

*The Duun̄idjawu language of  
southeast Queensland:  
grammar, texts and vocabulary*

*Pacific Linguistics*

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# Pacific Linguistics 553

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The Duunjidjawu language of  
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SUZANNE KITE AND STEPHEN WURM



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Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies  
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# Foreword

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This is a slightly revised version of the MA thesis by Suzanne Kite (ANU, 2000), being her analysis, transcription and translation of the extensive Duunjdjawa materials recorded between 1955 and 1964 by Stephen Wurm (also taking account of all other published and unpublished materials on the language). It is the only substantial record of a fascinating language which differs in a number of significant respects from the prototypical profile of non-prefixing languages in Australia. There are five vowels and a fair number of monosyllabic words. Pronouns and nouns referring to humans or to dogs have distinct case forms for all transitive subject (A), intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) functions. There are four verb conjugations. Information on syntax is limited, but three types of subordinate clause constructions can be recognised—relative, temporal and purposive.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s (soon after his arrival in Australia) Stephen Wurm undertook considerable fieldwork on languages from northern New South Wales and southern Queensland. He then began work on the languages of New Guinea, and this study took precedence over the ensuing decades. One of the few descriptive works he published on Australian languages was a short paper on the unusual pattern of accusative marking in Duunjdjawa, prepared for the 1974 symposium ‘Grammatical categories in Australian languages’ organised by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (published as Wurm 1976).

However, Wurm was generous in making his materials available to selected researchers. For example, his 1960 field notes and tapes on Kayardild were passed on to Nicholas Evans when Evans commenced his PhD research on that language in 1982 (the PhD was published as Evans 1995). Wurm went over his materials on Waŋkumara (Galŋali) with Maryalyce McDonald, and her analysis, plus the sentence corpus, were published as McDonald and Wurm (1979). Materials on other languages were passed on to Peter Austin for future publication.

Wurm’s fullest materials were on Duunjdjawa, which is a dialect of the same language as Waga-Waga, spoken just to the northwest of Brisbane. In 1997, Alexandra Aikhenvald arranged with Wurm that Suzanne Kite should write an MA thesis on analysis of Wurm’s Duunjdjawa materials. These consisted of tapes, transcriptions of Duunjdjawa words, sentences and texts, and Wurm’s translations of these in his own shorthand, which could only be read by him. When he was in Canberra, Wurm would spend one or two afternoons each week going over these materials with Kite, explaining the shorthand and reviving his knowledge of the language. He had at no stage written a draft grammar, but effectively had one in his head. It was of course hard to remember things exactly after a period of almost forty years and Kite had to mediate on inconsistencies between what was on the

tapes and Wurm's varied explications over the course of their collaboration. There were also minor divergences between what is published in Wurm (1976) and the information in his database. Stephen Wurm passed away in late 2001, after the thesis had been approved but before this work could be brought to publication.

Following the grammatical sketch (which is as full as the available materials allow), Kite has published all the texts (traditional stories and also descriptions of everyday activities) recorded by Wurm. She has not included the single word and single sentence elicitations. Finally, there is a full vocabulary, both alphabetical on Duunjidjawa and also arranged, thesaurus-style, in semantic fields.

All of the information obtained by Wurm and analysed by Kite was provided by Willie McKenzie, who was believed to be about eighty years old when Wurm first met him in October 1955 and who died in 1965. It comprises an invaluable record of the language of the Duunjidjawa people, and through this of their traditions, customs and laws.

R.M.W. Dixon

# *Acknowledgments*

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This study would not have been possible without the kind help of Professor Stephen Wurm. Stephen made available his fieldwork and recordings and gave me permission to use them as the basis for my work. He generously shared his knowledge and time with me between his frequent trips overseas.

I also wish to express my wholehearted gratitude to my supervisor Bob Dixon. Bob encouraged me to do my Masters in the first place and then suggested this topic as one that desperately needed to be addressed. He has given me detailed and constructive comments on everything I have written. He also provided me with employment at the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology over the course of my studies. No one could ask for employers who were as understanding, inspiring and appreciative as Bob Dixon and Sasha Aikhenvald.

Thanks also go to Harold Koch for valuable feedback on Chapters 3 and 4.

I am most grateful to Anya Woods for formatting the book at the draft stage with care and precision.

Finally, I must thank my family and friends for their continual encouragement and support. My parents, Ron and Lyle, have fostered and shared my interest in language and often going home to them was just what I needed to refuel my energies and refocus on my work. I am also deeply indebted to my husband Simon for always being so considerate, tolerant and loving, and for coming to the rescue with a new printer when mine blew up.

Suzanne Kite

# *Abbreviations and conventions*

---

All sentence examples are provided with an interlinear gloss, as well as an English translation of the complete sentence. Wherever possible examples are taken from the Texts (and referenced accordingly in parentheses after the English gloss). Examples from Holmer (1983) for Waga-Waga maintain his original orthography. Throughout this grammar lexical items are given in lower case, and small capitals are used for grammatical elements. The abbreviations used are:

A	transitive subject	IMPER	imperative
ABL	ablative	IMPERFV	imperfective
ABS	absolutive	INCH	inchoative
ACC	accusative	incl	inclusive
ADVLSR	adverbialiser	INSTR	instrumental
ALL	allative	INT	intention
AVERS	aversive	INTERROG	interrogative
CON	concomitant	INTJ	interjection
C	consonant	INTRO	clause introducer
CAUS	causative	intr	intransitive
COLL	collective	LOC	locative
COMIT	comitative	N	nasal
CONT	continuative	NOM	nominative
cop	copula verb	NMLSR	nominaliser
DAT	dative	NP	noun phrase
DEM	demonstrative	O	transitive object
DESID	desiderative	PERFV	perfective
DU	dual	PL	plural
EMPH	emphatic	PRES	present
ERG	ergative	PRIV	privative
excl	exclusive	PURP	purposive
EXCL	exclamation	RECIP	reciprocal
FACT	factitive	REDUP	reduplicated
FEM	feminine	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	REPET	repetitive
GEN	genitive	S	intransitive subject
GENRL	general	SG	singular
H	homorganic stop	SIMULT	simultaneous

SPEC	specifier	2	second person
SUDDEN	suddenness	3	third person
tr	transitive		
V	vowel	∅	indicates zero realisation
1	first person	+	marks a clitic boundary

# PART ONE: GRAMMAR





# 1 *The language and its speakers*

---

## 1.1 Linguistic type

Duunjdjawan is a southeastern Queensland language which is entirely suffixing and agglutinative and has relatively free constituent order. There are five vowels, all with contrastive length. For each of the bilabial, apicoalveolar, laminopalatal and dorsovelar places of articulation there is a stop and a nasal. There are two rhotics—an apicoalveolar trill and an apico-postalveolar continuant—an apicoalveolar lateral; and two semivowels, labial-velar and laminopalatal.

Duunjdjawan has an unusual system of core case marking, with nominals (excluding human nouns and dogs) inflecting in an ergative-absolutive pattern, and pronouns and human nouns (and dogs) having ergative marking for A and nominative and accusative marking for S and O respectively. A notable feature of this language is the large number of monosyllabic roots.

There are four verb conjugations. The Y class is an open class with a majority of transitive verbs, while the NG open class has mainly intransitive members. The N class is closed and is predominantly intransitive in its membership. The M conjugation has only one member, which is transitive. The only verb suffixes which distinguish these conjugations are the past, present, future and reciprocal. Duunjdjawan has many monosyllabic verb roots, several of which reflect Proto Australian forms (e.g. *nja*: 'see', *bu* 'hit', *ya* 'go', *ma*: 'hold' and *dja* 'eat'). There is also a copula verb *ye* 'be', as well as several ambitransitive verbs.

Non-inflecting particles modify sentences (e.g. 'not', 'only', 'completely', 'almost'). One of these particles, *guwe*, is rarely used in elicited sentences, but is very common in texts, often occurring several times in one sentence. It seems to indicate a sequential action, something like 'and then' in English, and frequently conjoins complex sentences. There are three kinds of subordinate clause constructions in Duunjdjawan: relative, temporal and purposive.

## 1.2 Tribal and language names

Duunjdjawan is one of several mutually intelligible dialects of the Waga-Waga<sup>1</sup> language group. These dialects are listed in Table 1.1 together with alternate spellings that have

---

<sup>1</sup> This is an arbitrary name chosen by R.M.W Dixon for these languages. They could equally have been called the 'Duunjdjawan' or the 'Wuli' (etc.) languages.

been used for them. The tribal names of this area are generally based on their respective words for 'no' (Tindale 1974). This is the case for the Waga-Waga, Gabi, Gureng and Darumbal (*darum* 'no', *-bal* tribal suffix). The name Duunjdjawanu is from *duuji* 'river' and *djawanu* 'water gum' (Winterbotham 1957).

**Table 1.1:** Waga-Waga dialects and alternative spellings

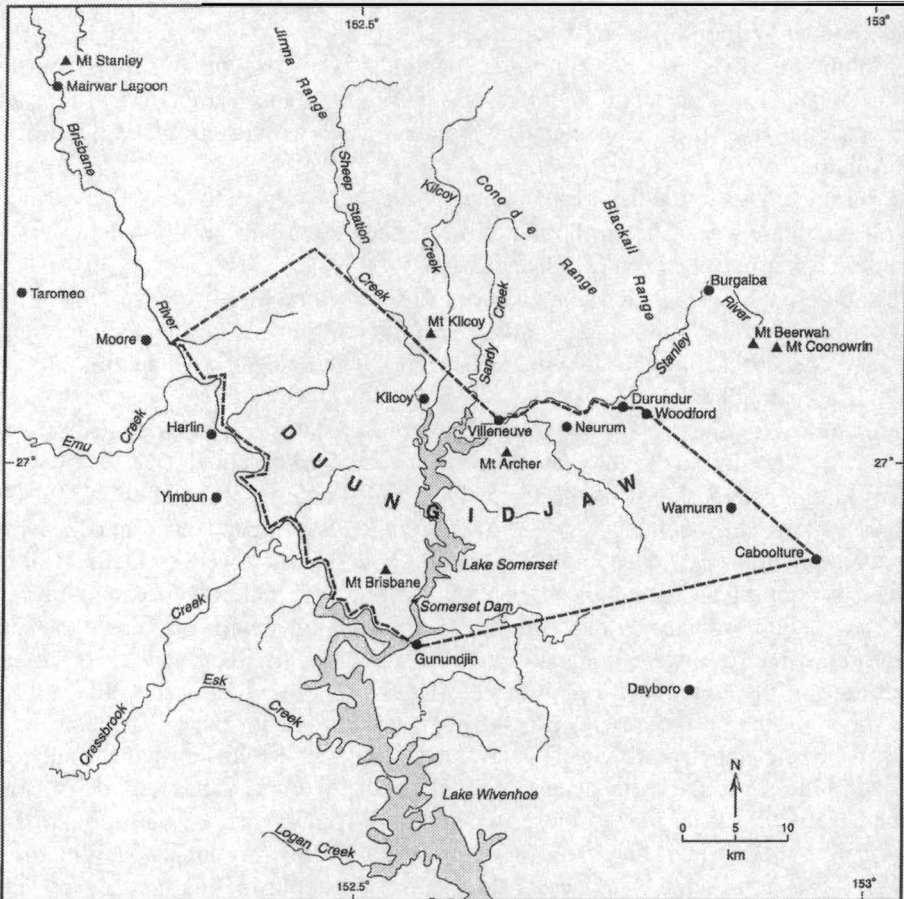
Duunjdjawanu	Dungidjau (Capell 1963), Dungidau (Tindale 1974, Winterbotham 1957), Dunggija (Holmer 1983)
Wuli-Wuli	Wulili (Mathew 1926b, Tindale 1974), Wilili (Winterbotham 1957)
Djagunda	Djaku:nda (Tindale 1938), Dakundair/Dakundeir/Djakunda (Winterbotham 1957)
Dala	Dalla (Tindale 1938, Winterbotham 1957, Capell 1963)
Waga-Waga	Woga (E. Cunningham 1887, O'Connor 1887-b), Wogga (O'Connor 1887-a), Woka (Landsborough and Curt 1887), Wokka (Illidge 1887, Armitage n.d.), Wacca-Wacca (Gir-oonbah 1894, Meston n.d.), Wakar/Wackar (Shirley 1896), Wuka Wuka (Ross 1904), Wakka Wakka (Mathew 1910), Waka (Parry-Okeden 1914), Wakka (Watson 1943/4), Waka Waka (Winterbotham 1957), Wagawaga (Capell 1963), Wakawaka (Tindale 1938), Woka-Woka (Hall n.d.a), Wakka-Wakka (Holmer 1983)
Barungam	Parrungoom (Barlow 1872–73), Barunggam (Tindale 1974, Holmer 1983)
Nalbo	Ngoera (Tindale 1974)
Giabal	Gitabal/Kitabal (Winterbotham 1957) <sup>2</sup>

Many groups of people have titles which terminate with *-bara*. Mathew (1910:129–130) says that this suffix probably means 'folk' and was used for 'communities designated by some feature distinguishing either themselves or their country'. The Jinibara was made up of four local groups: the Duunjdjawanu, Dala, Ngoera and Garumjar (Winterbotham 1957). *Jini* means 'lawyer cane' and refers to a 25-acre patch of lawyer cane on the Great Dividing Range. Other groups known to the consultant Willie McKenzie (see §1.8 below) were the Buyibara (*buyi* 'carpet snake'), Duunjabara (*duuji* 'river'), Dulinjbara (*dulinj* 'nautilus shell'), Dundubara (*dundu* 'witchetty grub'), Dowarbara (*dowar* 'dead trees') and Ngulungbara (*ngulung* 'forehead'). The Dala were also referred to as the Dalambara (*dala* means 'staghorn fern'). Other communities named by some aspect of their environment or characteristic of their people are given in Mathew (1910:129–130). A few of these are the Wutyaböra 'cedar folk' (around Kilkivan), Buaböra 'foul smell folk', Kaiyaböra 'bite folk' (near Widgee), Gigarböra 'sweet folk' (Widgee), Kuliböra 'native bee's wax folk' (near Barambah). Dixon (1980:324) reports a similar meaning for the suffix *-barra* found in Yidiny, Dyirbal and other languages to their south.

<sup>2</sup> Tindale (1974) says that Winterbotham incorrectly called these people the Gitabal in confusion with the Kitabal from New South Wales (around Woodenbong). It is possible, however, that Tindale was mistaken in categorising the Giabal as different from the Kitabal.

### 1.3 Territory and neighbours

The tribal area of the Duunjdjawa (see Map 1 below) went roughly west from Caboolture to Gunundjin (at the junction of the Stanley and Brisbane Rivers), then northwest up the Brisbane River to Moore. From there it went northeast to the Jimna Range and then southeast through Mount Kilcoy and Villeneuve to Durundur. The boundary then went in a line back down through Woodford to Caboolture (Winterbotham 1957).



**Map 1:** Duunjdjawa territory

To the north of the Duunjdjawa were the Dala. Their lands went across the Conondale Range (the mountains at the head of the Mary River) and the Blackall Range. They extended as far north as Kenilworth Bluff and to the south as far as Woodford. Burgalba Lagoon on the Stanley River was part of their territory (Steele 1983:206).

To the east of the Dala on the Mary River Plains were the Nalbo. The eastern boundary of the Nalbo was roughly a line from Eumundi to Caboolture. The Glasshouse Mountains were part of their territory. Willie McKenzie says that the Dala and Nalbo were once enemies, but became friends after a big fight (Winterbotham 1957).

The Waga-Waga were to the west and northwest of the Duunjdjauw. They were bounded in the east by the Brisbane River and Jimna Range. They extended as far north as Gayndah and Mundubbera on the Burnett River and went west to the Boyne River and Bunya Mountains. Their bora ring was at Kingaroy. The Government settlement established in 1904 at Cherbourg, to which many Aboriginal people of southeast Queensland were moved (Tennant-Kelly 1935), was in Waga-Waga territory (see Map 2).

Tindale (1974:167) gives the tribal area of the Djagunda as between the Auburn and upper Boyne Rivers, to Hawkwood in the north and the Great Dividing Range and Kumbia in the south. This seems to correspond with the area given on Winterbotham's map (prepared under Willie McKenzie's supervision).

The Wuli-Wuli lived to the north of the Djagunda. They occupied the ranges east of the Dawson River. Their northern boundary was at Walloon and Camboon and their eastern border was near Eidsvold. Their territory included Hawkwood station and the headwaters of the Auburn River.

The Barungam occupied the area south and west of the Great Dividing Range, including Dalby, Tara, Jandowae, Chinchilla and Miles. They went east to the headwaters of the Condamine River near Jackson (Tindale 1974:165).

The southernmost group were the Giabal, whose territory went from Ipswich in the east down to Allora and the Main Range in the south, then northwest through Millmerran up to Dalby, and then back through Gatton to Ipswich. It is unclear whether this group were Waga-Waga or Bandjalang.

There are two other Waga-Waga groups whose status as separate tribes remains questionable. The first is the Jarowair identified by Winterbotham (1957). They were said to live on the western slopes of the Great Dividing Range between Dalby, Bell, Crow's Nest and Oakey, thus bounded by the Waga-Waga, Barungam and Giabal. No other source mentions their existence and thus it is probable that they were in fact part of one of the three surrounding tribes. In the absence of any linguistic material we cannot be certain.

The second dubious tribe is the Garumjar, who occupied an area directly to the south of the Duunjdjauw. They were bounded in the west by the Brisbane River, in the east by Dayboro and in the south by Moggill (Steele 1983:247). According to Willie McKenzie 'the members in the northern part of its territory would fight for the other members of the Jinibara tribe [i.e. the Duunjdjauw, Dala and Nalbo], whilst those in the southern part would combine with the Kitabal [i.e. Giabal] and Jukumbe tribes .... their language contained many words similar to these two southern tribes, whereas the northern section was more like that of the Dungibara [a Waga-Waga group] (my brackets; Winterbotham 1982:28). This unusual division casts doubt on the people of this area as one unified group.

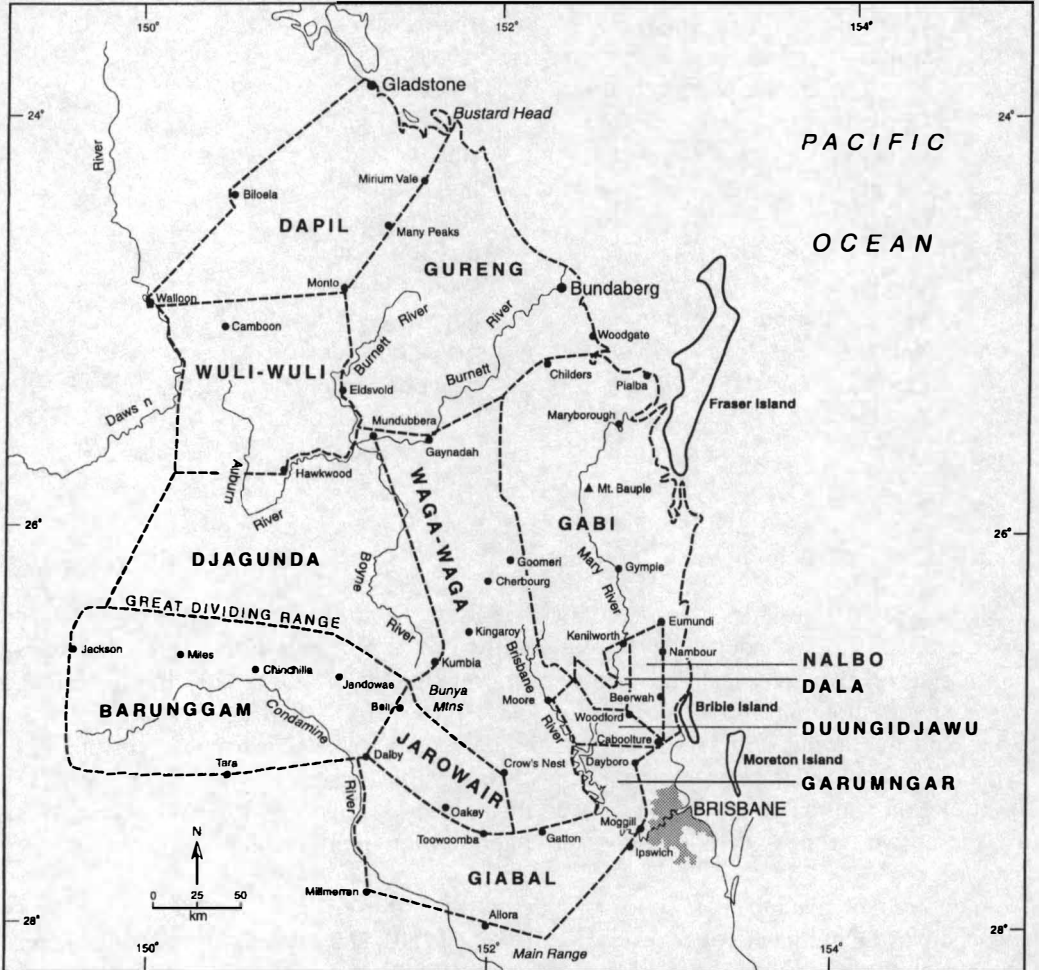
Map 2 shows the approximate locations of each of the Waga-Waga dialects. The map also displays three languages, Gabi, Gureng and Dapil, which are believed to form a subgroup with Waga-Waga on the basis of lexicostatistical figures. Vocabulary scores of these languages based on a 90-word list yield the following percentages (Dixon pers. comm.):

Dapil			
47%	Gureng		
28%	35%	Waga-Waga	
36%	41%	39%	Gabi

Verb comparisons of the languages (Dapil is excluded due to a lack of information) are:

Gureng		
54%	Waga-Waga	
54%	59%	Gabi

Further investigation of Gabi, Gureng and Dapil needs to be undertaken in order to discover the true nature of the relationship between these languages.



Map 2: Waga-Waga dialects and related languages

The Gabi people occupied the coastal region from Caboolture in the south (perhaps including Bribie Island), to Childers in the north, and inland to the Jimna Range. The Batjala dialect of this language (also known to Willie McKenzie) was spoken on Fraser Island and on the adjacent mainland around Pialba and Mount Bauple. The Gureng lived to the north of the Waga-Waga in an area roughly bounded by Eidsvold, Monto, Bustard's Head and Woodgate. The tribal area of the Dapil is believed to include Gladstone, Miriam Vale, Many Peaks and Bileola. Information on this language is limited.

## 1.4 Place names

Many present-day place names are believed to be derived from Duunjidjawan words. These are given in Table 1.2 (Steele 1983).

**Table 1.2:** Duunjidjawan place names

Beerwah	<i>birwa:</i>	'sharp point'
Bururum Lagoon	<i>burarum</i>	'waterlily'
Burgalba Lagoon	<i>burgalba</i>	'box tree'
Durundur	<i>dundur</i>	'witchetty grub'
Goomeri	<i>gumari</i>	'shield'
Gunundjin	<i>gunundjin</i>	'hollow place'
Gympie	<i>gimbi</i>	'stinging tree'
Jimna Range	<i>dji:mna</i>	'place of leeches'
Mungar	<i>mangarr</i>	'spotted gum'
Mount Boorran	<i>buran</i>	'boomerang'
Neurum	<i>nurum</i>	'magic bone dust'
Taroom	<i>darum</i>	'quandong fruit'
Wamuran	<i>wanmuran</i>	'naming ceremony'
Wararba	<i>waraba</i>	'bora ground and its ceremonies'

## 1.5 Cultural and sociolinguistic information

Mathew (1910) provides a substantial coverage of the culture of both the Waga-Waga and the Gabi in his book *Two representative tribes of Queensland*. He includes information on their physical and mental characteristics (pp.72–82), daily life, including shelter, food, clothing (pp.83–96), ceremonies (pp.97–109), disease, treatment, death, burial and mourning (pp.110–116), art, implements, utensils, weapons, corroborees (pp.117–127), social organisation (pp.128–152), family, kinship and marriage (pp.153–166), religion and magic (pp.167–178), and myths and legends (pp.179–197). He reports that these two groups were friendly and intermarried liberally and had very similar customs.

Winterbotham conducted a series of interviews with Willie McKenzie, whose first language was Duunjidjawan, over several years from 1950. His manuscript contains highly valuable cultural and linguistic information on not only the Jinibara but also on their neighbours. We are very fortunate that Winterbotham has provided us with these ethnographic details which enable us to understand the background behind much of the linguistic data attained during Wurm's subsequent fieldwork with the same native speaker.

From the above two sources (primarily), we can glean the following sociolinguistic and cultural information:

### *Mother-in-law avoidance*

The avoidance relationship between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, which is well attested across Australia, is also reported for the Waga-Waga and Gabi. As elsewhere, these relatives were forbidden from looking at one another and could not hear their names

mentioned by others. If they saw the other one approaching they would let out a characteristic soft howl as a warning. There is no evidence of a special mother-in-law language being used; however, there was a particular term, *nulang*, used to describe the relationship, with the man being *nulanj* and the woman *nulanggan* (Winterbotham 1957; see §3.2.3 [f] on the feminine suffix *-gan*).

### Initiation language

A special style of language used during male initiation ceremonies is reported by Willie McKenzie. He told Winterbotham ([1957] 1982:72) that ‘the language of the bora ring differed from that used in the camp—or at any rate had a different meaning, and there were words used among bora initiates that did not come into their common vocabulary’. He gave two examples, *biri bu:n barung* and *marugung*, but could not give their meanings as he himself was never initiated. Willie McKenzie said that when these words were heard in the camp they always caused a laugh amongst the initiates.

### Kinship

Membership of a particular class was inherited from the mother’s side. There were four classes, *Baranj*, *Banda*, *Bandjur* and *Djoronj*,<sup>3</sup> and hence two moieties, *Gabajin* (*Baranj* and *Bandjur*) and *Dilbaijin* (*Banda* and *Djoronj*). Table 1.3 shows the marriages permitted between these classes, and the class of the resulting offspring (Winterbotham 1957).

**Table 1.3:** Permitted marriages and their offspring

<i>Baranj</i> man	+	<i>Banda</i> woman	>	<i>Djoronj</i> child
<i>Banda</i> man	+	<i>Baranj</i> woman	>	<i>Bandjur</i> child
<i>Bandjur</i> man	+	<i>Djoronj</i> woman	>	<i>Baranj</i> child
<i>Djoronj</i> man	+	<i>Bandjur</i> woman	>	<i>Banda</i> child

Totems also had matrilineal descent. For example, Willie McKenzie’s mother was a *Djoronj* honey woman, which makes him a *Baranj* of the honey totem (regardless of the totem of his *Bandjur* father). Every totem had two associated totems. In the Jinibara three of these associated groups of totems were (Winterbotham 1957):

Group I	honey bee	opossum	emu
Group II	kangaroo	brown snake	eaglehawk
Group III	flying squirrel	kangaroo rat	mopoke

A person could not marry someone of the same totem or a member of an associated totem.

Marriages took place between members of the same tribe and also between members of different tribes. In the latter case, the woman would go to live with her husband’s tribe.

<sup>3</sup> These correspond to the terms *Barang*, *Bōnda*, *Banjur* and *Choroin* given by Mathew (1910:132).

*Intertribal gatherings*

The summer harvesting of the bunya trees (*Araucaria bidwillii*) was a social event which brought together the tribes of southeast Queensland and northern New South Wales. There were two main areas where these trees grew: the Blackall Range on the coast north of Brisbane (see Map 1), and the Bunya Mountains on the Great Dividing Range north of Dalby (see Map 2). The Bunya Mountains National Park has the largest remaining stand of bunya trees; however, originally there were many more bunya trees on the Blackall Range (which have since been cleared by white settlers). The bunya festival in the Bunya Mountains was attended by the inland tribes, while the coastal and subcoastal tribes visited the Blackall Ranges. Discussion here will focus on the latter as these ceremonies were hosted by the Duunjidjauw (and the Dala and Nalbo).

Messengers were sent out to neighbouring tribes in these areas when it was clear that it was going to be a good bunya season, usually every three years.<sup>4</sup> These neighbouring tribes would in turn invite their neighbours and in this way the word was spread. Petrie (1904) reported that people came from the Burnett, Wide Bay, Bundaberg, Mount Perry, Gympie, Bribie and Fraser Islands, Gayndah, Kilcoy, Mount Brisbane, and Brisbane. It is possible that they came from even further afield than this. Sullivan (1977) estimates that visitors came from 200 kilometres north and 250 kilometres south. Tribes from far away would send only those able and fit to travel, while both the young and old attended from nearby tribes (Petrie 1904). Meston estimated that 20,000 people came together for the harvest; however, this number seems implausible. When Tom Petrie attended the bunya festival in the Blackall Range in 1845–46 he saw about 600–700 Aborigines there (Petrie 1904). One hundred of these were people who he had travelled with from Brisbane. McConnel (1977) recorded there to be 500 in attendance at Durundur in the bunya season of 1864.

During these gatherings, which lasted several months, marriages were arranged between different tribes, corroborees were performed together and quarrels were settled. The exchange of weapons, hunting nets, dilly bags, possum skins, shells and necklaces also took place. Such practices are evidenced by the large number of ceremonial grounds which used to exist, most of which have not survived (Flood 1990:135). Buruja (Mount Archer on Map 1) was the main camp for corroborees during the bunya season and each tribe camped in the same spot each year. Tribal differences were settled at the fighting ground at Gugundair ('black possum') near Barambah (Winterbotham 1957). Sullivan (1977) has highlighted the primarily social function of these gatherings. She says that there was no economic gain in the Moreton Bay tribes moving to the mountains in the bunya season as they already lived in an environment that provided them with plenty of food.

The seeds of the bunya tree were eaten raw when unripe, but were roasted when mature. Often the roasted seed was pounded into a kind of meal and baked in ashes. Bnyas were stored for future consumption by placing seeds (removed from the cone) in net bags and burying them in creek beds. These stored kernels rotted and came to have an offensive odour. Each tribe laid claim to the fruit of certain trees and the 'owner' of a tree was the only person who could climb it to harvest the nuts. While toeholds can be seen on bunya trees today (Flood 1990), vines were traditionally used to climb up the trees which could

<sup>4</sup> While the bunya tree bore annually, providing enough for the local inhabitants, every three years there was a particularly abundant yield.



be up to 80 metres tall. It was believed that to cut steps into a tree would injure the tree. While the food of these trees was highly desired, its nutritional value remains questionable. Mathew (1910) reports that during the bunya season the Aborigines became fat, and according to Tindale's sources (1974), tribes often returned home from the feast covered in boils. Young people would develop acne from the food's oiliness (Leichardt 1968).

## 1.6 Contact history

The earliest known observations of Aborigines along the upper Brisbane River are from July 1829 when Allan Cunningham explored as far north as Moore in search of the origin of the river. He observed a small family of natives at Logan Creek who fled upon seeing his party. Some natives were heard, but not seen, on the river above his camp at Esk Creek. At Cressbrook Creek he noticed that the Aborigines had recently burnt patches of grass on the plain. Further up the river, just before Yimbun, Cunningham's party were approached by three native men. Cunningham noted that these young men were 'of the ordinary stature of the Aborigines of Moreton Bay (*viz.* about six feet), appeared very athletic active persons, of unusually muscular limb, and with bodies (much scarified) in exceeding good case [*sic*]. They were perfectly naked and without arms, having simply each a firestick.' (Cunningham 1829, cited in Steele 1972:331). As the explorers pushed further north they were confronted by seven men and a grown boy who at first were deemed to be intending no harm, but when chased away were seen to have heavy hand clubs attached to the belts behind them. A week later on their return trip these natives were encountered once more but kept their distance for fear of being shot at again. They came across another group of men and women near Harlin but these people quickly fled. On passing their abandoned camp, Cunningham saw baskets made of rushes, a shield, some pointed sticks used for digging up roots and several skin cloaks. In their travels this day and the following, two groups of natives were passed numbering over fifty people. Cunningham said that their weapons 'appeared to be simply rude spears about eight feet in length, scraped to a point, but without barbs; long hand clubs, and shields of soft wood and of small size. The spear appeared to be the only missile weapon they used, and this was remarked they discharged without the aid of a wommarah or throwing-stick ... Little therefore was to be apprehended from them, excepting at close quarters, when the club would become a dangerous weapon.' (Cunningham, 1829 cited in Steele 1972:341-342).

In June 1842 William Schmitt pioneered into the Bunya Mountains (Tindale 1974). He made mention of the hostility between the 'fishing people' who lived along the coast and rivers, and the 'mountain people' who lived in the rainforests.

Tom Petrie grew up in the Moreton Bay area after arriving in Australia as a very young boy in 1831. At the age of about fourteen he attended the bunya festival in the Blackall Range. He is believed to be the only free white man ever to take part in one of these feasts. He spent most of his life surrounded by Aborigines and his reminiscences (Petrie 1904) provide much cultural information not only about the Turrbal (the Brisbane tribe), but also about many other tribes of southern Queensland.

John Mathew lived in Gabi country for six years from 1865. During this time he was in constant contact with the Waga-Waga. He noted that 'of all the aborigines, young and old, known to me personally between 1865 and 1870, only 3 or 4 pure blacks and 2 half-castes were alive in 1906' (Mathew 1910:80). At this time he made the prediction that all the purebred Waga-Waga and Gabi people would disappear within the next twenty years.

## 1.7 Past linguistic investigations

### 1.7.1 Vocabulary lists

#### *Frederic de Brebant Cooper (1857)*

De Brebant Cooper gives a 200-word vocabulary list and over fifty elicited sentences of the ‘general language spoken by all the “Blacks” hunting over the country between Moreton Bay, the Gwyder River, and Port Essington,<sup>5</sup> from about 25° south latitude 149° east longitude, to 28° south latitude 152° east longitude’. He says that this area (which corresponds to Waga-Waga territory) was made up of several different tribes each with its own language, but that this ‘Neungir dialect’ was common to all of them.

#### *Bunce (1851)*

From D. Bunce we have two word lists, both badly transcribed. The first is from the Wide Bay district and was collected from Aborigines on W. Oliver’s station at Nanango on the Burnett River. Given that Nanango is in the middle of Waga-Waga territory this is possibly Waga-Waga. The second list of vocabulary was taken from a tribe who passed through his camp at ‘Charlie’s Creek’ on their way to ‘Dorondoa’ for the Bunya Bunya feast. This may also be Waga-Waga but poor transcription makes identification difficult.

#### *Barlow (1872–1873)*

The only lexical record we have of the Barungam is from Harriott Barlow. She gives fifty-two words from this dialect which she calls ‘Parrungoom’. The Barungam, according to Barlow, resided between the ‘Mooni’ and ‘Barwon’ rivers. While some of the forms she gives are clearly Waga-Waga (e.g. *koong* ‘water’, *koo-roo-man* ‘kangaroo’, *bou-you* ‘leg’), many are not.

#### *Ridley (1875)*

One of the Queensland languages compared by Ridley was ‘Paiamba’ spoken on the Darling Downs. He only gives eight words in this language (*tyan* ‘man’, *kidn* ‘woman’, *birraṇa* ‘boy’, *ṇumōaṇgān* ‘girl’, *tjūku* ‘baby’, *tyān* ‘Australian Aboriginal’, *karabi* ‘white man’ and *ṇorogun* ‘forehead’), but they appear to be Waga-Waga. Ridley also gives thirty-three words ‘used at Durundurun, near the Glasshouse mountains’. These are probably from the Dala dialect.

#### *Curr (1887)*

Curr received three Waga-Waga vocabularies (no. 159), two of which were taken from the Dawson River (by John O’Connor and E. Cunningham respectively), and the other from the Burnett River (by O’Connor). (Curr believes that the latter actually came from the Dawson River people too.) Two further lists are given in Curr which can be identified

<sup>5</sup> De Brebant Cooper must be mistaken because Port Essington is in the Northern Territory and certainly does not fall within the delineated area.

as Waga-Waga. The first (no. 167) is a combination of two very similar vocabularies forwarded to him by W. Landsborough and Montagu Curr. It is from the upper Brisbane River. The second list (no. 169) was forwarded by the Commissioner of Police, and is said to be the vocabulary of the Murrumngama tribe of the Condamine River and Charley Creek.

#### *Illidge (1887)*

Thomas Illidge, the postmaster at Gayndah, compiled a long list (twelve pages) of 'Wokka' words and sentences taken from an Aboriginal man named 'Wondamgnu'. He also has another list of the same items but in a related dialect which he calls 'Wokkaburra'.

#### *Gir-oonbah (pseud.) (1894)*

In a letter to the *Queenslander* dated the 20 October 1894, Gir-oonbah gave the comparative vocabulary of seven words in three languages, Kong-oo-loo (Duaringa), Wacca-Wacca (Burnett) and Bink-e-vul (Gracemere). These Waga-Waga words (as given) were *koong* 'water', *jaim* 'meat', *jun-un* 'sun', *kuk-e-ra* 'moon', *deong* 'teeth', *jin-ong* 'fool; track' and *jain* or *joom-oon* 'blackfellow'.

#### *Shirley (1896)*

Vocabularies of the 'Gowrburra' and 'Koolaburra' tribes were taken by John Shirley, District Inspector of Schools. These names probably refer to totemic groups, as *gowr* means 'laughing jackass' and *koola* means 'native bear', and *-burra* is presumably the *-bara* suffix described in §1.2 earlier. The Gowrburra are said to have occupied 'the tableland, forming part of the Burnett basin, between Nanango and Kilkivan, drained by Barambah Creek and its tributaries' (p.1). The land of the Koolaburra is given as that 'between Taraméo and Nanango, which forms the watersheds between the Brisbane and Burnett to the north, and the Brisbane and Condamine to the west' (p.1). The locations and forms given by Shirley are consistent with what we know of the Waga-Waga language and territory.

#### *John Ross (1904)*

John Ross, in addition to providing information about the totems and sections of the 'Wuka Wuka', gives ten words from this language: *wuka* 'no', *tuning* 'tongue', *tinong* 'foot', *mil* 'eye', *gongin* 'fire', *gining* 'arm', *mah* 'hand', *carboui* 'one', *boor* 'two' and *bo-or carboui* 'three' (preserving his orthography).

#### *Mathew (1910/1926)*

Mathew gives vocabulary lists for the Waga-Waga language in both his 1910 book *Two representative tribes of Queensland* (thirty-two pages) and in his 1926(a) paper in the *Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (seven pages). He states that the 1926 list contains many words that are not included in his 1910 list. There is also in the

1926(b) publication a three-page vocabulary list of the 'Wulili' language from Auburn, Redbank, Camboon and Walloor on the Dawson River.

*Parry-Okeden (1934)*

Mr W.E. Parry-Okeden, who was Commissioner of Police in Queensland from 1895 to 1905, collected a list of Waga-Waga words and sentences from Hawkwood station in 1914. An understanding of the orthography used is aided by a description given in Perry (1928) of the pronunciation of several words from this Burnett district. Parry-Okeden is said to have taken 'a keen interest in the aboriginals, acquiring a mastery of several dialects' (p.116).

*Tindale (1938)*

In 1938 at Cherbourg, Tindale collected vocabulary lists of the Dala, Djagunda and Waga-Waga. While the Djagunda list is only seven words long, the other two each contain over ninety words.

*Watson (1943–1944)*

In *Some notes on the Aborigines of South East Queensland and their languages*, Watson gives an English–Waga-Waga word list (and reverse Waga-Waga–English list). Unfortunately, he does not state the source of this vocabulary; however, it is believed to have been copied from earlier sources. Certainly, many of the forms are identical to those given by Mathew (1910, 1926a).

*Winterbotham (1957)*

Winterbotham provides us with the only word list specifically of the Duunjdjawa language. His consultant was Willie McKenzie (see §1.8 below). This manuscript contains a vocabulary list of over three hundred words, including forty-eight kinship terms, which are transcribed using an adapted version of the International Phonetic Alphabet.<sup>6</sup> Despite some differences in orthography, Winterbotham's list accords closely with Wurm's fieldwork, on which much of the present study is based. In the Duunjdjawa vocabularies accompanying this grammar, words from Winterbotham's list which were not elicited by Wurm are included (and referenced accordingly).

*Allen Hall (n.d.a.) [early 1970s]*

Allen Hall recorded twenty words from the Biloela dialect of 'Woka-Woka' in the early 1970s. These words were originally taken from Mr Jimmy Daylight (but were supplied to Hall from Mrs Olga Miller) who said that this dialect was spoken around Woorabinda and also around Mundubbera. Mrs Queenie Meldrum provided Hall with about eighty words and many more phrases of the Wuli-Wuli dialect from Hawkwood Station, south of Mundubbera.

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<sup>6</sup> The adaptation set out in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, vol. 64, 1940, p.147.

*Holmer (1983)*

Holmer has a 45-page dictionary of Waga-Waga, Barungam and Wuli-Wuli languages which he says are closely related. For each lexical entry the part of speech is given, as well as the consultant (there were twenty-one Waga-Waga consultants, two Barungam and three Wuli). He also gives the inflections found on each root and many illustrative sentences. This is a useful vocabulary list as it is relatively reliable and contains a great deal of information.

*Armitage (n.d.)*

On the request of Sir Mathew Nathan, Governor of Queensland, Edward F. Armitage compiled a considerable word list of the language of the Wide Bay district, which was said to include the upper Mary River, Noosa and Fraser Island. He identified these people as the Gabi and Waga-Waga.

*Meston (n.d.) [c. 1900]*

From Meston we have several vocabulary lists from southeast Queensland. One of these is said to be 'Wacca-Wacca', however, it actually appears to be a mix of Waga-Waga and Gabi words (Dixon pers. comm.). The others are from the 'Boobbera tribe' (three pages), the 'Cooya tribe' (two pages) and the 'Gooray dialect' (one page). There are also seven and a half pages of vocabulary from a language (?) whose name is illegible. All of these lists seem to contain some Waga-Waga words; however, any further dialectal identification is not possible.

### **1.7.2 Grammatical studies**

*R.H. Mathew (1910)*

Mathew gives five pages of grammatical notes on the Waga-Waga language. He admitted that he had a better command of Gabi than Waga-Waga, but for the most part his description of Waga-Waga grammar is accurate and useful. In these notes Mathew discusses the noun, the pronoun, the adjective, the adverb, the conjunction and the verb.

*S.A. Wurm (1976)*

In this paper, which is the only published work on Duuŋidjauw, Wurm outlines the somewhat unusual case-marking system in this language. He uses thirty-one example sentences, each with interlinear glosses, to illustrate how the language is an ergative language for nouns and pronouns while also exhibiting wide-spread accusative marking. He lists the personal pronouns in their nominative, accusative and ergative forms, and gives the four allomorphs of the accusative suffix and the seven allomorphs of the ergative suffix. There is also a chart of the consonant and vowel phonemes of Duuŋidjauw.

*N.M. Holmer (1983)*

Nils Holmer in his *Linguistic survey of south-eastern Queensland* provides a comprehensive (though not entirely accurate) analysis of the languages of the Waga-Waga group. He divides these languages into two subgroups, a western group consisting of Waga-Waga, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli, and an eastern group consisting of Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng, Gabi-Gabi and Batjala. For Waga-Waga he gives a detailed overview (eighteen pages) of the phonology and the morphology of the language based on his work with twenty-one consultants. Holmer interviewed Willie McKenzie briefly in 1964 and said that his language was Batjala and that he mixed it a lot with the more prestigious Waga-Waga. This claim is not supported by Wurm's fieldwork in which Willie McKenzie clearly differentiated between the two languages.

### 1.8 Sources for this study

The sole consultant for this study was Willie McKenzie, who was about eighty years old when Wurm commenced fieldwork in October 1955. At this time Willie McKenzie was living on Stradbroke Island. After this he moved to the Anglican Old Men's Home in Brisbane, which is where Wurm met him for the later three sessions of fieldwork (June 1960, May 1961 and November/December 1964). He knew English well as a consequence of spending quite a lot of time with white people. Wurm found him to be a relatively sophisticated consultant. Willie McKenzie died in 1965.

Willie McKenzie was born at Bumgur 'blue cod' (Kilcoy Creek). His totemic name, *Gaiarbau*, means 'to scatter about' (he was of the honey totem). His mother was a Nalbo. She was called *Yawaramau* which means 'to build up from the ground'. His father's totemic name was *Wajgirmau* meaning 'feather of wedgetail eagle'.<sup>7</sup> He was born at Durundur and passed down to his family knowledge of the traditional laws and customs of their people.<sup>8</sup> At the age of sixteen Willie McKenzie left his camp at Woodford and went with about forty other men to learn the boundaries of the neighbouring tribes and to observe their way of life. Woodford was a government camp made up of about five hundred natives of various tribes. He was never initiated and thus was not privy to the secret ceremonies learnt at this time. Winterbotham (1957) hypothesises that this may account for his willingness to allow others to record information regarding his tribespeople. Willie McKenzie's promised wife belonged to the Yugumbah (an Ipswich tribe) but he did not meet her until he was thirty-five. Prior to this he married a woman of the right class that he had met in Brisbane (Winterbotham 1957).

Holmer (1983) says that McKenzie was well-known amongst the Aborigines of his area and that most people claimed that they were related to him in some way. He was the last very good speaker of Duunjdjauw. At the time of Wurm's fieldwork there were only a few others who could speak it with him but they mixed their language a lot. McKenzie also knew Batjala (a Gabi language traditionally spoken on Fraser Island) very well as he grew up amongst a group of Batjalas. Wurm elicited the Batjala equivalents of some of the Duunjdjauw vocabulary and sentences, and recorded one Batjala text. Willie McKenzie

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<sup>7</sup> These totemic names and their meanings are those given by Winterbotham (1957).

<sup>8</sup> Excepting that information which could not be passed on to an uninitiated person.

told Winterbotham that he could also converse in Dala, Nalbo, Gabi-Gabi, Waga-Waga and Dungibara, and that he could understand Dowarbara.

For the present study I spent many hours with Professor Stephen Wurm going through his three hundred pages of fieldnotes on Duunjdjawa (and Batjala). I have also transcribed his original recordings (approximately six hours).<sup>9</sup> As a linguist working on this language thirty-four years after the last speaker passed away, I am at the disadvantage of not being able to conduct my own fieldwork. I am thus indebted to Professor Wurm for having allowed me to use his fieldwork in an attempt to fill in a gap in our current state of knowledge about Aboriginal languages from southeast Queensland. In areas where linguistic information was lacking for Duunjdjawa I have attempted to include material from other Waga-Waga dialects. Copies of Wurm's fieldnotes and tapes are held in the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra.

Finally, it must be highlighted that this is a grammar of a language in its last stages of existence. This means that forms and structures found at this time may, in some cases, be quite recent developments. This may, or may not, help to account for some of the more unusual features found in this language. Note also that examples cited from Holmer (1983) maintain his spelling, as it is not always clear how his orthography corresponds to mine.

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<sup>9</sup> Given that Wurm did the fieldwork, he no doubt heard other forms in the language that were not captured on tape. I, however, can only base my analysis on what has been recorded. This has meant that occasionally there are places in this grammar where my interpretations differ from those given by Wurm (1976).

# 2 Phonology

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## 2.1 Phonemes and their realisations

In Duunjdjawan there are twenty-three segmental phonemes—thirteen consonants and ten vowels (i.e. five vowels each with contrastive length).

### 2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory for Duunjdjawan is given in Table 2.1.

**Table 2.1:** Consonant phonemes

	labial-velar	apicoalveolar	apico- postalveolar	laminopalatal	dorsovelar
stop	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>dj</i>	<i>g</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
lateral		<i>l</i>			
rhotic		<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>		
semivowel	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	

Duunjdjawan distinguishes four points of articulation for stops and nasals, namely labial-velar, apicoalveolar, laminopalatal and dorsovelar. In having just one apical and one laminal series, Duunjdjawan is similar to other eastern languages such as Gugu-Yalanji, Dyirbal and Wargamay from Queensland and Gumbaynggir and Bandjalang from northeastern New South Wales (Dixon 1980). Stops are invariably voiced.

There are two rhotic phonemes—an apicoalveolar roll or trill *rr* and an apico-postalveolar continuant *r*.

Duunjdjawan, like most languages of eastern Australia, has a single lateral *l*. This *l* is typically a voiced alveolar liquid, but is occasionally velarised as in [*duṭa*] ‘soft’, [*miṭ*] ‘alive’ and [*ŋu:ṭ*] ‘spirit’. Note that the sequence of /l/ plus /y/ found across a syllable boundary (e.g. *dudulye* ‘swollen’, *gabulya* ‘Caboolture’) is not to be taken as a laminopalatal lateral.

There are two semivowels, laminal /y/ and peripheral /w/. The bilabial stop /b/ often lenites to the /w/ semivowel word-initially in rapid speech.

As is often the case in languages, there is an interjection and two exclamations in Duunjdjawan which feature sounds not used in any other words. These are the palato-



alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in the interjection *ʃu:*, and the glottal stop ʔ and the approximant *h* in the exclamations *eʔe* and *hara* respectively (see §4.12).

### 2.1.2 Vowels

Duunjdjawan is unusual for an eastern Australian language in having a five-vowel system /i/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /u/ (/ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are written as *e* and *o* respectively). Each of these also occurs as a long vowel. The following minimal and near-minimal pairs illustrate the contrastive vowel length:

<i>bari</i>	‘child’	<i>ba:ri</i>	‘bring’
<i>muwe</i>	‘possess’	<i>buwe:</i>	‘stick in’
<i>gira</i>	‘wake up’	<i>gi:ra</i>	‘bone’
<i>ŋowa:m</i>	‘2DU’	<i>ŋo:wan</i>	‘2PL’
<i>duŋa</i>	‘cry’	<i>du:ŋi</i>	‘river’

The two minimally contrasting sets below show the differences in vowel quality:

<i>gaya</i>	‘up, above’	<i>ma:</i>	‘head’
<i>gen</i>	‘sharp’	<i>me:</i>	‘chase’
<i>giya:</i>	‘whistle duck’	<i>mi:</i>	‘nose’
<i>gonj</i>	‘want’	<i>mo:</i>	‘that’
<i>guŋa</i>	‘dew’	<i>mu:</i>	‘belly’

Holmer (1983:15–19) offers the following phonological explanations of how the /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ developed out of the typical Australian three-vowel system in the Waga-Waga languages:

- the *e* and *o* (and their long counterparts) are primarily reductions from the diphthongs *ai* and *au* which were originally the vowel–plus–semivowel sequences *aj* and *aw* (e.g. *wangai* ‘snake’ in Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng and Batjala corresponds to *wange* in Waga-Waga, and *yau* ‘yes’ in Batjala corresponds to *yo* in Waga-Waga);
- ‘vowel levelling’ occurred whereby a compromise between an *a* and an *i* in the same word resulted in them both becoming *e*, and likewise words with both *a* and *u* turned both of these vowels into *o*;
- the contraction of original *ia* (*iya*, *ya*) and *ua* (*uwa*, *wa*) may have given rise respectively to *e* and *o*;
- once the *e* and *o* vowels had become phonemes, vowels in neighbouring syllables assimilated and became *e* or *o* respectively.

Holmer’s ideas give us possibilities to be considered and further explored. Unfortunately, none of these changes seems to have applied consistently in Duunjdjawan. For example, there are many words in Duunjdjawan with *ay* and *aw* sequences (i.e. *bayel* ‘cloud, sky’, *barawam* ‘meat-ants’). Here, and throughout the grammar, it must be borne in mind that the data for this study was collected from the last speaker of Duunjdjawan, who in his later years had very limited use of the language. He was therefore heavily reliant on

his memory of the language, and for this reason there may be inconsistencies in the forms he has given.

Sequences of a vowel plus a semivowel plus another (different) vowel are often realised phonetically as diphthongs in rapid speech. For example, /djurayi/ [djurai] 'hungry', /giyen/ [gien] 'nail, claw', /bowan/ [boan] 'tiredness', /doyi/ [doi] 'stone', and /guwengi/ [guengi] 'long, tall'. There is also a tendency for vowel plus semivowel plus (same) vowel sequences to be reduced to long vowels when spoken quickly. For instance, /biyibi/ [bi:bi] 'edible seed', /djowon/ [djo:n] 'flood', /geyem/ [ge:m] 'language', and /gawa/ [ga:] 'cut, chop'. This may help to account (1) for the development of some long vowels, and (2) for the large number of monosyllabic words found in this language (see §2.2.1 below).

## 2.2 Phonotactics

### 2.2.1 Syllable structure

The syllable structure in Duunjdjawa is CV(C). There may be only one long vowel per word and this may occur in either the first or the second syllable (never in the third).<sup>10</sup> Unlike many Australian languages in which words must consist of at least two syllables, Duunjdjawa allows monosyllabic words.<sup>11</sup> There are forty-six nouns which are monosyllabic, fourteen verbs (see Table 3.18), six particles, four pronouns, four demonstratives, three interjections and one interrogative. Of the seventy-eight monosyllabic words in this language, thirty-eight have short vowels and the other thirty-nine have long vowels. Lexical roots are most commonly of two syllables but may also be of three or four syllables. Disyllabic roots have the structure  $C_1V(C_2)C_3V(C_4)$  or  $C_1VC_3V(C_4)$ . For three- and four-syllable words  $C_2C_3$  or  $C_5$  is found between each pair of vowels, and for monosyllables the structure is  $C_1V(C_4)$ . The possibilities for  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$ ,  $C_4$  and  $C_5$  are detailed in §2.2.2 below.

### 2.2.2 Occurrence of phonemes

Consonantal phonotactics are summarised in Table 2.2. From this table it can be seen that every consonant can occur intervocalically. A word may begin with any consonant except the liquids *l*, *rr* and *r*, and word finally only the nasals, liquids and *y* occur. In terms of the  $C_1$ ,  $C_2$ ,  $C_3$ ,  $C_4$  and  $C_5$  possibilities, the following generalisations can be made:

- the possibilities at  $C_3$  coincide with those at  $C_1$
- the possibilities at  $C_4$  coincide with those at  $C_2$  (except that *y* is found at  $C_4$  but not at  $C_2$ )
- any consonant can occur in the  $C_5$  position

<sup>10</sup> With the exception of inherently reduplicated words (e.g. *wa:wa:* 'crow', *we:we:* 'pee-wee', *gi:ragi:ra* 'nose bone').

<sup>11</sup> In this regard, Duunjdjawa is more like Proto Australian which Dixon (1980:172) believes had 'a full array of monosyllabic roots and words'.

Table 2.2: Occurrence of phonemes

C <sub>1</sub> word-initial	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dj</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>				<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
C <sub>4</sub> word-final					<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>y</i>
C <sub>5</sub> intervocalic	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dj</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
C <sub>2</sub> first member of CC					<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>		
C <sub>3</sub> second member of CC	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dj</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>				<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>

Table 2.3: Consonant clusters

followed by	initial consonant						
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>njb</i>	<i>ŋb</i>	<i>lb</i>	<i>rrb</i>	<i>rb</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>md</i>	<i>nd</i>					
<i>dj</i>	<i>mdj</i> *	<i>ndj</i>	<i>njdj</i>	<i>ŋdj</i>		<i>rrdj</i> *	
<i>g</i>	<i>mg</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>njg</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>rrg</i> *	<i>rg</i>
<i>m</i>		<i>nm</i>	<i>njm</i>		<i>lm</i>		
<i>n</i>	<i>mn</i>					<i>rm</i> *	<i>m</i> *
<i>nj</i>						<i>rnj</i>	
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>mŋ</i>	<i>nŋ</i>	<i>njŋ</i>		<i>lŋ</i>	<i>rrŋ</i> *	<i>rŋ</i> *
<i>w</i>						<i>rrw</i>	<i>rw</i>
<i>y</i>					<i>ly</i>		

Two-member consonant clusters are quite frequent. Table 2.3 lists those consonant-cluster sequences encountered intramorphemically. Several other clusters are attested intermorphemically and these are marked in the table by an asterisk. Consonant clusters of any homorganic nasal plus stop are the most common (i.e. *mb*, *nd*, *njdj* and *ŋg*). However, clusters of any nasal or liquid, followed by any stop, nasal or semivowel are also found. Intervocalic clusters of three consonants are not found in this language.

Vowels may occur word-medially and word-finally. Previous sources had instances of words beginning with vowels. For example, Winterbotham (1957) had *imar* 'quietness', *ugari* 'ocean shell' and *umur* 'half moon', and Mathew (1910) had *indyun* 'native cat' and *atyu* '1SG Agent'. On this basis, it can be said that /wu/ -initial words can be pronounced [wu] or [u] and /yi/ -initial words can be pronounced [yi] or [i]. The 1SG pronoun which Mathew gives as *atyu* is *ŋadju* (see Table 3.4).

A brief mention should be made of the structure of suffixes, as the phonological possibilities for suffixes differ slightly from those above for roots. Minimally, a suffix may consist of just a consonant (e.g. the 'suddenness' verbal suffix *-n*) or a vowel (e.g. accusative *-a*). Other monosyllabic and disyllabic suffixes have the same syllable structure as roots (i.e. CV(C)). All consonants (except *rr*) are found suffix-initially (unlike roots which don't allow *r* and *l* initially), and only nasals are allowed suffix-finally. There are no instances of the vowel *o* in suffixes. There are also monosyllabic suffixes of a CCV

structure, where the consonant cluster is a nasal plus stop (e.g. *-nda* 'simultaneous', *-ɲgu* 'purposive', *-nge* 'imperfective').

### 2.3 Stress

In polysyllabic words with no long vowels, primary stress falls on the first syllable, and secondary stress falls on odd numbered syllables (e.g. *yánjaràn* 'old woman'). All long vowels bear stress. If the long vowel is in the first syllable of a word the stress pattern is as described above. If the long vowel is in the second syllable of a word, however, this syllable takes primary stress and the first syllable takes secondary stress (e.g. *bìyá:yu* 'two').

# 3 Morphology

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## 3.1 Parts of speech

Three word classes can be distinguished in Duunjdjau:

Nominals: nouns  
adjectives  
quantifiers  
location and time words  
personal pronouns  
demonstratives  
interrogatives

Verbs

Particles and Interjections

These are based on the following inflectional possibilities:

1. Nominals may all be marked for case and fill argument slots in the syntax;
2. Verbs may inflect for tense, aspect and mood and fill predicate slots in the syntax;  
and
3. Particles and interjections are uninflecting words.

Each word in the language generally belongs to only one word class; however, membership can be changed by various derivational processes.

Each word class will now be discussed.

[a] Nominals are further subdivided into nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, location and time words, personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives, all of which occur with some or any of the case inflections. *Nouns* are the largest of all the word classes in Duunjdjau. They generally refer to concrete objects, for instance, birds, body parts and artefacts, but may also refer to some abstract concepts, such as kinship terms, spirits and compass point terms. *Adjectives* and *quantifiers* differ from nouns semantically. That is, while nouns express concrete objects, adjectives express the properties of these objects, and quantifiers express the number of objects. *Time* and *location* words are semantically adverbs of time and place; however, they take a subset of nominal inflections, thus justifying their inclusion here. *Personal pronouns* are a closed set of items that show some similarities in inflection to those on nominals. Pronouns have a three-way system of marking the core syntactic cases which differs from the ergative/absolute system used with most nouns. They distinguish three persons and singular, dual and plural number.

*Demonstratives* express proximity relative to the speaker or refer to something previously mentioned in the discourse. They are a closed class of items which are similar to nouns in inflecting for local case and sometimes number. *Demonstratives* also take other inflections which differ from those taken by nouns and pronouns. *Interrogatives* are those words which seek information. Inflections are in some cases the same as, and in other cases different from, those found on nouns and pronouns. *Interrogatives* fill NP slots in the syntax.

[b] Verbs are distinguished from nominals by the type of inflections taken and by their derivational possibilities. Unlike nominals, which are marked for case, verbs are marked for tense, aspect and mood. They also differ from other word classes in their semantic content, which refers to motion, rest, affect and so on. Syntactically, verbs are divided into transitive, intransitive and ditransitive. Verbs fall into one of four conjugations.

[c] Particles are non-inflecting words which have a wide range of meaning. There are two subclasses based on semantic and functional characteristics. Firstly, there are adverbial particles that modify the verb and have a lexical meaning (e.g. 'quickly', 'completely'). Secondly, there are grammatical particles which have a wider scope. This subclass includes words which modify a complete sentence, words which mark interclausal or interphrasal coordination, and other words which have a grammatical rather than a lexical meaning. Interjections are invariable, independent words which may comprise a complete grammatical utterance. They include forms that indicate agreement and disagreement, as well as exclamations of surprise and uncertainty.

### 3.2 Noun morphology

The noun in Duunjidjawan has the following structure:

ROOT – (DERIVATION) – (INFLECTION)

#### 3.2.1 Noun cases: form

Table 3.1 gives the noun case inflections and their allomorphs. *H* represents a stop homorganic to the preceding stem-final nasal. A question mark indicates a form that was not attested. It should be pointed out that following a short vowel there are three ergative (-*ndu*, -*ru* and -*yu*) and three locative<sub>1</sub> (-*nda*, -*ra* and -*ya*) allomorphs.<sup>12</sup> These are morphologically determined and not conditioned by the semantics, phonology, phonotactics or number of syllables of the noun stem. In the alphabetical vocabulary in Part Three of this book all short vowel-final nouns are given with their respective ergative/instrumental and locative<sub>1</sub> allomorphs if known. Duunjidjawan is similar to Gumbaynggir, a language spoken along the north coast of New South Wales, in having ergative and locative suffixes that are solely morphologically determined after short vowels (Eades 1979).

Duunjidjawan differentiates two types of noun when it comes to accusative marking. The first type are all 'ordinary' nouns including human classification terms (e.g. *buginj* 'dog', *gurilja* 'old man', *wogan* 'woman'), while the second type are 'kin' nouns (e.g. *dudu* 'mother', *mama:* 'mother's brother'). Gumbaynggir also makes the distinction between

<sup>12</sup> The word *mu:* 'belly' and *bi:* 'hand' are the only ones which despite ending in a long vowel take the ergative/instrumental suffix -*ndu* found on short vowel final noun stems. Also, the noun *dja:* 'ground' takes a locative<sub>1</sub> form -*ba*. Perhaps these irregularities have something to do with these all being monosyllabic words.

ordinary and kin nouns; however, in Gumbaynggir the two-way classification of nouns applies to all noun cases, not just the accusative (Eades 1979).

Table 3.1: Noun cases

	after short V	after long V	after nasals	after <i>r</i> and <i>rr</i>	after <i>l</i> and <i>y</i>
ergative/instrumental	<i>-ndu</i> <i>-ru</i> <i>-yu</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-Hu</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-u</i>
locative <sub>1</sub>	<i>-nda</i> <i>-ra</i> <i>-ya</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-Ha</i>	<i>-a</i>	?
accusative/dative <sub>2</sub> on ordinary nouns		<i>-na</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-na</i>	?
on kin nouns		<i>-ya</i>	<i>-a</i>	?	?
dative <sub>1</sub>		<i>-wa</i>	<i>-ba</i>	?	?
dative <sub>3</sub>		<i>-ri</i>	<i>-gari</i>	<i>-gari</i>	?
locative <sub>2</sub>		<i>-ni</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ni</i>	?
ablative <sub>1</sub> /locative <sub>3</sub>		<i>-nu</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-nu</i>	?
ablative <sub>2</sub> /aversive		<i>-waji</i>	<i>-baji</i>	?	?
causal		?	<i>-u</i>	?	?
allative/purposive/desiderative			<i>-gu</i>		

### 3.2.2 Noun cases: function

#### 3.2.2.1 Syntactic core cases

In most Australian languages nominals inflect in an ergative–absolutive pattern and pronouns inflect in a nominative–accusative paradigm. Duunjdjawa is different in that while nouns (excluding human nouns and dogs) do inflect on an ergative–absolutive case system, human nouns (and dogs) and pronouns have a three-way system with a separate case inflection for each of the S, A and O functions. This is represented in Table 3.2 below. (Pronouns will be further discussed and exemplified in §3.3.)

Table 3.2: Core case marking

	pronouns	human nouns (and dogs)	other nouns
A	ERG	ERG	ERG
S	∅ (NOM)	∅ (NOM)	∅ (ABS)
O	ACC	ACC	∅ (ABS)

#### [a] Nominative

The nominative in Duunjdjawa has zero realisation and is thus the bare stem of the human noun or pronoun in S function. For instance:

- (1) njubanji                      yuna-nji  
 married.couple+NOM sleep-PERFV  
 'The married couple were sleeping.' (Meat-ants 96)
- (2) ma:djayum ba-yi  
 giant+NOM come-PAST  
 'The giant came.' (Evening Star 1:34)
- (3) dudu                      barandji-nji  
 mother+NOM stand-PERFV  
 '[His] mother was standing [there].' (Crooked Neck 3:29)

The gloss NOM will not be used in any further examples.

#### [b] Accusative

The accusative marks the transitive (O) function in a sentence. Wurm (1976) outlines where accusative marking is used in this language. Many of his observations have been reiterated here, while others have been modified or expanded upon.

Accusative case marking is used with:

(i) human nouns and dogs. Examples include:

- (4) gembe-nji    gira-yi                      guwe dudu-ŋa  
 play-PERFV wake.up-PAST then mother-ACC  
 '[He] was playing and then woke up [his] mother.' (Meat-ants 107)
- (5) ŋa-dju    be:ŋa-ø                      babu-ŋa  
 1SG-ERG think.of-GENRL father-ACC  
 'I am thinking of [my] father.'
- (6) bugin-j-a    mana nja-wu  
 dog-ACC DEM see-FUT  
 '[They] will see the dog.' (Evening Star 2:106)
- (7) njanjunde-na    ma:-nji  
 dingo-ACC catch-PERFV  
 '[He] caught a dingo.' (Evening Star 1:10)

Wurm (1976:106) says that the accusative is used with 'other animate beings *such as* dogs'. I have no examples, however, of the accusative being used with any animate beings *other than* humans and dogs. All other animals are found unmarked as object.

Wurm also states that accusative marking is used with nouns such as *dadu* 'tree' and *guyum* 'camp, fire'. I have only two examples, (8) and (9), which substantiate this claim; elsewhere these particular nouns are always found unmarked for O in my corpus.

- (8) ŋa-nja    dadu-wam-a    wiye-ø  
 1SG-DAT<sub>2</sub> stick-DU-ACC give-IMPER  
 'Give me two sticks!'
- (9) ŋa-dju    dadu-wam-a    nja-ŋi  
 1SG-ERG tree-DU-ACC see-PAST  
 'I saw two trees.'



While it may appear from these examples that a non-human noun with dual number may require accusative marking, this is not the case, as the following example shows:

- (10)    *ŋa-dju*    *baran-bam*    *nja-ŋi*  
           1SG-ERG    boomerang-DU    see-PAST  
           'I saw two boomerangs.'

- (ii) modifiers forming a noun phrase with a noun taking accusative marking.  
 Examples are:

- (11)    *ŋa-dju*    *bu-mi*    [*buginj-a bari-na*]  
           1SG-ERG    hit-PAST    [dog-ACC    small-ACC]  
           'I hit the small dog.'

- (12)    *ya:yi*    *guwe*    *ŋin-du*    *bunjma-yi*    [*ŋin-garinj-a*    *bebere-na*]  
           say-PAST    then    2SG-ERG    boast-PAST    [2SG-GEN-ACC    uncle-ACC]  
           'Then [he] said, "You boasted about your uncle."' (Kangaroo Rat 22)

Wurm (1976:110) gives one example of a noun (*buginj* 'dog') which should take the accusative suffix not taking it when being used with an accusatively marked quantifier modifier (*biya:yu* 'two'). I do not have any examples of this kind. There is, however, one example in my corpus of *biya:yu* appearing unmarked despite being part of a noun phrase with its noun and other modifier bearing the accusative suffix.

- (13)    *ŋa-dju*    *nja-ŋi*    [*woŋan-bam-a*    *biya:yu*    *bu:gubu-na*]  
           1SG-ERG    see-PAST    [woman-DU-ACC    two    short-ACC]  
           'I saw two short women.'

- (iii) modifiers in a noun phrase with a noun which does not take the accusative suffix.  
 For instance:

- (14)    [*dama*    *guwengi-na*]    *yang-a-∅*  
           [net    long-ACC]    make-IMPER  
           'Make [us] a long net!' (Two Sitting Boys 12)

- (15)    *njunam-gari*    [*dadu*]    *ŋa-dju*    *badji-∅*    [*mowanin-a*]  
           children-DAT<sub>3</sub>    [tree]    1SG-ERG    find-GENRL    [big-ACC]  
           'I have found a big tree for the children.' (Woodpecker 45)

- (16)    [*bayer*]    *nja-ŋi*    [*biya:yu-na*]  
           [mountain]    see-PAST    [two-ACC]  
           '[They] saw two mountains.' (Two Sitting Boys 5)

- (17)    *ŋa-ri*    *wiye-∅*    [*yara*    *muranjŋa-na*]  
           1SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>    give-IMPER    [flower    white-ACC]  
           'Give the white flower to me.'

In (15) and (16) the modifiers may in fact be marked with the accusative because they are separated from the nouns that they refer to—see §4.2 on discontinuous NPs.

- (iv) tense-marked verbs of subordinate clauses. Two examples are given below (for further analysis and exemplification see §4.8.3 [a] on relative clauses).

- (18) guwe nja-nge [buginj-a dje-nji-na]  
 then see-IMPERFV [dog-ACC come-PERFV-ACC]  
 'Then [they] saw the dog which was coming.' (Evening Star 1:35)
- (19) badji-ø guwe mana [buyi yuna-nji-na]  
 find-GENRL then DEM [carpet.snake sleep-PERFV-ACC]  
 'Then those [parents] found the carpet snake which was sleeping.'  
 (Carpet Snake and the Children 115)

Accusative marking is not used with:

- (i) other animate and inanimate things in O function.

- (20) ŋa:m-bu djiwi bu-mgu  
 IDU-ERG bird kill-FUT  
 'We two will kill the birds.' (Two Sitting Boys 11)
- (21) njande guwe yo: wane-ø  
 swamp then 3SG leave-GENRL  
 'Then he left (i.e. created) a swamp.' (Evening Star 2:140)
- (22) njowam-bu nja-ŋi dja:  
 husband-ERG see-PAST track  
 'The husband saw [his] tracks.' (Meat-ants 120)
- (23) gurun badja-ru be:ŋa-yi  
 noise other.one-ERG hear-PAST  
 'The other one heard a noise.' (Two Old Mainlanders 16)
- (24) ŋuwa: gunda-yi guwe bala-ru  
 egg lay-PAST then jewfish-ERG  
 'The jewfish laid eggs.' (Fish in Ponds 4)

- (ii) body parts (instead marking is added to the personal pronoun which is possessor of the body part). For example:

- (25) buginj-bam-bu [ŋa-nja djaŋar] yiya-yi meŋ  
 dog-DU-ERG [1SG-ACC thigh] bite-PAST today  
 'Two dogs bit my thigh today.'
- (26) buginj-dju ma-nde [ŋin-a bi:] djuŋba-wa  
 dog-ERG grab-PRES [2SG-ACC hand] lick-PURP  
 'The dog is grabbing your hand in order to lick it.'

Similarly, the body part of an animal does not take accusative marking. For instance:

- (27) bebere-yu ba:ri-nji [goro:man djaŋar]  
 uncle-ERG carry.on.shoulder-PERFV [kangaroo leg]  
 'The uncle carried a kangaroo leg on [his] shoulder.' (Meat-ants 2)

See also (36). For a further discussion of inalienable possession see §4.3.2.

### [c] Ergative

The ergative case marks the transitive subject of a sentence. It has identical morphological possibilities as the instrumental case (see §3.2.2.2 [d]). Examples are given below.

- (28) buṅunda- $\emptyset$     ṅuwa: ṅuwim-bu  
 open.up-GENRL egg sun-ERG  
 'The sun opens up the eggs.' (Fish in Ponds 19)
- (29) guyur ṅuwe- $\emptyset$     badja-ru    djujudjuyu  
 food cook-GENRL other.one-ERG evening  
 'Others cook food [for him] in the evening.' (Dingo 9)
- (30) baran-du            waga bamba-wu ṅin-a  
 boomerang-ERG not hit-FUT 2SG-ACC  
 'Then the boomerang will not hit you.' (Crooked Neck 1:17)

## [d] Absolutive

The absolutive always has zero realisation and indicates intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) functions for nouns (other than human nouns and dogs). Examples include:

- (31) ṅanjameɾ            ṅja- $\emptyset$   
 brolga+ABS(S) look-GENRL  
 'The brolga looked.' (Brolga 2)
- (32) djiwa            ba-yi  
 owl+ABS(S) come-PAST  
 'An owl came.' (Two Sitting Boys 45)
- (33) dja:-wu ṅa:m-bu    gugunde  
 eat-FUT IDU-ERG scrub.possum+ABS(O)  
 'We two will eat the scrub possum.' (Black Possum 1:39)
- (34) gundu            mana bunma- $\emptyset$   
 bark+ABS(O) DEM remove-IMPER  
 'Remove that bark.' (Two Old Mainlanders 7)

Like NOM, the ABS gloss will not be used in any further examples.

3.2.2.2 *Syntactic peripheral cases*

## [a] Dative

The dative case marks the goal, beneficiary or recipient NP of an action. On nouns (and pronouns) the dative is marked by one of three suffixes which appear to be in free variation (for instance, compare (35) and (39) below). The first of these dative suffixes is *-ba~wa* (*-ba* occurs after nasals and *-wa* after vowels):

- (35) ya:-yi    guwe ṅugarim-ba    mana ṅin-du    dja:- $\emptyset$   
 say-PAST then nephew-DAT<sub>1</sub> DEM 2SG-ERG eat-IMPER  
 '[He] said to [his] nephew, "You eat that!".' (Meat-ants 3)
- (36) mama:-wu waya:    djaṅar    wiye-nji    gima-wa    dja:-wa  
 uncle-ERG wallaby thigh give-PERFV boy-DAT<sub>1</sub> eat-PURP  
 'The uncle gave a wallaby thigh to the boy for him to eat.'  
 (Meat-ants Corroborree 1)

The second dative suffix is *-a--na--ŋa*, which is formally identical to the accusative suffix. The *-a* allomorph follows nasals and the *-na* follows vowels and rhotics (on ordinary nouns) and the *-ŋa* allomorph follows kin nouns. Examples are:

- (37) *ŋin-du wiye-ŋji guyur* [buginj-a ŋin-garinj-a]  
 2SG-ERG give-PERFV food [dog-DAT<sub>2</sub> 2SG-GEN-DAT<sub>2</sub>]  
 ‘You gave food to my dog.’
- (38) *man gima-na wiye-ŋji dadu*  
 DEM boy-DAT<sub>2</sub> give-PERFV stick  
 ‘That one gave the stick to the small boy.’ (Meat-ants 101)
- (39) *gima-ru guwe ya:-yi mama:-ŋa gowon mana guyur*  
 boy-ERG then say-PAST uncle-DAT<sub>2</sub> raw DEM food  
 ‘The boy then said to [his] uncle, “That food is raw.”’ (Meat-ants Corroboree 2)

Alternatively, the recipient NP of ‘give’ and the addressee of ‘say’ could be regarded as being marked with accusative case. Under this analysis, ‘give’ would take two O NPs, one being the gift (normally with non-human reference and taking zero marking) and the other being the recipient (most frequently with human or canine reference, and taking accusative marking.)

The third dative suffix has the forms *-gari* (after nasals and rhotics) and *-ri* (after vowels) and is thus formally identical to the genitive (§3.2.3 [a]).

- (40) *mana wura wane-∅ njunam-gari*  
 DEM all.right leave-IMPER children-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘That’s all right, leave that for the children.’ (Two Old Women 28)
- (41) *gana badja banda-ri gana badja*  
 DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT<sub>3</sub> DEM other.one  
*bandjur-gari*  
 kinship.class-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 ‘This other one is for the *banda*, this other one is for the *bandjur*.’  
 (Woodpecker 126–127)

#### [b] Purposive

The purposive is used to mark the purpose or reason for an activity. It has the recurrent Australian form *-gu*. For instance:

- (42) *gurangur yanga-∅ binar-gu*  
 spear make-IMPER tribal.fight-PURP  
 ‘Make a spear for the tribal fight!’
- (43) *wa:rre-nge gam goro:man-gu*  
 hunt-IMPERFV probably kangaroo-PURP  
 ‘[He] is probably hunting for kangaroo.’
- (44) *ŋay wabe-nge yowar-gu*  
 1SG wait-IMPERFV corroboree-PURP  
 ‘I am waiting for the corroboree.’

## [c] Causal

There are only two examples of causal case marking, one from Duunġidjawa and the other from Waga-Waga (Holmer 1983). It appears to be used to mark the inanimate cause of some event (45) or physical state (46).

