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**COMPOUND WORDS AND CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES IN WIK-MUNKAN,**

by CHRISTINE KILHAM

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0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a phonemic analysis of the western dialect of the Garawa language. A description is given of the phoneme, syllable and word levels.

Garawa is spoken by about 300 people living in the northeast of the Northern Territory of Australia, from Borroloola to Doomadgee in Queensland. There are two dialects of Garawa, eastern Garawa spoken in the area of Wollogorang cattle station and western Garawa spoken in the area of Robinson River cattle station.

1. CONSONANTS

There are nineteen consonantal phonemes in Garawa: the voiceless stops /p, t, ñ, tj, jk, k/ and the voiced nasals /m, n, ñ, nj, jØ, ø/ contrasting at the bilabial, apico-alveolar, apico-domal, lamino-alveolar, lamino-velar and velar points of articulation; the voiced laterals /l, l, lj/ contrasting at the apico-alveolar, apico-domal and lamino-alveolar points of articulation; a voiced apico-alveolar vibrant /ɭ/; and the voiced semi-consonants /w, y, r/ occurring at the bilabial, lamino-palatal and apico-domal points of articulation.
1.1 CONSONANT CONTRASTS

The stops contrast in word initial position:

/pla/  they (dual)
/tula/  tree (species)
/tjula/  bird (generic)
/kula/  south

word medial position:

/wapa/  bark
/matamata/  opossum fur
/watapa/  goanna (species)
/watja/  quickly
/wajka/  down
/waka/  call out

The nasals contrast in word initial position:

/mulu/  nose
/nuifu/  we (plural excl)
/njulu/  he
/nuulu/  backbone

word medial position:

/nanama/  that (non-specific)
/munan/  at night
/panja/  father's oldest brother
/puwanja/  older brother
/laqinajga/  north across something
/muna/  white man

The laterals, the flap //, and the semi-consonant /\ contrast in word medial position:

/kaqala/  skin grouping
/tjuwala/  lying face down
/walja/  mammal (species)
/naka/  horse
/qata/  sun

The apico-alveolar stop /t/ and flap /\ contrast in word medial position:

/matamata/  opossum fur
/qata/  salt

The apico-domal stop /\ and semi-consonant /\ contrast in word medial position:

/wata/  goanna (species)
/qata/  drink
Garawa Phonology

The bilabial stop /p/ and semi-consonant /w/ contrast in word initial position:

/\textipa{patja/} \quad \text{play} \\
/\textipa{watja/} \quad \text{quickly} \\

word medial position:

/\textipa{guwugu/} \quad \text{boomerang (generic)} \\
/\textipa{guwu/} \quad \text{water} \\

The lamino-alveolar stop /\textipa{tj/} and lamino-palatal semi-consonant /y/ contrast in word initial position:

/\textipa{tjuku/} \quad \text{sit} \\
/\textipa{yundu/} \quad \text{on top of} \\

word medial position:

/\textipa{yatji/} \quad \text{country} \\
/\textipa{mayi/} \quad \text{tooth} \\

1.2 CONSONANT VARIANTS

Both the apico-domal and the lamino-alveolar stops /\textipa{t/} and /\textipa{tj/} have an unreleased allophone [\textipa{t}] and [\textipa{tj}]:

/\textipa{kutja/} \quad [\text{ku}^\text{tj}\text{pA}'] \quad \text{search} \\
/\textipa{pa\textipa{tji/}} \quad [\text{pa}^\text{tj}\text{pA}'\text{tj}] \quad \text{tree (species)} \\

A voiceless aspirated velar stop [\textipa{kh}] occasionally occurs in word initial position as an allophone of the velar stop /k/:

/\textipa{ka\textipa{fumwa/}} \quad [\text{kaFw}\text{A}' \sim \text{k}\text{haFw}\text{A}'] \quad \text{name of language} \\
/\textipa{ka\textipa{fji/}} \quad [\text{kaF}\text{e} \sim \text{k}\text{haF}\text{e}] \quad \text{east} \\

The bilabial stop /p/ has a voiced allophone [b] in word initial position preceding semi-consonant /\textipa{t/}:

/\textipa{patji/} \quad [\text{bra}^\text{tji}] \quad \text{tail} \\
/\textipa{patki/} \quad [\text{bra}^\text{kti}] \quad \text{ant (species)} \\

Each of the lamino-alveolar consonants /\textipa{tj}, \text{nj}, \text{lj}/ has an allophone with palatal release [\textipa{ty}], [\textipa{ny}], [\textipa{ly}], which occur in free variation with it preceding a vowel:

/\textipa{tjalu/} \quad [\text{tja}^\text{ly} \sim \text{ty}\text{alu}] \quad \text{arm} \\
/\textipa{patja/} \quad [\text{pa}^\text{ly} \sim \text{py}\text{alu}] \quad \text{play} \\
/\textipa{njulu/} \quad [\text{nju}^\text{ny} \sim \text{ny}\text{ulu}] \quad \text{he} \\
/\textipa{punji/} \quad [\text{po}^\text{ny} \sim \text{py^nji}] \quad \text{grass (species)} \\
/\textipa{kulja/} \quad [\text{ku}^\text{ly} \sim \text{ly}\text{alu}] \quad \text{raw}
The apico-alveolar vibrant /ɾ/ fluctuates freely with a voiceless flap allophone [ʁ] in word final position; in emphasized speech the voiceless trill allophone [ʁ] tends to occur in word final position:

/kaɾi/  [kaɾe]  east
/liɾka/  [leɾkaɾ]  first born
/waɾmpa/  [waɾmpaɾ]  blow
/yiɾaɾ/  [ɣiɾaɾ]  poison
/pitjpaɾaɾ/  [pitjpaɾaɾ]  fierce

2. VOWELS

There are three vowel phonemes /i, a, u/. These contrast at front, central and back points of articulation.

2.1 VOWEL CONTRASTS

/miɾi/  [miɾi]  more
/mali/  [maɾli]  flood waters
/miɾu/  [miɾu]  nose
/yiɾa/  [ɣiɾa]  we (dual excl)
/yiɾa/  [ɣiɾa]  while
/yiɾu/  [ɣiɾu]  cloud

2.2 VOWEL VARIANTS

Each vowel has a retroflexed allophone preceding apico-domal consonants:

/yiɾaɾ/  [ɣiɾaɾ]  poison
/kaɾiɾa/  [kaɾiɾa]  hip
/kunjaɾ/  [kunjaɾ]  smoke

For each vowel there is a range of allophones which vary considerably; however the following distributions of the allophones tend to occur.

The front vowel /i/ has the allophones [i], [ɪ], [ɛ], [ɛ̃], [ḛ], [e̞].

The allophone [i] occurs between non-velar and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:

/pitjaɾ/  [pitjaɾ]  partly
/miɾa/  [miɾaɾ]  snake (generic)
The glide [e̞] occurs between velar and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:

/kinjpa/ [ke̞njpa̞] caught in something
/mikukiyi/ [mekukle̞yi̞] don’t!

The lengthened glide [e̞·] occurs preceding lamino-velar consonants:

/kijjki̞/ [ke̞·jekki̞] flying fox (species)

The allophone [e̞] tends to occur contiguous to laterals and vibrants:

/ka̞rila/ [ka̞re̞la̞] hip
/li̞ka/ [le̞ka̞] first born

The allophone [i̞] tends to occur following bilabials:

/piwali/ [pewale] opossum (species)
/miku/ [meku] no

The allophone [i̞] tends to occur in other environments:

/nitji/ [nitji] name
/ti̞utji/ [ti̞utji] tree (species)

The central vowel /a/ has the allophones [A̞], [a], [a̞·], [a̞·].

The glide [a̞] occurs preceding lamino-alveolar and lamino-palatal consonants:

/mayi/ [ma̞yi̞] tooth
/yatjpa/ [ya̞tjpa̞] burn

The lengthened glide [a̞·] occurs preceding lamino-velar consonants:

/majkafa/ [ma̞·jekfa] husband and wife
/kulanajla/ [kula̞·na̞·jala̞] south across something

The low back allophone [a̞·] tends to occur between /w/ and /w/: 

/wawa̞ra/ [wa̞·wa̞·ra] baby boy
/wawi/ [wa̞·we̞] horse

The low allophone [a̞] tends to occur in other stressed syllables:

/tjalu/ [tjalu] lower arm
/ŋa̞rawa/ [ŋa̞·ra̞·wa] salt

The lower mid allophone [A̞] tends to occur in other unstressed syllables:

/nanamanga/ [na̞·ma̞·naga] same one
/wuka̞ra/ [woka̞·ra] tree (species)

The back unrounded vowel /u/ has the allophones [u], [o], [u̞], [u̞·], [o̞], [o̞·].
The glide [u₁] occurs between non-bilabial and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:
\[ /\text{yu}yu/ \quad [\text{yu}₁\text{yu}] \quad \text{yes} \\
/\text{tjunjtjutu}p/ \quad [\text{tju}₁\text{njtjutupo}] \quad \text{bird (species)} \]

The lengthened glide [u₁.] occurs between non-bilabial and lamino-velar consonants:
\[ /\text{watju}jkanji/ \quad [\text{wa}₁\text{tju}₁.\text{jka}₁\text{nji}] \quad \text{swatting} \\
/\text{buŋu}jkanji/ \quad [\text{boŋu}₁\text{jka}₁\text{nji}] \quad \text{coming closer} \]

The glide [o₁] occurs between bilabial and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:
\[ /\text{ma}b\text{yu}uři/ \quad [\text{ma}₁\text{bo}₁\text{yu}uři] \quad \text{to the old man} \\
/mun\text{jtji}/ \quad [\text{mo}₁\text{njtji}] \quad \text{bush} \]

The lengthened glide [o₁.] occurs between bilabial and lamino-velar consonants:
\[ /\text{wujkut}jpa/ \quad [\text{wo}₁\text{jku}₁\text{t}j\text{pa}⁺] \quad \text{rub} \]

The high allophone [u] tends to occur between non-bilabial and bilabial or apico-alveolar or velar consonants:
\[ /\text{lukuluku}/ \quad [\text{lukuluku}] \quad \text{around} \\
/tjuntuf/ \quad [\text{tjuntuf}] \quad \text{sand} \]

The mid allophone [o] tends to occur word finally following bilabial consonants or between bilabial and bilabial or apico-alveolar or velar consonants:
\[ /\text{buntal}/ \quad [\text{bont}ᵃⁿ] \quad \text{river} \\
/kumu/ \quad [\text{kumo}] \quad \text{flood waters} \]

2.3 ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS OF LAMINO-VELAR STOP AND NASAL PHONEMES

It would have been equally possible to analyse the lengthened vowel glides as separate phonemes /e₁/, /a₁/, /u₁/ in contrast with the simple vowels /i/, /a/, /u/: 
\[ /\text{we}₁\text{ku}/ \quad \text{goanna (species)} \\
/miku/ \quad \text{no} \\
/kulana₁\text{ŋa}/ \quad \text{south across something} \\
/munaga/ \quad \text{white man} \\
/wu₁\text{ku}jt\text{pa}/ \quad \text{rub} \\
/wukuřupa/ \quad \text{swell} \]

The lamino-velar stop and nasal would then be analysed as allophones of the velar stop and nasal conditioned by occurrence following the glide phonemes:
The vowel glide [o^1.] would be the allophone of /u^1./ occurring following bilabials:

Iwai [wai] goanna (species)
Iwai [wa^1.] down
Iwai [ku^1.] menstrual fluid

Iwel kul
Iwal kal
Ikul kulal

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This interpretation would have resulted in a number of stems having allostems, and some suffixes having allomorphs. Some examples of these are:

Iwuikutjpal [woi] rub

By setting up the lamino-velar stop and nasal phonemes only three suffix allomorphs result:

/-nku̲i -njku̲i/ towards
/-kanji -jkanji/ for the purpose of
/-ku̲i -jku̲i/ (verb suffix)

3. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

3.1 CONSONANT DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A phonological word in Garawa is defined as a minimal utterance carrying one primary stress marking the nucleus and borders marked by such devices as potential pause and phonemic distribution.

