THE BĀGANDJI LANGUAGE

by

L.A. Hercus
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First Published 1982

Typeset by Dianne Stacey
Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service
Covers by Patria Printers
Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty. Ltd.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 263 1
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This is an outline description of Southern Bāgandji, as once spoken on the lower Darling River, with notes on other Bāgandji dialects and short texts. The work is the outcome of many years of acquaintance and friendship with Bāgandji people. It was in 1963, in the course of a wide-ranging search for speakers of Victorian languages that I first met two families of Bāgandji descent at Dareton N.S.W. near Mildura. They remembered only a few words of their language, but the difference from Victorian languages was obvious even to a casual observer. The striking and heavily accented long vowels and the system of geminated consonants made even this elementary Bāgandji vocabulary a most tempting field of study. The Bāgandji language already held a fascination for E.M. Curr’s usually very patronising correspondents: N.B. Teulon spoke of ‘the great emphasis which the Wimbaja lays on one particular syllable’ (p.210) and he expressed his admiration for the ‘galaxy of speaking words’ (p.221). The fact that in 1963 this language was on the verge of extinction made a detailed study urgent. But it was not until 1967 that circumstances enabled me to make any real attempt to work on Bāgandji, under the auspices of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Almost at once the project was dealt a crippling blow by the prolonged illness and the death in November 1968 of the main informant, the only speaker of Bandjigali, George Dutton. Since then I have continued recording as much as possible, and have also succeeded in collecting texts. The present preliminary analysis of Bāgandji has been presented so that at least some materials in this most interesting and little known language may be available for comparative study. This work has also been written so that future generations of Bāgandji people may have some record of their language which has now reached the point of no return.

The main feature of this grammar is that it represents the study of a language on the verge of extinction. The conclusions reached are limited by the available evidence. Inevitably many questions had to remain unanswered, and many theories could not be explored further.

The present work would not have been possible without the help of many friends at Wilcannia and Dareton as well as Canberra; I am indebted to my late husband Graham Hercus for the initial inspiration, and for the perseverance to continue the study in depressing circumstances as one speaker after another died.
This work is entirely due to the collaboration of

Jack Johnson 'Gunsmoke'
the late George Dutton 'Galbali'
Mrs Elsie Jones
Grannie Moisey
Grannie Buggamy
Mrs Gertie Johnson

and it is gratefully dedicated to them.
**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

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1. Jack Johnson

2. Grannie Moisey
3. Elsie Jones
4. George Dutton

5. Mrs Gertie Johnson at Mt Manara
6. The Wilcannia Gaol, where much of the work was done.

7. Mootwingee, in Bandjigall country: the cave of hands.
9. The Nūrali site at Ballila Station.

10. 'The Mallee' at Wilcannia in 1972, home for many Southern Bāgangdi people.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION*

I.1. BÂGANDJI PEOPLE

The history of the Bâgandji or Darling River people (from bâga 'river') is one of unmitigated tragedy. These 'strong, handsome and aggressive river tribesmen' (Hardy 1969:5) were among the very few Aboriginal groups who attempted any kind of united defence of their lands against the white intruders. The story of their destruction is told by Bobbie Hardy in her book Lament for the Barkindji (1976).

Long after the early battles the Bâgandji suffered indignity after indignity: they were made to camp near the old burial ground at Menindee; 'the Carowra Tank Mob' of Waŋiyuwan-Wiyambâ descent, 'dry-landers' who had nothing to do with the river people were suddenly moved in with them in 1934 when the Carowra Tank ran dry (Beckett 1965, Long 1970:82). Later in 1948 the whole of the Menindee settlement was moved to Murrin Bridge, 200 miles to the east near Lake Cargelligo, far from the Darling, and this was again done without any warning. Most of the river people refused to stay at Murrin Bridge and went back to camp by the river, until ultimately in 1952 a settlement was built for them at Wilcannia. Today the remaining three full-blood men and the people of part Bâgandji descent live in a sad and depressed state mainly at Wilcannia. The difficulties that the river people have encountered, and particularly their enforced link with the Waŋiyuwan-Wiyambâ group had an influence on the status of the language, and it has become almost extinct. Even very elderly people are ashamed to admit that they know a single word, and attempts to record what remains of the language have been very difficult. General despondency has driven the only fluent Southern Bâgandji speaker to a state of acute alcoholism, and much of the work has had to be done in gaol at Wilcannia and at Broken Hill, in a battle against withdrawal symptoms.

*This introduction was written in mid 1975. Since then Mr Jack Johnson 'Gunsmoke' has died (September 1975). Mrs Kate Buggamy died in November 1975 and Grannie Moisey in February 1976.
I.2. OTHER WORK ON BĀGANDJI

The aim of the present work is to give as complete as possible an account of the Bāgandji language as recorded from the last speakers, but naturally this account has to be viewed in the context of earlier work. There are a number of early word-lists of Bāgandji, the first being that given by Eyre (1846). The most important published data on Bāgandji are in the works of Curr and R.H. Mathews. As is well known, the quality of the word-lists supplied by local correspondents to Curr varies considerably, and much of the information is mediocre. But in the case of Bāgandji Curr's enquiries were more than usually successful. Vocabularies in the Guṇu dialect of Bāgandji have been contributed by W.A. Pechey (1872) and by G.N. Teulon (in Curr 1886). The work by Teulon is done with great understanding and care: it contains an excellent additional word-list and even a few short phrases. Teulon was evidently not a speaker of the language, and this has led to certain mistranslations, for instance:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{kY}l\text{hānēngāhppā} \\
& \text{'}I \, \text{don't \, \text{want \, \text{to \, \text{go}}'} (p.220) \\
& \text{this presumably is} \\
& \text{gila nēngāba} \\
& \text{not \, \text{sit-I(1 \, \text{sg \, Intr})} \\
& \text{'}I \, \text{am \, \text{not \, \text{staying}}'} \\
& \text{mēnnā \, wāhn-gā \, imbā} \\
& \text{'}Who \, \text{are \, \text{you?'}} (p.221) \\
& \text{this presumably is} \\
& \text{mina \, wanga \, imba} \\
& \text{what \, \text{meat \, you} \\
& \text{'}What \, \text{meat \, are \, \text{you?'}} \\
& \text{(i.e. 'what \, \text{is \, \text{your \, \text{matrilinal \, totemic \, clan}}'; \, see \, Berndt \, 1964:57).}
\end{align*}
\]

But there can be no doubt that those are genuine Guṇu phrases, clearly recognisable. Teulon's work is far superior to any of the other dozen vocabularies of Bāgandji dialects available in Curr's compilation.

R.H. Mathews's work on Guṇu has been rather more brief than usual: he has given a vocabulary of 200 words (Mathews 1902) and two very short grammatical sketches; one (1902) is only a summary and gives no information about the verb. The second grammatical sketch (1904) is
more complete and includes the important discovery that the initial consonant of Guugu pronouns changes according to tense.

There are several sketchy vocabularies such as that of Newland (1887-8), but in 1903 C. Richards, who had paid a number of visits to the descendants of Nanya (see I.4.2.) contributed some general anthropological notes, some interesting phonetic data and what would have been a remarkable vocabulary, had it ever got beyond the letter ‘b’. However fragmentary, the work shows true insight and understanding. No further progress was made in the study of the Darling River Languages until the publication in 1939 of a fine work by Tindale on the now extinct Marawara dialect of Bagandji. This was 'Eagle and Crow Myths of the Marawara Tribe, lower Darling River, N.S.W'. This article is not only an important contribution to mythology: it also contains the only text published till now in any Bagandji dialect. Tindale's hearing of what was to him an unknown language was brilliant, though naturally at times the translation only renders 'the general sense' of the original. But Tindale published nothing further on Bagandji and so unfortunately to date the total published data available on this language remains meagre.

S.A. Wurm and M. Reay have worked in the Darling River area, M. Reay began in the late forties and S.A. Wurm in the late fifties, when there were many more speakers. S.A. Wurm has most generously made available his Barundji recordings and notes: this has helped considerably in the study of the dialectal differentiation of Bagandji.

I.3. Bagandji and the Neighbouring Languages

The Bagandji occupied what is an important and unique border-position from many points of view. They held the land on the longest and westernmost of the great permanent rivers of southern Australia. They were also the westernmost of the non-circumcising tribes. They had adopted a section system probably originating from their neighbours, the Waŋybuwan (Berndt 1964) but they were nevertheless the easternmost of the large group who followed a matrilineal descent clan system. They were situated just beyond the eastern boundary of the red-ochre trade from Parachilna in the Flinders Ranges and the pitouri trade from the Mulligan River on the edges of the Simpson Desert. Though this trade broke down as a result of white occupation, the late George Dutton on his travels had become very addicted to pitouri and recalled the traditions connected with its preparation. The Bagandji were in the eastern sector of the area in which cyleons are found (Etheridge 1916): these striking conical artefacts occur mainly in the Cooper and Darling
basins. The Bāgandjī shared many customs and traditions with their neighbours from the Lakes area of South Australia, such as the use of kopi for making widow's caps. The Bāgandjī language reflects the unique border-position of the Bāgandjī people, and the present work will attempt to show this.

The general map (Map 1) is intended to show the approximate ethnic groupings at the time of the first white contact. As will be seen it is largely based on Tindale (1940 and the new version of 1974) but shows slight variations, it also differs from the map given by Beckett (1958) particularly as regards the location of Maljaŋaba. The divergence from Tindale is based on the evidence of the main informants: this evidence has led us to include 'Barindji' with Bāgandjī, but not to the same extent as was suggested by Fraser (1892).

The languages adjoining Bāgandjī immediately to the west belong to the so-called 'Yalji' group (Wurm 1972) from the use of the term 'yalji' or more accurately 'ya filmpjes' for 'man'. This group comprises Maljaŋaba, Wadigali and Yaḑiyawara. The fate of these languages has been similar to Bāgandjī. Wadigali is totally extinct and probably has been so for several decades. The only definite Wadigali word-list is that contributed by A.W. Morton to Curr (1886). The lists supplied by Crozier and Dewhurst in the same publication probably also refer to Wadigali. Maljaŋaba, which was once spoken in the Milparinka area and along Evelyn Creek became extinct in 1968 with the death of George Dutton, who knew this language as perfectly as he knew Bandjigali. Bāgandjī people generally refer to these neighbours as Millyāba.

Yaḑiyawara is closely related to Maljaŋaba, but it has undergone the influence of the south central Australian languages, including the development of pre-stopped nasals and laterals (Hercus 1972). Thanks to the help given by the last surviving speaker, information on this language is available and comparisons with Bāgandjī will be drawn whenever necessary. Social and trade links between the 'Ya_HEL' tribes and the Bāgandjī were very close and they shared many traditions: particularly important was the Gu₇imugu history and song-cycle which begins at Innamincka in Yandruwanda country and travels through far western N.S.W.; this is also linked with the story of Gu₁₉wiru, the great ancestral man (see also Beckett 1958:106).

The northern neighbours of the Bāgandjī, the Wangumara, the Bundumara and the Gunjadjii shared some of the same traditions, including the Gu₇imugu cycle, and until the forcible deportation of all the Aborigines from the Tibooburra area in 1938 (Beckett 1965 and 1978) there was considerable contact between these northern neighbours of the
Map 1: FINALS

- All words end in vowels
- A limited number of continuants occur in word-final position
- A wide range of consonants including plosives occur in word-final position

Map 1: Vocalic Finals
their eastern neighbours, the Waŋgumara la nguage has a number of unusual features, including a declension system involving two noun-classes. Fortunately there are still several speakers, and work has been started by G. Breen, J. Mathews and L. Hercus; comparisons between Bāgandji and Waŋgumara are therefore possible.

The eastern neighbours of the Bāgandji belonged to the Waŋgumara- Nguyambā-Wiradjuri group, which occupied the whole of central New South Wales. Bāgandji people traditionally did not greatly esteem their eastern neighbours; the enforced stay of the Waŋgumbaru people at Menindee was therefore a bitter blow. But despite this lack of cordiality the Bāgandji shared some important features of social organisation with the Waŋgumbaru, particularly the section system (Berndt 1964). They also shared some traditions such as the story of the two rainbow serpents who got lost in the waterless country east of the Manara range. A full study of Niyambā has been undertaken by T. Donaldson (1980). This work is of considerable significance for Bāgandji as there are many important linguistic similarities, for instance pronoun subject and object incorporation.

The southern neighbours of the Darling River people were speakers of 'Murray River' and 'Kulin' languages (Hercus 1969 and 1973). These languages share some features with Bāgandji, such as the use of possessive suffixes. It has long been recognised that there were social and trade links along the Murray and Darling rivers, although each group maintained their independence, and particularly the warlike Bāgandji.

All Australian Aboriginal languages are related, even if only distantly, and all those outside Arnhem Land are generally stated to belong to one family, Pama-Nyungan. It has now been recognised (Dixon 1970) that closer genetic links within this family cannot be calculated by means of vocabulary correspondences, but such correspondences are nevertheless of interest. The percentages of vocabulary shared by Bāgandji and the surrounding languages is shown approximately in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waŋgumara</th>
<th>32 Maljaŋaba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>41 Bāgandji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>25 Madimadi ('Kulin')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>22 Waŋgumbaru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>20 'Murray River Language'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Data from the 'Murray River Language' are based on Moorhouse, 1846).
Except for Maljaŋaba-Bägandji these cognate densities are quite low, and at best the table can be used to corroborate the view (Wurm 1972) that these languages belong to six different groups and subgroups: Njura, Yaŋî, Darling River, 'Kulin', Wiradjuric (Waŋybuwan-Nñyambã) and Narrinyeric (Murray River).

It is difficult to assess to what extent linguistic peculiarities (even beyond the sphere of vocabulary) are due to genetic affiliations and to what extent they are due to borrowings (Dixon 1970). It is hoped that Bägandji, which is in a borderline position from so many points of view, may help to elucidate this problem.

I.4. THE BÄGANDJI DIALECTS

I.4.1. Guŋu — Bärundji

It was noted long ago by Curr (1886:167) 'that speech varies so little amongst the several tribes that some of my correspondents are under the impression that there is but one language on the Darling'. There can be no question as to the basic unity of Bägandji, despite dialectal variation. Among the Bägandji dialects the main division appears to be between the north-eastern group, Guŋu-Bärundji on the one hand, and all the remaining dialects on the other. Guŋu was spoken along the Darling above Wilcannia in the Tilpa, Louth and Bourke district and along the lower Warrego, while Bärundji was spoken along the Paroo river. The name 'Naualko' given by Howitt (1904:50) and by Tindale (1940) for part of this area, between Wilcannia and Louth, is not used by present day informants. The term 'Gûla', used by Tindale as a variant for Guŋu is also no longer used. Another name that has been quoted for this same dialect is 'Eenawan' (Oates 1970). This term has been erroneously linked with the Darling: it belongs to the Anewan tribe in New England, (Buchanan 1901). According to the informants, Guŋu and Bärundji were practically identical, and they share around 90 per cent of their vocabulary with Southern Bägandji. It is noticeable, as so often in the dialects of Aboriginal languages, that certain quite common words differ, for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guŋu — Bärundji</th>
<th>Southern Bägandji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bâŋga 'woman'</td>
<td>nuŋgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(perhaps cognate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with Waŋgumara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waḷga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njârdji 'many'</td>
<td>duluru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadjaŋga 'good'</td>
<td>baḷra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is also a difference in 'accent' and intonation: Southern Bagandji speakers say that Guçu and Bärundji people 'talk heavy'. This term has been heard very frequently: Adnjamadana people in the Flinders Ranges say that the Waljbi 'talked heavy', Arabana people say it of the Wangaçuru. The expression generally seems to refer to slower, more deliberate speech-habits and a stronger stress accent.

The main differences between Guçu-Bärundji and Southern Bagandji are morphological, and particularly important is the fact that in Guçu and in one Bärundji dialect, (Mathews, MS) but not elsewhere in Bagandji, the initial consonant of personal pronouns changes with tense.

The only published work on 'Parooinge', the vocabulary by Scriver (1886) disagrees with the other Darling River languages on a number of points. This is partly due to the fact that Scriver evidently had difficulty in hearing the velar nasal and in recognising final vowels. Some of the discrepancies are probably due to the use of near synonyms, e.g. 'marli', 'blackfellow' (queried by Curr II 1886: 184) is the commonly used Bågandji word maji 'male', 'husband'. Unfortunately in 1967 the last fluent speaker of Bärundji had died: she was Mrs Hannah Quayle, who was also a speaker of Maljaçaba. There is still one old man, a full blood, who can recall a limited amount of vocabulary, but can no longer form sentences. The notes on Bärundji in the present work are based mainly on material made available by S.A. Wurm.

There is only one person who can speak Guçu, though she is naturally out of practice and is much happier talking in English. This is Mrs Moisey, a remarkable woman over 100 years old, whose grand-daughters have long been grandmothers. She is now the only person in the far west of New South Wales who remembers the ancient rules and customs and all the details of food-gathering. She was there when Gunderboooka Station was starting up, and we all camped under the muguçi (wild orange) trees'. She was there during corroborees 'but when we were little girls we were not allowed to look and had to put our head underneath the possum rugs'. She later joined in with the dancing and singing 'I was a real bugger for that garamba (quivering of the legs when dancing)'. She can clearly recall a gathering, apparently in Dangagali country, 'when they brought in that Muluŋga dance': this evidence, combined with that of an aged Yandruwanda man, indicates that the Muluŋga or 'Molonglo' had spread further than was suggested by McCarthy (1939:84, see also Hercus 1980). Grannie Moisey was a good friend of the last Bågandji clever man, Dick Willow, and
she says, 'I was a bit that way (i.e. like a witch-doctor) myself, but I am done now'. Grannie Moisey's recordings have yielded only a limited number of fluent Guçu sentences, but she has made Guçu traditions come to life.

1.4.2. Wiljäli – Daŋgalī

Wiljäli, sometimes called Wiljagali was spoken in the Barrier Ranges north of Broken Hill. Only a few words could be collected from the last surviving Wiljäli people, but even these fragmentary remains suffice to indicate that in vocabulary at least Wiljäli had certain similarities with its western neighbour, Yağliyawara,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wiljäli</th>
<th>Yağliyawara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guçu 'kangaroo'</td>
<td>guçuju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scanty vocabularies in Curr by Haines 'Country about sixty miles north-west from a point on the Darling midway between Menindee and Wilcannia', and by Dix 'Booloomatta' (i.e. Palkumatta) probably represent different forms of Wiljäli, but all basic information on this dialect has evidently been lost.

The situation is even worse for Daŋgalī, also called Daŋgagali 'Uplands-language', once spoken in the Broken Hill area. The Curr vocabularies do not include a list from this dialect nor from its southern sub-dialect Buläli: our surmises about these forms of speech are based entirely on hearsay. Daŋgalī and Buläli have been extinct for some time now, and the last 'wild blackfellows' to roam through the Caneglass country were those of the 'Nanya Tribe' (Hardy 1969). They were probably Southern Bagandji speakers, seeing that Nanya himself came from Cuthero Station. Tindale (1974:130) regards them as Daŋgagali, reversing his earlier opinion that they were Marawara (1940). C.Richards (1903) who had first-hand information on the matter, called them 'Marra Warree' but he used that term as a Bāgandji. In his discussion he quotes words which clearly come from South Australia 'moola' – 'nose' (a wide-spread word) and 'willa' – 'woman' (Diyari willa), but the vocabulary proper seems to be pure Southern Bāgandji. And when Richards says (1903:125) 'Nganya and his wives were pure-bred river blacks, born before the advent of Europeans to their country' there seems no reason to doubt their Southern Bāgandji origin.
I.4.3. Wanjubaļgu — Bandjigali

Wanjubaļgu was once spoken in the White Cliffs area (Beckett 1958). It was closely associated with Bandjigali, which Bonney (1884) calls Bungyarlee. Two of the word-lists in Curr's work, those of Dewhurst and Crozier from Evelyn Creek have been attributed to Wanjubaļgu (Oates 1970): they do not belong to any Darling River dialect, but probably to Wadigali. This fact has already been implied by Schmidt (1919).

There is no published record of Wanjubaļgu, but George Dutton indicated that this dialect was practically identical with Bandjigali.

Bandjigali was spoken in the Mootwingee area and almost as far as Cobham Lakes. The vocabulary by Reid from the Torrowotto Lakes in Curr's compilation (1886) belongs to this dialect. Bandjigali was spoken by George Dutton 'Galbaļi', who had traditional and mythological as well as linguistic knowledge. George Dutton's life history has been outlined by the anthropologist who was also his friend, J. Beckett (1958 and 1978). In his later years, George Dutton became more and more isolated in his position as 'knowledgeable old man', as one by one his contemporaries died. He felt, with justification, that he had been ill used by some research workers. His family life was tragic and his home surroundings chaotic and sordid. He was anxious to teach me Bandjigali, but he was too ill to leave his house, where conditions for such work were hopeless. Despite the noise and confusion that were always in the background he nevertheless recorded long conversations, some in English and Bandjigali, and some in English and Maljaqaba, about customs and traditions, hunting techniques, and the past in general. George Dutton had a professional outlook towards the six languages and the traditions that he knew, he could not tolerate confusion. In younger days he and his rivals in knowledge, his friends George McDermott and George Ebsworth (both Wangumara) had held competitions on totemic geography and rare vocabulary. This professionalism and preoccupation with accuracy make George Dutton's statements particularly valuable, and he has helped to elucidate not only Bandjigali, but also the other Darling River dialects.

I.4.4. Marawara

C. Richards (1903) used the term 'Marraa'warree' for the whole of the Bągangj1 language group, but normally the term Marawara has a more restricted meaning and refers to the southernmost dialect of the Darling River, the dialect spoken from Avoca on the Darling down to the Wentworth and Mildura districts and around Lake Victoria. Apart from the work of Tindale already quoted there are vocabularies by
T. Hill Goodwin (1878), by Holden (1884) and by Bulmer (1878 and 1886). Bulmer's 1878 contribution consisted of a longer Marawara vocabulary and he even gave a few phrases: he then called the language 'Murray', presumably because he obtained the data while he was at the Yelta mission near Mildura on the Murray (Massola 1962). It appears from the lists that there were some minor differences between Marawara and Southern Bāgandji in vocabulary. There was also some divergence involving sound-change: Southern Bāgandji intervocalic -dj- corresponds to -y- in Marawara.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern Bāgandji</th>
<th>Marawara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wīmbadja 'man'</td>
<td>wīmbaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumbadja 'big'</td>
<td>gumbaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambidja 'father'</td>
<td>gambiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there were some excellent speakers still living at the time of Tindale's work (1939), Marawara has now been extinct for several decades and despite many efforts it was impossible to obtain any first-hand information.

1.4.5. Southern Bāgandji

Southern Bāgandji has fared best of all the Darling River dialects. It was spoken over a large area with very minor regional variations. The vocabularies by Rogers, Wilson, Henderson, Curr, McLennan, by Mair and by Shaw in the Curr compilation and the word-list of C. Richards (discussed in I.4.2.) all belong to Southern Bāgandji. The eastern group of Southern Bāgandji speakers were the Barindji (called Beri-ait by Cameron 1884). By definition they were the people who belonged to bāri 'the rough country', 'the scrub' and they regarded themselves as different from the Bāgandji, who belonged to bāga 'the river'. Their reaction to Cameron's remarks is therefore not surprising. He writes (p.346):

I suggested to my informants that they were part of the same tribe [as the Bāgandji], but they would not hear of it.

Despite the difference in habitat, the linguistic distinctions appear to have been minimal. 'Menindee talk' was considered only slightly different from Barindji and from 'Pooncarie talk', but this was, as indicated by Grannie Buggamy, mainly a matter of intonation.

The Southern Bāgandji people from Pooncarie were forced to leave their home to settle at Menindee, but despite their misfortunes they
maintained some feeling of independence and attachment to the old language. The oldest member of this group is Grannie Kate Buggamy. She has been struck by a cruel illness and is permanently in hospital, and yet she has done her utmost to help. Jack Johnson 'Gunsmoke' her cousin, a full blood, is much younger; he is the only person who speaks Bagandji in preference to English. Nobody in his immediate surroundings understands him, and he has been driven further and further into alcoholism. He can still remember the tales recited in Bagandji by his maternal grandfather, Ted Brodie of Pooncarie. Most of the work on Southern Bagandji is due to him and to the encouragement and help of Mrs Elsie Jones. She has long been interested in the language and has a remarkable knowledge of vocabulary. Yet despite all this help my work on Bagandji must remain inadequate, it cannot do justice to the intricacies of the grammar nor to the vast literature that must have existed. Even in 1886 Teulon felt regretful and asked (p.187):

If the shallows can supply such 'inestimable stones', what may not the deep have held?

Now, nearly 100 years later we can only offer a fragmentary account of the Bagandji language.

I.4.6. Summary

The combined evidence of the present day speakers and the older published materials suggest the following dialectal differentiation for the Darling River languages:
Table 1

DARLING RIVER (BÃ©GANDJI) LANGUAGE GROUP

NORTHERN DIALECTS

GUNU

BâRUNDJI

Guñu (Güla) (Nualko)

SOUTHERN BÃ©GANDJI DIALECT GROUP

WILJALI

DANGAGALI

BANDJIGALI

WANJUBALGU

SOUTHERN-BÃ©GANDJI MARAWARA

Dañgagali Bulâli

Barindji Menindee talk

Pooncarie talk

Capital letters are used to indicate the main dialects.
Lower case letters are used to indicate minor local speech variants.
Dialect names given in brackets are not known to modern informants.
CHAPTER II
BAGANDJI PHONOLOGY

II.1. CONSONANTS

One of the features of Bāgandji word structure is that practically all words begin with consonants (see II.2.3.) and all end in vowels except for ɲim, an emphatic variant of ɲ ɪ 'yes': Bāgandji is on the eastern edge of the area in which vocalic finals are the rule.

Bāgandji, as is to be expected from its important boundary status, is also of interest as regards its phoneme inventory: it is midway between the maximum differentiation shown by Yandruwanda (Breen 1971) and the lesser differentiation shown by the Waŋybuwan-Niyambā language group of central N.S.W. Bāgandji, in common with many other Australian languages, has a six-stop consonant system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>peripheral</th>
<th>non-peripheral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>laminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>laminal-palatal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apico-alveolar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>apico-dominal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- stops: b, g, d, dj, d, ḍ
- nasals: m, n, nj, n, ṇ
- laterals: l, lj, l, l
- vibrants: r, r
- semivowels: w, y

(The consonants enclosed within the lines do not occur initially; r is found initially in only one word, r̥alda-r̥alda 'spurning plover'.)
Map 2: Consonantal Phonemes

- single apical, restricted double laminal distinction
- single laminal, double apical
- double laminal, double apical
- uncertain
The few words which begin with consonants of the palatal series are not normal Bāgandji, but borrowed words: djugu 'sugar', njiba 'clothes' (a wide-spread word in South Australian languages).

II.1.1. Consonantal Contrasts (non-peripheral contrasts only are listed)

Medial Stops:  
- mada- 'hard, dry'
- mada- 'to clean up'
- madja 'bold'
- mađa 'old man', 'tribal elder'

Medial Nasals  
- banadja 'bat'
- bana- 'to make'
- bana 'goanna'
- ganja 'cooking stone'

Medial Laterals  
- galila 'stick'
- gali- 'to see'
- maljiña 'large hawk'
- maļi 'male', 'husband'

Medial Vibrants  
- yuri- 'to think'
- yuri 'ears'

II.1.2. Laminal Contrasts

It has been shown conclusively by R.M.W. Dixon (1970a) that Proto-Australian only had a single series of laminal consonants. In Bāgandji there is no contrast in the initial position, as only the dental laminal series occurs at the beginning of words. But medially the contrast is clear: both series occur in most environments. In fact the dentals seem to be preferred in the environment where they are least expected, that is between two high front vowels:

- bidiga 'poison'
- wīdi 'shrimp'
- gini 'this'

Palatals in this environment are rare:

- bidjidji 'Wychooga Lake'

and on the whole confined to morpheme boundaries

- bami-dji 'He saw' (1)
- bari-dji 'He went' (2)

There is also one borrowed word which is exceptional in this regard:

- mīdji 'name' (from Maljaŋaba)
Map 1: Consonant Length

- Pre-stopping of medial nasals and laterals
- Pre-stopping only marginally noticeable
- Gemination of medial consonants
- No gemination or lengthening of consonants

Map 3: Consonant Length
The palatal series of consonants occurs freely both before and after back vowels, in an environment where one would least expect any palatal:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nulja-} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft to wash\textquoteright} \\
\text{budji-budji} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft hot weather\textquoteright} \\
\text{badjuga} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft moon\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

There was only one clear instance of free variation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gadunja} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft crayfish\textquoteright} \\
\text{gadjunja}
\end{align*}
\]

A variation between dialects was noted in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bandjigali} & \quad \text{nulardji} \quad \text{\textquoteleft a lot\textquoteright} \\
\text{Guru} & \quad \text{nulardji} \quad \text{\textquoteleft a lot\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

One pair of quite obviously related words contained different laminals:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gaduga} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft short\textquoteright} \\
\text{gadjilugu} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft little\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

It would seem that in Bāgandji the distinction between the two series of laminals is reasonably well established and that it is unlikely to be a very recent introduction.

### II.1.3. Apical Contrasts

As shown in II.1.1. no apical consonants occur initially, but unlike the languages on its eastern boundaries, Bāgandji has two clear series of apical consonants, the apico-alveolar and the apico-domal or retroflex consonants. Both series can occur anywhere in a medial position, irrespective of any vocalic environment:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{guda} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft others, other people\textquoteright} \\
\text{guḍa-} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft to touch\textquoteright} \\
\text{ṇadi} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft wrong\textquoteright} \\
\text{ṇadi} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft alike\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

This contrast may be noted also in medial homorganic clusters:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṇandi} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft teeth\textquoteright} \\
\text{ṇardī} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft edible root\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

and in clusters consisting of nasals and peripheral consonants:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{banba} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft tree species\textquoteright} \\
\text{galgugu} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft bald coot (bird)\textquoteright} \\
\text{banba} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft neck\textquoteright} \\
\text{galgugu} & \quad \text{\textquoteleft belar tree\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

Both series of apical consonants are thus clearly well established in Bāgandji.
II.1.4. Neutralisation of Contrasts

The maximum contrast between consonant phonemes occurs in medial position, following the accented vowel: it is this maximum contrast that forms the basis of the phonemic distinctions outlined above. In word-initial position the contrasts are more limited owing to the absence of the entire apical series as well as all palatals from this position (II.1.1.). Initially, therefore even the basic laminal versus apical contrast does not exist. Theoretically one could call this neutralisation of contrasts, but the pronunciation of the initial non-peripherals is distinctly dental.

There appears to have been a neutralisation of contrasts also at the beginning of bound morphemes but in this case it was associated with loss of phonetic distinction: there was no consistent difference made between the accusative/possessive case-markers and the instrumental/locative. Thus no audible distinction was made between yabara-na (< yabara-na) 'his camp' and yabara-na 'in camp'. Both from internal evidence in Bāgandjī and from comparative data it is clear that the accusative marker was originally -na. The dental phoneme is assured in the accusative of the first person singular pronoun āna 'me', moreover, as is well known, a large number of Pama-Nyungan languages have an accusative marker -na (Blake 1977:70). There can thus be no doubt that the accusative suffix was originally -na in Bāgandjī also. Comparative data, and in particular the evidence of the Pitta Pitta locative -ina (Blake 1977:66) point towards an original Bāgandjī instrumental/locative form -na with an apico-alveolar initial. But the distinction between the apical and laminal series has been neutralised in this position, that is in the initial of bound morphemes, and there is no evidence of any distinction in pronunciation between the accusative/possessive and the instrumental/locative endings. For simplicity the spelling -na has been adopted in all cases, it probably also approximates most closely to the articulation.

The only other case of free variation was between r and ʈ in the suffix -ɖi/-ɾi (II.2.6.b).

II.2. PHONETIC NOTES ON THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

II.2.1. Gemination

In Bāgandjī there is very conspicuous lengthening of consonants when they follow immediately on the stress accent which falls on the first syllable of a word. This was noted long ago by C. Richards who was already aware of the close relationship between gemination of
consonants and the pre-stopping of nasal and lateral consonants (Hercus 1972). Richards wrote (1903:164):

The long 'l-l' is sounded by the tongue remaining in contact with the back of the teeth (at the position occupied in sounding 'n' as well as 'd' and 't') for some time, while the sound escapes over the sides of the tongue and along the cheeks to the lips. As in the case of the 'n-n' so the 'l-l' from being formed in the same position with the tip of the tongue, as the 'd', at times seems to sound like 'dl' and thus the words 'Mool-la', 'Gkal-la', 'Wil-la' (i.e. Nose, Dog, Woman) might almost at times be written 'Moodla', 'Gkadla', 'Widla', respectively.

The three words quoted are not ordinary Bāgandji words (possibly Gkadla is a mistake for Bāgandji gaǰi 'dog'), nevertheless the observation remains valid.

Not all consonants are equally affected by the tendency to geminate: nasals and laterals are most strongly affected.

a) Intervocalic nasals and laterals following the stress accent are in fact truly doubled: there is a syllabic break, a clear arrest in the middle of the actual occlusive articulation:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bami-</td>
<td>[pammi-]</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buši</td>
<td>[buši]</td>
<td>'star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanna</td>
<td>[wanna]</td>
<td>'boomerang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milinja</td>
<td>[milinja]</td>
<td>'fingernail'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Exception:**

Medial nasals in words beginning with a nasal are not usually fully doubled, just optionally lengthened:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muni</td>
<td>[muni]</td>
<td>'green ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muni-</td>
<td>[muni-]</td>
<td>'to tie up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina</td>
<td>[mina]</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from this one group of exceptions the doubling of the medial inter-vocalic nasals and laterals is so pronounced that there is sometimes an impression that a plosive consonant is present. Of two nasal consonants the first may thus be occasionally partly denasalised, and the first of two lateral consonants may show a slight tendency

*The other two words belong to Diyaŋi and related South Australian languages.*
towards an initial occlusion. In other words in Bāgandjī there are some signs of pre-stopping and particularly in the case of alveolars one might possibly be tempted at times to transcribe

bu|i [bu!i] 'star' as [bu’d]i]

and

wana [wanna] 'boomerang' as [wa’dnna]

as was indicated by C. Richards in the passage quoted above.

It must however be pointed out that this tendency was only barely noticeable and pre-stopping was not a regular phonetic feature as in South Central Australian languages. The Bāgandjī situation is nevertheless of importance because it confirms the links between gemination and pre-stopping.

b) Nasals and laterals that form part of medial clusters are not fully geminated, they are lengthened, but only in the case of dissimilar clusters and then only optionally. In homorganic clusters there is no noticeable lengthening:

balga- [baîka-] 'to hit'
gunga- [guûga-] 'to swallow'
but buûga [buûga] 'hut'

c) Peripheral Plosives following a stressed short vowel are lengthened:

_naba- [nâpa-] 'to look up'
yaba [yaîa] 'track'
_nigi [niîi] 'charcoal'
but mîgi [mîki] 'eye'

d) d, dj and d are only slightly lengthened when they follow a stressed vowel.

e) No lengthening has been noted with d, r and r, nor with y and w.

This is in some agreement with the findings of D. Trefry (1974) who took measurements of the relative consonant lengths in the Diyari language of South Australia. He concluded that the flap r was the shortest medial consonant altogether, and q the shortest medial plosive. The degree to which lengthening of consonants takes place after stressed vowels is much more marked in Bāgandjī than in Diyari. Gemination and lengthening of consonants is one of the features that links Bāgandjī with the Pitta Pitta dialects of south-western Queensland (Blake and Breen 1971:31).
II.2.1. Table Summarising Gemination of Consonants after Short Stressed Vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full doubling with tendency to pre-stopping</th>
<th>Intervocalic laterals and nasals (in words not beginning with nasals)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lengthening</td>
<td>Intervocalic nasals in words beginning with nasals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intervocalic peripheral plosives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nasals in non-homorganic clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Laterals in clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slight lengthening</td>
<td>Intervocalic non-peripherals other than retroflex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No lengthening</td>
<td>In homorganic clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɣ, Ʇ, r, y, w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No lengthening after long stressed vowels

II.2.2. Palatalisation

The velar consonants ɣ and Ʇ are palatalised by a following high front vowel i. Various degrees of this phonetic feature may be noted.

a) Initially the palatalisation is most noticeable. In the absence of the phonemes dj and nj at the beginning of Bāgandji words there is no danger of any homophonous clashes and therefore no need to conserve the velar articulation of Ʇ + i and ɣ + i. The tendency towards palatalisation in this position is thus even more marked in Bāgandji than in other Australian languages such as Wembawemba (Hercus 1969:19) and the articulation of ɣ and Ʇ in this environment is clearly mediopalatal or sometimes even further advanced: [ti] and [ŋ] have been heard as in

- *gilbara* [kɪlpara] [ti̯lpara] name of one moiety
- *ŋI [ŋI] [ŋI] 'yes'

b) Medially in the environment ñ – i there is a strong tendency towards palatalisation; hence the pronunciation of the word ְַגִי 'name' was usually [n̥ɪkɪ] with a medio-palatal plosive. Palatalisation was very slight in the environment i – i, a – i and u – i; *muɡi_Ii* 'wild orange tree' [mu̯kIi] gigi 'this here' [kɪkɪ].
Palatalisation in this environment was stronger elsewhere as for instance in Yaralde: the Yaralde 3rd person pronoun gidji is related to Bāgandji (g)igi 'this here'.

II.2.3. Loss of Initial Consonants

There are several areas in Australia where loss of initial consonants is prevalent, as in Central Australia and Cape York Peninsula (Alpher 1976). Initial peripheral consonants are the ones most usually affected, particularly velars. In Bāgandji normally all words begin with a consonant, but in some circumstances there may be a loss of a velar initial. This loss was much more noticeable in Bandjigali than elsewhere: all the omissions of initials listed as optional under a) and b) were the rule in Bandjigali.

a) In Southern Bāgandji initial g (+ i) may sometimes be lost in demonstrative and third person pronouns and their derivatives. Thus igi is a variant of gigi 'this here', idana and inara are variants of gidana 'his' and ginara 'here' respectively. In Guṇu, however, the situation is different: forms without the initial consonant are the neutral/present forms and the initial g- marks the future tense (Wurm and Hercus 1976).

The adverbial particle gila 'not' is also susceptible to the loss of the initial consonant, and ila has been heard occasionally, though rarely, except of course in Bandjigali, where it was the rule.

Loss of the initial g (+ i) is restricted to the pronominal forms and to gila, there is no sign of it in ordinary nouns and verbs: it was for instance never noted in girinja 'leopard tree', gīra 'country', gila- 'to grow' and girbadja 'black kangaroo'. The development was evidently optional and sporadic and confined to a small group of words which were liable to be used as clitics.

b) In Southern Bāgandji initial η (+ i) is often lost in second person singular pronouns; this elision is extremely rare in Guṇu. Southern Bāgandji examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
(\eta)imba & \text{ 'you' } & (2 \text{ sg NOM}) \\
(\eta)indu & \text{ 'you' } & (2 \text{ sg ERG})
\end{align*}
\]

even when these are free forms:

\[
\begin{align*}
imba \, \eta\text{niga} & \text{ 'You are sitting down' } & (3) \\
you \, \text{niga} \text{ sit}
\end{align*}
\]

Apart from pronouns and the particle ηī, ηim 'yes' there is a small group of verbs in Bāgandji which begin with η + i and that is ηima- 'to lie down', 'to sleep', ηiba- 'to put down' and ηīnga- 'to sit'.

These were frequently heard as ima-, and iba- and ìnga-
gila imadjåba 'I didn't sleep' (4)  
not sleep-PAST-I  
ganja ìngaåba 'I'll sit there' (5)  
there sit-I

It is noteworthy that Bandjigali, where the i-forms prevailed, was the western-most of the Bågandji dialects that could be recorded and it bordered on Maljañaaba. If η- is followed by any other vowel there is no sign of any such weakening of the initial. The situation in Bågandji is connected with that of languages to the west, such as Maljañaaba, where words beginning with η + i are extremely rare: they are totally absent from languages of the Diyar1 group and from Arabana-Wångañuru.

c) No free word in Bågandji begins with a-. The post-position -albi 'like' is the only unabbreviated morpheme with such an initial. u-, wu- is also never found at the beginning of words, except for the extremely rare variant wura-mari for yura-mari 'that way'.

Yet, apart from the optional elision of initial η and η, when followed by i in the cases listed above, there is a small group of words beginning with i- (yi-). It is certain that a consonant has been elided here. In some of these words it is possible to establish by comparative evidence what consonant was lost:

ilågu 'yesterday' is probably *gilågu and has links with the demonstrative pronouns (cf. Madimadi gila newigi 'yesterday', lit. 'that day'). This pronominal origin is confirmed by the fact that there is also in Bågandji a bound morpheme -illi 'this time'. The long vowel in the second syllable of ilågu proves that the word was a compound.

The Bandjigali word ilidja 'crayfish' is formed with the suffix -dja 'having' and the initial part of the word is probably connected with the wide-spread South Australian word (d)iliga 'prickle'.

For òga- 'to float' no suggestions as to an original initial consonant can be made at present.

Some seventy years before our modern theories on the structure of the word in Proto-Australian C. Richards already indicated that the vocalic initials in Bågandji were due to the loss of consonants (p.164):

'They also drop the initial consonant and sometimes the whole
syllable ... and it is probable that all their words beginning with a vowel sound have been thus evolved....'

d) When b (+ u) is the initial of the second member of a compound noun, the plosive may either be weakened to a fricative or lost altogether in rapid speech. Thus the following pronunciations have been heard:

- dāduto-bulgi 'head-hair' [d[a]tu-wulki], [d[a]tulki]
- wîmbadja-bûnga 'Aboriginal hut' [wîmbatja-wûnga], [wîmbatjûnga]

The very restricted occurrence of loss of initial consonants indicates that Bâgandji is on the periphery of the initial-dropping area of Central Australia.

II.2.4. Clusters Containing Palatals

a) The lamino-palatal nj and lj can occur before the plosive dj. The resulting clusters have been spelt as ndj and ljdk throughout instead of njdj and ljdlj for the sake of orthographical simplicity. In this environment the palatal articulation may be anticipated and a weak palatal glide may precede the cluster particularly after the vowel u:

- gundji 'hut' [guynjtji]
- Bârundji [pâruñntji]

The spellings 'Paruńji', 'Paruńdi', 'Parooinge' used by early writers, and 'Paruındji', used by Tindale, all confirm this pronunciation.

b) The lamino-palatals nj and lj also form clusters with b and in this environment the palatal articulation is very strongly anticipated and a palatal glide is always heard:

- bunjba 'mushroom' [buynjba]
- danjba- 'to shine' [taynja-]
- galjbu 'soon', 'directly' [kayljpua]
- guljbara 'shade' [gyuljpwa]

Contrary to expectations there are no similar clusters involving the other peripheral plosive, g, but lack of symmetry between the peripherals can be noted in this respect in other Australian languages, such as Alawa (Sharpe 1972) and Djingili (Chadwick 1975).

II.2.5. Voicing

Voice is not phonemic in Bâgandji. There is much variation between individuals and all kinds of degrees of voicing can be noted, as well as differences in tenseness of articulation. The situation is however not arbitrary and the following general rules may be noted:
a) Initials

The three plosives that can occur word-initially differ from each other with regard to voicing, but they are always voiced when the following syllable begins with -ɟ-.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bādi} & \quad \text{'egg' \ [ba\text{"si}] } \\
\text{da\text{"du}} & \quad \text{'head' \ [da\text{"tu}] }
\end{align*}
\]

This is a widespread tendency observable also in Maljaqaba and in neighbouring South Australian languages.

In all other circumstances d initial is devoiced:

For the sake of simplicity devoiced stops have been transcribed in phonetic examples by the corresponding surds [t, p, k]. In the case of initial plosives this represents an exaggeration as usually some of the tenseness of the surd is lacking and the pronunciation is closer to [g, b, g].

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dina} & \quad \text{'foot' \ [tinna]} \\
\text{dunga} & \quad \text{'grave' \ [tunga]}
\end{align*}
\]

Initial b and g are always voiced before u:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{buga} & \quad \text{'dead' \ [bu\text{"ka}]} \\
\text{gumbaga} & \quad \text{'wife' \ [gumbaka]}
\end{align*}
\]

and b is always voiced before i:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bīgu} & \quad \text{'forehead' \ [bik\text{"u}]} \\
\text{bilda} & \quad \text{'possum' \ [bil\text{"a}]}
\end{align*}
\]

Both b and g are always voiced initially when followed by long vowels except for a + r:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bāga} & \quad \text{'river' \ [bak\text{"a}]} \\
\text{gīra} & \quad \text{'country' \ [gir\text{"a}]} \\
\text{but Bārundji} & \quad \text{[paruynjtji]}
\end{align*}
\]

In all other circumstances initial b and g are at least partially devoiced:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bari-} & \quad \text{'to go' \ [pari-]} \\
\text{bami-} & \quad \text{'to see' \ [pammi-]} \\
\text{ga\text{"i}i} & \quad \text{'dog' \ [ka\text{"i}\text{"i}]}
\end{align*}
\]
Table Summarising Initial Voicing (+) and Voicelessness (-)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>followed by:</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ār</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā, ī, ū</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vowel + ŋ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ consonants other than ŋ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Medial consonants

Medial intervocalic plosives, whether they are geminated or not are always voiceless:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'water'</th>
<th>[ŋuŋu]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāga</td>
<td>'river'</td>
<td>[bâka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baŋi</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
<td>[baŋi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋidja</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>[ŋitja]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In clusters with homorganic nasals there tends to be some devoicing of the velar and laminal plosives only (unless the preceding vowel is long):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'hole'</th>
<th>[miŋka]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miŋga</td>
<td>'to cook'</td>
<td>[wanjta]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manda-</td>
<td>'to wait'</td>
<td>[maŋta]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'ground'</th>
<th>[maŋdi]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maŋdi</td>
<td>'lightning'</td>
<td>[bindi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîmbadja</td>
<td>'man'</td>
<td>[wîmbatja]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In clusters with non-homorganic nasals there is no devoicing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'to swallow'</th>
<th>[gunga]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gunga-</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
<td>[paŋba]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In clusters with laterals and rhotics plosives are always devoiced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'two'</th>
<th>[parkulu]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bargulu</td>
<td>'speech'</td>
<td>[paŋku]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâlgu</td>
<td>'net'</td>
<td>[malka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table Summarising Medial Voicing (+) and Voicelessness (−)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>b</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>dj</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intervocalic</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with homorganic</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with contrasting</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with laterals and</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
<td>−</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibrants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are some deviations, as in the situation with homorganic nasals, the general situation regarding voicing is similar to what is found in many other Australian languages, as for instance Pitta-Pitta (Blake and Breen 1971). The main noteworthy feature of Bägandji in this respect is the high degree of tenseness and total voicelessness of all intervocalic plosives, particularly those that are geminated.

II.2.6. Notes on Rhotics and Laterals

a) Unlike the languages immediately to the west, i.e. Maljaqaba and the languages of the Diyaric group, Bägandji has only two r-phonemes: one retroflex and one alveolar. The retroflex r is usually a glide, sometimes pronounced with some friction, while the alveolar r is usually a flap and only very rarely a trilled variant form has been heard.

The trilled form was consistently used in the adverbial particle märi [maɾi] 'very':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dirdja mär</th>
<th>'very cheeky' [maɾi]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dujag' märímba</td>
<td>'you're no good at all' [tu]ak'maɾímba]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>very you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The flapped form of r presented some difficulty in the fluent speech of Mrs Moisey (Guṇu) and Jack Johnson (Southern Bägandji), where it could be confused with the alveolar l which also had a flapped form. This was particularly the case when r formed a cluster with another consonant (i.e. with the peripheral plosives b and g); thus gulba- 'to speak' could be misheard as *gurba-. There was no question of any general confusion between r and l, it was simply a rapid-speech approximation. The phonemic distinction was maintained as is shown by:
bali- 'to tidy up'
bari- 'to walk'
balga- 'to hit'
barga- 'to tell lies'

The flapped form of l was never heard in slow and deliberate speech and it never occurred in positions where gemination took place. There was thus a wide range of pronunciation of the ordinary alveolar l:

a) intervocalic l after a short stressed vowel is fully doubled with a tendency towards pre-stopping

b) lengthened l occurs in clusters after a stressed vowel

c) a short l occurs after a long or unstressed vowel

d) a flapped variant occurs instead of the short l in rapid speech.

b) Free variation

In one particular case in Guçu the flapped r was slightly retroflexed, but remained distinct from the retroflex continuant: it could not be transcribed by r. It was however almost indistinguishable from q. The case in question was that of the verbal affix -ri/qi where q was recorded in roughly 40 per cent of the examples:

dugu-di wadu bury-INC PAST 1 sg ERG 'I buried it' (6)
gila bina- ri not climb-Vb

Don't start climbing up' (7)

In Southern Bāgandjī this suffix is hardly used: where it occurs it is always -ri. In Bandjigali it is quite common and is always -ri:

guji-ri -angi -li play-Vb -INC -EMPH 'He's just starting to play' (8)

This would indicate that the forms in ri are probably original. The variant pronunciation was tolerated as it does not give rise to any confusion: -q- is not found under any other circumstances at the beginning of the third or fourth syllable of a word.

The phonetic variations of r and r are much greater in Bāgandjī than in neighbouring languages to the east (Waŋaybuwan). On the other hand the phonological distinctions are fewer than in Maljaŋaba to the west. Bāgandjī is thus again on a borderline, it is the westernmost language (in this area) with only two rhotic phonemes.
Map 4: Vowel Length

- Length phonemic only for the vowel a
- Length phonemic for a and marginally for other vowels
- Full system of vowel length
- No phonemic distinction of vowel length
- Uncertain

Map 4: Vowel Length
II.3. VOWELS

II.3.1. Vowel Phonemes

Bagandji has three vowel phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, length is phonemic.

In languages immediately to the west of Bagandji, in Maljañaba and Yağlıyawara, and further west still in Adnjamaña and Guyani only the vowel a is marked as to length whereas to the east in Ṣiyambã length is phonemic in all vowels. In Bagandji the situation is more complex. In all Bagandji dialects that were recorded length is very clearly phonemic in the vowel a. This distinction in length has a high functional yield, e.g.

- bāga 'river'
- baga- 'to sing'
- gānda- 'to gossip'
- ganda- 'to bring'

There are only very few examples of a distinction between i and ī. The only clear instance of a contrast that could be recorded were:

- nīgi 'name'
- nīgi 'charcoal'

and

- bīda- 'to spread out'
- bida- 'to pinch'

and in fact the long vowel ī is very rare in the language.

In the case of u the situation is even more doubtful: there are just a few instances of contrast:

- gunbu 'youth'
- günbu 'hairy caterpillar'

In some environments free variation between short and long u may be observed, notably before l and before ŋ. Thus bûnga 'hut' has been heard as bûnga and bunga, and yuŋa 'root' could sometimes be interpreted as yuŋa.

Despite these instances of hesitation the speakers were very conscious of length which in their minds overshadowed other phenomena.
Thus Elsie Jones was heard to say: 'I suppose ㎛im (‘yes’) is just short for ㎛7.'

The distinction between long and short vowels holds only for stressed syllables: in unstressed syllables or in syllables with only a secondary accent long vowels did not occur. There is only a small group of words which form an exception to this rule: even they are not truly exceptions, they are probably compounds of varying degrees of transparency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balīra (Southern Bāgandjī)</th>
<th>‘good’ (bali + ɪra ?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wandāli</td>
<td>‘echidna’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malāga</td>
<td>‘on the other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilāgu</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a single morpheme in Bāgandjī may only have one main stress, and that on the initial syllable, there are no morphemes with more than one long vowel, but naturally a word containing bound morphemes may have more than one long vowel. The accentual system of Bāgandjī is such that stress and therefore the possibility of long vowels occurs very frequently at the beginning of the bound morpheme:

ŋūyāldjāba ‘I was frightened’ (ŋūya - l(a) - dj - ūba) (9)

fear - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr

gūribādu ‘I’ll hide (it)’ (gūriba - ādu) (10)

hide - 1 sg Tr

Length may therefore be said to be a distinctive feature of vowels only to a certain extent: the distinction applies mainly to a/ā, more rarely to i/ɪ and u/ʊ, and is significant only in stressed syllables.

II.3.2. Length and Quality

a) The low vowel a

In Bāgandjī the difference between a and ā is one of length in phonetic as well as phonemic terms. On the analogy of English we are apt to think of a short a as a low front vowel [a], and of a long ā as a low back vowel [ā] as in 'father'. But this assumption would be inaccurate for Bāgandjī where the normal a [a] is neither front nor a true back low vowel. In narrow transcription one may best render it as [a +], an advanced back vowel. The long ā is simply a lengthened version, which in all other respects appears to have the same articulatory characteristics. Thus the word bāga ‘river’ can be transcribed as [bā+ka]. The long vowel, as will be discussed in II.4.1-3 is however not prone to changes caused by the consonantal environment, unlike its short counterpart.
b) The high vowels i and u

The short and long front vowels i and ī are high vowels, but as is generally the case in Australian languages (see for instance Sharpe 1972:19) they are normally below the cardinal vowel.

u and ū are high back vowels, but lower and less rounded than the cardinal [u]. All these front and back vowels are subject to changes in various consonantal environments (II.4.1-3).

II.4. PHONETIC NOTES ON THE VOWEL SYSTEM

II.4.1. The o-sounds

o-sounds are common in Bāgandji. Had there been any hope of reviving the language 'o' would have been used as part of the practical orthography. This would have had some disadvantages; it would have rendered parts of the verbal system less transparent as some of the o-sounds represent two vowels that have coalesced in morpheme junctures.

II.4.1a. ū, ū'

A very close [ū], sometimes slightly diphthongal [ū'], this is the normal pronunciation of ū when followed by laterals, but not when followed by rhotics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gūlurgu</td>
<td>[gūlurgu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mūluru</td>
<td>[mūluru]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

but

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>būri</td>
<td>[būri]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and also of ū when preceded and followed by a nasal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñūngu</td>
<td>[ñūngu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñūmu</td>
<td>[ñūmu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is one exception to this rule, if both the nasals are m the pronunciation of ū appears to remain in the [ū] [ū] range. The word in question is mūma- 'to pick up' [mūma-].

[ū], [ū], and [u], [u] represent the normal pronunciation of ū, ū in Bāgandji. The more open pronunciation [ū], [ū] alternates freely with the more close pronunciation [ū], [ū] according to individuals, except before nasals where the more open vowel is the rule.
II.4.1b. Table Summarising the Pronunciation of Stressed ū, u

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ū + l</td>
<td>[o, ū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal + ū + nasal (except mūma-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū in all other environments</td>
<td>[ū, ū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u followed by nasal</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u elsewhere</td>
<td>[u, u]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II.4.1c. [ɔ]

When a was in an open syllable and was preceded by w it tended to be raised and slightly rounded: it was pronounced as open [ɔ]

- wabi'ga 'hot' [wo'ipi'ka]
- waga- 'to hit' [wo'aka]

This was not the case when laminal consonants followed:

- wadara 'there' [watara]
- wanji 'upper arm' [wanjnji]
- walja 'don't' (prohibitive particle) [wa'lja]

When a was in a closed syllable and was preceded by w it was not raised, but only slightly rounded: it was pronounced as [ɔ]. Again this was not the case when a laminal consonant followed:

- wambi- 'to fly' [wɔmbi-]
- wanja 'nest' [wɔnja]
  * but *
- wandja- 'to cook' [wantja]

The long vowel ā does not become rounded by a preceding w:

- wagu- 'to look for' [wo'ku-]
- wāgu 'crow' [wāku]

Medial w which usually follows a long vowel, never causes rounding of vowels:

- māwulu 'slowly' [māwulu]
- nūwala- 'to cook' [nūwalla]

II.4.1d. Table Summarising the Pronunciation of w + a, ā.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a preceded by w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>followed by laminal</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in open syllable</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in closed syllable</td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ā preceded by w</td>
<td>[ā]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a preceded or followed by medial w</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II.4.1e. [5], [ɔ̃]

[ɔ̃], [ɔ̃] is the result of 'crasis', the contraction of two contiguous vowels u + a and a + u. The occurrence of these contiguous vowels is confined to morpheme boundaries. u + a is particularly common and occurs in the 3rd person possessive form of nouns ending in -u:

\[ \text{ba} \text{gu - ana} \quad \text{'his language'} \quad \text{[pa\text{j}k\text{ɔ}na]} \]

\[ \text{bigu - ana} \quad \text{'his face'} \quad \text{[bi\text{k}\text{ɔ}na]} \]

and in the combination of any singular ergative marker and the third person singular object marker:

\[ \text{da} \text{ldi - 'ndu - ana} \quad \text{'You hear him'} \quad \text{[talt\text{in}t\text{ɔ}na]} \quad (11) \]

\[ \text{Hear} \quad 2 \text{ sg Tr} \quad 3 \text{ sg obj} \]

and also in the combination of the habitual and causal past suffix -ŋu and some subject markers:

\[ \text{wīdja - ŋu - adu} \quad \text{'He used to drink'} \quad \text{[wīt\text{jang}t\text{ɔ}u]} \quad (12) \]

\[ \text{drink} \quad \text{PERF} \quad 3 \text{ sg sub} \]

The other combination of vowels a + u occurs somewhat less frequently and has been noted particularly in words that have a final a and which are followed by the affix -ulu

\[ \text{ŋidja - ulu} \quad \text{'the one and only one'} \quad \text{[ŋit\text{j}\text{ɔ}lu]} \]

\[ \text{one} \quad \text{SG} \]

As is evident from these examples, crasis is the most common source of o-sounds in Bāgandji.

II.4.1f. [5i]

A slightly more complex form of crasis is found when a final -u becomes contiguous with the first person object and possessive marker -ayi [ai], [ayi]. Pronunciation varies between [5i] and [5yi], depending mainly on the speed of the utterance:

\[ \text{bami - du - ayi} \quad \text{'He sees me'} \quad \text{[pam\text{mif}5i] [pam\text{mif}5yi]} \quad (13) \]

\[ \text{ba} \text{lu - ayi} \quad \text{'my child'} \quad \text{[pa\text{j}5i] [pa\text{ŋ}5yi]} \]

\[ \text{child} \quad 1 \text{ sg POS} \]

The diphthongal pronunciation [5i] is obligatory when another affix follows:

\[ \text{ba} \text{lu - ayi - ři} \quad \text{'to my child'} \quad \text{[pa\text{s}i\text{ři}]} \]
II.4.1g.
There is an important restraint on the use of all long o-sounds: they cannot be used in adjacent syllables. Contiguous vowels that would result on such a situation do not undergo crasis but remain in hiatus:

\[\text{n\u0102nguana 'his wife'} \quad [\text{n\u0102nguana not } \text{ngog\u0102na}]\]

but in the case of the combination \(u + ayi\), it is \(u\) that is usually lost:

\[\text{wanga-ulu-ayi, wangaulayi [wong\u0102lai] 'my bit of meat'}\]

This restraint is connected with the fact that the o-sounds are a very conspicuous and dominating feature of the Bagandji language.

II.4.2. The e-sounds

The e-sounds are not as prominent a feature of Bagandji as the o-sounds. There are no instances of e caused by crasis: when \(i + a\) are contiguous, \(a\) is usually elided; for ayi see II.4.4.

a) \(\check{e}\)
\(\check{e}\) when followed by \(r\) or \(l\) is lowered to approximately a mid-close position. Thus \(\check{g}\)ra 'country' is \([\check{g}\u0304ra]\), bal\(\check{t}\)ra 'good' is \([\check{p}al\u0305ra]\), bam\(\check{\iota}\)la 'for seeing' is \([\check{p}am\u0305\iota\u0301la]\), dal\(\check{\ts}\)la 'for hearing' is \([\check{t}a\u0305\ts\u0301la]\). There does not appear to be any lowering of \(\check{e}\) in a nasal environment.

b) \([\varepsilon, \overset{\circ}{a}]\)
\(a\) after \(y\) is fronted and raised to a low mid-open position when an intervocablic \(r\) follows or any laminal consonant:

\[\text{yara 'tree'} \quad [\varepsilon\u0301ra]\]
\[\text{yal\u010di 'long'} \quad [\varepsilon\u0301lt\u010di]\]

\(a\) after \(y\) is fronted very slightly and raised to \(\overset{\circ}{a}\) in open syllables, except before \(w\) as in \(yawa \quad [yawa] 'snake species' \)

\[\text{yaba 'track'} \quad [\varepsilon\u0301p\u0301a]\]
\[\text{yad\u010du 'wind'} \quad [\varepsilon\u0301tu]\]

but not in closed syllables:

\[\text{yam\u010aga 'catfish'} \quad [\varepsilon\u0301m\u0305\u0301ka]\]
\[\text{yarga 'to be thirsty'} \quad [\varepsilon\u0301r\u0301ka]\]

In Bagandji after \(y\), regardless of the rest of the environment, \(a\) is naturally always more fronted than in corresponding positions after another consonant. In a very narrow transcription it would be rendered by \([a+]\) (Heffner 1964:103):
There is some variation between individual speakers with regards to the finer points in the gradation of front vowels [a, a+, a, e, e].

II.4.3. Rounding and Unrounding of Vowels

a) The sound [ü]

Rounded front vowels are rare in Bāgendji, much more so than in languages to the south, in Victoria and in Yaralde type languages. Only the high rounded front vowel [ü] is found and it is restricted to one environment: it represents the pronunciation of i when preceded by a w and followed by a retroflex consonant:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wiɗuka} & \quad \text{'elder sister'} & \quad \text{[wṹusaha]} \\
\text{wiɗu} & \quad \text{'old man'} & \quad \text{[wṹus]} \\
\text{wiŋa} & \quad \text{'lignum'} & \quad \text{[wṹnda]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It is not possible to interpret this [ü] as u influenced by a following retroflex consonant, as w + u is not found initially in any Bāgendji word, whereas w + i is quite common.

b) The sound [w]

When preceded by γ the vowel u is unrounded to varying degrees and tends towards the pronunciation [w], more so in rapid speech than in slow deliberate utterances. This process of unrounding is also dependent to some degree on the consonant following u, it is very noticeable when a laminal or a retroflex consonant follows, and much less marked in a peripheral environment:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yugu} & \quad \text{'sun'} & \quad \text{[yuʔu]} \\
\text{yuduru} & \quad \text{'path'} & \quad \text{[yũturu]} \\
\text{yuŋa} & \quad \text{'root'} & \quad \text{[yuŋa]} \\
\text{yuŋi} & \quad \text{'tripe'} & \quad \text{[yũt̚i]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Like the rounded front vowel, the unrounded back vowel does not constitute a conspicuous or important feature of Bāgendji.

II.4.4. Medial Semi-vowels

a) Medial γ

Medial γ is restricted in its occurrence. In free morphemes it is only found in environments other than /i/ and /i:
There are only a few exceptions to this restriction, dayi- 'to eat',
and bārayi- 'to hear' (Bārundjī) and the word Dūyiga 'the fiend with
the bag', a mythical being which carried away and devoured many
captured humans: this word may be borrowed from Ṇiyambā, where it is
also unusual and probably onomatopoeic, as shown by T. Donaldson (1980).

In junctures with bound morphemes -iya and -ayi are found in all
dialects except GuṈu: in rapid speech ayi is pronounced as a diphthong
[ai] (for [ai] see II.4.1.d). The bound morphemes involves are -ayi
(1st person possessive and object marker in Southern Bāgandjī), and -yiga
(3rd person plural) as in ngayiga [ŋŋaɪkɑ] 'they sit'. The diphthong
[ai] can occur in two consecutive syllables in Southern Bāgandjī:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nabayigayi (naba-yiga-ayi)} & \quad \text{'They look me up'} \quad [nɑɭaɪkɑi] \\
\text{miŋurayigayi (miŋura-yiga-ayi)} & \quad \text{'They're mean to me'} \quad [miŋuraɪkɑi] \\
\end{align*}
\]

The practically complete absence of this diphthong [ai] is one of the
distinguishing phonetic features of the GuṈu dialect.

b) Medial w

Medial w is restricted to the same environment as y in free morphemes.
In junctures with bound morphemes it occurs only in the environment i/a:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yawa} & \quad \text{'snake species'} \quad [yawa] \\
\text{ŋuwala} & \quad \text{'to cook'} \quad [mǔwAla] \\
\text{būwuru} & \quad \text{'leaf'} \quad [bǔwuru] \\
\text{ŋali -wa} & \quad \text{'we two'} \quad [ŋaliwa] \\
\end{align*}
\]

Bāgandjī differs from the majority of Australian languages and in
particular from Waŋybulwan – Ṇiyambā (Donaldson 1980) in that medial w
always remains and does not give rise to diphthongs. It remains even
if the surrounding vowels are identical, they never merge even in rapid
and careless speech: thus būwuru is always [bǔwuru] and never *[bǔru].
The diphthong [au] is totally absent from Bāgandjī.

II.4.5. Unaccented Vowels

Unaccented vowels in many Australian languages tend to be reduced
to shwa: this is the case particularly in languages with a strong
stress accent as in Victoria (Hercus 1969:121). Bāgandjī is unusual
in this respect: unaccented non-final vowels are fully maintained
except in one environment, that is in the penultimate syllable of a trisyllabic nominal or verbal base. In this environment some weakening takes place in rapid or careless speech, but hardly ever even then do vowels become unrecognisably reduced to a shwa. There are only a few words in which there is any doubt, one of these is mugi!i/mugu!i 'wild orange tree' which was sometimes heard as [mukI]i and sometimes as [mukU]i. The weakening of the vowel of the middle syllable is roughly as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a} & \rightarrow [\Lambda] \\
\text{i} & \rightarrow [I] \\
\text{u} & \rightarrow [U]
\end{align*}
\]

as in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bigandji</th>
<th>Bækænjtji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mididja</td>
<td>'sister in law'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yangudja</td>
<td>'left hand side'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rarity of indistinct vowels and of the neutral vowels is one of the characteristic features of all the Bāgandji dialects and one which is to a considerable extent responsible for the 'melodious' quality of Bāgandji speech.

II.4.6. Elision of Final a in External Sandhi

The morphophonemic rules (internal sandhi) of Bāgandji are complex. Except for the phonetic problems of [ɔ] discussed in II.4.1.c. these rules are closely tied to morphology, as different declensional and conjugational affixes show varying degrees of resistance to assimilatory processes. Morphophonemic rules will therefore be discussed as part of morphology. The present section is concerned only with the elision of a when final in a word or when followed by a bound morpheme that has independent accentuation.

a) Unaccented a

In rapid speech the final vowel can occasionally be elided when the final syllable is a declensional affix or clitic and unaccented:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wīmbadjan}' & \text{ for wīmbadjana and daļdan}' & \text{ for daļdana in} \\
\text{gila wīmbadjan-}' & \text{gāndarādu, daļda-}' & \text{gāndarādu} \\
\text{not man-GEN & blood-3sg, 'tooth-GEN blood-3sg} \\
\text{'It's not human blood but kangaroo blood'} & \text{ (16)}
\end{align*}
\]
Sometimes before labials there is even some assimilatory change of the preceding consonant in very rapid speech, such as -dim' for diŋa and yugum' for yuguna in

\[
\text{gi-ga-ma} - \text{dim'}\text{ baridju} \\
\text{this-way} - \text{truly go-PAST-3 sg} \\
\text{'Surely he went this way?' (18)}
\]

yugu-m' barTRA \\
sun-LOC good \\
'in the fine sunshine'

In Guŋu this kind of elision and the change from n to m may occur even if there is no labial consonant following and the word is utterance final:

\[
\text{wilga} \ ŋadi \  manu-na \\
hungry  PRES  3 Pl  bread-LOC \\
'They're hungry for bread' (manuna) (19)
\]

The sporadic loss of unaccented final a is found in all the recorded dialects of Bâgandji.

b) Elision in trisyllabic nominals and adverbs

In rapid speech there is occasional elision of final -a when a trisyllabic word is followed by the dual and plural marking postpositions - ŋulu and -(u)gu, or when any closely associated word follows within the same noun phrase:

\[
\text{ŋamag'} - \text{ŋulalin} \\
\text{mother} - \text{DI} - 1 dI POS \\
\text{'the two mothers of us two' (for ŋamaga)}
\]

\[
\text{wimbar'} - \text{gu} \\
\text{daughter} - \text{Pl} \\
\text{'daughters' (for wimbara)}
\]

\[
\text{dulag'} \ ŋandi - \text{dja} \\
\text{bad teeth} - \text{having} \\
\text{'a person with bad teeth' (for dulaga)}
\]
du lag' - wa dā
bad smelling
'stinking'
as opposed to
buga - wa dā
foul smelling
'stinking' never 'bug' as buga is not trisyllabic

In Gunu this situation is somewhat more common as the possessive adjective often follows the noun in a noun-phrase and the final a of trisyllables is therefore liable to elision:

ŋamag' ŋari
mother mine
'my mother' (for ŋamaga)

In trisyllabic adverbs final a is similarly liable to elision before a closely linked word within the same verb-phrase:

gāndinj 'mari ŋinga - dj - ŋlu ŋaradja
long very sit -PAST- 3 dl together
'The two of them stayed together for a very long time' (20)
(for gāndinja)

nandar' dūngu - ma - la - ŋu - adu
again twisted Vb - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub
'Again he went twisting himself along (the watersnake)' (21)
(for nandara)

c) Elision in Verbs

In verbs a similar kind of elision occurs before the verbalising suffix -ma-, though this is not strictly speaking a case of external juncture. -ma- forms verb stems from nominal bases and secondary verbs from verbal roots. Before -ma- there is always elision of the final a of a trisyllabic stem as in:

duḷag' -ma- 'to make bad' (from duḷaga 'bad')
bani nj - 'mala- 'to be jealous' (from baninja)

On the whole this does not happen in shorter words, buga-mala- 'to die'

though there are occasional instances of it, as in:

dug-mala- 'to come loose'

and even with some assimilation of the preceding consonant:

yan-mala- 'to grieve' for *yand-mala- from yanda- 'to cry'
But this last verb is exceptional, the elision of final a before the verbal affix -ma and the resulting unusual consonant clusters are characteristic of trisyllabic stems.

d) Elision before vocalic initials

As vocalic initials are very few (II.2.3.) this kind of elision is a relatively rare occurrence:

\[ \text{manda-1'} \text{ ñiga - na} \]
\[ \text{wait-OPT sit - PTC} \]
\[ 'They are sitting waiting' (for mandala) \]

\[ \text{ñaña - la - ab' ina gigala gíra-na} \]
\[ \text{stay - TOP - 1 sg this here country-LOC} \]
\[ 'I'm staying in my own country' (for ñágalába) \]

and in Gugu:

\[ \text{gila bami win' idana} \]
\[ \text{not see PAST-1 pl this ACC} \]
\[ 'We never saw it' (for wina) \]

but in careful speech the a remains in this position:

\[ \text{muni - ndu - ana idana gálima} \]
\[ \text{tie - 2 sg Tr - 3 sg obj this-OBJ dog-2 sg POS} \]
\[ 'Tie up this dog of yours' \]

and in Gugu:

\[ \text{wayura ñaba dálá iduna-ri} \]
\[ \text{sorry PRES 1 sg 'roo this-DAT} \]
\[ 'I'm sorry for that kangaroo' \]

The elision of a in all cases (except (c)) is a rapid speech phenomenon. It is of interest as it reveals (in (a), (b), and (c)) an underlying tendency to reduce trisyllabic forms to disyllabics. The tendency is particularly strong to reduce all verbal stems to two syllables: this probably accounts for the fact that elision in verbs (c) is not confined to rapid speech.