- (45)    ȳa-ri        gundu    nala    yi-ȳi        man    gam        njinda-yi  
           1SG-GEN    canoe    hole    be-PAST    DEM    perhaps    sink-PAST

guȳ-u  
 water-CAUSAL

‘My canoe had a hole there (and) perhaps sank because of water.’

- (46)    jaraȳ-u        jo    djaȳgur  
           heat-CAUSAL    3SG    sore  
           ‘He is sore from the heat.’ (Holmer 1983:71)

A causal meaning is more typically conveyed by using two conjoined clauses—see §4.8.1.

## [d] Instrumental

While the instrumental case has the same form as the ergative, it realises a separate function; that is, it marks the weapon (47), tool (48), material (49) or body part (50) with which an action is performed. A further difference between the instrumental and the ergative is that the instrumental can be used in intransitive sentences, such as in (48) and (50), whereas the ergative can only appear in transitive sentences. For example:

- (47)    buginj-a    guwe    bu-mi        guraȳgur-u  
           dog-ACC    then    kill-PAST    spear-INSTR  
           ‘So [they] killed the dog using spears.’ (Evening Star 1:43)
- (48)    djuȳa-ndu    guwe    yo:    ya-nji        benju  
           vine-INSTR    then    3SG    go-PERFV    up.high  
           ‘So he went up high using the vines.’ (Black Possum 1:71)
- (49)    yo:wana-a    guwe    wunda-ø        gurruy-u        mowarr-u  
           3PL-ACC    then    cover-IMPER    rain-INSTR    hail-INSTR  
           ‘Cover them all with rain and hail.’ (Carpet Snake and the Storm 35)
- (50)    man    guwe    mu:-ndu        guwe    dje-nge  
           DEM    then    belly-INSTR    then    move-IMPERFV  
           ‘That one [a snake] moves using his belly.’  
           (Carpet Snake and the Storm 57)

## [e] Desiderative

The desiderative suffix expresses a ‘liking’ or ‘wanting’ relationship. It has the same form as the purposive suffix *-gu*. Note that a noun taking desiderative case is usually preceded by the particle *gonj* ‘want’ (see §4.11 (iii) [c]).

- (51)    ȳay    gonj    guraȳgur-gu  
           1SG    want    spear-DESID  
           ‘I want a spear.’

- (52)     $\eta$ in   gonj   da:m-gu  
          2SG like   yam-DESID  
          ‘Do you like yams?’

See also (251) in §3.5 [c] of the desiderative on the interrogative *wanju*.

### 3.2.2.3 Local peripheral cases

Duunjdjawa has a rich set of local inflections with three locatives, two ablatives and an allative.

#### [a] Locative

The three locatives are: (i) those suffixes ending in *a*, (ii) those suffixes ending in *i*, and (iii) those suffixes ending in *u*. The allomorphy of these locatives is as follows:

- Locative<sub>1</sub>    -Ha/N\_\_  
                  -alr\_\_  
                  -wa/V: \_\_  
                  -nda/V\_\_  
                  -ra/V\_\_  
                  -ya/V\_\_

As is often found in Australian languages, the locative allomorphs, in this case those of locative<sub>1</sub>, correspond to their respective ergative allomorphs but with final *a* instead of *u*.

- Locative<sub>2</sub>    -i/N\_\_  
                  -ni/elsewhere<sup>13</sup>

- Locative<sub>3</sub>    -u/N\_\_  
                  -nu/elsewhere

Note that the forms of the locative<sub>3</sub> suffix are identical to the ablativ<sub>1</sub> case. While this is unusual, the meaning of a nominal taking this inflection can normally be interpreted from the verb. That is, a locative sense is understood when a verb of rest is used, while an ablativ sense is understood when a verb of motion is used.

Locative<sub>1</sub> is generally used to indicate location ‘in’ or ‘into’ somewhere.

- (53)    djuŋa-nda    yo:    dje-re-nji  
          vine-LOC<sub>1</sub>    3SG    go-CONT-PERFV  
          ‘He went along in the vines (so they wouldn’t see him).’  
          (Black Possum 2:88)

- (54)    yo:-ŋa    ŋa-dju    nja-ŋji    doyi-ya  
          3SG-ACC    1SG-ERG    see-PAST    rock-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
          ‘I saw him in the rock.’ (Because the man has *gundir*’s eyes he can see the image of the curlew within the rock.) (Curlew 17)

<sup>13</sup> The elsewhere allomorphs for both locative<sub>2</sub> and locative<sub>3</sub> are more specifically those found after vowels (both long and short) and after *r* as shown in Table 3.1. That is, there are no instances of these suffixes after *rr*, *l* or *y*, but presumably they would have been the same as found after vowels and *r*.

- (55) wa:rre-nji yowa:m bayer-djin-da djiwi bu-mgu-wa  
 hunt-PERFV 3DU mountain-PL-LOC<sub>1</sub> bird kill-FUT-PURP  
 'They two went hunting in the mountains in order to kill birds.'  
 (Two Sitting Boys 2)
- (56) waya: biya-ø guyum-ba  
 wallaby throw-GENRL camp-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 '[They] threw the wallaby into the fire.' (Meat-ants Corroboree 16)

Locative<sub>2</sub> is essentially used to express a position 'on' or 'against' something.

- (57) djiwi man barandje-nge dadu-ni  
 bird DEM stand-IMPERFV tree-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
 'A bird is standing on the tree.'
- (58) djinaŋ-i man nja-ø giyen  
 foot-LOC<sub>2</sub> DEM look.at-IMPER hook  
 'Look at the hook on [his] foot.' (Platypus 88)
- (59) djan man wambe-nge dja:rrir-ni  
 man DEM lean-IMPERFV log-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
 'That man is leaning against the log.'

Locative<sub>3</sub> is primarily used to mark location 'at' a particular place.

- (60) ŋurume-nji gari man njande-nu  
 hide-PERFV DEM DEM swamp-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'Those [men] hid at the swamp here.' (Evening Star 1:46)
- (61) diyen buŋunda-yi mana guwe yo: bugur-nu  
 mouth open-PAST DEM then 3SG throat-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'So he opened that [possum's] mouth at the throat.'  
 (Black Possum 2:44)
- (62) gari njine-nji du:ŋi-nu  
 DEM stay-PERFV creek-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 '[A man] was staying here at the creek.' (Curlew 2)

This locative is found on three verb forms where it combines with a noun to create three of the cardinal direction terms:<sup>14</sup>

ŋuwim wa-yi-nu  
 sun go.up-PAST-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'east' (lit. where the sun went up)

ŋiyarr ba-ye-nu  
 cold/winter come-PRES-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'south' (lit. where the cold/winter comes from)

<sup>14</sup> The other cardinal direction term 'north' is simply the noun *gunuwinj*. It may also be expressed by *ŋuwimgan* 'summer'. 'South' may also be expressed just by *ŋiyarr*. 'East' is also *gunundjin* and 'west' is also *buranbaye* (lit. wind.come.PRES).

ɲuwim njinda-yi-nu  
 sun go.down-PAST-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'west' (lit. where the sun went down)

It seems that there is some overlap in the uses of the three locatives, perhaps a language-death phenomenon. For example, compare (57) above, where 'tree' takes locative<sub>2</sub>, with (63), where 'tree' takes locative<sub>3</sub> in the same context:

(63) wa:wa man barandje-nge giniŋ-u dadu-nu  
 crow DEM stand-IMPERFV branch-LOC<sub>3</sub> tree-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'The crow is standing on the tree branch.'

The corpus includes just a few instances of locative<sub>1</sub> followed by dative<sub>1</sub>; for example 'belt-LOC<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub>' '(the axe worm) on his belt' in text 1, line 90, and 'water-LOC<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub>' '(they took the fish) from in the water' in text 20, line 17. These could be treated as a sequence of locative<sub>1</sub> marking function in an NP plus dative<sub>1</sub> marking function of that NP in a clause (see Dench & Evans 1988), but it is more likely that the sequence has an idiomatic meaning, distinct from those of locative<sub>1</sub> and dative<sub>1</sub>. Insufficient examples are available to make possible an informed account.

#### [b] Allative

The allative local case in this language is formally identical to its syntactic counterpart purposive. That is, where purposive indicates the person or thing towards which the activity is directed, allative indicates the place or thing to which the motion is directed. Examples include:

- (64) yo: ya-n-me-nji njande-gu  
 3SG go-CONJUG-AROUND-PERFV swamp-ALL  
 'He went around towards the swamp.' (Brolga 3)
- (65) gandanbiŋgan dje-ndi-yu gawa-gu gari-yu  
 younger.sister go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT scrub-ALL go.in-FUT  
 '[You] should take my younger sister and go in to the scrub.'  
 (Black Possum 2:6)
- (66) guŋ-gu guwe yo: dje-nji  
 water-ALL then 3SG go-PERFV  
 'Then he went to the water.' (Evening Star 1:52)
- (67) guyur ŋa-dju binda-yi guyum-gu yo:-rinj-gu meŋ  
 food 1SG-ERG send-PAST camp-ALL 3SG-GEN-ALL today  
 'I sent food to his camp today.'

#### [c] Ablative

The ablative case has a predominantly local sense indicating movement away from some place or thing. There are two ablative inflections; however, no difference in function or meaning can be found between them. The first has the same realisation as the locative<sub>3</sub> case (see §3.2.2.3 [a]), that is *-u* after nasals and *-nu* after vowels and *r*. Examples are:

- (68) bumi-nge guwe mana ɲuwa: djinaŋ-u buyu-nu  
 fall-IMPERFV then DEM egg feet-ABL<sub>1</sub> leg-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 'The eggs fall from his feet and legs.' (Fish in Ponds 15)



- (69) dadu-nu guwe yo: njinda-yi  
 tree-ABL<sub>1</sub> then 3SG go.down-PAST  
 'Then he went down from the tree.' (Black Possum 1:59)
- (70) mana ŋande bunma-ø mana dama-nu  
 DEM mullet pull.out-GENRL DEM net-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 '[They] pulled out the mullet from the net.' (Fishing 14)
- (71) djawan man djun-u dare-nge  
 forest.possum DEM tail-ABL<sub>1</sub> hang-IMPERFV  
 'That possum is hanging from (its) tail.'

Ablative<sub>2</sub> is *-baŋi* following nasals and *-waŋi* following vowels. Thus, in form it is actually the dative<sub>1</sub> case plus *-ŋi*. For example:

- (72) ŋin dje-ø guyum-baŋi  
 2SG go-IMPER fire-ABL<sub>2</sub>  
 'Come away from the fire!'
- (73) miye-nda ŋin yana-ø dadu-waŋi  
 further.away-I.LOC<sub>1</sub> 2SG go-IMPER tree-ABL<sub>2</sub>  
 'Go further away from the tree!'

The ablative<sub>2</sub> inflection also has an aversive sense, being used to express the complements of fear. For instance:

- (74) yu:wunj-baŋi ŋay ba:ŋgi-nge ba:ŋgi mana  
 snake-AVER 1SG be.frightened-IMPERFV afraid DEM  
 'I am scared of that snake.'
- (75) ŋurume-nge djan-baŋi  
 hide-IMPERFV man-AVER  
 '[We] are hiding for fear of the man.' (Evening Star 2:148)

Duunjdjawu is similar to Bandjalang (cf. Crowley 1978:64–65) in using an ablative to express the fear complement. These two languages differ from many other Australian languages, including nearby Gumbaynggir, which use the locative to express this.

It has been observed that in many languages the local cases may be zero-marked for words whose reference is to locations (Koch 1995). In Duunjdjawu there is no overt marker of locative case on the cardinal direction terms (given in Note 3). For instance:

- (76) wandja ŋin yana-nde gari-ŋa gunuwinj  
 where 2SG go-PRES DEM-ALL north  
 'Where are you going? [I am going] to the north.' (Meat-ants 43–44)

Place names also have a zero locative. For example:

- (77) ŋuweŋ-a gadji wane-yi gabulya  
 mother-ACC DEM leave-PAST Caboolture  
 '[We] left the mothers at Caboolture.'

There is, however, an example of the allative with a place name in Waga-Waga:

- (78) *ŋe jana-nde gumari-gu*  
 ISG go-IMPERFV Goomeri-ALL  
 'I am going to Goomeri.' (Holmer 1983:65)

It will be seen in §3.2.5 that most of the locational qualifiers can occur unmarked for location function.

### 3.2.3 Derivational suffixes

There are several derivational suffixes in Duunjdjawa which serve to derive adjectival stems from nominal roots. These are given in Table 3.3 and discussed below. Note that all of these suffixes are productive except for the feminine suffix *-gan*.

**Table 3.3:** Derivational suffixes

genitive	<i>-gari</i>	after C <sup>15</sup>
	<i>-ri</i>	after V
comitative	<i>-baŋu</i>	after N
	<i>-waŋu</i>	after V
concomitant	<i>-a</i>	after <i>ŋ</i>
	<i>-ŋa</i>	elsewhere
privative	<i>-gunj</i>	
	<i>-djam</i>	
dual	<i>-bam</i>	after C
	<i>-wam</i>	after V
plural	<i>-djin</i>	
collective	<i>-be</i>	after C
	<i>-we</i>	after V
feminine	<i>-gan</i>	

#### [a] Genitive

The genitive suffix, *-gari* after consonants and *-ri* after vowels, is generally used to express the alienable possessor of something. (Alienable and inalienable possession are dealt with in §4.3.1 and §4.3.2 respectively.) Genitive is regarded as a derivation rather than an inflection in Duunjdjawa as genitive formations are themselves inflected for case according to the syntactic function in the sentence of the noun phrase they belong to. There are only a few examples of genitively marked nouns in my corpus. (The vast majority of possessive phrases involve genitive inflection to pronouns.) For instance:

- (79) *buginj djan-gari galaŋ*  
 dog man-GEN good  
 'The dog of the man is good.'

While possessors are typically human, Holmer (1983) has several examples of non-human possessors in Waga-Waga:

<sup>15</sup> This environment does not include that after *l* as there are no instances in the corpus of the genitive, dual or collective on an *l*-final noun.

- (80) go:r-gari moron  
wasp-GEN nest  
'a wasp's nest'
- (81) wange-ri nala  
snake-GEN hole  
'a snake's hole'

## [b] Comitative

The comitative suffix in Duunjdjawan is used to indicate someone in rest or motion, accompanied by some other person. (For accompaniment by something the concomitant is used. See [c] below.) The form *-baŋu* is used after a nasal and the form *-waŋu* is used after a vowel. These suffixes consist of the dative<sub>1</sub> case inflection (see Table 3.1) plus *-ŋu*.

- (82) gibar-gibar yi-ŋi yuŋam-u barandji-nji dudu-waŋu  
boy-REDUP be-PAST front-LOC stand-PERFV mother-COMIT  
'There was a young boy standing in front with his mother.'  
(Crooked Neck 3:28)
- (83) njowamgan-baŋu yi-ŋi  
wife-COMIT be-PAST  
'[He] was with his wife.' (Black Possum 2:2)

Comitative may be marked on the head, as in (84), or on the dependant, as in (85), whichever is the last word of the NP.

- (84) woŋan man bun-du barandje-nge guyum-u  
woman DEM knee-INSTR stand-IMPERFV camp-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
  
gandan-baŋu  
younger.sister-COMIT  
'That woman is kneeling (lit. standing with knees) at the fire with (my) younger sister.'
- (85) woŋan man bun-du barandje-nge guyum-u  
woman DEM knee-INSTR stand-IMPERFV camp-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
  
[gandan ŋa-rinj-baŋu]  
[younger.sister 1SG-GEN-COMIT]  
'That woman is kneeling at the fire with my younger sister.'

Unfortunately, the data does not reveal whether or not the comitative could be followed by case inflections. It will be seen in §4.8.3 [a] that the comitative suffix is added to the tense-marked verb in a subordinate clause when this clause is modifying a comitative noun in the main clause.

## [c] Concomitant

The concomitant is used to refer to a thing or quality possessed in some way by a person or thing. It has the form *-ŋa* (or *-a* after *ŋ*). The meanings of this suffix which have been encountered are given below.

## [i] having an inalienable attribute

- (86) mem-*ŋa* mana guyur yi-*ŋi*  
fat-CON DEM animal be-PAST  
'The animal was fat.' (Black Possum 1:30)
- (87) man guwe yo: djiwi yi-*ŋi* bo:*ŋbi-ŋa*  
DEM then 3SG bird be-PAST feather-CON  
'Then he was a bird with feathers.' (Woodpecker 137)

Also, in Duunjdjawan and Waga-Waga:

- bor* 'scale' *bor-ŋa* 'covered with scales' (Winterbotham 1957)  
*diaŋ* 'tooth' *diaŋ-a* 'having teeth' (Holmer 1983)  
*guni* 'name' *guni-ŋa* 'having a name' (Holmer 1983)

## [ii] having an alienable attribute

- (88) bayer bunma-*ø* nala-*ŋa* mana  
mountain draw.out-GENRL hole-CON DEM  
'[He] drew out a mountain having a hole (i.e. a tunnel) there.'

And in Waga-Waga (Holmer 1983):

- dadu* 'tree' *dadu-ŋa* 'wooded'  
*dai* 'stone' *dai-ŋa* 'stoney'

## [iii] something inanimate held by a human moving

- (89) yo: guwe yana-*ø* gurangur-*ŋa*  
3SG then go-GENRL spear-CON  
'He was going with a spear.' (Carpet Snake and the Storm 11)
- (90) waga+ra njina-*ø* man djan ba-ye muyim-*ŋa*  
don't+DEM stay-IMPER DEM man come-PRES fish.hook-CON  
'Don't stay here, a man is coming with a fish hook.' (Platypus 46)
- (91) *ŋay* yana-nde binjgu baran-*ŋa* bamba-wa food  
1SG go-IMPERFV tomorrow boomerang-CON kill-PURP guyur  
'I am going with a boomerang tomorrow in order to kill food.'

## [iv] something inanimate held by a human at rest

- (92) *ŋay* djengen-*ŋa* njine-*ŋi* du:*ŋi-nu* guyur-gu  
1SG fishing.line-CON sit-PAST river-LOC<sub>3</sub> fish-PURP  
'I sat with my fishing line at the river for fish.'

## [v] having something in one's company

- (93) djan man ba-*nji* ye buginj-*ŋa* mana  
man DEM come-PERFV towards dog-CON DEM  
'A man has come with a dog.'

[vi] having an excess of something

- (94) *ŋay mu:-ŋa*  
 1SG stomach-CON  
 'I am full.' (i.e. I have an excess of something in my stomach)

Also, in Waga-Waga (Holmer 1983):

*dir* 'blood'      *dir-ŋa* 'full of blood'

[vii] being in a state

- (95) *djan yi-ŋi njuŋanji-ŋa*  
 man be-PAST married.person-CON  
 'The man was married.' (Black Possum 1:2)

And in Barungam (Holmer 1983):

*giro* 'liquor'      *giro-ŋa* 'drunk'

In some cases the meaning of a concomitantly marked noun is scarcely predictable. For example:

*ŋamuŋ* 'breast'      *ŋamuŋ-a* 'young girl'  
*mu:* 'stomach'      *mu:-ŋa* 'pregnant' (Waga-Waga; Holmer 1983)

Waga-Waga also uses the concomitant to express accompaniment by another person (unlike Duunjdjawan, Waga-Waga does not appear to have a separate comitative suffix).

[d] Privative

There are two suffixes in Duunjdjawan, *-gunj* and *-djam*, which express the absence of the stem noun referent. These suffixes both translate as 'without' or 'not having' and occur in the same semantico-syntactic contexts. Examples of *-gunj* are:

- (96) *djan miya:-gunj*  
 man eye-PRIV  
 'The man is blind.'
- (97) *wanja ŋin-gari gurangur ŋurr-gunj*  
 INTERROG 2SG-GEN spear point-PRIV  
 'Is your spear blunt (lit. without a point)?'
- (98) *njunam binaŋ-gunj*  
 children ear-PRIV  
 'The children are deaf.'

Holmer (1983) gives the following examples of *-gunj* in Waga-Waga:

*djun* 'tail'      *djungunj* 'tailless'  
*binaj* 'ear'      *binangunj* 'disobedient; deaf'

The word for 'stump (of a tree)' in Duunjdjawan is *ma:gunj*, which may be the privative suffix on the stem *ma:* 'head' (i.e. head-without).

An example of the privative suffix *-djam* is:

- (99)     $\eta$ in-du    be: $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$     gudja-djam mara ye- $\emptyset$   
 2SG-ERG    know-GENRL    honey-PRIV    DEM    be-GENRL  
 ‘Did you know that it is honeyless there?’ (Woodpecker 11)

Holmer (1983) gives the following examples of the privative suffix *-djam*:

<i>jinba-djam</i>	‘without eels’	(Waga-Waga)
<i>me:l-djam</i>	‘without eyes’	(Waga-Waga)
<i>gujum-djam</i>	‘without fire’	(Waga-Waga)
<i>waga-djam</i>	‘nothing’ (lit. no-without)	(Waga-Waga)
<i>guni-djam</i>	‘without a name’	(Barungam)

There is one example of privative followed by a case suffix; it is followed by accusative in Evening Star, version 2, line 101.

### [e] Number

Number in Duunjdjawan may be marked either by (i) the addition of a quantifier to an NP (i.e. to express a specific number), or (ii) the addition of a dual, plural or collective suffix to the head of the NP.

- (i) the quantifiers in this language are given below with examples:

*garu* ‘one’

- (100) [goro:man dja $\eta$ ar garu] ga:- $\emptyset$   
 [kangaroo leg one] cut.off-IMPER  
 ‘Cut off one kangaroo leg.’

*biya:yu* ‘two’

- (101) [dju $\eta$ a] yo: [biya:yu-na] buyi- $\emptyset$   
 [vine] 3SG [two-ACC] take-GENRL  
 ‘He took two vines.’ (Woodpecker 117)

*goromda* ‘three’

- (102) [ $\eta$ a-ri goromda njunam] yi- $\eta$ i  
 [1SG-GEN three children] be-PAST  
 ‘[They] were my three children.’

*yo:ran* ‘many’

- (103) [djan yo:ran] guyum-u njine-nge  
 [man many] fire-LOC<sub>3</sub> sit-IMPERFV  
 ‘Many men are sitting at the fire.’

Note that a quantifier may be used without the noun it is modifying if the referent is clear from the context. For instance:

- (104) garu guwe yi- $\eta$ i djunim barandji-nji  
 one then be-PAST straight stand.up-PERFV  
 ‘One [branch] was standing straight up.’ (Woodpecker 129)

- (105) *biya:yu yi-nge*  
two be-IMPERFV  
'There are two [grass trees].' (Fire Making 3)

These number words may be suffixed with the adverbialiser *-nda* (on the vowel-final *garu* and *biya:yu*) or *-da* (on the nasal-final *yo:ran*) to give the meanings 'once', 'twice' etc.<sup>16</sup> This adverbialiser is formally identical to the locative<sub>1</sub> suffix. Examples of its use are:

- (106) *ŋa-dju yo:-ŋa bu-mi garu-nda*  
1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC hit-PAST one-ADVLSR  
'I hit him once.'
- (107) *biya:yu-nda dama yanga-yi yima-yi-me*  
two-ADVLSR net make-PAST do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
'[They] made a net like this before twice.' (Two Sitting Boys 43)
- (108) *ŋa-dju yo:ran-da mana bu-mi*  
1SG-ERG many-ADVLSR DEM hit-PAST  
'I hit him often.'

(ii) the number suffixes in Duunġidjawu are:

DUAL *-bam ~ -wam*

The dual suffix in Duunġidjawu is *-bam* after consonants and *-wam* after vowels. Examples are:

- (109) *gundir-bam guwe yi-ŋi*  
clever.men-DU then be-PAST  
'There were two clever men.' (Evening Star 1:29)
- (110) *ya:-ye-ŋji guwe gana gurilŋa-wam*  
talk-RECIP-PERFV then DEM old.man-DU  
'Two old men were talking to each other.' (Two Old Mainlanders 2)
- (111) [*biya:yu man djan-bam*] *njine-nge guyum-u yo:wa-rinġ-u*  
[two DEM man-DU] sit-IMPERFV camp-LOC<sub>3</sub> 3PL-GEN-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
'The two men are sitting at their camp.'

Note from (111) that the quantifier *biya:yu* 'two' may also appear in a sentence where duality is marked on the noun.

Occasionally, the dual suffix is used in a more general paucal sense with a quantifier being added to the sentence to specify the number. For example:

- (112) [*goromda djan-bam*] *dje-nge djanġar-u*  
[three man-DU] walk-IMPERFV leg-INSTR  
'Three men are walking quickly (lit. using legs).'
- (113) *dġiġidġiġi-ru buyi-ø [djan-bam-a yo:ran-a]*  
willy.wagtail-ERG take-GENRL [man-DU-ACC many-ACC]  
'The willy wagtail took many of the men.' (Woodpecker 2)

<sup>16</sup> There is no example of the suffix *-nda* on *goromda* 'three' in our corpus but presumably it would have occurred.

There is one noun in Duunjdjawan, *njunam* ‘children’, which in all likelihood originated from *njune*: ‘girl’ plus the dual *-wam*. Holmer (1983) reports *njunam* being used to express the singular ‘child’ in Waga-Waga.

PLURAL *-djin*

The suffix *-djin* is used to express plurality referring to three or more. For example:

- (114) *guyum guwe yanga-yi gurilŋa-djin-du*  
 fire then make-PAST old.men-PL-ERG  
 ‘The old men made fire.’ (Fire Making 1)
- (115) *yo:rr ya-n-me-nji bayer-djin-da*  
 everywhere go-CONJUG-AROUND-PERFV mountain-PL-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘[He] went around everywhere in the mountains.’ (Woodpecker 70)
- (116) *dudu dom-djin mara barandje-nge*  
 mother tribal.mother-PL DEM stand-IMPERFV  
 ‘[His] mother and tribal mothers are standing over there.’  
 (Crooked Neck 3:66)

The noun *badja* ‘other one’ is unusual in taking the plural suffix *-rin*, rather than *-djin*. For instance:

- (117) *buŋunda-yi badja-rin-du*  
 split-PAST other.one-PL-ERG  
 ‘Other ones (i.e. other people) split [the wood].’ (Spear Making 4)

COLLECTIVE *-be ~ -we*

The *-be* allomorph of the collective suffix is found after consonants and the *-we* allomorph after vowels. For instance:

<i>ŋayam-be</i>	‘all single men’
<i>gibar-be</i>	‘all uninitiated boys’
<i>guyum-be</i>	‘all fires’
<i>njubanji-we</i>	‘all married people’

(Unfortunately, we have no examples of the collective suffix used on nouns in sentences.)

## [f] Feminine

Duunjdjawan has the feminine suffix *-gan* found in many languages on the east coast of Australia, including Dyrbal, Bidyara and Bandjalang (see Dixon forthcoming:§10.2 for a discussion of this suffix). It is not a productive suffix but rather is added to just a handful of masculine nouns to derive their feminine equivalents. Compare the following minimal pairs of kin terms:



<i>njowam</i>	'husband'	<i>njowamgan</i>	'wife'
<i>gandanbiŋ</i>	'younger brother'	<i>gandanbiŋgan</i>	'younger sister'
<i>murin</i>	'elder brother'	<i>muringan</i>	'elder sister'
<i>ŋayam</i>	'single man'	<i>ŋayamgan</i> <sup>17</sup>	'single woman'

In Waga-Waga the suffix *-gan* is also used to derive the names of female members of a particular social section. Holmer (1983:21) gives the following section names:

<i>bandagan</i>	'a female <i>Banda</i> '
<i>bandjurgan</i>	'a female <i>Bandjur</i> '
<i>baraygan</i>	'a female <i>Baray</i> '
<i>djarwanjgan</i>	'a female <i>Djarwanj</i> '
<i>wungugan</i>	'a female <i>Wungu</i> '

(Compare the social classes given by Winterbotham for Duunjdjawan in §1.5.)

There is one noun in Duunjdjawan, *yanjar* 'old man', which derives its feminine counterpart with the suffix *-an*. This would appear to be an isolated morphological exception, not phonologically conditioned, given that Holmer has the form *-gan* after *r* on *bandjur* above in Waga-Waga.

There are a few other words in Duunjdjawan which end in *-gan* (e.g. *ŋuwim* 'sun', *ŋuwimgan* 'summer'; *djuwanj* 'younger brother', *djuwanjgan* 'dugong') but whether or not these are actually the feminine suffix, and if so, how they are semantically related to their base form remains unclear. Holmer (1983:35) explains the occurrence of the suffix *-gan* on words not having a personal character in Barungam (for instance, *wa:gan* 'mother-in-law' from *wa:* 'crow') as marking a female in earlier times. This is highly speculative.

There is one example in Duunjdjawan of a feminine kin term being its masculine equivalent with the final *-a* of the masculine form being replaced by a final *-i*:

<i>djadja</i>	'elder brother'	<i>djadji</i>	'elder sister'
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### 3.2.4 Derivation of nominals from verbs

It appears that nominals may be formed from intransitive and transitive verbs by the addition of the suffix *-wa*. Unfortunately, there are no examples of this suffix followed by a case suffix,<sup>18</sup> and hence it is not possible to prove whether *-wa* is actually a nominaliser. It may be a stative derivative. This suffix is added to the inflected form of the verb, as in the examples below.

- (118) *djuja guwe yi-ŋi gamŋe-nji-wa*  
 vine then be-PAST break-PERFV-NMLSR  
 'There was a broken vine.' (Black Possum 1:56)

- (119) *giniŋ gamŋa-nji-wa djan*  
 arm break-PERFV-NMLSR man  
 'This man has a broken arm.'

<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, the word for 'single woman' may also be derived by reduplicating the word for 'single man', i.e. *ŋayamŋayam* (see Black Possum 2 text, line 3).

<sup>18</sup> This is possibly because in all of the examples we have of this inflection, it is always an O which does not take accusative marking (i.e. non-human nouns).

- (120) ŋuwi bo:-ŋi-wa gi:ra  
 emu die-PAST-NMLSR bone  
 'emu bone' (lit. emu dead.one bone)

There is another suffix that has a nominalising function. This is the agentive nominaliser *-nde* (which sometimes occurs as *-nda*, but for no apparent reason):

- (121) moromoro njine-nde ye-ø  
 main.camp sit-NMLSR be-GENRL  
 '[He] is a sitter (i.e. dog who sits) in the main camp.' (Dingo 6)
- (122) bunma-nda yowa:m-bu  
 draw.out-NMLSR 3DU-ERG  
 'They were both power-drawing ones (i.e. men who have inherent magical powers which they draw out of themselves).'  
 (Evening Star 2:172)

There are two examples (one from Waga-Waga) of a verb being reduplicated to form a nominal: *moro* 'make a camp' (V), *moromoro* 'main camp' (N); *wayi* 'be silly' (V), *wayiwayi* 'silly' (ADJ) (Holmer 1983:84).

### 3.2.5 Local nouns

There is a small group of nouns which function as locational qualifiers. These nouns can occur with local cases (i.e. locative,<sup>19</sup> allative and ablative) but not with syntactic case inflections due to semantic restrictions. A list of locational words is given below (note that those marked with an asterisk \* can occur without any inflection for local case):

- orientation with respect to an object
 

'ahead, in front'	<i>yugam</i>
'ahead, in front'	<i>bunjaŋ</i>
'behind'	<i>bige*</i>
'underneath, deep below, inside'	<i>gunu*</i>
'underneath, below, down'	<i>iyem*</i>
'up, above, top'	<i>gaja</i>
'up high'	<i>benju*</i>
'between'	<i>yu:mu*</i>
'the other side, across'	<i>girum*</i>
'outside'	<i>neyeŋ*</i>
- relative distance
 

'near, close, close together'	<i>djanjum*</i>
'further away'	<i>miye</i>
'far away'	<i>wana</i>
'half way'	<i>bam*</i>

<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to assign more specific meanings to the locative suffixes found on local nouns. That is, the meaning differences given for locatives 1, 2 and 3 in §3.2.2.3 [a] don't seem to apply here.

Note that the semantic distinction between *yujam* and *bunjaŋ* ‘ahead, in front’, and between *gunu* and *iyem* ‘underneath’ is unclear.

Examples are:

- (123) gima ya-nji yujam-ba  
 boy go-PERFV in.front-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘The boy went ahead.’ (Platypus 44)
- (124) gara bunjaŋ-u wabe-ø ŋay-wa  
 DEM in.front-LOC<sub>3</sub> wait-IMPER 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘Wait here in front for me.’ (Brolga 14)
- (125) dari-ø yowa:m-a gari-a gunu-gu  
 pull-GENRL 3DU-ACC DEM-ALL deep.below-ALL  
 ‘[It] pulled them two to deep below there.’  
 (Carpet Snake and the Children 100)
- (126) yu:wunj mana [iyem-i] yuna-nge [doyi-ni]  
 snake DEM [underneath-LOC<sub>2</sub>] lie-IMPERFV [stone-LOC<sub>2</sub>]  
 ‘The snake is lying underneath the stone there.’
- (127) bumi-n guwe gari gaŋa-nu gari-ŋa  
 fall-SUDDEN then DEM top-ABL<sub>1</sub> DEM-ALL  
 ‘Then (the old man) fell from the top (of the mountain) to here.’  
 (Carpet Snake and the Storm 48)
- (128) nja-ŋi guwe benju  
 look-PAST then up.high  
 ‘Then [he] looked up high.’ (Meat-ants 87)
- (129) doyi gana biya-ø girum du:ŋi gara  
 stone DEM throw-IMPER across river DEM  
 ‘Throw this stone across over the river here.’
- (130) yowa:m-a nja-ø guwe gara neyeŋ-u  
 3DU-ACC see-GENRL then DEM outside-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 ‘These ones saw them two from the outside.’  
 (Carpet Snake and the Children 135)
- (131) ŋay gara yana-nde [guyum-gu djanjum-gu]  
 1SG DEM go-PRES [camp-ALL close-ALL]  
 ‘I am going to this camp here close by.’
- (132) guyum man ŋa-ri miye-ni  
 camp DEM 1SG-GEN further.away-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘My camp is further away.’
- (133) bam guwe gundani-nji badja  
 halfway then go.across-PERFV one.of.several  
 ‘One of them had gone halfway across.’ (Woodpecker 6)

Two of the local nouns listed above have irregular locative inflections. Firstly, *bige* ‘behind’ has locative<sub>2</sub> *-nji* and locative<sub>3</sub> *-nju*, and secondly, *wana* ‘far away’ has locative<sub>2</sub> *-ŋi* and locative<sub>3</sub> *-ŋu*. Examples of these terms are:

(134) *njin barandje-ø mara [bige-nju doyi-nu]*  
 2SG stand-IMPER DEM [behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> stone-LOC<sub>3</sub>]  
 ‘You stand there behind the stone.’

(135) *man bumi-nji wana-ŋji*  
 DEM fall.down-PERFV far.away-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
 ‘That one (a boomerang) fell down far away.’ (Crooked Neck 3:37)

In addition, the local noun *girum* ‘other side’ takes a suffix *-ge* which is possibly the same as the *-ŋe* suffix on the demonstrative *gara* (see §3.4 [c]) meaning ‘side’. It can be seen from (126), (131) and (134) that local case marking on the locational qualifier agrees with any local case marking on the noun.

There is one example of the local noun *yu:mu* ‘between’ taking a dual suffix, where it is used to further specify the location as in the middle:

(136) *gana ye-ø yu:mu-wam barandje-nge*  
 DEM be-GENRL between-DU stand-IMPERFV  
 ‘This [hunter] is standing in the middle (of the swarm).’  
 (Catching a bee 14)

### 3.2.6 Time nouns

Temporal nouns in Duunjdjawan are words that refer to a point or a period in time. These are:

‘today’	<i>meŋ</i>
‘tomorrow/the next day’	<i>binjgu</i> <sup>20</sup>
‘afternoon/evening’	<i>djuyu(djuyu)</i>
‘morning’	<i>dulara</i>
‘night’	<i>ŋo:</i>
‘soon’	<i>yayumba</i>
‘a long time (ago)’	<i>gawurre</i>

The time words *djuyu*, *dulara* and *yayumba* all take a suffix *-me* which functions as a further specification of time.<sup>21</sup> (The *-me* suffix is also found on the demonstrative *gari* where it gives a further specification of location—see §3.4 [c].) That is, *djuyume* refers to ‘yesterday afternoon/evening’, *dularame* refers to ‘tomorrow morning/the next morning’ and *yayumbame* refers to ‘now, straight away’. The form *gawurre* ‘a long time (ago)’ takes a plural suffix *-ndjin* to give the meaning ‘the old times’. (There does not seem to be any significance of the *n* which here precedes the regular plural suffix *-djin* as given in §3.2.3 [e].) As Duunjdjawan has no words for ‘earlier on today’ or ‘later on today’ it would appear that the semantics of time qualifiers in this language is basically oriented to ‘today’ rather than to ‘now’ (cf. Dixon 1977:498–499). (To indicate ‘now’ either *meŋ* ‘today’ (138) or *yayumbame* ‘soon-SPEC’ (150) is used.)

<sup>20</sup> The *-gu* of *binjgu* ‘tomorrow’ may originally have been the purposive/allative inflection. In Wargamay, words with future time reference can take the dative/allative inflection *-gu* with the meaning ‘until’ (Dixon 1981).

<sup>21</sup> The suffix *-me* is only ever found on the unreduplicated stem *djuyu*; *dulara* rarely occurs without the suffix *-me*.

Examples of these time nouns are given below.

*meŋ* 'today':

- (137) ŋuwim djime-nge meŋ  
sun shine-IMPERFV today  
'The sun is shining today.'
- (138) ŋay guwe biye dje-nge meŋ  
1SG then back go-IMPERFV now  
'I am coming back now.'

*binjgu* 'tomorrow, the next day':

- (139) guwe ŋay ba-ye binjgu  
then 1SG come-PRES tomorrow  
'I am coming tomorrow.' (Brolga 15)
- (140) binjgu njumba-yi  
the.next.day show-PAST  
'The next day [they] showed [it to him].' (Woodpecker 115)

*djuyu* 'afternoon/evening':

- (141) babiyanmi domnji yere-re-nji guwe djuyu  
father mother go.home-CONT-PERFV then evening  
'In the evening, the father and mother went home.'  
(Carpet Snake and the Children 71)
- (142) ŋuwim wura njinda-re-nji djuyudjuyu  
sun already go.down-CONT-PERFV evening  
'The sun was already going down in the evening.' (Woodpecker 37)
- (143) ŋay dadu-nu bumi-nji djuyu-me  
1SG tree-ABL fall-PERFV yesterday-SPEC  
'I fell from a tree yesterday afternoon.'

*dulara* 'morning':

- (144) yune-nji guwe ŋay dulara-me guwe ŋay barandje-ŋi  
sleep-PERFV then 1SG morning-SPEC then 1SG stand.up-PAST  
'I slept, then the next morning I stood up.' (Curlew 12)

*ŋo:* 'night':

- (145) gurruy gcre-nji ŋo:  
rain pour.down-PERFV night  
'Rain poured down in the night.' (Black Possum 2:71)

Depending on the context of the sentence, this temporal noun *ŋo:* can also mean 'last night' (with a verb in the past tense) or 'tonight' (with a verb in the future tense):

- (146) ŋo: ŋiyarr yi-ŋi  
night cold be-PAST  
'Last night it was cold.'

- (147) guwe gam yo:we ba-wu ŋo:  
 then perhaps 3PL come-FUT night  
 'Perhaps they will come tonight.'

Note that 'tonight' can also be indicated by the use of *ŋo*: 'night' followed by *meŋ* 'today':

- (148) djan man muranj-dju name-nge yowar-gu  
 man DEM white.paint-INSTR paint-IMPERFV corroboree-PURP  
 gembe-wa guwe ŋo: meŋ  
 act-PURP then night today  
 'The men are painting themselves with white paint for the corroboree in order to act tonight.'

*yayumba* 'soon':

- (149) yayumba ŋa:m ŋin ya-ngu  
 soon 1DU 2SG go-FUT  
 'We two (incl.) will go soon.' (Evening Star 2:28)
- (150) wane-ø yayumba-me  
 leave-IMPER soon-SPEC  
 'Leave [him] now.' (Dingo 33)

*gawurre* 'a long time (ago)':

- (151) gawurre ŋin-du ya:-yi gana yo:  
 a.long.time.ago 2SG-ERG say-PAST DEM 3SG  
 'A long time ago, you said "This is him".'  
 (Carpet Snake and the Children 116)
- (152) gawurre-ndjin yi-ŋi  
 a.long.time.ago-PL be-PAST  
 'It was in the old times.' (Two Old Mainlanders 1)

Duration is expressed in terms of standard units such as 'moons' for 'months' and 'summers' for 'years'. For example:

- (153) ŋay biye dje-nge guwe [gagare biya:yu]  
 1SG back go-IMPERFV then [moon two]  
 'I'll come back here in two months.'
- (154) ŋay gara-ŋi njinc-ŋi [ŋuwimgan biya:yu]  
 1SG DEM-LOC stay-PERFV [summer two]  
 'I stayed here for two years.'

There does not seem to be an equivalent word for measuring day-lengths and thus the adverbialising suffix *-nda* (see §3.2.3 [e] (i)) is used in this function on the appropriate number word. For instance:

- (155) ŋay gara-ŋi yuna-nge biya:yu-nda  
 1SG DEM-LOC stay-IMPERFV two-ADVLRSR  
 'I stay here two days.'

### 3.2.7 Reduplication

A number of reduplicated lexical items have been found in Duunjdjawan (and also in Waga-Waga).<sup>22</sup> The reduplication process is most commonly used to derive a new noun with a diminutive meaning. Examples of such pairs are:

<i>gibar</i>	'boy'	<i>gibargibar</i>	'small boy'
<i>bari</i>	'baby'	<i>baribari</i>	'little baby'
<i>damba</i>	'track'	<i>dambadamba</i>	'path'
<i>gundu</i>	'bark boat'	<i>gundugundu</i>	'bark container'
<i>djan</i>	'man'	<i>djandjan</i>	'son' (Waga-Waga)
<i>gin</i>	'woman'	<i>gingin</i>	'young girl' (Waga-Waga)
<i>njun</i>	'ashes'	<i>njunnjun</i>	'dust' (Waga-Waga)
<i>ɲu:l</i>	'shadow'	<i>ɲu:lɲu:l</i>	'little shadow' (Waga-Waga)
<i>djin</i>	'wood'	<i>djindjin</i>	'wood chips' (Waga-Waga)
<i>day</i>	'rock'	<i>dayday</i>	'pebble' (Waga-Waga)

Several bird and mammal names are inherently reduplicated, perhaps as a means of producing an onomatopoeic effect. For instance:

<i>wa:wa:</i>	'crow'
<i>djingidjingi</i>	'willy wagtail' <sup>23</sup>
<i>we:we:</i>	'peewee' (Winterbotham 1955)

Note that these nouns and some others, for example, *binjbinj* 'wrist', *djadja* 'bat' and *barrbarr* 'flying fox', are forms for which no unreduplicated counterpart exists.

There is one example of reduplication being used to produce an adjective:

<i>doyi</i>	'stone'	<i>doyidoyi</i>	'stoney'
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For another word the effect of reduplication is to indicate a 'time characterised by':

<i>djowon</i>	'flood'	<i>djowondjowon</i>	'wet season'
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Alternatively, there may be no discernible semantic difference between a reduplicated and an unreduplicated form of a word (e.g. *djuyu* and *djuyudjuyu* both mean 'evening'). In view of the relatively small corpus it is not possible to determine the importance of this morphological process in Duunjdjawan.

### 3.3 Personal pronouns

Duunjdjawan has free pronouns for singular, dual and plural numbers in all three persons. As mentioned in §3.2.2.1, pronouns, like human nouns (and dogs), inflect in a three-way case system with distinct forms for the major syntactic functions S, A and O. There is also an interrogative pronoun *ɲan-* 'who' (see §3.5 [b]). While some personal pronouns may take different inflections to those on the corresponding nouns, the functions of all cases are the same as for nouns, a full account of which is given in §3.2.2. Table 3.4 gives the full paradigm of S, A and O forms (here called nominative, ergative and

<sup>22</sup> Waga-Waga examples are from Holmer (1983).

<sup>23</sup> Crowley (1978:85) has a similar word in Bandjalang: *djigir-djigir*.

accusative), as well as the dative<sub>1</sub>, ablative<sub>3</sub>/comitative, ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive and purposive/allative/dative<sub>3</sub> pronominal forms. The dashes in Table 3.4 (and Table 3.5) indicate that the relevant form has not been recorded.

The 1SG pronoun *ŋay* is that which Dixon (1980) has posited as the Proto Australian 1SG form. The 2SG pronoun *ŋin* found in Duunjdjawan and many other eastern Australian languages is also the Proto Australian form. Unlike other Australian languages in which the 3SG pronoun is a demonstrative, in Duunjdjawan the 3SG is a distinct form. Non-humans are referred to by pronouns only in stories where they are being personified. The 2DU and 3DU pronouns contain a component *wa:m*, which is presumably related to the dual suffix *-wam* found on nouns.

While there are not separate inclusive and exclusive pronouns in the non-singular, inclusion can be shown by placing the second person singular pronoun in apposition to the first person dual form. For example:

(156) wana-ŋu            ŋa:m    ŋin    yuna-wu  
 far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub>    1DU    2SG    sleep-FUT  
 'We (incl.) will sleep far away.' (Crayfish 4)

(157) gari-ŋi    ŋa:m    ŋin-du    badji-ø    mana    guyur  
 DEM-LOC    1DU    2SG-ERG    find-GENRL    DEM    thing  
 'We (incl.) found that thing there.' (Two Old Mainlanders 53)

Note that while in (157) the 2SG takes the ergative marking, both pronouns can in fact take this marking. The first person exclusive is indicated by the first person dual with the third person singular:

(158) [wanja yo:    man    guyum]    guwe    ŋa:m    yo:    ya:-ye-nge  
 [if    3SG    DEM    camp]    then    1DU    3SG    talk-RECIP-IMPERFV  
 'If he's in the camp, then we (excl.) would like to speak to each other.'

The nominative form of the pronouns are, as for nouns, the unmarked root. This S form is that to which inflections are added, with the following two exceptions:

- (a) In Duunjdjawan, as in other Australian languages, the final segment of the 1SG form *ŋay* is dropped before all suffixes except those beginning with *w* (i.e. the dative<sub>1</sub>, ablative<sub>3</sub>/comitative and ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive). Dixon (1980) suggests that this is probably due to a phonological restriction.
- (b) The 3PL stem to which the ablative<sub>3</sub>/comitative and purposive/allative/dative<sub>3</sub> (and also genitive) case forms are added is *yo:we*, not *yo:wa(ran)*. (The latter only takes nominative, ergative and accusative inflections.)

As for nouns, the ergative suffix after nasals is a homorganic stop plus *u*. After the 1SG *ŋa* the ergative inflection is *-dju*. In rapid speech just this suffix may be used for the 1SG ergative pronoun. Following the 3SG *yo:* and the 3PL *yo:we*, the ergative is *-ru*. This suffix *-ru* is that found on short-vowel final nouns (on long-vowel final nouns the ergative suffix is *-wu*). For the 3SG ergative pronoun this suffix is frequently omitted thus resulting in a form identical to the 3SG nominative. On the 1PL *ŋa:* and 2PL *ŋuwe:* the ergative is *-me* (which is irregular as it differs from all the other *u*-final ergative suffixes).

The accusative inflection is *-a* after nasals, *-nja* after the 1SG *ŋa*, *-ŋa* after the 3SG *yo:*, and *-na* following the long vowels of the 1PL and 2PL. In comparison, on ordinary nouns there are only two accusative allomorphs: *-a* after nasals and *-na* elsewhere.



**Table 3.4:** Personal pronoun paradigm

	NOM	ERG	ACC/DAT <sub>2</sub>	DAT <sub>1</sub>	ABL <sub>3</sub> / COMIT	ABL <sub>2</sub> / AVERS	PURP/ ALL/DAT <sub>3</sub>
1SG	<i>ɲay</i>	<i>(ɲa)dju</i>	<i>ɲanja</i>	<i>ɲaywa</i>	<i>ɲaywaɲu</i>	<i>ɲaywaɲi</i>	<i>ɲari</i>
2SG	<i>ɲin</i>	<i>ɲindu</i>	<i>ɲina</i>	<i>ɲinba</i>	<i>ɲinbaɲu</i>	<i>ɲinbaɲi</i>	<i>ɲingari</i>
3SG	<i>yo:</i>	<i>yo:(ru)</i>	<i>yo:ɲa</i>	<i>yo:wa</i>	<i>yo:ɲu</i>	—	<i>yo:ri</i>
1DU	<i>ɲa:m</i>	<i>ɲa:mbu</i>	<i>ɲa:ma</i>	—	<i>ɲa:mbaɲu</i>	—	<i>ɲa:mgari</i>
2DU	<i>ɲowa:m</i>	<i>ɲowa:mbu</i>	<i>ɲowa:ma</i>	<i>ɲowa:mba</i>	—	—	<i>ɲowa:mgari</i>
3DU	<i>yowa:m</i>	<i>yowa:mbu</i>	<i>yowa:ma</i>	—	—	—	<i>yowa:mgari</i>
1PL	<i>ɲa:</i>	<i>ɲa:me</i>	<i>ɲa:na</i>	—	—	—	<i>ɲa:ri</i>
2PL	<i>ɲuwe:</i>	<i>ɲuwe:me</i>	<i>ɲuwe:na</i>	<i>ɲuwe:wa</i>	<i>ɲuwe:waɲu</i>	—	<i>ɲuwe:ri</i>
3PL	<i>yo:we</i>	<i>yo:weru</i>	—	—	<i>yo:wewaɲu</i>	—	<i>yo:weri</i>
	<i>yo:wa(ra)n</i>	<i>yo:wa(ra)ndu</i>	<i>yo:wa(ra)na</i>				

A comparison of the nominative, ergative and accusative forms given in Table 3.4 with those given in Wurm (1976:106) shows the following differences:

- (i) I give the 1SG NOM as *ŋay* (whereas Wurm has *ŋai*) to avoid the positing of vowel sequences.
- (ii) There are no vowel-initial words in this language and thus the *ŋ* of *ŋindu* and *ŋina* is not optional as Wurm has suggested.
- (iii) *yo:ru* in all of the examples in my corpus is the 3SG ERG form, never the 3SG NOM form as Wurm has it. There are no instances in my corpus of his 3SG ERG form *yo:(ru)ndu*.
- (iv) The *-me-* optional element of the 1PL and 2PL nominative (and hence, ergative and accusative) given by Wurm is, I believe, an error. This *-me* is in fact the ergative suffix of the 1PL and 2PL. That is, it is never found on the nominative or accusative. There are no examples of Wurm's *-ndu* ergative suffix on these pronouns.
- (v) Wurm gives the accusative suffix on all the dual pronouns as *-ma*. However, I have given this suffix as *-a* as there are no long consonants in this language. The 3PL accusative inflection, which Wurm also gives as *-ma* is presumably a typographical error, and should be *-a*.

It can be seen that the dative, ablative<sub>3</sub>/comitative and ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive case forms involve the addition of their regular nominal suffixes to the nominative stem. (In each case, the *b*-initial allomorph is found after consonants except *y*, and the *w*-initial allomorph after vowels,<sup>24</sup> and the semivowel *y*.) Ablative<sub>3</sub>/comitative pronouns taking *-baŋu~-waŋu* are:

- (159) *guyum ŋurume-yi ŋa:m-baŋu*  
 fire steal-PAST 1DU-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 '[He] stole fire from us two.' (Meat-ants 126)
- (160) *birwa:-wu djamba-yi guwe yo:wan-a ye dje-ø*  
 Beerwah-ERG call.out-PAST then 3PL-ACC towards go-IMPER  
*gara barandje-ø ŋay-waŋu*  
 DEM stand-IMPER 1SG-COMIT  
 'Beerwah then called out to all of them, "Come and stand here with me".'  
 (Crooked Neck 2:8)
- (161) *yo:-ŋu yana-ø*  
 3SG-COMIT go-IMPER  
 'Go with him.' (Seven Sisters 34)

The ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive pronouns take *-baŋi~-waŋi*. Examples are:

- (162) *ŋin-baŋi ŋay-wa dadu gamŋa-ø*  
 2SG-ABL<sub>2</sub> 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> stick break-IMPER  
 'Break the stick (away) from you towards me.' (Crayfish 19)

<sup>24</sup> There is one exception: the ablative<sub>3</sub>/comitative suffix on the 3SG pronoun *yo:* is *-ŋu* not *-waŋu*.

- (163) man gam ηurume-nge ηay-waji  
 DEM probably hide-IMPERFV 1SG-AVERS  
 'That (man) is probably hiding in fear of me.'

The dative case marks the recipient or beneficiary of an action. On pronouns this function may be indicated, as on nouns, by one of three sets of suffixes. Examples of the dative<sub>1</sub> case are:

- (164) ηa-dju ηin-ba ηjumba-wu baran ηa-ri  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> show-INT boomerang 1SG-GEN  
 'I intend to show my boomerang to you.'
- (165) ηin-du ηay-wa ye wiye-yu  
 2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> towards give-FUT  
 'You should give it to me.' (Crayfish 23)

The second kind of dative inflection, which is identical in form to the accusative, is illustrated below:

- (166) gan wura ηa:m-bu ηin-du ηjumba-yi yo:-ηa  
 DEM already 1DU-ERG 2SG-ERG show-PAST 3SG-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
 'We (lit. we two and you) have already showed this to her.'  
 (Black Possum 2:13)
- (167) ηa:m-a guyur wiye-nge mo:  
 1DU-DAT<sub>2</sub> food give-IMPERFV DEM  
 'That one (the man) is giving us two food.' (Black Possum 1:44)

The dative<sub>3</sub> inflection is formally the same as the purposive and the allative on pronominal stems. Examples (168) and (169) are of the dative<sub>3</sub>, while (170) and (171) are of the purposive and (172) and (173) are of the allative.

- (168) guwe badja-ru ya:-yi mana ηin-du guyur  
 then one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST DEM 2SG-ERG food  
 ηa-ri ye wiye-ø  
 1SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> towards give-IMPER  
 'Then one of them said, "You give that food to me".' (Crayfish 7)
- (169) ηay guwe ηin-gari name-nge muranj-dju  
 1SG then 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> paint-IMPERFV white.paint-ERG  
 'I am painting you with white paint.' (Dingo 27)
- (170) dama yanga-yi yowa:m-gari  
 net make-PAST 3DU-PURP  
 'So [they] made a net for them two.' (Two Sitting Boys 13)
- (171) yo:we-ri nja-re-nji  
 3PL-PURP look-CONT-PERFV  
 '[They] looked for them.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 72)
- (172) man ηin-gari djunim dje-nge nja-ø  
 DEM 2SG-ALL straight go-IMPERFV watch-IMPER  
 'That (boomerang) is coming straight towards you [so] watch it.'  
 (Crooked Neck 2:19)

- (173) *ya:-tje-nji yo: gana ba-ø ŋa-ri*  
 say-REFL-PERFV 3SG DEM come-IMPER ISG-ALL  
 'He said to himself, "Come here to me".' (Black Possum 1:51)

Genitive pronominal stems are formed by adding the genitive suffix found on nouns (i.e. *-ri* after a vowel and *-gari* after a consonant) to the nominative form given in Table 3.4.<sup>25</sup> The ergative, accusative, locative/ablative and allative forms of the genitive involve inflections to this stem as given in Table 3.5. Note that *ŋj* is added to the stem before any further inflection. The forms of the three core cases on genitive pronouns can be seen to be *-ø* for the nominative, *-dju* for the ergative, and *-a* for the accusative. Examples are:

- (174) *gari-nma [ŋin-gari gimŋen] njine-nge yuŋam-u*  
 DEM-EMPH [2SG-GEN brother.in.law] sit-IMPERFV ahead-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'Your brother-in-law is sitting somewhere ahead.' (Woodpecker 28)
- (175) [*ŋa-rinj-dju ma:m-bu*] *wiye-nji guyur djuyu-me*  
 [1SG-GEN-ERG mother-ERG] give-PERFV food afternoon-SPEC  
 'My mother gave food [to me] yesterday.'
- (176) *ŋa:m-bu bu-mi [buginj-a ŋa:m-garinj-a] djuju-me*  
 1DL-ERG hit-PAST [dog-ACC 1DL-GEN-ACC] afternoon-SPEC  
 'We two hit our dog yesterday.'

**Table 3.5:** Genitive pronoun paradigm

	GEN+NOM	GEN+ERG	GEN+ACC	GEN+ABL <sub>1</sub> /LOC <sub>3</sub>	GEN+ALL
1SG	<i>ŋari</i>	<i>ŋarinjdju</i>	<i>ŋarinja</i>	<i>ŋarinju</i>	<i>ŋarinjgu</i>
2SG	<i>ŋingari</i>	<i>ŋingarinjdu</i>	<i>ŋingarinja</i>	<i>ŋingarinju</i>	—
3SG	<i>yo:ri</i>	—	<i>yo:rinja</i>	<i>yo:rinju</i>	<i>yo:rinjgu</i>
1DU	<i>ŋa:mgari</i>	—	<i>ŋa:mgarinja</i>	—	—
2DU	<i>ŋowa:mgari</i>	—	<i>ŋowa:mgarinja</i>	—	—
3DU	<i>yowa:mgari</i>	—	<i>yowa:mgarinja</i>	<i>yowa:mgarinju</i>	—
1PL	<i>ŋa:ri</i>	—	—	—	—
2PL	<i>ŋuwe:ri</i>	—	—	—	—
3PL	<i>yo:weri</i>	—	<i>yo:werinja</i>	<i>yo:warinju</i>	—

Locative, ablative and allative suffixes are found on pronouns following the genitive derivation. They are always in agreement with a noun in local case. The forms of these suffixes are invariable (as they always follow the *-nj* of the genitive). The locative and ablative are *-u*, and hence correspond to the locative<sub>3</sub> and ablative<sub>1</sub> suffixes found on nouns. The allative is *-gu* as it is on nominals. Examples of these suffixes on genitive pronouns are:

- (177) *yima-yi gembe-nge gari [djawun-u ŋa-rinj-u]*  
 do.like.this-PAST play-IMPERFV DEM [homeland-LOC<sub>3</sub> ISG-GEN-LOC<sub>3</sub>]  
 '[We] played like that at my homeland here.' (Brolga 19)

<sup>25</sup> As for the pronoun suffixes already discussed, the 1SG and 3PL nominative forms to which the genitive suffix are attached are *ŋa* and *yo:we* respectively.

- (178) [ŋin-garinj-u guyum-u] ba-yi  
 [2SG-GEN-ABL<sub>1</sub> camp-ABL<sub>1</sub>] come-PAST  
 ‘[I] came away from your camp.’
- (179) ŋin dje-ø [goro:man-gu ŋa-rinj-gu]  
 2SG go-IMPER [kangaroo-ALL 1SG-GEN-ALL]  
 ‘You go to my kangaroo (to have a look at it).’

(As pointed out in §3.2.2.3, the locative<sub>3</sub> and ablative<sub>1</sub>, while having the same form, can be distinguished semantically.)

Table 3.6 gives the pronominal case inflections outlined above. (Note that V indicates a vowel or the semivowel y, and C a consonant other than y.)

**Table 3.6:** Pronoun case inflections

Nominative	-o	
Ergative	-Hu	N <sub>-</sub>
	-dju	with 1SG
	-ru	with 3SG and 3PL
	-me	with 1PL and 2PL
Accusative/Dative <sub>2</sub>	-a	N <sub>-</sub>
	-nja	with 1SG
	-ŋa	with 3SG
	-na	with 1PL and 2PL
Dative <sub>1</sub>	-ba	C <sub>-</sub>
	-wa	V <sub>-</sub>
Ablative <sub>3</sub> /Comitative	-ŋu	with 3SG
	-DAT <sub>1</sub> +ŋu	elsewhere
Ablative <sub>2</sub> /Aversive	-DAT <sub>1</sub> +ŋi	
Purposive/Allative/Dative <sub>3</sub> /Genitive	-gari(nj)	C <sub>-</sub>
	-ri(nj)	V <sub>-</sub>
Ablative <sub>1</sub> /Locative <sub>3</sub>	-u	after GEN
Allative	-gu	after GEN

In summary it can be said that the nominative, dative<sub>1</sub>, comitative, ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive, dative<sub>3</sub>/genitive, ablative<sub>1</sub>/locative<sub>3</sub> and allative (after the genitive) suffixes on pronouns parallel those on nominals. The allomorphy of the ergative and accusative pronominal inflections differs slightly, however, from that for nominals. The purposive suffix has shifted its alliance from with the allative on nouns to with the dative<sub>3</sub> and genitive on pronouns.

### 3.4 Demonstratives

There are two series of demonstratives in Duunjdjawa, those beginning in *g*- and those beginning in *m*-. As can be seen from Table 3.7 below, the *g*- demonstratives are used for ‘this/here’ and the *m*- demonstratives for ‘that/there’.

**Table 3.7:** Demonstratives

<i>go:</i>	'this'	<i>mo:</i>	'that'
<i>gan(a)</i>	'this, here'	<i>man(a)</i>	'that, there'
<i>gara</i>	'this, here'	<i>mara</i>	'that, there'
<i>gadja</i>	'here'	<i>madja</i>	'there'

Each set of demonstratives will now be discussed.

[a] *go:* 'this one', *mo:* 'that one'

The forms *go:* and *mo:* are non-inflecting anaphoric demonstratives which function as S, A or O to signify something which has been mentioned previously in the discourse. The first, *go:*, is 'this one (recently referred to)' while *mo:* is 'that one (referred to earlier)'. For instance:

- (180) *guwe dja: nja-nji njowam-bu*  
 then track see-PAST husband-ERG  
 'Then the husband saw tracks.' (Black Possum 2:19)

*go: ya:-yi gara ŋa-dju djawan badji-ø*  
 DEM(A) say-PAST DEM 1SG-ERG forest.possum find-GENRL  
 'This one (the husband) said, "I have found a forest possum here".'  
 (Black Possum 2:21)

- (181) *ŋa-dju baran nja-wu yangayanga*  
 1SG-ERG boomerang see-FUT carefully  
 'I will watch the boomerang carefully.' (Crooked Neck 2:9)

*biye-nji mo: badja-ru*  
 throw-PERFV DEM(O) other.one-ERG  
 'The other one (Babul) threw that one (the boomerang).'  
 (Crooked Neck 2:10)

- (182) *waga guwe njowamgan-du guwe ya:-yi gandanbingan-a*  
 no then wife-ERG then say.to-PAST younger.sister-ACC  
 "'No", the (man's) wife then said to her younger sister.'  
 (Black Possum 1:29)

*ya-nji mo:*  
 go-PERFV DEM(S)  
 'That one (the wife) went.' (Black Possum 1:41)

In having separate anaphoric forms, Duunjdjawan differs from other Australian languages, such as Panyjima (Dench 1991) and Djapu (Morphy 1983), whose anaphoric forms involve the addition of a suffix or clitic to a demonstrative root.

[b] *gan(a)* 'this, here', *man(a)* 'that, there'<sup>26</sup>

These are the most frequently occurring demonstratives in the language. They may be used to refer to things (i.e. 'this' and 'that'), or to places (i.e. 'here' and 'there').

When used as 'this' and 'that', *gan(a)* and *man(a)* do not take any inflections to indicate their syntactic role in the sentence. That is, the S, A and O forms are all the same. No semantic difference can be detected between the forms with final *a* and those without. It is possibly due to emphasis or may be partially phonologically conditioned, but we cannot be certain from our data. These demonstratives are found:

- (i) in noun phrases (of any sentence type). Here the demonstrative can function as a noun modifier:

- (183) waga wane- $\emptyset$  [gana guyum]  
not leave-IMPER [DEM camp]<sub>O</sub>  
'Don't leave this camp.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 5)
- (184) [djiwi man] barandje-nge dadu-ni  
[bird DEM]<sub>S</sub> stand-IMPERFV tree-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
'That bird is standing on the tree.'
- (185) [djan gana] waga ŋa:-nja nja- $\emptyset$   
[man DEM]<sub>A</sub> not IPL-ACC see-GENRL  
'This man cannot see us.'
- (186) [damba mana] wane-yu ŋa:m-bu  
[road DEM]<sub>O</sub> leave-FUT IDU-ERG  
'We two will leave that road (for them).' (Two Old Women 25)

or without an accompanying noun:

- (187) ŋa-dju yo:ran-da mana bu-mi  
1SG-ERG many-ADVLSR DEM(O) hit-PAST  
'I hit that (person) often.'
- (188) gana wabe-ŋe-nji yuŋam-u  
DEM(S) wait-REFL-PERFV front-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
'This one (the message man) was waiting out the front.'  
(Two Old Women 18)
- (189) guyum mana ŋurume-yi  
fire DEM(A) steal-PAST  
'That one (the boy) stole the fire.' (Meat-ants 123)

These demonstratives may take the dual suffix *-wam* found on nominals (which is always suffixed to the *a*-final forms):

- (190) gana-wam bu-mdja-nge meŋ  
DEM-DU(S) fight-RECIP-IMPERFV today  
'These two [men] are fighting each other today.'

<sup>26</sup> Wurm's (1976) paper on Duupidjawa has *man* as 'this' and *gan* as 'that'. On examination of all of his fieldwork data, and looking at material on other Waga-Waga languages, it is quite apparent that Wurm has these forms/meanings around the wrong way. That is, *gan* is 'this' and *man* 'that'.

- (191) minja-ŋgu mana-wam ba:l ye-ø  
 what-PURP DEM-DU(S) angry be-GENRL  
 'Why are those two [men] angry?'

(ii) as the only member of the topic NP in verbless sentences. For example:

- (192) ya: gana dadu  
 yes DEM tree  
 'Yes, this is the tree.' (Woodpecker 57)

- (193) bala gana  
 jewfish DEM  
 'These are jewfish.' (Fish in Ponds 23)

- (194) mirinjgim mana  
 star DEM  
 'That is a star.' (Evening Star 1:75)

- (195) eʔe galaŋ mana  
 EXCL good DEM  
 'Good, that is good!' (Two Old Women 26)

(iii) as a non-human third person. As mentioned in §3.3, non-humans are rarely referred to by pronouns. Rather, the demonstratives *gan(a)/man(a)* are used in this function. For instance:

- (196) ŋa-dju gana bu-mgu  
 1SG-ERG DEM(O) kill-FUT  
 'I will kill it (a possum).' (Black Possum 1:16)

- (197) binda-ø guwe mana  
 release-IMPER then DEM(O)  
 'Release it (the net).' (Two Sitting Boys 25)

(iv) the *man(a)* demonstrative is also widely used when a specific meaning is required, corresponding roughly to the definite article 'the' in English. Examples are:

- (198) [guŋ mana] djaŋar dje-nge  
 [water DEM]<sub>s</sub> fast go-IMP'ERFV  
 'The water flows quickly.'

- (199) giya-ø [mana gumari] guŋ-ga  
 soak-IMPER [DEM shield]<sub>O</sub> water-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 'Soak the shield in water.'

Examples of these demonstratives referring to the places 'here (near the speaker)' and 'there (away from the speaker)' are:

- (200) yo: gan ye-ø guwe  
 3SG DEM be-GENRL then  
 'Here he is.' (Curlew 18)



- (201) mana ŋin njine-ø  
 DEM 2SG stay-IMPER  
 'You stay there.' (Meat-ants 158)

There is only one further suffix found on *gan* and *man*. This is *-ma* and it is seemingly used to emphasise location 'here' or 'there'. This suffix is only found on demonstratives in this language. For instance:

- (202) gan-ma ba-yi  
 DEM-EMPH come-PAST  
 '[They] came here.' (Woodpecker 104)
- (203) gan-ma gam guwe yowa:m djanjum yi-nge  
 DEM-EMPH probably then 3DU close.by be-IMPERFV  
 'Those two are probably close to here.' (Evening Star 1:50)

Holmer (1983:62) also has the desiderative nominal suffix *-gu* on the demonstrative *mana*:

- (204) ŋe gonj mana-gu gin(-gu)  
 1SG want DEM-DESID woman(-DESID)  
 'I want that woman.'

The demonstratives *gana* and *mana* may be reduced to the clitic *na* which attaches to the preceding element. In such instances only the context can determine whether the meaning intended is 'here' or 'there'. An example is:

- (205) gana wamba-nge waga+na dja:-ø  
 DEM put-IMPERFV don't+DEM eat-IMPER  
 '[I] am putting this one [aside], don't eat this one.'  
 (Black Possum 2:48)

[c] *gara* 'here', *mara* 'there'

Like *gana* and *mana*, the demonstratives *gara* and *mara* are used for 'this, here' and 'that, there' respectively. As noted by Holmer (1983:28) for Waga-Waga (but applying equally for Duunjdjawu): 'No particular difference could be detected between the forms with medial *-n-* and *-r-* ... As, however, both forms seem common and equally well established it will be safer to consider them as originally different.' His suggestion that they may represent archaic case forms of shorter demonstrative stems, such as the *ga-* and *ma-* of the Manandjali dialect of Bandjalang, another southeast Queensland language, is a feasible interpretation. Note that the use of *gara* is not restricted to 'here, in close proximity to the speaker' but rather refers to 'here, in the general vicinity'.<sup>27</sup>

Examples of *gara* and *mara* are:

- (206) waga gembe-nge gara  
 not play-IMPERFV DEM  
 '[They] are not playing here.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 75)

<sup>27</sup> Martuthunira, a language from the Pilbara region of Western Australia, has a set of non-specific demonstratives which 'are used to denote a particular place whose exact location is not known but which is known to lie within a wider region denoted by the proximal or distal stem' (Dench 1995:124).

- (207) mara yo: guŋ-u gari-nji  
 DEM 3SG water-LOC<sub>3</sub> go.in-PERFV  
 'He went into the water there.' (Evening Star 2:168)

The demonstratives *gara* and *mara*, like *gana* and *mana*, are occasionally reduced to their second syllable, which cliticises to the previous word. For example:

- (208) wabe-ø+ra gurruy mungaya-ngu  
 stay-IMPER+DEM rain stop-FUT  
 'Stay here until the rain stops.'
- (209) waga+ra  
 nothing+DEM  
 'There was nothing there.' (Evening Star 2:58)

Compare (209), which follows from the statement 'The owner came behind and looked around', with (210), which is in response to the question 'Can you see anyone?'

- (210) waga waga mara  
 no nobody DEM  
 'No, there is nobody there.'

While no examples were found of genitively marked demonstratives in Duunjdjawanu, they were encountered in Waga-Waga:

- (211) mara-rinj bari mana djanin  
 DEM-GEN child DEM toy  
 'That toy belongs to that child.' (Holmer 1983:167)

The demonstrative *gara* (unlike *gan(a)/man(a)*) may take the following local case inflections, *-ŋi* locative, *-gu* allative and *-waŋu* ablative. Note that the allative is that found on nouns (and following the genitive on pronouns) and the ablative is the same as the ablative<sub>3</sub> on pronouns, while the locative form *-ŋi* is only found elsewhere on the local noun *wana* 'far away'. Examples of these are:

- (212) gara-ŋi yune-nge  
 DEM-LOC lie-IMPERFV  
 '[I] was lying in here.' (Kangaroo Rat 47)
- (213) ŋay [gara-gu dadu-gu] dje-nge  
 1SG [DEM-ALL tree-ALL] go-IMPERFV  
 'I am going to the tree here.'
- (214) ŋay ba-yi [gara-waŋu djan-baŋu]  
 1SG come-PAST [DEM-ABL man-ABL]  
 'I came from the man here.'

The emphatic suffix *-ma*, as found on *gan* (see (202) and (203)), also occurs on *gara*:

- (215) gara-ma yo:rr yana-ø  
 DEM-EMPH everywhere walk-IMPER  
 'Walk everywhere here!'

There is another suffix, *-ŋe*, found on *gara*. This seems to have the meaning 'side' and is possibly an allomorph of the suffix *-ge* found on the local noun *girum* 'other side'. For example:

- (216) gara-ŋe bunjaŋ-u barandje-nge  
 DEM-SIDE in.front-LOC<sub>3</sub> stand-IMPERFV  
 '[The hunters] will stand on this side in front.' (Kangaroo Hunting 6)

The demonstrative *mara* is not used very frequently and is not found with any of the inflections just outlined for *gara*. It does, however, take the purposive *-ri* (217) (found on pronouns) and the aversive *-waŋi* (218) (found on nouns and pronouns).

- (217) gaye-∅ mara-ri ŋin  
 look-IMPER DEM-PURP 2SG  
 'You look for that.' (Meat-ants 42)
- (218) ŋay ba:ŋgi-nge mara-waŋi  
 1SG be.frightened-IMPERFV DEM-AVERS  
 'I am afraid of that.'

There are many instances of the demonstrative *gara* with final *-i* instead of *-a*. Examples of *gari* 'here' are:

- (219) gari badja yune-nge  
 DEM someone sleep-IMPERFV  
 'Someone was sleeping here.' (Woodpecker 73)

The demonstratives *gari* and *mari* are found in the Batjala language spoken on Fraser Island (Holmer 1983:143). An explanation for the use of *gari* in Duuŋidjawanu could be that the consultant, who also spoke Batjala fluently, was mixing his languages.<sup>28</sup> This form takes the same inflections as those described above for *gara*. (However, the emphatic suffix on *gari* is *-nma* instead of *-ma*.) In addition, *gari* may be suffixed with the suffix *-me* which serves to give more specific locational direction to the verb.<sup>29</sup> (See §3.2.6 for the occurrence of this suffix on time nouns, where it gives further temporal specification to the verb.) An example is:

- (220) ŋay gari-me dje-nji guyum-u  
 1SG DEM-SPEC go-PERFV camp-PERL  
 'I went past the camp here.'

The demonstrative *gari* can take the temporal suffix *-ŋira* (also found on the interrogative *wanju*; see §3.5 [c]), which creates a form meaning 'at this time':

<sup>28</sup> While the demonstrative *mari* was not present in my corpus, Holmer (1983) has several examples of its occurrence as 'there' in Waga-Waga. Perhaps this means that the set of demonstratives ending in *-i* was actually borrowed into that dialect (and indeed Duuŋidjawanu) from Batjala. Without knowing their frequency of occurrence in Waga-Waga, or the consultant from which they were elicited (i.e. if that person/s spoke Batjala too), their origin and status in these languages remains uncertain.

<sup>29</sup> Compare this inflection with *-mi* and *-ma* in the northern N.S.W language Gumbaynggir which form, respectively, intransitive and transitive locational adverbs from locational deictics (Eades 1979:314).

- (221) gagare wambe-nji giyen gari-ŋira  
 moon hang-PERFV new.moon DEM-TIME  
 'At this time [when] the new moon is hanging.'

There is another suffix, *-ŋinu*, which appears on *gari* and *mari* and seems to mean 'this/that way, this/that direction, this/that end'.

- (222) waga mari-ŋinu wamba-ø  
 don't DEM-END put-IMPER  
 'Don't put [it] on that end.' (Crayfish 20)

This suffix is also used on *gari* in stories to signify the end (i.e. 'this is finished now, this is the end').

Holmer also gives the demonstratives *gariŋa* 'here' and *mariŋa* 'there' for Batjala, the first of which also regularly occurs in Duunjdjauw. It is possible that this suffix *-ŋa* is the allative as found on the interrogatives *wanju* and *wan(d)ja* 'where'. (Note from earlier that the demonstrative *gara* takes the allative *-gu*.) For example:

- (223) gari-ŋa guwe baran gaye-nji  
 DEM-ALL then boomerang turn.around-PERFV  
 'Then the boomerang turned around towards here.' (Crooked Neck 1:7)

[d] *gadja* 'here', *madja* 'there'

These are less commonly used demonstratives which correspond in meaning to *gana/gara* and *mana/mara* outlined above. Holmer (1983) identifies these forms as Barunggam, and hence it is possible that the consultant has them confused as Duunjdjauw terms. They are not found in Waga-Waga. Examples are:

- (224) ŋuwe:-na gadja guwe bu-mbe  
 2PL-ACC DEM then kill-PRES  
 '[He] is killing you all here.' (Evening Star 1:26)
- (225) wane-ø madja  
 leave-IMPER DEM  
 'Leave [him] there!' (Black Possum 1:45)

As with *gara*, *gadja* sometimes has a final *i* instead of *a*. How the two forms differ in meaning cannot be determined. Once again, this could be a dialectal variant. Examples of *gadji* are given below:

- (226) wane-ø yo:-ŋa gadji  
 leave-IMPER 3SG-ACC DEM  
 'Leave him here.' (Black Possum 1:34)

Like *gan* and *gara*, *gadji* takes the emphatic *-ma*:

- (227) wane-ø guwe yowa:m-a gadji-ma  
 leave-GENRL then 3DU-ACC DEM-EMPH  
 'Then [the owl] left the two of them right here.' (Two Sitting Boys 60)

### 3.5 Interrogatives

Duunjdjawa has content question words for asking 'who', 'what' and 'where'. The interrogatives 'why', 'when' and 'which' are based upon these. There is also an interrogative verb 'do what/how'. Content question words are generally clause-initial (see (253) for an exception to this rule). A declarative sentence may be transformed into a polar question by (i) rising intonation, or (ii) the addition of the particle *wanja* (see §4.11 (iii)). The inflections of the interrogatives are set out in Tables 3.8 and 3.9.

