The Duunjidjawu language of southeast Queensland: grammar, texts and vocabulary

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The Duuŋidjawu language of southeast Queensland: grammar, texts and vocabulary

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Foreword

This is a slightly revised version of the MA thesis by Suzanne Kite (ANU, 2000), being her analysis, transcription and translation of the extensive Duunjidjau materials recorded between 1955 and 1964 by Stephen Wurm (also taking account of all other published and unpublished materials on the language).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 Duunjidjau, 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 Wajkumara (Ga’cali) 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 Duunjidjau, 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 Duunjidjau materials. These consisted of tapes, transcriptions of Duunjidjau 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 Duunjidjawu 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 Duunjidjawu people, and through this of their traditions, customs and laws.

R.M.W. Dixon
Acknowledgments

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
ABL ablative
ABS absolutive
ACC accusative
ADVLSR adverbaliser
ALL allative
AVERS aversive
CON concomitant
C consonant
CAUS causative
COLL collective
COMIT comitative
CONT continuative
cop copula verb
DAT dative
DEM demonstrative
DESID desiderative
DU dual
EMPH emphatic
ERG ergative
excl exclusive
EXCL exclamation
FACT factitive
FEM feminine
FUT future
GEN genitive
GENRL general
H homorganic stop
IMPER imperative
IMPERFV imperfective
INCH inchoative
incl inclusive
INSTR instrumental
INT intention
INTERROG interrogative
INTJ interjection
INTRO clause introducer
intr intransitive
LOC locative
N nasal
NOM nominative
NMLSR nominaliser
NP noun phrase
O transitive object
PERFV perfective
PL plural
PRES present
PRIV privative
PURP purposive
RECIP reciprocal
REDUP reduplicated
REFL reflexive
REPET repetitive
S intransitive subject
SG singular
SIMULT simultaneous
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>specifier</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUDDEN</td>
<td>suddenness</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tr</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>indicates zero realisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>marks a clitic boundary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART ONE: GRAMMAR
1 The language and its speakers

1.1 Linguistic type

Duunjidjawu 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.

Duunjidjawu 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. Duunjidjawu 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 Duunjidjawu: relative, temporal and purposive.

1.2 Tribal and language names

Duunjidjawu is one of several mutually intelligible dialects of the Waga-Waga' language group. These dialects are listed in Table 1.1 together with alternate spellings that have

---

1 This is an arbitrary name chosen by R.M.W Dixon for these languages. They could equally have been called the 'Duunjidjawu' 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 Duunganjawu is from duuni ‘river’ and djawu ‘water gum’ (Winterbotham 1957).

Table 1.1: Waga-Waga dialects and alternative spellings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Dialect (Refs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duunganjawu</td>
<td>Dungidjau (Capell 1963), Dungidau (Tindale 1974, Winterbotham 1957), Dunggija (Holmer 1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuli-Wuli</td>
<td>Wulili (Mathew 1926b, Tindale 1974), Wilili (Winterbotham 1957)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djangumba</td>
<td>Djajunda (Tindale 1938), Dakundair/Dakundie/Djakunda (Winterbotham 1957)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dala</td>
<td>Dalla (Tindale 1938, Winterbotham 1957, Capell 1963)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waga-Waga</td>
<td>Woga (E. Cunningham 1887, O’Connor 1887-b), Wogga (O’Connor 1887-a), Woka (Landsborough and Curr 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 (Party-Okeden 1914), Waka (Watson 1943/4), Waka Waka (Winterbotham 1957), Wagawaga (Capell 1963), Wakawaka (Tindale 1938), Woka-Woka (Hall n.d.a), Waka-Waka (Holmer 1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barunggam</td>
<td>Parrungoom (Barlow 1872–73), Barunggam (Tindale 1974, Holmer 1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalbo</td>
<td>Ngoera (Tindale 1974)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giabal</td>
<td>Gitabal/Kitabal (Winterbotham 1957)²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Duunganjawu, 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’), Duugibara (duuji ‘river’), Dulirbaraa (dulik ‘nautilus shell’), Dundubara (dundu ‘witchetty grub’), Dowarbaraa (dowar ‘dead trees’) and Ngulungbaraa (nguling ‘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 Wutyabora ‘cedar folk’ (around Kilkivan), Buababra ‘foul smell folk’, Kiyaboro ‘bite folk’ (near Widgee), Gigarbora ‘sweet folk’ (Widgee), Kulibora ‘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.

² 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 Duunjidjawu (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: Duunjidjawu territory](image)

To the north of the Duunjidjawu 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 Duuijdjauw. 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 Garumgar, who occupied an area directly to the south of the Duuijdjauw. 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 Duuijdjauw, 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**: 35%
- **Waga-Waga**: 39%
- **Gabi**: 36%

Verb comparisons of the languages (Dapil is excluded due to a lack of information) are:
Gureng 54% Waga-Waga 54% Gabi 59%

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 Duunjdjawu words. These are given in Table 1.2 (Steele 1983).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place names</th>
<th>Duunjdjawu Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beerwah</td>
<td>birwa</td>
<td>‘sharp point’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burarum Lagoon</td>
<td>burarum</td>
<td>‘waterlily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burgalba Lagoon</td>
<td>burgalba</td>
<td>‘box tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durundur</td>
<td>dundur</td>
<td>‘witchetty grub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goomeri</td>
<td>gumari</td>
<td>‘shield’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunundjin</td>
<td>gunundjin</td>
<td>‘hollow place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gympie</td>
<td>gimbi</td>
<td>‘stinging tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimna Range</td>
<td>dji:nna</td>
<td>‘place of leeches’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mungar</td>
<td>mangarr</td>
<td>‘spotted gum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Boorran</td>
<td>buran</td>
<td>‘boomerang’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neurum</td>
<td>nurum</td>
<td>‘magic bone dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taroom</td>
<td>darum</td>
<td>‘quandong fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wamuran</td>
<td>wamuran</td>
<td>‘naming ceremony’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wararba</td>
<td>waraba</td>
<td>‘bora ground and its ceremonies’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5 Cultural and sociolinguistic information

Matthew (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 Duunjdjawu, 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 *nulaj* and the woman *nulangan* (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, *Baraj*, *Banda*, *Bandjur* and *Djoronj*, and hence two moieties, *Gabaijin* (*Baraj* 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Baraj woman</th>
<th>Banda woman</th>
<th>Bandjur woman</th>
<th>Djoronj woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baraj man</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banda man</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandjur man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djoronj man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totems also had matrilineal descent. For example, Willie McKenzie’s mother was a *Djoronj* honey woman, which makes him a *Baraj* 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.

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3 These correspond to the terms *Barang*, *Bōnda*, *Banjur* and *Choroin* given by Mathew (1910:132).
Chapter i

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 Duunjidjawu (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. 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. Bunyas 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

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4 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 Aboriginals 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,\(^5\) 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’, birraqa ‘boy’, ɲumoaŋgan ‘girl’, tjiku ‘baby’, tyän ‘Australian Aboriginal’, karabi ‘white man’ and ɲorogun ‘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

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\(^5\) De Brebant Cooper must be mistaken because Port Essington is in the Northern Territory and certainly does not fall within the delineated area.
The language and its speakers

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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 Murrumningama 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 ‘Wondarmgnu’. 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 Tarameo 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)


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, Djugunda and Waga-Waga. While the Djugunda 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 Dujudjawu 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. 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 Dujudjawu 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.

6 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 Duuŋidjawu, 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 Duuŋidjawu.
Chapter 1

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, Barungam 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 Bungur ‘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 Waygirmau meaning ‘feather of wedgetail eagle’. He was born at Durundur and passed down to his family knowledge of the traditional laws and customs of their people. 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 Yugumbe (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 Duunjidjawu. 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 Duunjidjawu vocabulary and sentences, and recorded one Batjala text. Willie McKenzie

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

8 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 Dungi bara, 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 Duunjidjawu (and Batjala). I have also transcribed his original recordings (approximately six hours).\(^9\) 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 Duunjidjawu 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.

\(^9\) 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

2.1 Phonemes and their realisations

In Duunjijdjawu 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 Duunjijdjawu is given in Table 2.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant phonemes</th>
<th>labial-velar</th>
<th>apicoalveolar</th>
<th>apico-postalveolar</th>
<th>laminopalatal</th>
<th>dorsovelar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Duuunjijdjawu 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, Duunjijdjawu 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*.

Duunjijdjawu, 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 *[dula]* ‘soft’, *[mi:*] ‘alive’ and *[gy:fl]* ‘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 Duunjijdjawu which feature sounds not used in any other words. These are the palato-
alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in the interjection *fik*, and the glottal stop ? and the approximant h in the exclamations *eit* and *hara* respectively (see §4.12).

2.1.2 Vowels

Duunjidjawu is unusual for an eastern Australian language in having a five-vowel system /i/, /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/ ( /e/ and /o/ 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:

- *bari* ‘child’
- *muwe* ‘possess’
- *gira* ‘wake up’
- *jowa:m* ‘2DU’
- *duga* ‘cry’
- *ba:ri* ‘bring’
- *buwe:* ‘stick in’
- *gi:ra* ‘bone’
- *yo:wa:n* ‘2PL’
- *du:gi* ‘river’

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

- *gaga* ‘up, above’
- *gen* ‘sharp’
- *gi:ga:* ‘whistle duck’
- *gonj* ‘want’
- *guja* ‘dew’
- *ma:* ‘head’
- *me:* ‘chase’
- *mi:* ‘nose’
- *mo:* ‘that’
- *mu:* ‘belly’

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

(a) 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);

(b) ‘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;

(c) the contraction of original /ia/ (iya, ya) and /ua/ (uwa, wa) may have given rise respectively to e and o;

(d) 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 Duunjidjawu. For example, there are many words in Duunjidjawu 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 Duunjidjawu, 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 /gawal/ [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 Duunijdjau 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) (10). Unlike many Australian languages in which words must consist of at least two syllables, Duunijdjau allows monosyllabic words. (11) There are forty-six nouns which are monosyllabic, fourteen verbs (see Table 3. (8)), 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 $C_1VC_5V(C_4)$. For three- and four-syllable words $C_2C_3$ or $C_3$ 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 intervocally. 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

10 With the exception of inherently reduplicated words (e.g. $wawa$: ‘crow’, $we:we$: ‘pee-wee’, $gi:ragi:ra$ ‘nose bone’).

11 In this regard, Duunijdjau 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt; word-initial</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>dj</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>nj</th>
<th>η</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C&lt;sub&gt;4&lt;/sub&gt; word-final</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C&lt;sub&gt;5&lt;/sub&gt; intervocalic</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt; first member of CC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>η</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>rr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C&lt;sub&gt;3&lt;/sub&gt; second member of CC</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dj</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>followed by</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>nj</th>
<th>η</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>rr</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nb</td>
<td>njb</td>
<td>ηb</td>
<td>lb</td>
<td>rrb</td>
<td>rb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>md</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>njd</td>
<td>ηd</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>rrg</td>
<td>rg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dj</td>
<td>mdj*</td>
<td>ndj</td>
<td>njdj</td>
<td>ηdj</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>rrg*</td>
<td>rg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>mg</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>njg</td>
<td>ηg</td>
<td>lm</td>
<td>rmj</td>
<td>rm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mn</td>
<td>nm</td>
<td>njm</td>
<td>ηm</td>
<td></td>
<td>rrm*</td>
<td>rm*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rnh</td>
<td>nh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rnh</td>
<td>nh*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>mg</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>njη</td>
<td>ηg</td>
<td>lg</td>
<td>rrrη*</td>
<td>rη*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rrw</td>
<td>rw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ηg). 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 ḫadju (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’, -ŋgu ‘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. yänjarän ‘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. biyá:yu ‘two’).
3 Morphology

3.1 Parts of speech

Three word classes can be distinguished in Duunjidjawu:

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 Duunjidjawu. 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/absolutive 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 Duunjdjawu has the following structure:

\[
\text{ROOT} - (\text{DERIVATION}) - (\text{INFLECTION})
\]

#### 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\(_1\) (-nda, -ra and -ya) allomorphs.\(^{12}\) 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\(_1\) allomorphs if known. Duunjdjawu 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).

Duunjdjawu 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’, gurilga ‘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

\(^{12}\) The word *nu*: ‘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 *dju*: ‘ground’ takes a locative, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>after short V</th>
<th>after long V</th>
<th>after nasals</th>
<th>after r and rr</th>
<th>after l and y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ergative/instrumental</td>
<td>-ndu</td>
<td>-wu</td>
<td>-Hu</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative₁</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-Ha</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accusative/dative₂ on ordinary nouns</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative₁</td>
<td>-qa</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative₃</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-gari</td>
<td>-gari</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative₂</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative₁/locative₃</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative₂/aversive</td>
<td>-wagi</td>
<td>-baji</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>causal</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allative/purposive/desiderative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Duunjdjawu 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>pronouns</th>
<th>human nouns (and dogs)</th>
<th>other nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Ø (NOM)</td>
<td>Ø (NOM)</td>
<td>Ø (ABS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Ø (ABS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[a] Nominative

The nominative in Duunjdjawu 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:ŋ-a 0 babu-ŋa
ISG-ERG think.of-GENRL father-ACC
‘I am thinking of [my] father.’

(6) buginj-a mana nj-a-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-0
ISG-DAT2 stick-DU-ACC give-IMPER
‘Give me two sticks!’

(9) ŋa-dju dadu-wam-a nja-ŋi
ISG-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) ɲa-ɗju baran-bam ɲa-ɲi
ISG-ERG boomerang-DU see-PAST
‘I saw two boomerangs.’

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

(11) ɲa-ɗju bu-mi [buginj-a bari-na]
ISG-ERG hit-PAST [dog-ACC small-ACC]
‘I hit the small dog.’

(12) ya:-yi guwe ɲin-du bunjma-yi [ɲin-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 accusively 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) ɲa-ɗju ɲa-ɲi [wojan-bam-a biya:yu bu:ɡubu-na]
ISG-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 guwengu-na] ɬanga-ø
[net long-ACC] make-IMPER
‘Make [us] a long net!’ (Two Sitting Boys 12)

(15) njunam-gari [dadu] ɲa-ɗju badji-ø [mowanin-a]
children-DAT3 [tree] ISG-ERG find-GENRI [big-ACC]
‘I have found a big tree for the children.’ (Woodpecker 45)

(16) [bayer] ɲa-ɲi [biya:yu-na]
[mountain] see-PAST [two-ACC]
’[They] saw two mountains.’ (Two Sitting Boys 5)

(17) ɲa-ri wiye-ø [yara munanja-na]
ISG-DAT3 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).
Chapter 3

(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-ŋ 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 djivi bu-mgu  
1DU-ERG bird kill-FUT  
‘We two will kill the birds.’ (Two Sitting Boys 11)

(21) njande guwe yo: wane-ŋ  
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.1-ERG hear-PAST  
‘The other one heard a noise.’ (Two Old Mainlanders 16)

(24) ḥuwa: 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-ŋa djaŋar yiya-yi menŋ  
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-ŋi  
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) buŋundā-ø nyuwa: nyuwim-bu
open.up-GENRL egg sun-ERG
‘The sun opens up the eggs.’ (Fish in Ponds 19)

(29) guyur nyuwe-ø badja-ru djuyudjuyu
food cook-GENRL other.one-ERG evening
‘Others cook food [for him] in the evening.’ (Dingo 9)

(30) baran-du waga bamba-wu njin-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) njanjameri nja-ø
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 nja: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-ø
bark+ABS(O) DEM remove-IMPER
‘Remove that bark.’ (Two Old Mainlander 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 ngarim-ba mana njin-du dja:-ø
say-PAST then nephew-DAT1 DEM 2SG-ERG eat-IMPER
‘[He] said to [his] nephew, “You eat that!”.’ (Meat-ants 3)

(36) mama:-wu waya: djanjar wiye-nji gima-wa dja:-wa
uncle-ERG wallaby thigh give-PERFV boy-DAT1 eat-PURP
‘The uncle gave a wallaby thigh to the boy for him to eat.’
(Meat-ants Corroboree 1)
The second dative suffix is 
\[-a--na--Ja,\]
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 
\[-Ja\] allomorph follows kin nouns. Examples are:

\[(37)\] \[\text{njin-du wiye-nji guyur } [\text{buginj-a njin-garinj-a}] \]
\[2SG-ERG give-PERFV food } [\text{dog-DAT}_2 2SG-GEN-DAT_2]\n‘You gave food to my dog.’

\[(38)\] \[\text{man gima-na wiye-nji dadu} \]
\[DEM boy-DAT_2 give-PERFV stick\n‘That one gave the stick to the small boy.’ (Meat-ants 101)

\[(39)\] \[\text{gima-ru guwe ya-yi mama-\(\eta\)a gowon mana guyur} \]
\[boy-ERG then say-PAST uncle-DAT_2 raw DEM food\n‘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]).

\[(40)\] \[\text{mana wura wane-\(\emptyset\) njunam-gari} \]
\[DEM all.right leave-IMPER children-DAT_3\n‘That’s all right, leave that for the children.’ (Two Old Women 28)

\[(41)\] \[\text{gana badja banda-ri gana badja} \]
\[DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT_3 DEM other.one\n\[bandjur-gari\]
\[kinship.class-DAT_3\n‘This other one is for the \text{banda}, this other one is for the \text{bandjur}.’
\[\text{(Woodpecker 126–127)}\]

[b] Purposive

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

\[(42)\] \[\text{gurangur yanga-\(\emptyset\) binar-gu} \]
\[spear make-IMPER tribal.fight-PURP\n‘Make a spear for the tribal fight!’

\[(43)\] \[\text{wa:re-nge gam goro:man-gu} \]
\[hunt-IMPERV probably kangaroo-PURP\n‘[He] is probably hunting for kangaroo.’

\[(44)\] \[\text{ny wabe-nge yowar-gu} \]
\[1SG wait-IMPERV corroboree-PURP\n‘I am waiting for the corroboree.’
[c] Causal

There are only two examples of causal case marking, one from Duuŋidjawu 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) ɲa-ri gundu nala yi-ni man gam njinda-yi
ISG-GEN canoe hole be-PAST DEM perhaps sink-PAST
gun-ŋu
water-CAUSAL.
‘My canoe had a hole there (and) perhaps sank because of water.’

(46) jaraŋ-u jo djangur
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 realise 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 gurnal-ŋur-u
dog-ACC then kill-PAST spear-INSTR
‘So [they] killed the dog using spears.’ (Evening Star 1:43)

(48) djuna-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:w-an-a guwe wunda-ŋ gurr-uy-u mowarr-u
3PL-ACC then cover-IMPERV 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) ɲay gonj gurnal-ŋur-gu
1SG want spear-DESID
‘I want a spear.’
See also (251) in §3.5 [c] of the desiderative on the interrogative \textit{wanju}.

\subsection*{3.2.2.3 Local peripheral cases}

\textit{Duunjdjawu} has a rich set of local inflections with three locatives, two ablatives and an allocative.

\textbf{[a] Locative}

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Locative$_1$} \textit{-Ha/N}_
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{-al/r}_
  \item \textit{-wa/N:}_
  \item \textit{-nda/N}_
  \item \textit{-ra/N}_
  \item \textit{-ya/N}_
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

As is often found in Australian languages, the locative allomorphs, in this case those of locative$_1$, correspond to their respective ergative allomorphs but with final \textit{a} instead of \textit{u}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{Locative$_2$} \textit{-i/N}_
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{-ni/elsewhere}$^{13}$
  \end{itemize}
\item \textbf{Locative$_3$} \textit{-u/N}_
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{-nu/elsewhere}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Note that the forms of the locative$_3$ suffix are identical to the ablative$_1$ 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 ablative sense is understood when a verb of motion is used.

Locative$_1$ is generally used to indicate location ‘in’ or ‘into’ somewhere.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(53)] \texttt{djuna-nda yo: dje-re-nji} \hspace{1cm} \texttt{vne-LOC$_1$ 3SG go-CONT-PERFV}
  \begin{quote}
  ‘He went along in the vines (so they wouldn’t see him).’
  \end{quote}
  (Black Possum 2:88)
\item[(54)] \texttt{yo:-\texttt{\textnt{\textn}a-dju nja-\textnt{\textn}i doyi-ya} \hspace{1cm} \texttt{3SG-ACC 1SG-ERG see-PAST rock-LOC$_1$}
  \begin{quote}
  ‘I saw him in the rock.’ (Because the man has \textit{gundir}’s eyes he can see the image of the curlew within the rock.)
  \end{quote}
  (Curlew 17)
\end{enumerate}

$^{13}$ The elsewhere allomorphs for both locative$_2$ and locative$_3$ are more specifically those found after vowels (both long and short) and after \textit{r} as shown in Table 3.1. That is, there are no instances of these suffixes after \textit{rr}, \textit{l} or \textit{\textnt{\textn}}, but presumably they would have been the same as found after vowels and \textit{r}. 

Morphology

(55) wa:nde-nji yowa:m bayer-dji da djiwi bu-mgu-wa
hunt-PERFV 3DU mountain-PL-LOC1 bird kill-FUT-PURP
‘They two went hunting in the mountains in order to kill birds.’
(Two Sitting Boys 2)

(56) waya: biya-∅ guyum-ha
wallaby throw-GENRL camp-LOC1
‘[They] threw the wallaby into the fire.’ (Meat-ants Corroboree 16)

Locative2 is essentially used to express a position ‘on’ or ‘against’ something.

(57) djiwi man barande-ège dadu-ni
bird DEM stand-IMPERFV tree-LOC2
‘A bird is standing on the tree.’

(58) djinaj-i man nja-∅ guyen
foot-LOC2 DEM look.at-IMPER hook
‘Look at the hook on [his] foot.’ (Platypus 88)

(59) djan man wambe-ège dja:rir-ni
man DEM lean-IMPERFV log-LOC2
‘That man is leaning against the log.’

Locative3 is primarily used to mark location ‘at’ a particular place.

(60) njure-nji gari man njande-nu
hide-PERFV DEM DEM swamp-LOC3
‘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-LOC3
‘So he opened that [possum’s] mouth at the throat.’
(Black Possum 2:44)

(62) gari njine-nji du:ni-nu
DEM stay-PERFV creek-LOC3
‘[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:14

ŋuwim wa-yi-nu
sun go.up-PAST-LOC3
‘east’ (lit. where the sun went up)

ŋiyarr ba-ye-nu
cold/winter come-PRES-LOC3
‘south’ (lit. where the cold/winter comes from)

---

14 The other cardinal direction term ‘north’ is simply the noun gunuwjing. It may also be expressed by gunumbing ‘summer’. ‘South’ may also be expressed just by ŋiyarr. ‘East’ is also gunundjin and ‘west’ is also buranbaye (lit. wind.come.PRES).
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 locative2, with (63), where ‘tree’ takes locative3 in the same context:

(63) wa:wa man barandje-nge giniJ-u dadu-nu
crow DEM stand-IMPERFV branch-LOC3 tree-LOC3
‘The crow is standing on the tree branch.’

The corpus includes just a few instances of locative1 followed by dative1; for example ‘belt-LOC1-DAT1’ ‘(the axe worn) on his belt’ in text 1, line 90, and ‘water-LOC1-DAT1 ‘(they took the fish) from in the water’ in text 20, line 17. These could be treated as a sequence of locative1 marking function in an NP plus dative1 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 locative1 and dative1. 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) gandanbingan dje-ndi-yu gawa-gu gari-ju
younger.sister go-CAUS2-FUT scrub-ALL go.in-FUT
‘[You] should take my younger sister and go in to the scrub.’
(Black Possum 2:6)

(66) gun-ju guwe yo: dje-nji
water-ALL then 3SG go-PERFV
‘Then he went to the water.’ (Evening Star 1:52)

(67) guyur ηα-dju binda-yi guyum-gu yo:-rinj-gu menj
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 locative3 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 njuwa: djinaJ-u buyu-nu
fall-IMPERFV then DEM egg feet-ABL1 leg-ABL1
‘The eggs fall from his feet and legs.’ (Fish in Ponds 15)
(69) dadu-nu guwe yo: njinda-yi
tree-ABL1 then 3SG go.down-PAST
‘Then he went down from the tree.’ (Black Possum 1:59)

(70) mana ɲande bunma-ơ mana dama-nu
DEM mullet pull.out-GENRL DEM net-ABL1
‘[They] pulled out the mullet from the net.’ (Fishing 14)

(71) djawan man djun-u dare-nge
forest.possum DEM tail-ABL1 hang-IMPERFV
‘That possum is hanging from (its) tail.’

Ablative2 is -bäni following nasals and -waŋi following vowels. Thus, in form it is actually the dative1 case plus -ŋi. For example:

(72) ɲin dje-ơ guyum-bäni
2SG go-IMPER fire-ABL2
‘Come away from the fire!’

(73) miy e-nda ɲin yana-ơ dadu-waŋi
further.away-LOC1 2sG go-IMPER tree-ABL2
‘Go further away from the tree!’

The ablative2 inflection also has an aversive sense, being used to express the complements of fear. For instance:

(74) yu:wunj-bäni ɲay ba:ŋgi-nge ba:ŋgi mana
snake-AVER 1SG be.frightened-IMPERFV afraid DEM
‘I am scared of that snake.’

(75) ɲurume-nge djan-bäni
hide-IMPERFV man-AVER
‘[We] are hiding for fear of the man.’ (Evening Star 2:148)

Duuŋidjawu 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 Duuŋidjawu there is no overt marker of locative case on the cardinal direction terms (given in Note 3). For instance:

(76) wandja ɲin yana-nde gari-ɲa 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) ɲuweŋ-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) ṅe 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 Duunjidjawu 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.3: Derivational suffixes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitative</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>concomitant</td>
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<td>privative</td>
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<td>dual</td>
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<td>plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>collective</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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 Duunjidjawu 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 galan
    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:

\(^{15}\) 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.
The comitative suffix in Duńdjawu 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 -baŋų is used after a nasal and the form -wauŋų is used after a vowel. These suffixes consist of the dative1 case inflection (see Table 3.1) plus -ŋų.

(82) gibar-gibar yi-ŋi yuŋam-u barandji-nji dudu-wauŋų
boy-REDO 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-baŋų 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-LOC3
gandan-baŋų
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-LOC3
[gandan ŋa-rinj-baŋų]
[younger.sister ISG-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-ni
fat-CON DEM animal be-PAST
‘The animal was fat.’ (Black Possum 1:30)

(87) man guwe yo: dijiw y-i-ni boŋbi-ŋa
DEM then 3SG bird be-PAST feather-CON
‘Then he was a bird with feathers.’ (Woodpecker 137)

Also, in Duunjdjawu 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-ŋa nala-ŋa man
mountain draw.out-GENRL hole-CON OEM
‘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 inanimte held by a human moving

(89) yo: guwe yana-ŋa gurangur-ŋa
3SG then go-GENRL spear-CON
‘He was going with a spear.’ (Carpent Snake and the Storm 11)

(90) waga+ra njina-ŋa man djan ba-ye muyim-ŋa
don’t+DEM stay-IMPER OEM 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-IMPERFY 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-ŋu guyur-gu
1SG fishing.line-CON sit-PAST river-LOC3 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) ɲay mu:-ŋa
ISG 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 njubanji-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:

ɲamuj ‘breast’ ɲamuj-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 Duunjidjawu, Waga-Waga does not appear to have a separate comitative suffix).

[d] Privative

There are two suffixes in Duunjidjawu, -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 ɲin-gari gurangur ɲurr-gunj
INTERROG 2SG-GEN spear point-PRIV
‘Is your spear blunt (lit. without a point)?’

(98) njunam binan-gunj
children ear-PRIV
‘The children are deaf.’

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

djun ‘tail’ djungunj ‘tailless’
binan ‘ear’ binan-gunj ‘disobedient; deaf’

The word for ‘stump (of a tree)’ in Duunjidjawu 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:
Holmer (1983) gives the following examples of the privative suffix -djam:

- jinba-djam ‘without eels’ (Waga-Waga)
- me:l-djam ‘without eyes’ (Waga-Waga)
- gujum-djam ‘without fire’ (Waga-Waga)
- waga-djam ‘nothing’ (lit. no-without) (Waga-Waga)
- guni-djam ‘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 Duunjidjau 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 djanar garu] ga:-ø
    [kangaroo leg one] cut. off - IMPER
    ‘Cut off one kangaroo leg.’

**biya:yu ‘two’**

(101) [djurna] yo: [biya:yu-na] buyi-ø
    [vine] 3SG [two-ACC] take-GENRL
    ‘He took two vines.’ (Woodpecker 117)

**goromda ‘three’**

(102) [ja-ri goromda njunam] yi-ñi
    [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 fire-LOC 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-ñi djunim barandji-nji
ewone then be-PAST straight stand.up-PERFV
 ‘One [branch] was standing straight up.’ (Woodpecker 129)
There are two [grass trees].’ (Fire Making 3)

These number words may be suffixed with the adverbialis er -nda (on the vowel-final garu and biya:yu) or -da (on the nasal-final yo:ran) to give the meanings ‘once’, ‘twice’ etc.16 This adverbialis er is formally identical to the locative suffix. Examples of its use are:

(106) ̣na-dju yo:-̣na bu-mi garu-nda
ISG-ERG 3SG-ACC hit-PAST one-ADVLSR
‘I hit him once.’

(107) biya:yu-nda dama yaŋga-ya 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) ̣na-dju yo:ran-da mana bu-mi
ISG-ERG many-ADVLSR DEM hit-PAST
‘I hit him often.

(ii) the number suffixes in Duunjidjau are:

DUAL -bam ~ -wam

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

(109) gundir-bam guwe yi-ńi
clever.men-DU then be-PAST
‘There were two clever men.’ (Evening Star 1:29)

(110) ya:-ye-ńi guwe gana gurilnã-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-ńge guyum-u yo:wa-rinj-u
[two DEM man-DU] sit-IMPERFV camp-LOC3 3PL.-GEN-LOC3
‘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-ńge djaŋa-r-u
[three man-DU] walk-IMPERFV leg-INSTR
‘Three men are walking quickly (lit. using legs).’

(113) djinjini-ru buyi-ō [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)

16 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 Duunijdjawu, 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 gurilna-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
‘[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) bunjunda-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nayam-be</th>
<th>‘all single men’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gibar-be</td>
<td>‘all uninitiated boys’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyun-be</td>
<td>‘all fires’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n jubanji-we</td>
<td>‘all married people’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[f] Feminine

Duunijdjawu has the feminine suffix -gan found in many languages on the east coast of Australia, including Dyirbal, 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:
njowam ‘husband’  
gandanbiŋ ‘younger brother’  
murin ‘elder brother’  
ŋayam ‘single man’

njowamgan ‘wife’  
gandanbiŋgan ‘younger sister’  
muringan ‘elder sister’  
ŋayamgan ‘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:

bandagan ‘a female Banda’  
bandjurgan ‘a female Bandjur’  
baruŋgan ‘a female Baruŋ’  
djarwanjgan ‘a female Djarwanj’  
wungugan ‘a female Wungu’

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

There is one noun in Duunjidjawu, 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 Duunjidjawu which end in -gan (e.g. ŋuwim ‘sun’, ŋuwimgan ‘summer’; djuwaj ‘younger brother’, djuwanggan ‘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 Duunjidjawu of a feminine kin term being its masculine equivalent with the final -a of the masculine form being replaced by a final -i:

djadja ‘elder brother’  
djadji ‘elder sister’

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,18 and hence it is not possible to prove whether -wa is actually a nominaliser. It may be a stative derivatve. This suffix is added to the inflected form of the verb, as in the examples below.

