

THE LARAGIA LANGUAGE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Laragia was the language of the district where Darwin, the capital of the Northern Territory, now stands. It is almost a dead language. Even in 1950 there were no children speaking it, and most of the older people who spoke it in 1952 (when the bulk of these notes was gathered) were found on the Delissaville Reserve (now Belyuen), across the harbour from Darwin. By 1968, reports of only two speakers could be gained, and these far away from Darwin. In former times, however, the tribe was fairly large, and its territory extended to the Adelaide River, where it joined that of a tribe called "Woolna" by the early writers, while on the south-east it was bounded by the Warrai. These latter languages are practically unrecorded.

The present outline of Laragia is based on notes taken at various periods, chiefly 1949 and 1952. The notes have been systematised as far as possible, but they make no claim to provide a fully laid out grammar, especially on the phonetic level.

2. PHONEMICS

2.1 The phonemic system

The Laragia phonemic system does not differ in its essential features from the normal Australian type, except that it includes the rather rare bilabial /v/ and a mixed vowel, which is recorded here as /ö/ for convenience sake, although it has several allophones. Similarly, the bilabial is transcribed here as /v/ because it has no labio-dental counterpart. The language shows a considerable proportion of closed syllables, and more than in a number of other Northern Territory languages. The morphophonemics are simpler than those of the Jiwadja-Maung region. A certain degree of vowel harmony is present.

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The following phonemes are to be recognised:

b	d	ɖ	dj	g
m	n	ɳ	nj	ŋ
v				
	l	r	l̥	lj
w	ɾ		j	
		i		u
		ö		
	e		o	
	a			

No discussion of the individual consonants is called for; they are of the types normal in Australian languages, i.e. the plosives are unvoiced lenes and the /v/, as was remarked, is bilabial. The retroflex series is not so frequent as in many languages, but it definitely occurs. The flapped retroflex /ɾ/, so common in the Northern Territory, is missing, as is also the glottal stop, common in Arnhem Land languages. Some consonant clusters are found which seem to function as single phonemes, e.g. /dl/ and /gw/ as in dlanbarirwa *tooth*, gwinga *nose*. These are discussed below. In the case of /dl/, there is a certain amount of free interchange with /l/, e.g. daligia or dadligia *I've uncovered it*. Initial /gw/ may correspond to /w/ in other languages: gwa:gwa:gba *crow*, belongs to the root *wa:g, common in many parts of Australia; gudlugwa *dove*, similarly corresponds to a root *gulu, and the -wa or -gwa suffix (and sometimes gw- prefix) of Class V nouns answers to the wu- prefix of other multiple-classifying languages.

The vowels call for explanation as the phonemes given above by no means represent the full range of sounds actually heard. As is usual in Australia, the /e/ and /o/ are found as allophones of the corresponding high vowels. In some words, however, they are heard almost exclusively, without occurrence of /i/, /u/ in complementary distribution. *I shall eat it*, with Class III object, is normally heard as /da're:/, but there is no instance of /da:ri:/ in the same sense. On the other hand, open /ɛ/ has phonemic status, occurring in stressed syllables: [jila'mɛla] *it is finished*; ['vɛ:miɫma] *woman's bag*. The frequently heard [ä] is really an allophone of /ɛ/ as much as of /a/: ['ŋalidjɛrg] and ['ŋalidjärg] are both heard for *I came*. At the same time, the tendency to modify [ə] to [ä] in the neighbourhood of a front vowel is as strong in Laragia as in other Australian languages. There is a certain phonetic convergence in this case that is independent of meaning. Similarly /ɔ/ is a phoneme, definite in its occurrence, although there seem to be no minimal pairs depending on [o] and [ɔ].

The sounds represented here by /ö/ are rather unstable, and the symbol is used for a group of centralised vowels which take their colouring to a large extent from the neighbouring consonants. Both [ɥ] and [ə] are present but, as they are conditioned allophones, it has seemed sufficient to write /ö/ for both. There is lip-rounding after rounded consonants such as [w], but the centralised vowels occur also after the unrounded labials, [b], [m], and here the interchange is found between [i] and [ɥ] and their allophones [e] and [o]. Both [mɛla] and [miɫa] are heard for the demonstrative (see section 4.6.2). It is, in fact, often difficult to know just how to transcribe unstressed vowels: e.g. *tree*,

transcribed here as /mad'böröma/, is frequently heard as [mad'börəma] or [mad'bərəma]. It would be possible to hold that [ɤ] and [ə] are one phoneme, like [i] and [e], with preference for one or the other in individual words: /mōla/ may be heard as [mila] but not as [məla]. It is this preference, in terms of usage, that must be borne in mind when referring to a single phoneme in the preceding table. The occurrence of the allophones is determined chiefly by the presence of the labial consonants immediately before them: e.g. forms of the word for *that* are Class III /ji:lə/ but Class I /jɤ:va/. The ending of Class I nouns, -va, frequently produces a variety of obscure vowels before it, e.g. ['bileva] *man*, Plur. (Class II) ['bilira]. At the same time, however, the centralised vowels are not limited to unstressed syllables; besides the above examples of the word for 'that', cf. [mō:nma] *nest* and ['dɤ:lɔnda] *branch of tree*.

The phenomena connected with vowel harmony will be dealt with under morphophonemics (section 3).

2.2 Distribution of phonemes

Vowel initial is rare, and it is again difficult, as it is in other Australian languages, to decide whether to admit [i-] and [u-] or to write [ji-] and [wu-] as initials. Here, the simple vowels have been admitted in most cases, with a few exceptions where [wu-] is comparatively clear and consistent. Further and more detailed study would have been ideal, but this is no longer possible.

Consonants have a definite distribution so far as initial and final positions are concerned: [l] and [r] are not documented as initials, but all other consonants can occupy this position. In the final position the choice is more limited. All the plosives and nasals except the retroflexes are found, but of the other types only [l] and [r]. Consonant clusters present are:

db, dm, dlv, dlw, djb, ɖb, ɖl, dw, gl, gw, mb, md, mg, nd, nm, nŋw, ngw, ng, ŋgw, ŋw, lb, lg, lm, lŋ, lw, rb, rgm, rŋg(w), rj, rw, řw.

Most of these are found only internally, but some occur initially - dl, gw, (ŋ)gw with facultative nasalisation; others may occur only finally, e.g. rg. The free variation of dl and l has been mentioned.

There is no lengthening or gemination of consonants, although this does occur in many Australian languages, and vowel length, though phonetically present, is not phonemic. The low open vowel when lengthened is usually [a:], which is the lengthened form of [a], the vowel in English 'but'; however, its advanced allophone may also be lengthened, as in [bǎl'bǎ:la] *stone*. Other examples of long vowels are found in [ro:dgwa] *road* (English loan); [gwa:'gwa:gba] *crow*; ['vɛ:milma] *woman's bag*.

2.3 Stress

Stress also does not appear to be phonemic, as far as the material goes, but it is an important suprasegmental element of the language. Primary stress rests on the first syllable of a word, unless the second or third syllable is long, e.g.

['mɔdɔwɔ]	<i>animal, bird, meat</i>
[mi'lu:lula]	<i>species of kangaroo</i>
[dua'ri:la]	<i>species of duck</i>
['gwa:ra,bila]	<i>bandicoot</i>
['dwa:rim,bira]	<i>rat</i>

An occasional final stress, as in da're: *I shall eat it* is abnormal, and most certainly represents a contracted form, the original of which became lost. In words of four syllables or more, there is usually a secondary stress on alternative syllables.

2.4 Word structure

Words may begin with a vowel, but the examples are extremely rare. They include [ilan] *now*, but even this could be interpreted as [jilan]. Undoubtedly the reason for this is the system of class prefixes forming an alliterative concord throughout the utterance. One of the few cases in which concord does not come into play in this way is the word /amag/ *father's mother*. While examples of initial [ə], [ɛ], and [(j)i] are to hand, there are none of initial [ɔ], [u] [ö]. Finally, [-ɛ], [-u] and [-o] are not documented.

Of the consonants, the retroflexes are not only not found initially, but are comparatively rare in Laragia as a whole. Apart from rare occurrences of initial VC, Laragia words show the following syllable types:

CV	'ma/lu/ma <i>head</i> ; 'ŋa/na/ŋa <i>I</i> ; 'ma/da/wa <i>animal</i> ; 'gu/li/gi <i>large</i> ; ŋa/'gi/ni <i>I will sit</i> .
CVC	'gu/dan <i>mother</i> ; 'dudl/wa <i>man's pandanus bag</i> ; 'men/gil/ma <i>hip</i> ; 'ma/lil/ma <i>centipede</i> .
CVCC	'ni/marg <i>son</i> ; ŋa/li/djarg <i>I came</i> .

Initial CCV does not occur if the apparent clusters dl- and (n)gw- are treated as functionally single consonants, and all the phonemes of the language suggest this. Examples of these combinations in various positions will show that the above syllable types cover all cases if such a convention is accepted:

CV	dlamangwa <i>night</i> ; dlanbargwa <i>tooth</i> ; gwialagwa <i>river</i> ; gwal'maruwa <i>wattle tree</i> ; dadliŋ <i>sun rising</i> ; danimadla <i>mud</i> .
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There are clusters in which dl or gw is the second element: gungungwa *chin*; dadbungwa *honey*. The suffix in these cases is the mark of Class V nouns. There is one case in which [gw-] ~ [gɥ-] must be treated as a Class V prefix, viz. the first person singular non-future with Class V object, as in [gɥ-'a:lar] *I missed it (in shooting)*.

Other consonant clusters and their occurrences have already been listed, but these are all obvious clusters of two or more phonemes.

1. PARKHOUSE, Thomas A., 1896, Native tongues in the neighbourhood of Port Darwin. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 19: 1-18.

2.4 Tone

There are no outstandingly interesting tonal patterns in Laragia; in fact, Parkhouse contrasts the language of Wulna formerly spoken to the east of Laragia. The latter had what might be called 'ornamental' tones, i.e. fixed tone patterns which are not semantic.

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemic rules are not so complex in Laragia as in Maung and Jiwadja, though some are shared between the three languages. One in particular is shared with Ngarinyin in the Northern Kimberley Division of Western Australia. The chief difficulties in setting up an orthography for Laragia are due to certain morphophonemic rules, but others arise from the indefinite pronunciations already mentioned.

The difficulty found by earlier writers in transcribing Laragia is a very real one, and bears witness to the aforementioned considerable degree of free variation in the vowels of the language and in certain consonants such as -l- and -dl-. The following are the most outstanding causes for uncertainty:

(a) Degradation of vowels in unstressed syllables, especially in fairly rapid speech. Although Parkhouse was an untrained observer, he had some familiarity with the language when it was still in daily use, and even with its structural analysis; but he found considerable difficulty in transcribing it. The occurrences of the allophones of i, u, and a, and the uncertainty about the real nature of the centralised vowel are among the contributing factors.

(b) Facultative labialisation occurs with g- and sometimes with m-:

/gudlagwa/ and /gwodlagwa/ *yesterday*;
/mugwiri/ and /mugiri/ *we two go*.

Several varieties of conditioned change are present:

(i) Changes due to the elision of the final V of a root: niga-na *I will see you*, but gwın-ni-ŋ *you saw it* - a complex change in which -na- ~ -ni- which is then eliminated after -nj-, cf. na-n-iŋ *I see you*. Vowel harmony is also involved in this instance.

(ii) Elision of the final V of the prefix: nag-u-g *I'll give you* naga + u + g, -u- being the local form of the Common Australian (CA) root for *give*; magi *I'll mark it* maga + i.

(iii) Vowel harmony between affix and root:

(a) A centralised vowel appears on the root: bili-ra *men* < bilö-va *man*;
ŋaböm *he hit me* < ŋan-wu-m, where -wu- is the CA root for *hit*.

(b) The V of the affix varies with that of the root, but in Laragia the variation takes place in stressed rather than unstressed syllables, which is unusual in Australia, e.g. ŋi-ri *I went* as against ŋa-gi-ri *I will go*; bidjböm *you* (sg.) *hit him*, contrast buguröm *you* (pl.) *hit him*; ŋanaga- *I will... you*, as against niniga- *he will...you*; bidlaŋ, < bin + la + ŋ *he speared him*, but ban-aga-la *he will spear him*; binj-igi-la *he will spear you*, bi-la-ŋ *I speared him*, but bigi-la *I will spear him*. From the root -wu- *hit*: ŋadböm *he hit me*, but dir-i-m *they killed it* (Cl.III). These modifications are rather difficult to codify. They depend on the principle of reducing vowels to -i- except in the neighbourhood of labials, where they are centralised as well, this reduction

taking place according to an overall patterning of high or low vowels in the word, rather than by a strict collocation of syllables containing one or other type of vowel.

Another type of conditioned change, shared by Jiwadja and Maung, occurs when a consonant ending an affix meets an initial consonant on the root to which that affix is added as a prefix. This does not mean that all the combinations avoided in the processes of inflection are impossible within a root morpheme. Verbal prefixes ending in -n, -nj, and -r cause the following changes in the initial consonant of a following root:

n + l	dl	as in	-la- : ᵑad-la-ᵑ <i>I speared him</i> (ᵑan-la-n)
r + l	dl	as in	ᵑad-la-ᵑ <i>he speared me</i> (ᵑar-la-ᵑ)
nj + l	nj	as in	ᵑanj-a-n <i>you speared me</i>
n + w	db	as in	-wu- : ᵑad-bȫm <i>he hit me</i> , ᵑad-burdowe <i>I am cold</i>
nj- + w	djb	as in	-wu- : gudjbȫm <i>you hit him</i>
r + w	r	as in	-wu- : bugur-ȫ-m <i>you (pl.) hit him</i> , dir-i-m <i>they killed it.</i>

The class signs in nouns and other classes of words also cause certain consonant changes, which are chiefly suffixal. yet operate on the same principle as the above, e.g.

- Cl.I. -va becomes -ba after a consonant: gun-ba *this*, but guligi-va *big one*; banid-ba *wife*, but banili-va *girl*; nim-ba *boy* < nin-va.
- Cl.II. -ra ~ -bira, the former after a final vowel, the latter after a final consonant, but undoubtedly standing for -vira: guligi-ra *big ones*, but gun-bira *these people*.
- Cl.III. -la becomes -da after a final consonant: gumulabi-la *scorpion*; gun-da *this*.
- Cl.V. Before a final -wa, the class suffix, -n becomes -ᵑ and the suffix becomes -gwa: gu-ᵑ-gwa *this*. Other consonants in general do not change: gwiar-wa *hand*; gwiamunggal-wa *breast*. If the noun ends in -m, however, the suffix is again -gwa: ᵑaᵑlum-gwa *honey*; gwiam-gwa *egg*, but this is rare.

In reduplications, there is a tendency for a change of w > g if the root being reduplicated begins with w, but the change is not consistent: wilwil baragum *someone is whistling*, but -wilamgilam *make fire with sticks*.

In verbal roots beginning with a vowel, -b- is added after a 2nd person singular subject and before the root: ᵑadb-u-m *he gave me*; in ᵑadbȫm *he hit me*, the db change is for nw: ᵑan-wu-m as shown above, although the result is almost the same in each case. Maung and Jiwadja show a similar desire to distinguish between a vowel and a consonant root in the 3rd person singular.

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Concord formation

Laragia is a member of the multiple-classifying language group, but has the somewhat unusual practice of combining prefixes and suffixes in the formation of the concord. The Laragia concord is shown by a discontinuous morpheme - at least in many cases, but not in the verb - partly prefixal and partly suffixal. It is what Zellig Harris called a 'broken sequence'. It may be mentioned in passing that the majority of the multiple-classifying languages in North Australia used prefixal forms to mark the classes, but a few, such as Worora and Unggumi in the Northern Kimberley Division of Western Australia, have vestigial suffixes, while a few on the Barkly Tablelands in the eastern part of the Northern Territory use only suffixes. These phenomena suggest that the languages originally had, as Laragia still does, markers at each end of the word.

Class concord prevails throughout the utterance, missing only certain invariable particles. It is best therefore to begin this sketch by setting out the scope of the concord on the syntactic level. The word classes will be dealt with individually after this general introduction in terms of their morphology. In the verb, only part of the concord appears, viz. the prefixal element.

The word classes that will be recognised on formal grounds are the noun, the adjective, the pronoun, the verb and some particles. Each will be treated separately in the present section.

The Laragia concord involves (i) the noun, (ii) all words dependent on or referring to the noun by way either of amplification or qualification, and (iii) all verbal forms required to complete the sense of the utterance. The following sentences show the concord in action:

gudlagwa baniṅ bilöva guligiva; ṅarguva bili?
yesterday I-saw a-man big; where is-he?

gudlagwa baniṅ bilira guligira; ṅargura bili?
yesterday I-saw men big; where are-they?

gudlagwa daniṅ bälbäla guligila; ṅargu dili?
yesterday I-saw stone big; where is-it?

gudlagwa maniṅ damörma guligima; ṅargba mili?
yesterday I-saw river big; where is-it?

gudlagwa ganiṅ göruwa guligiwa; ṅarguwa gwili?
yesterday I-saw water big; where is-it?

It will be noticed that the concord reaches to certain types of word which in English would be classified as adverbs, such as 'where'. This is a mark of a few of the more complicated multiple-classifying languages, such as Laragia, Nunggubuyu and Anindilyaugwa (Groote Eylandt), but it is not a common feature of the group as a whole.

There are three types of morpheme in Laragia:

1. root morphemes either free or bound,
2. bound prefixal morphemes, and
3. bound suffixal morphemes.

