *nja?* ('what?'). This form is declined like a common noun following an ergative-absolutive system. Proper names follow this system also; but instead of the zero marker for the absolutive, proper names take *-nja~nga* both for the subject of an intransitive clause and for direct object in a transitive clause.

[i] *Common noun interrogative substitute, nja?*

transitive subject	<i>nja-lu?</i>	What did it?
intransitive subject	<i>nja?</i>	What did?
object	<i>nja?</i>	He did it to what?
location	<i>nja-ngka?</i>	On what?
instrument	<i>nja-ngku?</i>	With what?
direction (towards)	<i>nja-ki?</i>	To what?
direction (from)	<i>nja-tjanu?</i>	From what?
purpose	<i>nja-ku?</i>	For what?
vocative	<i>nja!</i>	Whatever it is!
possession (alienable)	<i>nja-ku?</i>	Belonging to what?
possession (inalienable)	<i>nja (warla)</i>	(The egg) of what?
time (time at which)	<i>nja-ngka?</i>	When?
becoming (intransitive)	<i>nja-tji-(plus tense)</i>	What is he becoming?

[ii] *Proper name (person or place) substitute ngana?*

transitive subject	<i>ngana-lu?</i>	Who did it?
intransitive subject	<i>ngana-nja?</i>	Who did? (freq. reduced to <i>ngana</i> )
object	<i>ngana-nja?</i>	Whom?
location	<i>ngana-la?</i>	At what named place?
direction (towards)	<i>ngana-laki?</i>	To whom/place name?
direction (from)	<i>ngana-la-tjanu</i>	From whom?
vocative	<i>ngana</i>	Whoever it is!
possession (alienable)	<i>ngana-ngu?</i>	Belonging to whom?
possession (inalienable)	<i>ngana-nja?</i>	Whose? ( <i>as</i> whose head?)

Examples include:

- (157) *palu ngana-nja pinja?* He hit whom?  
 (158) *mayu nja-ngka njinamanja?* What's the child sitting on?  
 (159) *yamatjilu nja-ngku pinja?* With what did the fellow hit him?  
 (160) *warla pala nja-tji-nja?* What did that egg become?  
 (161) *njangka palu yanatjinja?* When did he come?  
 (162) *palu ngana-nja maka pinja?* Whose (whom) head did he hit?

[iii] *Interrogative substitutes for clause level fillers:*

for transitive verb	yal-ma- (-la class)
for intransitive verb	yali- (-ya class)
for stative	yal?
for number (subject)	nakalju?
for reason	nawu-lu?
for manner	tjarnu? (intransitive)
	yalj-tju? (transitive)
exclamation	yi?
general interrogative	wiyi?

Examples include:

- (163) palu yal-ma-nmanja? What is he doing to it? (trans.)
- (164) palu yali-manja What is he doing? (intrans.)
- (165) yai njinta?  
what state you  
How are you?
- (166) nakalju yamatji yanatjinja mama kariku?  
how many men come-PAST song dance-PURP  
How many men came to dance (perform) the ceremony?
- (167) nawu-lu-pula njanganja ngalinja?  
why-they two see-PRES us two-ACC  
Why are those two looking at us two?
- (168) ngatja tjarnu wangkaya?  
I how speak-FUT  
How will I talk (tell it)?
- (169) yaljtju mikamanja kurartu?  
how make-PAST spear  
How did you make the spear?
- (170) kurninjpara, yi  
pitiabie ones, who on earth  
We poor old fellows, what do you think we are?
- (171) warntu wiyi? Where's my blanket?
- (172) wangkanja wiyi?  
speak-PAST eh?  
Did he speak?

## 4. SYNTAX

### 4.1 THE BASIC (NON-EXPANDED) CLAUSE TYPES

Below are the basic clause types of Watjarri laid out in their basic form. Optional expansions are dealt with in a later section but it will be noted that where a noun or a noun phrase may fill a particular clause level spot, examples of both types of fillers will be shown in the examples.

## 4.1.1 THE INTRANSITIVE STATEMENT

## A. With common noun subject:

	<i>common noun subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(173)	papa - $\emptyset$	inti-manja	The water is flowing.
(174)	mayu kutjarra - $\emptyset$	yanatji-manja	The two children are coming.

## B. With proper name subject:

	<i>proper name subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(175)	Mungku-nja	njina-manja	Mungku is staying (lit: sitting).
(176)	Mingkurl-nga	paka-rnmanja	Mingkurl is arising.

## C. With free pronoun subject:

	<i>free pronoun subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(177)	ngatja	kula-yi-manja	I am coming closer.
(178)	njinta	yanatji-manja?	Are you coming?

## D. Bound pronoun subject:

	<i>predicate</i>	
(179)	yanatji-manja-rna	I am coming. (I'm coming.)
(180)	yanaya-n	You'll go.

## 4.1.2 THE INTRANSITIVE COMMAND

	<i>optional vocative</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(181)		kulayi- $\emptyset$	Come closer!
(182)		paka-n	Get up!
(183)	mayu,	tjuparni- $\emptyset$	Child, straighten out!
(184)	njupali,	wangkatji- $\emptyset$	You two, talk!
(185)	Mungku,	yanatji- $\emptyset$	Mungku, come here!

## 4.1.3 THE TRANSITIVE STATEMENT

## A. With common noun subject; common noun object; transitive verb:

	<i>common noun subject</i>	<i>common noun object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(186)	tjutju-ngku	mayu- $\emptyset$	patja-rna	The dog bit the child.
(187)	ngakalalanj-tju	njarlu	patja-rnmanja	The cockatoo is biting the two women.
(188)	njarlu	kutjarra- $\emptyset$	pinja	The two women hit the cockatoo.
(189)	ngakalalanj-kutjarra-ngku	pa	pumanja	The three children are hitting the dog.
	mayu marnkurr-tu	tjutju- $\emptyset$		

## B. With proper name subject; proper name object; transitive verb:

	<i>proper name subject</i>	<i>proper name object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(190)	Nungki-lu	Panin-nga	njinja	Nungki saw Panin.
(191)	Panin-tu	Nungki-nja	nganguk-rna	Panin heard Nungki.

## C. With free pronoun subject and object, plus transitive verb:

	<i>pronoun subject</i>	<i>pronoun object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(192)	ngatja	njinta-nja	ngangu- rnmanja	I am listening to you.
(193)	njinta	palu-nja	pinja	You hit him.
(194)	njupali	pula-nja	ngangkurna	You two heard those two.

## D. With bound pronoun forms plus transitive verb:

	<i>free pronoun subject- bound object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(195)	ngatja-nta	tjutila	I'll tie you up.
(196)	njinta-rni	pinja	You hit me!
	<i>free pronoun object- bound subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(197)	njinta-nja-rna	ngangkurna	I heard you.
(198)	palu-nja-n	kangkaya	You will take him away.
	<i>bound pronouns with the predicate</i>		
(199)	ngurlumanmanja-rna- $\emptyset$		I am frightening him.

## 4.1.4 THE TRANSITIVE COMMAND.

	<i>optional vocative</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(200)			tjatjan	You chase it!
(201)			puma	You hit it!
(202)		kuka	pawun	You cook the meat!
(203)	mayu,	mimi	nganma	Child, drink the milk!
(204)	njupali,	mama	waran	You two, sing a song!
(205)			tjatjan- pula	You two, chase it!
(206)			puma-ya	All of you, hit it!

## 4.1.5 VERBLESS CLAUSE TYPES

## A. Equational:

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(207)	ngatja	pakarli	I am an initiated man
(208)	ngana yini	pala	What is that person's name?
(209)	ngatjangu mayu	njarlu katja	My child is a female offspring.
(210)	pakarli	maparnpa	The man is a sorcerer.
(211)		pakarli-rna	I'm an initiated man.

## B. Stative:

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(212)	warla	parnti	The egg is good.
(213)	yamatji pala	pika	That fellow is sick.
(214)	kurta	mampu pika	Elder brother is sore-legged.
(215)		pika-n?	Are you sick?

## C. Locational:

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(216)	kuwiyarl	marta-ngka	The goanna is on the rock.
(217)	njarlu kutju	panjakarti	There's another woman on the other side.
(218)	yamatji njanja	ngura-ngka	This fellow is in camp.
(219)	yamatji yaljpa	Yuwin-ta	All the men are at Yuin.
(220)		ngura-ngka-rna	I'm in camp.

## 4.1.6 DEPENDENT CLAUSE TYPES

A. Simultaneous action clauses. Dependent clauses are marked to indicate their relationship to the main clause. There is no true 'switch reference system', but rather a focus on simultaneity of action as contrasted with subsequent action. (By 'action' in this context is meant *event* as contrasted with *entity* and *abstraction*.)

Simultaneity of action is indicated in the dependent clause by the concurrent action suffix, -njtja~-rnta~-nta as described in 3.7.2 (vii).

	<i>temporal clause (dependent)</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(221)	mayu yaljpa kurl-ki child many school-ALL go-C.A.	yana-nta man	pakarli that	panja marlaku yanatjiya. return come-FUT. When the children go to school, that man will come back.

	<i>temporal clause (dependent)</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	
(222)	karangu tjakulanga-njtja- sun enter-C.A.-	-rna -I	yanatjiya come-FUT.	I will come at sunset.

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	<i>direct object clause</i>	
(223)	njarlu-ngku woman-ERG	pinja hit-PAST	tjutju warntu-ngka ngayi-njtja dog blanket-LOC lie-C.A.	The woman hit the dog which was lying on the blanket.

	<i>subject</i>	<i>predicate</i>	<i>direct object clause</i>	
(224)		tjatja-n chase-IMP	mayu tjamparni-njtja child run-C.A.	Chase the child who is running.

	<i>subject</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>predicate</i>	<i>locational/direction clause</i>	
(225)	tjutju-ngku dog-ERG	marlu kangaroo	tjatjanmanja chase-PRES	yamatji kurartu-njuwa man spear-WITH kayi-njtja-ki stand-C.A.-ALL	The dog is chasing the kangaroo towards the man standing with a spear.

- (226) *subject object predicate locational/direction clause*  
 tjana mayu murilja kangka-nja yamatji yaljpa-ngku mama  
 they child pre- take-PAST men many-ERG song  
 initiate

kari-njtja-ki  
 perform-C.A.-ALL

They took the pre-initiate child to the men who were performing a ceremony.

- (227) *subject clause object predicate*  
 yamatji yaljpa-ngku mama kari-njtja-lu murilja ngaka-rna  
 man many-ERG song perform-C.A.-ERG pre-ini- grasp-PAST  
 tiate

The men who were dancing the corroboree grasped the pre-initiate.

Further examples of dependent clauses indicating simultaneity of action:

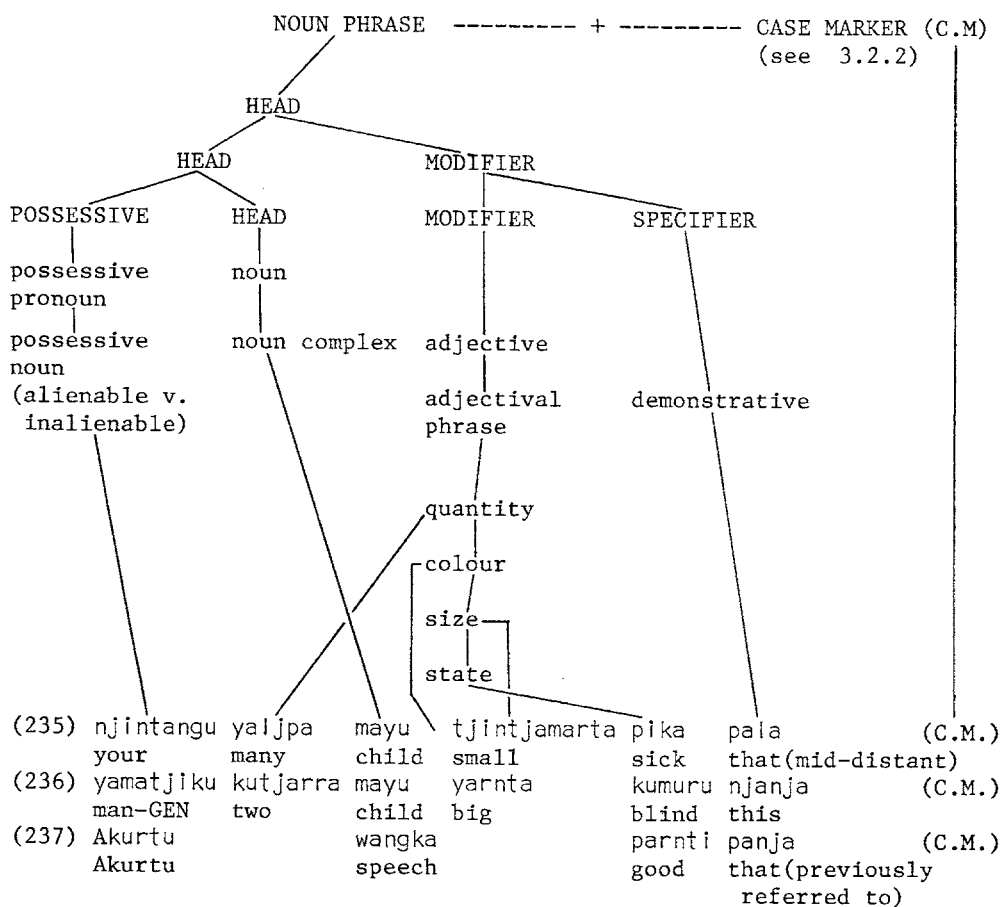
- (228) wilara paka-rnta yanatji ngatjangu ngura-ki  
 moon rise-C.A. come-IMP my camp-ALL  
 When the moon arises, come to my camp.
- (229) ngatja mayu njinja mariaku yana-nta kurl-tjanu  
 I child see-PAST return come-C.A. school-ABL  
 I saw the children coming home from school.
- (230) yamatji-lu njinja njarlu-ngku mana-nta lizard  
 man-ERG see-PAST woman-ERG get-C.A. lizard  
 The man saw the woman get the lizard.

B. Dependent clauses with subsequent action. These purpose clauses are indicated by -ku following -YA class verb stems, -lku following -LA class verb stems; -kurlu frequently occurs following the verb 'to hit'.

- (231) *predicate object clause purpose clause*  
 tjatja-n mayu tjamparni-njtja pinja-kurlu  
 chase-IMP child run-C.A. hit-PURP  
 Chase the children who are running away so as to punish them.
- (232) *object subject predicate purpose clause*  
 puraku ngatja kangkarni-nja njinta tjunayi-ku  
 frock I bring-PAST you(sg.) put on-PURP  
 I've brought the frock for you to put on.
- (233) *vocative location predicate purpose clause*  
 njinta ngura-ngka njina-ma ngatja yana-ku kuka-ku  
 you camp-LOC sit-IMPERF IMP I go-PURP meat-PURP  
 You remain in camp so I can go out for meat.
- (234) *subject time predicate purpose*  
 mayu urta yara piya-ku  
 children later go-FUT play-PURP  
 The children will be going out later-on to play.

## 4.2 PHRASE STRUCTURE

4.2.1 THE NOUN PHRASE. A noun phrase usually has a common noun head, which may be accompanied by one or more modifiers or other peripheral elements; or it may be a proper name, in which case there is no recorded evidence that other periph-

FIGURE 4.1 *The structure of the noun phrase*

Translations of these noun phrases are:

- (235) Those many little sick children of yours ---  
 (236) These two big blind children belonging to the man ---  
 (237) That good speech of Akurtu's ---

eral elements occur with it.

The head of a noun phrase, when a common noun, may be a single noun or a noun complex (such as *mara pirri* 'finger nail', *tjina pirri* 'toe nail', *yamatji pakarli* 'an Aboriginal man', etc.). Possessives usually precede the noun in linear order, and adjectives of colour, size, state, then quantity follow in that order. An adjective of quantity may precede the noun, however, in which case it follows the possessive. The possessive may be a possessive pronoun, proper name or common noun.

Demonstratives occur finally in the noun phrase. Case markers occur after the final element in the phrase and the form of the case marking suffix depends on the form of the final word in the phrase, that is, whether it ends with a consonant or a vowel (see 3.2.2).

Figure 4.1 shows the general structure of the noun phrase.

The noun phrase may occur as subject, object, or location-direction in a clause, taking the appropriate case markers. It may also occur as instrument or as time, the former taking the ergative case marker, the latter taking the locative case marker.

Any common noun may occur as the head of a noun phrase. A noun complex occupying the head of a phrase may be any of the following combinations of nouns:

*Inalienable possession combination:* marlu kantja '(lit.) kangaroo skin', 'rug', as in

- (238) ngatjangu marlu kantja parnangka ngayimanja  
 lsg-POSS rug ground-LOC lie-PRES  
 My rug is lying on the ground.

Other examples include:

mulja tja 'nostril', lit. 'nose - hole/mouth'  
 mulja yirti 'nose bone', lit. 'nose - skewer'  
 tjina puka 'boots', 'shoes', lit. 'foot - covering'  
 mara pirri 'finger nails', lit. 'hand - claw'

Contrast with the above forms marlu parriya 'kangaroo pad/track' and yalipirri warla 'emu egg' which will not take another possessive as marlu kantja does in (238). marlu parriya would better fit the form Akurtu wangka, (237), in which the combination is one of inalienable possession, but wangka is head of the phrase and the possessive, Akurtu, is peripheral.

*'Gender' combinations:*

njarlu katja 'daughter', lit. 'woman (female) - offspring'  
 yamatji pakarli 'Aboriginal man', lit. 'Aboriginal male - man, initiated'  
 yamatji katja 'son', lit. 'male - offspring', as in

- (239) njintangung yamatji katja kutjarra ngulamanja  
 your male offspring two cry-PRES  
 Your two sons are crying.

*Generic - specific combinations* with a generic noun followed by a more specific noun, e.g.

njarlu warluwura 'adolescent girl', lit. 'woman - adolescent'  
 mayu murilja 'a preinitiate', lit. 'child - uncircumcised male'  
 kuka marlu 'kangaroo meat', lit. 'meat - kangaroo'  
 kuka puluku 'bullock meat'

*ELLIPTICAL NOUN PHRASES* may be used to convey ambiguity or when the referent is known or has been referred to previously. The sole filler of a noun phrase may be an adjective of quantity:

- (240) itjapa, kutiya-lu waka-lmara kurartulu  
 certainly one-ERG spear-HISTORIC PAST spear-WITH  
 Right enough, one spears with a barbless spear.

Or an adjective of size:



- (241) yarnta-lu pinja  
big-ERG hit  
It was the big one who hit him.

Or an adjective of state:

- (242) pika ngarimanja  
sick lie-PRES  
The sick (one) is lying down.

Demonstratives also may fill this position; but in such case they may be regarded as positional pronouns.

*WORD ORDER* in the noun phrase is more fixed than word order on clause level. As indicated in the brief initial statement on the noun phrase, possessives precede the noun head. Possessives have not been found in a headless noun phrase, that is, in association with an adjective functioning as the sole filler of a noun phrase. This fact may be one criterion for separating adjectives from nouns.

A *QUANTITATIVE ADJECTIVE* may occur preceding or following the noun head in an unexpanded phrase; in the expanded phrase, however, in which adjectives of size and state may occur, the adjective of quantity tends to occur before the noun head.

- (243) yaljpa mayu kultjanu yanatjimanja  
many child school-ABL come-PRES  
There are a lot of children coming home from school.

- (244) njarlu mayu marnkurrpa wayi ngayimanja  
woman child three not lie-PRES  
The three girls are not lying down.

*SIZE* and *STATE* adjectives follow the noun in that order; but if *COLOUR* occurs, it precedes size and state and immediately follows the noun head. See (235), (236).

An *APPOSITIONAL PHRASE*, usually a more specific presentation of the initial noun phrase, may follow the main phrase after a non-final intonational juncture (rising pitch). The appositional phrase takes the same case marking as the main noun phrase, and is followed by another temporary pause, e.g.

- (245) yamatji-lu, Mingkurl-ku mama-lu, kuka marlu ngura-ki  
a man-ERG " -POSS father-ERG kangaroo-meat camp-ALL  
kangkarnimanja  
bring-PRES  
A man, Mingkurl's father, is bringing kangaroo meat to the camp.

Examples of noun phrases in other than subject position include:

- (246) njarlu-ngku kutjarra mayu pika hospital-ki kangkangamanja  
woman-ERG two child sick hospital-ALL take-PRES  
That woman is taking the two sick children to hospital.
- (247) palu yamatji pika njanja kangkangaya nganatjungu ngurlurn  
he-NOM man sick this take-FUT my windbreak  
yarnta-ki  
big-ALL  
He will take (carry) this sick man to my big windbreak.

**EMBEDDED NOUN PHRASE.** A noun phrase may be found embedded in another noun phrase as a modifier of the noun head of the main phrase, e.g.

- (248) yamatji panja pakarli martungu kutjarra-njuwa  
 man that initiated man spouse two-WITH  
 That man (previously referred to) is an initiated man with  
 two wives.

In this sentence, *martungu kutjarra*, a noun phrase, is related to the main phrase by the relator *-njuwa* which may be regarded as an adjectivisor.

**4.2.2 ADJECTIVAL PHRASE.** This phrase type may be embedded in a noun phrase or it may occur as the predicate of a verbless clause of state. There are two types of expansion of the adjective phrase, one is the introduction of an intensifier, which has been found only with adjectives of state, and the other the use of a negative. The intensifier occurs before the adjective and the negative also occurs before the adjective and also before the intensifier if this is present in the phrase, or it may occur finally if in the predicate. E.g.

- (249) ngatja ngarti pika  
 I-NOM very sick  
 I am very sick.
- (250) mayu ngarti pika panja parnangka ngayimanja  
 child very sick that ground-LOC lie-PRES  
 That very sick child is lying on the ground.
- (251) ngatja wayi malarti  
 I-NOM not tired  
 I am not tired.
- (252) palu ngarti pika wayi or palu wayi ngarti pika  
 he-NOM very sick not He not very sick  
 He is not seriously ill.

**4.2.3 THE VERBAL PHRASE.** The intensifier may also be used in the verbal phrase and it has been found in the pre-verb and the post-verb position, e.g.

- (253) palu ngarti tjurnimanja He is laughing loudly (forcefully).  
 (254) tjana pinjarimanja ngarti They are fighting vigorously.  
 (255) mutuka pukurntamanja ngarti There's a motor car running along  
 really fast.

**4.2.4 TEMPORAL PHRASE.** This may precede or follow the verb or it may occur first in the clause. There are a number of words which may be regarded as 'adverbs of time' or they may be classed as a separate class of time slot fillers (using tagmemic terminology). See the list in the vocabulary and note also that phrases may occur in this position, e.g.

- (256) palu wapa karangu yanatjinja  
 He-NOM another sun come-PAST  
 He came yesterday.

- (257) karangu kutjarratjanu palu marlaku yanatjinja  
 day(sun) two-ABL he back come-PAST  
 He returned after two days.

#### 4.3 CONJUNCTIONS AND SENTENCE FORMATION

No examples of conjunctions have been found in field data, except where prolonged association with English has led some speakers to insert 'and' (as 'n) between clauses when asked if they have any equivalent for the English conjunction. Independent clauses are strung together without any formal conjunctions. Intonation contours, however, supply links between related clauses, e.g.

- (258) pikayinjarna, malartiyinjarna. I've become sick and I have become tired.

The comma (,) indicates a non-final pause with rising intonation, whereas the full stop (.) indicates a final, falling intonation.

Relationships between independent and dependent clauses are indicated by suffixation, already described in the appropriate sections.

Sentences may, then, be utterances which contain part clauses or exclamations; complex clause constructions (in which there is a main clause and one or more dependent clauses); or coordinate clauses (simple or complex) bound together by intonational features as described above.

#### 4.4 SENTENCE PARTICLES

A sentence may be comprised of a single sentence particle, such as an exclamation, an interjection, an affirmative, negative, or certificative (as well as an interrogative, a partial clause or word ... as in answer to a question ... or a larger construction such as an independent clause, a complex clause, or a coordinate clause). A sentence particle may be added to a sentence without affecting its lexical meaning, as when an exclamation occurs as an opener; or it may affect the meaning of the whole sentence, as when a certificative is added. Examples below illustrate the few particles recorded in the data.

##### *Exclamations and interjections:*

- (259) karla! 'Go ahead!', 'Proceed!' as in karla! waranpa 'Go on, sing!'  
 (260) katji! 'Beware!', 'Don't approach!', as in katji! panja karlatjanu 'Get away from that fire!'  
 (261) walayi! 'Look out!', 'Caution!', as in walayi! martanju 'look out! Police'. ('Watch out! Policeman coming!')  
 (262) njanja! 'Look here!', 'Attention!' as in njanja! kuka 'Look here! Meat'  
 (263) putju! 'Come now!', 'Knock off!', 'Right ... finish what you're doing!' as in putju! tjapa kuwarti 'Finish up! It's supertime'

##### *Affirmation:*

- (264) kuwa 'Yes!', as in kuwa! 'Yes!' or kuwa, tjana pakaranganjtja kuwiyarl 'Yes, they were arousing the goannas'.

*Negation:*

- (265) watji! 'No', 'Nothing', as in watji, wayi njanganja 'No, I'm not looking at it'  
 (266) njinta tina tjuna? 'Have you put the dinner(tina) on?'  
 (267) watji, wayi pawurna 'No, it's not cooked'

*Certification:*

- (268) itja! 'True', 'Truly', 'Certainly', 'O yes'; itja? 'Is it true?'  
 (269) itjapa, kutiyalu wakalmara kurartulu .... 'That's true now! One would spear with a spear ....' (as part of text)

## VOCABULARY

In the alphabetical vocabulary of Watjarri, the following order is employed:

a, i, k, l, lj, m, n, ng, nj, p, r, rl, rn, rr, rt, t, tj, u, w, y

Each word is given both in the alphabetical listing, and then again in the vocabulary by semantic fields.

## ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| arnmanu, N: Arnmanu coastal dialect; man, in this dialect        | iri, N: point of spear or digging stick                           |
| ika, N: bone   | irilja, N: scraper (usually white quartz) used for scraping skins |
| ikiri, N: a rip, tear, or hole in skin or cloth covering         | irli, N: meat from the back of an emu                             |
| iku, N: younger sister   | itja, Sentence Particle: certitive, surely, certainly, truly      |
| ilili, N: the rattling noise of wooden weapons knocking together | itjitji, N: the Ta-ta lizard                                      |
| ilimpiri, Place name: Twin Peaks near Murchison River            | kaka, N: child, variant of mayu                                   |
| iliwaka, N: large edible ground frog                             | kakararra, N: east  |
| ilkari, N: the day, sky (from Western Desert language)           | kaki, N: galah (from English cocky)                               |
| ingkarta, N: the Inggarta language                               | kaku, N: crow (Corvus orru)                                       |
| ini ~ yini, N: name (an inalienable possession)                  | kakulj, Adv: by oneself, alone                                    |
| inja, Vtr: past tense of yu- to give                             | kakurla, N: the native or silky pear                              |
| inti-, Vintr: to flow, -YA class                                 | kalatjarra, Adj: sorcerized                                       |
| intirri, N: the daytime sky; Adj: high                           | kalatjarrayi-, Vintr: to become sorcerized, -YA class             |
| intjiwarni, N: the Intjiwarni language                           | kalja, N: armpit, axilla  |
| ipinj, N: tinder (for fire-lighting)                             | kaljartu, N: substitute reference to a deceased person            |
| ira ~ yira, N: mouth, lips, language                             | kaljawirri, N: rock wallaby                                       |
| irapiya ~ yirapiya, N: cumulo-nimbus or storm clouds generally   | kalpatji-, Vintr: to climb, -YA class                             |
|  | kami, N: grandfather, grandson                                    |
|  | kamitjunu, N: my own grandfather                                  |
|  | kamparnira, N: uncle-nephew relationship                          |
|  | kamparnu, N: mother's brother, uncle                              |

- kampu, Adj: cooked (meat)  
 kampurarra, N: wild tomato, solanum  
 kan ~ kana, N: gun, shotgun (from English)  
 kangka-, Vtr: to take away, -YA class  
 kangkanga-, Vtr: to carry (in direction away from speaker), -YA class  
 kangkarni-, Vtr: to bring, fetch, -YA class  
 kangku, N: mother's brother, uncle, (probably borrowed from Njungar kongk)  
 kangku, N: knee (dialect variant)  
 kaninjtjarra, N: subincision (from Western Desert language, underneath)  
 kanjarra, N: the Kanjarra language  
 kanjtjari, N: grandmother, granddaughter  
 kankararra, Adv: above, upwards  
 kanparrka, N: spider (Patimaya)  
 kantara, N: tortoise  
 kanti, N: knife, stone knife or chisel  
 kantja, N: skin bag, fur rug or covering; see marlu kantja  
 kantjari, N: a head ring (used by women when carrying a load on the head)  
 kapi, N: water (from Western Desert language)  
 kapu, N: calf (from English)  
 kapurtinj, N: kidney(s)  
 kapurtu, N: egg  
 karakara, N: Temp: afternoon  
 karangu, N: sun, day  
 kari-, Vtr: to stand, to dance, -YA class  
 kari-, Vtr: to reenact a myth or ceremony; see mama  
 karimarra, N: skin group (male marries purungu)  
 karla, N: fire (generic), firewood, firestick  
 karla, Excl: Go on! Go ahead! Get on with it!  
 karlama-, Vtr: to heat up, to heat a meal, -LA class  
 karlanga, Adj: hot  
 karlanga-, Vtr: to heat, to make (something) hot, -YA class  
 karlaya, N: emu (from Western Desert language); see yalipirri  
 karlayi-, Vtr: to become hot, -YA class  
 karta-, Vtr: to break, -YA class  
 kartanga-, Vtr: to cause to break, -YA class; alternate karlatji-kartanganj ~ kartanj, Adj: broken  
 kartapaya-, Vtr: to cut, to carve (meat) to apportion or distribute meat or food, -LA class  
 kartawala, N: spider  
 karti-, Vtr: to lift, to raise cooked meat from the hot ashes, -YA class  
 kartiyanga-, Vtr: to cause to lift cooked meat from the hot ashes, -YA class  
 kati, N: forearm, arm (generally)  
 katja, N: one's offspring, son or daughter  
 katjanja, N: processionary caterpillar  
 katjara, N: river  
 katjayara, N: son-father relationship, daughter-mother relationship  
 katji, N: a spear  
 katji, Excl: Hop it! Get away! Move out of the way!  
 kawilkura, N: a rainbird, probably the pallid cuckoo or the fantailed cuckoo. It is said to drag the rain along behind it  
 kayi-, Vtr: to stand, to exist (as trees); alt. kari-, -YA class  
 kirrkurta, N: brown hawk (Falco berigora)  
 kitikiti-, Vtr: to tickle, -YA class  
 kuka, N: flesh, meat (all flesh foods) (from Western Desert language); see kuwa  
 kuka mantu, N: cooked meat  
 kuka marlu, N: kangaroo meat  
 kuka puluku, N: bullock meat  
 kukuntjirri, N: sheep (east and north dialects); see tjipu  
 kukurl ~ kukurr, Adv. continually  
 kul ~ kurl, N: school (from English)  
 kula, Adj: close, near; Adv: closely  
 kulari- ~ kulayi-, Vtr: to become nearer, closer, -YA class  
 kuljpa, N: clothes, garments  
 kulju, N: native sweet potato  
 kulu, N: fleas  
 kumarta, N: storm cloud, cumulus, thunderstorm

- kumparta, N: night, night sky  
(Patimaya)
- kumpu, N: urine
- kumuru, N: blind, sightless
- kuntja, N: elder sister
- ku(r)ntuwara ~ kuntuwaa ~ kuntuwa  
~ kurntuwa, N: echidna, spiny  
anteater
- kupa, N: ashes, white ash
- kupulja, N: sleep; Adj: asleep  
(Patimaya)
- kurarra, N: needle tree
- kurartu, N: spear, a straight  
spear without a barb
- kuripi, N: bullock
- kuripi njurnti, N: bullock tail
- kurl ~ kul, N: school (from  
English)
- kurlka, N: ear, ears
- kurlkarta, Adv: attentively
- kurlkaturangu, N: prickly  
flannel bush
- kurlku, N: a sling for carry-  
ing a baby
- kurninj, Adj: pitiable, poor,  
hapless, unfortunate
- kurninjpara, N: poor old  
fellows, pitiable ones
- kurnta, N: shield
- kurnti, N: short hitting stick,  
also a magic pointing stick
- kurntuwa, see kuntuwara
- kurrakurra, Adj: pesty (e.g.  
flies)
- kurrarra, N: seeds, small seeds  
said to be carried by ants to  
their holes and to be eaten  
by a certain small lizard, the  
wuntiljarra
- kurri, N: spouse (from Western  
Desert language) used more  
specifically in Watjarri for  
husband; see martungu, watji
- kurriya ~ kutiya, Adj: one (some-  
times shortened to kurri)
- kurrkurtu, N: owl, the Boobook  
(*Ninox novaeseelandiae*)
- kurrparu, N: magpie (probably  
*Gymnorhina dorsalis*)
- kurruri-, Vintr: to fly, circle  
or glide (as birds), -YA class
- kurrurn, N: the spirit of a living  
person, the inner being
- kurta, N: older brother
- kurtikurti, shortened form of  
kuwarti-kuwarti, Temp: a short  
time, not for long
- kurturtu, N: heart, the human heart
- kurturtu, N: ceremonial ground (a  
special place where parents wait  
while their son is undergoing  
initiation rites)
- kuru, N: eye, eyes; also tjuria
- kurupurikartu, N: the Sturt pea  
(*Clianthus formosus*)
- kutiya ~ kurriya, Adj: one; N: a  
certain person
- kutja-, Vtr: to ignite, to light a  
fire, -LA class
- kutjarra (sometimes shortened to  
kutja), Adj: two
- kutjarta, N: a many-barbed spear
- kutjita, N: water snake (said to  
control pimarra springs)
- kutju, Adj: another (of the same  
kind)
- kutjulilin, N: tadpoles
- kutjurta, Adj: all, every (in NP +  
-pa, kuka kutjurtapa, every bit  
of meat)
- kuwa, Affirmation: yes
- kuwa, N: meat, all game meats,  
flesh
- kuwarti, Temp: now, soon, directly
- kuwarti-kuwarti, Temp: shortly,  
not for long; see kurtikurti
- kuwiyarl, N: goanna, perentie  
(*Varanus giganteus*)
- kuyu, N: variant of kuru, eye(s)  
(also in Pulinja)
- likarra, N: dry bark (Patimaya and  
Western Desert language); see  
pingara
- ma-, Vtr: to get, pick up, obtain  
(irregular verb)
- maka, N: head
- maka, N: cup, drinking vessel  
(from English mug)
- maka wintja, N: a grey-haired man
- makanga-, Vintr: flying (lit.  
over-heading), -YA class
- makayarla, N: doctor, diagnostician  
(refers to 'the third eye' but in  
some dialects means lit. 'bald  
head', a symbol for eldership or  
wisdom)
- makuta, N: a meat portion
- malarti, Adj: tired, weary
- malarti-, Vintr: to become tired or  
weary, -YA class
- maliyara, N: east, an eastern group,  
a desert native; see wamala

- malju, N: younger sister
- malka, Adv: soundly, fast (asleep), deeply, still (unmoving), silently (unresponsively) (depending on verbal context)
- malkakayi-, Vintr: to appear inattentive, to stand as though oblivious to circumstances, -YA class
- malkana, N: the Malkana language
- malka, PN: Malka, nephew of Putj-ulkura (in traditional folk tale)
- malura, Place name: Malura, probably original of Mileura (pastoral station)
- mama, N: father, father's brother
- mama, N: song, ceremony, corroboree
- mama karimanja, Vtr. phrase: re-enacting a myth, ceremony, dreaming; see kari- and wara-
- mamanji-, Vintr: to be/become angry, irritated, peeved, -YA class
- mamayara, N: father-son relationship
- mampu, N: lower leg
- mampu ngartara, N: bowlegged, bandy
- manatja, N: policeman (from Njungar manatj, black cock-ato)
- manatji- ~ manayi-, Vtr: to pick up (e.g. to pick up a freshly killed kangaroo), -LA class
- mangarta, N: jam tree, the edible gum from this tree
- mangka(lja), N: head hair
- mangkawarla, N: man's hat
- mangkuru, N: the red kangaroo (Ethel Creek dialect)
- manjtjanjtjarra, N: termites
- manjtjunjtjurru, N: termites (variant)
- mantu, Adj: cooked (meat)
- maparn, N: doctor, sorcerer (from Western Desert language magic stone)
- maparnpayi. ~ maparntjarra, Adj: describing a man with the power of magic or sorcery
- mara, N: hand, forepaws of an animal
- mara, Adv: manually, as in mara parntimanja, doing a job well by hand (manually)
- mara pirri, N phrase: finger nail
- mara tjuti-, Vtr. phrase: to handcuff, lit. 'to tie hands', -LA class
- maranga-, Vintr: to crawl, to walk on the hands and knees, -YA class
- maraya-, Vintr: to crawl, to go along on the hands (mara yanmanja); as ya- (irregular verb)
- marinjmarinj, N: large black 'soldier' ants
- marinjmarinj, Adj: proud, conceited
- maritji, N: brother's wife
- marla, Adv: behind
- marlakarti, Adv: back, at a starting point
- marlaku, Adv: back, to a starting point
- marlatja, N: calf of the leg
- marlpa, N: the sky; Adj: high
- marlpa, N: an initiated man (Ethel Creek dialect)
- marlu, N: kangaroo, the red kangaroo (*Megaleia rufa*); also used metaphorically for red wine
- marlu, Place name: Marlu - the kangaroo (or Creation Being in the traditional myth)
- marlu kantja, N: kangaroo skin, fur blanket
- marlu parriya, N: kangaroo pad/track (these pads indicate the presence of water in the vicinity)
- marlukuru, N: Sturt pea (*Clianthus formosus*)
- marlupirri, N: kangaroo paw (lit. 'kangaroo claw') (*Anigosanthos manglesii*)
- marlurnka, N: spinifex grass (*Triodia*)
- marna, N: rump, buttock
- marna, N: money; see also marta
- marnkurr, Adj: three
- marnpi ~ marnpinju, N: common bronze-wing pigeon (*Phaps chalcoptera*)
- marnta, N: anus, buttock
- marntuta, N: rain cloud
- marnun, N: arm, upper arm
- marrarn, N: fair weather cumulus and the cool wind from the south which brings these clouds
- marrkarn. N: frog (*Patimaya*); see wantitu
- marrpu, N: achilles tendon, kangaroo sinew used for binding in implement making
- marta, N: rock, stone, range, break-away

- marta, N: money, coins  
 martalmartaipayi, N: policeman  
 (lit. 'the very rich one'),  
 sometimes reduced to martapayi  
 martamarta, N: a small stone-  
 coloured lizard  
 martanju, N: policeman (from  
 martanjuwa, Adj: having money)  
 martumpura, N: budgerigar (Melop-  
 sittacus undulatus); also  
 njingarrri  
 martungu, N: spouse, potential  
 spouse, the spouse relation-  
 ship  
 martungu, N: boyfriend, girl-  
 friend (a modern usage)  
 martungunjuwa, Adj: married; Adv:  
 accompanied by a spouse  
 maru, Adj: dark, black  
 marun, N: quandong (Patimaya);  
 see walku  
 marungapa, Temp: at sunset, at  
 dark  
 marunmarta, N: the nuts of the  
 quandong tree  
 marurtu ~ mawurtu, Adj: black  
 maruwara, Temp: early in the  
 morning  
 matja, N: boss, master, govern-  
 ment official  
 matja-, Vintr: to wait, -LA  
 class  
 mawatu, Directive: direction  
 away from speaker (precedes  
 verbs of locomotion)  
 mawu, Pos.Pn: that (distant);  
 mawunja, that distant person  
 mawu-mawuyi-, Vintr: to move over,  
 to move away (as from a fire or  
 in bed), -YA class  
 mayu, N: child (generic), baby in  
 arms, an uninitiated boy  
 mayu kurninj, N: a pitiable  
 person or child, poor old  
 soul (idiom)  
 mayu kurninjpara, N: another  
 idiom for unfortunate chara-  
 cters, pitiable ones  
 mayu murilja, N: a preinitiate,  
 a boy beginning the initiation  
 cycle  
 mayu yanakupa, N: a child just  
 learning to walk  
 mayurru, N: a young man, a young-  
 ster  
 mikinj, N: grey hawk (? Falco  
 hypoleucus)
- mila, N: a bonfire, a large commun-  
 ity fire in winter time  
 mili, N: a light  
 milima-, Vtr: to light, to ignite,  
 to make a fire, -LA class  
 milimili, N: north  
 milja, N: entrails (of animal);  
 Adj: soft  
 miljirrinj, N: white froth on the  
 edge of a claypan (metonym for  
 claypan)  
 milju, N: bark lizard, skink  
 miljurra, N: venomous snake  
 milki, N: milk (usually referring  
 to powdered milk) (from English)  
 milku, N: a song for initiated men  
 only  
 mimi, N: breast, nipple; (hence  
 milk); also titi, pipi  
 mimpurtu, N: breastbone (sternum)  
 minga, N: ants (generic)  
 mingkari, N: digging bowl; also tjaka  
 mingkarri, N: humpy, dwelling  
 miniyara, N: centipede  
 minta, N: shade, shadow  
 minta, N: mug, cup, any drinking  
 vessel  
 mintinari, N: beetles  
 mintinmintin, N: beetles (generic)  
 mintjinj, N: mountain devil  
 (Moloch horridus)  
 mira, N: a venomous snake  
 mirla, N: a rock catchment, rock-  
 hole  
 mirli, N: diarrhoea, watery faeces  
 mirnangu, N: south (from Njungar,  
 mirnong)  
 mirnti, N: egg shell, shell (gen-  
 eric)  
 mirru, N: spearthrower, firesaw  
 mirru, N: the male umbilicus/navel  
 miti, N: common goanna (Varanus  
 tristis)  
 mitu, N: friend (male or female)  
 (from English mate)  
 miyurtu, N: mouse  
 mula ~ murla, Adj: dead  
 mulja, N: nose (metonym for face)  
 mulja tja, N: nostril, nose hole  
 (for nose bone), i.e. pierced  
 septum  
 muljayirti, N: nosebone, and, by  
 association, the pierced nasal  
 septum  
 muluwi, Place name: Mullewa  
 munga, N: the night sky, nighttime



- mungal, N: morning; Temp: this morning, tomorrow morning (depending on the tense of the verb and the time of day)  
 mungalji-, Vintr: to become dark/night, -YA class  
 mungal purntara, N: Venus, the morning star  
 mungamunga, N: evening  
 mungarta, Adj: dark (as at night time)  
 mungku, Proper name: Mungku, the personal name of a male  
 muni, N: money (probably from English)  
 muniya, N: pneumonia (from English)  
 muntungu, N: devil, evil spirit, a European-Australian (derogatory)  
 murilja, N: a preinitiate, an adolescent; also murtilja  
 muria ~ mula, Adj: dead  
 muriantji, N: green parrot (Barnardius zonarius)  
 murlayi ~ mulayi, Vintr: to become dead, to die, -YA class  
 murni, N: wife (Pulinja)  
 murrkarmurrkar, Adj: clever, wise  
 murti, N: knee (from Western Desert language); see purru  
 murti, Adj: cold  
 murti papa, N: cold water  
 murtilja, N: a preinitiate, an adolescent boy  
 murtilju, Adj: cold (weather), wintry  
 murtinj, N: an uninitiated boy  
 murtitja-, Vintr: to become cold, -LA class  
 murtu, N: bone marrow  
 murupurlkartu, N: the Sturt Pea; see kurupurlkartu  
 mutji, N: husband (as used by a woman addressing her daughter)  
 mutuka, N: motor car (from English)  
 muya, N: the rabbit bandicoot or bilby  
  
 nakalju, Interrog: how many?  
 nani, N: goat (from English)  
 nanpa, N: hairbelt (Patimaya, Western Desert language)  
 nanta, N: the Nanta language  
  
 nanti, Adv: there (distant) (Patimaya)  
 nanu, N: the Nanu language (the word means the negative, no)  
 napa, N: fat, animal fat, kidney fat  
 nara, N: lips, mouth (Ethel Creek)  
 nawu-, Interrog: why? (takes ergative-absolutive markers)  
 niyanniyan ~ njannjan, Adj/Adv: secretive, secretly, with care  
 nurilj, N: umbilical cord (kept wrapped in a cloth, 'If they throw it away the baby will miss it and cry all the time')  
  
 nga-, Vtr: to consume, to eat, to drink (irregular verb)  
 ngaka-, Vtr: to catch, to grasp, -LA class  
 ngakalalanj, N: Major Mitchell cockatoo (Cacatua leadbeateri)  
 ngali, Pn: first person dual inclusive nominative form, sometimes made more specifically inclusive in njinta-ngali  
 ngalitja, Pn: first person dual exclusive nominative form  
 ngalitju, Pn: first person dual inclusive reciprocal form  
 ngaljayarla, N: a doctor, a diagnostician (lit. 'forehead-hole')  
 ngalpuka, N: summer, the hot season  
 ngalungu, N: totem, forbidden food  
 ngana, Interrog. Pn: who? (takes ergative-absolutive case markers)  
 nganatju, Pn: for me  
 nganatjunggu, Pn: first person singular possessive pronoun; occurs also as nganayangu  
 ngangkarangu, Place name: reputed for its spring with a watersnake  
 ngangkari, N: day sky (Patimaya)  
 ngangku-, Vtr: to hear (a sound), to perceive aurally, -LA class with irregular purposive form  
 ngangkunku  
 ngangkungangu-, Vintr: to think, to be thinking, -LA class with purposive as above  
 nganirri, N: bullroarer (Patimaya); see tjilpirrpa  
 nganju, Pn: first person plural inclusive nominative form  
 nganku, N: cheek (body part)

- ngantju, Pn: first person plural exclusive nominative form  
 ngantjungantju-, Vintr: to be shy (boys and girls embarrassed in each other's company), -YA class  
 ngapu, N: a sweet, white edible root  
 ngapuri, N: brother-in-law, wife's brother, brother's wife's brother  
 ngarangu, N: a totemic group; see also yarlpu and ngalungu  
 ngaraya, N: nephews, nieces, brother's children; variant ngayaya  
 ngari- ~ ngayi-, Vintr: to lie down, to recline, to sleep, to exist (as regards animals), -YA class  
 ngaritju- ~ ngayitju-, Vtr: to cause to lie down, to put down to sleep, -LA class  
 ngarla, N: the Ngarla language  
 ngarlku, N: bulb of flax lily  
 ngarlpu, Temp: in the summertime  
 ngarnamara, N: mallee fowl (*Leipoa ocellata*)  
 ngarnawara, N: white cockatoo; see puli  
 ngarnka, N: cave  
 ngarnkilirri, N: temple (body part)  
 ngarnkurr, N: beard  
 ngarnngarn, N: lower jaw, chin  
 ngarnti, N: small stick, small wood for kindling  
 ngarrka, N: chest (body part)  
 ngarrpa, N: seeds for grinding into flour, the plant which produces these seeds  
 ngartara ~ ngartaya, Adj/Adv: uncomfortable, uncomfortably, bent, crooked, lying in an awkward position  
 ngarti, Adv: forcefully, loudly (depending on verb); Intensifier: very  
 ngartingka, N: post-initiate in seclusion  
 ngartiyarra, Adv: beneath, underneath, inside, under  
 ngartura, N: a small bag for carrying food, etc., a skin bag  
 ngaruwa, N: black duck (*Anas superciliosa*)
- ngatja, Pn: first person singular nominative form  
 ngawu, N: mallee fowl (ngarnamara)  
 ngayi- ~ ngari-, Vintr: to lie down, to rest, to exist (e.g. animals); see under ngari-, -YA class  
 ngayitju-, Vtr: variant of ngaritju-, to lay down (someone or something), -LA class  
 ngula-, Vintr: to cry, to weep, -YA class  
 ngunja, N: fur, animal fur  
 ngunuru ~ nguluru, Adv: between, in between two points, in the middle of  
 ngupanu, Adj: wild, untamed, non-domesticated; sometimes used without tjutju for dingo  
 ngura, N: camp, campsite, place (ngurra in Western Desert language)  
 nguri, N: small bag for carrying food  
 ngurlal, N: eaglehawk (*Aquila audax*)  
 ngurli-, Vintr: to be afraid, to become frightened, -YA class  
 ngurlu, Adj: afraid, fearful  
 ngurluma-, Vtr: to hunt away, to frighten, -LA class  
 ngurlurn, N: a windbreak  
 ngurnku, N: elbow; also tjulka  
 ngurrinjngurrinj, N: sugar, sweet excretion from flowers and plants  
 ngurru, N: horse; also yawarta (ngurt in Njungar)  
 ngurtinga, N: spear wood, a type of tree from which spear wood is obtained  
 ngurtu, N: brains (sometimes used for marrow, but see murtu, tjilu)
- nja?, Interrog. Pn: what? (interrogative substitute for common noun)  
 nja-, Vtr: to see (it), to watch (it) (irregular verb)  
 njangamarta, N: the youngest child in a family  
 njangka?, Interrogative substitute for both time and location: when?, on what?, where?  
 njanja, Pos.Pn: this (near the speaker)  
 njanja!, Excl: Look!, Attention! Here!, This way!

- njanjarnikarti, Adv: this side of  
 njanjura, Adj: hungry  
 njanka, N: back of neck; also  
 njinka  
 njannjan, variant of niyanniyān,  
 q.v.  
 njararni- ~ njawarni-, Vintr: to  
 become hungry, -YA class  
 njarlu, N: a female person,  
 usually refers to a married  
 woman  
 njarlu katja, N: daughter (lit.  
 'female offspring')  
 njarlu martungunjuwa, N: a  
 woman with a spouse, a married  
 woman  
 njarlu tjukarnu, N: a female  
 elder, an old woman (generally)  
 njarlu warluwura, N: an adolescent  
 girl  
 njarlu wayitwan, N: a white woman,  
 a European woman; also wiljpila  
 njarlu  
 njarra, Pos.Pn: that (distant from  
 speaker), also in Western Desert  
 language  
 njarratjanu, Adv: from there  
 njatja, N: sand, ground, dirt  
 (also a euphemistic term for  
 the dead: a corpse)  
 njilin, N: hole in roof of a cave  
 njina-, Vintr: to sit, to exist  
 (of humans), to stay, -YA class  
 njinaranga-, Vintr: to proceed to  
 sit down, to move into a sitting  
 position  
 njinawu!, Excl: wait! stay!  
 njingarri, N: zebra finch (*Taenio-  
 pygia castanotis*)  
 njinka, N: back of neck; variant  
 of njanka (both forms accept-  
 able in Watjarri)  
 njinkururru, N: a small crested  
 bird said to deceive by mimicry  
 njinta, Pn: second person singu-  
 lar nominative form  
 njinta-ngali, Pn: first person  
 dual inclusive  
 njirrinjirri, N: savoury smell  
 njirru, N: mosquito (from  
 Patimaya)  
 njiyapali, N: the Njiyapali  
 language  
 njukarn, N: the Njukarn lang-  
 uage (see 1.5)  
 njumulpunjira, Adj: full,  
 satisfied
- njupali, Pn: second person dual  
 nominative form  
 njupar ngayi-, Vintr. phrase: to  
 sleep, to lie down sleeping,  
 -YA class (in rapid speech,  
 njuparangayi-)  
 njurlarrku-, Vtr: to extinguish  
 (fire), -YA class  
 njurni, N: mosquito  
 njurnti, N: tail (of animal)  
 njurra, Pn: second person plural  
 nominative form  
 njurta, N, Adj: another (of a diff-  
 erent kind), somebody else  
 njurta-, Vtr: to apportion (meat),  
 to distribute portions to various  
 relatives, -YA class
- paka-, Vintr: to ascend, to arise,  
 to go out of a low shelter, -LA  
 class with present tense pakarn-  
 manja  
 paka-, Vintr: to increase (in  
 height), to grow tall, -LA class  
 (-rla)  
 pakara, N: sacred kingfisher  
 (*Halcyon sancta*)  
 pakaranga-, Vtr: to arouse (some-  
 one/something), to cause to  
 arise, -YA class  
 pakarli, N: a fully-initiated man  
 pakarli katja, N: an initiated  
 offspring, a mature son  
 pakarn, N: throat  
 pakati, N: bucket (from English)  
 paki, N: tobacco, usually refers to  
 chewing tobacco (from English)  
 pakitji, N: box (from English)  
 pakunpakun, N: bellbird; see  
 parnparnkarrarla  
 pala, Pos.Pn: that (mid-distant);  
 Adv: there (mid-distant)  
 pali, N: vomit  
 pali-, Vintr: to vomit, to retch,  
 -YA class  
 paljpa, Adj: tired, weary  
 paljpayi-, Vintr: to become tired,  
 weary, bored, -YA class  
 palparu, Adj: mad, stupid, crazy  
 paltjarri, N: skin group (paltjarri  
 male marries purrkurlu)  
 paltjiri, N: the Paltjiri language  
 palu, Pn: third person singular  
 nominative form  
 paluka, Pn: third person singular  
 emphatic, nominative form

- palutja, Pn: third person singular outside the local group nominative form
- pampurru, N: message stick (Patimaya)
- pani-, Vtr: to grind (e.g. seed), -LA class
- panin, N: seed, seed foods generally
- panja, Pn: third person singular previously referred to absolute form
- panjakarti, Adv: behind, at the rear, out of sight
- panjarnikarti, Adv: beyond a previously known place
- panjatja, Pn: third person singular substitute for a common noun previously referred to
- panjatjanu, Temp: after that, then
- pantuma, N: the Pantuma language
- pantutjilj, N: a type of shrub colloquially named standback bush, a prickly bush
- papa, N: water, rain
- papa warnimanja, Vintr. clause: it is raining. (lit. 'the water is falling')
- papul, N: a hole in top of a cave, a cave air-vent
- para, Place name: Perth
- parapara, N: a gecko lizard
- parla, N: forehead
- parlkuma-, Vintr: to bark (e.g. a dog), -LA class
- parlpa, N: anklebone (Malleolus)
- parna, N: ground, earth, sand (en masse)
- parnaparnayatin, N: quail (probably *Turnix velox*)
- parnka, N: a type of small goanna
- parnparnkarlarla, N: bellbird (*Oreoica gutturalis*)
- parnta, N: kidney(s); also kapurtinj
- parnti, Adj: good, well
- parnti-, Vtr: to perfect (it), to complete (a task) well, to make good, to finish or polish (an implement), -YA class
- parnti-, Vtr: to produce a pleasant or unpleasant smell, -YA class
- parntilku, N: a savoury smell, the smell of meat cooking
- parntinga-, Vtr: to smell (something), to perceive the smell of something, -YA class
- parnti- tju-, Vtr. complex: to put (something) in good order, to fix (it), to put (it) right, parnti-, -YA class; tju-, irregular
- parntiyarra, Place name: a place near Wooleen, mentioned in song
- parriya, N: track, footpad, road; see marlu parriya
- parrka, N: narrow or spiny leaves, as contrasted with yarlu, broad leaves; a narrow-leaf tree
- parrtji, N: arm, forearm
- partarnu, N: a male elder, an old man (generally)
- partarnukarti, N: elder sister
- parti, N: edible grub, the 'bardy' grub, (probably from English)
- partura, N: bustard, wild turkey (*Eupodotis australis*)
- paru, N: gum (for affixing flints, etc.), a gum obtained from a type of spinifex grass, gum colour (a dark brown to black)
- patawi-, Vintr: to become leg-weary, to become stiff in the legs, -YA class
- patimaya, N: the Patimaya language
- patja, Adj: angry, upset
- patja-, Vtr: to bite (metaphorically, to be angry, to snap at someone in anger), -LA class
- patjapatja, Adj: drunk, intoxicated, silly, abusive
- patjari ~ patjayi-, Vintr: to become angry, to become desperate (e.g. for food), -YA class
- patjikil, N: bicycle (from English)
- pawu-, Vtr: to cook (it), to roast (meat), -LA class
- pi- ~ pu-, Vtr: to hit, fight, kill, (irregular, see under pu-)
- pika, Adj: ill (generally), sick, sore, aching, sorcerized
- pika, N: sorcery, sickness, an ache, a sore
- pikayi-, Vintr: to become ill or sick or sorcerized, -YA class
- pikurta, N: euro, (*Macropus robustus*)
- pila, N: spinifex grass (Patimaya); see marlurnka
- pilapirti, N: *Eucalyptus pyriformis*
- pilara, N: a many-barbed spear
- pilat, N: fat (from English)
- pilingki, Adj: white, bright, shiny
- pilingki, N: whiteman, European
- piljinji, Adj: red
- pilti, N: belt; see also tartatji-pilti, policeman

- pimarra, N: spring, a rock spring (said to be controlled by a water snake)
- pimpilj, N: ribs, rib portion of a kangaroo
- pinarangura-, Vtr: to burn (found only in tjina pinarangurakurla 'in case you burn your feet'), -LA class
- pinatju-, Vtr: to burn (something), -LA class
- pingara, N: dry bark
- pinikurra, N: the Pinikurra language
- pinjari-, Vtr: to fist-fight (someone), -YA class
- pinta-, Vintr: to flash (as lightning), -YA class
- piritama-, Vtr: to kill, to strike down, -LA class
- pintu, Adj/Adv: quiet, quietly (of voice)
- piparlu, N: paper (probably from English)
- pipj, N: breast, nipple
- pipitjali, N: an edible root or bulb, lit. 'large-nipple'; see puntuwanj
- pirinj, Adj: white, shiny; also pirlunj
- piritji ~ pirtirta, N: shoulders
- pirri, N: claw, nail (of finger/toe), tjina pirri 'toe-nail'; mara pirri 'finger-nail
- pirti, N: den
- pirtipirti, N: butterflies, moths
- piti, N: carrying dish
- pitara, N: kindling wood
- pitjanga- ~ piyanga-, Vintr: to prowl, to approach stealthily, -YA class
- pitjarn, N: liver
- piyanga- ~ piyinga- ~ piya-, Vintr: to play, to fly, -YA class
- piyarli, N: pink and grey galah (Eolophus roseicapillus)
- pu- ~ pi-, Vtr: to hit, to kill (irregular, pumanja ~ pinjmanja recorded as present tense forms)
- puka, N: traditional body-covering made of fur-skin; also kantja (the fur-skin); and tjina puka, foot-covering
- pukararri-, Vintr: to meet, to mix with (people), -YA class
- pukarr, N: echo
- puku, N: buttock; also marnta
- pukurnanga-, Vintr: to run, -YA class
- pukurnta-, Vintr: to run along swiftly (as a motor car), -YA class
- pula, Pn: third person dual nominative form
- pularakartu, N: (a term used by some speakers for) God; a shorter form recorded is pular-artu
- pularra, variant of punarra, N: eucalyptus tree
- puli, N: little corella (Cacatua sanguinea)
- pulinja, N: the Pulinja language
- puljaman, N: doctor, sorcerer
- puluku, N: bullock; see also kapu
- punarra, N: eucalyptus tree
- pungkurni-, Vintr: to sleep, -YA class
- pungkurninj, N: magic pointing stick (Patimaya); see kurnti
- puntjarrnga-, Vtr: to love (someone), to court (a person), -YA class
- puntuma-, Vtr: to close or shut (e.g. a door), -LA class
- puntuwanj ~ puntuwarinj, N: an edible root or bulb (known by different names; pipitjali, wilupurl, ngapu)
- pupanji-, Vintr: to bend down, to crouch, to stoop, to hide (metonym: to vomit), -YA class
- puraku ~ puraaku, N: dress, frock (from English frock); puraaku wirri, black dress for funeral
- puriakupa, Temp: already
- purli, N: carpet snake
- purika, Adj: big
- purntara, N: star, stars
- purrkurlu, N: skin group (purrkurlu male marries paltjarri)
- purru, N: knee; also murti, kangku
- purtuntja, N: owl-nightjar (Aegotheles cristatus ?murchisonianus)
- purtupuri, N: blowfly, blowflies (generic), purtupi in Byro dialect
- purturna, N: the Purturna language, spoken in the Onslow area
- purungu, N: skin group (purungu male marries karimarra)
- purunjmarta, Adv: quietly (Patimaya)
- puta, N: a louse, lice (generic)
- putiputi-, Vintr: to circumambulate (as when approaching a new place) -YA class

