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LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
SOUTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND

by

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"If the distance from the most evolved languages (let us say the Indo-European) to the first beginnings of human speech be estimated at one kilometer, then the Aranta language in Australia ... hardly brings us a few centimeters nearer to those beginnings" — V.I. ABAEV.¹

INTRODUCTORY NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It might seem a venture to attempt a survey of the Aboriginal languages of south-eastern Queensland today, even though it be made explicit that it will have to be restricted to scanty remnants of surviving linguistic material. For almost the length of the last hundred years the Aboriginal languages, along with the Aboriginal population, have been on a steady decline in this area of early and concentrated European settlement, as evidenced by the anthropological and linguistic works of the period (those by Edward M. Curr, R.H. Mathews, John Mathew and others). The following account therefore will be limited to a description of facts as found by the author to exist in the present day, with the intention in the first place to salvage surviving linguistic data, without any pretension to reconstruct a picture of the linguistic situation at the time when Aboriginal languages were still current among the tribes as a means of communication.

In the second place the author intends to bring together the complete data from the various localities investigated into a wider context forming a larger area so as to view the individual phonological, morphological and lexical data from one language or group of languages in conjunction with corresponding ones in other languages or groups, for the purpose of analysing the entire linguistic material on a comparative basis.

The reason for applying this basis of analysis lies in the advantage of having a continuity of data at hand representing a coherent linguistic area, with acceptance of the principle that forms of speech pertaining to adjoining localities are bound to mutual influences and assimilation. By being able to observe the details of this process of assimilation in a concrete way a more realistic understanding of linguistic relationship is expected, on which fresh

¹ "Jesli rasstojanie ot naibolee razvitykh, skazhem, indoevropskikh jazykov do pervykh nachatkov rechi prinjat' za kilometr, to jazyk aranta v Avstralii ... priblizhit nas k etim nachatkam jedva na neskol'ko santimetrakh" (V.I. Abaev, *Otrazhenie raboty soznaija v leksiko-semanticheskoj sisteme jazyka*, in *Leninizm i teoreticheskie problemy jazykoznanija*. Akademiya nauk SSSR, otdelenie literatury i jazyka, Institut jazykoznanija, Moscow, 1970, p.234).

principles of comparative linguistics might ultimately be arrived at, as a counterbalance and healthy offset to the prevailing mechanically based principles of 'genetic' relationship and as a means of checking these against the weight of obvious facts. Whether or not this different angle will in any way influence the dominating theories of comparative linguistics the author is not certain of, but still thinks that by viewing the facts from this point the true nature and function of many linguistic forms presented will be seen more clearly.

The bulk of the linguistic material recorded and analysed falls in two clearly distinguished main groups—generally recognised as such according to various names by the linguistics—for which the present author has searched suitable designation and which we might for certain reasons choose to call respectively 'Wakka' and 'Gunggari' languages.² The members of these two groups are usually well distinguished morphologically and lexically, the latter (that is those of the 'Gunggari' group) being especially closely knit together as a linguistic family,³ while those of the 'Wakka' group—falling in a western and an eastern subgroup—are more diversified. While distinctive criteria are naturally sought in the first place within the morphology, certain phonological features also characterise either group. The Gunggari languages make an all-over distinction between *dental* (or *alveolar*) and *retroflex* consonant sounds (a retroflex *ɖ*, for instance, is different from the normal *r*), which is not the case in the Wakka languages (where a single trilled alveolar *r* prevails). Connected with this fact is probably the phonological value of the fairly common *interdental* sounds, which in all these languages are evident 'allophones', but in such a way that in the Gunggari languages they are variants of the dental series, while in the Wakka languages they may take the place of the sounds in the palatal series.⁴ Finally, the likewise often encountered open *e* and *o* sounds are in most cases to be considered as phonetic variants in the Gunggari languages, but as true phonemes in the languages in the Wakka group.

Of languages falling outside of these two main groups four only are included in this survey (see Part III), others met with or partly studied being excluded either on account of their belonging to areas beyond those under investigation or else on account of the scantiness of the material recorded. They are nevertheless being considered and utilised from the point of view of comparison with the other languages studied here, in cases where parallels are found either on the phonetic or morphological and lexical levels.

²These roughly coincide with what is named respectively 'Waka-Kabic' and 'Mari' languages on the preliminary map *Aboriginal Languages of Australia*, by O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966); in W.J. Oates Report 1967-68, *Australian Languages Linguistic Survey* (AIAS Doc. No. 68/696) mention is also made of the 'Waka-Kabic' and 'Pama-Maric' groups of South Eastern and Central Coastal Queensland (pp. 29-31), although including a great deal more than what is recorded (or recognised) by the present author.

³In the 'Gunggari' languages, for instance, the test words for 'eye(s)', 'ear(s)', 'hand(s)', 'water' and 'fire' generally show a remarkable concordance.

⁴In no language among those investigated in south-eastern Queensland a distinctively triple series of sounds (retroflex, dental-alveolar and interdental) was found.

These latter groups of languages either form linguistic entities of their own or else are to be classed within larger linguistic groups outside Queensland (for instance in New South Wales).

As is to be expected in an investigation of a linguistic area in which many—or most—of the languages are not currently spoken and further imperfectly remembered by the informants, a certain number of doubtful or erroneous forms may have slipped into the notes of these languages. In some cases these have been weeded out from the material intended for publication, as being improbable or absurd. In other cases, however, they have been retained, although provided with a question mark. This is in order to leave the opportunity open to other field workers to check on them, using them as hints for a reconstruction of correct forms. It needs not to be said that such forms may also be used for comparison with forms previously recorded of which the present author has no knowledge. As a matter of fact, it is believed that a considerable amount of recording (either in field notes or on tape) has been done all over this part of Queensland and that some of these scattered notes and records may still be available if they could be traced to their place of origin and actual whereabouts.

The fact that most of the recorded languages—especially insofar as the vocabulary is concerned—appear mixed is also to be taken into account. This has a double explanation: first of all (as will no doubt be found in most parts of Australia), because there has always been a notable intercourse between the tribes, which also accounts for the much spoken-of bilingualism or even multilingualism among the Aborigines,⁵ and further also because many of our informants have travelled much and far, either to visit friends and relations or else to work for white employers in different parts. The author holds that a great number of these words of mixed origin ought to be included into the vocabulary of the language for which they have been noted. It would in any case be useless to try to sort out all elements which would rightly belong to another language from a supposed indigenous vocabulary. After all, the languages of the world are all mixed and will continue to be so.

The material presented in the following three Parts of the present Survey comprises a phonetic and morphological analysis, some texts and vocabularies. A limited part of the recorded material has been taken down on tape in order to illustrate the sounds of the languages, especially in cases where specimens of coherent speech was procured. A fair number of so-called 'corroboree songs'—although of less interest from a linguistic point of view—were also recorded. Copies of selected commented parts of the tapes have been sent to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra.

⁵Although this fact has been traditionally assumed and is still accepted by many Australian linguists, the present author has hardly found a single acceptable case of the pretended polyglot gift among the people met with—unless it be taken in the sense that quite a few are equally *incompetent* in a number of different Aboriginal languages. The following opinion expressed by one informant is typical: "Pontius (a Punthamara named Pontius Pilate) speaks five different languages, although I don't say he would talk them". The knowledge of persons familiar with more than one language is usually restricted to the concrete vocabulary (nouns and sometimes verbs), whereas the morphology does not seem in any way affected.

The field work, which extended over two and a half years, mainly in the south-eastern areas of Queensland, has been sponsored and financed by means of generous grants from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, to which body the author wishes to express his grateful appreciation. Some of the material had been gathered previously, on a visit to Queensland several years back (in 1964), for which the author likewise owes his gratitude to the same Institute, from which on that occasion also benevolent support had been enjoyed by means of a money grant. The author is further indebted to the Australian National University's Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies and particularly to Professor Stephen A. Wurm for kindly considering the publication of this work in *Pacific Linguistics*.

PART I

THE LANGUAGES OF THE WAKKA GROUP

1.1 The languages of the Wakka Group, to which among others Wakka-Wakka and Kabi-Kabi belong, are rightly representative of south-eastern Queensland.¹ Those of which it has been possible to gather information at this stage are readily divisible into two subgroups, a western group including the closely related Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli and an eastern group including Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala. Of the latter four languages Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng are closely related variants, while Kabi-Kabi and Batjala seem so similar that in the opinion of many of the informants they are the same language.² Unfortunately, very little information could be gathered regarding the former language, as hardly a single competent Kabi-Kabi speaker was available,³ although many of the 'corroboree songs' were said to be in the language of this once important tribe. Of the languages in the Wakka Group, Wakka-Wakka proper is no doubt the most important one, appearing to have been so for long and having the prestige of a kind of lingua franca, for whatever the position of Kabi-Kabi may have been at one time it is now an extinct language, while Wakka-Wakka is generally known to some extent among the Aborigines of the Burnett river area (with the Cherbourg settlement).⁴

1.2 The early travellers and anthropologists usually had some notion regarding the areas inhabited by the various tribes, sometimes based on the natives' own information. Today there are no tribes and the few remaining speakers of the languages are scattered—hence there are no tribal or linguistic boundaries in existence. Unless one decides to rely upon the information gathered by those previous writers who have inquired into the matter, perhaps as far back as a hundred or more years ago, the only means available to us in order to get an idea of what parts the different languages actually belonged to—apart from what we are told by the Aborigines themselves from hearsay—would be to consider where either the speakers or their parents or grandparents from which they had learned the language had been born or else spent their early years. For the presumed *Wakka-Wakka* country, one will see in the first place the account by Mathew (1910). According to what we may conclude from comparing data furnished by surviving speakers or informants, this area ought to take in at least the following places: Cherbourg (the old Barambah Mission, south of Murgon), Kingaroy, Taabinga station, Cooyar, Hawkwood station (on the Auburn river), Eidsvold, Gayndah, Ban Ban Springs and Mount Perry; this coincides at least roughly with John Mathew's account (1910, pp. 68-69, with the map sketch on p. 66). On the other hand it is asserted by the native people that the Wakka-Wakka language belonged to the Gayndah district and the Burnett river. Often it is

customary among the Aborigines to refer to a language by mentioning a place in which a certain language would have been spoken—or rather one where speakers of a certain language had for various reasons been found to be living: hence the 'Stradbroke Island language' (here referred to as Nunagal), the 'Beaudesert language' (the same as Manandjali), the 'Fraser Island language' (Batjala), etc., or else (if it is the question of a group of related languages) the 'Burnett (river) lingo', the 'Dawson river lingo', etc.

1.3 For the other members of the western group of Wakka languages,⁵ *Barunggam* and *Wuli-Wuli*, the latter was represented by members of a single family (Pope) and the former by one single competent informant. Yet places mentioned in connection with *Wuli-Wuli* (Hawwood station, the Dawson river) suggest that the area of this language (which by one native was described as a 'Dawson river language') would have had a north-westerly extension in relation to central Wakka-Wakka. As for *Barunggam*, the single informant as well as his parents were from Taroom, but the same person described the extension of his language as far as Dalby to the south and Duaringa to the north (including the following places: Dalby, Warra, Chinchilla, Miles, Taroom). Since the name *Barunggam* (*barungam*) appears to be connected with the word *barunga*, which now means (1) *kangaroo rat* and (2) *Dalby*, the *Dalby language* might perhaps be an appropriate designation.⁶ In any case, both these languages are western varieties of Wakka-Wakka.

1.4 Applying the same method to the languages of the eastern subgroup (*Goreng-Goreng*, *Goeng-Goeng*, *Kabi-Kabi* and *Batjala*) we arrive at the following conclusion. The *Goreng-Goreng* speakers, interviewed or heard of, were all connected with the Bundaberg or Gladstone areas (taking in places also such as Woodgate, south of Bundaberg, and Mount Perry)—hence with a north-eastern extension in regard to the central Wakka Wakka area. One person defined this language as pertaining to 'Maryborough, Monto and Mount Perry'. *Goeng-Goeng*, on the other hand, would according to the native places of the informants or their ancestors have extended to Gayndah, Eidsvold and Mount Perry, so that it may be considered to have been an inland variety of *Goreng-Goreng* (the differences between both may, besides, be described as merely dialectal).

1.5 Although for *Kabi-Kabi* hardly any competent informant was available (cf. Note 3), the places mentioned in connection with its original area (Gympie, Nambour, Kilkiven, Miva) would indicate an eastern extension in relation to Wakka-Wakka, mainly near the coast (one native mentioned *Kabi-Kabi* as the 'Wide Bay language', that is toward the southern point of Fraser Island). The above extension corresponds well with Mathew's account (1910, pp. 67-68, with the map on p. 66), with one singular exception: whereas Mathew takes in the Maryborough area into the *Kabi-Kabi* territory, the latter area is—according to our informants—occupied by another language, *Batjala*, which is not mentioned by Mathew.⁷ This is however insignificant since both languages are close enough to be considered by many as one and the same (cf. above). The *Batjala*, according to our informants, were settled on the sea around the present Maryborough, Pialba, Urangan, possibly also Yandina and Childers, and above all Fraser Island (some simply call it the 'Fraser Island language'). According to another, *Batjala* extended from Kilcoy, in the west, to Bundaberg, Woodgate and Fraser Island, in the east. This indicates a northern and definitely coastal extension in relation to *Kabi-Kabi*.

1.6 Still another language should be mentioned in this connection, namely *Dunggija* (Dunggaja, Dunggadja, Dunggadji),⁸ the language of one Willie McKenzie (much spoken of by the Aborigines in that area and to whom most claimed some kind of relationship), briefly interviewed by the author in 1964. Mr. McKenzie, who was born on Durundu cattle station (near Woodford and Kilcoy), maintained that his language was the Stanley river language. Most people however of those who knew him would assert that his language was Batjala (evidently meaning by this that it was about as close to Batjala as for instance Kabi-Kabi) and the few words which it was possible to gather during our short conversation did not contradict this assertion. Unfortunately Mr. McKenzie mixed his language to a great extent with Wakka-Wakka (a language of prestige),⁹ whether purposely or not. This language, if different enough from Batjala or Kabi-Kabi, would constitute the southernmost member of the group.

PHONETIC NOTES AND LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN PART I

(a) Vowel symbols

2.1 The following vowel symbols are being used:

- a, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'cut';¹⁰
- e, more or less as in English 'bed';
- i, more or less as in English 'sit';
- o, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'got';
- u, more or less as in English 'put'.

2.2 Notice that i and u, when short, show a certain range of allophonic variation tending toward *wider* sounds (like narrow forms of e and o), which are at the same time somewhat *lengthened*: (Wakka-Wakka) *ŋin you*, *dadulu with a stick* may hence become like *ŋe·n*, *dato·lu*. These lengthened sounds, which must be distinguished from both e, o and e·, o· (see below) will however not normally be marked in the phonetic spelling of the words.

2.3 A raised period (·) indicates a lengthened form of the above primary vowel sounds:

- a·, more or less as in English 'father';
- e·, more or less as in English 'where';¹¹
- i·, more or less as in English 'be';
- o·, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'call';
- u·, more or less as in English 'do'.

2.4 Final vowels are always long in most monosyllabic words (particles excluded); in words of more than one syllable (along with particles) they are indifferent as to quantity (either long or short). In the former case (e.g. Wakka-Wakka *ga· eat*) they are marked as long but not in the latter case (e.g. Wakka-Wakka *waga no, not, = waka or waka·*). Vowels are sometimes found long or lengthened in closed syllables, especially in monosyllabic words and before final r (e.g. Wakka-Wakka *guŋ or gu·ŋ water*, *wamba hang*, *gaŋge call*, *janande going*, *bawar brush*, *gundir clever man*). As this lengthening is irregular and evidently not distinctive it will not normally be marked in the phonetic spelling. (On the other hand: Wakka-Wakka *ba·n comes*, as against *ban grass*, *ma·na get*, as against *mana that*; this means in practice that words marked by (·) have always a long vowel,

while those not marked *may* have a long vowel.) In non-initial syllables it is taken for granted that long and short vowels are not distinguished and length will therefore not be marked. Further, in quoted contexts vowel length will be shown more sparingly, in order not to overload the phonetic writing.

2.5 Vowel sounds occurring in combination, although normally pronounced separately (yet usually without any marked hiatus) tend to acquire a diphthongal character, possibly due to the influence of English among bilingual speakers; notice especially *ai*, which often sounds as in (Australian) English 'high'. Otherwise *ai* may acquire a sound similar to *ei*, that is the standard (but not Australian) diphthongal sound in 'take', etc. As a matter of fact, it seems that *ei* does not exist in any of these languages except as a phonetic variant *ai* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *gai ~ gei ate*; Goreng-Goreng *waibe ~ weibe camp*). Regarding *ou* (that is more or less the diphthongal sound in standard—although not Australian—English 'go', etc.), it is doubtful whether it occurs as an independent sound combination at all or as a mere variant (either of *o* or *au*).¹² The sequence *je* might theoretically be different from *ja* and also **wo* from *wa*, although there are hardly any examples to substantiate the latter differentiation. On the other hand, the combinations *ie* and *uo* (as in Wakka-Wakka) alternate too often with respectively *ia* and *ua* to be considered as anything more than phonetic variants of the latter. However, *bie throwing* is sometimes differentiated from *bia throw* (imperative); this may be artificial: compare *bia ~ bie back* and other cases of phonetic variation (perhaps also in this connection: *ɲinau ~ ɲineu to sit*).

2.6 In contact with *j* (or any palatal consonant sound; cf. 2.7), *a* often turns into *e*, but as these are clear cases of allophones they will not be normally indicated in the spelling. Similarly *a* tends toward *o* in contact with *w* (as in English 'want', 'what'; cf. 6.10), which also will be left without indication in the phonetic writing.

(b) Consonant Symbols

2.7 The following consonant symbols are used:

- b*, a bilabial plosive (or semiplosive) varying between English 'b', 'p' and a corresponding voiced fricative (as in Spanish *haber*);
- d*, a dental or alveolar plosive varying between English 'd' and 't';
- ɟ*, a palatalised dental or interdental plosive or affricate, either between Indonesian *dj* and *tj* or else somewhat like English 'th' in 'father' (cf. 14.10);
- g*, a velar (or, in contact with a front vowel, palatal) plosive or semiplosive, between English 'g', 'k' and a corresponding voiced fricative (as in Spanish *lago, aguilá*);
- m*, a bilabial nasal, like the English 'm';
- n*, a dental or alveolar nasal, like the English 'n';
- ɲ*, a palatal nasal, like the Spanish *ñ* or the combination 'ni' in (especially Scottish) English 'onion', etc.;
- ŋ*, a velar (or, in contact with a front vowel, palatal) nasal, as in English 'song' or 'sing';

- l, a voiced alveolar continuant or lateral, like the French or Italian l;
- r, a slightly trilled continuant, somewhat like the Spanish soft r (ere) or the Queensland 'r' in certain words, e.g. 'throw', 'three' ('tree');¹³
- j, a palatal semivowel, like 'y' in English 'yes';
- w, a bilabial semivowel, like the English 'w' (as in 'water', etc.).

The aspiration (h), often heard initially before vowels, is (as in Queensland English) a mere 'ornament'.

2.8 Regarding the consonant sounds represented by b, d, g, a certain difference in pronunciation may be observed between the languages of the western and the eastern subgroup of the Wakka languages. Normally, b, d, g are of the so-called 'devoiced' type, that is they are weak plosives (of the same kind as English 'b', 'd', 'g') with reduced sonority. In the western group especially they are somewhat more voiced in the initial position as well as after a nasal consonant sound, whereas they are entirely voiceless and at the same time lengthened in the intervocalic position. In the eastern languages there is a tendency toward a fricative pronunciation in the latter (intervocalic) position, while they tend to be voiceless plosives in any other position (the one after a homorganic nasal not excluded—if the nasal is not homorganic the fricative pronunciation is possible: Goreng-Goreng *ḡalinbaŋi with us*). Although even in this group of Wakka languages initial b, d, g tend to be slightly voiced one Goreng-Goreng informant positively declared that this was not the pronunciation of the old people, who spoke voiceless unaspirated sounds. This difference between the eastern and western subgroups is certainly not absolute: fricative sounds may be found intervocalically in Wakka-Wakka also, while the voiceless lengthened plosives may occasionally occur in languages of the eastern group. It might be worth mentioning, however, that the difference indicated above between the western and eastern subgroups is typical enough to induce one Wakka-Wakka speaker (who also knew Batjala, which she had learned) to pronounce the verb form wugu (*to give*) as wuk'u in Wakka-Wakka, but as wuŋu (with a fricative g) in Batjala. Hence there is something to be said for the traditional spelling of the language names as respectively 'Wakka-Wakka' (western group) and 'Kabi-Kabi' (eastern group).

2.9 Stress is not significant in any of the languages dealt with in this survey. Still a certain tendency persists everywhere to stress the vowel of the second initial syllable in words or utterances of some length, as in the common Wakka-Wakka greeting *wangá ḡin janánde where (i.e. how) are you going?*. Here we have two stress units, of which the former consists of two words or morphological elements; similarly in Goreng-Goreng: *gilámanmin turned round*, *Goeng-Goeng wajálara* (mountain name), *goréŋ goréŋ* (language name), etc. This tendency also explains the origin of certain shortened forms, e.g. (Wakka-Wakka) *ga not* (< waga), *ḡu I* (< ḡaḡu), (Barunggam) *pangu why?* (< *mipangu), *punga where?* (< wapunga), etc. Compare the common stress pattern in Aboriginal place names of the type 'Cuthárama', 'Didíllibah', 'Barálaba', all over Queensland.¹⁴

2.10 As no marked separation of words or unbound morphemes exists in the current speech of the Aborigines (cf. 2.9), the words and morphemes (as pronounced individually) may sound quite different in a spoken context, which at first seems puzzling. As a consequence of this it must be understood that the separation of morphemes here is made on a *logical*, and not a *phonetic*, basis.

GENERAL MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

Introductory remarks

3.1 It is convenient when dealing with the Australian Aboriginal languages to divide the word categories, or morphological elements ('word classes'), into two main groups: *independent* (or 'concrete') words, that is such as are meaningful in themselves or when uttered alone, and *dependent* (or 'relational') words or such morphological elements as are not meaningful in themselves, but require to make sense the construction with an independent word or word stem. Within the former group are to be ranged: *nominal* words (or word stems), *verbs* (or verbal stems), *pronouns* and *relation words*; in the latter group: *articles* (for the use of this term, cf. 3.18), *postpositions*, *particles* (for the use, cf. 3.3) and *connectives*. The choice of the above terms has sometimes had to be somewhat arbitrary.

3.2 Although in the Aboriginal languages distinctions may exist on a semantic level between nouns, adjectives (qualifiers) and numerals, such a distinction is not warranted on the purely morphological level. Words corresponding to *nouns* in English ('man', 'camp', 'stone', 'water') or adjectives ('big', 'small', 'good', 'bad') are inflected according to the same pattern and from a morphological (although perhaps not a semantic) point of view such a construction as 'good man' must be considered perfectly analogous to 'father (and) mother' (hence: 'a good one (and) a man'), there being no word corresponding to the English 'and' in this type of construction; in either case both words may be inflected or else one may occur in the stem form (the nominative; cf. 3.15) and the other inflected.¹⁵ The same may be said regarding numerals, which in the proper sense of the word are missing in the Australian languages.¹⁶ The most common word of this kind, the one corresponding to 'two', actually expresses the same as the dual forms of nouns (in all their varieties) in the oldest Indo-European languages (cf. Holmer 1963, p. 72; 1970, pp. 67-69). *Verbal stems* are characterised as such—apart from their semantic function—by a special verbal inflection (cf. 3.23-24). Of the *pronouns* (divided into personal, demonstrative and interrogative; see 3.20) nothing else is to be said than that they correspond to similar word categories in English or, as a matter of fact, most languages in the world. The *relation words* are practically devoid of an inflection, although they may (like many adverbs in English or other Indo-European languages) show traces of a flection, either akin to a nominal or verbal paradigm. The limit between relation words (relating to or determining either nouns or verbs) and true nouns or verbs may sometimes seem arbitrary.

3.3 Among the dependent morphemes, the *articles* (a term used here in a very particular sense, for which see 3.18) are morphologically akin to nouns or pronouns, being differentiated from these chiefly by their incapacity of functioning except in construction with a nominal word. The *postpositions* are generally short uninflected forms attached to or construed with a nominal word, analogous to an English preposition; sometimes a postposition may be used as a case suffix or an element of a nominal paradigm. By *particles* (in want of a better term) we shall mean relation words which do not occur independently, but in construction with a nominal or verbal form only. Finally, the *connectives* are particles which either introduce a sentence (originally perhaps to connect an utterance with another or to bring it in as part of a narrative) or else to fill out a pause in a conversation, being hardly more than ornamental. In current speech these particles rarely occur among the Aborigines of the investigated parts of Queensland today, but they are the more common in songs.¹⁷

Structure of the morpheme

3.4 The independent morpheme shows a varying structure. Nominal stems (whether simple or derived) either end in a vowel or a consonant and may be either monosyllabic or longer. Usually simple nominal stems are at least dissyllabic in the languages of the Gunggari type, while in those of Wakka type monosyllabic stems are common (Wakka-Wakka *na* 'hand', *ga* 'ground', *guŋ* 'water'). Monosyllabic stems may occur everywhere as a result of contraction (Gunggari *gu* 'nose', Wakka-Wakka *dai* 'stone', the latter from *daji*, *dawi*; cf. 6.13). Verbal stems have a more regular appearance and usually end in a vowel. In the Gunggari languages the simple verb stems are normally dissyllabic; in the Wakka languages they are either dissyllabic or monosyllabic (Wakka-Wakka *ŋina* or *ŋine* 'sit', *pa* 'see', *ga* 'eat'). In some of the languages studied (e.g. Darumbal) there are verbal stems (either simple or derived) which end in a consonant (e.g. *Dal* 'eat'), but in most of the languages dealt with here different stem variants may be used in the different modes or aspects (cf. 3.23) on one basic verbal stem (e.g. Wakka-Wakka *pa* and *paŋ* 'see', *ma* and *maŋ(a)* 'get', Goreng-Goreng *dagi* and *jana* or *jan* 'go', Darumbal *Naga*-, *NaN*-, *Naŋ* 'see'). The dependent morphemes are mostly monosyllabic.

Derivation

3.5 Both nominal and verbal stems may be derived from simple stems of the same order, that is to say that nouns are derived from nouns and verbs from verbs.¹⁸ There are consequently (except from the semantic point of view) no verbal denominatives or nominal deverbatives and so it is sufficient to speak of *nominal* and *verbal* derivation only.

(a) Nominal derivation

3.6 Nominal derivation is much less evolved in the languages studied than is verbal derivation. There are no clear augmentative, diminutive or pejorative suffixes as in so many European languages (English 'mannikin', 'piglet', etc.). In many of the Queensland languages the suffix *-gan* marks a *female* (Wakka-Wakka *bandurgan* a female *Bandjur*, Barunggam *bandagan* a female *Bunda*, that is members of special social sections; Gunggari *mamigan* old woman, *wagigan* white woman) and *-ba* expresses a *place* (Wakka-Wakka *buranba* *Barambah*, probably from *buran* 'wind'; cf. the common suffix *'-ba(h)'* in a great number of place names in Queensland). There are, however, a different kind of nominal derivative suffixes, namely such as consist of a single consonant (*-ŋ*, *-l*, *-n*, *-p*, *-m*).¹⁹ The exact signification or function of these is however difficult (or rather impossible) to fix, as no difference in meaning whatsoever can be perceived in cases where the simple and derived form are found together (as in the almost universal *bina* or *binaŋ* 'ear').²⁰ For the function of the same elements in the conjugation of the verb, compare below (3.23) in dealing with the morphology of the verb.

3.7 Of special interest are the *sociative* and *caritative* suffixes, which express the ideas of respectively 'having' or 'being provided with' and 'not having' or '(being) without'. Of this kind are the suffixes (SOC) *-bari* or *bai* and (CAR) *-gaŋa* in the Gunggari languages (e.g. Gunggari *gamubari* 'having water' or a *drink*—usually in the sense of *drunk*—and *gamugaŋa* 'without water', etc.).

In a certain way these suffixes are analogous to case suffixes (see 3.14), but the fact that they are declinable according to a nominal paradigm makes it preferable to consider them as nominal derivative suffixes. —For a particular use of the sociative -*ŋa(l)* in Goeng-Goeng, see in the special chapter describing the morphology of this language (18.12).

(b) Verbal derivation

3.8 A clear and consistent system of verbal derivation is found in practically all of the languages studied (that is as far as the informants were able to give anything beyond plain items of vocabulary). The derivation is of various kind, but the most common forms may be referred to as of either *causative*, *associative*, *reflexive* or *reciprocal* derivation. The *causative* verbs (which are most commonly derived by means of one of the suffixes -*ma-* or -*ba-*, sometimes also -*mba-*) express a verbal action (in itself usually neutral or intransitive) as caused by an agent (as in English 'set', = 'make sit', from 'sit', etc.): Wakka-Wakka *garima- put in* (from *gari- enter, go in*); Gunggari *bindama- set or let sit* (from *binda- sit*).

3.9 The *associative* derivation (often by means of -*ri-*, -*ŋi-*, -*ndi-*) serves to denote an action performed in the company of another, so that the same relation arises between the simple and derived verb as between 'to go' and 'to accompany' (= 'to go with') in English, the primitive verb usually being neuter or intransitive. Of this type are: Goreng-Goreng *webendi- bring* (= 'come with'), from *waba- come*, or Wirri *wurbaŋi- bring*, from *wurba- come*.²¹

3.10 The *reflexive* derivation (generally by means of a suffix -*li-* or sometimes -*ri-*, -*ŋi-* or, in the Wakka languages, -*ŋi-*) serves to express a reflexive or intransitive action in general; the simple verb stem is mostly transitive: Wakka-Wakka *gawaŋi- cut oneself*, from *gawa- cut*; Wirri, Birri *naŋali- look at oneself* (as in a mirror), from *naga- see, look at*. In languages which do not have a special reciprocal verb stem (see 3.11) the reflexive form may express a reciprocal action also: Wakka-Wakka *naŋi- look at one another*, from *na- see, look at*.

3.11 *Reciprocal* derivation (as in the English verb 'to fight' in relation to 'to hit'; hence 'to hit one another') occurs (for instance by a suffix -*mia-* or -*mi-* or also by -*ra-*) in some languages studied: Gunggari *ŋalgamia- talk, say*, Wirri, Birri *gundara- fight*, from *gunda- hit*, *nagara- look at one another*, from *naga- see, look at*. In languages which do not have corresponding forms, reciprocal action is expressed by the reflexive forms (see 3.10) and sometimes in other cases also: Bidjara *naŋali- look at oneself or at one another*, from *naga- see, look at*, beside *ŋalgami- talk to one another*, from *ŋalga- talk, say*.

Compound words

3.12 Compound nouns (of the type 'seaman', 'housewife', etc. in English) are normal in all Australian languages and—as also in English—it is often a matter of juxtaposition of two noun stems (cf. English 'country house', 'city water', etc.). In this way we find: Wakka-Wakka *dadu gari limbs or leaves of a tree*, Gunggari *juŋi gamuŋ beef broth (soup)*. Since adjectival word stems are ranged

(from the morphological point of view) along with substantival stems (cf. 3.2), such forms as Nunagal guḡi mulu *red stone* (i.e. the island name 'Coochie-mudlo') are on the same level as those above (guḡi originally means *red clay* or *stuff*, so that the above compound is equivalent to *red-clay-rock*).²² This type of compound is further not morphologically distinguishable from 'red (clay) and rock', since 'and' finds no expression in the native languages—whether or not any kind of semantic distinction would be felt is quite beyond our knowledge so far. Compounds may be inflected either in one or both of the components (in the latter case grammatical agreement is the rule). Of quite a different kind are *reduplicated* forms (e.g. waga-waga, the name of a language); although written here as two words, they form a unit insofar as they are inflected in their last component only.

3.13 Verbal compounds are occasionally found. In Gunggari a few compound verbs occur of the type: ṇalgabinda- *sit talking*, ṇalgadana- *stand talking* (as if *talk-sit*, *talk-stand*); since ṇalga- does not have any independent occurrence (except as a rare variant of the imperative form, which would be out of question here), such compounds must (according to Note 22) be written in one.

Morphology of the nominal stems

3.14 The noun or the nominal word in the languages studied in this survey is declined for case only, but not for number, gender or person.²³ The case forms are usually the following seven: *nominative*, *ergative*, *objective*, *possessive*, *ablative*, *locative* and *allative*; in the pronominal declension an eighth case form may be used, expressing a *dative* relation (Goreng-Goreng ṇaji *to me*, ṇingi *to you*; see 15.16). The case forms are all expressed by means of suffixes.

3.15 The form referred to here as *nominative* is the plain stem of the word without any affix or other modification. It is used when the noun or nominal word is the subject of an intransitive verb or—in some languages—the direct object of a transitive verb. It is also used as a vocative form.²⁴ The *ergative* case form is used in two different ways: (1) as subject of a transitive verb (i.e. one provided with a direct object), chiefly in the case of animate nouns (living beings) and (2) as an expression of the instrument, chiefly in the case of inanimate nouns (or things); both functions may occur together in the same phrase or sentence (as in 'the *man* hit him with a *spear*').²⁵ The *objective* form is used in some languages only (e.g. those of the Wakka group) to express the direct object of a transitive verb (i.e. one having an agent expressed by the ergative form), generally in the case of animate words only.²⁶ The other languages (such as those in the Gunggari group) do not have special objective forms, except in the pronominal declension (see 3.20-22).

3.16 The *possessive* form, that is one expressing the owner (hence mostly of animate nouns) is not common to all the languages studied here. It is found, for instance, in Wakka-Wakka wangeri *of a snake* (wange), *belonging to a snake* (as a 'hole'). More often it is either identical with the ablative form (see 3.17), as in Gunggari maṛiṇu dundu *a man's head* (from maṛi or maṛin *Aboriginal man*), or is expressed by a postposition, as in Wakka-Wakka murun gari *belonging to a man* (from murun *man*). The possessive form is further used to express a

dative relation: Wakka-Wakka *baran mairi wuge giving a boomerang to the white man* (from *mai white man*). For a special dative form, see 3.14). One important characteristic of the possessive form is that it may be provided with another case suffix or a postposition: Wakka-Wakka *wangeripu into a snake's (hole)*.

3.17 The following three case forms (ablative, locative and allative), which may be called local case forms, are all generally found of inanimate nouns. The ablative expresses direction 'away from' and may be rendered by the English prepositions 'from, off', etc. When an ablative relation is expressed of an animate noun in the Wakka languages a postposition is used, e.g. Wakka-Wakka *murun bonu du'r the footprints of a man*.²⁷ The locative expresses locality and therefore renders English constructions with the prepositions 'in, on, at', etc. When a locative relation refers to an animate noun, the Wakka languages mostly use a postposition (*banji, bonji*) to express the idea of *with (in one's place)* rather than 'inside'; in this way another possibility arises of expressing a possessive relation: Wakka-Wakka *murun bonji with the man*, that is *the man's* or *belonging to the man*. Finally, the allative, which expresses the direction 'toward' and thus answers to English constructions with the prepositions 'to' or 'for'. The two relations ('to' and 'for') are expressed in the same way in the Gunggari languages, namely by the allative form: Gunggari *gamugu to or into the water* or *(to go) for water*. In the Wakka languages, however, these ideas are differentiated so that the original allative relation ('toward, to') is expressed by an ablative form, while the purpose of an action ('for') is rendered by the use of a postposition (*gu*).²⁸ Hence, in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng *gunu means into the water*, as well as *out of the water*, while *gun gu means (go) for water* or *a drink*. —For other case forms, such as the 'comitative', 'perlative', see the chapters dealing with the individual languages.

Articles

3.18 For the use of this term, compare Holmer 1971, 4.1-2. The morphological elements referred to here by the term 'article' have nothing in common with either a definite or indefinite article in English or any of the European languages. While they do determine the nominal word to which they belong (being attached to the latter as a suffix and never occurring independently), they do so in quite a different way. In the Aboriginal languages studied in this survey the articles are all indicators of plurality; where there are several different articles in the same language, however, it has not been possible to trace what different shades of meaning they confer, or may at one time have conferred, to the nominal word or whether any clear distinctions have ever been made or the difference in form depends on other factors.²⁹ The articles sometimes appear so closely joined to the nominal stem as to give the impression of a flectional element rather than of an affixed or enclitic word; cf. Wakka-Wakka *murulam some men* (= *murunbom*) and *murun Aboriginal man, men*. In such a case the noun with the incorporated article must naturally be written as a single word and, as a matter of fact, it seems in most cases preferable to represent the various forms of the article as suffixes.³⁰

3.19 As mentioned above (3.14), the nominal words in the languages described here mark no difference of number, that is to say that they can be understood either as singular or plural: Wakka-Wakka murun means both (*Aboriginal*) *man* and (*Aboriginal*) *people*; such forms as murunbam (3.18) consequently do not render 'people' in English, but rather (as suggested by the informants themselves) *mob of people*, the suffix expressing the idea of a 'group'. As a matter of fact, if the difference in meaning can be rendered at all in English, one might say that Wakka-Wakka murun means either *man* or *men*, *people*, *any man* or *men*, *any people*, while murunbam means *the particular group of people* or *some (particular) people*, that is whenever it is indicated that there is or was a group of people present in any particular situation (cf. the use of *mga* (*manga*) in Tagalog). *Looking for wallaby* or *wallabies* would never be rendered by anything but *waja ga.le* in Wakka-Wakka, while, when the animals are actually seen, *those wallaby* or *wallabies* may be referred to by *wajalam*. The rule—although at times perhaps vague—evidently holds for all languages in which article elements of this kind have been noted. The articles, which seem to be used preferably of animate nouns (persons and animals), are inflected according to a nominal paradigm.

The morphology of pronominal stems

3.20 As in other Australian languages studied by the present author, it seems convenient to divide the pronouns into three different categories: *personal*, *demonstrative* and *interrogative*.³¹ The *personal* pronouns are normally used in reference to animate words (living beings or persons) only. The *demonstrative* pronouns are used in reference to persons as well as things, but also to locality (i.e. the place occupied by a person or a thing).³² The *interrogative* pronouns are used of persons or things, either in questions or indefinite statements. The pronouns have a basically nominal declension, but often differ on certain points from the declension pattern of nominal words: the personal pronouns (apart from having certain different case forms) always refer to either one, two or more persons only (cf. English 'I' as against 'we'). The demonstrative pronouns do not usually have ergative or objective forms as they at the same time indicate the 'place' ('this' = 'here', which latter does not indicate or admit of activity). Finally, the interrogative pronoun, referring to indefinite or unknown entities, are consequently indefinite as to number as well (cf. English 'who?', 'what?') and cannot be provided with an article (cf. 3.18-19).

3.21 The personal pronouns often have the same form, whether originally nominative or ergative, to express both functions. In all the languages studied here they have special object forms (usually ending in -na). The possessive form often has an irregular appearance (cf. the possessive pronouns in English) and may—as occasionally the possessive form of the nouns—be provided with still another case suffix. A special dative form is sometimes found (as in Goreng-Goreng; cf. 15.15). As used in reference to persons some of the local forms (see 3.17) acquire special shades of meaning: the ablative means 'off', the locative 'with' and the allative 'for'.³³ The demonstrative pronouns, which also refer to the 'place', are more typically declined in the local case forms, which then often may correspond to English adverbs ('here, hither, hence', etc.).

The morphology of the verb stems

3.22 The verb stems in the majority of the languages studied here are inflected according to mode or aspect only. This means that neither 'time' nor 'person' is expressed by dependent morphological elements.³⁴ In most of the languages analysed we find four fundamental aspect or modal forms, which may be referred to as: (1) imperative; (2) imperfective; (3) perfective; and (4) intentional (for further details, see 3.24). Except for the imperative (which is mostly identical with the verb stem (cf. 3.24), the different flection (or conjugation) forms are mostly made up from the verbal stem plus (1) a (probably) original 'nominalising' suffix (-ŋ, -l, *-j, -n, -m, etc.; see 3.6), as a rule followed by an original case suffix (a locative -a or -i), or an equivalent local element -ba-, as in Wirri and Birri, an allative—or postposition—gu, -u, etc), so that—according to this analysis—such a Wakka-Wakka form as *paŋi saw* would be analysed as: '*in* (-i) *see-* (pa-) *-ing* (-ŋ-)' or a Gunggari form *nagala* (idem) as '*in* (-a) *see-* (naga-) *-ing* (-l-)',³⁵ an intentional (Gunggari) *nagalgu to see* would be made up of the following elements: *naga-* (verbal stem), *-l-* (nominaliser) and *-gu* (allative suffix), while the Wakka-Wakka *pau* or the Wuli-Wuli *pawa to see* would be analysed as: *pa-* (verbal stem) and *-u* or *-wa* (allative suffix)—in this case without the nominalising element.³⁶

3.23 Regarding the use and function of the particular modal forms, the following may be said. The imperative (usually the plain verb stem, as in Wakka-Wakka *pa*, Bidjara *naga see, look*) expresses an English imperative, but also a kind of hortative (*let me or us see or look*).³⁷ The imperfective forms, although often rendered by English present forms by the Aborigines when being explained, have nothing to do with the 'present time', neither have the perfective forms—although often translated by English preterit forms—anything to do with 'past time'. Such a Gunggari form as *wulana* (imperfective) means *is* or *was dying*, while *wulala* (perfective) means *is* or *was dead*; similarly Barunggam *baŋi* (perfective) means *standing* (or *having got up*).³⁸ The intentional mode is used either to express the purpose of an action or else an intention, wish or necessity; such forms as Wakka-Wakka *ŋe jangu* or Gunggari *ŋaja mandalgu* (more or less *I must or want to go*) are to be properly analysed as *I (am) for* (-gu) *going* (ja-n-, manda-l-; cf. 3.24). The same forms are, of course, used to express 'in order to': Wakka-Wakka *bala maŋgu* means (*going*) *to get or catch jewfish*.³⁹ In several languages the intentional mode forms are also used (generally with an introductory interrogative-indefinite relation word, 'where') to express a temporal or conditional subordinate clause (cf. 7.35).

3.24 In some languages (for instance those of the Gunggari group) a special kind of adverbial form of the verb is found, which might be called the *accidental* form.⁴⁰ This form serves many purposes, but is especially used to express an English either temporal or conditional subordinate clause (introduced by respectively 'when', 'as' or 'if'). In Gunggari such forms are evidently made up from a nominalising element -j- plus a locative -a, as in: *jinda gura mandanaja when you come back* (based on the imperfective stem form *mandana going, coming*), Birri *ŋaja waburu wunalbalaja when I was little*, to be analysed as: *wuna-* (*live*), *-l-* (nominalising -ing), *-ba-* (equivalent to a locative suffix, the *place*—or in this case rather the *time*—of, followed by the imperfective -la- (introduced somewhat out of place) and the reduced form of the personal pronoun (ŋa)ja *I*. —Hence (*at*) *the time-of liv-ing I* (not considering the exact function of the perfective -la-, which possibly expresses *action completed in the past*).

ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Languages

4.1 The following abbreviations of language names are used in Part I:

Bar	Barunggam	Kab	Kabi-Kabi
Bat	Batjala	Wak	Wakka-Wakka
Goe	Goeng-Goeng	Wul	Wuli-Wuli
Gor	Goreng-Goreng		

(b) Morphological terms

4.2 The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used in Part I:

ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	OBJ	objective
ASS	associative	PART	particle
CAR	caritative	PERS	person or personal
CAUS	causative	PF	perfective
COM	comitative	PL	plural
CONN	connective	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	POST	postposition
DEM	demonstrative	PRON	pronoun
DER	derivative	REC	reciprocal
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
IMP	imperative	REL	relation word
INT	intentional	SFX	suffix
INTERR	interrogative	SG	singular
IPF	imperfective	SOC	sociative
ITR	intransitive	TR	transitive
LOC	locative	V	verb or verbal
N	noun or nominal		

(c) Informants

4.3 Reference to informants is made by the above abbreviation of language names, followed by the initials of the person who by speaking or knowing it represents that language, e.g. Wak WC, the Wakka-Wakka informant Mrs. Winnie Cobbo—for the names of and data about the various speakers or informants, see under the respective languages in the subsequent phonological and morphological analysis.⁴¹ Since a few of our informants have a knowledge of more than one Aboriginal language, morphological and lexical items obtained from persons not in the corresponding list of informants are marked by the language signature followed by a colon before the signature of the respective informant (e.g. Wak:Gor RD = a Wakka-Wakka form supplied by Gor RD).

WAKKA-WAKKA

Introductory remarks

5.1 Wakka-Wakka is by far the most important member not only of the western subgroup of the Wakka languages, but also of the entire group. It will hence be chosen as the basic object of analysis in describing the phonology and morphology of the western Wakka languages. To avoid useless repetition, its vocabulary will be presented in conjunction with those of the other two members of the subgroup, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli, to form an incorporation of all the material collected from the western Wakka languages and to be placed after the chapters on Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli.

List of informants

5.2 Reference to informants for Wakka-Wakka is made by the following abbreviations, being the initials of the persons preceded by the letters *Wak* (for Wakka-Wakka). In the case of more than one informant having supplied a certain linguistic form, the language name is not repeated (e.g. *Wak JW*, *WC*, etc.). The brief data gathered about the people listed below may be of interest. For Wakka-Wakka (A) and (B), see Note 5.

- Wak AB*: Mr. Arthur ('Jock') Bootha, at Moura.
- Wak BC*: Mrs. Beatrice Conlan, at Gympie.
- Wak CF*: Mrs. Celia Fogarty, living near Kingaroy.
- Wak DK*: Mr. Douglas Kina, brother of *Wak NK*
- Wak DL*: Mr. Danny Law, at Mundubbera; his mother was Wakka-Wakka.
- Wak DW*: Mrs. Daisy West, from the Burnett and Barambah creek district, first met at Cherbourg in 1964.
- Wak GC*: Mr. Geoffrey (Jeoffrey) Coochie, at Eidsvold; his mother was a Wakka-Wakka from Gayndah (his father was white).
- Wak JC*: Mrs. Janet Collins (about 60), at Eidsvold, born on Coonambula station; her father (Crabbie Chapman) was from Mount Perry, her mother from Hawkwood.
- Wak JD*: Mr. Jimmy Daylight (70), at Biloela; both father and mother were Wakka-Wakka.
- Wak JW*: Mr. Joe Weasel, a good Wakka-Wakka informant, whose people were from the Gayndah district; Mr. Weasel, who has since died, was first met in 1964, at Cherbourg.
- Wak LH*: Mrs. Louise Hornett (between 70 and 80), at Gayndah; at least her mother was a Wakka-Wakka (probably Wakka-Wakka (B)).
- Wak LM*: Mrs. Lily Hill (née Mimi) born at Gayndah and sister of *Wak TM* (see below); her language seems to be Wakka-Wakka (B).
- Wak NF*: Mrs. Nita Fewings, at Bouldercombe (south of Rockhampton), born at Taroombah or Hawkwood; her mother and mother's father were Wakka-Wakka while her father was Irish.
- Wak NK*: Mr. Nat Kina (about 40), from the Glasshouse area; his father was said to be Wakka-Wakka, but his mother was probably Kabi-Kabi (?); he was met at Murgon.
- Wak NS*: Mr. Nelson Saltner, near Kingaroy (later at Miles), born on Hawkwood station.
- Wak PB*: Mr. Percy Bond (64), at Cherbourg, born on the Barambah Mission (Cherbourg).
- Wak RS*: Mrs. Rachel Saltner (née Dodd), at Cherbourg; her father was Wakka-Wakka and her mother Goreng-Goreng (Mrs. Saltner, who was first met in 1964, said she was *baraŋ* (see 12), like her mother).

- Wak SH:** Mr. Steve Hart, at Cherbourg, born (in 1911) on Hawkwood station; his father was a Wakka-Wakka from the neighbourhood of Gayndah and Eidsvold, while his mother was a Gangulu from Duaringa.
- Wak TM:** Mr. Ted Mimi, at Gayndah, born (in 1908) on Hawkwood station; his father (Harry Mimi) was a Wakka-Wakka from Gayndah and his mother a Goreng-Goreng from Mount Perry (his and his father's language is Wakka-Wakka (B)).
- Wak VL:** Mr. Vincent Law, at Cherbourg, born (in 1897) at Cooyar.
- Wak WC:** Mrs. Winnie Cobbo (82), at Gooroolba, born at Gayndah (or Ban Ban Springs); her father (John Bolong) was a Wakka-Wakka.

Phonology

Evolution of the vowel system

6.1 The main principles in the evolution of the Wakka-Wakka phonetic system – as well as that of the Wakka languages in general and those of the western branch in particular – regard the vocalism and more precisely the history of the vowel sounds *e* (*e*·) and *o* (*o*·), which must be considered as independent phonemes in most of the Wakka languages.⁴² The evolution of these new phonemes may be observed at different levels, namely: (1) as contraction products of original diphthongal sounds; (2) as arising through a process of assimilation (or 'vowel harmony'); (3) as due to 'vowel leveling' (see 6.6); and finally (4) due to analogy. These different levels will be shown and illustrated in the following sections (a), (b), (c) and (d).

(a) Primary origin of *e* and *o*

6.2 The vowels *e* (*e*·) and *o* (*o*·) seem originally to have arisen as products of a contraction of diphthongal groups of sounds, in the first place **aj* and **aw*. As the latter combinations seem perfectly identical with corresponding diphthong sounds in English (as in 'high', 'how', etc.), usually understood to be a combination of *a* and *i*, *u* (*ai*, *au*),⁴³ the latter symbols will be used instead of **aj*, **aw*. Counting on the primitive nature of these, it may be safely laid down that original sequences **aj*, **aw* have in all positions been reduced to respectively *e*· and *o*· (*-e*, *-o*, in words of more than one syllable; cf. 2.4) in the western branch of the Wakka languages, while they turn into *ai* and **au* in the eastern branch (of **au* there are hardly examples).⁴⁴ The diphthongs *ai* and *au*, which however do occur in Wakka-Wakka (and the languages of the western branch), for instance in Wakka-Wakka *mai white man*, *bai came*, *has come*, *jangai has made*, *mau head*, etc., must therefore be assumed to have a different origin (see 6.3-4).

6.3 In comparing the languages of the eastern and western branches, one will find that Goreng-Goreng and Batjala, for instance, show the diphthong *ai* where Wakka-Wakka has *e*· (or *-e*): Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng and Batjala *wangai snake* corresponds to Wakka-Wakka *wange*, (from a primitive **wangaj*), Goreng-Goreng and Batjala *ganai spear*, to Wakka-Wakka (A) *gane*, (B) and Wuli-Wuli *gene*, Batjala *ṇandaiga freshwater mullet*, to Wakka-Wakka (B) *ṇende mullet* and similarly Wakka-Wakka *jange makes*, *making* corresponds in its termination to Batjala and Kabi-Kabi verb forms of the type *ṇinai sits*, *sitting*, *junmai going to sleep* (representing an original **-aj*). Since *jangai* is the perfective form corresponding to the imperfective *jange* in Wakka-Wakka, it is natural to assume that the former termination (*-ai*) represents an original **-aj-* plus a perfective **-i* (hence **-aji*), by analogy with Batjala perfective *ṇinami (sat, has sat)*,

from imperfective *ɲinam* (*sits, sitting*), *ɲamɲani* (*saw*), from imperfective *ɲamɲan* (*can see*) or the Goreng-Goreng perfective -*min* alternating with an imperfective -(*gi*)*m*; the Batjala perfective forms in -*aji* (see 25.13) seem to answer directly to the Wakka-Wakka forms in -*ai*.⁴⁵

6.4 According to the analysis in 6.3, the Wakka-Wakka (A) diphthong *ai* would represent an evolution of a primitive **aji*, which remains as such in Wuli-Wuli and Wakka-Wakka (B), as in *maji white man* (= *mai*), *daji stone* (= *dai*), *waji climbed* (= *wai*; all from Wak TM), and by analogy Wakka-Wakka (A) *au* would represent an original **awu*, which still occurs in Wakka-Wakka (B), as in *mawu head* (= *mau*).

(b) e, o arisen through assimilation

6.5 In most of the languages in the Wakka group (and in some others; cf. Note 42) a marked tendency may be noted in words having more than one syllable to repeat an *e* or *o* in two or more syllables: Wakka-Wakka *gende yamstick*, *gembe-play*, *gengenge calling*, *moro- light (a fire)*, *moron home*, *ɲomgori your(s)* (dual), *jomgori their(s)* (dual), Barunggam *wenge* (cf. 6.3), Goreng-Goreng *nemen saw*, Goeng-Goeng *begege fight* (also compare Nunagal *dege white man*, as against Manandjali *dagai*, *idem*). As most of the examples show, it is a question of an original **a* becoming assimilated to *e* or *o* (while original **i* and **u* are usually intact); compare the above: Wakka-Wakka *wenge* and Barunggam *wenge*, Wakka-Wakka *moro-* and Wuli-Wuli, *Dunggija marwa-* (same meaning), Wakka-Wakka *ɲomgori*, *jomgori* and *ɲingari (your)*; Goreng-Goreng *nemen* and *pagim (sees; from the stem pa-)*, etc. On the other hand, Wakka-Wakka *ɲinenge sits, sitting* keeps its -*i-* in the first syllable (while the original *-*a-* of the second syllable is changed into -*e-*, the basic form evidently being something like **ɲinangaj*). The vowel assimilation (or 'vowel harmony') described above is however, to be characterised as a 'tendency' rather than a 'phonetic law',⁴⁶ of which the above Wakka-Wakka *wenge* (in comparison to Barunggam *wenge*) is sufficient proof; likewise the normal form in Wakka-Wakka is *janande (going; cf. the imperative jana go and the stem jana-)*, although the alternative form *jerenge* occurs (Wak VL; both forms from original **janangaj*).

(c) Vowel levelling

6.6 For this term, cf. Holmer 1960, pp. 14-23. Vowel levelling occurs still more sporadically, being reduced to cases in which the vowels are different (but on the same 'level'), according to the pattern *o-e*, which may represent original *u-e*, as in the language names Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng (for *guren*, from original **guriŋ* and **gueŋ*, **gu(w)ŋ*, respectively).⁴⁷ A Wakka-Wakka instance of this is the fairly common *gagore child*, beside more original *gagure*.

6.7 A vowel levelling of a different kind arises as a sort of compromise between an *a* and an *i* or an *a* and an *u* in the same word, the result being that both vowels turn into respectively *e* or *o*. This seems to have happened in Wakka-Wakka (B) *pogoriŋ son* (Wak TM), corresponding to Wakka-Wakka (A) *ɲugareŋ* (Wak JC). An interesting case is found in the correspondence of Wakka-Wakka (A) *ɲail eaglehawk* (Wak SH, JC) and Wakka-Wakka (B) *ɲewel* (*id.*; Wak TM), which would according to the above pattern be from an original **ɲawil* (cf. 6.13).⁴⁸

(d) Analogous e and o

6.8 From forms such as the above Wakka-Wakka *ɲinenge* (see 6.5), of which the original stem is evidently **ɲina-*, an imperative *ɲine* is formed instead of the regular **ɲina* (cf. Goreng-Goreng *ɲina sit*) and similarly from the imperfective *junenge* (*lying down*; <**junangaj*) the analogically formed imperative *june* occurs instead of a regular **juna* (cf. Goreng-Goreng *juna*, *idem*).

6.9 In Wakka-Wakka the vowels e and o may arise by contraction of original *ia* (*ija*, *ja*) and *ua* (*uwa*, *wa*), which currently—especially in rapid pronunciation—tend to become respectively *e* and *o* (incidentally, in certain contexts they may be still further reduced to *e* and *o*). Such contracted forms may assume the value of phonemes. Examples of this are numerous; the following only may suffice: Wakka-Wakka *me eye* (very seldom *mia*, Wak BC; cf. Wuli-Wuli *mial*, *idem*), *moro- light a fire* (cf. Wuli-Wuli, *Dunggija marwa-*, *idem*), *ɲe (ɲe) I* (sometimes *ɲia*, as regularly in Wuli-Wuli), ⁴⁹ *jo (jo) he, she* (sometimes *jua*), *jo.ɲa (joɲa) him, her* (also *juɲa*), *guroi hungry* (beside *gurwai*), *gorop* (section name; beside *garwan*), etc.⁵⁰ It ought to be mentioned, however, that there are words and forms in which the contraction was never noted: *bia- throw*, *dia bone*, *dian tooth*, *ɲua egg*, *ɲual tears*, *ɲuar face*, which latter three are however respectively *de.ɲ*, *ɲo.l* and *ɲo.r* in Wakka-Wakka (B). For this and other reasons *e*, *o*, arisen from *ia*, *ua*, have the value of phonemes in the same way as *e* arisen from **aj* (see 6.5), although this does not hold for the common intermediate forms (*ie*, *uo*), which therefore are represented here by respectively *ia* and *ua*.

6.10 As was mentioned in an earlier context (2.6), the vowel *a* tends toward *e* in contact with a palatalised sound. Although this is to be viewed as a mere allophonic variation, the *e* sound arisen in this way occasionally obtains phoneme character, as in the case of *wepe* used by a couple of Wakka-Wakka informants (Wak BC, NF) for original *wanga*, *wapa* (the latter in rapid contexts) *where, when, if*, as the final *-e* evidently has become firmly enough established to effect the assimilation of the vowel in the first syllable. Conversely, the labialising influence of the initial *w-* has had the opposite effect in changing the first vowel (*a*) into a vowel like *o* (cf. 2.6), which has further proceeded to *u*, as in (*w*)*upa* (same meaning); since *o* (or the *o*-like sound), but not in the same sense *u*, may be considered a phonetic variant, one actually has to assume that forms such as *wunga*, *wupa*, although typical of the rapid pronunciation, are phonetically different words. For an analogous passing of *u* to *i* in similar conditions, compare 10.5.

6.11 Other irregular cases of labialisation of *a* are found in contact with the labial consonants *m* and *b*, in such words as *mon*, *mona*, *mono* (the last one by assimilation; cf. 6.5) for *man*, *mana that, there, then*, as heard by some Wakka-Wakka speakers. More common still are the postpositional forms *boɲu* and *boɲi*, the ablative and locative forms of a stem **ba-*, expressing both locality and ownership or association (*belonging to, of, off, from*, etc), of which the original forms must be supposed to have been *banu* (also occurring in Wakka-Wakka)⁵¹ and **baɲi*. The locative form *boɲi* (*at, near, with*, etc.; cf. Goreng-Goreng *-baɲi from*) consequently differs in sound from Wakka-Wakka *bo.ɲi dead* (from *buanji*).

6.12 The long vowel *a*· also is most probably a contraction product, arising from such combinations as **aja*, **awa*, **awu*, **awi*; compare Wakka-Wakka *ba·n comes, coming* and Wuli-Wuli *baje* (< **bajaj*), of the same meaning (and different from Wakka-Wakka *ban grass*), Wakka-Wakka *ga· cut* (imperative), beside *gawa* (idem),⁵² Wakka-Wakka *ga·n elder sister*, beside *gawin* (idem), or Wakka-Wakka *ga·ri- or gawuri- urinate*, from *gawur urine* (cf. Barunggam and Batjala *gawur*, idem); the latter word hence differs from Wakka-Wakka *gari leaf*. The evolution of **awu* is, however, different in Wakka-Wakka *go·n (gon) want*, to which corresponds Barunggam *gaup*, Wuli-Wuli *ga·n, gap* (idem).

6.13 In Wakka-Wakka (B) (cf. Note 5), the sequence *awi* often occurs for *ai* in Wakka-Wakka (A): *mawi* (= *mai white man*), *dawi* or *daji* (= *dai stone*), *gawir* or *gajir* (= *gair not yet*; Wak TM). Otherwise, *awi* corresponds to *a*· in Wakka-Wakka (A), according to the evolution mentioned above (6.12): Wakka-Wakka (B) *bawi-* (= Wakka-Wakka (A) *ba·- get up, stand*), *bawinge* (= *ba·nge, also be·nge, standing*). In a somewhat similar way Wakka-Wakka (B) *iwi* corresponds to Wakka-Wakka (A) *i·*, as in *diwiŋ* (B), *di·ŋ* (A) *a fly*, and a *-w-* is probably also lost in the intentional forms *maria, wulia to burn, swim*, from **mariwa, *wuliwa* (see 7.29).

6.14 As final vowels in monosyllabic words are never pronounced short (a short vowel in such words would indicate a particle or analogous morphological element), such vowels must be considered as distinctively long. When occurring in noun or verb stems (e.g. *ga· earth, pa·- see*) they tend to remain long in inflected or derived forms as well, as in Wakka-Wakka *ga· gu to the earth* (cf. *gagu always*), *mu·ŋa full*, from *mu· belly*, *pa·ŋi saw*, from *pa· see* (imperative).⁵³ Even in cases where the vowel length is not distinctive (as in *gu·ŋ beside gun water*; cf. 2.4) inflected forms may keep the long vowel under the influence of the shorter stem forms: *gu·ŋi in the water, gu·ŋu into or out of the water* (besides *guni, gunu*). In the same way, as any word-final vowel may occur lengthened (cf. 2.4), such forms are frequent in Wakka-Wakka as *wange·rip belonging to or of the snake* (from *wange· = wange*).⁵⁴

6.15 Lengthening and widening of *i* and *u* in closed syllables (*ŋen* or *ŋe·n* for normal *ŋin you*, etc.) is sporadic and definitely non-distinctive in Wakka-Wakka: *mem fat* (cf. the ergative *mimbu* and Kabi-Kabi *mim fat*); it is particularly common before *-r*: *bajer mountain* (along with *bajir, bair*), *gunder* (beside *gundir*) *clever (man)* (Wak JC), *gide(·)r clothes* (Wak WC). In other positions (including word-final) the mentioned widening of *i* is much more common in the areas bordering on the original Wuli-Wuli country (see 10.7); people at Eidsvold will say: *jine* for *jini (was, etc.; Wak JC)*, *pa·ŋe* for *pa·ŋi (saw; Wak JC)* and also in Wakka-Wakka (B): *jige* (or even *jege*) for *jigi (the same; Wak TM)*.

6.16 Since no word is found to begin with a vowel in the Wakka languages (neither, as it seems, in any of the languages investigated in the present survey), it is reasonable to assume that syllables originally begin with a consonant, that is to say that there are no original cases of hiatus or diphthongs in these languages. It is, on the other hand, possible that a hiatus (and further in consequence of this a diphthong) may have arisen by some kind of analogy in inflected forms, namely if a stem ends in a vowel and a following suffix for some reason appears as a vocalic element or one beginning with a vowel.⁵⁵ This appears to have happened when the suffix *-gu* (*to, for*, as in *jangu to go, ma·ngu to get*) in most Wakka-Wakka verb forms

appears as -u (e.g. *pau to see*, from the stem *pa-*), that is the -u of for instance *gunu (in)to the water* (*gun*).⁵⁶ Except for cases such as this (in which the arising hiatus has a secondary origin) and in view of what has been stated above as to the fundamental syllabic structure of these languages, it would be perfectly logical to assume that diphthongs are everywhere a later product and that forms of the type *mawu* (beside *mau head*), *bajir* (beside *bair mountain*), *nuwa* (beside *nua egg*), *buji* (beside *bui carpetsnake*), *mujim* (beside *muim tomahawk*), *bijon* (beside *bion dream*), *gujiŋ* (beside *guŋ red*), etc., are primitive in relation to the parallel diphthongal forms. The matter is, however, not quite simple. No form **pawu* (although possibly existing as a variant) was found from which *pau* (see above) might have resulted (on the other hand, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli have *pawa* in the same sense) and of the forms *biju* and *biu (to carry off)*, the latter is of course the primitive (or 'etymological') one (cf. above). In short, one is never in a position to determine with certainty whether the -j- and -w- are to be understood as primitive and functional or merely as intercalated 'glides', arisen in hiatus. This seems the case in the above *biju* (for *bi-u*) and it is definitely the case in *gijur* (Wul LW) beside *giur* and *giwur sickness* (Wak TM, SH), but possibly not in the ergative form *bariju* (= *barilu*, from *bari child*). However, as long as the question cannot be settled definitely, it seems safer to represent such forms as those above either with or without the -j- or -w- according to the frequency with which the one or the other kind of pronunciation has been noted.

6.17 All native words in Wakka-Wakka begin with a consonant and adopted English words only may begin with a vowel (e.g. *aibol gu to Eidsvold*). Usually such words prefix the ŋ sound to any initial vowel in the Aboriginal languages studied by the author (e.g. *Goeng-Goeng ŋarip orange*, *Thangatti (N.S.W.) ŋapal apple*; no instance was recorded for Wakka-Wakka). As, however, nothing indicates that the Australian languages did not originally permit initial vowel phonemes, one might surmise, for instance, that the Wakka-Wakka second person singular personal pronoun *ŋin (you)* represents an original **in* (since ŋ- is usually the exponent of the first person in the Australian languages), which also would be the original stem of the same pronoun in the Gunggari languages (*jinda*), where j- for similar reasons might have evolved.⁵⁷

Evolution of the consonant system

6.18 The consonantal inventory of Wakka-Wakka (and the Wakka languages in general) comprises: (bilabial) *b, m*; (palatalised dental) *g, ɲ*; (dental or alveolar) *d, n*; (palatal or velar) *g, ŋ*; further the continuants *l* and *r* and the semivowels *j* and *w* (for details as to their phonetic values, etc., see 2.7-8). A Wakka-Wakka word or syllable can begin with any of these consonant sounds, except *l* and *r*, but can end only in a vowel or nasal (-*m, -n, -ɲ, -ŋ*).⁵⁸ The acceptance of diphthongal values of some combinations (*ai, ia, au, ua*) allows us to exclude any vowel-initial syllables from the system. Neither initial nor final consonant clusters normally occur, but between vowels clusters of any two consonants are theoretically possible, as long as the first element is one of the syllable-ending consonants (see above) and the second element one of the possible word- or syllable-initial consonant sounds (cf. above). Many clusters thus arise which seem difficult to pronounce from the English point of view (e.g. -*ŋɲ-, -mŋ-*, as in *gamŋa- break*, *jamŋa- quarrel*, *nimŋa- pinch*; Wak TM).⁵⁹ The combination -*ng-* (which in these languages is clearly distinct from -*ŋg-*) is—unlike the case in English—quite common. Nevertheless, cases are

found in which this combination (-ng-) has been assimilated either to -ng- or to -nd-, that is to a homorganic cluster, as in *banga-* for *banga-* *fear* or in the common verb form *janande* *going*, which apparently is to the imperative *jana* (*go*) as is *ninenge* *sitting* to the imperative *nine* (*sit*) or *junenge* *lying down* to *june* (*lie down*);⁶⁰ the forms *ninende* (*sitting*) and *junende* (*lying*) also occur (Wak WC, TM), as well as *ma'nde* beside *ma'nge* *holding*. The forms *gindu* for *gin gu* (*to, for a woman*), *jaramandu* for *jaraman gu* (*want*) *a horse*), *mawilambu* for *mawilam gu* (*for the white people*) are examples of analogous assimilation products in Wakka-Wakka (B) — all examples from Wak TM.

6.19 An important phonetic peculiarity has to be mentioned in dealing with the consonant system, namely the passing of various single intervocalic consonant sounds (most often an -n-) into -r-.⁶¹ The following are examples from Wakka-Wakka: *jarange*, *jerenge* for common *janande* (probably from **janange*, **jenenge*; cf. Note 60), *garan* (*geran*) for *garan sun*, *ba'ringe* for *ba'ninge* *standing*, etc. That it is actually a matter of variants of the same word becomes evident when a good informant (Wak JW) was asked (in 1964) to say *to go home* in Wakka-Wakka repeating the word three times, which he did as: *jarangu*, *janangu*, *janangu*, (that is, the latter two as corrections of the first one). Instances of this passing into -r- were found in practically all of the languages studied in south-eastern Queensland.

6.20 As in most languages studied in this survey a certain tendency exists to simplify the sequence -nd- to -n- and -ng- to -n- in the current pronunciation. One of the most common instances of this is found in the interrogative *wanga* (*which?*), which is frequently reduced to *wapa* (*wuna*, *wene*; cf. 6.10).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

7.1 *Structure.* For the structure of the morphological units see in the chapter of General Morphology and Morphological Categories (3.4). Apart from the fact that verbal stems more regularly end in a vowel (mostly -a- or -e- — the latter arisen from -a- according to 6.5 — sometimes -i-) there is no structural difference perceptible between nominal and verbal stems and it may happen that semantically related noun and verb stems are identical, being distinguished in the inflection only: compare Wakka-Wakka *ganga* *noise* and *ganga-* *call, shout*, *ga'ri* *urine* and *ga'ri-* *urinate*.⁶² The 'nominalising' suffixes mentioned in 3.6 (with the Note 19), of which the original function is unknown, therefore do not properly serve to change a verbal stem into a noun stem, which also appears from such cases *bina~binaŋ* *ear*, *gina~ginaŋ* *foot*, in many Australian languages, or in Wakka-Wakka *gunan* and Barunggam *guna* (*faeces*). As these suffixes occur in the verbal system as well, one might suspect that they are originally exponents of different 'aspect' (whether in the nominal or the verbal system; cf. 3.23).

7.2 *Compounds.* Nominal stems are freely joined to form compounds according to the principles mentioned in 3.12 (the stems — insofar as they may exist as independent forms — are written apart here): Wakka-Wakka *dadu gari* *leaves or branches of a tree*, *ginaŋ du'r* *footprint*, *ŋia diaŋ gangur* *I have a toothache*, *du' gangur* *heartache*. Constructions of this kind may sometimes be interpreted

as having attributive character, as in: *gior gan male rainbow*, *gior gin female rainbow* (rather than *rainbow man*, *woman* respectively). Copulative compounds occur: *gam bulor meat and bread* (Wak TM), but unlike the Indian dvandva compounds they are not distinguished (except semantically) from other nominal compounds, as duality is not formally indicated in Wakka-Wakka. Of more importance is the potential predicative analysis of many nominal compounds: *nja dandar gangur*, for instance, rather corresponds to English *I have a sore chest* than to *I am chest-sore*. Formally none of these types of compounds (from the English point of view) are really differentiated in the same way in Wakka-Wakka; notice that *murun ginaŋ a man's footprint*, as occurring in the construction *muruna ginaŋ paŋi saw a man's footprint* is quite analogous to any 'attributive' construction in which one member only is inflected (cf. 7.34).

7.3 *Derivation.* The principles of nominal derivation have been explained in 3.6-7. The suffix *-gan* (cf. 3.6), marking females, is common in designations of social sections: *barangan woman of the baran section*. In some cases it is questionable whether a certain morpheme should be understood as a derivative or a case suffix. This may be said of the local suffix *-ba* (common and typical in modern Queensland place names), which rather fills both functions.⁶³ Usually it marks the locative and allative case of a common noun as indication of a place, as in: *janande dulaŋba going to Jimmy's scrub*, *janande gurulba going to Gooroolba*, in which *-ba* evidently is best rendered by *to* or *at the place of*.⁶⁴ On the other hand, an allative form of the same suffix (*-bau*) is occasionally found: *gurulbau janande* (idem; Wak WC), in which the allative suffix (*-u*) is further the same as the one used in verb forms to express the intentional mode (see 7.29), as in *bau to come*.⁶⁵

7.4 The same points of view may hold for the common sociative suffix *-ŋa* (usually corresponding to English *having* or *provided with*), which typically forms nouns or nominal words (cf. *giraŋa porcupine* and *gira prickles*). In some constructions, however, such an analysis is not appropriate either semantically or syntactically: *memeŋa (came) with (his) mother*, for instance, if analysed according to the sociative sense would mean *one having a mother (came)*, which implies one person, whereas analysed according to the proper sense here two persons are involved. In the latter case it is more suitable to speak of *memeŋa* as a comitative case form. (This, of course, does not mean that there are never cases in which the meaning might be ambiguous.)

7.5 Regarding verbal derivation in Wakka-Wakka, compare the 3.8-10. Wakka-Wakka has the following three kinds of verbal derivative suffixes: (1) causative; (2) associative (often with a causative function); and (3) reflexive (sometimes with a reciprocal function). Of causative suffixes *-ma-* (*-me-*) is the most typical one, as in *garima- put in, enter*, from *gari- enter* (ITR), *guarima- turn round* (TR), from *guari-*, idem (ITR), or *wulima- wash*, from *wuli swim*). The suffix *-ba-* (*-be-*),⁶⁶ as in: *gujumba- light a fire*, *gumbe- smoke*, *gurunba- make a noise*, *murba- smell*, is more often added to word stems having a nominal character (cf. *gujum fire*, *gum smoke*, *gurun noise*, *mur smell*) and a further derivation in *-bama-* (as in *gumbama- smoke*, *gurunbama- make a noise*) also occurs.⁶⁷

7.6 The clearest associative suffix is the syllable *-ri-* found in two Wakka-Wakka verbs: *ba·ri-* *bring* (from *ba·-* *come*) and *bi·ri-* *take* (from *bi·-*, which in Wakka-Wakka in itself means *take*, while Goreng-Goreng has an intransitive *bi-* *go*). The suffix *-ndi-* (as in *ṇinendi-* *set down* from *ṇine-* *sit down*) has a causative meaning, while the associative function is perceived in the formally identical Goreng-Goreng *ṇinendi-* *sit with (someone)*.⁶⁸ In the verb *guarendima-* *turn round* (TR) the causative *-ma-* is added (cf. *guarima-*; 7.5). Alternating with *-ri-* are found the variants *-ra-*, *-na-* and *-la-* (*-le-*): *bi·ra-*, *bi·na-*, *bi·la-* *take away*, *ja·le-* *talk (speak with)*, *gaila-* (*ga·la-*) *look for* (cf. *gaji-*, *idem*). Otherwise *-ri-* has a reflexive sense in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.7).

7.7 The most common reflexive suffix is *-ṇi-*, as in *gawaṇi-* *cut oneself*, from *gawa-* *cut*, *ṇoṇi-* *burn oneself*, from *qua-* *burn*, or (in the reciprocal sense) *paṇi-* *look at one another*, from *pa·-* *see, look at*, *ja·ṇi-* *talk to one another*, from *ja·-* *tell, talk*.⁶⁹ As mentioned in 7.6, the suffix *-ri-* is reflexive in some verbs: *guari-* *turn (oneself) round* (cf. the transitive *guema-* *turn round*, *me·ri-* *run* (cf. the transitive *mia-* *chase*), which latter (*me·ri-*) appears augmented by *-ṇi-* in *miarṇi-* (*idem*). The formative *-ji-* has a reflexive (or reciprocal or general intransitive) sense in: *wundaji-* *cover oneself* (cf. *wunda-* *cover*), *moroji* *burn* (ITR; cf. *moro-* *kindle*), *boroji-* *fight* (reciprocal; cf. *boro-* *fight*, TR), *guroji-* *get hungry* (cf. *guroi*, *gurwai* *hungry*, which however seems to be the same word as the verbal stem; in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng the corresponding word, *gugali* *hungry*, contains the reflexive *-li-*; see 15.7).

7.8 Some derivative suffixes are difficult to classify as to function, as the number of verbs in which they may be supposed to occur is too limited. Several verbs in *-ga-* (*-ge-*) have an intransitive character: *bege-* *come* (Wak JW; a Wakka-Wakka word? cf. Wakka-Wakka *ba·-* and Batjala *baga-* *come*), *dunga-* *cry*, *banga-* *be frightened*, *gunge-* *flood*, but analogous simple verbs have generally not been found (also cf. *bumga-* *fight*, mentioned in Note 69). It may also be remembered that *-ba-* (*-be-*) is not always causative, nor even transitive (as in *bilbe-* *be cold*).

7.9 A certain group of suffixes is used especially to make native verb stems of English root words: '*wash*', '*chop*', '*drive (a car)*', usually in the Pidgin stereotypes ('*washim*', '*choppim*' '*drivim*', etc.) and more or less adapted to Wakka-Wakka phonetics (*wagiṁ*, *gabim*, etc.). The suffixes in question are: *-ge-* (the most common one; cf. the verb stem *ge·-* *go*), *-je-* (cf. the verb stem *jia-* *become*), *-ge-*: *wagiṁge-* *wash*, *laitiṁge-* or *laitiṁje-* *light a fire*, *ṇagu gujum* *laitiṁge* or *-je* *let me light a fire*; Wak LH), *driviṁge-* (*ṇomgan(du)* *driviṁgeṁge* (*my*) *wife drives*; Wak WC). The sense is either transitive or intransitive. Of *-ge-* and *-je-* reflexive forms in *-ṇi-* (hence *-geṇi-*, *-jeṇi-* are found: *wagiṁgeṇi* *wash oneself* (Wak WC). These suffixes are occasionally used with native word stems as well and may then be considered as true verbalising suffixes (cf. 3.5, Note 18); such a derived verb is *gongamge-* *tire*, from *gongam* *tired* (literally *without desire, disinclined*; Wak WC).

(b) Inflection

7.10 The only word categories subject to inflection (declension or conjugation) are nouns (or nominal words), articles, pronouns and verbs. Relation words are either evident declension (or possibly conjugation) forms or else capable of a

limited declension (e.g. *binu*, *bini* *behind*, *wanaŋu*, *wanaŋi* (*from*) *afar*, apparently the ablative and locative forms of noun stems not found isolated), while *wanaŋa* *when?* seems a 'perlative' (see 7.11) form of *wana* *where?* (itself a perlative of a pronominal stem **wap*, also found in the ablative *wapu* *whence?*). All such words which show no regular declension pattern will be listed as relation words.

7.11 *Declension*. The regular nominal declension comprises the following six case forms: *nominative*, *ergative*, *objective*, *possessive*, *ablative* and *locative* (cf. 3.14). In a few cases a clear *allative* is found;⁷⁰ a *perlative* (expressing the idea of 'through, along, all over') is occasionally found, but is more typical of relation words (cf. 7.10), while a *comitative* is rather the same as a *sociative* derivation, used in a somewhat different function (see 7.4). The case suffixes—unlike the postpositions (cf. Note 70)—usually change according to the structure of the stem of the word declined, which may be of three basically different kinds: (1) stems ending in a vowel; (2) stems ending in a nasal; and (3) stems ending in -l or -r.⁷¹

7.12 *Paradigms*. Nominal stems ending in a vowel form the *ergative* either by the suffix -lu, -ru or -ju,⁷² the *objective* either by -ŋa or -na, the *possessive* by -ri, -rin or -rip (or -ripa, which however seems an original inflected possessive; cf. 3.16), the *ablative* by -ŋu or -nu, the *locative* by -ŋi or -ni and the *allative* (where it is found) by -u. The *perlative* is formed by changing the final -u of either the *ergative* or *ablative* forms into -a (hence either ending in -la, -ra or -ŋa, -na, respectively), while the *comitative* (being the same as the *sociative* in -ŋa; cf. 7.10) is formed equally of all stems. A paradigm of vowel-ending stems would consequently have the following appearance (of the stems: *baba* *father*, *meme* *mother*, *wange* *snake*, *nala* *hole*, *gundu* *camp, home*):

NOM	<i>baba</i> , <i>meme</i> , <i>wange</i> , <i>nala</i> , <i>gundu</i>
ERG	<i>babalu</i> , <i>babaju</i> , <i>memelu</i> , <i>memeju</i>
OBJ	<i>babana</i> , <i>memena</i>
POSS	<i>wangeri</i> (-rip, -ripa), <i>gunduri</i>
ABL	<i>nalaŋu</i> (-nu), <i>gunduŋu</i> (-nu)
LOC	<i>nalaŋi</i> (-ni), <i>gunduŋi</i> (-ni)

An unambiguous *allative* is found in *gurulbau* *to Gooroolba* (from the place name *gurulba*; cf. 7.3),⁷³ the *perlative* in the forms *dambara*, *dambana* *along the road* (from *damba* *track*), *dungina* *there in the creek* (from *dungi* *creek*; Wak TM) and (probably) in *dingura* (*at*) *Tingora* (from a word *dingu*, meaning *wattle tree* in Barunggam) and the *comitative* in *memena* *along* or *together with (one's)* *mother* (cf. 7.4), *ganega wa-repi* *hunted with a spear* (Wak SH; more or less equivalent to the *ergative* *ganelu*, used in the instrumental sense). As indicated in 3.16, the *possessive* form (in -rip) may be further declined (according to the paradigm in 7.13), so that an *objective* in -ripa or an *ablative* in -ripu may occur: *wangeripu* *into a snake's (hole)* (Wak SH). The vowel-ending *mai* *white man* alternates with a form in -n (main): *ergative* *maindu*, *possessive* *main garip* (= *mai garip* or *mairi*) *gana dai* *this money is the white man's* (Wak SH); compare *murun* and *muru-* *dark man* (7.13; also *Gunggari mari* or *marin* *Aboriginal*).

7.13 Of stems ending in a nasal (-ŋ, -m, -n, -ŋ) the ergative ends in (including the stem-final nasal) respectively -ŋgu, -mbu, -ndu, -ngu, the objective in -a, the ablative in -u and the locative in -i. A possessive form is generally missing (although a rather strange formation was found in murur *the man's* from murun, Wak WC, the normal one being murun gari or garin; cf. mai and main, in 7.12). A paradigm would have the following appearance (of murun *man*, gin *woman*, guŋ *water*, gujum *fire*, murap *white clay*):

NOM	murun, gin, guŋ, gujum, murap
ERG	murundu, gindu, gungu, gujumbu, murangu
OBJ	muruna, gina
POSS	murur (see above)
ABL	murunu, guŋu, gujumu
LOC	guŋi

The allative is similar to the ablative (guŋu), whether or not this is original (cf. Note 70). In any case there is a clear difference between the locative-ablative guŋu *into the water* and guŋ gu (*going*) *for water* (cf. Note 73). Of the perlicative examples are found in: jaramanda *on horseback* (from jaraman *horse*), gananda (*in the*) *daytime* (Wak WC; from ganan *sun, day*).

7.14 Of stems ending in -l or -r the case suffixes are: ergative -u, objective -na, ablative -nu, locative -ni (there being no possessive form) according to the following paradigm (ŋail *eaglehawk*, me·l *eye* (Wakka-Wakka B), bil *cold*, gundir *clever man*, go·r *hornet*, bajir *mountain*, bawar *bush*).

NOM	ŋail, me·l, bil, gundir, go·r, bajir, bawar
ERG	ŋailu, bilu, go·ru
OBJ	gundirna
ABL	me·lnu (= me·ŋu), bajirnu, bawarnu
LOC	bajirni, bawarni

A perlicative is found in bawara janande *going along or through the bush*. The ablative bawarnu is found in the sense of *from* or *in the bush* and bawar gu in the sense of *to the bush*. No possessive forms were found (cf. 7.13).

7.15 *Articles*. For the occurrence and functions of articles, see in 3.18-19. In Wakka-Wakka (A) the forms are usually: -bam or -bom (possibly < -buam, as heard from Wak SH; the phonetic evolution is according to 6.9), with the alternative forms -lam, -lom, -ram, -rom, which seem to be based on the ergative case form (cf. ergative barilu, bariru, article form barilom, barirom, from bari *child*), while retaining the termination of the probably more fundamental -bom. The latter variants are common after vowels or -r: barilom (cf. above), mailom (from mai *white person*), dailom (from dai *stone*), bajirom (from bajir *mountain*); in other cases (chiefly after nasals) -bom (-bam) is the rule (murunbom, ginbom; in the case of a stem in -m, the initial sound of the article -bom would agree with that of the ergative form in -bu; cf. 7.13).⁷⁴

7.16 In Wakka-Wakka (B), beside -bam, -lam (as in ganbam *men*, ginbam *women*, mawilam *white people*, there being no examples found of -bom, -lom, which are more typical of Wakka-Wakka (A); cf. 10.4), there is also another plural article -gin (of which no instance was found in Wakka-Wakka (A)): balagin (*some*) *jewfish*, jinbagin (*some*) *eels*, ŋendegin (*some*) *mulletts*. There is further what seems a variant (-gin) of the same suffix, as in: ŋendegin (cf. above) and miorgin (*some*) *turtles* (from mior; Wak TM). Although it is probable that these latter

suffixes originally had a certain distinctive character, it is not necessary to conclude that it is at present limited to names of fish or animals (as in the above examples), as it is also found, for instance, in bandagin *all the Bundas* (a social section; Wak TM); also compare 9.5. Besides, the same suffix (-gin) is liable to be added to the article -bam, as in ganbamgin, ginbamgin (*some men, women* (Wak TM)).

7.17 The articles are inflected according to the declension pattern in 7.13, that is that of stems ending in a nasal. Because of their special character and their preferential use with animate nouns (cf. 7.19), the only case forms met with are the *ergative* and *objective* (the possessive would have to be expressed by a postposition; cf. 7.13).⁷⁵ Examples: (ergative) ganbambu (Wak TM), barilombu; (objective) bariloma (from gan *man*, bari *child*).

7.18 *Personal pronouns.* The declension of the pronouns, and especially the personal pronouns, shows certain deviations from the ordinary nominal inflection and a number of irregularities. Unlike the languages of Gunggari type (in which the nominative and ergative of the personal pronouns are the same), the Wakka-Wakka personal pronoun generally makes a clear formal distinction between these two case forms. However, since personal pronouns are normally used in reference to animate nouns only, certain case forms may be missing, while others may be used in specialised senses (cf. 3.21): no allative forms seem to occur and the ablative and locative (when found) may express a comitative ('with'); of other comitative forms, as well as of perlocative forms, no trace has been found. The possessive form is, by analogy with the same form in the noun declension, capable of inflection (that is like the possessive pronouns in the classical languages of Europe). There are special personal pronouns with a dual and plural sense. Inclusive and exclusive forms are also used, but by means of a compound construction (see 7.19).

7.19 Simple personal pronouns are found for nine different persons, namely the first, second, third person in the singular and the same three persons in the dual and plural, respectively, of which the nominative forms are: (singular) ŋe· (ŋia) *I*, ŋin *you*, jo· *he, she*; (dual) ŋam *we*, ŋo·m *you*, jo·m *they*; (plural) ŋai *we*, ŋinbom (see 7.20) *you*, jau *they*. An inclusive dual may be expressed by ŋam ŋin *you and I* and an exclusive dual by ŋam jo· (*he or she and I*); in the plural a corresponding differentiation was not found. In the compound constructions one or both of the pronouns may be inflected (as is the general rule for compound words in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.34).

7.20 *Paradigms.* The following is a listing of inflected forms found according to paradigms for each person (the forms are usually those of Wakka-Wakka (A); Wakka-Wakka (B) forms follow a semicolon):

First person singular:

NOM	ŋe· (ŋia) ⁷⁶
ERG	ŋaɟu, ɟu (cf. 2.9)
OBJ	ŋapa
POSS	ŋa·ri, ŋa·rip; ⁷⁷ ŋe·ri (Wak TM)
ABL	ŋianu, ŋianu, ŋe·ŋu ⁷⁸
LOC	ŋianɪ ⁷⁹

Second person singular

NOM ɲin
 ERG ɲindu, -ndu
 OBJ ɲina, na
 POSS ɲingari, ɲingarin⁸⁰
 ABL ɲinbanɟu
 LOC ɲinbanɟi⁸¹

Third person singular:

NOM jo· (jua, jo, Wak SH; cf. 6.9); ja
 ERG jalu, lu (-lu)
 OBJ jo·ɲa (joɲa; 6.9); jaɲa
 POSS jo·ri (juari, jori), jorin, jonggori⁸²
 ABL jo·ɲu
 LOC jo·ɲi⁸³

First person dual:

NOM ɲam
 ERG ɲambu
 OBJ ɲama (Wak WC), ɲamaɲa (Wak SH)
 POSS ɲamgari, ɲamgarin
 ABL ɲamboɲu; ɲambanɟun (Wak TM)
 LOC ɲambanɟi⁸⁴

Second person dual:

NOM ɲo·m
 ERG ɲombu
 OBJ ɲo·ma
 POSS ɲo·mgori
 ABL ɲomborɟu, ɲombanɟu
 LOC ɲombonɟi (cf. Notes 79, 84)

Third person dual:

NOM jo·m (juam), jombua (Wak SH);⁸⁵ jowi(? Wak TM)
 ERG jombu (juambu)
 OBJ jo·ma, joma, jo·maɲa (Wak SH)
 POSS jo·mgori (-rin), jomgori
 ABL jomborɟu; jombanɟu

First person plural:

NOM ɲai, ɲau, ɲi·;⁸⁶ ɲawi
 ERG ɲaindu (Wak:Gor RD); ɲawi
 OBJ ɲaina
 POSS ɲairi, ɲangari, Wak AB; correct ?); ɲawigari
 ABL ɲauɲu, ɲaumborɟu

Second person plural:

NOM ɲinbom (Wak SH); ɲombam (Wak TM)
 ERG ɲombambu (Wak TM)
 ABL ɲinbamunɟu (Wak SH)

Third person plural:

NOM	jau; jawi
ERG	jau, jaundu; jawiju
OBJ	jauna, jauna; jawina
POSS	jaunari (Wak WC); jawigari (Wak TM)
ABL	jaubonu (-banu), jaumbonu, ja'nbonu (Wak TM)

7.21 The following compound forms (see 7.19) of the personal pronouns are found: *nam nin* (first person inclusive), *nam jo'* (first person exclusive), *no'm jo'* (second person), all in dual senses (*you and me, her and me, you and he*). The paradigms are as follows:

First person inclusive:

NOM	nam nin
ERG	nambu nindu (Wak WC)
LOC	nam ninbani (cf. Notes 79, 83)

First person exclusive:

NOM	nam jo'
ERG	jo' nambu (Wak AB)

Second person:

no'm jo' (Wak WC)

7.22 An alternative third person pronoun, *mo'* (said to be the same as *jo'*; Wak SH) was used both in Wakka-Wakka (A) and (B), in the following forms: nominative *mo'*, ergative *malu* (*mo'*, Wak TM), objective *mo'na*, possessive *mo'ri*. Sometimes it was rendered by *the other one over there*: *malu giranaru bumi nina that porcupine hit you* (Wak SH), *mo' murundu jangai that other man did it* (Wak TM). The inflection shows that it is not a demonstrative (cf. 7.23); the use of a personal pronoun (such as *jo'* or *jalu*) would be admissible in the same sense and construction.

7.23 *Demonstrative pronouns.* By a demonstrative pronoun is meant here any word of demonstrative character which is subject to declension, although the border line between such words and those which have been referred to as 'relation words' (see 3.2) is not always clear, as the latter also may have the appearance of inflected forms (according to the declension patterns in 7.12-14). Demonstrative pronouns (like demonstrative words in general) indicate direction or locality rather than person: *mana murun that man* rather means *the man there* and is therefore analogous to, for instance, *murun mana ba'nge (a man is standing there)* rather than to *jo' murun (he, the man)*, in spite of the suggestion by one informant, who thought these meant the same. In any case, there is no difference in Wakka-Wakka (or elsewhere) between *that man* and *there is a man*, which both correspond to *mana murun*.⁸⁷

7.24 The basic demonstrative pronouns (in the above sense) as found in Wakka-Wakka are: *gana, gara here, this; mana, mara there, that*—the rendering in English is approximate (as the informants would occasionally give the reverse sense, depending on the circumstances). From a semantic point of view it would be admissible to include the forms *gan* and *man* (cf. *gan jaraman this or that horse—this horse here, that horse there or here is a horse or there is a horse*),

but for the fact that of the latter two no declension forms were recorded. As mentioned in another place (3.20), the ergative, objective and possessive forms do not occur (or occur exceptionally).⁸⁸ No particular difference could be detected between the forms with medial -n- and -r-; as a matter of fact, one might get the impression that they are originally identical (according to 6.19), so much the more so as no forms *gar or *mar are found, reflecting the alternation gan ~ gana, man ~ mana. As, however, both -n- and -r- forms seem as common and equally well established it will be safer to consider them as originally different. They might even represent obsolete case forms (perlatives ? cf. 7.10) of still shorter demonstrative stems (*ga- and *ma-), which occur in other languages in south-eastern Queensland (cf. Manandjali gali *this*, mali *that*).

7.25 The following inflected forms of the demonstrative pronouns are recorded from Wakka-Wakka informants, according to the paradigms below:

gana *this, here*:

NOM	gana
ABL	ganaŋu (Wak TM)
LOC	ganaŋi
ALL	ganagu ⁸⁹

gara *this, here*:

NOM	gara
ALL	garagu

mana *that, there*:

NOM	mana, mona, mono, muna (6.11)
ALL	managu ⁹⁰

mara *that, there*:

NOM	mara
POSS	marari mararip ⁹¹
ALL	marau ⁹²

It is possible that the short elements -na, -ra are enclitic forms or respectively mana (gana ?) and mara (gara ?), as in: ŋui baina *the emu came (there ?)* (= bai (ma)na ? Wak JC), wagimjena *clothes, wash the clothes* (= wagimje ma(na) ? Wak JC), ŋagu ŋina ne·ra *I will see you (there?)* (= ne· (ma)ra ? Wak JC). Compare 11.8.

7.26 *Interrogative pronouns.* For general remarks regarding the interrogative pronouns, see 3.20. Since the interrogative pronouns refer directly either to persons (the only meaning of ŋan is *somebody* or *who?*) or *things* (mipa, mipaŋ *something* or *what?* is no doubt the same word as the common, especially northern Queensland, mipa *meat, game, anything that can be hunted*), whereas the relational *somewhere where?* is derived from a different stem (in Wakka-Wakka *waŋ-), the declension of the interrogative pronouns is more complete. The interrogative pronouns are ŋan (ŋa·n) *who?* and mipaŋ, mipanda (Wak A), mipa (Wak B) *what?* Forms after the semicolon are Wakka-Wakka (B).

7.27 The declension is as follows:

nan *who?*:

NOM	nan (ɲana)
ERG	ɲandu
OBJ	ɲana
POSS	ɲangari
ABL	ɲanaŋu, ɲanbaŋu; ɲanu

mipaŋ, mipanda *what?*:

NOM	mipaŋ, mipanda; mipa
ERG	mipandu
ALL	mipaŋgu ⁹³ ; mipagu

The form mipanda, which has the appearance of a 'perlative' (see 7.11 and cf. the ergative mipandu) is occasionally used in the sense of *when?* or *why?*, but also (of persons) in the sense of *what kind* (or *way*) of *person?*, while nan means *who?* (e.g. by name).⁹⁴ That the interrogative pronoun often corresponds to English indefinite pronouns was pointed out in 3.20; this occurs in: ɲandu gamnai *somebody broke it* (Wak SH), mipanda ɲinbaŋi bini *there is something behind you* (Wak WC).