II.5. SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

II.5.1. Free Morphemes

All free morphemes apart from the one monosyllable ñi, ñim 'yes' have the following basic structure:

disyllabic CV(C)CV Type baga- balga-

All verbal roots are disyllabic, as well as the majority of nouns, in total about 67 per cent of the vocabulary.
The pattern CVCV is found in about 52 per cent of the disyllabic free morphemes, the pattern CVCCV belongs to the remaining 48 per cent.

**trisyllabic CV(C)CV(C)CV**

This comprises nouns and adjectives and those few enlarged verbal stems (i.e. verb + aspect marker) which are not found in their root form. Trisyllabic words comprise about 29 per cent of the total vocabulary. The pattern CVCVCV is found in 56 per cent of the trisyllabic words. Type *baraga*. CVCCVCV is found in roughly 32.5 per cent. Type *bargulu*. CVCCVCCV in 11 per cent. Type *badjirga*. CVCCVCVCCV is less than 1 per cent. Type *gandjalga*.

**polysyllabic CV(C)CV(C)CVCV**

This category comprises only slightly under 4 per cent of the total vocabulary. The words in question are almost exclusively terms for less common fauna and flora. The pattern CVCVCVCV (Type *daramula*) is the only one that is reasonably common, CVCVCVCCV (Type *garambara*) occurs a few times, while the remaining possibilities are confined to isolated words.

Words of more than four syllables are very few in number and may all be compounds that have ceased to be transparent, such as *bunalabuga* 'tortoise'.

II.5.2. Full words

In the course of ordinary Bəgandjji discourse, words are naturally longer than the simple lexical items analysed in the preceding section. Nouns may be followed by declension and possession markers, and verbs are particularly long, as they may incorporate aspect markers, and tense, and (except in Guų) person markers. In ordinary discourse in Southern Bəgandjji four-syllable words are the most common, slightly outnumbering three-syllable words. Five and six syllables are quite usual; seven syllables represent the maximum of what is common, any words longer than this involve derivational procedures such as reduplication.

Guų is in marked contrast in this respect with the other Bəgandjji dialects: because of the lesser use of affixation in Guų, words of three syllables are the most common in this language and there are only few instances of words longer than four syllables. The shorter words of Guų and the abruptness of speech give rise to the view that Guų 'sounds different' and is 'heavy'.
II.5.3. Accentuation

Accent in Bāgandji is non-phonemic, its position is predictable and is governed by rules, but these rules are complicated by morphophonemic processes. The accent is marked not only by stress, but by a distinct rise in pitch. The basic pattern of the accent is the same as in practically all Australian languages: it falls on the first syllable of a word. Words of two syllables therefore follow a trochaic rhythm:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋidja} & \quad \text{one} \quad \downarrow \quad \text{Pitch:} \downarrow \\
\text{māngu} & \quad \text{arm}
\end{align*}
\]

In all types of words of three syllables the accent is still on the first syllable, and the final syllable (unless it is a declensional affix or a clitic) has a very minor secondary accent ('') with only a slight rise in pitch. The rhythm is therefore dactylic:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gūnigà} & \quad \text{fire} \quad \downarrow \\
\text{Bāgandji} & \\
\text{yàngudjà} & \quad \text{left}
\end{align*}
\]

In all types of words of four syllables the pattern is again trochaic with the secondary accent being more prominent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b̥iradùda} & \quad \text{hawk} \quad \downarrow \\
\text{Pitch:} \downarrow \\
\end{align*}
\]

This basic trochaic and dactylic pitch and stress pattern is in fact the prevailing accent system of Güpu.

In Southern Bāgandji it can only be described as the underlying pattern. The prevailing pattern of Southern Bāgandji speech and the typical intonation is much less simple and stereotyped than this. The main feature that cuts right across the basic system is the following:

In words consisting of two morphemes, if the second morpheme begins with a vowel a strong rising accent falls onto the juncture syllable (').

The rising accent in the juncture only occurs in the case of the following four categories of bound morphemes:

1. Pronominal subject and object markers
2. Pronominal possessive affixes
3. Optative and present participle
4. The affix 'mbala 'with', the emphatic particle -diŋa and the singular-marking affix -ulu.
Examples:

\[\text{ŋidja} + \text{ulu} \quad [\text{ŋitjɒlu}] \quad 'all alone'\]

\[\text{ŋɪŋga} + \text{aba} \quad [\text{ŋɪŋgɒpa}] \quad 'I sit'\]  \hspace{1cm} (27)

\[\text{balu} + \text{ana} \quad [\text{bájɒna}] \quad 'her child'\]

It is clearly noticeable that in Southern Bāgandji case and tense markers and stem-forming affixes do not attract the rising accent. This fact, combined with the absence of the rising accent from Guçu, makes it likely that this accent was linked with a relatively recent form of affixation: the accent emphasises the beginning of the bound morpheme.

II.5.4. Accentuation of Complex Bound Morphemes

When two bound morphemes of the categories listed in II.5.3. follow each other in successive syllables only one case of crasis and rising intonation occurs. The positioning of this accent follows certain fixed stress patterns. Thus:

\[\text{Pitch} \quad \text{gabāduna} \quad 'I follow him' \quad (28)\]

\[\text{Pitch} \quad \text{gūribaduana} \quad 'I hide it' \quad (29)\]

Except for cases involving the third person plural object or possessive the patterns are as follows:

\[\text{but not} \quad \text{nor} \quad \text{(permissible only with non-singular second bound morphemes)}\]

The third person plural object and possessive marker -ŋga always attracts a rising accent to the syllable preceding it: the patterns not permissible elsewhere are therefore favoured:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mūmaduŋga} & \quad \text{'I pick them up'} \\
\text{mūma} \quad -(a)d u \quad -ŋ ga \\
pick up \quad -1 \text{ sg Tr} \quad -3 \text{ pl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

This attraction of the accent applies regardless of whether -ŋga is the final morpheme or not

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mūrbanāriguguŋgaři} & \quad \text{'to her children'} \\
\text{mūrba} \quad -nār \quad -igu \quad -ŋ ga \quad -ri \\
child \quad -\text{Sp Pl} \quad -\text{Pl} \quad -3 \text{ pl POS} \quad -\text{DAT}
\end{align*}
\]

When the second of two bound morphemes is any other non-singular form, barring the third person plural, the first syllable of this second bound morpheme always bears the rising accent and the pattern is thus always dactylic:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bamidubana} & \quad \text{'I see you two'} \\
\text{bami} \quad -\text{du} \quad -\text{ubana} \\
see \quad -3 \text{ sg Tr} \quad -2 \text{ pl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{būbadurinana} & \quad \text{'He will shoot us'} \\
\text{būba} \quad -\text{d} \quad -\text{ur'} \quad -\text{inana} \\
shoot \quad -\text{FUT} \quad -3 \text{ sg sub} \quad -1 \text{ pl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gandidjālina} & \quad \text{'He took us two'} \\
\text{gandi} \quad -\text{dj} \quad -(u) \quad -\text{ālina} \\
take \quad -\text{PAST} \quad -3 \text{ sg sub} \quad -1 \text{ dl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nabadiginana} & \quad \text{'They'll look us up'} \\
\text{naba} \quad -\text{d} \quad -\text{ig'} \quad -\text{inana} \\
look-up \quad -\text{FUT} \quad -3 \text{ pl sub} \quad -1 \text{ pl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

This strong rising pitch accent of bound morphemes associated with a generally dactylic pattern is one of the most conspicuous features of Southern Bāgandjī speech.
II.5.5. Phonotactics

Initials
The remarkable similarity between Aboriginal languages as regards phonology has often been stressed (Capell 1967, Dixon 1972) and it is well known that phonetically identical words can occur in a number of languages: these are however usually words that are very simple in their structure. On the other hand, each language is distinctive as regards detailed phonotactics though there are some broad regional similarities, such as the absence of final consonants in Central Australian languages and as far east as Bägandji. The limitation of initial consonant contrasts has already been mentioned (II.1.1.) as have vocalic finals (II.4.6.) and syllable patterning (II.5.1.), but there are also specific limitations on consonantal clusterings.

There are no initial consonant clusters: in this way Bägandji differs from the Yaralde language group and from Kulin languages other than Mādīmādi.

II.5.6. Intramorphemic Medial Consonant Clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clusters with the second element being a peripheral</th>
<th>Clusters with the second element being a non-peripheral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>velar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>ñg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb</td>
<td>nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñb</td>
<td>nm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>njb</td>
<td>(ñjg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb (lm)</td>
<td>lg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñb</td>
<td>lg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1jb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rb rm</td>
<td>rg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Enclosed within lines are the 'basic' clusters, those permissible in positions other than after the main stress accent, i.e. the accent which falls on the first syllable of a word.

Clusters in brackets occur only very rarely, in one, or at the most two isolated words.
The absence of Ijg as well as rŋ is conspicuous but not unprecedented (II.2.3.) and there is, as shown in the table, a general gradation of clustering: a maximum of —

11 possibilities where the second element is labial
9 possibilities where the second element is velar
3 possibilities where the second element is dental or alveolar,
but where the second element is palatal or retroflex, there are only two possibilities: these are homorganic clusters consisting either of nasal and plosive, or (very rarely) of lateral and plosive.

II.5.7. Clusters in Morpheme Junctures

A wider range of clusters occurs in the juncture between certain morphemes. The cluster -id- rare within morphemes occurs frequently in shortened forms where the topicalising suffix -(a) is followed by the future suffix -d-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dayildāba} & \quad 'I \text{ shall eat}' \\
\text{dayi} & \quad \text{- d} \\
\text{e}	ext{at} & \quad \text{TOP - PUT - l} \text{ sg Intr} \\
\text{bağald}	ext{adu} & \quad 'He \text{ will bite}' \\
\text{bada} & \quad \text{- d} \\
\text{bite} & \quad \text{TOP - PUT - 3} \text{ sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

A wide range of clusters occurs in connection with the verbalising suffix ma- (see II.4.6.c.).

All non-apical plosives and nasals (except -m-) are found before -ma-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{balab-} & \quad 'to \text{ flash}' \\
\text{dug-} & \quad 'to \text{ come loose}' \\
\text{wid-} & \quad 'to \text{ get lost}' \\
\text{bulidj-} & \quad 'to \text{ dive}' \\
\text{nin-nin-} & \quad 'to \text{ tremble}' \\
\text{baninj-} & \quad 'to \text{ be jealous}'
\end{align*}
\]

This striking combination of consonants before -ma is shared by all the Bāgandji dialects that were recorded.
CHAPTER III
BĀGANDJI MORPHOLOGY: NOMINALS

III.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NOMINALS

III.1.1. Word Classes

The following word-classes may be distinguished in Bāgandji: some classes are closed containing only a fixed number of member words:

1. Nominals
   (a) nouns
   (b) adjectives
2. Verbs
3. Pronominal adverbs
4. Pronouns
5. Adverbs
6. Clitics
7. Interjections

III.1.2. Convergence of Word Classes

One of the main features of Southern Bāgandji is the convergence of the first three word-classes: they can all form minimal sentences with the addition of bound personal pronouns:

l.a. balu - adu
    child - 3 sg sub
    'He is a child'
    (37)

Bāgandji nūngu-aba
    woman - 1 sg Intr
    'I am a Bāgandji woman'
    (38)

l.b. dulaga - adu
    bad - 3 sg sub
    'He is bad'
    (39)

balīra (balīra-aba)
    good - 1 sg Intr
    'I am good'
    (40)
2. **dalba - adu**  
   *stand* - 3 sg sub  
   "He is standing" (41)

   **dalbababa (dalba-aba)**  
   *stand* - 1 sg Intr  
   "I am standing" (42)

3. **idara - adu**  
   *here* - 3 sg sub  
   "It's here" (43)

   **ganaraba (ganara-aba)**  
   *here* - 1 sg Intr  
   "I am over here" (44)

The verb is clearly distinguished from both nominals, and pronominal adverbs (classes 1 and 3) in Southern Bâgandjî since only the verb is marked for non-present tense.

In Guçu, however, the convergence between the three word-classes is even greater: there is normally no affixation of pronominal suffixes (Wurm and Hercus 1976), but the pronouns may be marked for tense. All three classes of words may form minimal sentences, marked for time, with personal pronouns:

1.a. **balu wadu**  
   *child* PAST 3 sg sub  
   "He was a child" (45)

1.b. **dulaga wadu**  
   *bad* PAST 3 sg sub  
   "He was bad" (46)

2. **dalba wadu**  
   *stand* PAST 3 sg sub  
   "He stood" (47)

3. **windja wadu**  
   *where* PAST 3 sg sub  
   "Where was he?" (48)

---

**III.1.3. Distinctions between Word Classes**

The distinction between the verbs and the other word-classes can be shown superficially by the fact that the verbs can take aspeccial and modular markers, to be discussed in chapter V. It is clear that these aspecctual markers are in fact more closely associated with the verb than are tense markers, not to mention person markers. In languages to the west of Bâgandjî (Maljañaba, Diyarî, Arabana) this is shown by the actual form of the verbal word which consists of the following:

- **verb + aspect + mood + tense** (in Arabana)
- **verb + aspect + \{ mood \}** (in Maljañaba and Diyarî)
Ten se markers being furthest removed from the verb are affixed to the auxiliary if this is used (Capell on Diyarî in Dixon 1976, and Austin 1978). The relationships of these markers to the classes of words can be shown in the following table for Bâgardjî and languages to the west:

**Table Showing Possibilities for Affixation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Aspectual Markers</th>
<th>Tense Markers</th>
<th>Person Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+ Southern Bâgardjî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Guçu, Maljaŋaba, Arabana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+ Guçu</td>
<td>+ Southern Bâgardjî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ elsewhere</td>
<td>+ Maljaŋaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Guçu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Arabana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal adverbs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+ Southern Bâgardjî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- elsewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = affixed
- = not affixed

R.H. Robins writes (1970:220) 'The most general class distinction in languages seems to be between the classes designated nominal and verbal'. Despite the convergence pointed out above, this statement remains correct for Bâgardjî. There are deep and basic semantic distinctions which single out the verb; verbs refer to notions and activities or lack thereof, both physical and mental, while nouns refer to objects and animates, to nature and to a few abstractions such as mîga 'pain', mîdji 'name', ńalba 'habit'. Adjectives are relatively few in number and refer to properties of size, colour, quality and quantity.

**III.1.4. Case-affixes: Ordering**

Both the nominals and the pronouns show case inflection and may also be marked for number, but there are important differences between the nominals and pronouns with regard to the operation of the declension system. Case markers are affixed directly to the nominal stem or to an extended stem according to the following ordering system:

STEM + NUMBER + POSSESSIVE + CASE

The case marker is thus always final in the nominal word, e.g.:
mūrbanārigüŋgaŋi  'to their children'  (49)
mūrba - nāri - gu - ŋa - řī
child - sp Pl - Pl - 3 pl POS - DAT

The final position of the case marker is usual in the 'suffixing' languages of Australia, but not the rule; in Victoria, for instance, that position is held by the possessive suffix:

Wembawemba  lanadug  'in his camp'  (50)
lan - ad - ug
camp - LOC - 3 sg POS

For the special conditions applying in Guŋu see III.4.

The following are the case marking suffixes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Southern Bagandji</th>
<th>Bandjigali</th>
<th>Bārundji</th>
<th>Guŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NUCLEAR CASES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intr. sub</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr. sub</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td>φ or -ru *</td>
<td>φ or -ru *</td>
<td>φ or -ru</td>
<td>φ or -ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATIVE</td>
<td>-ři</td>
<td>-ři</td>
<td>-ři</td>
<td>-ři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERIPHERAL CASES</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALLATIVE</td>
<td>-ři</td>
<td>-ři</td>
<td>-ři</td>
<td>-miři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GENITIVE</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABLATIVE</td>
<td>-(u)ndu</td>
<td>-(u)ndu</td>
<td>-(u)ndu</td>
<td>-(u)ndu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURPOSIVE-BENEFACTIVE</td>
<td>-mandi</td>
<td>-mandi</td>
<td>-mandi</td>
<td>-mandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE</td>
<td>-(a)mbala, umbula</td>
<td>-(a)mbala,</td>
<td>-(a)mbala,</td>
<td>-(a)mbala,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[-amada]</td>
<td>[-amada]</td>
<td>[-amada]</td>
<td>[-amada]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* -ru is very rare. (dem. -nuru, -dur)
The case-marking suffixes are unaccented except for the Purposive-Benefactive -mandi and the Gu̱u̱ allative -miri: these have an independent accent, are dissyllabic (II.5.1) and begin with a permissible initial consonant; they therefore concord with the criteria for an independent word and could strictly speaking be called post-positions. But no syntactic significance is attached to this distinction: the Gu̱u̱ allative -miri is used in exactly the same way as the unaccented Southern Bāgandji allative suffix -ri.

There are only two suffixes which show allomorphic variation:

(a) The basic ablative ending is -undu. This is shortened to -ndu normally in words of more than two syllables, but only rarely in words of two syllables, and then only in rapid speech. When the full affix -undu is used, it remains an explicit form: its initial is always in hiatus with the preceding final vowel of the stem. There is never any 'crasis' of the kind described in II.4.1.e.

(b) The comitative suffix is -umbula after stem-final -u, and -ambala or -mbala elsewhere according to speed of utterance. Again there is never any coalescence with a preceding vowel.

The following paradigms illustrate the addition of case-suffixes to nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denoting animates / inanimates</th>
<th>Dissyllabic / polysyllabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ending in -a, -i, -u.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigms are for baṇa 'goanna', yabara 'camp', yarandji 'possum' (and gaļi 'dog' in Gu̱u̱ where yarandji does not occur), ḍumbi 'waterhole', baļu 'child', gurguru 'box-tree'.

In these paradigms morpheme boundaries have been noted where a hiatus occurs (as in gaļi-ambala). The pronoun which carries the ergative marker has also been noted separately (baṇa-guru). Gu̱u̱ forms are identical to Southern Bāgandji unless otherwise stated.
### III.1.5. ADDITION OF CASE SUFFIXES TO NOUNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Original</th>
<th>Suffix 1</th>
<th>Suffix 2</th>
<th>Suffix 3</th>
<th>Suffix 4</th>
<th>Suffix 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSOLUTIVE</strong></td>
<td>baña</td>
<td>yabara</td>
<td>dumbi</td>
<td>yarandji</td>
<td>gați</td>
<td>balu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ERGATIVE</strong></td>
<td>baña</td>
<td>yarandji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baña-duru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balu-duru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baña-nuru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balu-nuru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baña-ra, baña(G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galiru, galı(G)</td>
<td>baluru, balu(G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATIVE</strong></td>
<td>bañați</td>
<td>yabarati</td>
<td>dumbiti</td>
<td>yarandjiți</td>
<td>baluri</td>
<td>gurguruti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALLATIVE</strong></td>
<td>yabarati</td>
<td></td>
<td>dumbiti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yabaramiti(G)</td>
<td>dumbimiti(G)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galina(G)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INSTRUMENTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCATIVE</strong></td>
<td>bañaña</td>
<td>yabarana</td>
<td>dumbina</td>
<td>yarandjina</td>
<td>baluna</td>
<td>gurguruna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENERAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABLATIVE</strong></td>
<td>baña-undu</td>
<td>yabarandu</td>
<td>dumbi-undu</td>
<td>yarandjindu</td>
<td>balu-undu</td>
<td>gurgurundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galundu(G)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PURPOSIVE-</strong></td>
<td>banamandi</td>
<td>yabaramandi</td>
<td>dumbimandi</td>
<td>yarandjimandi</td>
<td>balumandi</td>
<td>gurgumandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BENEFACTIVE</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galimandi(G)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMITATIVE</strong></td>
<td>baña-ambala</td>
<td>yarandji-ambala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>balu-umbula</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>galı-ambala(G)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III.2. THE NUCLEAR CASES

III.2.1. General Comments

The nuclear cases are those which fulfil the main syntactic functions in a sentence, and which can occur with only one reference or conjunct referents in each sentence: the major functions are those of intransitive subject, transitive subject and object.

The nominal system of Bagandji as opposed to the pronominal system is basically nominative/ergative as in the majority of Pama-Nyungan languages: that is, the intransitive subject and transitive object are represented by the 'absolutive' case which is unmarked, while the transitive subject is in the ergative case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trans. sub.</th>
<th>Trans. obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wāgu - nuru ganma-dji wanga - ul'- ayi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow - DEM ERG steal-PAST meat - SG - 1 sg POS-ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'That crow took my own bit of meat' (51)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trans. sub.</th>
<th>Trans. obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muninuni-duru widunja naba - dji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>police - DEM ERG all ABS lock-up-PAST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The police locked them all up' (52)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trans. sub.</th>
<th>Trans. obj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gumbadja mali-nurū - diğa waga-dji ina yara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big man-DEM ERG EMPH cut-PAST this tree - ABS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'This big man cut down the tree' (53)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intrans. sub.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bari - nga - adu igi nüngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go - ASP - 3 sg sub this woman - ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'This woman is going away' (54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This basic system is obscured by the following features in Bagandji:

(a) a lax and optional use of ergative marking. This is probably due to

(b) the fact that ergative marking is not essential for comprehension on account of the use of bound pronouns. Ambiguity is further avoided in that the transitive subject always preceded the object, as is illustrated by the examples above. This fixed order is basic and obligatory in the language, and also applies to bound pronouns (IV.5.).
(c) there is an extension of the intransitive type of construction (Blake 1977:6) 'where an aim or wished for result is implied': the object is then marked with the dative case affix.

III.2.2. Double Absolutive

As the absolutive fulfills the function of intransitive subject and transitive object (III.2.1.) it can occur only once in a sentence. There is however an exception: when both a part and a whole are affected by an action, they can be regarded as a double patient, and so the absolutive, or as the case may be, the pronominal accusative can be used for both the part and the whole. This normally applies with body-parts:

\[
\begin{align*}
gälî - dûrû & \quad bâdâ - n'd' - ûmâ & \quad maša - ûmâ \\
dog & - \text{DEM} & \text{ERG} & \text{bite} & - \text{POT} & - 2 \text{sg} & \text{obj} & \text{hand} & - 2 \text{sg} & \text{POS} & \text{ABS} \\
\text{'That dog might bite your hand'} & & & & & & & & & & (55)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
bîbûrû & \quad \text{dadja} - d - ûmâ & \quad yâlgu - ûmâ \\
\text{ant} & - \text{Bite} & - \text{FUT} & - 2 \text{sg} & \text{obj} & \text{leg} & - 2 \text{sg} & \text{POS} & \text{ABS} \\
\text{'Ants will bite your leg'} & & & & & & & & & & (56)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\etaîndî & \quad \text{balga} - \text{adïga} & \quad \text{gunûndu} \\
tooth & - \text{ABS} & \text{hit} & - 3\text{-pl sub} & \text{youth} & - \text{ABS} \\
\text{'They knock the youths' teeth out'} & (\text{Bandjigali}) & & & & & & & & & & (57)
\end{align*}
\]

(An alternative usage, probably with less emphasis on the person of the patient, involves the use of the dative III.2.6.)

'The part and the whole' in sentences of the type listed above (55-57) could possibly be regarded as being in a single noun-phrase, the part being in apposition to the whole. But in Bâgandji such constructions have only been recorded where a patient is involved, and not with any other case. It is more in keeping with the Bâgandji situation to regard the personal patient as being an 'ethic' or 'sympathetic' patient, the body-part being the direct patient: there is therefore a double absolutive.

III.2.3. Accusative by Attraction

As shown above (III.2.1.) case-marking for the accusative is alien to the Bâgandji nominal system, since the direct object of a transitive verb is in the absolutive case. There are however a few isolated instances in Southern Bâgandji recorded material where accusative case marking does occur with nouns: these exceptions are clearly
attributable to the influence of the Nominative-Accusative distinction of the pronominal system. In all the instances in question the object is referred to by a cross-referencing pronoun before it is given as a noun, the bound pronoun could therefore easily have conditioned the case-marking of the noun (the relevant forms here are doubly underlined):

\[
gurali\ gabi - ru - ana,\ gabi - ru\ d\dot{\i}ri - na \quad (58)
\]

\[
yurama\'\i\ g\ddot{a}ndi - d - uru - ana\ guniga - na\ yadu - duru
\]

\[
\text{Jay-bird follow - NF - 3 sg obj, follow - NF Peewee - ACC}
\]

\[
\text{The Jay-bird followed him, he followed the Peewee}'
\]

\[
yuru\ gy\dot{a}nda\ - u\ na\ yadu\ - duru
\]

\[
thither\ carry - PUT - 3 sg Tr - 3 sg obj, fire - ACC wind - DEM ERG
\]

\[
\text{It carried it over there the fire, the wind did}'
\]

\[
inu\ - r\ddot{u} - di\ddot{a}\ balga - dji - na.
\]

\[
\text{This - ERG - EMPH hit - PAST - 3 sg obj,}
\]

\[
m\ddot{u}rba\ - nuru\ gadji\ddot{l}ugu - na\ balgi - ru
\]

\[
\text{He hit him, that big kid hit the little one}'
\]

\[
\text{inu - r\ddot{u} - di\ddot{a} balga - dji - na,}
\]

\[
\text{This - ERG - EMPH hit - PAST - 3 sg obj,}
\]

\[
m\ddot{u}rba - nuru gadji\ddot{l}ugu - na balgi - ru
\]

\[
\text{He hit him, that big kid hit the little one}'
\]

In (59) the noun marked as accusative is in apposition to the preceding object and is added as an afterthought for clarification, in (54) and (60) the noun in the accusative forms part of an amplification, a sentence that is an 'Amplification Paraphrase' of the preceding (Longacre 1976:137). In all these cases the use of accusative marking is modelled on the preceding bound object.

III.2.4. The Ergative Case, unmarked

The ergative case is normally unmarked in Southern Bagandji, regardless of whether the agent is animate or inanimate, provided there is no question of ambiguity (which is generally ruled out anyway by the word-order, see VII). The following are typical examples:

\[
g\ddot{a}ru\ w\ddot{u}mbadja\ ganma - d - uru - ana
\]

\[
\text{other man - 3 steal - PUT - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj}
\]

\[
\text{Some other man will steal it}'
\]

\[
gila\ g\ddot{a}gudja - ana\ n\ddot{u}ga - dj - u
\]

\[
\text{not brother - 2 sg POS give - PAST - 3 sg sub}
\]

\[
\text{Your brother didn't give (anything)'}
\]
bindi balga - dji
lightning hit - PAST
'Lightning struck' (63)

The same applies in Gunu:

nungu balga - dji dagu nari
woman  hit - PAST head mine
'A woman hit me on the head' (64)

The Gunu situation is discussed in the work of R.H. Mathews, who thought that the ergative marker was -wa as did L. Hercus (in Dixon 1976:350). This view is erroneous as -wa is an emphatic marker used mainly to single out the topic of the sentence. It is therefore generally associated with the subject, whether transitive or intransitive. It is used also in Southern Bāgandjī, but more rarely than in Gunu:

widu - wa nulja - ru gambi - na
old man -  - EMPH wash - NF clothes - 3 sg POS
'The old man is washing his clothes' (65)

The emphatic particle -wa is like its synonym -ga most common with pronominal sentence topics, but it is not linked in any way with the ergative:

nali - wa gulbi - la - ana
we two - EMPH speak - TOP - PTC
'We two are talking' (66)

Bāgandji nungu nubu - wa
Bāgandji woman you two - EMPH
'You two are Bāgandji women' (67)

dulaga guda - wa
bad  you pl - EMPH
'You are bad people' (68)

The emphatic sense is obvious from examples like:

nuga wadu - dji - na, nuga - wa
you pl take - PAST - 3 sg obj, you pl - EMPH
'You took it away, you lot' (69)
So what Mathews heard was in fact the unmarked ergative followed by the clitic -wa. He gives several clear examples (1902:155 and 1904:134), e.g.:

\[
\text{wimbadjāwa waku burtadyi}
\]

'A man a crow killed' (70)

this can be analysed as:

\[
wimbadja - wa \quad wāgu \quad baḍa - dji
\]

\[
\text{man} \quad \text{EMP} \quad \text{crow} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{kill} \quad \text{PAST}
\]

and

\[
kumbakkawa wimbadya bulkaty kurnkarna
\]

'une femme un homme a battu avec un yamstick' (71)

which can be analysed as:

\[
gumbaga - wa \quad wimbadja \quad balga - dji \quad gaŋga - na
\]

\[
\text{woman} \quad \text{EMP} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{hit} \quad \text{PAST yamstick} \quad \text{INST}
\]

A similar usage of -wa was found in the Barundji sentences that S.A. Wurm was able to record; and also in Bandjigali:

\[
ŋana gaʃi - wa \quad baḍa - d - uru - uma
\]

\[
\text{my} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{OPT} \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{3 sg sub} \quad \text{2 sg obj}
\]

'My dog will bite you' (72)

For Marawara, the Bagandji dialect furthest removed from Guŋu, we only have the text written down by Tindale (1939:245). This does not contain a single instance of a marked ergative but several unmarked, e.g.:

\[
ŋalei ŋeŋgal. keinkudjalni wanda guni.
\]

'we two will camp (sit down). My sister's son is making fire.' (73)

This can be analysed as:

\[
ŋali \quad ŋiŋga - la. \quad ŋiŋgudja - alina \quad wanda guni
\]

\[
\text{we two sit} \quad \text{OPT. sister's son} \quad \text{1 dl POS light fire.}
\]

This indicates that the unmarked ergative was used throughout the Bagandji language area.

In Southern Bagandji the ergative may even remain unmarked when in apposition to a marked form:

\[
ŋadu ŋuça-ŋuça - na - ama, \quad ŋadu Bagandji
\]

I ERG teach - PTC - 2 sg obj, I ERG Bagandji

'I'm teaching you, I, a Bagandji' (74)
In such circumstances case marking would be obligatory in normal nominative-ergative languages, e.g. Waŋaŋuru:

\[ \text{adu una, qundağa, adu ŋuyu - ru} \]
\[ I^{\text{-}} \text{you obj teach, } I^{\text{-ERG one}} - \text{ERG} \]
\[ 'I'm the only one that can teach you' \]  

(75)

This usage of Bāgandji is of interest. In the normal nominative-ergative languages to the West ergative marking is often restricted to a single member of a noun-phrase, but in these circumstances of apposition ergative case-marking is absolutely obligatory in Waŋaŋuru: yet even here the ergative is unmarked in Bāgandji.

III.2.5. The Ergative Case, marked

a) Direct marking

The basic affix for the ergative in Bāgandji as in some other Pama-Nyungan languages is -ru. But the only Bāgandji dialect in which the use of this affix is at all common is Bārundji, recorded by S.A. Wurm

\[ \text{dulaga idiga wīmbadja - ru balga - nda - diga ŋali - na} \]
\[ \text{Bad they man - ERG hit - POT - 3 pl sub we dl - ACC} \]
\[ 'These bad fellows might kill us two' \]  

(76)

-ru is found more rarely in Guṇu:

\[ ŋadj i - ru balga gadi \]
\[ \text{serpent - ERG kill POT they NOM} \]
\[ 'The rainbow-serpents will kill (him)' \]  

(77)

In both these northern dialects the ergative, as shown in the examples above, can be expressed by the affix -ru added directly to a nominal.

b) Indirect marking

In Bārundji there is one further option when a singular nominal agent is involved: the ergative may be expressed by a completely free pronoun, as in the sentence recorded by S.A. Wurm:

\[ ŋana galı - wa dadja wudu - ru ŋuma \]
\[ \text{my dog }\# - \text{EMPH bite PAST 3 sg - ERG you sg ACC} \]
\[ 'My dog bit you' \]  

(78)

i.e. the ergative suffix may be attached to a free pronoun which is part of the agent noun-phrase.
In Bandjigali and Southern Bāgandjī the ergative may be expressed by a bound form of the two kinds of demonstrative—3rd person pronoun:

inurū 'this' ERG and idurū 'this here' ERG.

This bound form is abbreviated only to the extent that it loses its initial vowel. It is affixed only to nouns: it was never heard after an adjective:

\[
\begin{align*}
gārū nūngu - nūru & \quad \text{wadu - dji - na} \\
other \text{woman} - \text{DEM ERG} & \quad \text{take - PAST - 3 sg obj} \\
\text{'Another woman took it'} & \quad (79) \\
yādū - durū & \quad \text{gāndi - d - uru - ana} \\
\text{wind - DEM ERG} & \quad \text{carry - PUT - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj} \\
\text{'The wind will carry it along'} & \quad (80)
\end{align*}
\]

Other examples are listed under III.2.1.

There is no evident semantic difference between sentences containing marked or unmarked ergatives, though the bound pronouns do retain some vestiges of deictic meaning. The sentence above implies

\text{'This wind will carry it along'}.

When a strong deictic sense is intended, the non-suffixed form of the demonstrative pronoun is used:

\[
\begin{align*}
gadjilugu malī-baļu inurū - dīna \quad \text{wadu - dji - na} \\
\text{small boy} - \text{DEM ERG} - \text{EMPH take - PAST - 3 sg obj} \\
\text{'It was that little boy who took it'} & \quad (81)
\end{align*}
\]

The system

\text{nominal + bound pronoun + case marking affix}

as opposed to

\text{nominal + case marking affix}

is confined to the ergative case in Southern Bāgandjī and Bandjigali. From the point of view of areal linguistics it is significant that this is not an isolated feature. The affixation of a case-marked bound pronoun is characteristic of the Ņura language group that adjoins Bāgandjī to the north-west: in Wangumara and the related languages of this group, this use of the case-marked pronoun forms part of a system of two noun classes (Breen 1976 and Hercus MS b).
III.2.6. The Dative Case

a) Indirect object

The dative serves as the traditional 'indirect' object in transitive sentences where there is an agent and a direct object (at least implied):

\[
\text{mugu} \text{l} \text{i manu} \text{idu, wadu } \text{na} \text{n} \text{a} - \text{ri} \\
\text{orange food this, get IMP me} - \text{DAT}
\]

'This is the fruit of a wild orange, get (it) for me' \hspace{1cm} (82)

But the dative is rare in this function, which is confined to sentences containing verbs meaning 'to give' and 'to get'.

b) Beneficiary

The dative is sometimes used to mark the beneficiary of an action:

\[
\text{gila } \text{n} \text{u} \text{wa - la - yiga m} \text{u} \text{r} \text{ba - n} \text{a} \text{ri - gu - n} \text{ga} - \text{ri} \\
\text{not cook - TOP - 3 pl child - sp Pl - Pl - 3 pl POS - DAT}
\]

'(Those drunken women) don't cook for their children' \hspace{1cm} (83)

There is a certain amount of overlap here with the purposive, but the distinction between the two is evident in a phrase like:

\[
\text{m} \text{a} \text{da - ri warga - la - ana } \text{ya} \text{n} \text{da - man} \text{di} \\
\text{boss - DAT work - TOP - PTC money - PURP}
\]

'working for a boss for money' \hspace{1cm} (84)

c) Complement

The dative is used to mark the complement of intransitive verbs denoting emotions, such as 'to cry for', 'to fear' (also used with the abl.), 'to expect' and 'to think of', 'to laugh at':

\[
\text{n} \text{u} \text{ya - la - } \text{a} \text{ba } \text{ga} \text{ji - ri} \\
\text{fear - TOP - l sg Intr dog - DAT}
\]

'I'm scared of the dog' \hspace{1cm} (85)

\[
\text{m} \text{anda - la - ana ma} \text{ji - ri} \\
\text{wait - TOP - PTC man - DAT}
\]

'waiting for her husband' \hspace{1cm} (86)

\[
\text{gila } \text{y} \text{anda - l - d - } \text{a} \text{ba } \text{qu} \text{ma - ri} \\
\text{not weep - TOP - FUT - l sg Intr you - DAT}
\]

'I won't weep for you' \hspace{1cm} (87)
The contrast in meaning between the dative and the purposive is clear here:

\[ n\text{ɪ}_\text{r}a - m\text{a} - \text{ana} \ ɴam\text{a} - \ ɬi \]
\[ o\text{r}y - V\text{b} - \text{PTC} \ ɨm\text{other} - \ \text{DAT} \]

'crying for mother' (88)

but

\[ n\text{ɪ}_\text{r}a - m\text{a} - \text{ana} \ ɴama - \text{mandi} \]
\[ o\text{r}y - V\text{b} - \text{PTC} \ ɪl\text{ milk} - \ \text{PURP} \]

'crying for (the sake of) milk' (89)

\[ yur\text{ɪ}_{} - l\text{a} \ ɬi\text{n}_\text{g} - ɬ\text{a}ba \ \text{wi\text{d}uga} - \text{ayi} - \ ɬi \]
\[ \text{think - OPT sit - 1 sg sister - 1 sg POS - DAT} \]

'I’m sitting thinking of my elder sister' (90)

d) Purpose

The main function of the dative in B\text{agand}j\text{i} is to mark the object of an action where there is no direct impingement on the object and when there is some underlying nuance of purpose, hope or aim:

\[ ɬi\text{n}_\text{g}\text{a} - \text{yiga} \ b\text{aŋ}u - \ ɬi \ g\text{ala} - \text{la} \]
\[ \text{sit - 3 pl sub add - DAT seek - OPT} \]

'They sit (by the bank) to look for fish' (91)

\[ n\text{a}_\text{da} - l\text{a} - \text{yiga} \ ɪ\text{n}_\text{gu} - \text{m\text{ira} - ɬi} \]
\[ \text{fish - TOP - 3 pl sub water - bag - DAT} \]

'They fish for the bag of grog (hidden in the river)' (92)

\[ b\text{an}_\text{ga} - l\text{a} - 'd\text{u} \ ɪ\text{n}_\text{gu} - b\text{al\text{u} - ɬi} \]
\[ \text{sneak - TOP - 3 sg sub woman - young - DAT} \]

'He sneaks after girls' (93)

\[ g\text{ila g\text{uniga} - ɬi \text{wadu - la} - 'd\text{u} \]
\[ \text{not firewood - DAT get - TOP - 3 sg sub} \]

'He doesn’t get any firewood' (94)

\[ d\text{amba} - l\text{a} - 'd\text{u} \ d\text{u}_\text{nga} - \ ɬi \]
\[ \text{dig - TOP - 3 sg sub grave - DAT} \]

'He is digging a grave' (95)

e) Extended use

The idea of aim and purpose is present in most sentences where the object is marked with -\text{ɬi}. But there are instances where the use of this suffix has been extended further and it can occur even when there
is no clear idea of purpose, and where there is quite definite
impingement on the object as in (102) and:

\[ \text{Wt\text{\textipa{dja-d-uda gina gargi-ri}} drink - FUT - 2'pl sub this flagon - DAT} \]
\[ \text{'You lot will drink up this whole flagon'} \]  \(96\)

\[ \text{gan\text{\textipa{mma-ma-la-anayara-yar'-inana-ri}} steal - Vb - TOP - PTC things - 1 pl POS - DAT} \]
\[ \text{'stealing our things'} \]  \(97\)

This use of -\textipa{ri} is particularly common where parts of the body are
involved as in (64) and in:

\[ \text{w\text{\textipa{inuru bada-na-na m\textipa{gi-ri}}} fly . bite - PTC - 3 sg obj eye - DAT} \]
\[ \text{'Flies are biting his eye'} \]  \(98\)

\[ \text{wana-nuru balga-dji-na dadu-ri boomerang - DEM ERG hit - PAST - 3 sg obj head - DAT} \]
\[ \text{'This boomerang hit him on the head'} \]  \(99\)

f) Tense

The use of the dative to mark the object is not immediately connected
with any particular tense, it occurs as in the examples above in the
present; it is found with the future:

\[ \text{Gu\text{\textipa{gu iba gadi ba\textipa{di-ri}} lay FUT they egg - DAT} \]
\[ \text{'They will lay eggs'} \]  \(100\)

and also in the past, but more rarely so:

\[ \text{yalgu-ri y\textipa{aga-dj-u} leg - DAT break - PAST - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ \text{'He broke his leg'} \]  \(101\)

and (99).

This preference for the dative with as yet incompletely action is in
agreement with the general principles discussed by Blake (1977:16).

g) Transitivity

It is important to note that sentences of type (e) where -\textipa{ri} marks the
object, were felt to be transitive in B\textipa{\textipa{agandji}}, and a transitive
pronoun form was used:
and the marked ergative forms of nouns occurred occasionally as in (101). The intransitive subject forms were very rare in this context:

In view of the situation discussed under (b) and (c) above it seems nevertheless likely that Blake's assumption (1977:16) is correct for Bāgandjī, namely that the use of -rī to mark the object of an action is intransitive in origin.

In Bāgandjī -rī has thus moved into the nuclear function of object-marking. In the nominative/accusative system of the bound pronouns such an 'indirect' object has moved even further into the object position. It is rendered by the accusative bound pronoun, as is shown by the following examples:

the bound subject is transitive:

\[
\text{manda - ndu - ayi} \\
\text{wait - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj} \\
'\text{Wait for me!}'
\]

(104)

\[
\text{ganma - dj - ayi} \\
\text{steal - PAST - 1 sg obj smoke - mine} \\
'\text{He stole me my tobacco}'
\]

(105)

with a free pronoun form, this was clearly a dative as in:

\[
\text{ganma - dj - indu - nayi - rī} \\
\text{steal - PAST - 2 sg Tr me - DAT} \\
'\text{You stole from me}'
\]

(106)

\[
\text{nāndja - d - uru - ayi - yanda} \\
\text{ask - FUT - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj money} \\
'\text{She might ask me (for) money}'
\]

(107)

\[
\text{mingu - r' - ubu - ayi} \\
\text{mean - NF - 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj} \\
'\text{You two are mean to me}'
\]

(108)
In such sentences the direct object, when this would be a third person singular pronoun, is omitted, and only the 'indirect' object is marked with the accusative form:

\[
\begin{align*}
g\text{ånd}l - & \quad n\text{du} \quad - \quad a\text{y}i \\
\text{bring} & \quad - \quad 2 \text{ sg Tr} \quad - \quad 1 \text{ sg obj} \\
'& \text{You're bringing (it) for me'} \quad (109)
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
g\text{ila} & \quad \text{qūga} \quad - \quad y\text{iga} \quad - \quad a\text{ma} \\
\text{not give} & \quad - \quad 3 \text{ pl sub} \quad - \quad 2 \text{ sg obj} \\
'& \text{They're not giving (it) to you'} \quad (110)
\end{align*}
\]

A similar situation is found in Kalkatungu (Blake 1977:42). This feature may show links with the languages to the North-west (see map no. 5). For the use of -ři with verbs see Chapter V.

III.2.7. Table Summarising the Forms and Functions of the Nuclear Cases in Southern Bāgandji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominals</th>
<th>Free Pronouns</th>
<th>Bound Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>dual, plural</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative form</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A (some exceptions in third person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(secondary ergative form with demonstratives)</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive form</td>
<td>A, I, O</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I, A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative form</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O, D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative form</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I - Intransitive subject function
A - Agent function
O - Direct Object function
D - Dative function
Map 5: EASTERN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES FOR WHICH IT IS KNOWN THAT THE DATIVE CAN MARK AN UNIMPinged OBJECT

1 YUGULDA
2 GALGADUNGU
3 PITTA PITTA
4 WAŋGA YUDJURU
5 BÄGANDJI

variation of the same feature in Wangumara
III.3. THE PERIPHERAL CASES

III.3.1. The Allative

The allative indicates the goal and direction of a motion and thereby differs from the dative which basically marks the aim and direction of an action. In Gunu the allative marker is -miři:

\[
\text{yugu} - \text{miři} \quad \text{yalga} - \text{ra} - \text{ana} \quad \text{sun} - \text{ALL} \quad \text{gape} - \text{TOP} - \text{PTC}
\]

'\text{Emus standing stupidly) gape towards the sun}' (111)

\[
\text{diga} - \text{la} \quad \text{ŋaba} \quad \text{yabar} - \text{miři} \quad \text{return} - \text{TOP} \quad \text{PRES} \quad \text{camp} - \text{ALL}
\]

'I'm going back to camp' (112)

In the other Bāgandji dialects a similar suffix -maři, (Bārundji -miři) is used only to form adverbs of direction from pronominal bases, as for instance iga-maři and yā-maři (Bārundji yā-miři) 'this way', wadu-maři 'that way', and windja-maři 'where to?'

The allative case marker in all Bāgandji dialects except Gunu is -ři; the allative is therefore identical in form with the dative:

Bārundji (recorded by S.A. Wurm):

\[
\text{ŋali} - \text{wa} \quad \text{diga} - \text{la} - \text{ana} \quad \text{yabar} - \text{ai} - \text{ři} \quad \text{we two} - \text{EMPH} \quad \text{return} - \text{TOP} - \text{PTC} \quad \text{camp} \quad \text{1 sg} \quad \text{POS} - \text{ALL}
\]

'We two are going back to my camp' (113)

and Southern Bāgandji:

\[
\text{yugu} - \text{yugu} - \text{ŋg} - \text{adu} - \text{ŋga} \quad \text{bulga} - \text{ři} \quad \text{chase} - \text{ASP} - \text{l'sg} - \text{3 pl} \quad \text{obj} \quad \text{plain} - \text{ALL}
\]

'I chase them down right into the flood-plain's' (114)

\[
\text{gaba} - \text{yiga} - \text{na} \quad \text{wañanja - ři} \quad \text{follow} - \text{3 pl} \quad \text{sub} - \text{3 sg} \quad \text{obj} \quad \text{nest} - \text{ALL}
\]

'They follow it to its nest' (115)

\[
\text{ŋidja mūba} - \text{ulu} \quad \text{bara} - \text{ŋga} - \text{dji} \quad \text{muni-muni} - \text{na būŋga} - \text{ři} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{child} - \text{SG} \quad \text{go} - \text{ASP} - \text{PAST} \quad \text{police} - \text{GEN} \quad \text{house} - \text{ALL}
\]

'Just one little child went to the police-station (to report the murder)' (116)

There was little evidence of the use of the allative with persons as well as locations: the only instances that could be recorded were with bari- 'to go' and diga- 'to return':
Other verbs of motion, such as *baŋga- 'to crawl', 'to sneak after'* are used with the dative when a person is involved (see 93) and not with the allative, as is shown by the affix *-miɾi*, not *-ri*, in Guq.:

\[\text{ŋuŋu baŋga gadi ŋuma - ri} \]
\[\text{louse crawl PUT they you - DAT} \]
\[\text{'Lice will crawl towards you (if you sit down with such dirty people)'} \]

Bāgandji is surrounded by languages—the Ḑura and Yaƚi groups, Waŋbyuwan- Nguyambā and Kulin—where the same form is used for dative and allative functions. The Guq allative affix *-miɾi*, (*Bārundji -miɾi*) contains the dative affix *-ri*. Such compound allative endings are common in Australian languages (Blake 1977:56). The restricted presence of *-miɾi* in the southern dialects makes it possible to surmise that the Guq situation, i.e. the existence of a distinct allative case, represents an older state of affairs. The restriction of *-miɾi* (*Bārundji -miɾi*) to pronominal adverbs would thus be a secondary development. This would be in keeping with some of the more conservative, archaic features of Guq, such as lack of bound pronouns.

### III.3.2. The Instrumental

The instrumental marks the instrument or the means by which an action is accomplished. Bāgandji is one of the languages that have a common form for the instrumental and locative (Dixon 1976:313). Typical examples of the use of the instrumental are:

\[\text{galguru - na banda - d - ig' - ayi} \]
\[\text{spear - INST strike - FUT - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj} \]
\[\text{'They'll strike me with a spear'} \]

\[\text{ŋandanja - na balg' - adu - ama} \]
\[\text{branch - INST hit - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj} \]
\[\text{'I'll hit you with a branch'} \]

Words for parts of the body are no different from any other kind of noun with regard to the use of the instrumental:
ma-ra-na waga-wag' - adu - ama  
hand - INST smack - 1-sg Tr - 2-sg obj  
'I'll smack you with my hand' (121)

nandi - na dag - mi - ru  
tooth - INST open - Vb - NF  
'He opened it with his teeth (the soft-drink bottle)' (122)

The instrumental is also used to refer to the substance out of which something is made:

gali balda - na bana - mi - ru  
only bark INST make Vb NF  
'He made it (the humpy) entirely out of bark' (123)

The instrumental, denoting as it does 'an instrument by means of which an action is performed' is normally part of the verb phrase. But in this last meaning, 'the substance out of which something is made', it had been heard, though rarely, as part of a noun phrase:

Guçu  nga - mi ra waribuga - na  
water - bag possum - INST  
'A water-bag (made) from a possum' (124)

In some semantic environments it is not possible to decide whether -na represents the locative or the instrumental (Hercus in Dixon 1976:351):

ŋidja dina - budu - na  
diga-1 - dj - āba  
one foot - boot - INST LOC return - TOP - PAST 1-sg Intr  
'I came back with only one shoe' (125)

There is some overlap between the instrumental and the comitative, particularly the rare form of the comitative -amada, which was used by one speaker in phrases like:

malba - ana gaçu - amada  
pelt - PTC stone - COM  
'pelting with stones...' (126)

The instrumental in Bāgandji is never found with nouns denoting animates: the notion of 'in company with', 'with the help of' is conveyed by the comitative.
III.3.3. The Locative

In form the locative is identical with the instrumental. The affix -na which is used to mark this case occurs in only a few languages to the north-west of Bāgandji: it is yet another feature which is shared by Bāgandji and Pitta-Pitta (see map No.6.). The basic meaning of the locative is that of position in place or time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidja - na ŋĩŋa - aba</td>
<td>yugu - na na duŋga - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside - LOC sit - l sg Intr heat - LOC</td>
<td>day - LOC and night - LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalgi - na gaba - d - ali</td>
<td>mingi - na dingi - d - aba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek - LOC follow - FUT - 1 dl sub</td>
<td>daybreak - LOC rise - FUT - 1 sg Intr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋĩŋa - 'du yabara - ana - na</td>
<td>gumbadja dumbi - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit - 3 sg sub camp - 3 sg POS - LOC</td>
<td>big Water-hole - LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Position in place' implies not only 'in' but also a more general location as conveyed by English 'at', 'on', 'by':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>but:</th>
<th>but:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gila dumbi - na ŋĩŋa - d - aba</td>
<td>bina - 'du yara - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not water-hole - LOC sit - FUT - 1 sg Intr</td>
<td>climb - 3 sg sub tree - LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 6: LOCATIVE FORMED WITH -na or variants, -ina etc.

1 GARAWA
2 PITTA PITTA
3 WANGA YUDJURU
4 BÄGANDJI
More rarely the locative can convey position in a wider sense, that position in the circumstances in which an action takes place:

\[
\text{ŋana bålgu - na bagsi - ŋga - adu}
\]
\[
\text{my language - LOC sing - ASP - 1\text{-}sg Tr}
\]
\[
'I'm singing in my own language'
\]

\[
\text{gūriba - yiga muni-muni - na}
\]
\[
\text{hide - 3 pl sub police - LOC}
\]
\[
'They planted on (i.e. hid from) the policeman'
\]

and even:

\[
\text{muya wadu wimbar' - ayi - na}
\]
\[
\text{sold PAST I ERG daughter - 1\text{-}sg POS - LOC}
\]
\[
'I roused on my daughter'
\]

The locative cannot imply 'direction' or 'movement towards a place', as it can in a number of Australian languages (Dixon 1976:313), that function is always fulfilled by the allative in Bāgandjī.

III.3.4. Possession: The Genitive

a) Possession is indicated in Bāgandjī in four different ways:

i. The genitive case marks the nominal possessor
ii. in the case of a pronominal possessor the 'thing possessed' is marked by a personal possessive affix or is accompanied by a free pronoun indicating the possessor.
iii. Various 'having' suffixes can mark 'the thing possessed'.
iv. The comitative may imply ownership as well as association.

The situation for Bāgandjī nouns is different from the 'double possessive' type used in the Victorian languages (Hercus 1969:1.49). In Bāgandjī, if the possessor is nominal, 'the thing possessed' is not marked by a possessive affix; i.e. methods (i) and (ii) cannot be employed simultaneously.

b) The ending of the genitive is -na. For the possible origins of this ending see II.1.4. The genitive can mark the owner of both alienable and inalienable possessions, and the owner normally precedes 'the thing possessed'.
Inalienable:

\[
\text{wīmbadja} - \text{na birna - birna bami - dji} \\
\text{Aboriginal - GEN bone - bone see - PAST} \\
'He saw a lot of human bones'
\]

(139)

Alienable:

\[
\text{ganna - dju guda - guda - na bâli - ri} \\
\text{steal - PAST rest - rest - GEN egg - DAT} \\
'(That little bird) stole the eggs of all the rest (of the birds)'
\]

(140)

\[
\text{wīmbadja} - \text{na manu dayl - la - 'du} \\
\text{Aboriginal - GEN food eat - TOP - 3\text{ sg sub}} \\
'He eats black-fellow tucker'
\]

(141)

\[
\text{muni-muni - na gTra - na} \\
\text{police - GEN place - LOC} \\
'at the police-station'
\]

(142)

The genitive affix was added to English names:

\[
\text{yabara - na Jimmy - na} \\
\text{camp - LOC - GEN} \\
'in Jimmy's hut'
\]

(143)

c) Restrictions and the use of the genitive:

In a general description the genitive does not occur and there is simple juxtaposition. Bāgandji thus shows contrast between definite:

\[
\text{wīmbadja} - \text{na bunga} \\
\text{Aboriginal - GEN hut} \\
'the hut of an Aboriginal'
\]

(144)

and indefinite:

\[
\text{wīmbadja} - \text{bunga} \\
\text{Aboriginal - hut} \\
'an Aboriginal hut'
\]

(145)

The genitive is used only with nouns denoting persons and personified animals. Normally, when the 'owner' is an animal there is simply juxtaposition, with the first noun functioning adjectively as in 
\[
\text{dajda balda 'kangaroo-skin', bandu-birna 'the bones of a fish'}. The same situation applies in the case of non-animates as in \text{bāga-walbiri 'the bank of a river'}.
\]
III.3.5. Double -na

All pronominal possessive affixes, except those of the 1st and 2nd person sg. and 3rd pl., end in -na. When these possessive affixes are followed by the case marker for the instrumental or locative there is a double -na as in:

\[
yabara - ana - na \\
\textit{camp} - 3 \text{ sg POS - LOC} \\
'in his camp' \quad (146)
\]

and:

\[
gumbaga - ana - na ngima - ngu - adu \\
\textit{wife} - 3 \text{ sg POS - LOC lie - PERF - 3-sg sub} \\
'He was living with his (i.e. somebody else's) wife' \quad (147)
\]

Some aversion was obviously felt towards this double -na which is extremely rare: haplology normally takes place, as in:

\[
dumba - alina \\
\textit{hole} - 1 \text{ dl POS LOC} \\
'in the lair belonging to us two' \quad \text{for} \quad *\text{dum}b\text{\textael}\text{linana}
\]

\[
yabara - Uluna \\
\textit{camp} - 3 \text{ dl POS LOC} \\
'in the camp belonging to these two' \quad \text{for} \quad *\text{yabara-}\text{ulunana}.
\]

The loss of one of the two syllables -na never seems to lead to any possible misunderstanding.

III.3.6. The Ablative

The ablative affix -(u)ndu has wide-spread and interesting affiliations mainly with languages to the west (excluding the Ya９Li group), -ndru occurs in the Diyaric group and in both the Yura languages, and the Nura language group, and -anmand, -inend occurs in Yaralde. The ablative is found in sentences with transitive as well as intransitive verbs; it is used with nouns denoting inanimates and very rarely animates, and its basic meaning is 'away from'.

\[
waduwanda murada guniga - ndu \\
pull out quickly fire - ABL \\
'Pull it quickly out of the fire' \quad (148)
\]

\[
wambi - la - dj - u \quad \textit{walbiri} - ndu g\text{aru} \textit{walbiri} - ri \\
\textit{fly} - TOP - PAST - 3 \text{ sg sub bank - ABL other bank - ALL} \\
'It flew from one bank to the other' \quad (149)
\]
wabura - dj - u bąği - undu
come out - PAST - 3 sg sub egg - ABL
'It came out of an egg' (150)

and even with English place-names:

Bourke - andu waba - dj - u
- ABL come - PAST - 3 sg sub
'He came from Bourke' (151)

Unlike a number of the languages to the north-west, such as Wangañuru
and Pitta-Pitta, Bągandji has no causative case. This function is
fulfilled by the ablative:

yugu-balu - ndu wanmura - na
rainbow - ABL being cranky - PTC
'They are cranky on account of that rainbow' (152)

ŋuya - l - d - adu ŋandi - ndu, yaldi - mari
fear - TOP - FUT - 3 sg sub teeth - ABL, long - very
'He will get scared of those long teeth' (153)

yuri - yuri - dj - ali wĩmbadja - ndu
think - think - PAST - 1 dl sub Aboriginal - ABL
'We two were worrying about the Aboriginal people' (154)

The contrast between this usage and those described in III.2.4.c.
shows the subtlety of expression made possible by the Bągandji case
system; the ablative underlines the reasons behind an emotion without
any of the sense of aim or motive that is involved with the dative or
the distant feeling of purpose that is conveyed by the purposive.

III.3.7. The Purposive

The affix of the purposive differs from other case-marking affixes in
that it has independent accentuation [-måndi]. It also has a
phonotactic form that is acceptable in an independent word in Bągandji.
-måndi could thus be called a post-position rather than a case-ending.
In function the purposive is akin to the dative, but it stresses 'what
is to be got out of' the activity described by the verb, transitive or
intransitive:

manu - mandi bari - dj - imba
food - PURP go - PAST - 2 sg Intr
'You went to get food' (155)
fada - man di balga - dj - u - ana
nothing - PURP hit - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj
'He killed her for nothing' (156)

gumbadja magara - man di wanmura - ana
big rain - PURP cranky - PTC
'They are crazy for that big rain (during a drought) (157)

-mandi can also serve as a benefactive, and can indicate the person for whose profit an action is performed:

gāru wana bana - ma - 'du wida - ulu - mandi'
other boomerang make - Vb - 3 sg sub old man - SG - PURP
'He's making another boomerang for the old man' (158)

III.3.8. The Comitative

The comitative implies that an action is carried out in company with, or in association with, a person or thing:

wagaga - ambala nīnga - yiga man da - la
tomahawk - COM sit - 3 pl sub wait - PURP
'They sit waiting with tomahawks' (159)

gila nugu - umbula wīdja - nugu - ru - ana
not water - COM drink - PERF - NF - 3 sg obj
'Because he didn't drink it mixed with water (he died)' (160)

In some of its uses the comitative may resemble the 'having' suffix -dja, but it's real semantic and syntactic functions differ: the noun followed by 'mbala is dominated by the verb-phrase, while the noun followed by -dja is dominated by a noun phrase or a pronominal affix. This difference is also reflected in nuances of meaning.

The diagram illustrates the syntactic structure of the sentence "The woman came back without bringing the meat with her" (161):
but:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{woman} \text{ not meat - having return - TOP - PAST} \\
\text{The woman came back without having any meat'}
\end{array}
\]

The comitative suffix implies that the action (in this case the returning) did not take place in company with (the meat); the -dja suffix implies that the person did not have any (meat).

The variant comitative form -amada was used by only one speaker, and was occasionally akin in function to the instrumental (III.3.2.).

III.4. NOMINAL STEM-FORMING AFFIXES: NUMBER

III.4.1. The Grammatical Expression of Number in Bągandji

There is a threefold system of expressing number grammatically in Bągandji.

i. in the pronominal system the distinction between singular, dual and plural is essential and is marked in all persons:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{numerical concept} & \text{SG} & \text{PL} & \text{DL} \\
\text{grammatical expression} & \text{sg} & \text{pl} & \text{dl}
\end{array}
\]

ii. in the verbal system singular, dual and plural are carefully distinguished by affixes of pronominal origin, but the plural is occasionally used in lieu of the dual particularly in the third person:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{numerical concept} & \text{SG} & \text{PL} & \text{DL} \\
\text{grammatical expression} & \text{sg} & \text{pl} & \text{dl}
\end{array}
\]
iii) in the nominal system the situation is very different. The grammatical distinction between singular and plural is lax: the singular form normally serves for both. It is the dual that is carefully marked.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{numerical concept} & \text{SG} & \text{PL} \\
\text{grammatical expression} & \text{sg} & \text{pl} \\
\end{array}
\]

III.4.2. Morphemes Showing Number in Nouns

a) Singular. Both singular and plural are normally expressed by the simple stem-form in nouns. But there is in Southern Bagandji a special singular affix -ulu, which also has an affective and diminutive value:

\[
\text{widulu} \\
'\text{good old fellow'} (\text{widu 'old man'} + \text{ulu})
\]

\[
\text{nanga-ulu} \\
'a \text{single (last) match'}
\]

\[
\text{waraga - ul} - \text{ayi} \\
\text{friend - SG - 1 sg POS} \\
'my one (and only) friend'
\]

\[
\text{ganma - dj - u} \quad \text{wanga - ulu - ayi} \\
\text{steal - PAST - 3 sg sub meat - SG - 1 sg POS} \\
'\text{He stole my one bit of meat'} (163)
\]

\[
\text{gali - ulu nirga - ana} \\
\text{dog - SG Bark - PTC} \\
'\text{Only one dog is barking'} (164)
\]

The affix -ulu is found even with njidja 'one':

\[
\text{njidja - ulu mürba - ulu} \\
\text{one - SG child - SG} \\
'\text{one single small child'} (165)
\]

and as a special emphatic singular with pronouns:
The affective singular suffix -ulu has not been heard in the other Bāgandji dialects.

b) Dual. The dual is marked in all dialects by the affix -ŋulu, though in Guũu this usage is sporadic:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wīmbadja-ŋulu</td>
<td>'two men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaği-ŋulu</td>
<td>'two dogs'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yara-ŋulu</td>
<td>'two trees'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffixation is much less common in Guũu than in the other Bāgandji dialects (Wurm and Hercus 1976) and in nouns it is almost entirely confined to case-marking. -ŋulu is found only occasionally in Guũu: the normal way of expressing the dual is by means of the independent word bula 'two':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñadu gãndi - nja bula ganga</td>
<td>'I have two yam-sticks'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Southern Bāgandji bargulu 'two' is not used instead of, but as well as the dual marker for emphasis, bargulu mūrba-ŋulu 'two children'.

c) In all Bāgandji dialects (though very rarely in Guũu) there is a pluralising suffix -(1)ugu which conveys the meaning 'a group of'. This suffix is subject to some sporadic and some morphophonemic changes:

- -ugu is preferred with polysyllables,
- -lugu with nouns of two syllables;
- stem-final -a is lost before -ugu
- -ugu is shortened to -gu after stem-final in -i and -u
- -lugu may become -əugu in the presence of -r- and -r-

Examples of plural forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡalğa-lgugu</td>
<td>'a mob of kangaroos'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wabanj'ug'-ayi</td>
<td>'my mob of grandchild'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nūngu-'gu  'a lot of women'
gargi-rugu  'a lot of flagons'
duluru bādi'-gu-na -ri  'for (laying) her many eggs'
many  egg  Pl 3 sg  POS-DAT
maği-lugu  'men', but this may also be maği-'gu as in:
gāru maği - 'gu bami - la - yiga
other man  Pl  see - TOP - 3 pl  sub
'They look at lots of other men (those bad women)' (168)

In gaği-gaği-'gu 'a huge mob of dogs' reduplication is used as well as
the plural marker, but reduplication does not generally function as an
indication of number.

Since -ugu is basically collective in meaning, and since the
singular marker -ulu has an affective nuance, the two are not mutually
exclusive. In a few instances the two suffixes have been heard
together, the affective singular preceding the plural:

waraga - ul' - ug' - ayi
friend  - SG  - Pl  - 1 sg  POS
'my only friends'

and

yara-yara - ul' - ug' - ayi
things  - SG  - Pl  - 1 sg  POS
'the whole of my possessions'

d) The special plural. In other Australian languages (as for instance
in Wembawemba, Hercus 1969:42) there is a special form for what is
probably the most commonly used plural of all, 'children'. Bāgandji
has a special plural suffix -nāra: mūrba-nāra 'a lot of children'.
It can be followed by yet another suffix, igu, which is an irregular
form of the plural -(I)ugu, hence mūrba-nār-igu 'a big crowd of
children'; -nāra was heard once in wāmbadja-nāra 'a crowd of men'.
In Bāgandji usage the special plural suffix is not acceptable with any
other nouns.

III.4.3. Kinship Pairs

Languages to the west, particularly those of the Yura group, had
special terms for pairs of kin (Hercus and White 1973). This is also
a feature of all the recorded Bāgandji dialects. The stem-forming
suffix used is -linja.
Bagandji kinship terms end in -ga and -dja. These suffixes must have been a relatively recent introduction as can be shown by comparative data. Bagandji qamaga 'mother' for instance corresponds to the widespread word qama 'mother'. This recent origin is underlined by the fact that before the pair-suffix -linja (though not before any other kind of suffix) final -dja and -ga are deleted. As is usual with such pair-terms the noun denoting the senior person of the pair forms the basis of the term. Examples are:

- qamalinja 'mother and child' (qamaga 'mother')
- gambilinja 'father and child' (gambidja 'father')
- widulinja 'a pair of sisters' (widuga 'elder sister')
- gāgulinja 'a pair of brothers' (gagudja 'elder brother')
- mungalinja 'father's sister and child' (mungadja 'father's sister')
- maśliinja 'married couple' (maši 'husband')
- gandjalinja 'maternal grandmother and grandchild'

Marawara had the same affix -linja. Tindale (1939:245) writes 'witulin' 'a pair of sisters'.

III.4.4. Numerical Adjectives

The following numerical adjectives have been heard in Bagandji: they always precede the noun which they qualify:

1. qidja. There is also a compound form qidi-qidja 'one by one'

   qidi-qidja qandi - na  qunị-quną - adu
   one by one teeth - 3 sg POS pull-pull - 3 sg sub
   'He (the dentist) pulls his teeth out one by one' (169)

2. bargulu, Guṇu bula. bargulu with a personal marker was heard occasionally in lieu of a dual pronoun bargulūbu (bargulu + ubu) 'you two'.

3. bargulu qidja, Guṇu bula qidja.

4. bargulu-bargulu (not recorded for Guṇu).

5. yanda mara 'alone hand'. This expression was sometimes used to mean 'five dollars'.

6. garu mara qidja 'other hand one'.

7. garu mara bargulu 'other hand two'. The last two numerals were only rarely used, these and higher numbers were referred to as dułuru, Guṇu qulardji, Bandjigali qulardi, 'many'.

III.5. STEM-FORMING AFFIXES: POSSESSION

III.5.1. Personal Possessives

In the Victorian Kulin languages everything that is by its nature inalienably possessed, such as parts of the body, or relatives, is invariably marked by a personal possessive marker (Hercus 1969:51). In Bāgandji the notion of possession is not dominant to the same degree. Personal possession is marked only when there is a need to express it, and not when it is simply inherent. The possessive is never used:

a) if ownership is indefinite or irrelevant:

\[
\text{ganma - dj - u} \quad - \text{ana} \quad \text{yabara - ndu}
\]

\[
\text{steal} \quad \text{PAST} \quad 3 \text{sg sub} \quad 3 \text{sg obj} \quad \text{camp} \quad - \text{ABL}
\]

'He stole it from a camp (might be anybody's)' (170)

b) if ownership is obvious

\[
\text{gambidja malma - dj - u}
\]

\[
\text{father die} \quad \text{PAST} \quad 3 \text{sg sub}
\]

'His (i.e. the person we are speaking about) father died' (171)

\[
\text{maŋgu - ri yāga - dj - u}
\]

\[
\text{arm} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{break} \quad \text{PAST} \quad 3 \text{sg sub}
\]

'He broke (his) arm' (172)

(see also 101, 103, and 122)

c) if the comitative case or a 'having suffix' is used, as ownership is then taken for granted:

\[
\text{galī - ambala}
\]

\[
\text{dog} \quad \text{COM}
\]

'with (his) dog'

III.5.2. Dialectal Divergence

a) In Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali personal possession is usually expressed by a suffix which is equivalent to the genitive-accusative form (Ch.IV) of the personal pronoun with loss of the initial consonant. Very rarely, when strong emphasis is implied, the pre-posed form may be used:

\[
\text{ŋayi yabara}
\]

\[
\text{my camp}
\]
Both constructions can occur side by side, the rare emphatic and the normal, as shown by the first person forms nayi and -ayi in the following sentence:

nayi wimbara - nulu, nūngu - balu - nul' ayi
my daughter - dl woman - child - dl 1 sg POS
'my own two daughters, my two girls'

In a few isolated instances of even greater emphasis both the free and the bound form are used together in the same noun phrase:

yuri - la - aba nayi гира-гира - ayi - mandi
think - TOP 1 sg Intr my country-country - 1 sg POS - PURP
'I am fretting for my own country' (173)

b) Bārundji, as recorded by S.A. Wurm, occupies an intermediate position between Guṇu and Southern Bāgardji: the pre-posed free form is as common as the possessive suffix and does not appear to offer the same kind of emphasis as in Southern Bāgardji:

windja yabara - ama
where camp - 2 sg POS
'Where is your camp?' (174)

galina yabara
1 dl POS camp
'the camp belonging to us two'

In the available Bārundji material the bound form is always used when there is a double possessive:

gambidja - ayi - na gali
father - 1 sg POS - GEN dog
'my father's dog'

c) In Guṇu the bound forms are exceedingly rare: they have been heard only in one or two instances and could possibly even be due to a trace of Southern Bāgardji influence. In normal Guṇu usage the free form is used and follows the noun (III.8.3.b.); it may even vary for tense in the third person (IV.4.1.b.)