**Table 3.8:** Inflections of 'what' and 'who'<sup>30</sup>

	<i>minja</i> 'what'	<i>ŋan</i> 'who'
A	—	- <i>du</i>
INSTR	- <i>ndu</i>	—
S	—	- <i>ga</i>
O	- <i>ŋa</i>	- <i>a</i>
GEN	—	- <i>gari</i>
PURP	- <i>ŋgu</i>	—

#### [a] *minja* 'what'

The interrogative 'what' is *minha* or *minja* in almost every language in eastern Australia (as far north as Dyrbal, at Innisfail and Malanda) (Dixon 1980:376). Duunjdjawa is no exception, its form being *minja*. This interrogative inflects like a short vowel-final ordinary noun for its instrumental (see Table 3.1) and like the 3SG personal pronoun for its accusative form (see Table 3.6). That is, the instrumental is *-ndu* and the accusative is *-ŋa*. For example:

(228) *minja-ndu ŋin-du yanga-ye*  
 what-INSTR 2SG-ERG make-PRES  
 'What are you making it with?'

(229) *minja-ŋa ŋin-du be:ŋa-ø*  
 what-ACC 2SG-ERG hear-GENRL  
 'What do you hear?' (Two Old Mainlanders 42)

There are no examples of the S form of this interrogative in my corpus. Wurm (1976:106) lists it as the unmarked root in Duunjdjawa, while Holmer has the S form as *minjanda* for Waga-Waga (see example (234) below).

This interrogative may also be used as a modifier to a noun (see also (330)):

(230) [*minja-ŋa djunben*] *gam bu-mi*  
 [what-ACC lizard] doubt kill-PAST  
 'What lizard did [I] kill?' (Dingo 73)

The purposive case is used to ask 'why' (lit. 'what for'). The purposive inflection, *-ŋgu*, found on the interrogative *minja* is more like that found on nouns (*-gu*), than that on personal pronouns (*-(ga)ri(nj)*). (Holmer 1983 actually has *minjangu* in free variation with *minjagu* in Waga-Waga.) Examples of the interrogative 'why' are:

<sup>30</sup> Dashes in this table represent gaps in our corpus.

- (231) minja-ŋgu djan mana dje-nge  
 what-PURP man DEM run-IMPERFV  
 ‘Why is that man running?’
- (232) ya:-yi guwe minja-ŋgu ba-yi  
 say-PAST then what-PURP come-PAST  
 ‘Then [he] said, “Why did [you] come?”’ (Woodpecker 80)

The question word ‘how many’ is *minja* followed by the factitive derivation *-ma-* (see §3.6.7) which creates a transitive stem to which verbal suffixes<sup>31</sup> are then attached. For instance:

- (233) minja-ma-yi ŋin-gari njunam  
 what-FACT-PAST 2SG-GEN children  
 ‘How many children have you?’ (lit. ‘Your children are what?’)

While there are no examples of the interrogative *minja* being used indefinitely in Duunjidjawa, Holmer (1983:29) gives an example of such a use in Waga-Waga:

- (234) minja-nda ŋin-baŋi bini  
 what-NOM 2SG-LOC behind  
 ‘There is something behind you.’

[b] *ŋan* ‘who’

The question word *ŋan* ‘who’ is unusual in that the S form is not *ŋan* as one would expect, but *ŋanga*. This suffix is the same in the nearby Gabi-Gabi language and in the northern Queensland language Wargamay (Dixon 1981:40). Dixon (forthcoming) proposes that the original S form in these languages would have been *ŋa:n*, and that as monosyllabic words were eliminated the form became *ŋa:nga* (or *ŋanga* in Duunjidjawa). This does not necessarily explain the form *ŋanga* in Duunjidjawa, however, as monosyllabic roots are perfectly acceptable in this language. The ergative inflection is *-du* as it is for nouns and personal pronouns after a root-final *n*. Examples include:

- (235) ŋan-ga mana  
 who-NOM DEM  
 ‘Who is that?’
- (236) ŋan-du gana ba:ri-nji  
 who-ERG DEM bring-PERFV  
 ‘Who brought [the fish] here?’
- (237) ŋan-du ŋin-a ya:-yi mana gowon  
 who-ERG 2SG-ACC say-PAST DEM raw  
 ‘Who told you that is raw?’ (Meat-ants 6)

The accusative form of the interrogative ‘who’ does not occur in our corpus. Holmer (1983) gives the accusative suffix *-a* for this pronoun in Waga-Waga, which is presumably what it would have been in Duunjidjawa. The genitive form of this interrogative is *ŋangari*, which involves the same genitive suffix, *-gari*, as on nouns and personal pronouns.

<sup>31</sup> The verbal suffixes found on the factitive place it in the Y-conjugation.

- (238) *ŋan-gari mana baran*  
 who-GEN DEM boomerang  
 ‘Whose is that boomerang?’

A query as to someone’s name is made using the ‘who’ interrogative. This is undoubtedly because a name is viewed as something personal.<sup>32</sup> For example:

- (239) *ŋan-ga ŋin-gari buwa: nje:*  
 who-NOM 2SG-GEN father name  
 ‘What is your father’s name?’
- (240) *ŋan-ga yo: nje:*  
 who-NOM 3SG name  
 ‘What is his name?’

Holmer (1983:29) gives an example of *ŋan* with an indefinite sense in Waga-Waga:

- (241) *ŋan-du gamŋa-ji*  
 who-ERG break-PAST  
 ‘Somebody broke it.’

In Duunjdjaju, the noun *badja* ‘the other one’ is used indefinitely to mean ‘someone’:

- (242) *djan gana guŋ-u wura goro-yi, yo: badja-ru*  
 man DEM water-LOC<sub>3</sub> nearly drown-PAST 3SG other.one-ERG  
*guwe bunma-yi*  
 then pull.out-PAST  
 ‘This man nearly drowned in the water, but someone pulled him out.’

Unusually in Duunjdjaju there are two interrogatives meaning ‘where’, *wanju* and *wan(d)ja*. The inflections taken by these interrogatives are given in Table 3.9 and discussed in [c] and [d] below.

**Table 3.9:** Inflections of the locative interrogatives ‘where’

	<i>wanju</i> ‘where’	<i>wan(d)ja</i> ‘where’
ALL	- <i>ŋa</i>	- <i>ŋa</i>
ABL	- <i>ŋu</i>	- <i>nu</i>
TIME	- <i>ŋira</i>	—

[c] *wanju* ‘where’

*wanju* functions as the locative interrogative ‘where’. The allative form is *wanju-ŋa*. Note that this is the same suffix as the allative found on the demonstrative *gari* (see §3.4 [c]), but differs from this inflection on nouns and personal pronouns.

- (243) *nja-ŋi guwe wanju-ŋa wa-wu*  
 look-PAST then where-ALL climb-FUT  
 ‘[He] looked [and wondered], “Where will [I] climb to?”’  
 (Meat-ants 141)

<sup>32</sup> A person’s name is inalienably possessed, highlighting the fact that it is seen as an intrinsic part of the possessor.

- (244) wanjunga nyin [original orthography]  
 wanju-ŋa ŋin [my orthography]  
 where-ALL 2SG  
 ‘Where are you going to?’  
 (Waga dialect; De Brebant Cooper 1857:167)

The ablative suffix on *wanju* is *-ŋu* in Duunjdjawanu and Waga-Waga. This suffix is the same as the ablative<sub>3</sub> suffix on the 3SG personal pronoun.

- (245) wanju-ŋu mana ba-ye  
 where-ABL DEM come-PRES  
 ‘Where is [it] coming from?’ (Two Old Mainlanders 25)
- (246) ŋin-du wanju-ŋu wamba-i  
 2SG-ERG where-ABL hang-PAST  
 ‘Where did you leave [it] hanging from?’ (Holmer 1983:86)

The temporal interrogative ‘when’ is *wanjujira*. Note that the suffix *-ŋira*<sup>33</sup> is attached to the locational interrogative, rather than to the number interrogative ‘how many’ as it is in many other Australian languages.

- (247) wanju-ŋira ŋin biye dje-yu  
 where-TIME 2SG back come-FUT  
 ‘When will you return?’
- (248) birwa: be:ŋa-ø wanju-ŋira yo: biya-wu  
 Beerwah think-GENRL when-TIME 3SG throw-FUT  
 ‘Beerwah was thinking, “When will he throw [it]?”’  
 (Crooked Neck 3:14)
- (249) wanju-ŋira ya-ŋu  
 when-TIME go-FUT  
 ‘When will [he] go?’ (Dingo 29)

A cognate form of this interrogative, *wanjdamira*, is found in the northern Queensland language Wargamay (Dixon 1981:44).

On several occasions the consultant, Willie McKenzie, used *wanju* for ‘who’. For example:

- (250) wanju-ŋa binda-wu  
 who-ACC send-FUT  
 ‘Who will [we] send?’ (Carpet Snake and the Storm 7)
- (251) wanju-gu baran-gu gonj  
 which-DESID boomerang-DESID want  
 ‘Which boomerang do [you] want?’
- (252) wanju-rinj mana gima  
 who-GEN DEM son  
 ‘Whose son is that?’

<sup>33</sup> This suffix is also found on the demonstrative *gari* (see §3.4 [c]).



As it is most unusual for a language to have two ‘who’ forms, and as this is the form for ‘who’ in the nearby Goreng-Goreng language (Holmer 1983:100), it is possible that the consultant was mixing his languages.

[d] *wan(d)ja* ‘where’

The unmarked form of the interrogative *wan(d)ja* ‘where’ has a locative ‘where (rest)’ meaning. No semantic or syntactic difference could be determined between the forms *wanja* and *wandja*.<sup>34</sup> Examples of *wan(d)ja* are:

(253) njowam    ŋa-ri        wanja  
 husband 1SG-GEN where  
 ‘Where is my husband?’ (Platypus 68)

(254) wanja    guwe    mana    guyur  
 where    then    DEM    thing  
 ‘Where is that thing?’ (Curlew 15)

(255) wandja    guwe    ya-nji  
 where    then    go-PERFV  
 ‘Where did [they] go?’ (Dingo 58)

The allative inflection found on this interrogative is *-ŋa* (as for *wanju*).

(256) djan    badja        ya:-yi        guwe    yo:-ŋa        wandja-ŋa  
 man    other.one    say-PAST    then    3SG-ACC    where-ALL  
  
 ŋuwe:    yana-nde  
 2PL    go-PRES  
 ‘The other man said to him, “Where are you all going to?”’  
 (Woodpecker 7)

To ask the question ‘where from’ the form *wanju* is used. I propose that this is not the interrogative root *wanju* of [c] above, but is actually a contraction of *wanja* ‘where’ plus the ablative<sub>i</sub> suffix *-nu* found on vowel-final nouns.<sup>35</sup>

(257) wanju        ŋin-du        ba:ri-nji        gana  
 where+ABL 2SG-ERG bring-PERFV DEM  
 ‘Where did you bring this one from?’

Interrogative forms in Australian languages have a tendency to be shortened (Dixon forthcoming). For instance, in Djabugay (Patz 1991:259) the interrogatives, when compared with cognates in its southern neighbour Yidinj, appear to have dropped their original first syllable. While this reduction was not witnessed in Duunjdjauwu, it was found to occur in Waga-Waga with *wandja* sometimes reduced to *dja*: (Holmer 1983:86).

<sup>34</sup> Dixon (1980) reconstructs \**wany* as the protoform of this interrogative root. The locative inflection this root would take in Duunjdjauwu would be *-dja* (i.e. a stop homorganic with the preceding nasal). Thus, this interrogative *wan(d)ja* ‘where’ appears to have been formed by the reanalysis of the locative case form as a zero-marked stem (Koch 1995).

<sup>35</sup> Certainly this sort of contraction is found elsewhere. For example, in Goreng-Goreng ‘there’ is *manja* with the ablative form being *manju* (Holmer 1983:100).

[e] *wandju ma-* ‘do what/how’

The word *wandju* is used in questions with the transitive verbaliser *-ma-* to mean ‘do what/how’:

- (258) *wandju-ma-∅*      *gana*    *buginj-a*  
 what-FACT-GENRL    DEM    dog-ACC  
 ‘What should [we] do about this dog?’ (Dingo 2)
- (259) *wandju-ma-yi*      *ŋin-du*      *baran*      *gawa-yi*  
 how-FACT-PAST    2SG-ERG    boomerang    dodge-PAST  
 ‘How did you dodge the boomerangs?’ (Kangaroo Rat 43)
- (260) *ya:-ŋe-nji*      *guwe yo:*    *ŋa-dju*      *wandju-ma-wu*    *yowa:m-a*  
 say-REFL-PERFV    then    3SG 1SG-ERG    what-FACT-FUT    3DU-ACC  
 ‘He said to himself, “What will I do to them two?”’  
 (Black Possum 1:75)

In such constructions *wandju* may take the instrumental inflection *-ru*. For instance:

- (261) *wandju-ru-ma-yi*      *ŋin*    *beŋa-nji*  
 how-INSTR-FACT-PAST    2SG    feel-PERFV  
 ‘How do you feel?’
- (262) *wandju-ru-ma-yi*      *gadja*  
 what-INSTR-FACT-PAST    DEM  
 ‘What happened here?’

### 3.6 Verb morphology

The structure of the verb in Duunjdjawa is as follows:

ROOT – (DERIVATION) – (INFLECTION) – (POST-INFLECTION)

#### 3.6.1 Transitivity

Transitive verbs take A NP and O NPs, while intransitive verbs take an obligatory S NP. (See §4.1.3 for details of when any of these NPs may be optionally omitted.) There is no morphological indication of the syntactic distinction of transitivity in Duunjdjawa; that is, both intransitive and transitive verb stems take the same inflections. Of the 124 monomorphemic verbs recorded, fifty-three are intransitive (approximately 43 per cent) and sixty-two are transitive (50 per cent). Duunjdjawa differs from most other Australian languages in that it does not rigidly specify every verb as transitive or intransitive. Some verbs may function in an intransitive or a transitive clause; that is, they have an optional accusative object. There are nine of these ‘ambitransitive’ verbs, which make up the remaining 7 per cent of all verb roots in this language. Ambitransitive verbs have no morphological marking to indicate whether they are being used transitively or intransitively. Seven of the ambitransitives are of the S=A type where the S of the intransitive clause corresponds to the A of the transitive. The other two are S=O ambitransitives with the S of the intransitive corresponding to the O of the transitive. These are all given in Table 3.10.

**Table 3.10:** Ambitransitive verbs

S=A	<i>djime</i>	'shine' (intr), 'dry' (tr)
S=A	<i>gadiwa</i>	'answer' (intr/tr)
S=A	<i>gawa</i>	'duck' (intr), 'dodge' (tr)
S=A	<i>jurume</i>	'hide' (intr/tr)
S=A	<i>nja</i>	'look' (intr), 'look at' (tr)
S=A	<i>ya:</i>	'speak' (intr), 'speak to' (tr)
S=A	<i>yima</i>	'do this' (intr), 'do like this' (tr)
S=O	<i>mari</i>	'burn, cook, melt' (intr/tr)
S=O	<i>gamja</i>	'break' (intr/tr)

There is one extended intransitive verb in Duunjdjawu. This verb, *ba:ŋgi-* 'be frightened', takes an S argument and also an NP complement in ablative case. (See examples (74) and (75).) In this use the ablative case fulfils a syntactic function rather than indicating a spatial type relation.

There are also two extended transitive verbs in this language. These 'ditransitive' verbs take an obligatory additional complement NP. They are *wiye* 'give' and *njumba* 'show'. With these verbs the Recipient is marked by the dative. The Gift appears to be unmarked; however, this probably has more to do with the fact that Gifts are not typically nouns which can take accusative marking (i.e. humans or canines). The ambitransitive verb *ya:* 'speak (to)' used transitively is also ditransitive.

All verb roots end in a vowel. The stem final vowels, with the number of verb roots given in parentheses, are /a/ (59), /e/ (27), /i/ (26), /a:/ (4), /o/ (3), /u/ (2), /e:/ (1), /i:/ (1) and /o:/ (1). There is no correlation between the stem-final vowel of a verb root and its transitivity. There is a tendency for *a*-final verb roots to change to *e*-final before *-nji* perfective and *-nge* imperfective.

### 3.6.2 Conjugations

Duunjdjawu verbs are all assigned to one of four conjugation classes, labelled Y, NG, N and M after the 'conjugation marker' which follows the final vowel of the verb root in certain inflections.<sup>36</sup> These conjugations can be distinguished by contrasting their past, present and future forms, as shown in Table 3.11.

**Table 3.11:** Past, present and future forms of the four conjugations

conjugation	Y	NG	N	M
past	- <i>yi</i>	- <i>ŋi</i>	- <i>ni</i>	- <i>mi</i>
present	- <i>ye</i>	- <i>ŋge</i>	- <i>nde</i>	- <i>mbe</i>
future	- <i>yu~-wu</i>	- <i>yu~-wu</i>	- <i>ngu</i>	- <i>mgu</i>

Note that the future forms for the NG conjugation are the same as those for the Y conjugation. These inflections are possibly innovations introduced in the final stages of the dying language to regularise the verbal paradigm.<sup>37</sup> The two future allomorphs are

<sup>36</sup> These conjugation markers are explained by Dixon (1980) to be the final segment of the original verb root.

<sup>37</sup> As further evidence of this, some verbs belonging to the NG and N classes may take certain Y class inflections. For instance, *-yi* is the past tense form for *biya-ŋ* 'throw, fly', and *-ye* is the present tense form for *bo:-ŋ* 'die'.

determined by the final segment of the stem. These are *-yu* after *e* and *i*, and *-wu* after *a* and *o* (there are no verb stems in these conjugations which end in *u*, nor are there any derivations which end in *u*).

Table 3.12 below gives the inflections shown above in Table 3.11 but with the conjugation markers (CM) segmented to highlight the similarities between the inflections across the conjugations. H represents a consonant homorganic with the preceding conjugation marker.

**Table 3.12:** The four conjugations with conjugation marker segmented

conjugation	Y	NG	N	M
past	-CM+i			
present	-CM+e	-CM+He		
future	-CM+u ~ -wu	-yu ~ -wu	-CM+gu	

Except for the past, present and future forms, inflectional and post-inflectional suffixes are alike for all conjugations. These are given in Tables 3.13 and 3.14.

**Table 3.13:** Further verb inflections

intention/desire	-wa
imperative/general	-o
imperfective	-nge
perfective	-nji
suddenness	-n

**Table 3.14:** Postinflections

purposive	-wa
simultaneous	-nda
repetitive	-me
purposive	

Note that the bare verb stem can indicate both the imperative mood and a general tense. The general tense is commonly used in stories where the tense (either past, present or future) has already been established. It is an unusual feature of an Australian language for tense not to be specified. An explanation may be that this was a language in its last stages of existence. The difference in meaning between the imperative mood and the general tense can be determined by the context and the intonation of the utterance.

There is one irregular verb in Duunjdjawanu, the copula verb *ye* 'be'. The forms of this verb are given in Table 3.15. This verb will be further discussed and exemplified in §4.1.2.

**Table 3.15:** The irregular verb *ye* 'be'

imperative	<i>ye</i>
past	<i>yi-tji</i>
present	<i>yi-ye</i>
future	<i>yi-gu</i>

Unfortunately the full conjugational details are not known for forty-six of the 124 verb roots attested. The verbs described in this section only include those seventy-seven verbs for which conjugation membership has been determined. (The irregular verb *ye* 'be' is not described here.) A complete list of all attested forms of the 124 verbs is given in Table 3.16.

**Table 3.16:** The inflections attested on each verb

		past	pres	fut	in/ desid	imper/ genrl	imperfv	perfv	sudden	purp	simult	repet	around	cont	caus <sub>1</sub>	caus <sub>2</sub>	refl	recip
<b>ba</b>	come	yi	ye	wu		ø		nji	n									
<b>badji</b>	find			yu		ø	nge											
<b>bamba</b>	hit, kill, splash	yi	ye	wu		ø		nji		wa								ye
<b>banda</b>	tie up	yi			wa													
<b>barandje</b>	stand	ŋi	ŋge	yu		ø	nge	nji	n						ma			
<b>ba:</b>	stand							nji					me		ma			
<b>ba:ŋgi</b>	be frightened						nge	nji										
<b>ba:ri</b>	bring, carry			yu	wa	ø	nge	nji										
<b>be:ŋa</b>	hear, know, listen	yi		wu		ø		nji										
<b>binda</b>	send	yi		wu		ø												
<b>biya</b>	throw, fly	yi		wu		ø	nge	nji	n				me					ŋdje
<b>bi:ra</b>	ask	yi		wu		ø				wa								
<b>bowa</b>	extinguish	yi					nge							re				
<b>bo:</b>	die	ŋi		wu		ø												
<b>bu</b>	hit, kill	mi	mbe	mgu		ø	nge	nji	n	wa		me						mdje
<b>bumi</b>	roll, fall down/off	ni		ngu			nge	nji	n			me		re				
<b>bunma</b>	pull out, remove	yi		wu	wa	ø		nji	n		nda							ŋe
<b>bugunda</b>	open, split	yi	ye			ø		nji	n									
<b>bunjma</b>	boast	yi																
<b>bure</b>	run					ø		nji										
<b>buwa</b>	spear, dip	yi		wu	wa	ø		nji	n									
<b>buwe:</b>	stick in					ø												
<b>buyi</b>	take, carry			yu	wa	ø								le				
<b>bu:ŋi</b>	blow			yu			nge	nji			nda							
<b>dare</b>	fly					ø	nge	nji							ma			

		past	pres	fut	int/ desid	imper/ genrl	imperfv	perfv	sudden	purp	simult	repet	around	cont	caus <sub>1</sub>	caus <sub>2</sub>	refl	recip
<b>dari</b>	pull (up), pinch			yu		ø	nge	nji						re			ŋe	
<b>dawari</b>	follow	ŋi	ŋge	yu		ø	nge	nji					me					
<b>da:ri</b>	dry	ŋi																
<b>di:</b>	grow up			yu										re				
<b>dunne</b>	move, stoop			yu		ø	nge	nji										
<b>duŋa</b>	cry, weep		ye			ø												
<b>duwe</b>	reach across							nji										
<b>djadjawa</b>	meet, reach	yi																
<b>djamba</b>	call out, answer	yi																
<b>djandari</b>	slip	ŋi																
<b>dja:</b>	eat, drink	yi	ye	wu	wa	ø												
<b>dje</b>	go, come, walk	ŋi	ŋge	yu	wa	ø	nge	nji			nda			re			ndi	
<b>djime</b>	shine, dry, heat	yi				ø	nge	nji						re				
<b>djirrdje</b>	disperse														ma			
<b>djowa</b>	blow							nji										
<b>djuŋba</b>	lick	yi	ye															
<b>gadiwa</b>	answer	yi				ø			n									
<b>gamŋa</b>	break	yi		wu		ø	nge	nji			nda							
<b>gamunda</b>	cross over	yi																
<b>gagga</b>	yell, call out	yi		wu		ø	nge	nji	n			me		re				
<b>gari</b>	enter			yu		ø		nji									ndi	
<b>gawa</b>	cut, chop, stab	yi		wu		ø		nji										ŋe
<b>gawa</b>	dodge, duck	yi																
<b>gaye</b>	turn, look	yi		yu		ø	nge	nji							ma	ndi		

		past	pres	fut	int/ desid	imper/ genrl	imperfv	perfv	sudden	purp	simult	repet	around	cont	caus <sub>1</sub>	caus <sub>2</sub>	refl	recip
ga:nge	carry on back					ø		nji						re				
ga:wa	put (on)	yi		wu		ø												
gembe	play			yu	wa	ø	nge	nji					me	re				
gera	pour	yi						nji										
gira	wake, rouse, hunt	yi		wu	wa	ø		nji										
giya	dip, soak, wash	yi		wu	wa	ø				wa								
goro	drown	yi																
go:ma	roll, rub, stir	yi				ø												
gunda	lay	yi																
gunda	protect							nji										ne
gundani	jump, cross	yi		yu	wa	ø	nge	nji						re				
gundera	graft					ø												
guŋba	praise	yi																
gurema	hold tightly, stop	yi	ye			ø												
manundje	hatch													re				
maŋi	be ready							nji	n									
mari	burn, cook, melt	yi		yu		ø		nji					me	re				
ma:	do, hold, take		nde	ngu		ø	nge	nji	n	wa							ne	ndje
me:ndi	chase, hunt			yu	wa	ø	nge	nji						re				
moro	stir, make, kindle	yi					nge	nji					me				ne	
morrbe	smell						nge	nji										
mowa	gather, heap					ø		nji					me					
mowali	wail							nji										
mu	rise			ngu			nge											
mumema	act							nji										
mundji	laugh	ŋi					nge	nji						re	ma			





		past	pres	fut	int/ desid	imper/ genrl	imperfv	perfv	sudden	purp	simult	repet	around	cont	caus <sub>1</sub>	caus <sub>2</sub>	refl	recip
<b>wamba</b>	put, sit on	yi	ye	wu		ø	nge											
<b>wane</b>	leave, put, soak	yi		yu	wa	ø												
<b>wanji</b>	shake, tremble					ø	nge											
<b>wa:ndji</b>	prepare					ø												
<b>wa:ŋgi</b>	be silly						nge	nji										
<b>wa:rre</b>	hunt			yu		ø	nge	nji										
<b>wiye</b>	give	ŋi		yu	wa	ø	nge	nji										
<b>wuli</b>	swim					ø	nge	nji										
<b>wunda</b>	cover, bury	yi	ye			ø		nji										ŋe
<b>wundi</b>	come off							nji										
<b>ya</b>	go, come	ni	nde	ngu		ø	nge	nji		wa			nme	re				
<b>yamŋa</b>	swear, quarrel	yi		wu		ø		nji										ye
<b>yanda</b>	dig	yi		wu		ø												
<b>yandi</b>	sing			yu		ø	nge	nji										
<b>yangga</b>	make, do, cause	yi	ye	wu		ø	nge		n									
<b>ya:</b>	say, speak	yi	ye	wu		ø	nge	nji						le			ŋe	ye
<b>ye</b>	be	ŋi	ye	gu		ø	nge	nji		wa							ŋe	
<b>yere</b>	go (home)			yu		ø	nge	nji						re		ndi		
<b>ye:ma</b>	miss	yi																
<b>yima</b>	do (like) this	yi				ø						me						
<b>yira</b>	cut							nji									ŋe	
<b>yiya</b>	bite	yi		wu		ø	nge	nji	n				me				ŋe	
<b>yowana</b>	knock down			wu														
<b>yune</b>	sleep, lie down			yu	wa	ø	nge	nji						re	ma			

It seems that in this language, as in others, there has been a tendency for some monosyllabic verb roots plus a suffix to be reanalysed as new disyllabic roots to which suffixes are then attached (Dixon 1980). These verbs are: *bu-m* 'hit, kill' > *bu+ma-*; *ya-n* 'go, come' > *ya+na-*; and *ma:-n* 'get, take' > *ma:+na-*. In each case, the verb root has fused with a suffix comprising the conjugation marker plus *a* to create the new verb root. It should be noted that in Duunjdjawan both the original monosyllabic root and the more recent disyllabic root are both found in the modern language, with the former more frequently used. There is no evidence of a factor conditioning each one's use.

Each of the conjugations will now be discussed in more detail.

### *Y* conjugation:

This is an open class containing sixty verb roots. Membership of this conjugation is predominantly transitive. That is, there are thirty-nine transitive verbs, thirteen intransitive verbs and eight ambitransitive verbs. The members of the *Y* conjugation class are given below:

<i>ba-y</i>	'come' (intr)	<i>gira-y</i>	'wake, rouse, hunt' (tr)
<i>duŋa-y</i>	'cry, weep' (intr)	<i>giya-y</i>	'dip, soak, wash' (tr)
<i>gaŋga-y</i>	'yell, bark, call out' (intr)	<i>go:ma-y</i>	'roll, rub' (tr)
<i>gaye-y</i>	'turn (around), look' (intr)	<i>guŋba-y</i>	'praise' (tr)
<i>goro-y</i>	'drown' (intr)	<i>gunda-y</i>	'lay' (tr)
<i>gundani-y</i>	'jump, cross' (intr)	<i>gurema-y</i>	'hold tightly, stop' (tr)
<i>ŋa:ba-y</i>	'pass, go further' (intr)	<i>ŋanda-y</i>	'hurt, smash, knock' (tr)
<i>ŋuŋga-y</i>	'break through' (intr)	<i>ŋarrbema-y</i>	'lose' (tr)
<i>ŋurume-y</i>	'defecate' (intr)	<i>ŋoro-y</i>	'kick, step on' (tr)
<i>ŋjinda-y</i>	'set, sink, go down' (intr)	<i>ŋunda-y</i>	'close' (tr)
<i>wa-y</i>	'climb, rise, go up' (intr)	<i>ŋurume-y</i>	'steal' (tr)
<i>wamba-y</i>	'float, lean against' (intr)	<i>moro-y</i>	'stir, make, kindle' (tr)
<i>yamŋa-y</i>	'swear, quarrel' (intr)	<i>ŋjumba-y</i>	'show, point' (tr)
<i>banda-y</i>	'tie up' (tr)	<i>ŋjumba-y</i>	'push (away), remove' (tr)
<i>bamba-y</i>	'hit, kill, splash' (tr)	<i>wamba-y</i>	'put, sit on' (tr)
<i>be:ŋa-y</i>	'hear, know, listen' (tr)	<i>wane-y</i>	'leave, put, soak' (tr)
<i>binda-y</i>	'send' (tr)	<i>wunda-y</i>	'cover, bury' (tr)
<i>bi:ra-y</i>	'ask' (tr)	<i>yaŋga-y</i>	'make, do, cause' (tr)
<i>bowa-y</i>	'extinguish, put out' (tr)	<i>yanda-y</i>	'dig' (tr)
<i>buŋunda-y</i>	'open, split' (tr)	<i>ye:ma-y</i>	'miss (target)' (tr)
<i>bunma-y</i>	'take/pull out, remove' (tr)	<i>yiya-y</i>	'bite' (tr)
<i>bunjma-y</i>	'boast' (tr)	<i>djime-y</i>	'shine, dry, heat' (intr/tr)
<i>buwa-y</i>	'spear, dip' (tr)	<i>gadiwa-y</i>	'answer' (intr/tr)
<i>dja:-y</i>	'eat, drink' (tr)	<i>gamŋa-y</i>	'break' (intr/tr)
<i>djadjawa-y</i>	'meet, reach' (tr)	<i>gawa-y</i>	'dodge, duck' (intr/tr)
<i>djamba-y</i>	'call out, answer' (tr)	<i>ŋurume-y</i>	'hide' (intr/tr)
<i>djuŋba-y</i>	'lick' (tr)	<i>mari-y</i>	'burn, cook, melt' (intr/tr)
<i>gamunda-y</i>	'cross over' (tr)	<i>ya:-y</i>	'say, speak' (intr/tr)
<i>gawa-y</i>	'cut, chop, stab, split' (tr)	<i>yima-y</i>	'do (like) this' (intr/tr)
<i>ga:wa-y</i>	'put (on)' (tr)		
<i>gera-y</i>	'pour' (tr)		

It can be seen that the vast majority (46) of Y conjugation members are disyllabic. There are also four monosyllabic verbs (see discussion later in this section) and ten trisyllabic verbs in this conjugation. Most verb roots end in *a* or *ɑ*: (49 of them), however, *e*, *i* and *o* (but not *u*) are also found stem-finally in this class.

*NG conjugation:*

The NG class has twelve monomorphemic verb roots, of which eight are intransitive and three are transitive and one is ambitransitive. It is probably an open class also. The known membership of the NG conjugation is listed below:

<i>barandje-ŋ</i>	'stand' (intr)
<i>bo:-ŋ</i>	'die' (intr)
<i>da:ri-ŋ</i>	'dry' (intr)
<i>djandari-ŋ</i>	'slip' (intr)
<i>dje-ŋ</i>	'go, come, walk' (intr)
<i>muŋgaya-ŋ</i>	'stop, cease' (intr)
<i>mundji-ŋ</i>	'laugh' (intr)
<i>njine-ŋ</i>	'sit, stay, be alive' (intr)
<i>biya-ŋ</i>	'throw, fly' (tr)
<i>dawari-ŋ</i>	'follow' (tr)
<i>wiye-ŋ</i>	'give' (tr)
<i>nja-ŋ</i>	'see, look at' (intr/tr)

It can be seen that this class contains three monosyllabic verbs and nine polysyllabic verbs and that all vowels except *u* are found in stem-final position.

*N conjugation:*

The four known members of the closed N class are:

<i>bumi-n</i>	'roll, fall down/off, die' (intr)
<i>mu-n</i>	'rise' (intr)
<i>ya-n</i>	'go, come' (intr)
<i>ma:-n</i>	'do, hold, grab, catch, take' (tr)

Although attested membership is small, this is a predominantly intransitive conjugation with mostly monosyllabic members.

*M conjugation:*

This is a closed conjugation with only one attested member, *bu-m* 'hit, kill' (tr).

**Table 3.17:** Characteristics of the four conjugations

	Y	NG	N	M	total
number of members	60	12	4	1	77
open/closed class	open	open	closed	closed	
transitivity	13 intransitive	8 intrans.	3 intrans.		24
	39 transitive	3 trans	1 trans.	1 trans.	44
	8 ambitransitive	1 ambitrans.			9
number of syllables	4 monosyllabic	3 monosyll.	3 monosyll.	1 monosyll.	11
	46 disyllabic	5 disyll.	1 disyll.		52
	10 trisyllabic	4 trisyll.			14
stem-final vowel	47 /a/	3 /a/	1 /a/		51
	2 /a:/		1 /a:/		3
	6 /e/	4 /e/			10
	2 /i/	4 /i/	1 /i/		7
	3 /o/				3
			1 /o:/		1
			1 /u/	1 /u/	2

Table 3.17 summarises the main characteristics of the four conjugations outlined above (for the seventy-seven verbs whose conjugation membership is known). On the basis of this table, the following generalisations can be made about the four conjugation classes in Duunjdjauw:

- There are two open classes (Y and NG) and two closed classes (N and M).<sup>38</sup>
- Of the four conjugations, Y and M are predominantly transitive and NG and N are mainly intransitive. However, the parameters of conjugation and transitivity do not coincide in this language.
- Most verbs in Duunjdjauw are disyllabic Y conjugation members.
- *a*-final verb roots are the most common, particularly in the Y conjugation class. However, there does not seem to be any correlation between the root-final vowel of a verb and its conjugation membership.

In Duunjdjauw, the vast majority of verb roots in the corpus (110 of the 124) are polysyllabic (ninety are disyllabic and twenty trisyllabic). There are also fourteen monosyllabic verb roots. While monosyllabic verb roots undoubtedly existed in Australian languages originally, few modern languages retain them (Dixon 1980). Those monosyllabic verbs found in Duunjdjauw are given in Table 3.18.

<sup>38</sup> This is the case in many languages with a large number of simple verbs (Dixon 1980).

**Table 3.18:** Monosyllabic verb roots

<i>ba-y</i>	'come' (intr)
<i>ba:-?</i>	'stand' (intr)
<i>bo:-ŋ</i>	'die' (intr)
<i>di:-?</i>	'grow up' (intr)
<i>dje-ŋ</i>	'go, come, walk' (intr)
<i>mu-n</i>	'rise' (intr)
<i>wa-y</i>	'climb, rise, go up' (intr)
<i>ya-n</i>	'go, come' (intr)
<i>bu-m</i>	'hit, kill' (tr)
<i>dja:-y</i>	'eat, drink' (tr)
<i>ma:-n</i>	'do, hold, take' (tr)
<i>nja-ŋ</i>	'see, look at' (tr)
<i>ya:-y</i>	'say, speak' (intr/tr)
<i>ye</i>	'be' (cop)

Several verb roots in Duunġidjau are recognisably cognate with those Proto Australian roots reconstructed by Dixon (1980). These are given in Table 3.19.

**Table 3.19:** Relationship with Proto Australian verb roots

Proto Australian		Duunġidjau	
<i>*nha:-ŋ</i>	'see, look at'	<i>nja-ŋ</i>	'see, look at'
<i>*du-ŋ</i>	'cry, weep'	<i>duŋa-y</i>	'cry, weep'
<i>*wu-ŋ</i>	'give'	<i>wiye-ŋ</i>	'give'
<i>*ya-n</i>	'go'	<i>ya-n</i>	'go, come'
<i>*ma:-n</i>	'hold, take, get'	<i>ma:-n</i>	'do, hold, take'
<i>*nji:-n</i>	'sit'	<i>njine-ŋ</i>	'sit, stay'
<i>*wu-n</i>	'lie'	<i>yune-y</i>	'lie down, sleep'
<i>*bu-m</i>	'hit'	<i>bu-m</i>	'hit, kill'
<i>*dha-l</i>	'eat'	<i>dja:-y</i>	'eat, drink'

The Waga-Waga dialect has the following additional cognate pairs: (pA) *\*ba-n* 'fall', (WW) *ba-y* 'fall (of rain)' (Holmer 1983:44); (pA) *\*yu:ŋa-* 'swim', (WW) *wungi-* 'swim' (Holmer 1983:88); (pA) *\*njima-l* 'pinch, squeeze', (WW) *ngoma* 'pinch' (Mathew 1926a:546).

### 3.6.3 Verbal inflections

Inflections specify a verb in terms of tense,<sup>39</sup> mood and aspect. Tables 3.11, 3.13 and 3.14 presented the verbal inflections for the four conjugations. Only the past, present and future inflections differ between the conjugations. The functions of the inflectional suffixes will now be discussed in turn.

<sup>39</sup> Time is also expressed further by adverbs (see §4.11 (i)).

## [a] Past

The past tense is used for events that have already taken place. For instance:

- (263) *ɲande-ru ɲuwa: gunda-yi*  
 mullet-ERG egg lay-PAST  
 'The mullets laid eggs.' (Fish in Ponds 5)
- (264) *ɲay mundji-ɲi*  
 1SG laugh-PAST  
 'I laughed.'
- (265) *gugunde ya-ni*  
 scrub.possum go-PAST  
 'The scrub possum went.' (Black Possum 2:24)
- (266) *ɲa-ɲja ɲin-du bu-mi*  
 1SG-ACC 2SG-ERG kill-PAST  
 'You hit me.' (Kangaroo Rat 6)

## [b] Present

The present tense refers to an event occurring at or around the moment of speaking:

- (267) *ma:djayum man ba-ye*  
 giant DEM come-PRES  
 'The giant comes.' (Evening Star 1:25)
- (268) *barandje-ɲge man miye-ni*  
 stand-PRES DEM further.away-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
 'That one (a man) stands further away.'
- (269) *djan-du man gurɔŋgur ma:-nde*  
 man-ERG DEM spear hold-PRES  
 'The man holds a spear.'
- (270) *ɲa-dju yo:waran-a bu-mbe*  
 1SG-ERG 3PL-ACC hit-PRES  
 'I am hitting them all.'

## [c] Future

This inflection is used to express any action that is predicted to occur after the time of speaking. The future inflection for the N and M conjugations is *-CM+gu*. For example:

- (271) *ɲay ya-ɲgu binjgu*  
 1SG go-FUT tomorrow  
 'I will go tomorrow.'
- (272) *waga ɲa-dju bu-mgu*  
 not 1SG-ERG kill-FUT  
 'I will not kill [them].' (Black Possum 2:94)

For the Y and NG conjugations, the future allomorphs are *-yu* after *e* and *i*, and *-wu* after *a* and *o* (as mentioned in §3.6.2 there are no verb stems in these conjugations which end in *u*). For example:

- (273) da:m mana yanda-wu  
yam DEM dig.up-FUT  
'That [sister] will dig up yams.' (Black Possum 2:8)
- (274) ŋa:m-bu yo:-ŋa dawari-yu guwe  
1DU-ERG 3SG-ACC follow-FUT then  
'We two will follow him.' (Evening Star 1:66)

## [d] Intention/Desire

There is a suffix *-wa* which indicates intention:

- (275) ŋa-dju ŋin-a njumba-wa  
1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT<sub>2</sub> show-INT/DESID  
'I intend to show [it] to you.' (Kangaroo Rat 45)
- (276) woŋan-bam-bu man djam giya-wa  
woman-DU-ERG DEM meat wash-INT/DESID  
'The two women intend to wash the meat.'
- (277) minja-ŋa gam wane-wa njunam-gari  
what-ACC might leave-INT/DESID children-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
'What should [we] leave for the children?'  
(Two Old Women Corroboree 1)

or desire:

- (278) ŋay yune-wa yabu  
1SG lie.down-INT/DESID only  
'I only want to lie down.'

When this suffix has a desiderative sense it frequently occurs with the independent particle *gonj* 'want'. For example:

- (279) ŋa:m-bu gonj dja:-wa  
1DU-ERG want eat-INT/DESID  
'We two want to eat [it].'
- (280) ŋay girum gonj gunda-wa  
1SG other.side want cross-INT/DESID  
'I want to cross to the other side.'

## [e] Imperative/General

The imperative form of the verb is the unmarked stem. This is used to mark a command (see §4.9 for further details of command sentences).

- (281) ŋa-ri ŋin-du be:ŋa-ø  
1SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> 2SG-ERG listen-IMPER  
'You listen to me!' (Seven Sisters 17)
- (282) ya: dama guwe yaŋga-ø ŋa:m-gari  
yes net then make-IMPER 1DU-PURP  
'Yes, make a net for us two!' (Two Sitting Boys 10)

To make an imperative sentence prohibitive the negative particle *waga* is used:

- (283) waga wane- $\emptyset$  gana guyum  
 don't leave-IMPER DEM camp  
 'Don't leave this camp.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 5)
- (284) guwe waga yo:-wa biye ya:- $\emptyset$   
 then don't 3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> back speak-IMPER  
 'Don't speak back to him.' (Seven Sisters 6)

The imperative is also used with hortative meaning (i.e. a first person (inclusive) subject):

- (285) badja-ru guwe ya:-yi dadu wane- $\emptyset$   
 other.person-ERG then say-PAST tree leave-IMPER  
 'One of them then said, "[Let's] leave a tree".'  
 (Two old women are deciding what they should leave as a legacy for their ancestors. Here one of them suggests leaving behind a tree. Two Old Women Corroboree 2)
- (286)  $\eta$ a:m  $\eta$ urume- $\emptyset$  gara doyi-nu  
 1DU hide-IMPER DEM sone-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 'Let's hide behind the stones.'

As mentioned in §3.6.2, the imperative is formally indistinguishable from a general tense marking. A general unmarked verb form assumes the tense of the previous verb. For example:

- (287) gurangur yanga-yi wane- $\emptyset$  guwe  
 spear make-PAST leave-GENRL then  
 '[They] made the spear and then left it.' (Spear Making 23)

#### [f] Imperfective

To express an incomplete or ongoing action in the present the imperfective is used. Examples of this aspect include:

- (288) mana yo:waran yuna-nge  
 DEM 3PL sleep-IMPERFV  
 'They are all sleeping there.' (Brolga 11)
- (289) gana  $\eta$ in-gari wiye-nge [gari gureya]  
 DEM 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> give-IMPERFV [leaf fig.tree]  
 '[We] are giving this fig tree leaf to you.'  
 (Carpet Snake and the Storm 13)

#### [g] Perfective

The perfective is used for a completed or momentary action in the past:

- (290) djanjum guwe yo: dje-nji  
 close then 3SG go-PERFV  
 'He had gone closer.' (Carpet Snake and the Storm 20)



- (291) *baran mo: biye-nji guwe*  
 boomerang DEM throw-PERFV then  
 ‘That one (Babul) had thrown a boomerang.’ (Crooked Neck 1:5)

Occasionally, the perfective inflection is used twice on a verb to indicate a repeated action. For instance:

- (292) *guŋ-ga gunda-nji-nji ŋurume-nji-nji*  
 water-I.LOC<sub>1</sub> jump-PERFV-PERFV hide-PERFV-PERFV  
 ‘[He] jumped, hid repeatedly in the water.’ (Meat-ants 137)

#### [h] Suddenness

The suffix *-n* indicates that an action occurs suddenly. It is restricted to past time in my data.

- (293) *gadji-ma guwe yima-yi gurilŋa guyum-ba bumi-n*  
 DEM-EMPH then do.like.this-PAST old.man fire-LOC<sub>1</sub> fall-SUDDEN  
 ‘Then the old man suddenly fell into the fire right here like this.’  
 (Carpet Snake and the Storm 46)
- (294) *guraŋgur-u yowa:m-bu buwa-n guwe [yo:-ŋa wanda]*  
 spear-INSTR 3DU-ERG spear-SUDDEN then [3SG-ACC neck]  
 ‘Then they (the two men) suddenly speared his neck with a spear.’  
 (Evening Star 1:58)
- (295) *bi: yiya-n guwe mo: badja-ru*  
 hand bite-SUDDEN then DEM other.one-ERG  
 ‘Another one (a possum) suddenly bit his hand.’ (Black Possum 1:21)

See also Black Possum 1, sentences 23–26, for a succession of actions that happen suddenly.

The next three suffixes to be discussed are all postinflections occurring after the inflections [a] past, [c] future and [g] perfective. More specifically, the following sequences occur in our corpus:

FUT-PURP  
 PAST-SIMULT  
 PERFV-SIMULT  
 PAST-REPET  
 PERFV-REPET

The purposive and simultaneous are used to mark subordinate clauses. They could both be interpreted as special uses of case suffixes. That is, the purposive is the same as the dative<sub>1</sub> case (after vowels), and the simultaneous is identical to the locative<sub>1</sub> case (after short vowels).

#### [i] Purposive

Purposive has an important syntactic function, marking an ‘in order to’ subordinate clause—see (296), (297) and (298) below and also §4.8.3 [c].

- (296) djiwi bu-mgu-wa ɲa:m-bu yangayanga nja-wu  
bird kill-FUT-PURP IDU-ERG carefully see-FUT  
'We two will watch carefully in order to kill the birds.'  
(Two Sitting Boys 8)
- (297) guyum moro-ø goro:man ɲuwe-yu-wa  
fire kindle-IMPER kangaroo cook-FUT-PURP  
'Kindle the fire in order to cook the kangaroo.'
- (298) djan man njinda-yi baran ma:-ngu-wa  
man DEM stoop-PAST boomerang pick.up-FUT-PURP  
'That man stooped in order to pick up the boomerang.'

## [j] Simultaneous

A subordinate verb that denotes action simultaneous with the action of the main verb is marked by *-nda*. This inflection occurs in sentences of the type 'When X ..., then Y ...'. Examples are:

- (299) guwe ɲuwim njinda-yi-nda yo: dje-nji yo:wana  
then sun go.down-PAST-SIMULT 3SG go-PERFV 3PL-ACC  
'Then when the sun was setting he went to them.' (Brolga 7)
- (300) ma:-nji yo: buran-du bu:ɲi-nji-nda  
grab-PERFV 3SG wind-ERG blow-PERFV-SIMULT  
'He grabbed (the vine) when the wind blew (it).' (Black Possum 1:57)
- (301) ganan yi-ɲi muyim bunma-yi-nda  
sorry be-PAST axe pull.out-PAST-SIMULT  
'[He] felt sorry [for them] when [he] pulled out [his] axe.'  
(Black Possum 1:94)

§4.8.3 [b] considers subordinate sentences with *-nda* in more detail.

## [k] Repetitive

There is a suffix *-me* in Duunjdjawan which indicates that an action is repeated. For instance:

- (302) gan-ma djan bumi-nji badjanu-me ɲa  
DEM-EMPH man fall.down-PERFV yesterday-SPEC and  
meɲ yo: bumi-nji-me  
today 3SG fall.down-PERFV-REPET  
'This man fell down yesterday and today he fell down again.'
- (304) ɲa-dju yo:-ɲa bu-mi-me  
1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC hit-PAST-REPET  
'I kept on hitting him.'
- (305) gange-nji-me  
call.out-PERFV-REPET  
'[He] called out again.' (Platypus 24)

### 3.6.4 Verbal derivations

Derivational suffixes are added directly to the verb root and are followed by the inflections [a] – [h] outlined in §3.6.3 above. Following the reciprocal derivation, the verb takes NG-class inflections (see (327) and (329) below). However, with the other derivations it is impossible to tell how conjugation class membership is altered because there are no examples of verbs with the past or present tense following these derivations. (Recall from §3.6.2 that the four conjugations are distinguished only by the past and present tense forms. As the future tense marking is the same for the Y and NG classes, it is not useful as a diagnostic tool.)

[a] Suffixes not affecting syntactic class

- (i) ‘around’ *-me* (Y, NG), *-nme* (N)

This suffix indicates a sense of ‘around’ (i.e. action that is not in any particular direction).<sup>40</sup>

- (306) baru: guwe gana biya-me-nji  
camp then DEM throw-AROUND-PERFV  
‘The camps here were thrown around (by a storm).’  
(Carpet Snake and the Storm 5)
- (307) waga yo:ɾ ya-nme-ø  
don’t everywhere walk-AROUND-IMPER  
‘Don’t walk around everywhere.’ (Crooked Neck 3:22)
- (308) njin-du yiya-me-ø yo:wana buma-ø  
2SG-ERG bite-AROUND-IMPER 3PL-ACC kill-IMPER  
‘You bite them all over and kill them all.’ (Evening Star 2:16)

- (ii) ‘continuative’ *-re*

The suffix *-re* has a continuative meaning when used with action verbs:

- (309) nja-re-nji dadu mana  
look.at-CONT-PERFV tree DEM  
‘That [hunter] is continually looking at the trees.’ (Catching a bee 16)
- (310) wanja njin ya-ngu ganga-re-ø njin  
when 2SG go-FUT call.out-CONT-IMPER 2SG  
‘When you go, you continually call out.’  
(Carpet Snake and the Storm 14)
- (311) yima njin gembe-re-ø dadu-ndu  
do.like.this 2SG play-CONT-IMPER stick-INST  
‘You continue playing with the stick like this.’ (Meat-ants 103)

With verbs of motion, *-re* has the meaning ‘along’:

- (312) ɲa: gonj ɲurume-re-wa goro:man gari  
1PL want hide-CONT-DESID kangaroo DEM

<sup>40</sup> This has the same meaning as *-ma* in Pitta-Pitta, a western Queensland language (Blake 1979:204).

binjgu bawar-nu  
tomorrow bush-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
'We all want to creep up on this kangaroo in the bush tomorrow.'

(313) doyi man bumi-re-nge  
stone DEM roll-CONT-IMPERFV  
'That stone is rolling along.'

(314) man djan-bam biya:yu yana-re-nji  
DEM man-DU two go-CONT-PERFV  
'The two men were walking along.'

There is a derivational suffix *-le* in Duunjdjawan and Waga-Waga which is found on only three verbs, *ya*: 'say', *ɲuwe* 'cook' and *buyi* 'take'. It appears to have the same meaning as *-re* above. However, there is no semantic or phonological explanation as to why *-re* is *-le* on just these three verbs. Examples are:

(315) ya:-le-nji guwe yo: waga mana dja:-ø  
say-CONT-PERFV then 3SG don't DEM eat-IMPER  
'He continually said (to the two women), "Don't eat that one!"'  
(Black Possum 1:27)

(316) woŋan-djin-du da:m ɲuwe-le-ø  
woman-PL-ERG yam cook-CONT-GENRL  
'The women are continually cooking yams.'

(317) yo:we-ri mana ɲin-du buyi-le-ø  
3PL-DAT<sub>3</sub> DEM 2SG-ERG take-CONT-IMPER  
'You take that along to them.' (Woodpecker 27)

#### [b] Suffixes affecting syntactic class

##### (i) Causative *-ma*, *-ndi*

There are two suffixes in Duunjdjawan that make an intransitive verb root transitive. The first is *-ma*, as in many other Australian languages. Its possible origin is the monosyllabic verb *ma:-n* 'do, hold, grab'; however, this suffix *-ma* derives a Y or NG conjugation verb,<sup>41</sup> not a N conjugation verb. Examples are:

(318) ɲin-a ɲa-dju gadja ba:-ma-wu  
2SG-ACC 1SG-ERG DEM stand-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT  
'I will stand you here.' (Woodpecker 99)

(319) dama ɲa:m-bu guwe dare-ma-wu gadja djiwi bu-mgu-wa  
net 1DU-ERG then fly-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT DEM bird kill-FUT-PURP  
'We two will hang the net here in order to kill the birds.'  
(Two Sitting Boys 16)

(320) yune-ma-wu bowan-du  
sleep-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT tiredness-INSTR  
'[I] will make [them] sleep with tiredness.' (Black Possum 1:76)

<sup>41</sup> It is not clear whether causative verbs are Y or NG verbs as the future tense marking is *-wi*, and there are no instances of the past or present tenses.

There are only six verbs in Duunġidjawan which are found with the causative suffix *-ndi*, and these are all verbs of motion (*dje* 'go, come', *gaye* 'turn around', *gari* 'enter', *ya* 'go, come, walk', *yere* 'go') and rest (*njine* 'sit, stay').

- (321) *ŋa:m-bu yere-ndi-yu*  
 IDU-ERG go.home-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
 'We two will take [them] home.' (Two Sitting Boys 40)
- (322) *gadji mo: njine-ndi-nji*  
 DEM DEM sit-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
 'He made [the dog] sit there.' (Evening Star 2:10)
- (323) *guyum-gu dje-re-ndi-nji guwe*  
 camp-ALL go-CONT-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV then  
 'Then [they] took [them] along to the camp.' (Fishing 28)

Note from (323) above that the continuative derivation precedes the causative<sub>2</sub> derivation when they occur together.

(ii) Reflexive *-ŋe*

The reflexive suffix *-ŋe* derives an intransitive verb root from a transitive root.<sup>42</sup> It is used in constructions in which the agent (denoted by the S NP) performs its action on itself.

- (324) *buginj man djun yiya-ŋe-nge*  
 dog DEM tail bite-REFL-IMPERFV  
 'The dog is biting its tail.'
- (325) *ŋay gunu wunda-ŋe-nji*  
 1SG deep.below cover-REFL-PERFV  
 'I covered myself deep below (i.e. underground).' (Kangaroo Rat 49)
- (326) *nay guwe bunma-ŋe-yu*  
 1SG then draw.out-REFL-FUT  
 'Then I will draw out of myself (i.e. draw upon my powers).'  
 (Evening Star 2:133)

For further discussion and exemplification of reflexives see §4.6.

(iii) Reciprocal *-ye* (Y), *-ŋdje* (NG), *-mdje* (M)<sup>43</sup>

This derivational suffix specifies that a group of participants are involved in a reciprocal exchange. A reciprocal verb must therefore have a subject NP with non-singular reference. The reciprocal inflection, *dje*, for the NG and M classes is probably a reflex of the original derivational suffix *\*-dharri* posited by Dixon (1980). The reciprocal suffix is the only syntactic derivation which has allomorphs determined by conjugation membership. As with the reflexive, the derived verb is intransitive.

- (327) *ŋa: bu-mdje-yu*  
 IPL fight-RECIP-FUT  
 'We will fight each other.'

<sup>42</sup> There is one intransitive verb, *wabe*, 'wait' which takes this reflexive suffix. It is not clear why.

<sup>43</sup> There are no examples of the reciprocal with the one transitive N conjugation verb *ma:-n* 'do, take'.

- (328) yowa:m nja-ɲdje-nji guwe  
 3DU look.at-RECIP-PERFV then  
 ‘Then they both looked at each other.’ (Kangaroo Rat 26)
- (329) ɲa:m ɲin ya:-ye-ɲi gawurre  
 1DU 2SG speak-RECIP-PAST a.long.time.ago  
 ‘We two (incl.) spoke to each other a long time ago.’  
 (Two Old Women 21)

Duunɲidjawan differs from the closely-related Waga-Waga dialect which has just the reflexive *-ɲi* to express both reflexive and reciprocal meanings (Holmer 1983). Reciprocal constructions are further discussed in §4.7.

### 3.6.5 Compound verbs

The Duunɲidjawan corpus has 124 monomorphemic verb roots<sup>44</sup> and only a small number of verbal compounds. These few verbal compounds consist of a verb root occurring with a body-part noun. While this language typically has quite free word order (see §4.2), in verbal compounds the order between the two parts is always the noun followed directly by the verb root. Compound verbs are given in Table 3.20.

**Table 3.20:** Compound verbs

<i>nala ya:</i>	‘soul say’	i.e. ‘think’
<i>bi: yaɲga</i>	‘hand do’	i.e. ‘wave’
<i>gaɲ-gu wamba</i>	‘saliva-INSTR put’	i.e. ‘curse’
<i>binj-dju wamba</i>	‘saliva-INSTR put’	i.e. ‘curse’
<i>binaj bo:</i>	‘ear die’	i.e. ‘forget’
<i>binaj wamba</i>	‘ear put’	i.e. ‘listen’
<i>binaj ba</i>	‘ear come’	i.e. ‘remember’ (Mathew 1926a:546)
<i>dambur wiye</i>	‘lip give’	i.e. ‘kiss’ (Mathew 1926a:546)

Usually in these verbal compounds the verb follows the noun directly. There is one example, however, of a particle intervening between the two elements:

- (330) binaj ger ya:-ɲi minja-ɲa guyur ba-wu  
 ear try say-PERFV what-ACC thing come-FUT  
 ɲa-nja ɲjinda-ma-wu-wa  
 1SG-ACC go.down-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT-PURP  
 ‘[He] was trying to think, “What thing will come in order to bring me down?”’ (Black Possum 1:49)

<sup>44</sup> The number of verbs recorded for Duunɲidjawan is relatively small. This is presumably because this language was well on its way to extinction when it was studied.

### 3.6.6 Reduplication

Only one instance of reduplication in verb stems has been found in Duunjdjawa. This is with the verb *giragira-* 'trouble' and involves the repetition of the root *gira* 'rouse, scare'.

- (331) waga guwe giragira-wa  
not then trouble-DESID  
'[He] does not want to trouble [anyone].'  
(Carpet Snake and the Storm 9)

Here the reduplicative process seems to be used to denote a repeated action. (This meaning is more commonly conveyed by use of the repetitive suffix *-me*; see [k] in §3.6.3.) In the Barungam dialect of Waga-Waga, there is also the reduplicated verb *njanja-* from *nja-* 'see, look (at)' (Holmer 1983:81). Unfortunately, however, it is not clear what the semantic difference is between these two forms.

### 3.6.7 Derivation of verbs from nouns

There is an inchoative suffix *-ba* in both Duunjdjawa and Waga-Waga which forms an intransitive verb from a noun or adjective. It does not appear to have been employed very frequently in Duunjdjawa as in my corpus there are only two examples of its use:

- (332) gurun-ba-yi bu-mi guwe yo:  
noise-INCH-PAST kill-PAST then 3SG  
'[It] made a noise and then he killed [it].' (Kangaroo Hunting 12–13)
- (333) djan djurayi-ba-yi  
man hungry-INCH-PAST  
'The man was hungry.'

In Waga-Waga this suffix seems to have been more productive, with the following intransitive verbs all being derived (Holmer 1983). Note that all of the nouns given below which can be verbalised are pertaining to the body.

Noun	Intransitive verb
<i>bil</i> 'cold'	<i>bilba-</i> 'to get cold, to have a cold'
<i>bion</i> 'dream'	<i>bionba-</i> 'to dream'
<i>djum</i> 'smoke'	<i>djumba-</i> 'to smoke'
<i>djuroi</i> 'food'	<i>djuroinba-</i> 'to be hungry'
<i>ganuy</i> 'sweat'	<i>ganuyba-</i> 'to perspire'
<i>gi:nj</i> 'whistle'	<i>ginjba-</i> 'to whistle'
<i>gurun</i> 'noise'	<i>gurunba-</i> 'to make a noise'
<i>mur</i> 'smell'	<i>murba-</i> 'to smell'
<i>nurun</i> 'tired'	<i>nurunba-</i> 'to tire'

In Duunjdjawa and Waga-Waga there is also a suffix *-ma* which derives a transitive verb stem from a nominal. I will call this suffix the factitive to distinguish it from the *-ma* causative, suffix on intransitive verbs (see §3.6.4 [b] (i)). The factitive suffix most possibly developed from the simple verb *ma:-n* 'do, hold, take'. Examples are:

- (334) *ŋa-dju wura ŋurr gen-ma-yi*  
 1SG-ERG already point sharp-FACT-PAST  
 'I already sharpened the spear point.'
- (335) *dja: guwe dunme-ma-yi*  
 ground then mark-FACT-PAST  
 'Then [he] marked the ground.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 6)
- (336) *jom-bu ŋa-nja muje-ma-i*  
 3DU-ERG 1SG-ACC full-FACT-PAST  
 'They two filled me up.' (Holmer 1983:79)

This verbalising suffix is also found on the interrogative *wandju*, where it derives a verb meaning 'do what/how' (see §3.5 [e]). Holmer (1983) has several examples of the derivation of transitive verbs from nouns in Waga-Waga. These nouns are first suffixed with the inchoative suffix *-ba* to produce intransitive verbs, and then the causative<sub>1</sub> suffix *-ma* is added to derive transitive roots. For example:

- (337) *djum* 'smoke' (N)  
*djum-ba* 'smoke' (intr V)  
*djum-ba-ma* 'smoke' (tr V)
- (338) *gurun* 'noise' (N)  
*gurun-ba* 'make a noise' (intr V)  
*gurun-ba-ma* 'make a noise to raise game for hunting' (tr V)
- (339) *nurun* 'tired' (N)  
*nurun-ba* 'be tired' (intr V)  
*nurun-ba-ma* 'tire' (tr V)

There are also a few instances of a transitive verb being formed from a nominal root, more specifically from an adjective, by the addition of *-dje*. This verbaliser takes a future inflection, *-de*, not found elsewhere in the language.

- (340) *gundir-u galan-dje-de*  
 clever.man-ERG well-FACT-FUT  
 'The *gundir* will make [you] well.'
- (341) *ŋa-dju guwe ŋurr gen-dje-de binjgu*  
 1SG-ERG then point sharp-FACT-FUT tomorrow  
 'I will make the point sharp tomorrow.'

Holmer (1983:64) also has *gondjam-dje* 'make tired' in Waga-Waga.



# 4 *Syntax*

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## 4.1 Simple clauses

### 4.1.1 Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses obligatorily contain two nominal expressions, one functioning as the subject/topic and the other as the predicate/comment. These two nominal expressions can occur in either order, as can the words within each NP. In fact, the words of an NP may be discontinuous. (Noun phrase constituency is further discussed in §4.2.) The subject NP is a noun phrase in S function. The predicate NP can be:

[i] a noun phrase in unmarked or nominative case

- (342) ŋanjamerr mana bidji  
brolga DEM large.bird  
'The brolga is a large bird.' (Fish in Ponds 1)

[ii] a noun phrase in dative case

- (343) gana badja barəŋ-gari  
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
'This other one is for the *barəŋ*.' (Woodpecker 128)

[iii] a noun phrase in a local case

- (344) man djan gaŋa-ni  
DEM man top-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
'That man is on top.'

[iv] a noun phrase with genitive marking

- (345) ŋa-ri mana njande  
1SG-GEN DEM swamp  
'That is my swamp.' (Evening Star 2:145)

[v] a noun phrase with privative marking

- (346) djan miya:-gunj  
man eye-PRIV  
'The man is blind.'

[vi] a noun phrase with concomitant marking

- (347) woŋan gana mem-ŋa  
 woman DEM fat-CONC  
 'This woman is fat.'

A verbless clause with the predicate NP in dative case implies the verb 'come' or 'give' (depending on the context). Note that (349) is a rare topic-less verbless clause.

- (348) ŋin ŋay-wa  
 2SG 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 'Can you come here to me?' (said with rising intonation)
- (349) ŋay-wa  
 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 'Give it to me.'

As pointed out by Holmer (1983:31), there is no formal distinction between an attributive and a predicative construction in the Waga-Waga languages. That is, *guŋ galaŋ* could mean either 'good water' or 'the water is good'. Demonstratives used in verbless clauses also create ambiguity. For example, there are two possible renderings of the following clause:

- (350) damba mana galaŋ  
 road DEM good  
 (a) 'That is a good road.'  
 (b) 'That/the<sup>45</sup> road is good.'

This lack of differentiation is of little consequence as the sense can usually be inferred by when and how the clause is used.

#### 4.1.2 Copula clauses

Duuŋidjauw is one of only a dozen or so Australian languages for which a copula verb has been recorded. From Holmer's (1983) data we know that two other Waga-Waga dialects, namely Wuli-Wuli and Baruŋgam, also had copula verbs.<sup>46</sup> This copula verb, 'be', may take two core arguments, a 'copula subject' and a 'copula complement' which both take S marking. It may be used to mark identity, in which case the complement is an NP. This verb is irregular; that is, it does not fall into one of the four conjugations. The inflections it takes for past, present, future and imperative are given in Table 3.15. Examples of this verb are:

- (351) ŋu: guŋ ye-ø  
 shoo water be-IMPER  
 'Shoo, be water!' (Black Possum 2:101)

<sup>45</sup> As shown in §3.4 [b] the demonstrative *mana* may be used with a meaning similar to the definite article in English.

<sup>46</sup> The nearest other languages with copula verbs are in western Queensland and northern NSW (Dixon 1980). It is possible that other southeast Queensland languages had copula verbs; however, the scarcity of information on languages in this geographical area leaves us uncertain.

- (352) nje: mana yi-ye buran  
 name DEM be-PRES wind  
 'That one's name is "wind".' (Two Old Mainlanders 64)

Or, the copula clause may express a relationship of attribution, with the complement being an adjective. For instance:

- (353) ŋo: ŋiyarr yi-gu  
 night cold be-FUT  
 'The night will be cold.'
- (354) dadu mana yi-ŋi birran  
 tree DEM be-PAST wide  
 'The tree was wide.' (Woodpecker 41)

If the reference of the verb is to the present tense, the copula may be omitted, but for other tenses the copula must be included. Compare, for instance, the following clauses.

- (355) guŋ waga gara  
 water not DEM  
 'There is no water here.'
- (356) guŋ gara yi-ŋi gawurre  
 water DEM be-PAST a.long.time.ago  
 'There was water here a long time ago.'

It can be seen that a copula verb has the meaning 'exist' when occurring with only the copula subject argument.

#### 4.1.3 Verbal clauses

Intransitive verbs require an NP in S function and transitive verbs require one NP in A function and another in O function. Noun phrases bear case inflections which signify their different syntactic roles. Personal pronouns and human nouns (plus dogs) are Nominative in S function and Accusative in O function. All other nouns in S and O function have Absolutive case. The Ergative case is used for all A functions.

Examples of simple intransitive clauses are:

- (357) dja: dunme-ŋji  
 ground shake-PERFV  
 'The ground shook.' (Two Old Mainlanders 54)
- (358) ŋuwim guwe wa-ye  
 sun then rise-PRES  
 'Then the sun rises.' (Fish in Ponds 17)
- (359) ba-yi guwe mi:re  
 come-PAST then storm  
 'Then (one day) a storm came.' (Carpet Snake and the Storm 4)

Examples of basic transitive clauses are:

- (360) djiwi-ndu buyi-le ŋuwa: mana  
bird-ERG carry-CONT egg DEM  
'A bird carried along the eggs.' (Fish in Ponds 27)
- (361) yandi-ø guwe ŋa-dju yowar  
sing-GENRL then 1SG-ERG corroboree  
'I will then sing a corroboree.' (Brolga 26)
- (362) ŋa-dju ŋin-a wane-yu  
1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC leave-FUT  
'I will leave you (like this).' (Curlew 22)

As with verbless clauses, constituent order in a verbal clause is essentially free. While all possible permutations of S V and A V O were found, there is a marked preference for intransitive clauses to have S V order and for transitive clauses to have A O V order in both texts and elicited sentences.

NPs in S, A and O functions may be omitted when they are implicitly understood from the context of the utterance. Note also that in a transitive clause an argument that is coreferential with another argument may be omitted. For instance, in (363) the dative NP has the same referent as the possessor in the A NP and is thus omitted.

- (363) ŋa-rinj-dju ma:m-bu wiye-nji guyur djuyu-me  
1SG-GEN-ERG mother-ERG give-PERFV food afternoon-SPEC  
'My mother gave me some food yesterday.'

With transitive verbs such as 'hear', 'eat', 'sing' and 'blow' it is not obligatory to express the object of the action. As Crowley (1978:107) points out for Bandjalang, 'the action is so specific for each of these verbs there is only one possible object'.

- (364) be:ŋa-ø ŋa-dju  
hear-GENRL 1SG-ERG  
'I hear [it].' (Two Old Mainlanders 28)
- (365) dja:-yi yowa:m-bu  
eat-PAST 3DU-ERG  
'They two ate [it].' (Platypus 34)
- (366) badja-ru guwe yandi-nji  
another.one-ERG then sing-PERFV  
'Another one was singing (a corroboree).' (Dingo 37)
- (367) buran-du gam bu:ŋi-yu binjgu  
wind-ERG probably blow-FUT tomorrow  
'The wind will probably blow (the trees) tomorrow.'

#### 4.1.4 Syntactic and local extensions

To any simple clause core (whether intransitive or transitive) may be added one or more NPs which indicate: the goal of an action (dative), the purpose of an action (purposive), the cause of a state (causal) or the instrument with which an action is performed (instrumental). There are also local extensions to indicate the location of an action or state

(locative), the goal of a movement (allative) and the source of a movement (ablative). Examples of extensions to intransitive clauses are:

- (368)     $\eta$ ay baran-gu            gaye-nge  
 1SG boomerang-PURP look-IMPERFV  
 'I am looking for (my) boomerang.'
- (369)    garjge-nji            guwe yo: yowa:m-gari  
 call.out-PERFV then 3SG 3DU-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 'Then he called out to them two.' (Black Possum 2:47)
- (370)    dja:-ba            guwe yo: barandje-nji  
 ground-LOC<sub>1</sub> then 3SG stand-PERFV  
 'He was standing on the ground.' (Black Possum 1:91)

Examples of extensions to transitive clauses are:

- (371)    dadu-ndu bu-mi    $\eta$ a-nja mo:  
 stick-INSTR hit-PAST 1SG-ACC DEM  
 'That (person) hit me with a stick.'
- (372)    diyir    $\eta$ ay-wa $\eta$ u bi:-nu    bunma-yi    mana  
 blood 1SG-ABL<sub>3</sub> finger-ABL<sub>1</sub> take.out-PAST DEM  
 'That one took out blood from my finger.' (Black Possum 2:50)
- (373)    guyur    $\eta$ a-dju   binda-yi   guyum-gu yo:-rinj-gu  
 food 1SG-ERG send-PAST camp-ALL 3SG-GEN-ALL  
 'I sent food to your camp.'

Further discussion and examples of syntactic and local peripheral cases were given in §3.2.2.2 and §3.2.2.3 respectively.

## 4.2 Noun phrases

A noun phrase in whatever syntactic function must have as head a common noun or an adjective or a pronoun or a demonstrative. The words of an NP can occur in any order and do not necessarily even have to occur together. The head common noun of an NP can be accompanied by:

- (i) an adjective

njanjunde   bari  
 dingo       small  
 'small dingo'

- (ii) an adjective and a degree specifier

dja $\eta$ ar   [mowanin   wunba]  
 limb     [big        very]  
 'very big limb'

## (iii) a demonstrative

goro:man mana  
 kangaroo DEM  
 'that/the kangaroo'

## (iv) a possessive noun

ɲin-gari guyum  
 2SG-GEN camp  
 'your camp'

## (v) a quantifier and a possessive noun (i.e. a combination of (i) and (iv))

miya: biya:yu ɲa-ri  
 eye two 1SG-GEN  
 'my two eyes'

## (vi) an interrogative

minja guyur  
 what thing  
 'what thing'

A pronoun or demonstrative as head of an NP may not be combined with anything else.

It is most common for the head noun to directly precede its modifiers; however, these modifiers may be found anywhere in the clause. For example, compare the following two sentences:

(374) mana ɲa-dju ɲja-ø guyum biya:yu-na  
 DEM 1SG-ERG sec-GENRL campfire two-ACC  
 'I see the two campfires.'

(375) ɲa-dju garu man guyum ɲja-ø  
 1SG-ERG one DEM campfire sec-GENRL  
 'I see the one campfire.'

Case marking is applied obligatorily to the head noun and optionally to the other constituents in an NP. There is a tendency for discontinuous NPs to agree in case marking if ambiguity would arise from its omission. Note that for NPs in O function, accusative marking of constituents is subject to the rules outlined in §3.2.2.1.

### 4.3 Possession

Duunɟidjawu distinguishes alienable and inalienable possession.

#### 4.3.1 Alienable possession

Alienable possession refers to something that is not an intrinsic part of the possessor. To express alienable possession the genitive suffixes *-ri/-rinj* (after V) and *-gari/-garij* (after C) are added to the 'possessor' noun. This genitive form can then receive a further case inflection (in which case the *-rinj/-garij* suffixes are used). The 'possessed' noun

never takes genitive inflection but may agree in case with the 'possessor'. Examples of alienable possession are:

- (376) [djawun man gimŋen-gari] gana yi-ŋi  
[home.country DEM brother.in.law-GEN] DEM be-PAST  
'This (region) was the brother-in-law's home country.' (Woodpecker 68)
- (377) ŋa-dju ya:-wu [ŋuweŋ-a ŋin-garinj-a]  
1SG-ERG say-FUT [mother-ACC 2SG-GEN-ACC]  
'I will tell your mother.' (Meat-ants 21)
- (378) ma:djayum-bu wane-∅ guwe [yo:-rinj-a djawun]  
giant-ERG leave-GENRL then [3SG-GEN-ACC home.country]  
'A giant left his home country.' (Evening Star 2:1)
- (379) ŋin yayumba-me dje-∅ [guyum-gu yo:-rinj-gu]  
2SG soon-ADLVSR go-IMPER [camp-ALL 3SG-GEN-ALL]  
'You go to his camp now.'

In transitive clauses involving a possessive phrase, the possessor noun may be omitted if the possessor is coreferential with the other core argument in the clause. For example, in (380) the possessor of A is the same as O and thus is omitted. Similarly in (381), the possessor of O is the same as the A and is therefore omitted.

- (380) ma:m-bu ŋa-nja ya:-yi  
mother-ERG 1SG-ACC tell-PAST  
'My mother told me.'
- (381) ŋa-dju baran ŋarrbema-yi  
1SG-ERG boomerang lose-PAST  
'I have lost my boomerang.'

Note that this omission of a coreferential argument is not obligatory. Compare (381) with (382):

- (382) ŋa-dju ŋarrbema-yi [guraŋgur ŋa-ri]  
1SG-ERG lose-PAST [spear 1SG-GEN]  
'I have lost my spear.'

In Waga-Waga, according to Holmer, possession can also be expressed through the use of the ablative suffix *-baŋi*. For example:

- (383) maŋgi-baŋi dia  
sheep-ABL bone  
'carcass of the sheep' (Holmer 1983:48)
- (384) buginj-baŋi djun  
dog-ABL tail  
'dog's tail' (Holmer 1983:60)
- (385) bari-lam-baŋi  
child-PL-ABL  
'belonging to the children' (Holmer 1983:48)

Genitive pronominal forms are also found in non-verbal clauses of ‘having’. Examples are (386) and (387) and also (504):

(386) buginj    ɲa-ri        galaŋ  
 dog        1SG-GEN    good  
 ‘I have a good dog.’ (lit. my dog is good)

(387) waga    guŋ        ɲa-ri  
 no        water    1SG-GEN  
 ‘I have no water.’

Examples from Waga-Waga would indicate that in verbless clauses of this type alienable possession takes genitive inflection (388), while inalienable possession does not (389). Compare the following:

(388) waga    ɲa-ri        djam  
 no        1SG-GEN    meat  
 ‘I have no meat.’ (Holmer 1983:54)

(389) ɲia    du:        djaŋgur  
 1SG    heart    sore  
 ‘I have a sore heart.’ (Holmer 1983:53)

#### 4.3.2 Inalienable possession

Inalienable possession expresses the relationship between whole and part and is shown by apposing the possessor and possessed nouns without either taking any genitive marking. A possessor pronoun in O position is accusatively marked even if the possessed noun is one which does not accept accusative marking. Body parts are the most common inalienably possessed nouns. An inalienably possessed NP typically has the form [whole part]; however, another constituent may intervene (392).