- putju! Interj: finish up!, righto!,  
come now ...! (an idiosyncrasy  
of the Byro dialect)
- putjulkura, N: a type of pigeon;  
Proper name: Pigeon (an anthro-  
pomorphic being in mythology,  
uncle of Malka)
- puwa, N: mother's brother's son
- talantji, N: the Talantji lang-  
uage
- talkayi, N: banded anteater,  
rabbit bandicoot, bilby
- tampa, N: damper, camp bread  
(from English)
- tarika, N: hook or peg of spear-  
thrower
- tarrkari, N: the Tarrkari language
- tartatji, N: trousers (from  
English)
- tartatji-pilti, N: policeman, the  
police (lit. 'trousers-belt',  
a symbolic reference)
- tawun, N: village, town, city  
(from English)
- tiljtijma-, VINTR: to croak  
(as a frog), to knock (as on  
a door), -LA class
- titi, N: breast(s), nipple(s)
- tungkuru, N: sandhill
- turapa ~ turaapa, N: trough,  
drinking trough (from English)
- turayin, N: train (from English)
- turnku, N: range, hills; warta  
turnku, a distant range
- tuwa, N: house, a town house
- tja, N: hole, opening, mouth,  
language (see ira ~ yira,  
the more generally accepted  
form for 'mouth' and 'lang-  
uage' in Watjarri)
- tja urra, N: the Tja Urra  
language
- tjaka, N: a wooden carrying dish  
or bowl
- tjakartu, N: a tree gall, commonly  
known as a mulga apple
- tjaku-, VINTR: to set/enter, -LA  
class (short form of next entry)
- tjakulanga-, VINTR: to enter, to  
set (e.g. the sun), -YA class
- tjakultjunga-, VINTR: to flow  
(e.g. water), -YA class
- tjakutja-, VTR: to chew (e.g.  
tobacco), -YA class
- tjalanj, N: tongue (variant of  
tjarlinj)
- tjaljanjara, N: robin redbreast  
(probably Petroica goodenovii)
- tjamarni-, VINTR: to run, to go  
along swiftly (as in a motor  
car), a short form of tjamparni-
- tjamparn, Adj: quick; Adv: quickly,  
speedily; Excl: hurry up!
- tjamparni-, VINTR: to run, to  
locomote speedily, -YA class
- tjampinu, Place name: Geraldton
- tjampu, N: left hand, left side,  
Adv: tjampuki, to the left
- tjana, Pn: third person plural  
nominative form, they
- tjanta, Adj: cold; see murti
- tjantatja, N: cold, that which is  
cold
- tjantayi-, VINTR: to become cold,  
-YA class
- tjapa, N: supper (from English)
- tjapanpirti, Place name: Tjapan-  
pirti, the place of lightning
- tjapi-, VTR: to ask (a question),  
-LA class
- tjapurta, N: a male elder (Ing-  
karta)
- tjara, N: shield (from Western  
Desert language); see wurnta
- tjari-, VINTR: to lie, to report  
falsely, -YA class (Njukarn)
- tjarli, N: neck base (referring  
to the part of the neck en-  
circled by a baby's legs when  
it is carried on the shoulders)
- tjarlinj ~ tjalanj, N: the tongue
- tjarlura, N: a long fighting-stick
- tjarnkurna, N: emu (Northern  
dialect); see yalipirri
- tjarnta, N: heel
- tjarnu, Interrog. substitute for  
manner (intransitive): how?,  
in what manner?
- tjarta, N: calf muscle (gastroc-  
nemius)
- tjartatji-, VTR: to insert, to  
put (it) in, -YA class
- tjatja-, VTR: to chase, to pursue  
to hunt, -LA class
- tjatjara, N: a small jew lizard
- tjika, N: snake (probably from  
English)
- tjikarl, N: hot coal, ember
- tjikarnu, Place name: Outcamp Hill  
(marta tjikarnunja, Tjikarnu Hill)
- tjila~tjilli, N: tail
- tjilawara, N: a long-tailed goanna

- (Patimaya)
- tjilin, N: native sweet potato (may be mashed and made into a type of flat bread, like damper)
- tjilinpiti, N: magpie lark (*Grallina cyanoleuca*)
- tjiljatji- ~ tjiljayi-, Vintr: to lie, to speak untruthfully, to be or to become untruthful, -YA class
- tjilkari- ~ tjilkayi-, Vintr: to be or become happy, to be pleased, to rejoice, -YA class; also tjukayi-
- tjilku, N: river gum (tree)
- tjilpirrpa, N: bullroarer (Patimaya)
- tjilu, N: bone marrow
- tjina, N: foot, feet, footprint, track
- tjina, as Adv. of manner: by foot - followed by verb of locomotion
- tjina pirri, N: toenail
- tjinapuka, N: shoes, traditional foot-covering
- tjintja(marta), Adj: small, young; N: younger brothers and sisters, a baby in arms, small pieces of meat ready for distribution
- tjintjayi-, Vintr: to become small/smaller, -YA class
- tjipu, N: sheep (from English)
- tjipula, N: a spring (of water), a soak (in sandy country, in contra-distinction to pimarra)
- tjirala, N: centipede (Patimaya) (tjiralj in Njungar); see miniyara
- tjirarnti, N: black cockatoo (*Calyptorhynchus magnificus*)
- tjirli, N: shoulder blade
- tjirnti, Adj: quiet (as regards the sounds of movement); Adv: quietly (in movement)
- tjirrtjirr, Adj: shy, ashamed, embarrassed (in child speech, the flap is usually omitted)
- tjirr-yanga-, Vintr: to become shy/embarrassed, -YA class (sometimes reduced to tji-yanga-, or tjiyi-yanga-, in children's speech)
- tjirtartu, N: wedgebill, 'Jinny Linthot' (*Sphenostoma cristatum*)
- tjirtu, N: small varieties of venomous snakes
- tjitja, N: sister, esp. hospital sister (from English)
- tju-, Vtr: to put, to place (irregular)
- tjukarnu, N: an elderly female
- tjukayi-, Vintr: to be or become happy, to be satisfied, to rejoice, -YA class
- tjukurn, Adj: quick; Adv: quickly
- tjuljara, N: afternoon; Temp: in the afternoon
- tjuljku, N: an infant, a baby in arms
- tjulka, N: elbow (dialect variant of ngurnku)
- tjuna-, Vtr: to leave, forsake, reject, to discountenance, -YA class
- tjunayi-, Vtr: to clothe (a person), to don clothes, -YA class (with clothes as Object)
- tjunkuma-, Vintr: to swim, to splash about (in water), -LA class
- tjunta, N: thigh, leg of meat
- tjunta kutjarra, N: skin of kangaroo (idiom)
- tjupa, N: child (Patimaya); dialect variant of mayu
- tjuparn, Adj: true, straight
- tjuparni-, Vintr: to straighten or stretch out, -YA class
- tjura, N: child, girl (a Watjarri borrowing from Nanu, in which tjura means 'a marriageable girl')
- tjurla, N: eye(s) (a dialect variant)
- tjurna, N: a short hitting stick
- tjurni, N: carpet snake (Malkana)
- tjurni-, Vintr: to laugh, -YA class
- tjurnu, N: rockhole, waterhole
- tjurtu, N: father's sister, aunt, a female cousin, and (in some dialects) elder sister
- tjuti, N: headband, see yalkirri
- tjuti-, Vtr: to bind/tie, to handcuff, -LA class
- tjutila, N: policeman (from tjutila, will bind, will handcuff)
- tjutja, N: an old man, old fellow
- tjutju, N: dog (domesticated) (in one dialect, tjutju means hair)
- tjutju ngupanu, N: wild dog, dingo
- tjuwari, N: red ochre; see also wilki
- tjuwi, N: tawny frogmouth (*Podargus strigoides*)

- ukarla, Temp: before, previously,  
 long ago, once upon a time  
 urnta ~ wurnta, N: shield  
 urta ~ wurta, Temp: by and by,  
 later  
 urtama!, Interj: wait!, later on!
- waka-, Vtr: to spear (with a  
 spear), to stab, -LA class  
 waka-, Vintr: to shine (e.g. the  
 sun), to flash (as lightning),  
 -LA class  
 wakaltju-, Vtr: to scratch, to  
 write, to etch, -LA class  
 waku, N: hole, pit (means camp  
 in Patimaya)  
 walararra, N: crested, grey pigeon  
 (Ocyphaps lophotes)  
 walayi!, Excl: look out! beware!  
 walinja, Adj: bad, unfit, unwell,  
 weak  
 waljtji, Adj: not right, filthy,  
 foul  
 waljtji-, Vintr: to become bad,  
 corrupt, rotten, -YA class  
 waljtjima-, Vtr: to belittle to  
 scandalize, to corrupt, to  
 make bad, to embarrass, -LA  
 class  
 walku, N: quandong tree (Santalum  
 acuminatum)  
 wama, N: wine (from Western Des-  
 ert language sweetness)  
 wana, N: digging stick, crowbar  
 wana, N: the female navel (umbi-  
 licum), (probably metaphorical  
 use of wana, digging stick,  
 which is associated with women)  
 wana, N: scorpion (wanatjilingka  
 in Patimaya)  
 wanatja, N: upper leg, leg of  
 kangaroo meat (regarded as the  
 best cut of meat; it is usually  
 cut off and grilled in the hot  
 ashes); see also tjunta  
 wangka, N: language, speech  
 wangka-, Vtr: to say (something),  
 to tell, -YA class  
 wangkatji-, Vintr: to talk, con-  
 verse, yarn, -YA class  
 wangunj, Adj: shy, nervous, ashamed  
 wangunju-, Vintr: to be or become  
 shy, nervous, ashamed, diffident,  
 -YA class  
 wanjtjakutja?, Temp, Interrog: how  
 long?, for what length of time?  
 wanka, Adj: fresh, raw (e.g.
- kuka wanka, raw or uncooked meat)  
 wanmala ~ warnmala, N: desert  
 native, an avenger, a warrior  
 (if a desert dweller comes to  
 Watjarri country it is assumed  
 he has come to carry out revenge)  
 wanta, N: winter, the cold season;  
 also warlulu  
 wantangka, Temp: in the winter time  
 wantipul, N: a rat  
 wantitu, N: the April frog (marrkarn  
 in Patimaya)  
 wantja, N: dog (Ethel creek dialect)  
 wantu-, variant of warntu-, q.v.  
 wapa, Adj: another (of a different  
 kind)  
 wapakarangu, Temp: on another day  
 (sometimes shortened to waparan-  
 gu). The time (future or past)  
 depends on the tense of the verb.  
 wara, Adj: long  
 wara-, Vtr: to chant (songs), to  
 sing (a song), -LA class  
 waranj, N: song; see mama  
 warayi, N: fly, flies (generic)  
 warimara-, Vintr: to worry (from  
 English), -YA class  
 warinj ~ wayinj, N: food (all veg-  
 etable foods)  
 waria, N: egg, bird's eggs (gener-  
 ic); also kapurtu  
 warlarnu, N: boomerang  
 warlpa, N: sacred kingfisher (dia-  
 lect variant of pakara, q.v.)  
 warlukura, N: an adolescent girl,  
 a virgin; other variants are  
 warluwura, tjura  
 warlulu, N: cold season clouds  
 (altostratus), the cold season,  
 winter, a fine cold drizzle  
 warni-, Vintr: to fall; papa  
 warnimanja, raining, -YA class  
 warnitja-, Vtr: to throw away,  
 -LA class  
 warnkura, N: green frog(s)  
 warnmala, variant of wanmala, q.v.  
 warntu, N: fur skin, blanket, rug,  
 clothes (see kuljpa)  
 warntu-, Vtr: to follow, to track,  
 -LA class.  
 warri, N: stomach, abdomen, viscera;  
 njarlu warri, the Pleiades (lit.  
 'woman's belly')  
 warru, N: lumbar region, the back  
 warta, Adv: afar, distantly: Adj:  
 distant, far away  
 wartalj, N: the Wartalj language



- wartapi, N: a racehorse goanna (smaller than the Perentie)
- wartawartayi-, VINTR: to become more distant, -YA class
- waru, N: firelight, a lamp, a light (from Western Desert language)
- warungutu, N: rainbow
- watatjarri, N: lightning (Patimaya)
- watja-, VTR: to reproach, reprove, upbraid (someone), -LA class
- watjarri, N: the Watjarri language
- watjarrwatjarr, Adj: leg-tired, weary
- watjarti, N: a dialect of Watjarri
- watji, N: husband, sweetheart (in Wirtimaya)
- watji, N: none, nothing; Inter: no!
- watji ~ wayi, Negative: not, no
- watji-, VTR: to complete, to finish, -YA class
- watjitji- ~ watjiyi-, VINTR: to become finished, complete, -YA class
- waya, Inter: no! (Ethel Creek)
- wayi ~ watji, negative (as watji, above)
- wayurta, N: possum
- wi?~wiyi? General Interrogative
- wila, N: creek, creek bed
- wilalanga-, VINTR: to spill, to leak out, -YA class
- wilara, N: the moon
- wilara, N: month, a lunar month
- wilja-, VTR: to spill, to sprinkle, -LA class
- wiljari-, VINTR: to bathe, to become splashed or sprinkled, -YA class
- wiljka, N: tooth, teeth
- wiljki, Adj: wet
- wiljki-, VINTR: to become wet, -YA class
- wiljkima-, VTR: to wet (something/someone), to cause (it) to be wet, -LA class
- wiljpila ~ wilpala ~ wuljpala ~ witpala, variants for N: whiteman, European-Australian (from English)
- wiljpila njarlu, N: a white woman
- wiljpirri, Adj: thin, skinny
- wilju (recorded also as wilu), N: curlew (*Burhinus grallarius*)
- wilki, N: red ochre, also tjuwari
- wilpa-, VTR: to grill (meat), -LA class
- wilpintjanu, N: a bulb which produces a purple flower
- wilu, N: penis
- wilupurl, N: edible root or bulb; see *puntuwanj*
- wilura ~ wirlura, N: west; see *wirlu*, sea, which is west of Watjarri country (present-day speakers differed in their opinions on the pronunciation of this word)
- wilwil, N: aeroplane (probably from English windmill)
- wingku, N: black ants (Patimaya)
- winjtu, N: the wind
- winta, N: tree; variant of *wirnta*
- wintiljarra, N: a silvery coloured fish, also applied to a silver coloured lizard; see *wuntiljarra*
- wintja, N: elderly male, an old man; Adj: old, greyheaded
- wintjintji, N: grasshoppers (generic), a large green grasshopper
- wirika, N: teeth; variant of *wiljka*
- wirlu, N: the sea (see note under *wilura*)
- wirlu, N: kingfisher; see *pakara*
- wirlunju, N: the seacoast people
- wirlutjarutjaru, N: plover (probably *Peltohyas australis*); see also *purtuntja*
- wirnta ~ winta, N: tree (generic), fire-wood, stick(s); *wirnta watjan*, N: firestick (in Patimaya)
- wirntu, N: quandong tree (Patimaya)
- wirrangu, N: a single barb spear (the barb is made by cutting a notch a short distance from the point of the spear)
- wirri, N: black ants, sometimes used to contrast an Aboriginal person with a European, thus 'blackfellow'
- wirri, Adj: black
- wirriya, N: creek sand, black sand
- wirrkil, N: saliva, spit
- wirrkirinj, N: froth on the edge of a claypan, white froth, soap suds
- wirta(ra), Adj: tall
- wirtawirta, N: honey ant(s)
- wirti, Negative: no (in Wirtimaya), a form which has spread into the

- Watjarri speaking area  
 wirtimaya, N: the Wirtimaya language  
 witjarnu, N: a stranger (probably one who has arrived)  
 wiyartu, N: a single-barb spear; see wirrangu  
 wiyi-, Vintr: to arrive, -YA class  
 wulaya, N: moon, variant of wilara  
 wuljpala, see wiljpila  
 wuntiljarra (see wintiljarra), N: a small silver-coloured lizard  
 wurnta ~ urnta, N: shield  
 wurta ~ urta, Temp: by and by later  
  
 ya-, Vintr: to go (direction away from the speaker) (irregular verb)  
 yakarra, Adv: beyond  
 yaku, N: mother, mother's sister  
 yakuyara, N: mother-daughter relationship  
 yal?, Interrog. substitute for state: how (are you)?, what?  
 yalamparri, N: emu (Geraldton); see yalipirri  
 yali-, Vtr: to do (something), to make (it), -YA class  
 yalipirri, N: emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*)  
 yaljma-, Vtr: to create, to make, -LA class  
 yaljpa, Adj: many, all, much  
 yaljpayi-, Vintr: to increase (in number), -YA class  
 yaljtju?, Interrog. substitute for manner (transitive); how?  
 yalkatji, N: claypan, flat area  
 yalkatji-, Vintr: to lie flat (as a body of water covering a claypan), to become flat, -YA class  
 yalkirri, N: head band, symbol of initiated manhood; see tjuti  
 yamatji, N: a person (usually male), a man, an Aboriginal person, the Watjarri people ('The Yamatjis')  
 yamatji katja, N: son  
 yamatji martungunjuwa, N: a married person/man, a person with a spouse  
 yamatji matja, N: an Aboriginal Affairs Officer  
 yamatji njarlu, N: an Aboriginal woman (as contrasted with wiljpila njarlu, a white woman)  
 yamatji pakarli, N: an Aboriginal man who is fully-initiated  
 yanarti, N: the Yanarti language  
 yanatjaki, N: a hunting trip, walkabout  
 yanatji-, Vintr: to come (towards the speaker), to locomote, -YA class; alternates with yanayiyangka, N: a short hitting stick  
 yangkarl, N: hip, hipbone  
 yanjalpa-, Vintr: to escape, -YA class  
 yanma-, Vintr: to blaspheme, to use taboo words, to swear, -LA class  
 yanmanjarni, Vintr: present tense of ya-, to go, with suffix -rni, changing meaning to indicate direction towards speaker; only recording (irregular verb)  
 yapu, N: rock, stone, range, breakaway  
 yapurtu, N: north  
 yaputji, N: rock wallaby; dialect variant of kaljawirri  
 yara, Adj: ripped, torn  
 yaralj, N: lungs  
 yaranga-, Vintr: to become torn, ripped, -YA class  
 yaria, N: hole  
 yarlarlang, Place name: Yallalang Station and its Watjarri name  
 yariku, N: blood  
 yariku, Adj: red, blood colour  
 yariku-, Vtr: to rip or tear (something), -LA class  
 yaripu, N: totem, kin avoidance, forbidden food  
 yariu, N: leaf, a broad leaf, broad leaves  
 yarlurr, N: white gum (tree)  
 yarlurt, N: mulga tree (*Acacia aneura*) (yarlurt seems to be an aberrant form; may be some confusion with yarlurr)  
 yarluylurlura, N: a black gecko  
 yarnta, Adj: big, large  
 yarntayi-, Vintr: to increase (in size), to grow big, to become inflated, -YA class  
 yarrari-, Vintr: to leak or run out, -YA class  
 yatj-ku-, Vtr: to tear, -LA class (a seemingly aberrant form)  
 yatj-yatj, Adj: ripped, torn; see yara  
 yawarta, N: horse (kangaroo in the Geraldton area)

- yayiliri, Adj: hysterical (found only in a song)
- yi? Interrog. (functions like wi/wiyi?); kurninjpara yi? what are we poor fellows going to do? what about us?
- yimpiljyimpilj, Adj: untidy
- yini ~ ini, N: name, one's proper name
- yipiljyipilj, N: a night-flying bat
- yira ~ ira, N: mouth, the oral orifice (including lips and teeth), language
- yirapiti, Place name: name of a hill near Narryer station
- yirapiya ~ irapiya, N: heavy rain-cloud, storm clouds (cumulo-nimbus) (Byro dialect); see marntuta
- yirti, N: a skewer, a peg; mulja yirti, a nose bone, a nose peg
- yu-, Vtr: to give (irregular verb)
- yukala ~ yukurla, N: the Yukala (Eucla) language
- yuljitjana-, Vintr: to burrow (as frogs or goannas), -YA class
- yumpu, N: death charm (bundles of hair and gum or other binding substances; used to carry a death curse to a particular person)
- yungarra, Adj: one's own (in Watjarri song); an initiated man (Pulinja)
- yungkatji, N: the Yungkatji dialect spoken north of Watjarri area
- yurilji-, Vintr: to move, to move about, -YA class
- yurla, N: smoke (in smoke signalling; produced by burning green leaves)
- yurlaranga-, Vintr: to smoke (as a fire), to be smoky, -YA class
- yurlatju-, Vtr: to cause to smoke, to produce smoke, to send up a smoke signal, -LA class
- yurlpa, N: smoke, smoke from an ordinary fire as distinct from signalling smoke
- yuripari, N: an initiate, one passing through initiation rites
- yurna, Adj: smelly, rotten, a derogatory term for a government official
- yurtanji-, Vintr: to be or become thirsty, -YA class
- yutila, N: policeman (from Njungar)
- yuwa-, Vtr: to hit (by throwing a stick or boomerang), -LA class
- yuwaka-, Vintr: to blow (as the wind), -LA class (Patimaya)
- yuwin, N: a reef or rocky outcrop; Place name: Yuin Reef (the 'Two Brothers' of mythology in the form of white stones)

## VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

### NOUNS

#### A - Body Parts

- |                                    |                                       |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| abdomen: warri                     | breastbone: (sternum) mimpurtu        |
| achilles tendon: marrpu            | buttock: puku, marnta                 |
| animal fat: pilat, napa            | calf of leg: marlatja                 |
| anklebone (malleolus): parlpā      | calf muscle (gastrocnemius): tjarta   |
| anus: marnta                       | cheek: nganku                         |
| arm, forearm: kati, parrtji        | chest: ngarrka                        |
| upper arm: marnun                  | chin, lower jaw: ngarnngarn           |
| armpit (axilla): kalja             | claw (of animal): pirri               |
| back, lumbar region: warru         | corpse: njatja                        |
| back part of emu meat: irli        | diarrhoea: mirli                      |
| beard: ngarnkurr                   | ear: kurlka                           |
| belly: warri                       | elbow: ngurnku, tjulka                |
| blood: yariku                      | entrails (of animal): milja           |
| bone: ika                          | eye(s): kuru, tjurla                  |
| bonemarrow: murtu, tjilu, (ngurtu) | face: mulja ('nose', used as metonym) |
| brain: ngurtu                      | fat, kidney fat: napa                 |
| breast, nipple: mimi, titi, pipi   |                                       |

feet, foot: tjina  
 finger nail: (mara) pirri  
 flesh: kuka, kuwa  
 forehead: parla  
 foreleg, of animal: mara (hand)  
 fur: ngunja, kantja  
 hair, of head: mangka(lja)  
 hand: mara  
 head: maka  
 heart: kurturtu  
 heel: tjarnta  
 hip, hipbone: yangkarl  
 inner being, spirit: kurrurn  
 kidney: parnta, kapurtinj  
 knee: purru, murti, kangku  
 left, hand or side: tjampu  
 leg, upper: wanatja, tjunta  
     lower: mampu  
 lips, mouth: yira, ira, nara  
     (Ethel Creek dialect)  
 liver: pitjarn  
 lumbar region: warru  
 lungs: yaralj  
 marrow: ngurtu, tjilu, murtu  
 meat: kuka, kuwa  
 mouth: yira, ira, tja  
 navel (umbilicus) male: mirru  
     female: wana  
 neck, base: tjarli (where a  
     baby's legs circle)  
     back: njanka, njinka  
 nipple: titi, pipi, mimi  
 nose: mulja  
 nostril: mulja tja  
     pierced septum: muljayirti  
 penis: wilu  
 pneumonia: muniya  
 ribs: pimpilj (also rib portion  
     of kangaroo)  
 rump: marna  
 saliva: wirrki  
 shoulder: piritji, pirtirta,  
     (tjarli, see neck)  
 shoulder blade: tjirli  
 sickness, pain: pika  
 sinew: marrpu  
 skin: kantja, warntu, puka  
 skin of kangaroo: tjunta kutjarra  
     (metaphorical expression)  
 spirit, human: kurrurn  
 stomach: warri  
 subincision: kaninjtarra  
 tail, of animal: njurnti, tjila/i  
 teeth: wirlka, wiljka, yira  
 temple: ngarnkilirri  
 tendon: marrpu  
 thigh: tjunta

throat: pakarn  
 toenail: (tjina) pirri  
 tongue: tjarlinj, tjalanj  
 umbilicus, see navel  
 umbilical cord: nurilj  
 urine: kumpu  
 viscera: warri  
 vomit: pali

*B - Human Classification*

Aboriginal person: yamatji  
     a dark-skinned person: wirri  
 adolescent, boy: murtinj  
     girl: warlukura, njarlu warluwura  
 avenger: wanmala, warnmala  
 baby, in arms: tjuljku, mayu,  
     tjintjamarta  
 boss, master: matja  
 boy, beginning initiation: mayu  
     muriija  
 child, generic: mayu, kaka, tjupa  
     a preinitiate: murtinj, murtilja  
     the youngest child: njangamarta  
     just walking child: mayu yana-  
     kupa  
     a pitiable child: mayu kurninj  
     (used also for any person)  
 deceased person: njatja  
     substitute name for: kaljartu  
 desert native: wanmala, maliyara  
 devil, evil spirit, whiteman:  
     muntungu  
 diagnostician: makayarla,  
     ngaljayarla (lit. 'head-hole')  
 doctor, sorcerer: maparn, maparn-  
     tjarra, puljaman, maparnpayi  
 elder, male: wintja, maka wintja  
     'greyhead', partarnu, tjutja,  
     tjapurta (Ingkarta)  
     female: tjukarnu, njarlu tjukarnu  
 'European', whiteman: wiljpila,  
     wilpala, wuljpala, witpala,  
     pilingki (white), muntungu  
     (devil)  
 girl: warluwura, warlukura, tjura  
     (Nanu)  
 initiate, a preinitiate: mayu  
     muriija  
     passing through the rites:  
     yuripari (yuripa 'smoke')  
     post-initiate in seclusion:  
     ngartingka  
     a fully-initiated man: pakarii  
 man, person: yamatji, yamatji  
     pakarii  
 a male initiate: marlpa (Ethel  
     Creek), yungarra (Pulinja)

married man: yamatji martungunjuwa  
 married woman: njarlu, njarlu  
 martungunjuwa  
 master, Government official: matja  
 Aboriginal affairs officer:  
 yamatji matja  
 old person, see elder  
 person: yamatji (see also 'Euro-  
 pean')  
 policeman: martanju (from  
 martanjuwa, 'having money'),  
 martalmartalpayi ('the very  
 rich one'), tjutila (from  
 'will bind', 'will handcuff'),  
 manatja (derived from Nyungar  
 manatj), tartatji-pilti (Lit.  
 'trousers and belt', a symbolic  
 reference to a policeman);  
 yutila (from Nyungar)  
 sorcerer: maparn, etc. (see under  
 doctor)  
 spouse: martungu  
 stranger: witjarnu  
 unmarried girl: warluwura  
 whiteman, see 'European'  
 whitewoman: wiljpila njarlu,  
 njarlu wayitwan  
 woman: njarlu, yamatji njarlu  
 youngster: mayu, mayurru, murilja,  
 njangamarta

*C - Kinship*

aunt, father's sister: tjurtu  
 boyfriend, girlfriend: martungu  
 brother, older: kurta  
 younger siblings: tjintjamarta  
 brother-in-law, wife's brother:  
 ngapuri  
 brother's wife's brother:  
 ngapuri  
 mother's brother's son: puwa  
 brother's children: ngaraya  
 brother's wife: martungu,  
 maritji  
 child, one's own offspring: katja  
 daughter: njarlu katja  
 daughter-mother relationship:  
 katjayara  
 elder brother: kurta  
 elder sister: tjurtu,  
 partarnukarti, kuntja  
 father: mama  
 father-son relationship: mamayara  
 friend, male or female: mitu  
 (from English 'mate')  
 grandfather, grandson: kami  
 grandmother, granddaughter:

kanjtjari  
 husband: martungu, watji, kurri  
 (Western Desert language)  
 husband, as referred to when a  
 woman addresses her daughter:  
 mutji  
 mother: yaku  
 mother-daughter relationship:  
 yakuyara  
 mother's brother: kamparnu, kangku  
 nephews, nieces, brother's children:  
 ngaraya  
 siblings: tjintjamarta  
 sister, older: tjurtu, kuntja  
 partarnukarti, tjitja  
 younger: malju, iku  
 son: yamatji katja  
 son-father relationship: katjayara  
 spouse, male: martungu, mutji,  
 kurri  
 female: martungu, murni  
 uncle, mother's brother: kamparnu,  
 kangku  
 uncle-nephew relationship:  
 kamparnira  
 wife: martungu, murni  
 wife's brother: ngapuri

*Ca - Skin groupings*

intermarrying groups (marriage =,  
 mother-child relationship ↔):  
 (purungu = karimarra)  
 (purrkurlu = paltjarri)  
 skin, totem (re kin avoidance and  
 forbidden foods): ngalungu  
 ngarangu, yarlpu

*D - Mammals*

anteaters, banded: talkayi  
 spiny: kurntuwa(ra), kuntuwara  
 bandicoot, or bilby: talkayi, muya  
 bat: yipiljyipilj, milatjari  
 bullock: kuripi, puluku  
 calf: kapu (from English)  
 dingo, wild dog: ngupanu, tjutju  
 ngupanu  
 dog, domesticated: tjutju, wantja  
 (Ethel Creek dialect)  
 echidna: kurntuwa  
 euro: pikurta  
 goat: nani (from English)  
 horse: ngurru, ngurt (Nyungar),  
 yawarta  
 kangaroo, grey: yawarta (Geraldton  
 area)  
 red: marlu, mangkuru (Ethel  
 Creek dialect)  
 mouse: miyurtu

possum: wayurta  
 rat: wantipul  
 rabbit bandicoot: talkayi, muya  
 rock wallaby: kaljawirri, yaputji  
 sheep: tjipu, kukuntjirri

*E - Reptiles*

bark lizard, skink: milju  
 bungarra: kuwiyarl  
 carpet snake: purli, tjurni  
 (Malkana)  
 goanna, perentie (*Varanus giganteus*): kuwiyarl  
 common (*Varanus tristis*)  
 miti  
 a long-tailed variety:  
 tjilawara  
 others: parnka, wartapi  
 gecko, black: yarluylarlura,  
 parapara  
 'Ta-ta lizard': itjitji  
 lizards, small, 'Jew lizard':  
 tjatjara  
 stone-coloured: martamarta  
 silvery: wuntiljarra (see  
 wuntiljarra 'a silvery fish'  
 under G)  
 mountain devil (*Moloch horridus*): mintjinj  
 snakes, carpet snake: purli  
 water snake: kutjita (said  
 to control pimarra 'spring')  
 venomous: miljurra, mira, tjika  
 small varieties: tjirtu

*F - Birds*

bell-birds (*Oreocia gutturalis*):  
 parnparnkarlarla, pakunpakun  
 budgerigar (*Melopsittacus undulatus*): martumpura  
 bustard, wild turkey (*Eupodotis australis*): partura  
 cockatoo, black (*Calyptorhynchus magnificus*): tjirarnti  
 little corella (*Cacatua sanguinea*): pulli  
 Major Mitchell (*Cacatua leadbeateri*): ngakalalanj  
 crow (*Corvus orru*): kaku  
 curlew (*Burhinus gallarius*):  
 wilju ~ wilu  
 duck (*Anas superciliosa*): ngaruwa  
 eagles and hawks,  
 eaglehawk (*Aquila audax*): ngurlal  
 brown hawk (*Falco berigora*):  
 kirrkurta  
 grey hawk (? *Falco hypoleucus*):  
 mikinj

egg: warla, kapurtu  
 egg shell (any shell): mirnti  
 emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*):  
 yalipirri, karlaya, yalamparri  
 (Geraldton), tjarnkurna (North-  
 ern)  
 finch, zebra (*Taeniopygia castanotis*): njingarri  
 galah, pink and grey (*Eolophus roseicapillus*): piyarli, also  
 kaki (from English)  
 kingfisher, sacred (*Halcyon sancta*):  
 pakara, warlpa, wirlu  
 magpie (probably *Gymnorhina dorsalis*): kurrparu  
 magpie lark (*Grallina cyanoleuca*):  
 tjilinpiti  
 mallee fowl (*Leipoa ocellata*):  
 ngarnamara, ngawu  
 owl, Boobook (*Ninox novaeseelandiae*):  
 kurrkurtu  
 owlet-nightjar (*Aegotheles cristatus*  
 ? *murchisonianus*): purtuntja  
 parrot, green (*Barnardius zonarius*):  
 murlantji  
 pigeon, common bronzewing (*Phaps chalcoptera*): marmpi,  
 marmpinju  
 crested (grey) (*Ocyphaps lophotes*): walararra  
 an anthropomorphic pigeon in the  
 mythology: Putjulkura  
 a small crested bird said to  
 mimic or deceive: njinkururru  
 plover (probably *Peltohyas australis*): wirlutjarrutjarru  
 quail (probably *Turnix velox*):  
 parnaparnayatin  
 'rainbird' (said to be swallow-  
 tailed; probably *Cuculus pallidus* or *Cacomantis pyrrhophanus*, i.e. the pallid cuckoo  
 or the fan-tailed cuckoo):  
 kawilkura  
 robin redbreast (probably *Petroica goodenovii*): tjaljanjara  
 tawny frogmouth (*Podargus strigoides*): tjuwi  
 wedgebill, 'Jinny Linthot' (*Sphenostoma cristatum*): tjirtartu

*G - Amphibia and fishes*  
 fish, a silvery river fish:  
 wuntiljarra  
 frogs, green: warnkura  
 the April frog: wantitu, marrkarn  
 (Patimaya)  
 large edible stripey: iliwaka

tadpoles: kutjulilin

tortoise: kantara

*H - Insects and Arachnids*

ants (generic): mingə

small black: wirri, wingku

(Patimaya)

large black 'soldier':

marinjmarinj

honey ant: wirtawirta

beetle (generic): mintinmintin,

mintinari

butterflies and moths:

pirtipirti

caterpillar, processionary:

katjanja

centipede: miniyara, tjirala

(Patimaya)

fleas: kulu

fly, flies (generic): warayi

blowflies: purtupuri, purtupi

grasshoppers: wintjintji

grub, edible 'bardy': parti

lice: puta

mosquito: njurni, njirru

(Patimaya)

scorpion: wana, wanatjilingka

(Patimaya)

spider: kartawala, kanparrka

(Patimaya)

termites: manjtjunjtjurru

manjtjanjtjarra

*I - Language and ceremony*

(For list of languages known to the Watjarri, see section 1.5)

bullroarer: tjilpirrpa, nganirri

ceremonial ground (a special area

in which parents wait while

their son is undergoing initi-

ation rites): kurturtu (Lit.

'heart')

ceremony, corroboree: mama

death charm (bundles of hair and

gum or other binding substances;

used to carry a death curse to

a particular person): yumpu

language, speech: wangka

magic pointing stick:

pungkurninj (Patimaya)

message stick: pampurru

name (an inalienable possession):

yini ~ ini

'What is his/her name?':

ngana yini palu?

red ochre: tjuwari, wilki

song, ceremony, corroboree: mama

song, that which is sung: waranj

song for initiated men only:

milku

sorcery, sickness: pika

subincision: kaninjtarra

*J - Artefacts, possessions*

(including some cross-cultural borrowings)

aeroplane: wilwil

bag, small, for carrying food, etc.:

nguri, ngartura

for carrying a baby, a sling:

kuriku

skin bag, also used for a cover-

ing: kantja

barb, of spearthrower: tarika

belt: pilti

bicycle: patjikil

blanket: warntu

boomerang: warlarnu

box: pakitji

bucket: pakati

carrying bowls, dishes: tjaka, piti

clothes: kuljpa

covering, traditional body covering:

puka, also kantja

traditional foot covering:

tjinapuka

digging tools, bowl: mingkari

stick: wana

dress (originally referred to black

dresses sold by Afghan traders):

puraku (from English 'frock')

fire saw: mirru

fire stick: wirnta watjan, karla

gum (for affixing flints, etc.):

paru

gun: kan ~ kana

hairbelt: nanpa

hat, men's: mangkawarla

head band, symbol of manhood:

tjuti, yalkirri

head ring, used by women for carry-

ing: kantjari

hitting sticks (generic), tree or

stick: wirnta

short hitting sticks: yangka

tjurna, kurnti

a long, fighting stick: tjarlura

house, a town house: tuwa

humpy: mingkarri

knife, stone knife or chisel: kanti

money: marna, marta ('stone'), muni

motor car: mutuka

mug, cup: minta, maka

nose bone: muljayirti

paper: piparlu  
 point of spear or stick: iri  
 scraper, white quartz stone: irilja  
 (used for scraping kantja)  
 shield: kurnta, wurnta, tjara  
 skewer, peg: yirti  
 smoke, in smoke signalling: yurla  
 spear, straight with no barb:  
 kurartu, katji (Patimaya)  
 single barbed: wirrangu, wiyartu  
 many barbed: kutjarta, pilara  
 spear wood: ngurtinga  
 spearthrower: mirru  
 stone tools: marta  
 train: turayin (from English)  
 trough: turapa (from English)  
 trousers: tartatji (from English)

*K - Fire, food, water*

fire, generic: karla, watjan  
 (Patimaya)  
 firewood: karla, wirnta  
 hot coal, ember: tjikari  
 ashes: kupa  
 bonfire, large fire: mila  
 firelight: waru  
 tinder: ipinj  
 kindling wood: pitara, ngarnti  
 dry bark: pingara, likarra  
 smoke: yurlpa, tjurtu watjan  
 (Patimaya)  
 food, all vegetable foods: warinj,  
 wayinj  
 fruits  
 native pear: kakurla  
 native tomato, a solanum:  
 kumpurarra  
 quandong (*Santalum acuminatum*):  
 marun  
 'mulga apple', a tree gall:  
 tjakartu  
 game foods: meat (generic): kuka,  
 kuwa  
 kangaroo meat: kuka marlu  
 (see also under Mammals, Rep-  
 tiles, for other edible game.)  
 cooked meat: (kuka) mantu  
 savoury smell: njirrinjirri,  
 parntilku  
 distribution of cooked meat,  
 portions: makuta, tjintja-  
 marta, kutjurtapa  
 gums, edible from Jam tree:  
 mangarta  
 introduced foods and drinks:  
 bullock meat: kuka puluku  
 damper: tampa

milk (usually refers to powder  
 milk): milki  
 sugar: ngurrinngurrinj  
 supper: tjapa  
 tobacco, chewing tobacco: paki  
 wine: wama  
 root foods and bulbs:  
 bulb of flax lily: ngarlku  
 native 'sweet potato': tjilin,  
 kulju  
 other: pipitjali, puntuwanj,  
 wilpintjanu, wilupurl, ngapu  
 seed foods, seed (generic): panin  
 plant seeds which are ground into  
 flour and made into dampers:  
 ngarrpa  
 small grass seeds, 'ant seeds':  
 kurrarra  
 quandong nuts: marunmarta  
 water: papa, kapi  
 cold water: murti papa

*L - Celestial, weather*

celestial bodies:  
 moon, month: wilara, wulaya  
 sun: karangu  
 stars: purntara  
 morning star: mungal purntara  
 clouds, alto-stratus, in cold  
 season: warlulu  
 fair weather cumulus: marrarn  
 heavy rain cloud: yirapiya,  
 marntuta  
 thunderstorm clouds: yirapiya,  
 kumarta  
 day, sun: karangu  
 daytime sky: ilkari, intirri,  
 marlpa ('high'), ngangkari  
 divisions of the day  
 morning: mungal  
 afternoon: tjuljara, karakara  
 evening: mungamunga  
 (see also section 3.6 for Adverbs  
 of time.)  
 light: mili, pinma (Patimaya)  
 lightning: watatjarri  
 month: wilara  
 night: munga  
 night sky: munga, kumparta  
 (Patimaya)  
 rainbow: warungutu  
 seasons, cold season/weather:  
 wanta, warlulu  
 hot season/summer: ngalpuka  
 wind: winjtju



## M - Geography

camp, place, campsite: ngura  
 cave: ngarnka  
 claypan: yalkatji, miljirrinj  
 creek, creek bed: wila, waan  
 (Patimaya)  
 creek sand: wirriya  
 directions, north: milimili,  
 yapurtu  
 south: mimangu  
 west: wilura  
 east: kakarra  
 froth, on edge of claypan or on  
 water: wirrkirinj, miljirrinj  
 ground, earth: parna  
 dirt, sand: njatja  
 hole, pit: waku  
 hole in top of cave: papul, njilin  
 reef: yuwin  
 river: katjara  
 rock, stone, breakaway: marta, yapu  
 range: turnku  
 rock hole: tjurnu, mirla  
 sandhill: tungkuru  
 school: kul  
 sea: wirlu  
 shade, shadow: minta  
 spring, rock spring: pimarra  
 (said to be controlled by  
 a water snake)  
 spring in sand, soak: tjipula  
 stone, boulder: yapu  
 track (generic): parriya, tjina  
 kangaroo pad: marlu parriya  
 town: tawun  
 windbreak: ngurlurn

## N - Arboreal

bulbs and roots (see edible  
 varieties listed under Food)  
 bushes, shrubs and flowers  
 flannel bush (prickly):  
 kurlkaturangu  
 kangaroo paw: marlupirri  
 'standback bush': pantutjilj  
 Sturt pea: murupurikartu,  
 marlukuru  
 wild tomato: kumpurarra  
 grasses (producing edible seeds):  
 ngarrpa, kurrarra  
 spinifex: marlurnka, pila  
 (Patimaya)  
 leaves, spiny: parrka  
 broad: yarlu  
 tree, (generic): wirnta  
 eucalyptus: pularra, punarra  
 mallee: pilapirti

mulga: yarlurt  
 needle tree: kurarra  
 pear: kakurla  
 quandong: walku, wirntu  
 river gum: tjilku  
 white gum: yarlurr

## O - ADJECTIVES

*Adjectives of state*

aching: pika  
 afraid: ngurlu  
 angry: patja  
 ashamed: tjirrtjirr, wangunj  
 bad, unfit, unwell: walinja  
 not right: waljtji  
 rotten, smelly: yurna  
 pesty, as flies: kurrakurra  
 bent, crooked: ngartara  
 blind: kumuru  
 bow-legged: mampu ngartara  
 broken: kartanj, kartanganj  
 clever: murrkarmurrkar  
 cold: murti, tjanta  
 cold weather: murtilju  
 conceited, proud: marinjmarinj  
 cooked meat: kampu, kuka kampu,  
 kuka mantu  
 dead: muria  
 distant: warta  
 drunk: patjapatja  
 fresh, raw: wanka  
 full: njumulpunjira  
 good: parnti  
 hot: karlanga  
 hungry: njanjura  
 hysterical: yayiliri  
 ill (generally): pika  
 sorcerized: kalatjarra  
 mad: palparu  
 pitiable: kurninj  
 ripped, torn: yara, yatjyatj  
 shy: wangunj  
 tired: malarti, paljpa, manga  
 leg-tired: watjarrwatjarr  
 true, straight: tjuparn  
 untidy: yimpiljyimpilj  
 wet: wiljki  
 wild, untamed: ngupanu

*Adjectives of number and quantity*  
 one: kurriya, kutiya  
 two: kutjarra  
 three: marnkurr  
 many: yaljpa  
 another, of the same kind: kutju  
 of a different kind: wapa, njurta

*Adjectives of size*

big, large: yarnta, purika  
 small: tjintja(marta)  
 long: wara  
 tall: wirta(ra)  
 thin: wiljpirri

*Adjectives of colour*

black: wirri, mawurtu, marurtu,  
 maru  
 white: pirinj, pilingki  
 red: piljinji, yariku ('blood')  
 dark: mungarta

## VERBS

(illustrated in the present  
 tense forms: -(r)nmanja = -LA  
 class; -manja = -YA class)

*P - Motion*

arrive: wiyimanja (Intr)  
 bend down (to hide, to vomit.  
 etc.): pupanjimanja (Intr)  
 blow, as the wind: yuwakanmanja  
 (Intr)  
 burrow, as goannas: yuljitjanamanja  
 (Intr)  
 chase: tjatjanmanja (Tr)  
 circle, glide (as birds):  
 kurrurimanja (Intr)  
 circumambulate, as when approaching  
 a new place: putiputimanja (Intr)  
 climb: kalpatjimanja (Intr)  
 closer, become: kulayimanja (Intr),  
 kulakulayimanja (Intr)  
 come, towards speaker:  
 yanatjimanja (Intr)  
 crawl: marangamanja,  
 maramarangamanja, marayanmanja  
 (Intr)  
 dance: karimanja (Intr)  
 dance a corroboree: karimanja (Tr)  
 enter, set (as the sun):  
 tjakulangamanja (Intr)  
 escape: yanjalpamanja (Intr)  
 fall: warnimanja (Intr)  
 flow, as water: intimanja  
 tjakultjungamanja (Intr)  
 fly: kurrurimanja (Intr)  
 follow, track: warntunmanja  
 (Tr)  
 foot-walk: tjina yanmanja (Intr)  
 go, direction away from speaker:  
 yanmanja (Intr)  
 go out of a shelter: pakarnmanja  
 (Lit. arise) (Intr)  
 hunt game: tjatjanmanja (Tr)  
 leak out: yarrarimanja,

wilalangamanja (Intr)  
 locomote, direction away from  
 speaker: yanmanja (Intr)  
 towards speaker: yanatjimanja  
 (Intr)  
 as a motor vehicle: pukarntamanja  
 (Intr)  
 move, about: yuriljimanja (Intr)  
 away from speaker:  
 wartawartayimanja (Intr) (Lit.  
 'become more distant')  
 over, away: mawumawuyimanja  
 (Intr)  
 near, become, see closer, become  
 prowl: pitjangamanja (Intr)  
 pursue: tjatjanmanja (Tr)  
 rain: papa warnimanja (Intr)  
 re-enact a 'dreaming': mama  
 karimanja (Tr)  
 rise: pakarnmanja (Intr)  
 run: tjamparnimanja, tjamarnimanja  
 pukurnangamanja (Intr)  
 run out, as sand or water:  
 yarrarimanja (Intr) (see  
 leak)  
 run along, as a river: intimanja  
 (Intr)  
 set (as the sun), see enter  
 sit, the act of moving into a  
 sitting position: njinarangamanja  
 (Intr)  
 spill, see leak  
 straighten, stretch: tjuparnimanja  
 (Intr)  
 swim: tjunkumanmanja (Intr)  
 track: warntunmanja (Tr)  
 walk, see foot-walk, locomote

*Q - Rest*

ascend, arise: pakarnmanja (Intr)  
 crouch: pupanjimanja (Intr)  
 exist (humans): njinamanja (Intr)  
 (animals): ngayimanja (Intr)  
 (trees): kayimanja (Intr)  
 lie down: ngayimanja, ngarimanja  
 (Intr)  
 sleep: njupar ngayimanja (Intr)  
 lie flat, as water in lake:  
 yalkatjimanja (Intr)  
 rest, recline: ngayimanja (Intr)  
 rise (as the sun): pakarnmanja  
 (Intr)  
 sit, stay: njinamanja (Intr)  
 sleep, see under lie  
 stand: karimanja, kayimanja (Intr)  
 wait: matjamanja (Intr)

*R - Induced position*

belittle, scandalize:  
 waljtjimanja (Tr)  
 bind: tjutinmanja (Tr)  
 bring: kangkarnimanja (Tr)  
 catch: ngakarnmanja (Tr)  
 carry away: kangkanganmanja (Tr)  
 complete, finish: watjimanja (Tr)  
 corrupt, make bad: waljtjimanja  
 (Tr)  
 embarrass: a metaphorical usage  
 of waljtjimanja (Tr)  
 fetch, see bring  
 get: manmanja (Tr)  
 give: yunganmanja (Tr)  
 grasp: ngakarnmanja (Tr)  
 handcuff: tjutinmanja (Tr)  
 hunt away: ngurlumanmanja (Tr)  
 lay down (someone/something):  
 ngari-/ngayitjunmanja (Tr)  
 leave, reject: tjunamanja  
 lift: kartimanja (Tr)  
 lift cooked meat from fire:  
 kartiyanganmanja (Tr)  
 pick up, get: manmanja,  
 manatji-/manayimanja (Tr)  
 seize, see grasp  
 spill, sprinkle: wiljanmanja (Tr)  
 take away: kangkamanja (Tr)  
 throw away: warnitjanmanja (Tr)

*S - Affect*

apportion, distribute:  
 njurtamanja (Tr),  
 kartapayanmanja (Tr)  
 arouse (something/someone):  
 pakaranganmanja (Tr)  
 bathe: wiljarimanja (Intr)  
 break: kartamanja (Tr)  
 burn (something): pinatjunmanja  
 (Tr)  
 chew: tjakutjamanja (Tr)  
 close (something): puntumanmanja  
 (Tr)  
 clothe (one): tjunayimanja (Tr)  
 cook: pawunmanja (Tr)  
 create: yaljmanmanja (Tr)  
 cut, carve (meat):  
 kartapayanmanja (Tr)  
 distribute, divide (meat), see  
 apportion  
 do: yalimanja (Tr)  
 etch: wakaltjunmanja (Tr)  
 extinguish (fire):  
 njurlarrkumanja (Tr)  
 fight: pinjarimanja (Tr)

finish, polish: parntimanja (Tr)  
 fix: parntitjunmanja (Tr)  
 grill (meat): wilpanmanja (Tr)  
 grind (seed): paninmanja (Tr)  
 heat, make hot: karlangamanja,  
 karlamarnmanja (Tr)  
 hit, kill: pumanja, pinjmanja (Tr)  
 hit with a stick or boomerang:  
 yuwanmanja (Tr)  
 ignite: kutjanmanja, milimanmanja  
 (Tr)  
 insert: tjartatjimanja (Tr)  
 kill: pintamanmanja, pumanja (Tr)  
 light fire, see ignite  
 make: yaljmanmanja (Tr)  
 meet, mix with: pukararrimanja  
 (Intr)  
 perfect: parntimanja (Tr)  
 put, place: tjunmanja (Tr)  
 put on clothes, see clothe  
 put in, see insert  
 put right, see fix  
 raise, cause to arise:  
 pakaranganmanja (Tr)  
 rip, tear: yarlkunmanja,  
 yatj-kumanja (Tr)  
 become ripped, torn:  
 yaranganmanja (Intr)  
 roast, see cook, grill  
 scratch (marks), see etch  
 set apart, see apportion  
 shine (as the sun): wakanmanja  
 (Intr)  
 shoot, hit with an instrument:  
 yuwanmanja (Tr)  
 shut (a door or lid): puntumanmanja.  
 (Tr)  
 skin (an animal): warntumanmanja  
 (Tr)  
 smell, produce a smell, scent:  
 parntimanja (Tr)  
 smoke, produce smoke signal:  
 yurlatjunmanja (Tr)  
 spear: wakanmanja (Tr)  
 splash about in water:  
 wiljarimanja (Intr)  
 tear, see rip  
 tickle: kitikitimanja (Tr)  
 unite with, see meet, mix  
 write, see etch

*T - Attention*

listen, hear: ngangkunmanja (Tr)  
 reject, discountenance:  
 tjunamanja (Tr)  
 see, watch: njanganja (Tr)

stand, as though inattentive:

malkakayimanja (Intr)

think: ngangkungangkunmanja (Intr)

wait: matjanmanja (Intr)

*U - Communicating*

ask: tjapinmanja (Tr)

bark: parikumanmanja (Intr)

blaspheme: yanmanmanja (Intr)

chant (songs): waranmanja (Tr)

converse: wangkatjimanja (Intr)

croak, as a frog: tiljtiljmanja (Intr)

lie, speak untruths: tjiljatji-/

tjiljayi-/tjari-manja (Intr)

reproach, reprove: watjanmanja (Tr)

say (something): wangkamanja (Tr)

sing (a song): waranmanja (Tr)

swear: yanmanmanja (Intr)

tell (something): wangkamanja (Tr)

upbraid: watjanmanja (Tr)

yarn: wangkatjimanja (Intr)

*V - Corporeal*

afraid, be: ngurlimanja (Intr)

angry, become: patjayimanja (Intr)

ashamed, be: wangunjamanja (Intr)

bad, become: waljtjimanja (Intr)

bashful, be: ngantjungantjumanja (Intr)

big, become: yarntayimanja (Intr)

bite, snap at: patjanmanja (Tr)

cold, be: murtitjanmanja (Intr)

complete, be: watjiyimanja (Intr)

consume (food, water): nganmanja (Tr)

corrupt, be: waljtjimanja (Intr)

court: puntjarrngamanja (Tr)

cry, weep: ngulamanja (Intr)

decrease (in size): tjintjayimanja (Intr)

desperate, become (as for food): patjayimanja (Intr)

drink: nganmanja (Tr)

die: murlayimanja (Intr)

eat: nganmanja (Tr)

embarrassed, be: tjirryangamanja, tjiiyangamanja (Intr)

finished, become: watjiyimanja (Intr)

frightened, be: ngurlimanja (Intr)

grow, see increase

happy, become: tjilkari-/tjilkayimanja, tjukayimanja (Intr)

hot, become: karlayimanja (Intr)

hungry, be: njararnimanja,

njawarnimanja (Intr)

ill, become: pikayimanja (Intr)

increase, in number: yalipayimanja (Intr)

in size: yarntayimanja (Intr)

in height: pakarnmanja (Intr)

irritated, be: mamanjimanja (Intr)

laugh: tjurnimanja (Intr)

lightning flashes: pintamanja (Intr)

love, court: puntjarrngamanja (Tr)

nervous, be: wangunjamanja (Intr)

night approaches: mungaljimanja (Intr)

peevd, be, see irritated

play: piya-/piyanga-manja (Intr)

rejoice: tjukayimanja (Intr)

retch: palimanja (Intr)

rip, become torn: yarangamanja (Intr)

shy, be (as boys and girls with each other): ngantjungantjumanja (Intr)

sick, become, be sorcerized:

pikayimanja, kalatjarrayimanja (Intr)

sleep: njupar ngayimanja

pungkurnimanja (Intr)

small, become: tjintjayimanja (Intr)

smell (something): parntingamanja (Tr)

produce smell, scent:

parntimanja (Tr)

smoke, produce smoke (as a fire): yurlarangamanja (Intr)

stiff, become (legs): patawimanja (Intr)

tear, become torn: yarangamanja (Intr)

thirst: yurtanjanja (Intr)

tire, become tired generally: malartimanja (Intr)

become bored: palipayimanja (Intr)

become leg weary: patawimanja (Intr)

upset, become, see angry, irritated

vomit: palimanja (Intr)

weary, become, see tire

weep, see cry

wet, become: wiljkimanja (Intr)

worry: warimaramanja (Intr) (from English)

**ADVERBIALS**

(Several of these forms are noun phrases or adjectival, but occur as verb modifiers without derivational

affixes.)

*W - Manner*

alone, by oneself: kakulj  
 attentively: kurlkarta  
 by foot: tjina (+ verb 'to locomote')  
 by hand: mara  
 continually: kukurl ~ kukurr  
 filthily, foully: waljtji  
 forcefully: ngarti  
 how?: tjarnu (Intr), yaljtju (Tr)  
 loudly: ngarti (+ appropriate verb)  
 quickly: tjukurn, tjamparn  
 quietly, of voice: pintu  
 of other sounds: tjirnti, purunjmarti (Patimaya)  
 secretly: niyanniyan, njannjan  
 soundly: malka (+ appropriate verb)  
 surely: itja  
 uncomfortably: ngartaya, ngartara  
 very (in phrase): ngarti

*X - Place and direction*

above: kankararra  
 afar: warta, wartarrrpayi (in song)  
 away, direction away from speaker: mawatu  
 back, at a starting point: marlakarti  
 back, to a starting point: marlaku  
 behind: panjakarti, marla  
 beneath: ngartiyarra  
 between, in between two points: ngunuru, nguluru  
 beyond: yakarra, panjarnikarti  
 closely: kula  
 distantly: warta

inside: ngartiyarra  
 middle, in the: ngunuru  
 near: kula  
 this side of: njanjarnikarti  
 under-(neath): ngartiyarra  
 upwards: kankararra

*Y - Time*

afternoon: tjuljara  
 after that: panjatjana  
 already: purlakupa  
 another day, on: wapakarangu  
 before, previously: ukarla  
 by and by, later: urta ~ wurta  
 continually: kukurr  
 directly, soon: kuwarti  
 evening: mungamunga  
 how long?: wanjtjakutja?  
 later: urta ~ wurta  
 long ago: ukarla  
 morning, in early: maruwara  
 this morning: mungal  
 next morning: mungal  
 (depending on time of day and tense of verb.)  
 now: kuwarti  
 previously: ukarla  
 shortly, not for long: kuwarti-kuwarti  
 summertime, in: ngarlupkala  
 sunset, at: marungapa  
 tomorrow: mungal (with future tense), wapakarangu  
 when?: njangka  
 winter time, in: wantangka  
 yesterday: mungal, wapakarangu (with past tense of the verb)

*Z - Interjections and exclamations*  
 (see section 4.4)

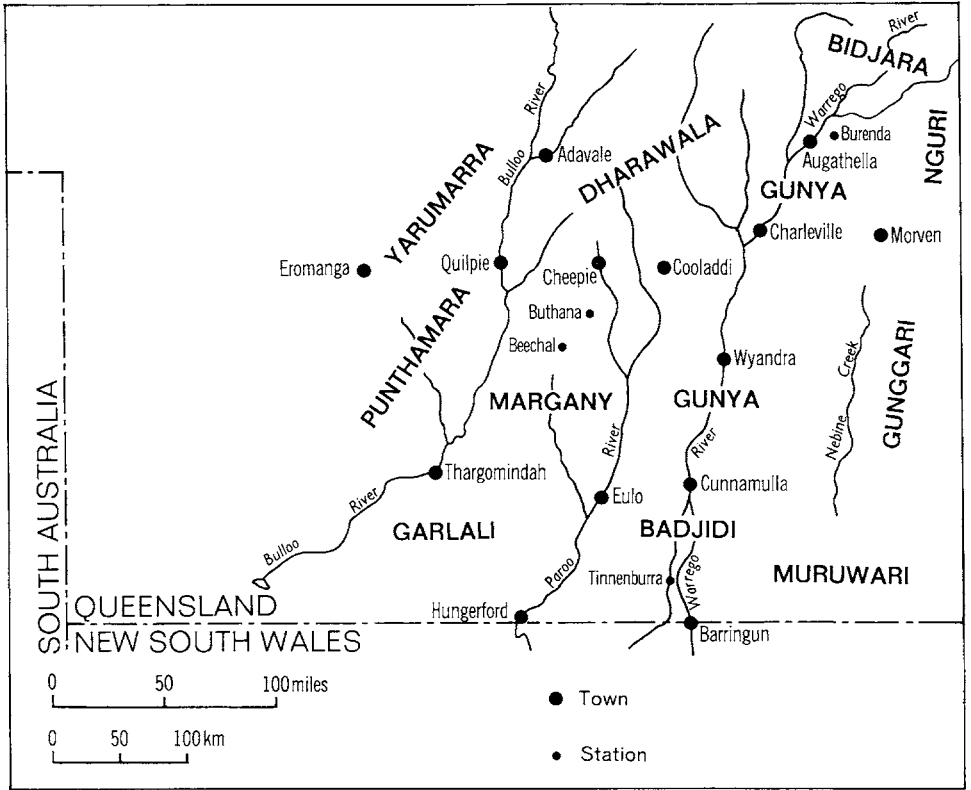
## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My research into the Watjarri language was stimulated by Professor Ronald M. Berndt of the University of Western Australia. The initial fieldwork, in 1964, and some later research, was made possible by grants from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra. Without the willing, and sometimes unwitting, help of Watjarri-speaking informants in the Murchison District, however, my research would have been fruitless. I would express special appreciation to members of the Dingo family, Mullewa, and to Mrs. Lily Dann who, with her husband, Ned, moved to Kalgoorlie and proved a very patient teacher and checker over the years.

Dr Sylvia Hallam, of the Department of Anthropology, U.W.A., has been most liberal in her assistance by supplying me with photocopies of archival records, vocabulary lists from old books, and other historical background material ... much of which could not be included in this brief description except as references in the bibliography. Others who should be acknowledged do not wish to be mentioned. They include my wife, Beth, and son, Robert, whose constant prodding have enabled me to put the results of my research on to paper.

I must also thank the *Handbook* editors for their words of encouragement, their detailed critiques of the description, their many suggestions for improvement, and for the demands made by the high standard of the *Handbook*, all of which have led me to a complete revision of the work. It now bears little resemblance to the form in which it was originally presented to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Over and above all other expressions of thanks, I thank God for introducing me to the Australian Aborigines and for allowing me to share in the richness of their languages and cultures, the warmth of their friendship, and the radical differences of their world view.



Map 5: Margany, Gunya and Other Languages of the Upper Bulloo and Warrego

# Margany and Gunya

*by J.G. Breen*

## 1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

### 1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

The language of which Margany and Gunya are dialects is, like probably the majority of Australian languages, nameless; the speakers were aware of their own speech as being different from that of their neighbours (although very similar in some cases) but were not aware of, or at least did not attach much importance to the larger group bounded by, but nowhere cut by, what one might call lines of mutual incomprehensibility. (See Dixon (1976a), especially pp.214-6. I use the term 'language' in the sense of his language<sub>2</sub> while my 'dialect', which may not be definable on linguistic criteria, happens to correspond to his language<sub>1</sub>.) Margany and Gunya are the south-westernmost of the long chain of closely related dialects (it is not clear yet how many languages they formed) known to Queensland Aborigines as 'Murry talk' and to linguists as the Mari languages, which stretches from the central part of the NSW-Queensland border to north-east Queensland.

They are typical Pama-Nyungan languages in most respects, being suffixing languages with simple nominal morphology and rather more complex (and very incompletely understood) verb morphology. Nouns are of the ergative type in morphology while pronouns are accusative. Gunya has a transparent and obviously recent system of pronominal suffixes to the verb, which Margany lacks. Verbs are divided into two conjugations (differing only in the form of the purposive suffix) and this division corresponds exactly with the division into transitive and intransitive.

Phonologically these dialects are relatively simple but they differ from many other Australian languages in having (to a limited degree) an opposition between voiced and voiceless stops, and in having a voiced apico-alveolar stop in complementary distribution with an alveolar tap. They also differ from many other Mari dialects in having six points of



articulation for stops and nasals.

## 1.2 TRIBAL AND LANGUAGE NAMES

No alternative names for the dialects are known, although a number of different spellings of the names are found in the literature. No local group names are known.

There appears to have been some regional variation within these dialects, as can be seen by comparing the material obtained from the writer's informants with wordlists published by Curr (1886-7). The speakers available for the present study belong to the southern part of Margany and Gunya territories, while Curr's material came from the north. Curr combined four vocabularies for the Upper Warrego and Paroo Rivers and Mungalalla Creek under his number 177 (Vol. III: 270-286). Oates and Oates (1970:281) identified these as Bidjara while Breen (1971:13) thought three of them might be Gunya.