(118) djuna guwe yi-ni gamne-nji-wa  
      vine then be-PAST break-PERFV-NMLSR
      ‘There was a broken vine.’ (Black Possum 1:56)

(119) gininj gamna-nji-wa djan  
      arm break-PERFV-NMLSR man
      ‘This man has a broken arm.’

17 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).

18 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); waŋi ‘be silly’ (v), waŋiwŋi ‘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, 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’ yugam
  - ‘behind’ bige*
  - ‘underneath, deep below, inside’ gunu*
  - ‘underneath, below, down’ yiyem*
  - ‘up, above, top’ gana
  - ‘up high’ benju*
  - ‘between’ yu:mu*
  - ‘the other side, across’ girum*
  - ‘outside’ neyeŋ*

- relative distance
  - ‘near, close, close together’ djanjum*
  - ‘further away’ miye
  - ‘far away’ wana
  - ‘half way’ bam*

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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 *yiye̱m* 'underneath' is unclear.

Examples are:

(123) gima ya-nji yuŋam-ba  
boy go-PERFv in.front-LOC
‘The boy went ahead.’ (Platypus 44)

(124) gara bunjaŋ-u wabe-ø  nay-wa  
DEM in.front-LOC3 wait-IMPER 1SG-DAT
‘Wait here in front for me.’ (Brolga 14)

(125) dari-ø yowa:m-a gari-a gunu-gu  
pull-GENRI. 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 [yiye̱m-i] yuna-nge [doyi-ni]  
snake DEM [underneath-LOC2] lie-IMPERV [stone-LOC2]
‘The snake is lying underneath the stone there.’

(127) bumi-n guwe gari gana-nu gari-ŋa  
fall-SUDDEN then DEM top-ABL1 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:nji gara  
stone DEM throw-IMPER across river DEM
‘Throw this stone across over the river here.’

(130) yowa:m-a nga-ø guwe gara neyenj-u  
3DU-ACC see-GENRL then DEM outside-ABL1
‘These ones saw them two from the outside.’  
(Carpet Snake and the Children 135)

(131) nay 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 nga-ri miye-ni  
camp DEM 1SG-GEN further.away-LOC2
‘My camp is further away.’

(133) bami 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 locative₂-nji and locative₃-nju, and secondly, *wana* 'far away' has locative₂-ni and locative₃-yu. Examples of these terms are:
(134) nin barandje-o mara [bige-nju doyi-nu]  
2SG stand-IMPER DEM [behind-LOC3 stone-LOC3]  
‘You stand there behind the stone.’

(135) man bumi-nji wana-nji  
DEM fall.down-PERFV far.away-LOC2  
‘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 -ge 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-o yu:mu-wam barandje-nge  
DEM be-GENRL between-DU stand-IMPERFY  
‘This [hunter] is standing in the middle (of the swarm).’

(Catching a bee 14)

3.2.6 Time nouns

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

‘today’  
‘tomorrow/the next day’ binjgu20  
‘afternoon/evening’ djuyu(djuyu)  
‘morning’ dulara  
‘night’  
‘soon’ yayumba  
‘a long time (ago)’ gawurre

The time words djuyu, dulara and yayumba all take a suffix -me which functions as a further specification of time.21 (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 Duunjidjawu 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 mey ‘today’ (138) or yayumbame ‘soon-SPEC’ (150) is used.)

20 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).

21 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.

meg 'today':

(137) ɲuwim djime-nge meŋ
sun shine-IMPERFV today
‘The sun is shining today.’

(138) ɲay guwe bye dje-nge meŋ
1SG then back go-IMPERFV now
‘I am coming back now.’

binjgu 'tomorrow, the next day':

(139) guwe ɲay 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) ɲuwim wura njinda-re-nji djuyudjuyu
sun already go.down-CONT-PERFV evening
‘The sun was already going down in the evening.’ (Woodpecker 37)

(143) ɲay 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 ɲay dulara-me guwe ɲay barandje-ni
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 gere-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: ɲiyarr yi-ni
night cold be-PAST
‘Last night it was cold.’
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(147) guwe gam yo:we ba-wu ɲo:
then perhaps 3PL come-FUT night
‘Perhaps they will come tonight.’

Note that ‘tonight’ can also be indicated by the use of ɲo: ‘night’ followed by meŋ ‘today’:

(148) djan man muranj-dju name-nge yowar-gu
man DEM white.paint-INSTR paint-IMPERV corroboree-PURP

gembe-wa guwe ɲo: 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 yí-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 nje-ne-nji [njuwiman 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-inge biya:yu-nda
1SG DEM-LOC stay-IMPERFV two-ADVI.SR
‘I stay here two days.’
3.2.7 Reduplication

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

- **gibar** ‘boy’ → **gibargibar** ‘small boy’
- **bari** ‘baby’ → **baribari** ‘little baby’
- **damba** ‘track’ → **dambadamba** ‘path’
- **gundu** ‘bark boat’ → **gundugundu** ‘bark container’
- **djian** ‘man’ → **djandjan** ‘son’ (Waga-Waga)
- **gin** ‘woman’ → **gingin** ‘young girl’ (Waga-Waga)
- **njun** ‘ashes’ → **njunnjul** ‘dust’ (Waga-Waga)
- **yul** ‘shadow’ → **yul:yul** ‘little shadow’ (Waga-Waga)
- **djin** ‘wood’ → **djindjin** ‘wood chips’ (Waga-Waga)
- **day** ‘rock’ → **dayday** ‘pebble’ (Waga-Waga)

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

- **wa:wa:** ‘crow’
- **djingidjingi** ‘willy wagtail’
- **we:we:** ‘peewee’ (Winterbotham 1955)

Note that these nouns and some others, for example, **binjbinj** ‘wrist’, **djadj** ‘bat’ and **barbarr** ‘flying fox’, are forms for which no unreduplicated counterpart exists.

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

- **doyi** ‘stone’ → **doidoyi** ‘stoney’

For another word the effect of reduplication is to indicate a ‘time characterised by’:

- **djowon** ‘flood’ → **djowondjowon** ‘wet season’

Alternatively, there may be no discernible semantic difference between a reduplicated and an unre-duplicated 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 Duunjidjawu.

3.3 Personal pronouns

Duunjidjawu 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 **jan**- ‘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

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22 Waga-Waga examples are from Holmer (1983).

23 Crowley (1978:85) has a similar word in Bandjalang: **djigr-djigr**.
accusative), as well as the dative₁, ablative₃/comitative, ablative₂/aversive and purposive/allative/dative₃ pronominal forms. The dashes in Table 3.4 (and Table 3.5) indicate that the relevant form has not been recorded.

The 1SG pronoun *gay* is that which Dixon (1980) has posited as the Proto Australian 1SG form. The 2SG pronoun *gin* found in Duunjdjawu 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 Duunjdjawu 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-LOC₃ 1DU 2SG sleep-FUT
‘We (incl.) will sleep far away.’ (Crayfish 4)

(157) gari-ŋi *ŋa:m* ŋin-du badji-∅ 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 Duunjdjawu, as in other Australian languages, the final segment of the 1SG form *gay* is dropped before all suffixes except those beginning with w (i.e. the dative₁, ablative₃/comitative and ablative₂/aversive). Dixon (1980) suggests that this is probably due to a phonological restriction.

(b) The 3PL stem to which the ablative/comitative and purposive/allative/dative₃ (and also genitive) case forms are added is *yo:we*, not *yo:wa(raj)n*. (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*, -ga 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>ACC/DAT₂</th>
<th>DAT₁</th>
<th>ABL₁/COMIT</th>
<th>ABL₂/AVERS</th>
<th>PURP/ALL/DAT₃</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ɲa:y</td>
<td>(ɲa)dju</td>
<td>ɲanja</td>
<td>ɲaywa</td>
<td>ɲaywani</td>
<td>ɲaywaŋi</td>
<td>ɲari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ɲi:n</td>
<td>ɲindu</td>
<td>ɲina</td>
<td>ɲinba</td>
<td>ɲinbanu</td>
<td>ɲinbanji</td>
<td>ɲingari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>yo:</td>
<td>yo:(ru)</td>
<td>yo:ña</td>
<td>yo:wa</td>
<td>yo:ŋu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo:ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU</td>
<td>ɲa:m</td>
<td>ɲa:mbu</td>
<td>ɲa:ma</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɲa:mbanu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɲa:mgari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>ɲowa:m</td>
<td>ɲowa:mbu</td>
<td>ɲowa:ma</td>
<td>ɲowa:mba</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɲowa:mgari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>ɲowa:m</td>
<td>ɲowa:mbu</td>
<td>ɲowa:ma</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɲowa:mgari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>ɲa:</td>
<td>ɲa:me</td>
<td>ɲa:na</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɲa:ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ɲuwe:</td>
<td>ɲuwe:me</td>
<td>ɲuwe:na</td>
<td>ɲuwe:wa</td>
<td>ɲuwe:waŋu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>ɲuwe:ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>yo:we</td>
<td>yo:weru</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo:we:waŋu</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>yo:weri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yo:wa(ra)n</td>
<td>yo:wa(ra)ndu</td>
<td>yo:wa(ra)na</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \( y_ja \) (whereas Wurm has \( y_jai \)) to avoid the positing of vowel sequences.

(ii) There are no vowel-initial words in this language and thus the \( y \) of \( jindu \) and \( jina \) 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/comitative and ablative/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,24 and the semivowel \( y \).) Ablative/comitative pronouns taking \(-ba^nju-\)\(-wa^nju-\)\(-nu\) are:

(159) guyum \( n_jurum-yi \) \( n_ja:m-ba^nju \)  
fire steal-PAST 1DU-ABL\(_1\)  
‘[He] stole fire from us two.’ (Meat-ants 126)

(160) birwa:-wu \( djamba-yi \) guwe \( yo:wan-a \) ye \( djy-e \)  
Beerwah-ERG call.out-PAST then 3PL-ACC towards go-IMPER  
gara barandje-\( o \) \( n_jay-wa^nju \)  
DEM stand-IMPER 1SG-COMIT  
‘Beerwah then called out to all of them, “Come and stand here with me”.’ (Crooked Neck 2:8)

(161) \( yo:-n_ju \) \( yana-\( o \)  
3SG-COMIT go-IMPER  
‘Go with him.’ (Seven Sisters 34)

The ablative/aversive pronouns take \(-ba^nji-\)-\(-wa^nji\). Examples are:

(162) \( n_jin-ba^nji \) \( n_jay-wa \) dadu \( gampja-\( o \)  
2SG-ABL\(_2\) 1SG-DAT\(_1\) stick break-IMPER  
‘Break the stick (away) from you towards me.’ (Crayfish 19)

24 There is one exception: the ablative/comitative suffix on the 3SG pronoun \( yo: \) is \(-n_ju\) not \(-wa^nju\).
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 case are:

(164) ηα-dju ηιν-ba ηιuju-ba-wu baran ηα-ri
1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT1 show-INT boomerang 1SG-GEN
‘I intend to show my boomerang to you.’

(165) ηιn-du ηιay-wa ye wiye-yu
2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT1 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) gaη wura ηα:m-bu ηιn-du ηιuju-yi yο:-ηα
DEM already 1DU-ERG 2SG-ERG show-PAST 3SG-DAT2
‘We (lit. we two and you) have already showed this to her.’
(Black Possum 2:13)

(167) ηα:m-ηα guyur wiye-nge mo:
1DU-DAT2 food give-IMPERV DEM
‘That one (the man) is giving us two food.’ (Black Possum 1:44)

The dative3 inflection is formally the same as the purposive and the allative on pronominal stems. Examples (168) and (169) are of the dative3, while (170) and (171) are of the purposive and (172) and (173) are of the allative.

(168) guiwe badja-ru yα:-yi mana ηιn-du guyur then one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST DEM 2SG-ERG food
ηα-ri ye wiye-ο
1SG-DAT3 towards give-IMPER
‘Then one of them said, “You give that food to me”.’ (Crayfish 7)

(169) giηη guwe ηιn-gari name-nge muranj-dju
1SG then 2SG-DAT3 paint-IMPERV white.paint-ERG
‘I am painting you with white paint.’ (Dingo 27)

(170) dama yαŋa-ηι yowα:m-gari
net make-PAST 3DU-PURP
‘So [they] made a net for them two.’ (Two Sitting Boys 13)

(171) yο:we-ri nja-re-njι
3PL-PURP look-CONT-PERFV
‘[They] looked for them.’ (Carpet Snake and the Children 72)

(172) man ηιn-gari djunim djε-nage ηn-ο
DEM 2SG-ALL straight go-IMPERV watch-IMPER
‘That (boomerang) is coming straight towards you [so] watch it.’
(Crooked Neck 2:19)
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. The ergative, accusative, locative/ablative and allative forms of the genitive involve inflections to this stem as given in Table 3.5. Note that a nj is added to the stem before any further inflection. The forms of the three core cases on genitive pronouns can be seen to be -o for the nominative, -dju for the ergative, and -a for the accusative. Examples are:

"He said to himself, “Come here to me”.' (Black Possum 1:51)

"Your brother-in-law is sitting somewhere ahead.' (Woodpecker 28)  
"My mother gave food to me yesterday.' 
"We two hit our dog yesterday.'

Table 3.5: Genitive pronoun paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GEN+NOM</th>
<th>GEN+ERG</th>
<th>GEN+ACC</th>
<th>GEN+ABL/LOC</th>
<th>GEN+ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>6ari</td>
<td>6arindju</td>
<td>6arinja</td>
<td>6arinju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>6ingari</td>
<td>6ingarindju</td>
<td>6ingarinja</td>
<td>6ingarinju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>6ori</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6orinja</td>
<td>6orinju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DU</td>
<td>6a:mgari</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6a:mgarinja</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>6owa:mgari</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6owa:mgarinja</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>6owa:mgari</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6owa:mgarinja</td>
<td>6owa:mgarinju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>6a:ri</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>6uwe:ri</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>6uwe:ri</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6uwerinja</td>
<td>6uwarinju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 locative3 and ablative1 suffixes found on nouns. The allative is -gu as it is on nominals. Examples of these suffixes on genitive pronouns are:

"[We] played like that at my homeland here.' (Brolga 19)

As for the pronoun suffixes already discussed, the 1SG and 3PL nominative forms to which the genitive suffix are attached are 6a and 6owe respectively.
(178) [ŋin-garinj-u guyum-u] ba-yi
[2SG-GEN-ABL1 camp-ABL1] come-PAST
‘[I] came away from your camp.’

(179) ŋin dje-0 [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 locative3 and ablative1, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>N_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-Hu</td>
<td>N_ with 1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-dju</td>
<td>N_ with 3SG and 3PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ru</td>
<td>N_ with 1PL and 2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-me</td>
<td>N_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative/Dative2</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>N_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nja</td>
<td>N_ with 1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>N_ with 3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>N_ with 1PL and 2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative1</td>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>C_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>V_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative2/Comitative</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
<td>with 3SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-DAT1+ŋu</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative3/Aversive</td>
<td>-DAT1+ŋi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive/Allative/Dative3/Genitive</td>
<td>-gari(nj)</td>
<td>C_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-r(nj)</td>
<td>V_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative3/Locative3</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>after GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td>after GEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary it can be said that the nominative, dative1, comitative, ablative2/aversive, dative3/genitive, ablative3/locative3 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 dative3 and genitive on pronouns.

3.4 Demonstratives

There are two series of demonstratives in Duuŋidjawu, 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’.
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-ŋi 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-o
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 ŋaŋgayanga
1SG-ERG boomerang see-FUT carefully
‘I will watch the boomerang carefully.’ (Crooked Neck 2:9)
biye-ŋji 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-ŋji mo:
go-PERFV DEM(S)
‘That one (the wife) went.’ (Black Possum 1:41)

In having separate anaphoric forms, Duunjidjawu 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’

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-0 [gana guyum]  
not leave-IMPER [DEM camp]o  
‘Don’t leave this camp.’ (Carpet Snake and the Children 5)

(184) [djiw iman] barandje-nge dadu-ni  
[bird DEM]s stand-IMPERFV tree-LOC2  
‘That bird is standing on the tree.’

(185) [djan gana] waga nja:-nja nja-0  
[man DEM]a not IPL-ACC see-GENRL  
‘This man cannot see us.’

(186) [damba mana] wane-yu nja: m-bu  
[road DEM]o leave-FUT IDU-ERG  
‘We two will leave that road (for them).’ (Two Old Women 25)

or without an accompanying noun:

(187) ṇa-dju yo:ran-da mana bu-mi  
ISG-ERG many-ADVLSR DEM(O) hit-PAST  
‘I hit that (person) often.’

(188) gana wabe-ğunji yuţam-u  
DEM(S) wait-REFL-PERFV front-LOC3  
‘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 men  
DEM-DU(S) fight-RECIPE-IMPERFV today  
‘These two [men] are fighting each other today.’

26 Wurm’s (1976) paper on Duunidjawu 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-ngu mana-wam bâ:l ye-∅
   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) mirinjigim mana
   star DEM
   ‘That is a star.’ (Evening Star 1:75)

(195) e?e 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) nja-dju gana bu-mgu
   1SG-ERG DEM(O) kill-FUT
   ‘I will kill it (a possum).’ (Black Possum 1:16)

(197) binda-∅ 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) [gun mana] djanaŋ dje-nge
   [water DEM]s fast go-IMPERFv
   ‘The water flows quickly.’

(199) giya-∅ [mana gumari] gun-ga
   soak-IMPER [DEM shield]o water-LOC
   ‘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-∅ guwe
   3SG DEM be-GENRL then
   ‘Here he is.’ (Curlew 18)
There is only one further suffix found on *gan* and *mana*. 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-ng e
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) ñe 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-ng e waga+na dj a:-0
DEM put-IM PERFV 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 Duunjidjawu): ‘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’.27

Examples of *gara* and *mara* are:

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

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27 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: gunju gari-nji
DEM 3SG water-LOC 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 criticises to the previous word. For example:

(208) wabe-o+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 Duunjidjawu, 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, -yi locative, -gu allative and -waju 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 on pronouns, while the locative form -yi is only found elsewhere on the local noun wana ‘far away’. Examples of these are:

(212) gara-yi yune-ngi
DEM-LOC lie-IMPERFV
‘[I] was lying in here.’ (Kangaroo Rat 47)

(213) iay [gara-gu dadu-gu] dje-ngi
1SG [DEM-ALL tree-ALL] go-IMPERFV
‘I am going to the tree here.’

(214) iay ba-yi [gara-wanu djan-banu]
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 yorr yana-o
DEM-EMPH everywhere walk-IMPER
‘Walk everywhere here!’
There is another suffix, -\( \text{-}lJe \), found on \( \text{gara} \). This seems to have the meaning ‘side’ and is possibly an allomorph of the suffix -\( \text{-}ge \) found on the local noun \( \text{girum} \) ‘other side’. For example:

\[
\text{(216) gara-}\text{-}\text{ne} \quad \text{bunja}\text{-}\text{u} \quad \text{barandje-}\text{nge} \\
\quad \text{DEM-SIDE} \quad \text{in.front-LOC}_3 \quad \text{stand-IMPERFV} \\
\quad '[\text{The hunters}] \text{ will stand on this side in front}.' \quad (\text{Kangaroo Hunting 6})
\]

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

\[
\text{(217) gaye-}\text{-}\text{o} \quad \text{mara-ri} \quad \text{ɲin} \\
\quad \text{look-IMPER} \quad \text{DEM-PURP 2SG} \\
\quad '\text{You look for that}.' \quad (\text{Meat-ants 42})
\]

\[
\text{(218) ɲay} \quad \text{baŋgi-}\text{nge} \quad \text{mara-waŋi} \\
\quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{be.frightened-IMPERFV} \quad \text{DEM-AVERS} \\
\quad '\text{I am afraid of that}.'
\]

There are many instances of the demonstrative \( \text{gara} \) with final -\( i \) instead of -\( a \). Examples of \( \text{gari} \) ‘here’ are:

\[
\text{(219) gari} \quad \text{badja} \quad \text{yune-}\text{nge} \\
\quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{someone} \quad \text{sleep-IMPERFV} \\
\quad '\text{Someone was sleeping here}.' \quad (\text{Woodpecker 73})
\]

The demonstratives \( \text{gari} \) and \( \text{mari} \) are found in the Batjala language spoken on Fraser Island (Holmer 1983:143). An explanation for the use of \( \text{gari} \) in Duunjidjawu could be that the consultant, who also spoke Batjala fluently, was mixing his languages.\footnote{While the demonstrative \( \text{mari} \) 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 Duunjidjawu) 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.} This form takes the same inflections as those described above for \( \text{gara} \). (However, the emphatic suffix on \( \text{gari} \) is -\( \text{-nna} \) instead of -\( \text{-ma} \).) In addition, \( \text{gari} \) may be suffixed with the suffix -\( \text{-me} \) which serves to give more specific locational direction to the verb.\footnote{Compare this inflection with -\( \text{-mi} \) and -\( \text{-ma} \) in the northern N.S.W language Gumbaynggir which form, respectively, intransitive and transitive locational adverbs from locational deictics (Eades 1979:314).} (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:

\[
\text{(220) ɲay} \quad \text{gari-}\text{-me} \quad \text{dje-}\text{-nji} \quad \text{guyum-}\text{u} \\
\quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{DEM-SPEC} \quad \text{go-PERFV} \quad \text{camp-PERL} \\
\quad '\text{I went past the camp here}.'
\]

The demonstrative \( \text{gari} \) can take the temporal suffix -\( \text{-ŋira} \) (also found on the interrogative \( \text{wanju} \); see §3.5 [c]), which creates a form meaning ‘at this time’:
Chapter 3

(221) gagare wambé-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-ŋ
  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 Duunjidjawu. It is possible that this suffix -ŋa is the allative as found on the interrogatives wanju and wanj(a) ‘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 Duunjidjawu terms. They are not found in Waga-Waga. Examples are:

(224) njuwe:-na gadja guwe bu-mbe
  2PL-ACC DEM then kill-PRES
  ‘[He] is killing you all here.’ (Evening Star 1:26)

(225) wane-ŋ 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-ŋ 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-ŋ 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

Duunjdjawu 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 in 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’[^30]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>minja ‘what’</th>
<th>ƞa ‘who’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>ndu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>ƞa</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-gari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>-ƞgu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^30]: Dashes in this table represent gaps in our corpus.

[a] minja ‘what’

The interrogative ‘what’ is minha or minja in almost every language in eastern Australia (as far north as Dyirbal, at Innisfail and Malanda) (Dixon 1980:376). Duunjdjawu 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 -ƞa. For example:

(228) minja-ndu ƞin-du yănga-ye
what-INSTR 2SG-ERG make-PRES
‘What are you making it with?’

(229) minja-ƞa ƞin-du be:ƞa-ơ
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 Duunjdjawu, 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-ƞa 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, -ƞgu, found on the interrogative minja is more like that found on nouns (-gu), than that on personal pronouns (-gari(nj)). (Holmer 1983 actually has minjaŋgu in free variation with minjagu in Waga-Waga.) Examples of the interrogative ‘why’ are:

[^30]: Dashes in this table represent gaps in our corpus.
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(231) minja-ngu djan mana dje-nge  
what-PURP man DEM run-IMPERFV  
‘Why is that man running?’

(232) ya:-yi guwe minja-ngu 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 are then attached. For instance:

(233) minja-ma-yi ńin-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 Duunjidjawu, Holmer (1983:29) gives an example of such a use in Waga-Waga:

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

[b] ńan ‘who’

The question word ńan ‘who’ is unusual in that the S form is not ńan as one would expect, but ńanga. 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 ńa:n, and that as monosyllabic words were eliminated the form became ńanga (or ńanga in Duunjidjawu). This does not necessarily explain the form ńanga in Duunjidjawu, 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) ńan-ga mana  
who-NOM DEM  
‘Who is that?’

(236) ńan-du gana bari-nji  
who-ERG DEM bring-PERFV  
‘Who brought [the fish] here?’

(237) ńan-du ńin-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 Duunjidjawu. The genitive form of this interrogative is ńangari, which involves the same genitive suffix, -gari, as on nouns and personal pronouns.

31 The verbal suffixes found on the factitive place it in the Y-conjugation.
A query as to someone’s name is made using the ‘who’ interrogative. This is undoubtedly because a name is viewed as something personal.\footnote{A person’s name is inalienably possessed, highlighting the fact that it is seen as an intrinsic part of the possessor.} For example:

(239) \text{ηan-ga} \text{ ηin-gari buwa: nje:} \quad \text{who-NOM 2SG-GEN father name}
   ‘What is your father’s name?’

(240) \text{ηan-ga} \text{ yo: nje:} \quad \text{who-NOM 3SG name}
   ‘What is his name?’

Holmer (1983:29) gives an example of \text{ηan} with an indefinite sense in Waga-Waga:

(241) \text{ηan-du} \text{ gamqija-ji} \quad \text{who-ERG break-PAST}
   ‘Somebody broke it.’

In Duujidjawu, the noun \text{badja} ‘the other one’ is used indefinitely to mean ‘someone’:

(242) \text{djan gana gun-j-u} \text{ wura goro-yi, yo: badja-ru} \quad \text{man DEM water-LOC$_3$ nearly drown-PAST 3SG other-one-ERG}
   \text{guwe bunma-yi} \quad \text{then pull.out-PAST}
   \text{goro-yi,} \text{ drown-PAST} \quad \text{yo: badja -ru} \quad \text{3SG other-one -ERG}
   ‘This man nearly drowned in the water, but someone pulled him out.’

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

\textbf{Table 3.9: Inflections of the locative interrogatives ‘where’}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>\text{wanju} ‘where’</th>
<th>\text{wan(d)ja} ‘where’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>-\text{ja}</td>
<td>-\text{ja}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABI.</td>
<td>-\text{ju}</td>
<td>-\text{nu}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>-\text{ji}ra</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[c] \text{wanju} ‘where’

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

(243) \text{nja-qi} \text{ guwe wanju-\text{ja} wa-wu} \quad \text{look-PAST then where-ALL climb-FUT}
   ‘[He] looked [and wondered], “Where will [I] climb to?”’
   (Meat-ants 141)
(244) wanjunga nyin [original orthography]
    wanju-ŋa ɲin [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 Duunjdijawu and Waga-Waga. This suffix is the same as the ablative3 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) ɲin-du wanju-ŋu wamba-i
    2SG-ERG where-ABL hang-PAS
    ‘Where did you leave [it] hanging from?’ (Holmer 1983:86)

The temporal interrogative ‘when’ is wanjurjira. Note that the suffix -ŋira3 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 ɲin biye dje-yu
    where-TIME 2SG back come-FUT
    ‘When will you return?’

(248) birwa: be:ŋa-o 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-ngu
    when-TIME go-FUT
    ‘When will [he] go?’ (Dingo 29)

A cognate form of this interrogative, wanjdjamira, 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?’

---

33 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.34 Examples of wan(d)ja are:

(253) njowam ṉa-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-perf
‘Where did [they] go?’ (Dingo 58)

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

(256) djan badja ya:-yi guwe yo:-na 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 suffix -nu found on vowel-final nouns.35

(257) wanju ŋiŋ-du bari-nji gana
where+abl 2sg-erg bring-perf 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 Duunjdjawu, it was found to occur in Waga-Waga with wandja sometimes reduced to dja: (Holmer 1983:86).

34 Dixon (1980) reconstructs *wanju as the protoform of this interrogative root. The locative inflection this root would take in Duunjdjawu 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).

35 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).
The word *wandju* is used in questions with the transitive verbaliser *-ma-* to mean ‘do what/how’:

(258) *wandju*-ma-ø  gana  buginj-a  
what-FACT-GENRL DEM dog-ACC  
‘What should [we] do about this dog?’ (Dingo 2)

(259) *wandju*-ma-yi  nín-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:  ná-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  nín  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 Duunjdjawu 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 Duunjdjawu; 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). Duunjdjawu 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S=A</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>djime</td>
<td>'shine' (intr), 'dry' (tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadiwa</td>
<td>'answer' (intr/tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawa</td>
<td>'duck' (intr), 'dodge' (tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋurume</td>
<td>'hide' (intr/tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nja</td>
<td>'look' (intr), 'look at' (tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya:</td>
<td>'speak' (intr), 'speak to' (tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yima</td>
<td>'do this' (intr), 'do like this' (tr)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S=O</td>
<td>mari</td>
<td>'burn, cook, melt' (intr/tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S=O</td>
<td>gampa</td>
<td>'break' (intr/tr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 la/ (59), lo/ (27), l/ (26), la/ (4), lo/ (3), l/ (2), l/ (1), l/ (1) and l/ (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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-mt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>-ye</td>
<td>-ŋge</td>
<td>-nde</td>
<td>-mbe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>-yu--wu</td>
<td>-yu--wu</td>
<td>-ngu</td>
<td>-mgu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. The two future allomorphs are

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

37 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. If represents a consonant homorganic with the preceding conjugation marker.

Table 3.12: The four conjugations with conjugation marker segmented

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>conjugation</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>NG</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td>-CM+i</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>-CM+e</td>
<td>-CM+He</td>
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<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>-CM+u -wu</td>
<td>-yu -wu</td>
<td>-CM+gu</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| purpose        | -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 Duujidjawu, 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 | ye   |
| past       | yi-γi|
| present    | yi-ye|
| future     | yi-gu|

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

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<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Pres</th>
<th>Fut</th>
<th>int/desid</th>
<th>imper/gernl</th>
<th>imperfv</th>
<th>perfv</th>
<th>sudden</th>
<th>purp</th>
<th>simul</th>
<th>repet</th>
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<th>caus,</th>
<th>refl</th>
<th>recip</th>
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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+nα-. 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 Duunjdjawu 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:

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<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td><em>ba-y</em></td>
<td>‘come’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>dupa-y</em></td>
<td>‘cry, weep’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>gaggiga-y</em></td>
<td>‘yell, bark, call out’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>gaye-y</em></td>
<td>‘turn (around), look’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>goro-y</em></td>
<td>‘drown’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>gundani-y</em></td>
<td>‘jump, cross’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋa:ba-y</em></td>
<td>‘pass, go further’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>‘break through’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ŋurume-y</em></td>
<td>‘defecate’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>njinda-y</em></td>
<td>‘set, sink, go down’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>wa-y</em></td>
<td>‘climb, rise, go up’ (intr)</td>
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<td><em>wamba-y</em></td>
<td>‘float, lean against’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>yamga-y</em></td>
<td>‘swear, quarrel’ (intr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>banda-y</em></td>
<td>‘tie up’ (tr)</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>bamba-y</em></td>
<td>‘hit, kill, splash’ (tr)</td>
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<td><em>be:na-y</em></td>
<td>‘hear, know, listen’ (tr)</td>
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<td><em>bi:ra-y</em></td>
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<td><em>bowa-y</em></td>
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<td>‘take/pull out, remove’ (tr)</td>
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<td><em>buŋjina-y</em></td>
<td>‘boast’ (tr)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ya:-y</em></td>
<td>‘say, speak’ (intr/tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yima-y</em></td>
<td>‘do (like) this’ (intr/tr)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 a: (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:

- *barandje-η* 'stand' (intr)
- *bo:-η* 'die' (intr)
- *dari-η* 'dry' (intr)
- *djandari-η* 'slip' (intr)
- *die-η* 'go, come, walk' (intr)
- *mungaya-η* 'stop, cease' (intr)
- *mundji-η* 'laugh' (intr)
- *njine-η* 'sit, stay; be alive' (intr)
- *biya-η* 'throw, fly' (tr)
- *dawari-η* 'follow' (tr)
- *wiye-η* 'give' (tr)
- *nja-η* '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:

- *bumi-n* 'roll, fall down/off, die' (intr)
- *mu-n* 'rise' (intr)
- *ya-n* 'go, come' (intr)
- *ma:-n* '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

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

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).38
- 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.