(390) ɲa-dju    guwe    [yo:-ɲa    giniŋ]    buwa-wu  
 1SG-ERG    then    [3SG-ACC    arm]    spear-FUT  
 ‘I will spear his arm.’ (Carpet Snake and the Storm 44)

(391) buginj-dju    ɲin-garinj-dju    mowanin-du    [ɲa-nja    djaŋar]    yiya-yi  
 dog-ERG        2SG-GEN-ERG    big-ERG        [1SG-ACC    leg]        bite-PAST  
 ‘Your big dog bit my leg.’

(392) guwe    ɲa-dju    [yo:-ɲa    ɲja-ɲi    ɲu:l]  
 then    1SG-ERG    [3SG-ACC    see-PAST    image]  
 ‘Then I saw his image.’ (Curlew 16)

The possessor is always omitted if the verb is reflexively marked:

(393) djan    mana    yira-ɲe-ɲji        muyim-bu    djanɲ  
 man    DEM    cut-REFL-PERFV    axe-INSTR    foot  
 ‘The man cut himself in the foot with an axe.’

A ‘footprint’ is seen to be inalienably possessed as the following example from Waga-Waga shows:



- (394) *ŋa-dju murun-na djinaŋ nja-ŋi*  
 1SG-ERG man-ACC footprint see-PAST  
 'I saw a man's track.' (Holmer 1983:56)

Inalienable possession is also used for one's 'totem':

- (395) [*yuri ŋay*] *gaye*  
 [totem 1SG] bee  
 'My totem is the bee.'

Similarly, a person's name is inalienably possessed (see (239) and (240)). Occasionally, part-whole relationships have the whole given as an ordinary (alienable) possessor with genitive marking. This could be a language-death error due to interference from English. For example:

- (396) *ma: ŋa-rinj-na bamba-yi*  
 head 1SG-GEN-ACC hit-PAST  
 '(They) hit my head.'

Unfortunately, there are no examples in our corpus of a 'possessor of a possessor' construction.

#### 4.4 Verb phrases

A verb phrase must contain a verb. This intransitive or transitive verb may be accompanied by a non-inflecting adverbial particle. These are discussed in §4.11 (i).

#### 4.5 Word-level derivations

##### 4.5.1 Verbalisation

In Duunjdjawa (and Waga-Waga) there is an inchoative suffix *-ba*, which forms an intransitive verb from a noun, and a factitive suffix *-ma*, which derives a transitive verb stem from a noun. These have been discussed and exemplified in §3.6.7.

There is also a valency-increasing derivation, causative, which derives a transitive verb root from an intransitive verb root. The causative derivation involves an original S argument becoming a transitive O, and a new argument being introduced as A. As described in §3.6.4 [b] (i), there are two causative suffixes in this language. Causative<sub>1</sub> is exemplified in (397) and causative<sub>2</sub> is exemplified in (398).

- (397) *ŋa-dju ŋin-a mundji-ma-ø*  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC laugh-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-GENRL  
 'I make you laugh.'
- (398) *ŋa-dju ŋin-a dje-ndi-yu*  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
 'I will take you.' (Woodpecker 86)

There are two valency-reducing derivations, reflexive and reciprocal, which transform transitive verbs into intransitive verbs. These are discussed in §4.6 and §4.7 below.

### 4.5.2 Nominalisation

As described in §3.2.4, a nominal can be formed from a verb by the addition of the suffix *-wa* or *-nde* (~*-nda*) to either the uninflected or the inflected form of the verb. These processes of nominalisation are not frequently employed and are probably used mainly as an alternative to sentences involving a relative clause.

### 4.6 Reflexives

The reflexive derivation indicates that A and O have the same reference, and thus derives an intransitive stem whose S argument maps the underlying A=O. The S NP is always in unmarked Nominative case. For example:

- (399) goro:man mara nimŋa-ŋe-nji  
 kangaroo DEM scratch-REFL-PERFV  
 'The kangaroo over there scratched itself.'
- (400) yo: ya:-ŋe-nji waga ŋa-dju yo:-ŋa buwa-wu budirgu  
 3SG say-REFL-PERFV not 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC spear-FUT completely  
 'He said to himself, "I will not spear him entirely (i.e. kill him).'  
 (Carpet Snake and the Storm 43)
- (401) yima-yi guwe ŋin njumba-ŋe-ø yo:-wa  
 do.like.this-PAST then 2SG show-REFL-IMPER 3SG-DAT  
 'Like that you show yourself to him.' (Carpet Snake and the Storm 61)

The S NP may be non-singular in a reflexive construction, in which case the agents are understood to be performing the action on themselves individually, rather than on each other as in a reciprocal construction (see §4.7). For example:

- (402) ŋu:l nja-ŋe-nji guŋ-ga woŋan-bam  
 reflection see-REFL-PERFV water-LOC<sub>1</sub> woman-DU  
 'The two women each saw their reflection in the water.'
- (403) nala ya:-ye-nji yowa:m  
 soul say-RECIP-PERFV 3DU  
 'They were both thinking to themselves.' (Black Possum 2:36)

(Compound verbs such as *nala ya:* are discussed in §3.6.5.)

### 4.7 Reciprocals

In Duunjdjawa there is a suffix, with the allomorphs *-ye* (for the Y conjugation class) and *-CMdje* (for the M and NG classes),<sup>47</sup> that is added to a transitive verb root to derive an intransitive stem with reciprocal meaning. The S NP, which is unmarked, must refer to two or more participants. The verb which is most commonly used in a reciprocal sense is *bu-m* 'hit, kill'. Compare the following:

<sup>47</sup> The only transitive verb of the N conjugation, *ma:-n* 'do, take', is not used reciprocally in our corpus.

(404) *ɲowa:m-bu yo:-ɲa bu-mgu binjgu*  
 2DU-ERG 3SG-ACC hit-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘You two will hit him tomorrow.’

(405) *ɲowa:m bu-mdje-wu binjgu*  
 2DU hit-RECIP-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘You two will fight each other tomorrow.’

Other examples of reciprocal verbs are:

(406) *njunam ya:-ye-nji gawurre-ndjin*  
 children talk-RECIP-PERFV a.long.time ago-PL  
 ‘In the olden days, some children talked to each other.’ (Kangaroo Rat 2)

(407) *baran-du bamba-ye-nji yowa:m*  
 boomerang-INSTR pelt-RECIP-PERFV 3DU  
 ‘They both pelted each other with boomerangs.’ (Kangaroo Rat 29)

## 4.8 Complex clauses

### 4.8.1 Coordinate clauses

There are three means of indicating clausal conjunction in Duuŋidjauw. Note that coreferential NPs in conjoined clauses may be freely omitted irrespective of their function.

(i) with the particle *guwe* ‘then’

Two clauses may be linked by the particle *guwe* (see §4.11 (ii) [d]), which in this case means ‘then’. This particle may occur between the two clauses (408) and (409), but it is also commonly found after the first word of the second clause (410) and (411).

(408) *yo:rr ya-nme-nji guwe badji-ø djan-du ba:nji*  
 everywhere go-AROUND-PERFV then find-GENRL man-ERG bunya.tree  
 ‘[They] went around everywhere and then the man found a bunya tree.’  
 (Black Possum 1:7)

(409) *gara ɲin yuna-ø guwe ɲin-a buyi-le binjgu*  
 DEM 2SG sleep-IMPER then 2SG-ACC take-CONT tomorrow  
 ‘You sleep here and then [we] will take you tomorrow.’ (Woodpecker 113)

(410) *gaye-nji djum guwe morrbe-nji*  
 turn.around-PERFV smoke then smell-PERFV  
 ‘[He] turned around and then [he] smelt smoke.’  
 (Carpet Snake and the Storm 26)

(411) *gadji-ma wane-ø yere-nji guwe guyum-gu*  
 DEM-EMPH leave-GENRL go.home-PERFV then camp-ALL  
 ‘[They] left [it] here and then went home to the camp.’ (Sitting Boys 42)

(ii) with the particle *ɲa* ‘and’ (see §4.11 (iii) [a]) which is used to conjoin NPs (412), or more rarely, two clauses (413).

- (412) *babiya ŋa dudu wane-ø yowa:m-a*  
 father and mother leave-GENRL 3DU-ACC  
 'The father and mother left them both.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 2)
- (413) *gan-ma djan bumi-nji badjanu-me ŋa meŋ yo:*  
 DEM-EMPH man fall.down-PERFV yesterday-SPEC and today 3SG  
*bumi-nji-me*  
 fall.down-PERFV-REPET  
 'This man fell down yesterday and today he fell down again.'

## (iii) by simple juxtaposition

When two clauses have the same subject they may be juxtaposed. The resulting conjoined sentence comprises one intonation group.

- (414) *ŋay yana-nde yo:-ŋa nja-wu*  
 1SG go-PRES 3SG-ACC see-FUT  
 'I am going and [I] will see him.'
- (415) *wa:rre-nji nja-me-nji yowa:m-bu*  
 hunt-PERFV look-AROUND-PERFV 3DU-ERG  
 'They were both hunting and looking around.' (Two Sitting Boys 3)

There are no particles in Duunjdjawa for indicating the adversative 'but' or the apprehensive 'lest'. Rather, to convey these meanings, the two clauses are simply juxtaposed with a short pause in between:

- (416) *buginj-dju ger dja:-ye (PAUSE) gi:ra-ndu bugur buwe:-ø*  
 dog-ERG try eat-PRES (but) bone-ERG throat stick.in-GENRL  
 'The dog tried eating but the bone is stuck in his throat.'
- (417) *madja nja-ø (PAUSE) gundu gaye-nge*  
 DEM look.out-IMPER (lest) canoe tip.over-IMPERFV  
 'Look out there lest the canoe tips over!'

Likewise, subordinate clauses which express the reason for the action of the main verb are simply added after the main clause. This means of expressing a causal relationship seems to be preferred to the use of causal marking on the noun discussed in §3.2.2.2 [c]. Examples of reason clauses are:

- (418) *mana djan man djaŋar ya-nji bawar-gu*  
 DEM man DEM quickly go-PERFV bush-ALL  
 [giyuru mana yi-ŋi]  
 [sick DEM be-PAST]  
 'That man has gone into the bush because he is sick.'
- (419) *ŋay giyuru [djam ŋa-dju yiyer dja:-yi]*  
 1SG sick [meat 1SG-ERG bad eat-PAST]  
 'I am sick because I ate bad meat.'
- (420) *ŋin-gari ŋay ba-yi [dadu-nu wa-wa]*  
 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> 1SG come-PAST [tree-LOC<sub>3</sub> climb-DESID]  
 'I came to you because I want to climb up on a tree.' (Woodpecker 81)

### 4.8.2 Conditional constructions

Any two clauses can be joined in a conditional construction of the type ‘if X, (then) Y’. The particle *wanja* (which is an uninflecting particle—see §4.11 (iii) [b]) introduces the ‘if’ clause. The particle *guwe* ‘then’ is sometimes used in the second clause where it occurs either at the beginning of the clause (421) or as the second constituent in this clause (422).

- (421) [wanja yo: man guyum] guwe ŋa:m yo: ya:-ye-nge  
 [if 3SG DEM camp] then 1DU 3SG talk-RECIP-IMPERFV  
 ‘If he’s in the camp, then he and I would like to speak to each other.’
- (422) [wanja ŋin-du bu-mgu] ŋa-dju guwe ŋin-a bu-mbe  
 [if 2SG-ERG hit-FUT] 1SG-ERG then 2SG-ACC hit-PRES  
 ‘If you hit (it), then I will hit you.’

The above examples show the ‘if’ clause occurring before the ‘then’ clause. As the following example illustrates, the ‘if’ clause may also occur after the other clause.

- (423) ŋay ya-ngu-wa binjgu [wanja ŋay galaŋ yi-gu]  
 1SG go-FUT-PURP tomorrow [if 1SG well be-FUT]  
 ‘I intend to go tomorrow if I am improved.’

An NP which fulfils a core function in both clauses will often be omitted from the second clause. For example:

- (424) [wanja yo: gonj ya-ngu] djawun-gu ŋin-a buyi-le  
 [if 3SG want go-FUT] country-ALL 2SG-ACC take-CONT  
 ‘If he wants to go to his country, [he] will take you along.’ (Seven Sisters 5)

The pause between the clauses is presumably used in the absence of *wanja* to indicate that the second clause is conditional upon the first. Holmer (1983:32) hypothesises that originally no introductory word would have been necessary in conditional clauses in Waga-Waga. He believes that *wandja* ‘when, if’ (corresponding to *wanja* in Duunjdjawa) has only come to be used in this function under the influence of English. However, as *wanja* is used in conditional constructions in texts in Duunjdjawa, presumably it is an original feature of the language.

### 4.8.3 Subordinate clauses

#### [a] Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Duunjdjawa typically occur after the matrix clause. When the subordinate clause is modifying the O of the main clause, the tense-marked verb of this subordinate clause is accusatively marked regardless of whether or not the O of the main clause takes accusative marking. This is the criterion for recognising it as a subordinate clause. Recall from §3.2.2.1 that only pronouns, human nouns and dogs can take accusative case marking. It is unknown whether the O of the subordinate clause also takes accusative marking as unfortunately all of our examples contain nouns which are amongst those which never take accusative marking. Examples of relative clauses are:

- (425) nja-ŋi guwe yowa:m-bu buyi [mana yune-nji-na]  
 see-PAST then 3DU-ERG carpet.snake [DEM lie-PERFV-ACC]  
 'The two of them looked at the carpet snake *which lay there*.'  
 (Carpet Snake and the Children 39)
- (426) ŋin-du guyur nja-ŋi [ŋa-dju ma:-nji-na]  
 2SG-ERG fish see-PAST [1SG-ERG catch-PERFV-ACC]  
 'You saw the fish *which I caught*.'
- (427) guwe djiwa-ndu nja-ŋi yowa:m-a [gadji guwe njine-nji-na]  
 then owl-ERG see-PAST 3DU-ACC [DEM then sit-PERFV-ACC]  
 'Then the owl saw the two of them *who sat here*.' (Two Sitting Boys 50)
- (428) ŋa-dju nja-ŋi djan-a [guraŋgur yanga-yi-na]  
 1SG-ERG see-PAST man-ACC [spear make-PAST-ACC]  
 'I saw the man *who made a spear*.'

When the verb in the subordinate clause modifies the A in the main clause it takes ergative marking. In the two examples in our corpus the A of the main clause is omitted as the referent is clear from the textual context.

- (429) guwe nja-wu [bige-nju ba-yi-ndu]  
 then see-FUT [behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> come-PAST-ERG]  
 '[The people] *who come behind* (i.e. the next generation) will see [the star].'  
 (Evening Star 1:71)
- (430) guyur dja:-yi [bu-mi-ndu du:ŋi-ra]  
 fish eat-PAST [kill-PAST-ERG] river-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 '[The couple] *who killed [fish] ate fish in the river*.' (Platypus 2)

When the subordinate clause is modifying a dative noun in the main clause, the tense-marked verb of the subordinate clause also takes dative marking. For example:

- (431) [bi:bi wambe-nji-na] njumba-ø yo:-ŋa  
 [fruit hang-PERFV-DAT<sub>2</sub>] show-IMPER 3SG-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
 'Show her the fruit *which is hanging*.' (Black Possum 2:9)

Note from (431) above that occasionally the relative clause occurs before the matrix clause.

#### [b] Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are those of the type 'when X, then Y' or 'X, when Y'. The particle *wanja* is usually the first constituent of the time clause, and the particle *guwe* 'then' may or may not be used. This makes temporal clauses formally indistinguishable from conditional clauses as described in §4.8.2 above. Examples of temporal clauses include:

- (432) [wanja yo: gari-yu] wanda guwe buwa-ø yo:-ŋa  
 [when 3SG enter-FUT] neck then spear-IMPER 3SG-ACC  
 'When he goes in, spear him in the neck.' (Evening Star 2:129)
- (433) [wanja yara dja:-yi] dare-nji guwe  
 [when flower eat-PAST] fly-PERFV then  
 'When [the bees] ate flowers, then they flew.' (Catching a bee 2)

- (434) [wanja buginj-dju dawari-ø ŋa:m-a] gari-ŋa ŋa:m dje-yu]  
 [when dog-ERG follow-GENRL IDU-ACC] DEM-ALL Idu go-FUT  
 ‘When the dog follows us two, we two will go to there.’ (Evening Star  
 2:124)
- (435) guwe mana ŋa:m-bu dja:-wu [wanja ŋa:m wa:rre-yu]  
 then DEM IDU-ERG eat-FUT [when IDU hunt-FUT]  
 ‘Then we two will eat [that one] when we two go hunting.’  
 (Black Possum 1:40)
- (436) gari-nma guwe nja-ø gidi [wanja ŋay ba-wu]  
 DEM-EMPH then look.at-IMPER light [when 1SG come-FUT]  
 ‘Look at the light here when I come.’ (Brolga 25)

When *wanja* is followed by *guwe* the meaning is ‘until’:

- (437) djanar-u dje-ø [wanja guwe girum-ba ya-ŋgu gari-nma]  
 leg-INSTR go-IMPER [when then other.side-LOC<sub>1</sub> go-FUT DEM-EMPH]  
 ‘Go speedily (lit. using legs) until you get to the other side there.’

There is another way that clauses may be given a temporal meaning: by the addition of a suffix *-nda* to the verb of the time clause (see §3.6.3 [j]). For example:

- (438) dulara-me guwe dje-nji [waga ŋuwim wa-yi-nda]  
 morning-SPEC then go-PERFV [not sun rise-PAST-SIMULT]  
 ‘Early the next morning, [they] went when the sun had not risen.’  
 (Two Sitting Boys 21)

- (439) yima-yi-me dja:-yi gawurre-ndjin-du [waga  
 do.like.this-PAST-REPET eat-PAST a.long.time.ago-PL-ERG [not  
 njine-nji-nda]  
 live-PAST-SIMULT]  
 ‘The olden days people always ate it like this, when [you] were not alive.’  
 (The Meat-ants 9)

There is a third means of creating a temporal clause in Duunjdjawanu. This involves the use of the demonstrative *gari* ‘this’ (see §3.4 [c]) followed by the time suffix *-ŋira*. (Recall that this suffix was also found on the interrogative *wanju* in §3.5 [c].) For instance:

- (440) ŋay biya:yu-nda ŋo: yune-nge gara [gari-ŋira ŋay ya-ŋgu]  
 1SG two-ADVLSR night sleep-IMPERFV DEM [DEM-TIME 1SG go-FUT]  
 ‘I am staying (lit. sleeping) here for two nights, after this time I will go.’

#### [c] Purposive clauses

Purposive clauses are those in which the event of the main clause was performed in order that the action of the subordinate clause might be possible. In Duunjdjawanu, the two clauses are juxtaposed and the purposive suffix *-wa* is added to the inflected verb of the subordinate clause. (Note that this suffix is identical in form to the nominaliser *-wa* and the intention/desire verbal inflection *-wa*.) The most common configuration with purposive clauses is for the main clause to be intransitive and for its S NP to be coreferential with the (omitted) S or A NP of the subordinate clause. For instance:

- (441) *ŋay ba-yi [bi:ra-wu-wa ŋin-a]*  
 1SG come-PAST [ask-FUT-PURP 2SG-ACC]  
 'I came in order to ask you.'
- (442) *ŋay wa:rre-nge [ŋuwi bamba-wu-wa]*  
 1SG hunt-IMPERFV [emu kill-FUT-PURP]  
 'I am going hunting in order to kill an emu.'
- (443) *ŋay yana-nde buwa:-waŋu binjgu [bu-mgu-wa waya:]*  
 1SG go-PRES father-COMIT tomorrow [kill-FUT-PURP wallaby]  
 'I am going with my father tomorrow in order to kill wallabies.'

Similarly, when the main clause is transitive, an A and/or an O NP common to both clauses may be omitted from the subordinate clause:

- (444) *ŋa-dju murr biye-nji [waya: bamba-wu-wa]*  
 1SG-ERG club throw-PERFV [wallaby hit-FUT-PURP]  
 'I threw the club in order to hit the wallaby.'

As is shown from the examples above, the O NP of the subordinate clause may occur before or after the verb.

Any additional arguments of the subordinate clause usually form part of the subordinate clause (445), but occasionally are discontinuous with it (446).

- (445) *ŋay dje-nge [guŋ ma:-ngu-wa ŋin-gari]*  
 1SG go-IMPERFV [water get-FUT-PURP 2SG-PURP]  
 'I am going in order to fetch water for you.'
- (446) *[ŋa:m-gari] ya-ŋgu [goro:man bamba-wu-wa]*  
 [1DU-PURP] go-FUT [kangaroo kill-FUT-PURP]  
 '[I] am going in order to kill a kangaroo for the two of us.'

#### 4.9 Commands

Imperative sentences have verbs which are unmarked. The topic NP (in A or S case) is often, though not always, omitted. For example:

- (447) *ba-ø*  
 come-IMPER  
 'Come!' (Meat-ants 127)
- (448) *nja-ø doyi mana*  
 look.at-IMPER rock DEM  
 'Look at the rock there!' (Curlew 20)
- (449) *gaye-ma-ø mana ŋin-du dadu*  
 turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-IMPER DEM 2SG-ERG stick  
 'You turn the stick around!' (Crayfish Corroboree 7)
- (450) *gari-ŋi ŋowa:m gembe-ø*  
 DEM-LOC 2DU play-IMPER  
 'You two play here!' (Carpet Snake and the Children 9)



- (451) *njin-du nja-ø gana*  
 2SG-ERG look.at-IMPER DEM  
 'You look at this!' (Evening Star 2:142)

The topic NP is most commonly second person, as in the above examples, but may be first person non-singular. Note that only second singular A/S may be omitted. In (452) the topic NP is the first person non-singular inclusive:

- (452) *yima-ø ŋa:m ŋin*  
 do.like.this-IMPER 1DU 2SG  
 'Let's do it like this!' (Evening Star 2:149)

Many imperative sentences have one or more peripheral constituents. For instance:

- (453) *ŋa:m-baŋu ba-ø*  
 1DU-COMIT come-IMPER  
 'Come with the two of us!'
- (454) *guyum mana djime-ø ŋuwim-bu*  
 firewood DEM dry-IMPER sun-INSTR  
 'Dry that firewood using the sun!'
- (455) *ga:rr mana bunma-ø njun-u*  
 porcupine DEM take.out-IMPER ashes-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 'Take the porcupine out of the ashes!'

There is no separate negative imperative particle in Duunġidjawu. Rather, the negative particle *waga* (see §4.11 (ii) [a]) is added to the beginning of an imperative sentence to make it prohibitive. Examples are given below:

- (456) *waga ŋowa:m dunme-ø gari-nma*  
 don't 2DU move-IMPER DEM-EMPH  
 'Don't you two here move!' (Two Sitting Boys 53)
- (457) *waga yamŋa-ø*  
 don't quarrel-IMPER  
 'Don't quarrel!' (Seven Sisters 7)
- (458) *waga gara njine-ø*  
 don't DEM stay-IMPER  
 'Don't stay here!' (Seven Sisters 8)

Note that the unmarked imperative verb is not to be confused with the general tense verb which is also unmarked (see §3.6.3 [e]). The meaning of a verb bearing no tense/mood suffix can usually be ascertained from the other constituents in a sentence.

#### 4.10 Questions

Content questions in Duunġidjawu are formed by the addition of an interrogative pronoun, usually at the beginning of a sentence.<sup>48</sup> These pronouns were discussed in §3.5.

<sup>48</sup> Occasionally a content question word is found in another position in the sentence (see (253)).

A statement and a polar interrogative are identical in form, but whereas the statement has falling intonation, the polar interrogative has rising. Thus, the sentence *ŋin-gari buwa: giyuru* when spoken with falling intonation means ‘Your father is sick’ but when spoken with rising intonation means ‘Is your father sick?’. Polar questions are answered by either *ya*: ‘yes’ or *waga* ‘no’.

#### 4.11 Particles

Particles are non-inflecting words of three types, (i) those which modify the verb in terms of speed or manner or direction (i.e. adverbs), (ii) those which give modal or other qualification to a complete sentence, and (iii) other miscellaneous particles.

##### (i) Adverbs

All adverbs occur directly before the verb, except for *budirgu* ‘completely’ which typically occurs after the verb. The manner adverbs are:

*djale* ‘softly’

- (459)    *ŋa:m    ŋin    djale    ya:-wu*  
           1DU    2SG    softly    speak-FUT  
           ‘We two will speak softly.’ (Two Old Mainlanders 4)

*ba:lbama* ‘loudly’

- (460)    *waga    ba:lbama    ya:-ø*  
           don’t    loudly    speak-IMPER  
           ‘Don’t speak loudly!’

*budirgu* ‘completely’

- (461)    *bu-mgu    ŋa:m-bu    budirgu*  
           kill-FUT    1DU-ERG    completely  
           ‘We two will kill [him] completely.’ (Evening Star 2:158)

*bumni* ‘soundly’

- (462)    *gan-ma    bumni    yuna-nge*  
           DEM-EMPH    soundly    sleep-IMPERFV  
           ‘[It] is sleeping soundly right here.’ (Black Possum 1:15)

*yangayanga* ‘carefully’

- (463)    *yangayanga    nja-ø*  
           carefully    watch-IMPER  
           ‘Watch carefully.’ (Crooked Neck 2:15)

*ŋurra* ‘nearly’

- (464)    *djan    gana    guŋ-u    ŋurra    goro-yi*  
           man    DEM    water-LOC<sub>3</sub>    nearly    drown-PAST  
           ‘This man nearly drowned in the water.’

*djaŋi* 'almost'

- (465) giniŋ djaŋi yiya-yi buginj-dju ŋa-nja  
 arm almost bite-PAST dog-ERG 1SG-ACC  
 'The dog almost bit my arm.'

*djunim* 'straight'

- (466) mana ya:-ø djunim barandje-ø  
 DEM say.to-IMPER straight stand.up-IMPER  
 'Say to that [boy], "Stand up straight!"' (Crooked Neck 1:22)

*ger* 'try'

- (467) buginj ger gaye-nji gadji-ma  
 dog try look-PERFV DEM-EMPH  
 'The dog tried looking here.' (Evening Star 2:55)

There is one adverbial which refers to the speed of the action:

*djaŋar* 'quickly'

- (468) du:ŋi-nu guŋ mana djaŋar dje-nge  
 river-LOC<sub>3</sub> water DEM quickly go-IMPERFV  
 'The water in the river is flowing quickly.'

There are several other adverbial forms which give information about the direction of the action relative to the speaker. These directional adverbs are:

*ye* 'towards the speaker'

- (469) badja-ru ya:-yi guyur mana ye wiye-ø  
 one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST food DEM towards give-IMPER  
 'One of them said, "Give that food to me."' (Crayfish Corroboree 2)
- (470) ye binda-ø yo:-ŋa ŋay-wa  
 towards send-IMPER 3SG-ACC 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 'Send him to me.'

Note from (470) that *ye* can be used even when the indirect object or goal is expressed as 'to me'. This is presumably for emphasis. This form is commonly used with the verb *dje* 'go' to mean 'come'. For instance:

- (471) baran ye dje-nji gana  
 boomerang towards go-PERFV DEM  
 'The boomerang was coming this way.' (Crooked Neck 3:24)

*biye* 'away from the speaker'

- (472) njiran-da biye ga:wa-yi  
 belt-LOC<sub>1</sub> back put-PAST  
 '[He] put [the axe] in his belt back(wards).' (Black Possum 2:97)

*biye* is frequently used with the verb *dje* 'go' to mean 'return'. For example:

- (473) biye dje-nji guwe yo:  
back go-PERFV then 3SG  
'So he returned.' (Woodpecker 42)

*yo:rr* 'everywhere'

- (474) njalaŋ-u yo:rr yana-nde  
mud-LOC<sub>3</sub> everywhere go-PRES  
'[He] goes everywhere in the mud.' (Fish in Ponds 7)
- (475) yo:rr nja-nme-nji  
everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV  
'[He] was looking around everywhere.' (Two Old Mainlanders 58)

(ii) Sentence particles

The sentence particles found in Duunjdjawu are given below.

[a] *waga* 'not, don't'

The negative particle is *waga* (after which the language is named). It is used to negate verbal (intransitive and transitive) sentences, where it most commonly occurs sentence-initially.

- (476) waga ba:ri-nji mo:  
not bring-PERFV DEM  
'That one (the brologa) did not bring [them].' (Fish in Ponds 26)
- (477) waga gira-yi yima njunam-bu  
not wake-PAST do.like.this children-ERG  
'The children did not wake up like this.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 119)

Occasionally it occurs after the verb it modifies. For example:

- (478) dje-re-nji waga yo:wan  
go-CONT-PERFV not 3PL  
'They all would not go away.' (Platypus 49)

This particle may also negate verbless sentences, in which case it occurs sentence-initially. Examples are given in (479) and (480) below.

- (479) waga ŋin njenga wunba  
not 2SG clever very  
'You are not very clever.' (Kangaroo Rat 40)
- (480) waga mana galaŋ  
not DEM good  
'That is not good.' (Two Old Women 4)

As one would expect, *waga* can also be used to mean 'nothing'. For instance:

- (481) waga nja-ø ŋa-dju  
nothing see-GENRL 1SG-ERG  
'I see nothing.' (Two Old Mainlanders 41)

- (482) waga    ɲin-du    ma:-nji  
 nothing 2SG-ERG catch-PERFV  
 'You do not catch anything.' (Dingo 11)

As mentioned in §4.9, the negative particle *waga* is used to express 'don't'.

- (483) waga    biya-∅  
 don't throw-IMPER  
 'Don't throw [it]!' (Crayfish 16)

[b] *wage:* 'not yet'

To indicate 'not yet' the particle *wage:* is used:

- (484) wage:    yune-nge  
 not.yet sleep-IMPERFV  
 '[They] are not asleep yet.' (Brolga 10)

[c] *gam* 'maybe'

The particle *gam* indicates possibility or probability in Duunjdjawu. It means roughly 'may(be)', 'might', 'perhaps'. It is typically positioned after the first word in a sentence. Several examples are given below:

- (485) guwe    gam    yo:we    ba-wu    ɲo:  
 then    might 3PL    come-FUT    night  
 'They might come back tonight.'
- (486) giyuru    gam    yune-nge  
 sick    perhaps    stay-IMPERFV  
 'Perhaps [he] is staying [because he is] sick.'

It is commonly used with statements about the weather, presumably due to its unpredictability. For instance:

- (487) wanja    buran    gaye-yu    gurruy    gam    ba-wu  
 when    wind    turn-FUT    rain    probably    come-FUT  
 'When the wind turns, the rain will probably come.'

This particle is also used to express a lack of knowledge about a particular matter. For example:

- (488) wanja    gam    ɲay    galaŋ    yi-gu  
 when    don't.know 1SG    good    be-FUT  
 'I don't know when it will be good.' (Woodpecker 84)

Given that *gam* expresses uncertainty, it is not surprising that it is often found in questions. For instance:

- (489) minja-ɲgu    gam    waga    dja:-∅  
 what-PURP    doubt    not    eat-GENRL  
 'Why does [he] not eat?' (Meat-ants 28)
- (490) ɲan-gari    gam    buginj  
 who-GEN    doubt    dog  
 'Whose is that dog?'

[d] *guwe* ‘then’

This is the most frequently occurring particle. It is used in discourse to link statements and can be roughly glossed as ‘then’ (see also §4.8.1 (i) and §4.8.2) or ‘later’. It can occur anywhere in a clause.

- (491) *nja-rinj-a gandan-a ma:-ngu njubanji guwe*  
 1SG-GEN-ACC younger.sister-ACC take-FUT married.person then  
*ye-ø*  
 be-GENRL  
 ‘Somebody is going to take away my younger sister and then she will be a married person.’
- (492) *guwe gundir-u yangga-wu galan*  
 later clever.man make-FUT well  
 ‘The *gundir* will make you well later.’

It is also used to denote a repeated action (i.e. ‘again’),<sup>49</sup> as the following examples show:

- (493) *guwe gam yo: wa-wu binjgu*  
 again might 3SG climb-FUT tomorrow  
 ‘He might climb up again tomorrow.’
- (494) *nja:m njin gadja guwe nja-ndje-yu*  
 IDU 2SG DEM again see-RECIP-FUT  
 ‘You and I will see each other here again.’

It is also commonly used simply as a clause introducer:

- (495) *guwe djum njin-gari wiye-nge*  
 INTRO food 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> give-IMPERFV  
 ‘I am giving you some food.’
- (496) *guwe nja-re njarinbam binjgu*  
 INTRO look-CONT turtle tomorrow  
 ‘We will look for turtles tomorrow.’

In addition to the aforementioned uses of *guwe*, its high frequency would suggest that it is used as a discourse filler.

[e] *yu:(gar)* ‘only, just, alone’

This indicates that nothing more than what is asserted has or should occur. For example:

- (497) *yu: njin dunme-ø*  
 just 2SG bend.over-IMPER  
 ‘Just you bend over!’ (Crooked Neck 3:46)
- (498) Q. *minja-ŋgu mana-wam ba:l ye-ø*  
 what-PURP DEM-DU angry be-GENRL  
 ‘Why are those two men angry?’

<sup>49</sup> Refer to §3.6.3 [k] for the use of the verbal inflection *-me* to indicate a repeated action.

A. waga ba:l ye-∅ yu:gar ya:-ye-nge yowa:m  
 not angry be-GENRL just talk-RECIP-IMPERFV 3DU  
 'They are not angry, they are just talking to each other.'

- (499) gandanbingan-du ya:-yi madja wane-∅ yu:gar  
 younger.sister-ERG say-PAST DEM leave-IMPER alone  
 'The younger sister said, "Leave [it] alone there.'" (Black Possum 1:86)

No semantic difference can be determined between *yu:* and *yu:gar*.

[f] *yabu* 'only, just'

This also means 'only, just'. It is less frequently used than *yu:(gar)* but no other difference is discernible.

- (500) yabu ŋin ŋumga-∅  
 just 2SG go.out-IMPER  
 'Just go out!' (Two Old Mainlanders 35)

[g] *wura* 'already'

This is a perfective particle denoting the successful completion of an action. It may occur anywhere in the sentence.

- (501) nja-ŋi guwe yo: gan wura dja:  
 see-PAST then 3SG DEM already place  
 'He had already seen this place.' (Woodpecker 38)
- (502) ŋay wura ŋu:ni-nji ŋin-gari  
 1SG already be.suspicious-PERFV 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 'I was already suspicious of you.' (Woodpecker 143)

Note that the use of the independent particle *wura* does not replace perfective or past marking on the verb.

(iii) Miscellaneous particles

Other miscellaneous particles in this language are:

[a] *ŋa* 'and'

This particle conjoins two noun phrases (503) or two clauses (504):

- (503) mana ŋande ŋa bala  
 DEM mullet and jewfish  
 'There are mullet and jewfish.' (Fish in Ponds 33)
- (504) ŋin-gari guwe biya:yu ŋa ŋa-ri guwe biya:yu  
 2SG-GEN then two and 1SG-GEN then two  
 'Now you have two (claws) and I have two (claws).' (Crayfish Corroboree 10)

[b] *wanja* 'when, if'

There are three uses of the particle *wanja*. Firstly, as mentioned in §3.5, *wanja* may be used to ask a question requiring a 'yes' or 'no' answer. Examples of these polar questions are:

- (505) *wanja* *ɲin* *gembe-ø*  
 INTERROG 2SG play-GENRL  
 'Do you play?' (Dingo 25)
- (506) *wanja* *gana* *gi:runba*  
 INTERROG DEM true  
 'Is this true?'
- (507) *yu: ɲa:m ɲin wanja yune-yu*  
 just 1DU 2SG INTERROG sleep-FUT  
 'Should we (incl.) just sleep?' (Crayfish 30)

In addition, this question particle is used to enquire as to someone's well-being or condition. For example:

- (508) *wanja ɲin*  
 INTERROG 2SG  
 'How are you?' or 'What's up with you?'

Secondly, this particle is used in statements where it expresses wonderment:

- (509) *wanja mana wane-ø*  
 wonder DEM leave-GENRL  
 '[I] wonder why [they] left.' (Carpet Snake and the Children 79)

The third use of the particle *wanja* is in conditional clauses where it means 'if' (see §4.8.2) and in temporal clauses where it means 'when' (see §4.8.3 [b]).

[c] *gonj* 'want'

The particle *gonj* is often but not always used in sentences with a desiderative verb (see also §3.6.3 [d]). It always directly follows the subject.

- (510) *ɲa-dju gonj guɲ dja:-wa*  
 1SG-ERG want water drink-DESID  
 'I want to drink water.'
- (511) *waga ɲay gonj mana*  
 not 1SG want DEM  
 'I don't want this.' (Meat-ants 4)

[d] *wunba* 'very, better'

The particle *wunba* is a degree specifier which occurs after the word it is qualifying.

- (512) *bari-yu wunba mana yi-ɲi bayer*  
 small-ERG very DEM be-PAST mountain  
 'The very small [child] was a mountain.' (i.e. the child had been hit by a boomerang and changed into a mountain; Crooked Neck 11)
- (513) *gawurre wunba ɲin njine-ɲi gara*  
 a.long.time very 2SG stay-PERFV DEM  
 'You have stayed here a very long time.' (Two Old Women 12)



- (514) *ya-nji guwe garu biye dje-nji guwe wunba*  
 go-PERFV then one back go-PERFV then better  
 '[One of the women] went and came back [with] a better one [idea].'  
 (Two Old Women Corroboree 4)

#### 4.12 Interjections and exclamations

Duunjdjawa has the following interjections which occur in isolation and never inflect:

- ya:* 'yes'  
*waga* 'no'  
*wura* 'all right, finished'  
*fu:* 'shoo' (blows a magic curse)  
*wu:ŋ* 'wong' (onomatopoeia)

The first three interjections listed above need no explanation. The fourth interjection *fu:* is used to cast a curse over whoever it is directed at. It is typically used by the *gundir* (men with special powers) when they are changing a person into an animal or a landform. The word *fu:* is the only one in this language containing a palato-alveolar fricative. It possibly originated from the word *du:* 'spirit (of a person)' (Steele 1983:244). An example of its use is in the Carpet Snake and the Storm story when the *gundir* makes the storm-maker into a carpet snake:

- (515) *fu: fu: buyi ye-ø ŋin*  
 INTJ INTJ carpet.snake be-IMPER 2SG  
 'Shoo, shoo, you be a carpet snake!' (Carpet Snake and the Storm 52)

The fifth interjection is actually onomatopoeia for the sound made by the bronze-wing pigeon. It is used in the Black Possum story when the hunter is pretending to be a bird:

- (516) *yima ŋay ganya-wu gan wu:ŋ wu:ŋ*  
 do.like.this ISG call.out-FUT DEM wong wong  
 'I will call out like this, "wong wong".' (Black Possum 1:77)

Duunjdjawa also has two exclamations, *e?e* which expresses approval, and *hara* which indicates discovery. Note that these exclamations contain sounds not found elsewhere in the language, namely the glottal stop *ʔ* and the approximant *h*.



## **PART TWO: TEXTS**



# Texts

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The following Duunjdjawa texts were recorded by Stephen Wurm from Willie McKenzie. The explanations preceding each text come from Willie McKenzie at the time of their recording, and have been augmented, where possible, with the legends described in *Uncle Willie McKenzie's legends of the Goundirs* (Cairns 1967) and those given to Winterbotham (1957) by McKenzie. None of these stories are those described in Mathew (1910) for the Waga-Waga.

The texts vary in length from a few pages to almost twenty pages. For some of the stories, McKenzie gave a different version in a subsequent session of fieldwork. Where the differences are significant, not so much in content as in linguistic style and expression, these other versions are included here for comparative purposes. For three of the texts, McKenzie also gave the corroborree form of the story, which is essentially a short summary of the story (these follow their respective texts).

As is inevitable when undertaking a study of a language which has long since died, there are some words and even sentences whose meaning is not clear. Wurm did his best to attain English glosses when he was doing these recordings; however, as the actual analysis of the grammar was not undertaken at the time, there are many questions which now need to be asked but cannot. Unfortunately, this leaves us with gaps in our understanding which may never be filled.

## 1. *The Black Possum*

One day, a man and his wife took the wife's sister hunting in the scrub. They came across the tall hollow stump of a bunya tree. The man saw possum tracks in the red soil around it and on the bark, so he climbed up to the top and reached in. He felt the fur of several possums in there. So he pulled out the possums one-by-one, hit their heads against the tree to kill them and then threw them down below. When he reached in for the last possum, it bit him. He pulled that possum out, killed it and then threw it far away from the other dead possums. He told the women not to eat that possum because it had his blood in it.<sup>50</sup> His wife's sister thought that he just wanted to keep that possum for himself because it was very fat and good for food. So she removed the branch from the tree so that he couldn't get down and then the two women went away to eat the fat possum.

Fortunately, the stranded man was a *gundir*,<sup>51</sup> so he wished for a storm to come to him. Before too long the storm arrived and brought with it very strong winds that blew long

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<sup>50</sup> It is a strict rule that any animal which draws blood from the hunter must be thrown away or burnt. It must never be eaten (Winterbotham 1957).

<sup>51</sup> An important person in Waga-Waga society was the *gundir*. He was a clever man who possessed special powers that enabled him to change things from one form into another. He could also read other people's

vines from nearby trees towards him. He grabbed one of these vines and climbed down to the ground. The man then went from hill to hill and looked to see if he could see the smoke of the two women's camp. Eventually, he saw some smoke in the distance and so he crawled through the vines in the trees until he arrived in the tree above their camp, all the while imitating the sound of a bronze-wing pigeon so that the women would not hear him approaching.<sup>52</sup> The man thought about how he should take revenge on the two disobedient women. He decided that their fate would depend on the direction that the blade of the stone axe worn in his belt was pointing when he reached them. He said to himself that if the blade was pointing forwards he would kill them, and if it was pointing backwards he would change them into objects for other people to see. When he reached their camp the blade was pointing backwards and so he turned them into two waterholes. Then he looked at their fire and he turned it into a stone.<sup>53</sup> And then he left them like that.

### *Version 1*

1.        *njɪŋaŋurra*  
creation.time  
A creation time story.
2.        *djan yi-ŋi njubanji-ŋa njubanji-ŋa*  
man be-PAST married.person-CON married.person-CON  
The man was married.
3.        *ya:-yi guwe ŋa: wa:rre-yu*  
say-PAST then 1PL hunt-FUT  
[He] said, 'We will go hunting'.
4.        *ya-nme-nji guwe*  
go-AROUND-PERFV then  
Then [they] went around.
5.        *wa:rre-nji gawa gari-nji*  
hunt-PERFV scrub enter-PERFV  
[They] went hunting and entered the scrub.
6.        *ya:-yi gari yo:rɾ ya-nme*  
say-PAST DEM everywhere go-AROUND  
[The man] said, '[We] will go everywhere around here'.
7.        *yo:rɾ ya-nme-nji guwe badji-ø djan-du ba:nji*  
everywhere go-AROUND-PERFV then find-GENRL man-ERG bunya.tree  
[They] went around everywhere and then the man found a bunya tree.

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minds and communicate in his thoughts with people very far away (Cairns 1967:1). Many of the mythical stories of the Waga-Waga involve gundirs using their magic powers to change bad people into the animals and landforms that exist today.

<sup>52</sup> The bronze-wing pigeon (also known as the wonga pigeon because of the wong sound it makes) calls out during both the day and night (Winterbotham 1957).

<sup>53</sup> To the present day there are two waterholes which can be seen near Mount Archer (see Map 1) with a rock of quartz between them (Winterbotham 1957).

8. ba:nji badji-ø gan bam gamje-nji  
bunya.tree find-GENRL DEM half break-PERFV  
[He] found the bunya tree [with its] top half broken here.
9. yu: nala yi-nji  
just hole be-PAST  
It was just hollow.
10. ya:-yi guwe njowamgan-bam-a dadu-ŋa ga:ø gorom-ŋa-na  
say-PAST then wife-DU-DAT<sub>2</sub> tree-CON cut-IMPER fork-CON-ACC  
[He] said to the two wives, 'Cut a tree (branch) which is forked.
11. wamba-wu guwe ɪjay wa-wu  
lean.against-FUT then 1SG climb-FUT  
[We] will lean it up against (the bunya pine) and then I will climb up.'
12. wa-yi guwe ma:-nji guwe mana gaŋa  
climb-PAST then hold-PERFV then DEM on.top  
So [he] climbed up and then got hold onto the top.
13. ma:-nji bayel guwe yo: ma:-nji gugunde  
feel-PERFV fur then 3SG feel-PERFV scrub.possum  
[He] felt fur and then he felt a scrub possum.
14. ya:-yi guwe gan-ma badja-na  
say-PAST then DEM-EMPH one.of.several-ACC  
Then [he] said, 'Right here is one of them'.
15. gan-ma bumni yunae-nge  
DEM-EMPH soundly sleep-IMPERFV  
[It] was sleeping soundly right here.
16. ŋa-dju gana bu-mgu  
1SG-ERG DEM kill-FUT  
'I will kill it.'
17. bunma-yi ɪjanda-yi biye-nji  
pull.out-PAST knock.out-PAST throw-PERFV  
So [he] pulled [it] out, knocked it out and threw it down.
18. badja-na bunma-yi biye-nji badja-na  
one.of.several-ACC pull.out-PAST throw-PERFV one.of.several-ACC  
[He] pulled out another one and threw it down, [then] another one.
19. waga guwe nja-nji  
not then see-PAST  
[He] could not see anymore.
20. yu: bi: gari-nji  
just hand enter-PERFV  
[He] just went in with his hand.
21. bi: yiya-n guwe mo: badja-ru  
hand bite-SUDDEN then DEM one.of.several-ERG  
Another one then suddenly bit his hand.

22. nja-nji guwe bi: yiya-na  
see-PAST then hand bite-ACC  
[He] looked at his finger which was bitten.
23. yiya-n guwe  
bite-SUDDEN then  
Then [it] bit [him] again.
24. yo: ma:-n mana gugunde ma:-ø  
3SG grab-SUDDEN DEM scrub.possum grab-GENRL  
He grabbed that possum suddenly, he grabbed it.
25. bunma-n diyen buñunda-n  
pull.out-SUDDEN mouth open-SUDDEN  
[He] pulled [it] out and opened its mouth (in order to release his finger,  
which the possum was still biting).
26. buma-n biya-n guwe  
kill-SUDDEN throw-SUDDEN then  
[He] killed [it] and then threw it down.
27. ya:-le-nji guwe yo: waga mana dja:-ø diyir ñay-wañu  
say-CONT-PERFV then 3SG don't DEM eat-IMPER blood 1SG-COMIT  
He continually said (to the two women), 'Don't eat that one, (it has) blood  
from me.
28. bi:-nu gan diyir ye-ø  
finger-ABL<sub>1</sub> DEM blood be-GENRL  
It is blood from [my] hand.'
29. waga guwe njowamgan-du guwe ya:-yi gandanbingan-a  
no then wife-ERG then say.to-PAST younger.sister-ACC  
'No', the (man's) wife then said to her younger sister.
30. mem-ña mana guyur yi-nji  
fat-CON DEM animal be-PAST  
'The animal was fat.
31. gudjan mo: ya:-le  
nonsense DEM talk-CONT  
That one (the man) is just talking nonsense.
32. gana ña:m-bu njumba-wu gorom-ña-na dadu-nu  
DEM 1DU-ERG push.away-FUT fork-CON-ACC tree-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
We two will push away the forked stick from the tree here.
33. waga yo: njinda-wu gadji-ma wane-ø  
not 3SG go.down-FUT DEM-EMPH leave-IMPER  
He won't be able to come down here, leave [him].
34. wane-ø yo:-ña gadji  
leave-IMPER 3SG-ACC DEM  
Leave him here.



35. ma:gunj ye-∅ yo: mara njine-wu  
 stump be-GENRL 3SG DEM stay-FUT  
 He will stay there on the stump (lit. without head).
36. ɲa:m ya-ŋu  
 IDU go-FUT  
 We two will go.
37. mana ma:na-∅  
 DEM hold-IMPER  
 Hold that one.
38. ɲa:m-bu buyi-yu mana  
 IDU-ERG take-FUT DEM  
 We two will take that one.
39. dja:-wu ɲa:m-bu gugunde  
 eat-FUT IDU-ERG scrub.possum+ABS(O)  
 We two will eat the scrub possum.
40. guwe mana ɲa:m-bu dja:-wu wanja ɲa:m wa:rre-yu  
 then DEM IDU-ERG eat-FUT when IDU hunt-FUT  
 Then we two will eat that one when we two go hunting.'
41. ya-nji mo:  
 go-PERFV DEM  
 That one (the wife) went.
42. badja-ru ya:-yi waga yima  
 one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST don't do.like.this  
 The other one said, 'Don't (leave him) like this.
43. waga wane-∅ mana ganan  
 don't leave-IMPER DEM poor.person  
 Don't leave the poor fellow.
44. ɲa:m-a guyur wiye-nge mo:  
 IDU-DAT<sub>2</sub> food give-IMPERFV DEM  
 That one (the man) is giving us two food.'
45. wane-∅ madja wane-∅ yo:-ɲa ba-∅  
 leave-IMPER DEM leave-IMPER 3SG-ACC come-IMPER  
 (The other sister says) 'Leave [him] there, leave him, come.'
46. ɲji:l mowanin mana badja  
 selfish big DEM one.of.pair  
 The other (sister) was very selfish.
47. ya-nji yowa:m ya-nme-nji guwe  
 go-PERFV 3DU go-AROUND-PERFV then  
 So the two of them went and walked around.
48. yo:-ɲa wane-∅ gari-nma guwe yo: njine-nji  
 3SG-ACC leave-GENRL DEM-EMPH then 3SG sit-PERFV  
 [They] left him up right here, and so he sat there.

49. binanj ger ya:-nji minja-tja guyur ba-wu ŋa-nja  
 ear try say-PERFV what-ACC thing come-FUT 1SG-ACC  
 njinda-ma-wu-wa  
 go.down-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT-PURP  
 [He] was trying to think, 'What thing will come in order to bring me down?'
50. be:ŋa-yi guwe yo:  
 think-PAST then 3SG  
 He thought (of something).
51. ya:-ŋe-nji yo: gana ba-ø ŋa-ri  
 say-REFL-PERFV 3SG DEM come-IMPER 1SG-ALL  
 He said to himself, 'Come here to me'.
52. bayel guwe nja-ŋi mu-mgaye-na  
 cloud then see-PAST rise-?-ACC  
 Then [he] saw the clouds which were rising.
53. ya:-yi guwe nala ya:-ŋe-nji guwe yo: go: guwe ŋa-nja  
 say-PAST then soul say-REFL-PERFV then 3SG DEM then 1SG-ACC  
 njinda-ma-wu  
 go.down-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT  
 [He] said, he thought to himself, 'This one will bring me down'.
54. buran madja ba-ye yuŋam-ba  
 wind DEM come-PRES front-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 The wind is coming ahead there.
55. buran ba-yi bu:ŋi-nji guwe mana dadu  
 wind come-PAST blow-PERFV then DEM tree  
 The wind came and was blowing the tree.
56. djuŋa guwe yi-ŋi gamŋe-nji-wa djuŋa gamŋe-nji-wa  
 vine then be-PAST break-PERFV-NMLSR vine break-PERFV-NMLSR  
 There was a broken vine, a broken vine.
57. ma:-nji yo: buran-du bu:ŋi-nji-nda  
 grab-PERFV 3SG wind-ERG blow-PERFV-SIMULT  
 He grabbed [it] when the wind blew [it].
58. biye-nji yo:-ŋa djanjar dje-nda  
 throw-PERFV 3SG-ACC branch move-SIMULT  
 The branch was thrown to him when it was moving.
59. dadu-nu guwe yo: njinda-yi  
 tree-ABL<sub>1</sub> then 3SG go.down-PAST  
 Then he went down from the tree.
60. nala ya:-ŋe-nji  
 soul say-REFL-PERFV  
 [He] was thinking to himself.

61. wane-yi  
leave-PAST  
[He] left.
62. dawari-nji guwe yowa:m-a dawari-nji  
follow-PERFV then 3DU-ACC follow-PERFV  
Then [he] followed the two of them, followed them.
63. yowa:m ya-nme-nji gawa-nda gadji-ma  
3DU go-AROUND-PERFV scrub-LOC<sub>1</sub> DEM-EMPH  
They two were going around in the scrub here.
64. dja: nja-nji yowa:m-a ya-nji-na djinaŋ yowa:m-a  
ground see-PAST 3DU-ACC go-PERFV-ACC footprint 3DU-ACC  
[He] saw them on the ground, the walking feet of them (i.e. he saw their footprints).
65. dawari-nji nja-nji guwe djum-gu  
follow-PERFV see-PAST then smoke-?  
[He] followed and then saw smoke.
66. yo: yo:rr ya-nme-nji  
3SG everywhere go-AROUND-PERFV  
He walked around everywhere.
67. djum nja-ø wa-yi-na  
smoke see-GENRL rise-PAST-ACC  
[He] saw smoke which was rising.
68. guwe wunba yo: badji-ø ba-yi djum wa-yi-na  
then a.while 3SG found-GENRL come-PAST smoke rise-PAST-ACC  
Then after a while he found, he came (across) the rising smoke.
69. gari gam yowa:m yune-nge  
DEM doubt 3DU sleep-PERFV  
They two were probably sleeping here.
70. ŋay gari-ŋa dje-wu  
1SG DEM-ALL go-FUT  
'I will go over to there' (he thinks to himself).
71. djuŋa-ndu guwe yo: ya-nji benju  
vine-INSTR then 3SG go-PERFV up.high  
So he went up high using the vines.
72. gari-ŋa djanjum dje-re-nji  
DEM-ALL close go-CONT-PERFV  
[He] went along up close to there.
73. gu:nem ŋa ba:nji barandje-nji  
hoop.pine and bunya.tree stand-PERFV  
The hoop pine and bunya tree were standing.

74. dadu gu:nem  
tree hoop.pine  
The tree was hoop pine.
75. ya:-ŋe-nji guwe yo: ŋa-dju wandju-ma-wu yowa:m-a  
say-REFL-PERFV then 3SG 1SG-ERG what-FACT-FUT 3DU-ACC  
He said to himself, 'What will I do with them two?'
76. yune-ma-wu bowan-du  
sleep-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT tiredness-INSTR  
[I] will make [them] sleep with tiredness.
77. yima ŋay gaŋga-wu gan wu:ŋ wu:ŋ gaŋge-nge  
do.like.this 1SG call.out-FUT DEM wong wong call.out-IMPERFV  
I will call out like this, "wuwŋ wuwŋ", [I] am calling out.
78. bowan-du yune-ma-wu yowa:m-a  
tiredness-INSTR sleep-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT 3DU-ACC  
[I] will make them sleep with tiredness.
79. ba-yi guwe gari-nma guwe yo: gaŋge-nji  
come-PAST then DEM-EMPH then 3SG call.out-PERFV  
He came here and called out.
80. guyum yowa:m-bu moro-yi guyur dja:-yi  
fire 3DU-ERG stir-PAST food eat-PAST  
They two stirred the fire and ate food.
81. ya:-ye-nji guwe be:ŋa-ø gana djiwi gaŋge-nji-na  
say-RECIP-PERFV then hear-GENRL DEM bird call.out-PERFV-ACC  
[They] were saying to each other, 'Did (you) hear this bird which was calling out?'
82. waga djiwi yi-ŋi yo: mana yi-ŋi  
not bird be-PAST 3SG DEM be-PAST  
It wasn't a bird, he was that one (i.e. it was him).
83. gaŋge-nji wu:ŋ wu:ŋ wu:ŋ  
call.out-PERFV ONOM ONOM ONOM  
[He] called out 'wong wong wong'.
84. waga me:ndi-ø mana djiwi mana  
not chase-GENRL DEM bird DEM  
Those [women] couldn't chase the bird there away.
85. man gam wu:ŋ yaŋga-yi mo:  
DEM probably nest make-PAST DEM  
That [bird] must have made a nest there.
86. gandanbiŋgan-du ya:-yi madja wane-ø yu:gar  
younger.sister-ERG say-PAST DEM leave-IMPER alone  
The younger sister said 'Leave [it] alone there.'

87. guwe ŋa:m yune-∅  
 then 1DU sleep-IMPER  
 'We two should sleep.'
88. yune-nji guwe yowa:m bowan murrungi-nji  
 sleep-PERFV then 3DU tiredness snore-PERFV  
 Then they two slept deeply and snored.
89. yo: njinda-re-nji guwe  
 3SG go.down-CONT-PERFV then  
 Then he came down.
90. muyim yo: bunma-yi njiran-da-wa  
 axe 3SG pull.out-PAST belt-LOC<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 He pulled out the axe (worn in his) belt.
91. dja:-ba guwe yo: barandje-nji  
 ground-LOC<sub>1</sub> then 3SG stand-PERFV  
 He was standing on the ground.
92. ya:-ŋe-nji wandju-ma-∅  
 say-REFL-PERFV what-FACT-GENRL  
 [He] said to himself, 'What [should I] do?'
93. ŋa-dju bu-mgu yowa:m-a  
 1SG-ERG kill-FUT 3DU-ACC  
 Should I kill them?
94. waga ganan yi-ŋi muyim bunma-yi-nda  
 no sorry be-PAST axe pull.out-PAST-SIMULT  
 No' (he decided). [He] was sorry [for them] when [he] pulled out [his] axe.
95. nja-ŋi yu:gar yowa:m-a  
 look.at-PAST just 3DU-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
 [He] just looked at them.
96. wuyar-u djowa-nji ʃu:  
 curse-INSTR blow-PERFV shoo  
 With a curse he blew 'Shoo'
97. doyi ye-∅  
 stone be-IMPER  
 'Be a stone'
98. doyi guwe yowa:m yi-ŋi  
 stone then 3DU be-PAST  
 Then they two were stone.
99. yo: nja-ŋi nja-ŋi guwe guyum  
 3SG see-PAST see-PAST then fire  
 He saw [their] fire.
100. gana guwe yo: wuyar-u djowa-nji ʃu:  
 DEM then 3SG curse-INSTR blow-PERFV shoo  
 Then with a curse he blew 'Shoo.'

101. guŋ ye-ø  
water be-IMPER  
Be water!'
102. guŋ yi-ŋi  
water be-PAST  
It was water.

In this first version of the Black Possum story, McKenzie got confused with the ending. Instead of the hunter turning the women into water and the fire into stone as it should have been, McKenzie here tells it the wrong way around.

103. gari-ŋinu  
DEM-END  
This is the end.
104. wane-ø guwe yowa:m-a  
leave-GENRL then 3DU-ACC  
Then [he] left them.
105. waga guwe  
nothing then  
Nothing more.

### *Version 2*

1. njubanji yi-ŋi  
married.person be-PAST  
There was a married man.
2. njowamgan-baju yi-ŋi  
wife-COMIT be-PAST  
[He] was with his wife.
3. badja guwe ŋayam-ŋayam yi-ŋi  
other.one then single.man-REDUP be-PAST  
The other one [was] a single woman.
4. guwe ya:-ye-ŋi njubanji-ru  
then talk-RECIP-PERFV married.couple-ERG  
The married couple were talking.
5. gandanbiŋgan dje-ndi-yu  
younger.sister go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
(The wife said), '[You] should take my younger sister,
6. gandanbiŋgan dje-ndi-yu gawa-gu gari-yu  
younger.sister go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT scrub-ALL go.in-FUT  
[You] should take my younger sister and go into the scrub.
7. yo:-ru nja-me-yu  
3SG-ERG look.at-AROUND-FUT  
She will look around at [it].

8. da:m mana yanda-wu  
yam DEM dig.up-FUT  
That [sister] will dig up yams.
9. bi:bi wambe-nji-na njumba-ø yo:-ŋa  
fruit hang-PERFV-ACC show-IMPER 3SG-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
Show her the fruit which is hanging.
10. badja-na yo:-ŋa ma:-ngu djan-du  
other.one-ACC 3SG-ACC take-FUT man-ERG  
A man will take (i.e. marry) her another one (i.e. one day).
11. yima-yi  
do.like.this-PAST  
(It should be) like that.
12. njumba-re-ø  
show-CONT-IMPER  
Show [her].
13. gan wura ŋa:m-bu ŋin-du njumba-yi yo:-ŋa  
DEM already 1DU-ERG 2SG-ERG show-PAST 3SG-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
We (lit. we two and you) have already showed this to her.'
14. gudja-ga  
honey-?  
??
15. djarna  
?  
??
16. yima yo:-ŋa yo:we buyi ye-ø ga:rr  
do.like.this 3SG-ACC 3PL carpet.snake be-? porcupine  
??
17. yayimo  
?  
??
18. buyi-ø  
take.away-IMPER  
Take [it] away.
19. yo:waran ya-nme-nji guwe yo:waran guwe dja:  
3PL go-AROUND-PERFV then 3PL then track  
nja-ŋi njowam-bu  
see-PAST husband-ERG  
They were walking around and then the husband saw tracks.
20. giyen mana djawan wa-yi-na  
claw DEM forest.possum climb-PAST-ACC  
Those ones are the claws of a possum which has climbed.

21. go: ya:-yi gara ŋa-dju djawan badji-ø  
 DEM say-PAST DEM 1SG-ERG forest.possum find-GENRL  
 This one (the husband) said, 'I have found a forest possum here.
22. minja-ŋa find-ø djawan  
 what-ACC badji-GENRL forest.possum  
 What have [I] found? A forest possum.
23. gadja minja-ŋa  
 DEM what-ACC  
 What is here?
24. gugunde ya-ni  
 scrub.possum go-PAST  
 The scrub possum went.
25. yuŋam-ba ma:gunj yi-ye ma:gunj  
 front-LOC<sub>1</sub> stump be-PRES stump  
 Ahead there is a stump, a stump.
26. maʔa dadu gamŋe-nji ma:gunj guwe wane-yi  
 ? tree break-PERFV stump then leave-PAST  
 The tree had broken off and then left a stump.'
27. wa-yi guwe yo:  
 climb-PAST then 3SG  
 He climbed up.
28. ŋa-dju ŋowa:m-a ya:-yi ba:ri-ø mana  
 1SG-ERG 2DU-ACC say-PAST bring-IMPER DEM  
 I said to you two, 'Bring that one (a branch).
29. ŋa-dju goro:mga ga:-ø ŋay wa-wu  
 1SG-ERG fork cut-GENRL 1SG climb-FUT  
 I will cut a fork and I will climb up.'
30. wa-yi-nji  
 climb-PAST-PERFV  
 [He] climbed up.
31. gari-nma yo: wa-yi  
 DEM-EMPH 3SG climb.up-PAST  
 He climbed up here.
32. ma:-nji guwe  
 reach-PERFV then  
 Then [he] reached (over the top of the stump).
33. bayel-gu ma:-nji yo: gugunde  
 fur-PURP feel-PERFV 3SG scrub.possum  
 He felt for the fur [of] a scrub possum.
34. nja-ŋi gan-ma gana  
 look.at-PAST DEM-EMPH DEM  
 This (hunter) looked here.



35. gam garu nja-ø  
 probably one see-GENRL  
 [He] can probably see one [possum].
36. nala ya:-ŋe-nji yowa:m  
 soul say-REFL-PERFV 3DU  
 They were both thinking to themselves.
37. bunma-ø  
 take.out-GENRL  
 [He] took (one possum) out.
38. bu-mi  
 kill-PAST  
 [He] killed [it].
39. badja-na bunma-ø bu-mi  
 other.one-ACC take.out-GENRL kill-PAST  
 [He] took another one out and killed it.
40. badja-na yima-yi-me badja  
 other.one-ACC do.like.this-PAST-REPET other.one  
 [He] did that again to another one, and another one.
41. ŋa:ba-yi guwe yima-yi gari-nji  
 pass-PAST then do.like.this-PAST enter-PERFV  
 [He] went past and entered like before (i.e. he felt down deeper).
42. bi: guwe mana yiya-yi mo:  
 finger then DEM bite-PAST DEM  
 Then that [possum] bit his finger.
43. bi: yiya-yi  
 finger bite-PAST  
 [It] bit his finger.
44. diyen buŋunda-yi mana guwe yo: bugur-nu  
 mouth open-PAST DEM then 3SG throat-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 So he opened that [possum's] mouth at the throat.
45. diyen buŋunda-ø  
 mouth open-GENRL  
 [He] opened its mouth.
46. bu-mi guwe ŋa-dju  
 kill-PAST then 1SG-ERG  
 I killed [it].
47. gaŋge-nji guwe yo: yowa:m-gari  
 call.out-PERFV then 3SG 3DU-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 Then he called out to them two.
48. gana wamba-nge waga+na dja:-ø  
 DEM put-IMPERFV don't+DEM eat-IMPER  
 '[I] am putting this one [aside], don't eat this one.

49. diyir man ŋay-waŋi  
blood DEM 1SG-ABL<sub>2</sub>  
That one has blood from me (on it).
50. diyir ŋay-waŋu bi:-nu bunma-yi mana diyir ba-yi  
blood 1SG-ABL<sub>1</sub> finger-ABL<sub>1</sub> take.out-PAST DEM blood come-PAST  
That one took out blood from my finger, blood has come.
51. ŋowa:m-a ŋa-dju biya-ø ŋa-dju biye-nji  
2DU-ACC 1SG-ERG throw-GENRL 1SG-ERG throw-PERFV  
I threw [this one] to you two, I threw it.'
52. gandanbiŋgan-du guwe ya:-yi yima-yi-me  
younger.sister-ERG then say-PAST do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
Then the younger sister said, '[He] always does that (i.e. that is typical of him).
53. mem-ŋa mana guyur mem-ŋa  
fat-CON DEM food fat-CON  
That one is fat (with) food, (it is) fat.
54. mana ŋa:m-bu dja:-wu  
DEM 1DU-ERG eat-FUT  
We two should eat that one.
55. ŋa-dju mana gorom-ŋa njumba-ø ma:gunj-ba mara  
1SG-ERG DEM fork-CON push-GENRL stump-DAT<sub>1</sub> DEM  
I am going to push the forked [stick] away from the stump there.
56. ŋa-dju yo:-ŋa wane-ø  
1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC leave-GENRL  
I am going to leave him.
57. minja-ŋgu ŋin-du duŋa-ø  
what-PURP 2SG-ERG cry-GENRL  
What are you crying for?
58. wane-ø  
leave-IMPER  
Leave [him].
59. ba-ø mo:-ø mana guyur  
come-IMPER gather-IMPER DEM food  
Come and gather up the food.'
60. mo:-me-nji ya-nji yowa:m  
gather-AROUND-PERFV go-PERFV 3DU  
So [she] gathered up [all the possums] and they two went.
61. ya-nji  
go-PERFV  
[They] went.

62. gadji wura  
DEM already  
??
63. yo: dawari-nji yo: dawari-nji  
3SG follow-PERFV 3SG follow-PERFV  
He followed, he (continually) followed [them].

This is an example of the anticipatory style used in the telling of stories.

64. buran guwe ba-yi  
wind then come-PAST  
Then the wind came.
65. djuja ma:-nji  
vine grab-PERFV  
[He] grabbed a vine.
66. dare-nji wambe-nji guwe yo: dadu-nda badja-na  
swing-PERFV lean.against-PERFV then 3SG tree-LOC<sub>1</sub> other.one-ACC  
[He] swung and then he leaned against another tree.
67. gari-nma guwe njinda-yi  
DEM-EMPH then go.down-PAST  
[He] went down on that.
68. dja:-ba barandje-nji  
ground-LOC<sub>1</sub> stand-PERFV  
[He] stood on the ground.
69. djan ya-ni  
man go-PAST  
The man went.
70. dawari-nji dawari-nji yowa:m-a  
follow-PERFV follow-PERFV 3DU-ACC  
[He] followed them two.
71. gurruy gere-nji ŋo:  
rain pour.down-PERFV night  
Rain poured down in the night.
72. dulara-me barandje-ø yu:  
morning-SPEC stand-GENRL just  
In the morning, [he] just stood (there).
73. yana-ø  
go-GENRL  
[He] went on.
74. nja-ø hara  
look-GENRL EXCL  
[He] looked, 'Aha'.

75. bayer-nu wa- $\emptyset$   
 mountain-LOC<sub>3</sub> climb.up-GENRL  
 [He] climbed up the mountain side.
76. njinda- $\emptyset$  man guwe yo: nja-nji  
 go.down-GENRL DEM then 3SG look-PAST  
 Then he looked down there.
77. guwe nja-nge djum  
 then see-IMPERFV smoke  
 Then [he] sees smoke.
78. hara gari moro-nje-nge gari  
 EXCL DEM make-REFL-IMPERFV DEM  
 'Aha, [they] are camping here.'
79. dje-nji-nji yowa:m-a  
 go-PERFV-PERFV 3DU-ACC  
 [He] went towards them.
80. njinda-yi  
 go.down-PERFV  
 [He] went down.
81. be:nja- $\emptyset$  yo: wandju-ma- $\emptyset$  yowa:m-gari  
 think-GENRL 3SG what-FACT-GENRL 3DU-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 He was thinking, 'What am I going to do to them?'
82. nja-dju yowa:m-a nja- $\emptyset$   
 1SG-ERG 3DU-ACC see-GENRL  
 I can see them two.
83. njin-gu gadji-ma gadji-ma  
 2SG-? DEM-EMPH DEM-EMPH  
 ??
84. nja-dju gadji-ma ya:-wu  
 1SG-ERG DEM-EMPH tell-FUT  
 I'll tell [them] here.
85. gangga-yi goro:man njay gangga- $\emptyset$  waga goro:man  
 call.out-PAST kangaroo 1SG call.out-GENRL don't kangaroo  
 I called out [like a] kangaroo, don't call out [like a] kangaroo.
86. guwe wu:n go: gangga-nji wu:n wu:n wu:n wu:n  
 then pigeon DEM call.out-PERFV wong wong wong wong  
 Then this (hunter) called like a pigeon 'wong wong wong wong'.
87. dje-re-nji guwe  
 go-CONT-PERFV then  
 Then [he] crept along.
88. djuja-nda yo: dje-re-nji  
 vine-LOC<sub>1</sub> 3SG go-CONT-PERFV  
 He went along in the vines (so that they wouldn't see him).

89. dadu-nda gari-nma njinda-yi  
tree-LOC<sub>1</sub> DEM-EMPH go.down-PAST  
[He] went down on the tree here.
90. gan̄ga-yi wu:ŋ wu:ŋ wu:ŋ wu:ŋ  
call.out-PAST wong wong wong wong  
[He] called out ‘wong wong wong wong’.
91. dja:-ba barandje-n  
ground-LOC<sub>1</sub> stand-SUDDEN  
Then [he] suddenly stood on the ground.
92. bamba-yi mana muyim mana yowa:m-a djaŋi bunma-ø  
kill-PAST DEM axe DEM 3DU-ACC almost take.out-GENRL  
[He] almost killed them [when he] took out [his] axe.
93. yo: muyim njiran bunma-ø yi-ŋi guwe nja-ŋi  
3SG axe belt pull.out-GENRL be-PAST then look.at-PAST  
He pulled the axe out of his belt and then looked at (it to see what it was).
94. waga ŋa-dju bu-mgu  
no 1SG-ERG kill-FUT  
‘No, I won’t kill [them].’
95. muyim gemanga ŋa-dju gayi muyim  
axe ? 1SG-ERG ? axe  
??
96. biye nja-ŋi  
back see-PAST  
[He] saw [it] back(wards).
97. njiran-da biye ga:wa-yi  
belt-LOC<sub>1</sub> back put-PAST  
[He] put [the axe] in his belt back(wards).
98. yu: ŋa-dju wuyar-u gaye-ma-yi  
just 1SG-ERG curse-INSTR turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST  
‘I just changed [them] with a magic curse.
99. minja-ŋa ŋa-dju guŋ guyum mana doyi  
what-ACC 1SG-ERG water fire DEM stone  
I don’t know what yet, water, fire, stone?’
100. bu:ŋi-nji guwe yowa:m-a  
blow-PERFV then 3DU-ACC  
Then [he] blew on them.
101. fu: guŋ ye-ø  
shoo water be-IMPER  
‘Shoo, be water!’
102. fu: doyi guwe guyum mana  
shoo stone then fire DEM  
Shoo, and then the fire [be] stone!’

103. yowa:m guŋ ye-ø  
 3DU water be-GENRL  
 They two were water.
104. ŋa-dju gadji wane-ø yowa:m-a  
 1SG-ERG DEM leave-GENRL 3DU-ACC  
 I left them two here.
105. gari-ŋinu  
 DEM-END  
 This is finished now.

## 2. *The Brolga*

The brolga (*Grus rubicunda*), also known as the native companion or Australian crane, congregates in pairs or groups in open swamps or pastures. They are renowned for their meeting ritual whereby one brolga flies down to a group of standing brolgas and as it lands bounces lightly and then outstretches its wings and bows to one of these brolgas. This brolga bounces and bows in reply, and then all the other birds in the flock begin this ceremonial dance by spreading their wings, lifting their feet and bowing their heads.<sup>54</sup>

This story is about how the small brolgas learnt their call and dance. One day a brolga was on his way home from the lagoon when he passed some small brolgas. He couldn't understand why they were not playing, so he went to them. They were under cover where the sun didn't shine. He asked them why they were standing under the trees in the dark and why they didn't dance like the other brolgas. The small brolgas asked him what was 'dance'. He told them that dancing is what the large grown-up brolgas do. He said to them that he would come past tomorrow before sundown (while they are still awake) and would sing his call to them so that they could learn it. He also told them that he will take them to the sandy stretch in order to show them how the big brolgas make a corroboree. He said that they should tell all the others to come to learn to sing and dance. So the next the brolga came just before sundown and the small birds were standing around waiting. They came out from under cover and he said to them that he would sing so that the small birds could learn the corroboree from him. And this is what they did.

1. gawurre yi-ŋi yo:  
 a.long.time.ago be-PAST 3SG  
 He was (from) a long time ago.
2. ŋanjamerr nja-ø  
 brolga+ABS(S) look-GENRL  
 The brolga looked.
3. yo: ya-nme-ŋji njande-gu  
 3SG go-AROUND-PERFV swamp-ALL  
 He went around towards the swamp.

<sup>54</sup> *Encyclopedia of Wildlife*. Sydney: Reader's Digest. 1997.

4. wambe-nji guyur-gu  
float-PERFV food-PURP  
[He] was floating [in the sky looking] for food.
5. guyur-gu mana yo:-ri gaye-nge guyur-gu bu-mgu-wa  
food-PURP DEM 3SG-GEN look-IMPERFV food-PURP kill-FUT-PURP  
yo:-ri yo: dja:-wu  
3SG-PURP 3SG eat-FUT  
That [brolga] was looking for his food, in order to kill food for him to eat.
6. guwe yo: gaye-nji guwe djujudjuju  
then 3SG look-PERFV then evening  
Then he is looking in the evening.
7. guwe ŋuwim njinda-yi-nda yo: dje-nji yowan-a  
then sun go.down-PAST-SIMULT 3SG go-PERFV 3PL-ACC  
Then when the sun was setting he went to them.
8. guwe nja-ŋji goromda-na  
then see-PAST few-ACC  
He saw a few (young birds).
9. mana guwe yo: djiwi nja-ø barandje-nge bari-bari  
DEM then 3SG bird see-GENRL stand-IMPERFV small-REDUP  
Then he saw birds, little ones, standing around there.
10. wage: yune-nge  
not.yet sleep-IMPERFV  
[They] are not asleep yet.
11. mana yo: waran yune-nge  
DEM 3PL sleep-IMPERFV  
They are all sleeping there.
12. yayumba guwe man wanja ŋuwim njinda-ø ŋa-dju  
soon then DEM when sun go.down-GENRL 1SG-ERG  
yo:wan-a yu: ya:-le-yu  
3PL-ACC just talk-CONT-FUT  
Soon, when the sun goes down, I will just be talking to them.
13. ŋa-ri guwe yo:we  
1SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> then 3PL  
They are all (listening) to me.
14. gara bunjaŋ-u wabe-ø ŋay-wa  
DEM in.front-LOC<sub>3</sub> wait-IMPER 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
'Wait here in front for me.
15. guwe ŋay ba-ye binjgu  
then 1SG come-PRES tomorrow  
I am coming tomorrow.'