These have now been examined more closely and some attempt (successful with only one of them, however) has been made to find out exactly where they come from. (I am grateful to John Dymock for making available historical material on the area and the Queensland Lands Department for locating pastoral leases.) One of these vocabularies (from Mungalalla Creek, contributed by W.H. Looker) can be identified with confidence as Gunggari. Table 1.1 gives the cognate percentages of the other three, contributed by L.M. Playfair, Joseph Hollingsworth and William R. Conn, with one another and with Gunya and Margany (from present day information), Dharawala (Tindale's Wadjalang) and Bidjara.

TABLE 1.1 - *Curr Vocabularies: Cognate Percentages*

	PLAYFAIR	HOLLINGSWORTH	CONN
Margany	72	66	55
Gunya	71	77	64
Bidjara	69	79	79
Dharawala	69	77	80
Playfair		81	75
Hollingsworth			87

In Hollingsworth's list a small number of words are given in two forms, one of which corresponds to Gunya and one to Bidjara. However, he also gives a list of additional words, about equal in size to the standard Curr list, and with this Gunya shares 71% and Bidjara only 58% (very few of these words are known for Dharawala). It is therefore concluded that Hollingsworth's list (apart from perhaps a few words which are given as one of two forms) is Gunya.

L.M. Playfair is presumably the Playfair who was a co-founder of Beechal Station in the early 1860s and a co-lessee of the pastoral leases Beethana (?), Karjie and Watchum in 1876 (Dymock, pers. comm.). These three leases

were probably contiguous and Beethana (which name may be an error, resulting from a misreading) is almost certainly the present Buthana, which is roughly half way between Beechal and Cheepie. Watchum was in the neighbourhood of Buthana, but it has not been possible to locate Karjie (Qld. Lands Dept., pers. comm.). Playfair's list, then, seems to apply to an area in the north-eastern portion of Margany country, or possibly in Gunya country. It is impossible to be more definite.

Conn's vocabulary seems to be Dharawala or Bidjara and the former seems the more likely choice if we are to accept Tindale's statement that Gunya territory went as far north as Augathella and Burenda. This statement, incidentally, would not be accepted by present day informants; however, Tindale's information is probably more reliable and certainly far more specific.

Playfair's and Hollingsworth's vocabularies are republished, with notes, in Appendix I.

Table 1.1 will be discussed further in 1.3.

### 1.3 TERRITORY AND NEIGHBOURS

The location of Margany and Gunya tribal territories is shown on the map, on which, however, boundaries have not been drawn.

According to Tindale (1974:178, 181) Margany tribal territory is: 'Quilpie to Cheepie and Beechal, thence Paroo River to Eulo; on Bulloo River south to near Thargomindah; at Dynevor Downs and Ardoch'. And Gunya tribal territory is: 'Warrego River from Cunnamulla north to Augathella and Burenda; west to between Cooladdi and Cheepie; east to Morven and Angellala Creek; at Charleville'. These descriptions are slightly different from those given earlier (Tindale (1940: 164, 166)). However, Tindale's (1974) map does not seem to be completely consistent with the above description, in that the boundary between Margany and Gunya heads more or less directly south from half-way between Cooladdi and Cheepie and thus passes a considerable distance east of Beechal.

Neighbouring tribes are as shown on the map. According to Tindale's map, Bidjara, Nguri and Gunggari have a common boundary with Gunya, Garlali and Punthamara have one with Margany, Badjidi on the south and Wadjalang (my Dharawala) on the north adjoin both. It shows Muruwari country as meeting Gunya country at a point and a similar situation for Ngandangara (my Yarumarra) and Margany. Muruwari and Yarumarra are not included in the following comparisons. Information on Nguri is inconsistent; Tindale places it on the Maranoa River and Mathews (1905) further west, on the middle Warrego, but Barlow (1872) has it to the south-east, near the Moonie River. Tindale and Barlow both give word-lists which support their statements on the location (and, consequently, differ greatly from one another). The present writer could not obtain any reliable information (although one Bidjara speaker thought the Nguri were on the Langlo River, i.e. north-west of Tindale's location) and

suspects that Nguri might not be a genuine language name.

A name Ngarigi, which has been heard a couple of times, seems to apply to a branch of the Gunggari and is probably to be identified with Ngaragari, which Tindale (1974:178) gives as a Koamu (Guwamu) term for the language between Bollon and Nebine Creek.

Table 1.2 gives cognate percentages, based on the 100 word list published by O'Grady and Klokeid (1969). Two sets of figures are given for Gunggari; one from the western or Nebine Creek area which actually adjoins Gunya country but for which only 54 of the 100 items are available, and one from the eastern or Maranoa River area, for which much fuller data are available. Other dialects for which there is not much available are Dharawala (61 items) and Nguri (42 items). Most of the data are from the writer's own field work, but the Nguri vocabulary is from the unpublished list by Tindale, Dharawala from the Tindale list (Wadjalang) and from Curr (Vol. III: 78-87, 278-9) and Badjidi from Mathews (1905), supplemented by the writer's field work. Counts based on a larger number of words (the 250 word list used by Breen (1971)) give essentially the same figures.

TABLE 1.2 *Cognate Percentages: Margany, Gunya and Neighbours*

	G	NG	MG	Ng	Bd	Dh	Pn	G1	Bj
Margany (M)	78	59	47	49	55	58	21	23	26
Gunya (G)		83	57	57	64	71	15	21	28
Nebine Gunggari (NG)			80	77	75				25
Maranoa Gunggari (MG)				80	77				16
Nguri (NG)					95				
Bidjara (BD)						85			
Dharawala (Dh)							17		
Punthamara (Pn)								48	
Garlali (G1)									46
Badjidi (Bj)									

In a very few cases items which are clearly cognate have been counted as non-cognate because borrowing is suspected. Thus Gunya *ḡaṅḡi* 'ground' must be cognate with Bidjara *naṅḡi*, but since there is no other evidence of initial /n/ in Bidjara (even though it derives from earlier /ṅ/) corresponding to initial /ḡ/ in Gunya it is assumed that the relationship is not direct. Undoubtedly there are other borrowed items involved in the counts which have not been recognised as such, especially between contiguous but not closely related languages (such as Gunya / Badjidi).

As mentioned above (1.2), the informants for Margany and Gunya come from the southern parts of their respective territories and their vocabularies would be further removed from those of neighbouring dialects on the north than the vocabulary of speakers from further north would be. This is illustrated in Table 1.1; note that the cognate percentages in this table are based on the Curr wordlist and

so are not strictly comparable with those in Table 1.2. The figures in Table 1.1 suggest that there is greater lexical similarity between the speech of geographically close tracts in different dialect areas than between widely separated tracts in the same dialect area. This may be so; nevertheless it is believed that there were clear-cut boundaries between dialects but only gradual changes within dialect areas. Grammatical changes are probably a better indication of a dialect boundary than lexical changes.

Table 1.3 gives a brief grammatical comparison of the languages and dialects (except Nguri) compared in Table 1.2. Only the major allomorphs of bound morphemes are given (in the case of nouns, only the form used with a vowel-final stem). Where two forms are given they are separated by a comma if allomorphs and an oblique if differing in function.

It is clear that the dialects compared in the first five columns of Table 1.3 form a closely related group clearly separate from the other three, and this is confirmed by Table 1.2. Margany and Gunya share a few features that the other closely related dialects (Bidjara and Gunggari at least) do not have: an allative separate from the dative, a recent past tense, a potential verb inflection and two verbal conjugations.

#### 1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Little is known of the life of the Margany and Gunya people before its disruption by white settlement. Curr (1886-7, Vol.III, 270-5) gives a few pages of notes, made up from the similar accounts given by his four informants, for an area which includes the northern part of Margany and Gunya territories, and Kelly (1935) gives some anthropological information for a large area of Queensland including these territories.

According to Curr's correspondent L.M. Playfair, whose information applies to the area of the present Buthana Station near the north-eastern extremity of Margany country (roughly half way between Beechal and Cheepie), the marriage system was as follows:

any Murri male	may marry	any Combo female,	offspring	Ippai
" Combo "	" "	" "	" "	Murri " , " Cubbi
" Cubbi "	" "	" "	" "	Ippai " , " Combo
" Ippai "	" "	" "	" "	Cubbi " , " Murri

These section names are used over a wide area to the south, notably among the Kamilaroi (Gamilaray) and Wiradjuri of New South Wales.

Another correspondent, W.H. Looker (Mungalella Creek, in Gunggari country, just east of the Gunya) gives seven classes, with both masculine and feminine forms of the names; these are:

<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
Murri	Matha	Combo	Botha
Wongoo	Wongo-gan	Umbree	Umbreegan
Cubbi	Cubbotha	Hippi	Hippatha
Ogilla	Ogellegun		

TABLE 1.3 *Morphological Comparison of Margany, Gunya and Neighbours*

	Margany	Gunya	Bidjara	Dharawala	Gunggari	Badjidi	Garlali	Puntamara
Ergative	-ngu	-ngu	-nu		-ngu	-lu	-nu	-lu
Locative	-nga	-nga	-na		-nga	-la	-ga	-laqa
Dative	-gu	-gu			-gu	-gu	-wu	-ga
Allative	-gadi	-gadin <sup>y</sup>	-gu					
Ablative	-mundu	-mundu	-mundu		-mundu	-mani	-gaŋi	-anru
Concomitant	-bari	-bari	-bayi	-bayi	-bayi	-ila	-witi	-batu
Privative	-idba	-gadba	-gadba		-adba	?	-butara	-munga
I	ŋaya	ŋaya	ŋaya	ŋaya	ŋaya	ŋan <sup>y</sup> i/ŋa <sup>t</sup> u	ŋa <sup>t</sup> u	ŋan <sup>y</sup> i/ŋa <sup>t</sup> u
You sg.	inda	inda	inda	inda	inda	yini/yuntu	yundu	yini/yunru
Present	-ŋi	-ŋi	-na		-na	-na:ni, -wani	-liŋu	-(g)a <sup>l</sup> a
Past	-:ŋi/-la	-:ŋi/-la	-la	-la	-la	-na	-na(ga)	-ga/-ga <sup>l</sup> i
Future /	-ngu (intr.),	-ngu (intr.),	-ga/	-lu,	-lgu	-ntu	-tu	-ra
Purposive	-lu(tr.)	-lgu(tr.)	-lgu	lgu?				
Potential	-:n <sup>y</sup> Yu	-n <sup>y</sup> bayiŋa	(none)		(none)	?	-t <sup>y</sup> i	-laŋu
Causative	-ma	-ma	-ma		-ma	-ta	-kari	-ba/-munka
Reflexive	-li	-li	-li		-li	?	?	-i:
Reciprocal	-da	-nga	-mi		-mi	?	?	-n <sup>y</sup> ala

However, the marriage rules he gives correspond exactly (apart from the use of feminine as well as masculine names) to those of Playfair; the three extra sections are not mentioned at all. In fact, Locker is mixing two separate sets of names, as witness the Bidjara section names (in the orthography of Breen 1973), gurrgila, guburu, ganbayi and wun-gu with feminine forms formed by a suffix -gan (the Gunggari forms would be minus the initial g, hence Locker's spellings ogilla, umbree, etc.). It seems that this set was used by the eastern or Maranoa River Gunggari but not by the western or Nebine Creek Gunggari, who used the Kamilaroi set. The two sets differ only in the names; the marriage rules are exactly the same. It seems that the boundary between the two sets must run between the two branches of Gunggari and between Bidjara and Gunya.

This may explain the comparative lack of social contact at the present time between the Cunnamulla and Quilpie Aborigines, mostly of Margany, Gunya, Garlali, Punthamara, Badjidi and Nebine Gunggari origin, and the Charleville and Mitchell Aborigines, mostly Bidjara, Gungabula and Maranoa Gunggari (as compared with the extensive contacts between Cunnamulla, Eulo and Quilpie and between Charleville, Augathella and Mitchell). However, other factors, such as the effect of the former mission at Tinnenburra, south of Cunnamulla, may also be relevant.

In addition to the section names Playfair added 'the following class-names (no doubt subdivisions) viz. opossum, snake, kangaroo, emu, crow and eaglehawk' but gave no details of how these fitted into the system. Present day memories of the system are vague and fragmentary and mostly confined to one or two of these 'subdivisions'; thus one of the Gunya speakers said he was bilby (a type of bandicoot) and his wife /bawuda/ (red kangaroo). Their children were also /bawuda/. He also knew a word /bid'yudu/ but did not know how it fitted in; it could be a clan or moiety name. (Among the Bidjara there were two exogamous clans, yangurru (comprising the sections ganbayi and gurrgila) and wudhurru (comprising wun-gu and guburu) and, it seems, also two moieties, called bumbira and magula. The nature of the latter division is not known.)

Nothing is known of any form of avoidance or other 'special' language.

## 1.5 PRESENT SITUATION

Margany and Gunya are virtually extinct. The only Margany speaker is Mrs. Jessie Shillingsworth who now lives in Cunnamulla. She is probably close to 80. The most knowledgeable of my Gunya informants was Mrs. Margaret McKellar, of Eulo and Cunnamulla, who died at a great age (at least 95, perhaps over 100) in 1972. Other speakers with whom I have worked are two of Mrs. McKellar's sons, Charlie and Fred, and her daughter Mrs. Ruby Richardson. None of these has a full knowledge of the grammar although they have fair vocabularies. Their language is slightly contaminated by Margany and perhaps other dialects.

## 1.6 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

Margany and Gunya vocabularies published by Curr (1886-7) have been discussed above (1.2); see also Appendix I.

Tindale collected a vocabulary in Margany in 1939; see Appendix II.

A list of 41 items collected by Barry Foster, then bookkeeper at Thylungra Station, from an unknown informant at Cunnamulla, probably in the early 1960's and sent to the writer in 1968, is in Margany (see Appendix III). A few items from this list can be added to the lexicon. A notable feature is the deletion of expected initial /g/ before /a/ (see 2.7).

Holmer (n.d.) worked in 1971 with an informant who claimed to speak Margany; however, her language was in fact Bidjara.

Mrs. Hazel McKellar of Cunnamulla has recorded some Gunya from her sister-in-law Mrs. Ruby Richardson, and some of this material appears in the Vocabulary.

## 1.7 CONVENTIONS

(M) denotes that an example is Margany, (G) that it is Gunya. An example is not marked (M) or (G) if the context renders it unnecessary or if it occurs in the corpus for both dialects.

Where a translation is that given by the informant it is in double inverted commas. Otherwise, the English equivalent given for a sentence is usually the sentence that the informant was asked to translate, even if the sentence given does not seem to be an exact translation. Only if there is a gross discrepancy between the sentence asked and that given is an attempt made to translate the latter. The English sentences are not, therefore, to be thought of as exact translations.

/ in a sentence denotes a pause. I have avoided marking pauses that seem to be due only to the speaker's hesitancy.

## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 THE PHONEMES

The phoneme inventory for both dialects consists of 25 consonants and 6 vowels and is shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

TABLE 2.1 *Margany and Gunya Consonant Phonemes*

	Peripheral		Apical		Laminal	
	Bilabial	Dorso- velar	Alveolar	Post- alveolar	Dental	Alveo- palatal
Voiced stop	b	g	d	<u>d</u>	<u>d̪</u>	dʲ
Voiceless stop	p	k	t	<u>t̪</u>	<u>t̪</u>	tʲ
Nasal	m	ŋ	n	<u>n̪</u>	<u>n̪</u>	nʲ
Lateral			l	<u>l̪</u>		lʲ
Trill			r			
Glide	w			ɾ		y

TABLE 2.2 *Margany and Gunya Vowel Phonemes*

	Front	Back
High	i, i:	u, u:
Low		a, a:

The following abbreviated names for the consonant articulators will be used: bilabial, velar, alveolar, retroflex, interdental, palatal.

The only unusual feature of this inventory is the existence of two series of stops, labelled above voiced and voiceless, but perhaps more correctly lax and tense. In the environment in which they most commonly contrast, i.e. intervocalically, the former are frequently lenited to fricatives (in the case of /b/, /g/ and /d̪/) or a tap (/d/) while the latter are characterised by length (especially in Margany) as well as absence of voice. These phonetic facts suggest that, at least intervocalically, the voiceless stops could be regarded as geminate clusters (as has been done in, for example, Burarra (Glasgow 1967, p.9) and Rembarnga (McKay 1975, pp. 17-21)). However, this is not favoured since heterorganic stop clusters, such as /db̪/ and /dg̪/, which occur inter-morphemically, remain voiced. Voiced and voiceless stops contrast also in clusters with lateral or nasal as first member. With laterals the voiced stops may be lenited while with nasals they are realised as voiced stops. In both cases the voiceless stops are voiceless but not long.

The possible origin of the voiced-voiceless stops distinction will not be discussed in detail here. However, it is worth noting that - while phonetically voiced stops are the norm in Mari languages - a number of the words containing voiceless stops, such as *ŋuta* 'dog' (G), *ŋatʲu* 'my', *gatʲa* 'rotten', *bati* 'to cry' (G), *yatʲu* 'flame' (M) and *nuka* 'to taste' (M) are reflexes of forms which can be



reconstructed as ancestral to both the Mari and Pama languages. It seems likely, therefore, that the distinction arose as a result of internal phonological change rather than borrowing.

The following minimal and other pairs illustrate the contrast between the two series. Note that the voiceless stops are of low frequency.

MARGANY	GUNYA
b/p ibalu 'you two'/ipan <sup>y</sup> 'dew' gubu <sup>u</sup> 'gidgea' / gabun <sup>y</sup> 'egg'/gapun <sup>y</sup> 'small'	ba <sup>b</sup> ila 'pierced'/ba <sup>p</sup> iri 'fart' gupu 'short'
g/k gu <sup>g</sup> a 'raw'/gunkuru 'coughing' bugun <sup>y</sup> 'antbed' / baga 'tree' / maka 'bone'	bud <sup>g</sup> u 'shield'/yu <sup>l</sup> ku 'heart' bukun <sup>y</sup> 'quiet'
d/t bindata 'sit-CONJ'/bintada 'cormorant'	da <sup>ndi</sup> 'river wattle'/di <sup>ntin</sup> 'rosewood'
ɖ/ʈ bi <sup>ɖ</sup> i 'tail'/mi <sup>ʈ</sup> i 'hard' bu <sup>ɖ</sup> i 'fire'/du <sup>ʈ</sup> i 'elbow' ma <sup>ɖ</sup> i 'man' / ba <sup>ʈ</sup> i 'stomach'	ma <sup>ɖ</sup> a 'hand'/ba <sup>ʈ</sup> a 'west' bu <sup>ɖ</sup> i 'fire'/bu <sup>ʈin</sup> <sup>y</sup> 'semen'
d/t da <sup>ɖ</sup> a 'to excrete' / wa <sup>ɖ</sup> i 'already'	da <sup>ʈ</sup> a 'sick' / wa <sup>ʈ</sup> i 'scrub'
d <sup>y</sup> /t <sup>y</sup> gu <sup>d</sup> ya 'honey'/gu <sup>t</sup> ya 'to spear'	wa <sup>d</sup> ya 'to go'/ma <sup>t</sup> ya 'long ago' mu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>y</sup> a 'body hair'/nu <sup>n</sup> t <sup>y</sup> a 'face' (only for F. McKellar; others say nu <sup>n</sup> d <sup>y</sup> a, which is also the Margany form.)

The following pairs illustrate the contrast between the alveolars and retroflexes. Note that retroflexes do not occur initially and it is doubted that alveolars do (see 2.3).

M. badi 'to cry'	/	ba <sup>ɖ</sup> i 'maybe'
G. utin <sup>y</sup> 'heavy'	/	bu <sup>ʈin</sup> <sup>y</sup> 'semen'
M. ɠuda 'dog'	/	ɠu <sup>ɖ</sup> ama 'to move (tr.)'
G. mala 'arm'	/	ma <sup>l</sup> a 'track'
M. ba <sup>l</sup> ga 'hit'	/	ba <sup>l</sup> ka 'rope'
ɠana 'they' (pl)	/	ba <sup>ɠ</sup> a 'goanna'
M. ɠunga 'to dip up'	/	gu <sup>ɠ</sup> a 'raw'
M. mangu 'beefwood'	/	wa <sup>ɠ</sup> guli 'to bark' (wa <sup>n</sup> ɠuli in Gunya)
M. gu <sup>n</sup> ma 'to break'	/	gu <sup>n</sup> ma 'wood duck'
binbiri 'rib'	/	bin <sup>ɖ</sup> i <sup>ɠ</sup> i 'mulga'
	/	bin <sup>ɖ</sup> i <sup>ɠ</sup> a 'budgerigar'
G. da <sup>r</sup> i 'language'	/	na <sup>r</sup> i 'name'
	/	da <sup>r</sup> i <sup>ɠ</sup> ada 'cloud'

Contrasts between interdental and palatal are very scarce; in fact, there seem to be only a couple of words in the corpus for each language with intervocalic /n<sup>y</sup>/. /n<sup>y</sup>/ does not occur word-initially and there is only one known

word in Margany and three in Gunya with initial /dʲ/.

M.	yujal	'skin'	/	gutʲa	'to spear'
M.	ɖaɖa	'stick'	/	ɖatʲa	'to kick'
	ɡunu	'humpy'	/	bunʲuɫ	'lignum'
G.	ɡaŋa	'yamstick'	/	banʲa	'big'
M.	wadɪn	'right'	/	wadʲi:n	'white woman'
	buda	'ashes'	/	ɡudʲa	'honey'
				budʲabudʲa	'light (in weight)'
G.	ɖiba	'liver'	/	dʲipu	'small'

Word-final consonant oppositions are illustrated by:

M.	ɡabun	'baby'	/	ɡabunʲ	'egg'
M.	wakan	'father's sister'	/	wakan	'crow'
	uɖun	'grass'	/	budunʲ	'mosquito'
G.	ɡudɡan	'long'	/	ɖiɫɡan	'moon'
	uɖun	'grass'	/	mutun	'shingleback lizard'
M.	buwanʲɡil	'summer'	/	nikil	'hot coals'
G.	bukul	'daughter'	/	wanɖud	'a few'
	ɖawul	'wild'	/	ɳawudɳawud	'frog sp.'
	ɖanɖud	'possum'	/	ɡudɡud	'mopoke'
	bangad	'back'	/	mangad	'bag'

The analysis of vowels posed some problems. The possible solutions were (a) three short vowels /a, i, u/ plus three corresponding long vowels and no VV sequences or (b) three short vowels, with length interpreted as reduplication (e.g. /aa/) and VV sequences not broken by predictable glides (thus /ia/ not /iya/) or (c) three short vowels, length interpreted as reduplication in the case of the low vowel and as vowel-glide-vowel (e.g. /iyi/) for the high vowels, and VV sequences (apart from /aa/) broken by glides or (d) a combination of (a) with (b) or (c).

Phonetic data do not particularly favour any one of these solutions against the others. Phonotactic and morphophonological data make (d) seem tempting. Thus, for example, writing ɖaa instead of ɖa:, ɡuwu or ɡuu instead of ɡu: and so on eliminates the only six monosyllables in the corpus. Long vowels, however, seem more fitting in such borrowed words as [ɖu:bu] 'soap', [ma:ɖa] 'boss', [ma:bu] 'many' and [wadʲi:n] 'white woman'. It is simpler to write the recent past tense suffix on verbs as -ɳi (in accordance with solution (a) than as -aɳi after stem-final /a/, -iɳi (or -yiɳi) after /i/, -uɳi (or -wuɳi) after /u/ (solution (b) (or (c))). However, the privative suffix in Margany is most economically written as -idba and would be with solution (b), but with solution (a) it must be written -yidba after /a/, -:dba after /i/, -widba after /u/ and -idba after a consonant, and with solution (c) it is almost as complicated. The allomorphs of this suffix can also, of course, be described by a morphophonological rule, but as no other bound morpheme functions in exactly the same way this does not simplify the description.

Clearly solution (d) cannot be justified without

strong evidence of contrast between long vowels, like [u:], and sequences like /uu/ or /uwu/. There is, in fact, some slight evidence; the ablative form of the word for 'mouth' is [gú:múndu] and the presence of the secondary stress on the penultimate vowel suggests that this word is to be regarded as having four syllables, i.e. /guwumundu/. The dative of the (borrowed) word for 'soap' is [dú:bugu], which seems to be trisyllabic /du:bugu/. However, this difference in stress may be related to the fact that the suffix is disyllabic in the former case and monosyllabic in the latter. There is no other evidence and solution (d) must therefore be rejected.

Partly, but not entirely, because of the frequency of the 'recent past' form of the verb, solution (a) seems to be the most economical and has been adopted. Length contrasts are illustrated in both dialects by the suffixes -ŋi 'present tense' and -:ŋi 'recent past tense'. A few other bound morphemes condition length in the preceding vowel (in some cases only with one or two of the short vowel phonemes). Otherwise long vowels are rare. Other pairs noted or (in the case of ɖa:gu which has not actually been heard) presumed include:

G.	ɖa:gu	'mouth-DAT'	/	ɖagu	'to ask'
M.	wa:la	'gave'	/	wala	'where?'
G.	guɖu:	'blowfly'	/	gundu	'away'
	gu:mundu	'nose-ABL'	/	guma	'blood'

## 2.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE PHONEMES

The following description is based on the speech of the two main informants, Mrs. Shillingsworth and Mrs. McKellar. Their speech is generally clear although Mrs. Shillingsworth's interdental (or better, perhaps, dental) consonants are often difficult or impossible to distinguish from alveolars. There are slight differences in the speech of the younger Gunya informants which would possibly result in a different distribution of the phonemes /d/ and /r/; this will be discussed below. There are also some indications of simplification on the part of younger informants; thus the younger Gunya speakers give /diru/ for 'lapunyah (tree)' as compared to Margany /diwuru/, and /ɖura/ for 'dust' as compared to Mrs. McKellar's /ɖurura/.

The voiced stops are realised usually as lenis voiced stops in word-initial position after /d/ and in nasal-stop clusters. Intervocally and following a lateral some stops are typically softened to fricatives: /b/ to [β], /g/ to [ɣ], /ɖ/ to [ð]. /d/ in these positions becomes a tap, occasionally heard as a stop, while /dʲ/ and /ɖ/ are voiced stops (although /dʲ/ may be softened to [ɣ̂] (a voiced palatal fricative) in the speech of the younger informants and /ɖ/ is occasionally a retroflexed flap [ɖ̣]). Word-finally /ɖ/ is generally a voiced stop and /d/ a tap but both tend to be devoiced.

The spellings in the lists published by Curr suggest a tendency for stops to be less strongly voiced and perhaps

more strongly articulated than was heard from the main present day informants; thus they frequently (but by no means exclusively) used p, k, c and t to represent word-initial stops. There seems to be little point in discussing the possible reasons for this.

/d/ is the only stop to occur as first member of a cluster (commonly in /db/ and /dg/, rarely in /dm/, /dp/ and /dk/). When a voiced consonant follows it is a strong tap, occasionally heard as a stop. Followed by a voiceless consonant it may be trilled. Note, however, that in the speech of the younger informants a trill is sometimes heard instead of the tap even when a voiced stop follows. It is possible that in a phonological description based only on their speech the first member of these clusters would be assigned to the phoneme /r/ rather than /d/.

The following examples illustrate the pronunciation of the voiced stops:

M.	/buba <u>l</u> /	[búβa <u>l</u> ]	'will rub'
	/ba <u>ɖ</u> ala/	[báɖa <u>l</u> a]	'bit'
M.	/ba <u>l</u> ga:ni/	[bá <u>l</u> ya:ni]	'hit'
G.	/gu <u>d</u> ya/	[gú <u>d</u> ya]	~ rarely [gúy^a] 'honey'
M.	/ba <u>ɖ</u> i/	[bá <u>ɖ</u> i]	'maybe'
G.	/ba <u>ɖ</u> a:du/	[bá <u>ɖ</u> a:ru]	~ [bá <u>ɖ</u> a:ru] 'today'
G.	/gu <u>y</u> ugu/	[gúy <u>y</u> u]	'for fish'
M.	/da <u>ŋ</u> ingu/	[dá <u>ŋ</u> ingu]	'will fall'
M.	/ma <u>ŋ</u> di:ni/	[má <u>ŋ</u> di:ni]	'burnt'
	/ma <u>l</u> a <u>ɖ</u> /	[má <u>l</u> a <u>ɖ</u> ]	'box tree'
M.	/ma <u>d</u> a/	[má <u>d</u> a]	'get (it)'
	/bu <u>d</u> ala/	[bú <u>d</u> ala]	'got up'
M.	/wa <u>m</u> ada/	[wó <u>m</u> ara]	'spear'
	/ŋa <u>d</u> gu/	[ŋá <u>r</u> gu]	~ [ŋá <u>r</u> <sup>də</sup> gu] 'grey kangaroo'
	/ba <u>d</u> bi <u>ɖ</u> a/	[bá <u>d</u> bi <u>ɖ</u> a]	~ [bá <u>d</u> bi <u>ɖ</u> a] 'porcupine'
M.	/ya <u>d</u> pa <u>l</u> an/	[yá <u>r</u> pə <u>l</u> an]	'flat'

The voiceless stops are typically long, often reduplicated, except when they occur in a consonant cluster (of which they can only be second member). The length is much less pronounced in Gunya.

	/ba <u>t</u> i/	[bá <u>t</u> i]	(M)	[bá <u>t</u> i]	(G)	'stomach'
M.	/bi <u>k</u> an/	[bík <u>k</u> an]				'fingernail'
	/ma <u>t</u> ya/	[má <u>t</u> y <u>t</u> ya]				'long ago'
M.	/du <u>l</u> bata/	[dú <u>l</u> bat <u>a</u> ]				'put out (fire)-CONJ'
M.	/ba <u>l</u> para/	[bá <u>l</u> ·p <u>a</u> ra]				'kite-hawk'
G.	/bu <u>k</u> ul/	[bú <u>k</u> ul]				'daughter'
G.	/d <u>y</u> ipu/	[d <u>y</u> ípu]				'small'

In Gunya, where an ergative or instrumental suffix -tu or a locative suffix -ta is added to a stem ending in a retroflexed consonant, the long stop in a word such as [báŋaɖ·a] 'back-LOC' is interpreted as cluster /ɖtu/ rather than as involving a deletion, since length would not be expected in a stop in this position, following an unstressed vowel. (This reasoning would not apply, however, in Margany).

Nasals are frequently long when following a stressed vowel in a disyllabic word:

M.	/min <sup>ya</sup> /	[mí·n <sup>y</sup> :a]	'full'
M.	/d̥angin <sup>y</sup> /	[d̥án·gín <sup>y</sup> ]	'blue crane'
M.	/mangu/	[mán·gu]	'beefwood'
M.	/mangu/	[mán·gu]	'arm'
	/baŋa/	[bán:a]	'goanna'
G.	/ban <sup>ya</sup> /	[bán <sup>y</sup> n <sup>ya</sup> ]	'big'
G.	/yama/	[yámma]	'nothing'

(Note: [mm] differs from [m:] in that there seems to be a syllable boundary between the two segments, i.e. one syllable ends with [m] and the next begins with [m]; [m:] does not give this impression.)

Following stressed /u/, the alveolar nasal is occasionally very much retracted in Gunya, so that, for example, /guni/ 'to hit' has been heard as [gúŋi].

There are no noteworthy features of the pronunciation of the nasals in other environments.

The only noteworthy feature of the laterals is a tendency (in Margany only, and not so noticeable as with the nasals) for the sound to be lengthened when it follows a stressed vowel and precedes a consonant.

M.	/balgalu/	[bál·galu]	'will hit'
----	-----------	------------	------------

The trill occurs only intervocally (the rare occurrences of [r] in clusters are interpreted as realisations of /d/). It is normally a voiced alveolar trill, sometimes prolonged after a stressed vowel. It is rarely voiceless.

	/bari/	[bári] ~ [bár·i]	'stone'
M.	/ŋad <sup>vari</sup> :ŋi/	[ŋád <sup>va</sup> ri:ŋi]	'is thirsty'

The glides /w/, /r/ and /y/ have no noteworthy features. Note, however, that /r/ is sometimes dropped by the younger Gunya speakers from the concomitant suffix -baŋi, resulting in the form -bayi.

The short vowels /i/, /u/ and /a/ are basically medium high front unrounded (about [ɪ]), medium high back rounded (about [ɔ]) and medium low central (about [ə]) respectively.

When a palatal consonant follows a stressed non-front vowel there is frequently a palatal on-glide to the consonant; alternatively (or, rarely, in addition) the vowel may be fronted and raised, as may a front vowel in this position.

M.	/mayi/	[má <sup>y</sup> ɪ]	'bread'
	/ban <sup>y</sup> d <sup>ya</sup> ra/	[bé <sup>y</sup> n <sup>y</sup> dere]	'pine'
	/dalan <sup>y</sup> /	[délæn <sup>y</sup> ]	'tongue'
	/gabun <sup>y</sup> /	[gábu <sup>y</sup> n <sup>y</sup> ]	'egg'
G.	/budun <sup>y</sup> /	[bóðún <sup>y</sup> ]	'mosquito'
M.	/d <sup>y</sup> ínguya!/	[d <sup>y</sup> íŋgüyæ!]	'parrot sp.'
M.	/min <sup>ya</sup> /	[mín <sup>y</sup> :e]	'full'

A preceding /y/ also frequently causes fronting and raising

of a following vowel, as do other palatal consonants if the vowel is unstressed.

/yadga/	[yárgɛ]	'wind'
M. /ilʔari/	[íʔáɾi]	'noisy'

In Gunya the unstressed sequence /aya/, common in verbs, is often realised as [ɛə].

G. /unayangu/	[ónɛəŋgɔ]	'will be lying'
---------------	-----------	-----------------

Before retroflexed consonants the high vowels tend to be lowered and retracted and /a/ is retroflexed (i.e. the tongue approaches the apico-post-alveolar position, as for /r/, but somewhat less closely).

/badbida/	[bɛ́rbɪdɛ] ~ [bɛ́rbɛɟɛ]	'porcupine'
M. /niki!/	[níkɛ!]	'hot coal'
/ŋanʔbaɟ/	[ŋɛ́nʔbɛɟ]	'sweat'
/yudɪ/	[yóɟɪ]	'meat'

Between peripheral consonants stressed /a/ tends to be retracted, especially if the preceding consonant is /w/.

/wakan/	[wókɛŋ]	'crow'
/maŋa/	[mókɛŋ] ~ [mɛŋɛ]	'ear'

/u/ may become a glide [w] when preceded by a peripheral stop and followed by /w/ or /y/ (the two glides merging in the former case and [i] being inserted in the second). The stress then falls on the vowel following the [w], and this vowel may be lengthened.

/buwanʔ/	[bɔ́wʔnʔ]	'hot'
M. /guwadu/	[gwá.ru]	'crab'
/guyidi/	[gwí.di]	'black bream'
/guyada/	[gwíyɛdɛ]	'wife'
M. /guyibinʔ/	[gwí.binʔ]	'curlew'

The sequence [ay] before a consonant is interpreted as /ayi/. It occurs in only a few words, e.g. gayimba 'now', wayilbala 'white man' and is occasionally realised with a vocoid between the /y/ and the next consonant.

Initial /i/ and /u/ are rarely preceded by the homorganic glide:

/inda/	[yínde]	but usually [índe]	'you'
/udun/	[wóðon]	but usually [óðon]	'grass'

Occasionally a vocoid is added at the end of a consonant-final word (and in a couple of cases it is not clear whether a word ends in a vowel or not).

M. /buwanʔgil/	[búwanʔgil] ~ [búwanʔgila]	'summer'
----------------	----------------------------	----------

The long vowels are realised either as long vocoids,

sometimes with minor change of quality or change in stress during the course of the vocoid, or as sequences of vocoid-glide-vocoid (/i:/ and /u:/ only). They are closer to the appropriate cardinal vowels [i], [u] or [a] than are the corresponding short vowels.

	/da:/	[da:]	'mouth'
G.	/banʔa:ri/	[bənʔa:ri]	'big'
M.	/buri:ni/	[bóri:ni]	'is tired'
M.	/gundi:ni/	[gɔndi:ni]	'died'
M.	/biri:ku/	[bíríyɪlko]~	[bíríyɛlko] 'will scratch'
M.	/bitʔu:ni/	[bítʔuwəni]	'is throwing'

### 2.3 PHONOTACTICS

Root structure is (with the exception of a handful of monosyllables and five syllable roots):

$$(C_1)V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)(C_5V_3(C_6))(C_7V_4(C_8))$$

The following phonemes can occur word-initially: peripheral voiced stops and nasals /b, g, m, ŋ/ interdental voiced stop and nasal /d, n/, high vowels and the corresponding semivowels /i, u, y, w/. In addition a very few words (including one very common word in Gunya, /dʔipu/ 'small') have initial /dʔ/. Also, a few words in each dialect have been transcribed with initial /n/. This may be genuine, or it may result from mishearing of initial /n/. Alternatively, there may be free variation between the two in initial position, or possibly even a certain amount of complementary distribution; /n/ seems much more common than /n/ before /u/, less common before /i/ (especially in Gunya) and about equally common before /a/.

Note that initial /i/ is written instead of /yi/; there is no contrast between the two in this position and the initial glide is almost never heard in the speech of the older informants, and is not common in the speech of the younger informants. Note also the reduplicated form idginidgin 'cheeky' (G), heard [írginírgin]; there is clearly no /ny/ cluster although such a cluster is presumably allowed, since /ly/ occurs (in yagalyagal (G), meaning not clear; it was given for 'hot coal' but as yagal is 'cold' there is probably a mishearing involved and it may mean 'cool', 'not very cold').

For similar reasons /u/ is written initially in preference to /wu/.

Table 2.3 gives the percentage frequency of each phoneme in initial position in lexical items heard from at least two Gunya informants (about 460 items) and from Mrs. Shillingsworth (about 590). In addition the frequency of initial CV sequences in the Margany vocabulary (for short vowels only) is given. The only initial CV sequences containing a long vowel are in the words da: 'mouth', gu: 'nose', na: 'to see' (Margany only), wa: 'to give', di:ti 'soldier bird', and the borrowed word ma:da 'boss'. (There are a handful of others, mostly borrowed, in Gunya.) Voiceless stops, retroflex consonants, laterals, rhotics and /a/, which never occur initially, are omitted.

TABLE 2.3 *Initial Phoneme and CV Frequencies*

Initial Phoneme	% Frequency in Gunya	% Frequency in Margany	% Frequency in Margany		
			Ca	Ci	Cu
b	22	22	10	4	8
g	23	20	10	0.2	10
d	-	-	-	-	-
ɖ	14	15	7	4	4
dʏ	0.6	0.2	-	0.2	-
m	13	14	8	2	4
ŋ	6	6	4	-	2
n	1	1	0.3	0.7	0.3
ɲ	2	3	0.5	0.8	1.2
nʏ	-	-	-	-	-
y	6	5	3	NA	2
w	7	9	7	2	NA
i	3	3	[ Not Applicable ]		
u	2	2			

Table 2.3 shows that /a/ occurs as the stressed (i.e. first) vowel in about 50% of vocabulary items, /i/ in 17% and /u/ in about 33%. The corresponding figures for Gunya are about 50, 15 and 34.

Phonemes which can occur word-finally are the vowels, apical nasals and laterals (but there are no confirmed examples of final retroflex lateral voiced stops in Gunya), and /nʏ/. Note that all verb stems end in vowels, /a/ and /i/ being by far the most common.

Table 2.4 lists percentage frequencies of final phonemes.

TABLE 2.4 *Final Phoneme Frequencies*

	Margany Gunya		Margany Gunya		
a	39	39	d	0.7	0.4
i	20	17	ɖ	2	3
u	18	16	n	2	2
a:	0.5	0.4	ɲ	0.3	1.5
i:	0	0.4	!	6	5
u:	0.2	0.4	!	0.3	0
			nʏ	11	14

The only words ending in a long vowel are the monosyllables ɖa: 'mouth', gu: 'nose', wa: 'to give', ɲa: (Margany)



'to see', *di:* (Gunya, borrowed) 'tea' and the Gunya words *biḍi:* 'turtle' and *guḍu:* 'blowfly'.

Any consonant can occur in intervocalic position. The following intra-morphemic consonant clusters, all binary, can occur: homorganic nasal plus stop; apical or lamino-palatal nasal or lateral or tap (i.e. voiced alveolar stop) plus peripheral voiced or voiceless stop or nasal; and also /lt/ (doubtful). In fact, a few of these have not been heard - in particular, the lateral-nasal clusters, which may not be permitted - and some have been heard only in Margany or only in Gunya. Table 2.5 lists clusters that have actually been heard. Crosses mark clusters that are thought to be acceptable but have not been heard. Brackets denote clusters known in only one word in each dialect, ( )M means known only for one Margany word and ( )G known only for one Gunya word.

Note that the above schedule allows clusters /db/, /dg/ but not /ḍb/, /ḍg/.

Note also that all clusters are intervocalic. About 38% of stems in Margany and 29% in Gunya have a consonant cluster (a few have two).

It will be noted that a substantial proportion of these clusters are rare; in fact, in Gunya, over half the clusters occurring in the lexicon are /mb/, /nd/, /ṅd/ or /dg/, each of which makes up over ten percent of the total. In Margany the situation is a little different, as /ng/ is the only cluster with over ten percent of the total, while /mb/, /nd/, /ṅd/, /dg/ and /lb/ all have between six and nine percent.

Considering only clusters that are not rare, we could simplify the schedule to read: homorganic nasal plus voiced stop; alveolar nasal, lateral or tap (voiced stop) plus peripheral voiced stop. This covers 85% of Margany intra-morphemic clusters (the other 15% being divided among 22 different clusters) and 87% in Gunya.

In theory, inter-morphemic clusters can be made up of any consonant that can occur word-finally plus any consonant that can occur word-initially. The consonants /g/, /m/ and /b/ occur initially in common nominal suffixes so that clusters such as /ḍg/, /ḍb/, /ḍm/, /nʸm/, /lm/, which are rare or non-existent within a morpheme are not uncommon across morpheme boundaries. A particularly unusual cluster (in Australian languages generally) which occurs in Gunya (according to the analysis adopted above) is /ḍt/, which occurs when a stem with final /ḍ/ is marked for ergative, instrumental or locative case.

Margany has a nominal inflectional suffix with initial /ḍ/, which, with stem-final /n/, gives a cluster /ṅd/ unless assimilation occurs, to give /ṅḍ/; the facts are not clear. Assimilation occurs with final /nʸ/, to give /nʸdʸ/. With final /l/ and /ḍ/ /lḍ/ and /ḍḍ/, respectively, are formed. Attempts to elicit combinations with final /d/, /ḥ/ and /l/ were unsuccessful.

Table 2.6 gives the percentage frequency in Margany of all consonants for positions other than word-initial and word-final (the total number is 1084). Figures for Gunya (total 850) are given in brackets only if they differ by 20%

TABLE 2.5 *Intra-morphemic Consonant Clusters*

Second member	b	g	d	ɖ	ɗ	dʏ	p	k	t	ʈ	tʏ	m	ŋ
First member													
m	mb						x						
ŋ		ŋg						(ŋk)M					
n	nb	ng	nd				x	(nk)	(nt)			nm	ng
ŋ	ŋb	ŋg		ŋɖ			x	x		x		ŋm	(ŋŋ)
ɳ					ɳɖ						(ɳt)		
nʏ	nʏb (nʏg)					nʏdʏ	x	x				(nʏtʏ)G	(nʏm)M x
l	lb	lg					(lp)	x	(lt)M				
l	x	(lg)					(lp)M	lk					
lʏ							x	(lʏk)M					
d	db	dg					(dp)M	dk				(dm)M	x

Note: (a) /dm/ has been heard only in the bound morpheme /dma/, a rare allomorph of the causative, usually /ma/.

(b) /lt/ occurs only in an item whose correctness was doubted by the informant.

(c) /nʏtʏ/ has been heard only from Fred McKellar in gunʏtʏa 'face'. Two other Gunya informants use gunʏdʏa.

or more. Table 2.7 gives the percentage frequency of unstressed non-final vowels (total 360 M, 296 G). Long vowels do not occur in unstressed non-final position in a root except in the Gunya word *baḍa:du* 'today' (from Mrs. McKellar only) and a couple of English loan-words (*wadʷi:n* 'white woman' and *yuda:mu* 'alcoholic drink').

TABLE 2.6 *Consonant Frequencies, Non-Initial, Non-Final*

	Labial	Velar	Alveolar	Retroflex	Interdental	Palatal
Voiced Stops	10 (12)	11	9	5	5	2.5
Voiceless Stops	0.6(0.8)	2.5(1.8)	0.7(1.3)	2(1.6)	0.6	2 (0.6)
Nasals	7	3	8	2	2.5(2)	3
Laterals			7(9)	1.2(2)		0.7
Trill			4(3)			
Glides	2.5(1.2)			6(4)		2

TABLE 2.7 *Vowel Frequencies, Unstressed and Non-Final*

	High Front	Low	High Back
Margany	25	49	26
Gunya	27	46	27

0.7% of Margany roots are monosyllabic, 73% disyllabic, 20% trisyllabic, 6% of four syllables and 0.3% of five syllables (i.e. two words in the corpus, *gaṭʷuwiḷaḍa* 'turtle' and *guwanʷmangadi*, a place-name). The corresponding figures for Gunya are 1, 76, 17, 6, 0. The longer roots include a number of items that are perhaps compound or derived forms (and certainly many that are historically not simple forms). A number of reduplicated forms are counted as roots, e.g. onomatopoeic words like *guṭaguṭa*, a type of bird.

Overall phoneme frequencies have been studied only for the speech of Mrs. McKellar (Gunya); it is assumed that the figures of Margany and for other Gunya speakers would be similar. Table 2.8 shows the number of occurrences of each phoneme in the 294 lexical items recorded from Mrs. McKellar. Column I shows word-initial occurrences (or, for vowels, initial syllable occurrences), Column III word-final occurrences, and Column II other occurrences. One interesting feature is the preference of certain phonemes for initial position; 80% of /w/s occur initially despite the decision not to write /wu/ initially, as do about 65% of /y/s and /ŋ/s, 60% of /b/s and half the /g/s and /m/s. 70% of /nʷ/s occur stem-finally. Other consonants show a preference - total in many cases - for medial positions. 60% of /n/s occur as the first member of /nd/ clusters. /u/

shows a marked preference for the first syllable of a word, and in other positions occurs about as often as /i/.

TABLE 2.8 *Number of Occurrences of Phonemes in Gunya*

	I	II	III	Total		I	II	III	Total
b	66	42	-	108	p	-	6	-	6
g	58	56	-	114	k	-	8	-	8
d	-	37	1	38	t	-	4	-	4
ɖ	-	24	8	32	ʈ	-	6	-	6
ɗ	37	42	-	79	ɟ	-	2	-	2
dʸ	1	13	-	14	ɟʸ	-	4	-	4
m	34	36	-	70	l	-	47	8	55
ŋ	26	15	-	41	ɭ	-	6	-	6
n	3	48	13	64	ɭʸ	-	3	-	3
ɲ	-	7	4	11	r	-	15	-	15
ɳ	5	22	-	27	ɽ	-	16	-	16
nʸ	-	15	37	52	w	24	5	-	29
					y	20	10	-	30
a	149	94	121	364	a:	2	2	1 <sup>1</sup>	4
i	43	39	48	130	i:	1 <sup>1</sup>	1	1 <sup>1</sup>	2
u	99	37	48	184	u:	2 <sup>1</sup>	-	2	4

<sup>1</sup> These are monosyllables.

No counts have been done on textual material, there being virtually none in the corpus. However, the following observations can be made:

- Initial /ŋ/, /ɳ/ and /i/ would be more frequent than in the lexicon, due to their use in a number of pronouns.
- Final vowels would be even more preponderant than in the lexicon, as almost all inflectional suffixes (one exception in Gunya) and most derivational suffixes end in a vowel.
- Long vowels would be much more frequent in unstressed positions due to the frequency of verbal inflections of the form -:CV, which lengthen the preceding stem-final vowel. This applies much more to /a:/ and /i:/ than /u:/ as few verb stems end in /u/.
- Obviously, words would be longer on average, probably by about one syllable.

## 2.4 STRESS

Main stress is regularly on the first vowel of a word.

Where the first vowel has zero realisation as in, for example, the optional pronunciation [gwá.rɔ] of /guwaɖu/ 'crab' (M), the stress is on the second vowel (which is, of course, the first vocoid). Length in a non-initial vowel

(because it is phonemically long or because it is followed by a glide and its homorganic vowel, which sequence may be realised as a diphthong) results in an apparent stress which may sometimes detract from the regular stress on the first vowel, thus [b'íyá:|ku] /biya:|ku/ 'hunt (purposive)'. This is more likely with /a:/ than /i:/ or /u:/ because the latter two are more likely to be realised as two syllables (e.g. [it] [uwə]).

There are rare examples in sentences of irregular stress on non-initial vowels but there is not sufficient evidence to justify any further comment on this. An example is: [gámumugá|giya] /gamu muga|giya/ 'I'm going to get water' (G).

There may be a secondary stress on the third syllable of a four syllable word especially if the word is a reduplication or a compound form. The third syllable will not be stressed if the second is stressed by virtue of its length

G.	[gá ba gaba]	/gaba gaba/	'old man'
	[dátu bira]	/dátu bira/	'waddy'
M.	[gá bira:ni]	~ [gá bira:ni]	/gabi:ra:ni/ 'is hungry'
G.	[bád i niya]	/ba di niya/	'I am sick'
M.	[wá ba:nma ni]	/waba:nma ni/	'is going along'

When a word is of five or more syllables a secondary stress will appear on the first syllable of a non-initial disyllabic or longer morpheme or, where the bound morphemes are all monosyllabic, on the first or second of these (the rule for predicting which is not known).

G.	[wád yeyi ngàna]	~ [wád ya i ni ngana]	/wad yeyi ni ngana/ 'they (plu.) are going'
M.	[wá bata bàni]	/waba ta bàni/	'is going along'
M.	[wá ngul i ni nga]	/wa ngul i ni nga/	'while he was barking'

There are not sufficient data to show clearly whether an initial syllable containing a long vowel functions as two syllables for stress purposes, but it probably does

[gú:mùndu] /gu:mundu/ 'from the nose'.

The verb waba (M), wadya (G) 'to go' is often phonologically incorporated with a preceding ugu 'hither' and not stressed as a separate word; thus [úguwaba] 'come here'. It is interesting in this connection that Fred McKellar, who normally used the Margany verb waba instead of his Gunya verb wadya in all other contexts (until I pointed out to him that his mother used wadya), used the imperative [úguwadya] 'come here!'. It appears that, at least in his idiolect, this had been reanalysed as a single morpheme which was not lost when the morpheme wadya was replaced by waba.

## 2.5 INTONATION

Little can be said about intonation owing to the scarcity of fluent speech in the corpus. A statement is characterised by a falling intonation on the final syllable and a choice (or yes/no) question by a rising intonation towards the end.

Three intonation patterns have been heard for questions involving an interrogative pronoun (which normally takes first place in the sentence). There may be a rising intonation on the interrogative word followed by a fall so that the remainder of the sentence has a statement-like intonation. Alternatively, the rising intonation, followed by a fall, may occur on the last word of the sentence. Or the tone may be evenly high throughout.

A word in a statement sentence may be strongly stressed and this may be associated with a high tone, e.g. the first word in [qúta gúniliya dáṭangu] (G) 'I hit the dog with a stick'.

The clauses of a compound sentence (i.e. involving co-ordination) seem to have the same intonation pattern as simple sentences, although a non-final clause may lack the final fall. The first clause of a complex sentence (i.e. involving subordination), however, ends with a rising intonation while the second clause is intoned as a simple sentence.

Some of the above statements are based on only one or two examples, and this section should therefore be treated with reserve.

## 2.6 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

A reduction of *ŋu* to *:* following a morpheme boundary seems to be optional in several bound morphemes; however, the data in some cases are very inconclusive. The alternation is well established in Margany non-singular pronouns, where it is likely that both forms are acceptable whenever a nominal inflectional suffix follows *-ŋun-* (i.e. all inflected forms except accusative and genitive; see 3.2, especially Table 3.2). Thus *ḍanaŋungu* ~ *ḍana:ngu* '3 pl DAT', *ibaluŋunmundu* (not attested, but some other *ibaluŋun-* forms are) ~ *ibalu:nmundu* '2 du ABL' and so on. There are no examples of the long vowel forms where the vowel is high front (such as *ḡali:ngu* as an alternative to *ḡaliŋungu* '1 du DAT'), but this may be due simply to the paucity of data. This alternation also occurs in Gunya with compass point names and *wanda* 'where'; thus *wanda:ndu* ~ *wandaŋundu* 'where to (ALL)'. The long vowel form is far more common and is the only form noted in Margany compass point names.

There is evidence also that some other forms usually involving long vowels in Gunya may also be reduced from forms with *-ŋu-*. Thus *wiŋdYuŋula*, translated "he might have asked" (C. McKellar) may be an alternative to *wiŋdYu:la* (see 3.6.4(f)) and the question form *-:nda* was once heard as *-ŋunda* from the same informant (*bitYuŋunda*, changed to *bitYu:nda*).

The only example of assimilation across a morpheme boundary involves the Margany allative suffix *-ḡadi* which becomes *-dYadi* after stem-final /*nY*/.

Given a different interpretation of the vowel phonology a few other alternations could have been described under Morphophonology (see 2.1).

## 2.7 PHONEME CORRESPONDENCES

The only regular sound correspondence attested is between Gunya retroflex stop and Margany retroflex glide between non-front vowels, the preceding one stressed, exemplified by the following pairs:

GUNYA	MARGANY	
maḍa	maḗa	hand
maḍa	waḗa	to run
gaḍa	gaḗa	not
baḍu	baḗu	river
ḍuḍu	ḍuḗu	sun
guḍun <sup>y</sup>	guḗun <sup>y</sup>	alone

The only counter example is *ḡuḍama* 'to move (trans.)' (M), *ḡuḍa* 'to move (intr.)' (G); the latter was heard only from Charlie McKellar. (The reverse correspondence, in the environment *i-a*, is illustrated by *iḡa* (M), *iḗa* (G) 'tooth'.)

The above correspondence could be part of a more general correspondence involving apical and velar stops, Margany having a voiced stop or tap corresponding to a voiceless stop in Gunya and a glide or zero corresponding to a voiced stop in Gunya.

GUNYA	MARGANY	
bati	badi	to cry
ḡuta	ḡuda	dog
wata	wada	to dance
ḡaga	ḡa:	to see
yu ku	u gu	heart

Counter examples are *guta* 'south' and *baga* 'tree', both found in both dialects. Note also the reverse correspondence for velars in *bingun<sup>y</sup>* (G), *bikan<sup>y</sup>* (M) 'fingernail' and *wangara* (G), *wakan<sup>y</sup>* (M) 'one'. The latter pair may not be cognates and the former may involve borrowing.

A reverse correspondence involving palatal stops, voiceless in Margany and voiced in Gunya, is indicated by *gat<sup>y</sup>* (M), *gad<sup>y</sup>* (G) 'to tie', *guḡya* (M), *guḍya* (G) 'to hit with a missile' and *bit<sup>y</sup>* (M), *bid<sup>y</sup>* (G) 'to throw', but note *ḡat<sup>y</sup>* 'my', *buḡ<sup>y</sup>* 'deep', *guḡya* 'honey', *gat<sup>y</sup>* 'rotten' and other words common to both dialects.

Lenition of stop, in particular of earlier retroflexed stops to the glide /r/ is common in the Mari dialect area, the more northerly dialects having no retroflexed consonants apart from the glide.

It appears that Foster's informant in Margany spoke a variety in which initial /g/ has been lost before /a/ (thus *amu* for *gamu* 'water', *agaḍa* for *gagaḍa* 'moon' and *aḗa* for *gaḗa* 'no'). The loss of initial /g/ - before all vowels - has occurred in some other Mari dialects: Gunggari (complete in the eastern form, incomplete and inconsistent in the western form) and the dialect (name unknown; tentatively called Yandjibara after the name - spelt Yangeeberra in Curr (Vol. III: 72) - of a group speaking it) which was spoken north of Dharawala, in the Ravensbourne Creek area.

There is slight evidence of a correspondence between /dʏ/ in Gunya and /d/ in Margany in initial position. However, initial /dʏ/ is rare in both dialects and may be due to borrowing in both items below.

GUNYA		MARGANY	
dʏiʔidʏaɾa	(C. McKellar)	d̥iʔidʏaɾa	duck sp.
d̥iʔiʔdʏaɾa	(R. Richardson)		
dʏiʔid̥iʔiʔdi		d̥iʔid̥iʔiʔdi	willy wagtail

The only common word with initial /dʏ/ is Gunya dʏiʔu 'small', and it is interesting to note that Hollingsworth in Curr (1886) gives it as 'thippo'. This suggests a recent change from initial /d/ to /dʏ/, which, however, is hardly likely as initial /d̥i/ is common in Gunya at present (e.g. d̥iba 'liver').

There are a few other isolated correspondences, such as wanʏgu (G), wangu (M) 'to bark', iŋgu (G), yungu (M) 'to grow' and muŋi (G), muŋanʏ (M) 'soft'.

An interesting correspondence involving neighbouring dialects is that between initial /ŋ/ in Margany and Gunya, /n/ in Bidjara and /ŋ/ in Gunggari. The /n/ in Bidjara seems to have resulted from a general loss of the distinction between /n/ and /ŋ/ in this dialect (see Breen 1973: 222-3, 1974: 1-2) but no explanation can be given for the change to /ŋ/ in Gunggari (ŋ being the ancestral form). Examples are few (because initial /ŋ/ and /n/ are uncommon) but consistent (the one clear exception may be a loan word in Bidjara).

ENGLISH	MARGANY	GUNYA	BIDJARA	GUNGGARI
name	ŋaɾi	ŋaɾi	nayi	ŋaɾi
to see	ŋa:	ŋaga	naga	ŋaga
navel	ŋimbiny	ŋimbiny		ŋimbiny
fly	ŋimun	ŋimun	nimun	ŋimun
to smell	ŋuda	ŋuda	ŋuda	ŋuda
3 sg	ŋula	ŋula	nula	ŋula
skin			numan	ŋuman
saliva			numba	ŋumba
ant sp.		(ŋimanʏ?)	nimanʏ	ŋimanʏ
to look for	nitʏu (ŋ?)		nidʏu	ŋidʏu

## 2.8 ORTHOGRAPHY

During June 1978 some talks were given to children in the Cunnamulla schools on the Gunya language, with particular reference to the spelling of words; these talks were interpolated into a course on Aboriginal culture, one lesson per month, given by Mrs. Hazel McKellar. An orthography had to be hastily invented for this purpose.

It is difficult to decide on certain features of an orthography to be used by people whose native language is English and who are never going to learn to speak the Aboriginal language. For example, does one write /dʏ/ as



dy (in the hope that it will be pronounced [dy] and not [day]) or as j (accepting with resignation that people will not get any closer to the correct pronunciation than [dʒ])? Does one try to use only the vowel letters a, i and u, or does one use English spelling rules and write, say, jipoo instead of dyipu, murra instead of mara (thus, in the latter case, losing the distinction between the two rhotic phonemes)?

It was decided to adopt the alternatives which gave an orthography closer to the phonemic system for the following reasons:

- (a) Unless a wholesale loss of phonemic distinctions is to be accepted, there must be some spelling rules different from English, and it seems less confusing to have a system clearly distinct from English;  
 (b) Many native speakers of English cannot use English spelling rules very well and will find even the most anglicised system unworkable.

The system adopted is shown in Table 2.9; some additional explanation follows.

TABLE 2.9 *Gunya Orthography*

Voiced stops	b	g	d,rr	rd,d	dh	dy
Voiceless stops	p	k	t	rt,t	th	ty
Nasals	m	ng	n	rn	nh,n	ny,yn,n
Laterals			l	rl		ly,yl
Trill			rr			
Glides		w		r		y
Vowels		u,uu		a,aa		i,ii

The voiced alveolar stop/flap is written d intervocalically where it contrasts with the trill, and after a nasal, and rr elsewhere. Thus /buda/ is buda, /gandu/ is gandu, /budgu/ is burrgu, /waḡud/ is wangurr.

The lamino-alveo-palatal nasal is written yn word-finally and before a consonant (except before a homorganic stop intra-morphemically where it is written n) and ny elsewhere. Thus /gunYa/ is Gunya, /bunganʸ/ is bun-gayn, /ḡunʸdʸa/ is ngundya. Similar rules apply to the lateral.

Clusters /ḡd/, /ḡt/, /ḡḡ/ and /ḡḡ/ (if it exists) are written ndh, nth, rnd, rnt. The cluster /-ng/ is written with a hyphen, n-g.

This orthography is not used in this grammar; phonemic notation is used in the following chapters.

### 3. MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1 WORD CLASSES

Margany and Gunya words may be classified, on morphological grounds, into three classes: nominals, verbs and

particles. Nominals are those words whose stems can combine with some or any of the set of nominal inflectional suffixes (see 3.2 and 3.3). Verbs are those words whose stems can combine with any of the set of verbal inflectional suffixes (see 3.5 and 3.6). Particles do not combine with inflectional suffixes.

Nominals can be subdivided into nouns, which are morphologically unmarked when functioning as subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive verb, personal pronouns, which are morphologically unmarked when functioning as subject of any verb, and adverbs, which do not function as subject of a verb and which combine with a very limited set of nominal inflectional suffixes (see 4.9).

A possible absolutive suffix *-na* has been heard on *wandu* 'who' in both dialects. It is optional.

