NOTES ON SOME QUEENSLAND LANGUAGES

Nils M. Holmer
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INTRODUCTORY NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While engaged in recording Aboriginal languages in south-east Queensland, Aborigines from other parts of Queensland were often contacted. To complete the picture in some measure, notes were taken of more or less competent informants, who were not included in the Linguistic Survey.

The people interviewed represented the following languages: Mer, Saibai, Gugu-Bujun, Kantyu, Koko-Yalandji, Gangulida, Bundjil, Wanyi, Garwa, Punthamara and Kalali. Of these languages one (Mer) is particularly interesting since it is actually a New Guinea language (or language of New Guinea type) spoken in Australia.

For various reasons the languages studied in these Notes are generally less complete and somewhat lacunary and sometimes analysed rather with a comparative purpose (e.g. Kalali). The description and analysis of these languages, along with the phonetic writing and morphological terminology, is the same as for those described in the Linguistic Survey.

The author's special thanks are directed to Professor S.A. Wurm of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University for kindly taking care of the final publication of the author's entire linguistic material from various parts of Queensland.
ME R

Mer is a language of New Guinea type (Fly River) spoken on the island of Mer (Murray Island) in the Barrier Reef. Notes of this language were obtained from the following informants:

- Mr B. Thaiday, at Tully (Queensland), from Darnley Island (BT);
- Mr Dawita Tagai (or: Tagai Dawita ?) at Tully (TD);
- Mrs Mutay Dawita, at Tully (MD);
- Mr John Tapau, at Kingaroy and Brisbane, from Murray Island (JT).

1. Phonology

1.1 The Mer language has five vowel phonemes: a, e, i, o and u. There is a tendency toward stressing second initial syllables: netât, bakâmu, batâwirik, emêtu, desér, desêrda, digréda, galâs, girîr, digér, udîger, nabâgre, ikârdarda, makuare, urîlî, metâgi, wagéde, darâsmerâre.

1.2 There is a tendency toward vowel leveling: koskel or kosker (beside koskir), muigi ~ merge, muris, gergerge, gergerko, puni (beside poni), dirsîr ~ derser(li), nasmere ~ nasmîli, teter ~ titir (both meaning ‘leg’), etc. As seen, there are infractions of the rule, especially in the case of morphological elements. Morphological forms may, on the other hand, be adjusted to the tendency of vowel leveling, as in: kereba or kiriba (for keriba ‘ours’), meriba for meriba ‘ours’, mi demredder ‘we two sat down’. In the above examples one may also count on the effect of assimilation of vowels. Vowel length is irrelevant. Monosyllabic concrete forms (especially if vowel-ending) tend to lengthen the vowel: lê (‘man’), î (‘cry’), nár (‘boat’), etc.

The following consonant phonemes occur:

- b a bilabial voiced plosive (as in English);
- d a dental to alveolar voiced plosive (cf. English);
- g a palatal-velar voiced plosive (as in English);
- k a strongly aspirated voiceless palatal-velar plosive (cf. below);
- p a strongly aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive (cf. below);
- t a dental (or alveolar) voiceless plosive (cf. English; see further below);
- l a lateral continuant (as in French);
2

m a bilabial nasal (as in English);

n a dental-alveolar nasal (as in English);

r a trilled continuant (as in Italian);

s a voiceless sibilant (as in English);

w a bilabial semivowel (as in English; only used initially and intervocalically);

y a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’; only used initially and intervocalically);

z a voiced sibilant (as in English).

1.3 The strongly aspirated \( k \) and \( p \) may pass into fricative sounds: \( k \sim x, p \sim f \). The dental \( d \) and \( t \) tend to become—as in many Pacific languages—palatalised before \( i : d^\gamma, t^\gamma \). A supradental (or retroflex) \( d \) may occasionally be heard (in English words): \( ha\ddot{d} \) ‘God’ (hardly a native word), \( ba\ddot{d}t \) ‘Bardoo’ or ‘Mulgrave Island’. As in Australian English, an initial \( h \)-sound is not distinctive: \( ha\ddot{d} \sim ad \) (‘God’; cf. above). Other cases of the influence of (Australian) English may be found: \( babe i \) for \( babi \) (‘father’). On the other hand, \( bei\ddot{z}am \) for \( ba\ddot{z}am \) (‘shark’), etc., is normal in the Aboriginal languages.

1.4 Mer words may begin either with a vowel or a consonant phoneme. Words beginning with \( i \), however, may take an initial semivowel \( y \): \( i r g i \sim y r g i \) ‘bit’, etc. In other cases \( y \) may tend to become \( d^\gamma \) (\( y a w a l i \sim d^\gamma a w a l i \) ‘paper, book’). No Mer word begins normally with \( r \) or ends in \( -1 \); a Fly river \( *r- \) may become \( d- \) in Mer and \( *-1 \) may become \( -r \) (cf. \( -s m i l i \sim -s m i r, s m e r \) ‘see’; also cf. \( k o s k e r \sim k o s k e l \) ‘woman’).

2. Morphology

Nominal stems and declension

2.1 Nominal stems in Mer may be of one or more syllables, ending either in a consonant or a vowel: \( n a r \) ‘boat’, \( m e t a \) ‘house’, \( k i m i a r \) ‘man’. Monosyllabic words may often be supposed to have apocopated a final vowel, which reappears in declension forms: \( l i m \) ‘sun’, ergative \( l i m i d e \) (hence originally \( *l i m i \)). The effect of vowel leveling is often noticeable in derived forms or compounds: \( m e r i a m \ m i r \) ‘the Mer language’. In nominal stems the plural sense is not distinguished from a singular or dual sense: \( l e \) ‘man’ or ‘men’, \( m e r i a m \) ‘Murray Islander(s)’.

2.2 Apart from a nominative form (which is the stem of the word, singular or plural; cf. above 2.1), Mer has an ergative (ending in \( -d e \), alternatively \( -e d e \)), a possessive (ending in \( -r a, -i r a \)), an accusative (ending in \( -i \), of personal nouns only), an ablative (ending in \( -l a m \), a locative (ending in \( -g i \) or \( -g e \), originally no doubt according to vowel leveling); finally, an allative (ending in \( -m \); alternatively \( -e m \) or \( -i m \)). Examples: nominative \( m e t a \) ‘house’, \( w a g \) (\( w a g e - \)) ‘wind’, \( d a w i t a \) ‘David’; ergative \( w a g e d e \) ‘(by) the wind’, possessive \( d a w i t a r a \ m e t a \) ‘David’s house’, \( m e t a r a \ t o t \) ‘the top of the house’, accusative \( d a w i t a i \) ‘David’, ablative \( m e t a l a m \) ‘from the house’, locative \( m e t a g i \) ‘in the house’, allative \( m e t a e m \) ‘to the house’. A vocative form may be formed by addition of an interjectional \( e \) (\( -e \)) to the stem (or nominative) form: \( k a r a \ n e u r \ e \) ‘my daughter’. The case suffixes described above may alternatively be considered as postpositions.
Pronominal inflection

3.1. We may distinguish between personal, demonstrative and interrogative-indefinite pronouns.

Personal pronouns

3.2. There are personal pronouns for the first, second and third persons in the singular, dual and plural. In the first person dual and plural a distinction is made between exclusive and inclusive forms. The following are the stem (or nominative) form of the personal pronouns: (singular) *ka* 'I', *ma* 'you', *e* 'he' or 'she'; (dual) *ki* 'we' (exclusive); *mi* 'we' (inclusive), *wa* 'you'; (plural) *ki* 'we' (exclusive), *mi* 'we' (inclusive; = *ma ka* 'you and me'); *wi* 'they'. Some reduplicated forms (either emphatic or of the same meaning as those above) have been recorded: *kaka* ('I'), *mama* ('you'), *kiki, mimi* ('we'). To distinguish between dual and plural forms, numeral words may be used: *ki dale* 'we (four or five men)', *wa gair, wa dale* 'you (many)', *ma ka* 'you and me' (two persons; cf. above). By addition of the syllable *bu* (also *babu*) the idea of 'self' may be expressed: *kakabu* or *ka babu* 'myself', *mabu, mamabu* 'yourself', *wabu* 'yourselves', *tababu*: *wi neis tababu basmereyei* 'they two are looking at one another' (JT); (cf. further below).

3.3. The personal pronouns are declined by analogy with personal nouns (cf. 2.2), in the following way (a locative being absent):

1st person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td><em>ka</em> (<em>kaka</em>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td><em>kape</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td><em>kara</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td><em>kari</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td><em>karilam</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td><em>karim</em></td>
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2nd person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td><em>ma</em> (<em>mama</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td><em>mape</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td><em>mara</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td><em>mari</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td><em>marim</em></td>
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</table>

3rd person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td><em>abra</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td><em>abi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td><em>abilam</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td><em>abim</em></td>
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1st person dual and plural (exclusive):

<table>
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<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td><em>ki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td><em>kereba, keriba, kiriba</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td><em>kerbi</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1st person dual and plural (inclusive):

nom.  
erg.  mipe
poss. mereba, meriba
acc.  merbi
abl.  merbilam
all.  merbim

2nd person dual and plural:

nom.  
erg.  wapi (?)
poss. waba
acc.  wabi

3rd person plural:

nom.  
poss. yaba (wi)
acc.  yabi

3.4. Forms with the syllable -bu added express 'self': merbibu 'ourselves' (acc.); a special form is tababu 'themselves'. Other forms (not easily explained) will be found in the Vocabulary.

Demonstrative pronouns

3.5. Two demonstrative stems only have been recorded: e 'this', 'here' (cf. the Personal pronoun e; 3.3.) and ab 'that' or 'this'.

3.6. The demonstrative e is found prefixed to a noun: eged (e ged) 'this home or island'. The stem able is declined as a nominal stem (v. 2.2.), as follows:

nom.  able
poss. ablera
abl.  ablelam

The following examples will illustrate the constructions with able: able meta 'that house', ablera meta 'that one's (his) house', able le 'that man', able lu 'this or that thing', able kos 'that course', abli abli kimiar 'that man' (the final -i probably due to vowel leveling). The locative egedge practically means 'here' and the ablative egedlam 'from here'.

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns

3.7. Two interrogative stems have been recorded: nete (personal, 'who?') and na (impersonal, 'what?'). No inflected forms have been recorded. Examples: nete ka nali 'who am I?', nete ma nali 'who are you?', na ged 'what island?', na lu (nalu) 'what thing?', 'what?' (cf. Saibai mi za, miza 'what thing, what?'). The form nalu may be compounded with other nouns: nalu meta 'what house?'. The use of na in: na kosker manali 'what woman are you?' (in the sense of 'what kind?'), as totem may be expressed impersonally—cf. miña in Australian languages). The
construction *nali dali* ‘who is he?’ is not quite clear; it might be for *nale (na le) dali (?) ‘what kind of man is he?’ (cf. above).

**Verbal stems and derivation**

4.1. The plain verbal stem in Mer has a simple structure: it is usually monosyllabic, beginning with a consonant (which in inflected forms is preceded by a prefix vowel; see 4.3.; 5.1.); the verbal stem may end either in a consonant or a vowel, but the consonant elements are always basic (the structure of the Mer verb stem is, consequently, of the same type as the Basque -gi- ‘make’, -ma- ‘give’, -kar- ‘bring’, -kus- ‘see’, etc.). In a Mer verb stem such as -(i)kau (‘to take’), the ‘root’ is actually -ka- (to which formative elements may be prefixed or postfixed).

**Modal conjugation**

4.2. Apart from cases of morphological elements preceding the prefix vowels, there is no definite distinction made of modal and personal formatives or between a modal and a personal conjugation. The following elements may be analogous to verbal derivative suffixes in Australian languages: (preceding the simple verb stem) -ba- (reflexive-reciprocal—this suffix may be considered as personal, as it does not take either a prefix vowel or another personal formative), na- (pluralising), -ra- (pluralising); (following the simple verbal stem), -li- (causative), -r- (causative or dative), -da- (-ra-; pluralising); -ei- (dualising). Examples: -ba-smi- (‘look at oneself’), da-ra-li ‘they are’, da-ra-smerare ‘look at them’, na-mridare (‘let us all sit’), -na-kasir (‘many (fish) swim’); -kuei-li- (‘make stand’; -cf. kuei- ‘stand’), -basre-da (‘all listen’), -batagr-ei (‘two talking’). Other formatives of this kind may be found in the Vocabulary. There are finally adverbial formatives (original adverbs, prefixed, infixed or suffixed) of the type: we- (or-, u-, intentional or desiderative), -ko-, -le-, -lu-, -da (which have either adverbial or personal function): we-ikuei ‘wants to make him stand up’, u-diger ‘wants to make’, mi akale ‘we two are going to take (it)’, akalu ‘I will take’, nakuarda (‘gave to us, then’).

**Prefix vowels**

4.3. The prefix vowels express the relation between the verbal action, as expressed by the stem, and personal formatives, which precede the prefix vowels and refer to a grammatical person (see in 5.1.). The prefix vowels used in Mer are: -a-, -e- and -i-. A conjugated verbal form may be expressed either by a prefix vowel alone or with a prefix vowel preceded by a personal prefix (always a consonant). As the function of the prefix vowels is vague, some idea of their meaning may be gathered from the following (partly commented) examples.

**The prefix vowel -a-**

4.4. A priori it may be supposed that -a- indicates presence (in room or time) or continued or intended imperfective verbal action (it may refer to a first or second person as being ‘present’). Recorded instances are: akalu ‘I will take’, a-kadarare ‘we all took (it)’, a-timedlu ‘I will chuck (the boat)’ (cf. itimed ‘chuck (it)’), a-taruklu ‘going to pick up’, a-rdare ‘I come to see him’, a-
roe 'we two are eating', a-mrilu 'I will set or put (him)', ka a-kueilu 'I want to lift him', a-rie 'I will drink (it)'.

The prefix vowel -e-

4.5. The prefix vowel -e- seems to express perfective action: e-kueili 'he is standing him up', e-kueida 'stood before' ('before' is probably the suffixed adverb-da), e-kueili 'standing him up now', e-emrida 'he sat before', wi e-emridariei 'they two sat before', ka e-roli 'I am eating', ki e-rweda 'we are eating', e-usmeda (e-osmeda) 'was born', e-sem eda 'finished (then)', gur e-gri 'finished swimming', e-marik 'put the boat (into the water)', mi e-griei 'we two have finished', e-gri 'I have finished', e-upama 'get off or jump out (of the boat)', i-e-zwei 'don't you two cry' ('i-a cry or crying'), i-e-zoli 'she is crying', e-gremar 'turn your face', e-ro 'eat (it)', ka e-roe 'I shall eat (it)', e-regli 'eat(s) meat', e-roli 'ate (the food)', e-reli (e-rili) 'drink water', (ma) e-taru 'pick it up', ka e-tardaka or e-tarda 'I picked (it) up', e-rdari 'I saw (him)', e-mri 'sit down', (ma) e-ro 'you eat (it)', e-kuei '(you) stand up', e-soli '(I) hear him'.

The prefix vowel -i-

4.6. The use of the prefix vowel -i- seems to involve the presence of two grammatical persons (as in a dual, reflexive-intransitive, causative or dative relation). The following examples may give an indication of this: i-rieiei 'we two drink', i-rieda 'we (plural) drink' (-da marks plural action), abi ari ikuar 'give him drink', i-kada '(I) took (it)', i-timed '(you) chuck (it)', i-rgi 'bit him', i-keli 'doing', i-kau 'take away', i-kawerti 'many taking away', ki i-kardarda 'we take (the course)', i-kawerti 'a man took (it)', i-karda 'you took (him) away', ma nab i-keli 'you tried to make (it)', ma i-ri 'you drink (it)' ('one cup'; imperative), ni ge i-kasei 'two or three swim in the water', i-kase 'one fish swims', i-kau 'he is sitting', i-kawerti 'many taking away', ki i-kardarda 'we take (the course)', i-kawerti 'a man took (her) away', i-karda 'you took (him) away', ma nab i-keli 'you tried to make (it)', ma i-ri 'you drink (it)' ('one cup'; imperative), ni ge i-kasei 'two or three swim in the water', i-kase 'one fish swims', i-kau 'he is sitting', i-kawerti 'many taking away', ki i-kardarda 'we take (the course)', i-kawerti 'a man took (it)', i-kada 'I took this course', i-kalu 'I will take' (cf. a-kalu, idem), i-kale 'we two are going to take it', i-kadaria 'we two took it', i-mri 'put down (that little boy)', i-rwi '(I) ate before', i-ri 'you drink that' or 'I drank before'.

Personal conjugation

5.1. There seem to be only two personal formatives in Mer: n- and d-. It is evident that n-belong to the first and second person singular, while d- pertains to the third person singular, as seen in the forms nali 'I am' or 'you are' and dali 'he or she is'. But d- has many other references, to various grammatical persons as well as to number. It may seem that n- pertains basically to immediate nearness (first and second person singular) and that d- refers to distance or shared presence (as in the case of 'you and me'), but the use of the personal formatives seems very irregular and is best illustrated by examples. The personal n- is prefixed to the prefix vowel -a-only (see 4.3.; 5.1.), while d- may be prefixed to all of them (-a-, -e-, -i-). (This may be understood in so far as -a- is associated with 'presence'; cf. 4.4.) Any conjugated verb form in
Mer hence begins either with one of the prefix vowels (a-, e-, i-) or with one of the syllables na-, da-, de-, di-. It must further be noted that personal formatives refer to the subject of an intransitive verb or to the direct object of a transitive verb; the subject (or agent) of a transitive verb is expressed—if expressed at all—by a form of the personal pronouns (see 3.2.), which, incidentally, may be used for the sake of clarity to express direct or indirect object forms as well.

Conjugated forms beginning with na-

5.2. Theoretically, forms beginning with na- should refer to the first or second singular and to imperfect verbal action. This may be borne out by some of the following instances: na-roe ‘(I) will eat you’ (theoretically also ‘(you) will eat me’—the ‘shared’ action refers either to the subject or object, but not to both), na-kase ‘I swim’, na-wer ‘I was or you were’, na-uweli ‘(the sun) burned me’, na-gri ‘bit me’, o-na-reg ‘will bite me’, na-smir ‘I can see you’ or ‘you can see me’ (cf. above), na-mi ‘I am or you are sitting’, ka na-ba ‘I am going’, na-rdar ‘I saw you’, ki nali ‘we (excl.) are’, wa nali ‘you all are’, na-smili ‘I can see you’ or ‘you can see me’ (cf. above), na-kuare ‘I will give you’, na-kuweili ‘he is standing you or me up’, na-mri ‘set me’, wi neis na-mri, wi gari na-mredi ‘they are sitting’ (irregular or incorrect?), na-tager ‘you tell me’, na-kuari ‘(if) you give me or I give you’ (perfective action), (mari) nardare ‘I have come to see you (imperfective action), na-mrilu ‘I want to stay’, na-smer ‘look at me’, mi na-mrilei ‘let us two sit down’, na-soli ‘I hear you’ or ‘you or he hear(s) me’, ma kari na-sor ‘you listen to me’, na-sre ‘I want to hear you’, na-tomer ‘show it to me’, na-tomelu ‘I want to show it to you’, na-tagri ‘I told you’, na-bakamulu ‘I am going’, na-kuar ‘give me’, na-kuare ‘I will give you’, na-kuari ‘I gave you’ or ‘he gave me’, na-rdar ‘he saw me or you’. Notice that the prefix na- must be kept apart from the modal, pluralising or multiplicative na- (see 4.2.), which occurs in: na-kasir ‘many fish swim’, na-kase ‘two fish swim’, na-kaurerti ‘people took’, na-isa ‘he took all’, na-rieda ‘you eat plenty’, na-ri ‘drink plenty’, na-roeda ‘you eat plenty’. In some cases the analysis seems doubtful: na-bagre ‘we all go to swim together’ (‘together’ is, however, rather expressed by -ba-); na-kuei ‘you stand them two up’, na-kueirare ‘you stand them all up’). (Notice that this formative is initial, like an ordinary personal formative).

Conjugated forms beginning with da-

5.3. The following recorded forms illustrate the meaning of da-: da-gre ‘(I) am making (setting, the course)’ or ‘(I am) chasing him’, da-wer ‘he was or we two were (sic)’ (shared subject), da-smir ‘(I) have seen him’, ki dali ‘we (four or five, exclusive) are’, wi da-rali ‘they are’, da-smereda ‘(God) sees us’ (shared action, da-smili ‘I see you’ or ‘he sees us’ (inclusive or exclusive), da-smer ‘look at him’, da-smeli ‘can see him’, da-smerer ‘I saw him yesterday’, da-tawiriklu ‘I will turn it’, da-tawirikda ‘I turned it’, da-darsire ‘I will make it’, da-kuare ‘he will give to us two’ (shared action in object), da-rdar ‘he will see them’, da-rasmerare ‘look at those men’, da-smeli ‘(I am) looking at that’.

Conjugated forms beginning with de-

5.4. The following forms combine the personal d- with the prefix vowel -e-: de-tawirik ‘you turn it round’, de-rdar ‘he saw us two’, de-mrered ‘we two sat down’, de-soli ‘they hear us’
(shared action in object), de-mrare ‘set us all up’ (probably shared action in object, ‘all’ being expressed by the suffix -rare), de-tawirikda ‘I turned (the chair) round’, de-rserli ‘(what) are you people doing?’, de-(r)ser ‘did or made it’, de-(r)serda ‘they made it’, nar de-tawirida ‘turn (imperative plural) the boat round’. Notice the possible effect of vowel leveling in any of the above forms.

Conjugated forms beginning with di-

5.5. The following forms occur with initial di:- di-greda ‘taking’ (= i-karda; hence the same prefix vowel), ma nar di-rsir ‘you make a boat’ (imperative), (nole) di-kuar ‘(don’t) give us’, di-kuari ‘gave to us two’ (shared object action), di-kuarda (idem, plural agent), di-rsirare ‘you people are going to make me’, di-gerti ‘has gone to’, di-gardi ‘(the wind) turned (the boat)’, di-mi ‘we two are sitting’ (shared subject action), di-kuei ‘he is standing us up’ (shared object action), di-kuei ‘we stand up’ (shared subject action), di-kueida ‘we two stood before’ (shared subject action; -da adverbial suffix), di-kueidi ‘we all stood up before’, di-mri ‘set us two up’, di-kepwoli ‘(what are you) thinking about?’ or ‘(I am) thinking about ...’, di-ger ‘you set (the course)’, e kos digeri ‘he set the course’, di-gre (of two; cf. dagri, of one, digreda, of many), di-geri ‘set (the course)’ (imperative), di-gri ‘(1) set (the course) ’ or ‘cha sed him’, di-gri ‘we two chased him’, di-griei ‘we two chased him’, di-gerda ‘we all chased him’, lar di-kasir ‘cook one fish’.

The expression of time

6. A differentiation of present and past time is reflected in the rendering into English of verbal forms. Forms ending in -e, having parallel forms ending in -i, may be considered imperfective or presentic, while those ending in -i are perfective or past: hence dakwar-e ‘he will give to us two’ and dikwar-i ‘he gave to us two’, dagr-e ‘I chase him’ and digr-i ‘I chased him’, nagard-e ‘going to turn’ and digard-i ‘turned’ (also notice change of the prefix vowel, since -a- is imperfective and -i- is perfective). Past time also seems expressed by the suffixed adverbial -da (to be distinguished from the pluralising -da; see 7.8.); ikar-da ‘(you) took him away’, dikuei-da ‘we two stood before’, e emri-da ‘he sat before’, eusmeda merge ‘(l) was born on Murray Island’. Notice that these forms also appear with the prefix vowel -e- or -i-, which both seem perfective (possibly in some cases determined by the tendency to vowel leveling).

Various modal, personal or adverbial formatives

7.1. These morphological elements are arranged according to their position in relation to the verbal stem. They may be placed either before (usually elements having a pronominal character), infixed between a prefix vowel and a verbal root (usually elements having a modal character) and, finally, occur after the root of the verb (usually having a numeral or adverbial character). The morphological elements to be treated are: (a) ba-, na-, t-, we- (initial); (b) -ra- (infixed) and (c) -ar, -da1, -dar, -e, -ei, -ir, -ka, -lam, -le, -li, -lu, -rar and -rer- (postfixed).

7.2. The reflexive-reciprocal ba- (see 4.2.). The following are examples of ba:- ba-smi- ‘look at oneself’, ba-tawirik ‘turn round’, na-ba-gre ‘we all go’, ki ba-gri ‘we all have finished’ (cf. ka egri ‘I have finished’), i-ba-zoli ‘many are crying’, o-ba-tawirik ‘will turn round’, i-ba-
zweda 'they are crying', ba-tagrei 'two talking (the Mer language)', ba-dali 'we two are', ba-mri 'they sat before', ba-smili 'I am looking at myself', ba-smer 'look at yourself', ba-smereriei 'they two are looking at one another'. The syllable ba- (-ba-) may be translated 'together'. Compare further babu ('self'): ka babu 'I myself' (= kabu; see 3.2.). wa gair ba-mrare 'you all sit', (mabu) ba-soli '(you) listen to yourself', mimi merbibu ba-sreyei 'we two are listening to one another', ba-smili '(I am) looking at myself', ba-smeriyei 'we two are looking at one another', ki ba-smerida 'we all look at ourselves', ma i-ba-imi 'you stop crying'.

7.3 The pluralising na- (compare 4.2.). The following examples illustrate the use of this formative: na-isa 'he took all' (cf. ma gair ais 'take it all'), na-kuei 'you stand them two up', na-kueirare 'you stand them all up'.

7.4. The formative t-. It seems that this element indicates 'direction' in some way, in: t-a-ba 'he is going or coming' ('root' -ba- 'go, come'), t-i-kau 'give me' ('root' -ka(w)-), ta-komer 'come back', kaka ta-komeda 'I will come back'. The meaning may be '(come) back', '(give) back' (?).

7.5. The intentional-optative we- (o-, u-). This prefixed element expresses an intention or wish: o-batwirik '(he) will turn round', e i-u-ezo 'he is going to or wants to cry', o-bakiamulam 'they two are going', we-ikuei '(she) wants to make him stand', o-basolare 'they want to listen to one another', u-diger 'he wants to set (the course)', o-nareg 'will bite me', wi merbi u-dikuar 'they gave us'.

7.6. The pluralising -ra-. This syllable, immediately prefixed to the verbal root, gives it a plural sense: wa gim gim da-ra-li 'you two are sick' or 'they are sick' (for darali, in the dual sense, dali alone may be used), da-ra-smerare 'look at them'.

7.7. The pluralising -ar. This suffix has a similar function to those of -dar and -rar (see 7.10, 20) and marks a plural verbal action: dirsir-ar-e 'you people are going to make (for) me', darasmer-ar-e 'look at those men', demr-ar-e 'set us all up', wa gair bamr-ar-e 'you all are sitting', obasol-ar-e 'they want to listen to one another'.

7.8. The pluralising -da!. This postfixed form (along with -di which may actually be-da plus -i ?) marks plural verbal action: dikuar-da 'they gave us two', dakuar-da 'they will give us two', dirsir-da 'you people made for me', wi, wa ibazwe-da 'they, you are crying', nagarde-da 'they are turning (the boat)', ikue-di 'you (plural) stand up', namre-di 'they are sitting down', basre-da 'they all are listening to one another', ki erwe-da 'we are eating', irie-da '(we many) drink', kos digre-da '(you all) set the course', digri-da 'we all set before', ba-smerida 'we all are looking at ourselves', ikardar-da 'we take (the course)', dasmere-da 'God sees us', naroe-da 'you drink', naroe-da 'you eat (plenty). —In some cases it may be difficult to decide whether the suffix is -da! or -da2 (see 7.9.): deser-da 'they made, did it', nakuar-da 'they gave', dikuar-da 'they gave us', ikuei-di 'they all stood up' (-i perfective); since emredi = bamri 'they sit down', one may equal ba- and di- semantically.
7.9. The preterit -da. This may actually be an adverbial form meaning 'then', 'at that time' (or even 'there'). It occurs in: dikue-da 'we two stood', e emri-da 'he sat before', eusme- da 'born on Murray Island', detawirik-da 'it turned round', batawirik-da 'it turned round' (intransitive), ika-da 'I took', bakiamu-da 'he went', ka etar-da 'I picked it up', ka datawirik-da 'I turned it', ba tawirik-da 'it turned' (intransitive), ika-da 'I took', bakiamu-da 'he went', eusme-merge 'born on Murray Island', detawirik-da 'I turned it round', ika-da 'you took'; in some cases it appears that the syllable -da is followed by a dualiser or pluraliser: ika-da-rie 'we two took it', aka-da-rare 'we all took it'.

7.10. The pluralising -dar. This suffix appears analogous to -da (see 7.8) or -rar- (see 7.20.). It is found in: namri-dar-e 'let us all sit down', neis bakamu-dar-i 'two men went'. This suffix may be followed by -e (imperfective; see 7.11.) or -i (perfective; see 7.13.). For akadarare, see in 4.4.

7.11. The imperfective -e (cf. 7.10.). Some further examples are found in: nardar-e 'I have come' to see you', dagr-e 'I am setting' or 'chasing (him)', digr-e-da 'we try hard' nasmer-e 'I can see you', nakuar-e 'I will give you', ka ari-e 'I will drink (it)', ka ero-e 'I will (it)', naro-e 'I will eat you', nige ikas-e 'swims in water', ka nakas-e 'I swim', nari-e-da, naro-e-da 'you eat, drink plenty', darsir-e 'I will make', nakuar-e 'I want to give', dirsirar-e 'you people are going to make me', daradar-e 'he will see them', iezw-e-yei 'both are crying', nagard-e 'going to turn', nagard-e-da 'they are turning', ardar-e 'I come to see him', dasmer-e 'I want or try to see', nasr-e 'I want to hear you', matagr-e 'I will tell you', basmer-e- yei 'the two are looking at one another', basr-e- yei 'you two are listening to one another', iiri-e-yei 'we two drink', nabagr-e 'we will go to swim together'. —This form also corresponds to the Australian 'intentional': ka lag lag course dagr-e 'I wish to set the course'; such a form is equivalent to a form with we- (see 7.5.), which does not take the imperfective -e.

7.12. The dualising -ei (-yei). This suffix marks duality: digri-ei 'we two' ('you and me') 'set the course', iezw-e-yei (for *-yei?) 'they two are crying', note iezw-ei 'don't cry'.

7.13. The perfective -i (cf. 4.3, 6.). This suffix is found (often in alternation with the imperfective -e; see 7.11.) in cases such as: nakuar-i 'I gave you', nardar-i 'he saw me', erdar-i 'I saw him', matagr-i 'I told you', mi digr-i-ei 'we two set or chased', egr-i-ei 'we two have finished', narg-i 'bit me', irg-i 'bit him'. This suffix is rather 'perfective' than 'preterit': digardi 'the south wind turns (the boat)', ma ir-i 'you drink it' (imperative).

7.14. The form in -ir. This form is found in a few cases and its function is not at all clear: gair nakas-ir 'many (fish) swim' (verbal root -kas-), nasm-ir 'can see you' (verbal root -sm- or -smi-, -sme-), lag lag nasmir 'want to see you'.

7.15. The form in -ka. This is a rare form, in which -ka might be adverbial (or, as a matter of fact, the common connective ka 'and, then', etc.). It occurs in: ka etarda-ka 'I picked (it) up' (= ka etardu). A -k- element also enters in ataru-k-lu 'going to pick up' (cf. ma etaru 'you pick it up').
7.16. The form in -lam. This is a rare form, whose function is not clear: wa neis emri-lam 'they both sit', obakiamu-lam 'they two are going', wa neis ikuei-lam 'you two stand' (imperative; = ikuei), wa neis emri-lam 'you two sit down'.

7.17. The hortative (?) in -le. This form is found in: mi aka-le 'we two are going to take it' and (combined with the dual -ei) in namri-le-i 'let us two sit down'. —It seems related to -lu (see 7.19) and possibly -lam (?) see 7.16).

7.18. Forms in -li. These are extremely common and seem to occur in various senses (causative, imperfective, etc.?). The examples will show this: ka iezo-li 'I cried (yesterday)', iezo-li '(a woman) is crying', ka iezo-li 'I shall cry (tomorrow; rather clearly imperfective), e ike-li 'he did it', e kari nakuei-li 'he is standing me up', dikuei-li 'he stands us up' (cf. dikuei 'we are standing up'; clearly causative), ikua-li '(she) is feeding', ekuei-li 'standing him up', mabu baso-li 'you listen to yourself', ero-li 'I am eating', ka iri-li 'I drink', basmi-li 'looking at myself', nauwe-li 'the sun burned me', nab ike-li '(you) tried to make it', dasmi-li 'you can see him', naso-li 'I hear you or you hear me', eso-li 'I hear him', nakuei-li 'he tries to stand me up', deser-li '(what) are you doing?', ereg-li 'eat(s) meat'.

7.19. The desiderative -lu. This suffix is common in the first person singular: ataruk-lu 'going to pick up', ika-lu 'I will take (it)', aka-lu 'I will lift (the child)', lag lag akuei-lu 'I want to lift him', lag lag aka-lu 'I want to take it', namri-lu 'want to sit down', nakuei-lu 'I want to stand up', datawirik-lu 'I want to turn it', atimed-lu 'I want to chuck it', amri-lu 'I will put him', ka namri-lu 'I will sit or settle down'.

7.20. The pluralising -rar-. Like -ar (see 7.7.), this suffix appears to be pluralising: nakuei-rar-e 'you stand them (all) up' (the initial na- may be the pluralising na-; see 7.3.).

7.21. The preterit (?) -rer (-r, -er, -rerti). The meaning often refers to 'yesterday' (?): dasme-rer 'I saw him yesterday', nasme-rer 'he saw me yesterday', demre-d-er 'we two sat down yesterday', basme-rer-iei 'we two are looking at one another', na-wer 'I was (sick) yesterday' (-wer is actually an alternative of -li- 'to be'), urd-er (cf. demreder, above) 'they were', ikau-rerti 'I took her away', nakau-rerti 'people took her away' or 'I took her away', wa ikawertie (= ikawerti) 'people took her away'.

7.22. A number of forms in -r cannot be easily classified: ikua-r 'give (him) drink', ikua-r-i 'fed him' (-i is perfective), erda-r-i 'saw him long ago' (cf. -ar; 7.7.), nakua-r-e 'I will give you' (-e is imperfective), nakua-r 'you give me' (imperative), ma nole kerbi dikua-r 'don't you give us', kari nasmi-r 'can see me', ma takome-r 'when you come back'.

Common (irregular) verbs

8.1. Some paradigmatic forms will be given of the following common verbs in Mer, which may be considered 'irregular'. They are: -ba- 'go' or 'come', -ger- (-gr-) 'chase, set (the course), 'make for', -ka(w)- 'take', -kua(r)- 'give', -kuei- 'stand', -li- 'to be', -mi- or -mri- 'sit', -rdar- 'see', -reg- (-rg-) 'bite, eat (meat)', -ri- 'drink', -ro- 'eat', -ser- (-rsir-) 'do, make', -sm- (-smi-, -sme-) 'see', -so- 'hear', -wer- 'to be' ('have been'), -zo- (with i-) 'cry'.

-ba- ‘go, come’

8.2. The plain stem -ba- is seen in the form naba, which is used both exclusively and inclusively (hence ki naba ‘we (two) go’, exclusive, and mi naba, idem, inclusive). In the third person singular taba is used (cf. 7.4.), which is properly ‘come’ (e taba); in the sense of ‘come’: kaka taba ‘I have come’, karim taba ‘coming to me’. An alternative form is baka (probably with the derivative ba-; see 7.2): wa baka ‘you two are going or coming’, wa nule baka ‘don’t you go’; further forms: baka ‘one man went’, neis (kimiar) bakamudari ‘two went’, gair bakamuda ‘many men went’, bakamuda ‘(my child) is gone’, ma baka gedim ‘you go to the island’ (imperative); e baka ‘he goes’, bakam ‘I am going (from)’ or ‘he went’, bakiamu ‘you go far away’ or ‘he is gone’. In these latter forms it is impossible (for want of a more extensive material) to establish a verbal root and morphological formatives. —Also compare the verb stem -bakamu- in the vocabulary.

-ger- (-gr-) ‘chase, set the course, make for’

8.3. This verb has an imperfective stem -gre and a perfective -gri: ka, ma lag lag course dagre ‘I, you want to set the course’ (JT), ka able dagre ‘I am chasing that one’ (JT), nabagre ‘we all go and swim together’ (JT), kos ka, mi dagre ‘I am, you and I are setting the course’ (JT); dagre of one, digre of two, (JT), ka able emetu digri ‘I chased him before’, mi emetu digrijei ‘we (two, inclusive) chased him’, ka, ma emetu gur egri ‘I, you finished swimming’ (JT; e- for *de- because of gur ‘sea’), ki emetu bagri ‘we all have finished’ (JT), able nar Cape Bedford digeri ‘that boat has gone to Cape Bedford’ (JT), course ma diger ‘set the course’ (JT; imperative), diger (imperative; JT), mi, wi course digrijei ‘we, they (two) set the course’, ki emetu, kos digrida ‘we all have set the course’ (JT), able lag lag course udiger ‘he wants to set the course’ (JT), mi emetu digrijei ‘we two (inclusive) chased’, ki emetu digerdag ‘we all chased’ (JT).

-ka(w)- ‘take’

8.4. The plain stem is seen in: ikau ‘take away’ (imperative), ma ikau ‘you take one’, ma able kos ikau ‘you take that course’, ka able ikalu ‘I will take’, mi able ikale ‘we two are going to take it’ (JT), ka ikada ‘I took it’ (JT), kaka emetu kos ikada ‘I took that course (before)’, ma ikarda ‘you took him away’; mi able ikadarie ‘we two took that’ (JT), ki able akadarare ‘we all took it’ (if the preterit sense is correct, it is evidently expressed by the infixed -da-), dakaurerti ‘took away (yesterday? cf. 8.16; JT), kape abi ikaurerti ‘I took her away’ (JT); lede, merbi dakuare ‘he will give us’ (JT), ma kari sogob abegergerge nakuari ‘I gave you a smoke yesterday’ (JT), e merbi dikuari ‘he gave me’ (JT), e merbi nakuari ‘he gave us’ (JT), e kari nakuari ‘he gave me’ (JT), e merbi dikuari ‘he gave
us two' (JT; 'shared' or inclusive object: di-), mise kaka mari nakuari ma kari koma nakuari 'if you give me yours I will give you mine' (notice perfective forms), ma nole kerbi dikuwar 'don't you give us' (JT), wi kari nakuarda 'they all gave to me' (JT), wi merbi dikuara 'they gave us two' (JT; 'shared' action: di-), wi merbi dikuara 'they gave us two' (JT; cf. above—prefix vowel -i- perfective, -a-, imperfective, cf. 4.4, 6), wi merbi udikuwar 'they gave us' (JT; properly 'wanted to give ...').

-kuei- (-kue-, -ko-) 'stand'

8.6. The plain stem is found in: ka nakuei 'I am standing', mimi dikuei 'we two (inclusive) are standing', able werem ikuai 'stand that child up' (JT), ma abi ikuei 'you make him, her stand' (JT), ma yabi neis nakuei 'you stand them two up', ma yabi gair nakuerare 'you make them all stand up' (JT; na- pluralising), wa abi ikuei 'you (many) stand him up', wa yabi gair ikueirare or nakuerare 'you stand them all up' (JT; -i- marks another person, hence causative-dative, but na- marks 'a lot'), ka lag lag werem akueilu 'I want to lift the child', wa neis able (or waba) werem nakueirare 'you two stand up that (or 'your') child' (JT), e abi weikuei 'she wants to make him stand up' (JT), e abgergerge lag lag abi weikuei 'she wanted to stand him up yesterday' (JT; notice same verb form), e abi (or abi werem) ikueida 'she lifted him (or 'that child') up' (JT), e yabi nakueda 'she lifted them up' (JT; na- pluralising), e gair werem nakoda 'he (or 'they') lifted up the children' (JT). peirdi e yabi nakueda 'just now he lifted them up' (JT).

-li- 'to be'

8.7. The simple paradigm (in n- and d-) is used in an imperfective ('presentic') sense: ka nali 'I am', ma nali 'you are', (e) dali 'he, she is', mimi dali, mi badali 'we two are' (inclusive), kiki dali (idem, exclusive), wa dali 'you two are' (more correct: wa nali 'you two are'), wa darali 'you two are', wi darali 'they two are'. An alternative form is: wi uridli 'they (three) are'. —Also compare -wer- (-ur-), which has a preterit sense.

-mi- (-mri-) 'sit'

8.8. Two stems are found, -mi- and -mri-, both in the sense of 'sit' (or causative 'set'). The plain stems -mi- occurs in: ka nami 'I am sitting', ma nami 'you are sitting', e imi 'he is sitting', mi dimi 'we two are sitting' (inclusive), wi neis nami 'they two are sitting', wi gair namredi 'they all are sitting' (JT). The simple forms of -mri- are: ma emri 'you sit down', ma imri 'you set him down' (imperative), wi bamri or emredi 'they are sitting' (cf. 7.8.), wi gair bamri (idem), ka abi amrilu 'I will set him down', e kari namrida 'he is putting me down', ka abi imrida 'I am putting him down', ma kari amri 'you put me down' (imperative), ma kerbi neis dimri 'you put us two' (exclusive) down', ka emrida 'I set down before', ma, e emrida 'you, he set down before' lag lag namrilu 'I want to stop, live at ...' (JT), mi namrilei 'let us two sit down' (JT), e imredi 'he is sitting down', wi imredi 'they are ...', mi demreder 'we two sat down', wa gair bamrare 'you all are sitting down', namridare 'let us (many) sit down', wa neis emrilam 'you two sit down', wa gair bamrare 'you all sit down' (probably imperatives; JT), wi neis emrildarei 'they two are sitting (?) down' (JT), ma abi (or kebi werem) imri 'you put him (or 'the little boy') down' (JT), e kari namrida 'he is putting me down' (JT), ka abi imrida 'I am putting him down' (JT), ma kerbi gair demrare 'you put us all (exclusive)
down' (JT). —The rather strange form *narge namidawa might have to be analysed as *namida wa ‘you are sitting (in the boat)’; JT).

-**rdar-** ‘see’

8.9. Of this stem imperfective forms (in -e) and perfective forms (in -i) have been recorded: *kaka taba mari nardare* ‘I have come to see you’ (JT; imperfective used in the intentional sense), *ka abi ardare* ‘I come to see him’ (JT; = dasmere ?), *dardare* ‘he will see (them)’ (JT); *dawitade* (ergaive) *kari nardari* ‘David saw me’ (JT), *ka dawita* (properly dawitai ?) *erdari*, *ma dawita(i) erdari* ‘I, you saw David’ (JT); the absence of initial d- (‘him’) depends on the direct object being stated: ‘David’; n-, on the other hand corresponds to English ‘me, you’, respectively). *dawitade mari nardari* ‘David saw you’ (JT), *dawitade merbi derdari* ‘David saw us two’ (inclusive, hence d-; JT) —stated nouns and pronouns consequently behave differently.

-**reg-** (-rg-) ‘bite, eat (meat)’

8.10. The simple stem is seen in: *nargi* ‘bit me’ (-i perfective), *irgi* ‘bit him’, *tabude kari onareg* ‘a snake will bite me’ (JT), *tabude able le wereg* ‘a snake will bite that man’ (JT; notice no modal suffix with the we-form). An enlarged stem (in -li-) is imperfective: *ka laregli* ‘I eat meat’ (JT), *umaide laragli* ‘the dog eats meat’ (JT; notice no d- after a stated nominal object).

-**ri-** (-r-) ‘drink’

8.11. Imperfective forms in -rie and -rili and perfective forms in -ri are recorded; forms in -re are irregular or depend on vowel leveling. The following forms have been recorded: *ka arie* ‘I will drink’ (object not expressed; JT), *kiki iriyei* ‘we two drink’ (JT), *kiki irieda* ‘we (plural) drink’, *ma narieda* ‘you (? drink ?) plenty’ (JT), *ma nole nariare* ‘you do not drink plenty’ (TD), *ma ere* ‘you drink’ (vowel leveling), *nole eri* ‘don’t drink’, *iri* ‘drink’ (one cup; TD), *nari* ‘drink plenty’ (TD, imperatives); *ma able iri* ‘you drink that’ (JT), *ka emetu iri* ‘I drank before’ (JT; this verb does not seem to take personal n- or d-); *ka irili* (imperfective; JT), *ka ni ereli* ‘I drink water’ (TD), *ka (nano) sus ereli* ‘I drink milk’ (TD).

-**ro** (-rw-) ‘eat (fruit, etc.)’

8.12. Imperfective forms in -roe and -roli are recorded and perfective forms in -rwi. The personal formatives n- and d- are not normally found. The following are examples: *ka eroe* ‘I will eat’, *naroer* ‘(I) will eat you’, *aroer* ‘we two are eating’, *gair ma naroeda* ‘you eat or have plenty’ (TD), *mi lewer aroei* ‘we two are eating’ (JT), *ka mari naroe* ‘I will eat you’ (TD), *kiki erwededa* (for eroeda) ‘we (exclusive) eat’ (JT); *irwi* ‘(I) ate before’; *ma ero* ‘you eat’ (imperative), *nole ero* ‘don’t eat’, *gair ma naroeda* ‘you eat plenty’; *ka eroli* ‘I am eating’ (JT) and similarly: *ma eroli, e eroli, umaide lewer eroli* ‘the dog ate (our) food’ (TD), *ma nole naroli* ‘don’t you eat plenty’ (TD), *eroli* ‘eat one’ (TD). The following is not clear: *ma umerkak kari doge ero* ‘you don’t eat me’ (TD).

-**(r)sir-** (-**(r)ser-**) ‘do, make’

8.13. Of the simple stem imperfective forms in -rsire and imperative forms in -rsir are made: *darsire* ‘I will make’ or ‘want to make’, *ka nar kaka darsire* ‘I will make a boat’, *ka nar darsire* ‘I want to make a boat’, *ka lag lag nar darsire* ‘I want to make a boat’ (JT); *ma kara nar dirsi..."
'you make me a boat', (JT; imperative), *ma (nole) nar dirsir* '(don't) you make me a boat', *dirsir da* 'made', *dirsirare* 'you all are going to make', *wa kara nar dirsirda* 'you made me a boat' (JT), *deser* 'made, did', *deserda, idem* (plural; BT), *wapi nalu derserli* 'what are you people doing?' (BT). —It is possible that -r- (which is missing in some forms) is a special formative (as in -rdar-; see 8.9.) and that the 'root' is -ser-.

**sm-** (-smi-, -sm-) 'see'

8.14. It seems that forms in *-smili* (-smeli) are imperfective and forms in *-smir* (-smer) are perfective: *dasmeli* '(what) are you looking at?' or 'I am looking at', *ka nab dasmeli* 'I cannot find', *ka nari nasmeli* 'I can see you', *ma kari nasmeli* 'you can see me', *ki, wa dasmeli* 'we, you can see him', *ka nole wabi dasmili* 'I do not see you' (MD), *e kari nasmili* 'he sees me', *e kerbi dasmeli* 'he sees us', *e merbi dasmili*, idem (JT, MD), *nasmili* 'sees, can see' (MD), *ma dasmer* 'you look' (IT), *able le dasmer* 'look at that man' (JT), *(kari)* nasmer 'look at me' (JT), *e kari nasmer* 'he sees me', *e kerbi dasmer* 'he sees us', *e merbi dasmer*, idem (IT, MD), *nasmerli* 'sees, can see' (MD), *ma kari nasmer* 'you see me' (TD); *able le darasmerare* 'look at those men' (JT), *e kari nasmer* 'he saw me yesterday' (JT), *ma nalu dasmer* 'what did you see yesterday?' (JT), *ka mirem dasmer* 'I want to see' (JT), *ka dawita nasmer* (dasmer ?) 'I see David' (JT), *ka mari nasmer* 'I can see you' (TB), *dasmerare* 'look at them' (JT), *nasmerli* 'can see me' (= nasmir), *nasmirda, dasmirda* 'saw'.

**so-** 'hear'

8.15. There seems to be an imperfective stem *-soli* and a perfective stem *-sor* (the latter used as imperative); *ka mari nasoli* 'I hear you' (JT), *ma kari nasoli* 'you hear me' (JT), *ka abi esoli* 'I hear him' (JT), *e kari nasoli* 'he hears me', *mi, ki abi esoli* 'we hear him' (JT), *wi merbi deser* 'they hear us' (inclusive; JT); *ma kari naser* 'you listen to me' (JT); *able le dasmerare* 'look at those men' (JT), *e kari nasmer* 'he saw me yesterday' (JT), *ma nalu dasmer* 'what did you see yesterday?' (JT), *ka mirem dasmer* 'I want to see' (JT), *ka dawita nasmer* (dasmer ?) 'I see David' (JT), *ka mari nasmer* 'I can see you' (TB), *dasmerare* 'look at them' (JT), *nasmerli* 'can see me' (= nasmir), *nasmirda, dasmirda* 'saw'.

**wer-** 'to be, to have been'

8.16. Only one stem (-wer-) is recorded of this verb; the sense is always past: *ka, ma abgerge gim gim nawer* 'I was (you were) sick yesterday', *dawer* 'he was' (JT), *mi dawer* 'we two were' (inclusive; JT), *wi ... dawer* 'they (two) were ...'; *ka, ma kebi werem nawer* '(when) I was, you were a little child' (JT). (Notice the same form—nawer—as for 'was yesterday'; see above.) —The plural form *udder* might be connected with *wer-*: *wi, ki abgerge gim gim uder* 'they (many), we were sick yesterday' (JT). Compare *uridli* 'are' (8.7.).

**zo-** (with *i* 'cry') 'cry'

8.17. This verb stem is always combined with a noun stem *i* ('crying(ing)'), forming: *i- ... -zo-*. There seems to be an imperfective -zoli and a perfective (also imperative) -zo (-zw-): *iezoli* 'crying' (MD; the prefix vowel is always recorded -e-), *e iezoli* 'he is or was crying' (JT), *ma iezoli* 'you are or were crying' (JT); *ma nole iezo* 'don't you cry' (JT), *e iezo* 'he is going to or wants to cry' (JT; notice that the intentional with *u- (= we-; see 4.2; 7.5.) is combined with the perfective form, -zo); *wa ibazweda* 'you (plural) are crying' (JT), *iezweyei* 'crying' (MD; evidently a dual), 'both are crying' (JT), *wi ibazweda* 'they are crying' (JT).
## Mer vocabulary

The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used:

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Term</th>
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<td>abl.</td>
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<td>acc.</td>
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<td>v.</td>
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The figures refer to sections in the Morphology. The phonetic symbols are ranged in this order: *a, b, d, ð, e, g, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, w, y, z*.

### A

-a- prefix vowel; 4.3-4.

abgergerge *adv.* yesterday or tomorrow (BT, JT); probably literally 'in that (i.e. the other) day'.

abi, abim *pers. pron.* (3.3.).

able *dem. pron.* (3.3).

abliulu *adv.*: abliulu dasmir you will look (BT); probably for able lu that thing.

abra *pers. pron.*; 3.3.

ad (ad, ade-) *n. erg. adede* God: adede umele or umer kak God cannot (see), adede merbi dasmereda God sees us (TD, MD).

adem *adv.*. (toward the) outside (JT).

adge *adv.*. outside (JT).

adlam *adv.* from outside (JT).

ama *n.* mother: ama iba babi mother and father (BT, MD, JT).

-ar plural *v. der. suffix* (7.7.).

ari *n.* ? a drink: netat ari one drink (JT), ma abi ari ikuar you give him drink (JT). —Compare -ri-.

atrapi: kukupi atrapi it is getting dark (JT).

au *n.* big: au yaubir big waves (BT), au mut (mut) big noise (BT). —Compare aule.

aula *n.* big man: aple aula (or *au li ‘is big’?) he is big (JT).

### B

-ba-1 *v. der. prefix* (4.2; 7.2.).

-ba-2 *v* (8.1-2.): ka umer kak naba I am not going at all (TD).

babi *n.* father (JT).
babu pers pron.; 3.2.

badu n. native name of Mulgrave (Bardoo) Island (BT).

baimi v. ? stop: ma i baimi you stop crying (JT).

bakamu v. bakiamu

bakiamu (bakamu-) v. go: kimiar bakamu the man went (BT), e bakamuda he is gone (TD), kabanakamulu I am going (JT), able le bakiamuda he went (JT) mi mabakiamule we two are going (JT; exclusive ?), wi obakiamulam they two are going (JT), ma merem bakiamu you go to Murray Island (JT), a dem bakiamuda go out or away (JT).

bakir n. coin: able bakir that coin (JT).

-bamri- v. -mi-.

-baraigi- v. set (of the sun): lim baraigidari the sun sets (JT).

barki n. ? kara erar barki I am getting tired (JT).

-basm- v. (cf. 8.14.) look at oneself or one another: ka babu basmili I am looking at myself (JT), ma (bu) basmer you look at yourself (JT), merbibu basmereriei we two are looking at one another (JT), waxole wabu basmer don't you look at one another (JT), wi neis tababu basmer they two are looking at one another (JT), mabu basmir looking at yourself (JT), kakabu galasge basmiri I am looking at myself in the mirror (JT), ki basmerida we all look at oursevles (JT).

baso- refl. rec. v. listen to oneself or to each other: mabu basoli you listen to yourself (JT), mimi merbibu basreiryeyi we two are listening to one another (JT), wi gari tababu basreda they all are listening to one another (JT), emetu tababu basreda listen to yourself (?) before (JT), wi lag lag tababu obasolare they want to listen to one another (JT).

-batager- v. refl. rec. talk to each other: mir batagrei (two) talking the language' (JT).

-batawirik- v. refl. itr. turn round: ma batawirik you turn round (JT; imperative), e batawirikda he turned round (JT), e obatawirik he will turn round (JT), emetu ma, ki batawirikda you, we all turned round before (JT).

bau n. 1. side of face or head, cheek; 2. side of a ship (JT).

-bazo- v. -zo-.

beizam (beizami-) n.: erg. beizamide shark: beizamide kari nargi, abi irgi the shark bit me, him (JT).

bu pers. pron. 3.2.

D

da- pers. prefix. 5.3.

-da1 plural suffix 7.8.

-da2 preterit suffix 6; 7.9.

dali v. -li-.

-dar plural v. der. suffix 7.10.

dasmir v. -sm-

dawita n.: acc. dawitai; poss. dawitara David: a dede dawitai dasmili God sees David (MD), dawitara meta David's house (MD).

de- pers. prefix 5.4.

-de erg. suffix 2.2.

debe n. good: debe meta good or nice house (BT), mara meta debe meta your house is a good house (BT), abli kimiare debele (= debe li ?) that man is good (BT), debe idim good morning (JT).

debele n. a good man (?) cf. s.v. debe. —Compare aule.

-demari adv. ? straight or like a target (sic; JT, BT).

di- pers. prefix 5.5.

dikmerkedri v. ? able lu kari doge dikmerkedri this thing is sitting on you (e.g. 'a fly'; JT).

doge adv. postp. on: kari, mari, abi, merbi doge on me, you, him, us, (JT).
E

e₁ pers. pron. 3. 2-3.
e₂ e-; dem. pron. 3. 5-6.
-e ipf. suffix 6; 7. 11.
-e- prefix vowel 4.3., 5.
ebur n. fly (JT).
eged n. that one (BT).
egedge adv. here (BT).
egedlam(e) adv. from here or from home (BT).
-ei dual suffix 7.12.
-em all. suffix or postp. (2.2.) to: Oyster Key em to Oyster Key (BT).
emetu (metu) adv. before (IT).
erar (?) v. barki.
eso n. adv. thank you (from the western island language; BT): au esuan many thanks (BT).

G

gair plural n. or adv. many: gair kimiar (many) men (BT), gair lar ‘many fish (TD), wi gair le (gairle) they all (JT).
galas n. (loc. galasge) mirror: mamabu galasge basmer look at yourself in the mirror (JT).
-gard- v. (ipf. -garde; pf. -gard) turn: wagede nar digardi the wind turned the boat (JT), nagarde going to turn (JT), wi able nar nagardeda they are turning that boat (JT), digardeda turned (?) (JT); digardi turn round (JT; imperative?).
-ge loc. suffix: 2.2.: Cairn's Harbour ge at Cairn's Harbour.
ged (gede-, gedi-) n. abl. gedlam; loc. gedge; all. gedem, gedim island, land (i.e. the Polinesian nuku, Japanese shima) home, place: na ged ma nali from what island are you? (TD).
gemi adv. here (JT).
-ger- v. ipf. -gre; pf. -geri, -gri; (8.3.) 1. turn; 2. set (a course), make for; 3. chase: egremar turn around your face (to look) (BT), nab ki digreda we try hard for that place (BT).
gerger n. loc gergerge daytime (BT, JT).
gergerko v. nerut.
-gi loc. suffix 2.2.
gim n. sick, sickness: ka gim gim nali I am sick (JT), able le gim gim dali he is sick (JT), kiki gim gim dali (two people), uridli (a lot) we are sick (JT).
girgir n. thunder (JT).
gize n. adv. ? all: able le gize wi kari nakuarda they all gave me (JT).
gur (guri-) n. erg. guride; loc. gurge; all. gurim, gur em sea, salt water: ma emetu gur egri you finished swimming (JT).

I

i n. crying: ma i baimi you stop crying (JT), au i big crying (JT). —Compare -zo-.
-i¹ acc. suffix 2.2.
-i² pf. suffix 6; 7.13.
-i- prefix vowel 4.3, 6; 7.13.

iba adv. conn. both, and: ama iba babi (both) mother and father.

idim n. morning: debe idim good morning (JT).

-ir v. der. suffix 7.14.

-isa- v. take (?): ismili take one (TD), ma gair ais you take it all (imperative), able naisa he took all (TD; 7.3).