ŋidja baju ŋari
one child my
'my one child'
In cases of extreme emphasis the free possessive form may precede or may even occur twice, once before and once after the noun:

\[
\text{ŋari yara-yara ŋari} \\
\text{my things my things}
\]

### III.5.3. Forms of the Possessive

#### Bound POSSESSIVE markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg. 1</th>
<th>-ayi, (ana)</th>
<th>ŋayi</th>
<th>ŋana</th>
<th>ŋana</th>
<th>ŋari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-uma, -ama, -ma</td>
<td>ŋuma</td>
<td>ŋuma</td>
<td>ŋuma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-(a)na, (-ndu)</td>
<td>iduna,</td>
<td>iduna,</td>
<td>idina</td>
<td>Idana,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>idana</td>
<td>idana</td>
<td>iduna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dl. 1</td>
<td>-alina</td>
<td>ŋalina</td>
<td>ŋalina</td>
<td>ŋalina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-ubana, var.-ubuna,-abana</td>
<td>ŋubana,</td>
<td>ŋubana,</td>
<td>ŋubana,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ŋubuna</td>
<td>ŋubuna</td>
<td>ŋubuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-uluna, var.-uduna,-udana</td>
<td>iduluna</td>
<td>iduluna</td>
<td>iduluna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. 1</td>
<td>-inana</td>
<td>ŋinana</td>
<td>ŋinana</td>
<td>ŋinana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-uďana</td>
<td>ŋuďana</td>
<td>ŋuďana</td>
<td>ŋuďana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>ingletona</td>
<td>idinga</td>
<td>idinga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III.5.4. The First Person Singular

a) -ayi and ŋayi belong to the far south of the Bągandji area. They were used consistently as the only forms of the first person possessive (and accusative see Ch.IV) in the speech of Jack Johnson from Pooncarie. The evidence of Tindale's (1939;252) texts shows that -ayi, ŋayi was also the form used in the southernmost of all Bągandji dialects, Marawara:

\[
\text{'ki:ki:linu 'jap:arai 'ila 'balkara 'ŋaji 'kaɲarn 'jap:arai} \\
\text{here it is in camp cannot strike me in-this camp}
\]
This can be analysed as practically identical to Southern Bāgandji from Pooncarie; (where differences would occur in Southern Bāgandji they have been given in brackets).

\[
\begin{align*}
gi:gi &- ili - nu\ yabar a - ayi\quad ila(SB\ gila)\\
this &- now - EM PH\ camp\quad 1\ sg\ POS,\ not\\
balga &- ra\ \mathring{\text{s}}\ yai\ ga\mathring{\text{a}} - na\ yabar a - ayi(SB\ yabar a-ayi-na)\\
\text{strike} &- OPT\ me\ this - LOC\ camp\quad 1\ sg\ POS\\
\text{This is my camp right here now. It (the lightning)} &\text{will not strike me here in my camp.}'
\end{align*}
\]

The southern form of the possessive is found also in the neighbouring Victorian-type Kulin language, Madimadi, which has -ai (Hercus 1969: 167). This is of significance in that it probably represents the borrowing of a morpheme (Heath 1977). It is likely that the borrowing was from Bāgandji to Madimadi, since:

i. all the other Kulin languages have -eg, which one would expect to be represented by -e in Madimadi

ii. Southern Bāgandji ṣayi, -ayi is doubtlessly cognate with the Guuguu possessive ɲari. This means that basically one type of form ɲari, ṣayi -ayi is found over the whole of the Bāgandji area. This form is therefore so characteristically Bāgandji that it is highly unlikely to have been borrowed from Madimadi.

b) ṣana and -ana were used as a rare variant by people of Menindee origin, alongside ṣayi, -ayi, but in Bandjigali and Bārundji there was a clear distinction: ṣana was the free form and -ayi the bound form of the possessive.

It seems likely that Guuguu reflects an older situation in which ɲari was the possessive pronoun of the first person singular. As in many other languages, the widespread form ṣana was used for the accusative of the first person singular pronoun. The use of the accusative for the genitive (see IV) is reflected in Bārundji and Bandjigali, with ṣana assuming the function of a free possessive pronoun, while the original possessive ṣayi was retained only in its bound form -ayi.
The likely historical development can be schematised as follows:

A. older state as in Gunu

B. Bandjigali, Barundji

but in the extreme south the development was as follows:

A. older state as in Gunu

C. Pooncarie talk and Marawara

III.5.5. The Third Person Singular

There is a usage, inexplicable to the present writer, whereby the third person singular possessive is always expressed by an affix -ndu instead of -na when the allative case marker follows, thus

\[\text{yabarandurî (yabara - ndu - ri) 'to his camp'}\]

This possessive affix -ndu is never found in any other circumstances.

III.5.6. The Affixation of Possessive Markers

a) General comments

Certain morpho-phonemic changes occur in the juncture between noun-stems and the bound possessive markers. As will be seen nouns ending in -i are very different from those ending in -a and -u with regard to those morpho-phonemic changes.
Some general rules apply with all the possessive suffixes: if the number marking suffixes occur before them, these number markers -ulu, -nulu and -ugu lose their final vowel (except of course when the third person plural is involved):

yabara - ul - ayi - na  
_camp_ - SG - 1 sg POS - LOC
' _in my only camp_'

and

wanga - ul' - ayi  
_meat_ - SG - 1 sg POS
' _my one bit of meat_'

Occasionally the final -u is preserved in the plural and a glide -r- is added:

mürba - nän' - igu - r - ayi  
_child_ - Sp Pl - Pl - G1 - 1 sg POS
' _my big lot of children_'

The possessive suffixes may be divided into strong, middle and weak according to the extent to which their initial vowel amalgamates with a preceding stem-final vowel.

b) The third person plural differs from all the other possessive suffixes in that it begins with a consonant and it is simply added to any stem without involving changes:

_yabara-_nga ' _their camp_';  
gargi-_nga ' _their flagons_';  
bağu-_nga ' _their language_'

c) The strong forms are the 1st plural -inana and the 1st dual -alina. They undergo a minimum of changes:

-inana remains quite unaltered, but before it a final a is lost  
gargi-inana ' _our flagon_'
  
bağu-inana ' _our language_'

both pronounced with a distinct hiatus
  
yara-yar'-inana ' _our things_'.

Before -alina the hiatus also remains, but a final -a coalesces with the suffix to a long ā-:
d) The middle forms are the 1st person singular, the third person dual and the second person plural.

-ayi, -luna and -udana remain unchanged after a final -i, and the vowels in the juncture remain in hiatus, a glide -y- may sometimes be inserted.

The initial vowel of the suffix -ayi coalesces with a preceding -a to form ā and a preceding -u to form [ō] (II.4.1.):

\[
\begin{align*}
yabara + ayi &= yabara\ddot{\text{a}}yi & \text{‘my camp’} \\
gundu + ayi &= gundu\ddot{\text{a}}yi & \text{‘my stomach’} \\
dādu + ayi &= dādu\ddot{\text{a}}yi & \text{‘my head’}
\end{align*}
\]

This pronunciation is confirmed also for Marawara by Tindale's (1939:248) spelling 'ku:ntoi'.

The initial vowel of -luna and -udana combines with a preceding -a to form [o]:

\[
\begin{align*}
yabara + luna &= yabara\ddot{\text{a}}luna & \text{‘the camp belonging to these two’} \\
yabara + udana &= yabara\ddot{\text{a}}udana & \text{‘the camp belonging to you lot’}
\end{align*}
\]

The initial vowel of -luna and -udana combines sometimes with a preceding -u to form -ū, but more usually the hiatus may remain balgu + luna balgūluna or balgu-luna 'the language of these two people'.

The third person dual suffix is always -uduna, -udana (on account of dissimilation of -1-) when it follows the dual suffix -nulu: mūrba-ŋulu-uduna ‘the two children belonging to the two of them’.

e) The weak forms, liable to most change, are the second and third person singular and the second person dual. The distribution of the variants is as follows:
-ubana, -ubuNa is always used after -i and the hiatus in the juncture remains
-uma is sometimes

gargi-ubana [karki(y)upana] 'the flagon belonging to you two'
gal-i-uma [kalil(y)uma] 'your dog'

-ana are always used after -u and the two vowels in the juncture combine
-abana
-ama is optionally used after -u

balu-ana [palona] 'her child'
balg-ubana [palkopana] 'the language belonging to you two'
yalgu-ama [yalkoma] 'your leg'

-na is always used after -i
-ma is optionally used after -i and -u

gargi-na 'his flagon'
gal-i-ma 'your dog'
yalgu-ma 'your leg'

-ana are always used after a and the two vowels combine to -ā-
-abana

yabarāna 'his camp'
yabarāna 'your camp'
yabarābana 'the camp belonging to you two'

With the exception of Guru all the Bagandji dialects that were recorded showed these same morphophonemic changes when personal possessive suffixes were used.

III.6. THE 'HAVING' AFFIXES

III.6.1. Form of the 'having' affixes

The 'having' affixes in Australian languages have been discussed by Dixon (1976:306), and the Bagandji situation has been outlined by Hercus (ibid.:229). The affixes used in Bagandji are:

-dja 'having'
-malgadja 'having what has been mentioned and other similar things'
-minidja 'having something unpleasant', 'lousy with'
The notion of 'not having', 'being without' is rendered by ɣāda 'nothing', preceding the expression with -dja.

-dja can be affixed to both simple nouns and whole noun-phrases, whereas -malgada, and miɣidja are only added to simple nouns.

III.6.2. Function of the 'having' affixes

The 'having' affixes in Bāgandji most commonly denote the possession of certain physical and mental characteristics and they figure particularly in equational sentences.

a) Physical characteristics:

\[
\text{dujag' ɣandi - dj' - adu} \\
\text{bad teeth - having - 3\text{-sg sub}} \\
\text{'He has bad teeth'} \\
\]

\[
\text{ɣāda - ɣandi - dja - aba} \\
\text{nothing - tooth - having - 1\text{-sg Intr}} \\
\text{'I have no teeth'} \\
\]

and in a Guŋu song:

\[
\text{mura mīgi - dja} \\
\text{quick eye - having} \\
\text{'he (the emu) with the quick eye'} \\
\]

b) Mental characteristics

Guŋu wimbadja - balgu - dja ɣaba
\text{Aboriginal - language - having I NOM} \\
\text{'I can speak an Aboriginal language'} \\

Guŋu mari balgu - dja ɣaba
\text{true speech - having I NOM} \\
\text{'I speak the truth'} \\

\[
\text{barga - dja} \\
\text{lie - having} \\
\text{'a liar'} \\
\]

(179)

(178)

(176)

(177)

(180)

c) The 'having' affixes may be used in the description of a place:

\[
\text{gāru ɣalba - dja idu} \\
\text{other appearance - having this} \\
\text{'This (place) looks different'} \\
\]
gulda - minidja
grass - eto having
'a place full of grass and other herbage'

or an object:

bidiga - malgadja
poison - having
'(water) containing poison'

d) Alienable possession may also be indicated:

waqanja - malgadja - adu
nest - having - 3-sg sub
'It has got a nest'

(181)

nūngu - dja  njing'imba
Woman - having sit 2 sg Intr
'You have got a wife' (lit. 'You sit down having a wife')

(182)

guna - mididja
faeces - lousy with
'covered in filth'

e) Words containing the affix -dja are always in the Absolutive case.
Apart from figuring in the predicate of equational sentences they may refer to the subject of a verb of rest or motion (as in 185) or to the object of a transitive verb - this latter usage is however much rarer:

gāru maļi wadu - dji yanđa - malgadja
other man take - PAST money - having
'She took another husband, one who had some money!'

(183)

Words containing the affix -dja are adjectival in nature and illustrate the important feature of Bāgandji (III.1.2.) that nouns and adjectives may form minimal sentences with bound person markers, exactly as verb-stems do. This is illustrated by 176, 177, 181 and by:

ŋugu - dja  adu
water - having - 3 sg sub
'It (this flagon) has (only) got water in it'

(184)

It is one of the most common types of sentence in Bāgandji.
III.6.3. Fixed forms

There are a number of nouns which end in a suffix -dja which is not clearly analysable as a 'having' suffix. The majority of these nouns are kinship terms, where -dja was still felt to be separable (before -linja III.4.3.) e.g. gīngudja 'nephew', gāgudja 'elder brother', gambidja 'father'. There are also a few other nouns denoting persons:

- wīmbadja 'Aboriginal man'
- magudja 'evil mythological being'
- nadadja 'friend'

and also animals:

- yamadja 'catfish'
- girbadja 'black kangaroo'
- ṃadadja 'cormorant'

The use of the 'having' suffix with names of animals and people may be related to the situation in the Kulin languages to the south (Hercus in Dixon 1976:249).

III.6.4. The 'having' affix in Marawara

Tindale's work (1939) gives us most valuable information on Marawara. As indicated (I.4.4.) Southern Bāgandji -dj- corresponds to Marawara -y-:

Though this correspondence applies in the case of gambiya 'father', it does not seem to apply to the majority of kinship terms:

Tindale's text has: the Southern Bāgandji equivalent is:

- ondadja: ɵundadja 'wife's brother'
- keingudja: gīngudja 'a man's sister's son'
- wakatja: waqadja 'mother's brother'

In the case of the 'having' affix Southern Bāgandji -dj- does seem to be represented by -y- in Marawara. There are some clear instances of the use of 'having' affixes -yi and malgayi in Tindale's text, corresponding to Southern Bāgandji -dja and malgadja.

ondadja 'nongomal'kai janta ngginba
brother-in-law, woman you've got I have not

this would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:

ɵundadja ɵŋugu - malgadja yanda ɵŋng' - imba
brother-in-law, woman - having only sit - 2 sg Intr

'You're the only one that has a wife' (185)
and

\begin{verbatim}
kariku 'ralui 'mikai
spears full of wounded
\end{verbatim}

this is Southern Bāgandji:

\begin{verbatim}
gālguru - ulu - dja mīga - dja
spear - SG - having hurt - having
\end{verbatim}

and also

\begin{verbatim}
bindalajj 'bira 'malkaji
assaulted me with weapons
\end{verbatim}

this would be:

\begin{verbatim}
banda - la - ayi bira - malgadjja
hit - TOP - 1 sg obj waddy - having
\end{verbatim}

'He had a waddy and struck me'

(186)

This last example points towards a wider use of the 'having' affix in Marawara than is found in Southern Bāgandji. This wider use impinges on the instrumental as in many other Australian languages.

III.7. OTHER NOMINAL STEM-FORMING AFFIXES

The remaining stem-forming affixes in Bāgandji are not viable: they occur with only a restricted number of words and cannot be used freely to form new nominal stems.

III.7.1. -ndji 'belonging to'

Like many other Australian languages, Bāgandji has an affix that conveys the meaning of 'belonging to', 'originating from'. It is found mainly in tribal names:

Bāgandji 'belonging to the Darling River, bāga'
Bārundjji 'belonging to the Paroo River
Barindji 'belonging to the scrub country, bari'
Mandurandjji name of a sub-group of the Southern Bāgandji

There are two further names from older sources:

Wambandji, spelt Wombonyee and Wombonjee by Richards (1908), and Wanbungee by Bonney (1884), a Bāgandji group adjoining the Guṇu;

Yabandji, belonging to yaba 'mark', 'imprint', spelt Yab'bony by Richards (ibid.) in a passage which reads:
Some blacks at Cobar, who belonged to the Wong'ai bon and N(y)eeambaa tribes told me that their fathers owned the country of the 'Yab'bon(y)', i.e. hieroglyphic (sic) writing.... On the other hand there is reason to believe that the picture galleries belonged to the Wombonjee blacks.

The meaning of the Bāgandji word yaba confirms Richard's view; his insight was uncanny (see II.2.1.). Moreover, the obvious geminated consonant in 'Yab'bony' points towards the name of a Bāgandji group, as Bāgandji and Barambinya (Oates MS.) are the only languages in this area which have gemination of consonants: gemination is unknown in Waāybūwan-Ūyambā. The picture galleries referred to as belonging to the Yab'bony are those at Mt Grenfell and Wuttaggona Station between Cobar and Louth (McCarthy 1976).

There is one common noun ending in -ndji:

yarandji 'possum', lit. 'belonging to trees, yara'

bilda 'possum' was heard only rarely in Southern Bāgandji, but it must have been the original word, as it has numerous cognates in neighbouring languages. yarandji has the appearance of a nickname that has become generalised, as does the Guñu equivalent waři-buğa 'possum' (waři is of unknown meaning, buğa is 'dead').

III.7.2. -rga

This affix is confined to words denoting colour and appearance; its separate existence is vouched for by the fact that several of the adjectives concerned have parallel forms in which -rga is not present:

- gurgirga 'black'
- bādjirga 'white' (bādja - 'to shine', 'to give off light')
- numbarga 'green' (numba-numba 'green')
- ṣaljirga 'red' (ṣaljina-adu 'it's red')
- danjabarga 'shiny' (danjba- 'to glister')
- balirga 'good' is a not very common variant of balīra 'good'.

A possibly related suffix -lga is found in Guñu gandjalga 'good' and in Southern Bāgandji (and Guñu) wabilga 'hot' (wabila-adu 'it's hot').
III.7.3. -nja Durative

-nja is an adjectival suffix implying a continuing state. It is also a verbal durative stem-forming suffix -nja (V.3.2.b.11). Examples of its use are:

- yālanja  'one's very own' (yāla 'own')
- nurinjā 'hard'
- gudanja 'all the rest who remain' (guda 'the rest')
- burinjā 'alive'
- buganjā 'completely dead' (buga 'dead')

This suffix, though it cannot be called a 'living' one, was more freely used than the others discussed in this section.

III.7.4. -ga, -gu

-ga is an adjectival-adverbial affix added to a few nouns indicating place, e.g.:

- dānaga 'backing onto something', dāna 'back'
- waraga 'at the side' (wara 'side')
- gīrāga 'local' (gīra 'country')

(For adverbial forms see IV.7.2.c.)

-gu is even rarer:

- yūngāgu 'one's very own' (yūngā 'own')

III.8. NOTES ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN-PHRASe

III.8.1. Agreement of adjectives

In his two articles on Guçu grammar (1902 and 1904) R.H. Mathews states that there was agreement in number and case between nouns and adjectives, and that the noun preceded the adjective. His examples involve 'wimbadya wurtu', which he translates as 'a big man'; but 'wurtu', wīgu is in fact a noun, meaning 'old man'. Normally in Guçu, as in the other Bāgendji dialects, adjectives are not marked for case. In the preferred word-order they precede the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guçu</th>
<th>duļaga baraga idi</th>
<th>'She is a bad woman'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>duļaga nūŋgu idu</td>
<td>bad woman this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāgendji</td>
<td></td>
<td>'She is a bad woman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(187) (188)
gaŋbi ŋugu  gumbadja gargi
'fresh water'       'a big flagon'

ŋalgirga daŋda
'red (male) kangaroo' (Bandjigali and Southern Bāgandji)

mūrba - nāra - na duluru yanda wadu - ŋgu - r - u
child - Sp Pl - GEN much money get - PERF - Gl - 3 sg sub
'(He was drunk) because he had got a lot of money
(from the social welfare) for his many children' (189)

but when there are two adjectives one usually follows the noun, in a
separate noun-phrase in apposition, as is indicated by a halt in the
utterance:

ŋaba ŋidja wimbadja, gugirga
'I one Aboriginal, black
'I am the only Aboriginal (left), a full-blood' (190)

The case marker, as in a large number of languages to the west,
is normally used only once in a noun-phrase consisting of adjective
and noun. The case marker in Bāgandji thus comes on the noun at the
end of the noun-phrase, except for the possible presence of emphatic
particles. As it is the element with the maximum syntactic function,
this 'outside' position is the logical place for the case marker, it
is not buried within the noun-phrase.

yaldi gułda - ndu dubura - dji
long grass - ABL Kop - PAST
'It hopped out of the long grass' (191)

ŋidja dina - budu - na
one foot - boot - INST LOC
'with one shoe'

In the rare instances where the adjective follows, the case-marker
still remains with the noun, and the adjective is as it were in
apposition and in a new noun-phrase (153).
III.8.2. Noun and pronoun

When a free pronoun occurs in a noun-phrase the situation is very different from the adjectival constructions outlined above. The following three types of phrases prevail:

a) the case marker may occur on both noun and pronoun:

```
NP
windja - ndu gīra - ndu bari - dj - imba
which - ABL country - ABL come - PAST 2 sg Intr
'Which country do you come from?' (192)
```

```
NP
ganja - ndu gīra - ndu
that - ABL country - ABL
'from that country' (the speaker points out the direction).
```

```
NP
ina - na gīra - na
that - LOC country - LOC
'in that country'
```

b) The case marker is found only on the demonstrative pronoun which must then come at the end of the noun-phrase:

```
NP
wayu - r - aba dalda iduna - ri
sorry - Gl - 1 sg Intr kangaroo that - DAT
'I feel sorry for that kangaroo' (193)
```

```
NP
nūngu gini - nga - mandi wadu - dji
woman this - 3 pl obj - PURP get - PAST
'He got it for these women' (194)
```

```
NP
gāgudj - ayi inu - ru wadu - na gina dalda
brother - 1 sg POS this - ERG get - PTC this kangaroo
'This brother of mine is getting the kangaroo' (195)
```

This use of the demonstrative is the basis of nominal ergative marking in Southern Bāgandji (where the pronoun has assumed a bound form, III.2.5.b.).
c) Nominative-accusative distinctions can only figure in pronouns, not nouns (III.2.1.). Where such a distinction is involved, the marked pronoun precedes the noun:

\[\text{NP} \quad \text{gâma - dj - ayi} \quad \text{igi - na gambi-gambi} \]
\[\text{steal - PAST - 1 sg obj this - ACC shirt} \]
\[\text{'They stole a shirt from me'} \quad (196)\]

\[\text{NP} \quad \text{muni-muni - ndu} \quad \text{ida - na gali - ma} \]
\[\text{tie up - 2 sg Tr this - ACC dog - 2 sg POS} \]
\[\text{'Tie up this dog of yours'} \quad (197)\]

\[\text{NP} \quad \text{bana - ma - ana ginga wana} \]
\[\text{make - Vb - PTC this ACC pl boomerang} \]
\[\text{'(They are) making these boomerangs'} \quad (198)\]

and Guçu:

\[\text{NP} \quad \text{wāgu wīmbadja baga - ana idi - na yara} \]
\[\text{crow man sing - PTC this - ACC tree} \]
\[\text{'and the Crow was "singing" this tree'} \quad (199)\]

In this type of phrase only the pronoun and not the whole noun phrase is marked for the accusative.

III.8.3. Word-order in noun-phrases

a) Southern Bāgandji

As indicated (III.1.4.) the basic structure of a nominal word in Southern Bāgandji ranges from a minimal:

\[\text{stem + ABS (≠)}\]

to a possible maximum:

\[\text{stem + number + POS + case} \]
The following alternative possibilities are for emphasis of number or possession:

```
NP
   nominal word
   number adj  stem (+2)  + POS  + case
   + other number

NP
   nominal word
   POS adj  stem + number + case
```

From III.8.1. and 2. the following possible ordering within noun phrases is evolved for Southern Bagandji:

**TYPE A:** adj + nominal word
```
adj +
   nominal word
   stem + number + POS + case
```

and where pronouns are involved:

**TYPE B:** pronoun + nominal word
```
pronoun +
   nominal word
   pronoun + case
   stem + number + POS + case
```

**TYPE C:** nominal word + pronoun
```
nominal word +
   pronoun
   stem + number + POS
   pronoun + case
```

Apart from the exception regarding the accusative (III.8.2.c.), case when expressed always figures last and effectively marks the whole noun phrase as a syntactic unit.
b) Guçu

In Guçu the same minimum prevails for the nominal word as in Southern Băgandjî, but normally this is enlarged only to

```
stem + case
```

As even the dual number may be expressed by a numerical adjective there is simply in Guçu a more frequent use of the TYPE A noun-phrase.

Possession is normally indicated in Guçu by a separate pronominal form (III.5.3.). Except in rare cases of special emphasis the possessive follows the noun and is marked for case when case is expressed:

```
widu - widu - la - ana yala widuga iduna - ri
chase - TOP - PTC own sister his - DAT
adj noun pos + CASE

'He is running after his own sister!' (200)
```

```
gira gidana - miri
country FUT his - ALL

'(He will go) to his own country' (201)
```

```
yala wimbara qari - mandi
own daughter my - PURP
adj noun pos + CASE

'for my own daughter'
```

These examples represent typical TYPE A noun-phrases. This means that Guçu, though it has shorter nominal words than Southern Băgandjî, has exactly the same order of elements in the noun-phrase as Southern Băgandjî.
CHAPTER IV
PRONOUNS

IV.1. THE PRONOMINAL CASE SYSTEM
IV.1.1. The nuclear cases

As discussed in III.2.1., in Bāgandjī, as in many other Australian languages, the nominal system is basically nominative-ergative, whereas the pronominal system is basically nominative-accusative. In the first and second person singular there is a double distinction and the nominative is kept apart from the ergative as well as from the accusative. The nominative-accusative distinction applies throughout the pronominal system, to free pronouns as well as to the bound cross-referencing forms of the pronouns, (except in Guṇu where these bound pronouns do not normally occur, Wurm and Hercus 1976).

There is, however, a basic difference between the free pronouns and the cross-referencing bound forms as regards the dative case:

- in the bound pronouns the dative is absent and its function is taken over by the accusative case (III.2.6.g. and III.2.7.)

- in the free pronouns, although there is a distinct accusative case, the dative has the same wide usage as it has in nouns, as in (86) and in:

  \[
  \text{ŋīnga - d - aba manda - la ŋuma - ri} \\
  \text{sit - FUT - 1 sg Intr wait - OPT you - DAT} \\
  \text{'I'll sit (here) in order to wait for you'} \\
  \]

The contrasting usage between the bound and free forms may occasionally be seen even within a single sentence where the free pronoun is in the dative case and the cross-referencing bound pronoun is represented by the direct object (accusative case):
I)a yi - ri gaba - ru - ayi
me - DAT follow - NF 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj

'He's following me (not anybody else)' (203)

In other words: the semantic preferences that govern the use of the
dative (such as lack of impingement on the object (III.2.6.) cannot
be considered as being of final importance, since they can be
overridden by morpho-syntactic considerations connected with the use
of free versus bound pronouns.

IV.1.2. The peripheral cases

Throughout the nominal system of Bāgandji there is syncretism between
the locative-instrumental and the genitive forms (III.1.4.), but in
pronouns of the first and second person singular these cases have
remained apart. This is a clear indication that the locative and
instrumental cases were felt to be distinct from the genitive, although
the forms of the relevant case-marking suffixes had fallen together on
account of the loss of the distinction between -n and -n at the
beginning of a morpheme (II.1.4.).

Bāgandji pronouns, as indicated, have an accusative, that is an
object case marking form, as opposed to a nominative. This accusative
form is identical with the genitive. A similar situation is found in
the neighbouring Wanāybuwan language to the east (Donaldson 1980).
Syncretism between the accusative and genitive is not an instance of
case-marking suffixes falling together on account of phonological
changes as in the matter of the locative-instrumental and genitive
discussed above. It is a syntactic development.

It may appear hard to imagine how there could be any link between
a nuclear case like the accusative and a peripheral case like the
genitive, but other Australian languages provide a clue. In
Arabana-Wanganuru (to the west of Bāgandji, in the Lake Eyre region)
the accusative can be used instead of the possessive when something
alienably possessed is the object of a transitive verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wadni - ligu uga - na (for uga - guna) wimba} \\
\text{follow - HIST he - ACC (for he - POS) track}
\end{align*}
\]

'They followed his track'
(lit. 'they followed him track') (204)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wadni - ligu madabuda - na (for madabud - guna) wimba} \\
\text{follow - HIST old man - ACC (for old man - POS) track}
\end{align*}
\]

'They followed the old man's track'
(lit. 'they followed the old man track') (205)
The origin of this construction can be seen from Arabana-Wanggañuru sentences where both the thing possessed (as the direct object) and another object are involved:

```plaintext
madu - ru bidla uga - na quni - ri, argaba - ru
totem - ABL name he - ACC give - NAR, red ochre - ABL
'They gave (him) his name from (the song about his)
matrilineal totem, red ochre'
(lit. 'they gave him name...')
```

(206)

The same usage is found in Waraŋu (Tsunoda MS) and may well have been much more widespread than would appear from the published data on the languages of eastern Australia.

The link between the accusative and the genitive is so strong in Arabana-Wanggañuru that in the case of pronouns the reverse process can take place, and the accusative may be replaced by the genitive-possessive:

```plaintext
anga - ma - na uga - guna
alive - make - PRES he - POS
'They resuscitate him'
(lit. 'they resuscitate his')
```

(207)

```plaintext
gañi mi da - nda - limaru unguna
too much wait - Sp - PLUP you POS
'because I'd been waiting for you too long'
(lit. '...waiting yours')
```

(208)

There can thus be no doubt over the reciprocity between the genitive and the accusative in Arabana-Wanggañuru pronouns, but Bāgandj1 and Waŋıybuwan have gone one step further and there is complete syncretism between these two cases, except for the first person singular in Guŋu (III.5.4.).

IV.2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS
IV.2.1. Exclusive and Inclusive

Having discovered that exclusive/inclusive distinction exists in many Australian languages, R.H. Mathews thought that this feature was more important that it is. Throughout the recorded material in the Bāgandj1 dialects there is no strict distinction made between the inclusive (where the person addressed is included) and the exclusive (where the person addressed is excluded) in the first person pronouns dual and plural. However, R.H. Mathews implies that there is such a
definite distinction in Guňu. He quotes in his work of 1904 composite forms of the exclusive dual: 'Nguthernagulli' etc. This is:

ŋadu - ŋa
PRES he ERG - we dl NOM

and he quotes an unanalysable compound for the 1st person plural exclusive: 'Dhündinginna'.

? - ŋina
PRES we pl

R.H. Mathews's 1902 publication appears to contradict this and he gives a different compound exclusive dual: 'Ngullingulu'. That is:

ŋa - ŋulu
PRES we dl - dl

and a plural 'Nginnanda'

ŋina - ?
PRES we pl - ?

Of all these forms only ŋa-ŋulu is occasionally used in the Băgandji dialects as recorded over recent years, but it is no more than an emphatic form of the dual, containing the normal dual marker (III.4.2.b.); it does not convey the exclusive.

In the Guňu recordings, for special emphasis, a composite form is used for the inclusive. This is:

ŋindu - ŋali 'we two, you and I'

ŋindu is the ergative form of the second person singular pronoun, but the expression is so stereotyped that it is used with intransitive as well as transitive verbs:

ŋindu - ŋali wayuri - nja - ana
PRES you ERG - PRES we dl worry - ASP - PTC
'We two (you and I) are worrying about it' (209)

ŋindu - ŋali bari - ana nāda - ła
PRES you ERG - PRES we dl go - PTC fish - OPT
'We two (you and I) are going fishing' (210)
The evidence given by R.H. Mathews can be partially reconciled with that of the recent recordings:

1. The exclusive/inclusive distinction, absent from the other Bāgandji dialects, was made only occasionally, when emphasised, in Guṇu.
2. The exclusive could be marked by the ergative form of the third person pronoun prefixed to the first person dual pronoun (Mathews 1904).
3. The inclusive could be marked by the ergative of the second person pronoun, prefixed to the first person dual (recent recordings).

The differing plural forms given by R.H. Mathews remain unexplained.

IV.2.2. Free pronouns of the first and second person

The following are the free forms of the pronouns in the Bāgandji dialects; in Guṇu these forms belong to the present tense (IV.2.4.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ɳaba</td>
<td>ɳimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ɳadu</td>
<td>ɳindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ɳana</td>
<td>ɳuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ɳana</td>
<td>ɳuma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ɳanarsi</td>
<td>ɳumaɾi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ɳanaña</td>
<td>ɳumana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ɳännandu</td>
<td>ɳumandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>ɳənamandi</td>
<td>ɳumamandi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variant Southern Bāgandji forms with ɳayi- belong particularly to the far south and are the rule in Pooncarie talk and in Marawara. For
their origin see III.5.4. The length of the first vowel in ηαβα and ηανα is indeterminate: long and short forms interchange freely.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ɳαλι</td>
<td>ɳυβα, ɳυβυ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>ɳαλινα</td>
<td>ɳυβυνα, ɳυβανα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ɳαλινα</td>
<td>ɳυβυνα, ɳυβανα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ɳαλιναɾι</td>
<td>ɳυβαναɾι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ɳαλινινυ, ɳαλινινυ δυ</td>
<td>ɳυβυμαндι, ɳυβανα�αндι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>ɳαλιναμαндι</td>
<td>ɳυβυμαндι, ɳυβανα�αндι</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PLURAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ɳινα</td>
<td>ɳυδα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Genitive</td>
<td>ɳινινα</td>
<td>ɳυδανα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ɳινινα</td>
<td>ɳυδανα</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ɳινιναɾι</td>
<td>ɳυδαναɾι</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ɳινινανυ</td>
<td>ɳυδανανυ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>ɳινιναμαндι</td>
<td>ɳυδα�αндι, ɳυδανα�αндι</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the dual and plural of pronouns, unlike the singular, the locative is identical with the accusative-genitive on account of haplogogy (III.3.5.). The comitative and the instrumental are absent from the pronominal paradigm. A clear allative does not figure anywhere in recent recorded material, but R.H. Mathews (1902) quotes 'ŋunhari' (ɳαναɾι), 'ŋuлинари' (ɳαλιнаɾι) etc., with an allative rather than a dative meaning 'towards me', 'towards us'.
IV.2.3. Use of the free forms

In Southern Bagandji, unlike Guñu, the free subject and object pronoun forms are emphatic (IV.5.14.). Free pronouns are obligatory and bound forms can never be used in the following circumstances:

a) in the peripheral case-forms

b) as the object of a dependent verb in the optative form.

Examples of the use of some of the free pronominal forms are:

Guñu

wilga - wilga ŋaba
hungry I NOM
'I am hungry'

(211)

ginda ŋadu
laugh he NOM
'He's laughing'

(212)

bula-bula ŋadi ŋana
rouse they NOM me ACC
'They wake me up'

(213)

windjara ŋuda - wa balu-balu
where you pl NOM - EMPH children
'Where are you, children?'

(214)

Peripheral Case-forms

ŋayina ŋing' - imba
me LOC sit - 2 sg Intr
'You stay with me!'

(215)

ŋinanandu wadu - dji - na
us ABL take - PAST - 3 sg obj
'He took it away from us'

(216)

ŋuma yabara - na ŋinga - d - ali
you GEN(i.e.POS) camp - LOC sit - FUT - 1 dl sub
'We'll sit in your camp'

(217)

ŋumamandi bana - ma - la - yiga
you PURP make - Vb - TOP - 3 pl sub
'They are making it for you'

(218)
With the optative

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bari - ma - la - yiga} & \quad \text{bam} - \text{la galina - ri} \\
\text{walk} & \quad \text{Vb - TOP - 3 pl sub see - OPT us dl - DAT} \\
\text{They are walking past to get a good look at us two'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gila dalba - d - āba} & \quad \text{daldī - la ṭuğana - ri} \\
\text{not stand - FUT - 1 sg Intr hear - OPT you - DAT} \\
\text{'I won't stand around to listen to you people'}
\end{align*}
\]

As indicated above (III.5.1-2.) the genitive of personal pronouns is in fact the Possessive, which in its free form may be regarded as adjectival, and (very rarely) permits the addition of a case marker (III.8.3.b.).

IV.2.4. Notes on the free pronouns of the first and second person

a) The accusative-genitive as stem

In nouns the stem-form serves as absolutive, i.e., it indicates the intransitive subject and the transitive object. This stem-form represents the basis of the declension system (III.1.4.). As is clear from the paradigms given above, the situation is different with the pronouns: the nominative (transitive and intransitive subject) stands apart, and the accusative-genitive forms an extended stem on which all other cases are based. There are only a few exceptions, the variant 'short' forms ṭalindu, ṭubamandi and ṭuğamanditi based on the nominative. This situation may be summarised as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NOMINALS} & \quad \text{PERSONAL PRONOUNS} \\
\text{ABS} = \text{stem} & \quad \text{NOM} \\
\text{PERIPHERAL CASES} = \text{stem + affixes} & \quad \text{ACC GEN = enlarged stem} \\
\text{PERIPHERAL CASES} = \text{stem + affixes} & \quad \text{'short forms'}
\end{align*}
\]

The functioning of the accusative-genitive as stem-form is one of the interesting and unusual features of Bāgandji shared in this area only with Waŋȳbuwan-Нiyamba (Donaldson 1980). Though the actual forms in Waŋȳbuwan-Нiyamba are very different from Bāgandji the general morphological scheme appears to be the same as in Bāgandji with regard to pronouns.
The accusative stem was noted already by Mathews (1902:156 and 1904:136). There are modifications of the object pronouns to mean 'towards me', 'away from me'. The question arises whether it is only the accusative, as stated by Mathews, which forms the basis of the extended stem. In Guugu the first person singular genitive ŋari is not identical to the accusative, ŋaŋa, and the Guugu forms ŋaŋari, ŋaŋandu and ŋaŋamandi therefore clearly indicate an accusative stem. Mathews however also noted a form 'ngariri, close to me', which proves that the genitive was at least to some extent involved. The origin of these peripheral case forms based on the accusative (and genitive) is probably as follows:

It seems likely that there was no common Australian form for the peripheral cases of personal pronouns: these cases are missing from the pronominal paradigms of many Australian languages (Dixon 1972:7).

Where these cases occur they have the appearance of secondary formations on the analogy of the nominal system, using as basis various forms of stem; for instance:

1. the nominative stem, as in the first person sg. in Arabana-Wągągırur and Pitta-Pitta (Breen and Blake 1971) and in Yidin (Dixon 1977).

2. a stem formed by the addition of an extra syllable of uncertain derivation as in pronouns other than the first person sg. in Arabana-Wągągırur and Pitta-Pitta.

3. the accusative stem, as in Bidyara (Breen 1972), in Wągąybuwan-Niyambą and in Bągandji.

In Bidyara the pronominal genitive and the accusative are quite different from one another. There is therefore no immediate correlation between a syncretism of cases and the use of the accusative as stem.

b) The nominative singular

-ŋa is a wide-spread nominal suffix and is well known from the Western Desert languages (Douglas 1964:45, Hale 1973). Dixon goes as far as to regard it as a 'dummy syllable' (1977:173). It also occurs over a large area as a marker for the intransitive subject of pronouns, particularly the second person singular, as in Arabana ʔąba, Wągągırur uŋba, Pitta-Pitta inba. A first person ʔabi is found in Yaraldi: -bi is doubtlessly derived from -ŋa, as final i in Yaraldi frequently corresponds to -a in other languages, e.g. Diyarı, Wągągırur gaŋa 'man',
Yaraldi goŋi. Bāgandji is distinctive in that it is the only language in the area where -ba is used in the nominative of both the first and the second person singular, but this development is found in other areas, as in Dyirbal (Dixon 1977:50).

In the second person singular the nominative and ergative stand apart completely from the rest of the declension in that they have the characteristic vowel -i-, while the other cases have -u-: this dichotomy is found both to the north in Bidyara in Queensland, and in the Yuŋa languages of the Flinders Range region. Both ŋin- and ŋun- were common Australian radicals of the second person singular: it is possible that Bāgandji and the other languages in question retained an original differentiation and that there was a levelling out of forms in the other languages, some languages retaining ŋin- and extending it throughout the declension, and other languages retaining ŋun- and extending it to the nominative.

IV.3. THE THIRD PERSON AND THE DEMONSTRATIVES

IV.3.1. The third person pronoun

The third person pronoun closely resembles the first person in the singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
<th>Bārundji and Guŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ṇaŋa</td>
<td>ṇadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṇadu PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/wadu PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/gadu FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ṇadu</td>
<td>(ŋadu(ru))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ŋadu(ru)) PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(wadu(ru)) PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(gadu(ru)) FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ṇaŋa</td>
<td>(ŋaŋa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>but usually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>supplied by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ŋaŋa PRES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/gana FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are rare occasions where in the third person singular free form the ergative remains unmarked, as in (253): such sentences seemed acceptable to the speakers.
The following dual and plural forms of the third person pronoun were recorded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DUAL</th>
<th>Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali</th>
<th>Bārundji</th>
<th>Guṇu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative (Tr and Intr)</td>
<td>wadulu</td>
<td>wadulu PAST</td>
<td>wadulu PAST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative-Genitive (LOC INST)</td>
<td>Supplied by demonstratives</td>
<td>Supplied by demonstratives</td>
<td>wadulu PAST</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>Nominative (Tr and Intr)</th>
<th>Supplied by demonstratives</th>
<th>Supplied by demonstratives</th>
<th>gadi PRES</th>
<th>wadi PAST</th>
<th>gadi FUT</th>
<th>gadiina PRES</th>
<th>wadina PAST</th>
<th>gadina FUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accusative-Genitive (LOC INST)</td>
<td>Supplied by demonstratives</td>
<td>Supplied by demonstratives</td>
<td>gadiina PRES</td>
<td>wadina PAST</td>
<td>gadina FUT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of the use of some of these forms are:

Southern Bāgandji

waduru dayi - l' - dji
he' ERG eat - TOP - PAST

'He ate it'

(221)

ŋadi dundja - la - ana
they suck - TOP - PTC

'They are sucking'

(222)

Bandjigali

yanda - la ŋadu ŋama - mandi
cry - TOP he NOM milk - PURP

'He (that baby) is crying for milk'

(223)

balga - adu ŋana balu
hit - 1sg Tr him child

'I hit this child'

(224)

For examples of Guṇu usage see IV.4.1. and for Bārundji IV.4.3.
The third person pronoun is common in Guçu (except for the dual); only the singular is common in Bärundjî, and all free forms are rare in Southern Băgandjî and Bandjigali on account of the preference for bound forms and for deictics.

The classification of the above pronouns as 'third person', rather than deictic is based on the evidence of Guçu. In Guçu these pronouns belong to the same kind of system as the first and second person, with tense marking by means of initial $\eta$, $w$- and $g$- as opposed to $\phi$, $w$- and $g$- in the deictics (IV.4.1.). It is probably the very similarity of the third person pronoun to the first that proved to be a weakness and caused the rarity of the third person form for the accusative. Furthermore in Guçu these pronouns have no clear deictic value.

In Southern Băgandjî the situation is different: the wadu forms cannot strictly be called third person pronouns in that they have a definite deictic sense. Whereas in Guçu they refer to some distance in time, namely the past (IV.4.1.), in Southern Băgandjî they refer to a certain distance in place, 'that which is not right here'. This is clear also from the adverbially used derivatives of the wadu forms such as wadumarî 'that way', as opposed to yamaři 'this way', and walara 'over there'.

IV.3.2. The demonstratives: general notes

There are considerable differences between the Aboriginal languages that adjoin Băgandjî and even within the Băgandjî dialect group with regard to the syntactic functions of demonstrative pronouns. Three types of pronominal usage may be distinguished in the area:

a) The demonstrative pronoun, and particularly the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, has become a mere adjunct to the noun. It has little deictic value, and is usually just a 'dummy' word that carries the case-marking morphemes. This is the situation in Waŋgumara.

b) The demonstrative fulfills the function of a 'dummy' word, carrying syntactic markers, but it also has deictic significance. This intermediate situation can be seen in:

1. Madimadî, where the demonstratives carry the number markers

11. Southern Băgandjî, Bandjigali and Bărundjî, where the bound demonstratives carry the ergative marker (III.2.5.).
c) In the Guňu dialect of Băgandji, as well as in other languages in the area such as Wembawemba, Yaraldi, Waŋybuwan-Ŋiyambă and Maljaŋaba demonstratives are not associated with particular syntactic functions and retain their deictic value. In Guňu this deictic value is furthermore connected with time (IV.4.1.).

IV.3.3. Forms of the demonstrative pronouns

In Băgandji as in many other Aboriginal languages, the deictic system is complex. Some of the demonstrative pronouns are restricted in use and attested only in a limited range of forms: they may be regarded as remnants of an older and more elaborate system of designating position. After all the exact indication of location was of vital importance in Aboriginal traditional culture. The following forms were recorded:
# Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji</th>
<th>Guṇu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present Forms Sg.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SINGULAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominaive</strong></td>
<td>gīgī</td>
<td>gidu</td>
<td>gaṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ergative</strong></td>
<td>(gi)duru</td>
<td>(gi)nuru</td>
<td>ginaru (rare)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accusative, Genitive</strong></td>
<td>gīgīna</td>
<td>giduna</td>
<td>gīnana, gīnuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative, Instrumental</strong></td>
<td>also gīgīna</td>
<td>gidana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>as ACC</td>
<td>as ACC</td>
<td>gaṇāṛī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ ṛī</td>
<td>+ ṛī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Allative</strong></td>
<td>as ACC</td>
<td>as ACC</td>
<td>gaṇāṛī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ ṛī</td>
<td>+ ṛī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
<td>gīgandu</td>
<td>gidayindu</td>
<td>gaṇandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Purpose</strong></td>
<td>as ACC</td>
<td>as ACC</td>
<td>as ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ mandi</td>
<td>+ mandi</td>
<td>+ mandi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DUAL

Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji Guṇu

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NOMINATIVE} \quad & \quad \text{gi}gulu \quad \text{gi}dulu \quad \text{ginulu} \quad \text{idulu}, \text{inulu} \\
\text{ACC, GEN, LOC, INST} \quad & \quad \text{as NOM} + \text{na}
\end{align*}
\]

The remaining cases are rare; they are formed from the accusative as stem.

PLURAL

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NOMINATIVE} \quad & \quad \text{giyiga} \quad \text{gidiga} \quad \text{ginaga(di)} \quad \text{idiga} \\
\text{ACCUSATIVE-GENITIVE} \quad & \quad \text{gi}ga \quad \text{gidinga} \quad \text{gininga} \quad \text{idinga} \\
\text{LOCATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL} \quad & \quad \text{gi}ga \quad \text{gidingana} \quad \text{gidigana}
\end{align*}
\]

The remaining cases are formed from the accusative stem.

NOTE: Initial g- when followed by -i- was frequently dropped in all the Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji demonstratives listed above (II.2.3.).

As can be seen from Tindale's work (1939), the Marawara demonstratives were identical to Southern Bāgandji, for instance:

'Ilinba bararba geinum balkur
'forbidden to listen to our words'

This is:

\[
i'\text{imba bəraba gi}nun\text{ balkur} \quad \text{for ginuna II.4.6.}\quad \text{balgu}
\]
\[
\text{not you listen this ACC word}
\]
\[
\text{'Don't you listen to this conversation'} \quad (225)
\]

'i:nan juri:li
'then we will consider it'

This is:

\[
(g)\text{inana yuri - lа - all}
\]
\[
\text{this ACC think - TOP - l dl sub}
\]
\[
\text{'We two will think about this'} \quad (227)
\]
I'm hiding my meat'

He burnt this tree'

You saw this woman'

He picked up the little boy'

It is difficult to assess whether the lack of marking for the accusative is a syntactic development or whether it is simply a case
of haplology (III.3.5.). The latter is most likely because only gina is involved, but syntax must have also played a part as the lack of marking is confined to adjectivally used forms, and there may therefore have been some influence of the nominal declension.

b) The deictic function of demonstratives

The free forms of the demonstrative pronouns are clearly deictic:

- gîgi 'this' (right here)
- gidu 'that' (some distance away)
- gany 'this' (round about here)
- gina 'that' (far away)
- yuna 'that' (far away)
- nun 'that' (far away)

Examples of the use of these deictics are:

- gi bala bîra gîgi gira
  not good this place
  'This place here (the Broken Hill gaol) is no good'

- giyiga muni-muni dulaga
  these policemen bad
  'These policemen here (in Wilcannia) are bad'

- gîgulu gadjī - njulu dayi - l' - bani - ggu - adulu
  they dl serpent - D1 eat - TOP - ASP - PERF - 3-dl sub
  'These two watersnakes (the ones we are talking about) went on and on devouring everything'

- gana - ri gîra - ri bari - dji
  this - ALL place - ALL go - PAST
  'He went to this place around here'

- yununamandi balga - dji - na
  'That's what he killed him for'

- nununamandi balga - dji - na
  that PURP hit - PAST - 3 sg obj
  'That's what he killed him for'

For the use of emphatic particles with the deictics see VI.1.2.a.1.
IV.4. TENSE MARKING IN GU̞NU AND BĂRUNDJI FREE PRONOUNS

IV.4.1. Gu̞nu pronominal forms

The use in Gu̞nu of pronouns marked for tense was noted already by R.H. Mathews (1902 and 1904) and was discussed in some detail by Wurm and Hercus (1976). Only an outline account is therefore given here with, inevitably, some repetition from the 1976 paper.

In Gu̞nu personal and demonstrative pronouns the present (and also the general neutral form) is marked by an initial ŋ- (zero in the case of the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity), the future is marked by an initial g- and the past by an initial w-. The materials collected in Gu̞nu allow the following paradigmatic tables of tense forms to be set up:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 singular nominative</td>
<td>ŋāba</td>
<td>wāba</td>
<td>gāba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 singular ergative</td>
<td>ŋadu</td>
<td>wadu</td>
<td>gadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular nominative</td>
<td>ŋimba</td>
<td>wimba</td>
<td>gimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 singular ergative</td>
<td>ŋi ndu</td>
<td>windu</td>
<td>gindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 singular accusative</td>
<td>ŋana</td>
<td>wana</td>
<td>gana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 singular nominative</td>
<td>ŋadu</td>
<td>wadu</td>
<td>gadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 singular ergative</td>
<td>ŋadu(ru)</td>
<td>wadu(ru)</td>
<td>gadu(ru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dual*</td>
<td>ŋali</td>
<td>wali</td>
<td>gali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dual</td>
<td>ŋuba</td>
<td>wuba</td>
<td>guba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 dual</td>
<td>ŋadūlu</td>
<td>wadūlu</td>
<td>gadūlu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 plural</td>
<td>ŋina</td>
<td>wina</td>
<td>gina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 plural</td>
<td>ŋuđa</td>
<td>wuđa</td>
<td>guđa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 plural</td>
<td>ŋadi</td>
<td>wadi</td>
<td>gadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative pronoun of vicinity</td>
<td>idi</td>
<td>widi</td>
<td>gidi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative pronoun of distance</td>
<td>ŋana</td>
<td>wana</td>
<td>gana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Bărundji, like Southern Băgandji, has i-du, not i-di as a pronoun of vicinity)

*In the 3rd singular and throughout dual and plural, one form functions as both nominative and ervative though the latter is sometimes marked by -ru.
On the whole except in cases of special emphasis, only one pronoun in a sentence receives a special tense form; it is usually the subject or the pronoun referring to the main topic. The other pronouns retain their present/neutral form. The pronoun subject usually follows the verb, but as the examples quoted below will show, the system of tense marking cannot be linked immediately with the verb in Guugu. Even if the changes in the pronoun had their origin in phonological conditioning it seems clear that in the present form of the language they have to be analysed as changes for tense. This can be demonstrated in the following manner:

a) The pronouns are not linked with any particular phonological environment, they can follow any verb or verb + aspect marker; and different tense forms can occur in the same conditions:

1. After all simple verbs

baridji ri dani ḍaba
far away go’ FUT I
'I'll go a long way off'

(239)

dani wadi
go’ PAST they
'They've gone'

(240)

quardji māni bami wina
many corroboree see PAST we
'We've seen lots of corroborees'

(241)

manđi - na gāndara bami gindu
ground - LOC blood see FUT you ERG
'You'll see the blood on the pavement'

(242)

bami ṇadu
see PRES I ERG
'I can see'

(243)

iba gādi bādi - ri
lay FUT they egg - DAT
'They'll lay eggs'

(244)

iba wina
lay PAST we
'We put it down'

(245)
11. After verb + verbaliser or aspect marker (such as -ri and -la, examples for the latter are given in section V).

\[
gila\ dingga\ -ri\ wąba
\]
\[
not\ rise\ -Vb\ PAST\ I
\]
'I didn't get up' \hspace{1cm} (246)

\[
gila\ dingga\ -ri\ nadu
\]
\[
not\ rise\ -Vb\ PRES\ he
\]
'He's not getting up' \hspace{1cm} (247)

\[
bina\ -ri\ gimba
\]
\[
climb\ -Vb\ PUT\ you
\]
'You'll climb up' \hspace{1cm} (248)

b) The pronouns, marked for tense, can follow words other than verbs:

\[
wilga\ -wilga\ gadi
\]
\[
hungry\ -PRES\ they
\]
'They're hungry' \hspace{1cm} (249)

\[
diga\ -la\ gadi\ gīra\ gidi\ -na\ mīrī
\]
\[
return\ -TOP\ FUT\ they\ country\ PUT\ this\ -GEN\ towards
\]
'They'll go back to their country' \hspace{1cm} (250)

\[
gandjalga\ nūngu\ widi\ -na
\]
\[
good\ -woman\ PAST\ this\ -GEN
\]
'He had a good wife' \hspace{1cm} (251)

c) In isolated instances and in order to focus on the subject, the pronouns are placed initially in an utterance, and this naturally precludes any possibility whatsoever of explaining the changing initial consonant of the pronoun by means of sandhi; the changing initial simply expresses tense:

\[
mūya\ wadu\ -na\ 'windu\ gaba\ -nja\ mali\ ñuma'
\]
\[
scold\ PAST\ I\ ERG\ daughter\ -LOC\ 'PAST\ you\ ERG\ follow\ -ASP\ man\ yours'
\]
'I roused on my daughter (and I said to her): "You've been running after this man of yours (while I have been minding the kids)"'. \hspace{1cm} (252)

\[
wadu\ gāndi\ balu\ -balu
\]
\[
PAST\ he\ carry\ small\ -child
\]
'It was him that carried the small children' \hspace{1cm} (253)
IV.4.2. Origin of the tense-marked pronouns

As Guçu pronouns are normally free forms, this three-fold tense distinction with initial ƞ-, ƞ- and ƞ- is transparent and clear. The origin of the system however remains uncertain. There are two main possibilities:

a) As implied by Dixon (1976) and conceded by Wurm and Hercus (1976:40) the varying initial of the pronoun could be due to a sandhi effect from preceding verbal tense markers, as the most usual position of the pronoun was immediately after the verb.

   In favour of this theory are the perfect markers -نغ in Southern Bāgandji, -ع in Bārundjī, (though these only cause extensive elision in bound pronouns, IV.5.6.).

   There are three major objections to this theory:

   1. Guçu verbs do not show tense markers, only aspect markers.

   ii. It is unlikely that the Guçu tense-marked pronouns are the result of an earlier sandhi-effect because they were free forms, and the chances are that they always had been free forms. According to Capell's hypothesis (1956:12) of basic flexibility, a theory which has never been contradicted, the free forms chronologically preceded the bound forms. Guçu is bordered to the north and north-west by Nyura languages which do not have bound pronouns affixed to verbs. Guçu, though a Bāgandji dialect, is in fact beyond the pronoun subject-object affixing area of south eastern Australia.

   iii. There is no trace in Bāgandji of any sandhi source for the future pronouns with initial ƞ-.

   It seems therefore preferable to seek an alternative theory for the origin of the tense-marked pronouns.

b) In Southern Bāgandji the third person pronoun is ֶำ; wadu is also a third person pronoun, but refers to what is in the middle distance, while the pronominal base ָา refers to the general environs, as in ָא 'this round about here', ָא 'here, but not right here', ָא 'over there, quite close'. These deictics refer to time as well as place. It could be proposed (IV.3.1.) that in Guçu the notion of time prevailed in preference to the notion of distance: the idea of middle distance, as in wadu thus could have come to indicate the past and the pronoun of general environment -גא could have come to imply the future. This scheme of varying initials according to tense could have then been extended from the third person to the other personal
pronouns and to the demonstrative pronouns. But there are no cogent proofs and the origin of tense-marking in Guçu and Bûrundji pronouns must still be regarded as obscure.

IV.4.3. Tense-marking in Bûrundji pronouns

R.H. Mathews (Manuscript, made available by R.M.W. Dixon) states:

In the southeastern portions of the Parundyi territory there is further modification of the pronouns according to whether they refer to present, past or future time, the same as in the Kûrnû language....'

This has been confirmed by the work of S.A. Wurm, who analysed in the light of his fieldwork the complex situation in Bûrundji bound pronouns (Wurm and Hercus 1976:42).

From the available material it is difficult to differentiate between bound and free pronouns, because the position of the pronoun was invariably after the verb. There are however isolated instances where pronouns have a full form, as opposed to a contracted form found in similar environments, and it is therefore possible to class these as free pronouns.

The mechanism by which free pronouns could express tense was the same in Bûrundji as in Guçu: initial Q- marked the present or neutral form, initial w- the past and g- the future.

a) The past

Only one distinctive full form of the past pronouns is recorded in S.A. Wurm's materials and that is the 1st person singular, where the bound pronoun -wudu in:

balga - wudu
hit - PERF 1 sg Tr
'I have beaten'

contrasts with the free pronoun wadu

balgu wadu
hit PERF PAST I ERG
'I have beaten'

For the bound form -wudu see IV.5.7.b.

b) The future

Apart from the bound forms quoted by Wurm (loc.cit.) there are also some full pronominal forms, which can be interpreted as free pronouns. They all involve the use of an initial g to mark the future:
There are a few clear instances in the Bårundji recordings where the emphasis is on the pronoun object and it is therefore this which is marked for tense:

\[ \eta \text{uma ga} \text{j}i - \text{ru} \quad \text{dadja} - \text{wa} - \text{da} \quad \text{gana} \]

\( \text{your dog} \quad \text{ERG} \quad \text{bite} \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{EMPH} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{ACC} \]

'Your dog will bite him'

The main difference between Bårundji and Guçu pronominal usage lay simply in the much more restricted use of free pronouns in Bårundji.

IV.5. BOUND FORMS OF THE PRONOUNS

IV.5.1. General comments on bound forms

Bound forms of pronouns fulfil a number of functions in Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bårundji, but are not used in Guçu. These functions are:

- **Personal pronouns**
  - 1. Person markers in verbs
  - 2. Possessive markers (fully discussed in III.5.)

- **Demonstratives**
  - 3. Bound forms of demonstratives to mark the ergative of nouns (fully discussed in III.2.5.)

In the bound forms of the personal pronouns the initial consonant is lost: in Southern Bāgandji this is always \( \eta \)- except in the third person dual and plural (IV.3.1.). The basic bound forms of personal pronouns are as follows:
The third person plural, like the corresponding free form is derived from the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, as is the dual -ūlu. The basic forms listed above are subject to certain morphophonemic changes (IV.5.3.) and morphological modifications (IV.5.9-11.).

IV.5.2. The combination of bound subject and object markers
a) The ordering of morphemes within the verbal word in Bāgandjī is fixed according to the following scheme:

\[
\text{verb} + \text{aspect} + \text{tense} + \text{subject} + \text{object}
\]

The bound pronoun subject thus always precedes the bound pronoun object, regardless of what persons are involved. The combination subject + object always remains analysable, the bound forms are simply those listed above, the only divergences being those discussed in IV.5.3-4. Practically all feasible combinations of subject and object occur in Bāgandjī. Not feasible are naturally those combinations in which subject and object are identical and where a reflexive transformation is the rule: a first person subject cannot occur with a first person object, nor a second person subject with a second
person object (Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1970:31). 'I shot me' and 'you shot you' is ungrammatical in Bāgandji as it is in English. Examples of subject-object combinations have been discussed in II.4.1.e-f., and the accentuation patterns involved are analysed in II.5.4.

The complete range of possibilities is listed here for the first person singular subject, but because of the regularity of the combinations only sporadic examples are given for other persons.

1 sg sub + 2 sg obj \( \text{waga-wagadūma} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waga-waga} & \quad \text{'d}u \quad \text{uma} \\
\text{strike} & \quad 1\text{ sg Tr} - 2\text{ sg obj} \\
'I\text{ strike you (with a weapon)}' & \quad (260)
\end{align*}
\]

1 sg sub + 3 sg obj \( \text{gabāduna} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gaba} & \quad \text{ad}u \quad \text{'na} \\
\text{follow} & \quad 1 \text{ sg Tr} - 3 \text{ sg obj} \; (261) \\
'I\text{ follow him}' & \quad (261)
\end{align*}
\]

1 sg sub + 2 dl obj \( \text{bamidjadūbana} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bami} & \quad \text{dj} \quad \text{ad}u \quad \text{ubana} \\
\text{see} & \quad \text{PAST} - 1\text{ sg Tr} - 2\text{ dl obj} \\
'I\text{ saw you two}' & \quad (262)
\end{align*}
\]

1 sg sub + 3 dl obj \( \text{dadaramaladūluna} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dadara} & \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{'d}u \quad \text{ūluna} \\
\text{flat} & \quad \text{Vb} \quad \text{TOP} - 1\text{ sg Tr} - 3\text{ dl obj} \\
'I\text{ lay them both out flat}' & \quad (263)
\end{align*}
\]

1 sg sub + 2 pl obj \( \text{gila gulbadūdana} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gulba} & \quad \text{'d}u \quad \text{udana} \\
\text{speak} & \quad 1\text{ sg Tr} - 2\text{ pl obj} \\
'I\text{ I'm not talking to you people}' & \quad (264)
\end{align*}
\]

1 sg sub + 3 pl obj \( \text{dalidiyadunga} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dalidi} & \quad \text{y} \quad \text{ad}u \quad \text{nga} \\
\text{hear} & \quad \text{GL} - 1\text{ sg Tr} - 3\text{ pl obj} \quad (265)
\end{align*}
\]

2 sg sub + 1 sg obj \( \text{daldinduyi} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{daldidi} & \quad \text{nd}u \quad \text{ayi} \\
\text{hear} & \quad 2\text{ sg Tr} - 1\text{ sg obj} \\
'\text{You listen to me!}' & \quad (266)
\end{align*}
\]
In Bandjigali and in Menindee talk this is: dalindāna

dalidi - 'nd' - āna
hear - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj

2 sg sub + 1 dl obj gila widu-widandalina

widu-wida - 'nd' - alina
stare - 2 sg Tr - 1 dl obj
'Don't stare at us two'

1 dl sub + 2 sg obj gila wandimalima

wandi - ma - ali - ma
want - Vb - 1 dl sub - 2 sub obj
'We two don't want you'

1 dl + 3 pl obj yaładalinga

yala - d - ali - nga
beat - FUT - 1 dl sub - 3 pl obj
'We two will defeat them'

2 dl sub + 1 sg obj gilaṯugadjubāyi

ṯuğa - dj - uba - ayi
give - PAST - 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj
'You two didn't give me anything'

3 dl sub + 3 dl obj gūngadjūlūluna

günja - dj - ūlu - ūluna
sool on - PAST - 3 dl sub - 3 dl obj
'They two (the two women) were sooling them two (dogs) on'

3 dl sub + 1 dl obj ḡandadulalinna

ganda - d - ūl' - alina
gossip - FUT - 3 dl sub - 1 dl obj
'The two of them will run us two down'

1 pl sub + 3 sg obj gabadjinana

gaba - dj - ina - na
follow - PAST - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj
'We followed him'
2 pl sub + 1 sg obj  \( \text{ŋūgadjuŋ\text{ā}yi} \)
\[
\text{ŋū} - \text{dj} - \text{ uda} - \text{ ayi} \\
give - \text{PAST} - 2 \text{ pl sub} - 1 \text{ sg obj} \\
'You people gave (it) to me' \text{(275)}
\]

The Bandjigali equivalent is \( \text{ŋūgadjuŋ\text{ā}na} \)
\[
\text{ŋū} - \text{dj} - \text{ ud}a - \text{ an}a \\
give - \text{PAST} - 2 \text{ pl sub} - 1 \text{ sg obj} \text{(276)}
\]

2 pl + 3 pl obj  \( mūmadud\text{ā}ng\text{a} \)
\[
\text{mū\text{ma}} - \text{ d} - \text{ ud}a - \text{ ng\text{a}} \\
pick up - \text{FUT} - 2 \text{ pl sub} - 3 \text{ pl obj} \\
'You people will pick them up' \text{(277)}
\]

3 pl sub + 1 sg obj  \( nīb\text{ayig\text{ā}yi} \)
\[
\text{nīb} - \text{ y} - \text{ ig} - \text{ ayi} \\
lay - \text{Gl} - 3 \text{ pl sub} - 1 \text{ sg obj} \\
'They put me down' \text{(278)}
\]

3 pl + 1 pl obj  \( g\text{īl}\text{a nabadīgin\text{ā}na} \)
\[
\text{naba} - \text{ d} - \text{ ig}' - \text{ in\text{ā}na} \\
llock up - \text{FUT} - 3 \text{ pl sub} - 1 \text{ pl obj} \\
'They (the police) won't lock us up' \text{(279)}
\]

From these examples it is clear that the cross-referencing subject-object combinations are readily analysable. For a full table incorporating the morphophonemic changes of complex pronouns see IV.5.5.

b) Marawara

The situation in Marawara was practically identical to Southern Bāgandji, as is evident from Tindale's text, for instance:
\[
\text{ila'naŋ\text{unj}} \quad \text{ŋok\text{adum}} \quad \text{'nog\text{u} (p.247)} \\
I-cannot-see-the-way to-give-to-you woman \text{(280)}
\]

This would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:
\[
g\text{īl\text{a naŋ\text{unj}a}  ņ\text{ug\text{ā}mu} \quad ( ņ\text{ū}ga - '\text{du} - \text{ uma}) \quad \text{ůn\text{g\text{u}}} \\
not how I-give-you ( give - I sg Tr - 2 sg obj ) woman
\]
IV.5.3. Morphophonemic changes involving bound pronouns in the present tense

Some processes of morphophonemic change form an integral part of the phonology of Bāgandji (crasis II.4.1.e. and accentuation II.5.4.). The special morphophonemic changes connected with possessive markers are discussed in III.5.5.; these possessives are identical in form with the bound pronoun object markers. But the morphophonemic changes involved in the affixation of the cross-referencing subject and object pronouns are so different and so much more complex than in the case of the possessives that they have to be discussed separately. A major difference lies in the use of the 'sandhi-consonants' -r- and -y- (here for simplicity called 'glides'), when two dissimilar vowels occur in the juncture between the verb-stem and the bound pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Subject and Object Pronouns</th>
<th>Possessives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-r- glide</td>
<td>widely used in similar phonetic environments hiatus prevails, and the -r- glide is unknown except for a rare option in the first person sg. (III.5.6.a.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y- glide</td>
<td>widely used before -iga a rare variant after stem-final -i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphophonemic changes of bound pronouns under discussion here are restricted to the present tense, as the past and future tense-markers are consonantal, and the perfect -ŋgu- involves separate rules (IV.5.6).

a) Main use of glide -r-

Glide -r- is used between a stem-final -i or -u and following bound subject and object markers:

\[
\text{bami} - r - \text{adu} \quad \text{(bamiradu)}
\]

\[
\text{see} - \text{Gl} - 1\text{sg Tr}
\]

'I see'

(282)

\[
\text{dingi} - r - \text{āba} \quad \text{(dingirāba)}
\]

\[
\text{riēse} - \text{Gl} - 1\text{sg Intr}
\]

'I get up'

(283)
wadu - r - iga (waduriga)  
*They take*  
(284)

daldi - r - iga (daldiriga)  
Hear - G1 - 3 pl sub  
*They hear*  
(285)

iduru bami - r - ubana (iduru bimirubana)  
This ERG see - G1 - 2 dl obj  
*He sees you two*  
(286)

bālgu - r - imba (bālgurimba)  
sound - G1 - 2 sg Intr  
*You are making a noise*  
(287)

Exceptions

i. A -y- glide can occur instead of the -r- glide after i- but this usage is rare, e.g.

bamiyadu (bami - y - adu) var.bamiradu  
*I see*  
(288)

ii. A -y- glide always occurs instead of an -r- glide when the verb-stem already contains an -r-;

bariyāba (bari - y - āba)  
*I am going*  
(289)

iii. In the case of verbs ending in -i there is no glide before the second person singular subject transitive and intransitive bound pronouns -indu and -imba and optionally before first person plural -ina: the two -i- sounds in the juncture amalgamate, as in gandindu 'you carry' (gandi - indu), barimba 'you go' (bari - imba), though in very deliberate speech bariimba has been heard.

iv. Three verbs ending in -i change this to -a before the 3rd person plural subject -iga, and so there is no glide -r- or -iy- (exception ii.):

bami - 'to see' bamayiga 'they see' not *bami-r-iga  
(290)

bari - 'to go' barayiga 'they go' not *bari-y-iga  
(291)

dayi - 'to eat' dayayiga 'they eat' not *dayi-r-iga  
(292)
b) Further use of glide -r-

In the case of verbs ending in -a an r-glide may be optionally and very rarely inserted before the first person plural subject -ina, as in:

\[ \text{oŋga - r - i}na \quad (\text{oŋgarina}) \]

'We sit'

(293)

\[ \text{oŋga - r - i}na \quad - \text{na} \quad (\text{oŋgarinana}) \]

give - 01 - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj

'We give (it) to him'

(294)

as opposed to the more common elision of the -a (see below)

\[ \text{oŋingina} \quad (\text{oŋiga-}) \]

'We sit' 'to sit'

(295)

c) Comments on the origin of the glide -r-

In Southern Bāgandji the glide -r- fulfils the function of a sandhi consonant: it prevents hiatus and its occurrence is to a large extent phonologically determined by the vocalic environment in the juncture. But it is also morphologically determined. Except for its isolated appearance with the first person possessive (III.5.6.a.) the glide -r- occurs exclusively in the present tense of verbs in the juncture between the verb stem and the pronoun subject or the participial marker; it is never found between the pronoun subject and object. Everything thus points to the glide -r- being originally a morphological feature that was retained in situations where it was phonetically expedient. As an originally morphological feature, and being used predominantly with a certain type of verb (the -i- and -u verbs) the Bāgandji -r glide forms an interesting link between what might appear two widely different kinds of -r-:

1. The wide-spread tense marker -ra distinguishes the present tense of transitive verbs in Arabana-Wanganuru, (and of all verbs in Yałuuyandi). -ra marks the future in the Ṣura languages which border on Bāgandji.

11. The conjugation marker -r- (Dixon 1977:206) is found, though only in a very small class of verbs, in the neighbouring Wanāybuwan-Niyambā language (Donaldson 1980).