---

38 This is the case in many languages with a large number of simple verbs (Dixon 1980).
Table 3.18: Monosyllabic verb roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ba-y</th>
<th>‘come’ (intr)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ba:-?</td>
<td>‘stand’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo:-?</td>
<td>‘die’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di:-?</td>
<td>‘grow up’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dje-η</td>
<td>‘go, come, walk’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-n</td>
<td>‘rise’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa-y</td>
<td>‘climb, rise, go up’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya-n</td>
<td>‘go, come’ (intr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bu-m</td>
<td>‘hit, kill’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dja:-y</td>
<td>‘eat, drink’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma:-n</td>
<td>‘do, hold, take’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nja-η</td>
<td>‘see, look at’ (tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya:-y</td>
<td>‘say, speak’ (intr/tr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye</td>
<td>‘be’ (cop)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several verb roots in Duñjidadjau 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto Australian</th>
<th>Duñjidadjau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Ilha:-η</td>
<td>Ilja-IJ ‘see, look at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Du:-η</td>
<td>Duja-IJ ‘cry, weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Wu:-η</td>
<td>Wiye-η ‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ya-n</td>
<td>Ya-n ‘go, come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ma:-n</td>
<td>Ma:-n ‘do, hold, take’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nji:-n</td>
<td>Njine-η ‘sit, stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Wu-n</td>
<td>Yune-η ‘lie down, sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Bu-m</td>
<td>Bu-m ‘hit, kill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dha-l</td>
<td>Dja:-y ‘eat, drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Waga-Waga dialect has the following additional cognate pairs: (pA) *ba-n ‘fall’, (WW) ba-y ‘fall (of rain)’ (Holmer 1983:44); (pA) *wu:ja- ‘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, 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.

---

39 Time is also expressed further by adverbs (see §4.11 (i)).
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[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-nja 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) maːdjayum 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-LOC₂
      ‘That one (a man) stands further away.’

(269) djan-du man gurangur maː-nde
      man-ERG DEM spear hold-PRES
      ‘The man holds a spear.’

(270) ɲa-dju yoːwaran-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-ngu 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
   IDU-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
   ISG-ERG 2SG-DAT2 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-DAT3
   ‘What should [we] leave for the children?’
   (Two Old Women Corroboree 1)

or desire:

(278) ŋay yune-wa yabu
   ISG 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
   IDU-ERG want eat-INT/DESID
   ‘We two want to eat [it].’

(280) ŋay girum gonj gunda-wa
   ISG 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
   ISG-DAT3 2SG-ERG listen-IMPER
   ‘You listen to me!’ (Seven Sisters 17)

(282) ya: dama guwe yanga-ø ŋa:m-gari
   yes net then make-IMPER IDU-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-ø 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:-ø*
then don’t 3SG-DAT 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-ø*
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) *ŋaː:m ɲurume-ø gara doyi-nu*
IDU hide-IMPER DEM sone-LOC3
‘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-ø 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 imperfetive 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 ɲin-gari wiye-nge [gari gureya]*
DEM 2SG-DAT3 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)
Occasionally, the perfective inflection is used twice on a verb to indicate a repeated action. For instance:

(292) gu̱-gə gundə-njì-njì njurumë-njì-njì
water-LOC1 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-yì jurimë-ba bumi-n
DEM-EMPH then do-like this-PAST old-man fire-LOC1 fall-SUDDEN
‘Then the old man suddenly fell into the fire right here like this.’
(Carpet Snake and the Storm 46)

(294) gurângur-u yowa:m-bu buwa-n guwe [yo:-ːŋa 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:-yìya-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 dative₁ case (after vowels), and the simultaneous is identical to the locative₁ 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].
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(296) dziwi bu-mgu-wa ṡa: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-ō goro:man ṣuwe-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 ṣu wym njinda-yi-nda yo: dje-nji yo:wan-a
then sun go.down-PAST-SIMULT 3SG go-PERFV 3PL-ACC
‘Then when the sun was setting he went to them.’ (Broğa 7)

(300) ma:-nji yo: buran-du bun:ni-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-ŋi 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 Duunjdjawu which indicates that an action is repeated. For instance:

(302) gan-ma djan bumi-nji badjanu-me ṡa
DEM-EMPH man fall.down-PERFV yesterday-SPEC and
meŋ yo: bumi-nji-me
today 3SG fall.down-PERFV-REPET
‘This man fell down yesterday and today he fell down again.’

(304) ṡa-dju yo:-ŋa 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).\(^{40}\)

(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:rr ya-nme-o
   don’t everywhere walk-AROUND-IMPER
   ‘Don’t walk around everywhere.’ (Crooked Neck 3:22)

(308) njin-du yiya-me-o yo:wan-a buma-o
   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-o 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-o dadu-ndu
   do.like.this 2SG play-CONT-IMPER stick-INSTR
   ‘You continue playing with the stick like this.’ (Meat-ants 103)

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

(312) ña: gonj njurume-re-wa gor:man gari
   1PL want hide-CONT-DESID kangaroo DEM

---

\(^{40}\) This has the same meaning as -má in Pitta-Pitta, a western Queensland language (Blake 1979:204).
binjgu  bawar-nu
tomorrow  bush-LOC3
‘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 Duunjijawu and Waga-Waga which is found on only three verbs, ya: ‘say’, guwe ‘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:-o
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) wOl)an-djin-du  da:m  njwe-le-ø
woman-PL-ERG  yam  cook-CONT-GENRL
‘The women are continually cooking yams.’

(317) yo:we-ri  mana  qin-du  buyi-le-ø
3PL-DAT3  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 Duunjijawu 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,41 not a N conjugation verb. Examples are:

(318) qin-a  nga-dju  gadja  ba:-ma-wu
2SG-ACC  1SG-ERG  DEM  stand-CAUS1-FUT
‘I will stand you here.’ (Woodpecker 99)

(319) dama  nga:m-bu  guwe  dare-ma-wu  gadja  djiiwi  bu-mgu-wa
net 1DU-ERG  then  fly-CAUS1-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-CAUS1-FUT  tiredness-INSTR
‘[I] will make [them] sleep with tiredness.’ (Black Possum 1:76)

---

41 It is not clear whether causative verbs are Y or NG verbs as the future tense marking is -wii, and there are no instances of the past or present tenses.
There are only six verbs in Duunidjawu 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) ṃ:m-bu yere-ndi-yu
    IDU-ERG go.home-CAUS2-FUT
    ‘We two will take [them] home.’ (Two Sitting Boys 40)

(322) gadji mo: njine-ndi-nji
    DEM DEM sit-CAUS2-PERFV
    ‘He made [the dog] sit there.’ (Evening Star 2: 10)

(323) guyum-gu dje-re-ndi-nji guwe
    camp-ALL go-CONT-CAUS2-PERFV then
    ‘Then [they] took [them] along to the camp.’ (Fishing 28)

Note from (323) above that the continuative derivation precedes the causative derivation when they occur together.

(ii) Reflexive -lJe

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

(324) buginj man djun yiya-łJe-ngę
    dog DEM tail bite-REFL-IMPERFV
    ‘The dog is biting its tail.’

(325) ṅay gunu wunda-łJe-nji
    1SG deep.below cover-REFL-PERFV
    ‘I covered myself deep below (i.e. underground).’ (Kangaroo Rat 49)

(326) ṅay guwe bunma-łJe-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), -łdje (NG), -mdje (M)

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) ṃ: bu-mdje-yu
    1PL fight-RECIP-FUT
    ‘We will fight each other.’

42 There is one intransitive verb, wabe, ‘wait’ which takes this reflexive suffix. It is not clear why.
43 There are no examples of the reciprocal with the one transitive N conjugation verb ma:-n ‘do, take’. 
Chapter 3

(328) yowa:m nja-ŋdje-ŋji guwe
3DU look.at-RECIP-PERFV then
‘Then they both looked at each other.’ (Kangaroo Rat 26)

(329) nj’a:m nj’in ya:-ye-ŋji 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)

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

3.6.5 Compound verbs

The Duunjidjauu corpus has 124 monomorphemic verb roots44 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nala ya:</td>
<td>‘soul say’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi: yanga</td>
<td>‘hand do’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gan-gu wamba</td>
<td>‘saliva-INSTR put’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘curse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binj-dju wamba</td>
<td>‘saliva-INSTR put’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘curse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaj bo:</td>
<td>‘ear die’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘forget’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaj wamba</td>
<td>‘ear put’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaj ba</td>
<td>‘ear come’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘remember’ (Mathew 1926a:546)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dambur wiye</td>
<td>‘lip give’</td>
<td>i.e. ‘kiss’ (Mathew 1926a:546)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:-ŋji minja-ŋa guyur ba-wu
ear try say-PERFV what-ACC thing come-FUT
ŋa-ŋja njinda-ma-wu-wa
1SG-ACC go.down-CAUS1-FUT-PURP
‘[He] was trying to think, “What thing will come in order to bring me down?”’ (Black Possum 1:49)

44 The number of verbs recorded for Duunjidjauu 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 Duunjdjawu. 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 [anyon e].’

(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 Duunjdjawu and Waga-Waga which forms an intransitive verb from a noun or adjective. It does not appear to have been employed very frequently in Duunjdjawu 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Intransitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bi! ‘cold’</td>
<td>bi!ba- ‘to get cold, to have a cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bion ‘dream’</td>
<td>bionba- ‘to dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djum ‘smoke’</td>
<td>djumba- ‘to smoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djuroi ‘food’</td>
<td>djuroinba- ‘to be hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ganuy ‘sweat’</td>
<td>ganuynba- ‘to perspire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi:nj ‘whistle’</td>
<td>ginjba- ‘to whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurun ‘noise’</td>
<td>gurunba- ‘to make a noise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mur ‘smell’</td>
<td>nurba- ‘to smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurun ‘tired’</td>
<td>nurunba- ‘to tire’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Duunjdjawu 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-ŋu wura ŋuɣ 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-njə muŋe-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 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-ŋu guwe ŋuɣ 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

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) ɲanjamerr 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 baraŋ-gari
       DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT
     ‘This other one is for the baray.’ (Woodpecker 128)

[iii] a noun phrase in a local case

(344) man djan gaŋa-ni
       DEM man top-LOC2
     ‘That man is on top.’

[iv] a noun phrase with genitive marking

(345) ña-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) wọjan 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) njiŋ nay-wa
    2SG 1SG-DAT1
    ‘Can you come here to me?’ (said with rising intonation)

(349) nay-wa
    1SG-DAT1
    ‘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, gunŋ galaj 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 galaj
    road DEM good
    (a) ‘That is a good road.’
    (b) ‘That/the 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

Duunijdjawu 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 Barungam, also had copula verbs. 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) su: gunŋ ye-o
    shoo water be-IMPER
    ‘Shoo, be water!’ (Black Possum 2:101)

45 As shown in §3.4 [b] the demonstrative mana may be used with a meaning similar to the definite article in English.
46 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) ṇjo: ṇjiyarr 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-nji
ground shake-PERFV
‘The ground shook.’ (Two Old Mainlanders 54)

(358) ṇuwim 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:
As with verbless clauses, constituent order in a verbal clause is essentially free. While all possible permutations of S V 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.

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'.

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) ɲay baran-gu gaye-nge
1SG boomerang-PURP look-IMPERFV
‘I am looking for (my) boomerang.’

(369) gatje-nji guwe yo: yowa:m-gari
call-out-PERFV then 3SG 3DU-DAT3
‘Then he called out to them two.’ (Black Possum 2:47)

(370) dja:-ba guwe yo: barandje-nji
ground-LOC1 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 ɲa-nja mo:
stick-INSTR hit-PAST 1SG-ACC DEM
‘That (person) hit me with a stick.’

(372) diyir ɲay-waru bi:-nu bunma-\text{yi} mana
blood 1SG-ABL3 finger-ABL1 take.out-PAST DEM
‘That one took out blood from my finger.’ (Black Possum 2:50)

(373) guyur ɲa-duju binda-\text{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

\begin{itemize}
\item njanjunde bari
dingo small
\end{itemize}

‘small dingo’

(ii) an adjective and a degree specifier

\begin{itemize}
\item djan\text{ar} [mowanin wunba]
limb [big very]
\end{itemize}

‘very big limb’
(iii) a demonstrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>goro:man mana</th>
<th>kangaroo DEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘that/the kangaroo’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iv) a possessive noun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ɲin-gari guyum</th>
<th>2SG-GEN camp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘your camp’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>miya: biya:yu ɲa-ri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eye two 1SG-GEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my two eyes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vi) an interrogative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minja guyur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘what thing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɲa-ə guyum biya:yu-na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEM 1SG-ERG see-GENRL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>campfire two-ACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I see the two campfires.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(375) ɲa-dju garu man guyum ɲa-ə

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG-ERG one DEM campfire see-GENRL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I see the one campfire.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Duuŋidjawu 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/-garinj (after C) are added to the ‘possessor’ noun. This genitive form can then receive a further case inflection (in which case the -rinj/-garinj suffixes are used). The ‘possessed’ noun
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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 [ŋuwen-ŋa ŋin-garinj-a]
    1SG-ERG say-FUT [mother-ACC 2SG-GEN-ACC]
    ‘I will tell your mother.’ (Meat-ants 21)

(378) ma:dujum-bu wane-ŋo guwe [yoon-riŋ-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-ŋo [guyum-gu yoon-riŋ-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 [guranŋgur 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 -ŋaŋji. For example:

(383) maŋgi-baŋji dia
    sheep-ABL bone
    ‘carcass of the sheep’ (Holmer 1983:48)

(384) buginj-baŋji djun
    dog-ABL tail
    ‘dog’s tail’ (Holmer 1983:60)

(385) bari-lam-baŋji
    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) buginjŋ ŋa-ri galaŋ
dog 1SG-GEN good
‘I have a good dog.’ (lit. my dog is good)

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

(389) ŋia du: djangur
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) ŋa-dju guwe [yo-ŋa ginin] buwa-wu
1SG-ERG then [3SG-ACC arm] spear-FUT
‘I will spear his arm.’ (Carpet Snake and the Storm 44)

(391) buginj-dju ŋin-garinj-dju mowanin-du [ŋa-nja djanar] yiya-yɾ
dog-ERG 2SG-GEN-ERG big-ERG [1SG-ACC leg] bite-PAST
‘Your big dog bit my leg.’

(392) guwe ŋa-dju [yo-ŋa nja-ŋi ŋu: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-ŋe-nji muyim-bu djinaŋ
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 nga-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-naamba-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 Duunjidjau (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. Causative1 is exemplified in (397) and causative2 is exemplified in (398).

(397) ŋa-dju ŋin-a mundji-ma-ŋ
1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC laugh-CAUS1-GENRL
‘I make you laugh.’

(398) ŋa-dju ŋin-a dje-ndi-yu
1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC go-CAUS2-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 nimja-ŋe-ŋji
      kangaroo DEM scratch-REFL-PERFV
      ‘The kangaroo over there scratched itself.’

(400) yo: ya:-ŋe-ŋji waga ŋa-du yo:-ŋa buwa-wu budirgu
      3SG say-REFL-PERF V 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-o 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 njia-ŋe-ŋji guŋ-ga woŋan-bam
      reflection see-REFL-PERFV water-LOC1 woman-DU
      ‘The two women each saw their reflection in the water.’

(403) nala ya:-ye-ŋji 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 Duunjdjawu there is a suffix, with the allomorphs -ye (for the Y conjugation class) and -CMdje (for the M and NG classes), 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:

47 The only transitive verb of the N conjugation, ma:-m ‘do, take’, is not used reciprocally in our corpus.
Other examples of reciprocal verbs are:

(406) njunam ya:-ye-nji gawurre-ndjin children talk-RECIPIF-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-INST pelt-RECIPIF-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 Durnjidjawu. 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-o 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 ñin yuna-o guwe ñin-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-o 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 ña ‘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) ñay yana-n-de yo:-ŋa nja-wu
1SG go-PRES 3SG-ACC see-FUT
‘I am going and [I] will see him.’

(415) wa:tte-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 Duunjidjawu 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-IMPERFY
‘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-nji]
[sick DEM be-PAST]
‘That man has gone into the bush because he is sick.’

(419) ñay giyuru [djam ŋa-dju yiyeŋ dja:-yi]
1SG sick [meat 1SG-ERG bad eat-PAST]
‘I am sick because I ate bad meat.’

(420) ñin-gari ñay ba-yi [dadu-nu wa-wa]
2SG-DAT3 1SG come-PAST [tree-LOC3 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 ŋi-n-du bu-mgu] ŋa-dju guwe ŋi-n-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 biniŋgu [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 ŋi-n-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 Duunjidjawu) 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 Duunjidjawu, presumably it is an original feature of the language.

4.8.3 Subordinate clauses

[a] Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Duunjidjawu 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:
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.

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:

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:

Note from (431) above that occasionally the relative clause occurs before the matrix clause.
When *wanja* is followed by *guwe* the meaning is ‘until’:

(435) "Then we two will eat [that one] when we two go hunting.’
(Black Possum 1:40)

(436) "Look at the light here when I come.’ (Brolga 25)

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) "Early the next morning, [they) went when the sun had not risen.’
(Two Sitting Boys 21)

(439) "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 Duuñijdjawu. This involves the use of the demonstrative *gari* ‘this’ (see §3.4 [c]) followed by the time suffix -*nira*. (Recall that this suffix was also found on the interrogative *wanja* in §3.5 [c].) For instance:

(440) "I am staying (lit. sleeping) here for two nights, after this time I will go.’
(The Meat-ants 9)

[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 Duuñijdjawu, 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:
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(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:re-nge [ŋuwiamba-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-dujumurr 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-ngu [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 ñin-du dadu  
turn-CAUS1-IMPER DEM 2SG-ERG stick  
‘You turn the stick around!’ (Crayfish Corroboree 7)

(450) gari-ŋi ñowa:m gembe-ø  
DEM-LOC 2DU play-IMPER  
‘You two play here!’ (Carpet Snake and the Children 9)
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-tMPER Sun-INSTR
‘Dry that firewood using the sun!’

(455) ga:rr mana bunma-ø njun-u porcupine DEM take.out-IMPER ashes-ABL1
‘Take the porcupine out of the ashes!’

There is no separate negative imperative particle in Duunjidjawu. 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 garı-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 Duunjidjawu are formed by the addition of an interrogative pronoun, usually at the beginning of a sentence.48 These pronouns were discussed in §3.5.

48 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 *gin-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) ηa:m ηin djale ya:-wu
  
  IDU 2SG softly speak-FUT
  
  ‘We two will speak softly.’ (Two Old Mainlanders 4)

- **ba:lhama ‘loudly’**
  
  (460) waga ba:lhama ya:-ø
  
  don’t loudly speak-IMPER
  
  ‘Don’t speak loudly!’

- **budirgu ‘completely’**
  
  (461) bu-mgu ηa:m-bu budirgu
  
  kill-FUT IDU-ERG completely
  
  ‘We two will kill [him] completely.’ (Evening Star 2:158)

- **bumni ‘soundly’**
  
  (462) gan-ma bumni yuna-ngε
  
  DEM-EMPH soundly sleep-IMPERFV
  
  ‘[It] is sleeping soundly right here.’ (Black Possum 1:15)

- **yangayanga ‘carefully’**
  
  (463) yaŋgayanga nja-ø
  
  carefully watch-IMPER
  
  ‘Watch carefully.’ (Crooked Neck 2:15)

- **ŋurra ‘nearly’**
  
  (464) djan gana guŋ-u ŋurra goro-yi
  
  man DEM water-LOC3 nearly drown-PAST
  
  ‘This man nearly drowned in the water.’
djani ‘almost’

(465) giniŋ djaŋi yiyayi buginj-dju ŋa-nja
arm almost bite-PAST dog-ERG 1SG-ACC
‘The dog almost bit my arm.’

djunim ‘straight’

(466) mana ya:ŋ djunim barande-ŋ
DEM say.to-IMPER straight stand.up-IMPER
‘Say to that [boy], “Stand up straight!”’ (Crooked Neck 1:22)

ger ‘try’

(467) buginj ger gayenji gadje-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:

djajar ‘quickly’

(468) du:ŋi-nu gun mana djajar dje-ŋge
river-LOC3 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:y guyur mana ye wiye-ŋ
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-ŋ yo:n nyay-wa
towards send-IMPER 3SG-ACC 1SG-DAT1
‘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-LOC1 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:
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(473)  bnye 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-LOC3 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 bari-nji mo:
not bring-PERFV DEM
‘That one (the brolga) 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 ɲin njenga wunba
not 2SG clever very
‘You are not very clever.’ (Kangaroo Rat 40)

(480) waga mana galanja
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 ɲa-ɲa-dju
nothing see-GENRL 1SG-ERG
‘I see nothing.’ (Two Old Mainlanders 41)
As mentioned in §4.9, the negative particle *waga* is used to express ‘don’t’.

(482) waga ṭin-du ma:-nji
nothing 2SG-ERG catch-PERFV
‘You do not catch anything.’ (Dingo 11)

(483) waga biya-o
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 Duunjidjawu. 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 ṭo:
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 gurryu 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 ṭay galan 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-ŋgu gam waga dja:-o
what-PURP doubt not eat-GENRL
‘Why does [he] not eat?’ (Meat-ants 28)

(490) ŋan-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) nga-rinj-a gandan-a ma:-ngu njubanji guwe ye-ø be-GENRL
      1SG-GEN-ACC younger.sister-ACC take-FUT married.person then

‘Somebody is going to take away my younger sister and then she will be a married person.’

(492) guwe gundir-u yaŋga-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’), 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) nga:m nga gadjja guwe nga-ŋdje-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 nga-gari wiye-ngie INTRO food 2SG-DAT3 give-IMPERFV ‘I am giving you some food.’

(496) guwe nga-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: nga dunme-ø just 2SG bend.over-IMPER ‘Just you bend over!’ (Crooked Neck 3:46)

(498) Q. minja-ngu mana-wam ba:l ye-ø what-PURP DEM-DU angry be-GENRL ‘Why are those two men angry?’

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49 Refer to §3.6.3 [k] for the use of the verbal inflection -me to indicate a repeated action.
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.

(g) wura ‘already’
This is a perfective particle denoting the successful completion of an action. It may occur anywhere in the sentence.

(iii) Miscellaneous particles
Other miscellaneous particles in this language are:

[a] na ‘and’
This particle conjoins two noun phrases (503) or two clauses (504):

[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:
In addition, this question particle is used to enquire as to someone's well-being or condition. For example:

\[(508)\] wanja ŋin
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-∅
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.

\[(510)\] nga-dju gonj guŋ dja:-wa
1SG-ERG want water drink-DESID
‘I want to drink water.’

\[(511)\] waga ŋay 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-ŋi 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 ŋin njine-nji gara
a.long.time very 2SG stay-PERFV DEM
‘You have stayed here a very long time.’ (Two Old Women 12)
4.12 Interjections and exclamations

Duunjidjawu has the following interjections which occur in isolation and never inflect:

- **ya:** ‘yes’
- **waga:** ‘no’
- **wura:** ‘all right, finished’
- **ju:** ‘shoo’ (blows a magic curse)
- **wu:yu:** ‘wong’ (onomatopoeia)

The first three interjections listed above need no explanation. The fourth interjection **ju:** 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 **ju:** 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) **ju:** **ju:** **buyi** ye-ô ńin
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** ńay gânga-wu gan wu:į wu:į
do.like.this ISG call.out-FUT DEM wong wong
‘I will call out like this, “wong wong”.’ (Black Possum 1:77)

Duunjidjawu 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 ? and the approximant h.
PART TWO: TEXTS
The following Duunjdjawu 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 corroboree 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. 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*, 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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50 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).

51 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.\textsuperscript{52} 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.\textsuperscript{53} And then he left them like that.

\textbf{Version 1}

1. \textit{njinjangurra}
   creation.time
   A creation time story.

2. djan yi-\textit{\textfrak{n}}i njubanji-\textit{\textfrak{n}}a njubanji-\textit{\textfrak{n}}a
   man be-PAST married.person-CON married.person-CON
   The man was married.

3. ya-\textit{\textfrak{y}}i guwe \textit{\textfrak{n}}a: wa:re-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:re-nji gawa gari-nji
   hunt-PERFV scrub enter-PERFV
   [They] went hunting and entered the scrub.

6. ya-\textit{\textfrak{y}}i gari yo:rr ya-nme
   say-PAST DEM everywhere go-AROUND
   [The man] said, ‘[We] will go everywhere around here’.

7. yo:rr ya-nme-nji guwe badji-\textit{\textfrak{o}} djan-du banji
   everywhere go-AROUND-PERFV then find-GENRL man-ERG bunya.tree
   [They] went around everywhere and then the man found a bunya tree.

52 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).

53 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. banji badji-o gan bam gamje-nji
   bunya.tree find-GENRL DEM half break-PERFY
   [He] found the bunya tree [with its] top half broken here.

9. yu: nala yi-ni
   just hole be-PAST
   It was just hollow.

10. ya:-yi guwe njowamgan-bam-a dadu-ŋa ga:-o gorom-ŋa-na
    say-PAST then wife-DU-DAT2 tree-CON cut-IMPER fork-CON-ACC
    [He] said to the two wives, ‘Cut a tree (branch) which is forked.

11. wamba-wu guwe ŋay 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 gana
    climb-PAST then hold-PERFY 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-PERFY fur then 3SG feel-PERFY 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-ngo
    DEM-EMPH soundly sleep-IMPERFY
    [It] was sleeping soundly right here.

16. ŋa-dju gana bu-mgu
    1SG-ERG DEM kill-FUT
    ‘I will kill it.’

17. bunma-yi ŋanda-yi biye-nji
    pull.out-PAST knock.out-PAST throw-PERFY
    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-PERFY one.of.several-ACC
    [He] pulled out another one and threw it down, [then] another one.

19. waga guwe nga-ŋi
    not then sec-PAST
    [He] could not see anymore.

20. yu: bi: gari-nji
    just hand enter-PERFY
    [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-ŋi 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:-0
3SG grab-SUDDEN DEM scrub.possum grab-GENRL
He grabbed that possum suddenly, he grabbed it.

25. bunma-n diyen buŋunda-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:-0 diyir ñay-waŋu
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-0
finger-ABL DEM blood be-GENRL.
It is blood from [my] hand.’

29. waga guwe njowamgan-du guwe ya:-yi gandanbitgan-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-ŋa mana guyur yi-ŋi
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 ŋa:m-bu njumba-wu gorom-ŋa-na dadu-nu
DEM 1DU-ERG push.away-FUT fork-CON-ACC tree-ABL
We two will push away the forked stick from the tree here.

33. waga yo: njinda-wu gadji-ma wane-0
not 3SG go.down-FUT DEM-EMPH leave-IMPER
He won’t be able to come down here, leave [him].

34. wane-0 yo:-ŋa gadji
leave-IMPER 3SG-ACC DEM
Leave him here.
35. ma:gunj ye-ø yo: mara njine-wu
stump be-GENRL 3SG DEM stay-FUT
He will stay there on the stump (lit. without head).

36. ña:m ya-ngu
IDU go-FUT
We two will go.

37. mana ma:na-ø
DEM hold-IMPER
Hold that one.

38. ña:m-bu buyi-yu mana
IDU-ERG take-FUT DEM
We two will take that one.

39. dja:-wu ña:m-bu gugunde
cat-FUT IDU-ERG scrub.possum+ABS(O)
We two will eat the scrub possum.

40. guwe mana ña:m-bu dja:-wu wanja ña:m wa:rr-e-yu
then DEM IDU-ERG cat-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-ø mana ganan
don’t leave-IMPER DEM poor.person
Don’t leave the poor fellow.

44. ña:m-a guyur wiye-ngë mo:
IDU-DAT2 food give-IMPERFV DEM
That one (the man) is giving us two food.’

45. wane-ø madja wane-ø yo:-ña ba-ø
leave-IMPER DEM leave-IMPER 3SG-ACC come-IMPER
(The other sister says) ‘Leave [him] there, leave him, come.’

46. nji:1 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:-ña wane-ø gari-nma guwe yo: njine-nji
3SG-ACC leave-GENRL DEM-EMPHI then 3SG sit-PERFV
[They] left him up right here, and so he sat there.
49. binaŋ ger yaː-nji minja-ŋa guyur ba-wu ŋa-nja
ear try say-PERFV what-ACC thing come-FUT 1SG-ACC
njinda-ma-wu-wa
go.down-CAUS1-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. yaː-ŋe-nji yo: gana ba-ŋa ŋa-ri
say-REFL-PERFV 3SG DEM come-IMPER 1SG-ALL
He said to himself, ‘Come here to me’.

52. bayel guwe njia-nji mu-mgaye-na
cloud then see-PAST rise-?-ACC
Then [he] saw the clouds which were rising.

53. yaː-yi guwe nala yaː-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-CAUS1-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
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 gamjə-nji-wa djuŋa gamjə-nji-wa
vine then be-PAST break-PERFV-NMLSR vine break-PERFV-NMLSR
There was a broken vine, a broken vine.

57. maː-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 djaŋar 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 then 3SG go.down-PAST
Then he went down from the tree.

60. nala yaː-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, 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:tt ya-nme-nji
3SG everywhere go-AROUND-PERFV
He walked around everywhere.

67. djum nja-ŋ wa-yi-na
smoke see-GENRL rise-PAST-ACC
[He] saw smoke which was rising.

68. guwe wunba yo: badji-ŋ 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-ngi
DEM doubt 3DU sleep-PERFV
They two were probably sleeping here.

70. ñay gari-ŋa dje-wu
1SG DEM-ALL go-FUT
‘I will go over to there’ (he thinks to himself).

71. djuna-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:-ne-njī guwe yo: ṭa-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-CAUS1-FUT tiredness-INSTR
[I] will make [them] sleep with tiredness.

77. yima ṭay gaṅga-wu gan wu:ŋ wu:ŋ gaṅge-ngi
do.like.this 1SG call.out-FUT DEM wong wong call.out-IMPERFV
I will call out like this, “wuŋ wuŋ”, [I] am calling out.

78. bowan-du yune-ma-wu yowa:m-a
tiredness-INSTR sleep-CAUS1-FUT 3DU-ACC
[I] will make them sleep with tiredness.

79. ba-ŋi guwe gari-nma guwe yo: gaṅge-njī
come-PAST then DEM-EMPH then 3SG call.out-PERFV
He came here and called out.

80. guyum yowa:m-bu moro-yi guyur da:-ŋi
fire 3DU-ERG stir-PAST food eat-PAST
They two stirred the fire and ate food.