All words begin with a consonant with the exception of one word /alakala/ bearers of burial platform.

Any single consonant except /jk, q, jq, l, lj, r/ may occur in word-initial position. In word-final position only /n, l, l, r/ occur.

/waʃal/ kangaroo (species)
/yaka]/ moon
/tjulu]/ ash

Consonant clusters may comprise two or three segments.

In the data two di-clusters have been found to occur in word-initial position.

Homorganic cluster, stop + semi-consonant:

Nj- /ŋaŋka/ bush fire burning

Heterorganic cluster, stop + semi-consonant:

Pr- /paki/ tail
In the data thirty-four di-clusters have been found to occur in word medial position within single morphemes.

Homorganic clusters, stop + semi-consonant:

-ŋŋ-

Nasal + stop:

-ŋp-

-ŋt-

-ŋř-

-ŋtj-

-ŋŋk-

-ŋk-

Heterorganic clusters, stop + stop:

-ŋp-

Nasal + stop:

-ŋp-

-ŋp-

-ŋp-

-ŋtj-

-ŋk-

Nasal + nasal:

-ŋ̣m-

-ŋ̣nj-

-ŋ̣ŋ-

-ŋ̣ŋ-

Lateral + stop:

-ŋ̣p-

-ŋ̣p-

-ŋ̣k-

-ŋ̣k-

Lateral + nasal:

-ŋ̣l-

-ŋ̣ŋ-

Lateral + semi-consonant:

-ŋ̣w-

-ŋ̣w-
Flap /ɾ/ + stop:
-ɾp- /tjaɾpu/  gorge
-ɾk- /puŋka/  tail

Flap /ɾ/ + nasal:
-ɾm- /kaɾmuɾ/  spear (species)
-ɾŋ- /liŋŋinti/  insect (species)

Flap /ɾ/ + semi-consonant:
-ɾw- /ŋuŋwa/  thunder

In addition five di-clusters occur across morpheme boundaries within the word. In the following examples the pertinent morpheme break is marked by a hyphen.

Homorganic clusters, lateral + nasal:
-ln- /puntal-nanj/  from the river
-ŋn- /yupal-ŋanj/  from the track

Flap /ɾ/ + nasal:
-ɾn- /kunŋaɾ-nanj/  from the smoke

Heterorganic clusters, lateral + lateral:
-ğun- /yupaŋ-ljuŋ/  to the track

Flap /r/ + semi-consonant:
-ɾɣ- /ŋuŋkuŋ-ɣuŋ/  to the wind

In the data three tri-clusters have been found to occur across morpheme boundaries within the word.

Lateral + nasal + stop:
-ɾmp- /putjalm-pa/  smash
-ŋmp- /yuwaŋm-pa/  travel by a direct route

Flap /ɾ/ + nasal + stop:
-ɾmp- /waɾm-pa/  blow

3.2 VOWEL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

Only one word has been found to have a vowel word initial; /a/ occurs in /alakala/ bearers of burial platform. (This word may be a loan word, possibly from Yanyula.) Any vowel may occur preceding or following any consonant with the following exceptions: /u/ has not been found following /ŋ/, /i/ has not been found following /ŋ/.
4. SYLLABLES

There are three syllable types each with a single vowel nucleus. The prenuclear margin may be filled with one or two consonants while the postnuclear margin is limited to one consonant.

- CV: ma.yi (tooth)
- CVC: tja! (flower)
- CCV: waʃ.mpa (blow)

A closed variant of the CCV syllable type [CCVC] occurs as the second syllable of a word between a CCV syllable and a CV syllable.

Words consist of from one to ten syllables. Words of six syllables or more are not frequently heard. Syllable types CV, CVC, and CCV may occur in any position in the word. However no more than three CVC syllables have been heard occurring contiguously.

- ka.la.wujŋ.jku.ʃu (inside)
- njam.pal.aŋin.ku.ya (our two)
- miŋ.miŋ.tjal (eyebrow)
- kun.til.mpa (make dry)
- pra.tji (ant (species))
- yuʃ.mpa.ka (he is) shifting

5. WORD STRESS

In Garawa primary stress (indicated in this section by ') is always on the first syllable of the phonological word. Primary stress is manifested by loudness, high pitch and length.

- yámi (eye)
- púnjala (white)

Secondary stress (indicated by ') occurs on the penultimate syllable of words with four or more syllables. Secondary stress is manifested by less length and loudness than primary stress, while pitch is usually no higher than that of contiguous syllables. In words of six or more syllables tertiary stress (indicated by '-') occurs on every second syllable preceding the secondary stress but never on the second syllable.

- wátımpaŋu (armpit)
- kámałaŋaji (wrist)
- yákalakalàmpa (loose)
- náŋkíŋktímpaŋyi (fought with boomerange)
- námpaláŋinmükunjína (at our many)
- nářiŋinmükunjnamíʃa (at your own many)
- nímpaláŋinmükunjámíʃa (from your own two)
NOTE

1. Garawa has been classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin in Anthropological Linguistics (1966:33) as being the only member of the Karawic Group of the Karawan Family of Australian languages.

The material for this paper was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during eighteen months residence at Borroloola between June 1968 and March 1970. Principal language helpers were Jerry Wollogorang, Edna Jack and Hilda Ross.

The author is grateful to Misses Barbara Sayers and Anne Cochran of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their valuable help in the final analysis and preparation of this paper. The author is also grateful to the University of Queensland (English Department) for the use of their spectrograph, and to Charles Peck of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for reading the spectrograms.

The description presented here is based on the phonological procedure and approach developed by Pike, "Phonemics" (1947).
TEXTS IN VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

LUISE A. HERCUS

Map

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Languages of the Kulin type and Bungundji.
Photograph 1. "Guardians of Victorian Traditions": a group of Kulin speakers at Moonacullah in the 1890's (by courtesy of Hubert Day).
Photograph 2. Mrs. Jackson Stuart

Photograph 3. Mr. Jack Long
1.a Introduction

Very little text material is available in the now practically extinct Victorian languages, and the meagre stories that were collected by R. Brough Smyth (1878) have been severely criticised by R.H. Mathews (1903:75):

'Some of Mr. R.B. Smyth's correspondents ventured to send him stories purporting to be told in certain native dialects. I have looked over all these stories, and can pronounce them to be mere ungrammatical jargon, written by men who knew nothing of the structure of the languages they were dealing with'.

This judgement is harsh, but to some extent justified. Nevertheless, in the light of what has been learnt from the last speakers of Victorian languages (Hercus, 1969) some linguistic information can be gained from these old stories and the grammatical errors are usually transparent: wrong word divisions are most common. One old Wergaia text written down by the Rev. Hagenauer (Smyth 1878:53) has therefore been re-edited here. This has been done with the help of all available information, we have used the first hand evidence of the surviving descendants of the Wergaia as well as the works of R.B. Smyth and of R.H. Mathews (1902).

In this edition the first two lines represent an exact replica of Hagenauer's text and translation respectively. The third line is a corrected phonemic rendering of the text, while the fourth line is the corresponding corrected English translation. When no new material was available to elucidate the text and when there was any doubt, the tentative corrected version has been enclosed in square brackets.

1.b Re-edition of an old Wergaia text

Duan gapm menjun gumbarran
(Name meaning squirrel) tracked (a) kangaroo (and was) sleeping
duan gabin mindjun gumberaŋ
Duan followed PRET grey-male- sleeping-about
kangaroo FR-PART
mellan kitya buroin. Weenbulain-yo wàpcullen
out many (a) night. (name meaning spider) found out
malan gedja1 burunj. wirimbulinju [wabgulin]
there-from ABL many night. Wirimbulinj-by AG found PRET
Duan ba nyainmen dumang.  
Duan and (Duan) saw him (Weenbulain) (certain way of coming).  
duan ba njaîn-min dumang^2.  
Duan and saw PRET-indeed EM coming PART.

Woartan Weenbulain nyum bambahin nyum Duan  
Come Weenbulain then frighten that Duan  
waçin wirimbulingj njunja bambin njunja duan  
Came PRET Wirimbulingj that feared PRET that Duan

ba bärpin ba wrâwin galk-a.  
and (made him) run and climb a tree.  
ba birbin ba wrâwin galga.  
and jumped PRET and climbed PRET tree-to ALL.

Nyubendin woartin Weenbulain  
(When) on the tree came Weenbulain (and)  
njua bîñgin^3 waçin wirimbulingj  
there appeared PRET came PRET Wirimbulingj

bundin nyuin galk bendinung  
bit through with one bite that tree on which was  
bundin njunja galg bîñginan^3  
bit PRET that tree appearing-was PRET-PART

Duan, buiken tyabaprumen  
Duan, (the tree) falling (Duan) jumped  
duan, buigin djaga babgumin  
Duan, fell PRET ground-to ALL jumped-down PRET

ba geka yuâgi galk, yingurnan  
and (got) to another tree, and so  
ba giga^4 [njanjugi]^5 galg, janguran  
and this-to ALL other POS-3, PT tree, going-round IT-PR-PART

yummin malluk brangayan Duan.  
on till tired Duan.  
jumin malug bâranguin duan.  
was PRET there-afar knocked-up IT-PRET Duan.
Tyamalluk bundin Weenbulain-yo galk
Then bite Weenbulain trees
dja - malug bundin wirimbulinju gailg
Place-there bit PRET Wirimbulinj-by AG tree

wahmawuiyen tyagung giap garan nyuin
round about leaving one that
[wahmawuiyen] dja-gaŋ galab gurung njunja
[went-round?] IT-PRET place-from ABL one big-one that

bendinung Duan. Tyamalluk woartin bundin
on which was Duan. Then came (and) bit
bë̊në̊naŋ 3 duan. dja-malug wañin bundin
appearing-was PRET-PART Duan. Place-there came PRET bit PRET

nyum galk bendinung Duan, nyuin buiken
that tree on which was Duan, then fell
njunja galg bë̊në̊naŋ duan, njunja bulugin
that tree appearing-was PRET-PART Duan, that fell PRET

galk. Weenbulain-yo bundin men Duan nyuin.
the tree. Weenbulain bit (killed) Duan then
galg wirimbulinju bundin-min duan njunja.
tree. Wirimbulinj-by AG bit PRET-indeed EM Duan that.

Duan-a nganangâuk buletchi, Brâmbambui Duan (had) nephews two, Brâmbambui(by name)
duanan gânindjaug 7 buledji brambimbul
Duan GEN nephew-his POS-3 two PT Brambimbui DL

dâ̊dâ̊win bulanguk wityuwa wanjuk lå̊ndang, waiting both (for) his return(to) the camp,
dje̊̊dâ̊win 8 bulangug 9 widjiwa wanjuk 10 lå̊dâ̊̊n 11 waited - both-him PRET-DL-3,OBJ-3 returns PRES he PR-3 camp-from ABL

ba tyawrâk bewa woartin, bikin beelang
and as he did not come, they went off both
ba djag wega [?] wañin, bañin - bulâŋ
and place-to ALL not [?] came PRET, rose - both DL-3
yarkin bulang uk in search of him (and) nunangurn soon found
jargin - bulangug njunjran - [?] mudjin-bulang searched-both-him PRET-DL-3, OBL-3 that from ABL-[?] found-both PRET-DL-3
tyanang-i tyarmbap bulak. Gapin bulang geu track of uncle (Duan). They tracked (him) to the djinaqi 12 djarmbab-bulag. 13 gabin - bulang track PT uncle -their POS-DL-3. Followed-both PRET-DL-3 here
tyakal bundiung Weenbulain-yo. place where he had been bitten by Weenbulain.
djagal bundinaŋ 3 wirimbulinju. place-in LOC biting-was PRET-PART Wirimbulinj-by AG.