K

ka pers. pron. 3.2-3.
-ka v. der. suffix 7.15.
kak adv. 1. straight; 2. very; 3. at all: au kak kale very big (JT), ka umer kak naba I am not going at all (TD), — Compare nat.
kaka, kakabu pers. pron. 3.2.
kale v. kak.
kape pers. pron. 3.3.
kar v. nula.
kara, kari pers. pron. 3.3.
-kas-1 v. swim: netat lar nige ikase one fish swims in the water (TD), ka nakase I swim (TD), gair lar nakasar many fish swim (TD), neis lar nakase two fish swim (TD)
-kas-2 v. cook: lar dikasir fish is cooking (TD), netat lar di kasi r one fish is cooking (TD)
-ka(wo)- v. 8.4.
-ke- v. do: ikeli doing (BT), e ikeli that one did it (BT).
kebi n. little, small, young: kebi neur little girl, kebi werem little boy, kebi le young people (BT).
kensaba n. Cairn's Harbour.
-kepwo- v. ipf. kepwoi think: ma nalu dikepwoi what are you thinking about? (JT), ka abi dikepwoi I am thinking about him (JT), e dikepwoi he is thinking about her (JT).
kerbi pers. pron. 3.3.
kiriba, kereba pers. pron. 3.3.
ki1 n. night: debe ki good night, kige at night (JT).
ki2 pers. pron. 3.2-3.
kiki pers. pron. 3.3.
kimir (kimiare-) n. erg. kimiarede man: abli kimiarede deser this man did or made it (BT).
kikem adv. long ago: ka abi kikem erdari I saw him long ago (JT).
kiriba pers pron. 3.3.
ko, -ko- adv. again.
kole n. white people: wa kole you two are white people (JT), wa gair kole you all (JT).
koma adv. back, again. —Compare ko.
kor n. 1. back; 2. stern (JT).
korider adv. ? ma korider emri you run-go (sic; JT).
kosker (koskel, koskir) n. woman: na koskir ma nali what (kind of) woman are you? (JT).
-kuali- v. feed, give to eat or drink: e werem lewer ikuali she is feeding the child (JT), e werem lewer ikuari she fed the child, ma abi ari ikuar you give him drink (JT; perhaps the same verb as -kua(r)- (q.v.).
-kua(r)- v. 8.5.
-kuei- v. 8.6.
kueili- v. caus. ipf. kueili stand or raise up: e abi ekueili he is standing him up (JT), e kari nakueili he is standing me up, e mari nakueili he is standing you up (JT), he tried to make me, you stand up; the perfective mode is expressed by forms of -kuei- (q.v.).
kukupi v. atrapi.

L
lag lag adv. smell sweet, like, wish, want: ka mari lag lag nasmir I want to see you (BT), abli lag lag ma nali he wants you (? BT), ka lag lag lar I want food (JT).
laip n. ear(s) (BT).
-lam1 abl. suffix 2.2.
-lam2 v. der. suffix 7.16.
lar n. 1. fish; 2. meat, food (cf. Austronesian ikan).
le n. erg. lede man, people: able le these or those people, lede nakaurerti people (three or four) took (her) away (TD).
-le v. der. suffix 4.2.; 7.17.
lewer n. food: ka lag lag lewer I want food (BT).
-li v. der. suffix 7.18.
li- v. 8.7.
lim (limi-) n. erg. limide; loc. lim ge; all. limem sun (JT).
-lu v. der. suffix 4.2; 7.19.

M
-m all. suffix 2.2.
ma pers. pron. 3.2-3.
mabiyg n. Jervis Island (BT and Eveline Weasel).
mabu pers. pron. 3.2.
malamala n. window (JT).
mama pers. pron. 3.2-3.
mamur adv. can (?): ka mari mamur nasmir I can see you (BT).
mape pers. pron. 3.3.
mara pers. pron. 3.3.
mari pers. pron. 3.3.
-marik- v. put, push, chuck: ma able nar gurem emarik you put ('chuck') the boat into the water (JT).
mayem adv. come close here (i.e. good day, hello, etc.; BT).
meb (mebe-) n. abl. meblam; loc. mebge; all. mebem moon (JT).
mer (mer e- ) n. abl. merlam; loc. merge; all. merem Murray Island (TD, JT).
merbi, merbibu, merbim pers. pron. 3.3.
meriam n. Murray Island man or people: meriam mir Mer, the Murray Island language (BT, JT), also = mer (q.v. ?), meriam le Murray Islander (JT), ma meriam nali or ma nali meriam or meriam ma nali you are a Murray Islander (JT).
meriam le n. erg. meriam lede Murray Islander (= meriam; JT).
mereba, meriba pers. pron. 3.3.
merle n. Murray Islander: ka, ma, e merle I, you, he (am, are, is) a Murray Islander (JT), wi, mi gair merle they, we (many) are Murray Islanders (JT).
meta (mita ?) n. poss. metara; abl. metalam; loc. metagi, metage; all. metaem house, home: kara, abra meta my, his house or home (JT), metara tot the top of the house (JT), metabal bakamu I am going from home (BT), ka kara metagi nami I am sitting in my house (BT).
metu v. emetu.
mi pers. pron. 3.2-3.
-mi- (-mri-) v. 8.8.
nimi pers. pron. 3.2.
mir n. language (JT), Murray Island language (TD).
mirem adv. want: ka mirem dasmere I want to see (him) (JT).
mise adv. perhaps, if, when (?): mise ma takomer ma kari umerem natager when you come back you tell me or let me know (JT).
-mri- v. -mi-.
mua n. the native name of Bank's Island (Moa).
mud n. shadow, shade (BT).
muigi adv. inside: muigi nam i sitting inside (BT); cf. Saibai muyi inside (also fire).
muris adv. far away: au murisem at a great (long) distance (BT), muris gedlam from far away (BT).
mut (mut mut) n. noise (BT).

N
na (na-) interr. pron. 3.7.
na-1 plural der. prefix 4.2; 7.3.
na-2 pers. prefix. 5.2.
nab adv. try: ma nab ikeli you try to make it (BT), ka nab dasmeli I cannot find (it) (JT).
nade interr. adv. where: nade dali where is he? (BT).
naka interr. adv. how?: naka ma nali how are you? (JT).
nako interr. adv. how?: ma nako ma nali how are you? (JT).
nalu **interr. pron.** 3.7.

nalugem **interr. adv.** why?: nalugem iezoli why does he cry? (TD).

naluglam **interr. adv.** why?: wapi naluglam eblini wa ikawerti why did you fellows take Eveline away? (BT).

namidawa v. 8.8.

nano n. breast: nano sus milk (TD).

nar (nari-) n. poss. narira; abl. narlam; loc. narge, boat: able narira op, bau, kor the prow, side, stern of that ship (JT), narge namidawa sitting in the boat (cf. 8.8.), narlam eupama getting off or jumping out of the boat.

nat **adv.** nat kak straight (BT, JT).

neis n. two: neis neis netat five (BT), neis lar two fish(es) (TD), neis le two men (JT), neis a netat three (JT; neis and netat ?).

nerut n. another: nerut gergerko tomorrow (BT).

netat n. one: netat le one man (BT, JT).

nete **interr. pron.** 3.7.

neti **interr. pron.** (= nete, q.v.): mi neti badali who are we two? (JT).

neur n. daughter, girl: kara neur my daughter (BT), kara neure (neur e; idem. voc.; BT), kebi neur little girl.

ni n. loc. nige water, fresh water (BT, TD, JT): lar nige ikasei fish (two or three) swim in water (TD).

nole **neg. adv.** no, not: nole don't (JT), wa nule (= nole) abi ikawerti you (plural) don't take her away (BT).

nula kar nothing (JT).

op n. 1. face; 2. prow: abra op its face (i.e. of the wind; BT), mara op your face (BT), keriba op our face or prow (JT).

**P**

papa n. father (MD). —Compare babi.

pe (?): nete pe ma nali who is she? (TD).

-pe v. lie down: e ipe he is lying down (JT).

peirdi adv. just now (JT).

poni n. all. poniem eye(s) (BT, JT).

—Compare puni.

punish n. eye(s): au puni (JT), au puni puni (BT) big eyes. —Compare puni.

**R**

-r v. der. suffix 7.22.

-ra poss. suffix 2.2.

-ra- v. der. infix 4.2.; 7.6.

-rar v. der. suffix 7.20.

-rdar v. 8.9.

-rder- ? v. be (?): wi urder they (many) were (JT), ki ... urder we were (many people) (JT). —Compare -wer-

-rdi v. caus make lie down: ma abi irdi make him lie down (JT).

-reg- (-rg-) v. 8.10.

-ri- (-r-) v. 8.11.

-ro- (-rw-) v. 8.12.

-rsir- (-rser-) v. 8.13.

**S**

sager n. southeast wind (BT); the same word is used in this sense in Saibai.

-semu- v. finish: kara gim emetu esemuda my sickness finished, i.e. I was sick (JT).

sep n. loc. sepge ground: mi sepge dimi we two are sitting on the ground (JT).
-ser- v. -rsir-.

sikak adv. very well or all right (JT).


-sme-, -smi- v. -sm-

-so- v. 8.15.

sogi n. loc. sogige grass: ma sogige ekrei you stand up on the grass (JT; imperative).

sogob n. a smoke (JT).

sus n. nano sus milk (TD). —Compare nano.

susri n. rainbow (JT).

T

t- v. der. prefix 7.4.

taba v. come: kaka taba I have come (JT), karim taba coming to me (JT).

tababu pers. pron. 3.2.

tabu n. erg. tabude snake: tabude kari nargi, abi irgi the snake bit me, him (JT).

tag n. hand (BT).

tagai n. the Southern Cross (BT, JT).

-tager- v. ipf. tagre; pf. tagri tell: natager tell me (JT), ka mari natagre I will tell you (JT), ka mari natagri I told you (JT).

takome- v. come back: takomer come back (JT), kaka takomeda I will come back (JT).

-tar- v. pick up: ka etarda or etarda ka I picked it up (JT), ma etaru you pick it up (JT), ataruklu going to pick up (JT).

-tawirik v. turn round: ma datawirik you turn it round (JT), ka datawiriklu I will turn it (JT), ka datawirikda I turned it round (JT), ma chair datawirik you turn the chair round (JT), ka able datawiriklu I want to turn that (JT), kaka datawirikda I turned it round (JT), emetu ma datawirikda you turned it round before (JT).

teter (titir) n. leg (BT).

tikau v. (7.4; cf. 8.4) bring, give: ma kani tikau give me water (TD).

-timed- v. push, chuck: ma able nar gurim timed you ‘chuck’ that boat (JT), ka able nar gurim atimedlu I will ‘chuck’ the boat into the water (JT).

-tome- v. show: natomer show me (JT), ka mari natomeda I will show you (JT), ka mari natomelu I want to show you (JT), natomer kari show (it) to me (JT), ka mari emetu natomeda I showed you before (JT).

tot n. top (JT).

U

u- v. der. prefix 4.2.

umai v. omai.

umele, umer v. adv.? cannot: ka umer kak naba I am not going at all (TD), wa umele kari nasmili you cannot see me (TD).

umerem v. adv.? : mise ma takomer ma kari umerem natager when you come back you tell me or let me know (JT). —Compare mirem (?).

-upama- v. jump off, get off: narlam eupama jumping out of the boat.

ur n. fire (BT, JT).

uridli v. see 8.7.

-usme- (-osme-) v. be born: kaka eusmeda merge I was born on Murray Island (JT), kak(a) merge eosmeda, idem (JT).

-uwe- v. burn: limide mari nauweli the sun burned you (JT).

W

wa pers. pron. 3.2-3.

waba pers. pron. 3.3.

wabi pers. pron. 3.3.

wabu pers. pron. 3.2.

wag (wage-) n. erg. wagede wind: sager wagede the southeast wind (JT).

wapu pers. pron. 3.3.
wau (w a w u) adv. yes: wau (BT), wa(w)u (JT).
wayi adv. oh!: wayi eblina Oh! Eveline (BT).
we- v. der. prefix 4.2.; 7.5.
wer n. star(s) (JT).
-wer- v. 8.16.
werem (wereme-) n. erg. weremede boy, child: kebi werem little boy, kebi weremede nano sus ereli the child is having the breast, a feed (TD).
wi pers. pron. 3.2-3.

Y
yaba, yabi pers. pron. 3.3.
yagar yagar n. (= 'poor fellow' in Saibai), the name of a language in the western Torres Strait group (BT).
yaubir n. wave(s) (BT).
yawali n. paper, book (JT).
yawo adv. good-bye (the same used in answering; BT).

Z
-zo- v. 8.17.
SAIBAI

1. This language which is also known by the name of yagar yagar is an Australian language spoken chiefly on the island of Saibai (not far from the New Guinea coast), but also on Badu, Moa (St. Paul's island), Jervies and others of the western group of Torres Strait islands.

Informants

2. Mr John Bagasti (JB), near Tully, Queensland;
   Mr Mark Miller (MM), near Tully (with JB);
   Mrs Baimad Madua (BM), at Silk Wood, north of Tully;
   Mrs Keriz Gagai (KG), at Silk Wood.

Phonology

3.1. The Saibai phonetic system is broadly of New Guinea type. The vowel phonemes are: a, e, i, u and ø (the latter like English ‘u’ short). Vowel length is insignificant, monosyllabic forms often having a lengthened vowel sound: ga ‘who?’, za ‘thing’, tu ‘smoke’, mud ‘house’, nel ‘name’, gar ‘leg’ (bubu ‘charcoal’, with long vowels, may be interpreted as a reduplicated bu bu).

The consonant phonemes are the following:

- b a bilabial voiced plosive (as in English);
- d a dental voiced plosive (more or less as in English);
- ŋ a retroflex voiced plosive (Hindi type);
- g a palatal-velar plosive (as in English);
- ɲ a palatal-velar nasal (as English ‘ng’);
- k a palatal-velar voiceless plosive (as in English);
- l a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian);
- m a bilabial nasal (as in English);
- n a dental nasal (as in English);
- p a bilabial voiceless plosive (as in English);
- r a trilled continuant (as in Italian);
- s a voiceless sibilant (as in English);
t a dental voiceless plosive (more or less like English ‘t’);
\( \text{\textdeg} \) a retroflex voiceless plosive (like Hindi \( \text{\textdeg} \));
w a bilabial semivowel (like English ‘w’);
y a palatal semivowel (like English ‘y’ in ‘yes’);
z a voiced sibilant (basically the English ‘z’; cf. below).

Phonetic variants

3.2. Among vowel phonemes, an o- sound may take the place of a basic u: (wu)to- \( \sim (w)u \)tu ‘sleep’ (also cf. Saibai pok or puk, from English ‘fork’). The sound of \( \text{o} \) has many variants, especially before y: buy or bay (‘comes’; KG), gayga or geyga for gayga ‘sun’ (that is assimilation to English ‘i’, among bilingual speakers). The diphthong ai (ay) may appear as ei (ey): \( \text{\textdeg} \)eimun \( \sim \text{\textdeg} \)aymun ‘we’.

3.3. The sound of z alternates with that of d\( \text{\textdeg} \) or dz: dza for za ‘thing’. A palatal n (\( \text{n} \)) seems to occur as a variant of \( \eta \) before i: \( \text{n} \)inu for \( \eta \)inu ‘your’, etc. For p the sound of English ‘f’ is occasionally used: yifika for yapka(z) ‘woman’ (KG), fand\( \text{\textdeg} \)a for panza ‘cabbage tree’ (JB). Before an initial i- the semivowel y- may appear (yidima- \( \sim \) idima- ‘break’) and before an initial u- the bilabial semivowel (w) may appear: wutu- \( \sim \) utu- ‘kill’. Initial y- may occasionally appear as d\( \text{\textdeg} \)-: d\( \text{\textdeg} \)abugud for yabugud ‘road’. A retroflex (or non-trilled) ‘r’ sound has been found in \( \text{\textdeg} \)ariya ‘the Barrier Reef’ (representing the English pronunciation).

3.4. Words and syllables may begin either with a vowel or a consonant phoneme, but according to the tendency mentioned in 3.3. a semivowel may appear in front of i or u, as in: puyi \( \sim \) pui ‘tree’. (Incidentally, the termination of such a form as pui does not seem to be effectively distinguished from that of, for instance, \( \text{\textdeg} \)aj ‘comes’; hence, is ‘great’ actually \( \text{k} \)aj or \( \text{k} \)ai or even \( \text{k} \)ai?)). No word seems to begin with \( \text{\textdeg} \).

3.5. Originally dissyllabic vowel-ending forms may appear apocopated: \( \text{\textdeg} \)ar ‘leg’ (cf. Gugu-Bujun \( \text{\textdeg} \)ari, idem). Sometimes alternative forms are found: nu\( \text{id} \)i ‘he’ (ergative). In this way may be explained gub ‘wind’ beside guba- in the ergative gubanu (‘the wind’); also compare dagabut (from dan, in section 4.1.). The same suffix (-nu) my further appear as -n (guban = gubanu) and, similarly, in the conjugation, where the perfective -nu may appear as -n (cf. manu ‘took’ and (y)idiman ‘broke’).

Morphology
Nominal stems and derivation

4.1. Nominal stems seem—as in most cases in the Australian languages—to be basically dissyllabic. For apocapation of final vowels, compare in 3.5. Stems may be compound (or juxtaposed), sometimes serving to express a possessive relation (cf. 4.3.), as in: dagabut ‘gap between teeth’ (cf. dan ‘teeth’ and section 3.5.), malu wapi (maluwapi) ‘sea fish’, dawita lagunu ‘in David’s home or place’.
4.2. The following nominal derivative suffixes have been noted: -gal (collective ?), -giña (caritive), -kaz (diminutive ?), -lña (attributive) and -z(i) (diminutive ?). The collective -gal may appear in mabaigal ‘people’ (cf. mabaig ‘person’). The attributive -lña and the caritive -giña are clear in: danjalña ‘having teeth’ (dan) and danjagina ‘without teeth’ (cf. 3.5). The suffix -kaz (which may rather be personalising or individualising) is noted in: garkaz ‘man’, ywpkaz ‘woman’, muginakaz ‘baby’—all without parallel primitive forms. The suffix may be compared to Saibai kazi ‘little’. The final sound (-z(i)) appears to be a suffixed element in consideration of the existence of a parallel form in -ka (Jervice island): garka ‘man’, ywpka ‘woman’ (KG).

Declension
4.3. In Saibai four clear case forms have been recorded: an ergative (in -n(u), -u), a locative (in -nu), an ablative (in -pu) and an allative (in -pa). It seems that the ergative and locative (also having a possessive function) are expressed by the same suffix: gubanu (‘the wind’, ergative), purkanu (‘in (my) eye’), dawitan mud (‘David’s house’; possessive). The ablative is seen in: pau purkapu ‘out of my eye’, mölpalpu ‘from the moon’, the allative in: mölpalpa ‘to the moon’. The difference between -n(u) and -u (in various functions) is not clear: garkazu ‘the man’s’ and garkazin ‘the man (made it)’ (ergative).

Article (?)
4.4 An affixed -u appears to have the function of classifying article (by analogy with the Austronesian languages) in such forms as: yinau ‘this man’ (cf. yina ‘this woman’), mudau ‘the house’ (mud), gubau ‘the wind’ (gub). In other cases, -u is the possessive suffix (see in 4.3.); it is not likely that -u is a masculine article in: ywpkazu lag ‘the woman’s house’. See further in Demonstrative pronouns (4.7.).

Personal pronouns
4.5. There are personal pronouns for the three persons in the singular, dual and plural and further different forms in the third person singular, according to whether reference is to a masculine or a non-masculine noun. The recorded forms are the following:

1st person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ŋai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ŋat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>ŋau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>ŋana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>ŋayka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>ŋapa; ŋayapa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galpan, galmun, galamun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss. ŋaban; galpan (ŋaban, galpan lag ‘our home’; a compound?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1st person plural:

nom. ñura (ñalmun, ñalamun, itr.; ñaymun)
poss. mura (probably ñura: mura lag ‘our home’, a compound?)

2nd person singular:

nom. ñi (ñi, ñi-; cf. 3.3.); ñin (KG; originally *i, *i-).
erg. ñid
poss. ñinu (ñinu lag ‘your home’) acc. ñin (KG), ñi (JB)

2nd person dual:

nom. ñipil; ñipen (ñipel)
poss. ñipil (ñipil lag ‘your home’; a compound)

2nd person plural:

nom. ñita
poss. ñitamun (ñitamun lag ‘your home’)

3rd person singular masc. (‘he’):

nom. nui
erg. nuid(i)
poss. nuvu
acc. nuin

3rd person singular non-masc. (‘she’)

nom. na

3rd person dual:

nom. palai (intransitive)

3rd person plural:

nom. tana (itr.)
poss. tanamun (tanamun lag ‘their place, home’)

Demonstrative pronouns

4.6. The basic demonstrative stems are: yina ‘this, here’, as in: (y)ina purkanu muinu ‘here is (my) eye’, and se-, sa- ‘that; there’. Of the former no other case form has been recorded; of the latter a nominative (in -na) and an allative (in -pa) are found:

nom. sena, sana; sei (sei arkat ‘that hollow’ or ‘there is a hollow’) all. sepa

4.7. Both stems may be extended by means of a syllable -bi (of which the function is not clear): yinabi yabugud ‘this road’, yinabi lag ‘this house’, senabi ‘that one’ (JB), senabi lag ‘that house’.
4.8. These demonstrative stems may be further specified by an affixed (or infixed) masculine article (-u): yinau ‘this (man)’, senau ‘that (man)’; hence: senau garkaz ‘that man’, but sena puyi ‘that tree’, sena za ‘that thing’, sena mar ‘take that’; further: senau bay ‘he comes there’. The article appears between the stem (yina-) and the extension (-bi) in: yinaubi garkaz ‘this man’, but: yinabi yapkaz ‘this woman’, yinabi yabugul ‘this road’. A shorter form is senub: senub garka na ‘who is that man?’ (KG).

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns

4.9. Two interrogative-indefinite stems are used: ŋa- (personal: ‘who?’) and mi- (impersonal: ‘what?’). They are inflected according to the model of nouns or personal pronouns:

The personal ŋa- ‘who?’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ŋad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>ŋunu, ŋunuŋa (ŋunu za ‘whose thing?’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ŋaya (ŋita ŋaya ‘who are you?’; three or four)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ŋawal (ŋipel ŋawal ‘who are you two?’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The impersonal mi- ‘what?’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>mipa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.10. The form ŋa is said to be used for ‘what?’ also. In any case, it is used when asking for a person’s name (which latter is consequently a personal noun): ŋinu (ńinu) nel ŋa ‘what is your name?’, literally ‘who is your name?’ or ‘your name who?’. Similarly lag ‘home’: ŋa lagupa ‘whither?’ (‘to who camp?’). The form miza ‘what?’ is to be explained as mi za ‘what thing?’: yina miza (mi za) ‘what is this?’. Another alternative form (used by KG) is miai ‘what?’ (e.g. sena za miai ‘what is that thing?’). The allative form (mipa) is used (like the common Australian miŋagu, etc.) in the sense of ‘what for?’ or ‘why?’.

Verbal stems and derivation

5.1. Verbal stems always end in a vowel: ma- ‘take’, (y)ima- ‘see’, (y)idi- ‘break’ (intransitive), tari- ‘run’, sagu- ‘play’. They may be derived by suffixed syllables, of which the following two have been recorded: -ma- (probably causative) and -ri- (intransitive, in various shades of meaning).

5.2. The causative -ma-. This is the probable function of -ma- (as in most Queensland languages; also cf. ma- ‘take’). It occurs in (y)idima- ‘break’ (if originally ‘make break’); probably also in aima- ‘make’ (primitive stem not recorded).
5.3. **The intransitive** -ri-. In the Queensland languages this derivative element expresses various intransitive senses (reflexive, reciprocal, incipient, etc.). It seems to occur in Saibai: tari- 'run' (if the stem is ta- 'go'), uzari- 'go' or 'come' (primitive stem uza-, idem).

**Modal conjugation**

5.4. In the modal conjugation of the verb the four basic mood forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) may be fairly well established (especially by comparison with some of the Cape York languages).

5.5. **The imperative.** Originally the imperative is the verbal stem, as seen in: uza 'come' (qin napa uza 'you come to me'; KG). It is found with the extension -ya (as in some Cape York languages) in: bɔya 'come' (stem bɔ-; JB), ɔi uzariya 'you go' (JB). The most common extension is, however, the termination -r: aimar 'make', patar 'cut', mar 'take', idimar 'break', (y)imar 'look, see', ɔi sagur 'you play (music)', wutur 'kill'. This unusual termination may simply copy Queensland English phonetics ('idea-r', etc.), to which parallels are found elsewhere.

5.6. **Imperfective.** By analogy with certain of the Cape York languages, it seems safe to establish the 'nominaliser' -r (added to the verbal stem) as an exponent of the imperfective mood (or aspect). It occurs in the following forms: bɔy (buy; KG) 'comes, is coming' (stem bɔ-, bu-), nui wutui 'he is asleep', galmun tari (for *tariy) 'we two run'. The final -y is either suppressed after a stem-final -i- (*tariy > tari) or modified to -z (cf. 3.3.): uzariy > uzariz 'going'.

5.7. **Perfective.** As in some Cape York languages, the perfective 'nominaliser' is -n- (with or without a case suffix); in Saibai this suffix is -u (which, however, may be apocopated; see 3.5.), whence the perfective mood ends in -nu (alternatively -n), incidentally the same as the locative case suffix in the nominal declension (see 4.3.).

5.8. As the terminating -u is rather ablative than locative in the Australian languages, a perfective form in -nu would according to this rather mean 'from or off being, etc.' (cf. English 'to be off smoking or drinking', as the expression of a completed or finished action). The following forms illustrate this: manu 'took' (stem ma-), idiman 'broke', tayanu 'threw or throw'. As seen, past tense is not always expressed (while the action is completed): (y)iman means both 'see' and 'saw', malilan pagan 'hit with a spear' is rendered by 'spearing' (completed action; cf. wutun 'spearing, killing'; cf. tayanu above).

5.9. **Intentional.** As usual, the intentional mood or aspect is expressed by the allative suffix (in Saibai -pa), added to the nominaliser -y-, whereby the termination -ypa arises (added to the verbal stem). The following forms are intentional: (y)imaypa 'come to see (you)', ubin kədjaypa 'want to go', maypa 'to take', gai ubin miepa utuypa 'I want to sleep'. Notice the common Australian construction with an allative and intentional in: ubin sepa maypa 'want to take that' (literally 'want that for to take' or 'longs for that, for to take').

5.10. Several other modal forms are recorded from Saibai (many of which are not clear as to their function). A gerundial form in -l (common in Cape York languages) seems clear in: dadaJ 'sitting', giriel 'dancing' (?). Saibai forms in -ygi (apocopated -yg) are particularly interesting.
Their most common function is prohibitive, as in: *idimayg* ‘don’t break’ (stem *-idima-*), *sena maygi* ‘do not take that’, *mapuidayg* ‘don’t sing’, *nagayg* ‘don’t look’, *wutuyg* ‘don’t kill’. The sense is, however, also negative, as in: *imaygina* ‘has never seen me’ (cf. 5.12). A rather similar form in *-yk(i)* expresses (1) performed action (*aimayk* ‘made’) or (2) potential action (*imaykpa* ‘I can see (a man)’). —Other verbal forms (not to be explained) will be found in the Saibai vocabulary.

**Personal conjugation**

5.11. There seem to be traces of a personal conjugation in Saibai, analogous to the one found in Birri and Kantyu (both in north-eastern Queensland). Mutilated forms of the personal pronouns may be suffixed to a modal verb form, to express either a subject or object of the verbal action. The following elements would belong to this category: -*ŋa* (‘I’; cf. *ŋai, ŋat*), -*na* (‘me’; cf. *ŋana*), -*in* (?) (‘you’?; cf. *ŋin* ‘you’), -*na* (‘we’; cf. common Australian *ŋana* ‘we’ — incidentally, the above suffixed forms are closely similar to those used in Kantyu). Forms of the personal conjugation are found in: *imaykina* ‘I can see’ (cf. 5.10.), *imaygina* ‘has never seen me’ (cf. 5.10.), *ŋalmun tari(y)na* ‘we are running’, *ŋi yina mipa manin* ‘why did you take this?’ (?)

**Auxiliary verb forms**

5.12. Forms analogous to suffixed auxiliary verb forms common in the languages of north-eastern Australia seem to occur in Saibai as well (although mostly difficult to analyse). Two apparently progressive (?) forms, one in -*ka* (common as an auxiliary verb, ‘to be’ in Australian languages) and one in -*ulayke* (possibly containing the same element -*ka*, in the form -*ke*). The former (-*ka*) occurs in: *ŋai, nui uzarika* ‘I am, he is going’; the second one is found in: *guban nurulayke* ‘the wind is making a noise’ (incidentally, *ulayke* is explained by informants to mean ‘walk’ or ‘go for’), *ŋeimun paurlayke* ‘we are swimming’.

**Vocabulary**

Order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, e, g, ŋ, i, k, l, m, n, p, r, (r), s, t, ŏ, u, ə, w, y, z.

A

**A**

*abal n.* name of a tree (JB).
*abli n.* able the name of the Murray and Danby island language (JB).
*adapada v. adv. ?: ŋi adapada* you come out (JB).
*aðia adv.* outside (JB); (KG has adia)
*agaturik n. erg. agaturikan* axe (JB).

*aima-* v. imp. ? *aima*; ipf. *aimar* (KG); pf. *aimayk* make: nuid (dawita) gagai aima he (David) made (?) the bow (KG), nuid ŋayka aimayk gagai he made the bow for me (KG).

*arkat n.* hole or hollow (in a tree; JB).
*atapa adv. ?: atapa ŋau purka ...* maypa to take it out of my eye (JB).

—Compare *adapada.*
B

bagasti n. family name (JB).
bāṇal adv. tomorrow (JM).
baimad n. a feminine given name.
bariya (bar-) n. the Barrier Reef (JB);
adia bariya outside the Barrier Reef (KG).
bataiṇa n. morning; kapu bataiṇa good morning (JB), bāṇal bataiṇa tomorrow morning (MM).
-bi pron. suffix. 4.7.
binibin n. drinking cup (JB).
bu- v. bō-.
bubu (bu bu) n. charcoal (KG).
bup n. wood or tree (JB).
but n. gap (between teeth; JB).
bō- (bu-, KG) v. imp. bōya; ipf. bōya come: ni bōya you come (JB), nui bōya he is coming (KG).

D

dada- v. ger. dadal sit: nai dadal nipi nīpen I am sitting between you two (JB).
dan (daṇa-) n. teeth (JB).
daṇabut n. gap between teeth (JB).
daṇaginya car. n. without teeth (JB).
daṇalṇa attr. n. having teeth (JB).
dan (dan ?) n. eye (used on Bardoo, Moa and Jervice Islands for Saibai purka, according to JB and KG).
dawita n. erg. poss. dawitan David: dawitan niṇ iman David sees you (JB), dawitan lag David's place or house (JB, KG).
dādwab n. rainbow or halo round the moon (JB).
dānu adv. in (the hollow; JB).

E

eso n. adv. thanks (JB).

G

gagay (gagayi-) n. erg. gaga(y)in bow (JB, KG): gaga(y)in wutun shooting with the bow (JB).
 gaibau n. oak tree (JB).
-gal n. der. suffix 4.2.)
gamul n. white: gamul mabaig white people (JM).
gar adv. 1. far (?); 2. alas, sadly, I am sorry (JB). —Compare utima, yagar.
garka n. man (used on Jervice Island; KG).
—Compare garkaz.
garkaz (garkazi-) n. erg. garkazin; poss. garkazu any man or boy (JB, MM, KG): garkazin lag the man's house (JB), senub garkazin that man (made it) (KG). —Compare garka.
gayga v. gəyga.
 get n. hand (JB).
gigi n. thunder (JB).
-gīṇa car. suffix 4.2.
giriel n. v. ? dance: giriel minaypa to dance (JB).

giturik n. erg. giturikan knife (JB): giturikan bup patar cut a tree or wood with a knife.
gub (guba-) n. erg. guban(u); art. gubau wind (JB, BM, KG): gubau ulayke the wind is blowing (JB), guban manu the wind took it (JB)
golas n. glass or window (JB): kapu golas a good window or glass.
gəyga (gəyga) n. the sun (JB): gubau ulayke gəyga ziru the wind is strong, the sun shines.

J

-ŋa pron. suffix. 5.11.
ŋaban pers. pron. 4.5.: ŋaban lag our (2) house (JB).
ŋad interr. pron. 4.9.
nai pers. pron. 4.5.
naika v. ńayka.
na lagupā v. lag.
ṇalampun pers. pron. 4.5.
ṇalpane pers. pron. 4.5.
ṇapū pers. pron. 4.5.
ṇaparna pers. pron. 4.5.: ńimpa ńapara what do you come to me for? (JB).
ṇar n. leg (JB).
ṇat pers. pron. 4.5.
ṇayapu pers. pron. 4.5.
ṇayka pers. pron. 4.5.
ṇaymuna pers. pron. 4.5.
ņi pers. pron. 4.5.
ņunu pers. pron. 4.5.: ņunu lag your place (JB).
ņipi adv. between (JB).
ņipil pers. pron. 4.5.: ņipil lag your (2) house (JB).
ņita pers. pron. 4.5.
ņitamun pers. pron. 4.5.: ņitamun lag your (pl.) house (JB).
ņuku n. water: wumal ńuku strong drink (JB).
ņul adv. yesterday (MM).
ņunu, ńunuṇa interr. pron. 4.9.: ńunu za whose thing? (KG).
ńura (mura) pers. pron. 4.5.

- in pron. suffix ? 5.11.

K
-kau aux. 5.12.
kabar n. trochus shell (JB).
kadā- v. int. kadāyapa go: ńai ubin ḋayapa məlpalpa I want to go to the moon (JB), kadayapa puida za a comb (something to straighten your hair with; JB—literally 'to go straight-thing').

kakal n. adv. clear (KG), clearly (BM).
kapu n. good (in Able: yawo, JB): kapu bataiŋa good morning, kapu ńuki good water (JB), kapu waṭi no good (MM).—Compare abli.

kaura n. ear (JB).
-kaz nom. der. suffix 4.2.
kazi n. little: garkaz kazi a little man, boy (JB).

kebepora (t) n. Cape Bedford (a Lutheran mission, north of Cairns; JB).

keriz n. a female given name.
ki- v. imp. ki(y) ? come: ńai senau ńi I am coming (JB).

kula n. 1. stone; 2. pearl (JB).—Compare Kantyu gul’a stone.

kuluna n. knee (JB).

kunia n. adv. ?: ńai launə kunia tidiz məlpalpu I cannot come back from the moon (JB).—The sense is possibly 'can' or 'be able to'.

koy n. great, big (in Able: au): koy eso many thanks (in Able: au eso), koy wər big flood (JB), koy məbaig grown-up people (MM).

L
-1 ger. suffix 5.10.
lag (lago-, lagu-, laga-) n. abl. lągunu; loc. lągunu, ląganu, lągNu; all. lągopa, lągupa, lągpa) home, place, house: ńau lag my place (JB), dawita, Billy lagunu at David's, Billy's place or house, muinu lagunu inside (the house) (JB), ńita ńa lagupa where are you folks going to? (literally 'you, to whom, i.e. which, place?).

lauṇa adv. no, not. —Compare lele.

lele adv. no, not (Jerfice, Sunbank Islands, in the central group; JB).—Compare lauṇa.
-lņa attr. der. suffix 4.2.

M

ma- v. imp. mar; pf. manu, manin ?;
  int maypa; prohibitive maygi take:
  sena mar take it (JB), nūd manu he
  took it (JB), nī yina nipa manin why
  do you take this?, nāt yina manin I
  take this (JB), ubin sepa maypa
  want(s) to take this (JB), sena maygi
  don't take that (JB).

-ma- v. der. suffix 5. 1-2.

mabag adv. don't?: napa mabag don't
  come (JB), nī mabag don't go (JB).

mabaig (mabagi-, mabaiga-) n. erg.
  mabagin, mabaigan person, people:
  kāy mabaig grown-up people (MM),
  also used in the sense of a personal
  pronoun: mabaigan nāna imaygina
  he has never seen me (JB).

mabaigal n. (collective ?) people: nīta
  mabaigal you people (JB).

madua n. a surname (cf. 2).

manąguðal n. fork (of a tree or
  branch): arkat (y)ina manąguðal donu
  here is a hole or hollow in the fork (JB).

malil n. erg. malilan spear: malilan
  pagan spearing (JB).

malu n. sea, salt water (JB).

malu wapi n. sea fish (food: JB).

mapet n. baby (JB).

markai n. white man (MM).

mata adv. only: mata nīd you only (JB).

mayi n. shells (in which pearls are found),
  pearls (JB).

mepa v. miepa.

mi, mi- interr. pron. 4.9.

miai interr. pron. 4.10.

miepa (mepa) n. adv. with ubi, ubin
  (q.v.) wish, want: nāi malu wapipa
  ubin miepa I want sea fish (food) (JB),
  imaypa mepa wanting to see.

mina- v. int. minaypa dance (?):
  giriel minaypa to dance (JB).

mipa interr. pron. 4.9.: mipa (want)
  what?, why?.

miza (mīza) interr. pron. 4.10: yina
  miza what is this?, sena miza what is
  that?

mua n. the name of an island, St. Paul's
  Island.

mud (muda-) n. art. mudau house: nīnu
  mudau idimayg don't break the house
  (KG).

muginakaz n. baby (MM).

mui v. muyi.

muida- v. int. muidapa ? build (?):
  senabī garkaz lag muidapa he
  wants to build a house (?) (JB).

muidunu adv. in the space between (JB).

muikun n. fireplace (KG).

muitai n. ? coal (?) (KG): sei muitai
  there on the fire (roasting fish; JB),
  nīd muitai (?)(roasting ?) mui sei
  lagunu muiunu.

mura v. nūra.

muyari- v. imp. muyari; ipf. muyariz,
  cf. 5.6. enter, come inside.

muyi (mui, muy) n. abl. mui̇nu; loc.
  muiunu 1. fire, fireplace; 2. inside (of
  house): mui̇nu from inside (JB), nīd
  sena mar mui̇nu you take that off the
  fire (JB, MM), muiunu lag(u)nu or lag
  mui̇nu inside the house, muiunu in the
  fire.

m̱lipal n. abl. m̱lipaḻnu; all. m̱ḻpaḻpa
  moon (JB).

N

na1 pers. pron. 4.5.

na2 adv. there, now (?) (JB).

-na pron. suffix 5.11.

napuida- v. imp. napuidar; prohibitive
  napuidayg sing: nīd napuidar you
  sing (JB).
nel n. name: ṣinu nel ṣa what (literally 'who?') is your name? (JB).

-n(u) pf. suffix 5.7-8.

nui, nuid(i) pers. pron. 4.5.: nuidi ṣin iman he sees you (JB), ṣat nuin iman I see him (JB), nuid manu he took it, nuid manin he takes it (JB), sena nui’n u pui that is his log (KG), nui tarda he is going (JB), nuid aimayk he made (it) (KG).

nurulayke v. giban(u) nurulayke the wind is making a noise (JB, MM, KG).

naga- v. prohibitive nāgayg look (JB).

nora n. little grain or particle: nora yina purkanu a particle here in my eye (JB).

P

paga- v. imp. pagar spear: ṣid nuin malilan pagar you spear him (JB).

palai pers. pron. 4.5.: palai tarda they (two) are going (JB).

panza n. cf. 3.3. cabbage tree (JB).

paruya adv. in front (JB).

pata- v. imp. patar cut: ṣi patar sena puyi you cut that tree (JB).

paur n. adv. swim: paur ulayke swimming (JB).

puk (puka-) n. loc. pukanu fork (formed by two branches; JB).

puiḍa adv. straight (JB).

puyi (pui, puy) n. loc. puyinu 1. tree; 2. log: puyinu sei arkat a hollow there in the tree (JB), ṣau pui my log (KG).

purka n. abl. purkanu; loc. purkanu eye: ṣau purkanu from my eye (JB, KG).

panipan n. lightning (JB).

R

-r imp. suffix 5.5.

-ri- v. der. suffix 5.1, 3.
ukasar n. two (JB).
ulayke, -ulayke v. aux. walk, go (for) (JB).
umaña n. v. ? dead (JB).
urapun v. wurapun.

utima adv. far: utima gar far away (BM, KG).

uzzi v. imp uza go, come: ṇin ṃapa uza you come to me (KG).

uzari- v. imp. uzariya: ipf. uzariz, cf. 5.6.) go: ṇi uzariya you go (JB), ṇai uzariz lagupa I am going home (JB), ṇi uzariz ṃinu lagupa you are going to your place (JB), ṇai, na uzariz he, she is going (MM), ṇai uzaraidin ńul I went yesterday (MM), ṇai ɓañal batainya uzaride I am going tomorrow morning (MM), ṇai, nui uzarika I am, he is going (KG).

wa adv. yes (JB).

waka-, wakai (?) v. ipf. wakay ? think, want to: ńau wakay (wakai) tamanai I am thinking that I go (MM).

wripsi n. all. wapipa any fish or meat (JB).

watal adv. yes (= wa, q.v.); used in the central or middle group of islands (JB).

watar n. firewood (JB).

waṭi neg. adv. no: kapu waṭi no good (MM).


wur v. wur.

wurab n. coconut tree (JB).

wurapun (urapun) n. one (JB, MM).

wutu- v. imp. wutur; pf. wutun kill, shoot, spear: wutuys or (w)utuziña don't kill (JB).

wutu- v. ipf. wutuy; int. wutuypa sleep (JB): nui (w)upuy he is asleep, ṇai ubin miepa uṭuypa I want to sleep.

war (wur, KG) n. erg. wurnu flood: Ḳay war a big flood (JB).

wosar n. wallaby or kangaroo (JB).

W

wakun ń. erg. wurnu flood: Ḳay wari a big flood (JB).

Y

-y ipf. suffix. 5.6.
yabugud n. way or road (JB, MM).

yagar n. adv. sorry (cf. gar; KG). —Compare yagar yagar.

yagar yagar n. the name of a language, 'Saibai' (JB).

yalbup n. hair (JB).

-yg(i) prohibitive suffix 5.10.

yidima- (idima-) v. imp. idimar; pf. idiman; prohibitive idimayg break (KG): guban mud idiman the wind broke the house, ṇid sena idimar you break that.

yima- (ima-); v. imp. yimar; pf. iman; int. imaypa see, look at: ṇid nui n yimar you see or look at him (KG), ṇat iman sena I see that (JB), imaypa mepa someone coming to see you (JB).

yina, yinabi dem. pron. 4. 6-7.

yipka n. woman (KG). —Compare yəpkaz.

-yk(i) pf suffix 5.10.

-ypa int. suffix 5.9.

yəpkaz n. poss. yəpkazu any woman or girl (JB, MM): yəpkazu lag the woman's house (MM). —Compare yipka.

Z

-z ipf. suffix cf. 5.6.

za n. thing: ṇat sena za manu I took that thing (JB).

-z(i) n. der suffix 4.2.

ziru n. v. shining (JB).
Introduction

1.1. The following notes were taken (between 1970-1973) chiefly from one lady at Townsville, Mrs Dolly Walker, whose language was Gugu-Bujun (one of the well known Gugu or Koko languages in the Cape York Peninsula). Her father was Chinese, but she apparently had a very good knowledge of the Aboriginal language, which in some measure makes up for the circumstance that she was the only speaker available for this language.

1.2. Gugu-Bujun is a member of the important Gugu (or Koko) group of languages of the Cape York Peninsula into which previous research has been done by various students and scholars. In this description of Gugu-Bujun comparison is made with notes earlier taken by the present writer on Gugu-Yalandji, according to one Mr Charlie Collins, at the Cherbourg settlement (near Murgon, in Queensland) and also from a speaker of Gugu-Yimidir (gugu jimidgir), one Mr Fred Gordon, at the Woorabinda settlement (Queensland).

1.3. Notes were also taken (about the same time) from a lady near Bundaberg (Queensland), one Mrs Gracie Kyles, an acquaintance of Mrs Walker's, who also had some knowledge of Mrs Kyles' language; neither of them was sure of its name (probably wagaman, the Chilligo or Everton language).

Abbreviations of quoted languages and language informants

2. The following abbreviations are used:

Gugu-Bujun
   DW, Mrs Dolly Walker, at Townsville, originally from Daintry, Cape York.

Gugu-Yalandji
   YAL CC, Mr Charlie Collins, at Cherbourg.

Gugu-Yimidir, etc
   Yim FG, Mr Fred Gordon, at Woorabinda.
   GK, Mrs Gracie Kyles, at Bundaberg, from Chilligo.
Phonology

3.1. Although in previous descriptions of the Cape York languages the symbols of the voiceless variants of the undifferentiated phonemes /k/, /p/, /t/, etc. have been preferred in representing Aboriginal linguistic forms (for instance pama for bama ‘man’, kantyu for gandu, language name), we shall write the symbols for the corresponding voiced variants (g, b, d, etc.), to conform with the practice adopted by the present writer in describing other Aboriginal languages in eastern Queensland. Our g, b, d, then, are always interchangeable with corresponding /k/, /p/, /t/, in all positions; incidentally it may be observed that the voiced (or semi-voiced) variants are more typical of the word- or syllable-initial position, while the voiceless variants are more typical of the medial or intervocalic position.

Inventory of phonemes

3.2. All the languages described here possess the following basic phonemes:

(1) Vowel symbols

The three fundamental vowel phonemes a, i and u are to be considered as basic in the languages described.

(2) Consonant symbols

- b a bilabial plosive (undetermined as to sonority);
- d a dental plosive (undetermined as to sonority);
- d' a palatalised dental plosive (undetermined as above);
- d̩ a retroflex plosive (undetermined as above; cf. below);
- g a palatal-velar plosive (undetermined as above);
- ñ a palatal-velar nasal (as in English ‘sing’, ‘song’);
- m a bilabial nasal;
- n a dental nasal;
- n̩ a palatalised dental nasal;
- l a lateral continuant (as in French);
- r a trilled vibrant (as in Italian);
- r̩ a retroflex ‘l’ or ‘r’ sound (cf. Hindi);
- j a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’);
- w a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’).

In Gugu-Yimidir an additional vibrant (r) may occur as a distinct phoneme, being partly voiceless and more strongly articulated (as in buraj ‘fire’). The phoneme d (which is unusual initially) may alternate with -r- in the medial, or intervocalic, position: gaða ~ garago, come (DW). The palatal d' may approach a palatal g (g'), in the pronunciation of DW, especially before i: g'iraj for d'iraj ‘now’, g'ubar for d'obar ‘west’. From Gugu-Yimidir one instance is recorded of a ‘pre-occlusive’ l (hence -dl-), namely in budla (for bula ‘drink’, imperative).
Combinatory phonology

3.3. In the languages described here words may begin with any of the consonant phonemes enumerated in 3.2., except \( l, r \), and \( r \); they may end in a vowel sound (-a, -i, -u) or a nasal (-n, -ŋ, -m, -n̂) or, finally, -₁, -r, -r̂ and the semivowel -j (of *-w no instance is recorded). Syllables may begin with any of the basic consonant al phonemes and end in any of the mentioned word-final phonemes. In consequence of this cases of contiguous vowel sounds (or hiatus) cannot be considered as original; such forms as gua, gurijala, wawugaři are to be taken as simplified variants of respectively guwa (‘north’), gurijala (‘black carpet snake’), wawugari (‘dislike’), etc. Apparent diphthongs (as in d'irai ‘man’) should rather be analysed as terminating in a semivowel (hence d'iraj). Original vowel-initial stems take (as in other eastern Queensland languages) an initial consonant element (-l, -j- or -w-): 1) inu ‘your’, 1) inuni ‘you’ (accusative; cf. Punthamara ini ‘you’), wuna- ‘lie down, sleep’ (from *una-; cf. Kalali _unita-, idem).

3.4. A nasal phoneme may be intercalated between a continuant or semivowel and a following homorganic plosive: balngu ‘little boy’ (DW), d'urmbanu ‘big grey kangaroo’ (DW), garnga ‘hole in tree’, d'irajd'uga ‘man’ (ergative); such a nasal consequently belongs to either syllable or else we may consider the whole group as a triple compound phoneme. Instances of middle consonant groups are found in: mulri'di (also mulrid'ii; DW), a language name, and in dumbarlu ‘might break’ (DW), forms neither to be further checked (cf. 1.1.) nor further analysed and hence of no consequence.

3.5. Syllable stress and vowel length are immaterial; length may, however, arise through contraction (nūnbus for ńuŋunbus ‘for him or her’).

3.6. An important phonological process (especially from the morphological point of view) is the assimilation of vowels, whereby a kind of ‘vowel harmony’ arises. This takes place particularly in the declension of nominal stems, in such a way that case suffixes appear with the vowel -u- in cases where the word stem terminates in a syllable having this vowel, while it appears as -a- in all other cases. The following examples illustrate this. The ergative -ŋga occurs in: bamanga (from bama ‘man’), Dicky-ŋga (diŋ nga, from ‘Dicky’), while ergative -(u)ŋgu occurs in: dimur(u)ŋgu (from dimur ‘ghost’); the possessive-locative -ŋa occurs in: d'irina (from d'iri ‘sky’), while -ŋu occurs in d'ugunu (from d'ugu ‘tree’); the ablative -ma occurs in: jambama (from jamba ‘camp’), while -mu occurs in bubumu (from bubu ‘ground’); finally, the allative suffixes -ga or -ŋga occur in: gagaga (from gaga ‘tobacco’), jambaga (from jamba ‘camp’), majiga (from maji ‘fruit’), d'irajŋga (from d'iraj ‘man’), while -gu or -ŋgu occur in: guugu (from guju ‘fish’), majŋugu (from majŋu ‘mango’), wandŋugu (from wandu ‘who?’, interrogative pronoun). Sometimes alternative forms are found: d'albŋga (for expected *d'albŋgu, from d'albu ‘woman’, DW), waŋuŋpa or waŋuŋgu ‘what for? why?’ (cf. Yal waŋuŋgu, idem, CC). Vowel assimilation may arise in other cases as well: wungai and wunguŋ ‘in the morning’, ‘tomorrow’ (DW), with which may be compared Yal wunguŋi, idem (CC). One should notice that the vowel -u- may actually be the original one in most of these cases (cf. especially the almost universal Australian allative -gu and ergatives in -u), so that the vowel adaption, as described above, may actually depend on tendencies to analogical formations in an early stage of these languages.
3.7. Cases of interchange of consonantal phonemes in evidently related forms are frequently found. An initial n- is often found in alternation with n-, as in: \( \text{nádY}i \)- for \( \text{nadY}i \)- (sometimes DW, but especially in Yal, according to CC); \( \text{nulu} \) ‘he, she’ (DW, Yal, Yim; cf. Punthamara \( \text{nulu} \), idem). An initial m- is used by GK (cf. 1.3; 2) for \( \eta \)- in \( \text{mulu} \) (GK) ‘forehead’ (cf. \( \etaulu \), idem, DW) and DW has both \( \text{gudYaj} \) and \( \text{mudYaj} \) for ‘fresh-water turtle’, to which parallels may be found in other parts of Queensland (Punthamara and coastal languages).

3.8. Very few marks of the influence of English phonology may be detected in DW’s Gugu-Bujun (incidentally, her part Chinese origin may be accountable for this). However, such a strikingly Australian English trait as the addition of an -r in such a form as \( \text{wandYanga} \) for \( \text{wandYangar} \) (‘whither? where?’, that is an allative in -(n)ga, cf. 5.2.) has been recorded (that is, as in English ‘idear’ for ‘idea’, etc.). Traces of English influence have, however, been found among other informants, especially FG in such cases as Yim \( \text{gagara} \) for \( \text{gagari} \) ‘going’, \( \text{gaga} \) ‘go’ (imperative), as well as (possibly) in \( \text{guganbi} \) ‘on the road’ (gugan), if we consider the last syllable as identical with the Gugu-Bujun (and common Queensland) locative termination (or postposition) \( \text{ba} \) (\( \text{-ba} \)), frequent and well known in the toponymy (hence according to the same tendency as in English ‘Saray’, ‘Sarie’ for ‘Sarah’, etc.).

**Morphology**

4.1. In the languages described the following word classes may be distinguished: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions and connectives (the latter in a rudimentary way). Nominal stems (including nouns proper, adjectives and numerals), pronominal stems (personal, demonstrative and interrogative) and verbal stems occur inflected (declined or conjugated, whereas adverbial stems and postpositions are often in their origin declension forms of nominal or verbal stems, while connectives are short uninflected forms.

**Nominal stems**

4.2. Nominal stems are either simple (usually having at least two syllables), such as \( \text{dYiraj} \) ‘man’, \( \text{dYaJbu} \) ‘woman’, \( \text{jamba} \) ‘camp’, or derived by nominal or nominalising suffixes. Of the latter, the following are found: \( \text{-ba} \) (used in a locative sense; cf. 4.3.), \( \text{-baga} \) (marking frequency), \( \text{-bu} \) (marking ‘provided with’ or having an attribute), \( \text{-di} \) (similar function to \( \text{-bu} \)), \( \text{-gan} \) (originally feminine), \( \text{-gari} \) (negative or caritive) and \( \text{-man} \) (possibly indicating person).

4.3. The locative \( \text{-ba} \). This suffix is common in place names (or designations of places), as in: \( \text{dplulaimba} \) (at, to) Daintry’ (DW). It may be considered as a postposition (see 9).

4.4. The frequentative \( \text{-baga} \). This suffix is clearly found in \( \text{gugabaga} \) ‘talkative’ (cf. \( \text{gugu} \) ‘talk’); it also occurs in \( \text{dYilbabaga} \) ‘lively’, although the simple noun is not recorded (cf. below 4.9.).

4.5. The attributive \( \text{-bu} \). This suffix occurs in \( \text{galgabu} \) ‘provided with a spear or spears (galga). Its function may be similar to that of a postposition (cf. 9).
4.6. The attributive -dYi. This suffix is very frequent and marks (like -bu; see 4.5) possession or an attribute: galgadYi 'provided with a spear' (= galgabu), gaṇadYi 'having a yamstick'; the function is less transparent, although evidently analogous, in: gumbudYi 'passing water' (cf. gumbu 'urine'), ḍadḍadYi 'evacuating' (cf. ḍadḍa 'excrement'), balbadYi, burudYi, ḍalbadYi, ḍalbudYi 'pregnant' ('in the family way'), although the simple nouns are not clearly identifiable (ḍalbu means 'woman' and balba is explained by DW as 'family' in whatever sense this may be taken). The simple forms of gambadYi and binadYi 'old' are not recorded (gamba, however, seems to mean 'quiet', hence in the sense of 'settled'). In the following examples -dYi functions as a postposition (cf. 9): buṇandYi 'in the summer' (cf. buṇan 'sun(s hine)'), julaḍYi 'by boat (literally 'having a boat', jula), ball-dYi '(playing) with a ball'. The suffix -dYi is common in tribe or language names: gurandYi, jalandYi, mula(u)ndYi.

4.7. The corresponding attributive suffix in Yimidir is -dYir: gajimugudYir 'having a hat' (gajimugu), wawudYir 'having a wish or desire' (wawu), alternatively used postpositionally: jugudYir 'with trees' (jugu, FG). It occurs also in the tribe and language name yimidYir ('yimidir ', explained as meaning 'here or this' by FG; perhaps from a demonstrative stem). The suffix -gal has an analogous function (it might alternatively be considered as a comitative suffix; cf. 5.2); for instance see in Postpositions (section 9).

4.8. The feminine -gan. This suffix is common in the Queensland languages, marking 'female'. This may be the sense in: maṇargan (?) 'wife' (= maṇar, DW); in maragan '(South Sea) canoe' and wambugan 'money' (of which the simple stems are not recorded) the meaning is transferred.

4.9. The negative -gari. This suffix is formally the same as the negative adverb garī ('no', 'not'); it occurs in: dYilbagari 'quiet, not walking about or stirring' (cf. dYilba baga, in 4.4), bamaɡarī 'having no man' (bama), jambagari 'without a home' (jamba), wa wugari 'unwilling' (cf. wawu 'wish, desire'). Gugu-Yimidir constructions such as: bama ọja 'no people', jugu ọja 'no trees' (FG) may be due to a mistake (cf. attributive jugudYir, according to 4.7).

4.10. The personal -man. One clear example only is recorded: bandYiman 'husband' (which, however, is from GK); the common Queensland jaraman 'horse' (GK) is likely to contain the same suffix, which, besides, is common in personal or personified stems in the Queensland languages at large).

4.11. Among nominal derivative suffixes are further to be included so-called 'nominalisers' (-n, -u, -j, etc.), functioning in the formation of modal forms in the conjugation of the verb (see 8.1), but also doubtless in many apparently simple noun stems (buṇan 'sun(shine)', ḍiraj 'man', etc.), in which the function is obsolete and concealed; compare the occurrence of an -n- in front of certain case suffixes (-ga, -gu; see 5.2).

4.12. Other terminations are doubtful as to their signification. In such a form as gamindYar 'granddaughter' (DW) one may with some reason suspect the termination -dYar (also in some eastern Queensland languages) or -ndYar to mark relationship (hence 'one's granddaughter'?; cf. gami 'mother's mother'). The same suffix, however, occurs in muladYar 'stars'.
Declension

5.1. The noun in the languages described here is not determined as to number, in other words, there are no special plural forms: *gaña*, for instance, means either ‘yamstick’ or ‘yamsticks’ (DW). Plurality may, however, occasionally be indicated by reduplication (e.g. *dalyzedu*–*dalyzedu* ‘the women’ (DW); cf. *dalyzedu* ‘woman’ or ‘women’), but this construction actually has a more general character and rather has an augmentative force, as in: *dalyzedajandelier*–*dalyzedajandelier* ‘big man (men)’ (cf. *dalyzedajandelier* ‘man’ or ‘men’).

5.2. Nominal stems are declinable according to the following system of case forms: nominative, ergative, possessive-locative, ablative, comitative, and allative. The *nominative* (also used as accusative) is the stem of the noun: *dalyzedajandelier*, *dalyzedu* ‘man’, *dalyzedu* ‘woman’, *maraj* ‘hand’, *jamba* ‘camp’. The *ergative* (expressing the agent of a verbal action, having a direct object) is characterised by the suffix *-ngaj* (after consonants sometimes *-ngajna* or *-ngu* (after consonants sometimes *-ngaju*), the latter used of stems of which the last syllable contains the vowel *-u* (cf. 3.6); consonant-ending stems may have other suffixes (still ending in *-a* or *-u*; cf. above). Similar suffixes are used in Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir (cf. below and in 5.3). The *possessive-locative* (which is used in either sense, the possessive more often with personal nouns, and further renders various English prepositions; cf. English ‘at Smith’s’, for the combined use of either case form and also the use of the postposition *ba* — cf. 9 — to express a possessive relation) ends in *-a*, preceded either by *-g* (in the case of vowel-ending stems) or a homorganic plosive (in the case of stems ending in a nasal); other formations also occur (cf. 5.3). The *ablative* (marking origin or point of starting) is expressed by a suffix *-ma* or *-mu* (the latter of stems whose terminal syllable contains an *-u*). The *comitative* (expressing companionship or association) is characterised by a suffix *-ndaj* (after a consonant *-andaj* or *-ndu* (the latter if the stem ends in *-u*). Finally the *allative* (marking point of arrival, aim or intention, but also locality in general) is expressed by the suffix *-ga* or (sometimes after a vowel) *-ga* or else *-gu* (after vowels sometimes *-gaju*), the latter in cases of stems whose terminal syllable contains an *-u*). In Gugu-Yalandji, the ablative is expressed by *muñajdu*, which may perhaps rather be considered a postposition (cf. 9) and in Gugu-Yimidir a comitative in *-gal* occurs (perhaps also to be taken as a postposition; cf. 9).