81. ya:-ye-njī guwe be:ŋa-ŋ gana djīwi gaṅge-njī-na
say-RECIPI-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 djīwi 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. gaṅge-njī wu:ŋ wu:ŋ wu:ŋ
call.out-PERFV ONOM ONOM ONOM
[He] called out ‘wong wong wong’.

84. waga me:ndi-ŋ mana djīwi mana
not chase-GENRL DEM bird DEM
Those [women] couldn’t chase the bird there away.

85. man gam wu:ŋ yaṅga-yi mo:
DEM probably nest make-PAST DEM
That [bird] must have made a nest there.

86. gandanbingan-du ya:-ŋi madja wane-ŋ yu:gar
younger.sister-ERG say-PAST DEM leave-IMPER alone
The younger sister said ‘Leave [it] alone there.'
87. guwe ɲa:m yune-ø
   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-LOC1-DAT1
   He pulled out the axe (worn in his) belt.

91. dja:-ba guwe yo: barandjie-nji
   ground-LOC1 then 3SG stand-PERFV
   He was standing on the ground.

92. ya:-ne-nji wandju-ma-ø
   say-REFL-PERFV what-FACT-GENRL
   [He] said to himself, 'What [should I] do?

93. ɲa-dju bu-mgu yowa:m-a
   1SG-ERG kill-FUT 3DU-ACC
   Should I kill them?

94. waga ganan yi-ɲi 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. ɲa-ɲi yu:gar yowa:m-a
   look.at-PAST just 3DU-DAT2
   [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-ø
   stone be-IMPER
   'Be a stone'

98. doyi guwe yowa:m yi-ɲi
   stone then 3DU be-PAST
   Then they two were stone.

99. yo: ɲa-ɲi ɲa-ɲi 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.'
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.

**Version 2**

1. njubanji yi-ŋi
   married.person be-PAST
   There was a married man.

2. njowamgan-ŋanu 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. gandanbiŋan dje-ndi-ŋu
   younger.sister go-CAUS$_2$-FUT
   (The wife said), 'You should take my younger sister,

6. gandanbiŋan dje-ndi-ŋu gawa-gu gari-ŋu
   younger.sister go-CAUS$_2$-FUT scrub-ALL go.in-FUT
   [You] should take my younger sister and go into the scrub.

7. yo:-ru nja-me-ŋu
   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-nej-na njumba-ø yo-ø:ø
   fruit hang-PERFV-ACC show-IMPER 3SG-DAT
Show her the fruit which is hanging.

10. badja-na yo-ø:ø 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 ña:m-bu ñin-du njumba-yi yo-ø:ø
    DEM already IDU-ERG 2SG-ERG show-PAST 3SG-DAT
We (lit. we two and you) have already showed this to her.'

14. gudja-ga
    honey-?
    ??

15. djarna
    ?
    ??

16. yima yo-ø:ø 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-nej guwe yo:waran guwe dja:
    3PL go-AROUND-PERFV then 3PL then track
    nja-ø:ø 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-0
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-0 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. yunam-ba ma:gunj yi-ye ma:gunj
front-LOC1 stump be-PRES stump
Ahead there is a stump, a stump.

26. ma?a dadu gamne-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-0 mana
1SG-ERG 2DU-ACC say-PAST bring-IMPER DEM
I said to you two, 'Bring that one (a branch).

29. ŋa-dju goro:mg a:-0 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:-ne-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. qa:ba-yi guwe yima-yi garinji
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 bujunda-yi mana guwe yo: bugur-nu
mouth open-PAST DEM then 3SG throat-LOC3
So he opened that [possum’s] mouth at the throat.

45. diyen bujunda-Ø
mouth open-GENRL
[He] opened its mouth.

46. bu-mi guwe qa-dju
kill-PAST then 1SG-ERG
I killed [it].

47. gage-nji guwe yo: yowa:m-gari
call.out-PERFV then 3SG 3DU-DAT3
Then he called out to them two.

48. gana wamba-ngë waga+na dja:-Ø
DEM put-IMPERFV don’t+DEM cat-IMPER
‘[I] am putting this one [aside], don’t eat this one.
49. diyir man ñay-wanji
   blood DEM 1SG-ABL₂
   That one has blood from me (on it).

50. diyir ñay-wanji bi:-nu bunma-yi mana diyir ba-yi
   blood 1SG-ABL₁ finger-ABL₁ take.out-PAST DEM blood come-PAST
   That one took out blood from my finger, blood has come.

51. ñowa:m-a ña-dju biya-Ø ña-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.ERG 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-ñà mana guyur mem-ñà
   fat-CON DEM food fat-CON
   That one is fat (with) food, (it is) fat.

54. mana ñà:m-bu dja:-wu
   DEM 1DU-ERG eat-FUT
   We two should eat that one.

55. ña-dju mana gorom-ñà njumba-Ø ma:gunj-ba mara
   1SG-ERG DEM fork-CON push-GENRL stump-DAT₁ DEM
   I am going to push the forked [stick] away from the stump there.

56. ña-dju yo:-ñà wane-Ø
   1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC leave-GENRL
   I am going to leave him.

57. minja-ńgu ńin-du duña-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. djuŋa ma:-nji
   vine grab-PERFV
   [He] grabbed a vine.

66. dare-nji wambe-nji guwe yo: dadunda badja-na
   swing-PERFV lean.against-PERFV then 3SG tree-LOC1 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-LOC1 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 no:
   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’.
13. bayer-nu wa-ø
mountain-LOC3 climb.up-GENRL
[He] climbed up the mountain side.

14. njinda-ø man guwe yo: nja-nja
go.down-GENRL DEM then 3SG look-PAST
Then he looked down there.

15. guwe nja-nge djum
then see-IMPERFV smoke
Then [he] sees smoke.

16. hara gari moro-ø-ø nge gari
EXCL DEM make-REFL-IMPERFV DEM
'Aha, [they] are camping here.'

17. dje-nji-nji yowa:m-ø
go-PERFV-PERFV 3DU-ACC
[He] went towards them.

18. njinda-øi
go.down-PERFV
[He] went down.

19. be:nja-ø yo: wandju-ma-ø yowa:m-gari
think-GENRL 3SG what-FACT-GENRL 3DU-DAT3
He was thinking, 'What am I going to do to them?'

20. nja-dju yowa:m-ø nja-ø
1SG-ERG 3DU-ACC see-GENRL
I can see them two.

21. nin-gu gadji-ma gadji-ma
2SG-? DEM-EMPH DEM-EMPH
??

22. nja-dju gadji-ma ya:-wu
1SG-ERG DEM-EMPH tell-FUT
I'll tell [them] here.

23. ganga-øi goro:man nay ganga-ø 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.

then pigeon DEM call.out-PERFV wong wong wong wong
Then this (hunter) called like a pigeon 'wong wong wong wong'.

25. dje-re-nji guwe
go-CONT-PERFV then
Then [he] crept along.

26. dje-re-nji guwe
vire-LOC1 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-LOC1 DEM-EMPH go.down-PAST
[He] went down on the tree here.

90. ganga-yi wu:n wu:n wu:n wu:n
call.out-PAST wong wong wong wong
[He] called out ‘wong wong wong’.

91. dja:-ba barandje-n
ground-LOC1 stand-SUDDEN
Then [he] suddenly stood on the ground.

92. bamba-yi mana muyim mana yowa:m-a dja:ni 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-ţi guwe nga-ţi
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 nga-dju bu:mgu
no 1SG-ERG kill-FUT
‘No, I won’t kill [them].’

95. muyim gemanja nga-dju gayi muyim
axe ? 1SG-ERG ? axe
??

96. biye nga-ţi
back see-PAST
[He] saw [it] back(wards).

97. njiran-da biye ga:wa-yi
belt-LOC1 back put-PAST
[He] put [the axe] in his belt back(wards).

98. yu: nga-dju wuyar-u gaye-ma-yi
just 1SG-ERG curse-INSTR turn-CAUS1-PAST
‘I just changed [them] with a magic curse.

99. minja-ţa nga-dju gunj guyum mana doyi
what-ACC 1SG-ERG water fire DEM stone
I don’t know what yet, water, fire, stone?’

100. bu:ni-ţji guwe yowa:m-a
blow-PERFV then 3DU-ACC
Then [he] blew on them.

101. Šu: gunj ye-ţ
shoo water be-IMPER
‘Shoo, be water!’

102. Šu: doyi guwe guyum mana
shoo stone then fire DEM
Shoo, and then the fire [be] stone!’
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.54

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. njanjamerr nja-ŋ
   brolga+ABS(S) look-GENRL
   The brolga looked.

3. yo: ya-nme-ŋi njande-gu
   3SG go-AROUND-PERFV swamp-ALL
   He went around towards the swamp.

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4. **wambe-ŋji guyur-gu**
   *float-PERFV food-PURP*
   [He] was floating [in the sky looking] for food.

5. **guyur-gu mana yo:-ri gaye-ngge 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-ŋji guwe djujudjuju**
   *then 3SG look-PERFV then evening*
   Then he is looking in the evening.

7. **guwe ŋuwim njinda-ŋi-manda yo: dje-ŋji 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-ŋi goromda-na**
   *then see-PAST few-ACC*
   He saw a few (young birds).

9. **mana guwe yo: djiiwi nja-ŋo barandje-ngge bari-bari**
   *DEM then 3SG bird see-GENRL stand-IMPERFV small-REDUP*
   Then he saw birds, little ones, standing around there.

10. **wage: yune-ngge**
    *not.yet sleep-IMPERFV*
    [They] are not asleep yet.

11. **mana yo:waran yune-ngge**
    *DEM 3PL sleep-IMPERFV*
    They are all sleeping there.

12. **yayumba guwe man wanja ŋuwim njinda-ŋo nja-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-DAT₃ then 3PL*
    They are all (listening) to me.

14. **gara bunjan-ŋu wabe-ŋo ŋay-wa**
    *DEM in.front-LOC₃ wait-IMPER 1SG-DAT₁*
    ‘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. ṣay dje-nji
1SG come-PERFV
I came.

18. ṣa-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 ṣa-rinj-u
do.like.this-PAST play-IMPERFV DEM homeland-LOC3 1SG-GEN-LOC3
[We] are playing like that at my homeland here.

20. gari-ŋj wane-ŋ guwe
DEM-LOC leave-GENRL then
[I] left here.

21. dje-nji guwe ṣay
go-PERFV then 1SG
Then I went.

22. dje-re-re dje-nji
go-CONT-CONT go-PERFV

23. ṣa-dju yo:wan-a ya:-yi guwe ṣuwe: ṣa-ŋ
1SG-ERG 3PL-ACC tell-PAST then 2PL look-IMPER
I told them, ‘You all look (out for me).

24. ṣay guwe ba-ye binjgu
1SG then come-PRES tomorrow
I am coming tomorrow.

25. gari-nma guwe ṣa-ŋ gidi wanja ṣay ba-wu
DEM-EMPH then look-at-IMPER light when 1SG come-FUT
Look at the light here when I come.

26. yandi-ŋ guwe ṣa-dju yowar
sing-GENRL then 1SG-ERG corroboree
I will then sing a corroboree.’

27. njinda-ŋ yima-yi-me guwe yo: yo:we-ri
go.down-GENRL do.like.this-PAST-REPET then 3SG 3PL-DAT3
gari-nma ba-ye
DEM-EMPH come-PRES
In the same way, he comes down there to them here.

28. ṣalgan bulan ba-n
? heaven come-SUDDEN
[He] came [from] the heavens.
29. wura
finished
That is finished.

30. gari-nma wane-o
DEM-EMPH leave-IMPER
Leave it here.

31. ba-yi
come-PAST
[He] came.

3. The Carpet Snake and the Children

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 ɲa dudu wane-ō 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-ŋo yowa:m-a waga ɲin-du wane-ō 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-ō 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 ɣaŋa-yi
sand make-PAST
[He] made [it in] the sand.

55 This was originally a Batjala story which is told here in Duunjidjawu.
8. gari-nma ye-∅ guwe
   DEM-EMPH be-GENRL then
   It is there.

9. gari-ŋi ñowɔ:ɔm gembe-∅
   DEM-LOC 2DU play-IMPER
   'You two play here.

10. wanja bәdje yi-ɡu ba-∅ djawun-gu gembe-∅
    when tired be-FUT come-IMPER homeland-ALL play-IMPER
    njara:-wәnju
    ?-COMIT
    When [you] become tired come to the homeland and play with ?

11. ñә:w guwe yere-ngә
    1DL then go.home-IMPERFV
    We two will be coming home soon.

12. waga guwe yәna-∅
    don’t then go-IMPER
    Don’t go away (from here).

13. bu-mbe-ya bәdja-nu djan-du
    kill-PRES-? other.one-LOC3 man-ERG
    A man might kill [you both] somewhere.

14. gara-nma gembe-∅ djanjum-u
    DEM-EMPH play-IMPER close-LOC3
    Play right here close by.’

15. ya-nji
    go-PERFV
    [They] went away.

16. yo:wәn njubәnji ya-nji wa:re-nji
    3PL married.couple go-PERFV hunt-PERFV
    The married couple went and hunted.

17. gima-wam wәn-∅ gadjи-ma gуyum-ba
    boy-DL leave-GENRL DEM-EMPH camp-LOC1
    ??

18. man guwe ñowɔ:ɔm gembe-nji gari-mа
    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 gandaŋәn-ɡu djanjum-u
    then other.one-ERG say-PAST younger.brother-ERG close-LOC3
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-LOC3
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-LOC3 then go-FUT DEM-EMPH top-LOC3
[We two] will go to the top of the sand hill here.

23. e?e
EXCL
Good.

24. dje-nji guwe
go-PERFV then
So [they] went.

25. gembe-nji 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-0 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. yow:an mana guwe ya:-wu
3PL DEM then say-FUT
??

32. gari-nma gembe-me-nji
DEM-EMPH play-AROUND-PERFV
[They two] were playing around here.

33. yina-nda guwe yi-ni
gully-LOC1 then be-PAST
It was in a gully.
34. buyi ye-ọ ọnjịangurra buyi
carpet.snake be-GENRL creation.time carpet.snake
It is a carpet snake from the creation time, a carpet snake.

35. yowa:m-ọ ya:-yi waga-ra waga buyi buma-ọ
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-ọ
don’t do.that-IMPER
Don’t do that.’

37. yo: wane-ọ
3SG leave-IMPER
He left [it].

38. ọnjị-du ọnjịa:m-bu be:ọnjị gari-ọ
2SG-ERG IDU-ERG hear-GENRL DEM-LOC
We two heard [about the carpet snake] here.

39. ọnjị gari-ụ ya: waga:m-bu buyi mana yune-ọnjị-na
look-at-PAST then IDU-ERG carpet.snake DEM lie-PERFV-ACC
The two of them looked at the carpet snake which lay there.

40. gira-ọ
wake-PAST
[They] woke [it] up.

41. gandanbijj-gu gira-ọ
younger.brother-ERG wake-PAST
The younger brother woke [it] up.

42. buyi mana ya-ọnjị gari-ụ
carpet.snake DEM go-PERFV then
Then the carpet snake went away.

43. gari-ọnjị gari-ụ dje-ọnjị gari-ụ
DEM-ALL then go-PERFV water-LOC3
Then [it] went into the water.

44. gari-ụ djanjum-u yi-ọnjị yina mana
water close-LOC3 be-PAST gully DEM
The water was close in the gully??

45. gari-ọnjị gari-ụ buyi ya-ọnjị man gari-ụ yowa:m-bu
DEM-ALL then carpet.snake go-PERFV DEM then 3DU-ERG
bamba-re-ọnjị
hit-CONT-PERFV
Then the carpet snake went away there and then they both beat that [snake].

46. dadu-ndo 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. munjgaya-o mowanin-a bamba-re-nji
stop-GENRL big-ACC hit-CONT-PERFV
[They] stopped hitting the big [carpet snake].

50. gun-ga gari-nji
water-LOC1 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-LOC3 hold-PERFV then
So [they] held on to a tree.

56. gurema-ơ 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. gun djanjum-u wane-ơ
water close-LOC3 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-CAUS1-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-CAUS2-PERFV DEM deep.below-ALL  
   [It] took those ones to deep below.

64. buyi gari-nma yi-ŋi ɲinjangurra  
   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-njji  
   3DU-ACC go-CAUS2-PERFV  
   [It] took the two of them.

67. nala-nu guwe ga:wa-yi  
   cave-LOC3 then put-PAST  
   Then [it] put [them] in a cave.

68. nala-nu ga:wa-yi  
   cave-LOC3 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. babiyanmi 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-njji  
   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

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-nja 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 nindangurra
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:ðuŋ
    stick break-PERFV rotten
The stick was broken, [it was] rotten.

94. gari-nji
    enter-PERFV
[The carpet snake] went in.

95. dje-ni-nji mana yowa:m-a guŋ djanjum-u da:n danumarra
go-CAUS2-PERFV DEM 3DU-ACC water close-ABL1 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-CAUS1-PAST do.like.this-PAST
Like before, [it] swung its tail [around them].

97. ma:-ŋi 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-LOC2 pull-PERFV
??

100. dari-ø yowa:m-a gari-ŋa gunu-gu
    pull-GENRI. 3DU-ACC DEM-ALI. deep.below-ALI.
[It] pulled them two to deep below into there.
101. dari-ø pull-GENRL
   [It] pulled [them] in.

102. gunu-gu ga:wa-yi nala gari-ndi-nji deep.below-ALL put-PAST hole enter-CAUS2-PERFV
   [It] put [them] to deep below, pulled them into a hole.

103. doyi guwe yowa:m yi-ŋi stone then 3DU be-PAST
   Then they two were stone.

104. gadji-ma yowa:m mo: wane-ø DEM-EMPH 3DU DEM leave-GENRL
   That [carpet snake] left them two here.

105. ga:wa-yi gunu-nda put-PAST deep.below-LOC
   [It] put [them] deep below.

106. nuwim njinda-nda gari-ŋa njubanji yere-ŋi 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 DEM hold.tightly-PAST DEM-EMPH carpet.snake-ERG
   The carpet snake held them tightly in the light here.

108. yima-ŋi-me do.this-PAST-REPET
   [It] did that again.

109. waga binda-ŋi not release-PAST
   [It] didn’t release [them].

110. gayendji du:ŋø?

111. yo:wan nja-me-nji wanja yima-yi ŋa: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-ŋi no other.one-PL-ERG see-PAST
   No others had seen [them].

113. yu: dja: mana nja-ŋi only track DEM see-PAST
   Those (parents) had only seen tracks.

114. gari-ŋa mo: guwe DEM-ALL DEM then
   Those [tracks went] to there.
115. badji-ŋ 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 ḋjin-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-ŋ gira-ŋ buyi gaye-ŋ
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 ḋin 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-ŋ mana
leave-IMPER DEM
Leave that [carpet snake].

121. wane-yi ya-ŋ
leave-PAST go-GENRL
[They] left [it] and went.

122. man guwe buyi nja-ŋi 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-ŋi gari-ŋa guŋ-u
see-PAST DEM-ALL water-LOC3
[They] saw [it] over there in the water.

124. guŋ ba:l guwe gembe-nji mana
water salt then play-PERFV DEM
That one was playing in the salt water.

125. nja-ŋi guwe ṭuwim-ba dje-ndi-nge
see-PAST then sun-LOC1 go-CAUS2-IMPERFV
[They] saw [it] take [things] in the day (lit. in the sun).

126. nja-ŋi nja-ŋa yayumba dje-ndi-nge ṭuwim-ba
see-PAST see-GENRL soon go-CAUS2-IMPERFV sun-LOC1

127. dom-djin be:ŋe-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.tight.tightly-PAST carpet.snake-ERG
   The carpet snake held them two tightly here.

129. doyi guwe ye-∅
   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-nji yowa:m-a
   pull-PERFV 3DU-ACC
   [It] pulled them two (into the water).

132. buyi-ndu ma doyi guwe ye-∅ 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-IMPERFY
   [They] are stones standing [there].

134. guŋ-u nga-∅ ba:1 dje-nge yimun-ba-nu
   water-LOC3 see-GENRL salt move-IMPERFY middle-?-?
   [They] see [them] moving in the middle of the salty water.

135. yowa:m-a nga-∅ guwe gara neyŋ-u
   3DU-ACC see-GENRL then DEM outside-ABL1
   [Those ones] saw them two here from the outside.

136. gari-ŋa nga-∅ 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-IMPERFY
   [They] are sitting there.

139. doyi guwe ye-∅
   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.\footnote{It is said that the four hordes of the Yinibara tribe (the Duuńidjawu, Dalla, Nalbo and Garumngar) assembled at Mount Stanley (see Map 1) for this discussion (Winterbotham 1957).} 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.\footnote{This mountain was one of the Bunya mountains (see Map 2; Winterbotham 1957).} 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 ɲininągurra
   DEM then talk-RECIP-PERFV creation.time
   In the creation time [people] were talking.

2. waga guwe ɲiyarr yi-ŋi
   not then cold be-PAST
   It was not cold.

3. ɲuwimgan-me
   summer-SPEC
   [There was] only summer.

4. ba-ŋi 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.
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-∅ yo:we
then say-RECIP-PERFV then old.man get.together-GENRL 3PL
du:mm-nu-wa garu ye-∅ wanju-ŋa binda-wu
bora.ring-ABL-DAT 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-∅
DEM 3SG-ACC send-IMPER
(Someone answered) 'Send him, this one.

9. go: ya:-∅ waga guwe giragira-wa
DEM say-GENRL not then trouble-DESID
This person said, '[He] does not want to trouble [any one].'

10. dje-nji guwe mana
go-PERFV then DEM
So that one went.

11. yo: guwe yana-∅ guranŋur-ŋa
3SG then go-GENRL spear-CON
He was going with a spear.

12. ŋin-du buyi-∅
2SG-ERG take-IMPER
(They said to him) 'You take [it].

13. gana ŋin-gari wiye-ngɛ gari gureya
DEM 2SG-DAT give-IMPERFY leaf fig.tree
[We] are giving this fig tree leaf to you.

14. wanja ŋin ya-ngu ganga-re-∅ 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. gαŋe-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
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-LOC3 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-ð 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-ði yo:-ñ na waga
3SG then see-PAST 3SG-ACC not
He (the old man) couldn’t see him.

33. yo: gan-gu wamba-yi
3SG saliva-INTR put.on-PAST
Then he (the old man) cursed (the people).

34. ju: gadji guwe yana-ð
shoo DEM then go-IMPER
‘Shoo, go there!

35. yo:w an-a guwe wunda-ð gurruy-u
3PL-ACC then cover-IMPER rain-INTR hail-INTR
Cover them all with rain, with hail.

36. yima-yi djirrdje-ma-ð baru: yo:we-ri
do.like.this-PAST disperse-CAUS-GENRL camp 3PL-GEN
yima-yi guwe
do.like.this-PAST then
Like that [he] scattered their camps, like before.

37. guwe yo: ya:-ñe-nji guwe go: gana yaða-ð
then 3SG say-REFL-PERFY 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. ña-dju yo:-ña guwe buwa-wu
1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC then spear-FUT
I am going to spear him.

39. waga waga ña-dju gonj bu-mgu-wa yo:-ñ
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:-ñi gurangur-u
3SG DEM then leaf DEM take-PERFY spear-INTR
He then got this leaf with the spear.

41. ñur gen yi-ñi 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 straight go.through-PERFY ground spear-PAST
[The spear] went straight through the leaf [and] speared the ground.

43. yo: ya:-ñe-nji waga ña-dju yo:-ña buwa-wu budirgu
3SG say-REFL-PERFY not 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC spear-FUT completely
He said to himself, ‘I will not spear him entirely (i.e. kill him).
44. ṇa-dju guwe yo:-ṇa giniŋ buwa-wu
1SG-ERG then 3SG-ACC arm spear-FUT
I will spear his arm.'

45. giniŋ buwa-yi yo:-ṇa 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 guriñña guyum-ba bumi-n
DEM-EMPH then do.like.this-PAST old.man fire-LOC fall-SUDDEN
Then the old man suddenly fell into the fire right here like this.

47. guyum-bu mari-me-nji yo:-ṇa
fire-ERG burn-AROUND-PERFV 3SG-ACC
The fire burnt him all over.

48. bumi-n guwe gari gaña-nu gari-ṇa
fall-SUDDEN then DEM top-ABL1 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-ŋi 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. yanga-ŋi guwe yo:-ṇa
make-PAST then 3SG-ACC
[He] made (i.e. changed) him.

52. ħu: ħu: buyi ye-ō ฏin
INTJ INTJ carpet.snake be-IMPER 2SG
'Shoo, shoo, you be a carpet snake!'

53. waga guwe ฏin yima-yi gana ye-ō
don’t then 2SG do.like.this-PAST DEM be-IMPER
Don’t you be like before.’

54. yima-yi guwe yana-ō
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-ō
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-ŋ guwe yo:-ŋa
   leave-GENRL then 3SG-ACC
So [he] left him.

59. man guwe ŋiyarŋ ŋa ŋuwimgan guwe men
   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 njumba-ŋe-ŋ yo:-wa
   do.like.this-PAST then 2SG show-REFL-IMPER 3SG-DAT,
Like that you show yourself to him (i.e. everyone).

62. ŋin-a ŋja-wu bO:lT mana wambe-ŋegu ŋin-baj̄u 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. ŋinŋangura yi-ŋi ŋinŋangura
   creation.time be-PAST creation.time
   It was in the creation time.

2. gurilŋa-wam ya:-ye-nji ŋa:m ŋin gana guwe yune-ŋ
   old.man-DU say-RECIP-PERFV 1DU 2SG DEM then camp-IMPER
   njunam ŋa:m-bu bowan gira-ŋ
   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-ŋ
   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-LOC3 IDU 2SG sleep-FUT
We (incl.) will sleep far away.’

5. wana-ŋu guwe yowa:m moro-ŋe-nji
far.away-LOC3 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-LOC3
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-DAT3
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-LOC3
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 ge'r '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. ɲa-dju biya-wu
   I will throw [it].

16. waga biya-ɸ
   don’t throw-IMPER
   ‘Don’t throw [it].’

17. waga biya-ɸ
   not throw-GENRL
   [He] didn’t throw [it].

18. dadu mana gamnα-ɸ ɲin-du gorom-ɲa
    stick DEM break-IMPER 2SG-ERG fork-CON
    You break the stick (making) it forked.

19. ɲin-baŋi ɲay-wa dadu gamnα-ɸ
    2SG-ABL 1SG-DAT stick break-IMPER
    Break the stick (away) from you towards me.

20. waga mari-ɲinu wamba-ɸ
    don’t DEM-END put-IMPER
    Don’t put [it] on that end (the broken end).

21. guyur mana waga mari-ɲinu wamba-ɸ
    food DEM NEG DEM-END put-IMPER
    Don’t put that food on that end.

22. gorom-ɲa-wa wamba-ɸ
    fork-CON-DAT put-IMPER
    Put [it] on the forked [stick].

23. ɲin-du ɲay-wa ye wiye-ye
    2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT towards give-FUT
    You should give it to me.’

24. dadu-wa wamba-yi badja-ru
    stick-DAT put-PAST other. one-ERG
    The other one put it on the stick.

25. wiye-ɲi guwe yo:
    give-PERFV then 3SG
    He gave [it].

26. gorom-ɲa+ra wamba-yi
    fork-CON+DEM put-PAST
    Put it on the forked [stick].

27. wiye-ɲi guwe girum-ge-ɲu
    give-PERFV then other. side-SIDE-ABL
    Then [he] gave [it] from the other side.

28. ma-ɲi guwe badja-ru yima
    take-PERFV then other. one-ERG do.like.this
    Then the other one took it like this.
29. gana wura galan yi-nji ɲa:m-bu ɲa-ø
DEM already good be-PERFV 1DU-ERG see-GENRL
'This was already good, we two could see.'

30. yu: ɲa:m ɲin wanja yune-yu
just 1DU 2SG INTERROG sleep-FUT
Should we (incl.) just sleep?

31. gari-ɲi guwe be:ɲa-ø
DEM-LOC then think-IMPER
You [just] think of this.

32. gara-ɲi be:ɲa-ø
DEM-LOC think-IMPER
You [just] think of this.

33. waga badja-ru be:ɲa-ø
nothing other.one-ERG think-GENRL
The other one thought of nothing [else].

34. waga ɲa:m yowar-u
no 1DU corroboree-?
'??

35. yowar mana yandi-yu
corroboree DEM sing-FUT
[We two] will sing that corroboree.

36. yu: ɲa:m bowan-du yune-ø
gari-ɲi guwe yu:
just 1DU tiredness-INSTR sleep-GENRL DEM-LOC then just
We two are just sleeping with tiredness here then.

37. ɲa:m-baɲu wanja gundera-ø mana wanja gundera-ø ɲin-gari
1DU-COMIT if graft-GENRL DEM if graft-GENRL 2SG-GEN
biya:yu ɲa-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. ɲa:m-bu me:ndi-wa
1DU-ERG chase-INT
We two intend to chase away [the children].

39. guyur dja:-ø ɲa:m-bu wana-ɲu ma:-ngu
food eat-GENRL 1DU-ERG far.away-LOC3 reach-FUT
We two can reach far away (from our bodies for) food to eat.'

40. gari-ɲinu
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. gurulŋa-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 yanja-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-DAT1 give-IMPER food DEM
   Give that food to me.’

6. wiye-nji
   give-PERFV
   [He] gave [it to him].

7. gaye-ma-ø mana ŋin-du dadu
   turn-CAUS1-IMPER DEM 2SG-ERG stick
   ‘You turn that stick around.

8. gorom-ba wamba-ø ye wiye-ø
   fork-LOC 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.58

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.59

Version 1

1. ŋiniŋangurra+na
   creation.time+DEM
   This is a creation time story.

2. bayer yo:-wa ya:-ye-nji
   mountain 3SG-DAT1 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 Duunjdjawu and other tribes of this area. He was allegedly a very skilled boomerang thrower. His spiritual home was Theebany Junction.

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4. wadənjir mana yunakan wa babul left-handed DEM be-PAST 3SG-DAT 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 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 yowan-a yangayanga guwe then Beerwah say-PAST 3PL-ACC carefully then barandje-0 mara-ri stand-IMPER DEM-DAT 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 nga-ŋi yo:-ŋa then look.at-PAST 3SG-ACC Then [they all] looked at him.

11. bari-ya wunba mana yunakan 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 boomerang DEM come-IMPERFV ngin-gari 2SG-ALL (Beerwah) suddenly called out to him, ‘That boomerang is coming towards you.

14. ngin manji-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 njin-a boomerang-ERG not hit-FUT 2SG-ACC
Then the boomerang will not hit you.'

18. dunme-nji guwe stoop-PERFV then
So [he] stooped over.

19. yo:-wa baran njajaja guwe 3SG-DAT₁ boomerang pass-SUDDEN then
Then the boomerang passed by him.

20. go: yo:-ri nja-nji guwe DEM 3SG-DAT₃ 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-CAUS₁-PAST
The boomerang had changed his neck.

25. wanda warrunj neck crooked
(He became) ‘crooked neck’.

Version 2

1. bayer ya:-ye-ŋi njinŋangurra 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
   Then you come to me.’