Muityen bulang buang bundiung Weenbulain-yo, They found (him) dead bitten by Weenbulain,
mudjin - bulang buañen bundinaŋ wirimbulinju, Found both PRET-DL-3 stinking-dead biting-was PRET-PART Wirimbulinj-by AG,
ba ngepen bulang Nugung-a woattin bulanguk and buried him. Of course they went after
ba njibin -bulang. njugaŋ waqin -bulangug and buried both PRET-DL-3. There-from ABL came both-him PRET-DL-3,OBJ-3

Weenbulain-ya, gapin bulang tyuiorang gà. Weenbulain, tracking (him) all the way.
wirimbulinja, gabin - bulang djuwerunga. Wirimbulinj-for ALL, followed both PRET-DL-3 long-way-to ALL.

Weenbulain-ya bultyuk mang gcp. Nyain bulang Weenbulain (had) two daughters. Saw they (the Brambambul saw)
wirimbulinja buledjug māŋeb. njain-bulang Wirimbulinj-of GEN two-his POS-3 daughter. Saw-both PRET-DL-3

tyanardi wanyap warkinnual ngalluganukyanbal many fires he had made on his way
dja - [?] wanjab waqin njual [?] place-[?] fire made PRET there LOC [?]
nyum walluban bulang gingo ngainung.
till (they) drew near where he lived.
njunja waledjuwin- bulañ gingal
that drew near both IT-PRET-DL-3 here sitting PART.

Nyum giyaren bulang nyan-o wang-ngal
Then (they had) a council how they might
njunja gllarln - bulañ njanja wañal
That discussed both FR-PRET-DL-3 'how we-two PR-DL-1

gurmingn. Bràmbuk ngananep yàrim
kill (him) Brambambull the younger went (to the)
[buñinj] ? brambuk ñnananb17 jarin
strike-will PUT ?' Bram-POS-3 stepson went FR-PRET

warn willang gal ngäroban Weenbulain-yo.
windward (to be) smelled by Weenbulain.
wearm - wilañgal ñaruban wirimbubunju.
behind-wind-in LOC smelling PART Wirimbubunju-by AG

Weenbulain-yo nyum ngäroben bâ birnin
Weenbulain then smelled him and came out
wijimbubunju njunja ñarubin ba bigin
Wirimbubunju-by AG that smelt PRET and came-out PRET

lärnung uk tyumbin leanyuk gurung-i
of his cave showing (his) teeth big
lañangug djumin lianjug gurungi
camp-from-his ABL-POS-3 showed PRET teeth-his POS-3 big PT

Ngarambenyo baingo ngananin nguityapdakitch
The elder Brambambull who was near him to hit
njarambinju baingu ñenjin njuñab dagidj
old-by AG child sat PRET hiding-for PURP hit-may OP

ngarambenyi Weenbulain derta birnin
old Weenbulain on his coming out
njarambinji wirimbubunj dañal18 bigin
old PT Wirimbubunj directly came-out PRET

nyain drangat bulak leya tyainyo
saw the fresh teeth belonging to
njañ darñad -bulág njiañ djanag
saw PRET new-both-of DL-POS-3 teeth all-of PL-POS-3
mangawuk bulech. Malluk barta gurunguk leya
his daughters two After a while the big teeth
mangaug buledji. malug daqa gurungug lia
daughter-his POS-3 two PT. There directly big-his-POS-3 teeth
tyumbulan nyertwunin birnin.
themselvcs presently came out.
djumbulan njeduin bigin.
showing-continuously CT-PART rushed PRET came-out PRET.

Nga rambenyo baingo nyum dakin men
The elder Brambambull then hit him
njarambinju baingu njunja dagin min
Old-by AG child that hit PRET indeed EM
bropuk ba leanyuk, ba gutuk
on the head and teeth, and the younger Brambambull
burbug ba lianjug, ba gudug
head-his POS-3 and teeth-his POS-3, and younger brother-his POS-3
barrpin woiup burnin bulang, ba yurp
ran to help to kill him, and thus
birnbin [wajab] bunin - bulan bujaj
jumped PRET helping-for PURP struck-both PRET-DL-3 killing-for PURP
burninbulang Weenbulain, ba buityel
they killed Weenbulain, and knocked
buinin-bulang wirimbulinj ba [budjal]
struck-both PRET-DL-3 Wirimbulinj and piece-in LOC
wurninbulang bropuk ba darpin bulang.
to pieces his head and burnt him.
bunin-bulang burbug ba darbin22 bulan.
struck-both PRET-DL-3 head-his POS-3 and burnt both PRET-DL-3.
1.c Translation

Duan, the squirrel (Phascocagle tapoatafa) was following a male grey kangaroo and was sleeping out, away from that place, for many nights. Wirimbulinj, the spider, found Duan and saw him coming. Wirimbulinj came close and that Duan was frightened and jumped up and climbed into a tree and stayed up there. Wirimbulinj came and bit that tree containing Duan, and it fell to the ground. Duan jumped out and onto another tree, going on (like this) and round and round, Duan was utterly exhausted. Then going round from that place Wirimbulinj bit (all) the trees, and there was just one big one left containing Duan. Wirimbulinj came and bit the tree on which Duan was, and that tree fell. And Wirimbulinj bit that Duan hard (bit him to death). Duan had two nephews, sister's sons, the Bramimbul brothers. They waited: 'he is returning from his (last) camp', but he did not come to this place. Then they rose and searched for him, and they found their uncle's track. They both followed it right to this place where Wirimbulinj had bitten him. They found his decaying corpse: he had been bitten to death by Wirimbulinj. They buried him. From that place they then went for Wirimbulinj, they followed him a long way. Wirimbulinj had two daughters. The two Bramimbuls saw the place and the fires he had lit., and they drew near to him sitting there. Then they discussed: 'How can we two kill him?' The younger brother, who had been reared by his uncle, went on the windward side, so that Wirimbulinj could smell him. Wirimbulinj smelt him and came out of his camp and bared his big teeth. The older of the two young fellows sat down to hide, so that he might hit old Wirimbulinj directly he came out. The Bramimbuls saw the teeth of all of them, including the fresh teeth of his two daughters. Then directly he came rushing out with his teeth bared all the time. The older of the two young fellows hit him hard, he hit his head and his teeth, and his younger brother jumped over to help and they both struck Wirimbulinj to kill him, and they smashed his head to pieces and burnt him.

1.d Linguistic Notes

1. gedja This word was previously recorded only in the compound form gedja-wil a lot, literally many having.
2. dumang coming: probably connected with doom, near, i.e. come IMP, (Brough Smyth:157).

3. bindin This verb is not attested with certainty: it appears to be a derivative verb from biga to come out.

bindina Like bundina was biting, bindina can be analysed in the following manner:

\[
\text{bund-} + -\text{In} + -\text{aŋ}
\]

verbal stem marker of the participial suffix past tense

These forms are a clear indication that in Wergaia participles could be based on the preterite as well as on the present tense. The participles can be used to indicate relative clauses, and they therefore show an important similarity to the -ŋu participles of Arabana-Wangaŋuru and to the widespread Australian relative clause formation (Dixon 1969).

4. giga This is an illustration of a basic characteristic of many eastern Australian languages: the case-markers need not be repeated with every member of a noun phrase, thus giga galg this-to ALL tree

is just as acceptable as

giga galga

this-to ALL tree-to ALL.

5. njanjugi This word is not certain for Wergaia, but it is attested in Wembawemba, njanjug-njanjug-min different.

6. baŋguin killed, dead was the normal meaning of this word in Wembawemba but it is common in Australian languages that killed should represent an emphatic way of saying tired, completely knocked out, (cf. Mathews 1902:102).

7. ñanindjaug his nephew, ñanindjain your niece or nephew was attested in Wembawemba and the present form is also supported - with variations in spelling - by Stone (1911).

8. djeďawin This word is probably connected with Wembawemba djeďa to stop, to be stationary.
9. bulangug  The form bulangug, as opposed to the simple third person dual marker bulang they-two shows incorporation of the third person singular object (similar to the possessive -ug). Incorporation of the pronoun object is an important characteristic of the Kulin languages, but in Wembawemba it existed only in the first and second person pronouns. The present text indicates that in Weragaia this system probably applied to all persons.

10. wanjug  This form, as well as wañal we two, confirms the existence of a pronominal base wa- in Weragaia, as in the more easterly Kulin languages: wa- is attested for Jajawuruŋ (Brough Smyth:163) and Weragaia (J. Mathew:1899:181). R.H. Mathews however gives a longer form 'yurwa-' for the Djadjala dialect of Weragaia.

11. lanđan  lanç camp is complex in declension, the ablative is usually lanq which has been heard frequently and is attested below with the third person possessive suffix (lanqangug), cf. also Mathews (1902:79) 'lahrnung' from camp. There is however evidence that -d- could be infixed in this word, and Mathews noted 'lahrndal', to a camp. The function of this infix is not clear.

12. djinaŋi  This form indicates that nouns in -a followed the more common pattern of -ŋ- nouns in Weragaia before the particularising suffix -i. This suffix was evidently connected with the class 2 noun-marker -i, -ŋi of Madimadi.

13. djarmbab  This word had previously only been attested with the first person singular possessive marker, djarmbeg my uncle. The present form is interesting as it clearly shows the connection between djarmbab mother's brother and bab mother. This connection is well-known in other Australian languages and elsewhere, e.g. in Adnjamaŋa (Flinders Ranges) ŋami mother, ŋamaŋa mother's brother.

14. giŋa  here; this form had hitherto been found only in Wembawemba.
15. *njanja waŋa* The pronoun, though in its full form here in Wergaia immediately follows the interrogative adverb, while the verb is used in the bare tense-form without any person marker. This transference of person markers in interrogative sentences is one of the basic features of Kulin word-order, (cf. Hercus 1969:84).

16. *buŋiŋ* *buŋiŋ* appears below with the meaning *killed* and this could be intended here. The ordinary Wergaia word for *to kill* was *buja*; *buŋa* probably represents a derivative verb from this: for another derivative verb in *-ŋ-* see Wergaia *mudeŋa* *to follow*.

17. *ŋananeb* The implications of this term are uncertain, cf. Jajawuruŋ *'knan-nap*', *stepson* (Brough Smyth:157). The younger brother had probably been reared by his uncle.

18. *daŋa* *daŋa* directly. This word is probably cognate with Madimadi *dağı* *directly*.

19. *darnad* This word is not certain: it is probably cognate with Jajawuruŋ *'derrng-knet-took'*, *new* (Brough Smyth:161).

20. *lia-djanag* The use of the third person plural possessive marker *-djanag*, immediately after the third person dual marker *-bulag* may be surprising, but the meaning is clear *the teeth belonging to all of them, Wirimb uľinj included*.

21. *njeduin* This verb is not certain, it is probably an iterative-intensive verb (as shown by the *u*-infix) connected with the Wembawemba word *njedenja* *to run round, to play*.

22. *darbin* This word has not been attested in Wergaia, but it is confirmed by a Wembawemba word listed by Stone (1911) *'dappok'*, *burn, 'dappelung', burning*. 
1.e Another story of the Brambimbul

The legendary activities of the two brothers Bram, the Buledji Brambimbul, are well known, particularly from the work of R.H. Mathews (1905). Our main Wergaia informant further related a story which is of interest as it links the Buledji Brambimbul with the Eaglehawk and Crow myths, and it is also closely connected with a legend related by A.C. Stone (1911). The myth, as related by Mrs. Stuart is as follows:

"...These two men, they call them Buledji Brambimbul that came there (to Lake Boga), they are heavenly men. They saw this woman lying there crying at the bottom of the tree. She was crying her heart out for her baby who was up in the tree, stolen by the Eaglehawk. The woman was crying because she thought her baby was going to be eaten by the Eaglehawk. These men flew down from the sky, they must have been heavenly men, and asked her what she was crying for, and she told them: 'My baby is up there and the Eaglehawk is going to eat it'. One of them (the Brambimbul brothers) climbed up the tree, and with the help of his mate, made steps in the tree so that he could climb down the tree with the baby. They used a badjig (stone axe). The Brambimbul saw that the Eagle had built his nest in the fork of the tree. The Brambimbul climbed up, told the Eagle that he wanted to take the baby, and when the Eagle didn't agree ... he killed the Eagle. The Brambimbul put the baby in the bag. The Brambimbul climbed down the tree with the baby, while the other fellow climbed up the tree to help him. They gave her the baby and cut down the tree and gathered the chips, put them into bags and said that there would never be any gum-trees growing there again, by Lake Boga, and so there weren't..."
ORION, AS VIEWED BY THE MADIMADI

WIVES

DADAG-WIL

GUJA-WIL
Jack Long (Hercus and White 1971) has gradually recalled more and more of the language and he has been able to give us a number of fragmentary texts of mythological and linguistic interest (Hercus 1970 and 1972). To these can now be added a few further texts which are edited here.