5.3. Examples of the use of case forms. The following examples (chiefly from Gugu-Bujun) show the use of the case forms mentioned in 5.2.: (nominative) *gañaj* maraj *ñadajil* ‘I can see the girl’ (used as direct object, also of persons); (ergative) *babaj* ‘father’s mother’ (*babaj*), *bamañaj* ‘the man’ (*bama*), *dimurnjugu* ‘the ghost’ (*dimurnir*), *dalyzeduñaj* ‘the woman’ (*dalyzedu*; cf. 3.6.), *gajanañaj* ‘the dog’ (*gajaj*), *najanañaj* ‘mother’ (*najah*), *ñadajanañaj* ‘father’ (*ñajaj*), *jirajugu* ‘the Rainbow Serpent’ (jiru), *marajñaj* ‘the girl’ (maraj; cf. 3.4.), *muñajñaj* or *muñajñaj* ‘the wind’ (muñaj), the following formations being irregular: *dalyzedajandaj* ‘the man’ (*dalyzedajandelier*), *jalbajandaj* ‘the big’ (jalbaj) and *gañuj* marañada ‘my wife’ (marañar), (Gugu-Jalandji) Dicky-ñajg (diginga) ‘Dicky’, *binajdlul* ‘the koala’ (*binajdlul*; without ‘vowel harmony’, cf. 3.6); (possessive-locative) *bamañaj* ‘the man’s’ (*bama*), wàñija ‘of or belonging to the boomerang’ (wañí; also ‘with the boomerang’), *bandaj* ‘on the grass’ (*bandaj*), *bubajndaj* ‘in the sun’ (*bubaj*), *dalyzedajира* ‘up into the sky’ (*dalyzedajира*), *dalyzedajugu* ‘in a tree’ (*dalyzedajugu*), *bibañaj* ‘(made) of paper’ (*biba*), *gurajunañaj* ‘(covered) with stones’ (*gurama*), *marajndaj* ‘in a canoe’ (maragan; cf., however, in 9), *marañaj* ‘in the bush’ (*marañandaj*); (ablative) *bubumaj* or *bubumaj* ‘from the ground’ (*bubumaj*), *bubumajndaj* ‘from the sun’ (*bubumaj*; for *-ma*, *dalyzedajbarumaj* ‘from the west’ (*dalyzedajbar*; for *-ma*),
Pronominal stems

Personal pronouns

6.1. The personal pronouns follow the pattern of declension of nominal stems (see 5.2.), with the exception that the former lack ablative and locative forms, while possessing a special accusative form (in -na or -m), marking the direct object of a transitive verb (hence: \( \text{gaju nguni} \) (acc.) \( \text{wujgul} \) (nom.) \( \text{nadyu} \) ‘I saw him (acc.), the spirit (nominative; DW). The case forms are consequently: the nominative, the ergative, the accusative, the possessive (cf. below), the comitative and the allative. The personal pronouns, referring to persons, do not require the expression of a locative or ablative relation, whence the possessive form is limited to the expression of ownership. The terminations in the individual cases are similar to those of the nominal case forms. The nominative and ergative forms are often identical or used identically.

6.2. The paradigms below show the declension in the singular, dual and plural, as far as has been recorded (corresponding Yalandji and Yimidir forms being given in parentheses).

1st person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Yalandji</th>
<th>Yimidir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>( \text{gaju} ) (Yal, Yim, Gk ( \text{gaju} ))</td>
<td>( \text{gaju} )</td>
<td>( \text{gaju} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>( \text{gaju} )</td>
<td>( \text{gaju} )</td>
<td>( \text{gaju} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>( \text{naga} ) (Yal ( \text{naga} ))</td>
<td>( \text{naga} )</td>
<td>( \text{naga} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>( \text{gaju}, \text{najguna} ) (Yal ( \text{gaju} ), Yim ( \text{nadu} ? ))</td>
<td>( \text{gaju}, \text{najguna} )</td>
<td>( \text{gaju}, \text{najguna} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>( \text{najgundu}, \text{najgunundu} ) (Yim ( \text{nadu} ? ))</td>
<td>( \text{najgundu}, \text{najgunundu} )</td>
<td>( \text{najgundu}, \text{najgunundu} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Yalandji</th>
<th>Yimidir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>( \text{gali} ) (Yal ( \text{gali}, \text{gali} ), ( \text{gali} ), cf. below; Yim, Gk ( \text{gali} ))</td>
<td>( \text{gali} )</td>
<td>( \text{gali} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>( \text{gali} (?) ) (Yal ( \text{gali} ))</td>
<td>( \text{gali} (?) )</td>
<td>( \text{gali} (?) )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>( \text{gali} ) (Yal ( \text{gali} ))</td>
<td>( \text{gali} )</td>
<td>( \text{gali} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>( \text{gali} ) (Yal ( \text{gali} ))</td>
<td>( \text{gali} )</td>
<td>( \text{gali} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1st person plural:
- nom. ŋana (Yal ŋana, ŋand'în, cf. 6.3.; Yim ŋana)
- acc. (Yal ŋananaŋ)
- poss. ŋanaŋa

2nd person singular:
- nom. jundu (Yal, Yim jundu (jundu, ŋundu ?), GK jinda, jundu)
- erg. jundu (Yal jundu)
- acc. jununi, ŋinuni (Yal junun)
- poss. junu, ŋinu (Yal junu)
- com. junundu

2nd person dual:
- nom. jubal (Yal jubal)
- acc. (Yal bulanjaŋ)
- poss. jubalaŋa (Yal jubalaŋa)

2nd person plural:
- nom. jura (Yal jura)
- acc. (Yal juranjaŋ)
- poss. juraŋa (Yal juraŋa)

3rd person singular:
- nom. ŋulu (Yal, Yim ŋulu)
- erg. ŋulu, ŋulunugu (Yal ŋulu)
- acc. ŋununi (Yal ŋunun)
- poss. ŋuŋu (Yal ŋuŋu)
- all. ŋunungu (Yal ŋunungu)

3rd person dual:
- nom. bula (Yal bula)
- poss. bulanjaŋ

3rd person plural:
- nom. daña, d'ana (Yal d'anaŋ)
- acc. (Yal d'anaŋaŋ)
- poss. d'anaŋaŋ

6.3. The possessive form is used in a dative sense as well: junu ‘(fetch) for you’, ŋajgu ‘(give) me’. The allative (which has only been recorded in the third person singular) is used with the verb ‘to want’ or ‘to like’: wawu ŋunungu ‘(I) like him or her’. The comitative expresses various relations in addition to that of the comitative proper (‘together with’): jundundu ‘(tell) you’, ŋajgundu ‘(tell, give) me’, ŋajgunundu ‘for me’. One construction with the postposition bu (cf. 9) is used in a dative sense in ŋunbu (nunbu; cf. 3.5.) ‘for him’. The Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir forms are usually similar and analogous to the Gugu-Bujun ones (cf. the paradigms in 6.2.); Gugu-Yalandji, however, distinguishes (according to CC) between a first person dual
inclusive (ŋali) and exclusive form (ŋalin) and the same distinction is made in the plural: glydŋin (inclusive; ‘we all’) and ŋana (exclusive; CC).

Demonstrative pronouns

6.4. Two demonstrative stems have been recorded: jala ‘this’ (also ‘here’) and jiŋa ‘that’ (also ‘there’). A few declension forms were obtained, namely for the ergative and allative: (ergative) jalanga ‘this one’, jinjanga ‘that one’; (allative) wawu jiŋajŋa ‘want that one’. The apparent accusative form jalaŋa (‘this one’) is also used in the nominative and, on the other hand, the nominative (or stem) form (jiŋa) is used in the accusative sense. The postpositional form jiŋajŋa (jiŋajŋa ?; cf. 4.3; 9) is found in a possessive sense (‘belonging to that one’).

Interrogative pronouns

6.5. The personal interrogative pronoun ('who?') is wandYu in Gugu-Bujun and the impersonal interrogative (,what?') is wanu. The same stems occur in Gugu-Yalandji, e.g. in wandYu munka ‘whence?’, waŋurungu ‘what for?’, ‘why?’. Of the former the following case forms are recorded: nominative, ergative, possessive, ablative (cf. below), comitative and allative, according to the following paradigm:

nom. wandYu
erg. wandYuŋu
poss. wandYuŋu
abl. wandYum undu (cf. below)
com. wandYimbundu (wandYumb- ?)
all. wandYuŋu

Examples: wandYu tamba ‘which man?’, jundu wandYuŋu wawu ‘whom did you want?’ (DW). The comitative (see above) may be used in a dative sense (‘to whom did you give it?’). The possessive is also expressed by a postpositional construction (cf. 9): wandYim bu (wandYumbu ? cf. above) ‘whose?’ (DW). The construction ŋulu wandYuŋu (ergative) ‘he, who?’ for plain wandYuŋu seems unusual. As in many Australian languages, a person’s ‘name’ is personal and referred to by ‘who?’ (wandYu) and not by ‘what?’, as in English. The impersonal waŋu (without recorded declension forms, except an irregular allative, waŋurungu, used with a verb ‘to want’ or adverbially in the sense of ‘why?’ or ‘what for?’) is used as in English: waŋu jiŋa ‘what is that?’.

Verbal stems

7.1. Verbal stems generally end in one of the vowels -a- or -i-, more seldom in -u-: balga- ‘do, make, say’, nuga- ‘eat, drink’, buli- ‘fall’, miri- ‘break’, wadYu- ‘cook, burn’, marawadYu- ‘to rear’, *dagu- (only in the form dagu ‘hungry’). The verbal stems are—like the nominal stems (see 4.2)—either simple or derived; it is possible that some verbal stems are at the same time nominal (cf. guni- ‘hit, kill’, in 5.3, end). Verbal stems may be derived by means of the following derivative formative: -dYa- (which has a causative function), -dYi- (reflexive), -na- and -nda- (possibly durative ?), -ri- (intransitive) and -wa- (reciprocal).
7.2. The causative -dYa-.

The function is clearly causative in: bulidYa- ‘fell’ (cf. buli- ‘fall’),
miridYa- ‘break’ (transitive; cf. miri-, idem, intransitive); it is evidently causative in: waldYa- ‘tumble, make fall’ (of which the simple stem is not recorded) as well as in the reduplicated
compound form: wandYaalandYa- ‘roll something’ (DW; cf. wanari- ‘roll’, intransitive).

7.3. The reflexive -dYi-.

The sense is clearly reflexive in: nadYidYi- ‘look at oneself’ (cf. nadYi- ‘see, look at’),
nandadYi- ‘cover one’s eyes or ears’ (hence ‘be blind or deaf’; cf. nanda- ‘cover’); it is generally intransitive in: dYurgidYi- ‘turn round’ (cf. dYurgi-, idem, transitive),
murinmurindYi- ‘turn or circle around’. The sense is intransitive-passive in balgadYi- ‘be born’
(literally ‘make oneself’, ‘be made’); the suffix seems in this case to have some kind of connection
with the nominal derivative -dYi- (see 4.6) , in such forms as balbadYi, buşudYi ‘pregnant’.

7.4. The durative? -na- or -nda-.

The function of these duratives (?) is actually not clear. They have been found in a couple of verb forms, one apparently from a basic stem wuna- ‘lie down, be asleep’ (hence: wunana-, idem), another from a basic bunda- ‘sit’ (hence: bundanda-, idem).

7.5. The intransitive (?) -ri-.

Usually this suffix has an intransitive sense in the languages of eastern Queensland, which also is found in the Gugu-Bujun wanari- ‘roll’ (cf. the transitive-causative wandYaalandYa- in 7.2.). An intransitive sense may be seen in jadYari- ‘laugh’ as well as
in waluwanari- ‘drink’ (in the sense of ‘carouse’), but the sense is clearly different in: jidYari- ‘leave’, maŋguri- ‘give’ and especially in wuguri- ‘chase’ (gaña wugurin ‘chased me’; DW), of
which no corresponding simple verbal stems have been recorded.

7.6. The reciprocal -wa-.

The function is clearly reciprocal in: balgawa- ‘talk together or to
each other’ (cf. balga- ‘do, say’), dadYiwa- ‘give (to) each other’ (cf. dadYi- ‘give’), nadYiwa-
‘look at one another’ (cf. nadYi- ‘see, look at’).

7.7. Verbal stems may finally be reduplicated according to the following pattern: dYandYana-
‘stand’ (cf. dYana-, idem), gaŋgaŋa- ‘come’ (cf. gaŋa-, idem). For other kinds of reduplication
see in 8.7.

Conjugation

8.1. Conjugation in the languages described here consists in a modal flexional system, person
being expressed by independent personal pronouns (see 6.1-2). In general these languages are
characterised by having plain ‘nominalisers’ (cf. 4.11) as indicators of different modal forms (for
exceptions, see further on). These elements are: -n, -ń, -j, and -l in Gugu-Bujun and the same
formatives are basic in Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir as well (the latter languages further have
a ‘nominalising’ -r-, for which see in 8.4.). To determine the true function of these modal
formatives is, for various reasons, difficult and we have to start with an analysis of evident forms.
The number of distinct mode forms is also somewhat vague, although it ought in a general way to
be identical with the number of formatives.

8.2. Whereas the form of the imperative is doubtless, being equivalent to the verbal stem and
hence always ending in either the vowel -a or -i, the implication of the consonantal terminations is
on many points problematic. In the first place, and by analogy with the norm in eastern
Queensland languages, it is important to identify what we have (in the analysis of these latter languages) chosen to call ‘imperfective’ and ‘perfective’ aspect. This is important, because in Gugu-Bu jun the idea of ‘present’ and ‘past’ time does not seem to be relevant (cf. bundaj and bundan, which are both rendered by ‘lived’ or ‘stayed’ in English, probably according to whether the verbal action is considered finished or not). As far as the two most important modifiers (-j and -n) are concerned, such a case as the oppositions nulu wulaj ‘she is dying’ (obviously also ‘was dying’) and wulan ‘(is) dead’, as representing respectively the imperfective and perfective mode (or aspect), is significant. This, however, stands in a marked opposition to such alternative cases as gacjai ‘has come’ (hence ‘perfective’—incidentally, this form seems analogous to the Kattang (New South Wales) gatai ‘is gone’), on the one hand, and gacjan ‘came’ (rather indifferent as to aspect), on the other, according to DW’s renderings. These forms actually seem to indicate a difference between ‘present’ and ‘past’ and, as a matter of fact, our chief informant (DW) usually renders -j forms by English present forms and -n forms by English past forms. The matter, however, is hardly as simple as that. In the following analysis of the modal forms in the languages described consideration will be made both of the rendering of Aboriginal verb forms by our informants and of the function of analogous forms in other (neighbouring or related) Australian languages.

8.3. Imperative. For the imperative, see in 8.2.; the following are examples: balga ‘tell’, daga ‘climb’, gari guni ‘do not kill’. The imperative is formed in the same way in Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir: gangaja ‘come along’ (CC), jundu dafi ‘you go’ (FG; possibly for *daża, cf. 3.8., as the verbal stem is daża-). For the affixed particle -ga in Gugu-Bu jun, see section 10.

8.4. Imperfective. According to 8.2., there is reason to think that a termination -j expresses an imperfective mode. This implies a habitual or durative unfinished verbal action, as in: balgawaj ‘talking together’, bundaj ‘are sitting’, gaaju wawu wulaj ‘I am thirsty’ (literally ‘dying for’ ?); the verbal action may be in the past or in the present (which is more common according to DW’s renderings in English). In the form wunanaj ‘sleeping’ it is uncertain whether the element -na- is modal or a verbal derivative suffix (cf. 7.4.). An intended action is quite naturally considered as imperfective: dagaj ‘going to climb’, wambaj ‘will pick up by and by’ (DW), gaça ‘will come’ (also ‘has come’; cf. 8.2.), mirij ‘it will break’ (cf. mirič ‘broke’); in this way forms in -j are used in Gugu-Yalandji as well: gaaju duça ‘I am going’ (CC), gaça bad’a ‘will come back’ (CC); the latter form used also in the sense of ‘has come’, as also in Gugu-Yimidir: nulu gaça ‘he is gone or has come’ (FG). In this connection one should mention Gugu-Yimidir nulu balga ‘he made it’ (FG), which—if correct—suggests a perfective sense. The Gugu-Yimidir imperfective, however, is formed by means of the suffix -ra (by the way, the Punthamara imperfective suffix), as in: daça ‘going now’, ‘(where) are (you) going?’, ‘(where do you) come from?’ (FG).

8.5. Perfective. According to 8.2., in the same way, the termination -n would express the perfective mode or a finished verbal action. This could be seen further in the following instances: baga ‘opened’, bajaga ‘smoked before’ (hence also action in the past), daça ‘climbed’, wula ‘(he must) have died (as I saw his spirit)’ (DW), mirič ‘broke’, nad’ič ‘saw yesterday’, ‘have seen’ (DW; cf. above). The ‘modifier’ (or ‘nominaliser’) -n may be provided with suffixed (locative ?) -a (cf. English ‘a-doing’. ‘a-going’, etc.): nad’iča ‘saw him over there’ (DW), duña miña ‘went for game’ (DW); it is uncertain whether any particular shade of meaning is intended here. For the forms wunana ‘has been asleep’ and bundanda (also -ndaj) ‘is sitting in the
shade’ (DW), compare in 8.4. and for the form bundań ‘stayed’ (DW), in 8.2., regarding the imperfective bundaj. In Gugu-Yalandji, forms in -ni are perfective (or express actions already finished): naju balgan ‘I told (them)’ (CC), gangadań ‘came yesterday’ (CC), jundu nadjitń ‘you saw’ (CC). That it is not basically a question of an action in the past is made clear by various examples deriving from CC: balgan ‘will tell’, wunguń nadjitń ‘will see tomorrow’. The Gugu-Yalandji -ni forms may imply eventuality: gagi naju nadjitń naju nangungu balgan bama ŋubun ‘if I see (him), I will tell him, that one man’ (CC). —For a Gugu-Yimidir ‘perfective’ (or past) -j, see in 8.4.

8.6. Certain modal forms, ending in -n, are sometimes explained to be equivalent to corresponding forms in -ni: nadjitń = nadjitń, nadjitń (‘saw’; DW) and similarly in Gugu-Yalandji naju nadjitń ‘I have seen him’ (CC), gačan = gačan (‘come’; CC). Further, the Gugu-Bujun gaři nadjitń is rendered either by ‘cannot see’ or ‘have not seen’ by DW.

8.7. A ‘nominalising’ -n- or -ni- is intercalated between a compound element in reduplicated verbal forms of the type bulinbuli- ‘fall’ (cf. buli-, idem) in Gugu-Bujun: duŋanduŋaj ‘is walking (about)’ (DW), duənduŋa ‘gone’ (DW). These formations are analogous to the Gugu-Yalandji nugalnuga- ‘eat’, with the ‘nominalising’ -l-; cf. Gugu-Bujun wambalamba- ‘pick up’, from wambal- , idem); nugalnuga ‘eats’ (habitual action; CC), in which consequently the terminating -n can not be said to have a past sense (or even a perfective character).

8.8. Progressive mode. Probably this term is in many ways inadequate. We refer to a form ending in the ‘nominalising’ -l (cf. 8.7.), which most often is rendered by English ‘-ing’ forms (mostly perhaps in the sense of English progressive forms of the type ‘is doing’, etc.). Our informant DW makes a distinction between wambal ‘picking it up’ and wambaj ‘will pick it up’. Such forms are, for instance: bajgal ‘smoking’, balgal ‘(what are you) doing’?, dagal ‘climbing’, d'urgal ‘turning round’, nadjil ‘am seeing (you)’ (also, however, rendered by ‘I can see’; DW), waiŋal ‘(I) am opening (a box)’ (DW), as well as also the more indefinite d'ulmal ‘(I) roll’ (DW), wand'alandal ‘(what are you) rolling?’ (DW), wand'al ‘waving, flapping’; in the same way we find in Gugu-Yimidir: ḷadal ‘going’ (FG), jugu miŋal ‘fire burning’ (FG). If this sense is basic, we still find others, notably the future sense, as in: dadil ‘(I) will give (you)’ (DW), jimbį wadul ‘will burn my lips’ (DW), also appearing in Gugu-Yalandji: naju nadjil ‘I will see (him)’ (CC), nadjil ‘(I) will see (him) tomorrow’ (CC). In Gugu-Yimidir an analogous progressive-future form is perhaps found in: naju nagal budaral ‘I am having a smoke now’ (FG). The Gugu-Yimidir nundu (jundu ?) nadjungu gaŋal ‘you come with me’ (FG) appears to be wrong or misunderstood. The Gugu-Yimidir extended form in -la (cf. -la beside -n; 8.5) is used in an imperative sense: balgala ‘make (to me)’ (FG). (It should, however, be remembered that the verbal stem may actually be balgala-, that is a derivative—‘make for’ ?—of the simple balga- ‘make’, in which case the imperative form would be regular.

8.9. Intentional mode. This mode form, common in Australian languages, is made in the usual way by means of the allative -ga (-gu; see 5.2.), preceded by the ‘nominalising’ consonant element -n-; the intentional form of the verb hence ends in -nga (originally -ngu, the vowel of the preceding syllable in the verb stem determining the vowel of the suffix, according to 3.6.). We consequently get the following Gugu-Bujun forms: baŋinga ‘want to cry’ (baŋi-), bajganga ‘want to smoke’ (bajga-), bundanga ‘(in order) to sit’ (bunda-), guninga ‘to hit, kill’ (cf. 5.3., end),
maninga 'to get' (mani-), nad Yinga 'want to see' (nadYi-), wambanga 'will pick up by and by' (wamba-). The corresponding modal form in Gugu-Yimidir (ending in -nu) is formally different from the Gugu-Bujun intentional suffix (unless representing an evolution of original *-ngu, not quite without parallels in eastern Queensland); its use is, however, mostly identical: wawudYir *dačanu* wants to go' (FG), gačanu 'to come', nadinu 'to see' (FG), balganu 'let us make' (FG).

8.10. **Gerundial forms.** A single instance of a gerundial form, having reference to the direct object of the main clause in the gerundial construction, is recorded from Gugu-Bujun in: nadYiń nuńuni dYandYani 'I saw him standing' (DW); in this construction—if correct—the (reduplicated) verbal stem dYandYana- appears in a modified form (dYandYani-, that is with an interchange of the typical stem-final vowel, not without parallels in other Queensland languages); the terminating syllable (-1a) would be a 'nominalising' -η- with a locative (?). -a.

8.11. **Auxiliary verbs.** Two auxiliary verb stems -ga- and -gi- are common in eastern Queensland languages (sometimes interchanging; cf. 8.10). In Gugu-Bujun both -ga and -gi seem represented, the latter occasionally in a reduplicated form (-giṅgi-; cf. 8.7.). These auxiliaries are added directly to the stem of the main verb, as suffixes, and conjugated as other verb stems. The meaning corresponds to that of an English progressive (or '-ing') form, as in: bula jadYarigaj or jadYarigij 'the two are laughing' (from jadYari- 'laugh'), with the alternative jadYarigiṅgij (perhaps 'laughing all the time'), ṇurul manigiṅj 'when it is getting dark' (DW). An evidently related form is found in Gugu-Yimidir, namely one in -Jga- (that is with an intercalated 'nominaliser', -I-, an element corresponding to English '-ing' in progressive forms), as in: jirgalga 'talking' (stem: jirga-), ningaJga 'sitting' (stem: ninga-); sometimes an -J form (see 8.8.) of the auxiliary is used: ŋingalgaJ 'where are you' living?' (FG).

**Postpositions**

9. There is sometimes no strict limits between derivative formative elements and such as may be said to answer to Latin case suffixes or to English prepositions. The local -ba (see in 4.3.) may be taken as a postposition (ba) in: bundaj wabar ba 'sitting in the shade' (DW), baral ba 'on the road', jalgan ba 'climbing in or on a tree', ṇarbal ba 'sitting in the bush', dulajmbo (cf. 4.3.) 'at Daintry', maral ba 'the girl's' (DW; notice that the locative form may express a possessive relation, even when the postposition is used—cf. 5.2.). In Gugu-Yalandji we find bajan ba 'at (his) home' (CC) and in Gugu-Yimidir dučan bi (unless wrong or corrupt for *ba?) 'on the road' (FG—cf. 3.8). A postposition *ganda* might occur in maňarganda 'to (my) wife' (DW)—unless it is a case of the possessive-locative form of *maňargan; see in 4.8.—while munču is better established in Gugu-Yalandji bajan munču 'from home' (CC; this form is evidently to the ablative -ma, -mu, see 5.2, as the above ganda would be to the allative -ga, -gu, see ibidem). The forms -bu and -dį (dealt with in 4.5-6) also correspond to English prepositions: gaňa bu bagaň 'dug with yamsticks', julaldį 'going' by boat' (DW). The Yimidir -gal 'with' may be taken as an attributive derivative (see 4.7.), as in: lamagal 'with a man', ṇandľugal 'with a woman' (hence: 'having a man, woman'; FG).
Connective

10. Although the only connective encountered in Gugu-Bujun occurs (in our material) only as an imperative particle, it is reasonable from a comparative point of view (based on its occurrence in some eastern Queensland languages) to consider it as an original connective (meaning 'then', 'and then', etc.). According to this assumption, the following imperative forms should be analysed as original elliptic constructions with a following anacoluthon or unfinished modification (as expressed by 'then' in English): *gari d'urgidYiga* 'don't turn round (then)', *bundandaga* 'you settle down (then)', *gari bundandaga* 'don't sit down (then)' (DW). If some more primitive function can be detected in *jambagari ga bundan* 'I lived without a home’ (DW)—for instance, 'I lived, *then*, without a home'—is quite speculative (although suggesting rather similar constructions in other eastern Queensland languages).

**VOCABULARY**

The following vocabulary comprises Gugu-Bujun, Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir entries along with a very small number of words deriving from GK (v. section 2). These different sources—except Gugu-Bujun, which constitutes the main body of information—are indicated by the respective signatures *Yal* (Gugu-Yalandji), *Yim* (Gugu-Yimidir), as well as by the abbreviation GK (Mrs Gracie Kyles; see sections 1-2), in front of the corresponding entry.

Nominal stems are given in the nominative (that is the stem form), followed by registered case forms within parentheses, while verbal stems are given with a hyphen (hence: *balga-* 'do', etc.), followed by recorded modal forms in parentheses. The entries are occasionally provided with references to informants, for which see the list of Informants in section 2.

The following abbreviations of grammatical terms are used:

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<th>abl.</th>
<th>ablative</th>
<th>interr.</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
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<td>acc.</td>
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<td>ipf.</td>
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<td>adv.</td>
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<td>erg.</td>
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<td>imp.</td>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>v.</td>
<td>verb(al)</td>
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<td>int.</td>
<td>intentional</td>
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The entries are arranged alphabetically, according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, d', d, g, j, l, m, n, r, r, (see 3.2), u, w.

A
-anda com. suffix; 5.2.

B
ba postp. 9.
ba (Yal) postp. 9.
*ba (Yim) ? post. 9.
-ba loc. der. suffix. 4.3.

babi n. erg. babinga father's mother.

bada adv. down: ŋaju duŋaj bada I am going down (that way).
bad?a (Yal) adv. back, (come) back (CC).

bad?i n. 1. a hole; 2. a sore.

bađi- v. imp. bađi; ipf. bađi; pf. bađiň; int. bađinga) cry: gaři bađi don't cry, ŋulu bađi bađi (n.?) he is crying, ŋulu bađiń nađigu he cried before.

bađil n. tucker.

baga- v. pf. bagań open, take out.
baga n. der. suffix 4.4.

bajan (Yal) n. home: ŋulu Dicky (digi) bajan ba he, Dicky, is at home (CC), bajan munto gaďaj come from home.

bajga- v. pf. bajgań; progr. bajgal; int. bajganga smoke: gaři ŋaju bajgal I am not smoking or don't smoke, ŋaju bajganga wawu I want to smoke.

balba n. family (cf. 4.6.).

balbabuña- v. pf. balbabuñań get, have (a baby), get the family way (DW): ŋulu balbabuñań she had a baby, Ńajgu Ńamu balbabuñań Ńajgu Ńabd?anańga I was born by my mother and father (DW).

balbad?i attr. n. pregnant (= buřud?i, q.v.; DW).

balbaj1 n. a light.

balbaj2 n. grog (from another language?).

balga- v. imp. balga; pf. balgań; progr. balgal—according to DW there is no ipf. *balgaj make, do, tell: wand?ũŋgu balgań wańi who made the boomerang?, wańu jundu balgal balgal what are you doing?, balgań made family (DW), ŋulu wańi balgal or balgal wańi he is making a boomerang, gaři balgal won't tell.

balga- (Yal) v. pf. ? balgań tell: ŋůŋgnu balgań will tell him (sic; CC).

balga- (Yim) v. pf. ? balgań; int. balganu make: ŋulu balgaj he made it (see 8.4; FG), Ńali gaďi (?) probably gaďa, hortative imperative) wańi balganu come let us make a boomerang.

balgal- (Yim ?) v. imp. balgala ? make: ņundu (?) probably jundu ņadu wańi balgala you make me a boomerang (cf. 8.8; FG).

balgawa- v. rec. imp. balgawa; ipf. balgawaj; pf. balgawań talk (together), to one another: jubal ga ri balgawa you two don't talk to each other, Ńali balgawaj we are talking to one another.

balŋu n. little boy: ŋulu balŋu (balŋu) he is a little boy.

balu adv. now.

balu (Yal) adv. ? no thanks (sic; CC).

bama n. erg. bamańga; poss. bamańa) (Aboriginal) man: bamańa d?iraj d?iraj (sic) the man's (DW).

bama (Yal) n. man: bama Ňubun one man, a man.

bama (Yim) n. com. bamagal (Aboriginal) man: bama najguja (?) no people (FG).

bama (GK) n. man.

bamagaři car. n. without (there being) a man, no man, nobody: ņaja gaři nad?iňa bamagaři I did not see anybody.

bana n. water (= giwaj giwaj, q.v.).
bana (GK) n. (cold) water (= giwaj giwaj).
bandyar n. loc. bandyara grass.
bandyiman (GK) n. husband.
baral n. road: baral ba on the road.
bi (Yim)? post. 9.
biba n. pass. lac. bibajja paper: bibaja from paper (DW).
bibi n. mammae: naju bibi my 'titties' (DW).
bidyr bidyr adv. in the early morning.
bilir bilir n. eyebrow.
bina n. ear(s).
bina (GK) n. ear(s).
binandya (Yal) n. erg. bina ndya alkoala.
bira (Yal) n. ? leaf (? CC; v. (Yal) nuga-.)
birigaba n. the Bowen language.
biru n. ghost, devil.
biwur n. wire spear.
bu post. 9.
-bu attr. suffix 4.5.
bubaj n. poss. bubajjaba (cf. 9); all. bubajjaju small, little (child, etc.), a little; naju bubaj I am a little child, bubaj dadyi give me a little, bubajjamba the small girl's, naju bubajjgu when I was a little child.
bubam (Yal) n. little boy.
bubu n. abl. bubumu ground.
budyil n. nose.
budar (Yim) n. smoke: nalgal budaral (?) having a smoke (FG).
budugul n. rock wallaby.
butan n. abl. butanmu; loc. butanda) sun: butanda bundanda have or had been sitting in the sun, butanmu dunaf naju wabar ba bundanda I went out of the sun, sitting in the shade.
butandyi attr. n. having sun, (in the) summer time: naju bundana butandyi (also: butan dyi; cf. 9) I lived in the summer time (DW).
butu n. knee.
butjun n. bad, ugly: jamba naga butun the camp over there is ugly.
bula pers. pron. 6.1.
bula (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.
bula- (Yim) v. imp. bula, cf. 3.2(2) drink:
buraj bula drink water.
buli- v. imp. buli; pf. bulija fall: bulija buli falling (?) DW; 8.7.) —Compare bulinbuli-.
bulidya- v. caus. pf. bulidya fell, make fall.
bulinbuli- v. ipf. bulinbulij fall:
wautherforda bulinbulij why did or does it fall? (DW).
buralidi attr. n. (in the) winter time: naju bundana buluralidi (also buluri dyi) I lived in the winter time.
bunda- v. imp. bunda; ipf. bundaj; pf. bunda; int. bundanga sit, stay, stop:
bunda stop, wautherforda bundanga why should I sit or stay (at home)? (DW).
bundanda- v. imp. bundanda; ipf. bundanda; pf. bundanda sit: jundu gaari bundanda don't you sit down.
bura n. 1. blind; 2. ugly (v. walubura).
buri n. name: jundu wandyu buri what is your name?
buriiali n. namesake.
bursta n. earth.
burudyi attr. n. pregnant. —Compare balbadyi.
buraj (Yim) n. water.

D
dabar (Yim) n. star(s); dabar warganjgu a big 'mob' of stars (FG).
dad'yi- v. imp. dad'yi; progr. dad'yi give: 
ñajgu dad'yi give me, ñaju junu 
dad'yi I will give you.

dad'yiwa- v. rec. ipf. dad'yiwaj give to 
one another, share.

daga- v. imp. daga; ipf. dagaj; pf. 
dagañ; progr. dagal climb, get up, go: 
gari daga don't climb, jundu daga you 
climb or you get up, go, ñulu dagal 
dagal he is climbing.

daguj v. n. ? (be) hungry: ñaju daguj I am 
hungry.

dalga- v. imp. dalga; ipf. dagal; pf. 
dagal; progr. dagal climb, get up, go: 
dagal don't climb, jundu dagal 
dagal he is climbing.

daguj v. n. ? (be) hungry: ñaju daguj I am 
hungry.

dalgar n. water (speaking respectfully; = 
dalgar, q.v.).

dama- v. pf. damana, v. 8.5. 
spear: 
damy davana (they) speared 
kangaroos or wallabies.

damal (Yim) n. 1. foot, feet; 2. footprint(s).

daña pers. pron. 6.1. they; all the people.

darba (Yal) n. wallaby.

dari dari adv. slowly.

dimur n. erg. dimur-buugu spirit, ghost.

dinda- v. pf. dindañ cover up (also 
' uncover'? : miña dindañ gurmañ 
(they) covered up the game with stones (to 
cook it), d'urmbanu dindañ (they) 
uncovered (?) the wallaby (after cooking 
it). —Compare nanda-.

dini (Yim) (dijini?) n. red.

duandua- v. cf. 8.7.: duanduañ gone.

duña- v. imp. duña; ipf. duñaj; pf. 
duñañ, duñaña; int. duñanga go: ñaju 
gari duña I am not going (let me not go), ñaju duñañ bada bada I went 
down there, jundu wand'anga(r) duñaj 
tell me) where you are going, ñaju 
nad'in ñuñuni duñaj I saw him go, ñaju duñanga I want to go, ñaju duñaj 
guda I must go, duñañ gubañ married 
(went to) a Chinaman (DW).

duña- (Yal) v. ipf. pf. (?) duñaj; cf. 8.4.) 
go: ñaju duñaj I am going (CC).

duñanduña- v. ipf. duñanduñaj walk 
(about).
d'yana- (d'ajba-) v. pf. d'anya, d'ajba stick, be stuck (in something).

d'añbari- v. pf. d'añbariñ send (out): jirugu d'añbariñ the Rainbow Serpent has sent out (the visible rainbow).

-d'ar rel. suffix. 4.12.

d'arwaj n. swan or any bird (DW).

-d'i attr. suffix 4.6.

-d'i- refl. suffix.

d'ibar n. abl. d'ibarmu west: ñulu duñaj d'ibar he is going west, ñulu gañañaj d'ibarmu he comes from the west, d'ibarmu bama the man from the west.

d'yigan (Yal) n. grass: ñulu d'yigan nugalnugan he eats grass (CC)

d'yilbabaga n. too much, (too) lively: maralgu ijaju d'yilbabaga as a girl was lively (OW).

d'yilbagari car. n. without walking about (OW).

d'yilbudYilbu (GK) n. policeman or white man.

d'yla- (d'ajba-) v. pf. d'ylaññ, d'ajbañ, d'ayb gauge (in a tree). the name of a place, Cape York): ñaju

d'ulajmba bundaj or bundañ I live at Daintry, d'ulajmba duñaj going to Daintry, d'ulajmu gañañaj came from Daintry.

d'ulbi n. belly, inside: d'ulbi bagañ opened the inside.

d'ulñul n. abl. d'ulñulmu 1. hole in the earth; 2. earth or dirt; 3. papaw: d'ulñul bagañ opened a hole in the ground.

d'ulma- v. progr. d'ulmal roll: ñaju d'ulmal bibañañ I make (cigarettes) from paper (DW).

d'ulmbanu (Yal) n. kangaroo (CC).

d'uma adv. by and by: d'uma wambaj, wambal will pick up, (picking it up) by and by (DW).

d'urbañ n. slippery.

d'urgi- v. progr. d'urgil turn round (transitive).

d'urgidYi- v. imp. d'urgidYiga turn round (intransitive): gañi d'urgidYiga don't turn round.

d'urmbanu n. big grey kangaroo or wallaby (DW). —Compare Yal d'ulmbanu.

d'uru n. elbow.

d'yuwa n. poor fellow.

gaga- (Yim) v. imp. gagi, cf. 8.3; ipf. gagañ; pf. gagañ; progr. gagañ; int. gagañu) go: ñaju ñila ñadara I am going now, ñulu ñadaj he is gone, wawudYir ñadañu (he) wants to go (FG).

duñañ (Yim) n. track or road: duñañ bi damal guwa ñadari (-ra?) these are tracks going (north ?) on the road (FG).
gabir n. all. gabirgu young woman (= maral; DW): ɲaju gabirgu as a young woman, when I was a young woman.
gabul n. a kind of carpetsnake, lighter in colour, living in the forest (DW).—Compare gurijala.
gadəga (gadəa ? adv.) too much: gaɾi nuga gadəga (or gadəa ga ? cf. 10) don't eat too much (DW).
gada- v. imp. gada; ipf. gadaj; pf. gaɗan; int. gaɗanga come, come back: jundu gada you come, nulu gadaj ŋuju he will come today, wand'ajmu jundu gaɗan where did you come from?, gaɗaŋga wants to come, jundu duŋaj ɲajgundu balga gaɗanga you are going, you tell me when you come back (DW; notice use of the intentional mode in subordinate or conditional clauses in eastern Queensland languages).
gada- (Yal) v. impf. gadaj, pf. ? gaɗan, gaɗan come: ɲaju gaɗaj badYa I will come back (CC).
gada- (Yim) v. imp. gaɗi, cf. 8.3.; ipf. gaɗara; pf. gaɗaj; progr. ? gaɗal; int. gaɗanu come: ŋundu (jundu ?) gaɗi juwaj you come here (FG), ɲali gaɗi come let us ... (FG), ŋundu (jundu ?) wandalŋan gaɗara where do you come from? (FG), ŋulu gaɗaj he has come.
gadər n. wallaby.
gaga n. all. gagaga tobacco: gagaga dadYi give (me) tobacco, jundu gagaga wawu you like tobacco.
gaga (GK) n. tobacco, a smoke.
gagi (Yal) adv. perhaps (used as ‘if’ in English): gagi ɲaju ɲadəiɲ ɲaju ɲuŋungu balga bama ŋuben if I see him, a certain man, I will tell him (CC).
gaguwər n. five (= gulur; DW).
ganɡaɗa- (Yal) ganɡaɗa- v. imp. ganɡaɗa; pf. ganɡaɗaŋ come (along): jundu ganɡaɗa you come on along, ɲaju jilajgu ganɡaɗan I came along yesterday (CC).—Compare ganɡaɗa-.
gangal n. boy(s), girl(s), children, babies: ɲaju gangal my daughter or child (DW).
gangal (Yal) n. little boy (CC).
gaja n. erg. gajangə; all. gajangə) dog: ɲaju gaja my dog, ɲaju wawu gajangə I like dogs (DW).
gajimugu (Yim) n. hat.
gajimugudəir (Yim) attr. n. having a hat.
gal (Yim) post. 9.
-gal (Yim) n. der. com. suffix. 5.2.; 4.7.
galba n. some (= ‘a bit’, etc.): ɲaju galba dadəil I will give (you) some (DW).
galga n. spear: galga bu with a spear, with spears (= galgadəi, q.v.; DW).
galgadəi attr. n. having a spear or spears, with spears.
gamba n. adv. quiet, quietly: jundu gambə gamba bundandaga d'ilbagari you sit or settle down quietly (as an old person) without walking about (DW), gamba biŋadəil settled down and old (grey) (DW).
gambadəi attr. n. settled down, quiet (cf. gamba): ɲaju gambadəi I am an old woman.
gambi n. 1. dress; 2. curtain (probably any piece of cloth or material).
gami n. mother's mother: ɲaju ɲuŋu gami I am his or her grandmother (DW).
gamindəjar n. grandchild: ɲaju gamindəjar my granddaughter (DW).
gamu gamu n. grog.
-gan feminine suffix 4.8.
*ganda post. ? 9.
gandəu (GK) n. the name of a tribe and language, Kantyu.
gandəa- (gangara-, cf. 3.2 (2); v. ipf. gangədəaj, gangaraŋ) come: ŋulu wand'ajmu gangeraj d'iraj, ŋulu d'albu wand'ajmu gangeraj where does that man, woman come from? (DW).—Compare Yal ganɡaɗəa.
gana n. yamstick: gana bu bagan dug with yamsticks.

gañad’i attr. n. having a yamstick, yamsticks: gañad’i d’unaj d’albu d’albu

the women went with yamsticks (DW).

garogga n. any hole, opening.

gari neg. adv. no, not, don’t.

gari (Yal) neg. adv. nothing, no (CC).

gari (GY) neg. adv. nothing, no.

-gari car, suffix 4.9.

garu (GR) n. yam(s).

gawun (GR) n. clothes (from English ‘gown’).

-gi- aux. 8.11.

gid’ya n. moon.

gira n. little girl (= maral, DW): gira mamara two little girls.

girugari car. n. silly, mad: girugari wa’rmbarumba silly, stupid (DW).

giwaj giwaj (GR) n. (cold) water (= d’alungar or bana).

-gu all. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.

gubar n. big eel. —Compare mawur.

guba-ra (guba-ra guba-ra) n Chinaman.

gud’al n. pregnant (from another language; DW).

guda adv. must (?): naaju duñaj guda I must go (DW; unless related to gudajmu, q.v., hence ‘go back’?).

gudajmu adv. from behind: d’iraj naajgundu gudajmu gada an a man has come from behind me (DW).

gugabaga n. talkative: nulu bama jiña gugabaga that man, he talks so much (DW).

gugu n. language, talk.

ugu (Yim) n. talk (FG).

ugu bujun n. the name of a language, Gugu-Bujun.

ugu jimid’ir (Yim) n. the name of a language, Gugu-Yimidir.

gugu mini n. the name of a Mitchell river language.

gugu mul(u)rid’i n. the name of a Cape York language.

gunar n. abl. guñarmu east: guñarmu bama the man from the east.

guju n. abl. gujugu fish: gujugu or guju maninga going for fish or to catch fish (DW).

gulur (Yal) n. three people (CC).

guluñ n. four or five (DW).

gumbo n. urine.

gumbud’i attr. n. passing water: nulu gumbud’i.

guñanar n. long yams.

guñin n. five. —Compare GK wund’u.

guñin (GR) n. five. —Compare wund’u.

guñuru n. shield.

gungun n. scrub.

guní- v. imp. guni; pf. guniñ; progr. gunil; int. guninga hit, kill: gari guni don’t kill, nulu nununi wawu guninga he wants or likes to hit him.

guñand’i n. the name of a language.

guñand’i (Yal) n. emu (CC).

guñuñ n. three: d’iraj guñuñ three boys. —Compare gulur, gulur.

guñijala n. a big black carpetsnake, living in the scrub. —Compare gabul.

gurma n. loc. guurmaña; abl. gurmamu stone (= ja nga, q.v.): guurmaña (covered) with stones.

guwa n. abl. guwa-ju north: duñaj guwa going north, guwa-ju bama the man from the north.

guwa (Yim) n. north (?). —Compare s.v. duñan.

guwa-ga n. dog (from another language; DW).
-ŋa\(^1\) poss. loc. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.
-ŋa\(^2\) ger. suffix. 8.10.
ŋadigu adv. before, long ago.
ŋad\(^2\)i n. grandfather.
ŋəngin (Yal) n. porcupine.
ŋajgu pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋajgu (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋajguja (Yim) (? see 4.9.).
ŋajma n. eye(s).
ŋaju pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋaju (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋaju (Yim) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋaju (OK) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋalan (Yim) n. sun.
ŋalga- (Yim) v. progr. ŋalgal): ŋaju ˈnalə ŋalgal buḍaral (?I am having a smoke.
ŋali pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋali (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋali (Yim) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋali (OK) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋalin (Yal) pers. pron. 6.3.
ŋamu n. erg. ŋamungu; com. ŋamundu mother: ŋajgu ŋamu wulan my mother is dead, ŋaju ŋajgu ŋamundu duṇaŋ I went (together) with my mother.
ŋana pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋana (Yal) (ŋana ?) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋana (Yim) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋand\(^2\)yaŋ n. erg. ŋand\(^2\)yanåŋga; com. ŋand\(^2\)yananda father.
ŋand\(^2\)yar\(^2\)i (-d\(^2\)iy ?) n. banana.
ŋand\(^2\)yi (Yal) pers. pron. 6.3.
ŋand\(^2\)u (Yim) n. com. ŋand\(^2\)ugal woman.
ŋana pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋana (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.
ŋyana (Yal) v.  Yal ŋyana.
ŋarbal n. 1. bush, scrub; 2. stranger: ŋaju ŋarbal ba bundaj I am or was sitting (living) in the bush (DW).
ŋari n. leg.
ŋawa n. baby.
ŋawija n. salt-water turtle.
-ŋa erg. suffix. 3.6.; 5.2.
-ŋgu erg. suffix. 3.6.; 5.2.
ŋili ŋili n. duck.
ŋingi n. eyelids.
-ŋu poss. loc. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.
ŋuba adv. must ?: ŋuba ɯulu wulan he must have died (I saw his spirit) (DW).
ŋud\(^2\)aj n. fresh-water turtle. —Compare mud\(^2\)aj.
ŋud\(^2\)ur n. daughter.
ŋud\(^2\)uwar\(^i\)- v. imp. ŋud\(^2\)uwar\(^i\) play: ɣari ŋud\(^2\)uwar\(^i\) waŋina, ball-d\(^2\)i don't play with the boomerang, the ball (DW).
ŋujuli n. plum.
ŋulban (Yim) n. cloud.
ŋulgar(n)ad\(^2\)iŋ (perhaps: ŋulgar nad\(^2\)iŋ ?) n. goodlooking (DW)
ŋulu n. forehead. —Compare GK mulu.
ŋurgu n. mopoke (owl).
ŋurul n. dark: ŋurul manigij ŋaju duṇaj when it gets dark I will go (DW).

\textbf{J}

-ŋ\(^1\) nominaliser 4.11.
-ŋ\(^2\) ipf. suffix 8.2, 4.
-ŋ (Yim) pf. suffix ? 8.4-5.
jad\(^2\)ari- v. imp. jad\(^2\)ariga; aux. ipf. jad\(^2\)arigij laugh: jubal ɣari jad\(^2\)ariga you two don't laugh, bula jad\(^2\)arigij the two are laughing (DW).
jad'arigingi-v. ipf. jad'arigingij laugh.
jala dem. pron. 6.4. this or here.
jalandi (GK) n. the name of a language, Gugu-Yalandji.
jala'ia dem. pron. 6.4.
jalbaj n. erg. jalbajnd'a big; d'irajnd'a jalbajnd'a balgañ the big man has done or said it (DW).
jamba abl. jambama; loc. jambañ; all. jambagañ 1. home; 2. thing (? cf. jambagarì): nàjgu jamba my home, nàju bundaj jambañ I am (sitting) at home, gadañ jambama came from home.
jambagarì car. n. all. jambagariga 1. without a home or house; 2. nothing: jambagarìga bundañ I lived without a house (DW; literally: as one without a house; v. 5.3. end).

jamba jamba n. everything: nàdì jamba jamba look at everything (DW).
—Compare jamba, jambagarì.

jambul n. two. —Compare Yal d'ambul.

jara (jarana? n. all. jaranaga?) 1. south; 2. this way: jaranaga duñañ (?) went this way. —Compare naga.

jaraman (GK) n. horse.

jarana v. jara.

jarga n. kid, child.

jarga jarga n. kids, children.

jargarga n. child(ren).

jawa (Yal) n. possum.

jid'ari-v. imp. jid'ariga leave: nàjgu jid'ariga galba leave some for me (DW).

jigal n. 1. small (a child, etc.); 2. a little (speaking respectfully, for bubaj, q.v.).

jilaj adv. yesterday.

jilaj (Yal) adv. yesterday.

jilajgu adv. yesterday.

jilajgu (Yal) adv. yesterday.

jimbi n. lip(s).

jimid'ir (Yim) attr. n. 1. this, here; 2. the name of a language, Gugu-Yimidir.

jinda (GK) pers. pron. 6.1.

jindujmbuwa ?n. another fellow.

jiña dem. pron. 6.4. that, there; jindu daga jiña mani you go and get that (DW).

jirga- (Yim) v. aux. jirgalga v. 8.11. talk: jirgalga ñundu (jindu ?) bamagal you are talking with the man (FG).

jirma n. spear.

jiru n. erg. jirugu 1. alligator (DW); 2. ‘something underneath’, the Rainbow Serpent; 3. (the visible) rainbow: jiru d'irìña rainbow in the sky, jirugu ñunùni d'ãìbãrìñì the Rainbow Serpent sends (has sent) him (the visible rainbow) (DW).

jubal pers. pron. 6.1.

jubal (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.

jugu (Yim) n. 1. tree; 2. wood; 3. fire: jugu wargajbu big ‘mob’ of trees, jugu mind'ãl fire burning (FG). —Compare jugu.

jugu (GK) n. 1. tree; 2. stick; 3. yamstick.

jugu (GK) n.

jugu (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.

juga (Yim) n. 1. box; 2. boat.

julaldìi attr. n. having a boat: julaldìi ñunaj going by boat (DW).

jundu pers. pron. 6.1.

jundu (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.

jundu (Yim) pers. pron. 6.1.

jundu (GK) pers. pron. 6.1.

jura pers. pron. 6.1.

jura (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.

juwaj (Yim) adv. here.
manaro n. erg. manada wife: manar .documentElement. n. nom. 1. his wife, nauju manada nal 4 my wife saw me.

manar n. woman or girl (GK).

manargan n. poss. manarganda (GK): manarganda to my wife (DW).

maragan n. loc. maraganda canoe (as used by Kanakas; DW).

maragandi attr. n. having a canoe, with a canoe.

mard’a n. loc. mard’ana scrub, bush.

mara n. 1. hand; 2. five.

mara (GK) n. hand.

maral n. loc. marala; all. maralu girl: jala’a maral ba this is the girl's (DW).

mawuru n. little eel. —Compare gubur.

milga n. ear(s).

milga (Yim) n. ear(s).

milgad’ana- v. pf. milgad’ana (stand) listen(ing), hear: nauju nuunu na nia this is a good house. —Compare gugu mini.

mini n. good: jala’a jamba mini mini this is a good house. —Compare gugu mini.

miña n. all. miñaga game: duña (a) miñaga went for game (DW).

miña (Yal) n. 1. kangaroo; 2. meat.

miña (GK) n. meat.

miri- v. ipf. mirij; pf. mirijn break (intransitive): wani mirijn the boomerang broke.
mirid'y-a- v. caus. : progr. mirid'y-al break (transitive).

mi'r-a (GK) n. eye(s).

-mu abl. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.

mud'aj n. fresh-water turtle. —Compare nud'aj.

munga n. hair (on the head or the body): naju (naju ?) munga dagañ my hair stood on an end (DW).

munga (GK) n. hair.

mujar n. erg. mujar(a)nga wind:
mujar'anga buid'ay, wald'ay the wind made it fall, mujar'anga wundin gambi the wind took the curtain (DW).

mulad'yar n. star(s).

mul (u)rind'y-i n. a dialect of Gugu-Bujun. —Compare gugu mul(u)rind'y-i.

mun'du (Yal) post. 9.

-mun'du (Yal) abl. suffix 5.2.

mulu (GK) n. forehead. —Compare nulu.

munda (GK) n. any snake.

muñni (Yim) n. black.

mura (GK) n. dog.

murali n. erg. murali' nga Rainbow Serpent ('the thing below'; DW):
murali' nga jiri d'yañbariñ d'irigu the 'thing below' sent up the rainbow into the sky. —Compare muramali.

muramali n. 1. the (visible) rainbow; 2. the 'thing' from which it comes: muramali d'yañbariñ jiri (corrected: jiruñgu) the rainbow is sent up by the jiru, q.v. (DW). —Compare murali.

muñinmuñind'y-i v. imp. muñinmuñind'y-i; ipf muñinmuñind'yij turn or circle about: gari jundu muñinmuñind'yi don't you turn round.

-na- durative der. suffix 7.4.

nadi- (Yim) v. ipf. nadij (?); int. nadinu see.

nad'y-i- (nad'y-i-) v. imp. nad'y-i; pf. nad'yin, nad'yîña, nad'yin; progr. nad'yil; int. nad'înga see, look (at), find: gari nad'y-i don't look, jilajgu naju 'nuñuni nad'yin yesterday I saw him, naju 'nuñuni gari nad'yin I have not seen him, naju jununi nad'yil I can see you, naju gari 'nuñuni nad'yin nadigu I have not seen him before, naju jununi nad'yînga I want to see you, naju nad'yin d'anga I found money.

naga adv. 1. in the south; 2. over there: nulu naga bundaj he lives in the south, jamba naga the house over there. —Compare jara.

nagajmu adv. from the south: nagajmu bamañga the man (erg.) from the south.

nambal n. big flat stone.

nanda- v. pf. nandañ cover: nandañ miña covered the game (when cooking) (DW).

nandad'y-i- v. refl. pf. nandad'yînn cover oneself, be covered or stopped: naju 'nuñuni milga nandad'yîn I cannot hear you, naju gari milga nandad'yîn I am not deaf, naju 'nuñuni nandad'yîn blind (= bura, q.v.; DW), naju nandad'yîn I covered myself.

nawa (Yim) v. adv. look here.

-nda com. suffix 5.2.

-nda- durative der. suffix. 7.4.

-ndu com. suffix. 5.2.

-n'dar rel. suffix 4.12.

-ng-a1 all. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.

-ng-a2 int. suffix 8.9.

-ngu all. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.

-nu (Yim) int. suffix 8.9.

nubinubid'y-i- v. ipf. pf. ? nubinubid'în hunt: nubinubid'în hunting (DW).

nuga- v. imp. nuga; pf. nugañ; progr. nugal; int. nuganga eat or drink:
d'aluŋar, maji dadyi nuganga give water, food to eat (drink).
nuga- (Yal) v. pf. nugalnugaŋ, see 8.7. eat: maji ñulu nugalnugaŋ bira he has eaten the leaf (CC).

ñ

-ñ¹ nominaliser 4.11.
-ñ² pf. suffix 8.2, 5.
-ñ- nominaliser 8.1.
-ña pf. suffix 8.5.
ñadyi- v. nadyi- nadyi- (Yal) v. ipf. pf. ñadyiŋ, nadyiŋ, progr. nadyiŋ; see, look at: jundu Charlie ( destined) nadyiŋ bajan ba you saw Charlie at his home (CC), ñaju ñunuñ nadyiŋ I will see him (CC).

ñadýidýi- v. refl. imp. ñadýidýiga; ipf. ñadýidýij look at oneself: jundu gari ñadýidýiga don't you look at yourself (in the mirror), ñaju ñadýidýij I am looking at myself.

ñadýiwa- v. rec. ipf. ñadýiwaŋ look at each other: ñali ñadýiwaŋ we (two) are looking at one another.

ñala (Yim) adv. now (= ñala, q.v.).
ña da - v. pf. ñadaŋ cut (as a boomerang).
ñigu adv. today.
ñigu (Yal) adv. today: ñaju ñunuñ ñadýiŋ ñigu I saw him today, ñigu ñaju ñadýiŋ ñaju balgaŋ bama gulur when I saw them today, I told them (CC).
ñila (Yim) adv. now (= ñila, q.v.).
ñinga- (Yim) v. aux. progr. ñingalga, ñingalgal sit, live: ñanugal ñaju, ñundu (jundu ?) ñingalga I am, you are sitting with a woman, ñundu wandalbi ñingalgal where are you living (do you live!) (FG).

ñubaŋ n. one, alone: ñulu ñubaŋ girã she is the only girl (DW). —Compare ñubun.

ñubun n. one. —Compare ñubaŋ.
ñubun (Yal) n. one person (CC).
ñulu pers. pron. 6.1.
ñulu (Yal) pers. pron. 6.1.
ñulu (Yim) pers. pron. 6.1.
ñulu (GK) pers. pron. 6.1.
ñundu (Yim) ? pers. pron. 6.1.

R

-ñ (Yim) nominaliser 8.1.
-ra (Yim) ipf. suffix 8.4.
-ri- intransitive suffix ? 7.5.
-(u)ŋu erg. suffix 3.6.; 5.2.