7. dje-nji guwe yaŋga-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-duj baran ŋja-wu yaŋgayanga
   1SG-ERG boomerang see-FUT carefully
   I will watch the boomerang carefully.’

10. biye-nji 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-nji
    throw-PERFV
    [He] threw [the boomerang].

13. baran ŋja-ŋi go: yuŋam-u
    boomerang see-PAST DEM front-LOC3
    This one (Beerwah) saw the boomerang in front (of them).

14. gange-nji guwe man baran ba-ye ŋuwe:-wa
    call.out-PERFV then DEM boomerang come-PRES 2PL-DAT1
    So [he] called out, ‘The boomerang is coming towards you all.”
15. yaŋgayanga nja-ø
carefully watch-IMPER
Watch carefully.’

16. djanjum yi-ŋi gibargibarna
closeby be-PAST small.boy-ACC
Closeby was a small boy.

17. baran gari-ŋa djunim dje-nji yo:-wa
boomerang DEM-ALL straight come-PERFV 3SG-DAT,
The boomerang was coming straight towards him.

18. gange-nji 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-ngə nja-ø
DEM 2SG-ALL straight come-IMPERFV watch-IMPER
That (boomerang) is coming straight towards you [so] watch it.’

20. dunme-nji guwe yo: dunme-nji
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-ŋi yo:-ŋu
boomerang pass-PAST 3SG-ABL,
The boomerang passed by him.

22. bum-i-nji
fall.down-PERFV
[The boomerang] fell down.

23. gange-nji guwe mana ya:-ø baran man ŋa:ba-ŋi
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.
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:-ʊ 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:-ʊ 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. \(\eta\)-a-dju bamba-ye
   1SG-ERG pelt-PRES
   I pelt [them].

7. wadanjir \(\eta\)ay wadanjir
   left-handed 1SG left-handed
   I am left handed, left handed.’

8. \(e\)le ya:-y1 biya-\(o\) \(\eta\)in-du
   EXCL say-PAST throw-IMPER 2SG-ERG
   (His wife) said ‘Good, you throw [it]!

9. guwe \(\eta\)-a-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-\(\eta\)-nu guwe yawu
    DEM-DIR then ?

12. wane-\(o\) dje-nji
    leave-GENRL go-PERFV
    [She] left and went.

13. be:\(\eta\)-\(o\) guwe yo:
    think-GENRL then 3SG
    He (Beerwah) was thinking.

14. birwa: be:\(\eta\)-\(o\) wanju-\(\eta\)ira yo: biya-wu
    Beerwah think-GENRL when-TIME 3SG throw-FUT
    Beerwah was thinking, ‘When will he throw [it].’

15. \(\eta\)-a-dju nja-wu
    1SG-ERG watch-FUT
    I will watch [it].’

16. yo:wan-a ya:-yi guwe \(\eta\)uwe: yangayanga
    3PL-ACC say-PAST then 2PL carefully
    Then [he] said to them, ‘You all [watch] carefully.’

17. yo: babul-u ma-nji nja-\(n\)ge
    3SG Babul-ERG ma:-PERFV watch-IMPERFV
    Babul caught him and is watching him??

18. \(\eta\)-a:-na baran-du bamba-wu \(\eta\)uwe:-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. \(\eta\)-a-dju gara nja-\(o\)
    1SG-ERG DEM watch-GENRL
    I will watch [it] here.
20. *yuŋam-u gumari-ŋa-ru*
   front-LOC₃ shield-COND
   [I will be] in front with a shield.

21. *ŋaba:-wu*
   pass-FUT
   [The boomerang] will pass by.

22. *waga yo:rr ya-nme-ο*
   don’t everywhere walk-AROUND-IMPER
   Don’t walk around everywhere.

23. *nja-ο gari-ŋa yo:-ŋa*
   look.at-IMPER DEM-ALL 3SG-ACC
   Look this way at him.'

24. *baran ye dje-ŋi gana*
   boomerang towards go-PERFV DEM
   The boomerang was coming this way.

25. *biye-ŋi*
   throw-PERFV
   [He] has thrown [it].

26. *babul-u biye-ŋi*
   Babul-ERG throw-PERFV
   Babul has thrown [it].

27. *gira-nme-ŋi*
   warn-COND-PERFV
   [He] is warning [them].

28. *gibar-gibar yi-ŋi yuŋam-u barandje-ŋi dudu-waŋu*
   boy-REDUP be-PAST front-LOC₃ stand-PERFV mother-COMIT
   There was a small boy standing in front with his mother.

29. *dudu barandje-ŋi*
   mother+NOM stand-PERFV
   [His] mother was standing [there].

30. *gundu-ra badja-na gundu-ra-wa*
   string.bag-LOC₁ other.one-ACC string.bag-LOC₁-DAT₁
   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-ŋe nja-ο*
   seems then boomerang come-IMPERFV look-IMPER
   The boomerang seems to be coming. ‘Look out!’

33. *yangayanga guwe*
   carefully then
   [Stand] carefully.
34. biye-nji
   throw-PERFV
   [He] threw [it].

35. guwe nja-ŋi baran bumi-nji-na
   then see-PAST boomerang fall.down-PERFV-ACC
   Then [he] saw the boomerang which had fallen down.

36. waga nja-ŋi
   not see-past
   [He] could not see [it].

37. man bumi-nji wana-ŋi
   DEM fall.down-PERFV far.away-LOC₂
   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-ŋi guwe birwa:
   3SG see-PAST then Beerwah
   Then he saw [it], Beerwah [saw it].

40. gana yana-0 djanjum
   DEM come-GENRL close
   This one (the boomerang) is coming close.

41. djanjum dje-ŋe nja mana
   close come-IMPERFY 2SG
   It is coming close.

42. ganga-0 guwe mara-ri nja-garinj-a
   call.out-IMPER then DEM-DAT₃ 2SG-GEN-ACC
   ‘Call out to yours over there.’

43. yu: mara wanda guwe yi-ŋi
   just DEM neck then be-PERFV
   ??

44. gănge-nji yo:-ri
   call.out-PERFV 3SG-DAT₃
   [He] called out to him.

45. baran man nja-gari dje-ŋe djunim
   boomerang DEM 2SG-ALL come-IMPERFY straight
   ‘The boomerang is coming straight towards you.

46. yu: nja dunme-0
   just 2SG bend.over-IMPER
   Just you bend over!

47. dunme-0
   bend.over-IMPER
   Bend over!’
48. dunme-nji-wa
   bend.over-PERFV-?
   [He] bent over.

49. baran  nga:ba-n
    boomerang  pass-SUDDEN
    The boomerang came past.

50. bumi-n    gawa-nda
    fall.down-SUDDEN  scrub-LOC1
    [It] fell down in the scrub.

51. nga:gana  guwe gana ma:djayum yo:
    call-SUDDEN then  DEM giant  3SG
    Then a giant suddenly called out to him.

52. ya:-o    mana gima-na yi-du dudu-ru
    speak-GENRL DEM boy-ACC be-?  mother-ERG
    The mother spoke to her boy.

53. dudu-ru  tin-du ya:-o  djunim barandje-0
    mother-ERG 2SG-ERG say-IMPER straight stand.up-IMPER
    You, the mother, say [to him] ‘Stand up straight’.

54. baran man nga:ba-ya
    boomerang  DEM pass-PAST
    The boomerang had gone past there.

55. bumi-nji man gawa-ni
    fall.down-PERFV DEM scrub-LOC2
    [It] fell down into the scrub there.

56. guwe nga-jji 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:-na
    leave-PAST then  3SG-ACC
    So [they] left him.

61. wanda warrunj nga:-ma-ya guwe yo:-na
    neck crooked name-FACT-PAST then  3SG-ACC
    [They] named him ‘crooked neck’.
62. garu-ndu gan ye:ma-yi mo: babul-u
   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-ŋi
   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-ngẹ
   mother tribal.mother-PL DEM stand-IMPERFV
[His] mother and tribal mothers are standing over there.

67. gundu-ŋi gima-na njune:-na
   string.bag-LOC² boy-ACC girl-ACC
Inside [his mother’s] string bag [might be] a boy [or] a girl.

68. gima-na birwa: ganje-ŋi
   boy-ACC Beerwah call.out-PERFV
Beerwah called out to the boy.

69. djanjum djanjum barandje-ngẹ
   close close stand-IMPERFV
[They] are standing close together.

70. gari-ŋi
   DEM-END
This is the end.

71. wura
   finished
This is finished.

7. The Curlew\textsuperscript{60}

In the creation times a man was camped by a creek.\textsuperscript{61} Another man came down the hill and stood on a rock\textsuperscript{62} 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

\textsuperscript{60} This legend was originally told to Willie Mckenzie in Waga-Waga by Jenny Lind of Cherbourg (Steele 1983).

\textsuperscript{61} The creek referred to here is the Barambah Creek known to the natives as buranbaye dungi (lit. wind­coming creek) (Winterbotham 1957).

\textsuperscript{62} 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. ŋininjangurra
   creation.time
   A creation time story.

2. gari njine-nji du:ŋi-nu
   DEM stay-PERFV creek-LOC₃
   (A man) was staying here at a creek.

3. guyum guwe moro-ŋe-nji guwe guyur
   fire then make-REFL-PERFV then food
   (He) made himself a fire (to prepare) food.

4. guwe ba-yi ŋinda-yi
   then come-PAST go.down-PAST
   Then (someone) came and went down.

5. mundji-re-nji mundji-re-nji yo:-ri
   laugh-CONT-PERFV laugh-CONT-PERFV 3SG-DAT₃
   (This person) was laughing at him.

6. yo: ŋa-ŋi guwe
   3SG look-PAST then
   Then he (the man who was camping) looked.

7. gundir yo: yi-ŋi
   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 ŋin ma: guwe ŋin ye-ŋ gan
   saliva-INST 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 ŋa-dju ŋin-a ŋja-wu ŋuwim 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-ŋinu yune-nji guwe
    DEM-END sleep-PERFV then
    At the end (of the day) [he] then slept.

12. 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.
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. \( \eta \)-dju \( \eta \)-\( \eta \) guwe \( \eta \)gga-yi doyi
   1SG-ERG look-at-PAST then make-PAST rock
   I looked at the rock [I] had made.

14. waga gari barandje-ng e
   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 \( \eta \)-dju yo:-\( \eta \) \( \eta \)-\( \eta \) \( \eta \):
   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:-\( \eta \) \( \eta \)-dju \( \eta \)-\( \eta \) doyi-ya
   3SG-ACC 1SG-ERG see-PAST rock-LOC
   I saw him in the rock.

18. yo: gan ye-\( \sigma \) guwe
   3SG DEM be-GENRL then
   Here he is.

19. yo: buyurre yi-\( \eta \)
   3SG curlew be-PAST
   He was a curlew.

20. \( \eta \)-\( \sigma \) doyi mana
    look-at-IMPER rock DEM
    Look at the rock there!

21. \( \eta \)-dju \( \eta \)-\( \eta \) gari-nma-me \( \eta \)jine-\( \sigma \)
    1SG-ERG see-PAST DEM-EMPH-SPEC sit-GENRL
    I saw [you] sitting right here.

22. \( \eta \)-dju \( \eta \)-\( \sigma \) 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-RECIPE-REVF 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-REVF-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 djaŋame
DEM ??

8. ganan guwe yo:-ri ye-ø
sorry then 3SG-PURP be-GENRL
[We] are (i.e. feel) sorry for him.

9. guyur juwe-ø badja-ru djuyudjuyu
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 njin-du ma:-nji
not 2SG-ERG catch-REVF
‘You do not catch [anything].’ (they said to the Dingo)
12. yana-nde ṭay
go-PRES 1SG
‘I am going.’ (said the Dingo)

13. man wa:*re-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-ваŋu dawari-me-ŋ
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-ŋ 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:-ŋ guwe yo:-ŋa yima-ŋ ŋin guwe
say-IMPER then 3SG-ACC do.this-IMPER 2SG then
Then say to him, ‘You do this.’

21. njumba-ŋ yo:-ŋa
show-IMPER 3SG-DAT2
Show [this] to him.

22. waga wubin njumba-ŋe-ŋ
no wise.man show-REFL-GENRL
No, let the wise man show himself [to him].

23. waga ŋin ṭay yima gan
not 2SG 1SG do.this DEM
We (incl.) did not do this.

24. galaŋ ŋin guwe yi-ŋe
well 2SG then be-IMPERFV
You are well.
25. wanja ŋin gembe-o
    INTERROG 2SG play-GENRL
    Do you play?

26. ŋin-a menje ya:
    2SG-ACC ? yes
    To you [he] answers 'Yes'.

27. ñay guwe ŋin-gari name-ngे muranj-dju
    1SG then 2SG-DAT3 paint-IMPERFV white.paint-INST
    I am painting you with white paint.

28. binal wamba-yi
    ear put-PAST
    [They] listened (lit. put ears).

29. wanju-ŋi-ra ya-ngu
    where-TIME go-FUT
    When will [he] go?

30. guwe nja-ŋi yo:-ŋa mura-nji-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 boyanga yo:-ri
    fire ? 3SG-PURP
    [They] lit a fire for him??

32. gari-ŋi-nu guwe
    DEM-END then
    This was it.

33. wane-o yayumba-me
    leave-IMPER soon-SPEC
    Leave [him] now.

34. mume-nji yo:we-ru gembe-nji
    ?-PERFV 3PL-ERG play-PERFV
    [He] was acting and they were all playing.

35. yo:we-ru yandi-nji yo:-ri
    3PL-ERG sing-PERFV 3SG-PURP
    They were all singing for him.

36. ño: wende-nji
    night ?-PERFV
    The night stretched out.

37. badja-ru guwe yandi-nji
    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-LOC1 leave-GENRL then
   In the light (i.e. at the end of the night) [they] left [him].

40. guyum yanga-ya
    fire make-PAST
    [They] make a fire.

41. garinma 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-nji 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 nja-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. nja-dju bu-mgu-wa
    1SG-ERG kill-FUT-PURP
    I [will use these] in order to kill.
53. wandja guwe yo:we wane-ọ ya-ndji
   where then 3PL leave-GENRL go-?
   I wonder where they went after leaving me?

54. nja-ŋji demba
   see-PAST track
   [He] saw tracks.

55. dawari-ŋji dawari-ŋji
   follow-PERFV follow-PERFV
   [He] followed and followed.

56. waga guwe mayi nja-ŋji
   not then ? see-PAST
   [He] could not see anything.

57. dja: gana yune-ŋji
   track DEM lie-PERFV
   The tracks were lying here.

58. wandja guwe ya-ŋji
   where then go-PERFV
   Where did [they] go?

59. guwe ya-ŋji guwe
   then go-PERFV then
   So [he] went.

60. bayer-nu wa-yi njinda-ọ nja-ŋji
    mountain-LOC₃ climb-PAST go.down-GENRL look-PAST
    [He] climbed up the mountains and then looked down.

61. guwe nja-ŋji da:m wambe-ŋji-na
    then see-PAST fog float-PERFV-ACC
    [He] saw the fog which was floating (in the air).

62. gari-nma yo:wan yune-ŋge hare
    DEM-EMPH 3PL sleep-IMPERFV EXCL
    'Aha, they are sleeping here.'

63. gari-ŋa yo: ya-ŋji
    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-LOC₃
    [He] climbed up another [mountain].
67. da:m me nja-nji
gog ? see-PAST
[He] saw fog.

68. waga minja gana
nothing ? DEM
??

69. nja-dju nja-nji 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:
kilI-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-CAUS2-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:
kilI-PRES 3SG
He kills (something).

80. wane-ŋu guwe
leave-GENRL then
[He] left [it].
9. The Evening Star

A giant lived alone in a cave on top of a mountain. 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.

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 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

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63 McKenzie told Winterbotham (1957) that this mountain was at Beerwah (Map 2).

64 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.

65 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-ji ba:ngi**
   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:ngi-nji**
   3PL be.afraid-PERFV
   They were all frightened.

5. **gari-nma yo: garu yi-ji 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 njin-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 ɲin dje-ọ
   front-LOC 2SG go-IMPER
   You go on in front.

13. guwe ɲay bige dje-nge ɲin-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-ọ
    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 be-IMPERFV
    [He] was out in front.

18. yuŋam-ba guwe ya:-yi man yo: ba-ye ma:ʤayum
    front-LOC then say-PAST DEM 3SG come-PRES giant
    [From] in front he said, 'A giant is coming.

19. ɲuwe:-na bu-mbe gadja
    2PL-ACC kill-PRES DEM
    [He] is (going to) kill you all here.

20. yana-ọ yuŋam-ba
    go-IMPER ahead-LOC
    Go on ahead.'

21. yo: badja-rin ɲjine-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-ŷi-me bu-mi mo: ɲa 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. ɲa-nge goromda-na
    see-IMPERFV three-ACC
    Then [the young man] saw three [people].

24. ya:-ŷi guwe ɲuwe: yana-ọ 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. njuwe:-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-nji
   clever.man-DU then be-PAST
   There were two clever men.

30. gundir gana yi-nji
   clever.man DEM be-PAST
   This one was a clever man, a very smart young man.

31. gibar nja gari-nja na: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-EMPH stay-FUT main.camp-LOC3
   You should stay here at the main camp.'

33. dje-nji guwe moromoro-nu gari-nma yune-nji
   go-PERFV then main.camp-LOC3 DEM-EMPH 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 yujam-ba
   dog DEM front-LOC1
   The dog was in front.

37. djinbam bige-nju ba-yi
   owner behind-LOC3 come-PAST
   His owner (the giant) came behind.

38. nja-nji guwe
   look-PAST then
   [He] looked (around).
39. yima-yi  guwe  ṭa:m-bu  maŋi-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:w  gana  go:
guwe  ṭa: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)’.

43. buginj-a  guwe  bu-mi  guraŋur-u
dog-ACC then kill-PAST spear-INST
So [they] killed the dog using spears.

44. buwa-yi
spear-PAST
[They] speared [it].

45. dje-nji  guwe  ṭuruma-wa
go-PERFV then hide-INT
Then [they] went away intending to hide.

46. ṭurume-nji  gari  man  njande-nu
hide-PERFV DEM  DEM swamp-LOC3
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. nj-a-ŋi  guwe
look-PAST then
[He] looked [for his dog].

49. ṭa-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-ŋe
DEM-EMPH probably then 3DU close.by be-IMPERFV
‘Those two are probably close to here.’

51. djanjum  yi-ŋi  nj-a-ŋi  guwe
by  be-IMPERFV see-PAST then
[They] were close.by, [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-INST then 3SG lie-PERFV
He lay down using his belly.

56. mu:-ndu yune-nji guwe dja:-0
belly-INST lie-PERFV then drink-GENRL
[He] lay down using his belly and then drank.

57. guŋ dja:-0
water drink-GENRL
[He] drank water.

58. gurangur-u yowa:m-bu buwa-n guwe yo:-ŋa wanda
spear-INST 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-ABL1 sink-PAST water-LOC1
He sank into the water from the water’s edge.

60. ya:-ye-ŋi guwe yowa:m wandja wandju-ma-wu guwe
say-RECP-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-ABL1
‘[We] should take that one out of the water’ (one of them said).

62. waga wane-0
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-0 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. ɲa:m-bu yo:-ɲa dawari-yu guwe 1DU-ERG 3SG-ACC follow-FUT then
We two will follow him.

67. njunam-a njumba-wu yo:-ru ɲinɲangurra
children-DAT2 show-FUT 3SG-ERG creation.time
He will show creation times [things] to the children.

68. yima-yi bu-mi yo:-ɲa 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 njà-wu bige-nju ba-yi-ndu
then see-FUT behind-LOC3 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-ɲge
brother-DU-ERG follow-PRES
The two brothers follow [him].

77. bige-nju djanja-ru
behind-LOC3 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. goni y-i-Ø yo: ya-nju gari-nma njine-yu nju:im
   wish be-PAST 3SG go-FUT DEM-EMPH stay-INT sun
   njinda-yi-nu
   go.down-PAST-LOC3
   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:nja-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-CAUS2-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-CAUS2-PERFV
    He made [the dog] sit there.

11. yo:-ri ya:-yi yima guwe nja
    3SG-DAT3 tell-PAST do.like.this then 1SG
    I told him to do [it] like this.

12. nja goni 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. ngen-du yo:wan-a yiya-wu
   2SG-ERG 3PL-ACC bite-FUT
   'You will bite them all.

14. gara gana giragira-o goru
    DEM DEM trouble-GENRL ?
    They are troubling [me] here??

15. giragira-wu
    trouble-FUT
    [They] will trouble [me].

16. ngen-du yiya-me-o yo:wan-a bu-ma-o
    2SG-ERG bite-AROUND-IMPER 3PL-ACC kill-IMPER
    You bite them all over and kill them all.

17. bu-mgu-wa nga:m-bu
    kill-FUT-DESID 1DU-ERG
    We two want to kill [them].

18. nga yana-nde
    1SG go-PRES
    I am going.

19. nga:m nga ya-ngu gari-nga nguwim njinda-yi-nu
    1DU 2SG go-FUT DEM-ALL sun go.down-PAST-LOC3
    We will go to where the sun goes down (i.e. west).

20. wanja gari-nga ya-ngu nguwim njinda-yi-nu yu:
    when DEM-ALL go-FUT sun go.down-PAST-LOC3 just
    nga:m-bu me:ndi-re-yu damba-nu
    1DU-ERG hunt-CONT-FUT road-LOC3
    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. nga:m-bu guwe nga-wu
    1DU-ERG then look-FUT
    Then we two will look.

23. gun mana ba:la guwe gari-nma nguwim njinda-yi-nu
    water DEM salt then DEM-EMPH sun go.down-PAST-LOC3
    [We want to see] the other sea (lit. the salt water) where the sun sets (i.e.
    west).

24. wanja nga-wu gari-nma nga: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-njiniu  
DEM-END  
[We have] finished here.
27. wura  
finished  
This is finished.
28. yayumba ọma ọja ya-ndo  
soon 1DU 2SG go-FUT  
We two (incl.) will go soon.
29. yere-njini guwe yowa:ma  
go-PERFV then 3DU  
They two went along.
30. ya-njii  
go-PERFV  
[They] went.
31. yima-yi-me guwe bugi-njii dom-eji  
do.like.this-PAST-REPET then dog-ERG hunt-PERFV 3PL-ACC  
yuqam-u  
front-LOC3  
In the same way, the dog went in front and hunted them all.
32. yo:ma:dayum bige-nju dje-njii  
3SG giant behind-LOC3 go-PERFV  
He, the giant, was going behind [him].
33. me:ndi-re-njii mo:bugi-njii yo:wan-a  
hunt-CONT-PERFV DEM dog-ERG 3PL-ACC  
That one, the dog was still hunting them all.
34. yiya-me-njii guwe  
bite-AROUND-PERFV then  
[The dog] was biting [them].
35. bu-mi badja-ri-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-njii 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-LOC3
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:-nu
already go-PERFV 3SG-ABL1
[These others] had already gone away from him.

46. be:na-o 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 yangayanga
DEM carefully
[You hide] careful here.

50. ya-nji gara
go-PERFV DEM
[They] went here.
51. **damba-nu yo:wam yune-ngə gara**
   road-LOC₃ 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-LOC₃ 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 galaț**
   then alright
   ‘That’s alright.

60. **yayumba-me nja: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 yuŋam-ba**
   dog already go-PAST ahead-LOC₁
   The dog had already gone ahead.

63. **buginj-dju nja-ø guwe**
   dog-ERG see-GENRL then
   Then the dog saw [something].

64. **minja-n̄a gari ye-ø**
   what-ACC DEM be-GENRL
   ‘What is here?’
65. guniy an yi-ŋi dja:
plain be-PAST ground
It was plain ground.

66. yo: yuŋam-ba dje-ø
3SG ahead-LOC go-GENRL
He went ahead.

67. nja-ŋi
look-PAST
[He] looked.

68. buginj-du yo:mm nja-ŋi-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-ŋi wabe-ŋe-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-ŋi 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. guniy an yi-ŋi
plain be-PAST
It was a plain.

74. dadu dunme-nji neyen
tree move-PERFV outside
Outside, the trees were moving.

75. ŋumga-ŋi guwe yowa:mm
go.through-PAST then 3DU
They two went through there.

76. gari-nma ŋumga-ŋi
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-ŋi badja
man then be-PAST other.one
There was another man.
79. gundir  
clever.man  
A clever man.

80. yo: be:ja-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: yu:njam-ba dje-nji ya:-yi  
3SG ahead-LOC1 go-PERFV tell-PAST  
He went ahead and told [those ahead of the giant].

82. nja-nji guwe  
look.at-PAST then  
[He] looked at [them].

83. gara guwe yune-nge goromda  
DEM then sleep-IMPER few  
A few [of them] were sleeping here.

84. ya:-ø yo:wan-a guyum-ba  
speak-GENRL 3PL-ACC camp-LOC1  
[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:джайum-bu bu-mbe mo:  
giant-ERG kill-PRES DEM  
The giant (is going) to kill those [people].

87. buginj-dju yu:njam-ba yi-nge badji-nge  
dog-ERG front-LOC1 be-IMPERV find-IMPERV  
The dog is in front finding [camps].

88. nуwe: njin yana-ø garа  
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-mа damba-nu guwe gara yune-nge  
DEM-EMPH road-LOC3 then DEM camp-IMPERV  
They are camping on the road here.

91. yana-ø marа njin  
go-IMPER DEM 2SG  
You go away there.’

92. miyа:gunj badja-rin giyuru  
eye-PRIV other.one-PL sick  
[One of them is] blind and the other ones are sick.
93. ba-ø ña-dju ñowa:m-a buyi-ø 
    come-IMPER 1SG-ERG 2DU-ACC take-GENRL 
    ‘Come, I will take you two [there].’

94. gun j ye-ø gara 
    water be-GENRL DEM 
    ‘Is there any water around here?’ (the blind man asked)

95. njumba-ø guwe gun j 
    show-GENRL then water 
    [He] showed [them] where the water was.

96. man gun j ye-ø gari-ña 
    DEM water be-GENRL DEM-ALL 
    There is water here.

97. gari-ña ña:m-bu dje-ndi-yu 
    DEM-ALL 1DU-ERG go-CAUS2-FUT 
    We two will take [them] to there.

98. nin-du dje-ndi-yu 
    2SG-ERG go-CAUS2-FUT 
    You will take [them].

99. nin gibar gibar 
    2SG young.man young.man 
    You are a young man.

100. dje-ndi-yu 
    go-CAUS2-FUT 
    [You] will take [them].

101. gadji-ma wane-ø guwe gurilña-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. gurilña-na ger dje-nge 
    old.man-ACC try go-IMPERFV 
    [They] tried to move the old men away.

103. wane-ø ñowa: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-ña moromoro wabe-nji yo:-ña 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-PFV
[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$_3$ go-GENRL
He (the giant) then goes behind.

111. dawari-nge djinbam
follow-IMPERFV owner
The owner follows.

112. wandju-ma-wu ña: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 ña:m-bu yanga-wu
do.like.this then 1DU-ERG make-FUT
We two will make [it] like this.

115. ñin bunma-ø
2SG draw.out-REFL
You draw out of yourself (i.e. draw upon your powers).

116. minja-ña ñin-gari ye-ø
what-ACC 2SG-GEN be-GENRL
What have you got?

117. gundir ñin
clever.man 2SG
Are you a clever man?’

118. ya: gundirr ñay
yes clever.man 1SG
‘Yes, I am a clever man.’

119. bunma-ø-ñi
draw.out-REFL-PFV
[He] drew upon himself.
120. ya:-o guwe bayer bunma-yi
   speak-GENRL then mountain draw.out-PAST
   [He] spoke and drew out a (little) mountain.
121. bayer bunma-o 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-o
   DEM-END then look-GENRL
   This was finished and then he looked.
124. wanja buginj-dju dawari-o ŋa:m-a gari-ŋa ŋa:m dje-yu
   when dog-ERG follow-GENRL ID U-ACC DEM-ALL IDU go-FUT
   ‘When the dog follows us two, we will both go to there.
125. njuruma-wu yo:-ri
   hide-FUT 3SG-DAT3
   [We] will hide from him.
126. guranɡur ŋin-gari ye-ŋa ŋa-ri guranɡur 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-ŋa 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-LOC3 1SG-ERG draw.out-PAST
   I drew out a mountain.
129. wanja yo: gari-yu wanda guwe buwa-ŋa 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-ŋa
   DEM-EMPH kill-IMPER
   Kill [him] here.’
131. wanja yo: ba-wu wandju-ma-ŋa 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-ŋa gadja
   what-FACT-GENRL DEM
   ‘I don’t know what we will do with him here.’
133. ṃay guwe bunma-uko 1SG then draw.out-REFL-FUT
   'I will draw out of myself (i.e. draw upon my powers).

134. bunma-uko ṃay draw.out-REFL 1SG
   I will draw out of myself.'

135. wane-Ø 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. ṃin bunma-uko 2SG draw.out-REFL-IMPER
   'You draw out of yourself.'

138. mana yo: bunma-uko-yi guwe
   DEM 3SG draw.out-REFL-PERFV then
Then he drew out of himself there.

139. badja bunma-uko-yi
   other.one draw.out-REFL-PERFV
The other one drew out of himself.

140. njande guwe yo: wane-Ø
   swamp then 3SG leave-GENRL
Then he left a swamp.

141. njande yi-nge
   swamp be-IMPERFV
It is a swamp.

142. ṃin-du nja-Ø
gana
2SG-ERG look.at-IMPER DEM
'You look at this.'

143. nja-yi guwe badja-ru
   look.at-PAST then other.one-ERG
Then the other one looked at [it].

144. njande ṃin-gari mana
   swamp 2SG-GEN DEM
   'Is that swamp yours?'

145. ṃa-ri mana njande
   1SG-GEN DEM swamp
   'That is my swamp.

146. yu: ṃa-dju wane-Ø
   just 1SG-ERG leave-GENRL
   I will just leave it.
147. gari-nma ŋay-wa  
DEM-EMPH 1SG-DAT_1 ??

148. ŋurume-inge djan-baŋi  
hide-IMPERFV man-AVER  
[We] are hiding for fear of the man.

149. yima-o ŋa:m ŋin  
do.like.this-IMPER 1DU 2SG  
Let's do it like this! (i.e. hide)

150. ya: galaŋ wura  
yes good done  
Yes, this is already good.

151. wanja guŋ-u dja:-0 guŋbiru ŋa-du guwe yo:-ŋa  
when water-LOC₃ drink-GENRL thirsty 1SG-ERG then 3SG-ACC  
djimbam-a buwa-0  
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 guŋ-u  
3SG breath ?-PRIV water-LOC₃  
He is without breath at the water.

153. guŋ-u gara  
water-LOC₃ DEM  
Here at the water.

154. gari-ŋa yo: dje-yu  
DEM-ALL 3SG go-FUT  
He will go to there.

155. guŋ dja:-wu  
water drink-FUT  
[He] will drink water.

156. ŋa-du yima yo:-ŋa buwa-wu  
1SG-ERG do.like.this 3SG-ACC spear-FUT  
I will spear him like this.

157. wanja yo:-ŋa buwa-wu guwe ŋa:m-bu gari yo:-ŋa  
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 ŋa: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. ñu:l guwe njumba-ne-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:-ña wane-yi dji
star few 3SG-ACC leave-PAST ?
[They] left him as a few stars.