Bāgandji is just outside the area in which there are distinct conjugations, and it is also just outside the area in which -r- may serve as tense-marker. But on account of the use made of the -r- glide in the present tense Bāgandji occupies an important intermediate position.
d) The \(-y\)-glide

The \(-y\)-glide occurs in the rare situations described above (a.i-ii). But its most common use is between a stem-final \(-a\) and the bound third person plural subject pronoun \(-iga\):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ŋ\text{-}\text{nga} - y - iga (ŋ\text{-}\text{ngayiga})} \\
\text{They sit down'} \\
\text{ŋ\text{-}\text{uga} - y - iga (ŋ\text{-}\text{ugayiga})} \\
\text{They give'}
\end{align*}\]

(296) (297)

For the pronunciation of \(-ayi\)- as [ai] see II.4.4.

As is evident from the rules given above for its occurrence, the \(-y\)-glide seems to fulfil mainly a phonetic function as a link between \(-i\)- and other vowels in the juncture between morphemes: there is thus no valid reason for associating it with the \(-y\)- conjugation of Waŋ\text{-}ybuwan-\text{ŋ}iyamb\text{a} and other conjugational languages.

e) Elision (involving simple bound pronouns)

e.1. Elision of stem-final vowels

Apart from the third person plural \(-iga\) all other bound pronouns beginning with \(-i\)- involve at least optional elision of stem-final \(-a\):

1. A stem final or participial \(-a\) is usually elided (for exceptions see section b above) before the first person plural bound subject and object pronouns:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{dayi\text{-}l\text{'-ina} < \*dayi - la - ina (dayilina)} \\
\text{eat - TOP - 1 pl sub} \\
\text{We eat'}
\end{align*}\]

(298)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{bami\text{-}n\text{'inana} < \*bami - na - inana (bamininana)} \\
\text{see - PTC - 1 pl obj} \\
\text{looking at us'}
\end{align*}\]

(299)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{gab\text{'-ina} < \*gaba - ina (gabina)} \\
\text{follow - 1 pl sub} \\
\text{We follow'}
\end{align*}\]

(300)

11. and generally before the second person singular intransitive subject \(-imba\):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ŋ\text{-}\text{nga\text{-}imba} < \*ŋ\text{-}\text{nga - imba (ŋ\text{-}\text{ngimba})}} \\
\text{sit - 2 sg Intr} \\
\text{You sit'}
\end{align*}\]

(301)
a rare variant is qĩngamba, with elision of the initial i- of the bound pronoun.

\[
\text{mũya}-l' \text{imba} < \text{*mũya} - la - \text{imba} \quad (\text{mũyalimba})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{angry} & - \text{TOP} - 2 \text{ sg Intr} \\
\text{var.mũyalamba}
\end{align*}
\]

'You are angry' \hspace{1cm} (302)

\[
\text{准g'-imba} < \text{*iga} - \text{imba} \quad (\text{T Gimba})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{swim} & - \text{2 sg Intr} \\
\text{var.ahumba}
\end{align*}
\]

'You are swimming' \hspace{1cm} (303)

iii. and before the second singular transitive subject -indu if a complex stem is involved:

\[
\text{gũri\text{-}b'-indu} < \text{*gũri} - \text{ba} - \text{indu} \quad (\text{gũribindu})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hide} & - \text{ASP} - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
\text{gũribindu}
\end{align*}
\]

'You hide (it)' \hspace{1cm} (304)

\[
\text{yuri\text{-}b'-indu} < \text{*yuri} - \text{ba} - \text{indu} \quad (\text{yuribindu})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hear} & - \text{ASP} - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
\text{yuribindu}
\end{align*}
\]

'You understand' \hspace{1cm} (305)

\[
\text{bami\text{-}l' \text{indu}} < \text{*bami} - \text{la} - \text{indu} \quad (\text{bamlindu})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{see} & - \text{TOP} - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
\text{bamlindu}
\end{align*}
\]

'You watch' \hspace{1cm} (306)

but not with a simple stem nor the verbaliser -ma: these involve elision of the initial i- of the bound pronoun:

\[
\text{wĩdja\text{-}ndu} < \text{*wĩdja} - \text{ndu} \quad (\text{wĩdjandu})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{drink} & - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
\text{wĩdjandu}
\end{align*}
\]

'You drink' \hspace{1cm} (307)

\[
\text{balga\text{-}ndu} < \text{*balga} - \text{ndu} \quad (\text{balgandu})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hit} & - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
\text{balgandu}
\end{align*}
\]

'You hit' \hspace{1cm} (308)

\[
\text{bana\text{-}ma\text{-}indu} < \text{*bana} - \text{ma} - \text{ndu} \quad (\text{banamandu})
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{make} & - \text{Vb} - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
\text{banamandu}
\end{align*}
\]

'You make' \hspace{1cm} (309)

e.2. Elision of initial vowel of bound pronouns

1. The initial -a- of the 3rd person object -ana is always elided after -i, and also if a long vowel occurs in the syllable preceding the juncture (see II.5.4.).
may drop their initial -a- in the presence of -i verbs when a bound pronoun object follows, as in:

muni - 'du - ana (muniduana)
tie - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj
'I tie him up'

instead of the more common

muni - r - adu - ana (muniraduana)
tie - Gl - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj
'I tie him up'

similarly

bami - 'dul' - ayi (bamidulayi)
see - 3 dl sub - 1 sg obj
'They two see me'

instead of the more usual

bami - r - adul - ayi (bamiradulayi)
see - Gl - 3 dl sub - 1 sg obj
'They two see me'

In the 3rd person singular this elision may even occur when no bound object follows, as in the intransitive verb bari- 'to go'

bari - 'du (baridu)
go - 3 sg sub
'He goes'

instead of the more usual

bari - y - adu (bariyadu)
go - Gl - 3 sg sub
'He goes'

f) Elision in compound pronouns

When final in a bound pronoun subject both -u and -a are elided before the 1st person plural object:

ganda-d-ulu'-inana < *ganda - d - ûlu - inana (gandaduluinana)
go3stp - Fut - 3 dl sub - 1 pl obj
'The two of them will run us people down'
Only -u is elided before the 1st person dual and singular object -alina and -āna, and optionally before the Pooncarie and Marawara 1st person sg object -ayi:

\[ \text{ganda-ub'-inan} \rightarrow \text{*ganda - uba - inana (gandaubinana)} \]
\[ \text{gossip - 2 dl sub - 1 pl obj} \]
\[ '\text{You two run us people down}' \] (for a+u see II.4.1.e. 317)

\[ \text{gīnda-d-ud'-inan} \rightarrow \text{*gīnda - d - uḍa - inana (gīndaduḍinana)} \]
\[ \text{laugh - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 pl obj} \]
\[ '\text{You people will laugh at us}' \] (318)

The many minor morphophonemic complexities and the free variants of the cross-referencing pronouns, coupled with their general transparency may be interpreted as a sign of the relatively recent origin: there has not yet been any general levelling, and no major analogical developments. This recent origin of the bound pronouns is not surprising if one considers that Southern Bāgandji is on the edge of the area in which bound pronouns are found, and the Guñu dialect did not have bound pronouns at all.
IV.5.4. Paradigms showing simple bound pronouns

The past and future tense markers consist of the consonants -dj and -d- respectively, and the bound subject pronouns simply follow the tense-marking consonant. Therefore only the past forms are listed, and then only for qînga- (Intr) and balga- (Tr), as all verbs are identical in the way the past and the future are formed. The following table, furthermore, gives the forms of the present tense of the -a, -i and -u verbs qînga- 'to sit', dîngi- 'to get up' and wabu- 'to come out'. The transitive verbs gaba- 'to follow', ñandji- 'to leave' and wadu- 'to take' have been given for the first and second person singular where they differ from the intransitive, and bami-la 'to look at' is quoted as a complex stem. The third person singular and dual have been included in the table, but the special modifications connected with them have been omitted (see IV.5.9.). Bandjigali and Bårundji forms have been listed only where they differ from Southern Bâgandji.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>-a VERBS</th>
<th>-i VERBS</th>
<th>-u VERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āngadjāba gabadjādu</td>
<td>āngāba gabādu bamlādu</td>
<td>āngirāba āndjīdu waburāba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>āngadjimba gabadjindu</td>
<td>āngimba gabandu bamlindu</td>
<td>āngimba āndjindu waburima wadurindu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>āngadju āngadjīdu</td>
<td>āngādu āngādu āngirādu āngirādu waburadu waburadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*wadudjudu āngadjīdu āngadjudu</td>
<td>*wadudjudu āngimba āngimba āngirādu āngirādu waburadu waburadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**āngadjudu āngadjudu</td>
<td>**āngadjudu āngadjudu āngiradu āngiradu āngiradu āngiradu waduradu waduradu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āngadjalī āngadjalī</td>
<td>āngālī āngālī āngirali āngirali waburalī waburalī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>āngadjudubu āngadjudubu</td>
<td>āngaubu āngaubu āngirubu āngirubu āngirubu āngirubu waburubu waburubu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>āngadjudu āngadjudu āngadjudu āngadjudu āngiru āngiru āngiru āngiru wadulū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**āngadjudulu āngadjudulu āngadjudulu āngadjudulu āngirudu āngirudu āngirudu āngirudu wadulū</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āngadjina āngadjina</td>
<td>āngina āngina āngina āngina waburina waburina</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>āngadjuḍa āngadjuḍa</td>
<td>āngauḍa āngauḍa āngiyuḍa āngiyuḍa āngiyuḍa āngiyuḍa waburuḍa waburuḍa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>āngadji āngadji āngayiga āngayiga āngiriga āngiriga āngiriga waburiga waburiga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>**āngadji āngadji āngadji āngadji āngidigā āngidigā āngidigā wabudigā wabudigā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Bārundji. **Bandjigali. Variants are bracketed together, the preferred form being given first.
### IV.5.5. Table of complex pronouns in Southern Bəgandji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sg D1 Pl</td>
<td>Sg D1 Pl</td>
<td>Sg D1 Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td>reflexive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>-adūma -adūbana -adūdana</td>
<td>-aduana -adūluna -adūnga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>-alima ? ?</td>
<td>-alina ? -alinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>( -induayi -indalina -indinana -indayi</td>
<td>-induana -indūluna -indunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>-ubuayi -ubōlina -ubinana</td>
<td>-ubana -ubuna -ubunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>-udayi -udōlina -udinana</td>
<td>-udāna -udūluna -udānga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Sg FUT (IV5.9)</td>
<td>-uruayi -uralina -urinana</td>
<td>-urūma -urūbana -urūdana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>D1 PRES PAST</td>
<td>-adulayi -adulalina -adulinana</td>
<td>-adulūma ? ? -adulunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>-igayi -igalina -iginana</td>
<td>-igāma ? -igausana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Note: The table represents complex pronouns in Southern Bəgandji, with categories for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd persons in singular (Sg), dual (D1), and plural (Pl) forms. The reflexive forms are included for each category.
A question-mark in table IV.5.5. indicates that the complex bound pronoun in question does not appear in the recently recorded material. The absence of some of the dual forms from the Bāgandji recordings is due to the tendency to substitute the plural for the dual within the verbal word (III.4.1.).

IV.5.6. Morphophonemic changes in the perfect tense in Southern Bāgandji

In most of the morphophonemic changes listed above the bound pronouns underwent relatively little alteration. But when the perfect marker -ŋgu is used the initial vowels of all bound pronouns undergo crisis (II.4.1.e–g.) or are lost altogether, including those that are otherwise never subject to change, such as -ali and -āba.

a) The final vowel u of the tense-marker -ŋgu combines with the initial a- of bound pronouns to form [5] (II.4.1.e.).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warganguōba [workangōpa] } & \quad 'I \text{ used to work'} \\
\text{warganguali [workangōli] } & \quad 'We two used to work' \\
\text{ŋimanguaba [ŋimangōpa] } & \quad 'I \text{ was lying down'} \\
\text{bana - la - ŋu - adu (banalanguadu [panalangōtu])} & \\
\text{make - TOP - PERF - 1'sg Tr} & \quad 'I \text{ used to make'}
\end{align*}
\]

b) Initial u- and i- of bound pronouns are elided after -ŋgu:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{banalanguandu < *bana - la - ŋu - indu} & \\
\text{make - TOP - PERF - 2' sg Tr} & \quad 'You \text{ used to make'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baringuga < *bati - ŋu - igu} & \\
\text{go - PERF - 3 pl sub} & \quad 'They \text{ were walking about'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wīdjanguđa < *wīdja - ŋu - uđa} & \\
\text{drink - PERF - 2 pl suo} & \quad 'You \text{ were drinking'}
\end{align*}
\]

c) Paradigm

The following is the paradigm of the perfect tense of the transitive verb baiki -la- 'to eat'. Forms of the intransitive verb bamba- 'to sleep' have been given where they differ from the transitive.
This paradigm is followed by all verbs, whatever their final vowel and regardless of whether they are simple or compound. Further examples to illustrate this are:

1. wandaŋguga (from wanda- 'to be ignorant')
   'They have never noticed' (330)

2. dingiŋgiŋguda (from dingi- 'to rise')
   'He has got up' (331)

3. müyamalanguadu (from müya-ma-la- 'to have a row')
   'They two had been having rows' (332)

For the special semantic values of the perfect see Ch. V.

IV.5.7. The -u perfect of Bărundjī

a) The perfect in complex verbs

From the Bărundjī materials made available by S.A. Wurm it appears that there was a perfect tense marker -u in Bărundjī (see Ch.V.). The morphophonemic processes involved in the affixation of the bound pronouns to this tense marker are similar but not identical to those that appear in the -ŋgu perfect of Southern Băgandjī. The main difference is that with complex verbs (i.e. verbs which consist of root + stem-forming affix) after the Bărundjī perfect tense marker -u the initial syllable (in 3 dl the initial syllable + d) of all bound pronouns is elided; there is thus no instance of -u[a][o]. Examples recorded by S.A. Wurm are from the following complex verbs, yaŋma-la- 'to break', gānga-la- 'to fall' and bari-ba- 'to come':
1 sg. Intr.  baribuba

*bari - b' - u - (wa)ba
go - ASP - PERF - PAST 1 sg Intr
'I have come'

3 sg. yanmaludu

*yana - l' - u - (wa)du
break - TOP - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub
'He has broken'

3 sg. ngaludu

*nya - l' - u - (wa)du
fall - TOP - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub
'He has fallen'

1 dl. baribuli

*bari - b' - u - (wa)li
go - ASP - PERF - PAST 1 dl sub
'We two have come'

3 dl. baribulu

*bari - b' - u - (wad)ulu
go - ASP - PERF - PAST 3 dl sub
'They two have come'

1 pl. baribuna

*bari - b' - u - (wi)na
go - ASP - PERF - PAST 1 pl sub
'We all have come'

3 pl. baribudiga

*bari - b' - u - (wi)diga
go - ASP - PERF - PAST 3 pl sub
'They have all come'

The analysis given here of the forms of the perfect has been corrected from the 1976 paper (Wurm and Hercus), where such forms were included with an example of the ordinary past tense.

bārayi - dj - idu (bārayidjdu)
hear - PAST - 1 sg Tr
'I heard'

The supposition that it was the initial of the PAST forms of the pronouns that underwent elision in the examples quoted above is confirmed by the presence of -w- in the perfect of simple verbs.
b) The perfect in simple verbs

Simple disyllabic and denominative verbs (Ch.V.) differ in the perfect from the verbs discussed above in all the examples that are available, but unfortunately these are confined to the singular. In all these examples the vowel -u- which is the perfect marker replaces the vowel of the bound pronoun:

*bami - u - wadu (bamiwudu)
see - PERF - PAST 1 sg Tr
'I have seen'

*bami - u - windu (bamiwundu)
see - PERF - 2 sg Tr
'You have seen'

*ñulj' - u - wadu (ñuljawudu)
wash - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub
'I have washed'

*dadj - u - wadu (dadjawudu)
bite - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub
'He has bitten'

In the third person there is an alternative with the optional transitive marking:

dadj' - u - waduru (dadjawuduru)
bite - PERF - PAST 3 sg Tr
'He has bitten'

An example of the perfect of a denominative verb is from bugamala-'to die':

buga - ma - l' - u - wadu (bugamalawudu)
dead - Vb - TOP - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub
'He has died'

The above analysis is confirmed by balgu wadu 'I have beaten' (255), where the free form of the pronoun is used.

c) Comments on the bound pronouns in the perfect of Bārundji verbs

It is not difficult to surmise some of the causes of the difference in development between the complex verbs on the one hand and the simple and denominative verbs on the other. In complex verbs the substitution of the perfect marker -u for the stem-final vowel and the elision of the initial syllable of the bound pronoun still left the
verbal root intact and clear: the complex verbs were so to speak cushioned by the aspect markers and other stem-forming affixes. In simple and denominative verbs this was not so: the elision of the first syllable of the bound pronoun was therefore impeded by 'preservative analogy' (to use the old term coined by Jespersen 1909:13). The characteristic Bārundji perfect 1st and 3rd person -udu was introduced on the pattern of the complex verbs, so we can postulate that:

\[
\text{balgawudu 'I have beaten'}
\]

was in fact based on the form with the free pronoun (255) balgu wadu.

IV.5.8. Bārundji bound pronouns in the future tense

In Southern Bāgandji the bound forms of the pronoun simply follow the future tense-marker -d- (IV.5.4.). In Bārundji the future can be expressed by the free future marked pronouns such as gadu (IV.4.3.b). As shown by S.A. Wurm (Wurm and Hercus 1976:43) when a bound form is used there is no distinction between the present and the future, as the initial consonant is lost in the bound form. Thus:

\[
\text{wagādu}
\]

may be equivalent to

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waga - gadu} \\
\text{chop - FUT 1 sg Tr} \\
'I will chop'
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{waga - gadu} \\
\text{chop - PRES 1 sg Tr} \\
'I am chopping'
\end{align*}
\]

In complex pronouns in Bārundji the whole of the first syllable of the subject pronoun is lost with the result that the same situation prevails and:

\[
\text{nūgadūma}
\]

may be equivalent to

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nūga - (g)adu - ķuma} \\
\text{give - FUT 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj} \\
'I will give (it) to you'
\end{align*}
\]

(The present or neutral form would be expected in the object pronoun [Wurm and Hercus 1976:40])
or

\[ \text{ŋūga} - (ŋ)adu - ŋuma \]
give - PRES 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj
'I am giving (it) to you'

In bound forms as opposed to free (IV.4.3.) loss of initial is thus the rule in the future of all Bārundji verbs, both simple and complex. An example of the future of a complex verb is:

\[ \text{balgandādu} \quad (350) \]

which was translated as:

\[ \text{balga} - \text{nda} - (ŋ)adu \]
kill - POT - FUT 3 sg sub
'He might be going to kill'

though it could also be:

\[ \text{balga} - \text{nda} - (ŋ)adu \]
kill - POT - PRES 3 sg sub
'He might kill'

The only exception, as shown by S.A. Wurm (loc. cit.) are verbs in which stem-final i is preceded by a non-geminating (II.2.1.) consonant. In these verbs the initial consonant of the pronoun is not dropped and the -i is lengthened

\[ \text{bari} - \text{gali} \quad (\text{barīgali}) \]
go - FUT 1 dl sub
'We two will go' \quad (351)

which is quite distinct from the present tense

\[ \text{bariyali} < \text{bari} - \text{y} - (ŋ)ali \]
go - Gl - PRES 1 dl sub
'We two are going' \quad (352)

For the significance of the partial syncretism of the present and future tenses see Ch.V.

IV.5.9. Special modifications of bound pronouns: the third person dual

Systematic morphophonemic changes are found in the bound pronouns in the perfect (IV.5.6.), all other tenses show uniformity with regard to bound pronouns as indicated by the paradigms (IV.5.4.). But the first and third person singular and the third person dual are subject to special allomorphic variations.
There are two different forms of the bound third person dual pronoun:
- _-adulú_ based on the free third person dual pronouns *ądulú, wadulú*
- _-ulú_ based on the demonstrative pronoun *gigulú*

These forms are in complementary distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound pronoun</th>
<th>Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>-adulú</em></td>
<td>In Bandjigali in all tenses, including the past: <em>mirä-miräajadulú</em> 'The two of them rolled their swags'. In Southern Bāgandjī in the future, present and perfect tenses: <em>bariyadulú</em> 'The two of them are going'. Does not occur in the past tense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-ulú</em></td>
<td>In Southern Bāgandjī in the past tense: <em>bariçulú</em> 'They went'. Not found in Bandjigali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-uluna</em></td>
<td>Is the only object form found in all tenses in both Southern Bāgandjī and Bandjigali.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The absence of the _-_adulú _type forms from the past in Southern Bāgandjī is connected with a similar situation in the 3rd person singular.

IV.5.10. Special modifications of bound pronouns: the third person singular

a) Allomorphs

There are six allomorphs of this bound pronoun:

- _-_adulú _}
  - _-_ulu _ }
  (Bārundjī)
  based on the free (both transitive and intransitive) subject pronoun _ądulú_
  (for possible elision of initial -a see IV.5.3.e.2.)

- _-_uru _}
  - _-_uru _ }
  based on the optional (exclusively transitive) subject form of the pronoun, _ądurú_

- _-_i _}
  based on the bound pronoun in the perfect (IV.5.7.)
b) Use of the allomorphs

-i is not strictly speaking a third person singular bound pronoun: it is the unmarked form of the past which is used as 'abstract' form and as implied third person singular (V.4.2.b.11.). Since the tense marker of the past is -dj-, a final -i has simply been added as supporting vowel, as all Bāgandjī words end in a vowel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{buga - ma - 1a - dji} & \quad (\text{winjiga bugamaladji}) \\
dead & \quad \text{Vb - TOP - PAST}
\end{align*}
\]

'Who died?' (353)

-u forms the third person singular of the past in Southern Bāgandjī:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{buga - ma - 1a - dj - u} & \quad (\text{bugamaladju}) \\
dead & \quad \text{Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

'He died' (354)

-u is the only true 3rd person singular subject marker in the past tense in Southern Bāgandjī, but -adu normally fulfills this function in Bandjigali:

Southern Bāgandjī:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋīnga - dj - u} & \quad (\text{ŋīngadju}) \\
sit & \quad \text{PAST - 3 sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

'He sat' (355)

Bandjigali:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋīnga - dj - adu} & \quad (\text{ŋīngadjadu}) \\
sit & \quad \text{PAST - 3 sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

'He sat' (356)

For a similar distinction between Southern Bāgandjī and Bandjigali in the third person dual see IV.5.9.

-ru is a third person subject marker that presents many problems. It fulfills the following functions:

1. It is used as third person transitive subject marker. It seems possible to analyse -ru as glide -r- + -u (i.e. the same -u as is found in the third person singular in the past tense). Thus

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bamiru} & \quad \text{may be analysed as bami - r - u} \\
\text{see} & \quad \text{GL - 3 sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

In support of this analysis is the fact that bamiru
and similar forms are in fact not identical in meaning with the present *bamiru*<sub>d</sub>, var. *bamiyadu* 'He sees'. *bamiru* and similar forms can best be described as a 'non-future': they express the present as well as the past tense. The use of the characteristic -u third person of the past is therefore understandable. Another point in favour of the analysis 'glide -r- + -u' is the fact that as a simple bound pronoun -ru occurs mainly after -i and -u where a glide -r- would be expected (IV.5.3.). In -a verbs the stem-final vowel is usually changed to -i before -ru. Thus:

\[
\text{gabiru (gaba- 'to follow')} \quad (357)
\]

is the normal non-future, while *gabaru* is much less common, though still acceptable to Bāgandji speakers. Although, as indicated above, we may analyse -ru as 'glide -r- + -u', the restriction of this affix to transitive verbs makes it likely that the ergative form of the third person pronoun (*nadju*)<sub>ru</sub> was also involved in the origin of this usage.

ii. When a bound pronoun follows, -ru is very widely used and the change of stem-final -a to -i does not normally take place, though it has been heard as a very rare variant. Like the simple -ru the complex pronoun -ru + object is not felt to be a variant of -adu, as it implies not just the present, but the non-future:

\[
\text{nandji - 'du - ana (nandjidua)}
\]

*leave* - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj

'He's leaving her (right now)' \quad (358)

but

\[
\text{nandji - ru - ana (nandjiruana)}
\]

*leave* - NF - 3 sg obj

'He's left her now (he might have just done so)' \quad (359)

\[
\text{gabo - adu - 'na (gabaduna)}
\]

*follow* - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj

'He's following him (right now or in the future)' \quad (360)

but

\[
\text{gabo - ru - ana (gabaruana)}
\]

*follow* - NF - 3 sg obj

'He's been following (might even have stopped doing so now)' \quad (361)

In this function the distinctly ergative significance of -ru < (*nadju*)<sub>ru</sub> is clear.
There is a third usage involving -ru and that is in the perfect, where -ŋgu -ru contrasts with the normal third person -ŋgu-adu. The contrast between the two forms is syntactic-semantic:

- ŋgu - adu (IV.5.6.) means that an action is now complete and no longer takes place.

- ŋgu - ru means that an action has been completed and has been a cause for further developments.

Examples are:

\[ \text{wimbadja manu dayi - la - ŋgu - adu} \]
\[ \text{black man food eat - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ 'He used to eat Aboriginal food' \]
\[ (362) \]

as opposed to

\[ \text{buga-buga dayi - la - ŋgu - ru buga - ma - la - dj - u} \]
\[ \text{rotten eat - TOP - PERF - NF dead - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ 'He died from eating stinking food' \]
\[ (363) \]

and

\[ \text{daldī - ŋgu - 'dū - ayi} \]
\[ \text{Hear - PERF - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj} \]
\[ 'He used to listen to me (but doesn't any more)' \]
\[ (364) \]

as opposed to

\[ \text{gila daldi - ŋgu - ru - ayi ŋadu gulba - ŋgu - ana} \]
\[ \text{not Listen - PERF - NF - 1 sg obj I ERG tell - PERF - 3 sg obj} \]
\[ \text{dinda buga - ma - la - dj - u} \]
\[ \text{then dead - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ 'He wouldn't listen to me when I was telling him (not to drink undiluted methylated spirits) and so he died' \]
\[ (365) \]

In this usage the original ergative function of -ru is visible: it is the third person agent, marked by -ru that brings about the 'subsequent developments'. This situation is of major syntactic significance as it involves subordination of the verb-phrase marked by -ru (Ch.VII).

-uru is used to mark the third person subject in the future tense, but only when a bound object follows (and on very rare occasions when a free object precedes as in VIII.2. line 1.), otherwise, in both transitive and intransitive verbs the ordinary third person subject marker -adu is used:
Basicall y here the dist inction be tw een -adu and -uru is that in the third person singular -uru marks the immediate transitivit y of the verb: i.e. it marks the transitive use of the verb within the verbal word.

-udu This allomorph shows the influence of the vocalism of the perfect tense (IV.5.7.). It occurs only in Bärundji and has been omitted from the following table. It is confined to the past tense and the perfect:

\begin{align*}
\text{wadu} & \quad - \quad \text{dj} \quad - \quad \text{udu} \quad (\text{wadudjudo}) \\
\text{take} & \quad - \quad \text{PAST} \quad - \quad 3 \quad \text{sg sub} \\
'& \quad \text{He took}'
\end{align*}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>-adu</th>
<th>-u</th>
<th>-ru</th>
<th>-uru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPHERE OF USE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-FUTURE</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>transitive verbs only, particularly common in complex pronouns</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>as single bound pronoun only</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>as complex bound pronoun only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>in Bandjigali only</td>
<td>+ but not in Bandjigali</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFECT</td>
<td>when causality not implied</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>when causality implied</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV.5.11. The first person singular bound pronoun

The first person singular has more morphological distinctions than the third, in that it has separate transitive/intransitive forms in all tenses (IV.5.1.). But there is only little allomorph variation, and then only in the past tense.

a) -Idu is the past tense allomorph of the first person singular transitive subject in Bärundjì only:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{barayi - djì - 'dù (bārayidjìdù)} \\
\text{hear - PAST - 1'sg Tr}
\end{align*}
\]

This allomorph is probably based on the influence of the final -djì of the unmarked past tense (IV.5.10.b).

b) In Southern Bāgandjì -u is the preferred first person transitive subject bound pronoun in the past tense, where the normal first person transitive of all other tenses, -adù is extremely rare:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bami - djì - u - ana (bamidjuana)} \\
\text{see - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj}
\end{align*}
\]

'I saw him' (374)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bami - djì - u - ubana (bamidjūbana)} \\
\text{see - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 2 dl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

'I saw you two' (375)

but also the unusual form

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bami - djì - adù - ubana (bamidjadùbana)} \\
\text{see - PAST - 1'sg Tr - 2 dl obj}
\end{align*}
\]

'I saw you two' (376)

This means that, except for the rare occurrence of -adù the transitive first person pronoun is identical to the third person subject, transitive and intransitive: in other words the situation in the bound pronouns of the past is exactly identical to that observed in the present bound pronouns and for that matter in the free pronouns (IV.3.1.) where there is identity between the transitive forms of the first person subject and the third person. This can be illustrated by the following diagram:
IV.5.12. Comments on the formal diversity of bound pronouns

It has been pointed out long ago by Greenberg (1966:27ff) as a language universal that there can be more formal distinctions in the singular than in the dual and plural; this is furthermore borne out in the system of hierarchies described by Silverstein (1976). This greater diversity of the singular is clearly illustrated by the situation in Southern Bāgandji pronouns, bound and free:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System 1</th>
<th>System 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st and 2nd Person Sg</td>
<td>1st and 2nd Person Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORM</td>
<td>FUNCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Intransitive Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Transitive Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Transitive Object</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third person singular free pronouns may optionally belong to either system (IV.3.1.). The third person singular bound pronoun is of particular interest in this respect; as is shown by the table (IV.5.10.d.) there is evidence of system 1: the three-fold distinction in the third person singular of Present-Non-Future, the Future and the Perfect, but not in the Past tense. The Past tense also stands on its own in that the first person transitive subject, which is the same as the third person subject Past allomorph (IV.5.11.), -u, is an
abbreviated version of the personal subject bound subject used in other
tenses. The reasons for this difference in the past tense are not
clear: the separate allomorph may be due to the fact that these two
bound pronoun forms, the first and third person singular of the Past,
are quite particularly common, because the past is the ordinary tense
of any narrative. Contrary to what has been observed by R.M.W. Dixon
for Yidin (1977:118), Southern Bāgandji does not have a 'first person
orientation' in fact it goes further than most Australian languages in
having what might be called a 'third person orientation'. Southern
Bāgandji narratives are usually in the third person, and even when the
protagonists in the stories speak, their comments are often in the
third person, as for instance: 'Who stole the Big Fish (i.e. the one
that I had nurtured for so long), who has stolen it?' and in Tindale's
text (1939:251) 'This relative this man has done to death his sister's
son (i.e. the speaker's own son)'. This third person orientation may
be at least to some extent responsible for the allomorphic diversity of
the bound third person pronoun.

IV.5.13. 'Affix-transferring'

In sentences other than equational sentences (III.1.2.) the bound
personal pronouns in Southern Bāgandji are normally attached to the
verb, as shown throughout IV.5.1-11., this affixation takes place
regardless of what position the verb occupies within the sentence.
The only major exception is: when an interrogative adverb begins a
sentence the bound personal pronouns are attached to that adverb.
As pointed out by Donaldson (1980) the term 'affix-transferring' is
not strictly speaking accurate when used to describe those situations
in which the bound pronouns are affixed to interrogative adverbs. It
can be shown within the Bāgandji dialects that the person markers were
not 'transferred' away from the verb. There was simply parallel
evolution: interrogative adverbs attracted the bound pronouns, as did
the verb. The Bāgandji dialects suggest the following stages in the
evolution of pronoun affixation:

A Interrogative + Free Pronoun, Verb + Free Pronoun
B Interrogative + Free Pronoun, Verb + Bound Pronoun
C Interrogative + Bound Pronoun, Verb + Bound Pronoun

In the Bāgandji dialects all three stages of this development may be
seen.
Stage A is illustrated by Guçu, where, normally, bound pronouns do not occur, but the preferred position of the free pronouns is always

Verb + Free Pronoun

except when an interrogative adverb is used, in which case it is

Interrogative adverb + Free Pronoun

Examples of Guçu usage are:

\[ \text{bur idjìri daŋi gâba} \]
\[ \text{far away go PUT I Intr} \]
\[ 'I'll go far away' \] (377)

\[ \text{ñoŋga ŋadu bámî - la} \]
\[ \text{sit he' look - OPT} \]
\[ 'He's sitting watching' \] (378)

but when an interrogative begins the sentence:

\[ \text{mina ŋindu wîda - ana} \]
\[ \text{what you Tr stare - PTC} \]
\[ 'What are you staring at?' \] (379)

In Guçu therefore the free pronoun occupies exactly the same position as that held by the bound pronoun in Southern Bâgandji.

Stage B is illustrated by Bârundji where bound pronouns are affixed to the verb except when an interrogative adverb is used as the head-word, in which case the free pronoun follows the interrogative. This is clearly illustrated by S.A. Wurm's recordings, e.g.:

\[ \text{mina - mandi [ŋîmba] bari - b' - u waŋaga} \]
\[ \text{what - PURP you NOM go - ASP - PERF PAST here} \]
\[ 'Why did you come here?' \] (380)

to which the answer is:

\[ \text{dîlburu - mandi bari - b' - u - } \]
\[ \text{water - PURP go - ASP - PERF - 'ba} \]
\[ \text{1 sg Intr} \]
\[ 'I came for water' \] (381)

and:

\[ \text{mina - mandi [ŋuba] bari - b' - u} \]
\[ \text{what - PURP you dl sub go - ASP - PERF} \]
\[ 'Why did you two come?' \] (382)

to which the answer is:
The Bārundjī evidence indicates that the special positioning of the pronoun subject in interrogative sentences is of primary importance, since it supercedes the rule that positions the pronoun subject after the verb (IV.5.2.). But the verb has greater powers of incorporation than the interrogatives, it is therefore associated with the enclitic bound form of the pronouns. Southern Bāgdjī illustrates stage C: free subject pronouns follow the interrogative only rarely, and are emphatic (IV.5.14.).

Normally bound pronouns are affixed to the interrogatives, as in:

\[ \text{ndunja} \quad \boxed{\text{quba}} \quad \text{bilga} \quad \text{djī} \]

\[ ' \text{How did you two get down?}' \]  

and:

\[ \text{nandar'} \quad \boxed{\text{imba}} \quad \text{bāri} \quad \text{djī} \]

\[ ' \text{How often did you go?}' \]

The same situation is found only very rarely with demonstrative adverbs, if they form the main topic, but the bound form is repeated with the verb:

\[ \text{ināna} \quad \boxed{\text{āba}} \quad \text{nīnga} \quad \text{āba} \]

\[ ' \text{I'm staying right here!}' \]
BUT
Occasionally though rarely there are exceptions, and the bound form is affixed to the verb only, even when an interrogative is used:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{windjara}\ \text{nīng} \\
\text{where}\ \text{sit} \\
\text{imba} \\
\text{2 sg Intr}
\end{array}
\]

'Where are you staying?' (388)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{naŋunja}\ \text{wadu - dj} \\
\text{how}\ \text{get}\ \text{PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

'How did you get (it),'# (389)

Of particular interest are the cases where both a bound subject and a bound object are involved: in Southern Bāgandji usage the subject is then affixed to the interrogative and the object to the verb:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{naŋunj}' \\
\text{how} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{wadu - dj} \\
\text{get}\ \text{PAST} \\
\end{array}
\]

'How did you get it?' (390)

The positioning of the object pronoun after the verb in these circumstances is due to the basic preferred word-order of Bāgandji which is S-V-O when free pronouns or nominals are used (Ch.VII).

In a number of Australian languages, including some of the Western Desert group, the bound pronouns are affixed to the head-word of a sentence and are not of necessity affixed to the verb. This situation prevails over a large area to the south-east of Bāgandji, in some Kulin languages, particularly Wembawemba, in Waŋgaybuwan-Ŋiyambā, Wiradjuri, and the languages of the South Coast of N.S.W. Bāgandji like the neighbouring extreme north-western Kulin language Madimadi is outside the area that shares this important syntactic feature.

Bāgandji usage with regard to interrogative adverbs, as outlined above, is however an indication that Bāgandji was just marginally and to a limited extent influenced by developments in this 'south-eastern linguistic area'.

IV.5.14. Use of the bound and free forms of subject and object pronouns

As discussed in earlier sections (IV.5.1.ff.) bound personal pronouns are not normally used in Guϕu: in Southern Bāgandji however the bound forms occur in UNMARKED discourse contexts, while the free forms occur in MARKED discourse contexts (Given 1976).
a) Subject pronouns

Because of the preferred word-order S-V-O the free subject pronoun is usually initial in a sentence, and it is used in preference to the bound form to signal topicality: the various grades of markedness and of emphasis on topicality are shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>DISCOURSE CONTEXT IN WHICH USED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bound pronoun subject</td>
<td>Gunu unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun subject</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun subject + emphatic clitic</td>
<td>marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun subject AND bound pronoun subject</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of Southern Bāgandji usage are:

1. More marked

   qadu balga - djī - na
   I ERG hit - PAST - 3 sg obj
   'I hit him' (391)

   qindu gulba - dj - ayi
   you ERG tell - PAST - 1 sg obj
   'You told me' (392)

11. Highly marked

   qadu - wa yungāgu yaga - djī - na
   I ERG - EMPH alone break - PAST - 3 sg obj
   'I broke it all on my own' (393)

   qindu - wa - ġa ganma - dj - ayi
   you sg ERG - EMPH - EMPH steal - PAST - 1 sg obj
   'You stole (it) from me' (394)
111. Most marked

\[ \text{ŋubu - wa dayi - l' - d - ubu} \]
\[ \text{you 1 pl NOM - EMPH eat - TOP - FUT - 2 pl sub} \]
\[ 'You two are the ones that are going to eat (it)' \] (395)

\[ \text{ŋali damba - d - ali} \]
\[ \text{we 2 pl NOM dig - FUT - 1 pl sub} \]
\[ 'We two are the ones that are going to dig' \] (396)

b) Object pronouns

In the case of the object pronouns some degree of topicality is derived from the unusual initial position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORM</th>
<th>DISCOURSE CONTEXT IN WHICH USED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bound pronoun object</td>
<td>Guŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun object</td>
<td>Southern Bāgandji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun object in initial position</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free pronoun object AND bound pronoun object</td>
<td>more marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>highly marked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>most marked</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples are:

1. More marked

\[ \text{wingunja - adu ŋāna} \]
\[ \text{turn - 3 sg sub me ACC} \]
\[ 'He turns me round (to look at something)' \] (397)

11. Highly marked

\[ \text{ŋayi bami - 'ndu} \]
\[ \text{me ACC see - 2 sg Tr} \]
\[ 'Look at me!' \] (398)

\[ \text{ŋayi yungagu winba - yiga} \]
\[ \text{me only blame - 3 pl sub} \]
\[ 'They blame only me' \] (399)
111. Most marked

\[ \text{ŋayi ŋaba - dj - lga - ayi} \]
\[ \text{me ACC look up - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj} \]
\[ 'It was me they locked up' \]

In the case of the object pronouns the varying degrees of topicalisation do not involve the use of emphatic clitics; this differs from the situation with subject pronouns, where clitics fulfil an important function. It is not surprising in view of the 'economy of language' (Martinet 1972) that emphatic clitics have scarcely ever been heard with free pronoun object forms in Southern Bāgandji.

c) Amplification paraphrase

1. The third person bound pronoun is often used even when the noun to which it refers appears in the same sentence: the most common circumstance under which this occurs is when the noun is added as an afterthought amplification as in:

\[ \text{windjiga wadu - dji - na baŋdu gumbadja} \]
\[ \text{who take - PAST - 3 sg obj cod big} \]
\[ 'Who took it, that big cod?' \]

and in the examples quoted in III.2.3.

11. In a similar fashion, free pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons may appear in an emphatic afterthought phrase, when the corresponding bound form has already occurred:

\[ \text{yala - d - ali - nga qali - wa} \]
\[ \text{defeat - FUT - 1 dl sub - 3 pl obj we two NOM - EMPH} \]
\[ 'We two will beat them (at bingo), we will' \]

\[ \text{warg a - ngu - uba ŋuba - wa} \]
\[ \text{work - PERF - 2 dl sub you two NOM - EMPH} \]
\[ 'You were (actually) working, you two!' \]

This is one of the most common situations where a free pronoun is used to 'supplement' as it were the bound pronoun, which represents ordinary non-emphatic usage in Southern Bāgandji.
IV.5.15. Bound forms of personal pronouns affixed to non-verbs: 'verbless sentences'

a) Morphological comments

As indicated in III.1.2. bound person markers are affixed to nominals and to pronominal adverbs to form verbless sentences. But in these circumstances the link between the bound pronouns and the preceding morpheme is much looser than with verbs, and little morphological change takes place. Only the following two rules apply:

1. Hiatus prevails between two vowels in the junction between non-verbs and bound pronouns except that:
   - the bound third person singular -adu and 3rd dual -adulu lose initial a after stem-final -i and -u;
   - stem-final -a is elided before the bound morphemes that begin with i-, namely the second person singular -imba and the first person plural -ina.

11. The third person plural differs from that used with verbs in Southern Bagandji. It is -ðiða (usual in Barundji and Bandjigali), a more conservative form than the usual Southern Bagandji -ïgien < gïgien.

These rules are illustrated by the examples given in section (b).

b) Syntactic comments: the verbless sentence

In many Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1972:71, 1977:271) as well as in many other parts of the world (Hopper 1968) there is no verb 'to be'. In English the verb 'to be' has a dual function:

i. as an existential verb

ii. as a copula

In the area around the Darling River Basin the following situation prevailed: languages to the east and south-east of Bagandji, Wanbunyan-Miyambá, Wiradjuri and Wembawumba have a verb 'to be' (Donaldson 1980, Hercus 1969). Languages much further to the west, such as Arabana-Wongauru have no verb to serve as copula, but use 'to sit' and 'to lie' as existential verbs; this is also a fairly widespread situation in other Australian languages. Such verbs have a twofold function:

i. they convey the idea of existence, or act as copula

ii. they carry the suffixes that mark the tense of the sentence
In Southern Bāgandjī equational and existential sentences are verbless. But when there is a need to convey a marked tense such as the past or the future, the verb ḍīŋa- 'to sit' acts as a 'dummy' verb, simply to carry tense-marking suffixes, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bana ḍīŋa-} & \quad \text{dū} \quad \text{wagadja-} \quad \text{ayi} \\
\text{doctor sit} & \quad \text{PAST this uncle} \quad \text{1 sg POS}
\end{align*}
\]

'My uncle was a witch-doctor' (404)

(Bandjīgālī)

In Guṇu where tense is usually conveyed by pronouns, no such 'dummy' verb is ever used and all existential and equational sentences are verbless. In all Bāgandjī dialects the minimal verbless sentence may consist of a single noun-phrase, as shown by Dixon for Djirbal (1972:71). The feature that characterises Bāgandjī in particular is the prevalence of the use of PERSONAL PRONOUNS in the verbless sentence: nouns, adjectives and pronominal adverbs resemble verbs in Bāgandjī, since in conjunction with personal pronouns they can form minimal sentences. This has been illustrated in III.1.2. A minimal sentence in Bāgandjī must consist of:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{noun} & \quad \text{+ pronoun, usually in its bound form} \\
\text{adjective} & \quad \text{in Southern Bāgandjī} \\
\text{pronominal adverb}
\end{align*}
\]

Further examples of this usage are:

Noun

\[
\begin{align*}
gīla \text{ wīmbadja} & \quad \text{n' gāndara} \quad \text{adu} \\
\text{not man} & \quad \text{GEN blood} \quad \text{3 sg sub} \\
\text{dālda} & \quad \text{n' gāndara} \quad \text{adu} \\quad \text{Iroo} \quad \text{GEN blood} \quad \text{3 sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

'It's not human blood it's kangaroo blood' (405)

Adjective

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋūngi} & \quad \text{du} \\
\text{ripe} & \quad \text{3 sg sub}
\end{align*}
\]

'It's ripe' (406)

\[
\begin{align*}
dūlaga & \quad \text{dīga} \\
\text{bad} & \quad \text{3 pl sub}
\end{align*}
\]

'They are bad' (407)
This also includes descriptive noun-phrases and adjectives formed with the 'having' suffix:

Guçu example, showing tense in the pronoun:

\[
\text{yali mangu waba} \\
\text{open arm  PAST I} \\
'I had my arms spread out'
\] (408)

Southern Bâgandji:

\[
\text{náda dadu-bádi - dja - 'du} \\
\text{nothing brain  - having  3\text{-sg sub}} \\
'He has no brains'
\] (409)

Also included are some ablative forms:

\[
\text{gândinja - ndu - adu} \\
\text{old  - ABL  3\text{-sg sub}} \\
'She's ancient'
\] (410)

Pronominal adverb

\[
\text{inaraba (inara - aba)} \\
\text{here  - 1\text{-sg Intr}} \\
'I'm here'
\] (411)

\[
\text{windjar' - imba} \\
\text{where  - 2\text{-sg Intr}} \\
'Where are you?'
\] (412)

The only permissible verbless sentences without personal pronouns are:

1. Pronominal adverb or pronoun + noun,
   [or demonstrative pronoun (414)]

\[
\text{windjara  nga} \\
\text{where  mother} \\
'Where is (my) mother?'
\] (413)

\[
\text{igi} \\
\text{du} \\
\text{this here  snake} \\
'There's a snake here!'
\] (414)
11. Noun + NP (consisting of adjective + noun + possessive affix)
or simply NP (consisting of adjective + noun + possessive affix):

\[ \text{ṣadji yaldì bāñba - na} \]
serpent long neck - 3 sg POS

'The water-snake has a long neck'

\[ \text{nūŋgu buga maļi - na} \]
woman dead husband - 3 sg POS

'The woman is a widow'

\[ \text{buga maļi - na} \]
dead husband - 3 sg POS

'She's a widow'

The use of the bound pronouns in verbless sentences in Southern Bāgandjī, and the corresponding construction with free pronouns in Gunu represents one of the most striking features of Bāgandjī grammar.

c) Semantic comments

As has been pointed out by Lyons (1969:389) copulative sentences may be of three kinds, and this classification may also be applied to Bāgandjī:

1. identifying or equative this usually involves a nominal complement as in (16)/(405)

2. attributive this mostly involves complements consisting of adjectives (406-7) or descriptive noun-phrases, (408-9) and (415-7), including nouns in the ablative case (410)

3. locational this normally entails the use of a pronominal adverb (413-4)

The semantic content of verbless sentences does not present any unexpected features; it is the use of the personal pronouns that is noteworthy in such sentences in Bāgandjī.
IV.6. INTERROGATIVE (AND INDEFINITE) PRONOUNS

IV.6.1.a. 'Who?' in Southern Bágandji

The interrogative pronoun windjiga 'who' like other pronouns follows
the nominative-accusative system; there is no ergative distinction.
The nominative singular windjiga 'who' is therefore used regardless of
whether the verb is transitive or not. All interrogatives are
invariably sentence-initial:

windjiga - wa - da nĩnga - ana
who NOM - EMPH - EMPH sit - PTC
'Who is sitting there?' (418)

windjiga wadu - dji - na
who NOM take - PAST - 3 sg obj
'Who took it?' (419)

There is also a short form windji which is used as a variant of
windjiga in verbless sentences:

windjiga (g)ɪdu
windji (g)ɪdu 'Who is this?' (420)

Other case-forms are:

windjiga -na Accusative and Genitive
windjiga -mandi Purposive
windjiga - umbula Comitative

as in:

windjiga - na nũga - 'ndu
who - ACC give - 2 sg Tr
'Whom are you giving it to?' (421)

windjiga - na mûrba ŋimba
who - GEN child you
'Whose child (are) you?' (422)

windjiga - na gali
who - GEN dog
'Whose dog (is) this?' (423)

windjiga - mandi bana - mi - ru
who - PURP make - Vb - NF
'Whom did he make it for?' (424)
IV.6.1.b. 'Who?' in other Bāgandji dialects

The Bandjigali and Gūnu interrogative pronouns that were recorded were the same as Southern Bāgandji. In Bārundji however the second syllable was lengthened and windjīga is used in S.A. Wurm's materials:

windjīga gaŋma - ana yara-yara - ayi
who steal - PTC things - 1 sg POS

'Who is stealing my things?' (425)

IV.6.1.c. Number in interrogatives

Distinction of number is important in pronominal declension (III.4.1.), but the interrogatives on account of their indeterminacy tend to be an exception to this, as can be seen for instance in Waŋybuwan-Ndambą (Donaldson 1980). R.H. Mathews (1902:156) lists a dual form 'windyulu' and a plural 'windyi-windyi' for Gūnu, but neither of these have been heard in the recent Gūnu recordings; a plural was expressed once, but then only by the addition of a personal pronoun:

windjīga wadi balga idana
who PAST they hit him

'Who (pl.) hit him?' (426)

The plural 'windyi-windyi' quoted by Mathews appears to be simply a reduplication of the variant nominative windji found in Southern Bāgandji.

In Southern Bāgandji number marking for interrogative seems to be restricted to the rarest occasions, in fact only one instance was heard. This involved the nominal plural marker -ugu, cross-referenced by a plural bound pronoun:

windjī - ugu wadu - dj - iga - ayi
who - pl take - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj

'Who took it away from me?' (427)

As a general rule windjīga 'who' may convey any number. If it is the subject of a sentence windjīga may be topicalised by the use of a bound pronoun with the verb; this bound form is always in the singular, as in the Bandjigali sentence:

windjīga balga - dj - adu - uma
who hit - PAST - 3 sg sub - 2 sg obj

'Who hit you?' (428)
IV.6.2. 'Which?' and 'Where?'

The interrogative adverb windja, windjara 'where' has an adverbially used allative case form windja-mari, Gujù windja-mi, 'whither', and an ablative windjandu 'whence'. But windja also functions as an interrogative adjective 'which', with a non-human referent:

windja - 'du nTgi - na
which - 3 sg sub  name - 3 sg POS
'What's his name?' (429)

windja - ndu gīra - ndu bari - nga - dji
which - ABL country - ABL come - ASP - PAST
'What country did he come from?' (430)

and even with the function of 'what':

gila daldi - 1' - dj - āba windja - ndu buga - la - dji
not  hear - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr what - ABL die - TOP - PAST
'I never heard what he died from' (431)

The use of the same pronominal base for 'where' and 'which' is also found in the neighbouring Waqāybuwan-Niyambā language, but is uncommon elsewhere.

IV.6.3. 'What?' and 'How many?'

a) 'what?' is rendered in Bāgandji by miña, which is found as an interrogative pronoun over a large part of Australia (Schmidt 1919). Throughout the Bāgandji dialects miña does not show any kind of inflection in the nuclear cases: this may be accounted for by the inherent vagueness of the concepts expressed by miña.

Examples are:

miña igi
what  this
'What (is) this here?' (432)

mi'n' - indu ganda - ana
what - 2 sg Tr carry - PTC
'What are you carrying?' (433)

Other case forms are:
mina-na Instrumental
mina-mandi Purposive

as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mina-na bana-mi-ru} & \quad \text{what-INST make-Vb-NF} \\
& \quad \text{'What did he make it with?'} \\
\text{mina-mandi nimba bari-b-u} & \quad \text{what-PURP you NOM go-ASP-PERF} \\
& \quad \text{'What did you come for?'}
\end{align*}
\]

(434) (435)

b) nandara 'how many' never occurs with case-marking affixes. Regardless of whether it is used adjectivally in conjunction with a noun or not, there is no nominative-accusative distinction:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nandara wimbargu ama} & \quad \text{How many children - 2 sg POS} \\
& \quad \text{'How many children have you?' (lit. are belonging to you)}
\end{align*}
\]

(436)

There are also no instances of the use of any peripheral cases: nandara occurs in only a very limited set of syntactic environments and always refers to the topic of a sentence.

The only bound forms that are affixed to nandara are the 'transferring' bound pronouns (IV.5.12.) as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nandar' - indu wijdja - dji} & \quad \text{How many - 2 sg Tr drink - PAST} \\
& \quad \text{'How many (bottles) did you drink?'}
\end{align*}
\]

(438)

c) Summary of case marking

It is possible to establish a hierarchy of possibilities of case distinctions in interrogative pronouns:

- NOM-ACC distinction, some peripheral cases windjiga
- no nuclear case-distinctions, but some peripheral cases mina
- no nuclear case-distinction and not used where peripheral case marking would apply nandara
IV.6.4. 'Indefinites'

As pointed out by Dixon (1977:183) in Australian languages interrogatives may also convey an 'indefinite' meaning. Bāgandjī is no exception to this. There are two types of usage involved:

a) an interrogative pronoun functions as an indefinite when it forms part of a sentencial complement, as in (431) and (395) as well as:

\[
\text{gila bami - dj - adu} \quad \text{windjiga waga - dji gina yara} \\
\text{not see - PAST - 1'sg Tr who cut - PAST this tree}
\]

sentencial complement

'I did not see who chopped down that tree'

(439)

b) an interrogative, when repeated, always conveys an indefinite meaning, particularly common is mina-mina 'something or other'. Both types of usage are combined in:

\[
\text{gila yuri - wa - yiga - ayi , mina - mina yawara} \\
\text{not hear - ASP - 3pl sub - 1sg obj, what - what word} \\
\text{ñadu gulba - ra - na - ama} \\
I \text{ FKO speak - TOP - PTC - 2sg obj}
\]

'They don't understand me whatever words (in Bāgandjī) 
I may be saying to you'

(440)

Apart from the two types of usage quoted, there are no other circumstances in which the interrogatives may function as indefinites in Bāgandjī.

IV.7. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS

IV.7.1. General comments

Pronominal adverbs are closely linked in form and in meaning with demonstrative pronouns or interrogative-indefinite pronouns. They form a distinct class of words (III.1.1.) and in Bāgandjī they have an additional characteristic not shared by other adverbs: they can form minimal sentences in conjunction with bound or free personal pronouns (IV.5.14.). The majority of pronominal adverbs are locational.
IV.7.2. Locational pronominal adverbs

These adverbs may be either
   a) locative, indicating position at rest – or –
   b) directional, indicating direction towards or away from

a) Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs in Bāgandjī are usually formed by the addition of the suffix -ra to the pronominal base. The affix -ra is restricted to this particular derivative function: it is not used elsewhere in the morphological system of Bāgandjī. Similar pronominal locative adverbs are found over a wide area of Australia, particularly in the centre, as for instance in Arabana indjara 'where?'.

A very commonly used expression in Bāgandjī is idara-wadara 'here and there'.

b) Directional adverbs

'Direction towards' is indicated by the affix -mārī, Bārundjī and Guṇu -mīrī. In Southern Bāgandjī and Bārundjī this affix is only found with pronominal bases; in Guṇu however it also serves as the normal allative case marker with nouns (III.3.1.).

c) The affix -ga.

gānaga, inaga, wadaga and yāmagā are formed with the affix -ga which usually conveys location, but can also convey a directional meaning, as in the case of gānaga 'in this direction'. -ga is common in non-pronominal adverbs of place, such as malōga 'on the other side (of the river)' and mirīga 'in front' (III.7.4.).

d) Irregular pronominal adverbs

yāmagā and yāmārī are isolated forms in that they do not correspond to any demonstrative pronoun in Bāgandjī. There is one instance in Marawara of what is probably a related locative adverb 'jarau' (Tindale 1939:252). It is left untranslated by Tindale, but it is highly likely that is means 'here'.

yuramārī is based on an unattested locative *yura, but is ultimately connected with the pronoun yuna 'that'.

e) Elative adverbs

The directional adverbs meaning 'out of', 'away from' are identical with the ablative forms of the corresponding pronouns.
### IV.7.3. Table of pronominal adverbs (locational and directional)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>LOCATIVE ADVERB</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
<th>DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(g) tígi</td>
<td>'this right here'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(g) tígamaři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) ídu</td>
<td>'this right here'</td>
<td>(g) ídara</td>
<td>'here'</td>
<td>(g) ídamaři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaña</td>
<td>'this around here'</td>
<td>{gañara, gañaga}</td>
<td>'round here'</td>
<td>gañaga, gañandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) ína</td>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>(g) ínara, (g) ínaga</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>(g) ínamari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadu</td>
<td>'he, that one'</td>
<td>{wadara, wadaga}</td>
<td>'over there'</td>
<td>wadamaři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>windja</td>
<td>'which?'</td>
<td>{windja, windjara}</td>
<td>'where?'</td>
<td>windjamaři</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuna</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[yuramaři]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[yámaga]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Irregular forms:

- 'irregular' forms
IV.7.4. Other pronominal adverbs

a) Time

Most adverbs referring to time do not have a pronominal basis; ill 'now' is usually a clitic and is therefore discussed in VI.1.4.b. There is, however, one locational adverb which can be used for time and that is windja (but never the variant windjar) 'where', 'when'. windjandu which corresponds to the pronominal ablative can mean 'since when', but there is no clear recorded instance of windjamar 'whither' having the temporal meaning 'till when?'. This situation in Bāgandji is in contrast with the Kulin languages (Hercus 1969) which have a full range of locational-temporal pronominal adverbs.

b) Manner

There are only two adverbs of manner that have a pronominal basis; these, as is to be expected, include the interrogative:

1. naŋjuna 'how' (like nandra 'how many' IV.6.3.b.) is cognate with the widespread interrogative base naŋ- (found in the Kulin languages, Hercus 1969:486) which in turn is probably derived by metathesis from the Common Australian interrogative base naŋa- (discussed by Schmidt 1919). naŋjuna is very frequently used in conjunction with bound personal pronouns (IV.5.12).

2. yununa is connected with the pronoun yuna 'that', and conveys the meaning 'thus', 'in that fashion', as in:

\[
\text{mina - mandi yununa bari - 'mba}
\]
\[
\text{what - PURP thus go 2 sg Intr}
\]

'Why do you walk about in that (odd) way?' (441)

There are no adverbs of manner derived from any of the demonstratives of vicinity.
CHAPTER V
VERBS

V.1. VERB STEMS

V.1.1. General comments

The verbal word in Southern Bāgandji normally includes tense markers and bound pronominal forms and is therefore much more complex than the verbal word in Guçu (Hercus 1979). The structure of the verbal word in Southern Bāgandji is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\text{Verb stem} \pm \text{Vb} \pm \text{Voice} \pm \text{ASP} & \pm \text{PAST} \text{PERF} & \text{Tense} \pm \text{Sub} \pm \text{Obj} \pm \text{DAT} \\
\text{Verb stem} \pm \text{Vb} \pm \text{Voice} \pm \text{ASP} & \pm \text{PRES} \text{FUT} & \text{Tense} \pm \text{Sub} \pm \text{Obj} \pm \text{DAT} \\
\text{Verb stem} \pm \text{Vb} \pm \text{Voice} \pm \text{ASP} & \pm \text{PTC} & \pm \text{OPT} & \pm \text{Obj} \pm \text{DAT} \\
\end{array}
\]

whereas the maximum Guçu verbal word consists simply of the four basic elements listed:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\text{Verb stem} \pm \text{Vb} \pm \text{Voice} \pm \text{ASP} \\
\end{array}
\]

since in Guçu tense and person of subject and object are normally expressed outside the verbal word (IV.4.).

No verbal word has been heard that comprises all the permissible elements listed above, usually only four or five morphemes make up the one verbal word in Southern Bāgandji and normally only two morphemes in Guçu. The simplest verbal word in Guçu consists of the verb stem, and in Southern Bāgandji the simplest verbal word comprises the verb stem followed by the zero imperative marker.
Typical examples of Southern Bāgandji usage are:

1 4 6 7 8
Tinda - la - 'du - ayi - ri
laugh - TOP - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj - DAT
'so that he should laugh at me' (442)

1 4 5 7
gulba - ra - na - ama
speak - TOP - PTC - 1 sg obj
'speaking to me' (443)

1 3 5 7
bami - diri - d - abā
see - REF - FUT - 1 sg Intr
'I'll take a look at myself (in mirror-like calm water)' (444)

1 2 4 5 6
mūya - ma - la - āgu - adulu
row - Vb - TOP - PERF - 2 gl sub
'They two used to quarrel with one another' (445)

1 3 5 6
nāndji - mila - d - ali
leave - REC - FUT - 1 gl sub
'We two will leave one another' (446)

The order of morphemes is strictly adhered to in the Southern Bāgandji verbal word. This situation is more intricate, but nevertheless parallel to the nominal word, where the order is also fixed.

V.1.2. Simple verb stems

Simple verb stems in Southern Bāgandji have a uniform structure: they always consist of two syllables, but they may end with any of the three vowel phonemes.

There is a great difference in frequency between the final vowels:

a is the final vowel in 76 per cent of simple verbs
i is the final vowel in 21 per cent of simple verbs
u is the final vowel in 3 per cent of simple verbs

Bāgandji resembles the languages to the west rather than its eastern neighbours such as Waṅybuwan-Niyambā in that there is no sign of any conjugation system. The -a and -u verbs are fairly evenly distributed between transitive and intransitive; the -i verbs are
predominantly, but not exclusively transitive. There does not appear to be any general feature which predetermines what is the final vowel.

V.1.3. The verbalising suffix -ma

This suffix is used in Bāgandji to form secondary verbs from adjectives, nouns, and from simple verbs. It is common in all dialects except Guŋu.

a) Adjectives

-ma is widespread in Australian languages as a transitive verbalising suffix (Dixon 1972:16). But in Bāgandji, when affixed to adjectives it has a dual formative function, transitive and intransitive:

1. when used without the topicalising -la the verbaliser forms a transitive 'state-inductive verb' (Hercus 1969:74), a verb that conveys the meaning 'to cause something to assume the characteristics described by the adjective', e.g. 'to bend or twist something'.

2. when used with the topicalising -la the verbaliser forms an intransitive inceptive verb, a verb meaning 'to assume the characteristics described by the adjective' e.g. 'to become twisted'.

1. Examples of state-inductive verbs formed with -ma are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biyara</td>
<td>biyara-ma- 'to open up (tr)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balīra</td>
<td>balīra-ma- 'to make good, to cure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buga</td>
<td>buga-ma- 'to kill'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final vowel -a of any preceding morpheme is often lost before -ma (II.4.6.c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>du läga</td>
<td>du läga-ma- 'to spoil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These transitive secondary verbs are very commonly used in the Non-Future tense, which involves the change in the vowel of the verbaliser to -i (IV.5.10.b.).

buga - miru

'He killed (him)'
11. Examples of intransitive verbs, formed with -ma+ -la- are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>balīra</td>
<td>'good' balīra-mala- 'to get well'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duļaga</td>
<td>'bad' duļag'mala- 'to deteriorate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yagi</td>
<td>'cold' yagi-mala- 'to feel cold, to get chilled'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dala</td>
<td>'dry' dala-mala- 'to run dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duŋu-duŋgu</td>
<td>'crooked' duŋu-duŋgumala- 'to twist along (of river)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buga</td>
<td>'dead' buga-mala- 'to die'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intransitive secondary verbs formed from adjectives with -ma+ -la are very common, and outnumber the corresponding transitive verbs by three to one.

b) Nouns

-ma is used very rarely to form verbs from nouns. Only intransitives have been recorded:

yabara - ma - la - yiga

 camp - Vb - TOP - 3 pl sub

'They are camping overnight' (448)

didn'a - ma - la - dj - iga

foot - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub

'(These things - bargains laid aside for a moment at a second-hand shop) have grown feet (they have disappeared)' (449)

and in Guryu, with the use of the reflexive:

bambu - ma - 'lda

pump - Vb - REPL

'(This thing) is pumping away all on its own' (450)

The formation of verbs from nouns cannot be regarded as a major function of the verbaliser -ma.

c) Verbs

-ma is used to form secondary verbs from simple verbs. These secondary verbs may convey a weak continuative-repetitive nuance, but often they are identical in meaning to the simple verb. Both transitives and intransitives are represented:
bana- 'to make'

bana - mi - ru - ana  
make - Vb - NF - 3 sg obj  
'He made it'  

(451)

bari- 'to go'

bari - ma - la - 'du  
go - Vb - TOP - 3 sg sub  
'He is walking about'  

(452)

gaba- 'to follow'

gaba - ma - la - dj - Ùlu  
dumbi - ri  
follow - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub Hole - ALL  
'They two followed along as far as the waterhole'  

(453)

daga- 'to hit (with weapon)'

dag' - mi - ru  
Hit - Vb - NF  
'He pushed (it) open'  

(454)

Sometimes, though rarely, the last consonant of a cluster is elided before the suffix -ma: this is an older type of derivation, now no longer viable.

yanda- 'to cry'  
yan-ma-la- 'to lament'

as in the sentence:

gila yanma' - d - Æba  
ŋuma - ri  
not lament - FUT - 1 sg Intr you - DAT  
'I won't lament for you!'  

(455)

The verb bariŋ-ma-la- 'to travel about' is common in traditional recitations, as for instance:

bariŋmala - dj - Ùlu  
travel - PAST - 3 dl sub  
'They two travelled about'  

(456)

This also involves loss of a consonant as well as the unusual positioning of the verbaliser -ma after an aspectual suffix:

bari- 'to go'

bari - əŋga-  
go - ASP  
'to travel'  

(457)

bari - ñ' - ma - la  
go - ASP - Vb - TOP  
'to travel about'
An interesting use of the verbaliser involves the English verb 'to want'. This has been borrowed into Bāgandjī, but only as a secondary verb, combined with -ma, hence wandl-ma 'to want', as in the Gu̇nu sentence:

\[ \text{gil a } \text{ wandl-ma bami } \text{ nādu } \text{ gāndara} \]
\[ \text{not want see I } \text{ ERG blood} \]
\[ \text{'}I don't want to see any blood'} \]

(457)

An important feature of all the usages described in the present section (V.1.3.c.) is that -ma is less of a 'verbaliser', a suffix creating new derivational verbs, than simply a suffix modifying the form of existing simple verbs, adding a slight habitual-continuative nuance. The semantics of the Bāgandjī use of -ma (with verb stem) are thus very similar to the Kalkatungu (Blake 1969) and also the Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979) situation and are yet another feature (III.2.6.g.) that links Bāgandjī with languages to the north-west.

d) Unknown stems

The verbaliser -ma is frequently used to form secondary verbs both transitive and intransitive from stems that are not otherwise attested, and whose nature (adjectival, nominal or verbal) is not known, as for instance:

\[ \text{balab -ma- la-} \]
\[ \text{niñ- nin- ma- la-} \]
\[ \text{bulidj -ma- la-} \]
\[ \text{wilub -ma-} \]
\[ \text{'}to flash (lightning')} \]
\[ \text{'}to shiver'} \]
\[ \text{'}to dive into water'} \]
\[ \text{'}to lift up'} \]

- ma can also form verbs from exclamations and onomatopoeic utterances, as is shown for instance in Tindale (1939:252):

\[ \text{'}tal! tal } \text{ malajinu } \text{ pungi} \]
\[ \text{crash, crash! struck lightning} \]

this would correspond to Southern Bāgandjī:

\[ \text{dal-dal - ma - la - dji } \text{ inu } \text{ bindi} \]
\[ \text{flash - Vb - TOP - PAST this lightning} \]
\[ \text{'}This lightning flashed...'} \]

(458)

The functions of the suffix -ma thus range from:

1. the creation of secondary verbs from adjectives and from stems that are not otherwise attested to:
2. the extension of simple verbs to secondary verbs, with only minor changes in meaning.
V.1.4. The verbalising suffix -waɗa

A verbaliser of limited function and use is -waɗa, which is added to adjectival and noun bases to form verbs meaning 'to smell like...'. Examples are:

\[
\text{walu - waɗa - dj - u} \\
\text{mould - smell - PAST - 3 sg sub} \\
\text{'It smelt mouldy'} \quad (459)
\]

\[
\text{buga - waɗa - dj - u wanga} \\
\text{rotten - smell - PAST - 3 sg sub meat} \\
\text{'The meat stank'} \quad (460)
\]

\[
\text{ŋũŋi - waɗa - ana wanga} \\
\text{cooked - smell - PTC meat} \\
\text{'The meat is getting a burnt smell'} \quad (461)
\]

\[
\text{baTra - waɗa - adu} \\
\text{good - smell - 3 sg sub meat} \\
\text{'It smells nice'} \quad (462)
\]

Despite its limitations this suffix has been heard frequently in Southern Bagenda and also in Guñu.

V.1.5. Replicated stems

Many simple verb stems are replicated in Agenda, generally to convey an intensive or frequentative meaning. Usually there are no vocalic or consonantal changes involved in this replication:

\[
\text{waga- 'to hit'} \\
\text{waga-waga- 'to give someone a beating'}
\]

\[
\text{gulba- 'to speak'} \\
\text{gulba-gulba- 'to chatter'}
\]

\[
\text{bami-la- 'to look'} \\
\text{bami-bami-la- 'to look around'}
\]

\[
\text{wambi-la- 'to fly'} \\
\text{wambi-wambi-la- 'to fly around'}
\]

There are a few verbs - mainly implying some repetitive action - which are found only in a replicated form, never as a simple verb, as for instance:

\[
\text{ŋala-ŋa]ba- 'to swing'}
\]

\[
\text{mada-mada- 'to scrape'}
\]

\[
\text{dila-dila 'to shake (tr)'}
\]

\[
\text{damba-damba- 'to run round' (unconnected with damba- 'to dig')} \]

A number of verbs ending in -a reduplicate with -u. There does not appear to be any common denominator that characterises the verbs that show this vowel-alternation, as for instance:

- nūga- 'to cut'
- ụgu-nūga- 'to cut to pieces'
- ụdaa- 'to teach'
- ụdu-ụdaa- 'to criticise'
- wida- 'to look at'
- wīdu-wīda- 'to spy on somebody'
- wīdja- 'to drink'
- wīdju-wīdja- 'to be a drunkard'

This vocalic alternation is well established in Bāgandji and also occurs in nominals. It is found particularly in words which have an emphatic or emotive nuance such as mugu-muga 'completely silent', baçu-bacaju (based on baça 'to bite') 'savage'. Aboriginal languages as a whole favour straightforward repetition: this adds particular interest to the vowel alternation of Bāgandji as an unusual feature.