7.28 *Conjugation.* The verbal stems in Wakka-Wakka normally end in a vowel (-a- or -i-; the stem-final -e- has a secondary origin, cf. 6.5); in monosyllabic stems the stem-final vowel may appear as long (ba- *come*, pa- *see*), probably mostly in cases of contraction (cf. 6.12). No particular semantic or other function seems connected with the difference of verbs with stem-final -a- (which are in majority) and stem-final -i- (such cases as gira- *scratch* and giri- *scratch oneself* or buma- *hit* and bumi- *fall* hardly constitute a semantic pattern); in the actual stage of the language no regular connection with transitivity or intransitivity exists and, besides, there are several verb stems which admit either of a transitive or intransitive construction. The verbs are further capable of two different kinds of conjugation: (1) one in which the imperfective and perfective modes (see 3.23) are characterised by the 'nominalising' (it should perhaps rather be called 'thematic') element *-j- and (2) one in which the same mode forms are characterised by a nasal, namely -n- (imperfective) or -ŋ-, -ɲ- (perfective). The former conjugation is restricted to verbs of which the stem-final vowel is -a-, the second one pertains to verbs of which the stem-final vowel is -i- (but also to some stems ending in -a-); neither here any connection between these two conjugations and the transitive or intransitive character of the verb stem seems to exist (although perhaps the second conjugation is more typical of intransitive than of transitive verbs); here also the same verb, irrespective of type of conjugation, may function either as transitive or intransitive. Finally, one and the same verb may appear to have more than one stem: e.g. ja- (as in jaŋi *went*), jan- (as in jangu *to go*), jana- (as in janande *going*).

7.29 The structure of the verbal flexion is basically as follows. The imperative is the stem of the verb and always ends in a vowel (with a certain tendency of generalising the vowel -a in all verbs). The imperfective mode requires one of the 'thematic elements' (7.28): bumbe (from *bumba-j; cf. 6.2) *hitting*, jana-n-, the latter normally with the additional suffix -ge, -de (cf. 6.18, with the Note 60),⁹⁵ hence janange, janande *going*.⁹⁶ The perfective mode is characterised by the vowel -i added to the same 'thematic element' of the

imperative mode: *bai* (*baji*) *has come* (cf. 6.3), *ɲinepi sat down* (for *ɲina-p-i*, with perfective *-p-* instead of imperfective *-n-*; cf. 7.28). Finally, the intentional mode is formed by an allative suffix (*-u*, *-(w)a* or *-gu*; cf. 3.17,23) added to the verbal stem (or to one of the verb stems): *ɲina-u* (or *ɲineu*, by analogy; cf. 6.8) *to sit*, *wulia* (< **wuli-wa*) *to swim*, *maria* (< **mari-wa*; cf. 6.13) *to burn* (the suffix *-wa* being more typical of Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli), *jan-gu to go*. In some verbs (especially those having more than one stem) the formation of the mode forms is quite irregular.

7.30 In accordance with what has been said in the preceding sections (7.28-29) one may distinguish three different conjugations in Wakka-Wakka: (1) regular verbs in *-a-* with the 'thematic element' **-j-*; (2) regular verbs in *-e-* (originally *-a-*; 6.5) or *-i-*, with the 'thematic elements' *-n-* and *-p-*; and (3) irregular verbs. The latter differ from those of the preceding types either (1) by having more than one stem or (2) by having the perfective formative *-ɲ-* in place of *-p-* (see 7.28) or finally (3) by forming the intentional mode by the suffix *-gu* in place of the regular *-u* (or sometimes *-(w)a*). Strictly speaking, many would-be 'regular' verbs in Wakka-Wakka have an irregular appearance owing to mixture of modal formatives and conjugation types.

7.31 *Paradigms*. The following paradigms will show the main types of conjugation in Wakka-Wakka, as found in the present material.⁹⁷ The type verbs are: (1) *janga- put, do, make*; (2) *ɲine- sit, gari- enter* (ITR); (3) *ja- go, ba- come, na- see, wa- give*. The forms quoted are in the first place those of Wakka-Wakka (A); Wakka-Wakka (B) forms are given after a semicolon.

janga- put, do, make:

IMP *janga*
 IPF *jange*
 PF *jangai*
 INT *jangau*

ɲine- sit:

IMP *ɲine* (*ɲina*)
 IPF *ɲinenge* (*ɲinange, ɲinende, ɲinande, 6.18*), *ɲinge* (Wak PB)
 PF *ɲinepi*
 INT *ɲineu* (*ɲinau*)

gari- enter (itr):

IMP *gari*
 IPF *garinge*
 PF *garipi*
 INT *gariu; garingu*

ja- go:

IMP *jana*
 IPF *janande* (*janange, Note 60*), *jange, janan* (Note 97)
 PF *jaŋi*
 INT *jangu, janangu*

ba'- come:

IMP ba'
 IPF be'; baje, ba'n
 PF bai; baji
 INT bau

na'- see:

IMP na'
 IPF ne'; naje
 PF na'ŋi
 INT nau

wa - give:

IMP wa'
 IPF we' (wuge)
 PF wuŋi
 INT wugu (wau, weu, wa')

(c) Construction

7.32 As a basic principle of construction (or syntax) it has to be taken into consideration that Wakka-Wakka (or the Australian languages in general) make no distinction between an attributive and a predicative construction or between a phrase and a sentence, that is to say that no difference in sense exists between, for instance, *big head* or *small stick*, on the one hand, and *the head, is big*, *the stick is small*, on the other, neither that these are to be differentiated from *it is a big head* or *it is a small stick*, all three alternatives being expressed by Wakka-Wakka mau dandi and dadu bari bari, respectively (in which, incidentally, the integrant members could theoretically have been put in the reverse order). Similarly, wangerin nala may correspond to either *the snake's hole*, *the hole is the snake's*, *it is a snake's hole* or *the snake has a hole* in English and dai munginge can mean either *the rock is laughing* or *the Laughing Rock* (at the Cherbourg settlement). The reason for this is that there is no copula in the Australian languages.⁹⁹ This state of things holds whenever a nominal word occurs in the nominative or possessive form, in constructions without a verb; the other case forms are normally used in connection with a concrete verb only, which serves as a formal predicate. The nominative of an animate noun can be construed with an intransitive verb only and the ergative and objective forms with a transitive verb only; the other case forms (including the nominative of an inanimate noun) may be construed with either kind of verb.⁹⁹ In this connection it should be pointed out that a transitive verb may have two ergative forms, one of which would correspond to the agent in English and the other to the instrument, as in: ŋindu dadulu buma you (agent) hit (him) with a stick (instrument) (Wal SH); compare 3.15. Associative verbs (although mostly conjugated according to the second conjugation, which is more typically intransitive; cf. 7.28) are construed as transitive verbs (that is with an ergative), which is perfectly analogous to the relation between an intransitive 'come' and a transitive 'come with' (that is, with an object) in English.

7.33 The possessive case form is analogous to a nominal derivation insofar as it may be declined (cf. 3.16): *binur garipi wangeripu nalanu a bandicoot entered a snake's hole* (Wak SH). The alternative possessive suffix (-ripa; cf. 7.12) has the appearance of being an original personal objective form. Taking the possessive *ŋa·ri* (*mine*) as a case form, *ŋari wuŋi* would seem to mean *gave to me*, whereas taken as a derived form, it would seem equivalent to *gave mine*—nevertheless no differentiation is possible in Wakka-Wakka; in the same way *ŋindu ŋari wa· mana dai may* (theoretically) mean either *give me that money* or *give me my money* (to the Aboriginal mind identical ideas as frequently reflected in Aboriginal English).

7.34 The objective form is used of animate nouns only (cf. 3.15). If, however, the noun is used in an indefinite sense, the nominative form is rather used: *waja ga·le looking for wallabies* (Wak SH), as no animal is actually present, while *wajana* would be used of *a wallaby (seen)* or *the wallaby (in question)*. The rule is hence more or less the same as for the use of the plural articles (see 3.19). It is questionable whether in the construction *muruna ginaŋ (saw) a man's footprint* (which may be considered a compound; cf. 7.2) the last member (*footprint*) is understood as animate in the same sense as *man*, in spite of its normal (inanimate) objective form (*ginaŋ*). Nominal words occurring together, in construction with a verb, may either both be provided with the appropriate case suffix (according to a common rule of congruence) or else one of the members may be left in the stem form (or nominative), so that two constructions are possible: (a) *ŋaripa gandana my younger sister* (personal objective; Wak SH), *wangeripu nalanu* (ablative; see 7.32) or (b) *ŋaringu meme my mother (did it)* (ergative and nominative; Wak JW); in other words, grammatical agreement is optional in Wakka-Wakka.

7.35 Regarding the syntax of the verb, one important point is to be mentioned, namely the use of the intentional mode form in an accidental function (cf. 3.24). Originally, no introductory word (*wanga if, when, etc.*) would have been necessary: *ŋe gue janande ganana nindau I am going or leaving when the sun goes down* (Wak SH) as the verbal form *nindau* is actually the same as *at (-u) sunset (ganana ninda-; that is a compound)* (cf. 7.2 and the Note 62). Possibly due to English influence, however, the interrogative relation word *wanga (where?, when?)* is frequently used as an introductory word answering to an English subordinate conjunction.¹⁰⁰ In this way the following construction arises: *wanga ŋindu mana biju (intentional) ŋagu ŋina bumbe if you take away that I will hit you* (Wak SH), *wanga ŋin dungu (intentional) ŋadu ŋina bumbe If you cry I will hit you* (Wak WC), *wupa (= wanga) ŋin dungau (intentional) If you cry* (Wak SH), *wanga baju (intentional) ŋe bangenge when it rains I am frightened* (Wak WC), *wupa ŋindu gana wau (intentional) ŋagu ŋingari mana we· if you give me this I will give you that* (Wak NS).

BARUNGAM

Introductory remarks

8.1 As mentioned (1.3), a single informant only was found to be of value for a knowledge of this language. Although he was generally instructed in matters Aboriginal and also had a fair command of what he claimed to be his native language, he evidently was inclined to fall into Wakka-Wakka—the language of prestige in his area—and probably to a certain extent presented the linguistic data in a mixed form. He however pointed out on several occasions that his language was very close to Wakka-Wakka and that many forms were actually the same. In most cases he must have been right when indicating that such a form belonged to Barunggam, corresponding to such another form in Wakka-Wakka. Where two different forms were given (on different occasions) by our informant, it is to be presumed that the one which deviates from Wakka-Wakka is the true Barunggam one. Forms, however, which may properly be Wakka-Wakka are included in this description of Barunggam insofar as they may prove or illustrate interesting points of phonology or morphology in the latter language.

Informants

8.2 The only persons met who might be supposed to have Barunggam as their native language would be the two mentioned below. Reference to them are made in the same way as for the informants of Wakka-Wakka, with the abbreviation Bar (= Barunggam) preceding the initials of the person.

Bar AB: Mr. Arthur Bundi (87), at Kingaroy, born at Taroom; he mentions his mother as having been a Barunggam.

Bar HD: Mr. Harry ('Bunda') Darlow (died at an age of 98 near Dalby); although he claimed that his and his father's language was Wakka-Wakka, the fact that his people hailed from Dalby seems to support the opinion of the preceding informant (*Bar AB*) that Harry Darlow's native language was really Barunggam (or the 'Dalby language'—cf. the native name of that place, which is *barunga* or *kangaroo rat*).

Phonology

8.3 The phonology of Barunggam is fundamentally the same as in Wakka-Wakka. The following points, which usually indicate the same phonetic trends and structural characteristics as are found in Wakka-Wakka, may be of interest.

Evolution of the vowel system

8.4 As in Wakka-Wakka, the vowels *e* (*e*·) and *o* (*o*·) have distinctive value, arising generally in the same conditions as in Wakka-Wakka. Thus final *-e* is usually the product of an original **-aj* (cf. 6.2), while in other positions *e*· and *o*· are normally contraction products of respectively *ia* and *ua*. In this way *be·ne hearing, knowing* may arise from *bi·ne* (originally **bi(j)anaj*), *me·l eye* from *mial*, *jo· he, she* from *juwa*, *no·m husband* from *nuam* (*nuwam*), etc. Intermediate forms (without distinctive value) are frequent: *bi·ne* (cf. above), *mean*, *mien* for *mian Aboriginal man*, *nuom* for *nuam* (cf. above), *nuomgan* for *nuamgan wife*, *joari* for *juari (his, her)*, etc.

8.5 The widening of *i* in closed syllables are frequent (and perhaps more common than in Wakka-Wakka): *pen* for *pin you* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *ŋin*), *murgen* beside *murgin eel*; the widening of word-final *-i* (as for instance in Goreng-Goreng; cf. 14.3) is more common in Barunggam (as also in Wuli-Wuli and Wakka-Wakka(B)), although *-e* has normally phonematic value.

8.6 Otherwise, non-final *e* is—as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng—due to assimilation to a (usually word-final) *e* (cf. 6.5), as in *bebejem father*; cf. *baba*, *idem*). Sometimes this happens in cases where the assimilation is missing in Wakka-Wakka (e.g. Barunggam *wenge snake*); (cf. Wakka-Wakka *wange*), *bengenge fearing* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *bangange*), sometimes on the other hand it is missing where it occurs in Wakka-Wakka: *gangange calling* (cf. Wakka-Wakka (A) usually *gangenge*, Wakka-Wakka (B) *gengenge*). The very common effect of palatal contact whereby a *y* may turn into *e* is not on the phonematic level (cf. 2.6; 6.10). Whether such cases as *wepmeri* for *wapmeri* (*white woman*) may also be accounted for according to the rule of vowel assimilation is more than problematic. The distinction of *ai* and *ei* or of *au* and *ou* likewise seem uncertain; for instance, both *jau* and *jou* (the latter more common) may be heard in the sense of *yes*.

8.7 Vowel length is chiefly due to contraction (cf. 8.4); sometimes, however, in current sequences the length may disappear: *berɛ* for *be·ɛ* (*bi·ɛ*), etc. (cf. *ibid.*). Apart from the lengthened forms of *e* and *o*, one also has to count on a contraction resulting in *a·*: *wa·n scrub turkey* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *wawun*), *ga·re passing water* (cf. *gawur urine*); whether the current form *ba·* *to come* is due to a contraction of *bawa* (*idem*) or to 'monosyllabic lengthening' (cf. 2.4) is irrelevant. As a contraction product of interconsonantal **awɪ* (see 6.13), Barunggam has either *a·* (as in Wakka-Wakka) or *e·*, in the verb stem *ba·nga-* or *be·nga-* (*get up stand*). By analogy, word-final lengthening—whether due to contraction or to other factors—may be retained in medial positions: *ma·pi got* (monosyllabic stem *ma·*), *giro·ŋa drunk* (cf. *giro ~ giro· grog*). The lengthening in closed syllables (as in *wubi·r* (beside *wubir*) *white man*, *wandi·r* (beside *wandir*) *small*, *ga·mba* (beside *gamba*) *good*, etc. is of no account.

Evolution of the consonant system

8.8 Everything essential is as in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.18-20). Medial and intervocalic plosives are typically voiceless and somewhat lengthened; this is of no consequence from the phonematic point of view (cf. Barunggam *waga* or *wak·a no, not*). More important is the common change of especially *-n-* into *-r-* in the same position: *jeran(d)e* for *janande* (*going*), *gurungin* for *gunungin* (*a hollow*); compare 6.19, with the Note 61. That *-nd-* may be reduced to *-n-* in Barunggam as elsewhere (cf. 6.20) appears in the above example (*jerane*).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

9.1 As Barunggam is closely related morphologically to Wakka-Wakka it would be unnecessary to indicate more than a few points where the two languages go apart, Barunggam showing special forms peculiar to that language. The structure of the concrete word stem is the same as in Wakka-Wakka and in spite of the limited material gathered from Barunggam it is evident that both the bulk of the

vocabulary and the principles of derivation are basically the same as in the former language. Compound stems occur in the same way as in Wakka-Wakka and the integrant members are represented as separate words in the same conditions as outlined in 7.2: *gaun gimbem owner of the land*. An interesting (and perhaps somewhat unusual) type of compound is found in *wina ma'na pelican* (literally *fish catcher*), which was mentioned and explained in Note 62; in this case the latter member (*ma'na*) is identical with the verb stem *ma'na-* (*catch*), but having nominal character it is capable of entering into a compound with the noun stem *wina* (*fish*). Another example of a verb being used as a noun is *janande*, which either means *going* or *a step* (Bar AB); if the word *gangai* *a shout, cry, calling (of a spirit)* is correct, the formation is unusual (cf. *gai food*, in 19).

9.2 The derivational suffix *-gan* (marking females) is used as in Wakka-Wakka, often in designations of female members of a social section (cf. 7.3): *bangurgan a bangur woman*, *bandagan a female Bunda*, *wungugan a female member of the wungu section* (= Wakka-Wakka *baran*) and similarly *puamgan wife* (cf. *puam, no'm husband*). When occurring in words not having personal character, the suffix *-gan* may still be supposed to have marked a female in earlier times;¹⁰¹ such a word is *wa'gan crow* (in Wakka-Wakka *wa'ŋ*, of which the root is reasonably *wa'*, a word representing the *cawing* of the crow); the identical word (*wa'gan*) in the sense of *mother-in-law* more clearly retains the female character, while *ba'mgan daylight* may indicate a personification of the *sun* (cf. Note 101) and the word *bugigan (pussy) cat* may either contain the suffix *-gan* or simply reproduce the English word in native phonetics. The sociative and caritative suffixes also are the same as in Wakka-Wakka (see 3.7): *guniŋa having a name*, *gunigam without a name* (from *guni name*; Bar AB). A suffix *-bara* (common in Goreng-Goreng, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala; see 15.3; 25.2) may occur in *dagunbara home, country* (= *dagun*).

9.3 Of verbal derivations in Barunggam (which are basically of the same type as in Wakka-Wakka; see 7.5) a reduced number only was met with owing to the limitation of the material. The causative suffix *-ma-* appears in *ŋurama- hide, steal*, but no simple word stem was found (apart from *ŋura- kick*, which appears unrelated).¹⁰² Occasionally, *-ma-* merely gives a transitive sense to the verb stems as in *mundima- laugh at* (from *mundi- laugh*), which consequently does not mean *make laugh*. The associative suffixes *-ri-*, *-re-* (originally *-ra-*), *-le-* (originally *-la-*; cf. 7.6) were found in *bi'ri- (bi're-) take away*, *ja'le- speak (with)*. Of the suffixes described in 7.8, *-ge-* (originally *-ga-*) is found in *benge- fear* (Wakka-Wakka *bange-*), *dunge- cry* (Wakka-Wakka *dunga-*), *gumge- smoke* (*waga baim gumge (I) do not smoke a pipe*; in Wakka-Wakka the corresponding verb is *gumbe-*). A variety of this suffix is probably *-gi-* in: *ma'ngi- steal* (from the stem *ma'(n)- take*), the same verb being found in Wakka-Wakka also. The reflexive suffix *-ŋi-* also occurs in Barunggam: *gawani- cut oneself* (from *gawa- cut*).

(b) Inflection

9.4 *Declension*. The declension of nominal words is according to the same principles as in Wakka-Wakka (7.10-14). Although the case forms recorded are scanty it is quite evident that three different paradigms are represented in Barunggam as in Wakka-Wakka. The most typical deviation is in that the ergative form of nouns ending in a vowel is in *-ndu* (probably carried over from stems in *-n*). Of perlocative and comitative forms no instances are recorded. The following paradigms will illustrate the declension of nominal words in Barunggam.

The model words are: (1) *biralu God, naba child, gua koala, nui emu, wenge snake, bula cow, na hand, mi eye, dadu tree, nala hole, nuri blanket*; (2) *gun water, ginan foot, giam (ge·m) mouth, mian Aboriginal man, warin boomerang, durun spear*; (3) *wubir white man, gaiwar rainbow, ne·r cold*.

Stems ending in a vowel:

NOM	biralu, naba, gua, nui, wenge, bula, na, mi, dadu, nala, nuri
ERG	nabandu, guandu, nuindu, nandu, nurindu
OBJ	biraluna
POSS	biraluri, wengeri, bulari, (-rin) ¹⁰³
ABL	dadunu, mi·nu, nalanu
LOC	nalani

Stems ending in a nasal:

NOM	gun, ginan, giam, mian, warin, durun
ERG	gungu, ginangu, gembu, miandu, warindu, durungu

Stems ending in -r:

NOM	wubir, gaiwar, ne·r
ERG	gaiwaru, ne·ru
POSS	wubir gari (cf. 3.16)

9.5 *Articles*. The following basic forms of the plural article is found in Barunggam: -bam, -lam, -ram, (that is as in Wakka-Wakka (B); cf. 7.15-16),¹⁰⁴ which are illustrated by such forms as: *ginbam (some) women, barilam (some) children, bagaram (some) others*. A strange formation is found in *nabambam children* (from *naba child*, of which the ergative is *nabandu*; cf 9.4). These forms of the article are inflected as in Wakka-Wakka: *nabambambu* (ergative; Bar AB). The Wakka-Wakka (B) article -gin was heard in *bujun bujengin brothers*, in which it consequently denotes a social group (as possibly also in Nunagal and Manandjali; see in Part III). Also compare 11.7.

9.6 *Personal pronouns*. The personal pronouns are almost the same in Barunggam and Wakka-Wakka. The following paradigms will give the forms recorded:

First person singular:

NOM	ne· (nia)
ERG	nagu, gu
OBJ	nana
POSS	na·ri (na·rip)

Second person singular:

NOM	pin (nin)
ERG	pindu (nindu)
OBJ	pina
POSS	pingari (ningari)

Third person singular:

NOM	jo· (juwa)
ERG	jalu
OBJ	jana
POSS	ja·ri (juari, jo·ri)

First person dual:

NOM η am
 ERG η ambu
 POSS η amgari

Third person dual:

NOM juam
 POSS juamgari

9.7 Of compound pronouns (cf. 7.19, 21), the following were found: (inclusive) η am η in *you and me*, (exclusive) η am jo· *he or she and I*.

9.8 *Demonstrative pronouns.* Apart from the basic Wakka-Wakka forms *gana* (*gara*) and *mana* (*mara*) Barunggam also has: *gaga here, this* and *maga there, that*. No flexions were recorded and the following examples will merely serve to illustrate the usage: *gana η ari gundu this (or here) is my house*, *η ui mana the (or that) emu*, *mana dai that stone*, *mana pa· look at that*, *mana ba·n he is coming there*, *mara η inenge staying over there*, *bari maga gangange that young (of possum) is calling (somewhere)* (Bar:Man EW), *mende mende maga pa· look at that step (cut into the tree), it is there* (Bar AB).

9.9 *Interrogative pronouns.* The interrogative pronoun indicating persons is *η ana who?* (evidently an original objective form; otherwise no flexions were recorded). The interrogative indicating things or kind (cf. 7.26-27, Note 94) is *pa η a what?* (possibly—like Wakka-Wakka *mi η panda*—an original perlocative form), as in: *pa η a η indu ja· (correct ?) what are you saying?* The only inflected form found is the allative *pa η gu (= Wakka-Wakka *mi η pa η gu) what for?, why?: pa η gu jo· bai why has he come? pa η gu η in(du) du η gawa what are you to eat for?* (Bar AB). In *pa η gu η in bengenge why are you afraid?* (Bar AB), the use of the allative (= *why?*) may simply copy English.¹⁰⁵*

9.10 *Conjugation.* The verbal stem in Barunggam has the same appearance as in Wakka-Wakka. The occurrence of one single apparent verb stem in -u (*buju-: η am bujunge we two are brothers*; Bar AB) is probably of no consequence,¹⁰⁶ as it may depend on an attraction by the common noun *bujun two (persons)*. The dominating type of verb comprises stems in -a- (alternating with -e-, as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.28) and -i-; it is possible (as also in Wakka-Wakka; cf. *ibid.*) that some particular shade of meaning is connected with the difference between -a- and -i- stems, which however is difficult to specify; in Barunggam, for instance, *buma-* is transitive (*hit*), while *bumi-* is intransitive (*fall*; the same stems are found in Wakka-Wakka).

9.11 The three kinds of conjugation in Wakka-Wakka exist in Barunggam also, with some minor points of divergence. In the first type of conjugation (verbs in -a-) the *imperfective* is occasionally (as in Wuli-Wuli) formed by the suffix -ena (instead of—or along with—the common -e of Wakka-Wakka; see 7.29): *giana* (i.e. *giena*; cf. 2.5), from *gia- go*, and the *intentional* is usually in -wa (instead of Wakka-Wakka -u), in which latter the -w- may disappear (6.12), so that this form becomes identical with that of the imperative. The conjugation of verbs in -e- and -i- is as in Wakka-Wakka (except in the intentional mode, where -wa prevails over -u and may in fact be the only correct Barunggam form), while the irregular type of conjugation shows particularities of its own (usually, however, in strict agreement with Wakka-Wakka and Wuli-Wuli).¹⁰⁷

9.12 *Paradigms*. The forms recorded of the Barunggam verb will be illustrated in the following paradigms (arranged in the same way as for Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.31); the model verbs are: (1) jima- *do make*; (2) ŋine- (pine-) *sit*, bumi- *fall*, baji- *stand*, mungi- *laugh*, wui- *swim*; (3) ja- *go*, ba-- *come*, na-- *see* and wa-- *give*.

jima *do, make*:

IMP jima
IPF jime
PF jimai
INT jimawa, jima

ŋine- (pine-) *sit*:

IPF ŋinenge, pinenge
INT ŋinawa, ŋina

bumi- *fall*, baji- *stand*, mungi- *laugh*, wui- *swim*:

IPF ba·nge (be·nge), munginge
PF bumipi, ba·pi, wuipi
INT ba·ngu

ja- *go*:

IMP jana
IPF janande (jerenge)
PF japi
INT jangu

ba-- *come*:

IMP ba·
IPF ba·n
PF bai
INT ba· (< bawa; cf. 9.11)

na-- *see*:

IMP na·
IPF naŋe (?)
PF na·ŋi
INT nawa (na·)

wa-- *give*:

IPF we·
PF wuŋi

WULI-WULI

Introductory remarks

10.1 Wuli-Wuli is about as closely related to Wakka-Wakka as is Barunggam. It is hardly more than a dialectal variant of the former language. The name Wuli-Wuli is evidently from the form of the personal pronoun wuli *they*, corresponding to Wakka-Wakka (A) jau, (B) jawi. As the three informants available were all members of one family (Pope), now living at Eidsvold and Maura, no important divergences occur in the linguistic data obtained from them. By and large, Wuli-Wuli (as also Wakka-Wakka (B)) appears to be more conservative in its phonetic structure than Wakka-Wakka (A).

List of informants

10.2 In the following short description, as well as in the material incorporated in the general Wakka-Wakka vocabulary (12), reference to informants is according to the principles in the Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam sections (5.2; 8.2).

Wul BP: Mr. Bernie Pope, at Eidsvold; he says both his father and mother were Wuli-Wuli.

Wul LW: Mrs. Lottie West (about 75), at Eidsvold, the sister of Bernie Pope; she says her mother was from the Springsure area (while her grandmother, also from Springsure, was said to have been a Gangulu).

Wul QD: Mrs. Queenie Dodd (now Mrs. Meldrum), at Moura, younger sister of the preceding informant).

Phonology

10.3 The phonetic system of Wuli-Wuli is the same as that of Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam and most of the current sound changes and general trends in the phonetic evolution are found to be the same. Wuli-Wuli (like Wakka-Wakka (B)) often shows more original forms than Wakka-Wakka (A): *dijŋ a fly* hence corresponds to Wakka-Wakka *diŋ, ŋia I* to Wakka-Wakka *ŋe* and *giam mouth* to Wakka-Wakka *ge'm* (the uncontracted forms occurring more seldom in Wakka-Wakka). The common tendency according to which *ia* passes to *e* in the Wakka languages is often at an intermediate stage in Wuli-Wuli, the diphthong *ea* being a typical product, as in: *meal* for *mial eye* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *me*), *meŋi* for *mianŋi chased* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *me'pi*, idem). In an analogous way we find *boal boal* (or *buol buol*) for *bual butterfly*, *gam goa* for *gam gua for meat* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *gam gu*, idem).

10.4 More typical, however, is the contraction of *u(w)a* to *a* (in place of *o*, as in Wakka-Wakka): *ja he, she* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *jo*), *jaŋa him, her* (for *jaŋa*; cf. Wakka-Wakka *joŋa, joŋa* idem, the primitive forms being respectively *ju(w)a, ju(w)aŋa*); in the same way probabl. also: *ga-wa put into* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *go*, idem, if originally **gu(w)awa*).¹⁰³ Original **awu* corresponds to *a* in Wuli-Wuli *ga'n* or (shortened) *gaŋ want*, to which corresponds Barunggam *gaup*, Wakka-Wakka *go'n* (shortened *goŋ*; cf. 6.12).

10.5 Wuli-Wuli has, like Barunggam, the vowel *u* in *gumbem owner*, where Wakka-Wakka has *i* (*gimbem*), which latter may be due to the influence of the preceding palatal consonant (cf. 6.10); the Wakka-Wakka form would then be secondary in relation to the one in Wuli-Wuli. The relation between Wuli-Wuli *piwam you two* (see 11.6) and Wakka-Wakka *ŋo'm* (idem) is difficult to see (perhaps the forms are quite unrelated, as the initial sound also differs). The forms *giwa* or *gua night owl* or *mopoke* are both found in Wuli-Wuli (as also in Wakka-Wakka); in this case it is difficult to determine which might be the more original one.

10.6 The form *gaiwar (rainbow)* is found in Wuli-Wuli and Barunggam, corresponding to Wakka-Wakka *gior*, and in exactly the same way Wuli-Wuli *baiwun dream* corresponds to Wakka-Wakka *bion*. The exact course of phonetic evolution in this particular case is by no means clear, but it seems that Wuli-Wuli represents a more primitive stage.

10.7 Assimilation of a to e is as common in Wuli-Wuli as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam: Wuli-Wuli *gengena calling*, *jerenge going (home)* (from *janangaj; cf. Wakka-Wakka *janande*, idem). (The latter form in Wuli-Wuli, *jerenge*, also shows the almost universal passing of intervocalic -n- into -r- in the current pronunciation.) Also the widening of i to e in any final syllable of dissyllabic (or longer) words is more common in Wuli-Wuli than in Wakka-Wakka (cf. 6.15).

10.8 Some cases of intrusive -r were noted in the pronunciation of our main informant (Wul QD) and are worth mentioning, as in: jo·r for jo· *he, she*, je·r for je (= ja(·), idem) or in the verb form jumbe·r for jumbe· (*sending*). This merely copies a current tendency in Queensland English.

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

11.1 Wuli-Wuli diverges perhaps more from Wakka-Wakka in point of morphology than does Barunggam; at the same time the material collected from the former language is rather more limited. In these circumstances the morphological picture of Wuli-Wuli will be somewhat rudimentary. The structure of the various word stems as well as the principles of derivation are largely the same as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam and so are the derivative suffixes. Among nominal derivational suffixes we find: -gan (expression of females), as in *nuamgan wife* (cf. *nuam husband*); -ŋal (sociative), as in *buluŋal pregnant* (cf. *bulu* or *buluŋ stomach, belly*).

11.2 The following verbal derivative suffixes were recorded: (1) *causative* -ma-, as in: *garima- put in* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *gari- enter*), *gilama- turn round* (TR; cf. below); (2) *associative* -la- (-le-), as in *gaila- look for* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *gaji-*, idem, and 7.6); and (3) *reflexive* -ŋi-, as in *gilanji- turn round* (ITR; cf. *gilama-*, TR, above). The suffixes -ge-, -ge-, -ji- are used in Wuli-Wuli in the same way as the corresponding ones in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.9): e.g. *wagimge- wash* (Wul LW).

(b) Inflection

11.3 *Declension*. The nominal declension in Wuli-Wuli does not seem to deviate from Wakka-Wakka. No possessive forms were met with; ergative forms probably as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. 7.12). Of nouns ending in a vowel the following forms only were recorded (from *gane spear*, *damba track*, *maura*, name of a place, 'Moura'):

NOM	<i>gane, damba, maura</i>
ERG	<i>ganeju</i>
ABL	<i>dambanu, mauranu</i>

Of nouns ending in a nasal (*murun Aboriginal man*, *gujum fire*, *giam mouth*, *gangup spear*):

NOM	<i>murun, gujum, giam, gangup</i>
ERG	<i>giambu, gangungu</i>
OBJ	<i>muruna</i>
ABL	<i>gujumu</i>

Of nouns ending in -l or -r (mial *eye*, gagar *porcupine*, gumundur *turtle*, manburir *blue gum tree*):

NOM mial, gagar, gumundur, manburir
 ERG gagaru, gumunduru
 ABL mialnu (mialu ?), manburirnu

11.4 The *locative* is expressed—as occasionally in Wakka-Wakka—by the ablative form and the *allative* either by the ablative or the postposition gu (which in Wuli-Wuli is more typically gua): gam gua (*go*) *for meat* (cf. the use of an originally allative suffix -wa for the Wakka-Wakka -u in the intentional mode; cf. 11.12). An unambiguous allative suffix (-wa) is used in gunduwa, gundua, (*go*) *home* (cf. Wakka-Wakka gurulbau *to Gooroolba*; see 7.12). A perlative form (cf. 7.11) is found in: dambara janande *going along the road*, jurumbara *on the sand* (from respectively damba; jurumbar; both from Wul QD).

11.5 *Articles*. The articles found in Wuli-Wuli are -bam (cf. 6.9; 10.4) and -gin. No difference in meaning can be detected: murunbam or murungin (*some*) *dark people*. The mixed form brother-gin (*my*) *brothers* (Wul QD) indicates the use of -gin in terms of relationship (cf. 7.16; 9.5); compare further qa·ringin *my relations* (Wul QD; see 11.7). Both suffixes are joined together in ginbamgin, in the same sense as ginbam (*some*) *women*.

11.6 *Personal pronouns*. Forms of the personal pronouns were recorded for the following persons: (singular) ŋia *I*; ŋin *you*; jo·, ja· (ja) *he, she*; (dual) ŋam *we*; niwam *you*, wulam *they*; (plural) ŋai *we*; wuli *they*. The paradigms are as follows:

First person singular:

NOM ŋia
 ERG ŋaɟu, ɟu
 OBJ ŋaɲa
 POSS ŋa·ri (-rip)

Second person singular:

NOM ŋin
 ERG ŋindu
 OBJ ŋina, na
 POSS ŋingari

Third person singular:

NOM jo·, ja¹⁰⁹
 ERG jalu, jaru, ru
 OBJ jaɲa, ɲa

First person dual:

NOM ŋam
 ERG ŋambu, ŋamundu

Second person dual:

NOM niwam, ŋo·m¹¹⁰

Third person dual:

NOM wulam
 ERG bulambu¹¹¹

First person plural:

NOM ɲai

Third person plural:

NOM wuli, li (-li)
 ERG wuliru
 OBJ wuliɲa

11.7 Compound forms are found as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam: (inclusive) ɲam ɲin *we two, you and me*; (exclusive) ɲam jo· (ɲam ja) *she and I* (Wul QD); ɲo·m jo· *you two* appears to be Wakka-Wakka. The alternative third person form malu is the same as the identical ergative form in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.22), but is used in Wuli-Wuli as a nominative also: ɲana malu ba·n *who is coming there?* (*who is he coming?* Wul QD). The possessive form ɲa·riɲ *my, mine* was found provided with the plural article -ɲin (see 11.5) in the sense of *my relations*.

11.8 *Demonstrative pronouns.* The demonstrative pronouns are: ɲana, ɲara *here, this* and mana, mara *there, that*; no flection forms were recorded. Examples: ɲana jo· bai *he has come (here)* (Wul LW), mana jo· ba·n *he is coming (there)* (Wul LW). As in Wakka-Wakka there are what appears to be shortened forms: na and ra (-ra), as in biripe ɲa ra *took him there (?)* (Wul QD). In Wuli-Wuli the form na is however ambiguous, as -na is a common verbal (imperfective) suffix: ɲindu ɲapa ɲaje na *you will see me there* (Wul LW), for instance, may be understood as ɲajena *seeing, will see* (cf. 11.10).

11.9 *Interrogative pronouns.* The interrogative pronouns in Wuli-Wuli are (personal) ɲana *who?* and (of things or kind) mipa *what?*, of which the following inflected forms were recorded:

ɲana *who?*:

NOM ɲana
 ERG ɲandu
 OBJ ɲana

mipa *what?*:

NOM mipa
 ALL mipangu¹¹²

11.10 *Conjugation.* The Wuli-Wuli conjugation pattern recalls Barunggam. There are two regular types of conjugation: (1) one with the 'thematic element' (see 7.28) *-j- and (2) one with the corresponding element being a nasal (-n-, -p-); besides (3) there are irregular types. In the first type of regular conjugation the *imperfective* mode ends in -ena (corresponding to Wakka-Wakka -e; also cf. 9.11) and the *intentional* in -wa; in the second regular conjugation the imperfective may end in -na (instead of -nge) and the *perfective* in -ɲi while the *intentional* is in -wa (otherwise the inflection is as in Wakka-Wakka).

11.11 *Paradigms*. The following paradigms will illustrate the above points (model verbs: (1) *janga- do, make, ganga- call*; (2) *nine- sit, juli- sing, bawi- (bau-, baji-) stand*; (3) *ja- go, ba-- come, na-- see, wa- give*).

janga- do, make; ganga- call:

IMP *janga*
 IPF *jange*,¹¹³ *gangena*
 PF *jangai*
 INT *jangawa*

nine- sit:

IMP *nine*
 IPF *ninena* (*ninenge*)
 INT *ninewa* (*ninawa, ninau*)

juli- sing:

IMP *juli*
 IPF *julina*
 PF *julipi*
 INT *juliwa*

bawi- (bau-, baji-) stand

IMP *baje* (< *baji*; cf. 10.7)
 IPF *bajena, baine, bauna, ba·nge*¹¹⁴
 PF *baipe, baupi*
 INT *bajewa*

ja- go:

IMP *jana*
 IPF *janande* (*jerenge*)
 PF *japi*
 INT *jangu*

ba-- come:

IMP *ba·*
 IPF *baje, ba·n, be·*¹¹⁴
 PF *bai*
 INT *bawa, ba·*

na-- see:

IPF *ne·na, ne·ra, naje, ne*¹¹⁴
 PF *na·pi* (*na·ge*)
 INT *nawa*

wa-- give:

IMP *wa·*
 IPF *we·* (*Wakka-Wakka ?*)
 PF *wuji*
 INT *wugu* (*weu; Wakka-Wakka ?*)

(c) Construction

11.12 The principles of construction are in every respect the same in Wuli-Wuli as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam. The use of two ergatives with a transitive verb is seen in: wuliru jimbipe ganeju or gamgundu *they hit or pierced (him) with spears* (Wul QD; cf. 3.15). A variant of the common construction with two forms expressing the purpose, that is an allative of a nominal word and the intentional mode of the accompanying verb (see 3.23, Note 39) is found in: janande gungu(w)a junewa *going home for to sleep* (Wul QD); here gunduwa is the allative of the noun gundu *house, home* (cf. 11.4). A case of grammatical agreement is found in: baganu dambanu *on another road* (Wul QD), from бага *another* and damba *track, road* (cf. 3.12; 7.34).

Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli vocabulary

12. For practical reasons this vocabulary is based on one language, Wakka-Wakka (A). Words and forms which are the same in the other languages are not entered separately, while such forms as have been found in one of the latter languages only are indicated by the corresponding signatures (Wak B, Bar, Wul; cf. further Note 41). In the cases of words and forms heard from more than one informant these are not mentioned by their initials, whereas in the opposite case complete reference to the informants is made (also cf. 4.3). For each item indication of word category (see 3.1; 4.2) is made; for nominal and verbal stems—the latter always followed by a hyphen—the recorded flectional forms are listed (for brevity the verb forms are placed in this order: *imperative, imperfective, perfective, intentional*, without further indication) or else reference is made to the corresponding brief chapters on phonology and morphology. The arrangement of the items is alphabetical, the phonetic symbols being ranged in the following order: a, b, d, g, e, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, p, o, r, u, w.

B

ba CONN (3.3).

ba- V ITR (7.31; 9.12; 11.11).
come, rise (of the sun or moon),
fall (of rain): bia ba- come
back, jia ba- come (here), ŋagu
joŋa ŋaŋi bai na I saw him
coming (Wak AB).

-ba DER SFX (7.3).

-ba- V DER SFX (7.5).

baba N (7.12) father, (sometimes)
God. —cf. babu.

babaŋ N father-in-law (Wak SH).

babu N ERG babulu (babuju, Wak B);
OBJ babuŋa 1. father
(especially of a deceased father;

Wak SH); 2. Aboriginal 'priest'
(Wak TM); 3. God: babu bepu the
father above (Wak TM). —cf. baba.

baduin N mouse (Wak:Gor RD).

bagā N ERG bagaru (Wak TM); OBJ
bagana; POSS bagari, -rin (Bar
AB); ABL baganu; LOC bagani
another, someone else, a certain,
one (in ABL and LOC 'from or at
another place', 'far away', 'high
up (on a mountain)'); baga gu
(Wak TM) or bagangu (Wak SH) to
another place or far away, baga
gari another's (Wak TM); ART
bagaram ERG bagarambu, bagabam
some, the other, some others.

bagala N the Pialba, Fraser Island
and Maryborough language.

bangga *N*, *LOC* banggaŋi log (Bar AB).

bangabula *N*, *ERG* bangabulandu
pelican (Bar AB).

banġu *N* money (Bar HD).

baŋu (boŋu) *POST* (3.17; 6.11)
from, off: jo budin ne boŋu he
is bigger than I (Wak SH), gana
mana boŋu galaŋ this is better
than that (Wak SH).

baim *N* pipe.

baima- *V TR* baima; baime; baimai
take off (scales of fish; Wak SH).

baiwun *N* (10.6) dream; baiwun gu
ŋaŋi I dreamed (Wul QD).

baji (bai) *N* long-leafed ironbark
(Wak WC); also the name of a
place, Byee (near Murgon).

baji- *V ITR* ba·; ba·nge, bajinge,
be·nge (Wak VL, Bar AB), ba·ninge
(Wak SH); ba·ŋi; baju (ba·ngu,
Bar AB); (6.13; 8.7; 9.12).

1. stand up; 2. come up, out,
rise (sun or moon); 3. get wild
(mad, angry): wanga baju when it
rains (rain comes up, Wak WC;
cf. ba·-). -cf. bau-, bawi-.

bajir (bair) *N* (7.14, 15, Note 75)
1. mountain; 2. rough (ground;
Bar AB).

ba·l *N* wild, angry: ba·l wa·-
(cf. wa·-²).

bala¹ *N* fish, (especially) jewfish;
bala gu goŋ I want jewfish; *ART*
balagin some or a lot of jewfish
(Wak TM).

bala² *N* 1. semen (Wak TM); 2. penis
(Bar AB; cf. daga(ŋ)); 3. sexually
active person (Bar AB; cf. balaŋ).

bala bala *N* = bala² (Wak SH).

balaŋ *N* sexually active person
(Bar AB). -cf. bala².

balan *N* flat: mu· balan, ginaŋ
balan flat belly, feet (Wak BC).

-bam (-bom) *ART* (7.15-16).

bama *N* black fellow; murun bama
(idem; Bar AB).

bama- (-bama-) *V TR* bama; bame;
bama; bamau make, be occupied
in: gangur bama- make sick (Wak
SH), gum bama- smoke (Wak WC).

ba·ma- *V CAUS* ba·ma; ba·me; ba·mai;
ba·mau stand (something or some-
one) up (Wak WC). -cf. baji-

bamba- *V TR* bamba; bambe; bambai;
bambau hit, strike, spear, shoot:
bambai (the lightning) struck
(Wak TM), bambai ganeru speared
(Wak JC). -cf. bomba- (Wak A).

ba·mgaŋ *N* (9.2) day, daylight,
daybreak (Bar AB).

ban *N*, *ABL* banu grass.

ban ban *N*, *ABL* ban banu Ban Ban
(a place): ban ban gu janande
going to Ban Ban (Wak WC). -cf.
ban.

banda *N* Bunda, name of a social
section (a banda marries a
bangurgan and the children become
baraŋ); *ART* bandagin all the
Bundas (Wak TM).

bandagan *N* a female Bunda (see
banda; Bar AB).

bandup *N* paddymelon (Bar AB).

bangi *N* friend, sweetheart
(= nomgaŋ; Bar AB).

bangili *N*, *ERG* bangiliju, bangilipu
or bangiliru net, especially
fish net: ganbam bangiliŋa (*SOC*)
janande the men go with a fishing
net (Wak TN).

bangur *N* name of a social section
(a bangur marries a bandagan and
the children become baraŋ).

bangurgan *N* a female bangur (Bar
AB).

banga- (bange-) *V ITR* bangenge
(bangange, Wak SH, RS); bangeŋi
(6.18) be frightened, afraid.
-cf. benge- (Bar).

bangema- *V CAUS IMP* bangema; *INT*
bangema (Wak JW) frighten. -cf.
banga-.

bapi *N* 1. bunya tree (= bapi dadu
Wul QD); 2. bunya nut(s) or pods
(Wak JW, DK); 3. any pine tree
(Wak WC): bapi gari dorog
needle(s) of pine tree (Wak WC).

ba^{pu} *REL ?* (coming) from: jo ba^{pu}
gindanu he comes from Gayndah,
ne Europe-nu ba^{pu} I come from
Europe (Wak TM).

-bara *N DER SFX* (9.2).

ba·ra- *V ASS* ba·ra; ba·re; ba·rai;
ba·rau bring (Wak TM). -cf.
ba·ri-.

bara^ŋ (ba·ra^ŋ ?) *N* Barang, name
of a social section (bara^ŋ
marries garwa^ŋ; Wul QD).

bara^ŋban *N* the same as bara^ŋ
(Wak TM).

bara^ŋgan *N* a female bara^ŋ

baralga *N* native companion (Bar AB).

baram *N* red ant, meat ant.

baran *N, ERG* barandu boomerang:
baranga (SOC) jo ba·n he comes
with a boomerang (Wak TM).

bari *N, ERG* bariju, barilu,
barindu; *OBJ* bari^ŋa, barina;
POSS bariri (-rin, -rip) child,
young of animal, little, small:
baririp (sic) gari the child's
belonging (Wak SH), gagore bari
little child (Wak SH); *ART*
barilam (-lom; *ERG* barilombu,
OBJ bariloma), barirom (Wak RS)
the children, some children.

bari bari *N* little child, baby,
little; *ART* bari barilam (some)
little ones.

ba·ri- *V ASS* ba·ri (ba·ra, Wak SH,
once); ba·ringe; ba·ripi; ba·riu
(7.6) bring; jia ba·ri- bring
(here). -cf. ba·ra- (Wak B).

barunga *N* 1. kangaroo rat;
2. Dalby (Bar AB); 3. the Dalby
Aboriginal language (Bar AB):
barunga gu jangu to go to Dalby.
-cf. barungam.

barungam *N* Barunggam (the name of
a tribe and language; see 1.3):
ne barungam I am a Barunggam
(Bar AB). -cf. barunga.

bau- (baji) *V ITR* 11.11) stand,
stand up (Wul QD). -cf. baji-
(Wak A), bawi- (Wak B).

bawan *N* bad (Wul LW)

bawar *N* (7.14) bush, scrub; bawar
gu (go) to the bush (also used
as an euphemism for having
intercourse; Bar AB), bawara
(perlative) janande going along
the bush (Wak SH).

bawem *N* tongue (Wak WC)

bawi- *V ITR* bawi (bawa); bawinge;
bawipi; bau (6.13; 11.11) stand,
stand up (Wak TM). -cf. baji-
(Wak A), bau- (Wul).

bebejem *N, ERG* bebejembu, bebejumbu
(true) father, (especially) God
(Bar AB); biralu man bebejem
God is the Father. -cf. baba,
babu.

bege- *V ITR* begenge come; ne gue
ne begenge I am coming from
there (Wak JW). -cf. Batjala
baga- come.

be·ŋa- *V* biana-

be·l *N* hair, (especially) hair on
the body (Wak SH, WC)

be·l be·l *N* fig tree (Wak WC)

bem *N* skin (Wak JW)

benge- *V ITR* bengenge be afraid
(Bar AB). -cf. banga-.

be·nge, *v.* baji-, bia-.

be·ngir *N* red oak (Wak WC).

be'pu REL (from) above (Wak TM):
gundu(ŋu) bepu above the house,
dadunu bepu up in the tree.
-cf. bianu (Wak A).

be'puŋu REL from above (Wak TM):
be'puŋu ŋe bai I have come from
above.

bi- V TR bi-, binge, bini, biju,
biu carry, take (away): joŋa
(memeju) bini he was born (by
his mother; Wak WC), bini guŋgu
was taken by the water (Wak JW).

bia REL back; bia ba- come back.

bia- (bija-) V TR bia; bie (cf.
2.5), be'ŋge (Wak SH); biai
(be'ŋi, Wak TM); biau throw,
drop; jaramandu biai ŋapa the
horse threw me (Wak RS).

biaguŋu REL from behind (Wak SH).
-cf. bianu.

biana- (be'ŋa-) V TR biana, biange,
biani (?); biana; biana; hear,
listen, know, understand, remem-
ber, think: ŋagu joŋa biani I
know him, ŋagu waga biani or
waga gu biane I do not know,
biana ŋapa to remember me
(Wak SH), ŋagu mana girana be'ŋi
I think it is a porcupine (Wak
SH), ŋe biani I was thinking,
ŋindu biana gaga listen, brother
(Wak SH), binangu biane hears
(Wak TM), giam biane (can)
understand (a language; Bar AB).

biani REL (probably) behind:
ganan biani ba'ŋge the sun is
rising behind ... (?) (Wak WC).

bianu REL (from) behind; burum
joŋa buai bianu hit him (in) his
back from behind (Wak SH).

biama REL back; biama bai has
come back (Wak JW), ŋin biama
you (come) back (Wak RS), je jana
biama go back (here; Wak RS).
-cf. bia.

bianu REL on top; gunduŋu bianu
on top of the house (Wak WC).
-cf. be'pu (Wak B).

biar N (6.7, Note 48) mountain
(Wak WC). -cf. bajir.

bibar (biba) N letter, newspaper
(Bar AB; Wul QD).

bibire- V ITR bibirenge walk over,
go over (Wak:Gor VR).

bigari N native tobacco, chewing
tobacco ('pitchery'; Bar AB).

biganu REL behind; gundu biganu
(= binu) behind the house. -cf.
biganu.

bigapu REL behind; pin bigapu
behind you, dadunu bigapu behind
the tree (Wak TM; also bigani (?),
the corresponding LOC form).
-cf. biganu.

bingan N snake (Wul BP, LW, QD).

bil N (7.14) cold; guŋ bil cold
water, bil janande getting cold,
bilu boe dying from cold (Wak WC).

bil bil N cold; bil bil be-
getting cold; also the name of a
place, O'Bil Bil (Wak WC).

bi'la- V ASS bi'le take; jalu
mana bile he is sneaking away
with that (Wak TM). -cf. bi'ra-
bi'ri-.

bila bila REL ? doing oneself up;
jo bila bila he is showing off
(also 'he is cheeky'; Wak TM).

bilan N hawk, eaglehawk (Wul QD).

bilba- V ITR bilba, bilbe, bilbai
get cold, have a cold. -cf. bil,
bil bil, bilbe-.

bilbe- V ITR (PF) bilbepi be cold:
ŋe bilbepi I am cold now (Wak SH).
-cf. bilba-.

bilili N dry (Wak:Gor RD); bugur
bilili dry throat.

bi'na- V ASS bi'ne take; biralungu
bine ŋaina God takes everybody
(or 'us all') home. -cf. bila-
bira-, biri-.

binan *N*, *ERG* binangu ear: binan wamba- listen, binangu biana- hear (Wak TM), binan jombu wambe minanda jom jale they are listening to one another (Wak WC), binan nari guin I cannot hear (Wak PB), ne binan gunba I am deaf (Bar AB). -cf. wamba-

binanguin (-gun) deaf, disobedient: binangun bari a disobedient child (Wak BC).

binar *N* initiation rule or ceremony, bora ground, meeting (place); according to Wak WC, 'war', which seems mistaken: binar gu (or gua, Wak TM) ne janande I am going to the bora ring.

binbir *N* grasshopper (Wak WC)

binga *N* the name of a place, Binjour (Wak DL). -cf. binur.

binga *N* hat.

bingin *N* turtle (Wak DK).

bini (bine) *REL* behind (Bar AB).

binu *REL* behind: waga binu ba- don't stand behind (Wak PB), gundu binu behind the house, dadulu binu behind the tree (Wak PB), binu wane- leave behind (Bar AB).

binur *N* bandicoot, grey rat; also the name of a place, Binjour. -cf. binga.

bion *N* (10.6) dream (Wak SH). -cf. biun biun, baiwun.

bionba- *V TR* (bionba; bionbe; bionbai) dream; ngagu bionbai mana, jona I dreamed about that, him (Wak SH), bionbai waga galan had a bad dream (Wak SH).

bi-ra- *V ASS* (bi-re; bi-rau) take, take away (Wak TM). -cf. biri- (Wak A).

biralu (biralun; biralunga; biralu(η)gan ?) *N*, *ERG* biralungu; *ABL* biralun (9.4) God, Creator; biralunga darin God is strong (Wak SH),

biralu jo galan God is good (Wak SH), biralungu ga- jangai God has made the earth, ninenge biralun stays with God (Wak SH).

biran *N* big; me-, mu- biran big eyes, stomach (Wak BC).

bi-ri- *V. ASS* bi-ri (bi-re); bi-ringe; bi-ripi; bi-reu take, take away, carry; mana jalu mujim biringe he is carrying the tomahawk (Wak SH). -cf. bira-, bila- (Wak B), bina-.

birun *N ABL* birunu; *LOC* biruni stump of a tree; mana biruni gun there is water in the stump (Wak SH).

biun *N* ribs ('elbow' or 'shoulder' Wak PB).

biauna *N* real bottle tree (Bar AB).

biun biun *N* dream; biun biun ngagu nani I have seen in a dream (Bar AB).

boji (baji) *POST* (6.11) of, from, belonging to: murun boji the man's, barilam boji belonging to the children, manggi boji dia carcass of a sheep, gun boji mapi got it from the water (Wak PB). -cf. banu.

bo-ŋi, *v.* bua⁻³

bo-ŋi- *V ITR (PF)* bo-ŋipi die (Bar AB). -cf. bo-ŋi (bua⁻³)

boŋu, *v.* banu.

boja⁻¹ *V TR* bo-; boje (boi) poke; waga ngindu jona bo- don't you poke him (Wak TM). -cf. bua⁻¹

boja⁻², *v.* bua⁻³.

boju *N* two (people); murun gan boju ba'n two men or people are coming (Wak TM). -cf. buaju

-bom, *v.* -bam

bomba- *V TR* (bomba; bombai) hit; waga ngindu nana bomba don't you hit me (Wak SH); originally *buamba- (?). -cf. bamba- (Wak B).

boro- *V TR (IMP)* boro fight
(Wak SH): waga ɲindu joŋa boro
don't you fight him. -cf. boroji-

boroji- *V REFL* boroji (boroja);
boroinge (borojinge, Wak TM);
boroɲi; boroingu (borojeu, Wak
WC; borojigu, Wak TM); (7.7)
fight; bujun boroinge two are
fighting. -cf. boro-

bowa *N POSS* bowari; *ABL* bowaŋu
mother's mother (Wak JC); bowaŋu
(living) with (or 'off') his
grandmother. -cf. buja.

bua¹ *N* maggot (Wak SH)

bua² *N ERG* bualu; *OBJ* buaŋa;
ABL buaŋu, buanu two: buliman
bua two policemen, buaŋa ɲaŋi
saw both, buaŋu twice or two
nights (Wak SH), jalu ɲaŋa bumi
buaŋu he hit me twice or again
(Wak SH). -cf. buaju.

bua-¹ *V TR* bua; bue; buai (boi);
buaŋ poke, spear, sting; guendu
bue spearing (Wak SH), goru
ɲina buai the wasp stung you
(Wak WC). -cf. boja- (Wak B).

bua-² (bo-) *V TR* bua (bo-); boe;
bua (boi) blow, put out (fire);
ɲindu mi bua jurinba blow and
wipe your nose (Wak SH), gujum
bua (bo-) blow out the fire.

bua-³ (bo-, boja-) *V ITR* bo-;
boje, boe; bo-ɲi; bou (2.5,
Note 12) die, go out (of the
fire): gujum boe the fire is
going out, murun boe a man is
dying, guroi boje (I) am hungry
(Wak VL), waga jo bo-ɲi he never
died (Wak SH), jo bo-ɲi he is
dead, bula bo-ɲi the cow is dead
or a dead cow.

bua bua *N* butterfly (Wak WC)

buaju *N ERG* buaju; *OBJ* buajuŋa
two. -cf. boju (Wak B).

bual bual *N* butterfly (Wul QD).

-buam, v. -bom, -bam.

buan *REL* asleep (Bar AB); buan
junenge lying asleep. -cf.
buandi-.

buanda *REL* at night (Wakka-Wakka ?
from Willie McKenzie, cf. 1.6;
possibly a perlativ). -cf. buan.

buandi- (buande-) *V ITR* buande
(buanda); buandinge (buange);
buandini; buandingu; buangu,
buandeu sleep, go to sleep,
camp; ɲia mari buandini buaŋu
I camped there two nights (Wak
SH), jo jani buan(d)ingu he went
to sleep (Wak SH), memendu bariŋa
janga buangu the mother put the
child to sleep (Wak SH), ɲam ɲin
buandeu we must or want to sleep
(Wak JC). -cf. buan.

buanma- *V CAUS (IMP)* buanma put
to sleep (Wak SH); ɲindu gagoreŋa
buanma you put the child to
sleep. -cf. buan, buandi-.

bubigan *N* the name of a place,
Boobyjan (Wak WC, DL).

bubul *N* tired, weak (Wak TM, Wak:
Gor RD). -cf. bubur.

bubur *N* tired (Wak SH, Wak:Gor RD);
ɲe bubur I am tired. -cf. bubul.

budi- *V ITR* budinge rise (of
water, with the tide; Wak SH).
-cf. budin, budip.

budin *N* big (Bar AB). -cf. budip.

budip *N* big, many: budip ɲan or
dan budip many people, gundu
bajir budip a big house,
mountain, budip je- (the water)
is rising (Wak SH; cf. budi-);
(ART) budipbom many (people).
-cf. budin.

budir *N* dead, finished; jo budir
he is dead (Wak SH), budir gu
bo-ɲi (idem; Wak SH), buma-
budir gu kill (Wak SH, TM).

bugigan *N* (9.2) cat, pussy (Bar AB).

buguŋ *N* nose (Bar AB).

bugum (Wak PB; buguŋ, Wak SH)
spunk (to light a fire); either
a soft powder (Wak SH) or dry sap
of trees (Wak PB).

buga *N* stinking, rotten (as of
clothes; Wak TM).

bugin *N* *ERG* bugingu; *OBJ* bugina
(tame) dog; bugin nuaji dingo
(Wak TM); (*ART*) buginbom mob of
dogs (Wak SH).

bugur *N* *ERG* buguru; *ABL* bugurnu
1. throat; 2. string; 3. clever
man (= gundir; Wak JC); buguru
dari tie with a string.

buner *N* bottle tree (Wak WC).
-cf. bunair.

buinba *N* the name of a place,
Booinba (Wak WC).

buja *N* *POSS* bujari mother's
mother (Wak JC). -cf. bowa

bujam *N* witchetty grub (Wak DL).

buje- *V* *ITR* bujenge (9.10) be
brothers (Bar AB): ŋam bujenge
we two are brothers. -cf. buju,
bujun bujun.

buji (bui) *N* *ERG* bujilu, bujindu
carpetsnake.

buju *N* calf of leg, leg,
shin(bone).

buju- *V* *ITR* bujunge (9.10) be
brothers (Bar AB); ŋam bujunge
we two are brothers. -cf. buje-,
buju buju-, bujun bujun.

buju buju- *V* *ITR* buju bujunge
(9.10) be brothers (Bar AB): ŋam
buju bujunge we three (sic) are
brothers. -cf. buju.

bujun *N* *ABL* bujunu two (human
beings), two brothers, twins.

bujun bujun (bujun bujen-, Bar AB);
N *ERG* bujun bujundu two
(brothers; = bujun), each other;
bujun bujun ŋange the two can see
one another (Wak SH); ŋom bujun
bujundu na you two look at one
another (Wak SH); (*ART*) ŋam bujun
bujengin we two (are) brothers
(Bar AB). -cf. buje-, buju buju-.

bula¹ *N* two; bula two (children;
Wul QD), bula gior two rainbows
(Wak SH).

bula² *N* bullock, cow, cattle,
meat; bulari gam beef (Bar AB),
bulaŋu dia bones of a (dead) cow
(Wak SH); (*ART*) bulabom cattle
(Wak SH).

bulam *N* or *PERS PRON* (11.6) the
two (Wul QD).

bular¹ *N* cattle (Bar AB). -cf.
bula².

bular² *N* bread (Bar AB). -cf.
bulor.

bulel *N* narrow-leafed ironbark,
also the name of a place (Wak WC).

bulgal *N* the name of a place,
Boolgal (Wak WC).

buliman *N* *ERG* bulimandu police-
man.

bulor *N* flour, bread. -cf. bular²

bulu *N* *LOC* buluŋi 1. stomach;
2. front: buluŋi in front (Wak TM).
-cf. buluŋ¹.

buluŋ¹ *N* *LOC* buluŋi 1. stomach
(Wak TM); 2. front; buluŋi in
front (Wak TM).

buluŋ² *N* top (Wak SH); buluŋ gu
(climbed) to the top.

buluŋal *N* (11.1) pregnant (Wak TM).
-cf. bulu, buluŋ¹.

bululungan *N* my dear old home
(= ganan ganan, Wak TM; according
to Wak WC, it is Wuli-Wuli).

buma- (bum-) *V* *TR* buma; bume; bumi;
bumgu (9.10) hit, beat, strike,
kill, kick, scratch, punish:
dadulu buma hit with a stick,
gilindu bumi scratched (Wak SH),
wululu bumi kicked (Wak SH).
-cf. buma-^{1,2}

bumba-¹ *V* *TR* bumba, bumbe, bumbi,
hit, beat; dadulu bumbe hitting
with a stick. -cf. buma-.

bumba-² *V* *ITR* (PF) bumbape fight
(Wul QD); bulambu (sic) bumbape
the two fought. -cf. bumge-.

bumge- *V REC* bumge; bumge*ni*
 fight (Wak SH).
 bumi- *V ITR* bumi; buminge; bumipi;
 bumiu (9.10, 12) 1. fall; 2. die;
 gaba bumipi fell down (Wak WC),
 ɲandu bumipi who died? (Wak PB),
 bumipi dead (Wak RS).
 bunair (buner) *N* fully grown
 bottle tree (Wak SH). —cf. bu*ŋ*er.
 bunbi (bunbir, Wak BC) *N ABL*
 bunbi*ŋ*u, bunbinu bag, dillibag.
 bunduma *N* a little yellow nut,
 also the name of a place,
 Boondooma (Wak WC).
 bundur *N ERG* bunduru knee;
 bunduru bumi kicked with the
 knee (Wak SH).
 bunem *N* a kind of pine tree (Wak
 WC).
 bunma- *V TR* bunma; bunmai take
 off, take out, push, pull, skin;
 dilim bunma take off the skin
 (Wak SH), bunma, bunmai (= dari
 dari*ni*) pull, pulled (Wak WC).
 bu*ŋ*ur *N* dust, ashes (Wul QD)
 bura *N OBJ* burapa Bootha
 (surname), the common way of
 referring to Wak AB.
 buran *N ERG* burandu wind; buran
 janga make wind, blow (Wak PB),
 burandu wung*ni* gone with the
 wind (Wak PB). —cf. buranda.
 buranba *N* Barambah mission,
 Cherbourg; usually explained as
 (Wakka-Wakka) buran be· (wind
 coming), but it is evidently one
 of the many place names in
 '-ba(h)' (see 3.6); janande
 buranba going to Cherbourg
 (buranbe gu is purely artificial).
 —cf. buran.
 buran*ŋ*a *N* storm (Bar AB; sociative
 derivation of buran, q.v.).
 bure- *V ITR* bure*ŋ*e be frightened
 (Wak RS).

buri- *V TR (PF)* bur*ni* take from
 (Wak:Gor RD); ɲadu jona bur*ni*
 I took it off him.
 buru¹ *N ERG* bururu 1. axe (Wak
 TM); 2 penis; bururu gawa cut
 with an axe.
 buru² *N ABL* burunu; *LOC* buruni
 hill (Wak RS). —cf. buru*ŋ*
 buru*ŋ* *N* mountain (Wak SH); buru*ŋ*
 gu to the mountain top. —cf.
 buru²
 buru*ŋ*a *N* male (dog, etc.; Bar AB).
 —cf. buru¹.
 burum¹ *N ABL* burumu back; burumu
 on the back (Wak SH).
 burum² *N ABL* burumu mountain
 (top); burumu wai climbed the
 mountain (Wak SH), burum gu to
 the top (Wak SH).
 burumbi *N* thunder or loud noise
 (Wak TM).
 burumgi *N ABL* burumginu; *LOC*
 burumgi*ni* big cave (Wak SH);
 burumginu bai came out of the
 cave.

D

dadu *N ERG* dadulu; *ABL* dadu*ŋ*u,
 dadunu; *LOC* dadu*ŋ*i (9.4) stick,
 tree, log, wood: dadulu wamba-
 climb a tree, dadulu (fighting)
 with a stick, dadulu or dadu*ŋ*u
 wamba- hang (something) on a
 tree, dadunu ɲinenge sitting on
 a log, dadulu we· climbing a
 tree, daduna (perlocative) wa·
 climb a tree (Wak WC); the form
 dadulu is occasionally used as
 nominative; dadulu ma·na grab a
 stick (Wak PB), dadulu gari
 leaves of a tree, hence the
 ablative dadulu*ŋ*u (= dadu*ŋ*u; Wak
 SH).
 dadu gari *N* limbs or leaves of a
 tree (Wak SH). —cf. dadu.

daduŋa *N* wooded (Wak SH); mana
bajir daduŋa that mountain is
wooded.

daga or dagaŋ *N* male private parts
(Bar AB).

daŋa¹ *N* thunder (Bar AB); daŋa
beŋe hearing thunder.

daŋa² *REL* fast; daŋa jana go quick
(Wak:Gor RD), daŋa jani ran away
(Bar AB; Wul LW), daŋa jangu to
run away in a fright (Wak DW, JW,
JC), ŋam ŋin daŋa jangu let us
(two) run away (Bar AB), waga
ŋin daŋa jana don't you run
away (Wul LW).

dai *N* *ERG* dailu; *ABL* daiŋu
1. stone, rock; 2. silver, gold;
3. money; bumipi daiŋu fell off
the rock; (*ART*) dailam (some)
stones (Wak SH). —cf. daji, dawi
(Wak B).

dai dai *N* pebbles (Wak SH).

daiŋa *N* stony; gana ga· daiŋa
this ground is stony (Wak SH).

dai munginge *N* the Laughing Stone
(at Cherbourg).

dail *REL* (probably) not yet (Wak
TM). —cf. gawir.

daim *REL* (probably) in time,
later; daim ŋindu biŋe you will
know in time (Bar AB). —cf. da·m.

daji *N* *ABL* dajiŋu 1. stone, rock;
2. money (Wul QD); daji gu gijai
turned into stone (Wak TM).
—cf. dai (Wak A), dawi.

dalar *N* good or healthy (of
persons; Wak TM).

da·m¹ *N* *ABL* da·mu 1. (bunya) nut;
2. yam (perhaps a different
language or dialect; Wak WC):
go·go damu ants in the nut,
dam gu gon want(s) nuts.

da·m² *REL* (probably) later on,
in time (Wak WC); da·m ŋindu
biŋe you will know (the law)
in time (when you come back from
the bora ground). —cf. daim.

damba *N* *ABL* dambaŋu, dambanu;
(7.12; 11.3-4) 1. (bush) track;
2. way, road; dambaŋu janande
going on or along the road,
dambara (Wak SH; Wul QD), dambaŋa
(Wak TM) (going, coming) along
the road (perlative).

dandar *N* chest.

dandi *N* big; mau dandi big head,
dandi gan, gundu big man, house.

dangi *N* sick (Bar AB); ŋe dangi
I am sick.

da·ran *N* white woman.

dari- *V* *TR* dari; daringe; dariŋi;
dariu 1. tie (with string);
2. pull (out), drag; 3. pinch;
4. dig; buguru dari tie with
a string; gilin gilin dariu
(going) to pull (the fishing line),
gilindu daringe pinching (with
the nails), nala dari dig a hole.

darin *N* heavy, solid, strong, hard,
hot (of the sun); ganan darin je
the sun is getting strong or hot,
guŋ darin jiŋi the water was
strong.

darin darin *N* very strong (Wak SH);
guŋ gana darin darin this water
is very strong.

daru *REL* now, today; ŋia daru
janande I am going now (Wul QD).

darum *N* 1. pomegranate; 2. Taroom;
darum gu janande going to Taroom
(also 'going for pomegranates').

dawi *N* stone (Wak TM). —cf. dai,
daji.

dege *N* dead (Bar AB); cf. Nunagal
dege white man (originally
'stranger, ghost').

de·ŋ *N* tooth, teeth (Wak TM).
—cf. diaŋ (Wak A).

dia *N* bone(s), shinbone, carcass,
skeleton (cf. bula² and wangun);
dia pumbe pointing the bone
(Wak SH), bari bari junepi dia
there was a skeleton of a little
child (carved in the rock; Wak TM).

dian *N* *ERG* diangu (7.2) tooth,
teeth. -cf. de'ŋ (Wak B).

diana *N* having teeth (Wak SH);
ŋia waga diana I have got no
teeth.

di'ŋ *N* (6.13) fly (Wak WC, Bar AB).
-cf. dijiŋ.

dijiŋ *N* (10.3) fly (Wul QD).

dilim *N* *ERG* dilimbu; *ABL* dilimu)
skin (Wak SH); dilim dari skin
(the wallaby).

dinbe- *V* *ITR* dinbe (dinba, Wak SH);
dinbenge; dingeni (dinbai, Wak
WC); dinbeu get up, stand (up),
come out. -cf. gunbe- (Wul).

dinbema- *V* *CAUS* *IMP* dinbema
raise (Wak WC); dinbema get
(him) up. -cf. guninbama-.

dingu *N* 1. wattle tree (Bar AB)
or white ants (? Wak PB); 2.
Tingora; dingu gu jangu to go
to Tingora (Bar AB), dingura
(7.12) Tingora (Wak PB).

dior *N* kidney(s) (Wak SH).

di'r *N* blood.

dirŋa *N* bloody or full of blood.

diri- *V* *TR* dira; diringe; diripi;
direu carry (something) unseen:
jalu diripi he sneaked it (Wak SH).

diwiŋ *N* (6.13) blowfly or any
fly (Wak TN). -cf. di'ŋ, dijiŋ.

do'm *REL* yesterday (Wak DW).

do'mu *REL* tomorrow (Wak JW).

doroŋ *N* needle of coniferous tree
(Wak WC).

du.¹ *N* mother (= meme, Wak SH);
mana du' dunge (the koala baby's)
mother cries. -cf. du'n.

du.² *N* heart: ŋia du' gangur I
have got heart pain (Wak SH).
-cf. dudu (Wak B).

duan (duwan) *N* tucker (food; Bar
AB).

duduri *N* ironbark (Wak SH).
-cf. dururi.

due due *N* *ERG* due dueju soldier
bird (Wak SH) or peewee (? Wak
TM); a greyish bird, the size of
a starling.

dunga- (dunə-, duŋ-) *V* *ITR* dunə
(Wak WC); dunge; dungai; dungu
cry; barilam dunge kids crying,
dunge bari gu (the koala mother)
cries for the baby (Wak SH).
-cf. dunjima-.

dungi *N* *ABL* dungingu (7.12) 1.
creek, river; 2. the Milky Way
(Bar AB); dungi (gu) ŋe jani
I went to the creek. -cf.
dungir.

dungigi *N* the Brisbane river area
or language (Bar AB); gaun
dungigi janande going to the
Brisbane river country. -cf.
dungi.

dungir *N* creek (Wak:Gor RD).
-cf. dungi.

dunjima- *V* *IPF* dunjime cry (Wak
BC). -cf. dunga-

du'l *N* juice, gravy, honey (Wak
TM); du'l gu gon want(s) the
juice, etc.

dulanba *N* (7.3) the name of a
place, Jimmy's scrub (Wak JW).

dulu or dulur *N* heart or liver
(Wak TM). -cf. du.².

dumuŋ *N* bee (Bar AB).

du'n *N* *ERG* dundu mother (Wak SH);
ŋana gari (or mari) dundu biripi
I was born here (or there).
-cf. du.¹.

dunbe *N* maggot (Wak WC).

dundur *N* (witchetty) grub (Wak WC)
or maggot (Wak TM); ART dundungin
(probably) maggots or grubs (Wak
TM).

du'r *N* 1. track, footprint(s);
2. bora ring, circle (ceremonial
place); wangeripa du'r a snake's
track (Wak SH), du'r gu (go) to
the bora ring (Bar AB), gin gari
du'r the women's circle (at the
bora ground; Bar AB). -cf. duwur.

- dura *N* the name of a coastal tribe (Wak PB).
 durun *N* ? *ŋia durun bil* I have a cold in my nose (Wak SH).
 durun *N* (9.5) spear (Bar AB).
 dururi or dururir *N* ironbark or boxtree (Wak SH). —cf. duduri.
 duwan *N* horn (Wuli-Wuli, according to Gor RD); duwan gunburu long horns.
 duwar *N* butcherbird (Wak SH).
 duwur *N* bora ring (Bar AB). —cf. du'r.

g

- ga' *N* ABL ganu; ganu (6.14) earth, ground, dirt, the whole earth, outside; *ŋin jana ganu* *ŋine* you go sit down outside, ganu gun be' a spring ('water comes out of the ground'; Wak SH). —cf. gaba.
 ga'- *V TR* ga'; ge' (gaje, gae, Bar, Wul); gai (gaji, Wul LW); gau (gawa, ga', Bar, Wul) eat, drink; gun ga' drink water, gam bulor gau to eat meat and bread, duan gawa to eat (Bar AB), gun gawa to drink (Bar AB), ga' gaun want to eat (Bar AB), *ŋin gangur je* *ŋindu mana gau* you will get sick if you eat or drink that (Wak SH; cf. 3.24). —cf. gawa- (Wak B).
 gaba *REL* on or to the ground (Wak WC).
 gabil *N* nulla-nulla (Wak JD). —cf. gabir.
 gabimge- *V TR* (7.9) chop (Wak LH).
 gabir *N* nulla-nulla (Wak WC). —cf. gabil.
 gaga *N* *ERG* gagu (Bar AB) elder brother, brother (Wak SH, Wak: Gor RD, Bar AB); gagu *ŋari jangai* my brother made it.
 gage *N* grasstree (Wak WC).
 gagin gagim *N* a kind of owl or night bird (Wak TM; explained as meaning 'coming', i.e. a ghost or bad people —cf. Goreng-Goreng gagim 'going?').
 gagu *REL* always (Wul QD); gagu julina always singing.
 gagun *N* home (place where you used to stay, Wak RS), land, one's birthplace or burial place (Wak TM); giranda gagun Cooranda station (Wak SH).
 gagunbara *N* home, country (Bar AB).
 gagunde *N* name of the Dalby Aboriginal language (Wak NS). —cf. gagun.
 ga'ŋ *N* tongue (Wak:Gor RD).
 ganar *N* shin or leg bone, leg, thigh.
 gangur *N* sick, sore; *ŋe gangur* I am sick, *ŋia dandar gangur* I have a sore chest.
 galap *N* a social section (galap should marry bangur; Bar AB) —hence the same as Wakka-Wakka, etc. banda (q.v.).
 gam *N* meat, food (Bar AB); waga *ŋari gam* I have no meat (Wak WC); gon gam gu (Wak TM), gam gu (or gua) gap (Wul QD) want(s) meat, gamŋa (SOC) having meat (Wak:Gor RD).
 -gam *CAR SFX* (3.7; 9.2).
 gami *REL* on the ground (Wak WC).
 gamu *REL* on the ground (Wak WC).
 gan *N* *ERG* gandu; *OBJ* gana man, male; gan gaiwar the male rainbow, or the one on top, when two rainbows are visible (Bar AB); *ART* ganbam; *ERG* -bambu mob of men (Wak TM), ganbamgin, idem (Wak TM).

ganan *N* *ERG* ganandu (7.13) sun, sunshine, day, summer; ganan be· (or ba·n) the sun is rising or sunrise, ganandu bumi the hot sun hit or burned (Bar AB), gananda (perlative) daytime (Wak WC), at sunrise (Wak SH).

gan gan *N* son (Wak TM).

gangari *N* river spirit, spirit living in water, little ghost or imp.

gangur *N* *ABL* gangurnu a big lily with broad leaves, also the name of a place, Ban Ban Springs (Wak WC); ninenge gangur (gu) lives at Ban Ban. —cf. ban ban.

ganpa *N* having a man (Wak TM).

ganin *N* iron, iron bar, toy (any metal that can roll); the original sense of the word is 'flint', according to Willie McKenzie (1.6).

ganun *N* tongue (Wak SH). —cf. gunun, ga·n

ga·n, gaun or gawin *N* *OBJ* da·pa elder sister (Wak JC).

ganum *N* *REL* *ABL* ganumu close, near, close together; ganum gara close or near to here (Wul QD), ganumu close together (Bar AB), wana·n gu na ganumu gu naje I can see you near (when) I am far away (Wul QD).

ganumu, *v.* ganum

garam *N* poisonous or no good for eating (Wak TM).

gare- *V* *ITR* gare; garenge; garepi; gareu go home (Wak WC); jo garepi (= jani jo) he went home.

garuga *N* trousers, pants.

garwan (garon, goron, Wak WC, garan, Wak RS) *N* name of social section (darwan marries barangan, the children being bangur, q.v.).

garwangan *N* female garwan (q.v.; Bar AB).

gau *N* *ERG* gau brother-in-law (Bar AB).

gaun *N* home, land (Bar AB); gaun gimbem owner of the land, gaun gu jangu to go home. —cf. dagun.

gaun, *v.* ga·n

gawa- (ga·-) *V* *TR* gawa, ga·; gawe; gawai; gau eat, drink (Wak TM). —cf. ga·- (Wak A).

gawan *N* (scrub) possum (Wak PB); the same sense in Kabi-Kabi).

gawin, *v.* ga·n

gawun *N* younger sister (Bar AB). —cf. ga·n.

ge·- *V* *ITR* ge·; genge go (Wak WC, TM); jo genge (= janande) he is going. —cf. gia-, -ge·.

-ge- *V* *DER* *SFX* (7.9, 11.2).

-geni- *V* *DER* *SFX* (7.9).

ge·l *N* jail (Wak SH); ge·l gu jani went to jail.

gele *N* salmon (Wak WC, TM).

gia- *V* *ITR* *IPF* giana (9.11) go (Bar AB). —cf. ge·-.

giana (gema) *N* dry (Bar AB).

gianbom *N* tea-tree (Wak SH).

gibi·n *N* forehead (Wak WC).

gi·n *N* kangaroo (Wak JW).

gili·n *N* 1. white skin (Wak JC); 2. half-caste (Wak PB).

gilil *N* *ABL* gililnu; *LOC* gililni skin (Wak SH). —cf. dilim, gili·n.

gi·m *N* worm (Wak WC).

gima- *V* *TR* gima; gimai; gimau keep warm, heat (Wak SH); gun gima keep the water warm.

gimbem *N* *OBJ* gimbema 1. owner; 2. relation(s); gundu gimbem or gimbem gundu (I am) the owner of the house (Wak WC), gaun gimbem owner of the land (Bar AB), gimbem nari my own people (Wak PB). —cf. gumbem.

gime- *V ITR (PF)* gimepi warm oneself (Wak SH); gujumu gimepi kept warm by the fire.

gin (gi·n) *N* wood, log (Wak JW, Wul QD); gin mangu to get wood.

-gin *ART* (3.18; 7.16; 11.5).

ginaŋ *N* *ERG* ginaŋgu (9.4) foot, feet, footprint(s), man's track; ŋagu muruna ginaŋ ŋaŋi I saw a man's track (Wak SH).

ginaŋ du·r *N* footprint, track (Wak SH).

ginbun *N* lightning (Bar AB).
-cf. ginbun.

gin gin *N* 1. sticks or chips to light a fire; 2. the name of a place, Gin Gin (Wak SH, LH).
-cf. gin.

ginge- *V ITR (PF)* ginnepi run away (Bar AB); daŋa ginnepi ran away.

girebe- *V TR (IMP)* girebe sing out (Wak JW).

giwa *N* mopoke (Wak SH), a certain night bird or night owl (Wul QD).
-cf. gua.

go·ŋ, v. guaŋ.

golor *N* catfish (Wak SH).

goron, v. garwaŋ.

gu *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

gua *N* *ERG* guaju mopoke (Wak JC; Wul QD); gua gangenge the mopoke is hooting (Wak JC). -cf. giwa.

guaŋ (guwaŋ, go·ŋ) *N* *OBJ* go·ŋa younger brother (Wak SH, JC).

guare- *V ITR* guare (guara, Wak RS); guareŋge (go·reŋge) guarepi turn round, spin; ŋe guare jo guare when I turn round he goes round (old saying, Wak PB; use of the imperative ?). -cf. guari-.

guarendi- or guarendima- *V ASS CAUS (IMP)* guarendi, guarendima turn round (Wak SH). -cf. guarima-.

guari- (go·ri-) *V RFL* go·ri; guaringe (go·ringe); guaripi (go·ripi) turn (oneself) round, turn into; jo dai go·ripi he turned into rock (Wak WC).
-cf. guare-.

guarima- *V CAUS* guarima; guarime; guarimai turn (something) round, turn into; gundiru gurumana dai guarime the clever man can change a kangaroo into a rock (Wak SH).

gue *N* *ERG* guelu, gueru or guendu 1. spear; 2. prickles (Wak SH).

guema- *V CAUS (IMP)* guema turn round (Wak WC, LH). -cf. guari-.

gugai *N* sugar (Wak WC).

guŋur *N* *ERG* duŋuru knife.

guŋur guŋur *N* catbird (= gagim gagim; Wak JC, TM), mopoke or other night bird (Wul LW).

gui¹ *N* *ERG* guindu quick; gui jana go quick, ŋe guindu jangu I have to go quick (Wak PB), guinda (perlative) quickly (Wak SH; cf. 3.17). -cf. guina.

gui² (guwi, Wak:Gor RD) *N* excrement, faeces. -cf. gui-.

gui- *V ITR* gui; guinge; guju cacare: gunaŋ guinge evacuating bowels (Wak SH), ŋia janande guju, ŋindu guju ('to evacuate'; Wak SH).

guina *N* quick (Bar AB); guina jangu to hurry (to go with speed; SOC). -cf. gui¹.

gum *N* 1. smoke; 2. a smoke, tobacco; gonia gum gu (Wak NS), gaun gum gu (Bar AB) want(s) a smoke. -cf. gumba-, gumge-.

gumba- *V ITR* gumbe; gumbai smoke. -cf. gumbe-.

gumbaga *N* tobacco. -cf. gumbega.

gumbage- *V ITR (INT)* gumbageu smoke (Wak NS); ŋia gonia gumbageu I want to smoke. -cf. gumba-, gumge-.

gumbama- *V CAUS* gumbama; gumbame
smoke (Wak WC); baim gumbame
smoking a pipe.

gumbe- *V ITR ?* gumbenge smoke
(Wak JW).

gumbega *N* tobacco (Bar AB). -cf.
gumbaga.

gumbem *N* (10.5) 1. owner;
2. relation(s); *ɲari* gumbem my
owner or my relation (Wul QD),
ɲari gumbem mian mian my own
son (Bar AB). -cf. gimbem.

gumben *N* porcupine (Bar AB).

gumbura *N* witchetty grub (Wak JD).

gumge- *V TR (IPF)* gumgena smoke
(Wul QD); *ga* *gu* gumgena I do
not smoke.

gum gum *N* smoke (Wak TM); gum gum
baje smoke is coming (from the
mountain).

gumga- *V TR (IPF)* gumge smoke
(Bar AB); waga baim gumge (I)
do not smoke a pipe.

gun *N* 1. tail; 2. penis.

gunbe- *V ITR (PF)* gunbeni get up,
stand up (Wul QD). -cf. dinbe-.

gunben *N* black goanna (Wak PB),
tree goanna (Wak SH), piebald
and black goanna (Wak TM).

gunbi *N* man's loincloth (Wak TM).

gunbi gunbi *N* woman's skirt (Wak
TM).

gunburu *N* long (Wuli-Wuli,
according to Gor RD). -cf. duwan.

gungun *N* without a tail (Wak WC).
-cf. gun.

gunge- *V ITR* gungenge flood
(Wak WC); gun gungenge the river
is flooding.

gunim *N* straight, straight way
(Wak TM, Bar AB); *ɲari* gunim be-
coming straight to me.

guninbama- *V CAUS (IMP)* guninbama
raise, lift (Wak WC); *ɲindu* *jona*
guninbama you get him up.
-cf. dinbema-.

gunu *N* female private parts,
vulva (Wak TM, Bar AB).

gunuŋ *N* tongue (Wak SH). -cf.
ganuŋ, gunum (Wak B).

gunuŋa *N* female (Bar AB); bugin
gunuŋa female dog. -cf. gunu.

gunum *N* tongue (Wak TM). -cf.
gunuŋ (Wak A).

gur *N* bread (meat, Wak SH).
-cf. guroi.

gurai *N* hungry (Bar AB). -cf.
guroi, gurwai.

guroi (goroi, Wak DW, gurwai, Wak
JC; 6.9) *N* 1. food, tucker, a
feed, something to eat; 2. hungry;
ɲe guroi I am hungry, guroi boje
(getting) hungry, guroi jani
(gone) hungry (Wak SH), *ɲam* *ɲin*
ge guroi we two will have a
feed (Wak DW), *ɲagu* (sic) guroi
ge I will have a feed (Wak SH),
waga *ɲari* guroi I have got no
feed, jalu *ɲari* guroi mande
she will get me a feed. -cf.
gurwai.

guroinba- *V ITR* guroinbe;
guroinbai be hungry (Wak SH).

guroji- *V ITR (IPF)* guroinge,
guroje get hungry (Wak SH).
-cf. guroi.

guru *N* sun (= *gan*an; Bar AB).

gurugan, *v.* jurugan

gurwai *N* food (Wul QD); gurwai
gawa to eat food. -cf. guroi.

G

ga, *v.* waga.

ga *N* car, buggy.

ga--¹, *v.* gawa-.

ga--², *v.* gaja-.

ga--³, *v.* gua-.

gabu *N* boy, son; *ɲingari* gabu
your son.

gabul *N* carpetsnake (Wak SH; not properly Wakka-Wakka). -cf. buji.

gaga *DEM PRON* (9.8).

gagar *N* *ERG* gagaru (11.3)
porcupine (Wul QD).

gagore (gagure) *N* *ERG*; gagorelu
gagoreju, gagorendu; *OBJ*
gagoreña, gagoreña; *POSS*
gagoreri; *ABL* gagoreñu child,
son; gagore bari little child.
-cf. gaguru.

gagur *N* child, kid (Wak TM).
-cf. gagore, gaguru (Wak A).

gaguru *N* *ERG* gagurulu; *OBJ*
gaguruña; *ABL* gaguruñu child,
kid. -cf. gagore.

gan *N* saliva (Wak SH); ñindu gan
bia you spit.

ganga *N* (7.1) noise (Wak TM);
ganga jange makes a noise.

ganga- *V* *ITR* ganga; gange (gangena,
Wul QD); gangai; gangau (11.11)
call, sing out, hoot; gua (or
giwa) gangena (or gengena) the
mopoke is calling or hooting
(Wul QD).

gangai *N* (9.1) shout, cry, calling
(of a spirit; Bar AB).

gange- (ganga-) *V* *ITR* gange;
gangenge, gangange; gangeni,
gangani call, shout, sing out,
cry, pray; ñindu gange ñana you
shout at me, biraluñ gu gangenge
calling on or praying to God
(Wak SH). -cf. genge- (Wak B,
Wul).

gail, v. gair.

gaila- (ga-la-) *V* *ASS* (*IPF*)
gaile (ga-le) (7.6) look for;
waja ga-le looking for wallabies
(Wak SH). -cf. gaji-.

gair (gail, Wak TM) *REL* not yet
(an expression of expectancy);
gair ñagu bianje I do not know
yet (Wak TM), gair jalu bianje
he is wondering to know (Wak WC),
gair ñindu bianje you might know
(later on ? Wak WC).

gairana *REL* a long time ago,
(something) left behind (Wak TM).
-cf. gaurama, gauranba.

gaiwar *N* (9.4; 10.6) 1. rainbow;
2. bunyip (i.e. the Rainbow
Serpent, who is supposed to
have made waterholes, rivers,
mountains; Bar AB); biralu gaiwar
wambai God has put the rainbow
(in the sky, that is according
to later ideas; Bar AB). -cf.
gior.

gaja- (ga--) *V* *ITR* (*IPF*) gaje;
(*INT*) gau go (Wak SH); guñu gaje
will go into the water (or
possibly Goreng-Goreng gai- 'go
into?'). -cf. ga-le-.

gajan *N* sinew (Wak:Gor RD).

gaji- *V* *ITR* ga-, gajinge, gaini
look for; ñindu waja ga- you
look for wallaby (Wak SH).
-cf. gaila-.

gajini- *V* *ITR* (*IPF*) gajininge
look (Wak WC); ñangari ñin
ga(j)ininge whom are you
looking for?

gajir *REL* (6.13) for a long time
(Wul QD); ga gajir gaile haven't
seen you for a long time. -cf.
gair, gawir.

galan *N* good, pretty, clever,
glad, all right; waga galan (I)
do not feel any good (Wak JW),
ñin galan you are a good fellow,
galan janande going about fine
or all right, mau galan clever
head, galan jini was glad.
-cf. galamba.

galamba *N* all right (Wul QD, LW);
daru galamba is getting better
now. -cf. galan.

ga-le- *V* *TR* (*IMP*) ga-le spill;
waga mana guñ ga-le don't spill
that water (Wak PB). -cf.
gaja- (?).

gam *PART* might be (?); gandu gam
gindu gam might be a man, might
be a woman ('I wonder was it a man
or a woman who did it'; Wak WC).

ga'm *N* head (Bar AB).

gamadan *N* *ERG* gamadandu boss.
-cf. gamaran.

gamaran *N* *ERG* gamarandu boss,
owner (Bar AB); gamaran gari
(afraid) of the boss. -cf.
gamadan.

gamba *N* good, safe, (sit) pretty
(Wak RS, Bar AB).

gambargan *N* two (people or
animals; Bar AB); gambargan
benge two people standing,
gambargan wai two (bears) have
climbed up.

gambur *N* name of a language and
tribe (Bar HD).

gambuwa *N* name of a language or
tribe (Wak PB).

gamgun *N* (11.3) spear (Wul QD;
said to be the real Wuli-Wuli
word). -cf. gane.

gamṇa¹ (gama-) *V* *TR* gamṇa; gamṇe;
gamṇai break; ṇandu gamṇai
somebody has broken it (Wak SH).

gamṇa² *V* *ITR* gamṇange; gamṇai
break; dia gamṇai ḡanar bonṇi
(my) leg bone broke (Wak SH).

gami *N* *ERG* gamiju aunt (Wak WC,
Bar AB).

gan *REL* here, now; gan ṇe here
I am (Wak JC), gan ṇe janande
here I am going (Wak TM).
-cf. gana².