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected as nouns, although there are a number of forms for which there are no equivalents among the other nominals. Details are given in 3.2, especially Tables 3.4 and 3.5.

The names of the compass points form a small subclass of adverbs; they do not occur in an uninflected form but, when used with a locative or allative meaning, carry the suffix *-:ndu* (rarely *-ḡndu* in Gunya). They do not combine with other inflectional suffixes except the ablative *-mundu*; locative forms, using the normal locative inflectional suffix, have been elicited from Fred McKellar but their correctness is doubted. In Gunya *wanda* 'where', an interrogative adverb, also combines with an allative *-:ndu* (also heard as *-ḡndu*) but the uninflected stem is permitted (with a locative meaning). No allative form of Margany *wala* 'where' has been heard.

There is no separate class of adjectives; concepts denoted by adjectives in English are mostly denoted by nouns (e.g. size, shape, physical qualities). English adjectives of state may be translated by verbs, but these are sometimes derived from abstract nouns, e.g. *gabiḡa* 'to be hungry' from *gabiḡ* 'hunger'. The state of being hungry may also be denoted by a derived noun, in this case *gabiḡbaḡi*, literally 'hunger-having'.

There are virtually no roots functioning as both noun and verb; note only *bungu* 'swelling' and 'to swell' in Gunya and *wanḡawanga* 'winding', *wanḡa* 'to be bent' in Margany. Neither of these pairs is well established.

### 3.2 NOMINAL PARADIGMS

Table 3.1 shows the inflected forms of nouns; examples include nouns with final vowel, /n/, /nʏ/, /l/ and /d/. Final /d/, /n/ and /l/ have not been included; nor has locative-2. Instrumental forms are the same as ergative, and genitive function is fulfilled by the dative. Most forms in this table have not been heard but can be predicted by analogy with similar stems. The only morphophonemic alternation involves the Margany allative suffix *-ḡadi*. Note that with final /n/ the cluster is written *nḡ* although it may be indistinguishable from *nḡ*; in fact [nḡḡ] was heard

TABLE 3.1 *Noun Paradigm*

English	stone	grass	elder brother	boomerang	back
Absolutive	bari	uḡun	ḡagunʸ	waŋal	baŋgaḡ
Ergative	bariŋgu	uḡundu	ḡagunʸdʸu	(M) waŋalu	baŋgaḡdu
Locative	bariŋga	uḡunda	ḡagunʸdʸa	(G) waŋaltu	baŋgaḡtu
Dative	bariḡu	uḡungu	ḡagunʸḡu	(G) waŋalta	baŋgaḡta
Allative	(M) baridḡadi	uḡunḡadi	ḡagunʸdʸadi	waŋalḡadi	baŋgaḡḡadi
	(G) barigaḡinʸ	uḡungaḡinʸ	ḡagunʸḡaḡinʸ	waŋalḡaḡinʸ	baŋgaḡḡaḡinʸ
AbIative	barimundu	uḡunmundu	ḡagunʸmundu	waŋalḡmundu	baŋgaḡḡmundu

in the only example in which the point of articulation of the nasal could be determined with any confidence.

Demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are inflected in general as nouns but see 3.1.

The Margany personal pronoun paradigm is given in Table 3.2. Unattested forms are not included. Note that the dative, instrumental, locative, locative-2, allative and ablative case forms for the non-singular pronouns are based on a stem consisting of the genitive case form augmented by -n, but that there is an alternative form of some, probably all, of these in which the genitive suffix -ŋu is replaced by length in the preceding vowel (see 2.6). Thus ɲana:nbitʲa is an alternative to ɲanaŋnbitʲa 'near us (pl.)'.

TABLE 3.2 *Margany Personal Pronoun Paradigm*

SINGULAR			
	1st	2nd	3rd
Nominative	ɲaya	inda	ɲula
Accusative	ɲaɲa	inaɲa	ɲuɲuɲa
Genitive	ɲatʲu	inu	ɲuɲu
Dative	ɲatʲungu	inungu	ɲuɲungu
Instrumental	ɲatʲundu	inundu	
Locative	ɲatʲunda	inunda	ɲuɲunda
Locative-2	ɲatʲunbitʲa	inunbitʲa	ɲuɲunbitʲa
Allative	ɲatʲungadi	inungadi	ɲuɲungadi
Ablative	ɲatʲunmundu	inunmundu	
DUAL			
Nominative	ɲali	ibalu	bula
Accusative	ɲaliɲaɲa	ibaluɲaɲa	bulaɲaɲa
Genitive	ɲaliɲu	ibaluɲu	bulaɲu
Dative	ɲaliɲungu	ibaluɲungu	bulaɲungu
Instrumental	ɲaliɲundu		
Locative	ɲaliɲunda	ibaluɲunda	bulaɲunda
Locative-2	ɲaliɲunbitʲa	ibalu:nbitʲa	bula:nbitʲa
Allative		ibaluɲungadi	bula:ɲgadi
Ablative	ɲaliɲunmundu	ibalu:nmundu	bula:nmundu
PLURAL			
Nominative	ɲana	ida	ɲana
Accusative	ɲanaɲaɲa	idaɲaɲa	ɲanaɲaɲa
Genitive	ɲanaɲu	idaɲu	ɲanaɲu
Dative	ɲanaɲungu	ida:ɲgu	ɲanaɲungu
			ɲana:ɲgu
Locative	ɲanaɲunda	idaɲunda	ɲanaɲunda
Locative-2	ɲanaɲunbitʲa	idaɲunbitʲa	ɲana:nbitʲa
	ɲana:nbitʲa		
Allative	ɲanaɲungadi	ida:ɲgadi	ɲana:ɲgadi
Ablative	ɲanaɲunmundu	ida:nmundu	ɲana:nmundu
	ɲana:nmundu		

The Gunya personal pronoun paradigm is given in Table 3.3. Unattested forms are not included. Dative, allative and ablative and non-singular accusative forms have been heard only from the younger informants. The use of bound forms will be described in 3.6.2.

TABLE 3.3 *Gunya Personal Pronoun Paradigm*

SINGULAR			
	1st	2nd	3rd
Nominative, free	ɲaya	inda	ɲula
bound	-ya, -iya	-nda, -inda	-la
Accusative, free	ɲaɲa	inaɲa	ɲuɲuɲa
bound		-naɲa	-ɲa
Genitive	ɲatɲu	inu	ɲuɲu
Dative	ɲatɲungu	inungu	ɲuɲungu
Locative	ɲatɲunda		
Locative-2	ɲatɲunbidɲa	inunbidɲa	
Allative	ɲatɲungadɲinɲ		
Ablative	ɲatɲunmundu	inunmundu	ɲuɲunmundu
DUAL			
Nominative, free	ɲali	ibalu	bula
bound	-li, -iɲali	-ibalu	-bula, -ibula
Accusative, free	ɲalina	ibaluna	bulana
bound		-baluna	-bulana
Genitive	ɲalɲu	ibalunɲu	bulanɲu
Dative	ɲalɲugu		
Allative	ɲalɲugadɲinɲ		
Ablative	ɲalɲimundu	ibalumundu	bulamundu
PLURAL			
Nominative, free	ɲana	ɲuɲa, ɲu:lu(?)	ɲana
bound			-idana, -ɲana
Accusative, free	ɲanaɲa	ɲuɲana	ɲanaɲa
bound			-ɲanaɲa
Genitive	ɲanaɲu	ɲuɲanɲu	ɲanaɲu
Allative			ɲanaɲugadɲinɲ
Ablative	ɲanamundu	ɲuɲamundu	ɲanamundu

Margany demonstrative pronouns are listed in Table 3.4. ɲaranɲ has been heard only once and the meaning is accordingly doubtful. ɲuni has been heard with the meaning 'that' and 'there' (compare ɲuna in Gunya); note also the change in the stem in its inflected forms. The difference in meaning between ɲuwa and ɲubanɲ is not completely clear (the translation 'over there' is the informant's), but ɲubanɲ is clearly a marked form relative to ɲuwa, which is very common.

TABLE 3.4 *Margany Demonstrative Pronouns*

	this here	that, there	that, over there	that (mentioned before)	someone, somewhere
Absolutive	ina, ini	ɲuwa	ɲubanʸ	ɲaranʸ	ɲuni
Ergative	inangu	ɲuwangu			ɲunangu
Locative	inanga	ɲuwanga	ɲubanʸdʸa		ɲunanga
Ablative on this/ that side	ina:ɟi	ɲuwamundu	ɲuba:ɟi		
along here/ there	inamaɲɟi	ɲuwamaɲɟi			ɲunamaɲɟi
Dual		ɲuwabuladu			
Plural		ɲuwanʸdʸada			

A form ɲuwami, heard once, may be an error.

Gunya demonstrative pronouns are listed in Table 3.5. No differences in meaning in the first four forms in the ina column, in the first four forms in the ɲuna column or in the ɲanga forms are known. The -gadinʸ forms could be allatives (and so probably -gaɟinʸ); note that -gadinʸ also appears, with no discernible meaning, on ɲanʸdʸagadinʸ (ɲanʸdʸa 'true'). -gadinʸ forms have been heard only from the younger informants. The suffix -ɲaninʸ occurs also in niʸʋaɲaninʸ 'now', 'soon'. The free form niʸʋa does not occur in the corpus, but does occur in some of the old vocabularies of related dialects (Curr 1886-7, Vol. III, 71, 85, 99, 255, 257, 277, 279, 281) and also, in Gunya, with a suffix probably -mbu (Curr 1886-7, Vol. III, 283). The ɲanga forms have been heard only from Fred McKellar.

TABLE 3.5 *Gunya Demonstrative Pronouns*

	this, here	that, there	that sort, like that
Nominative forms?	ina inanʸ inanʸgani ina:da	ɲuna ɲunanʸ ɲunanʸgani ɲunaganinʸ	ɲanga ɲangaɟa ɲangaɟa
Locative On this/that side	inagadinʸ	ɲunaninnga ɲunagadinʸ	
Dual		ɲunabula	

### 3.3 NOMINAL INFLECTION

3.3.1 NOMINATIVE. Nominative case applies only to personal pronouns. The nominative case form is used to denote subject of any sentence (where the term 'subject' is used with its semantic sense, i.e. agent of a transitive action; person or thing directly involved in an intransitive action; and topic of a sentence where no verb is involved).

The nominative form of non-singular pronouns is unmarked while that of singular pronouns is irregular (although all case forms in the singular have initial /ŋa/ for first person, /in/ for second person and /nu/ for third person, and all nominative forms have final /a/, accusative forms final /na/ and genitive forms final /u/, the full forms for these cases are not predictable).

(1M) nuwa gala nula / uɔnda  
 there again 3sgNOM / grass-LOC  
 There it is, in the grass!

(2M) ŋaya nuu wabaŋi  
 1sgNOM always come-PRES  
 I always come here.

(3M) bama ŋaya winʔdʔdulu  
 brother-ABS 1sgNOM ask-PURP  
 I'll ask my brother.

The gloss NOM will not be used in any further examples; thus, for example, ŋaya will be glossed lsg not lsgNOM.

3.3.2 ACCUSATIVE. Accusative case applies only to personal pronouns. It marks object of a transitive verb.

The suffix is basically -na (-ŋana for Margany non-singular pronouns) but the singular forms are not regular (see 3.3.1).

(4) matʔa inda ŋana wa:la  
 before 2sg 1sgACC give-PAST  
 You gave me (money) before.

(5G) gunda ŋaŋaŋiya ɔanaŋa  
 yesterday see-PRES-1sg 3pl-ACC  
 I saw them yesterday.

3.3.3 ABSOLUTIVE. This is the unmarked case for nominals other than personal pronouns (but see the remark on wangu in 3.1). It is used for the subject of a verbless or intransitive sentence, object of a transitive sentence and often for the complement of a verbless sentence (see 4.2), as well as being the citation form.

(6M) gamu baɔunga  
 water-ABS river-LOC  
 There's water in the river.

(7M) yugan ɔaŋiŋi  
 rain-ABS fall-PRES  
 It's raining.

(8) buɔi ɔulba  
 fire-ABS put out  
 Put out the fire.

- (9M) mudga      ŋatʷu              ŋuda  
 good-ABS    lsgGEN-ABS    dog-ABS  
 I've got a good dog.

The gloss ABS will not be used in any further examples.

3.3.4 ERGATIVE. Ergative case does not apply to personal pronouns. It marks subject of a transitive verb.

The form is -ŋgu after a stem-final vowel, homorganic voiced stop plus /u/ after a stem-final nasal, and -u (in Margany) or homorganic voiceless stop plus /u/ (in Gunya) after other consonants.

- (10M) ŋudangu    yuḍi    gamba:ŋi  
 dog-ERG    meat    bury-REC.PAST  
 The dog buried the meat.

- (11M) maʷa      ŋaya    balgannandala    yuḍi /    ŋangangu  
 before    lsg    hit-HAB-PAST    meat /    young-ERG  
 I used to kill a lot of kangaroos when I was young.

See also 3.4.5, especially (48M).

3.3.5 INSTRUMENTAL. The instrumental case suffix denotes the instrument of an action (which may be transitive or intransitive). The term 'instrument' here has a rather wide range of meaning, and can include the cause of an action, thus overlapping with the range of meaning of the ablative (see 3.3.10); it can also refer to the material of which something is made. It also denotes duration of an action (attested for intransitive verbs only and for Margany only).

In form the instrumental suffix is the same as the ergative; it is treated separately because it can be used with personal pronouns. The only examples of instrumental case of personal pronouns involve its "causal" use, and it is attested only for Margany.

- (12G) ŋaya    ŋuniliya              waŋaltu  
 lsg    hit-PAST-lsg    boomerang-INST  
 I killed him with a boomerang.

- (13M) ŋaya    ɣuŋu    bandilu      ɟumba:ŋi  
 lsg    humpy    bark-INST    erect-REC.PAST  
 I made a humpy out of bark.

- (14M) ugu      waba /    buḍingu      maŋdi:nʷdʷu    ɪnda  
 hither    come /    fire-INST    burn-POT      2sg  
 Come away from the fire, you might get burnt.

- (15M) ŋuwangu    ŋaya    yaḍi:ŋi  
 that-INST    lsg    laugh-REC.PAST  
 That man made me laugh. (or I laughed because of that man.)

- (16M) gabun    ŋuwa    galani      ŋatʷundu  
 child    that    fear-PRES    lsg-INST  
 That kid's frightened of me.



- (17M) gundu naya gan<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>angu / urangu unata  
 away lsg go down-PURP / two-INST lie-CONJ  
 I'm going down there to stay for two days.

3.3.6 LOCATIVE. The function of the locative suffix is to denote location or (when attached to a nominal denoting a person) accompaniment, or to denote the goal of a motion (either free or induced). The last named function resembles that of the allative suffix (3.3.9) and the difference between the two is not clear. However, it appears that the locative is used when the goal is almost immediately attainable, requiring only a very brief movement, while the allative is used when the attainment of the goal requires a prolonged movement (travelling) or when the action directed towards the goal is not motion (e.g. facing or pointing). This use of the locative is illustrated in (20M) and (22M).

In form the locative suffix differs from the ergative-instrumental only in that the final vowel is /a/ instead of /u/.

- (18M) baganga gat<sup>y</sup>u:ni nuda  
 tree-LOC tie-REC.PAST dog  
 I tied the dog to the tree.
- (19G) baḡuṅga baḡayiniya  
 river-LOC cross-CONT-PRES-lsg  
 I'm going across the creek.
- (20M) yuḡi ḡulu mangada  
 meat put in bag-LOC  
 Put the meat in the bag.
- (21G) ugu wad<sup>y</sup>a ḡaḡaḡunda ḡat<sup>y</sup>unda  
 hither come talk-PURP-2sg lsg-LOC  
 Come and talk to me.
- (22M) ḡandan<sup>y</sup> ḡumba:ni ḡat<sup>y</sup>unda baḡada  
 frog jump-REC.PAST lsg-LOC back-LOC  
 A frog jumped onto my back.

Compare ḡat<sup>y</sup>unda, lsg-LOC with ḡat<sup>y</sup>uṅga, lsgGEN-LOC (in (25)). See also 3.5.2(h) for the use of -ḡga as a verb suffix in Margany.

3.3.7 GENITIVE. This category applies only to personal pronouns and denotes ownership. The genitive suffix is -ḡu with non-singular pronouns; singular pronouns are irregular (see 3.2, Tables 3.2 and 3.3). A genitive pronoun is a derived noun (as it can be inflected as a noun); however, there are a few examples of genitives taking non-zero inflection. With nouns dative (3.3.8) marks ownership.

- (23M) waḡuṅgu ḡat<sup>y</sup>u ḡuyu mada:ni  
 who-ERG lsgGEN fish take-REC.PAST  
 Who took my fish?

- (24M) nanimiṛi gabun inu  
 how many child 2sgGEN  
 How many kids have you got?
- (25M) gaya wabangu ṅatʷunga bamanga  
 lsg go-PURP lsgGEN-LOC brother-LOC  
 I'm going with my brother.

Note that Hollingsworth's material in Curr includes a possible nominal genitive suffix *-galu* in "goondy-gallo" 'belonging to a house'.

3.3.8 DATIVE. This marks ownership (except with personal pronouns) or indirect object of a verb (and so purpose or beneficiary of an action, state or feeling). A dative indirect object may be obligatory with a few verbs, such as *nitʷuli* (M), *walka* (G) 'to look for' and *ḡaṭi* 'to like'. The dative suffix is *-gu*.

There is no evidence on whether a dative noun can, like a genitive pronoun, function as a derived noun stem.

- (26M) gaya gamugu ṅadʷari:ṅi  
 lsg water-DAT thirst-REC.PAST  
 I'm thirsty.
- (27M) gaya nitʷuliṅi inungu  
 lsg look for-REFL-PRES 2sg-DAT  
 I was looking for you.
- (28M) ṅuwa gabungu ṅuda  
 that child-DAT dog  
 That's the little boy's dog.
- (29G) wadʷaṅiya gudʷagu  
 go-PRES-lsg honey-DAT  
 I'm going away to get some honey.

See also (32G).

3.3.9 ALLATIVE. This marks the goal to which or towards which an action, usually motion, is directed (see also 3.3.6). The suffix is *-ḡadi* in Margany and *-ḡaḡinʷ* in Gunya.

- (30M) yambaḡadi gaya gambiṅgu  
 camp-ALL lsg go back-PURP  
 I'm going home soon.
- (31M) gaya bindaṅi inungadi  
 lsg sit-PRES 2sg-ALL  
 I'm sitting facing you.

The dative has been used instead of allative (or perhaps locative - see 3.3.6) in (32G); the reason is not known and it may be a mistake.

- (32G) wadyaṅi ṅaya baḍugu gamu mugalgiya  
 go-PRES lsg river-DAT water get-PURP-lsg  
 I'm going to the creek to get water.

3.3.10 ABLATIVE. This suffix denotes motion away, or the cause or origin of some state or action. The suffix is -mundu.

- (33M) buyu ṅaya baḍi:ṅi gambarimundu waba:ṅi  
 breath lsg be broken-REC.PAST far-ABL go-REC.PAST  
 ṅaya  
 lsg  
 I'm tired from walking a long way.

- (34M) yuḍi ḍangu mangadmundu  
 meat take out bag-ABL  
 Take the meat out of the bag.

- (35G) galaṅiya ḍambalmundu  
 fear-PRES-lsg snake-ABL  
 I'm frightened of the snake. (Compare (16))

- (36M) yuṅanga ḍadga:ṅi miḍaḍmundu  
 hole-LOC enter-REC.PAST winter-ABL  
 The snakes are in their holes because it's winter.

3.3.11 LOCATIVE-2. The suffix -bitya (Margany), -bidya (Gunya) denotes proximity and is translated 'near'. The only Gunya example (39G) is from Charlie McKellar although both he and Mrs. Richardson accepted it as a pronoun suffix.

- (37M) guli ḍanma buḍibitya  
 billy stand fire-LOC2  
 Put the billy near the fire.

- (38M) ṅula bindaliṅi ṅatyunbitya  
 3sg sit-PROX-PRES lsg-LOC2  
 He's sitting with me.

- (39G) baḍubidya unaliya  
 river-LOC2 lie-PAST-lsg

- (M) baḍubitya ṅaya una:ṅi  
 river-LOC2 lsg lie-REC.PAST  
 I camped near the creek.

3.3.12 LOCATIVE-3. The suffix -ḍi in Margany is attested with demonstrative pronoun stems and on the interrogative root waṅḍa- (which occurs also in waṅḍanʸ 'when?'; the free form waṅḍa means 'where?' in Gunya but does not occur in Margany). Forms attested are inaḍi (possibly ina:ḍi) 'on this side', ṅubaḍi (possibly ṅuba:ḍi) 'on that side' and waṅḍaḍi 'how?', 'what?' (in 'what language?'). -ḍi is glossed SIDE.

- (40M) waṅḡaḡiḡ    ɪnda    ɲaṅḡingu  
 where-SIDE 2sg    speak-PURP  
 What language do you speak?

The corresponding Gunya suffix, heard only from the younger informants, is -gaḡin<sup>Y</sup> (compare the allative -gaḡin<sup>Y</sup>) and is attested on compass point names, e.g. guṭagaḡin<sup>Y</sup> 'on the South side', as well as on demonstratives.

3.3.13 LOCATIVE-4. The suffix -maṅḡi, translated 'along', is known only in Margany and is used only with demonstrative pronoun stems. (Note that 'along the river' is baṛubaṛu; presumably a reduplication of baṛu 'river'. Neither -maṅḡi nor -baṛu is accepted with other nouns.)

- (41M)    ɲuwamaṅḡi    ɲaya    waba:ɲi  
 there-along 1sg    go-REC.PAST  
 I was going along there [when the dog bit me].

3.3.14 LOCATIVE-5. The suffix -miri occurs in Margany and is attested only with body part names. It is translated 'up to'. Thus yaṅḡimiri '[The water is] up to [my] waist', muḡumiri 'up to [my] knees'. (Compare ɲanimiri, derived from ɲani 'what?' and meaning 'how many?').

### 3.4 NOUN STEM FORMATION

Noun roots are typically disyllabic, e.g. muḡu 'knee', baḡun<sup>Y</sup> 'axe', ḡuṅḡa 'raw', maṅḡaḡ 'bag'. Trisyllabic roots are not uncommon, e.g. duḡidi 'centipede', ḡuyibin<sup>Y</sup> 'curlew' (M), binbiri 'ribs', ḡuḡumba 'fog'. Monosyllables are rare and consist of a long open syllable - ḡa: 'mouth', ḡu: 'nose'. Roots of more than three syllables are uncommon and probably historically compound, e.g. ḡaṭubira 'waddy', maṭ<sup>Y</sup>ambiḡan<sup>Y</sup> 'bat', ḡaṭ<sup>Y</sup>uwilaḡa 'turtle' (M).

Noun stem formation is by reduplication, compounding and derivation. Derivation of nouns from nouns by means of productive formatives is dealt with in sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.4. Derivation of nouns from verbs is described in 3.4.5.

Reduplicated forms whose corresponding simple form is known separately are very few. Charlie McKellar explained the difference between maḡu 'shade' ('because it's in the one place') and maḡumaḡu 'shadow' ('moving around'). Note also baṛu 'river' and baṛubaṛu 'along the river' (M). ḡuḡiḡuḡi 'red' is the colour of 'red ochre', (ḡuḡi (M) ḡuḡin (G)) and buḡabuḡa 'white' (G) the colour of 'ashes' (buḡa). makamaka 'thin, bony' (M) is derived from maka 'bone'. maṭ<sup>Y</sup>a 'before, long ago' is reduplicated in Gunya to maṭ<sup>Y</sup>amaṭ<sup>Y</sup>a 'yesterday' (or perhaps 'recently'). These reduplications all conform to a common Australian pattern: XX has something of the nature of X, or denotes the quality for which X is notable.

Roots with inherent reduplication are most commonly names of qualities, like some of the preceding examples or buḡ<sup>Y</sup>abuḡ<sup>Y</sup>a 'light (in weight)', ḡaḡuḡaḡu 'quickly' (G),

gulʼyagulya 'weak' (M), wadguwadgu 'bad', badabada 'mad', or names of fauna or flora such as maṅkumaṅku (M) mangumangu (G) 'mouse', gilagila 'galah', dindidindi (M) dʼyindidʼyindi (G) 'willy wagtail', ṅawudṅawud (M) 'big green frog', muyulmuyul (M) 'sandfly', bingubingu (M) 'wild banana'.

Note that no partial reduplications are known.

Compounds of known composition are too few to allow any generalisations. Examples include dilibugu (M) dilimuga (G) 'blind' (dili 'eye'), maṅabugu (M) 'deaf' (maṅa 'ear'), makabindany (G) 'thin' (maka 'bone'), maḍaguwaḍu (G) 'crab' (maḍa 'hand', guwaḍu 'crab' in M), biḍungali (G) 'different' (biḍu 'other').

Possible non-productive formatives include -gil in buwanʼgil (M) 'summer' (buwanʼ 'hot(weather)'), -mbal in gayadamba! (G) 'old man' (gayada 'old') and in Fred McKellar's guyaḍamba! 'wife' (guyaḍa also 'wife') and -ḍi, -ḍu and -nu in some kinship terms such as yaṅaḍi and yaṅanu (also yaṅa) 'mother, mother's sister' and yabuḍi (M) and yabunu (also yabu) 'father, father's brother' (and note also yabuḍu (G) given for 'father's sister'). An indication of the meaning of such suffixes is given in the Margany pair ḍuwanʼ 'son of a female speaker' and ḍuwana 'son of a female, not the speaker', but no further examples or information could be obtained. Such suffixes peculiar to kinship terms are common in Mari languages; see for example Breen (1976:292).

3.4.1 NUMBER MARKERS. A dual suffix -buladu occurs twice in the Margany corpus: ḡadabuladu 'two dogs' and ṅwabuladu 'those two'. (Note that 'two' is buladi in Gunya and buladu in Bidjara but ura in Margany.) Margany also has a plural suffix, -nydyada, attested only with the demonstrative pronoun ṅuwa. A possible dual suffix -bula occurs once in the Gunya corpus, in ṅunabula 'those two'. However, bula is the third person dual pronoun. A plural in -nu - gandunu 'children' - is used by Fred McKellar but may not be genuine Gunya. It occurs in Bidjara and some other Mari dialects.

3.4.2 CONCOMITANT. The suffix -baḗi (sometimes -bayi in Gunya) marks a thing or quality that is possessed in some way by a person or thing. It can often be translated 'with' or 'having', although more concise translations in English are frequently in the form of a derived adjective. Thus ṅangabayi (G) 'having a beard' or 'bearded', gabiḍbaḗi (G) 'hungry' (literally 'having hunger'), ḍakabaḗi (M) baṅḍinbayi (G) 'dirty'. In some cases the meaning is not predictable and these forms must be included in the lexicon; these include buḍibaḗi (M) 'brother-in-law' (buḍi 'fire'), baḗibaḗi (G) 'pregnant' (baḗi 'stomach') and gubabaḗi (M) 'old man' (also gubaguba).

-baḗi is also affixed to a kinship term to denote a group of people one of whom is called by that term by the other(s) (see Breen 1976:290-7). For example, ḍagunʼbaḗi refers to a group of people one of whom is called ḍagunʼ 'elder brother' by the others.

- (42M) bula bamabari balgada:ni  
3du brother-CON hit-RECIP-REC.PAST
- (G) dagun<sup>y</sup>bari guningalibula  
elder brother-CON hit-RECIP-PAST-3du  
Those two brothers had a fight.

3.4.3 PRIVATIVE. The privative suffix denotes that a thing (denoted by the word to which it is suffixed) is 'not possessed', or perhaps better 'no longer possessed'; it can be translated 'without'. The Margany form is basically -idba; -idba after a stem-final consonant, -yidba after /a/ and -widba after /u/ and, presumably, -:dba after /i/.

A form -gadba 'without' has been heard a couple of times from Fred McKellar. It was pronounced as a separate word on both occasions but this may be due to his general hesitancy in the language. It occurs also in Bidjara.

- (43M) gund<sup>i</sup>:ni nula buluwidba  
die-REC.PAST 3sg food-PRIV  
He died from hunger.
- (44G) buyugadba nula  
breath-PRIV 3sg  
He's not breathing.

The word yama 'nothing' may also function as a privative; thus yama bulu seems to have the same meaning as buluwidba.

3.4.4 RESEMBLANCE. The suffix -gaḍi marks resemblance and can be translated 'like'. Thus gud<sup>y</sup>agaḍi (G) was given as a translation of 'sweet' (gud<sup>y</sup>a 'honey'). maḍigaḍi is translated 'like a black man' and can refer to someone who looks like a black man or to something being done in the way an Aborigine would do it.

- (45M) durun<sup>y</sup> gudgan biḍalgaḍi  
hair long young woman-LIKE  
He's got long hair like a woman.
- (46G) dumbayinila bawudagaḍi  
jump-CONT-PRES-3sg kangaroo-LIKE  
He jumped like a kangaroo.

Another aspect of the function of -gaḍi is illustrated by its use in the translation of the comparative form of an English adjective. Thus

- (47M) baḷagaḍi бага  
deep-LIKE dig  
Dig it deeper (or Dig it so that it's like a deep one).

It is not certain whether the same suffix or a verb (meaning 'to move (intrans.)') is involved in the expression gundugaḍi (or gundu gaḍi) 'Move over!' (gundu 'away'). The stress pattern suggests that gaḍi is a suffix but this

does not solve the problem because verbs may be cliticised to a directional adverb (see 4.10).

It may not be a coincidence that this formative is homophonous with the verb *gaḍi* 'to tell a lie'.

3.4.5 NOMINALISATION. An agent nominaliser *-:linʸ* occurs in both Margany and Gunya; examples include *gundā:linʸ* 'thief' (*gundā* 'to steal'), *yudī muga:linʸ* (G) 'butcher' (*yudī* 'meat', *muga* 'to get', 'he gets the meat'), *maṅḍa dala:linʸ* (G) 'vegetarian' (*maṅḍa* 'vegetable food', *dala* 'to eat'), *mudga banʸdʸa:linʸ* (G) 'good singer' (*mudga* 'good', *banʸdʸa* 'to sing') and possibly *baḍa:linʸ* (G) 'bitter' (*baḍa* 'to bite'), *gudī:linʸ* (G) 'peewee' and *gunga:linʸ* (M) 'tea tree'. This formative may be more correctly analysed as *-:* 'habitual action' plus *-linʸ* 'agent' to judge from the following example, in which *-adu* may be an ergative suffix (and see 3.5.3(h)). Unfortunately, this is the only clear example of an inflected nominalisation (with the nominaliser acting as a productive formative; forms such as *gundā:linʸ* and *gunga:linʸ*, which may be fossilised, inflect regularly).

(48M)      *ḡunangu      ḡanalinʸadu*  
               that-ERG    stand-AGENT-ERG (?)  
               The one standing up [hit him].

A suffix *-nʸ* (which suggests a further segmentation of *-linʸ*) occurs in *maṅḍinʸ* (M) 'cooked' (*maṅḍi* 'to burn'), *gubinʸ* 'whistle' (*gubi* 'to whistle'), *yadīnʸ* (G) 'laughter' (*yadī* 'to laugh'), *mulanʸ* (M) 'vomit' and perhaps *mulanʸ* (M) 'flood' (*mula* 'to vomit') and *makabindanʸ* (G) 'thin' (*maka* 'bone', *binda* 'to sit').

A few other noun stems appear to be derived from verbs with suffixes involving a final /nʸ/ : *mulagadanʸ* 'vomit' (*mula* 'to vomit'), *buṅḡudanʸ* 'snoring' (cf. *buṅḡu* (M) 'to blow'), *ḡawadanʸ* 'spitting (rain)', *maṅḡa guḡudanʸ* 'deaf' (*maṅḡa* 'ear') (all G), *nimbudanʸ* 'sneeze' and perhaps *gagaladanʸ* 'pink cockatoo'. Note also *maburaṅnʸ* and *ḡimburanʸ*, both 'lizard sp.', and *matʸambiḡanʸ* (M) *matʸambiḡanʸ* (G) 'bat'.

A nominaliser *-l* appears in the Margany words *maḡil* 'groundsheet, blanket one sleeps on' from *maḡima* (with causative *-ma*) 'to spread' and *buṅḡul* 'smoking' from *buṅḡu* 'to smoke'. It does not seem to be productive.

### 3.5 MARGANY VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.5.1. CONJUGATIONS. There are two conjugations, which coincide with the division into transitive and intransitive. They differ only in their purposive forms, *-ngu* for intransitive verbs and *-lu* for transitive verbs.

Note, however, that verbs derived with the suffix *-li*, which is added to transitive verb stems to mark reflexivity (and is thus an intransitiviser) and is added to intransitive verb stems to mark proximity, have a compound suffix *-:lku* which incorporates the *-li* and the purposive suffix

and is presumably derived from earlier \*-li-*ngu*.

Also, there is a small group of trisyllabic intransitive verb roots ending in *-ra* which form their purposive by dropping the *-ra* and suffixing *-ngu* (thus *\*-rangu* has become *-ngu*). This includes *gan<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>ara* 'to go down' and *gambira* 'to return' and perhaps a few more (see also 3.5.3(a)).

Note also that, as in many Australian languages, the verb 'to give' is ditransitive, taking two objects in the absolutive and/or accusative case. There may be a few other such verbs; others observed are *gulba* 'to tell' and *qubari* 'to show'.

3.5.2. INFLECTION [a] *Imperative*. The imperative form of the verb is the unmarked stem. This is used to mark a command sentence, positive or negative.

The gloss IMP will be used only in this section and in 3.6.3(a).

(49) *bukun<sup>y</sup> binda*  
still sit-IMP  
Keep still!

(50) *imba wandu wabani*  
listen-IMP someone go-PRES  
Listen, there's someone coming.

(51) *gara gan<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>ara dangi:n<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>u*  
not go down-IMP fall-POT  
Don't go down [to the river], you might fall [in].

[b] *Present Tense*. This is marked by the suffix *-ni*. It denotes an action going on at the present time, or habitual or normal action.

(52) *wadin mandini*  
already burn-PRES  
[The fire is] burning now.

(53) *nuwa gara wangulini*  
that not bark-REFL-PRES  
That [dog] never barks.

(54) *naya nandini madgan<sup>y</sup>*  
1sg talk-PRES Margany  
I talk Margany.

Note also the following example in which present tense is used for an action intended in the near future; probably its use here is dependent on the use of a time word.

(55) *naya wabani mugaru*  
1sg go-PRES tomorrow  
I'm going tomorrow.

[c] *Recent Past Tense*. This tense is marked by the suffix *-:ni*, which appears to be a compound suffix related to the present tense suffix (see 3.5.2(b)). In most examples



this form refers to an action completed a short time ago, at most a day. However, it is also used to refer to actions that have been going on and may continue and to habitual actions (see the Text).

- (56) walamundu ṭnda waba:ṇi  
where-ABL 2sg go-REC.PAST  
Where did you come from?
- (57) ṇani ṭnda gulba:ṇi  
what 2sg say-REC.PAST  
What did you say?
- (58) ṇaya ḡangi:ṇi / ṭnda gara ṇaṇa mada:ṇi  
lsg fall-REC.PAST / 2sg not lsgACC hold-REC.PAST  
I fell because you didn't hold me.
- (59) gala:ṇi ṇaya ḡambalṃundu  
fear-REC.PAST lsg snake-ABL  
I'm frightened of the snake (or I'm frightened of snakes (?)).
- (60) ṇuda ṇunu balga:ṇi ṇuwangu  
dog always hit-REC.PAST that-ERG  
That fellow hits his dog often.
- (61) una:ṇi ṇunu  
lie-REC.PAST always  
He sleeps all day.

Present and recent past tenses are presumably indistinguishable for the verbs ṇa: 'to see' and wa: 'to give'.

- (62) gara ṇaya ṇa:ṇi inaṇa  
not lsg see-PRES 2sgACC  
I can't see you.

[d] *Past Tense.* Past tense is marked by the suffix *-la* and denotes action in past time, probably more distant past than *-:ṇi* although some examples (such as (63)) do not give this impression. According to Mrs. Shillingsworth *-:ṇi* denotes action in the past today and *-la* action before today. *-la* occurs much less frequently in the corpus than *-:ṇi*.

- (63) ḡambal ḡundila  
snake die-PAST  
The snake is dead.
- (64) ṇaya maṭya budbala  
lsg before come-PAST  
I came here a long time ago.
- (65) maṭyamundu ṇaya bindala inaṇa  
before-ABL lsg sit-PAST this-LOC  
I used to live here (or I've lived here for a long time (?)).

[e] *Purposive.* This suffix (see 3.5.1 for its forms) marks future time or intention when used in a main clause and,

when used in a subordinate clause, probably marks the purpose of the action in the main clause. The latter use is rare in this corpus.

- (66)    inda wabangu    ŋatʷunda  
           2sg    go-PURP    1sg-LOC  
           Are you coming with me?
- (67)    ŋaya binda:lku  
           1sg    sit-PROX+PURP  
           I'll stop at home.
- (68)    yungingu                    ŋana gamuɟadi  
           shift camp-PURP    1pl    water-ALL  
           We'll have to shift camp to [somewhere where there's more]  
                                   water.
- (69)    uqu            waba    ŋali    ŋaŋdingu  
           hither    come    1du    talk-PURP  
           Come and talk to me.
- (70)    ɟaɟa    ŋaya    mada:ŋi                    /    ɟambalgu    /    balgalu    ŋaya  
           stick    1sg    get-REC.PAST /    snake-DAT /    hit-PURP    1sg  
           I've got a stick to hit the snake.  
           [Literally, probably, I got a stick, for the snake, I'll  
                                   hit it.]

There is one example known which may involve purposive suffix combined with the past tense to form a past purposive: (cf. Breen 1973:94)

- (71)    yurinʷdya    inda wabangula                    /    inda    ŋa:la    ŋatʷu  
           yesterday 2sg    go-PURP-PAST /    2sg    see-PAST    1sgGEN  
                                   mayada  
                                   sister  
           If you had come here yesterday you would have seen my sister.

[f] *Potential*. The suffix *-:nʷdʷu* after stem-final /a/ or /i/, *-winʷdʷu* after /u/ marks an action which could happen. It may be confined to undesirable events and may be confined to subordinate clauses, the undesirable event being a consequence of the action described in the main clause. There is one example where the potential verb is the only one in the sentence, but a main clause is perhaps understood here.

- (72)    ganʷdʷara    inda    ɟangi:nʷdʷu  
           get down 2sg    fall-POT  
           Get down before you fall.
- (73)    gara    ŋaŋdi    imba:nʷdʷu  
           not    talk    hear-POT  
           Stop talking about him, he might hear you.
- (74)    gaŋdanu            ŋa:    baɟa:nʷdʷu  
           spider-?    watch    bite-POT  
           Watch out for those spiders, they can bite.

(The "suffix" -nu on *gan̄da* could be an unstressed and imperfectly heard demonstrative *nuwa* 'that, there'.)

- (75) *nuwangu balga:n̄ȳd̄ȳu inana*  
 that-ERG hit-POT you-ACC  
 He might kill you. (Given in response to 'How would you say,  
 'He's a murderer'?')

[g] *Conjunctive*. The suffix -ta appears to denote co-ordination without any further specification of the relationship between the verb to which it is affixed and the other clause of the sentence. Mrs. Shillingsworth translates it "and". It normally does not carry any further inflection (but see 3.5.2(h) and 3.5.3(e)). There is in some cases (as in the first example below) no clear difference between the function of this morpheme and that of the purposive in a subordinate sentence (which is however, poorly attested). In general the subject of both clauses of the sentence is the same (but see (79)).

- (76) *gamu naya madalu buḍi ḍulbata*  
 water lsg get-PURP fire put out-CONJ  
 I'm going to get water to put out the fire.
- (77) *gundu naya wabangu gamuḡadi unata*  
 away lsg go-PURP water-ALL lie-CONJ  
 I'm going to the water to camp.
- (78) *gabun waba:ni gud̄ya ban̄ȳd̄ȳuta*  
 child go-REC.PAST honey chop-CONJ  
 The boy went away and got some honey.
- (79) *mudga yugan ḡangita / inanga*  
 good rain fall-CONJ / here-LOC  
 "Good if it rains here tomorrow."  
 (The main clause here is *mudga*.)
- (80) *inda gan̄ata / nat̄yu mayada na:lu*  
 2sg come-CONJ / lsgGEN sister see-PURP  
 "If you go, you'll see my sister."
- (81) *ugu waba / bindata*  
 hither come / sit-CONJ  
 "Come inside and sit down."
- (82) *waba:labani n̄ua bulu ḡalata*  
 go-ALONG-PRES 3sg tucker eat-CONJ  
 He's eating along (i.e. eating as he goes).
- (83) *nuni n̄ula bindalini / ugu na:ta*  
 someone 3sg sit-PROX-PRES / hither see-CONJ  
 He's sitting down facing this way.

[h] *Locative*. The suffix -ḡga, homophonous with the nominal locative suffix (for vowel-final stems) and with a function sufficiently close to suggest that it might be the same morpheme, has been heard on four occasions in

subordinate clauses (for one of these see (107), 3.5.3(e)). It follows other inflectional suffixes (PRES and CONJ only attested).

- (84)    nuda balga:ŋi       waŋgulinqa  
           dog hit-REC.PAST bark-PRES-LOC  
           He hit the dog because it was barking.
- (85)    bari naya wa:lu       inaŋa / naya wabatanga  
           money 1sg give-PURP 2sgACC / 1sg go-CONJ-LOC  
           Before I go I'll give you some money.
- (86)    nula wabatanga / naya unangu  
           3sg go-CONJ-LOC / 1sg lie-PURP  
           As soon as he goes I'm going to have a sleep.

3.5.3 VERB STEM FORMATION. Most verb stems are disyllabic roots, such as *babi* 'to cut', *buba* 'to rub', *ɔaŋgi* 'to fall'. The only monosyllabic roots are those with the long vowel /a:/ - *na:* 'to see' and *wa:* 'to give'. There may be no simple verb roots of more than two syllables. Trisyllabic roots include *ɔanʷdʷara* 'to go down', *gambiɾa* 'to come back', *biŋdidi* 'to itch' and *ɔandari* 'to be hot'. These may all be derived forms; *compaɾe* *gabiɾa* 'to be hungry' (*gabiɾ* 'hunger' is not attested in Margany but is in Gunya), *ɔanʷbara* 'to sweat' (*ɔanʷbaɟ* 'sweat') and *yagali* 'to be cold' (*yagal* 'cold'). These are the only examples in the corpus of trisyllabic verb stems not involving one of the productive formatives to be discussed in the following pages.

Only one of the following formatives, the causative *-ma*, derives a verb from a non-verb stem; no inchoative formative is attested. This suffix may also derive a transitive from an intransitive verb. The reflexive and reciprocal formatives derive intransitive verbs from transitive. Other formatives have what can be described as aspectual functions.

[a] *Causative/Plural Object*. A suffix basically *-ma* may be added to intransitive or transitive verb stems, and has a number of functions. With intransitive verb stems it derives a transitive verb and may act as a causative, in which the subject of the intransitive verb becomes the object of the derived transitive verb, as in (87) (in which, however, the object, *ɔuɔuɔa* 'him', has been omitted) or it may have the function termed comitative by Dixon (1972:96), i.e. the indirect object of the intransitive verb becomes the direct object of the derived transitive verb while the subject of the intransitive verb is subject of the derived transitive verb, as in (88). With a transitive verb stem it appears to act as a marker of plurality in the object (cf. Breen 1973:104), either in what we might call an affective sense, in which it signifies that the verb acts on (or affects) a number of objects, as in (89), or in an effective sense, in which it signifies that the verb causes the object to become more than one object (or effects plurality), as in (90).

- (87)    inda galama:ni  
           2sg fear-CAUS-REC.PAST  
           You frightened him.
- (88)    wanduna inda ḡaḡdima:ni  
           who-ABS 2sg talk-CAUS-REC.PAST  
           Who was that man you were talking to before?
- (89)    bari ḡaya idamaḡi  
           stone 1sg put down-PL-PRES  
           I'm piling up rocks.
- (90)    ḡatʷungu    bamangu    yuḡi babimaḡi  
           1sgGEN-ERG brother-ERG meat cut-PL-PRES  
           My brother is butchering some meat.
- (91)    inanga ḡaya wambadma:ni  
           here-LOC 1sg lost-CAUS-REC.PAST  
           I lost [his track] here.

A non-productive use of *-ma* in which the verb root loses its final vowel is seen in the stem *ḡanma* 'to stand (something) up' (*ḡana* 'to stand') and perhaps *banʷma* 'to count' (compare *banʷa* 'big', 'many' in Gunya).

Other rare allomorphs are *-dma*, occurring in only one stem (see (91)) and *-nʷma*, occurring in a few forms such as *gambinʷma* 'to bring back', *imbinʷma* 'to hang up', *bunḡunʷma* 'to shake'. Note that *gambinʷma* is derived from *gambira* (see 3.5.1); it is not known whether there is identity of the group of trisyllabic verb stems in *-ra* and the verb stems combinable with the allomorph *-nʷma*.

A possible causative suffix *-i* is suggested by the pair *ḡaḡa* 'to come' / *ḡaḡi* 'to bring'. (A few such pairs are found also in Bidjara.)

[b] *Reflexive/Proximate*. The suffix *-li* is added to a transitive verb stem to form an intransitive verb with a reflexive function, i.e. the object of the action denoted by the transitive verb root is the agent or part of the agent.

- (92)    ḡaya ḡa:li:ni                    ḡamunga  
           1sg see-REFL-REC.PAST water-LOC  
           I can see myself in the water.
- (93)    maḡa ḡula banʷdʷuli:ni  
           hand 3sg chop-REFL-REC.PAST  
           He chopped off his own finger.

When *-li* is added to an intransitive verb the function seems to be to denote action in the vicinity of the speaker. Its use is optional.

- (94)    ḡula bindaliḡi                   ḡatʷunbitʷa  
           3sg sit-PROX-PRES 1sg-LOC2  
           He's sitting down with me.

- (95)    *nuwa nula ɖanalini                      gubaguba / wawunga*  
          that 3sg stand-PROX-PRES old man / behind  
          That man behind us is very old.
- (96)    *ɖanu inda ɲunalini*  
          just 2sg lie-PROX-PRES  
          "You just lying down, awake."
- (97)    *gabun waralini*  
          child run-PROX-PRES  
          "[The kids are] running round here."
- (98)    *ɖanu ɲaya bindalini*  
          just 1sg sit-PROX-PRES  
          I'm just sitting down. (The use of *-li*, if interpreted correctly, seems pointless here, since the speaker could hardly be anywhere else but in his own vicinity. However, it could mean that he is staying in the same general area; not moving away. See also (277).)

The verb 'to look for' is irregular in Margany (in common with a number of other languages of South-West Queensland and North-East South Australia) in that it is intransitivised but not reflexivised by the reflexive formative. Compare the use of the transitive verb *nitʷu* and the intransitive verb *nitʷuli* in the following examples.

- (99)    *ɲaya nitʷu:ɲi                      ɲatʷu yaɲanu*  
          1sg look for-REC.PAST 1sgGEN mother  
          I was looking for my mother.
- (100)    *bamagu                      nula nitʷuli:ɲi*  
          brother-DAT 3sg look for-REFL.PAST  
          He's looking for his brother.

[c] *The suffix -ti.* The function of this suffix is not clear; there are indications, however, that it may refer to purposeful action or action with a reason. Thus *na:tiɲi* means 'is looking at' or 'is watching' and *na:ɲi* 'can see' or 'saw'; similarly *imbatɪ* 'to listen', *imba* 'to hear'. In (101) the implication suggested by *-ti* may be that the grass moved because something moved it - it was not just waving in the breeze. It is not clear whether the length in the vowel in this verb, *ɲuɖa:tiɲi*, is the vowel length which differentiates present tense *-ɲi* from recent past tense *-:ɲi*; however, in another context *ɲuɖa:tiɲi* was translated as "moving about all the time".

- (101)    *nuwa uɖun ɲuɖa:tiɲi                      / ɖambal gaɖi*  
          that grass move-? -ti-PRES? / snake maybe  
          That grass is moving; it might be a snake.
- (102)    *gabun ɲaya na:tiɲi                      / wiɲɖini ɖana*  
          child 1sg see-ti-PRES / play-PRES 3pl  
          I'm watching the kids playing.

(103) mayi wadutiṅi  
 food cook-ti-PRES  
 He was cooking a damper (while I was talking to him).

(104) ṅudangu gamu ḡalatṅi  
 dog-ERG water eat-ti-PRES  
 The dog's having a drink of water.

[d] *Reciprocal*. The suffix -da converts a transitive verb into a reciprocal verb, i.e. the agent and object of the action denoted by the transitive verb stem are non-singular and coincide at least partly in membership. There are very few examples.

(105) ṅali balgada:ṅi  
 ldu hit-RECIP-REC.PAST  
 We hit one another.

(106) ṅaya balga:ṅi bulanṅa / bula ḡigada:ṅi  
 lsg hit-REC.PAST 3du-ACC / 3du argue-RECIP-REC.PAST  
 I hit those two for arguing.

[e] *Extended actions*. A suffix -ba, perhaps derived from waba 'to go', 'to walk' is used in two compound suffixes which signify (a) that an action is performed while the actor is going along or immediately after he goes somewhere or (b) that the action is spread out over an area. It always follows either the suffix -ta, probably to be identified with the conjunctive (see 3.5.2(g); V-ta-ba-ṅi < V-ta wabaṅi), or the suffix -:ḡa (origin obscure; possibly itself a compound suffix). While the data are not entirely consistent, it appears that with -ta function (a) is fulfilled (and this is consistent with the proposed derivation) and with -:ḡa, at least with verbs of rest, function (b) is fulfilled. Thus Mrs. Shillingsworth translated bindatabaṅi (binda 'to sit') as "I went over there and I sat down over there", and binda:ḡabaṅi as "Well, others could be there, see, sitting down". The compound morpheme -taba is glossed ALONG and -:ḡaba is glossed ABOUT; there are, however, a number of examples such as (109) and (110) where -:ḡaba seems to mean 'along', and a translation involving 'about' is not accepted for -:ḡaba forms of verbs of motion.

(107) ṅaya watababaṅi ṅinda ḡaṅa:nmaṅṅa  
 lsg go-ALONG-PRES 2sg come-UNEXP-PRES-LOC  
 "I'm going away just as you're coming here."

(108) bula ṅaṅḡitabaṅi  
 3du talk-ALONG-PRES  
 Those two are walking along talking.

(109) waba:ḡabaṅi ṅula bulu ḡalata  
 go-ABOUT-PRES 3sg food eat-CONJ  
 He's eating along (i.e. eating as he goes).

(110) ɲuni waba:labani wandanga  
 someone go-ABOUT-PRES road-LOC  
 Someone's walking along the road.

(111) ɲuda ɲuna:labani  
 dog lie-ABOUT-PRES  
 There's dogs lying around everywhere.

Other verbs in -taba include yu!bitabani 'rolling (it) along' (yu!bi 'to push'), yaɟatabani 'pulling (it) along' (yaɟa 'to pull'), waratabani 'going somewhere ... running along' (wara 'to run'). Other verbs in -:laba include ɟumba:labani 'hopping along (of a kangaroo)' (ɟumba 'to jump') and yangi:labani 'limping along' (yangi 'to limp').

Another formative denoting action spread out over an area, this time with verbs of motion, is -na. This will be glossed AROUND.

(112) gabun waranani  
 child run-AROUND-PRES  
 There's kids running around all over the place.

(113) ɟanu ɲaya wabanani  
 just 1sg walk-AROUND-PRES  
 I'm just walking around (in reply to 'What are you doing?').

The verb banbana 'to shiver' possibly includes this formative.

[f] *Habitual*. The suffix -nganda- denotes habitual action and may occur only with a following past tense suffix (there are only two examples, but the informant would not accept present or recent past).

(114) bawuda ɲaya ɲanngandala  
 kangaroo 1sg hunt-HAB-PAST  
 I used to hunt kangaroos.

See also (11M).

[g] *Unexpected action*. The suffix -:nma may signify that an action is (to the speaker) unexpected, or that the actor came to the notice of the speaker only because of the action (cf. 3.6.3(d)). However, there are only three examples (including (107)).

(115) ɲuni waba:nmani  
 someone go-UNEXP-PRES  
 Someone's coming.

(116) wadi ɲaya na:ni ɲula ɲuda:nmani  
 right 1sg see-REC.PAST 3sg move-UNEXP-PRES  
 I saw him when he moved.

[h] *Vowel length as a formative*. Vowel length appears in a number of verbal suffixes and in some of these it seems that it may function as a morpheme in its own right. Thus it



distinguishes recent past tense  $-:\eta i$  from present tense  $-\eta i$  (3.5.2(b) and (c)) and it may distinguish a habitual from a casual agent ( $-\text{:lin}\nu$  and  $-\text{lin}\nu$ , 3.4.5). Length also occurs in  $-\text{:la}$  (3.5.3(e)), although there is no particular reason to relate this to the past tense  $-\text{la}$ , and in  $-\text{:nma}$  (3.5.3(g)). It occurs also, apparently not as part of any other morpheme, in  $\eta\text{u}\text{d}\text{:a}:\text{ti}\eta i$ ; see (101) and the sentence preceding it. It also occurs, but not in all allomorphs, in the potential (3.5.2(f)). There is no evidence of any consistent function that it might have in all or any set of these suffixes. See also 3.6.4(f).

### 3.6 GUNYA VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.6.1 CONJUGATIONS. Like Margany, Gunya (as exemplified by the speech of Mrs. McKellar) has two verb conjugations which correspond exactly with the division intransitive/transitive. They are differentiated only in the purposive forms  $-\text{ngu}$  for intransitive verbs and  $-\text{lgu}$  for transitive verbs (cf. Margany  $-\text{ngu}$  and  $-\text{lu}$ ). The younger speakers use  $-\text{lgu}$  for all verbs.

Ditransitive verbs noted are  $\text{wa}$ : 'to give' and  $\text{gu}\text{ba}$  'to tell'.

3.6.2 BOUND PRONOUNS. The bound pronoun system in Gunya was, to judge from the transparency and the variability of the forms, in the very early stages of its development. Singular forms are mainly derived from the free forms by deletion of the first syllable and preposing of /i/ where appropriate (see below); thus  $-\text{ya}$  ~  $-\text{iya}$  from  $\eta\text{aya}$  '1sg',  $-\text{nda}$  ~  $-\text{inda}$  from  $\text{inda}$  '2sg',  $-\text{la}$  from  $\eta\text{ula}$  '3sg' and  $-\text{na}\eta\text{a}$  (~  $\text{ina}\eta\text{a}$ ?) from  $\text{ina}\eta\text{a}$  '2sgACC'. However, no bound form corresponding to  $\eta\text{a}\eta\text{a}$  '1sgACC' occurs in the corpus, and  $-\eta\text{a}$  corresponds to  $\eta\text{a}\eta\text{u}\eta\text{a}$  '3sgACC'. Non-singular forms are mostly identical with the free forms or have a preceding /i/, but the first syllable of  $\text{ibalu}$  '2du' and  $\text{ibalu}\eta\text{a}$  '2du-ACC' is deleted. Note also  $-\text{i}$  '1du' alongside  $-\text{i}\eta\text{ali}$  and  $-\text{wula}$  '3du' (if correct) alongside  $-\text{bula}$  and  $-\text{ibula}$ . Note also that  $-\eta i\text{-}\eta\text{ana}$  'PRES-3pl' may be realised as  $[\eta\text{d}\eta\text{ana}]$ . '3pl-ACC' is attested as  $-\eta\text{d}\eta\text{ana}\eta\text{a}$ . Forms actually attested are listed in Table 3.3.

In general, allomorphs with initial /i/ are used after  $-\text{la}$  'PAST' (but note also  $-\text{inda}$  in (150) and (151) and contrast  $-\eta\text{a}$  in (131) and consonant-initial allomorphs elsewhere. However,  $-\text{iya}$  '1sg' is also used when the preceding vowel is /u/. Third person singular forms do not have allomorphs with initial /i/. Where a form has initial /i/ the preceding vowel is deleted; thus  $\text{wad}\eta\text{aliya}$  from  $\text{wad}\eta\text{ala}$  plus  $-\text{iya}$ .

A bound pronoun may co-occur with the corresponding free pronoun in a sentence, e.g.

- (117)  $\eta\text{ali}$   $\text{wad}\eta\text{ali}\eta\text{ali}$   
 $\text{ldu}$  go-PAST-ldu  
 We went away.

A bound pronoun may also co-occur with the corresponding noun, e.g.

(118) gula        ḍumbayinila  
 kangaroo jump-CONT-PRES-3sg  
 The kangaroo is hopping along.

(119) mugaliyana                baṇa  
 get-PAST-1sg-3sgACC goanna  
 I caught a goanna.

Other examples of the use of bound pronouns will be found in the following sections.

3.6.3 INFLECTION. [a] *Imperative*. As in Margany the imperative is unmarked; however, with a transitive verb there may be a bound object pronoun. Deletion of the subject pronoun is not obligatory.

(120) gaḍa    guṇiṇa  
 not hit-IMP-3sgACC  
 Don't hit him!

(121) binda    inda  
 sit-IMP 2sg  
 Sit down!

[b] *Present tense*. The form (-ṇi) and function are as in Margany.

(122) gabiṇṇi                ṇaya  
 be hungry-PRES 1sg  
 I'm hungry.

(123) baḍuṅga    unṇiya  
 river-LOC lie-PRES-1sg  
 I'm camped at the creek.

[c] *Recent past tense*. This has the same form (-:ṇi) and probably the same function as in Margany. There are very few examples with sufficiently specific translations.

(124) ṇaya    ṇaga:ṇibaluṅa                /    maṭ'amat'ya  
 1sg see-REC.PAST-2du-ACC / a while ago  
 I saw you two a while ago.

[d] *Past tense*. This is marked by the suffixes -!a and -:!a. The latter is, of course, a compound suffix and the evidence suggests that the morpheme -: denotes either an action that was not observed by the speaker or an action that was not expected by the speaker (cf. 3.5.3(g) and see also 3.6.4(f)). For an example of observed versus unobserved action compare (125) and (126). Expected versus unexpected action is illustrated by (127) and (128); normally a person would be bitten by a possum only if he attempted to handle it and a bite in such circumstances would not be unexpected, whereas a snake bite is nearly always unexpected. Common to both unobserved and unexpected action is the fact that something - the agent or the action or both - does not come to the speaker's attention until he observes the action,

or is told of it, or sees the result of it. The only cases (out of about 40 in the data) which seem clearly to contradict the above analysis are *maṛa:liya* 'I've been running' and *gunda:liya* 'I was cutting (meat)' (both C. McK).  
 -: will be glossed UNEXP.

- (125) *ṇaya guniliya waṇaltu*  
 1sg hit-PAST-1sg boomerang-INST  
 I hit him with a boomerang.
- (126) *waṇḍulu guni:la*  
 who-ERG hit-UNEXP-PAST  
 Who killed that kangaroo?
- (127) *ḍaṇuḍtu baḍala ṇaṇa*  
 possum-ERG bite-PAST 1sgACC  
 A possum bit me.
- (128) *ḍambaltu baḍa:la ṇaṇa*  
 snake-ERG bite-UNEXP-PAST 1sgACC  
 A snake bit me.

Other examples show that *-la* covers a wide range of times:

- (129) *baḍa:du buḍaliya*  
 daybreak wake-PAST-1sg  
 "Daylight I woke up [this morning]."
- (130) *matya ṇaya bindafa ḍinimbuṅga*  
 long ago 1sg sit-PAST Tinnenburra-LOC  
 I used to live at Tinnenburra.

Other examples of *-:la* include

- (131) *yadamandu ḍatya:laṇa*  
 horse-ERG kick-UNEXP-PAST-3sgACC  
 The horse kicked him (in answer to 'What's wrong with that fellow?').
- (132) *ṇuda ṇatyu uṇanya:la biṅanga*  
 dog 1sgGEN die?-UNEXP-PAST night-LOC  
 My dog died last night.

[e] *Future*. The suffix *-ṅgu* seems to denote action in the future, or perhaps intended action. There are a number of examples from Mrs. McKellar of a compound suffix involving *-ṅgu*, see 3.6.4(d), but very few in its simple form. (The second form in (133) is from Charlie McKellar.)

- (133) *ḍudaningiya* (or *ḍudalingiya* ?), also *badgalingiya*  
 scratch-FUT-1sg scratch-REFL-FUT-1sg scratch-REFL-FUT-1sg  
 I'm going to (or want to) scratch myself.
- (134) *waṇḍanʸ wadʸaṅunda* (wadʸaṅunda ?)  
 when go-FUT(?) -2sg  
 When are you going?

[f] *Purposive*. The function of the purposive suffix -ngu (intransitive), -!gu (transitive) - seems to be basically the same as the corresponding morpheme in Margany. However, the difference between the function of purposive as a marker of future action and the function of the future tense suffix described above is not known. Another use of the purposive is to denote ability (at least in a negative sentence - (140)).

- (135)    ɲali wadʔa!gu guyugu  
           ldu go-PURP fish-DAT  
           We're going to go fishing.
- (136)    bindangiya  
           sit-PURP-1sg  
           I'm going to sit down.
- (137)    mugaɾu    ɲaga!giyanaga  
           tomorrow see-PURP-1sg-2sgACC  
           I'll see you tomorrow.
- (138)    wadʔaɲi    ɲaya baɟugu    gamu muga!giya  
           go-PRES 1sg river-DAT water get-PURP-1sg  
           I'm going to the creek to get water.
- (139)    ugu        wadʔa    ɲa!ga!gunda    ɲa!ʔunda  
           hither come talk-PURP-2sg 1sgGEN-LOC  
           Come and talk to me.
- (140)    gaɟa bunba!giya / bari utinʔbayi  
           not lift-PURP-1sg / stone heavy-CON  
           I can't lift [the stone], it's too heavy.