The story of Orion as told by Jack Long and edited below is of particular interest as it illustrates the strong links in traditions along the Murray River: a very similar legend is known from Jaralde speakers near the Murray mouth (Meyer 1846; Laurie 1917), and this tradition has been studied by Tindale (1935) 'The Legend of Waiungari'. The Jaralde Waiungari is the equivalent of the Madimadi Guja-wil. Jack Long, in his youth, could also speak Dañidañi, a Murray River language related to Jaralde, but the legend related by him about Orion is Madimadi. The names of the main characters are distinctly Madimadi, i.e. 'Kulin', but the substance of the legend belongs to the Murray River tradition. It is significant that there is another 'Kulin' version from Western Victoria (Brough Smyth 1878:433), but in this 'Tatyarguil' (the Madimadi Dadag-wil) and his two wives are quite unconnected with Orion, and form the constellation Aquila: Orion is represented by legends of boys dancing. This tradition has counterparts in southern Central Australia where Banggala informants have described Orion as 'the boys with the tired feet'.

Jack Long's version of the story of Orion thus represents an important link in the network of traditions of Orion which can be summarised as follows:

1. The Orion myth of Waiungari and Nepele (Jaralde), called Guja-wil and Dadag-wil in Madimadi.
   (Murray River tradition)

2. 'Tatyarguil' (corresponding to the Madimadi Dadag-wil) with his two wives forms Aquila, and Orion has a separate myth connected with 'boys dancing' before the Seven Sisters.
   ('Kulin' tradition, Western Victoria)

3. Orion 'the boys with the tired feet' is linked more closely with the Seven Sisters: the boys are tired from chasing the Seven Sisters.
   (Southern Central Australia)

4. The important and wide-spread myth of Orion as one very erotic man who pursues the Seven Sisters.
   (Western Desert and Central Australia)
The identity of the stars that figure in the Madimadi story is fairly clear from Jack Long’s description: Dadag-wil (in the middle) and his two wives form the stars of Orion’s belt, while Guja-wil, the red star, is probably Betelgeuse: they all come up together, not far from those Seven Sisters. Ganan-ganan, has no stationary place, and is a planet.

2.b Madimadi text

waŋada gima ganan-ganan buindada. gumbadin wuduŋi comes PRES here Ganan-ganan night-in LOC. Slept PRET men
gagadin nulaŋ mangadin dirilaŋ. caught PRET him-by PR-AG took-away PRET sky-in LOC.
nagilada gima wuduŋi, manu2 nulaŋ see PRES men that POS-3 him-by PR-AG
giadin daliŋuru: said PRET language - by-their AG-POS-3:
’ganan-ganan gini ṣeŋgadin dirilaŋ. gima daŋi
’Ganan-ganan this sat PRET sky-in LOC. Here place
didadin, mada nuni ṣeŋgadin giaga daŋi.3 changed PRET, not that-one stayed PRET one place.’
wuduŋi widul ninmeru jauimadin. men many these PL disappeared PRET.

ṣeŋgada gaiu.
Stay PRES there.
dadag-wil dalegada waŋadin gimu giaga - dadag-wil,
Dadag-wil long-ago LOC came PRET here one - arm-having,
jiŋada bawadin baburu giaga - dadag-wil.
thus bore PRET mother-by-his AG-POS-3 one - arm-having.
ganandadin nulaŋ laiur gini, buleda madumu Stole PRET him-by PR-AG women these, two wives-his POS-3
dadag-wil; wuduwada ṣeŋgada.
Dadag-wil; middle-in LOC sits PRES.
managadin nulaŋ gini wuduŋi, guja-wil.4 Took PRET them-by PR-AG this man, Guja-wil.
Ganan-ganana came in the night, while men were asleep he took them away up into the sky. People down here said in their language: 'This Ganan-ganana lives in the sky. He changes his position, he does not stay in one place.' Many men disappeared. They stayed there (in the sky).

Dadag-wil came here long ago, he only had one arm, he was born like that. He stole two women, and so he had two wives. He dwells in the middle (between them in the sky).
They captured a man named Guja-wil. (The two wives said to one another): 'Come on, come on, let us capture him and take him up into the sky; we will do it by pretending to be emus.' The two women made a noise like an emu. Guja-wil heard it and took his spear and he wanted to sneak up and kill the emus. The two women caught him and took him away into the sky. He disappeared. People searched for him, (saying) 'get up, pick up your spear and let us look for him. When will he return?'

Then they saw him up in the sky. (They recognised him): he was a red star because he was a man with red flesh and red skin. The two women had abducted him. He remained as a star in the sky.

2. Notes

1. Ganaŋ-ganaŋ Perhaps under the influence of Christian terminology, Jack Long described this star also as a 'heavenly overseer'. The name Ganaŋ-ganaŋ is probably derived from the verb 'to take away', 'to steal', Madimadi ganandada, cf. Wembawemba ganindja.

2. manu belonging to that one over there. This is a previously unattested third person possessive of maŋi, the demonstrative pronoun of distance; it is exactly parallel to the Wergaia manjug over there and is used adverbially.

3. giaga daŋi one place. One would expect a locative, and this may be a mistake.

4. Guja-wil This name probably means tree-stump-having cf. Wergaia gujawug its stump, i.e. a dead tree.

5. nunaju This form has not been heard previously, but it is exactly parallel to the 'ablative' of the personal pronouns jinaŋu from me and ʒinaŋu from you, and its use here illustrates the link between the goal and the subject matter or cause of an action (Hercus 1969:171).

6. mandadin The verb mandada to take away is probably based on maŋada to take away by means of the suffix -nda- of uncertain meaning. There is a very similar form jaundaia to disappear which has been heard as a variant for jauimaia to disappear (for the completive suffix -m- see Hercus 1969:178).
7. dugi-m

The emphatic enclitic particle -m had previously been recorded only after adverbs and particles, e.g. nuwi-m then and madi-m no more. From a comparison of all the cases where it occurs, the particle -m appears to have a temporal as well as an emphatic meaning, and the phrase might therefore more accurately be translated by a star for ever.

3. SHORT MADIMADI TEXTS

3.a Making a canoe

The various methods used in the making of bark-canoes in the south-east of Australia are well known (Brough Smyth 1878:408 ff.; Berndt and Berndt 1964:101-102). As Jack Long is probably the last man from the Murray area to be familiar with canoes of this kind, this short text has been included.

Text:

dalegada wuduŋi bugadín gini juŋwib, mudadín
Long-ago LOC people stripped PRET this canoe, cut-out PRET
bialâña midu.
red-gum-belonging POS-ADJ bark-its POS-3.
'gimam gaŋada, juŋwib nagi.
'Here EM bends PRES, canoe look IMP.
windalu gini ŋinedu badiŋin?' 
Whereabouts this your POS-ADJ tomahawk-yours POS-2?
'gima, gima, madadí, madadía ḓalí
'Here, here, cut IMP, cut-would OP we-two PR-DL-1
jidi gili madadía jinaga.'
I this-side cut-would OP this-way.'
'jidi gima madadín.'
'I here cut-will FUT.'
'ŋindi jinguadín madadía waragi'
'You go-will FUT cut-would OP paddle.'
buwada. 'nuwim gima buigadín.' buigadá nuwi juŋwib.
Pull PRES. 'Now EM here fall-will FUT'. Falls PRES now canoe.
'jubadi, jubadi nuwi. ɡunάdía wíduŋ wanabí.
'Put-down IMP, put-down IMP now. Make-would OP big fire.
Long ago people used to strip these canoes, they used to cut them out from the bark of red-gum trees.

'The tree here has (the right kind of) bend in it, you can (already) see the canoe. Where is your tomahawk?'

'Here it is, cut, let us both cut. I want to cut this side, like that.'

'I will cut here.'

'You go and cut a paddle (out of a sapling).'</n
They pull (and lever off the bark from the tree).

'Now it is coming down.'

The bark-canoe comes down from the tree.

'Put it down, put it down now. Let us make a big fire. We will put the canoe on the fire.'

'Let us make another (smaller fire) with lignum (and small leaves) and put this inside the canoe, in the middle.'
(They put that fire in the middle and burn it to warm the canoe up properly to set it).

'We will sit (and wait). Now it is ready. I will get hold of this lignum and these ashes and hot coals (and tip them out from the inside of the canoe). We will leave now and go to our camp, we will go and come back later.'

(They had to have it pliable and they pegged it in to have it set and have the right shape, then when it was ready, they took the pegs out).

'This canoe can float. Let us put it down into the water. It's very good.'

3.b The Seven Sisters

buné bubuné dalegada gawanadin gini
Seven Sisters long-ago LOC followed PRET this
wubu.'5 wagadin gima daga
throwing-stick-their POS-3. Came PRET here place-to ALL
wariwadin nuni wubaun.' gili nauni.' played PRET that throwing-stick-with ABL. This sun
budugadin waburán, baim buindi, buné buné set PRET west-in LOC oh-now EM night, Seven Sisters
ganú waingurun jingadin wariwuladin
there-from ABL east-from ABL went PRET played-round PRET
jungadin muruni-laiurgu, jungadin nulaq
threw PRET young- women-by AG, threw PRET them-by PR-AG
bebadia gini dagán, gawanadin
hop-would OP this-one ground-on LOC, followed PRET
jauimadin giagaminu waburán.
disappeared PRET altogether west-in LOC.

Translation:

Long ago the Seven Sisters used to follow their throwing stick. They came to this place and played with their throwing stick. The sun set in the west, behold, it was night, and the Seven Sisters came from the east and played. These young women threw their throwing stick so that it would leap along the ground, they followed it and disappeared altogether in the west.
3.c The Possum

This text remains very fragmentary as Jack Long could not recall the main events of the story. The Possum had done 'something wrong connected with the morning' and was therefore condemned to be nocturnal. Only the beginning of the story could be recorded:

\begin{verbatim}
36
L.A. Hercus

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This text remains very fragmentary as Jack Long could not recall the main events of the story. The Possum had done 'something wrong connected with the morning' and was therefore condemned to be noc-
3.d Mussels

Despite its brevity, the story of the Mussels is interesting in that it shows the importance attached to the moiety system. One pair of mussels was Gilpara, while the other was Makwara, and it was similar throughout the world of living beings 'when one was Gilpara, there was always a Makwara very similar to it, so the red kangaroo, buranji was Gilpara, while the grey kangaroo bugumanama was Makwara.' The two pairs of mussel men were therefore on opposite sides in the quarrel between the Eaglehawk and the Crow, and in revenge each pair was made into a single mussel.

dalegada buleda buleda jingga nin wudunji
long-ago two two went PRET men
bule da wanman buleda mari-mari.
two Big-Mussells two Little-Mussells.

wa nu giadin:
Crow-by AG said PRET:
'madim qindi mari-mari buleda, giagaminu jumin giagam.'
'No-more EM you Little-Mussels two, altogether will-be FUT one EM.'
wilegili guadin: 'qindi wanman nengadia
Eaglehawk-by AG made PRET: 'you Big-Mussels sit-might OP
dindada giagaminu giagam.'
river-in LOC altogether one EM.'

dindi- gadinada nengada wanman,
River- water-in LOC sit PRES Big-Mussells,
berer- gadinada nengada mari-mari.
lagoon- water-in LOC sit PRES Little-Mussells.