16. binjgu guwe nja-wu barandje-na  
tomorrow then see-FUT stand-ACC  
Tomorrow [I] will see the ones (i.e. the birds) who are standing (here).
17. ηay dje-nji  
1SG come-PERFV  
I came.
18. ηa-dju yo:wan-a ya:-wu  
1SG-ERG 3PL-ACC speak-FUT  
I'll speak to them all (before they go to sleep).
19. yima-yi gembe-nge gari djawun-u ηa-rinj-u  
do.like.this-PAST play-IMPERFV DEM homeland-LOC<sub>3</sub> 1SG-GEN-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
[We] are playing like that at my homeland here.
20. gari-ηi wane-∅ guwe  
DEM-LOC leave-GENRL then  
[I] left here.
21. dje-nji guwe ηay  
go-PERFV then 1SG  
Then I went.
22. dje-re-re dje-nji  
go-CONT-CONT go-PERFV  
[I] flew and went.
23. ηa-dju yo:wan-a ya:-yi guwe ηuwe: nja-∅  
1SG-ERG 3PL-ACC tell-PAST then 2PL look-IMPER  
I told them, 'You all look (out for me).
24. ηay guwe ba-ye binjgu  
1SG then come-PRES tomorrow  
I am coming tomorrow.
25. gari-nma guwe nja-∅ gidi wanja ηay ba-wu  
DEM-EMPH then look.at-IMPER light when 1SG come-FUT  
Look at the light here when I come.
26. yandi-∅ guwe ηa-dju yowar  
sing-GENRL then 1SG-ERG corroboree  
I will then sing a corroboree.'
27. njinda-∅ yima-yi-me guwe yo: yo:we-ri  
go.down-GENRL do.like.this-PAST-REPET then 3SG 3PL-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
gari-nma ba-ye  
DEM-EMPHI come-PRES  
In the same way, he comes down there to them here.
28. ηalgan bulan ba-n  
? heaven come-SUDDEN  
[He] came [from] the heavens.



29. wura  
finished  
That is finished.
30. gari-nma wane-ø  
DEM-EMPH leave-IMPER  
Leave it here.
31. ba-yi  
come-PAST  
[He] came.

### 3. *The Carpet Snake and the Children*<sup>55</sup>

A mother and father had to go away from their camp. They told their two children to play only in a certain area, which the father marks with a circle. When the mother and father returned in the evening they couldn't find their children. There was a waterhole nearby where a carpet snake had been lying undisturbed for a long time. They looked at the still water in this gully and they saw something sticking out of it. They realised that the snake had taken their children. Waves started to form in the water and they were able to look into it more deeply. They saw their two children down there. The carpet snake had turned them into stone.

1. gima-wam yi-ŋi  
boy-DU be-PAST  
There were two boys.
2. babiya ŋa dudu wane-ø yowa:m-a  
father and mother leave-GENRL 3DU-ACC  
The father and mother left them both.
3. yo:waran ya-nme-ŋji  
3PL go-AROUND-PERFV  
They went around.
4. ya:-ø yowa:m-a waga ŋin-du wane-ø gana  
say-GENRL 3DU-ACC don't 2SG-ERG leave-IMPER DEM  
[They] said to them two, 'Don't you leave here.
5. waga wane-ø gana guyum  
don't leave-IMPER DEM camp  
Don't leave this camp.'
6. dja: guwe dunme-ma-yi  
ground then mark-FACT-PAST  
Then [he] marked the ground.
7. yurumbar yangga-yi  
sand make-PAST  
[He] made [it in] the sand.

<sup>55</sup> This was originally a Batjala story which is told here in Duuŋidjawu.

8.      gari-nma    ye-∅        guwe  
 DEM-EMPH   be-GENRL   then  
 It is there.
9.      gari-nji    ɲowa:m    gembe-∅  
 DEM-LOC   2DU        play-IMPER  
 ‘You two play here.
10.     wanja badje yi-gu    ba-∅        djawun-gu    gembe-∅  
 when tired be-FUT come-IMPER homeland-ALL play-IMPER  
 njara:-wanju  
 ?-COMIT  
 When [you] become tired come to the homeland and play with ?
11.     ɲa:m    guwe    yere-nge  
 1DL    then    go.home-IMPERFV  
 We two will be coming home soon.
12.     waga    guwe    yana-∅  
 don’t then    go-IMPER  
 Don’t go away (from here).
13.     bu-mbe-ya badja-nu        djan-du  
 kill-PRES-? other.one-LOC<sub>3</sub> man-ERG  
 A man might kill [you both] somewhere.
14.     gara-nma    gembe-∅    djanjum-u  
 DEM-EMPH   play-IMPER close-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 Play right here close by.’
15.     ya-nji  
 go-PERFV  
 [They] went away.
16.     yo:wan    njubanji        ya-nji        wa:rre-nji  
 3PL        married.couple go-PERFV    hunt-PERFV  
 The married couple went and hunted.
17.     gima-wam    wane-∅        gadji-ma    guyum-ba  
 boy-DL       leave-GENRL DEM-EMPH   camp-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 ??
18.     man    guwe    yowa:m    gembe-nji    gari-ma  
 DEM    then    3DL        play-PERFV   DEM-EMPH  
 They two were playing right here.
19.     gembe-nji  
 play-PERFV  
 [They two] were playing.
20.     guwe    badja-ru        ya:-yi        gandanbiɲ-gu        djanjum-u  
 then    other.one-ERG say-PAST    younger.brother-ERG close-LOC<sub>3</sub>

- gara ŋa:m dje-ø  
 DEM 1DL go-IMPER  
 Then one of them said, 'Younger brother let's go closer to there.'
21. gari-ŋa ŋa:m dje-yu wa-wu yurumbar-nu  
 DEM-ALL 1DL go-FUT climb-FUT sand.hill-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 We two will go to there and climb up on the sand hill.
22. yurumbar-nu guwe dje-yu gari-ma gaŋa:-nu  
 sand.hill-LOC<sub>3</sub> then go-FUT DEM-EMPH top-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 [We two] will go to the top of the sand hill here.
23. eʔe  
 EXCL  
 Good.
24. dje-ŋji guwe  
 go-PERFV then  
 So [they] went.
25. gembe-ŋji yowa:m gari-nma  
 play-PERFV 3DL DEM-EMPH  
 So they two played here.
26. guwe murin-du guwe ya:-yi gari-ŋa guwe ŋa:m dje-yu  
 then elder.brother-ERG then say-PAST DEM-ALL then 1DL go-FUT  
 Then the elder brother said, 'Let's go over there.'
27. gari guwe wa-ø yurumbar mana  
 DEM then climb.up-IMPER sand.hill DEM  
 Let's climb up that sand hill here.
28. ŋa:m-bu gari-ŋa galaŋ nja-wu  
 1DU-ERG DEM-ALL well see-FUT  
 We two will see well from here.'
29. dja: galaŋ  
 ground good  
 The ground was good.
30. yima-yi  
 do.like.this-PAST  
 [They] did it like that.
31. yo:wan mana guwe ya:-wu  
 3PL DEM then say-FUT  
 ??
32. gari-nma gembe-me-ŋji  
 DEM-EMPH play-AROUND-PERFV  
 [They two] were playing around here.
33. yina-nda guwe yi-ŋi  
 gully-LOC<sub>1</sub> then be-PAST  
 It was in a gully.

34. buyi ye-ø njnɲangurra buyi  
 carpet.snake be-GENRL creation.time carpet.snake  
 It is a carpet snake from the creation time, a carpet snake.
35. yowa:m-a ya:-yi waga+ra waga buyi buma-ø  
 3DU-ACC say-PAST don't+DEM don't carpet.snake kill-IMPER  
 (Their father) had said to them two, 'Don't ever kill the carpet snake.'
36. waga yima-ø  
 don't do.that-IMPER  
 Don't do that.'
37. yo: wane-ø  
 3SG leave-IMPER  
 He left [it].
38. njin-du ɲa:m-bu be:ɲa-ø gari-ɲi  
 2SG-ERG 1DU-ERG hear-GENRL DEM-LOC  
 We two heard [about the carpet snake] here.
39. nja-ɲi guwe yowa:m-bu buyi mana yune-nji-na  
 look.at-PAST then 1DU-ERG carpet.snake DEM lie-PERFV-ACC  
 The two of them looked at the carpet snake which lay there.
40. gira-yi  
 wake-PAST  
 [They] woke [it] up.
41. gandanbiɲ-gu gira-yi  
 younger.brother-ERG wake-PAST  
 The younger brother woke [it] up.
42. buyi mana ya-nji guwe  
 carpet.snake DEM go-PERFV then  
 Then the carpet snake went away.
43. gari-ɲa guwe dje-nji guɲ-u  
 DEM-ALL then go-PERFV water-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 Then [it] went into the water.
44. guɲ djanjum-u yi-ɲi yina mana  
 water close-LOC<sub>3</sub> be-PAST gully DEM  
 The water was close in the gully??
45. gari-ɲa guwe buyi ya-nji man guwe yowa:m-bu  
 DEM-ALL then carpet.snake go-PERFV DEM then 3DU-ERG  
 bamba-re-nji  
 hit-CONT-PERFV  
 Then the carpet snake went away there and then they both beat that [snake].
46. dadu-ndu waga  
 stick-INSTR no  
 Using a stick was no good.

47. buyi mana yu:gar guwe dje-nji  
 carpet.snake DEM just then go-PERFV  
 The carpet snake just went away.
48. mowanin mana yi-nji  
 enormous DEM be-PAST  
 It was enormous.
49. munğaya-ø mowanin-a bamba-re-nji  
 stop-GENRL big-ACC hit-CONT-PERFV  
 [They] stopped hitting the big [carpet snake].
50. guŋ-ga gari-nji  
 water-LOC<sub>1</sub> enter-PERFV  
 [It] went into the water.
51. dari-nji-nji yowa:m-a guwe  
 pull-PERFV-PERFV 3DU-ACC then  
 Then [it] pulled the two of them.
52. dari-nji-nji  
 pull-PERFV-PERFV  
 [It] pulled [them two].
53. ma:-nji yowa:m-bu ban mana-wa  
 grab-PERFV 3DU-ERG seaweed DEM-?  
 They two were grabbing the seaweed.
54. wara-ŋana bunma-yi mana  
 root-? pull.out-PAST DEM  
 Those [children] pulled out the roots (of the seaweed).
55. dadu-nu ma:-nji guwe  
 tree-LOC<sub>3</sub> hold-PERFV then  
 So [they] held on to a tree.
56. gurema-ø waga  
 hold.tightly-GENRL not  
 [They] couldn't hold [on to it] tightly.
57. ma:-nji mana wara-ŋana bunma-yi  
 grab-PERFV DEM root-? pull.out-PAST  
 Those [children] grabbed it and pulled the roots out.
58. man guyur-u dari-ya-nji yowa:m-a buyi-ndu  
 DEM thing-ERG pull-?-PERFV 3DU-ACC carpet.snake-ERG  
 That thing pulled them two, the carpet snake [pulled them].
59. guŋ djanjum-u wane-ø  
 water close-LOC<sub>3</sub> leave-GENRL  
 [It] left [them] close to the water.
60. ma:-nji guwe yowa:m-a  
 grab-PERFV then 3DU-ACC  
 Then [it] grabbed them two.

61. djun gaye-ma-yi  
tail turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST  
[It] swung its tail.
62. ma:-nji dari-nji guŋ gari-nji  
grab-PERFV pull-PERFV water enter-PERFV  
[It] grabbed [them], and pulled them into the water.
63. dje-ndi-nji mo: gunu-gu  
go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV DEM deep.below-ALL  
[It] took those ones to deep below.
64. buyi gari-nma yi-ŋi ŋiŋgaurra  
carpet.snake DEM-EMPH be-PAST creation.time  
The carpet snake here was (from) the creation time.
65. gari-nma guwe doyi  
DEM-EMPH then stone  
[They] are stone here.
66. yowa:m-a dje-ndi-nji  
3DU-ACC go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
[It] took the two of them.
67. nala-nu guwe ga:wa-yi  
cave-LOC<sub>3</sub> then put-PAST  
Then [it] put [them] in a cave.
68. nala-nu ga:wa-yi  
cave-LOC<sub>3</sub> put-PAST  
[It] put [them] in a cave.
69. guŋ ba:l yi-ŋi  
water salt be-PAST  
It was salt water.
70. guŋ-gu gari-ma dja: yowa:m-a ga:wa-yi  
water-ALL DEM-EMPH ground 3DU-ACC put-PAST  
[It] put them two here on the ground in the water.
71. babiyami domnji yere-re-nji guwe djuyu  
father mother go.home-CONT-PERFV then evening  
In the evening, the father and mother went home.
72. yo:we-ri nja-re-nji  
3PL-PURP look-CONT-PERFV  
[They] looked for them.
73. yo:we-ri gaye-nji  
3PL-PURP look-PERFV  
[They] looked for their [children].
74. wanju mana yi-ŋi  
where DEM be-PAST  
Where were [they]?

75. waga gembe-nge gara  
not play-IMPERFV DEM  
[They] are not playing here.
76. nja-me-nji yo:wan ya-nji badja-rin  
look-AROUND-PERFV 3PL go-PERFV other.one-PL  
They were looking around and the other ones went.
77. dudu mana mowali-nji  
mother DEM wail-PERFV  
The mother was wailing.
78. babiya mana  
father DEM  
??
79. wanja mana wane-ø  
wonder DEM leave-GENRL  
[I] wonder why [they] left.
80. wanja gam gana mo: wane-ø  
where doubt DEM DEM leave-GENRL  
I wonder why those ones left here?
81. wandju-ma-ø ya-nji gi mo: wane-ø  
how-FACT-GENRL go-PERFV ? DEM leave-GENRL  
??
82. ya-nji gan minja  
go-PERFV DEM ?  
??
83. djan man gan minja  
man DEM DEM ?  
Ask those men??
84. gari-ŋa guwe yo:we ya-nji  
DEM-ALL then 3PL go-PERFV  
Where could they have gone to?
85. dja: mana nja-wu  
track DEM look.at-FUT  
Those ones (i.e. the parents) will look at the tracks.
86. buyi yowa:m-bu badji-ø ya-na nja-ø  
carpet.snake 3DU-ERG find-GENRL go-ACC see-GENRL  
They two found the carpet snake and saw [the tracks] which were going [there].
87. buyi badji-ø ŋinŋangurra  
carpet.snake find-GENRL creation.time  
[They] found the carpet snake (from) the creation time.

88. dadu mana yowa:m-bu bu-mi-wa  
stick DEM 3DU-ERG hit-PAST-DESID  
They two wanted to kill that [carpet snake] with a stick.
89. waga bu-mi  
not kill-PAST  
[They] couldn't kill [it].
90. mil mana yi-ŋi  
alive DEM be-PAST  
That (carpet snake) was still alive.
91. dadu mana gamŋe-nji  
stick DEM break-PERFV  
The stick was broken.
92. bu-mi-wa  
hit-PAST-DESID  
[They] wanted to hit [it].
93. dadu gamŋe-nji bu:djuŋ  
stick break-PERFV rotten  
The stick was broken, [it was] rotten.
94. gari-nji  
enter-PERFV  
[The carpet snake] went in.
95. dje-ndi-nji mana yowa:m-a guŋ djanjum-u da:n danumarra  
go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV DEM 3DU-ACC water close-ABL<sub>1</sub> edge shore  
That (carpet snake) took them two into the water from close to the shore edge.
96. djun gaye-ma-yi yima-yi  
tail turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST do.like.this-PAST  
Like before, [it] swung its tail [around them].
97. ma:-nji guwe yowa:m-a  
grab-PERFV then 3DU-ACC  
[It] grabbed them two.
98. dari-re-nji  
pull-CONT-PERFV  
[It] pulled [them] along.
99. waga guwe guŋ-ga dari-nji  
not then water-LOC<sub>1</sub> pull-PERFV  
??
100. dari-ø yowa:m-a gari-ŋa gunu-gu  
pull-GENRI. 3DU-ACC DEM-ALL. deep.below-ALL.  
[It] pulled them two to deep below into there.



101. dari- $\emptyset$   
pull-GENRL  
[It] pulled [them] in.
102. gunu-gu ga:wa-yi nala gari-ndi-nji  
deep.below-ALL put-PAST hole enter-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
[It] put [them] to deep below, pulled them into a hole.
103. doyi guwe yowa:m yi-nji  
stone then 3DU be-PAST  
Then they two were stone.
104. gadji-ma yowa:m mo: wane- $\emptyset$   
DEM-EMPH 3DU DEM leave-GENRL  
That [carpet snake] left them two here.
105. ga:wa-yi gunu-nda  
put-PAST deep.below-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
[It] put [them] deep below.
106. nuwim njinda-nda gari- $\eta$ a njubanji yere-nji  
sun go.down-SIMULT DEM-ALL married.couple go.home-PERFV  
When the sun went down the married couple went home.
107. gidi-ya man gurema-yi gari-nma buyi-ndu  
light-LOC<sub>1</sub> DEM hold.tightly-PAST DEM-EMPH carpet.snake-ERG  
The carpet snake held them tightly in the light here.
108. yima-yi-me  
do.this-PAST-REPET  
[It] did that again.
109. waga binda-yi  
not release-PAST  
[It] didn't release [them].
110. gayendji du:m  
? ?  
??
111. yo:wan nja-me-nji wanja yima-yi  $\eta$ a:m-gari  
3PL look-AROUND-PERFV where do.like.this-PAST 1DU-GEN  
They were looking around, 'Where are our (children)?'
112. waga badja-rin-du nja- $\eta$ i  
no other.one-PL-ERG see-PAST  
No others had seen [them].
113. yu: dja: mana nja- $\eta$ i  
only track DEM see-PAST  
Those (parents) had only seen tracks.
114. gari- $\eta$ a mo: guwe  
DEM-ALL DEM then  
Those [tracks went] to there.

115. badji- $\emptyset$  guwe mana buyi yune-nji-na  
 find-GENRL then DEM carpet.snake sleep-PERFV-ACC  
 Then those [parents] found the carpet snake which was sleeping.
116. gawurre njin-du ya:-yi gana yo:  
 a.long.time.ago 2SG-ERG say-PAST DEM 3SG  
 A long time ago you said, 'This is him'.
117. waga go: yana- $\emptyset$  gira- $\emptyset$  buyi gaye- $\emptyset$   
 don't DEM go-IMPER wake-IMPER carpet.snake change-IMPER  
 Don't go and wake the carpet snake up, change it (into something).
118. gawurre njin gari-nja  
 a.long.time.ago 2SG go.in-?  
 A long time ago you went in.
119. waga gira-yi yima njunam-bu  
 not wake-PAST do.like.this children-ERG  
 The children did not wake up like this.
120. wane- $\emptyset$  mana  
 leave-IMPER DEM  
 Leave that [carpet snake].
121. wane-yi ya- $\emptyset$   
 leave-PAST go-GENRL  
 [They] left [it] and went.
122. man guwe buyi nja-nji guwe dulara-me  
 DEM then carpet.snake see-PAST then early.morning-SPEC  
 njine-nji-na  
 stay-PERFV-ACC  
 Those [parents] saw the carpet snake early in the morning which was  
 staying there.
123. nja-nji gari- $\eta$ a gu $\eta$ -u  
 see-PAST DEM-ALL water-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 [They] saw [it] over there in the water.
124. gu $\eta$  ba:l guwe gembe-nji mana  
 water salt then play-PERFV DEM  
 That one was playing in the salt water.
125. nja-nji guwe  $\eta$ wim-ba dje-ndi-nge  
 see-PAST then sun-LOC<sub>1</sub> go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-IMPERFV  
 [They] saw [it] take [things] in the day (lit. in the sun).
126. nja-nji nja- $\emptyset$  yayumba dje-ndi-nge  $\eta$ wim-ba  
 see-PAST see-GENRL soon go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-IMPERFV sun-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 Soon, [they] saw [it] take [things] in the day.
127. dom-djin be: $\eta$ e-nji  
 tribal.mother-PL know-PERFV  
 The tribal mothers knew.

128. yowa:m-a gari-ma gurema-yi buyi-ndu  
 3DU-ACC DEM-EMPH hold.tightly-PAST carpet.snake-ERG  
 The carpet snake held them two tightly here.
129. doyi guwe ye-ø  
 stone then be-GENRL  
 Then [they] are stone.
130. gawurre ŋin-du ya:-yi  
 a.long.time.ago 2SG-ERG say-PAST  
 A long time ago you said [this].
131. dari-ŋji yowa:m-a  
 pull-PERFV 3DU-ACC  
 [It] pulled them two (into the water).
132. buyi-ndu ma doyi guwe ye-ø yowa:m-a  
 carpet.snake-ERG ? stone then be-GENRL 3DU-ACC  
 The carpet snake made them two be stone??
133. doyi guwe barandje-nge  
 stone then stand-IMPERFV  
 [They] are stones standing [there].
134. guŋ-u nja-ø ba:l dje-nge yimun-ba-nu  
 water-LOC<sub>3</sub> see-GENRL salt move-IMPERFV middle-?-?  
 [They] see [them] moving in the middle of the salty water.
135. yowa:m-a nja-ø guwe gara neyeŋ-u  
 3DU-ACC see-GENRL then DEM outside-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 [Those ones] saw them two here from the outside.
136. gari-ŋa nja-ø guwe yowa:m-a  
 DEM-ALL look.at-GENRL then 3DU-ACC  
 [They] look at them there.
137. man guwe mo: yowa:m-a  
 DEM then DEM 3DU-ACC  
 That is them two over there.
138. man njine-nge  
 DEM sit-IMPERFV  
 [They] are sitting there.
139. doyi guwe ye-ø  
 stone then be-GENRL  
 [They] are stone.
140. gari-ŋinu  
 DEM-END  
 This is finished now.

#### 4. *The Carpet Snake and the Storm*

There was a time when storms kept coming from the west and it became really cold and miserable for the people. One day, a particularly bad storm came and tore down the whole camp and killed the babies. So the old men of the Bora got together and decided to send one man away to find out why this had happened.<sup>56</sup> So the leader chose a clever man and gave him a very sharp spear. The leader told him that when he saw whoever was causing this bad weather, he was to throw this spear and if it went through a leaf and stood in the ground, then he was to kill him. If the spear did not pierce the leaf he was only to wound him and teach him a lesson.

So the clever man headed off and as he walked along he called out challenging this person to battle. Eventually, he heard a response coming from on top of a mountain.<sup>57</sup> So he zigzagged his way to the top of that mountain. Then he came to a cave and a very old man with a long beard was sleeping beside the fire there. From behind some bushes he watched the old man wake up. The old man went to the edge of the mountain and yelled out for the rain to stop. He realised that this must be the man who was causing the storms. The leaf test revealed that he should kill him. So he threw his spear at him and it pinned the old man's arms together. Then the old man fell into the fire and rolled around in the hot ashes which burnt and marked his skin. In his pain he writhed out of the cave and rolled down the mountain into the gully. The clever man decided that rather than killing the old man he would turn him into a carpet snake so that he would have to live in the cold and wet.

So this was how the carpet snake got its markings and why it always tries to find the driest and warmest place to stay during winter.

1.     gan    guwe   ya:-ye-nji        ŋinŋangurra  
      DEM   then   talk-RECIP-PERFV   creation.time  
      In the creation time [people] were talking.
2.     waga   guwe   ŋiyarr   yi-ŋi  
      not   then   cold     be-PAST  
      It was not cold.
3.     ŋuwimgan-me  
      summer-SPEC  
      [There was] only summer.
4.     ba-yi        guwe   mi:re  
      come-PAST then   storm  
      Then (one day) a storm came.
5.     baru:   guwe   gana   biya-me-nji  
      camp then   DEM   throw-AROUND-PERFV  
      The camps here were thrown around.

<sup>56</sup> It is said that the four hordes of the Yinibara tribe (the Duutjijawu, Dalla, Nalbo and Garumngar) assembled at Mount Stanley (see Map 1) for this discussion (Winterbotham 1957).

<sup>57</sup> This mountain was one of the Bunya mountains (see Map 2; Winterbotham 1957).

6. njunam-a bu-mi dadu-ndu  
 children-ACC kill-PAST tree-ERG  
 The trees killed the children. (i.e. the trees which were being blown around by the storm)
7. guwe ya:-ye-nji guwe gurrilŋa gira-ø yo:we  
 then say-RECIP-PERFV then old.man get.together-GENRL 3PL  
 du:rr-nu-wa garu ye-ø wanju-ŋa binda-wu  
 bora.ring-ABL<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub> one be-GENRL who-ACC send-FUT  
 So the old men of the bora ring got together and were saying, 'Who will [we] send (away to find out why this happened)?'
8. gana yo:-ŋa binda-ø  
 DEM 3SG-ACC send-IMPER  
 (Someone answered) 'Send him, this one.'
9. go: ya:-ø waga guwe giragira-wa  
 DEM say-GENRL not then trouble-DESID  
 This person said, '[He] does not want to trouble [anyone].'
10. dje-nji guwe mana  
 go-PERFV then DEM  
 So that one went.
11. yo: guwe yana-ø gurangur-ŋa  
 3SG then go-GENRL spear-CON  
 He was going with a spear.
12. ŋin-du buyi-ø  
 2SG-ERG take-IMPER  
 (They said to him) 'You take [it].'
13. gana ŋin-gari wiye-nge gari gureya  
 DEM 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> give-IMPERFV leaf fig.tree  
 [We] are giving this fig tree leaf to you.
14. wanja ŋin ya-ngu ganga-re-ø ŋin  
 when 2SG go-FUT call.out-CONT-IMPER 2SG  
 When you go, you continually call out.
15. ŋin-a be:ŋa-nji  
 2SG-ACC hear-PERFV  
 [The storm-maker] will hear you.'
16. djamba-yi guwe  
 answer-PAST then  
 So [the storm-maker] answered [him].
17. gangc-nji guwe yo:  
 call.out-PERFV then 3SG  
 So he called out (again).

18. yune-nji gari-nma  
sleep-PERFV DEM-EMPH  
Then [he] slept here.
19. dje-nji guwe yima-yi-me  
go-PERFV then do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
Then (the next day) [he] went on like before.
20. djanjum guwe yo: dje-nji  
close then 3SG go-PERFV  
He had gone closer.
21. gari-nma guwe yo: gange-nji bayer djanjum-u  
DEM-EMPH then 3SG call.out-PERFV mountain close-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
Then he called out from here close to the mountain.
22. be:ŋa-yi guwe yo:  
hear-PAST then 3SG  
He heard (something).
23. gadiwa-yi mana yo:-ŋa  
answer-PAST DEM 3SG-ACC  
That (thing) answered him.
24. gara djanjum yi-ye  
DEM close be-PRES  
It was here close.
25. bayer-nu wa-yi guwe yo:  
mountain-LOC<sub>3</sub> climb.up-PAST then 3SG  
He climbed up the mountain.
26. gaye-nji djum guwe morrbe-nji  
turn.around-PERFV smoke then smell-PERFV  
[He] turned around and then [he] smelt smoke.

Here the verb *gaye* refers to the zigzagging action used by the young man to climb the mountain.

27. gan-ma ye-ø  
DEM-EMPH be-GENRL  
[Something] was here.
28. minja-ŋa gara yune-nge  
what-ACC DEM lie-IMPERFV  
'What is lying here?' (he asked himself).
29. guwe nja-ŋi gurilŋa-na yune-nji-na yiga guwengi  
then see-PAST old.man-ACC lie-PERFV-ACC beard long  
Then [he] saw an old man with a long beard who was lying there.
30. yune-nji guwe yo:  
sleep-PERFV then 3SG  
He was sleeping.

31. gurruy mana guwe ba:ri-ø ba-yi mi:re mana  
rain DEM then bring-GENRL come-PAST storm DEM  
That (old man) brought rain and then the storm came.
32. yo: guwe nja-nji yo:-nja waga  
3SG then see-PAST 3SG-ACC not  
He (the old man) couldn't see him.
33. yo: gaŋ-gu wamba-yi  
3SG saliva-INSTR put.on-PAST  
Then he (the old man) cursed (the people).
34. ʃu: gadji guwe yana-ø  
shoo DEM then go-IMPER  
'Shoo, go there!
35. yo:wana-a guwe wunda-ø gurruy-u mowarr-u  
3PL-ACC then cover-IMPER rain-INSTR hail-INSTR  
Cover them all with rain, with hail.'
36. yima-yi djirrdje-ma-ø baru: yo:we-ri  
do.like.this-PAST disperse-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-GENRL camp 3PL-GEN  
yima-yi guwe  
do.like.this-PAST then  
Like that [he] scattered their camps, like before.
37. guwe yo: ya:-nje-nji guwe go: gana yanga-ø  
then 3SG say-REFL-PERFV then DEM DEM do-GENRL  
Then he (the young man) said to himself, 'This is the one doing this (i.e. sending storms to us).
38. ŋa-dju yo:-nja guwe buwa-wu  
1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC then spear-FUT  
I am going to spear him.
39. waga waga ŋa-dju gonj bu-mgu-wa yo:-nja  
no not 1SG-ERG want kill-FUT-PURP 3SG-ACC  
No, I don't want him to kill him.'
40. yo: gan guwe gari gana ma:-nji gurangur-u  
3SG DEM then leaf DEM take-PERFV spear-INSTR  
He then got this leaf with the spear.
41. ŋur gen yi-nji gurangur mana  
point sharp be-PAST spear DEM  
The point of the spear was sharp.
42. gari-nu djunim gari-nji dja: buwa-yi  
leaf-ABL<sub>1</sub> straight go.through-PERFV ground spear-PAST  
[The spear] went straight through the leaf [and] speared the ground.
43. yo: ya:-nje-nji waga ŋa-dju yo:-nja buwa-wu budirgu  
3SG say-REFL-PERFV not 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC spear-FUT completely  
He said to himself, 'I will not spear him entirely (i.e. kill him).

44.    *ŋa-dju*    *guwe* *yo:-ŋa*    *giniŋ* *buwa-wu*  
 1SG-ERG   then   3SG-ACC   arm   spear-FUT  
 I will spear his arm.'
45.    *giniŋ* *buwa-yi*    *yo:-ŋa*    *yima-yi*            *guwe*  
 arm   spear-PAST   3SG-ACC   do.like.this-PAST   then  
 Then [he] speared him in the arm like that.
46.    *gadji-ma*    *guwe* *yima-yi*            *guriŋa* *guyum-ba*    *bumi-n*  
 DEM-EMPH   then   do.like.this-PAST   old.man   fire-LOC<sub>1</sub>   fall-SUDDEN  
 Then the old man suddenly fell into the fire right here like this.
47.    *guyum-bu*    *mari-me-nji*            *yo:-ŋa*  
 fire-ERG    burn-AROUND-PERFV   3SG-ACC  
 The fire burnt him all over.
48.    *bumi-n*            *guwe* *gari*    *gaŋa-nu*    *gari-ŋa*  
 fall-SUDDEN   then   DEM   top-ABL<sub>1</sub>   DEM-ALL  
 Then (the old man) fell from the top (of the mountain) to here.
49.    *gadji*    *guwe* *yo:*    *yune-nji*    *yina+ra*  
 DEM   then   3SG   lie-PERFV   gully+DEM  
 Then he was lying in a gully there.
50.    *guwe* *yo:*    *nja-nji*    *guwe* *go:*    *badja-ru*            *gundir-u*  
 then   3SG   see-PAST   then   DEM   one.of.several-ERG   clever.man-ERG  
 Then the other one, the clever man (i.e. the young man), saw him.
51.    *yaŋga-yi*    *guwe* *yo:-ŋa*  
 make-PAST   then   3SG-ACC  
 [He] made (i.e. changed) him.
52.    *ʃu:*    *ʃu:*    *buyi*            *ye-ø*    *ŋin*  
 INTJ   INTJ   carpet.snake   be-IMPER   2SG  
 'Shoo, shoo, you be a carpet snake!
53.    *waga*    *guwe*    *ŋin*    *yima-yi*            *gana*    *ye-ø*  
 don't   then   2SG   do.like.this-PAST   DEM   be-IMPER  
 Don't you be like before.'
54.    *yima-yi*            *guwe* *yana-ø*  
 do.like.this-PAST   then   go-GENRL  
 So in that way [he] went.
55.    *buyi*            *yi-nji*    *guwe*  
 carpet.snake   be-PERFV   then  
 [He] became a carpet snake.
56.    *man*    *guwe* *yo:*    *ye-ø*  
 DEM   then   3SG   be-GENRL  
 There he is now.
57.    *man*    *guwe* *mu:-ndu*    *guwe* *dje-nge*  
 DEM   then   belly-INSTR   then   move-IMPERFV  
 That one [a snake] moves using his belly.



58. wane-ø guwe yo:-ŋa  
 leave-GENRL then 3SG-ACC  
 So [he] left him.
59. man guwe ŋiyarŋ ŋa ŋuwimŋan guwe meŋ  
 DEM then winter and summer then today  
 Then the summer and the winter (are as they are) today.
60. gari-ŋinu  
 DEM-END  
 This is the end.
61. yima-yi guwe ŋin ŋjumba-ŋe-ø yo:-wa  
 do.like.this-PAST then 2SG show-REFL-IMPER 3SG-DAT<sub>i</sub>  
 Like that you show yourself to him (i.e. everyone).
62. ŋin-a nja-wu bo:rr mana wambe-ŋge ŋin-baŋu guyum-bu  
 2SG-ACC see-FUT mark DEM sit.on-IMPERFV 2SG-COMIT fire-INSTR  
 mari-yi-wa  
 burn-PAST-?  
 [They] will see the marks sitting on you which the fire burnt into you.

### 5. *The Crayfish*

There were two old men who were sitting facing one another (as is custom for older tribe members). One of the men wanted the other one to give him some food. The other man tried to pass it across to him but he could not reach. The first man told him not to throw it as it might land in the water (they were camped beside the sea). So he said to the other man to give it to him on the end of a forked stick. The other man broke off a fork from a tree and put the food on the end that wasn't forked and tried to give it to him that way, which was unsuccessful. Eventually, the first man convinced the other one to turn the stick around and put the food on the forked end. They discovered that this was a very successful means of passing things back and forth between them. So the first man said to the other man to think about this. The next morning when the men woke up they discovered that they both had two extra extensions. These were the forks that they had used to pass the food. This is how the crayfish got its claws.

1. ŋinŋangurra yi-ŋi ŋinŋangurra  
 creation.time be-PAST creation.time  
 It was in the creation time.
2. gurilŋa-wam ya:-ye-ŋji ŋa:m ŋin gana guwe yune-ø  
 old.man-DU say-RECIP-PERFV 1DU 2SG DEM then camp-IMPER  
 ŋjunam ŋa:m-bu bowan gira-ø  
 children 1DU-ERG sleep wake-GENRL  
 Two old men are saying to each other, 'Let's camp here [because] we are waking up the children [there].
3. dudu mana dom-djin-a ŋa:m-bu bowan gira-ø  
 mother DEM tribal.mother-PL-ACC 1DU-ERG sleep wake-GENRL

njunam-a mana bari  
 children-ACC DEM small  
 The mothers, we two are waking up the tribal mothers, the children, the  
 little ones.

4. wana-ŋu ŋa:m ŋin yune-yu  
 far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub> 1DU 2SG sleep-FUT  
 We (incl.) will sleep far away.'
5. wana-ŋu guwe yowa:m moro-ŋe-nji  
 far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub> then 3DU make-REFL-PERFV  
 So they camped themselves far away.
6. yowa:m moro-ŋe-nji wana-ŋu  
 3DU make-REFL-PERFV far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 They camped themselves far away.
7. guwe badja-ru ya:-yi mana ŋin-du guyur ŋa-ri  
 then one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST DEM 2SG-ERG food 1SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 ye wiye-ø  
 towards give-IMPER  
 Then one of them said, 'You give that food to me.'
8. ma:-nji mo: badja-ru girum-ge-nu  
 hold-PERFV DEM other.one-ERG other.side-SIDE-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 The other one got hold of that (food) on the other side.
9. guwe wiye-nji yo: guwe wiye-nji yo: waga  
 then give-PERFV 3SG then give-PERFV 3SG not  
 Then he tried and tried to give [it to him].

Note that the particle *ger* 'try' (see §4.11) is not used here. Rather to convey this sense, the utterance 'he gave [it]' is repeated, the second time being negated with the particle *waga* (i.e. 'he didn't give it').

10. mana bi: duwe-nji guwe ger badja duwe-nji  
 DEM hand reach.across-PERFV then try other reach.across-PERFV  
 That one's hand reached across, the other one tried to reached across [to it].
11. minja-ŋa man ŋin  
 what-ACC DEM 2SG  
 'What's the matter with you?' (the other one said).
12. waga ŋa:-me wiye-ø guwe  
 not 1PL-ERG give-GENRL then  
 We cannot give (i.e. exchange) [it].
13. wandju-ma-ø man  
 what-FACT-GENRL DEM  
 What will [we] do?
14. wandju-ma-ø badja  
 what-FACT-GENRL other.one  
 The other one did not know what to do.

15.    *ŋa-dju*    *biya-wu*  
 1SG-ERG throw-FUT  
 I will throw [it].
16.    *waga*    *biya-ø*  
 don't throw-IMPER  
 'Don't throw [it].'
17.    *waga*    *biya-ø*  
 not throw-GENRL  
 [He] didn't throw [it].
18.    *dadu*    *mana*    *gamŋa-ø*    *ŋin-du*    *gorom-ŋa*  
 stick DEM break-IMPER 2SG-ERG fork-CON  
 'You break the stick (making) it forked.'
19.    *ŋin-baŋi*    *ŋay-wa*    *dadu*    *gamŋa-ø*  
 2SG-ABL<sub>2</sub> 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> stick break-IMPER  
 Break the stick (away) from you towards me.
20.    *waga*    *mari-ŋinu*    *wamba-ø*  
 don't DEM-END put-IMPER  
 Don't put [it] on that end (the broken end).
21.    *guyur*    *mana*    *waga*    *mari-ŋinu*    *wamba-ø*  
 food DEM NEG DEM-END put-IMPER  
 Don't put that food on that end.
22.    *gorom-ŋa-wa*    *wamba-ø*  
 fork-CON-DAT<sub>1</sub> put-IMPER  
 Put [it] on the forked [stick].
23.    *ŋin-du*    *ŋay-wa*    *ye*    *wiye-yu*  
 2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> towards give-FUT  
 You should give it to me.'
24.    *dadu-wa*    *wamba-yi*    *badja-ru*  
 stick-DAT<sub>1</sub> put-PAST other.one-ERG  
 The other one put it on the stick.
25.    *wiye-nji*    *guwe*    *yo:*  
 give-PERFV then 3SG  
 He gave [it].
26.    *gorom-ŋa+ra*    *wamba-yi*  
 fork-CON+DEM put-PAST  
 Put it on the forked [stick].
27.    *wiye-nji*    *guwe*    *girum-ge-nu*  
 give-PERFV then other.side-SIDE-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 Then [he] gave [it] from the other side.
28.    *ma:-nji*    *guwe*    *badja-ru*    *yima*  
 take-PERFV then other.one-ERG do.like.this  
 Then the other one took it like this.

29. gana wura galaŋ yi-nji ŋa:m-bu nja-ø  
 DEM already good be-PERFV 1DU-ERG see-GENRL  
 'This was already good, we two could see.
30. yu: ŋa:m ŋin wanja yune-yu  
 just 1DU 2SG INTERROG sleep-FUT  
 Should we (incl.) just sleep?
31. gari-ŋi guwe be:ŋa-ø  
 DEM-LOC then think-IMPER  
 You [just] think of this.
32. gara-ŋi be:ŋa-ø  
 DEM-LOC think-IMPER  
 You [just] think of this.
33. waga badja-ru be:ŋa-ø  
 nothing other.one-ERG think-GENRL  
 The other one thought of nothing [else].
34. waga ŋa:m yowar-u  
 no 1DU corroborree-?  
 '??
35. yowar mana yandi-yu  
 corroborree DEM sing-FUT  
 [We two] will sing that corroborree.
36. yu: ŋa:m bowan-du yune-ø gari-ŋi guwe yu:  
 just 1DU tiredness-INSTR sleep-GENRL DEM-LOC then just  
 We two are just sleeping with tiredness here then.
37. ŋa:m-baru wanja gundera-ø mana wanja gundera-ø ŋin-gari  
 1DU-COMIT if graft-GENRL DEM if graft-GENRL 2SG-GEN  
 biya:yu ŋa-ri biya:yu  
 two IPL-GEN two  
 If it grafts with us, if it grafts, you will have two [claws and] I will have two [claws].
38. ŋa:m-bu me:ndi-wa  
 1DU-ERG chase-INT  
 We two intend to chase away [the children].
39. guyur dja:-ø ŋa:m-bu wana-ŋu ma:-ngu  
 food eat-GENRL 1DU-ERG far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub> reach-FUT  
 We two can reach far away (from our bodies for) food to eat.'
40. gari-ŋinu  
 DEM-END  
 This is the end.
41. wane-ø guwe  
 leave-GENRL then  
 Then [they] left [it like that].

42. ya:  
yes  
Yes.
43. yune-ø  
sleep-GENRL  
[And they] slept.

*Corroboree*

1. gurilja-wam  
old.man-DU  
[There were] two old men.
2. badja-ru ya:-yi guyur mana ye wiye-ø  
one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST food DEM towards give-IMPER  
One of them said, 'Give that food to me.'
3. ger yanga-yi  
try hand.over-PAST  
[He] tried to hand [it] over.
4. badja-ru guwe ya:-yi yo:-ŋa dadu ŋin-du gamŋa-ø  
other.one-ERG then say-PAST 3SG-ACC stick 2SG-ERG break-IMPER  
Then the other one said to him, 'You break the stick.
5. ŋay-wa wiye-ø guyur mana  
1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> give-IMPER food DEM  
Give that food to me.'
6. wiye-ŋji  
give-PERFV  
[He] gave [it to him].
7. gaye-ma-ø mana ŋin-du dadu  
turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-IMPER DEM 2SG-ERG stick  
'You turn that stick around.
8. gorom-ba wamba-ø ye wiye-ø  
fork-LOC<sub>1</sub> put-IMPER towards give-IMPER  
Put [it] on the fork [and] give [it] to me.
9. galaŋ wane-ø  
good leave-IMPER  
It is good, leave it [like that].
10. ŋin-gari guwe biya:yu ŋa ŋa-ri guwe biya:yu  
2SG-GEN then two and 1SG-GEN then two  
Now you have two (claws) and I have two (claws).'

## 6. *The Crooked Neck Glasshouse Mountain*

Willie McKenzie gave three versions of the 'Crooked Neck' Glasshouse Mountain text. The first was recorded in June 1960, the second in May 1961 and the third in November 1964. Each of these tells a slightly different story and for this reason all three texts are given here. The following commentary is a synthesis of the three accounts.

Babul was a grumpy old fellow who married a woman from the Glasshouse Mountain tribe. She constantly had all her kin with her and they were always making a lot of noise. Eventually Babul got fed up and told Beerwah, one of the Glasshouse Mountains tribe, that he wanted to fight them. So Beerwah gathered all his people together and warned them that Babul was an expert boomerang thrower. He told them to watch carefully so that they wouldn't get hit by the boomerangs. Beerwah saw a boomerang coming their way (which the others hadn't seen as they were watching Babul's right hand and he had thrown it with his left). Beerwah realised that it was heading straight towards a small boy, so he called out to him to bend over. When the boomerang had gone past the young boy remained stooped over. As they were looking at him he transformed into a rock. They left him like that and called him 'Crooked Neck'.

The two Glasshouse Mountains involved in this story are modern-day Mount Beerwah and Mount Coonowrin (see Map 1), the latter commonly referred to as 'crooked neck' because of its characteristic shape. The Glasshouse Mountains were active volcanoes thousands of years ago. Cooling lava clogged their hollow centres and formed solid volcanic plugs. These now protrude since the surrounding craters have worn away.<sup>58</sup>

The Nalbo people (see Map 2) have a different explanation for why Coonowrin has a crooked neck. They say that many years ago when the oceans began rising, Tibrogargan (another Glasshouse Mountain) sent his son Coonowrin to help his pregnant mother to safety. Coonowrin, however, abandoned her and ran to safety by himself. When Tibrogargan caught up with Coonowrin he was so angry with him that he smashed him on the head with his club dislocating his neck.<sup>59</sup>

### *Version 1*

1.     ŋiŋŋangurra+na  
        creation.time+DEM  
        This is a creation time story.
2.     bayer     yo:-wa     ya:-ye-nji  
        mountain 3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>   speak-RECIP-PERFV  
        The glasshouse mountains were speaking about him.
3.     babul-u     guwe   gira-ŋe-nji     yo:wan-a   birwa:  
        Babul-ERG   then   round.up-?-PERFV   3PL-ACC   Beerwah  
        Babul rounded up all of them [and] Beerwah.

Babul was a culture hero of the Duunjdjawa and other tribes of this area. He was allegedly a very skilled boomerang thrower. His spiritual home was Theebany Junction.

<sup>58</sup> *Australia, New Zealand Encyclopedia (including Papua New Guinea)*, 1975, vol. 8, p.592.

<sup>59</sup> *Burnum Burnum's Aboriginal Australia*, edited by D. Stewart. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1988.

4. wadanjir mana yi-nji yo:-wa babul  
 left.handed DEM be-PAST 3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> Babul  
 Babul was left-handed to him.
5. baran mo: biye-nji guwe  
 boomerang DEM throw-PERFV then  
 That one (Babul) had thrown a boomerang.
6. baran madja guwe ya-nji guŋ-ga-me  
 boomerang DEM then go-PERFV water-LOC<sub>1</sub>-?  
 The boomerang went over there along the water.

The boomerang went along the coast because it was thrown with the left hand.

7. gari-ŋa guwe baran gaye-nji  
 DEM-ALL then boomerang turn.around-PERFV  
 Then the boomerang turned around towards here.
8. guwe birwa: ya:-yi yo:wana-ya yangyanga guwe  
 then Beerwah say-PAST 3PL-ACC carefully then  
 barandje-ø mara-ri  
 stand-IMPER DEM-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 Then Beerwah said to them, 'Stand over there carefully (i.e. watchfully).
9. baran man dje-nge  
 boomerang DEM come-IMPERFV  
 The boomerang is coming.'
10. guwe nja-nji yo:-ŋa  
 then look.at-PAST 3SG-ACC  
 Then [they all] looked at him.
11. bari-yu wunba mana yi-nji bayer  
 small.child-ERG very DEM be-PAST mountain  
 The very small child was a mountain.

This is anticipating what happens at the end of this story.

12. yo:-ri guwe djunim dje-nji mana baran  
 3SG-ALL then straight go-PERFV DEM boomerang  
 The boomerang went straight towards him.
13. ganga-n guwe yo:-wa baran man dje-nge  
 call.out-SUDD then 3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> boomerang DEM come-IMPERFV  
 ŋin-gari  
 2SG-ALL  
 (Beerwah) suddenly called out to him, 'That boomerang is coming towards you.
14. ŋin maŋi-n  
 2SG be.ready-SUDDEN  
 You be ready.

15.    yu:gar    dunme-yu  
       just     stoop-INT  
       You should just bend over.
16.    wanda    dunme-ø  
       neck    stoop-IMPER  
       Stoop (your) neck.
17.    baran-du            waga   ba:mba-wu   ŋin-a  
       boomerang-ERG   not   hit-FUT     2SG-ACC  
       Then the boomerang will not hit you.'
18.    dunme-ŋji    guwe  
       stoop-PERFV   then  
       So [he] stooped over.
19.    yo:-wa    baran        ŋa:ba-n        guwe  
       3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>   boomerang   pass-SUDDEN   then  
       Then the boomerang passed by him.
20.    go:    yo:-ri     nja-ŋji     guwe  
       DEM   3SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>   look-PAST   then  
       This one [Beerwah] looked at him.
21.    wanja    guwe  
       INTERROG   then  
       'What's the matter with you?' (he said).
22.    mana   ya:-ø            djunim   barandje-ø  
       DEM   say.to-IMPER   straight   stand.up-IMPER  
       'Say to that [boy], "Stand up straight!"'
23.    waga   yima-yi-me                    mana   ma:  
       not   do.like.this-PAST-REPET   DEM   head  
       His head was not like before.
24.    baran-du            mo:   man   guwe   yo:-ŋa   wanda   guwe  
       boomerang-ERG   DEM   DEM   then   3SG-ACC   neck   then  
       gaye-ma-yi  
       turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST  
       The boomerang had changed his neck.
25.    wanda   warrunj  
       neck   crooked  
       (He became) 'crooked neck'.

**Version 2**

1.    bayer    ya:-ye-ŋi            ŋinŋangurra  
       mountain   say-RECIP-PERFV   creation.time  
       In the creation times, the mountains spoke to each other.



2. babul-u guwe ya:-yi  
 Babul-ERG then say-PAST  
 'Babul', they said.
3. babul mana nji:l-ŋa yi-ŋi yiyen  
 Babul DEM selfish-CON be-PAST bad  
 'Babul [you] are selfish [and] bad.'
4. babul-u guwe ya:-yi birwa: ŋa:m ŋin bamba-ye-yu  
 Babul-ERG then say-PAST Beerwah 1DU 2SG fight-RECIP-FUT  
 Babul then said to Beerwah, 'We (incl.) will fight each other.'
5. birwa: ya:-yi guwe dje-ø  
 Beerwah say-PAST then come-IMPER  
 Beerwah then said 'Come.'
6. guwe ŋin dje-ø ŋay-wa  
 then 2SG come-IMPER 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 Then you come to me.'
7. dje-ŋi guwe yanga-n mo: baran babul-u  
 go-PERFV then make-SUDDEN DEM boomerang Babul-ERG  
 So Babul went [and] then made a boomerang.
8. birwa:-wu djamba-yi guwe yo:wan-a ye dje-ø  
 Beerwah-ERG call.out-PAST then 3PL-ACC towards go-IMPER  
 gara barandje-ø ŋay-waŋu  
 DEM stand-IMPER 1SG-COMIT  
 Beerwah then called out to all of them, 'Come and stand here with me.'
9. ŋa-dju baran nja-wu yanggayanga  
 1SG-ERG boomerang see-FUT carefully  
 I will watch the boomerang carefully.'
10. biye-ŋi mo: badja-ru  
 throw-PERFV DEM other.one-ERG  
 The other one (Babul) threw that one (the boomerang).
11. wadaŋir mana yi-ŋi  
 left.handed DEM be-PAST  
 That one (Babul) was left-handed.
12. biye-ŋi  
 throw-PERFV  
 [He] threw [the boomerang].
13. baran nja-ŋi go: yuŋam-u  
 boomerang see-PAST DEM front-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 This one (Beerwah) saw the boomerang in front (of them).
14. gaŋge-ŋi guwe man baran ba-ye ŋuwe:-wa  
 call.out-PERFV then DEM boomerang come-PRES 2PL-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 So [he] called out, 'The boomerang is coming towards you all.'

15. yanggayanga nja-ø  
carefully watch-IMPER  
'Watch carefully.'
16. djanjum yi-ŋi gibargibar-na  
closeby be-PAST small.boy-ACC  
Closeby was a small boy.
17. baran gari-ŋa djunim dje-ŋji yo:-wa  
boomerang DEM-ALL straight come-PERFV 3SG-DAT<sub>i</sub>  
The boomerang was coming straight towards him.
18. gange-ŋji guwe yima ŋin  
call.out-PERFV then do.like.this 2SG  
(Beerwah) called out, 'You (stand) like this.'

Presumably here Beerwah would have shown the young boy how to stand (i.e. with his head stooped).

19. man ŋin-gari djunim dje-nge nja-ø  
DEM 2SG-ALL straight come-IMPERFV watch-IMPER  
That (boomerang) is coming straight towards you [so] watch it.'
20. dunme-ŋji guwe yo: dunme-ŋji  
stoop-PERFV then 3SG stoop-PERFV  
So he (the young man) stooped, [he] stooped.

It is quite typical of this language to repeat the verb. This usually indicates that the action is continued for a while.

21. baran ŋa:ba-yi yo:-ŋu  
boomerang pass-PAST 3SG-ABL<sub>i</sub>  
The boomerang passed by him.
22. bumi-ŋji  
fall.down-PERFV  
[The boomerang] fell down.
23. gange-ŋji guwe mana ya:-ø baran man ŋa:ba-yi  
call.out-PERFV then DEM say-GENRL boomerang DEM pass-PAST  
[Everyone] was calling out to that one (the young boy) [and] saying, 'The boomerang has passed by there.'
24. waga yima-yi-me guwe yo:  
not do.like.this-PAST-REPET then 3SG  
But he was not like before.
25. wanda warrunj yi-ŋi  
neck crooked be-PAST  
[His] neck was crooked.
26. waga mana doyi guwe ye-ø  
no DEM stone then be-GENRL  
No, that one is (now) stone.

27. madja wane-∅ mana  
DEM leave-GENRL DEM  
So [they] left that one there.
28. wane-yi wane-yi guwe  
leave-PAST leave-PAST then  
Then [they] left [him], [they] left [him].
29. man guwe ya:-ye-nji man yo: wanda warrunj  
DEM then say-RECIP-PERFV DEM 3SG neck crooked  
Then [they] said to each other, 'He is now "crooked neck".'
30. madja guwe nja-∅ wanja guwe di:-yu  
DEM then see-GENRL when then grow.up-FUT  
[Others] will see [him] over there when [they] grow up.'
31. gari-ŋinu  
DEM-END  
This is the end.
32. wane-∅ guwe  
leave-GENRL then  
So [they] left [him].
33. man guwe barandje-nge mana bayer  
DEM then stand-IMPERFV DEM mountain  
That one is (still) standing there now (as) a mountain.
34. ŋa: badja-rin-du nja-wu  
1PL one.of.several-PL-ERG see-FUT  
We, all of us will see [him].

**Version 3**

1. ya:-ye-nji guwe yowa:m  
say-RECIP-PERFV then 3DU  
They two were speaking to each other.
2. yamŋa-ye-nji  
quarrel-RECIP-PERFV  
They quarrelled at each other.
3. guwe ya:-yi babul-u ŋin-du mo:-∅ ŋin-garinj-a  
then say-PAST Babul-ERG 2SG-ERG gather-IMPER 2SG-GEN-ACC  
Babul said (to his wife), 'You gather your (people).'
4. ŋin-du mo:-∅  
2SG-ERG gather-IMPER  
You gather them.
5. ŋa-dju baran biye-nge guwe  
1SG-ERG boomerang throw-IMPERFV then  
I am throwing boomerangs [at them].

6.     *ŋa-dju*   *bamba-ye*  
 1SG-ERG   pelt-PRES  
 I pelt [them].
7.     *wadaŋir*   *ŋay*   *wadaŋir*  
 left.handed 1SG   left.handed  
 I am left handed, left handed.'
8.     *eʔe*   *ya:-yi*   *biya-ø*       *ŋin-du*  
 EXCL   say-PAST   throw-IMPER   2SG-ERG  
 (His wife) said 'Good, you throw [it]!
9.     *guwe*   *ŋa-dju*   *yo:wan-a*   *ya:-le*   *wanja*   *yere-yu*  
 then   1SG-ERG   3PL-ACC   tell-CONT   when   go.home-FUT  
 Then I will tell them all when [I] get home.
10.    *ya-nji*  
 go-PERFV  
 [She] went.
11.    *gari-ŋi-nu*   *guwe*   *yawu*  
 DEM-DIR   then   ?  
 ??
12.    *wane-ø*       *dje-nji*  
 leave-GENRL   go-PERFV  
 [She] left and went.
13.    *be:ŋa-ø*       *guwe*   *yo:*  
 think-GENRL   then   3SG  
 He (Beerwah) was thinking.
14.    *birwa:*   *be:ŋa-ø*       *wanju-ŋira*   *yo:*   *biya-wu*  
 Beerwah   think-GENRL   when-TIME   3SG   throw-FUT  
 Beerwah was thinking, 'When will he throw [it].
15.    *ŋa-dju*    *nja-wu*  
 1SG-ERG   watch-FUT  
 I will watch [it].'
16.    *yo:wan-a*   *ya:-yi*    *guwe*    *ŋuwe:*   *yaŋgayanga*  
 3PL-ACC   say-PAST   then    2PL    carefully  
 Then [he] said to them, 'You all [watch] carefully.'
17.    *yo:*   *babul-u*    *ma-nji*    *nja-nge*  
 3SG   Babul-ERG   ma:-PERFV   watch-IMPERFV  
 Babul caught him and is watching him??
18.    *ŋa:-na*    *baran-du*            *bamba-wu*   *ŋuwe:-na*    *bamba-wu*  
 1PL-ACC   boomerang-INSTR   hit-FUT    2PL-ACC   hit-FUT  
 '[He] intends to hit us with a boomerang, to hit you all.
19.    *ŋa-dju*    *gara*    *nja-ø*  
 1SG-ERG   DEM   watch-GENRL  
 I will watch [it] here.

20. yuŋam-u gumari-ŋa-ru  
front-LOC<sub>3</sub> shield-CON-?  
[I will be] in front with a shield.
21. ŋaba:-wu  
pass-FUT  
[The boomerang] will pass by.
22. waga yo:rr ya-nme-ø  
don't everywhere walk-AROUND-IMPER  
Don't walk around everywhere.
23. nja-ø gari-ŋa yo:-ŋa  
look.at-IMPER DEM-ALL 3SG-ACC  
Look this way at him.'
24. baran ye dje-nji gana  
boomerang towards go-PERFV DEM  
The boomerang was coming this way.
25. biye-nji  
throw-PERFV  
[He] has thrown [it].
26. babul-u biye-nji  
Babul-ERG throw-PERFV  
Babul has thrown [it].
27. gira-nme-nji  
warn-?-PERFV  
[He] is warning [them].
28. gibar-gibar yi-ŋi yuŋam-u barandje-nji dudu-waŋu  
boy-REDUP be-PAST front-LOC<sub>3</sub> stand-PERFV mother-COMIT  
There was a small boy standing in front with his mother.
29. dudu barandje-nji  
mother+NOM stand-PERFV  
[His] mother was standing [there].
30. gundu-ra badja-na gundu-ra-wa  
string.bag-LOC<sub>1</sub> other.one-ACC string.bag-LOC<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
In [her] string bag is another one, in [her] string bag.
31. gan guwe baran yo: nja-ŋi guwe  
DEM then boomerang 3SG see-PAST then  
Then she saw the boomerang here.
32. gam guwe baran dje-nge nja-ø  
seems then boomerang come-IMPERFV look-IMPER  
The boomerang seems to be coming, 'Look out!'
33. yanggayanga guwe  
carefully then  
[Stand] carefully.

34. biye-nji  
throw-PERFV  
[He] threw [it].
35. guwe nja-nji baran bumi-nji-na  
then see-PAST boomerang fall.down-PERFV-ACC  
Then [he] saw the boomerang which had fallen down.
36. waga nja-nji  
not see-past  
[He] could not see [it].
37. man bumi-nji wana-nji  
DEM fall.down-PERFV far.away-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
That one (the boomerang) fell down far away.
38. badja-na biye-nji  
other.one-ACC throw-PERFV  
[He] threw another one.
39. yo: nja-nji guwe birwa:  
3SG see-PAST then Beerwah  
Then he saw [it], Beerwah [saw it].
40. gana yana-ø djanjum  
DEM come-GENRL close  
This one (the boomerang) is coming close.
41. djanjum dje-nge ŋa mana  
close come-IMPERFV ? DEM  
It is coming close.
42. ganga-ø guwe mara-ri ŋin-garinj-a  
call.out-IMPER then DEM-DAT<sub>3</sub> 2SG-GEN-ACC  
'Call out to yours over there.'
43. yu: mara wanda guwe yi-nji  
just DEM neck then be-PERFV  
??
44. gange-nji yo:-ri  
call.out-PERFV 3SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
[He] called out to him.
45. baran man ŋin-gari dje-nge djunim  
boomerang DEM 2SG-ALL come-IMPERFV straight  
'The boomerang is coming straight towards you.
46. yu: ŋin dunme-ø  
just 2SG bend.over-IMPER  
Just you bend over!
47. dunme-ø  
bend.over-IMPER  
Bend over!'

48.     dunme-nji-wa  
bend.over-PERFV-?  
[He] bent over.
49.     baran         ŋa:ba-n  
boomerang pass-SUDDEN  
The boomerang came past.
50.     bumi-n             gawa-nda  
fall.down-SUDDEN scrub-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
[It] fell down in the scrub.
51.     ganga-n         guwe gana ma:djayum yo:  
call-SUDDEN then DEM giant         3SG  
Then a giant suddenly called out to him.
52.     ya:-ø             mana gima-na yi-du dudu-ru  
speak-GENRL DEM boy-ACC be-? mother-ERG  
The mother spoke to her boy.
53.     dudu-ru         ŋin-du ya:-ø         djunim barandje-ø  
mother-ERG 2SG-ERG say-IMPER straight stand.up-IMPER  
You, the mother, say [to him] 'Stand up straight'.
54.     baran         man     ŋa:ba-yi  
boomerang DEM pass-PAST  
The boomerang had gone past there.
55.     bumi-nji         man     gawa-ni  
fall.down-PERFV DEM scrub-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
[It] fell down into the scrub there.
56.     guwe nja-nji         mana  
then look-PAST DEM  
Then they looked there.
57.     waga gana  
not DEM  
[He] is not here.
58.     doyi yi-nji         guwe  
stone be-PERFV then  
He had become stone.
59.     doyi guwe ya:  
stone then yes  
Is it stone? Yes.
60.     wane-yi         guwe yo:-ŋa  
leave-PAST then 3SG-ACC  
So [they] left him.
61.     wanda wartunj     nje:-ma-yi         guwe yo:-ŋa  
neck crooked name-FACT-PAST then 3SG-ACC  
[They] named him 'crooked neck'.

62. garu-ndu gan ye:ma-yi mo: babul-u  
 one-ERG DEM miss-PAST DEM Babul-ERG  
 One [boomerang] missed this one, Babul [missed] that one.
63. gari-ŋi guwe wane-ø guwe  
 DEM-LOC then leave-GENRL then  
 So [he] left it at this.
64. yima-yi guwe barandje-ŋji  
 do.like.this-PAST then stand-PERFV  
 [He] is standing like that.
65. man guwe wane-yi yo:-ŋa yima-yi  
 DEM then leave-PAST 3SG-ACC do.like.this-PAST  
 [They] left him like that.
66. dudu dom-djin mara barandje-nge  
 mother tribal.mother-PL DEM stand-IMPERFV  
 [His] mother and tribal mothers are standing over there.
67. gundu-ni gima-na njune:-na  
 string.bag-LOC<sub>2</sub> boy-ACC girl-ACC  
 Inside [his mother's] string bag [might be] a boy [or] a girl.
68. gima-na birwa: ganje-ŋji  
 boy-ACC Beerwah call.out-PERFV  
 Beerwah called out to the boy.
69. djanjum djanjum barandje-nge  
 close close stand-IMPERFV  
 [They] are standing close together.
70. gari-ŋinu  
 DEM-END  
 This is the end.
71. wura  
 finished  
 This is finished.

## 7. *The Curlew*<sup>60</sup>

In the creation times a man was camped by a creek.<sup>61</sup> Another man came down the hill and stood on a rock<sup>62</sup> laughing at him. The camping man, who was a *gundir*, saw the man on the rock and blew his magic breath on him and made him into a curlew (*buyurre*). The

<sup>60</sup> This legend was originally told to Willie Mckenzie in Waga-Waga by Jenny Lind of Cherbourg (Steele 1983).

<sup>61</sup> The creek referred to here is the Barambah Creek known to the natives as *buranbaye dungi* (lit. wind-coming creek) (Winterbotham 1957).

<sup>62</sup> This 'laughing' rock (*doyi mundjinge*) is near Cherbourg (Winterbotham 1957) — see Map 2.



*gundir* went to sleep and when he arose the next morning he looked for the result of his work. At first he could only see a rock but then he saw the image of the curlew in it. The curlew was standing there and so he left him like that. This explains why curlews are typically seen standing motionless on rocks.

1.     *ɲinɲangurra*  
creation.time  
A creation time story.
2.     *gari ɲjine-ɲji du:ɲi-nu*  
DEM stay-PERFV creek-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
(A man) was staying here at a creek.
3.     *guyum guwe moro-ɲe-ɲji guwe guyur*  
fire then make-REFL-PERFV then food  
(He) made himself a fire (to prepare) food.
4.     *guwe ba-yi ɲjinda-yi*  
then come-PAST go.down-PAST  
Then (someone) came and went down.
5.     *mundji-re-ɲji mundji-re-ɲji yo:-ri*  
laugh-CONT-PERFV laugh-CONT-PERFV 3SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
(This person) was laughing at him.
6.     *yo: ɲja-ɲji guwe*  
3SG look-PAST then  
Then he (the man who was camping) looked.
7.     *gundir yo: yi-ɲji*  
clever.man 3SG be-PAST  
He was a clever man.
8.     *ya:-yi guwe mo:*  
say-PAST then DEM  
That [clever man] spoke.
9.     *binj-dju wamba-yi ɲin ma: guwe ɲin ye-ø gan*  
saliva-INSTR put-PAST 2SG essence then 2SG be-IMPER DEM  
*buyurte*  
curlew  
[The clever man] cursed [him], ‘Your essence, you should be a curlew.
10.    *guwe ɲa-dju ɲin-a ɲja-wu ɲuwim wa-yi-nda*  
then 1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC see-FUT sun rise-PAST-SIMULT  
I will see you (as such) when the sun has risen.’
11.    *gari-ɲinu yune-ɲji guwe*  
DEM-END sleep-PERFV then  
At the end (of the day) [he] then slept.
12.    *yune-ɲji guwe ɲay dulara-me guwe ɲay barandje-ɲi*  
sleep-PERFV then 1SG morning-SPEC then 1SG stand.up-PAST  
I slept, then the next morning I stood up.

Here the narration switches to the first person. This is a similar narrative style to that in Yidinj whereby the narrator sets the scene and refers to the characters in the third person at the beginning of the story, and then the main character takes over the narration and tells the story in the first person (Dixon 1977:118–119).

13.    *ŋa-dju*    *nja-ŋi*            *guwe* *yanŋa-yi*    *doyi*  
           1SG-ERG look.at-PAST then    make-PAST rock  
           I looked at the rock [I] had made.
14.    *waga*    *gari*    *barandje-nge*  
           not    DEM stand-IMPERFV  
           [It] was not standing here.
15.    *wanja* *guwe* *mana* *guyur*  
           where then DEM thing  
           ‘Where is that thing?’ (I said to myself).
16.    *guwe* *ŋa-dju*    *yo:-ŋa*    *nja-ŋi*    *ŋu:l*  
           then 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC see-PAST image  
           Then I saw his (the curlew’s) image.

Apparently because he has *gundir*’s eyes he can see the image of the curlew within the rock.

17.    *yo:-ŋa*    *ŋa-dju*    *nja-ŋi*    *doyi-ya*  
           3SG-ACC 1SG-ERG see-PAST rock-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
           I saw him in the rock.
18.    *yo:*    *gan*    *ye-ø*    *guwe*  
           3SG DEM be-GENRL then  
           Here he is.
19.    *yo:*    *buyurre* *yi-ŋi*  
           3SG curlew be-PAST  
           He was a curlew.
20.    *nja-ø*            *doyi* *mana*  
           look.at-IMPER rock DEM  
           Look at the rock there!
21.    *ŋa-dju*    *nja-ŋi*    *gari-nma-me*    *njine-ø*  
           1SG-ERG see-PAST DEM-EMPH-SPEC sit-GENRL  
           I saw [you] sitting right here.
22.    *ŋa-dju*    *ŋin-a*    *wane-yu*  
           1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC leave-FUT  
           I will leave you (like this).

## 8. *The Dingo*

Once there was a lazy dingo who never hunted with his parents. He would just wander from camp to camp until someone would feel sorry for him and feed him. Before too long the people of his tribe got fed up and so they planned a trick to get rid of him. They invited

him to a corroboree and decorated him with paint. They lit fires all around the camp which they kept going all night. He danced until he became tired and then they put him to bed. While he was sleeping they all left the camp quietly. They all went different ways so that he would not be able to follow their tracks. When he woke up he could not find anyone. All that was left in the main camp was a spear, a boomerang and a nulla nulla. He went looking for everyone and tried to follow their tracks. When he could not find them he returned to the camp. He realised that he would have to hunt for himself, as there was no one left to feed him. So he took the weapons and learnt to kill his own food. From that day onwards, the dingo has been an independent and fierce hunter.

1.     ya:-ye-nji         guwe  
        talk-RECIP-PERFV then  
        [The dingo's parents] were talking to each other.
2.     wandju-ma-ø        gana   buginj-a  
        what-FACT-GENRL DEM dog-ACC  
        'What should [we] do about this dog?
3.     wandju-ma-wu  
        what-FACT-FUT  
        What should [we] do?
4.     waga wa:rre-nde    yana-nde  
        not    hunt-NMLSR go-PRES  
        [He] does not go around as a hunting one.
5.     dudu-yu   waga dawari-nji-na  
        mother-? not   follow-PERFV-ACC  
        He does not follows his mother??
6.     moromoro njine-nde   ye-ø  
        main.camp sit-NMLSR be-GENRL  
        [He] is a sitter in the main camp.
7.     mana djamambe  
        DEM ?  
        ??
8.     ganan guwe yo:-ri    ye-ø  
        sorry then 3SG-PURP be-GENRL  
        [We] are (i.e. feel) sorry for him.
9.     guyur ŋuwe-ø        badja-ru        djujudjuyu  
        food cook-GENRL other.one-ERG evening  
        Others cook food [for him] in the evening.
10.    gari-nma    dja:-ye  
        DEM-EMPH eat-PRES  
        [He] eats here.
11.    waga ŋin-du    ma:-nji  
        not    2SG-ERG catch-PERFV  
        'You do not catch [anything].' (they said to the Dingo)

12. yana-nde ŋay  
go-PRES 1SG  
'I am going.' (said the Dingo)
13. man wa:rre-nji guŋ-ba  
DEM hunt-PERFV water-?  
[They] went hunting at the water there.
14. yo: man yune-nji  
3SG DEM lie.down-PERFV  
He lay down (to rest) there.
15. guwe ya:-ye-nji guwe  
then speak-RECIP-PERFV then  
So [they] spoke again.
16. man yune-nji waga guyur dudu-waju dawari-me-ø  
DEM lie-PERFV not food mother-COMIT follow-AROUND-GENRL  
'[He] was lying there and didn't follow his mother around [looking] for food.
17. wandju-ma-ø yo:-ŋa  
what-FACT-GENRL 3SG-ACC  
What should [we] do about him?
18. waga  
don't  
[I] don't [know].'
19. mura-nji-me  
paint-PERFV-REPET  
[They] painted [him up for a corroboree].
20. ya:-ø guwe yo:-ŋa yima-ø ŋin guwe  
say-IMPER then 3SG-ACC do.this-IMPER 2SG then  
Then say to him, 'You do this.'
21. njumba-ø yo:-ŋa  
show-IMPER 3SG-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
Show [this] to him.
22. waga wubin njumba-ŋe-ø  
no wise.man show-REFL-GENRL  
No, let the wise man show himself [to him].
23. waga ŋin ŋay yima gan  
not 2SG 1SG do.this DEM  
We (incl.) did not do this.
24. galaŋ ŋin guwe yi-nge  
well 2SG then be-IMPERFV  
You are well.

25. wanja        ɲin     gembe-ø  
INTERROG    2SG    play-GENRL  
Do you play?
26. ɲin-a        menɲe    ya:  
2SG-ACC    ?        yes  
To you [he] answers 'Yes'.
27. ɲay     guwe    ɲin-gari     name-nge        muranj-dju  
1SG    then    2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>    paint-IMPERFV    white.paint-INSTR  
I am painting you with white paint.
28. binanɲ    wamba-yi  
ear        put-PAST  
[They] listened (lit. put ears).
29. wanju-ɲira    ya-ngu  
where-TIME    go-FUT  
When will [he] go?
30. guwe    nja-ɲi     yo:-ɲa     mura-ɲji-na     ba-yi-na  
then    see-PAST    3SG-ACC    paint-PERFV-ACC    come-PAST-ACC  
Then [they] saw him who was painted and coming.
31. guyum    boyanɲa    yo:-ri  
fire        ?        3SG-PURP  
[They] lit a fire for him??
32. gari-ɲinu    guwe  
DEM-END    then  
This was it.
33. wane-ø        yayumba-me  
leave-IMPER    soon-SPEC  
Leave [him] now.
34. mume-ɲji    yo:we-ru    gembe-ɲji  
?-PERFV     3PL-ERG    play-PERFV  
[He] was acting and they were all playing.
35. yo:we-ru    yandi-ɲji    yo:-ri  
3PL-ERG    sing-PERFV    3SG-PURP  
They were all singing for him.
36. ɲo:        wende-ɲji  
night     ?-PERFV  
The night stretched out.
37. badja-ru        guwe    yandi-ɲji  
other.one-ERG    then    sing-PERFV  
Another one was singing.
38. yima-yi-me  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
In the same way (he was told).

39. gidi-ya wane-ø guwe  
light-LOC<sub>1</sub> leave-GENRL then  
In the light (i.e. at the end of the night) [they] left [him].
40. guyum yanga-yi  
fire make-PAST  
[They] make a fire.
41. gari-nma yune-ya  
DEM-EMPH sleep-?  
??
42. guwe na  
then ?  
By and by.
43. guwe yima bowan gira-wu  
then do.like.this sleep wake-FUT  
??
44. man guwe yune-nji budirgu  
DEM then lie-PERFV completely  
??
45. yune-nji guwe  
sleep-PERFV then  
[He] was still sleeping.
46. ŋuwim wa-yi  
sun rise-PAST  
The sun rose.
47. ŋuwim wa-yi  
sun rise-PAST  
The sun rose.
48. nja-ŋi guwe  
look-PAST then  
[He] looked.
49. wanja guwe ya-nji gana  
where then go-PERFV DEM  
Where have these [people] gone?
50. moromoro-we ŋa-dju nja-ø  
main.camp-COLL 1SG-ERG look.at-GENRL  
I will look at all the main camps.
51. mu:r gurangur baran  
nulla.nulla spear boomerang  
[He sees] nulla nullas, spears and boomerangs.
52. ŋa-dju bu-mgu-wa  
1SG-ERG kill-FUT-PURP  
I [will use these] in order to kill.

53. wandja guwe yo:we wane-ø ya-ndji  
 where then 3PL leave-GENRL go-?  
 I wonder where they went after leaving me?
54. nja-nji damba  
 see-PAST track  
 [He] saw tracks.
55. dawari-nji dawari-nji  
 follow-PERFV follow-PERFV  
 [He] followed and followed.
56. waga guwe mayi nja-nji  
 not then ? see-PAST  
 [He] could not see anything.
57. dja: gana yune-nji  
 track DEM lie-PERFV  
 The tracks were lying here.
58. wandja guwe ya-nji  
 where then go-PERFV  
 Where did [they] go?
59. guwe ya-nji guwe  
 then go-PERFV then  
 So [he] went.
60. bayer-nu wa-yi njinda-ø nja-nji  
 mountain-LOC<sub>3</sub> climb-PAST go.down-GENRL look-PAST  
 [He] climbed up the mountains and then looked down.
61. guwe nja-nji da:m wambe-nji-na  
 then see-PAST fog float-PERFV-ACC  
 [He] saw the fog which was floating (in the air).
62. gari-nma yo:wan yune-nge hare  
 DEM-EMPH 3PL sleep-IMPERFV EXCL  
 'Aha, they are sleeping here.'
63. gari-ŋa yo: ya-nji  
 DEM-ALL 3SG go-PERFV  
 He went to there.
64. waga  
 nothing  
 [There was] nothing.
65. waga gara  
 nothing DEM  
 [There was] nothing here.
66. wa-yi guwe badja-nu  
 climb.up-PAST then other.one-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 [He] climbed up another [mountain].

67. da:m me nja-tji  
fog ? see-PAST  
[He] saw fog.
68. waga minja gana  
nothing ? DEM  
??
69. ŋa-dju nja-tji waga guwe  
1SG-ERG see-PAST nothing then  
I saw nothing.
70. yuŋam guwe yere-nji  
ahead then go-PERFV  
So [he] went ahead.
71. nja-me-nji guwe yo:  
look-AROUND-PERFV then 3SG  
He looked around.
72. bu-mi guwe yo:  
kill-PAST then 3SG  
Then he killed [something].
73. minja-ŋa djunben gam bu-mi  
what-ACC lizard doubt kill-PAST  
What lizard did [I] kill?
74. yere-ndi-nji  
go.home-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
[He] took [it] home.
75. dja:-yi guwe  
eat-PAST then  
Then [he] ate [it].
76. yima-yi guwe yo:  
do.this-PAST then 3SG  
He did that.
77. man guwe yo: yo:-ri ya-nme-nge  
DEM then 3SG 3SG-? go-AROUND-IMPERFV  
??
78. gara yana-nde  
DEM go-PRES  
[He] is going (around) here.
79. bu-mbe yo:  
kill-PRES 3SG  
He kills (something).
80. wane-ø guwe  
leave-GENRL then  
[He] left [it].