Types 2 and 3 may be conjoined with one root. Grammatical processes may thus involve both types of affixation at once, but infixation does not occur. Whilst many particles are free forms, nouns and verbs are never so. The morphemes

which constitute them cannot appear alone, but only in their accepted combinations. In Gunwinggu (Oenpelli district of Arnhem Land) for instance, it is possible in certain cases to omit the class prefix, and this is true also in the Nunggubuyu of Rose River district, but not in Laragia. The Laragia concord is of a type uncommon in Australia in thus consisting of broken sequences.

By way of contrast with the noun, the verb does not employ suffixal class concord, but uses suffixes to mark tense, and mood or aspect, and prefixes to mark the person, number and class of the subject for an intransitive verb and both subject and object of a transitive verb. In some classes of verb it uses a prefix also to mark future action - as happens in Jiwadja and Maung and other languages of this group. There is also a series of suffixes indicating the direction in which the action takes place.

4.1 The noun

The Laragia noun in many cases carries a suffix which marks the class to which it belongs. In fact, the system of classification seems to depend on ending as much as on any semantic fact, or perhaps rather the original semantic groupings have largely lost their earlier scope. This loss is more marked in Laragia than in Maung, Nunggubuyu or Anindilyaugwa. The class suffixes of the noun are:

Class I:	-va
Class II:	-bira
Class III:	-la
Class IV:	-ma
Class V:	-wa.

These markers are in some instances subject to the morphophonemic changes already discussed, if the noun stem ends in a consonant. Moreover, they can be misleading in a way that is hard to account for, and do not occur in the other languages: *damidöla smoke* is formally Class III but takes Class IV concords, e.g. *damidö-la nanigi-ma my smoke*.

Some nouns also have a prefix which is separable and may be omitted under certain circumstances, e.g. *gu-maŋgwa möla it is too dark* < *dla-maŋ-gwa darkness*. By ending, the noun should be Class V; *gu-* is a verbal prefix corresponding to that class, but *möla* is a Cl.IV form.

Some nouns carry no mark of class at all. Kinship terms are prominent among these: *nimarg son*; *nawag younger brother*; *na:diŋ father*; while *nädla elder brother* looks as though it were Cl.III, but as the name of a person it must be Cl.I. In some cases nouns of this kind change in the process of inflection and assume a class ending: *nalambira my brother*, a Cl.II form, though singular (Cl.II represents a personal plural). For this peculiarity see 4.1.2. Some other nouns which by ending should belong to a different class belong to Cl.I. by reason of referring to persons, e.g. *banö-la girl*. A few words omit or retain the ending, apparently at option of the speaker: *ilan* and *ilangwa today*, *molggara* and *molggaragwa then, next* - if the word is rightly regarded as being radically 'the sequence'. In some instances a change of meaning results from a change of class: *dla-maŋgwa night*, but *d(l)amaŋ late*.

As in all the multiple-classifying languages of Australia, there are plural forms only for personal beings. In all others - even those that are found in the personal class but are not human beings - the same form holds good for both

singular and plural, and the context alone can decide which is intended – unless some other element of the utterance indicates this. Thus: *madbərəma a stick*: *galidjilig madbərəma gabbama ŋanjug give me two long sticks*.

Each of the noun classes will be dealt with separately and the appropriate concords given. It is impossible to determine exactly the scope of each class, but the types of words found in a given class are illustrated in each case.

4.1.1 Class I

This class contains words referring to personal beings of either sex. As in the corresponding class in Bantu languages, this is a predominantly 'human' class, but it contains also a number of animal and bird names. Examples are:

human: *bilöva man* (a male native adult); *ŋawira husband*; *gudaŋ mother*;
da:riva boy.

non-human: *bilidjaŋ winter rain*; *djua:rimba rat*; *gürinira owl*.

Included also is the introduced word *nandəva horse* (taken from a Central Australian form *nandu*, whose origin is not established). The characteristic concord form of the class is *b.....va*. The suffix is subject to morphophonemic change, and the prefix is not always present.

Example of concord:

bilö-va gun-ba guligi-va ba-na-m
man that big (him-I-)see-did

Not infrequently the plural class (II) is used for the singular in these instances, and it is often difficult to get a speaker to give the proper singular of the nouns in this class: see further in the next sub-section.

4.1.2 Class II

This class serves as the plural for Class I for names of personal beings only: it is a purely 'rational' class, and does not serve for 'irrational' members of Class I. Forms of this class are often used even if only one is referred to. In addition to *bilö-va man*, one often hears *bili-ra* < *bili-bira*. There is no prefix for the class, but a suffix *-bira* ~ *-ra*. The longer form is used after a consonantal stem, the shorter after a vowel. The plural of the example used above becomes:

bili-ra gun-bira guligi-ra ba-nam.

If the sense of the noun is singular, but Cl.II forms are used (and this seems to be optional), the dependent words are also Cl.II: *nadlira ŋanigira my brother*. Many of the words are given commonly in Cl.II form, that in which they are most commonly used, e.g. *bra:dliŋa fat*; *nalambira brother*, and foreign loanwords such as English 'bag' taken into Laragia in this form: *bag = bira the bag*. No plurality is implied in these cases, but, if the form is intended to be singular, a singular verb is used with it: *ŋabidla? who?* Cl.I > Cl.II *ŋabira*, in, *ŋabira girar who took it?*; *ŋabira giriginig who brought it?*, and *baragudbira giriginig the white man brought it* might be a suitable answer to the question. Even the numeral 'one' may be placed in Cl.II: *bilira galugugbira bigam one man said*.

There are also occasional transfers from other classes into Cl.II of irrational creatures: gu'mununda *crocodile*, Cl.III stands in Parkhouse's vocabulary as gumaondera (for gumundira), apparently a plural formed from Cl.III root and given to him as a singular.

There is no exact parallel in other multiple-classifying languages to this functioning of a formally plural noun grouping as a singular. The suffix -bira corresponds phonetically to the wara- prefix of Maung and Nunggubuyu, and biri- of Forrest River and Ngarinyin, but these are plurals in function as well as in form. The western languages have a few doubtful cases but no full parallel to Laragia usage. All these other languages not only insist that their corresponding plural forms function as plurals, but will permit only personal (rational) animates to assume the plural sign.

In Classes I and II there is a second form, prefixing gu- as well as adding the proper class suffixes. This is clearly a form of gun- *this* and the form is a definite or emphatic one: mi'labira *women* > gumi'labira *these women*. This prefix may also be used in Cl.II situations, and carrying the singular meaning: gumilabira gunbira bigana *I shall see this woman*. If the sense is intended to be plural, it is usual to employ the 'total' prefix to the verb, biram- or baram- in place of the simple bi- *I...him or them*: gumilabira galidjirig galugag birambigana *I shall see the three women*.

4.1.3 Class III

The third class contains the names of numerous animals, such as daḡudbɛla *mountain kangaroo*; gwa:rabila *bandicoot*; durubala *lizard*; dowari:la *duck*; damadingala *dugong*; mdamirina *white ant*. It contains also names of some inanimate objects, as bälbäla *stone*, däduḡuda *ashes*, and a few parts of the body, e.g. dawanda *thigh*. The moon, du:rjäwa, is also assigned to this class.

The class sign is d...-la; after a consonant final stem -da replaces -la. The example as in the previous classes would be:

bälbä-la gun-da guligi-la da-nam
stone that big it-I-saw

As the class is non-personal, there is, of course, no separate plural form.

4.1.4 Class IV

Trees and their parts tend to be grouped in Class IV, e.g. madburuma *tree*; mi'juwura *roots*. Many parts of the body belong to this class also: 'maluma *head*, madburuma *eyelash*, gwijaburuma *moustache*, mangulumma *throat*. Vegetable foods — maijuma — are included, along with ma'ri:dma *grass*. Curiously enough, from the viewpoint of the original meaning of this class, as shown in the other multiple-classifying languages of the region, a few bird names also are found in it, e.g. bidbidma *magpie lark*, together with mamulubma *tail, the shark* (mulgundjuma) and lice (mamurulma).

The concord prefix is m-, with a suffix -ma which is invariable in this language:

damör-ma gun-ma guligi-ma ma-nam,
river that big it-I-saw.

Once again there is no formal plural.

4.1.5 Class V

This class contains a somewhat miscellaneous collection of nouns, a sort of general 'neuter'. It includes:

1. Implements: ba|baliwa *firestick*; madajingwa *stone axe*;
dudlwa *man's pandanus bag*.
2. Some products of trees: gujulwa *ironwood wax*.
3. Some parts of the body: bun'gu:ngwa *jaw, chin, beard*; gwijamungalwa *breast*,
and gubungwa *a sore*.
4. Others unclassifiable, as 'gäruwa *water*; gu:ruwa *cloud*.

The essential idea of the class, like that of the corresponding class in other languages of the group, seems to have been 'connection with the ground', and English 'road' is taken over as fo:dgwa. Moreover, pronominal forms of this class are used to express place, e.g. gun-ba *this* (Cl.I) > guṅwa *here*. This, however, does not explain even a moiety of the words in Cl.V in Laragia.

The concord markers undergo some morphophonemic changes. As a prefix the form is ga-; as a suffix -wa, which becomes -gwa after -n, changing the -n to -ṅ in the process:

garu-wa gu-ṅ-gwa guligi-wa ga-nam
water this big it-I-saw.

4.2 Case relationships

As in most of the multiple-classifying languages, so in Laragia there are no formal relationship suffixes. Some kinship terms have special forms for the vocative: naḍiṅ! *father!* It is possible to use the vocative form with a class suffix as a term of reference: naḍiṅbira ṅanigibira binjiṅ? *did you see my father?* The term is still further refined lexically, in that the second person form is bibi(va) jidjäniḡiva *your father*, and bibi- refers to the 2nd person (only) of all numbers. The first dual and plural is niḡam with the appropriate possessive. A plural form niḡam-bira may be used even for *my father*. Similarly for *mother* there is guḍaṅ, alḡan, nemabira.

The possessive relationship between nouns is expressed in Laragia in the form 'A B his' = 'B's A', as in *feather bird its* = *bird's feather* gwijarmangwa madjira bienäḡi. The word bienäḡi is Cl.I referring to madjira *bird*. If the possessive noun is of another class, the possessive will take the required class form (see 4.7).

Reference to the appropriate section will show, however, that there are other forms of the possessive apart from bienäḡi. Where forms other than independent possessives are required by the possessing noun in the phrase these are used, but the order of expression remains the same: madburuma gwijar-ma *branch*, lit. *tree arm-its*. (Cl.IV concord).

If the possessor is a human being while the object possessed belongs to another class but requires an independent possessive, the latter is inflected for class to agree with the class of the object possessed as well as with the class of the possessor, exactly as in the Bantu languages of Africa. Thus, bienäḡi *his* (Cl.V. form, e.g. gunigi *its*) > bienäḡi-ma (Cl.IV) in e.g. mangulmilima bienäḡima *his canoe*. The same rule holds good if the phrase is completed with a personal noun as possessor: mangulmiima bilöva bienäḡima *the*

man's canoe; mangulmilima bilöva gunbira biënägima *that man's canoe*. A similar usage is found in other languages of the group that still retain suffixes as well as prefixes, e.g. Worora, in the Western Kimberley. The use of Cl.II forms along with those of Cl.I. is to be noted; no difference in meaning results, and it would seem that an original difference between the two classes is becoming obsolescent. An instance of double agreement is seen in the common phrase minjima magila *rock markings*.

Other case relationships are expressed by postpositions (see Particles 3.9) or not expressed at all. Thus, udlagwa gunidjirgwa ñana:ni *yesterday we were (in) the camp*; bilira galidjilig biridjärg damöřma *two men came (to) the river*; biredji danudbila *they went (for) kangaroo*.

4.3 Gender in nouns

The fact that no formal provision is made for the expression of sex in the Laragia noun has already been apparent. Cl.I. is simply personal, like the corresponding Class in Forrest River and in Bantu languages, not masculine or feminine. Nouns of both genders are included in it. Special expression of sex is given partly on the lexical level and partly on the morphological:

(i) On the lexical level, gender may be expressed by separate words, as in the case of some of the kinship terms, and bilöva *man* as against binjidba *woman*. There are also other words for 'woman', and subdivisions of terms for male and female persons according to age grades recognised socially. These do not require to be listed here.

(ii) The case in regard to kinship terms is more complicated. Some of these differ lexically according to whether a man or a woman is the speaker, so that either speaker or addressee may be masculine or feminine. There is, however, a prefix nu- ~ -ni- (masc.) and ñal- (fem.) found with some kinship terms: this is a rather widely distributed pair of prefixes in the multiple-classifying languages, e.g. Gunwinggu na- (masc.) and ñal- (fem.). Laragia examples: ni-märg *son* (man speaking) > ñalmärg *daughter*; ñei *son* (woman speaking) > ñalei *daughter*; no-(w)ag *younger brother* > ñalag *younger sister*; nugunji *sister's son* (man speaking) > ñalgunji *sister's daughter*.

4.4 Derivation in nouns

Derivation is a rather complex matter, in that very few regular derivational morphemes are found, but there is a number of non-productive forms which must nevertheless be classed as derivational:

(a) Nouns of agent are formed by adding Cl.I suffix -va to the full verbal forms expressing what is done: binjom *he beats* > binjomba *he who beats, a violent person*. Parkhouse wrote gudbiŋga *the down come fellow*, presumably for gu/dbiŋ/ba *he who fell*. The same construction may produce derivatives which are adjectivally used, e.g. gwijurwa *angry* > gwiruwambira *bad-tempered*, and (again Parkhouse), gogogambiram *a group talking*. The demonstrative form mūla is also found in this connection, forming a phrase, the entirety of which expresses an agent: mologwa *before*; mologwa mūla *one preceding*. In such a phrase there is only one primary stress, in this instance on the first syllable of the whole phrase.

(b) Noun formation may result from compounding, but this again is not a productive method. Among the established compounds there are:

(i) *-ia-*, which seems to indicate something rounded, compounds with various non-root morphemes, some of which are found also in other connections, e.g. gw-ia-bul-gwa, Cl.V. *mouth*; gw-ia-buŋu-ma, Cl.IV. *moustache* (cf. madu-buŋu-ma *eyelash*); gw-ia-muŋu-ga, Cl.V. *hill*.

(ii) *-iar-* *arm*; gw-iar-marŋ-gwa *feather*; gw-iar-wam-ba *wing*, and a verbal compound, *-iar-ŋgöu-* *beckon*.

(iii) the common Australian root maŋa *eye*, appears in Laragia as damara, and makes compounds: madu-buŋu-ma *eyelash*; mad-bar-ma *forehead*. It is possible that wa-adbar-wa *the Milky Way* is also connected in some way with this phrase, the initial m- being wrongly taken as Cl.IV. prefix and so changed to gw-.

One or two other such compounds appear but their analysis is too doubtful to be included here. Mention may, however, be made of *-mal* *having*. This form is usually best treated as a postposition, in such a phrase as baŋimba devirba mal bigam *rain having lightning, storm*, but it appears also in gwaialmalgwa *hut*, as compared with gwialgwa *the ground*, presumably 'something erected on the ground'.

4.5. Transference of class signs

The process of transference of class signs is not so common in Laragia as in Maung, but there are instances in which it is documented, e.g. *-iar-* *arm* (see previous paragraph), as applied to persons in a general sense gives gwiargwa, Cl.V., with first person singular possessive suffix gw-iar-ŋa *my arm*; but in compounds the class form may vary: madbərəma gw-iar-ma *branch of tree*, in which the prefix of the original class is retained, but the suffix of the special reference class is added and the total then treated as Cl.IV. Compare also: *-iam-* *egg*, generally gwiamgwa, Cl.V., but with possessives: bir-iam-bira *their eggs*; madawa gwiamarma, guliwa *the bird lays eggs*. So, too, biril-va, Cl.I. *human hair*, but biril-ma, Cl.IV. *hairbelt*; damadji-la, Cl.III. *blood*, but damadjidamadji-gwa *red paint*, Cl.V.

Words of common Australian origin, or in some cases possibly loanwords from other languages, are assigned a class: common Australian maŋa *eye*, Laragia da-maŋa, Cl.III; djiridj, found in some Fitzroy River and other languages as a name for the *magpie lark*, becomes in Laragia djiridjdjiridj-ba, Cl.I. On the other hand, transference of idea may take place without change of class affiliation, as in dlämbargwa V. (i) *tooth*, (ii) *knife edge*.

4.6 Noun adjuncts

Noun adjuncts are those words which function as adjectives, but in Laragia certain other types of word must be included, which in English may be classed as pronouns (other than the personal pronouns). Such words fall within the scope of the concord principle, and the concord is twofold: (i) suffixal with reference to the noun to which the adjunct refers, but (ii) prefixal if the adjunct is used as an independent utterance in its own right, e.g. verbalised. In certain instances the suffix is entirely discarded.

The suffixes used are shown in the following paradigms:

Class		<i>this</i>	<i>big</i>	<i>my</i>
I	-va	gun-ba	guḷigi-va	ḡanigi+va
II	-ra, -bira	gun-bira	guligi-(bi)ra	ḡanigi-(bi)ra
III	-la	gun-da	guligi-la	ḡanigi-la
IV	-ma	gun-ma	guligi-ma	ḡanigi-ma
V	-wa	guḡgwa	guligi-wa	ḡanigi-wa

Examples of these forms: (i) phrases: gāru-wa guligi-wa *big water*; mada-wa guligi-wa *big animal or bird*; a lot of meat; damōr-ma guligi-ma *big river*; bili-ḡga guligi-wa *big dog*; (ii) sentences: majuma manjigirg, molidjəl nagug *good big, a little I shall give you*. These forms will be illustrated in a little more detail below.