[g] *Stative suffixes*. This name is used very tentatively for a suffix, -ɲa, which occurs only in the following examples and perhaps (181) (3.6.4(d)), and may denote action extending over a period of time. Note, however, that Mrs. Ruby Richardson said that bindaɲa, in (142), is a Ngarigi word. (144) and (145) are from Charlie McKellar.

- (141)    ɟili ga!i baɟiɲa (ga!i baɟi 'to be sick')  
           eye be sick-STAT  
           I've got a sore eye.
- (142)    bindaɲanda  
           sit-STAT-2sg  
           You're sitting.(?)
- (143)    gaɟa imba!iɲa  
           not hear-REFL-STAT  
           "I don't feel good."
- (144)    ɲunu        gaɲaɲa!a  
           always come-STAT-3sg  
           He comes here often.(?)

- (145) *nagananda dambalmundu*  
 look-STAT-2sg snake-ABL  
 Watch out for snakes while you're going along.

A second suffix to which the same name will be applied is *-nḡdana*:

- (146) *baga gundḡdana*  
 wood die-STAT  
 The wood's rotten.
- (147) *gaḡa wanḡgundana*  
 not bark-STAT  
 [That dog] never barks.
- (148) *guningandana*  
 hit-RECIP-STAT  
 They're always fighting.
- (149) *nimun wadḡandana*  
 fly go-STAT  
 There's a lot of flies about.

Note, however, that [*nḡdana*] is a possible realisation of *-nḡdana* 'PRES-3pl'. This seems to be a possible interpretation in (149) but not in the others (context suggests that 'they' in (148) are only two in number).

[h] *Potential*. The potential suffix is *-nḡbayiḡa ~ -nḡbadiḡa*. This has the appearance of including a nominaliser *-nḡ* and a form of the concomitant suffix (normally *-bari*, sometimes *-bayi*). The function is as in Margany (3.5.2(f)). Charlie McKellar normally uses the Margany suffix *:-nḡdḡu* (as did Mrs. McKellar on one occasion).

- (150) *gundu wadḡa buḡimundu / gubanḡbadiḡinda*  
 away go fire-ABL / burn-POT-2sg  
 Come away from the fire before you get burnt.
- (151) *gaḡa waga baganga / banbunḡbadiḡinda*  
 not climb tree-LOC / fall-POT-2sg  
 Don't climb that tree, you might fall.
- (152) *baḡanḡbayiḡala ḡana*  
 bite-POT-3sg 1sgACC  
 He might bite me.

[i] *Interrogative*. A suffix *-:* is used in questions. It does not appear to combine with other inflectional suffixes and it is not obligatory. See also 3.6.4(f).

- (153) *ḡani yama:nda , also ḡani yamaḡinda*  
 what do-INT-2sg do-PRES-2sg  
 What did you say?
- (154) *wanḡḡa wadḡa:nda*  
 where go-INT-2sg  
 Where are you?

The following examples are from Charlie McKellar.

(155)     $\eta$ anigu    gamu    bit $\gamma$ u:nda    bu $\eta$ inga  
 what-DAT water    throw-INT-2sg fire-LOC  
 Why did you throw water on the fire?

(156)    wa $\eta$ i        bu $\eta$ i    ban $\gamma$ d $\gamma$ i:nda  
 already fire    light-INT-2sg  
 Did you light the fire?

(157)    wa $\eta$ i         $\eta$ idba:nda $\eta$ a  
 already wake-INT-2sg-3sgACC  
 Have you woken him up?

It will be noted that all examples involve the bound pronoun -nda '2sg'. It is not known whether other bound pronouns can follow this inflection, but note that if -!a '3sg' followed -: the resulting -:!a would be homophonous with the 'UNEXP-PAST' ending (3.6.3(d)).

[j] *Locative*. There is a single example, heard from Fred McKellar, of the usage described for Margany in 3.5.2(h).

(158)    wa $\eta$ du     $\eta$ unan $\gamma$     inda     $\eta$ a $\eta$ d $\eta$ i $\eta$ inga  
 who    that    2sg    speak-PRES-LOC  
 Who was that fellow you were talking to before?

3.6.4 VERB STEM FORMATION. Remarks made above (3.5.3) on verb stems in Margany apply also to Gunya, as also do most of the examples given (but 'to fall' is banbu in Gunya and 'to see' is  $\eta$ aga).

[a] *Causative*. The suffix -ma functions as in Margany (see 3.5.3(a)), at least as regards its use with intransitive verb roots.

(159)     $\eta$ anigu    gandu    batima $\eta$ inda  
 what-DAT child cry-CAUS-PRES-2sg  
 Why are you making the baby cry?

(160)    ya $\eta$ im $\eta$ giya $\eta$ a           (not ya $\eta$ ima $\eta$ giya $\eta$ a ?)  
 laugh-CAUS-FUT-1sg-3sgACC  
 I'm going to make him laugh.

(161)     $\eta$ a $\eta$ dima     $\eta$ a $\eta$ a    (alternative,  $\eta$ a $\eta$ d $\eta$ i     $\eta$ a $\gamma$ u:nda)  
 talk-CAUS 1sgACC                           talk    1sgGEN-LOC  
 Talk to me!

The nature of the pair wambafi 'to be lost' / wambanmafi 'to lose' is not clear. Note that -!i is a reflexive marker. These words have been heard only from Charlie McKellar.

[b] *Reflexive*. The suffix -li has a reflexive function in Gunya, as in Margany (see 3.5.3(b)). There is no evidence that it has any other function, unless it can be regarded as proximate in ba $\eta$ i!i 'to fall (of rain)' (ba $\eta$ i occurs also in ga $\eta$ i ba $\eta$ i 'to be sick', possibly literally 'to fall sick',

although in Margany *baḡi* means 'to be damaged').

(162) *naya nabili:ḡi matʷa*  
1sg bathe-REFL-REC.PAST long ago  
I had a wash before.

(163) *ḡa: bambuli*  
mouth open-REFL  
Open your mouth.

[c] *Reciprocal*. The suffix *-nga* corresponds to the Margany suffix *-da* (3.5.3(d)).

(164) *ḡuna bula ḡuningaḡiwula*  
there 3du hit-RECIP-PRES-3du  
Those two are fighting.

[d] *Suffixes denoting continuing action*. The suffix *-yi* (~ *-ya*?) combines with the present tense suffix *-ḡi* to form a compound suffix which seems to denote a continuing action, or perhaps an action carried out while the agent is going along. If the latter, it can be compared with Margany *-ba* (3.5.3(e)) and if *-ba* is derived from *waba* 'to go', *-yi* could be derived from *wadʷa* 'to go' via *\*-dʷa* and *-ya*. However, it will be glossed 'CONT'. The form *-ya* has been heard only from Charlie McKellar and seems to have a variant *-wiya* after /u/. There seem to be no conditioning factors for his use of *-yi* and *-ya*, and he seems to use both with *wadʷa* 'to go'. It may be that *-yi* is the correct form before *-ḡi* and *-ya* before other suffixes (see below) but he has lost this rule from his language.

(165) *wanḡanʷ inḡa wadʷayiḡinḡa*  
when 2sg go-CONT-PRES-2sg  
When are you going?

(166) *baḡunga baḡayiḡiya*  
river-LOC cross-CONT-PRES-1sg  
I'm going across the creek.

(167) *ḡili bambayiḡi*  
eye open-CONT-PRES  
I've got my eyes open (or - going along with my eyes open (?)).

(168) *naya ḡaḡaliyaḡa maḡi gaḡayiḡiḡa*  
1sg see-PAST-1sg-3sgACC man come-CONT-PRES-3sg  
I can see a man coming.

The following five examples are from Charlie McKellar.

(169) *wiḡu ḡubiyaḡiḡa*  
curlew whistle-CONT-PRES-3sg  
The curlew's calling out.

(170) *budi ḡuba ḡubayiḡiḡa*  
fire there burn-CONT-PRES-3sg  
There's a fire over there.

- (171) gundinga gadgayanila  
house-LOC enter-CONT-PRES-3sg  
He went into the house.
- (172) yadaman bandayanila  
horse track-CONT-PRES-3sg  
He's tracking his horse.
- (173) gandu watayanidana  
child play-CONT-PRES-3pl  
The kids are playing.

The suffix *-ya* (*-yi?*) combines with the future tense suffix *-ngu*. An intended continuing action seems a more likely function in the following examples than action while going.

- (174) naya wadYayangiya  
1sg go-CONT-FUT-1sg  
"I'm going myself."
- (175) gamu gaŋgamayingiya  
water boil-CONT-FUT-1sg  
I'm going to boil some water.
- (176) wadYayiniya unayingiya  
go-CONT-PRES-1sg lie-CONT-FUT-1sg  
I'm going to have a sleep.
- (177) gamu dalayangiya  
water eat-CONT-FUT-1sg  
I'm going to have a drink of water.
- (178) yutbiyingiyandanana  
chase-CONT-FUT-1sg-3pl-ACC  
I'll hunt them away.

There is one example from Charlie McKellar (who hardly ever uses *-ngu*) of *-ya* combining with the purposive:

- (179) ugu naga nambiyatgiya  
hither look swim-CONT-PURP-1sg  
Watch me swim! (or, better probably, Watch me, I'm going to swim.)

Another suffix which may denote continuing action is *-nʷina*. The only examples are given below and these give no indication of the meaning, but the suffix may be derived from the widespread Australian word *nʷina* ~ *nina* 'to sit', and *nina* is used as a bound form in Yandruwandha to denote a continuing action.

- (180) naya unanʷinaniya  
1sg lie-CONT-PRES-1sg  
I'm lying down.



- (181) bindan<sup>y</sup>inani and bindan<sup>y</sup>inanya  
 sit-CONT-PRES sit-CONT-STAT-1sg  
 I'm sitting down.

[e] *The suffix -n<sup>y</sup>a.* This occurs in the following examples.

- (182) guta nat<sup>y</sup>u ulan<sup>y</sup>a:la / bitanga  
 dog 1sgGEN die-n<sup>y</sup>a-UNEXP-PAST / night-LOC  
 My dog died last night. (repeated with ula:la)
- (183) wad<sup>y</sup>an<sup>y</sup>a:la  
 go-n<sup>y</sup>a-UNEXP-PAST  
 You two going along now. (?)
- (184) gundu wad<sup>y</sup>an<sup>y</sup>ala / yu:|u  
 away go-n<sup>y</sup>a-PAST / 2 pl (?)  
 You mob going along now. (?)
- (185) idin<sup>y</sup>a:la / guya<sup>ɖ</sup>a nu<sup>ɔ</sup> (repeated with  
 run away with-n<sup>y</sup>a-UNEXP-PAST / wife 3sgGEN idi:la)  
 That fellow ran away with another fellow's wife.

The last example was from Charlie McKellar, who could see no difference between verbs with and without -n<sup>y</sup>a and accepted the suggested forms bindan<sup>y</sup>a:la (for binda:la 'sit-PAST') and wad<sup>y</sup>an<sup>y</sup>a:la (for wad<sup>y</sup>a:la 'go-PAST').

There is one case of confusion of dialects by Fred McKellar which could be taken as indicating that -n<sup>y</sup>a corresponds in function to Bidjara -n<sup>y</sup>ɖ<sup>y</sup>ada and thus to Margany -t<sup>y</sup>aba (3.5.3(e)), i.e. it can be translated 'along'. This does not seem appropriate in (182).

Compare the clitic -:n<sup>y</sup>a 'now' in Margany (see 4.10).

[f] *Vowel length and -ɲu.* As noted above (2.6) there is a little evidence of free variation between -: and -ɲu in the suffixes -:la (past tense, unexpected or unobserved form, 3.6.3(d)) and -: (interrogative, 3.6.3(i)). Another possible example is in

- (186) ɲutang<sup>u</sup> gamu du<sup>ɖ</sup>ul<sup>ɪ</sup>ɲul<sup>ɪ</sup>ɲana (sic)  
 dog-ERG water slip-UNEXP-PAST-3pl  
 The dogs dirtied the water.

in which, however, the suffixes on the verb, the stem of which the speaker, Charlie McKellar, has got wrong, could not be heard clearly, and the verb was repeated as du<sup>ɖ</sup>ul<sup>ɪ</sup>ɲana. This possible morphophonological feature of these two verb suffixes is interesting in view of the semantic similarity between these verb forms: in one case the agent and/or the action becomes known to the speaker only when he observes the action or is told about it or sees the result of it; in the other case the speaker is unaware of the circumstances and will know them only when his question is answered. In both cases there is a state of ignorance to be overcome. There seems, therefore, to be some justification for regarding -: , glossed UNEXP in 3.6.3(d), and

-, glossed INT in 3.6.3(h), as the same morpheme, which could be glossed UNKNOWN. There does not seem to be any reason to regard the vowel length which distinguishes present tense -ni from recent past tense -:ni as belonging to the same morpheme. (See also 3.5.3(h)).

## 4. SYNTAX

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The following description is based mainly on Margany and all examples are Margany except those marked G; the Gunya examples used are taken only from Mrs. McKellar's material except where noted otherwise. The major difference between the two dialects results from the use of bound pronouns and the consequent frequent omission of free pronouns in Gunya.

### 4.2 SIMPLE SENTENCES

The basic constituents of a simple sentence are a subject and a predicate. The subject is a noun phrase and the predicate may be a noun phrase, an adverbial phrase or a verb phrase (which includes an object noun phrase if the verb is transitive). In Gunya a single word may realise a transitive or intransitive sentence.

The following examples illustrate sentences in which the subject and predicate are both noun phrases.

(187) mudga gatʷu ɲuda  
 good 1sgGEN dog  
 I've got a good dog.

(188G) ɲula baŋɲinbayi  
 3sg dirt-CON  
 He's dirty.

The next two examples illustrate adverbial phrases (which in their simplest form are either adverbs or inflected nouns) as predicate. The range of types attested is very narrow.

(189) yama yugan  
 nothing rain  
 It's not raining.

(190) gamu baɽungu  
 water river-LOC  
 There's water in the river.

The following examples illustrate simple intransitive sentences.

- (191) gabun wiḡḡiḡi  
child play-PRES  
The kids are playing.
- (192G) guḡa ḡumbayiḡiḡa  
kangaroo jump-CONT-PRES-3sg  
The kangaroo is hopping along.
- (193G) wadYayanguli  
go-CONT-FUT-1du  
We [two] are going now.

These sentences are frequently expanded by means of one or more adverbial phrases, which may mark location, time, goal and various other classes of information.

- (194) ḡaya ḡanYdYangu ḡamugu  
1sg go down-PURP water-DAT  
I'm going down for water.
- (195) ḡaḡaḡi ḡaya ḡambalmundu  
fear-PRES 1sg snake-ABL  
I'm frightened of the snake.
- (196G) ḡaḡu banbuliya  
nearly fall-PAST-1sg  
I nearly fell over.
- (197) yabana banYdYiḡi yadga  
vigorously blow-PRES wind  
The wind's blowing hard.
- (198) matYamundu ḡaya bindata inanga  
long ago-ABL 1sg sit-PAST here-LOC  
I used to live here.

Examples of transitive sentences follow, including both simple and expanded sentences. The most common expansion is an instrumental phrase.

- (199G) ḡaḡaḡiyana  
eat-PURP-1sg-3sgACC  
I'm going to eat it.
- (200) ḡaya baḡaḡu idaḡaḡa  
1sg hit-PURP 2pl-ACC  
I'll hit you.
- (201) ḡaya ḡinYiḡi bubatu  
1sg blade rub-PURP  
I'm going to sharpen it.
- (202) bigiri ḡaya ida:ḡi inana  
dreaming 1sg put-REC.PAST 2sgACC  
I dreamt about you last night. (bigiri seems to be an  
adverb; see 4.9)

- (203G) *ḡaḡangu* *ḡuniḡḡiyana*  
 stick-INST hit-PURP-1sg-3sgACC  
 I'm going to hit him with a stick.

A few verbs appear to require an indirect object in the dative case. See also 3.3.8. These verbs can be called semi-transitive.

- (204) *ḡara* *ḡaya* *ḡaḡini* *ḡuḡungu*  
 not 1sg like-PRES 3sg-DAT  
 I don't like him.

The only ditransitive sentences in the corpus are those with the verbs *wa:* 'to give', *ḡuḡba* 'to tell' and *ḡubarḡi* (M) 'to show'.

- (205) *yudḡi* *ḡana* *wa:ḡi* *ḡuwangu*  
 meat 1sgACC give-

PRES	}	that-ERG
REC.PAST		

  
 That fellow gave me some meat.

Order of constituents is free but there are a couple of strong tendencies: a pronoun object tends to take last place among the basic constituents; in the absence of a pronoun object the verb usually takes last place; a noun precedes a pronoun; an adverbial phrase is usually outside the basic sentence, either in first or last place. Thus an intransitive sentence is usually (perhaps 90% of the time in Margany) SV and a transitive sentence is SVO if O is a pronoun, OSV if O is a noun and S a pronoun, and SOV otherwise. Where, in Gunya, S and/or O is not a free form it is, of course, suffixed to the verb, with S preceding O. These tendencies and rules, as well as some exceptions, are illustrated in (191) to (207).

- (206) *bawuda* *ḡana* *uḡanḡandaḡa*  
 kangaroo 1pl hunt-HAB-PAST  
 We used to hunt kangaroos.
- (207) *ḡatḡungu* *bamangu* *ḡabunḡ* *mada:ḡi*  
 1sgGEN-ERG brother-ERG egg get-REC.PAST  
 My brother got some eggs.

Noun phrases are most commonly of one word, but phrases consisting of a genitive pronoun or dative noun plus a noun are not uncommon. The order is almost always possessor-possessed. Other phrases of more than one word are rare and nothing can be said about order. The type of phrase that comprises a non-singular pronoun and specification of one or more of the individuals referred to by the pronoun is known only from a single occurrence in Gunya (Mrs. Richardson) of *ḡaḡi* *inda* 'we two (including) you', i.e. 'you and I'.

- (208) *ḡuwa* *ḡabungu* *ḡuda*  
 that child-DAT dog  
 That's the little boy's dog.

- (209)    *natʷugu*    *yabudigu*    *gundi*    *maṅdi:ni*  
 1sgGEN-DAT    father-DAT    house    burn-REC.PAST  
 My father's house got burnt.
- (210)    *inungu*    *wanbangu*    *ḡuda(ḡu)*    *ḡaṅa*    *bada:ni*  
 2sgGEN-ERG    big-ERG    dog(-ERG)    1sgACC    bite-REC.PAST  
 Your big dog bit me.

A verb phrase consists of a verb, with or without an inflectional suffix, which may be preceded by a directional particle. Other adverbs and particles are not regarded as part of verb phrases but as separate (peripheral) constituents of sentences. However, in view of the directional particle's almost invariable position preceding the verb and the frequent realisation of the two together as a single phonetic word it seems clear that it must usually be regarded as part of the verb phrase.

- (211)    *ugu*    *waba*    [*úguwàba*]  
 hither    come  
 Come here!

However, in a sentence where it does not have this intimate relationship with the verb it may be best to regard it as a peripheral constituent.

- (212)    *gundu*    *ḡaya*    *baṅangu*  
 away    1sg    go across-PURP  
 I'm going across [the river].

Note that there is one example in the Gunya corpus of a directional adverb occurring in a verbless sentence; the sentence is incomplete (lacking a subject) and it is not clear whether it should be regarded as an intransitive sentence lacking verb as well as subject (cf. Breen 1973:118 and note that the reference to 7.2.1 should be to 7.3.1).

- (213G)    *gundu*    *yambagaḡinʷ*  
 away    camp-ALL  
 [We're going] back to our camp.

An adverbial phrase consists of an adverb or one or more inflected nominals. Adverbial phrases of more than one word are not common and in the few examples in the corpus contain a noun preceded by a pronoun cross-referencing it or by a genitive pronoun.

- (214)    *ḡani*    *ḡuwa*    *ḡatʷunda*    *baṅanga*    *wandi:ni*  
 what    there    1sg-LOC    leg-LOC    climb-REC.PAST  
 I felt something crawling on my leg.

A phrase may be discontinuous:

- (215)    *matʷa*    *ḡaya*    *baṅaṅandaṅa*    *yudi*    *ḡaṅangu*  
 long ago    1sg    hit-HAB-PAST    animal    young-ERG  
 I used to kill a lot of kangaroos when I was young.

- (216)    natʷu    inda    mayada    ɲa:fu  
           1sgGEN 2sg    sister    see-PURP  
           You will see my sister.

nangangu in (215) could be regarded as a separate phrase, in apposition with ɲaya, but a similar interpretation does not seem possible for the object phrase in (216).

It appears that it is not obligatory, although it is perhaps the usual practice, for all constituents of a phrase to carry any relevant inflection. It is probably obligatory if the phrase is discontinuous.

- (217)    natʷungu    bama    dinduni  
           1sgGEN-ERG Brother know-PRES  
           My brother knows (how to do it).

and see (210) in which the bracketed suffix was omitted at first and then included on repetition of the sentence.

#### 4.3 IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Sentences expressing a command or request are characterised by omission of the subject (optional, but common) and the use of the imperative (unmarked) form of the verb. Thus an intransitive imperative sentence consists essentially of only a verb stem, while a minimal transitive imperative sentence consists of a noun object followed by a verb or a verb followed by a pronoun object (which may be suffixed in Gunya). Most imperative sentences have one or more peripheral constituents.

- (218)    matʷafa            waba    ɟambaɪmundu  
           with caution go    snake-ABL  
           Watch out for snakes as you go along.
- (219)    baɪga    ɲuɲuɲa            yabana  
           hit    3sgGEN-ACC vigorously  
           Hit him hard.

See also 3.5.2(a) and 3.6.3(a).

#### 4.4 QUESTION SENTENCES

Questions are of two types: those involving an interrogative pronoun and requiring as answer a phrase for which that interrogative pronoun is an appropriate substitute (corresponding to wh-questions in English); and those not involving an interrogative pronoun and (in the only sub-type represented in this corpus) requiring 'yes' or 'no' as answer. (The latter type is often called 'polar questions', but since this type also includes those questions - not represented in this corpus, however - where a choice is required from a list of alternatives ('Is it A or B ...?') the writer prefers the term 'choice questions'. The yes/no answer is required in the special (but most common) case

where the list contains only one item, e.g. 'Is it A?'

The former type is marked by an interrogative pronoun or interrogative adverb (or, more correctly, an interrogative-indefinite pronoun or adverb, as they may also function as indefinite pronouns) which takes the first place in the sentence, and possibly also by a typical intonation pattern (see 2.5). The interrogative words are *wandu* (M) *wan̄du* (G) 'who' and *ɲani* 'what', inflected as nouns, *wala* (M) *wan̄da* (G) 'where', also inflected as nouns but having only nominative, locative, allative and ablative forms of which the first two appear to have the same meaning, *ɲanimiri* (M) 'how many', probably inflected like a noun, *wata* (M) 'which way', *wan̄dan̄* 'when', *wan̄daɖi* (M) 'how'.

In many Australian languages (including at least one Northern Mari dialect - Warungu - see Tsunoda, 1974:422) the interrogative 'what' can be verbalised to 'to do what'. This does not happen in the Southern Mari dialects; as in English an interrogative pronoun can be used with a verb translated as 'do' (*yama*).

Examples of questions using interrogative words follow:

- (220) *wala inda or walanga inda*  
 where 2sg where-LOC 2sg  
 Where are you?
- (221) *wan̄duŋgu ɲat̄yu guyu mada:ni*  
 who-ERG 3sgGEN fish take-REC.PAST  
 Who took my fish?
- (222) *ɲanigu inda gan̄din̄ waba:ni*  
 what-DAT 2sg stealthily go-REC.PAST  
 "Why'd you sneak up like that?"
- (223M) *ɲani inda yama:ni (G) ɲani yama:nda*  
 what 2sg do-PRES what do-INT-2sg  
 What are you doing?
- (224M) *wan̄dan̄ inda wabangu*  
 when 2sg go-PURP
- (G) *wan̄dan̄ inda wad̄yayin̄inda*  
 when 2sg go-CONT-PRES-2sg  
 When are you going?
- (225) *ɲanimiri gabun inu*  
 how many child 2sgGEN  
 How many kids have you got?

There is little information on the use of interrogatives to denote indefiniteness - in particular, on whether all of them can function in this way. The following example illustrates this usage.

- (226) *imba / wandu waba:ni*  
 listen / who go-PRES  
 "Listen, there's someone coming."

Choice questions are distinguished from the corresponding statement sentences by their intonation (see 2.5). In addition, the question word *wayi* may occur initially in the sentence.

- (227) *wagin mayi wagu:ni*  
 already food cook-REC.PAST  
 Have you cooked the damper yet?
- (228) *natyu mangu buri:ni / inda bubalu*  
 1sgGEN arm ache-REC.PAST / 2sg rub-PURP  
 'My arm's aching, will you rub it for me?'
- (229) *wayi inda / naya budbangu*  
 Q 2sg / 1sg come-PURP  
 'Are you there? Can I come in?'

A verbal inflection used only in questions in Gunya is described in 3.6.3(i); see also (223G).

#### 4.5 INTRANSITIVISATION

Reflexive sentences are derived by intransitivisation of a transitive verb by means of the suffix *-li* with deletion of any ergative marking from the subject and deletion of the object to the extent that it is identical with (rather than part of) the subject. The same suffix intransitivises the verb *nit'yu* 'to look for', the object then being marked by dative inflection. See 3.5.3(b) and 3.6.4(b).

Reciprocal sentences are derived by intransitivisation of a transitive verb by means of the suffix *-da* (M) *-nga* (G) with deletion of the object and of any ergative marking on the subject. See 3.5.3(d) and 3.6.4(c).

#### 4.6 TRANSITIVISATION

A transitive verb is derived from an intransitive verb by means of the suffix *-ma*. This may also be added to a transitive verb, at least in Margany, to mark plural object. See 3.5.3(a) and 3.6.4(a).

#### 4.7 COORDINATION

Two sentences or clauses are coordinated by simple juxtaposition.

- (230) *ugu waba / nali nandingu*  
 hither come / 1du talk-PURP  
 Come and talk to me. (or, Come here so we can talk.)
- (231) *bukun' binda / naya balgalu inaga*  
 quiet sit / 1sg hit-PURP 2sgACC  
 Keep quiet or I'll hit you. (note, not 'for me to hit you')
- (232G) *nudaniya yuji ban' d' yayini*  
 smell-PRES-1sg meat cook-CONT-PRES  
 I can smell meat cooking (sic.)



- (233G) ugu wad<sup>y</sup>a ŋalgalgunda ŋat<sup>y</sup>unda  
 hither come talk-PURP-2sg 1sgGEN-LOC  
 Come and talk to me.

(Compare this with (240). (233G) is regarded, perhaps wrongly, as exemplifying coordination rather than subordination because of the bound pronoun *-nda* on the second verb. Thus the meaning is thought to be 'Come here and you can talk to me' rather than 'Come here in order to talk to me'.)

This construction was used also to translate English relative clauses; the only examples are from Margany.

- (234) ŋuwa ŋula yu<sup>d</sup>i ban<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>uma<sup>l</sup>u  
 there 3sg meat chop-PLU-PURP  
 "That's the man that chops up the meat."

- (235) ŋuwa ŋula ɔanalini gubaguba  
 there 3sg stand-PROX-PRES old man  
 "That one standing there is an old man."

#### 4.8 SUBORDINATION

The only method of subordination attested for both dialects is the use of the potential form of the verb in a 'lest' construction, in which the main clause is a command (although perhaps not obligatorily so) and the subordinate clause expresses a likely undesirable consequence of a negative reaction to this command.

- (236) balga ŋuwa ɔambal / baɔa:n<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>u ina<sup>ŋ</sup>a  
 hit there snake / bite-POT 2sgACC  
 Kill that snake or it'll bite you.

- (237) igaru / in<sup>d</sup>a ɔangi:n<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>u  
 careful / 2sg fall-POT  
 Be careful you don't fall.

- (238G) gaɔa ɔalana / ga<sup>ŋ</sup>i baɔin<sup>y</sup>ba<sup>y</sup>i<sup>ŋ</sup>a  
 not eat-3sgACC / sick fall-POT  
 Don't eat that, you might get sick.

See 3.5.2(f) and 3.6.3(h) for other examples.

A common method of subordination in Australian languages involves the use of the purposive form of a verb in a clause which gives the reason or purpose or use or other specification of the situation described in the main clause. However, there are few examples of such sentences in the present data; the two following examples are from Margany.

- (239) ŋula bala bindal / biya:lku  
 3sg that expert / hunt-PURP  
 He's a good hunter.

- (240) ŋuwa waba<sup>ŋ</sup>i ŋan<sup>d</sup>iŋu ŋalin<sup>u</sup>nda  
 that go-PRES talk-PURP 1du-GEN-LOC  
 He's coming to talk to us.

Generally, where the purposive appears in one clause of a two clause sentence the purposive clause can (sometimes must) be interpreted as coordinate rather than subordinate. Thus a coordinate interpretation is necessary for semantic reasons in (231) (although a subordinate clause using the potential could have expressed the same idea) and is possible in (230). See 3.5.2(e) and 3.6.3(f) for further examples.

Clauses using the conjunctive suffix *-ta* in Margany must be regarded as syntactically subordinate, since they depend on the other clause of the sentence for the expression of the tense and mood, although semantically they sometimes seem to be of equal status with the other clause and related by coordination (as suggested by the translation "and" given for *-ta*).

- (241)    *ɲaya wabangu ɲa:ta      ɟanaɲana*  
           1sg    go-PURP    see-CONJ    3pl-ACC  
           'I'm going to see them lot up there.'

For other examples see 3.5.2(g).

Another method of subordination attested reliably only for Margany involves the suffixing of the locative *-ŋga* after a tense marker or conjunctive. The only examples are given above (see 3.5.2(h) and 3.6.3(j)).

#### 4.9 ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

Adverbs and particles are considered together because of the similarity of their functions and the lack of data which makes it impossible, in many cases, to tell whether a word is adverb or particle. There are, in fact, three groups of words which function as adverbs in that they modify the complement (usually the verb) of a sentence.

The first group consists of those adverbs (as defined in 3.1) which can combine with a limited number of nominal suffixes and most (if not all) of which refer to location or time. Most examples of inflected adverbs involve the ablative *-mundu*, e.g. *walamundu* 'where from', *yurin<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>amundu* 'since yesterday' and *mat<sup>y</sup>amundu* 'for a long time' (i.e. 'since long ago') (all M). The locative occurs in *walanga* (M) 'where' and the dative is exemplified in (245). The allative form of compass point names is described in 3.1.

- (242)    *gara ɲaya wina wabangu ɲudabit<sup>y</sup>a*  
           not 1sg    near    go-PURP    dog-LOC2  
           I won't go near that dog.
- (243)    *buyu    ɲaya baɟi:ɲi              ɟambarimundu    waba:ɲi              ɲaya*  
           breath 1sg    break-REC.PAST    far-ABL              go-REC.PAST    1sg  
           I'm tired from walking a long way.
- (244)    *birin<sup>y</sup>    waba:ɲi              ɟadbu:ndu*  
           all            go-REC.PAST    north-ALL  
           They all went north.

- (245) gara nuwa yuḍi mada / mugarugu  
 not that meat get / tomorrow-DAT  
 Don't touch that meat, it's for tomorrow.

The second group consists of nouns functioning as adverbs (or particles); note that in (247) both mudga and madganʸ seem to behave in this way. In (246) a more correct translation of bikara may be 'strength', as 'strong' has on another occasion been translated by the concomitant form bikaṛabaṛi; if so, wanba is functioning as an adjective, not an adverb. It appears that there may be a formative -u involved in the word guṛunʸu 'alone' (see sentence 1 of the Text), as there seems to be a corresponding noun guṛunʸ (see (248)). bigiri 'dreaming', as exemplified in (202), may belong to this group.

- (246) nula bikara wanba  
 3sg strong big  
 He's very strong.
- (247) mudga inda madganʸ ṇandini  
 good 2sg Margany speak-PRES  
 You're a good Margany speaker.
- (248) guṛunʸdʸu ṇaya dumba:ni  
 alone-ERG 1sg build-REC.PAST  
 I built it on my own.

The third group consists of particles, which refer to the manner of an action or to a wide range of other aspects, some of which are discussed in 4.9.1 - 4.9.11.

- (249) bukunʸ binda  
 quiet sit  
 Keep quiet.
- (250) ugu waba dawuru  
 hither come quickly  
 Come here quickly. (or - Come here immediately.)
- (251) ṇaru nula dindakuru dangi:ni  
 nearly 3sg trip fall-REC.PAST  
 He tripped and nearly fell.
- (252) yabana banʸdʸini yadga  
 vigorously blow-PRES wind  
 The wind's blowing hard.
- (253G) muṇdu wadʸalguli  
 together go-PURP-1du  
 (C.McK) We'll go together.

4.9.1 NEGATION. Negation is usually marked by the negative adverb gara (M) gaḍa (G) 'not', or, when used with an imperative verb, 'don't'.

- (254) gaṛa ṇaya na:ṇi inaṇa  
not 1sg see-PRES 2sgACC  
I can't see you.
- (255) ṇani inḍa gulba:ṇi / gaṛa ṇaya imba:ṇi  
what 2sg say-REC.PAST / not 1sg hear-REC.PAST  
"What did you say, I didn't hear you."
- (256G) gaḍa guṇiṇa  
not hit-3sgACC  
Don't hit him.
- (257G) gaḍa ṇaya guṇḍiṇga  
not 1sg house-LOC  
I'm not in the house.

yama 'nothing' may negate a verbless sentence.

- (258) yama yugaṇ  
nothing rain  
It's not raining.
- (259) yama ṇatYu yaḍaman  
nothing 1sgGEN horse  
I haven't got a horse.
- (260) gamu yurinYdYa / yama:nYa  
water yesterday / nothing-NOW  
"Water been there yesterday, but there's no more."

Negation is also implied by some other adverbs: ṇaṛu 'nearly' (see 4.9.7), gaṛu 'in vain' (see 4.9.8). These, as well as the two negating particles illustrated above, normally take first place in a sentence.

4.9.2 DIRECTIONAL PARTICLES. ugu 'hither' and gundu 'away' are extremely common in both dialects; so much so that, as mentioned above (4.2, (211)) they are frequently combined with the verb they precede (usually 'to go', but glossed 'come' instead of 'go' when preceded by ugu) to form phonetically a single word, the verb stem losing its primary stress.

- (261) ugu waba:ṇi / gunduwinYa nula gambiṛa:ṇi  
hither come-REC.PAST / away-then 3sg return-REC.PAST  
He was coming this way, and then he turned away.
- (262G) gundu iḍa mira  
away put high  
(C.McK) "Put it up high."

Other examples include (212, 213G, 230, 233G, 250).

4.9.3 PERFECTIVE PARTICLES. The perfective adverbs denote successful completion of an action; they are sometimes translated as 'already' or, when used as an interjection, 'that's right' or 'yes'.

(263) waḍin maḍḍini  
 already burn-PRES  
 The fire's burning (i.e. I have succeeded in lighting or  
 reviving it).

(264G) waḍi diḍḍuniya nuḍḍuna  
 already know-PRES-1sg 3sgGEN-ACC  
 (C.McK) I already know him (as a response to an offer of an  
 introduction).

The younger Gunya informants also use waḍi as a question marker, instead of wayi (see 4.4); however, it is believed to be a perfective in sentences like (156) (3.6.3(i)) in which the interrogative form of the verb is used. Its function in the following example is not clear.

(265G) waḍi binda / gaḍa ḥaḥa inda nuḍu  
 already(?) sit / not talk 2sg always  
 Keep quiet; don't talk all the time.

4.9.4 FREQUENTATIVE. The particle nuḍu denotes frequent repetition or long continuation of an action. See also (265G).

(266) nuḍu nula waba:ni  
 always 3sg go-REC.PAST  
 He comes here every day.

(267) nuḍu ḥaya gunkuru baba:ni  
 always 1sg cough pierce-REC.PAST  
 I've been coughing a lot.

4.9.5 REPETITION. gala 'again' denotes that an action is repeated. The form galadu also occurs in Margany. Hollingsworth's vocabulary in Curr gives cullar 'more' and cullaro 'to do again', which suggests that the former refers to a noun and the latter to a verb, and this may apply also in Margany.

(268) nuwa gala nula / uḍunda  
 there again 3sg / grass-LOC  
 "There he is there, in the grass" (of a lizard which  
 disappeared in the grass and has just been seen again).

(269) ḥudangu ḥaḥa baḍa:ni yurinYdYa / galadu gayimba  
 dog-ERG 1sgACC bite-REC.PAST yesterday / again today  
 The dog bit me yesterday, and again today.

(270G) gala gudba ḥaḥa  
 again tell 1sgACC  
 (C.McK) Tell me again.

4.9.6 POTENTIAL. The particle gaḥi, glossed 'maybe', denotes possibility or probability in Margany. It follows the word to which it refers and may perhaps be more correctly analysed as a clitic. See also (101).

(271) wandu nuwa wabaṅi / inu bama gaṅi  
 who that go-PRES / 2sgGEN brother maybe  
 Who's that coming? It might be your brother.

(272) mugaṛu gaṅi yugan ḡangingu  
 tomorrow maybe rain fall-PURP  
 It might rain tomorrow.

4.9.7 'NEARLY'. The particle ṅaṛu, signifies that an event almost happened, in both dialects. See also (251).

(273) baringu nula ṅaṅa gutYa:ṅi ṅaṛu  
 stone-INST 3sg lsgACC hit (with missile)-REC.PAST nearly  
 He nearly hit me with a stone.

(274G) ṅaṛu banbuliya  
 nearly fall-PAST-1sg  
 I nearly fell.

4.9.8 'IN VAIN'. The particle gaṛu, known only from Margany examples, signifies that the aim of an action has not been achieved.

(275) inanga ṅaya wambadma:ṅi / gaṛuwinYa ṅaya  
 here-LOC lsg lose-REC.PAST / in vain-now lsg  
 nitʷuṅi  
 look for-PRES  
 I lost it here and now I can't find it.

(276) gaṛu ṅaya gulba:ṅi puṅuṅa / gaṛa nula  
 in vain lsg tell-REC.PAST 3sgGEN-ACC / not 3sg  
 wabangu  
 go-PURP  
 "I told him to go and he won't go."

4.9.9 PURPOSELESS ACTION. Many Australian languages have a particle or a suffix, translatable 'just' or 'only', denoting a more or less purposeless action, as in 'I'm just looking around (that's all, not doing anything)' or 'He (just) hit me, for nothing'. Thus in Bidjara yugu would be used in both these cases. In Margany and Gunya the function illustrated in the former example is fulfilled by the particle ḡanu while the idea of '(hitting) for nothing, for no reason' is denoted by an inflected form of a noun guḡu, whose meaning is not known. The locative guḡuṅa is attested in Margany and Gunya (RR) and the ergative or instrumental guḡuṅu in Gunya (C.McK).

In (278G) ḡanu seems to denote 'just' or 'only' in the sense 'nothing but' rather than in the sense 'to no purpose'.

(277) ḡanu ṅaya wabaliṅi  
 just lsg go-PROX-PRES  
 I'm just walking around.

(278G) ṅunʷdʷa guma ḡanu  
 face blood just  
 (C.McK) His face is covered with blood.

- (279) *ŋaŋa balga:ŋi / guḍuŋga*  
 lsgACC hit-REC.PAST / for nothing  
 That bloke hit me for nothing.

4.9.10 POSSESSIVE PARTICLE. The particle *magunʔa*, attested in Margany only, emphasises ownership and is translated 'own'.

- (280) *ŋaʔyu yadaman gandi / no / ŋaya gandilu ŋaʔyu*  
 lsgGEN horse take / no / lsg take-PURP lsgGEN  
*magunʔa*  
 own  
 Take my horse. No, I'll take my own.

4.9.11 DEMONSTRATIVE PARTICLE. *bala* may be a demonstrative particle; Mrs. Shillingsworth has translated it as "that's the one". See also (239).

- (281) *ini bala*  
 here that  
 Here. (in answer to 'Where are you?')
- (282) *ŋuwa bala biḍal mudga waḍuŋi*  
 there that woman good cook-PRES  
 That woman's the best cook in the camp.
- (283) *ini bala ŋaʔyu yamba*  
 here that lsgGEN camp  
 I always camp here.

#### 4.10 MISCELLANEOUS CLITICS

The suffix *:-nʔa ~ -winʔa* is used to signify a changed situation and can be translated 'now' or 'then' according to the tense of the verb. The allomorph *:-nʔa* occurs after final /a/ and /i/ and *-winʔa* occurs after /u/; there are no examples where it follows a consonant. There are probably no restrictions to the type of word this clitic can follow, although there are no examples where it is attached to a verb. See also (261) and (275).

- (284) *bawuda ŋanaŋu yuḍi / ḍumba:nʔa ŋana ḍalaŋi*  
 kangaroo lpl-GEN meat / sheep-now lpl eat-PRES  
 We used to eat kangaroos but now we eat sheep.
- (285) *gamu yurinʔdʔa / yama:nʔa*  
 water yesterday / none-now  
 "Water been there yesterday but there's no more."
- (286) *guŋuŋga ŋaya bindala / guḍuŋga:nʔa ŋaya bindaŋi*  
 humpy-LOC lsg sit-PAST / house-LOC-now lsg sit-PRES  
 I used to live in a humpy but now I live in a house.

*manda* and *munda* may be two different morphemes; however, the first vowel is sometimes unclear. They have been heard only in Gunya and their function is not known; all

known examples are therefore given. Examples (287-291) are from Mrs. McKellar and (292-298) from Charlie McKellar. On a couple of occasions *manda* has been heard as a separate word, with a primary stress, and is written separately, but this may be due to the speaker's hesitancy.

- (287) *banʔamanda wadʔayinɔana*  
 many- go-CONT-PRES-3p1  
 They are going.
- (288) *unayangiyamunda* (?[wɔnarɔngiyamɔnda])  
 lie-CONT-FUT-1sg-  
 "I feel sleepy."
- (289) *ɔnananinʔ wadʔandanamunda*  
 that go-PRES-3p1- (?)  
 Someone's coming. (?)
- (290) *ɔadgangiyamunda*  
 go in-PURP-1sg-  
 I'm going to go in (to the water, for a bath).
- (291) *gaɔamunda imbalinɔiya* / *unayangiyamundawinɔiya*  
 not- hear-REFL-PRES-1sg / lie-CONT-FUT-1sg- -??  
 "I don't feel good. I want a sleep." (imbali-, literally  
 'hear oneself', seems to mean 'feel good'. *winɔiya* may be  
*wiyinɔiya* 'be PRES-1sg'; see 4.11.)
- (292) *banʔamanda inguyanila*  
 big- grow-CONT-PRES-3sg  
 The baby's growing up now.
- (293) *uɔun inguyanila manda*  
 grass grow-CONT-PRES-3sg  
 The grass is growing.
- (294) *dʔipumanda wiyinila*  
 small- be-PRES-3sg  
 It's getting small.
- (295) *dʔipumanda gamu*  
 small- water  
 The water's getting low.
- (296) *buwanʔ manda waganila*  
 hot rise-PRES-3sg  
 "The summer's coming in."
- (297) *ugamanda wiyinila*  
 dark be-PRES-3sg  
 It's getting dark.
- (298) *ɔuɔumanda ganɔyanila* (*ganayanila* ?)  
 sun- come-CONT-PRES-3sg  
 The sun's rising.

The above examples from Charlie McKellar were all



elicited in a single recording session. Other sentences elicited at the same time in which *manda* was not used (and, at least in some cases, not accepted) included 'the sun's setting' and 'I'm getting sick/getting better/getting worse'.

A suffix *-na* occurs in two sentences in the Margany corpus. The first was repeated without the *-na*.

- (299) *gaṛa inḍa gunda waba:ni / ṇaya yudi wa:luna*  
 not 2sg before go-REC.PAST / 1sg meat give-PURP-  
*inaṇa*  
 2sgACC

If you had come here before I would have given you some meat.

- (300) *buḍina banʔdʔuma*  
 fire(wood)- chop-PLU  
 "Split that log!"

A suffix *-la*, possibly an adverb formative, occurs in Margany in:

- (301) *matʔala waba / ɔambalmundu*  
 watch- go / snake-ABL  
 Watch out for snakes as you go along. (i.e. Go watchfully...?)

*-mi* occurs in the Margany sentence:

- (302) *gaṇḍa nuwami / baɔa:nʔdʔu*  
 spider there- / bite-POT  
 "Watch that spider, he might bite."

*-:ndi* occurs in the Margany word *gaṛa:ndi* 'no' (as answer to a question), from *gaṛa* 'no', 'not'.

#### 4.11 COPULA VERB

A possible copula verb *wiyi*, meaning 'to be' (and/or perhaps 'to become') occurs in the speech of Charlie McKellar and possibly also of Mrs. McKellar (see (291)). The same verb, with the same function, is common in Bidjara.

- (303) *gulbaliya ma:ɔa / gaɔa ɔadba wiyiliya*  
 tell-PAST-1sg boss / not sick be-PAST-1sg  
 "I told [the boss] I wasn't sick."

- (304) *ṇuta ɔawul wagaṇila / ɔawul wiyiṇila*  
 dog anger rise-PRES-3sg / anger be-PRES-3sg  
 The dog's growling.

See also (294) and (297), and note the similar use of *waga* 'to rise, to climb', in examples (296) and (304).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank most of all my informants, Mrs. Jessie Shillingsworth, Mrs. Margaret McKellar, Mrs. Ruby Richardson, Charlie McKellar and Fred McKellar for their help. None of them found the task of answering questions about a long-disused and half forgotten language congenial, but all were friendly and tolerant. I am very grateful also to Mrs. Hazel McKellar for her help and hospitality (not only to me, but to my wife and five children as well) and to various other Cunnamulla people who helped in small ways.

Thanks also to Barry Foster for taking the trouble to unearth and send me his wordlist, to Dr. Norman Tindale for permission to use his, to John Dymock and to the Queensland Lands Department for their historical research on my behalf - especially the former for his very comprehensive notes - and to the staff of the Queensland Herbarium for identifying plant specimens. Finally, and in some ways most importantly, to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies which funded the research (including my salary), to Monash University which provided office accommodation, equipment and typing, and to many members of the staff of both. As the research was spread out over twelve years I will not mention their names.

## TEXT

The following brief story, describing how a man would camouflage himself in order to hunt emus, is in Margany. The version given is an edited combination of two versions actually given by Mrs. Shillingsworth.

No other texts could be obtained.

1. nula waba:ni / gurunyu  
3sg go-REC.PAST / alone  
He would go on his own.
2. ḡaninydya nula nudbali:ni  
mud-LOC 3sg roll-REFL-REC.PAST  
He would roll in the mud.
3. and ḡala nula gatyu:ni yanḡinga  
bush 3sg tie-REC.PAST waist-LOC  
He would tie bushes round his waist.
4. wamadu nula namba:ni ḡaninydy(u?)  
spear 3sg smear-REC.PAST mud-INST (?)  
He would smear mud on his spear.
5. gulbariḡu nula waba:ni / wamadubari  
emu-DAT 3sg go-REC.PAST / spear-CON  
He would go after emus with the spear.

## VOCABULARY

The vocabulary is in two parts. First is an alphabetical Margany-Gunya/English vocabulary, which gives only brief glosses; more detailed glosses with notes on the reliability of the forms or translations are given in the second part, which is arranged in semantic fields. However, notes or cross references on derived, reduplicated or other compound forms are not given in the second part if the information is readily available in the first part.

Pronouns and other grammatical words (such as those discussed in the various sub-sections of 4.9) are included only in the alphabetical list. One word, a place name, is included only in the semantic list because it cannot be phonemicised.

See also the Addendum (abbreviated Add below) for some late additions.

## ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

Order: a, a:, b, d, d, d, d<sup>y</sup>, g, i, i:, k, l, m,  
n, n, n, n<sup>y</sup>, o, p, r, r, t, t, t, t<sup>y</sup>, u, u:, w, y.

Strict alphabetical order is not adhered to in the case of forms which **are derived** by one or other method of word formation (see 3.4 and its sub-sections, 3.5.3 and 3.6.4) from a root which is known or believed to exist currently as a free form. Such derived forms (including two word compounds) immediately follow the root (the first root if there are more than one) and are inset. Thus, for example, *ḡaḡima* follows *ḡaḡi*, from which it is derived, and precedes *ḡaḡil*. Where the root is not attested as a free form but is believed to exist as such it is given in parentheses.

baba, M: to stab, to sew (see also <i>gunkuru</i> )	baḡi, M: maybe
babaya, G: sister	baḡu, G: river
babi, to cut	baḡyidi, G: language name
babiny, father's mother	baga, tree
baḡa, to bite	baga, to dig
baḡara, see <i>bundan<sup>y</sup></i>	bagul, hill, mountain
baḡi, to be torn, broken or otherwise damaged; see also <i>buyu, gaḡi, yamba</i>	baḡura, coolibah
- baḡili, G: to fall (of rain)	bakubaku, bellbird
baḡid, mussel	bala, M: that one
bada, G: to scratch	bala, M: leg, calf
badabada, mad, stupid	balbi, to talk about
badbiḡa, porcupine	balga, M: to hit, to kill
badga, G: to scratch	balgabiḡa, M: coot (bird)
badḡi, ankle, G also shin	balgara, root
badḡiri, M: dogwood or curran bush	balun <sup>y</sup> , axe
badi, M: to cry	baḡa, G: leg
baḡa:du, G: today	baḡin <sup>y</sup> , G: untrue, a lie
baḡi, G: jealous	baḡka, M: string, rope
	baḡpara, M: hawk sp., policeman
	baḡu, G: child
	baḡyku, frog sp.

- bama, M: brother  
 bambu, to open (eye, mouth), also  
   G: to tear, pull apart  
 banba, G: to stab, to sew  
 banbana, M: to shiver  
 banbu, G: to fall  
 - banbuma, G: to drop  
 banbuđu, catfish  
 banda, G: to track  
 bandađa, sky  
 bandi, beeswax  
 bandil, M: bark  
 bangad, back  
 bangani, M: sandalwood  
 bangara, M: nest  
 bangara, M: needlewood  
 bangu, M: nit  
 bapa, sand goanna  
 bađa, penis, also G: tail  
 - bađdayi, G: male  
 bađin, G: dirt  
 bađgara, M: cloud  
 banYa, G: big  
 - banYa:ri, G: big  
 banYdYa, boney bream  
 banYdYa, to sing  
 banYdYađa, pine tree  
 banYdYi, G: to light (fire)  
 banYdYi, M: to come out, to blow  
   (wind)  
 banYdYima, G: to make (fire)  
 banYdYu, to chop  
 banYdYud, G: belly, pauch  
 - banYdYudbayi, G: pregnant  
 banYma, M: to count  
 banga, to go across  
 bangu, G: knife  
 bangun, G: head  
 bapapanY, G: pup  
 bapiri, G: fart  
 bapuđu, G: personal name  
 bari, stone, money  
 barinY, thunder  
 baramba, thistle  
 baranY, M: axe  
 baru, M: river  
 baruwađu, M: Milky Way  
 bati, G: to cry  
 baťa, West  
 baťa, G: to hold  
 baťa, M: deep  
 baťa, stomach, belly  
 - baťaibari, pregnant  
 - baťa manda, full (of stomach),  
   satisfied  
 batYi, clothes, swag, bed  
 bawinY, M: soon  
 bawuda, red kangaroo  
 baya, bird  
 bayu, G: pipe  
 bidal, M: woman, girl  
 bigu, G: another, different  
 - bidungali, G: different  
 bidgil, G: chips  
 bidji, M: tail  
 bidji:, G: turtle  
 bidYu, G: to throw  
 bidYudu, G: possibly a moiety name  
 bigi, M: beak  
 bigibigi, G: pig  
 bigiri, dream  
 bikanY, M: (finger or toe) nail,  
   claw  
 bikara, M: strong  
 bila, G: apart  
 bilabila, G: diverse  
 bilanY, pigweed  
 bimbul, G: catfish sp.  
 bindal, G: clever  
 bindi, caterpillar  
 bindidi, M: to itch, G: to scratch(?)  
 binbida, see binbira  
 binbiri, ribs  
 binbira, budgerigar (G: also  
   binbida)  
 binda, to sit, to stay  
 bindal, M: clever (as a hunter)  
 bindinY, G: near  
 bindiri, mulga  
 binga, see dina  
 bingubingu, wild banana  
 bingunY, G: (finger, toe) nail, claw  
 binga, to pinch  
 bintada, M: pied cormorant  
 binđu, sinew  
 binYdYi, G: kurrajong  
 biri, M: to scratch  
 birinY, M: all  
 biratYu, waterhen  
 biťa, G: wide  
 biťa, night, dark  
 bitubiđu, hawk sp.  
 bitYu, M: to throw  
 biwinY (?), M: spear  
 biya, G: flame  
 biya, to hunt  
 biyaga, tobacco  
 bi:ba, bi:pa, G: paper  
 buba, to rub  
 bubanY, carney (lizard)  
 bubuđu, whirlwind  
 buđa, ashes  
 - buđabuđa, G: white  
 buđibuđu, G: lungs (see Add)

- budunY, G: mosquito  
 buda, to get up, to wake up  
 buda, M: feather, G: duck's down  
 budanY, M: another, more  
 budanYbudanY, buln-buln (parrot)  
 budba, M: to come  
 budbal, whitewood  
 budgu, shield  
 budgu, G: bottle tree  
 budgul, G: daughter  
 buđi, fire  
 - buđibar̄i, M: brother-in-law  
 buđibaka, G: place name  
 budYabudYa, light (in weight)  
 budYigat, G: cat  
 bugili, crayfish  
 bugu, M: blunt, and see d̄ili, maḡa  
 bugunY, antbed  
 bukuł, daughter  
 bukunY, quiet, still  
 bula, they (dual)  
 buladı, G: two  
 bulbabaḡi, M: jealous  
 bulgura, M: dust  
 buliki, M: cattle  
 bulu, food  
 buła, G: calf of leg  
 bułanY, G: sp. nocturnal bird  
 bułanYbułanY, G: parrot sp.  
 bułYa, to suck  
 bułYu, M: lump  
 bumbađ, G: twigs, small branches  
 bumbaḡa, mulga snake  
 bumbinY, G: smoking  
 (bundanY)  
 - bundanY badara, G: to be tired  
 bundunYma, M: to shake (tr.)  
 bunduru, daughter's child  
 bunba, to lift  
 bundu, G: to run (of blood)  
 bundunY, M: white  
 bunganY, plain turkey  
 bunu, M: bank  
 bunYdYa, son-in-law  
 bunYul, lignum  
 buḡa, M: penis  
 buḡinY, M: mosquito  
 bungu, swelling, to swell  
 - bunguli, to swell  
 bungu, to smoke (tobacco), also  
 M: to blow  
 - bungudanY, G: snoring  
 buri, M: to be tired, to be sick  
 butu, buttocks, behind  
 buḡinY, G: semen  
 bułYa, M: sharp  
 bułYu, deep
- buwada, G: brother  
 buwadi, G: parrot sp.  
 buwa|buwa|, M: echo  
 buwanY, hot, hot weather, also  
 M: daytime  
 - buwanYgil(a), M: hot weather  
 buwinY, G: a lump (see Add)  
 buya, G: to blow, to smoke  
 (tobaćco)  
 buyu, breath  
 - buyu bađi, M: to be out of  
 breath  
 - buyu biđYu, G: to breathe  
 - buyu biłYu, M: to breathe  
 - buyu guḡi, G: to be out of  
 breath  
 bu:dYa, M: brother
- d̄aba, G: to ask for  
 d̄abi, to send, to let go  
 d̄ada, to excrete  
 d̄adı, G: to move (tr.)  
 d̄adadi (?) G: teal duck  
 d̄adba, sick  
 d̄adga, to go in  
 d̄adał, edible grub  
 d̄adał, G: saddle  
 d̄adı, G: wilga (tree)  
 d̄ađu, M: to tear  
 d̄agu, G: to ask  
 d̄agunY, elder brother  
 d̄aka, M: dust, ground, dirt  
 d̄akaḡa, water snail  
 d̄ala, M: leaves  
 d̄ala, to eat, to drink  
 d̄alanY, tongue  
 d̄albanY, edible grub  
 (dałinY)  
 - dałinYbara, cheeky, disobedient  
 d̄ambal, snake  
 d̄ambudu, M: native cat  
 d̄ami, fat  
 d̄anda, to copulate  
 d̄andi, G: ground  
 d̄andi, M: to be wet  
 d̄ana, they (plural)  
 d̄ana, to stand  
 - d̄anma, to stand up (tr.)  
 d̄andanY, frog  
 d̄andi, river wattle  
 d̄anginY, M: grey heron  
 d̄anu, G: just, only  
 d̄aninY, M: mud  
 d̄anYbad, G: quandong (tree)  
 d̄angi, M: to fall  
 - d̄angima, M: to drop  
 d̄angil, wild orange  
 d̄angu, to take out

- dangu, M: bilby (animal)  
 daṅuḍ, possum  
 dara, thigh  
 darawuli, M: trousers  
 dari, G: language  
 daralawidi, G: pig  
 dararu, M: black cormorant  
 darawulu, G: trousers  
 darinada, G: cloud  
 darinara, M: cloud  
 daṅa, stick  
 daṅa, M: pelican  
 daṅi, to like  
 - daṅima, M: to like  
 daṅubira, waddy  
 daṅya, to kick  
 dawadany, G: spitting rain  
 dawul, angry, savage  
 - dawul waga, to get wild  
 dawuru, quickly, straight away  
 da:, mouth  
 da:gin, G: sock  
 diba, liver  
 dibala, M: urine  
 dibidYara, duck sp.  
 dida, sister  
 didba, to wake, to wake up (tr.),  
 also M: to chase  
 didgi, son (of man)  
 diga, to scold  
 digadi, white cockatoo  
 diginy, G: gall (body)  
 diguru, G: lightning  
 dilgan, G: moon  
 dili, eye  
 - dilibugu, M: blind  
 - dilimuga, G: blind  
 dimbany, G: vagina  
 dimburany, lizard sp.  
 dingdu, to know  
 dina, foot  
 - dina binga, M: to sneak up  
 - dina matya, dina wala, M: to  
 track  
 dinba, G: to taste  
 dinbi, G: to disappear  
 dindakuru, M: trip  
 dindidindi, M: willy wagtail  
 dindiny, M: bee  
 dingany, M: step cut in tree trunk  
 dingil, straight  
 dinid, M: clitoris  
 dinimbulu, G: place name  
 diniyada, M: place name  
 dintiny, G: rosewood  
 dinbudinbu, G: white-headed stilt  
 dinvil, M: blade (of spear, knife,  
 axe)
- dintiny, G: rosewood  
 diriny, M: bloodwood  
 diru, G: lapunyah (tree)  
 diru, apostle bird  
 diṅi, louse  
 diwala, M: many  
 diwiny, G: hopbush  
 diwuru, M: lapunyah (tree)  
 di:, G: tea  
 di:gal, G: itchy (?)  
 di:ti, soldier bird  
 dudad, urine  
 dudu(ni), G: to scratch  
 duḍu, G: sun, daytime  
 duḍuli, to slip over  
 dugun, G: flood  
 dula, G: sandalwood  
 dulba, to put out (fire, with  
 water), G: to shut, to block  
 dulgaḍa, log  
 dulu, M: to put in  
 duluny, ironwood  
 duḷidi, centipede  
 duḷu, M: kingfisher  
 dumba, to jump, to hop  
 dumba, sheep  
 dumba, to erect  
 dumbiny, G: smoke  
 dundal, M: shrimp  
 dundu, G: body  
 dunga, to dip up (water)  
 duṅbany, leech  
 duṅuny, M: smoke  
 dupa, G: to crawl  
 dura, G: dust  
 duru, M: sun  
 duruny, hair  
 durura, G: dust  
 duṅi, M: elbow  
 duṅyu, M: narrow  
 duwad, alive  
 duwadi, shirt  
 duwana, son (of woman) (also  
 duwan, G, duwany, M)  
 duwiḷ, bower bird  
 du:bu, G: soap
- dyibidYara, G: duck sp.  
 dyindidyindi, G: willy wagtail  
 dyinguyal, M: parrot sp.  
 dyipu, G: small  
 dyuga, G: sugar (see Add)
- gabaḍ, armpit  
 gabalgal, G: old man  
 (gabid)  
 - gabiḍbari, G: hungry  
 - gabiḍa, to be hungry