V.2. VOICE

V.2.1. Transitivity

It seems relatively simple to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs in Bāgandji: a verb is transitive if it takes an ergative first and second person singular pronoun or demonstrative pronoun subject; or if the first and second person singular is expressed by a bound pronoun that is based on an ergative:

balga- 'to hit' is transitive because it is correct to say:

\[
\text{njindu balga - dji}
\]
\[
\text{you ERG hit - PAST}
\]
\[
'\text{You hit (him)}'
\]

and

\[
\text{balga - dj - indu}
\]
\[
\text{hit - PAST - 2 sg Tr}
\]
\[
'\text{You hit (him)}'
\]

bari- 'to go' is intransitive because it is correct to say:

\[
\text{njimba bari - dji}
\]
\[
\text{you NOM go - PAST}
\]
\[
'\text{You went}'
\]

and

\[
\text{bari - dj - imba}
\]
\[
\text{go - PAST - 2 sg Intr}
\]
\[
'\text{You went}'
\]
But in fact the situation is much more complex:

a) A number of verbs including 'ingestive verbs' (Masica 1976) may be either transitive or intransitive, as for instance dayi- 'to eat', gulba- 'to speak', wūdja- 'to drink'. These verbs refer to activities which may or may not be directed towards a particular object:

1. When the object is a bound form these verbs must be used transitorily:

$$\text{gūmba - dayi - } l' - dj - na$$
$$\text{you ERG eat - TOP - PAST - 3 sg obj}$$
'You ate it' (467)

When the object is a free form they may be used intransitorily (513), but more usually transitorily:

$$\text{dūjaga balgu gulba - dj - indu}$$
$$\text{bad word speak - PAST - 2 sg Tr}$$
'You uttered obscenities!' (468)

The transitive is obligatory even if the object is only implied and the indirect object is expressed as a bound accusative form (III.2.6.g.):

$$\text{gūlba - 'ndu - ayi}$$
$$\text{say - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj}$$
'Tell (it) to me!' (469)

11. But when these verbs are used generally, without reference to any particular object, they are normally intransitorily:

$$\text{gīla dayi - } l' - dj - imba$$
$$\text{not eat - TOP - PAST - 2 sg Intr}$$
'You haven't eaten' (470)

$$\text{gūlba - 'mba}$$
$$\text{say - 2 sg Intr}$$
'You're talking' (471)

b) There is a small group of verbs which are basically intransitorily, and which have a dative complement (emotive verbs and 'to wait for' [III.2.6.c.]):

$$\text{manda - la - aba ġuma - ri}$$
$$\text{wait - TOP - 1 sg Intr you - DAT}$$
'I'm waiting for you' (472)
müya - la - aba
angry - TOP - 1 sg Intr
'I'm angry' (473)

But when the (indirect) object is expressed by a bound form the verb is used with a transitive subject pronoun (based on the ergative):

manda - ñgu - adu - uma
wait - PERF - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj
'I have been waiting for you' (474)

müya - l' - ind' - inana
angry - TOP - 2 sg Tr - 1 pl obj
'You are angry with all of us' (475)

This usage is to be expected and is not due to any innate transitivity in the verb: it is simply due to the structure of the bound pronoun system (IV.5.) where it is impossible in the first and second person singular for anything other than a bound transitive subject form to precede the bound object pronoun.

c) General comments

There are thus four degrees of transitivity in Bãgandji verbs:

1. Always transitive. These are verbs which by their semantic nature imply impingement on an object, e.g. baïga- 'to hit'.

ii. Sometimes transitive. These are 'ingestive' and other verbs which are normally transitive when an object is expressed.

iii. Usually intransitive. These are mainly verbs of emotion which are transitive only when there is a bound object form.

iv. Intransitive. These are verbs which are by their semantic nature intransitive and are never associated with any object direct or indirect, e.g. bari- 'to go'.

Increasing Transitivity

Increasing Transitivity
V.2.2. Causatives

As indicated (V.1.2.) there is a higher proportion of transitive verbs among the -i stems than among the -a stems. Some transitive -i stems are in fact derived from intransitive -a stems:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{naba-} - 'to look up'
  \item \texttt{nabì-} - 'to dob someone into the police, to cause someone to be imprisoned'
  \item \texttt{gulba-} - 'to speak'
  \item \texttt{gulbi-} - 'to engage someone in conversation'
  \item \texttt{bura-} - 'to hang down (intr)' \texttt{buri-} - 'to hang something up'
  \item \texttt{gīnda-} - 'to laugh'
  \item \texttt{gīndi-} - 'to make someone laugh'
  \item \texttt{iba-} - 'to lie down'
  \item \texttt{ibi-} - 'to put down'
  \item \texttt{wanda-} - 'to burn (intr)'
  \item \texttt{wandi-} - 'to burn something'
\end{itemize}

The causative is limited in use in Bāgandji and is restricted to some twenty verbs: it is not a living formative process. Transitivising suffixes occur in many Australian languages, but the Bāgandji situation is of particular interest. Bāgandji is on the eastern extremity of an area where a similar, and in the case of Arabana-Wangaruru an identical method is used to form transitive verbs from intransitives. But in Arabana-Wangaruru, as in Diyarì and related languages this process is not restricted and occurs in all circumstances where it is semantically feasible, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Arabana \texttt{yuga-} - 'to go' \texttt{yugi-} - 'to move a sick person, to drive along cattle, to drive a car'
\end{itemize}

Though the causative formation is not of importance within Bāgandji morphology, it is of great comparative interest.

V.2.3. Reciprocals

Reciprocality can be expressed in a number of ways in Bāgandji:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Some causatives can convey a reciprocal nuance, such as \texttt{gulbi-} (V.2.2.) 'to engage in conversation', hence 'to talk to one another'.
\end{enumerate}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{gulb - i - la - adulu} \texttt{gulb - i} - 'They two are talking to one another' \((476)\)
\end{itemize}

Similarly

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{bad' - i - la - adulu} \texttt{bida} - 'They two are fighting with one another' \((477)\)
\end{itemize}
b) Verbs of emotion and expectation and other verbs belonging to group (iii.) of the transitivity scale (V.2.1.c.) are basically intransitive and cannot therefore be used to form a reciprocal stem with -mila (c, below). Such verbs can express reciprocity without the addition of any further suffix apart from the topicaliser -la, e.g.:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
mīya - la - dj - ūlu \\
angry - TOP - PAST - 2 dl sub
\end{array}
\]

'They two got angry with one another' (478)

c) The suffix -mila is added to transitive verb stems to form a reciprocal stem. This suffix, like the causative, has close cognates in languages to the west of Bāgandji, and is in fact identical with the Wangaquru reciprocal. Examples of the use of the reciprocal in Bāgandji are:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
ŋūga - mila - adulu \\
give - REC - 3 dl sub
\end{array}
\]

'These two give one another presents' (479)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
ganma - la - mila - yiga \\
steal - TOP - REC - 3 pl sub
\end{array}
\]

'They steal one another's things' (480)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
ŋandji - mila - d - ali \\
leave - REC - FUT - 1 dl sub
\end{array}
\]

'We two will leave one another' (481)

The usage described under (a) and (b) are restricted to certain verbs, and -mila is the standard reciprocal suffix in Bāgandji.

V.2.4. Reflexives

Reflexives in Australian languages have been discussed in Dixon (1976:203ff) where it is shown that reflexive stem-forming affixes derived from a Common Australian prototype *-di'i are widespread in Australia, and are probably related to a prototype of the 'having' suffix. The Bāgandji evidence is also considered (ibid. 229:307).

a) -di'i

The reflexive stem-forming suffix derived from *-di'i is mainly an eastern Australian feature but it reaches to the west of Bāgandji (with some exceptions) as far as DiFarı. The Bāgandji form -di'i is identical to the suggested prototype.
-diri is added either immediately to transitive verb stems, or to the stem + topicaliser -la. Through the affixation of -diri transitive verbs become intransitive, with an absolutive-nominative subject instead of an ergative as can be seen clearly in the pronouns of the first and second person singular.

Only one morphophonemic change has been noted: -diri becomes -dira before the third person plural subject marker (cf. bari-, bara- (IV.5.3.a.iv). Examples of Bagandji reflexives are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nūga - di} & \text{r i - dj - imba} \\
\text{cut} & \text{ - REFL - PAST - 2 sg Intr} \\
'\text{You (sg) cut yourself'} & (482)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{balga - di} & \text{r i - dj - āba} \\
\text{hit} & \text{ - REFL - PAST - 1 sg Intr} \\
'\text{I bumped myself'} & (483)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maɾu-maɾa - di} & \text{r i - d - āba} \\
\text{scratch} & \text{ - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr} \\
'\text{I' ll scratch myself'} & (484)
\end{align*}
\]

and with the use of the topicaliser -la, which in this case does not affect the meaning:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nūga - l' - di} & \text{r i - d - āba} \\
\text{cut} & \text{ - TOP - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr} \\
'\text{I' ll cut myself'} & (485)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naba - l' - di} & \text{r i - yiga} \\
\text{shut} & \text{ - TOP - REFL - 3 pl sub} \\
'\text{They lock themselves up'} & (486)
\end{align*}
\]

Reflexive verbs in Bāgandji as in other Aboriginal languages, e.g. Arabana-Wanggaŋuru, may have as their object not only the subject as a person, but also some part of the subject, or something inherently connected. This usage is not unlike the French 'je me suis coupé la main' except that in Bāgandji the possessive is used:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bami - di} & \text{r i - d - āba} \\
\text{guljbara - nugu - ayi} \\
\text{see} & \text{ - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr} \\
\text{shadow - water - 1 sg POS} \\
'I' ll look at my reflection' & (487)
\end{align*}
\]
b) The reflexive without -diri

In the first and second person singular, where the situation is transparent, and more rarely in other persons, the reflexive can also be expressed by an intransitive use of the transitive verb, with or without the topicaliser -la. All speakers regarded the -diri forms as being acceptable alternatives in all circumstances, and it was for instance explained as being equally correct to say:

\[
\text{nūga - d - āba milinja - ayi}
\]
\[
\text{cut - FUT - 1 sg Intr nail - 1 sg POS}
\]

'I'll cut my fingernails'

or

\[
\text{nūga - diri - d - āba milinja - ayi}
\]
\[
\text{cut - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr nail - 1 sg POS}
\]

'I'll cut my fingernails'

Other examples of reflexives without -diri include:

\[
\text{nūgara - ma - d - āba mani - na}
\]
\[
\text{rub - Vb - FUT - 1 sg Intr fat - INST}
\]

'I'll rub myself with fat'

\[
\text{gila maru-mara - l' - d - imba}
\]
\[
\text{not scratch - TOP - FUT - 2 sg Intr}
\]

'Don't scratch (yourself)'

In the case of verbs of group ii (V.2.1.c.), which may be intransitively used, the reflexive nature of such forms without -diri remains uncertain: the sentence

\[
\text{gulba - ga - aba ēpjja - ulu yunga balgu - ayi - na}
\]
\[
\text{speaks - ASP - 1 sg Intr along - SG own language - 1 sg POS -INST}
\]

was interpreted by Jack Johnson, whose English was hesitant, as:

'I talk to myself in my own language, all on my own'

V.2.5. The reflexive in Guçu and Bårundji

This reflexive is formed by the addition of the affix -maistung to the stem. If the stem ends with the verbaliser -ma there is elision of one of the two syllables -ma. The range of use of the reflexive is even further extended than in Southern Bångandji: it can convey the meaning of 'an action performed for the benefit of the agent' and is
therefore reminiscent of the Middle Voice of Greek and Sanskrit. Examples are:

Guũ: munda - malda ŋadu
shave - REFL he NOM
'He shaves himself'

(493)

dun̂ga - malda ŋadu
bury - REFL he NOM
'He buries himself'

(494)

naba - malda ŋadu
lock - REFL he NOM
'He locks himself up'

(495)

and with the 'Middle' meaning:

bundu - ma - 'Ida ŋadu
smoke - Vb - REFL he NOM
'He's smoking (cigarettes)'

(496)

and (450).

-malda does not appear to be immediately connected with the Southern Bãgandjì -dī i nor with reflexive affix in neighbouring languages. There is however a possible cognate to the north-west in Pitta-Pitta; the eastern dialects of that language have a reflexive affix -mali (Blake 1979).

V.2.5. The Guũ suffix -r̂i/ 9i

r̂i/ 9i (for the free alternation see II.2.6.b.) is a very widely used suffix in Guũ; it rarely occurs in Bandjigali and Bãrundjì and is absent from Southern Bãgandjì. It occupies a unique position on account of the indeterminacy of its functions.

As shown in III.1.2. the nominal and verbal class show a greater degree of convergence in Guũ than in Southern Bãgandjì. This means that there is less need in Guũ for a verbalising suffix than there is in Southern Bãgandjì. This is evident from a sentence like 'he was jealous':

Southern Bãgandjì: baninj' - ma - la - dji
jealous - Vb - TOP - PAST

(497)

but Guũ: baninja wadu
jealous PAST he

(498)
In some of its occurrences -ri/-di could be regarded as an inceptive verbaliser:

\[
\text{da}la - \text{ri} \quad \text{gandjalga} \\
\text{dry} - \text{Vb} \quad \text{PUT} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}\text{It (the river) will be dry}\text{\textquoteright} \\
\]

(499)

but mostly it seems to be just an adjunct to any verbally used stem. -ri/-di can occur in the following positions in the verbal word:

a) Prevailing and very common usage: Stem + -ri/-di

b) Heard occasionally: Stem + -ri/-di + TENSE

c) Rare usage: Stem + ASP + -ri/-di

Examples are:

a) Guçu

\[
\text{bumba - ri} \quad \text{waba} \quad \text{gandjalga} \\
\text{sleep} - \text{Vb} \quad \text{PAST} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{good} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}I \text{ slept well}\text{\textquoteright} \\
\]

(500)

\[
\text{njandja - di} \quad \text{wadi} \quad \text{nana} \\
\text{ask} - \text{Vb} \quad \text{PAST} \quad \text{they} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{ACC} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}They \text{ asked me}\text{\textquoteright} \\
\]

(501)

Bandjigali

\[
\text{guli - ri} - \text{ang}i \quad \text{= li} \\
\text{play} - \text{Vb} - \text{INC} \quad \text{EMPH} - \text{EMPH} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}He \text{ begins to play}\text{\textquoteright} \\
\]

(502)

b) Guçu

\[
\text{nomaga iduna} \quad \text{malbu - ri} - \text{dji} \\
\text{mother} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{POS} \quad \text{die} - \text{Vb} - \text{PAST} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}His \text{ mother died}\text{\textquoteright} \\
\]

(503)

c) Guçu

\[
\text{naba} \quad \text{gaba} - \text{nja - ri} \quad \text{margidja - umbula} \\
\text{I} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{follow} - \text{ASP} - \text{Vb} \quad \text{gun} - \text{COM} \\
\text{\textquoteleft}I \text{ come behind with a gun}\text{\textquoteright} \\
\]

(504)

-ri/-di can be regarded as a stem-forming suffix with no distinctive semantic value; it is simply an extension of the stem.
V.3. ASPECTUAL STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

V.3.1. The stem-forming suffix -la

a) General comments, the 'definite aspect'

-la is the most commonly used of all stem-forming suffixes in Bāgandji. It is distinct in function and position from the optative suffix -la:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Optative suffix -la</th>
<th>Stem-forming suffix -la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>always final in verbal word</td>
<td>never final in verbal word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>always conveys a wish or purpose</td>
<td>never conveys a wish or purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unconnected with transitivity</td>
<td>linked in various ways with transitivity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stem-forming suffix -la is versatile and sometimes semantically complex. It has been called 'topicaliser' in the present grammar, because it focuses attention on the aims of an action, it makes an action definite rather than haphazard, and it is often best interpreted as conveying the meaning 'with intent'. In some verbs of group ii., (V.2.1.c., verbs which are transitive when an object is expressed) the semantics are such that -la may have a transitivising effect:

- bami- 'to see' (group ii) bami-la- 'to look at' (tr)
- daldi- 'to hear' (group ii) daldi-la- 'to listen' (tr)

but more frequently the minor semantic variations involved do not imply any changes in transitivity:

- barga- 'to deceive' (group ii) barga-la- 'to tell lies' (group ii)
- dayi- 'to eat' (group ii) dayi-la- 'to have a meal' (group ii)
- wēdja- 'to drink' (group ii) wēdja-la- 'to go on a drinking spree' (group ii)

b) The verbaliser -ma combined with -la

In the case of verbs formed with -ma, it has been seen (V.1.3.) that -la- has a special function and implies that the verb is intransitive. In these circumstances -la- does not express its primary meaning 'with intent', but a secondary meaning 'with intent towards oneself'. It thus resembles the reflexive and may ultimately be connected with the reflexive -lari, and the reciprocal -la in the neighbouring language, Maljaqaba. Examples are given in V.1.3.
c) Form and use of -la-

1. Limitation on use

The topicaliser may be used with any verb that can thereby be made more definite and intentional: it is unknown with verbs such as ñínga- 'to sit' and bari-'to go'.

-la- is not normally used in conjunction with any other aspectual stem-forming suffix, nor the optative, as these carry different types of emphasis and 'definiteness' (see however V.3.2.b.ii.).

ii. Form

The topicaliser -la- is liable to certain morphophonemic changes:

1. The vowel -a is lost before the past and future tense markers; -l- then becomes palatal before the -dj- of the past tense, but this latter change is insignificant and has not been noted in transcription (II.2.4.). Examples are:

   PAST:
   
guluru - mari wabu - dj - iga bami - l' - dj - iga  
many - very arrive - PAST - 3 pl sub see - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub

   'A crowd of people arrived and had a look' (505)
   (The absence of the topicaliser in wabudjiga shows the lack of intention, the people just happened to come.)

gila mūya - l' - dj - ali
not angry - TOP - PAST - 1 dl sub

   'We two didn't have a row' (506)

   FUTURE:

   bēburu dayi - l' - d - ūba
ant eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr

   'I (the ancestral Echidna speaking) shall feed on ants' (507)

yaga - l' - d - iga - ayi
call - TOP - FUT - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj

   'They'll give me a call' (508)

There is one exception to this loss of the vowel -a- from -la: the intransitive verbaliser -ma-la- (V.1.3.) always remains intact as in (448-449) and in:

bang - ma - la - dj - iga
crawl - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub

   'They crawled about' (509)

The retention of the full suffix is attributable to the importance of -la- as an intransitive marker in this particular environment (V.3.1.b.).
2. The topicaliser -la shows consonantal dissimilation to -ra if the verb-stem contains an l-sound, always in the case of -a verbs — optionally in -i verbs

balga- 'to hit' balga-ra- 'to give a beating'
malba- 'to be ignored' malba-ra- 'to act stupidly'
guli- 'to play' guli-ra- 'to gamble'
gulbi- 'to engage someone in conversation' gulbi-ra- 'to talk with...' gulbi-la- 'to talk with...'

an exception is:
gala- 'to seek' gala-la- 'to hunt for'

This proneness to morphophonemic change corresponds to the general lack of 'markedness' of the widely used topicaliser, as opposed to the other aspectual stem-forming suffixes: the topicaliser -la differs furthermore from other aspectual suffixes on account of the variety of its uses and on account of its grammatical significance with regard to transitivity.

V.3.2. Other aspectual affixes

The other aspectual suffixes fall into different groups according to their meaning:

a) Those which convey the thoroughness and completeness of an action, they are akin to the normal notion of the 'perfective aspect' (Comrie 1976): -nγa, -γa and -ba.

b) Those which indicate continuity and prolongedness of action, they are akin to the imperfective: -ŋana, -nja and -bani-.

a) The 'perfective' stem-forming suffixes

1. -nγa

This suffix implies thoroughness, as is shown by the following examples:

bari 'to go' bari-nγa- 'to go away for good'
yuri 'to hear' yuri-nγa- 'to understand'
bagi 'to sing' bagi-nγa- 'to sing someone, to kill someone by magic'

-nγa is rare in Southern Bāgandji, but more common in Guŋu (b.1. below).

2. -γa

This stem-forming suffix adds a nuance of emphasis to the meaning of the verb and can usually be translated by 'really well' or 'with speed and enthusiasm' as in:
gīnda - ga - dj - ig' - inana
*laugh* - ASP - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 pl obj
'They had a good laugh at us' (510)

diga - l' - ga - d - āba
*return* - TOP - ASP - FUT - 1 sg Intr
'I'll be right back' (511)

and Guṇu

bara - ga - dji
*run* - ASP - PAST
'He got away (quickly)' (512)

111. -ba

- *ba* is a very frequently used aspectual suffix. It expresses thoroughness as well as intensity, and sometimes implies that a goal has been reached; it thereby conveys shades of meaning different from those conveyed by -ga:

bari- 'to go'
bari-ba- 'to come'
yuri- 'to hear'
yuri-ba- 'to know, to think'
gila- 'to grow'
gila-ba- 'to grow up'
dayi- 'to eat'
dayi-ba- 'to eat up a meal'

Examples of the use of -ba are:

gala - ba - ru mūrba - ṇulu - ana
*seek* - ASP - Nf *child* - dl - 3 sg POS
'He was looking (everywhere) for his two children' (513)

duṃgu - ma - la - ba - d - uru
*crooked* - Vb - TOP - ASP - FUT - 3 sg sub
'It will be completely crooked' (514)

- *ba* occurred in all Bāgandjī dialects, but only in the speech of those who were completely fluent. The same is the case with -ga. This loss of the nuance of aspect is a typical feature of the progressive impoverishment of a dying language.

b) The 'imperfective' stem-forming suffixes

1. -gana

This is a continuative stem-forming suffix confined to Guṇu. From the evidence in the work of R.H. Mathews (particularly 1904:137-8) it could be interpreted as being a present tense marker:
'Nginggagunna ngappa' (I sit) (515) is listed as contrasting with: 'Nginganga wappa' (I sat) (516) but '-nga' in this latter example is probably the aspectual stem-forming suffix -nga (as in (a) above) while -nana is also an aspectual suffix implying duration or continued action: wayu - ri - nana ñaba worry - Vb - ASP I NOM 'I'm upset all the time' (517) It mainly describes a prolonged process in the today present: yuga nari - la - nana sun ñet - TOP - ASP 'The sun is setting' (518) gaji bara - la - nana bulgu - na yabara dog smell - TOP - ASP rat - GEN camp 'The dog keeps sniffing at the rat's nest' (519) 11. -nja -nja is the common continuative suffix of all Bãgandjì dialects, it can also mark habitual action: gãndinja wîdja - la - nja long time drink - TOP - ASP '(They've been) drinking for too long' (520) bagi - nja - adu gina yangu sing - ASP - 1 sg Tr this song 'I can sing this song' (521) Gunù: gala - nja ñadi dina ñalina seek - ASP they foot our two 'They are going on searching for the tracks belonging to the two of us' (522) Since the idea of 'habitual' or 'continuous' action is generally not at variance with 'definiteness', -nja can occur in conjunction with the topicaliser -la, this is the case particularly in Gunù.
A number of verbs are rarely found in the simple stem-form: they generally occur in combination with -nja since they express naturally continuous actions, e.g. gandinja 'to have', Gunu maginja 'to wear', girinja 'to show, to instruct'. In such cases -nja is less of an aspecual suffix than a permanent adjunct to the stem. These 'fossilised' forms represent the only instances where -nja was used by younger and not so fluent speakers.

iii. -bani

This stem-forming suffix fulfils the role of a prolonged past continuative, and implies 'they went on and on and on...'. It is more restricted in use than any other stem-forming suffix:

-bani- is found only in the perfect tense
-bani- is found only in Southern Bagandji mythological recitation

as for instance:

nadji - nulu dayi - 1' - bani - ngu - adulu
serpent - dl eat - TOP ASP - PERF - 3'dl sub
'The two rainbow-serpents went on and on devouring (everything)' (523)

This suffix was quite unknown to younger speakers.

iv. In Bandjigali two further rare aspecual suffixes were recorded. They are -aŋgi, an inceptive:

aŋgi - du
grow - ASP - 3'sg sub
'It begins to grow' (525)

and -ninda, a continuative-inceptive:

ninda - ninda - 3ba
sunbathe - ASP - 1'sg Intr
'I'm sunbathing' (527)
V.3.3. The modal stem-forming suffix -nda

-nda occupies the same position within the verbal word as the aspectual suffixes. It is a modal marker implying uncertain possibility and is most common with the future and the present tense. It has been glossed as POTENTIAL.

\[
\text{bada} - \text{nda} - \text{d} - \text{uru} - \text{ana} \\
\text{bite} - \text{POT} - \text{FUT} - 3\ sg\ Tr - 3\ sg\ obj
\]

'It might bite him' (528)

Bārundji:

\[
\text{dadja} - \text{nda} - \text{d} - \text{uru} - \text{uma} \\
\text{bite} - \text{POT} - \text{FUT} - 3\ sg\ Tr - 2\ sg\ obj
\]

'It might bite you' (529)

On the rare occasions where the past tense is involved, there is elision of the -nda of the suffix before -dj- and functionally the potential is then equivalent to an irrealis:

\[
\text{burinj\a} \ \eta'\text{nga} - \text{n'} - \text{dj} - \text{u} \\
\text{alive} \ \text{sit} - \text{POT} - \text{PAST} - 3\ sg\ sub
\]

'he would have been alive' (530)

Like the aspectual suffixes, -nda featured only in the speech of the oldest Bāgandji people. The stem-forming aspectual suffixes and the modal -nda are the parts of grammar which show most clearly how the morphological wealth and the corresponding delicate semantic differences in Bāgandji were most vulnerable as the language fell into disuse.

V.4. TENSE

V.4.1. General comments on tense in Southern Bāgandji

Superficially the Bāgandji tense system is simple enough, though not as restricted as the two-tense systems of many other Australian languages such as Djirbal (Dixon 1972). Conceptually the following distinctions operate in Southern Bāgandji:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th></th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>PERFECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a) Forms

The present is the basic unmarked form.

The other tenses are marked by the addition of the following suffixes to the stem or the enlarged (V.1.1.) stem:

- Future: -d-
- Past: -dj-
- Perfect: -ŋgu-

b) Meaning

Basically there is nothing complex about the meaning conveyed by the tenses: the main function of the Present is to describe events taking place 'right now':

ŋŋgba 'I sit' \[(531)\]

The Future describes what will or should happen but has not happened yet: as in the neighbouring Waŋaybuwan-Ŋiyambā language (Donaldson 1980) this tense may serve as 'Irrealis':

ŋŋgadəba 'I'll sit' or 'I'd sit' \[(532)\]

The Past refers to events that have already taken place:

ŋŋgadjəba 'I sat' \[(533)\]

The Perfect describes events that have taken place and do not recur any longer, and to all matters that are 'finished with', hence:

ŋŋgaŋguaba 'I sat (in that place but I never sit there now)' \[(534)\]

V.4.2. Intricacies of the tense system of Southern Bągandji

The simple description outlined in the preceding section is not an accurate description of the Southern Bągandji tense system. There are a number of complicating factors, some conceptual, some formal.

a) Conceptual 'vagueness'

The idea of the present in Southern Bągandji - as in many other languages - is not confined to what is happening right at this very moment. It can extend over a period of time into the future, particularly where prolonged or habitual actions are described:

yuri - ba = 'du - ana
hear - ASP - 1'sg Tr - 3 sg obj
'I remember him (and will go on doing so)' \[(535)\]
The perfect too is not isolated: it can have a causal or anticipatory effect on the present or the past:

däninja widja - ngu - ru dadu-bađi dulaga
resin drink - PERF - 3 sg NF Brain Bad
"His brain is no good because he has been drinking metho" (538)

buga-buga dayi - ngu - ru buğa - la - dj - u
rotten eat - PERF - 3 sg NF die - TOP - PAST - 3 sg
"He died because he had eaten something rotten" (539)

The conceptual tense system is therefore as follows:

1. The Non-Future is a special form found only in the most common person, the third person singular in transitive verbs (for examples and discussion see IV.5.10.b.). It can refer to an indefinite time, past or present, but not the future, e.g.:

yalâ - ru - nga
beat - NF - 3 pl obj
"She beats them (at bingo)" or "she beat them (at bingo)" (540)

For the use of -ru forms with the perfect see IV.5.10.b.iii. and V.4.2.a.
11. The 'Abstract' forms

The past and the perfect differ from the other tenses in that they have an 'abstract' form, one that denotes the tense without any bound pronoun marker, as is normal when the subject is a free pronoun, and as is often the case when the subject is a noun.

In the past this abstract form is -dji, i.e. the tense-marker -dj- plus a final -i of unknown origin:

\[
\begin{align*}
garu & \quad nuru \quad widu - dj \\
\text{other} & \quad \text{DEM ERG} \quad push - \text{PAST} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Another man pushed (him)' (541)

In the perfect the abstract form simply consists of the tense-marker -ngu

\[
\begin{align*}
bandu & \quad ayi \quad gajaran \quad njima - ngu \\
\text{cod} & \quad 1 \text{sg POS} \quad here \quad lie - \text{PERF} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'My cod was lying here!' (542)

111. The 'Non-Past'. The present and the future however have no 'abstract' form seeing that the bare stem functions as imperative (V.5.1.). When there is no bound pronoun the present and the future share a communal way of expression: the participle -na (V.6.1.) is added to the verb-stem. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋaba} & \quad \text{ŋinga} \quad \text{ana manda} - la \quad \text{ŋuma} - ri \\
\text{I Intr} & \quad \text{sit} \quad - \text{PTC wait} \quad - \text{OPT you} \quad - \text{DAT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I (will) sit waiting for you'

(543)

was felt to be equivalent to both the present and the future, and was in fact repeated as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋinga} & \quad d - \text{əba} \quad \text{manda} - la \quad \text{ŋuma} - ri \\
\text{sit} & \quad \text{PUT} \quad - 1 \text{sg Intr} \quad \text{wait} \quad - \text{OPT you} \quad - \text{DAT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I'll sit waiting for you'

(544)

a repetition, this time involving the present was:

\[
\begin{align*}
bana - m' - indu, \quad \text{ŋindu} \quad \text{bana} - ma - ana \\
\text{make} - \text{Vb} - 2 \text{sg Tr}, \quad \text{you ERG make} - \text{Vb} - \text{PTC} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'You're making (it), you are actually making (it)' (545)

The participle thus acts as 'abstract form' for both present and future. In the absence of bound pronouns there is then simply a distinction between the past (as well as the perfect) and the non-past (that is the future and present).
iv. The Perfect in the third person is differentiated according to whether or not the verb is used in a causal function in a subordinate clause (V.4.2.a.).

-ŋu- буду is the principal clause verb form (IV.5.10.b.iii.)
-ŋu- ru is the subordinate clause verb form (ex.538-9)

The formal distinctions thus correspond closely to the conceptual ones:

Formal distinctions

\[\text{PERFECT} \]

\[-ŋu- буду (3rd person)\]

\[-ŋu- ru (3rd person)\]

The Southern Bāgandjī tense system applies also in Bandjīgalī.

V.4.3. Tense in Marawara

From the evidence of Tindale's text (1939) it seems probable that the Marawara tense system was simpler than that of Southern Bāgandjī and that there was a single distinction, past versus non-past.

a) The Past

The past tense marker was -yi (spelt -jī or ĵ by Tindale). This is of special interest in the following ways:

i. -yi is the exact equivalent of the Southern Bāgandjī and Guŋu -dji, just as Marawara wîmbaya corresponds to Southern Bāgandjī wîmbadja (I.4.4. and III.6.3.).

ii. -yi is identical in form with the past tense marker in the neighbouring Waŋybuwan-Ŋiyambā language.

Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'jinka  'pandai they ACC 'panda - i spear - PAST</td>
<td>'I speared them', the normal Southern Bāgandjī being bandadjinga 'I speared them' (IV.5.14.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'Naru'ka tambatam'bai
Others running away

which corresponds to Southern Bāgandji:

nāruga damba-damba - dji
Other run - PAST
'The others ran away'

These and all other examples from the same text share one feature: the absence of bound pronouns with the past tense. It seems likely that in Marawara, just as in Guçu only the 'abstract' past stem form (without bound pronouns) was used.

b) The Non-Past

In the Marawara text there is no separate present or future, only a non-past which fulfills the functions of both these tenses. The forms of this non-past correspond to the present of Southern Bāgandji, and simply consist of the stem with the addition of bound pronouns. Examples of the 'future' function of these forms are (236-7) and:

'karaminki ora ɲowali
tomorrow 'we' cook it

this can be analysed as:

karaminki wara ɲowa - ali
tomorrow EMPH cook - 1 dl sub
'We two will cook it tomorrow'

and

'Eina:'nīl 'ɲoka:atum 'baleir 'balku:r
then-you will-be-given good news

this can be analysed as:

'Einan' iI ɲoka - 'tu - uma 'baleir balku:r
this now give - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj good word
'Then I'll give you this good news'

The non-past and the past are used differently, one with and one always without bound pronouns. The Marawara tense system as represented in Tindale's text can thus be summarised as follows:

PAST = stem + dji (no bound pronouns)
NON-PAST = stem + bound pronouns

The syntactic dichotomy between the two tenses is not found elsewhere in Bāgandji.
V.4.4. Tense in Guqu

The Guqu tense system differs from that of Southern Bagandji in that:

a) tense is normally expressed by the pronouns which are always free forms

b) there are no recorded examples of the use of the perfect in Guqu.

The pronominal tense system (IV.4.1.) in Guqu is simply

\[\begin{align*}
& \text{PAST} \\
& \text{PRESENT} \\
& \text{FUTURE}
\end{align*}\]

There is however one additional feature. In Southern Bagandji of the
tenses listed above only the past has an 'abstract' form (V.4.2.b.ii.),
one that can be used without bound pronouns. This is precisely the
only verbal tense form that occurs in Guqu, where there are no bound
pronouns. This verbal tense-form -dji is however found only
occasionally in Guqu: it is the preferred usage only with verbs that
have a nominal subject and when there is also an aspectual or other
stem-forming suffix as in (503), (512) and:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{wimiadjja} & \text{nulardji dunga - maida - dji} \\
\text{man} & \text{many bury - REPL - PAST}
\end{array}
\]

'A lot of people buried themselves (in quicksand)' (550)

There is no special time-slot for this past in -dji: it seems to
convey the same notion as the past form of the pronoun. The full
outline of the Guqu tense system is therefore as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{verbal past --- --- --- PAST} \\
& \text{in -dji} \\
& \text{expressed} \\
& \text{by pronouns}
\end{align*}\]

V.4.5. Tense in Barundji

Guqu and Southern Bagandji represent different extremes of the tense
system in the Bagandji dialects. As indicated earlier (Wurm and
Hercus 1976), Barundji occupies a position midway between these
extremes. Basically the situation in Barundji is that free pronouns
may mark tense, as in Guqu, but bound pronouns also occur (IV.4.3.).
Details are as follows:

a) Perfect tense

Unlike Guqu, Barundji has a perfect tense, this is marked by -u (not
-engu as in Southern Bagandji):

- \(u\) is added to -a stems with loss of stem-final -a

- \(-wu\) is added to -i stems
Both the free past forms of pronouns and bound pronouns (based on the past form of free pronouns) occur with the perfect and are subject to special morphophonemic changes (examples 253-255). The 'abstract' stem-form is also found as in baribu (from ex.380)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bari - b' - u} & \quad \text{go - ASP - PERF} \\
\text{'have come'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

b) The past

The past tense marker -dji occurs, as in all other Bāgandji dialects, and in Bārundji it is found not only as 'abstract' form, but also with bound pronouns, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{balga - dj' - idiga bargulu wīmbadja, bāra - dji - 'du} \\
\text{ki+t - PAST - 3 pl sub two man, hear - PAST - 1 sg Tr} \\
\text{'They killed two men, (that's what) I heard'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(551)

c) The Non-past

The future can be expressed by free pronouns (IV.4.3.b.), but there is no verbal marker that distinguishes the future tense in Bārundji. The loss of the initial consonants in the bound form of the pronouns eliminates the possibility of pronominal tense marking within the verbal word, as it is precisely the initial consonant that conveys tense in pronouns (IV.4.3.). There are exceptions involving -i verbs (IV.5.8.).

The fact remains that there is no general future versus present distinction within the Bārundji verb. There is simply a non-past tense which consists of: verb stem + bound pronoun and which is used in the function of both future and present:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bārundji:} & \quad \text{(balga gadu)} \\
\text{balga - adu} & \quad \text{(hit PUT I ERG)} \\
\text{(balga ṅadu)} & \quad \text{(hit PRES I ERG)} \\
\text{'}I (will) hit' \quad (552) & \\
\end{align*}
\]

d) Conclusion

The Bārundji tense system can therefore be summarised as follows:
V.4.6. Historical comments

The most significant dialectal features regarding tense in Southern Bāgandji are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Guru</th>
<th>Bārundji</th>
<th>Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali</th>
<th>Marawara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tense marked in free pronouns</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special perfect form in verbs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special future form in verbs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dji/yi as verbal past marker</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound pronouns used with past tense</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the evidence of this table suggestions can be made regarding the history of tense marking in the Bāgandji dialects.

-dji/yi as a past tense marker is common to all dialects and is therefore likely to have formed part of an original 'Proto-Bāgandji'. The close similarity with the past marker -i- in Waŋybuwan-ɲiyambā lends further support to this.

The special future tense-marker -d- appears to be an innovation; it is restricted to Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali. But in other features the geographically central dialects, Bārundji, Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali go together as opposed to the peripheral languages, Guru and Marawara.

The likely chronological sequence of changes in the Bāgandji tense system has been summarised below; but the developments (c) and (e) though tense-linked have to be viewed in the wider context of the large area of south-eastern Australia where bound pronouns occur.
In this table Southern Bagandji includes Bandjigali
V.5. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

V.5.1. General comments

Since the 'Potential' is akin to the aspects (V.3.3.), the imperative represents the only mood apart from the indicative in Bagandji. But the matter is complex, as commands and requests are expressed in three different ways in all Bagandji dialects:

a) by the use of indicative forms of the present or future
b) by the stem-form
c) by the addition of a special imperative suffix -gu

There are only minor distinctions in meaning between these three types of expression; they are all used in both negative and positive commands. Moreover all imperatives are alike in having a strong rising intonation on the final syllable.

V.5.2. Details of imperative usage

a) The second person forms of the indicative are commonly used to express requests, particularly when the sentence consists of more than just the verbal word. The use of the indicative furthermore implies a polite request or plea rather than an abrupt command:

\[
\text{ŋūga - ndu} - \text{ayi} \quad \text{yanda - ulu} \\
give - 2 \text{ sg Tr} - 1 \text{ sg obj} \quad \text{money} - \text{ SG} \\
'(Please) give me one bit of money'
\]  

\[
\text{diga - la} - \text{ 'mba} \quad \text{yunga} \quad \text{yabara - ama} - \text{ ri} \\
\text{return} - \text{ TOP} - 2 \text{ sg Intr own} \quad \text{camp} - 2 \text{ sg POS - ALL} \\
'Do go back to your own place'
\]  

\[
\text{gila} \quad \text{wīdja - 'ndu} \\
\text{not} \quad \text{drink} - 2 \text{ sg Tr} \\
'Don't drink'
\]  

The indicative is also used in fixed locutions expressing a request,

\[
\text{gina} - \text{ uđa} \\
\text{stop} - 2 \text{ pl sub} \\
'Stop!' \quad (556)
\]

particularly common in the sentence gina - uđ' - ili 'stop now! (please!)'.


Also very frequently used is the expression:

ηĩŋ' - imba  
sit - 2 sg Intr  
'Sit down (please)'  

The future is used similarly:

wīdja - d - uđa  gina gargi  
drink - FUT - 2 pl sub this bottle 
'You will please drink up this bottle'  

bari - d - ubu  garirigi  
go - FUT - 2 dl sub tomorrow  
'You two, please go tomorrow'  

The future tense implies that the request is not immediate. The imperative sense of all these forms is clear from the rising intonation of the final syllable, as well as from the general context.

b) The bare stem-form without personal or tense markers can be used in Bāgandji to convey a more abrupt command. It is often the kind of command that is snapped out, it is not a polite personal request:

gila daldi  
not hear  
'Don't listen!'  

māwulu bari  
slowly walk  
'Walk slowly'  

yāmari diga  
this way return  
'Come back here!'  

The stem-form is a general command and can be addressed to any number of people.

This type of imperative represents the only instance in Southern Bāgandji when the 'abstract' stem-form of the present can be used without any further suffixes (V.4.2.b.iii.) it is the minimal verbal word (V.1.1.).
c) The suffix -gu is added to verb-stems to express an urgent or emphatic command:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋayi} & \quad \text{gaba} & \quad \text{-gu} \\
\text{ACC} & \quad \text{me} & \quad \text{follow} & \quad \text{-IMP} \\
\text{Follow me!} & \quad \text{(563)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muni - gu} & \quad \text{idana} \\
\text{tie} & \quad \text{-IMP} & \quad \text{him} & \quad \text{ACC} \\
\text{"Tie it (the dog) up!"} & \quad \text{(564)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{duru} \quad \text{bami - gu} \\
\text{snake} & \quad \text{look} & \quad \text{-IMP} \\
\text{"Look out for snakes!"} & \quad \text{(565)}
\end{align*}
\]

The well-known 'bivalent' (both nominal and verbal) suffix -gu occurs in most Australian languages, as a dative in nouns and as a purposive in verbs (Blake et al. in Dixon 1976:421f.). -gu is not found in this function in Bāgandji, nor in the languages immediately adjoined it, except Waŋybuwan- Nhymba. But it seems most probable that the imperative suffix -gu is the Bāgandji derivative from the Common Australian -gu and that the imperative function of this suffix has developed out of its original purposive role.

V.6. PARTICIPLES

V.6.1. General comments

According to the old definition dating back to the Greek and Latin grammarians (Marouzeau 1943:159) a participle is a verbal form that 'participates' in nominal functions. Some participles are more like nouns than others – they have a greater degree of 'nouniness', if one accepts the term used by J.R. Ross (1973). A hierarchy of 'nouniness' can be seen also in Bāgandji participles.

A participle formed with

-ana resembles a full verbal form in its syntactic functions, but it cannot take a bound subject pronoun.

-ia the optative suffix, has a greater degree of 'nouniness' it cannot fulfil the function of a main verb, and no bound pronouns are permissible with this participle.

-ri and -mendi. A morphologically fully formed verbal word followed by the nominal dative case-marker -ri or the purposive -mendi cannot fulfil the function of a main verb.

Increasing 'nouniness'

-ni habitual agent
-ŋgu gerundive
V.6.2. The non-past participle in -ana

a) Form

The participial suffix -ana is added directly to the verb-stem or to the stem followed by an aspect marker. The following morphophonemic changes take place:

i. when a bound object follows, -ana is shortened to -na, and the resulting complex morpheme thus fits in with the stress patterns outlined in II.5.4.

ii. When there is no bound object the initial -a- of -ana is combined with a preceding stem-final -a to ã, according to II.5.3.

\[\eta\text{nga} - \text{ana} [\eta\text{ngâna}]\]
\[\text{sit} - \text{PTC} \quad \text{'sitting'}\]

A glide -r- (IV.5.3.c.) is inserted between stem-final -i, -u and the participial suffix -ana

\[\text{gândi} - r - \text{ana}\]
\[\text{carry} - \text{Gl} - \text{PTC} \quad \text{'carrying'}\]

\[\text{wabu} - r - \text{ana}\]
\[\text{emerge} - \text{Gl} - \text{PTC} \quad \text{'coming out'}\]

There is one exceptional case of lengthening of -i in bämâna VIII.5.1. In both form and function the Bâgandji participle resembles the Yalarnnga participle -nYana and the Kalkatungu -nYin, probably from -*nYana (Blake, p.c.)

b) Meaning

The -ana participle bears some resemblance to the English 'ing' participle. It implies continuous action in the present or future, as opposed to punctiliar action. When used in a subordinate clause it implies simultaneity with the main clause.

c) Function

The non-past participle in -ana has a dual syntactic function:

i. as a main verb

ii. as the verbal constituent of a (full or reduced) subordinate clause.
1. Main verb

The participle in -ana as discussed in V.4.2.b.iii. acts as 'abstract' form for the present and future tenses: the participle is used in the same way as the stem-form of the past and perfect when there is no bound subject marker, as in (543, 545), and:

mina - mani gaši mūya - la - ana
what - PURP dog growl - TOP - PTC
'Why are the dogs growling?'

(566)

muni-muni wadu - 'na - ama
police take - PTC - 2 sg obj
'The police are going to get hold of you'

(567)

I)gaba I)ngā - na bamI - la
I sit - PTC look - OPT
'I'm sitting (here) to have a look'

(568)

The participle is used similarly in Marawara, as shown by Tindale's text (1939:252):

'ŋinda wangan 'komboi mari bingi 'alui
'You rising in west there-will-be thunder and lightning
this would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:

'ŋinda wanga - la - ana gumbadja mari bindi
cloud rise - TOP - PTC big very storm
'Clouds are coming up, (there will be) a big storm'

(569)

In all the above sentences it would be possible to use finite verb forms instead of the participle (for the repetition of prounoun subjects see IV.5.14.), and corresponding to sentence (566) Bāgandji people also say:

mina - mani gaši mūya - la - yiga
what - PURP dog growl - TOP - 3 pl sub
'Why do the dogs growl?'

(570)

and corresponding to (567) a frequently used sentence is:

muni-muni wadu - d - iγa - ama
police take - FUT - 3 pl sub - 2 sg obj
'The police will grab you'

(571)
but then the action is viewed as punctiliar, in the present or the future and the meaning is different from that conveyed by the -ana participle.

Syntactically the participle differs from a finite verb in these sentences only by the fact that the bound pronoun subject cannot be used with it.

In Güçu, where bound forms of the pronouns do not occur, the situation is slightly different: the -ana participle is distinct from finite verb forms in that it cannot be used with even a free pronoun subject; it is confined entirely to sentences with a nominal subject:

```
yungu nungu wimbara gari ńga - ana ńuma mali - balu - na
  female child mine sit - PTC your male - child - LOC
'My own daughter is living with your son' (572)
```

The function of the -ana participle in main clauses can thus be summarised as 'a continuous non-past form that can only be used in the absence of a bound (in Güçu, free) pronoun subject.'

11. The -ana participle as dependent verb

The -ana participle is used in the complement of verbs of perception. This may be a simple complement:

```
bami - dj - indu - na baga - ana?
see - PAST - 2 sg Tr - 3 sg obj dance - PTC
'Did you see him dancing?' (573)
```

```
daldi - y - adu - ńga gulba - ana
hear - Gl - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj talk - PTC
'I can hear them talking' (574)
```

```
murba - när' - igu bami - y - adu guligi - li - r - ana
child - Sp Pl - Pl see - Gl - 1 sg Tr play - Gl - PTC
'I can see the crowd of children playing' (575)
```

or a full subordinate clause may be involved; including a pronoun subject:

```
gila daldi - 'ndu - ayi mina yawara ńadu
not hear - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj what word I ERG
```

```
gulba - ra - na - ama
talk - TOP - PTC - 2 sg obj
```

'You don't hear me, whatever word I say to you' (576)
The -ana participle is also used in circumstantial dependent clauses:

wiřga - ana gunga - d - uru - uma
swim - PTC swallow - FUT - 3 sg sub - 2 sg obj
'He (the rainbow serpent) will swallow you while you are swimming'

(578)

Some of these circumstantial clauses have become fixed locutions, such as:

yugu bilga - ana
sun go down - PTC
'at sunset'

(579)

The dependent verb associated with the -ana participle always conveys a sense of continuity and prolongedness, and provides a background for the punctiliar action of the main verb.

V.6.3. The optative participle -la

a) Form

The optative suffix -la always follows the verb-stem or the stem + aspect marker. The following morphophonemic changes are involved.

i. stem-final -i and -u are lengthened before -la,
   bami - 'to see' bami-1a
   wadu - 'to get' wadū-1a

ii. As with the topicaliser -la-(V.3.1.c.), the -1- of the suffix may be dissimilated to -r- if an -1- occurs in the verb-stem, but in the case of the optative this dissimilation is optional.

The optative suffix is never used in conjunction with the topicaliser -la-.

b) Function

The optative participle is used only as dependent verb. It indicates an action that is contemporaneous or future with respect to the main verb and it conveys a sense of wish or purpose.
The subject of the -la participle is always identical to the subject of the main verb (for switching of reference see V.6.4.).

The optative participle can have a free object, never a bound object. Examples are:

```
gila ŋínga - yiga  wimbar'  'gu - ayi
noet  sit  -  3 pl sub  daughter  -  P1  -  l sg POS
mërba  nár' -  igu -  ŋga  -  ri  ŋũwa -  la,
child  -  Sp P1  -  P1  -  3 pl POS  -  DAT  oonk -  OPT,
bäga  na  ŋínga -  yiga,  bāndu  gala -  la
river  -  LOC  sit  -  3 pl sub,  cod  seek -  OPT

'My crowd of daughters do not stay (home) to cook for their many children, they sit by the river to look for fish' (580)
```

damba-damba  -  d -  ali  bämī -  la  ŋandi
dig  -  -  FUT  -  1 dl sub  see -  OPT  tuber

'The two of us will dig to find yams' (581)

The difference in function between the -ana participle (which can act as main verb) and the optative can be seen in the following sentence:

```
gagara ŋínga - ma -  la - ana,  widulu
here  sit  -  Vb  -  TOP  -  PTC  alI
wōdja - la  maŋga - ma -  la - ana
drink - OPT  hide  -  Vb  -  TOP  -  PTC

'(We) are sitting here to have a drink, we're hiding' (582)
```

There is no difference between the Bāgandjī dialects with regard to the form and use of the -la participle. This includes Marawara as shown by Tindale's text (1939:247), e.g.:

```
tuna  'ŋenjali  'ba:ral
a while  sit  listen

which would correspond to Southern Bāgandjī:
```

duna  ŋínga - ali  bāra -  la
then  sit  -  1 dl sub  listen -  OPT

'Then we two sit (here) to listen' (583)
```

In Bāgandjī there is no single suffix that has all the functions of the 'bivalent' -gu of many Australian languages (V.5.2.c. and Blake in Dixon 1976:421). The Bāgandjī optative in -la fulfills only one of the functions of -gu (as used for instance in Arabana Wangaŋuru), that of marking a dependent verb with optative-purposive meaning, when there is no switch of reference.
V.6.4. The dative marker -ɾi with verbs

In a dependent clause a full verbal form may be followed by the dative case marker -ɾi. This full verbal form may include a bound pronoun subject and object. The resulting complex participial form expresses the optative-purposive when there is a change of subject between the main and the dependent verb, in other words, when there is a switch of reference. Examples are:

manda la aba wadu d uḍa ayi -ɾi
wait TOP 1 sg Intr take FUT 2 pl sub 1 sg obj DAT
'I'm waiting for you to pick me up' (584)

yāmari Ṽuğa - ayi, nandama girga - adu uma -ɾi
this way give 1 sg obj, again show 1 sg Tr 2 sg obj DAT
'Give it to me over here, so that I can show you again' (585)

There is one important general restriction: the verb could be nominalised by the addition of the case-marker -ɾi but only in the absence of any nuclear case nouns, that is, only if the subject and object were pronouns, bound or free. When this restriction operated there was no subordination, and two main verbs were simply juxtaposed, as in the Bārundji sentence:

wagaga Ṽuğa - ana waga adu guniga
axe give 1 sg obj chop 1 sg Tr firewood
'noun object
'Give me an axe (so that) I'll chop some firewood' (586)

and Southern Bāgandji:

būrī nj a - ndu - ana gila wadu d - uru - ana
hang ASP 2 sg Tr 3 sg obj not take FUT 3 sg Tr 3 sg obj
dayi d uru - ana bulgu - duru
eat FUT 3 sg sub 3 sg obj mouse DEM Erg
'noun subject
'Hang it up so that a mouse can't get it and eat it' (587)

The nominalised verbal form with the case-marker -ɾi was used only by the most fluent Bāgandji speakers, as might be expected with such a complex form. This type of dative was also not heard in any other dialects, including Bandjigali, the dialect closest to Southern Bāgandji. It is probable therefore that this usage was a complex and recent development in Southern Bāgandji.
V.6.5. Other case-forms

a) -mandi

The purposive case-marker -mandi is added to a full verb to form a participle in the same syntactic conditions as -ri:

\[\text{ibi - dj - adu - na minga - na gila - d - adu - mandi}
\text{put - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj hole - LOC grow - PUT - 3 sg sub - PURP}
\]

'I put it (the cod) into a (water)hole, for it to grow'  
(588)

and

\[\text{gila ngaga - yiga - nga manu bali-balira daya - yiga - mandi}
\text{not give - 3 pl sub - 3 pl obj food delicious eat - 3 pl sub - PURP}
\]

'They (those wicked women) don't given them (their children) delicious food, for them to eat'  
(589)

This usage however is extremely rare and confined to Southern Bāgangjī. Paratactic constructions, involving the juxtaposition of two main verbs (V.6.4.) are much more common, as for instance:

\[\text{gulba - mba, yuri - ba - ana ngina - wa}
\text{Speak - 2 sg Intr, hear - ASP - PTC we - EMPH}
\]

'Tell (us), (so) we'll know'  
(590)

b) -ambala, -umbula

Even rarer than -mandi and heard only a few times, was the comitative case-marker -ambala, -umbula with a verb-form; as in:

\[\text{gunga - ngu - ru - ana daula, madara nagu - dj - u}
\text{swallow - PERF - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj dry, nothing mix - PAST - 3 sg sub,}
\text{wandi - ru gundu - ana, gila dayi - ngu - adu - umbula}
\text{burn - 3 sg sub guts - 3 sg POS, not eat - PERF - 3 sg sub - COM}
\]

'He used to swallow it dry (the method), he didn't mix in anything, he burnt up his guts, because he didn't eat (anything) with it'  
(591)

The verb followed by a comitative was heard from not so fluent Southern Bāgangjī speakers, unlike the other case-marked verb-forms. It seems likely that this usage was due to or at least favoured by the influence of English syntax, particularly the final 'with it' in conversational English.
V.6.6. Other participial suffixes

There are two other very rare participial forms in Southern Bāgandjjī:

-\textit{ni} is used as a suffix to mark the 'habitual' participle

\textit{windjara ŋɪŋa - ni} maši-bašu
where sit - HAB boy

'where (are) the boys staying?' (592)

From the little available evidence it seems that this participle was used purely adjectivally.

-\textit{ŋu} (identical in form to the perfect marker) was used as an obligatory participial suffix in the word \textit{wTdjaŋu} 'something that has to be drunk' as in:

\textit{ŋadu ŋu} ga - na - ama wTdja - ŋu gadjilugu
1 ERG give - PTC - 2 sg obj drink - OBL little

'I'll give you a drink, just a little one' (593)

These last two categories must be ignored in any generalisations because not enough is known of them.

In Southern Bāgandjjī as in many other even totally unrelated languages (e.g. Sanskrit, Harweg 1968) increasing 'nouniness' in participles is correlated with increasing syntactic complexity. In the case of a dying language like Bāgandjjī it is precisely these most complex features that are most vulnerable and liable to early loss.
CHAPTER VI
CLITICS, ADVERBS AND INTERJECTIONS

VI.1. CLITICS

VI.1.1. General remarks

Clitics differ from free morphemes in that they are attached to another word and are pronounced as part of it: in Bāgandji they are always enclitic to a preceding word. They may totally lack independent accentuation, in which case they can be called 'full clitics', or they may show varying minor degrees of independent accentuation, in which case they can be called 'postpositions'.

Clitics differ from other bound morphemes, both grammatical and stem-forming, in that they can generally be used with more than just a limited category of words and are not tied to certain syntactic functions. Basically clitics are more independent than inflectional and derivational bound morphemes: they are by their nature post-inflections.

One totally unaccented clitic may be used to reinforce another, but in those cases there is a definite ranking order:

1. primary clitics can only be used immediately after an independent word

11. secondary clitics may follow directly on an independent word, or they may follow a primary clitic.

We can therefore categorise Bāgandji clitics according to the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unaccented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some Slight Independent Accentuation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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VI.1.2. Primary clitics

Those of the Bāgandji clitics which are totally unaccented all convey emphasis, but they differ from each other in the degree and type of emphasis: they can bring to a sentence or part of a sentence urgency, immediacy, topicality or simply reinforcement.

a) -diŋa

This clitic throws strong emphasis on the preceding word. Phonetically and semantically it causes the whole sentence to revolve around that word: it is the main topicalising clitic of Bāgandji.

-diŋa has a marked phonetic impact on the preceding word. The last syllable, which would normally have been unaccented (II.5.3.) assumes a strong stress accent before -diŋa and is lengthened, and in fact becomes the dominant syllable of the whole sentence in the following circumstances:

always if it contains the vowel -a
always if it contains the vowel -u of the pronominal ergative optionally in all other circumstances

The uses of -diŋa are as follows:

1. By its very nature as topicalising clitic -diŋa is often associated with the subject of a sentence. It occurs most commonly with the ergative form, both free and bound, of the demonstrative pronoun (g)ina 'that'.

With the free form of the pronoun, to emphasise it as topic:

\[ \text{inu - } \text{ru - } \text{diŋa } \text{wadu - dji} \]
\[ \text{that - } \text{ERG - EMPH take - PAST} \]
\[ 'That is the one who took (it)!' \]  
(594)

as opposed to the non-emphatic:

\[ \text{inu - } \text{ru } \text{wadu - dji - na} \]
\[ \text{that - } \text{ERG take - PAST - 3 sg obj} \]
\[ 'That one took it' \]  
(595)

and:

\[ \text{ginu - } \text{ru - } \text{diŋa } \text{wandi - dji } \text{ina } \text{yara} \]
\[ \text{that - } \text{ERG - EMPH burn - PAST that tree} \]
\[ 'That is the one who burnt down the tree' \]  
(596)

as opposed to the non-emphatic:
with the bound form of the demonstrative:

\[ \text{ma'li - ba'lu - nur} \quad \text{- di'n} \quad \text{balga - dji - na} \]
\[ \text{male - child - DEM ERG - EMPH hit - PAST 3 sg obj} \]
\[ 'That boy killed it!' \]  (598)

With a nominal subject:

\[ \text{garu - di'n} \quad \text{wadu - du} \]
\[ \text{other - EMPH take - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ 'Somebody else (will) take it!' \]  (599)

With an interrogative pronoun subject:

\[ \text{windjig'\text{\text{\text{'}}} - di'n} \quad \text{wabu - dji} \]
\[ \text{who - EMPH emerge - PAST} \]
\[ 'Who was it that came out?' \]  (601)

11. -di'n is heard occasionally with the direct object, when dramatic emphasis is laid upon it:

\[ \text{gayi - di'n} \quad \text{gala - adu} \]
\[ \text{me - EMPH seek - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ '(The lightning) is coming after me' \]  (602)

There are no instances of this topicalising clitic ever occurring in conjunction with any peripheral case form.

111. -di'n was used often to add emphasis to an adverb:

\[ \text{gandinj'\text{\text{\text{'}}} - di'n} \]
\[ \text{long ago - EMPH} \]
\[ 'a long, long time ago' \]  (603)

and particularly to the negative adverb:

\[ \text{mal-mal - dji - u} \quad \text{gili'\text{\text{\text{'}}} - di'n} \quad \text{dayi - la - ngu - ru} \]
\[ \text{die - PAST - 3 sg sub not - EMPH eat - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub} \]
\[ 'He died because (he drank metho and) had not eaten anything' \]  (604)
iv. -diŋa is used only very rarely to emphasise a verbal form:

bami - ṭu - diŋa
see - NF - EMPH
'He saw!' (605)

The topicalising clitic -diŋa is characteristic of Southern Bāgandji and does not appear to be known in any other dialect.

b) -wa

This topicalising clitic differs from -diŋa in the following ways:

- -wa has a much wider distribution, and appears to be known in all recorded Bāgandji dialects,
- -wa has a more limited range of usage, occurring only with the subject, nominal or pronominal, it has a less marked influence on the accentuation pattern of the sentence.

There is optional lengthening and stress of a nominal (not pronominal) final -a before -wa:

wīmbadjā - wa dulaga
people - EMPH Bad
'bad people'

(606)

- -wa is used occasionally with a pronoun complement:

windjaraŋuḍa - wa balu-balu
where you pl - EMPH children
'Where are you, children?'

(607)

but the main function of the clitic -wa is to add emphasis to the subject, transitive or intransitive, nominal or pronominal:

gilaŋadu - wa yungāgu bāna - dj - u - ana
not I ERG EMPH alone make PAST 1 sg Tr 3 sg obj
'I didn't do it on my own'

(608)

The usage with the transitive subject is so particularly common that -wa has been erroneously regarded as an ergative case-marking suffix (for further examples and discussion III.2.4.).
This is a fairly rare clitic and appears to be confined to Guçu: it lends emphasis particularly to a preceding adjective:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{du} & \text{lag} \ - \ li \\
\text{Bad} & \ - \ \text{EMPH} \\
\text{‘really bad’} & \quad (609)
\end{align*}
\]

Like all other primary clitics -li attracts a stress accent onto a preceding -a, but only optionally.

d) -bura

This is a rare clitic that was used only after verbs to imply 'at last', 'with difficulty', as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bilga} & \ - \ \text{ab} \ - \ \text{bura} \\
\text{descend} & \ - \ 1 \ \text{sg Intr} \ - \ \text{at last} \\
\text{‘I’ve managed to get down (from the tree)’} & \quad (610)
\end{align*}
\]

### VI.1.3. Secondary clitics

a) -da

This is a weak contrastive clitic found occasionally with nouns:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dunga} & \ - \ \text{da} \\
\text{night} & \ - \ \text{EMPH} \\
\text{‘but night-time as well’} & \quad (611)
\end{align*}
\]

The most common use of -da however is with pronoun subjects, sometimes in conjunction with the primary clitic -wa

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{njimba} & \ - \ \text{da} \ \text{guru}, \ \text{gila} \ \text{nal} \ \text{nu} \ - \ \text{ama} \\
you & \ - \ \text{EMPH stranger, not we two} \ \text{give} - \ \text{PTC} - \ 2 \ \text{sg obj} \\
\text{‘But you’re a stranger, we two won’t give you anything’} & \quad (612)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{njindu} & \ - \ \text{wa} \ - \ \text{da} \ \text{gama} \ - \ \text{dj} \ - \ \text{ayi} \ \text{inu} \ \text{bandu} \\
you & \ - \ \text{ERG-EMPH} - \ \text{EMPH steal} - \ \text{PAST} - \ 1 \ \text{sg obj this fish} \\
\text{‘But it was you that stole this fish from me’} & \quad (613)
\end{align*}
\]

Unlike -wa, the secondary clitic -da is not confined to the subject and may be used to emphasise the pronoun object:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nal} & \ - \ \text{na} \ - \ \text{da} \ \text{bami} \ - \ \text{dj} \ - \ \text{u} \\
\text{we two} & \ - \ \text{ACC - EMPH see} - \ \text{PAST} - \ 3 \ \text{sg obj} \\
\text{‘But he saw us two!’} & \quad (614)
\end{align*}
\]
b) -di

This secondary clitic may be used to emphasise a wide variety of words, nominals in various case-forms as well as verbs and adverbs:

\[
\text{māda - } \text{di } \text{bari - } \text{y - } \text{adu} \\
\text{boss - EMPH } \text{go - G1 - 3 sg sub}
\]

'The boss himself is coming' (615)

\[
\text{mina - mandi } ? \text{yanḍa - mandi - } \text{di !} \\
\text{what - PURP } ? \text{money - PURP - EMPH}
\]

'What for? For money, of course!' (616)

\[
\text{gilala - } \text{di } \text{nūya - la - } \text{adu} \\
\text{not - EMPH fear - TOP - 3 sg sub}
\]

'He's not scared' (617)

Sometimes in Guugu -di is used in conjunction with the primary clitic -li:

\[
\text{dulagā - } \text{li - } \text{di !} \\
\text{bad - EMPH - EMPH}
\]

'bad indeed!' (618)

The secondary clitics do not have any significant impact on accentuation.

VI.1.4. Postpositions

Postpositions differ from other clitics by the fact that they have some independent accentuation and show at least a secondary stress (II.5.3.): in syllabic structure they resemble free morphemes in that they are never monosyllabic.

The postpositions, though varied in usage, have a common origin: they appear to have been originally adverbs that have developed into bound forms and have lost their main stress accent. Two of them, -mari and -ili can still function as adverbs.

a) -mari, -malda

-mari serves as a superlative marking postposition which is added to adjectives and adverbs; from both the phonetic and syntactic point of view, as shown in the following examples, -mari forms part of the preceding word.
In this very common type of sentence the complex adjective + -mari behaves syntactically just like a simple adjective (III.1.2.b.). -mari is used in Gunu in the same manner as in Southern Bāgandjī, but Gunu furthermore has another postposition, -malda, which closely resembles -mari in function and meaning. -mari may also be affixed to adverbs:

murada - mari bari - dj - u
quickly - very go - PAST - 3 sg sub
'He went very quickly' (621)

In some of its usages -mari can be interpreted as 'truly' and this may have been its original meaning. There are rare occasions when -mari is not a clitic but a fully accented independent word, functioning as a particle:

yari - naba - dj' idu mari
ear - ōshut - having this one truly
'He's absolutely deaf' (622)

b) -ili

-ili 'now' is a postposition marking immediacy. It is most commonly affixed to verbs, particularly in the imperative:

gina - ud' - ili
stop - 2'pl sub - now
'Stop now (that's enough)! ' (623)

but it also frequently occurs with adverbs:

baljadj' - ili bari - d - ōba
soon - now go - FUT - 1 sg Intr
'In a little while now I'll go' (624)

-ili occurs in all Bāgandjī dialects: it is repeatedly used in the Marawara text published by Tindale (1939). Tindale sometimes writes -ili sometimes - il:
'Keikil 'wombi'la:pi:li
With-this he-flew-into-the air.

This is equivalent to Southern Bągandji:

gīg - ili wambī - la - ab' - ili
this here - now fly - TOP - 1 sg Tr - now
'Now this is it. I (can) fly now'

and

'K(e)i:ki:li 'tailpa-'nili
Here-it-comes close-overhead

Southern Bągandji:

gīg' - ili daljba - n' - ili
this here - now close - LOC - now
'Now this is it, it's close now!'

Occasionally ili is used as an independent adverb and fully accented:

ŋindu ili damba
you ERG now dig
'You dig now!'

(627)

c) -albi

-albi 'like', 'as it were' is a postposition which is affixed to the object of comparison, nominal, pronominal or adverbial:

wīmbadja - albi gulbi - la - adu
man - like talk - TOP - 3 sg sub
'He talks like an Aboriginal man'

(628)

māda idu māda - mari ila quma - albi
old this old - very not your - like
'He's older than you'

(629)

ŋayi galī quma galī yunūna - albi galī
my dog your dog thus - like dog
'My dog and your dog are of the same kind'

(630)

A very frequently heard question is:

nayunja - 'lbi
What - like
'What's it like?'

(631)
-albi is affixed to verbs to imply 'as it were' or 'maybe it was like that':

\[ \text{dadu balga - dj - iga - 'lbi} \]
\[ \text{Head hit - PAST - 3 pl sub - like} \]
\[ 'Maybe they hit him on the head!' \]

(632)

The elision of the initial vowel of -albi is optional, and is largely dependent on the speed of utterance.

d) -wangi

This is a postposition implying pre-eminence and exclusiveness. It has been recorded only in Southern Bāgandji, affixed to the pronoun subject:

\[ \text{duna gadjilugu gargi, duna ɡali - wangi} \]
\[ \text{then little bottle, then we two - only} \]
\[ 'It's only a small bottle, just we two (will have it)' \]

(633)

\[ \text{ŋadu - wangi yuri - ba - du} \]
\[ \text{I ERG - only know - ASP - I sg Tr} \]
\[ 'I'm the only one that understands' \]

(634)

Sometimes -wangi is abbreviated to -'ngi

\[ \text{ŋaba - ngi ɲidja bari - dj -  Serialized} \]
\[ \text{I - only one go - PAST - 1 sg Intr} \]
\[ 'I went all on my own' \]

(635)

It seems likely that -wangi, unlike the other postpositions, is not adverbial in origin, but represents an extension of the primary clitic -wa (VI.1.2.b.).

VI.2. ADVERBS

VI.2.1. General comments

For syntactic reasons (III.1.2.) pronominal adverbs form a separate word-class and have been discussed in IV.7. Only adverbs not connected with the pronominal system are described here.

Adverbs, as is traditionally admissible (Marouzeau 1943) are taken here in the broadest sense of the term, to include the few particles that exist in Bāgandji. There are, however, certain features that set aside particles from the main group of adverbs in Bāgandji:
1. Adverbs (i.e. non-pronominal adverbs) generally precede and only rarely follow the verb: they form part of the verb phrase, but the position of particles is not necessarily linked with the verb.

2. Adverbs cannot occur in a 'verbless' sentence (IV.5.15.b.), particles can as in (583).

VI.2.2. Particles

a) The negative

1. *gila* 'not' may negate a noun-phrase, an adverb or a whole sentence. It is always sentence-initial except in the rare instance where it occurs in an interrogative sentence: the rules given in IV.6.1.a. and IV.5.13. then have precedence over the initial position of the negative:

```
mina - mand' - uga          gila daldi - la - ana
what - PURP - 2 pl sub not - hear - TOP - PTC

'Why are you people not listening?' (636)
```

The initial position of the negative particle is characteristic of Victorian languages (Hercus 1969), of Waŋybuwan-Ŋiyambŋ (Donaldson 1980) and of Maljaŋaba; it is also found in Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979). Although it is not unknown elsewhere in Australia, in places as far afield as Bathurst and Melville Island (Osborne 1975), the obligatory initial position of the negative particle remains an important areal trait that links the languages of Western NSW with both Kulin and Pitta-Pitta.

After *gila* the normal order of the sentence prevails, but it may be altered so that *gila* can be followed immediately by the word to which the negative most particularly applies:

```
gila ŋayi - mandi wadu - dji - na
not - me - PURP - get - PAST - 3 sg obj

'He didn't get it for me' (637)
```

gila also functions as a prohibitive particle before imperative forms of the verb:

```
gila bami - la - gu
not - see - TOP - IMP

'Don't look' (638)
```

but is may also occur in a 'verbless' sentence (VI.2.1.):
gil a  gumbadja -  adu
  n't  big    -  3 sg sub
'It's not big'  (639)

For the variant pronunciation of gila as ila see II.2.3.

11. ñāda 'nothing', 'not'
ñāda is often used as a nominal base meaning 'nothing':

ñāda - mandi balga - dji - na
nothing - PURP kill - PAST - 3 sg obj
'He killed him for nothing'  (640)

or as an adjectival form negating a noun-phrase:

ñāda - balda - dja
nothing shame - having
'shameless'

(for further examples see III.6.2.a.)
but is can also function as a particle:

ñāda magara - dji, dala, dala
not rain - PAST dry, dry
'It didn't rain at all, it was dry, dry!'  (641)

In these circumstances ñāda is not simply an equivalent of gila
but an emphatic negation 'not at all'.

III. walja

walja is a rare prohibitive particle 'don't':

walja wīdja - ndu
don't drink - 2 sg Tr
'Don't drink'  (642)

This particle is identical in form to the general negative
particle of Wangumara, walja 'not'.

b) Other particles

marī 'very', 'truly' has been discussed in VI.1.4.a.
VI.2.3. Locational adverbs

Adverbs are divided traditionally into adverbs of place, time and manner. Location is often indicated not by true adverbs, but by nominal bases used adverbially. Four distinct degrees of 'nouniness' can be observed:

1. There are a few true adverbs which are by their nature indeclinable, examples are:
   
   mañu-mañu 'in all directions'
   wara-wara 'side by side'
   gargonja 'high up' (as distinct from the noun gargonja 'sky')

ii. Some 'adverbs' are indeclinable in the locative and allative: the bare stem implies these two cases; but the elative is marked by a case suffix.

   baridjiri 'very far away'  baridjiri-ndu 'from very far away'
   garabira 'far away'  garabira-ndu 'from afar'
   gārugaya 'yonder'  gārugaya-ndu 'from yonder'

iii. Some 'adverbs' imply only an allative and take case-endings in the locative and elative:

   dānga  dānga-na  dānga-undu
   'towards the middle'  'in the middle'  'out of the middle'

   Similarly:

   daljba  daljba-na  daljba-undu
   '(towards) close by'  'close by'  'from nearby'
   miriga  miriga-na  miriga-ndu
   'forwards'  'in front'  'from in front'
   malāga  malāga-na  malāga-ndu
   '(to) the other side'  'on the other side'  'from the other side'

iv. Some locational words in Bāgandji may translate English adverbs, but are in fact not adverbs at all. They are nouns, and unlike words listed under i-iii they never imply any peripheral case: they are used with a full set of case markers and often take a possessive suffix as well, as for instance:
VI.2.4. Temporal adverbs

A few locational adverbs also have a temporal connotation, e.g. miriga-na 'in front' can also mean 'first':

\[
\text{miriga-na} \quad \text{dayi} \quad \text{dayi} \quad \text{d} \quad \text{ali}
\]
\[
\text{front} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{FUT} \quad \text{1 dl sub}
\]
\['We two will eat first' (643)\]

In contrast to the 'nouniness' of locational adverbs, only two of the recorded temporal adverbs have any link with nominals:

gāndinjja 'long ago' can also function as an adjective 'old', e.g. Ûnu:

\[
\text{gāndinjja} \quad \text{bara} \quad \text{gāba}
\]
\[
\text{old} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{PRES} \quad \text{I}
\]
\['I am an old woman' (644)\]

dungaraḍaga 'all night' is a derivative of duṇga 'night'; but the method of derivation remains obscure and there are no parallel cases of the suffix involved.

All other temporal adverbs are 'true' adverbs and invariant, e.g.:

dōndama 'again'
galjbu 'soon', 'recently'
baḷjaḍa 'in a moment', 'directly'
ilāgu 'yesterday'
garia 'tomorrow'

Of special interest are:

dūṇa
\['then'\]
dūṇa
\['then'\]
waṛa 'and then'
These words have been included among the temporal adverbs because they cannot be used in 'verbless' sentences. Nevertheless, from the way in which they function they could be called 'linking particles':

\[
gandi - ru - uluna \\
carry - NF - 3 dl obj \\
duna wadu - ru - uluna, \\
then take - NF - 3 dl obj, \\
duna mugi - ru - uluna \\
then hide - NF - 3 dl obj camp - LOC
\]

"He carried them both (down from the tree), then he took them both and then he hid them both away in his camp" (645)

wa ra was heard in all the recorded Bāgandjī dialects, but it appears to have been particularly common in Marawara according to Tindale's text (1939). He sometimes transcribes it as ora, as in (p.251)

'Tambili 'meNGa 'keNGutjarm 'mandi 'ora ip':arleli. Dig hole for sister's son that we may him bury

This corresponds to Southern Bāgandjī:

\[
damb' - ili miNGa gINGudja - ama - mandi wara \\
dig - now hole nephew - 2 sg POS - PURP and then \\
iba - la - ali \\
put down - TOP - 1 dl sub
\]

"Now dig a hole for your sister's son, and then we two put (him) in" (646)

One person who was not a fluent Southern Bāgandjī speaker, used wa ra like English 'and' to link two nouns: this was due to English influence. Older speakers used wa ra only to link sentences.

VI.2.5. Adverbs of manner

a) the adverb-forming suffix -mala.

The most interesting feature of the adverbs of manner is that some have been derived from adjectives by means of an 'adverb-forming' suffix -mala. This suffix is clearly associated with the verbaliser -ma and the topicalising suffix -la: -mala therefore must have originally conveyed the notion of 'making it'. This throws some light on the adverb-forming suffix of Pitta-Pitta which is maNGa (Blake 1979:212). It seems highly likely from the corroborative evidence of Bāgandjī that Pitta-Pitta -maNGa was also derived from the verbaliser -ma + maNGa (probably connected with the widespread verbal suffix -NGa Hercus MSa). The similarity between the adverb-forming suffixes of Pitta-Pitta and Bāgandjī is yet another interesting link between the two languages.
Examples of adverbs formed with -mala are:

balīra-mala 'well' from balīra 'good'

There is also a variant short form balī-mala
dulag-mala 'badly' from dulaga 'bad'
dulu-mala 'in a heap' from dulu 'close together'
gila bari - y - adu balīra - mala
not go - Gl - 3-sg sub good - ADV
'He can't walk properly' (647)

b) Other adverbs of manner

Apart from the adverbs formed with -mala there is one very common adverb of manner than can be derived from an adjective. This is:
yungāgu from yungāgu and yunga
'on one's own', 'separately', 'one's very own', 'own'

yungāgu dayi - l' - dji yunga yabara - na
'separately eat - TOP - PAST own camp - LOC
'He ate it on his own, in his own camp' (648)

All remaining adverbs of manner are unconnected with any other part of speech. A few examples are:
mibuđa 'completely'
murāđa 'quickly', (muru-murāđa)
nařadja 'in company, together'
mugu-muga 'quietly'
māwulu 'slowly'
yalinja 'too much'

VI.3. INTERJECTIONS

VI.3.1. The negative and the affirmative

The negative nominal and participial form nāda (VI.2.2.) functions as a negative interjection 'no'. It is most uncommon in Bāgandji for the negative interjection to stand entirely on its own: speakers usually go on to explain what is being negated. Thus in answer to a request, a Bāgandji speaker normally says, rather than just nāda 'no':

nāda, gila nūga - l' - d - adu - na
no, not give - TOP - FUT - 1-sg Tr - 3 sg obj
'No, I won't give it' (649)

On the other hand the affirmative nī, nīm usually stands alone as a simple interjection. There is remarkable uniformity in the Bāgandji dialects with regard to the negative and affirmative interjections.
VI.3.2. Other interjections: exclamations

Interjections, probably more than any other parts of speech, are subject to individual taste and style. Because such a limited number of speakers remained the range of personal choice in interjections is poorly represented. Only the following were heard:

- ilaguáyi 'by Jove!' (lit. 'my yesterday!')
- wulú 'hey! look out!'
- náyi 'hey! hallo there!'
- yaga baldáyi 'oh dear!' (lit. 'alas my skin!')

Two of the interjections used in Bāgandji are very widespread in Australian languages. One is the ubiquitous:

yagáyi

(shortened to yaga in yaga baldáyi above)

'oh! oh dear!'

the other is:

- gabá
  'come on! hurry up!'

which is shared with a number of languages, including Maljaŋaba, Wangumara and Guyani.

Some verbs formed with -ma (V.1.3.d.) are obviously based on interjections that happen not to occur separately in the recorded materials, e.g.

- dal - dal - ma - la
- crash - crash - Vb - TOP

'to make a crashing sound'

Interjections other than the negative and affirmative are exclamations. They do not follow the general intonation patterns as set out in II.5.3.: they all have a strong rising pitch accent on the final syllable. As -áyi is generally pronounced as a single syllable [ái] (II.4.4.) interjections with this final do not form an exception to this special accentuation rule.
CHAPTER VII
WORD-ORDER

VII.1. TRANSITIVE SENTENCES

VII.1.1. General comments

Some features of Bāgandji word-order are so closely linked with morphology that they have had to be discussed in the relevant sections: the word-order of the noun-phrase is discussed in III.8. that of pronoun subject and object in IV.5.14. and interrogative pronouns in IV.5.13. The topic of the present chapter is more general and refers to word-order within the whole sentence.

The basic word-order of Bāgandji is: SUBJECT VERB OBJECT but there is variation according to the type of sentence.

According to the class of words used in the main functions of subject and object there are nine different types of transitive sentences in Bāgandji:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Free Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Pronoun</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Pronoun</td>
<td>Free Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Pronoun</td>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
<td>Free Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
<td>Bound Pronoun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences of the types enclosed within lines do not occur in Guçu.
VII.1.2. Nominal subject and object

Sentences with nominal subject and object are relatively uncommon: in ordinary conversation either the subject or the object has already featured as the general topic of the discourse and is therefore referred to by a pronoun. But when such sentences do occur, there is one absolute rule: a nominal subject must precede a nominal object. The only exception to this rule that was ever heard was in the unusual and special circumstances, when the object was already anticipated by a bound object (59). The word-order in nominal subject and nominal object sentences is always S - V - 0:

\[
\text{muni-muni - nuru naba - dj inu nūngu} \\
\text{police - DEM ERG shut - PAST this woman}
\]

'The police looked this woman up' (650)

Other examples are for instance: (51), (55), (56) and (70).

There is, however, some latitude with regard to the positioning of the verb: adjectives functioning as nominal objects may precede the verb:

\[
\text{mūrba - ṇulu - nuru widunja ganma - dj - ayi} \\
\text{child - two - DEM ERG all steal - PAST 1 sg obj}
\]

'Those two children stole everything from me' (651)

Other examples are (5) and (60), but the use of the order S - O - V as opposed to S - V - O appears to be limited to sentences with an adjectival object.

As indicated (III.2.1.b.) in sentences where both the subject and object are nouns word-order is strict and fulfils the syntactic function of distinguishing between subject and object, as the ergative may remain unmarked.

VII.1.3. Free Pronouns

There are two main features of word-order in sentences with free pronominal subject and/or object (types 2, 4-6 and 8):

a) word-order is more flexible than in the nominal subject nominal object sentences:

b) there is considerable difference between Gunu and Southern Bāgandji (types 2, 4, and 5 only are relevant).

a) Some aspects of word-order with free pronouns have been discussed in IV.5.14. The important feature is that word-order does not have any major syntactic significance with free pronouns, as there is full morphological distinction between the nuclear cases. The basic order
is still S - V - O, as in sentences of type 1, but O - V - S is permitted when the object is topicalised (IV.5.14.). Two different possibilities can be seen in one utterance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gāru</th>
<th>nūngu - nuru</th>
<th>iniga wadu - dji - na,</th>
<th>duna ċayi winba - yiga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>other</em></td>
<td><em>woman</em></td>
<td><em>here</em></td>
<td><em>take</em> - <em>PAST</em> - <em>3 sg obj</em>, <em>then me</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S V O O V - s

type 3 type 8

(type the bound forms have been marked with small letters)

'Another woman here took it, and now they blame me'

(652)

There is somewhat less latitude in sentences of types 4 and 5: in these there is a strong preference for the initial position of the free pronoun subject, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>qadu</th>
<th>waga - waga - na - ama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>I</em></td>
<td><em>ERG</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S V - o

'I'll smack you!'

(653)

When the subject is a demonstrative pronoun this word-order is 'obligatory: this is the one situation where the word-order with pronouns is as strict as it is with nouns. The reason for this is probably the close link of the demonstrative ergative with the nominal system (III.2.5.b.).

In all sentences of this type (4 and 5) involving free pronouns the subject is strongly topicalised. A typical example is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inu</th>
<th>rū - dina ńūga - dji - ayi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>this</em></td>
<td><em>ERG</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He was the one who gave it to me'

(654)

Both Bandjigali and Bārunjdį have the same word-order as Southern Bāgandį, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ċindu</th>
<th>balga - dji</th>
<th>iduna galį</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>you</em></td>
<td><em>kill</em> - <em>PAST</em> <em>this dog</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S V O

'You killed this dog' (Bārunjdį)

(655)

b) Guņu

Within the verbal word of Southern Bāgandį as shown previously (IV.5.2.) the order of elements is V - S - O. This is exactly the normal order of the free pronoun form in Guņu. The situation with regard to the whole sentence of type 5 in Guņu is thus parallel to
to what was found in the noun-phrase (III.8.2.): the normal order of the free form in Guçu is identical with that of the bound forms in Southern Bāgandji.

\[
\text{ŋandji wadu - ru ŋana} \\
\text{leave he - ERG me} \\
V \quad S \quad O \\
'\text{He left me}' \quad (656)
\]

for further examples see III.8.2.

The Guçu situation points towards the probability of the following historical development of normal word-order in Bāgandji in this type of sentence:

'\text{Proto-Bāgandji}' \quad V \quad S \quad O

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guçu \quad V \quad S \quad O</th>
<th>Southern Bāgandji \quad V \quad s \quad o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(type 5)</td>
<td>(type 9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand the sequence S V O topicalises the pronominal subject in Guçu, because it is the unusual word-order for a sentence involving pronominal subject and object; in Southern Bāgandji this sequence also topicalises the subject because a free as opposed to a bound form is used (IV.5.14.).

Thus when the pronominal subject is topicalised:

| Proto Bāgandji \quad S \quad V \quad O | Guçu \quad S \quad V \quad O | Southern Bāgandji \quad S \quad V \quad o |

VII.1.4. Bound pronominal subject

a) Main clauses

Main clauses of type 7 and 8, involving a bound pronoun subject and a nominal or pronominal object show considerable liberty in word-order. The order may be: O V - s or V - s O

\[
gadjilugu  \text{ gānda - adu} \\
guţa - dj - indu \quad \text{gadjilugu} \\
little \quad \text{give - PAST - 2 sg Tr little} \\
O \quad V \quad s \quad O \\
'I've (only) got a little bit' \quad (657) \\

'You (only) gave a little bit' \quad (658)
\]
b) Internal structure of dependent clauses

In dependent clauses of types 7 and 8 the word-order is always \( O \ V - s \):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{mara - ayi} & \text{nüga - la - dji,} & \text{mađa guniga waga - ñgu - adu} \\
\text{hand - 1 sg POS cut - TOP - PAST hard wood} & \text{chop - PERF - 1 sg Tr}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{O} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{- s}
\end{array}
\]

Dependent clause

'I cut my hand (because) I chopped a hard piece of wood' (659)

c) Dependent verb-phrases

In a dependent verb-phrase as in a dependent clause the order is always \( O \ V \):

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{bari - d - ñba} & \text{gar gi - ma - ri wadü - la} \\
\text{go - FUT - 1 sg Intr flagon - 2 sg POS - DAT get} & \text{- OPT}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{O} \\
\text{V}
\end{array}
\]

Dependent VP

'I'll go and get your flagon' (660)

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
\text{nandama waba} & \text{bîburu dayî - la} \\
\text{again come out - FUT - 1 sg Intr ants} & \text{eat - OPT}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{O} \\
\text{V}
\end{array}
\]

Dependent VP

'I, (the echidna) will come out again to eat ants' (661)

The order differs only on rare occasions to lay emphasis on the object:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ñaba ñînga - ana manda - la quma - ri} \\
I & \text{sit - PTC wait} & \text{- OPT you - DAT}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{O}
\end{array}
\]

Dependent VP

'I'm sitting (here) waiting for you' (662)

The theory 'the higher the construction in an immediate constituent hierarchy, the freer the order of the constituent elements' (Greenberg: 1963, 1966), certainly holds for the stricter internal structure of the dependent verb phrase as opposed to the freer order of main clauses of types 7 and 8. But from the overall point of view, as shown in VII.1.2. this general principle is obscured by the syntactic function of word-order in Bāgandjī nouns.
VII.2. OTHER ASPECTS OF WORD-ORDER

VII.2.1. Intransitive sentences

In intransitive sentences the word-order does not fulfill any syntactic function. There is considerable flexibility: the preferred word-order is S V as in:

\[
\text{nūngu bari - dji} \\
\text{woman go - PAST} \\
\text{S V} \\
\text{'The woman went away'}
\]

if the subject is simply a noun; but when it is noun + adjective, or demonstrative pronoun + noun the alternative word-order is preferred:

\[
\text{bari - dji igi nūngu} \\
\text{go - PAST this woman} \\
\text{'This woman went away'}
\]

VII.2.2. Circumstantial phrases

The position of noun-phrases expressing general circumstances and marked by peripheral case markers represents the most variable aspect of Bāgandji word-order. People repeating a sentence will quite unconsciously change the position of phrases containing a noun in a peripheral case:

\[
\text{bana - ma - adu gildu gina widu - mandi} \\
\text{make - Vb - l²sg Tr stew this old man - PURP}
\]

and

\[
\text{gina widu - mandi bana - ma - adu gildu} \\
\text{this old man - PURP make - Vb - l²sg Tr stew}
\]

'I'm making stew for this old man'

\[
\text{būnga - na qīnga - adu} \\
\text{humpy - LOC sit - 3²sg sub}
\]

and

\[
\text{qīnga - adu būnga - na} \\
\text{sit - 3²sg sub humpy - LOC}
\]

'He's sitting in (his) humpy!'

Bāgandji word-order thus represents a complex scheme of:

a) fixed word-order (as within a noun phrase)

b) word-order fulfilling a syntactic function (as in transitive sentences of type 1)

c) completely free order as in intransitive sentences and in the positioning of circumstantial phrases.
CHAPTER VIII
BÄGANDJI TEXTS

These texts are presented with an interlinear gloss and a free English translation follows. In those texts where there is a mixture of Bägandji and English, the free translation has been inserted in square brackets so as to preserve continuity.

VIII.1. STRUCK BY LIGHTNING

The events described in this story occurred in the nineteen-thirties on Cuthero Station on the Darling. They centre on the belief held by the Bägandji and the neighbouring MaljaQaba that freshly cut green timber attracts lightning. Jack Johnson, though an expert at building canoes, made a mistake that time and cut a tree that was too young:

(1) gælbi quences  bami - ndu  wada-da  bala - na,  
              cool, clear water  see - 2 sg Tr: muds  mud - LOC, 
        wirga-wirga - d - aba  baga - na.  
         swim - PUT - 1 sg Intr  river - LOC.

(2) duna bulduru daga - adu  gumbadja, diga - l - d -  
Then canooe  cut - 1 sg Tr  big,  return - TOP - PUT -  
aba  yunga  gira - ayi - ri  
1 sg Intr  own  country - 1 sg POS  ALL

(3) bali - mala  dag - ma - la - adu.  gila dag - ma - la  
Good - ADV  cut - Vb - TOP 1 sg Tr. Not cut - Vb - TOP  
igi  yara - di:  bama - la - adu  balda - na.  
this tree  EMPH!  Swell - TOP - 3 sg sub  bark - 3 sg POS.

(4) bami - y - adu  qinda - ulu  
See - GL - 1 sg Tr  cloud - SG.

(5) duna waga-waga - na - ana  mawulu  nanga - l' - d -  
Then  chop - PTC - 3 sg obj  slowly fall - TOP - PUT -  
u;  gila nanga - adu  danja - adu.  
3 sg sub; not fall - 3 sg sub  fresh - 3 sg sub.
Translation

(1) Just look at this cool clear water! There are mussels in the mud (at the bottom). I'll swim in the river (and get some).

(2) And then I'll cut out a big canoe and go home to my own place.

(3) I'll cut it really well. 'Don't cut this particular tree' (I said to myself) 'The bark is swelling'.

(4) I just saw one single little cloud.
Then I chopped it out slowly (the bark for the canoe), so that it would come down; but it didn't come down, it was too fresh.

(Suddenly) lightning flashed. I was terrified. It didn't rain, it was dry, (completely) dry.

The wind blew it (the storm) this way, I could see it travelled over there, it went and turned back towards me.

'Go over there' (I said to myself). It was coming after me! (the lightning).

I went that way, and I fell, and cried out lamenting 'where are you, my children?'

(Everything was) black, black. I collapsed, I was blinded.

Then the wind came back this way again, (it was following) me, just me ... I was quivering.

He (the clever man) could hear my crying out and over again. People came, they came.

(in English) Aggie Johnson and Grannie Moisey, they'd come along in a buggy, and Norman Lindsay (all different language) and Dick Willow, He saved my life, he was a clever man mĩgĩga (an 'eye-man').

(Who is pulling me?)

(in English) It was on Cuthero Station – you ask Grannie Moisey. I couldn't see, like this, laying down. I could feel him coming close; he hit me all over (my) face before he swallowed a coal, a red coal (he) swallowed down, just lay down then, by next morning I get up right.

VIII.2. LAMENT FOR PADDY BLACK

Paddy Black was a kind and good-humoured man who spent most of his later life around Wilcannia. His father was the famous Hero Black of Bourke, a Guugu man of wide traditional learning: unfortunately the only fragment of his knowledge that now remains is the transcript of an interview with Marie Reay in 1945 (Reay MS). Paddy Black was a great friend of Jack Johnson who was very shaken by his death and frequently spoke about it.

1. **dunda ŋugu nagu-naŋu - nja - d - uru,**
   
   Then *water mix in* - ASP - PUT - 3 sg Tr,
   
   *gila* buga - ma - la - adu.
   
   *not* dead - Vb - TOP- 3.sg sub.
(2) dunaŋu - umbula wīdja - d - uru - ana
Then water - COM drink - FUT 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj
bali - mala ŋīnga - adu.
good - ADV sit - 3 sg sub.

(3) gila dalda - ŋu - ru - ayi ŋadu gulba - ŋu -
Not Listen - PERF 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj I ERG speak - PERF -
ana. dunda yungāgu bari - dj - u wīdja-wīdja - la,
3 sg obj. Then alone go - PAST 3 sg sub drink - OPT,
yunūna buga - ma - la - dj - u.
in that way dead - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub.

(4) gāndinja ŋīnga - dj - u mūrba - baļu, mali - balu
Long ago sit - PAST 3 sg sub child - young, male - young
ŋīnga - dj - u gāŋga - ŋu - adu
sit - PAST 3 sg sub ride - PERF 3 sg sub
gāŋgru - ayi.
horse - 1 sg POS.

(5) baga - la - ŋgu - adu, yala - ŋgu - ru - ŋga
Sing - TOP - PERF 3 sg sub, surpass - PERF - NF - 3 pl obj
gāndinja.
long ago.

(6) wayu - r - āba.
Sorry - OI - 1 sg Intr.

Translation

(1) If he had always mixed in water (with his metho) he wouldn't be dead!

(2) If he had drunk it with water he would still be (alive and) well.

(3) But he didn't listen to me when I told him, he went off to drink on his own, that's why he died.

(4) Long ago (when) he was a boy, a young fellow, he used to ride around on the same horse as me.

(5) He could sing, he was better than anybody.

(6) I'm sad.

VIII.3. LAMENT FOR MRS JOHNSON

Though personal, the following account has been included, because Jack Johnson would have wanted it so. He frequently referred to the tragedy:

(1) ŋayi nūŋu - ɗa R. gāndi - ru - ana,
My woman - EMPH R. take - NF - 3 sg obj, other man - LOC
ŋīnga - dj - u, ŋayi ŋandji - ru.
sit - PAST 3 sg sub, me leave - NF.
(2) 'gila ɲa_yi - na ɲɜŋ - imba - nandama, gāru ma lié wadu - ru.'
'Not me - LOC sit - 2 sg Intr again, other man take - NF.'
'gila nandama diğa - d - āba mari!!'
'not again return - PFT - 1 sg Intr indeed!'

(3) nùngu - ayì wanda - 1' - dj - u bùnga - na,
Woman - 1 sg POS burn - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub humpy - LOC,
Wanaaring, wīdja - 1 - dj - u, winma - dj - u
drink - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub, pull out - PAST - 3 sg sub
mugūla, būbā - la - dj - u wanda - 1 - dj -
cigarette, blow - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub burn - TOP - PAST -
u bùnga - na.
3 sg sub humpy - LOC.

(4) gila wimbara - dja - adu, gāru wīmbadja bari - dji.
Not daughter - having - 3 sg sub, other man - come - PAST.
balga gulba - adu 'yāmaři bara - la - mba!'
string speak - 3 sg sub 'this way travel - TOP - 2 sg Intr!'

(5) gāru wīmbadja wadu - dj - u - ana dunda birna
Other man get - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj then bone
ɲīŋa - dj - u ɲa_yi yuŋgāgu winbā - y - iga!
sit - PAST - 3 sg sub me alone blame - Gl - 3 pl sub!'

Translation

(1) My own wife, R. took her away, she lived with this other man, R., she left me.

(2) (I said) 'You'll never stay with me again, since this other man has taken up with you'.
(Shesaid) 'I have no intention of ever coming back to you!'

(3) My wife got burnt in her hut at Wanaaring. She'd been drinking, she got out a cigarette and smoked it, and she got burnt in her humpy.

(4) She didn't have any of the daughters there*, somebody else came along. A telegram (was sent to me) saying 'Come here (at once)!'  

(5) Some other person had got her out - there were only bones. Now people are saying that (indirectly) it was my fault!

*The Johnsons had three very beautiful daughters. They too were overtaken by tragedy: one was murdered in her early twenties, and the second daughter did not outlive her father by more than a month.
VIII.4. EAGLEHAWK AND CROW: THE CROW'S REVENGE

This story was frequently referred to by Jack Johnson and was told by him in the present form in 1973.

(1) dunmara, the storm-bird, is a bird that likes the wind,
yamari yaga - la - adu yadu bana - mi - ru
this way call - TOP - 3 sg sub, wind make - Vb - NF,
dunmara dulaga wimbadja, garganja bami - y - adu
storm-bird bad man, up see - GL - 3 sg sub
narga - ana bami - y - adu guldidja.
enemy - 3 sg POS see - GL - 3 sg sub butcher-bird.
He's the butcher bird, he went with wāgu.

(2) gumbadja bandu wadu - du nāda - la - ana:
Big cod get - 3 sg sub fish - TOP - PTC
'dayi - l' - d - āba yungāgu.', widu - widu - la - ana
eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr on my own, big - big - TOP - PTC
widu - widu - du - ana yungāgu.'
big - big - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj on my own.'

(3) ŋugu wadu - du 'damba - du - ana dulbaga
Water get - 3 sg Tr 'dug - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj deep trench
damba - adu dulbaga gila - adu, gumbadja ŋinga -
dug - 1 sg Tr deep trench grow - 3 sg sub, big, sit -
adu ŋayi - na.
3 sg sub me - LOC.

(4) wārigu yuna ganma - ru, wārigu müma - ru - ana bandu.
Eaglehawk that steal - NF, eaglehawk pick-up - NF - 3 sg obj cod.

(5) 'windjiga wadu - dj - iga - ayi ina bandu - ayi
'Who take - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj this cod - 1 sg POS
ganma - dj - iga - ayi?' galguru wadu - du
steal - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj? 'Spear take - 1 sg Tr
'galguru - na banda - du - ana wārigu, maljila.'
'Spear - INST spear - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj eaglehawk, black hawk.'

(6) 'gila wadu - d - ur' - ayi, mundjala bandu - na,
'Not take - FUT - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj, gut cod - GEN,
dangunja - ana namu - ana, bulu - ana
liver - 3 sg POS Intestine - 3 sg POS, heart - 3 sg POS
balīra - mari; yunūna ŋūwa - la - ana dayi - du -
good - very; therefore, cook - TOP - 3 sg obj eat - 1 sg Tr
ana ŋūga - du - ana yungāgu ŋinga - d - āba
3 sg obj gut - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj alone sit - FUT - 1 sg Intr
dayi - l' - d - āba yungāgu belīra - mari.'
eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr alone good - very.'
diga - d - āba dunda yabar - ayi - ri,
Return - FUT - 1 sg Intr then camp - 1 sg POS - ALL,
yungabar - ayi - ri wimbadja - būnga - ri;
own camp - 1 sg POS - ALL, man - hut - ALL;
dayi - du yungāgu gañara.
eat - 1 sg Tr alone there.
(7) iigi wägu diga - la - dji gala - la widi - ru - ana
This crow return - TOP - PAST seek - OPT peer - NF - 3 sg obj
dulbagu 'windja - ndu bandu - ayi?'
trench 'where - ABL code - 1 sg POS?'

(8) nāda - banđu - dja gaba - dj - u - ana,
Nothing - code - having follow - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj,
bami - dj - u dina - yaba, wīmbadj' - 'ūnga - ri,
see - PAST - 3 sg sub foot - track, man - humpy - ALL,
bani - ru bīna - birna yabara - ndu - ri, 'gīgi idu
see - NF bone - bone camp - 3 sg POS - ALL, 'here this
wīmbadjga ganma - dj - u - ayi inu bandu.'
man steal - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj this code.'

(9) widi - ru - ana yabara - na wīmbadj' - 'ūnga - na
Peer - NF - 3 sg obj camp - LOC man - humpy - LOC
nîma - ngu - adu bāndi - la dayi - ngu - ru banđu,
lie - PERF - 3 sg sub snore - OPT eat - PERF - NF code,
unūna bānda - dj - u - ana nîma - ngu - adu
therefore spear - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj lie - PERF - 3 sg sub
widu - widu nîma - dj - u
big - big lie - PAST - 3 sg sub
- couldn't get up, too full with that fish'.

(10) 'bulduru - ayi yuna bami - ru, nîndu - da wadu - dji
'Canoë - 1 sg POS that see - NF, you ERG - EMHP get - PAST
gīna banđu - ayi bānda - du - uma galguru - ayi
this code - 1 sg POS spear - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj spear - 1 sg POS
- na' wāgu - nuru wadu - dji - na 'gīlaiyaiyla
- INST' crow - DEM ERG get - PAST - 3 sg obj 'not me cheat
- ndu! galguru - na bānda - du - uma gaŋara nîm'
- 2 sg Tr! Spear - INST spear - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj there lie
- imba! yala - dj - indu - ayi
- 2 sg Intr! Beat - PAST - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj
banđu - ayi!: duna ibi - dj - u, bagi - ru
cod - 1 sg POS! Then put down - PAST - 3 sg sub, sing - NF
buga - ma - na.
dead - Vb - 3 sg obj.

(11) dina - yaba, gadjilugu dina, gumbadja dina ĕulardji - ĕulardji
Foot - track, small Foot, big Foot many - many
dina ĕarbi - ru yunga - mi - ru.
Foot make - NF own - Vb - NF.

(12) wana, ŕādi - ru wana, 'bari - dj - u
Boomerang, throw - NF boomerang, 'go - PAST - 3 sg sub
diga - la - dj - u nayi - ri'
return - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub me - ALL!!

(13) wāgu banđa - adu baga - dji buga - ma - na, banđu - na
Crow sneak - 3 sg sub sing - PAST dead - Vb - 3 sg obj cod - 3 sg POS
ganmi - ru; bari - dj - u igi wāgu bari - dj - u
steal - NF; go - PAST - 3 sg sub this crow go - PAST - 3 sg sub
The storm-bird is a bird that likes the wind, it calls out hither; it created the wind. The storm-bird was a bad man, he watched his enemy, he watched the guildidja, that was the butcher bird. He went with the crow.

He (the crow) had got a big cod when he was fishing. 'I shall eat it all on my own' (he said) 'I'll make it grow bigger, raising it on my own.'

He got some water: 'I'll dig a deep trench, and the cod will grow, it will stay with me when it is truly big.'

The eaglehawk stole it, the eaglehawk picked up (this fish).

(The crow said): 'Who has taken my fish away from me? Who has robbed me?' He got his spear (saying): 'I'll spear that eaglehawk, and the black hawk!'

(The eaglehawk, gutting the fish said): 'No one is going to take it away from me now. This cod has a good gut, its liver, intestines and heart are very good too. I'll cook it and out it up and sit here on my own and eat it all by myself, that will be good! I'll go back to my own camp, to my camp, my humpy, and I'll eat it there, all on my own.'

The crow came back and peered and looked into the trench: 'Where is my cod?'

The crow, deprived of his cod, followed the eaglehawk, he saw the tracks (leading to) the humpy.

He peered into the camp, into the humpy. The eaglehawk was lying there, snoring, because he had eaten the fish, that's why the crow killed him, he was lying there, bloated. He couldn't get up, he was too full with that fish!'

'You saw my canoe (when I went away in it) and you took my cod. I'll pierce you with my spear' (saying this) the crow picked up his spear: 'You won't get the better of me, I'll pierce you with
my spear as you lie there! You cheated me over my fish!' Then he put the spear down and sang the eaglehawk so that he died.

(11) He made footprints, large and small, he made a huge number of footprints. He made them on his own (so that people would think a whole mob had killed that eaglehawk).

(12) He threw his boomerang (to make more marks) and he said 'It goes, and it comes back again to me.'

(13) The crow sneaked away. He had sung the eaglehawk, because he had stolen the fish. He went, the crow, to look, to search (for another big fish), that's when he saw two women. He was the Ancestral Crow, long ago.

(14) He was a great old man, an ancestor that walked on this earth and created the hill country; the mudlark created the Darling River.

VIII.5.1. THE EVIL CROW, SOUTHERN BAGANDJI VERSION.

The story of the crow, as told by Jack Johnson is very similar to other western New South Wales versions (Hercus 1974 and Blow 1976).

(1) gadunja wūdi wadu - ogu - adulu, mürba - ūlu - uduna crayfish shrimp get - PERF - 2-dl sub, child - D1 - 3 dl POS
gadjilugu yanda - nja - dj - ūlu walbiri - na. little cry - ASP - PAST - 3 dl sub bank - LOC.

(2) wāgu daldi - dji mürba - ūlu - udana yāmari Crow hear - PAST child - D1 - 3 dl POS this way

yanda - nja - ana.
cry - ASP - PTC.

(3) dunda baljada qīnga - dji baljada bami - la - nga - ana - ri. Then a while sit - PAST a while look - TOP - ASP - 3 sg obj - DAT.

(4) duna dingi - dji qīgi wāgu, wadu - ru inu mürba - ūlu Then rise - PAST this Crow, take - NF that child - D1

waqanja banna - mi - ru, wilub - mi - ru inu mürba - ūlu.

nest make - Vb - NF, lift up - Vb - NF that child - D1.

(5) qīnga - dj - u bagī - la, bagi - nja gina bānara - yara sit - PAST - 3 sg sub sing - OPT, sing - ASP that gum - tree
gadjilugu bānara - yara bagi - njī - rū - diŋa gila - mba small gum - tree sing - ASP - NF - EMPH grow - 2 sg Intr
gumbadja gila - ogu - adu, gila - bani - ūgu - adu big grow - PERF - 3 sg sub, grow - ASP - PERF - 3 sg sub

ini yara bānara - yara - di.

this tree gum - tree - EMPH.

(6) gumbadja yaldi yara - du qīnga - dj - u.
Big long tree - EMPH sit - PAST - 3 sg sub.
Then rise - PAST - 3 sg sub
stand - PAST - 3 sg sub
see - OPT
gumbaga baljada ngüga - ana náda - la - ana.
woman a while sit - PTC
fish - TOP - PTC.

Then go - PAST - 3 sg sub
this Crow Ancestor,
dirinya - dj - u.
boast - PAST - 3 sg sub.

'windjandu mürba - alina, widuga?'
'Whereabouts child - 1 dl POS, sister?'

wałanja - na: 'windja ngamag' - 'ul' - alina?'
Nest - LOC: 'where mother - D1 - 1 dl POS?'

waba - dj - ńulu - bina - la ngango - nj - la - ngu -
Come - PAST - 3 dl sub climb - OPT fall - ASP - TOP - PERF-
ńulu - widulinja.
3 dl sub - pair of sisters.

waba - dj - ńulu - ngalardji wimbadjga, wörügu,
Come - PAST - 3 pl sub many - many men, eaglehawk,
buladja, dilihu, ngadadjga, ngango - la - ngu - 'ga widunja.
pelican, Wader, black shag, fall - TOP - PERF - 3 pl sub all.

buladja bina - la - ngu 'yaba-yaba - la - mba
Pelican climb - TOP - PERF 'slip - TOP - 2 sg Intr
ngango - la - mba bañara - yara - undu.'
fall - TOP - 2 sg Intr gum - tree - ABL'

'gila yaldi mlinja - ayi!' yarandjī - dina wadu - la!
'Not long claw - 1 sg POS' possess - EMPH get - OPT.

dudulu bana - mi - ru yabara - mandi, 'gila gala - d - iga
Hill make - - camp - ground, 'not find - - 3 pl sub
ayi dudula njarba - mi - ru.'
- 1 sg obj Hill create - Vb - NP.'
- a bad fellow this crow one time!

gigulu nungu - ńulu bami - dj - ngamalinja,
This dl woman - D1 see - PAST mother and child,
gulba - dj - ńulu ginda gumbaga bilda.
speak - PAST - 3 dl sub this woman possess.

'ñandara wadu - d - ńu - mürba - alina yanda - nj - la -
'Later get - FUT - 3 dl sub child - 1 dl POS cry - ASP - TOP -
ana ganguardja - na wañanja - na wagu - nuru bagi - nj
PTC above - LOC nest - LOC crow - DEM ERG sing - ASP
igi banara - yara,'
this gum - tree.'
(19) 'ŋadu gulba - adu - na wimbara - ayi - mali - balu
I ERG speak - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj son - 1 sg POS male - child
dunga - na wadu - la - d - ılma,'
night - LOC get - TOP - FUT - 3 dl obj.

(20) ñụụgu ụdị aja ya nada - nja 'windjara wimbara - alina, widuga?'
Woman one cry - ASP 'where son - 1 dl POS, sister?'

(21) 'yarandji - n'ulu inu - ru wadu - ana duna ginu mürba - n'ulu -
Possum - D1 this - ERG get - PTC then this child - D1 -
alina widuga, galjụ - di'na bami - ndu mürba - n'ulu -
l1 dl POS sister, soon - EMPH see - 2 sg Tr child - D1 -
alina mali - balu - n'ulu -
l1 dl POS male - child - D1.

(22) dăngi - d - ali bami - d - ali mürba - n'ulu -
Rejoice - FUT - 1 dl sub see - FUT - 1 dl sub child - D1 -
alina, widuga, gila yanda - 1 - d - imba, duna
1 dl1 POS sister, not cry - TOP - FUT - 2 sg Intr, Then
nụnga - d - ali yungāgu yurĩ - la; dăngi - 1' -
sit - FUT - 1 dl sub alone listen - OPT; rejoice - TOP -
ali nụwa - 1' - d - ali bali - balira manu
1 dl sub cook - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub good - good food
yabara - na wīmbadjia - bunga - na.
camp - LOC man - hut - LOC.

(23) ñụụgu bana - mi - ru gadjilugu banda - adu bagi - nja gīna
Stick make - Vb - NF small pierce - 3 sg sub sting - ASP this

(24) ñụụgu bina - la - dj - u widunjia bändi - la - dji,
Stick climb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub all snore - TOP - PAST,
bumba - dj - iga bändi - la - dj - iga, idu
sleep - PAST - 3 pl sub snore - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub this
bina - la - dj - u, bina - la - dj - u
climb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub, climb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub
wadu - dji - na mürba - n'ulu, dana - na ibi - ru ụdị aja
get - PAST - 3 sg obj child - D1, back - LOC put - NF one
gāru ibi - ru garda - na,
other put - NF shoulder - LOC.

(25) dunda māwulu bilga - dji wadu - rū - di'na inu - ru 'gīla
Then slowly descend - PAST get - NF - EMPH this - ERG not
yaga - nja - la - d - ubu ọgaba bari - d - άba,
call - ASP - TOP - FUT-2 dl sub I go - FUT - 1 sg Intr,
dibinj - dibinj - ma - la - ana guniga - ayi,'
spark - spark - Vb - TOP - PTC fire - 1 sg POS.'

(26) wadara nụnga - ali garabira - na yabara - alina
There sit - 1 dl sub far away - LOC camp - 1 dl POS
yaga - nja - la - d - ubu ọguba - wa 'windjara
call - ASP - TOP - FUT - 2 dl sub you dl - EMPH 'where
ŋamag' - ụgul - alina?' ŋamag' - ubana manda - la
mother - Dl - 1 dl POS?' mother - 2 dl POS wait - OPT
nụnga - adulu bami - na ina guniga.
sit - 3 dl sub see - PTC this fire.
(27) The mother possum stopped back, see, his son went up and got these two. He left the fire-stick behind: he didn't like to sing going around that tree, they might have killed him there...

(28) duna dingi - la - dj - ëlu  dalba - dj - ëlu
Then rise - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub stand - PAST - 3 dl sub
'windjara ñamag' - ñul' - alina, manđi - na gulba - ali
'where mother - D1 - 1 dl POS, ground - LOC speak - 1 dl sub
gila wâńanje - na gulba - ra - dj - ali'.
ot nest - LOC speak - TOP - PAST - 1 dl sub'.

(29) gândi - ru - ëluuna inaga bilda - wîmbadja - bânga - ri,
Carry - NF - 3 dl obj there possum - man - humpy - ÅLL,
wash - ru - ëluuna mugi - ru - ëluuna yabara - na.
get - NF - 3 dl obj hide - NF - 3 dl obj camp - LOC.

(30) yugu bâdjia - dji dingi - dj - ëlu ñamag' - ñul' - udana.
Sun shine - PAST rise - PAST - 3 dl sub mother - D1 - 3 dl POS.
yanda - nja - la bara - dj - ëlu, dingi - dj - iga
Cry - ASP - OPT travel - PAST - 3 dl sub, rise - PAST - 3 pl sub
bami - ru nêda - igi, bari - dji igi mûrba - ñulu ida - undu
see - NF nothing here, go - PAST this child - D1 this - ABL
wâńanje - ndu.
est - ABL.

(31) gila gila wânda - ñgu - 'iga, gila bami - dji igi yaba
Not not know - PERF - 3 pl sub, not see - PAST this track
bina - dji, gila wânda - dj - iga bumba - dj - iga
olîmb - PAST, not know - PAST - 3 pl sub, sleep - PAST - 3 pl sub
bändî - la, gâru - nuru wash - dji.
snore - OPT, other - DEM ERG take - PAST.

(32) dunda banda - dj - iga ina yara bilba-bilba - ana.
Then pierce - PAST - 3 pl sub this tree strip bark - PTC.
- they got wild with this tree and knocked its bark off.

(33) dingi - dj - ëlu, 'windjara ñamag' - alina manđi - na
Rise - PAST - 3 dl sub, 'where mother - 1 dl POS, ground - LOC
dalba - ali, gila wâńanje - na.'
stand - 1 dl sub, not nest - LOC.'

(34) ñamag' - ñul' - udana yanda - nja - ana 'mûrba - ñul' - alina
Mother - D1 - 3 dl POS cry - ASP - PTC 'child - D1 - 1 dl POS
mûrba - ñul' - alina, nańunjja gubu bilga - dji?'
child - D1 - 1 dl POS, how you two get down - PAST
'wîmbadja gândi - dj = alina, gândi - rû - dina,
'Man carry - PAST - 1 dl obj, carry - NF - EMPH
dibi - dibi - nja igi guniga.'
Light - Light - ASP this fire.'

(35) wâgu gala - ñ - iga - na, gila wadu - dj - iga -
Crow seek - D1 - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj, not get - PAST - 3 pl sub-
ana, 'baljâda barba - adu!'
3 sg obj. soon come - 3 sg sub!'
(36) 'windja - mari bari - dj - u?' wada - mari
'Where - ALL go - PAST - 3 sg sub?' 'That - ALL
bari - dj - u garima-ga'ima - na, dudulu - na'.
go - PAST - 3 sg sub mallese - LOC, sandhill - LOC'.

(37) dunga - na wāgu diga - la - dji bagi - nji - ru gini yara:
Night - LOC crow return - TOP - PAST sing - ASP - NF this tree:
gadjilugu ina ba'ara - yara, duna wa'anja bami - ru, jāda - small this gum - tree, then nest see - NF, nothing -
mūrba - adu!
child - 3 sg sub!

(38) manda - la - y - iga wārigu, maljila dunga - na
Wait - TOP - GL - 3 pl sub eaglehawk, black kite night - LOC
manda - la - ana bundi - ambala manda - ana, dadu waga - na - wāi - TOP - PTC waddy - COM wait - PTC, Head hit - PTC -
ana, galguru - na - banda - na - ana 3 sg obj, spear - INST - spear - PTC - 3 sg subj

dunga - nja - na dumba - na
bury - ASP - 3 sg subj hole - LOC.

(39) nāda - y - iga guniga, māeba - ana ṣun - ru,
light - GL - 3 pl sub fire, flesh - 3 sg POS - scorch,
bulgi - na bundu - la - ana mīgi - na badjirga,
feather - 3 sg POS smoke - TOP - PTC eye - 3 sg POS white,
gugirga.
black.

Translation

(1) The two (wading-bird women) were getting crayfish and shrimp,
their two small babies were (lying) crying on the river-bank.

(2) The crow heard their two babies crying over here.

(3) Then he sat for a while to have a good look at them.

(4) Then this crow got up, he took the two babies, and when he had
made a nest he lifted the two babies into it.

(5) He sat there to sing (with magic), he sang this small gum tree
saying 'grow big', and it grew, it grew and it went on growing
this gum-tree.

(6) It became a big, tall tree.

(7) Then he got up and stood there for a while and watched the two
women fishing.

(8) Then he went away this crow, the ancestral crow; he was cheeky.

(9) The two mothers came up along the river-bank to look for their
two children.

(10) 'Where are our two children, sister?'
(11) In the nest (the little ones were calling): 'Where are our two mothers?'

(12) The two sisters came up (to the tree, trying) to climb up but they fell.

(13) Very many men came, the eaglehawk, the pelican, wading birds, black shag - they all (tried and) fell down.

(14) The pelican was climbing up (and the others said to him): 'you'll slip and you'll fall down from this gum-tree!'

(15) (He said) 'My claws are not long enough! A tree-animal, a possum should get them down!'

(16) He (the crow) made his camp in the hills: 'They won't find me here, I created these hills.' He was a bad fellow this crow one time!

(17) The two wading-bird women saw a pair of possums, mother and child. They said to the mother possum:

(18) 'Will you two later on get our two children, crying high up there in a nest? The crow has sung this tree.'

(19) (The mother possum said:) 'I shall ask my child, my son. He will get them both down in the night.'

(20) One of the two wading-bird women went on crying: 'Where is my son, sister?'

(21) (The sister said:) 'The two possums will get our children, sister. Soon you shall see our children, our two boys.'

(22) 'We two will be happy, we will see our two children, sister, don't cry, we will sit here on our own, listening. We'll be happy and we'll cook good food in our camp, in our humpy.'

(23) He (the young possum) got ready a small stick, he fixed it (in the ground) and sang this stick.

(24) He climbed up on this stick while they were asleep, they were all snoring. He climbed, he climbed up and he got the two children. He put one on his back and one on his shoulder.

(25) Then he came down slowly, having got (the two children and he said) 'don't you two call out, I'm going and my fire-stick is giving out sparks.'

(26) We two (my mother and I) are living a long way off in our camp, and you two will yell 'where are our two mothers?' Your two mothers are sitting waiting and looking at this fire (from the fire-stick).
(27) The mother possum stopped back, see, her son went up and got these two. He left his fire-stick behind (to burn down that stick by which he had climbed up): he didn't like to sing (it small again) going around that tree, they might have killed him there...

(28) Then they stood up — they stood there crying: 'Where are our two mothers? We are speaking down here on the ground, we are not talking from the nest!'

(29) The possum-man carried them to his humpy, he took them, he hid them in his camp.

(30) (Next morning) the sun shone, their two mothers got up. They walked about, crying. They (all) got up and saw that there was nothing, the two babies had gone from the nest.

(31) They did not know (what had happened), they did not see the track where he had climbed up (the stick by means of which he had climbed up was burnt). They didn't know anything because they had been sleeping, snoring, when that other one (the possum) took (the children) away.

(32) Then they struck this tree with spears and stripped its bark — they got wild with this tree and knocked its bark off.

(33) The two children got up: 'Where are our two mothers? We are standing on the ground not in the nest!'

(34) The two mothers cried out again and again 'Oh our two little ones, our two little ones! How did you two get down?' 'A man carried us, he carried us and lit this fire.'

(35) They looked for the crow, but could not find him. 'He will be back before long' (they said).

(36) 'Where did he go?' 'He went away into the mallee scrub, into the hills'.

(37) At night the crow came back. He sang this gum-tree and it became small again; he looked in the nest, but there were no children in it!

(38) They were waiting for him with their waddies, the eaglehawk and the black kite, they hit him on the head, they speared him and they buried him in a deep hole.

(39) They lit a fire, his flesh was scorched and his feathers began to smoke. (And so) his eye is white and he is black.
VIII.5.2. THE EVIL CROW, GUNU VERSION

This version of the story was told by Grannie Moisey in English and Gunu: the free translation of this text immediately follows the gloss line as there is so much English.

ŋinara dilbu baŋaga
Here wading-bird woman
'Once there were some wading bird women'
— well they're supposed to have been women, they had little babies —
waŋanja - na baŋu - ŋulu
nest - LOC child - D1
'The two babies were in a nest'
dilbu - ŋulu wídugalinja
Wading bird - D1 pair of sisters
'These two wading birds were sisters'

They used to go away, you know,
wídi - ři wadū - la, guŋugu - ři wadū - la.
shrimp - DAT get - OPT, crayfish - DAT get - OPT.
'to get shrimp and to get crayfish'.

wāgu wímbadja gali.
Crow man only.
'The crow man was on his own'
dada baŋaga wanga - la gana, bTİbi nīra - ŋana dundji - nja bTİbi!
Young woman lift up - TOP PUT this, baby cry - ASP suckle - ASP baby!
'Younger sister, lift him up, your baby is crying all the time, give him a drink!'

The youngest girl comes up for her baby and he sings out —
'wígu baŋaga bTİbi nīra - ŋana!' 'Old woman baby cry - ASP!' 'Older sister, your baby is crying all the time!'

He was a cruel blackfellow!

And the older sister comes up to suckle her baby. He got wild, because they both come home then and he was supposed to blow this tree and make it grow all shapes and the kids way up there! Well then, they had to go there (to their camp) and tell them —
'ah bTİbi, wāgu - ru baga - nja igina yara!' 'ah babies, crow - ERG sing - ASP this ACC tree!'
'Oh, our babies! The crow is singing this tree!'

Eaglehawk and all! 'Them up there baŋu 'child', we can't get 'm down, can't wadu 'get'.
Well they had to pay this blackfellow (the crow), this same fellow with one of the girls, see, well then he went up and got those kids down, the same fellow. These others then his brothers and that they told 'm: 'what did you do that for?'

'mina - mandi baga - njai gina  balu - nulu?  
'What - PURP sing - ASP this ACC child - DI? 

mina - mandi ina wanga - di windu ina  yara - na?'  
what - PURP here lift - ASP PAST you ERG here tree - LOC?' 

'What for did you sing those two children here?  
What for did you lift them up into the tree here?'

And when he got them down to the people, the two dilbus hold 'm then.

'naa da - ga - la wadu ina wana  balu - nulu.' 
'Down return - TOP get here PAST 3 sg obj* child - DI'

'He is coming down and he has brought here the two children!'

They went to the big camp then, to his brothers' camp. All wagu people, and when he got there to the main camp, they put 'm in a grass humpy and burnt 'm. That's why he's got this white eye.

migi wanda - di - di  
eye burn - ASP - EMPH 

'His eye burns all the time'

dulaga daaju - dja  
Edad  head - having  

'He's a wicked fellow.'

*The use of the singular wana is unexpected: it could possibly be interpreted as a collective, as inuru in VIII.5.1.(21).

VIII.6. THE MOON AND HIS NEPHEW

An English version of this story was recorded by J. Beckett from George Dutton (Beckett, personal communication. For a very similar Madimadi version see Hercus 1969:186). Jack Johnson's rendering of the legend is based on what he heard from his grandfather at Pooncarie.

(1) baddjuga galdi dayi - ngu - adu.  
Moon emu eat - PERF - 3 sg sub.  
gumbadja maai gulba - dji iduna  gadjilugu maai - balu:  
Big man speak - PAST this small man - child:  
gimba gaajara bari - na, gila giiga - du - uma, dunda  
you there go - PTC, not give - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj, then  
gagala dayi - 1 - ba. gandi - du - uma  
wild'banana eat - TOP - ASP. Take - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
biddjaja - ri gamna - la.  
grub - DAT get - OPT.
(2) (The nephew speaks:) inaga yara, gurguru, bañana yara - balu
Here tree, box, gum tree - young
gadji lugu: wagaga balu gaan' - indu nga nga - na gañana, small: aze little take - 2 sg Tr I sit - PTC here, bina - r - imba nga - ndu - nga dunda muma -
climb - G1 - 2 sg Intr throw - 2 sg Tr - 3 pl obj then pick up -
na - nga, muma - du - nga dayi - l - d -
PTC - 3 pl obj, pick up - I sg Tr - 3 pl obj eat - TOP - FUT -
ali yungagugu.
1 dl sub alone.

(3) 'dayi - 1 - d - Aba nga yungagugu, gila nga - dj -
Eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Instr I alone, not give - PAST -
uda - ayi, yalba - du - nga, dunda wadu -
2 dl sub - 1 sg obj, count - I sg Tr - 3 pl obj, then get -
la - ana badi bidjala.'
TOP - PTC grub witchetty.'

(4) 'Naga - du - nga, nindu muma-muma - la - ana
'Throw - I sg Tr - 3 pl obj, you pick up - TOP - PTC
yalba - la, baga - la - mba yungagugu! bidjala wadu -
count - OPT. Sing - TOP - 2 sg Intr alone! Grub get -
la - ndu gañaga!'
TOP - 2 sg Tr there!'

(5) - While he was busy up there, the boy made out he was counting them, but he was really singing this tree right up to the top!

'muma-muma - du - nga yalba - la!' 'Pick up - I sg Tr - 3 pl obj count - OPT!'

(6) 'dayi - 1 - d - Aba yungagugu', 'gila nga - dj -
Eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr alone 'not give - PAST -
uda - ayi galdi galjundi gila nga-guga - dj -
1 sg obj - 1 sg obj emu this morning not give - PAST -
uda - ayi galdi wandja - nga la mingugingu
2 pl sub - 1 sg obj emu cook - ASP - OPT mean
dayi - r - uda, nugu - nuulu garu balu - du.
eat - G1 - 2 pl sub, woman - D1' other child - 3 sg sub.

(7) 'nimba danga - na ngima - ana, gundu - madiri!' nugu - nuulu
'You middle - LOC lie - PTC, guts - vast!' Woman - D1
nonga - dj - julu, nga nga - julu manda - la
sit - PAST - 3 dl sub, sit - PERF - 3 dl sub wait - OPT
nonga - nga - julu mandi - na wimbadj - buniga - na.
sit - PERF - 3 dl sub ground - LOC man - humpy - LOC.

(8) 'guru wimbara nga, bagi - nga - adu ina yara' yaldi -
'Other son I, sing - PERF - 1 sg Tr this tree' tall -
ma - la - adu, guida garganja - na, guida garganja - na:
Vb - TOP - 3 sg sub, touch sky - LOC, touch sky - LOC!

(9) gudi - ru - ana, nanda - mi - ru inu yara - balu
Touch - NP - 3 sg obj, back - Vb - NP this tree - young
nanda - mi - ru - 1ili!
back - Vb - NP - now!
He sent that tree down quick, and he is still hanging up there and turned into the moon.

(10) *bādjuga* ŋandji - ru - ana *garganja - na* ŋidja - ŋidja.
*Moon* leave - NF - 3 sg obj *sky* - LOC one - one.

(11) *wadu* - ru *ginga* ņaba, *bīdjala* idur ru *maļi - balu*.
*Get* - NF them ACC *grub, witchetty this* ERG *male - child*.
*gāndi* - ru - ņa *gumbag* - ņulu - ři, *bīdjala* dayi - la -
*carry* - NF - 3 pl obj *wife* - D1 - DAT, *witchetty eat* - TOP -
*ði* - ņulu. *'gila ņūga* - dj - ņa - ayi - galdi.
FUT - 3 dl sub. *'Not give* - PAST - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj *emu,*
*ŋaba dayi - la - aba* *yungāgu, gila ņūga - dj -
I eat - TOP - 1 sg Intr alone, *not give* - PAST -
uda - ayi *muđa galdi.'*
2'pl sub - 1 sg obj *piece emu.'

(12) And the two women asked him - *'windjara bābadja - ama?*
*Where old relative - 2 sg POS?*
*baljada dayi - l - d - Ćaba,* *wadaga ŋadu wana*.
*'Wait eat* - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr, *there I* ERG *boomerang*.
ŋādi - ru.'
*throw* - NF.'

(13) *'wana - mari bami - d - ubu!* *'garganja bami - dj -
*Boomerang - indeed see* - FUT - 2 pl sub!* *'Sky see* - PAST -
Gl. *'inara - adu!* buri - ņugu - adu *garganja - na* 3 dl sub. *'Here - 3 sg sub!* *hang* - PERF - 3 sg *sky* - LOC.

(14) *'narga-narga - ma - ņugu - r - ayi, ņima - dj - u*
*Enemy - Vb - PERF - G1 - 1 sg obj, lie - PAST - 3 sg sub*
daŋga - na.' *idu balda - na ņima - ņugu, gumbadja guniga - na;*
*middle - LOC.* *He skim - LOC lie - PERF, big fire - LOC;*
ŋidja mūrba - bailu, maļi - balu. *dingi - ru *dingi - r -
one *child - young, male - young.* *Get up - NF *Get up - G1 -
imba *waŋa ndu guniga, guniga wanda - ndu.'
2 sg Intr chop you ERG firewood, *fire light up* - 3 sg Tr.'

(15) *'wanda - adu guniga, wanda - adu - ubuna - ri,*
*Burn - 1 sg Tr fire, light up - 1 sg Tr - 2 dl obj - DAT,*
*narga - ņulu - ayi *nubu wanda - adu *guniga -
*enemy - D1 - 1 sg POS you two.' Light up - 1'sg Tr fire -
abana. *nubu ņima - ana guniga wanda - adu*
2 dl POS. *You two lie - PTC fire light up - 1'sg Tr*
ŋubuna - ri. *ŋanji - dj - ubuna muda galdi, gila*
*you two obj - DAT. Ask - PAST - 2 dl obj *piece emu*, *not*
ŋūga - dj - uba - ayi.'
give - PAST - 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj.'

(16) *'bīdjala dayi - l - d - adu *ńaba yungāgu narga - ņulu -
*Witchetty eat* - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Tr *grub alone enemy - D1 -
ayi! *galdi - na mani ņađa - dj - ņulu *gānguru -
1 sg POS! Emu - GEN fat throw - PAST - 3 dl sub lap -
ndu - ri, *gumbaga - ņulu gali - ņulu - ņuluna guna -
3 sg POS - ALL *wife* - D1 *dog - D1 - 3 dl POS sool on -
(17) bāda - dj - īlu - na yamba-yamba - la inana
Bite - PAST - 3 dl sub - 3 sg obj tear up - OPT this ACC
mAλ - balu. bunu balda - na ngĩng - a du:
man - child. Geoko bark - LOC sit - 3 sg sub:

(18) idu baga - dji

(19) gargā - la - dji

Cry - TOP - PAST

(20) windjara bāri - dj - īlu?

Where go - PAST - 3 dl sub? dog - COM go - PAST.

gāli - nguli dunda yunga - ma - la - dj - īlu,
Dog - DI then own - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub,
galgiri - na wadi - dj - īlu.
bull ant - LOC become - PAST - 3 dl sub.

They're always in the sandhills.

(21) ngūgu - nguli, yandandji wadu - dji igīluna, malga yuldi -
Woman - Dl, whirlwind take - PAST them two, net stretch -
dj - īlu gändi - ru - īluna nāda - nja - ru - īluna
PAST - 3 dl sub carry - NF - 3 dl obj throw - ASP - NF - 3 dl obj
wīnda-winda - ana malga - nguli - udana, iduru yandandji.
toss away - PTC net - DI - 3 dl POS. this whirlwind.

*Song language obviously does not follow the general rules of Bagandji grammar and the locative ending is absent here.*
Translation

(1) The Moon Man had been eating emu, he, the old man said to the young boy: 'You go away over there — I am not giving you any (emu), so you can go and eat wild bananas. I'll take you to get witchetty grubs.'

(2) (The nephew said); 'Here are some trees, box trees and a young gum tree. Take the small stone tomahawk, I'll sit here while you climb up and cut out the grubs and throw them down. I'll pick them up and we two will eat them on our own.'

(3) (The nephew says to himself); 'I'll eat them on my own, You lot don't give me anything (of that emu). I'll count them, I'll get these grubs, these witchetties!'

(4) (The uncle says); 'I'm throwing them down, and you pick them up and count them. Are you singing to yourself? Go and get the grubs.'

(5) While he was busy up there the boy made out he was counting them, but he was really singing this tree right up to the top! (He said): 'I'm just counting them'.

(6) (to himself the nephew says): 'You didn't give me any of that emu this morning, you didn't give me any of that (delicious) emu cooked on coals. You lot ate it, mean and greedy, you and those two women.' He (was not theirs but) somebody else's child.

(7) 'You sleep between these two women, you with the enormous guts!' The two women were sitting there, they were sitting on the ground, in their humpy waiting (for the Moon Man).

(8) 'I am somebody else's son, I sang this tree!' It grew tall, and he (the Moon Man) touched the sky, he touched the sky!

(9) He touched it, and (the boy) sent this young tree down again, he sent it down immediately.

He sent that tree down quickly, and (the uncle) was still hanging up there and turned into the moon.

(10) He left the moon up there, all alone.

(11) The boy took the grubs, the witchetties, and carried them to the two wives; they were going to eat them. (He said): 'You didn't give me any of that emu, so I am going to eat these on my own, you wouldn't give me even a little bit!'

(12) The two women asked him: 'Where is your old relative of the adjacent generation? (He said): 'Just wait a minute while I eat (witchetty grubs). I threw my boomerang over there!'
(13) 'Look at the boomerang!' They looked up at the sky. 'There he is!' He (the Moon Man) was hanging up there in the sky.

(14) 'He was the one I hated, he used to lie in the middle (between you two women). Then that young boy lay down all on his own on a (kangaroo-) skin by a big fire.* He got up (and they said): 'Get up and chops some firewood, light up a fire for us.'

(15) 'I'll light up a fire, I'll do it for you two, but I hate you two (lit. you two are my enemies). I'll light up a fire for you two. You two lie down while I light up your fire. I asked you for just a bit of emu, but you didn't give me any.'

(16) 'I'll eat those witchetties, all those grubs I'll eat by myself, I hate you two!' The two women threw emu fat onto his lap and then sooled their two dogs onto him.

(17) The two dogs bit him, they tore this boy to pieces. (From then on) he sits in the bark of trees as a gecko.**

(18) He sang 'I shall sit in the bark, I shall sit in the bark
 I shall sit in the bark'
The dogs grabbed me, they shook and shook me, they tore my flesh, my flesh they tore and my skin.'

(19) He cried: 'I shall sit in the bark, I shall sit in the bark. It's no good you searching for me! My colour is grey. I shall sit in the bark...
 I shall call out to myself, I shall sit in the bark.'

(20) Where did the two women go? They went off with their dogs. The dogs then got away from them on their own and they turned into bull-ants: they're always in the sandhills.

(21) Those two women, the whirlwind took them, they had stretched out small nets made of kangaroo sinew, and the whirlwind carried them both off, and it tossed away their two nets, the whirlwind.

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*It was made clear by Mrs Bugmy later that the two women killed the boy not because of the grubs, but because he proved totally inadequate as a substitute for the old man.

**Ludwig Becker in the course of the journey of the Burke and Wills expedition along the Darling made a drawing and described this gecko which he called 'Bounno'. (Tipping, 1979:66-7).
VIII.7.1. THE TWO WATER-SNAKES

There were many stories concerning the ńadji, the water-snakes. The main theme of these was that the ńadji got lost, away from the river, and had to hollow out channels to get back to the Darling River. They travelled as far afield even as Torowotto Swamp (Maljańaba ḏuru - gadu 'Snake's Wind-break') in Maljańaba country on Salisbury Downs. The present story is connected with some of the deep waterholes near Pooncarie. It was told by Jack Johnson in 1971.

(1) bargulu ńadji wid - ma - la - dj - ţlu baridjiri - na Two snakes lost - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub far away - LOC ńugu bāndi - djī.
water run out - PAST.

(2) windja - mari bari - na? 'wid - ma - 1' - dj - ali,
Where - ALL go - PTC? 'Lost - Vb - TOP - PAST - 1 dl sub, duna yunūna bari - d - ali ńaradja.'
Then thus go - FUT - 1 dl sub together.'

(3) 'nayi gaba - ndu, ńaba gambidja, njima ńamaga, īna - 'Me follow - 2 sg Tr, I father, you mother, this - mari - diņa bāga - ńugu, bari - d - ali ńinara ńuguū - ALL - EMPH river - water, go - FUT - 1 dl sub there water - diņa dumbi - n' bāga - na.'
EMPH Hole - LOC river - LOC.'

(4) 'dunda gaba - ayi, māwulu bana-bana - d - ali
'Then follow - 1 sg obj, slowly prepare - FUT - 1 dl sub numbā guida dayi - 1 - ba - d - ali, binda - 1 - d - green grass eat - TOP - ASP - FUT - 1 dl sub, meet - TOP - FUT - ali dumbi - ńugu - na bāga - na.'
1 dl sub Hole - water - LOC river - LOC.'

(5) 'wīdi dayi - 1 - d - ali, gagunja
'Shrimp eat - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub, crayfish
minidja dayi - 1 - d - ali dumbi - na and a lot of other things eat - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub Hole - LOC īṅenga - d - ali mānda - ambala dayi - 1 - d - ali sit - FUT - 1 dl sub weed - COM eat - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub
damba - d - ali bādara - ma - ana, bini - ńugu wadu - dig - FUT - 1 dl sub widē - Vb PTC, soakage - water get - d - ali.'
FUT - 1 dl sub.'