The majority of these adjectivally functioning adjuncts are morphemes and cannot be further analysed, e.g. b-owa:ra *bad*; bidji *good*. Other are derived forms. Some are derived from nouns by the addition of a suffix, to which in turn the class suffixes are added: damadji-la *blood* > damadji-la-g-bwa (Cl.I. form) *red, like blood* > damadji-g-damadji-g-wa *red paint* (used as Cl.V. noun). It is noticeable that in this case the suffix -g is added to the complete noun, not to the root morpheme. Examples of such formatives are too rare in the available material to determine whether they are productive forms or not, but they do not seem to be so. The suffix -g found in this particular word is probably to be identified with the suffix found in possessives: ḡani-gi- *my*; idāni-gi- *your*; b-ieni-gi- *his*, etc. and it is therefore to this extent at least productive. It is possibly present also in guli-gi- *big*, although there is no simpler form recorded.

These adjuncts can be converted into verbs if the person prefix is added: gu-wurdubami *it is cold*; ḡad-burudabaji *I am cold* (lit. *it chills me*).

The noun adjuncts are many, embracing all possible forms of description and qualification; in addition, demonstrative words must be added to the list. The following are the class forms of the Laragia demonstratives:

Class I.	Class II.	Class III.	Class IV.	Class V.	English
gunba	gunbira	gunda	gunma	guḡgwa	<i>this</i>
ja:ba	ja:bira	ja:da	ja:bma	ja:gwa	<i>that</i>
jə:ba	jə:bira	jə:la	ji:ma	jə:wa	<i>one yonder</i>

These follow the noun as do other adjuncts — or most frequently they do so. If more than one adjunct accompanies the noun, the demonstrative precedes the descriptives: bilira gunbira guligira *these big men*. There is also a negative adjunct, -iala, taking the forms I. biala, II. biriala, III. diala, IV. miala, V. gwiala, with prefix concord only. It signifies *none, no*: dablanda biala *no bucket*. Class V. form is used with verbs as a negative, *not*, and is usually heard in the forms of the allomorph gweala or even gwēala. The negative adjunct may also telescope with a preceding noun: dabdabma miala > dabdabmiala *no canoe*. This can happen because there is no stress on miala; these negative adjuncts are enclitic.

A fuller form, guni-, jaga- is found occasionally: jagawa biḡjug, guniwa biḡjug *give to this one, give to that one*.

The following are more detailed examples of adjectival concord:

- Class I. bilade-va bienigi guligiva bi-mila *his wommera is big*;
galidjilig bimba guligi *two big boys* (see below regarding dual
and plural numbers); banli-va milidjēul-ba *small woman*.
- Class II. bilira jira jagawa birigidimarg *those men are coming here*;
jira ŋabila? *who is his father?*; bilira galidilibira *the two men*
(more definite than galidilig bilira).
- Class III: da:la gunda damadila-g-da *this flower is red*; bālbā:la ŋanila mila?
what stone is that?
- Class IV: malögub-ma ŋanigi-ma *my house*; maligiri-ma badi-ma *good spear*;
maligir-ma adani-g-ma m-uara *your spear is no good*; maligir-ma
manulgi-ma badi-gi-ma *all good spears*; damör-ma anal-ma mi-mila?
what river is that?
- Class V. damwi:wa ja:-gwa damadila-g-wa *that dress is red*; damwi:wa aŋgar-wa
ŋaŋug *give me a white dress*; galidilig galugug madawa guligi-ji-ga
ŋaŋug *give me three big fish*.

4.6.1 Pluralising the adjuncts

Adjuncts fulfilling a definitely adjectival function, i.e. description of the qualities of an object, as against simple description of it as 'this' and 'that', indicate plurals by the addition of a suffix -ga ~ -jiga. The former is used if the stress is one or two syllables back from the end of the stem, as in badi-ga *good*; the latter is used if the stress is farther back, e.g. 'guligijiga *big ones*. In the latter case, a secondary stress develops on alternate syllables: 'guli'gijiga, and this in turn may lead to phonetic variation in the form of 'guli'gɛ:ga. The uses of this suffix will be indicated below. It should also be noted that there is a root form of this adjunct without a suffix, e.g. badi, guligi. The following are the uses of both forms:

(i) Personal animate nouns require the adjective to be put into Cl.II. form, in which case -ga-ra or -jiga-ra become -gira and -gijigira (-g :gira) respectively: bilira guligira *big men*; badi-gira bilira *good men*. Non-person and inanimate nouns of all classes require class agreement only, as already illustrated.

(ii) If there are two adjectives after the noun, quantity precedes quality, as in English, and the first agrees in class with the noun, while the second may either be in radical form or take the pluralising suffix: madbörɛma maŋolgi-ma badi *many good trees*; damila daŋolgila badi-ga *many good stones*; maiima maŋolgima badi *much good food*.

(iii) If the numeral galidilig *two* is one of the two adjectives following the noun, the same rule holds good, i.e. the second adjective is either left in the radical form or it takes the pluralising suffix: bilira gadlidilig badi *two good men*; (gu)milibira galidilibira badi *the two good women* (note the definite form of the numeral); maiima galidilig badi *two good (lots of) food*; malagirima galidilig badi *two good spears*; damila galidilig badi-ga *two good stones*; madbörɛma galidilig badi-ga *two good trees*; galidilig nimba galigi *two big boys* shows a similar use, even though the numeral precedes the noun.

It is nevertheless possible to add a class sign to the pluralised adjective in the case of non-animate nouns: damörma guligijgima (guligɛ: gima) *big rivers*; bilinga guligɛ:ga *big dogs* shows the same use applied to animate non-person

nouns; *damila galidilig galogug guligila three big stones* shows the absence of the pluralising sign on the adjective, only the class sign being used.

4.6.2 Predicative forms and emphatics

There is a predicative and emphatic root *-mila* (also heard as *-mɛla*) which agrees in class with the noun-adjective combination to which it is attached. This root, however, takes the prefixes of persons belonging to the pronominal series, as well as the class prefixes of nouns (which are really those of the third person pronominal series), and some considerations would lead to its being treated in the pronoun series. Sometimes, however, the root is used alone, without prefix, depending directly on an interrogative word, e.g. *ɲanala mɛla biamba? what is his name?*, cf. *ɲanala nimila niana? what is your name?* Hence it is better treated as a root of adjectival nature, allowing for the fact that it can assume all the pronominal prefixes. The adjectival nature appears clearly in a situation such as *ɲad nigin nimila? what did you say?*, where *nimila = you-that-me, you-there*. Similarly, in *arib gugumɛla cut into this one*, an example given by Parkhouse with the emphatic pronoun prefix *gu-*, *gugu- this one*.

The following are the forms assumed by the root *-mɛla ~ mila*:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1. incl.	-	mönmɛla	daradbila
excl.	ɲamɛla		ɲaramɛla
2.	nimila		guramɛla
3. i(a)	bimila		biramula, ✱ila
(b)	(gu)gumɛla		
iii	damila		
iv	mɛla, mila		
v	gumɛla		

This root is used as follows:

(i) As an emphatic pronoun, or a word of emphasis attached to non-pronominal classes: *ɲanala mila? what is this?*; *alabigimbi bienigi mila she is his mother-in-law*; *gunba bigimadi mila he is about to marry*; *ɲadla mɛla nigadag? which way will you return?* (p.).

(ii) Added to an adjectival stem, increasing the force of the statement somewhat; here it may also be predicative: *baði mila good (man), he is a good man*.

(iii) This compounded adjective is then added to a noun which it describes: *miliwa badimila good woman*; *maligirima mine:mila good spear*; *gwiarɲa ɲa:ɲa guligi ɲamila my hand is large* (for the prefix concord in *gwiarɲa ɲa-mɛla*, see 4.8.3).

(iv) It may also be added to the full stem of the adjective (with class termination added) without apparent change of meaning: *maiima baðiga mila good stone*. It will be seen that in most of these instances the bare root of the word is used, without concord prefix or suffix.

(v) Used with class prefixes, the root emphasises; in the 3rd person it is almost equivalent to English 'the': *damɛla daliɾa dadliɲ the sun has risen*; *dalaiwa mila the wet season*.

(vi) The root form can also be used as a portion of an utterance and refer to the entire utterance: *balmba ilangwa bugilibida mila?* *is it likely to rain today?* (*mila* gives the sense of *is it likely?, do you think?*); *balmba buglibida it is raining.*

(vii) In 1st and 2nd persons, the root *mila*, *mɔla*, throws emphasis on the actor, as shown in the examples at the beginning of this section (4.6) and also: *gwɛala nuganmidu nimila you have not worked*; *gudlarɔ gumɔla she is tabu to him*; *ɲanala nidlibiɲ nimila? what is your totem?*; *ɲarbirigiɲig nimila idānigira dalbira? how many children have you?*

It is noticeable that *-mɔla ~ -mila* does not occur nearly so frequently in narrative or description as in conversation.

4.6.3 Locative words

Words expressing place require concord in Laragia because they are treated as noun adjuncts. For example:

	<i>here</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>this way</i>
Cl.I.	jan	ja:g	gwin
Cl.II.	janbira	jagbira	gwinbira
Cl.III.	janda	jagunda (?)	gwinda
Cl.IV.	janma	jagma	gunma
Cl.V.	jangwa	jagwa	gungwa

The interrogative 'here?' will be treated in 4.6.4. The vowel of *ja:g* is shortened somewhat when suffixes are added to the word but, rather unexpectedly, its quality is retained. It may be treated as half-long, so that the [a] quality is accounted for. There are a few unplaced forms found amongst locatives: *gwaoniga this side or way*, *jagulagwa that side or way*, answering the question *ɲaragwa? which way?* of movement. Simple demonstratives are also used as locatives: *jɔwa thither*, *ɲaligiag niledi jɔwa? why did you go there?*, *ja:g guledi that man went that way*, *gwin gulidi that man went this way*, illustrate the normal uses.

4.6.4 Interrogatives

All interrogatives in Laragia are classifiable as nouns, noun adjuncts or noun substitutes. Both formally and functionally they require concord. The same word may function differently in different utterance situations, being either adjectival or adverbial or pronominal. The words, arranged by class forms, are:

	<i>who?, what?</i>	<i>which?</i>	<i>where?</i>
Cl.I.	ɲabi(d)la	ɲanalba	ɲar(ba), ɲarbani
Cl.II.	ɲabira	ɲanalbira	ɲarbira, ɲarbinila
Cl.III.	ɲabila	ɲanal(l)a	ɲan(da), ɲandili
Cl.IV.	ɲab(i)ma	ɲanalma	ɲarg(ma), ɲargmili
Cl.V.	ɲa(bi)gwa	ɲanalgwa	ɲargwa, ɲargwili

The phonetic irregularities, already mentioned in 2.1, are very noticeable in this list, and the shorter forms are those generally heard in speech. Examples of the various forms: *ɳabira gi'rar?* *who held it?, who took it?*; *nimba ɳabidenigi gi'rar?* *whose little boy took it?*; *mi'lu:lula ɳabila?* *which kangaroo?*; *madböröma ɳabma?* *which camp?*

It is more general to employ *ɳanal-* in referring to inanimate objects: *damörma ɳanalma 'mila?* *which river is it?*; *gunumidända ɳanal' mēla?* *what sea is it?* The Cl.III. form of *ɳanal-* is used pronominally as a general neuter: *ɳanala mila?* *what is this?*, *ɳanala mila biamba?* *what is his name?*, *ɳanala mila niana?* *what is your name?*, *ɳanala nilidärg?* (*for*) *what have you come?*, *ɳanala dinam?* *what are you looking for?*, with *di-n-*, 2nd singular subject and Cl.III. object. The two words for 'where' need a little attention. The following phrases illustrate them:

(i) *ɳargwa nilidärg?* *where have you come from?*; *ɳad nigag?* *where are you going?*; *ɳargwa nilidän?* *where did you hear that?* (but also *ɳad nigin nimila?* *what did you say?*); *ɳargwa nuwarbin?* *where were you born?*

(ii) *ɳarbanin ɳadimbira idänigiwa?* *where is your father?*; *ɳadimbira ɳarbinila biamba?* *what is your father's name?* (the continual hesitation between 'what' and 'where' in asking a name is a Northern Australian idiomatic usage); *ɳarbanin ɳanmalg idänigiwa?* *where is your sister?*; *ɳandili bälbäla?* *where is the stone?*; *ɳarg damörma* or *ɳargmili damörma?* *where is the river?* Both *ɳarbmili* and *ɳargmili* are used: the suffix *-ili* is part of the verb *-ili to be in a place*: *ɳargba mili?* *where is it?* (Cl.IV.); *ɳangwa gwili* (Cl.V.); *ɳargu dili* (Cl.III).

4.7 Pronouns

The pronominal system of Laragia is unusually complex for an Australian language in three ways. Firstly, there is an extra personal prefix which does not normally appear in nouns (though a few examples of it may be found in the preceding pages). This is arranged in the following table at 3(i)b, and is marked by *gu-*. Its force is emphatic, 'this fellow', whereas in 3(i)a, *bi-* is simply *he, she*. Secondly, while strictly speaking there is only a 1st person inclusive in the dual number, the other persons being supplied by inflection of the numeral 'two', and construed with a plural verb, the plural form is subdivisible into two types: (a) a general plural answering to 'we', etc., and (b) a 'total' plural answering to 'we all', etc. Thirdly, there are several types of pronoun for each person, viz. cardinal, emphatic and isolative. The emphatic forms were treated in 4.6.2 but will be listed below for the sake of completeness; the 'isolative' forms are 'I alone', etc. Finally, there is a column of possessive forms which, however, are severely restricted in their use. The following are the pronominal types found in Laragia:

	CARDINAL	EMPHATIC	ISOLATIVE	POSSESSIVE	
Singular	1.	ŋa:nəŋa	ŋaməla	ŋadluđö	ŋa:nigi
	2.	iđäna	nimila	nadluđö	iđänigi
	3(i)a	ja:ba, jagöva	bimila	bidluđö	bienigi
	(i)b	gunba	(gu)məla	gudluđö	gwɛ:nigi
	(iii)	ja:dla	damila	dadluđö	danigi
	(iv)	ja:bma	mila, məla	madluđö	manigi
	(v)	ja:gwa	guməla	gadluđö	gunigi
Dual	1. incl.	ŋa:mörira	mönmula	möluđö	mönigi
	1. excl.	galidiliŋara			
	2.	galidiligura			
	3(a)	galidilibira			
	(b)	galidiligura			
Plural	1. incl.	darandira	darandbila	daradluđö	daranigi
	1. excl.	ŋaraŋara	ŋaraməla	ŋaradluđö	ŋaranigi
	2.	gura gura, juwira (?)	guraməla	guradluđö	guranigi
	3(a)	bidenbira, birendbira, ja:bira, jagövira	biraməla, vila	biradluđö	biđänigi, barenigi
	3(b)	gunbunbira		?	gunbandeinigi
Total	1. incl.	da(ra)ñimörira			
	1. excl.	ŋarañimörira			
	2.	guñimörira			
	3(a)	biñimörira			
	(b)	gundiñinmörira			

The cardinal pronouns are not used as subjects unless there is a degree of emphasis on them; even then, the -məla ~ -mila forms are often employed: *banin ŋa:nəŋa I saw him myself*. As the pronoun object is incorporated in the verb, the cardinal pronoun does not appear as an object. Yet again, it can be so used if it is emphatic, its equivalent being still incorporated: *biñnimörira birambilaŋ I speared them all*. In this example, *biram-* is a 'total' prefix, as against *bi-*, the common singular and plural prefix. This 'totality' prefix may also be added to a verb if it is required to make a definite distinction between singular and plural objects: *maiima biñum you gave food to him or them*, but *maiima biñum mörira you gave food to them (all)*. Similarly in the future, *biñugmörira you will give them*. If the stress is laid on the plurality of the personal subject, the suffix -bili is used: *bilira ninamwainbili there are men waiting for you* (for -bili see *ŋabiri*).

Both uses are combined in the following examples: *ŋa:ninə ŋalidärg malörbma, nigan ŋadbiniŋ (as) I was coming to the house, my father saw me*; *ŋa:ninə bigam he said to me*; *ja:ba ŋa:ninə ŋadbum she gave it to me*; *ŋaraŋara benjin, madawa bidbim, ŋaraŋara ŋanugag madawa garei we saw them, fish they gave (you), us give-us, fish we-shall-eat*.

The second form of the 3rd person is worth attention because it is — so far as recorded — unique in Australia. The pronominal forms given above as 3(i)b

are accompanied by corresponding prefixes to the verb, so that the pronouns are called on only for added emphasis. Examples of the verb forms are seen in: gugugumbira *they are all talking together*; gwondalibmärg *these fellows return* (both from Parkhouse); a'olde gugáwana *let this fellow see* (P.); ja:g guledi *this fellow has gone that way* (P.). Similarly, there is a 'total' verb prefix corresponding to the pronouns given, and shown, for example, in birambaragir *they are all coming*; birambigawu *I will beat them all*.

The isolative series, as the name indicates, points to action by the person or persons mentioned, independent of all others: ɲadluḏö ɲiledi *I went by myself*. There are variant forms: ɲuludbiɲ *I alone*, and the -mɔla form may be added to the pronoun as well: ɲadluḏö mɔla, etc.

It is clear that Laragia is one of the languages that has never developed the dual beyond a form signifying 'you and I'. This is the case also, for instance, in the languages of Dampier Land, Western Australia, and Bathurst and Melville Islands. The other pronouns given are obvious compounds of the numeral galidilig *two*, with pronominal suffixes which are by nature plurals.

4.8 Possessives

The Laragia system of possessives is complex. The forms given in the list of pronouns in the previous section are used very generally with objects which are entirely separable from the owner with what may be termed incidental or impermanent possession. If, however, the possession involved is by nature permanent or inevitable, such as that of parts of the body and relatives, different methods of expressing them are used:

- (i) Suffixes are added to some, but not all, parts of the body.
- (ii) Compound prefixes and suffixes are added to other parts of the body and to the word for 'name'.