81. wanja yo: man yo: yana-nge bayer yina  
 ? 3SG DEM 3SG go-? mountain gully  
 ??
82. gari-ŋi njinaŋu njinaŋu-ru djan-bam-bu  
 DEM-LOC ? ?-? man-DU-ERG  
 ??
83. njinaŋu guwe yima  
 ? then do.like.this  
 ??
84. buma-∅ ŋin-du  
 kill-IMPER 2SG-ERG  
 You should kill [things].
85. no:wa ŋin gari-nma bawar-nu  
 stranger 2SG DEM-EMPH scrub-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 You are a stranger here in the scrub.
86. wanju guwe gari ma:-nji njine-∅ moromoro  
 ? then DEM take-PERFV stay-GENRL main.camp  
 ??
87. wane-∅  
 leave-GENRL  
 [They] left [him].

### 9. *The Evening Star*

A giant lived alone in a cave on top of a mountain.<sup>63</sup> One day he found a dingo pup. He trained the pup to go ahead of him and sniff out all the little (ordinary) people and then he would come behind and kill them. So they did this as they moved west in search of food.<sup>64</sup>

A young man was out looking for honey one day and saw this fearsome giant and his vicious dog destroying everything. The young man told his people what he had seen but no one believed him. So he then went from place to place trying to find someone who would listen to him. Eventually he found the leader of a small group of blond and sick men<sup>65</sup> who was willing to help him. The two men, who were both *gundirs*, firstly moved all the people to safety. One of the men then created a mountain with a tunnel through the base, which was to be a trap for the dog. The other man then used his powers to make a lake that was to be a trap for the giant.

When the two men heard the dog approaching they crawled through the tunnel in the mountain and waited on the other side for the dog. When the dog came through the tunnel

<sup>63</sup> McKenzie told Winterbotham (1957) that this mountain was at Beerwah (Map 2).

<sup>64</sup> In Cairns' (1967:23) version of this story, the giant has been alienated by his people because he is very strong and is always accidentally killing his opponents in battle. He is said to be moving west in order to make a new home where he can be happy because people do not know him.

<sup>65</sup> These tribespeople were found out on the western plain and were apparently Gungari (Winterbotham 1957).

following their tracks, the two men speared him to death. Soon after, the giant discovered his dead dog. He went down to the lake and lay on his stomach to drink. The two men then came from behind and speared him. The dead giant fell over the edge into the water. The men then turned him into the evening star which looks, as it sinks below the horizon at night, like the giant falling into the lake. The two stars that follow the evening star are said to be the two young men who killed him.

### *Version 1*

1. buyun-bam mana gawurre-ndjin  
brother-DU DEM a.long.time.ago-PL  
In the olden times there were two brothers.
2. ma:djayum yi-ŋi ba:ŋgi  
giant be-PAST savage  
There was a savage giant.
3. njunam-bam-a me:ndi-nji djan-a bu-mi  
children-DU-ACC chase-PERFV man-ACC kill-PAST  
[He] chased away two (all?) children and killed all the men.
4. yo:wan ba:ŋgi-nji  
3PL be.afraid-PERFV  
They were all frightened.
5. gari-nma yo: garu yi-ŋi njine-nji  
DEM-EMPH 3SG alone be-PAST live-PERFV  
He lived alone here.
6. guwe ya:-ye-nji ya badja-rin wandju-ma-ø gana  
then say-RECIP-PERFV yes one.of.several-PL what-FACT-GENRL DEM  
The group were saying 'Yes, what [are we] going to do with this one?'
7. bu-mgu  
kill-INT  
'[We] will kill [him].'
8. waga binda-ø mana  
no send-IMPER DEM  
'No, [let's] send that one away.'
9. buginj-a yo: mana ma:nji buginj-a njanjunde  
dog-ACC 3SG DEM catch-PERFV dog-ACC dingo  
He caught a dog, a dog, a dingo.
10. njanjunde-na ma:nji  
dingo-ACC catch-PERFV  
[He] caught a dingo.
11. ya:-ye guwe mo: djan-a ŋin-du buma-ø  
say-PRES then DEM man-ACC 2SG-ERG kill-IMPER  
[He] says to that one (the dog), 'You kill (all) the men.'

12. yuŋam-ba ŋin dje-ø  
 front-LOC<sub>1</sub> 2SG go-IMPER  
 You go on in front.
13. guwe ŋay bige dje-nge ŋin-gari dje-nge  
 then 1SG behind go-IMPERFV 2SG-ALL come-IMPERFV  
 Then I will be following after you, [I] will be coming.
14. bu-mi guwe yo:-ŋa  
 kill-PAST then 3SG-ACC  
 Then we will have killed him.'

I am not sure why the 3SG and not the 3PL is used.

15. ya-nji bu-mi yana-ø  
 go-PERFV kill-PAST go-GENRL  
 So [they] went and [they] killed as they were going.
16. badja guwe gibar yi-nge  
 one.of.several then young.man be-IMPERFV  
 One of the group was a young man.
17. yuŋam-ba yi-nge  
 front-LOC<sub>1</sub> be-IMPERFV  
 [He] was out in front.
18. yuŋam-ba guwe ya:-yi man yo: ba-ye ma:djayum  
 front-LOC<sub>1</sub> then say-PAST DEM 3SG come-PRES giant  
 [From] in front he said, 'A giant is coming.
19. ŋuwe:-na bu-mbe gadja  
 2PL-ACC kill-PRES DEM  
 [He] is (going to) kill you all here.
20. yana-ø yuŋam-ba  
 go-IMPER ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 Go on ahead.'
21. yo: badja-rin njine-nji gari-nma-me  
 3SG one.of.several-PL sit-PERFV DEM-EMPHI-SPEC  
 He (the giant) [saw] a group sitting down here.
22. yima-yi-me bu-mi mo: ŋa dje-nji guwe yo:  
 do.like.this-PAST-REPET kill-PAST DEM and go-PERFV then 3SG  
 [He] killed those [people] in the same way (as the others), then he went on.
23. nja-nge goromda-na  
 see-IMPERFV three-ACC  
 Then [the young man] saw three [people].
24. ya:-yi guwe ŋuwe: yana-ø gara  
 say-PAST then 2PL go-IMPER DEM  
 [He] said, 'You all go away from here.

25. ma:djayum man ba-ye  
giant DEM come-PRES  
The giant comes.
26. ŋuwe:-na gadja guwe bu-mbe  
2PL-ACC DEM then kill-PRES  
[He] is (going to) kill you all here.'
27. me:ndi-nji  
chase-PERFV  
[So he] chased [them all] away.
28. binda-yi guwe badja-rin-a  
send-PAST then one.of.several-PL-ACC  
[He] sent some of them away.
29. gundir-bam guwe yi-ŋi  
clever.man-DU then be-PAST  
There were two clever men.
30. gundir gana yi-ŋi  
clever.man DEM be-PAST  
This one was a clever man, a very smart young man.
31. gibar ŋay gari-ŋa ŋa:m dje-yu  
young.man 1SG DEM-ALL 1DU go-FUT  
'I am a young man, we two will go there.
32. gari-nma yune-yu moromoro-nu  
DEM-EMPII stay-FUT main.camp-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
You should stay here at the main camp.'
33. dje-nji guwe moromoro-nu gari-nma yune-nji  
go-PERFV then main.camp-LOC<sub>3</sub> DEM-EMPII stay-PERFV  
So [they] went to the main camp and stayed there.
34. ma:djayum ba-yi  
giant+NOM come-PAST  
The giant came.
35. guwe nja-nge buginj-a dje-nji-na  
then see-IMPERFV dog-ACC come-PERFV-ACC  
Then [they] saw the dog which was coming.
36. buginj mana yuŋam-ba  
dog DEM front-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
The dog was in front.
37. djinbam bige-nju ba-yi  
owner behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> come-PAST  
His owner (the giant) came behind.
38. nja-ŋi guwe  
look-PAST then  
[He] looked (around).

39. yima-yi guwe ŋa:m-bu maŋji-nji  
do.like.this-PAST then 1DU-ERG be.ready-PERFV  
We two were ready like that.
40. badja-ru bayer wane-ø  
one.of.pair-ERG mountain leave-GENRL  
One of them (i.e. one of the two clever men) left mountain.
41. badja-ru guŋ njande  
other.one-ERG water swamp  
The other one [made] a water swamp.
42. ya:-ye-ŋi guwe yo:wan gana go: guwe ŋa:m-bu bu-mgu  
say-RECIP-PAST then 3PL DEM DEM then 1DU-ERG kill-FUT  
yo:-ŋa  
3SG-ACC  
They two said to each other, 'We two here on either sides of the opening) will kill him (the dog)'.  
yo:-ŋa  
3SG-ACC
43. buginj-a guwe bu-mi guraŋgur-u  
dog-ACC then kill-PAST spear-INSTR  
So [they] killed the dog using spears.
44. buwa-yi  
spear-PAST  
[They] speared [it].
45. dje-nji guwe ŋuruma-wa  
go-PERFV then hide-INT  
Then [they] went away intending to hide.
46. ŋurume-nji gari man njande-nu  
hide-PERFV DEM DEM swamp-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
Those [men] hid at the swamp here.
47. djinbam ba-yi  
owner come-PAST  
The owner (of the dog, i.e. the giant) came.
48. nja-ŋi guwe  
look-PAST then  
[He] looked [for his dog].
49. ŋa-rinj-a buginj-a bu-mi  
1SG-GEN-ACC dog-ACC kill-PAST  
'[They] killed my dog' (he said).
50. gan-ma gam guwe yowa:m djanjum yi-nge  
DEM-EMPH probably then 3DU close.by be-IMPERFV  
'Those two are probably close to here.'
51. djanjum yi-ŋi nja-ŋi guwe  
by be-IMPERFV see-PAST then  
[They] were closeby, [he] perceived.

52. guŋ-gu guwe yo: dje-nji  
water-ALL then 3SG go-PERFV  
Then he went to the water.
53. gunjbiru  
thirsty  
[He] was thirsty.
54. dje-nji  
go-PERFV  
[He] went [there].
55. mu:-ndu guwe yo: yune-nji  
belly-INSTR then 3SG lie-PERFV  
He lay down using his belly.
56. mu:-ndu yune-nji guwe dja:-ø  
belly-INSTR lie-PERFV then drink-GENRL  
[He] lay down using his belly and then drank.
57. guŋ dja:-ø  
water drink-GENRL  
[He] drank water.
58. gurangur-u yowa:m-bu buwa-n guwe yo:-ŋa wanda  
spear-INSTR 3DU-ERG spear-SUDDEN then 3SG-ACC neck  
Then they (the two men) suddenly speared his neck with a spear.
59. gari-nma yo: burunbi-nu njinda-yi guŋ-ga  
DEM-EMPH 3SG water's.edge-ABL<sub>1</sub> sink-PAST water-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
He sank into the water from the water's edge.
60. ya:-ye-ŋi guwe yowa:m wandja wandju-ma-wu guwe  
say-RECIP-PERFV then 3DU what what-FACT-FUT then  
ŋa:m-bu  
1DU-ERG  
Then they two said to each other, 'Where, what should we do [with him]?'
61. bunma-wu mana guŋ-u  
take.out-INT DEM water-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
'[We] should take that one out of the water' (one of them said).
62. waga wane-ø  
no leave-IMPER  
'No, leave [him there]' (the other one said).
63. gadja guwe ŋa:m-bu nja-wu yo:-ŋa  
DEM then 1DU-ERG see-FUT 3SG-ACC  
'We two will see him here.
64. nja-ø bayel bayel  
see-GENRL sky sky  
[We] will see [him] in the sky.

65. mirinjgim guwe gana mirinjgim mana  
 star then DEM star DEM  
 A star, this one [is going to be] a star there.
66. ŋa:m-bu yo:-ŋa dawari-yu guwe  
 1DU-ERG 3SG-ACC follow-FUT then  
 We two will follow him.
67. njunam-a njumba-wu yo:-ru ŋinŋangurra  
 children-DAT<sub>2</sub> show-FUT 3SG-ERG creation.time  
 He will show creation times [things] to the children.'
68. yima-yi bu-mi yo:-ŋa ma:djayum-a  
 do.like.this-PAST kill-PAST 3SG-ACC giant-ACC  
 In that way, [they] killed him, the giant.
69. man guwe wane-ø  
 DEM then leave-GENRL  
 Those ones left [him].
70. mirinjgim guwe ye-ø yo:  
 star then be-GENRL 3SG  
 He is a star.
71. guwe nja-wu bige-nju ba-yi-ndu  
 then see-FUT behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> come-PAST-ERG  
 [The people] who come behind will see [the star].
72. wane-ø guwe  
 leave-GENRL then  
 Then [they] left [him].
73. man guwe yo:  
 DEM then 3SG  
 He is there [now].
74. mana guwe njinda-yi guwe ma:djayum  
 DEM then disappear-PAST then giant  
 The giant disappeared there.
75. mirinjgim mana  
 star DEM  
 That is a star.
76. buyun-bam-bu dawari-ŋge  
 brother-DU-ERG follow-PRES  
 The two brothers follow [him].
77. bige-nju djaŋa-ru  
 behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> medicine.men-ERG  
 The medicine men are behind [him].

**Version 2**

1. ma:djayum-bu wane-ø guwe yo:-rinj-a djawun  
giant-ERG leave-GENRL then 3SG-GEN-ACC home.country  
A giant left his home country.
  
2. gonj yi-nji yo: ya-ngu gari-nma njine-yu ŋuwim  
wish be-PAST 3SG go-FUT DEM-EMPH stay-INT sun  
njinda-yi-nu  
go.down-PAST-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
He had a wish to go and to stay where the sun has gone down (i.e. he wanted to go and live in the west).
  
3. ya-nji  
go-PERFV  
[He] went (in that direction).
  
4. gari-nma yo: wabe-nge nja-ø be:ŋa-ø  
DEM-EMPH 3SG wait-IMPERFV look-GENRL listen-GENRL  
He is waiting there and looking and listening.
  
5. buginj-a guwe yo: badji-ø njanjunde  
dog-ACC then 3SG find-GENRL dingo  
Then he found a dog, a dingo.
  
6. buginj-a badji-ø njanjunde bari  
dog-ACC find-GENRL dingo small  
[He] found a dog, a dingo pup.
  
7. ya-nji guwe  
go-PERFV then  
Then [he] went on.
  
8. yere-ndi-nji  
go.home-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
[He] took [it] home.
  
9. ma:-nji mana bari-yu njanjunde  
take-PERFV DEM small-ERG dingo  
The small dingo took [him].
  
10. gadji mo: njine-ndi-nji  
DEM DEM sit-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
He made [the dog] sit there.
  
11. yo:-ri ya:-yi yima guwe ŋay  
3SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> tell-PAST do.like.this then 1SG  
I told him to do [it] like this.
  
12. ŋay gonj yima buginj-dju mowanin yi-gu  
1SG want do.like.this dog-ERG big be-FUT  
I want [him] to do [it] like this [when] the dog will be big.



13.    *ŋin-du*    *yo:wan-a*    *yiya-wu*  
 2SG-ERG   3PL-ACC   bite-FUT  
 ‘You will bite them all.
14.    *gara*    *gana*    *giragira-ø*    *go:ru*  
 DEM    DEM    trouble-GENRL ?  
 They are troubling [me] here??
15.    *giragira-wu*  
 trouble-FUT  
 [They] will trouble [me].
16.    *ŋin-du*    *yiya-me-ø*            *yo:wan-a*    *buma-ø*  
 2SG-ERG   bite-AROUND-IMPER   3PL-ACC   kill-IMPER  
 You bite them all over and kill them all.
17.    *bu-mgu-wa*    *ŋa:m-bu*  
 kill-FUT-DESID   1DU-ERG  
 We two want to kill [them].
18.    *ŋay yana-nde*  
 1SG   go-PRES  
 I am going.
19.    *ŋa:m*    *ŋin ya-ŋgu*    *gari-ŋa*    *ŋuwim*    *njinda-yi-nu*  
 1DU   2SG   go-FUT   DEM-ALL   sun       go.down-PAST-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 We will go to where the sun goes down (i.e. west).
20.    *wanja*    *gari-ŋa*    *ya-ŋgu*    *ŋuwim*    *njinda-yi-nu*        *yu:*  
 when    DEM-ALL   go-FUT   sun       go.down-PAST-LOC<sub>3</sub>   just  
  
*ŋa:m-bu*    *me:ndi-re-yu*    *damba-nu*  
 1DU-ERG   hunt-CONT-FUT   road-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 When [we] go over there where the sun sets, [then] we two will just hunt  
 [them] along on the road.
21.    *me:ndi-re-yu*  
 hunt-CONT-FUT  
 [We two] will hunt [them] all away.
22.    *ŋa:m-bu*    *guwe*    *nja-wu*  
 1DU-ERG   then   look-FUT  
 Then we two will look.
23.    *guŋ*    *mana*    *ba:l*    *guwe*    *gari-nma*    *ŋuwim*    *njinda-yi-nu*  
 water   DEM   salt   then   DEM-EMPH   sun       go.down-PAST-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 [We want to see] the other sea (lit. the salt water) where the sun sets (i.e.  
 west).
24.    *wanja*    *nja-wu*    *gari-nma*    *ŋa:m*    *njine-yu*  
 when    look-FUT   DEM-EMPH   1DU   stay-FUT  
 When [we] will have looked about, [then we] two will stay there.

25. waga guwe biye dje-yu  
not then back go-FUT  
[We] will not come back.
26. gari-tjinu  
DEM-END  
[We have] finished here.
27. wura  
finished  
This is finished.
28. yayumba ŋa:m ŋin ya-ngu  
soon 1DU 2SG go-FUT  
We two (incl.) will go soon.'
29. yere-nji guwe yowa:m  
go-PERFV then 3DU  
They two went along.
30. ya-nji  
go-PERFV  
[They] went.
31. yima-yi-me guwe buginj-dju me:ndi-nji yo:wan-a  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET then dog-ERG hunt-PERFV 3PL-ACC  
yɔŋam-u  
front-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
In the same way, the dog went in front and hunted them all.
32. yo: ma:djayum bige-nju dje-nji  
3SG giant behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> go-PERFV  
He, the giant, was going behind [him].
33. me:ndi-re-nji mo: buginj-dju yo:wan-a  
hunt-CONT-PERFV DEM dog-ERG 3PL-ACC  
That one, the dog was still hunting them all.
34. yiya-me-nji guwe  
bite-AROUND-PERFV then  
[The dog] was biting [them].
35. bu-mi badja-rin-a  
kill-PAST other.one-PL-ACC  
[He] killed other ones.
36. yima-yi yanga-yi  
do.like.this-PAST do-PAST  
[He] did it like that.
37. ya-nji guwe  
go-PERFV then  
[They] went along.

38. yune-nji yowa:m  
camp-PERFV 3DU  
They two camped.
39. dulara-me guwe dje-nji yima-yi-me  
morning-SPEC then go-PERFV do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
In the morning, [they] went on in the same way.
40. yima-yi-me buginj-dju me:ndi-nji yo:wan-a  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET dog-ERG hunt-PERFV 3PL-ACC  
In the same way, the dog hunted them all.
41. dje-nji yima-yi-me guwe  
go-PERFV do.like.this-PAST-REPET then  
[He] went along in the same way.
42. dulara-me guwe dje-nji gari-nma yowa:m  
next.day-SPEC then go-PERFV DEM-EMPH 3DU  
yune-re-nji damba-nu  
sleep-CONT-PERFV road-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
The next day they two went and they slept here along the road.
43. ya-nji  
go-PERFV  
[They] went.
44. guwe nja-nji guwe badja-rin-a  
then see-PAST then other.one-PL-ACC  
Then [they] saw others.
45. wura ya-nji yo:-ŋu  
already go-PERFV 3SG-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
[These others] had already gone away from him.
46. be:ŋa-ø yowa:m-a badja-rin-du  
hear-GENRL 3DU-ACC other.one-PL-ERG  
The others had heard about them two.
47. ya-nji-nji yo:we  
go-PERFV-PERFV 3PL  
They had all gone.
48. gan ma:djayum gan ba-ye  
DEM giant DEM come-PRES  
The giant came here.
49. gara yanggayanga  
DEM carefully  
[You hide] careful here.
50. ya-nji gara  
go-PERFV DEM  
[They] went here.

51. damba-nu yo:wam yune-nge gara  
road-LOC<sub>3</sub> 3DU camp-IMPERFV DEM  
They two were camping on the road here.
52. ya-nji  
go-PERFV  
[They] went.
53. yowa:m ba-yi guwe njun guwe nja-nji moromoro  
3DU come-PAST then ashes then see-PAST main.camp  
They two came and saw ashes of a main camp.
54. moromoro gara yune-nji  
main.camp DEM sleep-PERFV  
Here is the main camp [where they] slept.
55. buginj ger gaye-nji gadji-ma  
dog try look-PERFV DEM-EMPH  
The dog tried looking here.
56. nja-me-nji yo:  
look-AROUND-PERFV 3SG  
[He] looked around.
57. bige-nju dje-nji djinbam nja-re-nji  
behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> go-PERFV owner look-CONT-PERFV  
[His] owner came behind and looked around.
58. waga+ra ya-nji  
nothing+DEM go-PERFV  
There was nothing there so [they] went.
59. guwe galanj  
then alright  
'That's alright.
60. yayumba-me ŋa:m ya-ngu  
soon-SPEC 1DU go-FUT  
We two will go on now.'
61. guwe yowa:m-bu nja-nji guwe guniyan guniyan dja:  
then 3DU-ERG sec-PAST then plain plain ground  
Then they two saw the plain, the plain ground.
62. buginj wura ya-nji yunjam-ba  
dog already go-PAST ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
The dog had already gone ahead.
63. buginj-dju nja-ø guwe  
dog-ERG see-GENRL then  
Then the dog saw [something].
64. minja-ŋa gari ye-ø  
what-ACC DEM be-GENRL  
'What is here?'

65. guniyan yi-nji dja:  
 plain be-PAST ground  
 It was plain ground.
66. yo: yuŋam-ba dje-ø  
 3SG ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub> go-GENRL  
 He went ahead.
67. nja-nji  
 look-PAST  
 [He] looked.
68. buginj-dju yo:rr nja-nji-nde waga+ra  
 dog-ERG everywhere look-PAST-NMLSR nothing+DEM  
 The dog was one who looked everywhere [but] there was nothing there.
69. ba-yi guwe yo:  
 come-PAST then 3SG  
 He came back.
70. gari-nma nja-nji wabe-nje-nji djinbam-gari  
 DEM-EMPH see-PAST wait-REFL-PERFV owner-PURP  
 [He] looked there and waited for [his] owner.
71. djinbam ba-yi guwe  
 owner come-PAST then  
 Then his owner came along.
72. nja-nji guwe ba-ø moromoro-we gara  
 look-PAST then come-GENRL main.camp-COLL DEM  
 [He] looked and then came to all the main camps here.
73. guniyan yi-nji  
 plain be-PAST  
 It was a plain.
74. dadu dunme-nji neycŋ  
 tree move-PERFV outside  
 Outside, the trees were moving.
75. ŋumga-yi guwe yowa:m  
 go.through-PAST then 3DU  
 They two went through there.
76. gari-nma ŋumga-yi  
 DEM-EMPH go.through-PAST  
 [They] went through here.
77. ya-nji guwe ŋa:ba-yi  
 go-PERFV then go.further-PAST  
 [They] went and went on further.
78. djan guwe yi-nji badja  
 man then be-PAST other.one  
 There was another man.

79. gundir  
clever.man  
A clever man.
80. yo: be:ŋa-yi-me yowa:m-a dawari-nji-na  
3SG hear-PAST-REPET 3DU-ACC follow-PERFV-ACC  
He had repeatedly heard of those two which were following.
81. yo: yuŋam-ba dje-nji ya:-yi  
3SG ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub> go-PERFV tell-PAST  
He went ahead and told [those ahead of the giant].
82. nja-ŋi guwe  
look.at-PAST then  
[He] looked at [them].
83. gara guwe yune-nge goromda  
DEM then sleep-IMPERFV few  
A few [of them] were sleeping here.
84. ya:-ø yo:wan-a guyum-ba  
speak-GENRL 3PL-ACC camp-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
[He] spoke to them in the camp.
85. guwe waga gara njine-ø  
then don't DEM stay-IMPER  
'Don't stay here.
86. ma:djayum-bu bu-mbe mo:  
giant-ERG kill-PRES DEM  
The giant (is going) to kill those [people].
87. buginj-dju yuŋam-ba yi-nge badji-nge  
dog-ERG front-LOC<sub>3</sub> be-IMPERFV find-IMPERFV  
The dog is in front finding [camps].
88. ŋuwe: ŋin yana-ø gara  
2PL 2SG go-IMPER DEM  
You all go (from) here.
89. gara guwe yana-ø  
DEM then go-IMPER  
Go away (from here)!
90. mana-ma damba-nu guwe gara yune-nge  
DEM-EMPH road-LOC<sub>3</sub> then DEM camp-IMPERFV  
They are camping on the road here.
91. yana-ø mara ŋin  
go-IMPER DEM 2SG  
You go away there.'
92. miya:-gunj badja-rin giyuru  
eye-PRIV other.one-PL sick  
[One of them is] blind and the other ones are sick.

93. ba-ø            ŋa-dju    ŋowa:m-a    buyi-ø  
 come-IMPER 1SG-ERG 2DU-ACC take-GENRL  
 ‘Come, I will take you two [there].’
94. guŋ    ye-ø            gara  
 water be-GENRL DEM  
 ‘Is there any water around here?’ (the blind man asked)
95. njumba-ø    guwe    guŋ  
 show-GENRL then water  
 [He] showed [them] where the water was.
96. man    guŋ    ye-ø            gari-ŋa  
 DEM water be-GENRL DEM-ALL  
 There is water here.
97. gari-ŋa    ŋa:m-bu    dje-ndi-yu  
 DEM-ALL 1DU-ERG go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
 We two will take [them] to there.
98. ŋin-du    dje-ndi-yu  
 2SG-ERG go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
 You will take [them].
99. ŋin    gibar            gibar  
 2SG young.man young.man  
 You are a young man.
100. dje-ndi-yu  
 go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
 [You] will take [them].
101. gadji-ma    wane-ø            guwe    gurilŋa-na    yima            miya:gunj-a  
 DEM-EMPH leave-GENRL then old.man-ACC do.like.this eye-PRIV-ACC  
 badja-rin-a  
 other.one-PL-ACC  
 [He] left them here like this, the old men, the blind ones and the others.
102. gurilŋa-na    ger    dje-nge  
 old.man-ACC try go-IMPERFV  
 [They] tried to move the old men away.
103. wane-ø            yowa:m-bu  
 leave-GENRL 3DU-ERG  
 They two left [them there].
104. biye    ya-nji    guwe  
 back go-PERFV then  
 [They] went back [to the old camp].
105. gari-ŋa    moromoro    wabe-nji    yo:-ŋa    ma:djayum-a  
 DEM-ALL main.camp wait-PERFV 3SG-ACC giant-ACC  
 [They] waited here for him, the giant, at the main camp.

106. buginj-a mana nja-wu  
dog-ACC DEM see-FUT  
[They] will see the dog.
107. yo:rr ya-nme-nji  
everywhere go-AROUND-PERFV  
[The giant and the dog] went around everywhere.
108. yima-yi guwe buginj-dju go: yanga-ø  
do.like.this-PAST then dog-ERG DEM do-GENRL  
The dog did [it] like that.
109. buginj-dju bu-mbe me:ndi-nge  
dog-ERG kill-PRES hunt-IMPERFV  
The dog kills and hunts [the people] away.
110. guwe yo: bige-nju ya-ø  
then 3SG behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> go-GENRL  
He (the giant) then goes behind.
111. dawari-nge djinbam  
follow-IMPERFV owner  
The owner follows.
112. wandju-ma-wu ŋa:m-bu  
what-FACT-FUT 1DU-ERG  
'What are we both going to do?' (said one man to the other).
113. yima guwe  
do.like.this then  
'[We will] do [it] like this.
114. yima guwe ŋa:m-bu yanga-wu  
do.like.this then 1DU-ERG make-FUT  
We two will make [it] like this.
115. ŋin bunma-ŋe  
2SG draw.out-REFL  
You draw out of yourself (i.e. draw upon your powers).
116. minja-ŋa ŋin-gari ye-ø  
what-ACC 2SG-GEN be-GENRL  
What have you got?
117. gundir ŋin  
clever.man 2SG  
Are you a clever man?'
118. ya: gundirr ŋay  
yes clever.man 1SG  
'Yes, I am a clever man.'
119. bunma-ŋe-nji  
draw.out-REFL-PERFV  
[He] drew upon himself.



120. ya:-ø guwe bayer bunma-yi  
 speak-GENRL then mountain draw.out-PAST  
 [He] spoke and drew out a (little) mountain.
121. bayer bunma-ø nala-ŋa mana  
 mountain draw.out-GENRL hole-CON DEM  
 [He] drew out a mountain having a hole (i.e. tunnel) there.
122. gidi yo: nja-ŋi  
 light 3SG see-PAST  
 He saw the light (at the other end of the tunnel).
123. gari-ŋinu guwe nja-ø  
 DEM-END then look-GENRL  
 This was finished and then he looked.
124. wanja buginj-dju dawari-ø ŋa:m-a gari-ŋa ŋa:m dje-yu  
 when dog-ERG follow-GENRL 1DU-ACC DEM-ALL 1DU go-FUT  
 'When the dog follows us two, we will both go to there.
125. ŋuruma-wu yo:-ri  
 hide-FUT 3SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 [We] will hide from him.
126. gurangur ŋin-gari ye-ø ŋa-ri gurangur wanja yo:-ŋa  
 spear 2SG-GEN be-IMPER 1SG-GEN spear when 3SG-ACC  
 [You] have your spear [ready], [I will have] my spear [ready] when [we see]  
 him.
127. wanja mana buginj ba-ø gari-yu  
 when DEM dog come-GENRL go.in-FUT  
 When the dog comes, he will go in (to the tunnel).
128. bayer-nu ŋa-dju bunma-yi  
 mountain-LOC<sub>3</sub> 1SG-ERG draw.out-PAST  
 I drew out a mountain.
129. wanja yo: gari-yu wanda guwe buwa-ø yo:-ŋa  
 when 3SG enter-FUT neck then spear-IMPER 3SG-ACC  
 When he goes in, spear him in the neck.
130. gadji-ma buma-ø  
 DEM-EMPH kill-IMPER  
 Kill [him] here.'
131. wanja yo: ba-wu wandju-ma-ø yo:-ŋa djinbam-a  
 when 3SG come-FUT what-FACT-GENRL 3SG-ACC owner-ACC  
 'When he comes, what will [we] do with him, the owner?'
132. wandju-ma-ø gadja  
 what-FACT-GENRL DEM  
 'I don't know what we will do with him here.'

133.     $\eta$ ay    guwe    bunma- $\eta$ e-yu  
 1SG    then    draw.out-REFL-FUT  
 'I will draw out of myself (i.e. draw upon my powers).
134.    bunma- $\eta$ e     $\eta$ ay  
 draw.out-REFL 1SG  
 'I will draw out of myself.'
135.    wane- $\emptyset$     yowa:m-bu    bayer  
 leave-GENRL 3DU-ERG    mountain  
 Then they two left the mountain.
136.    bunma-yi    wura    galan  
 draw.out-PAST already good  
 [They] had drawn [it] out and it was already good.
137.     $\eta$ in    bunma- $\eta$ e- $\emptyset$   
 2SG draw.out-REFL-IMPER  
 'You draw out of yourself.'
138.    mana    yo:    bunma- $\eta$ e-nji    guwe  
 DEM    3SG    draw.out-REFL-PERFV    then  
 Then he drew out of himself there.
139.    badja    bunma- $\eta$ e-nji  
 other.one draw.out-REFL-PERFV  
 The other one drew out of himself.
140.    njande    guwe    yo:    wane- $\emptyset$   
 swamp    then    3SG    leave-GENRL  
 Then he left a swamp.
141.    njande    yi-nge  
 swamp    be-IMPERFV  
 It is a swamp.
142.     $\eta$ in-du    nja- $\emptyset$     gana  
 2SG-ERG    look.at-IMPER    DEM  
 'You look at this.'
143.    nja- $\eta$ i    guwe    badja-ru  
 look.at-PAST then    other.one-ERG  
 Then the other one looked at [it].
144.    njande     $\eta$ in-gari    mana  
 swamp    2SG-GEN    DEM  
 'Is that swamp yours?'
145.     $\eta$ a-ri    mana    njande  
 1SG-GEN    DEM    swamp  
 'That is my swamp.'
146.    yu:     $\eta$ a-dju    wane- $\emptyset$   
 just 1SG-ERG    leave-GENRL  
 I will just leave it.

147. gari-nma    ηay-wa  
 DEM-EMPH 1SG-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 ??
148. ηurume-nge    djan-banji  
 hide-IMPERFV    man-AVER  
 [We] are hiding for fear of the man.
149. yima-ø            ηa:m    ηin  
 do.like.this-IMPER 1DU 2SG  
 Let's do it like this! (i.e. hide)
150. ya:    galaη    wura  
 yes    good    done  
 Yes, this is already good.
151. wanja    guη-u            dja:-ø            gunjbiru    ηa-dju    guwe    yo:-ηa  
 when    water-LOC<sub>3</sub>    drink-GENRL    thirsty    1SG-ERG    then    3SG-ACC  
 djimbam-a    buwa-ø  
 owner-ACC    spear-GENRL  
 When [he] is thirsty and drinks at the water, then I will spear him, the owner.
152. yo:    nurrun    bo:-gunj    guη-u  
 3SG    breath    ?-PRIV    water-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 He is without breath at the water.
153.    guη-u            gara  
 water-LOC<sub>3</sub>    DEM  
 Here at the water.
154. gari-ηa    yo:    dje-yu  
 DEM-ALL    3SG    go-FUT  
 He will go to there.
155.    guη    dja:-wu  
 water    drink-FUT  
 [He] will drink water.
156.    ηa-dju    yima            yo:-ηa    buwa-wu  
 1SG-ERG    do.like.this    3SG-ACC    spear-FUT  
 I will spear him like this.
157.    wanja    yo:-ηa    buwa-wu    guwe    ηa:m-bu    gari    yo:-ηa  
 when    3SG-ACC    spear-FUT    then    1DU-ERG    DEM    3SG-ACC  
 wandju-ma-wu  
 what-FACT-FUT  
 When we two spear him, then what are we going to do to him here?
158.    bu-mgu    ηa:m-bu    budirgu  
 kill-FUT    1DU-ERG    completely  
 We two will kill [him] completely.

159. wane-yu  
leave-FUT  
[We] will leave [him].'
160. yima guwe yanga-yi  
do.like.this then make-PAST  
Like this, [they] made [him].
161. ŋu:l guwe njumba-ŋe-yu  
image then show-REFL-FUT  
The image will show itself.
162. wandja  
where  
Where?
163. wandja wane-yu  
where leave-FUT  
Where will [we] leave [him]?
164. mirinjgim yanga-yi  
star make-PAST  
[They] made [him] a star.
165. mirinjgim goromda yo:-ŋa wane-yi dji  
star few 3SG-ACC leave-PAST ?  
[They] left him as a few stars.
166. wanja ŋuwim njinda-ø yo: guwe bige-nju  
when sun go.down-GENRL 3SG then behind-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
dawari-ŋi  
follow-PAST  
When the sun went down, then he followed behind.
167. yima-yi-me yo:-ŋa yima-yi ba wane-ø  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET 3SG-ACC do.like.this-PAST ? leave-GENRL  
In the same way, [they] left him like that.
168. mara yo: guŋ-u gari-nji  
DEM 3SG water-LOC<sub>3</sub> go.in-PERFV  
He went into the water there.
169. ŋa:m-bu bu-mi-nda gana  
IDU-ERG kill-PAST-NMLSR DEM  
We two were the ones who killed this one.
170. galaŋ wura yima guwe ŋa:m-bu wane-ø  
well done do.like.this then IDU-ERG leave-GENRL  
It was done well like this and then we two left [it].
171. gari-ŋinu  
DEM-END  
This is the end (of it).

172. bunma-nda yowa:m-bu  
draw.out-NMLSR 3DU-ERG  
They were both power-drawing ones.
173. waga guwe wane-∅ ye-∅ dja:-ba  
don't then leave-IMPER be-GENRL ground-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
'Don't leave it to be on the ground.'
174. mirinjgim guwe gaye-ma-∅ yowa:m-bu mirinjgim  
star then turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-GENRL 3DU-ERG star  
They two turned him into a star, a star.
175. yima guwe goromda yo: bunjarj-ga  
do.like.this then three 3SG front-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
Like this, of the three, he is in front.
176. ŋuwim njinda-yi yo: bige-nju mana mirinjgim-u  
sun go.down-PAST 3SG behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> DEM star-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
??
177. yowa:m-a gibar-ŋa-wan bige-nju guwe njinda-yi  
3DU-ACC young.man-?-? behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> then go.down-PAST  
??
178. ŋowa:m-bu bu-mi  
2DU-ERG kill-PAST  
You two killed [him].
179. wane-yi guwe yo:-ŋa  
leave-PAST then 3SG-ACC  
So [they] left him [there].
180. yima-yi guwe njunam-a guwe njumba-wu nja-∅  
do.like.this-PAST then children-DAT<sub>2</sub> then show-FUT see-GENRL  
Like that, [they] show the children [for them] to see.
181. mirinjgim gaye-ma-yi  
star turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST  
[They] turned [him] into a star.

### 10. The Fish in the Ponds

This is a story about how fish came to live in ponds completely separated from rivers or the sea. It was said that the jewfish and mullet laid their eggs in the swamps and the brolga, which walked around in these swamps, picked up these eggs on its legs. The brolga then flew away in search of food and water and found the ponds. It landed there and the eggs fell off its legs. The sun then hatched the eggs and mullet and jewfish came out.

1. ŋanjamerr mana bidji  
brolga DEM large.bird  
The brolga is a large bird.

2. wanja yo:we-ri gari-nma yo:we yana-nde  
INTERROG 3PL-? DEM-EMPH 3PL go-PRES  
How did they all go here??
3. wanja njanamerr yo:-ri njande-nu yana-nde  
when brolga 3SG-? swamp-LOC<sub>3</sub> go-PRES  
When did the cranes go to the swamp??
4. ŋuwa: gunda-yi guwe bala-ru  
egg lay-PAST then jewfish-ERG  
The jewfish laid eggs.
5. ŋande-ru ŋuwa: gunda-yi  
mullet-ERG egg lay-PAST  
The mullets laid eggs.
6. yo: mana dje-nge gari-nma-me  
3SG DEM go-IMPERFV DEM-EMPH-SPEC  
He goes to the same place.
7. njalaŋ-u yo:rr yana-nde  
mud-LOC<sub>3</sub> everywhere go-PRES  
[He] goes everywhere in the mud.
8. ŋuwa: guwe mana dari-nge yo:-ŋa djinaŋ-u  
egg then DEM pick.up-IMPERFV 3SG-ACC feet-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
[He] picks up the eggs on his feet.
9. yana-nde guwe yo: dare-nge  
go-PRES then 3SG fly-IMPERFV  
Then he is going away and is flying.
10. yana-nde  
go-PRES  
[He] is [still] going.
11. guŋ nja-re-nge yo:  
water look-CONT-IMPERFV 3SG  
He is looking around [for] water.
12. guŋ gara yi-ye  
water DEM be-PRES  
It is water here.
13. njinda-ø guwe yo: gari-nma  
go.down-GENRL then 3SG DEM-EMPH  
He goes down here.
14. guyur-gu gaye-wa  
food-PURP look-INT  
[He] intends to look for food.
15. bumi-nge guwe mana ŋuwa: djinaŋ-u buyu-nu  
fall-IMPERFV then DEM egg feet-ABL<sub>1</sub> leg-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
The eggs fall from his feet and legs.

16. bumi-nge  
fall.off-IMPERFV  
[The eggs] fell off.
17. ŋuwim guwe wa-ye  
sun then rise-PRES  
Then the sun rises.
18. ŋuwim-bu guwe mana manundje-re buŋunda-ø ŋuwa: mana  
sun-ERG then DEM hatch-CONT open.up-GENRL egg DEM  
Then the sun hatches and opens up the eggs.
19. buŋunda-ø ŋuwa: ŋuwim-bu  
open.up-GENRL egg sun-ERG  
The sun opens up the eggs.
20. guwe nja-ø bari guwe  
then see-GENRL small then  
Then [he] sees small (fish).
21. wandju-ma-ø gana yi-nji  
how-FACT-GENRL DEM be-PERFV  
How did they become here?
22. nja-ø guwe yo:-ru  
see-GENRL then 3SG-ERG  
Then he sees [it].
23. bala gana  
jewfish DEM  
These are jewfish.
24. ŋande gana  
mullet DEM  
These are mullet.
25. ŋan-du gana ba:ri-nji  
who-ERG DEM bring-PERFV  
Who brought these [fish] here?
26. waga ba:ri-nji mo:  
not bring-PERFV DEM  
That one (the brotga) did not bring [them].
27. djiwi-ndu buyi-le ŋuwa: mana  
bird-ERG carry-CONT egg DEM  
A bird carried along the eggs.
28. gadji wane-yi  
DEM leave-PAST  
[He] left [them] here.
29. ŋuwim-bu guwe djime-ø  
sun-ERG then shine.on-GENRL  
The sun is shining on [them].

30. man guwe nja-ø guwe  
DEM then look.at-GENRL then  
They look at it there.
31. buɲundje-nji mana ŋuwa:  
open.up-PERFV DEM egg  
The eggs opened up.
32. man guwe bari nja-ø  
DEM then small look-GENRL  
The young ones are looking.
33. mana ŋande ŋa bala  
DEM mullet and jewfish  
There are mullet and jewfish.
34. wura  
finished  
This is finished now.
35. gari-ŋinu  
DEM-END  
This is the end.
36. yima-yi guwe  
do.like.this-PAST then  
[It] was done like that.

### 11. *The Kangaroo Rat and the Cockatoo*

Two young boys were arguing passionately over whose uncle was the strongest and cleverest. One of the boy's uncles was the kangaroo rat (bandicoot) and the other boy's uncle was the cockatoo. The boys decided to get their uncles to fight each other. So the next morning the battle began. They continually threw boomerangs at each other but the cockatoo kept missing the kangaroo rat. However, each time the kangaroo rat threw a boomerang, he took some feathers off the cockatoo's crest. Eventually the cockatoo gave up and acknowledged that the kangaroo rat must be a better fighter than him. He then asked the kangaroo rat how it was that he never got hit. The kangaroo rat revealed that each time the cockatoo threw a boomerang at him he would duck down into a nearby hole.

The feathers lost by the cockatoo have never grown back which is why it still has a hairless spot underneath its crest to this day. This story also explains why the kangaroo rat continues to make his home in a hollow in the ground.

1. ŋiŋɲangurra  
creation.time  
A creation time story.
2. nɲunam ya:-ye-nji gawurre-ndjin  
children talk-RECIP-PERFV a.long.time.ago-PL  
In the olden days some children talked to each other.



3. gembe-nji guwe yo:wan  
 play-PERFV then 3PL  
 They were playing.
4. guwe bu-mdje-nji gima-wam  
 then fight-RECIP-PERFV boy-DU  
 Two boys were fighting each other.
5. guwe badja-ru ya:-yi ηay yana-ø  
 then one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST 1SG go-GENRL  
 One of them said, 'I am going.'
6. ηa-nja ηin-du bu-mi  
 1SG-ACC 2SG-ERG hit-PAST  
 You hit me.'
7. ηa-ri bebere ba:ηgi ye-ø  
 1SG-GEN uncle savage be-GENRL  
 'My uncle is savage.'
8. ηin-gari bebere ba:ηgi  
 2SG-GEN uncle savage  
 Is your uncle savage?' (one of them said).
9. ya: ηa-ri yayumbe  
 yes 1SG-GEN same  
 'Yes, mine is the same' (the other one answered).
10. ηin dje-ø  
 2SG go-IMPER  
 'You go.'
11. yo:wan-a ηin-du ya:-wu ηin-gari bebere-na  
 3DU-ACC 2SG-ERG say-INT 2SG-GEN uncle-ACC  
 You should speak to them, [to] your uncle.
12. ηa-dju ya:-le ηa-rinj-a  
 1SG-ERG say-CONT 1SG-GEN-ACC  
 I will speak to mine.
13. yayumba-me dje-ø  
 soon-SPEC go-IMPER  
 Go now!'
14. dje-nji guwe gima-ru ya:-yi guwe bebere-na  
 go-PERFV then boy-ERG say-PAST then uncle-ACC  
 So [he] went and then the boy spoke to his uncle.
15. gima-ru mo: ηa-nja bu-mi-na bayer-nu warru yabu  
 boy-ERG DEM 1SG-ACC hit-PAST-ACC mountain-ABL<sub>1</sub> region only  
 'The boy, that one who hit me is only from the mountain region.'
16. ηa:m ηin dje-wu ηa-dju yo:-ηa ya:-yi  
 1DU 2SG go-FUT 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC say-PAST  
 'We (incl.) will go' I said to him.

17.     $\eta$ in ba: $\eta$ gi ye- $\emptyset$   
 2SG savage be-GENRL  
 ‘You are savage’ (his nephew said).
18.    ya: gala $\eta$     $\eta$ in-du   ya:-yi  
 yes good   2SG-ERG say-PAST  
 ‘Yes, it is good (i.e. true) [what] you said.
19.     $\eta$ ay dje-nge       yo:-ri  
 1SG go-IMPERFV 3SG-ALL  
 I am going to him’ (his uncle replied).
20.    dje-nji    guwe  
 go-PERFV then  
 Then [he] went.
21.    dulara-me       wa: ya-nji       bebere   mara-ri   barru $\eta$ ga-ri  
 morning-SPEC ? go-PERFV   uncle   DEM-ALL kangaroo.rat-ALL  
 Early in the morning, the uncle went to the kangaroo rat.
22.    ya:-yi    guwe    $\eta$ in-du    bunjma-yi    $\eta$ in-garinj-a   bebere-na  
 say-PAST then 2SG-ERG boast-PAST 2SG-GEN-ACC uncle-ACC  
 Then [he] said, ‘You boasted about your uncle’.
23.    ya:    $\eta$ a-dju    bunjma-yi  
 yes 1SG-ERG boast-PAST  
 ‘Yes, I have boasted [about him]’ (the other boy replied).
24.     $\eta$ in ba: $\eta$ gi  
 2SG savage  
 ‘You are savage’ (one of the men said).
25.    ya:    $\eta$ ay ba: $\eta$ gi  
 yes 1SG savage  
 ‘Yes, I am savage’ (the other man responded).
26.    yowa:m    $\eta$ ja- $\eta$ dje-nji       guwe  
 3DU       look.at-RECIP-PERFV then  
 Then they both looked at each other.
27.     $\eta$ ja- $\eta$ dje-nji       yowa:m  
 look.at-RECIP-PERFV 3DU  
 They two [continued] looking at each other.
28.    baran- $\eta$ a       yi- $\eta$ i  
 boomerang-CON be-PAST  
 [They] were [both] boomerang men.
29.    baran-du       bamba-ye- $\eta$ ji       yowa:m  
 boomerang-INSTR pelt-RECIP-PERFV 3DU  
 They both pelted each other with boomerangs.
30.    baran-du       bamba-ye-n  
 boomerang-INSTR pelt-RECIP-PERFV  
 [They both] pelted each other with boomerangs.

31. biya-ŋdje-nji  
 throw-RECIP-PERFV  
 [They two] were throwing boomerangs at each other.
32. biya-yi badja-ru  
 throw-PAST one.of.pair-ERG  
 One of them (the cockatoo) threw [a boomerang].
33. bamba-yi waga  
 hit-PAST not  
 [It] didn't hit (the kangaroo rat).
34. yo: gawa-yi guwe badja-ru  
 3SG dodge-PAST then other.one-ERG  
 The other one (the kangaroo rat) then dodged him (i.e. the cockatoo's boomerang).
35. bu-mdje-nji-wa  
 fight-RECIP-PERFV-NMLSR  
 [They] were fighting each other ones.
36. wane-yi guwe baran guwe waga yi-ŋi  
 leave-PAST then boomerang then not be-PAST  
 [He] (i.e. the cockatoo) left [it as his] boomerangs were not (hitting the kangaroo rat).
37. yowa:m ba-n guwe  
 3DU come-SUDDEN then  
 Then they two came [together].
38. nja-ŋdje-n djanjum djanjum ya:-ye-nji waga ŋin  
 see-RECIP-SUDDEN close close say-RECIP-PERFV not 2SG  
 wubin  
 wise.man  
 They looked at each other closely and (the kangaroo rat) said, 'You are not a wise man'.
39. ŋin-a ŋa-dju yowana-wu  
 2SG-ACC 1SG-ERG knock.down-FUT  
 'I am going to knock you down' (replied the offended cockatoo).
40. waga ŋin njeŋga wunba  
 not 2SG clever very  
 'You are not very clever' (said the kangaroo rat again).
41. wubin ŋin wubin  
 wise.man 2SG wise.man  
 'You are a wise man, a wise man' (conceded the cockatoo).
42. wane-yi guwe  
 leave-PAST then  
 'Leave it then' (said the kangaroo rat).

In asking him to 'leave it' the kangaroo rat is saying that they should stop arguing and talk sensibly.

43. wandju-ma-yi    ŋin-du    baran            gawa-yi  
 what-FACT-PAST 2SG-ERG boomerang    dodge-PAST  
 'How did you dodge the boomerangs?' (enquired the cockatoo).
44.    ŋin-du    man    menjindu    baran            gawa-yi    ŋin-du  
 2SG-ERG    DEM    ?            boomerang    dodge-PAST 2SG-ERG  
 baran            mana  
 boomerang    DEM  
 ??
45.    waga    ŋa-dju    ŋin-a            njumba-wa  
 no    1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT<sub>2</sub>    show-INT  
 'No, I intend to show you [it]' (said the kangaroo rat).
46.    njumba-yi    guwe    nala-ri  
 point-PAST    then    hole-?  
 So [he] pointed to the hole.
47.    gara-ŋi    yune-nge  
 DEM-LOC    lie-IMPERFV  
 '[I] was lying in here.
48.    gari-ŋi    wunda-ŋe-nji    wanja    ŋa-dju    baran    nja-ŋi  
 DEM-LOC    cover-REFL-PERFV    when    1SG-ERG    boomerang    see-PAST  
 biye-ŋi-na  
 throw-PERFV-ACC  
 [I] covered myself (i.e. bent over) in here when I saw the boomerang which was thrown.
49.    ŋay    gunu            wunda-ŋe-nji  
 1SG    deep.below    cover-REFL-PERFV  
 I covered myself deep below (i.e. under the ground).'
50.    wubin    wunba    ŋin  
 wise.man    very    2SG  
 (The cockatoo said), 'You are a very wise man.
51.    wane-ø    gari-nma  
 leave-IMPER    DEM-EMPH  
 Leave [it] right here.
52.    ŋin    wubin    wunba  
 2SG    wise.man    very  
 You are a very wise man
53.    ŋa-dju    ŋin-a    wane-ø    guwe  
 1SG-ERG    2SG-ACC    leave-GENRL    then  
 I will leave you.'

54. guwe ŋa-dju ya:-le yo:wan-a waga mara-ri ba:l-ŋa  
 then ISG-ERG say-CONT 3PL-ACC don't DEM-ALL wild-CON  
 dje-ø  
 go-IMPER  
 Then I said to them, 'Don't go (close) to the wild one there.'
55. wane-ø guwe  
 leave-GENRL then  
 So [he] left [it].

## 12. The Meat-ants

A man gave some kangaroo meat to his nephew, who refused to eat it because it was raw. So the boy left his camp in search of fire. He travelled north and came across several camps of people, but to his disappointment discovered that they too ate their food raw. Eventually, he came across some strong, healthy-looking children rolling stones down a mountain. He hid and then followed these children to their camp. He saw that they had fire and so he waited until night time when he approached one of their camps. The mother and father were asleep but their little son was awake. He went over and the little boy gave him a stick to play with. The fire-seeking boy got the little boy to put a live coal onto his stick.<sup>66</sup> He then left quickly for home with the flame. The little boy woke his sleeping parents and pointed after the boy who had stolen their fire. They then woke the others and they all set off after him. When the boy got to the bottom of the mountain range, he found a vine which he cut steps in to climb upwards. When he got to the top he cut the vine causing his pursuers to fall down into the river below. They become stones in the river<sup>67</sup> and the boy successfully returned to his home with fire.<sup>68</sup>

1. yima ye-ø  
 do.like.this be-GENRL  
 [They] have done [it] like this.
2. bebere-yu ba:ri-nji goro:man djaŋar  
 uncle-ERG carry.on.shoulder-PERFV kangaroo leg  
 The uncle carried a kangaroo leg on [his] shoulder.

When Wurm first recorded this text, Willie McKenzie gave the word *djiŋ* for kangaroo. This is a Waga-Waga word (Holmer 1983:55).

3. ya:-yi guwe ŋugarim-ba mana ŋin-du dja:-ø  
 say-PAST then nephew-DAT<sub>i</sub> DEM 2SG-ERG eat-IMPER  
 [He] said to [his] nephew, 'You eat that.'

<sup>66</sup> The stick was a grass tree root which was very dry and was thus easy to ignite.

<sup>67</sup> These are the stones found in the Mary River at the foot of the range (Winterbotham 1957).

<sup>68</sup> Mathew (1910:186) gives a completely different explanation for the source of fire, but does not state whether it was a Waga-Waga or a Gabi-Gabi myth. The Duunjidjawa story above contains the motif of conflict for the acquisition of fire, which is a recurring theme in fire myths of this region and elsewhere in Australia (Maddock 1970:191).

4. waga waga ɲay gonj mana  
no not 1SG want DEM  
'No, I don't want that.'
5. gowon mana  
raw DEM  
'That is raw.'
6. ɲan-du ɲin-a ya:-yi mana gowon  
who-ERG 2SG-ACC tell-PAST DEM raw  
'Who told you that is raw?'
7. ɲa-dju nja-ɲi  
1SG-ERG look.at-PAST  
'I looked at [it].'
8. ɲa-dju be:ɲa-ø mana  
1SG-ERG know-GENRL DEM  
'I know that.'
9. bebere-yu ya:-yi yima-yi-me dja:-yi  
uncle-ERG say-PAST do.like.this-PAST-REPET eat-PAST  
gawurre-ndjin-du waga ɲjine-ɲji-nda  
a.long.time.ago-PL-ERG not be.alive-PERFV-SIMULT  
His uncle said [to him], 'The olden days people always ate it like this, when [you] were not alive.'
10. yima-yi dja:-yi gowon  
do.like.this-PAST eat-PAST raw  
'[We] ate [it] raw like that.'
11. waga ɲay gowon ya:-yi  
not 1SG raw say-PAST  
'I didn't say it was raw.'
12. galaɲ mana  
good DEM  
'That is good.'
13. yo:waran-du dja:-yi gan badja-rin-du  
3PL-ERG eat-PAST DEM other.one-CPL-ERG  
'They all ate it, all the others.'
14. ɲin-du guwe ya:-le gowon  
2SG-ERG then say-CONT raw  
'You continually say "[It's] raw".'
15. guyum-ba ɲuwe-yu  
fire-LOC<sub>1</sub> cook-FUT  
'[You] should cook [it] in the fire.'
16. minja-ɲa mana guyum  
what-ACC DEM fire  
'What's is fire?'

17. yo:wan-a wundi-nji yunge ηay-waji  
 3PL-ACC come.off-PERFV idea 1SG-ABL<sub>2</sub>  
 An idea came off of me to them.
18. ya:  
 yes  
 Yes.
19. wanja ηin-du yo:wan-a waga dja:-wu  
 INTERROG 2SG-ERG 3PL-ACC not eat-FUT  
 ‘Why will you not eat [like] them?’
20. ηa-dju ηin-a wane-∅  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC leave-GENRL  
 I am going to leave you.’
21. ηa-dju ya:-wu ηuweŋ-a ηin-garinj-a  
 1SG-ERG say-FUT mother-ACC 2SG-GEN-ACC  
 I will tell your mother.
22. waga ηin-du yima-yi ya:-∅  
 don’t 2SG-ERG do.like.this-PAST talk-IMPER  
 You don’t talk [to me] like that.
23. buyi-∅ ηin-du ηay-waŋu bi:-nu  
 take-IMPER 2SG-ERG 1SG-ABL<sub>1</sub> hand-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 You take [it] from my hand (i.e. the kangaroo leg).
24. bi:-nu buyi-∅  
 hand-ABL<sub>1</sub> take-IMPER  
 Take [it] from [my] hand.
25. ηa-dju guwe ya:-le yo:wan-a  
 1SG-ERG then tell-CONT 3PL-ACC  
 I will then tell them all.
26. ηa-rinj-dju dja:-yi-nda waga gan dja:-yi  
 1SG-GEN-ERG eat-PAST-SIMULT not DEM eat-PAST  
 When ours ate this, [he] did not eat it.
27. njumba-wu  
 show-FUT  
 [We] will show [it to him].
28. minja-ηgu gam waga dja:-∅  
 what-PURP doubt not eat-GENRL  
 Why does [he] not eat?
29. wane-∅ guwe yo:  
 leave-GENRL then 3SG  
 He (the young boy) left.
30. ηa-dju wane-∅  
 1SG-ERG leave-GENRL  
 ‘I am leaving [you].’

31. ya-nji guwe  
go-PERFV then  
Then [he] went away.
32. dom-djin-a dje-ø ya:-yi babiyanmi-na mana  
mother-PL-ACC go-GENRL say-PAST father-ACC DEM  
[He] went and told the mothers (of the tribe) and the fathers (the old men) of  
the tribe.
33. ŋa-dju ya:-yi guwe babiyanmi-na mana gari-ŋi  
1SG-ERG say-PAST then father-ACC DEM DEM-LOC  
I spoke to all the fathers something about that one.
34. mana guwe wane-ø guwe  
DEM then leave-IMPER then  
Leave that one alone.
35. ya-nji guwe  
go-PERFV then  
[He] went.
36. babiyanmi-na ya:-yi  
father-ACC say-PAST  
[He] told his father.
37. babiyanmi-na ya:-yi dom-djin-a bebere-na ŋin-a bu-mbe  
father-ACC say-PAST mother-PL-ACC uncle-ACC 2SG-ACC kill-PRES  
[He] told his father, mother and uncle (that he) is (going) to kill  
(something).
38. waga badja-ru  
no other.one-ERG  
No others.
39. ya:-yi yima-yi guwe  
speak-PAST do.like.this-PAST then  
[He] spoke like that.
40. wane-ø  
leave-IMPER  
Leave [it].
41. waga ŋin gara njine-ø yana-ø ŋin  
don't 2SG DEM stay-IMPER go-IMPER 2SG  
'Don't you stay here, go away.
42. gaye-ø mara-ri ŋin  
look-IMPER DEM-PURP 2SG  
You look for that.
43. wandja ŋin yana-nde  
where 2SG go-PRES  
Where are you going?'



44. gari-ŋa gunuwinj  
DEM-ALL north  
'To the north.'
45. ŋin yana-nde ŋuwim djime-nge  
2SG go-PRES sun shine-IMPERFV  
'You are going [in the direction of] the shining sun.'
46. eʔe yana-ø  
EXCL go-IMPER  
Good. go!'
47. me:ndi-nji guwe yo:-ŋa  
chase-PERFV then 3SG-ACC  
[They] chased him away.
48. ya-nji wa-yi gibar  
go-PERFV go.up-PAST young.man  
The young man went and went up.
49. nja-re-nji mana guwe ŋuwim njinda-yi-na  
look.at-CONT-PERFV DEM then sun go.down-PAST-ACC  
He looked at the sun which was going down.
50. ŋuwim njinda-yi-nda nja-nge guwe  
sun go.down-PAST-SIMULT look-IMPERFV then  
When the sun was going down, then he looks.
51. ŋay wandju-ma-ø dje-yu njunam-a  
1SG how-FACT-GENRL go-FUT children-ACC  
'I wonder how do the children go.' (he asked himself)
52. dawari-yu  
follow-FUT  
[I] will follow the children.
53. njunam-a dawari-nji  
children-ACC follow-PERFV  
So [he] followed the children.
54. nja-ŋi guwe  
look-PAST then  
Then [he] looked.
55. gowon me ye-ø  
raw ? be-GENRL  
It is still raw (i.e. food is still being eaten in its raw state).
56. wanc-ø guwe mana ya-nji guwe  
leave-GENRL then DEM go-PERFV then  
[He] left there and then went on.
57. ya-nji guwe yo: mana  
go-PERFV then 3SG DEM  
Then he went on there.

58. yo: badja-rin njunam-a nja-nji gembe-nji-na  
 3SG other.one-PL children-ACC see-PAST play-PERFV-ACC  
 He saw other children who were playing.
59. eʔe  
 EXCL  
 'Good.'
60. gembe-nji-na dawari-nji nja-nji guwe moromoro  
 play-PERFV-ACC follow-PERFV see-PAST then main.camp  
 [He] followed the playing ones and saw [their] main camp.
61. waga yana-nde yo:waran gowon dja:-ø yo:waran  
 no go-PRES 3PL raw eat-GENRL 3PL  
 Oh no, he goes away [because] all of them eat [food] raw, all of them.
62. ŋa:ba-yi  
 pass-PAST  
 [He] passed [them].
63. wane-ø guwe mana ya-nji  
 leave-GENRL then DEM go-PERFV  
 [He] left [them] and went over there.
64. ŋa:ba-yi  
 pass-PAST  
 [He] passed by.
65. bayer guwe nja-nji  
 mountain then see-PAST  
 Then [he] saw a mountain.
66. yi-nji yunjam-ba  
 be-PAST ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 It was ahead.
67. yo: nja-nji guwe  
 3SG see-PAST then  
 He saw [the mountain].
68. gari ŋay guwe wanja wa-wu guwe ŋuwim  
 DEM ISG then when climb-INT then sun  
 njinda-yi-nda  
 go.down-PAST-SIMULT  
 I'm going to climb this one when the sun has set.
69. mana guwe njunam-a dawari-yu  
 DEM then children-ACC follow-FUT  
 [I] will follow the children.
70. waga ŋa:ba-yi  
 not pass-PAST  
 [He] had not passed by.

71. galaj njunam darinj yi-nji  
 good children strong be-PAST  
 The children were good and strong.
72. njandeya yo:ryir gayanj darinj yi-nji gunda-re-nge  
 ? ? sinew strong be-PAST hop.over-CONT-IMPERFV  
 dadu-nu wa-ye  
 trec-LOC<sub>3</sub> climb-PRES  
 ??
73. wanc-yi guwe njuwim njinda-yi-nda djuyudjuyu  
 leave-PAST then sun go.down-PAST-SIMULT evening  
 [He] left [them] when the sun went down in the evening.
74. ya-nji guwe yo:  
 go-PERFV then 3SG  
 Then he walked [there].
75. dawari-nji dawari-nji njunam-a dawari-nji njunam-a  
 follow-PERFV follow-PERFV children-ACC follow-PERFV children-ACC  
 guwe  
 then  
 [He] was following the children continually.
76. mana doyi  
 DEM stone  
 There was a stone.
77. doyi mana nja-nji djirdje-ma-na  
 stone DEM see-PAST disperse-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-ACC  
 That one saw stones which were being scattered.
78. ba:-nji dadu-nu wunu gari-nma  
 stand-PERFV tree-LOC<sub>3</sub> butt DEM-EMPH  
 [He] stood at the butt of a tree here.
79. djanj nja-nji  
 almost see-PAST  
 [He] could almost see [them].
80. nja-nji nja-wa  
 look-PAST look-DESID  
 [He] looked, [he] wanted to see [them].
81. nja-ø nja-nge-wa guwe yo:wana  
 look-GENRL see-IMPERFV-PURP then 3PL-ACC  
 [He] looked in order to see them all.
82. waga+na darinj-u wunba ba-ye  
 not+DEM strong-ERG very come-PRES  
 The very strong [children] are coming here.

83. moromoro djanjum-i wabe- $\emptyset$   
 main.camp close-LOC<sub>2</sub> wait-GENRL  
 [He] waited close to the main camp.
84. nja-wa ya-ngu waga guwe djanjum  $\eta$ o:  
 watch-DESID go-FUT not then close night  
 [He] wanted to watch, but [he] will not go close [until] dark.
85. wabe-nji  $\eta$ uwim njinda-yi  
 wait-PERFV sun go.down-PAST  
 [He] waited [until] the sun went down.
86.  $\eta$ o:  $\eta$ o: wa-yi  
 night night climb-PAST  
 In the dark, [he] climbed up.
87. nja- $\eta$ i guwe benju  
 look-PAST then up.high  
 Then [he] looked up high.
88. nja- $\eta$ i njinda-ma-yi guyum-bu  
 look-PAST go.down-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST fire-?  
 [He] looked down on a fire.
89. nja- $\eta$ i gu:ni djime- $\eta$ i-na  
 see-PAST light shine-PERFV-ACC  
 [He] saw a light which was shining.
90. yuje ba-yi  
 ? come-PAST  
 [He] came closer.
91.  $\eta$ a-dju yo:wan-a ya:-yi  
 1SG-ERG 3PL-ACC say-PAST  
 I spoke to them.
92. guyum mana goromda  $\eta$ uruma-yi  
 fire DEM few hide-PAST  
 A few [people] hid their fire (as they didn't want to give it to anyone).
93. dje- $\eta$ i ye njinda-yi  
 go-PERFV towards go.down-PAST  
 [He] went and climbed downwards.
94. gari- $\eta$ a guwe nja- $\eta$ i  
 DEM-ALL then look-PAST  
 [He] looked this way.
95. biya:yu guwe yi-nge gima garu gara ye- $\emptyset$   
 two then be-IMPERFV boy one DEM be-GENRL  
 Then there were two (people) and one boy here.
96. njubanji yune- $\eta$ i  
 married.couple+NOM sleep-PERFV  
 The married couple were sleeping.

97. wana-ŋu            guyum    nja-tji  
far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub>    fire            see-PAST  
[He] saw a fire far away.
98. gamŋa-yi            djage            miyarr    mana  
break-PAST    grass.tree    charcoal    DEM  
[He] broke the grass tree stick [and] the charcoal.
99. gima-na    guwe    ya-ŋu    wiye-ø  
boy-DAT<sub>2</sub>    then    go-FUT    give-GENRL  
[I] will go and give it to the boy.
100. dadu    wiye-ø            guwe  
stick    give-GENRL    then  
[He] gave the stick [to him].
101. man    gima-na    wiye-nji    dadu  
DEM    boy-DAT<sub>2</sub>    give-PERFV    stick  
That one gave the stick to the small boy.
102. ŋin    gembe-ø            mana  
2SG    play-IMPER    DEM  
'You play with that [stick].
103. yima            ŋin    gembe-re-ø            dadu-ndu  
do.like.this    2SG    play-CONT-IMPER    stick-INSTR  
You continue playing with the stick like this.'
104. yima            mana    gembe-nji  
do.like.this    DEM    play-PERFV  
[He] was playing with that like this.
105. guwe    nja-ŋi            gima-ru    yo:-ŋa  
then    look.at-PAST    boy-ERG    3SG-ACC  
Then the boy looked at him.
106. guyum    go:ma-yi  
fire            stir-PAST  
[He] stirred the fire.
107. gembe-nji    gira-yi            guwe    dudu-ŋa  
play-PERFV    wake.up-PAST    then    mother-ACC  
[He] was playing and then woke up [his] mother.
108. njine-ø  
sit.up-GENRL  
[She] sat up.
109. minja-ŋa  
what-ACC  
'What's the matter?' (she asked).
110. njumba-yi    guwe  
point-PAST    then  
[He] pointed.

111. waga mana ge:m-bu ya:-nji mana gima  
not DEM word-INSTR say-PERFV DEM boy  
The boy did not speak using words yet.
112. guyum njumba-yi  
fire point-PAST  
[He] pointed at the fire.
113. guwe dudu nja-nji  
then mother look-PAST  
Then the mother looked.
114. gara ye-ø  
DEM be-GENRL  
'What is here?'
115. minja-ŋgu yima-yi-me wa:ŋgi-ndjeyu mana  
what-PURP do.like.this-PAST-REPET be.silly-? DEM  
Why are [you] always being silly like that?
116. gira-wu babiya yune-na njowam-a  
wake.up-FUT father sleep-ACC husband-ACC  
[You] will wake up [your father], my sleeping husband.'
117. babiya njine-ø  
father sit.up-GENRL  
The father sat up.
118. gima-ru dadu-ndu njumba-ø girum-ge-nu  
boy-ERG stick-INSTR point-GENRL other.side-SIDE-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
The boy was pointing with the stick at the other side.
119. yo: nja-nji guwe  
3SG look-PAST then  
So he looked.
120. njowam-bu nja-nji dja:  
husband-ERG see-PAST track  
The husband saw [his] tracks.
121. dja: mana man djan yi-nji  
track DEM DEM man be-PAST  
The tracks [of] the man [who] was there.
122. djinaŋ man ye-ø  
footprint DEM be-GENRL  
There are footprints there.
123. guyum mana ŋurumea-yi  
fire DEM(A) steal-PAST  
That one (the boy) stole the fire.
124. bowan gira-yi guwe yo:wana  
sleep wake.up-PAST then 3PL-ACC  
[He] woke all of them up.

125. djan ba-yi  
man come-PAST  
'A man came.
126. guyum ηurume-yi ηa:m-baru  
fire steal-PAST 1DU-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
[He] stole the fire from us two.
127. ba-ø  
come-IMPER  
Come!
128. dawari-ø yo:-ηa  
follow-IMPER 3SG-ACC  
Follow him!'
129. dawari-nji mo: dawari-nji  
follow-PERFV DEM follow-PERFV  
So those ones followed [him] and followed [him].
130. gana yo: yima be:ηe-nji  
DEM 3SG do.like.this feel-PERFV  
He felt like this.
131. ηuwe-re-nji guyum  
kindle-CONT-PERFV fire  
[He] kindled the fire.
132. djum ba-yi  
smoke come-PAST  
Smoke came.
133. badja-rin-du nja-nji guwe  
other.one-PL-ERG see-PAST then  
The others saw [that].
134. ya-nji guwe  
go-PERFV then  
[They] went.
135. djaηar ya-nji guyum nja-ni-nda  
quickly go-PERFV fire see-PAST-SIMULT  
[They] were running (lit. going quickly) when [they] saw the fire.
136. go: gari-nji badja-rin dje-re-yu  
DEM go.in-PERFV other.one-PL go-CONT-FUT  
This one went in and the other ones kept going.
137. guη-ga gunda-nji-nji ηurume-nji-nji  
water-LOC<sub>1</sub> jump-PERFV-PERFV hide-PERFV-PERFV  
[He] jumped, hid repeatedly in the water.
138. waga guyum mana dji me-nji  
no fire DEM catch.fire-PERFV  
Oh no, the fire is catching fire (i.e. starting other fires).

139. guyum djime-re-nji ya-ø guyum  
 fire catch.fire-CONT-PERFV go-GENRL fire  
 The fire went along starting other fires.
140. ŋa:ba-yi guwe  
 pass-PAST then  
 [Eventually he] passed them (i.e. got out of the sight of the other people).
141. nja-ŋi guwe wanju-ŋa wa-wu  
 look-PAST then where-ALL climb-FUT  
 [He] looked [and wondered] 'Where will [I] climb to?'
142. yo:-wa djanjum yi-ye  
 3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> close be-PRES  
 [They] are close to him.
143. yo: be:ŋe-nji guwe djanjum mana dje-nge  
 3SG sense-PERFV then close DEM go-IMPERFV  
 He sensed that he was going close to those [men].
144. ŋay wa-wu waga  
 1SG climb-FUT no  
 'I will climb up. No.'
145. guwe yo: djuŋa nja-ŋi  
 then 3SG vine see-PAST  
 Then he saw a vine.
146. djuŋa dare-nji yo: wa-yi burunbi-nu  
 vine hang-PERFV 3SG climb.up-PAST cliff-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 The vine was hanging down so he [used it to] climb up the cliff.
147. mande yanga-ø ga:-yi guwe mana djuŋa  
 step make-GENRL cut-PAST then DEM vine  
 [He] made steps and then cut the vine.
148. muyim-bu ga:-yi  
 stone.axe-INSTR cut-PAST  
 [He] cut [it] with a stone axe.
149. mande yanga-yi  
 steps make-PAST  
 [He] made steps.
150. ŋin-du ŋuruma-yi  
 2SG-ERG steal-PAST  
 'You have stolen [our fire].'
151. ŋin-gari ŋuruma-yi  
 2SG-GEN steal-PAST  
 '[I] stole yours.'
152. maŋenayi ŋin-gari  
 ? 2SG-PURP  
 ??



153. ga:-yi guwe  
cut-PAST then  
So then [he] cut [it].
154. ga:-yi guwe muyim-bu  
cut-PAST then stone.axe-INSTR  
So [he] cut [it] off with the stone axe.
155. ŋa:m-bu dawari-nji yo:-ŋa  
1DU-ERG follow-PERFV 3SG-ACC  
We two followed him.
156. ŋa-m guwe djanjum dje-nji  
1DU then close go-PERFV  
We two went close.
157. yo: wa-∅  
3SG climb-GENRL  
He climbed.
158. mana ŋin njine-∅  
DEM 2SG stay-IMPER  
'You stay there.
159. bu-mbe guwe ŋin-a  
kill-PRES then 2SG-ACC  
[We] are (going to) kill you.
160. bu-mbe wane-∅ guwe  
kill-PRES leave-GENRL then  
[We] are going to kill [you] and then leave you.
161. njine-∅ mara  
sit-IMPER DEM  
Sit there!'
162. wa-yi guwe  
climb-PAST then  
Then [he] climbed.
163. doyi bamba-yi yo:-ŋa  
stone throw-PAST 3SG-ACC  
[They] were throwing stones at him.
164. murr-u ye:ma-yi  
nulla.nulla-ERG miss-PAST  
The nulla nulla missed [him].
165. gari-ŋa wa-yi  
DEM-ALL climb-PAST  
[He] climbed (over the top of the range) to here.
166. njinda-yi guwe  
go.down-PAST then  
Then [he] went down (the other side).

167. ganja:-wa ba-yi bige-nju  
 on.top-DAT<sub>1</sub> come-PAST behind-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 ??
168. wiyarr binda-yi barawam  
 fame send-PAST meat.ants  
 ??
169. bige-nju ba-yi  
 behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> come-PAST  
 [They] came behind [him].
170. gari-ŋa yo: nja-ŋi guwe  
 DEM-ALL 3SG see-PAST then  
 He saw to there.
171. yo: ya-ŋi  
 3SG go-PERFV  
 He went.
172. ŋinŋangurra wa-yi  
 creation.time climb.up-PAST  
 In the creation time, [he] climbed up.
173. man guwe bu-mi-wa ŋin-a djuŋa  
 DEM then kill-PAST-? 2SG-ACC ?  
 [We] intend to kill you??
174. nja-nda guwe yo:wan-a  
 see-NMLSR then 3PL-ACC  
 One who saw them??
175. guwe ŋa-dju bu-mbe ŋin-a  
 then 1SG-ERG kill-PRES 2SG-ACC  
 So I am going to kill you.
176. bu-mi guwe wura  
 kill-PAST then finished  
 [He] killed [them] and that was finished.
177. gari-ŋinu barawam  
 DEM-END meatants  
 It ended at Barawam (name of place north of Brisbane).
178. guyum muwe-ŋi  
 fire possess-PERFV  
 [We] possessed fire.
179. doyi guwe yi-ŋi  
 stone then be-PAST  
 Then [they] were stones.
180. gari-nma ye-ø doyi  
 DEM-EMPH be-GENRL stone  
 [They] are stones here.