Translation:
A long time ago they went about as men, the two Big Mussel men and the two Little Mussel men.
The Crow said: 'You Little Mussels are not two any more. You will remain as one for ever.'
The Eaglehawk acted (likewise): 'You Big Mussels shall sit in the river for ever as one.'
So the big mussels stay in the river water, and the little mussels in the water of lagoons.
3. Notes

1. bialanə midu

Madimadi, like the other Kulin languages, has a double possessive construction:

a. a noun designating the thing owned is followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person and number of the owner.

b. 1. a noun designating the owner is marked by a genitive suffix.

ii. if the owner is indicated by a pronoun, a possessive adjective is formed from the pronoun e.g. gigaŋa belonging to this one from gini this one.

bialanə belonging to a red-gum is the first indication that such a possessive adjective could have been formed from nouns in Madimadi, though this is not uncommon in other Australian languages. This phrase is therefore of some importance from the comparative point of view.

This has been heard occasionally as an alternative form for giabu other.

2. giabuŋ

The exclusive-inclusive distinction existed in Madimadi, but so far it has been noted only in the object form of the first person pronouns. But even languages which do not have such a formal distinction between exclusive and inclusive show a tendency to be specific on this point and expressions very similar to the Madimadi jidi na nindi are not uncommon in Australian languages, e.g. Andigirinja (Western Desert) njundu nali you we-two, i.e. we-two, you and I.

4. ləŋala

Contrary to the general ordering of affixes in Madimadi, the first person dual possessive -ŋal here precedes the allative case-marker -a (for a similar exception see Hercus 1969:169).

5. wubabu

This apparently was a stick with a slight knob on one end, made from a sapling. It was half-way between a widj-widj (Brough Smyth I, 1878:302) and a berbin spear-point waddy. It bounced like a widj-widj.
This is more in agreement with the corresponding Wembawemba ben hollow tree than the previously recorded form beni (Hercus 1969:480), which is probably analogical to the numerous nouns ending in -ŋi in Madimadi.

This verb is connected with bugada to strip. It is similar in formation to the stative and inceptive verbs derived from adjectives, e.g., delgaiada to be good.

The verb juma to be which is known from other Kulin languages (Wergaia, Wembawemba) had not previously been heard in Madimadi, and its occurrence here is not absolutely certain.

The following list represents new material, recorded in 1971-2, too late for inclusion in earlier publications (Hercus 1969, 1970). This additional vocabulary occurred not only in the texts published here, but was also taken from separate sentences and phrases on other topics.

The name of the language has been corrected to Madimadi (from Madimadi). Despite certain difficulties I am now convinced that the d is dental, not alveolar.

Barindji name of a tribe: they were not far from the Madimadi.
Barindji that's really 'ground-language', from their ground (i.e. country). Barindji actually means Those belonging to the scrub country. The present evidence confirms Tindale (1940:188).

bawada to give birth
biaga tobacco (borrowed word)
bilidin (your) entrails. This word was considered to be distinct from bilingin your belly.
bingu kangaroo-rat: 'lives in holes and caves'. This is probably the now extinct Lagorchestes leporides.
bugaiada to cast away
burani red kangaroo
dibada to float (cf. Wembawemba and Werγaia djiba to float)
_dulba-dulba to break up, to change completely. This word was only
or_dulburada recorded in connection with the weather.
didada to move, to change places: didada giabuŋa daga he shifts
to another place.
gaŋa to bend
galáŋi weather, atmosphere
ganimada to hide
gawai come on! Apart from jagai this is probably the most
wide-spread exclamation: identical or similar forms
occur in the majority of eastern and central Australian
languages, e.g. Wangaŋuru gawai, Maljaŋaba gabá come on!
gib ada to pluck: gibadin widiŋu he plucked out his wing-
feathers.
gigiwalada to itch: gigiwalada bubuŋa itches head-by AG-mine
POS-1, my head itches.
gumáŋi raw (cf. Wembawemba and Werγaia guma).
jinaga this way
and jiŋada thus. These are allative and locative forms
respectively of a demonstrative base ji(ŋ)- which is
attested also in Wembawemba jiŋa this way.
jûndal emu: alternative word for gariŋi and jumbaŋi.
lawanı mallee hen, lowan
lendaŋa shining
madada to chop
maramada to curse, to pronounce a powerful spell.
maramin cursed, forbidden: madawa ɲidi dagadja gini waɾaŋu
maramin do not eat this large long-necked turtle, it
is forbidden.
mari-mari little mussels, found in lagoons and swamps.
muda to pick up, to find (Werγaia mudja)
mudada to get down, to lift down
muñi

louse (Węgęia, Wembawemba munja). This indicated the head-lice, as opposed to duni-duni body-louse.

nalan

a small tree with inedible fruit which splits open: probably Pittosporum phillyreoides.

nanu

when? (from the interrogative base na-).

ŋa

and: the general Kulin co-ordinating particle ba has been recorded previously in Madimadi, but only in the fixed location maŋara (ba) duluwiba thunder and lightning. In the present texts the co-ordinating particle ŋa occurred a number of times.

ŋabunin

(your) maternal grandfather. This is a reciprocal term meaning also grandchild: cognate with Wembawemba, Węgęia ŋaba and Woiwuru ŋabunji.

ŋuŋi

like: this particle precedes the term of comparison.

waburu

(its) west

wadaiu

(her) son (cf. Wembawemba wadibug).

waragi

stick used as canoe paddle (Węgęia waragug).

wariwulada

to run round, to play: this is a continuative verb formed from wariwa to go.

wubabu

throwing stick

4.a Abbreviations

The following terminology corresponds with the analysis presented in The Languages of Victoria. One exception is 'agentive', previously called 'operative'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>continuative verb (-la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DL</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td>emphatic enclitic particle (-min, -m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>frequentative verb (-e-ra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
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<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intensive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>iterative-intensive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OB</td>
<td>general oblique (in Madimadi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP</td>
<td>optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>(continuative) participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>possessive (followed by number to indicate person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS ADJ</td>
<td>possessive adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR-AG</td>
<td>pronominal agentive</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRET</td>
<td>preterite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>particularising suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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0. Introduction

1. Role of Body Parts

2. Semantic Relationships

3. Criteria for Differentiating Compounds and Close-Knit Phrases

4. Criteria Applied to Data

0. INTRODUCTION

Compound words and close-knit phrases\(^2\) in Wik-Munkan express a number of semantic relationships. These are described in this paper. Also described is the search for criteria to distinguish words, compounds\(^3\) and close-knit phrases, the application of these criteria to the data, and consequent orthographic decisions.

1. ROLE OF BODY PARTS

The role of body parts is vital to the understanding of these constructions. Most of the major body parts are used in both their literal and extended meanings in the formation of both compounds and close-knit phrases, many of which are idiomatic.
1.1 THE RANGE OF USAGE ILLUSTRATED BY ma?

The body part which has the greatest variety of uses is ma? 'hand'. It can be used in its literal sense of 'hand' as the initial item of Generic-Specific Phrases.

ma? o?ek (hand, shell) 'fingernail'
ma? o?puk (hand, child) 'finger'

It is also used in verbs where the hand is usually the instrument of the action.

má?-yàlam.a (hand, coil. Tr) 'surround, hold, support, gather things'
má?-yànt.j.a (hand, wait long. Tr) 'save something up'
má?-àt (hand, break) 'shake hands'
má?-mín.a (hand, good. Tr) 'fix up, correct, look after someone well'
má?-?àt (hand, offer) 'help'

Sometimes ma? is used in conjunction with other body parts in verbal and adverbial constructions.

0 ma? me?: yump (hand, eye, make) 'know how to do something'
ma? ka?: o?mín (hand, nose, good) 'well (as in doing things)'

Some adjectival compounds and close-knit phrases formed with ma? similarly refer to actions normally performed with the hand.

má?-kùntj (hand, own) 'clever'
ma? ka?: o?way (hand, nose, bad) 'clumsy'

má?-tàyán (hand, firm) 'trustworthy with things'
ma? o?no:k (hand, ?) 'a person who likes to hit others'

There are however both verbal and adjectival compounds where the use of ma? describes an action or state of mind beyond (but not excluding) an action performed with the hands, or involving the hands.

0 ma? pil way.a (hand, thigh, bad. Tr) 'come upon someone unprepared'
má?-plì (hand, dream) 'suspect' (Vb)
0 ma? pil tàyán (hand, ?, firm) '(a person who) does not feel like work or anything'
má?-màym (hand, ?) 'ready, handy'

ma? used with possessive, accompaniment and indirect object pronouns has the sense of 'individual right, control, or authority'.

ma? o?nàt àm way ?utaman 'He died while in my charge.'
Compound Words and Close-Knit Phrases in Wik-Munkan

There is also a metaphorical use of *ma?*, where the item with which it is identified is simply juxtaposed.

- *ma? pu:* (hand, crab) 'handcuffs'
- *mi nj* *má?-wunt* (Pro, hand, wind) 'prawns, crayfish'
- *jai* *má?-wunt* (centipede, hand, wind) 'scorpion'

Again, *ma?* is used with the sense of 'the state of, or major characteristic.' The second word in some of these examples is never heard apart from *ma?*.

- *má?-mankly* (hand, ?) 'person with lots of possessions'
- *má?-?ampanam* (hand, ?) 'single person'
- *má?-l* (hand, ?) 'naked'
- *ma? ku:* (hand, rope) 'sorcerer'
- *má?-l* (hand, clever) 'clever hunter'

*ma?* is also used as a link in specialised co-ordinate phrases, mostly involving kinship terms.

- *ma? ka:* (hand, mother, child) 'mother and child'
- *ma? wantj* (hand, woman, man) 'man and wife'
- *ma? pam.am* (hand, man, Co) 'all the men'
- *ma? man* (hand, back, Co) 'everyone'

*ma?* is used in negative constructions also involving kinship terms.

- *ma? pam ke?an* (hand, man, without) 'single'

*ma?* is used also in phrases which describe the frequency of actions or occurrences.

- *má?-kò?alam* (hand, three) 'three times'
- *ma? øne:n-ne:n* (hand, what, what) 'how many times?'

Needless to say, there are still a few examples of *ma?* in compounds and close-knit phrases which escape the above groupings.

- *ma? yl:kan* (hand, shoot) 'shoots starting from first or second branch of tree'
- *má?-tà:mp* (hand, paddle behind someone standing in canoe) 'eldest in family'
1.2 BODY PARTS OTHER THAN ma?

The uses of other body parts in their extended meanings can to some extent be summarised, though there are no such things as watertight semantic divisions, and there is also some evidence of semantic overlap.

(i) kon The word for 'ear' kon is frequently used when realisation, perception, alertness and memory are involved.

kôn-?â:t (ear, give) 'remind'
kôn- táyan (ear, firm) 'attentive'
kôn-nâ:t (ear, shut) 'forget'
kôn-nj:j:n (ear, sit) 'to be alert, or listening for something'
kôn 0?u:t wun (ear, dead, lie) 'not taking any notice'

(ii) kemp The word for 'flesh' kemp is used to describe the condition of the whole body.

kemp 0mitj.am (flesh, soft, Emph) 'energetic'
kemp wal 0way (flesh, partly, bad) 'lazy, sick'
kemp 0wil? (flesh, Onom) 'nervous'

(iii) kutjék The word for 'head' kutjék is used to describe mental powers, attitudes involving the will, and also mental illness.

kutjék wa:p 0min (head, brain, good) 'good brains'
kutjék-åyan (head, firm) 'stubborn'
kutjék-wùnp (head, put) 'put trust in'
kutjék-wày.am (head, bad, Emph) 'not in right mind'
kutjék 0jonam (head, one) 'to be of one mind (as a group)'

There is one instance where kutjék overlaps with kon 'ear'.