Certain of these involve a concord on the 1st or 2nd person (as required) exactly parallel to the class concords involved with noun adjuncts. This concord may be called the 'prefix possessive concord'.

The independent possessives listed in 4.7 are used for all types of nouns that do not fall under any of the headings mentioned in the preceding paragraph, that is to say, for the vast majority of nouns. They are subject to the general rule governing noun adjuncts, i.e. they take suffixes of class in agreement with the noun to which they refer: nadlira ɲanigiwa *my brother*; baragamani bidänigira *they wanted it for their own*; nadimbira ɲanigira *my father* (also nadaɲ nanigiwa, see below); banidba ɲanigiwa *my wife*; dabdabma ɲaranigima *our canoe*; malörubma ɲanigima *my house*; bireḏi gunidirgwa bidänigwa *they went to their camp*.

There are conditions under which the class suffix is not added, one is when -mɔla ~ -mila is used after the possessive: damwiwa jəwa biengigi mɔla *these are his clothes, these clothes are his*. A second is when the possessive is followed by another adjective: biladewa bienigi guligiwa bimila *his wommera is big* — it does not matter that the adjective is rendered predicative by -mila. The plural suffix, however, does not yield place: maligirima gunma ɲanigjiga *these spears are (all) mine*.

Kinship possessives are applied to some relationship terms, but usage with such terms is rather irregular and various ways of dealing with them are found. It has already been mentioned that some relationship terms have special vocative

forms, which are lexical matters. The forms for 'father' are as follows:

Singular	1.	nada nanigi ^{va}
	2.	bibi(^{va}) idänigi ^{va}
	3.	bibi(ra) iginba
Dual	1.	nigan muginba
	2.	bibi wirginba
	3.	bibira iginba
Plural	1.	incl. nigan dirginba
	1.	excl. nigan arginba
	2.	bibi wirginba
	3.	bibira iginba

There are other terms of a similar nature, but the stems do not always vary for person of possessor as in the above case, cf. *ḡadimbira your father*, *gudimbira* or *gudinba your mother* (both Cl.II.); *alabi-gimba his wife's mother*; *bibiginba my father* (contracted form); *ḡalḡanba my mother*. Other relationship terms, however, take an independent possessive without variation of their own stems: *ḡalmalg idänigi^{va} your sister*; *nawira ḡanigira my husband*.

4.8.1 Suffixed possessives

Suffixed possessives are added to some parts of the body. There is no 3(i)b form. Two instances are given, one with vowel final and one with consonant final stem: *maga-ḡa my leg*, and *gwiar-ḡa my arm*.

Person	1. singular	maga-ḡa	gwiar-ḡa
	dual	maga-nmia	gwiarwa moamia
	plur. incl.	maga-ndara	gwiarwa darandara
	plur. excl.	maga-ḡara	gwiarwa ḡaraḡara
2.	singular	maga-na	gwiar-na
	plural	maga-ḡgara	gwiar-ḡgara
3.	(i)	maga- ^{va}	gwiar-mba
	(ii)	maga-bira	gwiar-mbira
	(iii)	maga-la	gwiar-d(l)a
	(iv)	maga-ma	gwiar-ma
	(v)	maga-ḡga	gwiar-gwa

These are the forms for a noun in the singular, and usually the plurality of a noun is to be gathered from the context. Sometimes a special form is found, such as *gwiar-wira arms* (3(i)). The forms for classes other than the first are used with nouns of the corresponding class, e.g. *milu:lula maga-la leg of a kangaroo*; *damöḡa maga-ma branch of a river*. In point of fact, only a minority of nouns take these suffixes, and the names of most parts of the body are invariable in themselves and used with independent possessives, e.g. *gwa-mila ḡanigila my tongue*. A few again take prefixed pronouns, as though they were verbs: *ḡamindil my shoulder* > *dara-mindil our shoulders*. Native usage is, to some extent, also inconsistent; one finds *gwiar-ḡa ḡaliḡiḡ my arm is sore* (with prefix possessive concord, see 4.8.3), but *gwiargwa ḡanibiliba my arm hurts me*.

4.8.2 Double possessives

There are a few nouns which take a double possessive: both the beginning and the ending of the word changes. Such are -jubir- *knee* and -ia(n)- *name*. The forms of these two words are as follows:

Person	1. singular	ɲajubirɲa	ɲia(n)na
	dual	majubirmia	mwiamwa (?)
	plur. incl.	dara(ju)birlara	dariadira (?)
	plur. excl.	ɲara(ju)birɲara	ɲariaɲara
2.	singular	najubirna	niana (nianna)
	plural	gur(ju)birɲara	guriangura
3.	(i)	bijubirwa	biamba
	(ii)	bir(ju)birira	biriambira
	(iii)	dijubirdla	diala
	(iv)	mijubirma	miama
	(v)	gwiajibirgwa	gwiagwa

4.8.3 Prefix possessive concord

A noun adjunct or a verb depending on a noun that takes either a prefix or a prefix and suffix to indicate possession must agree with the noun in its form, not in class only but also in person, if the noun is other than third person. A paradigm of certain phrases will make the implications of the usage clear:

maga-ɲa naininin na-leđi *I crossed my legs*; dlänbirgi-ɲa ɲa-liñam
my tooth aches; bilingi-wa dlänbirgiv-a gi-wei *the dog grips it in his
 teeth*.

The following paradigm shows the full effects of this 'prefix possessive concord'.
 Meaning: *my (etc.) hand is large*.

PERSON	PHRASE
1. singular	gwiarɲa ɲa:nuɲa guligi ɲamila
1. dual incl.	gwiarmönmia guligi mömula
1. plural incl.	gwiarwa darandara guligi darandbila
1. plural excl.	gwiara ɲaraɲara guligi ɲaramila
2. singular	gwiarɲa guligi nimila
2. plural	gwiarɲgura guligi ɲguramila
3. i(a)	gwiarmba guligi mila
3. i(b)	gwiarmba guligi gumula
3. ii(a,b)	gwiarmbira guligi wila
3. iii	gwiarnda guligi damila
3. iv	gwiarma guligi mila
3. v	gwiargwa guligi gumula

This process is found also in some of the languages of the Northern Kimberley Division, especially its northern part. It is found likewise in the far east of the multiple-classifying region, at Rose River and Groote Eylandt.

4.9 The verb

The verbal root in Laragia is similar to that of other languages in the multiple-classifying group inasmuch as it is always a bound form. Even in the imperative mood these languages never use a root by itself. The verb must contain at least two morphemes. The language is not rich in moods or tenses, and knows only the active voice. The root itself may, however, be either simple or derived, but the same mood and tense affixes apply to both types.

The chief division to be observed in the verb is that into transitive and intransitive forms. Different sets of prefixes are used in each, and the transitive form always incorporates the object, even though it be only an implied object. The tense and mood system applies similarly to both transitive and intransitive verbs. As in Jiwadja, the two main tense forms are the non-future and the future, as far as prefix distinctions are concerned, but by means of suffixes a somewhat greater variety of tenses is distinguished, though not as many as in Maung and Jiwadja. The sub-division of tenses by means of suffixes is shown below:

- A. Non-future prefixes: present
 past
 perfect (complete present)
- B. Future prefixes: future and imperative

Example: Root -n(a)- see

- A. Present and past: na/n/iŋ I see, saw you.
- B. Future: nana/n/a I shall see you.
- Imperative ŋaŋa/n/a I look at me.

There is also an irrealis aspect resting on a prefix -v- ~ -w-, e.g. ŋawa-ni *I will stay*, gweala nivi-ni *I will not stay*, I did not stay. In all cases, there is much vowel harmony in the form of variations of vowels within the various prefixes. (see 4.9.8)

4.9.1 Roots

(a) Simple roots

Verbal roots may consist of simply a single phoneme, e.g. -n- *to see*, -r- *to take hold*, -g- *to go, come*, or they may consist of one or more syllables:

Monosyllabic roots: -ga- *say*, -u- *give*, -gau *walk*, -wal *make (spears)*,
 -gold- *run*.

Disyllabic roots: -giri- *come*, derived from -g- *move, go, come*.

Simple roots never seem to be more than two syllables. Lengthier morphemes prove, on inspection, to be compounded in one of a number of ways. Certain compound roots are formed, as in the Northern Kimberley and other northern languages, consisting of an invariable base, nominal by nature, and an auxiliary verb:

ŋul ŋaga *I give*, duldul maŋila *I knock at a door* (Cl.IV. -mani-),
 dirid bala *I pinch*, murg gar *I grab*, luglug waga *I gather, collect*,
 bauŋuli ŋaga *I lead (a person)*, wauwau bidiŋ *it barked (a dog)*,
 wai ŋajiga *I swim*.

The bases remain unchanged throughout the conjugation; only the second elements vary. The verbs which are used as auxiliaries are chiefly -g- *go*, -la *strike*, and less commonly -wal *make*.

(b) Derived roots

Both of the above are simple roots to the extent that they are irreducible. There are, however, some derived forms which are traceable back to simple or compound roots. These are the forms for expressing the reflexive, the reciprocal and the causative, and the suffixes by which the transitive verbs are formed. They will be taken in order.

(i) Reflexive

The essential element here is the word *ḡajalidig* placed before the verbal root, which is then conjugated by means of the intransitive prefixes: *bi-ginan I paint him* > *ḡajalidig ḡaganin I paint myself*; *madawa gugu-mile-n cut meat* > *ganmin ḡajalidig you cut yourself*. There are occasional departures from this structure: *I rub myself* = *ḡwiarḡa girgir ḡajigam* (my hands); Parkhouse has *nigari nolomanbidí go and wash yourself* < *gu-mandob wash (as plates)*. In some cases, native idiom does not agree with English, and the expected reflexive does not appear, e.g. *I bathe myself* is rendered by *ḡadlidunö ḡagamanbidí I bathe*.

(ii) Reciprocal

Here a suffix -*lidí* is the essential element, as in *ḡarmuri-lidí-ḡ we met each other*; *ḡalidilibira bidbarbijili the two of them hugged each other*.

(iii) Causative

A causative verb may be formed (a) from an intransitive verb by conjugating it with the transitive prefixes: *ḡa-ga I come* > *maima mañi-g-irg bring hither (-irg) the food*; *ḡabira girgirḡ? who brought it?* Parkhouse gives *nigari bumi-ni go out and cut it down*, lit. *let it sit*. (b) By using various auxiliaries with the verbal root as mentioned above: *damaḡa dadman his eye is open* > *dadman nagug mi' aldama open the door*, lit. *give it open*; *bi-ga-ganmidí he will clean it*, also *ḡarḡar 'binoa he makes it clean*, *ḡagagan midíḡ I'll make it right*.

(iv) Combinable

Some roots are combinable with (a) adverbial prefixes, (b) other roots.

(a) -*ma-* *take*, e.g. -*alma throw away*, -*ulma knock down*; -*gunma- carry*; -*inma- carry (on shoulder)*; -*wulidma- upset*; -*ludma- like*; -*luma- laugh*.

(b) -*ma-ridí take and go, take away*; *guləda gurumaridí you went off with the yam*.

There are also some compound roots, as in the Kimberley and some other languages, in which the first element is invariable with particles of a nominal nature, while the second is variable and occupies the verbal part of the concept. One of the commonest auxiliaries in the formation of these double verbs is -*la-* *hit, spear*, etc., which however loses its literal and original force and becomes merely an indicator of 'action upon a goal' in the particular manner expressed by the invariable element of the compound. Thus: *duldul bilaḡ I knocked*, *dirid' bilaḡ I pinched him*. Another frequent auxiliary is -*ga-* *do, say*. This root frequently indicates becoming or be in a state: *ḡirḡir ḡagain I am hot*. Thus *bidbid ḡagiḡ I waved (to someone)*, *bididbau ḡagiḡ I rolled it*, *girgir ḡagiḡ I scratched (trs.)*, *māḡmāḡma wiwi magin the wind blew*. A third auxiliary

is -ag to go: wai ɲajiga I swim; bauruli ɲagag I'll lead; bawudɪŋ ɲaledi I passed by; nul ɲaledi I dived. This auxiliary may be used transitively with the prefixes of group 2: luglug wa-ga-g I will steal it. There is also -r hold: gugar I will hold it; mingil muwar I hop; murg gugar I'll grab. Finally, there is -(w)al to make, as in gulwa guguma! I'll sing, make a song.

(c) Reduction of roots

The addition of the tense and mood endings often results in the reduction of a root so that it is difficult to recognise, especially if they are no longer used in the compounded forms in which they sometimes appear. Thus -ja may be reduced to -i- before the -m of the completive or the -mag of the continuative, e.g. (bodl)mugu-ja we two will sleep < -ja-; but bodl midimag he is lying asleep; so maiima mag/ai will eat food, but maiima mɛ/j/an I am eating food; gweala maiima ma/wai I will not eat food; gudlagwa ga/i/ni yesterday I ate; giri/ɛ/ni they ate, etc.

4.9.2 Structure of the verbal forms

The structure of the complete Laragia verb is shown in the following diagram:

Prefixes

Suffixes

V = Person + tense + (negative) + ROOT + tense (or mood) + directive.

The affixes enclosed in brackets are optional, but one tense marker must occur to mark future or non-future time. The occurrence of both signs is extremely rare. Directive suffixes are not always found. The root is marked in capitals simply to set it apart, and may itself be (as stated) simple or compound. A simple root consists of a single morpheme which may be a single phoneme. Thus ɲaɲug give (it to) me is analysable into:

Person	Root	Suffix
ɲaɲ _____	u _____	g
you-to-me _____	GIVE _____	future (or imperative)

Within this pattern, the prefixes of the second rank vary according to whether the verb is transitive or not. In the latter case, the prefix is a single morpheme indicating the actor; in the former, it is a compound morpheme indicating both actor and goal. The patterns produced in these two instances are the following:

	Prefixes		Root	Suffixes		
	Person	Tense		Tense	directive	
i.	ɲa _____		ga _____	g		I will go
ii.	bana _____	ga _____	(w)u _____		m	he will give it lit: he-go-give it
iii.	da _____		lib _____	mɛ _____	ɲirg	they have come back

It will be seen that two methods of expressing tense are in use: a morpheme preceding the root or a morpheme following it. Verbs can be classified according to the method of indicating future time — past time is always indicated by a suffix. Another type of classification rests upon the distinction of transitive and intransitive, as has been pointed out, and the scope of this one is not always the same as that of the former. In general, transitive verbs indicate the future by a prefix of Rank 1.

4.9.3 Prefixes of rank 2

Group 1

These prefixes indicate the subject of the intransitive verb. They show the two tense forms, non-future and future, the latter being indicated by the suffixing of -ga- to the person sign. In the non-future there is a considerable degree of vowel harmony, though this is not absolutely regular. In the future, however, the invariable nature of the tense element -ga- leads to the use of only one form of the person prefix. The following Table shows the two forms. It will be noticed that not only is Cl.I. of the third person subdivided into (a) general and (b) emphatic, but Cl.III. (the personal plural) has the same subdivision. This is the only instance in which it is found in Cl.II. This class also has a 'total' form as shown already in the cardinal pronouns, i.e. the prefix bara- ~ biri-.

		Non-future	Future
Person	1. singular	ŋa- ~ ŋi-	ŋa-ga-
	dual incl.	mu-	mu-gu-, mu-gu- before vowel
	plur. incl.	dara- ~ dad-	dara-ga-
	plur. excl.	ŋara- ~ ŋad-	ŋara-ga-
	2. singular	na- ~ ni-	na-ga-, ni-gi-, nu-gu-
	plural	gura-	gura-ga-
	3. i(a)	bi-	bi-gi-
	(b)	gu-	gu-gu-, gu-gu- before vowel
	ii(a)	bi- ~ bara- ~ biri-	bi-gi-, bara-ga-, birigi-
	(b)	gunda-	gunda-ga-
	iii.	da- ~ di-	da-ga-
	iv.	ma- ~ mi-	ma-ga-
	v.	gu-	gu-gu-, gu-gu- before vowel

Examples of these forms are best grouped under the various persons.

(a) First person:

singular: ŋilidärg *I came*; ŋa-ga-g *I shall go*; na-ga *I do, I am*,
e.g. ŋirŋir ŋagam *I am hot (auxiliary)*; ŋa-a-(j)irg *will come*.

dual inclusive: mugw-iri *let's go*; gwın mug-iñi *let us sit here*.

plural exclusive: ara-ga-g *we shall go*; ŋad-libmirg *we are returning, we shall return*; ŋana:ni *we sat, we were (in a place)*.

(b) Second person:

singular: ŋarg ni-li? *where are you?*; ni-g-iri *go away*; nu-gu-lul *go outside*; ni-liñiŋ? *are you tired?*; möl niniwε? *are you angry?*

plural: guru-gam *tell (them)*; gura-gam *you do, you say*.

(c) Third person:

- i(a): gawög ñad bigam *I don't know what he said; gunba bigi-mädi mila he wants to get married; biliñiñ (he/she) is dead.*
- i(b): gu-gam *this fellow said it; jag gu-leđi this fellow went that way; gugiri gugumädi he will go and get married.*
- ii(a): biri-bmiñirg *they came along; biređi they went; bajowa biridbiñ they reached the middle; bara-gam they all said; biram-bara-girg they are all coming!*
- ii(b): the emphatic form — gunda-libmärg *these fellows return; gugugumbira they are all talking together.*
- iii.: milu:lul da-leđi *the kangaroo got away; mabala guligila ñargu dili? where is the big stone? (or, of course, where are the big stones?).*
- iv.: damöřma ñargba-mi? *where is the river?; malöřbma idänagima mu-wara your house is no good.*
- v.: ga:luwa ñirñir gu-gam *the water is hot; gargarwa gu-midib the chicken-hawk is alive.*

Group 2

Group 2 consists of compound prefixes added to the stems of transitive verbs, and expressing both the subject and the object, though not always in that order. Again, there are separate forms for future and non-future. The former is expressed by the addition of -ga- to the latter, before the verb stem, with morphophonemic adjustments. This is not the only way, however, in which the future is expressed (see section 4.9). Vowel harmony complicates the analysis of the compound prefixes, especially as the general Laragia tendency to subsume different vowels under the central mixed vowel makes distinction doubly difficult.