-gan *N* *DER* *SFX* (3.6; 7.3; 9.2;
11.1).

gana¹ *N* parcel, belongings, etc.
(Wak SH).

gana² *DEM PRON* (7.25; 9.8; 11.8).

ganaṇ *N* liver.

ganaṇa *REL* (7.23) here.

ganan ganan *N* *ERG* ganan ganandu
poor, poor (little) fellow.

gandabi *N* *ABL* gandabiṇu 1. roots
or yams; 2. the name of a station,
Yandabi (Wak WC, TM).

gandan *N* *ERG* gandandu; *OBJ*

gandana 1. younger sister (Wak
SH, JC); 2. elder sister (Bar AB);
mo jalu gandana bi· bawar gu
may he take (your) sister to the
bush (an imprecation; Wak SH).
-cf. ga·n.

ganda- *V* ganda; gange vomit (Wak
SH).

gane *N* *ERG* ganeru, Wak JC, ganeju,
Wul QD; (11.3) spear; ganeṇa
(*SOC*, *COM*) with (or having) a
spear. -cf. gamgun.

ganim *N* hip (Wak PB, Wak:Gor RD).

ganma *REL* here (Wak PB); ganma
ṇam ṇinenge here we two are
sitting.

ganunṇ *N* sweat (Wak SH).

ganunṇa- *V* *ITR* ganunṇbe perspire
(Wak SH).

ga·n *N* *REL* (10.4) want (Wul QD, LW);
ṇau gaṇ wants to see. -cf. goṇ,
gaun.

gapa *N* house (Wak RS).

gapiḷ *N* fish scales (Wak SH).

ga·r *REL* quiet, on your own,
doing nothing; ga·r ṇine sit or
be quiet (Wak SH), ga·r ṇin
janande you are going on your
own (Bar AB), ga·r gunḡu infor-
mant's Aboriginal name (Bar AB).
-cf. gunḡu.

gara¹ *DEM PRON* (7.25; 9.8; 11.8).

gara² *N* grog (Bar HD).

ga·ra *REL* long ago (Wak JC).
-cf. gaura.

garanṇ *REL*: garanṇ ṇe benge I am
standing beside you (Wak VL).
-cf. gara¹.

garaṇa *REL* over here (Wak TM);
garaṇa jo jani he went or passed
through here.

gari¹ *N* branches, twigs, leaves,
tea-leaves, tea. -cf. gari gari.

gari² (gariŋu) REL here, (over) there; ŋia gari (= gariŋu) janande I am going from here (Wak SH).
-cf. gara¹.

gari³ REL, POST inside, in; gundu gari inside the house, nala gari in a hole (Wak PB). -cf. gari-.

gari⁴ (garip) N, POST (7.13) of, belonging to; gamadan gari gundu the boss's house (Wak JW), murun gari mana it is the man's, bugip gari gun dog's tail (= bugip boŋi), bari bari gari mawu a skull belonging to a child (Wak TM; while baŋu would indicate 'the skull of a child'), ŋana guni wubir gari what is the white man's name? (Bar AB).

gari- V ITR (7.31) enter, go in(side), go, get into, dive; guŋu mara gari go into the water, garinge ŋia I am inside (Wak SH; usually 'entering, going inside'), ga mi'ŋu garipi dirt has got into (my) eye (Bar AB).

ga'ri N (7.1) urine (Wak PB, TM); ga'riŋa (SOC) passing water (Wak TM; = ga're Bar AB). -cf. gawur.

ga'ri⁻¹ V TR ga'ri; ga'ripini; ga'reu look (for); ŋai waja ga'ripini we looked for wallaby (Wak SH). -cf. gaji-, gaila-.

ga'ri⁻², v. gawuri-.

garigaŋ N currajong (tree; Wak SH).

gari gari N leaves or limbs (of a tree; Wak SH). -cf. gari¹.

gariŋa REL along; gariŋa jana walk along (Wak SH), mendem japi gariŋa grandfather went that way (Wak JC).

gariŋu, v. gari².

garima REL over there (Wak PB); garima ba' stand over there.

garima- V CAUS garima; garime; garimai; garimau put in, enter (something): (ŋindu nalaŋu) garima (you) put it (into the hole) (Wak LH, Wul LW). -cf. gari-.

garindi- V ASS, CAUS girindi; garindinge (garinde, Wak WC); garindipi; garindiu; garindigu put in(to), bring in, duck, bury; guŋu garindi put (it) into water (Wak SH), duck him (Wak TM).
-cf. gari-.

garu N one, on one's own (Wak SH).
-cf. garwu, garun.

garu garu N self (Bar AB); garu garu ba'nge getting up myself.
-cf. garu.

garun N ERG garundu; OBJ garuna; ABL garunu one, alone, self, once; ŋaŋu gundama garundu let me sing alone (Wak AB), ŋaŋu juliwa garundu I will sing alone (Wul QD), man jo garunu ŋinenge he lives alone or on his own (Wak SH), garun ŋinena sitting alone (Wul QD), ŋaŋu jona garunu bumi I hit him once (Wak SH).

garunba REL a long time ago (Wak SH). -cf. gaurunba.

garunba- V TR garunba; garunbai; finish (Wak SH); ŋindu mana ŋua garunba you finish that egg.

garun garun N alone (Wul QD); garun garun ŋinena sitting alone.

garwu (correct?) N one (Wul QD); garwu (?) punam one child.
-cf. garu.

gaup (ga'n, gawup, gaune, ga'nia) N REL want, must (Bar AB); ga' gaup want to eat, ŋin gaup ŋinawa do you want to sit? ja gaune ŋina pawa he wants to see you, ga'nia ŋina jawa wants to talk to you, ga'nia bulor gu want bread. -cf. ga'n, gon, gawup.

gaura (ga'ra) REL long ago (Wak JC).

gaurama REL a long time ago, long ago (Wak WC). -cf. gaurama.

gauringindu ERG ? N or REL ? the old law, in the old time (Bar AB); gauringindu jangai (they) made it in the old time.

gauringum REL a long time ago
(Wak NS).

gauruma REL long ago (Bar AB).
-cf. gaurama.

gaurunbai or gauranba REL a long
time ago (Wak SH, NS). -cf.
garunba.

gawa¹ N scrub (Wak JC).

gawa² or gawar N porcupine (Wak
SH; in another dialect). -cf.
gagar, giraŋa.

gawa- (ga-) V TR gawa (ga);
gawe, ge- (gawawe, Wak TM); gawai
(gai); gawau, gau (gawa, Bar AB)
cut; mande ŋindu ga- you cut
steps (to climb a tree; Wak WC),
ŋindu jiga gawa you cut (shave)
the beard (Wak SH).

ga-wa- V TR ga-wa (ga-, Bar AB);
ga-we; ga-wai (= goi, Wak TM);
ga-wau (Wak B and Wul); (10.4)
put in(to), put (away), put on
(the fire), bury; gaŋu ga-wa
put it on the earth or in the
earth, bury it (Wak TM), gujumu
ga-we putting (it) on the fire
(Wak TM), gawau gam to put on
meat (Wak TM). -cf. gua- (Wak A).

gawaŋi- V RFL gawaŋi; gawaŋinge;
gawaŋipi (gawaŋi, Bar AB);
gawaŋingu cut oneself; waga ŋin
(ŋin) gawaŋi don't cut yourself
(Wak WC), (Bar AB). -cf. gawa-.

gawame- V TR gawame; gawamepi
cut up (a wallaby or other game;
Wak JW).

gawir REL (6.13) (probably) not
yet (= waga, Wak TM). -cf. gair,
gajir, dail.

gawun N ERG gawundu; OBJ gawupa;
ABL gawunu one, single, alone,
self (Wak A, B, Bar, along with
Wul garwu ?—Mathew 1910, p. 222,
however, has Wakka-Wakka kabuin);
gawupa (gabupa ?) ŋagu ŋaŋi I
saw one (Wak WC), gawupu ba-n
comes alone (Wak TM).

gawur N urine (Wak SH, Bar AB).

gawuri- (ga-ri-) V gawure;
gawuringe, ga-ringe (ga-re, Bar
AB); gauripi; gawuriu, gawureu,
(Wak SH) urinate, pass water.
-cf. gawur ga-ri.

-ge- V DER SFX (7.9; 9.3; 11.2).

gebe N honey, sugar, (English)
bee, beehive (Wak TM; cf. Goreng-
Goreng and Batjala gabai 'bee,
honey').

ge-ŋu N father-in-law (Bar AB);
jalu ge-ŋu (he) the father-in-
law (ergative).

geger N silvery (or silver-leafed)
ironbark (Wak WC; cf. Mathew 1910,
p. 232).

ge-ŋ N red ants, also the native
name of Kingaroy (Bar AB); ge-ŋ
gu (going) to Kingaroy.

genge- V ITR (IPF) gengenge (Wak
TM), gengena (Wul QD); (PF) gengeni
call, shout, cooee. -cf. gange-
(Wak A).

ge-m, v. giam.

gembe- (gembi-) V TR gembe;
gembenge; gembepi (gembipi, Bar
AB); gembeu play, dance,
corroboree; bari barilam gembinge
the children are playing (Wak SH),
man jo gembinge he is going to
sing corroborees.

gende N ERG gendelu yam stick
(Wak SH); gendelu ma-na get
(i.e. dig) it with the yam stick.

gene N ERG generu spear (Wak TM);
generu bua- (to) spear. -cf.
gane (Wak A).

gerwa V TR gerwa; gerwe; gerwai
spill, pour (Wak TM); guŋ mona
gaŋu gerwa pour that water on
the ground or floor (cf. Goreng-
Goreng ge-ri-, idem).

-gi- V DER SFX (9.3).

giam (ge'm) *N* *ERG* giambu (gembu) (9.4; 11.3) 1. mouth; 2. talk (word, language, voice); giam biran big mouth (Wak BC), giam jale speaking the language (Wak TM), jale gembu speak, giam ŋaɣu bianaɳda I recognise (know) your voice (Wul QD).

giar *N* *ERG* giaru white cockatoo (Bar AB).

giaun (geon) *N* (ladies') dress. -cf. gion.

gibar *N* young man to be initiated, young boy (Bar AB).

gibar gibar *N* young lad, boy to be initiated (Bar AB), young man; wanga ŋin ŋinepi gibar gibar when you were a boy (Wak TM).

gider *N* clothes, blankets (originally bark clothes, Bar AB); ŋaɣu gider waɣimɣenge I am washing clothes (Wak WC), mona gider wulima wash these clothes (Wak TM).

giŋan *N* *ERG* giŋandu; *OBJ* giŋana any sister (Wak TM).

gija- (gia-) *V* *ITR* gija; giɣe; giɣai turn (round), turn (into); ŋin gija you turn round (Wak TM, LH), daji gu, palaŋ gu giɣai turned into rock, mud (Wak TM).

gijama- (giama-) *V* *CAUS* gijama; gijame; gijamai turn (round), turn (into) (Wak TM, LH); jalu joŋa daji gu gijamai he turned him into stone. -cf. gija-, gilama-.

gilani- *V* *REFL* gilani; gilaniŋe; gilaniŋi turn (oneself) round (Wul LW).

gilama- *V* *CAUS* gilama; gilame; (*INT*) gilama turn round (Wul LW); ŋindu mana gilama you turn that round, jo gap gilama he wants to turn (it) round. -cf. gija-, gijama-.

gilap *N* 1. reflex (light on water, etc.; Wak TM); 2. moon (Wak TM, Wul BP; = gulo, q.v. Wul LW).

gilin¹ *N* *ERG* gilindu nail(s) (Wak SH); gilindu bumi scratched.

gilin² *N* *ERG* gilindu fish line; jinba mangu gilindu to fish or catch fish with a line (Wak SH), gilinga (*SOC*) janande going (to fish) with a line (Wak WC).

gilin gilin *N* fish line (Wak SH); ŋindu gana gilin gilin dari you pull this fish line. -cf. gilin².

gimbi gimbi *N* stinging plant or tree (Wak BC; in Batjala = 'nettles').

gimŋa *N* Burnett creek (Wak SH).

gin *N* (7.13) native or dark woman, young woman, girl, female, daughter; gin gari giaun woman's dress (Wak JW), ŋingari gin your daughter (Wak WC), gin gu (gindu, Wak TM; 6.18) or gin gari (go) for a woman or (want) a woman, ŋe gon mana gin gu (or gindu), managu gin (gu) I want that woman (Wak TM), ginŋa (*SOC*) with a woman (Wak TM), gin gaiwar the female rainbow (i.e. the one below when two are visible, Bar AB; cf. gior); (*ART*) ginbam (*ERG* ginbambu), ginbamgin (some) women (Wak TM, Wul QD).

-gin *ART* (7.16).

ginawan *N* maiden (Bar HD).

ginben *N* true goanna (Wak SH). -cf. gunben.

ginbombi *N* young dark woman (Wak DK).

ginda *N* *ABL* gindaŋu, -nu 1. yam(s) (Wak SH), (little) yam(s) (Wak TM); 2. Gayndah; gindaŋu ŋinepi lived at Gayndah, ginda gu janande going to Gayndah (also 'going for yams').

ginder ginder *N* wagtail (Wak SH).

ginga *N* chips for kindling (Wak PB).

ginga- *V TR* ginda; ginge whistle at (Wak PB, Bar AB); bugina ginda whistle at the dog. -cf. gin.

gin gin *N* (young) girl (Wak TM). -cf. gin.

gini (gini, Wak RS) *N* arm, upper arm(s) (Wak SH), shoulder (Wak PB).

gin *N* whistle (Wak SH). -cf. ginda-.

ginba- *TR (IMP)* ginba whistle (Wak SH); nindu bugin gari ginba you whistle at the dog. -cf. ginda-.

ginbun *N* lightning (Bar AB). -cf. ginbun.

gion *N* ladies' dress, clothes. -cf. giaun.

gior *N* *ERG* gioru (7.2; 10.6) rainbow, monster in rivers, Rainbow Snake; gior muraŋ the personified Rainbow (cf. muraŋ; Wak SH), gioru buran jange the Rainbow makes the wind (Wak SH), gioru ŋapa gangur bamai the Rainbow has made me sick (Wak SH), gior gan the male or clear rainbow (when there are two; Wak SH), gior gin the female or dim rainbow (Wak SH). -cf. gaiwar.

gira *N* *ERG* giraru prickles (as of porcupine; Wak SH); giraru buma, bua- hit, poke with prickles. -cf. giro¹.

gira- *V TR* gira; gire; girai; girau (7.28) scratch, disturb, wake up, stir up (fire, a noise); waga ŋapa gira don't disturb me, leave me alone (Wak SH), ganga girai stirred up a noise (Wak TM), jalu gujum girai he stirred up the fire (Wak TM). -cf. giri-.

gira gira *V* or *REL* ? cheer up (Bar AB); ŋagu gira gira I am livening (them) up.

girapa *N* *ERG* girapalu; giraparu; (7.4) porcupine. -cf. gira.

giranba *V* ? ŋagu waja giranba I am going for wallabies (Wak SH).

giranda *N* the name of a station, Cooranda (Wak PB).

gitar *N* river, creek, especially the Barambah creek at Cherbourg (Wak JW).

giri- *V ITR* or *TR* gira; giringe (7.28) scratch or scratch oneself. -cf. gira-.

giribin *N* dove, pigeon (Wak SH).

giro¹ *N* *ERG* giroju prickles (Wak SH); giroju bumi hit with prickles or prickled. -cf. gira.

giro² *N* *ERG* giroru; *POSS* girori; *ABL* giroŋu grog, rum, liquor; ŋia gopia girori I want a drink (Wak SH), giroru or giroŋu wanji- get drunk (Wak SH).

giroŋa *N* drunk (Bar AB). -cf. giro² (of which it is a sociative derivation; cf. 3.7).

girun¹ *N* dingo (Bar AB).

girun² *N* true (Wak SH). -cf. girunba.

girunba *N* or *REL* true (= girun²), really (Wak SH); ganan darin girunba a really hot day, ŋagu ŋina girunba jale I am telling you the truth. -cf. girun².

giunŋan *N* turtle (Bar AB).

giur (gijur, giwur) *N* *ERG* giuru (6.16) sick, sickness; bari, jo giur or giuru the child, he is sick (Wak SH), giuru ŋapa bumi sickness hit me (Wak SH), giur ŋia ŋinena I am (sitting) sick (Wul QD), giur janande sickness is about, giur galaŋ is (your) sickness all right? (Wak TM).

go-¹, v. gua-.

goeŋ goeŋ *N* the name of a language, Goeng-Goeng, the language at Mount Perry or the low Burnett river (Wak SH, Bar AB).

go·ge- (go·gi-) *V ITR* go·ge;
go·ginge cough (Wak SH).

go·go *N* black sugar ant (Wak SH),
little tiny ant (Wak WC). -cf.
guam.

golo, *v.* gulo.

gongam *N* tired (a caritative
derivation of gon, q.v.).

gongamge- *V TR* gongamge;
gongamdenge; gongamdeu make
tired, tire (out) (Wak WC, JC).
-cf. gon, gongam.

go·n (gon) *N REL* want; ngangari
nin gon whom do you want? (Wak
WC), ne gon guṅ gu I am thirsty
(want water; Wak WC). -cf. gopia,
gan, gaup.

go·pia *N REL* want; nia gopia mana
jangau I want to do that (Wak
SH), nia gopia jangu I want to
go (Wak NS), nia ngangari gopia
I want you (when making love;
Wak SH). -cf. gon.

go·r *N* (7.14) wasp, hornet.

gore- (gure-) *V TR* gorenge;
goreni; goreu forget (with
binan, q.v.; Wak WC); ṅaḍu binan
goreni I forgot or have
forgotten.

gorenḡ gorenḡ (gurenḡ gurenḡ, Bar AB)
N the name of a language,
Goreng-Goreng, the upper Burnett
river language (Bar AB).

gor gor *N* fool's gold (looking
like hornets, go·r), also the
name of a sacred place, where
'mundick', or fool's gold, is
seen strewn over the rock side;
Wak TM). -cf. go·r.

goro *N* cough (Wak SH).

goroja- (-je) *V ?* nia goroja I
have got a cough (Wak SH).

goroman, *v.* guruman.

gorona, *v.* guruna.

gu *POST* (7.12; 10.3; 11.4, Note 73).

gua¹ *N* (9.4) native bear, koala
(Bar AB).

gua² *POST* (10.3).

gua- (go·-) *V TR* gua (go·); gue
(goje, goe, goi); guai (goi);
guo (go·); (Note 52) put in(to),
put on (the fire), roast, burn;
ṅindu bunbinu go· you put that
into the bag, ḡin ḡin mara gujumu
gua put those sticks on the fire,
ṅin jana dadu bari gujumu go·
(= gou) you go and (or to) put
small sticks on the fire, jalu
joṅa guṅu goi he put him into
the water, mana bala ṅindu ba·ri
gujumu go· bring that jewfish
to roast on the fire (Wak SH),
ṅaḍu na· gujumu goi I burned my
hand ('I put it into the fire';
Wak SH). -cf. ga·wa- (Wak B,
Wul).

guam *N* black sugar ant (Wak SH).
-cf. go·go.

guanger *N* moon, moonlight (Bar AB).

gubonḡ *N* frog (Wak TM).

guda *N* little black bee, honey,
sugar; guda ba·nge dadu there
is honey in the tree (Wak SH),
ne guda gu gon I want honey
(Wak TM).

gudanban *N* sugarbag (Wak TM).
-cf. guda.

gue *REL* soon, by and by, then,
and then; gue nia bia be· by
and by I come back (Wak SH).
-cf. guja, guje (Wak B, Bar).

guengi *N* long, tall; ḡun guengi
a long tail.

guere- (guiri-) *V ITR* guerenge,
guiringe sneak up (Wak:Gor VR);
ḡanum gu guerenge sneaking up
close to one.

gugaga *N* *ERG ?* gugagu kookaburra.
-cf. gurgargar.

gugi *N* star(s); (ART) gugilam,
gugirom a 'mob' of stars (Wak SH).

gugunde *N* black scrub possum
(Bar AB).

gun *N* (7.13; 9.5) water, flood,
rain, wet, water hole, river, a
drink; ga·gun the ground is
wet (Wak RS), dandi mana gun
a big waterhole (Wak TM), gungu
wulima wash with water (Wak TM),
gun gu jangu to go for water
(Bar AB), waga gun ba·n no rain
will come (Bar AB), gun baje
raining (Wul BP, LW), a flood is
coming (Wak TM); gungam (CAR)
without water (Wak TM).

gunara *N* hair of head (Wak WC).

gungai *N* the name of a language,
Gunggari, or the Roma language
(Bar AB).

gungi *N* or *REL* thirsty (Wak SH).

gungir *N* ribs (Wak WC).

guin (gujin) *N* *ERG* guingu clay,
red clay, red (Wak SH); guingu
nami- paint (yourself) red,
guinga (cf. 7.12-13) red (ga·
guinga red earth), guin gume
(like) red, guina (SOC) red
(‘having red clay’).

guin¹ *N* black swan (Bar AB).

guin² *N* or *REL* deaf (Wak PB).
—cf. binan.

guja, *v.* guje.

gujama *N* a lie (Wak JW); gujama
jai told a lie.

gujama- *V* gujama; gujame tell a
lie (Wak PB); waga gujama don't
tell a lie, gujame jale (sic)
telling lies.

guje (guja, Bar AB) *REL* 1. later,
afterward, then; 2. a while ago
(Wak TM); guje nindu muna janga
then you make that. —cf. gue
(Wak A), gujenba.

gujenba *REL* way back in time
(Wak TM); gujenba mona jangai
made it way back in time. —cf.
guje.

gujum *N* (7.13; 11.3) 1. fire;
2. (burning) stick; 3. camp,
home; 4. menses (cf. gujumge; Bar
AB); gujumu nupni cooked on fire
(Wak JW), gara gujumu ninenge
sitting here by the fire (Wak SH),
gujumbu ban mare burning grass
with fire (Wak SH), gujumu ja
bumipi he fell into the fire
(Wul QD), ne japi gujum gu nau
I went to see the fire (Wak TM),
nagu gujum ma·pi, be·pi I got,
threw a burning stick (Wak TM),
nin janande gujum gu you are
going home (Wul BP).

gujumba- *V* gujumbe light a fire
(Wak DW).

gujumdam *N* the name of a place,
Jimmy's scrub (Wak JW, VL);
according to Wak VL, ‘fire
ground’, but it rather seems to
mean ‘without a fire’).

gujumge *N* or *V* cleaning ceremony,
burning of bark cups and blankets
used by woman having her courses;
also ‘woman's courses’ or ‘having
courses’ and, further, ‘pain in
stomach caused by touching such
things’ (Bar AB); ginbam gujumge
the women are having courses,
mana gujumge jori those are her
things (to be burned). —cf.
gujum, gujumgi.

gujumgi *N* woman's courses (Wak:Gor
RD). —cf. gujumge.

gujur *N* carpet snake (Bar AB).

gula *N* native bear, koala; gula
bari bari koala baby (Wak SH).

gulo (golo) *N* 1. moon; 2. something
shining or a sheen (on the water);
mana gulo nul nul mana gunu
there is a sheen on the water
(Wak JC).

gumari (gunmari, Wak PB) *N*
1. (prickly) corkwood; 2. shield,
coolamon; 3. the name of a place,
Goomeri; ne janande gumari gu
I am going for corkwood or to
Goomeri (Wak TM).

gume *REL* or *POST* like (Wak SH);
mana gume like that, mana wange
gume jige that looks like a
snake, murun gume je is like an
Aboriginal, jo budin ne gume
he is as big as I, gana gala
mana gume this is as good as
that.

gume- *V ITR (PF)* gume^{pi} be like
(Wak SH); jo gume^{pi} mana dadu
that tree was like it.

gumundur *N ERG* gumunduru turtle
(Wul QD, LW).

gumur *N* stomach (Bar AB).

gunan (guna, Bar AB) *N* excrement,
faeces (= *gui*²; Wak SH); gunan
guinge evacuating bowels (Wak
SH), gunan gu jo gon (cacaturire;
Wak TM).

gunana or gunanal *N* frightened
(Wak TM). —cf. gunan.

gunba *N* deaf (Bar AB).

gunda- *V ITR (IMP)* gunda cross
(water, etc.; Wak WC); waga nin
gunda gun dungenge don't you
cross, the water (river) is
flooding.

gundama- *V TR* gundama; gundame
(gundamena, Bar AB) sing; naga
gundame walara I am singing
(a corroboree song; Wak SH),
waga naga walara gundame I
cannot sing (Wak SH).

gundani- *V ITR* gundani; gundaninge;
gundanipi jump, jump on horse-
back; jaraman gundaninge riding
on horseback (Wak JC). —cf.
wundane-.

gunde *N* star(s) (Bar AB, Wul QD);
gunde majan all the stars
(Wul BP).

gundir *N* (7.14) clever (man),
(witch) doctor; gundir jigu to
become clever (Wak SH); (ART)
gundirbom (some) clever men
(Wak SH).

gundirgan *N* female clever person
(Wak JC). —cf. gundir.

gundu *N* (7.12; 11.4, 12) 1. bark;
2. house, camp, home, place,
cattle station; 3. canoe, boat;
(canoes were still better made
of corkwood; Wak TM); nin jana
gunduri you go to (your) place
(Wak SH; for the possessive case,
cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 65-66), ne
janande gundu gu I am going to
town (Wak SH), janande gunduwa
junewa going home for to sleep
(Wul QD).

gundu gundu *N* drinking cup (made
of bark; Bar AB).

gundu *REL* up, into the house (?
Bar AB); gundu ba'nge standing
up, ne gundu I (go) into the
house (Bar AB). —cf. ga'r.

guni *N* 1. name; 2. namesake (Bar
AB); nana guni what is your name?
(Bar AB), nari guni ga'r gundu
my (Aboriginal) name is Gar
Gundju, man jo nari guni he is
my namesake; gunina (SOC) having
name, gunigam (CAR) without a
name (Bar AB).

gunmari, v. gumari.

gunu *N, REL, POST ABL* gununu
hollow, gully, below, underneath,
deep; gunu gunu deep water (Wak
SH), gundu^{nu} gunu underneath
the house (Wak SH). —cf. gunungin.

gunun *N* camp (Bar HD).

gunungin *N REL* hole, hollow, cave,
gorge, waterfall, down below
(Bar AB), also the name of a
cave and burial ground in the
Nyarrigan mountain, Dike End
(Wak TM, Bar AB); jaran(d)e
gunungindu (= gunungin gu; cf.
6.18) going to Dike End. —cf.
gunu.

gun *N* corroboree song (Wul QD);
gun giambu juli sing a corroboree
song.

guni *N* younger brother (Bar AB).

gunu *N* truth (Bar AB); gunu naga
nina jale I am telling you the
truth.

gurema- *V TR (IMP)* gurema stop
(Wak TM); ɲindu joŋa gurema you
stop him.

gureŋ gureŋ, *v.* goren goren.

gurgargar *N* kookaburra (Bar AB).
-cf. gugaga.

guri *N* black man (Wak RS).

guriŋa *N* old man (Wak VL, Bar AB).

guriŋ *N* creek (Wak RS); guriŋa
(perlocative) to or at the creek
-cf. gurun.

guruŋ guruŋ *N* currajong tree (Bar
AB). -cf. garigaŋ.

gurulba *N* (7.3, 12), the name of
a place, Gooroolba (Wak WC, LH);
gurulbau janande, be going to,
coming from Gooroolba (Wak WC),
janande, ɲinenge gurulba going
to, living at Gooroolba (Wak WC,
LH).

guruman (goroman) *N* kangaroo;
goroman budin many kangaroos
(Wak SH).

gurun¹ *N* noise (Wak SH).

gurun² *N* creek (Wak SH); gurun gu
janande going to the creek.
-cf. guriŋ.

guruna (gorona) *N* possum (Wak SH,
TM), grey forest possum (Bar AB).

gurunba- *V ITR* gurunba; gurunbe;
make a noise (Wak SH); waga
gurunba don't make a noise.

gurunbama- *V CAUS (PF)* gurunbama
make a noise to raise game for
hunting (Wak SH).

gurup *N* dark (Wak RS).

ɲaba ɲaba *N* little child, baby
(boy or girl; Bar AB).

ɲaɲa *N* mother's father or
daughter's child (Wak JC),
grandfather or grandson (Bar AB).

ɲaɲambaram *N* grandchild(ren).
(Wak TM).

ɲaɲu *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6)

ɲai *PERS PRON* (7.20; 11.6).

ɲail *N* (6.7; 7.14) eaglehawk
(Wak JC). -cf. ɲial, ɲewel.

-ɲal *SOC DER SFX* (3.7; 11.1).

ɲala *REL* away; jalu ɲala biripi
he took it away (Wak SH), ɲala
jo japi he went away (Wak TM).

ɲam *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

ɲam ɲin *PERS PRON* (7.21; 9.7; 11.7).

ɲam jo *PERS PRON* (7.21; 11.7).

ɲamu *N* breast, teats (Wak SH, TM).

ɲamuŋ *N* breast, teats; 2. milk.

ɲamuŋa *N* young girl (at age of
initiation), mature, marriageable
(Bar AB). -cf. ɲamu, ɲamuŋ.

ɲan *INTERR PRON* (7.26-27).

ɲana *INTERR PRON* (7.27; 9.9; 11.9).

ɲaɲamba *REL* a long time (Wul QD);
ɲaɲamba ɲia giur jine I have
been sick for a long time.

ɲangari *PERS PRON* (7.20).

ɲapa *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

ɲari *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.5).

ɲarija (ɲaria) *N* fish, especially
mullet.

ɲarin, ɲariŋ, *v.* ɲari.

ɲau *PERS PRON* (7.20).

ɲawi *PERS PRON* (7.20).

ɲe *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6).

ɲende *N* mullet (Wak TM).

ɲewel *N* (6.7) eaglehawk (Wak TM).
-cf. ɲail.

ɲ

ɲa *CONN* (3.3). -cf. ma.

-ɲa *SOC DER SFX* (3.7; 7.4; 9.2).

ɲaba *N* (9.5) child (Bar AB); (ART)
ɲabambam (ERG -bambu) lots of,
many kids.

ne·r *N* (9.4) cold, frost (Bar AB);
 neru bumi the frost killed (the
 crops). -cf. njar.

ne·ri, *v.* nari.

ni *PERS PRON* (7.20).

-ni- *REFL DER SFX* (7.7; 9.3; 11.2).

nia, *v.* ne.

nial (ne·l) *N* eaglehawk (Wak SH).
 -cf. nail.

njar *N* cold (Wul QD). -cf. ne·r.

nida nida *N* flash; nida nida
 ninenge he sits flash (on a
 horse; Wak SH), jaraman nida nida
 a good 'flash' horse (Wak PB).
 -cf. nira nira.

nidiri *N* 1. catfish; 2. (also
 niderewe), the name of a station,
 Hideraway (Wak WC); nidiri gu
 janande going to Hideraway or
 for catfish.

ninangura *N REL* fairytale, (in
 the) dreamtime or way-back times
 (Wak JC); mana ninangura that
 is a fairytale. -cf. ninanguru.

niman¹ *N* a language or tribe (cf.
 1.1, with Note 3), akin to Wakka-
 Wakka, about Blackbutt (Wak SH).

niman² *REL ?* niman dadu in the
 shade of the tree (Wak WC).

nin *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

nina *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

nina-, *v.* nine-.

ninbom *PERS PRON* (7.20).

ninbu *PERS PRON* (7.20, Note 81).

nindu *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

nine- (nina-, nine-, pina-) *V ITR*
 (7.31; 9.12) sit (down), go
 down, set (of the sun), stay,
 wait, stop, live, be, become;
 ne ninange ganu I am sitting on
 the ground (Wak JW), gara man ne
 ninau I have got to stop here,
 guṇ ninende dandi there is
 plenty of water (Wak WC), jo

gundir ninenge he is a doctor,
 gundir ninepi became a doctor,
 waga nin gangur nine don't you
 get sick, ninenge darum lives
 at Taroom (Bar AB), ganan ninande
 the sun is setting (Wak TM).
 -cf. nine- (Wul).

ninema- *V CAUS* ninema; nineme;
 ninemai; ninemau set down (Wak
 WC); ninemandu you set him down.

ninendi- (pinendi-) *V ASS CAUS*
 (IMP) ninendi; (INT) ninendu
 set down (Wak TM); jalu joṇa
 ninende (sic) he set him down
 (Wak TM).

ningari, *v.* nin.

nira nira *N* good (horse),
 (sitting) splendid (in a saddle);
 jaraman nira nira horse prancing
 or showing off (Wak:Gor VR).
 -cf. nida nida.

niru *N REL* long ago, long time
 (ago), the dreamtime (Wak SH).
 -cf. nirunba.

nirunba *REL* long ago, in the early
 days or the dreamtime (Wak SH);
 ne nirunba gagore jini (when) I
 was a boy long ago, nirunba jo
 girana murun jini long ago
 (that is in the 'dreamtime') the
 porcupine was a man. -cf. niru.

no·-, *v.* qua-.

noṇi- *V REFL* noṇi; noṇipi; noṇiu
 burn oneself (Wak WC). -cf. qua-.

no·l *N* (6.9) tear(s) (Wak TM);
 me·ṇu no·l tears from your eyes.
 -cf. qual (Wak A, Bar, Wul).

no·m *PERS PRON* (7.20; 11.6).

noṇbam *PERS PRON* (7.20).

no·m jo *PERS PRON* (7.21; 11.7).

no·r *N* (6.9) face (Wak TM).
 -cf. quar (Wak A, Wul).

gora-, *v.* goro-.

goro- (gora-) *V TR* goro, gora;
gore; goroi, gorai step, tramp,
kick; murundu ginangu gorai the
man stepped with his foot (Wak TM),
nalan goroi tramped the mud (Wak
TM), ginangu goro- step, tramp
or kick with the foot (Wak WC,
RS).

qua *N* egg.

qua- (qo-) *V TR* qo; que (qoje);
quai; qoju burn, cook; qadu gam
que I cook the meat (Wak RS).
-cf. que-.

qua qua *N* brain (Bar AB).

qual *N* tear(s); qual be me nu
tears come from the eyes (Wak
SH). -cf. qo-l (Wak B).

quar (quwar) *N* face. -cf. qo-r
(Wak B).

qudigan *N* cat (Wakka-Wakka ?).

que- *V TR* que; quenge; queni
burn, cook; gam qadu quenge I
am cooking meat (Bar AB). -cf.
qua-.

quen *N* gum leaves (food of the
koala; Bar AB).

qui *N* (9.4) emu (Bar AB, Wak:Gor
RD). -cf. mui.

quim *N* sun (Wak JW).

quiwan *N* 1. the Seven Sisters
(also called the Walla mountain,
at Ban Ban, near Gayndah; Wak WC);
2. name of a place, Coulstown,
near the Seven Sisters (Wak TM);
according to a legend these
mountains are transformed emus
(Wak SH). -cf. qui.

qujun *N* spirit, as seen in a dream
(Bar AB). -cf. qujum.

qujun qujun *N* 1. spirit (= qujun,
q.v.); 2. photo (Bar AB); qujun
qujun mangu(a) to take a photo.
-cf. qujun.

qujum *N* spirit (Wak SH, Bar AB).
-cf. qujun.

qul (qu-l) *N* 1. shadow; 2. spirit;
3. photo; qul janande (her) spirit
was going (Wak TM), qana (or qari)
qul mangu to take my photo (Wul
QD).

qulgen *N REL* night time, last
night or tonight (Wak WC); qe
janande qadu jona nau qulgen
I will go and see him tonight.
-cf. qul.

qul qul *N* (little) shadow, shade,
sheen, ghost, darkness, Aboriginal
picture (as in rock carvings;
Wak TM), photo; qul qul nau
(I waited) to see the dark (i.e.
until dark; Wak TM), qul qul mani
took (one's) photo (Wak WC).
-cf. qul.

qulu *N REL* night, tonight (Wak SH);
que qin qulu ba then you come
tonight. -cf. qul.

qunar *N* sky, cloud (Wak, Wul).

qunu *N ABL* qununu morning, early,
tomorrow (Wak WC); qadu jona qari
qunu I saw him this morning, qe
dinbeni qunu I got up early.

qura- *V TR (PF)* qurai kick (Bar
AB); ginangu qadu qurai I kicked
with my foot. -cf. goro-.

qurama *REL* early in the morning,
tomorrow, next day or week (Bar
AB). -cf. quruma.

qurama- *V TR* qurame hide, plant,
steal (Bar AB); dai qurame
stealing money. -cf. quruma-
(Wak).

quri *N* (9.4) blanket (Bar AB);
qurindu wunda cover up with a
blanket. -cf. quria.

quria *N* clothes (Wul LW); quria
qadu wagimge I am washing
clothes. -cf. quri.

quru *N* black, black skin, dirty,
darkness, night time; ga quru
black earth (Wak RS).

quruna *N* black (Wak SH). -cf.
quru.

ɲuru ɲuru *N* black, dirty (clothes)
(Wak SH); ɲa· ɲuru ɲuru black
ground. -cf. ɲuru.

ɲuruje (for -ja ?) *N* black (Wak
WC). -cf. ɲuru.

ɲuruma (-me) *REL* in the morning,
tomorrow, yesterday (Bar AB);
ɲurume jimai made early this
morning. -cf. ɲurama.

ɲuruma- *V TR* ɲuruma; ɲurume;
ɲurumai; ɲurumau hide, plant,
steal; ɲaɖu waga ɲurume I don't
steal (Wak SH), ɲurume jalu he
is a thief (Wak WC), ɲam ɲurumai
stole my meat (Wak VL). -cf.
ɲurama-, ɲurume-.

ɲurume- *V TR* ɲurume; ɲurumenge;
ɲurumepi plant, hide, steal.
-cf. ɲuruma-.

J

ja· (ja) *PERS PRON* (7.20; 11.6).

ja- (jan(a)-, jane-) *V ITR* (6.18;
7.31; 9.12; 11.11) go, go home,
leave, walk (about), be alive;
ɲin jana you go, ɲe jangu I
must go, ɲam ɲin janan we two
are going (Wak JC), man jo janan
he is going over there (Wak SH),
jo janan he is gone (Wak SH),
ɲe jarenge (janenge, jenenge) men
I am going now (Wak JW). -cf.
janande-.

ja- (jaja-) *V TR ITR* ja·; je·
(jaje); jai; jau (jawa, jajau,
jajeu) tell, talk, say; ɲindu
ɲapa ja· you tell me (Wak VL),
waga ja· don't talk, ɲam ja jaje
giambu she and I talk in the
lingo (Wul QD), ɲam jo jai giambu
he and I (have) talked in the
lingo (Wul QD), ɲaɖu ɲina jawa
I want to tell you (Bar AB),
jom ɲon jajeu they two want to
talk (Wak WC). -cf. jaje-.

jabur *N* swimming (Wak DW).

jaja *PERS PRON* (9.6; 10.4; 11.6).

janga- *V TR* (7.31; 11.11) put,
feel, shake (hands), do, make,
fix, dig, paint, become; miɲangu
(miɲanda) ɲindu jange what are
you doing? (Wak SH, PB), ɲaɖu
gujum jange I will make a fire,
bupur jange becoming ashes (Wul
QD), guruman bonu dilim jangai
wundir made clothes of the skin
of a kangaroo (Wak SH), murangu
ɲindu mona janga paint that
with white (Wak TM), jangai
made, created (= jimai; Bar AB),
nala janga dig a hole (Wul QD),
waga (ɲin) gap jangawa (you)
do not want to do it (Wul QD).

ja·ɲi- *V REFL REC* ja·ɲinge
(7.7) talk to one another (Wak
WC, TM); ɲom jo ja·ɲinge you two
are talking to one another.
-cf. ja·-, jaje-.

jaje- (jaja-, jaji-) *V ITR* jaje,
ja·; jajange, jajinge (jainge,
jaenge, ja·nge, jaje); jajepi
(jajani, jajini); jajeu talk;
oga ɲom jaje don't you two talk
together (Wak WC), ɲam ɲin ɲinenge
ja·nge we two are sitting talking
(Wak SH), bujun bujun jainge
(= ja·le, q.v.) two are talking
together (Wak SH), wuli jainge
people are talking (Wul BP).
-cf. ja·-, ja·le-.

ja·le- *V ASS* ja·le; ja·le;
ja·lepi; ja·leu (7.6; 9.3) speak,
talk, tell, ask, call, (be ?);
giam jale speaking, ɲin waga
jale you don't talk, ɲindu ɲapa
jale you tell me, jalu ju· jale
he is telling a lie (Wak TM),
ɲaɖu bujun jale I am talking to
them both (Wak SH), ɲaɖu joɲa
jale I am asking him (Wak SH),
jaleu ɲapa (has come) to talk
with me (Wak SH), jau jale dai
munginge they call it the
'Laughing Rock' (Wak SH), mara
jale giro mangu ɲangari there
he is (or 'is talking' ?) to get
drink ('grog') for all of us
(Wak AB).

jalul¹ *N* *ERG* jalul, jalulu, jaluru
father's father, great-uncle
(Wak TM), uncle, son, visitor,
guest; jalulu or jaluru jangai
(my) uncle (has) made it (Wak TM).
-cf. jalulu.

jalul² *PERS PRON* (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

jalulu *N* *ERG* jalulu; *OBJ*
jaluluṅa; *POSS* jaluluri grand-
father, grandson, etc. (= jalul,
q.v.); jaluluṅa ḡu paṅi I have
seen the grandson (Bar AB),
jaluluri (= jalulu gari) wuṅi
gave to the grandson (Bar AB).

jalumbaram *N* (probably) great-
grandfather ('the oldest', Wak TM)
or great-grandson. -cf. jalul¹.

jalundem *N* grand-uncle (Wak TM).
-cf. jalul¹.

jamṅa- *V* *ITR* jamṅange; jamṅau
quarrel (Wak SH); jom bua jamṅange
they two are quarrelling.

jana, v. ja-.

janande¹, v. ja-.

janande² *N* (9.1) a step (Bar AB).

janande- *V* *ITR* (PF) janandepi
go (Wak SH); mari jo janandepi
there he is gone (possibly =
japi). -cf. ja-.

jara *REL* over there, along that
way (Wak TM); jara ḡon jangu
want(s) to go over there, jara
ṅin jana you go over there,
jara ṅe japi I went along that
road.

jara- *V* *TR* jara; jaraṅi cut, split,
chop (Wak TM); ṅindu dadu jara
you chop the stick or tree, muna
jaraṅi (he) cut or split it.
-cf. jerema-.

jaraṅ *N* *ABL* jaraṅu; *LOC* jaraṅi
heat, hot, burning (Wak TM);
jaraṅ mana that (iron) is burning
hot, jaraṅu jo ḡangur he is sore
from the heat.

jarair (jarajer) *N* *ABL* jarairnu
blue gum tree (Wak TM); jarairnu
ṅe waji I climbed the gum tree.
-cf. manburir (Wak A, Wul).

jaraman *N* *ERG* jaramandu; *ABL*
jaramanu 1. horse; 2. the name
of a place, Yarraman (co called
-according to Bar AB-because
of the number of wild horses
there at one time); jaramanu wai
climbed onto or mounted a horse
(Wak SH), mana jaramandu (for
jaraman ḡu; 6.18) ṅe ḡon I want
that horse (Wak TM), jaraman ḡu
jangu to go to Yarraman (Bar AB)
jaramanda (see 3.17) on horse-
back (Wak AB); (ART) jaramanbam
(-bom) (some) horses.

jari *PERS PRON* (9.6).

jaru jalul².

jarumbar *N* sand (Wak TM). -cf.
jurumbar.

jau¹ *PERS PRON* (7.20).

jau² (jou) *REL* yes.

jawi *PERS PRON* (7.20).

je- (je), v. jia.

je-- , v. jia-.

-je- *V* *DER* *SFX* (7.9).

jeṅi *REL* *POST* in front (of)
(Wak TM); ḡunduṅu jeṅi in front
of the house. -cf. jia.

-jeṅi- *V* *DER* *SFX* (7.9).

jeṅma (jema) *REL* right (Wak TM),
also, too (Wul QD); jema mana
maṅna put or hold it right,
mara jema there also.

jeṅmu *REL* *POST* below (Wak WC);
jemu ḡundunu below the house.
-cf. jiami.

jere- (jera-) *V* *ITR* jere; jerange,
jerande; jerapi; jereu, jere go,
go home (Wul LW); ṅin jere you
go home, ṅia ḡan jere, jo ḡan
jereu I want, he wants to go
home. -cf. ja- (jana-) and
6.5, 19.

jerema- *V TR (IMP)* jerema spread or split (Wak TM). -cf. jara-.

ji-¹ (jia-) *V TR* jia; jie; jiji, ji'; jiu bite; waga nana jia don't bite me (Wak SH), bugingu jie the dog bites (Wak SH), nina jiu (the dog) will bite you (Wak PB).

ji-², v. jia-.

-ji- *V DER SFX* (7.7; 11.2).

jia (je-, je) *REL* here, over here, this way, out; nin jia ba' you come out (here; Wak SH), jia ba'ri bring it here (Wak SH), jia ba' nari come here to me (Wak RS), je jom janande they two are coming this way (Wak SH), nalanu jia ba'n comes out of the hole (Wak TM). -cf. jeni.

jia- (je-, ji-) *V ITR* jia; jie, je'; jini (je'ni); jigu become, get, be, turn into; nin jia dai you become a rock (Wak SH), bair jia become a mountain (Wak SH), darin jie getting hot (Wak SH), ganan mara darin je the sun is getting hot (Wak SH), bil jie getting cold (Wak PB), nin gangur je you will get sick (Wak SH), gangur jini was sick (= nineni; Wak WC), nin gara jine you were here (Wul QD), nia jine Theodore (dido) gu I was at Theodore (Wul QD), jini is set there (Wak TM), nui mana mian jini (long ago) the emu was a man (Bar AB), nin mu'na jini you are full of food (Wak SH), nia gari bari bari jini I was born here or there (Wak SH), jo waga galan jini he was no good (Wak SH), jaraman jini (the clever man) could change himself into a horse (Wak SH), galan jini was glad (Wak JC), gunu garipi gundir jigu entered the water to get clever (Wak SH). -cf. jigi.

jiami (jemi) *REL POST* below (Wak WC); gundunji, moroni jiami below the house. -cf. jemu.

jiga *N* beard, whiskers; jigana (SOC) having a beard, bearded (Bar AB), jigagam (CAR) beardless.

jigi (jige, jiga) *REL POST* alike, like; nia nina jigi I am like you (Wak SH), wange jigi like a snake (Wak SH), jo ma bugin waga jiga the dog is like a dingo (Wak PB), mana wange (gume) jiga it looks like a snake (Wak NS), jige jom the two look alike (Wak TM); possibly an imperfective form (jige) of the verb stem jia- (q.v.), cf. dai jige like stone (Wak TM) and jia dai become a rock ('become like rock?'). -cf. jia- (ji-).

jilim *N* lip(s); bula jilim two lips (? Wak DW).

jima *N REL* that thing, that way (Wak SH); waga nindu jima janga don't do that (bad) thing (said to a child), jalu mana jima jangai he did it that way. -cf. jima-.

jima- *V TR* (9.12) do, make (Bar AB); warin naga jime I am making a boomerang, naga gaun warin jima(wa) I want to make a boomerang, gaiwaru jimai nala the Rainbow (serpent) has made water holes; possibly a causative derivation of jia- (ji-), q.v. -cf. nima-, jia- (ji-).

jimbi- *V TR (PF)* jimbipe hit, pierce (Wul QD); waliru jimbipe ganeju or gamgundu they hit with the spears. -cf. jinbi- (Wak A).

jinba *N* eel; jinbagam (CAR) without eels (Wak TM); (ART) jinbagin shoal or lot of eels (Wak TM).

jinbi- *V TR* jinbi; jinbe; jinbipi hit, prick (Wak SH); waga napa jinbi (= bumi, sic) don't prick me. -cf. jimbi- (Wul).

jingun *N ERG* jingundu native cat (Wak JW).

jira- *V TR* jira; jire cut, chop
(Wak WC, LH).

jire- *V ITR* jirenge go (Wak LH);
jirenge going (= janande).
-cf. jere-.

jo.¹ (jua, jo) *PERS PRON* (7.20;
9.6; 11.6).

jo.² *REL* yes; jo jo (idem; Bar
AB). -cf. jau², joi.

jogo- (jugo-) *V TR* jogo; jogoi;
jogoi; jogou show, point; *ḡindu*
ḡana jogo you show me (Wak SH),
jogoi *ḡingari* (he) will show
you (Wak JC), jo bai *ḡana* jogou
(= *numbau*) he has come to show
me (Wak SH), jogou *ḡon* (I) want
to show (Wak TM). -cf. jugua-
(Wul).

jona *PERS PRON* (7.20).

joi *REL* yes. -cf. jau², jo, juai.

jo·m (juam) *PERS PRON* (7.20).

jo·ri (juari) *PERS PRON* (7.20).

jou, v. jau².

jowa- (jowo-?) *V TR* jowo (?);
jowe; jowai show (Wak TM). -cf.
jogo-.

jowi *PERS PRON* (7.20).

ju· *N* a lie; ju· jalu jai, jalu
ju· jai he (has) told a lie
(Wak WC, TM). -cf. ju·ma.

juai *REL* yes. -cf. joi.

juam *PERS PRON* (9.6).

juamgari *PERS PRON* (9.6).

jugua- (juguwa-? jugo-?) *V TR*
jugua; jugue; juguwei; juguwa
(jugowa ?) show (Wul LW); *ḡia*
ḡan *ḡina* jugowa I want to show
you. -cf. jogo-.

jungungu *N* short (Wak WC).

juli- *V TR* (11.11) sing (Wul QD);
dagu julina always singing.

ju·ma *N* a lie; jalu jale juma
he is telling a lie (Wak SH),

mana juma that is a lie (Wak SH),
ḡana juma jale telling me a lie
(Bar AB), juma jalu jai he told
a lie (Wak TM). -cf. ju·.

jumba- *V TR* jumba; jumbe; jumbai
send; biba(r) *ḡari* jumbe sending
me a letter (Wul QD), biralu *jari*
mian mian jumbai God has sent
His son (Bar AB).

jumbin *REL* ? jumbin *ḡai* all of
us (Wak:Gor VR).

june- (juna-) *V ITR* june; junenge
(junende); junepi; juneu
(junengu, junegu, junewa, junawa)
lie down, sleep, camp; *ḡin* (mara)
june you lie down (there), you
go to sleep (Wak WC, SH), murun
junenge a dark fellow lying down
or sleeping (Wak RS), *ḡe* junenge
ḡanu I am lying on the ground
(Wak JW), *ḡia* junepi *mari* dambanu
ḡawun I slept there on the road
alone (Wak SH), jo mara *jani*
juneu or junengu he went there
to sleep (Wak SH), junepi (we,
they) camped (Wak SH), jowi
junepi they two lay down (had
intercourse; Wak TM), *ḡawun*
junegu want(s) to go to sleep
(Wak TM).

junema- *V CAUS* junema; juneme;
junemai; junemau; lay down (Wak
WC); *ḡindu* jona junema you lay
him down. -cf. june-.

junendi- *V ASS CAUS* junendi;
junendipi; junendu lay down, put
to sleep (Wak TM). -cf. june-,
junema-.

junme- *V ITR* junme (junma);
junmenge (junman); junmangu lie
down, go to sleep, sleep; *ḡin*
junme you go to sleep (Wak RS,
PB). -cf. june-.

junun *REL* in the morning (Wak SH).

jurila *N* the name of a place,
Yerilla (Wak WC).

jurinba- *V TR* jurinba wipe (Wak SH);
ḡindu mi bua jurinba you blow
(and) wipe (your) nose.

jurulu *N* *ERG* jurulu rope (Wak TM).
 jurugan (durugan?) *N* young bottle
 tree (Wak SH); jurugan gari
 bottle tree leaf. -cf. bunair.
 jurumbar *N* (11.4) sand; jarumbar
 meŋu (Wak TM), mialnu (Wul LW)
 sand in (my) eyes. -cf. jarumbar.

L

-la- *ASS* *DER* *SFX* (11.2).
 -lam *ART* (7.15-16).
 li (-li) *PERS* *PRON* (11.6).
 lu (-lu) *PERS* *PRON* (7.20).

M

ma *CONN PART* yet; ga ma gu ŋina
 ŋaŋi I have not seen you yet
 (Wak:Gor VR), ga ma ja bia bai
 he has not yet come back (Wul QD).
 ma'- (ma·n(a)-) *V TR* ma·na; mande,
 manande, mange, ma·pi; mangu,
 mangua get, take, give, catch,
 put, hold, grab, touch, steal,
 watch, mind; mana ma·na or ma·na
 mana get that, ŋindu guroi ma·na
 jongori you get tucker for him
 (Wak SH), guroi mande getting
 tucker (ready; Wak SH), gam
 mangu, bala mangu to get food,
 to catch jewfish (Wak SH), ŋaŋu
 manande I hold (a ball, etc.;
 Wak SH), wagandu (= waga(ŋi)ndu)
 ma na don't you touch it (Wak
 LH), bula mande watching or
 minding cattle (Wak WC, TM),
 ŋindu joŋa ma·na you catch him
 (Bar AB), wina ma·pi caught a
 fish (Bar AB), ŋindu mana jurulu
 ma·na you hold it with a rope
 (Wak TM), ŋaŋu gana nandu mande
 I am holding it in my hand (Wak
 SH), bani mangu (go) to get
 bunya pods (Wak JW), ŋin jana
 waja mangu you go to catch
 wallaby (Wak SH), jalu ma·pi

he took or stole it (Wak SH),
 jalu ma·pi joŋu he got or took
 it off him (Wak SH). -cf.
 mande-, manande-, mangi-.

-ma- *CAUS* *DER* *SFX* (7.5; 9.3; 11.2).

mabin *N* grandson (Wak TM, LH).

maga *DEM PRON* (9.8).

magu *N* *ERG* magulu nulla-nulla
 (Wak SH); magulu bumgepi (the
 two) fought with nulla-nullas.

mangan *N* young woman (Bar AB).

mangi *N* sheep (Wak SH); (ART)
 mangilam flock of (or some)
 sheep.

mai¹ (main) *N* *ERG* maindu; *OBJ*
 maina, maina; *POSS* mairi; *ABL*
 mainu; (7.12) white man (fellow
 or person); maindu baripi the
 white man brought it (Wak PB),
 mairi (gave it) to the white
 man; (ART) mailom (lot of) white
 people. -cf. maji, mawi.

mai², v. mari.

mai mai *N* *OBJ* mai maina
 1. shelter, shade (of a tree);
 2. the surname Mimi (Wak TM);
 ŋindu ŋaŋi mai maina you have
 seen Mr. (or 'King') Mimi.

main, v. mai¹.

majan *N* *ERG* majandu a lot
 ('mob'), plenty, many, three,
 all (of people, animals and
 things), that 'mob', those;
 gan mon majan there are many
 people (Wak TM), majandu jangai
 (you) all did or made it, jinba
 majan, majan man mior there are
 lots or plenty of eels, turtles
 (Wak WC, JC), majan na many
 (imprints of) hands (Wak TM),
 majani (*LOC* ?), or majan, ganan
 many days away or left behind,
 long ago (Wak TM).

maji *N* white man (Wul LW). -cf.
 mai, mawi.

malu *PERS PRON* (7.22; 11.7).

mama *N* mother's father (Wak PB),
uncle (Wak TM, BC).

mamar *N* wattle tree (Bar AB).
-cf. me· murambi.

mambul *N* lump, plump, fat or
strong (like a hand), fist (Wak
TM).

mangure *v.* manburir.

man *REL* (7.24) there.

mana¹ *DEM PRON* (6.11; 7.25; 9.8;
11.8).

mana² *N* the name of a place,
Mannar, west of Gayndah (supposed,
probably incorrectly, to mean
'over there'; cf. mana¹).

ma·na·, *v.* ma·-.

manaŋa (marana) *DEM PRON, REL*
(7.25, Note 90) that (if far
away; Wak SH), that way (Wak TM);
manaŋa jo jani he went that way.
-cf. mana¹.

mananda (manande) *DEM PRON, REL*
over there (pointing), that one
over there; mananda mana girana
that thing over there is a
porcupine (Wak SH), manande jo
junenge there he is lying down
(Wak:Gor VR), manande ja bawaru
ba·nge there he is standing in
the bush (Wak AB). -cf. manara.

manande, *v.* ma·-.

manande- *V TR (PF)* manandepi
hold (Wak SH). -cf. ma·-.

manar *N* duck (Wak:Gor RD).

manara (manare) *REL* there (Wak:Gor
VR); manare jale na there he is
talking to her (the woman).
-cf. mananda.

manburi, *v.* manburir.

manburir (-er, manburi; (Wak:Gor RD),
mangure (Wak SH; correct?)) *N*
ABL manburirnu blue gum tree;
manburirnu waji (he) climbed
the gum tree (Wul LW). -cf.
jarair (Wak B).

manda *REL* there (Wak AB); na
manda ba·n who is that coming
there?

mandabara *N* a place, Mundubbera,
west of Gayndah.

mande¹ *N* step (cut into tree for
climbing); mande jange making
or cutting a step (in a log; Wak
WC). -cf. mende (Bar), mendem
(Wak B).

mande², *v.* ma·-.

mande- *V TR (PF)* mandepi catch
(Wak SH). -cf. ma·-.

mandebara *N ABL* mandebaraŋu
Mundubbera (Wak JC). -cf.
mandabara.

manderem *N* a kind of duck (either
the white or black one; Wak TM).
-cf. manar, mener (Bar).

mangar *N* red or spotted gum tree.
mange, *v.* ma·-.

mangi- (mange-) *V TR* mangi (mange)
manginge (mange); mangipi (mangene,
Bar AB); mangiu take, steal;
waga mangi don't steal, mangipi
jalu he stole it, he is a thief
(Wak PB), jo jani mana mangiu
he went to steal that (Wak SH).
-cf. ma·-.

mapaŋ *N* the name of a place,
Manyung, near Murgon.

mapal *N* wet (Wak WC); ga· mana
mapal the earth is wet, ga·
mapal palaŋ wet earth (is,
becomes) mud.

mapambara *N* the place Mundubbera
(Wak SH). -cf. mandabara,
mandebara.

mar¹ *N ERG* mararu 1. lightning,
thunder; 2. rifle, gun; mararu
bambai the lightning struck
(Wak TM), mararu bambe shooting
with a rifle (Wak TM). -cf.
margan.

maras² DEM PRON (7.25; 9.8; 11.8, Notes 91, 92) there, over there, that way, that; mara gundu that house (Wak WC), mara njenge sitting over there (Bar AB).

maraja REL there, that way; maraja ne janande I am going that way (Wak TM).

marama REL over there (Wak PB).

maran N big kangaroo (Wak DW).

marga N fork between two branches (of a tree; Bar AB).

margan N ERG margandu 1. lightning, thunder; 2. rifle, gun; 3. the place Murgon (also called in joke margan gan 'Murgon gun'; Wak PB); margandu dadu bambe (or bumbe) the lightning strikes or hits the tree (Wak SH). -cf. mara¹.

mari (mai) REL there, over there, after that. -cf. mara².

mari- V TR ITR mari; maringe (mare); maripi; maria (6.13) burn; waga njindu na mari don't you burn your hand (Wak SH), mari gujumbu burn yourself (Wak WC), gujum maringe fire is burning, hot (Wak PB), ban maripi grass burned (Wak TM), mana njindu bi or ba-ri maria you take away or bring that to burn (Wak SH). -cf. marwa-, moro-.

marija REL there; waga jana marija guŋ gu (or guŋu ?) don't go there into the water or don't go into that water (Wak JW), ne marija janande I am going there (Wak JW). -cf. mari.

marima REL there, over there (Wak PB); waga jangu marima must not go there, don't go there. -cf. mari.

marun N sand goanna.

marwa- (mara-) V TR marwa; mare; marwai; mara make a fire (Wul LW); naga gujum marwa let me make a fire, nia gap gujum mara I want to make a fire. -cf. moro-.

mau (mawu) N 1. head; 2. hair (of the head); mau galaŋ clever head (Bar AB), mau gangur headache (Wak WC). -cf. mawu (Wak B).

mau balan (baran) N flat head (of persons or mountains), mountain with a flat top, the Bunya Mountain (Bar AB), mau baran bald head (Wak:Kab DC). -cf. mau, balan.

maugun N a stump of a tree ('headless'; Wak WC).

maura N (11.3), the place Moura (Wul QD).

mawi N ERG mawiju (6.13) 1. white man; 2. ghost; 3. anything white (Wak TM, LH); (ART) mawibam, mawilam (some) white people, mawilambu (for mawilam gu; cf. 6.18) for the white people (Wak TM).

mawu N ABL mawuŋu; LOC mawuŋi head, skull (Wak TM). -cf. mau.

me- (mia) N ERG mendu; ABL me-nu eye(s); me biran big eyes (Wak BC), me pe- looking (Wak BC), waga mendu pe- cannot see, is blind (Wak SH). -cf. mial (me-l).

me--, v. mia-.

me-da- V TR me-de; me-dai chase, run (Wak JC); njindu joŋa mede you run him, bula njindu mede you chase the cattle. -cf. me-di-, miada-.

me-di- V ASS (?) TR me-dinge chase (Wak TN). -cf. me-da-, miada-.

me-gun (me-guŋ) N blind, one-eyed, having sore eyes. -cf. me, guŋ.

me-ŋ REL now (? Wak JW; cf. ja-).

me-l (me--) N (7.14) eye(s) (Wak TM); meŋu ŋol tears from or in (my) eyes, melnu ga- dirt in (your) eyes, me-lgam (CAR) without eyes, me-lgun blind (= me-gun). -cf. me- (Wak A).

me-loŋ N a kind of ghost (Wak SH).

mem (mim-) *N* *ERG* mimbu (6.15)
fat (Wak RS, SH); jo mem dandi
he is a big man, mimbu wumbe
smearing with fat.

meme *N* *ERG* memaju, memelu,
memendu; *OBJ* memaja (6.15).
mother, aunt, grandmother or
mother-in-law (Wak SH); memelu
baraja jai the mother told the
child (Wak SH); memaja (*COM*)
(came or went) with (his) mother.
—cf. memen.

memen *N* mother-in-law (Wak SH).
—cf. meme.

memorambi *N* the place Memorambi,
near Kingaroy (Wak SH). —cf.
me· murambi.

me· murambi *N* broad-leaved wattle
tree (Bar AB). —cf. memorambi,
murambi.

me·na-, v. me·ni-.

mende *N* step, steps, ladder (Bar
AB); nari mende my steps. —cf.
mende¹, mende mende.

mendem¹ *N* father's father or son's
child (Wak JC).

mendem² *N* 1. steps, tracks, foot-
prints; 2. step(s), stairs (Wak
TM). —cf. mande¹, mende.

mende mende *N* steps (Bar AB).
—cf. mende.

menen *N* duck (Bar AB).

menembara *N* the place Mundubbera
(Wak TM; the various name forms
of the place are usually
associated in some way with the
words mande, mende, mendem, q.v.).
—cf. mandabara, mandebara.

me·ni-, v. miani-.

me·ri- *V* *ITR* me·ri; me·ringe;
me·ripi (7.7) run (Wak TM); nin
bawi waga meri you stand, don't
run, mana jo meringe there he
is running. —cf. miani-.

mi·¹ *N* nose.

mi·² *N* (9.5) eye(s) (Bar AB, HD);
ga· mi·nu earth or dirt in (my)
eye. —cf. me· (Wak A).

mia, v. me·.

mia- (me·-) *V* *TR* mia (me·); miange
miapi, me·pi (Wak), miapi (Wul);
mia (miau, Wul) chase; nindu
jona me·, waga jona mia (don't)
you chase him (Wak SH, JC), jalu,
jau jona mepi he, they chased
him (Wak SH), miapi (ja)na
chased him (Wul LW), jalu miange
he is chasing (him; Wak WC), nia
gap jona mia(u) I want to chase
him (Wul LW), waga jona miandu
(= mia (ni)ndu) don't you chase
him (Wul LW). —cf. miada-.

miada- (me·da-) *V* *TR* miada; miade;
miadai; miadu chase: naga nina
miade I am chasing you (Wak JC),
jalu jona miadai he chased him
(Wak JC), jo gon jona miadu he
wants to chase him (Wak JC).
—cf. mia-.

mial (mia) *N* (11.3) eye(s) (Wul);
mialnu jurumbar sand in my eyes
bupur mialu (correct ?) dust in
my eyes (Wul QD). —cf. me· (mia;
Wak A), me·l (Wak B), mi· (Bar).

mian *N* (9.4) man (Bar AB).

miani- (me·ni-, miari-) *V* *ITR*
miani; mianinge (miaringe,
me·ninge; mianipi; mianiu,
me·nau) run (originally a
reflexive form of mia-, q.v.:
'chase oneself' = 'run'?, cf.
miaripi; sometimes used in a
transitive sense: 'run someone'=
'chase', which may be erroneous);
waga miani don't run, nin me·ne
(sic) you run (Wak SH), jo
miaringe he is running (Wak WC),
naga nina me·ninge I will chase
you (Wak SH; cf. above), jau jona
me·ninge they are chasing him
(Wak SH). —cf. mia-

mian mian *N* little boy, son (Bar AB).

miaripi- *V* *REFL* miaripi; miaripinge;
miaripi; miaripu (7.7) run
(originally 'chase oneself', cf.
miani-; Wak WC). —cf. mia-.

miari-, v. miani-.

miaur, v. mior.

miġar *N* cold (Bar AB).

miġune *N* blind (Wul QD). -cf. megun.

milbe *V*? man jo milbe he is starting to get better (Wak SH).

mingom *N* bad stones in the body (causing disease; Wak SH).

mipa *INTERR PRON* (7.26-27; 11.9) what?; mipa mana what is that? (Wul LW), mipa ġingari ne· what is your name? (Wak TM), mipa ġindu jange what are you doing? (Wul QD). -cf. mipa, mipanda (Wak A).

mipagu *INTERR PRON* (7.27) why? what for? (wanting) what? (Wak TM); mipagu ġin bai what have you come for? mipagu ġin ġon what do you want? -cf. mipangu.

mipaġ *INTERR PRON* (7.26-27) what? mipaġ mana what is that? Wak JW).

mipangu *INTERR PRON* (7.27) what for? (wanting) what? why?; mipangu ġin bai what have you come for? (Wak SH, Wul LW), mipangu ġin dungau what do you cry for? (Wak SH), mipangu mana what does that belong or pertain to? (Wak WC). -cf. mipaġ, mipagu.

mipanda *INTERR PRON* (7.27) what? something, where?; mipanda mana murun what kind is that man? (Wak JW), mipanda ġindu ge· what are you eating? (Wak PB), mipanda mana bai where did that come from? (Wak SH), mipandu ġindu jangai what did you make it with? (Wak WC). -cf. mipa(ġ).

mior (miaur) *N* turtle; mior majan, majan man mior (there is) a lot of turtles (Wak WC, JC); (ART) miorgin (some) turtles (Wak TM).

miria (mirija, mire) *N* rain, storm, thunder, thunderhead, storm cloud; mire ba·n or baje rain is coming (Wak TM), mire

bajinge (id.; Wak WC), mirija baje thunder is coming (Wul BP).

miringim *N* stars (Wak JW).

mo· *PERS PRON* (7.22).

moborin *N* stranger (Wak PB); moborin mana those are strangers.

moje *V*? bapi moje gathering bunya nuts (Wak JW).

mon, mona, v. man, mana.

moran, v. moron.

moro- *V TR* moro; more; moroi make or light a fire, put (stick, etc.) on the fire, burn; gujum moro light a fire (Wak PB), ġadu gujum more, moroi I light, lit a fire (Wak SH), waga ġindu moro don't you burn it (Wak SH). -cf. marwa-, mari-.

moroji- *V REFL* moroinge (7.7) burn (Wak SH); mana gundu moroinge that house is burning, is on fire. -cf. moro-.

moron (moron) *N ABL* moronu; *LOC* moroni camp, home, house, nest; (ġari) moron gara this is (my) house, home (Wak RS, SH), go·r ġari moron the wasp's nest (Wak WC), ġe ġinenge moronu I am (sitting) at home (Wak SH), moroni ġinenge is at home (Wak TM), jori moronu bai came from his home (Wak TM), moron gu jangu to go home (Wak TM), jana moran gu go home (Wak WC), ġe janande moron gu I am going home (Wak WC); moron (< *marwan ? cf. 6.9) would originally be 'fire (place)', as also gujum 'fire' and 'camp, home', q.v. -cf. moro-.

mu· *N* stomach, belly. -cf. muġa.

muanin *N* big (Wak JW).

mudup *N* lump, knot (Wak TM); mudup mon there are lumps (on the stem of the tree), mudup janga bugurnu make a knot on the string.

mu'ŋa *N* 1. full (after eating), satisfied; 2. pregnant, with child (Wak SH); ŋe muŋa jɪŋi I was satisfied, jou ŋia muŋa yes, I am satisfied. —cf. mu'.

muge- *V ITR (PF)* mugepi be filled up (Wak SH); gue ŋe mugepi there, I am full (after eating). —cf. muŋa.

muŋema- *V CAUS (PF)* muŋemai fill up (Wak SH); jombu ŋapa muŋemai they (two) filled me up. —cf. muŋa, muge-.

munga- *V TR* munga, mungai, mungau cook on fire (Wak SH); ŋindu waja munga you cook the wallaby, put him on the fire.

mui (muji) *N* emu (Wak RS, DW, JW, Wak:Gor RD, Bar AB). —cf. ŋui.

mujim (muim) *N* *ERG* muimbu axe, tomahawk; muimbu gawa cut (it) with a tomahawk. —cf. mujum (Wak B).

mujum *N* *ERG* mujumbu tomahawk (Wak TM); mujumbu gawa cut (it) with a tomahawk. —cf. mujim (Wak A).

mula *N* *ABL* mulanu bank (elevation; Wak WC); mulanu down (i.e. off the bank).

muna, *v.* mana¹.

munap *N* woman's private parts (Bar AB); ŋindu ŋapa munap ŋingari ŋapa we' (favours, intercourse).

mundi *N* posterior, backside (Wak SH, BC).

mundu *N* (something) black (Wak PB); mana ga' mundu that is black earth.

mundu mundu *N* black (Wak PB); ga' mundu mundu black earth. —cf. mundu.

mundunba *N* black (paint; Wak PB). —cf. mundu.

mundi- *V ITR* mungi; munginge; mungini laugh; waga (ŋin) mungi don't (you) laugh (Wak JC, Wul LW), waga mungi ma don't laugh (Wak PB), miŋagu ŋin munginge what are you laughing at? (Wak JC). —cf. dai munginge.

mundima- *V CAUS TR* mungime laugh at (something; Bar AB). —cf. mungi-.

mundul *N* sweet (Wak SH); mana mundul that is sweet.

mundur *N* 1. a little blue or green ant, a kind of meat ant, (stinging) ant (Wak PB, WC; Wul LW); 2. the name of a place, Mondure.

munip *N* spider (Wak TM)

mur¹ *N* smell (Wak SH).

mur² (mu'r) *N* nulla-nulla (Wak TM).

murap *N* animal, snake, bunyip (especially the one living in the 'bad waterhole' at dai munginge, q.v.; Wak WC, SH, BS).

murambi *N* tree, especially gum tree (Bar AB). —cf. me' murambi.

murap *N* (7.13) white clay, chalk or paint; murangu naminge painting himself (Wak SH), jo murapŋa naminge he is painting white (Wak SH).

murapŋa *N* 1. white chalk, war paint (Bar AB); 2. Mt Edward (Wak PB); mara murapŋa ba'ŋe there the white mountain is standing (Wak PB). —cf. murap.

murba- *V TR ITR (IPF)* murbe smell (Wak SH); ŋagu murbe I can smell, mana, gana galaŋ murbe that, this smells good.

murgip *N* eel (Bar AB).

muri- *V TR* muri; muringe; muripi cohabit, have intercourse (Bar AB); ŋindu ŋapa muri you do it, ŋagu ŋina muripi I used you.

muru *N* nose (Bar HD, Wak RS—if used in Wakka-Wakka, probably a Goreng-Goreng word). —cf. mi.

murulam, *v.* murun.

murun (muru-) *N* (7.13; 11.3)
(Aboriginal) man, dark man,
(dark) people; murun majan
people (Wak WC), murunu baran
the man's boomerang (Wak SH),
mana murunu ŋagu mapi I got it
from that man (Wak TM), mara
murun gu ŋe gon I want that man
(Wak TM); (ART) murunbam (-bom,
-buam), murungin (Wak TM, Wul QD),
murulam (Wak BC) (some) dark men,
people.

murup *N* a lot, three or four,
crowd, mob, people (Bar AB); gin
murup a lot of women, ŋam murup
ŋinenge we three are sitting,
murup gari for the people.

N

na¹ *PERS PRON* (7.20).

na² *DEM PRON* (7.25).

na· *N* *ERG* na·lu, nandu (9.4)
hand, finger(s), fist; nandu
ŋindu bumi you hit with your
fist (Bar AB).

nai *N* *ERG* nairu knife (Wak TM);
nairu gawa cut with a knife.

nala *N* *ABL* nalaŋu (-nu); *LOC*
nalaŋi (-ni) (7.12; 9.4) hole,
hollow, waterhole (artificial
word? Bar AB), cave, inside;
jo nalaŋu bai he came out of the
hole (Wak SH), nalaŋu garinge
going into the hole (Wak SH),
man jo bia janande nala gu there
he goes back into (or for) the
hole (Wak SH), nalaŋi garipi
entered the hole (Bar AB), nala
dari (Wak SH), nala janga (Wul
QD) dig a hole, gaiwaru jimai
nala the Rainbow (serpent) has
made the waterholes (Bar AB),

dian nala a hollow tooth (Wak
SH), dadu nalaŋu in the hollow
tree stump (Wak SH), nalaŋu
junenge is lying inside (the
hole; Wak:Gor VR).

nalaja *N* hollow, having a hole or
hollow; dadu nalaja a hollow
tree.

na·m (correct?) *N* hand (Wak BC).
—cf. na·.

nama-, *v.* nami-.

nami- (nama-) *V TR ITR* nami (nama,
name); naminge (name) paint,
wipe; gujingu nami paint (your-
self) red (Wak SH), ŋindu nama
gana you paint the man (Wak SH),
man jom bujun bujun murangu
naminge they are painting one
another with white clay (Wak SH),
jalu jona naminge he is painting
him (another; Wak SH); a transi-
tive nama- and an intransitive
nami- might be merged in this
verb.

naran *N* goanna (Wul QD, BP).

-ndi- *ASS DER SFX* (7.6).

-ndu *PERS PRON* (7.20)

niŋ *N* spark (Wak SH); niŋ buma
make the spark.

niŋ niŋ *N* night, dark (Wak SH);
niŋ niŋ ba·n night is coming,
ŋe janande niŋ niŋ gu I am
walking in the dark. —cf. niŋ.

nima *REL*? nima ja ga ma bia bai
he has not come back yet (Wul QD).

nimŋa- or nimŋe- *V TR* nimŋa;
nimŋenge; nimŋai pinch (Wak TM);
jalu ŋapa nimŋai he pinched me.

ninanguru or niŋanguru *N* *REL*
1. person who owns the land;
2. in the old time (Bar AB).
—cf. niŋangura (Wak).

ninda- *V ITR* ninda; ninde; nindai;
nindau come down, go down, get
off, set (of the sun), sink (of
water); ganan, gulo ninde the
sun, moon is going down (Wak SH),
nindai jo dadunu he got off the
log (Wak WC), guṇ mana nindai
the water sank (Wak SH), ṇe gue
janande ganan nindau I am going
when the sun sets (Wak SH).

nine- (nina-) *V ITR* (11.11) sit
(down) (Wul QD); gara ṇia ninena
I am sitting here, garun ninena
sitting or being alone, ṇin ba
ninewa you come to (or and) sit
down, nina(u) gaṇ or gaṇ ninau
want(s) to sit down. -cf. ṇine-
(Wak, Bar).

ni·r *REL ?* dai nir the rock
slides (Wak SH).

noiṇe (correct?) *N* stranger (Wak
PB); noiṇe mana that is a
stranger. -cf. nuaji (?).

nonon *N* baby (Wak RS).

nuaji *N* bugin nuaji dingo (Wak
TM). -cf. noiṇe (?).

nurun *N* 1. tired; 2. with child;
nurun bo·ṇe tired (Wak WC; cf.
bo·ṇi), man jo nurun she is with
child (Wak SH). -cf. nurunbama-,
nurunṇa.

nurunbama- *V CAUS* nurunbama;
nurunbamau tire (Wak WC); waga
ṇindu nurunbama don't tire (me),
jo gop nurunbamau he wants to
tire (me). -cf. nurun.

nurunṇa *N* with child (Wak SH); man
jo ḡin nurunṇa that woman is
with child. -cf. nurun.

n

na· *N* marrow (Wak TM).

na·⁻¹ *V TR* (7.31; 9.12; 11.11)
see, look (at), visit, take care

of; ṇapa na· look at me, ṇom
bujun bujundu na· you two look
at one another (Wak SH), ṇin
(correct?) me· na· you look
(Wak SH), me· ne· looking (Wak
BC), ṇaḡu paje, ṇaṇi muruna I
can see, saw a man (Wul BP),
ṇaḡu paje (Wak LM), ne·na (Wul QD)
I can or will see, ṇaḡu ṇina
ne·ra I will see you (Wak JC),
ne·ra ṇina bai saw you coming
(Wul QD), ga ṇari wuli baje pawa
they don't come (or nobody comes)
to see me (Wul QD), ṇin bia bai
ṇapa na· you have come back to
see me (Bar AB), darum ṇaḡu pawa
I am to see (visit) Taroom, I am
off to Taroom (Bar AB).

na·⁻² *V REC (IPF)* na·nge see
one another (Wak SH).

ṇaḡa *N* grandmother (Bar AB).

ṇaḡa ṇaḡa *N* grand-daughter (Bar AB).

ṇaṇa *INTERR PRON* (9.9).

ṇangu *REL* (9.9) what for? why?
(Bar AB); ṇangu jo bai what has
he come for? ṇangu ṇin bengenge
what are you afraid of? why are
you afraid? ṇangu ṇin duan ḡawa
what are you to eat for? -cf.
miṇangu.

ṇaṇi- (ṇa·ṇi-) *V REFL REC* ṇa·ṇi;
ṇaṇinge; ṇaṇipi; ṇa·ṇingu look
at one another, look (like); jom
ṇaṇinge, ḡawun ṇaṇingu they both
(want to) look at one another
(Wak TM), dai gume ṇa·ṇinge it
looks like rock (Wak:Gor RD).

ṇalaṇ *N ABL* ṇalaṇ; *LOC* ṇalaṇi
mud; ḡinaṇ ṇaṇi ṇalaṇi saw a
footprint in the mud (Wak TM).

ṇapa *V ?* look, let me see you
(Bar AB).

ṇarigip (ṇereḡip) *N ABL* ṇarigipu
the Blue Mountain at Hawkwood
station; ṇarigipu ṇe waje I climb
(or used to climb) the Blue
Mountain (Wak WC), ṇereḡipu ḡum
ḡum baje smoke is coming from
the Blue Mountain (Wak TM).

parinbom *N* turtle.

parup *N* back (Wul QD); parup
jimbine pierced (his) back.

paunu *PERS PRON* (7.20, Note 78).

pe· *N* name; gin gin gari pe· the
girl's name (Wak TM), nan gin
pe· what is your name? (Wak WC).

pe·ŋ¹ *N* snake (Wak PB).

pe·ŋ², *v.* piana.

penba- *V ITR* penba; penbe; penbai;
penbau come out; wange, wangun
(mana) penbe (there) a snake,
ghost is coming (out) (Wak WC,
AB), nalanu jo penbai, gor nalanu
penbau he has come out, wants to
come out of the hole (Wak WC).

piana (pe·ŋ) *N REL ?* gin piana ba
you are finished or have finished
doing something (Wak SH; or the
same as penba, q.v., 'you come
away'?).

pi·lŋa *N* angry, mad, wild; waga
gin pi·lŋa jia don't you get mad
(Wak SH); cf. Goreng-Goreng pi·l
sulking.

pim (pi·m) *N* anus, podex, cunnus
(Wak:Gor RD).

pima- (correct?) *V TR (PF)* ŋimai
do (Bar AB); ŋindu waga ŋimai
you did not do it. —cf. jima-.

pimba *REL* when? (Wak AB); pimba
ŋin janande when are you going?
—cf. wapumba, pumba.

pimbua- (pimbo-) *V TR* pimbua; (PF)
pimboi copulate, have inter-
course (Wak SH); jalu pimboi
ŋarina gandana he has had
intercourse with my younger
sister (if said of another, an
insult). —cf. bua¹, pim.

pin *PERS PRON* (9.6).

pinba *N* eel (Bar AB). —cf. jinba.

pine- (pina-), *v.* ŋine-.

pingari *PERS PRON* (9.6).

pinendi-, *v.* ŋinendi-.

pin pin *N* small sticks for kindling
fire (Wak SH); pin pin ba·ri
bring small sticks. —cf. gin gin.

piwam *PERS PRON* (11.6).

pogoriŋ *N OBJ* pogorina (correct?)
(6.7) son (Wak TM). —cf. pugareŋ
(Wak A).

po·m, *v.* puam.

po·mŋan, *v.* puamŋan.

puam (po·m) *N ERG* pombu husband
(Wak TM, Bar AB, Wul QD).

puamŋan (pomŋan) *N ERG* pomgandu
wife; pomgandu ŋuepi (his) wife
has finished cooking (or cooked)
it (Wak PB). —cf. puam.

puga- (pugo-) *V TR* puga (pugo);
puge look (for one), show; ŋindu
puga you go and look (Wak RS),
ŋindu ŋana pugo you go and look
for me (Wak RS), ŋindu ŋana puga
you show me (Wak SH), ŋadu ŋina
puge I will show you (Wak SH).
—cf. jogo-, jugua-.

pugareŋ *N* son (Wak JC). —cf.
pogoriŋ (Wak B).

puga *REL* when? (Wak AB); puga ŋin
daru bai when did you come now?

punga or punge *REL* where? when?
(Bar AB); punga ŋin janande
where or when are you going?
punga ŋin giana when are you
going? punge jo bai when did he
come? —cf. wapunga.

pungera *REL* where? (Wul QD);
pungera ŋin janande where are
you going to? pungera ŋaringin
where are my people? —cf. punga,
punge.

puŋu *REL* where? where from?
(whence?), when?; puŋu ŋin ninena
where do you live? (Wul QD),
puŋundu (= puŋu (ŋi)ndu) mapi na
where did you get it from? (Wul
LW).

pumba *REL* when?; pumba ŋin janande
when are you going? (Wul QD),
pumba ŋin baje when are you
coming? (Wul LW). —cf. wapumba.

pumba- (punba-, Wak:Gor RD) *V TR*
 pumba; pumbe; pumbai; pumbau
 point, show, push; *ḡindu ḡana*
pumba you show me (Wak RS),
waga ḡana pumba don't push me
 (Wak SH), *ḡindu ḡari dia pumba*
 you point a bone at me (Wak SH),
ḡaḡu ḡingari dia pumba I will
 (or let me) point the bone at
 you (Wak RS), *dia jalu pumbai*
juari he pointed the bone at
 him (Bar AB), *ge'm pumbe* talking
 or telling (Bar AB).

pumbe- *V (IPF)* pumbenge laugh
 (Wak SH).

pun *N* ashes (Wak SH, AB).

punam (punem-) *N* child (Wul); *ḡia*
punam Hawkwood station-u I was
 a child at Hawkwood station (Wul
 QD); (ART) *punembam (-bom)*,
punembomḡin (some) children
 (Wul QD, LW).

punba-, *v.* pumba-.

pun pun *N* dust (Wak SH). -cf. pun.

punungan *N* wild apple tree (Wak SH).

punun (purun) *N REL* sundown,
 night, tomorrow (Wak SH); *purun*
guengi the night is long.

R

ra (-ra) *DEM PRON* (7.25; 11.8).

-ram *ART* (7.15-16).

-ri- *ASS REFL SFX* (7.6-7; 9.3).

ru (-ru) *PERS PRON* (11.6).

W

wa.¹, *v.* wa.ḡ.

wa.² *REL* no, not (Wak RS, SH);
wa galaḡ no good (= *waga galaḡ*).

wa.-¹ (wu-) *V TR* (7.31; 9.12; 11.11)
 give; *ḡari ḡindu wa.* (Wak RS),

ḡindu ḡari wa. (Wak RS, Wul LW)
 you give me, *ḡaḡu ḡingari dai we.*
 I will give you money, *jalu ḡana*
wuḡi he gave me (Wak TM), *ḡe*
ḡoḡ joḡḡori wugu (Wak WC), *ḡia*
ḡaḡ wugu or weu (Wul LW) I want
 to give (him). -cf. we.¹.

wa.-² (waje-, waji- ?) *V ITR* wa.;
 we. (waje); wai (waji, wa.ḡi);
 wau (wa., wajeu, walu, Bar AB)
 climb, get up (on a horse); *ḡin*
mari dadulu wa. you climb that
 tree (Wak SH), *dadulu we.* (Wak
 RS), *we.* *dadunu* (Wak WC) climbing
 a tree, *ḡin daduna* (perative)
wa. *mande ḡindu ḡa.* (if or when)
 you climb a tree, you cut steps
 (Wak WC), *jarairnu ḡe waji* I
 climbed the gum tree (Wak TM),
murun wai jaraman a man got on
 horseback (Wak RS), *barilom bajir*
wapi or wai the children climbed
 the mountain (Wak SH), *jo ḡoḡ wau*
 (Wak WC), *jo ḡaḡ wa.* (Wul LW)
 he wants to climb, *jaramanda walu*
 (or wajeu) to get on horseback
 (Bar AB), *ba.1 wa.-* get angry
 (see ba.1).

waba *N ERG* wabarū; *OBJ* wabaḡa
 a big crowd, a mob, nation, all;
ḡaḡu wabaḡa paḡi muruna I saw a
 big crowd of dark people (Wak SH),
waba ḡari my nation (Wak SH),
mari waba je bai mana ḡiraḡa bumgu
 then all came to kill that
 porcupine (Wak SH).

wabe- *V ITR* wabe; wabenge wait
 (Wak WC); *bulimen* (sic) wabenge
dambanu policemen waiting on the
 road, *ḡaḡ jo ḡingari wabenge*
 here he is waiting for you (Wak
 SH). -cf. wube-.

wadulu *REL* sideways, aside (Wak:
 GOR VR); *wadulu pe.* looking
 aside.

wage *N ERG* wagelu; *OBJ* wagaḡa
 dingo; *wagelu gurumana ji.* (jiji)
 the dingo bit the kangaroo (Wak
 SH).

wadigan *N* white woman (Wak PB; Wakka-Wakka ?). —cf. wanmeri.

wagima- *V TR* wagima wash (Wak SH);
nin jana wagima you go (and)
wash it.

wagimda- *V TR* wagimda; wagimde;
wagimdau wash (Wak SH); nindu
na· wagimda you wash (your)
hands, nindu nari gana wundir
wagimda you wash these clothes
for me, nin jana mau wagimda
you go (and) wash your head.

wagimde- *V TR* wagimde; wagimdenge;
wagimdeni wash; wagimde gider
wash the clothes (Wak WC), nagu
gider wagimdenge I am washing
(or going to wash) clothes
(Wak WC).

wagimdeni-, *v.* wagimjini-.

wagimda- *V ITR* wagimda; wagimde
wash; nin wagimda you wash
(yourself; Wak SH), wagimde
washing (Wul LW).

wagimje- (wagimji-) *V* wagimjenge;
wagimjiu wash (Wak TM, Wul LW).

wagimjini- (wagimjini-) *V REFL*
wagimjini (-jini); wagimjeninge;
wagimjini wash oneself (Wak
WC).

waga (oga, ga) *REL* (2.9) no, not,
cannot, none, nothing, don't;
waga mana wange it is not a
snake, waga (oga) mana ningari
that is not yours, oga nin jana
don't you go, waga gam no meat
(Wak TM), gu waga nari I am
without water (Bar AB), ga gu
gumgena I do not smoke (Wul QD).

wa·ga *N* crow (Wak RS).

wagadam *N* nothing (Wak:Gor RD).

wa·gan¹ *N* *ERG* wa·gandu (9.2)
crow (Bar AB).

wa·gan² *N* *ERG* wa·gandu (9.2)
mother-in-law (Bar AB); nagu jari
wa·gan nani I have seen his
mother-in-law.

wagan *N* jewfish (Bar AB).

waga waga¹ *N* the Wakka-Wakka
language.

waga waga² *REL* no (Bar AB).

wa·n *N* crow (Wak SH; because of
its sound: wa·).

wajar, *v.* wanur.

wangum *N* cheek (Wak TM).

wangun *N* *ERG* wangundu ghost,
spirit ('white spirit', your
spirit, not body, Wak TM); wangun
nagu nani I have seen a ghost
(Wak TM), wangun dia ghost in
the form of a skeleton, wangundu
bipi manana bula the spirit
took that bullock (Wak JW).

wani- *V ITR* waninge, wani be
mad, silly, drunk, shy, frightened
(Wak:Goe AS); waga nin waninge
you are not getting silly (Bar AB),
nia wani I am drunk (Wak SH),
giroru waninge getting drunk
(Wak SH; cf. giro²).

wani wani *N* mad, silly.

wanur (wanar, Wul BP) *N* fish,
especially jewfish (Wul QD); nia
janande wanar gu mangu I am
going to get fish.

waindem (wajundem) *N* *ERG* waindembu
father's mother (Wak JC), grand-
uncle (Wak LH).

waja *N* *ERG* wajalu; *OBJ* waja;
ABL waju wallaby (especially
whiptail, Wak TM); waja ga·le
looking for wallabies (Wak SH);
(*ART*) wajalam the wallabies
(Wak SH).

waji-, *v.* wa--².

walai *N* cool (Wak SH).

walara *N* corroboree (Wak JW, SH,
Wak:Gor RD). —cf. warara,
gundama-.

wale, *v.* wele.

wamba-¹ *V TR ITR* wamba; wambe;
wambai (wambani, -beni) put (on),
put up, hand, leave (hanging),
climb, hold, lift, carry on back,
rise; nindu man (or mara) wamba
you hang that up (Wak SH, WC),
guṇ wamba put on water (to
clean; Wak SH), muraṇ wamba put
on paint (Wak SH), dadulu wamba
climb the tree (Wak SH), ṇaḡu
ḡam wambe I am hanging up meat
(Bar AB), ṇindu wapu wambani
where have you left it? (Wak SH),
mara ṇindu door (do-) wambe
you hold on to the door (Wak SH),
guṇ wambai the water rose or
filled up (inside the stump; Wak
SH), binaṇ wamba- listen, hear,
know; binaṇ jombu wambe they
(two) are listening (Wak WC),
binaṇ ṇindu wamba you listen
(Bar AB), ṇaḡu binaṇ wambai
ṇingari ge'm nṇumbe I listen to
you talking (Bar AB), ṇia ḡaṇ
binaṇ wamba(wa) I want to hear
(Bar AB), waga ṇe binaṇ wambe
ṇunge ṇia bia ba- I do not know
when I come back (Bar AB). -cf.
wamba-².

wamba-² *V ITR* wambange; wambani
hang down (Bar AB); waga ṇin
wambange dadulu you are not
hanging down from the tree.
-cf. wamba-¹, wambe-.

wambame- *V CAUS (PF)* wambameṇi
lift up (Wak PB).

wambe- (wamba-) *V ITR* wambenge;
(wambange); wambeni; wambeu
hang, float, be (the latter
always in the perfective; cf.
3.24); man jo ḡior wambange
there the rainbow is hanging or
floating (Wak SH), dadulu
wambenge hanging on the tree
(Wak SH), mara guṇ wambeni nalaṇu
there was water in the hollow
(Wak SH), giro mara wambeni
there is grog (in the glass;
Wak SH), man guṇ bunbinu wambeni
(= je-) there is water in the
bag (Wak SH), ṇaḡu bunbinu guṇ

wambeni (probably incorrect for
wambai; see wamba-¹) I left
water in the bag (Wak SH), daiṇu
ḡa- wambeni there is earth on
the rocks (Wak SH). -cf. wamba-²
(Bar).

wambendi- *V ASS CAUS* wambendi;
(*IPF*) wambende fill up (Wak SH);
jalu guṇ wambendi bia ba-ri let
him fill up water (and) bring it
here, guṇ wambende ṇari filling
up for me. -cf. wamba-¹.

wa-n *N* scrub turkey (Wak AB).
-cf. wawun.

wana-, v. wane-.

wanaṇa (wanaṇa, correct? Wak JD)
REL from a long way (Bar AB),
keep quiet or far away, look out,
watch out (Wak JD).

wanaṇu *REL* far (Wul QD); wanaṇu
ṇin janande you are going far.

wanaṇi *REL* (7.10) far away, a
long way; jo wanaṇi ṇinenge he
lives far away (Wak SH, Bar AB).

wanaṇu *REL* (7.10) far away, from
afar; jo be- wanaṇu (Wak SH, Wak:
Gor RD), wanaṇu bai or baje (Bar
AB) he comes (has come) from far
away, wanaṇu ṇin ninena you live
far away (Wul QD).

wanda *N* neck (Wak PB); wanda
ḡamṇai broke the neck.

wanda-¹ *V ITR* wanda; wandai;
wandawa (Bar AB) climb (Wak:Gor
RD).

wanda-² *V ITR (IPF)* wandange
snore, sleep (Wak JW); ṇe wandange
I am sleeping, snoring or will
sleep.

wandai *N LOC* wandaiṇi (Note 161),
the name of a place, Wondai (Wak:
Gor RD, Bar AB); wandai gu jangu
to go to Wondai.

wandama- *V CAUS* wandama; wandame
lift, pick up, lift up (dress).
-cf. wanda-¹.

wande- *V ITR* wande (wanda);
 wandepi climb (Wak SH). -cf.
 wanda⁻¹.

wandir *N* small (= bari bari; Bar AB).

wanga (wapa, winga, wunga, wupa)
REL (6.10, 20; 7.35, Note 100)
 where? how? when? when, if;
 wanga nin janande where are you
 going? or how are you going?
 (greeting), wanga ne gari bai
 when I came there (Wak TM),
 wanga jo gagore when he, she
 was a child (Wak WC), wangiari
 (POSS) gana baran whose is this
 boomerang? (or to where does it
 belong? Wak SH).

wangana (wangane, gane, wana) *REL*
 (2.9; 7.10) when? (Wak SH);
 wana noma janande when are you
 two going? gane bari bari jini
 when (I) was a child (Wak JC).

wanganu *REL* whence? from where?
 (Wak SH); wanganu bai where
 (does he) come from?

wangamba (gamba) *REL* (2.9) when?
 (Wak JC); gamba nin bia be.
 when do you come back?

wangu *REL* when? (Wak:Gor RD);
 wangu nin be. when do you come?
 -cf. wapu.

wangua (wau) *REL* when? (Wak
 SH); wau nin bia be. when do
 you come back? (Wak TM).

wangumba *REL* when? (Wak WC);
 wangumba bia be. (do not know)
 when (you) come back. -cf.
 wangamba, wangua.

wane- (wana-, wani-) *V TR* wane
 (wana); wange (wane, wul QD);
 wane (wani, Bar AB); waneu
 (waniwa, wane, Bar AB) leave,
 forget; wane, wana mana leave
 it, leave that, ngadu nina wane
 I am leaving you (Wul QD), garum
 wani ne I have left Taroom
 (Bar AB), ngadu binu wani I have
 left it behind (Bar AB), jo nambu
 waniwa let us two leave (him;

Bar AB), ne gaupe wane (Bar AB),
 ngadu nina wane (?) ganan be.
 (Wak SH) I want to (must) leave
 (you at sunrise), waga nindu
 binga wane don't forget (leave)
 your hat (Wak SH), murundu gina
 wane the man has left his
 footprint (Wak WC). -cf. wene-
 (Wak B).

wange *N POSS* wangeri, wangerin(a);
 (7.12, 33) snake; wangerin nala
 a snake's hole (Wak SH), wangerina
 mana nala that hole is a snake's
 nest (Wak SH), binur garipi
 wangeripu nala a bandicoot
 entered a snake's hole (Wak SH),
 wangeri nala a snake's hole
 (Wak WC). -cf. wenge (Wak B, Bar).

wani-, *v.* wane-.

wa'n *N* bad (Bar AB).

wapa, *v.* wanga.

wapana, *v.* wangana.

wapangu *REL* what for? why? (Wak SH);
 wapangu nin dunge what do you
 cry for? -cf. mipangu.

wapmeri *N* white woman; (ART)
 wapmerilom (some) white women
 (Wak WC). -cf. wemeri (Bar).

wapu (wepu) *REL* (7.10) where from?
 whence? where? when?; wapu jo bai
 where did he come from? wapu
 jona (memeju) bipi where was he
 born? (Wak WC), wapu nin bia be.
 when do you come back? (Wak SH),
 wapu nin bai when did you come?
 (Wak:Gor RD). -cf. wangu.

wapuna, *v.* wanguna.

wapunga, *v.* wumba.

wapungu *REL* whence? where? when?
 (Wak SH); ngidu wapungu wambai
 where did you leave it (hanging)?
 wapungu nin bai where do you (or
 have you) come from? or when did
 you come?

wapumba (wapunba, wapunba) REL
when? when; wapumba nin be,
janande when will you come, go?
wapumba nin bia bau gair nindu
biane when or by the time you
come back you might know (Wak WC).

wa·r N butcherbird (Wak SH).

waraj N bad (Wak TM); waraj jalu
jagaj gijana he was bad to or
violated his sister.

warara N corroboree (Bar AB);
warara gembu sing a corroboree.
-cf. walara (Wak).

wa·re- V ITR (PF) wa·repi hunt
(Wak JC); jo ganega wa·repi he
hunted with a spear.

wari N black tree goanna (Bar AB).

warin N (9.4) boomerang (Bar AB);
warindu ngaju bumi I hit with
the boomerang.

wa·wa· (wa·wa) N crow (Wak TM,
Wul QD). -cf. wa·n.

wawun (waun) N ERG wawundu scrub
turkey, any fowl or bird, chicken
(Wak:Gor RD), black shag (Bar AB).

we¹ V REL ? take it, here you
are, give (Wak PB); gari ma we·
give me (cf. wia 'pass me', used
by Willie McKenzie—see 1.6—
whether or not Wakka-Wakka).

we² REL wrong (Wak TM); we·
janande going a crooked way,
we· nindu mande you are holding
it wrong. -cf. we·n.

we·n N REL ? sore (Wak SH); mu·
we·n stomach ache. -cf. we².

wenge N one (Bar AB).

wele (wale, Wak:Gor RD) N ERG
weleru whiptail wallaby (Wak TM);
weleru mana gawai the wallaby
ate that. -cf. waja.

wene- V TR wene; wenenge; wenei;
wenegu leave (Wak TM); ngaju gana
wenenge I am leaving (putting)
this here, jalu ginan wenei
palaqu he left a footprint in
the mud. -cf. wane- (Wak A).

wenge N (8.6; 9.4) snake (Wak B,
Bar); nala mara wengerin that
is the snake's hole or where the
snake came out (Bar AB), gaiwar
man wenge he is a Rainbow snake
(Bar AB). -cf. wange (Wak A).

wene REL (6.10) where? (Wak BC,
NF); wene nin janande where are
you going? -cf. wanga.

wenmeri (wapmeri) N white woman
(Bar AB).

wia, v. we¹.

wina N fish (Bar AB).

wina ma·na N (9.1) pelican ('fish
catcher'; Bar AB). -cf.
bangabula.

winga, v. wanga.

winga- V TR (IMP) winga whistle
(Wak TM); bugina winga whistle
at the dog.

wingunan REL whence? (Wak AB);
wingunan nin bai where have you
come from?

wirgu N binga wirgu big "flash"
hat (Wak SH).

wu-, v. wa⁻¹.

wube- V ITR (IPF) wubenge wait
(Wak SH); jo wubenge baran gari
he is waiting for the boomerang.
-cf. wabe-.

wubin N good, clever, champion;
wubin gabir bonji a nulla-nulla
champion (Wak PB), galaq wubin
good or clever (Wak:Gor RD, Wak:
Goe AC).

wubin wubin N jaraman wubin wubin
a good horse (Wak:Gor VR). -cf.
wubin.

wubir N white man, fellow (Bar AB).

wugindi- (wuginde-) V TR wugindi;
wugindenge (wuginde); wugindipi
(wugindenpi); wugindu (wugindeu)
put (Wak WC); wugindenpi gaba
put it down on the ground, gon
wugindu want(s) to put it.

wugup *N* throat (Bar AB); wugup
gamne cutting the throat
(executing).

wui- *V* (9.12) swim (Bar AB); gun
wui¹ swam. -cf. wuli (Wak).

wujambu *N* big eaglehawk (Wak JC).
-cf. gail.

wujen *N* bad (Wak:Gor RD); bion
wujen a bad dream.

wulam *PERS PRON* (11.6).

wulgup *N* big waves, the sea (WakDW).

wuli *PERS PRON* (11.6).

wuli- (wule-) *V ITR* wuli; wulinge
(wule); wulipi; wulingu (wuligu,
wulia, wuliu, wuleu) swim; gunu
wulinge going for a swim (Wak
WC), ne waga wule I cannot swim
(Wak PB), dunginu wulipi swam
in the river (Wak TM), waga wuleu
don't swim (must not swim; Wak
PB). -cf. wui- (Bar).

wulima- *V CAUS* wulima wash (Wak
TM); nindu gider gunnu wulima
you wash the clothes with water.
-cf. wuli-.

wuli wuli *N* the name of a language,
Wuli-Wuli, on the Burnett and
Dawson rivers.

wulu¹ *N* *ERG* wululu heel, ankle
(Wak SH); wululu bumi kicked.

wulu² *N* 1. a kind of wattle tree;
2. the name of a place and
mountain, Wooroolin (Bar AB);
bair wulu the Wooroolin
mountain, wulu gu jangu to go
to Wooroolin.

wumba- *V TR (IPF)* wumbe smear
(Wak SH); mimbu wumbe smearing
with fat.

wunba- *V TR (PF)* wunbai pull or
knock off, futuere; burandu mona
wunbai the wind knocked it off
(Wak TM), wunbai broke (in an
obscene sense; Bar HD). -cf.
wunma-.

wunda- *V TR* wunda; wunde; wundai;
wundau cover, close, protect,
drown; me wunda close (your)
eyes (Wak RS), nindu murangu wunda
you paint white (cover with white
paint; Wak SH), guruman dilimbu
wundai mana barina covered that
child with a kangaroo skin (Wak
SH), gunnu wundai covered with
water (Wak SH), waga gunnu wundai
gaun the water did not drown the
earth (Bar AB), jalu nundu
wundai ne-r banu she protected
(herself) from the cold with a
blanket (Bar AB).

wundaji- *V REFL (IMP)* wundaji ?
cover itself up (Wak TM). -cf.
wundaji-.

wundaji- *V REFL (IPF)* wundaje;
(INT) wundaju (7.7) cover
itself up (Wak RM); wundaju gon
wants to cover itself up. -cf.
wunda-.

wundane- *V ITR* wundanenge jump
(Wak WC). -cf. gundani-.

wundir *N* clothes (Wak SH).

wunga, v. wanga.

wungana *REL* where? (Wak:Gor RD);
wungana nin janande where are
you going?

wungi- *V TR ITR* wungi; wunginge;
wungipi 1. blow, scatter, break,
let loose; 2. come loose, come
off; gujum wungi blow the fire
(to make it go; Wak SH), burandu
wungipi the wind scattered it
(gone with the wind; Wak SH),
wungipi came loose, came off
(Wak TM).

wungi- *V ITR* wunginge swim (Wak
DW). -cf. wuli-, wui-.

wungu *N* the name of a social
section (= baran, q.v.; Bar AB).

wungugan *N* female member of the
wungu section (Bar AB). -cf.
wungu.

wunma- V TR wunma put out the
fire (Wak PB); gujum wunma.
-cf. wungji-, wunba-.

wupa REL (6.10; 7.35).

wupim V REL ? sleeping (Wak RS).

wurubinda N ABL wurubindaŋu the
Woorabinda settlement (Wak AB,
Bar AB).

wurumbinda N ABL wurumbindaŋu
the Woorabinda settlement
(Wak TM, Wul LW).