0kutjék.aŋ pl: ?-pl:? (head.in, keep, keep) 'remember'
0kon.aŋ.am pl: ?-pl:? (ear.in, Emph, keep, keep) 'remember'

(iv) man Quite a number of compounds and close-knit phrases formed with man 'throat/neck' have an unpleasant connotation.

mán-?â:t (throat, give) 'tease'
mán-nê:y (throat, hear) 'disbelieve'
mán-kùtjam (throat, two) 'hypocritical'
mán-kà: (throat, play) 'make fun of someone'

By contrast, however, there are a few examples which have a very good connotation.
mán-ṭōnam (throat, one)  'trustworthy'
mán-ṭyān (throat, firm)  'reliable'

(v) me: It the word for 'eye' me: is used to describe actions or states where the eye is important as the instrument or object of the action, or where an action of seeing leads to a certain attitude.

mė:?-yēntj (eye, wait long)  'stare'
mė:?-p?l?:p?l?: (eye, mind, mind)  'keep someone awake'
mė:?-ṭāyan (eye, firm)  'awake'
mė:?-wūn (eye, lie)  'jealous'
mė:?-?īk (eye, split)  'be amazed'

In some cases it is the visibility of the action which is in focus.

mė:?-wā:tj (eye, give)  'show, introduce'
mė:?-wāltj (eye, drag)  'lead (someone)'
mė:?-tēkan (eye, clear)  'a clear place'
mė:?-tēntj (eye, hide)  'trick, hide (something from someone)'

O mē:?-yō:n ?i:y (eye, outside, go)  'go openly'

me: is also used to mean the point of something, or the extreme.

mė:?-pēpan (eye, sharp)  'sharp top'
ṭūt ?ōmō? (breast, eye)  'nipple'
ṇāk ḍōmō? (water, eye)  'spring'
mē:?-nūtāq (eye, night)  'very early morning'
ṭum ḍōmō? (fire, eye)  'lighted firestick'

me: has also been heard used to describe intricate patterns where holes are involved.

wāṅk ḍōmō? (dillybag, eye)  'a dillybag made with a holey pattern'

(vi) ḍāṅk The word for 'heart' ḍāṅk is used where the emotions are deeply involved.

ḍāṅk-śīk (heart, split)  'to be deeply shocked'
ḍāṅk-mūṅk (heart, eat)  'to be consumed with passion for someone or something'
ḍāṅk ḍōmin (heart, good)  'happy'
ḍāṅk ḍōwentj (heart, sore(noun))  'brokenhearted'
ḍāṅk ḍnǎl (heart, we two)  'close friends (we two)'

It is also used to describe actions where breathing is involved, sometimes to the point where ḍāṅk refers to 'life'.

ḍāṅk-mā:k (heart, tread)  'stop someone breathing'
näŋk-wáy (heart, bad) 'out of breath' (vs näŋk o'way) ('sad')

näŋk-mu:n (heart, tie) 'hold breath'
näŋk o'lon l:j: (heart, another, throw) 'sigh'

näŋk-ótaŋ (heart, short) 'short life'
näŋk-má:j (heart, pick up) '(God) taking a person (at death)'

(vii) ta?: Many expressions where ta: 'mouth' is a component describe actions or attitudes which are performed or achieved via the mouth as the main instrument.

ta?:-mám (mouth, hold) 'plead'
ta?:-tán (mouth, offer) 'teach'
ta?:-μi:lp (mouth, swell) 'gossip'
ta?:-ya:m (mouth, make) 'mimic'
ta?:-métjan (mouth, quiet) 'shy person'

There is also expressed an idea of openness, or abandonment.
wentj o'ta?: (sore, mouth) 'open sore'
yu:ntj o'ta: (tree, mouth) 'stump'
ta?: o'we?ar (mouth, wide) 'open wide'
ta?: o'yuk (mouth, wood) 'gate'
ta?: o'yil: (mouth, ?) 'gills of fish'
O'ta: we:p.anaŋ wun (mouth, sleep.PP, lie) 'to be left abandoned' (e.g. by husband)

Ta: is also used with a sense of extremity or intensity of either action, number, or quality.

tá?:-kintj (mouth, sun) 'to do something all in one go'
tá?:-pln (mouth, ?) 'generous (especially concerning food)'

tá?:-wàntanam (mouth, ?) 'very very many'
tá?:-wàntj (mouth, woman) 'fond of women'

Again, like ma?, ta: can be used as a connective for certain kinship terms.

O'ta: p:lt ke?anaŋ (mouth, father, 'fatherless' without)

(viii) ?um The word for 'chest' ?um has the extended meaning of 'straight ahead', or the idea of 'facing' (Vb), when another person or force is involved.

?um o'ka:w (chest, east) 'straight east'
O?um.aa ?li:y (chest.with, go) 'go straight ahead'
Compound Words and Close-Knit Phrases in Wik-Munkan

(?úm-tà:mp (chest, bear) '(wind) against (someone)'
?úm-nj][n.pu (chest, sit.they two) 'sit facing each other'
?úm-tà (chest, see) 'see (someone) coming towards (you)'

(ix) ka:?
Semantically ka:? 'nose' seems to be the unmarked form.
It sometimes has the extended meaning of 'face' and even 'person'.
ka:?-tip (nose, bruise) 'frown'
ka:?q ôpatj (nose, white) 'white person'
kà:?-wây (nose, bad) 'nasty person'
kà:?-kù.l.am (nose, wild.Emph) 'sad faced'
ôka:? òlonam wunp.an (nose, one, put.Nom) 'a man with one child'

Apart from this, however, the range of expressions in which ka:? is used is wide. It does not seem possible to confine them within one or two semantic domains.
ka:?-pl:tlanañ (nose, rescue) 'save, rescue'
kà:?-qâk 'nose, water ?') 'promise'
kà:?-tèntj (nose, become) 'tire'

1.3 CONTRASTIVE FUNCTIONS OF BODY PARTS ILLUSTRATED

In the following examples the verb or adjective is kept constant while the body part changes. The function of the different body parts is thereby seen more clearly.

With ?a:ì 'give/offer' (ditransitive verb)
má?-?a:ì (hand, give) 'help'
 tá?-?a:ì (mouth, give) 'teach'
mán-?a:ì (throat, give) 'tease'
kòn-?a:ì (ear, give) 'remind'
mé?-?a:ì (eye, give) 'show'

With ?ìk 'split' (intransitive verb)
mé?-?ìk (eye, split) 'be amazed'
qâyk-?ìk (heart, split) 'be shocked'
tá?-?ìk (mouth, split) 'yawn'

With òayan 'firm, strong' (adjective)
kòn-òayan (ear, firm) 'attentive'
mán-òayan (throat, firm) 'reliable'
má?-òayan (hand, firm) 'trustworthy with things'
2. SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

The semantic relationships and corresponding grammatical compositions of Wik-Munkan compounds and close-knit phrases will now be described. While it is true that body parts figure prominently in compound formation, there are several compounds in which they do not occur.

2.1 GENERIC-SPECIFIC

Up to date over five hundred close-knit phrases are recorded which express a generic-specific relationship, in that order. Thus, the first word gives the broader setting, and the second narrows the field. These phrases are juxtapositions of noun plus noun (distributing as single nouns), and are regarded as close-knit because of their frequent collocation. Also, in the majority of cases they are terms for such things as body parts, specific animal types, foods, spear types, geographical features, age brackets or social status.

- **kutjék-ţâyan** (head, firm) 'stubborn'
- **ŋâŋk-ţâyan** (heart, firm) 'brave'
- **mé?:t-ţâyan** (eye, firm) 'awake'

With way 'bad' (adjective)

- **kâ?:wây** (nose, bad) 'nasty person'
- **kemp 0̂ wây** (flesh, bad) 'tired, lazy'
- **0̂ kon tse: wây** (ear, mouth, bad) '(a person) with little understanding'
- **ŋâŋk 0̂ wây** (heart, bad) 'sad'

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relates to position or characteristic feature. The examples below illustrate that some words can occur as the generic member with literal meaning or as the specific member with extended meaning.

- **ka?°kon** (nose, ear) 'side of nose'
- **tıul°ka?** (woomera, nose) 'hook on woomera (spear thrower)'

There are a few examples where the specific item, which sometimes has extended meaning, precedes the generic. In these, the stress and pitch pattern is different from the phrases where the order is generic-specific.

- **mé?:-ŋuaŋ** (eye, night) 'very early morning'
- **mé?:-puk.ąŋ** (eye, child.with) 'half developed chicken in egg'

### 2.2 **METAPHORIC**

There are other juxtapositions of noun plus noun in which the second noun is metaphorical.

Metaphors are often used in the language for descriptive purposes.

- **man°to:k** (neck, stick) 'tall person'
- **me?:°nuk** (eye, owl) 'owlish eyes'
- **kemp°bull** (flesh, bull) 'a body like that of a bull'

The above examples distribute grammatically as equative clauses. They can also be transformed to similes.

- **me?: ka?°nuk.ąnt** (eye, like, owl-to) 'eyes like an owl'

There are a few metaphors which have become names of things, and as such they distribute as nouns.

- **mın°má-wúnt** (Pro, hand, wind) 'prawns, crayfish'
- **mín°kás?°-kàyuw** (Pro, nose, ibis) 'curlew'
- **nín̓tän°ma:nj** (back, mental image) 'spirit of a dead person'

### 2.3 **MODIFICATION VIA ADJECTIVE**

Quite a number of compounds and close-knit phrases are composed of noun followed by adjective. This is the common structure of many noun phrases in Wik-Munkan, and in fact, when the adjective has the higher pitch there is no difference phonologically or in grammatical composition between close-knit noun phrases and other modified noun phrases.

Semantically, however, the close-knit combinations of noun plus adjective have more cohesion and are sometimes rather specialised.

- **wik°kåf** (word, old) 'story'
- **kåf°manj** (mother, small) 'mother's younger sister'
- **ka?:°patj** (nose, white) 'white person'
A. Some noun-adjective combinations are the names of animals and fish. The highest pitch is on the noun. In these compounds, the whole is identified by a part, namely by a prominent physical characteristic.

- min  окол?:? -wes?:f (Pro, ear, wide) 'frilly necked lizard'
- тук  ост?:?-кулан (snake, eye, wild) 'yellow snake'
- min  окол?:?-?онк (Pro, nose, long) 'small thin fish'

Other noun-adjective combinations function as adjectives, and a few as adverbs. Many of these are idiomatic.

- нонк  омин (?I:y) (heart, good, 'happy')
- goj)
- кон  отуг (wun) (ear, dead, (lie)) 'ignore what is said or done'
- о?я?:?-?ltj-?ltj.am (тaw) (mouth, 'speak flatteringly'
- soft, soft.Emph)
- man  окул (neck, wild) 'angry'
- kutjék -?онк (head, long) 'stupid'
- ма?:-?ltj.am (hand, soft.Emph) 'clumsy'

2.4 OTHER MODIFICATION

There are several other items where one word in some way modifies the other. Some of these are locative, temporal, or directional compounds and close-knit phrases.

- ?ум-мона (chest, middle) 'right in the middle'
- ?ум  окусь (chest, west) 'straight west'
- кинтj  окенj (sun, high) 'middle day'
- ?э:k -?а?:?an (place/time, Neg.with) 'purposeless, for no good reason'

There is also intensification expressed in some compounds where тa?:? 'mouth' is a component. (Refer Section 1.2(vii).)

2.5 ACTIVITY, PROCESS AND STATE

Many verb compounds and a few noun compounds are formed with a verb as the second constituent.

The noun compounds are names for certain kinship terms or for animals. A part identifies the whole, this time either by a characteristic action or role, or physical characteristic.