The structures of these compound prefixes are generally clear. Of the two elements of subject and object, an object of the first or second person takes precedence over the subject, but a third person object precedes the subject. In this case — when the object is any class of the third person — some subjects become implied categories. This applies to the subject 1st singular and 1st plural exclusive, and it applies in the future as well as in the non-future forms. Forms that provided the subjects of intransitive verbs provide objects in the transitive conjugation, except in the case of the first persons mentioned above. The fact that so many subjects are implied categories leads to a degree of ambiguity in the transitive prefixes, not assisted by the tendency to centralise the vowels. The third person subject marker is -n-, as seen in the P.10.21 and P.50 forms below. This has no parallel in the intransitive prefixes, where n- marks a second person singular subject.

Group 2: The prefixes of the transitive verb

P.10 consists of prefixes in which the first person appears as either subject or object, subdivided as follows:

P.10.1	ñga- ~ ñji-	usually intransitive <i>I</i> but sometimes transitive <i>I...it.</i>
10.11	ñgar- ~ ñad(b)-	<i>he...us; they...us; he...me; they...me</i>
10.12	ñña-	<i>you (plural)...me, us</i>
10.13	ññañ-	<i>you (singular)...me; you (plural)...us</i>

P.10.2	mu- mun(a)- man-	<i>we two...him; we two...them</i> (both incl.) <i>he...us two; they...us two</i> <i>you</i> (singular)... <i>us two</i> (?)
P.10.3	dari- ~ dad-	<i>we</i> (inclusive)... <i>him; we</i> (inclusive)... <i>them;</i> <i>he...us</i> (inclusive)
10.31	dari-	<i>we...it</i> (Cl.III.)
10.32	mari-	<i>we...it</i> (Cl.IV.)
10.33	gari- ~ gwari-	<i>we...it</i> (Cl.V.)

P.20 consists of prefixes in which the second person appears either as subject or object, subdivided as follows:

P.20.1	n-	<i>I...you</i> (singular); <i>ye...</i> (plural imperative)
20.12	nin- ~ nir- ~ nid-	<i>he...you</i> (singular); <i>they...you</i> (singular)
20.13	nañ-	<i>we</i> (exclusive)... <i>you</i> (singular)
P.20.2	ga- ~ gar-	<i>I...you</i> (plural)
20.21	gun- ~ gur- ~ gud-	<i>he...you</i> (plural); <i>they...you</i> (plural)
20.22	gun-	<i>they...you</i> (plural); <i>you</i> (plural)... <i>it</i>
20.23	gañ-	<i>we</i> (exclusive)... <i>you</i> (plural)

P.30-60 all involve objects of the third person, subjects of the 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, and are subdivided according to the class of the objects, thus:

P.30.1	b-	if followed by -a-, 1st person singular subject if followed by -i-, 3rd person singular subject with object 3.i or 3.ii.
30.11	d-	if followed by -i-, 3rd person singular subject with object 3.iii.
30.12	m-	if followed by -i-, 3rd person singular subject with object 3.iv.
30.13	g- ~ gaw-	if followed by -i-, 3rd person singular subject with object 3.v.
P.31.1	biñ- ~ biđ-	2nd singular subject with object 3.i. or 3.ii.
31.11	diñ-	2nd singular subject with object 3.iii.
31.12	miñ-	2nd singular subject with object 3.iv.
31.13	g(w)iñ- ~ gud-	2nd singular subject with object 3.v.
P.40.1	bar-	1st person dual subject with object 3.i or 3.ii.
40.11	dir-	1st person dual subject with object 3.iii.
40.12	mir-	1st person dual subject with object 3.iv.
40.13	gir-	1st person dual subject with object 3.v.
P.50.1	bin-	3rd person animate with object 3.i or 3.ii.
50.11	din-	3rd person animate with object 3.iii.
50.12	min-	3rd person animate with object 3.iv.
50.13	g(w)in-	3rd person animate with object 3.v.
P.51.1	bir- ~ biđ-	3rd person plural animate subject with object 3.i or 3.ii.
51.11	dir-	3rd person plural animate subject with object 3.iii.
51.12	mir-	3rd person plural animate subject with object 3.iv.
51.13	gir-	3rd person plural animate subject with object 3.v.

P.60.1	bugur-	2nd person plural subject with object 3.i or 3.ii.
60.11	dugur-	2nd person plural subject with object 3.iii.
60.12	mugur-	2nd person plural subject with object 3.iv.
60.13	gugur-	2nd person plural subject with object 3.v.

The prefixes listed above are exemplified in the following paragraphs.

The P.10 group is concerned with the first person in its various forms. The basic form $\eta\alpha- \sim \eta j-$ has already been treated as the prefix of the intransitive verb, but there are instances in which it occurs also with transitives, e.g. *börilma η aliröwi η I've lost my belt*. One would rather expect *maliröwi η* , but there would be an ambiguity here between 'he lost' and 'I lost', and the agreement of the object is accordingly omitted.

P.10.11 forms of $\eta\alpha-$ and $\eta\alpha(b)-$ are conditioned phonetically: *$\eta\alpha$ bini η he saw me, they saw me, he or they saw us (excl.)*; *$\eta\alpha$ nam garib don't look at me*; *$\eta\alpha$ la η < $\eta\alpha$ -la- η he speared me, etc, $\eta\alpha$ bini η you (singular) saw me*; *$\eta\alpha$ bim he gave me*; *$\eta\alpha$ bulma η they knocked us down*.

P.20.12, *η idbi η he or they saw you (singular)*; *nibum he or they gave you (singular)*; *na \acute -igaja light (the torch)*.

P.20.13, *na η we saw you (singular)*.

P.20.21, *gani η I saw you (plural)*; *gu \acute ab cook ye it!*; *gu \acute urub find ye it!*; *gu \acute miri η ye found it*; *gu \acute mali η ärg he or they followed you (plural)*; *gubini η he saw you (plural)*; *gurumaridi ye took it away (yam)*.

P.20.22, *ga η we saw you (plural)*; *ga η amulamarg we are following you*.

The P.30 to P.60 classes are all concerned with 3rd person objects and are necessary in order that the effects of class distinctions may be made clear. Certain of the subjects are implicit only, as has been pointed out.

P.30, 1st person singular subject with the various classes as objects: *ba-la- η I speared him*; *gada η I put it (Cl.V.)*; *majani I ate it (food, Cl.IV.)*; *gawu-alunu I made it (Cl.V.)*; *g-alma- η I threw it (Cl.V.) away*; *gamal I made it (Cl.V.)*; *g-ar I held it*; *gaw-ub-am I have cooked it (Cl.V.)*. The vowel after the object prefix is here critical; in the above examples, -a- marks a 1st person (presumably a contraction of *ba- $\eta\alpha$ -); a following -i- usually marks a 3rd person subject: *bid-la- η he speared him*; *bini η he saw him or them*; *mi \acute dän he put it (food, Cl.IV.)*; *mijäni he ate it*; *girigini η he brought it (Cl.V.)*; *gir-ar he took it*; *gwijubini they were cooking it*.

Class P.31 has a vowel which is not critical, usually some subphoneme of -i-, more or less obscured as is common in Laragia: *bi \acute -ar get it*; *bi \acute -a- η < bi \acute -la- η you speared him or them*; *bi \acute böm you struck him or them*; *bi \acute -i- η you saw him or them*; *bi \acute -u-g give it to him*; *gu \acute dulunu you made it (Cl.V)*; *ma η igiri η bring it (Cl.IV.)*.

Class P.40 has similar reference from the 1st person dual to a 3rd person object: *bar-i-m we gave him*; *bar-ar we put (for) them*; *miri-jäni we were eating (Cl.IV.)*; *gar-ar-i that we may get it (Cl.V.)*; *gir-ub-ini we searched for it (Cl.V.)*; *gar-örub we shall seek it (Cl.V.)*.

In P.50, the 3rd person subject is marked by -in-, but such a subject is always personal; also, P.50 is to a degree interchangeable with P.30 in its bi- (and variant) forms. A certain difference of emphasis on the actor seems to be involved. In a mythological text, for instance, there is found *Guma η andimba gin-ab bilidärg he trod on (set food on) Guma η andimba as he came,*

in reference to the culture hero Waran. Class 51 is similarly the animate plural, corresponding to a Cl.II. noun as subject, but as usual there is confusion in use of these two classes, and P.51 forms may refer to a single actor. The myth to which reference has just been made exemplifies this. Its text is:

Waran Gumaṅandimba ginab bilidärg garuwa gunamidira jugulärg Bulori
Waran Gumaṅandimba trod he-came water salt hither Buloring

Dubira direminiṅ görongwadliṅ dumaḍila diädla.
The-foreskin he-cut water-came-out flood blood (of foreskin, Cl.III.)

Laragirr jumadliṅ dubira gweala dirimaliṅ binmiridbiṅ
The-Laragia therefore foreskin not they-cut they-don't-want-him

gumaṅandim bimiliṅ bigam.
idol they they-said.

Transcribed in standard English, the narrative states that

Waran set foot on Gumaṅandimba when he crossed over the salt water and came to this side at Buloring. He circumcised a youth and a flood of blood came out like water. This is why the Laragia do not circumcise because they say that they do not.

Other examples of P.61 class are seen in the following: *bidbiniṅ they saw him or us; bidbim they gave him or us; gir-ab they cook it (Cl.V.); bidbilimiṅirng she came back with it (a bucket in the original text); dir-i-m they got it (kangaroo); gidibini they were looking for (paddles); mirigani they have taken it (a canoe); giribilmarida they pushed (a log); girieni they ate (Cl.V.); mirijini they were leaving it; ṅabira gir-ar who took it?*

Class P.60 contains subjects of the 2nd person plural with the objects varying for class: *buguriniṅ ye saw them; mugurijäni ye ate it (Cl.IV.); mugurmiriṅirng ye found it (cane); gugur-ab cook it; mugur-lunu ye made it (Cl.IV.).*

4.9.4 Tense, aspect and mood formation

There are some irregular tense and mood formations; certain verbs supply various tense forms by suppletion, e.g. -g *to go*, past tense forms -lidi. Thus *ṅa-ga-g I'll go; ṅa-lidi I went*. Similarly, -nag *have*, as in *ganag I have it*, but *ga-! I will have it*, and *irrealis, ga-ve-!*, using the future stem. These verbs are not numerous. On the other hand, as will be demonstrated later, verbs whose stems end in a vowel are incapable of taking the suffixes of aspect, etc., except the -m of the completive.

Verbal forms, apart from the personal prefixes (which are actually independent of tense, for the non-future prefixes become future by the addition of -ga- between them and the verbal stem), fall into two groups:

- (i) Those formed by suffixes and using the non-future prefixes to indicate person, number and class.
- (ii) Those formed by the prefix/suffix -g/-g between the non-future prefix and the stem in the first instance and as a suffix in the second.

The former set indicates aspect, the latter is part of the indicative formation but marks future time. There are three aspects - instantaneous, continuative and completive.

4.9.5 The aspects

The aspects are indicated by the following suffixes:

Instantaneous	Continuative	Completive
-iŋ	-mag	-m
	-ni	-ŋga
		-biŋ

Laragia stress is not so much on time as on aspect: hence the paucity of actual personal prefixes, or rather the wide use of the one set. Certain of the aspect suffixes may be used equally well to indicate past or future time. Although the verbal prefixes are in themselves neutral with respect to time, their function is to indicate the actor and the goal. The only exception to this statement is found in the future formatives, both of which do indicate a future action. At the same time, it is true that the vast bulk of the examples of -iŋ and -ni refer to past time, and -mag always refers to the present.

The instantaneous aspect contrasts with the completive (-m) in laying stress on a single action of a simple state: ŋalidan *I hear, I heard*; biliŋga ŋalidan wauwau wiðiŋ *I heard a dog bark* — a single act of perception even though it continues for a time. While the European *I ate* is similarly a single action, Laragia stresses the time taken in the process and says maiima majäni, using the continuative -ni, e.g. gudlagwa guđguda dajäni *yesterday I ate opossum*. If it is desired to indicate that the eating has taken place and is finished, the completive in -m is used: majam *I ate*; gajam *I drank*. So too, gudlagwa dlamungwa gir malani *he sang last night*, an act that took some time (-ni continuative past).

The suffix -iŋ is one that cannot be used with verbs whose stem ends in a consonant: ŋalidärg *I came*, represents -liđi- *go or come*, with the suffix -ärg *hither*, and the only tense or aspect variation in such a case is provided by a variation (if any) in the stem itself — as in this instance there is (see Section 4.9.4). If there is no suppletion, formal indication of the variation of aspect cannot be given. Thus, bi-ludur *I send him*, can give bigi-ludur *I will send him*, but is not capable of any further modification — and such verbs are numerous!

The future prefixes do not require the instantaneous ending if the nature of the act is not instantaneous: nimangwa niga-na *I shall see you tomorrow* is a process rather than a single act. It should be noted further that the irrealis also does not use the suffix: gweala ba-wana *I have not seen him*; ŋalidaŋ *I hear*, but gweala ŋwelida *I did not hear*. In the case of an action that takes place once and is finished, the instantaneous ending is used: dariwa bigidmin *the old man will call the name*.

The instantaneous form is commonest in the past tense, and examples are numerous: biliŋiŋ *he died, he is dead*, as against completive bili-ŋam *he is sick*; naniŋ *I saw you*; biliŋgiwa wauwau bigiŋ *the dog barked*; miđan *he put it* (Cl.IV); guŋmiriliŋ *you found it* (Cl.V.); binimiriliŋ *you found them*; mugumiriliŋ *you (plural) found it* (Cl.IV.); ŋuwadbiŋ *I fell*; dalibiŋ *they have gone away*; biridbiŋ *they arrived*; biniŋ *he saw it*; gudiligaŋ *I have taken out (the kangaroo from the oven)*; gadaŋ *I put it* (past, Cl.V.); bidlaŋ *he speared him*; ŋaŋambaraŋ *he told me*; nimädiŋ? *are you married?* (regarded as an act rather than as a condition); galmaŋ *I threw it* (Cl.V.) *away*.

The continuative aspect is shown by two different suffixes, and here the time is more clearly marked: -mag refers to present time, -ni to past time and there is no future continuative. The examples are clear:

- (i) -mag: gir malani *he sang*, but gir malamag *he is singing*; biliñiñ *he died*, but biliñimag *he is dying*; ñaliñimag *I am ill (or dying)*; ña-ji-mag *I'm leaving*; bödl midim *he is going to sleep*, as against bödl midim *he is asleep* (Cl.IV. prefix probably refers to the ground on which he would be lying); ñawolmidimag *I am sleepy* (F)
- (ii) -ni: this may indicate an incomplete or continued action in the past, or one which though now complete, required time for its completion, e.g. madani? *have you eaten?*; daginirg (da-gi-ni-rg) *I have brought it*; ñabila-giri-gi-ni-rg? *who brought it?*; ñana-ni *I was sitting*, as ñaniñ *I sat* and ñagini *I will sit*; gidibini *they were seeking*; mirigani *they took it*; girijäni *they ate it*; mirijini *they were leaving it*.

Certain morphophonemic modifications are noticeable in the verb 'sit' but they are not easy to explain. The root is -ni- (which may well be the original of the suffix, though the absence of diachronic information does not permit of more than a guess at this), yet the incomplete forms are always based on -na:ni, as above.

The completive aspect is indicated by three possible suffixes, not interchangeable as a rule in one and the same verb, because their connotations are slightly different.

(i) -m preceded by a linking vowel, usually -a- or -ö- if the stem ends in a consonant. This -m indicates a complete act, e.g. bimadlöm *he has made it, he made it*; gawubam *I've cooked it* (from -ub- *cook, roast*); gajaruböm *I've found it*, implying that I now have it, as against the instantaneous form in -iñ which merely shows the act of discovery; bigam *he/she said or did* (no distinction is made in Laragia and many other Australian languages); biliñam *he is sick or dead*; dlanbargiña ñaliñam *I have toothache*; biüm *I have given it to him, I gave it to him*; barim *we gave it to him*; ñanala ñañam? *why did you look at me?*; wai wirgam *they swam* (contrast with wai miga *let us two swim*). Occasionally, this suffix is found with the future tense prefixes: bana-ga-u-m *he will give it* (and will not have it any longer). If a verb is compounded with a directive suffix, however, -m is the non-past tense sign (see section 4.9.7): ña-liñ-am-uwa *I fainted away*; bi-libmi-ñirg *he came back*.

(ii) -ngga indicates a permanent state entered upon, and so has participial or adjectival force: madböroma ma-liñi-nga *dead tree*; biiöwa dirulingga *a clever person, man who has become wise*; bi-mädi-ngg-uwa *he became married*, shows the suffix followed by a directive and losing its final vowel in the process. The instantaneous suffix -iñ occurs in a more purely verbal context: madböroma mör midin *a learning tree*; gör midin *crooked* (though here P. recorded gör namidin *nga*; also ñaleringga *I have forgotten it*).

(iii) -biñ is purely stative, though its tense is not fixed: gwaribiñ *he has gone* (and is no longer to be found here); gwin ñanibiñ *I am seated here*; gudlagwa ñanibiñ *I sat yesterday*; contrast nimangwa ñaniñ *I shall sit tomorrow*; bajuwa biridbiñ *(when) they were in the middle* (see Texts: Story 2).