181.   gari-nma   ŋuwe:   njine-ø  
 DEM-EMPH 2PL       sit-IMPER  
 ‘You all sit right here!’
182.   njine-nji  
 sit-PERFV  
 [They] are sitting [there].
183.   wane-ø       guwe   wane-ø  
 leave-GENRL then   leave-GENRL  
 Now, [we’ll] leave [it], leave it.
184.   nja-ø       man   guwe   yo:  
 see-GENRL DEM   then   3SG  
 [You] can see him.
185.   barawam   guwe  
 meat.ants then  
 The meat-ants.
186.   gari-nma   waga   yi-ŋi  
 DEM-EMPH not   be-PAST  
 It is not here.
187.   man   guyum   yanga-yi   guwe  
 DEM fire   make-PAST then  
 That one made fire.
188.   wura  
 finished  
 That one is finished.

***Corroboree***

1.   mama:-wu   waya:   djanar   wiye-nji   gima-wa   dja:-wu-wa  
 uncle-ERG wallaby thigh give-PERFV boy-DAT<sub>1</sub> eat-FUT-PURP  
 The uncle gave a wallaby thigh to the boy in order for him to eat.
2.   gima-ru   guwe   ya:-yi   mama:-ŋa   gowon   mana   guyur  
 boy-ERG then say-PAST uncle-DAT<sub>2</sub> raw   DEM   food  
 The boy then said to [his] uncle, ‘That food is raw.’
3.   mama:   guwe   ya:-yi   galan   mana  
 uncle   then say-PAST good   DEM  
 So the uncle then said, ‘It is good.’
4.   waga   gima-ru   ya:-yi  
 no   boy-ERG say-PAST  
 ‘No’, said the boy.
5.   guyum   ba:ri-ø       ŋa-dju   ŋin-a       njumba-wu  
 fire   bring-GENRL 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT<sub>2</sub> show-FUT  
 ‘I will bring fire, I will show [it] to you.’

6. minja-ŋa mana guyum  
 what-ACC DEM fire  
 ‘What is fire? (his uncle replied).’
7. ŋan-du ŋin-a ya:-yi guyum  
 who-ERG 2SG-ACC tell-PAST fire  
 ‘Who told you about fire?’
8. waga ŋa-dju be:ŋa-ø gari-ŋi gima-ru guwe ya:-yi  
 no 1SG-ERG think-GENRL DEM-LOC boy-ERG then say-PAST  
 ‘No, I remember from before’, the boy said.
9. ŋa-dju gana njumba-ye wanja ŋa-dju ba:ri-yu  
 1SG-ERG DEM show-PRES when 1SG-ERG bring-FUT  
 ‘I will show [you] this when I bring [it].’
10. wara ba:ri-nji djage  
 root bring-PERFV grass.tree  
 [He] brought a grass tree root.
11. guyum gana  
 fire DEM  
 ‘This is fire.’
12. njumba-yi guwe gana nja-ø  
 show-PAST then DEM look-IMPER  
 [He] showed this [to them], ‘Look!’
13. guyum gana  
 fire DEM  
 This is fire.’
14. nja-ŋi guwe yo:we-ru ma:-nji badja-ru  
 look-PAST then 3PL-ERG take-PERFV one.of.pair-ERG  
 Then all of them looked and one of them took [it].
15. mari-nji mo:  
 burn-PERFV DEM  
 That [fire] burnt him.
16. waya: biya-ø guyum-ba  
 wallaby throw-GENRL fire-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 [They] threw the wallaby into the fire.
17. nja-ø nja-wu  
 look-IMPER look-FUT  
 ‘Look, [I] will look.’
18. bunma-yi guyum-u mana dja:-yi guwe  
 take.out-PAST fire-ABL<sub>1</sub> DEM eat-PAST then  
 [They] took [it] out of the fire and then ate it.
19. galaŋ yima wane-ø  
 good do.like.this leave-IMPER  
 ‘[It] is good, leave [it] like this.’

20.     $\eta$ in-du    badji- $\emptyset$   
           2SG-ERG find-GENRL  
           ‘You found [it].’

### 13. *The Platypus*

There was a young man who was the tribe’s best swimmer and diver. He always caught the most fish by calling them to him and then killing them with two little hooks. He and his wife spent their days going along the Brisbane River and fishing in the deep water in the bends of the river. The man would call out and if the fish answered him then he would dive in. His wife would wait until she saw bubbles and then she would dive in and help him to bring the fish up to the bank.

One day they came across a mother and a father fish and their son. They killed the mother and the father fish but the son escaped. The son ran ahead of them and warned all the other fish not to answer the man’s call. So these other fish swam further upstream until they couldn’t go any further. There they made a net which they used to catch the man and the woman. They decided not to kill them but instead turned them into *me:war*<sup>69</sup> ‘platypus’. They left the hooks on the man to catch and kill fish.

This is the alleged origin of the platypus and explains how the male platypus came to have a poisonous horny spur on each hind foot.<sup>70</sup>

1.       njubanji           yi-nge  
           married.couple be-IMPERFV  
           There were a married couple.
2.       guyur dja:-yi    bu-mi-ndu    du:ŋi-ra  
           fish eat-PAST kill-PAST-ERG river-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
           [The couple] who killed [fish] ate fish in the river.
3.       gange-nji  
           call.out-PERFV  
           [He] called out.
4.       guwe gundani-nji   guŋ-ga  
           then jump-PERFV water-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
           Then [he] jumped into the water.
5.       bu-mi    guŋ-ga    bunma-wa  
           kill-PAST water-LOC<sub>1</sub> pull.out-INT  
           [He] killed [fish] and intended to pull [them] out.
6.       njubanji-ru           dja:-yi  
           married.couple-ERG eat-PAST  
           The married couple ate [fish].

<sup>69</sup> The Dungibara term for ‘platypus’, which is also used in this story, is *djumeraggowa*.

<sup>70</sup> The waterhole in this story, Mairwar Lagoon (see Map 1), is said by the Duunjdjawa to be *mimburi* for platypus, meaning the source or breeding place, of platypus (Winterbotham 1957).

7. ya-nji guwe  
go-PERFV then  
So [they] went on.
8. yowa:m ya-nme-nji  
3DU walk-AROUND-PERFV  
They two were walking around.
9. du:nji mana dawari-nji  
river DEM follow-PERFV  
Those [people] followed the river.
10. dje-re-nji  
walk-CONT-PERFV  
[They] walked along.
11. gunu gara guwe gari-nma  
deep.below DEM then DEM-EMPH  
Then here were [some fish] deep below [in the river].
12. guyur gange-nji  
fish call.out-PERFV  
[He] called the fish.
13. gadjiwa-yi gurilŋa  
answer-PAST old.man  
An old man answered.
14. gadiwa-yi  
answer-PAST  
[He] answered.
15. gundani-nji njowam  
jump.in-PERFV husband  
The husband jumped in [to the water].
16. bu-mi-me  
kill-PAST-REPET  
[He] kept on killing [the old man fish].
17. yima-yi-me dja:-yi  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET eat-PAST  
In the same way, [they] ate [the fish].
18. yayumbe bu-mi mana guyur ma:-nji-na  
same kill-PAST DEM fish catch-PERFV-ACC  
In the same way [he] killed the fish which he caught.
19. dje-re-nji  
go-CONT-PERFV  
[They] went on again.
20. djuyudjuyu ŋuwim-bu njinda-yi-nda gari-nma  
late.afternoon sun-ERG go.down-PAST-SIMULT DEM-EMPH

- yune-nji        du:ɲi-nu  
 sleep-PERFV    river-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
 In the late afternoon when the sun was going down, they slept here at the river.
21.    dje-re-nji        guwe  
 go-CONT-PERFV    then  
 So [they] went on.
22.    dje-re-nji        yowa:m  
 go-CONT-PERFV    3DU  
 The two of them went on.
23.    guwe    dje-nji  
 then    go-PERFV  
 So [they] went.
24.    gange-nji-mc  
 call.out-PERFV-REPET  
 [He] called out again.
25.    gawurre        yowa:m    gange-nji  
 a.long.time.ago    3DU        call.out-PERFV  
 A long time ago they two were calling out.
26.    yowa:m    dje-re-nji        mara    du:ɲi-nu    guyur    bu-mgu-wa  
 3PL        go-CONT-PERFV    DEM    river-LOC<sub>3</sub>    fish        kill-FUT-PURP  
 ɲande  
 mullet  
 They two continued going along by the river there in order to kill fish, mullet.
27.    dje-re-nji  
 go-CONT-PERFV  
 [They] went on.
28.    gange-nji        guwe  
 call.out-PERFV    then  
 [They] called out.
29.    gadiwa-yi  
 answer-PAST  
 [The fish] answered.
30.    guwe    yo:    ba-yi  
 then    3SG    come-PAST  
 Then he came.
31.    dje-re-nji  
 go-CONT-PERFV  
 [He] went on.

32. bu-mi mana  
kill-PAST DEM  
[He] killed them.
33. bu-mgu-wa bunma-yi  
kill-FUT-PURP pull.out-PAST  
[He] pulled [them] out in order to kill them.
34. dja:-yi yowa:m-bu  
eat-PAST 3DU-ERG  
They two ate [it].
35. njubanji-ru dja:-yi yima-yi-me  
married.couple-ERG eat-PAST do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
The married couple ate in the same way.
36. dja: guwe nje:yi-nge wanga  
ground then name be-IMPERFV fungus  
The name of the ground was 'fungus'.
37. gari-nma wanga  
DEM-EMPH fungus  
It was fungus here.
38. guyur yima yi-nji bu-mi-na mana  
fish do.like.this be-PAST kill-PAST-ACC DEM  
That fish there was like the one which was killed.
39. dja:-ø yowa:m-bu  
eat-GENRL 3DU-ERG  
They two ate [it].
40. gima yi-nji gibar  
boy be-PAST young.man  
There was a boy, a young man.
41. gana yo:  
DEM 3SG  
He was here.
42. babiya-na bu-mi  
father-ACC kill-PAST  
[He] killed [the boy's] father.
43. yowa:m-bu yima dudu-ŋa bu-mi  
2DU-ERG do.like.this mother-ACC kill-PAST  
They two killed [his] mother like this.
44. gima ya-nji yuŋam-ba  
boy go-PERFV ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
The boy went ahead.
45. ya:-ø wa:rre-nji guwe yo: yo:wan-a gari-nma bunjatj-u  
say-GENRL hunt-PERFV then 3SG 3PL-ACC DEM-EMPH ahead-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
He warned all of them here ahead.



46. waga+ra njine-ø man djan ba-ye muyim-ŋa  
 don't+DEM stay-IMPER DEM man come-PRES fish.hook-CON  
 'Don't stay here, a man is coming with a fish hook.
47. bu-mbe-wa ŋowa:m-a ŋa:-na  
 kill-PRES-DESID 2DU-ACC 1PL-ACC  
 [He] wants to kill you two, all of us.'
48. eʔe  
 EXCL  
 Oh yes.
49. dje-re-nji waga yo:wan  
 go-CONT-PERFV not 3PL  
 They all would not go away.
50. gari-nma njine-nji yo:wan  
 DEM-EMPH stay-PERFV 3PL  
 They all stayed here.
51. ya-nji  
 go-PERFV  
 [The boy] went on.
52. bu-mi guwe yowa:m-bu  
 kill-PAST then 3DU-ERG  
 They two killed [them i.e. those who refused to move on].
53. mana gibar yuŋam-ba  
 DEM boy front-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 The young boy is still out in front.
54. guwe ba-yi  
 then come-PAST  
 Then [he] came.
55. waga guwe  
 none then  
 [There was] none [waterholes].
56. burunbi dja: yi-ŋi burunbi  
 cliff ground be-PAST cliff  
 It was broken ground, a cliff.
57. waga guwe  
 none then  
 [There was] none.
58. buma-yi  
 kill-PAST  
 [He] killed [them].
59. gari-nma njine-nji  
 DEM-EMPH sit-PERFV  
 [He] sat there.

60. yo:ran mana n̄ande  
many DEM mullet  
There were lots of mullet there.
61. njowam gan̄ge-nji guwe  
husband call.out-PERFV then  
So the husband called out.
62. gan̄ge-nji yowa:m  
call.out-PERFV 3DU  
They two called out.
63. yo:we-ru dama wura yan̄ga-yi yo:-ri ma:-ngu-wa  
3PL-ERG net already make-PAST 3SG-PURP grab-FUT-PUR  
yo:-n̄a  
3SG-ACC  
They had already made a net for him in order to catch him.
64. gundani-nji yo:  
jump-PERFV 3SG  
He jumped (into the waterhole).
65. ma:-nji yo:we-ru yo:-n̄a  
catch-PERFV 3PL-ERG 3SG-ACC  
They caught him.
66. gurema-yi  
hold.tightly-PAST  
[They] held [him] tightly.
67. yan̄jaran gunda-nji  
old.woman jump-PERFV  
The old woman jumped (into the waterhole).
68. njowam n̄a-ri wan̄ja  
husband 1SG-GEN where  
'Where is my husband?'
69. yo: bige-nju gundani-nji  
3SG behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> jump.in-PERFV  
She jumped in behind [him].
70. njuban̄ji-n̄a gurema-yi  
married.couple-ACC hold.tightly-PAST  
[They] held the married couple tightly.
71. gad̄ji-ma yo:waran-du bu-mi  
DEM-EMPH 3PL-ERG kill-PAST  
They killed [them] there.
72. ba:-nji guwe yo:  
stand-PERFV then 3SG  
[He] stood [in the water].

73. yima-yi guwe  
do.like.this-PAST then  
[He] did [it] like that.
74. gurema-yi gari-nma-me  
hold.tightly-PAST DEM-EMPH-SPEC  
[They] held [them] there tightly.
75. gundir yi-nji badja  
clever.man be-PERFV other.one  
One of them was a clever man.
76. guwe ya:-yi minja-ŋa mana bu-mgu yo:-ŋa  
then say-PAST what-ACC DEM kill-FUT 3SG-ACC  
[He] said, 'What are we going to do to that one? Kill him?'
77. waga  
no  
'No.' (someone answered)
78. djumerangowa mana gaye-ma-ø  
platypus DEM turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-IMPER  
Let's turn [him] into a platypus.
79. gaye-ma-ø mana guyur  
turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-IMPER DEM anything  
Let's turn [him] into anything.
80. djumerangowa  
platypus  
A platypus.
81. eʔe djumerangowa  
EXCL platypus  
Good, a platypus.
82. me:war-gu ya:-yi  
platypus-? say-PAST  
[We] call [them] 'mewar'.
83. gari-ŋinu  
DEM-END  
This is the end.
84. mana guwe yo:  
DEM then 3SG  
He is there now.
85. mari man guwe yowa:m ye-ø  
DEM DEM then 3DU be-GENRL  
They two are there now.
86. waga guwe yo: ya-nme-nji  
not then 3SG go-AROUND-PERFV  
He does not go around anymore.

87. man-ma guwe yo:  
DEM-EMPH then 3SG  
He is right there now.
88. djinaŋ-i man nja-ø giyen  
foot-LOC<sub>2</sub> DEM look.at-IMPER hook  
Look at the hook there on [his] foot.
89. man ye-ø  
DEM be-GENRL  
It is there.
90. yo: mo: dari-ø giyen-du  
3SG DEM pinch-GENRL hook-INSTR  
He is the one (who) pinches using a hook.
91. wura  
finished  
That is finished.
92. gari-nma guwe yi-nji  
DEM-EMPH then be-PERFV  
It was here.
93. waga guwe  
no then  
No more.

#### 14. *The Seven Sisters*

The Seven Sisters<sup>71</sup> were a group of women who intermarried and were always running away from their husband's tribe. In this story an old man was speaking to his daughter who has just married a man from another tribe. He told her that she must go to her husband's tribe to live now and that she must not run away from there. He gave her other instructions regarding the appropriate behaviour for her now that she is married.

1. gawurre ŋin-du ya:-yi  
a.long.time.ago 2SG-ERG tell-PAST  
You told [me] about a long time ago.
2. wanja ma:-ndji-nji binda-yi guwe  
when take-?-PERFV give.away-PAST then  
When [a girl] was taken (i.e. married) [somebody] gave [her] away.
3. binda-yi  
give.away-PAST  
[They] gave [her] away.

<sup>71</sup> The 'Seven Sisters' is another name for the Pleiades which is an open cluster of stars, visible to the naked eye, in the constellation Taurus.

4. ya:-ye-nji yima guwe  
 say-RECIP-PERFV do.like.this then  
 [They] said to each other, '[Leave it] like this.' (i.e. This is a rule)
5. wanja yo: gonj ya-ngu djawun-gu njin-a buyi-le  
 if 3SG want go-FUT country-ALL 2SG-ACC take-CONT  
 If he wants to go to his country, [he] will take you along.
6. guwe waga yo:-wa biye ya:-ø  
 then don't 3SG-DAT<sub>1</sub> back say-IMPER  
 Don't speak back to him (i.e. don't refuse him).
7. waga yamña-ø  
 don't quarrel-IMPER  
 Don't quarrel.
8. waga gara njine-ø  
 don't DEM stay-IMPER  
 Don't stay here!
9. djowan ña djadji badja-na wayaņa gara yamña-wu  
 brothers and sisters other.one-ACC ? DEM quarrel-FUT  
 The brothers and sisters will quarrel here.
10. yo: be:ña-wu djan-a  
 3SG hear-FUT man-ACC  
 He might hear men.
11. guwe yo: ya:-le yo:-rinj-a geyem-bu guwe  
 then 3SG say-CONT 3SG-GEN-ACC word-INSTR then  
 Then he may speak his [men] using his words (i.e. in-talk).
12. geyem-bu guwe ya:-ø  
 word-INSTR then say-GENRL  
 [He] will say [something] using [his] words.
13. bu-mdje-nge yo:we-ri njin  
 fight-RECIP-IMPERFV 3PL-GEN 2SG  
 They start fighting involving you??
14. buwa-ye-nji guraņgur-u  
 spear-RECIP-PERFV spear-INSTR  
 [They] speared each other using spears.
15. be:ña-ø njin-du wandju-ña ya:-le bebere-yu  
 listen-IMPER 2SG-ERG where-ALL say-CONT uncle-ERG  
 You listen to what your uncle is saying.
16. waga badja-ru  
 NEG other.one-ERG  
 [Listen to] no one else.
17. ña-ri njin-du be:ña-ø  
 1SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> 2SG-ERG listen-IMPER  
 You listen to me!

18. wanja ŋin gonj biye dje-yu njunam-a ba:ri-wa man ŋin-gari  
 if 2SG want back go-FUT children-ACC bring-INT DEM 2SG-GEN  
 buwa:-ri  
 father-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 If you want to return, [you] should bring [your] children to your father.
19. ŋin-du ya:-ø ŋay yana-nde njunam-a buyi-le  
 2SG-ERG tell-IMPER 1SG go.home-PRES children-ACC take-CONT  
 You tell [your husband], 'I am going and taking the children along.
20. ŋa:m-bu ya-ndi-le-nji wundir  
 1DU-ERG go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-CONT-PERFV belongings  
 The two of us have taken [our] belongings.
21. mo:-ø wura  
 gather-GENRL already  
 [We] have already gathered [them].
22. ge:m badja ŋarandeyu wura  
 words other.one ? alright  
 ??
23. binda-yi guwe  
 send-PAST then  
 Then [they] sent [her].
24. ŋa-dju ŋin-a binda-wu mana bo:ŋbi-ru  
 1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC send-FUT DEM feather-INSTR  
 I am sending you off with that feather.

The girl's mother's brother put a white cockatoo feather in the girl's hair when he was giving her away in marriage (Winterbotham 1957).

25. ŋin-du bunma-wu  
 2SG-ERG take.out-FUT  
 You will take [it] out.
26. ba-ø ma:na-ø  
 come-IMPER grab-IMPER  
 Come and grab [it]!
27. bunma-ø  
 pull.out-IMPER  
 Pull [it] out.
28. bunma-yi  
 pull.out-PAST  
 [He] pulled [it] out.
29. bo:ŋbi bunma-yi  
 feather pull.out.PAST  
 [He] has pulled the feather out.

30. njowamgan guwe njin yi-nji  
 wife then 2SG be-PAST  
 Then you will be a wife.
31. njowamgan go: waga go:nja  
 wife DEM not unmarried.person  
 This wife is not an unmarried person (i.e. she is no longer single).
32. njowamgan  
 wife  
 [She is] a wife.
33. yana-ø guwe  
 go-IMPER then  
 Go now.
34. yo:-nju yana-ø  
 3sg-COMIT go-IMPER  
 Go with him.
35. man njin-gari wa:ndji-ø baru:  
 DEM 2SG-PURP prepare-GENRL camp  
 [They] prepared a camp for you there.
36. njinjangurra  
 creation.time  
 [It was in] the creation time.
37. maya ŋa:m go: ya:-wu  
 ? 1 DU DEM speak-INT  
 We two can now speak to those ones.
38. njin-du ma maya njin-a  
 2SG-ERG ? ? 2SG-ACC  
 ??
39. wanja yo: gonj gara njine-wa ŋuweŋ-baŋu  
 if 3SG want DEM stay-DESID mother.in.law-COMIT  
 If he wants [you] to stay here with [your] mother-in-law...

At this point Willie McKenzie became very confused in what he was trying to say, and thus, it is not clear here what meaning was intended.

40. gari-njinu guwe  
 DEM-END then  
 Then this is the end.
41. waga guwe binaŋ bo:-ø  
 don't then car die-GENRL  
 Don't forget that.
42. yana-ø yayumba-me  
 go-IMPER soon-SPEC  
 Go now.

43. wura  
finished  
That is finished.

### 15. *The Two Old Mainlanders*

Two old mainland men made a camp. When they were asleep, one of the men was awoken by a noise. He asked the other man to go outside the camp and investigate. The old man did this but could not see anything. The other old man continued to hear the noise and requested that his companion look again to see what it was. Still the old man said there was nothing there. Later when the ground began to shake the worried old man told the other man once more to go outside the camp and look. This time the old man heard the noise and explained to the other old man that what he could hear was called *buran* 'wind'.

1. gawurre-ndjin yi-nji  
a.long.time.ago-PL be-PAST  
It was in the old times.
2. ya:-ye-nji guwe gana gurilja-wam  
talk-RECIP-PERFV then DEM old.man-DU  
Two old men were talking to each other.
3. gari ŋa:m yune-yu wana-ŋu  
DEM 1DU sleep-FUT far.away-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
'We two will sleep far away.
4. ŋa:m ŋin djale ya:-wu  
1DU 2SG softly speak-FUT  
We two will speak softly.'
5. ya:-ø guwe badja-ru gari-nma yanga-ø  
say-GENRL then other.one-ERG DEM-EMPH make-IMPER  
The other one then said, 'Make [our camp] there.
6. guwe ŋay ba-yc  
then 1SG come-PRES  
I am coming.
7. gundu mana bunma-ø  
bark+ABS(O) DEMremove-IMPER  
Remove that bark.'
8. yune-nji gari-nma yowa:m  
sleep-PERFV DEM-EMPH 3DU  
They two slept here.
9. gari-nma ŋa:m moro-me-nji  
DEM-EMPH 1DU make-AROUND-PERFV  
We two made (a camp) around here.



10. yana- $\emptyset$  wane- $\emptyset$  yo:-ru man badja-rin  
 go-GENRL leave-GENRL 3SG-ERG DEM other.one-PL  
 He went and left the others.
11. yo: ya-nme-nji bu-mgu-wa guyur  
 3SG go-AROUND-PERFV kill-FUT-PURP food  
 He was walking around in order to kill food.
12. yowa:m-gari ba:ri-nji  
 3DU-DAT<sub>3</sub> bring-PERFV  
 [He] brought [food] for them two.
13. wiye-nji yowa:m-a  
 give-PERFV 3DU-DAT<sub>2</sub>  
 [He] gave [it] to them two.
14. go: mana guril $\eta$ a badja  
 DEM DEM old.man other.one  
 The other one was an old man??
15. gunu-nu yune-nji  
 inside-LOC<sub>3</sub> sleep-PERFV  
 Inside [he] was sleeping.
16. gurun badja-ru be: $\eta$ a-yi  
 noise other.one-ERG hear-PAST  
 The other one heard a noise.
17. gurun be: $\eta$ a- $\emptyset$  guwe  
 noise hear-GENRL then  
 Then [he] heard the noise.
18. guwe ya:-yi badja-na mara ne: $\eta$   $\eta$ umga- $\emptyset$   
 then say-PAST other.one-ACC DEM outside go.out-IMPER  
 [He] said to the other one, 'Go outside (of the camp) there.'
19.  $\eta$ in-du nja-wu  
 2SG-ERG see-FUT  
 You will see [it].'
20.  $\eta$ umga-yi guwe badja  
 go.out-PAST then other.one  
 The other one went out.
21. nja-nge guwe  
 look-IMPERFV then  
 [He] looked.
22. waga waga guwe  
 nothing nothing then  
 There was nothing.
23. yo:rr nja-me-nji yo:we-rinj-a damba mana  
 everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV 3PL-GEN-ACC road DEM

- bawar mana  
bush DEM  
[They] looked around theirs (i.e. their camp) everywhere, along the road and  
in the bush.
24. yo: nja-me-nji waga  
3SG see-AROUND-PERFV nothing  
He could not see anything.
25. wanju-ŋu mana ba-ye  
where-ABL DEM come-PRES  
Where is [it] coming from?
26. ŋa:m be yu:  
1DU ? only  
There is only us two.
27. ya: ŋa-dju gurun be:ŋa-ø  
yes 1SG-ERG noise hear-GENRL  
Yes, I hear the noise.
28. be:ŋa-ø ŋa-dju  
hear-GENRL 1SG-ERG  
I hear [it].
29. ba-ø ŋin  
come-IMPER 2SG  
You come [here].
30. gari-nma yune-ø  
DEM-EMPH lie.down-IMPER  
Lie down right here.
31. njine-ø  
sit.down-IMPER  
Sit down.
32. gari-nji  
enter-PERFV  
[He] went in.
33. be:ŋa-yi mana gurun guwe  
hear-PAST DEM noise then  
[He] still heard the noise.
34. gurun be:ŋa-ø  
noise hear-GENRL  
[He] kept hearing the noise.
35. yabu ŋin ŋumga-ø  
just 2SG go.out-IMPER  
Just go out! (i.e. out of the camp again).

36. nja-ø guwe  
look-IMPER then  
Then look.
37. yo:-ri gaye-ø  
3SG-PURP turn.around-GENRL  
[He] turned around for him.
38. gaye-nji guwe mana guriŋa  
turn.around-PERFV then DEM old.man  
The old man then turned around there.
39. gaye-nji  
turn.around-PERFV  
[He] turned around.
40. yo:r nja-me-nji waga  
everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV nothing  
[He] looked everywhere, nothing.
41. waga nja-ø ŋa-dju  
nothing see-GENRL 1SG-ERG  
I see nothing.
42. minja-ŋa ŋin-du be:ŋa-ø  
what-ACC 2SG-ERG hear-GENRL  
What do you hear?
43. ŋa-dju gana be:ŋa-nge  
1SG-ERG DEM hear-IMPERFV  
I am (still) hearing this [noise].
44. ŋin-du be:ŋa-ø  
2SG-ERG hear-GENRL  
Can you hear [that]?
45. gana ŋa-dju be:ŋe-nji  
DEM 1SG-ERG hear-PERFV  
I can still hear this [noise].
46. waga gidi galan ŋuwim gan dji me-nge  
no light good sun DEM shine-IMPERFV  
No, there is good light here, the sun is shining.
47. minja-ŋa ŋin-baŋi binan-e  
what-ACC 2SG-ABL<sub>2</sub> ear-?  
What [are you hearing] from your ears?
48. waga ŋa-dju be:ŋa-ø  
not 1SG-ERG hear-GENRL  
I can't hear [it].
49. gari-nji ŋay  
enter-PERFV 1SG  
I went inside.

50. yune-nji yo:  
sleep-PERFV 3SG  
He slept.
51. gurilŋa badja ya:-ø ŋumga-ø ŋin  
old.man other.one say-GENRL go.out-IMPER 2SG  
The other old man said, 'You come out.'
52. ŋin-du nja-wu  
2SG-ERG see-FUT  
You will see [it].'
53. gari-ŋi ŋa:m ŋin-du badji-ø mana guyur  
DEM-LOC 1DU 2SG-ERG find-GENRL DEM thing  
We (incl.) found that thing here.
54. dja: dunme-nji  
ground shake-PERFV  
The ground shook.
55. dja: dunme-nge  
ground shake-IMPERFV  
The ground continued to shake.
56. nja-ø ŋin-du  
look.at-IMPER 2SG-ERG  
'You look at [it].'
57. ŋumga-yi guwe mana gurilŋa  
go.out-PERFV then DEM old.man  
The old man went out there (again).
58. yo:rr nja-me-nji  
everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV  
[He] was looking around everywhere.
59. biye gari-ŋi guwe  
back enter-PERFV then  
Then [he] went back in (to his camp).
60. ŋin-du gana be:ŋa-ø  
2SG-ERG DEM hear-GENRL  
'Do you hear this?'
61. minja-ŋa  
what-ACC  
'What is it?'
62. buran  
wind  
'The wind.'
63. gari-ŋa ŋa-dju ŋin-a ya:-yi  
DEM-ALL 1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC say-PAST  
I told you something was here.

64. nje: mana yi-ye buran  
 name DEM be-PRES wind  
 That one's name is 'wind'.
65. nje: mana guyur buran  
 name DEM thing wind  
 The name of that thing is 'wind'.
66. mana ŋa-dju be:ŋa-yi  
 DEM 1SG-ERG hear-PAST  
 I heard that one.
67. galaŋ guwe yo: guwe yune-ø  
 happy then 3SG then sleep-GENRL  
 Then he was happy and so [they] slept.
68. gari-ŋinu guwe  
 DEM-END then  
 This is the end then .
69. nala ye-ŋe-nji guwe gurilŋa badja  
 insides be-REFL-PERFV then old.man other.one  
 The other old man was glad then.
70. mana guwe ya:-ø  
 DEM then tell-IMPER  
 Tell those ones now.
71. njunam-a guwe ŋa:m-bu ya:-wu wanja guwe mana  
 children-ACC then 1DU-ERG say-FUT when then DEM  
 buran ba-wu  
 wind come-FUT  
 We two will tell the children when the wind comes again.
72. buran  
 wind  
 [It is] wind.
73. buran nje:-ma-yi guwe  
 wind name-FACT-PAST then  
 Then [they] named [it] 'wind'.
74. e?e buran galaŋ  
 EXCL wind good  
 Good, 'wind' is good
75. wane-ø guwe  
 leave-GENRL then  
 [They] left [it] like that.

**16. The Two Old Women and Road**

There were two old women who could not agree on what they should leave as a lasting gift to their descendants. One day a man arrived from one of the old women's tribe and told her that she should go and visit the people she grew up with. She agreed and so he went ahead with a message that she was coming so that her people could prepare their corroboree. The two old women went to the corroboree and later they started talking again about what they wanted to leave for their children. It was decided that they would leave a road to the old tribe so that their children would not need to be guided back there as they had been.

1.     yanjara**n**-bam   ya:-ye-nji           njinjangu**r**ra  
old.woman-DU   talk-RECIP-PERFV   creation.time  
Two old women were talking to each other in the creation time.
2.     bada**j**a-ru           guwe ya:-yi     minja-**n**a     wane-yu   yo:we-ri  
one.of.pair-ERG   then   say-PAST   what-ACC   leave-FUT   3PL-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
One of them said, 'What should [we] leave for them (i.e. our ancestors)?'
3.     mana   ban     wane-**ø**  
DEM   grass   leave-GENRL  
'(How about) leaving grass?' (the other one suggested).
4.     waga   mana   gala**n**  
not   DEM   good  
'That is not good' (the other one answered).
5.     dadu   wane-**ø**  
tree   leave-GENRL  
'(How about) leaving some trees?'
6.     waga  
no  
'No' (came the answer)
7.     minja-**n**a   guwe wane-yu  
what-ACC   then   leave-FUT  
'What should [we] leave then?' (she enquired).
8.     djan   guwe ba-yi           ya:-yi     guwe mandji   yi-**n**i  
man   then   come-PAST   say-PAST   then   friend   be-PAST  
Then a man came and said that [he] was a friend.
9.     nin-a     ya:-le     yere-wa  
2SG-ACC   say-CONT   go.home-DESID  
'[They] are saying that they want you to go home.'
10.    yere-re   guwe nin  
go-CONT   then   2SG  
You should go along.
11.    yo:wan-du   nja-**ø**           nin-a  
3PL-ERG   see-GENRL   2SG-ACC  
They (want to) see you.'

12.   gawurre   wunba   ɲin   ɲjine-ɲji   gara  
a.long.time very 2SG stay-PERFV DEM  
You have stayed here a very long time.
13.   ya-ɲji       guwe   mana  
go-PERFV   then   DEM  
Then he (the man) went there.
14.   guwe   biye   dje-ɲji   yowar-a  
then   back   go-PERFV   corroboree-?  
[He] went back to the corroboree.
15.   yowar-a       ba:ri-ɲji       yo:-ɲa   mo:  
corroboree-? bring-PERFV 3SG-ACC DEM  
He brought her to the corroboree.
16.   yowar-a       ba:ri-ɲji  
corroboree-? bring-PERFV  
[He] brought [her] to the corroboree.
17.   ge:m       binda-yi       gan-ma       yo:   ba-ye  
message   send-PAST   DEM-EMPH 3SG   come-PRES  
[He] sent a message [that] she is coming here.

To invite someone to a corroboree a message stick was sent to them. The messenger could cross any territory. He had to sit outside the tribal area of the people who he was carrying the message stick to and someone would come and get the message stick from him and invite him in.

18.   gana   wabe-ɲe-ɲji       yuram-u  
DEM   wait-REFL-PERFV   front-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
This one (the message man) was waiting out front.
19.   ɲja-ɲji       guwe   ba-yi-na  
see-PAST   then   come-PAST-ACC  
[They] saw (the two women) who had come.
20.   wanja       wanja       ɲin-du       gari-ɲji       be:ɲa-ø  
INTERROG   INTERROG   2SG-ERG   DEM-LOC   remember-GENRL  
'Do you remember this? (one woman said).
21.   ɲa:m   ɲin   ya:-ye-ɲji       gawurre  
1DU   2SG   speak-RECIP-PAST   a.long.time.ago  
We two (incl.) spoke a long time ago'.
22.   wane-ø       man   ɲa-dju  
leave-GENRL   DEM   1SG-ERG  
(The other woman replied) 'I have left that (memory).
23.   binarj   bo:-ɲji  
ear       die-PAST  
I have forgotten.' (lit. ear died)

24.    *ŋa-dju*    *guwe*    *be:ŋa-yi*            *ya:-ø*            *minja-ŋa*    *guwe*  
 1SG-ERG    then       remember-PAST    say-GENRL    what-ACC    then  
 'I remember what [we] were saying (the other woman said).'
25.    *damba*    *mana*    *wane-yu*    *ŋa:m-bu*  
 road       DEM       leave-FUT    1DU-ERG  
 'We two will leave that road (for them)' (the other woman suggested).
26.    *eʔe*       *galan*    *mana*  
 EXCL       good       DEM  
 'Good, that is good! (the other woman replied).'
27.    *damba*    *mana*    *galan*  
 road       DEM       good  
 That road is good.
28.    *mana*    *wura*       *wane-ø*            *njunam-gari*  
 DEM       all.right    leave-IMPER    children-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 That's all right, leave that for the children.
29.    *wanja*    *yo:we*    *ya-ŋu*    *wa:re-yu*    *damba*    *mana*    *waga*    *yayumba-me*  
 when    3PL    go-FUT    hunt-FUT    road       DEM    no       soon-SPEC  
 When they will go and will hunt there is no road there now.
30.    *nja-ø*        *yo:we-ru*    *wanja*    *yo:we*    *di:-re-yu*  
 see-GENRL    3PL-ERG    when    3PL       grow.up-CONT-FUT  
*njubanji-ŋa*  
 married.person-ACC  
 They will see [the road] when they grow up to be married people.
31.    *gari-ŋi*        *guwe*        *wane-ø*  
 DEM-LOC       then       leave-IMPER  
 Leave [it] here then.
32.    *waga*    *guwe*    *badja-na*            *ya:-ø*  
 don't    then    one.of.pair-ACC    say-IMPER  
 Don't say something else.
33.    *wane-ø*        *guwe*  
 leave-IMPER    then  
 Leave it then.'
34.    *ŋinŋangurra*  
 creation.time  
 [This was in] the creation time.

*Corroboree*

1.    *yanjaraŋ-bam*    *ya:-ye-ŋi*            *minja-ŋa*    *gam*        *wane-wa*  
 old.woman-DU    talk-RECIP-PERFV    what-ACC    probably    leave-INT



- njunam-gari  
children-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
Two old women were talking 'What should we leave for the children?'
2. badja-ru guwe ya:-yi dadu wane-ø  
other.person-ERG then say-PAST tree leave-IMPER  
One of them then said, '[Let's] leave a tree'.
3. waga badja-ru gadiwa-yi dadu waga galaŋ  
no other.one-ERG answer-PAST tree not good  
'No', the other one answered, 'A tree is not good'.
4. ya-nji guwe garu biye dje-nji guwe wunba  
go-PERFV then one back go-PERFV then better  
One [of the women] went and came back [with] a better [idea].
5. badja-ru guwe ya:-yi gandan-a be:ŋa-ø ŋa:m ŋin  
other.one-ERG then say-PAST sister-ACC remember-GENRL 1DU 2SG  
ya:-ye-nji minja-ŋa wane-yu njunam-gari  
say-RECIP-PERFV what-ACC leave-INT children-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
The other one then said to her sister, 'Do you remember we (incl.) were talking about what [we] intend to leave for the children?'
6. ya: damba wane-yu yo:we-ri  
yes road leave-FUT 3PL-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
'Yes, [we] will leave a road for them.'
7. galaŋ mana wane-yu  
good DEM leave-FUT  
'That is good, [we] will leave [it].'

### 17. *The Two Sitting Boys*

Two boys went hunting for birds in the mountain ranges. They came across a narrow gap in the mountains where birds flew through in a flock.<sup>72</sup> The boys decided to put a trap in the gap, so they went back to their camp and had their people make a long net for them. The two boys went back the next morning and cleared the ground underneath where the net would be hung. This was so that the net could lie flat on the ground and they would be able to pick out the good birds. The best birds were the parrots and the kookaburras because their coloured feathers were used by the old men in their dances. Soon the birds came across from the other side of the mountain. One of the boys whistled like a hawk which made the other birds fly down low as they were afraid of the hawk. Meanwhile, the other boy adjusted the net to the right height. When they had caught enough birds they killed them and took them home.

The boys continued catching birds in this way until one day an owl broke through the net. This owl was a spirit of the mountain. When the boys next came to put up their net the owl was waiting for them and he turned them into mountains.

<sup>72</sup> This is said to be at Warranbee (Winterbotham 1957).

1. gima-wam yi-nji njingangurra  
boy-DU be-PAST creation.time  
In the creation time there were two boys.
2. wa:rre-nji yowa:m bayer-djin-da djiwi bu-mgu-wa  
hunt-PERFV 3DU mountain-PL-LOC<sub>1</sub> bird kill-FUT-PURP  
They two went hunting in the mountains in order to kill birds.
3. wa:rre-nji nja-me-nji yowa:m-bu  
hunt-PERFV look-AROUND-PERFV 3DU-ERG  
They were both hunting and looking around.
4. wanju gan djiwi dje-nge guwe badji-ø  
where DEM bird come-IMPERFV then find-GENRL  
[They] were trying to find where the birds were coming from.
5. bayer nja-nji biya:yu-na  
mountain see-PAST two-ACC  
[They] saw two mountains.
6. djunim dje-nji yowa:m  
straight go-PERFV 3DU  
They two went straight.
7. ya:-ye-nji guwe gara galan nja-ø  
say-RECIP-PERFV then DEM good look-IMPER  
[They] were saying to each other, 'Look, here is good.'
8. djiwi bu-mgu-wa ña:m-bu yangayanga nja-wu  
bird kill-FUT-PURP 1DU-ERG carefully watch-FUT  
We two will watch carefully in order to kill the birds.'
9. nja-nji yowa:m-bu djiwi mana bayer gamunda-yi-na  
see-PAST 3DU-ERG bird DEM mountain cross.over-PAST-ACC  
They two saw birds which crossed over the mountain there.
10. galan ña:m wanja biye yere-yu guyum-gu ña:m-bu ya:-wu  
OK 1DU when back go-FUT camp-ALL 1DU-ERG say-FUT  
ña:-rinj-a ña:-rinj-a ya: dama guwe yanga-ø ña:m-gari  
IPL-GEN-ACC IPL-GEN-ACC yes net then make-IMPER 1DU-PURP  
'OK, when we two go back to the camp, we two will say to our [mob], to  
our [mob], 'Yes, make a net for us two!'
11. ña:m-bu djiwi bu-mgu  
1DU-ERG bird kill-FUT  
We two will kill the birds.
12. dama guwengi-na yanga-ø  
net long-ACC make-IMPER  
Make [us] a long net!"'
13. dama yanga-yi yowa:m-gari  
net make-PAST 3DU-PURP  
So [they] made a net for them two.

14. dje-nji guwe yowa:m gari-me nja-nji guwe  
 come-PERFV then 3DU DEM-SPEC look-PAST then  
 So the two of them came here and looked.
15. yangayanga nja-ø  
 carefully watch-GENRL  
 [They] watched carefully.
16. dama ŋa:m-bu guwe dare-ma-wu gadja djiwi bu-mgu-wa  
 net IDU-ERG then fly-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT DEM bird kill-FUT-PURP  
 ‘We two will hang (lit. make fly) the net here in order to kill the birds.’
17. nja-nji guwe galan  
 look-PAST then good  
 So [they] looked and [it was] good.
18. biye dje-ø  
 back go-GENRL  
 [They] went back (to their camp).
19. dje-ndi-nji guwe dama wane-ø  
 go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV then net leave-GENRL  
 [They] took the net down and left it.
20. djuyudjuyu gadji-ma wane-ø  
 evening DEM-EMPH leave-GENRL  
 In the evening, [they] left [it] here.
21. dulara-me guwe dje-nji waga ŋuwim wa-yi-nda  
 morning-SPEC then go-PERFV not sun rise-PAST-SIMULT  
 Early the next morning, [they] went when the sun had not risen.
22. dare-ma-yi dare-ma-yi dama mana  
 fly-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST fly-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST net DEM  
 [They] hung up, hung up the net.
23. ya:-yi guwe badja-ru ŋin-gari girum-ge-nu  
 say-PAST then one.of.pair-ERG 2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub> other.side-SIDE-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 njine-ø ŋay gara-ŋe  
 sit-IMPER 1SG DEM-SIDE  
 One of them said, ‘I will sit on this side, the other side of you.’
24. wanja mana yo:we djiwi gari-yu mana guwe bugurr  
 when DEM 3PL bird enter-FUT DEM then rope  
 ŋin-du binda-ø  
 2SG-ERG release-IMPER  
 When all the birds enter (the net) there, you release the rope.
25. binda-ø guwe mana  
 release-IMPER then DEM  
 Release it (the net).

26. dama mana guwe bumi-yu dja:-ba  
 net DEM then fall.down-FUT ground-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 The net will fall down onto the ground.
27. ŋa:m dje-yu bu-mgu-wa  
 IDU go-FUT kill-FUT-PURP  
 We two will go in order to kill [them].
28. bu-mgu guwe ŋa:m-bu  
 kill-FUT then IDU-ERG  
 Then we two will kill [them].
29. bu-mgu mana ŋin guwe dje-ø  
 kill-FUT DEM 2SG then go-IMPER  
 You go and kill those ones.
30. mari mula-nu ŋin-du ya:-ø  
 DEM bank-ABL<sub>1</sub> 2SG-ERG yell-IMPER  
 You yell from the bank over there.
31. djiwi mana me:ndi-ø badja-rin-a  
 bird DEM chase-IMPER one.of.several-PL-ACC  
 Chase all the other birds away.
32. waga guwe ye-ø dje-wa me:ndi-ø ŋin-du  
 not then be-GENRL come-INT chase-IMPER 2SG-ERG  
 [They] should not be coming this way, you chase [them] away.
33. wanja ŋin-du me:ndi-yu ŋa-dju mana dama dare-ma-nge  
 when 2SG-ERG chase-FUT 1SG-ERG DEM net fly-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-IMPERFV  
 When you are chasing [them] away, I will be putting up the net.
34. ma:-ngu ŋa:m-bu yima-yi-me  
 catch-FUT IDU-ERG do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
 We two will catch [them] like before.
35. ŋa:m-bu yuŋam-ba ma:-nji  
 IDU-ERG front-LOC<sub>1</sub> catch-PERFV  
 We two caught [them] in front.
36. ma:-nji ŋa:m-bu  
 catch-PERFV IDU-ERG  
 We two caught [them].
37. yima-yi-me buma-ø  
 do.like.this-PAST-REPET kill-IMPER  
 [Let's] kill [them] like before.'
38. wane-ø guwe  
 leave-GENRL then  
 So [they] left [it].
39. yere-ndi-ø mana  
 go.home-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-IMPER DEM  
 '[Let's] take those [birds] home.

40.     $\eta$ a:m-bu    yere-ndi-yu  
 1DU-ERG    go.home-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
 We two will take [them] home.'
41.    yere-ndi-nji                    dama   mana    $\eta$ uruma-yi  
 go.home-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV   net    DEM   hide-PAST  
 [They] took [them] home and hid the net.
42.    gadji-ma    wane- $\emptyset$             yere-nji                    guwe   guyum-gu  
 DEM-EMPH   leave-GENRL   go.home-PERFV   then   camp-ALL  
 [They] left [it] here and then went home to the camp.
43.    biya:yu-nda   dama   yanga-yi            yima-yi-me  
 two-ADVLSR   net       make-PAST       do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
 [They] made a net like before twice.
44.    gawurre    wunba   djiwa    guwe   ba-yi  
 a.long.time   very   owl       then   came-PAST  
 Then [after] a very long time an owl came.
45.    djiwa   ba-yi  
 owl   come-PAST  
 An owl came.
46.    djiwa   gari-nji  
 owl   enter-PERFV  
 The owl entered [the net].
47.    djiwa   gari-nji            guwe  
 owl   enter-PERFV   then  
 The owl entered [the net].
48.     $\eta$ umga-yi                    guwe   mana   djiwa  
 break.through-PAST   then   DEM   owl  
 Then the owl broke through [the net].
49.    bayer-nu            gari-nma   badja                    mana   yi- $\eta$ i     $\eta$ u:l  
 mountain-ABI<sub>1</sub>   DEM-EMPH   something.else   DEM   be-PAST   spirit  
 It was the spirit of something else from the mountain over there.
50.    guwe   djiwa-ndu   nja- $\eta$ i    yowa:m-a   gadji   guwe   njine-nji-na  
 then   owl-ERG   see-PAST   3DU-ACC   DEM   then   sit-PERFV-ACC  
 Then the owl saw the two of them who sat here.
51.    ya:-yi    guwe   mo:   djiwa-ndu   yowa:m-a   gari-nma  
 say-PAST   then   DEM   owl-ERG   3DU-ACC   DEM-EMPH  
  
 $\eta$ owa:m   njine- $\emptyset$   
 2DU       sit-IMPER  
 Then that owl said to the two of them, 'You two sit there!'
52.    waga    guwe   dunme- $\emptyset$   
 don't   then   move-IMPER  
 Don't move!

53. waga ḡowa:m dunme-∅ gari-nma  
 don't 2DU move-IMPER DEM-EMPH  
 Don't you two here move!
54. njine-∅  
 sit-IMPER  
 Sit!
55. njine-nji guwe yowa:m  
 sit-PERFV then 3DU  
 They two were sitting then.
56. wane-∅ biye dje-nji  
 leave-GENRL back go-PERFV  
 [The owl] left [them] and went back.
57. bayer-u mo: yowa:m-a gurema-∅  
 mountain-INSTR DEM 3DU-ACC hold.tightly-GENRL  
 That one [the owl] held them two tightly using the mountain.
58. gari-nma ḡowa:m njine-∅ ḡowa:m-a guwe ya:-le  
 DEM-EMPH 2DU sit-IMPER 2DU-ACC then say-CONT  
 'You two sit right here', [the owl] said to them two.
59. gima njine-nge  
 boy sit-IMPERFV  
 The boys are sitting.
60. wane-∅ guwe yowa:m-a gadji-ma  
 leave-GENRL then 3DU-ACC DEM-EMPH  
 Then [the owl] left them two right here.
61. ya:-yi guwe yo:wan-a bayer man barandje-nge gima  
 say-PAST then 3PL-ACC mountain DEM stand-IMPERFV boy  
 njine-nge  
 sit-IMPERFV  
 Then [the owl] said to all of them, 'The mountains standing there are  
 "sitting boys".'

### 18. *The Woodpecker*<sup>73</sup>

A group of people were moving to a camping ground far away. As they were going along, a man approached them and warned them that ahead was a stretch of land where there was no honey for three days. But they continued anyway and all the children became very ill due to the lack of food for three days. Eventually, the group reached the other side and the willy wagtail, who was leading the group, went and looked for bees. He discovered a very tall tree with a bee's nest in every branch. The next morning the group went with the willy wagtail to the tree but it was too big for any of them to climb. So the willy wagtail went to find his brother-in-law who was a very good climber. When he

<sup>73</sup> McKenzie told Winterbotham (1957) that this was a Dala story.

found his brother-in-law he told him about the tree that they needed his help to climb. His brother-in-law told him that he had a thorn in his foot and that he would have to be carried there. Now according to the law a person was not allowed to carry his brother-in-law, but they decided that they could do it as there was no one around to see them. When they neared the camp the willy wagtail put his brother-in-law down and he walked the rest of the way into the camp.

The next morning the brother-in-law threw a vine up around a branch of the tree and used this to pull himself up. As he cut down each limb, he designated them to one of the four kinship classes. All of the people cheered with joy at the honey they were given. The willy wagtail, however, was jealous of the praise his brother-in-law was receiving as he felt that the people should be thanking him for all his hard work in getting them and his brother-in-law there. So after his brother-in-law had cut down the last branch, the willy wagtail, who was a *gundir*, turned him into a woodpecker and left him like that.

This is why the woodpecker is the best tree climber and today can be seen working steadily up trees from the bottom and then flying down to the base of the next tree to begin again.

1.        *njngangurra*  
creation.time  
A creation time story.
2.        *djinjidjini-ru*        *buyi-ø*        *djan-bam-a*        *yo:ran-a*  
willy.wagtail-ERG    take-GENRL    man-DU-ACC    many-ACC  
The willy wagtail took many men.
3.        *ya-nji*        *yo:we*  
go-PERFV    3PL  
They went.
4.        *njunam-a*        *buyi-ø*  
children-ACC    take-GENRL  
[They] took the children.
5.        *ya-nme-re-nji*        *guwe*  
go-AROUND-CONT-PERFV    then  
[They] were going along now.
6.        *bam*        *guwe*        *gundani-nji*        *badja*  
halfway    then    go.across-PERFV    one.of.several  
One of them had gone halfway across.
7.        *djan*        *badja*        *ya:-yi*        *guwe*        *yo:-ŋa*        *wandja-ŋa*        *ŋuwe:*  
man    other.one    say-PAST    then    3SG-ACC    where-ALL    2PL  
*yana-nde*  
go-IMPERFV  
The other man said to him, 'Where are you all going to?'
8.        *gari-ŋa*        *djawun*        *njewayi*  
DEM-ALL    district        Neewai  
'This way in the district of Neewai.'

9.     *njin*   *gara-njinu*   *dje-nji*     *gawurre*  
 2SG    DEM-DIR    go-PERFV    a.long.time.ago  
 ‘Have you gone on this way a long time ago?’
10.    *ya:*     *dje-nji*     *ɲay*    *gara-njinu*  
 yes    go-PERFV    1SG    DEM-DIR  
 ‘Yes, I have gone this way.’
11.    *njin-du*   *be:ɲa-ø*     *gudja-djam*   *mara*    *ye-ø*  
 2SG-ERG   know-GENRL   honey-PRIV   DEM    be-GENRL  
 ‘Did you know that it is honeyless there?’
12.    *gudja-djam*  
 honey-PRIV  
 [It has] no honey.’
13.    *ya:*    *nja-ɲi*     *ɲa-dju*    *mana*    *gawurre*        *wunba*  
 yes    see-PAST    1SG-ERG    DEM    a.long.time.ago    very  
 ‘Yes, I saw that a very long time ago.’
14.    *guwe*   *nja-ø*  
 then    look-IMPER  
 ‘You look.
15.    *dadu*    *yayumbe*     *barandje-nge*  
 tree    same           stand-IMPERFV  
 The trees standing [here] are the same.
16.    *guɲ*     *galan*  
 water    good  
 The water is good.
17.    *yara*  
 flower  
 [There are] flowers.
18.    *dumuɲ*   *waga*  
 bee     no  
 [But] no bees.
19.    *gudjawunba*   *dumuɲ*    *waga*  
 big.wax.bee   bee        no  
 No big wax bees.
20.    *gaye*  
 small.bee  
 [Nor] small bees.
21.    *wanja*    *mana*     *njin-du*    *nja-wu*    *gari-nma-me*        *dje-ndi*  
 when    DEM        2SG-ERG    see-FUT    DEM-EMPH-SPEC    go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>  
  
*njunam-gari*    *guɲ-ga*    *yo:we-ru*    *dja:-wu*  
 children-DAT<sub>3</sub>   water-LOC<sub>1</sub>   3PL-ERG    drink-FUT  
 When you will see that, take from this place some water for the children,  
 they will drink [it].



22. djanjar-u dje-ø wanja guwe girum-ba ya-ngu gari-nma  
leg-INSTR go-IMPER until then other.side-LOC<sub>1</sub> go-FUT DEM-EMPH  
Go speedily (lit. using legs) until you get to the other side there.
23. njin yuŋam-ba dje-ø  
2SG front-LOC<sub>1</sub> go-IMPER  
You go in front.
24. njin-du nja-re-yu  
2SG-ERG see-CONT-FUT  
You continually look.
25. dja: djinbam-bu wanja nja-wu gadji-ma yo:wan-a wane-ø  
place owner-ERG when see-FUT DEM-EMPH 3PL-ACC leave-IMPER  
When the owner of this place sees [you], leave them (i.e. your people) here.
26. njin-du dja: yaŋgayanga nja-ø njunam-gari  
2SG-ERG place carefully look-IMPER children-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
You look carefully at a place for the children.
27. yo:we-ri mana njin-du buyi-le-ø  
3PL-DAT<sub>3</sub> DEM 2SG-ERG take-CONT-IMPER  
You take that along to them.
28. gari-nma njin-gari gimŋen njine-nge yuŋam-u  
DEM-EMPH 2SG-GEN brother.in.law sit-IMPERFV ahead-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
Your brother-in-law is sitting here ahead.
29. wanja gadja yo:  
where DEM 3SG  
Is he here?
30. yana-ø yayumba-me  
go-IMPER soon-SPEC  
Go on now.'
31. dje-nji  
go-PERFV  
[The clever man] went.
32. djiŋidjiŋi-ru guwe nja-nji  
willy.wagtail-ERG then see-PAST  
The willy wagtail looked.
33. nja-nji gan wura dja:  
see-PAST DEM already place  
[He] had already seen this place.
34. gan-ma ŋay djadjawa-yi  
DEM-EMPH 1SG reach-PAST  
I reached here.
35. ya:-yi guwe yo:wan-a gara guwe moro-ŋe-ø  
say-PAST then 3PL-ACC DEM then make-REFL-IMPER  
I said to them, 'Make a camp here.

36.     $\eta$ ay    yana-nde    yujam-ba  
 1SG    go-PRES    ahead-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 I am going ahead.'
37.     $\eta$ uwim    wura             $\eta$ jinda-re- $\eta$ ji            djujudjuyu  
 sun        already    go.down-CONT-PERFV    evening  
 The sun was already going down in the evening.
38.     $\eta$ ja- $\eta$ i        guwe    yo:    gan    wura    dja:  
 see-PAST    then    3SG    DEM    already    place  
 He had already seen this place.
39.    yo:rr             $\eta$ ja-me- $\eta$ ji            dadu    guwe     $\eta$ ja- $\eta$ i  
 everywhere    look-AROUND-PERFV    tree    then    see-PAST  
 [He] looked around everywhere and then he saw a tree.
40.    dadu     $\eta$ ja- $\eta$ i        dja $\eta$ ar    mana    dja $\eta$ ar    yo:ran    mowanin    wunba  
 tree    see-PAST    branch    DEM    branch    many    big        very  
 [He] saw the tree's branches, many very big branches.
41.    dadu    mana    yi- $\eta$ i        birran  
 tree    DEM    be-PAST    wide  
 The tree was wide.
42.    biye    dje- $\eta$ ji        guwe    yo:  
 back    go-PERFV    then    3SG  
 So he returned.
43.    ya:-yi        guwe  
 speak-PAST    then  
 Then [he] spoke.
44.     $\eta$ o:    ya:-yi        guwe     $\eta$ a-dju     $\eta$ uwe:-na    gala $\eta$ -dje-de  
 night    say-PAST    then    1SG-ERG    2PL-ACC    well-FACT-FUT  
  
 ya:-le         $\eta$ njunam-a  
 tell-CONT    children-ACC  
 That night [he] said, 'I have [something] to tell you all [that] will make the children well.
45.     $\eta$ njunam-gari    dadu     $\eta$ a-dju    badji- $\emptyset$     mowanin-a  
 children-DAT<sub>3</sub>    tree    1SG-ERG    find-GENRL    big-ACC  
 I have found a big tree for the children.
46.    gudja    man    ye            gari-nge        dja $\eta$ ar-djin-u    yo:ran  
 honey    DEM    towards    enter-IMPERFV    branch-PL-LOC<sub>3</sub>    many  
 There are honey [bees] entering into many branches.
47.    guwe     $\eta$ a:    dje-yu    dulara-me  
 then    1PL    go-FUT    morning-SPEC  
 We will all go there in the morning.
48.     $\eta$ uwe:     $\eta$ ja-wu  
 2PL        see-FUT  
 You will all see.

49.    *ŋa-dju    ŋuwe:-na    buyi-le*  
 1SG-ERG 2PL-ACC take-CONT  
 I will take you all along.
50.    *wa:-∅        guwe*  
 climb-GENRL then  
 Then [we] can climb up.
51.    *mande    yanga-∅*  
 steps    make-GENRL  
 [We] will make steps.'
52.    *yunc-nji    guwe    yo:we    gari-nma*  
 sleep-PERFV then    3PL    DEM-EMPH  
 So they all slept here.
53.    *dje-nji*  
 go-PERFV  
 [They] went.
54.    *dulara-me    guwe    dje-nji    ŋuwim-ba*  
 morning-SPEC then    go-PERFV sun-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 In the morning, at sunrise (lit. in the sun) [they] went.
55.    *nja-nji*  
 look-PAST  
 [They] looked.
56.    *gana    dadu    ye-∅*  
 DEM    tree    be-GENRL  
 'This is the tree.
57.    *ya:    gana    dadu*  
 yes    DEM    tree  
 Yes, this is the tree.'
58.    *dumuŋ    mana    nja-nji    guwe    gari-nji-na*  
 bee        DEM    see-PAST    then    go.in-PERFV-ACC  
 They saw the bees which were going in.
59.    *ya:-yi        guwe    wa-∅*  
 say-PAST    then    climb-IMPER  
 [He] said, 'Let's climb up.'
60.    *wa-yi        guwe    yo:we    wa-yi*  
 climb-PAST then    3PL    climb-PAST  
 So they all climbed up, they climbed up.

The repetition of the climbing action here is meant to imply that the action was not successful; that is, they were trying to climb up the tree but could not.

61.    *mande    yanga-yi    badja-rin-du*  
 step    make-PAST    other.one-PL-ERG  
 Others made steps.

62. waga guwe  
not then  
But [they] couldn't [climb up].
63. yo:wan-a nja-ø guwe  
3PL-ACC look.at-GENRL then  
[He] looked at all of them.
64. waga guwe wa-ø  
none then climb-GENRL  
None could climb up.
65. yo:waran-du guwe mana yangga-yi ger yangga-yi gorom  
3PL-ERG then DEM do-PAST try do-PAST fork  
birran yi-nji  
wide be-PAST  
They tried to do it, [but] the forks were [too] wide.
66. yo: gana yayumba dje-nji nja-nji-nda gaye-wa  
3SG DEM soon go-PERFV look-PERFV-SIMULT look-INT  
gimngen-gari  
brother.in.law-PURP  
He went soon after while [the others] were looking, intending to look for his brother-in-law.
67. gimngen gari-nma njine-nji  
brother.in.law DEM-EMPH sit-PERFV  
His brother-in-law was sitting here.
68. djawun man gimngen-gari gana yi-nji  
home.country DEM brother.in.law-GEN DEM be-PAST  
This (region) was the brother-in-law's home country.
69. ya-nji  
go-PERFV  
So [he] went.
70. yo:rr ya-n-me-nji bayer-djin-da  
everywhere go-CONJUG-AROUND-PERFV mountain-PL-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
[He] went around everywhere in the mountains.
71. nja-nji  
look-PAST  
[He] looked.
72. guwe djum nja-nji  
then smoke see-PAST  
[He] saw smoke.
73. gari badja yune-ngc  
DEM someone sleep-IMPERFV  
Someone was sleeping here.

74. dje-nji  
go-PERFV  
[He] went on.
75. gange-nji guwe  
call.out-PERFV then  
Then [he] called out.
76. ganga ba-yi  
voice come-PAST  
A voice came [back to him].
77. yo: gadiwa-n ye dje-ø  
3SG answer-SUDDEN towards go-IMPER  
He answered quickly, 'Come here.'
78. djanjum guwe nja-ɲdje-nji  
close then look-RECIP-PERFV  
Then they looked at each other up close.
79. gimɲen ɲa-ri gana  
brother.in.law 1SG-GEN DEM  
'This is my brother-in-law.'
80. ya:-yi guwe minja-ɲgu ba-yi  
say-PAST then what-PURP come-PAST  
Then [he] said, 'Why did [you] come?'
81. ɲin-gari ɲay ba-yi dadu-nu wa-wa  
2SG-ALL 1SG come-PAST tree-LOC<sub>3</sub> climb-DESII  
'I came to you [because I] want to climb up on a tree.
82. waga gan yo:we-ru ger yangga-ø  
not DEM 3PL-ERG try do-GENRL  
They (my people) tried to do it, [but] they could not.'
83. waga ba-ø ɲay djirombu djinaɲ ba-yi  
not come-GENRL 1SG ? foot come-PAST  
'I cannot come??'
84. wanja gam ɲay galaɲ yi-gu  
when don't.know 1SG good be-FUT  
I don't know when it will be good.
85. ɲin gam ba:ri-ø  
2SG might carry-GENRL  
You might [have to] carry [me].'
86. ɲa-dju ɲin-a dje-ndi-yu  
1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-FUT  
'I will take you.'
87. ɲjunam yo:ran ɲa djan woɲan-djin dje-ndi-nji guwe  
children many and man woman-PL go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV then  
Many children and men and women then took [him].

88. yowa:m dje-nji  
3DU go-PERFV  
They two went.
89. gonjdjam+na guwe dula yi-nji  
tired+DEM then soft be-PAST  
He was tired.
90. waga mana dadu-nu ba:-me-nji djambal gara  
no DEM stick-LOC<sub>3</sub> stand-AROUND-PERFV pain DEM  
'No, [I] am standing around on sticks [which is giving me] pain.
91. ŋa-nja ŋin-du ga:nge-re-ø  
1SG-ACC 2SG-ERG carry.on.back-CONT-IMPER  
You carry me along on your back.'
92. ga:nge-re-nji guwe yo: yo:-ŋa  
carry.on.back-CONT-PERFV then 3SG 3SG-ACC  
So he carried him along on his back.
93. ga:nge-re-nji wane-ø yima-yi-me  
carry.on.back-CONT-PERFV put.down-GENRL do.like.this-PAST-REPET  
[He] carried [him] along on his back and put him down in the same way.
94. man yowa:m djanjum dje-re-nji guwe gari-ŋa moromoro  
DEM 3PL close go-CONT-PERFV then DEM-ALL main.camp  
They two went close up to the main camp.
95. yo:we yune-nji  
3PL sleep-PERFV  
They were all sleeping.
96. djanjum dje-nji  
close go-PERFV  
[They] went close.
97. ya:-yi guwe gimŋen-a nja-ø waga yima-yi  
say-PAST then brother.in.law-ACC see-GENRL not do.like.this-PAST  
gawurre-ndjin-du gimŋen-djin-a  
a.long.time.ago-PL-ERG brother.in.law-PL-ACC  
He said to his brother-in-law, 'The law (lit. the old times) does not [allow] brother-in-laws to be seen like this. (i.e. carrying one another)
98. gamŋa-yi  
break-PAST  
[We have] broken [the law].
99. ŋin-a ŋa-dju gadja ba:-ma-wu  
2SG-ACC 1SG-ERG DEM stand-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT  
I will stand you here.
100. man guyum djanjum  
DEM camp close  
The camp is close.'

101. ba:-ma-yi guwe dja:-ba  
stand-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST then ground-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
[He] stood [him] on the ground.
102. yo: dje-nji yuŋam-ba djiŋidjini  
3SG go-PERFV front-LOC<sub>1</sub> willy.wagtail  
He, the willy wagtail, went out in front.
103. gaŋge-nji guwe  
call.out-PERFV then  
Then [he] called out.
104. gan-ma ba-yi  
DEM-EMPH come-PAST  
[They] came here.
105. nja-nji guwe yo:-ru badja-rin-a  
see-PAST then 3SG-ERG other.one-PL-ACC  
He saw the others.
106. wanja yo: gimŋen  
where 3SG brother.in.law  
'Where is he, the brother-in-law?' (they asked).
107. gan-ma bige-nju ba-ye  
DEM-EMPH behind-LOC<sub>3</sub> come-PRES  
'[He] is coming behind here.'
108. ba:ri-nji guwe yo:  
come-PERFV then 3SG  
Then he came along.
109. nja-nji yo:-ru man yo:-ri wandja-ŋa gundu  
look-PAST 3SG-ERG DEM 3SG-GEN where-ALL bark.hut  
He looked to where his bark hut was.
110. man yo:-rinj-a gundu  
DEM 3SG-GEN-ACC bark.hut  
That one is his bark hut.
111. man yo:-rinj-a  
DEM 3SG-GEN-ACC  
That one is his.
112. njumba-yi guwe  
show-PAST then  
Then [they] showed [him].
113. gara ŋin yune-ø guwe ŋin-a buyi-le binjgu  
DEM 2SG sleep-IMPER then 2SG-ACC take-CONT tomorrow  
You sleep here and then [we] will take you along tomorrow.
114. dje-ndi-nji yo:-ŋa  
go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV 3SG-ACC  
[They] took him.

115. binjgu njumba-yi  
the.next.day show-PAST  
The next day [they] showed [it to him].
116. nja-nji guwe yo:  
see-PAST then 3SG  
He saw [the big tree].
117. djuŋa yo: biya:yu-na buyi-ø  
vine 3SG two-ACC take-GENRL  
He took two vines.
118. wa-yi guwe yo:  
climb-PAST then 3SG  
Then he climbed up.
119. garu-ndu wa-yi  
one-INSTR climb-PAST  
Using one [of the vines], [he] climbed up.
120. biye-nji guwe gorom-ba  
throw-PERFV then fork-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
Then [he] threw [it] around the fork.
121. dari-nje-nji wa-yi guwe  
pull.up-REFL-PERFV climb-PAST then  
[He] pulled himself up and then climbed up.
122. njine-nji gari-nma gorom-u yo:  
sit-PERFV DEM-EMPH fork-LOC<sub>3</sub> 3SG  
He sat down here in the fork.
123. yo:-ŋa guŋba-yi  
3SG-ACC praise-PAST  
[They] praised him.
124. djaŋar guwe gawami-nji yo:  
limb then chop-PERFV 3SG  
Then he chopped off a limb.
125. gana ŋuwe:-ri djonj-djin-gari  
DEM 2PL-DAT<sub>3</sub> kinship.class-PL-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
'This is for you, for the *djonj* [people].
126. gana badja banda-ri  
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
This other one is for the *banda*.
127. gana badja bandjur-gari  
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
This other one is for the *bandjur*.
128. gana badja baraŋ-gari  
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
This other one is for the *baraŋ*.'



129. garu guwe yi-ŋi djunim barandje-n-ji  
 one then be-PAST straight stand-PERFV  
 One [branch] was standing straight up.
130. mana garu ga:-yi guwe  
 DEM one cut.off-PAST then  
 Then [he] cut that one off.
131. gimŋen guwe nala yowenji muŋin yi-ŋi  
 brother.in.law then insides ? ashamed be-PAST  
 ba:ri-n-ji-nde yo:-ŋa  
 bring-PERFV-NMLS.R 3SG-ACC  
 The brother-in-law's insides were ashamed of him, the brought one.
132. ya:-ŋe-n-ji guwe minja-ŋa ŋa-dju yo:-ŋu gaye-ma-wu  
 say-REFL-PERFV then what-ACC 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-FUT  
 [He] said to himself, 'What will I turn him into?'
133. be:ŋa-yi guwe  
 know-PAST then  
 Then [he] knew.
134. dadu bumi-n djaŋar gana  
 tree fall-SUDDEN branch DEM  
 A branch suddenly fell here from the tree.
135. muyim biya-ø dja:-ba  
 stone.axe throw-GENRL ground-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 [He] threw the stone axe onto the ground.
136. yo: ya:-ø guwe yo:-ŋa fu: djiwi ye-ø  
 3SG say-GENRL then 3SG-ACC shoo bird be-IMPER  
 Then he said to him, 'Shoo, be a bird.'
137. man guwe yo: djiwi yi-ŋi bo:ŋbi-ŋa  
 DEM then 3SG bird be-PAST feather-CON  
 Then he was a bird with feathers.
138. gari-nma njine-n-ji  
 DEM-EMPH sit-PERFV  
 [He] sat here.
139. muringan-du guwe ya:-yi wanja djowan ŋa-ri  
 elder.sister-ERG then say-PAST where brother 1SG-GEN  
 [His] elder sister then said, 'Where is my brother?'
140. man njine-nge gorom-u man  
 DEM sit-IMPERFV fork-LOC<sub>3</sub> DEM  
 He is sitting there in the fork.
141. djiwi go: yi-ŋi  
 bird DEM be-PAST  
 This one was a bird.

142.     $\eta$ in-du    mana    yanga-yi  
 2SG-ERG    DEM    do-PAST  
 You have done that.
143.     $\eta$ ay    wura     $\eta$ uni-nji     $\eta$ in-gari  
 1SG    already    suspect-PERFV    2SG-DAT<sub>3</sub>  
 I was already suspicious of you.
144.    minja- $\eta$ a    gadja    yi- $\eta$ i     $\eta$ owa:m  
 what-ACC    DEM    be-PAST    2DU  
 What were you two doing here?
145.    wane-yi  
 leave-PAST  
 [They] left [him].
146.    gari- $\eta$ inu  
 DEM-END  
 This is the end.
147.    djiwi    yi- $\eta$ i    bi:nj  
 bird    be-PAST    woodpecker  
 [He] was a bird, a woodpecker.

### Duunjidjauw procedures

In his last session of fieldwork, Willie McKenzie ran out of dreamtime stories so Wurm asked him to explain the following procedures: fire making, fishing, kangaroo hunting, spear making, shield repairing and catching a bee. These procedures are given below.

#### 19. *Fire making*

1.    guyum    guwe    yanga-yi    guril $\eta$ a-djin-du  
 fire    then    make-PAST    old.man-PL-ERG  
 The old men made fire.
2.    djage    mana    dadu  
 grass.tree    DEM    wood  
 The wood was grass tree.

The grass tree was very dry and thus suitable for lighting fires.

3.    biya:yu    yi-nge  
 two    be-IMPERFV  
 There are two [grass trees].
4.    badja-na     $\eta$ oro-yi  
 one.of.pair-ACC    stand.on-PAST  
 [He] stood on one of them.

5. badja-na gaye-ma-yi guwe bi:-ndu biya:yu-ŋgu  
 other.one-ACC turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST then hand-INSTR two-?  
 [He] spun the other one around with his hands.
6. gaye-ma-yi  
 turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST  
 [He] spun [it].
7. bu:djuŋ-a yi-nge dadu  
 rotten-CON be-IMPERFV wood  
 The wood is rotten.
8. gadji-ma wane-ø  
 DEM-EMPH put-GENRL  
 [He] put [it] (i.e. the point of the stick) right here.
9. djanjum-ba  
 close-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 [It was] closeby.
10. bunma-yi guwe gana  
 pull.out-PAST then DEM  
 [He] pulled this one out.
11. man guwe guyum guwe djum guwe nja-ŋi  
 DEM then fire then smoke then see-PAST  
 Then [they] saw fire and smoke.

The repeated use of *guwe* here indicates that this is a slow process, i.e. eventually smoke and fire appeared.

12. ma:-nji mana ban-du  
 grab-PERFV DEM grass-INSTR  
 [He] grabs [the fire] with (a bunch of) grass.

He rolled the fire into the bunch of grass which he was holding, in order to set fire to it.

13. gaye-ma-yi buran-du  
 turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST wind-INSTR  
 [He] swung [it] around with the wind (to blow it).
14. yo:rr gaye-ma-yi guwe yo: bi:-ndu  
 everywhere turn.around-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST then 3SG hand-INSTR  
 He spun [it] around everywhere with his hands.
15. bu:ŋi-nji  
 blow-PERFV  
 [He] blew [it].
16. bu:ŋi-nji guyum ba-yi guwe  
 blow-PERFV fire come-PAST then  
 [He] blew [it] then the fire came (i.e. ignited).

17. guyum yi-nji  
fire be-PAST  
It was fire.

18. wura  
finished  
That is finished.

## 20. *Fishing*

1. dama wun yanga-ø gawurre-ndjin-du  
net ? make-GENRL a.long.time.ago-PL-ERG  
The olden times people made nets.

2. gundu bunma-yi  
bark remove-PAST  
[They] removed the bark.

3. djar-a guwe go:ma-yi  
thigh-LOC<sub>1</sub> then roll-PAST  
[They] rolled [it] on the thigh.

4. bugur yanga-yi  
string make-PAST  
[It] made string.

They would chop a small gum or wattle tree down to get the stringy bark close to the sap. They rolled it on their thighs and twisted it to make string.

5. guwe dama guwe yanga-yi  
then net then make-PAST  
Then [they] made a net.

For a needle they used a fish or animal bone. They put a little hole through it and sharpened the end to make a point.

6. yima-yi-me yanga-yi  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET make-PAST  
[They] made [it] like this.

7. gawurre yanga-yi yima-yi dje:m yi-nji guwengi  
a.long.time.ago make-PAST do.like.this-PAST pocket be-PAST long  
A long time ago, [they] made [it] like that, it was a long pocket.

8. guwengi yi-nji dje:m  
long be-PAST pocket  
It was a long pocket.

The fish net was like a butterfly net which has a long pocket and was attached to a stick.

9. guyur wanja gari-nji ŋunda-yi guwe  
fish when enter-PERFV close-PAST then  
When the fish entered, [they] closed [it].

10. ma:-nji yo:we-ru  
 catch-PERFV 3PL-ERG  
 They all caught [the fish].
11. bi:-ndu biya:yu-nbi-ru dari-ø ne:ŋ-ga guwe  
 hand-INSTR two-?-INSTR pull-GENRL outside-LOC<sub>1</sub> then  
 Using both hands, [they] pulled [the net] outside (i.e. out of the water).
12. wana-yi guwe neyeŋ-ga  
 leave-PAST then outside-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 [They] left [it] outside.
13. go: badja-rin-du mo:-me-nji  
 DEM other.one-PL-ERG gather-AROUND-PERFV  
 Other people gathered these.
14. mana ŋande bunma-ø mana dama-nu  
 DEM mullet pull.out-GENRL DEM net-ABL<sub>1</sub>  
 [They] pulled out the mullet from the net.
15. dama mana gaye-ma-yi  
 net DEM turn-CAUS<sub>1</sub>-PAST  
 [They] turned the net inside out.
16. yima-yi yo:we-ru  
 do.like.this-PAST 3PL-ERG  
 They all did it like this.
17. ma:-nji guwe ŋande badja-na guyur guŋ-ga-wa  
 take-PERFV then mullet other.one-ACC fish water-LOC<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub>  
 [They] took the mullet and other fish from in the water.
18. yima-yi guwe yo:we-ri yangga-yi dama mana  
 do.like.this-PAST then 3PL-ERG make-PAST net DEM  
 They always made the nets like this.
19. gundu bunma-yi  
 bark remove-PAST  
 [They] removed the bark.
20. yini badja-na yangga-yi ma:-nji  
 lawyer.cane other.one-ACC make-PAST take-PERFV  
 [They] took the lawyer cane and made other (nets).