166. wanja ñuwim njinda-ø yo: guwe bige-nju
dawari-ñi
when sun go.down-GENRL 3SG then behind-LOC3
follow-PAST
When the sun went down, then he followed behind.

167. yima-yi-me yo:-ña 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-LOC3 go.in-PERFV
He went into the water there.

169. ña:m-bu bu-mi-nda gana
IDU-ERG kill-PAST-NMLSR DEM
We two were the ones who killed this one.

170. galan wura yima guwe ña: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-ñinu
DEM-END
This is the end (of it).
They were both power-drawing ones.

‘Don’t leave it to be on the ground.’

They two turned him into a star, a star.

Like this, of the three, he is in front.

[They] turned [him] into a star.

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.

The brolga is a large bird.
2. wanja yo:we-ri gari-nma yo:we yana-nnde
INTERROG 3PL-? DEM-EMPH 3PL go-PRES
How did they all go here??

3. wanja njanamerr yo:-ri njande-nu yana-nnde
when brolga 3SG-? swamp-LOC3 go-PRES
When did the cranes go to the swamp??

4. niswa: gunda-yi guwe bala-ru
egg lay-PAST then jewfish-ERG
The jewfish laid eggs.

5. njande-nu niswa: 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. njalalj-u yo:rr yana-nnde
mud-LOC3 everywhere go-PRES
[He] goes everywhere in the mud.

8. niswa: guwe mana dari-nge yo:-ja djinanj-u
egg then DEM pick.up-IMPERFV 3SG-ACC feet-LOC3
[He] picks up the eggs on his feet.

9. yana-nnde guwe yo: dare-nge
go-PRES then 3SG fly-IMPERFV
Then he is going away and is flying.

10. yana-nnde
go-PRES
[He] is [still] going.

11. gunj nja-re-nge yo:
water look-CONT-IMPERFV 3SG
He is looking around [for] water.

12. gunj gara yi-ye
water DEM be-PRES
It is water here.

13. njinda-o guwe yo: gari-nma
go.down-GENRL then 3SG DEM-EMPH
He goes down here.

14. guyur-gu gaye-wa
food-PURP look-TNT
[He] intends to look for food.

15. bumi-nge guwe mana niswa: djinanj-u buyu-nu
fall-IMPERFV then DEM egg feet-ABL1 leg-ABL1
The eggs fall from his feet and legs.
16. bumi-nge
fall.off-IMPFV
[The eggs] fell off.

17. ηjuwim guwe wa-ye
sun then rise-PRES
Then the sun rises.

18. ηjuwim-bu guwe mana manundje-re bujunda-ø ηuwa: mana
sun-ERG then DEM hatch-CONT open.up-GENRL egg DEM
Then the sun hatches and opens up the eggs.

19. bujunda-ø ηuwa: ηjuwim-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. ηande gana
mullet DEM
These are mullet.

25. ηan-du gana bari-nji
who-ERG DEM bring-PERFV
Who brought these [fish] here?

26. waga bari-nji mo:
not bring-PERFV DEM
That one (the brolga) did not bring [them].

27. djwi-ndu buyi-le ηuwa: 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. ηjuwim-bu guwe djime-ø
sun-ERG then shine.on-GENRL
The sun is shining on [them].
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. njinnangurra
   creation.time
   A creation time story.

2. njunam ya:-ye-nji gawurre-ndjin
   children talk-RECIPE-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-RECV-PERFV boy-DU
   Two boys were fighting each other.

5. guwe badja-ru ya:-yi ŋay yana-ŋ
   then one.of.pair-ERG say-PAST 1SG go-GENRL
   One of them said, 'I am going.

6. ŋa-nja ŋin-du bu-mi
   1SG-ACC 2SG-ERG hit-PAST
   You hit me.'

7. ŋa-ri bebere ba:ŋgi ye-ŋ
   1SG-GEN uncle savage be-GENRL
   'My uncle is savage.

8. ŋin-gari bebere ba:ŋgi
   2SG-GEN uncle savage
   Is your uncle savage?' (one of them said).

9. ya: ŋa-ri yayumbe
   yes 1SG-GEN same
   'Yes, mine is the same' (the other one answered).

10. ŋin dje-ŋ
    2SG go-IMPER
    'You go.

11. yo:wan-a ŋin-du ya:-wu ŋin-gari bebere-na
    3DU-ACC 2SG-ERG say-INT 2SG-GEN uncle-ACC
    You should speak to them, [to] your uncle.

12. ŋa-dju ya:-le ŋa-rinj-a
    1SG-ERG say-CONT 1SG-GEN-ACC
    I will speak to mine.

13. yayumba-me dje-ŋ
    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: ŋa-nja bu-mi-na bayer-nu warru yabu
    boy-ERG DEM 1SG-ACC hit-PAST-ACC mountain-ABL1 region only
    'The boy, that one who hit me is only from the mountain region.'

16. ŋa:m ŋin dje-wu ŋa-dju yo:-ŋa ya:-yi
    1DU 2SG go-FUT 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC say-PAST
    'We (incl.) will go' I said to him.
17. nín ba:ŋgi ye-Ø
   2SG savage be-GENRL
   ‘You are savage’ (his nephew said).

18. ya: galaŋ nín-du ya:-yi
   yes good 2SG-ERG say-PAST
   ‘Yes, it is good (i.e. true) [what] you said.

19. nay dje-ŋe yo:-ri
   1SG go-IMPERFV 3SG-ALL
   I am going to him’ (his uncle replied).

20. dje-ŋi guwe
    go-PERFV then
    Then [he] went.

21. dulara-me wa: ya-nji bebere mara-ri barrunŋga-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 nín-du bunjma-yi nín-garŋa-y-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: nja-dju bunjma-yi
    yes 1SG-ERG boast-PAST
    ‘Yes, I have boasted [about him]’ (the other boy replied).

24. nín ba:ŋgi
    2SG savage
    ‘You are savage’ (one of the men said).

25. ya: nay ba:ŋgi
    yes 1SG savage
    ‘Yes, I am savage’ (the other man responded).

26. yowa:m nja-ŋje-ŋi guwe
    3DU look-at-RECIP-PERFV then
    Then they both looked at each other.

27. nja-ŋje-ŋi yowa:m
    look-at-RECIP-PERFV 3DU
    They two [continued] looking at each other.

28. baran-ŋa yi-ŋi
    boomerang-CON be-PAST
    [They] were [both] boomerang men.

29. baran-duamba-ye-njiyowa:m
    boomerang-INST pelt-RECIP-PERFV 3DU
    They both pelted each other with boomerangs.

30. baran-duamba-ye-n
    boomerang-INST 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  ña-dju  yowana-wu
   2SG-ACC  1SG-ERG  knock.down-FUT
   ‘I am going to knock you down’ (replied the offended cockatoo).

40. waga  ŋin  njengga  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 njin-du baran gawa-yi
    what-FACT-PAST 2SG-ERG boomerang dodge-PAST
    ‘How did you dodge the boomerangs?’ (enquired the cockatoo).

44. njin-du man menjindu baran gawa-yi njin-du
    2SG-ERG DEM ? boomerang dodge-PAST 2SG-ERG
    baran mana
    boomerang DEM
    ??

45. waga ṃa-dju ṃin-a njumba-wa
    no 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT₂ 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-ṃi yune-nge
    DEM-LOC lie-IMPERFV
    ‘[I] was lying in here.

48. gari-ṃi wunda-ṃe-nji wanja ṃa-dju baran nja-ṃi
    DEM-LOC cover-REFL-PERFV when 1SG-ERG boomerang see-PAST
    biye-nji-na
    throw-PERFV-ACC
    [I] covered myself (i.e. bent over) in here when I saw the boomerang which
    was thrown.

49. ṃay gunu wunda-ṃe-nji
    1SG deep.below cover-REFL-PERFV
    I covered myself deep below (i.e. under the ground).’

50. wubin wunba ṃin
    wise.man very 2SG
    (The cockatoo said), ‘You are a very wise man.

51. wane-Ŏ gari-nma
    leave-IMPER DEM-EMPH
    Leave [it] right here.

52. ṃin wubin wunba
    2SG wise.man very
    You are a very wise man

53. ṃa-dju ṃin-a wane-Ŏ guwe
    1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC leave-GENRL then
    I will leave you.’
Then I said to them, ‘Don’t go (close) to the wild one there.’

55. wane-0 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. 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 and the boy successfully returned to his home with fire.

1. yima ye-0
do.like.this be-GENRL,
[They] have done [it] like this.

2. bebere-yu ba:ri-nji goro:man djajgar
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 *djij* for kangaroo. This is a Waga-Waga word (Holmer 1983:55).

3. ya:-yi guwe nugarim-ba mana nin-du dja:-0
say-PAST then nephew-DAT1 DEM 2SG-ERG eat-IMPER
[He] said to [his] nephew, ‘You eat that.’

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66 The stick was a grass tree root which was very dry and was thus easy to ignite.
67 These are the stones found in the Mary River at the foot of the range (Winterbotham 1957).
68 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 Duunjidjawu 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 ŋay gonj mana
no not 1SG want DEM
‘No, I don’t want that.’

5. gowon mana
raw DEM
That is raw.’

6. ŋan-du ŋin-a ya:-yi mana gowon
who-ERG 2SG-ACC tell-PAST DEM raw
‘Who told you that is raw?’

7. ŋa-du jə nja-ŋi
1SG-ERG look-at-PAST
‘I looked at it.’

8. ŋa-du be:ŋa-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 njine-ŋi-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 ŋay gowon ya:-yi
not 1SG raw say-PAST
I didn’t say it was raw.

12. galaj mana
good DEM
That is good.’

3PL.-ERG eat-PAST DEM other.one-CPL-ERG
They all ate it, all the others.

14. ŋin-du guwe ya:-le gowon
2SG-ERG then say-CONT raw
‘You continually say “[It’s] raw’.

15. guyum-ba ŋuwe-yu
fire-LOC1 cook-FUT
[You] should cook [it] in the fire.’

16. minja-ŋa mana guyum
what-ACC DEM fire
‘What’s is fire?’
17. yo:wan-a wundi-nji yunger ṅay-wanji
3PL-ACC come.off-PERFV idea 1SG-ABL
An idea came off of me to them.

18. ya:
yes

19. wanja ḋin-du yo:wan-a waga dja:-wu
INTERROG 2SG-ERG 3PL-ACC not eat-FUT
‘Why will you not eat [like] them?’

20. ṣa-dju ḋin-a wane-ọ
1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC leave-GENRL
I am going to leave you.’

21. ṣa-dju ya:-wu ụwe-ọ ụn-garinj-a
1SG-ERG say-FUT mother-ACC 2SG-GEN-ACC
I will tell your mother.

22. waga ḋin-du yima-ị ya:-ọ
don’t 2SG-ERG do.like.this-PAST talk-IMPER
You don’t talk [to me] like that.

23. buyi-ọ ḋin-du ṅay-wanụ bi:-nu
take-IMPER 2SG-ERG 1SG-ABL1 hand-ABL1
You take [it] from my hand (i.e. the kangaroo leg).

24. bi:-nu buyi-ọ
hand-ABL1 take-IMPER
Take [it] from [my] hand.

25. ṣa-dju guwe ya:-le yo:wan-a
1SG-ERG then tell-CONT 3PL-ACC
I will then tell them all.

26. ṣa-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-ŋgu gam waga dja:-ọ
what-PURP doubt not eat-GENRL
Why does [he] not eat?

29. wane-ọ guwe yo:
leave-GENRL then 3SG
He (the young boy) left.

30. ṣa-dju wane-ọ
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 babyanmi-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. ña-dju ya:-yi guwe babyanmi-na mana gari-ñi
ISG-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. babyanmi-na ya:-yi
father-ACC say-PAST
[He] told his father.

37. babyanmi-na ya:-yi dom-djin-a bebere-na ñin-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 ñin gara ñjine-ø yana-ø ñin
don't 2SG DEM stay-IMPER go-IMPER 2SG
'Don't you stay here, go away.

42. gaye-ø mara-ri ñin
look-IMPER DEM-PURP 2SG
You look for that.

43. wandja ñin 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-∅
    EXCL go-IMPER
   Good. go!’

47. meli-ŋi guwe yo-ŋa
    chase-PERFV then 3SG-ACC
   [They] chased him away.

48. ya-ŋi wa-yi gibar
    go-PERFV go.up-PAST man
   The young man went and went up.

49. nja-re-ŋi mana guwe ŋuwim njinda-yi-ŋa
    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-ŋe guwe
    sun go.down-PAST-SIMULT look-IMPERFV then
   When the sun was going down, then he looks.

51. ŋay wandju-ma-∅ 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-ŋi
    children-ACC follow-PERFV
   So [he] followed the children.

54. nja-ŋi guwe
    look-PAST then
   Then [he] looked.

55. gowon me ye-∅
    raw ? be-GENRL
   It is still raw (i.e. food is still being eaten in its raw state).

56. wane-∅ guwe mana ya-ŋi guwe
    leave-GENRL then DEM go-PERFV then
   [He] left there and then went on.

57. ya-ŋi 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. e?e
   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 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. nga: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. nga:ba-yi
    pass-PAST
    [He] passed by.

65. bayer guwe nja-nji
    mountain then see-PAST
Then [he] saw a mountain.

66. yi-nji yujam-ba
    be-PAST ahead-LOC
It was ahead.

67. yo: nja-nji guwe
    3SG see-PAST then
He saw [the mountain].

68. gari nga guwe wanja wa-wu guwe njuwim
    DEM 1SG 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 nga:ba-yi
    not pass-PAST
    [He] had not passed by.
The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.

The children were good and strong.
83. moromoro djanjum-i wabe-ø
main.camp close-LOC wait-GENRL
[He] waited close to the main camp.

84. nja-wa ya-ngu waga guwe djanjum ño:
watch-DESID go-FUT not then close night
[He] wanted to watch, but [he] will not go close [until] dark.

85. wabe-nji ñuwim njinda-yi
wait-PERFV sun go.down-PAST
[He] waited [until] the sun went down.

86. ño: ño: wa-yi
night night climb-PAST
In the dark, [he] climbed up.

87. nja-nji guwe benju
look-PAST then up.high
Then [he] looked up high.

88. nja-nji njinda-ma-yi guyum-bu
look-PAST go.down-CAUS-PAST fire-?
[He] looked down on a fire.

89. nja-nji gu:ni djime-nji-na
see-PAST light shine-PERFV-ACC
[He] saw a light which was shining.

90. yu:ne ba-yi
? come-PAST
[He] came closer.

91. ña-dju yow-a ya:-yi
1SG-ERG 3PL-ACC say-PAST
I spoke to them.

92. guyum mana goromda ñuruma-yi
fire DEM few hide-PAST
A few [people] hid their fire (as they didn’t want to give it to anyone).

93. dje-nji ye njinda-yi
go-PERFV towards go.down-PAST
[He] went and climbed downwards.

94. gari-ñjä guwe nja-nji
DEM-ALL then look-PAST
[He] looked this way.

95. biya:yu guwe yi-nge gima garu gara ye-ø
two then be-IMPERFV boy one DEM be-GENRL
Then there were two (people) and one boy here.

96. njubanji yune-ñjä
married.couple+NOM sleep-PERFV
The married couple were sleeping.
97. wana-ŋu guyum nja-tji
    far.away-LOC3 fire see-PAST
    [He] saw a fire far away.

98. gamnja-yi djage miyarr mana
    break-PAST grass.tree charcoal DEM
    [He] broke the grass tree stick [and] the charcoal.

99. gima-na guwe ya-ngu wiye-∅
    boy-DAT2 then go-FUT give-GENRL
    [I] will go and give it to the boy.

100. dadu wiye-∅ guwe
    stick give-GENRL then
    [He] gave the stick [to him].

101. man gima-na wiye-nji dadu
    DEM boy-DAT2 give-PERFV stick
    That one gave the stick to the small boy.

102. njin gembe-∅ mana
    2SG play-IMPER DEM
    'You play with that [stick].'

103. yima njin gembe-re-∅ 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-∅
    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.
The boy did not speak using words yet.

[He] pointed at the fire.

Then the mother looked.

‘What is here?'

Why are [you] always being silly like that?

[You] will wake up [your father], my sleeping husband.’

The father sat up.

The boy was pointing with the stick at the other side.

So he looked.

The husband saw [his] tracks.

The tracks [of] the man [who] was there.

There are footprints there.

That one (the boy) stole the fire.

[He] woke all of them up.
125. djan ba-yi
man come-PAST
‘A man came.

126. guyum ɲurume-yi ɲa:m-baŋu
fire steal-PAST 1DU-ABL
[He] stole the fire from us two.

127. ba-ø
come-IMPER
Come!

128. dawari-ø yo:-ŋa
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:ŋe-nji
DEM 3SG do.like.this feel-PERFV
He felt like this.

131. ɲuwe-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. djaŋar ya-nji guyum nja-njı-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. guŋ-ga gunda-nji-nji ɲurume-nji-nji
water-LOC jump-PERFV-PERFV hide-PERFV-PERFV
[He] jumped, hid repeatedly in the water.

138. waga guyum mana djime-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. nja: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-DAT₁ close be-PRES [They] are close to him.

143. yo: be:ne-nji guwe djanjum mana dje-ngé 3SG sense-PERFV then close DEM go-IMPERFV He sensed that he was going close to those [men].

144. njoy wa-wu waga 1SG climb-FUT no 'I will climb up. No.'

145. guwe yo: djúŋa nja-ŋi then 3SG vine see-PAST Then he saw a vine.

146. djúŋa dare-nji yo: wa-yi burunbi-nu vine hang-PERFV 3SG climb.up-PAST cliff-LOC₃ The vine was hanging down so he [used it to] climb up the cliff.

147. mande yáŋga-ø ga:-yì guwe mana djúŋa step make-GENRL cut-PAST then DEM vine [He] made steps and then cut the vine.


149. mande yáŋga-yì steps make-PAST [He] made steps.

150. nìn-du njuruma-yi 2SG-ERG steal-PAST 'You have stolen [our fire].'

151. nìn-gari njuruma-yi 2SG-GEN steal-PAST '[I] stole yours.'

152. maŋenayì nìn-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-ø
3SG climb-GENRL
He climbed.

158. mana ŋin njine-ø
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-ø guwe
kill-PRES leave-GENRL then
[We] are going to kill [you] and then leave you.

161. njine-ø mara
sit-IMPER DEM
Sit there!’

162. wa-yi guwe
climb-PAST then
Then [he] climbed.

163. doyiamba-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. gaŋaː-wa ba-ŋi biga-nju
on.top-DAT₁ come-PAST behind-LOC₃
??

168. wiyarr binda-yi barawam
fame send-PAST meat.ants
??

169. biga-nju ba-ŋi
behind-LOC₃ 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. njaŋgurla wa-ŋi
creation.time climb.up-PAST
In the creation time, [he] climbed up.

173. man guwe bu-ŋi-ŋa nja-ŋa
dem then kill-PAST-? 2SG-ACC ?
[We] intend to kill you??

174. nja-ŋi da guwe yo:wan-a
see-NMLSR then 3PL-ACC
One who saw them??

175. guwe ŋa-dju bu-mbe nja-ŋa
then 1SG-ERG kill-PRES 2SG-ACC
So I am going to kill you.

176. bu-ŋa guwe wura
kill-PAST then finished
[He] killed [them] and that was finished.

177. gari-ŋi bu 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-ŋi doyi
DEM-EMPH be-GENRL stone
[They] are stones here.
181. gari-nma njine-0
DEM-EMPH 2PL sit-IMPER
‘You all sit right here!’

182. njine-nji
sit-PERFV
[They] are sitting [there].

183. wane-0 guwe wane-0
leave-GENRL then leave-GENRL
Now, [we’ll] leave [it], leave it.

184. nja-0 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-nji
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: djaŋar wiye-nji gima-wa dja:-wu-wa
uncle-ERG wallaby thigh give-PERFV boy-DAT1 eat-FUT-PURP
The uncle gave a wallaby thigh to the boy in order for him to eat.

2. gîma-ru guwe ya:-yi mama:-ŋa gowon mana guyur
boy-ERG then say-PAST uncle-DAT2 raw DEM food
The boy then said to [his] uncle, ‘That food is raw.’

3. mama: guwe ya:-yi galaŋ mana
uncle then say-PAST good DEM
So the uncle then said, ‘It is good.’

4. waga gîma-ru ya:-yi
no boy-ERG say-PAST
‘No’, said the boy.

5. guyum ba:ri-0 ŋa-dju ŋin-a njumba-wu
fire bring-GENRL ISG-ERG 2SG-DAT2 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-duj 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-duj gana njumba-ye wanja ŋa-duj 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-ŋi 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-LOC1  
    [They] threw the wallaby into the fire.

17. nja-ø nja-wu  
    look-IMPER look-FUT  
    'Look, [I] will look.'

18. bunma-ŋi guyum-u mana dja:-yi guwe  
    take.out-PAST fire-ABL4 DEM eat-PAST then  
    [They] took [it] out of the fire and then ate it.

19. galan yima wane-ø  
    good do.like.this leave-IMPER  
    '[It] is good, leave [it] like this.'
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* ‘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.69

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69 The Dungi bara term for ‘platypus’, which is also used in this story, is *djumera*browa.

70 The waterhole in this story, Mairwar Lagoon (see Map 1), is said by the Duunjidjawu 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. gadiwa-yi gurilña
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
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-me
    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:ni-nu guyur bu-mgu-wa
    3PL go-CONT-PERFV DEM river-LOC3 fish kill-FUT-PURP
    なんで 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 njebi-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
   The boy went ahead.

45. **ya:-ø warre-nji guwe yo: yowan-a gari-nma bunjaŋ-u**
   say-GENRL hunt-PERFV then 3SG 3PL-ACC DEM-EMPH ahead-LOC
   He warned all of them here ahead.
46. waga+ra njine-0 man djan ba-ye muyim-na
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 ńowa:m-a ńa:-na
kill-PRES-DESID 2DU-ACC 1PL-ACC
[He] wants to kill you two, all of us.’

48. e?e
EXCL
Oh yes.

49. dje-re-nji waga yo:w
go-CONT-PERFV not 3PL
They all would not go away.

50. gari-nma njine-nji yo:w
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
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 ɲande
    many DEM mullet
    There were lots of mullet there.

61. njowam gange-nji guwe
    husband call.out-PERFV then
    So the husband called out.

62. gange-nji yowa:m
    call.out-PERFV 3DU
    They two called out.

63. yo:we-ru dama wura yaŋga-yi yo:-ri ma:-ngu-wa
    3PL-ERG net already make-PAST 3SG-PURP grab-FUT-PUR
    yo:-ŋa
    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:-ŋa
    catch-PERFV 3PL-ERG 3SG-ACC
    They caught him.

66. gurema-ŋi
    hold.tightly-PAST
    [They] held [him] tightly.

67. yanjaran gunda-nji
    old.woman jump-PERFV
    The old woman jumped (into the waterhole).

68. njowam ŋa-ri wanja
    husband 1SG-GEN where
    'Where is my husband?'

69. yo: bige-nju gundani-nji
    3SG behind-LOC3 jump.in-PERFV
    She jumped in behind [him].

70. njubanji-ŋa gurema-ŋi
    married.couple-ACC hold.tightly-PAST
    [They] held the married couple tightly.

71. gadji-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. yi ma-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-ŋ
     platypus DEM turn-CAUS₁-IMPER
    Let’s turn [him] into a platypus.
79. gaye-ma-ŋ mana guyur
     turn-CAUS₁-IMPER DEM anything
    Let’s turn [him] into anything.
80. djumerangowa
    platypus
    A platypus.
81. e?e 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-ŋ
     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.
14. The Seven Sisters

The Seven Sisters\(^71\) 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 njin-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.

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\(^{71}\) 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. They said to each other, ‘[Leave it] like this.’ (i.e. This is a rule)

5. If he wants to go to his country, [he] will take you along.

6. Don’t speak back to him (i.e. don’t refuse him).

7. Don’t quarrel.

8. Don’t stay here!

9. The brothers and sisters will quarrel here.

10. He might hear men.

11. Then he may speak his [men] using his words (i.e. in-talk).


13. They start fighting involving you??

14. [They] speared each other using spears.

15. You listen to what your uncle is saying.

16. [Listen to] no one else.

17. 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-DAT3
If you want to return, [you] should bring [your] children to your father.

19. ŋin-du ya:-q 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-CAUS2-CONT-PERFV belongings The two of us have taken [our] belongings.

21. mo:-q 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-q mana:q come-IMPER grab-IMPER Come and grab [it]!

27. bunma-q pull.out-IMPER Pull [it] out.


29. bo:ŋbi bunma-yi feather pull.out.PAST [He] has pulled the feather out.
30. njowamgan guwe ŋin yi-ŋi
   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-ŋ guwe
   go-IMPER then
   Go now.

34. yo-ŋu yana-ŋ
   3sg-COMIT go-IMPER
   Go with him.

35. man ŋin-gari wa:ndji-ŋ baru:
   DEM 2SG-PURP prepare-GENRL camp
   [They] prepared a camp for you there.

36. ŋinjängurra
   creation.time
   [It was in] the creation time.

37. maya ŋa:m go: ya:-wu
   ?? 1DU DEM speak-INT
   We two can now speak to those ones.

38. ŋin-du ma maya ŋin-ŋa
   2SG-ERG ?? 2SG-ACC
   ??

39. wanJa yo: gonj gara njine-wa ŋuwen-banja
   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-ŋinu guwe
   DEM-END then
   Then this is the end.

41. waga guwe binaŋ bo-ŋ
   don't then ear die-GENRL
   Don't forget that.

42. yana-ŋ yayumba-me
   go-IMPER soon-SPEC
   Go now.
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 guiriŋa-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-LOC3
   ‘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:-o guwe badja-ru gari-nma ŋaŋa-o
   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-ŋo
   bark+ABS(O) DEM remove-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-ø wane-ø  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-DAT3 bring-PERFV
[He] brought [food] for them two.

13. wiye-nji yowa:m-a
give-PERFV 3DU-DAT2
[He] gave [it] to them two.

14. go: mana gurilŋa badja
DEM DEM old.man other.one
The other one was an old man??

15. gunu-nu yune-nji
inside-LOC3 sleep-PERFV
Inside [he] was sleeping.

16. gurun badja-ru be:ŋa-yi
noise other.one-ERG hear-PAST
The other one heard a noise.

17. gurun be:ŋa-ø guwe
noise hear-GENRL then
Then [he] heard the noise.

18. guwe ya:-yi badja-na mara ne:ŋ ŋumga-ø
then say-PAST other.one-ACC DEM outside go.out-IMPER
[He] said to the other one, ‘Go outside (of the camp) there.

19. ŋin-du ŋa-wu
2SG-ERG see-FUT
You will see [it].’

20. ŋumga-yi guwe badja
go.out-PAST then other.one
The other one went out.

21. ŋa-ŋe guwe
look-IMPERFV then
[He] looked.

22. waga waga guwe
nothing nothing then
There was nothing.

23. yo:ŋt ŋa-me-nji yo:we-rinj-a damba mana
everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV 3PL-GEN-ACC road 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-ŋ
   yes 1SG-ERG noise hear-GENRL
   Yes, I hear the noise.

28. be:ŋa-ŋ ŋa-dju
   hear-GENRL 1SG-ERG
   I hear [it].

29. ba-ŋ ŋin
   come-IMPER 2SG
   You come [here].

30. gari-nma yune-ŋ
   DEM-EMPH lie.down-IMPER
   Lie down right here.

31. njine-ŋ
   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-ŋ
    noise hear-GENRL
    [He] kept hearing the noise.

35. yabu ŋin ŋumga-ŋ
    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 gurilŋa
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 nja-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 djime-ŋe
no light good sun DEM shine-IMPERFV
No, there is good light here, the sun is shining.

47. minja-ŋa ŋin-banj-e
what-ACC 2SG-ABL2 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 baŋja ya:-ø njumga-ø njin  
old.man other.one say-GENRL go.out-IMPER 2SG  
The other old man said, ‘You come out.

52. njin-du njw-u  
2SG-ERG see-FUT  
You will see [it].’

53. gari-ŋi njә:mb njin-du baŋji-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-ŋe  
ground shake-IMPERFV  
The ground continued to shake.

56. nja-ø njin-du  
look.at-IMPER 2SG-ERG  
‘You look at [it].’

57. njumga-yi guwe mana gurilŋa  
go.out-PERFV then DEM old.man  
The old man went out there (again).

58. yo:rŋ njә-me-nji  
everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV  
[He] was looking around everywhere.

59. biye gari-nji guwe  
back enter-PERFV then  
Then [he] went back in (to his camp).

60. njin-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 njә-dju njә 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. galan guwe yo: guwe yune-ə
    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:ə
    DEM then tell-IMPER
    Tell those ones now.

71. njunam-a guwe ŋa:m-bu ya:-wu wanja guwe mana
    children-ACC then IDU-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-PAST-PAST then
    Then [they] named [it] ‘wind’.

74. eʔe buran galan
    EXCL wind good
    Good, ‘wind’ is good

75. wane-ə 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. yanjaran-bam ya:-ye-ŋji ŋninjangurra
   old.woman-DU talk-RECIP-PERFV creation.time
   Two old women were talking to each other in the creation time.

2. badja-ru guwe ya:-yi minja-ŋa wane-yu yo:we-ri
   one.of.pair-ERG then say-PAST what-ACC leave-FUT 3PL-DAT3
   One of them said, 'What should [we] leave for them (i.e. our ancestors)?'

3. mana ban wane-ŋ
   DEM grass leave-GENRL
   '(How about) leaving grass?' (the other one suggested).

4. waga mana galaj
   not DEM good
   'That is not good' (the other one answered).

5. dadu wane-ŋ
   tree leave-GENRL
   '(How about) leaving some trees?'

6. waga
   no
   'No' (came the answer)

7. minja-ŋa 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-ŋi
   man then come-PAST say-PAST then friend be-PAST
   Then a man came and said that [he] was a friend.

9. őnin-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 őnin
    go-CONT then 2SG
    You should go along.

11. yo:wan-du nja-ŋ őnin-a
    3PL-ERG see-GENRL 2SG-ACC
    They (want to) see you.'
You have stayed here a very long time.

Then he (the man) went there.

[He] went back to the corroboree.

He brought her to the corroboree.

[He] brought [her] to the corroboree.

[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.

This one (the message man) was waiting out front.

[They] saw (the two women) who had come.

‘Do you remember this? (one woman said).

We two (incl.) spoke a long time ago’.

(The other woman replied) ‘I have left that (memory).

I have forgotten.’ (lit. ear died)
24. \( \eta \)-du guwe be:\( \eta \)-yi ya:-o minja-\( \eta \) guwe
ISG-ERG then remember-PAST say-GENRL what-ACC then
'I remember what [we] were saying (the other woman said).'

25. damba mana wane-yu \( \eta \):m-bu
road DEM leave-FUT IDU-ERG
'We two will leave that road (for them)' (the other woman suggested).

26. e?e galanja mana
EXCL good DEM
'Good, that is good! (the other woman replied).

27. damba mana galanja
road DEM good
That road is good.

28. mana wura wane-o njunam-gari
DEM all.right leave-IMPER children-DAT3
That's all right, leave that for the children.