4.9.6 The future formatives

The prefixes listed in the earlier parts of section 4.9 are aorist and may function with the various aspect formatives as required. The future, however, is definitely marked as a tense, and usually not from the viewpoint of aspect. The few exceptions to this statement have already been indicated. The future marker is -g-, which mostly appears after the person prefixes and is linked to the stem of the verb by means of a vowel, normally -a-, but sometimes weakening to -i-. In a very few verbs a suffix -g is used, and this may even combine with the prefix -g- in such cases to mark the futurity twice over.

The following examples of the future forms will suffice: bi-gi-la *I'll spear him*; biñi-gi-la *You'll spear him*; biga-r *I'll catch, hold him*; biga-wu *I'll kill him*; bana-ga-wu *he'll kill him*; mu-gi-ni *let us two sit*; ŋa-gi-ni *I'll sit*; bi-ga-na *he'll see him*; na-ga-na *I'll see you*; gara-na *I'll see you* (plural) is an exceptional form.

Combination of these formatives with those of aspect appear in such cases as: ŋa-gi-lib-öm *I'll go back*; ŋa-gi-lib-m-ärg *I'll come back*.

The suffix -g is used with both future and imperative, but with a very limited number of verbs only. The commonest are -u- *to give* and -wu *to hit*. In the future tenses, these verbs combine the prefixed with the suffixed g, expressing the time factor twice over: bi-g-u-g *I'll give it to him*; gu-wu-g *I'll hit that fellow* (emphatic gu-). In the imperative, however, the prefixed -g- is omitted: ŋaŋ-u-g *give me*; biñ-u-g *give him*.

4.9.7 The imperative

The Laragia imperative positive occasionally uses the future formatives, as in the example given in the preceding paragraph. Generally, the bare stem is used with the personal prefixes and no suffix: gu-*da* *put it* (Cl.V); n-*alma* *throw it away*; ŋaŋ-*ambara* *tell me*. Thus the only real mark of the imperative mood is generally the absence of suffixes.

The imperative negative, however, is differently constructed. The same prefixes are combined with the completive suffix -m and a dehortative particle garib is placed after the verb: ŋaŋ-u-m garib *don't give it to me*; biñ-u-m garib *don't give it to him*; ŋad-na-m garib *don't look at me*. As the intransitive verb sometimes has no completive form, the simple non-future prefixes are then used with garib: ni-ag garib *you must not go*. The stative -bin is never used in this construction. For the less direct forms, *let me go*, etc. see Irrealis (section 4.9.8).

4.9.8 The irrealis

Laragia has an irrealis form characterised by -v- inserted before the verbal stem and after the person markers. Before back and rounded vowels, it frequently becomes -w-. The forms are seen in the following comparative table:

REALIS

ŋa-gi-ni *I will sit*
 mä-jäm *I eat food*
 ja-ja-m *I drank*
 bi-li *he stands, remains*
 bi-gi-ri *he will go*
 ni-lib-m-ärg *you returned*
 bar-i-m *we gave*
 ŋa-gi-ri-g *I'll come*
 ga-ni-ŋ *I saw it (Cl.V.)*
 na-liða-ŋ *I heard*
 ga-ma! *I make it (Cl.V.)*
 ga-r *I hold it (Cl.V.)*

IRREALIS

ŋi-vi-ni
 ma-wä-ji
 gu-wa-ji
 bo-w-o
 bö-vi-n
 nu-wu-lib-m-irg
 bar-vi-u-m
 ŋu-ri-g < ŋu-wu-ri-g
 ga-va-na
 ŋö-vä-liða
 go-m(w)a!
 gar-w-a

These forms show a large amount of vowel harmony, contraction and irregularity. The combination of the irrealis marker with the aspects is also shown. The person prefixes are the same as in the realis: ni-vi-ni, ni-vi-ni, bi-vi-ni, etc. Used alone, the irrealis indicates an act that has not occurred but perhaps may do so: nini-vö-va (*the dog*) *may bite you*; mö-va-na *he may see it (Cl.IV.)*; ga-va-na *I may see it (Cl.V.)*. It may even imply purpose: Story I has bidanigira gugwaji *theirs they would eat* because they wanted them to eat for themselves.

Its commonest use, however, is with certain forms of the negative. The negative particle is gwala, itself a Cl.V. form of -gala *none*. This root is used with class prefixes with an adjectival force (see section 4.6). The Cl.V. form is used by an irrealis form — in this Laragia agrees with Jiwadja rather than with Maung, or for that matter, most Arnhem Land languages which are strict in requiring the irrealis with a negative — and the same applies still more rigidly to the Northern Kimberley languages. Examples in Laragia are: gwala gwin nivini (or növini) *I won't sit here*; gwala bowo *he does not stand*; bilöva gwala gulibig böviri *the man is not going quickly*; nalingiag gwala nöwiri *why don't you go?*; gualag dlamungwa gwala gomwol *he didn't sing last night*. The exception is in the future tenses, where a realis is used: gwala jagirg *I won't come*; minagwa galwa gulwa gwala (n)gigamol *he will not sing tonight*, as against, e.g. gwala na-v-na *I can't see you*, gwala birwa *I haven't it*.

4.9.9 Directive suffixes

There are two directive suffixes in Laragia, one indicating movement towards the speaker and the other indicating movement away. Though commonly used with verbs, neither is limited to verbs, and the 'away' directive is even more common with adverb-functioning words.

(a) Movement towards the speaker is indicated by a suffix -(ä)rg ~ -g. The former is used after the final consonant, the latter after a final vowel; but there is one outstanding example, viz., that -liði- *went* becomes -liðärg *came*. The initial vowel is somewhat unstable and, in some instances, -irg is normal: guŋigirg *you bring it*. Vowel harmony appears to be the deciding factor, but it is not consistently applied. Examples: (i) -g: ŋagi-ri *I'll go*, ŋa-gi-ri-g *I'll come*; ŋaŋ-u-g *give it (hither) to me*. Generally biŋ-u-g *give it to him* is used, somewhat illogically, but apparently by misapplied analogy with the most commonly heard form of the verb. (ii) -rg preceded by a vowel:

ŋa-lidärg *I came*; guñig-irg *you brought* — generally, however, if two i's precede, a final -i- is heard: mi-ridirg *we two came*; nugudärg *come in*, as against nugu-lul *go out*.

If the verb is in the completive, the directive assumes the form -miñirg, e.g. biribmiñirg *they came back*.

(b) Direction away from the speaker is indicated by the suffix -uwa, which is actually commoner with non-verbal words; it may be abbreviated to -wa after certain consonants: gurgwa *on top*; gwiolwa *under*; mol'guruwa *in front*; jidimwa *behind*; gunumidinda or gunumidinduwa *upstream* (for which gunumidinderuwa is also found). With verbs, illustrations have been given incidentally in preceding paragraphs, e.g. ŋaliñamuwa *I fainted away*; bimadinguwa *he got married*; dagiñabuwa *I'll cook it up* may be added — here the -uwa produces an idea of completion similar to that of 'up' in English.

4.9.10 The passive forms

Laragia shares with most Australian languages an overwhelming preference for active rather than passive manners of statement. The only form approaching the passive idea is provided by the verb 'to go' in certain usages that may be just as well regarded as inceptives. As in English it is possible to say 'the horse got bogged' or 'the horse was bogged' (though the meanings are not exactly the same in each case), so similar expressions may be formed in Laragia with -ri ~ -lidi *go*: nanduva mavõnma bulñbulñ bilidi *the horse got bogged*, lit. *went stuck in the mud*.

5. TEXTS

Story I

Nargwa nana:ni gudlagwa? Jagun ŋana:ni damõrma gunidirgwa nibo!.
Where were-you yesterday? There I-was river camp near.

Nadimbira ŋanigivira biññ? Nai baniñ, gwεala ŋanavãna.
Father my did-you-see? Yes, I-saw-him, not he-saw-me.

Nargiag nilēdi jūwa? Nanaŋa marmaruwa gugumirili ŋagam;
Why did-you-go there? I knife will-find I-said (= wanted to find);

milēdma galidilig bulēdi, gajalabini. Guñmiriliñ? Gwεala, nadlira
days two went, I-lost-it. Did-you-find-it? No, brother

ŋanigira giniñ, galidiliñara girubini gudlagwa gunidirgwa
my saw-it, the-two-of-us were-searching-for-it yesterday camp

ŋana:ni, gwεala ganumurili.
we-were, not we-found-it.

Jagun ŋana:ni gunidirgwa, bilira galidilig biribmiñirg, damõrma
There we-were (in-the)-camp, men two came-along, river

miliñ giriññ. Dimabila, dimadlimbara, gwimalagwanungwa, na:dla
they-were they-ate. Barramundi, catfish, mudfish, crabs

damõrma girigiñirg. Galidilidbira bilira madawa bidbim ŋalmolgbira
river they-brought-back. The-two-of-them men fish they-gave sister

nanigira; ja:ba nanana nadbim.
my; she me gave.

Mina:gwa nadlira nanana galidilina nadinig. Jagara madawa
Later father's father my the-two-of-us he-saw-us. He fish
 baragamani, bidanigira gugwaji. Galidilina madawa gwala
wanted-them-all, theirs they-would-eat. The-two-of-us fish not
 garuwab, gwijab; jumiliq barim girijani. Nadlira
we-had-cooked, yet; then we-gave-him(and) he-ate. Father's father
 naranara bigam: galidilibira naranara beñiq, madawa bidbim, naranara
to-us said: the-two we saw, fish they-gave, us
 nanugug, madawa gareji.
gave-us, fish we-shall-eat.

Galidilibira madawa barim biređi gunidirgwa bidanigwa.
The-two-of-them the-fish we-gave they-went camp their.

Girab gwijugwa gwijubini. Bidandbira madawa bidbigira
They-cooked-it fire they-roasted-it. They fish by-themselves
 girijani, nimibira bidbiniq, baragam: nanugug madawa galidiligura
were-eating, children saw-them, they-all-said: give-us fish a-few
 naramandiñ naranara, nadinig. Bidbim nimibira madawa;
we-are-hungry we, they-saw-us. They-gave-them the-children fish;
 girijani bidenbira.
they-ate (all-of-)them.

Gwilarövinga nalnolgbira nanana damörma naređi garawa garari.
Afterwards sister my river we-went water we-shall-get.

Galidilina nadimbira nanigira beñiq jagun bana:ni; nadinig
The-two-of-us father my he-saw there he-was-sitting; (when-)he-saw-us
 bianaba: garawa nanugug. Naranara dablada biedla; nigilbañ nalanolgbira
he-said: water give-me. We bucket none; I-told sister
 dablada gunidirgwa biñar biñigirg. Bidbilimiñiq dablada,
bucket camp get bring-back. She-brought-it-back bucket,
 galidilina barim gijani garawa. Jumiliq naragam: naragag
the-two-of-us gave-him he-drank the-water. Then we-said: we-are-going
 ilangwa; nimangwa nadlibimiñiq majerngwa dimabila dirigirg,
now; tomorrow we-shall-come-back, yams (and) meat we-shall-bring,
 idäna niliñam.
you are-sick.

Story II

Bilira galidilig biridärg damörma. Jumiliṅ dabdabma mirudiniṅ mörma.
Men two came river. Then canoe they-hid mangrove.

Molggara mangolmilinma milidbiṅ marijilima. Jumiliṅ miridiṅ dabdabma
Next the-paddles they-hid (in-the-)grass. Then they-left canoe

biridi daṅudbila. Dirim, biribmiṅ dabdabma nibo!. Molggaragwa
they-went (for-)kangaroo. They-got, they-returned canoe near. Next

mangolmilinma gidibini, gweala dabdabma mirimiriliṅ. Naḍa, bilira biṅolggira
paddles they-sought, not canoe they-found. "Oh, men many

dabdabma mirigani," baragam. "Gawög, ṅabira biridärg
canoe were-taking, they-both-said. "I-don't-know, who came-along

dabdabma mirimiriliṅ, manin' eala." Mörma baṅiṅ birad̄bira
canoe they-found, we-two-were-not-(here)." Mangroves they-saw their-tracks

gwin biriaṅ gunumid̄anduwa burudiṅ biridärg. "Ja:gwa", baragam,
here(?) they-came from-the-sea they-got-up they-came. "That-way", they-said,

"birad̄bira biṅana! Jangogwig dabdabma marigani. Mard migam
"their-tracks see! Perhaps canoe they-were-taking. What-shall-we-do

mugulabaṅ gunad̄irgwa? Gweala moluri:a gaṛawa gubid̄imargwa dabdab meala.
shall-we-reach camp? Not-we-can-cross water rough, canoe not.

Gwinwa mug'ri burgwa miridirg." Madböröma gwin miṅ mamimiriliṅ.
This-way let's-go bank little-way." Log here lying they-found.

Bilira galugugbira bigam: "Madböröma mugu'ri mumwaga. Gunumid̄induwa
The-man the-first said: "The-log let's-go let's-take. Upstream

giribib marida, madböröma mumugar wai miga." Jumiliṅ gunumid̄induwa
let's-push-it, the-log let's-hold let's-swim." Then upstream

mamaga mindub, wai wirgam. Bajuwa birid̄bin, dangala
they-took they-pushed-it, they swam. In-the-middle they-arrived, crocodile

bidbiniṅ margamarg bilid̄ärg. Galugugbira bigam: "Gulubig, dangala
they-saw towards-them it-came. The-first said: "Quickly, crocodile

bijaga nanömiṅdub." Jumiliṅ gulubig wai wirgam, jagulärg
will-get he-will-push-you(under)." Then quickly they-swam, to-the-other-side

girimindiṅ bilagiṅ. Garagag gulala jumiliṅ gwijugwa
they-went-over they-reached-shore. They-went-on a-little-way then fore

giṅiṅ. Galugug bimiliṅ, "jewa gunad̄girgwa jangugwig. Gawög,
they-saw. One said: "Over-there camp perhaps. I-don't-know

mugu'ri mimugamiriliṅ bilira maṛdma manigima miriwer." Birid̄i gunid̄irgwa.
let's go we-shall-find the-men boat our they-took." They-went camp.

Birabira, miṅid̄bira, nimibira gwijugwa nibo! biṅa:ni. Birid̄bin
Men, women, children fire near they-were-seeing. They-came-up

galid̄irabira. Baragam, "Dabdabma ṅaranigima mugurmiriliṅ? Jagulargwa
the two. They-said, "Canoe our did-you-find? Over-there

damörma mirijiṅ, mijini, ṅarabmiṅärg, dabdabm'eala." "Gweala
river we-left-it, we-went-away, we-came-back, canoe none." "Not

ŋarwagag dabdabma gurunigima," galugug bigam. "Bilira baramaraluwa
us-went-off-with canoe your," one said. "Men if-we-find-the
 dabdabma gulubag giriŋ ge:wera gwijurwa gugurawu," molggara
canoe they-stole fight big we-shall-strike-them," next
 galugugbã bigam. "Ari garørub dabdabma, bilira gulubag giriŋ dabdabma."
one said. "Now, we-see the-canoe (and) them-men (who) stole canoe."

6. WORD LIST - LARAGIA

-ab	<i>to cook, roast</i>
gawubam	<i>I roasted</i>
-ařdbi-	<i>fall</i>
(ŋu-wařdbi-n; ŋagoldum ŋadbiŋ)	
-adbon	<i>sweet (d-adbon, Cl.III)</i>
agarud	<i>hide and seek game</i>
agini	<i>every day</i>
-ala	<i>go outside</i>
bidbalaŋ	
-alar	<i>to miss</i>
güalar	
-'āla	<i>no, none ?</i>
gwialwa madbirma meāla	<i>desert country</i>
gweala	<i>none, no (Cl.V)</i>
albiregbin	<i>house (Basedow)¹</i>
-am	<i>look for</i>
ŋanala dinj-am	
-ambara	<i>to tell</i>
ŋanj-ambara	
ŋan- ambara-ŋ	
-anabilin ([b]-anabilin)}	
-animulug ([b]-animulug)}	<i>to whine</i>
-air	<i>to catch, take</i>
bagana:r	<i>embrace</i>
dubbinja:r	<i>hold him!</i>
murg guga:ra	<i>I grab it</i>
gulg ŋaga:r	<i>I'll lift it cf. gulgan on top</i>
-ärd	<i>lie down</i>
ŋagärd	
arëdbuŋmuŋ	<i>a game in which children hold with hands and legs round anothers waist and fall back</i>
-au	<i>strike, hurt ?</i>
nawaum?	<i>did I hurt you?</i>
gwiarwa mugurau	<i>beat (time on) your thighs</i>
-awan-	<i>pick up</i>
madawa galagawa gunj-awa(-)n	<i>pick up the meat</i>
badjädiba	<i>yellow paint (Cl.I?)</i>
bädji	<i>good</i>
bädjimüla	<i>very good</i>

¹BASEDOW, Herbert, 1907, Anthropological notes on the western coastal tribes of the Northern Territory of South Australia. In *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 31:1-62.