W

-wa- rec. suffix 7.6.
wabar n. shade: bundaj wabar ba or wabar ba bundandaŋ sitting in the shade (DW).
wabul n. pigeon.
wadýu- v. pf. wadýun; progr. wadýul burn, singe, cook: maji wadýun cooked food, munga wadýun (they) burned or singed the hair (of the game), jimbi wadýul will burn (my) lips (DW).
wagaj n. branch or limb (of a tree).
wagaman n. the name of a Cape York language, the Everton or Chilligo language.
waŋar (Yim) n. white man.
waŋaŋ adv. up.
waŋi n. poss. loc. waŋiña; all. waŋiga boomerang; gundýuri balgal waŋiga making a shield for the boomerang (DW).
wani (Yim) n. boomerang.
wajbala n. whitefellow: wajbala d'yiraj a white man.
walar n. beard.
waldýa- v. pf. waldýaŋ make (something) fall, tumble.
waltunga- v. pf. waltunga; progr. waltunga
open, take out from: mina waltunga took out the game (from the oven), naju julal waltunga I am opening the box (DW).

walu n. face: walu mini mini good-looking.

walubura n. ugly.

walu walu n. stubborn.

waluwanari- v. ipf. waluwanarij drink.

wamba- v. ipf. wambaj; pf. wamba;
int. wambanga pick up, find; wambañ bubumu picked up from the ground, wambanga will pick it up by and by (DW).

wambabuna- v. pf. wambabunañ find, get (a child): nafa wambabunañ my (mother) got (found) me, that is 'I was born' (DW).

wambaj n. old things picked up ('second-hand'; DW). —Compare wamba-.

wambalamba- v. progr. wambalambal pick up: wambalambal biba picking up old papers (DW).

wambugan n. money (speaking respectfully, for d'anga, q.v.

wanari- v. ipf. wanarij roll: wànu wanarij what is rolling?, ball wanarij a ball is rolling (DW).

wand'a interr. adv. where, when: nulu wand'a jamba nùnu where does he live?, jundu wand'a wand'a duñaj where are you going?, nulu wand'a wand'a gadañ when did he come?.

wand'abu (Yal) interr. adv. where: jundu wand'abu duñaj where are you going? (CC).

wand'ajmu interr. adv. whence, from where: wand'ajmu jundu gadañ where did you come from?, jundu wand'ajmu maniñ where did you take or get it from?.

wand'aland'y- v. progr. wand'aland'yal: jundu wànu wand'aland'yal what are you rolling? (DW).

wand'yal wand'yal v. progr. waving, flapping (as a curtain, moved by the wind).

wand'anga (-gar? cf. 3.8.) interr. adv. where: jubal wand'anga(r) bundaj where are you two staying?, jundu wand'anga(r) duñaj where did you go? (DW).

wand'u interr. pron. 6.5.

wand'umundu (Yal) interr. adv. whence: jundu wand'umundu gadañ where whence? (CC).

wand'albi (Yim) interr. adv. where: ndunu wand'albi ñingalgal where do you live?, wand'albi jundu dañara where are you going? (FG).

wand-aljan (Yim) interr. adv. from where.

wanguñ (Yal) adv. tomorrow: naju ñununj ñad'il wanguñ I will see him tomorrow (CC). —Compare wünaga.

wañmari n. white woman.

wañu interr. pron. 6.5.

wañuriñgu interr. adv. why: wañuriñgu bundanga why should (I) sit or stay at home? (DW).

wañuriñgu (Yal) interr. pron. adv. (for) what, why: jundu wañuriñgu gadañ what do you come (have you come) for? (CC).

wañuriñga interr. pron. adv. 6.5. (for) what, why: jundu wañuriñga wawu what do you want?.

wargajgu (Yim) n. ? plenty ('big mob'; FG).

warigin (Yim) n. moon.

warḿaromba n. silly, stupid.

wawu n. adv. 1. heart; 2. wish, desire, want, like: nàju wawu bujun my heart is bad, wawu wubul heart, naju wawu wulaj I am thirsty, wawu guninga likes, wants to hit, naju ñununjungu wawu I like him, naju wawu ñununjungu d'irajngä I like that man, naju wawu jijnajnga I want that one (DW).
wawubad'ya (-d'y-) n. loc. wawubad'ña
river.

wawud'ir (Yal) attr. n. desiring, wanting:
wawud'ir ḍaḍanu wants to go (FG).

wawugarĩ car. n. dislike: ḋaju wawugarĩ
I don't like it, wawugarĩ gajanga (I)
don't like dogs (DW).

wubul¹ n. heart: ḋaju wubul bujun
my heart is bad (DW). —Compare
wawu.

wubul² n. a lot, all of them: bama wubul
nad'yin I saw a big mob (DW).

wugaj n. yams (boiled like custard; DW).

wuguri - v. pr. wuguriň chase: ḋanja
wuguriň (the ghost) chased me (DW).

wuṅgul n. spirit (of a dead person): ḋaju
пущuni nad'yin wuṅgul I saw his
spirit or ghost.

wula- v. ipf. wulaj; pf. wulań die: ńulu
wulaj d'yalbu the woman is dying,
wulań dead.

wuld'ad'yí n. v. adv. (talk) too much.

wulungur (Yim) n. light, fire.

wuna- v. ipf. wunanaj; pf. wunań lie
down, sleep, marry.

wunana- v. ipf. wunanaj; pf. wunanań
be asleep.

wundi- v. pf. wundiń take.

wundyu (GK) n. 1. fire; 2. matches.
—Compare gund'ìn.

wungań adv. in the morning.

wunguń adv. tomorrow.

wunguń (Yal) adv. tomorrow: wunguń
ṅad'yin will see him tomorrow (CC).
KANTYU AND KOKO-YALANDJI

1. Introductory

1.1. The material relating to Kantyu was gathered on the Cherbourg settlement near Murgon, Queensland, in 1964, from one Mr Larry Leady, from Coen (Silver Plains), incidentally supposed to be a champion at throwing the boomerang. The material from Koko-Yalandji was obtained from Mr Charlie Collins (native name Burigari), from the Bloomfield river and staying at the same time at Cherbourg. Mr Collins was able to give some information regarding the use of certain words of what he called the ‘high’ or ‘Father-in-law’ language (used when speaking to one's father-in-law or brother-in-law, at a distance, or to one's mother-in-law or sister-in-law, with one's face averted) and a ‘low’ or ‘current’ language.

1.2. Although the two languages are not immediately related, that is belonging to the same linguistic group, they are dealt with in conjunction for comparative reasons. Koko-Yalandji forms part of the important Koko languages in the Cape York area, while Kantyu has enough morphological features in common with these languages to be dealt with in the same connection. When necessary, Kantyu forms are marked by K and Koko-Yalandji forms with Y.

1.3. Koko-Yalandji material has also been published by William and Lynette Oates (WLO) in Gugu-Yalandji vocabulary (Occasional papers, no. 2. Canberra, 1964).

1.4. Stray notes are entered also from Gudjal, or the Charters Towers language, obtained from one Mr George Reid at Townsville and others at Charters Towers.

2. Phonology

2.1. The languages described here are similarly structured phonetically. The vowel system comprises the three fundamental vowel phonemes \( a, i \) and \( u \), normally not subject to a distinction of quantity or to a distinctive syllabic stress.

2.2. The consonant system is characterised by a non-distinction of voiced and voiceless plosives (being represented here by the current voiced symbols \( g, b, d \), etc.). The following consonantal phonemes occur:

- \( b \) a bilabial plosive (between English ‘b’ and ‘p’);
- \( d \) a dental to alveolar plosive (between English ‘d’ and ‘t’);
- \( d' \) a palatalised dental; plosive (between English ‘dy’ and ‘ty’);
\( d \) a retroflex plosive (as in Hindi—especially in Koko-Yalandji not clearly distinguished from \( d \); cf. above);

\( g \) a palatal-velar plosive (between English ‘g’ and ‘k’);

\( \eta \) a palatal-velar nasal (as in English ‘sing, song’)

\( m \) a bilabial nasal;

\( n \) a dental-alveolar nasal (as in English);

\( \hat{n} \) a palatalised dental nasal (as in English ‘onion’);

\( \eta \) a retroflex nasal (only in contact with \( d \));

\( l \) a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian);

\( r \) a trilled continuant (as in Italian);

\( \hat{r} \) a retroflex continuant (cf. Hindi);

\( j \) a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’);

\( w \) a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’).

2.3. All consonant phonemes except \( d \), \( r \) and \( \hat{r} \) occur initially. In the syllable- or word-final position, \( \eta \), \( m \), \( n \), \( \hat{n} \), \( l \), \( \hat{r} \), \( \hat{j} \) and \( w \) (?) are permitted. All consonant phonemes may occur intervocally. Intervocalic consonant clusters arise from a combination of any word-final phoneme with any word-initial phoneme (hence: -\( \eta g \), -\( ng \), -\( mb \), -\( nd \), -\( \eta d \), -\( ld \), etc.—they may be reduced in the current pronunciation: -\( mun(d)u \) ‘from’, \( n\eta(g)ana \) ‘his’, \( wam(b)ira \) ‘woomera’, \( binand\'al(d)u \) ‘koala’, etc. A homorganic nasal may occur between a syllable-final and a syllable-initial consonant phoneme: K \( gu\eta d\acute{u} \) ‘three’, \( gu\eta mbad\acute{u}i \) ‘kangaroo’; Y \( bi\eta ngum\acute{u} \) ‘crocodile’, \( d\acute{u}lm\acute{b}an\acute{u} \) ‘kangaroo’. This also is observed in Gudjal: \( bajmb\acute{a} \) ‘five’. Related to this phonetic particularity is the occurrence (in Kantyu) of an initial consonant group consisting of a nasal preceding a homorganic plosive, in the verbal stem K \( \eta\eta g\eta - \) ‘give’.

2.4. Words do not normally begin with a vowel phoneme in our material. However, vowel-initial forms are occasionally noted: K \( ala \) - ‘pick up’, \( ilbi \) - ‘come back’, \( un\eta\eta a \) - ‘cook’, \( uta \) - ‘swim’; Y \( ilay \) \( ilay \) ‘evening’. Initial \( a \) - is occasionally found in alternation with \( \eta \) - , as in K \( a\eta a \sim \eta a\eta a \) ‘this one’, \( a \sim \eta a \), a connective (‘and then’); also cf. K \( an \sim \eta an \) ‘and’, possibly from English). In the same way initial \( i \) - may alternate with \( ji \) - (cf. WLO \( yilay \) \( yilay \) ‘evening’; also cf. K \( guji \) corresponding to Australian English ‘coo-ee’) and \( u \) - with \( wu \) - , whence the vowel-initial forms may conveniently be interpreted as variants of respectively \( \eta a \), \( ji \) - and \( wu \) - .

2.5. Our Kantyu informant quite often has an intervocalic glottal plosive \( \tilde{\kappa} \), as in: \( ma\eta a \) ‘hand’, \( bi\eta i \) ‘water’, \( bu\eta a \) ‘snake’, \( gu\eta aga \) ‘dingo’, \( ga\eta uma \) ‘porcupine’, \( d\acute{u}\eta ud\acute{u} \) ‘little’; more seldom the glottal plosive occurs in other positions: \( gu\eta a \) ‘stone’. Whether it occurs in vowel-initial forms as well is uncertain (\( \eta\eta a \) - ‘bury’, \( ?a\eta a \) - ‘take’, etc. —the latter of these was recorded as a variant of \( ala \) - ). As this phoneme is quite unusual in the Aboriginal languages of Queensland, one may suspect that it represents a secondary (perhaps individual) evolution of some more primitive phoneme (cf. \( nu\eta\eta a \) beside \( nu\eta\eta a \) ‘his’); notice also such cases as K \( gu\eta ugu \) (\( gu\eta gu \) ?) beside \( gugu \) ‘voice, language’, which is \( gugu \) in Koko-Yalandji.
2.6. Instances of 'pre-occlusive' nasals are found in K galbma- for galma- 'come', gudna for 
guna 'excrement', gadniguma for ganiguma 'upwards', gandYidna for gandYina 'they killed',
etc.

2.7. In Koko-Yalandji a single word has been noted beginning with the sequence di- (dira 'tooth, teeth'), whereas the sequence dYi- is current. Alternations of -di- and -dYi- have been 
noted: gudlYi 'stone' (WLO guljl), as well as the verbal derivative suffix -di- (balgadi-
'turn into') ~ -dYi- (dadYi- 'give', nadYi- 'see'). Hence it is possible that di and dYi are original 
variants (as in several other Queensland languages) and that dira should be interpreted as dira 
(from *rira ?). In the same way initial ő- may alternate with n- (as also in many Queensland 
languages), as in ńanda- or nanda- 'cover' (WLO nandal 'bury').

2.8. In Koko-Yalandji (and other Koko languages) an alternation of morphological formatives 
having the vowel -a- with synonymous ones having -u-, according to a tendency toward vowel 
harmony, is observable: compare jambal)a 'home(ward)' and bubugu 'on the ground' (locative), 
murangalda 'with the spear' and buduguldu 'the koala' (ergative), waral ba 'in the belly' and 
dawun bu 'into town' (postposition), warungu wunanga 'to lie down to sleep' (intentional). 
Many irregularities have however been found. —The appearance of -i for expected -a (common 
in the Queensland languages), as in ńuli for ńula 'and then', ńambi for ńamba 'not', is due to the 
phonetics of Queensland English.

Morphology

Nominal stems

3.1. Nominal stems (comprising nouns, adjectives, numerals and certain pronouns) are typically 
dissyllabic in both languages, ending either in a vowel or a (single) consonant. Longer stems may 
be derived (cf. below). A nominal word is indefinite as to number: K bama, Y dYiray means 
either 'a man' or 'men, people', Y dYalbu means either 'woman' or 'women'. Plurality is 
sometimes indicated by reduplication: Y dYalbu dYalbu 'women', jarga jarga 'children', but this 
is evidently not the primitive function of reduplicated forms, since dYraj dYraj may also mean 'a 
black or dark man' (probably 'a real Aboriginal man'). Collective plurals are also expressed by 
plural or collective words, such as Y dYana, K bula 'they', K juJu 'a mob', hence: Y dYana 
dYalbu '(the) women', K bama juJu '(the) people' ('a mob').

Nominal derivation

3.2. Nouns are derived in Kantyu by such suffixes as -binda (attributive); in Koko-Yalandji we 
find: -gari (caritive). In both languages occur: -dYi (attributive), -gan (feminine), -man 
(personal).

3.3. The attributive K -binda... This suffix occurs in: jangabinda, galgabinda 'having 
spears (of different kinds)' (that is of the porcupine's prickles).
3.4. **The attributive -dYi.** This suffix is found in: K *gujmbadYi* ‘kangaroo’ (primitive stem not noted); Y *baduridYi* ‘having a fish line (badur), gulidYi* ‘bad’ (primitive stem not noted), d'uladYi* ‘jewfish’, *gurandYi* ‘emu’, *jalandYi* (language name: ‘Koko Yalandji’).

3.5. **The feminine -gan.** The feminine sense is clear in Kantyu kinship terms: *banbarigan* ‘a *banbari* woman’, *gurgilagan* ‘a *gurgila* woman’, *guburugan* ‘a *guburu* woman’; in Koko-Yalandji it occurs in: *bara(j)ngan* ‘dark wagtail’.

3.6. **The caritive -gari.** This is identical with the Koko-Yalandji negative adverb *gari* ‘no, not’ and occurs in: Y *milgagari* ‘deaf’ (‘no ears’), *miñagari* ‘without game’ (miña).

3.7. **The personal -man.** Apart from the Y *buliman* (‘policeman’, from English), where it has probably started, we find it in the almost universal Queensland K *jaraman* ‘horse’.

### Declension

3.8. Nominal stems are inflected to express the following case forms: nominative (the stem itself), ergative, ablative, locative and allative (in Koko-Yalandji the latter two are expressed by the same form). The nominative (lacking a case formative) expresses the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb. The **ergative** (which marks the agent of a transitive verb, having a direct object, especially in the ‘perfective mode’, see 6.4.) is expressed by the suffix -lu in Kantyu and by various suffixes in Koko-Yalandji (subject to ‘vowel harmony’; see 2.8.): -ŋa, -ŋu, -da, -du. The ablative (corresponding to English ‘from’), is expressed by -mui in Koko-Yalandji or else by the postposition *mun(du)* (‘from’), which is also used in Kantyu (*mun(d)u*). The locative (English ‘in, at, on’) is expressed by the suffix -ŋa, -ŋu in Koko-Yalandji and -ŋu in Kantyu, while the allative (English ‘to, for’) is expressed by -gu in Kantyu and by the locative -ŋa, -ŋu in Koko-Yalandji. Instead of locative and allative suffixes, both languages may make use of postpositions: K *bu* (windYi *bu* ‘for a boomerang’), Y *ba, bu* (according to ‘vowel harmony’: *bajan ba* ‘to the camp’, d’alu *bu* ‘into the sea’). The ergative form takes different suffixes depending on the terminal sound of the stem; in Koko-Yalandji, for instance, vowel-ending stems take -ŋa (after -a, -i) or -ŋu (after -u), while after -l it appears as -da or -du (muraŋgala ‘with the spear’, buduguldu ‘the koala’, from muraŋgal, budugul). A locative-allative -ŋa (-ŋu), -ga (-gu) also seems to appear as -da after -l: Y *baralda* ‘on the track’ (barak; = *bara*). —It is important to notice that the nominal declension (unlike the pronominal declension) lacks a possessive case form; to express a possessive relation juxtaposition (or an Indo-European type compound) may be used: *bama gugu* ‘people’s voice(s), talk’ (hence like English ‘men-talk’). The stem form of a noun may also be used if a co-ordinated (determining) noun is in the ergative: K *miñalu bu?a jaŋguri* ‘the serpent swallowed (him)’ (for *bu?alu*).

### Pronominal stems

4.1. We may distinguish between personal, demonstrative and interrogative-indefinite pronouns.
Personal pronouns

4.2. The system of personal pronouns probably comprises a differentiation of three persons each in the singular, dual and plural, a distinction being further made, in certain cases, between inclusive and exclusive first person dual and plural forms. Of this system parts, or even fragments, only have been noted by the present writer. The case forms are the customary (cf. 3.8.) nominative, ergative (often identical in form), possessive (taking the place of a missing allative), accusative (expressing a direct object) and comitative (taking the place of a missing locative). Occasionally especial dative form (expressing an indirect object) is noted, usually in the first person singular. The third person forms are often nominal in character: K, Y ñulu (nulu) ‘a person’ (cf. English ‘a he’, ‘a she’), also ‘another’; K bula ‘they’ means ‘a number of persons’ (originally ‘two’).

4.3. In order to demonstrate the form and occurrence of the personal pronouns in Kantyu and Koko-Yalandji, the following paradigms are presented, Kantyu forms appearing in the left and Koko-Yalandji forms in the right column.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kantyu</th>
<th>Koko-Yalandji</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st person singular:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ñaja (-ña, section 7)</td>
<td>ñaja; ñajurgu</td>
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<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ñaju</td>
<td>ñaju</td>
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<td>poss.</td>
<td>ñadãngu</td>
<td>ñajgu (ñagu)</td>
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<td>acc.</td>
<td>ñañi (?)</td>
<td>ñaña</td>
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<td>dat.</td>
<td>ñañi (?)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1st person dual:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ñali (incl. excl?)</td>
<td>ñali (incl.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ñamul(a) (incl. ?)</td>
<td>ñaliñ (excl.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ñalu (?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>ñálinañ</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1st person plural:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ñana (na, -(a)na; cf. 7)</td>
<td>ñana (excl.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
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<td>ñanänañ</td>
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<td>acc.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2nd person singular:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>ñuna; ñunama (-an, see 7)</td>
<td>jundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>ñuna (-an, see 7)</td>
<td>jundu</td>
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<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>nungangu, nungana</td>
<td>junu (ñunu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>ñin (-ani, see 7)</td>
<td>junuñi (-n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>ñuna</td>
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<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>ñunanda</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Kantyu

2nd person dual:
nom.  
poss.  

2nd person plural:
nom.  
poss.  
acc.  
com.  

3rd person singular:
nom.  
erg.  
poss.  
acc.  
com.  

3rd person dual:
nom.  
poss.  
acc.  
com.  

3rd person plural:
nom.  
erg.  
poss.  
acc.  
com.  

The alternative forms in the first and second persons singular, K ɲunama, Y ɲajurgu (see above) may have special shades of meaning; compare K ɲuna ɲa?a ɲunama ‘that is you’, Y ɲajurgu ‘I myself’.

Demonstrative pronouns

4.4. Although the demonstrative stems may denote various shades of meaning, both languages generally make a main distinction between ‘nearness’ to the speaker and ‘distance’ from the speaker (or person spoken to). In this way Kantyu presents the stems ɲi?i (roughly English ‘this, here’) and ɲa?a (roughly English ‘that, there’); in Koko-Yalandji the former base is jalu- (English ‘this, here’) and jala- (English ‘that, there’), respectively. The Kantyu stems are declined similar to nominal stems (nominative ɲi?i, ɲa?a, erg. ɲi?ilu, ɲa?alu). In Koko-Yalandji the forms jaluj, jaluňu, jaluňgu (‘this one, this fellow, here’, also ‘so and so’), jalaň ‘that, over there’ are noted.
Interrogative-indefinite pronouns

4.5. In Kantyu a personal interrogative stem (English ‘who?’), *waʔin-*, and an impersonal interrogative stem (English ‘what?’), *ŋani*, have been noted. Both are declined according to the system of nominal words: nominative *waʔina*, ergative *waʔinda* (‘who?’); nominative *ŋani* (‘what?’), allative *ŋaniŋgu* (‘for what?’). In Koko-Yalandji the stems *waŋa* (‘who?’, ‘which?’) and *waŋuri* (‘what?’) have been recorded, the latter in the allative form *waŋurĩŋgu* (‘what for?’).

Verbal stems

5.1. In both languages simple (not derived) verbal stems are generally disyllabic and ending in a vowel: K *galma*- ‘come’, *naja*- ‘break’, *ilbi*- ‘return’, *gandi*- ‘hit’, *jadu*- ‘see, know’, *dju*- ‘spear’; Y *balga*- ‘do, make, speak’, *dəna*- ‘stand’, *guni*- ‘kill’, *manji*- ‘catch, get’, *wundi*- ‘bring’, *wadYu*- ‘cook’, *waru*- ‘sleep’. Monosyllabic stems (similarly ending in a vowel) are exceptional: K *ŋga*- ‘give’, Y *da*- ‘give’, *ña*- ‘see’ (the latter also occur with derivative suffixes).

5.2. Verbal stems may be compound (or reduplicated): Y *dəndanji*- ‘stand’ (cf. *dəna*-; idem), *gaŋada*- or *gangada*- ‘come along’ (cf. *gada*-). A kind of reduplication arises in Koko-Yalandji by the use of the gerundial form of the verb (see 6.7.) in -l or else an analogous form in -n with any other verb form, as in: *nuga1 nuga*- ‘drink’ (= *nuga*-; literally ‘drink drinking’), *wuguril wuguri*- ‘hunt’, *duŋan duŋa*- ‘go’ (duŋan duŋaŋ or duŋan duŋanga ‘will go’).

Verbal derivation

5.3. Simple verbal stems may be derived by means of derivative suffixes, of which the following are noted: K, Y *-dYi*- (originally reflexive), K, Y *-ŋa*- (causative), K, Y *-ma*- (causative), Y *-mbi*- (probably originally causative), Y *-nda*- (probably durative), Y *-nda*- (probably ‘prepositional’; cf. English ‘bespeak’ = ‘speak for’), Y *-ri*- (-ri-) (probably inchoative).

5.4. The reflexive *-dYi*. This suffix is common in the Koko languages and occurs also in Kantyu: K *wadYi*- ‘turn into’ (the simple stem not recorded); cf. however Y *balgadYi*- (below); Y *balgadYi*- ‘turn into’ (cf. *balga*- ‘make, do’; hence ‘make oneself’), *mani*- ‘catch, get’), K *madYi*- ‘catch, grab’ (cf. *maʔa ‘hand’), *dadi*- ‘give’ (da-), *فادي*- ‘see’ (fähig-, a common Australian stem, idem), *wadYudYi*- ‘cook’ (wadYu, idem; hence either ‘cook’ intransitive or ‘cook for oneself’).

5.5. The causative *-ŋa*. This suffix most certainly occurs in K *miniŋa*- ‘make’ (literally—as in most Queensland languages—‘make good’, K *mini*). It may further enter into the suffix *-ŋuŋa* (see 5.9.).

5.6. The causative (?) *-ma*. The suffix *-ma* is commonly used as a causative suffix in the Queensland languages. In Kantyu it occurs in *wadYima*- ‘turn into’ (if transitive; cf. above, 5.4.); in Koko-Yalandji it occurs in *dəlamba* ‘jump down’ (without a simple form recorded as well as a clear causative meaning).
5.7. **The causative (?)** -mbi-. This suffix has been noted in Y mañumbi- ‘chase, grab’ (which might possibly comprise a causative function although no simple word form has been found).

5.8. **The durative (?)** -nda-. The formative -nda- (whether to be understood as derivative or modal) occurs in: Y bundanda- ‘be sitting’ (bunda- ‘sit’), daganda- ‘knock (at a door)’ (daga- ‘knock (down)’); incidentally, the same suffix may originally occur in the basic form bunda-, if derived from a simple stem *bu- (cf. the reduplicated bubu- ‘ground’).

5.9. **The ‘prepositional’ (?)** -ńuŋa-. This formative occurs in Kantyu in such verbs as: galmańuŋa- ‘come with’ (that is ‘bring’; cf. galma- ‘come’), mińińuŋa- ‘put into’ (e.g. juma mińińuŋan ‘put into the fire’; the simple verb stem has however not been recorded).

5.10. **The inchoative (?)** -ri- (-ri-). In the Queensland languages similar derivative elements usually mark intransitivity (and related senses). In Koko-Yalandji it occurs in: duñari- ‘go away’ (duña- ‘go’), gacări- ‘come along’ (gada- ‘come’), jidarı- ‘put’ (no simple verb stem recorded), wuguri- ‘hunt’ (without a simple verb stem), wundiri- or wundiri- ‘bring’ (cf. wundi-, idem). The inchoative sense has been suggested for reasons given in 6.5.

**Modal conjugation**

6.1. The four basic modal forms of the verb, the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional can be identified with reasonable safety. The **imperative** is (as usual) the plain stem of the verb, as seen in the Koko-Yalandji balga ‘do, say’, mani ‘catch (him)’. This form is however most often combined with what appears in either language to be the common connective ga (‘then’, etc.): K duñuga ‘spear then’, or else with what may possibly be the imperfective formative -ja or -j (see 6.3.), as in: K duñaja ‘spear (him)’, ṣuna jambaj ‘you throw it’, Y bundaj ‘sit’, dagaj ‘knock (him) (down)’.

6.2. The imperative form in -ga is often used as a hortative (‘let me’, ‘let us’, etc.) or optative or even as the intentional in -nga (v. 6.6.): K aja nţaga ‘let us have a talk’, bińiļu jawaŋa ‘let the water take him’, jambaga ‘(I) have got to throw’, najaga ‘want to break’, njaga ‘I will give (you)’, etc.

6.3. The **imperfective** formative is the ‘nominaliser’ -j- with or without a locative (?) -a (the latter if functioning as imperative only; cf. above, 6.1.): K duńaj ‘is going to or about to spear’, minińaj ‘prepared (food)’ (either in the sense of ‘was preparing’ or ‘used to prepare’, time not being essential); indaj ‘telling’; Y gačaj ‘coming, will come’, bundandaj ‘sitting’, duñaj ‘going’, jundu bi gačaj ‘if you like to come’. The imperfective mode is used in negative senses: K ṣamba da ṣuna duñaj ‘you must not spear (him)’, ṣamba duñaj ‘not to spear (him)’.

6.4. The **perfective** forms end either in -n or -ńi. Although in either language forms ending in any of these ‘nominalisers’ are usually rendered in English by the informants by past-tense forms, perfectivity, or completed verbal action, is essentially expressed by these forms in Kantyu and Koko-Yalandji, as seen in: K malgun ‘broken’, walań ‘asleep’, Y wulanañ ‘is dead’ (from wula- ‘to die’), ṣaju nugań gunbań ‘I have finished eating’. Other examples of perfective verb
forms are: K bundan ‘took or pulled it out’ or ‘got up’, galman ‘came’, najan ‘broke’, aďan or aďań ‘covered or buried’, gandań ‘sent’ or ‘has sent’; Y balgań ‘made, did or said’, guniń ‘killed’, maniń ‘got’, balgadřiń ‘turned into’. ‘Past time’ is not basically involved in these forms, as seen in: Y ňuŋungu balgań ‘(if I see him) I will tell him’; similarly: Y ňaaju ňuŋun ňadřiń ňi gu ‘I will see him today’ (that is the same verbal form as in ňi gu ňaaju ňadřiń ‘(when) I saw (him) today’).

6.5. Some apparent perfective forms (in -ń) give the impression of being imperfective: nugariń ‘are eating’, dũarıń ‘are going’, gaďarıń ‘coming along’. This may be due to the inchoative character of the derivative -ri- (see 5.10.): nugariń would actually mean ‘have started to eat’ and dũarıń gaďarıń ‘have started to go or come’.

6.6. The intentional is in both languages expressed by the suffix -nga (in Koko-Yalandji also -ngu, by vowel harmony; see 2.8.), that is by the allative -ga, -gu added to the perfective ‘nominaliser’ -n (in other words: it is the allative of a verb noun in -ń). By these forms the idea of ‘intending to’, ‘having to’ or ‘wanting’ is expressed: K wadang’a ‘will go (tomorrow)’, wadįing’a ‘he will turn into’; Y balganga ‘am going to tell’, dũąng’a ‘will go (fishing)’, warung’a ‘to sleep’. The same form is sometimes used in an imperative sense: Y wunanga ‘lie down’. That the concept of ‘time’ is not involved is again seen from such instances as: Y bundanga ‘to sit’, which is explained as either ‘was sitting yesterday’ or ‘will be sitting tomorrow’, the correct rendering being ‘had or has to sit’. (Incidentally, the ideas of ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’ are often not distinguished in the Australian languages.) In the same way we find: ňa?a galmanga jilmbi galman ‘it had to come, the rain came’. —The intentional form is often combined with the allative case form (in Koko-Yalandji identical with the locative form) of a nominal stem, as in: Y gujuŋu duŋanga (literally) ‘for fish, to go, that is ’(we) are going fishing’ (or ’(we) are for going for fish’, to illustrate the originally identical terminations of the noun and verb), dũlbaŋu duŋanga ‘to go hunting’.

6.7. In addition to these forms both languages have a form in -l, added to the verbal stem; this form appears to have gerundial character or to be expressive of an accompanying or subordinate verbal action, as in: K galmal ‘if (you) will come’ (tomorrow)’, minińal ‘making’ or ‘while (you) make’; Y bawal ‘leaving’, gunil ‘killing’, manil ‘taking off’, nandal ‘covering (with bushes)’, wugaril ‘hunting’, miňalu judal ‘looking for meat’. The form in -l may be used as imperative: K gandįl ‘hit (him)’, ɟgal ‘give (me)’ (cf. English ‘if you would give (me) ...’, etc. ?). Another sense recorded from Kantyu is the habitual, as in: minińal ‘he used to make’.

6.8. Certain modal forms of the verb have been found sporadically. Among these figures a gerundial form in -ndį in Y jidỳarinĎį ‘having put’; this form may, of course, be analysed as the attributive -dį ‘having’ (see 3.4.); being added to a perfective ‘nominaliser’ -n or -ń (see 6.4.). A hortative form in -mbu (added to the imperative in -ga; see 6.1.) occurs in: du?ugambu ‘let us hit or spear (him)’; although the occurrence of a (nasal) ‘nominaliser’ here seems out of place, a termination -bu might be the postposition bu (‘to’ or ‘for’, see 9), functioning as an intentional (?). An analogous form in -ndu (added to the verbal stem) has an ‘optative’ sense in: wadį indu ga?uma ‘let him turn into a porcupine’. (Incidentally, it is not necessary to consider all forms ending in -ga as imperatives.)
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Personal conjugation

7. Kantyu shows traces of a personal conjugation, that is forms consisting of a modal stem provided with an enclitically used (usually rudimentary) form of a personal pronoun (in the same way as and according to the same principles as in Birri, a language within the Gunggari group, in Queensland). The formatives used (or recorded in this material) are: -ṇa (first person singular; cf. ṡṇa, ṡaju 'I'); -na (modified -nā when combined with a perfective -n) or -ana (first or third person plural; cf. ṡana 'we', Y dropyana 'they'); -an, -n (second person singular nominative or ergative); -ani (second person singular, accusative or dative). The latter two forms are not identifiable with forms of the personal pronouns. The enclitic pronouns form a unit with the modal terminations, which are therefore not easily recognised. Examples: minijana 'I am going to make', ṡaṇa gandana 'I sent' (for *n-ṇa or *-n-ṇa); jau mana 'we ate' (for *-n-na), jaŋwaŋana 'we or they threw', ṡana jaduŋana 'we saw', ṡana duŋuna 'we will spear (him)'; waduŋa 'they will change' (perhaps for waduŋina ?), ṡaŋa waduna 'those ran away' (for *-n-na), galmana 'they came' (for *-n-na); duŋunaŋ 'you speared (him)', alanaŋ 'you stole (it)'; ṡganani 'he gave you'. One may notice the placement of the short form na (for ṡana 'we') in: K guji na jadun 'coo-ee, we have seen him'.

Adverbs

8. Certain forms, which we may perhaps call adverbial, play a part in the sentence building of Koko-Yalandji. They are bi, gagi and wawu. As in certain other Queensland languages they seem to have the double sense of (1) 'wish or like' and (2) 'perhaps' or 'if it should happen (the intentional form in some Queensland languages is used also to express a condition). In Koko-Yalandji bi is used in: jundu bi gaŋaŋ 'if you like to come'; gagi, in: gagi ṡaju niad?in ṡaju nunaŋu balgaŋi 'if I see him, I will tell him' (literally 'I wish or should like to see him . . .'); wawu, in: jundu wawu ṡagu balgaŋi 'if you make this for me ... ' (literally 'you might like to make ... ' or 'would you like to make ... '

Postpositions

9. In both languages ba and bu (in Koko-Yalandji bu, after a preceding u; cf. 2.8.) are used as local postpositions, taking the place of a locative or allative case suffix: K jul?i ba 'into the belly' (= jul?iŋu); Y bajan ba 'to the camp', (w)ul bu 'to the hall'. Also K munuku (munu), Y mundu may be taken as a postposition 'from', alternating with an ablative case suffix: K ṡanta munuku 'from (his) sleep'; Y bajan mundu gadaŋ 'come from home' (= bajanmun 'from the camp'). The distinction of postpositions and case suffixes here is rather a conventional one.

Connectives

10. The following elements of grammar may be considered original connectives: ga ' (and) then', ṡa (or ṡa, a; cf. 2.4.) 'and then', ṡan (an) 'and' (perhaps from English), ṡula 'then, again'. For ga used with imperative forms, see in 6.1. Perhaps the same connective ga appears in: ṡamba ṡaja minijaga janga 'because I cannot make a spear' (literally 'I cannot make a spear, so there ... '?). The other forms are used introducing sentences: ṡa bula waduŋa 'and then they were changed', bama ṡula bula ṡanja 'the people then said'.

Kantyu vocabulary

Figures refer to the sections of morphology. References to Koko-Yalandji are made by the letter Y (cf. 1.2.). The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the following order of basic phonemes: a, b, d, d', d, g, n, i, j, l, m, n, (n), r, u, w.

The following abbreviations are further used:

- abl. ablative
- acc. accusative
- adv. adverb
- all. allative
- attr. attributive
- car. caritive
- caus. causative
- com. comitative
- conn. connective
- dat. dative
- dem. demonstrative
- der. derivative
- dur. durative
- erg. ergative
- fem. feminine
- ger. gerund(ial)
- imp. imperative
- ipf. imperfective
- int. intentional
- interr. interrogative-indefinite
- loc. locative
- n. noun
- nom. nominative
- pers. person(al)
- pf. perfective
- poss. possessive
- postp. postposition
- pron. pronoun
- refl reflexive
- v. verb(al)

A

a (conn. 10) v. ŋa.

ad'ina v. pf. ad'ina burn singe: ad'ina they burned (him) up.

ada- v. pf. ada cover, cook (in an oven), bury: maji ada buried the food (i.e. cooked in an oven).

aja n. voice, talk (= gugu, q.v.), word: bama aja people's voices or talk.

ala- v. ipf. alaj; pf. ala 1. take (out), pick up; 2. steal: gula alaj pick up a stone, ala took (the meat) out (of the oven), bama ḋuna maji ala you stole fruit from people.

an (conn. 10) v. ḋan.

-an pers. pron. suffix; 7.

-ana pers. pron. suffix; 7.

-ani pers. pron. suffix; 7.

andama adv. long ago.

andanandama adv. v. ḋandanandama.

B

ba postp. 9.

ba'- v. imp. ba'aga sit: ḋali ba'aga nad'aju let us sit (down) on the ground.

ba'amu n. two.

baja v. mini.

badya n. grass.

bajamu n. erg. bajamulu 1. rainbow; 2. the Rainbow Serpent: bajamulu jangu buldunu the Rainbow Serpent swallowed the boy.
balu adv. this way: ŋaŋ a balu galman
he (that one) came this way.

bama n. erg. bamalu; all. bamagu man,
people, the Aboriginals: bula bama all
the men, bama mundu (changed) from a
man (into) ..., bamalu jaduŋa the
people knew (it), d’ilbulu gandaŋ
bamagu jaduŋ God sent (the Flood) to all
the people.

banbari n. the name of a marriage group.

banbarigan n. fem. a banbari woman (she
marries a wunguraŋ, the children becom­
guburu).

bangada n. a thin spear for fighting or
hunting.

bigan n. totem.

biŋi n. erg. biŋilu; all. biŋigu water:
ŋuna ŋaŋi biŋi ŋal you give me
water, biŋilu jawaŋ the water took
(him), biŋilu jawaga let the water take
(him), ŋaja galman biŋigu I came for
water.

-binda attr. der. suffix; 3.2, 3.

biwu n. (big) kangaroo: miŋa biwu
kangaroo(s).

bu postp. ?; 9.

buŋa n. erg. buŋalu 1. snake; 2. the
Rainbow Serpent.

bula pers. pron. 4.2, 3: bama bula the
people, a bula wad’inya and they were
changed, bulalu ŋaŋa gand’ina they
killed him.

buldunu n. all. buldunugu boy:
wijangulu bajamu janguŋ buldunu
that fellow, the Rainbow Serpent
swallowed the boy.

bunda- v. pf. bundan, bundaŋ 1. take,
pull or get out; 2. get up, come: jumaju
bundaŋ took it off the fire.

da adv. or conn., v. ŋamba, galma-.

dabi n. tongue.

daŋ u n. foot.

dawaj n. moon.

dunbi n. star.

dunduj n. eye(s).

duŋu- v. imp. duŋuga; ipf. duŋuj; pf.
duŋun spear, hit (with a spear): (ŋaja)
duŋuga (let me) spear (him), ŋuna
duŋugan or duŋuja you spear him,
duŋugambu let us hit (him) with a spear,
ŋamba da ŋuna duŋuj you must not
spear (him), ŋaŋa ŋuna duŋuj he is
going to spear you, ŋaŋa ŋuna duŋun
he speared you, ŋana duŋuna we will
spear (him), ŋaja naimin ŋuna
duŋufan I heard (that) you did spear
him.

-DY

-dyi attr. suffix 3.2, 4.

-dyi- refl. suffix 5, 4.

d’ilbulu n. erg d’ilbulu 1. old man; 2. God.

d’ilin d’ilin (d’ilin d’ilin) n. wag­
tail: ŋaŋa d’ilin d’ilin that wagtayl.
—Compare Y d’ilrid’in.

d’ŋugu n. dark fellow: d’ʊŋugu d’ʊŋugu,
idem.

d’ulŋan(ba) n. a mythological person:
d’ulbu d’ulŋanba wad’inya turned into
Old Man d’ulŋanba (?).

d’uŋu d’uŋu n. little: id’ana d’uŋu d’uŋu little
children, buldunu d’uŋu d’uŋu little boy.

-G

ga conn. 10.

-ga imp. suffix 6.2.

gan tada n. all. gan tada a kind of pumpkin:
maji gan tada, idem.

galga n. spear.

galgabinda attr. n. having spears: wad’inya
galgabinda gan tuma turned into a
porcupine having spears.

galma- v. pf. galman; int. galmanga;
ger. galmal come: biŋi galman the
water came, bula or guli galmana they
The people came, ŋaŋa galmanga jilmbi galman it had to come — the rain came, ŋuna нулума galman or galmada if you will come tomorrow.

galmama- v. pf. galmanamn come (or come with ?): nulu galmaman one person coming, bulg galmamana people coming.

galmanŋuŋa- v. imp. galmanŋuŋa; pf. galmanŋuŋan; ger. galmanŋuŋal come with, bring (home): ŋanja galmanŋuŋa нулума I will bring (it) home tomorrow, ŋuna gandīnāl miña ṅadyigu galmanŋuŋal you kill game, bring it home (literally ‘you killing game, bringing it home’ or ‘if you kill game ...’).

gambal n. bright light, sunlight, sun.

-gan fem. suffix 3.2, 5.

ganiguma v. adv. (go, get) up or upward: ṅadīgu ganiguma get up or climb the mountain.

ganda- v. pf. gandaŋ send: d'ibulu(lu) janguri gandaŋ God sent (the Flood), ŋaju gandaŋa (?) bamagu I sent (it) to the people, bulg gandaŋa they sent (it).

gandī- v. imp. gandīga; pf. gandīn, gandīñ; ger. gandīl hit, kill, fight: nambula gandīga let us kill (him), bu'ta a'ta (= ŋaŋa) gandīna they killed that snake or serpent, gandīl miña hit (that) bird (with a stone), gandīga bama to fight people.

gandīnā- v. ger. gandīnāl kill: ŋuna gandīnāl miña if you kill game.

gandīnu n. the name of a tribe and language, Kantyu: gugu gandīnu the Kantyu language.

gu?uma n. porcupine.

-gu all. suffix 3.8.

gu?aga n. dingo.

guburu n. the name of a marriage group: guburu marries gurgilagan, the children becoming banbari.

guburugan n. a guburu woman.

gugu (gu'ugu, gu'gu, cf. 2.5.) voice, talk, word, language: gugu mini a Koko-Mini or the Koko-Mini language.

guji adv. an exclamation: lo!, Oh, what is this?, look! see!, what!, but (supposed to be the Australian ‘coo-ee’): guji na jaduna lo! we have seen (him).

gujimb'dīy n. kangaroo.

gul'ā n. 1. stone; 2. money: gul'a jambāŋ threw a rock or stone.

gulan (gul'an) n. possum: d'ibulu gulan Old Man possum.

guli n. all. gugulu a big ‘mob’ or crowd: guli galmana a big mob came.
gulnd'u n. three or four.
guna n. excrement.

gurgila n. the name of a marriage group: a gurgila marries a guburugan.
gurgilagan n. a gurgila woman.
nagu n. stopped up or something lacking:
jamba nagu deaf.

naja pers. pron. 4.3.
naju pers. pron. 4.3.
nali pers. pron. 4.3.

namba adv. not: bamalu jaduña namba
nula udan bi?i the people knew he
could not swim, namba (da) nuna
du?uj you must not spear him.

nambul v. nambula.
nambula (nambul) pers. pron. 4.3.

nami- v. pf. namin hear: guji naja
namin but I heard.

nan conn. 10.
nana1 pers. pron.; 4.3.
nana2 pers. pron.; 4.3.

nanda n. sleep, asleep: nanda wand'in
was asleep, bundan nanda mun(d)u
got up from (his) sleep.

nandananandama adv. a long time ago.

nani interr. pron. 4.5.: ni?i nani what is
this?, nani nuna what (class) are you?,
na?a nani what is he?, bama nuna
nani what are you?, nani nuna
mandal what is your name?

nani pers. pron. 4.3.

nga- v. imp. ngaga; pf. ngan-; ger. ngal
give: naja nin ngaga gul?a I will give
you a stone (or 'money'), na?a bi?i
nganani or na?a (nula) nganani
bi?i he (or that one) gave you a drink,
nuna nani bi?i ngal you give me
water.

ni?i dem. pron. 4.4. this: ni?i bajamu
this same Rainbow Serpent, ni?i nani
what is this?

nin pers. pron. 4.3.

nula adv. then, again: nula wand'in then
(he) slept, bama nula bula inana the
people then said, nula ilbin (when) he
came back again.

nulnuma adv. tomorrow.
nuna pers. pron. 4.3.

nunama pers. pron. 4.3.

nunmaj n. blind.

nula pers. pron. 4.3.

I

idyan n. all. idyanagu child, children,

baby: idyan du?ud'u little children,
idyanagu jadan looked for the child.

ina- v. imp. inaga; pf. ina- say, talk:

nambula aja inaga we two will have a
talk, bama or bula inana they or the
people said.

inaga- or ingana v. adv. singing out,
calling.

ilbi- v. pf. ilbin) come back, return:

ga?uma nula ilbin (when) the
porcupine came back again. —Compare Y
jilba- clear away.

indya- v. ipf. indyaj; pf. indyañ- tell:

lawa lawa indyañ telling a lie, naja
(nin) indyaña nunanda I told you.

J

-j ipf. suffix 6.3.
-

ja imp. suffix 6.3.

jadu- v. pf. jaduña 1. see; 2. know:

nilgan jaduña saw (his) face (in a
dream), bu?a jadalnu jaduña they
saw the snake (or the serpent) in the sky,
nula jaduña we saw, jaduña they
knew.

janan n. hair of the head. —In Gudjal
gada is used (as also in Gunggari).

jangu- v. pf. janguñ swallow, eat: mina

na?a idyan janguñ or minalu bu?a

janguñ idyan that Serpent swallowed
babies, nana janguñ ate him, nula
janguña mina then we ate the meat.

janguji n. erg. jangujilu flood, deluge,

the Flood: janguji galman the Flood
came.

jalan n. mouth.

jaldal (jalgal) n. loc. jaldalnu sky:

jaldalnu in or into the sky.
jalga n. corroboree.
jalgal v. jaldal.
jamba n. ear(s): jamba ŋagu deaf.
jamba- v. imp. jambaga; ipf. jambaj; pf. jambaň throw, put: ŋaja jambaga
windyi I have got to throw the boomerang, ŋuna jambaj you throw it, jambaň jumänu or jumänu jambaňana
threw it on the fire, gul?a jambaňana
jumänu, jul?i ba put stones into the
fire, into the belly (in order to cook the game).

janga n. erg. jangalu long spear: ŋula janga mini:ogaga bama( gu) jilndaj
we help one another (literally 'let us give
meat to the other (many) people'.

jilgan n. dream.

jilmbi (jimbi) n. 1.rain; 2. the Flood: jilmbi galman rain or the Flood came.
jilndaj n. 1. a big mob; 2. the other people: ŋana miña ŋaga bama(gu) jilndaj
we help one another (literally 'let us give
meat to the other (many) people'.

juďa- v. pf. juđan; ger juđal look for, got to look for, look about: idy inspiration
juďan looked for the child, juđan majigu ga?adagu looked for pumpkin, ŋuna juđal bamagu you go and look
for the man, ŋuna miña juđal you look for meat.

ju đu n. all. ju đu gu 1. big tribe or 'mob' of people; 2. four or five: bama ju đu gu or bamagu ju đu gu (sent ) to a mob of people.

juju n. loc. jujuŋu; all. jujugu mountain: wadaña jujugu went up into
the high mountain.

jul?i n. loc. juliŋu stomach, liver, heart: muŋana jul?i they cut the belly or cut up
(the game), muŋana jul?i ba they put (stones) into the belly (to cook the game).
—in Gudjal 'heart' is buldaŋ.

juma n. erg. jumalu; loc. jumau fire: jumalu adyiŋ janjan burn the hair with
fire (to prepare the game for cooking), jumau bundaŋ pulled out of the fire
(after cooking).

-J ger. suffix 6.7.
lawa lawa n. a lie or lies.
-lu erg. suffix 3.8.

-M
-ma- v. der. suffix. 5.6.
ma?a n. hand. —In Gudjal (and Birri)

madyi- v. pf. madyiŋ grab, catch, take: 
ŋi?ili bama gugu madyiŋ this one
(i.e. the tape recorder) grabs people's
voices.

magi- v. pf. magin- drown: magina
(probably) they were drowned.
maji n. all. majigu fruit or vegetable
food: nuŋana maji ga?adaga his
pumpkin, juđan majigu went looking
for fruit.

malŋa- v. pf. malŋan break: ŋadyi
malŋan broken country.

-man n. der. suffix 3.2, 7.
mandal n. name.

-mbu v. suffix 6.8.
mi?iŋuŋa- v. pf. mi?iŋuŋan bury, put
(into fire for cooking): juma mi?iŋuŋan
put into the fire, jumau ŋana
mi?iŋuŋan we put it into the fire.

mini1 n. good.

mini2 n. the name of a tribe, Koko-Mini:
ŋaja gugu mini I am a Koko-Mini.
nija- v. imp. nijaga; pf. najan; break: 
nja najaga I will break (it), najan 
jad'i broke the ground.
-ndu v. suffix 6.8.
-nga int. suffix 6.6.
ni n. nose.
nuŋangu pers. pron. 4.3.
nuŋan, nuŋana pers. pron. 4.3.
nungangu, ungana pers. pron. 4.3.
nulu pers. pron. 4.3.

-ɲ pf. suffix 6.4.
-ña pers. pron. suffix 7.
ßandù n. loc. ßandùuŋu ground.
ñìilama n. one: ñìilama bama one 
man or person.
-nilgan n. face.
-ñüna- v. der. suffix 5.9.

U
uda- v. pf. udan swim: uda bi?i or bi?i 
udan could swim.
ugulŋu(mu) n. (?) wife (?): bajamu 
ugulŋu nuŋana wajimu the Rainbow 
Serpent's wife (the fainter rainbow, when 
two are visible, is supposed to be the 
female).
ula n. a kind of gum (from the grass tree), 
used as tar, to join parts of spear.
únda- v. pf. úndan put (on), cook: maji 
úndan cooked vegetables, nula ñali 
úndan then we cooked (it), gul?a julìŋu 
miña úndan put stones into the belly of 
the game.

W
wada- v. pf. wada-; int. wadanga go 
(away), run away: ña?a wadaña, 
wadaña jujgugu they ran away, going
up to the high mountain, ŋali wadanga ŋulŋumu we two will go tomorrow.

wadjí - v. pf. wadjín, wadjíṇ; int. wadjíŋa change or turn into, become: wadjín galgabinda gaˈuma he turned into a porcupine having spears, i.e. prickles, nulu wadjín gaˈuma he turned into a porcupine, bula wadjíṇa all the people turned into (animals), wadjín jaldalŋu he became (the Rainbow) in the sky, wadjíndu (?) gaˈuma let him become a porcupine (let him go with the spears and all).

wadjíma - v. pf. wadjíman turn into.

waga n. teeth.

waˈína interr. pron. 4.5. who?: ŋuna waˈína who are you?, waˈíndu miniŋan janga who made the spear?.

wajimu n. woman, wife.

wambira (wamira) n. womera.

wanda interr. pron. ? where? (?)

wandji - v. pf. wandjin, wandji̊ sleep: ŋula wandjin then (he) was asleep.

wija.ijgu n. erg. wijangulu a mythological being, connected with the Rainbow Serpent: na wijaŋgu gandaŋ̣ then (he) sent wijaŋgu (somehow connected with the Flood), wijaŋgulju bajamu janjaŋ̣ that Fellow swallowed the Rainbow.

windi n. erg. windílu boomerang: windi bu for a boomerang, windílu gandíga kill with the boomerang.

wini - v. pf. winin- fear, be frightened: bama bula winina the people were frightened.

wirgi n. bee (also a totem): ŋaja wirgi I am Sugarbag (Larry Leady’s totem).

wunda n. wind.

wunguraŋ n. the name of a marriage group: wunguraŋ marries banbarigan.

wundu - v. pf. wunduj; pf. wunduŋ look for: buldunugu wunduŋ looked for the boy.

Koko-Yalandji vocabulary

Figures refer to the sections on morphology. References to Kantyu are made by the letter K (cf. 1.2.); for WLO, see in 1.3.

The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the same order of phonemes as for Kantyu. The same abbreviations are used.

The letter H marks a ‘high’ or ‘father-in-law’ form of speech, the letter L, a ‘low’ or ‘current’ form (see 1.1.)

B

ba postp. 3.8.; 9.

bada n. adv. down (to a river, etc.). —Compare WLO bada bottom.

badur n. fish line. —Compare WLO badur hook.

baduridyi attr. n. with (= having) a fish line. —Compare WLO badurigi fishing.

badyi adv. back, again: gadaj badyi come back. —Compare WLO baja more, again.

badyandi n. a bad person: jundu badyandi you larrikin (said to a boy or a woman). —Compare WLO bajanji tough character.

baga - v. pf. bagaŋ dig: դ’yana gawu bagal bagaŋ they are digging (for) yams. —Compare WLO baga prick.
bagaři- v. pf. bagařiň dig (be digging or start digging).

baja n. loc. bajaňa 1. fire; 2. fire wood (L. from English ‘fire’; cf. wund’yu): baja wad’un lit a fire, bajaňa duňaj go to the fire. —Compare WLO baja fire. In Gudjal (as in Gunggari) ‘fire’ is buři.

bajan n. abl. bajanmuň camp, home: duňaj bajan ba go to the camp, ńulu d’igij bajan ba Dicky is at home. —Compare WLO bajan house, camp.

bajar n. milbir bajar wom era (H, L).

balaři n. ? miňa balaři rich meat.

balďi n. dilli bag.

balga- v. imp. balga; pf. balgaň; int. balganga 1. make; 2. tell: jundu :gagu balga you make for me, :gaju nu:gungu balgan I will tell him. —Compare WLO balga talk, inform.

balgadį- v. pf. balgadįň be changed or turn into: ńulgur balgadįň was changed into blood (the literal meaning being ‘make itself or be made’). —Compare WLO balgajĩ to be born.

balu n. adv. ? no thanks. —K balu has a different sense (q.v.).

bama n. man (H; cf. d’iraj): bama ńunun one man, bama gulur three men. —Compare WLO bama people. In Gudjal the Gunggari maři (‘man’) is used.

bana n. loc. banaňa 1. water; 2. river. —Compare WLO bana water. In Gudjal both bana and the Gunggari word gamu (‘water’) are used. (Gudjal bana also means ‘belly’.)

barąningan n. dark wagtail.

baral n. loc. baralda track: baral ba on the track, baralda duňaj go or walk on the track.

bawa- v. imp. bawa; pf. bawan, bawanĩ; int. bawangi; ger. bawal leave. —Compare WLO bawa leave.

bi adv. 8 perhaps: jundu bi gadaj if you like to come.
D

**da- v. ipf. daja** give: jundu ŋagu daja you give me. —Compare WLO daya give.

-da¹ erg. suffix 3.8.

-da² loc. suffix 3.8.

**dadyi- v. int. dadyinga** give: ŋunu dadyinga (I) will give you. —Compare WLO dajinga to give.

**daga- v. ipf. dagaj** knock down: jundu dagaj you knock him down.

**daganda- v. pf. dagandaŋ** knock down. —Compare WLO dagandan break down, destroy.

**dalgari n.** rain (H): dalgari gadaj it is going to rain.

**dama- (dYa-) v.** pf. daman; into damanga hit, spear. —Compare WLO dama spear, hunt.

**darba n.** wallaby. —Compare WLO darrba, idem.

**dawar n.** star. —Compare WLO dawarr, idem.

**dawun n.** town: gangar dawun bu to Cooktown.

**digi n. erg. diginga** Dicky; diginga ŋunun, njalinan, bulanjaŋ ŋadyiŋ Dicky saw him, us two, you two.

**dira n.** teeth. —Compare WLO dirra, idem.

-du erg. suffix. 3.8.

**duda- v. int. dudanga** sing: buri dudanga will sing a song. —Compare WLO duda strike on anvil.

**dugul n.** head (H, L). —Compare WLO dugul, idem. In Gudjal (and Gunggari) gada is used for ‘head’ or ‘hair’.

**duña- v. imp. duṇa; ipf. duṇaj; pf. duṇan, duṇaŋ; int. duṇanga** go (H, L): bajana duṇaj go to the fire, duṇaj gadaj (I am) going and coming (back), njaju duṇaŋ I am gone. —Compare WLO duṇay go.

**duṇan duṇa- v. pf. duṇan duṇaŋ; int. duṇan duṇanga** go.

**duṇari- v. pf. duṇariŋ** go away, along.

**durundyi n.** the two ‘sticks’ in the Milky Way.

Dy

**dyana n.** mouth.

**dヤalama- v. pf. dヤalamaŋ** jump down, —Compare WLO jalamal hop, skip.

**dヤalbu n. erg. dヤalbugu** woman: dヤana dヤalbu dヤalbu all the women, ŋulu dヤalbugu yonder woman. —Compare WLO jalbu adolescent girl. In Gudjal (as well as in Bundjil) ‘woman’ is баña.

**dヤali n.** Charlie: jundu dヤali ŋadyiŋ you saw Charlie.

**dヤalan n.** sea: dヤalan bu into the sea. —Compare WLO jalun, idem.

**dヤama- v. dama-.

**dヤambul n.** two, two people (H). —Compare bula, mamara.

**dヤana pers. pron. 4.3.: dヤana wunanaj** them fellows are sleeping or lying down, dヤana nag dヤadyiŋ the south (i.e. the people in New South Wales), dヤananda balga tell them.