29. wanja yo:we ya-ngu 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-o yo:we-ru wanja yo:we di:-re-yu
see-GENRL 3PL-ERG when 3PL grow.up-CONT-FUT
njubanji-\( \eta \)
married.person-ACC
They will see [the road] when they grow up to be married people.

31. gari-\( \eta \) guwe wane-o
DEM-LOC then leave-IMPER
Leave [it] here then.

32. waga guwe badja-na ya:-o
don't then one.of.pair-ACC say-IMPER
Don't say something else.

33. wane-o guwe
leave-IMPER then
Leave it then.'

34. \( \eta \)ijangurra
creation.time
[This was in] the creation time.

Corroboree

1. yanjaran-bam ya:-ye-\( \eta \)ji minja-\( \eta \) gam wane-wa
old.woman-DU talk-RECIPIPERFV what-ACC probably leave-INT
Two old women were talking ‘What should we leave for the children?’

One of them then said, ‘[Let’s] leave a tree’.

‘No’, the other one answered, ‘A tree is not good’.

One [of the women] went and came back [with] a better [idea].

The other one then said to her sister, ‘Do you remember we (incl.) were talking about what [we] intend to leave for the children?’

‘Yes, [we] will leave a road for them.’

‘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. 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.

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This is said to be at Warranbee (Winterbotham 1957).
1. gima-wam yi-ŋi ŋinŋangurra
   boy-DU be-PAST creation.time
   In the creation time there were two boys.

2. wa:rrre-nji yowa:m bayer-djin-da djìwi bu-mgu-wa
   hunt-PERFV 3DU mountain-PL-LOC bird kill-FUT-PURP
   They two went hunting in the mountains in order to kill birds.

3. wa:rrre-nji nja-me-nji yowa:m-bu
   hunt-PERFV look-AROUND-PERFV 3DU-ERG
   They were both hunting and looking around.

4. wanju gan djìwi dje-nge guwe badjì-ŋ
   where DEM bird come-IMPERFV then find-GENRL
   [They] were trying to find where the birds were coming from.

5. bayer nja-ŋi biya:yu-na
   mountain see-PAST two-ACC
   [They] saw two mountains.

6. djìnim dje-nji yowa:m
   straight go-PERFV 3DU
   They two went straight.

7. ya:-ye-nji guwe gara galan nja-ŋ
   say-RECIP-PERFV then DEM good look-IMPER
   [They] were saying to each other, 'Look, here is good.

8. djìwi bu-mgu-wa nja:m-bu yaŋgayàŋga nja-wu
   bird kill-FUT-PURP 1DU-ERG carefully watch-FUT
   We two will watch carefully in order to kill the birds.'

9. nja-ŋi yowa:m-bu djìwi mana bayer gamunda-yí-na
   see-PAST 3DU-ERG bird DEM mountain cross.over-PAST-ACC
   They two saw birds which crossed over the mountain there.

10. galan nja:m wanja biye yere-yu guyum-gu nja:m-bu ya:-wu
    OK 1DU when back go-FUT camp-ALL. 1DU-ERG say-FUT
    nja:-rinj-a nja:-rinj-a ya: dama guwe yaŋga-ŋ nja: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. nja:m-bu djìwi bu-mgu
    1DU-ERG bird kill-FUT
    We two will kill the birds.

12. dama guwenyí-na yaŋga-ŋ
    net long-ACC make-IMPER
    Make [us] a long net!'

13. dama yaŋga-yí 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-ŋi guwe come-PERFV then 3DU DEM-SPEC look-PAST then So the two of them came here and looked.

15. yangayanga nja-ŋ carefully watch-GENRL [They] watched carefully.

16. dama ŋa:m-bu guwe dare-ma-wu gadja djiwi bu-mgu-wa net 1DU-ERG then fly-CAUS₁-FUT DEM bird kill-FUT-PURP 'We two will hang (lit. make fly) the net here in order to kill the birds.'

17. nja-ŋi guwe galaj look-PAST then good So [they] looked and [it was] good.

18. biye dje-ŋ back go-GENRL [They] went back (to their camp).

19. dje-ndi-ŋi guwe dama wane-ŋ go-CAUS₂-PERFV then net leave-GENRL [They] took the net down and left it.

20. djuyudjuy u gadji-ma wane-ŋ evening DEM-EMPH leave-GENRL In the evening, [they] left [it] here.

21. dulara-me guwe dje-ŋi waga ŋuwi m 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-CAUS₁-PAST fly-CAUS₁-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-DAT₃ other.side-SIDE-ABL₁ njine-ŋ 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-ŋ 2SG-ERG release-IMPER When all the birds enter (the net) there, you release the rope.

25. binda-ŋ 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-LOC1
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-0 kill-FUT DEM 2SG then go-IMPER
You go and kill those ones.

30. mari mula-nu ŋin-du ya:-0 DEM bank-ABL 2SG-ERG yell-IMPER
You yell from the bank over there.

31. djiwi mana me:ndi-0 badja-rin-a bird DEM chase-IMPER one.of several-PL-ACC
Chase all the other birds away.

32. waga guwe ye-0 dje-wa me:ndi-0 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 dare-ma-ng e when 2SG-ERG chase-FUT 1SG-ERG DEM net fly-CAUS1-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:-ŋi IDU-ERG front-LOC1 catch-PERFV
We two caught [them] in front.

36. ma:-ŋi ŋa:m-bu catch-PERFV IDU-ERG
We two caught [them].

37. yima-yi-me buma-0 do.like.this-PAST-REPET kill-IMPER
[Let’s] kill [them] like before.’

38. wane-0 guwe leave-GENRL then
So [they] left [it].

39. yere-ndi-0 mana go.home-CAUS2-IMPER DEM
‘[Let’s] take those [birds] home.
40. ŋa:m-bu yere-ndi-yu 
1DU-ERG go.home-CAUS2-FUT
We two will take [them] home.'

41. yere-ndi-nji dama mana ŋuruma-yi 
go.home-CAUS2-PERFV net DEM hide-PAST
[They] took [them] home and hid the net.

42. gadji-ma wane-ŋo 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 yaŋga-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. ŋumga-yi guwe mana djiwa 
break.through-PAST then DEM owl
Then the owl broke through [the net].

49. bayer-ŋu gari-nma badja mana yi-ŋi ŋu:l 
mountain-ABL,1 DEM-EMPH something.else DEM be-PAST spirit
It was the spirit of something else from the mountain over there.

50. guwe djiwa-ndu nda-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.

51. ya:-yi guwe mo: djiwa-ndu yowa:m-a gari-nma 
say-PAST then DEM owl-ERG 3DU-ACC DEM-EMPH
ŋowa:m njine-ŋo 
2DU sit-IMPER
Then that owl said to the two of them, ‘You two sit there!

52. waga guwe dunme-ŋo 
don’t then move-IMPER
Don’t move!
53. waga ŋowa:m dunme-duino gari-nma  
don’t 2DU move-IMPER DEM-EMPH  
Don’t you two here move!

54. njina-ndo  
sit-IMPER  
Sit!'

55. njina-njine guwe ŋowa:m  
sit-PERFV then 3DU  
They two were sitting then.

56. wane-ndo biye dje-njine  
leave-GENRL back go-PERFV  
[The owl] left [them] and went back.

57. bayer-u mo: ŋowa:m-a gurema-duino  
mountain-INSTR DEM 3DU-ACC hold.tightly-GENRL  
That one [the owl] held them two tightly using the mountain.

58. gari-nma ŋowa:m njina-ndo ŋowa: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 njina-nge  
boy sit-IMPERFV  
The boys are sitting.

60. wane-ndo guwe ŋowa:m-a gadji-ma  
leave-GENRL then 3DU-ACC DEM-EMPH  
Then [the owl] left them two right here.

61. ya:-yije guwe yo:wan-a bayer man barandje-nge gima  
say-PAST then 3PL-ACC mountain DEM stand-IMPERFV boy  
njina-nge  
sit-IMPERFV  
Then [the owl] said to all of them, ‘The mountains standing there are  
“sitting boys”.’

18. The Woodpecker³³

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

³³ 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. njinjangurra
creation.time
A creation time story.

2. djinjijini-ru buyi-∅ djan-bam-a yo:ran-a
willy.wagtail-ERG take-GENRL man-DU-ACC many-ACC
The willy wagtail took many men.

3. ya-npj yo:we
go-PERFV 3PL
They went.

4. njunam-a buyi-∅
children-ACC take-GENRL
[They] took the children.

5. ya-nmre-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. ɲin ɡara-ɲinu dje-ɲi ɡawurre
2SG DEM-DIR go-PERFV a.long.time.ago
'Have you gone on this way a long time ago?'

10. ya: dje-ɲi ɲay ɡara-ɲinu
yes go-PERFV 1SG DEM-DIR
'Yes, I have gone this way.'

11. ɲin-du be:ɲa-ø ɡudja-djam mara ye-ø
2SG-ERG know-GENRL honey-PRIV DEM be-GENRL
'Did you know that it is honeyless there?

12. ɡudja-djam
honey-PRIV
[It has] no honey.'

13. ya: ɲa-ɲi ɲa-dju mana ɡawUl Te
yes see-PAST 1SG-ERG DEM a.long.time.ago very
'Yes, I saw that a very long time ago.'

14. guwe ɲa-ø
then look-IMPER
'You look.'

15. dadu yayumbe ɡarandje-ŋe
tree same stand-IMPERFV
The trees standing [here] are the same.

16. ɡuŋ galaŋ
water good
The water is good.

17. yara
flower
[There are] flowers.

18. dumuŋ ɡaɡa
bee no
[But] no bees.

19. ɡudjawunba dumuŋ waga
big.wax.bee bee no
No big wax bees.

20. gaye
small.bee
[Nor] small bees.

21. wanja mana ɲin-du ɲa-wu gari-nma-me dje-ndi
when DEM 2SG-ERG see-FUT DEM-EMPH-SPEC go-CAUS₂
njunam-gari ɡuŋ-ga yo:we-ru dja:-wu
children-DAT₃ water-LOC₁ 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-LOC1 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-LOC1 go-IMPER
   You go in front.
24. njin-du njare-yu
   2SG-ERG see-CONT-FUT
   You continually look.
25. dja: djinbam-bu wanja nja-wu gadji-ma yo:w-an-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: yangayanga nja-Ø njunam-gari
   2SG-ERG place carefully look-IMPER children-DAT3
   You look carefully at a place for the children.
27. yo:we-ri mana njin-du buyi-le-Ø
   3PL.-DAT3 DEM 2SG-ERG take-CONT-IMPER
   You take that along to them.
28. gari-nma njin-gari gimnjen njine-nge yuŋam-u
   DEM-EMPH 2SG-GEN brother.in-law sit-IMPERFV ahead-LOC3
   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. djinjini-ru guwe nja-ni
   willy.wagtail-ERG then see-PAST
   The willy wagtail looked.
33. nja-ni gan wura dja:
   see-PAST DEM already place
   [He] had already seen this place.
34. gan-ma ḳay djadjawa-ỹi
   DEM-EMPH 1SG reach-PAST
   I reached here.
35. ya:-ỹi 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.'
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36. Ṽay yana-nde yuñam-ba
    I SG go-PRES ahead-LOC
    I am going ahead.'

37. ūwim wura njinda-re-nji djuyudjuyu
    sun already go.down-CONT-PERFV evening
    The sun was already going down in the evening.

38. nja-ŋi guwe yo: gan wura dja:
    see-PAST then 3SG DEM already place
    He had already seen this place.

39. yo:rr nja-me-nji dadu guwe nja-ŋi
    everywhere look-AROUND-PERFV tree then see-PAST
    [He] looked around everywhere and then he saw a tree.

40. dadu nja-ŋi djanja mana djanja 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-ŋi birran
    tree DEM be-PAST wide
    The tree was wide.

42. biye dje-nji guwe yo:
    back go-PERFV then 3SG
    So he returned.

43. ya:-yi guwe
    speak-PAST then
    Then [he] spoke.

44. ūo: ya:-yi guwe na-dju ūwe:-na galan-dje-de
    night say-PAST then 1SG-ERG 2PL-ACC well-FACT-FUT
    ya:-le ūjunam-a
tell-CONT children-ACC
    That night [he] said, 'I have [something] to tell you all [that] will make the children well.

45. ūjunam-gari dadu na-dju badji-o mowanin-a
    children-DAT tree 1SG-ERG find-GENRL big-ACC
    I have found a big tree for the children.

46. guđa man ye gari-nge djanja-djin-u yo:ran
    honey DEM towards enter-IMPERFV branch-PL-LOC many
    There are honey [bees] entering into many branches.

47. guwe na: dje-yu dulara-me
    then 1PL go-FUT morning-SPEC
    We will all go there in the morning.

48. ūwe: nja-wu
    2PL see-FUT
    You will all see.
49. ɲa-dju ɲuwe-ːna buyi-le
   ISG-ERG 2PL-ACC take-CONT
   I will take you all along.

50. wa-ː∅ guwe
   climb-GENRL then
   Then [we] can climb up.

51. mande yaŋga-∅
   steps make-GENRL
   [We] will make steps.

52. yune-nji guwe yoːwe gari-nma
   sleep-PERFV then 3PL DEM-EMPH
   So they all slept here.

53. dje-nji
goi-PERFV
   [They] went.

54. dulara-me guwe dje-nji ɲuwm-ba
   morning-SPEC then go-PERFV sun-LOC
   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. yaː gana dadu
   yes DEM tree
   Yes, this is the tree.'

58. dumunj mana nja-nji guwe gari-nji-ːna
   bee DEM see-PAST then go-in-PERFV-ACC
   They saw the bees which were going in.

59. yaː-ːyi guwe wa-∅
say-PAST then climb-IMPER
   [He] said, 'Let's climb up.'

60. wa-ːyi guwe yoːwe wa-ːyi
   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 yaŋga-ːyi badja-rin-ːdu
   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 yanga-yi ger yanga-yi gorom 3PL-ERG then DEM do-PAST try do-PAST fork birran yi-ñi 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 gimñen-gari brother.in.law-PURP He went soon after while [the others] were looking, intending to look for his brother-in-law.

67. gimñen gari-nma njine-nji brother.in.law DEM-EMPH sit-PERFV His brother-in-law was sitting here.

68. djawun man gimñen-gari gana yi-ñi 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. yorr ya-n-me-nji bayer-djin-da everywhere go-CONJUG-AROUND-PERFV mountain-PL-LOCj [He] went around everywhere in the mountains.

71. nja-ñi look-PAST [He] looked.

72. guwe djum nja-ñi then smoke see-PAST [He] saw smoke.

73. gari badja yune-nge 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. gan'ga 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. djanum guwe nja-ndje-nji
close then look-RECIP-PERFv
Then they looked at each other up close.

79. gim'nen ṇa-ri gana
brother-in-law 1SG-GEN DEM
‘This is my brother-in-law.’

80. ya:-yi guwe minja-ngu ba-yi
say-PAST then what-PURP come-PAST
Then [he] said, ‘Why did [you] come?’

81. IJin-gari lJay ba-yi dadu-nu wa-wa
2SG-ALL 1SG come-PAST tree-LOC3 climb-DESLD
‘I came to you [because I] want to climb up on a tree.

82. waga gan yo:we-ru ger yanga-ø
not DEM 3PL-ERG try do-GENRL
They (my people) tried to do it, [but] they could not.’

83. waga ba-ø ọnyi djirombu djinaŋ ba-yi
not come-GENRL 1SG ? foot come-PAST
‘I cannot come??

84. wanja gam ṣay galan yi-gu
when don’t know 1SG good be-FUT
I don’t know when it will be good.

85. ṣin gam bar-i-ø
2SG might carry-GENRL
You might [have to] carry [me].’

86. ṣa-dju ọnin-a dje-ndi-yu
1SG-ERG 2SG-ACC go-CAUS2-FUT
‘I will take you.’

87. njunam yo:ran ṣa djan wojan-djin dje-ndi-nji guwe
children many and man woman-PI go-CAUS2-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
3PL tired+DEM then soft be-PAST
He was tired.

90. waga mana dadu-nu ba:-me-nji djambal gara
no DEM stick-LOC3 stand-AROUND-PERFV pain DEM
'No, [I] am standing around on sticks [which is giving me] pain.

91. nja-nja nja-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:-ø
3PL carry.on.back-CONT-PERFV then 3SG
So he carried him along on his back.

93. ga:nge-re-nji wane-ø yima-yi-me
3PL 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-nja moromoro
3PL close go-PERFV then 3PL-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 gimnjen-a nja-ø waga yima-yi
say-PAST then brother.in.law ACC see-GENRL not do.like.this-PAST

gawurre-ndjin-du gimnjen-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. gampa-yi
break-PAST
[We have] broken [the law].

99. nja-nja nja-dju gadja ba:-ma-wu
2SG-ACC 1SG-ERG DEM stand-CAUS1-FUT
I will stand you here.

100. man guyum djanjum
3PL camp close
The camp is close.'
101. ba:-ma-yi guwe dja:-ba
stand-CAUS1-PAST then ground-LOC1
[He] stood [him] on the ground.

102. yo: dje-nji yuɲam-ba djinidjini
3SG go-PERFV front-LOC1 willy.wagtail
He, the willy wagtail, went out in front.

103. gange-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: gimnjen
where 3SG brother.in.law
‘Where is he, the brother-in-law?’ (they asked).

107. gan-ma bige-nju ba-ye
DEM-EMPH behind-LOC3 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-ŋ 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-CAUS2-PERFV 3SG-ACC
[They] took him.
115. binju njumba-yi
the.next.day show-PAST
The next day [they] showed [it to him].

116. nja-ŋi guwe yo:
see-PAST then 3SG
He saw [the big tree].

117. djuŋa yo: biyayu-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-ŋi guwe gorom-ba
throw-PERFV then fork-LOC1
Then [he] threw [it] around the fork.

121. dari-ŋe-ŋi wa-yi guwe
pull.up-REFL-PERFV climb-PAST then
[He] pulled himself up and then climbed up.

122. njine-ŋi gari-nma gorom-u yo:
sit-PERFV DEM-EMPH fork-LOC3 3SG
He sat down here in the fork.

123. yo:-ŋa gunba-yi
3SG-ACC praise-PAST
[They] praised him.

124. djanjara guwe gawami-ŋi yo:
limb then chop-PERFV 3SG
Then he chopped off a limb.

125. gana ŋuwe:-ri djoronj-djin-gari
DEM 2PL-DAT3 kinship.class-PL-DAT3
‘This is for you, for the djoronj [people].’

126. gana bada banda-ri
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT3
This other one is for the banda.

127. gana bada bandjur-gari
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT3
This other one is for the bandjur.

128. gana bada baranj-gari
DEM other.one kinship.class-DAT3
This other one is for the baranj.’
129. garu guwe yi-ŋi djunim barandje-nji
   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 munjin yi-ŋi
    brother-in-law then insides ? ashamed be-PAST
    ba:ri-nji-nde yo:-ŋa
    bring-PERFV-NMLSR 3SG-ACC
    The brother-in-law’s insides were ashamed of him, the brought one.

132. ya:-ŋe-nji guwe minja-ŋa ᅋ-du yɔ:-ŋu gaye-ma-wu
    say-REFL-PERFV then what-ACC 1SG-ERG 3SG-ACC turn-CAUS1-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 djanjar 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
    [He] threw the stone axe onto the ground.

136. yɔ: ya:-Ø guwe yɔ:-ŋa ʃu: djiiwi 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: djiiwi yi-ŋi bo:ŋbi-ŋa
    DEM then 3SG bird be-PAST feather-CON
    Then he was a bird with feathers.

138. gari-nma njine-nji
    DEM-EMPH sit-PERFV
    [He] sat here.

139. muringan-du guwe ya:-yi wanja djowanaŋ ᅋ-ri
    elder.sister-ERG then say-PAST where brother 1SG-GEN
    [His] elder sister then said, ‘Where is my brother?’

140. man njine-ŋe gorom-u man
    DEM sit-IMPERFV fork-LOC3 DEM
    He is sitting there in the fork.

141. djiiwi go: yi-ŋi
    bird DEM be-PAST
    This one was a bird.
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 gurilŋa-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-ngi
   two be-IMPERFV
   There are two [grass trees].

4. badja-na ḋoro-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:-ngu other.one-ACC turn.around-CAUS1-PAST then hand-INSTR two-?
[He] spun the other one around with his hands.

6. gaye-ma-yi turn.around-CAUS1-PAST
[He] spun [it].

7. budjuŋ-a yi-ngə 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-LOC1
[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-nji 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-CAUS1-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-CAUS1-PAST then 3SG hand-INSTR
He spun [it] around everywhere with his hands.

15. bunji-nji blow-PERFV
[He] blew [it].

16. bunji-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-o 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. djanan-a guwe go:ma-yi thigh-LOC 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 nunda-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-INTR two-?INSTR pull-GENRL outside-LOC then
Using both hands, [they] pulled [the net] outside (i.e. out of the water).

12. wana-yi guwe neyen-ga 
leave-PAST then outside-LOC
[They] left [it] outside.

13. go: badja-rin-du mo:-me-nji 
DEM other.ONE-ERG gather-AROUND-PERFV
Other people gathered these.

14. mana ŋande bunma-ø mana dama-nu 
DEM mullet pull-OUT-GENRL DEM net-ABL
[They] pulled out the mullet from the net.

15. dama mana gaye-ma-yi 
net DEM turn-CAUS-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-LOC1-DAT
[They] took the mullet and other fish from in the water.

18. yima-yi guwe yo:we-ri y nga-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 y nga-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 yanja-yi**
net make-PAST
[They] made nets.

25. **bugurs yanja-yi dje:m yanja-wa**
string make-PAST dilly.bag make-INT
[They] made string, intending to make dilly bags.

26. **bunbi badja-na yanja-ø**
basket other.one-ACC make-GENRL
[They] made other baskets.

27. **dje:m-ba guwe dje-ndi-nji**
dilly.bag-LOC then go-CAUS2-PERFV
[They] took [the fish] in dilly bags.

28. **guyum-gu dje-re-ndi-nji guwe**
camp-ALL go-CONT-CAUS2-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-ŋini**
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 manji-ø**
fire be.ready-GENRL
The fire was ready.

5. **ye guwe mana me:ndi-ŋu 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-LOC3 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.
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.
20. gange-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-ninu 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-ninu 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-ye-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.


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-LOC1 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-LOC1 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-CAUS2-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-ŋi
    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-ŋi guwe
    look.at-PAST then
    Then [he] looked at [it].

16. yayumbe gumari nga-dju gaye-ndi-nji wura
    same shield 1SG-ERG go.around-CAUS2-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)
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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. bujunda-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. nurr gen-ma-nji doyi-yu
   point sharp-FACT-PERFV stone-INST
   [He] sharpened the point using a stone.

8. guŋ-ga ga:wa-yi guyum-ba guwe
   water-LOC1 put-PAST fire-LOC1 then
   [He] put [it] in the water and then in the fire.

9. mana nurr gurangur
   DEM sharp spear
   The spear is sharp.

10. nurr bunma-ŋ guyum-ba
    point take.out-GENRI. fire-LOC1
    [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. guṇ-ga-wa gaye-yi  
   water-LOC1-DAT1 turn.around-PAST  
   [It] turned around in the water.

13. guṇ-ga gaye-yi  
   water-LOC1 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 guran Gur  
   DEM then spear  
   That was a spear.

16. ṇurr yi-ni  
   point be-PAST  
   That was the point.

17. yi-ni guwe wura gari-nma  
   be-PAST then finished DEM-EMPH  
   That was finished here.

18. yima yanja-yi  
   do.like.this make-PAST  
   [They] made [it] like this.

19. yima-yi yo-we-ru yanja-yi guran Gur mana  
   do.like.this-PAST 3PL-ERG make-PAST spear DEM  
   In that way, they made a spear.

20. guyum-ba ṇuwe-Ø  
   fire-LOC1 cook-GENRL  
   [They] cook [it] in the fire.

21. guyum-ba yu: djime-yi darinj dje-ru-wa  
   fire-LOC1 just singe-PAST hard go-?-PURP  
   [They] just singed [it] in the fire to make it strong.

22. mana guṇ-ga guwe  
   DEM water-LOC1 then  
   Then [they put it] in the fire.

23. guran Gur yanja-yi wane-Ø guwe  
   spear make-PAST leave-GENRL then  
   [They] made the spear and then left it.

24. guran Gur guwe man yanja-yi  
   spear then DEM make-PAST  
   They made a spear.

25. bunjunda-yi ṇin-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-LOC3 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-ŋi guwe yo: gidi-ya
   look.up-PAST then 3SG light-LOC1
   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-nju yo: dje-nge-yu nja-ŋi
   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-LOC3
   [He] went for a while further away.

8. yima-yi-me nja-ŋi
   do.like.this-PAST-REPET look-PAST
   In the same way, he looked up.

9. gidi nja-ŋi
   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-ŋi biye ya-ŋi 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-LOC2
It is probably behind here.

14. gana ye-ŋ yo:mu-wam barandje-nge
DEM be-GENRL middle-DL stand-IMPERFV
This [hunter] is standing in the middle (of the swarm).

15. hara bige-nji wanja gari-ŋa yo: dje-ŋi guwe
EXCL behind-LOC2 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-ŋ
find-GENRL
He found it.

19. gara gara dumun 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

The process for compiling this word list was as follows. Firstly, I listed all those Duunjidjawu 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 Duunjidjawu 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 Duunjidjawu 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:

- adj adjective
- adv adverb
- dem demonstrative
- excl exclamation
- interrog interrogative
- intj interjection
- n noun
- pcl particle
- pron pronoun
- vcop copula verb
- vdit ditransitive verb
- vi intransitive verb
- vt 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, ñ, nj, o, o:, r, rr, u:, w, y.
ba, vi. come.
babiya, n. father. Variant: babiyanmi.
babu, n. father (classificatory) [ERG -yu].
bad ja, n. one of pair, one of several, other one, someone, something else, another time [ERG -ru].
bad je, vi. tired.
bad ji, 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. ad}. half.
bam ba, vt. fight, pelt, throw, splash, hit, kill.
bani, n. grass, seaweed.
bando, n. kinship class. vt. tie up.
barrbarr, n. flying fox.
bawar, n. dream, sleep, tiredness.
bayer, n. mountain, hill.
ba; vi. stand.
bali, n. 1. shark [one instance only]. 2. salt. adj. wild, angry.
ba:lbama, adv. loudly.
ba:ngi, adj. savage, afraid. vi. be frightened.
bamji, n. bunya tree [Araucaria bidwillii]. Tall coniferous tree bearing large edible cones.
bari, vt. bring, carry (on shoulder), guide.
bebé, n. feather headdress [LW].
bebere, n. uncle [ERG -yu].
bem, n. skin.
benewa, n. sky god [LW].
benjo:wa, n. creator [one instance only].
benu, n. up high.
benja, vt. 1. hear, listen to. 2. think (of), remember, know.
bidji, n. large bird [one instance only].
bige, n. behind [LOC2 -nji, LOC3 -nju].
binan, n. ear.
binanqera, n. frilled-neck lizard [LW].
binar, n. tribal fight.
binda, vt. send, release, give away.
binga, n. cabbage tree (palm).
binqirr, 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].
bija, n. throw, fly.
bija:yu, adj. two [ERG -ndu].
bijke, adv. away from the speaker, back, backwards.
bijibi, n. seed (edible), fruit, berry, fig. Variant: biji.
biti, n. finger, hand [INSTR -ndu, LOC -nda].
binj, n. woodpecker [one instance only].
bira, vt. ask.
bowa, vt. extinguish, put out.
bowan, n. dream, sleep, tiredness.
bowa:ngi, n. 1. feather [INSTR -ru].
=Variant: bowi. 2. fern [LW].
bot, vi. die.
bo:giwa, adj. dead.
bo:rr, n. sore, wound, mark.
bowon, n. bandicoot [LW].
bu, vt. hit, kill, fight. Variant: buma.
bubur, adj. 1. weak. 2. thin.
bugi:ngu, adv. completely, entirely.
bugi:nj, n. dog.
bugowar, *n.* 1. river mussel [LW]. 2. kiss [LW].
bugur, *n.* 1. throat. 2. string, rope.
buguwar, *n.* fresh water [LW].
bulan, *n.* heaven [one instance only].
bulubur, *n.* mosquito.
bumi, *vi.* 1. fall (down), roll (down). 2. die.
bunmi, *adv.* soundly, peacefully.
bun, *n.* 1. fall (down), roll (down). 2. die.
bunmi, *adv.* soundly, peacefully.
bun, *n.* 1. fall (down), roll (down). 2. die.
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bun, *n.* 1. fall (down), roll (down). 2. die.
bunmi, *adv.* soundly, peacefully.
dudulye, adj. swollen [one instance only].
dula, adj. soft.
dulara, n. morning (early).
dulig, n. nautilus shell [LW].
dumug, adj. bee, beehive.
dunga, n. pelican [LW].
dunme, vi. 1. move, sway, shake. 2. stoop, fall down, bend over. n. mark.
dunu, n. vulva [LW].
du:gi, vt. eat, drink.
du:rr, n. bora ring.
djadja, n. 1. brother (elder) [ERG -yu]. 2. bat [one instance only].
djadjawa, vi. 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.
djanjar, 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 [LOC1 -ba]. vt. eat, drink.
dja:rrir, n. log.
dje, vi. go, come, walk, move, run.
djengen, n. fishing line.
djem, n. dilly bag, pocket.
djigirr, adj. heavy. n. large boomerang [LW].
djilin, n. fair-skinned people [one instance only].
djime, vi & t. shine (on), dry, heat, catch fire.
djinaŋ, n. toe, foot, footprint.
djinbam, n. owner.
djinidjini, n. willy wagtail [ERG -ru].
djinjgar, n. mistletoe [one instance only].
djirrde, vi. disperse.
djiwa, n. owl [ERG -ndu].
djiwi, n. bird [ERG -ndu].
djimmna, n. place of leeches [LW].
djoronj, n. kinship class.
djowsa, vi. blow.
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, LOC1 -nda].
djunba, vi. lick.
djunurr, n. knife.
djurayi, adj. hungry.
djuwaŋ, n. brother (younger).
djuaŋgaŋ, n. dugong.
djuyu, n. (late) afternoon, evening.
Variant: djuyudjuyu.
djuurrr, 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.
gagare, n. moon.
gala, n. excrement.
galang, adj. 1. good, well, OK, right. 2. sweet. 3. happy.
gam, pel. maybe, perhaps, might, probably.
gami, n. father’s sister.
gamga, vi. & t. break.
gamunda, n. cross over.
gan, dem. this, here.
gana, dem. this, here.
gandj, demo.