- gabiṛa, G: lily  
 gabu, G: to return  
 gabuḍi, G: hat  
 gabuḍi, carpet snake  
 gabun, M: child  
 gabunʸ, egg, brains  
 gabuti, M: hat  
 gaḍa, M: head  
 - gaḍa gunari, M: bald  
 gaḍi, to move (intr.)  
 gaḍi, M: to tell a lie  
 gaḍiya, G: mother's brother,  
     father-in-law  
 gaḍu, ant  
 gadbu, north  
 gadga, hip  
 gadgal, G: leaves  
 gadganʸ, M: sparrowhawk  
 gadgil, G: hard  
 gadkanʸ, G: sparrowhawk  
 gadkinʸ, windbreak  
 gaḍa, G: no, not  
 gaḍila, sand  
 gaḍugaḍu, G: quickly, hurry up  
 gadʸu, G: to tie  
 gagada, M: moon  
 gagaladanʸ, pink cockatoo  
 gagula, river red gum  
 gagungudu, kookaburra  
 gala, to be frightened  
 gala, again  
 - galadu, M: again  
 galburu, M: sandhill  
 galga, to pour, to spill (tr.)  
 - galgama, G: to boil (trans.)  
 galu, G: testicles  
 gamara, M: left (hand side)  
 gamba, to cover, to bury, to shut  
     (eyes, mouth)  
 gambari, far  
     (gambi)  
 - gambinʸma, M: to bring back  
 - gambiṛa, M: to come back  
 gambul, G: bloodwood  
 gaminu, M: elder sister  
 gaminʸ, mother's mother  
 gamu, water  
 gaṇa, G: yamstick  
 gaṇa, to come  
 gaṇamala, G: place name  
 gaṇi, to bring, to take  
 gandi, M: to call, to name  
 gandi, M: to get  
 gandu, G: child  
 gangima, to tease  
 ganṇanu, M: mother's brother  
 ganuru, canoe  
 ganḍa, M: spider  
 ganḍinʸ waba, M: to sneak up  
 ganṇanʸ, G: cheeky  
 ganʸdʸara, to go down, to get down  
 ganʸdʸibul, G: policeman  
 ganʸga, to swallow  
 gapunʸ, M: small  
 gari, yellowbelly (golden perch)  
 garu, grey (haired)  
 - garugaru, G: old  
 gara, to step on  
 gara, M: no, not  
 - gara:ndi, M: no, not  
 garadanʸ, G: bilious  
 garu, M: in vain  
 garudu, G: bottle  
 gaṭunʸ, G: shrimp  
 gaṭi, bitter, salty  
 - gaṭi baḍi, G: to be sick  
 gaṭʸa, rotten  
 gaṭʸabiṛi, M: wild lemon  
 gaṭʸin, M: rainbow  
 gaṭʸu, M: to tie  
 gaṭʸuwilaḍa, M: turtle  
 gawiṛi, gruie tree  
     (gawuḍ)  
 - gawuḍbaṛi, G: desiring sexual  
     intercourse  
 gawula, young (of animal)  
 gawun, dress  
 gayadambal, G: old man  
 gayimba, M: now, today  
 gidʸima, G: to tickle  
 gilagila, galah  
 gilyala, G: many  
 giyadal, giyaḍu, G: cattle (see Add)  
 guba, G: to burn (intr.)  
     (guba)  
 - gubabaṛi, M: old man  
 - gubaguba, M: old man  
 gubal, M: hollow in tree  
 gubi, clever  
 gubi, to whistle  
 gubil, blue-tongue lizard, also  
     G: personal name  
 gubuḍu, gidgea (tree)  
 guḍala, eaglehawk  
 guḍari, see maṇa  
 guḍi, M, guḍin, G: red ochre  
 - guḍigudḍi, red  
 guḍu, see 4.9.9  
     (gudu)  
 - guḍudanʸ, see maṇa  
 - guḍuli, G: to close (eyes)  
 gudalburu, M: magpie  
 gudama, M: to stop (tr.)  
 gudba, bobbies (fish)

gudbara, M: a few  
 gudbin<sup>y</sup>, G: bare, bald  
 gudga, G: nape, back of neck  
 gudgan, long  
 gudgi, G: strong  
 gudgud, mopoke  
 gudi:lin<sup>y</sup>, G: peewee  
 gudul, black  
 guḍigūḍi, G: winding  
 guḍun<sup>y</sup>, G: alone  
 guḍuru, M, guḍu:, G: blowfly,  
 maggot  
 guḍu:gun<sup>y</sup>, G: dove  
 gudya, honey, sugarbag  
 gudya, G: hit with missile  
 guga, pot, pannikin  
 gugumba, fog  
 gukunburu, M: dove  
 gula, G: red kangaroo  
 gula, G: to sing out  
 gulan<sup>y</sup>, net, fish trap  
 gula:budin<sup>y</sup>, G: ball  
 gulba, to say, to tell  
 gulbari, emu  
 gulguḥ, G: string  
 guli, M: billycan  
 guliḍi, snake sp.  
 gulin<sup>y</sup>, G: louse  
 gultapa, M: whistler duck  
 guludku, G: brolga  
 gulyagulya, M: weak  
 gulyud, M: tiger snake  
 guma, blood  
 gumaḍa, honey bread  
 gumilbada, M: heron sp.  
 gumira, to sulk  
 gumun, hawk sp.  
 gunda, to steal  
 gundi, house  
 gundi, to break (intr.), to  
 die  
 gunjara, M: brolga  
 guḥu, humpy  
 gurun, G: curran bush  
 guna, faeces  
 gunari, plain (see also gaḍa)  
 gunda, M: already, G: yesterday  
 gundu, away  
 gungal, husband  
 gunga:lin<sup>y</sup>, tea tree  
 guni, G: to hit  
 gunkuru, cough, coughing  
 - gunkuru baba, M: to cough  
 gunma, to break  
 guṇa, G: faeces, guts (see Add)  
 guṇga, raw, green (of fruit)  
 guṇma, M: wood duck

gunya, G: language name  
 gunydyi, G: to hide  
 gunydyu, G: slow  
 gunyi, G: to hide (intr.)  
 - gunyili, M: to hide (intr.)  
 - gunyima, to hide (tr.)  
 gungari, G: language name  
 guṇu, M: food  
 gupu, G: elbow  
 gupu, short  
 guragura, G: clover  
 guri, G: clothes  
 guruguru, G: all, completely  
 gurara, M: up there, high  
 gurun<sup>y</sup>(u), M: alone  
 guta, south  
 guturu, swan  
 guṭaguṭa, bird sp.  
 guṭya, M: to hit with a missile  
 guwaḍu, M: crab  
 guwan<sup>y</sup>mangadi, M: place name  
 guyaḍa, wife  
 - guyaḍambal, G: wife  
 guyan, M: stone knife, grinding  
 stone (?)  
 guyibin<sup>y</sup>, M: curlew  
 guyidi, black bream  
 guyu, fish  
 gu:, nose  
  
 ibalu, you (dual)  
 ida, to leave (tr.), to put down  
 - idama, M: to pile up  
 - idari, M: to run away with  
 idi, G: to run away with, M: to  
 run away  
 ida, M: you (plural)  
 idginidgin, G: cheeky  
 idin<sup>y</sup>, C: noisy  
 - idin<sup>y</sup>idin<sup>y</sup>, G: noisy  
 igaru, slow, quiet  
 igura, iguri, see maṇa  
 ilin<sup>y</sup>, G: coot (bird)  
 il<sup>y</sup>ari, M: noisy  
 imba, to hear, to listen  
 - imbali, G: to feel well  
 imbin<sup>y</sup>ma, to hang up (tr.)  
 inḍi, M: anus  
 ina, G: here  
 - inaḍi, M: on this side  
 - inagadin<sup>y</sup>, G: on this side  
 - inan<sup>y</sup>, G: here, this  
 - inan<sup>y</sup>gani, G: here  
 - ina:da, G: here  
 ina, ini, M: here  
 inana, you (acc.)  
 inda, you  
 ini, see ina



- inu, your  
 inYdYimalu, M: place name  
 inYdYu, M: to smoothe, to sweep  
 inggaḍa, rockhole, native well  
 ingu, G: to grow, to sweep (?)  
 ipanY, M: dew  
 iṛa, G, iṛa, M: tooth  
  
 maḍa, G: run (of water) (?)  
 maḍamaḍa, see maṭamaṭa  
 (maḍi)  
 - maḍil, M: groundsheet, blanket  
 - maḍima, to spread  
 mada, black goanna  
 mada, M: to get  
 madbuṛanY, bicycle lizard  
 madga, M: gully  
 madgama, M: to gather up  
 madganY, language name  
 madgara, M: girl  
 madinYmadinY, M: Seven Sisters  
 maḍa, G: to run  
 maḍa, G: hand  
 - maḍaguwaḍu, G: crab  
 - maḍa maga:linY or  
   maḍamaga:linY, G: policeman  
 maḍi, man, person  
 - maḍi gabun, M: boy  
 maḍYambidanY, G: bat  
 magara, M: crotch, fork  
 magida, copi, clay  
 magunya, M: own (see 4.9.10)  
 maka, bone, shin  
 - makabinḍanY, G: thin  
 - makamaka, thin  
 mala, G: arm, M: wing  
 malaḍ, box tree  
 malu, shade  
 - malumalu, shadow  
 maḷa, M: mark  
 mamadu, M: crested pigeon  
 mambu, M: song  
 maṇanY, M: burr  
 maṇḍa, G: vegetable food  
 maṇḍa, see baṭi  
 maṇḍi, M: to burn (intr.)  
 - maṇḍinY, M: cooked  
 manaru, G: wood duck  
 manataṛa, G: place name  
 mandari, G: lazy, tired  
 mandiri, boot, shoe  
 mangad, bag  
 mangu, beefwood  
 mani, G: money  
 maninY, lightning  
 manu, throat  
 maṇmada, G: duck sp.  
 maṇa, ear  
  
 - maṇabugu, deaf  
 - maṇa guḍḍanY, G: deaf  
 - maṇa iguṛa, M, maṇa iguṛi, G:  
   to forget  
 maṇala, black duck  
 mangala, G: sand hill  
 manganY, young woman  
 mangu, M: arm  
 mangumangu, G, maṇkumaṇku, M: mouse  
 maṇa, M: hand  
 maṇanY, mother's mother's brother  
 maṭamaṭa or maḍamaḍa, G: soon  
 matya, long ago  
 matya, see dina  
 - matyala, M: watchfully (?)  
 matYambidanY, M: bat  
 mayada, sister  
 mayi, M: vegetable food  
 ma:bu, G: many  
 ma:ḍa, boss  
 ma:dYin, G: matches  
 miḍa, G: charcoal  
 miḍaḍ, frost, also G: cold weather,  
   winter  
 miḍili, to shine  
 milamila, G: poor fellow  
 milgan, M: forehead  
 milgin, G: milk, cattle  
 milinY, M: tired  
 miḷyaḍ, tears  
 mimanY, G: ant sp.  
 mimi, lips  
 minga, G: bank of river  
 minanY, vagina  
 minya, M: full  
 minYdYidi, leopard wood  
 minYdYu, to peep  
 minggu, G: fork (of tree)  
 mira, G: high, up there  
 miṭi, M: hard  
 miṭi, M: to float  
 miya, G: to wait  
 muda, G: black soil  
 mudun, G: song  
 muda, see muṛa  
 mudga, good  
 mudgunY, old woman  
 mudgunY, G: bark (see Add)  
 mudi, water rat  
 muduwadi, G: language name  
 muḍun, ant sp.  
 muga, G: blind  
 - mugamuga, G: blind  
 muga, G: to get  
 mugadi, hail  
 mugana, M: son's child, G: son(?)  
 muganY, gum

mugaru, tomorrow  
 mugu, knee  
 mukada, G: burr  
 mukin, G: bumble tree  
 mukiri, M: by and by  
 mula, to vomit  
 - mulagadanY, G: vomit  
 - mulanY, M: flood, vomit  
 - mulanYmulanY, G: nauseated  
 muju, spring  
 muma, M: to point  
 munda, M: to hold  
 mundu, G: together  
 munbima, M: to mix  
 munda, dilly bag  
 munga, M: to block  
 munṅidanY, M: crab  
 munanY, M: soft  
 muṅi, G: soft  
 muṅinY, G: spider  
 munYdyā, body hair  
 munYdyul, G: pubic hair  
 mungunY, wallaroo  
 muru, nulla-nulla  
 muṛa, yam sp. (G: also muda)  
 mutun, shingleback lizard  
 muyi, M: to leave alone  
 muyulmuyui, M: sandfly

**Note:** It is not clear whether n can occur initially. Initial n and (apparent) n are grouped together.

naga, G: to see  
 nalga, G: horn  
 - nalganalga, horn  
 namba, M: to paint, cover  
 nandu, M: to wait  
 nanga, M: young  
 nangaḍu, G: young man, boy  
 nanigudu, G: goat  
 nari, name  
 nawul, nawud, G: swag  
 na:, M: to see  
 nidan, owl sp.  
 niki:, M: charcoal  
 (nilya)  
 - nilyananinY, G: now  
 nima, M: to ask for  
 nimanY, G: ant sp.  
 nimbinY, navel  
 nimbudanY, sneeze  
 nimun, fly  
 nindinY, G: bee  
 nindunY, M: diver (bird)  
 nitYu, M: to look for  
 niyaḍu, star

ni:ibuṛa, G: sandfly  
 nuda, to smell  
 nudba, M: to roll (tr.)  
 nuka, M: to taste  
 nula, he, she, it  
 nunda, to kiss  
 nunguḍ, nasal mucus  
 nunu, always  
 nunu, his, her, its  
 nununa, him, her, it  
 nuwa, M: that (pl nuwanYdyada)

nabi, to wash  
 naḍinY, father's father (see Add)  
 naḍagada, M: bulrushes  
 naḍba, east  
 naḍgu, grey kangaroo or wallaby  
 naḍa, M: testicles  
 naḍyari, M: to be thirsty  
 nala, G: crotch  
 naiga, G: to speak, to talk  
 nali, we two (dual)  
 nalku, mate, relation (?)  
 nalawida, G: crested pigeon  
 nalYj, saliva  
 namala, G: female  
 namanY, G: yam sp.  
 namara, M: place name  
 namun, breast, milk  
 nana, me  
 nanga, G: to lay (eggs), to give birth  
 nangari, to feel hot, also G: to be thirsty  
 nandi, to speak, to talk  
 nana, we (plural)  
 nanga, M, nangaḍ, G: beard  
 nani, what?, something  
 - nanimirli, M: how many?  
 nanmu, chin  
 nanYbaḍ, sweat  
 - nanYbara, M: to sweat  
 nananY, M: that (mentioned before)  
 nari, M: to disappear  
 narigi, G: language name  
 naru, nearly  
 naṭama, to dry (tr.)  
 naṭi, mate  
 naṭyu, my  
 nawa, yes  
 nawudnawud, frog sp.  
 naya, I  
 nandin, G: nasal mucus  
 nuba, G: over there  
 - nubaḍi, M, nubaḍadinY, G: on the other side  
 - nubanY, M: over there

- nubaŋ, G: frog sp., also personal name  
 nubarī, M: to show  
 nuda, M: dog  
 nuḍa, to move (intr.)  
 - nuḍama, M: to move (tr.)  
 nuduma, G: to heap up  
 nulgunʸ, M: watching, as a spectator  
 nulunʸdyuʸu, M: tadpole  
 nuʌku, cheek  
 numbi, G: to swim  
 numbida(a), G: frog sp.  
 numbinʸ, anus  
 nuna, M: to lie  
 nuna, see nuni  
 nuna, G: that, there  
 - nunagadinʸ, G: on that side  
 - nunanʸ, G: that, there  
 - nunanʸgani, G: that  
 - nunanʸninʸ, G: that  
 nuni, M: someone (inflected forms have stem nuna-)  
 nunʸdʸa, face (G: also nunʸtʸa)  
 nuru, M: some  
 nuṭa, G: dog  
 nuṭi nuṭi, G: bent  
 nuya, G: smart, clever  
  
 uḍinʸ, sore  
 uḍun, grass  
 uḍal, M: waterlily  
 uḍu, G: old  
 uga, G: dark, nighttime  
 ugana, G: to run  
 ugu, hither  
 ula, G: to die  
 ulgu, M: heart  
 umida, M: kidney  
 una, to lie, to sleep  
 uŋa, to chase, to hunt  
 ura, M: two  
 utinʸ, heavy  
 uṭu, M: nape  
  
 waba, to go, to walk  
 wabuḍu, younger brother  
 waḍa, M: to call out  
 waḍi, yes, already, right  
 - waḍiganinʸ, G: right, true  
 - waḍin, M: already, that's true  
 waḍu, to cook, to burn  
 waḍu, G: old (of person)  
 wada, M: to dance  
 wadgu, G: bad  
 - wadgudanʸ, G: old  
 - wadguwadgu, bad  
 wadgunʸ, M: right (hand side)  
  
 waḍa, G: gap  
 wadʸa, G: to go  
 wadʸawadʸa, M: place name  
 wadʸi:n, white woman  
 waga, to rise (of sun), G: also to climb, to go up, and see ḍawui  
 wakada, G: jaw  
 wakan, M: father's sister  
 wakan, crow  
 wakanʸu, M: one  
 wakara, M: jaw  
 wala, see ḍina  
 wala, M: where?  
 walbi, to carry  
 wala, stranger  
 wali, G: catfish sp.  
 walka, G: to look for  
 wamada, wamadu, M, wamaṛa, G: spear  
 wamba, G: silly, also to be lost(?)  
 - wambadma, M: to lose  
 - wambali, G: to be lost  
 - wambana, M: to be lost  
 - wambanma, G: to lose  
 wambu, M: yamstick  
 wanda, G: where?  
 - wandadi, M: how?  
 - wandanʸ, when?  
 wandi, G: dingo  
 wandu, who?  
 wanana, G: queen bee  
 wanba, M: big  
 wanbu, devil, ghost  
 wandi, to climb  
 - wandima, to hang up (tr.)  
 wangui, G also wangud, pillow  
 wanŋu, G: woman  
 waṇḍa, M: road  
 waŋga, chest  
 waŋgu, M: to bark  
 wanʸguli, G: to bark  
 waŋai, boomerang  
 waŋga, M: to be bent  
 - waŋgawanga, M: winding  
 waŋara, G: one  
 waŋud, G: a few  
 waran, M: billabong  
 wara, M: to run  
 waṛibinda, M: to think about  
 wai, scrub  
 wata, G: to play, to dance  
 wata, M: which way?  
 wawuŋga, behind  
 wayanbida, woman  
 wayi, question marker  
 wayilbala, white man (G: also wayibala)

wa:, to give	yama, to do, to say
widbil, G: dogwood	yamal, cod
widgu, on the side, sideways	yamba, camp, place
widila, G: supplejack (tree)	yamba:lin <sup>Y</sup> , G: heron
widila, M: wilga (tree)	yamuru, M: teal duck
widiti, M: peewee	yaŋta, G: personal name
wilpidVuru, dotterel	yangi, M: to limp
wilu, G: curlew	yaŋdi, waist
wilYaru, M: young man	yanYdYa, true
windi, M: to play	yaŋa, yaŋaŋi, yaŋanu, mother
wina, M: near, close	yaŋga, G: like that, that sort
wingat, shoulder	yangi, M: sister
winYan, M: frog sp.	yangud (d?), M: male
winYdYu, to ask	yapany, G: lapunyah (tree)
wira, G: lightning	yatYu, M: flame
wita, M: many	yuda:mu, G: alcohol
wi:, G: to be, to become (as in	yuŋi, meat
dawul wi: to be angry, wadgu wi:	yugan, rain
to get worse, bungu wi: to swell,	yukala, G: pink-eared duck
gatYa wi: to fester)	yulan <sup>Y</sup> , G: skin
yabana, vigorously, hard, fast	yulbi, to push
yabu, yabunu, father	yuli, M: to stoop (perhaps also in
- yabuŋi, M: father	G, but given as 'to creep')
- yabuŋu, kinship term	yu:lin <sup>Y</sup> , G: mud
yaŋa, to pull	yu!ku, G: heart
yaŋi, to laugh	yu!u, M: body
yadaman, horse	yungi, M: to move (camp)
yadga, wind	yuna, hole
yadpa:lan <sup>Y</sup> , M: flat, shallow	yuna <sup>Y</sup> , G: mean, greedy
yaga, cold	yunaŋa, M: to swim across
- yagali, to be cold	yungu, M: to grow
yalka, G: greedy	yurinydYa, M: yesterday
yaluŋ, G: sp. of aquatic plant	yura, G: you (plural)
ya!ga, dry	yu!al, skin, hide
yama, none, nothing	yu:lu, G: you (plural) (?)
	yuwariŋga, M: poor fellow

VOCABULARY IN SEMANTIC FIELDS

Margany and Gunya words are given side by side, Margany on the left, and separated by an oblique line, /. Where there is a dash on one side of the line the word is not known for that dialect. Where there is no oblique line the word is the same in both dialects. If the writer has some doubt about a word a question mark is used and if he thinks it probably wrong it and accompanying references are parenthesised; in the latter case it is usually because he thinks it is the wrong dialect or the wrong meaning and cross-references are given if needed. In some cases a word is parenthesised because it is given by only one informant who is not regarded as very reliable, while other informants give something different.

In general, the source of Margany items is Jessie Shillingsworth; if not, the initials of the informant(s) are given (and these items are regarded as doubtful). Gunya items are accepted as correct if given or accepted by two

informants (one of whom can be Hollingsworth in Curr) and no other informant expresses disagreement or doubt (note that the Hollingsworth list is used only to provide confirmation, never for disagreement). Other Gunya items are regarded as unconfirmed and initials are used to identify the source. Note that Gunya informants are identified by single initials and Margany informants by pairs of initials. The Gunya informants are Margaret McKellar (M), Ruby Richardson (R), Charlie McKellar (C) and Fred McKellar (F). The Margany informants are Jessie Shillingsworth (JS), Doug Young (DY), Baker Lucas (BL), May Clark (MC) and (collected by) Barry Foster (BF). Abbreviations for language or dialect names are Mg (Margany), Gn (Gunya), Bd (Bidjara), Gg (Gunggari), Bj (Badjidi), E (English). Other abbreviations used are n (denied), a (accepted), d (doubted), o (other), u (unknown), poss (possibly), prob (probably), pres (presumably), Lg (language), Sp (species).

To help with the decipherment of notes some examples will now be explained in some detail. Item A15 was given as iṭa for Mg by JS (as indicated by the absence of initials; no identification is given even if other Mg informants also gave the word); for Gn R and C gave it as iṭa, M and F gave it as iṭa but R said that this was not Gn but Mg. As the writer believes that R is probably correct on this point the last part - iṭa, M, F, MgR - is enclosed in brackets. Items B3: the two Mg words were given by (at least) JS, gabalgabal was given by two Gn informants as was gayadambal, but the latter word was not recognised by R. Item B9: baḷu was given by F and accepted by M but assigned to Bj, probably correctly, by R. Item C15: didgi was given for Mg by JS and accepted, but doubtfully, for Gn by R. Item D13: given for Gn by C and known to R but she was not sure what species it applied to. Item E24: R thought C's word was the name of some kind of duck but had no idea what kind. Item 075: note the effect of the comma: (C, "rude") means that the item was given only by C and translated by him as "rude"; (C "rude") would mean that the item was given by two or more informants and translated "rude" by C.

Note that fauna terms (sections D to H) are translated only by common names; no scientific names are given as proper identifications have not been made. Where two names are given the former is the local common name and the latter the "specialists' common name" as found in such sources as Cayley (1971) or McPhee (1959). In a few cases a few words of description are added.

A - *Body Parts and Products*

1.	head	gaḷa	/	bangun	
2.	brain		gabunY		(=egg)
3.	head hair		ḡunY		
4.	grey (haired)		garu		
5.	bald head	gaḷa gunarṭi	/	bangun gudbinY	
6.	forehead	milgan	/	balga	
7.	face		gunYdYa	(F gunYtYa)	
8.	eye		ḡili		
9.	tears		milYad		
10.	nose		gu:		

11.	nasal mucus	nungud	/	gindiŋ, (nungud, C, F, MgR)
12.	mouth		da:	
13.	lips		mimi	
14.	tongue		ḡalan <sup>y</sup>	
15.	teeth	iṭa	/	iṭa, (iṭa, M, F, MgR)
16.	saliva		ḡal <sup>y</sup> i	
17.	ear		maḡa	
18.	cheek		ḡuṭku	
19.	chin		ḡaḡmu	
20.	jaw	wakara	/	wakada
21.	beard	ḡanga	/	ḡangaḡ
22.	throat		manu	
23.	nape	uṭu	/	gudga
24.	shoulder		wiḡal	
25.	armpit		gabaḡ	
26.	arm	maḡu	/	mala
27.	elbow	ḡuṭi	/	gupu
28.	hand	maṭa	/	maḡa
29.	fingernail, toenail	bika <sup>y</sup>	/	bingun <sup>y</sup>
30.	chest		wanḡa	
31.	breast		ḡamun	(DY ḡamu)
32.	rib		binbiri	
33.	heart	ulgu	/	yulku
34.	lungs	—	/	buṭibuṭi (C)
35.	stomach		baṭi	
36.	belly	baṭi	/	ban <sup>y</sup> d <sup>y</sup> ud
	(Note: ban <sup>y</sup> d <sup>y</sup> ud, also translated 'stomach' and 'paunch', seems to be the internal organ while baṭi is a more general term and is used for the external body part.)			
37.	gall	—	/	ḡiḡin <sup>y</sup> (F 'liver')
38.	liver		ḡiba	
39.	kidney	umiḡal	/	—
40.	navel		nimbini <sup>y</sup>	
41.	waist		yaḡdi	
42.	back		bangad	
43.	bowels, guts	baṭi (see 35, 36)	/	ḡuḡa (F, see also 46)
44.	buttocks		butu	
45.	anus	ḡumbini <sup>y</sup> (DY), iḡdi (BL)	/	ḡumbini <sup>y</sup>
46.	faeces	ḡuna (DY, BL)	/	ḡuna (C), ḡuḡa (F)
47.	fart	—	/	bapiri
48.	penis	baḡda (DY), buḡa (BL)	/	baḡda
49.	urine	ḡuḡad (DY), ḡibala (BL)	/	ḡuḡad
50.	testicles	ḡaḡa (BL)	/	ḡalu
51.	semen	—	/	buṭini <sup>y</sup> , ḡidga (C)
52.	vagina	miḡani <sup>y</sup> (DY, BL)	/	ḡimban <sup>y</sup> (C), miḡani <sup>y</sup> (F)
53.	clitoris	ḡiniḡ (BL)	/	—
54.	pubic hair	—	/	mun <sup>y</sup> d <sup>y</sup> ul
55.	crotch	magara (BL) (cf. N8)	/	ḡala
56.	hip		gaḡda	
57.	thigh		ḡara	
58.	leg	bala	/	baṭa

59.	knee		mugu	
60.	calf	_____	/	buja
61.	shin	maka (=bone)	/	badgi (R, also ankle)
62.	ankle		badgi	
63.	foot		dina	
64.	toenail, see 29.			
65.	body	yu u	/	dundu
66.	body hair, fur		munydya	
67.	skin	yu al	/	yu al (R), yulan <sup>y</sup> (M, BJR)
68.	bone		maka	
69.	blood		guma	
70.	fat		dami	
71.	sinew		biṅḍu	
72.	sweat		ṅan <sup>y</sup> baḍ	
73.	vomit	mulan <sup>y</sup>	/	mulagadan <sup>y</sup> (C) (cf. V7)
74.	breath		buyu	
75.	snoring	_____	/	bungudan <sup>y</sup> (cf. V10)
76.	cough		gunkuru (a R)	
77.	sneeze		nimbudan <sup>y</sup>	
78.	sore		uḍin <sup>y</sup>	
79.	swelling		bungu	
80.	lump	bul <sup>y</sup> u	/	bu:n <sup>y</sup>

B - *Human Classification*

(Note: apart from items 12 to 15, these words refer only or essentially to Aborigines.)

1.	person, man		maḍi	
2.	woman		wayanbiḍa	(See also 6) (mugin <sup>y</sup> (C,F, GgR))
3.	old man	gubabaṅi, gubaguba	/	gabalgal, gayadambal (M, F,nR)
4.	old woman		mudgun <sup>y</sup>	
5.	young man	wil <sup>y</sup> aru	/	ṅangaḍu (R, also 'boy')
6.	young woman	biḍal (also given as 'woman' and 'girl'), mangan <sup>y</sup> (BF 'single woman')	/	mangan <sup>y</sup> (M,F,nR)
7.	boy	maḍi gabun (see 1,9)	/	(see 5)
8.	girl	madgara (see also 6)	/	_____
9.	child	gabun	/	gandu (ba u, F,aM,BJR)
10.	mate, friend		ṅaṅi	(also ṅaṅi, F, probably error; ṅalku, F,MgR, aJS as meaning "a relation")
11.	stranger		wa a	
12.	white man	wayibala	/	wayibala (F), wayibala (M) (from E white fellow), wiḍu (F, may not be Gn)
13.	white woman	wad <sup>y</sup> i:n (BF)	/	wad <sup>y</sup> i:n (from E white gin)
14.	policeman	ba para (=Sp. hawk)	/	maḍa maga:lin <sup>y</sup> or maḍamaga:lin <sup>y</sup> , gan <sup>y</sup> d <sup>y</sup> ibul (from E master)
15.	boss		ma:ḍa	
16.	ghost, devil		wanbu	
17 to 20, personal names ("nicknames")				
17.	Charlie McKellar	_____	/	bapuḍu (C)
18.	Ruby Richardson	_____	/	gubil (cf. F9)

19. Alf McKellar ----- / yan̄ta (seems also to be the name of a sacred stone) (C)
20. Jimmy Hoopine ----- / gubaṅ (cf. F16) (C)

C - Kinship

(Note: it is presumed that when the system was intact the terms given below were more complex in meaning, at least in English terms, than shown. For example, as well as father and father's brother, yabu may have been father's father's brother's son, father's father's father's brother's son's son, etc.)

1. father, father's brother yabu, yabunu, also yabuḍi (JS),  
(yabuḍu, F, see 2)
2. father's sister, mother-in-law wakan / yabuḍu (R, see 1 and Add)
3. mother, mother's sister yan̄a, yan̄anu, yan̄aḍi
4. mother's brother, father-in-law gan̄anu / gaḍiya (see also 18)
5. elder brother dagun<sup>y</sup>
6. elder sister gaminu / babaya (M) (mayada (C, MgR, see 8))
7. younger brother wabuḍu (aR)
8. younger sister mayada (see 6) / -----
9. brother (not the eldest nor the youngest) bama / -----
10. brother (unspecified) bu:dya (or / buwada (R) (both from E)  
buwadya(?)), (MC)
11. sister (unspecified) yangi (MC)  
ḍiḍa (BL) / ḍiḍa (R, from E)
12. husband gungal
13. brother-in-law buḍibaṅi / (ṅaḍin<sup>y</sup>, C, cf. 20)
14. wife, sister-in-law guyaḍa (F also guyaḍambal)
15. son (of a man) ḍiḍgi / ḍiḍgi (aR), mugana (C, cf. 25)
16. son (of a woman) ḍuwan<sup>y</sup> (son of / ḍuwaṅ (M), ḍuwana  
speaker) ḍuwana  
(son of other)
17. daughter (of a woman (only?)) bukul / bukul (M, a later oLgR,  
budgul (R)  
C "cousin's daughter").
18. son-in-law bun<sup>y</sup>dya (also 'father-in- / bun<sup>y</sup>dya (R, also  
law' and 'mother's father', 'daughter-in-law', oLgC  
see 4) and see Add)
19. daughter-in-law yabuḍu (also 'mother- / (see 18)  
in-law', but see 2)
20. father's father ṅaḍin<sup>y</sup> (see also 13 and 22)
21. father's mother babin<sup>y</sup> (and see 23)
22. mother's father (see 18) / (ṅaḍin<sup>y</sup>, C, F, see 20)
23. mother's mother gamin<sup>y</sup> / gamin<sup>y</sup> (C also 'father's  
mother'), buḍuru (M,  
see 26)
24. mother's mother's brother maṅan<sup>y</sup>
25. son's child (of woman?) mugana / ----- (see 15)
26. daughter's child (of woman?) buḍuru (C 'son's child (of man?)')

D - Mammals

1. male yangud (or yanguḍ) / baṅdayi (F, a d R)
2. female ----- / ṅamala



3.	young (of animal)		gawula	(cf. Appendix 1, B5)
4.	fur		mun <sup>y</sup> dya	(cf. A66)
5.	tail	biḍi	/	baḍa (C, dR, cf. A48)
6.	claw	bikan <sup>y</sup>	/	bingun <sup>y</sup> (C) (cf. A29)
7.	horn	ḡalgaḡalga	/	ḡalga, ḡalgaḡalga
8.	dog	ḡuda	/	ḡuta
9.	wild dog, dingo		wandi	
10.	pup	(see 3)	/	bapapan <sup>y</sup> (M, from E?)
11.	red kangaroo	bawuda	/	gula (bawuda (M, MgR))
12.	grey kangaroo	—	/	ḡadgu (also in Bd, but cf. 14)
13.	wallaroo	mungun <sup>y</sup>	/	mungun <sup>y</sup> (C, SpdR)
14.	wallaby	ḡadgu (cf. 12)	/	—
15.	bilby	ḡangu	/	—
16.	water rat		mudi	
17.	mouse	maḡkumaḡku	/	maḡgumaḡgu
18.	native cat	ḡambudu	/	—
19.	possum		ḡanḡud	
20.	porcupine, echidna		badbiḍa	
21.	bat	ma <sup>y</sup> ambiḡan <sup>y</sup>	/	ma <sup>y</sup> ambiḡan <sup>y</sup>
22.	horse		yadaman	
23.	cattle	buliki (from E bullock)	/	milgin (M, from E milk(ing)), giyaḡu (C), giyaḡal (F), giyaḡa (R) gi:ḡal (C) (all from E)
24.	sheep		ḡumba	
25.	pig	—	/	ḡaḡalawid <sup>y</sup> i (F, oLgC), bigibigi (from E)
26.	goat	—	/	nanigudu (C, from E nannygoat)
27.	cat	—	/	bud <sup>y</sup> iḡat (from E pussycat)
E - <i>Birds</i>				
1.	bird		baya	
2.	wing	mala	/	— (cf. A26 but note that mala is <u>not</u> 'arm' in Mg)
3.	beak	bigi	/	— (= 'lip' Bd)
4.	feather	buda	/	buda (aR, 'duck's down')
5.	egg		gabun <sup>y</sup>	
6.	nest (in tree)	baḡaḡa	/	—
7.	emu		ḡulbaḡi	
8.	plain turkey		bungan <sup>y</sup>	
9.	brilga	ḡunḡara	/	ḡuludku
10.	pelican	ḡaḡa	/	—
11.	crane, heron	—	/	yamba:lin <sup>y</sup>
12.	blue crane,			
	grey heron	ḡangin <sup>y</sup>	/	—
13.	crane, white-			
	necked heron	ḡumiibada	/	—
14.	shag, black			
	cormorant	ḡaḡaru	/	—
15.	shag, pied			
	cormorant	bintada (d)	/	—
16.	diver	ḡinḡun <sup>y</sup>	/	—

17.	svan		guturu	
18.	wood duck	guṇma	/	manaṛu (C, second vowel doubtful)
19.	teal duck	yamuru	/	ḡadadi (?) (C)
21.	widgeon, pink-eared duck	————	/	yukaḷa
22.	mountain duck	ḡibidyaṛa (cf. 23)	/	————
23.	whistler duck	gultapa	/	dyibidyaṛa (C), ḡibidyaṛa (SpdR)
24.	Sp. duck	————	/	maṇmada (C 'black duck', adSpuR)
25.	coot	balgabiḡa	/	iḷiny
26.	barker, white-headed stilt	————	/	ḡinḡudinḡu
27.	dotterel		wilpidyuru	
28.	curlew	guyibiny	/	wiḷu
29.	waterhen		biṛatyu (R)	
30.	eaglehawk, wedge-tailed eagle		guḡala	
31.	kitehawk, fork-tailed kite	baḷpara biṭubiṭu (BF)	/	biṭubiṭu (see 32)
32.	fish hawk, square-tailed kite	biṭubiṭu (see 31) gumun (BF, GnJS)	/	gumun
33.	sparrowhawk, nankeen kestrel (?)	gadganʸ (a)	/	gadkanʸ (C, aSpdR)
34.	mopoke (prob. boobook owl)		gudgud	
35.	sp. owl (poss. barn owl)		ḡidaṇ (aJS)	
36.	sp. "owl" (prob. tawny frogmouth)	————	/	bulanʸ
37.	(prob.) spotted nightjar (a, but thought to be a Sp. hawk) (C, identified from a fairly detailed description by K. Simpson of State College of Victoria, Burwood)	guṭaguṭa	/	guṭaguṭa
38.	crow		wakan	
39.	kookaburra		gagungudu (a R) (Note: also gagunʸgudu recorded from JS for 'butcher bird', but it is doubted that this is different)	
40.	kingfisher (green and blue)	ḡulu	/	————
41.	maggie	ḡudaiburu	/	————
42.	peewee, mudlark	widiṭi	/	gudi:linʸ
43.	willy wagtail	ḡindidiḡindi	/	dyindidyindi
44.	apostle bird		ḡiru	
45.	bower bird		ḡuwil	
46.	bellbird		bakubaku	
47.	soldier bird, noisy miner		ḡi:ṭi	
48.	white (sulphur-crested) cockatoo		ḡigaḡi	
49.	pink (Major Mitchell) cockatoo		gagaladanʸ	
50.	galah		ḡilagila	

51. blue-bonnet d'inguyal / buwadi  
parrot or quarrion  
(Note: it is not clear whether these names refer to one or the other bird or whether both have the same name. Quarrion is buwadi in Bd - but the Bd name for blue-bonnet parrot is not known.)
52. buln-buln (parrot) budanYbudanY
53. crimson-wing (parrot) — / bu|anYbu|anY (C) (cf. 52, but C confirms the distinction. Cf. also 36.)
54. budgerigar binbiṛa / binbida (R), binbiṛa (C)
55. crested pigeon mamadu / ṇa|awida (R)
56. dove gukunbuṛu / guḍu:gunY

F - *Reptiles, Frogs*

1. snake dambal
2. carpet snake gabul
3. tiger snake gulYud / guliḍi (C, aR, cf. 4)
4. bilby snake guliḍi (cf. 3) / —
5. mulga snake bumbaṛa
6. sand goanna baṇa
7. black goanna mada
8. carney, bearded dragon bubanY
9. blue-tongue lizard gubil
10. shingleback lizard mutuṇ (C mudunu)
11. bicycle lizard madbuṛanY (second vowel doubtful)
12. Sp. lizard (red-headed, on the ground in red soil country) dimbuṛanY
13. turtle gatYuwilada / biḍi:
14. frog dandanY
15. frog (big, green) ṇawudṇawud (a R)
16. frog (big, green, may be same as 16) — / ṇubaṇ (C)
17. frog (little, brown) balyku (aSpUR)
18. frog (bigger than 17, brown) winYan / —
19. frog (on sandhills) — / ṇumbiḍal(a)
20. tadpole ṇulunYdYuru / —

G - *Fish, Crustaceans, Shellfish*

1. fish guyu
2. cod yamal
3. yellowbelly, golden perch gari
4. black bream guyidi
5. boney bream banYdYa
6. bobbies (Sp. perch) gudba
7. catfish (large) banbuḍu / banbuḍu, wa|i
8. catfish (small) — / bimbul
9. crayfish bugili
10. shrimp dundal / gaṭunY
11. crab guwaḍu, munṇidanY / maḍaguwaḍu
12. mussel baḍiḍ

13. water snail dakara

H - *Insects, etc.*

- |     |  |                      |                               |   |
|-----|--|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1.  | (bush) fly                                       |                      | <u>nimun</u>                  |   |
| 2.  | blowfly, maggot                                  | guḍuru (also F)      | /                             | guḍu:   |
| 3.  | mosquito   | bugin <sup>y</sup>   | /                             | buḍun <sup>y</sup>  |
| 4.  | sandfly  | muyulmuyul           | /                             | ni:ibuṛa (F 'march fly')  |
| 5.  | bee  | ḍindin <sup>y</sup>  | /                             | nindin <sup>y</sup>   |
| 6.  | (queen?) bee                                     | _____                | /                             | wanana (C 'queen bee',<br>a R 'bee')                                      |
| 7.  | meat ant   |                      | <u>gaḍu</u>                   |   |
| 8.  | Sp. ant (little)                                 | _____                | /                             | miman <sup>y</sup> (M, see Appendix<br>1, H5), niman <sup>y</sup> (? , R) |
| 9.  | Sp. ant  | muḍun ('jumper ant') | /                             | muḍun ('greenhead ant')   |
| 10. | anthill  |                      | <u>bugun<sup>y</sup></u>      |   |
| 11. | centipede  |                      | <u>ḍulidi</u>                 |   |
| 12. | spider   | ganḍa                | /                             | munin <sup>y</sup>  |
| 13. | louse  | ḍiḍi                 | /                             | gulin <sup>y</sup> (M 'flea')   |
| 14. | nit  | banḡu                | /                             | _____   |
| 15. | caterpillar                                      |                      | <u>binḡi</u>                  |   |
| 16. | edible grub (in mulga (JS) and/or<br>gidgea (R)) |                      | <u>ḍalban<sup>y</sup></u>     |   |
| 17. | edible grub (in coolibah (JS),<br>in ground (R)) |                      | <u>ḡadal (R)</u>              |   |
| 18. | leech  |                      | <u>ḡunban<sup>y</sup> (R)</u> |   |

I - *Language, Ceremony*

- |    |                  |  |   |             |
|----|------------------|--|---|-------------|
| 1. | language, speech | ḡanḡin <sup>y</sup> (derived<br>from verb 'to speak'; may mean<br>only 'speech') | / | <u>ḡari</u> |
|----|------------------|--|---|-------------|

2-7 *Language names occurring in recorded corpus*

- |     |                      |       |                           |                       |
|-----|----------------------|-------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 2.  | Badjidi              | _____ | /                         | bad <sup>y</sup> idi  |
| 3.  | Gunya                | _____ | /                         | gun <sup>y</sup> a    |
| 4.  | Gunggari             | _____ | /                         | gung <sup>y</sup> ari |
| 5.  | Margany              |       | <u>madgan<sup>y</sup></u> |                       |
| 6.  | Muruwari             | _____ | /                         | muduwari              |
| 7.  | Ngarigi              | _____ | /                         | ḡariḡi                |
| 8.  | name                 |       | <u>ḡari</u>               |                       |
| 9.  | song, corroboree     | mambu | /                         | muḍun                 |
| 10. | possible moiety name | _____ | /                         | bid <sup>y</sup> udu  |

J - *Camp, Artefacts*

- |     |                              |  |   |                                 |
|-----|------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| 1.  | camp                         |  | <u>yamba</u>  |                                 |
| 2.  | house (European)             |  | <u>ḡunḡi</u>  |                                 |
| 3.  | humpy                        |  | <u>ḡunḡu</u>  |                                 |
| 4.  | windbreak                    |  | <u>gaḡkin<sup>y</sup> (R)</u>                       |                                 |
| 5.  | spear                        | wamada, wamadu, biwin <sup>y</sup> (? , BF)          | /   | wamaṛa (F)                      |
| 6.  | boomerang                    |  | <u>waḡal</u>  |                                 |
| 7.  | nulla-nulla (throwing stick) |  | <u>murū</u> (F 'like a nulla-nulla<br>but smaller') |                                 |
| 8.  | waddy (club)                 |  | <u>ḡaṭubira</u>                                     |                                 |
| 9.  | shield                       |  | <u>budḡu</u>  |                                 |
| 10. | axe                          | ba <sup>y</sup> un <sup>y</sup> , baṛan <sup>y</sup> | /   | ba <sup>y</sup> un <sup>y</sup> |
| 11. | knife, chisel                | ḡuyan (see also 15)                                  | /   | banḡu (C, = BD 'stone')         |
| 12. | blade (of spear, knife)      | ḡin <sup>y</sup> ii                                  | /   | _____                           |
| 13. | yamstick (digging stick)     | wambu  | /   | ḡaṇa                            |
| 14. | pot, pannikin                |  | <u>ḡuga</u> (=Bd 'bark from elbow of<br>tree')      |                                 |

15.	grinding stone	guyan (see also 11)	/	_____
16.	bag			mangad
17.	dilly bag (for carrying babies or food)	munda (a)	/	munda (R, C 'pillow')
18.	string, rope	ba ka	/	gulgun
19.	net			gulan <sup>y</sup>
20.	canoe			ganuru (R)
21.	swag	batyi	/	ṅawud (R), ṅawul (C)
22.	bed	batyi	/	_____
23.	groundsheet, blanket one sleeps on	maḡil (cf. R22)	/	_____
24.	pillow	wangul	/	wangul (C), wangud
25.	clothes	batyi	/	guri
26.	shirt			ḡuwaḡi (from E)
27.	trousers	ḡarawuli	/	ḡarawulu (from E)
28.	dress			gawun (from E gown)
29.	hat	gabuti	/	gabuḡi
30.	socks	_____	/	ḡa:ḡin (from E)
31.	boots, shoes			mandiri
32.	saddle	_____	/	ḡaḡal (from E)
33.	billycan	guli	/	_____
34.	bottle	_____	/	ḡarudu (F)
35.	soap	_____	/	ḡu:bu (from E)
36.	pipe	_____	/	buyu (from E)
37.	tobacco			biyaga (from E)
38.	paper	_____	/	bi:ba, bi:pa (F) (from E)
39.	matches	_____	/	ma:d <sup>y</sup> in (from E)

K - *Fire, Food, Water*

1.	fire, firewood			budi
2.	flame	yatyu	/	biya
3.	smoke	ḡun <sup>y</sup>	/	ḡumbin <sup>y</sup> (C ḡun <sup>y</sup> )
4.	charcoal	niki	/	miḡa
5.	ashes			buda
6.	food	ḡun <sup>y</sup> , bulu	/	bulu
	(Note: these words are given as a translation of 'tucker', which in the English of many Aborigines means 'vegetable food'. However, it seems that they may mean 'food, in general' and that the word 'tucker' in this part of Queensland also has this meaning.)			
7.	vegetable food	mayi	/	maḡa
8.	meat			yudi
9.	honey			ḡuḡa
10.	honey-bread			ḡumaḡa
11.	beeswax	bandi (a)	/	bandi
12.	milk	ḡamun (=breast)	/	miḡin (from E, cf.D23)
13.	tea	_____	/	ḡi: (from E)
14.	alcoholic drink	_____	/	yura:mu (F, from E rum)
15.	sugar	_____	/	ḡuga (R also d <sup>y</sup> uga, from E)
16.	water			gamu

L - *Sky, weather*

1.	environment	yamba (=camp) (e.g. in yamba baḡiḡi, 'day is breaking'; cf. Bd, Breen, 1973:163-4)	/	_____
2.	sky			bandaḡa
3.	sun	ḡuru	/	ḡudu (M also buwan <sup>y</sup> , = 'hot')

4.	moon	gagaḍa (also C)	/	ḡilgaḡ
5.	star			niyaḍu
6.	Milky Way	baḡuwaḍu (cf. baḡu 'river')	/	_____
7.	Seven Sisters	madinYmadinY	/	_____
8.	daytime	buwanY	/	ḡuḡu (=sun), baḡa:du (M, =today)
9.	nighttime, dark	biḡa	/	uga, biḡa (M)
10.	shade			malu
11.	shadow			maiumalu
12.	summer, hot weather	buwanYgil, buwanYgila	/	buwanY
13.	winter, cold weather	yagaḡ (= cold)	/	miḡaḡ (= frost)
14.	cloud	ḡariḡara (thunder cloud)	/	ḡariḡada
15.	cloud	baḡḡara (small clouds)	/	_____
16.	rain			yugaḡ
17.	rain	_____	/	ḡawadanY (C, spitting rain)
18.	rainbow	gaḡyin	/	_____
19.	thunder			barinY (F gunbulanY)
20.	lightning	maninY	/	ḡiguru, maninY (M), wira (R)
21.	hail			mugaḡi
22.	fog			gugumba
23.	ice, frost			miḡaḡ
24.	dew	ipanY	/	_____
25.	wind			yadga
26.	whirlwind			bubuḡi
27.	flood	mulanY	/	ḡugun

M - Geography

1.	place			yamba (= camp)
2.	river, creek	baḡu	/	baḡu
3.	billabong	waran	/	_____
4.	gully	madga	/	_____
5.	bank	bunu	/	minga
6.	bend in river	_____	/	wiḡgu (? , C, cf. X9)
7.	spring			muḡu (R)
8.	rockhole, native well			iḡgaḡa
9.	ground, soil	ḡaka	/	ḡaḡi
10.	hill, mountain			baguḡ
11.	plain, claypan			gunari
12.	black soil	_____	/	muda
13.	sand			gaḡila (C gaḡiya)
14.	dust	bulgura	/	ḡurura (M), ḡura (R)
15.	dirt, filth	_____	/	baḡḡin
16.	sandhill	gaḡbuḡu	/	maḡala
17.	stone			bari
18.	mud	ḡaninY	/	yulinY
19.	red ochre	guḡi	/	guḡin (C)
20.	copi, clay			magida
21.	scrub			wati
22.	gap	_____	/	waḡa
23.	hole			yuna
24.	track, mark			maḡa

25.	road	wan̄ḁa	/	_____
26.	echo	buwa buwa	/	_____
27-32, <i>Place names, Margany</i>				
27.	Eulo			ḁiniyada
28.	3 miles upstream from Eulo			in̄yḁYimalu
29.	4 " " " "			guwanyḁangadi
30.	12 " " " "			ḁamara
31.	5 " downstream " "			wad̄yawaḁya
32.	"Paroo River"			"marra gyden" (BF, his spelling)
33-36, <i>Place names, given by Gunya speakers, but 34-36 and perhaps also 33 are in Badjidi country.</i>				
33.	Cunnamulla			ḁanamala
34.	Tinnenburra			ḁinimbulu
35.	5 miles downstream from Tinnenburra			buḁibaka (C)
36.	15 " " " "			manaḁara (C)

N - *Flora*

(Note: where a botanical name is given, unless the initials JGB follow, a specimen has been identified by the Queensland Herbarium.)

1.	tree			baga
2.	log			ḁulgaḁa
3.	stick			ḁaḁa
4.	twigs, small branches	_____	/	bumbad
5.	chips	_____	/	bidgil
6.	bark	bandil	/	mudguny (M, oLGR) (bidgil, dR, see 5)
7.	root			balgara
8.	fork	magara (cf. A55)	/	mingu (R)
9.	leaves	ḁala	/	gadgal (F ḁala)
10.	gum			mugany
11.	hollow	gubai	/	_____
12.	step cut in tree			
	trunk	ḁingan̄y	/	_____
13.	river gum (Eucalyptus			
	camaldulensis - JGB)			gagula
14.	coolibah (E. microtheca - JGB)			bagura
15.	box (E. populnea)			malaḁ
16.	bloodwood (E. dichromophloia; perhaps			
	also E. terminalis - JGB)			
		ḁirin̄y	/	gambui
17.	lapunyah (E. ochrophloia)			
		ḁiwuru	/	ḁiru (M yapan̄y)
18.	mulga (Acacia aneura)			bindiḁi (F bindidi)
19.	gidgea (prob. A. cambagei - JGB)			gubuḁu
20.	ironwood (A. excelsa sp. angusta)			ḁulun̄y
21.	river wattle (A. victoriae)			ḁandi
22.	needlewood (A. farnesiana)			
		bangara	/	_____
23.	rosewood (Acacia sp. - JGB) _____		/	ḁintiny
24.	whitewood (Atalaya hemiglauca)			budbal
25.	pine (Callitris columellaris)			ban̄yḁara
26.	kurrajong (Brachychiton			
	populneum) _____		/	bin̄yḁyi
27.	bottle tree (B. rupestre) _____		/	budgu (R)
28.	sandalwood (Myoporum deserti)			
		bangani	/	ḁula
29.	beefwood (Grevillea striata)			mangu (R)
30.	tea tree (paperback, Melaleuca linariifolia)			gunga:lin̄y (aR)

31.	wilga (Geijera parviflora)	wiḍila	/	ḍaḍi
32.	leopardwood (Flindersia maculosa)	min <sup>y</sup> ḍiḍi		
33.	supplejack	————	/	wiḍila (cf. 31)
34.	dogwood (Eremophila longifolia)	badgiṛi (? , cf.35)	/	wiḍbil
35.	curran bush (Canthium oleifolium)	badgiṛi (? , cf.34)	/	guḡun (R)
36.	gruie tree (Prob. Owenia acidula)	gawiṛi (R)		
37.	wild orange (Capparis loranthifolia)	ḍangiḷ		
38.	bumble, wild orange (Capparis loranthifolia)	————	/	mukiṇ
	(Note: the difference between 37 and 38 may be one of habit, or there may be a mistake on the part of the informant; e.g. 37 could be C. mitchellii.)			
39.	wild lemon	gat <sup>y</sup> abiṛi	/	————
40.	quandong	————	/	ḍan <sup>y</sup> baḍ (R, H 'red quandong')
41.	wild banana			bingubingu
42.	hop bush (Dodonaea sp.)	————	/	ḍiwin <sup>y</sup>
43.	lignum			bun <sup>y</sup> ul
44.	Sp. yam	muṛa	/	muda (C), muṛa (aR)
45.	Sp. yam	————	/	ḡaman <sup>y</sup> (C)
46.	waterlily (prob. Crinum sp.)	uḍal	/	gabiṛa (R, H 'root of lily')
47.	Sp. waterlily (?)	————	/	yaluḍ (R, grows in water, long leaves, flowers, edible nodules on roots)
48.	pigweed			biḷan <sup>y</sup>
49.	bulrushes	ḡadaḡada	/	————
50.	grass			uḍun
51.	clover (Medicago Sp.)	————	/	ḡuragura
52.	thistle (Sonchus olearaceus)			baraḡba
53.	burr, bindieye	maḡan <sup>y</sup>	/	mukada

0 - Quantities, colours, dimensions, physical properties, value, human states and qualities

1.	nothing			yama
2.	one	wakan <sup>y</sup>	/	wanḡara
3.	two	ura	/	bulaḍi
4.	a few	ḡudbaṛa	/	waḡuḍ (M, adR)
5.	many	ḍiwala, wita	/	ḡiḷyala (M, adR), ban <sup>y</sup> a (M,='big'), ma:bu (from E mob)
6.	some	ḡuru	/	————
7.	other	budan <sup>y</sup>	/	biḍu, biḍunḡaḷi (C)
8.	all	birin <sup>y</sup>	/	ḡuruguru
9.	alone	ḡuṛun <sup>y</sup> , ḡuṛun <sup>y</sup> u	/	ḡuḍun <sup>y</sup>
10.	together	————	/	munḡu (C)
11.	separate, apart	————	/	biḷa
12.	diverse	————	/	biḷabila
13.	black			ḡudul
14.	white	bundun <sup>y</sup>	/	budabaḍa
15.	red			ḡuḍiḡuḍi
16.	big	wanba	/	ban <sup>y</sup> a, ban <sup>y</sup> a:ri
17.	small	ḡapun <sup>y</sup>	/	ḍiḷipu (F mun <sup>y</sup> iḷaḷan <sup>y</sup> , = Bj)



18.	long, tall		gudgan	
19.	short		gupu	
20.	wide	_____	/	biṭaṅ (C)
21.	narrow	dutʸu	/	_____
22.	straight		dingil (R)	
23.	bent	wanga ('to be bent', cf. 24)	/	ṅuṭiṅuṭi
24.	winding	wangawanga	/	guḍiguḍi (C, oLgR), wangawanga (aR)
25.	a ball	_____	/	gula:budinʸ (last vowel possibly u)
26.	flat, shallow	yadpaḷanʸ	/	_____
27.	deep	butʸu, baṭa	/	butʸu
28.	sharp	butʸa	/	_____
29.	blunt	bugu (cf. 55; 56)	/	_____
30.	(be) wet	dāṅdi	/	_____
31.	dry		yaḷga	
32.	hot		buwanʸ	
33.	cold		yagal	
34.	full	minʸa	/	_____
35.	heavy		utinʸ	
36.	light		budʸabudʸa (aR)	
37.	rotten		gatʸa	
38.	hard	miṭi	/	gadgil (C miṭi 'stiff', MgR)
39.	soft	muṅanʸ	/	muṅi
40.	strong	bikaṛa	/	gudgi (also 'tight', 'fast (of running)')
41.	vigorously (e.g. (hit) hard, (run) fast, (speak) loudly)		yabana	
42.	quickly	_____	/	gaḍugaḍu (see also Y4)
43.	slow, quiet, gentle		igaru	
44.	slow (sluggish)	_____	/	gunʸdyu
45.	noisy	iḷyari	/	idinʸ, idinʸidinʸ (C)
46.	quiet, still		bukunʸ	
47.	old (of things)	matʸa (= long ago)	/	uḍu (M), wadgudanʸ (F, cf. 49)
48.	good		mudga (F also mudgamudga)	
49.	bad		wadguwadgu (C also wadgu)	
50.	true, right	yanʸdyā	/	yanʸdyā (C), waḍi (R), waḍiganinʸ (R)
51.	false	_____	/	baḷinʸ
52.	salty, bitter		gaṭi	
53.	raw, green (unripe)		guṅga	
54.	bare, bald	_____ (see A5)	/	gudbinʸ
55.	blind	dilibugu	/	dilimuga, muga, mugamuga (F)
56.	deaf	maṅabugu	/	maṅa guḍudanʸ, maṅa bugu (R)
57.	(be) hungry		gabiṛa (M) (Root is gabiḍ 'hunger', hence also F gabiḍbaṛi 'hungry')	
58.	(be) thirsty	ṅadʸari	/	ṅaḍari (R, cf. V35)
59.	greedy	_____	/	yuṅanʸ, yalka
60.	bilious	_____	/	gaṛadanʸ
61.	nauseated	_____	/	muḷanʸmulanʸ (cf. A73,V7)

(Note: the difference between 60 and 61 is not clear.)