**dヤana- v. ipf. dヤanaj** stand: milga dヤanaj listen (stand listening). —Compare WLO janaj to stand.

**dヤandヤani- v. pf. dヤandヤaniŋ** stand up: ёali mamara dヤandヤaniŋ we two standing (up).

**dヤandヤi- v. pf. dヤandヤiŋ** jump into the water. —Compare WLO janjin sink in water, swim.

**dヤanga n.** money. —Compare WLO janga (large) stone.

**dヤarba n.** snake. —Compare WLO jarrba, idem.

**dヤiba n.** liver: dヤiba jagaŋ (jagan) open the stomach, cut him up (of the game). —Compare WLO jiba liver, stomach.

**dヤibar n.** west. —Compare WLO jibarr south.
d'yid'yirid'yin n. wagtail. —Compare K d'irin d'irin.

d'igañ (d'igan) n. grass: ñulu d'igan nugal nugan he eats grass. —Compare garar.

d'ija n. loc. d'ijana chair (from English).

d'ilba n. loc. all. d'ilbanu hunting: ñali d'ilbanu dunanga we (two) are going hunting. —Compare WLO jilba walk.

d'ina n. foot. —Compare WLO jina, idem. The same (d'ina) is used in Gudjal.

d'inbaiwa r. pf. d'inbaiwa rifi be running. —Compare WLO jinbal hurry up, quick.

d'irañ n. man, boy (L): d'irañ d'iraj men or black man. —Compare bama.

d'iri n. loc. d'irina sky. —Compare WLO jiri, idem.

d'ulad'yi n. jewfish.

d'uldi n. salt (from English).

d'ulmbanu n. erg. d'ulmbanungu kangaroo: miña d'ulmbanu kangaroo (meat). —Compare WLO julmban grey kangaroo. In Gudjal, the Gunggari form wura is used.

gaba n. rain (L): gaba gadaj it is going to rain. —Compare WLO gaba, idem. Also compare dalgari.

garga- (garga-) v. imp. garga; ipf. gargañ come along: jundu gargañ come on along, ñaju gargañ bajaranmun I am coming from home.

gangal n. little boy.

gaja n. dog. —Compare WLO yawa, idem. In Gudjal ñura and wandi are used for ‘dog’ (both known in the Gunggari languages).

galgana n. spear (H, L). —Compare WLO galga, idem. Also compare K galga, idem.

-gan fem. suffix 3.2, 5.

gangada- v. gangada-.

gangar n. the name of a country or area: gangar dawun bu to Cooktown (in Birri called galari).

garba- v. pf. garbañ; int. garbanga get, catch, grasp. —Compare WLO garrbal grab.

garáñ n. grass. —Compare WLO gararr, idem. Compare ñigañ.

gari n. adv. nothing, not: ñalin gari gadaj if we two will not go, gari ñad'iniñ did not see anything.

-gari car. suffix 3.2, 6.

gawu n. yam(s): maji gawu, idem.

gid'ya n. moon. —Compare WLO gija, idem.

gudijala (gurijala) n. carpetsnake (can be eaten like goanna). —Compare WLO gurrjiyala, idem.

gud'yu n. four: gud'yu d'iga four chairs.

gugu n. word, language: gugu jaland'yi Koko-Yalandji. —Compare WLO gugu talk.

guju n. loc. all. gujunañ fish (H, L): ñali gujumudunanga we are going fishing. —Compare WLO guyu, idem.

guldi (gul'diya) n. loc. all. guldiña stone: guldi wad'una heated (a) stone or stones. —Compare WLO gulji pebbles, small stones.
gulid'y n. bad: bilngumu gulid'y the 
crocodile is a bad one. —Compare WLO 
guliji savage.
gulur n. three, three people: gulur d'ija 
three chairs.
gunba- v. pf. gunbań finish. —Compare 
WLO gunba, idem.
gungara n. north.
guni- v. pf. guniń, gunin; ger. gunil 
kill: darba gunin kill wallaby.
gurand'y n. emu. —Compare WLO 
gurraiiji cassowary.
gurbal n. brolga (native companion). 
—Compare WLO gurrbal plain turkey.
gurma n. stone. —Compare WLO 
gururma roast on hot stones.
guwa n. east. —Compare WLO guwa 
west.

-ŋa loc. all. suffix. 3.8.
ŋaga- v. int. ŋaganga drink: bana 
ŋaganga to drink water.
ŋagu pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋaŋin n. porcupine.
ŋaja pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋajbir n. girl (L). —Compare WLO ŋaybirr 
intimate name for wife. Compare maral.
ŋajgu pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋaju pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋajurgu pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋali pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋalinaŋ pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋaliń (ŋalin) pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋamu n. mother (H, L). —Compare WLO 
ŋam, idem.
ŋamumuramu n. dingo: gaja ŋamumuramu, 
idem. —Compare WLO murramu dingo.
ŋana pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋanana, ŋananaŋ pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋand'yan n. father (H, L). —Compare 
WLO ŋanjan, idem.
ŋand'yn pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋaña pers. pron. 4.3.
-ŋa erg. suffix 3.8.
-ŋu erg. suffix 3.8.
-ŋu loc. all. suffix 3.8.
ŋuba adv. ever: ŋuba garị gadaj (you) 
will never come.
ŋud'aj n. turtle: ŋali(ť) ŋud'aj maniń 
we got turtle.
ŋulgur n. blood. —Compare WLO 
ŋulgurr good (sic).
ŋund'yl n. charcoal: ŋund'yl jilbań (-n) 
cleared away charcoal (from cooking pit). 
—Compare WLO ŋunjil, idem.
ŋunu pers. pron. 4.3.

-j ipf. suffix 6.3.
jabajabud'yu n. erg. jabajabud'ungu (two) 
brothers: bula jabajabud'yu the two 
brothers. —Compare WLO yabayabuju, 
idem.

jaga- v. imp. jaga; pf. jagań cut up, open 
the stomach of (an animal): d'iba jagan 
open the stomach (of the game). —Com­ 
pare WLO yaga cut.
jaland’y n. the name of a language, Koko-
Yalandji.
jalän dem. pron. 4.4.: jalan ba ḏanaj 
go over there, jalamba (come) here (H). 
—Compare WLO yalaymba here.
jalun'gu dem. pron. 4.4.
jaluj dem. adv. 4.4.: gadaj jaluj come 
here.
jalunu dem. pron. 4.4.: jalunu ŋanu 
daja give me this.

jamba n. loc. all. jambana camp, home 
(H): jambana jundu ḏanaj you go 
home. —Compare WLO yamba house. 
The same word (jamba) is used in Gudjal; 

Ɲ

-Ɲ loc. all. prefix. 3.8.

J

-bajənd'su n. erg. bajənd'sungu (two) 
brothers: bula bajənd'su the two 
brothers. —Compare WLO yabayabuju, 
idem.

baja- v. imp. jaga; pf. jagań cut up, open 
the stomach of (an animal): d'iba jagan 
open the stomach (of the game). —Com­ 
pare WLO yaga cut.
jaraman n. horse.
jarga n. jarga jarga children (H, L).
—Compare WLO yarrga smallest bee in the bush, yarrga yarrga group of small children. In Gudjal 'child' is walbara.
jawa n. possum.
jid Yari- v. imp. jid Yariga; pf. jid Yaririn;
ger. jid Yarind yi put: gurma jid Yarirn put stones into. —Compare WLO yijariga place, put.
jilagu adv. yesterday. —Compare WLO yilaygu, idem.
jilaj adv. yesterday: naju nujun nad Yin jilaj I saw him yesterday.
jilajgu adv. yesterday: naju jilajgu gangada ni I came along yesterday.
jilaj n. adv. evening, in the evening.
—Compare WLO yilay yilay evening.
jilba- v. pf. jilba ni; ger. jilbal clear away: nund Yil jilba ni, jilbal cield, clearing away the charcoal. —Compare WLO yilbal throw. cf. K ilbi- return.

M
madad Yi- v. imp. madad Yi; pf. madad Yini; int. madad Yingu go, come (H): jundu madad Yi jalamba you come here (= jundu gadaj jaluj), nali gujuna madad Yingu we two are going fishing. —Compare madad Yi-.

madad Yai- v. ipf. ? madad Yaij ? go (cf. madad Yi-): d'ana naga madad Yai (?) the people of New South Wales (v. naga).
maji n. fruit, (vegetable) food, tucker: maji gawu yam(s), maji nulu nugal nuga ni bira (he) the koala has eaten the leaves. —Compare WLO mayi food or fruit.

Mamara n. two (L): mamara d'ija two chairs, nali mamara d'and Yani ni we two are standing (up). —Compare WLO mamarra two. cf. d'ambul.

man n. der. suffix 3.2, 7.
mand Yal n. abl. mand Yal mantyu mountain: mand Yal ba (ran) into the mountain.

Mangad Yi- n. ? pigeon (?)

man- v. imp. mani; pf. mani ni; int. maninga; ger. mani take (off), catch, get: jundu mani you catch (him), julban mani skin him, guju nali maninga we will get fish. —Compare WLO mana to take.

manid Yi- v. pf. manid Yini finish.

mañar n. wife (H, L). —Compare WLO mañarr, idem.

Mañumbi- v. imp. mañumbi chase, grab.


Maral n. girl (H). —Compare WLO maral young girl. cf. nañbir.

-Mbi- v. der. suffix 5.7.
mil n. eye(s). —Compare WLO miyil eye. In Gudjal (as in Gunggari) 'eye(s)' is dili.
milbir n. womera (H, L). —Compare bajjar.
milga n. ear(s): milga d'yanaj listen. —Compare WLO milga 'ear'. In Gudjal (as in Gunggari) 'ear' is bina.
milgagaři n. deaf.
mĩña n. meat or game (H, L); miña julu mbanu kangaroo meat, miña gurandyi emu (meat). —Compare WLO miña meat.
mudanja n. father-in-law.
mungga n. hair: munga wad'yu singe the hair. —Compare WLO munga, idem.
mundu (munda) postp. 3.8, 9.
-mun abl. suffix 3.8.
muraŋgal n. erg. muraŋgalda spear.
muramu v. ŋumumuramu.

ña- v. imp. ŋaga see. —Compare ńad'yi-.

ńad'yi- v. pf. ńad'ĩi, ńad'ĩn; ger. ńad'yil see, look: ńaju ńad'ĩĩn walu I have seen a kangaroo, gari ńad'ĩĩ did not see, ńaju ńuunj ńad'ĩĩn I can see him, her or it, ńaju ńuunj ńad'yil wangaŋ I will see him tomorrow. —Compare WLO ńaga to look, ńajil to see. Also cf. ńa-.

ńanda- (nanda-) v. pf. ńandaŋ; ger. ńandal cover: bira bu ńandaŋi covered with bushes. —Compare WLO nandal bury the dead.

ńigu adv. today, now (H, L): ńigu ńigu today, ńaju ńuunj ńad'ĩĩn ńigu I will see him today, ńigu ńaju ńad'ĩĩn ńaju balgaŋ bama gulu when I saw them today I told them. —Compare WLO ńigu today.

ńubun n. one, one person: ńubun d'iya one chair.

ńuŋu pers. pron. 4.3.
ńuunj pers. pron. 4.3.
ńuunjdu pers. pron. 4.3.
ńulu pers. pron. 4.3.
ńulundu pers. pron. 4.3.

ńu- v. der. suffix 5.10; 6.5.

ńā- v. imp. ńaga see. —Compare ńad'yi-.
wad'udyi- v. pf. wad'udyi- cook (for oneself?): miña wad'udyi- cooking meat.

wad'uri- v. pf. wad'uri- cook, start cooking (?).

waguga n. kookaburra. —Compare WLO waguga, idem.

waŋgar adv. up: duŋaŋ waŋgar went up. —Compare WLO waŋgar Thompson Creek Camp.

waŋi n. boomerang (H, L).

walar n. beard. —Compare WLO walarr whiskers.

walgar n. goanna. —Compare WLO walarr, idem.

walgari adv. I don't want any (food).

walña- v. pf. walña; int. walñaŋa take out meat (from oven or off fire): miña walñaŋa took out the meat. —Compare WLO walña open.

walur n. kangaroo (H): miña walur kangaroo. —Compare d'yulmbanu.

wand'abu adv. where?: jundu wand'abu dupaj where are you going?.

wand'umundu adv. whence?

wanguń adv. tomorrow. —Compare wunguń.

waña interr. pron. 4.5.

wañuri- interr. pron. 4.5.

wañurünga (-ŋu) interr. adv. what for?

waral n. stomach: waral ba in(to) the stomach. —Compare WLO waral body, stomach.

waru- v. int. warungu sleep.

wawu adv. (8) would like to, if: jundu wawu ṇagu balgaŋ if you make (this) for me... . —Compare WLO wawu spirit, wish.

wubul n. four or five, a 'mob': wubul d'ija five chairs. —Compare wubul all.

wugurü- (wugurü-) v. pf. wugurüŋ; ger. wugurüŋ hunt: wugurüŋ wugurüŋ were hunting.

wuŋar n. sun. —Compare WLO wuŋar, idem.

wul n. hall (from English): wul bu to the hall.

wula- v. pf. wulaŋ die: ḥulu wulaŋ he is dead. —Compare WLO wulay dead.

wumbul n. hot: wumbul gurma hot stone, wumbul Ŧigu it is hot today. —Compare WLO wumbul, idem.

wuna- v. ipf. wunaŋ; pf. wunaŋ; int wunanga; ger. wunal 1. lie down, sleep; 2. put down: miña darba wunaŋ put down the wallaby (into the cooking pit), ḥaju duŋaŋ wunanga I am going to lie down or sleep. —Compare WLO wunay sleep.

wunan(d)a- ? v. ipf. wunanaj sleep, lie down.

wundi- v. imp. wundi; pf. wundiŋ bring: ḥaju gawu wundiŋ I brought yams. —Compare WLO wundi, idem.

wundiři- v. pf. wundiřiŋ bring.

wund'yu n. loc. all. wund'yuŋa fire (H): wund'yuŋa duŋaŋ go to the fire. —Compare baja.

wunguń adv. tomorrow: wunguń ḥad'üŋiŋ see him tomorrow morning. —Compare wunguń.
GANGULIDA

1. Notes of the Gangulida or Ganggulida language (to be distinguished from the Gangulu language in eastern Queensland, which is of Gunggari type) were taken (between 1970-1972) from two persons at the Woorabinda settlement in Queensland, one Mr Digger Swann and one Mr Jerry Walton. The Aboriginal name of the tribe and language (also referred to as the Burketown or Berkeley (?) river language) was given in two forms: *gagulida* (which might be preferred), by both informants, and *gangulida* or *gangalida* (or even *gangulida*), the last three forms by Digger Swann. Both informants were bilingual and rather proficient in the Aboriginal language, although they had considerable difficulty in making certain points of grammar plain in English, whence an analysis of every point of the rather complicated Gangulida morphology has not been possible. Reference to these informants in the morphological sketch and in the vocabulary is made by the corresponding signatures, DS (Mr Swann) and JW (Mr Walton).

Phonology

Vowel system

2.1. The phonology of Gangulida agrees with the general phonetic pattern of the Aboriginal languages of western Queensland. The basic vowel phonemes are *a*, *i* and *u*, which are indifferent as to quantity and stress. Monosyllabic concrete forms (hence not particles) ending in a vowel are, however, liable to lengthen the vowel sound: *da da* ‘going’, *qi* ‘yes’. Since no word or syllable can begin with a vowel, diphthongs are evidently absent, but sequences of the type -aji-, -ija-, etc. may be reduced in the pronunciation to -ai-, -ia- etc. This holds for every context: *dijad'ya wulanda* (‘eating meat’) may hence be realised as *dijango ula*. A word borrowed from English has to be adapted to the GaGJulida phonetic system: ‘bread’ becomes *burajiri* (since the English vowel sound does not exist as a basic phoneme and neither initial *br* nor final *-d* occurs in the Aboriginal language; such a pronunciation as *wad'y bala* ‘white fellow’ probably represents a slurred *wad'y ibala*, which may become further simplified to *wajibala* and *waibala*, according to 2.1, 6).

Consonant system

2.2. The consonant phonemes are the following ones:

- *b* a bilabial plosive (between English ‘b’ and ‘p’);
- *d* a dental plosive (between English ‘d’ and ‘t’);
- *d'* a palatalised dental plosive (between English ‘dy’ and ‘ty’);
a retroflex plosive (cf. Hindi);

\( g \) a palatal-velar plosive (between English 'g' and 'k');

\( \eta \) a palatal-velar nasal (as in English 'sing', 'song');

\( m \) a bilabial nasal;

\( n \) a dental nasal;

\( \dot{n} \) a palatalised dental nasal (like ‘ni’ in English ‘onion’);

\( \eta \) a retroflex nasal;

\( l \) a lateral continuant (as in French and Italian);

\( r \) a trilled continuant or vibrant (as in Italian);

\( \dot{r} \) a retroflex ‘l’ or ‘r’ (as in Hindi ghora);

\( j \) a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’);

\( w \) a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’).

**Combinatory phonology**

2.3. While syllables may begin with any of the above-mentioned basic consonant phonemes, words begin with any plosive or nasal (except the retroflex \( \eta \) and \( \dot{r} \)) and further with \( l, r \) and the semi-vowels \( j \) and \( w \). Words and syllables may end in a vowel, nasal or continuant only. As in the Gugu (or Koko) languages of Cape York, consonant groups consisting of a syllable-ending phoneme combined with a syllable-initial phoneme preceded by a homorganic nasal occur, as in *barmbiya* ‘later on’.

2.4. The sequence -di- may or may not be actualised as -d\( \acute{\i} \)- (the former spelling may be preferred): *didina* or *d\( \acute{\i} \)d\( \acute{\i} \)ina* ‘which?’ (spelled *didina*). In the group -ld-, the \( d \) seems alveolar and similarly in -nd- (for the sake of clarity we hence write a palatalised dental group as -nd\( \acute{\i} \)-). The group -nd- (as in *gandi* ‘wife’, *wu\( \acute{\i} \)a* ‘rain’) has occasionally been recorded, but its basic character is uncertain (the former word has also been noted as *gandi*, and the stem of the latter is *wun-* (not *wun*), as in *wungi* ‘after the rain’).  

2.5. Certain simplifications of consonant groups may be observed: -nd-, -mb- and -ld- may be reduced in speaking to respectively -n-, -m- and -l-, as in *dadinda* for *dadinda* (?) ‘that, there’, *numanda* for *numanda* ‘your(s)’, *dali* for *dandi* ‘stand’; sometimes it may, however, be a question of different basic forms: *mala* and *malda* ‘hand’, *du\( \acute{\i} \)ala* and *du\( \acute{\i} \)alda* ‘stick’, as well as in the above *didina* and *didinda* (?). The passing of any intervocalic phoneme (but especially a -d- or -n-), into -r-, very common in the languages of eastern Queensland, is also found in Gaungulida: *\( \acute{n} \)ara* for *\( \acute{n} \)ada* ‘I’. Some common alternations must further be noted, such as that of -r- and -\( \dot{d} \)-, that of -\( \tilde{r} \)-, -l- and -r-, that of -ld-, -d- and -\( \dot{r} \)- (e.g. *bal\( \tilde{d} \)aru*, *ba\( \tilde{d} \)aru*, *bara\( \tilde{d} \)aru* ‘big’), etc.

2.6. The phoneme -d\( \tilde{\i} \)- and the phoneme -r- before -i- are not seldom reduced to the semivowel -j-: the verbal suffix -d\( \tilde{\i} \)a- may appear as -ja- (although, at the same time, it is possible that a basic verbal suffix -ja exists beside -d\( \tilde{\i} \)a and having a different function; cf. 5.10.); further wadibal ‘white fellow’ (= wad\( \tilde{b} \)ala; cf. 2.4.) may become wa(j)ibala, the caritive suffix -wari may
appear as -waji (see 2.1.) and the locative -ri, as -ji (ŋuguji for ŋuguri 'in the water'). Whether any original consonant groups *-nr- and *-Ir- existed in any period of the language, they have later passed into respectively -nd- (=-nd-=) and -ld- (perhaps occasionally -r-; cf. above 2.5.), that is in such forms as wunđa 'rain', malda 'hand' (cf. 2.4, 6.).

2.7. As in Gugu-Bujun (Cape York), a tendency subsists in Gangulida to assimilate unstressed vowel sounds: from dulga 'ground' the allative dulgulu ('on to the ground'; from *dulga-ru), of nada 'camp', the same form is nadulu (beside nadalu 'to the camp, home'), beside ɲidiɲulu (= ɲidiɲin-; cf. 2.4.) 'to me' we find ɲiductiɲulu; the locative of dulga 'ground' (cf. above) is dulgi, which seems to represent *dulgiji (=*dulgiɾi <*dulga-ɾi; cf. 2.6.). The intentional suffix -dYulu (see 5.13.) very likely represents the imperfect suffix -dYu (see 5.11.), enlarged by the above-mentioned allative -lu (hence *dYa-łu, which further is assimilated to the actually recorded from -dYułu).

2.8. It is likely that the sequence -wa- may pass into -wu- (via *-wo- or the sound in English 'water'—not a basic sound in Gangulida), as in: gunawuna beside gunawana 'child'; incidentally, the same takes place in Garwa: barawun beside barawan ('camp, home'). The exact relation between the verbal stems waga-(JW) and wuga (DS) 'give' is not very clear (wu- is a common stem meaning 'give' in the Queensland languages).

Morphology

3.1. In Gangulida the following word classes may be distinguished: nominal forms (nouns, adjectives and numerals), 'articles', pronominal forms (personal, demonstrative, interrogative), verbal forms, adverbs, postpositions and connectives.

Nominal stems

3.2. Nominal stems may end in any word-final phoneme (see 2.3.). The stem is normally of at least two syllables, although monosyllabic stems occur (wun 'rain'). Longer stems are often derived.

Nominal derivation

3.3. Nominal derivation may take place by means of the following derivative suffixes: -dari (caritive), -dulu (attributive), -gari (caritive), -gulu (attributive), -wari (caritive) and -wulu (attributive). The principles underlying the distribution of the synonymous -dari, -gari, -wari, on the one hand, and -dulu, -gulu, -wulu, on the other, are at the moment hidden (no connection with the termination of the stem or the occurrence of 'article' forms in respectively -ra (-da) and -wa (see 3.10) seems to exist, as seen in dangawulu, maguwulu ('having a man', respectively 'a woman'), dangawari, maguwari ('without a man, woman (or wife)'), from the 'article' forms dangara 'man', maguwa 'woman'. —For the possible occurrence in Gangulida of a 'possessive' derivative suffix, see in 3.7.
3.4. **Attributive suffixes** (-dulu, -gulu, -wulu). These denote the idea of 'having' or 'provided with' (as with an attribute): jalbudulu 'having meat' (jalbu(ra)), wirindu 'having money' (wirinda), daŋgawulu 'having a man' (daŋga(ra)), gunawawanulu 'having children' (gunawana), ɲuguwulu 'having (plenty) of water' (ɲugu(wa)), maguwulu 'having a woman' (maguwa).

3.5. **Caritive suffixes** (-dari, -gari, -wari). These suffixes mark absence of quality: wuguwadari 'without work' (wuguwa, probably from English 'work'), wulangari 'no tucker' (wulan(da)), nadagari 'having no home' (nada 'camp'), daŋgawari 'not having a man, without a man' (daŋga), maguwari 'having no woman' (maguwa), jalbuwari 'without meat' (jalbura), ɲuguwari 'without water' (ɲugu), mibulwari 'without eyes, blind' (cf. mibula, mibul- 'eye(s)').

3.6. Nouns derived by any of these suffixes may be construed with another nominal or pronominal word, which then may be provided with a corresponding attributive or caritive suffix, in a kind of congruence construction: dadingulu wuru wulu vawa 'with that cheeky dog' (literally 'having that, having a cheeky dog'; the last word being left in its stem form).

3.7. It appears that Gangulida may have a suffix expressing 'ownership' or 'property' (and hence analogous to the Punthamara 'possessive' derivative -ani), namely the element -ŋga, found in a couple of cases: d'uruwaŋga Ḉidindhi (mibuli) 'dust in my eye' ('there being dust in me, in (my) eye') or 'there is dust in (my) eye' (DS), mudaranga gurid'Ya 'see (there being) a big mob' (DS); this suffix (-ŋga) also appears after the caritive -wari (cf. 3.5.), as in: maguwa daŋgawariŋga 'a woman having no man' or 'the woman has no man', to form a **negative possessive** form ('there being none'). Another case of -ŋga is: dadinanga mirara ɲawa 'afraid' of that good dog' (literally 'there being that good dog'), where an attributive suffix (-gulu, -wulu) might have been used alternatively (cf. s.v. buluwi-, in the Vocabulary). —Also compare under muda, warguwa.

**Declension**

3.8. Nominal words, which most often end in a vowel, are alike in the singular and plural: ɲawa, therefore, means either 'dog' or 'dogs', daŋgara 'a man' or 'people'. A nominal word may be declined, by means of suffixes, in the following basic case forms: the **nominative** (or stem form of the word), the **ergative-possessive** (ending in -ga or -ŋga), the **accusative** (in nominal stems equal to the nominative or stem form, also of nouns denoting persons), the **ablative** (ending in -raj, the **locative** (ending in -ri or -f) and the **allative** (ending in -lu).

3.9. The following examples will illustrate this: (nominative) ɲaga nima daŋgara 'who (literally 'what man?' are you?'), ɲumu ɲumu maguwa 'she is a white woman'; (ergative-possessive) dadinda ɲawaga 'that dog (bit me)', dadinda diraga 'that snake (bit)' (dira 'snake'), dadinda daŋgaranga 'that man's (daŋgara); (accusative) nima gurid'Ya dadina daŋgara 'you can see that man', dadinda diraga bad'Ya dadinda wad'ibala 'that snake bit that whitefellow' (wad'ibala); (ablative) ɲuguwara out of the water (ɲuguwa); (locative) gadari 'in the river' (gadar), gulduri 'in (my) leg (guldura)', mibuli 'in my eye' (mibula, mibul- ) nadaʃi (for -ri; cf. 2.6.) 'at home' (nada); (allative) ɲuguulu 'into the water' (ɲugu), jəlbululu 'give me')
for meat' (jalbura), nadalu or nadulu (cf. 2.7.) '(going) home' (nada). Some case relations can also be expressed by a postposition (see section 7).

‘Articles’

3.10. Many nominal stems in Gangulida end in any of the terminations -ra (in certain cases -da) and -wa. It is possible that in certain words these endings are part of the stem, whereas in other cases we either find double forms (one with and the other without the ending, as in d'ada or d'adara ‘one’, ngu or nguwa ‘water’) or else related forms are found without these terminations (as in dangawulu ‘having a man’ beside dangara ‘man’, maguwari ‘without a woman’, beside maguwa, duñalda beside duñala ‘a stick’, etc.), whereby it becomes likely that a termination -ra (-da) and -wa are actually suffixed elements. Although it can hardly be proven as far as Gangulida is concerned, a suspicion is near at hand that these suffixed elements are analogous to the ‘articles’ in Punthamara (and certain eastern Queensland languages); as we find a different termination in the words for ‘man’ (dangara) and ‘woman’ (maguwa), one might suggest the terms ‘masculine’ for -ra, -da, and ‘feminine’ for -wa (also by analogy with Punthamara, etc.). (A difference between grammatical masculine and feminine gender is otherwise not apparent, as nijanga, for instance, means both ‘he’ and ‘she’.) We thus find parallel forms with or without the ‘article’ elements, not only in the nominative (danga and dangara ‘man’, ‘a man’), but also in several inflected case forms (dangaranga ‘the man’s’ or ‘a man’s’, cf. danga ‘man’ and -nga ergative-possessive suffix; nguwarara ‘out of the water’, cf. nguulu ‘into the water’). After a stem-final -n or -l, the suffix -ra appears as -da as in: wunda (wuŋda) ‘rain’ (cf. wungi ‘in or after the rain’), junbura duganda ‘a long beard’ (dugan-), and probably also in malda ‘a or the hand’ (beside mala), duñalda ‘a or the stick’ (beside duñala), although the nominal stem appears shortened here (mal-, duñ-) ; a similar shortening occurs in mibuli ‘in the eye’ (mibula; stem mibul-, locative suffix -i). After -r the ‘masculine’ article is -a: gadara from gadar. Forms with or without the ‘article’ element may be construed together (that is with or without congruence): mirara ḏawa ‘a or the good dog’ (cf. Punthamara kup anana jandra ‘a white stone’, where -nana is the feminine article), mudara dangara ‘many people’. As mentioned, no definite proof can be provided in support of the theory that the terminations -ra (-da) and -wa are articles in the same sense as in Punthamara (other terminations also occur, as in numbanda gandija, from gandi ‘wife’, and a great many nouns have been recorded without an ‘article’ element—hence neuters?—which, of course, may be due to the scantiness of the material. Such a construction as ḏaga dadinda duñala ‘what stick have you got there?’ (DS) is hardly sufficient to prove a distinction made between a form duñala ‘any stick’ and duñalda ‘a or the stick’.

Pronouns

4.1. The inflection of personal, demonstrative and interrogative-indefinite pronouns is according to the same principles as the declension of nominal words. A trace of a rudimentary possessive inflection seems to persist (see 4.3.).
4.2 Forms in the first, second and third person singular only have been recorded, along with certain compound inclusive forms. The case forms correspond to a nominative, a possessive, an accusative, an ablative, a locative and an allative case.

1st person singular:

nom. ɲada (ɲara; cf. 2.5.), ɲadagari
erg. ɲada, ɲadagari
poss. ɲidinda
acc. ɲidingi, ɲidpanyi, -ngi
loc. ɲidindyi
all. ɲidindyulu, ɲidpanyulu, ɲidpanyulu

2nd person singular:

nom. ɲingga, ɲinggaɗi
erg. ɲingga
poss. ɲumbanda
acc. ɲumbangi
loc. ɲumba(n)dyi
all. ɲumbandyulu

3rd person singular:

nom. nijanja, nijanjaɗi
erg. nijanja
poss. niwanda
acc. niwangi
loc. niwandyi

Inclusive 1st-2nd person dual:

nom. ɲada ɲingga; ɲingga ɲanma (cf. below)
poss. ɲidinda ɲumbanda

2nd person dual:

nom. ɲingga giŋanja

The following instances illustrate the use of these forms: (first person singular) ɲada guridɗa niwangi ‘I can see him’, ɲadagari waradɗa ‘I am going’, galaɗi ɲidinda this is mine, ɲidindyi nadaji ‘at my place’ (literally ‘at me, at the camp’), ɲingga guridɗa ɲidingi you can see me, wugangi ‘give me’; (2nd person singular) ɲingga waradɗa ‘you are going’, ɲinggaɗi waradɗa ‘you are going’, ɲumbanda mala ‘your hand’, guridɗa ɲumbangi ‘looking at you’, ɲumba(n)dyi nadara ‘at your camp’ (literally ‘at your(s), the camp’); (3rd person singular) nijanja waradɗa ‘he or she is going’, nijanja guridɗa njiŋdi ‘he can see me’, niwanda waŋalga ‘his boomerang’, ɲada guridɗa niwangi ‘I can see him’, niwandyi buluwidɗa ‘afraid of him’ (literally ‘with him’); (inclusive dual) ɲada ɲingga gi waradɗa ‘you and I are going’.

4.3 Alternative forms ending in -ma (in the nominative and ergative) are: (first person singular) ɲanma ‘I’, ɲidpanya ‘(she can see) me’ (DS); (second person singular) ɲima ‘you’. The exact
implication of these forms is not evident; compare: ṇaga ḷanma ‘(asking) who I am’, ŋinga ḷanma waradYa ‘you and I are going’; ŋima waradYa ‘you go’ (JW), ṇaga ŋima ‘who are you?’ (DS). As regards the forms ending in -gari (-gaji; cf. 2.5.), that is: ṇadagari, ŋingagadi, nija ngari, no special function has been detected; they seem to function either as nominative (ŋadagadi waradYa ‘I am going’, nija ngari ga ligargaladYa ‘he began to cry’) or as ergative (ŋadagari dilara ɣari guri dadina dangara ‘I saw that man long ago’); according to DS ŋaragadi (= ŋadagari) means ‘me alone’, which, however, may be a mere attempt at expressing the idea of a first person singular form.

4.4. On the other hand, the short pronominal elements (first person singular) Ʉa, (second person singular) ŋi, (inclusive dual) gi, appear to be remnants of a former prefix construction, common in the languages of the Northern Territory, either in a possessive sense or (in the conjugation) an agent or direct object function. Hence, instead of (or along with) the use of the possessive form of a personal pronoun, one finds constructions of the type: ŋigandi (originally ŋi-gandi ?) ‘your wife’ (= ŋumbanda gandi). —For the use of these prefixed elements in the personal conjugation, see further in section 6.

Demonstrative pronouns

4.5. The demonstrative stem dadi- has been recorded both in the sense of ‘this’ and ‘that’. Several case forms have been noted down, according to the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>dadina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>dadinda (probably also possessive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>dadinda (‘there’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all.</td>
<td>dadingilu (? ‘over there’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As usual in the Australian languages, the ideas of ‘this’ and ‘here’ or ‘that’ and ‘there’, respectively, are not differentiated, which implies in this case that a locative dadinda may be used in constructions such as: dadinda dangara ‘that man’; it is consequently not clear whether dadinda actually has the ergative function in, e.g. dadinda ŋawaga ‘that dog’, dadinda maguwaga guridYa ŋidYa nma ‘that woman can see me’, as dadinda may be taken in the locative sense. The form dadinanga (otherwise not to be determined) is used in the sense of ‘(being afraid) of this, that or the’.

4.6. A shorter demonstrative stem is da-, in danda ‘this’ or ‘here’, ‘that’ or ‘there’: ṇaga danda wulanda ‘what is that meat?’, ŋinga guridYa danda ‘you see this’, danda ŋidinda nadara ‘this is my camp’, danda maguwa ‘this woman’. Another derivation of the same stem is dagana: dagana (= dadina) gunawana ŋidinda ‘he is my child’. A demonstrative galanji ‘this, that’ is found quite isolated in: galanji ŋidinda ‘that is mine’, ŋima galanji guri ‘you look at this’, galanji guri dadina ŋawa ‘look at that dog’ (JW).

4.7. Parallel to the forms quoted above and by analogy with the personal pronouns, we find demonstrative forms ending in -ma: dadinma, danma, which are used in the nominative and accusative, as shown in: dadinma ‘he, she’, dadinma đangara, maguwa ‘that man, woman’, ṇaga dadinma ‘who is that?’, danma đangara ŋidinda ga danma waŋalga ‘my boomerang’ (DS), ṇaga danma đangara galadYa danma waŋalga ‘who is the man that cut the boomerang?’.
4.8. From the demonstrative stem *dadin-* (cf. 4.5.) may be derived an attributive stem *dadingulu* (‘having this or that’; cf. 3.4.), which may be co-ordinated with an attributive nominal stem (that is by way of congruence), as in: *naragađi buluwidə* *dadingulu wuruwulu* *ɡa* *wa* ‘I am scared of that cheeky dog’ (DS; literally ‘having that one, having the cheeky, the dog’).

4.9. A demonstrative stem *didi-* (‘this’) is recorded in *didina ndinda* ‘this is mine’ (JW). In notes taken from DS, however, this stem is interrogative, occurring in adverbial form (cf. 4.11.).

**Interrogative pronouns**

4.10. A single interrogative stem is recorded: *ŋaga*, which answers both to English ‘who?’ and ‘what?’.

**Verbal stems**

5.1. Verbal stems—unless derived—are normally disyllabic and ending in a vowel (-a-, -i-, -u-), e.g.: *badY a-* ‘bite’, *badli-* ‘fall’, *gundu-* ‘hide’; there are, however, remnants of monosyllabic stems, such as: *da da* (perhaps used adverbially: *da da wara-* ‘go’), *di-* ‘sit down’, *wu-* ‘give’.

**Verbal derivation**

5.2. The following elements, although not always to be determined as to a precise function, seem to be verbal derivative suffixes: -*ba-*,-*da-*,-*ja-*,-*lada-*,-*ri-*,-*wi-*.

5.3. The **intransitive suffix** -*ba*-. This formative occurs in *miraba-* ‘be good’ (cf. the causative *miralada-* ‘make good’).

5.4. The **transitive suffix** -*da*-. This element occurs in *gilada-* ‘get’, *gurgada-* ‘take’ (no simpler verbal stem being recorded), *wuguwada-* ‘work’ (cf. *wuguwa* ‘work’, noun, probably from English ‘work’). It seems to enter into the transitive suffix -*lada-* (5.6.) as well.
5.5. The intransitive formative -ja-. This suffix occurs in buđija- ‘sleep’ (no shorter verbal stem being recorded); the sense may possibly be durative.

5.6. The causative -lada-. This suffix clearly occurs in the derived stem miralada- ‘make good’ (cf. miraba- ‘be good’; see 5.3.), maraŋulada- ‘dream’ (the plain stem *maraŋu- is, however, not recorded).

5.7. The reciprocal (?) suffix -ri-. This suffix is common in the Queensland languages, generally having an intransitive character. In Gangulida it appears in gamburi- ‘talk’ (no basic verbal stem is recorded). In this connection may be mentioned a reciprocal suffix -dYuda, added to the stem gamburi- (hence: gamburidYuda ‘talking together’); as the modal form seems unusual, the suffix may perhaps be considered to have an adverbial force.

5.8. The intransitive suffix -wi-. The character of this element—if derivative—is not ascertained. It may occur in buluwi- ‘be scared’ and jaduwi- ‘laugh’ (in neither case is a basic verbal stem recorded).

Modal conjugation

5.9 Conjugation in Gangulida is fundamentally modal (some traces of a personal conjugation are found, for which see in section 6). The four basic modal forms are, as in most of the eastern Queensland languages, the following: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional. There may further be a progressive form and a construction by means of an original auxiliary verb.

5.10 The imperative. This is the simplest of the modal forms, being identical with the verbal stem: daldi- (dali-) ‘stand’, dija- ‘eat’, guri- ‘look, see’, wara- ‘go’. As in Gugu-Bujun and several languages in eastern Queensland, the imperative is often accompanied by a particle -ga (originally a connective ga ‘(and) then’): bulaga ‘pull (then)’ (from bula- ‘pull’, probably from English), wuga ‘give’ (stem: wU-), dijaga ‘eat (then)’ (stem: dija-), gamburiga ‘come to talk’ (stem: gamburi-). Another imperative particle appears to be -ja, as in: waraja ‘go’ (stem: wara-), gunduja ‘hide’ (stem: gundu-), gudawaja ‘drink’ (stem: gudawa-). The character of the termination in gurigala (guri gala ?) ‘look, see’ is not clear. Prohibitive forms (English ‘don’t’) seem to be identical with the imperfective form (see 5.11): walira niŋga ligargaladYa ‘don’t you cry’, walira buluwidYa ‘don’t be afraid’.

5.11 The imperfective. The imperfective formative appears to be the terminating syllable -dYa, which is further supported by the rendering of the Gangulida form guridYa by Garwa nadYa (‘seeing, can see’), proffered by our Garwa informant (Bill Jackson at Woorabinda). The following Gangulida forms are hence understood to be imperfectives: baldidYa ‘dropping, falling’, (baldi-), bijadYa ‘swimming (bija-), buđijadYa ‘asleep’ (budija-) buluwidYa ‘am scared’ (buluwi-), guridYa ‘can see’ (cf. above), daldidYa ‘standing’ (daldi-), galadYa ‘cut’ (gala-), actually ‘has cut’, but used in an indefinite sense, whence the imperfective), dijadYa ‘eating’ (dija- ), waradYa ‘going’ (wara-), wudYa ‘(I) will give’ (wu-). In a negative sense a different formative may be used, of which we have, however, but a single instance: walira marin ‘cannot
hear' (stem: mari-). —For the use of the imperfective form in -d \_Ya in a prohibitive construction (with walira 'not, don't') see in 5.10.

5.12 The perfective. By contrast with Garwa, the plain verbal stem (without a 'nominaliser' or added original locative or other case suffix) is combined with the perfective function (in Garwa badYa 'playing' is imperfective, while in Gangulida badYa 'bit or has bitten' is perfective). Usually perfective forms are rendered by English past forms in our material: badYa 'bit' (stem: badYa-), guri 'saw, have seen' (also 'saw long ago'; stem: guri-), miralada 'made good' (stem: miralada-), da da nada nabaji 'has gone from home' (stem: da; cf. 5.1.). The imperfective form wudYa 'will give' (from the original stem form wu-) seems to have been understood as a normal disyllabic stem form and thus fit to be used as a regular Gangulida perfective form: wudYa 'gave' (DS). Another (more correct ?) form, wudYa\_jin 'gave', is given alternatively by DS.

5.13 The intentional. This modal form (expressing 'purpose', 'intention', 'wish' or 'want') is clearly made up (as usually in the Queensland languages) from the allative case suffix (-lu; see 3.8), added to the imperfective -dYa (see 5.11; originally analogous to a 'nominaliser'?), so that an intentional suffix -dYa\_ulu arises (by vowel assimilation according to 2.7), as in: bu\_dijadYuulu 'to sleep' (stem: bu\_dijia-), dijadYuulu 'to eat' (stem: dija-), guridYuulu 'will see' (stem: guri-), gamburidYuulu 'to have a talk' (stem: gamburi-). The form wudYa\_aju 'to give' (if correct ?) is quite irregular (one would have expected *wudYa\_lu, *wudYuulu, from the stem wu-). The construction (current in several Queensland languages) of an allative with an intentional is reflected in Gangulida in: gumbandYuulu gamburidYuulu 'want you for a talk' (probably literally 'for you, to have a talk').

5.14 Certain verbal forms are difficult to analyse. Two verb forms in -ga (which do not seem to have an imperative value) might contain a common (in Queensland) auxiliary element -ga- ('to be'), used in a progressive sense: daldiga 'be standing' (stem: galdi-), dijaga 'be eating' (stem: dija-). Similarly in: da da gadi nadalu 'I am going home' (DS), da da gadi 'I am going' (JW), gidinda da da gari 'I am going' (JW), with the strange use of the possessive form. An auxiliary element (-\_ala-) seems to be present in: ligargaladYa 'be crying' (DS); an imperfective form), wa\_ria rii.\_ga ligargaladYa 'don't you be crying' (DS; a prohibitive form). The other elements (-r-, -la-) are difficult to identify. An analogous auxiliary verb form may be present in the formative -wir\_a in: \_gaga da\_ da ri miralada\_wir\_adYa 'what are you making?' (DS).

Personal conjugation

6. Some scanty traces are found in Gangulida of what seems to have constituted a personal conjugation by means of prefixes (as in many of the Northern Territory and New Guinea languages). The formative elements are: \_ga (\_ga-), \_gari 'I' (1st person singular), \_rii (\_rii-) 'you' (2nd person singular), gi (gi-) 'we' (inclusive dual). As seen in 4.4., these elements may be used as possessive pronouns (being prefixed or placed in front of a nominal stem); here we shall show an analogous construction with a verbal stem to express either a subject or direct object form: \_ga waradYa 'I am going', da da \_ ga wdi\_\_Ya 'I am not going' (literally 'I am stopping' (?) going', properly however 'sitting'), \_gari guri 'I have seen' (DS), \_rii waradYa 'you are going', giwaradYa 'we (you and I) are going'. The prefixed form is often used together with the corresponding independent form of the personal pronoun (see section 4.4.), as in: \_gara (= \_gada) \_gada, \_gada \_gada.
宜宾 wulangulu 'I will give you food' (DS); literally 'I, I give, you (to be) having food'), ningga nĩ gi wangleda 'you tell', ningga nĩ warad};a 'you are going', ningga nĩ ðijad}:a wulanda 'you are eating food' (DS), ṭada ningga gi warad};a 'you and I are going' (DS).

Postpositions
7. The most commonly found postpositions are naba and nabaji, both meaning 'from' and thus replacing an ablative form (they are added to the nominative, or stem form, of a noun, usually without an 'article' element; cf. 3.10): gadar naba 'out of the river', ṭugu naba 'out of the water', mibul naba 'out of (my) eye', nada naba or nabaji 'from home'. The element -gi in wungi 'after or behind the rain' is probably to be understood as a postposition, hence: wun gi (notice the absence of the article -da, in wunda, wunda 'rain').

Connective
8. One connective only may be assumed with certainty to exist in Gangulida, namely the common Queensland (and perhaps Australian) syllable ga 'and, and then', etc. It is used in two ways: (1) after an imperative (cf. in 5.10) and (2) in various abstract senses, based on that of 'and', as in: naga dadinma dangara ga dalid};a 'who is the man standing there?' (DS; literally 'and he standing there' ?), naga danma dangara ga galad};a danma wãnajela 'who is that man who cut that boomerang?'; (literally 'and he cut ...'). Whether the imperative suffix -ja (see 5.10) is also to be understood as an original connective must be left undecided.

Vocabulary
The data listed in this index and vocabulary are marked by the signatures of the informants: DS and JW, respectively (see section 1). The numbers refer to sections in the morphological sketch. The following abbreviations are further used:

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>abl.</td>
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<td>rec.</td>
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<td>v.</td>
<td>verb(al)</td>
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The entries are arranged alphabetically according to this order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, d', d, g, ɣ, i, j, l, m, n, ñ, r, f, u, w.

B
-ba- v. der. suffix; 5.2, 3.
badya- v. pf. badya bite: dadinda ɲawaga badya ɲidinda guldura that or the dog bit my leg.
badanu n. big: badanu gunawana a big child (DS). —Compare baldaņu, baraņu.
balangali n. brown snake (JW).
balanu n. big: balanu wunđa big rain (DS). —Compare badanu, baraņu.
baldi- v. ipf. baldidya fall (of the rain), drip: wunđanga baldidya rain is falling (DS).
balunga adv. up.
barmbija adv. later on.
barundaji adv. yesterday (communicated by a Garwa informant Bill Jackson).
baraņa n. belly: ɲamanda baraņa hungry (DS).
baraņu n. big: baraņu d`ugu d`ugu a big boat (DS). —Compare badanu, balanu.
bija- v. ipf. bijadya swim: dadinda dangara ga bijadawaradya (?) garadi that man is swimming in the creek. —Compare gulı-.
buńja- v. ipf. buńjada; int. buńjadulu lie down, sleep: buńjada ɲumbadi nadara sleep(s) at your camp or place (DS; literally ‘at yours’).
bugala n. knee (DS). —Compare bungal.
buńina n. spinifex (JW).
buji buji v. adv. floating: buji buji garadi floating in the creek (DS).
bula- v. imp. bulaga pull (DS; probably from English).
bulaga n. cow (JW; from English ‘bullock’).
bulamuna n. three: bulamuna ɲawa three dogs (DS).
bulda n. hair (DS).
buluwi- v. ipf. buluwidya be afraid or scared: ɲangaň buluwidya dadingulu wuruwulu ɲawa I am afraid of that cheeky dog (DS).
bungal n. the whole leg (JW). —Compare buŋala.
burajiri n. bread (DS; from English ‘bread’).

D
-da art. 3.10.
-da- v. der. suffix 5.2, 4.
da da v. adv. go, going: da da = waradya (going; DS), da da garı gađı nadalu (I am) going home (DS), ɲaragari da da waradya nada naba I am going from home (DS), ɲidinda da da garı I am going (JW).
dadina dem. pron. 4.5.
dadinda dem. pron. adv. 4.5. that, there.
dadingulu dem. adv. over there (DS). —Compare dangulu.
dadingulu attr. pron. form ‘having this’; 4.8.
dadinma dem. pron. 4.7.
dagana dem. pron. 4.6.
danga n. art. nom. dangara; erg. poss. dangaranga Aboriginal or dark man, any man: ɲaga ɲima dangara(ra) who (what man) are you? (DS).
dangawari (-waji) attr. n. having no man.
dangawaringa neg. poss. n. there being an absence of a man: ɲuguwa dangawaringa a woman having no man (DS).
dangawulu attr. n. having a man: gaḍa
d'adara maguwa dangawulu and that other woman has a man (DS).
daldi- (dali-) v. imp. dali; ipf. daldid'ya
stand: ʃima dali you stand (JW),
daldid'ya wuriḍ'ya standing still (DS)
damanda n. teeth (DS, JW).
dami- v. ipf. damid'ya ask: niجا nga
damid'ya ɯarid'ya he is asking (DS).
damuli n. Westmoreland.
danda demo pron. adv. 4.6. this, here.
dangilu dem. adv. over here: gawa dangilu
come here (DS). —Compare dadingilu.
danma dem. pron. 4.7.
-dari car. suffix 3.3, 5.
di- v. imp. diga sit down.
didina1 dem. pron. 4.9.
didina2 interv. pron. adv. 4.11.
didinaba interv. adv. whence?: didinaba
ʃima daŋara where are you from?
(DS).
didinanga interv. adv. where: didinanga
dadinma daŋara ga wuriḍ'ya where
does he live?, didinanga ɰumbança
nadara where is your camp? (DS).
diga v. di-.
dilara adv. long ago (DS).
dinanaba interv. adv. whence?: dinanaba
ʃima daŋara where are you from?
(DS).
dira n. erg. diraga snake: dadinda diraga
bad'ya dadinda wadibala gulduiri
that snake bit the white man in the leg
(DS).
diriɲawa n. dingo (DS).
duganda n. beard (DS).
duŋala n. art. nom. duŋalda stick (DS).
dulga n. loc. dulgi; all. dulgulu 1.ground;
  2. bank or beach (DS).
-dulu attr. suffix 3.3, 4.

D'
d'ya ipf suffix 5.11.
d'yada n. art. nom. d'adara 1. one; 2. another;
d'yada daŋga(ra) warad'ya one man
(is) going (DS), d'yadara nawa one dog
(DS), d'adara daŋara another (man)
(DS).
d'algana n. tongue (DS).
d'yand'ari n. a little short man (DS; a
common eastern Queensland term for 'fairy
(man)').
d'ara (d'ara, DS) n. foot, feet (JW).
d'arawad'ya n. trousers (JW; from English
'drawers').
-d'uda rec. suffix 5.7.
d'yugu d'yugu n. any boat (DS).
-d'ulu int. suffix 5.13.
d'yuruwa n. dust (DS).
d'yuruwaŋa poss. n. there being dust:
d'yuruwaŋa ɰidind'yi (mibuli) (there
is) dust (in my eye) (DS; literally 'in me, in
(my) eye').

dí
díja- v. imp. dija, dijaga; ipf. dijad'ya;
int. dijad'ulu eat: ʃima dija you eat
(JW), ʃi dijad'ya wulanda you are
eating food (DS), ɲaragari (wulanda)
dijad'ulu I want to eat (food or
bread) (DS)

g
ga conn. 5.10; 8.

gan- aux. v. 5.14.
-gal poss. erg. suffix 3.8.
-ga progr. suffix 5.14.
gada (gara) adv. conn. ? also, and (?):
ɲada gada gurid'ulu I also want to see
(?) DS), wulangulu gara jałbadulu
having bread and (also ?) meat (DS).
—Compare gaḍa.
gadar n. loc. gadari; art. nom. gadara river, creek: gadar naba out of the creek or river (DS).

gađa (gada, gara) adv. conn. ? also, and, together (?): gađa ñinga ñumbanda gandija you and your wife (DS), gađa mudara dāngara wałid'ya danda we all are sitting here (together) (DS), gađa ñinga ñi wuri'dya we two (literally 'you also') are sitting together (? DS), gađa ñinga ñi wuri'dya dadinda sit down there (DS), gara ñara ñinga ñi gurid'ya you and I are looking (DS), gara ñinga on your own (DS).

ganulida (ganguilda, ganguilda, DS) the name of a tribe and language, Ganguilda, the Burketown and Berkley river language (JW).

gala- v. ipf galad'ya cut (DS).


galagadir n. crocodile (DS).

galañi dem. pron. 4.6.

galgada (galganda, DS) n. sick: ñima galgada you are sick (JW).

gambulari n. 1. honey; 2. sugar.

gamburi- v. imp. gamburiga; ipf. gamburid'ya; int. gamburid'ulu talk: dāngara wadibala gamburid'ya a dark man and a white man talking (JW), ñadagañi, ñinga gamburid'ya I am, you are talking (DS), gamburid'uda talking together (DS).

gandi n. art. nom. gandija wife: ñumbanda gandi(ja) or ñi gandi your wife (DS).

gandu gandu n. dark: gandu gandu maguwa dark woman (DS).

ganduwa n. blood: ganduwa balid'ya blood dripping (DS).

ganañand'ya n. emu (JW).

gara adv. conn. ? and, also, together: ñinga giñanga gara ñi gandi you and your wife (DS). —Compare gada.

garga n. loc. gargaji; art. nom. gargara chest (DS).


gawa adv. v. come here: gawa dangilu come here (DS), ñinga gawa dulgi you come out of the water (DS).

gi1 pref. pers. pron. 6.

gi2 postp. 7.

gijañga n. two (DS).

gilada- v. imp. gilada get: dadina jälbara gilada get that meat (JW).

gina-v. ipf. ginad'ya tell: ñinga ñi ginad'ya you tell (him) (DS), ginad'ya ñi gawa danda (dangilu) tell him to come (here) (DS).

girga n. nose (DS, JW).

gudama- or gudawa- v. imp. gudawaja; ipf. gudamad'ya drink (DS).

gugujanda n. alligator (DS).

guldura (guldur ? n. loc. gulduri leg: gulduri ganduwa blood on (my) leg (DS). —Compare gundura.

guli- v. ipf. guld'ya; int. guld'ulu to swim: ñugulu guld'ulu to swim (DS). —Compare bija-.

-gulu attr. suffix 3.3. 4.

gunawana (-wuna) n. child, boy, baby (DS. JW).

gunawanawulu attr n. having children (DS).

gundu- v. imp. gunduja; ipf. gundud'ya hide, plant (DS).

gundura (gundur ?) n. leg (DS). —Compare guldura.

gùnamara n. adv. a little (JW). —Compare guñara.

guñara n. small (DS). —Compare guñamara.

gurgada- v. imp. gurgada take (JW).

guri- v. imp. guri, guriga; ipf. gurid'ya; pf. guri; int. gurid'ulu see, look: ñima gurid'ya dadina dangara you see that man (DS), ñima dadina guri you look at that one (JW), ñari guri I have seen (DS), gurigala (guri gala ?) look (DS),
ŋada gaɗa guridɣulu I will see (you) (DS), gurigala dadinda d'adara nawa see there one dog (DS).
gurindi n. tea leaf (DS).
gurmala n. adv. quiet (DS).

ŋ
ŋa prefixed pers. pron 4.4; 6.
ŋada (ŋara) pers. pron. 4.2.
ŋadagari (-gaɗi) pers. pron. 4.2, 3.
ŋada ɲinga pers. pron. 4.2.
ŋaga interr. pron. 4.10.
ŋagiña interr. pron. 4.10.
ŋamanda n. hungry (DS).
ŋamulu n. breast, milk (JW).
ŋand'yala n. light, flame (DS).
ŋanma pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋanara (-rɑ?) n. gully (DS).
ŋari prefixed pers. pron. 6.
ŋawa n. dog (DS, JW).
-ŋga¹ poss. der. suffix 3.7.
-ŋga² poss. erg. suffix 3. 8-9.
ŋi adv. yes (DS). —Compare jìu, ɲi.
ŋira n. 1. fire (JW); 2. fire wood (DS).
ŋugu n. loc. ɲuguji; all. ɲugulu; art. nom. ɲuguwa; abl. ɲuguwara water (DS, JW); ɲugu naba out of the water (DS).
ɲuguwari car. n. without water (DS).
ɲuguwulu attr. n. having water: mudawulu ɲuguwulu having plenty of water (DS).
ɲumbanda pers. pron. 4.2.
ɲumu ɲumu n. white: ɲumu ɲumu maguwa white woman (DS).
ɲurinda n. cold (DS).

I
-i loc suffix 3. 8-9.

J
-ja imp suffix 5.10.
-ja- v. der. suffix 5.2, 5.
jaduwi- v. ipf. jaduwid'ya laugh (DS).
jaguli n. any fish (JW).
jalbura (jalbu ?) n. art. all jalburalu meat (DS, JW): wugangi jalburalu give me meat (DS; literally 'for meat').
jalbudulu attr. n. having meat: nijaŋga muda jalbudulu he has got plenty of meat (DS).
jalbuwari car. n. without meat: nijaŋga jalbuwari (walira) he has got no meat (DS).
jaŋula n. the name of a tribe and a language spoken about Westmoreland and related to Garwa (JW).
jaraman n. horse (DS, JW; a common word in Queensland).
jìu adv. yes (JW). —Compare ɲi, ɲi.
-jiang pf. suffix 5.12.
jugula n. the name of a tribe and a language (DS).
juluwa (julu ?) n. flood, water (DS).
junbura n. long; junbura duganda a long beard (DS).

L
-lada- caus. suffix 5.2, 6.
lajidilda n. the name of Mornington Island and of a tribe and a language on the same island (DS, JW).
lîga- v. ipf. progr. ? ligargalad'ya cry: walira (ɲinga) liga galad'ya don't you cry (DS).
lilunga adv. down (DS).
-lu all. suffix 3.8-9.
lulma- v. ipf. lulmad'ya shake, shiver from cold (DS).
M
mad'yar n. art. nom. mad'ara a lot: mad'ar
mad'ara a lot (DS).
maguwa (magu ?) n. woman (DS, JW).
maguwari car. n. without a woman (DS).
maguwulu attr. n. having a woman (DS).
malängari (-gaji) n. iron (as on a roof; DS).

mala n. art. nom. malda hand (DS, JW).
malara (mala ?) n. grog (DS).
mawuradi n. big black kangaroo (JW).
mibul n. loco mibuli; art. nom. mibula
eye: d'uruwa mibuli dust in (my) eye (DS), bulaga ndind'i mibul naba
duñalda pull the stick out of (my) eye (DS).
mibulwari car. n. having no eyes, blind (DS).
midaña n. dirty water (DS).
mijalda (mijal ?) n. spear (DS).
mijan n. any snake (JW).
miraba- v. ipf. miridad'a be good, nice:
miridad'a duñagara, maguwa a good
or nice man, woman (JW).
miralada- v. caus. pf. miralada make
(good): ndaga dadinma duñagara ga
mirañula dañinda wañalga who (is
the man that) made the boomerang? (DS),
ndaga dañinda ni miraladawirad'a
what are you making (there)? (DS).
mirara (mira ?) n. good: mirara ndawa a
good dog (DS).
muda n. art. nom. mudara plenty, many:
mudara ndawa many dogs (DS), gada
mudara duñagara we all (DS; literally
'many people together?'), mudarang'a
grund'a see a big mob (DS; cf. in 3.7.).
mudawulu attr. n. having a lot: mudawulu
gunawana having a lot of children (DS).
mungubaji n. the name of Burketown (DS).
murbura (murbu ?) n. tobacco (JW).
muruga n. woomera (DS).