To make fishing nets they also used string which was contained inside the thorny lawyer cane.

21. yu:mu wunba bunma-ø  
 middle very pull.out-GENRL  
 [They] pulled [it] out from the very middle.
22. bugur mana  
 string DEM  
 That is string [now].

23. mo: banda-yi yo:we-ru gawurre-ndjin-du  
 DEM tie.up-PAST 3PL-ERG a.long.time.ago-PL-ERG  
 They, the olden times people, tied things up [with it].
24. dama yangga-yi  
 net make-PAST  
 [They] made nets.
25. bugurs yangga-yi dje:m yangga-wa  
 string make-PAST dilly.bag make-INT  
 [They] made string, intending to make dilly bags.
26. bunbi badja-na yangga-ø  
 basket other.one-ACC make-GENRL  
 [They] made other baskets.
27. dje:m-ba guwe dje-ndi-nji  
 dilly.bag-LOC<sub>1</sub> then go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV  
 [They] took [the fish] in dilly bags.
28. guyum-gu dje-re-ndi-nji guwe  
 camp-ALL go-CONT-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV then  
 Then [they] took [them] along to the camp.

### 21. Kangaroo hunting

1. goro:man mana  
 kangaroo DEM  
 These are kangaroos.
2. goro:man njirani-ndu gira-ŋjini  
 kangaroo ancestors-ERG hunt-?  
 The ancestors hunted kangaroos.
3. ya:-yi guwe yo:waran-a gara-ŋe barandje-nge  
 say-PAST then 3PL-ACC DEM-SIDE stand-IMPERFV  
 [They] are standing on this side.
4. guyum maŋi-ø  
 fire be.ready-GENRL  
 The fire was ready.
5. ye guwe mana me:ndi-yu guyum-bu  
 towards then DEM chase-FUT fire-ERG  
 The fire will chase them this way.
6. gara-ŋe bunjaŋ-u barandje-nge  
 DEM-SIDE in.front-LOC<sub>3</sub> stand-IMPERFV  
 [The hunters] will stand on this side in front.

One group of men would light fires to chase the kangaroos up a narrow track to where the hunters would be waiting.

7. gamnje-nge murr-nja  
 knock-IMPERFV nulla.nulla-?  
 [We] will knock using a nulla nulla.
8. gari-ninu gamña-ø be:ña-wu  
 DEM-DIR knock-IMPER hear-FUT  
 Knock in this direction and [they] will hear.
9. ñin ganje-nju  
 2SG call.out-?  
 You call out.
10. ganga-yi gara-ninu  
 call.out-PAST DEM-DIR  
 [He] called out in this direction (so that the voice echoes).
11. yo: be:ña-wu  
 3SG hear-FUT  
 He will hear [it].
12. gurun-ba-yi  
 noise-INCH-PAST  
 [It] made a noise.
13. bu-mi guwe yo:  
 kill-PAST then 3SG  
 Then he killed [it].
14. buyu gamña-yi mana  
 leg break-PAST DEM  
 That one broke its leg.
15. murr-u mana damba-ra bu-mi  
 nulla.nulla-INSTR DEM track-LOC<sub>1</sub> hit-PAST  
 [He] hit it [when it was] on the track using a nulla nulla.

The hunters broke the kangaroo's back leg using a nulla nulla. They threw the nulla nulla when the kangaroo was in the air, as the legs were an easier target in this position.

16. yima-yi guwe yo:we-ru djañar gamña-yi-nda  
 do.like.this-PAST then 3PL-ERG leg break-PAST-SIMULT  
 They did it like that when they broke its leg.
17. waga budirgu bu-mi  
 not completely kill-PAST  
 [They] did not kill [it] completely.
18. yo:we-ru bu-mi  
 3PL-ERG kill-PAST  
 They killed [it].
19. djañar gamña-yi ma: bu-mi dja:-ba  
 leg break-PAST head hit-PAST ground-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
 [They] broke its leg and hit its head on the ground.

20. ganje-nji guwe badja-na  
call.out-PERFV then other.one-ACC  
Then [they] called out to the others (signalling the end of the hunt).
21. gari-njnu guwe  
DEM-END then  
This was the end then.
22. yima-yi-me guwe  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET then  
In the same way as [they have] done before.
23. waga guwe  
nothing then  
[There was] nothing more.
24. nja-nji wura  
look-PAST already  
[They] have already looked.
25. bu-mi  
kill-PAST  
[They] killed [them].
26. gari-njnu  
DEM-END  
This is finished now.

## 22. *Shield repairing*

1. wanja djan-bam bu-mdja-nji gumari mana ma:-nji  
when man-DL fight-RECIP-PERFV shield DEM hold-PERFV  
badja-ru  
one.of.pair-ERG  
When two men were fighting, one of them held a shield.
2. gunda-nje-nji gumari-ndu badja-ru wanja bu-mi  
protect-REFL-PERFV shield-INSTR other.one-ERG when hit-PAST  
[He] protected himself with a shield when the other one hit [him].
3. wura  
finished  
That is finished.
4. wane-ø dje-nji  
leave-GENRL go-PERFV  
[He] left [and] went away.
5. wane-ø dje-nji yowa:m ya:-ye-nji guwe  
leave-GENRL go-PERFV 3DL talk-RECIP-PERFV then  
So they two left (each other) and went away [and] they were talking to each other.



6. guwe mo: buyi-ø gumari mana guwe yo:  
 then DEM take.away-GENRL shield DEM then 3SG  
 badja-ru bu-mgu-wa  
 other.one-ERG hit-FUT-PURP  
 Then that one took away the shield in order for the other one to hit him (his shield).

Shields could be used either to fend off club attacks or as weapons themselves (they were never used to stop spears) (Winterbotham 1957).

7. guŋ-ga giya-yi wane-yi  
 water-LOC<sub>1</sub> soak-PAST leave-PAST  
 [He] soaked [the shield] in water [and] left [it].

Shields made of corkwood were soaked in water when damaged to restore their original shape (Winterbotham 1957).

8. guŋ-ga biye-nji  
 water-LOC<sub>1</sub> throw-PERFV  
 [He] threw [it] in the water.
9. guwe dje-nji dulara-me  
 then go-PERFV morning-ADVLSR  
 Then [he] went [there] early in the morning.
10. mo: ya-ndi-nji nja-ø guwe mana  
 DEM go-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV look.at-GENRL then DEM  
 He brought [it] home and looked at it.
11. gamŋa-ø yu:gar  
 break-GENRL just  
 [It] was just broken.
12. waga mana guwe nja-nji  
 no DEM then look.at-PAST  
 [He] looked at it, no (it wasn't).
13. gumari galaŋ ye-ø  
 shield OK be-GENRL  
 The shield was OK.
14. guŋ-gu mo: galaŋ-dje-nji  
 water-ERG DEM good-FACT-PERFV  
 The water had made it good.
15. nja-nji guwe  
 look.at-PAST then  
 Then [he] looked at [it].
16. yayumbe gumari ŋa-dju gaye-ndi-nji wura  
 same shield 1SG-ERG go.around-CAUS<sub>2</sub>-PERFV already  
 'I took around the same shield already.' (i.e. this is the same as the shield I took around before it was damaged)

17. wura  
finished  
That is finished.

### 23. *Spear making*

1. gurangur wanja yanga-yi yo:we-ru  
spear when make-PAST 3PL-ERG  
When they made a spear (i.e. the making of a spear).
2. gurangur yanga-yi gana  
spear make-PAST DEM  
These ones made a spear.
3. dadu ga:-yi  
wood cut-PAST  
[They] cut wood.

Spears were made out of figtree or ironbark (Winterbotham 1957).

4. buṅunda-yi badja-rin-du  
split-PAST other.one-PL-ERG  
Other ones split [the wood].
5. mana bunma-yi guwe  
DEM take.out-PAST then  
Then [those ones] took it out.
6. yanga-yi  
make-PAST  
[They] made [it].
7. ṅurr gen-ma-nji doyi-yu  
point sharp-FACT-PERFV stone-INSTR  
[He] sharpened the point using a stone.
8. guṅ-ga ga:wa-yi guyum-ba guwe  
water-LOC<sub>1</sub> put-PAST fire-LOC<sub>1</sub> then  
[He] put [it] in the water and then in the fire.
9. mana ṅurr gurangur  
DEM sharp spear  
The spear is sharp.
10. ṅurr bunma-ø guyum-ba  
point take.out-GENRL fire-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
[They] take the point out, [put] it in the fire.
11. guyum-bu guwe darinj dje-nji  
fire-ERG then hard go-PERFV  
The fire dried it (lit. went hard).

12. guŋ-ga-wa gaye-yi  
water-LOC<sub>1</sub>-DAT<sub>1</sub> turn.around-PAST  
[It] turned around in the water.
13. guŋ-ga gaye-yi  
water-LOC<sub>1</sub> turn.around-PAST  
[It] turned around in the water.
14. bunma-yi guwe  
take.out-PAST then  
Then [he] took [it] out.
15. man guwe gurangur  
DEM then spear  
That was a spear.
16. ŋurr yi-ŋi  
point be-PAST  
That was the point.
17. yi-ŋi guwe wura gari-nma  
be-PAST then finished DEM-EMPH  
That was finished here.
18. yima yangga-yi  
do.like.this make-PAST  
[They] made [it] like this.
19. yima-yi yo:we-ru yangga-yi gurangur mana  
do.like.this-PAST 3PL-ERG make-PAST spear DEM  
In that way, they made a spear.
20. guyum-ba ŋuwe-ø  
fire-LOC<sub>1</sub> cook-GENRL  
[They] cook [it] in the fire.
21. guyum-ba yu: djime-yi darinj dje-ru-wa  
fire-LOC<sub>1</sub> just singe-PAST hard go-?-PURP  
[They] just singed [it] in the fire to make it strong.
22. mana guŋ-ga guwe  
DEM water-LOC<sub>1</sub> then  
Then [they put it] in the fire.
23. gurangur yangga-yi wane-ø guwe  
spear make-PAST leave-GENRL then  
[They] made the spear and then left it.
24. gurangur guwe man yangga-yi  
spear then DEM make-PAST  
They made a spear.
25. buŋunda-yi ŋin-du  
split-PAST 2SG-ERG  
You split [it].

26. wura  
finished  
That is finished.

#### 24. *Catching a bee*

1. gudjawunba dumuŋ  
bally.bee beehive  
Bally bee and a beehive.

While it is not explicitly stated here, a feather was attached to a bee in order to make it easier to see against the light when it was being followed to its nest.

2. wanja yara dja:-yi dare-nji guwe  
when flower eat-PAST fly-PERFV then  
When [the bees] ate flowers, then they flew.
3. yo: yuŋam-u barandje-nji gari-nma  
3SG in.front-LOC<sub>3</sub> stand-PERFV DEM-EMPH  
He is standing there at the front.
4. man badja-rin dje-nji-nu  
DEM other.one-PL go-PERFV-?  
The other ones are travelling there.
5. nja-nji guwe yo: gidi-ya  
look.up-PAST then 3SG light-LOC<sub>1</sub>  
He looked up into the light (to see them go past).

If the hunter saw a bee that was flying low he would know that its nest was far away, whereas if a bee was flying high he would know that its nest was closeby (Winterbotham 1957).

6. gari-njinu yo: dje-nge-yu nja-nji  
DEM-DIR 3SG come-IMPERFV-? see-PAST  
When it is coming in this direction [then] he saw it.
7. ya-nji wunba gari miye-nu  
go-PERFV very DEM further.away-LOC<sub>3</sub>  
[He] went for a while further away.
8. yima-yi-me nja-nji  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET look-PAST  
In the same way, he looked up.
9. gidi nja-nji  
light look.at-PAST  
[He] looked at the light (for a silhouette of the bee).
10. gam guwe yo: dje-nge  
seems then 3SG go-IMPERFV  
It seems to be going (i.e. flying) past.

11. yima-yi-me  
do.like.this-REPET  
[They] did that again.
12. wanja waga wanja waga nja-nji biye ya-nji guwe  
when not when not see-PAST back come-PERFV then  
yo: gari  
3SG DEM  
When it was not, when [he] hadn't seen [them], then he came back here.
13. gara gam bige-nji  
DEM probably behind-LOC<sub>2</sub>  
It is probably behind here.
14. gana ye-ø yu:mu-wam barandje-nge  
DEM bc-GENRL middle-DL stand-IMPERFV  
This [hunter] is standing in the middle (of the swarm).
15. hara bige-nji wanja gari-ŋa yo: dje-nji guwe  
EXCL behind-LOC<sub>2</sub> where DEM-ALL 3SG go-PERFV then  
Aha, perhaps it was behind here where he went to.
16. nja-re-nji dadu mana  
look.at-CONT-PERFV tree DEM  
That [hunter] is continually looking at the trees.
17. gana guwe  
DEM then  
Here [it is].
18. badji-ø  
find-GENRL  
He found it.
19. gara gara dumuŋ gari-ŋa hara  
DEM DEM beehive DEM-ALL EXCL  
Here it is, the beehive must be here, aha.
20. wane-yi  
leave-PAST  
[He] left [it].
21. ga:-yi guwe yo:  
cut-PAST then 3SG  
Then [he] cut off (the branch).
22. wura  
finished  
That is finished.



## **PART THREE: VOCABULARY**





# 1. *Alphabetical vocabulary*

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The process for compiling this word list was as follows. Firstly, I listed all those Duunjidjawa items given by the consultant, Willie McKenzie, to Stephen Wurm in elicitation or texts. A word which was obtained on only one occasion was checked for a similar word in vocabulary lists of other Waga-Waga dialects (e.g. Winterbotham, Holmer and Mathew). Those words which were not attested elsewhere are marked in the list here as 'one instance only'. I then went through Winterbotham's Duunjidjawa word list from the same consultant and added those words not obtained by Wurm, noting their source as [LW] for Lindsay Winterbotham. By comparing words recorded by both Wurm and Winterbotham I was able to interpret Winterbotham's original notation and standardise it to accord with my spellings of Duunjidjawa words.

For each word the part of speech and a rough gloss is listed, and in some cases, additional information on the word is given in parentheses. The following abbreviations are used for the parts of speech:

<i>adj</i>	adjective
<i>adv</i>	adverb
<i>dem</i>	demonstrative
<i>excl</i>	exclamation
<i>interrog</i>	interrogative
<i>intj</i>	interjection
<i>n</i>	noun
<i>pcl</i>	particle
<i>pron</i>	pronoun
<i>vcop</i>	copula verb
<i>vdit</i>	ditransitive verb
<i>vi</i>	intransitive verb
<i>vt</i>	transitive verb

Any noun case irregularities that are known are indicated, including the ergative/instrumental and locative case markings which are morphologically determined following a short vowel. This list (and the vocabulary by semantic fields list) follows the alphabetical order:

a, a:, b, d, dj, c, e:, g, i, i:, l, m, n, ŋ, nj, o, o:, r, rr, u, u:, w, y.

**ba**, *vi.* come.

**babiya**, *n.* father. *Variant: babiyanmi.*

**babu**, *n.* father (classificatory) [ERG -*yu*].

**babul**, *n.* 1. culture hero. (character in Glasshouse Mountain text). 2. Queensland nut.

**badja**, *n.* one of pair, one of several, other one, someone, something else, another time [ERG -*ru*].

**badje**, *adj.* tired.

**badji**, *vt.* find.

**bagan**, *n.* 1. ocean [one instance only]. 2. two-handed club [LW].

**bala**, *n.* jewfish [ERG -*ru*].

**balan**, *n.* plain, level country.

**bam**, *n.* halfway. *adj.* half.

**bamba**, *vt.* fight, pelt, throw, splash, hit, kill.

**ban**, *n.* grass, seaweed.

**banda**, *n.* kinship class. *vt.* tie up.

**bandjur**, *n.* kinship class.

**baran**, *n.* boomerang.

**barandje**, *vi.* stand (up).

**baraŋ**, *n.* kinship class.

**barawam**, *n.* meat-ant.

**bare:**, *adj.* sour.

**bari**, *n.* baby, small child, young animal [ERG -*yu*]. *adj.* small [ERG -*yu*].

**baribari**, *n.* little baby.

**baruŋga**, *n.* kangaroo rat.

**baru:**, *n.* camp, marriage hut.

**barrbarr**, *n.* flying fox.

**bawar**, *n.* bush, undergrowth, scrub.

**bayel**, *n.* 1. cloud, sky. 2. hair, pubic hair, fur.

**bayer**, *n.* mountain, hill.

**ba:**, *vi.* stand.

**ba:l**, *n.* 1. shark [one instance only]. 2. salt. *adj.* wild, angry.

**ba:lbama**, *adv.* loudly.

**ba:ŋgi**, *adj.* savage, afraid. *vi.* be frightened.

**ba:nji**, *n.* bunya tree [*Araucaria bidwillii*]. Tall coniferous tree bearing large edible cones.

**ba:ri**, *vt.* bring, carry (on shoulder), guide.

**bebe**, *n.* feather headdress [LW].

**bebere**, *n.* uncle [ERG -*yu*].

**bem**, *n.* skin.

**benewa**, *n.* sky god [LW].

**benjo:wa**, *n.* creator [one instance only].

**benju**, *n.* up high.

**be:ŋa**, *vt.* 1. hear, listen to. 2. think (of), remember, know.

**bidji**, *n.* large bird [one instance only].

**bige**, *n.* behind [LOC<sub>2</sub> -*nji*, LOC<sub>3</sub> -*nju*].

**binanŋ**, *n.* ear.

**binanŋera**, *n.* frilled-neck lizard [LW].

**binar**, *n.* tribal fight.

**binda**, *vt.* send, release, give away.

**binga**, *n.* cabbage tree (palm).

**bingirr**, *n.* navel.

**binj**, *n.* saliva.

**binjbinj**, *n.* wrist.

**binjgu**, *n.* tomorrow.

**biral**, *n.* ancestral being [LW].

**birbi**, *n.* short boomerang [LW].

**birran**, *adj.* wide, enormous, fat.

**birwa:**, *n.* 1. Beerwah. (one of the Glasshouse Mountains). 2. sharp point [LW].

**biya**, *vt.* throw, fly.

**biya:yu**, *adj.* two [ERG -*ndu*].

**biye**, *adv.* away from the speaker, back, backwards.

**biyibi**, *n.* seed (edible), fruit, berry, fig.

*Variant: bi:bi.*

**bi:**, *n.* finger, hand [INSTR -*ndu*, LOC<sub>1</sub> -*nda*].

**bi:nj**, *n.* woodpecker [one instance only].

**bira**, *vt.* ask.

**bowa**, *vt.* extinguish, put out.

**bowan**, *n.* dream, sleep, tiredness.

**bowanŋbi**, *n.* 1. feather [INSTR -*ru*].

*Variant: bo:ŋbi.* 2. fern [LW].

**bo:**, *vi.* die.

**bo:ŋiwa**, *adj.* dead.

**bo:rr**, *n.* sore, wound, mark.

**bo:won**, *n.* bandicoot [LW].

**bu**, *vt.* hit, kill, fight. *Variant: buma.*

**bubur**, *adj.* 1. weak. 2. thin.

**budirgu**, *adv.* completely, entirely.

**buginj**, *n.* dog.

- bugowar**, *n.* 1. river mussel [LW]. 2. kiss [LW].
- bugubu**, *adj.* short [INSTR -ru]. *Variant:* **bu:bu**.
- bugur**, *n.* 1. throat. 2. string, rope.
- buguwar**, *n.* fresh water [LW].
- bulan**, *n.* heaven [one instance only].
- buluber**, *n.* mosquito.
- bumi**, *vi.* 1. fall (down), roll (down). 2. die.
- bumni**, *adv.* soundly, peacefully.
- bun**, *n.* knee.
- bunbi**, *n.* 1. pouch (of a kangaroo). 2. basket, bag.
- bundundabi**, *n.* large bullroarer [LW].
- bunirr**, *n.* bloodwood.
- bunma**, *vt.* remove, take out, draw out, pull out.
- buger**, *n.* bottle tree.
- bugunda**, *vt.* open (up), split.
- bunjaŋ**, *n.* ahead, in front.
- bunjma**, *vt.* boast.
- buran**, *n.* wind.
- buranbaye**, *n.* 1. west. 2. westerly wind.
- burarum**, *n.* water lily [LW].
- bure**, *vi.* run.
- burgalba**, *n.* box tree, forest [LW].
- buronjin**, *n.* ball (made of kangaroo skin and used in a game) [LW].
- burun**, *n.* palm leaf (used for carrying water).
- burunbi**, *n.* river bank, water's edge, cliff.
- burunbin**, *n.* butterfly [one instance only].
- burruyarr**, *n.* 1. mountain oak. 2. holy place.
- buwa**, *vt.* 1. spear. 2. dip. *n.* 1. vomit. 2. rotten meat. *adj.* stinking.
- buwa:**, *n.* father.
- buwe:**, *vt.* stick in [one instance only].
- buyar**, *n.* mother's mother [LW].
- buyi**, *n.* carpet snake [ERG -ndu]. *vt.* take (away), carry. *Variant:* **bi:**.
- buyu**, *n.* calf, lower leg.
- buyun**, *n.* brother.
- buyurre**, *n.* curlew.
- bu:djuŋ**, *adj.* rotten.
- bu:gi**, *vt.* blow, move.
- dabimi**, *n.* digger bird [LW].
- dadu**, *n.* tree, stick [ERG/INSTR -ndu, LOC<sub>1</sub> -nda].
- dadunga**, *n.* tree creeper bird [LW].
- daga**, *n.* testicles.
- dageyin**, *n.* sea snake [LW].
- dala**, *n.* staghorn [LW].
- dama**, *n.* net.
- damba**, *n.* track, road [LOC<sub>1</sub> -ra].
- dambadamba**, *n.* path.
- dambur**, *n.* mouth, lip. *adj.* full.
- damiyin**, *n.* silver leafed wattle [LW].
- dandar**, *n.* chest.
- dandur**, *n.* cunjevoi [LW].
- daran**, *adj.* forbidden. *n.* white woman.
- dare**, *vi.* fly, hang, swing. *n.* gum from grass tree or wattle [LW].
- dari**, *vt.* 1. pull (up). 2. pinch.
- darinj**, *adj.* strong, hard.
- darum**, *n.* wild orange, quondong [LW].
- dawari**, *vt.* follow.
- dawerir**, *n.* kidney, stomach.
- da:m**, *n.* 1. fog. 2. yam (wild).
- da:n**, *n.* edge [one instance only].
- da:numarra**, *n.* shore [one instance only].
- da:ri**, *vi.* dry.
- dibinge**, *n.* eyebrow [LW].
- didu**, *n.* penis.
- dilbayin**, *n.* moiety.
- dinderi**, *n.* pygmies, little red men.
- dindurr**, *n.* grasshopper [one instance only].
- diyeg**, *n.* tooth, teeth, mouth.
- diye:**, *n.* back.
- diyir**, *n.* blood. *Variant:* **dir:**.
- di:**, *vi.* grow up.
- di:ŋ**, *n.* fly.
- dom**, *n.* mother (tribal). *Variant:* **domnji**.
- dowa**, *n.* taste.
- doyi**, *n.* 1. stone, rock. 2. cave [ERG -yu, LOC<sub>1</sub> -ya].
- doyidoyi**, *adj.* stoney.
- dudu**, *n.* mother [ERG -ru].

**dudulye**, *adj.* swollen [one instance only].

**dula**, *adj.* soft.

**dulara**, *n.* morning (early).

**duliŋ**, *n.* nautilus shell [LW].

**dumuŋ**, *n.* bee, beehive.

**dundu**, *n.* witchetty grub [LW].

**dungarr**, *n.* pelican [LW].

**dunme**, *vi.* 1. move, sway, shake. 2. stoop, fall down, bend over. *n.* mark.

**dunu**, *n.* vulva [LW].

**duga**, *vi.* cry, weep.

**durari**, *n.* 1. eel. 2. silky oak [LW].

**durgawu**, *n.* swarm [LW].

**duwe**, *vi.* reach across.

**du:**, *n.* 1. heart. 2. spirit (personal).

**du:ŋi**, *n.* river, creek [LOC<sub>1</sub> -*ra*].

**du:rr**, *n.* bora ring.

**djadja**, *n.* 1. brother (elder) [ERG -*yu*]. 2. bat [one instance only].

**djadjawa**, *vt.* meet, reach.

**djadji**, *n.* sister (elder).

**djagan**, *adj.* heavy.

**djage**, *n.* grass tree.

**djale**, *adv.* softly.

**djam**, *n.* 1. meat, food. 2. body.

**djama:**, *n.* wattle.

**djamba**, *vt.* call out, answer.

**djambal**, *n.* soreness, pain.

**djambarra**, *n.* throwing stick.

**djan**, *n.* man, Aborigine.

**djandari**, *vi.* slip.

**djandurr**, *n.* 1. ironbark (white). 2. black cockatoo.

**djanin**, *n.* steel, metal, granite.

**djaŋar**, *n.* 1. thigh, leg, limb. 2. branch. 3. medicine man. The best *gundirs*. *adv.* quickly.

**djaŋi**, *adv.* almost.

**djanjum**, *n.* near, close, close together.

**djari**, *n.* a soft wood (used for making wooden knife handles) [LW].

**djawan**, *n.* forest possum.

**djawu**, *n.* water gum [LW].

**djawun**, *n.* home country, homeland, district.

**dja:**, *n.* ground, earth, place, track [LOC<sub>1</sub> -*ba*]. *vt.* eat, drink.

**dja:rrir**, *n.* log.

**dje**, *vi.* go, come, walk, move, run.

**djengen**, *n.* fishing line.

**dje:m**, *n.* dilly bag, pocket.

**djigirr**, *adj.* heavy. *n.* large boomerang [LW].

**djiliŋ**, *n.* fair-skinned people [one instance only].

**djime**, *vi & t.* shine (on), dry, heat, catch fire.

**djinag**, *n.* toe, foot, footprint.

**djinbam**, *n.* owner.

**djiŋidjigi**, *n.* willy wagtail [ERG -*ru*].

**djinjigar**, *n.* mistletoe [one instance only].

**djirrdje**, *vi.* disperse.

**djiwa**, *n.* owl [ERG -*ndu*].

**djiwi**, *n.* bird [ERG -*ndu*].

**dji:mna**, *n.* place of leeches [LW].

**djoronj**, *n.* kinship class.

**djowa**, *vi.* blow.

**djowon**, *n.* flood. *Variant:* **djo:n**.

**djowondjowon**, *n.* wet season.

**djudjum**, *n.* rotten wood.

**djum**, *n.* smoke.

**djumgu**, *n.* black snake.

**djun**, *n.* tail.

**djunben**, *n.* goanna (black), lizard (small).

**djungar**, *n.* native companion.

**djunim**, *n.* right hand. *adj.* 1. right-handed. 2. right. *adv.* straight.

**djunimgi**, *n.* right-handed boomerang [LW].

**djunum**, *n.* tongue.

**djuŋa**, *n.* vine [INSTR -*ndu*, LOC<sub>1</sub> -*ndu*].

**djuŋba**, *vt.* lick.

**djuŋurr**, *n.* knife.

**djurayi**, *adj.* hungry.

**djuwaŋ**, *n.* brother (younger).

**djuwaŋgan**, *n.* dugong.

**djuyu**, *n.* (late) afternoon, evening.

*Variant:* **djuyudjuyu**.

**dju:rr**, *n.* candy boy [one instance only].

**e?e**, *excl.* good.

- gaban**, *n.* black cane [one instance only].  
**gabayin**, *n.* moiety  
**gabulya**, *n.* Caboolture.  
**gadiwa**, *vi. & t.* answer.  
**gadja**, *dem.* here. *Variant:* **gadji**.  
**gagare**, *n.* moon.  
**gala**, *n.* excrement.  
**galaj**, *adj.* 1. good, well, OK, right. 2. sweet. 3. happy.  
**gam**, *pcl.* maybe, perhaps, might, probably.  
**gami**, *n.* father's sister.  
**gamja**, *vi & t.* break.  
**gamunda**, *vt.* cross over.  
**gan**, *dem.* this, here.  
**gana**, *dem.* this, here.  
**ganaŋ**, *n.* liver.  
**ganan**, *adj.* sad, sorry. *n.* poor person.  
**gandan**, *n.* sister (younger).  
**gandanbam**, *n.* Pleides (also known as the 'Seven Sisters').  
**gandanbig**, *n.* brother (younger).  
**gandanbiggan**, *n.* sister (younger).  
**ganim**, *n.* hip.  
**ganin**, *n.* daughter (classificatory).  
**ganum**, *n.* sweat.  
**ganumbe**, *adj.* warm, hot.  
**gaŋ**, *n.* 1. hand. 2. saliva.  
**gaŋa**, *n.* up, above, on top.  
**gaŋga**, *vi.* 1. call out, scream, yell, bark. 2. vomit. *n.* voice.  
**gara**, *dem.* here. *Variant:* **gari**.  
**garagara**, *adj.* light (in weight).  
**gargul**, *n.* quartz, stone knife [LW].  
**gari**, *n.* leaf. *vi.* enter, go in, go through.  
**garu**, *adj.* one, alone [INSTR -*ndu*].  
**gawa**, *n.* scrub [LOC<sub>1</sub> -*nda*]. *vi & t.* dodge, duck.  
**gawa**, *vt.* cut (off), chop, stab, split. *Variants:* **ga:**, **gawami**.  
**gawurr**, *n.* urine, faeces.  
**gawurre**, *n.* a long time (ago). *adj.* old.  
**gayaŋ**, *n.* sinew.  
**gaya:**, *n.* frog [LW].  
**gaye**, *n.* 1. bee (small stingless). 2. white cockatoo [LW]. *vi.* 1. turn around, go around, tip over. 2. look.  
**ga:nge**, *vt.* carry on back.  
**ga:rr**, *n.* echidna.  
**ga:wa**, *vt.* put (on).  
**geger**, *n.* ironbark (broadleaf).  
**gembe**, *vi.* play, act.  
**gemgar**, *n.* razor back shell. *Variant:* **yimar** [LW].  
**gen**, *adj.* sharp.  
**ger**, *adv.* try.  
**gera**, *vt.* drip, drizzle, rain, pour (down).  
**gewarr**, *n.* 1. rainbow serpent, eel. 2. rainbow. 3. chief evil spirit [LW].  
**geyem**, *n.* language, word, message, bubbles. *Variant:* **ge:m**.  
**gibar**, *n.* (uninitiated) boy.  
**gibargibar**, *n.* small boy.  
**gidi**, *n.* light, dawn, twilight, morning [LOC<sub>1</sub> -*ya*].  
**gima**, *n.* 1. son. 2. boy [ERG -*ru*].  
**gimbi**, *n.* stinging tree [LW].  
**gimjen**, *n.* brother-in-law.  
**gingom**, *n.* three-leafed plant [LW].  
**ginig**, *n.* 1. arm. 2. wing. 3. branch, stem.  
**ginigbam**, *n.* paddles.  
**giŋa:**, *n.* whistle duck [LW].  
**ginjarr**, *n.* keepsake.  
**gira**, *vt.* wake (up), warn, round (up), get together, trouble. *Variant:* **giragira**.  
**girum**, *n.* the other side, across.  
**giya**, *vt.* wash, soak, dip. *adj.* grey-haired.  
**giyen**, *n.* 1. nail. 2. claw, hook. 3. new moon.  
**giyuru**, *adj.* sick.  
**gi:njgi**, *n.* seaweed [one instance only].  
**gi:ra**, *n.* bone [ERG -*ndu*].  
**gi:ragi:ra**, *n.* nose bone [LW].  
**gi:runba**, *adj.* true.  
**golawong**, *n.* scrub magpie [LW].  
**gonj**, *pcl.* want. *n.* wish.  
**gonjdjam**, *adj.* tired.  
**goro**, *vi.* drown.  
**gorom**, *n.* fork.  
**goromda**, *adj.* three, few.  
**goro:man**, *n.* kangaroo.  
**goware**, *n.* digging stick [LW].  
**gowa:n**, *n.* possum (blue) [LW].

**gowon**, *adj.* raw.

**go:**, *dem.* this.

**go:ma**, *vt.* roll, rub.

**go:nja**, *n.* unmarried person [one instance only].

**guba:na**, *n.* swamp wallaby [LW].

**gudja**, *n.* honey (native).

**gudjan**, *n.* nonsense [one instance only].

**gudjawunba**, *n.* bally bee, native bee.

**gugaga**, *n.* kookaburra.

**gugunde**, *n.* scrub possum (black).

**gulinba**, *n.* a scrub vine with medicinal properties [LW].

**gulumur**, *n.* elbow.

**gumari**, *n.* 1. shield [INSTR -*ndu*]. 2. corkwood [ERG -*ndu*].

**gunda**, *vt.* 1. lay. 2. protect.

**gundani**, *vi.* jump, cross, go across, hop over. *Variant:* **gunda**.

**gundir**, *n.* clever man. (A man possessing special powers which he draws on whenever necessary. He is an important character in the many of the creation stories.)

**gundu**, *n.* 1. bark. 2. bark boat, bark container. *Variant:* **gundugundu**. 3. bark hut. 4. string bag [LOC<sub>1</sub> -*ra*].

**gungarbi**, *n.* small bullroarer [LW].

**gungu**, *n.* goanna (sleepy).

**guniyan**, *n.* plain, claypan.

**gunu**, *n.* underneath, deep below, inside.

**gunundjin**, *n.* 1. east. 2. bush. 3. hollow place [LW].

**gunuwinj**, *n.* north.

**gun**, *n.* 1. water. 2. waterhole.

**guna**, *n.* dew.

**gunba**, *vt.* praise.

**gungir**, *n.* rib.

**gunjal**, *n.* backbone [one instance only].

**gunjbiru**, *adj.* thirsty.

**guran**, *n.* shaft of spear [LW].

**guragur**, *n.* spear.

**gurema**, *vt.* hold tightly, stop.

**gureya**, *n.* fig tree.

**gurilga**, *n.* old man.

**gurun**, *n.* noise.

**gurruy**, *n.* rain.

**guwandjar**, *n.* paperbark tree [one instance only].

**guwe**, *pcl.* then, later.

**guwengi**, *adj.* long, tall [INSTR -*ru*].

**guyiq**, *adj.* red. *n.* red ochre.

**guyum**, *n.* 1. camp. 2. fire, firewood.

**guyur**, *n.* 1. food, animal. 2. fish. 3. thing, something.

**gu:la**, *n.* koala.

**gu:nem**, *n.* hoop pine.

**gu:ni**, *n.* light.

**hara**, *excl.* aha.

**mabalan**, *n.* Bunya Mountains [LW].

**madja**, *dem.* there.

**mama:**, *n.* mother's brother, uncle.

**man**, *dem.* that, there.

**mana**, *dem.* that, there.

**manburirr**, *n.* gum tree, blue gum, forest gum, yellow jacket.

**mande**, *n.* steps.

**mandji**, *n.* friend [ERG -*yu*].

**mangarr**, *n.* spotted gum, red gum.

**manundje**, *vi.* hatch.

**manji**, *vi.* be ready.

**manjal**, *adj.* wet.

**mara**, *n.* lightning. *dem.* there.

**mari**, *vi & t.* burn, cook, melt, light.

**maru:n**, *n.* goanna (sand).

**ma:**, *vt.* 1. do, feel, rub. 2. hold, grab, catch, take. *Variant:* **ma:na**. *n.* head, essence.

**ma:djayum**, *n.* giant, biggest man of all.

**ma:gunj**, *n.* stump.

**ma:m**, *n.* mother.

**meba**, *n.* river chestnut [LW].

**meguwij**, *n.* swan.

**mem**, *n.* fat.

**mej**, *n.* today.

**me:ndi**, *vt.* chase, hunt. *Variant:* **me:**

**me:war**, *n.* platypus.

**mil**, *adj.* alive.

**mimburi**, *n.* 1. source, breeding place, continuous flow. 2. small bora ring [LW].

**mingom**, *n.* black stone having special powers [LW].

**minja**, *interrog.* what.  
**mirinjgim**, *n.* star.  
**miyarr**, *adj.* black. *n.* charcoal.  
**miya:**, *n.* eye.  
**miye**, *n.* further away.  
**mi:**, *n.* nose.  
**mi:re**, *n.* thunder, storm.  
**moro**, *vt.* make, stir, kindle.  
**moromoro**, *n.* camp (main). *Variant:*  
**moro.**  
**morrbe**, *vt.* smell.  
**mowa**, *vt.* gather, heap. *Variant:* **mo:**  
**mowali**, *vi.* wail.  
**mowanin**, *adj.* big, enormous, thick,  
*wide.* *n.* full moon.  
**mowarr**, *n.* hail, hailstone.  
**moyi**, *n.* white person.  
**mo:**, *dem.* that  
**mu**, *vi.* rise.  
**mula**, *n.* bank.  
**mumema**, *vi.* act.  
**munarug**, *n.* wood duck [LW].  
**munbori**, *n.* tiger snake [LW].  
**mundur**, *n.* evil spirit (said to weaken  
*people*) [LW].  
**mundji**, *vi.* laugh.  
**munigburum**, *n.* head of clan [LW].  
**munum**, *n.* death adder [LW].  
**mun गया**, *vi.* stop, cease.  
**muḡin**, *adj.* shy, ashamed.  
**mura**, *vi.* paint.  
**muranj**, *n.* white paint, clay.  
**muranjga**, *adj.* white.  
**murin**, *n.* brother (elder).  
**muringan**, *n.* sister (elder).  
**murum**, *n.* wild passionfruit [LW].  
**murr**, *n.* club, waddy, nulla nulla.  
**murrungi**, *vi.* snore.  
**muwe**, *n.* sea, salt water. *vt.* possess.  
**muyil**, *n.* soot [one instance only].  
**muyim**, *n.* 1. axe (stone). 2. fish hook.  
**mu:**, *n.* belly, upper stomach [ERG/INSTR  
*-ndu*].  
**mu:n**, *n.* buttocks.  
**nala**, *n.* 1. hole, cave, tunnel. 2. soul,  
*insides.* *adj.* empty, hollow.  
**nalbo**, *n.* gum from pine trees [LW].

**name**, *vi.* paint.  
**nangu**, *n.* paste of bunya nuts [LW].  
**neyeḡ**, *n.* outside. *Variant:* **ne:ḡ.**  
**nimḡa**, *vt.* scratch, pinch.  
**no:wa**, *n.* stranger.  
**nurum**, *n.* bone dust [LW].  
**nurrun**, *n.* 1. breath. 2. breeze.  
**ḡa**, *pcl.* and.  
**ḡadja**, *n.* mother's father.  
**ḡamug**, *n.* breast, milk.  
**ḡamuga**, *n.* young girl.  
**ḡan**, *interrog.* who.  
**ḡanda**, *vt.* smash, knock out, hit, hurt.  
**ḡande**, *n.* mullet, fish [ERG *-ru*].  
**ḡanjamerr**, *n.* brologa.  
**ḡanjdjaj**, *n.* jaw.  
**narrag**, *n.* stone tomahawk [LW].  
**ḡarrbema**, *vt.* lose.  
**ḡay**, *pron.* I (first person singular).  
**ḡayam**, *n.* single man.  
**ḡayamgan**, *n.* single woman. *Variant:*  
**ḡayam.**  
**ḡayel**, *n.* eagle hawk.  
**ḡa:**, *pron.* we (first person plural).  
**ḡa:ba**, *vi.* pass, go further.  
**ḡa:m**, *pron.* we two (first person dual).  
**ḡin**, *pron.* you (second person singular).  
**ḡinḡangurra**, *n.* creation time,  
*dreamtime* [ERG *-ru*].  
**ḡiyarr**, *adj.* cold. *n.* 1. winter. 2. south.  
**ḡil**, *n.* crab.  
**ḡoro**, *vt.* kick, stand on, step on.  
**ḡowa:m**, *pron.* you two (second person  
*dual*).  
**ḡoyiḡoyi**, *n.* sticks (thrown in a game)  
[LW].  
**ḡo:**, *n.* 1. night. 2. darkness.  
**ḡo:wan**, *pron.* you all (second person  
*plural*).  
**ḡubar**, *n.* carvings (on trees or bark)  
[LW].  
**ḡugarim**, *n.* nephew.  
**ḡumga**, *vi.* break through, go through,  
*come out, go out.*  
**ḡunda**, *vt.* close.  
**ḡungam**, *n.* pencil orchid [LW].  
**ḡuni**, *vi.* be suspicious.

**nunjulug**, *n.* initiated boy, dark people.

**nurume**, *vi & t.* hide. *vt.* steal. *vi.*

defecate.

**nurr**, *n.* point. *adj.* sharp.

**nurra**, *adv.* nearly.

**nuwar**, *n.* face.

**nuwa:**, *n.* egg.

**nuwe**, *vt.* cook, burn, light, kindle.

**nuweŋ**, *n.* mother (classificatory),  
mother's sister, mother-in-law.

**nuwi**, *n.* emu [ERG -yu].

**nuwim**, *n.* sun, day.

**nuwimgan**, *n.* 1. summer. 2. north.

**nu:l**, *n.* 1. spirit, ghost. 2. image,  
reflection.

**nja**, *vt.* see, look at, watch, perceive.

**njalag**, *n.* mud.

**njande**, *n.* swamp.

**njanjunde**, *n.* dingo.

**njarinbam**, *n.* turtle.

**njarrnjen**, *n.* crayfish.

**njelnjel**, *n.* fig [LW].

**njenga**, *adj.* clever [one instance only].

**njewayi**, *n.* Neewai (place name).

**nje:**, *n.* name.

**nje:m**, *n.* black duck.

**njinda**, *vi.* go down, set, sink, disappear.

**njine**, *vi.* sit, stay, live.

**njiran**, *n.* belt.

**njirani**, *n.* ancestors [ERG -ndu].

**nji:l**, *adj.* selfish.

**nji:m**, *n.* anus.

**njowam**, *n.* husband.

**njowamgan**, *n.* wife.

**njubanji**, *n.* married person, married  
couple [ERG -ru].

**njugurr**, *n.* apple tree.

**njumba**, *vt.* push (away). *vdit.* show,  
point.

**njun**, *n.* 1. ashes. 2. dust.

**njunam**, *n.* children.

**njune:**, *n.* 1. girl. 2. daughter.

**ŋu:**, *intj.* shoo (blows a magic curse).

**wa**, *vi.* climb (up), go up, rise.

**wabe**, *vi.* wait.

**wadanjir**, *n.* 1. left hand. 2. left-handed  
boomerang. *adj.* left-handed.

**waga**, *pcl.* not, don't, nothing, none. *intj.*  
no.

**wage:**, *pcl.* not yet.

**walgurug**, *n.* magpie [LW].

**walir**, *n.* shoulder, upper arm.

**wamba**, *vi.* hang, float, lean against. *vt.*  
put on, sit on, carry on shoulder.

**wamge**, *n.* armpit.

**wana**, *n.* far away [LOC<sub>2</sub> -ŋi, LOC<sub>3</sub> -ŋu].

**wanambi**, *n.* river chestnut [LW].

**wanda**, *n.* neck.

**wandju**, *interrog.* how, what.

**wane**, *vt.* 1. leave, put (down). 2. soak.

**wannga**, *n.* 1. check. 2. fungus.

**wanji**, *vi.* tremble.

**wanja**, *interrog.* where. *Variant:*

**wandja**. *pcl.* when, if, wonder.

**wanju**, *interrog.* where.

**wara**, *n.* root.

**waran**, *n.* parrot [LW].

**waranbi**, *n.* parrot feathers.

**ware**, *n.* prostitute [LW].

**warru**, *n.* region [one instance only].

**warrunj**, *adj.* crooked.

**wawun**, *n.* scrub turkey.

**waya:**, *n.* wallaby.

**wayu**, *n.* father's father.

**wayundanmi**, *n.* father's mother.

**wandji**, *vt.* prepare.

**wa:nggi**, *vi.* be silly.

**warre**, *vi.* hunt.

**wa:wa:**, *n.* crow.

**we:we:**, *n.* pec wec [LW].

**wilinju**, *n.* Old cattle station on the  
Stanley River (place name).

**wiyarr**, *n.* 1. fame. 2. steam. [one  
instance only].

**wiye**, *vdit.* give.

**wogan**, *n.* woman.

**wongga:l**, *n.* whiptail wallaby [LW].

**wo:ŋi**, *n.* shadow, shade.

**wubin**, *n.* wise man. (A man who works  
magic through his acquired  
knowledge.)

**wuli**, *vi.* swim.



- wulu**, *n.* ankle.  
**wunba**, *pcl.* very, better.  
**wunda**, *vt.* cover, bury.  
**wundi**, *vi.* come off.  
**wundir**, *n.* belongings.  
**wunu**, *n.* butt (of a tree) [one instance only].  
**wur**, *n.* wasp [LW].  
**wura**, *pcl.* already, familiar. *intj.* all right, finished. *adj.* ripe.  
**wuyar**, *n.* 1. curse. 2. spirit [LW].  
**wu:ŋ**, *n.* 1. pigeon. 2. nest. *intj.* wong (onomatopoeic imitation of the sound made by the wonga pigeon).
- ya**, *vi.* go, come, walk. *Variant:* yana.  
**yabu**, *pcl.* only, just.  
**yalalu**, *n.* right class [LW].  
**yalam**, *n.* brown snake.  
**yalamala**, *n.* bee bread [LW].  
**yalu**, *n.* wrong class [LW].  
**yambuyambu**, *n.* female pubic covering (made of possum skin) [LW].  
**yamga**, *vi.* swear, growl, quarrel.  
**yanda**, *vt.* dig up.  
**yandi**, *vt.* sing.  
**yagga**, *vt.* 1. make, do, cause. 2. hand over.  
**yaggayangga**, *adv.* carefully.  
**yanjar**, *n.* old man.  
**yanjara**, *n.* old woman.  
**yara**, *n.* flower.  
**yarun**, *n.* tap root [one instance only].  
**yayumba**, *n.* soon.  
**yayumbe**, *adj.* same.  
**ya:**, *vi & t.* say, speak, tell, talk. *intj.* yes.  
**ye**, *vcop.* be. *adv.* towards (the speaker).  
**yelam**, *adj.* yellow.  
**yere**, *vi.* go, go home.  
**ye:ma**, *vt.* miss (target).  
**yiga**, *n.* chin, beard, moustache.  
**yima**, *vi & t.* do (like) this.
- yimar**, *n.* quietness [LW].  
**yina**, *n.* gully, valley [LOC<sub>1</sub> -nda].  
**yindiq**, *n.* white stone having special powers [LW].  
**yingir**, *n.* bandicoot [one instance only].  
**yini**, *n.* lawyer cane.  
**yinjdjun**, *n.* native cat.  
**yira**, *vt.* cut, hit.  
**yiya**, *vt.* bite.  
**iyem**, *n.* 1. forehead. 2. underneath, below, down. *Variant:* ye:m.  
**iyey**, *adj.* bad, not good. *Variant:* ye:ŋ.  
**yowan**, *n.* any shield [LW].  
**yowana**, *vt.* knock down.  
**yowar**, *n.* corroboree.
- yowa:m**, *pron.* they two (third person dual).  
**yo:**, *pron.* he, she, it (third person singular).  
**yo:ran**, *adj.* many. *n.* people, mob. *Variant:* yowaran.  
**yo:rr**, *adv.* everywhere.  
**yo:wan**, *pron.* they all (third person plural).  
**yugari**, *n.* ocean shell [LW].  
**yumandanmi**, *n.* mother's brother's son.  
**yumewa**, *n.* sister (middle) [LW 'second eldest brother and second eldest sister'].  
**yumur**, *n.* half moon [LW].  
**yune**, *vi.* lie (down), sleep, stay, camp.  
**yugam**, *n.* ahead, in front.  
**yugge**, *n.* idea.  
**yuri**, *n.* totem, skin.  
**yurumbar**, *n.* sand, sandhill.  
**yu:gar**, *pcl.* only, just, alone. *Variant:* yu:  
**yu:mu**, *n.* between.  
**yu:wunj**, *n.* snake.

## 2. Vocabulary by semantic fields

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This vocabulary by semantic fields list does not include personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives or particles (however, these are included in the alphabetical list). Many of the glosses are given in an abbreviated form in this list.

### NOUNS

#### A. Body parts and products

<b>ma:</b> , head, essence	<b>walir</b> , shoulder, upper arm
<b>ṅuwar</b> , face	<b>wamge</b> , armpit
<b>binəŋ</b> , ear	<b>gulumur</b> , elbow
<b>miya:</b> , eye	<b>binjbinj</b> , wrist
<b>dibinge</b> , eyebrow	<b>gaŋ</b> , hand, saliva
<b>iyiem</b> , forehead	<b>bi:</b> , finger, hand
<b>mi:</b> , nose	<b>wadaŋir</b> , left hand
<b>gi:ragi:ra</b> , nose bone	<b>djunim</b> , right hand
<b>diyem</b> , tooth, teeth, mouth	<b>djaŋar</b> , thigh, leg, limb
<b>djunum</b> , tongue	<b>bun</b> , knee
<b>dambur</b> , mouth, lip, full	<b>buyu</b> , calf, lower leg
<b>ṅanjɗjal</b> , jaw	<b>wulu</b> , ankle
<b>wanŋa</b> , cheek	<b>djinəŋ</b> , toe, foot, footprint
<b>yiga</b> , chin, beard, moustache	<b>nji:m</b> , anus
<b>wanda</b> , neck	<b>daga</b> , testicles
<b>bugur</b> , throat	<b>didu</b> , penis
<b>ganŋa</b> , voice	<b>dunu</b> , vulva
<b>dandar</b> , chest	<b>bayel</b> , hair, pubic hair, fur
<b>ṅamuŋ</b> , breast, milk	<b>bem</b> , skin
<b>du:</b> , heart, spirit (personal)	<b>giyen</b> , nail
<b>bingirr</b> , navel	<b>gi:ra</b> , bone
<b>mu:</b> , belly, upper stomach	<b>gayəŋ</b> , sinew
<b>dawerir</b> , kidney, stomach	<b>mem</b> , fat
<b>ganəŋ</b> , liver	<b>nurrun</b> , breath
<b>gungir</b> , rib	<b>binj</b> , saliva
<b>diye:</b> , back	<b>bo:rr</b> , sore, wound, mark
<b>gunjal</b> , backbone	<b>bugowar</b> , kiss
<b>ganim</b> , hip	<b>buwa</b> , vomit
<b>mu:n</b> , buttocks	<b>diyir</b> , blood
<b>giniŋ</b> , arm	<b>gala</b> , excrement
	<b>ganum</b> , sweat
	<b>gawurr</b> , urine, faeces
	<b>ṅuwa:</b> , egg

**nala**, soul, insides  
**wuyar**, spirit  
**djam**, body

*B. Human classification and spirits*

**bari**, baby, small child  
**baribari**, little baby  
**njunam**, children  
**gima**, boy, son  
**gibar**, uninitiated boy  
**gibargibar**, small boy  
**ḡunjuḡ**, initiated boy, dark people  
**ḡamuga**, young girl  
**njune:**, girl, daughter  
**gonja**, unmarried person  
**ḡayam**, single man  
**ḡayamgan**, single woman  
**njubanji**, married person, married couple  
**ware**, prostitute  
**djan**, man, Aborigine  
**wogan**, woman  
**babiya**, father  
**bebere**, uncle  
**gurilḡa**, old man  
**yanjar**, old man  
**yanjaraḡ**, old woman  
**djaḡar**, medicine man  
**gundir**, clever man  
**wubin**, wise man  
**moyi**, white person  
**darana**, white woman  
**djiliḡ**, fair skinned people  
**dinderi**, pygmies, little red men  
**mandji**, friend  
**no:wa**, stranger  
**benjo:wa**, creator  
**djinbam**, owner  
**ganana**, poor person  
**ma:djayum**, giant, biggest man of all  
**munigburum**, head of clan  
**yo:raḡ**, people, mob  
**ḡu:l**, spirit, ghost, image, reflection  
**mundur**, evil spirit  
**gewarr**, chief evil spirit  
**babul**, culture hero

**benewa**, sky god  
**biral**, ancestral being

*C. Kin and section names*

**ganin**, daughter (classificatory)  
**gandan**, sister (younger)  
**gandanbingana**, sister (younger)  
**yumewa**, sister (middle)  
**djadji**, sister (elder)  
**muringana**, sister (elder)  
**dudu**, mother  
**ma:m**, mother  
**dom**, mother (tribal)  
**ḡuweg**, mother (classificatory), mother's sister, mother-in-law  
**buyar**, mother's mother  
**ḡadja**, mother's father  
**mama:**, mother's brother, uncle  
**yumandanmi**, mother's brother's son  
**njowamgan**, wife  
**buyun**, brother  
**djuwaḡ**, brother (younger)  
**gandanbiḡ**, brother (younger)  
**djadja**, brother (elder)  
**murin**, brother (elder)  
**gimḡen**, brother-in-law  
**buwa:**, father  
**babu**, father (classificatory)  
**wayu**, father's father  
**wayundanmi**, father's mother  
**gami**, father's sister  
**ḡugarim**, nephew  
**njowam**, husband  
**banda**, kinship class  
**bandjur**, kinship class  
**barang**, kinship class  
**djoronaḡ**, kinship class  
**dilbayin**, moiety  
**gabayin**, moiety  
**yalalu**, right class  
**yalu**, wrong class  
**yuri**, totem, skin  
**njirani**, ancestors

**D. Mammals**

**djadja**, bat  
**barrbarr**, flying fox  
**djawan**, forest possum  
**gugunde**, scrub possum (black)  
**gowa:n**, possum (blue)  
**me:war**, platypus  
**djuwangan**, dugong  
**ga:rr**, echidna  
**goro:man**, kangaroo  
**bunbi**, pouch (of a kangaroo)  
**waya:**, wallaby  
**guba:na**, swamp wallaby  
**wogga:l**, whiptail wallaby  
**gu:la**, koala  
**buginj**, dog  
**njanjunde**, dingo  
**barunga**, kangaroo rat  
**bo:won**, bandicoot  
**yingir**, bandicoot  
**yinj djun**, native cat  
**djun**, tail  
**giyen**, claw

**E. Reptiles and amphibians**

**yu:wunj**, snake  
**buyi**, carpet snake  
**djumgu**, black snake  
**yalam**, brown snake  
**gewarr**, rainbow serpent  
**munbori**, tiger snake  
**munum**, death adder  
**dageyin**, sea snake  
**gungu**, goanna (sleepy)  
**maru:n**, goanna (sand)  
**djunben**, goanna (black), lizard (small)  
**binagera**, frilled neck lizard  
**durari**, eel  
**gaya:**, frog  
**njarinbam**, turtle

**F. Birds**

**djiwi**, bird  
**bidji**, large bird  
**bi:nj**, woodpecker

**dadunga**, tree creeper bird  
**djandurr**, black cockatoo  
**gaye**, white cockatoo  
**buyurre**, curlew  
**dabimi**, digger bird  
**djigidjini**, willy wagtail  
**djiwa**, owl  
**djungar**, jabiru  
**gugaga**, kookaburra  
**ḡayel**, eagle hawk  
**walgurug**, magpie  
**golawong**, scrub magpie  
**waran**, parrot  
**waranbi**, parrot feathers  
**wa:wai**, crow  
**we:we:**, pee wee  
**ḡanjamerr**, broilga  
**wawun**, scrub turkey  
**ḡuwi**, emu  
**ḡiḡa:**, whistle duck  
**munarug**, wood duck  
**nje:m**, black duck  
**meguwig**, swan  
**dungarr**, pelican  
**wu:ḡ**, pigeon, nest  
**bowanbi**, feather  
**ḡiniḡ**, wing

**G. Fish and crustaceans**

**guyur**, fish  
**bala**, jewfish  
**ḡande**, mullet  
**ba:l**, shark  
**ḡi:l**, crab  
**njarrnjeg**, crayfish  
**bugowar**, river mussel  
**dandur**, cunjevoi

**H. Insects**

**barawam**, meat-ant  
**dindurr**, grasshopper  
**dundu**, witchetty grub  
**buluber**, mosquito  
**di:ḡ**, fly  
**burunbin**, butterfly

**dumuḡ**, bee, beehive  
**gaye**, bee (small stingless)  
**gudjawunba**, bally bee, native bee  
**wur**, wasp  
**durgawu**, swarm

*I. Language, ceremony and noise*

**geyem**, language, word  
**nje:**, name  
**wuyar**, curse  
**yowar**, corroboree  
**binar**, tribal fight  
**du:rr**, bora ring  
**mimburi**, small bora ring  
**gurun**, noise

*J. Artefacts and camp*

**baran**, boomerang  
**birbi**, short boomerang  
**djigirr**, large boomerang  
**djunimgi**, right-handed boomerang  
**wadaḡir**, left-handed boomerang  
**gumari**, shield  
**yowan**, any shield  
**gurangur**, spear  
**guran**, shaft of spear  
**murr**, club, waddy, nulla nulla  
**bagan**, two-handed club  
**muyim**, axe (stone), fish hook  
**narraḡ**, stone tomahawk  
**birwa:**, sharp point  
**gurr**, point  
**bundundabi**, large bullroarer  
**gungarbi**, small bullroarer  
**djambarra**, throwing stick  
**goware**, digging stick  
**djuḡurr**, knife  
**duliḡ**, nautilus shell  
**gemgar**, razor back shell  
**yugari**, ocean shell  
**djanin**, steel, metal, granite  
**gargul**, quartz, stone knife  
**mingom**, black stone  
**yindiḡ**, white stone  
**muranj**, white paint, clay

**dama**, net  
**bugur**, string, rope  
**bunbi**, basket, bag  
**djengen**, fishing line  
**dje:m**, dilly bag, pocket  
**gundu**, bark boat or container, string bag  
**buronjin**, ball  
**dunme**, mark  
**giniḡbam**, paddles  
**ginjarr**, keepsake  
**bebe**, feather headdress  
**nurum**, bone dust  
**gorom**, fork  
**mande**, steps  
**njiran**, belt  
**ḡoyiḡoyi**, sticks  
**ḡubar**, carvings  
**wundir**, belongings  
**yambuyambu**, female pubic covering  
**guyum**, camp  
**baru:**, camp, marriage hut  
**moromoro**, camp (main)

*K. Food, fire and water*

**guyur**, food, animal  
**djam**, meat, food  
**buwa**, rotten meat  
**nangu**, paste of bunya nuts  
**gudja**, honey (native)  
**yalamala**, bee bread  
**dowa**, taste  
**guyum**, fire, firewood  
**djum**, smoke  
**miyarr**, charcoal  
**muyil**, soot  
**njun**, ashes  
**guḡ**, water  
**buguwar**, fresh water  
**wiyarr**, steam

*L. Celestial and weather*

**bayel**, cloud, sky  
**bulan**, heaven  
**gandanbam**, Pleiades  
**mirinjgim**, star

**gagare**, moon  
**giyen**, new moon  
**yumur**, half moon  
**mowanin**, full moon  
**gurruy**, rain  
**gewarr**, rainbow  
**guḡa**, dew  
**da:m**, fog  
**djowondjowon**, wet season  
**mara**, lightning  
**mi:re**, thunder, storm  
**mowarr**, hail, hailstone  
**nurrun**, breeze  
**buran**, wind  
**buranbaye**, westerly wind  
**gidi**, light, dawn, twilight, morning  
**gu:ni**, light  
**ḡo:**, darkness  
**ḡiyarr**, winter  
**ḡuwim**, sun, day  
**ḡuwimgan**, summer  
**wo:ḡi**, shadow, shade

### *M. Geography*

**bagan**, ocean  
**muwe**, sea, salt water  
**ba:l**, salt  
**du:ḡi**, river, creek  
**guḡ**, waterhole  
**njande**, swamp  
**burunbi**, river bank, water's edge, cliff  
**da:numarra**, shore  
**mula**, bank  
**da:n**, edge  
**djowon**, flood  
**njalḡ**, mud  
**warru**, region  
**djawun**, home country, homeland,  
 district  
**gunundjin**, bush  
**mimburi**, source, breeding place,  
 continuous flow  
**dja:**, ground, earth, place, track  
**damba**, track, road  
**dambadamba**, path  
**doyi**, stone, rock, cave

**guyiḡ**, red ochre  
**njun**, dust  
**guniyan**, plain, claypan  
**balan**, plain, level country  
**bayer**, mountain, hill  
**jurumbar**, sand, sandhill  
**yina**, gully, valley  
**nala**, hole, cave, tunnel

### *N. Flora*

**binga**, cabbage tree (palm)  
**burun**, palm leaf  
**buḡer**, bottle tree  
**bunirr**, bloodwood  
**burarum**, water lily  
**burgalba**, box tree, forest  
**djage**, grass tree  
**djinjigar**, mistletoe  
**dju:rr**, candy boy  
**gimbi**, stinging tree  
**gumari**, corkwood  
**gu:nem**, hoop pine  
**ḡungam**, pencil orchid  
**meba**, river chestnut  
**wanambi**, river chestnut  
**burruyarr**, mountain oak  
**durari**, silky oak  
**damiyin**, silver leafed wattle  
**djama:**, wattle  
**guwandjar**, paperbark tree  
**djandurr**, ironbark (white)  
**geger**, ironbark (broadleaf)  
**djawu**, water gum  
**manburrrirr**, gum tree, blue gum, forest  
 gum, yellow jacket  
**bowḡbi**, fern  
**dala**, staghorn  
**gaban**, black cane  
**yini**, lawyer cane  
**biyibi**, seed (edible), fruit, berry, fig  
**babul**, Queensland nut  
**ba:nji**, bunya tree  
**darum**, wild orange, quondong  
**da:m**, yam (wild)  
**njelḡel**, fig  
**gureya**, fig tree

**murum**, wild passionfruit  
**njugurr**, apple tree  
**dadu**, tree, stick  
**gari**, leaf  
**yara**, flower  
**djaḡar**, branch  
**giniḡ**, branch, stem  
**dja:rrir**, log  
**ma:gunj**, stump  
**wunu**, butt (of a tree)  
**gundu**, bark  
**djari**, a soft wood  
**djudjum**, rotten wood  
**djuḡa**, vine  
**guliḡba**, a scrub vine  
**gingom**, three-leafed plant  
**nalbo**, gum from pine trees  
**dare**, gum from grass tree or wattle  
**wara**, root  
**yarun**, tap root  
**ban**, grass, seaweed  
**gi:njgi**, seaweed  
**gawa**, scrub  
**bawar**, bush, undergrowth, scrub  
**wanḡa**, fungus

### *O. Adjectives and abstract nouns*

#### *Number*

**garu**, one  
**biya:yu**, two  
**goromda**, three, few  
**yo:ran**, many

#### *Colour*

**miyarr**, black  
**muranjga**, white  
**yelam**, yellow  
**guyiḡ**, red

#### *Dimension*

**bari**, small  
**bugubu**, short  
**guwengi**, long, tall  
**bubur**, thin

**birran**, wide, enormous, fat  
**mowanin**, big, thick

#### *Physical property*

**galaḡ**, sweet  
**bare:**, sour  
**dula**, soft  
**bubur**, weak  
**darinj**, strong, hard  
**garagara**, light (in weight)  
**djagan**, heavy  
**djigirr**, heavy  
**nala**, empty, hollow  
**dambur**, full  
**ḡiyarr**, cold  
**ganumbe**, warm, hot  
**warrunj**, crooked  
**gowon**, raw  
**wura**, ripe  
**bu:djuḡ**, rotten  
**buwa**, stinking  
**djunim**, right-handed  
**wadaḡir**, left-handed  
**ḡurr**, sharp  
**gen**, sharp  
**dudulye**, swollen  
**doyidoyi**, stoney  
**giya**, grey-haired  
**manjal**, wet

#### *Age and value*

**gawurre**, old  
**galaḡ**, good, well, OK, right  
**yiyeḡ**, bad, not good  
**yayumbe**, same  
**gi:runba**, true  
**djunim**, right  
**daran**, forbidden  
**bam**, half

#### *Human propensity*

**galaḡ**, happy  
**ganan**, sad, sorry  
**ba:l**, wild, angry

**ba:nggi**, savage, afraid  
**muŋin**, shy, ashamed  
**nji:l**, selfish  
**njeŋga**, clever

*Corporeal*

**djurayi**, hungry  
**gunjbiru**, thirsty  
**gonjdjam**, tired  
**giyuru**, sick  
**mil**, alive

*Abstract nouns*

**guyur**, thing, something  
**badja**, one of several, other one,  
 someone, something else  
**gonj**, want, wish  
**yunge**, idea  
**bowan**, dream, sleep, tiredness  
**djambal**, soreness, pain  
**gudjan**, nonsense  
**wiyarr**, fame  
**yimar**, quietness

**VERBS**

*P. Motion*

**ya**, go, come, walk  
**yere**, go, go home  
**dje**, go, come, walk, move, run  
**ba**, come  
**ŋumga**, come out, break through  
**gari**, enter, go in  
**ŋa:ba**, pass, go further  
**gundani**, jump, cross  
**gamunda**, cross over  
**mu**, rise  
**wa**, climb (up)  
**njinda**, go down, sink  
**bumi**, fall (down), roll (down)  
**gaye**, turn around, tip over  
**bu:ŋi**, blow, move  
**dunme**, move, sway  
**gawa**, dodge, duck  
**me:ndi**, chase, hunt

**warre**, hunt  
**dawari**, follow  
**djadjawa**, meet, reach  
**bure**, run  
**wuli**, swim  
**biya**, throw, fly  
**dare**, fly, hang, swing  
**gembe**, play, act  
**mumema**, act  
**gera**, drip, rain  
**go:ma**, roll, rub  
**manundje**, hatch

*Q. Rest*

**barandje**, stand (up)  
**ba:**, stand  
**njine**, sit, stay, live  
**yune**, lie (down), sleep, stay, camp  
**mungaya**, stop, cease

*R. Position and induced position*

**buyi**, take (away), carry  
**ba:ri**, bring, carry (on shoulder)  
**ga:nge**, carry on back  
**binda**, send, release  
**wane**, leave, put (down)  
**wamba**, hang, float, put on  
**wiye**, give  
**bunma**, remove, take out  
**dari**, pull (up)  
**ga:wa**, put (on)  
**njumba**, push (away)  
**duwe**, reach across  
**ma:**, hold, grab, catch, take  
**gurema**, hold tightly, stop  
**yannga**, hand over  
**mowa**, gather, heap  
**ŋunda**, close  
**djandari**, slip  
**dunme**, stoop, fall down  
**wundi**, come off  
**gunda**, protect  
**gurume**, hide, steal  
**ŋarrbema**, lose  
**gaye**, look



**badji**, find

*S. Affect*

**bu**, hit, kill, fight  
**bamba**, fight, throw, hit, kill  
**ḡanda**, smash, knock out, hit, hurt  
**yira**, cut, hit  
**yowana**, knock down  
**ḡoro**, kick, step on  
**buwa**, spear, dip  
**buwe:**, stick in  
**dari**, pinch  
**nimḡa**, scratch  
**buḡunda**, open (up), split  
**gamḡa**, break  
**gawa**, cut (off), chop, stab, split  
**banda**, tie up  
**gira**, wake (up), warn, round (up)  
**djirrdje**, disperse  
**ye:ma**, miss (target)  
**djime**, shine (on), heat  
**mari**, burn, melt, light  
**ḡuwe**, cook  
**moro**, make, stir, kindle  
**bowa**, extinguish, put out  
**giya**, wash, soak, dip  
**wane**, soak  
**da:ri**, dry  
**yanda**, dig up  
**wunda**, cover, bury  
**ma:**, do, feel, rub  
**yangga**, make, do, cause  
**yima**, do (like) this  
**mura**, paint  
**name**, paint  
**wa:ndji**, prepare

*T. Attention*

**nja**, see, look at, watch  
**be:ḡa**, hear, listen to  
**njumba**, show, point  
**wabe**, wait

*U. Speech and thought*

**ya:**, say, speak, tell, talk  
**bi:ra**, ask  
**gadiwa**, answer  
**djamba**, call out, answer  
**gangga**, call out, scream, yell  
**yamḡa**, swear, quarrel  
**ḡuḡba**, praise  
**bunjma**, boast  
**yandi**, sing  
**be:ḡa**, think (of), remember, know

*V. Corporeal*

**dja:**, eat, drink  
**djuḡba**, lick  
**morrbe**, smell  
**yiya**, bite  
**gangga**, vomit  
**djowa**, blow  
**duḡa**, cry, weep  
**mowali**, wail  
**mundji**, laugh  
**murrungi**, snore  
**waji**, tremble  
**ḡurume**, defecate  
**gunda**, lay  
**di:**, grow up  
**goro**, drown  
**bo:**, die  
**bumi**, die  
**muwe**, possess  
**ba:ḡgi**, be frightened  
**maji**, be ready  
**ḡuni**, be suspicious  
**wa:ḡgi**, be silly

*W. Adverbs*

**djale**, softly  
**ba:lbama**, loudly  
**budirgu**, completely, entirely  
**bumni**, soundly, peacefully  
**yanggayangga**, carefully  
**ḡurra**, nearly  
**djaḡi**, almost  
**djunim**, straight

**ger**, try  
**djaŋar**, quickly  
**ye**, towards (the speaker)  
**biye**, away from the speaker  
**yo:rr**, everywhere

*X. Location and places*

**bunjaŋ**, ahead, in front  
**yuŋam**, ahead, in front  
**bige**, behind  
**iyiem**, underneath, below, down  
**gunu**, underneath, deep below, inside  
**yu:mu**, between  
**benju**, up high  
**gaŋa**, up, above, on top  
**djanjum**, near, close, close together  
**wana**, far away  
**miye**, further away  
**girum**, the other side, across  
**neyeŋ**, outside  
**bam**, halfway  
**gunuwinj**, north  
**ŋuwimgan**, north

**gunundjin**, east, hollow place  
**ŋiyarr**, south  
**buranbaye**, west  
**burrayarr**, holy place  
**dji:mna**, place of leeches  
**wilinju**, old cattle station on the Stanley  
 River  
**birwa:**, Beerwah  
**gabulya**, Caboolture  
**njewayi**, Neewai  
**mabalan**, Bunya Mountains

*Y. Time*

**dulara**, morning (early)  
**djuyu**, (late) afternoon, evening  
**ŋo:**, night  
**meŋ**, today  
**binjgu**, tomorrow  
**yayumba**, soon  
**gawurre**, a long time (ago)  
**ŋinŋangurra**, creation time, dreamtime

### 3. List of affixes

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Listed below are all the allomorphs of the grammatical suffixes followed by the section(s) where the form and function of each is discussed.

- a accusative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [b], §3.3, §3.5 [c]
- a concomitant – §3.2.3 [c]
- a dative<sub>2</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3
- a locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]
  
- ba dative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3
- ba inchoative – §3.6.7
- ba locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]
- bam dual – §3.2.3 [e]
- baŋi ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.3
- baŋu ablative<sub>3</sub> – §3.3
- baŋu comitative – §3.2.3 [b], §3.3
- be collective – §3.2.3 [e]
- bu ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c], §3.3
- bu instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]
  
- da locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]
- de future – §3.6.7
- du ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c], §3.3, §3.5 [b]
- du instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]
  
- dja locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]
- djam privative – §3.2.3 [d]
- dje factitive – §3.6.7
- djin plural – §3.2.3 [c]
- dju ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c], §3.3
- dju instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]
  
- ga locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]
- ga nominative – §3.4 [b]
- gan feminine – §3.2.3 [f]
  
- gari(nj) allative – §3.3
- gari(nj) dative<sub>3</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3
- gari(nj) genitive – §3.2.3 [a], §3.3, §3.5 [b]
- gari(nj) purposive – §3.3
- ge 'side' – §3.2.5
- gu allative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [b], §3.3, §3.4 [c]
- gu ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c], §3.3
- gu instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]
- gu desiderative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [e]
- gu future – §3.6.2
- gu purposive – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [b]
- gunj privative – §3.2.3 [d]
  
- i locative<sub>2</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]
  
- le continuative – §3.6.4 [a]
  
- ma causative<sub>1</sub> – §3.6.4 [b]
- ma emphatic – §3.4 [b], §3.4 [c], §3.4 [d]
- ma factitive – §3.5 [e], §3.6.7
- mbe present – §3.6.3 [b]
- mdje reciprocal – §3.6.4 [b]
- me 'around' – §3.6.4 [a]
- me ergative – §3.3
- me repetitive – §3.6.3 [k]
- me specifier – §3.2.6, §3.4 [c]
- mgu future – §3.6.3 [c]
- mi past – §3.6.3 [a]
  
- n suddenness – §3.6.3 [h]

- na* accusative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [b], §3.3  
 -*na* dative<sub>2</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3  
 -*nda* adverbialiser – §3.2.3 [e]  
 -*nda* locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]  
 -*nda* nominaliser – §3.2.4  
 -*nda* simultaneous – §3.6.3 [j]  
 -*nde* nominaliser – §3.2.4  
 -*nde* present – §3.6.3 [b]  
 -*ndi* causative<sub>2</sub> – §3.6.4 [b]  
 -*ndu* ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c]  
 -*ndu* instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d], §3.5 [a]  
 -*ndjin* plural – §3.2.3 [e]  
 -*nge* imperfective – §3.6.3 [f]  
 -*ngu* future – §3.6.3 [c]  
 -*ni* locative<sub>2</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]  
 -*ni* past – §3.6.3 [a]  
 -*nma* emphatic – §3.4 [c]  
 -*nme* ‘around’ – §3.6.4 [a]  
 -*nu* ablative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.5 [d]  
 -*nu* locative<sub>3</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]  
 -*ŋa* accusative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [b], §3.3, §3.5 [a]  
 -*ŋa* allative – §3.4 [c], §3.5 [c], §3.5 [d]  
 -*ŋa* dative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3  
 -*ŋa* concomitant – §3.2.3 [c]  
 -*ŋdje* reciprocal – §3.6.4 [b]  
 -*ŋe* reflexive – §3.6.4 [b]  
 -*ŋe* ‘side’ – §3.4 [c]  
 -*ŋge* present – §3.6.3 [b]  
 -*ŋgu* purposive – §3.5 [a]  
 -*ŋi* locative<sub>2</sub> – §3.2.5, §3.4 [c]  
 -*ŋi* past – §3.6.3 [a]  
 -*ŋira* time – §3.4 [c], §3.5 [c]  
 -*ŋu* ablative<sub>3</sub> – §3.3, §3.5 [c]  
 -*ŋu* comitative – §3.3  
 -*ŋu* locative<sub>3</sub> – §3.2.5  
 -*nja* accusative – §3.3  
 -*nji* locative<sub>2</sub> – §3.2.5  
 -*nji* perfective – §3.6.3 [g]  
 -*nju* locative<sub>3</sub> – §3.2.5  
 -*ra* locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]  
 -*re* continuative – §3.6.4 [a]  
 -*ri(nj)* allative – §3.3  
 -*ri(nj)* dative<sub>3</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3  
 -*ri(nj)* genitive – §3.2.3 [a], §3.3  
 -*ri(nj)* purposive – §3.3, §3.4 [c]  
 -*rin* plural – §3.2.3 [e]  
 -*ru* ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c], §3.3  
 -*ru* instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d], §3.5 [e]  
 -*u* ablative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.3  
 -*u* locative<sub>3</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a], §3.3  
 -*u* causal – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [c]  
 -*u* ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c]  
 -*u* instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]  
 -*wa* dative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3  
 -*wa* intention/desire – §3.6.3 [d]  
 -*wa* locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]  
 -*wa* nominaliser – §3.2.4  
 -*wa* purposive – §3.6.3 [i]  
 -*wam* dual – §3.2.3 [e], §3.4 [b]  
 -*waji* ablative<sub>2</sub>/aversive – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.3, §3.4 [c]  
 -*waju* ablative<sub>3</sub> – §3.3, §3.4 [c]  
 -*waju* comitative – §3.2.3 [b], §3.3  
 -*we* collective – §3.2.3 [e]  
 -*wu* ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c]  
 -*wu* instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]  
 -*wu* future – §3.6.3 [c]  
 -*ya* locative<sub>1</sub> – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]  
 -*ye* present – §3.6.3 [b]  
 -*ye* reciprocal – §3.6.4 [b]  
 -*yi* past – §3.6.3 [a]  
 -*yu* ergative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [c]  
 -*yu* instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d]  
 -*yu* future – §3.6.3 [c]  
 -*o* absolutive – §3.2.2.1 [d]  
 -*o* imperative – §3.6.3 [e]  
 -*o* general – §3.6.3 [e]  
 -*o* nominative – §3.2.2.1 [a], §3.3

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