62.	thin	makamaka	/	makabiṅṅanʸ, makamaka (R) (maka 'bone')
63.	sick		ḍadba	
64.	pregnant	baṭibaṭi	/	baṭibaṭi (C) banʸḍʸuḍbayi (R)
65.	alive		ḍuwaḍ	(aR)
66.	tired	miḷinʸ	/	bunḍanʸ (M) (see V22)
67.	clever (e.g. at hunting)	bindal	/	biṅḍal (aR)
68.	clever (as a doctor)		gubi	(BF)
69.	clever (dexterous?)	—	/	ṅuya (see Add)
70.	old (of a person, see also A4)	—	/	garugaru (F), (waḍu, F, may be Bd)
71.	young (of a person)	ṅanga (cf. B5)	/	—
72.	silly, mad, stupid	badabada (also 'drunk' BF)	/	badabada, wamba (R)
73.	wild, angry		ḍawul	(C) (ḍawul waga 'get wild')
74.	cheeky	ḍaḷinʸbaṭi	/	ḍaḷinʸbaṭi (F), ḍaḷinʸbayi (R), iḍginidgin (C), gaṅṅanʸ (F, "larrikin")
75.	desirous of sexual intercourse	—	/	gawuḍbaṭi (C, "rude", cf. Bd gawuḍ 'desire for sexual intercourse')
76.	jealous	bulbabaṭi	/	baḍi (dR)
77.	poor fellow!	yuwariṅga	/	milamila

P - Motion

1.	go, walk, come	waba	/	wadʸa (F also waba) (only when ugu precedes, see 4.9.2)
2.	come	budba, gaṅa	/	gaṅa
3.	come back, return	gambira	/	gabu (C) (gambira (C, MgR), gambi (F))
4.	go in, enter		ḍadga	
	(Note: also used with gamunga			'water-LOC' to mean 'bathe')
5.	come out	banʸḍʸi	/	—
6.	get up, go up		buda	(F idba)
7.	get down, go down		ganʸḍʸara	(F inba)
8.	go across		banga	
9.	run	wara	/	maḍa (ugaṅa, dR)
10.	escape, run away	iḍi	/	—
11.	creep, sneak up	ḍina binga, gaṅḍinʸ waba	/	(yuli, R. cf. Q3)
12.	limp	yangi	/	—
13.	jump, hop		ḍumba	
14.	crawl	wandi	/	ḍupa
15.	climb	wandi	/	waga, wandi (C, F 'to ride')
16.	play	wiṅḍi	/	wata
17.	dance	wada	/	wata (R)
18.	fall	ḍaṅgi	/	banbu
19.	slip over		ḍuḍuli	
20.	trip	ḍindakuru (adverb?)	/	—
21.	swim	yugaṅa	/	ṅumbi (ṅambi C)
22.	move, be in motion		ṅuḍa	(C, MgR)
23.	move, shift (as in 'Move over!')		gaḍi	(R) (may be a bound morpheme, see 3.4.4)

24.	disappear	ṅaṛi	/	dinbi
25.	track	dina wala ḍina matʼa	/	banda
26.	hunt, go hunting			biya
Q - <i>Rest, existence</i>				
1.	sit, stay			binda
2.	stand, be standing			ḍana
3.	stoop	yuli	/	_____
4.	lie, camp	una (occasionally ṅuna)	/	una
5.	hide (intr.)	gunʼili (presum- ably reflexive of gunʼi)	/	gunʼi (R), gunʼdyi (C) (cf. R 29)
6.	be lost	wambana	/	wamba (R), wambali (presumably reflexive of wamba, C) (cf. R 26)
7.	float	miṭi	/	_____
8.	be, become	_____	/	wi: (C) (see 4.11)
R - <i>Induced rest and motion</i>				
1.	chase, hunt away			uṅa
2.	chase (fish towards net)	ḍidba (cf. V 26)	/	_____
3.	run away with	iḍaṛi	/	idi (cf. P 10)
4.	send, let go (cf. 8)			ḍabi (C)
5.	move (trans.)	ṅuḍama	/	ḍaḍi (R)
6.	shift camp	yungi	/	ḍaḍi (R)
7.	leave (trans.), put down			iḍa
8.	let go, leave alone	muyi (MC)	/	_____
9.	stand up (trans.)			ḍanma
10.	get, pick up, catch	mada	/	muga
11.	get	gandi	/	_____
12.	bring, take			gaṅi
13.	bring back	gambinyma	/	_____
14.	carry			walbi (C) (F wilba "cart")
15.	dip up (water)			ḍunga (aR)
16.	put in	ḍulu	/	(ḍulba ? R, cf. 35, S22)
17.	take out			ḍangu (R)
18.	gather up	madgama	/	_____
19.	hold	munḍa	/	baṭa
20.	lift, pick up			bunba
21.	hang up			imbinyma (F), wandima (C wandi)
22.	spread			maḍima
23.	heap up	iḍama (cf. 7)	/	ṅuduma (C)
24.	drop	ḍangima	/	banbuma
25.	spill, pour			gaḷga (R)
26.	lose	wambadma	/	wambanma (R) (wambanmali C) (cf. Q6)
27.	give			wa:
28.	steal			ḍunḍa
29.	hide (trans.)			gunʼyima (R) (gunʼdyi C) (cf. Q5)
30.	push			yulbi
31.	pull			yaḍa
32.	roll (trans.)	nudba	/	_____
33.	point (trans.)	muma (indirect object in allative case)	/	_____

34.	stop (trans.)	gudama	/	_____
35.	block	munga	/	<u>du</u> lba (C, cf. 16, S22)
36.	tie	gatyu	/	gad <u>yu</u>
37.	throw	bityu	/	bid <u>yu</u> (C bityu)

S - *Affect*

1.	hit	balga	/	guni (also balga C, F, <u>dinga</u> C, F)
2.	pelt, hit with missile, spear	gutya	/	gud <u>ya</u>
3.	kick			<u>da</u> tya
4.	break (intr.)			gun <u>di</u> (cf. V34)
5.	break (trans.)			gunma
6.	cut			babi
7.	chop			ban <u>yd</u> yu (C gunda)
8.	stab	baba	/	banba (F baba)
9.	tear, pull apart	<u>da</u> du	/	bambu (R, M?)
10.	pinch			bin <u>ga</u>
11.	step on			ga <u>ra</u>
12.	rub, grind			buba
13.	shake	bun <u>du</u> nyma	/	_____
14.	dig			baga
15.	bury, cover, smother (fire)	gamba	(R)	(gambama F)
16.	paint, cover (e.g. with mud)	<u>na</u> mba	/	_____
17.	burn, cook (intr.)	man <u>di</u>	/	guba
18.	burn, cook (trans.)			w <u>ad</u> u
19.	boil (trans.)			galgama (M)
20.	light (fire)	gan <u>ya</u>	/	ban <u>yd</u> yima ( <u>di</u> dbama, F)
21.	blow (fire)	bun <u>gu</u>	/	buya (R, cf. A75 and V10), (bubama F)
22.	put out (fire, with water)			<u>du</u> lba
23.	mix (trans.)	munbima	/	_____
24.	wash			<u>na</u> bi (F also wadgi, from E)
25.	dry (trans.)			<u>na</u> ta <u>ma</u> (aR)
26.	sew	baba	/	banba (R) (cf. 8)
27.	make (humpy), erect			<u>du</u> m <u>ba</u>
28.	smoothe (the ground), sweep	in <u>yd</u> yu	/	in <u>gu</u> (R) (cf. V21)
29.	make (implement)	ban <u>yd</u> yu (= chop)	/	_____
30.	do			y <u>ama</u>

T - *Attention*

1.	wait	nan <u>du</u>	/	miya
2.	see, look at	<u>na</u> :	/	<u>na</u> ga
3.	peep			min <u>yd</u> yu
4.	watchfully (?)	mat <u>ya</u> la (cf. P25)	/	_____
5.	watching (as spectator)	<u>na</u> lgun <u>y</u>	/	_____
6.	look for	n <u>it</u> yu (see 3.5.3(b))	/	wa ka
7.	hear, listen			i <u>mba</u>

U - *Thought, speech*

1.	know			<u>di</u> ndu
2.	think (about)	wa <u>ri</u> binda	/	_____
3.	talk, speak	<u>na</u> ndi	/	<u>na</u> lga, <u>na</u> ndi

4.	talk about		balbi (C, ABS object)
5.	say, tell		gulba
6.	show	ḡuḡari	/ _____
7.	call (out to)	manʸdʸa (ABS object)	/ gula (ABS (C), DAT (F) object)
8.	call out (intr.)	wada	/ _____
9.	scold, rouse on		ḡiga
10.	sing		banʸdʸa
11.	whistle		gubi
12.	tell lies	gaḡi	/ baḡinʸ gulba
13.	ask (someone to do something)	_____	wiḡdʸu
14.	ask (a question)	_____	/ ḡagu (C)
15.	ask for	nima	/ ḡaba (C, MgR)
16.	count	banʸma	/ _____
17.	call, name	gandi	/ _____
18.	forget	maḡa iguḡa	/ maḡa iguḡi (R)
19.	send (a message)		ḡabi (R) (cf. R4)

V - *Corporeal*

1.	eat, drink		ḡala
2.	bite		baḡa
3.	taste	nuka	/ ḡinba (dR)
4.	suck		bulʸa (R)
5.	swallow		ganʸga (a LgdR)
6.	be full, be satisfied	baḡi maḡa (baḡi 'stomach')	/ _____
7.	vomit		mula
8.	smell		nuda
9.	breathe	buyu biʸyʸu	/ buyu biʸyʸu
10.	blow, pant, smoke (tobacco)	bungu	/ buya (R also bungu 'to smoke') (cf. S21)
11.	smoking (tobacco)	_____	/ bumbinʸ (F, from a verb bumbi?)
12.	be out of breath	buyu baḡi	/ buyu guḡḡi
13.	cough	gunkuru baba	/ _____
14.	kiss		nunda
15.	open (eyes, mouth)		bambu (cf. S9)
16.	close (eyes, mouth)	gamba, munga (of mouth)	/ ḡulba (of mouth M, of eyes R) (cf. S2), guḡuli (of eyes M)
17.	sweat	ḡanʸbaḡa (cf. A72)	/ _____
18.	excrete (urine, faeces)		ḡada (BL)
19.	copulate		ḡanda (BL, DY, F)
20.	give birth	gaʸyʸu (= tie)	/ ḡanda (C, cf. W2)
21.	grow	yungu	/ ingu
22.	be tired	_____	/ bundanʸ baḡaḡa (M), mandari
23.	sleep		una
24.	dream		bigiri (R bigiri)
25.	wake up (intr.)		buda (cf. P6)
26.	wake up (trans.)		ḡidba
27.	feel well	_____	/ imbali (M, reflexive of 'hear')
28.	be itchy	biḡḡidi	/ ḡi:gaḡ (?R)
29.	scratch	biri	/ ḡuda(ni) (M), bada (R), baḡa (C), (biḡḡidi, F, cf. 28)

30.	tickle	—	/	gidvima
31.	tease			gangima
32.	swell			bunguli (R) (cf. A79, but seems to be reflexive form of a verb root)
33.	be sick	buri	/	gaṭi baḍi
34.	die	gundī (cf. S4)	/	ulā, gundī
35.	feel hot			ṅandari (cf. 058)
36.	feel cold			yagali (cf. 033)
37.	shiver	banbana	/	—
38.	be afraid			gala
39.	like	ḍaṭi (DAT object), ḍaṭima (ABS object)	/	ḍaṭi (DAT object)
40.	laugh			yadi
41.	cry	badi	/	bati
42.	sulk			gumiṛa (adR)

W - *Non-human actions and states*

1.	bark	wangu	/	wanvguli (M), (wangu R)
2.	lay (eggs)	—	/	ṅanda (M) (F ḍaḍa, cf. V18)
3.	rise (of sun)			waga (F also of dust) (gaṅi C)
4.	set (of sun)			ganvdyaṛa (= go down)
5.	shine, be shiny			miḍiili
6.	fall (of rain)	ḍangi (= fall)	/	baḍiili (presumably reflexive of baḍi, see 9)
7.	run (of water, blood)	waṛa (= run)	/	maḍa (?R), maḍa (C, of water, = run) bundu (C, of blood)
8.	blow (of wind)	banvdyi (= come out)	/	buya (R, = blow), (buba, C, = rub)
9.	be damaged, torn, broken			baḍi (see 6 and V33 for the only known uses of this verb in Gunya; also V12)

X - *Location*

1.	north			gadbu
2.	south			guta
3.	east			ṅadba
4.	west			baṭa
5.	near, close	wina	/	bindiny
6.	far			gambari
7.	in front	—	/	(gadbula C, cf. 1)
8.	behind			wawu (C) (heard only as locative)
9.	on the side			widgu (R)
10.	right	wadguny (d)	/	—
11.	left	gamara	/	—
12.	on this side	inaḍi	/	inagadiny
13.	on the other side	ṅubaḍi	/	ṅunagadiny (F), ṅubagadiny (R)
14.	high, up there	guṛara	/	mira (R)
15.	hither, this way			ugu
16.	away			gundu

Y - *Time*

1-	yesterday	yurinvdya	/	gunda (M, dR), (guliṛu, = Bd), (matvamatya M, cf. 5,7)
----	-----------	-----------	---	--

2.	today	gayimba	/	baɖa:du (M)
3.	now	_____	/	niiYaŋaninʸ (M)
4.	straight away, hurry up	_____		dawuru (R)
5.	wait a minute	_____	/	maɖamaɖa (F, oLg R, cf. 1 and 7)
6.	by and by	mukiri	/	_____
7.	soon	bawinʸ	/	maɖamaɖa (M, cf. 1 and 5)

Note: the difference in meaning between 6 and 7 is not clear.)

8.	tomorrow	_____		mugaru
9.	a long time ago	_____		matʸa
10.	always	_____		nunu
11.	again	gala, galadu	/	gala
12.	already, finished	_____		wadi (JS also wadin)

Z - *Interjections*

1.	yes	_____		nawa
2.	no, not	gara, gara:ndi	/	gaɖa

(Note: yama may also translate English 'no'; see 01)

## APPENDIX I

## MARGANY AND GUNYA VOCABULARIES FROM CURR

For some discussion of these vocabularies see 1.2. The vocabularies are given with the order and numbering as in the semantic fields vocabulary; items not found there are numbered with a postposed letter, as H4a. The ordering and numbering are according to what are believed to be the actual meanings of the words; these may differ from the meanings given in the English column. This gives Curr's English gloss, the next two give Playfair's and Hollingsworth's words, respectively, and the last gives references to other items to which they might correspond, corresponding items from Bidjara or other dialects, or any other relevant comments. If the word is the same in Margany, Gunya and Bidjara a phonemicisation only is given in this column. References to other dialects are given only if the word does not seem to belong to any of these three. Where a cross-reference uses the word 'above' it is to the semantic fields vocabulary; otherwise it is to the appropriate item in the appendix. The abbreviation u means 'the word for this is not known in the dialect(s) whose abbreviation(s) follow(s) (or in Mg, Gn, and Bd if no abbreviation follows)'; for language name abbreviations see the introduction to the semantic fields vocabulary.

No.	English	Playfair	Hollingsworth	Comments
A				
1	head	toogo	thoonggoo	Bd ɖungu
3	hair of the head	turoin	thooroo	Mg, Gn ɖurunʸ
5	bald	_____	goorpin	Gn gudbinʸ
8	eye	tille	teelee	dili

No.	English	Playfair	Hollingsworth	Comments
A				
9	tears		meelyarty	Mg, Gn mil'yaḍ
10	nose	ko	koar	gu:
12	mouth	ta	thar	ḡa:
13	"	be		?Bd 'lip' bigi see Appendix II, A13.
14	tongue	talain	thalling	ḡalanʸ
15	teeth	yeta	yeer	Mg iṭa, Gn, Bd iṛa
17	ear	manga	munger	maṅa
21	beard	nauka	ngunga	Mg ṅanga, Gn ṅangaḍ
22	throat; to be sick		cower	Bd 'throat' gawa
28	hand	madda	marda	Mg maṛa, Gn, Bd maḍa
28a	thumb			See 63a
31	breasts	namoon	ngumoon	ṅamun
33	the heart		woolcoo	Mg ulgu, Gn yulku, Bd yulgu
35	stomach	parby		Mg, Gn baṭi
36	"	baindur		Gn 'belly', Bd 'stomach (of animal)' banʸdʸyud
38	the liver		thibba	ḡiba
41	stomach		yandi	'waist' yaṇḍi
46	excrement	koonna	goonna	ḡuna
48	bowels	barndal		? 'penis' baṅḍa
49	"	teduro		? 'urine' ḡuḡaru, cf. Appendix II, A49
57	thigh	tara	tharra	Mg, Gn ḡara, Bd, ḡada
63	foot	tena	thinna	ḡina
63	track of a foot	tena	thinner	ḡina 'foot'
63a	big toe, thumb		mookillee	u
66	hair, feathers		moonchoo	'body hair' munʸdʸya, Gn 'pubic hair' munʸdʸyul, A54
67	skin	dunte		?cf. M9, N21 above
67	"		beer	? 'bark', Bd biya
68	bone	nago	ngarkoo	Bd ṅagu
68	bone	emo		cf. Mayi ṭimul
69	blood	kooma	coomma	ḡuma
70	fat	wommo	wammo	Gg wamu
70	"	tame	thamia	ḡami
B				
1	the blacks	waga (in yinda waga 'where are the blacks?')		
1	"		murringoo	? maḡingu 'man-ERG'
1	a blackfellow	made	mardie	maḡi
2	a black woman	madda		mishearing?, cf. F7 above
2	"	kambi		Bd gambi
2	"		wyanbirra	Mg, Gn wayanbiḡa
2	a little girl		gumbee	Bd 'woman' gambi
3	an old man	kaira	kyearroo	Gn gayadambal, Bd gayada



<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
B				
4	an old woman	kamin		Mg 'elder sister' gaminu, C6 'mother's mother' Mg, Gn gamin <sup>y</sup> , C23, Bd gami
4	"		yungun-kyearroo	'mother' yaṅa(nu) C3 and see B3
5	a young man	nauka		'young' 071, Mg ṅanga, Bd ṅanga, Gn 'young man' ṅangaḍu
5	"	kowla	coul, cowel	Bd 'young man who has been through a certain (details unknown) grade of initiation' gawula, and cf. D3 above.
9	a baby	kando	carndoo	Gn, Bd 'child' gandu
9	"	barko-de		
9	children	yauga	carroo	
10	a friend		noola	Bd nula
11	a stranger		coongai	?cf. Yanda (Curr No. 103), 'white man' Bd wiḍu
12	white man	wedo		Prob. guwin <sup>y</sup> ; cf. Kungkari (Curr No. 107 Koongerri 'ghosts' gooing), Iningai (Curr No. 152 'white man' coyn), and Wadjigu (?), Curr No. 157, Kanoloo, 'white man' koin).
12	"		coign	
16	ghosts	wanbo		Mg, Gn wanbu
16	"		weettho	Bd wiḍu 'white man', 'dead person'
C				
1	father	yabino	yaboon	yabu(nu)
3	mother	yangardo	(cf. B4)	yaṅa(ḍi or nu)
4	uncle	kaugerno		Mg gaṅṅanu, Bd gaṅṅan <sup>y</sup>
5	elder brother	takkoin		ḍagun <sup>y</sup>
6	elder sister	maiara		Mg mayada, see C6, C8 above; Bd mayada 'woman'
7	younger brother	wabardo		{ Mg, Gn wabuḍu, Bd
7	mother		wobboodoo	wabu
8	younger sister	bairno		'elder sister' baṅinu, Gn 'elder sister' bayiḍila, ?Gn 'elder sister' babaya
12	husband	koungal	coongul	Mg, Gn gungal, Bd gungayila
14	wife	querda	cooearter	Mg, Gn guyaḍa, Bd guyaḍiyila
14?	sweetheart			See 010.

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
C				
15	son	tirgi		Mg, Gn didgi, Bd dilgiyila 'son (of a man)'
16	daughter	toana		duwana 'son (of a woman)'
D				
8	tame dog	oura	ngoora	Mg, Bd nuda, Gn nuta
9	wild dog	wante	wunthie	wandi
11	kangaroo	bowra	bowerra	bawuda
14a	wallaby		barapa	Bd badba 'pademelon' (u Mg, Gn)
15a	bandicoot		ornee	?Bd wanany 'doe possum' (u Mg, Gn)
19	possum	tangort	dongoorel	danud
21	the bat		mutchanbirra	Mg matYambidanY, Gn madYambidanY, Bd madYambiny
23	cattle		gareril	Gn giyadu, giyadal
E				
1	birds		bee-ee	Mg, Gn baya
4	feathers			See A66
5	egg	kapoin	carboon	gabuny
7	emu	koolberri	goolbae	gulbari; Bd also gulbayi
8	wild turkey	bungain	boongie	bungany
9	native companion	kountara		Mg gunjara (uBd)
10	pelican	tarta		Mg daṭa (u Gn, Bd)
17	swan	kotero		Mg, Gn guturu (u Bd)
18	wood duck	kournma		Mg gunma (u Gn, Bd)
19	black duck	mangara		Mg, Gn manara (u Bd)
24	black duck		munburra	?Gn manmada 'Sp. duck'
30	eaglehawk	koothalla	kootthulla	gudala
32	a kite (blood)		coomma	Mg?, Gn gumun and cf. A69
38	crow	wada	wotthar	Gn wada
38	"	wagin		Mg, Gn wakan, Bd. waragan
39	laughing jackass	kakonbur		Mg, Gn gagungudu, Bd gagubada
47	white cockatoo	tigarde	teecaddy	digadi
F				
1	snake	munta	moonta	Bd munda
6	iguana	barna		Mg, Gn bana
7?	iguana		quarrin	Bd waruny
13	fresh-water turtle		beerdee	Gn biḍi:
G				
1	fish		gooioo	guyu
1?	"	ude		See K8
5?	"	munge		Mg, Gn banYdya 'boney bream' (u Bd)
3?	golden bream		cuarree	Mg, Gn gari, Bd gaḍi 'yellowbelly' (= 'golden perch')

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
G				
6?	perch		oo-cooroo-coora	Mg, Gn gudba (u Bd)
10	crayfish	bogally	bookillee	bugili
13	mussel		botherercur	Mg, Gn badid
H				
1	fly	nemon	neemun	Mg, Gn nimun, Bd nimun
2	blowfly		qoodooroo	Mg, Bd guduru, Gn gudu:
3	mosquito	boithon	boothoon	Gn, Bd budun <sup>y</sup>
4	sand fly	bea		
4a	march fly	bunge		(u Mg, Gn)
5	native bee		meemun	Gn miman <sup>y</sup> 'Sp. ant'?, see H8 above
8	ant	nimmein		Gn niman <sup>y</sup>
13?	louse		carra	?Bd gara 'centipede'
18	leeches		moonquin	(u Bd)
I				
8	name		ngy	Mg, Gn nari, Bd nayi
J				
1	camp	yamba	yumba, yumborra	yamba
2	house		goondy (also goondy-gallo	Mg, Gn gundi, Bd gundi
			'belonging to a house')	
5	war-spear	mingoo		
5	"	babaino		?cf. Mg baba 'to stab', S8 above
5	"	baka	barga	baga, see N1
6	boomerang	wangal	wongel	wagal
7	wommera	morro	mooroo	see next item
7	a club		mooroo	Mg, Gn muru, Bd mudu
9	shield	bongo	bauroogoo	budgu
9	"	uba		
10	tomahawk	paloin	ballone	Mg, Gn balun <sup>y</sup>
11a	fish-hook		au	u
13	a yam-stick		cuntha	Mg, Gn gaga, Bd gana
14	calabash		cookar	guga
19	net	kooli	coolin	Mg, Gn gulan <sup>y</sup>
25	rug, clothes		corrie	Mg, Gn guri, Bd gudi
25a	girdle		beera	Bd biran 'waist strap to hold boomerang'
K				
1	fire	boodi	booardie	bu <sup>di</sup>
1	"	wee		Bj etc. wiyi
3	smoke	toga, tuka	thook	Bd duga
7	food	(see Vi)	muntha	Gn manda, Bd manda
8	food	yude	yuddy	yudi 'meat'
9	honey, sweet		gootcha	gud <sup>ya</sup>
9	native bee	gudja		gud <sup>ya</sup>
12	milk	pathan		
16	water	koommoo	kammo	gamu

No.	English	Playfair	Hollingsworth	Comments
16	water		ammo	Gg amu
16	"	kallan		
L				
2	the sky		bandara	bandaḡa
3	sun	todo	thoodoo	Gn, Bd duḡu, Mg duḡu
3a	sunbeams		gangara	u
4	moon	kokkarra	kakada	Mg, Bd gagada
5	star	neo-do	nguardoo	Mg, Gn niyaḡu
6a	Magellan clouds		millerrie	u
7a	Evening Star		tar	u
8	day	thanauga		
8	"		nulyambo goondaroo	see Y3 and Y8
8	light	boain		Mg 'daytime' buwany and see 030 above
8	"		teelee bookooroo	cf. A8
8?	heat	yattin		Bd yaḡa 'daylight'
9	night	pitta		Mg biḡa
9	night, dark		gobear	
10	a shade		mullo	malu
14	clouds		yo-gan	Bd yugan, and see 16
16	rain	ukau		Mg, Gn yugan, cf. 14
16	"	tantinga		
16	"		cammotyingoora	See K16
18	rainbow		cutchun	Mg gatvin (u Gn)
19	thunder	barri		Mg, Gn bariny
19	"		noola-noola	
21	hail		mookooloo	?mugaḡi
23	frost		meetharra	migaḡi
24	dew		bauanee	( u Gn)
25	wind	yerga	yarraga	yadga
25a	north-east wind	kauymo		u
M				
2	a watercourse		thulla	
7	a spring		mootangurra	(Place Name?)
8	native well		incurra	Mg, Gn ingaḡa (u Bd)
9	ground	tante	thundi	Gn ḡandi, Bd nanḡi
9	"	taka		Mg ḡaka
10	hill	banko	bungo carripooi	Bd baḡu, see M17 (stones high) and X1
10	hill	morella		
11	plain country		goonni	Bd gunayi, Mg Gn gunari
13	Warrego River		curdeela (i.e. river of sand)	Mg, Gn gaḡila, Bd gaḡiya 'sand'
13	sand		curdeer	see previous item
17	stone	banko	bungo	Bd baḡu
17	"	barre		Mg, Gn bari
19	red ochre or red		cootthae	Mg, Bd guḡi, Gn guḡin
21	scrub		bardoo	?Gn baḡu 'river'
N				
1	tree	pugga	barga	baga
1	wood	baka	bargar	baga
6	bark	beya	biar	Bd biya

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
N				
6	bark	morgoin		Gn mudguny
9	leaves of tree		thallar	Mg, Bd gala
9a	flowers		oba	Bd uba (u Mg, Gn)
9b	seed		pulpart	(u Mg, Gn)
10	gum		mookine	mugany
13	gum tree	kacola	carcoola, carcoolin	Mg, Gn gagula
14	box tree		barcoora	bagura 'coolibah'
14	" "		koola bar	English?
16	bloodwood tree		cambool	Gn gambul
18	mulga tree		pindeea	Mg, Gn bindiri
18a?	yarran tree		weelbala	Bd widbal 'myall' but note Gn N34 'dogwood' widbil
19	gidya tree		cobardoo	gubuđu
25	pine tree		pyingerra	Mg, Gn banydyara
26	currajong tree		bingee	Gn binydyi (u Mg)
27	bottle tree		minderra	Bd mindad (u Mg)
38	wild orange		bumble	Galali bampuli (u Mg)
40	quandongs (red)		thianburra	Gn danybad (also per- haps Bd; u Mg)
40a	quandongs (white)		theewau	u
46	root of water-lily		gobbeer	Gn gabiya (u Bd)
49a	reeds		teecull	u
50	grass	woton	ootthoon	udun
50a	kangaroo-grass seed		quoilpin	u
O				
1	no	yamma	yumma	Mg, Gn yama 'no, nothing'
2	one	wongara	onkera or wonkera	Gn, Bd wangara
3	two	boolardoo	paulludy	Gn buladi, Bd buladu
3a	three		paulludy onkera	cf. 2, 3
3b	four	boolardoo- boolardoo	paulludy paulludy	cf. 3
4	three	koorbara		Mg gudbara 'a few'
5	plenty	waintu		?Punthamara warru
5	"		mulla-mulla	Gn malamala
5	big	mulla-mulla		Gn malamala 'many'
10	together or sweetheart		ailpau	
13	black colour		goorol	Mg, Gn gudul
14	white		coba-coba	Bj etc. kupa
15	red		(see M19)	
16	big		bunyarty	Gn banya:ri
17	little	kioo	kyeu	Bd gayu (usually garu)
17	"	kapoin		Mg gapuny
17	"		thippo	Gn dyipu
18	tall		goorriccan	Mg, Gn gudgan
18	big		gooricanbe	Bd gudganbadi 'tall' or -be may be -baji ~ -baji 'CON'
19	short		coongoon	
27	deep		bootchoo	Mg, Gn butyu

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
0				
32	heat	poath (and	see L8)	
32	"		booine	buwan <sup>y</sup>
33	cold	yakul	yuckull	yagal
37	a stink		cutcha	Mg, Gn gat <sup>ya</sup> , Bd gad <sup>ya</sup>
38	hard		gurrikill	Gn gadgil
39	soft		mooning	Mg mu <sup>nan</sup> <sup>y</sup> , Gn mu <sup>ni</sup>
42?	run quick		ty-ty	
43	gently		ee-ik-carra	Mg, Gn i <sup>garu</sup>
47	old, worn out		mutchā	Mg mat <sup>ya</sup>
48	good	murga	mooricar	Mg, Gn mudga
48	"		mickanberri	Bd migan <sup>y</sup> badi
49	bad	warwarro	warrico- warrico	Mg, Gn wadguwadgu, Bd wadgu
49	"	bauya		Dharawala probably ban <sup>ya</sup>
50	truly		yangger	yan <sup>y</sup> d <sup>ya</sup>
52	nasty		curtee	Mg, Gn ga <sup>ti</sup> , Bd gadigadi
52	bad		curthee	see preceding item
54	bald		goorpin	Gn, Bd gudbin <sup>y</sup>
55	blind		mootchoo	Kungkari mu <sup>tu</sup> (Gn mu <sup>y</sup> imud <sup>y</sup> i)
57	hungry	kabid	cobertabae	Mg, Gn gabi <sup>d</sup> 'hunger', gabi <sup>d</sup> ba <sup>ri</sup> 'hungry'
57	"	kuliatin		
68	thirsty	koballa		cf. 57
58	"	mariatin		
53	unwell		wee-wee	Pidgin?
66	tired		coolyarlar	
73	wild		booramby	
P				
1	walk	wegauga	wygella	Gn, Bd wad <sup>ya</sup>
1	"	tala		?Mayi-Kulan, Ngawun tala 'go away'
1	come on	wadyinko		Gn, Bd wad <sup>ya</sup>
2?	come on	kuga		
2	come on		ookoo cuntha	ugu 'hither', Mg, Gn ga <sup>na</sup> 'come'
6	to get up		boorangee	Mg, Gn buda, Bd bu <sup>ra</sup>
9	run		bawdinya	
21	to swim		gnoombula	Gn n <sup>umbi</sup> , Bd n <sup>unbi</sup> da
Q				
1	sit	binda	pinda	binda
1	"	begaugē		
R				
10	take hold		murrel	Mg mada, Bd ma <sup>ra</sup>
14	to carry		bungil	?Bd bun <sup>da</sup>
27	to give		goombul	Bd gumba
27a	to exchange		buck-kin	
28	to steal		goonthama	Mg, Gn gun <sup>da</sup> , Bd gun <sup>da</sup>

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
<u>S</u>				
1	to shoot or kill		goonill	Gn, Bd guni
2	to throw		coochamyar	Mg gut <sup>ya</sup> , Gn, Bd gud <sup>ya</sup> 'hit with missile'
4	broken		goondilla	Mg, Gn gund <sup>i</sup>
6	to cut		bobellar	babi
7	to chop out		bungel	ban <sup>y</sup> dyu
14	to dig		barculla	baga
15	to cover		gumbun	gamba
17	to cook or burn		cobella	Gn, Bd guba
18	to roast		wat-thool	wadu
<u>T</u>				
2	see	naga	knarkulla	Gn naga, Bd naga
2	"	neinne		Mg na:
7	to hear		imbella	imba
7?	listen		qooroo	an interjection?
<u>U</u>				
5	to talk		goolparra	Mg, Gn gulba
7	to cooe		coolella	Gn gula
11	to whistle		coobeel	gubi
12	to pretend		cotthingella	Mg, Bd gadi
<u>V</u>				
1	eat	ukal	uckerrer, uga	Bd yuga
1	food	ukulgo		"
1	drink		uckerrer	"
1	"	tappa		Wangkumara tapa
1	"	wadya		
1	thirsty		cammo yuckerer	gamu 'water', Bd yuga 'eat, drink'
2	to bite		bothilla	ba <sup>da</sup>
2	eat	pautein		ba <sup>da</sup> 'bite'
3	to taste		thallai	Mg, Gn gaia 'eat, drink'
5a	to spit		cunther	
8	to smell		eer-ai-bae	Noun with CON suffix -ba <sup>ri</sup> ~ -ba <sup>yi</sup> ; Bd idi 'smell (noun)'
10	to pant		booeeyar	Gn buya
17	to perspire		gnumburra	Mg (and Gn?) nan <sup>y</sup> bara
23	sleep	uga	oga	Bd uga 'asleep'
24	to dream		pigeelar	Mg, Gn bigiri, Bd bigiyi
30	to itch		gidgeela	Gn gid <sup>y</sup> ima 'tickle' (u Mg)
33	to be sick		(see A22)	
34	dead	kuntine		Mg gund <sup>i</sup>
34	"		woollul	Gn, Bd ula
38	frightened		cullulla	Mg, Gn gala
40	to laugh		yat-thin	yadi
41	to cry		parrin	Mg, Bd badi, Gn bati

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
X				
1	North		carripooi	Mg, Gn gadbu (and see M10)
2	South		goorarndoo	Mg, Gn guta
3	East		nararpararndoo	Mg, Gn ṅadba
4	West		parrarndoo	Mg, Gn baṭa
6	a long distance		cumburrie	Mg, Gn gambari, Bd gambadi
15	come on		ookoo cuntha	See P2
16	be gone		goondoo	gundu 'away'
Y				
1	yesterday	urindia		Mg yurin <sup>y</sup> dya
1	"		coollerie mockereroo	Bd guliṛu, mugaṛu both 'yesterday', see Y8
2	today	iimba		Mg gayimba, Curr No. 153 Yangeeberra ayimba
3	today	nelya		Gn nilya, Bd niyila 'now' (u Mg)
3	by-and-by		ngeelyambo	See previous item
6	"	baboo	bobo	Dharawala babu; Bd gabū 'later'
6	directly		bobbo	See previous item
8	tomorrow	kundaroo	goonderroo	gunda, 'yesterday' in Gn, 'night time' in Bd
8	"		mookerroo	mugaṛu (also 'yesterday' in Bd)
9	long since		wiearra	?cf. B3
10	always		wundoo	Bd wandu 'often'
11	more		cullar	gala, 'again' in Mg, Gn, 'now' in Bd
11	to do again		cullaro	Mg galadu 'again'
Z				
1	yes	yoko		
1	"		ngowa	Mg, Gn ṅawa
1	"		yowie	[yuwai], may be Pidgin
2	no		curther (also 'not')	Gn, Bd, gaḍa, Mg gaṛa
2a	I don't know	yamme		?cf. 01

The following items are not found in the semantic fields vocabulary:

I	ngai-ia	ngia, ngyer	ṅaya
I		nginya	?Mg, Gn ṅaṅa 'me'
I	itu		See next item
mine		ngatchu	Mg, Gn ṅat <sup>y</sup> u, Bd ṅad <sup>y</sup> u
you	yinda	inda	inda
you	idno		Mg, Gn 'your' inu (Bd yunu)
you and I		ngulli	ṅali



<u>English</u>	<u>Playfair</u>	<u>Hollingsworth</u>	<u>Comments</u>
you		yourra	Gn, Bd 'you (plural)' yura (Mg ida)
who?		oonthooroo	Bd ṅunduru
what?		annee	ṅani
where?	yinda	intharndoo	Bd indiya, Gn inḍiya

A number of bound morphemes can be found in the above lists. They include the following:

- nu and ḍu on kinship terms (see 3.4, and Breen 1973: 137-8), C1, C3, C4, C7, C8.
- galu, genitive, J2
- bayi, concomitant, O18, O57, V8
- :-ndu, on 'where' and on compass point names, X2, X3, X4, (cf. 3.1)
- badī, as in Bd (Breen 1973:140) O48, O18?
- nʸ, nominaliser (cf. 3.4.5) V34 and perhaps S15, V2, V40, V41
- nʸdʸala, nominaliser (Breen 1973:141) U12
- la, past tense, numerous examples in sections P to V, and note the sentence in Hollingsworth

curther	ngyer	imbella
gaḍa	ṅaya	imbala
not	I	hear-PAST

given as the translation of 'I don't know'.

- ngu, purposive of intransitive verb (as in Mg and Gn), P1 and perhaps P6
- lgu, purposive of transitive verb (as in Gn and - for all verbs - in Bd), V1
- ma, added to transitive verbs (cf. 3.5.3(a) and Breen 1973:104 and 143-4), R28, S2
- ya, verbal inflection, P9, S2
- da, -ra or -ṛa, verbal inflection, U5, V1
- du in galadu, function not known, as in Mg (see 4.9.5) and possibly others in B1, J1, N13, Y3.

## APPENDIX II

### TINDALE'S MARUKANJI VOCABULARY

The vocabulary was collected at Lake Tyers, Vic., in January 1939. The informant was Jerry Jerome. The spelling system uses the International Phonetic Alphabet, in the form set out in Tindale (1940:147). The language is clearly Margany, but the vocabulary differs slightly from that given above, being, like Playfair's vocabulary, closer to Bidjara and Dharawala.

The vocabulary has been reordered and numbered as in the semantic fields vocabulary and a comments column has been added in which, if the word differs from that given above for Margany, relevant further information is given.

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Marukanji</u>	<u>Comments</u>
A			
1	head	'kaka	Probably should be 'kaḥa
3	hair	'turunj	

No.	English	Marukanji	Comments
6	forehead	'balga	=Gn; cf. A8a
8	eye	'di:li	
8a	eyebrow	'melgan	Given as 'forehead', A6 above
10	nose	'ko:	
12	mouth	'da:	
13	lip	'bigi	Given as 'beak', E3, above; 'top lip' in Bd
14	tongue	'talanj	
15	teeth	'irta	
17	ear	'maga	
20	jaw	'takanj	Bd, Dh <u>daga</u> l
21	beard	'ḡanka	
21a	moustache	'monu	Wadjabangayi <u>munḡu</u> ; Bd 'bottom lip' munu
28	hand	'mara	
36	belly	baḡti	
42	back	'buru'ku	Bd budgu
46	faeces	kuna	
48	penis	'buga	
49	urine	'to:taru	
50	testicles	'ḡara	
59	knee	'mugu	
63	foot	'ḡina	
69	blood	'kom:a	
B			
1	man	'wailbala	'white man', B12 above
2	woman	'wadji:n	'white woman', B13 above
D			
8	dog	'ḡura	
9	dingo	wanti	
11	kangaroo	'baura}	'red kangaroo', D11 above
14	wallaby	'baura}	
14a	rock wallaby	munkuḡ	'wallaroo', D13 above
19	opossum	'ḡangur	
20	porcupine	'par:'biru	
E			
5	egg	'kabun	
7	emu	'kolbari	
8	plain turkey	'bunkanj	
9	native companion	'koruru	Gn guludku, Dh guḡuḡ (?), Gugu Badhun guḡuḡ, etc.
10	pelican	'dar:'ta	
17	swan	'kotu'ru	
18	wood duck	kunma	
19	black duck	maḡara	
23	whistling duck	'kopi'tjur	gultapa above
30	eaglehawk	'kuḡala	
38	crow	'wakan	
41	magpie	'kuibun	Bd, Dh guibu
48	cockatoo, white	'teikari	
48a	cockatoo, black	'bigar	Bd gungidala (n Mg, Gn)

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Marukanji</u>	<u>Comments</u>
F			
2	carpet snake	'kapol	
3	tiger snake	'bombara	'mulga snake', F5, above
3a	black snake		
4	brown snake	'kulaḡi	'bilby snake', F4, (and cf. F3) above
6	sand goanna	'barna	
8	frilled lizard	'bubanj	
13	turtle	'katja'wulara	
14	frog	'batju	cf. F17 above 'little brown frog' balyku
G			
3	yellow belly fish	kari	
7	catfish	'ilbu	Mg, Gn banbuḡu, also G8, Gn bimbul
I			
9a	initiation ceremony	ḡarupana	u
9b	totem	juri	= 'meat', see K8
J			
1	camp	'jampa	
5	spear (No spear-thrower used)	'wamara	
6	boomerang	'waḡal	
9	shield (of gidgea, mulga or brigalow)	buruku	
10	tomahawk	'balunj	
11	knife	('baḡku)	See M16 'stone'. See also J11 above.
18	string	'bunta	baḡka in Mg (and also in Galali)
18a	(fishing line)	'o:kḡ	u
19	net (same nets used for fish and ducks)	malu	Mg, Gn ḡulanḡ; u Bd
K			
1	fire	'buri	
3	smoke	'doka	Bd, Dh, Playfair
6	food	'ḡamanj	= Bd
8	meat	'juri	
16	water	'ḡam:u	
L			
2	sky	'banda'ra	
3	sun	'ḡuru	
4	moon	'kakara → (kaka(d)a)	
5	star	niaru → (nia(d)u)	
16	rain	'kam:o	= 'water', see K16
18	rainbow	'kaitjin	
19	thunder	'kager'ḡa	prob. 'moon', see L4
20	lightning	'bandara	prob. 'sky', see L2
25	wind	'jaru'ka	

<u>No.</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Marukanji</u>	<u>Comments</u>
M			
2	river	baro	
9	ground	'ḍak:a	
10	mountain	'maḅkala	= 'sandhill' in Gn (M16) and Bd
11	plain	'kunari	
17	stone	'baḅku	= Bd, Dh
19	red ochre	'magira	'copi', M20 above
N			
1	tree	'baga	
9	native pitch, gum	bandi (beefwood gum)	mugany 'gum'
P			
1	walk	kunduwaba	} See P1 and X16 above
1	go away	'kundu	
2	come here	'oko	See X15 above
9	run	kunduwara	See P9 and X16 above
Z			
1	yes	'ḡa:wa	
2	no	'kara → 'ka(d)a	

## APPENDIX III

## VOCABULARY COLLECTED BY BARRY FOSTER, THYLUNGRA

<u>English</u>	<u>Aboriginal Word</u>	<u>Phonemicisation and notes</u>
Coopers Creek	Nockatunga	ḡakaṭuḅka, a Wangkumara name
Paroo River	Marra Gyden	?
Clever man	Goobee	gubi, 068
Plain	Goon aa	gunari, M11
Ridge	Burree	bari 'stone', M17
Drunk or insane	Purra purra	badabada, 072
Mulga Snake	Boom burra	bumbaḡa, F5
Crow	Wok kunn	wakaḅ, E38
Wedgetail Eagle	Goo ba la	guḡala ?, E30
Kite Hawk	Goom mon	gumun, E32
Kite Hawk (Fork Tail)	Britoo britoo	biṭubiṭu, E31
Yes	Na	ḡawa, Z1
No	Urta	aḡa (gaḡa?), Z2
Married woman	Queewa urada	guyada, C14
Single woman	Mungine	manganʸ, B6
Man	Mydie	maḡi, B1
Fire	Buddi	buḡi, K1
Water	Um oo	amu (gamu?), K16
Fish	Goyoo	guyu, G1
Camp	Yamba	yamba, J1
Spear	Bewing (Bee wing)	poss. biwiʸ, J5
Boomerang	Wung ul	waḡal, J6
Sun	Dooroo	ḡuru, L3
Moon	Ar gul da	agaḡa (gaḡaḡa?), L4
Star	Near al doo	niyaḡu, L5
Sky	Bun da loo	bandaḡa ?, L2
West	But tan doo	baṭa:ndu, X4
East	Nyls ba	ḡadba, X3

<u>English</u>	<u>Aboriginal Word</u>	<u>Phonemicisation and notes</u>
I go	Iya	ɲaya 'I'
You	Wa bon yee	wabaɲi 'go-PRES', P1
They	Da na	ɟana 'they (plu.)'
I go East	Dooroo duddy	ɟuɟudadi 'sun-ALL', L3
Food (not meat)	Myee	mayi, K7
Meat	Udee	yudi, K8
I come	Ny ya	ɲaya 'I'
What for	Na kee go (or Yinda)	ɲanigu 'what-DAT' ? yinda 'you (sing.)'
Mountain	Ba gool	baɟu!, M10
River	Burroo	baɾu, M2
Flood	Mulline	mulanʷ, L27
White man	Wal mullya	wayilbala ?, B12
White woman	Waj gin	wadʷi:n, B13

## ADDENDUM

During a brief visit to Cunnamulla in 1979, some additional material in Gunya was collected. This has been incorporated into the text or vocabulary where practicable but in cases where this would have necessitated extensive retyping, it is given here.

Note also that the language name spelt Garlali in the text (Section 1.3, including Tables 1.2 and 1.3, and Section 1.4) and on the map is now thought to be more correctly Galali.

Re the early parts of sections 2.3 and 3.4, the word formerly phonemicised buwɪnʷ is now believed to be bu:nʷ. This is the only known monosyllable in Gunya with a final consonant (none are known in Margany). (Table 2.8 has been corrected.)

Re Section 2.7, Mrs. Richardson thinks ɲuɟa is Margany, not Gunya.

The following corrections apply only to the alphabetic vocabulary, the corrections having been made in the semantic fields list:

budɪbudɪ should be buɟibuɟi, 'lungs'

buwɪnʷ should be bu:nʷ 'lump'

add ɟidɟa, G : semen

ɟuga, G : sugar.

Other additions to the vocabulary (ordered as in the semantic field vocabulary) are:

ɟaɟigadi 'part of intestine', or perhaps 'spleen'

ginʷdʷal 'part of intestine'

ɲuɟu 'part of intestine'

(The details given for these three items are confused and contradictory.)

imuɟ (C) 'mother-in-law', accepted as imuɟ by R who, however, did not know the meaning. C also gave yabuɟu (see C2) as 'mother-in-law'.

bun<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>a (see C18) was also translated by R as 'mother's mother's brother's son'.

bakuda 'fox'

mudgun<sup>y</sup> 'bush (sp.) with little berries' (R)

gudgiri 'a fast runner' (R, see 040)

ḡuya (069) is more precisely translated as 'clever at dodging spears in a fight'.

babu 'later' (aMgR, cf. Y6 and Appendix I).

Note also the term of abuse guna (or guḡa) buḡalbaḡi, meaning not known (but guna means 'faeces' and the suffix -baḡi 'having'). (Regarding the variant form guḡa see the notes on the pronunciation of nasals in 2.2).

Final proofreading revealed some omissions from the Alphabetical Vocabulary. These are:

balga, G: forehead

ḡiḡi, M: louse

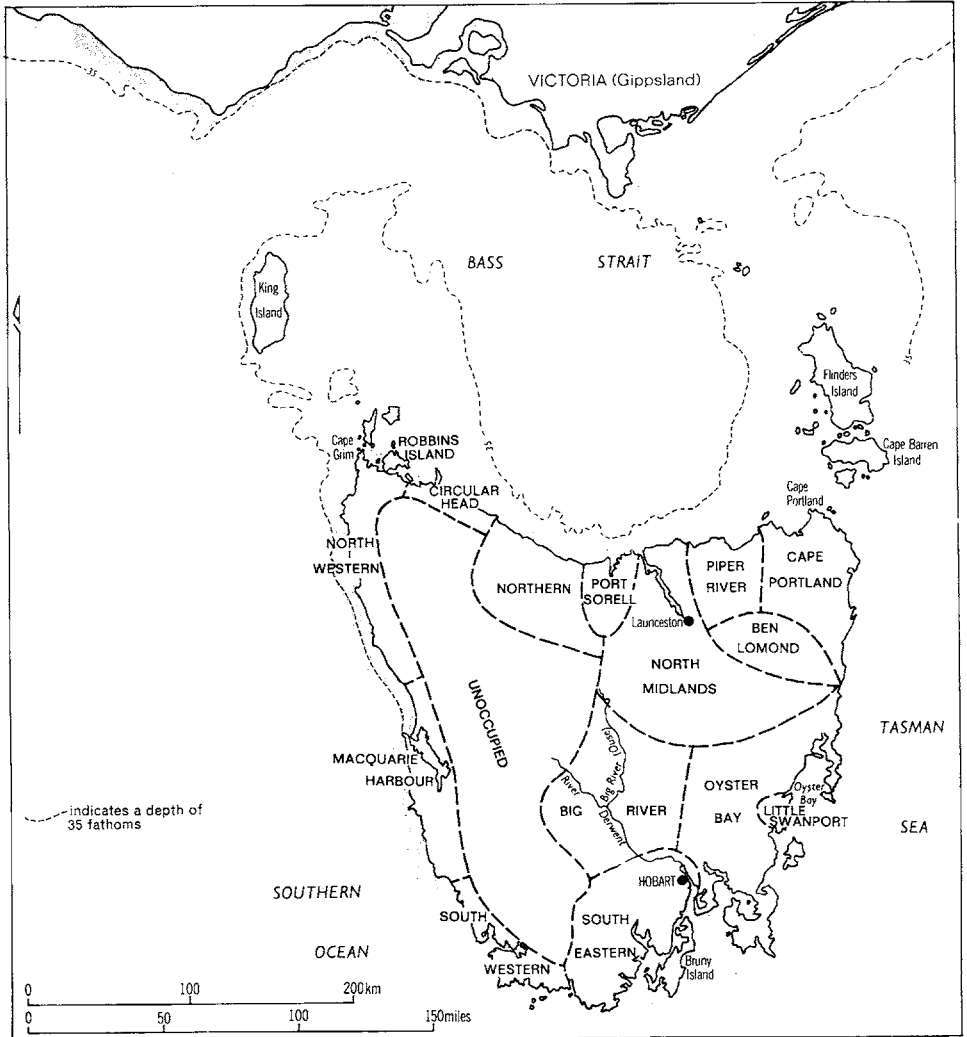
gan<sup>y</sup>ba, M: to light (fire)

man<sup>y</sup>d<sup>y</sup>a, M: to call out

maḡyamaḡ<sup>y</sup>a, G: yesterday

ḡambi, to swim

yuḡa:mu, G: alcoholic drink



Map 6: Tasmania, With Localities to which Vocabularies were Assigned

# Tasmanian

*by Terry Crowley  
and R.M.W. Dixon*

## 1. LANGUAGES AND SOURCES

### 1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

The source material on the now extinct Tasmanian languages is so poor that only very limited conclusions can be drawn concerning the structure of the languages.

They appear to have had a phonological system similar to those of languages on the Australian mainland. There were at least four contrasting stops - bilabial, apico-alveolar, laminal and dorso-velar - and a nasal corresponding to each. There was a phonetic distinction - and perhaps also a phonemic contrast - between lamino-dental and lamino-palatal stops (and, conceivably, nasals). There is evidence for a single lateral, two rhotics and two semi-vowels. The vowel system probably had three members, possibly more. The phonotactics also followed a normal Australian pattern - words consisted of at least two syllables; consonant clusters were common intervocalically but rare initially; in most of the languages/dialects all words ended in a vowel.

The languages appear to have been suffixing, but scarcely anything can be said about the meanings or functions of the handful of putative suffixes that can be isolated. The sentence material is so slight that it is not possible to say how syntactic function was marked, for instance. The preferred word order appears to have been SVO and Noun-Adjective (although the former may reflect the fact that most sentences were elicited - perhaps word-by-word - from English SVO sentences).

Although Tasmanian languages seem typologically similar to languages of the Australian family, there are insufficient cognates and systematic correspondences to justify an even tentative hypothesis of genetic relationship. All we can say, is that there is *no* evidence that Tasmanian languages were *not*, at a considerable time depth, related to languages spoken on the mainland.



## 1.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The disintegration and extinction of Tasmanian tribes is well documented; it provides what is perhaps the most horrifying example of genocide from anywhere in the world. The original population of from three to five thousand - before the white invasion of 1803 - was halved each decade, partly by introduced diseases, partly by murder. Then, during 1829-34, the self-styled missionary George Augustus Robinson gathered together the 200 or so survivors and transported them to an island in the Bass Strait. Separated from their homeland, numbers decreased even more rapidly - there were 82 left in 1838, 16 in 1854 and only 6 by 1863. Truganini, the last full-blood Tasmanian left on the island, died in 1876 (fuller details are in Jones 1971). N.B.Tindale (1974:318) reports that the last full-blood among the Tasmanian Aboriginal women who had been taken by white sealers to Kangaroo Island, off South Australia, died there about 1888.

Estimates of the number of 'tribes' in Tasmania range from nine or ten to twenty or more; each had a number of constituent local groups. Limited information is available on their residence patterns, implements, foods, hunting methods, mourning customs and the like. But there is virtually no information about the kinship system, for example, or marriage rules (see Jones 1974 and further references therein).

## 1.3 LINGUISTIC SOURCES

The source material for Tasmanian languages can be divided into five groups:

[i] *Journals of maritime explorers.* A number of early expeditions spent short periods in Tasmania and took down word-lists ranging from the 9 words of Captain Cook (1777) to between 100 and 200 in the several vocabularies from the D'Entrecasteaux expedition, in 1792-3. All of the maritime vocabularies are from the south-eastern dialects, save for the short list of about two dozen words taken down by Allen Cunningham, botanist accompanying Captain P.P.King, in 1819 from Macquarie Harbour, on the central west coast.

[ii] *Early colonial accounts.* There are half-a-dozen short vocabularies taken down by early settlers and visitors to Tasmania, commencing with 30 words recorded by Robert Brown at the Derwent in 1804. These were mostly of south-eastern dialects - Bruny Island, Oyster Bay and the like. But Jorgen Jorgenson did collect about 60 words from Circular Head, on the north-west coast, and a similar number from the 'western language', while the words gathered by Governor George Arthur include some from the north-east.

[iii] *George Augustus Robinson.* At the back of Robinson's diaries, during his expeditions to contact and bring in all the remaining Tasmanians, in 1829-34, there are fairly copious word lists covering all parts of the island (although

the south-eastern dialects are again featured most heavily). Robinson's vocabularies comprise perhaps half of the total Tasmanian corpus; it is all the more pity that his transcriptions are so poor.

[iv] *Material gathered at the government settlements.* After the remaining Tasmanians had been exiled on Flinders Island there were a handful of further attempts to record something of the language. The most ambitious was by Joseph Milligan who was surgeon-superintendent of the settlement during 1844-7. Milligan published, in 1857, comparative vocabularies in three dialects. There were almost a thousand words in each of two south-eastern dialects, and also two hundred words assigned to 'north-west and western tribes'. However, the latter does not correspond too well with earlier vocabularies from these areas. There is evidence that by this time many dialect differences had been lost among the people at the settlement; they appear to have evolved a lingua franca, based mainly on the south-eastern dialects (since a majority of the inmates did come from this region.)

[v] *Recent work.* Some material has been gathered during this century, from people with some Tasmanian blood, or from those who had known Tasmanians. About 1900 the Royal Society of Tasmania made some recordings of songs and speech by Fanny Cochrane Smith, a part-Tasmanian. However, because of the poor quality of the recording, and subsequent deterioration, it is impossible to make out the sounds; the only inferences that can be drawn concern the placement of stress. During 1908-10 Ernest Westlake interviewed about 30 people in Tasmania and gathered around 100 words, some in several versions. In 1941-2 Archibald Meston recorded 19 words from Mary Jane Miller, a daughter of Fanny Cochrane Smith, and someone who had been used as informant by Westlake. Westlake's transcriptions are fair, but Meston's were as poor as most of those of the previous century.

Finally, two scholars with phonetic training had the opportunity to record fragments of Tasmanian. In the 1930s N.B. Tindale was engaged in ethnographic research among part-blood descendants of Tasmanian women and white sealers. The four phrases he recorded on Kangaroo Island were published in Tindale 1937:36. Dr. Tindale has kindly made available to us part of his 1939 journal from Cape Barren Island; he notes three words:

['woglɪ] 'fern root'  
 ['jaʔa'ni:man] 'wallaby'  
 ['nâratapa] 'white man'

and one sentence:

['ʔarkja 'ʔa:ja 'parana 'li: 'pa:jata'ni:man 'nâratapa]  
 wallaby whiteman  
 'little wallaby went into the water, was hunted there by  
 whiteman'

Tindale explained that [ʔ] represents a lamino-interdental stop, similar to that found in many mainland languages.

Then in 1972 Crowley made the first, and perhaps the

last, audible sound recordings of Tasmanian. He recorded material from Mrs. Heffernan and Mrs. Mundy, granddaughters of Fanny Cochrane Smith. This comprised five words:

[láŋəne]	'foot'
[ɹáŋəne]	'hand'
[múkəltina]	'head'
[lámθəni]	'meat'
[təʊf:lə]	'native bread'

and a complete sentence (Mrs. Heffernan gave a translation for the whole sentence but did not gloss individual words; we have been able to do this from consultation of earlier materials):

[tábənti nŋəne múməjə pɹóbəbi padjú:lə]
go get wood put fire
Get a bit of wood and put it on the fire.

Mrs. Heffernan also sang a fragment of a corroboree song, said to have been sung by Fanny Cochrane Smith before an audience at Government House in Hobart. The song has a lilting melody but unfortunately the meaning of the words has been lost. We have transcribed it as:

[kuməjəyngow ku:nəku:nəli
-- -- hiɹiyawa: taɹima: taɹima:]

The two dashes represent an imitation of a bird call.

Mrs. Heffernan had plainly never 'used' the few words she knew and recalled having to beg her mother to tell her what she remembered of Tasmanian. Her pronunciation of this material was almost wholly assimilated to that of Australian English (and on one repetition she added English pluraliser *-s* to [láŋəne] and to [ɹáŋəne].) Note, though, that these words do show a velar nasal [ŋ] between vowels, something that is almost unknown in English, and also the sequence [mθ]. The forms that Crowley collected for 'foot', 'head', 'meat' and 'bread', are found in Westlake's short list, as is the complete sentence he recorded, suggesting that there has been a small set of words and sentences handed down among the descendants of Tasmanians this century. There can be no certainty that these correspond exactly to the forms occurring in the Tasmanian languages when they were actively spoken. But the Crowley recordings are the only check we have on philological inferences based on comparison of early transcriptions. We discuss this further in 2.1 below.

The Tasmanian materials have long fascinated scholars and there have been many attempts to gather together most or all source materials - by H. de Charencey in 1880, E.M. Curr in 1887, H. Ling Roth in 1890, J.E. Calder in 1901, F. Hestermann in 1936, W. Schmidt in 1952 and finally N.J.B. Plomley in 1976. Plomley's is by far the most complete compendium, being the only one to include the extensive Robinson materials (which only came into notice in the 1950s) and also the Westlake and Meston lists. Plomley has systematically collated all word lists and thoroughly checked his materials against the original sources. We have used his volume as the basis for our study.

There is only a little information on Tasmanian which is not included in Plomley. He does not have the material from Tindale's 1939 journal, nor the 1972 recordings by Crowley; we have given these in full here. Plomley also omits mention of the language material in Calder 1874 (although this was commented on extensively by Capell 1968). And he does not list the four manuscripts in the Marsden collection of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (see Mander-Jones 1972:362) comprising four 'short vocabularies of the languages of natives of Van Dieman's Land, collected by the officers of the French frigates *La Recherche* and *L'Esperance*, in 1793'; these are further versions of the vocabularies of the D'Entrecasteaux Expedition (Plomley 1976:13-4).

A sample check of Plomley's materials against the original publications or manuscripts suggests that he has achieved a high level of accuracy and reliability. There do, however, appear to be a few odd omissions. For instance, Plomley does not give *Ganna* 'teeth' from the Jorgenson vocabulary (Braim 1846:258), and for 'ear' he gives the published spelling *pelverata* (Braim 1846:257) and does not mention that the manuscript version of this vocabulary in the Mitchell Library Sydney (see Plomley 1976:17) shows a spelling *pulverata*.

Plomley (1976:5-71) has an extensive and excellent bibliography of source materials and there would be little point in our repeating it here. References in this volume cover sources that we specifically cite; for the attestation of forms etc the reader is referred to Plomley and his bibliographic references.

Almost all the Tasmanian material consists of simple word lists, sometimes indicating the part of Tasmania an item comes from and sometimes omitting this information. Plomley (1976:44-55) gives all known song texts; unfortunately, meanings have not been recorded for most of these. The corpus of sentences in Tasmanian is even slimmer - there are a handful of sentences in Jorgenson and Robinson and about 100 short sentences and phrases were gathered by Milligan; there are also two versions of the translation of some verses of Genesis, by Thomas Wilkinson, and two versions of a sermon in Tasmanian, by Robinson. It is likely that most of this material was translated word by word from English; little about the structure of Tasmanian can be inferred from it. Plomley (1976:34-43) brings together all this material excepting the alternate version of Robinson's sermon, and two or three 'spontaneous' sentences, in Calder (1874:16, 18, 28).

#### 1.4 DIALECTS AND LANGUAGES

It is clear that each local group of each tribe had a slightly different dialect from its neighbours, and some dialects could be grouped together as constituting a single 'language' (in the linguistic sense, defined in terms of mutual intelligibility - see Dixon 1980a:33-40). The important question concerns how many distinct languages there

were in Tasmania.

J.W.Walker noted in his journal, at the Flinders Island settlement that 'every tribe speaks a different dialect, it might almost be said a different language...' (Roth 1899:179). Bonwick (1870:133) discussed the question of language, beginning by quoting Robinson's testimony that 'the different tribes spoke quite a different language; there was not the slightest analogy between the languages'. He continued: 'When a captured woman from Cape Grim, to the north-west, was brought to Flinders, it was found that she was as ignorant of the dialect of the rest as they of hers. It was this ignorance of each other's language that kept alive those tribal jealousies and antagonisms, which so often threatened the peace of the Strait settlement. When, however, they had constructed, by force of circumstances, a sort of *lingua franca* - a common language - their friendship grew, and local feeling improved. Mr. Clark, the catechist, thus wrote to me of the condition of linguistic affairs then: "The languages spoken were different; so much so, that, on my first joining them in 1834, I found them instructing each other to speak their respective tongues. There were at one time eight or ten different languages or dialects spoken by about two hundred persons who were domiciled at Flinders."'

Schmidt decided that there must have been five distinct languages - western, northern, north-eastern, mid-eastern, and south-eastern - giving the data on which his conclusions were based. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:19) suggested just two languages - Schmidt's northern being one, and the other four Schmidt groups making up the second - but did not indicate the grounds on which this suggestion was based.

It is, in fact, impossible to come to any definite decision concerning the number of distinct languages in Tasmania. Drawing the line between language and dialect is never an easy matter; it must involve a full comparison of linguistic systems - phonology, grammar and lexicon. The materials on Tasmanian dialects range from poor to almost non-existent; we have two or three hundred words from some of the south-eastern groups but only a dozen or so words from some groups in the western regions. There is almost no grammatical information - at best two pronominal forms.

A preliminary judgement concerning dialect relationship can be made on the basis of vocabulary comparison (lexicostatistics) but this should always be followed up by a full comparison of the complete lexicons and grammatical systems. Work on mainland Australian languages has suggested that lexical replacement (often, following the tabooing of the names of deceased persons, and of lexical items similar to them in form) can apply in all sections of the vocabulary. The sources indicate that tabooing was a major factor in Tasmania (see Milligan 1857:34-5, Bonwick 1870:145), and the lexical pattern found on the mainland may apply here also.

It can be shown that if two, rather different, languages come into contiguity they will borrow back and forth (partly, to replace lexemes that have been tabooed) until the common

vocabulary makes up about 50% (in practice, say, 40-60%) of each language's total vocabulary. If one tribe splits into two new tribes, each will taboo and replace words independently of the other, and the percentage of common vocabulary will steadily drop, until it reaches the 40-60% equilibrium level.

It is possible to draw tentative inferences concerning genetic relationship from vocabulary comparison; as we have already stressed, these should always be verified by a full comparison of the complete language systems. If two groups have about 70% common vocabulary or more, it is likely that they are dialects of a single language (and we would expect their grammars to be very similar). If they score between 60% and 70% then they are probably two distinct languages which are closely genetically related (and we would again expect there to be more grammatical than lexical similarities). If they score less than 40% then they are probably not closely related, but have come into contact relatively recently (and there would normally be fewer grammatical than there are lexical similarities). If the lexical score between two contiguous languages is between about 40% and about 60% - that is, somewhere around the 'equilibrium level' of 50% - it is not possible to draw any conclusions about their genetic relationship from lexical score alone.

On the map we show 15 distinct regions to which Robinson and other early investigators assign vocabulary. Collectively, the regions from South-western round to Circular Head are designated 'Western'; Piper River, Ben Lomond and Cape Portland are 'North-eastern'; and Big River, Oyster Bay and Little Swanport constitute 'East central'. It is clear that each locality represents a distinct dialect (or, in some cases, possibly a blend of several closely-related dialects).

We have compared each pair of vocabularies, considering forms for which the same English or French glosses are given. The number of pairs that can be obtained varies from 119 between Little Swanport and Big River, to just 9 between South-Western and Macquarie Harbour. The actual numbers of words compared, and the number that appear to be cognate, are shown in Table 1. The percentage figures are given in Table 2, in cases where the denominator is 15 or more.

The number of words which can be compared is so small that we would hesitate to hazard *any* conclusions if we were not dealing with so difficult and obscure a situation as that in Tasmania. The following inferences must all be regarded as speculative.