GORENG-GORENG

Introductory Remarks

13.1 Among the languages of the eastern Wakka subgroup, Goreng-Goreng is the one from which the most complete information was obtained. Unfortunately, practically one competent informant only was available, whose father was a Wakka-Wakka while his mother was a Goreng-Goreng. The latter language he had practiced more recently (he had been able to converse in it until a few years ago with a well known Goreng-Goreng speaker, one Bob Johnson, who had died but a few years earlier), whence our informant might have had a fresher recollection of this language than of his father's. This and also the fact that the author of this survey was more anxious to get Goreng-Goreng material was the reason why this informant was depended on chiefly for the latter language. Although he was an intelligent person, who knew the difference between the two languages (as spoken by his father and mother respectively) he might have been inclined on certain points to mix his Goreng-Goreng with Wakka-Wakka, at least during the first interviews had with him. Especially certain words (such as would rather have been learned from his father than from his mother) he remembered better in the latter language. As the initial stages were passed, however, and he realised that it was Goreng-Goreng rather than Wakka-Wakka that was wanted, he was evidently able to call back to mind his talks with his old friend Bob Johnson and his memory improved noticeably during the months spent with him.

List of informants

13.2 Reference to informants for Goreng-Goreng is made by means of the following abbreviations, being the initials of the persons, preceded by the letters Gor (for Goreng-Goreng; cf. 4.3).

Gor DH: Mr. Darby Hill, at Bundaberg.

Gor DW: Mrs. Diane Walker, at Bundaberg; her father was a Goreng-Goreng (from Banana) and her mother a Wakka-Wakka (from Bundaberg).

Gor HA: Mr. Henry Albert(s), at Clermont.

Gor HJ: Mr. Hector Johnson, at Gladstone, either from Eidsvold or Cracow; his father was a Goreng-Goreng.

Gor JM: Mr. Johnson Mate-Mate (65), at Woorabinda; both his father and mother were from Mount Perry.

- Gor MJ:* Mrs. Mabel Johnson (née Minikin), at Bundaberg, the late Bob Johnson's (13.1) wife; her father was a Pacific Islander (from the New Hebrides) and Mrs. Johnson had learned some Goreng-Goreng from her husband.
- Gor NJ:* Mr. Nulang Johnson, at Gladstone, brother of Gor HJ (see above).
- Gor RD:* Mr. Reggie ('Digger') Dodd, at Bundaberg, our chief informant (cf. 13.1), born on Hawkwood station; his father was a Wakka-Wakka from Taabinga and his mother a Goreng-Goreng from Mount Perry (his sister, Mrs. Rachel Saltner—Wak RS—has been listed as a Wakka-Wakka informant in 5.2).
- Gor VR:* Mr. Victor Reid (63), at Woorabinda, born at Gayndah; his father (from Roma or Taroom) was Goreng-Goreng and his mother (from Mount Perry or Bundaberg), Goeng-Goeng. Mr. Reid also knew Wakka-Wakka (rather the variety B; cf. Note 5) and had made corroboree songs in that language.

Phonology

14.1 The phonemes are the same in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka (or the languages of the western subgroup of the Wakka languages), but are on certain points actualised differently, for which compare in a previous section (2.8) and also below (14.10).

Evolution of the vowel system

14.2 Goreng-Goreng has the same five vowel phonemes (a, e, i, o, u) as Wakka-Wakka.¹¹⁵ Among the diphthongs, however, *ei* is equivalent to *ai* (*waibe* ~ *weibe camp*) and *ou* to *au* (*jau* ~ *jou yes*). The vowel sounds are normally short, but may be lengthened as in Wakka-Wakka; only if the length appears regular in a word it will be marked by the inverted period (*a*·, *e*·, *i*·, *o*·, *u*·).

(a) Origin of primary e and o

14.3 As in all languages of the Wakka group the vowels *e* and *o* most certainly have a secondary origin. However, unlike Wakka-Wakka and the languages of the western subgroup, these vowel sounds generally do not represent a contraction of a diphthong or any other vowel combination. In Goreng-Goreng a strong tendency prevails to widen an original *i* (and more seldom an *u*) whenever occurring in the last syllable of a dissyllabic (or longer) word, whether word-final or not.¹¹⁶ Often the widened vowel sound alternates with the original narrow vowel in the same word; compare *wugim* or *wugem giving*, *malugi* or *maluge to him*, *mali* or *male those*, *ningi* or *ninge to you*, *naji* or *naje to me*, etc. In spite of this it seems necessary to consider an *e* arising in this way as a phoneme of its own, for reasons to be explained below.

14.4 On the other hand, original *aj does not become e[•] as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. 6.2), but evidently coincides with original *aji, resulting in a(j)i.¹¹⁷ This means that the vowel e has a slightly different distribution in Goreng-Goreng and Wakka-Wakka. For the short e, see above (14.3); the long e[•] regularly represents a reduction of *ia (cf. 14.8), hence for original *giam (*mouth*; cf. Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli giam or ge[•]m) the only attested form in Goreng-Goreng is ge[•]m. In the same way o[•] arises regularly from *ua in Goreng-Goreng: ɲo[•]l face from original ɲual (as in Wakka-Wakka (A); cf. 6.9).

(b) e, o due to assimilation

14.5 The same kind of assimilation of an original a to e or o as found in Wakka-Wakka occurs in Goreng-Goreng also. Here, of course, it is the e arisen in final syllables from original i (according to 14.3) which determines the change of a preceding a into e (examples of o are rare), whereby it also becomes evident that the determinating phonetic factor is not to be considered as a mere variant of i (cf. 14.3). It must be admitted, however, that any e (or o) in final syllables need not necessarily represent an evolution of original *i. The typical pattern of assimilated forms are shown in the following examples (regardless of the probable origin of the determinating vowel): mebeɲ *emu*, gege *porcupine*, belbem *standing* (cf. balba *stand*, imperative), genmen *ate* (stem ga-) menmen *took, got* (stem ma-), genmen *fell* (cf. ganma *fall*, imperative), nemen *saw* (stem na-). Some cases may be due to analogy of some sort: begegim (also begegem) *fighting*, begega *fight* (imperative) which evidently are from the same stem (bagi-) as bagilim *hitting*, in which neither the change of -im to -em nor the subsequent assimilation (*begelem) happens to take place. In bureɲalim (= bureɲalim *hearing, knowing*; Gor RD), the first a has been affected by the i, but not the second one.¹¹⁸

(c) e, o due to vowel leveling

14.6 Instances of 'vowel leveling' (cf. 6.6) are occasionally found. The common negative guren *no, not* may turn into goren (cf. the language name goren goren *Goreng-Goreng*), beside which the evidently more original guriɲ is sometimes found. Of the verb form ɲinem *sitting* the original ɲinim is also used as a variant, but the more unusual ɲenem (same sense) can only be due to a sporadic case of vowel leveling, since neither i nor u is regularly affected by vowel assimilation (which is restricted to a in all Wakka languages or, as a matter of fact, wherever it occurs).

14.7 The effect of palatal and bilabial sounds on a following or preceding a is a current phonetic feature in Goreng-Goreng as elsewhere. Of waibe *camp*, for instance, the variant weibe occurs. This can not be explained as due to assimilation, as the regular form waibe exists beside it. (Notice that assimilated forms do not occur as phonetic variants.) Of the effect of a preceding w (cf. 6.10) instances are found in the common verb stem woba- for waba- *come* (Gor RD) or in the interrogative wangu *where, when, if*, etc., which further may proceed to wungu (in which u is a phoneme, not a variant). Whether the word wu[•] *white man* is originally distinct from wau (idem) is uncertain; in any case it cannot be considered as a mere phonetic variant.

14.8 Diphthongs occur in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka, but only ai and au are common (in alternation with respectively ei and ou; cf. 14.2), as in: *waibe* (cf. 14.7), *jau* (more often *jou* *yes*). The diphthong ua is found (in this material) in three words only: *bua*- *look for*, *gua*- *talk*, and *mua* *kangaroo*, while of *ia no instance is found.

14.9 Whether the semivowels j and w after respectively i and u are distinctive or not depends on the structure of the word. It certainly is in such a case as *ɲaji* (*to me*), as against *ɲai* (*I*; cf. 14.4); the former, however, alternates with the more common *ɲaje* (which of course is quite distinct from *ɲai*). On the other hand, Goreng-Goreng *gajɪŋ* (as used by one informant) is hardly more than a variant of *gaɪŋ* (*there*), which is decidedly diphthongal and monosyllabic (it sometimes sounds more like *ga·ŋ*). By this it is by no means claimed that a general distinction between ai and aji may not at one time have existed. As in the case of similar sequences in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.16), the semivowel will be represented where it has seemed to be general.

Evolution of the consonant system

14.10 All consonant phonemes in Goreng-Goreng are actualised more or less as in Wakka-Wakka with the exception of the palatalised dental ɟ. Probably owing to the influence of English (all informants being bilingual), this phoneme appears in two quite different forms, namely (1) as a palatalised and (2) as an interdental (or dental) sound. Although it is difficult to make a reconstruction of the primitive character of this consonant sound, it seems perhaps most likely that it was originally a palatalised dental with an interdental release. As such a sound is foreign to English it became gradually replaced either by the kind of palatal sound used in Queensland English (especially among the Aborigines), which is more like the Indonesian dj than the normal English 'j', or else by an interdental sound like English 'th' in 'father'.¹¹⁹ Although consequently heard as quite different sounds it is necessary to count both as variants of a single phoneme (which will be represented here by ɟ); even though one actualisation seems restricted to a particular word (for instance *maɟar* *white man*, almost regularly with the 'th' sound), both pronunciations are common in other words (e.g. *daɟim* *going*, *ɟabil* *child*, *ɲiɟun* *you*, *maɟuɲa* *that one*, -*ɟam* (caritative suffix), which are all pronounced either with a palatal or interdental sound).¹²⁰ This double actualisation of the original phoneme is typical of the languages in the eastern subgroup of the Wakka languages.

14.11 Another difference between the two subgroups regards the so-called 'devoiced' actualisation (see 2.8). While in, for instance, Wakka-Wakka the voiceless pronunciation of the devoiced plosive is common intervocalically and the voiced realisation after a nasal, Goreng-Goreng (and the languages of the eastern group generally) prefer the voiceless actualisation after a nasal and often shows a voiced, not seldom fricative, articulation in the intervocalic position (cf. Wakka-Wakka *wanda* and Goreng-Goreng *wantal* *neck*, Wakka-Wakka *damba*, Goreng-Goreng *dampal* *way, road*; normalised in writing Goreng-Goreng as *wandal*, *dambal*). No rules may, however, be laid down for this tendency and we still have to count on single phonemes (represented; b, ɟ, d and g). A remark by our principal Goreng-Goreng informant is interesting in this connection, as he maintained that the old people regularly used voiceless sounds (e.g. *ɟakim* for *gagim* *going*; cf. 2.8). —As for consonant clusters, the same rule holds in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.18).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

15.1 The structure of the concrete morpheme in Goreng-Goreng is of the same type as in Wakka-Wakka (see 3.4; 7.1). Nominal and verbal stems are consequently either dissyllabic (or longer) or monosyllabic and it appears that the latter are regularly original monosyllables in Goreng-Goreng, as on the whole contraction of longer forms does not take place to the same extent as in Wakka-Wakka. Hence monosyllabic verb stems normally have a short vowel Goreng-Goreng (pa- see = Wakka-Wakka pa-- , etc.), while vowel-ending nominal stems are always long.¹²¹ Monosyllabic words having the character of particles (dependent words; cf. 3.1) have short vowels (gu *to*, *for*, postposition). Monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant are normally short (that is of standard length), showing the usual tendency toward lengthening as in Wakka-Wakka (see 2.4). Reduplication of syllables occurs, but seldom and exceptionally: galalaŋan *quite nice* (cf. galaŋan *good*). The formation is analogous to the one mentioned in Note 17 and shows that the repetition of syllables—although more frequent in songs—may not altogether be due to the requirements of the melodic structure.

15.2 Nominal stems of whatever structure, either end in a consonant or a vowel; verbal stems mostly end in a vowel, but there are a few (e.g. jan- *go*) that may be considered to end in a consonant in Goreng-Goreng.¹²² There are some cases of nominal stems being identical with verbal stems related in meaning (cf. 7.1): jamŋa *quarrel* and jamŋa- (*to*) *quarrel*, wamba (the name of a cattle station) and wamba- *lift*, *put up*, *fence*; these then differ only in respect of the type of their inflection (either declension or conjugation). Mostly, however, nominal and verbal stems differ in form as well. Compounds arise in the same way as in Wakka-Wakka, that is that independently occurring concrete morphemes may be juxtaposed to form a semantic unit (for the particular character of compounds, see further in 7.2).¹²³

15.3 *Nominal derivation.* A regular nominal derivation is much more restricted than verbal derivation. The derivative suffixes are more or less the same as in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.3-4). The mentioned -gan marking females occurs in: ginbelamŋan *wife* (cf. ginbelam *husband*, *spouse*). The caritative suffix -gam is used as in Wakka-Wakka gunŋam *without water*, buligam *naked (without clothes)*, bingagam *without a hat*. The sociative suffix is (as in Wakka-Wakka) either -ŋa or -ŋal, but the latter is more common and may be considered typical of Goreng-Goreng:¹²⁴ binaŋal *listening (having ears)*, binaŋal *having or wearing a hat*. The meaning of the suffix is more abstract in such cases as dugunŋal *stars* (insofar as the word contains the sociative suffix; cf. dugulŋam, du-ŋam *stars* in Goeng-Goeng, which however has the appearance of a caritative derivation, *without stars* ??). This use of the sociative suffix is analogous to its use in Goreng-Goreng daliŋal = dali *sick* (ŋai dali(ŋal) *I am sick*) and related to a very special usage in Goeng-Goeng, for which see in 18.12. Of the local derivative suffix -ba no other instance has been found in Goreng-Goreng than the place name gurulba *Gooroolba* (east of Gayndah; cf. 7.3), which appears to have a Goreng-Goreng origin (Goreng-Goreng gurul being equivalent to *fish*). The suffix -bara is used (as in Batjala; 25.2) in tribe, language or place names: baŋabara (Gor RD); also in the adjectival word wulaibara *noisy* (Gor NJ; cf. wulai *noise*).

15.4 Of the apparently functionless 'nominalising' suffixes (see 3.6, 23; 7.28), the following are clearly represented in Goreng-Goreng: -ŋ. *-j and -l. Of these -ŋ is the most common one, as in: binan (= bina) *ear*, ginan (= gina) *foot*,¹²⁵ giniŋ (= gini) *arm*. Alternation of forms with or without -l is found in warul or waru *head*. Of the Goeng-Goeng taboo word gunu (*cunnus*; also in Wakka-Wakka and other south-east Queensland languages) the variants gunuŋ and gunul are both found in Goreng-Goreng (Gor RD). The termination -l clearly occurs in Goreng-Goreng jinbal *eel* (cf. Wakka-Wakka jinba, idem) and further in dambal *track* (cf. Wakka-Wakka damba, idem) and wandal *neck* (cf. Wakka-Wakka wanda, idem) and probably also in Goreng-Goreng dagil *stone, money* (cf. Kabi-Kabi dagi, idem) and dail *egg* (cf. Wakka-Wakka dai *stone*).¹²⁶ The suffix *-j evidently occurs in Goreng-Goreng gabai (cf. 14.4, Note 117) *bee, honey* (as against Batjala gaba, idem). -For the occurrence of -l- as an element in the Goreng-Goreng conjugation, see 15.20, Note 139.

15.5 *Verbal derivation*. The verbal derivation in Goreng-Goreng is strictly along the same lines as in Wakka-Wakka. There are (1) causative, (2) associative and (3) reflexive derivative suffixes. Of causative suffixes we find: -ma- (that is as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.5), as in gilama- *turn round* (transitive; cf. gila- *turn round*, intransitive) and -nma-,¹²⁷ as in gainma- *put into* (from gai- *go into, enter*; cf. Wakka-Wakka gari- and garima-, 7.5).

15.6 The associative suffixes play an important part in Goreng-Goreng. The most common one is -ndi- (also found in Wakka-Wakka; see 7.6), which marks a verbal action (generally intransitive) performed in company with someone else or with something (the corresponding noun being construed in the objective case, indicating that the derived verb is transitive; the causative function—as in Wakka-Wakka—occurs more seldom in Goreng-Goreng): bindi- *take* (from bi- *go*, hence *go with*,¹²⁸ belbendi- *stand with* (for instance in ŋindu bula belbendi *you stand or stop with the cattle*, i.e. *tend or look after*; from balba- *stand*), ŋinendi- *sit with* (as in gura ŋinendigu *to watch the house*; from ŋina- *sit*), junmendi- *lie or sleep with* (also *cohabit*; from junma- *lie down*), maindi- *chase* (as in wani ŋindu waguna maindi (= maili) *don't chase the chickens, run with or after the chickens*, Gor RD; from mai- originally *run*). A variant of -ndi- seems to be -ni-: bini- *take* (cf. bindi-, idem, above), as in: ŋagu binigim junmagu *I take, i.e. put, (the child) to sleep* (Gor RD). The suffix -li- seems to have an associative-causative function in maili- *chase* (= maindi-, Gor RD), although this verb usually means *run* (the transitive usage may possibly depend on a mistake on part of the informant, as *run* may be equivalent to *chase* in English). It is further possible that -la- (cf. Wakka-Wakka, 7.6 and the Note 128) has an associative function in mundila- *cuddle up, have intercourse with* (cf. Goeng-Goeng mundi podex).¹²⁹

15.7 The reflexive (and also reciprocal) suffixes are -ŋi- (as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.7) and more often -li- (or -ri-; as in the Gunggari languages); gilani- *turn (oneself) round* (= Wuli-Wuli gilani-, idem; cf. gila- *turn round*, transitive gilama-, idem, causative), garili- *paint oneself* (cf. gari- *paint*), gangali- *call (to one another)* (cf. ganga- *call*, transitive), garali- *hide (oneself)* (cf. gara- *hide, steal*), guali- *talk* (no simple verb was found; cf. however Goreng-Goreng gual *noise*, with 'nominalising' -l ? cf. 15.4), jamŋali- *quarrel* (reciprocal; cf. jamŋa- *scold* and jamŋa *quarrel*, 15.2), maili- *run* (cf. mai- *run or chase*, 15.6), pagari- *look at oneself or one another* (from paga- *see*,

look; 15.24). For *gugali hungry* (= Wakka-Wakka *guroji-*, *guroi* (*get*) *hungry*), compare 7.7. A reflexive-intransitive formative *-li-* may be found in the alternative form, *wabali-*, of the verb stem *waba-* *come* (cf. 15.24).

15.8 Some derivative suffixes—generally corresponding to analogous ones in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.8-9)—are used more indefinitely as to meaning: *-ga-* (*-gi-*), *-ga-* (*-ge-*), *-ja-* (for the latter two, compare the verb stems *ga-* and *ja(n)-* *go* which might here function as 'auxiliaries'), as in: *jirga-* *rub* (cf. the shorter stem *jir-*, in *jirgu* *to rub*), *fencing-ga-* (or *fencim-* ?) *fence*, *wagimda-* (or *-ja-*) *wash*; the latter verb is conjugated according to the pattern of intransitive verbs (see 15.23: *wani-*, *bali-*), but construed as a transitive verb (i.e. with an ergative: *ṇadu wagimḍamin* *I have washed*; Gor RD). From the latter verb a reflexive verb stem in *-li-* is formed: *wagimḍali-* *wash (oneself)*; Gor RD. In *jamṇa-* *quarrel* the same suffix is found (cf. *jamṇa-* *quarrel*, *scold*, in 15.7—the reciprocal sense is not necessarily connected with the suffix *-ga-*, but may be inherent in the verb).

15.9 Among features related to derivation might be mentioned augmented or extended verb stems, as found in the verbal system in Goreng-Goreng. As in Wakka-Wakka, stems normally end in a vowel (*-a-* or *-i-*; cf. 15.20), but odd cases in Goreng-Goreng indicate that this vowel may represent an extension of a shorter stem. A typical instance is found in the verb 'to go', of which the root (both in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng) must be considered **ja-*. In Goreng-Goreng this root is augmented by means of a nasal (*-n-*) and hence appears as *jan-* everywhere except in the imperative, where this new stem is provided with an additional stem-final *-a*, so that this mode form becomes *jana* (as also in Wakka-Wakka). This stem (*jana-*), which exists for instance in *Manandjali*, may appear as a supplementary verb stem in Goreng-Goreng, being provided with a 'thematic element' (*janan gone*; cf. 15.24).

(b) Inflection

15.10 *Declension*. As in the languages of the western Wakka group, the declension of nominal stems is based on their structure, of which the same three basic types may be observed (7.11), namely: (1) stems ending in a vowel, (2) stems ending in a nasal and (3) stems ending in *-l* or *-r*, to which the case suffixes are added (sometimes incorporated into the stem). In Goreng-Goreng the case forms are: the *nominative* (the stem of the word), the *ergative* (always ending in the vowel *-u*), the *objective* (always ending in the vowel *-a*); further the *ablative* and *locative* (often used alternately). The *possessive* and *allative* are (in the nominal declension) formed by means of the postpositions *gi* (more or less the Wakka-Wakka *gari*; cf. 7.13) and *gu*, respectively.¹³⁰ Both these postpositions are further used to express purpose and regularly with the word *gulḡin want (to)* (= Wakka-Wakka *gor*; cf. Note 73). In the case of personal pronouns the ablative and locative relations (besides, not always kept strictly apart) are expressed by the respective postpositions *baṇu* (ablative) and *baṇi* (locative); these local case forms are used particularly in reference to animate nouns (as also in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 3.17).¹³¹ No trace of an inflected possessive is found in Goreng-Goreng. On the other hand, stray cases of a *comitative* (being identical with a *sociative* derivation; see 15.3) may be found (*maṇṇa muni ganṇal waban* *that woman comes with a man*; Gor RD) as well as of a *perlative*—formed as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.11—, as in: *ginmanga* *in the sun(light)* or *in the daytime* (Gor RD). There are instances of an original case form having

become part and parcel of the stem: the Goreng-Goreng forms *walaru* and *walara* (*corroboree*) seem to be respectively the ergative and perlocative forms of a shorter stem **walar*, but are treated as stem forms: *walaru gu* or *walara gu go to the corroboree* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *walara corroboree*). Incidentally, the same is evidently the case of Wakka-Wakka *biralu God*, originally the ergative of a shorter form **biral* (= Goreng-Goreng *biral eaglehawk* or *God*; also cf. Goreng-Goreng *birabin God*, Gor NJ), or, conversely, the Goreng-Goreng *nailu eaglehawk* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *nail*, ergative *nailu*, idem). The place name *gina* (beside *gin*) *Gayndah* may be an original perlocative (= *at, about Gayndah*; the Wakka-Wakka form is *ginda*).

15.11 *Paradigms*. Of nouns ending in a vowel the ergative is normally formed by the suffix *-bu*, the objective by the suffix *-ŋa* (or *-na*) the ablative by the suffix *-ŋu* (*-nu*) and the locative by *-ŋi* (*-ni*), according to the following paradigm (the type words being: *gibi Aboriginal man*, *muni woman*, *miri dog*, *gu tree*, *gura home, house*):

NOM	<i>gibi, muni, miri, gu, gura</i>
ERG	<i>gibibu, munibu, miribu, gu·bu</i>
OBJ	<i>gibiŋa, muniŋa (munina), miriŋa</i>
ABL	<i>muninu, gu·nu, guranu</i>
LOC	<i>miriŋi, gu·ŋi, guraŋi</i>

The possessive relation is expressed by the postposition *gi* (= Wakka-Wakka *gari*): *muni gi of the woman*, *wangai gi of the snake* (= Wakka-Wakka *wangeri*), *gura gi belonging to the house*; the dative relation appears in *gibi gi to the man*. The ablative relation is expressed alternatively by means of *banu* and the locative (of personal nouns) by *baŋi* (*with*): *nai balbam baŋi ninamin I have been watching (sitting with) the children* (Gor RD). The comitative appears in *balbam bulanaŋ (sitting) with two children* (Gor RD).

15.12 Of stems ending in a nasal (*-ŋ, -m, -n, -p*) the ergative is formed (as in Wakka-Wakka; see 7.13) by adding to the stem respectively *-gu, -bu, -du, -gu* (in the last case the stem-final nasal and the case suffix are written in one as *-ngu*), the objective is formed by *-a*, the ablative by *-u* and the locative by *-i*, according to the following paradigm (the type words being: *meben emu*, *gun water*, *gunum tongue*, *gan man*, *gu·n fire*, *gin gin Gin Gin* (a place), *ginman sun*):

NOM	<i>meben, gun, gunum, gan, gu·n, gin gin, ginman</i>
ERG	<i>mebengu, gunumbu, gandu, gu·ndu, ginmangu</i>
OBJ	<i>gana</i>
ABL	<i>gunu, gu·nu</i>
LOC	<i>gunumi, gin gini</i>

The dative relation is expressed in *gan gi to the man*, the possessive relation in *mugen ge (= gi) the old woman's*, purpose is expressed in *gun gi (go) for water* and an ablative relation (alternatively by the postposition *baŋi*) in *gan baŋi* (for *banu*; cf. 15.10) *off the man*.

15.13 Of stems ending in *-l* or *-r*, the ergative is formed by the suffix *-bu* (or sometimes *-u*, as in Wakka-Wakka), the objective by the suffix *-na*, the ablative by the suffix *-nu* and the locative by *-ni* (in a couple of cases, *-i*). The paradigm is as follows (of the type words: *gabil child*, *gurbel old man*, *gilal possum*, *gurul fish*, *dagil stone*, *daigal bone*, *gagur animal*, *kangaroo*, *gipir cat*):

NOM	gabil, gurbel, gilal, gurul, dagil, daigal, gadur, gipir
ERG	gabilbu, gilalu, gurulu, gadurbu, gipiru
OBJ	gabilna, gurbelna
ABL	dagilnu, daigalnu
LOC	daigalni, gadurni

The dative relation is expressed in gurbel gi *to the old man*, gipir gi *to the cat*, purpose is expressed in gadur gi, gilal gi (= gilal gu) nai jangim *I am going for kangaroo, possum* (for snaring; Gor RD) and the comitative in gabilnal (*coming, running*) with a child. The irregular locative appears in dambali *on the road* (from dambal track; Gor RD).

15.14 *Articles*. Goreng-Goreng has the same forms of the plural article, -bom or -bam, as Wakka-Wakka. If derived from an original *-buam (cf. 7.15 and the Note 74), one would expect the article to be *-bo'm (-bom; cf. 14.4) in Goreng-Goreng, but as a matter of fact both in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng the form -bam seems more common, which allows us to suspect that the Goreng-Goreng plural article is actually borrowed from Wakka-Wakka (it is to be noticed that these forms of the article do not seem to occur in the other languages of the eastern group). For the character and function of the article, see in 3.18-19. Examples from Goreng-Goreng: ganbam (or -bom) (*some*) men, munibam (or -bom) (*some*) women, gabilbam *children*, jaramanbam (or -bom) (*some*) horses, gailambam (*some*) others. The article is inflected according to the paradigm in 15.12: ergative ganbambu, munibambu, etc., as in: gailambambu bi'nmin *the others took it* (Gor RD).

15.15 *Personal pronouns*. Goreng-Goreng forms of the personal pronouns have been recorded for the following persons: (singular) first person: nai *I*; second person: nin *you*; third person: mingun *he, she*; (dual) first person: nalin *we*; second person: nurala *you*; third person: bula *they*; (plural) first person: najumbu *we*; second person: nurari *you*; third person: mingiri *they*. There is actually some doubt as to the true value of some of the above forms: it is especially remarkable that the first person plural forms are not very well represented and that the nominative was once given as nalin (that is the dual form, *we two*; in the same sense nalin bula was found). No clear distinction can be made between forms of the personal pronoun in the third person (bula) and forms which might be either nominal (bula = *two*) or demonstrative in character (mingun was declared to be equivalent to maguna, which is the demonstrative *that (one)*). The personal pronouns have a special dative form (see 3.14 and the Note 130) and also comitative forms (by means of the sociative suffix -nal) and corresponding caritative case forms (by the suffix -gam; see 15.3).

15.16 *Paradigms*. The following inflected forms of the personal pronouns have been recorded:

First person singular:

NOM	nai
ERG	nagu
OBJ	napa
POSS	napunda
DAT	naji (naje; cf. 14.3).
ABL	naibanj ¹³²
LOC	naibanj

The ablative expresses 'from': *ŋaibani jangim going from me* and the locative 'with': *ŋaibani ŋinem sitting with me*. No allative forms are found, but the dative form is used in the sense of '(going, coming) to (a person)', e.g. *ŋaje waba come to me, ŋaje waban comes to me* (Gor RD). The comitative is *ŋaiŋal (go, come, sit) with me* (said to be the same as *ŋai bulam together with me*; Gor RD) and the caritative *ŋaigam without me*.

Second person singular:

NOM	ŋin
ERG	ŋingu(n)
OBJ	ŋina
POSS	ŋinda
DAT	ŋingi (-ge; cf. 14.3)
ABL	ŋinbani ¹³³

A comitative noted as *ŋineŋal with you* seems strange (if correct) — it ought to have been **ŋinŋal* —, but the caritative form *ŋingam without you* (Gor RD) is regular.

Third person singular:

NOM	mingu(n)
ERG	mingundu
OBJ	minguŋa
ABL	mingunbani

First person dual:

NOM	ŋalin
ERG	ŋalindu
OBJ	ŋalina
POSS	ŋalinda
DAT	ŋalinge (cf. 14.3)
ABL	ŋalinbani (cf. Note 133)
LOC	ŋalinbani

Along with this pronoun a compound form *ŋalin bula we two* is used: ergative *ŋalindu bula* or *ŋalin bulabu*, objective *ŋalina bula*, ablative (locative) *ŋalin bulabani*. In this connection may be mentioned compound forms of the type described in 7.21: *ŋalin ŋin you and me*. A comitative is found in *ŋalingal with us two* (said to be equal to the locative *ŋalinbani*, see above); the caritative *ŋalingam* means of course *without us two* (Gor RD).

Second person dual:

NOM	ŋurala, ŋula, ŋun
ERG	ŋurala bulabu
OBJ	ŋuralaŋa
POSS	ŋurala (sic)

No other inflections were found. Beside *ŋun* the form *ŋun bula (you two)* was given by Gor RD; in the same way *ŋurala bula (idem)*, of which the ergative form is seen in the above paradigm.

Third person dual:

NOM	bula
ERG	bulabu
OBJ	bulana
DAT	bulagi

These are actually used of any person and even (in the nominative) as a noun (= 'two', 'both') and relation word or postposition (= 'together (with)' or 'twice' or 'and'): bula *we two* or *you two*, bulagi *to you two*, bula balbam or balbam bula *two children*, ɲai bulagi gulgi *I want two*, bula ɲinim *two are sitting*, bula ɲingu ɲapa jilim guma *kiss me twice* (Gor RD), ɲalin balbam bula jangim (= ɲalin bula balbamɲal jangim) *we two are going with a child* (Gor RD), julap bula (*to cook it*) *together with the skin* (Gor RD), muni balbam bula jenmen *the woman and the child went* (Gor RD; from the Aboriginal point of view indistinguishable from *went with the child*).

First person plural:

NOM ɲajumbu
ERG ɲajumbu

This only form, which was explained as meaning *we all, the mob* (Gor RD), has the appearance of an ergative, but may have been a nominative in function as well. No other forms were given.

Second person plural:

NOM ɲurari
ERG ɲurari
DAT ɲurali (correct ?)

Third person plural:

NOM mingiri (mingi ?)
ERG mingiri (mingiribu)
OBJ mingiriɲa
POSS mingirinda
DAT mingirigi
LOC mingiribanɲi

The comitative mingiriɲal *with them* was also noted.

15.17 Parallel to the third person pronouns listed in the preceding section (15.16) another series was given by Gor RD, of which all forms begin with the syllable *ma-* (cf. Wakka-Wakka ergative *malu*; 7.22).¹³⁴ The forms are as follows:

NOM maguɲa, maluɲa, mali
ERG magu, malu(n), malundu, malibu, mali(ndu)
OBJ maguɲa, maluɲa, mapuɲa, maliɲa
POSS maguɲanda, magunda(n), mapunda, malinda
DAT magugi, maguɲagi, malungi (correct ?), maligi
ABL maguɲan(baɲu), maluɲan, malubanɲi, malinbanɲi
LOC maliɲalbanɲi, maluɲanbanɲi

The forms of the stem *mali-* were often (although not consistently) said to be plural (= *they, them, their*). On the other hand, *mali* was said to be equal to *malun* (*he, she*) at the same time as *maguɲa* was said to be equal to *mingun* (*he, she*). The flection does not seem to indicate that this latter series (the forms in *ma-*) are demonstratives, although Gor RD equalled *maguɲa* (*he*) to Wakka-Wakka *mana that (one)* – ɲai gulgi *maguɲagi* would be the same as Wakka-Wakka ɲe *managu gon I want that* (cf. Note 90). That these forms may be construed with a noun (as in *mali miribu jilgi that or the dog bites*) is of course no criterion of a demonstrative pronoun (as the same thing might be said by means of any third person personal pronoun). The strange form *maluɲalbanɲi* (*sitting*)

with him looks like a cross between *malunbanji* (idem) and a comitative **malunaj* (*along with him*), otherwise not recorded.

15.18 *Demonstrative pronouns.* In comparison to the wealth of forms for the third person of the personal pronouns (see 15.16-17), the system of demonstrative pronouns in Goreng-Goreng, as recorded here, seems rudimentary. As in Wakka-Wakka (7.24), the two series of demonstratives (in *ga-* and *ma-*) are represented in Goreng-Goreng as well: *gai*, *gaŋa*, *gana*, *gapa* (*this, here*) and *mana*, *mapa*, *mara* (*that, there*).¹³⁵ These are akin to demonstrative relation words (that is to original local case forms of demonstrative stems), such as: (ablative) *mapu*, *mapuŋu* (*from*) *over there*, (allative) *mapuŋgu* (*to*) *over there*. Evidently owing to the fact that most of the third person pronouns are from the primitive stem *ma-* (see 15.17) and some are apt to take the place of demonstratives in *ma-*, the majority of demonstratives recorded are those beginning with *ga-*, all appearing in the nominative or local case forms: *gaigi nai jangim* *I am going to this or that one*, *wani ŋingu gaigi wuga* *don't give it to that one*, *nai jangim gaigu ŋundu balimin*, *gaigu dura gu*, *gaigu guŋ gu* *I am going over to where the fire was, over to that house, over there for water* (Gor RD), *ŋin gaigu waba* *you come over here*, *gaigula* *over here* (= *gaigu*; Gor RD), *gaŋa gan*, *gurbel waban* *there an (old) man is coming or that (old) man is coming*, *gaŋa guŋ* *that water*, *dura gaŋa ŋapunda* *this house is mine*, *gaŋa gandu ja ganmin* *this man has made it* (*gaŋa* cannot be in the ergative and it is inessential in Goreng-Goreng whether the sentence is understood as *this man* or *the man here*), *gaŋa ŋingu bi-ŋagu gaŋa bilim* *you take that and I take this*, *gaŋagi* (*wants*) *this* (whether forms with the plural article, (NOM) *gaŋabam*, (OBJ) *gaŋabama* *those*, are correct or not may be questioned; cf. Note 136); *gana gu* *this tree or the tree here or here is a tree*, etc.; *gaŋa mingu(n) waban* *he is coming this way*, *gureŋ maŋuŋa gapa gailam mana* *not it, bring that other one* (Gor RD), *gapa dura* *that house*, *dura gapa belbem* *that house (standing) or there is a house standing*, *gaŋagu dura* *to that house* (this is equivalent to *gapa dura gi*, according to Gor RD). The comitative is found in *gaŋaŋa(l) waban* *coming with that* (Gor RD) and may be justified in consideration of the parallel caritative form *gaŋagam* *he has not got it or that* (Gor RD; it may of course be rendered impersonally by *there is nothing*, cf. the Wakka-Wakka *wagagam* *nothing*). More questionable is the ergative form in *gaŋabu jangganmin* (as if *this one made it*), which was accepted by Gor RD in the sense of *malun* (*he*), and similarly the objective form in *ŋagu neman gaŋaŋa* *I have seen this or that one*, while the form with the plural article *gaŋabambanji* *belonging to those* might be parallel to the above *gaŋabam* (whether correct or not).¹³⁶ Of the demonstrative in *ma-* may be quoted: *ŋingun mana webendi* *you bring that*, *ŋingu bagi mapa* *you hit that one* (notice absence of objective suffix) and *mara* *over there*.

15.19 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative pronoun in Goreng-Goreng is from a primitive stem **wap* (cf. 7.26): *wanuŋa* *who?*, while the impersonal interrogative is (as in Wakka-Wakka) *mipa(ŋ)* *what?*. These also express the idea of respectively *somebody* and *something* (cf. the word *mipa game*, *kind of meat*, mentioned in 7.26). The declension of these pronouns is as follows:

wanuŋa who ?:

NOM	<i>wanuŋa</i> , <i>wapuŋa</i>
ERG	<i>wanu</i>
OBJ	<i>wapuŋa</i>
POSS	<i>wapunda</i> (<i>wapaŋa ?</i>)
DAT	<i>wangi</i>

Examples: *wanguŋa* (*wapuna*) *mapuna who is he?*, *wapuna ŋin who are you?*, *wapuna ŋingu nemen whom have you seen?*, *wapunda mapuna ŋinem whose is that?*, *wangi ŋingu wumen whom did you give it to?* There is a comitative *wapuna(l)*, as in: *wapuna(l) ŋin wabanmin with whom did you come?*; the allative *wangu*, *wangula* are rather relation words (*to where?*) as is also the ablative *wapu whence?*

mipa(ŋ) what?:

NOM	<i>mipa(ŋ)</i>
ABL	<i>mipangu</i>
ALL	<i>mipagu, mipangu</i>

Examples: *mipa ŋinda, magunda ge'm what is your, his language?*, *mipangu ŋingu gaŋa jangganmin from what or how have you made that?* *mipangu ŋin wabanmin what have you come for?*, *mipangu ŋin gulgiŋ what do you want?*

15.20 Conjugation. For the structure of the verbal stem in Goreng-Goreng, compare 15.2. Most stems are dissyllabic, usually ending in *-a-* or *-i-* (of stems in *-u-* there are but scarce instances, the most important one being *balu-die*), while a few monosyllabic stems are found, ending either in *-a-*, *-i-* or *-u-*; besides a few (mostly monosyllabic) verbal stems end in a nasal (*-n-* or *-ŋ-*). As in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.28) no semantic distinction is apparently possible between stems in *-a-* or *-i-*; it is, however, an interesting circumstance that while dissyllabic stems in *-i-* (like those in *-a-*) may be either transitive (*wani- leave*, *bagi- hit*) or intransitive (*gai- enter*), they are nevertheless mostly conjugated according to the intransitive pattern (*wanimin left*, like *gaimin entered*); the transitive conjugation form *waninmin*, where it occurs, appears not quite correct.¹³⁷ Some verb stems (e.g. *bali- burn*, *ganma- fall* or *break*) may have either a transitive or intransitive meaning and employment (in some cases certainly due to imitation of English). Unlike Wakka-Wakka (and the languages of the western group), Goreng-Goreng often shows an interchange of the stem vowels *-a-* and *-i-* in dissyllabic stems, according to mode or aspect: *ŋina-* and *ŋini- sit*, etc.¹³⁸ On the other hand, one verb is found of which several different stems appear in the conjugation, namely *pa-*, *paga-* and *pagi-* (*see*; cf. 15.24). There are two basic kinds of conjugation in Goreng-Goreng: *transitive* and *intransitive*. The transitive conjugation—except of associative verbs; see 15.6—is characterised by a stem extension in *-l-*,¹³⁹ as in: *janga(l)- do, make*, *bagi(l)- hit*, as against *ŋina-*, *ŋini- sit*; to these augmented stems 'thematic elements' (see 7.28) or analogous morphological elements may be affixed (cf. 15.21).

15.21 The Goreng-Goreng conjugation has the same four basic modal (or aspectual) forms as are found in the western group of Wakka languages (see 7.29): imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional. The *imperative* is mostly the same as the verbal stem (*ŋina sit*, *wani leave*); of transitive verb stems, however, the transitive *-l-* may or may not appear in the imperative, in the former case with an additional *-a-*: *bagi* or *bagila hit*. For imperatives in *-ga*, see 15.24. The *imperfective* mode is characterised in a double way: either (1) by the 'thematic element' *-m* or (2) by the 'auxiliary' verb stem *-gi-* (cf. Note 95) plus the same thematic element *-m* (consequently *-gim*). Both types of conjugations are found either of transitive or intransitive verbs (the latter type recalls the second Wakka-Wakka conjugation; see 7.28-29). It should be noticed that the *-g-* of the 'auxiliary' is suppressed in dissyllabic verb stems having the transitive *-l-* extension: *bagilim hitting* (for **bagilgim*; cf. *galgim eating*), as is also the *-g-* of the (original) postposition *-gu* in the intentional mode

(see below). The *perfective* mode is always formed by the suffix -min (-men; cf. 14.3), evidently to be analysed as 'thematic element' (-m-) plus locative case suffix (-i-) plus a functionless element (-n); compare the analysis of the Wakka-Wakka perfective mode forms in 3.22 and 7.29; as for the final -n it is to be noticed that it is a favorite addition to case forms in Goreng-Goreng, as in *mingun* = *mingu* *he, she*, *wapun* = *wapu* *where? where? when?*, etc. — in other words, Goreng-Goreng -min may justly be identified with the corresponding modal termination -mi in Batjala (for which see 25.13). Of the transitive verbs of which the enlarged stem is in -l- (see above), the perfective mode forms are in -nmin (in place of *-lmin).¹⁴⁰ The *intentional* mode is expressed by the postposition -gu added to the plain or extended (i.e. transitive) verb stem (cf. Wakka-Wakka; 7.29, with references): *ɲinagu* *to sit*, *baligu* *to burn*; of dissyllabic (or longer) transitive stems in -l- the -g- of the postposition is suppressed: *bagilu* *to hit* (but *galgu* *to eat*; cf. the imperfective -im and -gim in the same conditions, above).

15.22 Verb stems ending in a consonant (mostly monosyllabic) are either intransitive (e.g. *jan- go*) or transitive (e.g. *man- take*); it is likely that the stem-final consonant (-n- or -ŋ-) is an original 'thematic element' (see 15.20-21), generalised throughout the paradigm. The modal forms are construed as follows: the *imperative* is formed by addition of the vowel -a (*jana go*, *mana take*).¹⁴¹ The *imperfective* mode is formed by the 'auxiliary' -gi- plus the 'thematic' -m (hence -gim) added to the verb stem: *jangim going*. The *perfective* is formed by addition of the syllable -min (-men; to be analysed as in 15.21): *jenmen gone, went* (for **janmin*; cf. 14.5) and the *intentional* by addition of the postposition -gu: *jangu to go*.

15.23 *Paradigms*. The following regular paradigms will give a survey of the common forms of Goreng-Goreng conjugation (the type verbs are: *janga(l)- do make*, *wani- leave* (TR), *be left* (ITR), *bali- burn*, *ɲina- (ɲini-) sit*, *ji(l)- bite*, *man- take*, *giŋ- scratch*):

janga(l)- do, make:

IMP *janga*
 IPF *jangalim*
 PF *jangganmin*¹⁴²
 INT *jangalu*¹⁴²

wani- leave, bali- burn:

IMP *wani, wane*,¹⁴³ *wanila, bali*
 IPF *wanilim* (TR), *wanigim* (ITR), *baligim*
 PF *wani(n)min, bali(n)min* (cf. 15.20)
 INT *wanilu* (TR), *baligu*

ɲina- (ɲini-) sit:

IMP *ɲina*
 IPF *ɲinim* (ɲinem)
 PF *ɲinamin*
 INT *ɲinagu*

ji(l)- *bite*:

IMP jila or jilga (cf. 15.24)
 IPF jilgim
 PF jinmin
 INT jilgu

man- *take*:

IMP mana
 IPF mangim
 PF manmin (menmen; 14.5)
 INT mangu

giŋ- *scratch*:

IMP giŋga (cf. 15.24)
 IPF giŋgim
 PF giŋmin
 INT giŋgu

15.24 Although no group of 'irregular' verbs may properly be accepted in the sense they occur in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.29-30), certain irregularities are—as is to be expected—found in Goreng-Goreng as well. The *imperative* often terminates in the syllable -ga (in place of -a; see 15.21 and the paradigms, 15.23); this -ga might either represent the imperative form *ga of the 'auxiliary' (see 15.21) or be due to analogy (notice that jilga *bite* is to the imperfective jilgim as is ŋina *sit* to ŋinim *sitting*) or, finally, -ga may be a special imperative particle, perhaps a connective.¹⁴⁴ The *imperfective* is formed either with or without the 'auxiliary' -(g)im (see 15.21) and sometimes both forms have been recorded of the same verb: bagim or bagilim *hitting*. The intransitive inflection of the same verb stem (in the form bege-; cf. 14.5) is used in the reciprocal sense of *fight*: imperative begega, imperfective begegim, perfective begemin and intentional begegu. An alternative perfective form janān (muni janān = janānmin or jenmen (*my*) *wife has gone*) is unique, but may be correct as it appears in many Wakka languages (cf. Note 96). Structurally it is the imperfective form (in 'thematic' -n); the perfective sense may be inherent in the verb stem (cf. Note 96). The *intentional* has a double allative suffix (-u and -gu) in buralgu *to pull out* and garilugu *to paint* (see Note 142); this is quite exceptional and if correct it may be due to attraction by such forms as jagulugu *to talk* (from a stem jagulu-, which seems to contain a reflexive-reciprocal -li- (see 15.7), assimilated to the vowel (-u-) of the preceding syllable (a variant form of this verb stem is jalulu-, idem; cf. 15.1). Of one verb, waba(li)- *come* (cf. 15.7) two alternating stems are found and the conjugation is as follows: imperative waba, imperfective waban or wabalim, perfective wabanmin and intentional wabagu. As in the case of the form janān (see above), the differentiation of perfective and imperfective is probably only formal (cf. Note 96), as waban has been identified both with wabalim (Gor RD) and wabanmin (Gor DW). The verb is conjugated identically in Goeng-Goeng (cf. 18.10). Of the verb *to see*, three different stems are found: pa-, paga-, paŋi- (cf. 15.20). The first one (pa-) appears in the perfective (nemen; cf. Note 139) and the intentional (paŋu), the second one (paga-) in the imperative (paga) and an alternative perfective (paganmin)—as well as in the reflexive-reciprocal derivative stem paŋari- (see 15.7)—and the third one (paŋi-) in the imperfective (paŋim; cf. Note 139), as well as in alternative imperative (paŋi) and perfective (paŋinmin) forms.

(c) Construction

15.25 By way of introduction nothing more is to be said about Goreng-Goreng construction than what has been stated for Wakka-Wakka in the corresponding section (7.32). Although the verb *ɲina-* (*sit*) is frequently used to express the English *to be* in any sense, Goreng-Goreng has no copula, whereby certain constructions in this language may be rendered in various ways in English. This, however, does not mean that a distinction of subject and predicate parts does not exist in Goreng-Goreng (or the Australian language of similar structure). In whatever way such a sequence as *gura ɲapunda* is rendered in English (*my house, it is my house, the house is mine, etc.*), one of the members (*gura* or *ɲapunda*) will be predicate, while the other will be subject and the same thing will hold for the reverse construction (*ɲapunda gura*), which according to the information obtained expresses the same idea (the difference in stress between English *my house* and *my house* or *the house is mine* and *the house is mine* does not seem to have a parallel in the Australian language). As a matter of fact, the word order is mostly free, as in the old Indo-European languages, and one can speak of certain tendencies only. The basic principle seems to be—as also in Wakka-Wakka and the other languages investigated in this survey—that the verb tends to be placed after a nominative or ergative case form and that objective case forms tend to be placed between the ergative form and the verb (hence: *ɲagu ɲina ɲagim I can see you*). According to a further tendency the determinating word (the predicate part) is placed after the determined word (the subject part): *gura jingagu a big house* rather than according to the English word order; this consequently corresponds to the word order in the English predicative *my house is big*, that is *ɲapunda gura jingagu* in Goreng-Goreng (on these two points the Aborigines are usually aware of the fact that the Aboriginal languages express things 'backwards' or put 'the cart before the horse'). A third tendency would be to place (short) pronominal forms after longer words.¹⁴⁵ The problem of word order in the Australian languages would need a special investigation.

15.26 Grammatical agreement is found in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka: *guraɲi guniɲi ɲinem living in a small house*, but the construction *gu'ɲi ɲinem gunini* or *gu' guniɲi (sits) in a small tree* is also possible. From the Goreng-Goreng point of view the former construction can be rendered literally in English by 'in a house, in a small one', but it is of course possible to assume that the agreement has turned into an altogether mechanical process (as in the European classical languages). In *gaɲa gandu (by) this man* (ergative) the lack of agreement is on another level, as *gaɲa* also means *here (by the man here; cf. 15.18)*. Not very much different from the above case of agreement is the common construction of a noun with the postposition *gu* and an intentional mode form of a verb, as in: *ɲai jangigim galbiɲ gu mangu I am afraid they will steal my clothes* (literally *on behalf of my clothes, on behalf of stealing*); this is a variant of the Wakka-Wakka and Wuli-Wuli construction mentioned in previous sections (3.23, Note 39 and 11.12).¹⁴⁶

15.27 The use of the intentional mode in what has been called the *accidental* construction (see 3.24; 7.35) is found in Goreng-Goreng also. Usually an introductory word (*wangu* or *wungu*) is employed, corresponding to the English subordinating *when* or *if*: *wangu ɲingu maluɲa ɲagu (INT) ɲingu jala when or if you see him, you tell (him)* (Gor RD), *wungu bunu wabalu (INT) gulun (or gun) jingagu ɲinem if rain comes there will be a big flood* (Gor RD), *wungu ɲin duɲilagu (INT) if you cry* (Gor RD). For the analysis of such constructions—which to some extent only seem to copy English—compare the Note 100.

GOENG-GOENG

Introductory remarks

16.1 Goeng-Goeng is closely related to Goreng-Goreng and but for the different name might rather be reckoned as a mere dialectal variant of the latter. Two Goeng-Goeng informants (Goe AS and MG) actually claimed that their language was Goreng-Goreng, while a Goreng-Goreng speaker (if such a term may be used of a person who has but a limited recollection of the language) referred to Goeng-Goeng as the 'soft' talk, while his own and his parents' language was the 'hard' variety of Goreng-Goreng, evidently on account of the different pronunciation of the negative *no*, *not*, *nothing*, namely *goeŋ*, respectively *gureŋ* (*goreŋ*), from whence the language names also are derived. The disappearance of *r* actually occurs in some other words as well in Goeng-Goeng (e.g. *biu* for Goreng-Goreng *biru hand*, *dia* or *dian* for Goreng-Goreng *dira teeth*, *mu* (sometimes *muru*) for Goreng-Goreng *muru nose* and (probably) *muendem* (*yesterday*) as against Goreng-Goreng *murenda*, *murenda a long time ago*, but it is by no means a general rule or even a tendency, since theoretically it would be as likely that an *r* would disappear in Goreng-Goreng while remaining in the other language (a similar two fold variety of forms exists in Batjala *biri* and Dunggija (1.6, Note 8) *bi-hand*).

List of informants

16.2 Reference to Goeng-Goeng informants is made by means of the abbreviation *Goe* (for Goeng-Goeng), followed by the initials of the person. Compare further under Wakka-Wakka (4.3; 5.2).

- Goe AC*: Mr. Archie Carlo (64), at Kingaroy, Mrs. Alice Stephan's (Goe AS) uncle, born at Bundaberg; his mother was from Eidsvold.
- Goe AS*: Mrs. Alice Stephan, at Churchill, south of Ipswich; her mother (Annie Beckett) was said to have been Goreng-Goreng (cf. however 16.1), while her father (George (?) Beckett) may have been a Wakka-Wakka (cf. below).
- Goe BB*: Mr. Bertie Beckett, at Kingaroy, Mrs. Stephan's brother; he says his mother was Goreng-Goreng (from Gayndah) and his father a Wakka-Wakka (from Fraser Island).
- Goe JB*: Miss Jane Beckett, at Ipswich, Mrs. Stephan's sister.
- Goe LR*: Mrs. Lena Richards, at North Ipswich, Mrs. Stephan's sister; she said her father (whom she called Bert Beckett) was Wakka-Wakka and her mother Goreng-Goreng.
- Goe MG*: Mrs. Maggie Glenbar, met in 1964 at Cherbourg, sister of Archie Carlo (Goe AC, above) and Annie Beckett (see under Goe AS, above); she said she was Goreng-Goreng, but her language was evidently of the Goeng-Goeng type.
- Goe NB*: Miss Nelly Beckett, at Ipswich, Mrs. Stephan's sister.

Phonology

17.1 Goeng-Goeng phonology corresponds on every point with that of Goreng-Goreng. The five vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* must all be considered as fundamental and distinctive and vowel length occurs, either occasionally in concrete

monosyllabic words (e.g. *ga'n man*, *mi'l eye*, *gu'm smoke*) or as a product of contraction (e.g. *ge'm mouth*; cf. 14.4).¹⁴⁷ The twelve consonant phonemes also are the same as in Goreng-Goreng and the typical double actualisation of the palatalised dental or interdental sounds prevail in Goeng-Goeng also. The following additional notes on Goeng-Goeng phonology may suffice.

Evolution of the vowel system

17.2 The effect of a neighboring (usually preceding) palatal sound on a, which thereby approaches or becomes e, is noticed as elsewhere: *jengim* for *jangim* (*going*), etc. Analogously, a approaches or becomes o after w: *woka* for *waga* (*no, not*).¹⁴⁸ An i may be broadened to e (not always distinctively) in any closed syllable (e.g. *melbi* for *milbi turtle*), but particularly in final syllables (whether open or closed) in words of more than two syllables: *mugen* beside *mugin* (*old woman*), *junmen* (*lying down*; but *jilgim biting*, *bungim hitting*), *nenbe* (*beard*), *ginge* (*sour*) beside *ginginal* (*idem*; -*nal* being a sociative suffix *with* or *having*).

17.3 As in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.5) an e in a final syllable often affects (by assimilation or 'vowel harmony') an a of a preceding syllable: *gele* (*leaf, tea* (*leaf*); cf. Wakka-Wakka *gari leaf*), *demen* (*gone*), *gelgelge* (*dirty*), etc.¹⁴⁹ The phoneme character of such an e becomes evident in cases where it is retained in related forms having no e in the final syllable (as in *belba stand*, modelled on *belbem standing*; cf. 6.8). There are cases also in which a is assimilated to an e in a preceding syllable: *begege fight* (for *begega*; cf. 18.9; 19). Finally, a similar broadening of u to o may be due to 'vowel leveling' (see 6.6), as in: *goreŋ*, *goeŋ* (*no, not*), *ŋoe- cook* (= *ŋue-*).¹⁵⁰

17.4 Owing to the influence of English, a Goeng-Goeng e· is occasionally (as also in Wakka-Wakka and elsewhere) changed into the English vowel sound (ə·) in 'bird', etc. (as pronounced in Queensland). This actually aims at a restitution of the proper vowel sound in certain English words, which in the Aboriginal pronunciation are pronounced with e· for ə· (hence *be'd* for *bə'd bird*, etc), but is then extended to native words as well as in *gə'm* for *ge'm mouth* (Goe LR).

Evolution of the consonant system

17.5 English phonetic patterns may to some extent affect the pronunciation of the native consonant sounds. Especially the syllable-final r, apart from being substituted in wrong places, is more often dropped or changed into something else, a common substitute being a supradental (or English alveolar) 'd' (ɖ): *guɖbel* for *gurbel* (*old man*), *ɖaŋaɖ* for *ɖaŋar* (*leg*), *bulaɖ* for *bular* (*flour*; from English); also an Aboriginal r in any position may be replaced by the supradental or alveolar plosive: *waŋmiɖi* for *waŋmiri* (usually *waŋmeri white woman*, literally *white Mary*).

17.6 For consonant clusters the same rules apply as in Goreng-Goreng and Wakka-Wakka (see 6.18; 14.11). Exceptions from the rule are usually to be explained as due to the loss of a vowel, as in *duŋlem* beside *duŋalem* (*crying*; notice that l, which is non-initial in these languages, can not occur as last element of the cluster. In *pi'l bra'gi* (*crying*) a vowel may, of course, have been lost

between b and r (as also in Birri brigi- *cry*), but it may also be a matter of a non-Aboriginal word. Cases of simplification—or perhaps a mere tendency toward a simplification—of certain consonant clusters (-nm-, -ŋm-) should be noted here: Goeng-Goeng gemen *ate* (for *ganmin, cf. Goreng-Goreng genmen, idem), nqemen *cooked* (cf. Goreng-Goreng nuenmin), gimen *broke* (for giŋmin, as in Goreng-Goreng); also notice jangganin for jangganmin *made* (see Note 153). For a suggestion that Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng -(n)m- may in certain cases represent original *-lm-, see 15.21, Note 140.

Morphology

18.1 *Structure of word stems.* Although the material gathered from Goeng-Goeng is limited in comparison with what has been obtained from Goreng-Goreng, it is nevertheless quite evident that the structure and morphology of the former language (as well as the phonology and vocabulary) are in most respects the same as in the latter. The fact that Goeng-Goeng possesses a few concrete stems which (owing to the loss of intervocalic -r-; cf. 16.1) are shorter than the corresponding forms in Goreng-Goreng does not alter the structure of the word stem, which is basically the same in both languages (mu· *nose*, which is the same as Goreng-Goreng muru, idem, has exactly the same structure as Goreng-Goreng gu· *tree*), and has, of course, no effect either on the derivation or inflection of the words. There are cases of nominal and verbal stems (of related meaning) being identical, as in the case of Wakka-Wakka (and probably also Goeng-Goeng) dungi *creek* and Goeng-Goeng dungi- *drink*. The compound character of such constructions as guna ge·ri- (*evacuate bowels*), gabi bunguji- (*micturate*) must be recognised, since ge·ri- and bunguji- are both intransitive, whence the first member in the above constructions (guna *faeces* and gabi *urine*, respectively) cannot function as direct object of the verbal part (the literal rendering in English would however pose a problem). On the other hand, these constructions are perfectly analogous to Goreng-Goreng fencing-ga- *to go fencing*, that is (*to*) *fence*, *put up fences* (Gor RD; cf. 15.2, 8 and the Note 123). Reduplication of concrete stems are found in, for instance, bina bina (said to be equal to bina *ear*; Goe NB), mil bulen bulen *blue eyes* (Goe AS, JB; probably the same as bulin *smoke*, hence *smoky* ?), darin darin *strong* (Goe AC; cf. Wakka-Wakka darin *strong*).

18.2 *Derivation.* Few derivative suffixes have been recorded for Goeng-Goeng. The female-denoting -gan was found in wagigan *white woman* (probably < *wagi-, corresponding to English *white*; cf. Wakka-Wakka wapmeri *white woman*), but it is also possible that we have here the Gunggari word wagigan (idem). Of derived nominal forms those by means of the sociative suffixes -ŋa and -ŋal are most common (being used as in Goreng-Goreng; see 15.3): balgiŋal *fat (person)* from balgi *fat* (also bula balgiŋal *fat beef*), jigaŋal gurbel *old man with a beard* (Goe AC); the sociative suffixes are common in words corresponding to English adjectives (also color names: nuruŋal *black*) and often seem to be superfluous, as in daliŋal *sick* (cf. dali, idem; see 15.3). The caritative suffix -gam occurs in: milgam *blind* (from mil *eye*), gubugam *bald* (from gubu *head* or *hair*). For such constructions as daliŋal giŋgiŋal *all sour* (from giŋge *sour*), compare further in 18.12. Parallel forms with or without a terminating -ŋ or -l occur in the same way as in Goreng-Goreng: bina or binaŋ *ear*, gina or ginaŋ *foot*, dia or diaŋ *teeth*, guna or gunaŋ *faeces* (for the words dagil *stone*, money, dail *egg*, which are also found in Goreng-Goreng, see 15.4); Goeng-Goeng dambal (i.e. the Wakka-Wakka damba) means both *track* and *hill*, while the Goreng-Goreng jinbal *eel* is found in the form jinba in Goeng-Goeng (i.e. as in Wakka-Wakka).

The use of *-j (see 15.4) in Goeng-Goeng is interesting: in *gai food*, which—like the equivalent form *gam*—is related to the verb stem *ga-* *eat*, the suffix -i (from *-j, as in Goreng-Goreng; cf. 14.4) appears more justly to be described as 'nominalising' (answering more or less to English '-ing' in 'eating'),¹⁵¹ but at the same time it must be kept in mind that an original **gaj* is also the primitive form of the Wakka-Wakka imperfective verb form *ge-* (*eating*; see 6.2-3; 7.28-29). The same suffix (-i) occurs in the word *gabaibi sugar* (Goe JB; cf. Goreng-Goreng *gabai honey*, 15.4)—what the terminating -bi would represent does not appear from our Goeng-Goeng material. Of verbal derivative suffixes very few were recorded, the only productive one being -ga- (probably originally in the character of an 'auxiliary'; cf. the verb *ga-* *go* and further in 15.8) in such verbs as: *bulinga-* *smoke* (from *bulin smoke*, noun), *wagimga-* (from English *wash*, *washing*).

18.3 *Declension*. The declension of nominal words may be said to be identical in Goeng-Goeng and Goreng-Goreng, the case suffixes used depending on the nature of the stem-final sound (whether a vowel, a nasal or -l or -r; cf. 15.10). In the paradigms to follow, the first type of declension may be represented by the type words: *muni woman*, *miri dog*, *biu hand*, *gu tree*, *gau earth*, the second by the type words: *gan*, *murun Aboriginal man*, *wagun scrub turkey*, *bugin dog*, *wangun ghost* and the last type by the words: *gabil child*, *gurbel old man*, *mil eye*. The paradigms are as follows:

Vowel-ending stems:

NOM	<i>muni, miri, biu, gu, gau</i>
ERG	<i>munigu (or muniju), gugu</i>
OBJ	<i>mirina</i>
ABL	<i>biunu, gaunu</i>

The typical Goeng-Goeng ergative suffix is -gu (evidently taken over from stems in -ŋ, just as the corresponding Goreng-Goreng -bu is generalised from stems in -m); it is possible that the suffix -ju in *muniju* is the original one after stem-final -i (cf. Note 72). The ablative suffix is used for either an ablative or a locative.

Stems ending in a nasal:

NOM	<i>gan, murun, wagun, bugin,汪un</i>
ERG	<i>gandu, murundu,汪ungu</i>
OBJ	<i>waguna, bugina, muruna</i>

The objective form of *murun* was recorded as *muruna* (Goe AC), which looks as if from a shorter stem **muru* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *murur*, Wak WC, mentioned in 7.13). It is, however, also possible that it depends on a mere slip due to the frequent alternation of the objective suffixes -ŋa and -na in vowel-ending stems (cf. 7.12).

Stems ending in -l (or -r):

NOM	<i>gabil, gurbel, mil</i>
ERG	<i>gabilu (also gabilbu, Goe AC)</i>
OBJ	<i>gurbelna</i>
ABL	<i>milnu</i>

The ergative suffix is probably originally -u (cf. 15.12), the suffix -bu being carried over from stems in -m (the suffix -gu was heard in *jirilgu*, from *jiril ghost*). The ablative form is also used in a locative sense: *milnu gau dirt in*

(my) eye (Goe AC). No perlocative forms were recorded; the suffix -*nal* is, on the other hand, sometimes to be understood as marking a comitative.

18.4 *Articles*. The only clear forms of a plural article are the same -*bam* or -*bom* (the former more common) as found in Goreng-Goreng (see 15.14): *ganbam* (some) men, *ginbam* (some) women, *gabilbam* (some) children. The strange word *ganbul* people (Goe JB) has the appearance of a derivation of *gan man*, but a suffix -*bul* is not found in any other word, either in Goeng-Goeng or elsewhere.

18.5 *Personal pronouns*. Personal pronouns were recorded for the following persons (all in the singular): first person: *nai* I; second person: *nin* you; third person: *mingun* he, she. The forms will appear from the paradigms:

First person singular:

NOM	<i>nai</i>
ERG	<i>na^ogu</i>
OBJ	<i>na^ona</i>
POSS	<i>na^ounda</i>

Second person singular:

NOM	<i>nin</i>
ERG	<i>ningu(n)</i>
OBJ	<i>nina</i>
POSS	<i>ningda</i> (ningari, Goe AC)
DAT	<i>ninge</i>

The form *ningari* is probably Wakka-Wakka; *ninge* was used in a possessive sense in *ninge mu* your nose (Goe JB, LR).

Third person singular:

NOM	<i>mingun</i>
ERG	<i>mingun</i>

Of the parallel forms in *ma-*, as found in Goreng-Goreng (see 15.17), some were found in Goeng-Goeng also: nominative *maguna*, *malu* he, she, ergative *malu(n)*, objective *maluna*, dative *maluni* (correct? should perhaps be **malungi*, like the above *ninge* = *ningi* to you); the dative form was used in a possessive sense by Goe LR. No dual or plural forms were met with. The strange form *nala* was heard from three of the informants (Goe AS, NB, LR) and explained to mean I: *nala jangim* I am going (Goe AS, NB), *nala gagim* or *bigalim* (idem; Goe LR). As nothing like it has been found elsewhere as a first person singular in the areas investigated, the most probable explanation would perhaps be that the form in question (if correct) is a first person dual (cf. Goreng-Goreng *naln*, 15.15, Batjala *nalām*, 24.7), presuming the speakers have actually intended to say *we two*.¹⁵²

18.6 *Demonstrative pronouns*. The only clear demonstrative pronoun recorded is *mana*, na that (cf. Goreng-Goreng; 15.18): *gun mana galgu* to drink that water or to drink water there, *mam na galgu* to drink milk (a baby: Goe AS). Whether the word *magima*, used in similar connections (*dail*, *ga^oul*, *juri magima galgu* to eat an egg, bread, meat; Goe AS) is to be considered as a demonstrative is questionable; in any case no concrete English equivalent to the word was suggested (the form recalls such Barunggam demonstratives as *magā* that, there, mentioned in 9.8, or the Wakka-Wakka *marama* over there, but the Kabi-Kabi *maguman gan* (sic) tucker to eat (Kab DC) must be taken into account as well.

18.7 *Interrogative pronouns.* Of the personal interrogative pronoun *who?* the ergative form *ṇandu* was recorded from Goe AC, but since the phrase in which it occurs, *ṇandu jangai who did it?*, is pure Wakka-Wakka and considering that Goreng-Goreng uses quite different forms (see 15.19), it is not unlikely that the above *ṇandu* (which also occurs in Batjala) is not the real Goeng-Goeng form (although otherwise this language seems to be somewhat closer to Wakka-Wakka than is Goreng-Goreng). Of the impersonal interrogative pronoun *what?* nothing was recorded.

18.8 *Conjugation.* The conjugation in Goeng-Goeng agrees on practically all points with that of Goreng-Goreng (see 15.20, sqq.). There are verbal stems in -a- (e.g. *janga- do, make*, *ga- eat, drink*), or -i- (e.g. *bagi- hit*, *ji- bite*) or in a consonant (*jan- go*, *giṇ- break*). There are two types of conjugation: the transitive and intransitive, the former generally with the formative -l- (cf. 15.20, with the Note 139) and the latter having the 'thematic element' (see *ibid.*) and mode-indicating suffixes directly added to the verbal stem. The stems in -a- usually alternate with stems in -i-, namely in the imperfective mode (*junma-*, *junmi- lie down*; cf. 15.20). The imperfective may be formed either directly from the stem (in -i-; hence ending in -im, -em) or by an 'auxiliary' (-gi-, hence ending in -gim; cf. 15.21); the -g- of the 'auxiliary' is dropped in the same conditions as in Goreng-Goreng (cf. Note 140). Two verbs are found, probably derived by a reflexive suffix -li- (cf. 15.7), namely *bigali- go* and *wabali- (wubali-) come*, which may be considered 'irregular' (see 18.10).

18.9 The modal forms are made in the following way: *imperative* is the verbal stem (with or without the transitive -l-; see 18.8—in the latter case the vowel -a is added), which is occasionally provided with the suffix -ga (cf. Goreng-Goreng; 15.21-22); the *imperfective* ends in -m or -gim (of monosyllabic transitive stems: -lgim, of other transitive stem -lim, through loss of -g-, for which see 18.8); the *perfective* ends in -min¹⁵³ and the *intentional* in -gu (-lgu, of monosyllabic transitive stems, otherwise -lu; cf. above).

18.10 *Paradigms.* The paradigms below will further illustrate the points mentioned in 18.8-9; the type verbs are: *janga(l)- do, make*, *junma- lie down*, *ga(l)- eat, drink*, *ga- go*, *bagi(l)- hit*, *jan- go*, *bigali- go*, *wabali- (wubali-) come* and *pa- (paga-) see*.

janga(l)- do, make:

IMP	janga
IPF	janggalim
PF	janganmin (cf. Note 153)
INT	jangalu

junma- (junmi-) lie down:

IMP	junma
IPF	junmem
INT	jungu (irregular; Goe AC)

ga(l)- eat drink:

IMP	gaga
IPF	galgim
PF	genmen, gemen (cf. 17.6)
INT	galgu

ga- go:

IMP gaga (jana; cf. below)
 IPF gagim
 PF gemen

No intentional was recorded. The imperative coincides with the imperative of ga(l)- *eat* (see above); as a verbal suffix, however (cf. 15.8; 18.2), the imperative is -ga and the intentional -gagu, which are regular formations.

bagi(l)- *hit*:

IMP bagi
 IPF bagilim
 PF baginmin
 INT bagilu

jan- go:

IMP jana
 IPF jangim (gagim; cf. above)
 PF janan (gemen; cf. above)
 INT jangu

For the perfective form janana (mingun janana *he is gone*; Goe AC), cf. 15.24.

bigali- go, wabali- (wubali-) *come*:

IMP bigali, waba
 IPF bigalim, wabalim (wubalim), waban
 PF wabanmin
 INT wabagu

The form waban is evidently made from the stem waba- (that is without the reflexive suffix -li-) by analogy with janana (cf. above) and the perfective janana is formed in its turn from janana (the termination -nmin is consequently not the same as in janginmin, etc. (see above and in 18.9). Although janana has been given as a 'perfective' form above and waban as an 'imperfective' the most likely thing is that both are actually of the same kind (cf. further Note 96).

pa- (paga-) *see*:

IMP paga
 IPF pagim
 PF pamen (pa·ŋi, Goe AS)

For this verb, which is entirely irregular in Goeng-Goeng as well as in Goreng-Goreng, see 15.24, with references. The form pa·ŋi seems to be Wakka-Wakka.

18.11 *Construction*. The construction of a noun with the postposition gu (*for*) and the intentional form of the verb man- (*get*) occurs in: munigu mangu (*go*) *to get a woman* (Goe AC: literally *for a woman, for to get*). For an analogous construction in Goreng-Goreng, see 15.26.

18.12 The sociative suffixes -ŋa and -ŋal (both being current in Goeng-Goeng; cf. Note 124) may be said to correspond to the Tagalog mai (*having*) and may- as also the latter-be used in a predicative sense (or in sentence form) to express the idea of *there is* or *(you) have*, etc. in English.¹⁵⁴ The construction is used very freely in Goeng-Goeng, as appears from the following examples mu·ŋa bugaŋa *you have got a dirty or running nose* (mu· nose, buga mucus, bugaŋal dirty),

binan̩al nan̩an̩al *you are deaf* (literally *(you) have a bad ear*; Goe AS), gan̩an̩al d̩in̩gal̩al *you have got a sore leg* (or *there is a sore on your leg*), main̩a na bun̩gim *there is a white man shooting* (Goe AS). Often any noun (especially names of parts of the body) were given with the sociative suffix: mil̩na (= mil) *eye(s)* (Goe AS, JB), gubun̩a *your head* (Goe NB), man̩an̩a *your ears* (Goe AS), miun̩a *your mouth* (Goe AS, JB). This is probably to be understood as an attempt to render the current English 'your eyes', 'your ears', 'your nose', etc. (when the terms for these parts of the body are being asked for or told), because in an Australian language the idea of 'your eyes', etc. is the same as that of 'you have got eyes', etc. (cf. 7.32; 15.25). In such cases as the above mun̩a bugan̩a various attempts toward a literal rendering might be suggested: *your nose has dirt, you have a dirty nose*, etc.; it is needless to say that these constructions—as well as those mentioned in the preceding section—have to be looked at from a purely Australian point of view, according to which it might even be possible to speak of a kind of 'grammatical agreement' (cf. 15.26), although on a different level.

Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng vocabulary

19. The following vocabulary is based on Goreng-Goreng. Indication as to informants is not made for words and forms which are frequently used in Goreng-Goreng. Words found in Goeng-Goeng only are provided with the corresponding signature (Goe) and initials of the informants. Morphological forms, or forms mentioned or dealt with in the morphological sketches or elsewhere in this survey, are referred to by corresponding section numbers. Verb stems are followed by a hyphen and the modal forms are quoted in the following order: *imperative, imperfective, perfective, intentional* (with or without the corresponding abbreviations). The alphabetic order is the same as for the Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli vocabulary (12).

B

ba- V ITR IPF ba'n INT bagu
come (Gor RD).—cf. waba-.

baba N father.

bagabara N language or tribe name
(Gor RD).

bagala N the Batjala language.

bagin N rain, storm (Goe AS, JB,
AC): bagin waban (Goe AC) or
wabalim (Goe AS) rain or a storm
is coming.

bagan N boomerang: bagan bira
throw a boomerang.

bagi- V TR bagi, bagila; bagilim,
bagim; baginmin; bagilu (18.10)
hit, kill; na̩gu na̩na gu̩gu bagilim

I will hit you with a stick
(Goe AC), muana bagilu to kill
a kangaroo (Gor RD), ganindu
baginmin gurul speared a fish
(Gor RD).

bagili- V REFL (PF) bagilimin
fight (Gor RD); minu bula
bagilimin the two had a fight.
—cf. bege-.

banguji- V ITR banguiga; bangujim;
banguimin; banguigu jump (Gor RD;
Goe AS). —cf. gabi.

banji POST (15.11).

banu POST (15.11).

baim N pipe (Gor RD); baim gu
malun buran̩anmin he brought
(me) pipe tobacco.

ba·l *N* angry, wild, (bad) temper (Gor RD); ba·l buran̄alim I am feeling wild, gan ba·l wal̄gim the man is getting angry, ba·l buran̄alim n̄aji (he) is angry with me.

bala¹ *N* eel (correct ? Gor RD; more likely 'jewfish', as in Wakka-Wakka, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala).

bala² *N* semen (Gor RD); bala muni bunda or muni bala a bad woman, ḡara gan bala that is a bad man. -cf. bunda-.

balan̄ *N* creek, river (Goe AS, JB).

balam *N* sand (Gor VR); balam mangu to get sand.

balba- (belbe-) *V ITR* balba (belbe, Goe AC); belbem; balbamin; balbagu stand, stand up, go; goen̄ n̄in balba (belbe) don't you stand (Goe AC), belbem gurumani standing in the shade (Gor RD), n̄agu n̄agim belbem I can see (somebody) standing (Gor RD).

balbam *N* *ERG* balbambu; *OBJ* balbama child, baby; balbam gundu small child (Gor RD), bula balbama binmin (she) had two children (Gor RD), balbam ḡagur n̄agu menmen I caught a baby kangaroo (Gor RD); (*ART*) balbambam (*OBJ*: -bama) (some) children.

balbam̄gam *N* without children.

balbam̄gal *N* having a child, with a child (*COM*; cf. 15.10); mingiri n̄inem balbam̄gal they have a child (Gor RD), ḡara balbam̄gal wabalim coming with that child, maḡuna balbam̄gal n̄inem he lives with a child (Gor RD).

balgi *N* fat.

balgīgal *N* fat, fat person (Goe AS, JB); bula balgīgal a fat cow.

bali- *V ITR* (15.23) burn, shine; nu·n baligim the fire is burning,

nu·n balimin the fire has burned; sometimes used as a transitive (*PF* balimin or balinmin): gu· n̄agu balinmin I have burned down the tree (Gor RD); n̄ai gulgīn gu· baligu I want to burn the tree (Gor RD), gēn n̄undu balimin there was a bush fire here (Gor RD).

ba·li- *V ITR* ba·ligim; ba·ligu come (Gor RD); mingun ba·ligim he is still coming. -cf. ba-, waba-.

balili- *V ITR* baliligim burn (Gor RD). -cf. bali-.

balu- *V ITR (IPF)* balugim, baluban, balun (?); (*PF*) balumin (-men); *INT* balugu die, go out (of fire); nu·n balugim or baluban the fire is going out (Gor RD), balumen died (of the fire or a person; Gor RD), nu·n baluman (correct ?) the fire went out (Gor RD), n̄agu nu·n balun I put out the fire (correct ? Gor RD), n̄ai wanmiligim nu·n balugu I am waiting for the fire to go out (Gor RD).

baluba- *V CAUS* baluba, balubanmin; balubagu put out (fire); n̄ingu nu·n baluba you put out the fire. -cf. balu-, baluma-.

balun̄i- *V TR (IPF)* balun̄im put out (fire; Gor RD); n̄agu nu·n balun̄im I will put out the fire (correct ?).

baluma- *V CAUS* baluma; balumagu put out (fire; Gor RD); nu·n n̄ingu baluma you put out the fire. -cf. balu-.

balun̄ *N* ? dead (Gor RD). -cf. balu-.

-bam (-bom) *ART* (15.14; 18.4).

ban *N* grass.

banda¹ *N* *ERG* bandabu, the name of a social section (banda marries ḡarwan; Gor NJ).

banda² *N* Bundaberg; banda gu nai
jenmen I went to Bundaberg
(Gor RD).

bandagan *N* *ERG* bandagandu female
member of the banda section
(Gor RD).

bandi¹ *N* sweetheart (Gor RD),
lover, boyfriend, girlfriend
(Goe AS, JB).

bandi² *N* dark man (Goe NB).

bangiman *N* dark man (Goe NB). /
-cf. bandi².

bangur *N* *ERG* bangurbu the name
of a social section.

bangurgan *N* female member of the
bangur section; maguna muni
bangurgan that woman is a
bangur (Gor RD).

bara *N* white (Goe AS, JB); jaraman
bara a white horse. -cf. baral.

-bara *N* *DER* *SFX* (15.3).

baran *N* the name of a social
section (according to Gor RD,
originally the name of a language
or locality).

barangan *N* female member of the
baran section.

barai *N* *REL* top, high, up; barai
gu (baraigu) nai jangim I am
going up on top (Gor RD), gu
barai belbem a high or tall tree
(standing; Gor RD), nai walgim
barai (gunu) I am climbing up
(a high tree; Gor RD), gaga
mingun barai ninem guni this
one is sitting high up on the
tree (Gor RD).

barai barai *N* high (Gor RD); gu
barai barai mapuna that one is
a high tree. -cf. barai.

baraigu, v. barai.

barai mu'ni *N* the name of a place,
Barramoon (Gor RD; literally 'on
top of the hill'). -cf. barai,
mu'n.

baral *N* white (Gor NJ). -cf.
bara.

bari *N* child (Gor RD; probably
Wakka-Wakka).

bawa- *V* *TR* bawa; bawalim; bawain
(cf. Note 153), or bawai (correct?
perhaps Wakka-Wakka); bawalu
copulate with (Goe AC).

bebe *N* bald (Goe AS, JB); gubu
bebe bald head.

bege- *V* *REFL* *REC* begega (begege,
Goe AC); begelim; begemin; begegu
fight; wani nin begega don't
you fight (Gor RD), bula bagegim
the two are fighting (Gor RD),
gulgin magubu begegu want to
fight with nulla-nullas (Gor RD).

belbendi- *V* *ASS* belbendi;
belbendigim; belbendimin (15.6)
stop with, watch, tend; balbama
belbendigim watching the
children (Gor RD).

be'n *N* *ERG* bendu wind (Gor RD);
be'n waban wind is coming, bendu
gurgun jangalim the wind is
making a noise. -cf. me'n (Goe).

bere- *N* *ITR* beregim get mad,
angry (Gor RD). -cf. berepum.

berepum *N* silly, mad, drunk
(Gor RD); mingun berepum he is
silly (= Wakka-Wakka wanginge).
-cf. bere-.

bi· *N* knee (Goe JB, LR).

bi-¹ *V* *ITR* bi·, biga, bigim, bimin
(= jenmen); bigu go, come; nin
bi· you go (over there; Gor RD),
nin gegu bi· you come over here
(Gor RD), gegula nai bigim I am
coming here (Gor RD), nin biga
you go away. -cf. bi-².

bi-² (bi(l)-) *V* *TR* bi·; bilim;
binmin; biru take (up), take
away, bring, bear (have, a child);
jari bi· bring it here, qingu bi·
you take it away, munibu, malun
gabil binmin the woman, she had
a child (Gor RD), napa binmin
I was born (Gor RD), bugin is
bilim the dog is having puppies
(Goe AS), bula bilim a cow in
calf (Goe AS). -cf. bi-¹, bindi-.

bibar *N* paper, letter; bibar gu
(waiting) for the letters (Gor RD).

bigali- *V* ITR bigali; bigalim
go, get up, get away (Goe AS, NB).

bim *N* grub (Gor VR). -cf. bujum.

bimbi *N* throat (Gor RD); bimbi
jumbimbi dry throat.

bina *N* ear; bina muga deaf
(Gor RD, JM), bina ŋingu buraga
you listen (Gor RD), binaŋal
nanaŋal (you are) deaf (Goe AS,
JB), sore ears, (my) ears run
(Goe AS). -cf. binaŋ.

bina bina *N* ears (Goe AS).

bina garum *N* deaf (Goe AC;
literally 'strange ears').

binaŋ *N* ear(s); according to Gor
RD, binaŋ is rather Wakka-Wakka.
-cf. bina.

binaŋal *N* have ears, listen;
mindun binaŋal (ŋinem) he is
listening (Gor RD).

binanguip *N* deaf (Goe AS).

bina muga, *v.* bina.

bindi- (binda-) *V* ASS bindi;
bindigim; bindinmin (bindanmin);
bindigu take (away), bring,
send; ŋingu bindi you take it
away (= bi-; Gor RD), bula ŋindu
bindi take away (shift, etc.)
the cattle (Gor RD), ŋingu bindi
bibar you send a letter (Gor RD),
ŋingu bindi ŋaje you bring it
to me, ŋagu bibar, balbama
bindanmin I have sent a letter,
the child (Gor RD). -cf. bi-^{1,2}.

binga *N* (15.3) hat.

bini- *V* ASS binigim (15.6) take
(Gor RD). -cf. bindi-.

bira- (biri-) *V* TR bira; birem;
biranmin (biralmin, biramin);
biralgu, biragu throw; dagil
biranmin threw a stone (Gor RD),
geŋ biramin spat (Gor RD); it
seems that forms of a transitive
and intransitive verb are mixed
here; gureŋ ŋin bira don't you

fall (Gor RD), jaramandu biramin
the horse threw him (Gor RD; to
be analysed as 'he fell by the
horse'?).

birabin *N* God (Gor RD). -cf.
biral.

biral *N* *ERG* biralu; *OBJ* biralna
1. eaglehawk; 2. God (Gor RD);
biralu barai binmin wangaŋa
the eaglehawk took up the snake,
ŋagu biralna nemen I have seen
an eaglehawk, biralu gau jangganmin
God has made the earth. -cf.
birabin.

biru *N* *ERG* birubu hand; biru
dali sore hand (Gor JM), birubu
with (my) hands, biruŋal has got
hands, birugam without hands.
-cf. biu (Goe).

biu *N* *ABL* biuŋu hand; (Goe AS,
NB, JB, LR, AC, BB); biuŋa
daliŋal sore hand (Goe AS; cf.
18.12), biuŋu dali sore in
(your) hand (Goe AS). -cf. biru
(Gor).

biuŋ *N* ribs (Gor RD).

-bom, *v.* -bam

bra·gi, *v.* pil.

bu- (bum-) *V* TR buma; bumgim;
bumen; bunmin (-men); bumgu
push, shoot; ŋingu buma you
shoot it, ŋagu bunmen I pushed,
gubu ŋagu bumen I shot (him;
Gor RD), ŋai gulgin gubu bumgu
I want to shoot (Gor RD). -cf.
bunma-.

bua- *V* TR buala; bualim; buanmin;
bualigu look for, find (Gor RD);
ŋingu gapa buala you look for
or find that, gura bualim
looking for a house, malun
buanmin he found it.

bubi (bube) *N* weak, soft (Gor RD);
be·n bubi a soft wind.

bubiram *N* white paint or clay,
paint (= Wakka-Wakka muran; Gor
RD).

budinge *N* big (Goe JB).

buga *N* mucus (Goe AS); mu buganjal
dirty nose (cf. 18.12).

buge *REL* back (Gor RD); buge
wabanmin has come back, nin
buge jana, bigim you go, are
going back. -cf. bugen, bugenu².

bugen *REL* back (Gor RD). -cf.
buge.

bugenu¹ *N* posterior, seat (Gor RD);
malun bugenu baginmin he hit
(his) posterior. -cf. bugenu².

bugenu² *REL POST* behind; nana
bugenu wanimin has left me
behind (Gor RD), bagepu wabalim
(Gor RD), waban (Goe AC) coming
(from) behind, gu' bugenu
behind the tree (Gor RD), bula
bugenu jana you two go behind
(Gor RD). -cf. buge, bugen.

bugin *N OBJ* bugina dog (Goe AS,
NB, JB, AC; also Wakka-Wakka).
-cf. miri.

bui *N* carpet snake (Gor RD; also
Wakka-Wakka).

bujum *N* grub (Gor RD). -cf. bim.

bula¹ *PERS PRON* (15.16).

bula² *N* *ERG* bulabu (15.15) two;
bula biru ninem has got two or
both hands (Gor RD), (gapa) bula
muni (wabalim) (these) two women
(are coming) or here are two
women coming (Gor RD, Goe AC),
bulabu pagim two looking at one
another (Gor RD), bula pula
three (Gor NJ).

bula³ *N OBJ* bulana cow, cattle;
ningu bula mana you hold the
cow (Gor RD).

bula⁴ *REL POST* together (with),
and bula ninim (two) sitting
together (Gor RD), nalin balbam
bula jangim we two are going
with a child (Gor RD), julan
bula (cook) together with the
skin (Gor RD), muni balbam bula
jenmen the woman and the child
went (Gor RD).

bulali *N* clothes (Goe AS, JB).
-cf. buli.

bulam *POST* like; nai bulam pagim
(my brother) looks like me
(Gor RD), nai mingun bulam pagim
I look like him (Gor RD), jingagu
nai, nin bulam as big as I, you
(Gor RD).

bular *N* flour (and flower? Goe JB).

bulen bulen *N* blue, blue-eyed
(as of a white person; Goe AS,
JB); mil bulen bulen blue eyes
(Goe AS). -cf. bulin.

buli *N* clothes (Gor RD, Goe AC);
buli napunda my clothes, bulinjal
dressed, buli galananggal all
dressed up (Gor RD), buligam
belbem standing naked (Gor RD).
-cf. bulali (Goe).

buliman *N* *ERG* bulimandu police-
man (Gor RD, Goe AS, AC).

bulin *N* 1. smoke; 2. tobacco
(Gor RD, JM, Goe MG). -cf.
bulen bulen.

bulinga- *V TR ITR* bulinga;
bulingagim; bulingamin; bulingagu
smoke ninggu bulinga you smoke,
malun bulingagim (Gor RD), mingun
bulingagim (Goe AC) he is smoking,
nagu baim bulingagim I am
smoking a pipe (Gor RD).

bulu *N* belly (man's or woman's;
Gor RD); bulu dali belly ache.

buluna *N* full, satisfied (Gor RD);
buluna nai I am full.

bulunal *N* pregnant (Gor RD);
mapuna muni bulunal that woman
is going to have a child.

bum-, v. bu-.

bumbir *N* clothes; ninggu wamba
bumbir put on your clothes
(Gor RD).

bumbira- *V ASS (PF)* bumbiramin
have (one's) clothes on (Gor RD);
cf. 15.6 and the Note 129).

bumbirgam *N* without clothes (Gor
RD); mingun bumbirgam he is naked.

bun-, v. bungì-.

bunbi *N* bag (Goe AS, JB).

bunda- (bundi-) *V TR* bunda (bundi); bundalim; bundanmin; bundalu take, steal, strip, ask; malun bundanmin he stole it, ŋingu bunda you strip, binga bundi take off (your) hat, ŋingu bunda you ask (it of him; Gor RD), ŋagu bundalim I will ask (him), gundu bundalu in order to take off the bark ('ring barking'; Gor RD).

bundali- *V REFL ITR (INT)* bundaligu ask (Gor RD).

bungi- *V ITR* bungì; bungigim; bungimin; bungigu die, die for, want, go out (of the fire); wani ŋin bungì don't you die, gibi bungimin the dark man has died, gugali bungigim dying from hunger (Gor RD), guŋ gu bungigim being thirsty (Goe AC), ŋai guŋ gu bungigim I want meat (Goe AS), ŋun bungimin the fire has gone out (Gor RD).

bungi- (bun-) *V ITR (IPF)* bungim (18.12) shoot (Goe AS); compare bungu jangu or jangu bungu to go to war (from Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

buni *N* smoke (of fire; Goe JB). -cf. bunim.

bunim *N LOC* bunimi ashes, dust, dirt; ŋundu bunim wani(n)min the fire has left ashes, ŋingu bunim wagimda you wash off the dirt (Gor RD). -cf. buni.

bunma- *V TR* bunma; bunmalim; (bunmem); bunmanmin; bunmalu (= bilu), bunmagu push, put in, poke, take; ŋingu gapa gu· gaŋji bunma push or put that stick into the earth (Gor RD). -cf. bungì- (bun-), bunma-.

bunu *N ERG* bunubu rain, storm, thunder; bunu waban rain is coming, bunu wabalim it is going

to rain, bunubu wulai janggalim the storm makes a noise (Gor RD), bunubu gil biranmin the storm threw a lightning (Gor RD).

bunu gurgun *N* thunder (Gor RD); bunu gurgun waban thunder is coming (literally 'noise of the storm'). -cf. gurgun.

bunma- *V TR* bunma; bunmalim; bunmanmin; bunmalu push (Gor RD); ŋingu gu· bunma you push the tree or wood. -cf. bunma-.

bura- *V TR* burala; buralim; buranmin; buralugu (cf. 15.24, Note 142) pull out, take, dig (Gor RD); ŋingu gapa burala pull out that, gau ŋingu buralim you are digging the ground.

buraja- *V TR* buraja; burajalim; burajanmin; burajalu hear, listen, remember, feel, learn, teach (?), understand, know, bring; ŋagu mapuna burajalim I can hear him, ŋingun or ŋin buraja you listen, ŋapa buraja listen to me, maluna waban ŋalina burajalu he has come to listen to us two, ŋingu burajalim do you remember? malun ŋapa burajanmin he has understood me, gureŋ ŋagu burajalim I do not know him, ŋagu mure burajanmin bagan biragu I have learned to throw a boomerang (Gor RD), mali burajalim ge·m he understands the lingo, goeŋ burajalim I do not know (Goe AC), ŋingu buraja you bring it (= webendi; Gor RD), ŋingu ŋaje gumbega burajanmin you have brought me tobacco (= webendimin; Gor RD). -cf. burali-.

burali- *V REFL ITR* (and *TR* ?) buraligim hear, listen, know, bring (?); ŋingu buraligim you know, hear (Gor RD), goren ŋai buraligim I do not know (Gor HJ), mali ŋaje buraligim he is bringing it to me (correct ? Gor RD).

buram *N* man (? Goe AS, JB); in Kabi-Kabi, however, buram means 'silly'.

buranba *N* the Barambah mission, the Cherbourg settlement.

burendi- *V* ASS burendi (= bindi); burendigim bring (Gor RD); mali naje burendigim he is bringing it to me. -cf. buranba-, burali-.

burgu *N* *ERG* burgubu axe, tomahawk (= Wakka-Wakka muim; Gor RD); gu' burgubu gawanmin (he) cut the tree or stick with an axe.

huri *N* fire (Goe AS, JB, BB; perhaps the Gunggari huri, which is used or understood in many south-east Queensland languages).

buru *N* kangaroo (Gor RD).

buru- *V* *TR* burula; burulim (burulagim); burunmin; burulu pull, milk (Gor RD); nagu mam burula or burula mam mangu let me (pull the) milk, nagu mure mam burunmin I have already milked, wupi nai jangim (mam) burulu mam mangu I am going to milk just now, gele burulagim (correct ?) pulling leaves or twigs (off a tree; Gor RD).