(6) 'yunga dumbi ĩda - na īṅenga - d - ali gaŋara yunga
'Own hole this - LOC sit - FUT - 1 dl sub there own ğira - alina galjiru - mala īṅenga - d - ali.'
country - 1 dl POS/LOC cool - ADV sit - FUT - 1 dl sub.'


(8) ńadji gumbadja bana - la - adu ńugu - na, ġaru Snake big float up - TOP - 3.sg sub water - LOC, other
The two water-snakes got lost far away, there was no more water.

Where were they to go? (The male snake spoke) 'We two are lost, so let us travel on together.'

'Follow me, I am the male water-snake and you the female. The river-water is this way, we shall go where the water is in the deep waterhole.'

'So follow me, we will get ready slowly, (and when we get there) we shall eat green grass, we'll meet in the water of the waterhole in the river.'

'We'll eat shrimps and lots of crayfish and similar foods, we'll sit in the waterhole and eat waterweeds as well, we will dig and widen out the waterhole, we will get soakage water.'

'We will sit there in our own waterhole, in our own country, we'll sit there staying cool.'

There is the Mula waterhole, another one is the Ganga hole, and the Gaduru-gada-gada waterhole (all in the vicinity of Pooncarie).

The big water-snake rises up in the water, and when some other (stranger) man comes from the scrub country and swims in this hole, it smells (that this is not a proper river man) it opens its mouth and swallows him.

(Even) I won't swim there (in those three waterholes), I am frightened of the water-snake. I'll only swim in the shallow water.

VIII.7.2. COMMENTS ON THE WATER-SNAKE

The following comments about the water-snakes were made by Grannie Moisey in English and Guṇu.

Dead Man's Creek, that's on Yanda-yanda station, on the top road to the big creek, Mulga Creek they call it (31 08', 146 22') where it runs into the river and where the gutter comes in, there
is a big stone standing up and there is a rise above, a sandhill which never gets flooded. It (the ṇadji) used to come up from there.

(2) gaba - nja wadi,  gaba - nja idina
Follow - ASP PAST they, follow - ASP this ACC
'They followed, they followed him'
He was from the river, they thought it was a carpet snake, wamuru 'silly'
damba - damba manjî
dig - ground
'He was digging up the ground'

(3) When they blow you see that rainbow, that's him mundambara 'large rainbow'
būba magara ṇarî - ṇara diğa - la inara.
blow rain big come - OPT here.
'It blows the big rain this way'
They could always tell when big rain was coming, waļu 'storm' that's the ḋadji 'water-snake'.

(4) waļu, that's the big storm, like a cyclone. We had smart people, when a storm was coming, they could turn it away with a bush:
dadu - wuli wimbadja wambi - nja idina waļu yadu.
Head - hole man dispel - ASP this storm wind.
'These doctor men make the storm fly away.'

VIII.8.1. THE PORCUPINE

The story of the porcupine who gets speared — the spears forming his spikes — is wide-spread. Jack Johnson told me the Southern Bāgandji version on a beautiful Easter Sunday morning (1971) when unfortunately he was in the Broken Hill gaol.

(1) wandali balgara - na ṇînga - yiga
Porcupine root - LOC sit - 3 pl sub
— they'd be in the hills now,
dulba 'flood' might have pushed them out —
bībaru daya - yiga,  dalanja - ńga  miŋa - ri ńiba-
ant eät - 3 pl sub, ęngue - 3 pl POS hole - ÁLL put -
yiga ńanda - ma - ru dalanja - na bībaru - umbula,
3 pl sub back - Vb - NF ęngue - 3 sg POS ant - COM,
dungi gunga - ru - ńga.
then swallow - NF - 3 pl obj.
(2) пури - мадир - аду.  вади - дж - у,  banda - Fat - big - 3 sg sub.  Get in - PAST - 3 sg sub, pierce - dj - iga  garima - yara: 'galguru - m' band' - uda - PAST - 3 pl sub майле - tree: 'spear - INST pierce - 2 pl sub - ana  нарга - ама *  нба нарга - ама  гила ниндаджа!' 1 sg obj enemy - 2 sg POS I  enemy - 2 sg POS not  thin!


(4) 'гила ваду - d - uда - аyi,  gila dalba - d - ﺁба  'Not get - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj, not stand - FUT - 1 sg Intr  daldп - la нда - na - ri,  yungagu bari - y - ﺁba,  listen - OPT you lot - ACC - DAT, alone go - 1g - 1 sg Intr,  вади - d - ﺁba,  gila bami - р - uда - аyi  get in - FUT - 1 sg Intr, not see - 1g - 2pl sub - 1 sg obj  нандама.' again.'

(5) 'гила бами - р - uда - аyi  гүлji - гүлji - na,  'Not see - 1g - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj winter - LOC,  нанджи - y - uда - аyi  yungagu wadi - r - ﺁba,  leave - 1g - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj alone go in - 1g - 1 sg Intr.  yala - dj - udana,  нда - duluру,  нба нжда - ulu.'  Беат - PAST - 2 pl obj, you lot many, I  one - SQ.'

(6) 'инана bami - d - uда - аyi  гару буджи - budji - na  'Here see - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj other summer - LOC  нандама waba - d - ﺁba  бібру dayi - la.' again come - FUT - 1 sg Intr ant eat - OPT.'

(7) wadi - d - ﺁba,  daldп - l' ima - аба  bindi - Get in - FUT - 1 sg Intr,  listen - OPT lie - 1 sg Intr lightning - ri dun - ma - la - adu,  dunda babu - r - ana DAT tremble - Vb - TOP - 3 sg sub,  Then come out - 1g - PTC  madiri,  дагулу duru waba - ana,  galdu,  гани much,  goanna snake come - PTC,  sleepy lizard, frill-neck,  гару madiri babu - r - iga. other much appear - 1g - 3 pl sub.

(8) bindi'gilgi,  баммулу,  gargumbirayididja duru - umbula  Small skinka knob-tail gecko, Jacky lizard  snake - COM  babu - r - ana,  гара - madara duru widulu babu - r - ana.  come out - 1g - PTC, skin - new snake all come out - 1g - PTC.

*The use of the singular here is unexpected, it may be addressed to just one of the adversaries.

(10) bami - *dj* - *iga - ana babu* - *r* - *adu.* See - PAST - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj come out - 01 - 3 sg sub. 'windja - mari bari - *dj* - *u*?' 'bīburu - *iga galā* - 'where - ALL go - PAST - 3 sg sub?' 'Ant - EMPH seek - *la* - *adu dīna-yaba* - *ana yāmari bari-dj* - *u.*' TOP - 3 sg sub. Foot-trak - 3 sg POS this way go - PAST - 3 sg sub.'

(11) nandama - *diŋa gabā* - *na - ana* - *dina-yaba* - *na* Again - EMPH follow - PTC - 3 sg obj, foot - track - 3 sg POS gaba - *ana.* 'windja - marī - *diŋa gab'* - *ina* - *ana.* follow - PTC. 'Where - ALL - EMPH follow - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj?' nādi gab' - *ina* - *ana! yunūna yala* - *l* - *inaana, wrong follow - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj! This way beat - TOP - 1 pl obj, nandama gab' - *ina* - *ana!' backwards follow - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj!


Translation

(1) Porcupines stay among the roots of trees – they'd be in the hills now (because) the flood would have pushed them out (from near the river) they put their tongue down a hole (in an ant-heap) and then they pull it back out again with ants (adhering to it) and they swallow the ants.

(2) The porcupine got fat. His enemies wanted to spear him near a mallee tree. (He said): 'You want to spear me, I hate you and you hate me (because) I am not skinny (like you)!

(3) 'I hate you skinny people, I am fat, I am very fat because I've been eating ants all the time. That's why you skinny people hate me, that's why you want to attack me.'

(4) 'You won't get me. I'm not standing around to listen to you people. I am going in (under the ground), you won't see me again.'

(5) 'You don't see me in the winter-time. Leave me alone, I am going in (under the ground). I've got the better of you people
(although) you are many and I am all alone.'

(6) 'You'll see me here next summer when I'll come out again and eat ants.'

(7) I'll get in (under the ground) and lie there listening'. (When) the thunderstorm shakes the ground, then lots of creatures come out, brown goannas, and snakes come out, sleepy lizards, frill-neck lizards and many others.

(8) Small skinks come out, knob-tailed geckos, Jacky lizards, they come out along with the snakes, the snakes all come with a new skin.

(9) He listened here, down in the ground: 'I'll come out to eat ants.' His enemies were waiting for him.

(10) They saw him coming out: 'But where did he go to? ' He's looking for ants, his track went this way.'

(11) They followed him again, they followed his track. 'Where are we following him to? ' We are following him the wrong way round! That's how he got the better of us before. We have to track him backwards.'

(12) He got killed, they speared him, they put him on the coals complete with his skin and cooked him, they singed off all their spears (his spikes) and they ate him.

VIII.8.2. COMMENTS ON HIBERNATION by George Dutton

The following comments on hibernation were made by George Dutton (Bandjigali and English):

(1) dulu minga - na dani - y - adu ibi - y - adu
    kingfisher hole - LOC go - 01 - 3 sg sub, put - 01 - 3 sg sub
    minga - na baña - albi.
    hole - LOC goanna - like.
    'The kingfisher goes into a hole, he gets into a hole just like a goanna'

(2) In April they go in, in June thunderstorms come, he goes further, July he goes further, in August he hears the thunder and comes up a bit near the top, and when a hot day comes he comes out, babu-ru, 'come out - NF' see!
(3) \(\text{ibi - y - adu, bara - adu ... ima - ana - li,} \)
\(\text{Put - G1 - 3 sg sub, go - 3 sg sub ... lie - PTC - EMPH,} \)
\(\text{yugu - na babu - r - adu} \)
\(\text{sun - LOC come out - G1 - 3 sg sub.} \)

'He gets in, he goes (further), he's laying there, he comes out in the sun.'
When he comes out he has no feathers, miribudu that's top feathers, he's only got down.

VIII.9. STORING FLOUR

This account was given in June 1967 by George Dutton, speaking in English and in Bandjigali.

(1) baba is grass-seed and biya is pig weed.

Grind them with ganu, diingga 'duna baba.

\(\text{stone, grind this ACC flour.} \)

(2) nagu is nardoo, a different stone is used for grind that.

balga iduna nagu ganu - na gadjal' ganu - na balga

Beat this ACC nardoo stone - INST small stone - INST beat

iduna iba iduna manu ganiyala - na, this ACC put this ACC vegetable food dish - LOC,

warana - nja - ana idana.

pile up - ASP - PTC this ACC.

'They beat this nardoo with a stone, with a small stone they beat it, and then they put this vegetable food into a dish, and they keep on piling it up.

(3) When it's going to rain they dig a big hole and put it all in and put in two little snakes - they go round and round and stop it from getting mouldy. We came to a big camp one day and they say 'there's a yabara over there, yes, old man gandji iduna yabara.'

\(\text{camp} \)

We went down to the river to get fish, the old man had gone.

(4) bunga - na damba - dji iduru minga, ibi - dji - na

Hut - LOC dig - PAST he ERG hole, put - PAST - 3 sg obj

\(\text{baba dunga - dji iduna iba - dji - na wangu - nulu,} \)

flour bury - PAST this ACC put - PAST - 3 sg obj snake - Dl

bargulu. gandara iduru iba - dji.

two. After he ERG put - PAST.

'He had dug a hole inside the hut, he put in the flour and buried it, and he put in a pair of small snakes, two of them. He put them in afterwards.'

wangu was described by George Dutton as a small snake 'like a glow-worm'. In languages to the west the term is attested as a
general term for a small venomous snake, or possibly even the juvenile phase of larger snakes (T. Harvey Johnston 'Aboriginal Names and Utilisation of the Fauna of the Eyrean Region', Transactions of the Royal Society of S.A., 82 (1943), p.290.

(5) That was grass-seed. Nardoo doesn't matter much,

\[\text{wiba ldu} \quad \text{ndu.}\]
\[\text{hard this nardoo.}\]

VIII.10. NETS AND FISH

This is part of a conversation with George Dutton in June 1967, in Bandjigali and English.

(1) '\text{mina - da gila - ana dilburu - na?}'
'\text{What - EMPH grow - PTC water - LOC?}'

'yalda."
'I don't know.'

'bandidja!'
'Marshmallow!'

'What's that growing by the water?' 'I don't know'.

'It's marshmallow!'

(2) \text{bandidja dal}a - ma - la - dji idiga. \text{dilburu inara gandi, Marshmallow dry - Vb - TOP - PAST they. Water here carry, nagu - ru. wadu - ru idiga bandidja, dal}a - midina. \text{mix - Get - they marshmallow, dried - out.}

They dry out this marshmallow.

'They carry it to the water and mix it in, and then they get it out and dry it out.'

Some say \text{wuna - midina}, but I say dal}a - midina for when it's dried out.

(3) \text{wingu - nja idiga, ngangi - nja idiga inana bal}da, ngangi - nja \text{Turn - ASP they, tease - ASP they this ACC skin, tease - ASP idiga balga - mandi. they string - PURP.}

'They turn it over, and they tease out the skin that is formed, they tease it out to make string.'

They used a hook \text{winjana} for that; it was wood, but later on they started using a bent wire.

*The plant in question is probably \text{Lavatera plebeja}, which was similarly used in the Northern Flinders Ranges (see T. Harvey Johnson and J. Burton Cleland 'Native Names and Uses of Plants in the North-Eastern Corner of South Australia' Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, 67, 1943, p.165).*
They make gadjalugu malga 'a small net'

dilburu - na gadjalugu bari - ba - na
water - LOC small walk - ASP - PTC

two men go along in the shallow water, in big water it would be
wigu malga 'a big net', two men would take it on two corners,

wimbadjala qabu - la - ana balga - ana dilburu
man swim - TOP - PTC beat - PTC water

'and one man would swim along beating the water making all that
noise hunting all the fish back.'

When they drag that net up it's fairly full, and they might say:
gina - uda
Stop - 2'pl sub.
'That's enough'

'ngi, guniga - na gugu - na guniga mubi!'
'Yes, fire - GEN end - INST fire light!'

'Light a fire with a fire-stick'

They usually cook them in the mawala 'hot coals'.

They might have all sorts of fish — that bony bream is full of
bones, but is a sweet fish. I once swallowed a bone and had it
for two years.

Eat - PAST - 1 sg Tr that bony bream, bone swallow - PAST

'sitting - PAST - 1 sg Intr cough - ASP - ASP - TOP - 1 sg Intr.

'I ate that bony bream and I swallowed a bone, and I started and
went on coughing continually.'

Then go - PAST - 1 sg Intr - EMPH fencing - EMPH
gungu - l - dj - qa - bāba, bājirja - li!
cough - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr, white - EMPH!

'Then one day I went fencing, and I coughed, and white (phlegm
came up)'

See - PAST - 1 sg Tr bone, cough - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Tr

ina qalda, bami - dj - adu idana ima - ana;
this phlegm, see - PAST - 1 sg Tr this ACC lie - PTC;

'ah igi - du nangi - nja - ndi - la - ana!
'ah this - 3 sg sub annoy - ASP - ASP ? - TOP - 1 sg obj!!'

'I saw the bone, I coughed up this phlegm and then I saw it lying
there: 'Ah, this is the one that has been annoying me!'
(Gertie Johnson walks past):

(10) Ah Gertie,

bami - la - nga - du - uma,
see - TOP - ASP - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj

gulba - lba - nja - ali - mandi!
speak - REP - ASP - 1 dl sub - PURP!

'Ah Gertie, I (want to) see you for a while, so that the two of us can have a talk.'
Words not followed by any abbreviation indicating dialect have been recorded in Southern Bagandji. Words in other dialects have only been given where they differ from Southern Bagandji. The following abbreviations have been used:

- SB Southern Bagandji
- G Guugu
- Bär Bärundjî
- CA Common Australian
- SA South Australia
- B Bandjigali

- albi, like (used as postposition);
  bandu-albi, like a cod

angi, no (B)

-ambala, with, in company with
  (comitative case marker);
  gali-ambala, along with his dog

ibu-, to lie down, to stay (intr)

ibli-, to put down (tr), to lay
  (eggs)

ida-mari, this way, in this
direction

idara, here; idarâdu, I'm here;
  idayindu, away from here;
  idara-wadara, here and there

idi, this (G)

idu, this

iga-, to return (Wiljâli, diga-
in the other Bagandji dialects)
  igi, this, this here (var. gigi)

ilâgu, yesterday

ilâguayi, goodness, 'by Jove'
  (lit. my yesterday)

-ilî, now, immediately (post-
  position)

ilidja, crayfish (B)

ima- (var. njima), to rest, to
  lie down, to sleep (intr)

ina, inu, that

inara, inaga, there—not far
  away (B)

ini, this (var. giêni)

indalu, over there (Bâr)

indja, very well, alright

iîâ-, to swim, to float (intr)

înga- (var. ngî nga), to be, to
  sit (intr), nanga- (B)

ura-mari (var. yura-mari), away,
  into a different direction
  that (other) way
babu-, to come out, to rise up, yugu baburâna, the sun is coming out (from behind clouds)
badâ-ma-, to dig out (the river), To hollow out
badâg-mala-, to drop down (intr)
badan-mala-, to spread out (plant)
badara, wide; badara-mala-, to become wide (the river)
badara, buggy
badja, incapable, useless, as in yuji-badja, deaf
badâ-, to sting, to bite, to write
bada-bada (var. badu-bada), savage, biting; galã bãda-bãda, a savage dog
bãdaga, writer; bãdaga-nõngu, the writing down woman e.g. gõdã horizontal
bãdaga nõngu barãna, mõngali here comes the writing down woman, let’s hide, we two
bagi, egg of any kind, of bird or insect, also used as a vulgar term for testicle. bagi can serve as a short form of ãdã bagi head egg, i.e. brain in expressions like ãda bagi-dja not (head) egg having, brainless
badi bagi, grub, edible grub, (word borrowed from further west, e.g. Arabana bagi, Eng. bardee)
badi-, bagi-bagi-, to quarrel; bãdjilãna nõngu-ñulu, two women are fighting
bagiugu, plant: ’emu tucker’ (Eremophila species)
baga, leaf (G)
baga-, to perform a corroboree, to dance
bagi-, to sing, to ‘sing’ someone, to cast a spell over someone
balda, bark dish, bark, skin; baldana nõngadaba, I shall sit in the bark (sings the lizard, VIII.6)
balda, shame; balda-õda,’shameless’
balda-wanga-, shy (intr) ashamed
baldanda-la-, to feel ashamed
baldi, flank
bala-ma-, to spread out (tr)
bali- (var. bali-bali-), to tidy up, to look after (belongings)
baliT-mala, well, excellently (adv)
baliriga, (var. of balïra) nice, good, beautiful
balïra, good, beautiful; bali-balïra, soft (food)
balïra-mala-, to become good, to improve (intr)
bal'-mala-, bali-mala-, to become soft, to become pleasant
balba, ashes; balba-manu, damper (lit. ashes food)
balba-, to open (a bag)
balba-gugadja, tree: a species of sandalwood that was the women's tree, as opposed to guyamara, which was the men's (G)
balbu, plant: medicinal bush, probably Beyeria Leschenaultii; balbu-gubadj, a more white-leaved form of this plant
baldu-, to bake (B)
balga-, balga- buganja, to hit with a weapon, to strike, to kill
balja, baljada, still, soon, directly, yet, temporal adverb, balja burinja-, he is still alive, also used as exclamation: ’wait!’
baljiluga, bird: ’kite-hawk’, species uncertain
baljuruga, bird: curlew. ’When they come together in a mob and make a sound, that means it will rain.’
bala, mud, wet clay; bãla-bala, muddy
balaba, flash, bright light
balab-mala- (var. balaba-), to strike (of lightning), to flash
bala, plain, bare open area, bare, clear ground
balidj-mala-, to explode, to make a thudding sound
baju, young, young child
baludja, brother (younger) (SB), younger sibling (B)
baluga, pregnant; baluga bagi, an egg containing a chick
baļumba, plant: thistle, 'wild cabbage' (*Tetragonia expansa*)
balga, string, fishing line, fibre
balgara, root
balggu, word, speech, language; Bągandji balgu, the Bągandji language
bama-la-, to float, to swell up
bami-, to see, (tr); bami-bami-, to look around
bami-la-, to look at, to watch (tr)
bambara, sandhill (B)
bambu-ma-la-, to pump (from English); ḋugu bambulama-du, he's pumping up water
banga, bat
bani-, to lift up, to raise (tr)
bana, clever man, witch-doctor
bana-bana-, to fix up, to tidy, to prepare (to make a fire)
bana-ma- (var. banma-), to prepare (tr)
banarga, tree: sandhill mulga
baninja, jealous
baninj-mala-, to become jealous
banba, tree: bullock bush (*Heterodendron* species)
banbala, saltbush, giant saltbush (*Atriplex nummularia*)
banbu-yara, plant: turkey bush (*Myoporum deserti*) (G)
banbula, plant: 'wild cabbage', sow-thistle (cf baļumba)
banda-, to spear, to stab, to pierce, to strike with any pointed weapon
banda-yara, tree: bean tree (B)
bandanja, blind
bandi-, to peg out a skin, to stretch (G)
bandi-, bandi-la-, to fail, to be tired; bandila du mīgi, his eye is failing—he's blind
bandi-wada, bird: bronze-wing pigeon
bandidja, plant: marshmallow
bandinja, cold (G)

bandu-banda-, to pierce with a sharp instrument, to spear
bandu balgu, incomprehensible speech, gibberish
bandu-, to bury (Băr)
bandu-, to bow down; daļu bangu-, to bow one's head
bandja, shining (G); bandja-mīgi, shining eyes
bandji, river, creek (B)
banjba-, to heat, to warm, to sunbathe
banju, large green frog (*Hyla* sp.) rare word, ḋaruğa is the common word for the ordinary *Hyla caerulea*
banja, goanna yellow-brown (*Varanus gouldii*)
banjambula, plant: Portulaca species
banara, tree: 'gum tree', 'thin leafed box' (*Euc. odorata*)
banja, neck, throat
banba bida-, to choke, to throttle, lit. squeeze neck
banja, tree: needlewood (*Hakea* species)
banda-, to search, to look for, to come out
banja-banja-, to make nice, to pretty up
banjara, bare, bald
banđi, full, complete
banđu, fish, Murray cod, the most important food fish in the Murray-Darling system
bangâ-, to crawl, to creep up on someone, to sneak, to sneak after someone (intr & tr)
bara-, to run, to hurry, to travel
bara-gīra, a distant country; bara-mīri, a long way, to a distant place (G)
barab-mala, to run away, to escape
bari, scrub; barindji, belonging to the scrub
bari-, to go, to walk
bari-mala-, to go past
bari-ba-, (var. barba-), to come, to arrive
baringa-, to go away
barin-mala-, to travel about
baridjiri, far away, distant
Barbarilla, a group of Aborigines that came through Gundabooka late last century, probably of Barambinja descent
barga-, to tell lies, to deceive
bargaya, lie, deception, falsehood
bargulu, two; bargulu-bargulu, four; bargulu-nidja, three
baraga, woman (G); wiwu baraga, old woman
bayiwili, spear-shield
bayu, pipe (from English)
baba, nardoo-seed, edible seed, seed of box tree, any seed used for grinding (cognate with a wide-spread word for grass-seed e.g. bana in Arabana)
babadja, kinship term, referring to an older male relative of the adjacent generation and of one's own moiety: the term seems to have the same connotation as wāgadjaja-
babini-ja-, to cover up (tr); dajuna babinjadju, he covers up his head
badja-, to fall (of rain), to pour with rain; magara bādadjji, it was pouring with rain
bādja-, to shine, with a white sheen; also bādja-bādja-, to shine brightly; yggu bādja-bādja, the sun is shining; biguana bādja-bādja, he is looking pale, lit. his face has a white sheen
bādjirga, white, light coloured, a silver coin as opposed to copper
bādjuga, moon, month
bādingi, kidney; bādingi-manji, kidney fat
bāga, river, the Darling river in particular; bagana ūngadāba, I shall sit by the river
Bāgandji, the Darling River people, the Darling River language
bāguda, fox (from English)
bālambaldaru, plant: lily (Crinum species)
bāluru, long
bālgur-, to make a noise; gila bālgurǎna, don't make a noise!
bāmara, bird: night-owl
bānmulu, lizard: knob-tailed gecko
bānba-, to cure a sick person, 'to doctor someone up'
bānda-, to be angry
bāndi-, to run out, to be exhausted, to be finished
bāndi-la-, to snore
bānga-, to fall (of river), to go down (intr), to dry out
bāngarà, frost, heavy dew (G)
bāra-, to listen (SB)
bārayi-, to hear (Bar)
bāri-, to hear (G)
Bāru, the Paroo River
Bārundji, the Paroo River people, the Paroo River language
bāwuga, bird: screech-owl
bāra-, to smell; bāra widina ṇungi, he smelt that they (oranges) were ripe (G)
bida- (var. bida-bida-), to pinch, to grab; bida-bidāna daçu-bulgi, to grab hold of someone by the hair
bidaga, tree: species uncertain (G)
bidi, young man
bidiga, poison, venom of snakes; bidig' dayildji, he ate the poison—he's had it
bidja, outside, out of doors; bidjana, on the outside
Bidjijdji, Wychooga Lake near Wilcannia
bidili, tree, spiny wattle (Acacia spinescens)
bigi, shoulder blade
bigirri, 'bark tree' a box tree with particularly thick bark that grows by the river
bigu, forehead, also used for 'face' in general; bami djadu biguana, I saw her face
bila-, to creep up
bili-wādjirga (var. bili-wāndjuga), bird: spoonbill (Platalea regia)
bilba-, to strip a canoe, to take bark off a tree
bildi, yellow ochre
bilda (var. yarandji) possum
bildi-bildi-, to split up, to separate (intr); bildi-bildilayiga, they split up (the mob of children)
bilga-, to run away (downwards), to go downhill, or downstream, to set (sun)
bilgindi, pouch (of marsupial)
biljara, bird: eaglehawk (SB only)
bilju-biljuga, butterfly
bila, plant: pigweed (B)
bila-bila, net bag, dilly bag, swag, belongings in general
bila-bandju, fish: bony bream, lit. bag cod
biluru, hanging limb of a tree, dead branch
bilgu birna, hip-bone
bina-, to climb up, to climb
binduru, plant: a species of grass used for thatching, probably swamp cane-grass
bina, hole in a tree, possum-hole
binaru, snake: wabma snake (B)
bini, soaking; bini ngūgu, soaking water
binba, tree: pine tree (Callitris species). The resin of this tree was widely used as glue. This is a wide-spread word found also in the Lakes Languages of South Australia
binba- (var. winba), to blame somebody, to complain about a person
binda-, to meet, to find
bindi, lightning, thunderstorm
bindi-balga, lightning-struck (mythological site 6 miles upstream from Wilcannia)
bindi-bindi, stripy, marked; bindi-bindi dāgulu, striped goanna (subspecies of Varanus Gouldii)
bindiŋgiŋgi, lizard, tiny skink
binma-, to ask someone for something
bingu, bird: 'water-lark' described as having jerky movements, so it may be one of the rails
bira, waddy
bira-balju, stick
biraduda, bird: a species of hawk
biri, a malicious mythological being, which lived in trees and laughed like a child, 'fiend' (G)
biribuda, relation, close relative (G)
birga-, to cross sticks to make a ladder (G)
birgu, hip; birgu-birna, hip-bone
birgundi, hip, hip-bone
bira-birra-, to be lonely, to be upset, to pine away
biranga-la-, to cry, to lament (intr)
biri, claypan (G)
birna, bone; birnadja, bony
birnara, poisoner, dangerous clever man or woman (from birna bone)
biyara, open
biyara-ma-, to open up (tr)
bība, paper (from English 'paper')
bībi, baby (G); it was insisted that this was not a borrowing from English
bīburu, ant, a large species of ant, also used as general term
bīda-bīda-, to spread out
bīdi, branch of a tree; bīdi-bīdili, limbs of trees
bīdjala, tree grub, large witchetty grub
bīdji, shell (of an egg)
bīndi, grasshopper
buba-yara, a kind of box tree that grows on the Warrego (G)
bub-mala-, to get wild, to get angry
buda, soft, delicate, powder, pulp (SB only)
buda, (G) white, also the 'white of an egg'; galdi buda, an albino emu
budara, dust storm, dust (wide-spread word in SA and NSW)
budi, flatulence
budiga, cat (from English 'pussycat')
budiri, bird, little grebe (B)
budu, vagina
budu, steady, motionless, quiet
budjala, sharp, pointed
budji-budji, hot weather, summer-time; budji-budjina, in summer
budji-la-, to be pointed, sharp
budga-, to pluck
budga-budga-, to drip, to leak down
buga, dead, rotten, smelly; bugawaq, having a rotten smell
buga-la-, to die (intr)
buga-ma-, to kill (tr), (lit. to make dead)
buga-mala-, to die (intr)
buga-malina, widow (lit. dead husband-hers)
buganja, fatally, to death; balgadunga buganja, I'll kill them dead!
bugunba-, to dream evil, to wish death upon somebody
buladja, bird: pelican
bulda, plant: clover
bulda-, to persuade, to coax
bulda-bulda, again, repeatedly
bulduru, bark canoe
bula-, to wake somebody up, to rouse
bula, two (G)
bula-bula, four (G)
bula-yaçu, north wind
bulamba, bird: white crane, egret (Egretta alba)
bulaqi, half, in two parts
bula-ŋtdja, three (G)
bulali, Bulagali, the 'Uplands People', the group of Bāgandji who lived in the Barrier Range
bulidja-, to dive in
bulidj-mala-, to open up (tr) and to go into something (intr); to dive in; bulidj-malaŋa gaŋuna, there is an opening in the rocks
bulidjmana, policeman (Bār)
bulu, bullock, cattle (from English)
bulu-bula-, to wake someone up (G)
bulbari, sawfly larvae (B)
bulbul-, to swell up (boil or pimple), to bubble up
bulbulmala-, to bubble
bulda-bulda-, to box, to hit, to punch
bulga-, to pour, to pour out; bulganja-, to pour away
bulga, plain, clear bare ground; nugu-bulga, flood plain
bulgi, feather, down feather, fur, hair
bulgu, marsupial rat, species uncertain
bulgaliya, sawfly larvae, miranga (their bag), also called maljara
bulandji, blanket (from English)
bulara, fly: blowfly
buli, star; buli-buli, a lot of stars, a starry sky
buli wilbinja, a long time ago, in the dream-time
bulu, bulu-ganila, heart
bulga-, to hide, to 'plant' something
bulgi-, to push, to poke, e.g. bulgina mingari, to push something into a hole
bumala-buga, turtle (long necked) (Chelodina longicollis) 'stinking turtle' (alternative form bulumugu)
bumulugu, tortoise (alternative for bumala-buga), nadji-gagudja bulumugu lit. elder brother to rainbow serpent, that tortoise, the large tortoise (Chelodina expansa). It was forbidden food over a wide area, e.g. among the Wembawemba as well as the Bāgandji.
bumba-, to rest, to sleep. This verb often has an extended form bumbera-
bunu, lizard, small gecko (living under bark). For this name and an illustration see Tipping 1979
bunu-wadudja, bird: brown hawk
bunda, plant: clover grass
bundala (var. buda), soft, tender (meat)
bundanja, no-hoper, useless person
buna, chest
bunba-, to treat a sick person
bunba-bunba-, to rub with oil
bundi, waddy (borrowed word probably from Waŋyabuwan), heavy waddy with a knob at the end
bundu, smoke, also 'train'; bundu wanda-, bundu windiri, (G) to light a smoke
bundu-, to smoke someone, to cure someone with smoke from the fire of turpentine bushes
bunduli, smoke screen
bunmurru, muddy, opaque water
bunjba, mushroom
buni, flowers, blossom on trees
-bura, clitic, usually following on the verb, generally emphatic: 'indeed'
bura-, to fall out, to drop out (hair, teeth), to hang down, to dangle (intr)
buri-, to hang out (laundry), to pull out (tr)
buridjiri (var. baridjiri) a long way, far away (G)
burinja, alive, living; burinja ningadu, he's (still) living
buruRra, (buru-ura), over there, some distance away, further
burba-, to come up, to appear, to surface
buraga, plant: apple bush (Pterocaulon spachelatum)
buba-, to blow, to blow a fire, to shoot with a gun
bubu-, to surprise someone, to startle
bůlgara, black tree goanna
bůmba, bůmba-bůmba, back of neck
bůnda-, to smell (tr), to sniff
bůndal'waŋa, smelly
bůndi, slow, steady; bůndi-dja slow-moving
bunma-, to flatten, to lay flat
bůŋga, hut; wimbadjja-bůŋga, humpy, an aboriginal hut (a wide-spread word, possibly borrowed by Bãgandji from South Australian languages)
bůra-, to cover over, to protect, e.g. meat from flies
bůri, ghost; 'the bůri is white because he fancied himself and put on kopj'
bůri-gumbaga, lit. ghost-wife, a ringing sound in one's ears: it indicates that someone else is talking or thinking about one
bůri-waga-, to make out something is a ghost, to imagine a ghost
bůwuru, leaf
dabinja-, to move away, to make room
daba, open (adj); yalear-daba, open-mouthed
daba-dabaru, rough scrubby country
dabi, plant: mistletoe
daburu, windbreak of a more permanent kind, used for camping, as opposed to ŉandu
dada, younger; dada widuga, younger sister; dadulugu, the youngest, smallest; dadulugu widu, youngest sister; dada baragaga, younger woman, young (G)
dada, flat, spread out
dadjja-, to taste (SB)
dadja-, to bite (G)
dadju, flank, side
dada-, to hinder, to block (G); ŋindu ŋana dadana, you are blocking me-
dadu, head; dadu-bulgi, hair of the head; dadu-barbala-, to be cranky, to be silly; 'head', cap of eucalypt seed vessel
daju-badji, brain, lit. head-egg. The use of a word meaning 'egg' in terms for 'brain' is common in Aboriginal languages, e.g. Arabana-Wangaŋuru malju-babu brain-egg, brain
daju-balga-li, mad, 'off one's head'
daju-balara, bald, (lit. head-bare)
daju-dara, pegs made from the bones of joey kangaroos and used for such purposes as pegging out skins (G)
daju-wuli, clever man, doctor (G) (lit. head-hole)
daju-da, hair, head hair
daju-ulgi, short form of daju-bulgi, hair (of head)
daga-, to pierce, to hit with a weapon; to write, usually bîbana, 'on paper'; dagadurayi bîbana, he'll write to me on paper (daga- widespread word in S.A. meaning to pierce and to 'write on paper!'
dag'-ma-, to open up, to pierce or cut open, gandina dagamangu, he opened it with his teeth
dag-mala-, to float, to drift loose
daga, edge; daga-ñugu, water's edge, edge (of lake)
dagadjji, hair-string (B)
dagarga-d, plant: wild potato, edible tuber (Thysanotus species)
daguli (var. daguda), heavy
dal-dal-mala-, dalag-dalag-mala-, to flash (like lightning)
dalba-, to stay and stand around, to stay in the immediate vicinity; mina-mandi dalbimba, why are you standing around?
daldi, to hear, to listen; daldi, listen!; gila daldila, he won't listen!
dalga, lungs, lights, gujiga-dalga, bad lungs (lit. black lungs)
dalgadu-la-, to be hot
daljara, person who has been initiated by getting teeth knocked out (B)
daljba, close by, near (adv.)
dalja, dry; dalja-mala-, to become dry
dalja-dalja-, to split up (G)
dalja-midina, dried out (B)
daljaña (var. dalanja), tongue
dalja, red kangaroo
dalju-ñugu, salt water (from English)
daljuña, salt (from English)
damba-, damba-damba-, to dig damba-damba, to turn around (intr)
dambil, trousers
damburu, 'devil' evil mythological being
danuga, white person; danuga-ñugu, white woman. The word danuga belonged exclusively to the Pooncarie area
danba-ma-, to glue together
dandinja, drum (wide hollow wooden tube) (G)
dandu-, to miss, to allow to escape
danduwanba, plant: edible thistle
danga (var. däninja), beefwood gum
dangi-, to protrude, to stick out, to stand up for somebody else
danja, fresh, green (timber)
danji, then, afterwards (B)
danjba-, to shine, to glow
danjbarga, shining; danjbarag-­mari, very bright
danja, back; danana gandi-, to carry on one's back
danja-birna, backbone, spine
danji-, to go, to walk (G)
dani, friend, companion, person who is favourably disposed
danaga, with one's back turned; danaga-dari-, standing with one's back turned
danja, mucus from nose or eyes, pus
danga, bread. This was not recognised as an ordinary Southern Bunganji word, but was associated with the Dangagali or 'bread-language'
Dañgagali, a division of the Bāgandji who once lived to the south of Broken Hill. Their speech is considered to be 'broad' by Guñu people
danga, towards the middle; dangana, in the middle, in between;
dangana ŋingadu, he's sitting in the middle
dangi-, to be pleased, to be happy, to be flash
dangunja, liver
dara, plant: hop bush (B)
daraga, bird: blue crane
daramula, plant: (Thysanotus), tuber (var, dagarada)
dargali, vine, species uncertain
darmanja, light, not heavy
dar, straight
dawi-, to shut in, to enclose (G)
dawi-, to breathe (SB)
dayi-, to eat
dayi-ba-, to eat up a meal
daba-, to be runny, dirty (nose)
daburu, fish: catfish variety
daga-, to paint (a person for a corroboree), dāga-dāga-, to smear with paint
dāgulu, brown goanna (Varanus Gouldii); bindi-bindi -dāgulu, striped brown goanna (subspecies of Varanus Gouldii)
damba, initiate, young initiate (B)
dāninja (var. danga), gum, resin (particularly from the beefwood tree); methylated spirits
dānga-la-, to salivate, to give out moisture, to be juicy (fruit)
dānguru, snake: black snake
dāri-, to stand, to wait around, to be upright (e.g. trees)
dibi, spark (noun), jealous (adj)
dibi-dibi-, to light a fire (by means of a single spark)
dibinj-dibinj -mala-, to spark
didaga, lizard: 'Jacky lizard' (Amphibolurus muricatus)
didi, anus, also used in the more general sense of 'bottom'
didi-gugi, anus
diga-, to return, to return home, to come back
digara, bird: wild turkey (G)
diginja, armpit; diginja-bulgi, hair under the arm
dil-mala-, to crack (a bone)
dilbu, bird: small wading bird, species uncertain
dilburu (Bār), water; baribuli-dilburu-mandi, we two went for water
dilda, bird: plover species
dildagara, lake
dildja, sinew, particularly leg sinew of kangaroo
diljiga, fish: perch
dilja-dilja-, to shake something (tr) e.g. gandina bidjana
dilja-dilja, take it outside and shake it (a dirty blanket)
dilja-nja-, to mix up, to confuse
dimala, tree: gidgee (Acacia Cambagei) (B)
dimari, sap
dimbali, tree: coolabah (B)
dina, foot, footprint
dina-buda, shoe (lit. foot-boot), the second part of this compound is derived from English 'boot'; dina-budana yaba, footpath
dina-garala, poisonous, dangerous magic; dina-garala wīmbadja, poisoner
dina-gula, 'sneaker' a treacherous murderer (i.e. the 'Kurdaitcha' who wear feather shoes) it also refers to sorcerers who could travel through the air
dina-midina, on tiptoe, quietly
dina-yaba, track
dina-baja, small bark dish used by doctors for collecting 'bad' blood (G)
dini-wilgu-wilgu, bird: butcher bird
dindi-bulinja, barb (on spear)
dindili, echidna, spiny ant-eater
dindildu, lizard species
dindinariga, sharp point
dindju-, to sneeze
dinga-dinga, bird: blue jay
dinga-, to grind seed (B)
dingi, knee
dingi, to sunbathe, to warm oneself in the sunshine (B)
dinga-, to rise (G)
dinga-gari, bottle, particularly wine-bottle, flagon
dingara, deep hole, tunnel (G); dingarana- dungaadi, he buried it in a deep hole
dingi-, to rise, to get up
diri-, to be bold, cheeky (wide-spread word, e.g. Arabana diri-nuga 'cheeky'); nara-naradja Barayiga dirila they walk around together in order to be cheeky
diri đudayi, a cheeky fellow
diri-djiri, bird: willy wagtail
diriga, bird: butcher bird
diri-gulda, tea-leaves, diri, is from English 'tea'
diri-mila-, to tease one another
diriga-, to boast
dirbara, song for catching kangaroos
dirigigi, ribs; dirigigi -birna, rib-bone
dirginja, nits, eggs of lice
dirguru, bird: whitefaced blue crane
diri, sand; diri mañdi, sandy area, sandhill country
dirba, spark (from fire) var. dibidui
dirguru, bird: wading bird, species uncertain
diyara, bird: black cockatoo
dida-, to lick; gaji didaladuna, the dog is licking it up
didi-didi-la-, to rub, to irritate
dida-, to pour out (Intr), to stream out (e.g. blood)
diljana, bird: ring-neck parrot
dindi-la-, to sneeze
diri, bird: mudlark, peewee, the Ancestral Mudlark which created the Darling River
dīri-yabara, the Peewee's camp, mythological site near Wilcannia
duba-, to spit
dubidja, giddy
dubila, completely, altogether (adv)
dubu-dubara, duba-dubara-, to jump about, to hop; dubara-mala-, to leap (fish)
duda-, to pour with rain;
dudāna, it's pouring
dudūlu, hill, mountain; dudūlu mañdi, mountainous ground, range
dudūladja, high ground, table-land (lit. having hills)
dudī, upper arm, wing (G)
duga-, to starve oneself, to go hungry; dugaladju, he starved himself
dugu-, to bury (G), to hide away; dugu-la-, to get rid of completely, to burn up
dug-mala-, to become lose, to come off (shoe etc)
dulu, close together, adjoining (adj)
dulu-dulu-, to heap up; dulu-mala-, to lie in a heap
dulu-mala, in a heap (adv)
duluru, a lot, many (SB only)
dulbaga, around, all around (adv), in a circle
dulbaga, ditch, trench
dulga, cotton, thread, originally 'fibre used for sewing'
dulga-, to sew
dulgu-, to fall (of rain) (SB)
dulgu-, to come in, to arrive (G)
dulgoru, tree: bullock bush (Heterodendron species) (G)
dulgoru, deep mud, silt; dulgoru bāga, a river in flood and full of silt (SB)
duljba-la-, to feel sleepy, to doze
dula-minda, bad (B), (suffix -minda cognate with Maļaņaba-minda)
dulaga, bad, ugly; dulaga
  wimbadj'a, a wicked man;
  dulag'gugu, alcohol;
  dulag'wada, evil-smelling;
  dulag'ma-, to spoil (tr);
  dulag-mala-, to deteriorate

dulu, bird: kingfisher
dumuli, wild honey
dumba-dumba, deep down
dumbaga (var. dumbi), waterhole,
  deep hollow in river
dumbi, deep water-hole, permanent
  water
dumbi-mari, deep (of water, river)
duna, then. This form freely
  alternates with dunda
dun-mala-, to shake, to shiver
  (intr)
dunda, collarbone
dunda, then, straight away, at
  that time
dundi-la (var. dundja-), to suck
dunduru, now, immediately
dundi-, to suckle
dundju, thick, dense; dağu bulgi
  dundju, thick hair
dundjuga, thick (G)
_dunga-, to bury, to cover up
dunga, dunga-yara, dunga-manći,
  cemetery, burial ground, grave
dunmara, bird: storm-bird
dunmara, worm, also dünba
_dunga-, to straighten (G)
dunga, night, darkness;
  dุงgaradaga, dunga-gadaga (G),
  at night, throughout the night
dungana, at night, in the dark,
  inside (a hut—or a gaol)
dunga-dunga-, to get dark
dunga-dunga, stinking (B): this
  is a wide-spread word in eastern
  S.A. and southern Queensland
  (Yalji, Diyari, and Nūra languages)
dungu, dungu-dungu, twisted,
  crooked; dungu-dungu-mala-,
  to be twisted, crooked;
  dungu-dungu-maladu yuduru,
  the path is twisted

dunguru yara, twisted tree, a
  bent pole used for building
  humpies
dunguru-mala-, to blow away
  (intr), to disappear (storm)
dura-, to squash, to squeeze
  (a boil or pimple)
Durali, old Toorale station,
  where Grannie Moisey spent
  much of her youth
durila-, to rise; bundu duriladu,
  smoke is rising
duru, snake (general term)
duru-mara, mussels, river-mussels
durba-, to run, to overflow, to
  weep (eyes)
durga, tree: bullock bush
  (heterodendron species) (B)
durgulugu-, to run after, to
  pursue (G)
duru-duru, steam, aroma, rising
  from cooking
dūba-, to burn down (tr)
dūbu, soap (from English)
dūga-, to turn, to turn around
  (intr)
dūlba, flood, the flood-plain
  of a river
dūlgiga, bird: wild turkey
dūraga, for a long time (G)
dūru, cloud, storm-cloud
düyiga, 'the fiend with the bag',
  a malicious mythical being
  'the düyiga is called so be-
  cause it sings out düyi-düyi-
  düyi, splashing in the water'
  (Mrs Moisey)
Düyiga-gīra-gīra, Düyiga's place,
  a site south of Wilcannia where
  the Düyiga picked up people
dj, as a true initial this
  appears in borrowed words only
-dja, having, owning (suffix
  indicating possession)
djambu, sheep (English borrowing)
djugu, sugar (from English 'sugar')
djugu-djugu, chicken (from
  English 'chook')
djuma-, to show (from English
  'show' and -ma)
gaba-, to follow
gada-gada-, to chop into pieces
gada-gada, bird: Major Mitchell cockatoo
Gadaru-gada-gada-dumbi, large waterhole in the Darling, in the Pooncarie area
gadi (var. gadiga), sour, bitter-tasting; gadi-ŋugu, 'bitter water', strong spirits, methylated spirits
gadiŋiri, claypan (B) (cf gadjiri)
gaduga, short
gaduru, bramble wattle (Acacia victoriae)
gada, tree: wilga
gadjala-, to be hurt, to feel pain
gadjala, small (B)
gadjala ga (var. gandjaaga), good, beautiful (G)
gadjilugu, narrow, small, little
gadjiri, claypan (the more common word is yabaŋa)
gadjumbaga, young woman (gadja, [cf gadjala] + gumbaga) (B)
gadjunja (var. gajunja), crayfish
gadi, tree: gidgee tree (Acacia homalophylla)
gagadji, hair-string (B)
gagaŋa, plant: wild banana creeper, both the fruit and the root (which was called ŋaŋdi) were a popular food (Marsdenia australis)
gagamba, white cockatoo, corella (B)
galila, sick
galida, bird: emu, galida ŋabi, emu egg
galida-ŋulu, 'the two emus', the 'coalsack' nebula in the Milky Way
galdiga, tree: emu-bush (Eremophila species)
galdina-didna, star: 'emu foot'
gala-, to look for something, to search
gali-, to see, to notice
gali, only (adv); gali baldana bamanaladu, he makes it with only bark, nothing else
gali ŋungugu, only women, the seven sisters
galudju, plant: 'spinach' (probably Calandra species)
galbalaŋa, fishing-line, string, rope; wadudjina nana galbalŋana, I caught it with a line
galburiba, centipede
galdu, sleepy lizard
galdju, lower abdomen, groin
galgara, sky (B)
galgara, bird: storm-bird; galgara wambi-wambilāna
inana djugana wabiraŋu magara, when the storm-bird flies round, that might rain-clouds will come up, (probably the Oriental Pratincole)
galgiri, ant: bull-ant
galgu, bird: (bald) coot
galguru, spear, a barbed spear
galja-, to run
galjiru, cold, pleasantly cool
galjirmanda, cold, cool;
galjirmanda ŋugu, cool water
galjbu, by and by, later on
galjbumbi, tomorrow morning
gala, behind, bottom
galambala, pigeon
gali, dog, dingo
galu, penis; galu bable, penis and testicles term of abuse yelled at males
galuru, cloud
galbi, clear; galbi ŋugu, clear water
galgu, tree: belar (Casuarina cristata)
gamurua, tree: river red gum (Euc. camaldulensis)
gamba-, to tell stories, to gossip, to swear
gambamba-, to be upset
gambaljiri, stars: the Seven Sisters
gambi, shirt, clothes; gambi-balu, handkerchief
gambi-gambi, clothes in general
gambidja, father
 gambi-linja, a pair: father and son
 gambi-gambilinja, a father and his children
 ganda-, to run someone down, to spread bad gossip about someone
 gananja, stomach (internal)
 gandu-qara, eucalypt seed, ground to make flour (G)
 ganja, near, close by, used with the possessive marker to indicate person; ganjai, near me
 ganjaga-, to growl, to get wild (like dogs)
 ganja-yaQu, wind coming from down-stream on the Darling, storm from the west and south (G)
 ganja, cooking stone, stone put in the fire for griddling (cognate with gada stone in Arabana and neighbourling S.A. languages)
 ganja-ganja-, to collapse
 ganji(i)dja, (maternal) grandmother; gandjalinja grandmother and grandchild
 gandjalga, (var. gaddjalga), good (G)
 ganu (SB), gana (B), stone, rock; ganu-ganu, hail-stones; ngatu-ganu, rain-stone; balgu-ganu, message stone
 ganu-waja-, gibber country (B)
 ganu, bird: Kite-hawk, probably the fork-tailed kite
 ganiyja (var. gaQiira), 'billycan' (B), ganiyala, bark-dish, coolamon
 ganja-, to tell lies (Bår)
 ganjuba, tree: quandong (bitter)
 ganjuru, only
 ganja, yam-stick
 ganja, naked (G)
 Ganga-dumbi, large waterhole in the Darling, in the Pooncarie area
 ganma-, to steal something, to to 'shake', to take
 ganaga (var. ganaQa), here, inside here

Canara ngaQidja, ganunja ngaQidja, this side of the river
 ganara, sweat; ganara digaladu, sweat is pouring
 ganari, fighting waddy (G)
 garabira, long way away, distant; garabirandu, from afar
 garadja, round
 Garadja 'the Round One' a big water hole near Pooncarie
 garagarala-, to mess around, to play around in a silly fashion
 garambara, dance, 'shake a leg'
 gananja, sand, fine sand in the river; gananja maQi, sandy ground
 Gananja, 'Sand' name of a water-hole near Pooncarie
 garanga, sharp, pointed
 garidj-garidj-mala-, to grind one's teeth
 garinjega-naQgi, early in the morning
 garinji, tomorrow
 garubuda, cloud (small cloud, rather than rain-cloud)
 garuwarri, snake: carpet snake (B)
 garba-, to feel, to grope for something
 garga, upper thigh
 garga-, to cry out, to scream
 garga-maQi, corroboree-dance
 gargarala-, to dance, to 'shake a leg'
 gargaldja, wooden dish
 garganja, high up, the sky; gqla garganjana, he's reaching high up to the sky
 garganja, up above (adv)
 gargi, flagon, large bottle (from English cask?)
 gargiri, bird: waterhen
 gargumbirayidja, lizard: Jacky Lizard, (Amphibolurus muricatus)
 gargula, trousers
 garambara, 'quivering of the legs', an essential part of ceremonial dancing
 garaya, thigh, upper leg (cf garga)
 garima, mallee tree
gařima-gařima, scrub, bush-country, malle-scrub
garda, shoulder
gawamba, bird: the Nankee crane
gābagā, fighting spear (G);
gābagāna banda- , to hit with a fighting spear
gābada, umbrella grass
gābugu, plant: *solanum ellipticum*
gāburu, tree: described as a tree resembling the willow, probably *Acacia Oswaldii* (G)
gādiri, boomerang (G)
gāgi, prickle, burr
gāgudja, elder brother; gāgulinja, a pair of brothers, gāgu-gāgulinja, three or more brothers
gāgumbirādirjā, 'Jacky Lizard', lizard species (*Amphibolurus murius*)
 gālbi-gālbiga, moth
gānala, plant: roly-poly bush
gānī, lizard (SB + G), frill-necked lizard (wide-spread word, e.g. Arabana gāndi)
gānba-, to wade across a river
gānba-gānba-, to wade, to walk about in the water
gānda-, to attract, to fetch;
gandayiganga gūniga biljubiljugu, the fires attract moths
gāndi-, to take away, to remove something far away, to carry, to own something
gāndi-ba-, to send, to direct;
gāndibadindu yāmari, you'll send him this way
gāndi-nja-, to have

gāndara, blood, menstruation;
gāndara-balga, vein (lit. blood-string)
gāndara dīgala-, to bleed
gāndi-gundara, scorpion
gāndinja, old, a long time, long ago; gāndinjandu, from long ago, of old
gāndinja'-mala-, to grow old

gānja-, to fall over, to collapse
gānji, (B) lizard: frill-neck lizard (cf SB gānī)
gāŋga-, to ride
gāŋga-la-, to jump up
gāngarū, horse
gāru, other, different
gārugaya, yonder, faraway
gāru mara ḥidja, six (lit. other hand one)
gāra, skin, slough, newly shed skin of snakes, inner skin of an egg, thin outer bark of tree-branches, scale of fish
gāra-madara, with a new skin, (snake)
gāriga, (var. gēruga), shell;
gāriga-bādi, the hard outer shell of the pupa stage of the witchetty grub

gibara, urine
gidi, this one, dem.pronoun of (not immediate) proximity
gidīga, tobacco, plug tobacco
gidjīri, bird: robin red-breast
giga-marī, this way, in this direction
gīgi (var. īgi), this right here; gīgūlu, this particular one
gīguna, right here
gīla, not, used in both statements and prohibitions, general negative particle
gilaga, not, cannot, rare negative particle implying inability
gīla-, to grow
gīla-ba-, to grow up
gilamba, bird: galah
gildu, stew
gilli, ankle; mara-gilli, wrist (lit. hand-ankle)
gīna (var. ina, etc.) that
gīni, this
gīnu, there, quite close
gīna-, to stop, to leave off
giņuđa, stop! 'I give up!'
(exclamation of despair), also gīnūgili, enough now!
gingađa, grub, edible tree grub
ginđi, table-land, flat, stony ground, plain; ginđi-mandi, flat area of gibber or of very coarse sand

gira, tree: box tree (G)
gira-baga, leaves of box tree used as 'rubbish' stuffed into the insides of victims who had their kidneys removed (G)
giri-, to show, to teach (G); giri-ma-, to send for someone (G)
giri-nja-, to instruct (G)
giri-(g)iri-la-, to scream, to yell out (SB)
girinja, tree: leopard-wood (Flindersia maculata) (G)
girbadja, black kangaroo, i.e. the Western grey
girga-, to show, to teach
giyada, cattle, bullocks (from English 'cattle')
gībara, bird: wild turkey (B)
gīdjala (var. gīdjulu), plant: broom-bush (Melaleuca uncinata)
gīgi, this
gīgu, bird: white cockatoo, (sulphur-crested)
gīlga, centipede
gīnda-, to laugh (intr)
gīndi-, to make someone laugh (tr)
gīnji, bird: white cockatoo (corella)
gīgi-nulu, 'two white cockatoos' the clouds of Magellan. They wait ready to steal the two emus which Nurali is cooking up in the sky, the two emus being dark patches, the 'coal-sack' nebula in the Milky Way
gīngudja, nephew (i.e. sister's son, man speaking; brother's son, woman speaking)
gīra, country, place, ground; gāru gīrandu, from a different country

gīraga, place, country (cf. gīra)
gīyala, one's own, proper, (G) true

gubadja, kopī, white gypsum powder used for painting
gubu, elbow
guda, other, other people, the rest, e.g. gūna gīnagana malāga, the others are living on the far side
guda-guda, everybody, all one after the other
gudadi, maggots
gudi, the but of the tail; galdi-gudi, gudi-ma, fat from the tail end of an emu (considered a great delicacy)
gudanja (var. of guda-guda), all, everybody, all the rest of the people, also used adverbially 'altogether'
gudjuru, waddy: 'leaping kangaroo', a long throwing stick with a knob at one end, it could bounce along over great distances and was a favourite toy, identical to the Victorian wijd-wijd
gudjuru-waluru dāgulu, a brightly coloured form of the sand goanna (Varanus Gouldii)
gū-, gudi-, to touch, to reach right up to (with locative); guda garganjana, to touch the sky

gūda-guđa-la-, to feel about, to grope
gudadja, bird: plover species

gudi, red raddle (G), bilby, rabbit-eared bandicoot
gudu-dunga, burial ground

gugi, depth, bottom; gugina, at the bottom

gugiriga, (gugirga), black, also dark-coloured coin, 'penny' as opposed to silver

gugirg'-ma-la-, to turn black, to become unconscious

gugu, end; guniga-gugu, fire-stick

guldaba, bird: duck (teal)
gula, hollow (tree)
gulu, butt of a tree; guluna, beneath a tree, at the butt of a tree
gulungala, bird: kite, probably the black-shouldered kite
gulurugu (var. guluđararu), bird: magpie

gulba-, (Intr) to tell, to talk; gulbadāli walbirina, we'll talk by the river-bank

gulba-gulba-, to chatter, to talk incessantly

gulbi-, to talk, to speak, to engage someone in conversation

gulda, grass, green ground vegetation in general

gulda-gulda, tea, i.e. 'grass'
gulidja, bird: butcher-bird

gulga, plant: rosebush (Hibiscus Farragei)

gulji, Aboriginal hut, humpy, (rather more elaborate than the very temporary būŋa)
guljaruba, bird: grey pigeon

gulju-gulja-, to rake up, to pile up (leaves and branches)

guljbara, shade-hut, shade; guljbarana ŋingadu he sits in the shade

guljbara-bira, omen, warning (such as itching in the nose, which indicates the impending arrival of a visitor or of news)

guljbara-gugu, 'shadow-water', reflection in the water

guldji, swag (G)
gulambi, bird: grey pigeon

Gulawira (var. Gušabira) Ancestral Being of great importance, 'God' known particularly from the Wanaaring dialect of Bārundji: but the fame of this ancestor had spread to other Bāgandji people. He is said to have walked into the sky at Mootwingee, where his footsteps are still seen; they were his last steps as he went up into the sky

gulī-, to play, to sit round playing bingo or cards

guliga ŋadi, a child's playmate, (lit. playing alike)
guliga, angry, wild (with someone)
gulu, red kangaroo (Wiljāli)
gujuru, wave (in river)
guldji (B), The Wiljaru; secondary initiation involving cicatrization. This is not a Bāgandji word: it is borrowed from languages to the west.
gumba-, to heal, to cure, 'to doctor'
gumbadjia, big, large; gargi gumbadjia, a large flagon (of wine)
gumbaga, wife; gumbaga malgadjia, 'having taken a wife', married

gumbaia, tree: coolabah
guna- (var. gunda-), to dream
gunaldii-, to dream; gunaldidjuuw, I dreamt about him

guna, faeces, bowel; guna-balga, bowel string, the lower intestine

gunajji, bird: wood duck
guniga, fire, fire-wood
guni-daga, fireside
guniga-gugu, fire-stick (G)
gunigalba, fire-place, oven
guniganji, fire-side (B)
gunundu (var. gunbu), uninitiated boy (B)
gunbali, fish: yellow-belly
gunbinja, plant: yam
gunbu, youth, young man ready for initiation
gunda-la-, to dream
gundara, tail (of animal), also penis
gundi, mosquito
gundu, belly, also 'guts' in general; gundu-mīga, guts ache
gundu-madiri, greedy (lit. big guts)
gundu-yara, hollow tree (lit. stomach-tree) (G)
gunga-, to swallow
gungu-, to cough
gungugu, cold, 'flu'
gungulu, manna
gungun-mila-, to fool around together (young girls and youths)
gundji, hut (probably a recently borrowed word from Wiradjuri)
gundjirri, shadow, reflection
gungu, wet
gungu-, gungu-ma-, to make wet; gungu-ma-, to get wet
gungulu, wet ground; gungulu balda, fresh bark
guna-, to conceal
gungadjji, bird: bronzewing pigeon
Gundjiridi (B), the Gundjiridi people
gunga-, to 'doctor up', to treat a sick person (B)
gungulu, crayfish (Cherax species) differs from gadjunja in the way the lower segments of the claw are positioned
gurali, bird: 'jay' 'lousy Jack', white-winged chough
guridja, scraper, stone adze (G)
gurganganja, sweet, sweet-tasting
gurgurcu, tree: box tree (black box Euc. largiflorens)
gura, grey; gura-wadjja, grey-coloured; guradja, old woman (lit. grey hair having), also grandmother of opposite moiety
gura-wadjja, grey coloured
guyab'mala-, to crawl away; duru guyabmaladju, the snake crawled away
guyamara, tree: sandalwood, the men's tree, the male totemic tree
guyibara, plant: emu-bush with conspicuous spotted flowers (Eremophila maculata)
guyuru, grass-like plant with edible seeds, species uncertain
gügara, tree goanna (G)
gügagaga, kookaburra
gügunja, bird: dove
güguru, ribs, body (general term) also 'chemise'; güguru-birna, rib-bone
gülji, güljı-gülji, or güljuru, winter, cold season; güülü-güljin, in the winter
gülurgu, mirage
günbu, hairy caterpillar
günga-, to sooil on, to encourage a dog to attack someone
gürabuçu, whirlwind (G)
güranja, muscles
güri-ba-, to hide (an object) to conceal something
gürü, bird: owl species
jawu, flour (from English)
maba-, to shift, to move a person forcibly; gila nayi mabanduayi, don't you shift me!
manda, hard, dry; manda manu dayayiga, they eat dry bread; manda-mari, very hard, rock-like
madara, new
madiri, much, many
madu, marrow
madu, tiny, very small (G)
madu, plant with edible berries, (Solanum ellipticum) (B)
manda-mada-, to clean up, to clear the ground, to scrape
madala-dja, satisfied; madala-dja, I've had enough
madja, madjidja, bold, game, daring, tame
madja-manu, tree: bitter quandong (lit. food for those who dare to eat it)
madjamba, hat
madjiri, shin
madjulu, plant: Myoporum species 'water bush'
manda maniga, poison that causes its victims to commit incest
manda, old man, big, large, important person, tribal elder, often used in the emphatic singular form madjulu
manda-mara, frog (a small species), (lit. big hand)
manda, private parts (female); manda-bulgi, pubic hair
manda, sticknest rat
manda-nja-, to wear (SB), maginja (G)
manda-rana, rain, rain-clouds
magi, raw, uncooked
magu, hill, stony rise; magu gīra, tableland country (G)

magudja, malicious mythological being, 'devil', living on rocky hills

magura, cold weather (Bār)

maldiara, feather, down feather

mali, bird: 'message bird', probably the grey butcher-bird or a cuckoo species

malāga, the other side, across the river, this form also serves as allative: to the other side

malba-, to throw something at somebody, to pelt someone (with stones)

malba-, to lose (G)

-malda, very (emphatic affix added to adjectives in Guqu)

malga, net, fishing net, string-bag

malga-, to pull, to drag away

Malgara, The Initiation Song Cycle (linked with the traditions of the Lakes tribes of S.A.). In Bāgandji the term was also used for an ancestral being which lived in caves. It was further the name of an old, highly respected Bāgandji man at Fooncarie early this century, Malgara Jack

malma-, to die, to pass away (polite term); malmadji, he died

maljara, bag of sawfly larvae

maljiila, bird: a species of hawk, probably the black kite

malandji, friend, companion of same sex (man speaking)

malga, tree: mulga

malga-manu, mulga apple

maljuji, caterpillar

mali, man, husband, male; malilinja, a married couple

mali-bajju, boy, young boy

mali-malgaḍa, married woman (lit. man having)

malba-ra-, to be drunk, to be silly

malna, vegetable food, bread; manu balduduru, vegetable food

manda-, to wait, to lie in wait for somebody

mandara, bird: widgeon

manina, money (from English)

manbara, bird: black duck

manda-, to chew

mandanda, chewing tobacco

mandi-, to take, to go for someone, to try to grab someone

Mandurandji, name of a 'tribe', a subdivision of the Wanjubalgu

mangu, mouse (Sminthopsis species)

manju, a snake charm (G) (two sticks, one large and one small are held up and the snakes are allowed to crawl over the person performing this)

man, fat

manu-manu, in all directions (adv)

manda-, to vomit

manjadi, sand, soil, ground; manjadi-midi, covered in soil, dirty

managara, bird: black duck (G)

mangu, lower arm

mana-, to make, to build, to fix up, to cure; manadju waṇanja, he built a nest

mana, ears (alternative form for yuři in G)

mana nabadjia, deaf, (lit. having blunt ears, sometimes, particularly in G simply nabadjia) see yuři

manada, plant: spinach

manaru, shield (B)

manga-, to hide, to hide oneself, 'to plant' (intr)

mangu-mangu, small chip of wood, splinter

maragala, long ago, in the dream-time

mar, true, real; mali balguana gulbādu, I speak the truth, used also as emphatic particle, and also as adverb very, following adjectives yalidi mar, very straight

marila, ringworm
marinja, (G) wallaby (Onychigalea fraenata)
margara, gun, rifle (from English 'musket', see margidja)
margidja (var. margā) gun, rifle- (from English 'musket', which has given rise to the word for 'gun' in most Aboriginal languages)
mara, hand, fingers (widespread word)
mara-mada, fat, stout
mara-nudja, clapping, accompaniment to a corroboree (G)
mara-malgā, to scratch (G)
mara-mara-, maru-mara-, to scratch
mara-māraga, spider ('hands')
marama-nilī, be careful! (lit. your hand now)
mari-ma-, to look after, to care for
mawala, coal, charcoal
mawi, poison made from ground seed of a yellow berry (species unknown). When added to a drink it can cause death within three days (B)
mayabadu-, to whisper (G)
mayanda-, to search for
maya-maya-mala, to search carefully, to pick over (for lice)
mābu, weeping wattle (Acacia stenophylla)
māda, boss, master (widespread word from English 'master')
mādī, mistletoe berries 'Tsniroombilles'
māda, drunkard (G)
mānba, body, flesh; mānbana gugirga his flesh is black i.e. he has been beaten black and blue
mānda, water-weeds, water-plants
māni, song, corroboree
māra-māra, kindling wood
māwulu, slow, slowly; māwulu gulba speak slowly!
māyiga, alternative word for 'white person' less frequent than danuga and wayīdbala
mibuđa, completely
mida-, to visit; mida-mida-, to visit frequently
Miđa-dumbi, name of a deep water-hole near Pooncarie
midigi, hard, rough (ground) (B)
mīdu-migunga, bird: noisy miner
miģidja, having something unpleasant, 'lousy with'
mīgi (var. nīgi), name; wamuradu migina, I forget his name
mildaga, egg-yolk
mila, hooked stick; mila bagimandi, stick for getting grubs
mili, nail, claw; mara-mili, fingernail; dina-mili, toe nail (var. milinja)
mlinja, nail, fingernail claw (G)
mlinja-yaba, footprint, track, scratchmark, particularly scratchmark made on kangaroo-skins or other objects to mark ownership (G)
mīludu-milda-, to spark
mijab-mijab-ma-, to catch alight, to get away (fire)
mimi, lips; mimi-bulgi, moustache
mina, what?; mina-mandi, what for? mina-mina, something or other, what's It's name?
minidja, greatly, very much (adv), more over, as well, full of this, (whatever has just been discussed) and many similar things; dula'nugu minidja widjaladu, he drinks a lot of alcohol and spirits
mindu-ulu, nose
mindu, blackhead, pimple
minduga, frill-neck lizard (Wiljālli)
mingga, hole, deep hole in the ground, cavern
mingada, underneath, below; mingada gaṇa, under the stone, in a hollow
mingi, dawn, early morning
mingi yanirani, star: morning star
miŋgu, miŋgu-miŋgu, mean, refusing to give food to a hungry person; miŋgu-miŋgu ɲimba, you are a mean fellow
miŋgu-miŋgula, exclusively, separately, on one's own
miɾa-mala-, to be pleased
miɾa, bag
miɾa-miɾa-, to roll a swag
-miɾi, emphatic particles used also in the formation of adverbs of direction as in ya-miɾi this way also used as general allative post-position (G)
miɾiga, forwards; miɾiga-na, in front
mɪba-mɪba-, to call someone, to address someone by name
mɪburu, ant, general term (G)
mɪda, girlfriend, playmate (woman speaking), this could be a borrowing from English
mɪda-mɪdalinja, a group of women who are all friends
mɪdiŋja, sister in law (woman speaking)
mɪbi, upper lip; mɪbu ɬɪgi, upper tip hair, moustache
mɪnu, chin
mɪda, mɪdu (G), piece, small portion (of meat etc)
mɪga-, to hide (tr)
mɪga, mɪgilə, silent, quiet, also used adverbially; without speaking
mɪgil (var. mɪgul), tree: wild orange (Capparis Mitchellii)
mɪgu dʊŋana, in the middle of the night
mɪgu-mɪgu, completely silent
mɪgudja, (mɪgudja), short, small
mɪgulə, cigarette (from English 'smoke', cf mɪgul)
Mulu, The Muluŋga corroboree (which Grannie Moisey learnt and participated in). This corroboree originated in Queensland among the Wanbaya, and became popular in northern S.A. at the turn of the century. Grannie Moisey's account shows that it was popular also in the Far West of N.S.W. (Hercus 1980)
mulda-mulda-, to scold somebody 'to rouse on somebody'
mʊja, testicles
Mʊja-dumbi, name of a large waterhole in the Darling, in the Pooncarie area
mʊjadjə, tadpole
mʊjə- ɬɪ, bird: bronzewing pigeon
mʊji, knife (G) (used for European-type knife, but originally 'stone-knife')
mʊlɪndji, new fresh; mʊlɪndji mʊrba, a new baby
mʊlu, lower back; mʊlu ɬɪŋa, lower backbone
mʊmbinji, drum, which was beaten to make emus curious, and to make them come close so that they could be easily killed
mʊni, ant, green ant (known for its vicious bite)
mʊnu, upper lip; mʊnu bulgi, upper lip hair, moustache
mʊnunja-, to kiss
mʊna, snake: green snake (Demansia psammophis psammophis)
mʊni-, also mʊni-mʊni-, to tie up; mʊni-mʊnaceda gəlina, he's tying up his dog
muni-muni (var. munidjiri), policeman (lit. tie up); muni-muni-na gira the policeman's place i.e. jail
munidjara, bird: top-knot pigeon
munda, secret-sacred, forbidden (to the uninitiated) dangerous; mundama, it's dangerous for you
munda-ma-, shave; 'they said to Mrs X you want to mundamalda now, she had such a big beard' (G)
mundambara, sometimes shortened to mundara, rainbow that crosses the sky and which is seen before a big storm. The name is associated with munda (secret-sacred) 'because you weren't allowed to look at it'
mundji-, to fill up (B)
mundjala, gut
muña-muña-, to answer back, to argue