Variants: gadi.
gagar, it. moon.
gala, it. excrement.
galaj, ad). 1. good, well, OK, light.
2. sweet. 3. happy.
gam, pel. maybe, perhaps, might, probably.
gami, n. father’s sister.
gamga, vi. & t. break.
gamunda, n. cross over.
gan, dem. this, here.
gana, dem. this, here.
gandj, it. hip.
ganin, n. daughter (classificatory).
ganum, n. sweat.
ganumbe, adj. warm, hot.
gan, n. 1. hand. 2. saliva.
gana, n. up, above, on top.
ganga, vi. 1. call out, scream, yell, bark.
2. vomit. n. voice.
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 1 -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.
gaya, 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.
gange, vt. carry on back.
garr, n. echidna.
gawa, 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.
ger, vi. 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: geym.
gibar, n. (uninitiated) boy.
gibargibar, n. small boy.
gidi, n. light, dawn, twilight, morning
[LOC 1 -ya].
gima, n. 1. son. 2. boy [ERG -ru].
gimbi, n. stinging tree [LW].
gimn̩, n. brother-in-law.
gingom, n. three-leafed plant [LW].
ginig, n. 1. arm. 2. wing. 3. branch, stem.
giniñbam, n. paddles.
giña, n. whistle duck [LW].
ginjarr, n. keepsake.
gira, vt. wake (up), warn, round (up), get together, trouble. Variant: gira-gira.
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.
ginjgi, n. seaweed [one instance only].
gira, n. bone [ERG -ndu].
gira-gira, n. nose bone [LW].
girunba, adj. true.
golawong, n. scrub magpie [LW].
gon, pel. want. n. wish.
gonjdjam, adj. tired.
go, vi. drowned.
gorom, n. fork.
goromda, adj. three, few.
goromman, n. kangaroo.
goware, n. digging stick [LW].
gowain, n. possum (blue) [LW].
Alphabetical vocabulary

gowon, adj. raw.
go; dem. this.
goma, vt. roll, rub.
goja, n. unmarried person [one instance only].
gubana, n. swamp wallaby [LW].
gudja, n. honey (native).
gudjan, n. nonsense [one instance only].
gudjawunba, n. bally bee, native bee.
gugaga, n. kookaburra.
gugude, n. scrub possum (black).
guliŋba, n. a scrub vine with medicinal properties [LW].
gulumur, n. elbow.
gumari, n. 1. shield [INSTR -ndu]. 2. corkwood [ERG -ndu].
gunda, vt. 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 -ra].
gungarbi, n. small bullroarer [LW].
gungu, n. goanna (sleepy).
guniyan, plain, claypan.
gunu, n. underneath, deep below, inside.
gunundjin, n. 1. east. 2. bush. 3. hollow place [LW].
gunuwinj, n. north.
gunj, n. 1. water. 2. waterhole.
gunj, n. dew.
guŋa, vt. praise.
gugir, n. rib.
gunjal, n. backbone [one instance only].
gunjbiru, adj. thirsty.
guran, n. shaft of spear [LW].
guraŋgor, n. spear.
gurema, vt. hold tightly, stop.
gureya, n. fig tree.
gurlika, n. old man.
gurun, n. noise.
gurruy, n. rain.
guwandjar, n. paperbark tree [one instance only].
guwe, pcl. then, later.
guwendi, adj. long, tall [INSTR -ru].
guyig, adj. red. n. red ochre.
guyum, n. 1. camp. 2. fire, firewood.
guyur, n. 1. food, animal. 2. fish. 3. thing, something.
gula, n. koala.
gunem, n. hoop pine.
guni, n. light.

hara, excl. aha.

mabalan, n. Bunya Mountains [LW].
madja, dem. there.
mama:, n. mother’s brother, uncle.
man, dem. that, there.
mama, dem. that, there.
manburrrirr, 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.
maŋi, vi. be ready.
manjal, adj. wet.
mara, n. lightning. dem. there.
mari, vi & t. burn, cook, melt, light.
marun, n. goanna (sand).
ma; vt. 1. do, feel, rub. 2. hold, grab, catch, take. Variant: maŋa. n. head, essence.
madjayum, n. giant, biggest man of all.
ma:gunj, n. stump.
ma:m, n. mother.
meba, n. river chestnut [L.W].
mebuŋi, n. swan.
mem, n. fat.
meŋ, n. today.
me:ndi, vt. chase, hunt. Variant: me:.
me:war, n. platypus.
mil, adj. alive.
mimburri, n. 1. source, breeding place, continuous flow. 2. small bora ring [LW].
mingom, n. black stone having special powers [LW].
mi νja, interρ. what.
miriŋgim, n. star.
miriarr, adj. black. n. charcoal.
mirya, n. eye.
miye, n. further away.
miri, n. nose.
mire, n. thunder, storm.
moro, vt. make, stir, kindle.
moroμoro, n. camp (main). Variant: moro.
morrbe, vt. smell.
mowalin, adj. big, enormous, thick, wide. n. full moon.
mowarr, n. hail, hailstone.
moyi, n. white person.
moe, dem. that
mu, vi. rise.
mula, n. bank.
mumema, vi. act.
munarruŋ, n. wood duck [LW].
munbori, n. tiger snake [LW].
mundur, n. evil spirit (said to weaken people) [LW].
mundji, vi. laugh.
muninburum, n. head of clan [LW].
munum, n. death adder [LW].
mungaya, vi. stop, cease.
mugin, adj. shy, ashamed.
mura, vi. paint.
muranj, n. white paint, clay.
muranjga, adj. white.
murin, vi. brother (elder).
muringan, n. sister (elder).
murum, n. wild passionfruit [LW].
murr, n. club, waddy, nulla nulla.
murnungi, vi. snore.
muwe, n. sea, salt water. vt. possess.
muyil, n. soot [one instance only].
muyim, n. 1. axe (stone). 2. fish hook.
mui, n. belly, upper stomach [ERG/INSTR -ndu].
mun, 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].
neyeŋ, n. outside. Variant: neŋ. 
nimŋa, vi. scratch, pinch.
nowa, n. stranger.
nurum, n. bone dust [LW].
nurrun, n. 1. breath. 2. breeze.
ŋa, pεl. and.
ŋadja, n. mother’s father.
ŋamug, n. breast, milk.
ŋamuŋa, n. young girl.
ŋan, interρ. who.
ŋanda, vt. smash, knock out, hit, hurt.
ŋande, n. mullet, fish [ERG -ru].
ŋanjamerr, n. brolga.
ŋanjdal, n. jaw.
narradja, n. stone tomahawk [LW].
ŋarrbema, vt. lose.
ŋay, pron. I (first person singular).
ŋayam, n. single man.
ŋayel, n. eagle hawk.
ŋaŋ, pron. we (first person plural).
ŋaŋba, vi. pass, go further.
ŋaŋm, pron. we two (first person dual).
ŋin, pron. you (second person singular).
ŋingangurra, n. creation time, dreamtime [ERG -ru].
ŋiyarr, adj. cold. n. 1. winter. 2. south.
ŋiil, n. crab.
ŋoro, vt. kick, stand on, step on.
ŋowaŋm, pron. you two (second person dual).
ŋoyiŋoyi, n. sticks (thrown in a game) [LW].
ŋo, n. 1. night. 2. darkness.
ŋoŋwan, pron. you all (second person plural).
ŋubar, n. carvings (on trees or bark) [LW].
ŋugarim, n. nephew.
ŋumga, vi. break through, go through, come out, go out.
ŋunda, vt. close.
ŋungam, n. pencil orchid [LW].
ŋuni, vi. be suspicious.
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Junjuluŋ, n. initiated boy, dark people.

Jurume, vi & t. hide. vt. steal. vi. defecate.

Jurra, adv. nearly.

Juwar, n. face.

Juwa, n. egg.

Juwe, vt. cook, burn, light, kindle.

Juweg, n. mother (classificatory), mother’s sister, mother-in-law.

Juwir, n. point. adv. sharp.

Juwr, n. nearly.

Juwra, n. face.

Juwra, n. egg.

Juwari, n. nearly.

Juwra, n. face.

Juwra, n. egg.

Juwari, n. nearly.

Juw: Powered by https://www.bing.com/ waterproof.png

Jua, vt. see, look at, watch, perceive.

Julaŋ, n. mud.

Jubere, n. swamp.

Jujunbir, n. dingo.

Jurarimbam, n. turtle.

Jurarnejŋ, n. crayfish.

Jelnjel, n. fig [LW].

Jeqqaga, adj. clever [one instance only].

Jewayi, n. Neewai (place name).

Jez, n. name.

Jem, n. black duck.

Jinda, vi. go down, set, sink, disappear.

Jine, vi. sit, stay, live.

Jirran, n. belt.

Jirrani, n. ancestors [ERG -ndu].

Jil, adj. selfish.

Jiim, n. anus.

Jowam, n. husband.

Jowamgan, n. wife.

Jubanjji, n. married person, married couple [ERG -ru].

Jugurr, n. apple tree.

Jumba, vt. push (away). vdit. show, point.

Jun, n. 1. ashes. 2. dust.

Junam, n. children.

June:, n. 1. girl. 2. daughter.

Juː, 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.

Walguruŋ, n. magpie [LW].

Walir, n. shoulder, upper arm.

Wamba, vi. hang, float, lean against. vt. put on, sit on, carry on shoulder.

Wamge, n. arm pit.

Wana, n. far away [LOC2 -ŋi, LOC3 -ŋu].

Wanambì, n. river chestnut [LW].

Wanda, n. neck.

Wandju, interj. how, what.

Wane, vt. 1. leave, put (down). 2. soak.

Wanga, n. 1. cheek. 2. fungus.

Wani, vi. tremble.

Wanja, interj. where. Variant:

Wandja, pcl. when, if, wonder.

Wanju, interj. 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.

Wayat, n. wallaby.

Wayu, n. father’s father.

Wayundanmi, n. father’s mother.

Wandji, vt. prepare.

Wanggi, vi. be silly.

Warre, vi. hunt.

Wawa, n. crow.

We:we, n. pee wee [LW].

Wilinju, n. Old cattle station on the Stanley River (place name).

Wiyarr, n. 1. fame. 2. steam. [one instance only].

Wiye, vdit. give.

Woŋan, n. woman.

Wongaːl, n. whiptail wallaby [LW].

Woni, 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].
wunq, 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.
yanga, vt. 1. make, do, cause. 2. hand over.
yangayanga, 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.
yai, vi & t. say, speak, tell, talk. intj. yes.
ye, vcop. be. adv. towards (the speaker).
yelam, adj. yellow.
yere, vi. go, go home.
yema, vt. miss (target).
yiga, n. chin, beard, moustache.
yima, vi & t. do (like) this.
yimar, n. quietness [LW].
yina, n. gully, valley [LOC -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.
yiyem, n. 1. forehead. 2. underneath, below, down. Variant: yem.
yiyeq, adj. bad, not good. Variant: yeq.
yowan, n. any shield [LW].
yowana, vt. knock down.
yowar, n. corroboree.
yowam, pron. they two (third person dual).
yo, pron. he, she, it (third person singular).
yoran, adj. many. n. people, mob. Variant: yowaran.
yorr, adv. everywhere.
yowan, pron. they all (third person plural).
yugari, n. ocean shell [LW].
yumandani, 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.
yunge, n. idea.
yuri, n. totem, skin.
yurumbar, n. sand, sandhill.
yugar, pcl. only, just, alone. Variant: yu.

yumu, n. between.
yuwnj, n. snake.
2. Vocabulary by semantic fields

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

mar, head, essence
nuwar, face
binaŋ, ear
miyaː, eye
dibinge, eyebrow
yiyeŋ, forehead
mi:, nose
gi:ragi:ra, nose bone
diyeg, tooth, teeth, mouth
djunum, tongue
dambur, mouth, lip, full
ŋanjjal, jaw
waŋa, cheek
yiga, chin, beard, moustache
wanda, neck
bugur, throat
gaŋga, voice
dandar, chest
ŋamuŋ, breast, milk
duː, heart, spirit (personal)
bingirr, navel
mu:, belly, upper stomach
dawerir, kidney, stomach
ganag, liver
günɡir, rib
diyɛ:, back
gunjal, backbone
ganim, hip
mu:n, buttocks
giniŋ, arm

walir, shoulder, upper arm
wamge, armpit
gulumur, elbow
binjbinj, wrist
gәŋ, hand, saliva
biː, finger, hand
wadaŋir, left hand
djuniŋ, right hand
djɑŋar, thigh, leg, limb
bun, knee
buyu, calf, lower leg
wulu, ankle
djinaŋ, toe, foot, footprint
njim, anus
daŋa, testicles
didu, penis
dunu, vulva
bayel, hair, pubic hair, fur
bem, skin
giyen, nail
gi:ra, bone
gayag, sinew
mem, fat
nurrun, breath
binj, saliva
bozrr, sore, wound, mark
bugowar, kiss
buwa, vomit
diyir, blood
gala, excrement
ganum, sweat
gawurr, urine, faeces
ŋuwaː, 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
gunjulug, initiated boy, dark people
gamuja, young girl
njume, girl, daughter
gomja, unmarried person
gayam, single man
gayamgan, single woman
njubanji, married person, married couple
ware, prostitute
djan, man, Aborigine
woqan, woman
babiya, father
bebere, uncle
gurilqa, old man
yanjar, old man
yanjaran, old woman
djaŋar, medicine man
gundir, clever man
wubin, wise man
moyi, white person
daran, white woman
djilin, fair skinned people
dinderi, pygmies, little red men
mandji, friend
nouwa, stranger
benjoowa, creator
djinbam, owner
ganan, poor person
ma:jayum, giant, biggest man of all
muniburum, head of clan
yoran, people, mob
ŋu: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)
gandanbingan, sister (younger)
yumewa, sister (middle)
djadji, sister (elder)
muringan, sister (elder)
dudu, mother
mam:li, mother
dom, mother (tribal)
ŋuwen, mother (classificatory), mother’s sister, mother-in-law
buyar, mother’s mother
ŋadja, mother’s father
ŋowam:li, mother’s brother, uncle
yumandanmi, mother’s brother’s son
njowamgan, wife
buyun, brother
djuwan, brother (younger)
gandanbig, brother (younger)
djadja, brother (elder)
murin, brother (elder)
gimjen, brother-in-law
buwa:, father
babu, father (classificatory)
wayu, father’s father
wayundanmi, father’s mother
ŋami, father’s sister
ŋugarim, nephew
njowam, husband
banda, kinship class
bandjur, kinship class
barang, kinship class
djoranj, kinship class
dilbayin, moiety
ɡabayin, moiety
yalalu, right class
yalu, wrong class
yüri, totem, skin
njirani, ancestors
Vocabulary by semantic fields

D. Mammals
djadja, bat
barrbarr, flying fox
djawan, forest possum
gugunde, scrub possum (black)
gowa:n, possum (blue)
me:war, platypus
djuwangan, dugong
garr, echidna
goro:man, kangaroo
bunbi, pouch (of a kangaroo)
waya:, wallaby
gubana, swamp wallaby
wonga:l, whiptail wallaby
gula, koala
buginj, dog
njanjunde, dingo
barunga, kangaroo rat
bowon, bandicoot
yingir, bandicoot
yinjdjun, native cat
djun, tail
giyan, claw
dadunga, tree creeper bird
djandurr, black cockatoo
gaye, white cockatoo
buyurre, curlew
dabimi, digger bird
dji:ndji:ndji, willy wagtail
djiwa, owl
djungar, jabiru
gugaga, kookaburra
gayel, eagle hawk
walguruŋ, magpie
golawong, scrub magpie
waran, parrot
waranbi, parrot feathers
wa:war, crow
we:we:, pee wee
ŋanjamerr, brolga
wawun, scrub turkey
ŋuwi, emu
giŋa:, whistle duck
munb ori, tiger snake
munum, death adder
dageyin, sea snake
gungu, goanna (sleepy)
marun, goanna (sand)
djunben, goanna (black), lizard (small)
binajera, frilled neck lizard
durari, eel
gaya:, frog
njarinbam, turtle
dadunga, tree creeper bird
djandurr, black cockatoo
gaye, white cockatoo
buyurre, curlew
dabimi, digger bird
dji:ndji:ndji, willy wagtail
djiwa, owl
djungar, jabiru
gugaga, kookaburra
gayel, eagle hawk
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golawong, scrub magpie
waran, parrot
waranbi, parrot feathers
wa:war, crow
we:we:, pee wee
ŋanjamerr, brolga
wawun, scrub turkey
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munb ori, tiger snake
munum, death adder
dageyin, sea snake
gungu, goanna (sleepy)
marun, goanna (sand)
djunben, goanna (black), lizard (small)
binajera, frilled neck lizard
durari, eel
gaya:, frog
njarinbam, turtle

E. Reptiles and amphibians
yu:wunj, snake
buyi, carpet snake
djumgu, black snake
yalam, brown snake
gewarr, rainbow serpent
munb ori, tiger snake
munum, death adder
dageyin, sea snake
gungu, goanna (sleepy)
marun, goanna (sand)
djunben, goanna (black), lizard (small)
binajera, frilled neck lizard
durari, eel
gaya:, frog
njarinbam, turtle
dadunga, tree creeper bird
djandurr, black cockatoo
gaye, white cockatoo
buyurre, curlew
dabimi, digger bird
dji:ndji:ndji, willy wagtail
djiwa, owl
djungar, jabiru
gugaga, kookaburra
gayel, eagle hawk
walguruŋ, magpie
golawong, scrub magpie
waran, parrot
waranbi, parrot feathers
wa:war, crow
we:we:, pee wee
ŋanjamerr, brolga
wawun, scrub turkey
ŋuwi, emu
giŋa:, whistle duck
munb ori, tiger snake
munum, death adder
dageyin, sea snake
gungu, goanna (sleepy)
marun, goanna (sand)
djunben, goanna (black), lizard (small)
binajera, 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
dji:ndji:ndji, willy wagtail
djiwa, owl
djungar, jabiru
gugaga, kookaburra
gayel, eagle hawk
walguruŋ, magpie
golawong, scrub magpie
waran, parrot
waranbi, parrot feathers
wa:war, crow
we:we:, pee wee
ŋanjamerr, brolga
wawun, scrub turkey
ŋuwi, emu
giŋa:, whistle duck
munb ori, tiger snake
munum, death adder
dageyin, sea snake
gungu, goanna (sleepy)
marun, goanna (sand)
djunben, goanna (black), lizard (small)
binajera, frilled neck lizard
durari, eel
gaya:, frog
njarinbam, turtle
dadunga, tree creeper bird
djandurr, black cockatoo
gaye, white cockatoo
buyurre, curlew
dabimi, digger bird
dji:ndji:ndji, willy wagtail
djiwa, owl
djungar, jabiru
gugaga, kookaburra
gayel, eagle hawk
walguruŋ, magpie
golawong, scrub magpie
waran, parrot
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durari, eel
gaya:, frog
njarinbam, turtle

G. Fish and crustaceans
guyur, fish
bala, jewfish
ŋande, mullet
ba:l, shark
ŋi:l, crab
njarrnjeŋ, crayfish
bugowar, river mussel
dandur, cunjevoi
guyur, fish
bala, jewfish
ŋande, mullet
ba:l, shark
ŋi:l, crab
njarrnjeŋ, crayfish
bugowar, river mussel
dandur, cunjevoi

H. Insects
barawam, meat-ant
dindurr, grasshopper
dundu, witchetty grub
buluber, mosquito
diŋ, fly
burunbin, butterfly
guyur, fish
bala, jewfish
ŋande, mullet
ba:l, shark
ŋi:l, crab
njarrnjeŋ, crayfish
bugowar, river mussel
dandur, cunjevoi
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ba:l, shark
ŋi:l, crab
njarrnjeŋ, crayfish
bugowar, river mussel
dandur, cunjevoi
dumug, 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
durr, bora ring
mimburi, small bora ring
gurun, noise

J. Artefacts and camp
baran, boomerang
birbi, short boomerang
djigirr, large boomerang
djuni mgi, right-handed boomerang
wadañir, left-handed boomerang
gumari, shield
yowan, any shield
gurang, spear
guran, shaft of spear
murr, club, waddy, nulla nulla
bagan, two-handed club
muyim, axe (stone), fish hook
narran, stone tomahawk
birwa:, sharp point
gurr, point
bundundabiri, large bullroarer
gungarbi, small bullroarer
djambarra, throwing stick
goware, digging stick
djuñurr, knife
dulîn, nautilus shell
gemgar, razor back shell
yugari, ocean shell
djianin, steel, metal, granite
gargul, quartz, stone knife
mingom, black stone
yindin, white stone
muranj, white paint, clay
dama, net
bugur, string, rope
bunbi, basket, bag
djeneng, fishing line
djem, dilly bag, pocket
gundu, bark boat or container, string bag
buronjini, ball
dunme, mark
ginigbam, paddles
ginjarr, keepsake
bebe, feather headdress
nurum, bone dust
gorum, fork
mande, steps
njiran, belt
nejinyoyi, sticks
junbar, carvings
wundir, belongings
yambuyambu, female pubic covering
gyumi, camp
baru:, camp, marriage hut
moromoro, camp (main)

K. Food, fire and water
gyuri, food, animal
djam, meat, food
buwa, rotten meat
nangu, paste of bunya nuts
gudja, honey (native)
yalamala, bee bread
dowa, taste
gyumi, fire, firewood
djum, smoke
miyarr, charcoal
muyil, soot
njun, ashes
guñ, water
buguwar, fresh water
wiyarr, steam

L. Celestial and weather
bayel, cloud, sky
bulan, heaven
gandananb, Pleiades
mininjigim, star
Vocabulary by semantic fields

**gagare**, moon
**giyen**, new moon
**yumur**, half moon
**mowanin**, full moon
**gurruy**, rain
**gewarr**, rainbow
**guja**, 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
**guni**, light
**ŋo:** darkness
**ɲiyarr**, winter
**ɲuwim**, sun, day
**ɲuwimgan**, summer
**wo:ni**, shadow, shade

**M. Geography**
**bagan**, ocean
**muwe**, sea, salt water
**ba:l**, salt
**du:ni**, river, creek
**guj**, waterhole
**njande**, swamp
**burunbi**, river bank, water’s edge, cliff
**da:nnumarra**, shore
**mula**, bank
**da:n**, edge
**djowon**, flood
**njalang**, mud
**warru**, region
**djawun**, home country, homeland, district
**gunundjin**, bush
**mimburi**, source, breeding place, continuous flow
**dja:te**, ground, earth, place, track
**damba**, track, road
**dambadamba**, path
**doyi**, stone, rock, cave

**guyiŋ**, red ochre
**njun**, dust
**guniyan**, plain, claypan
**balan**, plain, level country
**bayer**, mountain, hill
**yurumbar**, sand, sandhill
**yina**, gully, valley
**nala**, hole, cave, tunnel

**N. Flora**
**binga**, cabbage tree (palm)
**burun**, palm leaf
**buŋer**, bottle tree
**bunirr**, bloodwood
**burarum**, water lily
**burgalba**, box tree, forest
**dja:** grass tree
**djinjiŋar**, mistletoe
**dju:rr**, candy boy
**gimbi**, stinging tree
**gumari**, corkwood
**gunem**, hoop pine
**ɲungam**, pencil orchid
**meba**, river chestnut
**wanambi**, river chestnut
**burruyarr**, mountain oak
**durari**, silky oak
**damiyin**, silver leafed wattle
**dja:** wattle
**guwandjar**, paperbark tree
**djadurr**, ironbark (white)
**geger**, ironbark (broadleaf)
**djawu**, water gum
**manburrirr**, gum tree, blue gum, forest
  - gum, yellow jacket
**bowaŋbi**, fern
**dala**, staghorn
**gaban**, black cane
**yini**, lawyer cane
**biyibi**, seed (edible), fruit, berry, fig
**babul**, Queensland nut
**bainji**, bunya tree
**darum**, wild orange, quondong
**da:m**, yam (wild)
**njelnjel**, fig
**gureya**, fig tree
murum, wild passionfruit
njugurr, apple tree
dadu, tree, stick
gari, leaf
yara, flower
djaŋar, branch
giniŋ, branch, stem
djaŋgirir, log
maŋunj, stump
wunu, butt (of a tree)
gundu, bark
djarari, a soft wood
djuddjum, rotten wood
djuna, vine
guliŋba, a scrub vine
gingom, three-leaved plant
nalbo, gum from pine trees
dare, gum from grass tree or wattle
wara, root
yarun, tap root
ban, grass, seaweed
ginjgi, seaweed
gawa, scrub
bawar, bush, undergrowth, scrub
waŋga, fungus

O. Adjectives and abstract nouns

Number
garu, one
biyaŋyu, two
goromda, three, few
yoran, many

Colour
miyarr, black
murunjga, white
yelam, yellow
guyin, red

Birran, wide, enormous, fat
mowanin, big, thick

Physical property
galang, sweet
bare, sour
dula, soft
bubur, weak
darinj, strong, hard
garagara, light (in weight)
djangar, heavy
djigirr, heavy
nala, empty, hollow
dambur, full
giyar, cold
ganumbe, warm, hot
warrunj, crooked
gow, raw
wura, ripe
budjuŋ, rotten
buwa, stinking
djunim, right-handed
wadaŋir, left-handed
ŋurr, sharp
gen, sharp
dudulye, swollen
doyidoyi, stoney
giya, grey-haired
manjal, wet

Age and value
gawurre, old
galang, good, well, OK, right
yiyeŋ, bad, not good
yayumbe, same
örünb, true
djunim, right
daran, forbidden
bam, half

Human propensity
galang, happy
ganan, sad, sorry
baŋ, wild, angry

Dimension
bari, small
bugubu, short
guwengi, long, tall
bubur, thin
Vocabulary by semantic fields

**baŋgi**, savage, afraid
**muŋin**, shy, ashamed
**njil**, selfish
**njenga**, 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
**ŋumqa**, come out, break through
**gari**, enter, go in
**ŋaba**, pass, go further
**gundani**, jump, cross
**gamunda**, cross over
**mu**, rise
**wa**, climb (up)
**ŋinda**, go down, sink
**bumi**, fall (down), roll (down)
**gaye**, turn around, tip over
**buŋi**, blow, move
**dunme**, move, sway
**gawa**, dodge, duck
**mendi**, 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
**muŋgaya**, stop, cease

**R. Position and induced position**
**buyi**, take (away), carry
**bari**, bring, carry (on shoulder)
**gamge**, 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
**yaŋga**, hand over
**mowa**, gather, heap
**ŋunda**, close
**djandari**, slip
**dunme**, stoop, fall down
**wundi**, come off
**gunda**, protect
**ŋurume**, hide, steal
**ŋarrbema**, lose
**gaye**, look
badji, find

**S. Affect**

bu, hit, kill, fight
bamba, fight, throw, hit, kill
ŋanda, smash, knock out, hit, hurt
yira, cut, hit
yowana, knock down
ŋoro, kick, step on
buwa, spear, dip
buwe, stick in
dari, pinch
nimŋa, scratch
bugunda, open (up), split
gamŋa, break
gawa, cut (off), chop, stab, split
banda, tie up
gira, wake (up), warn, round (up)
djirrdje, disperse
eyema, miss (target)
djime, shine (on), heat
mari, burn, melt, light
ŋuwe, 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
yaŋga, make, do, cause
yima, do (like) this
mura, paint
name, paint
wa:ndji, prepare

**U. Speech and thought**
yat; say, speak, tell, talk
biira, ask
gadiwa, answer
djamba, call out, answer
ganja, call out, scream, yell
yamŋa, swear, quarrel
guŋba, praise
bunjma, boast
yandi, sing
beŋa, think (of), remember, know

**V. Corporeal**
dja, eat, drink
djuŋba, lick
morbe, smell
yiya, bite
ganja, vomit
djowa, blow
duŋa, cry, weep
mowali, wail
mundji, laugh
murrungi, snore
waŋji, tremble
ŋurume, defecate
gunda, lay
di, grow up
goro, drown
bo; die
bumi, die
muwe, possess
baŋgi, be frightened
maŋi, be ready
ŋuni, be suspicious
waŋgi, be silly

**W. Adverbs**
djale, softly
ba:bama, loudly
budirgu, completely, entirely
bumni, soundly, peacefully
yaŋgayanja, carefully
ŋurra, nearly
djaŋi, almost
djunim, straight

**T. Attention**

ng, see, look at, watch
beŋa, hear, listen to
njumba, show, point
wabe, wait
Vocabulary by semantic fields

ger, try
djäŋar, quickly
ye, towards (the speaker)
biye, away from the speaker
yorrr, everywhere

X. Location and places
bunjäŋ, ahead, in front
yuŋam, ahead, in front
biče, behind
yiyem, underneath, below, down
gunu, underneath, deep below, inside
yu:mu, between
benju, up high
gaña, up, above, on top
djanjum, near, close, close together
wana, far away
miye, further away
girum, the other side, across
neyen, outside
bam, halfway
gunuwinj, north
nuwimgan, north
gunundjìn, east, hollow place
ŋiyarr, south
buranbaye, west
burrurrayarr, 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
meg, today
binju, tomorrow
yayumba, soon
gawurre, a long time (ago)
ŋinggaŋurma, creation time, dreamtime
## 3. List of affixes

Listed below are all the allomorphs of the grammatical suffixes followed by the section(s) where the form and function of each is discussed.

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<th>Description</th>
<th>Section(s)</th>
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<td>a</td>
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<td>locative</td>
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<td>gu</td>
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<td>gu</td>
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<td>me</td>
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<td>§3.6.3 [h]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of affixes

-**na** accusative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [b], §3.3

-**na** dative2 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3

-**nda** adverbialiser – §3.2.3 [e]

-**nda** locative1 – §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** causative2 – §3.6.4 [b]

-**ndu** instrumental – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [d], §3.5 [a]

-**ndj** plural – §3.2.3 [e]

-**nge** imperative – §3.6.3 [f]

-**ngu** future – §3.6.3 [c]

-**ni** locative2 – §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** ablative1 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.5 [d]

-**nu** locative3 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]

-**-ya** accusative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.1 [b], §3.3, §3.5 [a]

-**-ya** allative – §3.4 [c], §3.5 [c], §3.5 [d]

-**-ya** dative – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3

-**-ya** concomitant – §3.2.3 [c]

-**-ndje** reciprocal – §3.6.4 [b]

-**-ye** reflexive – §3.6.4 [b]

-**-ye** 'side' – §3.4 [c]

-**-nge** present – §3.6.3 [b]

-**-ngu** purposive – §3.5 [a]

-**-gi** locative2 – §3.2.5, §3.4 [c]

-**pi** past – §3.6.3 [a]

-**-gira** time – §3.4 [c], §3.5 [c]

-**-yu** ablative3 – §3.3, §3.5 [c]

-**-yu** comitative – §3.3

-**-yu** locative3 – §3.2.5

-**-nja** accusative – §3.3

-**-nji** locative2 – §3.2.5

-**-nji** perfective – §3.6.3 [g]

-**-nju** locative3 – §3.2.5

-**-ra** locative1 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]

-**-re** continuative – §3.6.4 [a]

-**-ri(nj)** allative – §3.3

-**-ri(nj)** dative3 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3

-**-ri(nj)** genitive – §3.2.3 [a], §3.3

-**-ri(nj)** purpose – §3.3, §3.4 [c]

-**-rn** 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** ablative1 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.3

-**-u** locative1 – §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** dative1 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.2 [a], §3.3

-**-wa** intention/desire – §3.6.3 [d]

-**-wa** locative1 – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [a]

-**-wa** nominaliser – §3.2.4

-**-wa** purpose – §3.6.3 [i]

-**-wam** dual – §3.2.3 [e], §3.4 [b]

-**-wa** ablative2/aversive – §3.2.1, §3.2.2.3 [c], §3.3, §3.4 [c]

-**-wu** ablative3 – §3.3, §3.4 [c]

-**-watu** 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** locative1 – §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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