[i] Oyster Bay and Big River have 85% in common and are very likely to be dialects of a single language.

[ii] There is very little information for Little Swanport but what there is would be compatible with it being a further dialect of the Oyster Bay/Big River language.

[iii] South-eastern appears to be a language distinct from Oyster Bay/Big River; the scores are about the equilibrium range, making it impossible to draw any inferences on genetic connection between these two languages.

TABLE 1 - *Lexical comparison (actual figures)*

South-Western														
$\frac{5}{9}$	Macquarie Harbour													
$\frac{14}{25}$	$\frac{5}{12}$	North-Western												
$\frac{13}{31}$	$\frac{5}{11}$	$\frac{22}{30}$	Robbins Island											
$\frac{8}{19}$	$\frac{6}{14}$	$\frac{12}{22}$	$\frac{12}{23}$	Circular Head										
$\frac{1}{26}$	$\frac{0}{9}$	$\frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{2}{21}$	$\frac{0}{17}$	Northern									
$\frac{2}{27}$	$\frac{1}{11}$	$\frac{1}{21}$	$\frac{2}{32}$	$\frac{1}{22}$	$\frac{7}{34}$	Port Sorell								
$\frac{0}{19}$	$\frac{0}{11}$	$\frac{0}{18}$	$\frac{0}{20}$	$\frac{1}{13}$	$\frac{6}{28}$	$\frac{1}{40}$	North Midlands							
$\frac{0}{14}$	$\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{0}{7}$	$\frac{2}{12}$	$\frac{14}{28}$	$\frac{6}{28}$	$\frac{5}{26}$	Piper River						
$\frac{1}{27}$	$\frac{2}{9}$	$\frac{1}{24}$	$\frac{1}{28}$	$\frac{1}{19}$	$\frac{24}{52}$	$\frac{9}{47}$	$\frac{20}{37}$	$\frac{27}{41}$	Cape Portland					
$\frac{0}{23}$	$\frac{0}{15}$	$\frac{1}{23}$	$\frac{1}{26}$	$\frac{2}{20}$	$\frac{13}{39}$	$\frac{13}{85}$	$\frac{14}{44}$	$\frac{25}{41}$	$\frac{39}{67}$	Ben Lomond				
$\frac{1}{36}$	$\frac{2}{18}$	$\frac{1}{33}$	$\frac{3}{40}$	$\frac{4}{33}$	$\frac{8}{52}$	$\frac{13}{56}$	$\frac{9}{59}$	$\frac{13}{37}$	$\frac{12}{62}$	$\frac{19}{64}$	Oyster Bay			
$\frac{0}{8}$	$\frac{0}{2}$	$\frac{0}{7}$	$\frac{0}{7}$	$\frac{0}{8}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{1}{9}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{0}{5}$	$\frac{1}{10}$	$\frac{2}{8}$	$\frac{12}{18}$	Little Swanport		
$\frac{3}{28}$	$\frac{3}{15}$	$\frac{2}{25}$	$\frac{4}{29}$	$\frac{2}{26}$	$\frac{5}{35}$	$\frac{15}{48}$	$\frac{3}{46}$	$\frac{9}{27}$	$\frac{11}{40}$	$\frac{15}{52}$	$\frac{70}{82}$	$\frac{6}{10}$	Big River	
$\frac{9}{50}$	$\frac{3}{21}$	$\frac{4}{46}$	$\frac{5}{57}$	$\frac{4}{30}$	$\frac{6}{45}$	$\frac{9}{60}$	$\frac{7}{58}$	$\frac{7}{37}$	$\frac{7}{61}$	$\frac{9}{76}$	$\frac{64}{119}$	$\frac{1}{17}$	$\frac{29}{79}$	South-Eastern

[iv] Piper River, Cape Portland and Ben Lomond form an interrelated group. The first two - and just possibly all three - could be dialects of a single language. If Ben Lomond was a separate language - as these figures tend to suggest - it was very likely to be closely genetically related to Piper River/Cape Portland.

[v] North Midlands must be a distinct language. Although it scores 54% with Cape Portland, the figure is only 19% with Piper River, making a close genetic connection with the Piper River/Cape Portland/Ben Lomond group rather unlikely.

[vi] Port Sorell is a further language, its low scores with all other vocabularies making it unlikely that there is any close genetic connection between Port Sorell and any other language.

TABLE 2 - *Lexical comparison (percentage figures)*


---



---

South-Western														
-	Macquarie Harbour													
56	-	North-Western												
41	-	73	Robbins Island											
42	-	55	52	Circular Head										
4	-	5	10	0	Northern									
8	-	5	6	5	21	Port Sorell								
0	-	0	6	-	21	3	North Midlands							
-	-	-	-	-	50	21	19	Piper River						
4	-	4	4	5	46	19	54	66	Cape Portland					
0	0	4	4	10	33	15	32	61	58	Ben Lomond				
3	11	3	8	12	15	23	15	35	19	30	Oyster Bay			
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	Little Swanport		
11	20	8	14	8	14	31	7	33	28	29	85	-	Big River	
18	14	9	9	13	13	15	12	19	11	12	54	6	37	South-Eastern

---



---

[vii] Northern is probably a language on its own, although the figure of 50% with Piper River (with which it is not contiguous) does not discount it being a dialect of the same language.

[viii] North-western and Robbins Island are probably dialects of a single language.

[ix] Circular Head scores only just over 50% with North-western and Robbins Island, but the data available is so scanty that this is not incompatible with it being a dialect of the same language.

[x] The data available for South-western and for Macquarie Harbour are so slight that it is bordering on the farcical to draw any inferences from them. There is certainly no strong evidence that they should be grouped with other vocabularies. Note that 50 items can be compared with South-eastern but these yield a score of only 18%, a very low figure for contiguous languages.

The conclusion we draw from this is that there must have been at least the following six languages:

- (a) Oyster Bay, Big River, Little Swanport
- (b) South-eastern
- (c) Piper River, Cape Portland, Ben Lomond, Northern
- (d) North Midlands
- (e) Port Sorell
- (f) North-western, Robbins' Island, Circular Head

There are in addition South-western and Macquarie Harbour which may well comprise two further languages.



So there were probably at least eight distinct languages in Tasmania. There may have been considerably more. Only the Big River and Oyster Bay lists unequivocally demand to be treated as dialects of a single language. It is possible - although perhaps not likely - that there could have been as many as twelve (or even fourteen?) languages.

The only grammatical data available is forms for 'I' and 'you' in a few dialects (and some putative suffixes, of whose meanings we cannot be sure). These support the tentative conclusions we have drawn from lexical comparison. 'I' and 'you' have quite different forms in Port Sorell, in Ben Lomond (in the single source available for each) and in the mid-eastern region. Oyster Bay and Big River have identical or closely similar forms. Some of the forms in South-eastern are close to those in Big River/Oyster Bay.

The data we have used are so slight that the conclusions we have drawn are very tentative. The real answer to the question 'how many languages were there spoken in Tasmania' is 'we don't know'; to say 'probably somewhere between eight and twelve' is to hazard an only slightly informed guess.

It will be seen that there are no grounds at all for saying that the languages of Tasmania make up a single genetic family. We can do little more than say that - whatever the dialect/language division - each of the groups listed in (a) were probably genetically related, in a linguistic sense, and that the same applies to (c) and to (f). It is possible, perhaps even likely, that (a) and (b) were related, as were (c) and (d). It is certainly possible that South-Western and Macquarie Harbour were related to the North-Western Group, and that both (e) and (c-d) were related to (a-b), giving just two genetic groups, one comprising (a-e) and the other the western and north-western languages. The evidence available is compatible with there being two distinct language families in Tasmania, or with there being four (or even as many as eight) distinct families. And the data available are so slight that we can scarcely exclude any possibility - such as the languages making up a single family, although there is certainly no evidence in favour of this.

## 2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 INTERPRETATION OF WRITTEN RECORDS

Determining the phonetic form of words in the Tasmanian languages from the written records available is a far from easy task. There is only a little descriptive information of what the languages sounded like; it is usefully collected together by Plomley 1976:27-31. Most of the comments are of limited value. Robinson, for example, said only 'the eastern native is the most indistinct or gutteral of any natives I have visited'; and 'some said one thing, some another, but as the natives find it difficult to pronounce

the "s", the whole appeared to say instead of "good health" "go to hell". If he had been more perceptive Robinson might have inferred from this that there was no voicing contrast, so that *d* and *t* were interchangeable, that since all words ended in a vowel, 'good' would be pronounced like 'go to'. (And pace Robinson's comment, there is no *s* in 'Good health'; the Tasmanian languages appear to have had a lamino-interdental stop, which may have had a pronunciation rather like English *th*; the difficulty here concerned the sequence of *l* followed by *th* at the end of a word.)

The only informative comments on Tasmanian pronunciation are those of G.W.Walker and especially of Joseph Milligan on the vowels (see 2.3) and also the remarks of R.H.Davis (Plomley 1976:29): 'Their language is very soft and liquid, ending, I think without exception, in vowels... The dialects are numerous, and the language in different parts of the island appears to be wholly different... The aborigines from the westward, and those from the eastward did not at first understand each other, when brought to Flinders' Island... but they afterwards, in common with the whites, used a kind of lingua franca... The aborigines shew great facility in attaining the pronunciation even of English words, dissimilar as that language is to their own; they cannot, however, pronounce the hard letters, as *d* and *s*; doctor, they pronounce togata, or tokata; sugar, tugana; tea, teana.'

It is possible, by comparing several different renditions of what appears to be a single word, to make a fair attempt at reconstituting its phonetic shape. Milligan gave fairly explicit information about the conventions he employed (see 2.2, 2.3) and seems to have followed these reasonably consistently. Compare four versions of 'emu' for the Bruny Island (South-eastern) dialect:

Robinson: gon.nan.ner, gonanner  
 Milligan: 'ngunannah  
 Roberts: nganana

It is likely that the form was [ŋanana].

Although Robinson gathered the most data, and probably had more contact with the Tasmanians than any other Europeans, it is plain that he cannot have had any real command of the language, but in all likelihood just strung together some Tasmanian words with a basic English grammar. His transcription is very poor - initial [ŋ] may be represented as *g* (as in the example just given) or *n* or *h* or may be omitted altogether; he seldom deviates from the letter combinations possible in spelling English words!

For many words the only forms we have are those by G.A.Robinson, or by his son Charles Robinson. Consider, for instance 'ear' in the Cape Portland and in the related Ben Lomond dialects:

Cape Portland (G.A.Robinson): nin.ne.woon.er  
 hen.ne.wun.ner  
 un.ne.woo.ner  
 Ben Lomond (Charles Robinson): yher.na.win.ner  
 yer.na.win.ner

Comparison of the three different beginnings for the Cape Portland word suggest that it may have commenced with [ŋ]; the most likely form for this word is [ŋiniwuna]. The Ben Lomond form may also have begun in [ŋ], and may also have been [ŋiniwuna] or else some form very similar to this.

This example should illustrate the difficulties and interdeterminacies surrounding the interpretation of Robinson's and others' early transcriptions; for some dialects the only or almost the only information we have is that recorded by Robinson.

The recordings made by Crowley in 1972 - slight and late as they are - provided an invaluable check on the reconstitutions we had already attempted by comparison of early transcriptions. For 'head' there are three early versions similar to that given by Mrs. Heffernan, all by Robinson:

muck.el.ten.ner (Piper River)  
 mo.kel.te. (Piper River)  
 muk.el.ten.ner (Northern, perhaps actually north-eastern)

Westlake also recorded mookeltina 'head' and, from Mary Jane Miller, mookelteena 'chin'; thirty odd years later Meston recorded mookatinna from Mrs. Miller. We inferred from these a phonetic form [mukʷitina], corresponding well with the form Crowley tape-recorded, [mukɛttina].

There is a single early transcription of a form for 'meat' similar to that given by Mrs. Heffernan. Robinson wrote down larm.ten.er for the Cape Portland dialect (Westlake also noted larnty and larnte and Meston lahmti). From the Robinson form we inferred [lamtina] whereas in fact Mrs. Heffernan said [lámθɛni]. There is no trace in the earlier versions of the dental sound [θ], and in this instance Robinson's final *-er* was actually [i] (for 'head' his final *-er* appears to have been [a]).

There are about twenty early versions of 'foot' that show some similarity to Mrs. Heffernan's [lámθɛni]; and Westlake recorded lang-ena from two informants. Fourteen of them (including all five by Robinson) have simply *-g-* or *-gg-* between the first two vowels, while five show *-ng-*; there may well have been dialectal differences. Although Westlake's hyphen in lang-ena suggests a form [lámθɛna], the spellings langana from Jorgenson and McGeary, langena from Backhouse, lãngẽhnẽh from Walker and lãngõõnãr from Sterling would not allow us to decide between [ŋ] and [ng].

This comparison between the 1972 recordings and reconstitutions attempted on the basis of the nineteenth century written records suggest that no more than half the reconstitutions are likely to be at least tolerably correct. It suggests that it would not be worthwhile trying to reconstitute the phonetic form of every word, from the forms collated by Plomley. In view of this we do not include a list of words in Tasmanian languages at the end of this paper, but instead refer the reader to the original sources, drawn together in Plomley's compendium.

We can, however, attempt some *generalisations* concerning the phonetics and phonology of the Tasmanian languages.

We may not be able to reconstruct initial [ŋ] in every word in which it occurred, but we can be quite certain that words did commence with [ŋ] in Tasmania. Similarly, comparison of spellings indicates that voicing was not phonologically contrastive in any part of the island. In the next sections we outline what is known and can be inferred about the phonetics of Tasmanian languages, and make tentative deductions concerning their phonology.

Although it seems incontrovertible that there were a number of distinct languages in Tasmania (perhaps belonging to a number of distinct language families) there were many areal similarities, as would be expected of languages confined to a small island for any period of time. In particular, they seem to have been very similar at the phonetic and phonological levels.

Discussion of phonetics and phonology, in the remainder of this chapter, is based mainly on the mid-eastern and south-eastern languages, for which the greatest information is available. It seems likely that most of our remarks will also apply to languages in other parts of Tasmania.

## 2.2 CONSONANTS

The full set of consonantal sounds in the Tasmanian languages appears to have been:

	<i>apico- alveolar</i>	<i>lamino- dental</i>	<i>lamino- palatal</i>	<i>dorso- velar</i>	<i>bi- labial</i>	<i>labio- dental</i>
<i>voiced stop</i>	[d]	[ɖ]	[ɟ]	[g]	[b]	
<i>voiceless stop</i>	[t]	[t̪]	[tʃ]	[k]	[p]	
<i>voiced fricative</i>				[ɣ]		[v]
<i>voiceless fricative</i>				[χ]		
<i>nasal</i>	[n]	([ɳ]?)	[ɲ]	[ŋ]	[m]	
<i>lateral</i>	[l]					
<i>flap</i>	[r]					
<i>continuant</i>	[ɹ]					
<i>semi-vowel</i>			[y]		[w]	

Milligan recognised the velar fricatives, transcribing them by 'ch' and 'gh'; he explained that 'ch and gh are pronounced as in the German word *hochachten* and in the Irish word *lough*'. Note that there is no trace of sibilants in Tasmanian languages. Plomley does quote the form *riz lia* 'mains' from a published vocabulary of the D'Entrecasteaux expedition but this was a typographical error in the original publication; the manuscript version (see 1.3) has *ria lia*. Similar explanations are probably appropriate for other odd occurrences of *z* and *s* in the corpus.

A number of attempts have been made to work out the underlying phonological system, the most extreme being that of Ritz (1910) who suggested that there were just four basic consonants: a labial, a dental, a velar and a liquid (cover-

ing nasals, lateral and rhotics); Ritz correlated this phonological simplicity with the childishness of the minds of the Tasmanians!

We shall discuss a number of phonetic parameters, and decide for each whether it is likely to have been phonologically significant.

[a] *Voicing*. Schmidt suggested that voicing was not contrastive in Tasmania (as it is not in almost all languages of mainland Australia). There seems no doubt that this is a correct observation, and that it applies to every Tasmanian language. A given word would be transcribed in one instance using a voiced and in another with a voiceless symbol, e.g.

<i>source spellings</i>	<i>reconstructed forms</i>
Robinson: ko.ger Milligan: koka	/guga/ 'blood' [South-east]
Robinson: muth.er Milligan: matta D'Entrecasteaux: mada	/mada/ 'testicles' [South-east]
Robinson: too.deen.ner " too.te.yen.er	/dudiyina/ 'emu' [East]
Robinson: no.pine.ner " no.bine	/nubay(na)/ 'dream' [West coast]
Milligan: toggana " tokana	/tugana/ 'heel' [Oyster Bay]
Gaimard: kible Backhouse: gibbleh Jorgenson: giblee	/gibli/ 'to eat' [North-western]

Schmidt makes what appear to be accurate observations: that stops are almost always voiceless at the beginning of a word; and that a stop between the first and second vowels of a word is likely to be voiced if the word begins with a cluster of stop plus *r*, or with one of *r*, *l*, *m*, *n* or *w*.

Either voiced or voiceless symbols could be used for stops in Tasmanian languages; we have chosen to use /b/, /d/, /g/ etc since this is the majority convention for the transcription of languages on the mainland.

[b] *Fricatives*. The letter *v* occurs infrequently in the transcription of Tasmanian words. In every case it appears to be an alternant of *w*, suggesting that the articulation of /w/ could occasionally involve slight friction, e.g.

<i>source spellings</i>	<i>reconstructed forms</i>
Robinson: vee.ner " wee.nar	/wina/ 'moon' [North-west]
Milligan: weenah McGeary: vena	
Gaimard: livore Lhostky: levira Jorgenson: leware Robinson: lee.wur.rer	/liwVra/ 'night' [North-east] NOTE: the quality of the second vowel cannot be determined.

<i>source spellings</i>	<i>reconstructed forms</i>
Robinson: vaw.ty	/waɟi/ 'ice', icicle' [South-east]
Sterling: wor.thy	

The velar fricatives mentioned by Milligan appear to have been rather uncommon, and were probably further allophones of /g/, occurring mainly before /r/ (and probably also before /i/ or /w/) e.g.

<i>source spellings</i>	<i>reconstructed forms</i>
Milligan: tugrah	/dugra(na)/ 'to eat' [South-east]
" tuggranah	
Milligan: pugherittah	/bigrida/ 'swan' [South-east]
Robinson: pick.rer.dar	
" pick.er.rer.dar	
Sterling: pīck.ĕr.rĕr.dār	

[c] *Laminal stops.* All mainland Australian languages have sounds which involve the blade of the tongue. In some languages there is a phonological contrast between lamino-(inter) dentals ( $\underset{d}{d}$ ,  $\underset{n}{n}$ ) and lamino-alveopalatals ( $\underset{g}{g}$ ,  $\underset{p}{p}$ ); in others there is a single laminal stop and nasal, but each may have lamino-dental and lamino-alveopalatal allophones.

The evidence for a lamino-alveopalatal stop occurring in Tasmanian lies in the frequency of spellings such as *ty* and *teh*, and the unmistakable occurrence of [t̪] in Mrs. Heffernan's song. Tindale mentions an interdental stop, and the interdental fricative is attested by *th* spellings and Mrs. Mundy's [læmθəni] 'meat'. It is highly likely that [d̪], [t̪] and [θ] were members of a single phoneme - that is, the lamino-dental stop could sometimes involve some friction, as it does in many Australian languages.

It remains to enquire whether Tasmanian had a contrast between two laminal stops. This question is, in fact, impossible to answer from the data available. In mainland languages that have a single laminal stop phoneme, the lamino-palatal allophone often occurs after, or else anywhere next to, /i/ and the lamino-dental allophone elsewhere. Many of the occurrences of the lamino-palatal stop in Tasmanian languages are next to /i/, but there do seem to be some occurrences of the interdental stop in the same environment, e.g.

<i>reconstructed forms</i>	<i>deduced from spellings</i>
/midina/ 'bush'	mëethĕnār (Sterling)
/drudina/ 'hang' [N-W]	droe.thin.ner (Robinson)
/baɟila/ 'opossum' [S-E]	par.thel.ler (Robinson), pawtella (Milligan) etc.
/waɟiga/ 'to hold' [N-W]	warth.hick.ar (Robinson)

compare with:

/malid̪i/ 'white' [Oyster Bay]	malleetyĕ (Milligan), mal.lit.yer (Robinson)
/jayɟi(na)/ 'white man, devil' [Mid-E, S-E]	rut.yer, rite.cher, raege, (Robinson) rāgi, rāgina (Scott)

If the Tasmanian languages had a single lateral stop, it is possible that there might have been a certain amount of free variation between the dental and palatal allophones.

We can conclude that Tasmanian certainly had at least one laminal stop, and that there were both lamino-dental and lamino-palatal sounds, at the phonetic level. The question of whether there was a laminal contrast at the phonological level cannot be given a sure answer from the data available.

[d] *Apical series*. Australian languages have either one or two contrastive stop-nasal series which involve sounds made with the tip of the tongue. If there are two series one involves apico-alveolar and the other apico-postalveolar or retroflex articulation; if there is a single phonological series, there may be alveolar and post-alveolar allophones.

There is no evidence in the Tasmanian materials for any retroflex sounds, let alone retroflex phonemes. The evidence does seem fairly clear that all the Tasmanian languages had apico-alveolar stop /d/, nasal /n/ and lateral /l/.

[e] *Nasals*. It is a characteristic of Australian languages that there is a nasal corresponding to each stop. The Tasmanian corpus provides clear evidence for four nasals, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/ and /m/. The contrast between /n/ and /ɲ/ can be exemplified:

<i>reconstructed form</i>	<i>deduced from spellings</i>
/lina/ 'place' [Oyster Bay]	lenna (Milligan), lunna (Bedford)
/wina/ 'periwinkle' [Oyster Bay]	winnya (Milligan)

There is no real evidence for a lamino-dental nasal [ɲ]. But this is a sound which is difficult to distinguish from [n], for someone who does not have the contrast in his native language, and we could scarcely expect the sources for Tasmanian to show it.

[f] *Laterals*. The orthographic sequence *ly* occurs a few times in Milligan's and also in Robinson's vocabularies, but there is insufficient evidence to support a lamino-palatal lateral, in addition to the well-attested apico-alveolar lateral /l/.

[g] *Rhotics*. There is some evidence that Tasmanian, like almost all languages from the Australian mainland, contrasted a flap or trill /r/ with a frictionless continuant /ɹ/.

Where there is alternation in the sources between *r* and *l*, or between *r* and *w*, we infer a continuant /ɹ/ e.g.

<i>source spellings</i>	<i>reconstructed forms</i>
Scott: roogara Arthur: lugarana	/ɹugara(na)/ 'ear' [Oyster Bay]
Jorgenson: wadewewanna McGeary: vadaburena	/wadibɹana/ 'ashamed' [East]

In *The Van Diemen's Land Almanack* for 1831 (pages 141-2)

Henry Melville commented: 'What their language is, is not much known, but they have been noticed to sound the letter R, with a rough deep emphasis, particularly when excited by anger or otherwise, and that upon these occasions also, they use the word *werr*, *werr* very vehemently'. We infer that the alternation of *dr* with *r* in the sources indicates a flapped or trilled rhotic, e.g.

<i>source spellings</i>	<i>reconstructed form</i>
G.A.Robinson: ree.wool.lar, dray.wool.ler	/riwula/ 'elbow' [North-east]
Chas. Robinson: dray.will.ar	
Sterling: drãñ.gĕr	/ranga/ or /rangga/ 'knee'
Brown: ranga	[South-east]
D'Entrecasteaux: ranga	

[h] *Semi-vowels*. Evidence from all sources strongly suggests that Tasmanian languages had two semi-vowels, /w/ and /y/.

We have inferred (as tentatively as one must, when dealing with any point concerning the Tasmanian languages) that the consonant system may have been:

/d/	/g/	/g/	/b/
/n/	/n/	/ŋ/	/m/
/l/			
/r/	/ɹ/		
	/y/	/w/	

There may also have been a second laminal stop, lamino-dental /d̪/. There is no evidence for any phonological differences between the various languages (although of course there may well have been at least minor differences).

This consonantal pattern is a common one on the Australian mainland. Indeed, recent comparative work suggests that proto-Australian may have had exactly this system (with the possible addition of a laminal lateral /ɺ/) - see Dixon 1980a:150-9.

## 2.3 VOWELS

Deciding on what the vowel system or systems of the Tasmanian languages may have been is a far more difficult matter. Of the early recorders, G.W.Walker gave short notes on how his orthography for Tasmanian related to English sounds (Plomley 1976:29), Joseph Milligan (1857) provided a detailed and useful account of his spelling conventions:

'The orthography of the aboriginal vocabulary agrees as nearly as possible with the ordinary phonetic expression of the English alphabet, with the following qualifications - the vowel *a* when it stands alone, is to be pronounced as in *cat*, *rap*, etc, but *aa* is sounded nearly as *aw* in the word *lawn*; *e* is pronounced as in the English word *the*, and *ee* as in *thee*, *me*, *see*, etc, but *é* is to be pronounced like *a* in *potatoe* and in *day*; *i* is to be pronounced as in *sigh*, *fie*, etc.; *o* is to be sounded as in *so*, *go*, *flow*, and *oo*



as in *soon*, *moon*, etc; *u* is never to be sounded as in the English word *flute*, its usual sound being that in the French words, *une*, *usage*, *usurier*, *fumer*, etc, but when followed by a double consonant, or by two consonants, it is to be sounded as in the English words *musk*, *lump*, *bump*, etc; *y* is to be sounded as in the English words *holy*, *glibly*, *yonder*, *yellow*, etc; *i* before another vowel has a full sound as in the English words *shine*, *riot*; *ei* coming together are to be pronounced as in *Leipsic*; *ou* as in *noun*; *oi* as in *toil*, etc.'

We can infer from this that there must have been at least the following vowel sounds, at the phonetic level:

	front unrounded	front rounded	mid	back rounded
high	[i]	[ü]		[u]
mid	[e]		[ə]	[o]
low		[æ]	[a]	[ɑ]

We could not distinguish the three low vowels [æ], [a] and [ɑ] from any source but Milligan; and only the records of the French maritime explorers support Milligan's observation concerning [ü]. All the other phonetic distinctions do, however, appear to be reflected in the transcriptions of other writers.

Detailed comparison of spelling variations indicates that there was:

- alternation between [æ], [a], [ɑ], [e] and [o];
- alternation between [u], [ü] and [o]; and
- alternation between [i] and [e].

This suggests a system of just three vowels, at the phonological level, /a/, /u/ and /i/. It is worth remarking that the most common vowel system on the Australian mainland involves just these three vowels.

Examples of these alternations include:

[a]/[e] Jorgenson: magog; McGeary: megog 'rock'  
Milligan: nubré; Brown: nubrana 'eye'

[a]/[o] Jorgenson: bacala; Bedford: po.co.la 'cattle'  
Milligan: yawarrenah, yowarrenah 'mutton fish'

Note that /a/ appears as [o] most frequently next to labial or dorsal consonants, and as [e] most frequently next to laminal or apical consonants.

[u]/[o] Arthur: moona; Robinson: moo.ner; Walker: mōñh  
'lips'  
Jorgenson: youla; Milligan: yolla 'mutton bird'

[i]/[e] Robinson: lee.peen.ner, le.pe.ner 'eye'  
Robinson: leen.her, leieena, leng.in.ner;  
Milligan: liengana 'buttock'

The open vowels [æ] and [ɑ] are identified only in Milligan's vocabulary; they are pretty certainly allophones of /a/. It is likely that [ü] is an allophone of /u/, when it occurs next to a laminal stop, nasal or semi-vowel.

There is evidence for a central vowel, [ə], in unstressed syllables. Comparison of spellings suggests that perhaps any of the three vowels might be reduced to [ə] in certain

positions in a word (in some languages), e.g.

<i>reconstructed form</i>	<i>source spellings</i>
/i/ = [ə] /lugrabani/ 'boat'	McGeary: lukrapani; Backhouse: leucropene; Sterling: loo.crop.per.ner
/u/ = [ə] /bV!uwida/ 'neck'	Milligan: pilowettah Robinson: pale.wet.ter
/a/ = [ə] /tuga(na)/ 'heel'	Milligan: tokana; Robinson: touger

It is hard to tell whether vowel length was distinctive in Tasmanian. One recorder may have used a spelling which implied that there was a longish vowel in a certain word, but in most such cases there will be another spelling which suggests a short vowel e.g. Robinson's ware.ter 'limpet' suggests (in terms of the English spelling conventions Robinson used) [wa:ta] while Milligan's transcription of the same word for the same locality (Oyster Bay) is wattah, suggesting just [wata]. These and other examples point to the length of vowel being a phonetic phenomenon, often varying in each pronunciation of a word. On balance, it is unlikely that vowel length was phonologically significant.

Our conclusion that the Tasmanian languages may have just had three short vowels is put forward with great caution; it is perhaps most satisfactory to say that we cannot presently find evidence for more than three contrastive vowels. But there may have been more; and there may, of course, have been slightly different vowel systems in languages from different parts of the island.

## 2.4 STRESS

The position of stress within a word is perhaps the most elusive aspect of Tasmanian phonology. We have the following source material:

[a] *Walker* marks each vowel with either  $\bar{\quad}$  or  $\check{\quad}$ ; these marks apparently indicate accent rather than quantity (see the comment in Roth 1899, p.1 of Appendix).

[b] *Norman* uses the same marks, probably in the same way.

[c] *Milligan* says 'when a double consonant or two consonants stand together, the first carries the accent, as in the English words *cunningly*, *peppery*, *cobbler*, *pipkin*.' This somewhat elusive statement perhaps means that the vowel preceding a sequence of two consonants (in Milligan's orthography) bears stress.

[d] *Tindale's* transcriptions.

[e] The *Fanny Cochrane Smith* recordings.

[f] The 1972 *Crowley* recordings of *Mrs. Heffernan* and *Mrs. Mundy*.

From these sources it appears that a disyllabic word is always stressed on the first syllable, whereas a trisyllabic word can be stressed on either first or second syllable. Our only general conclusion concerning stress in Tasmanian is thus: any syllable except the last can bear stress.

## 2.5 PHONOTACTICS

Almost every word in the Tasmanian corpus consists of at least two syllables; the few monosyllables all appear to have polysyllabic variants e.g. *ler~ler.lare* 'foot' [Port Sorell]. There is no evidence for any word beginning with a vowel; vowel-initial spellings often derive from a form with initial /ŋ/ (which is evident from other spellings of the same item) or else may relate to initial /w/ or /y/.

About ninety percent of words appear to end in a vowel; sometimes it may be a quite short, central vowel which is scarcely audible in some pronunciations of the word, e.g. *Robinson now.hum.mer*; *Milligan noamma, nowam* 'thunder' [North-West]. Words that end in a consonant come almost exclusively from the dialects of the west coast; (some of) these may, indeed, have an underlying final vowel, which is sometimes not articulated very strongly (as in the example just quoted).

There are some medial consonant clusters, although these are by no means common. The structure of most words in the corpus is thus:

$$CV(C)CV((C)CV)^n$$

The only exception to this formula - apart from the possibility of consonant-final words in the west - is that perhaps 3% of words appear to commence with a consonant cluster; the set of initial clusters appears to be /b/ or /g/ followed by a lateral or rhotic, or /d/ followed by a rhotic.

It is likely that all consonants could occur in initial position; we have record of very few initial laminals, but this may be an indication of the difficulty early observers had of transcribing these, and distinguishing them from /d/ and /ŋ/. Because of the difficulty of making sure reconstructions we hesitate to attempt statistics about the proportion of words that commence with each consonant; we can, however, comment on some points of interest.

On a sample of about 800 reconstructions no less than 17% of words begin with /l/; this is exceeded only by /b/, with 19%, and is just ahead of /m/, 15% and /g/, 13%, /d/, 13%. According to our interpretation of rhotics, about 6% of words begin with /r/ and perhaps a further 1% with /ɹ/.

Intervocalic consonant clusters can be reconstructed for only about 12% of the corpus. Those sequences that are reasonably well-attested are [i] nasal followed by (homorganic or non-homorganic) stop; [ii] lateral or rhotic followed by stop; and, the commonest sequence of all, [iii] stop followed by lateral or rhotic.

## 2.6 SUMMARY

We have interpreted the written material on the Tasmanian languages from the point of view of the recurrent phonological patterns on the Australian mainland. Phonetically, and also phonologically, the Tasmanian languages appear to present a familiar Australian pattern. The consonant and

vowel systems we have suggested do in fact accord very closely with the systems that have been reconstructed for proto-Australian.

Tasmanian languages are also similar to most mainland languages in demanding that each word consist of at least two syllables, and commence with a consonant. The most striking differences are, firstly, the fact that very few syllables end with a consonant - it is rare to encounter a word-final consonant, and intervocalic clusters occur in only a small minority of words. The second significant difference from Australian languages concerns the high frequency of the lateral and rhotic(s) in syllable-initial position. Most Australian languages do not have laterals or rhotics in word-initial position; if they can occur in this slot only a very small number of words will begin with a segment of this type. And on the mainland a lateral or rhotic may be the first, but scarcely ever the second, member of an intervocalic cluster. In Tasmanian the rhotics and specially the lateral occur at the beginnings of many words, and can occur as the second element in an intervocalic cluster. The occurrence of a few initial clusters in Tasmanian is another, more minor, point of difference; initial clusters are rare in Australian languages but where they do occur (around Lake Alexandrina, and in Gippsland, for instance) they generally involve a stop plus lateral or rhotic, as in Tasmanian.

We were able, on lexical grounds, to conclude that there were probably at least eight separate languages in Tasmania. With the exception of consonant-final words occurring mostly in the west, we are able to say nothing about phonetic or phonological differences. It does seem that Tasmania was characterised by a fairly uniform phonetics/phonology, as an areal feature. But there must have been *some* differences between the individual languages; unfortunately, the poverty of the source materials does not allow us to discern these.

### 3. GRAMMAR

#### 3.1 NOUN AND VERB SUFFIXES.

The Tasmanian languages appear to have had a variety of suffixes; there is no strong evidence for any prefixes. A word will sometimes be quoted with a final syllable such as *-na*, *-ga* and sometimes without it, in vocabulary elicitation. There is little sentence material; the sermons by Robinson and Bible translations by Wilkinson were probably in a sort of pidgin, with Tasmanian words being strung together according to English word order. Probably the only spontaneous sentences are the few recorded by Jorgenson and Milligan (and just a handful in Robinson's diary).

Of the early investigators, Milligan wrote that 'the affixes, which signify nothing, are la, lah, le, leh, leah, na, ne, nah, ba, be, beah, bo, ma, me, meah, pa, poo, ra, re, ta, te, ak, ek, ik, etc'. Robinson added *-na* onto English words ending in a consonant when trying to speak Tasmanian, apparently following a common pattern for loan

words; he explained: 'they seem to have had no idea of the existence of a creative, presiding power, implied by the word God, nor any term corresponding with such a sentiment in their vocabulary. The English word has therefore been adopted by the translator, with the native termination superadded, making Gōdnēh. The same with respect to several others. Several of these anglified terms are now in such common use among the natives, that they may be considered as incorporated with the language: the word grässneh, for grass, is more frequently used among those at the settlement, than the original term given above...' (Plomley 1976:41). No other contemporary recorder commented on affixes in Tasmanian languages, their meaning or function.

Some suggestions about morphology were made by Roth, Schmidt and others, scarcely any of them convincing; none of these scholars had access to the substantial material collected by Robinson (which roughly doubles the Tasmanian corpus). We attempted to reassess the morphology by examining the occurrence of putative suffixes and examining possible hypotheses concerning their meaning or function.

Our procedure was to compare variant transcriptions of a single word. Where one appeared to have a final syllable that the other lacked, this syllable was marked as a possible suffix; /na/ as a possible suffix is demonstrated by the forms quoted for 'dream', 'eat', 'white man' and 'ear' in 2.2, and 'heel' in 2.3. Using this procedure we were able to isolate 23 suffixes on nouns and 19 on verbs - 16 of them coincide in form. All, except for a putative *-way*, are of the shape CV. Some of these possible affixes are attested in only two or three words, and it would be impossible to attempt any generalisations concerning them.

We then restricted ourselves to a study of the five most frequent affixes, each of which occurs with both nouns and verbs: /-na/, /-ya/, /-ga/, /-ra/, /-li/. Two hypotheses suggested themselves, and attempts were made to verify them:

[i] We get the following combinations of these affixes:

/-ga/ + /-na/      /-ra/ + /-na/      /-li/ + /-ya/

This suggests that /-ya/ may be in complementary distribution with /-na/; that is, /-ya/ and /-na/ may be allomorphs of a single morpheme. An exhaustive check of the data reveals that /-ya/ only occurs after roots (or the affix /-li/) ending in /-i/. However, there are many examples of /-na/ occurring after /-i/, as well as after /-a/ or /-u/. The data thus does not provide support for our hypothesis.

(It is of course possible that the very frequent *-na* really covers two distinct suffixes - say /-na/, occurring after all vowels; and /-na/, occurring only after /a/ and /u/ and being in complementary distribution with /-ya/. The poor quality of Tasmanian material makes it impossible to prove or disprove this or similar hypotheses.)

/-na/ does not appear to mark any syntactic function - in the limited and unreliable sentence material available it occurs attached to nouns in intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object functions.

[ii] /-ga/, /-ra/ and /-li/ appear, from their tactic possibilities, to constitute a 'system' of affixes. The fact

that they can be suffixes to both nouns and verbs suggests that they may in fact carry a pronominal meaning - with a noun they could indicate 'possession' and attached to a verb they might refer to the subject or object of that verb. However, a careful check of the words with which these affixes occur does not lend credence to this hypothesis - they occur with body part and kinship nouns (which might reasonably be expected to bear a possessive suffix) but also with words such as 'sun', 'worm', 'grass', 'bark', 'rain', 'moon', 'ice' with which a possessive suffix would be implausible. There is, in fact, no more support for attaching a possessive meaning to /-ga/, /-ra/ and /-li/ than to /-na/ or other of the suffixes.

Our thorough investigation of the corpus did not support *any* plausible hypothesis concerning the putative suffixes in the Tasmanian languages.

Capell (1968) provides an exemplary critical account of what is known - or not known - of Tasmanian morphology. Roth (1899:184) had suggested that *-na* marks the singular but there is really no supporting evidence (there is also no evidence to the contrary). Schmidt decided that *-na* was a type of definite article - similar comments apply. Roth (1899:184) also repeated La Billardièrre's suggestion that the disyllabic suffix *-lia* (probably /liya/) marked the plural; it occurs with the words for 'ear', 'eye', 'breast', 'arm', 'tooth', 'testicle' and 'family' in his vocabulary, lending a degree of plausibility to this suggestion. Reduplication may have been used to mark plurality in some instances although there are only a handful of possible examples e.g. *nuba nuberai* 'eyes' (unreduplicated *nubré* is also attested), *lori lori* 'fingers' (there is no record of unreduplicated *lori*). Note also Gaimard's recording of *karde* 'five' and *karde karde* 'ten'.

Most other comments on possible affixes in the literature seem very speculative. On the basis of Milligan's sentences

Tallé lenutoo	'Tell him to go to the house'
Onnabea nangato	'Tell your Father of this'

Müller (1882, II.88) suggested that *-to* was the dative case marking on nouns, parallel to dative *-to* on pronouns.

Although Müller, Schmidt and others have devoted a great deal of attention to the forms of verbs, they have - like us - been unable to draw any significant conclusions.

### 3.2 PRONOUNS

Two sets of pronouns are reasonably well attested:

	'I'	'you'
South-eastern, Oyster Bay and Big River	/mina(na)/	/nina(na)/
North-west and West	/maŋ(a)/	/niŋ(a)/

For Port Sorell and Ben Lomond there is one form of each pronoun, given by Robinson:

	'I'	'you'
Port Sorell	bi.near.re.ne.re.pare	de.nare.re.pare
Ben Lomond	i.tho	yal.ler.me.yoe

Further corroboration would be required before we could be sure that these were the forms of pronouns in these languages.

The only clue concerning a plural pronoun is the form wārrāndĕr 'we' in the Norman vocabulary. Again, there is no corroboration from other sources. A form /narra/ may have been a third person pronoun in some eastern languages; it is glossed 'they, he, her, them, that' by Jorgenson, 'him' by Charles Robinson, 'he, she, they' by Sterling (and 'you, thou' by Backhouse!). Similarly /niga/ is glossed 'this' by several sources. Some forms for 'what' and 'where' are gathered together by Plomley but most of them were originally glossed 'what's your name?' or 'what's the matter?' etc. We can tentatively reconstruct /diliŋa/ 'what' for Oyster Bay, but the other spellings show variation of both form and meaning (or are given by just one recorder).

There are one or two tantalising sentences recorded by Milligan which have been commented on by a number of scholars:

- (1) Noia meahteang meena neeto linah  
'I will not give you any water'
- (2) Loona or Loina tyennabeah mito  
'Give me a stone'
- (3) Tugganna lunameatah  
'I shall go to my house'

On the basis of these Müller suggested neeto is the dative of the second person and mito the dative of the first person pronoun (correlating with the two examples he found of dative *-to* on nouns - 3.1). This is a quite possible interpretation, although more corroboration would be needed before it could be accepted with certainty.

Sentence (1) can be tentatively phonemicised, and glossed:

- (1) nuya miya-diyaŋ mina nidu liyana  
not ? give I you water

The interesting point here concerns the first element of the verb word; this could be a prefix *mi-*, a reduced form of the first person pronoun. Similarly, the second word of sentence (3) could conceivably be segmented into root *luna* 'house', suffix *-mi* 'my' and dative *-to*. There are, however, other examples of a putative affix *-mi-* where the sentence has no reference to first person. The evidence is not conclusive (nothing is, in Tasmanian studies) but it is in fact rather likely that there were bound forms of pronouns, which could attach to the beginnings or ends of other words, perhaps having a possessive function with nouns and marking subject with verbs.

### 3.3 SYNTAX

Capell (1968) includes a thorough study of word order in the Tasmanian materials. Robinson's sermons and Wilkinson's Bible translations show a Subject-Verb-Object word order but this probably tells us little about Tasmanian grammar; they appear to be written in a type of pidgin and would probably have been translated from English word-by-word.

In fact, SVO is the commonest pattern in the sentences recorded by Milligan and Jorgenson (and those in Robinson's diary) but it is by no means the only pattern found. There are examples of the object preceding the verb, as in (2), and of the subject following it, as in (1) above.

An adjective appears to have followed its head noun. There are a fair number of examples, from several sources e.g. 'stomach' + 'full', 'water' + 'salty', 'earth' + 'white'. The only exception is Robinson who in his sermon maintains English word order in 'one God'.

## 4. POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP WITH AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES

At the end of the last century it was suggested that Tasmanians differed from mainland Australians in physical type, culture and also language. In recent years anthropologists have inclined more to the view that the Tasmanians were originally a group of Australian Aborigines, cut off when sea-level rose - flooding Bass Strait and cutting off Tasmania - about 12,000 years ago.

N.B.Tindale and J.B.Birdsell (1941) suggested that the peoples of the Cairns Rain Forest region, in North Queensland, were 'Tasmanoid' in physical type. There is, however, so little information on any aspect of the Tasmanians that this theory must be regarded as speculative; there is no real evidence of any particular similarity to the rain forest Aborigines.

The firmest conclusions we have been able to draw concern the phonological system of Tasmanian languages. In section 2 we suggested that the phoneme system and some aspects of the phonotactics were typologically of the predominant Australian variety; the main points of difference are that words in Tasmanian seldom end in a consonant (although there are *some* groups of Australian languages like this) and that *l* and *r* are very common at the beginning of a syllable in Tasmanian.

For proof of genetic relationship we do, of course, need not just typological similarity but systematic correspondences of grammar and lexicon. At the grammatical level, there is scarcely a whisper of similarity. Tasmanian pronouns /mina/, /maŋ(a)/ 'I' and /nina/, /niŋ(a)/ 'you' are rather different from the recurrent Australian forms /ŋay-/ 'I' and /ŋin-/~/nin-/~/nun-/ 'you'. Only the Ben Lomond form recorded by Robinson, i.tho might be thought to be a candidate for comparison. Words in Tasmanian languages do not begin with a vowel and the initial consonant of this form may have been /y/ or else perhaps /ŋ/; if the latter it could have been



/ṇayḡu/ which is a frequent form of the first person singular pronoun in Australian languages. But this - the best grammatical cognate we can put forward - does involve several leaps of the imagination.

Even the putative dative suffix *-du* differs from the recurrent Australian dative *-gu*. Australian languages do generally order an adjective after a noun - like Tasmanian - but almost all of them prefer to put the verb at the end of the sentence - unlike the majority pattern in the small corpus of Tasmanian sentences.

Lexical comparison yields equally meagre results. E.M. Curr (1887:III,596) quoted seven possible cognates between Tasmanian and Australian languages; for six of them he was also able to find what for him were plausible cognates from the languages of Africa! John Mathew (1889:361-2) expanded the list to 22 items. There are in fact a few Tasmanian forms that are very similar to recurrent lexemes in Australian languages, notably:

<i>Tasmanian source spellings</i>	<i>Australian form</i>
tullah, tullana, tullanee, tullane [West and North-West]	/ḡalan/ 'tongue'
boula, boulla, böw.lȳ, pooalih bura, bourai [South-eastern]	/bula/ 'two'

But these, and a handful more, are no more than an acquisitive investigator could uncover through detailed comparison of *any* two languages.

We concluded, in 1.4, that there may well have been four or more distinct language families in Tasmania. There is absolutely no evidence that any of these had a genetic relation with the Australian language family. It must be remembered, though, that Tasmanian languages may have been isolated from contact with the mainland for 12,000 years. The facts available are perfectly compatible with a genetic connection having been evident at that time, but having become less and less recoverable over the intervening millenia. The similarity of phonological type would also be consistent with this. The best summary is, perhaps, to say that there is *no* evidence that some or all of the Tasmanian languages are *not* ultimately related to the Australian language family.

There is no hint of a relationship with languages from any other part of the world. (Greenberg, 1971, suggested a link between Tasmanian, Andamanese and the Papuan languages of New Guinea. He quoted eleven grammatical criteria - Tasmanian languages satisfy one of them; of the 84 lexical forms considered by Greenberg putative Tasmanian cognates are quoted for less than 25% - none of them is convincing. Greenberg's is one of the more outrageous of the many hypotheses that have been put forward concerning the Tasmanian languages.)

The material on Tasmanian is so poor that almost nothing can be inferred with any degree of confidence. Standards that are applied to work on other language families tend to be relaxed when scholars approach Tasmanian, so that speculation becomes the order of the day. Not wishing to be

the exception to this general trend, we shall finish with some speculations of our own.

Archaeologists believe that until 12,000 years ago there were people living in the land area of what is now Bass Strait but that there was probably no habitation over most of Tasmania, where the weather and conditions would have been much less favourable than they are today. Sea-level rose when the ice melted, flooding Bass Strait and forcing the people to move to higher ground; at the same time, the temperature would have risen and living conditions improved on Tasmania itself. It is reasonable to assume that some of the people from Bass Strait moved south into Tasmania as the sea-level gradually rose. On the map we have shown (by a broken line) the 35 fathom level, which would have been the coastline at a certain historical stage. It is likely that two groups of people moved into Tasmania - a group on the land around King Island could have moved into the north-western region and down into the western corridor, while another group from the land around Flinders Island could have moved into the eastern part of the island.

If this had happened we would expect a severe linguistic discontinuity where the two waves met, at the southern tip of Tasmania. And this is what we find. The figure of 18% possibly cognate vocabulary between South-western and South-eastern (see Tables 1 and 2 in 1.4) is low, lower in fact for any other score between contiguous languages except for those involving Port Sorell and North Midlands.

Turning now to the promised speculation. In Table 2 Northern has a higher score with Piper River, with which it is not contiguous, than it does with any of its neighbours. The statistical pattern in Table 2 would conform to the geographical pattern exactly if Northern speakers lived immediately to the north of Piper River - its scores of 50% with Piper River, 46% with Cape Portland, 33% with Ben Lomond, and so on, would then be perfectly compatible with the relative positions of these groups.

What if the Northern group *did* originally live immediately to the north of Piper River, just before sea-level reached its present height. When they were forced to move to higher ground they may have had to move to the south-west in order to find country that was not already occupied. This would perfectly explain the vocabulary scores.

Having put forward our hypothesis, we must hasten to demolish it. Sea level rose to its present height many millenia ago. Although we do not know the exact rate at which vocabulary is borrowed between neighbouring languages it must surely be at a fast enough rate for any relationship of this sort to be obscured over a period of ten or more thousand years. This idea is surely as wild and empty as others that have been proposed over the century and more since the Tasmanian languages ceased to be actively spoken.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. We owe a debt to Peter Ball, of the University of Tasmania, who introduced Crowley to Mrs. Heffernan and Mrs. Mundy. And to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies which, in 1972, provided a grant of \$720 to Dixon, in order to fund Crowley's work on this topic.

# References

- Armstrong, M. and Murray, J. (1886). 'No. 118 - Hinchinbrook Island and mainland adjacent', pp.418-21 of *Curr* (1886-7), Vol.II.
- Banfield, E.J. (1908). *The confessions of a beachcomber: scenes and incidents in the career of an unprofessional beachcomber in tropical Queensland*. (London: Fisher Unwin.)
- (1911). *My tropic isle*. (London: Fisher Unwin.)
- (1918). *Tropic days*. (London: Fisher Unwin.)
- (1925). *Last leaves from Dunk Island*. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson.)
- Barlow, H. (1872). 'Vocabulary of Aboriginal dialects of Queensland', *Journal of the [Royal] Anthropological Institute* 2.166-75.
- Bates, D.M. (c1904). Manuscript No. 365, Section XII Language: grammar and vocabularies, 2. F. Murchison district and 1. Outline of grammar, (2) pronouns, pp.36-89 (in National Library, Canberra).
- Birtles, T.G. (1976). 'Carl Lumholtz: a translation of answers to a questionnaire', *Queensland Heritage* Vol. 3, No. 4.4-22.
- Bonwick, J. (1870). *Daily life and origin of the Tasmanians*. (London: Sampson, Low, Son and Marston.)
- Braim, T.H. (1846). *A history of New South Wales*. (London: Richard Bentley.)
- von Brandenstein, C.G. (1967). 'The language situation in the Pilbara - past and present', pp.1-20a of *Papers in Australian linguistics*, No.2. (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.)
- Breen, J.G. (1971). 'Aboriginal languages of western Queensland', *Linguistic Communications* 5.1-88.
- (1973). 'Bidyara and Gungabula: grammar and vocabulary', *Linguistic Communications*, 8.
- (1974). 'Supplement to "Bidyara and Gungabula: grammar and vocabulary"'. Duplicated.
- (1976). 'Proprietary markers and kinship terms', pp.290-7 of Dixon (1976b).
- Calder, J.E. (1874). 'Some account of the wars of extirpation and habits of the native tribes of Tasmania', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3.7-28.
- (1901). 'Remains of the language and dialects spoken by the Aborigines of Tasmania'. *Tasmania - Journals and papers of Parliament*, 45, Paper 69.
- Capell, A. (1956). *A new approach to Australian linguistics*. (Sydney: Oceania Linguistic Monographs.)
- (1968). 'What do we know of Tasmanian language?', *Records of the Queen Victoria Museum, Launceston* 30.1-7.
- Cassady, J. and Johnstone, R. (1886). 'No. 120 - Halifax

- Bay', pp. 424-31 of Curr (1886-7), Vol. II.
- Cayley, N.W. (1971). *What bird is that?*, revised and enlarged by A.H. Chisholm, K.A. Hindwood and A.R. McGill. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson.)
- de Charency, H. (1880), 'Recherches sur les dialectes Tasmaniens', *Actes de la Société Philologique* 11.3-56.
- Conn, W.R. (1887). 'No. 177 - The upper Warrego and Paroo rivers', pp.278-9 of Curr (1886-7), Vol.III.
- Craig, B.F. *Cape York (Bibliography series number 2)*. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- Crowley, T, and Rigsby, B. (1979). 'Cape York Creole', pp. 153-207 of *Languages and their status*, edited by T.A.Shopen. (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop.)
- Curr, E.M. (1886-7). *The Australian race*, 4 volumes. (Vols I, II dated 1886, Vols III, IV dated 1887). (Melbourne: John Ferres.)
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1970). 'Proto-Australian laminals', *Oceanic Linguistics* 9.79-103.
- (1972), *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.)
- (1976a). 'Tribes, language and other boundaries in northeast Queensland', pp. 207-38 of *Tribes and boundaries in Australia*, edited by N. Peterson. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- (1976b). Editor of *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- (1977a). *A grammar of Yidin*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.)
- (1977b). 'Some phonological rules in YidinY', *Linguistic Inquiry* 8.1-34.
- (1980a). *The languages of Australia*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.)
- (1980b). 'Problems in Dyirbal dialectology', in *Language form and linguistic variation*, edited by J. Anderson. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins.)
- (forthcoming). 'Nyawaygi', to appear in *Handbook of Australian languages*, vol 3.
- Douglas, W.H. (1958, revised edition 1964). *An introduction to the Western Desert language*. (Sydney: Oceania Linguistic Monographs.)
- (1968, second edition 1976). *The Aboriginal languages of the south-west of Australia*. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- (1973). 'The language of southwestern Australia', *Journal of the Royal Society of Western Australia* 56.48-50.
- Fink, R.A. (1960). *The changing status and cultural identity of Western Australian Aborigines - a field study of Aborigines in the Murchison District, Western Australia, 1955-7*. PhD thesis (Columbia University). Abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts*, XXI, 12 (1961).
- (1965). 'The contemporary situation of change among part-Aborigines in Western Australia', pp. 419-34 of *Aboriginal man in Australia*, edited by R.M. Berndt and C.H. Berndt. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson.)
- Foster, B. (n.d.). [Wordlist in Margany]. Manuscript.
- Glasgow, D. and K. (1967). 'The phonemes of Burerá', pp.1-14 of *Papers in Australian linguistics*, No. 1. (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.)

- Gratte, S.C. (1966). 'The Wodjeri people, report on a trip to Boolardy Station, W.A., September 1966'. Typescript held in AIAS, Canberra.
- Greenberg, J. (1971). 'The Indo-Pacific hypothesis', pp.807-71 of *Current trends in linguistics, Vol. VIII - Linguistics in Oceania*. (The Hague: Mouton.)
- Hale, K.L. (1976). 'Phonological developments in particular Northern Paman languages', pp. 7-40 of *Languages of Cape York*, edited by Peter Sutton. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- Hambly, W.D. (1931). 'The preservation of local types of weapons and other objects in Western Australia', *American Anthropologist* n.s. 33.1-15.
- Helms, R. (1896). 'Anthropology' [Report of Elder Scientific Expedition, 1891-2], *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 16.237-332.
- Hestermann, F. (1936). 'Die tasmanischen Sprachquellen und ihre kritische Behandlung', *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 34.1-57.
- Hey, N. (1903). *An elementary grammar of the Nggerikudi language*. North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 6. (Brisbane: Government Printer.)
- Hollingsworth, J. (1887). 'No. 177 - The Warrego and Paroo Rivers', pp. 282-5 of *Curr* (1886-7), Vol. III.
- Holmer, N.M. (n.d.). 'Linguistic survey of southeastern Queensland'. Typescript held in AIAS, Canberra.
- Houzé, E. and Jacques, V. (1884). 'Les Australiens du Musée du Nord', *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Bruxelles* 3.53-154.
- Hudson, J. (1978). *The core of Walmatjari grammar*. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- Jones, D. (1961). *Cardwell Shire story*. (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press.)
- Jones, R. (1971). 'The demography of hunters and farmers in Tasmania', pp. 271-87 of *Aboriginal man and environment in Australia*, edited by D.J.Mulvaney and J. Golson. (Canberra: ANU Press.)
- (1974). 'Tasmanian tribes', pp. 319-54 of Tindale (1974).
- Jukes, J.B. (1847). *Narrative of the surveying voyage of H.M.S. Fly*. (London: Boone.)
- Kelly, C.T. (1935). 'Tribes on Cherburg settlement, Queensland', *Oceania* 5.461-73.
- Kennedy, E.B. (1902). *The black police of Queensland*. (London: Murray.)
- King, P.P. (1827). *Narrative of a survey of the inter-tropical and western coasts of Australia*. (London: Murray.)
- Kurylowicz, J. (1964). *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*. (Heidelberg: Winter.)
- Lehiste, I. (1970). *Suprasegmentals*. (Cambridge, Mass. : MIT Press.)
- Looker, W.H. (1887). 'No. 177 - Mungalella Creek', pp.276-7 of *Curr* (1886-7), Vol. III.
- Lumholtz, C. (1887). 'Unter den Australnegern am Herbert River in Nord Queensland', *Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 3.284-90. (Translation by R. Sumner in *Journal of Australian Studies* 1.84-91, 1977.)

- Lumholtz, C. (1888). 'Réponse alinéa par alinéa, pour les Australiens de Herbert-River, au questionnaire de sociologie et d'ethnographie de la Société', *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 3e series, 11.642-62.
- (1889). *Among cannibals*. (London: Murray.)
- (1921). 'My life of exploration', *Natural History* 21.224-43.
- McConnel, U.H. (1936a). 'Totemic hero-cults in Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland', *Oceania* 6.452-77, 7.69-105
- (1936b). 'Illustration of the myth of Shiveri and Nyunggu', *Oceania* 7.217-9.
- (1939-40). 'Social organisation of the tribes of Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland', *Oceania* 10.54-72, 434-55.
- McKay, G.R. (1975). *Rembarnga: a language of central Arnhem Land*. PhD thesis (ANU).
- McPhee, D.R. (1959). *Some common snakes and lizards of Australia*. (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press.)
- Mander-Jones, P. (1972). *Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific*. (Canberra: ANU Press.)
- Mathew, J. (1889). 'The Australian Aborigines', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 23.335-449.
- Mathews, R.H. (1900). 'Marriage and descent among the Australian Aborigines', *Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 34.120-35.
- (1905). 'Ethnological notes on the Aboriginal tribes of Queensland', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Queensland Branch* 20.49-75.
- Meston, A. (1896). 'Report on the Aborigines of Queensland', *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly*, C.A. 85.
- Milligan, J. (1857). 'Vocabulary of dialects of Aboriginal tribes of Tasmania', *Tasmania, Legislative Council* 1, Paper 7. [Reprinted in 1859, 1890 - see Plomley 1976.68.]
- Müller, F. (1882). 'Die Sprache von Tasmanien', pp.87-9 of Vol.II of *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*. (Vienna: Holder.)
- Murray, J. - see Armstrong and Murray.
- Oates, L.F. (1975). *The 1973 supplement to a revised linguistic survey of Australia*. (Armidale, N.S.W.: Armidale Christian Book Centre.)
- Oates, W.J. and L.F. (1970). *A revised linguistic survey of Australia*. (Canberra: AIAS.)
- Oldfield, A. (1865). 'On the Aborigines of Australia', *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* n.s. 3.215-98.
- (1886). 'No. 13 - The mouth of the Murchison river, the Watchandi tribe', pp. 310-13 of Curr (1886-7), Vol. I.
- O'Grady, G.N. and Klokeid, T.J. (1969). 'Australian linguistic classification: a plea for co-ordination of efforts', *Oceania* 39.298-311.
- O'Grady, G.N., Voegelin C.F. and Voegelin F.M. (1966). *Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific Fascicle 6* (= *Anthropological Linguistics*, 8, ii).
- Perks, J. (1886). 'No. 27 - Irwin and Murchison rivers,

- Cheangwa', pp. 368-75 of Curr (1886-7), Vol. I.
- Playfair, L.M. (1887). 'No.177 - The Upper Paroo', pp.280-1, 286 of Curr (1886-7), Vol.III.
- Plomley, N.J.B. (1976). *A word-list of the Tasmanian Aboriginal languages*. (Launceston: the Author.)
- Richardson, T.L. (1900). 'West Australian native words', *Science of Man* 3, 6.98.
- Ritz, H.B. (1910). 'The speech of the Tasmanian Aborigines', *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Tasmania for 1909*, pp. 44-81.
- Roth, H.L. (1890; second edition 1899). *The Aborigines of Tasmania*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner; Halifax: King.)
- Roth, W.E. (1900). 'On the Aborigines of the Pennefather (Coen) River districts, and other coastal tribes occupying the country between the Batavia and Embley Rivers'. Manuscript in Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- Schmidt, W. (1952). *Die tasmanischen Sprachen*. (Utrecht-Anvers: Spectrum.)
- Sharp, R.L. (1939). 'Tribes and totemism in north-east Australia', *Oceania* 9.254-75, 439-61.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). 'Hierarchy of features and ergativity', pp. 112-71 of Dixon (1976b).
- Thomson, D.F. (1934). 'Notes on a hero cult from the Gulf of Carpentaria, North Queensland', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 64.217-35.
- Tindale, N.B. (1937). 'Tasmanian Aborigines on Kangaroo Island, South Australia', *Records of the South Australian Museum* 6.29-37.
- (1938-9). Manuscript vocabularies in Nguri, Wadjalang, Wadjabangai, Marukanji.
- (1940). 'Distribution of Australian Aboriginal tribes', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64.140-231.
- (1974). *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, and Canberra: ANU Press.)
- Tindale, N.B. and Birdsell, J.B. (1941). 'Tasmanoid tribes in North Queensland', *Records of the South Australian Museum* 7.1-9.
- Tsunoda, T. (1974). *A grammar of the Warungu language, North Queensland*. MA thesis (Monash University).
- Vivienne, M. (1901). *Travels in Western Australia*. (London: Heinemann.)
- Wurm, S.A. (1972). *Languages of Australia and Tasmania*. (The Hague: Mouton.)