D

daba- *V* *TR* daba (?) dabala; dabalim; dabanmin; dabalu 1. follow, accompany; 2. sing (Gor RD); nindu napa daba you come with me, napa dabalim follows me, nagu (dabalu) dabalim I am going to sing a (corroboree) song, goreg nagu dabalim I cannot sing, dabalim narigim singing and dancing (Gor VR), nagu dabanmin nula, bula I have sung one song, two songs (Gor VR), gara daba (?) be quiet (Gor NJ). -cf. dabalu, debendi-.

dabalu *N* ? corroboree song (Gor RD). -cf. daba-.

dagal *N* bone (Goe LR; correct ?). -cf. daigal.

dagil *N* *ERG* dagilbu; *ABL* dagilnu 1. stone, rock; 2. money; mapuṇa dagilbu jangganmin (has) made it of stone (Gor RD), dagilnu nai ganmamin I fell from or off a rock, dagilṇal (SOC) ṇinem has money, dagil gu narigim playing for money (Gor VR).

daṇal *REL* fast, quick (Gor RD); daṇal mailigim running fast (in Wakka-Wakka daṇa).

daṇari *N* ? *V* ? evacuate, evacuation (of bowels; Goe JB).

danga *N* a lie (Gor RD); nagu danga jalim I am telling a lie.

daigal *N* *ABL* daigalnu; *LOC* daigalni bone, bones, skeleton; daigal junmem gaṇji (or bunimi) gagur gi daigal the bones lying on the ground (or in the dust) are animal bones (Gor RD), daigal wangun a ghost in the form of a skeleton (Goe AC).

dail *N* egg.

dalgi *N* sore (Goe AS, JB). -cf. dali.

dali *N* (15.3) sore, pain, sick; dali mure galanamin the sore has already got well (Gor RD), dali bagim the sore is hurting (Gor RD), mali napa dali jangganmin he hurt, wounded me (Gor RD), biru dali a sore hand (Gor JM), milnu, biṇu dali a sore in the eye, hand (Goe AC), -cf. dalgi.

dambal *N* *LOC* dambali (Gor RD) 1. track, way, road; 2. hill (Goe); dambali gina neman I have seen footprints in or along the road (Gor RD), dambal jangim going over the hill (Goe JB).

dani (?) *N* earring (Goe JB);
 daniŋal having an earring
 (cf. 18.12).

darin darin *N* strong (Goe AC).

daun *N* town; daun gu jangu to
 go to town (Goe AC).

debendi- *V* ASS debendi; debendigim;
 debendimin; debendigu follow;
 miribu debendigim, ŋapa
 debendimin the dog is following,
 followed (me). -cf. daba-.

dende *N* chest (Gor RD; cf. 14.5,
 Note 118).

dia *N* teeth (Goe MG). -cf. dian,
 dira.

dian *N* teeth (Goe AS, JB). -cf.
 dia, dira.

dilan *N* *ERG* dilanŋu penis or
 testicles (Gor RD).

dira *N* teeth (Gor RD). -cf. dia,
 dian (Goe).

duali *N* ? duali bungigim is dead,
 rotting (Goe AS).

dugul *N* star(s); dugulŋam
 (probably) there are no stars
 (Goe AC). -cf. dugun.

dugun *N* star(s); dugunŋal
 (probably) there are stars
 (Gor VR; possibly < *dugulŋal
 cf. Note 140). -cf. dugul.

dungi- *V* *TR* (*IMP*) dungila; (*INT*)
 dungilu drink (Goe AC); ŋai
 gulŋip dungilu ŋun I want to
 drink water.

dunila- (dunili-) *V* *ITR* dunila;
 dunilagim; (duniligim, dun(i)lem,
 Goe JB); dunilamin; dunilagu
 cry; wani ŋin dunila (Gor RD),
 goeŋ dunila (Goe AS) don't
 (you) cry, wangu ŋin dunilagu
 ŋaŋu ŋina bagilim if you cry
 I will hit you (Gor RD).

dulgu *N* heart (Gor RD). -cf.
 dungu.

du·ljam (?) *N* stars (Goe AC;
 (correct ?)). -cf. dugul, dugun.

dumba *N* back (Gor RD).

dungu *N* heart (Gor RD). -cf.
 dulgu.

g

ga-¹ (ga(l)-) *V* *TR* gaga; dalgim;
 genmen (gemen, Goe); galgu eat,
 drink, suck, lap up, copulate;
 ŋingu gaga you eat it, ŋaŋu
 galgim I will eat it, ŋaŋu ŋun
 galgim I drink water, ŋaŋu
 genmen mure I have eaten already,
 malu galgim mam he drinks milk,
 ŋai jangim galgu I am going to
 eat (Goe AC), miribu genmen
 gunumbu the dog lapped it up
 (with his tongue), ŋaŋu gunul
 genmen I have had intercourse
 (Gor RD).

ga-² *V* *ITR* gaga (Goe); gagim
 (gagigim, Goe AS; correct ?);
 gemen (Goe); otherwise *IMP* jana
 and *INT* jangu are used; go; ŋai
 gagim galgu I am going to eat
 (Gor RD), gangu ŋai gemen
 yesterday I went (Goe AC).

-ga- *V* *DER* DFX (15.8).

gabari *N* a stick for fighting
 (Goe AS, JB).

gabil *N* *ERG* gabilu (Gor RD, Goe
 AC), gabilu (Goe AS, AC); *OBJ*
 gabilna child, boy; gabil gundu (?)
 (Gor RD), gunani gabil (Goe AS)
 little child, mapuŋa muni
 gabilŋal ŋinem that woman has
 children; (*ART*) gabilbom (Gor RD),
 gabilbam (Goe AS), gunani
 gabilbam (Goe AS) (some) little
 children.

gaga *N* elder brother (Gor RD).

gaŋur *N* *REL* short, near, close
 by; gaŋa mingun gaŋur belbem
 he is standing close by (Gor RD),
 damba (sic) gaŋur a short way
 or close by (Gor RD), gaŋur gu
 to near here (Gor RD).

gaga- *V TR* gagalim have a feed
(Gor RD); malu(n) gagalim he is
having a feed. —cf. ga⁻¹.

ganar *N* leg (Goe AS, JB; cf. 18.12).

ganul *N* bread; ganul naje ningu
wuga you give me bread (Gor RD),
ningu ganul gaga you eat bread
(Goe AC).

gai *N* food (Goe AS, JB); waga gai
the food is finished. —cf. ga⁻¹.

galan *N* stick, tree (= Wakka-Wakka
dadu; Gor RD); galan banu guruman
shade or shadow of the tree.

galbin *N* clothes, laundry (Gor RD);
malun or mingun galbinṅal
mailimin he ran away with (my)
clothes (cf. 15.26).

gam *N* meat, food; nai gulgin ganul
gam gu I want to eat bread (or
bread for to eat; Gor RD).

-gam *CAR SFX* (15.3; 18.2).

gan *N* *ERG* gandu; *OBJ* gana
(Aboriginal) man, (black) fellow;
ṅapunda gan my man (husband),
gan gi ningu wuga give it to
the man, gan gabil black boy
(Goe AS); (*ART*) ganbom (*ERG*
ganbambu), ganbam (Goe JB).

ganan *N* hot (Goe AC).

ganbul *N* people (Goe JB). —cf.
gan.

gandili *N* grandchild (Goe AC);
gabil ṅapunda gandili the boy
is my grandchild.

gan gan *N* young fellow or boy
(Gor RD); gan gan galanan a good
little boy.

gangari *N* little fellow, small
person, protecting spirit (to be
feared by other tribes; Goe AS,
Gor RD).

ganin *N* *ERG* ganindu iron,
horseshoe, car, bicycle, train,
plane (anything made of iron;
Gor RD—the original sense of
the word in Wakka-Wakka is
'flint').

gara *N* the whole leg (Gor RD,
Goe AC).

garan *N* white rice (Goe JB).

gargi (garge, gerge) wet (Gor RD);
ban gargi wet grass, gau gerge
mud. —cf. gere, gelgelge.

gari⁻¹ *V TR* gari, garila;
gari(n)min; garilgu, garilugu
(cf. 15.24, Note 142) paint;
ningu garila you paint (him),
nai gulgin garilgu I want to
paint (him).

gari⁻² *V ITR* garigim paint
(oneself; Gor RD).

garili- *V REFL* garili; gariligim;
garilimin; gariligu paint, smear
oneself; garilimin pulengu (sic)
painted myself, yourself (Gor RD),
ṅin jana gariligu you go to
paint yourself.

garuga *N* trousers, pants.

garwan *N* the name of a social
section (according to Gor RD,
garwan marries a bandagan, q.v.).

garwangan *N* female member of the
garwan section.

gau *N* *ERG* gaubu; *ABL* gaunṅ; *LOC*
gaunṅ 1. earth, sand, dust, dirt;
2. ground, land, property; gau
ṅulgi black earth, gaubu ningu
(sic) garilimin you smeared
yourself with dirt (Gor RD),
gaunṅ, gaunṅ on the ground, gun
gaunṅ wabalim a spring, fountain
(‘water coming out of the ground’;
Gor RD), mali ṅapunda gau binmin
he took my land or property (Gor
RD).

gelgelge *N* dirty (Goe AS, NB).
—cf. gargi, gere.

gere *N* mud (Gor RD). —cf. gargi.

gibin *N* fly (Gor RD, Goe AC).

gingal *N* sore (Goe AS; cf. 18.12).

gingim *N* tear(s) (Gor RD);
gingimṅal nai wabalim I come
with tears (crying or weeping).

gilal *N* *ERG* gilalbu possum
(Gor RD); gilal gi or gilal gu
(snaring) for possum.

giling *N* a half-caste (Gor RD).

gina (dinaŋ) *N* foot, feet, foot-
prints; naŋu gina neman I have
seen the footprints (Gor RD),
ginaŋ gimen broken leg (Goe JB).

gin gin *N* *LOC* gin gini 1. twigs,
etc. (to make fire); 2. the name
of a place, Gin Gin; gin gin gu
gagim going to Gin Gin.

girba- *V* *TR* girbalim; girbagu
eat (Gor NJ).

gu- *N* *ERG* gubu (gugu, Goe); *ABL*
guŋu; *LOC* guŋi 1. tree, stick
(= galan), branch, limb; 2. spear;
3. wood; 4. gun; gu- belbem a
tree (standing), gubu gawanmin
poked or speared with a stick,
gubu naŋu bumen I shot him,
guŋu ŋin bugenu balba you stand
behind the tree.

gugali *N* 1. hungry; 2. food, a
feed, tucker; ŋai gugali I am
hungry (cf. bunggi-), galaŋan
gugali good or fine tucker
(Goe AC), ŋai gugali gu gagim
I am going to have a feed.

gulba *N* strong (Gor RD); be-n,
gan gulba a strong wind, man,
ginmap gulba geŋ ŋinem the sun
is strong here or today.

gulun *N* *LOC* guluni creek, water
running to a river (Gor RD);
gulun jingagu a big flood.

gum *N* smoke, tobacco (Goe AS, BB).

gumbega *N* tobacco (Gor RD).

gumga- *V* *TR* gumga; gumgalim;
gumganmin suck, kiss (Gor RD);
baim gumga suck (your) pipe,
malun gumganmin he kissed (her).

gun *N* 1. tail; 2. penis (Gor RD,
Goe AC).

gunburu *N* long, tall (Gor RD);
gunburu wau a tall white man.

gune *REL* always, all the time,
too much (Gor RD); male gune
galgim he is eating all the
time, (mingun) gune jalim or
gualigim (she) talks too much,
balbam gune dunaligim the
children always cry.

gunu *N* vagina, cunnus (Goe AC).
-cf. gunuŋ, gunul.

gunuŋ *N* vulva, cunnus, woman's
private parts (Gor RD). -cf.
gunul, gunu (Goe).

gunungi *N* tongue (Gor RD). -cf.
gunum.

gunul *N* *ABL* gunulnu vulva,
cunnus (Gor RD); gunulnu denmen
had intercourse, gunul gu gagim
going or looking for intercourse.

gunum *N* *ERG* gunumbu; *LOC* gunumi
tongue; wani ŋingu gunumbu mana
don't touch it with your tongue
(Gor RD). -cf. gunungi, gunumgi.

gunumgi *N* *ERG* gunumgibu tongue
(Gor RD). -cf. gunum.

gura *N* *ABL* guraŋu; *LOC* guraŋi
home, house (= Wakka-Wakka gundu;
Gor RD); gura ŋapunda my house,
guraŋu wabanmin came from the
house, guraŋi ŋinem is (sitting)
in the house, gura gu janmin
went home, gura gi ganin some-
thing belonging to the house.

guroi (gurwai) *N* hungry (Goe AS);
gunani gabil guroi ganan ganan
the poor little child is hungry,
guroiŋal (*SOC*) hungry.

G

gabai *N* 1. little black native
bee; 2. its honey (Gor RD).

gabaibi *N* sugar (Goe JB). -cf.
gabai.

gabai *N ABL* gabalnu; *LOC* gabali
scrub, bush (Gor RD); dambai
jangim gabalnu the road or track
goes through the bush, maḡuḡa
gabali jenmen he went through
the bush. -cf. gawar.

gabi *N* urine (Gor RD); ḡai' (gulḡin)
gabiḡu ('micturate'), gabi
gabi baḡuḡim the boy is
wetting his pants (probably
'micturates'; Goe AS).

gabiḡu, *v.* gabi.

gaḡur *N* *ERG* gaḡurbu; *LOC* gaḡurni
animal, kangaroo (Gor RD); gaḡur
ḡi daḡal animal bones, gaḡur
ḡi ḡai jangim I am going to hunt
kangaroos.

gaḡuḡun *N* *ERG* gaḡuḡundu
kookaburra (Gor VR).

gaḡa *DEM PRON* (15.18).

gaḡa- *V TR* gaḡa; gaḡalim;
gaḡanmin call out, sing
(of birds); ḡiḡu maḡuḡa jai
gaḡa you call him here (Gor
RD), gaḡuḡundu gaḡalim the
kookaburra is singing (laughing).

gaḡali- *V REFL REC* gaḡaligim
call out, shout; buḡa gaḡaligim
they are shouting at one another
(Gor RD).

gaḡu *REL* yesterday, tomorrow,
until next day; gaḡa ḡina ḡagim
gaḡu (I) will see you tomorrow
(Gor RD), gaḡu ḡanan it was
hot yesterday (Goe AC).

gai *DEM PRON* (15.18).

gai- *V ITR* gaiga; gaigim; gaimin;
gaigu go into (Gor RD); ḡin
ḡuḡu gaiga you go into the
water.

gaigu, gaigula *REL* (15.18).

gailam *N* *ERG* gailambu; *OBJ*
gailama; *LOC* gailami (15.14)
another, the other, some;
gailambu ja·nmin some said
(Gor RD), ḡureḡ maḡuḡa gailambu
it was not he, another (did it;

Gor RD), ḡaḡu gailama jemen I
saw another one, gailam ḡura
the other house, gailami waibenḡi
or waibenḡu at or from another
camp, miḡa gaḡa gailam what
else? (Gor RD); (ART) gailambam
(*ERG* -bambu).

gainma- *V CAUS* gainma; gainmanmin;
gainmagu put into (Gor RD);
ḡiḡu maḡuḡa ḡuḡu gainma you
put that into water.

gaiḡ *REL* over there; ḡureḡ jai
ḡinem gaiḡ mingun ḡinem not
here, he lives over there, ḡurul
gaiḡ ḡuluni ḡinem there is fish
in the creek.

gaiḡu *REL* over there; gaiḡu
gaḡim I am going over there.

gaiḡu *REL* from over there; gaiḡu
wabaim coming from over there.

galanai *N* good, well, (all) right,
nice, pretty, clever, thank you;
galanai ḡiḡu jangai you make it
well, right, ḡureḡ maḡuḡa galanai
it is no good (= warai; Gor RD),
mingun galanai he is all right
(Goe AC), muni galanai a nice
or pretty woman or girl (Goe AC),
ḡin galanai ḡina you sit pretty
or stop that noise, etc.

galanai- *V ITR* galanangim;
galanamin get well, all right
(Gor RD); mali galanamin he
got over it.

galalanai *N* (15.1) nice, anything
nice (Gor RD); muni galalanai
a nice woman or girl.

galbip *N* flat nose, flat (Goe AS,
JB); mu galbip flat nose,
galbipḡal flat-nosed.

galga- *V TR* galgalim cut (Goe AC);
ḡulup galgalim cutting the bark.

gamadan *N* boss (Gor RD).

gamam *N* hip(s) (Gor RD).

gambi *N* woman (Goe JB; otherwise
a Gunggari word).

ga·mi *N* clothes (Goe JB).

gana¹ *N* liver (Gor RD).

gana² *DEM PRON* (15.18).

ganaŋ ganaŋ *N* poor little one,
sorry (Gor RD; properly ganaŋ
ganaŋ, as in Goeng-Goeng and
Wakka-Wakka ?); ɲai ganaŋ ganaŋ
I am sorry.

ganai *N* spear (Gor RD).

ganan ganaŋ *N* poor little
(fellow; Goe AS).

gangaŋ *N* penis (= dilan; Gor RD).

ga·ni *N* prickly water lizard
(Goe AS, JB, NB).

ganma-¹ *V ITR* ganma; ganmagim
(genmem); ganmamin; ganmagu
fall, break; gureŋ ɲin ganma
don't you fall, maɲa ganmamin
it broke, gana du· genmem this
is about to fall.

ganma-² (ganma(l)-) *V TR* ganma;
ganmalim; ganmanmin; ganmalu
break; gele ganmanmin broke off
a twig or leaves.

ganu *N* boat (Gor RD; from English
'canoe' ?).

gapa¹ *N* camp, home, (bush) humpy
(Gor, Goe).

gapa² *DEM PRON* (15.18).

gapil *N* 1. fish scales (Gor HJ);
2. any fish (Goe).

gara *REL* then, after(wards), later,
behind, back; gara ɲin jana
(eat first) then you go, gara
ɲaɲu galgim I will eat after-
wards, ɲin jeŋi jana (or bi·)
gara ɲai bugenu wabalim you go
first, then I come behind (Gor
RD), gara ɲin waban are you
coming back? (Gor VR), gara daba
be quiet (as if 'follow behind' ?
Gor NJ).

gara- *V TR* garala; garalim;
garanmin; garalu steal; wani
ɲingu garala don't (you) steal,
gureŋ ɲaɲu garalim I do not
steal.

garagu *REL* to here (Gor RD);
garagu ɲai wabalim I will come
here (properly Wakka-Wakka ?).

garali- *V REFL ITR* garali;
garaligim; garalimin hide
(plant), steal; du· bugenu
garali(gi)m hiding behind a
tree. —cf. gara-.

garum *N* strange, wild; miri garum
wild dog, dingo (Gor RD). —cf.
garum garum, bina garum.

garum garum *N* stranger (Goe AC).

gawa- *V TR* gawa; gawalim; gawanmin;
gawalu cut, prick, poke, spear,
shave; ɲina gubu gawalim will
spear or prick you, mil malu ɲapa
gawanmin he poked out (my) eyes,
ɲaɲu ban gawanmin I have cut the
grass, ɲaɲu ɲenbe gawalim I am
going to shave.

gege *N* *ERG* gegebu porcupine.

ge·gi *REL* *DEM PRON* here, to him
or this one (Gor RD); ɲingu
ge·gi webendi bring it to him,
ge·gi ɲingu wuga give it to
this one. —cf. ge·gu.

ge·gu *REL* here, hither (Gor RD);
gegu ɲin bi· you come here.

gegula *REL* over here (Gor RD);
gegula ɲai bigim I am coming
over here. —cf. gegu.

ge·ŋ¹ *N* saliva (Gor RD; = Wakka-
Wakka ga·ŋ).

ge·ŋ² *REL* here, today; geŋ ɲalin
ɲinim we two are sitting here,
geŋ ɲundu balimin there was a
bush fire here, wulai jingaɲu geŋ
ɲinem is this a very noisy
place? (Gor RD).

geŋgu *REL* here, hither; maluna
waban geŋgu he came (Gor RD).

gele *N* 1. leaf, leaves (= Wakka-
Wakka gari; Gor RD); 2. tea
(Goe AS, JB); du· geleŋal (SOC)
leaves of the tree, the tree
has leaves (Gor RD), waga gele
there is no tea (Goe AS).

ge·m *N* *ERG* gembu 1. mouth;
2. beak; 3. language ('lingo');
ningu gembu jalim gureŋ gureŋ
can you talk Goreng-Goreng? nai
gulgiŋ gembu jalu I want to
talk, ŋagu ge·m buranəlim gureŋ
gureŋ I can understand Goreng-
Goreng, nai gureŋ gureŋ ge·m
I am a Goreng-Goreng, ge·m
buranəlim teaching (learning?)
the language (Gor RD).

ge·ŋu *REL* from here; geŋu nai
jangim I am going from here
(Gor RD).

ge·ri- *V* *ITR* ge·rigim (15.2,
Note 123) pour; guŋ ge·rigim
pouring water (Gor VR), guna
ge·rigim evacuate bowels
(Goe AS).

gibi *N* *ERG* gibibu; *OBJ* gibina
Aboriginal, dark fellow.

giŋ- *V* *TR* giŋga; giŋgim; giŋmin
(gimen, Goe JB); giŋgu
1. scratch (Gor); 2. break (Goe);
wani ningū biru giŋga don't you
scratch (your) hand (Gor RD),
giŋaŋ gimen broke his leg
(Goe JB).

giŋgi (giŋge) *N* 1. any drink
(= guŋ; Gor RD); 2. sour (Goe AS,
JB).

giŋgiŋal *N* all sour (Goe AS, JB).

gi·l¹ *N* lightning (Gor RD); gil
burana hear or see the lightning
with thunder.

gi·l² *N* white, white hair (Goe JB).

gi·lŋal *N* white, white hair
(Goe AS).

gila- *V* *ITR* gilagim turn round
(Gor RD).

gilani- *V* *REFL* gilani; gilaniŋim;
gilaniŋim; gilaniŋu turn (one-
self) round, turn (into);
gilaniŋim dagil gu it turned
into stone (Gor RD).

gilama- *V* *CAUS* gilama; gilamagim;
gilamanmin; gilama(l)gu turn (round);

ningun manuna gilama you turn
that round (Gor RD).

gilin¹ *N* nail(s), claw(s).

gilin² *N* fish-line, fishing; gilini
gu (go) fishing (Gor RD).

gin¹ *N* woman (Goe AS, JB, AC);
(*ART*) ginbam (Goe JB; properly
Wakka-Wakka ?).

gin² (gina) *N* *LOC* gini Gayndah
(north of Murgon; Gor RD); gini
ninem lives at Gayndah, gin gu
or gina (possibly a perlativative)
jangim going to Gayndah, gina
wanimin left Gayndah.

ginbelam *N* husband (Gor RD);
ginbelam bula a married couple.

ginbelamgan *N* wife (Gor RD);
ŋapunda ginbelamgan my wife
(= ŋapunda muni).

gindil *N* the whole arm (Goe JB).
-cf. giŋil.

gini *N* arm, elbow (Gor, Goe).
-cf. giŋiŋ.

giŋiŋ *N* arm (Gor RD). -cf. gini.

ginma-¹ *V* *ITR* ginmagim; ginmamin;
ginmagu wake up.

ginma-² *V* *TR* ginma; ginmalim;
ginmanmin; ginmalu wake up;
ningu ŋana ginmanmin you woke
me up (Gor RD).

ginmap *N* *ERG* ginmangu sun, sun-
light, daytime; ginmangu baligim
julap the sun is burning my
skin (Gor RD), ginmanga in the
sun, daytime (cf. 15.10).

gipi *N* cat (Goe AS, NB, JB). -cf.
giŋir.

giŋil *N* arm (Goe JB). -cf. gindil.

giŋir *N* *ERG* giŋiru cat, kitten
(Gor RD); giŋir gi wuga give it
to the cat. -cf. gipi (Goe).

gira- *V* *TR* gira; giralim; giranmin;
giralu sharpen; burgu ningū gira
you sharpen the tomahawk (Gor RD).

gion *N* dress (Goe JB). —cf. giun.
 giro *N* grog; giro galgim having
 a grog, drink (Goe AS, JB).
 giun *N* dress (Goe AC). —cf. gion.
 goeŋ *N* no, not, don't; goeŋ
 dagil no money (Goe AC), goeŋ
 gulgiŋ does not want (Goe AC).
 —cf. goreŋ.
 goeŋ goeŋ *N* the name of a language,
 Goeng-Goeng (Goe AC).
 goreŋ, *v.* gureŋ.
 goreŋ goreŋ, *v.* gureŋ gureŋ.
 goron *N* creek (Gor RD). —cf.
 gurun.
 gu *POST* to, for. —cf. gula².
 gual *N* noise (Goe AC); gual
 jingalu big noise. —cf. guali-.
 guali- *V ITR* guali; gualigim;
 gualimin; gualigu talk; wani
 ŋin guali don't you talk, ŋalin
 bula gualigim we two are talking
 together.
 gubu *N* head, hair (of head; Goe
 AS, JB, AC).
 gubugam *N* bald (Goe AC). —cf. gubu.
 guḡa *N* sugarbag, honey (Gor, Goe).
 guḡaŋ *V*? ŋai guḡaŋ I am going
 out (Goe JB).
 guḡu *N* animal, beast, meat
 (Gor, Goe).
 guḡu guḡu *N* any bird (Goe AC).
 gugui *V*? look out (Goe AS).
 guḡ *N* *ABL* guḡu water; ŋai gaigu
 guḡu I have to or want to go
 into the water (Gor RD), guḡ gi
 ŋai dagim or jangim I am going
 to get water (Gor RD).
 gunguri *N* clever (Goe AS).
 -guḡ, *v.* binanguḡ.
 gujum *N* fire (Goe AS; properly
 Wakka-Wakka?).
 gula¹ *N* koala (Goe AS).

gula² *POST* to, for. —cf. gu.
 gulgiŋ *REL* want to (Gor, Goe);
 gulgiŋ guḡu gu want meat
 (Goe AC), gulgiŋ ŋuelu want to
 cook (Goe AC).
 gulup¹ *N* bark (of tree; Goe AC).
 gulup² *N* cold (Goe AS, JB).
 guna or gunaŋ *N* excrement, faeces
 (Gor, Goe); gulgiŋ gunaŋgu want
 to evacuate. —cf. ge-ri-.
 gunaŋal *N* frightened (Goe AS).
 gunaŋgu, *v.* guna, gunaŋ.
 gunani *N* little (Goe AS); gunani
 ḡabil little boy. —cf. gunini.
 gundir *N* clever man (Gor, Goe).
 —cf. ŋanbai.
 gundu¹ *N* bark (Gor RD).
 gundu² *REL* down; gundu junmem
 lying down, gundu jangim going
 down, to the bottom; gundugu ŋin
 jana you go down, gundugu ŋai
 wabanmin I have come from the
 bottom (Gor RD).
 gundugu, gundugu, *v.* gundu².
 gundulu *N* emu (Goe AS, JB;
 properly a Gangulu word?).
 gun gun *N* face (Gor, Goe); gun
 gun galan nice (girl; Gor VR),
 gun gun ḡaḡu ḡagim I am looking
 at myself (Gor RD).
 gunini *N* *ABL* guniniḡu; *LOC*
 guniniḡi little, small; gibi,
 muni, balbam gunini a little
 person, girl, child, ḡuraŋi
 guniniḡi ŋinem living in a small
 house, ḡuḡu gunini or ḡu
 guniniḡu ŋai walgiŋ I am climb-
 ing a small tree. —cf. gunani.
 gunmari *N* 1. corkwood; 2. shield,
 coolamon (Gor RD).
 gupal *N* hair of the head (Gor RD);
 muni gupal ḡunburu a woman (girl)
 with long hair.

gupim *N REL* sleep, asleep; gupim junmem, ninem lying, sitting asleep (Gor RD, Goe AS), galaŋan, waraŋ gupim a good, bad sleep (Gor RD).

gurbel *N OBJ* gurbelna old man (Gor, Goe); gurbel gi wuga give it to the old man, mingun gurbel baŋi ninem he is with the old man, gurbel gi balbam ninem the child belongs to the old man.

gureŋ (goreŋ) *REL* no, nothing, not, don't; gureŋ bula ninem gara he has not got two or both legs, gaŋ gureŋ ninem muni gi the woman has no husband, gureŋ ŋaŋu buraŋalim I do not know.

gureŋdam *N* nothing (Gor RD; cf. Wakka-Wakka wagaŋam, idem).
—cf. gureŋ.

gureŋ gureŋ (goreŋ goreŋ) *N* the name of a language, Goreng-Goreng; gureŋ gureŋ gibi a Goreng-Goreng, gureŋ gureŋ gembu jalim I can speak Goreng-Goreng, gureŋ gureŋ ŋaŋu ge·m buraŋalim I understand Goreng-Goreng.

gurgun *N* 1. noise; 2. salt water, sea (Gor RD); ŋaŋu gurgun buraŋanmin I heard a noise.

gurul *N ERG* gurulu fish (Gor RD); (ART) gurulbam lots of fish.

gurulba *N LOC* gurulbaŋi the name of a place, Gooroolba; gurulba ŋai jaŋgim I am going to Gooroolba.

guruman *N ABL* gurumanu; *LOC* gurumani shade (Gor RD); ŋin jana guruman gu you go (to look) for shade (= guruman ŋaŋu).

gurun *N ABL* gurunu creek (Gor RD); ŋai gulgiŋ gurunu ŋere jaŋgu I want to cross the creek. —cf. goron.

guruna *N* possum (Goe AC; also Wakka-Wakka).

ŋ

-ŋa *SOC SFX* (15.3; 18.2).

ŋaŋa *N* grandfather (Gor RD). —cf. ŋaŋam.

ŋaŋam *N* grandfather or grandchild (Gor RD).

ŋaŋamburam *N* grandfather or grand-daughter (Gor RD); ŋaŋunda ŋaŋamburam my grand-daughter, ŋai ŋaŋamburam I am her grandfather.

ŋaŋu *PERS PRON* (15.16; 18.5).

ŋai *PERS PRON* (15.15-16; 18.5).

ŋailu (ŋa·lu) *N ERG* ŋailubu eaglehawk (Gor RD); (ART) ŋailubam (some) eaglehawks.

ŋaji, ŋaje *PERS PRON* (15.16).

-ŋal *SOC SFX* (15.3; 18.2).

ŋala *PERS PRON* (18.5).

ŋalin, ŋalinda *PERS PRON* (15.16).

ŋalungan *N* moon (Goe AC). —cf. ŋalulam.

ŋalulam *N* moon (Gor VR, Goe AC); the variant forms ŋalulom, ŋalalom and ŋalelom (Gor RD) may be incorrect (some mythological connection with ŋailu, ŋalu, q.v. may exist). —cf. ŋalungan.

ŋamu *N* milk (Gor RD).

ŋanbai *N* the power of 'clever men' or doctors (Gor RD); gibi, gundir ŋanbaŋaŋal (*SOC*) the secret power of a dark man, a clever man.

ŋandu *INTERR PRON* (18.7).

ŋana *PERS PRON* (15.16; 18.5).

ŋaŋunda *PERS PRON* (15.16; 18.5).

ŋari *N* gambling (Gor VR).

ŋari- *V ITR* ŋari; ŋarigiŋ; ŋarimin; ŋarigu play (at cards or games or music), dance, gamble; wani ŋin ŋari don't gamble, gabil ŋarigiŋ the child is playing, dabalim ŋarigiŋ singing and dancing (at a corroboree; Gor VR).

ne'gu REL over here, to me
(Gor RD); jari nin waba negu
you come over here to me (= naje;
properly Wakka-Wakka ?).

nenbe N beard, whiskers (Gor, Goe);
nenbenal (SOC) wearing a beard,
nenbegam (CAR) without a beard
(Goe AC).

nere REL across (Gor RD); nere
jangu to cross. -cf. peregu,
perengi.

nerenu REL from across (Gor RD);
nerenu wabanmin has come from
across. -cf. perengu.

nin PERS PRON (15.15-16; 18.5).

nina PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

nina- (pina-) V ITR nina; ninim
(ninem); ninamin; ninagu sit
(down), stay, live, be; nalanu
ninem sitting inside, Barambah
ninim lives at Cherbourg (Goe
JB), nai balbam ninamin I was
a child (Gor RD), galagan ninem
it was nice (at Gayndah; Gor RD).

ninda PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ningu, ningun PERS PRON (15.16;
18.5).

ninenal (ningal ?) PERS PRON
(15.16).

ninendi- V ASS ninendi;
ninendigim; ninendimin; ninendigu
(15.6) sit with, watch (Gor RD).

ningi (ninge) PERS PRON (15.16;
18.5).

no'l N glass (Gor HJ, NJ).

ngugun N shadow; wangun ngugun a
ghost (Gor VR).

ngue- (noe-) V TR quela; quelim;
quenmin (noemen, Goe AC); quelu
cook, bake; quenmin gugali
cooked the food (Gor RD), gugu
quelu to cook meat (Goe AC).

ngujen N fire (Goe LR). -cf. nue-
(?), nun.

gul N shade (Goe AC).

gula PERS PRON (15.16).

gulgi N black, coloured man: gau,
dagil gulgi black earth, rock
(Gor RD, NJ).

gulgu N REL 1. night, dark;
2. in the night, tonight, last
night (Gor, Goe). -cf. gul

gu'n N ERG gundu; ABL gu'nu
fire, wood, light, hot; ngagu
gundu biru balinmin I burned my
hand (Gor RD), gundu quenmin
cooked by or on fire, gunu wamba,
wambanmin put it, roasted it on
the fire, gu'nnga there is wood
or fire (Goe AS), nun baligim
a light is shining (Gor RD),
ngagu nun pagim I can see a light
(Gor RD).

gurala PERS PRON (15.15-16).

gurari PERS PRON (15.15-16).

guru N black (Goe JB); guru mil
black eyes.

gurunjal N all black (Goe AS).

J

ja- V TR ja'la; ja'lim; ja'nmin;
ja'lu tell, say, speak, talk,
teach; wani ngingu danga jala
don't you tell a lie, ngagu maguna
jalim I will speak to him, gembu
jalim speaking, ningun nana jala
you teach me, ngagu janmin gembu
I taught him, put him through the
rules (Gor RD). -cf. ja'li-.

-ja- V DER SFX (15.8).

jagulu- V ITR jagulu; jagulugim;
jagulumin; jagulugu talk
together, converse (Gor RD);
nalin bula jagulu, jagulugu let
us have a talk.

janga- V TR janga; jangalim;
janganmin; jangalu do, make,
coire (a euphemism; Goe AC);
nun janga make a fire (Gor RD).

jan jan REL slowly (Gor RD); jan
jan wabalim coming slowly.

jailam N mother (Goe AS, JB).

jaja N ERG jajabu mother or
aunt (Gor RD).

ja·li- V REFL ja·li; ja·ligim;
(ja·lim); ja·limin talk; mingun
jalim he is talking (Gor NJ),
nagu buranamin jalimin I heard
(him) talking (Gor RD). —cf. ja·-.

jalulu- V ITR (PF) jalulumin talk
(Gor RD); nalin bula jalulumin we
two have been talking together.

jamna N quarrel, row; jamna
jingagu a big row.

jamna-¹ V ITR jamna; jamnagim;
jamnagu quarrel, swear.

jamna-² V TR jamna; jamnanmin;
jamnalu scold; wani ningu nana
jamna don't you scold me,
malun nana jamnanmin he scolded
me.

jamnaga- V ITR jamnadagim;
jamnadamin quarrel (Gor RD);
mindiri (bula) jamnadagim they
(two) are quarrelling.

jamnali- V REFL ITR jamnala;
jamnaligim (= jamnagim) quarrel,
have a row (Gor RD); wani nin
bula jamnala don't you two have
a row (forms of this verb and of
the transitive jamna-, q.v., may
have been mixed up here).

jan- V ITR jana; jangim; jenmen
(janmin, janan, jananmin); jangu
(18.10) go; muni janan(min) my
wife has gone away (Gor RD),
be·n janan(min) the wind has
gone (Gor RD), mingun janan he
is gone (Goe AC).

jandi-¹ V ITR jandigim (jandim)
be frightened, afraid; nai
jandigim I am frightened,
afraid (Gor RD), nai jandim
jirilgu I am frightened by the
ghost (Goe AC).

jandi-² (jandi(1)-) V TR jandilim;
jandinmin; jandilu scare,
frighten (Gor RD); malu nana
jandilim he is frightening me.

janma- V ITR janma; janmagim
go (Gor RD, DW); wani nin janma
don't you go (= jana).

jarangi N any gum tree (Gor VR).

jaraman N ERG jaramandu OBJ
jaramana horse; jaramandu
biramin fell off the horse (or
the horse threw him; Gor RD),
jaraman bani (fell) from a horse
(Gor RD), jaraman gi ganin
horseshoe (Gor RD); (ART)
jaramanbam (-bom) lots of
horses.

jari REL here (Gor RD); jari nin
waba you come here.

jarigu REL here (Gor RD); jarigu
waba come here.

jau REL yes, goodbye (as answer
to nai jangim I am going, good-
bye; Gor RD). —cf. joi.

je· REL towards (Goe LR); je waba
come toward (here). —cf. jeni.

je·ni REL POST in front, first
(Gor RD); nin jeni jana gara nai
bugenu wabalim you go first,
then I will come after, nin jeni
waba you come in front, durani
jeni belbem standing in front
of the house. —cf. je.

ji- V TR jila or jilga; jilgim;
jinmin (-men); jilgu bite,
sting; gurulu jilgim the fish
will bite (Gor RD), wangai jilgim
snake bite (Goe AS; a nominalised
verbal compound, according to
15.2, Note 123).

jiga N beard (Goe AC); jiganal
(SOC) gurbel an old man with a
beard.

jingalu N big (Goe AC). —cf.
jingagu (Gor).

jila N crab (Gor NJ).

jilba- *V TR* jilba; jilbalim;
jilbanmin; jilbalu lick (Gor
RD); gembu, gunumbu jilbanmin
licked with the mouth, tongue.

jilbali- *V REFL* jilbaligim;
jilbalimin lick oneself (Gor
RD); gipir jilbaligim the cat
is licking itself (= gipiru
nuleŋa jilbalim). -cf. jilba-.

jilim *N* lip, lips, mouth (Gor,
Goe); ŋingu ŋapa jilim gunga or
gunga ge'm you kiss me (Gor RD).

jin- *V TR (INT)* jingu make
(causative verb, possibly a
derivative suffix; cf. 15.8);
dali galanjan jingu to cure a
sore (Gor RD).

jinba *N* eel (Gor HJ, NJ, Goe AC).
-cf. jinbal.

jinbal *N* eel (Gor RD). -cf. jinba.

jingadu *N* big (Gor RD); gu jingadu
a big tree, jingadu ŋai bulam
as big as I. -cf. jingalu (Goe).

jinma- *V ITR (PF)* jinmamin wait
(Gor RD).

jirga- *V TR* jirga; jirgalim;
(jirgim); jirganmin; jirgalu
rub, grind; burgu jirgalu to
grind an axe (Gor RD).

jiril ? *ERG* jirilgu (cf. 18.3)
ghost (Goe AC).

joi *REL* yes (Gor NJ). -cf. jau,
juai.

juai (juwai) *REL* yes (Gor, Goe).
-cf. jau, joi.

juga- *V TR* juganmin leave
(Goe AS).

julan *N ABL* julapu skin; julan
bundalu to skin (the possum,
etc.; Gor RD), wani maŋuŋa julapu
leave (the possum, etc.) in the
skin (Gor RD), julangam (CAR)
without the skin.

jumbimbi *N* dry (Gor RD); ban
jumbimbi dry grass.

jumbimbi- *V ITR* jumbimbim be
dry (Gor RD); ŋai guŋ jumbimbim
I am thirsty.

junma- (jun(a)-) *V ITR* junma
(juna); junmagim (junmem);
junmamin; junmagu (jingu, Goe)
lie down, sleep; ŋin junma or
juna you lie down or go to
sleep, mingun guŋim junmagim or
junmem he is (lying down)
asleep, going to lie down, jajabu
bilim junmagu the mother puts
(him) to sleep, bula junmem two
lying together, junmagu gaunŋu
to lie down or sleep on the
ground.

junmama- *V CAUS (IPF)* junmamem
put to bed (Gor RD); ŋadu balbama
junmamem I am putting the child
to bed.

junmendi- (junmandi-) *V ASS*
junmandi; junmendimin sleep
with (Gor RD); maŋuŋa, munina
junmandi cohabit.

juri *N* meat (Goe AS; from the
Gunggari languages?). -cf. guŋu.

M

mabu *N* stomach (Goe AS, AC).

mabuŋal *N* pregnant (Goe AC).

maŋar *N* white man (Gor NJ;
properly Batjala ?).

magima *N* ? (18.6) magima galgu
go and eat, to eat (Goe AS).

maŋu, maŋuŋa *PERS PRON* (15.17;
18.5).

magunda *PERS PRON* (15.17).

magu *N* *ERG* magubu nulla-nulla
(Gor RD, VR).

maŋa *N* ear (Goe AS, JB; the same
in Gunggari).

mai *N* white, white man (Goe AS, BB; the same in Wakka-Wakka);
mai gabil a white boy, mai
jangim he or you are going
(of a white man; cf. 25.15).

mai- *V ITR TR* maiga; maigim;
maimin; mainmin; maigu run,
chase (Gor RD); ŋindu maiga
you run or chase (him), malun
mainmin, maimin miriŋa he
chased him, chased the dog
(transitive and intransitive
conjugation has been mixed).

maili- *V REFL ITR* maili;
mailigim; mailimin; mailigu
run (and sometimes 'chase', as
in English; Gor RD). -cf. mai-,
maindi-.

maindi- *V ASS* maindi; maindimin;
maindigu (15.6) chase (Gor RD).
-cf. mai-, maili-.

mali (male) *PERS PRON* (15.17).

malu, maluŋa, malun *PERS PRON*
(15.17; 18.5).

ma'm *N* 1. breast; 2. (any) milk;
muniŋu mam woman's breast
(Gor VR), mam galgu to drink
milk (of babies; Goe AS, NB).

mama *N* uncle (Gor RD).

mamailam *N* mother (Goe AS, JB; =
jailam, q.v.).

man- *V TR* (15.23) touch, hold,
take, catch, grab, steal, bring,
get; ŋindu mana you touch (her,
i.e. pat, caress; Gor RD), balam
mangu to get sand, guŋ gi mangu
(go) to get water, gapil mangu
or mangu gapil to catch fish,
to fish (Goe AC), ŋai gagim mangu
gugu gu I am going to get meat
(Goe AC), ŋindu ŋaje mana you
get it for me, wani ŋindu mana
don't touch.

mana¹ *DEM PRON* (15.18; 18.6).

mana² *N* the name of a place,
Mannar (Gor RD); mana(ŋi) ŋinem
lives at Mannar.

manangali *N* the name of a
language, Manandjali (Goe JB).

manburi *N LOC* manburiŋi 1. gum
tree (Gor RD; perhaps Wakka-
Wakka); 2. the name of a place
near Gayndah.

mandabara *N LOC* mandabarani the
name of a place, Mundubbera
(Gor RD); mandabarani ŋinem
mingun he lives at Mundubbera.

mapa *DEM PRON* (15.18).

mapu *REL* over there (Gor RD); ŋin
mapu jana you go over there.

mapuŋ, mapuŋgu, mapuŋu *REL* there,
from over there, that way (Gor
RD); mapuŋ janan gone over that
way, mapuŋu waban comes from
over there.

mapuŋa, mapunda *PERS PRON* (15.17).

mara *REL* over there (Gor RD; also
Wakka-Wakka).

marun *N* goanna (Gor, Goe).

me'ben *N ERG* me'bengu emu (Gor
RD, VR).

me'n *N* wind (Gor MG; correct ?).
-cf. be'n.

mil *N ABL* milnu eye (Gor, Goe);
mil waraŋ poor sight, mil paga,
pagim see (cf. 15.2, Note 123),
mildam (CAR) has got no eyes,
poor sight or blind, milŋal (SOC)
good eyes, mil muga blind,
milnu dali, gau a sore eye, dirt
in the eye.

milbi *N* turtle (Gor, Goe).

mil gawan *N* the name of a place,
Millaquin (at Bundaberg; Gor RD).

mingi, mingiri *PERS PRON* (15.15-16).

mingu, mingun *PERS PRON* (15.15-16;
18.5).

minguŋa, mingunda *PERS PRON* (15.16).

minga (minga) *REL* last night
(Gor RD); minga wabanmin came
last night.

mipa *INTERR PRON* (15.19).

mipagu *INTERR PRON REL* what
for? why?

mipangu *INTERR PRON* (15.19).

mipangu *INTERR PRON REL* from
what? how? (Gor RD); mipangu
ŋindu gaga jangganmin how or
from what have you made this?
(Gor RD).

miri *N ERG* miribu; *OBJ* miriŋa;
LOC miriŋi dog (Gor, Goe);
miribu wulai janggalim a dog
barks or dogs bark; (*ART*)
miribam some dogs, the dogs.

miri garum *N* strange dog or dingo
(Gor RD).

miu *N* mouth (Goe AS, JB).

mu· *N* nose (Goe AS, NB, BB, AC,
MG). —cf. muru.

mua *N OBJ* muana kangaroo or
(rather) wallaby (Gor RD).

mua- (mue-) *V TR (IPF)* mualim
smell (Goe AS).

muga or mudange *N* something
stinking (?); muda (mudange)
mualim smelling something
stinking (Goe AS).

muendem *REL* yesterday (Goe AC).
—cf. murenda, murendu.

muga *N* mil muga blind, bina muga
deaf.

mugen (mugin) *N* old woman (Gor RD,
Goe AS, AC).

mugim *N* stone axe, tomahawk
(Gor RD).

mugul *N* ankle (Goe JB). —cf.
wugul.

mu·n *N LOC* mu·ni hill (Gor RD);
ŋai barai jangim mu·ni I am
walking up the hill. —cf. barai
mu·ni.

mundi *N* posterior, podex, anus
(Goe AC).

mundila- *V ASS* mundilagim;
mundilagu cuddle up, have
intercourse (Gor RD); ŋagu ŋina
mundilagu.

muni *N ERG* munibu (Gor), munigu
(-ju; Goe); *OBJ* muniŋa (-na);
ABL muniŋu woman, wife, girl
(Gor, Goe); mapuŋa muni gi dan
ŋinem that woman has a man, is
married, jangim muni gi going
for (or in search of) a woman;
(*ART*) munibam (-bom; *ERG* -bombu)
(some) women (Gor RD).

muni balbam *N* little girl (Gor RD).

muniŋal *N* having a woman, wife
(Gor RD); mapuŋa dan muniŋal
that man is married.

muni muni *N* little girl, young
girl (Gor, Goe).

mupungil *N* hair on the body
(Gor RD).

muraŋ *N* meat (Goe AS, NB; also
Wakka-Wakka).

mure *REL* already, before, first,
for a long time (Gor RD); mure
waban already coming, ŋagu nemem
mure I have seen (him) before,
ŋindu gaga mure you eat first,
maguŋa mure wanmilimin he has
been waiting for a long time.
—cf. murenda, murendu.

murenda, murendu *REL* a long time
ago, long ago (Gor RD); murenda
ŋagu denmen I ate a long time
ago. —cf. mure, muendem.

murgu *N* short person, short
(Gor RD); gibi murgu a short man.

muru *N* nose (Gor, Goe). —cf. mu·
(Goe).

murun *N ERG* murundu *OBJ* muruŋa
dark man, black fellow (Goe AC).

N

na DEM PRON (18.6).

nagi- V ITR (IPF) nagigim, nagim
go (Goe AS); mai nagim you are
or he is going (of a white
person), bangi nagigim (his)
sweatheart is going or gone.

nala N ABL nalanu; LOC nalani
1. hole, interior, inside;
2. empty, fasting; nala janga
dig a hole, gain nala ninem
wangai gi that is the snake's
hole (Gor RD), nalanu ninem
sitting inside, nalanu pagim,
jangim looking, going through
(Gor RD), nala ngindun (sic) you
are empty (Goe AS).

nanga- V TR (PF) nanganmin
finish (Gor RD); nanganmin (-men)
have, has finished.

nani N (8.12) bad (Goe AS, JB).

n

na⁻¹ V TR (15.24; 18.10) see,
look; ngindu pagi (= paga) you
see or look (Gor RD), ngagu nina
ngagim I am looking at you or
can see you, nin jana gurbelna
pagu you go to (or and) see the
old man, mil pagim (can) see,
bulabu pagim two looking at one
another (Gor RD).

na⁻² V ITR pagim look (Gor RD);
dagil bulam pagim it looks like
rock.

pagari- V REFL REC pagari;
pagarim; pagarimin; pagarigu
look at oneself or one another
(Gor NJ); nai pagarim I am
looking at myself, bula pagarim
they are looking at one another.

pamba V REL ? dagil guren pamba
the money is finished (Gor DH).

parum N prickly lizard or any
lizard (Goe AS, JB).

peregu REL to the other side
(Gor RD); peregu jana go over
to the other side. -cf. nere.

perengi (-ni) REL over there, on
the other side (Gor RD).

perengu REL from over there
(Gor RD); perengu wabalim coming
from the other side. -cf. nere,
nerenu.

pidun N 1. cold (Gor RD, VR);
2. cold wind, omen, death sign,
ghost (Goe AS, JB, AC).

pi-l N REL crying, sulking
(Goe AS, JB); gabil pil (bra:gi)
the child is crying. -cf. pilga.

pi-lga N sulking (Goe AS; the
same in Wakka-Wakka). -cf. pil.

pim N anus, podex or vulva (Gor,
Goe); pim galgim copulating
(Gor RD).

pina-, v. nina-.

pula¹ N a lie (Goe AC).

pula² N one, single, alone; pula
balbam ninem there is one child
(Gor RD), pula bula naje ninem
I have a single cow (Gor RD),
pula jangim he is going (Goe AS),
pula bula three (Gor NJ).

pulam N owner or owned thing
(Gor RD); napunda pulam my (own)
thing, gapa pulam that is his,
nai pulam dura gu I am the
owner of the house, mingun pulam
ganin gu the car is his alone.
-cf. pula², pulen.

pulen N ERG pulengu; OBJ pulenga
1. one, alone, lonely; 2. owner
(= Wakka-Wakka gimben); 3. one's
self; 4. the last (child, etc.;
Gor HJ); gara pulen ninem he
has only one leg (Gor RD), nin
pulen you are alone or on your
own (Gor RD), nai pulen gagim
I am going alone (Gor RD), galgim
pulengu eating on one's own
(Gor RD), napa pulenga wanimin
left me alone (Gor RD), gipiru
pulega jilbalim the cat is
licking itself (Gor RD). -cf.
pula, pulam.

pura- *V TR* pura; puralim; puranman
(sic) tie, strangle, choke (Gor
RD); bulimandu nina puralim
the policeman is tying you up,
gunu mingin (sic) bimbi nuranman
he hanged himself on a tree.

W

wa- *V ITR* wala, walga; walгим;
wenmen (welmen); walgu climb
(Gor RD, Goe JB); gundu nin wala
you climb down, nin gunu walga
you climb the tree, (gunu) nai
walгим, welmen I climb(ed) (the
tree). -cf. walga-.

waba- *V ITR* (15.24; 18.10) come;
jari waba come here, mure
wabanmin he has already come or
been here (Gor RD), gangu mingun
waban he came yesterday (Goe AC).
-cf. wabali-.

wabali- *V ITR* wabali; wabalim;
wabanmin; wabalu come (Gor, Goe);
wani jari wabali don't come here,
nai gara wabalim gangu I will
come tomorrow (Gor RD), nai (sic)
balbam wabalim (ASS ?) I am
coming with the child (Gor RD;
cf. the correct construction
under webendi-, q.v.). -cf. waba-.

wagigan *N* white woman (Goe AC).

wagimda- (waginda-) *V TR* wagimda;
wagimdagim; wagimdamin; wagimdagu
wash (Gor, Goe); wagimdagim
galbin washing clothes or
laundry, nagu wagimdamin I have
washed. -cf. wagimja-.

wagimdali- *V REFL* wagimdali or
-gala; wagimdalignim; wagimdalignin;
wagimdalignu wash oneself or for
oneself (Gor RD); nin jana
wagimdalignu you go to (or and)
wash, nai gulgin galbin
wagimdalignu I want to wash my
clothes.

wagimja- *V TR* wagimja; wagimjagim;
wagimjamin; wagimjagu wash (Gor
RD); nagu wagimjamin mure I have
finished the washing already.
-cf. wagimda-.

waga *REL* no, nothing, empty,
without, don't; waga ninda gai
you have nothing to eat (Goe AS),
waga gele, dagil there is no tea,
money (Goe AS), waga gun without
water (Goe AS). -cf. goen.

waga waga *N* the Wakka-Wakka
language.

wagun *N* *ERG* wagundu; *OBJ* waguna
scrub turkey, fowl, chicken or
bird (Gor, Goe); wagundu wulai
janggalim the fowls are making a
noise, gunini wagun chicken
(Goe AC).

wangum *N* cheek (Goe AC).

wangun *N* *ERG* wangundu ghost,
spirit of the dead (Gor, Goe).

waibe *N* *LOC* waibenji camp, home,
house, nest (Gor, Goe); waibenji
at home, gailami waibenji (comes)
from another camp (Gor RD), nai
dagim waibe gu gain nai junmem
I am going to the camp (and) will
sleep there (Gor RD), waibe gu
waba come home (Goe AC).

wajalara *N* the name of a mountain
(Goe AS, JB, LR).

walara or walaru *N* corroboree
(Gor RD).

wale *N* whiptail wallaby (Gor RD;
= Wakka-Wakka wele).

walga- (walgi-) *V ITR* walga;
walгим (walgem); walgigu climb
(Gor RD); gunu nai walгим I am
going to climb a tree (both this
verb and the verb wa-, q.v. have
a transitive conjugation and an
intransitive construction).
-cf. wa-.

walur, v. warul.

wamba- *V TR* wamba; wambalim;
wambanmin put, put up, put on,
lift up, hang; ningu wamba gunu
you hang it on the tree, binga
ningu wamba you put on your hat,
nagu waru waru wambalim I am
putting up fences (Gor RD), dilal
gu (or dilal gi) nagu ganin
wambalim I am snaring possum
(putting snares for possum; Gor RD).

wana *REL* far (Gor RD); wana
jangim nai I am going far.

wanagu *REL* far away (Gor RD);
wanagu jangim nai I am going
far away.

wanangin, v. waningin.

wanani, wanangu *REL* far, a long
way (Gor RD); mingun wanani
belbem he is far, a long way,
wanani wabanmin has come from
afar, damba (Wak) wanani jangim
the track or road is going a
long way (Gor RD).

wanaju *REL* from afar (Goe AC);
wanaju waban comes from afar.

wandai *N LOC* wandaingi, the name
of a place, Wondai, south-west
of Murgon.

wandal *N* neck (Gor RD).

wanga, wunga *REL* where? when?;
wanga mingun ninem where does he
live? wanga nin waban when did
you come? (Gor RD), wanga nin
jangim when are you going?
(Goe AC). -cf. wangala.

wangala (wingala, wungala) *REL*
where? when? when; wangala nin
jangim where are you going?
wangala nin waban(min) when
did you come? (Gor RD).

wangu¹ *INTERR PRON* (15.19).

wangu² *REL* when? when, if; wangu
nin wabalim, wabanmin when do,
did you come? ningu maguna jala
wangu ningu maluṅa nugu you tell
him when you see him (Gor RD),
wangu ningu maluṅa nugu ningu
jala if you see him tell (him;
Gor RD). -cf. wungu.

wanguṅa, v. wangu¹.

wangun *REL* when?; wangun nin
wabanmin when did you come?
(Gor RD).

wangai *N OBJ* wangaiṅa snake (Gor,
Goe); wangai gi waibe ninem it
is a snake's hole (literally
'home'; Gor RD); (ART) wangaiḃama
(OBJ) (took up) some snakes (Gor RD).

wani *V* (Note 143) don't (literally
'leave it'); wani nin dunila,
jamṅa don't you cry, swear, wani
bula nagari don't look at one
another. -cf. wani⁻¹.

wani⁻¹ *V TR* (15.23) leave, let,
give up; ningu maguna wani ninagu
you let him sit down (Gor RD),
malu munina wanimin he left his
wife, wanila ninguṅa nari you
give up gambling (Gor VR).

wani⁻² *V ITR* (15.23) be left
(Gor RD); gaṅul wanigim bread
is left (the verbs wani⁻¹ and
wani⁻² are mixed up in this
material).

waningin (wanangin) *REL* alone, on
his own (Gor DW).

wanmili- *V ITR* wanmili; wanmiligim;
wanmilimin; wanmiligu wait (Gor
RD); wani nin wanmili don't wait,
nai gegu wabanmin wanmiligu
I have come here to wait.

wapa *REL* where? when? (Goe AC, LR);
wapa nin gagim where are you
going? wapa nin waban when did
you come? -cf. wanga.

wapaṅa *INTERR PRON* (15.19).

wapbaga *REL* when? (Gor RD); wapbaga
nin, bunu wabanmin when did you,
the rain come?

wangi *INTERR PRON* (15.19).

wangu, wangula *REL* to where?
(Gor RD); wangu(la) nin jangim
where are you going (to)?

wapmeri *N* white woman, lady, girl
(Gor, Goe).

wapu *INTERR PRON REL* (15.19)
whence? from whom? from what?
how? (Gor RD); wapu nin wabanmin
where did you come from? wapu
ningu menmen from whom did you
get it? wapu ningu gaṅa janggan-
min from what or how have you
made this?

wapung *REL* where from? (Gor RD).

wapuna *INTERR PRON* (15.19).

waruŋa(1) *INTERR PRON* (15.19).
 warun *REL* where? when? (Gor RD);
 warun ŋinda gura where is your
 house? warun ŋin jangim where
 are you going? —cf. wangun.
 warunda *INTERR PRON* (15.19).
 waraŋ *N* bad, silly (Gor RD).
 warai *N* very bad (Goe AS, JB).
 wari *N* rain, storm (Goe AS, JB);
 wari wabalim rain is coming.
 waru¹ *N* *ERG* warubu 1. black
 goanna; 2. Warroo station
 (Gor RD).
 waru², *v.* warul.
 warui *N* *LOC* waruŋi the name of
 a place, Warroo (about Marybo-
 rough; Gor RD). —cf. waru¹.
 warul (waru, walur) *N* head (Gor
 RD, HA).
 warun, warunu *REL* sitting down
 waiting (Gor RD); warunu ŋin
 jinmamin you have been sitting
 down waiting.
 waru waru *N* fence (Gor RD).
 wau *N* *ERG* waubu *OBJ* wauŋa
 white man (Gor RD); waubu ŋina
 jalim the white man is telling
 you, wau gi wuga give it to the
 white man, wau baŋu ŋingu mana
 (you) get it from the white man;
 (ART) waubam (some) white men.
 —cf. wu*.
 wawa *N* lolly (Goe JB).
 webendi- *V* *ASS* webendi;
 webendigim; webendimin; webendigu
 come with, bring, fetch; galbip
 ŋingu jari webendi you come
 with or bring the clothes (Gor
 RD), gaŋa malun jari webendigim
 he is going to bring this over
 here (Gor RD). —cf. waba-.
 wingala, *v.* wangala.
 wu* *N* *ERG* wubu white man.
 (Gor, Goe). —cf. wau.

wu- *V* *TR* wuga; wugim (-em); wumen;
 wugu give (Gor, Goe); wuga
 bulingagu give me a smoke ('to
 smoke'; Goe AC), ŋadu ŋinge wugim
 I will give you, malu wumen ŋaje
 he gave me, ŋaje wugu give (it)
 to me (Gor RD).
 wubali- *V* *ITR* (IPF) wubalim
 come (Goe AS). —cf. wabali-.
 wu·dan *N* blackfellow (Goe AS, JB).
 wugabe *V* ? going home (Goe LR).
 wugul *N* ankle (Goe LR). —cf.
 mugul.
 wulai *N* noise; wani ŋingu wulai
 janga don't you make a noise
 (Gor RD), wulai jangalim miribu
 the dog is barking (Gor RD).
 —cf. wurai.
 wulaibara *N* noisy (Gor NJ).
 wulba *N* old (Gor RD). —cf. wurba.
 wulbali- *V* *ITR* wulbalim be old
 (Gor RD); gaŋa gulbem (incorrect
 for gurbel, q.v. ?) wulbalim
 that is an old man or that man is
 (getting) old, muni wulbalim an
 old woman.
 wungala, *v.* wangala.
 wungu *REL* (15.27). —cf. wangu².
 wupi *REL* just now, this morning
 (Gor RD); wupi wabanmin (he)
 has just come, ŋai wupi gugali
 I had a feed just now, mipa
 ŋingu wupi jangalim what were
 you doing this morning? ŋundu
 wupi baligim it is going to be
 hot.
 wurai *N* noise (Goe JB). —cf.
 wulai.
 wurba *N* old (Gor RD); muni wurba
 an old woman, gura wurba an old
 house —cf. wulba, wulbali-.

KABI-KABI

Introductory remarks

20.1 If Kabi-Kabi at one time was one of the important languages of south-eastern Queensland (cf. Mathew 1910, pp. 68, 198 sqq.), it is now practically extinct. Seeing that of the five or so natives whom it was possible to pick out from among the Aborigines still living in that part of Queensland none was really competent as an informant for the language, the data obtained are quite insufficient and especially the notes on the morphology are extremely scanty. The introductory sections on Kabi-Kabi are therefore almost entirely limited to a summary of phonological points, to some extent to be completed by comparison with the closely related Batjala. The Kabi-Kabi morphology, although expected to be similar to that of Batjala, nevertheless seems to deviate in respect of some minor details. The vocabulary will be listed along with that of Batjala at the end of the sections dealing with the latter language.

List of informants

20.2 The following persons were found to have a slight recollection of the Kabi-Kabi language, although two of them at least were not Aborigines (as a matter of fact some of the Aborigines interviewed were not much better informed about the language). In reference to these informants the letters *Kab* stand for Kabi-Kabi and the letters following are the initials of the respective persons.

Kab CC: Mrs. Colin Chilly, at Nambour (a white lady).

Kab DC: Mr. Dick ('Nyalbo') Cobbo (about 65), at Cherbourg, born at the former Barambah Mission; his father (one Robin Cobbo) was from the Gayndah area (which is not properly Kabi-Kabi country), but Dick Cobbo reckoned himself as a Kabi-Kabi in spite of contradictory information by some other Aborigines (cf. Note 3).

Kab DW: Mrs. Daisy Weasel, at Cherbourg; although she claimed to know Wakka-Wakka and Gunggari, the words and forms she was able to give agreed more with Kabi-Kabi.

Kab FA: Mr. Frank Atherton (88), a white gentleman at Mannar (west of Gayndah; he had learned Kabi-Kabi as a young man at Kilkivan, Miva and other places within the ancient Kabi country territory.

Kab LD: Mr. Les Davidson, at Churchill, by Ipswich.

Kab WS: Mr. Willie Sanda, at Cherbourg (died a couple of years ago); his mother was Kabi-Kabi and his father a white man (incidentally, Mr. Sanda maintained that Kabi-Kabi and Batjala are virtually the same language).

Phonology

21.1 The phonetic system of Kabi-Kabi differs from those of either Wakka-Wakka (in the western subgroup of the Wakka languages) or Goreng-Goreng (in the eastern subgroup) in respect of its vocalism, while the consonant system is basically the same as in the latter language (or the languages of the eastern subgroup generally). On the whole, Kabi-Kabi is more conservative than either of the mentioned languages (cf. Mathew 1910, p. 198).

Evolution of the vowel system

21.2 Kabi-Kabi has the three basic vowels a, i and u, which are either short (or of normal length) or long (a', i', u'), although vowel length is not always fundamental or distinctive (as usual the long vowels are marked by the raised period where it seems permanent or where no alternative forms with a short vowel were noted, as, for instance, in *gam* or *ga'm food*). These vowels may (theoretically) enter into diphthongs, of which ai is most frequent. The vowel sounds e and o may appear as phonetic variants of respectively i and u, but do not occur as independent phonemes.¹⁵⁵

21.3 Common modifications of the basic vowels occur, for instance, in contact with palatal sounds, in which case a may approach or turn into e (as in *gege*, *gegegan* for *gaḡa son*, *gaḡagan daughter*; Kab DC). Analogously a basic a may approach or turn into o after the bilabial semivowel w (as in *wolbai* for *walbai child*; Kab WS).

Evolution of the consonant system

21.4 The basic consonant phonemes in Kabi-Kabi are the following: (bilabial) b, m; (palatalised dental or interdental) ḡ, ɲ; (alveolar) d, n; (palatal or velar) g, ŋ; (lateral continuant) l; (alveolar continuant or trill) r; (palatal semivowel) j; and (bilabial semivowel) w.

21.5 The plosives b, d, ḡ and g are 'devoiced' (cf. 2.8); except after a (homorganic) nasal, b and g tend to become fricative (as in Spanish). Contrary to Wakka-Wakka, for instance (see 2.8), all plosives are often typically voiceless initially and after a nasal; hence *gabi gabi* (*Kabi-Kabi*) may sound like *kabi kabi* (the medial b being fricative) or *gaḡga* (*mouth*) as *gaḡka*, etc. As in Goreng-Goreng (see 14.10) the palatalised dental is actualised in two different ways: either as a palatal sound (like the initial sound in English 'dew' or the sound in common Queensland pronunciation—especially among the Aborigines—of English 'j') or as an interdental sound (similar to the one in English 'this').¹⁵⁶

21.6 An interesting example of 'pre-occlusive' (see 23.5) l is found in the word *judlo* (for *julu eel*, Kab CC; cf. *Batjala julu*, idem, *Bat:Wak WC*); this word is preserved in the place name 'Eudlo' (near Nambour), which proves that the articulation of the occlusive element before l has been generally heard (cf. the island name 'Coochiemudlo', in Moreton Bay, representing *Nunagal guḡi mulu red rock*).

21.7 Initial consonant clusters are normally not permitted in Kabi-Kabi. Where they arise, it is probably through the loss of an intermediate vowel; this was found in the word *blai blai flying fox* (Kab CC), also used as a place name (*Bli Bli*).

Morphology

22. Since very scarce data have been obtained of what may with certainty be assumed to represent Kabi-Kabi morphology, the few points gathered from supposedly Kabi-Kabi informants will be mentioned in connection with the account of *Batjala* morphology given in the following sections (25.1 sqq.).

BATJALA

Introductory remarks

23.1 Batjala is considered by many to be the same language as Kabi-Kabi (cf. 1.5). As it was possible to gather more information on Batjala than on Kabi-Kabi, the material collected from the former language may in some measure supplement the scantier material from the latter. Nevertheless, there are minor divergences between the two languages, which may justify—apart from the accepted use of different names—a treatment of Kabi-Kabi and Batjala as different languages.

List of informants

23.2 Reference to the various informants for Batjala is made in the usual way by the abbreviation *Bat* (for Batjala) followed by the initials of the informant. Some information was obtained from one Mrs. Konomie Richards and her family (Dar KR, CR, ER; for which see under Darumbal, in Part III of this survey); such data are marked by the abbreviation *Bat:Dar KR*, etc. (cf. 4.3).

- Bat BM:* Mr. Billy Munro, at Bundaberg, Harry Munro's (Bar HM) son.
- Bat EB:* Mrs. Elsie Broome, at Bundaberg, probably from Maryborough.
- Bat EH:* Mrs. Elsie Hill (née Williams) at Cherbourg, Ernie Williams' (Bat EW) sister, born at Yandina.
- Bat EO:* Mrs. Edith ('Edie') Owen (about 60), at Maryborough, Ike Owen's (Bat IO) sister.
- Bat EW:* Mr. Ernest ('Ernie') Williams, at Memorambi by Kingaroy (died a couple of years ago).
- Bat FR:* Mr. Fred(eric) Ross (about 60), at Urangan.
- Bat HM:* Mr. Harry Munro (born in 1885 and about 90 when he died at Gin Gin); Mr. Munro, who was born at Bundaberg, had travelled afar and had first learned the language, as he said, from one 'old Fat Maria' (at Childers) and later—after years of absence from an Aboriginal milieu—picked it up afresh at Urangan and other places within the limits of the old Batjala country.
- Bat IO:* Mr. Isaac ('Ike') Owen, at Urangan; he was born at Urangan, but his father (Garry Owen) was from Fraser Island (where he used to live at Owen's Camp).
- Bat KR:* Mrs. Kate Rowe, at Bundaberg, Mr. Steve Broome's (Bat SB) sister; their father was one John Broome from Maryborough, who was said to have been an important person and a good speaker of Batjala.
- Bat LR:* Mr. Leonard Rowe, at Bundaberg, Mrs. Rowe's (Bar KR) son.
- Bat MW:* Mrs. Mabel Williams, at Berajondo; her mother was a Batjala, but her father a white man.
- Bat PR:* Mrs. Pearl ('Pearly') Rookwood (about 80), at Maryborough (later at Duaringa), born at Gayndah (or Taroom?); her father (Darby) was from Fraser Island, while her mother was a Goreng-Goreng from Mount Perry.
- Bat SB:* Mr. Steve Broome, at Bundaberg and born at Bundaberg, Mrs. Rowe's brother; he says both father (Johnnie Broome) and mother were Batjala.

Reference is further made to Mrs. Winnie Cobbo (*Bat:Wak WC*; see 5.2), who had learned Batjala from her husband, Mr. Robin Cobbo.

Phonology

24.1 It may be safely accepted that the phonology of Batjala is that of Kabi-Kabi in all its important phases. As, however, more Batjala informants were available than for Kabi-Kabi, some irregularities within the former language were apt to appear, which may be briefly mentioned.

Evolution of the vowel system

24.2 In Batjala primitive dissyllabic sequences of the type *aji*, *awu* are frequently found: *gawuŋ* (*want*; cf. Wuli-Wuli *ga·ŋ*, *gaŋ*, Wakka-Wakka *go·ŋ*, *goŋ*, hence with original -w-), *gawur* (*urine*; cf. Barunggam *gawur*, *gaur*, idem, Wakka-Wakka *ga·ri-* *pass water*, with original -w-), *gamaji* (*ate*; Bat:Wak WC), *ŋamŋaji* (*saw*; Bat:Wak WC).

24.3 An example of word-final -a passing to -i is found in *wagi* for *waga* (*dog*; Bat HM). This is probably in imitation of English speech habits; on the other hand, the influence of an adjoining palatal element is probably the cause of the occasional change of the verb stem *junma-* (*lie down*) to *jinma-* (Bat HM).

Evolution of the consonant system

24.4 As in Kabi-Kabi (see 20.5), the palatalised dental appears either as such (English 'tune', 'dew', etc.) or as an interdental fricative (approximately English 'th' in 'father'), which latter often approaches the alveolar d. The difference between both series becomes clear in the pronunciation of Bat:Wak WC, who consistently sticks to the palatalised variant, as in her native Wakka-Wakka.

24.5 Instances of 'pre-occlusives' (that is an l or n preceded by a plosive d) are found in Batjala *dadla* (= *dala hair of the head*; Bat EH) and *jidni* (= *jini, a kind of vine*, Bat IO; cf. the place name 'Yidney', on Fraser Island); this type of articulation of l and n is very frequent in the Nunagal language (Stradbroke Island), but definitely not a feature of the Wakka languages.¹⁵⁷ English influence is probably found in Batjala *ŋabaŋk* (for *ŋabaŋ mother*), as it mirrors Queensland English 'somethingk', 'nothingk', etc. The pronunciation *na·d̥* (for *na·r duck*; Bat IO) probably—as in other cases noted—derives from the difficulty of articulating syllable-final r among bilingual speakers.

24.6 The syllabic structure is the same in Batjala as in Wakka-Wakka and the other languages of the Wakka group (cf. 6.18). It is important to notice that consonant combinations which seem impossible in English are quite normal in these languages and, insofar as Batjala is concerned, even preferred to such as may seem 'easier'. An interesting case of the metathesis, or transposition, of -ŋm- to -mŋ- is found in some verb stems: *jamŋala-* beside *jaŋmala-* *quarrel*, *ŋamŋa-* (for **ŋaŋma-* (*see*; stem form *pa(·)ŋ-*, cf. Wakka-Wakka *pa·ŋi*, Darumbal *Naŋi saw*), *wumŋa-* for **wuŋma-* (*give*; stem form *wuŋ-*, cf. Wakka-Wakka *wuŋi gave*).¹⁵⁸ Compare further 6.18 and the Note 59.

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

25.1 The structure of concrete word stems (either nominal or verbal) has the same appearance in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala as in the languages of the Wakka group in general.¹⁵⁹ Contraction of vowels (as in Wakka-Wakka) is hardly found at all in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala, whereby these languages show the characteristic features of the languages of the eastern Wakka subgroup. Vowel length is, however, not absent: final vowels of monosyllabic concrete stems are long as elsewhere and this length may by analogy be propagated to derived or inflected forms (cf. 6.14). Both nominal and verbal stems can be monosyllabic or longer, ending either in a vowel or a consonant, but according to the current pattern verbal stems are dissyllabic, ending either in -a- or -i-; the vowel-ending monosyllabic verb stems are given with a short vowel: Kabi-Kabi and Batjala *ba-come* (= Wakka-Wakka *ba·-*). Reduplication of noun stems (often in adjectival words or color names) are found, as in: Batjala *mundai mundai pretty*, *mulu mulu black*; reduplication of part of a noun stem (according to the principles mentioned in 15.1, with references) is found in *walalbai small* (Bat:Wak WC; cf. *walbai child*), *damamaramai small* (Bat IO; cf. *damarmai*, idem). Of verbal compounds (cf. Note 123) an example occurs in *biri bangi- hit with the hand* (as if *hand-hit*).

25.2 *Nominal derivation.* Although very little has been recorded regarding the derivation of nominal stems, it is evident that it takes place along the same lines as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng. Of the suffix -gan, which mostly marks females, several examples are found: *jirgan (little) girl* (Bat EW, Bat:Wak WC; cf. Kabi-Kabi *jiram woman*), *da·rgan white woman* (cf. *da·ran*, idem), *jangan wife, woman you can marry* (Kab DC; no single stem found), *maringan wife* (Kab DC; from English 'marrying'?), *gagagan daughter* (Kab DC; cf. *gaga son*—the feminine signification also occurs in *Dunggija wangan woman*); further *gulbangan ghost* (Bat MW; perhaps not necessarily *female ghost*), *biralugan God* (beside *biral*, idem; originally *eaglehawk*), *gawangan dugong*, *gurugan black man* (here rather diminutive: *ganan ganagan poor little black man*; Kab DC). The sociative suffix in Batjala seems to be -mur, as in *dunupmur pregnant, with child* (from *dunup belly*, hence formed by analogy with Wakka-Wakka *bulungal*; see 12); an analogous suffix -mur in Kabi-Kabi is somewhat doubtful. The caritative suffix is the same as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng, namely -gam, as in *gugam without trees (treeless; Bat-Wak WC)*.¹⁶⁰ A suffix -bara, which denotes tribes (cf. *Dunggija buibara the Carpetsnake tribe*) or areas, is found in the names of some places: *bandabara Bundaberg* (also *banda*), *marabara Maryborough* (also *maribari*; Bat HM); it also occurs in *jalabara* or *jalunbara* (= *julun*) *old man* (Bat EB—what the original designation might have been could not be ascertained; as for the formation, cf. the Goreng-Goreng *wulaibara noisy*).

25.3 Of the affixes without a precise concrete function (mentioned in 3.6; 7.1 and elsewhere) -ŋ and *-j occur in our Kabi-Kabi and Batjala material; Kabi-Kabi *guan egg* (beside *gua*, idem, which however is Wakka-Wakka, while the Batjala word for *egg* is *bam*), Batjala *wiŋ fire* (beside *wi·*; Bat SB, EB, KR), Batjala *gabai bee, honey* (beside *gaba*, idem) and possibly Kabi-Kabi *wambai*, the name of a place, *Woombye* (Kab CC), if connected with the Batjala verb stem *wamba- lift up*.¹⁶¹

25.4 *Verbal derivation*. No proper causative derivations were recorded; it is significant that the typical causative suffix *-ma-* (cf. 7.5; 15.5) has, in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi, the character of an 'auxiliary' (corresponding to the Goreng-Goreng *-ga-*, *-gi-*; see 15.21 and the Note 95). The causative function may, however, be present in the (originally sociative ?) suffix *-nda-*, as in the Batjala verb *binda-* *send*, if related to Goreng-Goreng *bi-* *go* (hence *make go* ?).¹⁶² Another derivative suffix having an originally sociative sense is *-la-* (cf. 15.6), which in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi is rather *reciprocal*: Batjala *bagila-* *fight* (from *bagi-* *hit*; hence *hit one another*), Batjala *jamjala-* (or *jamjala-*; cf. 24.6) *quarrel* (from the same stem as Goreng-Goreng *jamja-* *quarrel*, *scold*; hence *scold one another*), Kabi-Kabi *jala-* *talk* (cf. Batjala *ja-* *tell*; hence *tell one another*) and finally Batjala *gangila-* *copulate* (construed as transitive), to which may be compared the equivalent Goreng-Goreng *mundila-* (see 15.6). Of reflexive suffixes *-li-* and *-ŋili-* are found, the former evidently the same as in Goreng-Goreng (15.7) and the latter a combination of this and another reflexive derivative suffix, *-ŋi-*, found both in Wakka-Wakka (7.7) and Goreng-Goreng (15.7): Batjala *paŋali-* (probably) *appear* (cf. the verb stem *paŋ(a)-* *see*),¹⁶³ Batjala *wambaŋili-* *hang oneself down* (from *wamba-* *lift*, in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng also *hang*, etc.).

(b) Inflection

25.5 *Declension*. In the nominal inflection special forms exist for the following five cases: nominative, ergative, objective, ablative and locative. The *nominative*, as elsewhere, is the stem of the word. The form of the *ergative* (which always ends in *-u*) depends on the nature of the word stem, whether ending in a vowel, a nasal or *-l* or *-r* (cf. Goreng-Goreng; 15.10); in the case of vowel-ending stems the suffix is *-ru* (rarely *-lu*, as in Wakka-Wakka), of a stem in *-ai* (< **-aj*; cf. 6.3) this diphthong is changed into *-aju*, of stems in a nasal (*-ŋ*, *-m*, *-n*, *-p*) the suffix is the corresponding plosive (*-g-*, *-b-*, *-d-*, *-g-*, respectively) plus the vowel *-u* (for further details, cf. 15.12); of stems ending in *-l* or *-r* the ergative suffix is *-u*. The *objective* (which is formed of personal or animate nouns only; cf. 3.15) was found in the case of stems ending in a nasal or in *-r*, in which cases the suffix appears to be *-a*;¹⁶⁴ of stems ending in a vowel nothing was found (*-ŋa*, *-na*?). The *ablative* of stems ending in a vowel is *-ŋu* (with the usual alternative *-nu*; cf. 7.12; 15.11), while the termination *-ai* is changed into *-aju*; in other cases the ablative suffix seems regularly to be *-u*. The *locative* is in *-ni* (probably also *-ŋi*; cf. Note 165) of stems ending in a vowel; in other cases *-i*.¹⁶⁵ It seems that the ablative is also used as *possessive* (and hence also *dative*) in Batjala: *walbaju* (*walbainu*) *belonging to the child or of the child* (from *walbai* *child*), as in *ŋagu wuŋaji walbainu* *I gave it to the child* (Bat:Wak WC). Two ergative forms in *-bu* were noted: *garulinbu* (from *garulin* *one (person)*; Bat:Wak WC) and *sa·bu* *with a saw* (Bat HM; from English *saw*). An allative in *-ru* was found in odd cases: *bandaru ŋai janmari* *I went to Bundaberg* (*banda*; Bat HM), *Gayndah-ru* *to Gayndah* (Bat HM); otherwise it may occur in relation words (*bararu janman* *goes upward into the sky*—occurring in a song—Kab DC, whether this is supposed to be Kabi-Kabi or Batjala). A single case was noted of a *comitative* in *-gu* (*walbaigu bagan* *comes with a child*; Bat HM). Finally, a *perlative* may possibly occur in the place name *bunara* (Kab FA; if from *buna* *bloodwood tree*).

25.6 *Paradigms*. The paradigms below show typical forms recorded (most are from Batjala informants; Kabi-Kabi informants are indicated by *Kab*). The type words are: (1) gula *koala*, biri *hand*, gu· *tree*, gundu *home, house*, gira *fire*, marabara *Maryborough*; (2) walbai *child* (cf. 25.5); (3) gan *man*, jaraman *horse*, gina *foot*, dagun *home*, gin gin *Gin Gin* (place name); (4) gibir *Aboriginal*, gundir *clever man*, guḡar *nulla-nulla*.

Stems in a plain vowel:

NOM	gula, biri, gu·, gundu, gira, marabara
ERG	gularu, biriru, giraru
ABL	guḡu, gundunu, marabaranu
LOC	marabarani

Stems ending in -ai:

NOM	walbai
ERG	walbaju
ABL	walbaju (walbainu)

Stems ending in a nasal:

NOM	gan, jaraman, ginaḡ, dagun, gin gin
ERG	gandu (also Kab), ginangu (also Kab)
OBJ	jaramana
ABL	gagunu, gin ginu
LOC	ginaḡin (Kab; cf. Note 165), gin gini

An objective form miḡami (Bat HM) for expected miḡama (from miḡam *woman, girl*) is either wrong or due to the tendency mentioned in 24.3.

Stems in -r:

NOM	gibir, gundir, guḡar
ERG	gundiru, guḡaru
OBJ	gibira

The form gawuru (from gawur *urine*; Bat HM) is to be considered as an allative. No articles (cf. 7.15; 15.14) were recorded in the material from Kabi-Kabi and Batjala.

25.7 *Personal pronouns*. Kabi-Kabi and Batjala personal pronouns were recorded for the following persons: (singular) first person: ḡai *I*; second person: ḡin *you*; third person: ḡunda (Kab ḡuna; cf. 6.20) *he, she*; (dual) first person: ḡalam, ḡalin or ḡalira *we*; second person: wulam *you*; third person: bula *they*; (plural) third person: ganabu *they*. As in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng, a special possessive form exists of the personal pronouns. The recorded forms are the following (mostly Batjala, Kabi-Kabi forms being indicated by *Kab*):

First person singular:

NOM	ḡai (also Kab)
ERG	ḡaḡu (also Kab)
OBJ	ḡaḡa (also Kab)
POSS	ḡaḡuḡ(ḡai) (Bat:Wak WC), ḡaḡuḡan (Bat HM)

In the above possessive form it seems that -gai is a postposition (possibly the same as Wakka-Wakka *gari*; see 7.13, 20). The possessive form may be further inflected: ḡaḡuḡu (also ḡaḡuḡu) *to mine* (i.e. *to my place or home*; Bat:Wak WC). A form which looks like a comitative was found in ḡaila *with me* (?), in a song:

jirilgu *ηaila ηulbangan janin the ghost and I walked together to bed* (Bat MW); the form would contain a 'perlative' suffix *-la* (see 7.12; 15.6 and the Note 129) and be equivalent to Goreng-Goreng *ηaiηal* (see 15.16). No dative or local (ablative or locative) forms were noted.

Second person singular:

NOM	<i>ηin</i> (also Kab)
ERG	<i>ηingu</i>
OBJ	<i>ηina</i>
POSS	<i>ηinun(gai), ηinungai</i> (Bat:Wak WC), <i>ηinungan</i> (Bat HM).

For the forms in *-gai*, cf. above; no dative or comitative form was found. For Kabi-Kabi, forms with initial *η-* were also recorded.

Third person singular:

NOM	<i>ηunda</i> (Kab <i>ηuna</i>)
ERG	<i>ηundaru, ηundalu</i>
OBJ	<i>ηundana</i>
POSS	<i>ηundanu</i> (Bat:Wak WC), <i>ηunda, ηuna</i> (Bat HM)

For the shorter possessive forms (*ηunda, ηuna*), compare Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng *ηinda your*, etc. (see 15.16; 18.5).

First person dual:

NOM	<i>ηalam</i> (Bat:Wak WC), <i>ηalin</i> (Bat HM), <i>ηalira</i> (Bat:Dar KR)
POSS	<i>ηalamu</i> (Bat:Wak WC), <i>ηalindu</i> (Bat HM)

The form *ηalindu* (which like *ηalamu, wulamu* and *bulamu*, etc.—for which see below—has the appearance of an original ablative) was used in a dative sense: *ηundaru ηalindu wunman he gives to us* (Bat HM). The compound pronoun *ηalin ηin* (Bat HM) means *you and me* and the alternative *ηalin bula* (Bat HM) *we two*.

Second person dual:

NOM	<i>wulam</i>
OBJ	<i>wulama</i>
POSS	<i>wulamu</i>

Third person dual:

NOM	<i>bula</i>
ERG	<i>bularu</i>
OBJ	<i>bula</i>
POSS	<i>bulamu, bulanu, bulandu</i> (Bat:Wak WC).

Third person plural:

NOM	<i>ganabu</i>
ERG	<i>ganabu, ganaburu</i>
POSS	<i>ganabunu</i>

25.8 *Demonstrative pronouns.* Of demonstratives based on the two stems *ga-* (*here, this*) and *ma-* (*there, that*; cf. 15.18) the following only were recorded: *gai, gara here, garana this, gari here* (also Kab), *garina this, that, mara there, marana that, marami that thing* (Bat:Wak WC), *mari there, marina that*. Examples: *gara pinam (we are) sitting here* (Bat:Wak WC), *gari pina-na-mi I have lived here* (in a song), *ηin mara gari (IMP) nalanu you go into that hole* (Bat:Wak WC), *ηan garina who is that?* (Bat:Wak WC), *garina gabu this boy* (Bat:Wak WC), *bugar garina that hawk* (Bat:Wak WC), *gari bulam pinam (we) two are sitting here* (Kab DC).

25.9 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative *who?* is *ŋan* in Batjala and *ŋandu* in Kabi-Kabi. The impersonal interrogative *what?* is *miŋaŋ* in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi. The declension is as follows:

ŋan who?:

NOM	ŋan (Kab ŋandu)
ERG	ŋandu (Bat HM, Bat:Wak WC), ŋanduru (Bat HM)
OBJ	ŋana
POSS	ŋanungai (Bat:Wak WC), ŋanungap (Bat HM)

(From Willie McKenzie (cf. 1.6) two forms were recorded: *ŋanga who?* and *ŋangari whose?*, of which the latter is Wakka-Wakka.)

miŋaŋ what?:

NOM	miŋaŋ
LOC	miŋaŋin (Kab)
ALL	miŋaŋgu

Batjala *miŋaŋgu* means *why?* and Kabi-Kabi *miŋaŋin* (which looks like a locative; cf. 25.5, Note 165) was rendered by *what for?* A Kabi-Kabi form *miŋaŋan why?* has the appearance of a perlativ (cf. 7.12).

25.10 *Conjugation.* Batjala (and Kabi-Kabi) conjugation has points in common both with the languages of the western Wakka subgroup (Wakka-Wakka, etc.) and the languages of the eastern subgroup (Goreng-Goreng, etc.). Like these languages, Batjala and Kabi-Kabi have verbal stems of various structure: either dissyllabic (or if derived, longer) or monosyllabic, ending—in the former case—either in *-a-* or *-i-*, while in the latter case stems ending in any vowel or in a consonant are possible also. Occasionally a verb has more than one stem, but no regular interchange of stem vowels (as in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng; see 15.20; 18.8); compare Batjala and Kabi-Kabi *pina sit* (imperative, *pinam sitting* (imperfective) and the corresponding Goreng-Goreng forms *ŋina* and *ŋinim*. Unlike Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng, there is no difference in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi between a transitive and intransitive conjugation (cf. 15.20; 18.8). Finally, there are some verbs which show an irregular conjugation.

25.11 Batjala has the four basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) as are found in the other languages studied in this survey (cf. 3.23). As usual, the *imperative* is identical with the verbal stem (except where the latter is monosyllabic and ends in a consonant, in which case an *-a* is added to the stem: *jana go*, from *jan-*); in odd cases the imperative ends in *-ga* (cf. 15.24, Note 144). The *imperfective* is formed in various ways in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi. The usual principle is by means of the same 'thematic element' *-m* as in Goreng-Goreng (see 15.21), added to the stem: Batjala and Kabi-Kabi *pinam sitting* (= Goreng-Goreng *ŋinim*). Corresponding to the alternative conjugation in Goreng-Goreng (by means of the 'auxiliary' *-ga-*, *-gi-*; see *ibid.*) some Batjala verbs are conjugated by the aid of an analogous element, *-ma-* (which consequently may be considered to have the character of an 'auxiliary' verb stem);¹⁶⁶ the Batjala imperfective *janman*, *janman going* would consequently answer (except for the different 'thematic element', *-n*, *-ŋ*, respectively *-m*) to the Goreng-Goreng *jangim* (idem) and, likewise, Batjala *bunman pricking* to Goeng-Goeng *bungim shooting*.

25.12 Batjala as well as Kabi-Kabi informants have given forms with the 'thematic element' *-j (that is as in Wakka-Wakka; 7.28): *bai coming* (Kab DC; = Wakka-Wakka *be*·, idem), *junmai lying down* (Bat EH), *pinai sitting* (Bat EH, Kab DC). Whether these forms (if correct) are with equal right to be considered as Kabi-Kabi and Batjala is not to be determined from the present material.¹⁶⁷ One Batjala informant (Bat HM) had imperfective forms in either -n or -p: *junman* or *junman lying down*, *pinan sitting*, while of the verb stems *jan- go*, *paŋ- see* (extended by the 'auxiliary' element -ma-; see 25.11) the imperfective universally ends in -n or -p: *janman (-p) going*, *paŋnan seeing* (cf. 24.6). For other forms in -n, see in the following section (25.13) and in the Note 169.

25.13 The *perfective* mode is regularly obtained by addition of -i (or -in; cf. Note 165) to the imperfective form (this is evidently the same locative -i(n) as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng; cf. 3.23; 15.21 and Note 165). The most usual termination is therefore -mi (*pinami sat*; cf. *pinam sitting*), but forms in -ji are also found (that is, 'thematic' -j- with locative -i or, in fact, the same as the regular Wakka-Wakka perfective suffix in, for instance, *jangai made*; cf. 6.3; 7.29): *gamaji ate* (Bat:Wak WC; although the imperfective is *gamam*, *gaman* or *gapan*), *paŋaji saw* (beside *paŋani*, the imperfective being *paŋnan*). Otherwise, the verbs that form the imperfective mode in -n (or -p) naturally make the perfective in -ni (-pi): *janmani went*, *paŋani saw* (Bat HM pronounces respectively *janmari*, *paŋari*, according to 6.19, with the Note 61). The *intentional* always ends in -gu, which is added to the plain stem of the verb (*jangu to go*, *pagu to see*) or to the 'thematic element' (which then regularly appears as -n): *pinangu to sit*.¹⁶⁸

25.14 *Paradigms*. The following paradigms show the more important conjugation forms met with in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi; the type verbs are: *ginga- throw*, *gawa- cut*, *gama- eat, drink, take*, *jan- go*, *baga- (ba-) come*, *paŋ- (pa-) see*:

ginga- throw:

IMP	ginga
IPF	gingam (gingan)
PF	gingami (also Kab)
INT	gingangu

gawa- cut:

IMP	gawa
IPF	gawam (gawan, Bat HM, MW)
PF	gawami
INT	gawangu

gama- (gam-) eat, drink, take:

IMP	gama (ga·, Bat:Wak WC, Kab DC; Wakka-Wakka ?)
IPF	gamam (gaman, gapan)
PF	gamaji (-je), gamami (Kab), gamari (Bat HM)
INT	gamgu

The form *gaman took* (*ate*; Kab DC), if correct, seems rather an imperfective. Compare, however, Goeng-Goeng *gemen* (18.10).

jan- go:

- IMP jana (also Kab), janma (Kab; correct ?)
 IPF janman (also Kab), janman
 PF janmani, janmaji, janmari (cf. 25.13), janin, janan¹⁶⁹
 INT jangu

baga- (ba-) come:

- IMP бага, ба· (also Kab)
 IPF bagam (also Kab), багар, баган (Kab), баi (Kab), ба·n
 (Bat:Wak WC, Kab DC; Wakka-Wakka ?)
 PF bagami
 INT bagangu

paŋ- (pa-) see:

- IMP paga, paŋa (pa·, Bat:Wak WC; Wakka-Wakka ?)
 IPF paŋan, paŋan (Bat HM)
 PF paŋani (Bat:Wak WC), paŋari (Bat HM), paŋin¹⁷⁰
 INT pagu

(c) Construction

25.15 Very little is to be said about Batjala and Kabi-Kabi construction. A case of grammatical agreement is found in Batjala ŋingu maŋaru *you* (if addressed to a white person, maŋar *white man*), both the pronoun and the noun appearing in the ergative case form (incidentally, this construction has been noticed by the author in other Aboriginal languages as well). The word order is according to the models shown in 15.25, with the Note 145, in dealing with Goreng-Goreng: Batjala galaŋur ŋai, ŋin *I, you are well* (Bat HM), galaŋur gibir *a good or sound dark man* (Bat HM; this of course also means *the dark man is good or sound*), gam galaŋur *fine head* (or *has a fine head*, etc.).