N
-n ipf. suffix 5.11.
naba, nabaji postp. 7.
nada n. loc. nadaji; all ndalu, nadulu;
art. nom. ndara) camp, home, place:
nadaji wiñid'a staying at home (DS),
ndind'i nadaji at my home, place
(DS), ndagari da da nadalu or
ndalu warad'a I am going home (DS),
njanga da da nada nabaji he is
away from home (DS).
nadagari or nadawari car. n. having no
home: njanga ndawari he is
homeless (DS).
nalda n. head (DS, JW).
nija pers. pron. 4.2.
nijangari pers. pron. 4.2, 3.
nila n. name: ndaga nila what is (your)
name? (JW).
niwanda pers. pron. 4.2.
niŋa n. the name of a language, Nyangga
(DS).
niŋi adv. yes: ni marid'a yes, I hear
(JW). —Compare nĩ, jiju.
niŋi prefixed pers. poss. pron. 4.4.; 6.
niŋa pers. pron. 4.2.
niŋagari pers. pron. 4.2, 3.
ñima pers. pron. 4.3.
ñuñari n. any smoke (DS).

R
-ra1 art. 5.10.
-ra2 abl. suffix 3.8-9.
rañgara (raña ?) n. hot (DS).
-ri loc. suffix 3.8-9.
-ri- v. der. suffix 5.2, 7.

W
-wa art. 5.10.
wadibala (waji-) n. white man, whitefellow (DS, JW).

waduwa (wadu ?) n. smoke (DS).
wagaja n. the name of a tribe and language (DS).
wañalga n. boomerang (DS).
wanguwa (wangu ?) n. shark (DS).
walada n. a lot: ñaga dadinma walada who are they? (DS).
walar (wala ?) n. mouth (DS, JW).
waldara (walda ?) n. star (DS).
waliwa neg. adv. no, not, don’t: waliwa buluwid’a don’t be afraid (DS).
wañi n. the name of a tribe and language in north-western Queensland, Wanyi (DS).
warwa- v. imp. wara, waraga, waraja; ipf. warad’ña; pf. wara go: ñima wara you go (JW), ña warad’ña I am going (DS), barmbija warad’ña I will go later (JW), waraja dadinda balunga ñañara gunduja go up there and hide in the gully (DS), wara warad’ña or warid’ña he is gone (JW), dadina (warà) warid’ña he is gone (JW; the analysis is not clear).

warguwa (wargu ?) n. sun, sunshine: danda warguwanga rañgara here in the sun (literally ‘there being sun(shine)’); cf. 3.7., it is hot (DS).

-wari car. suffix 3.3, 5.
warigigi n. hat (DS).

warmuna n. any goanna (JW).
wañi- v. ipf. wañid’ña ask (DS).
—Compare dami-.

-wi- v. der. suffix 5.2, 8.
wiñi- (wuñi-, wiñi-;) v. imp. wiñiga, wuñiga; ipf. wiñid’ña 1. sit (down); 2. stay, stop, live; 3. leave off (?): dadina wiñid’ña gunawuna the boy is sitting over there (JW), wiñid’ña dadina sitting there (DS), danda wiñid’ña sitting here (DS), wiñid’ña gurmala stop quiet (DS), da da ña wiñid’ña I am not going (JW; ‘leave off going’?).

wranga- v. ipf. wiránd’ña 1. play; 2. gamble (DS).

wirinda (wirin ?) n. money (DS).

wiringari (wiriñ-) car. n. without money: walira ñarañagaði wiringari no, I have no money (DS).

wiringulu (wiriñ-) attr. n. having money: ñinga ñi wiringulu you have money (DS).

-wìřa- aux. v. 5.14.
wiñi- v. wiñi-.

wu- (wud’ña-) v.imp. wuga, wud’ña, waga; ipf. wud’ña; pf wud’ña, wud’ajin; int. wud’aju) give: wugangi (wagangi) jalousula give me meat (literally ‘for meat’), wagangi jalbura give me meat (JW), wud’ña gunamara murbura give a little bit of tobacco (JW), wud’ña jalbura ñara ñari wud’ña ñinga wulangulu I will give you food (DS; the construction similar to the preceding one).

wuñi- v. wiñi-.

wuguwada- v. work (DS).

wuguwadari car. n. without work: ñarañagaði wuguwadari I have no work (DS).

wuguwadawara- v. ipf. wuguwada- warað’ña work (DS; literally ‘go working, to work?’). —Compare wara-.
wulanda (wulan ?) n. food, bread, tucker (JW).

wulangari (wulan-) car. n. without food: nijanga wulangari he is without food or bread (JW).

wulangulu (wulan-) attr. n. having food or bread: muda wulaŋulu having plenty of food (DS).

-wulu car. suffix 3.3., 4.

wun n. art. nom. wunda rain: dadinda wuŋaŋanga baldiŋa waradŋa (probably) 'going in the rain' (literally 'there being rain falling (cf. 3.7.), going there'; DS), ŋaragadi waradŋa wun gi I am going after (literally 'behind') the rain' (DS).

wungura (wungu ?) n. inside (DS).

wunda v. wun.

wuruwulu attr. n. cheeky (DS).
1. Notes on these languages were obtained (1) from one Mr Charles ('Charlie') Mulberry, at the Old Men's Home, at Charters Towers in Queensland, whose language was probably Bundjil, as well as (2) from a person at or about Townsville, who gave some words of Wanyi. Mr Mulberry thinks his language belongs to Cloncurry or the Flinders and Saxby rivers area. References to these informants will be by the abbreviations Bun CM and Wan JB, respectively. Since it is likely that both informants have supplied data from various Queensland languages (and perhaps some others as well), we shall present the material in one sketch and in one mixed vocabulary, marking entries supposed to be Wanyi by the signature Wan (in an analogous way Bun is used for Bundjil).

Phonology

2. The phonology of both languages is of northern and central Queensland type and probably uniform in either of the languages to be dealt with. The vowel system hence comprises the three fundamental vowel phonemes \(a\), \(i\) and \(u\) (which are indeterminate as to quantity) and the following consonant phonemes:

- \(b\) a bilabial plosive (between English ‘b’ and ‘p’);
- \(d\) a dental plosive (between English ‘d’ and ‘t’);
- \(d'\) a palatalised dental plosive (between ‘dy’ and ‘ty’);
- \(d\) a retroflex plosive (as in Hindi);
- \(g\) a palatal-velar plosive (between English ‘g’ and ‘k’);
- \(n\) a palatal-velar nasal (as in English ‘sing’, ‘song’);
- \(m\) a bilabial nasal;
- \(n\) a dental nasal;
- \(n\) a palatalised dental nasal (as in English ‘onion’);
- \(n\) a retroflex nasal;
- \(l\) a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian);
- \(r\) a trilled continuant or vibrant (as in Italian);
- \(r\) a retroflex continuant (as in Hindi);
- \(j\) a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’);
- \(w\) a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’);

Notice that our informant Bun CM does not distinguish well between \(r\) and \(r\).
Combiantory phonology

3. Words beginning with the following phonemes only are recorded: $b, d, d\prime, g, j, m, n$ and $w$. No word or syllable begins with a vowel phoneme (such a form as Bundjil $idi$- is a phonetic variant of $jidi$- ‘leave’ and original *inda ‘you’ becomes $jinda$ in Bundjil); Bundjil $\eta$ai is probably to be understood as equivalent to $\eta$aji ‘I’. Words and syllables may end in (1) a vowel, (2) a nasal ($n$ only before $d$) or (3) $l, r$ or $j$. A final $-*j$ may be dropped after $-i$: $guru$ ‘going home’ becomes $guri$. Our Wanyi informant has a final plosive in $mijat$ ‘man’, which may be a phonetic variant of more normal $*mijan$, (which in Gangulida means ‘snake’). Medial, or intervocalic, plosives may become fricatives (as in Spanish): Bun $jidi$- ‘leave’, Wan $gabra$ ‘head’ (almost $gawara$) and Wan $\eta$awa may properly represent $*\eta$aba ‘water’ (cf. Kalali $\eta$ap-a, idem). The usual passing of intervocalic $n$ into $r$ is seen in $\eta$ari (and $\eta$arii; cf. 2) for $\eta$ani ‘what?’ (Bun CM).

Morphology

4.1. Very little may be established as probable points of morphology in either of the two languages and some conclusions may be erroneous, most points being arrived at through comparison with neighbouring Aboriginal languages.

Nouns and nominal derivation

4.2. Nominal stems may end in any word-final phoneme (cf. section 3): Bun, Wan $mala$ ‘hand’, $band''il$ ‘man’, Wan $jarman$ ‘horse’. The derivative attributive suffix $-bani$, which is quite common in Queensland (e.g. Gunggari), evidently occurs in Bun $nulubari$ ‘having a hat’ ($nulu$).

Personal pronouns

4.3. The following forms only have been recorded: Bun $\eta$aji ‘I’, $jinda$ ‘you’ (singular), $\eta$ali ‘we two’ and $\eta$ruru (probably $\eta$ruru; cf. 4.2.) ‘you’ (plural). No inflected forms are noted. In Wanyi two forms are found in the first person singular: $\eta$ajgu (which in Gugu-Bujun is possessive) and $\eta$ajma; the exact function of these in Wanyi is not clear (Wan JB certainly used $\eta$ajgu as a nominative). In the second person singular Wan JB uses $\eta$unbala (which recalls the Gangulida $\eta$mumbanda ‘your(s)’, singular); whether or not these forms are used in a possessive sense in Wanyi is unsettled.

Interrogative pronoun

4.4 One form only is recorded from Bundjil: $\eta$ani ‘what?’ (which is quite common in Queensland; cf. Gunggari $\eta$ani); possibly also ‘who?’: $\eta$ani $\eta$ruru ‘what are you?’ (?).

Verbs and verbal derivation

(common in Queensland languages) are found in Bundjil: *guliba-* ‘be wild or rude, argue’, *bunguli-* ‘lie down’ (primitive stems are, however, not recorded).

**Conjugation**

5.2. The conjugation in both languages is probably modal only. The *imperative* is (as usual) the verbal stem: Bun *jinda binda* ‘you sit down’, Wan *bana* ‘give’. A form which is probably *imperfective* ends (as in Gugu-Bujun) in -*j* in Bundjil: *bindaj* ‘sitting’, *ŋaji wunaj* ‘I am lying down’, *bunguli(j)* ‘lying down’, *gulibaj* ‘arguing’, *guri(j)* ‘going home’, *ŋaji jidi(j)* ‘I am leaving’. Another suffix -*na* (which is found in an imperfective sense in Kalali) is used in a similar way in Bundjil: *ŋali jidina* ‘we two are leaving’, *jugana* ‘eating’. Since the material recorded from these persons seems rather mixed, it is possible that the morphological elements used by our informants may be derived from various Queensland languages. In Wanyi an imperfective form seems to end in -*ra* (-*ra* ?): *galawara* ‘going’; compare Punthamara -*ra* (idem).

**Index and vocabulary**

The entries are mainly from Bundjil; Wanyi forms are marked by the signature Wan. Figures refer to sections in the morphological sketch. The following abbreviations are used:

| adv. | adverb(ial) | itr. | intransitive |
| attr. | attributive | n. | noun, nominal |
| der | derivative | neg. | negative |
| imp. | imperative | pers. | person(al) |
| interr. | interrogative | pron. | pronoun |
| ipf. | imperfective | v. | verb(al) |

Wan marks Wanyi entries (cf. 1). The order of the phonetic symbols, in ranging the material alphabetically, is the following: a, b, d, d', d', g, ṣ, i, j, l, m, n, ŋ, r, r, u, w.

**B**

-ba- *itr. der. suffix* 5.1.

*bangu* n. money. —compare *mindi*.

*bana-* (Wan) *v. imp.* *bana* give.

*band'yl* n. man, Aboriginal man, a Bundjil.

*band'uju* n. kid (child).

*baña* n. woman.

-*bari* *attr. der. suffix* 4.2.

*bina* n. ear(s).

*binda-* *v. imp.* *binda*; *ipf.* *bindaj* sit (a common verb stem in the Gunggari languages).

*bind'amu* n. sun.

*bunguli-* *v. imp.* *bunguli(j)* lie down: *ŋaji bunguli* I am lying down (= *ŋaji wunaj*).

*burī* n. fire (common in the Gunggari languages). —Compare *jaña*.

*buṟunula* n. whirlwind.
D

dañulu n. goanna.
dula n. stick.
d'ança n. foot

d'ara n. leg.
d'ina (Wan) n. foot (a common Queensland word).
d'ungubari n. emu.

G

gaba (Wan) n. head.
gabi n. cattle.
gada n. head.
gadi n. meat.
galawa- (Wan) v. ipf. gala Bake I am going (Wan JB).
gamu n. water (the same in Gunggari). —Compare jabu 2.
garwa (Wan) n. the name of a language, Garwa.
gara neg. adv. no, not. —Compare nambi.
gudandi (Wan) n. the name of a language (cf. gurandi, in the Koko languages).
guµa- v. ? chew tobacco.
gujuga (Wan) n. fire: gujuga bana give me a light (Wan BJ; cf. Garwa bujuga).
guliba- v. ipf. gulibaj be wild, argue.
gundi n. house (cf. Punthamara and Kalali kundi, idem).
guri (Wan) n. home: najma guri my home. —Compare guri-.
guri v. ipf. guri(j) go home.

ŋ

ŋaba (Wan) n. water (cf. Kalali nap-a, idem).
ŋajgu (Wan) pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋ

ŋaji pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋajma (Wan) pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋali pers. pron. 4.3.
ŋambi neg. adv. no more, none (= gara, q.v.)
ŋani interr. pron. 4.4.
ŋargun n. any kangaroo.
ŋura n. ground (a common word for 'camp' in Queensland).

J

-j ipf. suffix 5.2.
jabu1 n. father.
jabu2 n. water (in the Cloncurry language; Bun CM). —Compare gamu.
jañu (jañu) ? n. fire. —Compare buñi.
jañu v. jañu.
jamba n. camp (a common Queensland word). —Compare nura.
jambi n. dog or wild dog.
janga (Wan) n. woman.
jaraman n. horse (a common Queensland word).
jarman (Wan) n. horse (usually jaraman, q.v. in Queensland).
jidi- v. ipf. jidi(j), jidina leave: nali jidina we two are leaving.
jinda pers. pron. 4.3.
juga- v. ipf. jugana eat.
jugula (Wan) n. the name of a language (cf. Gangulida jugula, idem).
juru pers. pron. 4.3.

L

-li- itr. der. suffix 5.1.

M

majì n. fruit, etc. (vegetal food). —Compare miña.
mala n. hand.

mala (Wan) n. hand: ūnubala mala your hand (Wan JB).

maluga (Wan) n. old (man), old people: maluga janga old woman, maluga mijat old man (Wan JB).

manda n. tucker (common in the Gunggari languages).

marambidyi n. the Murrumbidgee river.

mijat (Wan) n. (Aboriginal) man (cf. section 3).

mila (Wan) n. eye(s): ūnubala mila your eyes (Wan JB).

mildi n. eye(s).

mindi n. silver, money. —Compare bangu.

miņa n. beef (the meaning of the common Queensland word miņa is ‘game’ or ‘animal food’). —Compare maji.

muđa v. muņda.

muņda (muđa ?) n. tobacco.
GARWA

1. The following notes on Garwa were obtained between 1970-1972, at the Woorabinda settlement (Queensland), from one Mr Bill Jackson, who was from Westmoreland (in western Queensland and near the Northern Territory border line). Mr Jackson had travelled a good deal and had some idea of the Waljbiri language as well.

Phonology

Vowel phonemes

2.1. The Garwa language (according to our informant; see section 1), or the Westmoreland language, possesses the usual three fundamental vowel phonemes a, i and u (vowel length as well as word or syllabic stress being immaterial). Hence English ‘table’ becomes dibuli in Garwa, ‘tobacco’ becomes dubaga and ‘one fellow’ becomes wanbala; for the value of the phonemes b, d, g, see further in 2.2. Other vowel shades arise secondarily: guwaŋa > guara > go-ra ‘ear’, muwaŋa > muara > mo-ra ‘coolaman’ (hence with a long fairly open o-sound). A final -a may occasionally be actualised as -i (as often in the Aboriginal languages of Queensland): naŋi for naña ‘from’, niŋi for niña ‘you’.

Consonant phonemes

2.2. The following consonant phonemes are found:

- b a bilabial plosive (between English ‘b’ and ‘p’)
- d a dental plosive (between English ‘d’ and ‘t’)
- d’ a palatalised dental plosive (between English ‘dy’ and ‘ty’)
- d a retroflex plosive (as in Hindi)
- g a palatal-velar plosive (between English ‘g’ and ‘k’)
- n a palatal-velar nasal (as in English ‘sing’, ‘song’)
- m a bilabial nasal
- n a dental nasal
- n a palatalised dental nasal (similar to English ‘ni’ in ‘onion’, etc.)
- n a retroflex nasal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>a trilled continuant (as in Italian)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̚</td>
<td>a retroflex continuant (as in Hindi ‘ghoṛa’, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Combinatory phonology**

2.3. Of the phonemes enumerated in 2.2., all except i and u as well as the retroflex phonemes (n, r̚—our informant pronounces an initial r in a word quoted from Waljbiri) and r have been noted in the word-initial position (since, however, a few words are found beginning with a, it is possible that Garwa admits the initial occurrence of any vowel sound (cf. however below). No marked differentiation is made between such sequences as -ai- and -aji-; hence d'arbai ~ d'arbaji ‘ate’, etc. Considering, however, that many words begin with ji- and wu- (whereas no examples have been found of *i- or *u-), we shall hold the sequences -aji-, -uju-, -awu- as basic (considering -ai-, -ui-, -au- as secondary variants). It seems that an original i- has (as in most of the Queensland languages) passed into either ji- (as in jinga ‘for you’, for *inga, the second person singular pronominal stem being probably *i-) or ńi- (cf. niga for *ņina, 4.3. end).

2.4. Words and syllables may end in a vowel phoneme or a nasal (except n, which may only occur before d, hence in -nd-), l, r or r̚ (the last one, however, noted only as syllable-final: wirgu- ‘run away’). Most words end in a vowel.

2.5. The retroflex plosive d, being rather voiced than voiceless, may interchange with the trilled continuant r, in the medial position: bajaga = bajaga ‘little’. On the other hand, the palatalised dental plosive (d̲v) often alternates with j, in the same position: d̲vilad̲vbaji = d̲vilaj(i)ba(j)i ‘went, gone’, d̲vungud̲viba = d̲vunguiba ‘sitting’, etc. Whether a similar reduction may take place of -ni becoming -ji (cf. d̲vungubari or d̲vunguba(j)i ‘sat’), is uncertain and, likewise, whether -ńi may be said to alternate with -jni in certain forms (cf. ńila = ńila, ergative form of ńila(n) ‘girl’), as these may actually be cases of variant morphological elements. —The passing of intervocalic -n- into -r- (frequent in the eastern Queensland languages) is noted in Garwa narama for nanama ‘he that (one)’, heard in a song.

**Morphology**

3.1. As in other Australian languages studied by the present writer, we may distinguish in Garwa between nominal, pronominal, verbal, adverbial and postpositional word stems (connectives not being recorded), of which the first three are inflected, while adverbial forms may show traces of basic declensional or conjugational elements. Simple postpositional forms are rather arbitrarily distinguished from case suffixes.
Nominal words

3.2. Nominal stems in Garwa (comprising nouns, adjectives and numerals) are indeterminate as to number: /gifa may mean either 'girl' or 'girls'; /bunda is 'river' or 'rivers'. Sometimes, however, plurality may be expressed by reduplication (/gifa /gifa 'girls'), although this is probably not the basic meaning and function, since reduplication may occur in other cases as well (lugu lugu 'turning round' and other similar formations). Nominal stems are quite often found with or without a suffixed element -n: /gifa(n) 'girl', /ja^nifi(n) 'man', /bara^nua(n) 'camp', /da^mu^ga(n) 'beard', /ma^nifi(n) 'hand', /wa^li^di(n) 'meat', etc. In a somewhat similar way the ergative suffix -ni may be preceded by an extension -wa- of the nominal stem: /gilawa^nifi or /gilafi (also /gilagi) 'girl'. The function of these elements in Garwa does not appear from our material. It might perhaps be suggested that these elements represent traces of the use of an 'article' (in the Austronesian sense of the term), which is otherwise not observed in our Garwa material (cf. the elements -i-, -u-, -(n)a- in Punthamara and analogous elements in certain eastern Australian languages). See further in 3.8-9.

Nominal derivation

3.3. Of nominal derivational suffixes, the following only may be accepted with some measure of probability: -bai (attributive), -ga^da (-gara, cf. 2.5.; diminutive), -ga(n) (cf. 3.8.; originally feminine) and -man (personal); the occurrence of these is, however, very limited.

3.4. The attributive -bai. This formative may be assumed to have an attributive function (i.e. marking 'having, provided with', etc.) in: /fu^ru^ba^i 'having ashes' (cf. /fu^ru, /nu^ru 'ashes'), in a predicative sense: /na^na^ma /fu^ru^ba^i 'there are ashes' or 'it is ashes'. It may occur in /g^an^ga^ba^i 'boxwood' (although the meaning of *g^an^ga is not ascertained). Usually, however, the Garwa /ba^i seems to answer to the Punthamara 'possessive' -ani (expressing 'belonging(s) or 'property'), as in Garwa /na^ni^ba^i /na^ni or /nagi 'this (literally 'this property') is mine' (notice that the Garwa /nagi^ba^i, /na^nifi 'mine' formally and semantically answer to the Punthamara /na^nifi = /na^nifi 'mine'), hence literally 'my property').

3.5. The diminutive -ga^da. (-gara). This suffix occurs in /ba^g^a^da (-gara) 'little', /wa^d^u^ga 'little girl' (wadu).

3.6. The feminine -ga(n). This suffix generally expresses 'females' in the eastern Queensland languages. In Garwa, however, this meaning is not to be ascertained in any of the possible cases of this suffix: /da^mu^ga(n) 'beard', /jali^ga 'woomera', /nu^ga 'hair', of which further the primitive stems are not recorded. The final -n is occasionally treated as the enlargement element -n mentioned in 3.9.

3.7. The personal -man. This suffix is common in personal or animal names in eastern Queensland languages (perhaps ultimately derived from the English '-man', as in -the not very popular- 'policeman', etc.). The Garwa /ja^ra^ma^n 'horse' is an extremely common word in most parts of Aboriginal Queensland.
Declension

3.8. Nominal inflection in Garwa comprises the following six basic case forms (found in our material): the nominative (the stem form of the noun, with or without an additional -\(n\); cf. below), the ergative (in -\(\dot{n}\i\), with or without a preceding -\(wa\); cf. 3.9., or in -\(\dot{g}\i\, -i\)), the possessive (in -\(ga\)), the ablative (in -(m)bu), the locative (in -(n)a) and the allative (in -(n)ga). In addition to these, certain case relations may be expressed by additional morphological elements or constructions (see 3.10-12). Instances of the use of basic declension forms: (nominative) nad\(\dot{y}\)iba \(g\)aju ga\(\dot{g}\)iba ‘I can see a white man’, ni\(\dot{n}\)di jaraman nad\(\dot{y}\)iba ‘can you see the horse?’ (notice that the nominative, or stem, form is used in the sense of a direct object as well, even of personal nouns; for the appearance of the enlargement -\(n\), cf. in 3.9.), nana\(\dot{g}\)ani \(g\)ani ‘that man’s’ (the stem form may be used, for instance in the possessive sense, provided that the possessive case is expressed by another determining word, in this case nana\(\dot{g}\)ani ‘that one’s’; ergative) bata\(\phi\)a(wa)\(\dot{n}\)i ‘the child’ (bata\(\phi\)), balbalu\(\dot{n}\)i ‘the pelican’ (balbalu), ganda\(\dot{b}\)ul\(\dot{w}\)ani or ganda\(\dot{b}\)uli ‘the policeman’ (ganda\(\dot{b}\)ul), from English ‘constable’), gujari\(\dot{d}\)\(\dot{i}\)\(\dot{n}\)i ‘with a stick’ (gujarid\(\dot{i}\)), \(\dot{g}\)ani\(\dot{w}\)ani ‘the man’ (\(g\)ani\(\dot{i}\)), \(\dot{g}\)ila\(\dot{w}\)ani or \(\dot{g}\)il\(\dot{a}\) ‘the girl’ (\(\dot{g}\)ila, \(\dot{g}\)ilan), jaramani ‘the horse’ (jaraman), murari\(\dot{\dot{n}}\)i ‘the bunyip, the Rainbow Serpent’ (murari), nana\(\dot{g}\)andi\(\dot{b}\)ul\(\dot{w}\)ani ‘the policeman (saw me)’ both words are in the ergative case; cf. above); (possessive) d\(\dot{b}\)ibari\(\dot{g}\)ani ‘a woman’s’ (d\(\dot{b}\)ibari), jaramangani ‘for the horse’ (jaraman; that is ‘the horse’s’), nuranga\(\dot{\dot{n}}\) (nuru- ‘for ashes’ (‘an ashtray’, ‘something belonging to the ashes’ (nuru, n\(\dot{u}\)ru); ablativ, also with the postposition na\(\dot{n}\)a ‘from’ burululambu na\(\dot{n}\)a ‘from Boorooloola’ (burulula, a place in western Queensland), barawumbu ‘from home’ (barawu(n) ‘camp’), gundanbu na\(\dot{n}\)a ‘from the tree’ (gundan); (locative) barawuna ‘in the house’ (barawu(n); cf. above), baju\(\dot{\dot{u}}\)ni ‘in the west’ (baju\(\dot{\dot{u}}\)), burululana ‘at Boorooloola’ (cf. above), jamba ‘on the ground’ (jamba), jaramana ‘on the grass’ (ganean), gurina ‘at home’ (guri), wa\(\dot{n}\)ara ‘at the corroboree’ (wa\(\dot{n}\)ar), wunina ‘on the spear’ (wunin); (allative) gaga\(\dot{\dot{g}}\)a (go) for fish’ (gugu(n) ‘fish’), wa\(\dot{n}\)arga ‘for the corroboree’ (wa\(\dot{n}\)ar; the same suffix – according to our informant – would be used in Walbiri: wandirga = Garwa wa\(\dot{n}\)arga, cf. wandir ‘corroboree’).

3.9. In some of the case suffixes beginning with a nasal (-\(mb\), -\(n\)a, -\(nga\), beside -\(bu\), -\(a\), -\(ga\)) the latter may possibly be identical with the enlargement -\(n\) mentioned in 3.2.6.; otherwise an analogous nasal element is often characteristic of certain case suffixes in a great number of eastern Queensland languages. For the element -\(wa\) in the ergative suffix -\(wa\)ni (-\(\dot{n}\)i), compare in section 3.2.6. These enlargements (-\(n\), etc., -\(wa\)) may or may not be remnants of ‘articles’ (cf. 3.2.); otherwise no corresponding morphological category is found in our Garwa material (cf. \(\dot{g}\)ani\(\dot{i}\) ‘a man’ or ‘the man’, nani \(g\)ani\(\dot{i}\) ‘that man’), although the final -\(n\) may be absent in compound constructions, such as \(\dot{g}\)ila bugamba ‘(a lot of) girls’.

3.10. Two additional suffixes are found to be used in the allative sense, namely -\(r\)i and -\(g\)i. The former occurs in: barawuri ‘(going) home’ (barawu(n) ‘home’), burululari ‘to Boorooloola’ (burulula, place name), mun\(d\)iri ‘to the corroboree’ (mun\(d\)). The suffix -\(g\)i (also found in some eastern Australian languages in various functions, chiefly to express ‘tendency’ or ‘intention’, that is as the Garwa -\(ga\), -\(nga\) or the common Australian -\(gu\) seems to be used with personal nouns to
express a dative or possessive relation (hence = ‘for’, ‘of’, ‘to’), as in: ŋaniŋiŋi ‘the man's’ (literally ‘intended for the man’).

3.11. Some case relations are expressed by postpositions, such as: wuni ‘from’, naña (always with the ablative form of the noun) ‘from’ (hence expressing an ablative relation), juḏiŋi(i) ‘by (means of)’, ‘with’ (hence expressing an ergative relation): dibul wuni ‘fell from the table’ (dibul(i), from English), maṉiŋi wuni ‘from (my) hand’ (maṉiŋi), burululambu naña ‘from Boorooolooloo’ (burulula), d'alu juḏiŋi ‘with the arm’ (d'alu), gujarid'į juḏiŋi ‘with a stick’ (gujarid'į; = gujarid'įŋi, ergative), luŋul juḏiŋi ‘with a stone’ (luŋul), wuniŋu juḏiŋ ‘killed with a spear’) (wuniŋu).

3.12. The possessive case relation may alternatively be expressed by a postpositional (?) form, garid'į ‘belonging to’: ŋaniŋiŋ garid'į ‘the man's’ (‘belonging to the man’; = ŋaniŋiŋ, cf. 3.10). An ablative relation, of personal nouns, may be expressed by a possessive form: baḍadagarii ‘(took) from the boy’ (literally ‘the boy’s’). As usually in the Australian languages, the use of the various case forms is closely connected with the personal or nonpersonal character of the noun to be declined.

Pronouns

4.1. The pronouns in Garwa are either (1) personal (possessive pronouns are simply the possessive case form of the personal pronouns); (2) demonstrative; or (3) interrogative-indefinite.

Personal pronouns

4.2. There are personal pronouns for the first and second person in the singular, dual and plural and there may be different inclusive and exclusive forms. The third person pronouns are closely related to demonstrative pronouns (in this material we separate inflected forms, to be dealt with as of a personal pronoun, and uninflected forms, as being demonstrative). The case forms are more or less the same as in the nominal declension (see 3.8.); we consequently assume (1) a nominative (or stem form), (2) an ergative, (3) an accusative (not found in the nominal declension), (4) a possessive form, (5) a dative form (only in the first person singular and not found in the nominal declension) and (6) an allative (used in the sense of ‘toward’). Since the personal pronouns are used in reference to personal nouns (or persons) only, some local case forms, such as the ablative and locative, are missing. The dative form is used, for instance, in construction with the verb ‘to speak (to)’; as in some eastern Australian languages (Kattang), it is found in the first person singular only: jaṉbaji garwa ɲagi ‘spoke in Garwa to me’. The nominative ɲaju ‘I’ is an original ergative; as in Punthamara ɲatu (ergative) kundiani (‘my house’), the Garwa ɲaju(n) may be used in the possessive sense; ɲajun duri ‘my home’.
4.3. The following rather incomplete paradigms will show the forms recorded.

First person singular:

nom. ŋaju
erg. ŋaju
acc. ŋana; -ŋa (cf. 7)
poss. ŋani(n), ŋagibari, ŋanibari, ŋaju(n) (in certain cases; cf. 4.2.)
dat. ŋagi(n)
all. ŋaŋinga

First person dual:

Exclusive and inclusive (?): nom. nungala
Inclusive: all. ŋalijinga 'for us two'.

First person plural:

Exclusive (?): nom. ŋamba
Inclusive (?):
nom. ŋambala
poss. ŋambalanji
all. ŋambalanga

Second person singular:

nom. nindji
erg. nindji (?)
acc. niŋa, niña
all. jingga

Second person dual:

nom. nimbala

Second person plural:

nom. nimbugamba

Third person singular:

nom. nanama
erg. nanaŋi
acc. nanama 'him'
poss. nanangaŋi; nanangi (the latter in special cases?)
all. nanamanga, nananga

An ablative form, nanambu (with the postposition naŋa; cf. 3.8.) is used in an impersonal (adverbial) sense: nanambu naŋa 'from there'. The pronominal stem in the first person is (as in most, or all, Australian languages) ŋa-; in the second person singular it is probably *i- (as evidenced by the allative jingga; cf. 2.2.). Forms such as niŋa, niña, nindji appear to have arisen from *ŋ-in, *ŋ-iŋa, etc., by various stages of metathesis.
4.4. Certain possessive forms incorporate the element -bari (cf. 3.4.), in the sense of 'belonging(s), property': nagibari (also nadjubari) 'mine' (literally 'for-me-property or belonging', 'I-property'), nanibari 'his' or 'that one's' (literally 'that belonging or property'). The 'dative' (originally an 'allative' or 'intentional' form; cf. 3.10.) may be used in the possessive case: barawu nagi 'my home'.

**Demonstrative pronouns**

4.5. The third person personal pronouns may alternatively be considered as demonstratives 'that one'. When used in an impersonal sense, or when not inflected, analogous forms may be considered as demonstrative pronouns or adverbs. Demonstrative words are derived from the stems na- (cf. in the section of Personal pronouns; 4.3.) 'this, that' and d'U 'that, yonder'. The recorded forms are: nani 'this' (used impersonally and without a determined noun form), naçi(n) 'this' (used attributively) and d'ud'U 'that'. Examples: naçi(n) mungud'U 'this country', d'ud'U mungud'U 'that (other) country'. As mentioned in 4.4., the form nani may be provided with an attributive -bari (cf. 3.4.), becoming nanibari 'this', as in: nanibari nagi 'this is mine' (literally 'this property is for me'). The derived forms nanaba 'there', nacija 'here' may be considered as adverbial.

**Interrogative pronouns**

4.6. Both the personal 'who?' and impersonal 'what?' interrogatives are (according to our informant) expressed by the same interrogative-indefinite stem wańi. Hence: wańi nind'U 'who are you?', wańi nani 'what is that?'. The following flectional forms have been recorded:

- **nom.** wańi
- **erg.** wańiçi
- **poss.** wańiğańi

The possessive form (wańiğańi) is found in the sense of 'what?' or 'what for?', as in: wańiğańi nind'U gud'U 'what do you want?', wańiğańi nind'U d'ilad'iba 'what do you come for?', wańiğańi nani 'what is that for?'.

**Verbal forms**

5.1. The Garwa verb is conjugated according to mode or aspect (the idea of time being implied secondarily); of a personal conjugation (as in Latin, etc.) a rudiment only is observed. The function of the various modal forms is not clear on all points (see in section 6 on Modal conjugation). The verbal stem (as commonly in the Australian languages) always ends in a vowel, -a-, -i-, or -u-: bad'U- 'play', nad'U- 'see', d'ungu- 'sit'. To these the modal formatives are added and from these derived verb stems may also be made.
Verbal derivation

5.2. Verbal stems may be derived by means of the following formatives (found in our material): -ba-, -d'yi-, -gi-, -mba-, -mbid'yi-, -na- (?), -nari- (?), -ra- (?), -ri- (?); the true nature and function of these is not always ascertainable and, furthermore, there is reason to think that certain ones (-na-, -ra-) might rather be considered as modal formatives.

5.3. The suffix -ba-. This formative is particularly difficult to place in a system. It is most certainly a formative in the modal conjugation in some cases (see 6.4.), while in other cases (naraba- 'drink', cf. d'yarba- 'eat', as well as in other verb stems of the type d'añba- 'throw', wurgurba- 'shave', of which no more simple form occurs) the element -ba- may have a derivative character (the function being, however, indeterminate).

5.4. The suffix -d'yi-. This suffix is possibly an original reflexive-intransitive formative (as in Gugu-Bu jun). In Garwa this function is not evident: d'ilad'yi- 'go' (no primitive stem recorded), wid'yi- 'go or come back' (no primitive stem), wipi'dyi- 'leave' (wipi- means 'take up'); in the transitive verb stem nad'yi- 'to see', however, the element is not derivative at least in Garwa, as the same verb stem occurs in Gugu-Bujun (nad'yi- 'see'; cf. Punthamara nat'á-, idem). For the possible reflexive character of -d'yi-, compare, however, under -mbid'yi- (5.7.).

5.5. The suffix -gi-. This seems to be a reflexive-intransitive formative, as in: njirigi- 'turn round' (intransitive; 'turn oneself round', however, without a primary verb stem). Compare njirigimba- 'turn (something) round' (5.6.).

5.6. The causative suffix -mba-. This is a very frequent causative formative in the east Queensland languages. In Garwa it clearly occurs in: biribirimba- 'spin (something) round' (cf. biribiri- 'turn round', intransitive), d'ilad'ymba- 'send' (cf. d'ilad'yi- 'go'), gulgamba- 'lay down' (cf. gulu'ga- 'lie down'), njirigimba- 'turn round' (transitive; cf. njirigi-, idem, intransitive), jad'dibaramba- 'burn' (transitive; cf. jad'dibara-, idem, intransitive), lugulugumba- 'turn round' (cf. lugu lugu 'turning round'), nad'dimba- 'show' (cf. nad'di- 'see'), wurgumba- 'chase' (cf. wirgu- 'run away'), wudumba- 'get' (no primitive stem recorded). The sense is sometimes prepositional ('make for', 'go, come with', etc.): jabimba- 'make for', d'arimba- 'run away with' (primitive forms not recorded). Derivatives with -mba- are transitive and hence take the ergative form of the subject word: nanaj d'arimbaji 'he ran away with (it)'.

5.7. The causative-reflexive suffix -mbid'yi-. This formative, which evidently is a compound of the causative -mba- (see 5.6.) and the reflexive -d'yi- (see 5.4.), expresses the idea of 'make or do (for) oneself' as in: wudumbid'yi- 'fetch' (wudumbid'yi walid'inyin, maman 'go and get or fetch meat, food', literally: 'get for yourself'). Derivative elements having this compound function are found in languages in eastern Queensland as well.

5.8. The suffix -na-. The meaning of this formative is not evident: gaju bad'yana 'I will play' (more or less the same as bad'yaba, according to our informant). It may be an inchoative derivative suffix or else an imperfective mode form. Compare further under -nari- (see 5.9.).
5.9. **The suffix -nari-.** This suffix looks like a compound of the two elements -na- (see 5.8.) and -ri- (see 5.11.) and may possibly have an inchoative-intransitive meaning. A couple of instances only are recorded: badYa*nari- 'get up to play' (badYa-*) and gann*nari- 'get up' (cf. ganna- 'stand').

5.10. **The suffix -ra-.** A single instance is recorded: jadYibara- 'burn, be burned'. The derivative character of this suffix is rendered likely in view of the occurrence of a causative enlargement (see 5.6.) jadYibaramba- 'burn' (transitive).

5.11. **The suffix -ri-.** In the eastern Queensland languages this suffix usually has an intransitive sense, which however is not the case in Garwa, as seen in: wadYari- 'fish', wijari- 'put' (no simple verb stems being recorded).

**Modal conjugation**

6.1. We can count at least on four basic modal forms: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional. The formatives are, however, more numerous and it may consequently be supposed that further distinctions are actually made. Whether a progressive and a gerundial form exists, as well as the use of auxiliary verb stems, is not by far clear.

6.2. **The imperative.** The imperative is no doubt in the first place made up from the plain verbal stem, as in most Queensland languages, of which the following forms are illustrative: badYa ‘dance’ or ‘play’ (badYa-; the same as badYagi, cf. 6.8.), ʒaba ‘hit’, d'ungu ‘sit’, ʒudaŋi wirgu ‘don't run away’ (stem wirgu-). More often, however, the imperative is expressed by a verbal form in -gi, which rather expresses necessity than a command and for which see in section 6.8.

6.3. **The imperfective.** Admitting that Garwa, like most Queensland languages, expresses mode or aspect rather than time, the immediate problem in dealing with modal forms is that of settling the difference of imperfective and perfective forms. Unfortunately no instances are recorded of contrasting forms of the type ‘die, be dying’ and ‘dead’ in English, whereby the imperfective and perfective character would be noted; one consequently has to go by the English rendering of the Aboriginal forms by means of either present (imperfective) and past (perfective) verb forms. An analysis in most cases shows that imperfective forms arise through the dropping of the perfective characteristic -ji (for which see in 6.5). In this way the plain verbal stem is often obtained, which consequently expresses imperfective mode: migu əaju badYa ‘I don't gamble’ (stem badYa-), wirba əaju ‘I am falling’ (stem wirba-), waŋigaŋi əindį gudYu ‘what do you (want to) take?’, d'ungu ‘sitting’, wirba ‘falling’, d'ənaju wirgu ‘wants to run’.

6.4. Many imperfective forms end in -ba (along with which perfective forms in -bajį occur). These are especially common of verbal stems in -i- (as it happens, our Garwa material does not show a single plain stem in -i- occurring in the imperfective sense and very few occurring as imperatives). One may consequently establish the rule that verbal stems in -i- regularly form their imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional mode forms by an enlargement, or added element -ba-, as in the following instances: nadYaiba ‘can see’, əaju d'ənaju nadYaiba ‘I want to
see’, nid’id’iba ‘is kicking’ (stem nid’id’i-), d’ilad’iba ‘going’ (also imperative ‘go’; stem d’ilad’i-), birid’iba ‘singing’ (stem birid’i-), maliba ‘chasing’ (stem mal-i-). The same extension (-ba-) is occasionally used with other verb stems as well: badYaba ‘playing’ (stem badYa-), d’unguba ‘sitting’ (stem d’ungu-), ganl)aba ‘standing’ (stem ganl)a-, gulugaba ‘lying down’ (stem guluga-).

6.5. **The perfective.** The perfective mode is clearly expressed by a suffix -ji (that is a ‘nominaliser’ -j- plus a case suffix -i); the perfective function appears by comparison with a corresponding imperfective verb form: badYaji ‘has danced’ (cf. imperfective badYa; stem badYa-), d’arbaji ‘ate’ (imperfective d’arba, stem d’arba-), ṇarabaji ‘drank’ (stem ṇaraba-), ḋabaji ‘killed’ (stem ḋaba-), d’unguji ‘lived’ (imperfective d’ungu, stem d’ungu-), wirbaji ‘fell’ (imperfective wirba ‘is falling’, stem wirba-). In one case -ri is found for -ji: d’ilajimbari ‘sent’ (stem d’ilajimba-); cf. -bari for -baji, below). If the verbal stem ends in -i-, the perfective termination is -baji (cf. 6.4.): nadYibaji ‘saw’, d’ilad’ibaji ‘went’; this is the case also whenever the imperfective is in -ba: bad’abaji ‘played’ (cf. bad’aba ‘playing’). The difference (if any) between such forms as bad’aji and bad’abaji (as well as between bad’a and bad’aba), etc. has not been ascertained. Beside the ending -baji we find an equivalent (?) termination -bari, as in: bad’abari ‘played’, d’ungubari ‘sat’ (= d’ungubaji), ganl)abari ‘stood’ (= -baji), gulugabari ‘lay down’ (cf. imperfective guluga), nad’)ibari ‘saw’ (= nad’yibaji).

6.6. Beside the perfective (?) termination in -ji, another one in -ja (that is with a different case suffix, -a) is occasionally found: wirguja ‘ran away’ (= wirguji; stem wirgu-); this form, however, involves still another problem, since in one case (gudYubaja ‘stealing’) the suffix seems to have an imperfective character (which, besides, is to some extent indicated by the use of a different case suffix, -a, added to the ‘nominaliser’).

6.7. **The intentional.** This modal form is (as in the Queensland languages in general) derived from the ‘allative’ form of nominal and pronominal stems, that is the intentional is formed from the verbal stem by addition of the allative suffix (in Garwa -l)ga; cf. 3.8.), as seen in: bad’anga ‘to play’, ‘wants to play’ (stem bad’a-), d’ungunga ‘(want) to sit’ (stem d’ungu-), guluganga ‘(want) to lie down’ (stem guluga-). As in the languages of eastern Queensland, the intentional is used in Garwa in construction with the allative form of a nominal or pronominal stem to express the idea of ‘must’, ‘have to’ (literally ‘for him to do’, etc.): nananga d’ungunga ‘he must, ought to sit down’, ‘he better sit down’, (literally ‘for him to sit down’), ṇambalanga ganl)anga ‘we had better stand up’, jinga bad’anga ‘you are to play, sing or dance’. If, however, the idea is ‘to want or desire’, the ergative is used of the subject word: badadawani bad’anga ‘the boy wants to play’.

6.8. Of other modal forms, those in -gi and -gu (less often) ought to be mentioned. Both are variants of an allative suffix -gu (common in a great number of Australian languages); the suffix -gi (of a similar meaning) is found in some languages in eastern Australia (e.g. Kattang in New South Wales). The suffix -gi is added to the same stem form of the verb as the perfective -ji (see 6.5.); the sense is often that of an imperative: bad’agi ‘dance’ (= bad’a), d’aibagi ‘throw’ (stem d’aiba-), d’ungugi ‘sit down’ (stem d’ungu), ganṣagi ‘get up’ (stem ganṣa-),
gulugagi ‘lie down’ (stem guluga-), biribiribagi ‘turn or spin round’ (stem biribir-), biridjibagi ‘sing’ (stem biridji-), d'íladjibagi ‘go’ (stem d'íladji-). The suffix -gu (in the sense of ‘must’, etc.) is added to the plain verbal stem, without any extension: d'íladjigu ‘must go’ (cf. d'íladjibagi, idem).

Personal conjugation

7. Of a personal conjugation a remnant only is found in our material, namely verbal forms with an added element -ŋa (first person singular personal pronoun, hence ‘I’): d'íladjibaga barawumbu naña ‘I am going (d'íladjiba) from home’. The same element -ŋa is also used to express a direct object form ‘me’, as in: nad'ibajija ‘(he) saw (nad'ibaji) me’ (= nad'ibaji ŋana).

Postpositions

8. The following postpositions have been recorded: júdjií, júdjií ‘by means of’, with’, naña ‘from’ and wuní ‘from’ (the latter always with the ablativ e form of the determined word): luvgul júdjií ‘(hit) with a stone’, barawumbu naña ‘from home’, wad'arimbu naña ‘(back) from fishing’, maní(n) naña or manín wuní ‘(fall) from (my) hand’.

Vocabulary

The following Garwa vocabulary also serves as an index. Some very few Waljbiri entries have been made, deriving from the same informant (Bill Jackson), who knew bits of South Australia languages. Waljbiri forms are marked by the signature Wal.

Figures refer to corresponding sections in the morphological sketch. The following abbreviations are used:

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The entries are ranged alphabetically according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, d', c, g, i, j, l, m, n, r, f, u, w.

A

aburâ n. money. —Compare bura (buṟa).

anuma n. ?: anuma migu iąju bady'a I do not gamble ... (?)

B

-ba modal. suffix 6.4.

-ba v. der. suffix 5.3.

bady'a n. 1. dance, play; 2. gambling: gud'ara bady'a two dances, d'añanbala a big dance, bady'a lira corroboree.

bady'a- v. imp. bady'a, bady'agi; ipf. bady'a, bady'aba; pf. bady'aji, bady'abari; int. bad'yanga 1. dance, sing, play; 2. gamble: bady'agi larwa play the didgeridoo, niñi bady'a(g)i you dance and sing or play, migu iąju bady'a I do not gamble, bad'yanga larwa (wants) to play the didgeridoo, nanama d'ñad'ýibaji bad'yanga he went to dance.

bad'yana- v. ipf. bad'yana play: iąju bad'yana I will play (more or less = bad'yaba; see s.v. bady'a-).

bad'yanari- v. ipf. bad'yanari start to dance and play: briwa 念佛ala bad'yanari now we will all get up to dance.

badada n. erg. badaða(wa)ni; poss. badaða gaði boy, child: gudu badaðagaði take it from the boy.

bajagara (-gaða) n. dim. little, little one or child: gudara ñanañi bajagara two little boys, nila(n) bajagara little girl, bajagaða little girl (= waðugara, q.v.).

-baji pf. suffix 6.5.

bajuñu n. loc. bajununa west: bajununa ibia go or is going westward, bajununa to or in the west.

balbalu n. erg. balbaluñi pelican.

barawan v. barawu(n).

barawu(n) n. abl. barawumbu; loc. barawuna, -wana; all. barawuri home, camp, house: ñagin duri barawu my home, barawan d'ñugujañu (?) living in that house (?)

-bari1 attr. suffix. 3.4.

-bari2 pf. suffix 6.5.

bariwa adv. now: bariwa (ıju) d'ñad'ibara now (l) am going.

biba n. paper: biba ñagibari nani this is my paper.

bindyiri n. wattle tree.

bindy postp. ? toward (?). —Compare bajunu.

biribiri n. adv. something spinning, a windmill, etc.: biribiri bady'agi play, turning something round.

biribiri- v. imp. biribiribagi turn round (intransitive).

biribirimba- v. caus. imp. ipf. biribirimba turn or spin (something) around.

biridyi- v. imp. birid'ibaga(gi); ipf. birid'ibä; int. birid'inya sing: wañara birid'iba sing(ing) at the corroboree.

buñlguru (Wal) n. water (= Garwa wabuñ, q.v.).

bugamba n. a lot, the lot, all: bugamba ñañabaji drank a lot, bugambo d'ñugu wajiga jambana you all sit down on the ground, ñila bugamba girls.

buñuga n. 1. fire; 2. the sun; 3. match(es).

bunda n. river: bunda bugamba all the rivers.

bunuwara n. woman, wife: nanama nanañi bunuwara she (or that) is his wife’ (notice use of ergative form).
burulula n. abl. burululambu; loc. burululana; all. burululari Boorooloola, the name of a place in the Northern Territory: bajunu burululari (going) west to Boorooloola, burululambu nanya from Boorooloola.

buṭa n. money. —Compare abuṭa.

D

daṅal n. ashtray (‘where you put it’, the ashes).

dibuli (dibul, debul) n. loc. dibulina table: debul wuni (fell) from the table.

dubaga n. tobacco: dubaga danal where you put the tobacco, ‘ashtray’.

dugurugu n. singing stick. —Compare galwa, gundan.

Dy

dyāṇaju v. adv. want: dyāṇaju wirgu wants to run, njaju dyāṇaju nādyiba (tell him) I want to see (him).

dyāṇambala n. big: badya dyāṇambala a big dance.

dyālamba- v. maṇin dyālamba breaking hands (?)

dyālu n. arm: dyālu juḍiṇi (strike) with the arm.

dyāmba, v. jamba.

dyamuga(n) n. beard.

dyāni- (jani- ?) v. imp. ipf. ? hit: dyāniṇa hit(ting) me (?). —Compare ḍaba-.

dyānība- v. imp. dyānībagi throw: nindyi dyānībagi wunin you throw the spear.

dyārba- v. imp. dyārībagi; ipf. dyārba; pf. dyārībase eat: jaramana dyārba

ganban the horse eats grass, dyārbaji gagun ate fish.

dyārimba- v. caus. pf. dyārimbaži run away with: nanaṇi dyārimbaži muriga he ran away with the car.

-di- v. der. suffix. 5.4.

dyibari n. erg. dyibariwaṇi; poss. dyibarigaṇi woman: dyibarigaṇi njamuru woman’s breast(s).

dyiladji- v. imp. dyiladji; ipf. dyiladji; pf. dyiladži; int. dyiladži, dyiladži go: gudadige dyiladji don’t go, dyiladži baṇa barawumbu nana I am going from home, dyiladži baṇa lugu lugu I am going around, njaju dyiladži baṇa I will go, dyiladži go njaju I must go.

dyiladžimba- v. pf. dyiladžimba send: dyiladžimba njaju niṇa I sent you.

dyniramba- v. caus. imp. dyniramba light (a fire) or strike (a match): bujuga dyniramba light (strike) a match.

dyudži dem. pron. 4.5. that.

dyudžugi adv. postp. away, out, off, from: jaramana dyudžugi wirba njaju I am falling from (off) the horse, dyudžugi dyiladži ba get away, gundan dyudži (fell) from the tree.

dyungu- v. imp. dyungu(gi); ipf. dyunguba; pf. dyunguji, dyungubaji, dyungubari; int. dyunguga sit (down): nindyi dyungu you sit, dyungu njaju I will sit down, dyunguji njiba, nanaba sit down here, there, dyunguji jaramana saddle the horse (literally ‘sit on the horse’), dyunguji wabuli murari Murari (the Rainbow Serpent) lived long ago, nanaṇa dyunguga he had better sit.

dyungudji- v. ipf. dyungudža sit. —Compare dyungu-.

į

śaba- v. imp. śaba; ipf. śaba; pf. śabaji hit, strike, kill: śaba ḍaniṇa striking or
killing me, **gujarid'i** **daba** hit with a stick, **nanama daba** **naaju** I hit or killed him. —Compare **d'ani**.

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**G**

-ga'da *dim. suffix* 3.5.

gadiba *n.* white person.

gagun *n.* all. **gagunga** fish.

gangabari *n.* boxwood (from which the didgeridoo is made).

gangulida *n.* the name of a language, Ganggulida or Gangulida.

galawan'i *adv.* underneath.

galawunin *adv.* from below (?).

—Compare **gangari**.

galwa *n.* singing stick. —Compare dugurugu, gundan.

gamban *n.* sun.

gambani *n.* yam(s).

-ga(n) *n.* *der. suffix* 3.6.

ganban *n.* *loc.* ganbana grass: ganbana wa'damba sitting on the grass.

gand'ibuln *n.* *erg.* **gand'ibuli**; **gand'ibulwa** policeman (from English 'constable'): **gand'ibuli** **nana** **nad'ibaji** the policeman saw me.

ganna- *v. *imp. **ganna**; *ipf.* **ganna**; *pf.* gan'abaji, gan'abari stand, get up.

gan'ana- *v. *ipf. **gan'ana**? get up: **narama gan'ana** bad'a lirâ he is getting up giving a corroboree (probably 'will get up and sing', 'corroboree' taken in a modern sense).

-gara *dim. suffix* 3.5.

garaga (Wal) *n.* ear(s) (= Garwa guwa'da, q.v.).

gari *n.* east.

garid'i (garini ?) *n.* belonging to: **nani** **garid'i** the man's.

garwa *n.* the Garwa or Westmoreland tribe and language: **garwa** **nani** a Garwa man.

-gi¹ *all. suffix* 3.10.

-gi² *int. suffix* 6.8.

-gi *v. *der. suffix* 5.5.

gid'ī- *v. *ipf. **gidiba** catch, take (?): **gidiba** **manin** **gand'ibulwa** the policeman takes or will take (?) your arm (?)

gingari *adv.* up, upwards: **gingari** **nad'iba** looking upwards, **gingari** (or *galawunin*) **nani** **d'ungunga** (for) a man to sit up (or get up from below (?); probably used for a 'saddle').

-gu *int. suffix* 6.8.

gud'ara *n.* two: **gud'ara** **nani** **nanama** **nad'ibaji** he saw two men, **gud'ara** jalgungi three.

gud'u- (guju-, gu'dī-) *v. *imp. **gud'u**, **gud'iba**; *ipf.* **gud'uba**, **gud'iba**, **gud'ubaja** ?; *pf.* **gud'uji**, **gud'ujibari** ?

1. take, get, fetch; 2. look for (e.g. a track); 3. steal: (gudādigi) **gud'u** don't take it, jaraman maniña **gud'ubaja** stealing, running away with the horse, **gudaqigani maniña** **gud'iba** jaraman don't steal the horse.


gudaqí *neg. adv.* no, not, no more: gu'daql **nun'ga** bald.

gudādigi *neg. adv.* not, don't: **gudādigi d'aba** don't hit, **gudādigi d'ilad'iba** don't go.

gungala *n. adv.* rubbing, to make fire.

—Compare **guji**.

gujarid'i *n. *erg. **gujarid'ini** stick.

gujiga- *v. *ipf. **gujiga**? rub (sticks), to make fire. —Compare **gungala**.

guju- *v. **gud'u**-.

gulana *adv. this way (= najiba, q.v.).
gulani adv. here: gulani d’ilad’iba

ṇaju I am going (coming) here, gulani

wid’iba coming back here.

gulara adv. south, over there, away from

here: gulara ṇaju d’ilad’iba I am going

south.

guluga- v. imp. gulugagi; ipf. gulugaba;

pf. gulugabari; int. guluganga lie
down: nanamanga guluganga he had

better lie down.

gulugamba- v. caus. imp. gulugambagi

lay down: gulugambagi baḍaḍa put

the child to bed.

gundan n. abl. gundanbu 1. tree, wattle

tree (wood); 2. singing stick(s) (made of

this wood): guḍara gundan two

singing sticks, nani gundan that tree,
gundanbu naṇa wirbaji fell from the

(wattle) tree.

guṇba(n) n. good, good-looking: guṇba

ṇaniṇi a good man, nanama guṇba ṇaniṇi he is a good man, guṇban

ṇila(n) a good-looking girl.

gurina n. place,
camp, home, house:

Dyilad’ila ṇaju

ṇasın guri I am going to my place,
gurina at home (= barawuna, q.v.),
gurimbu naṇa from home.

guwaļin n. head.
guwaḍa n. ear(s).

ŋ

ŋa pers. pron. 4.3; 7.

ŋabaja n. ghost (dead man or scrub ghost).

ŋagi pers. pron. 4.2-3.

ŋagibari pers. pron. 3.4; 4.3.

ŋaju pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋajun pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋaligan n. woomera.

ŋalijinga pers. pron. 4.3: ŋalijinga (all)

nanaṇi birid’iba he is singing to us
two.

ŋamba pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋambala pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋamuṛu n. 1. breast; 2. milk: ŋamuṛu

ŋarabaji bugamba (the baby) drank all

the milk.

ŋana pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋaniṇi(n) n. erg. ŋaniṇiwaṇi; all.

ŋaniṇigi man: nanama ŋaniṇin that

man, nanapgaṇi ŋaniṇin that man’s,

ŋaniṇigi (dat. or all.; cf. 3.10). that

man’s (= ŋaniṇi garid’i).

ŋaṇi pers. pron. 4.3.

ŋaṇibari pers. pron. 3.4; 4.3.

ŋarbara- or ŋargaraba- v. pf. ŋarga-

rabaji kill.

ŋaraba- v. pf. ŋarabaji drink: bugamba

ŋarabaji drink the lot.

-ŋa int. suffix 6.7.

ŋila(n) n. erg. ŋila(wa)ṇi (little) girl, baby:

ŋila bugamba girls, nanani ŋilawaṇi that
girl, ŋilawaṇi nad’iiban ŋana the

little girl saw me, ŋilaṇi jabiṃbaṇi

(jabinb-) the girl made it (for someone).

ŋirigi- v. refl. imp. ipf. ŋirigi turn round:

ŋirigi nani ŋaniṇi that man turns

round, ŋirigi maŋaṇi turn round face
to face.

ŋirigimba- v. refl. caus. imp. ŋirigimba

turn round: ŋirigimba niṇa turn

(yourself) round, guḍaḍi ŋirigimba
don’t turn (it) round.

ŋubuṇun n. boomerang.

ŋuruṇunda- (ŋuruṇumba- ?) v. ipf.

ŋuruṇundaja ? put (spear on woomera),
raise: ŋiŋgari ŋuruṇundaja (?) raise
(it) up.
julaŋi or julgaŋi n. one: julgaŋi or julgaŋi ɲilan one girl.

jumala (Wal) pers. pron. you two (= Garwa nimbala).
jurgumba- v. imp. ? jurgumba go away for good.

juɾiŋi v. juɾiŋi.