- wantj  о?а?:?an 'mother-in-law'
- woman give.Nom
There are several hundred verbal compounds in Wik-Munkan, which express an action, a process, or a state of being. These verbal compounds are idiomatic and are mainly composed of body part plus verb stem, although words other than body parts sometimes precede the verb. The unconjugated verbal form kaːŋ 'like' also occurs in combination with a couple of verbs.

\( ?áːk-ñėːy \) (place, hear) 'to be born'
\( ŋóːt-an-ʔéːny \) (dark, become) 'get mixed up in something bad'
\( kǔːy-ʔéː? \) (rope/vein, give/throw) 'accompany'
\( káːŋ-kwun \) (like, lie) 'love, like'

(Examples of body part plus verb may be seen in Section 1.)

The majority of these items appear as subject-verb, object-verb, or instrument-verb relationships, but the appropriate case endings do not occur, except in a rare example. Needless to say, there is no sense in which the morpheme which looks like a "subject" within the verbal compound, acts as a subject in the clause in which the compound occurs.

2.6 CO-ORDINATION

There are some compounds and close-knit phrases which are co-ordinate in the sense that neither morpheme appears to be the dominant one. Both together contribute to and equally achieve the meaning. Sometimes the two morphemes concerned are the same part of speech.

\( pəl \) o'puy (here, there) 'everywhere'
\( (yuk) \) way o'min ((things) bad, good) 'things'
\( məl \) o'jak (right, left) 'awkward'
\( ??n-pəl \) (far Dist, here) 'from over there, from then'
2.7 PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

There is a large series of compound pronoun forms where an indirect object pronoun following a personal pronoun indicates a special relationship of friendship or blood relation between two or more people.

nli-nūnant (he, to him) 'he, in a special relationship to another person'

ţon-ţatek (they, to me) 'they, in a special relationship to me'

2.8 BASIC STATE OR CHARACTERISTIC

(See Section 1.1 for discussion.)

2.9 LINKAGE (CONNECTIVES)

(See Section 1.1 and 1.2(vii) for discussion.)

2.10 RESIDUE: PURPOSE AND ASSOCIATION

There are a few examples of compounds and close-knit phrases which express the semantic relationships of purpose and association.

Some examples which express purpose are:

kutjek o?olk (head, tree type) 'headband of feathers'
kutjek 0ţankan (head, tree type) 'coil for head'

These examples may be transformed to clauses expressing purpose.

?an o?olk kutjek.ak 'That's a headband for the head.'
there headband head .for

?In wey 0ţankan, kutjek.ak 'Here's a coil for the head.'
here Com coil head .for

There are two examples where the second word of the phrase bears an associative relationship to the first.

kotj o'na:? (lizard, darkness/night) 'gecko',

pam o'ium (man, fire) 'husband',

3. CRITERIA FOR DIFFERENTIATING COMPOUND WORDS AND CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES

So far compounds and close-knit phrases have been discussed without much attempt made to define the terms or differentiate between the two,
or to relate them to single words and regular phrases. Recent pressures to make final decisions about the orthographic symbolisation of the numerous forms somewhere between single words and phrases have forced the search for solid linguistic criteria.

In the past, the ways a given compound "suspect" was written, by both literate native speakers and the resident linguists, varied to some degree. Likewise the intuitions of informants as to whether a given form was one word, two words, or something in between, were not wholly consistent. And no doubt they never will be completely consistent, even if the attempted standardisation in graphic presentation is well accepted by the community; for new compounds are always being formed and therefore are in various historical stages.

3.1 QUESTIONS TOWARDS WORKABLE CRITERIA

A number of questions were asked of each form under consideration in an attempt to come up with workable criteria.

(i) **Phonological**
Is the stress pattern more like that of a word or a phrase?
Is there any evidence of phonological fusion, e.g. loss of phonemes at the border of two morphemes?
Do forms considered to be compounds have faster timing than phrases?

(ii) **Semantic**
Are the forms in question idiomatic or specialised in meaning?
Is the meaning of one or both morphemes hard to determine?

(iii) **Grammatical**
Is the distribution different from that of a phrase made up of the same grammatical constituents?
Can the two morphemes take separate modification or inflection, or only as a whole?
Is one part inseparable?
Can other words come in between the component morphemes?

3.2 STRESS PATTERNS OF MONOMORPHIC WORDS

Some background of the stress pattern of words and phrases is necessary to rightly judge where compounds and close-knit phrases fit into the total system. The stress patterns of Modified Noun Phrases, Locative Phrases, Adjectival Phrases and Verb Phrases are referred to elsewhere in the paper. (See Sections 2.3, 4.2(i), 4.2(ii), and 4.2(v) respectively.)
The common stress pattern of monomorphemic words is primary stress - no stress - secondary stress - no stress.

ŋépǎn 'egg'
ŋáʔáráŋ 'mould'
wúŋáľǐnam 'night fish'

If a vowel other than a occurs in what would normally be a no stress position, it will receive secondary stress.

ŋépǎn 'unlucky hunter'
ʔóːykół 'spear type'
kíkľỷ 'creek'

(When a suffix is added following i or u in the no stress position, there is variation in the resultant form.)
kíkľyı.ǎŋ Vs kíkẏy.ǎŋ (creek.în) 'in the creek'

There are also a few forms (no more than twenty have been recorded to date) where the vowel a occurring in a no stress position receives secondary stress. It seems possible that these words were historically compounds, and in some cases there is enough of a hint of a morpheme break to feed this suspicion. However, the psychological reaction of native speakers is that they are one word, and suggestions of lexical breaks are considered ludicrous.

páʔám 'really'
wínjǎŋ 'frightened'
púŋtảm 'fishing net'
púʔpǎm 'high places'

4. CRITERIA APPLIED TO DATA

When the criteria listed in Section 3.1 were applied to the data, stress emerged as the most useful criterion. That is, where several criteria jostle together for recognition, the stress pattern has normally been the deciding factor. The decisions are here defined.

Compounds are those sequences of morphemes (under consideration) which have the stress pattern of primary stress followed by secondary stress, i.e. Stèm Stèm. For practical orthographic purposes compounds are written hyphenated.

On the other hand, sequences of recognisable Stèm Stèm (secondary stress followed by primary stress) are called close-knit phrases, and written as two words.

There is some correlation between stress pattern and degree of semantic fusion in that compounds tend to have a tighter degree of fusion and close-knit phrases a lesser degree. However, this correlation is not
complete as several semantic relationships are not restricted to only one stress pattern. (See Section 4.3.)

A further decision concerns items which have primary stress on the second syllable but where the morpheme boundary is not clear. These are called words and marked with primary stress.

Items with three components have also been called close-knit phrases, and written as separate words. This decision is partly determined by the fact that some such phrases have alternating stress patterns.

These four categories will now be described more fully, along with some further details of the reasons for decisions, both linguistic and orthographic.

4.1 WORDS WITH PRIMARY STRESS OCCURRING ON OTHER THAN THE FIRST SYLLABLE

To date about twenty such words have been recorded. Some of these are onomatopoeic words or exclaims, and so do not come under consideration here as compounds.

\[ \text{tjaiupam (mu:ntj) (splash, swim) 'dive right in'} \]
\[ \text{yakay 'ouoh! / help!'} \]

Concerning the remaining dozen, some or all were likely historically compounds, as their stress pattern is similar to that of a noun phrase (the greater majority function as nouns). The timing is faster however. In some cases it is possible to isolate one morpheme, but the other is recognisable as to meaning. In addition to this, the morpheme boundary is often not clear, especially where there is only one medial consonant.

\[ \text{wantjintj (wantj 'woman', tjintj/intj ?) 'old woman'} \]
\[ \text{kl:kalikt (kl:kal ?, ka: 'mother' ?) 'swordfish'} \]

The word for 'head' kutjek is a good example of an unclear morpheme boundary. There is some evidence that one part -ek, can be isolated, as it is a recurring form in neighbouring dialects in the word for 'head'.

\[ \text{waléka (Wik-Iyena)} \]
\[ \text{pintéka (Ougu-Mumep)} \]

-ek is isolatable in some Generic-Specific Phrases in Wik-Munkan.

\[ \text{ma? 0?ek (hand, shell) 'fingernail'} \]
\[ \text{ta? 0?ek (foot, shell) 'toenail'} \]
\[ \text{qang 0?ek (heart, shell) 'shoulderblade'} \]

(However, -ek could have homophonous forms.)
Native speakers today do not react to kutjék as being in the same category as maʔ ʔek, etc. and cannot give a meaning for any part. Rather, they react to it as one word, and when asked to make a syllable division, will give varying answers, such as ku.tjék, kutj.tjék and kutj.ʔek. If ʔek is isolatable historically, the glottal stop which is the initial consonant of ʔek 'shell', does not occur, and we must assume that phonological fusion has taken place.9

In one other example, neither syllable is recognisable as to meaning, but there is a medial consonant cluster which does not occur in any other monomorphemic word. So it could be assumed that this word was once a compound.

tjekwé:w 'earthworm'

4.2 COMPOUNDS

The phonological pattern of these forms varies from monomorphemic words in several ways. Firstly, the second stem of the compound always receives secondary stress, whereas monomorphemic words generally receive no stress in this position (see Section 3.2). Secondly, at the boundary of the two morphemes, many consonant clusters occur which do not occur in monomorphemic words. Thirdly, the second stem may have a long vowel, and long vowels do not occur in the second syllable of monomorphemic words which have primary stress on the first syllable. In some cases, there is phonological fusion as well, where the initial glottal stop of the second stem does not occur.10

wúkaiŋ (wukal 'neck', ʔoŋk 'long') 'widow'
pílaiŋ (píl 'thigh', ʔoŋk 'long') 'mullet'

Further points concerning compounds will be considered under their resultant word classes.

(1) Compound Demonstratives

Some demonstratives in Wik-Munkan must be considered compounds. These are formed from two locative stems.

ʔán-pâl(an) (far Dist, here) 'from over there, after that, from that reason'
yám-pâl(an) (somewhere, here) 'from somewhere'
ʔán-qúl(an) (far Dist, then) 'after that is completed, over there to stay'

There are, however, locative phrases which in grammatical composition are similar. These are not considered compounds. Firstly, they have variable stress-pitch pattern, and secondly, they have neither the tight collocation nor the possible extended meanings of the demonstratives.
In addition to that, the demonstratives occurring first in the phrases sometimes take their own inflection. It should be noted also that some of the compound demonstratives can themselves occur as the first word of locative phrases.

- "t̥an pek/ t̥an pek (far Dist, down)" 'down there'
- "t̥an-em pek (far Stat Dist. Emph, down)" 'right down THERE (staying)'
- "t̥án-pál kenj (from there, high)" 'from on high'
- "t̥an-em yo:n (far Dist. Emph, outside)" 'over THERE in the village'

(11) Compound Adjectives

Grammatically, these are composed of a body part followed by either an adjective, nominalised verb or numeral. (Of the forty examples recorded, there are only two exceptions, where the first stem is an adjective rather than a body part.) In some cases, the grammatical class of the second morpheme is impossible to decide, as it does not occur alone, and has only been heard preceded by one body part.

- mút-mānj (tail, small) 'thin'
- kā:?-w̥y (nose, bad) 'nasty person'
- mān-pāt:an (throat, bite Nom) 'sweet'
- mān-thonam (throat, one) 'reliable'
- n̥if̥t̥an-pāt:alan (back, ?) 'stubborn'
- w̥y-p̥k̥an (bad, ?) 'unbalanced'

The great majority of compound adjectives are idiomatic. The body parts are used with their extended meanings as described earlier (Section I). The semantic concept behind the majority is modification, i.e. the body part is modified. Those with a nominalised verb as the second component have an apparent subject-verb or object-verb relationship.

It will perhaps be argued that since compound adjectives have the same stress pattern as adjectival phrases, there is therefore no justification for stress being a prominent criterion. The following example is an adjectival phrase, where the modifier of the adjective occurs first and has the strongest stress.