Batjala and Kabi-Kabi vocabulary

26. The vocabulary is based on Batjala; entries in Kabi-Kabi (or deriving from Kabi-Kabi informants) are indicated by the signature Kab (with or without informant's initials). The arrangement of the material is otherwise as for Wakka-Wakka (12) and Goreng-Goreng (19). The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the following order of symbols: a, b, d, g, e, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, p, o, r, u, w.

B

ba *CONN* then, and then (Bat:Wak WC); janin ba went then (?).

ba-, v. бага-.

baba *N* father (Kab DC, WS).

babaram *N* periwinkle (a mussel; Bat SB, IO).

babu *N* the moon (Bat SB).

babun *N* 1. father (or grandfather; Bat HM); 2. the moon (Bat, Kab); 3. the sun, sky or rainbow (Kab DC).

badi badi *N* young girl (Kab WS).

bagala *N* the name of a language, Batjala (Bat, Kab).

bag- (ba-) *V ITR* (25.14) come; jari ŋin бага (Bat), ba·gari (Kab; properly Wakka-Wakka?) (you) come here, jurum bagam (-ŋ) rain is coming, maḡar bagam a white man coming (Kab FA), gaḡun bagangu wants to come (Bat:Wak WC).

bagi- *V TR* bagi; bagim; bagin hit.

bagila- (bagili-) *V REC* bagilam (-im, Kab) fight; bula bag(i)lim two fighting (Kab DC).

bagimba *N* the name of a place, Bogimbah (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

baguḡar *N* big; guḡ baguḡar a flood (Bat HM).

baji *N* sick (Kab DC).

bajilba, v. бialba.

bala¹ *N* jewfish (Bat, Kab).

bala² *N* semen (Bat HM).

balapu ? *N* old man (Bat EB).

balgal *N* Pulgal creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

balgu or balgun *N* the name of a social section (Bat HM, KR).

balu- *V ITR TR* (?) (IPF) balum (-n, -ŋ); (PF) balumi 1. die; 2. kill (correct ?); gagangu balum very hungry, really hungry ('dying of hunger'; Bat HM, SB), gibir ŋunda balun the dark man (he) is dead (Bat HM), ŋunda, jaraman balumi he, the horse has died or is dead (= Wakka-Wakka bo·ŋi; Bat:Wak WC). -cf. gagangu.

bam (ba·m) *N* egg.

ban *N* grass.

banba *N* self (?); murun banba the man himself (Kab DC).

banda¹ *N* the name of a social section.

banda² *N* Bundaberg; bandaru ŋai janmari I went to Bundaberg (Bat HM).

bandabara *N* (25.2) Bundaberg (Bat SB). -cf. banda².

bandur *N* stomach (Bat MW); bandur dali stomach pain, trouble.

bangi *N* 1. brother-in-law or sister-in-law; 2. term of address ('brother', etc.; also banga ? Kab); 3. sweetheart.

bangi- *V TR* (PF) bangimi hit (to break bunya nuts); biri bangimi hit (the bunya nut) with the hand (Bat HM; cf. 25.1).

bangur *N* the name of a social section.

bapa *N* 1. bunya nut (Bat EH, Kab DC); 2. a devil (correct ? Bat EB).

bara *REL* upward (Kab DC).

bara- *V ITR* (PF) barami 1. be sick; 2. be mad; ŋai giŋaŋin (giŋaŋ) barami my foot is sore (Kab DC, Kab:Wak VL), ŋin barami you are mad (Bat:Wak WC).

-bara *N DER SFX* (25.2).

bararu *REL* upward (Kab DC);
 barabu janman goes upward into
 the sky. —cf. bara.

bara¹ *N* boomerang (Bat EW;
 correct ?). —cf. bargain.

bara² *N* the name of a social
 section.

baram, *v.* gugaram.

bargan *N* *ERG* bargandu boomerang
 (Bat SB, HM, Bat:Wak WC, Kab DC).

bawa- *V* *ITR* bawa; bawam; bawami;
 bawangu stand, stand up; nin
 bawa you stand up, naga nundana
 bawami I stood him up (Bat:Wak
 WC; correct ? probably copying
 English).

bi, *v.* biri.

bia *N* father (Bat SB).

bial ? *N* peewee (Bat FR, IO; the
 base of the place name bialba,
 q.v.).

bialba *N* the name of a place,
 Pialba (explained as meaning
 'peewee'; Bat FR—according to
 Bat SB, bajilba).

biari- (bijari-) *V* *ITR* (IPF)
 biarin call, sing out (Kab DC);
 gai nuna biarin there he is
 singing out.

biabaram *N* 1. black snake;
 2. Beerburum, one of the
 Glasshouse mountains (Kab CC).

biawa (biawar ? bi·wa·, Kab:Wak NK)
N 1. eagle; 2. Beerwah, one of
 the Glasshouse mountains (Kab CC).

bibara *N* paper (Bat HM).

bibi *REL* behind (?); bibi wana
 leave behind (Kab DC).

bigali- *V* *ITR* bigali; bigalin
 run (Bat HM, Bat:Wak WC).

bijaga *N* tobacco (Kab WS).

bilai *N* red oak (Bat:Wak WC).

binan *N* ear (Bat, Kab).

binangara *N* 1. frilled lizard;
 2. the name of a place, Bingera
 (by Bundaberg; Bat SB, EB).

binangulum (-gurum, Bat EH) *N*
 deaf (Bat SB, EB, PR).

binap *N* vulva, cunnus (Bat HM).
 —cf. dimban.

binda- *V* *TR* (IPF) bindan send
 (Bat HM).

binga *N* bread.

bingar *N* bread (Bat PR; probably
 intrusive -r; cf. 10.8). —cf.
 binga.

binga *N* hat.

biral *N* God (Bat SB, KR, Bat:Wak
 WC, Kab WS).

biralugan *N* God (Kab WS). —cf.
 biral.

biri *N* *ERG* biriru hand, finger
 (Bat, Kab); biri gamami took
 (his) hand (to say goodbye; Kab
 DC); in Dunggija the form is bi
 (cf. 16.1).

biribiri(j)a *N* the name of Lake
 Birribeen (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

birun *N* *ABL* birunu (Note 160)
 plain, flat.

blai blai *N* 1. flying fox; 2. the
 name of a place, Bli Bli (Kab CC).
 —cf. giraman.

bua- *V* *TR* (IMP) bua spear (Kab
 DC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka).

buandu *REL* asleep (Bat EH); gan
 buandu a man asleep, nin junma
 buandu you lie down to sleep.

buba- *V* *ITR* (IPF) bubai sleep
 (Kab:Wak DK).

bubigan ? *N* the name of Lake
 Boeminger (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

bugar *N* 1. eaglehawk; 2. aeroplane
 (Bat, Kab).

bugu *N* 1. big; 2. Puthoo creek
 (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

buibara *N* the name of a tribe
 (see 25.2).
 buju *N* shin, leg (Bat, Kab).
 bujuŋan *N* the name of a place,
 Poujuŋan (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
 bujum *N* witchetty grub (a reddish
 grub; Bat SB).
 bula¹ *N* *ERG* bularu two (Bat,
 Kab); maŋar bula two white
 people (Kab DC).
 bula² *PERS PRON* (25.7).
 bula³ *REL* together (Bat HM);
 ŋalin ŋin bula bula ŋin ŋinu
 janmaŋ we two are going together
 from Gin Gin.
 bula⁴ *N* cow, cattle (Bat, Kab).
 bulam *N* two (Kab DC).
 bulamgara *N* two (Kab DC).
 buliman *N* *ERG* bulimandu police-
 man (Bat, Kab).
 bulu *N* stomach (Bat SB, EB).
 buma- *V ITR (PF)* bumami die
 (Kab DC; bumami dead). -cf.
 bumi-.
 bumbir *N* clothes, dress, any
 clothing.
 bumi- *V ITR* bumi; bumim (bumin)
 bumimi; bumingu 1. fall; 2. die
 (Bat, Kab); waga bumi don't fall
 (Kab DC; might be Wakka-Wakka),
 wa ŋin bumi don't you fall
 (Bat:Wak WC), bumin dying or
 dead (Bat SB).
 bunbi *N* dillybag (Bat:Wak WC)
 buna *N* bloodwood tree (Kab FA);
 bunara (25.5) is a place name.
 bun bun *N* 1. a kind of small
 fruit; 2. the name of Bun Bun
 creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
 bundi *N* back (Bat HM). -cf.
 bundur.
 bundur *N* back (Bat KR); bundur
 burip broken back. -cf. bundi.

bunga *N* brother-in-law or sister-
 in-law (Kab DC), mother's son-in-
 law. -cf. banda.
 bunma- *V TR* bunmaŋ; bunmami prick,
 pull, take, (with gam) deflower;
 ŋagu ŋina gam bunmaŋ (Bat HM;
 cf. bunmaŋ pulling up, used by
 Willie McKenzie—see 1.6),
 walbaju ŋagu bunmami I took it
 from the child (Bat:Wak WC).
 burana- *V TR* burana; buranaŋ;
 buranaŋami hear, listen, know
 (Bat, Kab); wa ŋagu buranaŋ I
 don't know (Kab DC).
 buranaŋama- *V TR (IPF)* buranaŋaman
 understand (Bat EH); wa buranaŋaman
 I do not understand. -cf. burana-.
 buram *N* silly (Kab DW).
 buran *N* wind (Kab DC, DW; possibly
 Wakka-Wakka).
 buranba *N* Barambah mission,
 Cherbourg settlement (Kab DC).
 buri *N* fire (Kab CC; possibly
 from Gunggari).
 buri- *V (IPF)* burip break
 (Bat SB). -cf. bundur.
 burumgaŋ (burungaŋ) *N* storm,
 thunder(storm; Bat, Kab).
 buwal (bual) *N* the name of Bowal
 creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
 buwaradi *N* the name of Lake
 Bowarrady (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

D

daba *REL* daba janin go away
 (Bat MW; possibly a verbal form,
 cf. Goreng-Goreng daba- follow ?).
 dagai *N* white man (Bat BM, Kab LD).
 dagaŋ *N* explained as 'Loch Ness
 monster' (Bat:Dar KR, CR).
 dagi *N* 1. stone; 2. knife;
 3. (char)coal (Bat, Kab).

dagil *N* shag (a bird; Bat IO).
 dagilba *N* the name of a place,
 Torquay (between Pialba and
 Urangan; Bat IO).
 dala, *v.* dalar.
 dalar (dala ? Bat EH) *N* hair of
 the head (Bat:Wak WC).
 dalara *N* whiting (a fish; Bat IO).
 dali *N* pain (Bat MW).
 damai damai *N* small (Bat EH).
 -cf. damarai.
 damamaramai *N* small (Bat IO;
 cf. 25.1); guḡ damamaramai
 small water, the name of
 Coondaquarramine creek (Fraser
 Island; Bat IO).
 damarai *N* small (Bat EH). -cf.
 damai.
 dami *REL* on the ground (Kab DC).
 daram *N* the name of a big flat
 (about Gympie) and of a tribe
 and language (Bat IO).
 da·ran, *v.* da·rgan.
 da·rgan (da·ran) *N* white woman
 (Kab DC, WS).
 didilaba *N* the name of a place,
 Didillibah (Bat MW).
 dimban *N* vulva, cunnus (Bat IO).
 -cf. binap.
 dira *N* tooth, teeth (Bat MW).
 dubai (correct ?) *N* eel (Bat EW).
 -cf. duwai (?).
 duḡa- *V ITR (IPF)* duḡai cry
 (Bat EH). -cf. duḡi-.
 duḡi- *V ITR (IMP)* duḡi cry
 (Bat:Wak WC). -cf. duḡa-.
 dungagi *N* the name of a language
 related to Kabi-Kabi and Batjala
 (Kab WS; perhaps correctly
 duḡigi; cf. 12).
 duḡin *REL* quick (Kab DC); ḡin
 duḡin bai you (will) come
 quickly.

duḡinba *N* the name of Tenimbi
 creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
 duḡun *N* stomach, belly (Bat, Kab).
 duḡunmur *N* with child (Bat HM);
 ḡunda duḡunmur she is in the
 family way.
 dulaḡ *N* kind of mud for painting
 white (Bat HM).
 dulin *N* mopoke (bird; Kab DC).
 du·luḡ *N* the name of a place,
 Dulong (Kab CC). -cf. dulaḡ (?).
 dun *N* stone (Bat HM).
 dun daḡur *N* the name of a place,
 Dundonga (Fraser Island, Bat IO).
 -cf. dun.
 dungu *N* bandicoot (Bat EH).
 duwai *N* the name of Towoi creek
 (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

g

ga· *N* earth, dirt, ground, place,
 house, town (Bat, Kab); jana ga·
 gu go to (your) house (Bat MW),
 ḡai janman ga· gu I am going to
 town (Bat SB).
 ga-, *v.* gama-.
 gabil *N* nulla-nulla (Bat HM);
 gabil ḡingu mana get your nulla-
 nulla.
 gaḡa *N* son (Kab DC).
 gaḡagan *N* daughter (Kab DC).
 gaḡu *N* little stick or wood, tree
 (Bat EH, Kab DC).
 gagun *N ABL* gaḡunu home (Bat,
 Kab); gagun gu ḡanungu to my
 home (Bat:Wak WC), janin ba
 gaḡunu went from home (Bat:Wak
 WC; the connective ba used in a
 song).
 ganga *N* mouth, teeth (Bat, Kab);
 ganga baguḡar big mouth (Bat HM),
 ganga waraḡ no good (used of
 persons; Bat HM).

galbu *N* short (Bat:Wak WC).
 gali *REL* today (Bat:Wak WC).
 gam *N* meat (Kab DC; possibly Wakka-Wakka).
 gama- (gam-, ga-) *V TR* (25.14)
 eat, drink, take, catch, pick up,
 hold; guṅ gaman drinking water,
 ṅingu biriru gama you catch it
 with (your) hand, biri gamami
 took (his) hand (Kab DC).
 gan *N* (25.6) man, boy (Bat, Kab);
 gandu bargan janggan the man makes
 or can make (a) boomerang(s).
 ganabu *PERS PRON* (25.7).
 gan gan *N* little boy, pickaninny
 (Bat SB, KR).
 gangari *N* pixie (Bat:Dar KR, ER).
 gangila- *V ASS (IPF)* gangilam
 copulate, have intercourse with;
 ṅagu ṅina gangilam (Bat HM).
 ganin *N ERG* ganindu plough or any
 iron or iron instrument (Bat HM;
 according to Willie McKenzie—
 see 1.6—'flint' or 'steel').
 garan *N* leg (Bat KR).
 garuga *N* trousers.
 garwap *N* the name of a social
 section.
 gawan *N* possum (Kab DW).
 gibap *N* salmon (Bat:Wak WC).
 gingga- *V TR* (25.14) throw, drop
 (Bat, Kab); wa ṅingu gingga
 don't you drop it (Bat:Wak WC),
 dagi ginggami threw stones (Kab
 DC).
 gimana *N* the name of a place,
 Jimna (Kab CC).
 ginaṅ *N ERG* ginangu *LOC* ginaṅin
 foot (Bat, Kab); ginaṅ ṅura
 kick (the foot ? Bat EW), ginangu
 ṅurami kicked with the foot
 (Kab DC).
 gin gin *N ABL* gin ginu; *LOC* gin
 gini the name of a place, Gin
 Gin.

gu· *N ABL* guṅu stick, tree, log,
 wood (Bat, Kab).
 guan *N* Ban Ban Springs (south-east
 of Gayndah) ṅai guan gu janman
 I am going to Ban Ban Springs
 (Bat:Wak WC).
 gugam *N ABL* gugamu without trees
 (Bat:Wak WC); gugam gu birun gu
 to a flat without trees.
 gum *N* smoke, tobacco, smoking;
 gum ṅingu wana you leave (give
 up) smoking, gum gaman smoking.
 gun *N* tail (according to Willie
 McKenzie; see 1.6).
 gungamari *N* porpoise (Kab DW).
 gunuṅ *N* tongue (Kab FA).
 gura *N* camp, home, house; gura gu
 janmari went home, gura
 (correct ?) jinman sleeping
 at home (Bat HM).
 guri *N* bush (Bat:Wak WC).
 guwalban *N* curlew (Bat SB, EB).

G

ga *CONN* ga janman then I am
 going (Bat, Kab).
 gaba *N* small brown native bee or
 its honey.
 gabai *N* yellow bee (Bat HM).
 —cf. gaba.
 gabala *N* black scrub possum
 (Bat SB).
 gabi¹ *N* penis (Bat HM).
 gabi² *REL* no, nothing, don't,
 why? (Kab DC, WS); gabi janma
 don't go (= wa janma, Bat).
 gabi gabi *N* the name of a
 language, Kabi-Kabi.
 gabu *N* boy (Bat:Wak WC); garina
 gabu this (little) boy
 (according to Wak WC, the origin
 of the surname 'Cobbo').

gabul *N* carpet snake (Kab DC).

gabulga *N* Caboolture (north of Brisbane; Bat SB), the meaning being 'carpet snake place'.

gabupa *N* sea mullet (Kab IO, FR).

gagaraba *N* the name of a place, Cutharaba (Kab CC).

gagangu *N* *ERG* ? hungry; gagangu
nai balup I am hungry (Bat HM),
gagangu ngau gaman I am hungry
(and) want to eat (Bat HM).
—cf. gagup.

gagar *N* porcupine (Bat, Kab).

gagi *N* blood, raw (Bat HM). —cf. muraŋ.

gagup *N* *REL* want (Bat:Wak WC);
nunda gagup jangu he wants to
go. —cf. gagangu.

gagur *N* children (Bat KR; the same in Wakka-Wakka B).

gangawa *N* the name of a place, Ungowa (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

gai *DEM PRON* (25.8).

gajam *N* himself (Kab DC; correct ?).

gala *DEM REL* over here (Bat HM);
gala nai janman I am going over
here.

galaŋ *N* well (Kab DC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka). —cf. galaŋur.

galaŋur *N* good, fine, well, all right, nice, tasty, good to eat; galaŋur gibir a good (sound) black man (Bat HM), galaŋur nai I am well, galaŋur nin you are good or thank you (Bat HM), galaŋur nai janmari I am (have been ?) all right (Bat HM), galaŋur wuru pretty girl (Bat EH), galaŋur gam fine head (Bat:Wak WC).

ga·lim *V REL* by oneself, alone, one (Bat EH, Bat:Wak WC). —cf. garulin.

gam *N* 1. head (Bat, Kab); 2. glans penis (Bat HM); gam bagugar big head (Bat:Wak WC) or big glans penis (Bat HM), gam waraŋ bad head, forgetful.

gamŋa- *V TR (IPF)* gamŋan break.

ganaŋ ganaŋ *N* 1. poor fellow; 2. rainbow (Bat EW; correct ?); ganaŋ ganaŋ I must leave you (Bat PR). —cf. ganan.

ganai *N* spear; ganai ngau ginaŋ I am throwing a spear (Bat HM; ganai is also used by Willie McKenzie, see 1.6).

ganan *N* poor fellow (Kab DC);
ganan gurugan poor little black man.

ga·nan *N* mother (Kab DC).

gandir *N* twig (a word used by Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

gandu (ga·ndu) *N* hungry (Bat EH). —cf. gagangu.

gandaŋa *N* the name of a place, Kandang (Kab CC).

gandur *N* child (Bat IO).

gangari *N* a water spirit (Bat HM). —cf. gangari.

gangibal *N* policeman (Bat SB, EB).

gangal *N* 1. penis (Bat HM, IO); 2. the name of a place, Congull (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

ga·ni *N* frilled lizard (Bat EH).

gapa *N* humpy. (Kab DC, CC).

gara *DEM PRON* (25.8).

garaŋa *DEM PRON* (25.8).

garanali- *V ITR (IPF)* garanalin call or sing (of birds; Kab DC).

garara *N* 1. crooked, bent; 2. the name of a mountain (Kab DC).

gari¹ *N* native name of Fraser Island (Bat IO).

gari² *DEM PRON* (25.8).

gari- *V ITR (IMP)* gari enter
(Bat:Wak WC); *ŋin* mara gari
nalanu you go into that hole.

gariŋa¹ *DEM PRON* (25.8).

gariŋa² *REL* inside (Kab DC).

garulim (garulin, garulip) *N ERG*
garulimbu by oneself, alone,
one (Kab, Bat); garulim *pinam*
sitting alone (Kab DC). —cf.
garuna, galim.

garum *N* dingo (Bat:Wak WC; cf.
Goreng-Goreng garum wild, of a
dog).

garuna *N* self, on one's own,
alone, one; *ŋagu*, *ŋin* garuna
I myself, you yourself (Kab DC).
—cf. garulim.

gaurama *REL* far away, a long way
(Bat:Wak WC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka).

gawa- *V TR* (25.14) cut; *ginaŋ ŋagu*
gawaŋ I cut my foot (Bat HM).

gawangan *N* 1. dugong; 2. the name
of a place on Fraser Island
(Bat IO).

gawun *N REL* want (Bat:Wak WC);
ŋai gawun *guŋ gu* I want water,
ŋunda gawun *pinangu*, *ŋagu* he
wants to sit, see. —cf. gagun.

gawur *N ALL* gawuru (25.6) urine;
ŋai janman gawuru (Bat HM),
gawur gawur (Bat IO) I am going
to pass water.

gibar *N* young man (Bat:Wak WC).

gibir *N ERG* gibiru; *OBJ* gibira
Aboriginal, dark man.

gimbi 'N 1. stinging tree or any
stinging thing; 2. Gympie, place
name (Bat SB, Wak WC).

gimbi gimbi *N* 1. stinging nettles;
2. Gympie (Bat IO). —cf. gimbi.

gimi *N* little boy or girl (Kab DW).

gin *N* woman (Bat, Kab).

gin gin *N* the name of a place,
Kin Kin (Kab CC).

giniŋ *N* arm (Kab DC, FA).

gira¹ *N ERG* giraru 1. fire,
light (Bat, Kab); 2. sun (Bat EW).
—cf. wi(ŋ).

gira² *N* mountain (up or high ?
Bat EW).

gira³ *N* hole (Bat EW).

girabi *N* rainbow snake (Bat MW, EW).

giriman *N* flying fox.

giri- *V ITR (IPF)* girim fly
(Kab DC).

girili- *V ITR (IPF)* giriliman
fly (Kab DC).

gu *POST* to, for (cf. 25.5).

guana *N* 1. a wild flower; 2. the
name of Kawana island (Kab CC).

gugar *N ERG* gugaru nulla-nulla.

gugarambaram *N* brother-in-law
(Bat SB).

gugin gugin *N* Coochin, one of the
Glasshouse mountains (Kab CC).

guŋ *N* water (Bat, Kab); *guŋ gu*
(going) for water

guju *N* fish (Bat IO).

gula *N ERG* gularu native bear,
koala (Bat, Kab).

gulam *N* the name of a place (Kab
CC).

gular *N* angry (Bat:Wak WC).

gulman ? *N* small (Bat EW).

gululai *N* 1. cypress pine; the
name of a place, Coolooli (Fraser
Island, Bat IO; cf. Mathew 1910,
pp 189, 232).

-gulum, *v.* binanggulum, milgulum.

gulurua *N* bunya pine (Kab DC).

gumari¹ *N ABL* gumarinu
1. corkwood; 2. native shield
(Kab DW); 3. a place, Goomeri;
gumarinu to Goomeri (Kab DC);
the form gumarela (?) was given
by Willie McKenzie (see 1.6) in
the sense of 'shield'.

gumari² *N* rain (Bat EW).
 gumaru *N* drunk (Bat EW).
 gunan *N* excrement, faeces; gunan
 gu to evacuate bowels.
 gundir *N* *ERG* gundiru witch
 doctor (Bat HM); gundiru galanur
 jangap the doctor made her well.
 gundu *N* *ABL* gundunu house, home
 (Bat, Kab); gundunu at home
 (Bat HM), gundu gu (go) home
 (Kab DW).
 gundun *N* *ABL* gundunu hollow,
 gorge (Bat HM).
 gundur *N* the smallest honey bee
 (Bat:Dar KR).
 guran¹ *N* stone (Bat EW).
 guran² *N* tall (Bat:Wak WC).
 guran³ *N* the name of a place,
 Cooran (Kab CC; cf. guran¹ ?).
 guri *N* dog (Kab CC).
 guri guri *REL* around (Kab DC).
 gurilba *N* the name of a place,
 Kureelpa (Kab CC).
 gurugan *N* black man (Kab DC).
 gurui *N* 1. possum (Bat, Kab);
 2. the name of a place, Cooroy
 (Kab CC).
 gurul *N* fish (Bat SB, KR; also in
 Goreng-Goreng).
 -gurum, *v.* -gulum.
 guruman *N* kangaroo (Bat, Kab).
 guwingan *N* ghost (Bat MW; perhaps
 in another language).

gaban *N* 1. mother; 2. moon (or
 perhaps rather 'sun' ? Bat KR).
 -cf. babun.

gagu *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gai *PERS PRON* (25.7).

galam *PERS PRON* (25.7).

galin, galira *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gamun *N* 1. breast; 2 (any) milk;
 bula gamun cow's milk (Bat HM).

gan *INTERR PRON* (25.9).

gandaiga *N* freshwater mullet;
 gandaiga gu gai janmari I went
 for mullet (Bat HM).

gandu, ganduru *INTERR PRON* (25.9).

gapa *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gara *N* brother, general term of
 address to men among Aborigines
 (Kab DC); gara gai janman
 brother, I am going.

garaja *N* mullet (Bat EH). -cf.
 gandaiga.

garal *N* *REL* ? garal qingu jan
 you asked the wrong person (Bat
 HM).

garawin *N* water (Bat HM); galanur
 garawin good water.

gida gida *REL* flash (Bat:Wak SH);
 gida gida pinami sat flash (on
 a horse).

gil *N* bone (Kab DC).

gimbil *N* the name of a place,
 Imbil (Kab CC).

gin *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gina *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gingu *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gua or guan *N* egg (Kab DC; gua
 is Wakka-Wakka)

gugun *N* good (Bat EW); walbai
 gugun good little boy.

gulbangan *N* ghost (Bat MW).

gunar *N* cloud (Bat:Wak WC; perhaps
 Wakka-Wakka).

gunda (guna) *PERS PRON* (25.7).

gura- *V TR* gura; gurami kick
 (Bat, Kab). -cf. ginaq.

hurun *N* noise or thunder (Bat HM);
hurun bagan a noise, or thunder,
is coming.

hurup *N* emu (Bat HM; possibly
from Gunggari).

J

ja-¹, *v.* jan-.

ja-² *V TR* ja; jam (jan); jami;
jangu ? tell, ask (Bat, Kab);
ningu napa ja you tell me,
nagu nina jan magar I am asking
you (if addressed to a white
person; Bat HM), nandu nina jami
who told you?

jabar *N* corroborree (Kabi-Kabi,
according to Wak JW; also used
in this sense by Willie McKenzie,
see 1.6); Mathew (1910, p. 251)
interprets the fricative -b- as
-w- (hence jawar), whether
correct or not).

jabun *N* sister (Bat EH, Wak WC).

jagai *N REL* ? a word or
exclamation used interjectionally
at finishing a corroborree song
(Bat HM).

janga- *V TR* janga; jangan;
jangami; jangangu make, do,
shake, throw; waga guran janga
don't throw stones (Bat EW),
bagan nugu jangan I (can) make
a boomerang (Bat HM), ganaburu
jangami they made or did it
(Bat:Wak WC).

janmala-, *v.* jamjala-.

jala- *V ASS (PF)* jalami talk
to one another, converse (Kab DC).
-cf. ja-².

jalabara *N* old man (Bat EB).
-cf. julunbara.

jama- *V TR* jama; jamam; jamami;
jamangu get (Bat:Wak WC).

jamba- *V TR (IPF)* jamban put
down (Bat HM); jamban penny (beni)
putting a penny down in a game.

jamjala- (janmala-) *V ASS (IPF)*
jamjalan have a row with
(Bat HM).

jan- (ja-) *V ITR* (25.14) go; nin
jana you go (Bat HM, Kab DC),
nara nai janman brother, I am
going (Kab DC).

janan, *v.* jan-.

jandina *N* the name of a place,
Yandina (Bat EH, Kab CC).

janagan *N* wife or any woman you
can marry (Kab DC).

janin, *v.* jan-.

janmara- *V ITR (IPF)* janmaram,
janmaran go (Bat:Wak WC; cf.,
however, Note 17).

jaran *N* the name of Urang creek
(Fraser Island; Bat IO).

jaraman *N OBJ* jaramana horse
(Bat, Kab).

jaran *N* beard, whiskers.

jari *REL* here (Bat:Wak WC); nin
jari бага or jari nin бага you
come here or inside.

jarip *N* small (? Bat EW).

jau *REL* yes (Kab WS).

jawar, *v.* jabar.

jilipba- (jiripba-?) *V ITR (PF)*
jilipbami cry (Kab DC).

jini *N* 1. a kind of vine or cane;
2. the name of a place, Yidney
rock, lake (Fraser Island;
Bat IO).

jinma- *V ITR* jinma; jinmam
(jinman); jinmami; jinmangu lie
down, sleep. -cf. junma-.

jiram *N* dark woman, girl (Kab DC,
DW). -cf. jirgan.

jirgan *N* woman, (little) girl
(Bat, Kab).
jirilgu *V REL ?* (25.7) to bed, go
to bed(?). -cf. however, 18.3.
julu *N* 1. eel (Bat, Kab); 2. the
name of a place, Eudlo (Kab CC).
julun *N* old man (Bat EB).
julunbara *N* old man (Bat EB).
-cf. jalabara.
junbi *N* loincloth.
junma- *V ITR* junma; junmam (-man,
-man, -mai); junmami used by
Willie McKenzie, see 1.6) lie
down, sleep (Bat, Kab). -cf.
jinma-.
ju·r *N* eel (Kab DC; correct ?).
-cf. julu.
juru *N ERG* jururu string, rope,
fish-line (Bat HM).
jurun *N* 1. rain (Bat, Kab);
2. the name of a place, Eurong
(Fraser Island; so called
because the rain 'always comes
right across from there', Bat
IO); jurun bagam (bagam) rain
is coming. -cf. jurum (Kab).
jurum *N* rain (Kab DC, DW); jurum
bagam rain is coming. -cf.
jurun.

M

mabi *N* small black bee.
magar *N ERG* magaru white man
(Bat, Kab).
magar magar *N* spirit (Bat:Dar KR).
magim *N* 1. a kind of fish or crab
(? Kab CC); 2. the name of a
place, Mujimba (Kab CC).
maguman ? *N* tucker (Kab DC).
mala *N* the name of a place, Park
(Kab CC).
malaru *N* bad person (Bat SB).
malimban (for -mgan, according to
6.18) *N ERG* malimbu wife
(Kab DC; in a song). -cf.
maringan.
mara *DEM PRON* (25.8).
marabara (maribari) *N* (25.6)
Maryborough.
marabin *N* bad (person; Bat SB);
malaru marabin bad person.
-cf. waramin.
maraja *DEM PRON* (25.8).
marami *DEM PRON* (25.8).
margi- *V ITR TR (IPF)* margin
burn, make a fire (Bat HM); gira
margin fire is burning, gadu
gira margin I am making a fire.
mari¹ *N* kangaroo (Bat EH).
mari² *DEM PRON* (25.8).
maribari, v. marabara.
marija *DEM PRON* (25.8).
maringan (mali-) *N* wife (Kab DC;
cf. Mathew 1910, pp. 162-163,
225: mali-). -cf. malimban.
marun *N* sand goanna (Kab DC;
probably Wakka-Wakka).
mi· *N* eye (Bat, Kab). -cf. mil.
mibir *N* turtle (Bat, Kab). -cf.
milbi.
migam *N* dark woman, girl, wife.
migarin *N* the name of a place,
Waddy Point (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
mil *N* eye. -cf. mi·.
milbi *N* 1. turtle (Bat SB, EB, KR);
2. a plant, 'milbi grass', used
to make dillybags (has nice-
smelling yellow flowers, Bat EB).
-cf. mibir.
milgaguin (milguguin) *N* the name
of a place, Millaquin, by
Bundaberg; Bat SB).

milgulum *N* blind (Bat SB, EB).
 milgup *N* blind (Bat:Wak WC).
 miluŋ *N* an evil spirit (Bat:Dar
 KR; cf. Wakka-Wakka me·lon ghost).
 mim *N* fat (Kab DC).
 mipaŋ *INTERR PRON* (25.9)
 mipaŋaŋ mipaŋin *INTERR PRON*
 (25.9).
 mipaŋgu *INTERR PRON* (25.9).
 miri *N* dog.
 muga- *V TR (PF)* mugami put into
 (Bat:Wak WC); gundaru nalanu
 mugami he put it into the hole.
 mugim *N* tomahawk (Bat, Kab).
 mugini *N REL* far away, a long
 way (Bat:Wak WC); ganabu mugini
 those far away.
 mulu *N* black (Bat EH, Wak WC);
 mulu muraŋ black snake (Bat EH).
 mulula *N* 1. red clay; 2. the name
 of a place, Mooloola (Kab CC).
 mulu mulu *N* black (Bat EH, HM).
 mumu *N* posterior, backside.
 mundai mundai *N* pretty (Bat EH).
 mundi *N* 1. posterior, anus; 2. the
 name of a place, Moon Point or
 Moonbi (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
 mupur *N* 1. cattle dung; 2. the
 name of a place, Mundure (Kab DC).
 -mur *N DER SFX* (25.2).
 muraŋ *N* 1. snake; 2. any animal;
 3. meat (Bat, Kab); 4. Rainbow
 Snake (one living in rivers,
 never seen; Kab WS); muraŋ gagi
 raw meat (Bat HM). —cf. gagi.
 murambi *N* box tree (Kab DC; cf.
 Barunggam murambi gum tree).
 muru *N* nose (Bat, Kab); muru
 waraŋ bad nose ('cannot smell';
 Bat HM).

muruguai *N* the red spot on black
 swan's beak (Kab CC; the sup-
 posed origin of the place name
 Maroochidore, the final part
 being -ga ground). —cf. muru.
 murugurai *N* snake (Bat:Wak WC).

N

nalwar ? *N* crab (Bat FR, IO).
 nambar *N* 1. tea-tree; 2. a place
 name, Nambour (Kab CC).
 nandari *N* the name of a mountain
 (Bat, Kab; the origin of
 Ninderry (Beach); Kab CC).
 na·r *N* duck (Bat IO).
 nala *N ABL* nalanu hole.
 naraŋ *N* forest (Bat:Wak WC).
 nig- *V TR (PF)* nigimi rattle;
 bargan nigimi rattled the
 boomerang (forms given by Willie
 McKenzie (see 1.6), which appear
 to be Kabi-Kabi).
 nila *N* brush (?); nila bunmap
 pulling up the brush wood (forms
 given by Willie McKenzie (see
 1.6), which appear to be Kabi-
 Kabi).

ŋ

ŋa-, *v.* ŋaŋ-.
 ŋaŋ- (ŋa-) *V TR* (25.14) see, look
 (Bat, Kab ?); mi· ŋaŋaŋ I (can)
 see (Bat HM).
 ŋaŋali- *V REFL ITR (IPF)* ŋaŋalip
 appear (Bat:Wak WC).
 ŋalbu *N* tribe or language about
 Miva (cf. Note 3).
 ŋin, ŋinda, *v.* ŋin, ŋinda.

pina- *V ITR* pina; pinam (pinap, pinai); pinami; pinangu sit, stop, live (Bat, Kab).

puan *N* dark fellow (Kab DC).

pubandi *N* husband or wife, a couple (Bat EH).

pugin *N* creek (Bat:Wak WC; cf. Mathew 1910, p. 237; nūgan river).

pumba- *V TR (IMP)* pumba show (Bat:Wak WC).

pun *N* brother (Bat:Wak WC).

pundai *N* grandfather (Bat DW).

pungin *N* worm (Kab DC, DW).

W

wa· *REL* no, not, nothing, don't (Bat, Kab); wa· dagi no money (Bat HM), wa· baji not sick (Kab DC). —cf. gabi².

waga *N* dog (Bat, Kab).

wagunba *N* the name of a place, Wathumba creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

waga *REL* no, not, etc. (Bat, Kab; = wa·, gabi²).

waga waga *N* name of a language, Wakka-Wakka (Kab WS).

wagun *N* 1. scrub turkey; 2. fowl, chicken, bird.

wagai *N* carpet snake. —cf. wangai.

wagan *N* fish (Bat EW).

wagari *N* dingo (Bat IO).

wangan *N* woman (cf. 25.2).

waiba *N* the name of Lake Weyba (Kab CC).

waja *N* whiptail (a grey or white wallaby), kangaroo (Bat, Kab).

walai *N* cold (Bat, Kab).

walalbai *N* small (Bat:Wak WC).

walbai *N* (25.6) child, children, baby (Bat, Kab).

walbara *N* boy (Bat EW).

wamba- *V TR* wambam; wambami; wambangu ? lift up (Bat:Wak WC), hang (Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

wambajili- *V REFL* wambajili; wambajilim; wambajilimi; wambajilingu hang oneself (Bat:Wak WC).

wambai *N* the name of a place, Woombye (Kab CC).

wana- *V TR* wana; wanap (wanai?) leave; wana don't (leave it).

wanda- *V ITR* wanda; wandam; wandami; wandangu climb (Bat:Wak WC); nin wanda gunu you climb the tree.

wandalu *N* emu (Kab DC).

wandana *N* a family name (the name of the last Fraser Islander; Bat IO).

wandi *N* dog (Bat BM).

wandi- *V TR (IPF)* wandip gather together (a form used by Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

wanga (wapa) *REL* where? (Bat, Kab); wapa nin janman where (or how) are you going? (greeting; Bat HM), wapa nin bagan where do you come from? (Bat HM).

wangai *N* snake. —cf. wagai.

wangulba *N* the name of a place, Woongoolba (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

wanini gunini *N* small (Bat MW; Batjala ? cf. Goreng-Goreng gunini small).

wapa, *v.* wanga.

wapanin *REL* where (from)? when? (Kab DC, Wak VL).

wapmari (wan-) *N* white woman (Bat, Kab; = Wakka-Wakka wapmeri).

wapu REL from where? (Bat:Wak WC).

waraj N bad, sick, sore, no good
(Bat, Kab); gan waraj bad man
(Bat EH), ginaj waraj a sore
foot (Bat HM).

warambalam N medicine (Bat SB).
-cf. waraj (?).

waramin N bad people (Bat EW).
-cf. marabin.

waru N kangaroo (Bat EW).

warui N goanna (Bat HM).

wi·, v. wiq.

wida N the name of a place
(Kab CC).

wigi- V ITR (IPF) wigim be
afraid (Bat:Wak WC); nai wigim
I am afraid.

wiq (wi·) N fire (Bat, EB, KR).
-cf. gira.

wiluj N the name of a fish
(‘happy moment’? Bat IO).

wingur N large, big (Bat EH).

wipmari N white woman (Bat FR,
IO). -cf. wapmari.

wu-, v. wuj-.

wuba N big, big thing (Bat EW).

wuj- (wun-, wu-) V TR wuga; wunmap;
wunmari (wumajje, wunaji); wugu
give (Bat, Kab ?); naju wunaji
walbainu I gave it to the child
(Bat:Wak WC).

wula- V TR wulan; wulami open,
turn (the ground, as in ploughing;
Bat HM); ga· wulan I will turn
the ground.

wulam PERS PRON (25.7).

wun¹ N the mopeke or the call of
the mopeke (Kab DC); wun
garapalin the mopeke is singing
out.

wun² REL tomorrow (Kab DC); wun
bagam will come tomorrow.

wun-, v. wuj-.

wunba- V TR (IPF) wunban open
(Bat HM).

wunda- V ITR (IPF) wundam climb
(Bat:Wak WC). -cf. wanda-.

wunma- V TR (IPF) wunmai; (INT)
wunmangu 1. break; 2. win
(money; Bat HM); gini jange (?)
wunmai almost broke my arm
shaking hands (Kab DC).

wuru N girl (Bat EH).

wurubinda N the Woorabinda
settlement (Kab DC).

NOTES TO PART I

1. As early as 1910 John Mathew referred to Wakka-Wakka and Kabi-Kabi as *Two Representative Tribes of Queensland* (see the Bibliography at the end of Part III of this survey). F.J. Watson included two more (to be dealt with in Part III of this work) among representative languages of south-eastern Queensland (see the Bibliography).
2. An ingenious remark was however made by one old lady, who in addition to her own language had some knowledge of Batjala also, to the effect that Kabi-Kabi must necessarily be different from Batjala since the Kabi-Kabi use the word gabi (=Kabi) for *no*, while the Batjala say wa'. Incidentally, the word for *eye* is further more typically mi' in Kabi-Kabi and mil in Batjala and *fire* is typically gari in Kabi-Kabi and wi' or win in Batjala.
3. Of the only person met who claimed his mother to have been a Kabi-Kabi and who knew several songs supposedly in that language some doubt seemed to prevail, as another informant maintained that he was a Batjala and still another one that he was a niman (a term not identified, possibly a language or dialect about Blackbutt); in 1964 the term palbu was used in connection with him (possibly the name of a tribe or language about Miva). In any case, his knowledge of the language (often mixed with Wakka-Wakka) was limited.
4. Wakka-Wakka is named for the word waga *no*, *nothing* (according to the principles of naming many of the surrounding languages) and it is typical that owing to the importance of the Wakka-Wakka language this common negative tends to oust corresponding ones in the related languages, also those within the eastern subgroup.
5. This term is used here—instead of 'dialect'—according to the principle that anything that has got a name is a language, other varieties being considered as 'dialects'. Although Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli would be easily understood by any speaker of Wakka-Wakka they are referred to here as 'languages'. On the other hand, the language of three of our Wakka-Wakka informants, which actually had points in common with Wuli-Wuli and was by some informants claimed to be Wuli-Wuli, will be considered as an archaising dialect, or variety, of Wakka-Wakka (referred to as Wakka-Wakka (B), while the main dialects will be called Wakka-Wakka (A)), since the persons in question did not admit of speaking anything but the 'real old Wakka-Wakka'.
6. It is known that a number of Aborigines were at one time evacuated from Dalby and brought to a Mission at Taroom.

7. On page 108 (Mathew 1910) he speaks of 'the Bīdhala, or coast blacks', whatever connection that may have with our Batjala, while on page 225 its Wakka-Wakka equivalent is given as ba'tyala; also compare Patyala (a community on Fraser Island), mentioned on the pages 130 and 146.
8. The name Dunggija was noted down in that form in 1964, but others met with later preferred one of the forms mentioned alternatively.
9. Mr. McKenzie, who has since died, was one of those famous 'polyglots'—some of his friends maintained that he 'spoke' as many as thirteen different Aboriginal languages—; in any case he evidently knew Wakka-Wakka.
10. Since the Aboriginal sounds have much in common with current sounds used in Queensland English, it seems more practical and convenient to describe the Aboriginal sounds through corresponding ones in English than by using the traditional phonetic terms (according to Henry Sweet, Daniel Jones, etc.).
11. Due to the influence of English, e· is sometimes—and all over the area—pronounced like the vowel in (standard) English 'girl', which is considered more elegant (cf. the opposite tendency among Aborigines to pronounce this vowel as e· in English words, e.g. me·gan for 'Murgon', etc.).
12. It is common in Wakka-Wakka *jou yes* and possibly in *jogou to show*, which are barely distinguishable from respectively *jo· he, she* and *jogo show* (imperative). On the other hand, *mau (head)* alternates with *mou, dungau (to cry)* with *dungou* and *jau (they)* with *jou*. Rare cases of an intended pronunciation -ei, -ou in verb forms may possibly have an artificial character.
13. This is the basic r sound in south-east Queensland Aboriginal languages, being the kind of r sound which normally renders English 'r' in long established loan words. However, under the influence of English among bilingual speakers it is occasionally replaced by a voiced continuant.
14. Such a distinction as was universally upheld by Wakka-Wakka speakers, according to which *balá· (jewfish)* was different in sound from *bála (semen)*—with a different stress and vowel quantity—finds no support from further investigation into the matter; besides, a Barunggam informant pronounced *balá·* in the sense of *penis* (for *semen*), so that both words are consequently homophonous (or homonyms).
15. Non-distinction of noun and adjective has obtained in a sense in the Indo-European languages as well, but since the Australian languages do not, for instance, use comparative or superlative forms one of the main morphological criteria for a differentiation disappears.
16. cf. in English such quasi-numerals as 'pair', 'couple', 'dozen', 'score', 'myriad', etc., which of course are genuine nouns and further often convey a vague meaning from the numerical point of view.
17. In the 'corroboree songs' such words may be used as a kind of starting signal and then intercalated between almost every other concrete (i.e. nominal or verbal) form, more or less in the same manner as syllables occur repeated in the songs, either in order to fill out a line or to adapt a word or phrase to the musical notes, as in *gari pina-na-mi (here I have lived)* in a popular song at Cherbourg or in *jara-ra-man* for *jaraman (horse)* in a song made by an informant at Woorabinda; cf. also in 15.1.

18. The Australian languages studied here do not appear to have derivations of the type 'maker' or 'making' (from 'make') or 'shorten' (from 'short'). As a matter of fact, such a word as 'maker' in English (if expressed at all) would be identical with the imperfective or perfective form of 'to make' (cf. in Wakka-Wakka *ma'ngini stole it* or *a thief*). This is due to the fact that any noun may function either as subject or predicate (that is 'man' also means 'is a man') and every verbal stem may be taken in a relative sense (hence the above *mangini* means either *stole* or *(one) who stole*, etc.). If a derivation of the type 'shorten' (cf. above) would occur (cf. 7.5 and the Note 67) it is rather because 'short' would be equivalent to 'be short'.
19. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 5.3-5.
20. Usually it is a matter of different languages or dialects, but cases are found (perhaps owing to dialect mixture) in which both the simple and derived form are used by the same person or group of persons. The common form *gam food* may appear a nominalisation of the equally common verb stem *ga- eat*, but in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala the -m- appears in the verb stem as well (*gama-*). Also cf. 7.1.
21. The difference between the associative and causative is sometimes slight. It would, for instance, be possible to explain 'to bring' in terms of 'to make (something) come' and it is rather certain that the Wakka-Wakka causative suffix -ndi- (in *garindi- put in*; cf. 7.6) is historically the same as the identical associative suffix in Goreng-Goreng.
22. It seems preferable to write nominal compounds in two words as long as the components exist as independent word stems (as in the above island name). If in such a form as *buramba* (see 3.6) the final part means *place*, the latter is never found to occur by itself, but as a common suffix. In some cases consistency is impossible: if *Nunagal gabulga* (*carpetsnake place* and *Caboolture*) represents the true etymology of the place name, it might as well be written as *gabul ga'*, since both morphemes exist as independent words in this language.
23. That is to say that a possessive declension ('my, your, his', etc.) by means of prefixes or suffixes, as in some of the Australian languages (Northern Territory, etc.), is not found.
24. The vocative is always like the nominative. In such cases as Gunggari *jabula father* (nominative) and *jabu father* (vocative) we actually have two different word stems (used in special circumstances).
25. This analysis is, of course, from the English point of view. To the Aboriginal mind there would hardly be any difference between the above sentence and one like 'a spear hit him by (the agency of) the man'.
26. The objective case forms are often used to express a dative relation with such verbs as 'to give', 'to tell', alternatingly with the possessive case forms (see 3.16).
27. This is not considered as a possessive relation in the Aboriginal language: the footprints are supposed to come 'off the man'. The difference between the possessive and the ablative is however many times vague.

28. It is clear that this *gu* (-*gu*) in the Wakka languages is identical with the allative case suffix -*gu* in the Gunggari languages. Owing however to the different construction it will be most appropriate to consider the Wakka-Wakka *gu* as a postposition and the Gunggari -*gu* as a case suffix, the difference between both categories being, however, often vague.
29. cf. English 'child-ren', 'ox-en', 'house-s', 'men', 'women', etc., in which the difference in the plural form is merely formal (or 'allomorphic').
30. In that way the various forms of the article in Wakka-Wakka (-*bam*, -*lam*, -*ram*) would be represented as mere 'allomorphs' (cf. Note 29).
31. Or better: interrogative-indefinite pronouns, since they actually function as both (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 9.15; 1966 b, pp. 22-23; 1971, 7.16).
32. cf. Holmer 1966 b, pp. 20-22.
33. As the locative is often formally the same as the ablative in Wakka-Wakka, the original ablative *ŋiaŋu* may mean either *off me* or *with me*.
34. An exception is perhaps found in Birri, owing to the fact that reduced pronominal elements are so closely joined to, or even incorporated into, modal or aspectual forms as to appear to be personal suffixes. Mostly such reduced forms are easily identified with the original longer forms of the personal pronouns. Their placement within the complex is not always fixed in Birri and occasionally—although more seldom—traces of a similar course of evolution may be found in other languages (e.g. those of the Wakka group), where their occurrence is clearly sporadic. In principle the evolution in Birri is on the same level as in colloquial English 'says-I', 'says-he', etc. rather than analogous to Latin *amo*, *amas*, *amat*.
35. Notice that the differentiation of 'imperfective' and 'perfective' is secondary and that it may happen that the same suffix has the opposite function in two different languages; cf. Gunggari *nagala* (perfective) and Manandjali *pa'la* (imperfective), the latter from the stem *pa'* (= Gunggari *naga-* see).
36. As the verb stem may in itself serve the purpose of a nominal stem (cf. Note 18), the 'nominaliser' is of course not compulsory.
37. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.5, Note 100.
38. This becomes more evident in a spoken context than in cases where the explanation in English of an individual form is solicited or attempted (in lack of appropriate equivalent terms in the latter language).
39. The relationship of this latter form of the verb to the allative form of the noun is clearly seen in such constructions as Wuli-Wuli *gam gu* (or *gam gua*) *janande going for meat*, which is equivalent to *gam ma'ngu (going to get meat*; incidentally, a common variant of this phrase is: *gam gu mangu*, that is (*going for meat, to get it*).
40. cf. Holmer 1971, 8.21-27, where it is termed 'gerundial'. These forms correspond to the constructions with the intentional mode mentioned in 3.24, which are therefore also referred to as 'accidental' forms (e.g. in 7.35 and 15.27).

41. As it has been necessary to incorporate data from various languages (or dialects) in the same vocabulary, the indication of informants will at the same time mark the language the respective forms represent, but it is important to keep in mind—as all languages appearing in the same vocabulary are closely related and often intermixed—that the signature of one language *by no means excludes* the occurrence of the corresponding form in any of the others. It is, in fact, often impossible to draw fixed limits between items of linguistic material gathered from different related languages—no doubt to the disappointment of those who believe in 'lexicostatistics' and 'glottochronology'.
42. This holds for some languages outside the group as well, notably in Nunagal (Stradbroke Island; see in Part III). In the languages of the Gunggari group *e* and *o* evidently occur, but are most often reducible to mere variants of other sounds or sound complexes. In the western, north-western and northern languages of Queensland they hardly seem to occur at all.
43. The sound groups *ai*, *au* in many of the Aboriginal languages studied here further clearly reflect the current Australian English pronunciation of the same diphthongs.
44. cf., however, Wakka-Wakka (A) *gion* (*ladies' dress*; from English 'gown'), to which answers Wakka-Wakka (B) *giaun* (Wak TM); the Wakka-Wakka forms are probably based on an English pronunciation *geun*, understood as a variant of *giaun*.
45. The same relation exists in Darumbal (see Part III) between an imperfective form ending in a consonant (Dal *eating*) and a perfective form ending in a consonant plus *-i* (Dali *ate*).
46. The question is in fact whether all so-called 'phonetic laws' are not in reality mere 'phonetic tendencies'.
47. In Goreng-Goreng the pronunciation *guren* is also common. The same tendency may occur elsewhere; one might compare the Manandjali (or Bandjalang dialect ?) *boren bread* (for *buren*, from English 'bread').
48. Incidentally, another form *njal* is also found in Wakka-Wakka (according to Wak SH); the latter recalls a Wakka-Wakka alternative form *biar* (Wak WC) of the more common *bair* (*mountain*).
49. This latter form shows, of course, that although *ne·* could theoretically be the Goreng-Goreng, etc. *nai* (according to the principle mentioned under (a) above), it still evidently has a different origin.
50. The evolution of *i(j)a* and *u(w)a* to respectively *e·* and *o·* is matched in Queensland English: 'Ian' /ian/ becomes /e·n/ (same value as Aboriginal *e·*), 'sure' /ʃua/ becomes /ʃo·/ (same value as Aboriginal *o·*) and similarly 'cruel' is pronounced /kro·l/ and 'jewel' /go·l/ (same value as Aboriginal *g*). This, which is general all over, is pointed out here whether or not any real connection exists between the evolution in the Aboriginal languages in this part of Queensland and the one in Queensland English.
51. As the same form (*banu*) is found as far north as the languages (or dialects) around Tully, it has the appearance of being an ancient formation (corresponding to the common pidgin English 'belonga') and part of the 'Common Australian' vocabulary.

52. On the other hand, Wakka-Wakka go⁻ (*put into*) seems to represent an original *guwawa- (?); in Wakka-Wakka (B) and Wuli-Wuli this stem is ga⁻wa-, while the one meaning *cut* is gawa-. cf. 10.4.
53. But jani *went* has a short vowel. The stem is ja-, but no monosyllabic forms seem to occur (the imperative, for instance, is jana go).
54. It is less likely that the word in question would continue a primitive *wangajri (with -aj- turning into -e-).
55. This actually happens in Punthamara, where the original ergative suffix *-ndru regularly appears as -andru (e.g. wiandru, from wi *fire*; tinaandru, from tina *foot*, jandraandru, from jandra *stone*), although words (or syllables) do not normally begin with a vowel. It is evidently due to false restitution, starting from inflected forms, such as makurandru *with a stick*, wrongly analysed as makur-andru (perhaps because no word begins with *ndr-).
56. Also cf. Goreng-Goreng -lu, from a transitive formative -l- plus the same intentional -u (instead of -gu, as in the analogous suffix -lgu in the Gunggari languages). As a matter of fact, it is often impossible to make out exactly what is the primitive form of a morphological element of this kind: in Wakka-Wakka guni (from gun *water*) the locative suffix is evidently -i, while in bawarni (from bawar *bush*) it is -ni and in gundunji (from gundu *home*), -nji (or by analogy, -ni).
57. cf. Aranda unta *you* (singular), Birri junda (= jinda), Puntamara jundru (ergative), idem.
58. For original *-j and *-w, see 6.2.
59. As a matter of fact, such combinations are quite common in Australian languages: Bidjara winjin *flying fox*, Barunggam guinḡan *turtle*, gamḡa- *cut, break*; the latter sequence even seems a favorite one: Goreng-Goreng jamḡali- *quarrel*, cf. Manandjali jaḡma- *swear*, which is no doubt primitive. See further in 24.6).
60. The dialectal forms jarange, jerenge (< janange; cf. 6.19) show the original termination -ge.
61. This has been noted also by the author in previous works on Aboriginal languages (Holmer 1966a, pp. 28-29, with the Note 36; 1971, 1.8) and sometimes attributed to the influence of English (cf. 'porridge' from 'pottage' or Irish 'praties' for 'potatoes'). On further thought this theory seems, however, unlikely, considering the widespread occurrence of this evolution in the Australian languages studied by the author and, besides, since clear parallels are found elsewhere (e.g. Celtic). However, whether or not due to English influence the ultimate product of the phonetic evolution is exactly the same as in Queensland English (for instance in 'goodie', pronounced 'gooree' or 'today', pronounced 'tooray', the 'r' being fairly trilled; in Queensland English, however, medial 't' and 'd' only seem involved, but hardly any other medial consonant).
62. The verbal stem is indicated by a hyphen after the final stem vowel (cf. also 12). -Similar cases of identical noun and verb stems are found elsewhere: Barunggam wina ma⁻na (*pelican, fish catcher*) and ma⁻na- (*catch*), Punthamara tina (*foot*) and tina- (*stand*) and (probably) kula *grass* and kula- (*sit*).

63. cf. the Mexican (Aztecan) -c, -co (in *Tehuantepec*, *Xochimilco* and other names of places), which are case suffixes having become part and parcel of the noun.
64. The meaning of *dulaŋ* was not ascertained (cf. *Batjala dulaŋ mud*; see 26), whereas *gurul* is the Goreng-Goreng word for *fish* (hence *to* or *at the place of fish*).
65. From the formally identical stem *ba-* (*come*). Whether the locative suffix (-*ba*) is in fact etymologically connected with the verb stem is of course a problem.
66. For the forms in -*e-*, see 7.28.
67. The latter suffix (-*bama-*) may sometimes be considered as an independent verb (*make*), e.g. *gangur bama- make sick*, but the limit between the two kinds (if any) is of course fluctuant.
68. The same use of an associative form in a causative sense is found elsewhere, for instance in the American Indian languages. The idea is naturally the same as in English 'to go, come with a letter', in the sense of 'carry, bring a letter' (or 'make it go, come'), but in the languages in which associative forms occur the usage is extended so far as to express the transitive 'to graze' (e.g. cattle) by a form meaning literally 'to eat grass with'.
69. The reciprocal sense is found in the verb *bumge- fight* (cf. *bumba- hit* and Goreng-Goreng *begegi- fight*), but the suffix -*ga-* (-*ge-*) is otherwise not found in that sense (cf. 7.8). The Wakka-Wakka *pange seeing one another* (if correct) is by no means clear.
70. The allative is normally expressed either by the ablative form or by a postposition *gu* (*to, for*; cf. 3.17). The possessive and ablative may be expressed alternatively by the postpositions *gari* and *baŋu* (*boŋi*), respectively (cf. 3.16-17).
71. It is usually impossible to reconstruct a unitary form for the different case suffixes. The nominative is always identical with the stem. The ergative, ablative and allative always end in -*u*, but are otherwise different in Wakka-Wakka, while the objective and perlativ (also mostly formally distinguished in Wakka-Wakka) end in -*a*; the locative always ends in -*i*. The possessive contains the syllable -*ri-*, but is not made of all types of nouns.
72. The latter (-*ju*) is more common in Wakka-Wakka (B): *babalu* (Wak SH), *babaju* (Wak TM), from *baba father*. It is possible that -*ju* originally belongs to stems in -*i* or -*e* (*memeju*, Wak WC, from *meme mother*; cf. Holmer 1966 a, 6.13, Note 67; 1971, 3.24), but *memelu* is also found (Wak SH).
73. The ablative would be in -*baŋu* (6.11). Otherwise the postposition *gu* is more commonly used. This postposition either indicates a *place* or is used to express *purpose* (*bala gu to, for jewfish*) as well as always in the construction with *gop(ia) want, wish*; hence *gundu gu (go) home*, *ginda gu to Gayndah*, while *gunduŋu* means either *from, out of the house* (ablative) or *into the house* (allative) or even occasionally *in the house* (for the more proper *gunduŋi*).

74. Since the forms -bom, -bam do not depend on the character of the preceding nasal (there being no *-gam, *-dam or *-gam) and besides their usage is not excluded after other sounds than nasals (as in gundirbom *clever men*, mawibam = mawilam *white people*, Wak TM), it seems that -bom (-bam) represents the more primitive form (perhaps *bu(w)am).
75. The forms bairlom, bairom *mountains* (if correct; cf. 7.15) would then be quite exceptional. Incidentally, they were used (by Wak SH) in speaking of mountains which were supposed to have been *emus* transformed into rock (hence a sort of personification?).
76. The latter is the primary (although less current) form (cf. 6.9).
77. Inflected: (ERG) ɲa·ringu meme *my mother* (Wak JW), (OBJ) ɲa·riɲa gandana *my younger sister* (Wak SH).
78. The strange form ɲaɲu *with me* (correct?) was given by Wak WC.
79. Found in ɲiaɲi bini *behind me* (Wak WC), which suggests attraction of the locative form in the last member (bini *behind*).
80. Inflected (OBJ) ɲingarɲa, but used as nominative also.
81. The strange form ɲinbu was used by Wak PB, RS and some other speaker in the sense of *to you* (that is an allative?), but has no counterpart in the other persons.
82. Inflected (OBJ) juariɲa (Wak TM).
83. In jo·ɲi bini *behind him* (Wak WC; cf. Note 79).
84. In ɲambaɲi bini *behind us two* (Wak WC; cf. Notes 79, 83).
85. This seems a compound of jo·m and bua (*two*); cf. jo·m bujun bujun *they two ... each other* and ɲo·m bujun bujun *you two ... one another* (Wak SH).
86. The latter form (ɲi·) was frequently used by Wak SH and once by Wak WC (who, however, on being questioned about it, denied its existence, saying the right word was ɲai).
87. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 9.1; 1966 b, pp. 20-22; 1971, 7.7).
88. The English *this one did it* is therefore expressed by gana jalu jangai in Wakka-Wakka, that is with the personal pronoun jo· (*he*; it could of course also mean *here he did it*). The form ganana dadu (*this tree*), which looks like an objective form (in -ɲa), can hardly be anything but an uninflected ganana (= gana; cf. manana *there* = mana), especially as dadu, being an inanimate noun, does not admit of an objective form. As for the possessive manari (see Note 91), it is quite analogous to wangari *belonging to where? or whose?*, which latter is normally ɲangari (see 7.27).
89. As in the construction 'want(s) this' (Wak TM).
90. e.g. in managu gon *want(s) that* (Wak TM). Whether a form manana (or marana) can be understood as an objective form is problematic (cf. Note 88). The informant Wak TM admits such constructions as manana ɲindu ɲaje *do you see that person?* mana gari ɲindu gana wa· *give this to that one* (whether or not correct and current).
91. e.g. waga ɲia marari gonia jangau *I do not want to do that* (Wak SH), marariɲ bari mana ganin *that toy belongs to that child* (Wak SH; cf. Note 88), mararin gundu *his or her house* (Wak:Gor RD; perhaps not idiomatic).

92. e.g. *ne gimbem marau gundu I own that house* (Wak WC).
93. The allative *mipangu* (*what for?*) is frequently used in the sense of *wapangu* (*why?*).
94. A 'name' is idiomatically personal (*who?*) in Wakka-Wakka: *nana jorin ne* (*what is his name?*; Wak TM), while a person's 'kind' is 'what?', evidently because one's 'kind' (i.e. 'totem' or 'section', etc.) is one's *meat* (*mipa*) in Aboriginal parlance (cf. 7.26).
95. Although the 'thematic element' (or 'nominalising' suffix, in 3.22) is usually followed by an original postposition or case suffix (cf. *ibid.*), it seems more likely in this particular case to consider the element *-ge* (< **-gaj*; cf. 6.2, 5) as of an 'auxiliary' verb stem *ga-*, *gi-* *to be*, of 'Common Australian' origin (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.16-17; 1971, 8.5, Note 86), so that the Wakka-Wakka suffix in reality coincides with the Goreng-Goreng suffix *-gim*; cf. Wakka-Wakka *jana-n-ge* (*janande*) = Goreng-Goreng *jan-gi-m* *going*.
96. The simple form *janan* is also found, either in the same sense (*going*) or in that of *gone* (perhaps just another way of putting it). The same kind of formation is found in the imperfective mode of *ba-* (*come*): *ba'n* *coming* (used especially in Wakka-Wakka (B) for *be-*; see 7.31).
97. These paradigms may be said to be typical. For a complete collection of verb forms, see the Vocabulary in 12.
98. Neither is there a verb 'to be' in any sense, while the verb *nine-* (*to sit*) or *jia-* (*become*) are frequently used in cases where 'to be' would be appropriate in English: *jo gundir ninenge* *he is a doctor* or *clever man* (Wak WC), *jo waga galan jini* *he was no good* (Wak SH); still there is no word-for-word conformity between the constructions in Wakka-Wakka and English.
99. Hence the verb *mari-* *burn* must be considered as intransitive in *gujum maringe* *fire is burning*, but as transitive in *maripi gujumbu burned* (*himself*) *by the fire* (Wak WC), as the latter is the same in Wakka-Wakka as *the fire burned* (*him*).
100. This assumption is not unreasonable considering the introductory character of the Wakka-Wakka relation word, which further tends to be unstressed (*wupa*, etc. for *wanga*) by analogy with an English *when*, *if*. On the other hand, it must be taken into account that *wanga nindau* (for plain *nindau*; cf. above) would be perfectly acceptable in the sense of *somewhere* (*wanga*) *at or toward sunset* (*nindau*), which of course answers quite well to the English *when the sun sets*.
101. That words which do not denote persons may be considered as 'male' and 'female' in the Australian languages was pointed out in Holmer 1966 a, 5.9, Note 53; 1971, 3.12. In Barunggam one finds *gan gaiwar* *male rainbow* (the one on top when two are seen) and *gin gaiwar* *female rainbow* (the one below); *gaiwar* is of course at the same time the mythological *Rainbow Serpent*.
102. In Wakka-Wakka the corresponding verbs are *nuruma-* (*steal*) and *goro-* (*kick*), the latter possibly from **nura-* (cf. 6.7).
103. e.g. *bulari gam beef*, *bagarin gundu* *someone else's house* (from *baga* *another*).

104. cf. the Wakka-Wakka (A) -bo·m (-bom), which would indicate that the primitive form is *-buam (cf. Note 74).
105. Unless the form in question be an ergative form of the stem *paŋ (= miŋaŋ; cf. 2.9), expressing the cause of the fear.
106. An alternative form bujenge was heard as well.
107. It should be noted that our Barunggam informant was inclined to use Wakka-Wakka forms quite frequently.
108. Forms with o· (jo· *he, she*, etc.) are however found parallel to those with a·, no doubt owing to Wakka-Wakka influence. The change of ua to a· is occasionally reflected in Wakka-Wakka (B) also: ga·wa- *put into*, which is different from gawa- *cut*.
109. The form ja· may be more genuine (cf. 10.4), while jo· is properly Wakka-Wakka.
110. The form niwam (or correctly ŋiwam ? cf. 10.5) is probably the genuine one, ŋo·m being Wakka-Wakka.
111. This is actually the ergative form of the word bulam *two, both*.
112. The latter, which seems to be a Wakka-Wakka form, is used in the sense of *why?*: miŋangu ŋin bai *why have you come?* (Wul LW).
113. The form jange seems to be Wakka-Wakka.
114. The forms ba·nge, be·, pa·je (?), ne· are Wakka-Wakka.
115. That e has phonematic value is confirmed by the test word gumbega *tobacco*, in which e renders English 'a' (which otherwise would have been treated as a variant of i(j)a, so that the word would have become *gumbi(j)aga, as also happens in some of the languages studied). Among the diphthongs, however, ei is equivalent to ai and ou to au (cf. 14.2).
116. This tendency is found sporadically in the western subgroup as well, especially in Wuli-Wuli (cf. 10.7).
117. Unless aji be changed into aje, according to the above tendency (14.3). As a matter of fact, the occurrence of the latter (aje) in Goreng-Goreng is interesting as it shows that an original *aj (becoming ai in Goreng-Goreng and e· in Wakka-Wakka) is distinct from *aji in the initial stages in these languages.
118. The case of Goreng-Goreng gege (= Wuli-Wuli gagar) *porcupine* is difficult to account for, but is paralleled by Goreng-Goreng dende *chest* (= Wakka-Wakka dandar). Other cases of vowel assimilation are occasionally found in Goreng-Goreng. An i may be assimilated to an u in a following syllable, as in jadulugu (*to converse*), jadulugim (*conversing*; stem probably *jaduli-); buralugu (*to pull*) may, however, be differently explained (see 15.24, Note 142).
119. This view is supported by the fact the corresponding nasal (ŋ) does not normally acquire the interdental articulation, as such a sound does not occur in English.
120. Our main informant (Gor RD) recognises the distinction of two different sounds in English, but maintains that they are equivalent in Goreng-Goreng.

121. That is, independent forms ending in a vowel. The same holds for vowel-ending imperatives (bi· *bring, take*), according to the general rule in 2.4. By analogy (cf. 6.14), the long vowel of the imperative may be generalised in other forms (bi·gu *to take*, etc.).
122. In this respect Goreng-Goreng differs from Wakka-Wakka, which has consonant-ending stems as supplementary verb stems only (cf. 7.28).
123. Owing to their structure such combinations as guṇ ge·ri- *pour water* must be considered as compounds, since the verb stem is intransitive and consequently the first member (guṇ) cannot function as direct object (guṇ ge·rigim therefore means *water-pouring* rather than *pouring water*); cf. similar constructions in Goeng Goeng (18.1). In this way are probably to be understood such compound constructions as Goreng-Goreng bina buran̄a- *hear, listen*, Goeng-Goeng mil na- *see, look*, which further recur in practically all languages in south-eastern Queensland.
124. Hence gamṇal *having food* is the regular Goreng-Goreng formation corresponding to the Wakka-Wakka gamṇa (idem, Gor RD).
125. Both word pairs are used in Goreng-Goreng; however, according to Gor RD, the forms in -ṇ are more typical of Wakka-Wakka: hence Goreng-Goreng bina = Wakka-Wakka binan̄ and Goreng-Goreng gina = Wakka-Wakka ginan̄; in the same way Goreng-Goreng gana *liver* corresponds to Wakka-Wakka ganan̄ (idem).
126. Hence the same semantic relation as between Mexican (Aztec) tetl *stone* and totoltetl *egg* (literally *chicken-stone, hen fruit*) or centetl *one (stone)*, used when counting eggs.
127. Possibly answering to Bidjara -lma- (waralma- *make fall*, from wara- *fall*), provided that the passing of *-lm- to -nm- in Goreng-Goreng can be definitely accepted (cf. 15.2, Note 140).
128. That is the Wakka-Wakka bi·ri- (bi·la-, bi·na-); the suffixes -li- and -ri-, which are reflexive or reciprocal in Goreng-Goreng, are seldom found in the associative sense (cf. below).
129. If this is reasonable it might be said that the associative verb stem (derived by -la-, as in wangala = wanga *where?* or in the postposition gula = gu) is identical with a perlocative case form of the noun. Since verb stems are not seldom identical with noun stems (cf. 7.1; 15.2), it is worth while to consider whether verbal (as well as also nominal) derivatives may not occasionally coincide with case forms.
130. In the pronominal declension (see 15.15 sqq.) the morpheme -gi has a special use in Goreng-Goreng, namely to express a dative (cf. 3.14) and as the possessive and dative are identically expressed in these languages (see 3.16) one might alternatively refer to the possessive case by the term *possessive-dative*. However, it seems preferable to retain the same terminology for Goreng-Goreng and Wakka-Wakka.
131. It seems however that the ablative may occasionally serve the purpose of the missing possessive form, as in mun̄u mam *woman's breast* (Gor RD).
132. It should properly be *ṇaiban̄u, but the use of ablative and locative forms is often optional.

133. This is formally a locative, but no example was noted of the locative function (*ŋinbaŋi* means *from* or *off you*; Gor RD).
134. Whether in any other respect they can be made analogous to Wakka-Wakka *mo'*, *malu* (see *ibid.*) is problematic.
135. The rendering in English is according to the preference given in 7.24 (for Wakka-Wakka). In reality, the equivalence to respectively 'this' and 'that' in English is somewhat vague, as seen in the examples quoted below.
136. The personal or individualising forms (ergatives and forms with plural articles) are not necessarily incorrect (they may at best be due to imitation of English). As for the forms with the article, the possibility always pertains of interpreting the latter in its original concrete sense of 'crowd' ('mob'; cf. Note 74), whence *gaŋabam*, for instance, would in reality be the same as **gaŋa buam* *this or that crowd* or *the crowd here or there*.
137. cf. regarding verbal stems in *-a-* and *-i-* in Barunggam (9.10).
138. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.2, Note 94; 1971, 8.1. This alternation of stem vowels may possibly indicate that the original relation between stems in *-a-* and *-i-* is rather one of *aspect* (imperfective, perfective, durative, instantaneous, etc.) than of *transitivity* or *intransitivity* (cf. *ibid.*, 1966 a, Note 94).
139. This element does not correspond or is in any way analogous to the 'thematic element' spoken of in 7.28, although it might possibly be identical with the 'nominalising' *-l-* mentioned in 15.4, which in the Wakka languages at least does not appear as a 'thematic element'; the transitive *-l-* has nothing to do with mode or aspect, while it appears in most or all forms of a transitive verb (or in the transitive conjugation). Of the verb 'to see', although transitive, no *-l-* extension appears anywhere (see 15.24). cf. further Note 140.
140. This may actually depend on a phonetic tendency (or 'law'), as the sequence *-lm-* is not a usual one in Goreng-Goreng; cf. also the causative suffix *-nma-* (< **-lma-*) mentioned in 15.5 and Note 127. As a matter of fact, a single example of *-lm-* was noted and significantly in the perfective form of the transitive verb stem *wa(l)- climb*: *welmen* (Gor RD; used beside *wenmen*, from original **walmin*).
141. Notice that the vowel is short in Goreng-Goreng, while it is long in Wakka-Wakka: *ma'na*. —For imperatives in *-ga*, see in 15.24.
142. The form *jaŋgan* (= *jaŋganmin*; Gor RD) is hardly correct. The forms *buralugu* *to pull out*, *garilugu* *to paint* (instead of **buralu*, **garilu*) may be acceptable, the postposition being put twice (cf. 15.24).
143. The imperative of *wani-* is often used in the sense of *don't* (= *leave it*): *wane ŋin jaŋga* *don't you swear* (Gor RD).
144. The form *jilga*, then, (instead of the plain stem **jil*) would mean *bite then* (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.5). This latter theory is perhaps borne out by such forms as *gaga* (not **galga*) *eat (it)*, since the imperfective form of the verb stem *ga-* is *galgim* (not *gagim*, which means *going*).

145. If anyone is asked how, for instance, 'I am going' is said in Goreng-Goreng, the answer will inevitably be *ŋai jangim* (that is, the English word order) and the same would hold for Batjala (*ŋai janman*), etc. The situation is quite different if we take the case of the popular corroboree song: *ga janma-(ma)ra-n ŋai then I am going*, etc., in which the natural word order (from the Batjala point of view) is kept (the meaningless syllables are intercalated according to a common practice in singing; cf. Note 17).
146. It is not so likely that this use of the intentional is analogous to the English (or Indo-European) one of the type: 'going for fish to catch'. cf. Note 39.
147. Diphthongs others than *ai* are rare; of *ia* and *ua* only one case of each was found: *dian* (*teeth*) and *mua-* (*smell*).
148. Notice that the negative is often *waga* (instead of the proper *goen*), as in several of the Wakka languages.
149. In cases in which an *e* is due to 'broadening' of *i* (in final syllables) it would be possible to count on the particular kind of vowel leveling mentioned in 6.7; hence *gemen* form **gamin*.
150. Notice that a preceding *i* or *u* are not normally affected by an *e* in the last syllable of dissyllabic words; hence Goeng-Goeng *bulen blue eyes*, *jimen bit*, *guren guren* (= *goren goren*, language name).
151. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 5.8; 12.1-5; 1971, 3.18; 8.24).
152. Yet the author has not heard a similar first person dual from nearer than Punthamara (in western Queensland).
153. Two cases of a form in *-nin* (*janganin* for regular *janganmin* or **jangamin*, according to 17.6 ?) may possibly be incorrect; similarly one case of *-i* (*jangai*), as this is the regular Wakka-Wakka form (cf. above, 18.7).
154. cf. Tagalog *mai kuwarta ako I have (got) money* (in Goeng-Goeng this would be *dagilŋa(l) ŋai*) and Tagalog *mai tinapay there is bread* (in Goeng-Goeng *gamŋa* or *gamŋal*).
155. Hence when such forms as *meme* (*mother*) or *me·* (*eye*) are given by our Kabi-Kabi informants, the former must be considered as not belonging to Kabi-Kabi proper (in this case they are evidently Wakka-Wakka). In other cases where informants have used Wakka-Wakka words they have modified the vowel sound: *gunban* for *gunben* (*goanna*), *gagumgan* for *gedum-* (as in Wakka-Wakka; *mother-in-law*). The form of the test word *bi(j)aga tobacco* (cf. 14.2, Note 115) clearly indicates that Kabi-Kabi does not possess the vowel phoneme *e* (*e·*). Similarly *white woman* is *wapmari* in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala (= Wakka-Wakka *wapmeri*) and English *saw* is rendered by *sa·* in Batjala (Bat HM).
156. That this was so as early as John Mathew's days is evidenced by his description of this sound in dealing with Kabi-Kabi (Mathew 1910, p. 199).
157. It is perhaps not insignificant that the informant (Bat EH) claimed that she (or her people) had Stradbroke Island connections.
158. While the sequence *-ŋm-* (as in 'hangman') is not among the most common ones in English, the sequence *-mŋ-* is unpronounceable; one readily concludes from this that what is 'easy' and 'difficult' in language is relative in a very high degree.

159. In this section will be included some points obtained from informants supposed to represent Kabi-Kabi and which are consequently assumed to pertain to Kabi-Kabi morphology (cf. 22).
160. The nominal character of such derivations is borne out by their capacity of inflection: *gugamu birunu on a flat or plain without trees*.
161. cf. the place name Wondai (near Murgon), which is *wandai* in Wakka-Wakka and usually connected by the Aborigines with the Wakka-Wakka (B) and Barunggam verb stem *wanda- climb*.
162. This stem is not found in Batjala or Kabi-Kabi, whereas Batjala has the same extended stem *biga(li)-* as in Goeng-Goeng, in the sense of *run*. Formally the suffix *-nda-* seems related to the Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng associative *-ndi-* (7.6; 15.6). Notice that Goreng-Goreng *bindi-* (*binda-*) also means *send*.
163. cf. the imperative *paŋa* beside *paga* (*see, look*).
164. An alternative suffix *-i* (in *gibiri* from *gibir Aboriginal*, *miŋami* from *miŋam girl, woman*) must either be erroneous or to be explained according to 24.3.
165. It appears alternatively in *-in*, *-ŋin*: Kabi-Kabi *giŋaŋin* (from *giŋan foot*), Batjala *gaiŋin inside* (from a stem *gai-*; also cf. the Kabi-Kabi relation word *miŋaŋin what for?* and further in 25.13).
166. In both Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng verbs are found in which this element appears incorporated into the verb stem: Wakka-Wakka *junma-* (*junme-*), Goreng-Goreng *junma-* (*junmi-*) *lie down* (cf. the Goeng-Goeng intentional *jungu*). In Batjala *junma-* (or *jinma-*) the same element is found incorporated into the verb stem.
167. cf., however, stray forms in *-ai* in Mathew 1910 (*wonai leave*; p. 186).
168. This probably represents a more or less regular evolution of *-m-* before *-g-*; cf. one case of *wambangu* for *wambangu to lift up* (Bat:Wak WC), the 'thematic element' being *-m-*, as in the imperfective *wambam lifting*.
169. The form *janan* (Bat EH; also Kab) may be explained as Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng *janan* (see 7.29; 15.24, with the Note 96); the form *janin* seems analogous to Batjala *paŋin saw* (see below), from the stem *paŋ-*.
170. For the forms in *paŋa-* (< **paŋma-*), see 24.6, with references. The perfective *paŋin*, which was used by Bat HM, MW and PR, corresponds to Wakka-Wakka *pa·ŋi* (7.31).

PART II

THE LANGUAGES OF THE GUNGGARI GROUP

1.1 As in dealing with the languages described in Part I of this survey, we are able to select a particular one as being more important and more representative of the group than the remaining ones (cf. Part I, 1.1). Among the languages described in Part II, the Gunggari language without hardly any doubt plays something of the part Wakka-Wakka plays among those dealt with in Part I (*The Wakka Languages*). There is consequently some reason for referring to the present group of languages as the *Gunggari languages*. While notes were taken of the remnants of languages found nearer to the coast or to Brisbane, mention was often made among the Aborigines of another one, generally referred to as *Gunggari*.¹ It was soon found that a group of languages, closely knit together, extends immediately to the west of those of the Wakka group (see Part I), forming a wide zone between the New South Wales border in the south and the Burdekin river in the north, with a westward extension at least as far as the Warrego river, whence the present author at first intended to name this group the 'Warrego-Burdekin languages', which perhaps might have been justifiable from a purely descriptive point of view.² Our Gunggari (or, if one prefers, Warrego-Burdekin) group consequently corresponds more or less to what is frequently named the *Mari* group of languages (from *maɾi*, a common designation of *Aboriginal man* in most of the languages of the group; however, this term is not used universally within the group described in this part of the survey neither is it restricted to the same group (as *murri* is a common name for *blackfellow* in the English of the Aborigines of south-eastern Queensland)).³

1.2 From an analysis of the morphology of the Gunggari languages, it appears that we may speak of a southern subgroup (comprising Gunggari proper, Bidjara and Marganj) and a northern subgroup (comprising at least Gangulu, Wirri, Birri and Ngawun), the differences being rather marked, so that our main Gunggari informant (Gun TC; see 4.2) claims she does not understand a Birri informant (Birri VA; see 14.3) 'except in part';⁴ for the localisation, etc. of these languages, see further in the subsequent sections (1.3-4). However, the limits between these subgroups are by no means fixed and it is easy to see that here, as elsewhere in Australia (not to speak of Europe or any other part of the world), that morphemes and morpheme categories as well as lexical items tend to converge in proportion to proximity and contacts existing between the speakers of the languages in question.

1.3 By taking into account the places or districts which the individual informants consider as their home country, or the native territory of their parents or grandparents, that is by applying the same principle as in Part I (1.2), it is possible to form an idea of the approximate linguistic area corresponding to any particular language within the group. Within the southern subgroup, for instance, the Gunggari language is particularly associated with such names as Roma or Mitchell, Bidjara with such names as Springsure and Marganj with the Warrego river (cf. further in 4.1; 7.1; 10.1). Within the northern subgroup, Gangulu informants often hail from Springsure, Emerald, Daringa or the Dawson river (the Woorabinda settlement, for instance, is to be considered as within the original Gangulu territory), the Wirri informants available are from Clermont, while Birri is to be localised around Bowen and Mackay or to places inland from these towns. The only informant found for Ngawun was from a place considerably farther westward, namely Cambridge Downs (West of Richmond). Of languages further north, which might be suspected to belong to our Gunggari group, contact was made with one only, namely Gudjal, which appears to be the original Charters Towers language; however, hardly any material of value was secured.⁵ For further details regarding the position of these latter languages, see in the corresponding sections (14.1; 17.1; 20.1 and 23.1).

1.4 While investigation was carried out among Birri-speaking people at Rockhampton, it was hinted that deviating dialects (or languages) were found further north, referred to by the general name dali (i.e. 'Tully'). During a short visit to the latter place, nothing was however found of this: what might reasonably have been meant by the 'Tully' language (or languages) is entirely different from Birri and could probably not be understood at all by a Birri speaker. As these latter languages (or dialects) are not further studied and others to the north, such as the Gugu languages (e.g. Gugu Bujun, Gugu Jalandji, superficially studied by the author on earlier occasions), morphologically fall entirely out of the Gunggari pattern, the northern limit of our Gunggari group has to be considered provisorily as coinciding with that of Gudjal.

PHONETIC NOTES AND LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN PART II

(a) Vowel symbols

2.1 The following symbols are used:

- a, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'cut';⁶
- e, more or less as in English 'bed';
- i, more or less as in English 'sit';
- o, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'got';
- u, more or less as in English 'put'.

Regarding the actualisation of the phonemes i and u, the same remarks hold as made in Part I, 2.2. A raised period (˙) indicates a lengthened sound of the primary vowel phonemes, insofar as it is considered basic:

- a˙, more or less as in English 'father';
- e˙, more or less as in English 'where';
- i˙, more or less as in English 'be';
- o˙, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'call';
- u˙, more or less as in English 'do'.⁷

2.2 Vowel length is not marked in non-initial syllables, even though the vowel sound may be lengthened in word-final open syllables (cf. Part I, 2.4). Vowel-ending monosyllabic concrete words always have a long vowel (which will be so marked), in contradistinction to words which have particle character (cf. Part I, 3.1-3) and will always be represented as with a short vowel sound.

2.3 Normally in the Gunggari languages a word does not begin with a vowel (notice, however, certain forms in Gunggari, mentioned in 5.4). A syllable may begin with a vowel only insofar as we consider such sequences as *ia*, *ua*, *iu*, etc. as dissyllabic (instead of these, however, one often finds the sequences *ija*, *uwa*, *iju*, etc. respectively; cf. Part I, 6.16; 14.9). Such combinations of vowels will be written as heard in each individual case; it is hence of no consequence whether or not we ought to consider, for instance, *ai*, *au* as diphthongs (as one would no doubt in the cases of such English words as 'high', 'how') or not, while in cases of the alternative sequences *aji*, *awu*, etc., we are forced to accept a dissyllabic pronunciation.⁸

(b) Consonant symbols

2.4 The following consonant symbols are used:

- b*, a bilabial plosive or fricative (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- d*, a dental or interdental plosive or fricative (for further details, cf. in 2.6);
- t*, a dental or interdental plosive, occurring after a homorganic nasal (see further in 2.6);
- ɟ*, a palatalised dental plosive (see Part I, 2.7).
- ɖ*, a supradental or slightly retroflex plosive;
- g*, a palatal or velar plosive (see Part I, 2.7).
- m*, a bilabial nasal (like English 'm');
- n*, a dental or alveolar nasal
- ɲ*, a palatalised nasal (like the Spanish ñ);
- ɳ*, a supradental nasal (see 18.4);
- ŋ*, a palatal or velar nasal like English 'ng' in 'sing' or 'song';
- l*, a voiced alveolar or lateral continuant (cf. Note 9);
- r*, a soft alveolar trill or continuant (like the Italian *r* or the weak Spanish *r*, or *ere*);⁹
- ɽ*, a retroflex sound varying between *r*, *l* and *d* (cf. below, 2.5);
- j*, a palatal semivowel (like 'y' in English 'yes');
- w*, a bilabial semivowel (like 'w' in English 'water').

2.5 The languages of the Gunggari group differ from those of the Wakka group (See Part I of this survey) in having basic supradental or retroflex phonemes (*ɖ* and *ɽ*). Of these *ɖ* is comparatively rare and it seems that in some words this plosive is not clearly distinguished from, or may take the place of, either *ɽ* or *r*. In Gangulu (B), for instance, the verbal stem *wuɖe- fall* has been heard in this way from one informant (Gan KW; see 14.3), but as *wure-* from another (Gan CA) — unfortunately, however, neither of them had a very clear articulation of the Aboriginal sounds. Some bilingual speakers, do not, of course, distinguish well between *ɽ* and *r*, either, usually substituting a plain English 'r' sound (cf. the remarks in Note 9).

2.6 Practically all of the languages within the Gunggari group distinguish between an alveolar and a dental (or interdental) plosive after the nasal *n*, whence we have chosen a special symbol, *t*, to mark the dental-interdental sound. This peculiarity, which has not been found in the Wakka languages, is connected with the particular articulation of plosives in the Gunggari languages and particularly with that of *d*. Normally, the Gunggari plosives are of the 'devoiced' type in the word-initial position or after a nasal (where, however, they may be slightly more voiced; cf. Part I, 2.8), while after other consonantal phonemes and further especially in the intervocalic position they tend to become fricatives. As for *d*, this sound is best described as dental in the word-initial position and as interdental (and further typically fricative) in the intervocalic position, while after *n* and *l* it approaches the alveolar articulation (*n* and *d* in this way becoming homorganic).¹⁰ The phoneme *t*, on the other hand, occurring only after the nasal *n*, is clearly dental or interdental, with a tendency to become a voiceless fricative (that is as in English 'thing').¹¹ Although in this particular case the nasal is undoubtedly dental-interdental (both components of the sequence becoming homorganic), it will be marked by the simple use of *n* (as also in the homorganic sequence *-ng-*, in which the nasal is probably palatalised; cf. Part I, 15.12 and elsewhere). Although in this way such words may be distinguished as Ngawun *manda head* (plosive alveolar) and *manta food* (plosive interdental), many informants do not seem to differentiate between the two forms of articulation (the word *manta food*, which is normal in Gunggari, is not seldom heard as *manda*, whether to be considered as dialectal or due to imperfect articulation).

2.7 In any other sense, a basic alveolar plosive (such as 'd', 't' in English) has not been found in the languages of this group. It is typical, for instance, that the English word *potato* is rendered either as *budaïda* (dental-interdental *d*) or *buđaiḍa* (supradental-retroflex *ḍ*) in Gunggari, while English *cattle* is rendered by *giaḍal* (Gun TC). As *ḍ* is never found as word-initial in these languages, an initial English 'd' naturally sounds like Gunggari *d* among the natives (in loanwords or in the English as spoken by the Aborigines).

2.8 As for the dental-interdental phoneme *d*, it seems to hold for all Gunggari languages studied here that it becomes more or less palatalised in front of the vowel *i* and most probably coincides with the *ɟ* phoneme in this position, whether occurring initially or medially. In any case, we shall regularly write *d* in front of *i*, whether the sound is heard as dental (*d*) or palatalised dental (*ɟ*). The same seems to hold for the corresponding nasal (*n*), which alone is written before *i* (hence Gunggari *ɲani what?*, not **ɲapi*, although this pronunciation may occur alternatively).

2.9 The matter is entirely different in the case of the dental alveolar *d* occurring after *n* (according to 2.6). This plosive never assumes the palatalised pronunciation, so that the sequence *-nd-* is normally clearly differentiated from the sequence *-ng-* (e.g. Gunggari *bandi pine tree* and *bangi sweetheart*).¹² In the same way the sequence *-nt-* is always dental-interdental before *i*, as in Gunggari *danti*, Bidjara *nanti ground, earth* (never **dangi*, **nangi*, although both *dandi* and *nandi*—with alveolar *d*—have been recorded).

2.10 The occurrence of the individual consonant phonemes in the Gunggari languages is largely regulated by their position in the word unit. In all Gunggari languages the following consonant phonemes may occur word-initially: b, d, (ɟ), g, m, n, (ŋ), ɲ, j and w. Except as variants of d, respectively n, the sounds of ɟ and ŋ rarely occur initially (cf. 13 and 26). This probably holds for any syllable-initial position as well, with the exception that ɟ is quite common after the nasal n (cf. 2.6). In the word-final (or syllable-final) position the following consonant phonemes are found: m, n, ŋ, ɲ, l, r and ɾ. Whether or not j and w occur (or have once occurred) in this position also, we shall prefer to represent them as diphthongal elements (hence by writing respectively i and u). Finally, in the intervocalic position, all consonant phonemes are permissible. Consonant clusters arise through combination of a word-ending (or syllable-ending) phoneme with a following syllable-initial phoneme (cf. Part I, 6.18). In the separate languages within the group, several abnormal clusters may be met with (cf. 5.6; 15.7; 21.3), probably originally due to the elision of an intermediate vowel.

2.11 Word or syllable stress is not significant in any of the languages studied here. The spoken context runs smooth without emphasis of any syllable unless in cases of long vowels (or diphthongs), besides not very frequent in the Gunggari languages. As usual, in a spoken context or sequence of syllables, however, the second initial syllable often carries mechanically more stress than the others (cf. in Part I, 2.9), which explains the origin of such shortened forms as ge· (Gun EA) for jingia *where?*; this tendency is frequently reflected in the current pronunciation of place names of several syllables, derived from Aboriginal words, in Queensland: Barálba, Mundúbbera etc. In consequence of the above remarks, the separation of words or flectional elements (that is lexical or morphological units) must be made chiefly on the basis of etymology and must, in some cases, be arbitrary (for instance in cases where we write 'case suffixes' in one with the concrete word to which they are added, but leave 'postpositions' and 'connectives' as independent words (or 'particles'; cf. Part I, 3.3).

ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Languages

3.1 The following abbreviations of language names are used in Part II:

Bid	Bidjara	Mar	Marganj
Bir	Birri	Nga	Ngawun
Gan	Gangulu	Wir	Wirri
Gun	Gunggari		

For Gan (A) and Gan (B), that is Gangulu (A) and (B), see further in 14.2.

(b) Morphological terms

3.2 The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used in Part II:

ABL	ablative	N	noun or nominal
ACC	accidental	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	OBJ	objective
ART	article	PERS	person or personal
ASS	associative	PF	perfective
CAR	caritative	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
COM	comitative	POST	postposition
DEM	demonstrative	PRON	pronoun or pronominal
DER	derivative	REC	reciprocal
DUR	durative	REFL	reflexive
ERG	ergative	REL	relation word
IMM	imminent	SFX	suffix
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INTERR	interrogative	SOC	sociative
IPF	imperfective	TR	transitive
ITR	intransitive	V	verb or verbal
LOC	locative		

(c) Informants

3.3 Reference to informants is made by the above abbreviations of language names (3.1), followed by the initials of the person who by speaking or knowing it represents that language, e.g. *Gun TC*, the Gunggari informant Mrs. Tottie Carbine—for the names and data about the various speakers or informants, see under the respective languages in the subsequent phonological and morphological sketches (4.2; 7.2; 10.2, etc.). — For further details, see in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.