bag ɲadjiŋ	<i>I feel about e.g. madawa bag ɲadjiŋ</i>
balal	<i>between, middle one</i>
balalwilu(?w)a winjulina	<i>throw this middle one away</i>
balba	<i>(his) footprint (Cl.I)</i>
biralbira	<i>stone (Cl.III)</i>
bälbäi a	<i>firestick (Cl.V)</i>
ba ba iwa	<i>spirit, ghost, soul, portrait</i>
-bali-	<i>boy</i>
bälja	<i>altogether, entirely</i>
balinug	<i>he has gone for good</i>
banbalmug bigag	<i>rain (Cl.IV)</i>
ba: mba	<i>heavy rain is falling</i>
guligraima ba: mba bibiŋ	<i>catfish (Cl.I)</i>
banauerua	<i>female baby (Cl.I)</i>
banlewa	<i>valley (Cl.V)</i>
banɲadjuwa	<i>one who has lost his father (Cl.I)</i>
baonari	<i>cf. mundaliŋ</i>
barbariwa	<i>clay (Cl.V)</i>
bäriär	<i>? wet in, gwiälwa bäriär marsh</i>
barmalänga	<i>shoulder blade (Cl.V)</i>
-barog	<i>many</i>
gwarabarag	<i>cf. -nalga</i>
bauruli ɲagug	<i>I lead him</i>
bawidjuŋ ɲalədji	<i>I pass by</i>
bəlbəla	<i>grasshopper (Cl.III)</i>
?benba	<i>widow(er) (Cl.I)</i>
binbiria	<i>magpie lark (Cl.IV)</i>
bidbidina	<i>I walk about</i>
bidibidi ɲagau	<i>I roll it</i>
?bididjbididj baunagiŋ	<i>I look back</i>
?bidid' ɲagam	<i>lame</i>
biḍirbiḍir	<i>he (Cl.I)</i>
biənaba	<i>pandanus (Cl.IV)</i>
bijamarma	<i>wommerā (Cl.?I) (Basedow bilulwa)</i>
biladeva	<i>winter rain (Cl.I)</i>
bilibidjaŋ	<i>black cockatoo (Cl.I)</i>
bililoara	<i>dog (Cl.I)</i>
bilinguw(?iva)a	<i>his spittle (Cl.?IV)</i>
bilirima	<i>spit!</i>
meiminma manjida	<i>I must spit</i>
meraminma	<i>man</i>
bilöva	<i>turtle (Cl.I)</i>
binunäla	<i>women</i>
binjidbira	<i>dingo (Cl.I)</i>
binjununurwa	<i>rat (Cl.II)</i>
bira	<i>a mystical nocturnal monster (Basedow)</i>
Birawulida	<i>butterfly</i>
biribba	<i>(their) armpit(s)</i>
biridjbudjbira	<i>hair (Cl.II), biriliva hair (Cl.I)</i>
birilira	<i>hairbelt (Cl.IV) (Basedow berelgma)</i>
cf. bure:lina	<i>curly</i>
birmulibidjiŋ	<i>a thorn</i>
biijid dirubilgi	<i>a thorn sticks into me</i>
birubiruwa	
birubiruwa marganiŋ	

bombila!	'term of address to one who has lost a parent'
bo:njagin	<i>to growl</i>
alendjiag	
bonamora	<i>goose</i> (Cl.I?)
bonórwa	<i>cerumen</i> (Cl.V?)
boŋboŋ	<i>smoking</i>
böbö-	<i>father</i>
bölier	<i>initiated boy</i> (Cl.I)
börimba	<i>elbow</i> (Cl.I)
bra:dliwa	<i>fat</i> (Cl.III)
budlowa	<i>flesh</i> (Cl.I)
ŋaiuwulŋa	
buligiva	<i>cattle of any sort; English 'bullock'</i>
bulŋbulŋ	<i>a bog, seething</i>
nanduwa mavõnma bulŋbulŋ biledji	<i>the horse got bogged</i>
ga:ruwa bulŋbulŋ gugiguguwa	<i>boiling water</i>
burgwa	<i>shore</i> (Cl.V)
damulma burgwa	<i>river bank</i>
huri:lana	<i>hairbelt</i> (Cl.IV) cf. <i>birilira hairs</i>
-da / -didjim	<i>copulate</i>
bengi-da	<i>he copulates</i>
gwingi-da	<i>this one copulates</i>
mogo-djidji	<i>we two copulate</i>
-d(a)biŋi	<i>make strong</i>
negodbiŋi!	
dadbungwa	<i>honey</i> (Cl.V)
da:dla	<i>nail of finger or toe</i> (Cl.III)
?dadlura	<i>body</i> (Cl.III)
ŋadluŋa	<i>my body</i>
dadlva	<i>frilled lizard</i> (Cl.I)
dadugida	<i>ashes</i> (Cl.III)
-da'dji	<i>yellow</i>
bi-da'dji-ba	
daladjungwa	<i>ironwood</i> (Cl.V)
dalira	<i>the sun, light</i> (Cl.II)
damila dalira dadlin	<i>sunrise</i>
dalira jilen njudelada	<i>twilight</i>
dälingang	<i>hot weather</i>
dälö:rba	<i>quail</i> (Cl.I)
damadangala	<i>dugong</i> (Cl.III)
damadba	<i>small throwing stick</i> (Basedow)
damadjigdamadjig	<i>different</i>
?damadjidamadjigwa	<i>red paint</i> (Cl.V) cf. <i>damadjila blood</i>
damadjila	<i>blood</i> (Cl.III)
dämalala	<i>snake sp.</i> (Cl.III)
damara	<i>eye</i> (Cl.I)
dambarigwa	<i>tooth</i> (Cl.III)
damidjilbaraba	<i>iguana</i> (Cl.I)
damila	<i>stone</i> (Cl.III)
daminadji	<i>a game in which children pull one another over</i>

damirinda	<i>small black ant</i> (Cl.III)
damörenela	<i>bamboo nose stick</i> (Cl.III) (Basedow mamalölma)
damudjila	<i>smoke</i> (Cl.III)
damulgura	<i>heart</i> (Cl.III)
da:mul(ör)ma	<i>river</i> (IV)
damurj	<i>late</i>
damungwa	<i>night</i> (Cl.V)
damungwa munudjin	<i>midnight</i>
danbidjulu	<i>a belt of stringy bark</i> (Cl.III) (Basedow)
dänböidila	<i>cypress pine</i> (Cl.III)
danimadla	<i>mud</i> (Cl.III)
danimijinda	<i>mussel, shellfish</i> (Cl.III)
dangal	<i>hard, firm, strong, difficult</i>
dangalaba	<i>salt water crocodile</i> (Cl.I)
dangalada	<i>bloodwood tree</i>
dangöva	<i>emu</i> (Cl.I)
danudbila	<i>kangaroo</i> (Cl.III)
dawowira	<i>sinew, vein</i> (Cl.III)
däraba	<i>old man</i> (Cl.I)
darbda	<i>tree-grave</i> (Cl.III)
da:riwa	<i>baby boy</i> (Cl.I)
dauanda	<i>leg, upper</i> (Cl.III)
dauinga	<i>stone spearhead</i> (Cl.?V)
dawara	<i>spider</i> (Cl.?IV)
dawi	<i>numb</i>
gwarwa dawi jinam	<i>his hand has gone numb</i>
dawingwa	<i>kangaroo spear</i> (Cl.V) (Basedow)
dele'ila	<i>grass seed</i> (Cl.III)
-de-lo-	<i>to wait</i>
-didmi	<i>to ride</i>
dinamilja	<i>turkey</i> (Cl.III)
dinda	<i>vulva</i> (Cl.III)
dingana	<i>maggot</i> (Cl.III)
dinidani!	<i>you fool!</i>
dindaidjig!	
diamüdaidjig!	
dinidjängama	<i>dew</i> (Cl.IV)
dirid' bigila	<i>to pinch</i>
dirula	<i>rainbow</i> (Cl.?III)
-dja-	<i>put</i>
gudja	<i>put it on</i>
gwialwa gadjan jüwa	<i>I put it on the ground</i>
djad bigab	<i>I open (it)</i>
-djälilmärg	<i>to like, relish</i>
dje:r	<i>tabu</i>
gwialwa dje:r manjida, gumilagura	<i>get up, to lick</i>
-dji	<i>the dog licked (meat)</i>
bilinggiva gi-dji-m	<i>I lick the meat</i>
madawa gugu-dji-	<i>willy wagtail</i> (Cl.I)
djigirid'-djigiridjba	<i>I mix</i>
djilil (ga-)gam	
gwolmagana djilil gurugam!	
-djiri	<i>to itch</i>
nudjirin	<i>I am itchy</i>

djiribib banibiŋ	<i>slippery</i>
djøŋ biguŋ	<i>to suck out as from a wound</i>
djuarimba	<i>rat (Cl.I)</i>
djub bigaŋ	<i>spit out</i>
dlänbargwa	<i>tooth, edge of knife (Cl.V)</i>
dlanbargiŋa ŋalinjam	<i>my tooth aches</i>
dɔ:lɔuva	<i>jabiru (Cl.I)</i>
dɔ:lure	<i>salt water turtle (Basedow)</i>
doari:la	<i>wild duck (Cl.III)</i>
-doŋ	<i>broken</i>
-wodo-	<i>break</i>
bawodoŋ in gwiarmba baodoŋ	<i>the handle of it is broken</i>
dö:niva	<i>string (Cl.III)</i>
dub ba:r	<i>I hold him</i>
dub bin ja:r!	<i>Hold him!</i>
dubinyer	
dubõra	<i>penis (Cl.III)</i>
dubõra direnjininŋ	<i>they 'made him man'</i>
dudlwa	<i>man's bag (Cl.V)</i>
dudud ŋa'igam	<i>I tie up</i>
-dug	<i>plenty</i>
godug	<i>? this is plenty</i>
baradug	<i>? they are many</i>
dugwa	<i>distasteful</i>
dulduba	<i>broŋga (Cl.I)</i>
duldul manjila	<i>knock</i>
dumabudla	<i>barramundi (Cl.III)</i>
dumuija	<i>clothes (Cl.?III)</i>
dunüra	<i>cotton tree (Cl.?III)</i>
durgula	<i>small spear (Cl.III)</i>
du:rjäwa	<i>moon (Cl.III)</i>
durŋgira	<i>deaf</i>
durubala	<i>lizard (Cl.III)</i>
durud ŋagam	<i>I stick it in or through</i>
du:re:rwiginŋ	<i>thunder</i>
dülünda	<i>seed (Cl.III)</i>
eribogwa	<i>a light, torch (Cl.V)</i>
eribogwa ŋanjug	
-ga-	<i>go</i>
ŋagag	<i>I go</i>
bi-ga-m	<i>he said, say, do</i>
-gab	
gab aga	<i>I keep silent</i>
gab nigam!	<i>be quiet!</i>
djad maga-gab	<i>I'll open it</i>
-gaba	<i>bite</i>
bigaba	
gagagba	<i>fish hawk (Cl.I)</i>
gagiŋga	<i>goose (Cl.I, ?V)</i>
gai bi-ga-m	<i>he calls</i>

galaga	<i>another</i>
gudlagwa galagama	<i>forehead band (Cl.V)</i>
galamboua	<i>to draw</i>
-galidjan	<i>(it) flies</i>
galuma(gu)gag	<i>I pour out</i>
gawuluṅ	
guledji, gareuwa	
galmarwa	<i>fibre bundle to get honey from tree (Cl.V)</i>
	<i>(Basedow)</i>
galugag	<i>one</i>
galuwoba	<i>one (f)</i>
gama	<i>sand (Cl.IV)</i>
-ganmadji	<i>to work</i>
gara	<i>also</i>
idäna gara	
gargarwa	<i>chicken hawk (Cl.V)</i>
garimunbariwa	<i>black duck (Cl.V)</i>
ga:ruwa	<i>water (Cl.V)</i>
ga'ugwa	<i>cave, hole where bones are put (Cl.V)</i>
gaulma	<i>pubic hair (Cl.IV)</i>
-gilgir	<i>to untie</i>
gilingilimbira	<i>flying fox (Cl.II)</i>
girgir ṅagam	<i>I scratched (transitive)</i>
-girib	<i>to come back</i>
ṅagiribmarg	
-gir(i)g	<i>to come; 'suffix of motion towards speaker'</i>
godlijäni	<i>a crevice cf. madlijäni a log</i>
gonjmo	<i>? carry</i>
gönjmanṅagag	<i>I carry underarm</i>
gwiarwa gönjman ṅagag	<i>I carry in my hand</i>
ma:lumag	<i>on my head</i>
goa:goa:va	<i>a crow (Cl.I)</i>
-gold	<i>run</i>
no-gold-ergum	<i>run to me for me</i>
mo-gold-aridji	<i>two run</i>
no-gold-ogol	<i>run there and back</i>
gö:luluma	<i>white paint (Cl.IV)</i>
gubungwa	<i>a sore (Cl.V)</i>
gudaṅ	<i>mother; FBW, FFM, MSi, BSW, SW (Cl.I)</i>
gudjungwa	<i>cape (Cl.V)</i>
-gud'mila	<i>to come down</i>
-gud'milibmärg	<i>to come down again</i>
gudgida	<i>opossum (Cl.III)</i>
gudlara gadama	<i>early dawn</i>
gudlärgwa	<i>yesterday</i>
gudlugwa	<i>dove (Cl.V)</i>
gugudumarg	<i>strong</i>
gujuk(u)wa	<i>fire torch (Cl.V)</i>
gujulwa	<i>wax from (ironwood?) tree (Cl.V)</i>
gujuruma	<i>lily root (Cl.IV)</i>
gujurwa	<i>leaf (Cl.V)</i>
gujuwalwa	<i>edible gum (Cl.V)</i>
gulbalva	<i>frog (Cl.I)</i>
guldumunba	<i>sorcerer (Cl.I)</i>

gulg	up
gulgan	up, on top
gulgan bigag	
gulg ŋaga;r	<i>I lift it</i> see -ga:r
gulg nari!	<i>stand up!</i>
(bo) -gulgdji	<i>to burn, gleam</i>
gulibig	<i>quick(ly)</i>
?da:mulma gulebiŋgwa	<i>dry creek</i>
guligi	<i>big, large</i>
gulinjawa	<i>afternoon</i> (Cl.III)
-guludj	<i>to conceal, hide</i>
gulüda	<i>sp. round yam</i> (Cl.III)
gulugura	<i>perspiration</i> (Cl.I)
gulu	<i>slow; new</i>
gululug	<i>slow(ly)</i>
-guluma	<i>to smile</i>
gulwa	<i>a song, corroboree</i> (Cl.V)
gulwa garama!	<i>we sing a song</i>
-gum	<i>to say</i>
gogogumbira	<i>they are all talking</i>
gumidlangwa	<i>the back</i> (Cl.V)
-gumilga	<i>to watch</i>
gumjul	<i>female</i> (Cl.I)
gumöwili	<i>old woman</i> (Cl.I) cf. näriwa
gumulabila	<i>scorpion</i> (Cl.III)
gumulälwa	<i>blowfly</i> (Cl.I, ?V)
gumulariŋgwa	<i>pelican</i> (Cl.V)
gumule:lva	<i>a fly</i> (Cl.I)
gumumunda	<i>fresh water crocodile</i> (Cl.III)
gumuŋgwa	<i>small light coloured lizard</i> (Cl.V)
-guna	<i>to hunt</i>
milu:lula gugunanŋ	<i>I hunted a 'roo</i>
gunadla	<i>soft</i>
gunba	<i>sing</i> (Cl.I)
gunbira	(Cl.II pl.)
gunda	(Cl.III)
gunimidjinda	<i>upstream</i>
gunimigunŋ	
-gunudjur	<i>to jump</i>
gunumidjinda	<i>the sea</i> (Cl.III, ?V)
gunma	(Cl.IV)
gunumo:lgari	<i>olden time</i>
gununubgwa ma:luma	<i>grey headed</i>
gunuwa	<i>this way</i>
jagowa	<i>that way</i>
gunŋurŋgwa	<i>jaw, chin</i> (Cl.V)
gunŋgwa	(Cl.V)
gu:ruwa	<i>cloud</i> (Cl.V)
gurinjöva	<i>owl</i> (Cl.I)
gwadba	<i>round waddy</i> (Cl.III)
gwanda	
gwadbarwa	<i>Milky Way</i> (Cl.V)
gwaiälwa	<i>paper bark tree</i> (Cl.V)
gwa:lawa	<i>caterpillar</i> (Cl.V)
gwalmaruwa	<i>wattle tree</i> (Cl.V)

gwanda	<i>fighting stick</i> (Cl.III) (Basedow gwadba)
gwangwa	<i>music stick</i> (Cl.V)
gwariagwa	<i>for a long time</i>
gwarila	<i>sp. spotted snake</i> (Cl.III, ?V)
gwa:rabila	<i>bandicoot</i> (Cl.III)
gwiabulgwa	<i>mouth</i> (Cl.V)
gwiaburuma	<i>moustache</i> (Cl.IV)
gwiamálawa	<i>tongue</i> (Cl.III)
gwiamungalwa	<i>female breast</i> (Cl.V)
gwiamuruga	<i>hill</i> (Cl.V)
gwiadbarawa	<i>track, path</i> (Cl.V)
gwialambadjuwa	<i>downstream</i>
gwialigwa	<i>river</i> (Cl.V)
gwialwa	<i>earth, ground</i> (Cl.V)
gwiamalgwa	<i>hut, bough, shed</i> (Basedow alberégbin)
gwiamgwa	<i>egg</i> (Cl.V)
bir-iam-bira	<i>their eggs?</i>
gwiarwa	<i>arm, butt of spear</i>
gwiarwa	<i>hand, foot</i>
gwiarmarngwa	<i>feather</i> (Cl.V)
gwiarwamba	<i>wing</i> (Cl.V)
gwiarngöum	<i>beckon</i>
gwiaragwa	<i>bamboo</i>
gwiigwa	<i>smoke</i>
damudjila	
gwinguludlula	<i>black snake</i> (Cl.III)
gwijibib	<i>sp. round yam</i>
gwiju:wungwa	<i>testicles</i> (Cl.V)
gwiminjäřwa	<i>charcoal</i> (Cl.V)
gwin ?gun	<i>this way</i>
gwin goledji	
gwingwa	<i>nose</i> (Cl.V)
gwilimba	<i>variety edible palm</i>
gwirinda	<i>a reed (used in spear but no point)</i> (Cl.III)
gwolcnamrama	<i>banyan tree</i> (Cl.IV)
gwonareawarj	<i>wet season</i>
gwonidjängwa	<i>camp</i> (Cl.V)
idäna	<i>you</i> (singular)
-idjimi	<i>to fear</i>
quidjälminj	<i>I fear him</i>
beudjälminj	<i>he is frightened</i>
-idea	<i>to lift</i>
gagidla	
bidbidla	
-ijuvi-	<i>go out, of fire</i>
gugugwa gugau gwijuvinj	<i>fire I beat it-went-out</i>
ilan }	
ilangwa }	<i>today</i>
-ilmi (i+mi)	<i>to waken</i>
negilmi	<i>wake him up!</i>
-imalan	<i>to slit</i>
-imil-	<i>check</i>
gaimilna	