L

laŋi n. north.
lajaŋinda n. Mornington Island language.
larwa n. didgeridoo.
lira n. corroboree.
lirgidį- v. pf. lirgidįbajį grow: nani gundan lirgidįbajį that tree grew.
lugu lugu n. adv. turning round.
lugulugumba- v. caus. imp. lugulugumbajį; impin lugulugumba; pf. lugulugumbari; int. lugulugumbaja turn or spin something round: badądaŋaŋi badąŋa lugu lugu lubanga the child wants to play spinning something round.

luŋul n. 1. stone; 2. mountain.

M

maŋari n. bread.
mangaŋi (maŋani) adv. face to face.
mala- (Wal) v. sing (?)..
mali-  v. ipf. maliba chase.
maman n. food, tucker.

-man pers. suffix 3.7.

mandįdiŋi- v. imp. ipf. mandįdiŋiba: jaraman mandįdiŋiba let the horse go (?).

maniŋa v. gudų-

mani(n) n. hand(s): wirbajį mani naña fell from (my) hand.

-mba- caus. suffix 5.6.
-mbid'yi- caus. refl. suffix 5.7.
migu (migi) adv. 1. not; 2. without: migu (migi) njau bad'ya I do not gamble, migu wabu'da without water.

mungid'yi n. country: nānibari nānin mungid'yi this is my country.

muṇḍi n. all. muṇḍiri corroboree.

muriga n. car (from English 'motorcar').
murari n. erg. murari'nī bunyip, the Rainbow Serpent, 'the original kangaroo who made the rivers, etc.' (according to our informant).

muṟu n. muṟu guwaṟa deaf.

muwaḍa n. coolamon (receptacle).

N

-na- v. der. suffix 5.8.
nābīni v. biṇi, bajuṇu.

nad'yi- v. ipf. nad'ība; pf. nad'ībatis-ba see, look: njau nad'ība (?) walani I saw (him) yesterday, migu niņa nad'ība walani I did not see you yesterday (the use of the imperfective form may be justified in the negative sentence), nind'yi jaramani nad'ība can you see the horse?, nanama nad'ība njau gaḍiba I can see a white man there (literally 'that one', that is no distinction of person and place), gand'ībulwani nad'ībana the policeman can see me, nanama nad'ībajī njau nānīni I have seen that man, nad'ībari niņa I saw you, nad'ībari njau nila I saw a girl.

nad'īmba- v. caus. imp. ipf. nad'īmba show.
nānī, nānin dem. pron. 4.5.
najī adv. here: nāmba d'ūṅguba naji we are sitting here.

najiba adv. here: nūṅgala d'ūṅgubari (sic) nājiba we two are sitting here, najiba d'ūlād'ība coming here (= gulana, q.v.).

najibari adv. from here (correct?).

najinda adv. ?: nāgi mānin najinda (= ?) my hand, najinda jāmba ṯuṅṣuṅ make (me ?) a boomerang.

nanaba adv. there.

nanama pers. pron. 4.3.
nanambunaña adv. from there.
nāni dem. pron. 4.5.
nanibari dem. pron. 4.5.
nāña postp. 3.11; 8.

nānīŋga postp. toward: nāni nānīŋga toward me.

-nari- v, der, suffix 5.9.
nid'yi- v. ipf. nid'ība kick: jāramani nid'ība niņa the horse is kicking you.

niņa pers. pron. 4.3.
nimbala pers. pron. 4.3.
nimbugamba pers. pron. 4.3.
nind'yi pers. pron. 4.3.
niņa pers. pron. 4.3.
nūṅgala pers. pron. 4.3

nūri v. duri.

nuru v. ūru.

nūrī gana n. the Mornington Island and Burketown language.

nūṅgan n. hair: guḍaḍi nūṅgan bald.

nūru (nuru) n. poss. nuruganı ashes.

nūrubari attr. n. having ashes: nanama nūrubari that is ashes (ashtray?).

R

-ra- v. der. suffix 5.10.

-ri all. suffix 3.10.

-ri- v. der. suffix 5.11.
ragija (Wal) n. eye(s) (= Garwa jamin).

W
wabuda (wabura) n. water: wabuda walgura big water, lake.
wabuli adv. a long time ago.
wadyari n. abl. wadyarimbu fishing: wadyarimbu naña widyiba coming back from fishing.

wadyari- v. imp. wadyariba(gi); ipf. wadyariba; int. wadyaringa catch, fish: wadyaringa d'iladyi- go to fish or fishing.

wadyi- v. ipf. wadyiba go or come back: wadyiba naju nañin guri I will go back from this house, bariwa naju widyiba I am leaving now, naju widyiba bajunu I am going west.

wini- v. imp. wini lift up (?). —Compare jamba.

wiñidi- v. imp. wiñidýiba(gi); ipf. wiñidýiba leave: wiñidýibagi naniñi leave the man alone, wiñidýiba 1. leave it alone; 2. don't want it.

wijari- v. imp. wijaridýibagi; ipf. wijaridýiba put: wunina ñaligan wijaridýiba put the woomera to or on the spear, naju pencil wijaridýiba ñajiba I put the pencil here.

windyagañini (-garidyi); interr. adv. belonging to where?: windyagañini ñaniñi where does the man belong to?

windýawa interr. adv. where?: windýawa nindýi d'iladýiba where are you going?

wirba- v. pf. wirbaji fall: table wuní wirbaji fell from the table.

wiriwiñi n. rainbow (non-mythological).

wirgu adv. back home.

wirgu- v. imp. wirgu; ipf. (?) wirguja, cf. 6.6; pf. wirguji; int. wirgunga run away: gudaji wirgu(ja) don't run away, d'añaju wirgu wants to run, nanama, naniñi wirgunga he, the man had better run.

wirgumba- v. caus. chase.

wudumba- v. imp. wudumbagi; ipf. wudumba; pf. wudumbaji get, fetch, catch.
wudumbidyi- v. caus. refl. imp. ipf.
wudumbidyi get, fetch (for oneself):
wudumbidyi walidin, maman, tea leaf, bread, etc. 'go to get meat, tucker', etc.

wulani adv. yesterday wulani nadiyibaji saw (him) yesterday.
wunin n. loc. wunina spear.
wuni postp. 3.11; 8 from.
wurgurba- v. shave.
PUNTHAMARA
With comparative notes on Kalali

1.1. The following notes on Punthamara were gathered chiefly on the Woorabinda settlement in Queensland. The notes on Kalali derive partly from one Paddy Ardoch, staying on the Cherbourg settlement (near Murgon, Queensland), partly also (although with a less satisfactory result) from one Peter Monday, found at Woorabinda, Duaringa and other places in Queensland, as well as from other stray informants.

1.2. Punthamara and Kalali appear to be vaguely related languages, to be located in south-western Queensland (cf. the List of Informants; section 2). The present description is almost entirely limited to Punthamara, from which the bulk of the material derives. The notes on Kalali are given either in dealing with related forms in Punthamara or—more completely—in the Punthamara and Kalali vocabulary affixed to the present grammatical analysis.

List of informants
2. Reference is made to the principal Punthamara and Kalali speakers interviewed, by means of the following abbreviations:

Pun FG: Mrs Florence (‘Granny’) Grey, at or about Kingaroy, Queensland, or at Duaringa, Queensland.

JT: Mr Jack Thompson, at Woorabinda, Queensland, or sometimes at Duaringa or Brisbane.

Pun PP: Mr Pontius Pilate, from the Wilson river (an affluent of the Cooper river, in western Queensland), staying variously at Toowoomba and other places in Queensland.

Kal PA: Mr Paddy Ardoch, born at the Ardoch station on the Bulloo river (between Quilpie and Thargominda, in western Queensland), at the time staying on the Home Farm at the Cherbourg settlement (where he died about the year 1972).

Kal PM: Mr Peter Monday, staying at Duaringa or about the Woorabinda settlement in Queensland.

Phonology
3.1. The phonetic system of both languages (Punthamara and Kalali) is similar on most points. The vowel system comprises the three fundamental vowels $a$, $i$ and $u$, which are indeterminate as
to length. Vowels may, however, become lengthened through contraction: \( \eta \text{ak-\textit{\text{andru}}} \) for \( \eta \text{ak-\textit{\text{a andru}}} \), ergative of \( \eta \text{ak-a} \) ‘water’.

3.2. Regarding the consonant system one should notice a non-distinction of voiced and voiceless plosives (or in general the absence of an opposition of voiced and voiceless phonemes), when they occur initially or are preceded by a consonant. It appears to the recorder of this material that a voiceless member of the indeterminate plosive pairs \( k/g, p/b, t/d \) prevails (in contrast to what is usually found in the coastal languages of Queensland); hence we write \( k, p, t \) in all positions (in the eastern or coastal parts of Queensland, e.g. in Wakka-Wakka and Gunggari, the tribe and language name ‘Kalali’ rather sounds like ‘Galali’ and has been represented accordingly (galali) in the author’s phonetic notes on those languages).

3.3. The consonant phonemes in both languages are the following ones:

- \( k \) a palatal-velar plosive (cf. above)
- \( p \) a bilabial plosive (cf. above)
- \( t \) a dental plosive (cf. above); for variants see further on.
- \( t' \) a palatalised dental plosive (as in English ‘tune’)
- \( t \) a retroflex plosive
- \( d \) an alveolar somewhat voiced plosive, occurring only after \( n \) (cf. below)
- \( n \) a palatal-velar nasal
- \( m \) a bilabial nasal
- \( n \) a dental nasal; variants will be mentioned below.
- \( \eta \) a palatal nasal (as in English ‘new’)
- \( \eta \) a retroflex nasal
- \( l \) a lateral continuant (as in French)
- \( l' \) a palatal \( l \) (as in English ‘lute’)
- \( l \) a retroflex \( l \) or (more seldom) \( r \) sound (cf. Hindi)
- \( r \) a trilled vibrant (as in Italian)
- \( j \) a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’)
- \( w \) a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’).

3.4. As regards the nature of the dental plosive, one should observe that in the pronunciation of the persons interviewed no clear distinction is noticeable between a purely dental (as in French) and alveolar articulation (as in English), both being heard even in the same word (it is possible that the dental value is original as one may always suspect that the alveolar variety may be due to the influence of English, all informants being bilingual). It should be noticed that the English ‘\( t \)’ (as in loanwords) is identified with the aboriginal \( t: \eta \text{i\text{aa\text{ta}}} \) (often actualised as \( \eta \text{ge\text{ta}} \) ‘bullock, cattle’ (from English ‘cattle’). English ‘\( r \)’ may in the same way be rendered by \( r \) in the aboriginal language: \( m\eta\text{\text{\text{a}}} \) ‘to marry’ (Pun JT). (The special ‘\( r \)’, however, arising in Queensland English in such words as ‘motorcar’, ‘morakah’, is, however, identified with the aboriginal \( r: \eta \text{\text{u\text{ta}}} \text{\text{r\text{a}}} \text{\text{a}} \) ‘car’).
For the groups *nd* and *nt*, however, see below. On the other hand, one should notice that before *i* the dental articulation changes automatically into a palatal articulation, suggesting the initial sound in English 'tune' etc. (The sequence *-nti-*, or for clarity, *-ntY-* may be actualised as *-ndYi-*: nan*ndYiga*—'want' may sound like nan*ndYiga*.) The retroflex sounds of *ŋ* and *r* (*l*) are often emphasised and turned into *-rm-* (*ŋn*) and *-rl-* (*rl*-*), respectively, by one of our informants (Pun FG): *kana* for *kaŋa* 'Aboriginal man', *-gara* for *-gaŋa* (verbal suffix) this seems to have happened in other areas as well, where the English influence has modified the Aboriginal sound values (cf. 'Kurna' as a tribe name in anthropological works). There are further several instances of Pun FG having *r* where others have *r*, e.g. *kulpaŋa*, as against *kulpara* 'emu' (Pun JT and others).

3.5. Although most words begin with a consonant, a few instances have been found of words beginning with a vowel (or with the aspirate *h*, which—as in the English of Queensland—is a non-distinctive variant of a zero consonant phoneme). In consequence of this any syllable may begin with a vowel (as in *wiandru*, the ergative form of *wi* 'fire'), although the prevailing syllabic structure seems to demand (as probably in most Australian languages) syllables beginning with a consonant. Words originally beginning with *i*- (e.g. *ini* 'you') also appear with an initial *j*- (hence *jini*); as for *u*-, forms with *wu*- only have been recorded. These initial *j*– and *w*– may actually be secondary in most forms, as is also the initial *ŋ*– in Kalali *ŋina* (for *ina* 'you'), to which there are parallels in the eastern Queensland languages (Wakka-Wakka *ŋin* 'you').

3.6. Punthamara has no diphthongs proper, that is original diphthongs distinguishable from groups of independent vowels. Diphthongs arise, however, in various kinds of context and may be further contracted to single non-fundamental vowels, as in: *mināŋ-ni ŋantYakala* for *mināŋa (j)ini ŋantY akala* 'what do you want?' (Pun JT), *turi ŋani entara* for *turi ŋani jantara* 'I am going home' (Pun JT); (Kalali) *palesi* for *jaliani* 'ours' (Kal PA).

3.7. The consonant phonemes mentioned above (3.3) may begin a word, except (as a rule) the retroflex *t* and *ŋ*, which are only found inter-vocally (initial *t* has been noted in one word in Kalali). The laterals *l*, *lY*, *l* and vibrants *r*, *r* are found intervocally or in syllable-final positions only, while the nasals (except *ŋ*) are found in all positions.

3.8. A somewhat unusual compound phoneme in Australian languages—although typical of Punthamara (but not of Kalali)—is *dr* (where the *d* is dental), which is found in the initial position, together with the combinations *-ndr-* and *-ldr-*; found in the intervocalic position only. (As mentioned, these phonemes are foreign to Kalali; our informant Kal PA, for instance—who pretends to know Punthamara—pronounces *puldru* 'eye' as *puru*—also compare Punthamara *jandra* and Kalali *janda* 'stone, money').

3.9. The intervocalic groups *-nd-* and *-nt-* (the latter absent in Kalali), of which the former (*-nd-*; rather more voiced throughout) has an alveolar character, while the latter (*-nt-*; more definitely voiceless and sometimes aspirated) has a dental or interdental articulation, are distinctive. In this way the verbal stems *janda*- 'speak' and *janta*- 'go' are distinguished. Whether an analogous lack of distinction exists between *-li-* and *-lYi-* is not quite clear: compare *wali-* and *walYi-* 'run' (of water).
3.10. Other compound consonant phonemes or consonant groups are to be considered as anomalous, e.g. *grid'ara ‘running’, *jakpu'ra ‘snake’ (dialectal? both forms recorded from Pun FG).

**Combinatory processes**

4.1. Within the vowel system it is important to observe certain cases of assimilation of unstressed vowels (e.g. non-initial vowels, which occur in morphological forms of more than two syllables). No precise rules for this process of assimilation have been established and some instances will suffice. From the nominal stem *ganit'ya ‘father’ the following three comitative forms (e.g. ‘with (my etc.) father’) have been recorded (all from Pun JT): *ganit'ulu*ga *ganit'ulu*ga and possibly *ganit'ulu*ga (hence assimilation of a either to the preceding i or to the following u), respectively. There are even cases in which assimilation takes place within a sequence of closely connected words, as in *gant'yu gura for gant'ya gura ‘my camp’, pandiri *jina (Pun JT) for pandira (*jina ‘will hit you’. It is possible that the forms with the article (-ia-) of nominal stems have arisen in this way: *kanjia ‘(the) man’ (*kana), from *kani-ia, *kana-ia, paritulu ‘(the) Rainbow Serpent’ (ergative of parita), from *paritu-ulul, *parita-ulul.

4.2. Within the consonant system it is worth while to notice that although no functional distinction is made between voiceless and voiced consonant phonemes in the languages described here (cf. above), certain tendencies prevail, affecting the sonority of plosive sounds. In general the voiced (or semi-voiced) articulation pertains to the intervocalic position: *nat'galala rather than *nat'akala (‘looking’), etc. Instances have even been recorded of fricative pronunciation (e.g. as in Spanish), as in *jantagalala ‘going’. The voiced (or semi-voiced) pronunciation also often occurs after a nasal or liquid (-l, etc.): *nad'aga for *nant'aka (‘to want’), jalga- for jalka- (‘throw’), kaba*ula (ka*ura) for kapu*ta ‘hat’ . The plosive may ultimately disappear as in kula*la (= kulagala), for kulakala ‘sitting, living’. This tendency may serve as a criterion in the analysis of the word structure, since it may settle the limit between words. In such forms as, for instance, nanabuk*a for nanapuk*a (‘those’), the presence of a medial -b- shows that it cannot be a question of two separate words, which would have required *nana pauk*a. Similarly *panibani (Pun FG) indicates pani*pani (‘small’; one word unit). Sometimes both forms exist beside each other: pitapita ‘lightning’ and pitapita ‘light, glittering’ (both from Pun JT and probably variants of the same basic reduplicated form).

4.3. As in the coastal Kattang and Thangatti, intervocalic k and p may occur as long (k- and p- or -kk- and -pp-, respectively), in which case we do not find the voiced or fricative realisation. As a matter of fact, these lengthened forms may have arisen from earlier (or dialectal) consonant groups; compare *jap-ura ‘carpetsnake’ (Pun JT) and *jakura ‘snake’ (FG), wip-*ara ‘arm’, ‘creek’, and wijpara (Pun FG), and further also *ip-*ari- ‘set (of the sun)’ and Kalali *irpa-, idem (Kal PA). The structure of the consonant system in Punthamara in respect of the plosives (as well as in certain other respects) is consequently that of the Dravidian languages (e.g. Tamil).

4.4. Certain alternations of consonant phonemes have been noticed: *n ~ *η (nat-*a- and *nat-*a- ‘see’, with parallels in the Gunggari languages), *l ~ *r (alpa and arpa, walpa and warpa ‘high,
up', walka and waŋka 'woman'), ŋ ~ m (ŋutŋa- and mutŋa- 'give', ŋuk-u 'stream' and muk-u 'gully', ŋura and mura 'camp').

4.5. As all informants quoted are bilingual, certain features peculiar to the phonology of Queensland English are noticeable, particularly in the pronunciation of Kal PA, who even has 'ultracorrection' of the type wak-ar for wak-a ('tree'; cf. English 'idear' for 'idea', etc.). This informant (as well as others) further makes abundant use of the vowel i for a, especially in final position: ikij for ita 'meat', ŋaŋk'ini for ŋank'ani 'my' (cf. below), ŋutji for ŋutja 'give' (Pun FG). On the other hand, a final -i is often broadened to an open a-sound as in kunde, gunde for kundi ('house'; Kal PA), and further in jerpa for (j)irpa- 'go down' (of the sun; Kal PA); to this parallels are found in the languages of eastern Queensland (Kabi-Kabi, etc.). The substitution of r for an intervocalic -n- (especially in unstressed positions), which is common in large areas of Queensland, is also noticed, as in -kari (Kal PA) for the ablative suffix -kani (PA), nira- for nina- 'sit' (Kal PA). A peculiar feature in the pronunciation (Kal PA) is the use of a palatalised k (k-) for ʈ, as in: k'ina- for tina- (= t'ina-, cf. 3.4.) 'stand', (also compare some forms quoted above). Other alternations, such as of -r-, -r-, -l- (ŋurka-, ŋurka-, ŋulka 'hear', maŋa, mala 'hand'), found according to the information of different persons (sometimes even of the same person) are difficult to account for. A single instance of a 'preocclusive' l has been heard from Kal PA, in ŋadli for ŋali ('we two').

Morphology

5. The morphological inventory of the languages analysed here comprise: nominal stems (including nouns, adjectives and numerals), verbal stems, pronominal stems, classifiers (or 'articles'), adverbial (or 'adnominal') forms. Of connectives proper nothing has been recorded. Of these, the nominal, verbal and pronominal stems, as well as the classifiers, may appear inflected (also by means of suffixes); the adverbial and adnominal forms may appear uninflected (although possibly containing more or less disguised flectional elements). (The connectives are typically uninflected elements.)

Nouns

Nominal stems

6.1. The nominal stems (which, as mentioned, also comprise adjectival stems and numerals) may be considered undetermined as regards number, individuality and sometimes category (or gender); notice that such a form as waŋwa may mean 'any boy(s), girl(s), child or children'. To express a special number, individuality or kind (if not apparent from the basic meaning of the stem, as in the case of kaŋa 'Aboriginal man', walka 'Aboriginal woman'), a classifier, or an 'article', must be affixed to the nominal stem, for which see further in dealing with Articles (8.1-8). The form kaŋa consequently often means 'men' or 'the tribe', maŋa may mean 'birds' and maŋa 'hands' or 'fingers'.
Nominal derivation

6.2. Derived nominal stems may be formed by one of the following suffixes: -ani (marking possession), -kan (expressing feminine gender—possibly borrowed), -man (probably expressing person), -mundu (expressing absence of), -patu (expressing presence of) and -t'a (expressing relationship).

6.3. The possessive suffix -ani. This suffix appears to indicate a possessive relation, marking something that is owned. The Punthamara kundiani may hence be rendered by 'somebody's house' (kundi), nanduani by 'somebody's horse' (nandu) and jandrani (from jandra 'stone' or 'money') by 'somebody's money'. Just as kundi may mean both 'house' and 'it is a house' and jandra 'stone, money' and 'it is a stone or money', so kundiani and jandrani may also mean respectively 'somebody has a house or money' (e.g. serving either as subject or predicate) and further, in a more general way, 'there is a house', 'there is money'. The possessive form is always construed with the ergative form of the word expressing the owner: kundiani ŋatu 'I own a house', jandrani jundru 'have you got money?'. Our informant Pun JT consequently explains kundiani jundru as equivalent to ŋka kundi, which means either 'your house' or 'you have a house', and taldraani jundru as equivalent to taldria jundru (probably incorrect for ŋka) 'your kangaroo' or 'you have a kangaroo'. The more general meaning of -ani is seen in: naŋalai pitaani pala 'it is raining (here) now', ŋak-ani kutira 'the water was running (out)' (probably indicating 'the water that was there sank'), nanipuk-a kaŋaani 'those men have come' (hence indicating a presence of men). A plural of the -ani form has been recorded in wal'palaanipuk-a 'there were white people also' (Pun JT). The same suffix -ani occurs in the possessive pronoun ŋant'ani (= ŋant'a 'my').

6.4. In Kalali this suffix has been found in various forms: -kani, -kini, -kuni (all from Kal PA): wararukani 'another's', ɡat'u ɡanikuni 'my father' (= Punthamara ɡant'a ɡanit'a), ɡant'akini 'my, mine' (= Punthamara ɡant'ani).

6.5. The feminine suffix -kan. This suffix occurs in: watikan 'white woman' and marikan 'gun'. The suffix may be borrowed, as it is common in several of the eastern Queensland languages and the quoted forms occur in the Gunggari and Wakka languages (cf. Wakka-Wakka margan 'thunder' or 'gun', the supposed origin of the place name 'Murgon').

6.6. The personal suffix -man. The exact function of -man is not to be ascertained: compare panti and pantiman 'brother-in-law' (the former no doubt used in the vocative sense). The word jaraman 'horse' (used both in Punthamara and Kalali) is almost universal in the Queensland languages. The function of the suffix -man may be compared to that of -t'a (for which see in 6.9.).

6.7. The caritive suffix -mundu. 'Absence of a thing or quality' is expressed by -mundu: ɡankamundu 'beardless' (from ɡanka 'beard'), walkamundia (-ia being the article; cf. 8.3.) 'without a woman', hence 'unmarried'. In the predicative sense these forms may be rendered as follows: wimundu '(there is) no fire' (Pun FG), ɡak-amundu '(there is) no water' (Pun JT). For this suffix, compare further in section 12.
6.8. **The attributive suffix -patu.** By this suffix ‘presence of a thing or quality’ is expressed: ṭankapatu ‘bearded’ (cf. above 6.7.), malkapatunani ‘the striped one’ (i.e. the ‘rainbow’; from malka ‘stripe’ or ‘colour’, -nani being a form of the article). In the predicative sense we get: wipatu ‘there is fire’ (cf. above 6.7.).

6.9. **The relational suffix -tYa.** This suffix is added to kinship terms, to indicate a certain form or degree of kinship in relation to any person (hence marking ‘someone’s father’, etc., as against plain ‘father’, which may be used as a vocative form). The following forms being recorded: ṭamatya (vocative ṭama) ‘mother’, ṭanitya (vocative ṭani) ‘father’, kak-utya ‘(someone’s) brother’, kuk-atya ‘(someone’s) nephew’, tinalitya ‘(someone’s) uncle’, napticya ‘(someone’s) cousin’. The relational form is used with a possessive pronoun, as in: ṭnikani nuptya ‘your wife’ (Pun FG).

**Nominal inflection**

7.1. The declension system of nominal words comprises the following seven case forms: the nominative, the ergative, the accusative, the possessive, the locative, the comitative and the ablative (for Kalali also an allative). The nominative is the stem form of the word, which may be used either as subject (kan-a ‘any Aboriginal man or men’) or as predicate (kan-a ‘it is an Aboriginal man’ or ‘they are Aborigines’); it is also used as vocative. The ergative, ending in -(a)ndru, either expresses the idea of ‘from’ or ‘by (means of)’ or else marks the subject of a transitive verb (that is one having a direct or indirect object; for exceptions, cf. below 7.4.). The accusative, which ends in -na, is used to express a personal direct or indirect (as with certain verbs, such as ‘to give’ or ‘to tell’) object. The possessive form, ending in -(a)ŋa, either expresses ownership or aim or intention (further direction toward, etc., that is, like the allative form in Kalali and in some eastern Australian languages). The locative, in -laŋa, expresses locality or neighbourhood or proximity (of personal nouns). The comitative, in -(a)luŋa, expresses companionship or, in general, the idea of ‘with’ or ‘together with’, being used with personal nouns only. Finally, the ablative, ending in -ŋu, expresses the idea of ‘from’.

7.2. **Paradigms.** As no complete paradigm of any single nominal stem can be furnished, some typical case forms of the following nouns are given: kaŋa ‘Aboriginal man’, walka ‘Aboriginal woman’, kundi ‘house’, gura ‘camp’, ŋak-a ‘water’, wi ‘fire’. It should be noticed that plain case forms are often difficult to tell apart from such as are provided with inflected forms of the article (cf. 8.5.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>kaŋa, walka, kundi, gura, ŋak-a, wi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>kaŋa, walka, kundi, gura, ŋak-a, wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>kaŋ-andru, ŋak-andru, wi-andru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>walkana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>guraŋa, ŋak-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>(no example found of a plain ablative; cf. articles.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td>kaŋaluŋa, guraluŋa (Pun FG); gura treated as personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>kaŋalaŋa, kundilaŋa, ŋak-alaŋa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3. In Kalali the corresponding suffixes are (no possessive being recorded): ergative -ŋu, accusative -ri (Kal PA; unless for *-na, cf. 4.5.), ablative -kani, locative -na and allative -ku (cf. 7.1.), as in the following paradigms (ŋap-a ‘water’, muna ‘snake’, kalali ‘Kalali’, kundi ‘house’, wati ‘bush’):

nom. ŋap-a  
erg. munaŋu  
acc. kalaliri (cf. below)  
poss. munakani  
abl. munakani, watikani  
loc. kundiŋa  
all. nap-aku (‘for water’ or ‘beer’).

7.4. The nominative seems to be used instead of the ergative when the sense of the verbal form is indeterminate (hence with imperfective forms; cf. 11.4.): paṭila dratyarana ‘a snake may bite me’ (Pun JT); for other instances, see under Personal Pronouns (9.4.). For the possessive suffix -ŋa, in the sense of ‘for’ (that is expressing aim or purpose), the common Australian -ku is found alternatively: ŋuraku for ŋuraŋa ‘(go) home’ (Pun JT), it is also used in the locative sense: kundiku ‘at home’ (Pun FG), mak-uraku ‘in the bush’ (Pun FG). The original sense of the ergative suffix seems to be ‘from’; compare the same termination -(a)ndru in ŋalaṇdu ‘whence’: ŋalaṇdu ŋuk-unani mipamani ‘from whence has the creek been formed?’ (Pun JT), which easily leads on to ‘by what or whom has the creek be formed?’ As may be gathered from some of the instances recorded of local case forms, one may suspect that the idea of direction is not indicated originally by any of these forms; compare: kaŋalapa ‘(got something) off a man’ or else ‘(brought something) to a man’ (locative: hence ‘near him’) and similarly Paddy-laŋa ‘(go) to Paddy’ (as if ‘near him’).

Articles

8.1. By analogy with the practise in the Oceanic languages of Malayo-Polynesian stock, one may refer to certain classifying nominal (or pronominal) elements as ‘articles’ (cf. Fijian na, Samoan le, Maori te, Hawaiian ka, ke, na). In the Australian languages studied here the articles determine a basically indeterminate noun or nominal stem (cf. 6.1.) as to number, kind, individuality, etc. To be provided with a determining article, the determined word must be known or visualised by the speaker (rather than by the listener); the Australian article hence does not indicate ‘the particular one or ones’ (as in English), but ‘a or the particular one or ones’. In other words, if you have seen a kangaroo (in Punthamara taldra), you will use the personal article -ia (hence taldria), although you would say ‘a kangaroo’ or ‘a certain kangaroo’ in English (indicating that the animal is unknown to the person to whom you speak).

8.2. There are two classes of words expressed by the article: masculine and feminine-impersonal, which either, then, imply a personal noun. This does not necessarily coincide with the idea of person in English; as is seen above a ‘kangaroo’ may be considered as masculine and hence personal (taldria); a ‘woman’ is feminine, although the form of the article is the same as for
an impersonal noun (*walkanani*). The articles can be inflected as to case and number. The basic form of the masculine article is in *-i* or *-u* and that of the feminine-impersonal article in *-(n)a*; these elements are affixed to the nominal stem, as suffixes, and are rather to be considered as forming a phonetic unit with the concrete nominal stem. The forms of the articles are evidently related to those of the personal and demonstrative pronouns. The articles are never used in vocative forms (*gama* ‘mother’), neither of personal names or nouns used as such (‘father’, ‘mother’, used without a possessive pronoun).

8.3. **The forms of the article.** As mentioned (8.2), there are two sets of articles, referring to the two classes of nouns: the masculine and the feminine-impersonal. Both sets may be declined according to the same declension categories as plain nominal words (nominative, ergative, accusative, possessive, ablative, comitative and locative). Besides there are certain plural forms (in *-puk-a*) of the article. The case forms are the following ones:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine:</th>
<th>Feminine-impersonal:</th>
<th>Plural:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td><em>-ia</em></td>
<td>nom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erg.</td>
<td><em>-ulu</em></td>
<td>acc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td><em>-ina</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss.</td>
<td><em>-ina</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td><em>-a</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com.</td>
<td><em>-ula</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td><em>-ula</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4. Examples: (nominative) *kaŋaia* or more commonly *kaŋia* ‘one (a) or the particular Aboriginal man’ (*kaŋa*; predicatively ‘it is a man’), *walkanani* ‘a or the Aboriginal woman’ (*walka*), *kundinani* ‘a or the house’ (*kundi*), *tak-anani* ‘a or the ground’ (*tak-a*); (ergative) *kaŋaululu* ‘a or the man’, *walkaandru* ‘a or the woman’, *najinandru* ‘a or the girl’ (*naji*), *jaramanulu* ‘a or the horse (jaraman; cf. *jaramanandru* ‘any horse or horses’), *ŋak-andru* ‘with the water’ (*ŋaka*), *jandraandru* ‘with (my) money’ (*jandra*), *mak-uraululu* or *mak-urululu* ‘with a (particular) or the stick’ (*mak-ura*, while *mak-urandru* means ‘with any stick’; Pun JT); (accusative) *kaŋina* ‘a or the man’, *walkaana* ‘a or the woman’ (cf. *walkana* ‘any woman or women’), *najinana* ‘a or the girl’ (*naji*), *jaramanina* or *jaramaninana* ‘a or the horse’ (*jaraman*); (possessive) *ŋanitaŋua* ‘father’s (*ŋanita*), walkaŋa ‘a or the woman’s’, *paŋitaŋu* ‘the Rainbow Serpent’s’ (*paŋita*), *jaramanuŋa* ‘a or the horse’s’ (*jaraman*), *kupiŋu* ‘the female doctor’s’ (*kupi*), *kațiŋu* ‘(I want) a grog’ (*kați*; Pun FG); (comitative) *ŋanitulugu* ‘with father’ (*ŋanit*), *paŋitulugu* ‘with (in some context off) the Rainbow Serpent’; (ablative) *paŋituŋu* ‘(got) from the Rainbow Serpent’; regarding locative forms, see further below (8.6.). Of plural forms, the nominative *taldrananipuk-a* ‘certain kangaroos’ or ‘the kangaroos’ and the accusatives *kananapuk-a* ‘certain people or the people’ (*kaŋa* and *taldrananapuk-a* ‘certain or the kangaroos’ (*taldra*) have been recorded. While the feminine article on most points coincides with the impersonal article, it should be noticed that impersonal nouns do not distinguish between a nominative and an accusative form (-*nani* and -*nana* being hence used indiscriminately); compare *puk-uranani* (nominative) *wakaŋa* ‘dreamed a dream’ and *puk-uranana* (accusative) *wakaŋara* ‘dreaming a dream’ (both from Pun JT), *tak-anani* (nominative) ‘that place’, *naŋai tak-anana*
'this earth', talinani (nominative) 'it is good'; the distinction may occasionally be made as: talinani (nominative) 'good girl' and talinana (accusative) ŋak-a 'good water'.

8.5. Owing to the similarity of certain forms with and without the article, some confusion (on part of the informant as well as of the recorder) has probably taken place. Especially forms of the article with and without the initial vocalic element -a- (-andru and -ndru, -aŋa and -ŋa) seem to have been used indiscriminately: puldrandru 'with your eyes' (puldru; it is unlikely that 'your particular eyes' is intended), ŋak-aandru 'with water' (not 'with any particular water'; incidentally, no instances of the use of -ndru or -ŋa with stems ending in -i or -u of the type *windru, *puldrundru have been recorded).

8.6. In the locative, forms with the article have hardly been found. The usual construction is: ŋuralaŋa 'at the camp' (ŋura), kundilaŋa 'in the house' (kundi), ŋak-alaga 'in the water' (ŋak-a), kupilaŋa 'from the female doctor' (kupi); cf. English 'at home, at sea', etc. Similarly in the comitative kupilula 'with (also 'from or 'off') the female doctor' (kupi).

8.7. The same nominal stem may be used as of different categories, which may be indicated by the use of different articles. As mentioned (see 6.1.), wařiwa 'child' may mean either 'a or the boy' (wařiwia) or 'a or the girl' (wařiwanani) and in the same way kupia (nominative), kupiulu (ergative) mean 'a or the male doctor' and kupiunani 'a or the female doctor'. The stem mura ('anything sacred') means 'God' with the masculine article (muria) but 'the law or rule' with the feminine impersonal article (muranana, accusative, as in 'breaking the law'). As no fundamental differentiation is made in the Australian languages between nouns and adjectives, the articles are often used with words which would be adjectives in English, requiring a different construction: talia 'a or the good (man)', talinani 'a or the good (girl)' (from tali 'good'), kupanana jandra 'a or the white stone, quartz', kuřita ŋani 'I am sick' (kuřita; Pun JT); sometimes both the 'noun' and the 'adjective' (or both nominal stems) are provided with an article: mip-anani kundinani 'a bad (nip-a)house', muria ŋanitia 'God the Father' (Pun JT). As in some Australian languages, such words as 'home' or 'tribe' ('language') may be considered as personal and hence masculine in Kalali (the language name kalali is personal); an instance of this is found in Punthamara pūra 'camp, home', which may take the masculine article (pūra; whether the analogous construction of kundi 'house', that is kundia 'a or the house', instead of the normal kundinani, may be considered as correct is questionable). On the other hand, the word for 'name' (jarija), which is personal in many Australian languages, is used in either way in Punthamara: wařana or mina jarija (ini) 'who or what (is) your name?' (literally 'who or what (are) you, the name?; Pun JT).

8.8. No articles are recorded with certainty for Kalali. It is barely possible that such forms as (Kal) tankia 'dead', tunuja (= tunuia?), tunia 'sun' contain a form of an article (corresponding to the Punthamara -ia; see 8.3).
Pronouns

9.1. The pronouns are either (1) personal (of which the possessive forms serve as possessive pronouns), (2) demonstrative or (3) interrogative (which latter are also used as indefinite pronouns). The demonstrative pronouns appear to be derived from third person forms of the personal pronouns and both are often similar in form to those of the article (see 8.2-3), a circumstance which may occasionally cause some confusion.

Personal pronouns

9.2. As indicated by the name, personal pronouns refer to persons (at any rate in the first and second persons). In the third person there are masculine and feminine pronominal forms (which also evidently refer to persons), while others seem to have an impersonal character. As in some other Australian languages, the third person personal pronouns may be used in the sense of a noun: nani 'she' or 'female' ('a girl'; Pun FG), jantara ḋani ḡaḍala 'I am going to a woman' (Pun JT). The forms of the personal pronouns correspond to the case forms in the nominal declension (ablative and comitative forms not being recorded) and are consequently: nominative, ergative, accusative, possessive and locative. In the first and second person pronouns a distinction is made between singular, dual and plural forms; in the third person, masculine and feminine forms are distinguished in the singular only. As in many Australian languages the ergative forms are occasionally identical with the corresponding nominative forms.

9.3. Inflection. The personal pronouns are inflected according to the following paradigms (Kalali forms are quoted in parentheses).

First person singular:

- nom. ḡani (Kal. ḡaja)
- erg. ḡatu (Kal. ḡatu')
- acc. ḡana (Kal. ḡana, ḡaṭ'ana)
- poss. ḡant'ya, ḡant'yaṇi (Kal. ḡant'yaṇi; cf. 4.5.)
- loc. ḡanala

First person dual:

- nom. ḡala (Kal. ḡali)
- erg. ḡala (Kal. ḡalindu)
- acc. ḡalānu (correct? Pun JT)
- poss. ḡalaṇjani (Kal. ḡaliani)
- loc. ḡalalaṇa, nalaṇaḷa

First person plural:

- nom. ḡandra (Kal. ḡanandu)
- erg. (Kal. ḡanandu)
- acc. ḡandrana, ḡandra
- poss. ḡandraṇjani
- loc. ḡandraḷa, ḡandraḷana, ḡandraṇaḷa
Second person singular:

nom.  ini, juntu (Kal. ini, jundu)
erg.  jundru, juntu (Kal. jundu)
acc.  ina (Kal. ina, ñina)
poss.  ñka, ñkani (Kal. ñkanî)
loc.  ñala

Second person dual:

nom.  jula (pula; cf. below)
acc.  pulana
poss.  juñkani
loc.  juñala

Second person plural:

nom.  jura (Kal. wura)
erg.  (Kal. wurandu)
poss.  jurañani
loc.  jurañala

Third person singular:

masculine:

nom.  nia (Kal. niñki)
erg.  nulu
acc.  nina (Kal. niñkina)
poss.  nuñka, nuñkani (Kal. niñkianî)
loc.  nuñala

feminine:

nani (Kal. nününa)
nandru
nana
nañka (?)
nañala

Third person dual:

nom.  pula, pulu (Kal. pulandu, pularu)
erg.  pulu
acc.  pulana (Kal. pulunda, correct? Kal Pa)
poss.  pulañga, pulañani (pulu-; cf. 4.1.)
loc.  pulañara (Pun JT)

Third person plural:

nom.  tana, nanipuk-a (Kal. tana)
erg.  tanaçu (Kal. tanandu)
acc.  nanapuk-a (Kal. tanaña)
poss.  tanañani, tanaçu (?), nañkapuk-a, nañkanai (Pun JT)
loc.  nañalapuk-a
By addition of a suffixed element -i the above forms appear to acquire a more demonstrative character: *gali* 'we two here'; especially in the third person such forms are frequently found, which will be analysed in dealing with the demonstrative pronouns (see 9.5-6).

9.4. The individual forms of the personal pronouns are used in the same way as the corresponding case forms in the nominal declension. The possessive hence alternatively expresses the 'aim' or 'purpose', as in: *nant'akala nant'a* 'wants me', *wankikara nuŋka* 'was searching for it' (the gold, given a personal character in a mythological context), *nantrakani* 'comes back to (or 'for') us (from the dead)' (Pun JT). Further, the nominative is used for the ergative with transitive verbs also, provided the aspect is indeterminate: *nani tap-ara kaṭi* 'I drink grog', the form *tap-ara* being the imperfective (Pun JT) and sometimes in other cases, as in: *tatiŋa nani tina* 'I have hurt my foot' (Pun JT; the verbal action is hardly 'caused' by the person). In the local case forms *direction* is not expressed; compare the use of the locative in: *(manda) nana* 'get from me' and *janta gajala* 'come to me'—the meaning is hence 'near' or 'at'. The locative form expresses a comitative sense (cf. 9.2) in *igala* '(sleeping) with you' (Pun JT). As in some other Australian languages, the third person dual form (*pula*, etc.) are often used in the second person dual. Finally, one must remember that attributive and predicative constructions are indistinguishable in Australian languages: *ŋka jandra* therefore means either 'your money' or 'you have got money' (consequently = *jandrapatu* 'having money').

Demonstrative pronouns

9.5. The demonstrative pronouns are clearly based on the forms of the personal pronouns and it may be said that the differentiation sometimes becomes vague. In the first place the feminine forms of the personal pronouns in the third person may serve as impersonal demonstrations: *nani* may hence mean 'that' (the 'personal' pronoun 'it' in English may be said to be inexistent in the Australian languages), as shown in: *mina nani* (or *nana*) 'what is that?', *nant'ani* *nani* 'it is mine' (Pun JT), *nana kundinana* 'that house' (the second *-nana* being the feminine impersonal article); other constructions are seen in: *ŋaka nana* 'that water', *nana mak-ura* 'that stick' (Pun JT), in which it is difficult to determine the function of *nana* (*ŋak-a nana* may alternatively contain the article *-nana*; cf. 8.3.) and the analysis may further be predicative ('that is water', 'that is a stick', respectively).

9.6. The typical structure of the demonstratives consists in a basic third person pronominal form with an added element -i (which perhaps renders the idea of English 'this' or 'here')—Pun JT, however, renders such pronominal forms indifferently by 'this' or 'that'); other analogous elements added to a personal pronominal form (*-mara, -kai, -nai*) may express the idea of 'that' or indicate a further distance from the speaker. We hence get the following basic forms: *niai* (masc.; cf. *nia* 'he'), *nani* (fem.; cf. *nani* 'she') 'this', *niamara* (masc.), *nanimara, nanikai* (fem.) 'that', etc., which are inflected in the following way.
The forms of the demonstrative pronouns

9.7. Forms in -\(i\) (meaning 'this'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine singular</td>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>niiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>erg.</td>
<td>null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>niaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>niikai ('his')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>nuqalaai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Dual  | nom. | pulai |
|       | poss. | pulai\(\text{ja}\) |
|       | loc.  | pulai\(\text{ja}\) |

Forms in -\(mara\) (meaning 'that'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine singular</td>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>niamara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poss.</td>
<td>nuqkamaara (nuqku-; cf. 4.1.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Dual  | nom. | pulumara |
|       | acc. | pulumara |
|       | poss. | |

Forms in -\(kai\) or -\(nai\) (meaning 'that'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine singular</td>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>niakai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>nuqalaaki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plural | poss. | nqkapuq-a, nqkanai |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine impersonal singular</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feminine singular</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nandru (= nandri, Pun JT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive (here)</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nqpalai (‘here’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nqkapuq-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.8. The demonstrative pronouns normally (when construed with a noun) precede the latter, which—as being determined as to number and kind—is provided with its corresponding article, according to the following pattern: niamara kaqia 'that man', niamara taldria ‘that kangaroo’, nulu kaqaulu ‘this man’ (erg.), nandru (correctly: nandri ?) walkaandru ‘this woman’ (erg.), kut\(\text{ja}\)ara nanai makuranaka ‘put this stick’ (Pun JT), nanai tak-anana ‘this earth’ (acc.), nanimara walkanana ‘that woman’; the word order may, however, be inverted: kaqia niiai ‘this man’, taldria nanai ‘this kangaroo’ (Pun JT). Other constructions are, however, also possible: ninai kaqia (for kaqina) ‘this man’ (acc.), walka nanai ‘this woman’, kundi nanai ‘this house’, nanai wi ‘this fire’, and other constructions, some of which may perhaps be considered as
The use of the case forms is analogous to that of nominal and personal pronominal case forms: ṇatu ṇant’akala ṇaŋkamara ‘I want that one (woman)’ (possessive form expressing object of desire; Pun JT). Like the personal pronouns (9.2), demonstrative pronouns, being derived from the former (see 9.5.), may be used nominally: nanai ‘a woman’ (Pun JT).

9.9. Of Kalali demonstratives, a single one, juk-u ‘this’, has been recorded: ɲarana juk-u ɲura ‘who is coming there?’ (Kal PA); literally: ‘who this or here (there) blackfellow?’ (notice no differentiation of person and place in Australian languages).

Interrogative pronouns

9.10. The personal interrogative (‘who?’) is Ṽarana in Punthamara and the impersonal interrogative (‘what?’) is mina. The former is inflected according to the pattern of nominal words, the following case forms being recorded:

nom. Ṽarana  
ger. ẃaɾalu  
acc. Ṽarana  
poss. Ṽaɾaŋa (also ‘from whom?’)  
loc. ẃaɾaŋala

Of mina the possessive form only has been recorded: minaŋa, usually in the sense of ‘what for?’, ‘why?’ and hence perfectly identical as to meaning with the almost universal Australian minagu (‘what for?’; cf. Kattang minagu). Instances of the use of the interrogative pronouns: Ṽarana niai ‘who is this one or he?’ (also: nulu Ṽarana, idem), Ṽarana nuli ‘who is this one?’ (the reason for the use of the ergative form in these constructions is not evident); mina nani or nana ‘what is that?’.

9.11. In Kalali interrogative pronouns are formed from the stem ɲa-: (personal) ɲarana (nominative), ɲanandu (ergative; perhaps a hypercorrective form of *ɣarandu? cf. 4.5.) ‘who?’ (hence = Punthamara Ṽarana, Ṽaralu respectively) and (impersonal) ɲali ‘what?’ (hence = Punthamara mina), as in: ɲali juk-u ‘what is this?’.

9.12. The interrogative stem ɲa- (cf. Kalali) is used in several adverbial forms, such as: ɲala, ɲalaŋa ‘where?’, ɲalaando ‘where from?’ (hence representing the locative form in -la and the ergative form in -andru, respectively, the latter used in the—perhaps original—sense of an ablative). As mentioned (in 9.1.), the meaning of all these forms is not merely interrogative, but also indefinite (‘some’, ‘any’, etc.); compare: ɲalagu ‘from somewhere’ (Pun FG), ɲala wakara ‘somewhere to lie down’, that is ‘a bed’ (Pun FG).

Verbs

10.1. Verbal stems always end in a vowel, usually -a- (janda- ‘talk’, janṭa- ‘go’, nat’ɔ- (Pun JT) or nat’a- (Pun FG) ‘see’, tap’a- ‘drink’), while some few end in -i- (wanki- ‘search’, karki-
Verbal derivation

10.2. Derived verbal stems are formed from simple stems by means of suffixes, of which the following have been recorded: -li- (intransitive), -ma- (causative), -nala- (reciprocal), -pa- (causative), -p·a- (marking upward direction), -ri- (intransitive), -wari- (-warī'; marking downward direction). No formal expression of a reflexive verbal action has been recorded. An English reflexive verb may be expressed by a plain intransitive expression, as in: nyakala ṇani ‘I am looking at myself’ (Pun FG).

10.3. The intransitive -li-. An intransitive reflexive derivative -li- is common in the Australian languages. In Punthamara it seems to occur in tik·uli- ‘turn over’, if related to tik·a­- ‘return’ (notice that no simple stem in -u- has otherwise been met with).

10.4. The causative -ma-. This is a very common and widely spread derivative in the Queensland languages. The following Punthamara examples have been recorded: jak·ama- ‘send’ (cf. jak·a­- ‘chase’, possibly in the sense of ‘run’), kalkama- ‘flog’ (cf. kalka- ‘hit’), katima- ‘break’ (cf. kati-, idem, intransitive), kulama- ‘settle down’ (cf. kula- ‘sit’), kutima- ‘make run’ (cf. kuti- ‘run’), pulima- ‘fell (trees, etc.)’ (cf. puli- ‘fall’), tik·ulima- ‘turn over’ (cf. tik·uli-, idem, intransitive), tilama- ‘cool’ (cf. tilapa ‘cold’), tinama- ‘stick into the ground’ (cf. tina- ‘stand’), wakama- ‘lay down’ (cf. waka- ‘lie down’, ‘sleep’). —No corresponding form has been recorded in Kalali. The verbal stem gurkara- (‘teach’) from gurka- ‘hear’ (Kal PA) seems to have a causative sense (‘make hear’ or ‘learn’), but the same formative (-ra-) in kamira- ‘go home, set (of the sun)’ from kami- ‘go home’ (Kal PA) does not suggest any such meaning.

10.5. The reciprocal -nala-. This derivative occurs in: nat’añala- ‘look at one another’ (cf. nat’a- ‘see’), jandañala- ‘converse, have a talk’ (cf. janda- ‘talk’), pandiñala- ‘fight’ (cf. pandi- ‘hit’; hence ‘hit each other’), tandañala- ‘cohabit, have intercourse’. —An alternative derivative -kara-, as in: nyakarakala ‘seeing one another’ (Pun FG) may appear doubtful, since this informant often has the pronunciation -kara- (or even -karla-; cf. 3.4.) for the progressive -kara- (-kala-).

10.6. In Kalali, the reciprocal formative is -la-: nant’ala- ‘see one another’ (cf. nant’a- ‘see’) (cf. nant’a- ‘see’), gurkala- ‘hear one another’ (cf. gurka- ‘hear’), maipala- ‘fight’ (cf.
Punthamara *pandiñala-* idem. From Kal PA we have a form *janijaliŋu* ‘two are talking’ (whether correct or not), vaguely suggesting the Punthamara *jandañala* ‘talk together’.

10.7. **The causative -pa-**. This derivative seems to function in the same way as -ma- in: *kutìpa-* ‘make run’ (cf. *kuti-* ‘run’), *tinapa-* ‘stand something up’ (cf. *tina-* ‘stand’ and *tinama-* above).

10.8. **The directional -p·a-**. This derivative (not to be confused with the causative -pa-; cf. above) marks either upward direction or (according to Pun JT) action ‘in the morning’ (which may be related ideas), as in the following instances: (1) *kutYa·pa-* ‘put up’ (cf. *kuti-a- ‘put’), *tinap·a-* ‘stand up’ (in a transitive sense, possibly mixed up with *tinapa-* cf. above 10.7); *kutìp·a-* ‘run up’ (cf. *kuti- ‘run’); (2) *jantap·a-* ‘go in the morning’ (compare ‘get up’: *jani jantap·ara* Rocky-1a1a ‘I am going to Rockhampton in the morning’, *jantap·a·ga* ‘went in the morning’; Pun JT), *kulap·a-* ‘sit in the morning’ (cf. *kula- ‘sit’), *wakap·a-* ‘sleep in’ (‘sleep in the morning’, cf. *waka- ‘sleep’; Pun JT).

10.9. **The intransitive -ri-**. This derivative (probably related to *-li-; cf. 10.3.) may occur in: *kaŋuri-* ‘cry’ and *muk·amuk·a·ri-* ‘forget’ (no corresponding simple stems were recorded).


**Conjugation**

11.1. The Punthamara and Kalali verb is not conjugated as to person. The only flectional elements used are original ‘adnominal’ (or adverbial) suffixes, that is morphemes identical with, or analogous to, case suffixes in the declension of nominal stems, the basic forms of these suffixes in Punthamara being -n-, -1)a- and -1a- (cf. the locative or adverbial forms of the type *ŋala, ŋalaŋa, ŋalara ‘where?’ from an interrogative stem *ŋa-*, in which the first elements (-r-, -ŋ-, -l-) are to be considered as ‘nominalisers’ (as in the languages of eastern Queensland described elsewhere by the author). The literal rendering of all these conjugational elements would consequently be ‘at...-ing’ (cf. English ‘a’doing’, etc.). In Kalali the corresponding suffixes are: -na-, -ŋa-, -la- and -ra- (for the use of these see in 11.3-11.12). These prefixes may be found combined (see 11.5.).

11.2. As in the Australian languages in general (as far as personal conjugation is not involved) verbal inflection (or conjugation) in Punthamara and Kalali is on the modal or aspectual level, where time (or tense) is immaterial. The modes (as we may consequently say rather than ‘tenses’) are the following: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective, the progressive and the gerundial modes (or aspects).
11.3. The imperative mode. The plain imperative is the verbal stem without any extension: (Punthamara) janta ‘go’, jalka ‘throw’; (Kalali) nina ‘sit down’, guna ‘lie down’, tina ‘stand up’. One instance of an imperative in -a, made from a stem in -i- (common in eastern Queensland languages) has been recorded: kaŋura (Pun JT), from kaŋuri- ‘cry’. The imperative may also be expressed by the imperfective form, for which see below. The sense may be hortative: (Kalali) kundaŋa nina ‘let me ask you’, ‘I am going to ask you’ (Kal PA).

11.4. The imperfective mode. Usually in analyses of Australian languages as well as in explanations proffered by the native speakers, this mode is identified with an English present tense. In most cases it may actually be rendered by an English present, which may however rather be considered as coincidental. This may be seen in such examples as: kulara (imperfective) punulaŋa ‘(the Rainbow Serpent) remained in the land’ and similar contexts in which the verbal action refers to the past. The imperfective mode, characterised by a suffix -ra, expresses a timeless action, considered as not finished (in the quoted mythological context, it may probably be considered as having eternal character). In addition to cases such as the one just mentioned, the imperfective occurs in indefinite, interrogative or negative constructions: jandara ‘comes to talk’ (perhaps habitual), mitaŋ-piriŋa ‘in the west’ (literally ‘the sun sets’, hence customary action), kulara ‘(we are) sitting’ (habitual), nātu nāt̪ara nina ‘when I see him’ (indeterminate action), nāt̪ara nāna ‘(he is or ‘was’) looking for me’ (action not finished), waŋalu nānai tali munkara ‘who made it well or created it?’ (Pun JT), walaŋa nulu namara ‘he did not touch (her)’ (cf. namaga nānai ‘(he touched her)’, perfective; Pun JT), walaŋa tantaŋa ‘they did not find (any gold)’ (cf. tanaŋu gultaŋa ‘they found (the gold)’; Pun JT). An ‘intended’ or ‘not yet performed’ verbal action is expressed by the imperfective: nant̪akala nānī kutira ‘I want to run’, nant̪akala taltara ‘wants to eat’, naŋra nāna ‘(pray to God) to hear me’ (Pun JT), walaŋa nānī tap-ara naŋa ‘I do not want (negative form) to drink (not yet performed action) grog’ (Pun FG), naŋ-kā manda naŋa taltara nānī ‘get me a drink of water’ (supplied by Kal PA). The Punthamara imperfective hence expresses the meaning of the ‘intentional’ form (in -gu) in the languages of eastern Queensland; it is consequently co-ordinated with the possessive form of nouns (which also answers to ‘allative’ forms in -gu in other Australian languages), as seen in: nant̪akala nāk-aŋa ‘I want water’ (= Wakka-Wakka gungu), nant̪akala kuŋapia ‘I want the tucker’ (co-ordinated with nant̪akala taltara ‘want to eat’, with the imperfective form of the verb; Pun JT). It is easy to see how both the imperative and prohibitive senses are obtained by the use of an imperative modal form: naŋra nānī ‘hear me’ (as addressed to God, Pun JT; cf. the parallel instance above), walaŋa jandaŋalara ‘don't you all talk together’, walaŋa jantara ‘don't go’ (prohibitive).

11.5. In Kalali, the plain imperfective suffix is -na (hence corresponding to the Punthamara -ra), as in: kawa janina ŋali ‘here we are talking’ (Kal PA), ninana ( -ni; cf. 4.5.) ‘are living’ (Kal PA), pit-ana ‘getting dark’ (Kal PA), nant̪ana ‘will see (him tomorrow)’, wandina ‘climbing’. This suffix is also (like the Punthamara -ra) used in an imperative as well as in a negative sense (cf. 11.4.): jundu talina ‘you eat that’ (= Punthamara taltara), jundu karnina ‘you go home’ (Kal PA), ka or ŋala ńukana ‘did not hear’. More often the compound formative -nāŋa is used imperfectively (or progressively?): (gap-a) talinaŋa ‘they drink’ or ‘are drinking’, irpanaŋa ‘setting’ (of the sun), janinaŋa ‘talking’, tininaŋa ‘is standing’, nininaŋa ‘is sitting’.
nant'anaŋa 'seeing', nůrkanaŋa 'hearing'. The compound -ŋara is imperfective in the interrogative ŋanandu (cf. 11.4.) miniŋara 'who did it?' (Kal PA).

11.6. The perfective mode. The perfective mode, which in Punthamara is characterised by the suffixed element -pa, expresses a verbal action which has actually taken place and is finished and consequently corresponds in most cases to an English past (perfect or pluperfect) tense form ('did' or 'has or had done', etc.). Examples: nat'apa or nat'apa 'saw' or 'has seen' or 'had a look' (Pun JT), jantaŋa 'went, gone', kulana 'sat down', nyt'apa (or mut'apa) 'gave' or 'has given (us)', mandara 'got', ŋaraŋa 'heard' or 'has heard', ŋatu tap'apa 'I drank or have drunk'. A differentiation of 'recently' and 'long ago' does not seem observed in Punthamara; compare jandaŋa '(I) spoke just now' and mipaga '(God) has made (all this)' (Pun JT).

11.7. In Kalali, the perfective mode is expressed by either of the suffixes -la and -ra (which are imperfective or progressive in Punthamara): nant'ala 'have seen' (Kal PA), katala '(a snake) bit or has bitten (me)' (Kal PA), katala (ɔri; cf. 4.5.) 'bit' (Kal PA). Incidentally, the opposite use of perfective and imperfective formatives (e.g. -la) is not uncommon in otherwise related languages in Queensland.