GUNGGARI

Introductory remarks

4.1 Gunggari is by far the most important language within the group we have chosen to call the *Gunggari languages* (cf. 1.1). This language, which is usually referred to as the 'Roma language' by the Aborigines in south-east Queensland, probably has had a wide extension immediately to the west of the area occupied by the Wakka languages (see Part I, 1.1.6). One of the informants for Wakka-Wakka (Wak PB; see Part I, 4.3) considered Gunggari as belonging to the following places or areas: Roma, Mitchell, Charleville, the Maranoa river, extending as far as Springsure, Rolleston and Injune. Our chief informant for Gunggari (Gun TC; see 4.2) says her language was spoken at Roma, Mitchell, Taroom, Surat, Charleville and Cunnamulla and a Gangulu informant (Gan MM) includes Barcaldine, that is a place considerably to the north-west of those mentioned. It has been remarked before (1.1) that Gunggari may be considered as a kind of lingua franca in areas to the west of that of the Wakka languages and speakers of languages to the south, such as Manandjali and Jualrai (see in Part III, 8.1 sqq.; 12.1 sqq.), usually have some acquaintance with and knowledge of what they understand to be Gunggari. Our main Wirri informant (Wir AM; see 17.2) maintained that she herself was a 'Gunggari' and that Gunggari was in fact the same as Wirri.¹³ As for dialectal differences, nothing very definite can be said. It is, however, reasonable to assume that such differences should exist within the large area of Gunggari speakers. Our main informant (Gun TC)

mentions two names of languages, which she holds to be akin to her own, namely one referred to as *guamu* and another one, *muruwari*. Of these the former would be spoken about Cunnamulla, while the latter was located on the Culgoa river and possibly extending into New South Wales. These two variants were said to be 'almost the same' and regarding *guamu* Gun TC pointed out that it retained a clearly pronounced initial *g-* (which in her own Gunggari strongly tends to disappear; cf. 5.7), so that corresponding to her own *amu* *Guamu* would have *gamu* (*water*), for *ugu* *Guamu* would have *gugu* (*here*) and for *urgan* (*long*), *unilgu* (*to kill*), *aimbaran* (*little*) *Guamu* would have respectively *gurgan*, *gunilgu*, *gaimbaran*, etc. For Gunggari *wunana* (*lying down, staying*) *Guamu* would however have quite a different word, *wugulina* (*-rina*).¹⁴ A more realistic difference might be perceived in the speech of our two main informants (Gun TC and Gun EA), of whom the former would represent the Roma area (cf., however, Note 14) and the latter an area to the south-west (Bendana, Fernlee, Coomburra); the differences are, however, slight (Gun TC uses, for instance, the word *gurup* for *emu*, while Gun EA prefers *gulbari*, and further *guringal* for *peewee*, where Gun EA has *guringa*; differences such as Gun TC *dilamu*, Gun EA *dilambu galah* are however of no consequence, as being mere instances of the pronunciation *-m-* for *-mb-*, which is quite common and universal (see 5.8).

List of informants

4.2 Reference to informants for Gunggari is made by the following abbreviations, being the initials of the persons preceded by the letters *Gun* (for Gunggari). In the case of more than one informant for the same language the language signature is not repeated (e.g. Gun TC, EA, etc.). Compare further in 3.4 and in Part I, 4.3, Note 41).

- Gun BT*: Mr. Bill Tobane, at Maryborough; his father and uncle were from Roma, while his mother was Wakka-Wakka.
- Gun EA*: Mrs. Effie Armstrong, at Woorabinda, born at Bendena or at Coomburra; her father (from Fernlee station) and mother (from Bendena) were both Gunggari.
- Gun ES*: Mrs. Eileen South, at Murgon.
- Gun GD*: Mr. George Daisy, at Cherbourg, from Mitchell (he also mentions Wyandra, which is far more to the west, and a Clifton station).
- Gun LM*: Mrs. Liza Malone (died at Kingaroy a couple of years ago), born at Roma.
- Gun NM*: Mr. Niney McDonald, at West Ipswich, from St. George (his father was white).
- Gun PH*: Mrs. Phyllis Hall, at North Toowoomba, sister of Gun BT.
- Gun QL*: Mrs. Queenie Long, at Josephville (south of Beaudesert), born and raised at Roma and St. George; she had learned the Beaudesert language (Manandjali; see Part III) and sometimes mixed both languages.
- Gun TB*: Mrs. Tilly Bond (née Roberts), at Sandy Creek, Clermont, from Mitchell way (but she also mentions Bendena and Clifton).

Gun TC: Mrs. Tottie Carbine, née Cubby, first met on the Woorabinda settlement and later at Comet, born at Angledool (New South Wales); since her father was a Jualrai from Lightning Ridge (New South Wales) and her mother a Muruwari from Goodooga (N.S.W.), she must have learned Gunggari (a language in which she was fluent and most proficient) from her husband or while living at St. George.

Phonology

5.1 In a general way, the phonetic system of the Gunggari languages differs from that of the Wakka languages on three main points: (1) the vowel system is almost universally of the 'triangular' type, that is the vowel phonemes are reduced to the basic a, i and u, which are primarily short (or of normal length), long forms (a·, i·, u·) arising secondarily by contraction of basic vowels (for a deviating system in Gangulu (B), see 15.2); (2) all Gunggari languages studied here make a distinction of dental-alveolar and supradental-retroflex plosives and continuants; and (3) interdental plosives (which are sounds found in both linguistic groups) are variants of the dental-alveolar sounds in the Gunggari languages, while in the Wakka languages they occur as variants of those of the palatalised dental series (in the former languages interdental sounds may alternate with palatalised dentals before the vowel i only; cf. 2.8). In other respects, such as the actualisation of the plosives (which are throughout of the 'devoiced' type; cf. 2.6), the Gunggari and Wakka languages follow the same principles; for an exceptional occurrence of an interdental t in the former group of languages, see in 2.6.

Evolution of the vowel system

5.2 As indicated in the preceding section (5.1), Gunggari possesses the three basic vowel sounds denoted by a, i, u, which are normally short (or of medium length), long forms (a·, i·, u·) occurring occasionally as contraction products.¹⁵ The lengthened sounds of e (e·) and o (o·) may occur as variants of aja, a(j)i, i(j)a and u(w)a, respectively,¹⁶ e.g. ŋe· for ŋaja I, binde for bindaja sit (Gun LM), gumbē for gumbaja give (Gun TC), gunimeŋa for gunimiana fighting, ge'mbaŋa for gaimbaŋa little (Gun EA), wagan(d)e for wagan(d)i ja run (Gun EA), ŋalgamee for ŋalgamiaja talk to each other (Gun TC), -be for -bai (= -bari, sociative suffix), ŋanigora for ŋanigu gara why, I wonder? (Gun TC), etc. Other long vowels occur by contraction of identical basic vowel sounds, as in: bu· (bu·ŋga) (in the) nose (Gun TC), gu· face (Gun TC; cf. guwu in Breen 1973, p. 205) or else in loanwords: gi· key (Gun TC); the sounds of i· and u· are often broadened (resembling respectively e· and o·), especially in contact with g, as in: ge·ŋu (for gi·ŋu) with the key, go· (for gu·) face (cf. above). English speech habits are responsible for such abnormal articulations as bangou for bangu money (cf. 2.1, Note 7), jaŋ ge·l young girl (Gun EA; this might have been turned into *gi(j)a according to Note 16); notice the identification of the English vowel sound in 'bird', etc. with the sound of e· among English-speaking Aborigines (cf. Part I, 17.4). Vowels may appear lengthened inorganically in certain surroundings, as for instance before a homorganic nasal consonant cluster, in such words as: gandu (ga·ndu) child, jilangu (jila·ŋgu) here, mirandu (mira·ndu) down (Gun TC), etc. Vowel length is further not marked in non-initial syllables.

5.3 The quality of the vowel sounds *a* and *u* are often modified by contact with a palatalised sound or the semivowel *j*, the former turning into *e* (which is not a basic phoneme in Gunggari) and the latter into *i*: *jerɓap* for *jaɓap spirit, sacred* (Gun TC), *jinuna* beside *jununa you* (Gun TC), *jilangu* beside *julangu here* (Gun TC), *jimba-* beside *jumba- hear*, etc.

5.4 Words do not normally begin with a vowel in the Gunggari languages. Vowel-initial forms arise, however, secondarily. In the first place the sequences *ji-* and *wu-* are almost normally actualised as respectively *i-* and *u-*: *jinda you* mostly sounds like *inda*, *wuna- lie down*, like *una-*, etc., a circumstance which occasionally may present a difficulty in analysing the forms, considering that initial *g-* also is often entirely suppressed in Gunggari (cf. 5.7). In this latter case, however, the problem is in some measure facilitated by the tendency in the vowel *u* to become slightly broadened (approaching or turning into an *o*; cf. above, 5.2), as in the words: *gudu* (> *odu*) *hard, steady*, *guru* (> *oru*) *all*, *gubil* (> *obil*, *obel*) *blue-tongue lizard*, *gundu* (> *ondu*) *away*, *gunilgu* (> *onilgu*) *to kill*, etc. (mostly from Gun TC). As for initial *a-*, several pronominal forms have been recorded in which this vowel seems to be basic (that is, not alternating with any consonant-initial form), namely the demonstrative stems *aba-* and *abu-* (*that, there*). Various explanations of this occurrence are possible: one might think that they originally began with a *g-* (an isolated *gabangu over there* was actually recorded from Gun LM), but that the frequent occurrence of forms of the demonstrative pronoun in which *g-* would tend to disappear (see 5.7) had caused a universal ousting of other variants; another explanation would be that the vowel-initial forms have arisen in *sandhi*, for instance in cases such as *gundi jabana that house* (> *gundi abana*, Gun TC), *gundi jabagu* (> *gundi abagu*, Gun TC; cf. 5.5), that is from the parallel and equivalent demonstrative stem *jaba-*.

5.5 In this connection it is necessary to mention sequences of the type *a(j)i*, *i(j)a*, *a(w)u*, *u(w)a*, etc., in which the pronunciations with and without the intervocalic semivowel alternate (cf. Part I, 6.16) and in which it is often not possible to decide whether the semivowel is primitive or not. In a case such as *gaimbaɓan little*, for instance, it is reasonable to think that this form is a variant of a primitive *gajimbaɓan*, seeing that a parallel (and probably more primitive) form *gajumbaɓan* exists (Gun TC), which would have passed to *gajimbaɓan* according to the tendency dealt with in 5.3. In a case such as *mandui shoes, footgear* we seem, however, to be at a loss, as both *manduji* and *manduwi*, along with still another *manduri*, have been noted. We must thus adhere to the principle of writing the forms exactly as heard in each individual case.

Evolution of the consonant system

5.6 The following consonant phonemes are basic in Gunggari: (bilabial) *b*, *m*; (dental-interdental) *t*; (dental-alveolar) *d*, *n*; (palatalised dental) *ɟ*, *ɲ*; (supradental-retroflex) *ɖ*, *ɽ*; (palatal or velar) *g*, *ŋ*; further the continuants *l* and *r* (for which see Note 9) and the semivowels (palatal) *j* and (bilabial) *w*. For their occurrence according to position within a word unit, the following is important: words may begin with any of the above consonant sounds, except *t*, *ɖ*, *l*, *r* and *ɽ*. The phonemes *ɟ* and *ɲ* are, however, rare or exceptional in the initial position (mostly occurring in loanwords: *ɟaral salt*, *ɟuaringa Duaringa*,

a place name), except as variants of respectively *d* and *n* before an *i* (see 2.8).¹⁷ In the syllable-initial (though not word-initial) position *t* (only after *n*) and *g* are permitted and common. In the word-final (or syllable-final) position the following consonant phonemes only are allowed: *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, *l*, *r* and *ɾ* (for *j* and *w*, cf. 2.10).¹⁸ By combination of a syllable-final phoneme with a following syllable-initial phoneme consonant clusters (not exceeding a sequence of two phonemes) arise; any consonant clusters of another type indicate either a loan-word or some kind of special or secondary evolution (for instance the loss of an intervenient vowel); a word of this type is *manrau* (*a kind of*) *wild duck* (Gun TC, EA).¹⁹

5.7 Initial plosives are 'devoiced' (for the term see Part I, 2.8); after nasals, *b*, *d*, *g* and *g* tend to be slightly more voiced. In the intervocalic position, *b*, *d* and *g* are articulated either as initially (possibly less voiced and somewhat lengthened) or else as fricative sounds (that is as in Spanish). It should be noticed that *g* has a particularly weak articulation and is often entirely suppressed, even initially: *amu* for *gamu water*, etc. (cf. 5.4). The behaviour of the dental-alveolar *d* is especially interesting: (cf. Note 10): when fricative the basis of articulation is interdental, while after *n* and *l* it is rather alveolar (while a dental-interdental plosive after *n* is represented by *t*; cf. 2.6). Before *i*, the dental or interdental sound is frequently palatalised and hence coincides with that of *g* (*dibip* or *gibip little bird*) and we are therefore justified in representing either form of articulation by simply writing *di*; the alveolar variety (that is in the position after *n*—of *l* no example is recorded) is however not affected by any noticeable palatalisation, whence we have to differentiate between the sequence *-ndi-* (alveolar) and *-ngi-* (palatalised; cf. 2.9 and Note 12).²⁰ Of the sequence *-nti-* (dental-interdental) no perceptible variant shade is noticed (as in *bunti posterior*, Gun TC). The same holds for the dental-alveolar nasal (*n*) as for the corresponding plosive (*d*), namely that it may be palatalised before *i* and hence indistinguishable from *ɲ* in this position (where we consequently write *n*).²¹

5.8 Consonant clusters consisting of a plosive preceded by a homorganic nasal (hence *-mb-*, *-nd-*, *-ng-* and *-ŋg-*) may not seldom lose the plosive element: *bamu-* for *bambu- open* (Gun TC), *dilamu* (Gun TC) for *dilambu* (Gun EA) *galah*, *duŋunu* for *duŋundu off the head* (Gun TC), *gudalaŋu* for *gudalangu the eagle hawk* (Gun TC), *bagana* for *baganga on the tree* (Gun TC), *dulgarana* for *dulgaranga on the log* (Gun TC) and several other cases of *-ŋu-*, *-ŋa-* for ergative, respectively locative, *-ŋgu-*, *-ŋga-*; further *gunari* for *gungari Gunggari* (Gun LM).

5.9 Of the passing of any intervocalic consonant into *-r-* (cf. Part I, 6.19), an example is found in *wagalgu* for *wagalgu du must climb also* (Gun TC). Undoubtedly such forms with a secondary *-r-* may become standard (cf. Holmer 1966a, 3.2). If this be granted, of the alternative forms *gara* and *gala* (*perhaps, I wonder*, etc.; Gun EA), the former may rather be secondary, provided that both forms represent variants of the same primitive word. In this connection something must be said about 'alternation' of sounds, a term much misused in linguistics since its very beginning.²² In the Australian languages one finds ever so often cases of duplicate forms of the type *Gunggari bunda- ~ bunta- pick up, lift, take*, etc. (Gun TC), *manda* and *manta food*, *ŋaŋgu* and *ŋargu kangaroo*, *maŋa-* and *maŋa- get* (cf. *Bidjara ŋunduru* and *ŋunturu who?*) or further *Gunggari maŋa* and *Birri mala hand*, *Gunggari* and *Bidjara waga-* and *Gangulu (B) jaga- climb*. Certainly, in some cases these 'alternations' are due to the

difficulty among bilingual speakers to manage the Aboriginal *r* sounds and possibly also the not too common combination -nt- (comparatively rare in English also), but in many cases it is just a matter of formally different words, having assumed an identical or similar meaning (cf. Holmer 1966a, 5.16; Capell 1962:14, 84). Alternation of sounds do of course exist in many languages (a typical instances is found in the Indo-European apophony, as still reflected in English 'drink', 'drank', 'drunk', etc.), but to justify the term alternation a *system* must be involved. When considering Australian duplicate forms of the type Kattang giwan, Thangatti gitap, Bandjalang gibam *moon*, it is probably too often forgotten that English 'head' (Anglo-Saxon *héafod*) is *by no means* a modification of a primitive form underlying the Latin *caput*. A certain formal similarity exists between Gunggari bigan *the Native Rule or Law* and migap *good, right, proper*, yet in spite of the similarity in sense these words are no doubt historically unconnected.

5.10 While in the Aboriginal languages *r* and *ɾ* represent different phonemes, more or less similar sounds in English have rather a dialectal than distinctive character. Hence among our bilingual Aborigines in south-eastern Queensland, a certain confusion of both Aboriginal sounds may take place, under the influence of English. The phoneme *r* is quite often replaced by an English 'r' sound, which may resemble the Aboriginal *ɾ*.²³ On the other hand, the true retroflex pronunciation of *ɾ* is often modified into something else, such as (apart from the common Australian English 'r' or the Aboriginal *r*) a sound recalling -lr- (-ldr-) or -ld-, e.g. marli for maɾi *Aboriginal man* (Gun NM), daɳald (daɳuld ?) for daɳur *possum* (Gun NM). On the other hand, for some reason Gun TC uses initial ŋ- in place of n- in some words (which cannot, of course, be attributed to the influence of English): ŋaga- for naga- *see*, ŋula for nula *he, she* and so also in ŋuman *skin* (cf. Bidjara and Gangulu (B) numan, idem) and ŋaɾi *name* (cf. Gangulu (B) and Birri nari, idem).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

6.1 *Structure.* The concrete word stem in Gunggari is normally and primitively dissyllabic (or longer, particularly if derived); monosyllabic stems (regularly with a long vowel) are either loanwords or due to contraction (cf. 5.2). Nominal stems may end either in a vowel or a consonant, while verbal stems (if underived practically always dissyllabic) end in one of the vowels -a-, -i-, -u- only, e.g. binda- *sit*, bindi- *rain*, banbu- *fall*. Longer stems (especially verb stems) are usually derived; in many nominal stems the character of the termination cannot be defined. For derivations by means of the short elements -ŋ, -n, -m, -l, etc. (cf. Part I, 3.6), see in a following section (6.7). Some stems (e.g. bigiri- *dream*) may occur as either nominal (bigiringga *in a dream*) or verbal (bigiriŋa *dreaming*).

6.2 *Compound stems.* Both nominal and verbal stems may be combined into semantic units (cf. English 'seashore', 'seafront'; in Gunggari we usually write the component elements of nominal compounds separately insofar as they are also found to exist independently). Nominal compounds hence are of the same type as in English: ŋurup gabup *emu egg*. For the construction of compounds, see further in 6.40. Verbal compounds are always written in one, since the

first component is normally the stem, which usually does not occur as an independent verbal form in Gunggari.²⁴ This type of compound hardly exists in English ('lend-lease'?): *ḡalgadana- stand talking*, *ḡalgabinda- sit talking*, *bulgubinda- sit smoking*, *bulgudana- stand smoking*, *waḡidana- think (stand thinking)*; ²⁵ instead of these it is also possible to say: *ḡalgana bindana (talking sitting)*, etc. (see 6.45), that is by two inflected words. Finally, there are cases of a noun stem being combined with a verbal stem in such a way as to form a logical compound: *maḡa jimba- hear* (literally *ear-hear*), *maḡa jabuḡi- forget*; we write these as two words since the component elements (*maḡa*, *jimba-*, etc.) occur as independent words (cf. above), but logically these constructions are compounds, as otherwise one would expect an ergative or other case form of the nominal part (answering to English 'hear with your ears' or the like). These kinds of constructions are very common in the Aboriginal languages studied (cf. Part I, 18.1).

6.3 Reduplication. As elsewhere, reduplicated nominal stems are common in Gunggari. The meaning and function of these varies greatly and is sometimes not to be determined. Often a diminutive sense is expressed, as in: *maḡi maḡi boy* (cf. *maḡi man*), *gambi gambi girl* (cf. *gambi woman*), but other times the meaning is different or contrary: *wamba wamba really mad* (as against *wamba a bit silly*; Gun TC), *baḡa baḡa many*, also *grown-up* (Gun TC). Reduplication often occurs in the case of colour names or words having adjectival character: *gudi gudi red*, *guda guda white*, *gubuḡ gubuḡ black*, *baḡuḡ baḡuḡ crooked*, *murga murga clever* (Gun TB), *waḡi waḡi mad* (Gun LM). It is common in animal names: *dini dini* or *diri diri wagtail*, *duli duli mopoke*, *mangi mangi sheep, lamb*, *gubaḡ gubaḡ black crow* (Gun TB), *dambal dambal snakes or grubs*, *dambun dambun (a kind of) beetle* (Gun TC). In other cases the function is not clear; *madan madan prickles of the porcupine* (Gun TC), *nalga nalga cow's horns* (Gun TC), *buḡal buḡal echo* (Gun TC), *mila mila poor, beggar*, *mir mir mates* (Gun TC; from English 'mate', cf. 5.6, Note 18), *bari bari crybaby* (the verbal stem *bari- cry* must be taken nominally, **bari crying*; cf. 6.1), *guru guru all, altogether*, *jaḡaḡa jaḡaḡa many* (Gun TC).

6.4 Nominal derivation. By nominal derivation we mean the providing of a nominal word stem with a suffixed element, the derived form keeping its nominal character (cf. Part I, 3.6-7). Among the most common derivative suffixes we find the sociative *-bari (-bai)*, corresponding to English *having* and the corresponding caritative *-garba not having or without*. Examples: *gamubari full of water* (*gamu*) or *drunk*, *dilibari having eyes* (*dili*), that is *being able to see*, *dalabari having leaves*, *dungubari having a head or hair* (Gun LM), *mungabari having hair* (of a dog; Gun LM), *wuḡibai having a stick (in his hand)*, *ḡanabari bearded*, *junabari hollow (having a hole, juna)*, *gandubari having a child or children*, *ḡindinbari having a cold* (Gun TC), *jilabari in a hurry* (Gun TC); *gamuḡarba dry, without water* (*gamu*), *juḡigarba without meat* (*juḡi*), *mantagarba without bread* (*manta*).²⁶ The sociative *-bari (-bai)* may function in the way of a postposition in such cases as: *mantabari (eat something) with bread* (Gun TC), *nula gurbala jabuilabai he came with his father* (Gun TC), *gura ganana juḡibari has come back with meat* (Gun TC), *guḡuḡubari (the flies) are buzzing (with a buzzing noise)*; Gun TC); compare in Part I, 7.4. A very special use of *-bari* is found in: *ḡaḡu maḡabari* (literally *with my ear*), which expresses English *my poor ear!* (Gun TC) and similarly *ḡaḡu gandubari my poor child!* (Gun TC), which latter is to be distinguished from *ḡaja gandubari I have a child* (Gun TC). The analysis of *gurganbari* (Gun TC) *tall or long* is not quite clear.

6.5 The feminine suffix *-gan* is found in *ma'migan old woman* (Gun TC, EA), *wadigan* (also *wadin*) *white woman* (Gun LM, QL, TC); the meaning is, however, different in *gabugan hat* (Gun TC; another derivation of the same stem *gabu-* is *gabundi hat*, Gun TC). While the common local suffix in the Wakka languages (*-ba*; cf. Part I 7.3) is not represented in Gunggari, another termination having suffixal character exists, which may vaguely express locality, namely the element *-ra*, often in local words such as: *bandara sky* (if indicating something like *above-place* ? cf. *banda sky*, Gun GD), *balbara (on the) river bank*, *gawara gully* (Gun TC) and perhaps in the same way *budara ashes* (cf. *Bidjara buda buda white*) and *dulgara log* (if indicating a *place to sit on*); it is significant that these may also express the locative relation without a locative suffix (cf. *balbara*, above; so also *Bidjara*, *Wirri*, etc. *bandara in the sky*).

6.6 In words expressing relationship a suffix *-(i)la*, which seems an exponent of a dual relation, or relation between two, occurs, that is of words which (in the Australian languages) are relative and hardly exist except in conjunction with a corresponding term (e.g. 'father' in relation to 'son', etc.).²⁷ The following are Gunggari examples: *jabula father* (Gun QL), *jañaila mother* (Gun QL), *dabunila brother* (Gun TC; cf. *Wirri dabu*, idem). When a relation between two is not present to the mind, the word in its basic forms is used, for instance in a vocative sense: *jabu father*, *jaña mother* (Gun QL). We refer to this suffix as a 'dual-comitative' (cf. 6.43); that this suffix has derivational (and not flectional) character is evident from the fact that it can take an additional derivative suffix: *jabuilabari having his father with him, with his father*

6.7 Of the non-functional suffixed consonant elements referred to (in Part I, 3.6; 7.1) as 'nominalising', the following are noted in Gunggari: *ŋ*, *-l*, *-m*, *-n* and *-p*. Examples: *dinaŋ* (Gun NM) beside *dina* (Gun LM) *foot*, *gunaŋ excrement* (cf. *Bidjara guna*, idem), *gundaŋ night, dark* (cf. *Bidjara gunda*, idem), *widiŋ sore* (cf. *Birri widi*, idem), *gurul codfish* (Gun EA) beside *guru*, idem (Gun TC), *guringal* (Gun TC) beside *guringa* (Gun EA) *peewee*, *ŋamun cow's dugs* beside *ŋamu breast* (both from Gun TC), *maŋin* beside *maŋi Aboriginal man*, *wadin white woman* (cf. the stem *wadi-* in *wadigan*, idem),²⁸ *gamun soup or broth* (Gun TC), which seems related to *gamu water*. An instance of three alternative forms is found in *ŋura* (Gun LM), *ŋuran* (Gun GD, BT, TC) and *ŋuram* (Gun QL) *dog*. The element *-l* may be described as nominalising in the relation word *gambilguraŋ round about*, as *gambi-* *turn* is a verbal stem and *-guraŋ* a postposition, whence *-l* would be expected to answer to English *-ing* in the construction *by turning round* or some similar phrase. On the other hand, *-p* is usually a modal element in the conjugation system (see 6.34); Gunggari *junap empty* would therefore rather express the idea of *being hollow* (although from a nominal stem *juna hole*).

6.8 *Verbal derivation.* The four types of verbal derivation as described in Part I, 3.8-11 (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are all found in Gunggari. Causative derivation is in the first place by means of the suffixes *-ma-* and *-lma-*: *baŋama- do* (from *baŋa- come about*), *wulama- put out fire* (from *wula- die, go out*), *wailima- roll* (transitive; from *waili- roll*, intransitive), *badama- make (the fish) bite, catch* (from *bada- bite*), *galama- frighten* (cf. *galali- get frightened*), *banbuma- fell* (from *banbu- fall*), *nagama- show* (from *naga- see*), *wunama- lay down, put to sleep* (from *wuna- lie down*), *bindama- let sit down* (from *binda- sit*), *danama- stand (something) up* (from *dana- stand*), *ŋaŋima- to name* (from *ŋaŋi- name*), *bulguma- make a mouse hole* or

store (food) (from *bulgu mouse hole* ; Gun TC), *junama- make a hole* (from *juna hole*), *wambama- make mad* (from *wamba mad*), *gubama- burn* (transitive; cf. *gubanda-*, idem, intransitive); *gambilma- turn (something) round* (from *gambi-turn round*, intransitive), *junalma- empty* (from *juna hole*, hence *make a hole*; cf. *junap empty*), *baɽalma- make* (cf. above), *jimbalma- let hear* (from *jimba-hear*), *nagalma- let see, show* (cf. above), *ɽubilma- startle* (transitive; cf. *ɽubi-*, idem intransitive) — as is seen, the derivation is often from nouns or nominal words. It is likely that the original sense of these suffixes (-ma- and -lma-) is associative (cf. 6.9) or expressing a prepositional relation in English (as in 'withstand', transitive, from 'stand', intransitive, originally 'stand against'). Such is rather the case in the following Gunggari verbs: *ɽalgama- talk with or to* (cf. *ɽalga- talk*), *bindama- sit with or nurse (a child)* (cf. above), *waɽilma- think about* (cf. *waɽi- think*), *waɽama- go away from (one without telling)* (from *waɽa- go*), *wulama- die on* (to use an Irish idiom, that is in the sense of *bereave* or *leave destitute* and hence quite different from the causative *to kill*; Gun TC), *gadima- tell a lie to, cheat* (from *gadi- lie*), *bagama- bite for (one)* (when fishing; from *bag-a- = bada-*, cf. above), *gunima- fight (with)* (from *guni- hit*, Gun TC; usually *to fight* is *gunimia-*, cf. 6.11); sometimes the difference in meaning between the basic and derived verb is slight or none: *warama- play* (perhaps *play with* ? cf. *wara-*, idem), *bambulma- open* (cf. *bambu-*, *bamu-*, idem), *biguma- throw, push over* (cf. *bigu- throw*), *waduma- put on, cook, make* (cf. *wadu-*, idem). There are examples of the causative suffix (-ma-) being added to a shorter form of the basic verb stem, as in *danma- put* (if related to *dana- stand*; cf. *danama-*, above).

6.9 The associative derivation expresses verbal action in conjunction with another or simply the idea of 'acting with' (cf. some of the examples in 6.8). The typical derivative suffix is -ndi-, as in: *wagandi- run away with* (cf. *wagali-*, *wagani- run*), *bigundi- throw with* (practically the same as *bigu-*; cf. the early English construction *throw with a spear* etc.). The meaning is sometimes the same as in the simple verb: *wagandi-* (= *wagali-*, *wagani- run*).

6.10 Reflexive derivation is by means of the suffix -li-: *nagali- look at oneself* (from *naga- see, look*), *gundali- shave (oneself)* (from *gunda- cut*), *gambili- change (into)* (*change oneself*; from *gambi- change, turn*), *galali- get scared* (*scare oneself*; cf. *galama-*, in 6.8), *gurgali- paint oneself* (the simple verb not recorded). The sense is sometimes indirect reflexive, in that it expresses the idea of *doing with* or *for one's own* or *oneself*, as in: *gunili- kill one's own* (not *oneself*, Gun TC; from *guni- hit, kill*), *dagali- put on one's own (clothes)* or *dress* (the simple verb not recorded), *danguli- take off one's (clothes)* (cf. *dangulma- take off*), *gumbali- give (to one's own), feed* (from *gumba- give*), *banbali- throw one's own* (from *banba- hit*), *magali- tie (a knot) for oneself* (from *maga- tie (a knot)*). Sometimes the meaning expressed by -li- seems merely intransitive (cf. the difference between English 'eat' = 'have a meal' and 'eat something or it'): *jugali- eat* (intransitive; from *juga-*, idem, transitive), *ɽalgali- talk* (from *ɽalga- say*), *bangali- sing* (intransitive; from *banda- sing*, transitive), *gangali- low (of cattle)* (cf. *Wakka-Wakka ganga- call*; see Part I, 12), but many times the suffix does not seem to change the meaning at all: *buɽali- fly* (from *buɽa-*, idem), *gambili- turn round* (from *gambi-*, idem), *dungali- run (over)* (a simple verb stem not recorded), *waɽali- walk about* (from *waɽa- walk*), *gurbali- come* (from *gurba-*, idem), *banbuli- fall* (from *banbu-*, idem), *dumbali- boil over* (from *dumba- jump*), *wagali- run* (cf. *wagani-*, *wagandi-*, idem), *mandali- walk about* (from *manda- walk*).²⁹

The difference between *tell* in: *ṇaguna gulba tell me* and *ṇaguna gulbalila told me* (both Gun TC) does not appear, neither is the function of *-li-* clear in *nagali- look like* (from *naga- see*).

6.11 The *reciprocal* suffix in Gunggari is *-mia-* (with one informant, Gun LM, *-mi-*, as in Bidjara, see 9.11); these suffixes express the idea of *each other* or *one another*: *gunimia-* or *gundimia-* *fight* (cf. *guni-* *hit*, hence *hit each other*), *nagamia-* *look at one another* (from *naga- see, look*), *bigumia-* *fight* (from *bigu-* *throw*, hence *throw each other*), *ṇalgamia-* *talk to each other*, *digamia-* *have a row* (the simple verb not recorded; cf. Birri, Wirri *diga-* *rouse* or *startle*), *nagami-* *look at one another* (cf. above; Gun LM), (maṇa) *jimbami-* *listen to one another* (from *jimba-* *hear*; Gun LM). A derivation of *-mia-* (*-miara-* or *-miari-*) is also used in the reciprocal sense: *gunimiara-* or *gunimiari-* *fight* (Gun TC); it is possible that the element *-ra-* is the same as the Birri and Wirri reciprocal suffix *-ra-* (see 19.8; 22.9).

6.12 Other verbal derivative suffixes occur, but are difficult to associate with any particular shade of meaning. The suffix *-ni-* is intransitive in: *wagani-* *run* (*waga-* usually means *climb*; also cf. Bidjara *wagani-* *run*), *wambani-* *be silly* (from *wamba silly*). In the same way seem to be used *-ndi-* (cf. 6.9) and *-nda-*: *wagandi-* *run*, *wambandi-* *go mad* (cf. above; it is possible that these suffixes are identical in their origin, cf. 5.8), *gubanda-* *burn (of the fire)* (intransitive; cf. *gubama-* *burn*, transitive, in 6.8). The intransitive suffix *-ṛi-* is found in *gambiṛi-* *turn round* (Gun TC) and in *gabiṛi-* *get hungry* (cf. *gabinu hungry*, which itself probably represents a verbal form; cf. 6.34); the meaning seems inchoative or denoting a change of state. Whether the termination *-giri* (usually not inflected), as in *gunigiri kill all* (Gun TC), is to be considered as a verbal derivative suffix or a flectional element in the conjugation (see 6.35) remains unsettled.

(b) Inflection

6.13 *Declension*. Compared to the Wakka languages (see Part I), the system of case inflection is on the whole less evolved in the Gunggari languages, which on the other hand make more use of postpositions (see 6.19; 9.18, etc.). In Gunggari the following case forms are regularly made: nominative (or stem of the word), ergative, ablative, locative and allative. Forms looking like possessive forms occur, but seem somewhat doubtful; of ablative forms very few are recorded in this material. The basic case forms are made up in the following way: the *nominative* is the stem of the nominal word, whether ending in a vowel or a consonant. The *ergative* always ends in *-u* (which can normally not be preceded by a nasal); the *ablative* (of vowel-ending words) ends in *-ndu*, the *locative* in *-a* (normally not preceded by a nasal) and the *allative* (of all words) ends in *-gu*.³⁰ The particular form of the case suffixes depends on the structure of the word stem, whether ending in a vowel, a nasal or one of the consonant sounds *-l*, *-r* or *-ṛ* (cf. Part I, 7.11-12). Of vowel-ending stems the ergative ends in *-ṇgu*, of stems ending in a nasal the ergative *-u* is preceded by a plosive of the same category as the nasal, whereby homorganic groups arise (written respectively: *-ṇgu*, *-ndu*, *-mbu*, *-ṇgu*, including the stem-final nasal),³¹ while of stems ending in *-l*, *-r* or *-ṛ* the ergative suffix is simply *-u*, yet with an intercalation of *-d-* after *-l-* (yielding an ergative form in *-ldu*). The *ablative* (which is recorded of vowel-ending stems only) is always formed by

the suffix -ndu; of nouns ending in a consonant the ablative is expressed by a postposition (*mundu from*; see 6.19). The locative of vowel-ending stems is in -nga and of stems ending in a nasal the suffix is -a preceded by a homorganic plosive (cf. the ergative, above); of other stems no instance of a locative is recorded, but the allative (cf. below) may be used instead, especially in designations of places. Finally, the allative is formed (of nouns of all types) by addition of the suffix -gu.

6.14 Some special remarks have to be made in connection with the structure of the case forms. First of all, since according to 5.8 homorganic consonant clusters may be simplified by losing the plosive element we occasionally get ergative forms in -ngu, ablatives in -nu and locative forms in -nga: *gi'ngu (for gi'nggu) (open) with a key* (*gi'*, from English; Gun TC), *gandunu (for gandungu) the child* (ergative; Gun TC), *dungunu (for dungundu) off the head* (Gun TC), *bagana (for baganga) on a tree* (Gun LM), *diliṅa (for diliṅga) in (my) eye* (Gun EA), *maṛaṅa on or in (my) hand* (Gun EA), *dulgaṛaṅa (for dulgaṛanga) on the log* (Gun TC), *nandiṅa (for nandinga) (rolling) on the ground* (Gun TC), *gubaṛuṅa (for gubaṛunga) in the stump* (Gun TC).³² A couple of possessive forms in -ngu have been recorded from Gun LM: *maṛiṅu dungu man's head* (*maṛiṅu the man's* is accepted by Gun TC), *ṅuraṅu dog's (head, etc.)*, that is with the same suffix as in the personal pronouns (*nuṅu his, her, etc.*). This possessive suffix occurs in some northern languages in the declension of the nouns as well, but as it is very sparingly recorded in the southern languages, it might possibly be due an error on part of the informants (cf. the following section: 6.15).

6.15 On the other hand, possessive case relation is expressed in different ways. Instead of a special possessive form a compound may be used of the type: *ṅurup gabun emu egg* (see 6.2; = *egg of an emu*); similarly *jamba ṅaṛi the name of the settlement* (Gun TC). The allative case form (in the sense of *for*) is also used: *ṅuramgu ṅagu dog's bone* (or *a bone for the dog*; Gun TC), *gandugu ṅamap the child's food* (Gun TC), *maṛiṅu the man's* (Gun TC), *jamba gudalagu a hawk's home or nest* (Gun TC), *muningu jamba spider's nest or web* (Gun TC), *maṛiṅu jamba a man's home* (Gun TC), *gandugu jamba Children's Home* (Gun TC). Finally, a construction with a personal pronoun in the possessive form is possible: *maṛi nuṅu the man's* (literally *the man, his ...*, as in the English *Billy Bones, his fancy, etc.*; Gun TC) or a combination of both constructions, as in: *gaṛa nuṅu jilungu maṛiṅu that is not this man's or does not belong to this man* (Gun TC). For the strange construction *maṛi dungubari a man's head, бага dalabai leaves of the tree* (both from Gun LM), see in 6.41. —The ergative is normally construed with a transitive verb only (that is one having a direct object, whether expressed or not): *gurguru galamala the night owl scared (me)*; whether such a construction as: *naja galalila gurguru I was scared by the night owl* (Gun TC) is correct or not is doubtful (it gives the impression of a mere copying of the English passive construction).

6.16 Of other terminations, appearing to denote a case relation, we find a locative (?) in -da in the form *buṛida* (= *buṛiṅga*) *on the fire or ashes* (Gun TC). Whether the termination -ṛa mentioned in 6.5 as having a local designation should alternatively be considered as a locative suffix is irrelevant (it would be the regular locative form of a stem in -ṛ; see 6.17 (c)); from a form of this type an ablative is made by the suffix -ndu (cf. 6.13): *bandaṛandu in (properly from) the sky* (Gun TC). Original 'dual-comitatives' (see 6.6, Note 27) in -ṛu (cf. Bidjara, 9.15) are found in a few relation words:

mugaru *tomorrow*, balgaru *yesterday* (for the semantics, cf. 9.15, Note 68). The suffix -ru has, of course, a dual sense in Bidjara bularu *two*, which in Gunggari is bulari. In consequence of this one might expect to find analogous 'dual-comitatives' (in -ri) in Gunggari, as possibly in the relation word *ṇandari* and *all*: gandunu *ṇandari children and all* (Gun TC).

6.17 *Paradigms*. The following paradigms will illustrate the principles of the regular declension of nominal words in Gunggari. The following are type words: (1) vowel-ending stems: бага *tree*, бугу *back*, бури *fire*, данди *ground*, гаму *water*, ганду *child*, гунди *house*, јуна *hole*; (2) stems ending in a nasal: багун *head*, јаман *horse*, јурун *road*, буган *scrub turkey*, нурун *emu*, вагун *right (hand)*; (3) stems in -l, -r or -ṛ: гуригал *peewee*, гила *glass*, гугур *mopoke*, мади *match(es)*, манар *basket*, дануṛ *star*.

(1) vowel-ending stems:

NOM бага, бугу, бури, данди, гаму, ганду, гунди, јаман, јуна
 ERG гандугу
 ABL баганду, бугунду, дандинду, гамунду, гундинду
 LOC баганга (багана), бугунга, буринга, гамунга, гундинга
 ALL бугугу, гамугу, данугу, гундигу, јунагу

(2) stems ending in a nasal:

NOM багун, јаман, јурун, буган, нурун, вагун
 ERG јаманду, буганду, нурунду
 LOC багунда, јаманда, јурунда, вагунда
 ALL багунгу

(3) stems ending in -l, -r or -ṛ:

NOM гуригал, гила, гугур, мади, манар, дануṛ
 ERG гуригалду, гугуру, мадиру
 LOC гилара, манара, дануṛа

6.18 *Article*. To express definite or observable plurality, suffixed elements are used, which indicate that several specimens of the noun so indicated are present (for details, cf. in Part I, 3.18, with references). The Aborigines usually render the plural article by the English 'mob of', that is a 'crowd or group of'; the article in Gunggari therefore is 'definite' in regard to *number* only. The article also is individualising and is hence not used when the noun is taken in a general sense, as in: дана мари (*all*) *the dark people* (Gun EA);³³ in маринду дана (*all*) *the dark people*, маринду is consequently an ergative form (without the article; cf. below). The basic form of the plural article in Gunggari is -nu (at least of vowel-ending stems): gandunu *two or three children* or *the children* (Gun TC; from gанду *child, children*), gambinu *three or so women* (Gun TC; from гамби *woman, women*), widunu *some white people* (Gun TC; from wiду). Of nouns ending in a consonant (nasal-ending forms only are recorded) the suffix is either -u, e.g. wadiganu *some white women* (Gun TC; from waдиган) or -du, e.g. nimundu *the flies, some flies* (Gun TC).³⁴ For the use of the article with the possessive form of a personal pronoun (jununu *yours*), see in 6.22, at the end. The article element may be declined according to the paradigm in 6.17 (1), the ergative being in -nungu: gandunungu *some children*.

6.19 *Postpositions*. To express certain case relations (especially of the local kind), postpositions are largely used in Gunggari. The following have been recorded: *bara below*, *gadi like*, *gaṛi*, *gaṛin on*, *gi*, *giṛ off*, *from*, *guṛin toward*, *mugu on* (also used in place of the locative form; cf. 6.13), *mundu from* (also used for a missing ablative form; cf. 6.13); when used with nominal forms (nouns, etc.), the postposition is written as an independent word (the reason being that these forms may occasionally function as relation words; cf. Part I, 3.3), otherwise they are often (as in relation words) written in one word with the determined form. Examples: *maṛi gadi*, *mugiṛ gadi like a man*, (old) woman, *ṇaja gadi like me*, *ṇuran gadi (changed) into a dog* (Gun TC), *jurun gaṛin on the road*, *duru ṇamara gaṛin on the left hand side* (Gun TC), *baṛu gi gamu water from the creek* (Gun TC), *bandaṛa gi gamu rain water* (Gun TC), *dandi gi (pick it up) from the ground or floor* (Gun TC), *gundu gi from the bush*, *gamu gi off the water* (Gun TC), *jaraman gi banbula fell off the horse* (Gun TC), *maṛin gi maṛaja take it off the man* (Gun TC), *gandu giṛ (= gandu mundu) (take it) off or from the child* (Gun TC), *duṛu wagaṇ guṛin toward sunrise*, *Rockhampton way* (Gun EA), *ṇana guṛin toward us* (Gun TC), *mandaja бага guṛin go past the tree* (Gun TC), *baṛu guṛin go toward the river*, *bangun mugu on the head*, *gundi mugu on top of the house* (= *gundiṅga*; Gun TC), *bagu mugu on top of the tree*, *banḡu mugu on top of the rock(s)*, *baṛu mundu from the river*, *gamu mundu from or out of the water* (Gun TC), *gandu mundu from the child* (ablative sense, cf. above; Gun TC), *gundi mundu out of the house*, *bagu mundu down from the tree*, *jagal mundu (got sick) from the cold* (hence for the missing ablative form; Gun TC), *ṇajamundu from me* (= *ṇaḡuṛin*, ablative; cf. 6.22). The postposition occasionally follows a case form of the noun: *gundigu bara below the house* (Gun LM). A postposition has been found combined with a verbal stem, as in: *gaṛa jinda ṇaḡuna mangaja ṇaja wadumundu don't call me while I am cooking* (Gun TC; literally *from cooking*, I, the verb stem being used nominally; cf. 6.1).

6.20 *Personal pronouns*. The personal pronouns refer to persons, or animate nouns, only (cf. Part I, 3.20-21). Those of the third person consequently express English 'he' or 'she', but not normally 'it'; the latter might, if necessary, be referred to by a demonstrative pronoun (see 6.25). Gunggari has three pronominal stem forms each in the singular, dual and plural; no distinction of exclusive and inclusive first person forms are made in the simple personal pronouns, but such a specialisation can be made by means of certain compound forms, for which see in 6.23. The basic forms of the simple personal pronouns in Gunggari are: (singular) *ṇaja I*, *jinda you*, *nula* (also *gula*; see 5.10) *he, she*; (dual) *ṇali we*, *jubalu* (also *jubala*, *jibala*, *bula*) *you*, *bula they*; (plural) *ṇana we*, *jura you*, *dana they*.³⁵ The form *jubalu* is possibly an original ergative, but is used as nominative (or stem form) as well.

6.21 The inflection of the personal pronoun is basically that of nominal words (see 6.13 sqq.). However, the personal pronoun (as a rule) has the same form in the *nominative* and *ergative* and, in addition, has a special *objective* and *possessive* form. The local case forms (*ablative* and *locative*) have specialised meanings, owing to their referring to persons: the *ablative*, for instance, denotes 'off' (as in taking something off a person) and the *locative* does not normally mean 'in' or 'on', but 'in or to one's place', that is 'with' (as in 'staying with') or '(on a visit) to', while the *allative* does not exist at all (or is at least not found in this material; cf. Part I, 7.18).³⁶

6.22 *Paradigms.* The following inflected forms of the personal pronouns have been recorded:

First person singular:

NOM	ḡaja
ERG	ḡaja
OBJ	ḡaḡuna, ḡana
POSS	ḡaḡu (ḡaḡuna, Gun TC; cf. below)
ABL	ḡaḡurip
LOC	ḡaḡunda

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda
ERG	jinda
OBJ	jḡuna (jununa, junana, jindana, Gun TC, jindaḡuna, Gun LM)
POSS	jḡu, junu, jḡuna (jin(d)ḡa, Gun TC)
ABL	jḡurip
LOC	jḡanda, jununda

Third person singular:

NOM	nula (ḡula)
ERG	nula (ḡula)
OBJ	nuḡuna
POSS	nuḡu
ABL	nuḡurip
LOC	nuḡunda

First person dual:

NOM	ḡali
ERG	ḡali
OBJ	ḡaliḡuna
POSS	ḡaliḡu
ABL	ḡalinuḡip (Gun TC)
LOC	ḡalinda

Second person dual:

NOM	jubalu (jubala, jibala, bula)
ERG	jubalu (jubala, jibala, bula)
OBJ	jubaluḡa
POSS	jubaluḡu
LOC	jubaluḡunda

Third person dual:

NOM	bula
ERG	bula
OBJ	bulaḡuna
POSS	bulaḡu
LOC	bulanda (bulari munda; cf. below)

First person plural:

NOM	ḡana
ERG	ḡana
OBJ	ḡanana (ḡana, Gun TC)
POSS	ḡanaḡu
LOC	ḡananda

Second person plural:

NOM	jura
ERG	jura
OBJ	juraŋuna
POSS	juraŋu
LOC	juranda

Third person plural:

NOM	dana
ERG	dana
OBJ	danana
POSS	danaŋu
LOC	dananda

Some remarks should be made regarding the use of some of the above forms. The form *ŋaŋuna* for *ŋaŋu* (*mine*) was used by Gun TC in *ŋaja ganila ŋaŋuna I hid mine*; it is consequently not certain whether this form would not be an inflected (objective) form of the common possessive *ŋaŋu*. Otherwise Gun TC has several possessive forms in *-ŋa* (see the paradigms). Another inflected possessive form is *jununu yours* (= *your lot of children*; Gun TC), which seems provided with the plural article. Further, the form *bulari munda* (= *bulanda with them (both)*) renders (*coming to stay*) *with you two*; *bulari* is a nominal word *two* and *munda* is evidently a locative variant of the common postposition *mundu* (*from*).

6.23 To make a distinction between an *inclusive* and *exclusive* first person, the following compound forms are used: *ŋali jinda* (*ŋalinda you and me* (inclusive)), *ŋali nula* or *ŋali ŋunda he or she and I* (Gun TC), *jubala ŋunda he or she and you* (Gun TC; exclusive).³⁷ These compound pronouns may be inflected: *ŋaliŋu ŋundaŋu hers and mine* (Gun TC).

6.24 By analogy with nominal words, the personal pronouns can be constructed with a postposition: *ŋaja gadi like me*, *ŋaja mundu from me*, *jinda mundu from you*, *nula mundu from him*, *ŋana guŋin to or toward us* (Gun TC; cf. 6.19). In *ŋaja migap as good as I* (Gun LM), the personal pronoun enters into a compound (literally *I-good*) and in *nuŋunguŋin over there* (literally *toward him*; Gun TC) the postposition is affixed to a variant of the possessive case form (?). Another isolated form is *jindala in: bigariŋa ŋaja jindala I dreamed about you* (Gun TC). Locative forms in *-la* occur in Bidjara (see 9.20).

6.25 *Demonstrative pronouns.* For general remarks regarding demonstrative pronouns, see in Part I, 3.3 and 7.23. The Gunggari demonstrative pronoun lacks those forms which are essential in the declension of personal (or animate) words, namely the *ergative*, *objective* and *possessive* form, and is consequently inflected in the local forms only, that is the *ablative* and *allative* (no locative forms are found and the *ablative* is rarely used); this is due to the fact that they at the same time express a person or thing as well as *locality*. In Gunggari *this man* or *that tree* is at the same time *the man here* or *the tree there* and *this man's* is rendered by *the man's here* only, whence the nominal part (*man*) is the only one to occur in the possessive form (as far as Gunggari is concerned, this would normally be the *allative*; see 6.15). (However, should the demonstrative pronoun occur in the *allative* as well, no functional connection would exist between these case forms, as will be seen in 6.26). Like the nominal words, the demonstratives lack special plural forms: *jina* means either *this* or *these* and *abuda* either *that* or *those*.

6.26 Since the local case forms (the ablative, locative and allative) seldom occur of personal or animate nouns (except in special senses; cf. 6.21), it is clear that the local forms of the demonstrative pronouns refer to the locality or place of the noun determined and not to the noun itself. The inflected forms of demonstrative pronouns mostly have the character of *relation words* (see Part I, 3.2), that is to say that the ablative and allative forms of a pronoun corresponding to 'this' or 'here' in English mean respectively 'hence' and 'hither' (and not 'from or to this (one)').³⁸ The local forms of a demonstrative pronoun in construction with a nominal word does not express ablative or allative case (in the same sense as in the nominal declension; see 6.13): a construction such as 'this man hence' would not mean 'from this man' neither would 'that man hither' be the same as 'to that man'. In Gunggari it is possible to say *jilungu marigu belonging to this man* (Gun TC) in which both words are in the allative; yet the literal translation is not *to* or *for this man*, but *the man's hither*,³⁹ which would mean *belonging to the man who is or comes from here*, but in practice the import of the allative of the demonstrative is inessential.⁴⁰

6.27 The recorded stem forms of the Gunggari demonstrative pronouns are the following: *aba that, abada that, there, abuda that, gaba- that, over there, ŋaba that other, over there, ŋuna that, there, jaba that, there, jilu (julu, jila-) this, here, jina (jini, Gun TC) this, here, juŋa- that, mana this, that, here, nani that, wuna that, there*; the rendering of these forms in English is in accordance with the explanations given by the Aborigines or the translation of the examples quoted (cf. Note 40). A hyphen indicates that the stem form has not been found isolated.

6.28 *Paradigms and examples.* The following forms of the above demonstrative stems are recorded:

aba that, over there:

NOM *aba, abana*
ALL *abangu (abangu), abagu*

Examples: *aba gundi that house* (Gun TC), *aba wangara that one, aba bulari those two* (Gun TC), *gundi abana, gundi abagu that house (over there)* (Gun TC); *abagaŋin* and *abaguŋin over there* may be considered as relation words.

abada that, there:

NOM *abada*

Example: *abada gundi (= aba gundi) that house* (Gun TC).

abuda that, there:

NOM *abuda*
ALL *abudangu*

Example: *abuda bula those two.*

gaba- that, over there:

ALL *gabangu*

Example: *gabangu bindaja sit over there* (Gun LM).

ɲaba- *that other, over there*:

NOM ɲabana

Example: ɲabana gambi *that other woman* (Gun TC).

ɲuna *that, there*:

NOM ɲuna, ɲunana

ALL ɲunangu

Examples: ɲani ɲuna *what is that?*, gaɾa ɲuna jinaɲa *that is not yours* (Gun TC), ɲunana *that thing* (Gun TC), nula ɲunana baga wagala *he climbed that tree* (Gun TC), ɲunangu gandu(ɲgu) *that child* (Gun TC; not to be understood as two ergatives in grammatical agreement).

jaba *that, there*:

NOM jaba, jabana

ALL jabangu, jabangu

Examples: jaba *that thing*, jaba (or aba) danana *standing there* (Gun TC), jaba gundi *that house*, jaba jamba *the camp over there* (Gun EA), jaba bula *those two*.

jilu (julu) *this, here*:

NOM jilu (julu), jiluna, juluna (jilaɲa, Gun TC)

ALL jilungu, julungu, jilangu, jilangu

Examples: maɾin jilu *this man*, nuɲu jilu (julu) *this is his*, maɾin jiluna *this man*, gundi jiluna *this house* (Gun TC), jiluna miga *this corroboree* (Gun TC), gundi julungu *this house* (Gun LM), ɲani julungu *what is this?* (Gun LM), jilungu dulgara *this log* (Gun TC), jilangu duri *this is good* (Gun TC), jilangu gaga *this is bad* (Gun TC), jilangu bapari *this is big* (Gun TC), jilangu gandu *that child* (Gun TC), maɾin jilungu, jilungu maɾindu *this man* (Gun TC), jilungu maɾigu *this man's* (cf. 6.26).

jina (jini) *this, here*:

NOM jina (jini), jinana

Examples: jina *over here* (Gun TC), jina ɲagu *this (that) is mine* (Gun QL), ɲura jini barila *a dog over there barked* (Gun TC).

juɲa- *that, there*:

NOM juɲana

Example: dula juɲana gaɾa gunma or gundima *don't cut down that tree* (Gun LM).

mana *this, that, here*:

NOM mana

ABL manandu

ALL managu

Examples: mana *here they come* (Gun TC), jamba manandu *from that camp* (Gun TC).

nani *that*:

NOM nani

Example: jingiagu nani *where is that?* (Gun TC).

wuna *that, there*:

wuna, wunana

Examples: widu wunana *that white man* (Gun EA), ɲani wunana *what is that?* (Gun EA).

6.29 *Interrogative pronouns.* For general remarks on interrogative pronouns, see in Part I, 3.20. The interrogative stems in Gunggari are: (personal) ɲandulu (Gun LM), ɲunduru (Gun TC, EA), ɲunturu (Gun TB) *who?* and (impersonal) ɲani *what?*. These are inflected according to the pattern of nominal words (for a paradigm, cf. Bidjara, 9.25); the only inflected form recorded here is the allative ɲanigu *what for?, why?* The ergative is equal to the nominative (ɲunduru Gun EA), which in itself is no doubt an original ergative form (in -u). Examples: ɲunduru gandu bindana *who is that child?* (Gun EA), ɲunduru gara *I wonder who?* (Gun TC), ɲunturu jilaɲa *who is here?* (Gun TB), ɲunduru wunana *who is over there?* (Gun EA), ɲandulu maɲi jinda *who are you?* (Gun LM); ɲani julungu *what is this?* (Gun LM), ɲani bindaɲa *what is sitting?* (i.e. *what is it?*; Gun TC), ɲani wunana *what is that?* (Gun EA), ɲanigu jura gun(d)imiana *why are you all fighting?* (Gun LM). Instead of ɲanigu the nominative ɲani has been found in: ɲani jinda wunaɲa *what are you lying down for?* (Gun EA), ɲani jinda ɲaguna nagana *why are you looking at me?* (Gun TC).

6.30 The personal interrogative is used of a person's 'home' or 'camp' and of his 'name': ɲunduru jaba jamba jigana *whose is the camp over there?* (Gun EA; literally *who is the camp over there?*), ɲunduru ɲaɲi *what is (your) name?* (Gun TC; literally *who the name?*); compare Holmer 1966b, p.24; 1963, p.77. The indefinite sense of 'somebody, anybody' respectively 'something, anything' is found in negative constructions with the relation word gara *no, not*: gara ɲunduru *no one (was there)* (Gun TC), gara ɲani *nothing* (Gun TC).

6.31 *Conjugation.* The verbal stem in Gunggari, which is at least dissyllabic and may be longer in derived forms, always ends in one of the basic vowels (-a-, -i-, -u-; cf. 6.1). The stem-final vowel is usually unchanged throughout the paradigm, the conjugation being mostly by means of suffixed elements, indicating the various modal forms (cf. Part I, 3.22). According to the principles explained in the section referred to, the stem is mostly provided with a consonant element, in Part I termed 'nominalising' (ibid., 3.22) or a 'thematic element' (ibid., 7.28), to which original case suffixes or postpositions (-a-, -gu) may be added.⁴¹ In Gunggari the 'thematic elements' are -ɲ-, -n- and -l- (whether in the imperative, which mostly ends in -ja, an analogous element -j- is present is quite uncertain). The nasal increments (-ɲ- and -n-) are used (as it seems indiscriminately) in the imperfective mode, while the increment -l- occurs in the perfective and intentional modes.⁴²

6.32 The Gunggari language has the same four basic modal forms as are found in the Wakka languages (cf. Part I, 7.28; 15.21), namely: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional; in addition we find a number of accidental forms (cf. Part I, 3.24). The appearance of the fundamental modal forms is as follows. The imperative is either the stem of the verb (e.g. binda *sit*, Gun TC, LM, waga *climb* (= wagaja, Gun TC), gara jinda biɲu *don't throw it*, Gun LM, and regularly of reciprocal verbs in -mia-: gara jibala gunimia *don't you fight*, Gun TC) or more often the stem increased by the syllable -ja (bindaja *sit*,

Gun TC, EA, *gara gadija don't tell a lie*, Gun LM, *gara jinda jidiya don't be afraid*, Gun LM). The imperfective mode is formed by the suffix *-na* or *-na* (of which the former may be more common and typical), to be analysed as above (6.31). The perfective mode form ends in *-la* (cf. above, 6.31) and the intentional in *-lgu* (being the 'thematic' *-l-* plus the postposition or allative suffix *-gu*, expressing purpose). Of reflexive verbs in *-li-* (see 6.10), the 'thematic' element seems to be absent: *gambiligu to turn (oneself) round*. The imperative functions as hortative as well: *bindaja let me sit down* (= *bindalgu*; Gun TC), *guju naja nambumaja I will catch fish or let me catch fish* (Gun EA).

6.33 The imperfective mode denotes either a durative or an impending verbal action (irrespective of whether the 'thematic element' is *-n-* or *-n-*; cf. Note 42): *nali bindana or bindana we are two sitting*, *gamu bandina it is raining all the time* (Gun TC), *jinda mandana you are going* (Gun LM), *gamu jugana has come to drink water* (Gun LM; literally *is going to*); the imperfective also expresses 'possibility': *nagana can see* (Gun LM). The perfective mode expresses a finished or completed verbal action and therefore mostly past time (although this is not binding; cf. in Part I, 3.23).⁴³ The intentional mode marks purpose, intention or necessity: *naja mandalgu daungu I must or intend to go to town* (Gun LM) and also renders English constructions with 'in order to': *gamu jugalgu (went) to drink water* (Gun LM). -For the various accidental forms and their construction, see in 6.36.

6.34 Certain apparent derivations or flections of verbal stems do not fit into the current pattern, as described in the preceding sections (6.31-33). Among these we find forms with a 'thematic' increment, but without a following postpositional element. Such forms are those in *-l* and *-n*, of which a few cases are found: *wagal climbing* (Gun TC), *duwu banbun sunset* (Gun TC), *westward* (Gun EA), *duwu wagan sunrise* (Gun TC), *gundan stealing* (Gun LM), *bambun deafening, making a noise* (Gun LM). As is seen, these partly have a nominal function (notice the 'nominalising' increment *-n*), but may possibly be used rather by analogy with the accidental verb forms (see 6.36). Beside the imperfective forms in *-na*, *-na* (see 6.32), two rare forms in respectively *-nu* and *-nu* occur, namely (*jinda*) *bindanu* and *bindanu*. The former is explained as an imperative (*you sit down*) by Gun BT, the latter as being equivalent to *bindana*. (*sitting*) by Gun TC, TB. It may possibly be neither; perhaps the final *-u* is a variant of *-gu* (cf. *Wakka-Wakka*, in Part I, 7.29), whence these forms may come closer to the intentional forms in *-lgu* (6.32-33). Another irregular verb form is the imperfective in *-ra* (which is common in *Gangulu*; see 16.26); it has been noted in such *Gunggari* forms as: *nagara seeing* (Gun EA), *mandara going* (= *mandana*; Gun TC, EA), *nalgara saying* (Gun NM; = *nalgana*, Gun LM), *marin jilu danara a man standing here* (Gun TC).

6.35 The termination *-ra* occurs in certain forms derived by an element *-lga-*, that is (as it appears) the 'nominalising' *-l-* (see 6.31) with addition of a formative suggesting an auxiliary verb stem (cf. Holmer 1966a, 10.16, p.82; 1971, p.41—also cf. in Part I, 7.8; 15.8); the only basic form recorded is the imperfective (?) *-lgara*, which seems to have a durative function (or marking a continued action), much by analogy with English constructions with the verb *to be* plus an *-ing* form of a main verb. This form is explained by Gun TC as meaning *to be busy*, once with an additional *I am sorry to say* as in: *naja jugu bindalgara gurup I am sitting here alone, I am sorry to say*. However, this form may be augmented by the ordinary imperfective *-na*, as in:

danalgarana (= danaŋa) *standing*, nagalgarana (= nagaŋa) *looking* (Gun TC) and there is even a derived perfective form in -la: jamalgarala (= jamala) *has been doing*, ŋali wadulgarala buŋga *we were busy cooking on the fire* (Gun TC).⁴⁴ In the same way the related derivative -gi- is used: nagalgi- *look for, find*, probably a variant form of -ga- (cf. Bidjara -gi-; 9.31).⁴⁵ Another verbal form having the character of a construction with an auxiliary is the one in -giri-; the meaning can only be ascertained from the examples, which suggest a successive verbal action or the idea of *one after another, one by one, altogether*; it seems—like -lgara (see above)—originally not inflected: banbugiri (*lemons*) *falling one by one* (Gun TC; said to be the same as banbu(li)la, which however is perfective), nagagiri *I have seen the mob, I did not count them* (Gun TC), gunigiri *kill a lot* (Gun TC), ŋaja gunigiri guru gandunu or ŋaja gandunu guru gunigiri *I have killed all the young ones* (Gun TC); a case in which -giri is added to a perfective form, as in wulalagiri *all are dead* (Gun TC), seems strange and the form might not be correct.

6.36 *Accidental forms.* For general remarks, see Part I, 3.24. In Gunggari several verbal forms of this kind are recorded, which are all characterised by the termination -ja, evidently an original locative -a added to a 'nominalising' element -j- (cf. Holmer 1966a, 12.1-5; 1971, 8.21-24). The suffix -ja is usually added either to the imperfective form (in -ŋa or -na; see 6.31-32) or to the perfective form (in -la; see *ibid.*), whereby we obtain accidental forms in -ŋaja, -naja or -laja. A difference in meaning does not seem relevant, neither noticeably connected with a distinction between perfective and imperfective action (according to the use of -ŋa-, -na- or -la-), all accidental forms rendering English *if, when, while* or, occasionally, the more primitive *where*, as appears from the examples: (with -ŋa-) ŋaja gura ganaŋaja ŋaja jindana ŋalgalgu *when I come back I will tell you* (Gun TC), jinda bariŋaja ŋaja jinuna gunilgu *if you cry I will hit you* (Gun TC), jinda gura mandaŋaja *when you come back* (Gun TC), ŋaja gamu juŋaŋaja ŋaja gundu ganaŋa *when I had drunk water I went away* (Gun TC), dibip jinda nagaŋaja *if you see a bird* (Gun TC), gala ŋani jinda guŋiŋaja *if perhaps you should kill some (game)* (Gun TC); (with -na-) wailinaja *rolling along* (Gun TC), ŋalgalinaja (*he came*) *while we were talking* (Gun TC), ŋali ŋalgamianaja *while we two are talking together* (Gun TC), gabun naganaja *if (you) see an egg* (Gun TC; cf. nagaŋaja, above), gamu gurbalinaja dandindu *where the water comes out of the ground, that is a spring* (Gun TC);⁴⁶ (with -la-) maŋi maŋi jinalaja *when I was a child* (Gun TC), bindalaja *sitting, wunalaja lying down* (Gun TC), ŋalgalaja bindaŋa *sitting talking* (Gun TC), nula ŋaŋuna maŋala ŋaja ŋalgalaja *he called me while I was talking* (Gun TC), jinda ŋaŋuna gulbaja jinda gura waŋalaja *you tell me when you come back* (Gun TC). The relation word gambili(j)a *round, about* (jamba gambilia *round the house*; Gun TC) is, of course, an accidental verb form (*turning about, rounding*).

6.37 There are certain irregular accidental forms. First of all, the 'nominalising' element is missing in, for instance, badamaŋa *the place where I am fishing* (for *badamaŋaj-), so that we get: ŋaja guju badamaŋa *where I (usually) fish* (Gun TC), ŋaja guju badamaŋagu (*going*) *to where I (usually) fish* (Gun TC) and in much the same way we find examples of a postposition added directly to the verbal stem: ŋaja wadumundu (*don't call me*) *while I am cooking* (Gun TC; literally *from cooking*); whether the construction dibip jinda nagaŋa *if you see birds* (Gun TC) may be justified from the above point of view or not, it is still not the normal one (which would demand naganaja; cf. 6.36). Another irregular form shows the 'nominalising' -l- in place of -j-, so that we get

a termination -ŋala: buŋala *rushing, blowing (of the wind)* (Gun TC). For (nominalised ?) forms in -l and -ŋ, which occasionally appear to have the character of accidental forms (as in: maŋa ŋaŋuna diŋgal *hitting my ear*; Gun EA), see in 6.34.

6.38 *Paradigms*. Although Gunggari conjugation is generally quite regular and simple, a survey of representative forms will be given in the following paradigms (the type verbs—intransitive, transitive and reflexive—being: binda- *sit*, manda- *go, come*, juga- *eat, drink*, naga- *see, look*, gambili- *turn (oneself) round*, nagali- *look at oneself*).

binda- *sit*:

IMP binda, bindaja, bindaŋu (see 6.34)
 IPF bindaŋa, bindana, bindanu (see 6.34)
 PF bindala
 INT bindalgu
 ACC bindalaja

manda- *go, come*:

IMP manda, mandaja
 IPF mandaŋa, mandana, mandara
 PF mandala
 INT mandalgu
 ACC mandaŋaja, mandalaja

juga- *eat, drink*:

IMP jugaja
 IPF jugaŋa, jugana
 PF jugala
 INT jugalgu
 ACC jugaŋaja

naga- *see, look*:

IMP naga, nagaja
 IPF nagaŋa, nagana, nagara
 PF nagala (ŋagala, Gun TC)
 INT nagalgu
 ACC nagaŋaja, naganaja

gambili- *turn (oneself) round*:

IMP gambilija (-lia)
 IPF gambilina
 PF gambilila
 INT gambiligu
 ACC gambilia

nagali- *look at oneself*:

IMP nagali
 IPF nagalina
 PF nagalila

6.39 *Connectives*. For the use of this term, see in Part I, 3.1, 3.3. In Gunggari the short particles *bu*, *du* and *ba* may be counted as connectives. These always follow a concrete or independent word, so that they may either be an introduction to a following clause (usually not expressed) or else to have acquired the enclitic position through a tendency in these languages to place short or dependent words after a concrete one (cf. Holmer 1966c, 20.1). The particle *bu* is—perhaps due to association with the English word—explained to mean *but* (Gun TC), as in: *manrau gara bu (you will not kill) ducks, however* (Gun EA; cf. the double construction in English *though not ducks and not ducks, though*, where the placement of the conjunction varies).⁴⁷ The same enclitic position is occupied by the connective *du*, which—probably mistakenly and also due to association with an English word—is explained to mean *too* by Gun TC. It occurs, for instance, in: *jinda, jibala binda du you sit down* (Gun TC; = *bindaja*, hence imperative), *naja wagalgu du I must climb also* (Gun TC), *wagana du climbing too* (Gun TC), *nula wagala du he climbed, too* (Gun TC), *wulala du dead, too*,⁴⁸ *gara du not yet*, *jugalila du (we) also ate* (Gun TC), *jindabinda du you sit too*, *naja du me too*, *nali du wadalgu we will go walking* (Gun TC).⁴⁹ The third connective, *ba*, which might be equalled to English *then*, is perhaps the one which comes closest to what the author understands by the term 'connective' as occurring in the Australian languages (see Holmer 1963, pp. 71-73). One example only is recorded: *julun ba here we go* (Gun TC; said to be the same as *julun here*, hence: *here then*), but the same particle is known in Wirri also: *jara ba go then* (see 19.37).

(c) Construction

6.40 Most problems pertaining to the construction of phrases and sentences in Gunggari, as in all Australian languages studied here, center around the analysis of sequences in which English would make use of a copula ('is', 'was', etc.; cf. particularly in Part I, 7.32; 15.25). Theoretically, nominal words in the nominative form may be combined in three (from our point of view) entirely different functions: (1) as a compound (see 6.2), which further may be either of a determinative (*emu egg*; cf. *ibid.*) or a copulative (*father (and) mother*; cf. below) order; (2) as an attributive construction ('good man' in English) or, finally, (3) as a predicative construction (the man is good'). Owing to the absence of a copula or analogous distinctive means particular to English or most European languages, these functions cannot be distinguished formally in the Australian languages. If to be rendered in English, the proper equivalent construction must be determined by context or similar factors; generally the intended meaning in each particular case does not present a problem. No confusion would, for instance, be involved from a practical point of view as to whether the proper rendering of Gunggari *nuṛuṇ gabuṇ* is *emu egg* (compound) or *the emu is an egg* (predicative construction), neither as to whether *jabuila janaila* properly means *father and mother* (copulative construction) or *father's mother* (compound, expressing possessive relation; see 6.15).⁵⁰ For the remaining two functions, the attributive and predicative, no distinction whatsoever exists to the Aboriginal mind, phrasings such as English 'good man', 'it is a good man', 'the man is good' being perfectly equivalent, so that the translation is open to choice. In the constructions *nura malgaḡa as big as a dog* (Gun LM), *naja migap as good as I* (Gun LM), we probably have original compounds (*dog-big*, *I-good*).

6.41 As a corollary to the remarks made in the preceding section (6.40), it follows that Gunggari admits of a construction answering to an English attributive phrase of the type *leaves of the tree*, expressed in what seems a topsyturvy manner: in Gunggari *baga dalabai* means of course *a tree having leaves* (see 6.4), but as this according to a predicative rendering (*the tree has leaves*) is equivalent to *there are leaves on the tree*, which in its turn is (attributively) *leaves on the tree*, we obtain the required meaning of *leaves of the tree*. In exactly the same way *maŋi dungubari* does not mean *a man having a head*, but merely *a man's head* (Gun LM). This is quite by analogy with Goeng-Goeng constructions mentioned in Part I (18.12), according to which the word owned is expressed by a sociative derivation (in -ŋa, -ŋal, = Gunggari -bari).

6.42 Inflected nominal words express a relation, either to another noun (in the case of possessive forms or forms expressing a possessive relation; cf. 6.15) or a verb (in the case of ergative, ablative, locative and proper allative forms) and no ambiguity of either meaning or analysis is possible (whether the ergative be rendered by an English nominative or by the preposition 'with' or 'by' is immaterial from the Gunggari point of view; cf. Part I, 3.15, Note 25). An exception to this rule would be found in cases where grammatical agreement (or concord) is found, in which case the construction is to be considered as attributive, as in: *widu bularingu gandungu* (ergative) *two white girls* (Gun TC), to be analysed as: *white two* (compound or attributive construction), (*it was by children*, the latter part of the phrase determining or completing the former part. (Without grammatical agreement, the whole construction would be attributive or a compound, according to choice.)

6.43 The copulative construction arises from the absence of a copulative conjunction 'and' in the Aboriginal language. The normal way of expressing such a relation between two words in Gunggari is by marking one or both as being a dual. This is done, in the case of a personal pronoun being coordinated with a noun, by the use of a dual pronoun, which then may be followed by the noun, as in: *ŋali Queenie-ŋgu* (ergative) *I and Queenie* (Gun TC; literally *we two, Queenie (did, etc.)*). In a similar way the dual noun *bula two* may be used: *gulbari bula bungap the emu and the turkey* (Gun TC; difficult to render literally in English: *the emu-couple, (including) the turkey or the like*).⁵¹ In the case of terms of relationship (*father, mother, etc.*), a special dual-comitative suffix -(i)la (see 6.6) is used, according to the construction: *jabuila jaŋaila nula gurbala he came with his father and mother* (Gun TC).⁵² If more than two members are involved, dual words and forms are naturally out of place; a plural personal pronoun is used, for instance, in: *ŋana gandu jugala ŋamap we all and the children ate tucker* (Gun TC; to be analysed as above).

6.44 As realised from the above analysis and discussion (6.40-43), the concept of 'compound' is used here in a wide sense. In the first place, members of groups which are considered as compounds may be separated: *maŋa ŋaja ŋargulina I am deaf* (Gun EA; for **maŋa ŋarguli-*, cf. 6.2), *dili ŋaja mugabaŋan I am blind* (Gun EA; for *dili mugabaŋan eye-blind*), *dina ŋaja waḍalina I have a sore foot* (Gun EA; probably something like *I am foot-sore*, although the verb stem *waḍali-* usually means *walk about*—an alternative construction is *dina ŋaḍuna waḍalina my foot is sore*). In a similar way we get: *jarga mandana durga wind blowing dust* (Gun EA), which might be analysed in various ways (*wind-dust is blowing ? etc.*). These are all compounds of nominal and verbal stems, according to 6.2.

6.45 Verbal stems may be combined into a verbal unit (see 6.2). It also happens that two verbal forms (such as we should call 'finite') enter into a compound construction: *ḡalgana bindana sitting talking*, *ḡalgana danana standing talking*, *bulguna bindana sitting smoking* (all from Gun TC); these are not quite analogous to the corresponding English duplicate constructions, in which one member certainly has to be taken as dependent on the other (as a kind of 'gerund' or adverbial form). Instead of the above construction, Gunggari admits of alternative ones: (1) of the above-mentioned type *ḡalgabindana*, *ḡalgadanana*, *ḡalgabulguna* (*talk-sitting*, etc.; see 6.2) and (2) with an accidental form: *ḡalgalaja bindana sitting talking* (see 6.36), which latter comes closest historically to the English construction.

6.46 The use of the accidental forms in Gunggari are typical not only of the Australian languages at large, but also of the linguistic type within which the majority of Australian languages fall. Examples may be found profusely in stories and myths as formerly told by the Aborigines (cf. Holmer 1963, p.70), but it is still today possible to gather fragments of analogous turns of speech in genuine Aboriginal talk: *ḡaja mandala wabalgu gungugu* (*I went to the bush to hunt*) ... *ḡaja gungugu mandalaja ḡaja juna gamu buntalina ḡiḡuna* (*when I had gone or got to the bush I looked for a spring*) ... *ḡaja juna nagalaja ḡaja bangur baru wunalaja* ... *gamu jugala* (*when I had found the spring, lying down on my belly, I drank water*) ... *ḡaja gamu jugalaja bindala*, etc. (*when I had drunk water, I sat down*, etc.; Gun TC); according to the typical construction each 'finite' verb form is taken up in the following context by the accidental form of the same verb stem.

6.47 A favorite construction in the languages studied in this survey is found in the co-ordination of an allative form (in Gunggari in -*gu*) with the intentional mode form (in Gunggari in -*lgu*), which constitutes a kind of grammatical agreement in a wider sense (the terminations of the co-ordinated words containing the same element -*gu*, expressing purpose). An example is: *ḡaja mandala wabalgu gungugu* *I went to the bush to hunt* (see above); similarly: *miḡagu waralgu* *to start a corroboree* (Gun TC; literally *for a corroboree, for to start*). Compare in Part I, 3.4, Note 39, and further *ibid.*, 11.12; 15.26 and elsewhere in this survey.

BIDJARA

Introductory remarks

7.1 As Bidjara is closely related to Gunggari, a description may conveniently be based on the one made of the latter language (in 4.1-6.47), by comparing features of the former to particulars already dealt with. Bidjara is often referred to by the speakers as the 'Springsure language' (for instance by Gun TC). It evidently has a considerable extension, especially westward, where the limits are hardly to be drawn. By taking into account the places referred to by our informants as being their home areas or those of their people (cf. 4.1), one may form a rough idea of the area once covered by the language in question. By including places such as Barcaldine (and the Barcoo river), Babbiloora, Bogarella, Augathella (and the Warrego river), Springsure, Rolleston and Clermont, we easily find—disregarding the somewhat indefinite western extension of the language—that Springsure occupies in a sense a central position.

We hereby get the impression that Bidjara in a general way extends immediately to the north of Gunggari, toward the areas of Gangulu and Wirri (see 14.1 sqq. and 17.1 sqq.). The many analogies with the Gunggari language are therefore easily understood. Nevertheless, and no doubt due to the large area once covered by the language, Bidjara shows some dialectal variation, being chiefly a difference between the western part (the Warrego river area) and the Springsure area. The informant Bid RH (from Springsure), for instance, maintains that her language differs from that of another good informant, Bid OC (from the Warrego area). For want of a sufficient number of data from the various parts of the Bidjara area, it has not been possible to observe dialectal differences in detail; however, some few points are noted on which the language of Bid RH deviates from that of Bid OC: while the former, for instance, says *wugu* for *here* the latter has *jugu* or *julu* (*idem*), while Bid RH says *ṇanila when?*, Bid OC says *ṇanīṇa*, for Bid RH's *baṅḡar sick* Bid OC has the verbal stem *bunḡa-* (*bunḡana*, *bunḡala is, was sick*) and Bid RH further uses the word *bindil* for Bid OC's *barbap noise*. On the whole the differences are insignificant at the same time as the agreements with Gunggari are noticeable.

List of informants

7.2 The following informants for Bidjara have been consulted, to which reference is made in the usual way by means of the initials of the respective persons, following the language signature *Bid* (for Bidjara). Otherwise the same principles are applied as for Gunggari (4.2) or as explained in Part I, 4.3 and Note 41.

- Bid AC*: Mr. Adrian Conway, at Woorabinda, from Rolleston or Springsure (his father seems to have spoken a different language).
- Bid JL*: Mr. John (?) Lynch, at Churchill, by Ipswich, from Barcaldine and the Barcoo river; his people also were of the 'Barcoo tribe'.
- Bid OC*: Mr. Oscar Collins, died a few years ago at Cherbourg at an age of between 68 and 85 years; he was from the Warrego area, born either at Babbiloora or Bogarella station, and both his father and mother were Bidjara (according to one informant he was of the 'Big Boomerang tribe', whatever this may imply).
- Bid RH*: Mrs. Rosie Holt, at Cherbourg; she and her people are from Springsure.
- Bid SK*: Mr. Sidney King, at Clermont (very briefly interviewed).

Phonology

8.1 The inventory of phonemes in Bidjara is the same as in Gunggari (see 5.1-6). Such minor differences as, for instance, a less noticed tendency to suppress an initial *g-* (see 5.7) are hardly worth mentioning.⁵³

Evolution of the vowel system

8.2 The vowel system is, as in Gunggari, of the so-called 'triangular' type, that is the basic vowels are a, i and u, which are normally short or of medium length, except in a few cases of vowel contraction, e.g. nu·na for nuṇuna *him, her* (Bid OC), gu· nose, face (incidentally, the same tendency to widen the u· sound in this word into o· as noticed in Gunggari—see 5.2—prevails in Bidjara). While the sounds of respectively e· and o· are not phonemes in Bidjara (this is confirmed by the test word bijaga *tobacco*; cf. 5.2, Note 16), they occur as variants in many cases, o· arising from u (for instance in the word-final position) and e· often from contraction of a(j)i, aja, i(j)a, as in: gujo· for guju *fish* (Bid JL; owing to the influence of local English this sound may further approach ou or au), gulbe for gulbai *emu* (Bid OC; notice that vowel length is not marked in non-initial syllables, as explained and accounted for in Part I, 2.4),⁵⁴ ṇe· for ṇaja *I*, gungela for gungaila *husband* (Bid RH), biler *saucer* (Bid OC; probably for *bilajar, cf. Gunggari bulajar *plate*, from English), be·lgu for bajilgu *to sing* (Bid RH); intermediate forms, of course, also occur: wea for waja *wallaby* (Bid OC), ṇea for ṇaja *I* (Bid OC). The widened form e (whether long or short) also arises in other circumstances, either from i or a, as in: gumbena (Bid OC) or gumbine (Bid RH) for gumbina *dingo*, wagena for wagana *going* (Bid OC; in contact with the palatalised g).

8.3 The same principles hold for Bidjara as for Gunggari (see 5.5) in regard to the semivowels j and w in contact with respectively i and u, in which position the former may or may not be suppressed. We find alternations of the type: bijaga ~ biaga *tobacco*, baji- ~ bai- *sing*, etc. The semivowel is clearly a secondary product (a kind of 'glide') in such sequences as: ṇunturuwina for ṇunturu jina *who is this?* (Bid RH) or guwela for gujala *wife* (Bid OC). The former has arisen through the loss of initial j before i (cf. 5.4), whereby we get the intermediate form *ṇunturu ina; the latter (guwela) has evidently passed through *guela, in which -e- arises from -ja-, due to fronting in palatalised contact).⁵⁵ We must consequently count on the presence of diphthongs or syllable-initial vowels and write the semivowels j and w as heard in each particular case.

8.4 Word-initial vowels may more safely be assumed to be secondary. We may consider every initial i- as a variant of ji- and every initial u- as a variant of a basic wu- (cases where u- appears for gu- are not so common in Bidjara as in Gunggari; cf. Note 53) and we consequently write jinda for inda (*you*), jina for ina (*this*), wuga wuna for uga una (*go to sleep*; Bid OC), etc. One single case is found of word-initial a-, namely the demonstrative stem abu- (in abuna *over there*; Bid AC), that is as in Gunggari (for comments, see 5.4).

8.5 As in most other parts, the influence of a palatalised or labialised phoneme on the vowel sound of a is noticed, which may approach respectively e or o: compare the pronunciation of basic gujala (8.3); wangara *one* may pass via *wongara into wungara (Bid OC). In the same way u may turn into i in the same palatal environment: jibala beside jubala *you two*, jimba- beside jumba- *hear*, jilu beside julu *this here*, jangi- beside jangu- *go*. The quantity of vowels may be affected by special consonantal environment, for instance before certain consonant groups (-nd-, -lg-), which tend to lengthen the vowel sound: ga·ndu for gandu *child* (Bid RH), gura·ndu for gurandu *behind*, dana·lgu for danalgu *to stand* (Bid RH); this lengthening is probably not distinctive. Neither is word

stress. As pointed out in Part I, 2.9, a certain tendency exists in a spoken context, or in long words, to accentuate the second initial syllable, with secondary stress appearing on subsequent alternate syllables, as in: *bibá nagàna* *looking at a paper* (Bid AC).

Evolution of the consonant system

8.6 The consonant phonemes are actualised as in Gunggari (5.6-7). Long medial consonants (frequent in Wirri; see 18.4) are exceptional: *ɲaja wagan'a* (for *waganina*) *I am running* (Bid OC). Word-initial plosives are of the 'devoiced' type, remaining as such after a homorganic nasal, but usually appearing as voiced weak fricatives in the intervocalic position, whence a certain tendency persists for them to vanish in the current pronunciation; compare, for instance, (g)andu *child*, bir(g)a(g)u *tomorrow* (Bid OC). The plosive d, which is basically dental or interdental (especially intervocalically), becomes alveolar after n and l (cf. 5.7); hence the sound of d is different in gandu (*child*) from the initial sound in dana- (*stand*) or the middle sound in widu (*white man*). A dental-interdental plosive after a (homorganic) n is marked by the symbol t (regarding this, see in 5.7): nanti *earth*, manta *food* (although also manda), ɲunturu *who?* (also ɲunduru; the alveolar pronunciation may in many cases depend on a faulty or incorrect pronunciation). Dental d and n are not distinguished from corresponding palatalised sounds (ɟ and ɲ) before i (the palatalised pronunciation perhaps prevailing), but an alveolar d (that is after n) is clearly distinct from the palatalised d in the same position: hence ɟigaɲ = diɟaɲ *koala*, ɟina = dina *foot*, ɟingila = dingila *Chincilla* (place name), whereas the middle consonant groups are all different in the words: bindi- *keep*, jangi- *go* and nanti *earth*.

8.7 The universal tendency in the languages studied here to change intervocalic -n- (and sometimes other consonant sounds as well) into -r- (cf. Part I, 6.19) in current or rapid pronunciation is often noticed among our Bidjara informants: guriɲa for guniɲa *hitting* (Bid OC), bangari for bangani *sandalwood* (Bid AC) and possibly muraɲara for mundaɲara *rainbow* (unless depending on association with mura = ɲura *dog*; cf. ɲura ɲura *rainbow*, Bid OC).⁵⁶ This is paralleled by the Aboriginal (and otherwise also fairly common) pronunciation of English words of the type 'motorcar' (in Bidjara muruga-, Bid OC), (a) *good one* or (a) *good while ago*, which could easily be represented in our Bidjara phonetics as respectively guruan and guruwa(i)lagu (both from Bid RH). The equally common reduction of homorganic nasal clusters to a plain nasal, by loss of the plosive element, occurs in: wiɲaɲu for wiɲaɲu *bird* (Bid RH), buɲiɲu, gamuɲu for buɲiɲu, gamuɲu *with fire*, respectively *water* (ergatives; Bid OC). Probably due to the influence of English the phonemes r and ɾ are not always kept distinct, an English 'r' sound (often of the trilled type; Bid RH) being substituted. In other cases, the sound of ɾ may be attempted by forcibly articulating something like -r(d)l- (e.g. mar(d)la for maɾa *hand*; Bir RH).

8.8 As for possible word-initial and syllable-initial consonant phonemes, along with the structure of consonant clusters, see in 5.6. As in Gunggari, word-initial ɟ- and ɲ- (except before i, as in ɟina = dina *foot*; see 8.6) occur very sparingly: ɟupaɲ *sugar* (Bid AC), ɲumba *spit, saliva* (Bid RH; cf. the Wirri form numba, idem).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

9.1 *Structure.* The structure of concrete word stems is as in Gunggari (see 6.1). Most stems are dissyllabic; monosyllabic noun stems are found either as a product of vowel contraction or in loanwords, e.g. *gi· key*, *di· tea*. Derived stems are usually longer. Occasionally nominal stems are identical with verbal stems, as in the case of: *bigi a dream* and *bigi- to dream*, *wamba silly, mad* and *wamba- lose one's mind*, *winguma a question* and *winguma- to ask*; also possibly *maɾa hand* and *maɾa- take*. The close relationship in many cases between nominal and verbal conceptions is seen from the fact that even inflected verb stems may function as nouns: *ngalina a shadow* (Bid RH; literally *sees itself* or *is seen* (as a reflex)), *maramina wedding* (Bid RH; literally *take*—or possibly 'marry', from English—each other), *maɾinga the Bidjara language* (Bid RH; literally *speaking like an Aboriginal*), *gadina gundara a thief* (Bid OC; literally *lying* (and) *stealing*), *wunala a bed* (literally *lying down*). There are cases in which a nominal stem is provided with what seems a verbal modal suffix, as in *mandala full* (after eating) (Bid OC), as if the perfective form (see 9.28) of a verb stem **manda-* (eat ?) otherwise not met with. The common verbal form (cf. 6.34) *gundap* may be rendered either by *stealing* or by *a thief* (Bid RH).

9.2 *Compounds.* Nominal stems form compounds of the type: *baga dala leaves of the tree* (tree leaves; Bid AC), *nuran dina dog's leg* (dog leg; Bid AC); these are used to express the function of missing possessive forms in the nominal declension (see 9.14). The compound *juɾi waja wallaby meat* (Bid OC) is unusual, but has counterparts in the languages further north (Cape York, etc.), in constructions with *mai* (vegetable food) and *mipa* (game, meat). Compounds of a nominal and a verbal stem occur as in Gunggari (see 6.2); an example is: *mambu baila- to corroboree* (sing corroborees), assuming that the verb stem *baila-* (sing) is intransitive (see 9.12).

9.3 *Reduplication.* Reduplicated nominal stems are used freely; usually they add a diminutive sense to the word, but it is also used in many other ways (for instance in animal or color names or in adjectival words), often, without any definite shade of meaning. The following are examples: *maɾi maɾi little boy* (Bid RH, SK; cf. *maɾi man*), *gambi gambi (little) girl* (Bid RH, SK; cf. *gambi woman*), *digar digar wagtail* (Bid OC), *bua bua butterfly* (Bid OC), *wu·ba wu·ba black butterfly*, *gudi gudi red* (Bid RH; cf. *gudi red paint*), *mida mida blue or black* (Bid RH), *buda buda white*, *wani wani deaf*, *muga muga blind or deaf* (Bid RH; also *old lady*), *wamba wamba mad or mischievous* (cf. *wamba silly*), *gada gada hair*, *bindil bindil noise*, *gungul gungul* (also *gungul gugul* or *gungul gugul a tin cup* (to drink from) Bid OC), *nura nura rainbow* (Bid OC; *nura* means *dog*), *guɾi guɾi ghost*, *bindi bindi spots*, *gundu gundu across* (cf. *gundu*, idem).

9.4 *Nominal derivation.* The sociative suffix in Bidjara is *-bari* (or *-bai*) and the caritative suffix is *-garba* (cf. Gunggari, 6.4). Examples: *bindi bindibari full of spots* (bindi bindi), *jaranbari* (or *ɲangabari*) *bearded* (from *jaran* or *ɲanga beard*), *di· ɲamunbai milky tea*, *ɲanganbai having a cough* (ɲangan), *jagalbai having a cold or being cold* (jagal; cf. below), *duɾubari sunshine* (cf. *duɾu sun*), *milgiribai* (or *milgiri*) *summer*, *jagalbai* or *jagal cold, winter* (cf. above), *wugabari big, thick, heavy* (cf. *wuga plenty*), *junabai Augathella* (having a hollow; Bid OC); *maɾi(n)garba without people, empty of people, deserted* (from *maɾi(n) Aboriginal*), *gambigarba without a woman, having no*

woman (gambi), gandugarba *without children* (gandu). The sociative suffix (-bari) may be used in the sense of an English preposition: dunmanbari *in the mud* (dunman; Bid RH), marınbari (*I dreamed*) about an old Aboriginal (Bid OC); compare Gunggari (6.4).

9.5 The feminine suffix -gan occurs in: wadigan *white woman* (possibly from English 'white?'), wapmerigan *white woman* (= wapmeri, idem, Bid RH; this is probably a Wakka-Wakka word, as indicated by the vowel -e-); it also occurs in waragan *black crow* and gabugan *hat*. Some terminations having a derivative character are doubtful as to their meaning. The suffix -bara indicates a person (as also in Wirri, 19.6, Goreng-Goreng and Batjala, see Part I, 15.3; 25.2) in bangabara *poor man, skeleton (bones only)*, Bid RH; the simple noun is not recorded). A similar function is perhaps found in the suffix -gai, as in: bandaragai *God* (from bandarā *sky, heaven*; cf. the Gangulu (A) -gari in bandaragari *God*).

9.6 The dual-comitative suffix (see 6.6) is -(i)la, -ngila (-dila, -nila) or -rila in Bidjara. The suffix properly indicates a relation between two people (*father and child, grandparent and grandchild* and possibly, as it seems, *father and mother*, etc.), but the adequate construction does not always appear in the recorded material. Examples are: jabuila *one's father* (as vocative: jabu), jaṇaila (*my*) *mother* (as vocative: jaṇa), ṇadila or ṇadinila (Bid OC) (*one's*) *mother's father or grandson* (vocative: ṇadi), gungaila (*one's*) *husband* (as vocative: gunga), gujaṛila (Bid RH) or gujala (Bid OC) (*one's*) *wife* (vocative: guja), gaminḡila (*one's*) *grandmother or grand-daughter* (as vocative: gami), burguilā (burgaila, Bid OC) (*one's*) *daughter, great-granddaughter or great-grandmother* (Bid RH; as vocative: burgu),⁵⁷ dagunḡila (*my*) *elder brother* (Bid OC; as vocative: dagu), waribula (*my*) *younger brother* (Bid RH; as vocative: wabu), bajinḡila (*my*) *elder or younger sister* (Bid RH). —For the dual-comitative -ru, see in 9.15.

9.7 Of consonantal suffixes, or extensions of the noun stem (cf. 6.7), one finds in Bidjara -l and -n; compare: bindil bindil *itch* and Wirri bindi bindi (idem), maṇa mugal *deaf* and muga muga (idem), gambal (*young*) *girl* (cf. Gunggari gamba *girl*), ṇuran and ṇura *dog*. A similar relation might possibly exist between the words bamba *board* and bamban *chest* (Bid RH).

9.8 Verbal derivation. The four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are all well represented in Bidjara and closely along the same lines as in Gunggari (cf. 6.8-11). Causative verbs are derived by the suffix -ma- or -lma-: baṛama- (and baṛalma-) *make* (from baṛa- *happen, become*), wulama- *put out (fire)* (from wula- *die, go out*), waṛama- (and waṛalma-) *drop* (from waṛa- *fall*), bindalma- *let sit* (from binda- *sit*), danalma- *stand (something) up* (from dana- *stand*), wambalma- *lose* (from wamba- *be lost, stray*), gambilma- *turn (something) round* (from gambi- *spin*), buṛalma- *raise up* (from buṛa- *get up*), wunalma- *put to bed* (from wuna- *lie down*), nagalma- *let see, show* (from naga- *see, look at*), ṇamalma- *frighten* (cf. ṇamaṛi- *get frightened*); sometimes a causative derivation is based on a nominal stem, as in wangalma- *make well, cure* (from wanga *well*) and sometimes no difference in meaning is noticed between the simple and derived verb, as in: dumbama- = dumba- *jump*, gadima- = gadi- *tell a lie*,⁵⁸ gurilma- = guri- *break* (cf. guni- *hit*, from which gunma- *cut* may be derived, as also in Gunggari, cf. 6.8). The meaning of the causative suffix is probably originally associative (see in 9.9) and traces of

this are still to be seen, as in: jimbama- *listen to (one)* (from jimba- *hear*), gamu narginama- (warginama-) *wash with water* (cf. nargin, nargina *washing*), nagama- *look at* (cf. above), nundaɾama- *ask for* (from nundaɾa- *ask*). Causative verbs are sometimes formed by a compound suffix -rima-: bindarima- *make sit down* (from binda- *sit*), wagarima- *make run* (from waga- *run*), bangarima- *make sick* (cf. bangar *sore*).

9.9 The associative suffix proper is -ɾi- (corresponding to the Gunggari -nd-; see 6.9): burbaɾi- *fetch (come with; from burba- come)*, dungaɾi- *run away with* (from dunga- *run away*), wagaɾi- *go away with or get* (from waga- *go or come*). The associative sense is sometimes expressed by the reflexive suffix -li- (see 9.10): burballi- *fetch* (cf. above) or by a suffix -ri- (unless the latter represents a faulty pronunciation of -ɾi-; cf. 8.7), as in burbari- *bring (come with; cf. above)*.