- "t̥jill m̥in (partly good) 'a bit good'

However, the body parts in adjectival compounds in no way act as modifiers, but rather are themselves modified by the following adjective, which is the second component of the compound. Also adjectival compounds as a unit can be modified by one of the regular modifiers occurring in adjectival phrases. In this case, the adjectival modifier
has the highest pitch and strong stress. This leads to the conclusion that the adjectival compound is acting as a single adjectival unit and not as a phrase.

°tjil kón-ţiyan (partly, ear, firm) 'half attentive'
°tjil màn-paţ.an (partly, throat, 'a bit sweet'
  bite.Nom)

(iii) Compound Nouns

Compound nouns vary considerably in their grammatical composition, e.g. noun plus noun, noun plus nominalised verb, noun plus adjective, noun plus a form whose meaning and grammatical class is hard to determine, and adjective plus we:nì 'loves' (unconjugated verb). A few have a fixed affix on the second stem. In addition to their grammatical composition, compound nouns also vary considerably in the semantic relationship of the two stems. In fact, an example of most semantic relationships described in Section 2 can be found among compound nouns. Not one compound noun so far recorded has a meaning which is the sum of its parts.

(Modification)  
min o ká:i?-wè:ař  'frilly necked lizard'
Pro ear, wide

(Metaphor)  
min o mã?-wunt  'crayfish'
Pro hand, wind

(Activity)  
min o pémař-paţ.an  'mangrove worm'
Pro mangrove, bite.Nom

(State of Being)  
min o wè:p-wè:nì  'sleepy fish'
Pro sleep, loves

(Basic State)  
ma?-?àmpanam  'single'
hand ?

Some compound nouns are identical to examples of modified noun phrases in their grammatical composition and choice of lexical items; but compounds are clearly idiomatic, while most phrases are clearly literal.

?á:k-mìn (place, good)  'funny person'
Vs ?a:k o min (place, good)  'a good place'

?á:k-wày (place, bad)  'a bad person'
Vs ?a:k o way (place, bad)  'a bad place'

wúkalònìk (neck, long)  'widow'
Vs wukal ò?onk (neck, long)  'long neck'
Others are asyntactic in their grammatical composition. For example, an alternative term for 'sleepy fish' is min⁴°way-ween⁷ (Pro, bad, loves). We-ween⁷ normally occurs only following nouns or noun phrases.

(iv) Pronoun Compounds

These have previously been mentioned in Section 2.7. A wide variety of relationships can be expressed by pronoun compounds, in that potentially any subject pronoun can occur with any indirect object pronoun. Some pronouns of other cases have also been recorded with indirect object pronouns.

nfl-pulant (he, to those two) 'he, in a special relationship to those two'
nfl-naṭaf (he, to me) 'he, in a special relationship to me'
nunaa-naṭaf (him, to me) 'him, in a special relationship to me'
np-ṇaṭaf (you two, to me) 'you two, in a special relationship to me'

Abbreviated forms also occur. Thus nfl-ṇaṭaf is usually heard as nllaṭ, and nunaa-ṇaṭaf as nunaaṇaṭ.

(v) Verb Compounds

All have stress on the body part or other morpheme which precedes the verb stem. It has been decided to write these forms as compounds, even though occasional examples of interruption have been recorded, i.e. a morpheme occurring between the two compound components. (This is not true of any of the compounds described to date.)

Ogayaṇ. an-kon nul ṇaṭ. an 'I forgot then.'
me Emph ear then shut.hi Hab
Ogaa me:ʔ.an wuṭanam. an 'We prayed.'
we eye Emph shut. we Pst
nul ?a:κ Ogaṇ paṭ. an ?ey? 'You sang there, did you?'
then place/song? there bite.you Pst Ques

As for adjectival compounds, it is true also for verb compounds that they have a similar stress pattern to verb phrases (when occurring in indicative clauses). Some examples of verb phrases (occurring in clauses) follow.

nfl \(\text{o.e}^\text{f}\) kam mo? 'He ran quickly.'
he quickly run he Pst
It is also true that in an indicative clause the item which occurs preceding the verb takes clause stress.

Elicited data has shown that in the majority of cases where an adverb or other part of speech immediately precedes a verbal compound, the adverb (or other word) will take clause stress. The verbal compound is therefore acting as a single verb unit rather than a phrase. If it were not, we might expect that the first stem of the compound would take clause stress.

Several of these begin with a body part used with its extended meaning.

The semantic relationship of some adverb compounds is hard to determine. Some express co-ordination, and some modification.

Some are asymtactic. mäi-mën (above) for example is the combination of two adjectives, which do not normally occur contiguously in phrases,
unless separated by pause.

(vi) Locative Compounds

There are a few examples of locative compounds. They too begin with a body part. In some cases the meaning of one part is hard to determine.

?úm-ménaŋ (chest, middle) 'right in the middle'
?úm-pûŋ (chest, and/but?) 'front'

(vii) Temporal Compounds

Body parts also begin some temporal compounds, though a time word may also occur initially. The following examples show semantic relationships of both modification and generic-specific (or vice-versa).

má?-tí̱nam (hand, one) 'once'
mé:ʔ-kâŋ (eye, old) 'from always till now'
ŋá:ʔ-ménaŋ (day/darkness, middle) 'middle of the night'
mé:ʔ-nâmutaŋ (eye, night) 'very early morning'

(ix) Negative and Auxiliary Compounds

These occur in combination with nui 'then', a verbal auxiliary.

yá?-nú (Neg, then) 'no more, dead'
ká?-nú (Vb Neg, then) 'never anymore'
kán-nú (Punct, then) 'already completed'

4.3 CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES

(1) Close-Knit Phrases paralleling Compounds in Semantic Relationship

It was stated earlier that the semantic concepts underlying compounds and close-knit phrases do not necessarily correlate with only one stress pattern. The following examples compare compounds and close-knit phrases, which have close semantic correlation, and similar grammatical composition, but differ in stress patterning.

Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Close-Knit Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>má?-ʔp.an (coward)</td>
<td>má?-wûntaŋ 'scorpion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand,brui.se.Nom</td>
<td>Pro hand,wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má?-wûntaŋ 'scorpion'</td>
<td>má?-wûntaŋ 'scorpion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro hand,wind</td>
<td>pro hand,wind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because some semantic relationships cut across stress patterns, it was decided to carry out a psycholinguistic test to see if orthographic distinctions made on the basis of stress were justified. Short stories were written which included a selection of close-knit phrases (Stem Stém). Two tests were prepared, each to test the same sixty close-knit phrases. The phrases were written alternatively as two separate words or as one word with primary stress marked. Test A was a converse of Test B in that forms written separate in A were joined in B and vice
versa. Informants were asked to read the stories; half were given Test A and half Test B. Any stumbling in reading, or any obvious lack of comprehension, or slow timing, was noted. Results showed that in general readers performed better when the forms were written as two words. It was decided therefore to leave forms with stress pattern ' ' as two words, except for words described earlier (Section 4.1) where the boundary between morphemes is not clear. It is possible that if a large number of Wik-Munkan people become really fluent readers of Wik-Munkan within the next two or three years, that a repetition of this test could have different results.

(iii) Generic-Specific Phrases

These have already been described in detail (Section 2.1). In the range between literal and idiomatic, Generic-Specific Phrases tend towards the more literal. Some are, in fact, quite literal.

ka?°go:tj (nose, mucus) 'nasal mucus'

For some others, the second word has extended meaning.

kek °me:? (spear, eye) 'spear point'

In a few cases, the second word of the phrase is very restricted and occurs in only one or two or three such phrases, but does not occur freely elsewhere.

man °?ol (neck, jowls) 'jowls'

may °kam (food, juice) 'fruit juice'

me:? °kam (eye, juice) 'tears'

min °kam (meat, juice) 'gravy'

Generic-Specific Phrases are also heard with lesser collocations, where the nouns come together more incidentally, and are not an established term.

(iii) Close-Knit Noun Phrases

Close-Knit Noun Phrases which express a modifying relationship have also been described earlier, along with compounds expressing the same semantic relationship (2.3). These close-knit phrases do not differ stress-wise or structurally from Modified Noun Phrases where the words come together more incidentally. The close-knit phrases however show more specialisation in meaning.

wik °kat 'story' Vs may °kat 'rotten food'

word old 

food old

puk °manj 'child' Vs yaʔaman °manj 'small horse'

child small 

horse small
water bad
bad man

The close-knit phrases take another adjectival modifier which is not generally true of the Modified Noun Phrase.

viuk kati?°mlin (word, old, good)  'a good story'
puke man j °pljian (child, small, big)  'a big child'

(iv) Close-Knit Phrases with Three Components

Some close-knit phrases have up to three components. These include phrases where ma? 'hand' functions as a link.

ma? ku:j °mu:y (hand, cousin, 'cousins'
(hand, fire, without)

There are generic-specific phrases with three components where two of the items are embedded generic-specific phrases or in co-ordinate relationship.

wal mant °?entj 'cheekbone'
cheek jaw bone?
(Gen-Spec)
yuk way °mlin 'things'
things bad good
(Co-ord)

There are also verbal and adjectival compounds where more than one body part occurs.

°ma? ka:? njli:n (hand, nose, sit) 'make things well'
°ma? ka:? way/°ma? ka:? °way (hand, 'clumsy'
nose, bad)

4.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be said that decisions concerning the symbolisation of compounds and phrases are not merely dreaming up orthographic conventions, which after all do not matter much. The decisions made should rather reflect the way a native speaker perceives his language, which includes whether two stems should be joined into one chunk, partly merged in hyphenation, or left as two chunks. No doubt there will never be agreement about some words and phrases. English provides plenty of examples of variation. Nevertheless, whether the orthographic decisions made for Wik-Munkan are good, or good in part,
only time will tell. And if a sizeable number of readers and writers show in time that decisions are not good, then that will be time for a change.
NOTES

1. Wik-Munkan is spoken by approximately 700 people (either as their first or second language) at Aurukun, Cape York Peninsula (Australia). Speakers of closely related dialects live at Edward River and Coen. Research has been carried out in Wik-Munkan by the author since 1967 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and since 1971 under the auspices of the Australian National University. Other areas of Wik-Munkan analysis have been done by both Barbara Sayers and Marie Godfrey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Their work has proved helpful in the writing of this paper. Some discussion with Dr Sarah Gudschinsky, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, at the time this paper was being prepared, proved helpful and stimulating.

2. Some semantic relationships are expressed by both compounds and close-knit phrases. The distinction between the two is clarified as the paper progresses (see Section 4). However, the two are differentiated orthographically in language examples from the beginning of the paper, even before reasons for differentiating them are given. This allows the reader opportunity to observe a larger corpus of data symbolised in its final form, while noting semantic overlap. Compounds are hyphenated, and word stress (primary and secondary) marked. Close-knit phrases are written as separate words, with phrase stress marked.

3. Hereafter called compounds.

4. Abbreviations and symbols used throughout the paper are:

- **1PS**  first person singular
- **3PS**  third person singular
- ``  primary stress
- `  secondary stress
- o  phrase or clause stress
5. The gecko is a small lizard who is mostly seen active at night.

6. *ñum* 'fire' here refers to the traditional marriage ceremony, in which a girl was taken by her mother to a previously prepared campfire, where her husband-to-be awaited her.

7. A detailed description of stress in Wik-Munkan is given in a paper by B.J. Sayers (see Bibliography).

8. For practical purposes, one of the determining factors in considering stress pattern so important concerns the expectations of the reader. If two stems with stress ' ' are left separate, the tendency is for the reader to read the second stem with higher pitch. If the two stems are joined without hyphenation, however, the expectation of some is that
the second syllable will be an unstressed syllable rather than another stem which would have secondary stress.

9. Phonemically no vowel initial words occur in Wik-Munkan.

10. Because of the phonological fusion present, these two forms have been written as one word.

11. The tests were performed with eight people, six of whom were fluent readers, and two semi-fluent.
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