11.8. A variety of the perfective mode might be referred to as a 'mythological' mode, expressed by the termination -mani and occurring in mythological contexts. As is seen from the alternative constructions nulu paritaulu mipaŋa (ordinary perfective mode) ɲuk-unanapuk-a 'he, the Rainbow Serpent, created the creeks' and paritulu mipaman (or mipumani) 'the Rainbow Serpent created (the creeks)' (Pun JT), the concept of time is not involved (both examples referring to the 'dreamtime'); one might possibly say that verbal forms in -mani mark an accomplished, although not observed, verbal action—perhaps analogous to the Old Indian (Vedic) perfect. In any case, the morpheme -mani refers to mythological accounts, while accomplished verbal action 'long ago' may always be expressed by the ordinary (or 'secular') perfective mode (cf. above), as also in: mat'ɑ ɲani wikakaŋa 'I dreamed long ago' (Pun JT). Further examples of the 'mythological' perfective: jantaman 'came out of', ɲakalaŋa kut'aman 'drowned in water', mipaman or mipumani '(God) created', nat'aman 'saw long ago', paluman 'died (when I was a child)' (Pun JT); in the last examples the -mani form may rather refer to unobserved or reported verbal action than to remote time.

11.9. The progressive mode. This mode, which may be said to correspond to the English progressive form of verbs (e.g. 'is doing', etc.), is expressed by the termination -kala (or sometimes -kara), in which the syllable -ka- may possibly be a common Australian verb stem 'to be' (as found in the eastern Queensland languages), so that -kala would be the gerundial form (cf. 11.11.) and -kara the imperfective form of the same verb stem -ka-, used as an auxiliary (cf. an analysis of the English progressive form). The following examples illustrate the use of the progressive form: ɲalkakala '(I) am thinking', kulakala 'is or was living', kulakara 'were camping', ɲani jantakala 'I am going away', nant'akala ɲani 'I wish or I want', mut'akala ɲatu 'I am offering (this child)' (in a ceremony; Pun JT), jandaŋalakala '(we) are talking to each other', winani marikala 'the fire is or was burning', maranə kalkakala 'the birds are singing', nat'akala (= nat'akara; Pun JT) 'is or was looking at', pula pandinialakala 'the two are fighting'
(Pun JT), nat'akala ŋani 'I am looking at myself', pula jandakara 'the two are talking', ŋani jandakara jugala 'I am talking to you two' (Pun JT), ŋala nat'akara 'we can see each other' (Pun JT); Pun FG sometimes has the form -ka ra as in: ŋat'akara 'can see', ini kulakara ' (where) are you staying?'. The progressive form is also used as the plain gerundial form (see 11.11): nat'aga natu pulana jantakala 'I have seen you two going or coming' (Pun JT), jandakala '(you hear or heard me) talking' (Pun JT), jantar u (correct ?) jandañalakara 'walking while talking to each other' (Pun JT), wakakala 'as he is or was lying asleep' (Pun JT). Similarly: mila ipari kal a '(at) sundown', mila warpakala or warpakara '(at) sunrise or (in the) east' (Pun JT)—one may say that these forms represent the gerundial form of the auxiliary.

11.10. For forms used in a progressive sense in Kalali, see 11.5.

11.11. The gerundial mode. The plain gerundial form (in -la, which evidently represents a locative form of a nominalised verb stem, being analogous to English 'at') expresses a secondary concomitant verbal action. Examples are: jandara 'talking' (literally 'at talk' or 'at talking'), miñala 'staring, looking' (Pun JT). The same form may also be used as the progressive mode form: wi mat'ya marila 'fire already burned' (Pun JT; of course also: 'while fire burned'), jandala 'they are talking'.

11.12. The gerundial formative in Kalali is -li1)u, as in: janili1)u '(heard him) talking', maipalali1)u '(I saw them) fighting', murali1)u '(can see him) going' (Kal PA), ɡanikuni ninali1)u (ninakali1)u ?—probably 'while (my) father was living'; Kal PA). The termination -gu may be a variant of -ga (as -ru is of -ra in Punthamara; see 11.13). The gerundial form hence refers to the direct object ('him, them') and not to the subject ('I (saw, heard)', etc.); no other gerundial construction is recorded.

11.13. Certain verbal forms have been noted occasionally, of which it is difficult to ascertain a precise meaning or function or even to verify their correctness. Among these occurs an imperfective (?) form in -ru (cf. Kalali -gu for -ga; 11.12): nanipuk·a jantaru jandañalakala 'they are walking talking to each other'. Forms which look like extensions of the imperfective stem (in -ra) are: (perfective) ɡatu nat'ara ɡa 'I have seen' (Pun JT; hence for nat'aga) and jantarala tana 'they are coming back' (Pun JT; hence for jantala tana 'as they are coming (back)').

Postpositions

12. No definite limit may be drawn between case suffixes, especially such as express locality (the locative, in -la, -laŋa, the commitative, in -luŋa, and the ablative, in -ju), and true postpositions. As of the latter kind we may, however, mention the form mundu 'before' in: garimata mundu 'before the Flood'. It is, however, formally identical with the privative (or caritive) derivative -mundu (described in 6.7.), so that the two words answer to one *garimatamundu 'without the Flood'. In some cases the attributive suffix -pa1)u (see 6.8) may function as a postposition: ɡa1)k-a pa1)u 'with water' (-pa1)u may, however, as also -mundu, be declined like a noun).
Punthamara and Kalali vocabulary

The following vocabulary (which also serves as an index) is based on Punthamara (Kalali entries are marked by the signature Kal). The following further abbreviations are used:

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The listed forms are entered alphabetically, according to the following order of the phonetic characters: a, d(r), ḃ, ṭ, k, l, l', m, n, ṇ, p, r, ṭ, s, t, t', ṭ, u, w.

A

alpa v. ṁarpa.
-(a)ṇa poss. suffix (7.1).
-(a)ndru erg. suffix (7.1).
-ndru art. 8.3.
-ani poss. der. suffix (6.3.).

ṁarpa (alpa) n. adv. up, being on high: niai alpa he is up there, God, the One above (Pun JT), ninai (acc.) ṁarpa muria tali God is good (Pun JT) —cf. waṛpa.

D

draja n. teeth. —cf. (Kal) ṭia.

dratrå- v. ipf. dratråra bite: paṭila dratråra ṇana the snake bites (= might bite) me (Pun JT).

ṇ

-ṇa1 pf. 11.6.
-ṇa2 (Kal) ipf. 11.5.
-ṇa (Kal) der. suffix 7.3.

ṇaimala n. stomach (Pun FG).

ṇairi v. ṇajirā.

ṇaja (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

ṇajirā (ṇairi) n. sky (Pun FG).

ṇak-a n. erg. ṇak-a(ə)ndru; poss. ṇak-āṇa; loc. ṇak-āṇa; art. nom. ṇak-anani; acc. ṇak-anana water: ṇak-āṇa nia
puliŋa he fell into the water, mandara
nina ŋak-alaŋa pulling (getting) him out of the water (Pun JT).

ŋak-aani poss. der. n. someone's water, there being water: ŋak-aani jundru,
ŋatu have you got water? I have got water (Pun JT), ŋak-aani there is water.

ŋak-amundu car. n. empty or without water: walYa ŋak-amundu when there was no water, when the water sank (Pun IT; correct?).

ŋak-apatu attr. n. having water.

ŋak-atŋka n. erg. ŋak-atŋkandru; loc. ŋak-atŋkalaŋa the name of a place, 'Nockatungua' (meaning 'dirty' or 'stinking water'): jantara ŋak-atŋkandru came from Nockatungua, ŋani jantara ŋak-atŋkalaŋa I am going to Nockatungua (Pun JT).

ŋala1 pers. pron. 9.3.

ŋala2 adv. 9.12 where.

ŋala (Kal) neg. adv. don't: ŋala ŋuna don't lie down (Kal PA).

ŋalaŋa (ŋalaŋa) interrr. adv. 9.12. where: ŋalaŋa ini jantaka where are you going? (Pun JT), ŋalaŋa ini jantakala idem (Pun FG).

ŋalaandru (ŋalandru) interrr. adv. 9.12. whence, from where: ŋalaandru ini jantara or ŋalandru ini napaŋalai where did or do you come from? (Pun JT), ŋalaandru ŋuk-unani mipamani how did the creek come? ('was formed'; Pun JT).

ŋalaŋani interrr. adv. where.

ŋalaŋu interrr. adv. 9.12 from where or from somewhere.

ŋalaŋa interrr. adv. where: ŋalaŋa ini kulakala where are you staying? (Pun FG).

ŋala wakara n. bed (Pun FG; literally 'somewhere to lie down'—for the use of the interrogative, cf. 9.12. and for that of the imperfective form, 11.4).

ŋalawina interrr. adv. where: ŋalawina kulakala ini where do you stay?, ini ŋalawina jantakala from where do you come? or '(to) where do you go? (Pun JT).

ŋali1 (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

ŋali2 (Kal) interrr. pron. 9.11.

ŋalka- v. progr. ŋalkakala think: ŋani ŋalkakala ninai kaŋina I am thinking of this or that man (Pun JT). —cf. qrə- and Kal ɲurkə- to hear.

ŋama n. 1. mother; 2. breast: ŋama kawa ŋanala mother come to me, kawa ŋama mother, come here (Pun JT).

ŋamat'ɑ rel. n. erg. ŋamat'andru; com. ŋamat'alaŋa; loc. ŋamat'alaŋa; art. nom. ŋamat'ɑnanani; art. poss. ŋamat'ɑna 1. one's mother; 2. one's auntie; 3. mother-in-law (Pun JT): ŋamat'ɑ jantara (my) mother is coming, ŋamat'ɑ ŋaniti'ɑ mother and father, jantakala ŋamat'ɑlaŋa (a child) going with (his) mother (Pun JT).

ŋamu n. a drink (? cf. jurama).

ŋanandu (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

ŋandi- (Kal) v. progr. ŋandinaŋa want, look for: ŋarana jundu ŋandinaŋa whom are you looking for? (Kal PA). —cf. ɡɑnt'ɑ-.

ŋandra pers. pron. 9.3.

ŋani1 n. father.

ŋani2 pers. pron. 9.3.

ŋani (Kal) n. father.

ŋani- (Kal) v. ipf. ŋanina walk: ŋanina taunku walking to town (Kal PA).

ŋanikuni (Kal) poss. n. one's father (Kal PA).

ŋaniti'ɑ rel. n. com. ŋaniti'ɑlaŋa; art. nom. ŋaniti'ɑ; erg. ŋaniti'ulu; acc. ŋanitina; poss. ŋaniti'ulu; com. ŋaniti'uluŋa 1. one's father; 2. father-in-law (Pun JT): ɡɑnt'ɑ ɡɑniti'ɑ or ɡɑniti'ɑ ɡɑnt'ɑ my father, ɡɑniti'ɑ ninai (alpa) this Father (above)
G od; Pun JT), IJa nitYulu IJa ndraIJani our Father (erg.: Pun JT), IJa nit'Ja wariwa Father and Son (Pun JT), IJa nit'Uluga mandaJa natu I got it from or gave it to my father (Pun JT).

IJa nka n. beard.

IJa nkamundu car. n. beardless.

IJa nkapatu attr. n. bearded.

IJa ntJa v. ipf. IJa nara (for IJa ntaJa; Pun FG); progr. IJa nt'akala want: IJa nt'akala nani IJa nakaJa I want (a drink of) water', nani IJa nt'akala kuJaaJa want (the) tucker, ini IJa nt'akala talata you want to eat (Pun JT), natu (cf. 9.2.) IJa nt'akala nankaJama I like her (or 'that one'; Pun JT).

IJa ntJa v. progr. IJa nt'ikara want (a phonetic variant of IJa ntJa- (q.v.).

IJa naJa v. a phonetic variant of IJa ntJa- (q.v.).

IJa pJa (Kal) n. all. IJa paku water.

IJa pJa mari (Kal) n. the name of a place, 'Napper Merrie' or 'Nappamerrie' (Kal PA).

IJa pitJa rel. n. cousin: nala IJa pitJa we (two) are cousins (Pun FG).

IJa rana (Kal) interr. pron. 9.11.

IJa rimata n. erg. IJa rimatandru the Flood (Pun JT): IJa rimata kapara tak'anana the Flood was covering the earth, matJa IJa rimatamundu (cf. 12) long ago, before the Flood.

IJa rku (Kal) n. kangaroo (common in neighbouring languages).

IJa rata v. ipf. IJa ratara: pf. IJa rana hear: IJa rana nata nina I heard him (Pun JT).

IJa ramanda n. ear, ears. —cf. maJa.

IJatu pers. pron. 9.3.

IJa tJa v. progr. IJat'akala, -kara see (Pun FG). —cf. natJa-., Kal IJantJa-.

IJatu (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

IJa ulaJa n. loc. or adv. in the night: kulap'ara IJa ulaJa sitting in the dark in the morning (Pun JT).

IJa na (Kal) pers. pron. = ina 9.3.

IJa abl. suffix. 7.1.

IJa (Kal) erg. suffix. 7.3.

IJu kJa n. erg. IJu k·andru; art. nom. IJu k·unanpi; acc. IJu k·unanu; pl. acc. IJu k·unanapuk·a creek, river: IJu k·unanu mipaJa made or created the creek. —cf. muk·u2.

IJuJa (Kal) v. ipf. IJukJa learn: KalalaIJa IJuJa learning Kalali (Kal PA).

IJula v. ipf. IJultara; pf. IJultaJa find: waIJa IJultara did not find (any gold) (Pun JT).

IJuJa (Kal) n. face.

IJuna (Kal) v. imp. IJuna; ipf. IJunana lie down.

IJunda v. progr. IJundakala remember: IJundakala nata nanai, IJantina I remember her, my father (Pun JT).

IJumumpa n. one's birth place or where one is supposed to die: IJumumpa IJantJa my ground (Pun JT), IJalaIJa IJumumpa where is your ground? (Pun JT).

IJuJa n. poss. IJuJa; com. IJuraluJa; loc. IJuralaJa; all. IJuraluJa; art. nom. IJuria camp, home: IJantJa IJuria my camp, IJantara IJala IJuraluJa we (two) are going home, kulaJa IJuralaJa sitting at the camp, at home (Pun JT), kulaJa IJumumpa IJuraluJa staying here at home (Pun FG). —cf. mura2.

IJuJa1 (Kal) n. blackfellow: IJuJa talinaJa black people drinking (grog)' (Kal PA).

IJuJa2 (Kal) n. dog (possibly from another language).

IJuka (Kal) v. IJuka.

IJuka- (IJuka-) (Kal) v. imp. IJuka; ipf. IJukana; progr. IJukanaJa hear, learn: ka or IJalaIJa IJuka did not hear (Kal
PA), ηατ'υ ηαλα ηυρκαναηα I cannot hear (him) (Kal PA), ηαηα ηυρκανα kalalη I am learning Kalali, ηαηα ηυρκαναηα ηηικινα ηαλιληι I was hearing or listening to him talking (Kal PA). —cf. ηαηαηα.

ηυρκαλα- (Kal) v. rec. ipf. ηυρκαλαηα hear or listen to one another: ηαιινηδυ ηυρκαλαηα we (two) can hear one another (Kal PA).

ηυρκαλα- (Kal) v. caus. ipf. ηυρκαλαηαηα teach: ηυρκαλαηαηα ηηαηα teaching me.

ηυτη (mutη) n. 1. snake; 2. any animal; 3. meat: maraηη ηυτη birds ('game'; Pun JT).

ηυτιτηληηα n. heart (Pun FG).

ηυτηα- (mutηα-) v. imp. ηυτηι (for ηυτηα; —cf. 4.5.); ipf. ηυτηαηα; pf. ηυτηιηα; progr. ηυτηακαλα give: maηα ηυτηι (cf. above) ηηαηα shake hands (Pun FG), ηηιι αληα ηυτηιηα this one above (God) gives me (Pun JT), ηυτηικαλα (sic) ηαηυ I offer (this child) (Pun JT).

J

jak-a- v. ipf. jak-ara chase (Pun JT).

jak-ama- v. caus. ipf. jak-amara send (someone) away (Pun JT).

jalka- v. imp. jalka; ipf. jalkara 1. throw; 2. cook (Pun FG); pak-arani jalka throw a boomerang.

jampa n. camp (Pun JT; a common word in Queensland).

jampa (Kal) n. camp (cf. above).

janda (Kal) (janda janda) n. money. —cf. jandra.

janda- v. ipf. jandara; pf. jandaηα; progr. jandaκαλα, jandaκαρα; ger. jandaλα speak, talk: jandaηα spoke just now (Pun JT), ηαηα jandaκαρα jυυαλα I am talking to you two (Pun JT). —cf. Kal jani-.

janda janda (Kal) v. Kal. janda.

jandaκαλα- v. rec. ipf. jandaκαλαρα; pf. jandaκαλαηα; progr. jandaκαλακαρα speak, talk to one another: wαληι jυυα jandaκαλα don't you (all) talk together (Pun JT).

jandi- (Kal) v. ipf. jandiηα go: jandiηα jαραμανιηα riding on horseback (Kal PA).

jandra n. com. jandralηα; loc. jandralαηα; art. acc. jandranηαηα; erg. jandraηαηα; poss. jandraηαηα 1. stone, gravel; 2. hill, (mountain); 3. any precious metal or gem stone (gold, silver, etc.); 4. money: wανηικαρα jandraηηα searching for the gold, jandralαηα among the hills, ηαηηα jandraηαηα (running away) with the money (Pun JT).

jandra mαλκαπατυ n. the Gold Man (Pun JT).

jandranηι poss. n. one's money, there being money: jandranηι jυυηυ ηα ηαηαηηηα (Pun JT; = ιηκα jandra).

jandrapατυ attr. n. having money (Pun JT).

jandrumαρα n. the name of a tribe and language, at Lake Yamma Yamma (Pun FG).
jani- (Kal) v. ipf. janina, janiņa; progr. janinaņa; ger. janiņīnu) speak, talk: kawa janiņa ņali here we (two) are talking. —cf. janda-.

janija- (Kal) v. rec.; cf. 10.6; ger. janiļiņu speak, talk together: bulandu janiļiņu two talking to one another. —cf. jandaņala- (Kal PA).

janta- v. imp. janta; ipf. jantara; pf. jantaņa; progr. jantaņakaļa; ger. jantaļa walk, go, come: wāla (ini) jantaļa don't (you) go, nia jantaļa ņanala he comes to me, nanipuk-a jantaru (see 11.13) jandaņalakara they are walking and talking (Pun JT), jantaņalala tana they are coming (back) (Pun FG; cf. 11.13).

jantapa- v. ipf. jantapara; pf. jantaņapalaļa go in the morning: ņani jantaņapalaļa Rocky-laļa I am going to Rockhampton in the morning, jantaņapalaļa went this morning (Pun JT).

jantaņari- v. ipf. jantaņariļa come down: puṭa puṭa jantaņariļa it is raining (Pun JT).

japura n. carpet snake (Pun JT). Pun FG has jakpurā (cf. 4.3.).

jaraman n. erg. jaramanandru; poss. jaramanana; art. nom. jaramananni; acc. jaramananina, jaramaninana; erg. jaramanulul; poss. jaramanuņa horse: jaraman(n)ina (acc.) a colt, jaramananni a'ddy (Pun JT).

jaraman (Kal) n. loc. jaramaniņa.

jariņa (jariņa ?) n. art. acc. jariņanana name: waņana jariņanana jina what is your name? (Pun JT; use of accusative forms not accounted for), mina jariņa ini what is your name? (Pun JT), ninai warawina nūtara jariņa giving this child a name (Pun JT).

jatari (Kal) adv. yesterday (Kal PA).

jaṭu n. cat, pussy. —cf. waṭu.

jawara n. loc. jawaralāņa; art. acc. jawaranaņa language, words: ini jandara jawaralāņa you are talking in the language (Pun JT).

juk-u (Kal) dem. pron. 9.9.

jula pers. pron. 9.3.

juldu n. shirt (Pun JT).

jundru pers. pron. 9.3.

jundu (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

juntu pers. pron. 9.3.: juntu jantaņa kulāra (probably) you are going to sit down (cf. 11.4.).

jura pers. pron. 9.3.

jurama n. rum: ņak-a or ņamu jurama rum (Pun FG).

juŗa n. poss. juŗaņa urine: juŗaņa ņani ņant'ikara I want to pass water; Pun JT. —cf. juŗa-.

juŗa- ipf. juŗara pass water: ņani juŗara I want to pass water.

Ka (Kal) neg. adv. not.

kaņka- v. mythological pf. kaņkamanī carry (Pun JT).

kaņkuru (kaņkura) n. hair of the head.

kaņkuru (Kal) (kaņkur, kalkuru) n. hair of the head.

kaņulu (Kal) n. the name of a language, Gangulu.

kaņuri- v. imp. kaņura; cf. 11.3; ipf. kaņurīra; progr. kaņurikala, -kara) cry: wā-la ini kaņurīra don't you cry (Pun JT).

kaκ-a- v. ipf. kaκ-ara; pf. kaκ-āņa cut: kaκ-ara, kaκ-āņa winana cut the wood (Pun JT). —cf. kali1.

kaκ-ut'ā n. one's brother.

kala adv. away: janta kala or kala jantaļa go away (Pun FG).

-kala progr. suffix 11.9.
kalali n. the name of a tribe and language, Kalali.

kalali (Kal) n. acc. kalaliri the Kalali language: ɲaŋa ɲɨɾkana kalali or kalaliri ɲɨɾkana I am learning Kalali (Kal PA).

kalandura n. plains or scrub turkey (Pun JT).

kali1 n. erg. kaliandru; art. erg. kaliulu penis: kali kak-ara circumcision (Pun JT), kali pandal'ra (perhaps) subincision (Pun JT). —cf. pandal'ra, tali.


kalka- v. ipf. kalkara; pf. kalkamani; pr ogr. kalkakara 1. beat, hit, flog; 2. sing (of birds): maraIJa kalkakara the birds are singing (Pun JT).

kalkura n. ghost (Pun JT).

kalkura (Kal) n. pelican (Kal PA). —cf. kapa-.

kalkurara n. any sister: nuka kara ntYara old(er) sister, wajuwa karant'ara young(er) sister (Pun IT).

kaputa n. hat: ɲant'ya kapuţanani I own a hat (Pun JT). —cf. kaputa.

kaputamundu car. n. without a hat.

kaputapatu attr. n. having a hat. —cf. kaputa.

kaputamundu car. n. without a hat.

kaputamundu car. n. without a hat.

kapuţanani poss. n. someone's hat: kapuţaani ɲatu I have a hat (Pun JT).

kaputamundu car. n. without a hat.

kapuţa n. hat: ɲant'ya kapuţanani I own a hat (Pun JT). —cf. kapujuţa.

karapara (Kal) n. hawk, eaglehawk (Kal PA).

karpa- v. ipf. kapara; mythological pf. kapamani, kapumani 1. cover; 2. bury: ɲak-ardu kapamani pununana water covered the ground (Pun JT), kapara ɲatu kaɲina, wakaluna I am burying a man, woman (Pun JT).

kaputamundu car. n. without a hat.
karki- v. ipf. karkira call, sing out (to) (Pun JT).
karu karu n. old (man); ŋani karu karu or karu karu ŋani I am old (Pun JT).
kata- (Kal) v. pf. katala, katari; cf. 11.7 bite: katala or katari ŋana munaŋu a or the snake bit me (Kal PA).
katu n. ant bed (Pun FG).
katu (Kal) v. katira; pf. katimani break (transitive or intransitive): katimani muraŋa,bani the law (Pun JT).
katu n. erg. kati:ga strong drink, grog: para para kati:ga drank from grog (Pun IT).
kuk-a n. head.
kuk-ataru n. wind (Pun JT).
kuk-ati n. ridge (Pun JT).
kuk-ataru n. one's nephew (Pun JT): ŋantəa(ni) kuk-ataru wariwia nunkama my nephew, brother's child (Pun JT). —cf. tinaliʔa.
kuku n. erg. kukuandru clothes.
kukumundu car. n. without clothes (Pun JT).
kukupaŋu attr. n. having clothes (Pun JT).
kula n. loc. kulaŋa, kularaŋa grass.
kula (Kal) n. any kangaroo (red or grey; Kal PA).
kula- v. imp. kula; ipf. kulara; pf. kulana; mythological pf. kulumani; progr. kulakala, kulakara; ger. kulala sit, camp, stay, live: kulara ŋamaŋa nuraluŋa staying here at the camp (Pun FG), kulara makuraluŋa, tak:alaŋa sitting on a log, on the ground (Pun JT), Ṽuk:ulaŋa nia kulumani sat or settled down in the rivers (Pun JT).
kulapa- v. ipf. kulap-ara; pf. kulap-ana sit in the morning (sit up).
kulawari- v. imp. kulawari; progr. kulawarikala sit down.
kuli n. home (Pun FG), humpy. —cf. kula- (?).
kulkaŋa n. green (Pun JT).
kulmaru (Kal) n. acc. kulmarari carpet-snake (Kal PA). —cf. kuɾımaɾa.
kulpara n. emu (Pun FG, JT).
kulpari (Kal) n. emu (Kal PA, PM).
kumara n. sandalwood.
kuna n. excrement.
kundi n. poss. Kundiaŋa; loc. kundilaŋa; all. kundiku; art. nom. kundinani, kundia home, house: ŋantəa kundia
my house (Pun FG), **kundiaŋa** (Pun JT), **kundiku** (Pun FG) (at) home.

**kundi** (Kal) *n. loc.* kundija house: niŋkiani kundi his or her house (Kal PA).

**kundiani** *poss. n.* one's house: kundiani ɲatu, jundru I, you have got a house (Pun JT; = iŋka kundi).

**kundulu** (Kal) *n. emu* (perhaps from the Gunggari languages). —cf. Kal kulpari.

**-kuni** (Kal) *poss. der. suffix* 6.4

**kunka-** *v. pf.* kunkaŋa; *progr.* kunkakala, kunkakara ask, pray: kunkakala ɲatu ina I am asking you, kunkakala ɲatu ninai alpa I am praying to God (Pun JT). —cf. Kal kuŋka-.

**kunki** *n.* spirit, for instance of a dead ancestor (Pun IT).

**kunta** *n.* tea.

**kuntara** *n.* native companion, brolga.


**kunka-** (Kal) *v. imp.* kuŋka ask: kuŋka ɲatu ina I am going to ask you (let me ask you; Kal PA). —cf. kunka-.

**kup·a** (Kal) *n. art. acc.* kup-anana white: kup-anana jandra a kind of white mineral, 'quartz'? (Pun JT).

**kup·a** (Kal) *n. white* (Kal PA).

**kupi** *n. acc.* kupina; *com.* kupiluŋa; *loc.* kupilaŋa; *art. nom.* kupia, kupinani; *erg.* kupiulu, kupiandru; *acc.* kupinana; *poss.* kupinaŋa; *abl.* kupuŋu native doctor (male or female; Pun JT): kupia niai this (male) doctor, nani kupinani this (female) doctor, kupiulu jandaŋa the (male) doctor said, kupina ɲatu nattなもの I saw the (male) doctor, kupilaŋa mandaŋa got it from the doctor (at the doctor's).


**kuɾita** *n. art. nom.* kuɾitia sick: kuɾitia ɲani I am sick (Pun JT).
maña n. ear (Punthamarra, according to Kal PA): maña ḫŋka your ear (Kal PA). —cf. ḫŋamamanda.

maña (Kal) n. ears.

manawari n. grey wood duck (Pun JT).

maŋka- v. ipf. maŋkara; pf. maŋkaŋa make, fix. —cf. munka-.

malJa ilJka your ear (Kal PA).

-cf. lJaramanda.

malJa (Kal) n. ears.

mauawa ri n. grey wood duck (Pun JT).

malJka-v. ipf. malJkara; pf. malJkalJa make, fix. —cf. munka-.

malJuru (Kal) n. eye.

maipala- (Kal) v. rec. ipf. maipalaŋa; ger. maipalaliŋu fight: ḫŋa ḫnantyla I saw them (two) fighting (Kal PA).

-cf. maipala-.

malpara v. hurrying: ḫala malpara we two are in a hurry (Pun JT).

manara n. bindieyes (burrs): mandara manara getting off bindieyes (Pun JT).

manda- v. imp. manda; pf. mandaŋa 1. get, take, fetch, catch; 2. marry; 3. bear (a child); 4. point (a bone; cf. muk-u): walaŋa ḫatu mandaŋa I did not get any (gold) (Pun JT). jundru manda ḫanala you (will) get it from me (Pun JT), manḍara ḫatu ḫupala I get it from him (Pun JT), manḍara ḫatu ḫanai walkanana, ḫanai ḫaŋina I (will) marry this woman, this man (Pun JT). ḫanala ḫani mandaŋa ḫana ḫamatylaŋu I was born here (Pun JT).

mandapuru n. ball.

mandawi n. boots, shoes (Pun JT).

-mani m. pf. suffix 11.8.

manku n. arm (Kal PA).

mantya n. one's own (?) Kal PM).

manu n. grandfather or grandchild (Pun JT).

manu (Kal) n. bread.

-mara dem. suffix 9.6-7.

marana n. erg. maraŋandru; art. erg. maraŋalu bird, magpie (Pun JT): maraŋalu taltara ṭuti the magpie eats meat, maraŋa ṭuti game birds.

mari- v. ipf. marira; pf. marinya; progr. marikala; ger. marila burn (transitive or intransitive): marinya ḫani wiandru I was burned by the fire, mak-ura marinya wiandru fire burned the log or the log was burned by fire, wi matya marila (while) the fire was already burning (Pun JT).

marikan n. gun (common word in eastern Queensland).

markala n. leaf, leaves (Pun JT).

markala (Kal) n. pichery leaves (chewed like tobacco).

markaŋ n. the name of a tribe and language about Quilpie, Comongin or the Bulloo river.

marpila n. red (Pun JT).
maša n. erg. marandru; art. nom. maranani; erg. maraandru hand, finger(s): ortal mandara maraandru I take with (my) hand (Pun JT), maša muntara thumb cut off (Pun JT).

maša (Kal) n. hand. —cf. (Kal) mala.

matši- v. progr. mašikala marry (Pun JT).

mata n. big man, chief (from English ‘master’; Pun JT).

matšina n. match (for lighting).

matša adv. long ago, already, then: matša ortal punaša I have already lit the fire (Pun JT), matša ini ţalašina kulaka where did you live long ago? (Pun JT).

mila n. erg. milandru; loc. milalaša; art. nom. milanani; acc. milanana sun: int ma rira mila ndru the sun is burning you (Pun JT), mila ip- arikala I have already lit the fire (Pun JT).

mila (Kal) n. loco milaša mountain, hill: kula milaša tinanana a kangaroo is standing on top of the hill (Kal PA).

milkina n. milk.

mina interv. pron. 9.10.: mina makuranani what kind of tree is that? (Pun JT).


minda interv. pron ?: mina minda tali what is wrong?

mini- (Kal) v. pf. minišara ? cf. 11.7. do: ţanandu minišara who did it? (Kal PA).

mitški (Kal) (mitški, miški) n. nose (Kal PA, PM).

mipša- v. ipf. mipara pf. mipšana; m. pf. mipamani, mipumani make, create: mipšana nanaipuk-a (God) has created all this (Pun JT), muraulu tak-anana

mipumani God created the earth (Pun JT).

mipša n. art. nom. mipša, mipšanani bad, wrong, sin: mipša niai he (this one) is no good (Pun JT), mipšanani kundinaši a bad house (Pun JT), nulu (or nuli) mipša munkaša murana or muranana he was breaking the Rule (Pun JT), mipša munkara jawaranana makes a mess of words (Pun JT).

mipši- v. ipf. mipira; pf. mipšana become, turn into: mipira tita turning into a dog (Pun JT).

miri (Kal) n. dog (Kal PA; common word in eastern Queensland and New South Wales).

mirka n. loc. mirkaša river bank: ţakalaša wašikala mirkaša in the water coming out of the bank (Pun JT).

mirkušini n. moon.

miršša n. hole (in a tree, the ground or in a house; Pun JT).

miša- v. ger. mišala stare, look.

mukš a mukari- v. ipf. mukš a mukariša; pf. mukš a mukariša forget.

muku n. art. acc. mukušana tobacco or any smoke.

mukšu1 n. erg. mukšandru; art. acc. mukušana; acc. pl. mukušanapuk-a bone: mukšandru ţatu mandara I am boning (him) (Pun JT). —cf. tandašura.


mukšura n. art. acc. mukušuranana stone or stones (Pun JT).

muna (Kal) n. erg. munanu; poss. abl. munakani snake (Kal PA).

munawalka n. chest (Pun FG).

mundu postp. 12.

-mundu car. suffix 6.7.

munduša n. erg. mundušandru axe (Pun JT).
munka- v. ipf. munkara; pf. munkaŋa
make, fix. —cf. maŋka-.

munta- v. ipf. muntara cut off (Pun PP).

mura1 n. loc. muralaŋa; art. nom. muria;
erg. muraulu; acc. murina, muranana
1. bora ring (initiation place, etc.); 2. law,
rule; 3. God: muralaŋa kutŋara ninai
put or send this one to the bora ring (to be
initiated; Pun JT), muria tali God is
good, múŋka alpa mura God's law, the
Rule, muraulu tali munkara God
created or creates, kak·u tYa murina
brother God (Pun JT), muria ijanitia
God the Father (Pun JT).

mura2 n. place where to lie down, camp.
—cf. ñura.

mura (Kal) n. big: ñap-a mura big water
(Kal PA).

muraka n. erg. murakandru; loc. muraka-
laŋa; art. nom. murakanani car (from
'motorcar').

muruka (Kal) n. loc. murukaŋa car (Kal
PA).

muru muru n. black colour (Pun JT).

muru muru (Kal) n. black (e.g. a cat; Kal
PA).

murua- (Kal) v. ger. muralipu go (Kal PA).

muɾu (Kal) n. blue or black (Kal PA).

muti v. ñuti.

mutya- v. ipf. mutya; pf. mutyaŋa give:
ŋak-anana, mutyaŋa ŋana give me
water, mutyaŋa ŋatu nanai I gave (it)
to her (Pun JT). —cf. ñutya-.

muțu adv. self (?): muțu natyaŋa ŋani I
can see myself (Pun JT).

ñaŋala adv. there, at: ŋani jantara
ñaŋala alpa I am going up there (Pun
JT).

ñaŋalai adv. here: kawa naŋalai come
to me (Pun JT), naŋalai ŋak-ataŋka
(= -tuŋka) kulakara they were camping
round about or at Nockatunga (Pun JT),
walŋa naŋalai (they) are not here,
ñaŋalai kulara nanai a woman (acc.)
sitting here (Pun JT), naŋalaipuk-a the
whole crowd, natara taldrana naŋalai
can you see a or the kangaroo
over there? (Pun JT).

ñaŋalakai adv. over there: naŋalakai
nia jantara naŋalai he is coming here
from over there (Pun JT), naŋalakai
walkanani there is a woman over there
(Pun JT), naŋalakai jantakala
taldria there is a kangaroo walking (Pun
JT).

ñaŋalamara adv. over there: paɾitia
ñaŋalamara the Rainbow Serpent is
over there (Pun JT).

naipa n. knife.

naji (nai) n. art. nom. najinani; acc.
najinana girl, daughter: ŋanynani
najinani my daughter (Pun JT).

nama- v. ipf. namara; pf. namaŋa touch
(Pun JT).

ñaɾa (Kal) (namaŋa ?) adv. here:
ñaɾa nina sit down here (Kal PA).

nana1 pers. pron. 9.3.

nana2 dem. pron. 9.5.

nanai dem. pron. 9.7.

nandru pers. pron. 9.3.

nandu n. poss. nanduŋa; art. erg.
nandulu; acc. nandunana; poss.
nanduŋa horse (Pun JT).

nanduani poss. n. someone's horse.

nani1 pers. pron. 9.3.

nani2 dem. pron. 9.5, 7.

-nani art. 8.3.
nanikai dem. pron. 9.7.: mina nanikai what is that over there? (Pun JT).
nanipuk-a1 pers. pron. 9.3.
nanipuk-a2 dem. pron. 9.7.
nantiña n. 1. any skin; 2. paper money: paṭila mantiña snake skin (Pun JT).
naṯa- v. ipf. naṯara; pf. naṯaṅa, naṯaraṇa 11.13.; m. pf. naṯamanĩ; progr. naṯakala, naṯakara, naṯakaraṇa, (Pun FG) see, look: jundru ṇana naṯara you look at me, ṇala naṯaraṇa we can see one another (Pun JT). —cf. ṇaṯa-, Kal ṇanṯa-.
naṯaṅalala- v. rec. progr. naṯaṅalakara look at each other.
naṯawari- v. pf. naṯawarina; progr. naṯawarikara look down.
nia pers. pron. 9.3.: nia alpa God (Pun JT).
niai dem. pron. 9.7.
niakai dem. pron. 9.7.
niamara dem. pron. 9.7.
niṅki (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.
nina pers. pron. 9.3.: nina alpa God (acc.: Pun JT).
nina- (Kal) v. imp. nina; ipf. ninaṅa; ipf. progr. ninaṅana; ger. ninaliṅu, ninaṅaligu ? 1. sit; 2. live: ini nina you sit down, ṇalindu niranā (= ninanā) we two are sitting (Kal PA), wura nira (= nina) you all sit down (Kal PA), ṇanikuni niranā (= nina(k)aligu ?) while (my) father was living (Kal PA).
ninai dem. pron. 9.3.: ninai alpa murina God (acc.: Pun JT).
nuṅala pers. pron. adv. 9.3.: nuṅala alpa from God.
nuṅalai dem. pron. 9.7.
nuṅalakai adv. over there (Pun JT).
nuka n. 1. big; 2. old; 3. full: nuka kuaṅdru full of fish (Pun JT).
nuka ṇak-a n. erg. nuka ṇak-āṇdru sea, ocean: nuka ṇak-āṇdru jantamani came out of the sea or ocean (Pun JT).
nuli dem. pron. 9.7.
nulu pers. pron. 9.3.
numpa- v. ipf. numpara; pf. numpaṅa kick, push: numpara ṇatu tinaṅdru I kick with (my) foot (Pun JT).
nundi n. yam (Pun JT).
nupaṯa-rel. n. one’s wife: ṇikani nupaṯa your wife, (Pun JT), nupaṯa waḻa having no wife (Pun FG).
nupaṯa-amundu n. art. nom. nupaṯa-amundia having no wife: waḻa ṇani nupaṯa-amundia I have no wife (correct? Pun FG). —cf. s.v. ṇak-amundu.

-ti
-ṅala- rec. suffix 10.5.
ṅanṯa- (Kal) v. imp. ṇanṯa; ipf. ṇanṯana; pf. ṇanṯaṅa see, look at: ṇanṯi (= ṇanṯa) ṇap-a look at the water (Kal PA), ṇaṯu ka ṇanṯaṅana ina I can't see you (Kal PA), ṇaja ṇanṯaṅana niṅkina muṅaligu I see him going (Kal PA), ṇaja ṇanṯaṅala niṅkina I have seen him (Kal PA). —cf. ṇaṯa-, naṯa-.
ṅanṯaṅala- (Kal) v. rec. imp. ṇanṯaṅalaṅa see each other: ṇalindu ṇanṯaṅalaṅa we two can see each other (Kal PA).
ṅuna (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

P
-pa- caus. suffix. 10.7.
-pa- der. v. suffix. 10.8.
pak-arani n. boomerang: ini pak-arani jalkara you throw a boomerang or boomerangs, pak-arani tatina cut or made a boomerang or boomerangs (Pun JT).
pak-uña n. red (Pun JT).
pala adv. now: pala ini ɲalawina kulakala where do you live now?, pala ini jantaŋa did you come now? (= when did you come?; Pun JT).

palaili n. loc. palaililaŋa the name of a bush of which the (intoxicating) leaves used to be chewed mixed with ashes and tobacco (Pun JT).

palaili mak-ura n. loc. palaili mak-uralaŋa the same as the preceding (Pun JT).

palaili n. the Aboriginal name of Pun JT (supposed to mean 'walking in the front').

padka- v. ipf. palkara hit (Pun JT).

pala- v. ipf. palura; m. pf. palu mani die: parkulu jatu palura, paluŋa two cats died, were dead (Pun JT).

pandara- or pana- (Kal) v. cook (?): panara malpa cook and kill (sic; Kal PM). –cf. Kal malpa.

papa (Kal) n. old fellow, grandfather (Kal PA).

pandalYapatu n. art. nom. pandalaŋapunani menstruating (woman) (Pun JT).

pandri- v. ipf. pandira; pf. pandina hit: walaŋa ɲana pandira don't hit me (Pun JT), pandira ninai, nanai hit him, her (this one; Pun JT), marandru ɲatu pandina I hit (him) with (my) hand (Pun JT).

pandiŋala- v. rec. ipf. pandiŋalara; pf. pandiŋalaŋa; progr. pandiŋalakara fight: walaŋa jula pandiŋala don't you (two) fight, pula pandiŋalakara the two are fighting (Pun JT).

pandiŋa n. little, small: jaŋu pani pani a small or little cat (Pun FG).

pantu or panta n. spirit (little man, corresponding to the eastern Queensland d'and'ari; Pun JT).

pantyi n. brother-in-law (Pun JT).
pińki n. bread (Punthamara according to Kal PA).

piṭ'əpiṭ'a n. 1. lightning; 2. light, glittering (Pun JT); piṭ'əpiṭ'a talara it is flashing (Pun FG).

piṭ'əra (piṭ'ara) n. loc. piṭ'əralaṇa the name of a plant, pitchery (cf. markala), and a place: piṭ'əralaṇa nia kulala he living at P. (Pun JT).

piṭa n. 1. rain (Pun FG); 2. rainbow; —cf. pul'ara.

pita (Kal) n. dark (Kal PA).

pita- (Kal) V. ipf. pitana get dark (Kal PA).

piṭaani posS. n. there being rain: naḍalai piṭaani pala it is raining now (Pun JT).

piṭawara (Kal) adv. tomorrow: piṭa ra:ga ni I will see (him) tomorrow (Kal PA).

puḍkala n. knee (Pun FG).

-puk-a pl. suffix 6.3; 8.3; 9.3, 7.

puk'ura (puk'ur) n. art. nān puk'urnani; acc. puk'ur(a)nana dream: puk'urnana wakara ṇani I dreamed (Pun JT), puk'urnani ṇani tali wakaṇa I had a good (nice) dream (Pun JT), miṇ'ā puk'ura ṇani I had a bad dream, puk'ura ṇani wakaṇa I dreamed, mat'ā ṇani wakaṇa puk'ura I dreamed long ago, jaramanaṇa ṇani puk'ur(a) wakaṇa (?) I dreamed about a horse (Pun JT).

pula pers. pron. 9.3: ṇalaṇa pula jantarara where are you two going? (Pun JT).

pulai dem., pron. 9.7.

pulandu (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

pularu (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.

pulawara n. flour (from English).

puldru n. erg. puldruandru; loc. puldruṇaṇa; art. nom. puldruṇani eye(s): tak-a puldruṇaṇa (for -laṇa) dust in (my) eyes.

puldrumundu car. n. having no eyes (blind; Pun JT).

puldrupatu attr. n. having eyes (= can see well; Pun JT).

puli- v. ipf. pulira; pf. pulinəa fall: waḷ'a (ini) pulira don't (you) fall (Pun JT), pulina waṛiwa the child fell (Pun JT).

pulima- v. caus. ipf. pulimara; pf. pulimaṇa fell (a tree or a person), drop.

pulu pers. pron. 9.3.

pul'ura n. erg. pul'urandru mud (Pun JT).

pumpa- v. ipf. pumpara; pf. pumpaṇa burn, light (fire, wood): pumpara wi the fire is burning (Pun FG), jundru pumpara winana you light the fire (Pun JT), nulu wi pumpaṇa he lit a fire (Pun JT), pumpara ṇatu winana I burn the wood or I light a fire (Pun JT).

punda (Kal) n. head (Kal PA, PM).

puntamara n. the Punthamara or Wilson river language.

puntamara (Kal) n. the Wilson river language (Kal PA).

puntu (Kal) n. any hair (on arms or the body; Kal PA).

punu n. loc. punulaṇa; art. acc. pununana ground, any land or country: kulara punulaṇa (the Rainbow Serpent) remained in the land (Pun JT), naṇalai punulaṇa in this country (i.e. around Woorabinda; Pun JT).

pupa- v. ipf. pupara; progr. pupakara smoke: pupara mukunana smoking tobacco.

pura- v. ipf. purara; pf. puraṇa; m. pf. puramanī tell: ṇani jandaṇa puraṇa ina I spoke and told you (Pun JT).

puru n. com. puruluna (correct?), loc. puruluna bag (Pun JT).

purua n. art. acc. puruanana dream (Pun JT; see waka-). —cf. puk-ura.

putikat (Kal) n. pussy, cat (Kal PA).
puţa n. art. nom. puţanani rain (Pun JT).
puţa puţa n. rain (Pun JT). —cf. piţa.

R
-ra ipf suffix 11.4.
-ra (Kal) pf suffix 11.7.
-ra- (Kal) caus. suffix ? see 10.4.
-ri (Kal) acc. suffix 7.3.
-ri- intransitive der. suffix 10.9.
-ru ipf suffix 11.13.

taja n. mouth.
taja (Kal) n. mouth (Kal PA).
tak-a n. erg. tak-aandru; loc. tak-alanja; art nom. tak-anani; acc. tak-anana

dust, dirt, earth, ground, place: kulara
tak-alanja sitting on the ground (Pun JT),
nanai tak-anana this earth (Pun JT).
tak-amuka (? prob. -nuka) n. the big earth,
the world (Pun JT).
tak-apatu attr. n. having dust, dusty:
puldu tak-apatu dirt or dust in your
eye (Pun JT).
tak-ara n. plain, claypan (Pun JT).
tala- v. ipf. talara come, appear (as of
rain, etc.): talara piţa it is raining (rain
is coming; Pun FG).

talaja (Kal) n. tongue. (Pun PA).
tala-ara (-ra ?) n. cloud, —cf. tala-.
taldra n. erg. taldraandru; art. nom.
taldraia, taldraia, taldranani; erg.
taldraulu; acc. taldraina, taldranana;
poss. taldraanja; nom. pl. taldrana-
nanipuk-a; acc. pl. taldranananapuk-a
(red) kangaroo: jantara ȥani taldra-
anja I am going for (to hunt) kangaroo
(Pun JT), nat'anya ȥatu taldranana I
saw a kangaroo (Pun JT).
taldraani poss n. there being kangaroos:
taldraani jundru you have kangaroos
(Pun JT).
taldrapatu attr. n. having kangaroos:
taldrapatu naļalakai there are kangaroos
there (Pun JT).
tali n. art. nom. talia, talinani good, well:
talinani a good girl (Pun FG), talinana
ţak-a good water, a good drink (Pun JT).
tali- (Kal) v. ipf. talina; ipf. progr.
talinaanja eat, drink: jundu talina you
eat that (Kal PA), ɡap-a talina drink
water (Kal PA), ɡap-a talinaanja tanandu
they all drink (Kal PA).
talimaŋka- v. ipf. talimaŋkara make
(well): ɡatu talimaŋkara I can make (a
boomerang) (Pun JT).
talimunka- v. ipf. talimunkara; pf.
talimunkanja make, create (Pun JT).
—cf. tali, maŋka-, munka-.
talta- v. ipf. taltara; pf. talanja; progr.
taltakara eat; ɡala taltara kuŋanana
we eat the tucker (Pun JT), taltakara
ɡatu tanduluga I am eating crawfish (Pun
FG).
talu (Kal) n. all. taluku home; ɡan'akini
talu my home (Kal PA), taluku (going)
home.
tana pers. pron. 9.3.
tana (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.
tanamara dem. pron. 9.7.
tandakuru n. erg. tandakuruandru bone
(to be pointed, as in ‘boning’; Pun JT).
—cf. muk-ʊ1.
tandaŋala- v. rec. progr. tandaŋalakara
cohabit (coitus; Pun JT).
tankia (Kal) n. dead: ɡanikuni tankia
(my) father is dead Kal PA; is -ia a
masculine article, as in Punthamara? —cf.
8.8.
tap-a- v. ipf. tap-ara drink: ɡani tap-ara
kati I drink any grog (Pun FG), waļa
ɡani tap-ara ɡafara kati I do not
want to drink grog. (Pun FG), ɲak-a
tap-ara drinking water.
tara (Kal) adv. where: inkąni kundi tara
where is your house? (Kal PA).
taramaŋka n. frog (Pun FG).
tarawuli n. trousers (Pun JT; from English ‘drawers’).
tari- v. ipf. tarira adorn, dress: tarira
kukuandru dressing themselves with
clothes (Pun JT), tana tarira kukuandru
they all are dressing (Pun JT).
tara (Kal) adv. where:
i.:gkani kundi tara
where is your house? (Kal PA).
tarama:gka
n. frog (Pun FG).
tarawuli
n. trousers (Pun IT; from English 'drawers').
tari-
v. ipf.
tarira
adorn, dress:
tarira
kuku andru
dressing themselves with
clothes (Pun IT),
tana tarim kukuandru
they all are dressing (Pun IT).
tari
n. vulva: tati
pandalYa
(said either to
a man or a woman and consid ered a
'swearword' by Pun JT). —cf. pandalYa, pandalYa
papi.
tati-
v. ipf.
tatira;
pf.
tati:ga
cut:
nulu
tatim winana
he is cutting wood,
tati:ga
:ganitina
I
cut my foot (Pun
JT).
tata
n. v. erg.
tinaandru; loc. tinalaŋa; art.
nom. tinanani
foot: tinaandru
numpaŋa
kicked (Pun JT).
tina (Kal) n. foot (Kal PA).
tina- v. imp. tina; ipf. tinara; progr.
tinakara
stand.
tina- (Kal) v. imp. tina; ipf. progr.
tinanana
stand.
tinaŋ n. foot (Pun PP; probably from
another language).
tinanaŋarala n. erg. tinanaŋara
andru
poison: tinanaŋara
andru
ŋatu
mandala
I (hunted) getting him by poison (Pun JT).
tinalitya rel. n. one's uncle or nephew
(Pun JT).
tinama- v. caus. ipf. tinamarra
stick
(something) into the ground (Pun JT).
—cf. tina-.
tinamarra (Kal) n. woman (correct ? Kal
PM).
tinap-a- v. ipf. tinapara; pf. tinap-ana
stand (something) up: jundru tinap-ana
nani you stand that up (Pun JT).
tinawari- v. imp. tinawari
put down
(into a hollow; Pun JT).
tinta
n. nose (Pun FG).
tipa n. alive: nia, nani tipa
he, she is
alive (Pun JT), ñanitia ñantYa
tipa
I
have a father alive (Pun JT).
tip-a n. whistling duck (Pun JT).
titi
n. art. nom.
titia
dog.
titi-
v. imp.
titira;
pf. titiŋa;
progr.
titikala
laugh, joke:
walYa
titira
don't laugh or joke (Pun JT).
titu n. dog (Punthama according to Kal
PA). —cf. titi.
tuŋka n. erg. tuŋkandru
rotten (as meat),
dirty, stinking smell: tuŋkanana ɲak-a
that water is stinking, tuŋkandru
kuřita
sick from the smell (Pun JT).
tumpi- v. ipf. tumpira
tell: ñatu ina
tumpira
I will tell you (Pun JT).
tuna adv. after, later on: ŋatu ina

tumpira tuna I will tell you after (when I come back; Pun JT).

tuna (Kal) n. ghost.

tunuja (tunia) (Kal) n. —cf. 8.8. sun: tunuja kamirani (for -na ?) the sun is setting (Kal PA).

tup-u n. smoke.

turi adv. home: turi ŋani jantara I am going home (Pun JT).

Turka n. the whole leg (Pun JT).

Turpa n. loc. turpalaŋa ashes: ŋatu, ŋandra kut'ara mukunana turpalaŋa I, we put (used to mix) the tobacco with ashes (Pun JT).

Turukaŋa (tuɾu-) n. sand goanna (Pun JT).

-wa:uka randra n. the name of a tribe and language, about Alice Springs (Pun JT).

-wa:ukumara n. name of a tribe and language at Nockatunga and the Bulloo river, the Bulloo river language.

-wajiwa (waju(w)a) n. young, small (Pun JT). —cf. warĩwa.

-waka (Kal) n. loc. wakaŋa tree: wandina wakaŋa climbing a tree (Kal PA).

-waka- v. ipf. wakara; pf. wakaŋa; m. pf. wakamani; progr. wakakala, wakakara lie, lie down, sleep: wakaŋa niai he (this one) is lying (in the grave) (Pun JT), ŋuraluŋa ŋala wakaŋara we (two) sleep at the camp (Pun FG), mat'ya wakamani (?) puruanana in the dreamtime (Pun JT).

-wakama - v. caus. ipf. wakamara lay down, put to sleep (Pun JT).

-wakapa- v. ipf. wakapara; pf. wakapaŋa sleep in the morning: ini wakapaŋa you slept in (Pun JT).

-wakaɾati n. crow (totem; Pun JT).

-wakawari- v. ipf. wakawarira; pf. wakawariŋa; ger. wakawariila lie down (Pun JT).

-wakuŋku v. wakuŋku ŋaja I have to go (Pun FG; probably from some other language).

-wali- v. ipf. walira run (of water): ḋak-a(nani) walira running water or the water is running (Pun JT). —cf. wala'yi-.

-walka v. waɾka.

-walka- v. ipf. walkara get, fetch: walkara ḋak-a ḋalaŋu wip-ara get water from the creek (Pun FG).

-walpa- (warpa-) v. ipf. walpara; pf. warpaŋa; progr. warpakala, walpakara rise, go up: mila walpara sunrise, mila walpakara the sun rises, mila warpakala the east, warpaŋa (the sun) is already up, ŋani jantara mila warpakara I am going eastward, walpara niai he (this one) rises (from the dead) (Pun JT).
walpira (warpi-) n. loc. walpiralanga shadow, shade: walpiralanga ēnani kulara I am sitting in the shade (Pun JT).

walta- v. ipf. walta ra 1. chase; 2. take (catch; Pun JT): walta ra nina chase him (Pun JT).

walya adv. no, not, don't, cannot: walya jantara don't go, walya nat'ara cannot see, walya pitanani no rain, walya no, nupatyla walya having no wife (Pun FG). —For constructions with the privative -mundu, see ss. vV. IJa k· amundu, nupatY a amundu.

walapa'i adv. perhaps: walapa'iti pitanani I wonder if it is raining (Pun JT).

walyi- v. pf. wali'na; progr. walikala, walikara run (of water): yak·a walikara running water, a spring (Pun JT), —cf. wali-.

walypala (-pali) n. art. acc. walypalina white fellow, white people: walypalina nat'ana jandru you have seen a white person (Pun JT).

walypalaani poss. n. there being white people: walypalanipuk·a there were white people (also) (Pun JT).

wandia (Kal) v. ipf. wandina climb (Kal PA).

wanki- v. m. pf. wankimani; progr. wankikara search for (Pun JT).

wararu (Kal) n. poss. wararukani, -kini another (probably an original interrogative-indefinite pronoun): wararukani another's (Kal PA). —cf. wärana, warralu (9.10).

wari- v. ipf. warira; pf. warina leave: ēnunu warira ina I leave you (Pun JT).

-wari- directional der. suffix. 10.10.

warankani n. snake (Pun FG).

waralu interr. pron. 9. 10.

warana interr. pron. 9.10.

warıwa n. erg. warıwaandru; acc. warıwana; loc. warıwalanga; art. nom. warıwia; erg. warıwaulu; acc. warıwina, warıwanana; acc. pl. warıwananapuk·a child (boy or girl), baby, son: qant'ani warıwa son (Pun JT), ēnani warıwia (died when) I was a child (Pun JT), nandru mandana warıwananapuk·a she has many children (Pun JT).

waraka (walka) n. erg. walka(anderu; acc. walka(adora; poss. walka(adora; com. walkaluña; loc. walkalaña; art. nom. walkanani; nom. pl. walkananipuk·a woman, wife: waraka wat'uwali one woman, walkaluña pula jantakala two walking with a woman (Pun JT), possibly 'a man and a woman' (?), qant'ana walkanani my wife, waraka kuperini a female doctor (Pun JT).

warakaani (walka-) poss. n. one's woman or wife, there being a woman: walkaani jandru have you got a woman (wife)? (Pun JT).

warakamundu (walka-) car. n. art. nom. walkamundia without a woman or wife: walkamundia ēnani I am not married (Pun FG).

warpa- v. walpa-.

warpira v. walpira.

warpirapa'tu n. shady.

wati (Kal) n. abl. watikani, -kari; loc. watina bush, scrub: watikari through the bush or scrub (Kal PA).

watikan n. white woman (Pun JT).

watina n. erg. watinaandru; acc. watinana; poss. watinaña; art. poss. watinanana white woman: watinaandru mipаña or talimuńkaña the white woman did or fixed it (Pun JT).

wat'ya n. loc. wat'ulaña another: kana wat'ya another man, punu wat'ulaña in another country (Pun JT). —cf. wat'uwali.

wat'uni (Kal) n. wife (Kal PA). —cf. watina.

wat'uwali n. one. —cf. wat'ya.
waṭa (Kal) n. thigh and leg (Kal PA).
waṭu n. cat (Pun JT). —cf. jaṭu.
wi n. erg. wiandru; art. nom. winani;
    acc. winana 1. wood; 2. fire; 3. warm,
    hot: winani marikala the fire is burning
    (Pun JT), mariṇa ṇani wiandru I was
    burned by the fire (Pun JT).
wi (Kal) n. fire.
wik·ala (Kal) adv. tomorrow (Kal PA).
wilkaṇa n. dingo (Pun JT).
winta- v. pf. wintaṇa; progr. wintakara
    swim: ṇak·alaṇa nia wintakara he is
    swimming in the water (Pun JT).

wip·ara n. 1. arm; 2. creek (Pun FG).
wipaṭu attr. n. having fire: wipaṭu there
    is a fire (Pun JT).
wulukari (Kal) n. v. ? gallop (Kal PM).
wura (Kal) pers. pron. 9.3.
wuɾupinda n. loc. wuɾupindalana the
    Woorabinda settlement: naṇalakai
    wuɾupindalana taldrapatu there are
    kangaroos at Woorabinda (Pun JT).