imurbura	<i>mother's brother's sister</i>
-ira-	<i>tell lies</i>
gwinjiram	<i>liar</i>
-iredjiwa	<i>carry on the back</i>
irimogwa	<i>behind, last</i>
-ja ~ -ji	<i>to eat or drink</i>
ga:ruwa mogwe	<i>this man wants a drink of water</i>
jāba	<i>he, that person (far)</i>
	jāba (Cl.I)
	jābira (Cl.II)
	jāda (Cl.III)
	jābina (Cl.IV)
	jagwa (Cl.V)
jāg(o)wa	<i>that direction</i>
jabárag	<i>tea</i>
jag	<i>that way</i>
jagbira; jagwa; jän	<i>there</i>
jagujagu guni	<i>a cleared space of ground (Cl.V)</i>
-järi-	<i>to stink (gujäriŋ)</i>
jei ŋa-lao	<i>I shout</i>
jiŋ ŋagam	<i>I make new, mend</i>
-ju	<i>be angry (with)</i>
-jubir-	<i>knee (Cl.?I)</i>
ŋajubirŋa bidlig	<i>I kneel</i>
-jungadla	<i>fix a wommera</i>
biladiva gu-jungadla-ŋ	
-la	<i>hit, pull up</i>
ga:laŋ	<i>I pulled it up</i>
-lagoroaŋ	<i>be strong, have strength cf. dangal</i>
lauurba	<i>lightning (Cl.?I)</i>
lauuruba	<i>kookaburra (Cl.I)</i>
-lebi	<i>to be dry (gulebi)</i>
-lerε(nga)	<i>to lose/forget</i>
ŋalerεg	<i>I forget, I lose</i>
-lidja	<i>to hear</i>
ŋa-lidjili	<i>I listen to him</i>
nagalidja!	<i>show me!</i>
lidunda	<i>pygmy grass (Cl.III)</i>
-ligu	<i>to fool, tell lies to</i>
-limbgwa	<i>to urinate</i>
ŋaga-limbgwa	<i>'Future'</i>
-linjam	<i>sick, ill</i>
-linji-	<i>to die</i>
bilinjiŋ	<i>he is dead</i>
bilinjam	<i>he is sick</i>
-luema	<i>spittle (Cl.IV)</i>
bi-luema	
lɔijera	<i>pubic organ (Cl.?I)</i>
-l(o)ma	<i>throw away</i>
galmaŋ	
binjulma	

-loma(g)i	<i>to play</i>
-lö-	<i>to cry</i>
gwila:geru bilöm	<i>he cried bitterly</i>
-lubag-	<i>steal</i>
gulubagaiŋ	
-ludjina-	<i>to like</i>
galudjman	<i>I like him</i>
-ludju-	<i>send</i>
gogonidjur(g)	<i>I send</i>
gunjuludju	<i>send this one</i>
ludlula	<i>bream</i>
'luerba	<i>pointed reed used as a spear</i>
luglug wagag	<i>I collect, gather up</i>
guriŋlugläri	<i>you assemble</i>
-luma	<i>to laugh</i>
-lweb	<i>lie on back</i>
-ma?	<i>carry</i>
-inma	<i>let us two carry it, see also -gonjma</i>
madbarma	<i>forehead (Cl.IV)</i>
madburuma	<i>tree (Cl.IV)</i>
maduburuma	<i>eyelash, brow (Cl.IV)</i>
-mädji	<i>to get married (bimädjiŋ)</i>
madawa	<i>meat food, fish (Cl.V)</i>
maḍaŋgwa	<i>stone axe (Cl.V)</i>
madjira	<i>bird (Cl.I)</i>
maga-	<i>leg (Cl.V)</i>
magaŋa	<i>leg</i>
magala	<i>leg of 'roo</i>
maima	<i>vegetable food (Cl.IV)</i>
malagirma	<i>spear (Cl.IV)</i>
malarinda	<i>a shell cup (Cl.III) (Basedow maraba)</i>
malg	
mamalema malg maledji	<i>star went = meteor</i>
malilma	<i>centipede (Cl.IV)</i>
malḡarema	<i>white gum tree (Cl.IV)</i>
ma:luma	<i>head (Cl.IV)</i>
-mal-	<i>to make</i>
gulwa ge-mal-am	<i>sang a song (Cl.?I)</i>
mamaidma	<i>tribal cicatrices (Cl.IV)</i>
mamalölma	<i>wooden nose rod (Cl.IV) (Basedow damörenela)</i>
mamaŋeina	<i>liver (Cl.IV)</i>
mamarol(da)	<i>big dog (Cl.III)</i>
mamer madbera	<i>I am ashamed</i>
mamilba	<i>animal (Cl.I)</i>
mamilima	<i>musical pipe (Cl.IV)</i>
mamindjüma	<i>flat land, billabong (Cl.IV)</i>
mamöija	<i>plenty</i>
mamulubma	<i>tail (Cl.IV)</i>
mamuli:ma	<i>brain (Cl.IV)</i>
mamulüma	<i>a boil (Cl.IV)</i>
mamululma	<i>jealous</i>
bienaba mamululma	
ḡanḡa mamululma	

mamurulma	<i>lice</i> (Cl.IV)
-mana-	<i>to vomit</i>
gu-mana-n	
mana[gwa]	<i>by and by</i>
manalama	<i>star</i> (Cl.IV)
manangurgwa	<i>morning</i> (Cl.V)
manawul	<i>greedy</i>
manawul lilib nimila	
-manbidji	<i>bathe</i>
nagamanbidji	<i>? imperfect</i>
naramanbidjimen	
mandenimba	<i>clumsy</i>
mandilima	<i>a cough</i> (Cl.IV)
manman giwara	<i>I get a cold</i>
-mandub	<i>to wash</i>
gugumandub	<i>1st person singular</i>
gumandub	<i>3rd person singular</i>
mangolma	<i>throat</i> (Cl.IV)
mangulma yaliñiq	<i>I fainted</i>
mangulmilima	<i>canoe</i> (Cl.IV)
manidjima	<i>entrails, guts</i> (Cl.IV)
manijugu	<i>pregnant</i>
mā:nma	<i>lower leg, language</i> (Cl.IV)
manɔi	<i>(go) slowly</i>
-mañdig	<i>hungry</i>
nāmañdig	
mānmānma	<i>wind</i> (Cl.IV)
mar[biniñ]	<i>it pierces him</i> see birubiruwa
maraba	<i>handle carved in shell cup called malarinda</i> (Cl.?I)
mareingwa	<i>water snake</i> (Cl.?V)
-mare-	<i>to scold</i>
naramareñdji	<i>we scold each other</i>
mari:dlma	<i>grass</i> (Cl.IV)
marimari	<i>knife</i> (Cl.?I)
mardma	<i>canoe</i> (Cl.IV)
marulma	<i>rib</i> (Cl.IV)
mauerma	<i>body hair</i> (Cl.IV)
birilira, gwiabalma, gaulma	
medlemō	<i>corroboree hat</i> (Basedow)
meerngwa	<i>long yam</i> (Cl.V)
-medla	<i>to rock to and fro (as baby)</i>
gogo-medla	
medemima	<i>tail feathers of black cockatoo</i>
mejañ ñagila	<i>I point</i>
-melidji	<i>to fight</i>
bara-melidji-n	
melva	<i>pregnant</i>
menaulidjma	<i>a spear barbed on both sides</i> (Cl.IV)
mengilma	<i>hip</i> (Cl.IV)
mialdama	<i>door</i> (Cl.IV)
-midib	<i>life, live, alive, green</i>
-midli	<i>arrange in pairs</i>
gwi-midling	

-midlu-	<i>carry pick-a-back</i> (ɲana-midlup)
midmid	<i>daughter's sister, elder sister's son's son</i>
ɲalidmid	<i>female</i>
mijuwura	<i>root</i> (Cl.?IV)
mila(bira)	<i>woman, female</i> (Cl.II)
milabira di:liba	
milabira baljāla	<i>bachelor</i>
mili:lma	<i>a bee</i> (Cl.IV)
milu:lula	<i>kangaroo</i> (Cl.III)
minamidla	<i>porcupine</i> (Cl.III)
minangurgwa	<i>early</i>
minbana	<i>female</i> (Cl.I)
-mindil-	<i>shoulder</i>
ɲaimindil	
daramindilira	
mine:ga	<i>female child</i> (Cl.I)
min	<i>small ?</i>
-mini-	<i>to cut</i>
dubir/la diriminij	<i>he cut the foreskin</i>
-mingera	<i>to carry</i>
miragma	<i>reed armllet</i> (Cl.IV) (Basedow)
-miriba-	<i>to tremble</i>
ɲan-miriba-m	<i>I trembled</i>
-mirab	<i>put (one thing) inside (another)</i>
mólgorwa	<i>before</i>
mólgorwa mila	<i>one preceding</i>
moburgma	<i>ankle</i> (Cl.IV)
molɲorwa	<i>the bush</i> (Cl.V)
mowijägwa	<i>spine</i> (Cl.V)
möl(ɲa)nawe	<i>(I am) angry</i>
mö:nma	<i>nest</i> (Cl.IV)
mör ɲadjij	<i>I lean?</i>
madbürma mör midjij	<i>tree leans</i>
muburmo	<i>wrist</i> (Cl.IV)
mudloma	<i>belly</i> (Cl.IV)
mudmir	<i>quivering of limbs in corroboree</i>
-mudu-	<i>male chest</i>
mud-	<i>heavy</i>
mudmo	
mudgwa	
mujagwa	<i>bone</i> (Cl.V)
-mal-	<i>sing</i>
-müla	<i>self</i>
ɲamüle, bimüle	<i>emphatic</i>
bädji-müla	<i>very good</i>
mulgundjuma	<i>shark</i> (Cl.IV)
mulidjul	<i>small</i>
-mulinji	<i>to swell up</i> (bimulinjij) cf. -linji
mulunju	<i>young girl, married man</i> (Cl.I)
muma(r)	<i>excrement</i>
munb niva	<i>woman who has a living child</i> (Cl.I)
mundali	<i>one whose mother is dead see baonari and bombila</i> (Cl.I)
-mundjula	<i>dirty</i>
-munji-	<i>to jump</i>

munugurama	<i>stringy bark tree</i> (Cl.IV)
murugwa:nagwa	<i>red</i>
nadla	<i>elder brother, father's father,</i> <i>FFB, FBS, MSiS</i> (Cl.I)
-nadijŋ	<i>to climb</i>
(bi) nidjiŋ	<i>to shine</i>
durjära bidnidjiŋ	
ŋaganadjiŋ	<i>I climb</i>
na:diŋ	<i>father, father's brother, MSiH</i> (Cl.I)
nag(djin)	<i>outside</i>
naganjinaganjiva	<i>eaglehawk</i> (Cl.I)
naga(r)d ŋagija	<i>I lie down</i>
nagunji	<i>SiS, SiHF, BDH</i> ŋalgunji = 'feminine'
nanduva	<i>horse</i> (Cl.I)
näriwa	<i>belonging to old women ?</i> (Cl.I)
gumöwili	
naro	<i>ear</i> (banaro etc.)
nawa	<i>husband</i> (Cl.I)
-nelwa-	<i>to answer</i>
-nianga-	<i>left</i>
ŋa-nianga-ŋa	
nimarg	<i>son, BS, SSS, (MS)</i> (Cl.I)
nimbira	<i>children</i> (Cl.II)
nimglo:lo	
nimeruma	<i>heavy spear for emus</i> (Cl.IV) (Basedow)
nimglo:lo (pl. nimbira)	<i>male child</i>
nimiringwa	<i>bone</i> (Cl.V)
-nirig	<i>empty</i>
-nolga	<i>many, much, ? certain, some</i>
nowag	<i>younger brother, FFYB, FYBS, MYSiS, BSS, SS</i>
-nörali	(Cl.I)
-nu(-g)	<i>finished</i>
ba(i)nug	
-nubulu-	<i>short</i> (bunubulug) (bunubulira)
yonobolira	
-nudbe	<i>full, sated</i>
-nuldwa	<i>fresh</i>
ga:ruwa gunuldwa	
-numuguliu-	<i>right</i>
ŋa-numuguliu-ŋa	
-numungiju-	<i>black</i> (adjective)
-nureja	<i>wet</i> (gunureja)
-ni-	<i>to sit</i>
ŋa-ginji	<i>I stop, cease</i>
-njiga	<i>take away</i>
-njigirg	<i>bring</i>
-njimörira	<i>all</i>
da-njimörira, bi-njimörina	
njul ŋaledji	<i>I dive</i>

ɲabidla	<i>who</i>
ɲa:d?	<i>whither?</i>
ɲa:guri	<i>water soak</i>
ɲai	<i>yes</i>
ɲai, ɲandawa	<i>yes, I think so</i>
ɲalab	<i>mother's mother, WM, WMSi</i>
ɲaladig	<i>wife, WSi, ?FFF, SSW, CBW, YBW, BSSW (Cl.I)</i>
ɲaladju	<i>daughter's daughter, SiDD, (WS)</i>
ɲalag	<i>younger sister, WSp (Cl.I)</i>
ɲalei	<i>daughter, SiS, (WS) of ɲalmarg MS, ɲei</i>
ɲalgunji	<i>sister's daughter, DH (Cl.I) see nuguni</i>
ɲalidmid midmid	<i>daughter's daughter (MS), SiDD</i>
ɲalin	<i>husband's mother, HMSi, HMBW (WS)</i>
ɲalmarg	<i>daugher, BD, FFFSi</i>
ɲalo	<i>husband's mother's mother (WS)</i>
ɲa:n	<i>sister's husband, (MS), H(WS)</i>
ɲanala?	<i>what?</i>
ɲa:nana	<i>I</i>
ɲanmalg	<i>elder sister (Cl.I)</i>
ɲargunigini?	<i>when?</i>
ɲargwigam?	
ɲargwa?	<i>where?</i>
ɲarɲar	<i>white</i>
ɲarɲarw?va	<i>white cockatoo (Cl.I)</i>
ɲei	<i>son's mother (WS) SiS, SSS, HF, HFB</i>
ɲeimarg	<i>sister's sister, SiSS (WS) cf. nimarg</i>
ɲirɲir ɲagam	<i>I am hot</i>
-ɲudbala	<i>to skin</i>
ɲunja	<i>mother's elder brother, WF, WFB</i>
ɲugunji	
ɲaladig	
-oa:ra	<i>bad</i>
boa:ra	
goa:ra	
-olmedji	<i>sleepy</i>
ɲolmedji ɲamila	
ɲagol medjin	<i>I now sleep</i>
ɲaolmedjimug	<i>I sleep towards</i>
-or	<i>insert</i>
bidbonur	<i>they put into his mouth</i>
-ragili	<i>to pinch one</i>
ragwira	<i>to be hot</i>
ɲa-ne-bei-ragwira	
-rendji	<i>pick up</i>
morendjin	
-rulen-	<i>clever</i>
? di-rulen-i-ɲga	
-rungi	<i>to be sharp</i>
-raboliva	<i>spirit, soul, ghost (Cl.I)</i>
biraboliva, daraboliva	<i>etc.</i>

-u-	<i>to give</i>
ŋanj-u-g	<i>give me</i>
bi-nj-u-m	<i>you gave to him</i>
-udjara	<i>to scratch</i>
ŋudjaram (past)	
-udla	<i>to uncover</i>
gunj-udla	
winjudla	<i>pull it</i>
-ulia-	<i>to shut</i>
ma'uliaŋ meitramili	
-ulbi-	<i>to rub</i>
gunjulbrin	<i>you rubbed it</i>
umbalagama	<i>flat ironwood waddy</i>
-ungulub	<i>blunt</i>
-uram	<i>touch</i>
ŋanjuram	<i>touch me</i>
-urub	<i>find</i>
gunjurub!	<i>find it!</i>
vedbi	<i>to bow</i>
ma:luma muvebiŋ	
ve:miłma	<i>woman's bag</i>
wai ŋa:ga	<i>I swim, go?</i>
wawa bigiŋ	<i>to bark, of dog</i>
-wai	<i>to warm</i>
gujukwa ŋanagawai	<i>se -wei fire grips me = fire warms me</i>
-wal	<i>make</i>
biri:lma ma-gawal	<i>I will spin a hairnet</i>
gunidjirg gugawal	<i>I will make a camp</i>
-wei	<i>grasp?</i>
bilingiva denbärgiva giwei	<i>the dog holds it (in) his teeth</i>
ŋanduwei	<i>he hit me</i>
wiar ŋagidjiŋ	<i>I wave it</i>
wil ŋagum	<i>I whistle</i>
-wilamgilam	
-wiligma	<i>to love</i>
bawiligman	
wilriłma	<i>lory, parrot sp. (Cl.IV)</i>
-winma-	<i>to smell (transitive)</i>
gawinmaŋ	
-wiribö	<i>to seek, look for</i>
gawiriböm	
wiwi magiŋ	<i>to blow</i>
mänmäŋma wiwi magiŋ	
-wulidjina	<i>to upset (gawulidjmaŋ)</i>
gawulmaŋ guledji	<i>I pour out, ? I poured it went</i>
-wurobwei	<i>cold</i>
ŋadburdobwei	
giwurdobwei	