mungadja, aunt (father's younger sister); mungalinja, aunt and niece or nephew
mura, fast (G)
muraḍa, fast, quick; mura-muraḍa (var. muri-muraḍa), quickly!, hurry up!
muri-muri-, to mix, particularly to mix flour and water
murumbara, shield (B)
muru, hot ashes (G)
mūği-, to itch, to feel an irritation (Intr)
mūği-, to make fun of, to sneer at; mūgilaruai, he's making fun of me
mūgu, tobacco (from English 'smoke')
mūgula, cigarette
mūluru, water-rat (Hydromys chrysogaster)
mūli-yara, tree: emu apple (Owenia acidula)
mūma-, to pick up, to lift up
mūma-mūma-, to pick up, to tidy; mūma-mumadu yara-yara, I'm tidying my things
mūmu-mūmu-, to hum
mūra, an Ancestral being; mūrɑ-mān̯i, a corroboree connected with Ancestors (G. B. Bär)
mūrba, child; mūrba-nāra, mūrba-nārigu, children, a group of children
mūrga daw-, to be short-winded
mūya-, to have a row, to scold someone
naba-, to lock up, to imprison; muni-muni-nuru nabaduruana, the police will lock him up
nabadja, deaf (G)
nabi-, to cause someone else to be locked up, to 'dob' someone in
nadadja, boyfriend, lover
nāḍa, down, downwards
nag-, to put in, to add
nagu-nagu-, to mix; dunda ṇugu nagu-nagunjaduru, he should mix water with it (the method)
naḷba-, to knock down, to blow down
nama-, to carry about (on one's back)
nama-malga, carrying bag, large bag, of netting, carried on back
namu, intestines
namba-, to dance, to stand on, to trample (on something) (G)
namba, young initiate, boy who has gone through initiation
nambali, berry of Solanum ellipticum
nambura, tree, probably Acacia Oswaldii
nandara, how many?
nandama, nandara, again, all over again (adv)
nandidj-mala-, to back answer, to persist, to keep on and on
nandu, breakwind, shelter; nandu bana-, to make a breakwind
Nandurandji, name of a subgroup of Southern Bāgandji
nanka, stubborn; nanka-mari Tinggaji inigi, he was very stubborn
nañanja, nañunja, how?, which?; nañanja waña njimba or nañanja ńimba, how are you?
nañi-, to run after, to pursue somebody
nañi (var. nangirga), warm, pleasant; dina-nañi, with one’s feet in front of the fire
nañi, to warm up; nangina yugulu, the sun is just warming up, it’s sunrise
nara-, to skin an animal
narga, enemy, somebody who is hated
narga-narga-, to kill with magic
nawa-la-, to perish, to be seriously ill, to die of thirst
Nañalgu, the group of Bągandji who used to occupy an area downstream from Tilpa
nawaru, bird: malle hen
nayi-, to skin with a knife (probably from nayu and ultimately from English 'knife')
nayinjį, dark-coloured resin, glue
nayu, knife (European type, from English 'knife')
nąba, edible grub (general term)
nąda-, to catch fish, to go fishing; baridjaba nągala, I went fishing
nąmba, fish: bony bream, also a species of legless lizard
nąni, bird: (= wabuga) owl species
nąnga-, to sit (B)
ńąnga-la, to sit waiting (O)
nąri-, to set (of sun)
nąri-la-, hang down; dądu-nąrila baridu, he is walking with his head hanging down
nibana, underneath, below
nibi, piece, fragment; gąnu nibi, pebble
nidja, bed (of soft ground or leaves), ground-sheet, mat placed on ground for children
nidja-nidja-ma-, to put someone to bed
nidju-, to unroll, to unravel, to spread out
nidju-ma-, to spread out
nigi, charcoal; nigi-manu (lit. charcoal-food), Johnny cakes
nin-nin-mala-, to shake, to tremble; nin-nin-malana marayi, my hand is shaking
ninda-, ninda-ninda-, to singe, to scorch
nindajja, thin, skinny; nindajja-malamaningadu, he was getting thin
niribudu, feathers, top feathers as opposed to down (B)
nirba-, to grab, to seize (G)
nirga-, to bark
nirga-nirga-, to squawk
niwila-, to push someone (into the water)
Didaga, tree: wilga
ńgi, name
ńilį, plant: a species of mistletoe
ńinda-, to take off (clothes)
ńira-, to wail, to cry continually
ńirgi-, to cry, to grizzle (said of small children only)
nuda-nuda-, to spill
numuli, wild honey (O)
numbarga (SB), green; numa (B)
numba-la-, to rot
numbi-, to draw
numba-, to drown
lundara, foam, froth on water
nura-, to slip
nurani, right (as opposed to left); nurani yałgu, right leg (G)
nurawali, for a long time, altogether; ibiyadu mingana nurawali baña-albi, if (the kingfisher) goes into a hole for a long time, like a goanna
nurinja, hard, tough, loud
nurba-, to rub (G), see nūru-
nurguru, plant: cotton bush (Kochia aphylle)
nūga-, to cut with a knife, to slice
Nuqa-nuqa-, to cut to pieces
Nuugu, a long thin stick, a thin branch
Nu-ma-, to know (from English)
Nu-minja-, to threaten
Nu-mu, hornet
Nu-ngu, woman, female; Nu-ngu balu, female child, little girl
Nu-ngu nadadja, girlfriend, (woman) companion
Nu-rali, Ancestral Being, particularly the main Creator—Ancestor, Crow
Nu-ru-, to rub, to smear with grease (G)
Nu-waru, bird: brolga
Nu-jiba, clothes (widespread word in S.A.)
Na, and, (rarely used conjunctive particle)
Naba, I
Naba-la-, to drive out (G)
Nabila, plant with edible leaves and shoots, parakeelya
Nabu-Nabu-, to shiver and shake
Nada, perhaps, maybe; Nada mandaldaba, perhaps I’ll wait
Nadi, something wrong, against the rules
Nadu-, to take out, to pull out; buldana nadandu take out the tea leaves!
Nadjji, watersnake, mythological rainbow-serpent
Naga-, to light a fire (SB)
Nada-, to stay in one's own place (SB), to return, to go back (G)
Nadadja, bird, black cormorant (Phalacrocorax ater)
Nadi, alike, similar
Nadi-, to turn, to turn over
Ndugu, nardoos
Ngad-ngadgama-, to race, to pant, to beat heavily; buju ngad-ngadgama, (my) heart is racing (through strain)
Ngaga, tears (probably cognate with the Wangumara for 'water', Naga)
Ngala, bird: black duck (Bár)
Nali, we two
Ngala, habit, use, custom, obstinate tendency to do a certain thing; dulaga ngala-dja, that’s a bad habit he has. Ngala can also mean 'appearance', 'colour'; Garu ngala-ngala, different colours
Ngali-, to leave, to go away from (G)
Ngala-, to be sore (B)
Ngadja, spit, phlegm
Ngala-, to hurt; banbayi ngalana, my throat is hurting
Ngalina, ngalirga, red
Naji, cheek
Nalju, nalaudja, mother-in-law (woman speaking), father’s oldest sister
Ngalba-ngalbar-, to swing (intr), to fool about
Nama, breast, milk
Namaga, mother, also female of animal; Namaga Nuugu, mother woman, a baby health worker
Namaga-marra, (lit. mother of hand) thumb. This is a widespread expression, e.g. Diyarimara nandri, mother of hand, thumb
Namalinja, a pair: mother and child
Nama-Namalinja, a group consisting of a mother and her children
Namanu, white of egg
Namalu, 'hard milk' lumps on the breast after childbirth
Namuru, Milky Way
Namba-, to finish, to stop (B)
Namba-Namba-ga-, to be happy and noisy, to rejoice, to celebrate
Nambala, bulbine lily tuber
Naninja, fog
Nandadja, frost, heavy dew
Nanda-ma-, to pull back (tr)
Nanda-Nandanja, scrub
Nandanja, branch, twig
qandara, behind, later; dalbadu
qandara, he stays (hidden) behind something, he stays in the background; qandamana gabaduma, he's following behind you;
qandayina, behind me (with affixation of bound possessive pronoun)
qandi, teeth
qanja, flame, light
Nanja, (name of the famous Bągandji man from Cutheroo Station who founded the 'Nanja tribe'—see Richards (1903)
qanjii- (var. qandja-), to ask for something, to beg; mina qanjirii?, what are (you) asking for?
qanju-, to eat (Wiljali)
qandji-, to leave, to abandon
qanba-, to catch, to grab, to destroy by magic (G)
qanba, sweetheart (SB), husband (G)
qanba-qanba-la-, to woo, to go courting
qangi-, to tease, to pull at continually
qandi, the edible tuber of the wild banana (Marsdenia species). The fruit is called gagala
qaradja (qara-qaradja), together, in company
qari-ñara, big (G)
qarba-, to build, to make, to establish, to create
qarga-qarga-, to hold
qafuga, frog (Hyla caerulea), the large green frog
qawa-la, to be in a bad state, to deteriorate
ñayi, hey, hello! exclamation used to greet someone or to demand attention
ñayilga, fence
ñada, no, nothing; ñada-mandi, for nothing, in vain; ñada-mari, nothing at all
ñadu-, to pull out
ñada-, to throw
ñamuru, dirty; ñamuru-waḍa, having a dirty smell
ñanudja, great-aunt (of own moiety), step-sister
ñānguru, lap
ñāndja- (var. ñanjii-), to ask for something, to beg for something (tr)
ñānruru, goanna: black goanna (Varanus varius)
ñānga-, to fall, to fall down
ñārbi, to make, to put together
ñiba- (var. iba-), to put down, to place, also 'to be born'
ñidi-ñidja, one by one
ñidja, one
ñiši-birna, shoulder blade
ñim (var. ñī), yes
ñima- (var. ima-), to lie down
ñima-ñima-, to lie around
ñimba, you (sg)
ñina, this one (G)
ñinara, here (G)
ñina, we (pl)
ñinda, cloud
ñindadja, cloudy (lit. cloud-having)
ñirga-, to block, to ward off blows by means of a shield or boomerang
ñīT, yes
ñīnda-, to let loose, to untie, to blow wildly (wind); yadu
ñīndalāna, the wind is blowing
ñīndu-, to blow one's nose
ñīnga-, to sit, to stay
ñuba, you two
ñuda, you (pl)
ñuda-ñuda-, to teach, to show, to criticise
ñudu, lice
ñugu, water
ñugu-miɾa, water bag; ñugu-miɾa warī-bugana, a waterbag made with possum-skin
ñulja-, to wash; ñulja-ðu gambiri, he's washing clothes
ñuljba, fontanelles
I)u! ar dj i (G), qulardji (B), a lot, many, an indefinite large number; qulardj i, a very large number. This word is used only rarely in Southern Bagandji (see dUluru)

qumara, scraps, remnants of food
quni, to roll along the ground; To roll and roll along, to writhe and wriggle
quni- quna-, to pull out (teeth)
qunulda, bird: pigeon (species uncertain)
qunda, to rub, to smear
qundadja, brother-in-law
qundi, mosquito (G)
qundinja, dirt from nose, snot (G)
qundja-qundja-, to make a whining noise
quni-, to scorch
quni, dirty
quni-mala-, to be dirty
quri, fat, grease; quri maqi, very fat
qûga, to give; gagudjâma qûgadjina, your brother gave it
qûga-qûga-, to shower someone with gifts, to give away too much
qûgi-, to feel pain; qûgijâba, I felt the pain
qûgugu, long stick
qûlga, grandfather (of opposite moiety)
qûgî, cooked, ripe; matu qûgî bâradju, he smelt ripe fruit...
qûwa-, to cook
qûwala-qûwala, star, morning star
qûya-, to fear, to be frightened; qûyalâba! I am scared!
ralda-ralda, bird: spurring plover
waba- (var. waba-), to come, to arrive, to come out (intr)
wabanja, grandchild of the same moiety (son's child, man speaking, daughter's child, woman speaking)
wabi-, to return, to give back
wabi-la-, to be hot, to hurt; wabilâdu, it is hot (water etc.), it hurts

wabi!ga, hot, boiling
wabuga, bird: mopoke owl
wada-, to blow; yâdu wadalâna, The wind is blowing (B)

wada, wadanâ, wadaga, there (in the middle distance)
wadara, wadarana, there (in the middle distance)

wadi-, to get into, to turn into (intr), to become, to crawl into; mingana wadiyâdu, he crawled into a hole

wa!du, that one (demonstrative pronoun)
wadu-mari, that one, in that direction

wada-, to turn back (intr), wadâna gândarâna, she has her period (lit. her blood runs back)

wada!ga, mussels

Wadalja, Wanaaring (Bár)
wadu-, to get, to fetch, to take
waduwanda-, to pull out (derivative verb from wadu-)
wadumbi-, to grab, to snatch (derivative verb from wadu-)
wadja, bird: corella
wada!, heel

wa!dâqi-, to fence, to work on a fence (derivation uncertain)

Wadudîna, God, Supreme Ancestral Being (SB). He was the Sun Ancestor, who came down on earth with his two women. He travelled past the moon

Wadunjurina, Ancestral Being, he comes, travelling through the air when you cook emu-fat. He is a kind of Satan'
waga, jaw; waga-birna, jaw bone; waga-bulgi (var. waga-wulgi), beard, whiskers (lit. jaw hair); waga-bulgi-dju, a person with whiskers. There is also a shortened form wagu!lgi which is used particularly for the feelers of a crayfish
waga-, to cut, to chop, to strip (a canoe); waga-waga-, to smack to beat, to hit, to chop

wagadja, uncle (mother's brother)
wagaga, tomahawk, stone-axe; wagaga-balju, tomahawk-child, a small tomahawk, meant for cutting small branches and chewing bark high up in trees in search for grubs

waga-waga-, to smack, to beat, to hit, to chop

wagu-, to search for something; mina wagurinda, or mina galalindu, what are you looking for?

walu, mould; walu-wada, smelling of mould

waluru, frog: small tree frog

walba-, to carry

walbi-, to lift up

walbanja, bird: stormbird, swallow

walbaladjji, horse (G)

walbinja (var. walbunja), stubborn, naught, doing the same thing over and over again despite discouragement

walbinj-dawingga-, to have difficulty in breathing, to have asthma (lit. to have stubborn breathing)

walbirii, the bank of a river or creek; walbirina bamindu, you see it on the river-bank

walganja, orphaned child

walja, not, 'don't' (prohibitive particle)

waljara, plant; a bush used in making humpies (G)

walj-mala-, to dangle, to hang free (intr)

walj-walj-ma-, to make smooth, to free

wali, state, condition; nagunja waji njima, how are you?

walu, storm, fierce hail-storm, cyclone (G)

wama-la-, to move, to move away, to turn (G)

wamba-, to flow; gila dulba-nugu wambaladjji, the flood waters did flow

wamba-wamba-, to pick up, to drive along (as flood waters drive debris)

wamba-waru, bird: quail

wamba-yaju, wind coming from the east and north-east

Wambandjii, name of a group of northern Bagandjii

wambi-, to fly; wambi-wambi-la-, to fly about; wambi-wambiladu igi wagu, that crow is flying around

wambi-nja-, to blow away, to dispel (a storm, by magic)(tr)

wana, boomerang, a fighting boomerang of the non-returning kind

wanba, bird: owl species

wanbabara, bird: blue crane (B)

wanba, silly, ignorant (perhaps based on the word for 'owl')

wanba-ma-, to forget, to be ignorant, not to know someone or something; wanbamaduana, I don't know him

wanda, ghost, white person. The use of the term 'ghost' for a European is widespread in Southern and Eastern Australia

wanda-, to burn (intr) (this verb was quite distinct from wanda-, to cook in ashes), to light a fire (tr)

wanda-, to forget (tr); wandana balgu, forgetting the language (B)

wandali, bad (song word) (G)

wandali, echidna, porcupine

wandai-, to burn (tr)

wandimai-, to wish, to want (from English 'want')

wandindali, part of initiation, knocking out of teeth

wandudja, bird: mopoke owl (G)

wanga, meat, matrilineal totemic descent line; mina wangi imba, what meat are you?

wanga-balju, plant with yellow flowers and edible tubers

wanga-wanga-, to rise, to fly up, to lift up (G); wanga-la-, to go up a hill

wangara, right (B)

wangara, right, right hand side
-wangi, postposition, 'in the first place', 'mainly'; qindu-wangi wandima, you are the main one that wants something
wangu, small non-poisonous snake, 'glow worm'
wanmu-, to be stupid, cranky; wanmurudu igi widalu, that old man is getting silly
wanmuğa-, to forget
wanji, upper arm near shoulder, wing; wanji-binga, shoulder blade
wanju, corroboree song, ritual song
wanu, bottom, behind
wandja-, to cook in ashes; bai Tramala wandjalâdu, he's cooking it well
wanba-, to sting, to irritate (G)
wanđa-wanđâ-, to grab
wanâ-, to cook (Bâr)
wananja, nest (of bird or stick-nest rat)
wanğara, upper arm near shoulder
wanğawa, bird: 'twelve apostles' (Struthidea cinerea)
warâ, side, direction. This noun is used with possessive affixes and case markers to form adverbs of location: warayina, by my side, near me; warayindu, from close by me
warâ-warâ, close together, side by side; wara-wara ñîngayiga, they sit close together
waraga, sideways, at the side (adv)
warab-mala-, to be shocked
waraî, bird: 'lousy Jack', jay, probably the babbler
waraña-, to pile up (B)
warâ-, to move about, to vibrate (intr)
warâgi, younger sister (G)
warâgu, bird: eaglehawk (G), the eaglehawk totem (to which Mrs Moisey belonged)
waru, plant: swamp cane grass
warbaja, tree: leopard tree (Bâr)
warâ-, to work (from English 'work')
warâ, and then, furthermore (linking particle)
warâga, friend, companion
warî-buğa, possum (alternative for yarandji)
wayîdala, white-fellow (from English)
wayu-, to be sorry, to grieve over someone
wâdi-wâdi-la-, to be wild, to get angry
wâdijâ, younger sister
wâgadja, uncle, mother's brother, senior male of one's own moiety and of the adjacent generation. wâdijâgadja, youngest uncle
wâgu, bird: crow, the Ancestral Crow of Bâgandjì mythology
wânda-, to know; gîla wândâdu nêgîna, I don't know his name
wândijâ, bird: pelican
wângu-, to take away, to acquire by means of persuasion
wângu-wângu-, to coax, to persuade
wâra-, to pull, to drag; wârana balga, to drag the line, to pull fish
wâwu, manna
wîba, hard
wîdu, a twig, a pliable stick
wîdu-wîdu-, to pull out; daďulgi wîdu-wîdu-, to pull out hair
wîdulu (var. widunja), all, everything; gîla widjaduana, widunja, I won't drink it at all
wîdâ-mala-, to be lost, to lose one's way
wîda-, to look at, to watch surreptitiously
wîdu-wîda-, to spy on somebody, to stare, to 'sticky beak'
wîdu-wîdu-la-, to chase after
wîdu-, to push, to scrape along; wîdu-wîdu-, to scrape the ground, to scratch, to smoothen out a camp-site
wîdu, old, big, important; wîdulû, important old man
wiđu-dina, big toe
wiđu-mańa, thumb
wiđuga, (elder) sister; wiđuga-ňulu, a pair of sisters
wiđugalinja (var. wiđulinja), a pair of sisters
wiđu-wiđulinja, three or more sisters
wi đumbag a, old woman (wiđu+gumba) (B)
wi lbu- mańa, to lift up
wil ba- m ańa, to lose something; mina wi lbadjindu, what did you lose?
wil ba- diru, bird: whistling duck
wilbaru, cart, wagon, buggy (from English 'wheelbarrow')
wilbi, humpy
wilbi-la- m ańa, to build, to build up, to heap up (eggs on a nest)
wilga-wilga (SB), wilga (G), hungry
wiljuru, 'willow tree'—drooping tree, the leaves are used for healing wounds (Acacia salicina)
wi jų-wi jų, brown snake
wi jųbi, wool (from English)
wi jba, waist
wim- ańa, to play (G)
wi mbadja, a man, (general term) a person, generally used now to denote an Aboriginal versus a white person; wi mbadjaiyi (lit. my man, i.e. my friend!) used as a term of address
wi mbadjunga (wi mbadja-buńga), a native hut
wi mbalinja, mother and child (B)
wimbaru, niece, brother's daughter (woman speaking)
wimbara, son or daughter (man or woman speaking)
wimbi-wimbi- ańa, to water plants, to pour out water
winųli, bat, a large species of bat
winba- ańa, to blame, to complain about somebody; winbayi gaiyi, they complain about me
winda-winda- ańa, to blow away, to toss away
windira-ma- ańa, to light a fire
windu- ańa, to light a fire (G)
windja, where? which?; windjandu, whereabouts; windjandu mirba, whereabouts child
windja-mari, which way, in what direction?; windja-mari baringadu, which way is he going?
windjara, where?; windjari du, where is it?, where from?; windjara-du bargadji, where did it come from?
windjiga, who?; windjiga ganmadjaiyi, who stole it from me?; winjigana ga'l'i du, whose dog is it?
windjiga, who? (Băr)
inga- ańa, to find
wingu-nja- ańa, to turn over (meat that is cooking)
winma- ańa, to pull out, to drag out (a grub from a tree)
wi nda, plant: lignum (Muehlenbeckia Cunninghamii)
winjuru, fly (general term), ordinary bush-fly
winga, fle a (word of recent origin)
wi rabi-wirab-mala- ańa, to sparkle (fire)
wiri-ma- ańa, to wind up, to roll up
wiru, kid ney
wiru-man, kidney fat
wiruba, bird: quarrian, cockatiel
wirubi, plant: fine spea r-grass used for lighting fires
wirba (var. wirbi-), to lift up
wirbari, plant: saltbush (B)
wirga- ańa, to swim; wirga-wirga- ańa, to swim around
wirgara, alongside, next to, adjoining
wiwa- da, table, board, plank (G)
wiba, (adv) near the fire, in the warm (probably cognate with the Niyamb word wi fire)
widji, shrimp
wida- ańa, to drink, to drink spirits
wīdju-wīdja-, to drink to excess
wīndi-, to make a fire, to build a fire (probably cognate with wide-spread word wī fire, found for instance in Niyambā, see wība)

wīndja, mud, soft ground, clay
wīngu, navel
wīngudja (var. wīnginja), all, complete (G)

wīnjana, wooden hook
wulī, hole (G)
wulu, look!, eh! (exclamation of surprise) (G)
wuna-midina, dried out (quoted by George Dutton as an alternative for dāja-midina, perhaps a Guṇu word)
wurunga, whip (G)
yaba-, track, footprint, any mark made with one's hand or foot; nāyi dāja-balda, bamindu milinja-yabayi, it is my kangaroo-skin, you can see my finger-nail mark (on it)!
yaba-, to camp
yaba-yaba-, yaba-la-, to slip;
yaba-yabadu dinana, his foot's slipping, to roll round; yaba-yabana dana-birnana, they roll on their backs (dogs)
yaba-yaba-ma-, to make something smooth or slippery, to smoothe over

yabala, claypan; yabala-mandy, 'clayey ground'
yaba-yabala, yellow coloured like a claypan

yabanja, tree: the red mulga (Acacia cyperophylla) which grows near Wanaaring (Bār)
yabandji, name of the group of Bāngdji who lived near Cobar

yabarā, camp, dwelling, home; nāyi yabarayi, this is my camp

yādu, wind, gale; yādu-duru gāndidurugan, the wind will take it away

yaga-, to scream (intr), to call

yaga-baldayi, oh dear! exclamation of surprise and pain (lit. alas my skin)

yaga-la-, to sing out, to cry out

yagi, cold, chilled; yagi-malā-, to get cold

yagi-la-, to feel cold; yagilāba, I am cold

yagi-yagi-la-, to wave something, to shake (a branch) (tr)

yald, I don't know

yaldī, straight, long, tall

yaldimari, going straight, very correct, very big

yaldiyūri, (lit. long-ears) rabbit

yala-ra-, to cadge, to go round cadging food, drink or money from others

yulba-, to count (tr)

yulba-, one's own (B); yalba yangu idina, this is his own song (B)

yulda, nardoo-stone, grinding stone

yulda-, to roll on the ground (e.g. a child who cannot even crawl yet) (G)

yulga, mouth

yulga-, to open one's mouth wide, to gape

yulgu, lower leg; yulgu-birna, leg-bone; yulgu-nulu, garters (lit. two legs)

yala, own, proper, true (adj) (G)

yala gumbadja, a true big one; yala wimbaraqari, my own child

yala-, to beat, to get the better of, to surpass, to win by fair means or foul; yajarunga-disna yanda-mandi, she's beating them for money (she's winning at gambling)

yal-, open, spread out

yalinja (var. yalira), too much, a lot, exceedingly, all the time; wīdjadal ju yalinja, he drinks too much

yalgi, creek, deep crack in the ground

yamaga, (var. yamadja), fish: catfish

yamiri, shallow (adj); e.g. yamirina nūguna wirgadāba-, I shall swim in the shallow water
yambaga, a little skirt made of possum skin worn by young girls (G)
yambi-yambi, to tear up, to rend; yambi-yambidjulu, the two (dogs) tore (my skin)
yanda, (B and Marawara) only; yanda maara, only five (lit. only one hand)
yanda, to lament and wail, to cry out (usually followed by the aspectual affixes -nja- or -la-), to cry; bibi-nulu yandanjadulu, the two babies are wailing
yandandji (var. yandinja), whirlwind; yandinja yama-ri baringadu, a whirlwind is coming
yan-ma, to cry, to wail; gila yanmadaba, I don’t cry!
yani, short; milinjayi yanji, my fingernails are short
yanbi-, to criticise, to complain about someone
yanda, stone (G and Bar) rocky ground, stony plain (now also used for 'bitumen'), and further most commonly for 'money' in all Bagandji dialects. (The use of words meaning 'stone', 'pebble' in the sense of 'money' is widespread in Aboriginal languages); yanda-buda, white clay (G)
yanga, road, path, small track
yangu, song, ritual song
yanma-, (G) to leave, to go away; yanma-ya-ba, I am going (probably a dialectal semantic variant of the following verb)
yanma-, to break, to break off
yangi-, to sharpen
yangu, shield
yangudja, left, left hand side
yara, stick, piece of wood, timber, tree (general term); yara-guulu, stump
yara-yara, things, belongings; yara-yarayi, my own things
yarali, echidna (G)
yarandji, possum (grey) (lit. belonging to trees)
yarandadja, bird: emu (rare alternative Gunu name instead of galdi)
yari-, to run after somebody in an amorous fashion
yari-dja, cheeky, unrestrained particularly with regard to sex
yarinja-, to fall in love
yarba-yarba-, to spoil, to over-indulge a child; gila yarba-yarba, gila nguga-nguga, don't spoil him, don't give him everything!
yarga-, to be thirsty, to perish
yawa, snake: species uncertain
yaba-yaba-, to sew together, to rub
yaga-, to fall, to drop down (G)
yaga-, to break; yagalana, broken; yaga-yaga; yara-yara yaga-yagadulu, the two of them break up small sticks
yamaga, here
yama-ri, this way, here in this direction; yama-ri bari, come here!, (G) yamiri
yari-, to groan
yubalugu, you fellows (from English)
yuduru, road, path
yudi, tripe, entrails of sheep
yugala, bird: whistling duck
yugu, sun, daylight, day
yugu nagalana, yugu midjilana, sunset, (lit. sun falling, sun settling down)
yugu-balulu, rainbow (lit. sun-young)
yugu-yugu-, to chase away, to drive (stock)
yuli, bottom, behind (Bar)
yuldi-., to stretch out, to pull
yuji, duck, general term (B)
yuna, that (far away), there (in the distance), then
yununa, of that one (Gen. of yuna), personal, one's own
yununa, therefore; yununa-mandi, for this reason, thus
yunburu, body, the body of a human; yunburu baangi, a full body; yunburu birna, skeleton (lit. body bones)
yundi, swag, roll of bedding, etc.
yuñi, skin (G)
yuñâ, root (of trees) (G)
yuñga, own, personal, on one's own; yuñgâgu baridjâba, I went by myself, on my own
yuñga-mala-, to get away on one's own
yuñgâgu, alone
yuñgülü, bird: black swan
yura-mari (var. ura-mari), that way
yuramu, plant: yam (G)
yuri-(la)-, yuri-(ŋga)-, to listen, to know, to understand (apparently not directly connected with yuри ears (intr)
yuri-ba-, to remember, to think; yuribîndu? do you remember
yuri-yuri-, to think (intr), to recall, to remember something
yuри, ears
yuri-nabadjâ, deaf (lit. having closed ears), sometimes simply nabadjâ, see maña
yurdu, kidney (G)
yūraga, stick used for paddling (a canoe), paddle
yūrushu, euro
add, to put in nagu-
addu mulji, guridja (G)
again, all over again nandama
(var. nandara); repeatedly bulda-bulda
alcohol, 'bad water' duлаг 'nugu
alike ṣadi
alive burinja
all wīngudja (G); all one after the other guda-guda; everybody gudanja; everything widunja; all the time, exceedingly yalınja (var. yalira)
alone, on one's own yungāgu
alongside wirgara
altogether, for good nurawali
Ancestral Being Nūrali (SB), Mūra (G, B, Bār)
and then waṛa
angry, wild guliga
angry (to be angry) bānda-
ankle giği
answer back, argue muṇa-muṇa-
ant, general term bībūru, mībūru
(G); bull-dog galgiri; green muni; jumper galda-galda
anus didi, didi-gugi
arm, lower arm mangu; upper arm duği; arm near shoulder wāngara; upper arm, wing wanji
arm pit diginja
around, all around dulbaga
arrive dulgu-
ashamed (to feel ashamed)
baldanda-la-
ashes balba; hot ashes muru (G)
ask, to beg for something ṣanjja-, ṣanjii-; to ask someone for something binma-
aunt (father's younger sister) μuŋgadja; (father's oldest sister) ṣaludja
away, from here, in another direction ura-mari (var. yura-
maṛi)
baby bībi (G)
baby health worker ṣamaga nūngu 'mother woman'
back dāna; with one's back turned dāna-ga; lower back mju; lower Backbone mulu-birna; spine dāna-
binma
bad (song word) wandali (G);
bad, wicked dula-minda (B);
bad, ugly dulaga
bag of sawfly larvae maljara;
skin bag used for water mira;
net, swag bīla-bīla; carrying bag (of netting) ṣama-malga
bake baldu- (B)
bald dāgu-bālara
bank of river walbiri
barb (on spear) dindi-buļinja
bare, bald baŋgara; open area, plain bālara
bark (vb) nirga-
bark 'skin' (of tree), also bark dish balda; coolamon gaņira
bat banadjja; large species of bat winul
beard wag-agulgi (often shortened to wagulgi)
beat, to get the better of yała-bed (of soft ground or leaves)
beefwood gum danga (var. daninja)
before, in front of (locative adverb) mirigana
behind, hidden (adv) gandara; behind somebody or something ganda (* bound possessive pronoun)
belly, 'guts' in general gundu belly-ache gundu-miga
big wīdu; large gumbada
bilby, rabbit-eared bandicoot gūdi
bottom, behind gala, wānu also digi, though this usually means anu
bird: brolga nūwara
butcher bird guldīdja, dini wilgu-wilgu
cockatiel, quarrain wiruba
cockatoo, black diya; Major Mitchell gada-gadaga; white cockatoo (corella) gīngi, gagamba (B); white cockatoo ( sulphur-crested) gīgu, wadjia (B)
coot (bald) galgu
cormorant (black) ṉagādjja
crane, blue daraga, wānaba (B); blue (white faced) dirguru; white crane, egret bulamba; Nankeen crane gawamba
crow, Ancestral wāgu
curlew baljuruga
jay, blue dīnga-dīnga; 'jay' 'lousy Jack' probably the babbler warāji; 'jay' 'lousy Jack' white-winged chough gurajj
kingfisher dulū
kookaburra gūgaga
title grebe budiri (B)
magpie gulurugu (var. guludar) mallee hen nāwaru
'message bird' probably the grey butcher bird mali (G)
mudlark, the Ancestral Mudlark diri
noisy miner midu-miduna
owl species wamba, ṉāni, gūwali mopoke wabuga, wandūdja (G)
night-owl bāmara
screech-owl bāwugā
duck (general term) yuli (B); black duck manbara (SB); mangara (G), ṇalda (Bār); teal gulada; whistling duck yugala, wilba-diru; wood duck gunali
emu galdi, yarāndadja (rare Gungu word), gultjaruba (B)
galā gilamba
hawk, probably black kite maljiļa; eaglehawk biljara (SB only); warigu (G); species of hawk biradūda; brown hawk hunu-wadudja
kite, probably black-shouldered gulgala; kite-hawk (species uncertain) baljilugā; probably fork-tailed kite gānanu
parrot, ring-necked dīljan
pelican wāndidja, buladja
pigeon, bronze-wing mulur, bandiwada (G); top-knot pigeon munidjara; flock pigeon gunadadja; grey pigeon gūlambi; diamond dove gūgunja; species uncertain gūnudja
plover (plains) dīlda; (spur-wing) ralda-raldu; plover species gūdadjā
quail wambawaru
robin red-breast giddjiri
spoonbill bili-wādjirga, bili-wāndjuga
stormbird galgara, dūnmarra stormbird, swallow walbanja
swan, black yungūli
turkey, wild dulgiga, digara (G) gībara (B)
'Twelve Apostles' wargawa
wading bird, species uncertain dirguru; wading bird, small species uncertain gību
waterhen gargiri
'water-lark' probably a type of rail bingu

widgeon mandara
willy wagtail diri-djiri

bite, to sting, to write bağa-, dadja- (G)
black guigirga (var. guigirga)
blackhead, pimple mindu
blame, to complain winba- (var. binba-)
blanket bulandji
bleed (intr) gândara gïga-
blind bandadja
block, to hinder, to ward off
(blow s with a shield) ñirga-

blood gândara

break yäga-; to break off, to leave yanma-; to break up, to smash yäga-yäga-
breakwind, shelter nandu
breast, milk ñama

breathe dawi-; to breathe with difficulty walbinj'-dawinga-
(lit. to have stubborn breathing)
brother, elder gägudja; brother younger bajudja; brothers, pair of gägulinja; brothers, three or more gäg-ñagulinja; brother-in-law ñundadja

bubble (intr), to bubble up bulbul-mala-; bubble, froth nunbara

buggy bëdara

build wiibi-la-

burial ground ñunga-mañdi, guçu-dunga

burn (intr), to be burnt wanda-; burn (tr) wandi-; to burn down düba-

bury ñunga-bangu- (Bār); to bury, to hide away (tr) ñugu- (G)

bott of tail gudi; butt of a tree gulu

butterfly bili-
juga

by and by, later on galjbu

cadge, go round cadging yala-ra-
call someone by name, to address someone miba-miba-
camp yaba-; camp dwelling yabara
canoe, bark bulduru
careful (be careful!) mañama-ili
carry, to lift wañba-; carry away gändi-; carry about (on one's back) ñama-
cart, wagon (from English wheel-barrow?) wilbaru
cat (from English puseycat) buñga
catch alight, to get away (fire) mi!ab-mi!ab-ma-
catch, to grab, to destroy by magic ñañba-
caterpillar maljuji; hairy caterpillar günbu

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cattle, bullock bulu (from English 'bullock'), giyada (from English 'cattle')
cemetery, burial ground dunga-yara
centipede gîlga, galburiba
charcoal nigi
chase after widu-widu-la-; to chase, to hound dumu-
chatter (to chatter) gulba-gulba-
cheek meni; cheeky, bold fellow
diri-dudayi; cheeky, unrestrained, particularly regarding sex yari-
dja; (to be) cheeky, to be bold
diri-
chemise (lit. body) gûguru
chest buna
crush manda-
child mûrba
chin muði
chicken (from English 'chook')
djûgo-djûgu
chips of wood, splinter mangu-mangu
choke (tr), to throttle banja bida-
(lit. squeeze neck)
cigarette mûgula
clapping, accompaniment to a
corroboree mara-nudja (G)
olaypan yabala, gadjiri (rare word), biri (G) gadiri (B)
clean up, to clear ground, to
crâpe clean mada-mada-
clear (adj) gâlbi
clearly gudanja
clever man, witch-doctor bana,
daçu-wuli (G), mîgiga wimbadja;
clever (adj) mîgiga
climb, to climb up bina-
close by, near (adv) daljba;
close together, nearby (adj)
dulu; close, side by side wara-
warara
clot hes njibâ
cloud ǹinda, gâluru; clouds of
Magellan gîjî-ulu 'the two
white cockatoos'; small cloud
(rather than rain-cloud)
garubuda; storm-cloud dûru;
cloudy ǹindadja
collare (lit. body) gûguru
corroboree mânî; corroboree de-
scribing the travels of Ancestors
mûra-mânî; the Mulunga corroboree
Mulu; Gunju corroboree Mirga-mânî
cough gungu-
count (tr) yalba-la-
country, ground gîra rare var.
gîraga)
cover over bûra-; cover up (tr)
hide bābi-nja-
crack (a bone) dîl-mala-
cranky (to be cranky), to be
insane barba-la-; to have a
cranky head dàgu barba-la-
crawl, to creep up, to sneak
banga-; to crawl away guyab'mala-
crayfish gadjunja (var. gadunja)
gungulu, lîlidja (B)
creak yalgi, bandji (B)
criticize, to show, to teach
yîdã-thood; to criticize, to
complain yanbi-
coal, hot ashes mawala
'coal-sack' nebula galdi-ulu
'two emus'
coax, persuade wângu-wângu-
cold galjiru; cold, cool galjirmanda;
cold, chilled (of person) yagi;
to feel cold yagi-la-; cold
weather gûlji (SB), magura (Băr)
cold, 'flu' gungugu
collapse gânja-gânja-
collaborate dûnba
colour nalba; coloured in dif-
erent colours gûru nalba-ṇalba
come, to arrive waba- (var.wabu-);
to come back, to return di-
iga- (Wîljî); to come in, to
arrive dulgu- (G); to come out,
to rise up babura-; to come up,
to surface burba-
completely mibûda; altogether
(adv) dubila
conceal gûna-
cook ñûwa-, wàna- (Băr); to cook
in ashes (tr) wandja-; cooked,
ripe ñûngî
copper coin (lit. black) gugirga
corroboree mânî; corroboree de-
scribing the travels of Ancestors
mûra-mânî; the Mulunga corroboree
Mulu; Gunju corroboree Mirga-mânî
cross sticks to make a ladder
birga- (G)
cry, to wail yan-ma-; to weep, to lament yanda-; to cry, to lament biranga-la-; to grizzle, to winge n'rgi-; to cry continuously n'rga-; to cry out, to scream garga-; to cry out, to sing out yaga-la-
cure a sick person bānba-
cut, to chop, to strip (a canoe) waga-; with a knife, to slice n'uga-
damper, 'ashes food' balba-ma
dance, corroboree garga-māni;
'shake a leg' gargarga-la- (SB), garambara- (G); to dance baga-
dangle down, to hang free wali-
walj-mala-
daughter or son (man or woman speaking) wimbara
darken, to get dark dunga-dunga-
day, daylight, sun yugu
dead, rotten, smelly buga
def, yuri badja, maŋa nabadja; yuri nabadja (G)
death (to death), fatally buganja
deep (of water, river) dumbi-mari;
down (adv and adj) dumba-dumba
depth, bottom gungi
descent line, matrilineal (i.e. 'meat') wanga
deteriorate, to be in a bad state nawa-la-, dula-g-mala-
'devil', malicious mythological being magudja, damburu
die buga-la- (var. buga-mala-);
to pass away (polite term) malma-, malbu- (G)
dig damba-, damba-damba-la-; to dig out (the river), to hollow out bada-ma-
directly, soon baliŋa
dirt from nose, snot, also mucus from eyes daŋa, qundinja (G)
dirty, smelly nāmuru-wada; dirty (covered in soil) maŋdi-midi; dirty (general term) nuŋi, nāmuru
dish, big bark dish, coolamon ganiŋa; small bark dish, used by doctors for collecting blood diniba-la (G); wooden dish garga

distant country, far away bara gira
ditch, trench dulbaga
dive in bulidja-
'dob' someone in nabi dog, dingo gali
down, downwards maña
dream (to dream) gunda, guna-
(var. gunalili-); to dream evil, to wish death upon somebody bugunba-
dreamtime, a long time ago buli wilbinja
drift loose, to float dag-ma-la-
drink wīdja-
drip, to leak down buđa-buđa-
drive along, to pick up wamba-
wamba-; to drive out, to push out ŋaba-la- (G)
drop (to drop down) (intr) badag-
mala-
drown nunba-
drum (wide hollow wooden tube) dandinja; drum used to attract emus mumbinji
drunkard mada (G)
dry, dried out daŋa
dust storm, dust buđara
early morning miŋgi (G)
ears yuri, maŋa (G)
eat dayi-, ńanja- (Wiljalil)
ecoțina, porcupine wandați, dindili, yarali (G)
edge daga
egg badi; egg-yolk mīlaga
eh! look! wulu
elbow gubu
enemy narga
enough! I give up! ginaŋa
escape, to run away barab-mala-
euro yūruru
exclusively, on one's own mingu-
ingula

eye migi

eyebrows mînu-bulgi

explode (intr), to make a thudding sound ba'ijdj-mala-

face miri; bigu forehead can also be used in the general sense of face

fail, to be tired bändi-la-

fall (of river), to go down (intr) bânga--; to fall out, to drop (intr) bura; to fall (of rain), to pour with rain bâda--; to fall down nàâga-, ðulgu-

far away gårugaya, burijdjiri

fast muraða, mura (G)

fat, plump nuri; fat, in good condition nuri madi; stout mara-
maða; fat (noun), grease mani

father gambijja; father and child gambîlinja; father and children gambî-gambîlinja

feathers (top feathers) niribudu;
down feathers bulgi, mûlîra

feel about, to grope guða-guða-la-, garba-

feelers (of crayfish, lit. whiskers) wâgulgi

fellows (you fellows) (from English) yubalûgu

fence nàyilga; to fence wâdaði-

fetch gânda-

'fiend', malicious mythological being biri (G); 'fiend with the bag' (in which he captures people) dûyîga

fight bâdi-

fill up (a waterbag) mundji- (B)

find, to meet binda-, winga-

finish, stop namba- (B)

finished, to run out bändi-

fire, firewood guniga; near the fire, in the warm wîba; (to make a) fire windi--; fire-side guni-daga, guniganji (B);

fire-âick guniga-gugu (G);

fish, bony bream nàmba, bîla bánû (lit. bag cod); catfish yamaga (var. yamadja); variety of catfish dâburu;

Murray Cod bánû; perch diljiga;

yellow-belly gumbali

fish (to catch fish), to go fishing nàga--; fishing-line galbalga

five yanda-marâ

fix up, to tidy bana-bana-

flagon, large bottle gargi

flame, light ñanja

flank baldî, dajîju

flash, lightning flash bâlaba;

to flash like lightning dalag-
dalag-mala-, bâlî'-'bâlî'-mala-

flatten, to lay flat bûnma-

flatulence budi

flea wîngâna

float, to swim (intr) Tga--; to swell up bama-la-

flood, flood-plain of river ðulba;

flood-plain, inundated area ðugu bulga

flour (from English) lawu

flow wamba-

flowers, blossoms on trees buqi

fly (verb) wambi-

fly ordinary bush-fly winuru;

blowfly bulara

foam, froth on the water during floods ðundara

fog ñanja

follow gabâ-

fontanelles ñulja

food, vegetable food, bread manu

fool around together (girls and youths) gunun-mila-

foot, footprint dina; footprint,
track milinja-yaba (G)

forehead, face in general bigu

forget wamba-ma-, wàmûga-, wanda- (B)

four (two-two) bargulu-bargulu,
bula-bula (G)
fox bāguda
fresh, green (timber) ḏānja, ġungulu; fresh bark ġungulu balda
friend, contemporary ḏānja, waṟaŋa; woman friend, mate (woman speaking) miṯa; a group of women who are all-friends miṯa-miḏalinja; friend, companion of same sex (man speaking) maḻandji
frightened (to be frightened) nūya-
frog (small species) maḏa-maḏa; large green frog (Hylidae species) nruga, banjgu; small tree frog walura
from afar, distant gara-bira
frost, heavy dew aSTANCEADJA, bangaṛa (G)
full, complete bagi; full, satisfied maḏal-dja
gape yalga-
garter yalgu-ṇulu (lit. two legs)
get up, to rise dįngi-; get away on one's own yonga-mala-
ghost buri; white person wanda; (to imagine) a ghost buri-waga-
gibber country gĩndį-maṇḍi, gaṇu-waḷa (B)
gibberish bandu-balgu
giddy dũbidiḏa
girl 'woman child' nūngu-balu; girlfriend nūngu-nadaḏa
give nūɣa
glue, resin ñayinji; glue together _danba-ma-
go, to walk (intr) bari--; to go past bari-mala--; to go about, to travel bariṅ-mala--; to go away bariṅga-, dani- (O); to go up a hill wanga-la-
goanna, black tree bulgara, gûgara (O); black goanna ḏaŋnuru; brown goanna ḏaŋgulu; subspecies: brightly coloured goanna gudjurwaḷuru ḏaŋgulu; striped goanna bīndį-bīndį ḏaŋgulu; yellow-brown goanna baṇa
God, Ancestral Being Waḏunjirina (SB); Supreme Ancestral Being Waḏudija (SB); important Ancestor Guḷawira, Guḷabira
good gadjalga (O) (var. gandjalga);
beautiful, nice baliriga; to become good, to improve balira-mala-
goodness, 'by Jove' ilāguayi
gossip gamba-
grab, to seize waŋa-waŋa-, nirma- (O)
grandchild (of same moiety) waɓanja
grandfather (of opposite moiety) nūlga
grandmother (of opposite moiety) guradja; maternal grandmother ganiḏija; grandmother and grandchild gandjalinja
grass mudu; grass, ground vegetation gula; umbrella grass gābada; grass used for thatching binduru
grasshopper bĩndį
great-aunt, step-sister nãṇuḏa
greatly, very much (adv) minidja
greedy gundu-maḏiri
green numbarga (SB), numa (B)
grey hair gura
grind one's teeth garidj-garidj-mala-
grind yâri-
groin galdju
ground, soil maṇḍi
grow gila-
groul ganga-la-
grub, edible (general term) nbā; grub (borrowed term) bāḏi-bāḏi; edible tree grub gindja; tree grub, large witchetty bīḍaḷa
gum, resin dāninja (var. dāŋa)
gun, rifle (from English 'musket') margidja, margara
gut mundjaḷa
habit Ṉalba
hail-stone gaṇu-gaṇu
hair ḏaḏuḍa, ḏaḏu-bulgi, ḏaḏulgi
hair-string ḏagadji (B)
half bulaṇi
hand, fingers maṇa
handkerchief, 'little cloth'
hand out, to pull out buri-
hand down nari-la-
happy, to be noisy, to rejoice
jaminamba-ga-
hard, dry mada; hard, rough
(ground) midigi (B); hard
tough (adj and adv) nuri
hat madjamba
have, to own gandi
having, owning -dja, -malgadja
head daçu
heal, to cure gumba-
heap (to form a heap), to be
jumbled dulu-ma-; heap up dulu-
dulu-
hear dañdi-, bari- (G); bariayi-
(Bari)
heart bulu (var. bulu-ganila);
heart beats heavily through
strain etc. bulu ngad-ngad-mala-
heavy daguli
heel waga
here idara, ninara (G); away from
here idayindu; inside here gañara;
this way here yamaři; here and
there idara-wadara
hey, hello! nayi
hide, to 'plant' something bulga-
to hide oneself mangà;
to conceal something guri-ba-
muñ-ba
hill bambara (B); stony rise magu
(var. magu-magu (G)); mountain dulú (SB)
high ground, table-land dululudja
hinder, to block daçu (G)
hip, hip bone birgu, birgu birna,
birgindi
hit (with a weapon), to strike
balga-
hold ngarga-ngarga-
hole, cavern minga, wuli (G);
hole in a tree bina
hollow (tree) gula, gundu-yara (G)
honey, wild honey dumuli, numuli
(var. dumuli)
hook, wooden winjana
hop, to jump about duba-dubara-
(var. dubu-duba-)
hornet nümü
horse gãnguru, wâltbaladja (G)
hot, boiling wabi-la;
to be hot
wabi-la-, dalagadu-la-
how? nañanja (var. nañanja)
humming (to make a humming) sound
mümü-mümü-
humpy gulji, wilbi
hungry (to be hungry) wilga-
wilga- (SB), wilga (G)
hurt (to be hurt), to feel pain
çalga-, gadja-la-; to hurt, to
be painful wabi-la-; (to be)
hurt migaya-la-
husband gañba (G)
hut, Aboriginal hut wimbadjunga,
wimbadja-bung; humpy bung
I  ngàn
ignorant (to be ignorant) yamba-
ma-
ilness, pain mīga
incapable, useless badja
'indeed' clitic -bura
initiate, young namba, dàmba (B);
initiate who has had teeth
knocked out daljara (B); tooth
evulsion wandindali;
secondary initiation (cicatris-
atron) guljì (B)
inside, in a hut or a gaol duggana
(lit. in the dark)
inconceivable, lower intestine,
'bowel-string' guna-balga
irritate, to rub dîdi-dîdi-la-
itoh (intr) nugi-
jail, 'the place of the policemen'
muni-munina gira
jaw waga
jealous baninja; to be jealous
baninja-mala-
Johnny cakes 'charcoal food'
ñigí-manu
jump, to hop out, to leap duburu-
ma-la-; to jump up ganga-la-
kangaroo, black (i.e., the Western
grey) girbadja; red dalà-gulu
(Wiljali)
kidney wiru, bângi, yurdu (G);
kidney fat wiru-maní
kill, to strike dead buga-ma-, balga-baganja; to kill with magic narga-narga-
kindle, to light wandu
kiss manunja-
knee dingi
knife (European type from English 'knife') nyau; stone knife muli
knock down, to blow down nalba-
know wanda-, numa- (from English);
I don't know yalda
kopi, white gypsum powder gubadja
lake dildagara
lap nganguru
later ngandara
laugh ginda-
lay (eggs) to put down (tr) ibi-
leaf buwuru, baga (G); box-leaves, 'rubbish' stuffed inside a victim who has had his kidneys removed gira-baga
leave alone, to abandon yaja-, nandji-; to leave, to go away baringa-, yanma- (G), nlbi- (G)
left yangudja
leg, lower leg algyu; leg-bone yalgubirna
let loose nginda-
lack dida-
lie around ngima-ngima-; to lie down ngima- (var. ima-); to lie in a heap dulu-mala-
lie, falsehood bargaya; (to tell) lies, to deceive barga-, ganba- (Bär)
lifting walbi-, wirba-, wanga- (G); to raise (tr) bani-
light a fire (by means of a single spark) dibi-dibi-; light a fire windira-ma-, ńađa-, windu-(G); light a smoke (for curing somebody) or simply lighting a pipe bundu wanda-, bundu windiri (G)
light, not heavy darmanja
lightning, thunderstorm bindi
like -a>jbi
limb (of a tree) bidi-bidili; hanging limb, dead limb bi>luru
lip, upper munu; lip (general term) and lower lip in particular mimi
liquor, grog gadi-ngyu
listen, to attend bāra- (SB); listen, to know yuri-la- (var. yuri nga)-
little, narrow, small gadjilugu
liver dąngunja
lizard, frill-neck gāni (SB and G), găndji (B), minduga (Wlja); 'Jacky lizard' didaga, gāgumbiradja small gecko bunu; species of lizard dindilu; tiny skink bindilgilgi; very small skink bānmulu
look up, to imprison naba-
lonely, to be upset biqa-bira-
long bāluru; long and straight yaldi; long ago, in the dream-time maragala; (for) a long time nurawali, dūraga (G); long ago gândinjia; a long way to a distant place barami (G)
look after, to care for mari-ma-; to tidy up bali-bali-; to look around bami-bami-; to look at, to watch (tr) bami-la-
lose something wiλba-, malba- (G)
lot (a lot), many ġuluru (SB only)
'lousy with', having something unpleasant -midjia
love, to fall in love yarinja-lungas, lights dalga; bad lungs, lung disease' (lit. black lungs) gugirga dalga
mad da>u-balgaji
maggots gudaq
'mainly', in the first place (postposition) -wangi
make ńa>rbi-; to build ma>ga-; to prepare (tr) bana-ma- (var. bana ma-
man (general term), person wimbadja; husband, male ma>ja; old man, important man ma>ga, wi>bu
manna wāwu, gungulu
many, a lot duluru, njardji (G), njardji (B)
married man gumbaga-dja (lit. wife-having); married woman majo-
malga-dja (lit. man having); married couple ma'lli-nja

married man mua'da
master, boss (from English 'master')

mat, made of skin nidju
mate, girlfriend (woman speaking)

mean mingu-mingu

mean, meet up with binda-

menstruate wadara gandara (lit. hor blood is turning back)
menstruation gandara (i.e. blood)

mess around, to play around

stupidly gara-gara-l-

message stone, cylocon balgu-gaju
(lit. word-stone)

methylated spirits daninja (lit. resin)

middle (in the middle) danga

milk, breast gama; 'hard milk' lumps on breast after childbirth 

Milky Way namuru

mirage gujurgu

miss (with a spear), to allow to escape dandu-

mix nagu-nagu; to mix dough muri-
muri; to mix up, to confuse (lit. to shake up) dija-nja-

money (from English) manina; from Northern Bagandji word for stone yanda

moon, month badjuga

morning, early in the morning gariga-nangi

mosquito gundi, gundi(G)

moth galbi-galbiga

mother, also female of animal ganaga; mother and child 
gamalinja, wimbalinja (B); mother and children gam-
gamalinja; mother-in-law (woman speaking) gaju

mould walu

mouse mangu; thin-tailed bulg
omen, warning (lit. shadow-stick) guljbbara-biŋa
one, alone ɳidi; one by one ɳidi-ŋidi; one's own, personal yunu-ana; proper, true ɳiyala
only (adv) gali, gaŋdaru
open (adj) daba; open (a bag) balba-; to open up, to cut open dag-ma-; to open, to burst (tr) bulidj-ma-; to become open, to open up (intr) bulidj-mala-
orphaned child walganja
other, different gāru
other side, across the river malāga
others, the rest guda
outside bidja
own, proper, true (adj) yala; own personal, on one's own yungga
oven, fire-place gunigalba
over there, that way yuramari
paddle yūraga
pain (to feel pain) ɳūgi-paint (a person for a corroboree) dāga-
pale biguana bādja-bādjana (lit. his face shines with a white sheen)
paper (from English 'paper') bība
peer at widi-
peg out, a skin, to stretch bandi-; pegs (from bones of joey kangaroos) daŋu-dara (G)
penis gaļu; penis and testicles! (term of abuse) gaļu baŋi
perhaps, maybe ɳada
perish, to die of thirst nawa-la
persist, to keep on, to back-answer nandidj-mala-
persuade, to coax bulda
pick up, to lift up mūma-
piece muja, muŋu (G)
pierce, to write gaga-; to pierce with sharp instrument, to spear bandu-bandu-
pinch bida-bida-
pipe bayu
plain, clear ground bulga; flat, stony ground ɡiŋdi
plant: apple-bush (Pterocaulon spachelatum) buraga
banana creeper, wild (Marsdenia) gagaŋa
broom-bush (Melaleuca uncinata) gīdjulu (var. gīdjalu)
bulb, plant with yellow flowers and edible tubers (Bulbine bulbos) wanga-balju, ɳambaŋa
bush with leaves used for healing wounds (Acacia salicina) wiljuru
bush used for making humpies, species uncertain waljara (G)
clover bulda
cotton bush (Kochia aphylla) nurguru '"emu tucker' (Eremophila species) baŋi
guyiba
emu bush with spotted flowers (Eremophila maculata) guyiba
grass, swamp cane grass waru
grass, clover bunda
grass, fine spear-grass used for lighting fires wirubi
grass for thatching, probably sandhill cane grass bindur
hopbush dara
lignum wiŋa
lily (Crinum species) bālambaldu
marshmallow bandijja
medicinal bush (Beyeria Leschenaultii) balbu; a more white-leaved subspecies bal bu gubadja
mistletoe berry 'snorricobbles' mādi
mistletoe plant dabi, nīlji
mulga tree mālga
mulga apple mālga manu 'mulga-food'
Myoporum species 'water bush' madjulu
nardoo ɳadu
parakeelya ɳabila
pigueed biŋa
Porlulaca species banamula
potato, wild dagarada
roly-poty bush ganala
rosebush gulga
saltbush (Atriplex nummularia) banbala, wirbari (B)
Solanum ellipticum gaubuga, madu (B); Solanum ellipticum berry nambali
'spinach' probably Calandrinia species galudju
thistle, edible thistle danduwanba
thistle 'wild cabbage' (Tetragonia expansa) balumba (var. banbula)
Thysanotus (tuber) daramula
turkey bush (Myoporum deserti) banbula-yara (G)
vine, species uncertain_dargali yam gunbinja, yuramu (G)
play guji-, wimi- (G); to play around, to mess around, to swing nagba-nagba; playmate (also sister-in-law, woman speaking) mididja; a child's playmate guliga nagi 'playing alike'
pleased (to be pleased), to be happy dagi-, mira-mala-
pluck buja-
point, sharp point dindjinariga; to be pointed, sharp budjila-la-poison, venom of snake bidiga; poison (from seed) mawi~(B); poison causing people (to commit incest) madja maniga; poisoner (lit. bone man) birnara; poisoner who uses magic incantations dina-garala wimbadja; poisonous, dangerous magic dina-garala
pole, bent pole used for building humpies denguru yara
policeman muni-muni, munidjiri, buildjman (Bär)
possum bilda, yarandji, wari-buga (G)
pouch (of marsupial) bilgindi
pour bulga-; to pour away bulganja-; to pour with rain duda-; to pour out (intr), to stream out (blood, sweat) diga-
power, pulp buđa (SB only)
pregnant baluga
pretty up, to make nice bangda-bangda-
prickle, burr gagi
private parts (female) magu
protrude, to stick out dangi-
pubic hair magu-bulgi
pull bida-; to drag wāra-; to pull, to drag away malga-; to pull out wūdū-wūdū-, nādu-; to pull out, to extract (a grub from a tree) winma-
pump (from English) bambu-mala-
punch, to hit bulda-bulda-
pus, mucous danga
push, to poke bulgi-; to push along wūdū-; to push someone (into the water) niwi-la-
put down ibi-, nibi-; put someone to bed nidja-nidja-ma-
quarrel baği- (var. baği-baği-)
quick murađa, mura (G)
quickly! hurry up! mura-murađa (var. muri-murađa)
quietly, on tiptoe dina-midina
rabbit yaldi-yuri
raddle, red guj (G)
rain, rain clouds magara
rainbow mundambara (var. mundara, yugu-balu)
rain-stone (lit. water-stone) nugu-ganu
rake up, to pile up (leaves and branches) gulu-gulja-
rat, stick-neck magu
raw, uncooked magi
red nalgina (var. nalgirga)
reflection (in the water) guljbara-
ngu 'shadow water'
relation, close relative biribuđa (G)
remember yuri-ba-
rest, to sleep bumba-
return, to stay home naga- (G); to give back wabi
ribs gūguru, dirgigi
ride gānga-
right (as opposed to left) nurani, wangara (B); right hand side wangarāga (SB)
ringing sound in one's ear būri-gumbaga
ringworm (apparently a very common complaint of the early days) marila
ripe, cooked nūngi
rise duri-la--; to fly up wanga-wanga-
river, the Darling river in particular bāga
road, path yuduru, yanga
roll along the ground nūni, yaldi-(O)
root balgara, yuŋa (O)
rot numa-la-
row (to have a row), to scold someone muya-
rub, massage günda--; rub nurba-(O); to smear with grease nūru-(O); with oil bunba-bunba-
rumble, to make a roaring sound (like a storm) gāmbu-
run galja--; to hurry, to travel bara--; to run, to overflow, to weep durba--; to run after, to pursue nāji-, durgulugu-(O); to run after in an amorous fashion yari--; to run away, to go downhill bilga--; to run away, to escape barab-mala--; to run down someone, to spread unpleasant gossip günda--; to run dry, to go down (river) bangi--; (to be) runny, dirty (nose) dāba-
salivate, to be juicy (fruit) đānga-la-
salt (from English) daļduṇa; salt water daļdu-nugu
sand, coarse sand, small gibber gīndi; sand (in river bed), fine sand garanja; sand (as on sand-dunes) dīrī; sandhill country diri māndi; sand ground, quick sand garanja-māndi; soil, ground māndi
sandhill bambaša
ap dimari
satisfied madala-dja
savage, biting bağa-bağa
sawfly larvae bulja-liya, bulbari (B)
scold somebody mulda-mulda-
scorch nūti
scorpion gāndi-gundai ra
scrape the ground, to scratch widu-widu-
scrapes, remnants of food nūmara
scratch, to claw at maru-maɾa-, maɾa-maɾa- (O)
scream, to yell out yaga-, giri-(g)iri-la-
scrub (dense bush) ganda-gandanjā; dry scrubby country bari; rough scrubby country daba-dabaru; bush country, mallee scrub gārima-gārima
scruff of neck mula birṇa
search, look for something gāla-, banda-, wugu; to search for mayanda--; to search carefully and pick over (for lice) maya-maya-mala-
secret-sacred, forbidden (to the uninitiated) munda
see bami--; to notice gali-
seed, grass guyuru; nardoo seed bāba; eucalypt seed (used for flour) ganda-ŋara (O); seed vessel, cap of eucalypt daɣu send, to direct gāndi-ba-
sew dulgā--; sew together yāba-yāba-
shade-hut, shade gulja barā
shadow, reflection gundjiri
shake (intr), tremble nīn-nīn-mala--; to shiver dun-mala--; to shake something dīla-dīla-
shallow yamiri
shame balda; shameless balda-ŋāda
sharp, pointed garangga, budjala; sharpen yangi-
shave munda-ma-
sheep (English borrowing) djambuğa
shell (of the pupa stage of the witchetty grub) gāriga (var. garuga); of an egg bidji
shield yangu. murumba ra (O); mānu (B)
shift, forcibly move a person maba-

shin madjiri

shine bilga-; to glow danjba-; to shine brightly bädja- (var. bädja-bädja-; shinning danjarga bandja (G)

shirt, clothes gambi

shiver ńabu-ńabu

shocked (to be shocked), to be surprised warab-mala-

shoe dina-buda

short gaduga, yańi; short, small, stumpy mugudja; (to be) short-winded mürga dawi-

shoulder garda; shoulder blade nili-birta, bigi, wanji-birta

shout, to yell garga-, bājgu-

show, to teach girga-, djuma- (from English), giri- (G)

shower with presents, to give somebody everything nüga-nüga-

shrimp wīdi

shut in, to enclose dawi- (G)

shy, ashamed balda-wanga-

sibling (younger) baļudja (B)

sick, ill mīgadja, gaļila

side, direction wara; sideways (adv) waraga

silently (adv) muga (var. mugila)

silly (to be silly), drunk mālbara-

silver ooin (lit. white) bādjirga

silt, deep mud dulguru

sinew dīldja

sing, to perform a corroboree baga-

someone, to cause a spell over someone bagi-; to call gali-singe, to scorch ninda-ninda-

sister (elder) wiďuga; younger sister wādídjia, warigi, dada-wiďuga (G); youngest sister đadulugu wiďuga (G); sister-in-law (woman speaking) mīdida; sisters, a pair of widulinja (var. wiďu galinja (G); sisters (three or more) wiďu-widulinja

sit, to be, to exist ŭnga- (var. ŭnga-, nānga- (B); nānga-la- (G)

six gāru ma ra ńidja

skeleton, 'body bones' yunbura birna

skin balda, yuńi (G); to skin an animal nara-; to skin with a European-type knife nāyi-; a new skin (of a snake) gāra-madara

skirt made of possum skin, worn by young girls yambaga (G)

sky garganja, galgara (B)

sleepy (to feel sleepy) mīdīla-; to doze (intr) duljba-la-

slip yaba-yaba-; to slip, to skid nura

slough, newly shed skin of snakes gāra

slow, steady būndi; slow moving būndi-dja; slowly māwulu

smack, to beat waga-waga

smear on (paint) dāgā-dāgā

smell bāra-; to sniff (tr) būnda-la-; (evil) smelling dulag-waďa, būndal' waďa; smelling of mould walu-waďa

smoke bundu; to cure someone with smoke bundu-; smoke-screen bundūli

smooth (to make smooth); smoke-screen wali-walj-ma-; smooth over yaba-yaba-ma-

snake, black dānguru

brown snake ńiļu-wiļu

carpet snake garuwari (B)

general term čuru

green, mulga snake muna

rainbow serpent ńadji

small non-poisonous wangu

species uncertain yawa

wabma snake binaru (B)

snake charm manju (G)

'sneaker' treacherous murderer dīna-gula

sneer at mügi-

sneeze dīndi-la- (var. dindju-)
soakage bini; soakage water bini ुगु
soap ुभु (from English)
soft, tender bunda; soft, delicate (food) bali-baltra; (to become) soft, pleasant bal'-'mala-
song मानी (G, Bār); corroboree, ritual song wanju; song for catching kangaroos dirbara (G); ritual song yangu
sool on गुंगा-
sore (to be sore) नाला- (B)
sorry (to be sorry), to grieve over someone wayu-
sour, bitter-tasting gadi (var. gadiya)
spark from fire, (adj) jealous dibi (var. dirba); to spark dībinj-dibīnja-malā-, mildu-milda-; (tc) sparkle wirab-wirab-malā-
spear (tr), to pierce bandana; a barbed spear galguru; fighting shield gābagā; spear-shield baiywilli
speech, word balgu
spider ('hands') mara-marāga
spill ुठा-ुठा
spirits, particularly rum, also methylated spirits (lit. bitter water) gadi ुगु
spit ुबा-; spit, phlegm ुला;
split up, to separate (intr) bīldi-bīldi-
spoil, make bad dulag-ma-; spoil, over-indulge yarba-yarba-
spread out, to stretch (intr) bīda-bīda-; to spread (a net) nidju-ma-; to spread out (tr) bala-ma-; to spread (like a plant) badan-malā-
spy on someone wida-la-
squash dulā-
squawk ुरगा-ुरगा-
stand around, to wait (intr) dāri-; to stand, to stand up dalba-; to stand on, to trample on something pamba-; to stand up for somebody else ुंगी-
star buli
'emu foot' galdina-dina
morning star ूवाला-ूवाला, ूंगियांने
Seven Sisters (lit. only women) gali नुंगु, gambaljiri
starve oneself duga-
state, condition wali
stay, to rest iba-
steady, motionless budu
steal something, to take gaṃma-
steam, aroma rising from cooking dulū-dulū
stew gildu
stick, hooked mila; long thin stick ुगु; piece of wood, general term yara; small stick bira balu
sting, to irritate waṃba- (G)
stinking, with a dead smell buga-wada, dunga-dunga- (B); stinking, foul-smelling dulag-wada
stomach gananja
stone, rock, stony plain; also 'money' ganu (SB), ganna (B), yanja (Bār, G); cooking stone ganja; nardoo grinding stone yalda
stop gina-
storm bindi, waļu (G)
straight darma; straight and narrow, correct yaildi-mari; straighten duja- (G)
strike (of lightning) baļab-mala-; (var. baļaba-)
string, fishing-line, fibre balga
strip a canoe bilba-
stripes, marked bindi-bindi
stubborn, determined nanja; stubborn, naughty waļbunja (var. waļbuļja)
stupid, silly waṃba-; (to be) stupid, to forget waļmu-
suck duṇḍi-la- (var. duṇḍja-)
suckle duṇḍi-
sugar (from English) djugu
summertime, hot weather budji-budji

sun yugu; sunset yugu ąangala (var. yugu międija); sunbath digi-, dingi (B)
surprise someone būbu-swag yundi, guldji (G)
swallow (to swallow) gunga-sweat gaŋara
sweet (adj) gurganja
sweetheart ąąqąa
swell up (on a large scale) bama-la-swell up bubble up (boil or pimple) bulbula-
swim wirga-; to swim, to float nga-
swing (to swing) (intr) ąałba-ąałba-table, plank wiwada (G)
tadpole muładja
tail (of animal), also penis gundara; tail-fat (of emu) gald-i-gudi, gudi maŋi
take (to take), to go for someone mandi-; to take, to acquire by means of persuasion wąngu-; to take away, to remove gándi-; to take off (clothes) ąinda-; to take out ąadu-
talk, to speak gulbi
tame, bold madjidja
taste, to try ąadja-tea, i.e. 'grass' gulda-gulda;
tea-leaves diri-gulda
teach muda-muda
tear up yambi-yambi-tears ąąga
tease ąąngi; tease one another diri-mila-
tell, to speak (intr) gulba-
testicles muła; (more vulgar term, lit. 'egg' baŋi)
that ina (var. inu); that way, in that direction wądu-mari
then duna; straight away dunda, danji (B)

there, in the middle distance wada (var. wądana), wądara or wądara, ina (G); not far away inara; over there ndaŋulu (Bźr); quite close ginu, nina (G); some distance away burąa therefore yuńuna
thick, dense dundju, dundjuga (G)
thigh, upper gara, gara
thin, skinny nindadj
think, to recall garga-yari-thirsty (to be thirsty), to perish yarga-
this here gęgi (var. ąęgi); this one, fairly close gidj; this side (of the river) gaŋara naqidja; this way, in this direction gąga-mari, ąda-mari; ąą-mięri (G)
thread, cotton gułga
threaten nůminja-
three, ('two-one') bargulu-ńćdja, bula-ńćdja (G)
throw, throw down ąąda-; throw something at somebody malba-
thumb (lit. 'big finger', 'throw something') więgu-mara, ąąmagamaɾa

tidy, to pick up můma-můma-
tie up muni (var. muni-muni)
tiny, very small mądʒ


tired (to be tired) (intr)

bąni-bąni-la-
tobacco (from English 'smoke') můgu; plug tabaće gidiga, mandanda 'chewing'
toe, big wię-gůma
tongue ąąla (var. ąąla-ąąla)
tortoise (Chelodina longicollis) bumulu (var. bumala-ąąga)

large tortoise (Chelodina expansa) bumulu ąąda ąągudja
touch, to reach up to guđa-, guđi-
track dina-yaba; footprint, mark yaba
train (lit. smoke) bundu
trample namba- (G)
travel, to come bariba, barba-
treat, 'doctor up' a sick person 
bunb-, guńga- (B)
tree (general term) yara
bean tree banda yara (B)
bear galgu
box tree (black box) gurguru; 
with thick bark bigiri; a 
different type of box tree 
that grows on the Warrego 
buba-yara (G)
bullock bush (Heterodendron) 
bānba, dara, dulguru (G)
coolabah gumbala, dimbali (B)
emu-bush galdiga
emu apple (Owenia acidula) 
mūli-yara (G)
gidgee (Acacia homalopylla) 
gā̃́di
idgee (Acacia Cambagei) 
dimala (B)
'gum' (Euc. odorata) bañara
leopard tree (Flindersia) 
girinja, warbaļa (B̄r)
needlewood (Nakea) bañga
orange, wild muguļi
pine (Callitris species) binba
quandong (bitter) gāñgbuğa, 
mađa mańu
red mulgu (Acacia cyperophylla) 
yabanja (B̄r)
river red gum gamuru
sandalwood (men's tree) guyamara
sandalwood species (women's 
tree) balba-gugadja
sandhill mulga banarga
species uncertain banba, bidaga 
(G)
weeping wattle mabu
wilga nīdaga

'willow tree' (Acacia salicina) 
willjuru
willow-like tree (Acacia Oswaldii) 
nambura, gābaru (G)
tree-stump yara-gulu
tripe yú̢̃di
trousers gargūlda, dambili
true mari
tunnel dingara (G)
turn, to turn into wadi-; to turn 
over (intr) qańi-; to turn over 
(tr) (e.g. meat) wingu-nja-; to 
turn round dūga-; to turn back 
(intr) wada- (B)
turtle bumala-buga
two bargulu, bula (G)
twig wīdu
twisted āngu (var. āngu-āngu)
uncle, mother's brother, senior 
male of same moiety wāgadjja, 
bābadja; youngest uncle wadi 
wāgadjja
unconscious, to become unconscious 
gūrīg'-mala- (lit. to turn 
black)
underneath niбанa; beneath a tree, 
at the butt of a tree guluna; 
below the ground miģada
unroll (tr) niģi-
untie niţnda-
upset (to be upset) gamba-manda- 
urine gībara
vagina būdu
vegetable food mańu balduduru 
vein, 'blood string' gāndara- 
balga
very -marči (SB); -malda (G)
visit mida-
voččit maňa-
waddy bira, bundi (borrowed word); 
fighting gańari (G); 'leaping 
kangaroo', long throwing stick 
gudjuru
wada across the river gānba-
waist wī̃ba
wait manda-
wait someone up bulu-bula- (G)
walk, to go, bari-; walk around in the water, to wade gänba-gänba-
wallaby marinja (G)
warm nångi; to heat banjba; to warm up (tr) nångi-; to get warm nångi-mafa-, digi-
wash qulja-
water gugu, dilburu (B, Bär); muddy water bunmuru; clear water galbi qugu; to water plants wimbi-wimbi-
water-bag qugu-mira
water-hole dumbai, dumbaga
water-rat múluru
water-weeds mände
wave (in river) güluru
wave something, to shake (tr) yagi-yagi-la-
we (pl) ńina; we two ńali;
wear maga-ńja-

widow buga-malina
wife gumbaga
wild (to get wild), angry bub-mala- wädi-wädi-la-
wind, gale ya9u; from west and south ganga-ya9u (G); from east and north-east wamba-ya9u; north bula-ya9u
wind up, to roll up wiri-ma-
windbreak ndudu; windbreak for camping ńaburu (B)
wing wajji, duği (G)
winter gülji, gülji-gülji, güljuru
wish (from English 'want') wandi-ma-
with, in company with, comitative case marker -amba, -amada
woman nungu, bara (G)
woo, court ńanja-ńanja-
wood (kindling) màra-màra
wool (from English) wiłubi
work (from English) warga-

to get wet gun- ma la- 

what? mina
where? windja, windjara
which way? windja-ma̱ti
whine nundja-nundja-
whip wurnga (G)
whirlwind gûra-buda, yandinja, yandandji
whiskers waga-bulgi (var. waga-wulgi, waqulgi)
whisper mayabaçu- (G)
white bâdji nga, budu (G); white of egg ńamalù; white person màyiga, danu (Pooncarie word) white person 'ghost' wanda; white-fellow wayidbala

without, not manda-

who? windjiga
wide badara; to widen out (intr) badarà-mala-
widow buga-malina
wife gumbaga
wild (to get wild), angry bub-mala- wädi-wädi-la-
wind, gale ya9u; from west and south ganga-ya9u (G); from east and north-east wamba-ya9u; north bula-ya9u
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without, not manda-

who? windjiga
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