9.10 The reflexive derivative suffix is -li- (cf. Gunggari, 6.10). It is either directly reflexive, as in: nagali- *look at oneself* (from naga- *see, look at*), nambali- *paint oneself* (from namba- *smear, paint*), jamali- *do, make oneself* (from jama- *do, make*), gambali- *put on oneself, dress* (from gamba- *put on*), wurali- *strip* (cf. Birri wura- *take out*), gambili- *spin round, turn oneself*; (from gambi- *turn*), or indirect reflexive, as in: warginamali- *wash one's own (clothes)* (cf. 9.8), nagali- *see one's own (shadow)* (cf. above and 9.1), danguli- *change one's (clothes)* (from dangu- *take out*); the difference is not always a clear-cut one.⁵⁹ Sometimes -li- indicates intransitive verbal action (that is, the absence of a direct object): jugali- *eat* (cf. juga- *eat it or something*), but many times none or only a slight difference is perceived between the simple and derived verb: dungali- = dunga- *run*, wagali- = waga- *run* (also *climb*), burballi- *get ready* (cf. burba- *come*). For -li- in the reciprocal sense, see 9.11.⁶⁰

9.11 The reciprocal suffix in Bidjara is -mi- (answering to Gunggari -mia- or -mi-; cf. 6.11): digami- *quarrel* (the simple verb not recorded; cf. Birri diga- *rouse*), gunimi- *fight* (from guni- *hit*), wuɲami- *chase one another* (from wuɲa- *chase*), nagami- *look at one another* (from naga- *see*), jimbami- *listen to one another* (from jimba- *hear*), dungami- *chase one another* (from dunga- *run*), marami- *marry* (probably from English; cf. however the verb stem maɾa- or mara- *take*). The reflexive suffix (-li-; see 9.10) is sometimes used in the reciprocal sense: bularu nagalina *the two are looking at one another* (Bid RH), nambali- *paint one another* (cf. 9.10).

9.12 Certain verbal derivative suffixes are not easily determined as to function; usually they form intransitive verbs. This is the case of the suffix -ɾi- (mentioned in 9.9), in such verbs as: ɲamaɾi- *get frightened* (cf. ɲamalma- *frighten*), gambiɾi- *turn round* (more or less the same as gambili-; see 9.10); it is remarkable that the corresponding causative may also be formed with -ɾi- instead of -li-, namely in gambiɾma- *turn (something) round* (= gambilma-; see 9.8). Parallel to the stem gambiɾi- is also found gambiɾa- in the same sense and an intransitive derivation in -da- has been noted also: gambida- (idem). Another intransitive suffix of this kind is -ni- in: waganī- *run* (more or less = wagali-, idem; see 9.10); it is probable that this suffix is the same as the Gunggari -ndi-, -nda-, mentioned in 6.12; it also has an associative sense: *run with* (as also corresponding forms in Gunggari). An intransitive suffix -la-

appears in *baila-sing* (also used in a compound: *mambu baila-to corroborree*; see 9.2), from the simple stem *baji-sing* (e.g. *mambu bai sing a corroborree*). A suffix *-na-*, probably of a similar type, is found in: *wagana-get, become* (as in *gunda waganana getting dark or night*; from *waga-go, come*), *wambana-get silly* (from *wamba-stray*), *warana-play* (from *wara-*, idem).

9.13 The derivative element *-gi-* (in an indefinite sense and function, but probably marking the sense of *to be*) may have the character of an auxiliary verb (it may be related to the Gunggari *-giri*, mentioned in 6.35).⁶¹ It has been found in the verb stems: *maṙingi-speak the Aboriginal language* or *Bidjara* (Bid RH; if taken as an auxiliary: *be a Bidjara* ?) and *widugi-(probably) speak English* (Bid RH).⁶²

(b) Inflection

9.14 *Declension*. The number and forms of the case suffixes recorded in Bidjara conform in the main with what is found in Gunggari (cf. 6.13). Apart from the nominative (or stem form), we find the ergative, ablative (?), locative and allative of most nouns, the form of the suffixes being adapted to the stem-final sound of the nominal word, according to the same principles as in Gunggari. The *nominative*, hence, may end either in a vowel, a nasal or one of the consonant sounds *l*, *r* or *ɾ*. The *ergative* always ends in *-u*: of vowel-ending stems it is in *-ŋu*, of stems ending in a nasal it is in *-u* preceded by a homorganic plosive (that is, it ends in *-bu*, *-du*, *-ɟu* or *-gu*, respectively);⁶³ of stems ending in *-r* it is in *-u* and of stems in *-l* the ergative is formed (in one instance) by change of the *-l* into *-ru* (Bid OC).⁶⁴ The *possessive* case presents the same problem as in Gunggari (cf. 6.14). A form with the pronominal suffix *-ŋu* (cf. 9.20) is recorded from Bid OC (*wiŋaɾuŋu gangal bird's wings*) and another (*bagaŋu janda danana the leaves of the tree*) from Bid AC, while a third form (*dingilaŋu daun the town of Chinchilla*, which appears to copy English) was obtained from Gun TB (who thought it was Bidjara).⁶⁵ The normal way of expressing the possessive in Bidjara is probably—as in Gunggari—by either using a compound construction: *baga dala leaves of a tree* (or *tree leaves*; Bid OC), *bangani dala leaves of the sandalwood* (Bid OC) or else the allative form (= *to, for*): *bagagu dala leaves of the tree* (Bid RH), *ɲurangu (it is) the dog's* (Bid AC; literally *for the dog*). The *ablative* is probably (as in Gunggari; see 6.13) in *-ndu* of vowel-ending stems (cf. *gundu from here*, being ablative of a local stem *gu-*, of which the allative is *gugu hither* and the locative probably *gunda off*); however, the only ablative found in the present material is of a stem in *-n* (*ɲamun breast: gandu ɲamundu jugana the baby is sucking, drinking from the breast*; Bid OC); otherwise a construction with the postposition *mundu from* is used: *buɾi mundu from the fire* (Bid OC), *dingila mundu burbala coming from Chinchilla* (Bid OC), which in any case would be the only possible one of nouns not ending in a vowel. A *locative* of a stem ending in a vowel is recorded in *jalganda wagana going along the road* (Bid RH; *jalga wagana* is also used);⁶⁶ of a stem in *-r* the form *mugara on the old deserted camp* (Bid AC) occurs (provided the stem form is **mugar*), while of the English loanword *gila(s) mirror (glass)* the locative has been heard either as *gilasŋa* or *gilaŋa* (Bid AC; cf. Note 63). Of words expressing locality the stem form may be used for a locative form (a fairly current construction in the languages studied): *jamba binda sit down at the camp* (Bid OC), *muruga bindana sitting in the car* (Bid OC), *gundi (eat) at home* (Bid RH),

guga bindana *sitting in the house* (Bid OC), nula bindana ŋaɟu jamba *he stays at my place* (Bid RH). Otherwise the allative form is often used in a locative sense, especially of place names and analogous words: gundigu (*eat*) *at home* (cf. above), hospital-gu *in the hospital*. The allative suffix is in -gu of all nouns: gandugu *to (my) child*, gurbala jambagu *came to the camp*, julgagu (*fell*) *into the hole*, but of local words the stem form may be used in the allative sense also: gundi waɟalgu *to walk home* (Bid RH; for gundigu).

9.15 As in Gunggari (see 6.16), forms which we have referred to as 'dual-comitative', ending in -ɾu of vowel-terminating stems, are found in Bidjara as well.⁶⁷ They have predominantly a temporal sense, as in: ganduɾu ŋaja guila *when I was a small kid or when a small child* (Bid OC), ganduɾu ŋaja warana *as a boy I played* (Bid OC), maɾi jangaɾu ŋaja guila *when I was a young man* (Bid OC).⁶⁸

9.16 *Paradigms.* The following recorded forms make up rather incomplete paradigms. The type words are: (1) vowel-ending stems: maɾi *Aboriginal man*, duɾu *sun*, gundi *house*, jalga *road*, baga *tree*, baɾu *axe*; (2) stems ending in a nasal: ŋuran *dog*, ŋamun *breast*; (3) stems ending in -l or -r: waɟal *boomerang* gundir *clever man*.

(1) *vowel-ending stems:*

NOM maɾi, duɾu, gundi, jalga, baga, baɾu
 ERG maɾingu, duɾungu, baɾungu
 LOC jalganda
 ALL gundigu, bagagu

(2) *stems ending in a nasal:*

NOM ŋuran, ŋamun
 ERG ŋurandu
 ABL ŋamundu
 ALL ŋurangu

(3) *stems in -l or -r:*

NOM waɟal, gundir
 ERG waɟaru, gundiru

9.17 *Articles.* To denote known or directly observable plurality (= *some, a lot of, a mob*), Bidjara makes use of the same suffixed plural articles as Gunggari (see 6.18), namely -nu and -ndu. The basic form is no doubt -nu, as in: gandunu *some children* (from gandu *child, children*), gambinu *some women* (from gambi *woman, women*). Originally, as it seems, with noun stems ending in -n (in which the article element -nu would not conveniently be joined to the stem), the suffix is -du (perhaps attracted by the form of the ergative; see 9.14),⁶⁹ from whence it would have spread to other stems as well (in the form -ndu; probably since at least one of the common -n stems alternates with a vowel-ending stem: maɾi or maɾin *Aboriginal man*): maɾindu *a mob of men*, gambindu *a lot of women* (also: 'gambi-lotta', Bid RH), widundu *a lot of white people* (Bid RH). It should be noticed that as long as a plural number is not visibly present, the stem form (whether inflected or not) may render either singular or plural forms in English: gandungu *the child (has done it)* or (if plurality is merely supposed) *the children (have done it)*.

9.18 *Postpositions*. The limited number of case forms in current use (see 9.14) favours the use of postpositions (as also in Gunggari). The most important one is *mundu from*, which takes the place of missing ablative forms: *baga mundu from the tree*, *jamba mundu guguru on the other side of the camp* (Bid OC), *ṇaja dungana guṛiṛi mundu I am afraid of the rock python* (Bid OC; the verbal stem *dunga-* also means *run away*, hence *run away from*), *juṛi mundu (sick) from the meat (= after eating it)*; from the sense *away from* evolve such constructions as: *gundu waḡalgu gamu mundu to go away before the rain (comes)* (Bid RH), *ṇaja jandilgu jambagu gamu mundu I will go home before (or after) the rain* (Bid RH; in either case the primitive meaning is *away from the rain*).⁷⁰ Other postpositions are: *gadi after*, *gunda off*,⁷¹ *gurandu after* (properly an ablative of a stem *gura-*, cf. Gunggari *gura back*, hence *from behind*), *juna inside* (properly a noun stem *hole, hollow*). Examples: *jugana gadi after eating* (that is construed with a nominalised verbal form: cf. Wirri -gari, in 19.17), *gaḡaru gadi immediately after* (construed with a relation word), *maṛi gunda (took money) off the man* (Bid RH), *jugana gurandu after eating* (cf. above), *gundi juna in(side) the house* (Bid RH).

9.19 *Personal pronouns*. For remarks on personal pronouns, compare Part I, 3.20-21; Part II, 6.20). The personal pronouns recorded, which are practically the same as in Gunggari, are the following: (singular) *ṇaja I*, *jinda you*, *nula he, she*; (dual) *ṇali we*, *jubala (jibala, jimbala) you*, *bula they*; (plural) *ṇana we*, *jura you*, *dana they*. These are basic stem forms; besides we find the usual compound forms, expressing a difference between an inclusive and exclusive first person dual (see 9.21). No ablative or allative forms are recorded, but the allative suffix *-gu* often appears in the possessive forms (see the Paradigms, 9.20). The possessive form may be used in a dative sense: *juraṇa gumbala (I) have given (to) you* (Bid OC). For a supposed 'dual-comitative', see in 9.21.

9.20 *Paradigms*. The personal pronouns are inflected as follows:

First person singular:

NOM	ṇaja
ERG	ṇaja
OBJ	ṇaḡuna, ṇana
POSS	ṇaḡu, ṇaḡugu
LOC	ṇaḡunda (and ṇaḡanda ?), ṇaḡula

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda
ERG	jinda
OBJ	jindaṇuna, jindaṇa (Bid OC), jinduṇana
POSS	jindaṇu, jundu, junu, junugu
LOC	jindaṇunda, jindanda

Third person singular:

NOM	nula, nu·ṇ, nuṇ (Bid RH), nu (? Bid OC)
ERG	nula
OBJ	nuṇuna, nu·na, na ⁷²
POSS	nuṇu, nuṇunagu (Bid RH)
LOC	nuṇunda (nuṇuna)

First person dual:

NOM ɣali, ɣalina, ɣaliɲa (Bid OC; cf. Note 74)
 ERG ɣali
 POSS ɣaliɲaŋ (Bid OC), ɣaliɲaŋu (Bid OC)
 LOC ɣaliɲanda (cf. Note 74)

Second person dual:

NOM jubala, jibala, jimbala (Bid RH)
 ERG jubala
 OBJ jimbalaɣuna (Bid RH)
 POSS jubalaŋu, jibalaŋ (Bid OC), jimbalaɣu (Bid RH)

Third person dual:

NOM bula
 ERG bula
 POSS bulaɣugu

First person plural:

NOM ɣana
 ERG ɣana
 OBJ ɣanana, ɣanaɣuna
 POSS ɣanaŋu

Second person plural:

NOM jura
 ERG jura
 OBJ jurana, juruna (Bid AC), ju'na
 POSS juraŋ, juraŋu, juraŋugu (Bid AC), juraŋa (Bid OC)
 LOC juranda

Third person plural:

NOM dana
 ERG dana
 POSS danagu (Bid RH), danaɣugu (Bid AC)
 LOC dananinda, danajinda (? Bid OC)

9.21 Some special forms have been noted which do not fit into the above paradigms. First of all, in the second person dual (or rather in any dual form) we find the nominal stem bulaɣu (bularu) *two* used instead of the more typical pronominal bula. We hence find: bulaɣu bindana *they two are living* (Bid OC), bularu bindana *they two are sitting* (Bid AC), bularu wagana *you two are going* (Bid AC), bulaɣu *we two* (Bid OC). This stem is inflected as a noun (see 9.14): bulaɣunda *with them two* (Bid OC). A strange form, which gives the impression of being a 'dual-comitative' (due to its termination -ri; cf. 6.16), is jindaŋari, heard from Bid OC in: ɣaja jindaŋari wuɣabari *I am as big as you* (cf. in 9.15 for the use of 'dual-comitative' forms in -ɣu).⁷³ A form which appears to be a second plural (jura) provided with the plural article -nu; see 9.17) is juranu, as in: juranu ɣalgana *you two are talking*; possibly this copies colloquial English 'youse' (i.e. a plural form of 'you').

9.22 A special compound form in the first person dual, ɣalinda (= ɣali jinda *you and me*) is used to express an inclusive form. The following constructions have been noticed: ɣalinda ɣalgana *we two are talking* (Bid AC), ɣalinda ɣalgamina *we two are talking to one another* (Bid RH), ɣalindaŋu *ours* (the possessive form; Bid RH).⁷⁴

9.23 *Demonstrative pronouns.* For general remarks on demonstrative pronouns, compare Part I, 3.21, and Part II, 6.25. The following demonstrative stems have been found in Bidjara (a hyphen marks that the stem has not been found without a suffixed element): abu- *over there* (Bid AC; perhaps Gunggari),⁷⁵ ṇunu *that, there, jaba that, there, jina this, here, junu that, there*. These stems are declined, or inflected, for local case forms only (ablatives and allatives being the only forms recorded); these mostly function as relation words (cf. 13).⁷⁶ In the nominative, derived forms in -na are occasionally found (in meaning probably identical with the plain stem forms); for a similar suffix in the interrogative pronouns, see 9.26.

9.24 *Paradigms.* The following inflected forms have been recorded (many are further found in 13, being dealt with as relation words):

abu- *that, over there:*

NOM abuna

ṇunu- *that, there:*⁷⁷

NOM ṇunu

jaba *that, there:*

NOM jaba, jabana

ABL jabamundu

ALL jabagu, jabangu (jabangu)

jina *this, here:*

NOM jina, jinana

ALL jinagu

junu *that, there:*

NOM junu

ALL junugu

Examples: ṇani ṇunu *what is that?* (Bid OC), maṛi ṇunu ṇundaru *who is that man?* (Bid OC); gawun jaba *those clothes* (Bid RH), waṇal jaba *that boomerang* (Bid RH), jaba maṛi ṇundaru *who is that man* (Bid OC), ṇunduru jaba *who is that* (Bid RH), jaba bindana *lives over there* (Bid OC; notice locative sense), maṛi jabana wabalina *(I) like that man* (Bid OC); waṇal jina *this boomerang*, jina jamba *this camp*, jina gumbala *give this* (Bid AC), ṇunduru nula jina *who is he?* (Bid AC; in Bidjara this is equivalent to *who is he here?*), maṛi jina ṇundaru *who is this man?* (Bid OC), jina maṛi budabai *this man is good* (Bid OC), buṛi jina *this fire or there is fire here* (Bid OC), ṇunduru jina *who is this?* (Bid RH), jinda jina wadi *you take this* (Bid RH), maṛi jinana *this man* (Bid OC), jinagu widugu *this white man's* (Bid AC);⁷⁸ junu maṛi *that fellow* (Bid AC), junu or junugu maṛigu *that man's* (Bid AC), junu(ṇu) maṛingu *that man* (Bid AC).

9.25 *Interrogative pronouns.* The interrogative pronoun (which is also indefinite; cf. Part I, 3.20) is either personal (*who?*) or impersonal (*what?*). In Bidjara the personal interrogative is from the stems: ṇunturu, ṇuntaru (ṇunduru, ṇundaru),⁷⁹ ṇandulu *who?* and the impersonal interrogative from the stem ṇani *what?* The flections are as follows:

gunturu, guntaru, etc. *who?*:

NOM	gunturu (gunduru), guntaru (gundaru), gandulu
ERG	gunturugu, gunturu (gunduru)
OBJ	gunturuna (gunduruna), gunturuguna (Bid RH)
POSS	gunturugu, gunturuṅu
LOC	gunturula (Bid RH), gunturuṅula, gundurunda
ALL	gunturugu

Examples: *maṛi gundaru who is the man?*, *jinda gundaru maṛi who are you?* (Bid OC), *gundaru nuṅ who is he?* (Bid RH), *gunduru ṅaḡuna durala somebody told me* (Bid RH), *gunduru jina, jaba who is this? that?* (Bid RH), *gunduru ṅalgana who is talking?* (Bid OC), *nula gunduru who is he?* (Bid AC), *gandulu naga ṅaḡu gundala who or somebody took my thing (?)* (Bid RH), *gunduru gunila who killed?* *gunduru baṛamala who did it?* (Bid OC), *gunduruṅu baṅgu whose money?* (Bid OC), *gunturula bindana staying with whom?* For the possessive *gunturuṅu*, the allative *gunturugu (for whom?)* may also be used: *gundurugu dangur whose box?* (Bid RH); the use of the possessive form for the locative (in the sense of *with whom?*) is, however, doubtful (though perhaps not impossible; cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 65-66), *gunduruṅu jinda bindana with whom are you staying?* (Bid OC). As in Gunggari (see 6.30), the personal interrogative is used of one's *camp* or *home*, as in: *gunduru jamba whose camp?* (literally *which camp?* or *who is the camp?*). The frequent indefinite sense (*gunturu = somebody, anybody*) is paralleled by the use of the indefinite relation word *guliru long ago* in the interrogative sense of *when* (or properly *how long ago?*). Of the impersonal interrogative *ṅani (what?)*, the allative only occurs, which is: *ṅanigu for what?* (usually in the sense of *what for?* or *why?*): *ṅani jinda jamana what are you doing?* (Bid OC), *ṅani wambamala lost something* (Bid RH; indefinite sense), *ṅanigu jinda burbala what have you come for?* (Bid AC).

9.26 Certain other interrogative forms have been found, namely the following variants of the impersonal interrogative: *ṅa'n* (Bid RH) and *ṅaninda* (Bid OC): *ṅa'n nuṅ what is it?* (Bid RH), *waragan* (sic) *ṅaninda jugana what does the crow eat?* (Bid OC), while the former is probably the original stem of the interrogative pronoun (**ṅan*; cf. Note 79), the latter (if correct) is a derivation of the same stem. No difference in meaning is to be detected. A third interrogative, *ṅu'na which?* may possibly represent a contraction of a form *gunturuna (?)*—although the latter is, of course, an objective form—; the form *ṅu'na* may be inflected (*ṅu'nagu*, allative) and is used as follows: *gandu ṅu'na which child?* (Bid RH), *gandu ṅu'nagu of which child* (Bid RH). For the termination (*-na*), compare in the sections on demonstrative pronouns (9.23-24).

9.27 *Conjugation.* Bidjara conjugation is in all respects parallel to that of the Gunggari verb (6.31 sqq.). The basic modal forms are: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional. The *imperative* is regularly the stem of the verb: *binda sit*, *waḡa go* (the special Gunggari affix *-ja*, for which see 6.32, has not been met with in Bidjara). On the other hand, reciprocal verbs in *-mi-* (see 9.11) form their imperative in *-mina*, that is, it is made equal to the imperfective form (9.28): *jibala nagamina you look at one another*; this is according to Bid OC, while Bid RH freely uses forms in *-mi*. It is possible that there is a tendency for any imperative form to end in the vowel *-a* (even though the verb stem may be in *-i* or *-u*), whence the alternation of the three stems: *janga-*, *jangi-*, *jangu- go* might be explained, supposing that the one in *-a-* is based on the imperative form *janga*, which incidentally is the only imperative recorded of this verb.⁸⁰

9.28 The *imperfective* is formed by the suffix -na to the verbal stem; the Gunggari alternative form in -ŋa (see 6.32) is seldom found. The sense may be either durative (gunina *hitting (him) all the time*; Bid OC) or future (intended: gunina (I) *will hit (you)*; Bid OC), but in any case it marks an unfinished action. The *perfective* form is always in -la (that is as in Gunggari; see 6.32). It is important to notice that the difference between the imperfective and perfective is one of aspect, not one of time (cf. jinda ŋaguna bigina *you were dreaming about me*, imperfective; Bid RH). While it often happens that the imperfective form in Bidjara is rendered by a presentic and the perfective by a past form in English by the Aborigines,⁸¹ a great many forms ending in the perfective -la have been rendered by an English present (usually a form in -ing). As it seems, this is most often the case of intransitive verbs: wunala *lying down* (Bid RH), wuŋa wunala *he is asleep* (Bid RH), bindala *sitting* (Bid RH, OC), danala *standing* (Bid AC), burbala (Bid OC), gurbala (Bid AC) *is coming*, jindia jinda wagala *where are you going?* (Bid OC), gamu wagala *the water is boiling* (Bid RH). The explanation of this usage is readily seen in such cases as the following: the Bidjara wulana (imperfective) and wulala (perfective) do not mean respectively *dies* and *died*, but *is* or *was dying* and *is* or *was dead*, respectively (or in a simpler way, wulana is *dying* and wulala is *dead*). In the same way bindana marks the act of sitting down and bindala the state of being seated, which, of course, both must be rendered by *sitting (down)* in English. In exactly the same way the imperfective nuŋ maramina means *he is getting married* and the perfective nuŋ maramila *he is married* (both from Bid RH; it goes without saying that *was getting married* and *was married* would be expressed by the same forms, respectively).⁸² Some transitive forms in -la are also rendered by English -ing forms (as heard from Bid AC, especially), some being perhaps due to an incorrect translation. A form, however, such as ŋaja gaŋa nagala *I do not know* (Bid RH) is interesting as this sense is derived from *I have not seen*,⁸³ but the perfective form is occasionally used in a future, imperative or potential sense as well: ŋaja jina gumbala *I will give this* (Bid AC), gunila (I) *will hit (you)* (Bid OC), bidi nagala *will see (him) tomorrow* (Bid OC), julu gurbala *come here* (Bid OC), burbala *du come* (Bid OC), jura burbala *you come* (Bid OC), ŋaguna jina gumbala *give me this* (Bid AC), jinda wandila *leave it alone* (Bid OC), jinda wuŋala *you chase (him)* (Bid AC), gara ŋaja nagala *I cannot see* (Bid OC), ŋaja jimbala ŋalgana *I can hear him talking*. The intentional mode is always expressed by the suffix -lgu, that is as in Gunggari (6.32): danalgu *to stand up* (Bid RH), wunalgu *to lie down* (Bid RH), gumba jugalgu *give to eat* (Bid AC), ŋali jimbalgau *that we may hear* (Bid OC), gundu wagalgu *must go away* (Bid RH), juŋi jugalgu *(I went) to eat* (Bid RH), jantalgu (jandilgu, jandalgu) *will go* (Bid RH), nagalgu (you) *look* (Bid RH), that is to express a purpose, a necessity or an intention or sometimes a request.

9.29 As in Gunggari (see 6.35), a form in -ra has been met with in a few cases but unlike Gunggari the sense appears rather to be perfective: ŋaja nagara *I have seen (him)* (Bid OC); it is however possible that this form is incorrect for nagala, as in: nu(ŋ)una nagala *have (you) seen him?* (Bid OC). Although Gunggari has forms in -nu, -ŋu beside the imperfective forms in -na, -ŋa, an analogous Bidjara form in -lu alternating with -la (jimbala = jimbala *has heard*) is more doubtful, as it derives from a tape recording.⁸⁴ The form bindana ŋalgau *sitting talking* (Bid AC), on the other hand, seems to have another function; possibly it is meant to express *sitting down to talk* and so analogous to bindalu (= bindalgu; Bid AC), in which -lu seems a variant of -lgu (cf. 6.34).

9.30 Along with the basic modal forms described in 9.27-28, several *accidental* forms (cf. Part I, 3.24; Part II, 6.36-37) are found, expressing as a rule a subordinate verbal action. Among these one must reckon the rather common forms in -l (that is the 'thematic element' without a following postpositional element; cf. 6.34). Forms of this type are: jangil gabal *naughty* (Bid OC; probably *walking about (of children)*, cf. jangi- *go*), munmal moving (*going away*; Bid RH), jugal gambalilgu *to dress while eating* (Bid RH; the meaning is probably something like *dress for dinner*), bungana wunana jambagu wunal *he is lying sick, lying in hospital* (Bid RH), gundigu wunal *lying down in the house* (Bid RH), jangil *going* (cf. above), nuṇ wunana bungal *he is lying sick* (Bid RH), dingana gangal *calling out, singing out* (Bid RH).⁸⁵ Corresponding to the Gunggari forms -ṇaja, -naja, -laja (see 3.36), which are based not on the verbal stem, but on modal forms, Bidjara has accidental forms which seem derived from either the imperfective in -na or the perfective in -la, namely: -naṇa, respectively -laṇa, which consequently are extensions by a different 'nominalising' element (-ṇ-), followed by the postpositional -a. The following verbal forms are recorded: naganana *seeing* (Bid OC), jinda ṇaguna jaba gumbanaṇa (or gumbalaṇa) ṇaja jindaṇuna jina gumbana *if you give me that I will give you this* (Bid OC), ṇaja nuṇuna nagalaṇa nuṇuna gulbala *when I saw him I told him* (Bid OC), ṇaja bungalaṇa *when I was sick* (Bid OC). (It seems that, unlike the case in Gunggari, a certain semantic connection with respectively the imperfective and perfective mode exists in Bidjara.) Forms without the modal or aspectual element (-na- or -la-) also exist, as in: jinda bariṇa jindaṇuna gunina *if you cry I will hit you* (Bid OC), wandi jinda guriṇa (for guniṇa) nula jindaṇuna badana *if you hit the dog he will bite you* (Bid OC), waḡana ṇaja duṛu gurbaṇa *I am going when the sun rises* (Bid AC), duṛu wunaṇa *at sunset* (Bid AC), jinda jamaṇa ... guniṇa *juruna if you do (I) will hit you* (Bid AC).

9.31 The element -gi- in the derived verbal forms mentioned in 9.13 (maṛingi-, widugi-) may be considered an auxiliary verb stem, analogous to the English *to be* in periphrastic constructions. Hence gaṛa maṛingiṇa (-ṇa for -na; cf. 9.28) *I do not talk (Bidjara)* (Bid RH) is to be analysed as *not being an Aboriginal*.⁸⁶ An analogous auxiliary is also found in Gunggari (see 6.35).

9.32 *Paradigms.* Bidjara conjugation is basically on the same lines as in Gunggari, as appears from the following paradigms (the type verbs being: binda- *sit*, juga- *eat, drink*, naga- *see, look*, wuna- *lie down*).

binda- *sit*:

IMP	binda
IPF	bindana
PF	bindala
INT	bindalgu

juga- *eat, drink*:

IMP	juga
IPF	jugana
PF	jugala
INT	jugalgu
ACC	jugalaṇa, jugal (Bid RH)

naga- *see, look*:

IMP naga
 IPF nagana, nagara (? Bid OC)
 PF nagala
 INT nagalbu
 ACC naganana, nagalana

wuna- *lie down*:

IPM wuna
 IPF wunana, wunana
 PF wunala
 INT wunalgu

9.33 *Connective*. The only connective met with in Bidjara is the particle *du* (also in Gunggari; see 6.39). The function of this connective is hardly made clear by the examples gathered from Bidjara. No suggestion as to its meaning is proffered by the informants and judging from the examples furnished no definite shade of meaning becomes evident. The particle is common after imperative forms: *jinda gambira du you turn round*, *gunma du cut it* (Bid OC), *buṛi jinda gamba du you light the fire* (Bid OC), *jinda buṛi wulama du you put out the fire* (Bid OC), *jinda ṇaguna jimba du you hear me* (Bid OC), *binda du sit down* (Bid OC), *jinda dana du you stand up* (Bid OC), *ṇaja juṛi bugugu garbi du I must put the meat into the bag* (Bid RH; in Bidjara an imperative form), but it occurs after other modal forms as well: *ṇaja wuṇar wunalgu du I am sleepy or want to go to sleep* (Bid RH). In Birri verbal forms in *-gu* sometimes express direction toward the speaker (it is actually the short pronominal form of *ṇagu mine, to me*; see 22.16). This would certainly suit such phrases in Bidjara as: *jaṇa waḡa du mother, come* (Bid OC), *burbala du come* (Bid OC), but this assumption is immediately contradicted by such an example as: *gundu waḡa du go away* (Bid OC). Some of our instances suggest a sense *again*, e.g. in *bidalgu wandala bidal mundu maṛa du put it on the floor (and) take it off the floor (again ?)* (Bid RH), *jinda juṛi bugugu wanda jinda juṛi bugu mundu danggu du put the meat into the bag (and) you take the meat out of the bag (again ?)* (Bid RH). In these examples, however, *du* may just as well indicate a connective sense proper, by answering to the unexpressed conjunction *and* in Bidjara. As a matter of fact, in most of the examples quoted it may be possible and sometimes quite suggestive to render the connective *du* by *then* (as attempted for Gunggari also; cf. 6.39), a word which does not after all convey a sense very different from the mentioned one of *again* (for an alternative rendering into English, cf. Breen 1973, 6.3.2, p.89).

(c) Construction

9.34 A few points only may be said regarding the principles according to which concrete words (whether inflected or not) are combined to form a context. That nominal word stems, or nouns in the nominative case, as well as a nominal and a verbal stem, are capable of being juxtaposed to form compounds and further that a nominal stem may be reduplicated to modify the meaning of a component element, has been explained in a previous connection, in dealing with the morphology of the language (9.2-3). While reduplicated forms as well as compounds having a nominal and a verbal element in every respect behave as morphological units, a combination of two different nominal stems form a syntactic construction,

which may be analysed in a twofold way, as regarded from the English point of view: wudun jibu *wet grass* (from the Bidjara point of view alternatively a compound, *wet-grass*) or *the grass is wet* (both representing one concept in the native language). This non-distinction of (English) attributive and predicative construction may be extended still further in cases in which a verbal form is given a nominal sense (cf. 9.2), so that baganu janda danana may mean *the leaves of the tree* (Bid AC), that is the attributive counterpart to *the leaves of the tree stand* (i.e. *grow*).⁸⁷

9.35 That the English conjunction 'and' has no direct equivalent in Bidjara is indicated in 9.33. A verbal action may be either subordinated (by means of an accidental form; see 9.30) or co-ordinated with another, without any connective. For the former practice, see in 9.30, while the following instances illustrate co-ordination: nuṅ bindana barina *he is sitting crying* (Bid RH), bungana wunana *he is lying (being) sick* (Bid RH); nuṅuna jimbala gandu barina *(I) heard the child crying* (Bid RH), juṛi wagula jugala *having cooked the meat he ate it* (Bid OC). The English renderings are manifold, none being literally equivalent to the Bidjara constructions.

MARGANJ

Introductory remarks

10.1 Although relatively little information has been obtained on the Marganj (margan) language, it is evident that it is closely related to Bidjara. The informants available all came from the far west inland and it appears from comparison of the data furnished by Aborigines further east that the Marganj linguistic area extends in a westerly and south-westerly direction from that of Gunggari and Bidjara. A Gunggari informant (Gun TC) locates Marganj at Cunnamulla and Thargomindah. Otherwise Marganj is usually referred to as the 'Warrego language' (Bar MP).⁸⁸ Our informants hail from, or mention as the home of their people, such places as Charleville and Bogarella or, in general, places on the Warrego river. These are all situated to the west of the Gunggari country.

List of informants

10.2 Reference is made to the following informants for Marganj by means of the signature *Mar* (= Marganj), followed by the initials of the respective persons. Otherwise compare 4.2.

Mar DF: Mrs. Doreen Fraser, at Blackwater and Yeppoon, from the Warrego river (Charleville); her father is Jim Laughton (80-90), at Clermont.

Mar JD: Mrs. Jacqueline (Jackie) Daly (née Fraser), Mrs. Fraser's daughter, at Yeppoon.

Mar MC: Mrs. Madeline Chubb, at Nerambeh and West Rockhampton.

Mar MD: Mrs. Margaret Davies (née Fraser), at Marmor, south of Rockhampton, Mrs. Fraser's (Mar DF) daughter

Mar MP: Miss Mabel Pegler (42), at Cunnamulla, the sister of Mar WP (see below).

Mar RF: Mr. Rocket Fraser, at Yeppoon, Mr. Fraser's son from Bogarella.

Mar WP: Mr. Wally Pegler (38), at Toowoomba, from the Warrego river.

Phonology

11.1 The phonology of Marganj is on all essential points that of Bidjara and Gunggari. The test word *biaga tobacco* shows that the vowel system is of the triangular type (based on the three primary vowels a, i, u; e and o being absent as phonemes). Such a word as *wammerigan white woman* (Mar MC) is clearly derived from a language possessing the e phoneme (or else immediately from English 'white-Mary').

11.2 Within the consonant system, the distinction between the consonant groups -nd- and -nt- (see 5.9) is clearly marked with Mar MC: *munda snake*, *gundi house*, *gandu child*, as against *manta food*, *nanti earth*, *nanturu who?*, *wanti dingo* (the latter, however, possibly not a Marganj word). As the sound of a palatalised l (i.e. ʎ) is entirely foreign to the language, such a word as *walɓala white man* ('whitefellow') used by Mar WP, must be derived from some other western language (perhaps Puntamara).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

12.1 *Structure.* The structure of the concrete word stem in Marganj is according to the same principles as in Bidjara. Underived noun stems are practically always dissyllabic; of monosyllabic stems one may particularly notice the words *da· mouth* (Mar DF; this word is also found in Gunggari) and *gu· nose* (Mar DF, WP; with the same tendency to widen the final vowel sound—hence *go·*—as in Gunggari and Bidjara, see 5.2). Underived verbal stems are always dissyllabic and end in a vowel (-a-, -i-, -u-). There are nominal stems which also function as verb stems: *garɪ*, for instance, means *dead*, but can also be inflected as a verb: *nula garɪla he died* (Mar MC).

12.2 Reduplication of noun stems may indicate diminution, as in: *maɪ maɪ little boy* (Mar MC; cf. *maɪ Aboriginal man*), *gambi gambi little girl* (Mar MC; from *gambi woman*), but it is also found in adjectival and other words: *murga murga beautiful* (Mar DF), *guri guri clothes* (Mar MC), *guɪ guɪ ghost* (Mar MC).

12.3 *Nominal derivation.* The sociative suffix is -bari or -bai, marking the idea of *having*: *gabuganbai wearing a hat* (gabugan; Mar MC). The feminine suffix -gan occurs in *wadigan lady* (Mar MC), *wammerigan white woman* (cf. 11.1); it evidently denotes something else in *gabugan hat* (Mar MC; also *gabudɪ*, cf. below), *madigan boss* (Mar MC; probably derived from English 'master', cf. Gunggari *mada*, idem). The unusual suffix -ɖi in *gabudɪ hat* (Mar WP) recalls the Gangulu (B) -ɖi in *widiɖi hat* (cf. *widu white man*).

12.4 The 'dual-comitative' suffixes (cf. 6.6) in Marganj are -ila, -ṛila and -lu: *jaṇaila mother* (Mar MC; as a vocative: *jaṇa*), *gungaila husband* (Mar MC; cf. Bidjara *gunga*, idem, vocative), *gujaṛila wife* (Mar MC; cf. Bidjara *guja*, idem, vocative), *jabulu father* (Mar MC; vocative: *jabu*), *dagulu brother* (Mar MC; vocative: *dagu*), *bailu sister* (Mar MC; vocative: *baji*). As for the termination -lu, some connection might possibly exist with the Bidjara 'dual-comitative' in -ṛu or -ru (cf. 9.15).

12.5 *Verbal derivation*. The only verbal derivative suffixes recorded are the reflexive -li- and the reciprocal -mi-: *nagali- look at oneself* (cf. *naga- see, look*), *dingali- hit oneself* (cf. *dingami- fight*, i.e. *hit one another*); *nagami- look at one another* (cf. above), *dingami- fight* (cf. above), all instances being furnished by Mar MC.

(b) Inflection

12.6 *Declension*. The rudiments only of a declension have been recorded, namely the ergative (in -ngu), locative (in -nga) and the allative (in -gu) forms of vowel-ending stems; as is seen, the flections agree with Gunggari and Bidjara (see 6.13; 9.14). A paradigm of the words *maṛi Aboriginal man* and *dili eye* would consequently have the following appearance:

NOM	maṛi, dili
ERG	maṛingu
LOC	dilinga
ALL	maṛigu

The ergative marks the agent (*maṛingu jamala waṇal the man has made the boomerang*; Mar MC) and the allative may be used in the possessive sense (as in Gunggari and Bidjara): *maṛigu gundi a man's house* (Mar MC).

12.7 *Article*. The plural article, indicating visible plurality, is the suffixed element -nu (cf. 6.18; 9.17). The following examples are recorded: *gandunu some children* (Mar MC, Jua JM), *gambinu some women* (Mar MC), *maṛinu some men* (Mar:Gún TC).

12.8 *Personal pronouns*. Personal pronouns for the following persons are obtained: (singular) *ṇaja I*, *jinda you*, *nula he, she*; (dual) *ṇali we*, *jubala you*; (plural) *ṇana we*, *jura you*; for the third person dual, see below. The paradigms are as follows (all forms from Mar MC):

First person singular:

NOM	ṇaja
ERG	ṇaja
OBJ	ṇagunu (?) ⁸⁹
POSS	ṇagu

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda
ERG	jindabu or jindangu
POSS	jindaṇu

Third person singular:

NOM nula
 ERG nulaɾu
 POSS nuɲu

First person dual:

NOM ɲali
 ERG ɲalibu
 POSS ɲaliɲu

Second person dual:

NOM jubala, bulaɾu⁹⁰
 POSS bulaɲu⁹⁰

Third person dual:

NOM bulaɾu⁹⁰
 POSS bulaɲu⁹⁰

First person plural:

NOM ɲana
 ERG ɲanaɾu
 POSS ɲanaɲu

Second person plural:

NOM jura
 POSS juraɲu

One feature in regard of which this language differs from Gunggari and Bidjara (and practically all 'Gunggari languages' studied) is the existence of a special *ergative* form in Marganj (see the paradigms above). Examples of the use of the personal pronouns: gundi ɲagu, jindaɲu, nuɲu *my, your, his (or her) house*, ɲalibu buɾi jamana *we two are making a fire*, jindaɲu jabulu *your father*. -No demonstrative pronouns are recorded.

12.9 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative is ɲunturu *who?* and the impersonal interrogative is ɲani *what?*. Of the latter only an inflected form is recorded, namely the allative ɲanigu (mostly = *what for?, why?*). Examples: ɲunturu nula *who is he?* (Mar MC), ɲani бага *what kind of tree?* (Mar MC), ɲanigu jinda waɲala *what have you come for?* (Mar MC).

12.10 *Conjugation.* The Marganj conjugation is strictly along the lines of Bidjara. The four basic modal (or aspectual) forms (the imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) are all found and made in the following way. The *imperative* is the stem of the verb: jinda binda *you sit (down)*, jinda naga *you look*, jama make (Mar MC). The *imperfective* is formed by either of the suffixes -na (as mostly in Bidjara) and -ɲa (as mostly in Gunggari): ɲalibu buɾi jamana *we two are making a fire* (Mar MC), nula waɲana (Mar MC) or waɲana (Mar DF) *he is coming or going*. The *perfective* is in -la: waɲala came (Mar MC), jamala has made (Mar MC). Finally, the *intentional* is formed by the suffix -lgu: jugalgu *to eat* (Mar DF). Some forms in -laɲa are furnished by Mar MC, who is however not able to translate them into English, except in a very general way: bindalaɲa *sitting*, waralaɲa *falling*, waɲalaɲa *coming* (= waɲana), danalaɲa *standing*, wunalaɲa *lying down*.⁹¹ There is, however, hardly any doubt about their formal (and hence also semantic) equivalence to Bidjara *accidental* forms in -laɲa (for which see in 9.30).

12.11 *Paradigms.* Regular paradigms of the verb stems *binda- sit* and *juga- eat* appear as follows:

binda- sit:

IMP *binda*
 IPF *bindana* (*bindaŋa*, Mar DF)
 PF *bindala*
 ACC *bindalaŋa*

juga- eat:

IMP *juga*
 IPF *jugana*
 PF *jugala*
 INT *jugalgu*

12.12 Some forms have been noted which have an irregular aspect. Such forms are: *bindangu come and sit down* (Mar MC) and *bindandu* (not explained, but probably the same). These recall the Gunggari and Bidjara imperatives with the connective *du* (see 6.39; 9.33), on the one hand, and the Gunggari imperfective forms in *-ŋu*, *-nu*, on the other (cf. 6.34). The true explanation and rendering in English is not ascertainable from our material.

Gunggari, Bidjara and Marganj vocabulary

13. According to the principle adhered to in Part I of this survey, identical data from any of the languages comprised in this vocabulary are placed under one entry, which answers in the first place to words recorded from Gunggari. No signature or initials of informants indicates a common Gunggari form; forms derived from Bidjara or Marganj are marked as such (by the use of respectively *Bid* or *Mar* or by corresponding reference to informants). This does of course not mean that such forms are lacking in Gunggari, as negative evidence is not conclusive, neither does, for the same reason, the absence of a signature or other reference indicate that the word is common in Gunggari only. Nominal words are given in the stem (or nominative) form; inflected forms (as far as they are not to be found in the morphological sketches) are quoted within parentheses. Verbs—as well as any other kind of word not recorded in their stem forms—are given with a hyphen following the stem; in the case of a verb, the basic modal forms (unless appearing in the morphological sketches) are given in this order (whether or not indicated by their respective abbreviations): *imperative, imperfective, perfective, intentional* (accidental forms are always marked by ACC.). For further particulars as to the arrangement of the vocabulary, compare in Part I, 12. The order of the entries is alphabetical, the symbols being ranged as follows: a, b, d, ɖ, ɗ, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, ŋ, r, ɾ, t, u, w.

A

aba DEM PRON REL (6.27-28) that,
there: wadiganu aba danana some
white women (are) standing there
(Gun TC).

abagaṛi REL to the side (left or right; Gun TC).

abagaṛiṇ DEM PRON REL over there,
to that side (Gun TC): abagaṛiṇ
maṛiṇ the man over there,
abagaṛiṇ gambiliḷa turn over to
that side, gundi mundu abagaṛiṇ
in front of the house. —cf.
abaquriṇ.

abagařindu or abagařinmundu REL
from over there or in front
(Gun TC).

abagu REL over to that side
(Gun TC). -cf. jabaqu.

abagurin REL over to that side.
-cf. abaqarin.

abanqu, v. abanqu.

abana DEM PRON (6.28).

abangu (abangu) REL there: marin
abangu danana a man standing
there (Gun EA).

abapmundu REL from there (or
'that one'; Gun TC).

abu (abu-) DEM PRON REL (9.23-24);
also used as an interjection:
'Oh!'.

abuda DEM PRON (6.27-28).

abugaṛin REL duru abugaṛin
toward the other side (Gun TC).

abugurin REL over there.

abuna DEM PRON (9.24).

B

ba *CONN* (6.39).

-*ba N DER SFX* (6.5).

baba N baby doll (Bid AC).

baba- V TR (INT) babalgu spear,
throw (Bid RH).

babun *N* bottle tree (Bid OC).

bada- V TR badana; badala; badalgu
bite (Bid OC, RH).

badama- V CAUS badamaŋa; badamala;
badamalgu make bite, catch
(fish): ŋaja guju badamaŋa I
fish or am fishing (Gun TC),
guju ŋaja mada badamala I tried
to catch fish (Gun TC), ŋaja guju
badamalgu I will catch fish
(Gun TC). -cf. bada-, badama-.

badara N V sick (Gun LM). -cf.
badari-.

badari- v ITR (PF) badařila be
sick, get sick (Gun TC). -cf.
badara.

badi N any clothes or dress
(Mar WP).

badī- V TR IPF badina; PF badila
run (Gun TC): gamu badina it is
raining, gamu or jugan badila
it has rained. -cf. bandi-.

baga baga N mara baga baga young
woman (Gun LM).

bagala *N* the name of a language,
Batjala (Gun TB).

bagama- V ASS (PF) bagamala
bite for (Gun TC): gara ṇagu
bagamala (the fish) did not
bite for me. — cf. badama-.

bagari N another, different
(Bid OC).

bagu N ERG bagungu frog (Gun,
Bid): bagu(ŋ)gu bindil baralmana
the frogs make a noise (Bid RH).

baguri- V ITR (IPF) baguriṅa
smell (Gun TC): gaga baguriṅa
smelling bad.

бага *N* ABL bagandu; LOC багаḡ(g)a;
 ALL bagagu stick, tree (Gun,
 Bid, Mar): бага dala or bagagu
 dala leaves of the tree (Bid OC),
 bagagu wagala climbed the tree
 (Bid AC), wingaḡu bindana bagagu
 the bird is sitting on the tree
 (Bid AC).

baga- *V TR (IPF)* bagana dig:
juna bagana digging a hole
(Bid RH).

banga *N* tree (correct ? Gun TC).
-cf. бага.

bangi- *V TR (PF)* bangila take,
take out, along (Gun TC): gura
bangila took back.

bangu *N ALL* bangugu 1. stone,
rock; 2. mountain; 3. money
(Gun, Bid): bangu mugu on top
of the rock (Gun TC), bularu
bangu two dollars (Bid RH),
bangugu wadalu to go to the
mountain (Bid RH), bangugu danana
standing on (top of) the mountain
(Bid OC).

bangubari (-bai) *N* having money
(Bid RH, OC): bangubai naja I
have got money. -cf. bangu.

bangun *N LOC* bangunda; *ALL*
bangungu head (Gun, Mar MP, WP):
bangun gurbin bald (Gun TC).

-bai, v. -bari.

baibu *N* pipe (for smoking; Bid OC).

baila- *V* baila; bailana; bailalgu
sing (Bid RH, OC): mambu baila
sing a corroboree song, dana
mambu bailana all are singing.
-cf. baji-.

bailu *N* one's sister (Mar MC).
-cf. baji, bajingila.

baji *N* sister (Mar MC). -cf.
bailu.

baji- (bai-) *V IMP* bai or baja;
IPF bajina; *INT* bajilgu, bailgu
sing, make a noise (Bid RH):
mambu bai, jinda baja (you)
sing (a corroboree song), gandu
bindil bindil bajina the
children make a noise.

bajingila *N* one's elder or younger
sister (Bid RH). -cf. bailu,
baji.

bala *N* leg (Gun, Bid, Mar).

balaji- *V IPF* balaina be hot
(Bid AC).

balanguru (-baban- ?) *N* nest
(Gun TC, EA).

balbara *N* river (bank), creek
(Gun, Mar): balbara bindalaja
(they drink) sitting on the river
bank (Gun TC).

balga *N* forehead (Mar MC).

balga- *V ITR IPF* balgana: gamu
balgana rain is coming (Bid OC).

balgaru *REL* yesterday: balgaru
nula gurbala he came yesterday
(Gun TC).

balun *N ERG* balundu tomahawk
(stone axe; Gun TC). -cf. balun

balun *N* tomahawk (Gun BT, QL).
-cf. balun.

bamba *N* board, a (wooden ?) thing
(Bid RH): nunturu bamba gunmala
who broke the thing? bamba
gurila that thing is broken.
-cf. bambaḍu.

bambaḍu *N* firewood (Mar MC).
-cf. bumbaḍu, bamba.

bamban *N* chest, heart (Bid RH, OC).

bambu- (bamu-) *V TR IMP* bambuja,
bamuja open (Gun TC): da
bambuja or bamuja open the door
or open your mouth.

bambulma- *V CAUS IMP* bambulmaja
open (Gun TC): bambulmaja giṅṅu
open with the key. -cf. bambu-.

bambun *V N* deafening, making a
noise (Gun ML).

bamu-, v. bambu-.

banba- *V TR* banbaja; banbaṅa;
banbala hit, throw (Gun TC):
guliṅṅu banbala (he) hit with
a spear or threw a spear.

banbali- *V REFL PF* banbalila
throw one's own (Gun TC): guliṅṅu
buṅṅu banbalila (probably)
threw their own spears into his
back. -cf. banba-.

banbu *N* stomach (Bid OC, Mar MC,
DF).

banbu- (bambu-) *V ITR* bambuja;
banbuja, banbuna; bambula,
bambula fall (down), set (of
the sun), drop: бага bambula
a tree fell (Gun TC), gamu
bambula it rained (Gun TC),
gura bambula (her head) fell
back, dropped (dejectedly; Gun
TC), banbugiri (lemons) falling
one by one (= banbuna or
banbulina; Gun TC). -cf.
banbuli-.

banbuli- *V ITR IPF* banbulina
fall (Gun TC). -cf. banbu-.

banbulma- *V CAUS* banbulmaja;
banbulmala fell, push over,
drop (Gun TC): gaṛa banbulmaja
don't push (him, it) over,
banbulmala dropped it. -cf.
banbu-.

banbuma- *V CAUS PF* banbumala
fell (Gun TC): banga (or бага ?)
banbumala felled the tree.
-cf. banbu-, banbulma-.

banbun *V N* setting (of the sun):
duṛu banbun sunset, westward
(Gun TC, EA). -cf. banbu-.

banda *N* sky (Gun GD). -cf.
bandaṛa.

bandara *V REL* gandunu gamu
bandara (some) children splash-
ing (Gun TC).

bandaṛa *N ABL* bandaṛandu; *ALL*
bandaṛagu 1. sky, in the sky,
high up, heaven; 2. God (Bid OC):
bandaṛa mundu from above or
(also) God (Bid OC), bandaṛandu
in the sky (Gun TC), bandaṛagu
jangila (the bird) flew up
(Bid RH), bandaṛagu in the sky,
in heaven or God (Bid AC), mira
bandaṛagu above in heaven (Gun
TC). -cf. banda, bandaṛagari.

bandaṛagari (-gai, -gi ?) *ERG*
bandaṛag(a)ingu 1. the world;
2. God (Bid RH): bandaṛagaingu
wudun baṛalmala God has made
the grass (i.e. 'the earth'),
bandaṛagingu nanti baṛalmala
(idem). -cf. bandaṛa.

bandaṛandu, v. bandaṛa.

bandi *N* pine tree (Gun TC). -cf.
bandaṛa.

bandi- *V ITR IPF* bandina: gamu
bandina it was raining all the
time (Gun TC). -cf. badi-.

banda- *V IPF* bangana sing
(Gun TC): buṅga jinda bangana
you are singing through your
nose. -cf. bangali-.

bangali- *V REFL IPF* bangalina
sing (one's own ?) (Gun TC):
bangalina miḡa or miḡa bangalina
singing (a corroborree song).
-cf. banda-.

bangar *N* sore, sick (Bid RH):
gawa bangar sore throat.

bandaṛa *N* pine tree (Bid OC).
-cf. bandi.

bandi *N* sweetheart (Gun PH).

banḡu- *V TR IMP* banḡu; *INT*
banḡulgu cut, trim: jinda banḡu
buṛi you make a fire ('cut fire-
wood'; Bid OC), banḡulgu baṛungu
to cut with a tomahawk (Bid RH),
waṇal banḡulgu to trim the
boomerang (Bid RH).

bangur *N* stomach, belly: bangur
baru wunalaja lying down on
(my) belly (Gun TC).

banda- (banda-) *V TR IPF* bangana;
PF bangala make (a boomerang;
Gun TC): bangala waṇal made a
boomerang.

bangabara *N* poor man, skeleton
('bones only'; Bid RH).

bangani (bangari, Bid AC) *N*
sandalwood: bangani dala leaves
of sandalwood (Bid OC).

banigin *N* cup, mug (Bid AC, Mar
MC).

bapa *N* a mob (Gun TC).

bapa bapa *N* many, plenty, grown-
up (Gun TC): ṇaja bapa bapa
I am grown-up. -cf. bapa.

ba^{pa}ri *N* big: ba^{pa}ri ba^{ngu} big
rock (Gun EA), ^{na}ja, ^{ji}nda ga^{di}
ba^{pa}ri as big as I, you. -cf.
ba^{pa}.

ba^{pa}ru^ŋ *N* bottle (Bid OC).

ba^{ra} *REL* *POST* down, below (Gun,
Bid): ba^{ra} bi^{nda} sit down, ba^{ra}
ma^{ga}li move down and up (Gun ML;
perhaps 'beating the time (when
singing)'?), ba^{ra} bi^{nda}na,
wa^{ga}na sitting, going down,
bi^{ri}n ba^{ra} down on the plain
(Gun TC), gu^{ndi}gu ba^{ra} below
the house (Gun LM).

-ba^{ra} *N* *DER* *SFX* (9.5).

ba^{ra}gu^{ri}n *REL* down the river
(Gun TC).

ba^{ra}lga *N* native companion,
bro^lga (bird). -cf. bu^{ra}lga.

ba^{ra}mu^{du} *REL* from below.

ba^{ra}du *REL* from below.

ba^{ra}baⁿ *N* noise (as of children;
Bid OC). -cf. bi^{ndi}l.

ba^{ri}- *V* *ITR* *IPF* ba^{ri}ŋa, ba^{ri}na;
PF ba^{ri}la; *ACC* ba^{ri}ŋa^{ja} cry,
howl (Gun, Bid): bi^{nda}na ba^{ri}na
sitting crying (Bid RH), gu^{mbi}na
ba^{ri}na the dingo is howling
(Bid RH), ga^{ndu} ba^{ri}la the child
cried (Bid RH), ^{na}ra ^{ji}ni ba^{ri}la
a dog over there howled (Gun TC).

-ba^{ri} *N* *DER* *SFX* (6.4; 9.4; 12.3).

ba^{ri} ba^{ri} *N* crying or cry-baby
(Gun TC).

ba^{ri}jaⁿ *REL* down (Bid OC): ba^{ri}jaⁿ
na^{ga}na looking down. -cf. ba^{ra},
ba^{ru}.

ba^{ru} *REL* *POST* down, down on,
eastward: ba^{ru} ^{na}ja ma^{nda}lgu
I am going Rockhampton way (Gun
EA), ba^{ru} wa^{ga}ŋa goes down
(Gun TC), ba^{ngur} ba^{ru} flat on
(one's) stomach (Gun TC). -cf.
ba^{ra}.

ba^{ru}gu^{ri}n *REL* downward (Gun TC).
-cf. ba^{ru}.

ba^{ru}mu^{du} *REL* eastward (? Gun EA).
-cf. ba^{ru}.

ba^{ra}-¹ *V* *ITR* *IPF* ba^{ra}ŋa, ba^{ra}na;
PF ba^{ra}la; *ACC* ba^{ra}laŋa turn
into, become, get, be (Gun, Bid):
mi^{ga}n ba^{ra}ŋa is good (Gun TC),
wa^{ga} ^{na}ja ba^{ra}na I am getting
all right (Bid OC), mi^{ga}n ba^{ra}la
changed, became good (Gun TC),
wa^{ga} ba^{ra}la got well (Bid OC),
ba^{ngugu} ba^{ra}la (Bid RH), ba^{ngu}
ba^{ra}la (Bid OC) turned into a
mountain, became stone, ma^{ri}
ba^{ra}la became a man (Bid RH),
ba^{ra}laŋa when it was (dry, wet;
Bid RH).

ba^{ra}-² *V* *TR* *PF* ba^{ra}la scratch
(Gun TC).

ba^{ra}lma- *V* *CAUS* ba^{ra}lma;
ba^{ra}lma^{na}; ba^{ra}lma^{la} make, make
good, create (Gun, Bid): bi^{ndi}l
ba^{ra}lma^{na} making a noise. -cf.
ba^{ra}-.

ba^{ra}ma- *V* *CAUS* *IPF* ba^{ra}maŋa,
ba^{ra}ma^{na}; *PF* ba^{ra}ma^{la} make, do,
create (Gun, Bid): ^{na}ni ^{ji}nda
ba^{ra}maŋa what are you doing?
(Gun LM), wa^{ga}l ba^{ra}ma^{la} made
a boomerang (Bid RH), ma^{nta}
ba^{ra}ma^{la} ^{ju}ga^{lgu} made food to
eat (Bid RH), da^{gu} da^{gu}(ŋu)
^{na}na wa^{ga} ba^{ra}ma^{la} the doctor
cured me (Bid OC), mi^{ga}n ba^{ra}ma^{la}
created (Gun TC), ^{ja}mba ba^{ra}ma^{la}
(God) created the earth (Gun TC),
bi^{ra}ŋulu na^{ndi} ba^{ra}ma^{la} God has
made the earth (Bid OC). -cf.
ba^{ra}-, ba^{ra}lma-.

ba^{ra}ba^{ra} *N* *ALL* ba^{ra}ba^{ra}gu creek,
river, Ba^{ra}mbah Creek (at
Cherbourg): ba^{ra}ba^{ra}gu in the
creek (Bid RH).

ba^{ra}bi^{ra} (ba^{ra}bi^{ra}, ba^{ra}bi^{ra}) *N* *ALL*
ba^{ra}bi^{ra}gu porcupine (Gun, Bid,
Mar).

ba^{ra}gu *N* ankle (Bid OC, RH).

baṛu¹ *N ABL* baṛundu; *ALL* baṛugu
river, creek, waterhole (Gun,
Bid): baṛu guṛiṇ to the river
(Gun EA), baṛu gadi like a river,
(clear) as a river (Gun TC),
baṛugu to the river or water-
hole (Gun TC).

baṛu² *N ERG* baṛungu axe, toma-
hawk (Gun, Bid, Mar).

baṛuṇ baṛuṇ *N* crooked (for
instance, a road; Gun TC).

bau *N REL* barking (of dogs),
howling (of dingoes): nura bau
danana the dog is barking (Bid
OC), jamba bau danala the camp
is deserted (Bid OC; probably
with reference to dingoes
howling).

baura *N* big red kangaroo (Gun TC,
EA, NM).

biaga (bijaga) *N* tobacco, snuff
(Gun, Bid, Mar).

biba *N* paper, letter, newspaper,
paper money (Gun, Bid): biba
nagana looking at a paper
(Bid AC).

bidal *N ALL* bidalgu 1. bark
(of tree); 2. floor (of house;
Gun, Bid): bidal danalgu to
stand on the floor (Bid RH),
bidalgu wandala put on the
floor (Bid RH).

bidi *REL* tomorrow (Bid OC).

bidigu *REL* when? (Bid RH): bidigu
jinda nagana when will you see
(me)? (probably 'some time ahead';
cf. 9.25). —cf. bidi.

bidiri *N* pituri (a tree of which
the leaves were chewed with ashes
and tobacco; Gun TC).

bidu *N* another, strange (Bid OC):
nura bidu another or a strange
dog, gundi bidu another house
(cf. guga bidu another house;
Bid:Wir AM).

biduru *REL* around (Gun TC).

bidurun *N REL* ? round (Gun TB).

bidurundu *REL* around: bidurundu
wilaga flying around (Gun TB,
TC), gundi or jamba bidurundu
round (about) the house (Gun TB).

bigara *N* the Springsure language,
Bidjara (Gun, Bid).

bigu- *V TR IMP* bigu, biguja; *IPF*
biguṇa; *PF* bigula throw, send
away, fight: gaṛa jinda bigu
don't you throw it (Gun LM),
gundu biguja throw it away
(Gun TC), biba biguja send a
letter (Gun TC), bigula they
fought (Gun TC), ganda bigula
spat (Gun TC), wuju bigu-
breathe (Gun TC).

biguma- *V CAUS IMP* bigumaja
throw over: gaṛa bigumaja don't
throw (him) over (Gun TC). —cf.
bigu-.

bigumia- *V REC IPF* bigumiana;
PF bigumiala fight, wrestle
(Gun TC): digargala bigumiana
the dingo pups are fighting,
bigumiala gunimiala fought and
killed, julun ba ṇali bigumiala
here we go, let us fight. —cf.
bigu-.

bigundi- *V TR PF* bigundila throw
(one) over (Gun TC). —cf. bigu-.

biga *N REL* quiet (Bid OC): biga
binda keep quiet.

bigan *N* the native rule or law,
religion (Gun TC, EA): mari bigan
the Aboriginal law (Gun TC).

bigaṛi *N* cockatoo (Bid OC;
correct ? cf. Gunggari digarṛi).

bigi *N* dream: bigi wangu a bad
dream (Bid RH), bigi nagala (I)
saw a dream, dreamed (Bid OC).
—cf. bigi-, bigiri.

bigi- *V IPF* bigina; *PF* bigila
dream (Bid RH): ṇaja bigila
I dreamed, ṇaḡuna bigina dream-
ing about me. —cf. bigi, bigiri.

bigiri *N LOC* bigiringa dream
(Gun TC): bigiringa nagala saw
in a dream. -cf. bigi (Bid).

bigiri-, *V IPF* bigiringa dream
(Gun TC): bigiringa naja jindala
I was dreaming about you. -cf.
bigi- (Bid).

bijaga *v.* biaga.

bijulbiwal *N* ghost (Gun BT).

bilajar *N* plate, saucer (Bid OC).
-cf. bulajar.

biligan *N* can, jug (Bid OC).

binbi *N* good (Bid RH): buṛi binbi
the fire is good.

binbiruru *N* happy family (a bird;
Gun TC). -cf. binbi.

binda- *V ITR* (6.38; 9.32; 12.11)
sit (down), enter, stay, live,
be (Gun, Bid, Mar): bara binda
sit down (Gun QL), binda du sit
down (Bid OC), duri bindaja be
good (Gun TC), gamu bindaja
there is water (Gun TC), ḡunduru
gandu bindana who is that child?
(Gun EA), nula bindana yet gaṛa
ḡula wulala he is still alive
(Gun TC), jambagu ḡali bindaja
we are staying at home, jaramanda
bindaja riding on horseback
(Gun TC), bindalgu ḡagun(d)a
(you come) to stay with me (Gun
TC), bindalgu bus to catch
(literally 'enter') a bus (Bid
RH), bindalgara sitting (alone),
I am sorry to say (Gun TC, TB).

bindali- *V ITR IPF* bindalina
sit (of many ? Gun TC): dana
bindalina you all are sitting.
-cf. binda-.

bindalma- *V CAUS* bindalma;
bindalmana; bindalmala let sit
(Bid). -cf. binda-, bindama-.

bindama- *V ASS* bindamaja;
bindamaja sit with, nurse
(a child; Gun TC). -cf. binda-.

bindarima- *V CAUS PF* bindarimala
make one sit down (Bid OC).
-cf. binda-, bindalma-.

bindi- *V TR* bindija; bindina;
bindila; bindilgu keep (Gun,
Bid): bulari jinda gandunu
bindija you keep two children
(Gun TC), bapa bindina keeping
the lot (Gun TC).

bindi bindi *N* spots: nula bindi
bindibari (-bai) he has got
spots (face, hands full of spots;
Bid OC, RH).

bindil or bindil bindil *N* noise
(Bid RH).

bingi *N* stomach (Gun PH).

bingi *N* tail (Gun TC): bingi
nagaja look at the (dog's) tail.

biragulu *N ERG* biragulu,
biragulungu God (Gun, Bid):
biragulu danu God himself
(Gun TC), biragulu bandara mundu
bindana God is (from) above
(Bid OC), biragulu ḡaguna jimbana
God hears or listens to me
(Bid OC).

birgagu *REL* tomorrow or yesterday
(Bid OC, AC): birgagu naja bindala
I was sitting up yesterday
(Bid OC).

birija *N* the name of a language,
Birri, the Burdekin language
(Gun LM, EA).

biṛin (biṛin) *N* dust, open ground,
playground, plain: biṛin baṛaman
(= baṛamana ?) rolling in the
dust (while playing; 'making,
raising dust', Gun EA), biṛin
bara down on the plain (Gun TC).

bu *CONN* (6.39).

bu- *N LOC* buḡga nose (Gun TC).
-cf. gu-.

bua bua *N* butterfly (Bid OC).

budabai *N* good, nice, strong (Bid):
gandu budabai a good boy (Bid OC),
jina maṛi budabai this man is
good (Bid OC), bigi nagala
budabai I had a nice, good dream
(Bid OC), julgu budabai a strong
(good) heart (Bid AC), gaṛa
budabai no good (Bid AC).

buda buda *N* white (Bid RH, OC).

budaïda *N* potato (Gun TC).

—cf. buđaiđa.

budalgudal *N* good (Bid RH).

—cf. budabai.

budađa *N* ashes (Gun TC). —cf.

buda buda.

budigar *N* cat, pussy (cat; Gun, Bid).

budu *N* star (Bid, Mar; also 'sky'? Bid RH).

budup *N* mosquito (Gun, Bid, Mar).

budur *N* REL still (= migap, q.v.): budur bindaja sit still (Gun TC).

bugu *N* LOC bugunga ALL bugugu basket (Gun TC), bag (Bid RH): jinda juři bugugu wanda you put the meat into the bag. —cf. mangar.

bugu- *V* TR IPF buguna INT bugulgu spear, throw, blow (Bid RH): jarga buguna the wind is blowing, jinda buři budulgu you (must) blow the fire.

buđaiđa *N* potato (Gun TC). —cf. budaïda.

buga- *V* ITR IPF bugana grow (Bid RH): ŋaja bugana gurgandari I am growing tall.

bugan *N* grass (Gun TC): bugan jaramandu jugala the horse has eaten the grass.

bugap *N* prickly lizard (Gun LM).

bugili *N* crawfish (Gun TC).

bugup *N* ant hill (of big ants; Gun TC).

buņa *N* 1. tail (Bid RH); 2. penis (Gun BT).

bungaji- *V* ITR IPF bunga(j)ina be warm (Gun LM): ŋaja bungaiņa I am warm. —cf. bungar.

bungar *V* *N* warming oneself

(Bid OC): buřiḡu ŋaja bindana

bungar I am sitting by the fire warming myself. —cf. bungaji-.

bungar *N* hungry (Bid RH). —cf. bungur, gungar.

bungur *N* hungry or thirsty (Bid AC): ŋaja (gamu) bungur I am hungry, thirsty. —cf. bungar, bungar.

buja- *V* IPF bujaņa, bujana blow, smoke (tobacco; Gun, Bid): jarga bujaņa gariga the wind is blowing hard (Gun LM), buři bujaņa blowing up the fire (Gun LM), ŋaja baibu bujana I am smoking a pipe (Bid OC).

bula¹ PERS PRON REL (6.20, 22; 9.19-20) two, both, together: jaba bula or jabangu bula those two (Gun TC), bula bundana fighting (Bid RH). —cf. bulari, bulaŗu.

bula² *N* cattle, beast, cow (Gun QL, NM). —cf. buligi.

bulangin *N* LOC bulanginda blanket (Gun TC).

bulajar *N* LOC bulajara plate (Gun TC). —cf. bilajar.

bulari *N* ERG bularingu two, both: duru bulari both wings (of a bird; Gun TC), jaraman bulari the two horses (Gun TB). —cf. bulaŗu (Bid).

bularibari *N* having two or both: ŋamun bularibari (configuration in the rocks, resembling the breasts of a woman; Gun TC).

bularu, v. bulaŗu.

bulaŗini *N* three (Bid RH). —cf. bulaŗungaŗa.

bulaṛu, bularu *N LOC* bulaṛunda
(also used as a *PERS PRON*, 9.21,
or *REL*) two, twice (Bid, Mar,
Gun LM, BT): bulaṛu munda two
snakes (Bid JL), mambu bulaṛu
two corroboree songs (Bid OC),
nula ṇaguna bulaṛu ṇunila he
hit me twice, bulaṛu waḡana you
two are going (Bid AC), bulaṛu
danana two are standing (Mar MC),
bulaṛunda (staying) with them
(or 'the two'; Bid OC). —cf.
bulari (Gun).

bulaṛuṅgaṛa *N* three (Bid OC):
mambu bulaṛuṅgaṛa three corro-
boree songs. —cf. bulaṛini,
bulaṛu waṅgaṛ.

bulaṛu waṅgaṛ *N* three (Bid OC).
—cf. bulaṛu, waṅgaṛa.

bulbu- *V* bulbu; bulbuna; bulbula
blow or blow out (Bid OC): buṛi
bulbu blow the fire (to make it
go), buṛi bulbuna blowing out
a light. —cf. bulgu-.

bulbuṛiṇ *N* whirlwind (Gun TC).
—cf. bulbu-.

bulgu *N LOC* bulguṅga mouse hole
(Gun TC): bulgu junagu into the
hole.

bulgu- *V TR IPF* bulguna smoke
(Gun TC): biaga ṇaja bulguna
I am smoking tobacco. —cf.
bulbu-.

bulgubinda- *V ITR IPF* bulgubindana
sit smoking (Gun TC); also:
bulguna bindana sitting smoking.

bulgudana- *V ITR IPF* bulgudanana
stand smoking (Gun TC); also:
bulguna danana.

bulguma- *V CAUS IPF* bulgumaṇa,
bulgumaṇa make a mouse hole,
store like a mouse in a hole
(Gun TC). —cf. bulgu.

buligi *N* cow, cattle (Bid, Mar).
—cf. bula².

buliman *N* policeman (Gun TC).

bumba *N* tin can (Gun TC).

bumbaḡu *N* twigs for making fire
(Mar MC). —cf. bambaḡu.

bumbaṛa (-ra ?) *N* black or brown
snake (Bid OC).

bunda-¹ *V IPF* bundana fight
(Bid RH): bulaṛu or bula bundana
the two are fighting.

bunda-², v. bunta-.

bunga- *V ITR IPF* bungana; *PF*
bungala *ACC* bungal, bungalaṇa
ache, be sick (Bid, Mar): ṇaja
bungana hospital-gu I am (or
was) sick in hospital (Bid RH),
nuṇ wunana bungal he is lying
sick (Bid RH).

bungarima- *V CAUS IPF* bungarimana
PF bungarimala make sick (Bid
OC): juṛiṅgu bungarimala the
meat has made (me) sick (or I am
sick having eaten meat). —cf.
bunga-.

bungap *N* *ERG* bungandu plains
turkey (a bigger kind than the
scrub turkey or malley chicken;
Gun, Bid, Mar).

bungar *N* hungry (Mar DF). —cf.
bungar, bungur.

bunip *N* porcupine (Gun NM).

bunta- (bunda-) *V TR* bundaja;
buntaṇa, buntana; buntala pick
(up), lift, take, carry, get:
dandi gi manda jinda bundaja
you take or lift the bread from
the floor (Gun TC), ṇaja buntala
(bundala) dandi gi I picked it
up from the ground (Gun TC),
buntala (a hawk) picked (a grub;
Gun TC), guju jinda malga buntana
(Gun TC), bundana (Gun TB) you
get a lot of fish.

buntali- (bundali-) *V ITR IPF*
bundalina spring up (Gun TC):
gamu bundalina running water.
—cf. bunta-.

bunti *N* posterior, backside (Gun
TC).

bura- *V ITR* bura; burana; burala
get up, rise (Bid): jinda bura
you get up (Bid RH), duṛu
buralana (?) the sun coming up
(Bid RH), nula burala he is
gone (Bid AC). —cf. buṛa-.

buralga *N* native companion,
brolga (Bid OC). —cf. baralga.

burap *V N* beating boomerangs to
make music (Bid RH). —cf. buṛap

burba- *V ITR* burba; burbana;
burbala come (Bid, Mar): ṇaguna
burbala has come to me (Bid OC),
nula julun burbala he has come
here (Bid AC), birgagu burbala
coming tomorrow (*sic*; Bid AC).
—cf. gurba- (Gun).

burbali-¹ *V ASS IMP* burbali
IPF burbalina fetch, bring
(Bid OC): jinda ṇagu burbali
you bring (to) me, ṇaja nuṇuna
burbalina I fetch him. —cf.
burbaṛi-.

burbali-² *V ITR IPF* burbalina
get ready (Bid RH): nula
burbalina he is getting ready.
—cf. burba-.

burbaṛi- *V ASS IMP* burbaṛi
IPF burbaṛina fetch, bring
(Bid): nuṇuna burbaṛi fetch him
(Bid OC), nula juṛi ṇaguna
burbaṛina she will bring me
meat (Bid OC). —cf. burba-,
burbali-¹.

burgaila *N* one's daughter (Bid OC):
burgaila juran your daughter,
gandu burgaila a daughter.
—cf. burgaila.

burgian *N* cat, kitten (Gun TC).

burgu¹ *N* shield, hillamon (Gun,
Bid).

burgu² *N* daughter, great-grand-
daughter or great-grandmother
(Bid): burgu burba granny come
(Bid RH). —cf. burgaila,
burgaila.

burgu³ *N* back (Mar MC); perhaps
incorrect for buṛgu, which is
the Gunggari and Bidjara form.
—cf. buṛgu.

burguila *N* one's daughter or
great-grandmother (Bid RH).
—cf. burgu²

buringu *N* the native pronunciation
and name of 'Springsure' (Bid OC,
SK).

buru *N* penis (Gun BT; perhaps
Wakka-Wakka, see Part I, 12).

buruma (-mu ?) *N* blackberries
(Bid OC): burumu jugana eating
blackberries.

bururu *N* dina bururu a track
(Bid OC).

buṛa- *V ITR* buṛa, buṛaja; buṛaṇa,
buṛana; buṛala; *ACC* buṛaṇala
fly, rush, get up, wake up (Gun,
BID): gundu buṛaja fly away
(Gun TC), jinda buṛa or buṛala
you get up (Gun TC, Bid OC),
jugan buṛana it looked like
rain (Gun TC), gudala buṛaṇana (?)
the hawk flying (Gun EA), bugan
buṛala the turkey flew (Gun TC),
wingaru buṛala бага mundu the
bird flew from the tree (Bid OC,
AC), wuga buṛala woke up (Bid
AC), buṛaṇala rushing on (of
the wind; Gun TC). —cf. bura-.

buṛal buṛal *N* echo (Gun TC):
buṛal buṛal waḍala the echo
went.

buṛali- *V ITR* buṛaliḷa; buṛalina;
buṛalila fly (of many ? Gun):
gundu buṛaliḷa fly away. —cf.
bura-.

buṛalma- *V CAUS PF* buṛalmala
wake up, rouse (Bid OC): nula
nuṇuna buṛalmala he woke him
up. —cf. buṛa-.

buṛan *N* singing sticks (Gun TC).
—cf. buran.

buṛgu *N* ABL buṛgundu; LOC buṛgunga; ALL buṛgugu back, behind (Gun, Bid): buṛgundu from behind, buṛgunga gundi mundu back of the house, buṛgugu waḍaja go back or behind, wiḍiṇ buṛgugu a cut or sore in the back (Bid RH). —cf. buṛgu³.

buṛi *N* LOC buṛinga; ALL buṛigu fire, firewood, matches (Gun, Bid, Mar): buṛi gunma cut firewood (Bid OC), buṛi mundu (smoke) from the fire. —cf. buṛida.

buṛida REL on the fire or ashes (= buṛinga; Gun TC). —cf. buṛi.

D

da· *N* 1. mouth (Gun TC, Mar DF); 2. door (Gun TC; perhaps influenced by English 'door'): da· bamuja open the door (Gun TC), da· wudaja close the door or shut your mouth (Gun TC). —cf. dagal.

daba- *V* TR IMP dabaja push (Gun TC).

dabi- *V* TR IPF dabiṇa; PF dabila send (Bid): ṇaja nuṇuna daungu dabila na I have sent him to Murgon (Bid OC), gundu dabila sent away (Bid AC).

dabunila *N* one's brother (Gun TC). —cf. dagu (Bid, Mar).

dagal *N* mouth (Gun LM). —cf. da·.

dagali- *V* REFL IPF dagalina put on (one's clothes; Gun TC): guri ṇaja dagalina I am putting on my clothes, dressing.

dagan *N* ALL dagangu sand goanna (Gun, Bid, Mar; also used as a totem name, e.g., Gun TC's, who would not be allowed to marry a 'Sand Goanna').

dagin *N* spear (Bid RH).

dagin *N* socks (Mar WP).

dagu *N* brother (Bid OC, Mar MC). —cf. dabunila.

dagu dagu *N* ERG dagu dagungu doctor (Bid OC).

dagulu *N* one's brother (Mar MC). —cf. dagu.

dagunḡila (-ndila) *N* one's elder brother (Bid OC, RH). —cf. dagu, dabunila.

dagunu *N* one's brother (Bid OC): dagunu ṇagu my brother.

dangu *N* head (Mar): dangu maṛin weak head (Mar DF, JD).

dangu- *V* TR dangu; danguja; danguna; dangulgu pull, take off, take out (Gun, Bid): gulgun danguja pull the string (Gun TC), juṛi buḡugu dangu du take the meat out of the bag (Bid RH).

danguli- *V* REFL IPF dangulina INT dangulilgu take off or change (one's clothes, etc.; Gun, Bid): gawun dangulilgu to change one's clothes (Bid RH). —cf. dangu-.

dangulma- *V* CAUS IMP dangulmaja take off (Gun TC): guri ṇaja dangulmaja let me take off my clothes. —cf. dangu-.

danguṛ *N* box (Bid RH).

daṇur *N* (big) possum (Gun LM; Bid OC, AC, JL). —cf. daṇur.

daṇur *N* possum (Gun TB, TC, NM). cf. daṇur.

dala *N* leaf, leaves (Gun, Bid): бага dala or bagagu dala leaves of the tree (Bid RH, AC).

dalabai *N* having leaves: бага dalabai (there are) leaves on the tree (Gun LM).

dalap *N* tongue (Gun QL, Bid, Mar).

damba *N* REL hard, sharp, keen (Gun, Bid): julungu maṛindu ṇaguna damba nagana this man is

looking hard at me (Gun TC),
 dana damba nagana they are all
 looking hard (Gun TC), often
 used with reciprocal verbs:
 bulaŋu damba nagamina the two
 are looking at one another (Bid
 OC), damba ŋalgamina we two are
 talking to one another (Bid OC).

dambal *N* a (black) snake (Gun TC,
 EA).

dambal dambal *N* grub (Gun TC).

dambun (-bup) *N* witchetty grub
 (Gun, Bid, Mar); also used as
 'teething powder' (toothpaste?
 Gun TC).

dambun dambun *N* a kind of beetle
 (Gun TC): dambun dambun gaga
 a smelly black beetle.

dambup *v.* dambun.

dana *PERS PRON* (6.20, 22; 9.19-20).

dana- *V ITR* dana; danaŋa, danana,
 danara; danala; danalgu; *ACC*
 danalaja, danalaŋa stand, stand
 up, be (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda
 dana du you stand up (Bid OC),
 dana danaŋa they are (all)
 standing (Gun TC), aba danana
 standing there (Gun TC), marin
 jilu danara a man standing here
 (Gun TC), wadigan danala there
 is a white woman (standing; Bid
 AC), danala mira stands on high
 (of the hair; Gun TC), ŋaja gadi
 danala ŋula he is like me (Gun
 TC), mugara danalaja standing
 on the old camp (Bid AC),
 danalgarana standing (= danaŋa;
 Gun TC).

danalma- *V CAUS IMP* danalma
IPF danalmana raise, stand
 (something) up (Bid): ŋaguna
 danalma stand me up (Bid OC).
 -cf. danama-.

danama- *V CAUS IMP* danamaja
IPF danamaŋa stand (something)
 up (Gun TC). -cf. danalma-.

dandi *N* (6.17 (1)) earth, ground,
 floor, sand, dry (Gun): dandi
 mundu or gi from the earth or
 the floor (Gun TC), bindaja
 dandigu sit down on the ground
 (Gun EA), baŋu dandi (danu) the
 river or creek is all sand or
 dry (Gun TC). -cf. nanti.

dandur *N* (6.17 (3)) star (Gun TC).

dangan *N* rag (Gun TC).

dangar *N* log (Gun EA).

dangun *N* blue gum tree (Gun LM,
 Bid OC), big white tree in the
 swamp (Bid AC): бага дунган,
 idem.

danma- *V TR IMP* danmaja put
 (Gun TC): manda bulajara danmaja
 put the bread on the plate.

dantu *N* blue-tongue lizard (Bid AC).

danu *N REL* all, oneself, alone
 (Gun TC): baŋu dandi danu the
 creek is all sand, biraŋulu danu
 bindaŋa God himself lives (in
 space), burgian danu the cat
 himself or on his own.

dara *N ALL* daragu thigh, leg
 (Bid, Mar): widin daragu a cut
 or sore in the thigh (Bid RH).

dara- *V TR INT* daralgu sew
 (Gun TC): guri daralgu to sew
 clothes.

darabai *N* drunk (Gun TB).

daraburu *N* trousers (Mar WP).

daragu *N* trousers (Mar MC).

daran *N* root (of tree; Gun TC).

daran garan *N* the name of a water-
 hole (pond) near Comet, where
 there are wild ducks (Gun TC).

darawara *N* trousers (Bid OC;
 probably from English 'drawers',
 but possibly associated with
 dara 'leg'?).

darga- *V ITR IPF* dargana step
(Gun TC): gundigu dargana
stepping into the house.

dari *N* language, talk (Gun EA):
nani jinda dari nalgana or
nalgana dari what language do
you speak? nagu dari or dari
nagu my language or talk.

daringara *N* rain cloud(s), storm
(Gun TC, EA): daringara gamu
wagana a storm is coming with
rain.

darbin *N* penis (Gun BT).

daun *N ALL* daungu town, Murgon,
Springsure (Gun, Bid): daun
mundu from town or from Spring-
sure (Bid RH).

di- *N* tea (Bid OC): di- naja
jugalgu I want tea, di- namunbai
milky tea.

dibin *N* bird, little bird or any
bird.

dibul dibul *N ERG* dibul dibuldu
ghost, spirit (Gun TC): dibul
dibul jila jidana a spirit lives
in there (at the sacred place),
dibul dibul gara bindana gagaranga
ghosts or 'little people' might
be living on the moon.

dibulibul *N ERG* dibulibuldu
ghost (Gun TC). -cf. dibul dibul.

dibulin *N* bird (Mar MC). -cf.
dibin.

didan *N* native bear, koala
(Gun, Bid).

digami- *V REC IMP IPF* digamina
quarrel (Bid): gara jibala
digamina don't you two quarrel
(Bid OC). -cf. digamia- (Gun).

digamia- *V REC PF* digamiala
quarrel (Gun TC): bula digamiala
the two had a row. -cf. digami-
(Bid).

digar digar *N* wagtail (Bid OC).

digargala *N* dingo or dingo puppy
(Gun TC, EA).

digari *N* white cockatoo (Gun TC,
EA).

dinga *N* butterfly or moth or
grasshopper (Bid RH).

dinga- *V TR* dingaja; dingana;
dingala; dingalgu; *ACC* dingal
hit, beat, call (Gun, Bid, Mar):
gara naguna mana dingaja don't
hit my ear (Gun EA), dingana
calling (Bid RH), dingalgu wanal
to beat the boomerang (to make
music; Bid RH), mana naguna
dingal hitting my ear (Gun EA).

dingali- *V REFL IPF* dingalina
hit oneself (Mar MC). -cf.
dinga-.

dingami- *V REC IPF* dingamina
fight (Mar MC): bularu dingamina
two fighting. -cf. dinga-.

dila- *V ITR PF* dilala fly
(Gun TC): dilala (= burala) flew.

-dila *N DER SFX* (9.6).

dilala¹ *N ALL* dilalagu 1. galah
(Gun TB): 2. Dillalah, the name
of a station (Gun TC, TB, EA),
supposed to be derived from sense
(1): dilala jamba Dillalah
station (Gun EA), dilala jamba
mana(gu) (to) that camp 'that
stays forever' (Gun TC). -cf.
dilambu.

dilala² *N* small possum (Bid AC).

dilambu (dilamu) *N* galah (Gun TC,
EA). -cf. dilala¹.

dili *N LOC* dilinga eye (Gun,
Bid, Mar): dili muga (Gun, Bid),
dili mugal (Bid RH) blind.

dilibari *N* able to see ('having
eyes'; Gun TC, TB).

dimba *N* sheep, lamb (Gun TC).

dimban or dimban *N* vulva, cunnus
(Gun BT).

dina *N* foot, feet, toes, footprint,
track, hoof (Gun, Bid, Mar): dina
bururu a track (Bid OC), dina
mugu a sore foot (Bid RH),
dinana garana (?) kicking with
the foot (Gun LM). -cf. dinan.

dinaŋ *N* foot (Gun NM). —cf. dina.

dinamuga *N* shoes (Bid OC).

dinar *N* dinner (Bid OC).

dini dini *N* wagtail (Gun EA).

—cf. diri diri.

dingila *N* ALL dingilagu

Chinchilla (Bid OC): dingilagu
daungu to Chinchilla town.

diri *N* three (from English; Gun TC).

diri diri *N* wagtail (Gun TC).

—cf. dini dini.

dirigiri *N* wagtail (Gun TC).

—cf. diri diri, dini dini.

diwa *N* kite hawk (Gun TC).

du *CONN* (6.39; 9.33).

duga *N* smoke, a smoke (Gun, Bid).

dunga- *V* *IPF* dungana 1. be
afraid (Bid OC); 2. chase,
frighten (Bid RH): ŋaja dungana
guŋi mundu I am afraid of the
rock python (Bid OC), munda
mundu ŋaja dungana I am afraid
of the snake (Bid OC), gundu
dungana chasing away (Bid RH).

dungali- *V* *REFL* *ITR* dungali;
dungalina run (over; Gun, Bid):
jinda dungali you run (Bid RH).
—cf. dunga-.

dungami- *V* *REC* *IPF* dungamina
chase or frighten each other
(Bid): bulaŋ dungamina the two
are chasing each other. —cf.
dunga-

dungaŋi- *V* *ASS* dungaŋi; dungaŋina;
dungaŋila run away with (Bid OC):
gaŋa jinda dungaŋi don't you
run away with it. —cf. dunga-.

dungubaŋ, dungumbaŋ or
dungumanan *N* short (Gun TC, EA):
maŋi dungumbaŋ a short man
(Gun EA).

duiri *N* ashamed (Bid RH).

dula *N* tree, especially sandalwood
(Gun TC, LM).

dulba- *V* *TR* *PF* dulbala plant,
hide (Bid AC). —cf. gani-.

dulgaŋa (-gaŋa) *N* *LOC* dulgaŋa(g)a
log (Gun TC).

duli duli *N* mopoke (Gun TC).

dulu *N* posterior (Mar MC).

dumba- *V* *ITR* dumbaja; dumbaŋa,
dumbana; dumbala; dumbalgu jump,
dive, swim (Gun, Bid): dumbaja
dulgaŋa jump over the log (Gun
TC), gamugu dumbaŋa, dumbala
jumping into the water, went for
a swim (Gun TC).

dumbali- *V* *ITR* *IPF* dumbaliŋa
boil over (Gun TC): gamu dumbaliŋa
the water is boiling. —cf. dumba-.

dumbama- *V* *IPF* dumbamana jump
(Bid RH). —cf. dumba-.

dunbi- *V* *IPF* dunbiŋa: ŋamun
dunbiŋa milking (Gun TC).

dungu *N* *ABL* dungun(d)u head,
hair (Gun, Bid, Mar): dungu gi
off the head (= dungundu; Gun TC).

dungubari *N* having a head (Gun LM):
maŋi dungubari a clever man.

dunman *N* mud (Bid RH): guna dunman
gandunu some children (playing)
in the mud, dunmanbari in the
mud, dina dunmanai (= dunmanbai?)
a footprint in the mud.

dura- *V* *TR* *IPF* durana; *PF* durala
tell (Bid): ŋunturu ŋaŋuna durala
somebody told me (Bid RH).

duraŋga *N* drunk (Bid RH).

durbun *N* big shower of rain
(Gun EA).

durga *N* dust (Gun TC, EA): dili
durga dust in my eyes, durga
buŋaŋala the wind rushing on
(raising dust; Gun TC).

duri *N* good (Gun TC): duri bindaja
be good, duri gambi nice girl
or woman, ŋalinda gadi duri as
good as we two, duri migap ŋana
jugalila we ate well there.

duringa *N* white cockatoo (also the origin of the place name Duaringa; Gun BT).

duru *N* 1. arm(s); 2. wing(s) (Gun, Bid, Mar): duru bulari two wings (Gun TC), duru garin wangun, namara (on) the right, left hand (side; Gun TC).

duru gurugu *N* an Aboriginal name or nickname (Bid OC, AC).

duṛu *N* *ERG* duṛungu; *ALL* duṛugu sun, day, daytime, daylight (Gun, Bid, Mar): duṛu wulala night (Gun LM), duṛu wagan sunrise, duṛu banbun sunset (Gun TC, EA), duṛu guṛin toward sunrise (Gun EA), duṛu wagan, banbun guṛin toward the east (or Rockhampton), west (Gun TC, EA), duṛu banbula sunset (Gun TC), duṛu wagana sunrise (Bid AC), duṛu warana sunset (Bid AC), duṛugu bindalgu to sit in the sun (Bid RH).

duṛubari *N* sunshine (Bid RH).

duṛun *N* hair (of the head; Mar WP, MP).

ḡ

garal *N* salt (Gun TC).

guaringa *N* *ALL* guaringagu Duaringa (Gun TC): guaringagu du to Duaringa, too.

gugar *N* sugar (Bid AC).

ḡ

-ḡi *N* *DER* *SFX* (12.3).

G

gaba *N* 1. native black bee; 2. honey, anything sweet (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gaba- *DEM PRON* (6.27-28).

gabadi *N* hat (Mar WP). —cf. gabugan.

gabal, *v.* jangil gabal.

gabi- *V* *TR* *PF* gabila burn (Bid OC): gundi ḡaja buṛingu gabila I have burned the house.

gabi gabi *N* the name of a tribe, Kabi-Kabi, 'Saltwater people'. (Gun LM).

gabiṛi- *V* *ITR* *IPF* gabiṛiṇa; *PF* gabiṛila get hungry (Gun TC).

gabuda *N* an Aboriginal name or nickname, Gun TC's native name (Gun TB, TC).

gabugan *N* hat (Gun, Bid, Mar): gabugan garabari without a hat (Mar DF). —cf. gabaḡi.

gabuganbai *N* having a hat (Mar DF): wadigan gabuganbai a lady wearing a hat.

gabul *N* carpsnake (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gabula *REL* by and by (Bid AC): jinda gabula wagana you are going by and by.

gabun *N* egg (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gada *N* hair of the head (Gun, Mar): gada gurgan long hair, gada gurganbai having long hair (Gun TC).

gada gada *N* hair of the head (Bid OC).

gadalgua *N* black rock python (Gun TC).

gadi *POST* (6.19; 9.18).

gadi- *V* *ITR* gadija; gadiṇa, gadina; gadila tell a lie (Gun, Bid): gaṛa gadija don't tell a lie (Gun LM), gadiṇa jinda jala you are telling a lie (Gun LM), gadina gundana a thief (Bid OC).

gadima- *V* *ASS* *PF* gadimala lie or tell a lie to (Gun, Bid): ḡaguna gadimala lied to me (Gun TC). —cf. gadi-.

gadingi- *V* *PF* gadingila tell lies (Gun TC). —cf. gadi-.

gadu *N* big meat ants (Gun TC).

gaḡa *N* bad, old (Gun, Bid): gaḡa
baḡuriṅa smelling bad (Gun TC),
guga gaḡa an old house (Bid OC).

gaḡaru *REL* at once, now (Bid RH):
gaḡaru gadi immediately after,
ḡaja waḡana gaḡaru I am going
at once.

gaganguru *N* kookaburra (Gun EA).
-cf. gagubaṛa.

gagaṛa *N LOC* gagaṛaṅga moon
(Gun, Bid, Mar).

gagubaṛa *N* kookaburra (Bid OC, AC).

gaguliṅ *N* gum tree (Gun TC).

gagunguru *N* kookaburra (Gun TC).
-cf. gagubaṛa.

gaṅga- *V ACC* gaṅgal call, cry
(Bid RH): diṅgana gaṅgal calling,
singing out.

gaṅgali- *V ITR IMP* gaṅgali; *IPF*
gaṅgalina call (Gun TC): ḡaja
jimbana danana gaṅgalina I
heard them (the cows) lowing,
dibiṅ gaṅgalina the birds are
singing. -cf. gaṅga-.

gaṅulu *N* the name of the Mimosa
Creek language, Gangulu (Gun TC).

-gai *N DER SFX* (9.5).

gaimbara *N* small (Gun QL). -cf.
gajumbaṛan.

gaimbaṛan, gainbaṛan *v.* gajumbaṛan.

gaju *N ERG* gajuṅgu woman (Bid
OC; properly a Gangulu word).
-cf. gambi.

gajumbaṛan (gaim-, gain-, gaimbaṛin)
N little, small, skinny (Gun):
gandu ḡaja gaimbaṛin when I was
a child (Gun LM), gaimbaṛan baṅgu
small rock (Gun EA), gajumbaṛan
bulgu a little hole (Gun TC).
-cf. gaṛumbaṛan

gala *REL* I wonder: ḡani gala
what, I wonder? (Gun TC), gala
ḡani jinda guṅḡaja I wonder
what you kill (hunt, catch; Gun
TC). -cf. gara.

galali *N* the name of a language,
Kalali (Gun NM).

galali- *V ITR IPF* galalina; *PF*
galalila get frightened,
scared (Gun TC).

galalma- *V CAUS PF* galalmala
frighten (Gun TC). -cf.
galali-.

galama- *V CAUS IPF* galamaṅa;
PF galamala scare, frighten
(Gun TC): dibul dibuldu, gurguru
ḡaguna (or ḡana) galamala the
ghost, the mopoke scared me.
-cf. galali-.

galbulaṛ *N* magpie (Gun TC).

galgi- *V TR PF* galgila wet
(Bid OC): nandi gamuṅ(g)u galgila
has made the ground wet with
water.

gamba *N* girl (Gun TC): ḡaja gandu
gamba jinalaja when I was a
child (or girl). -cf. gambal.

gamba- *V TR* gamba; gambaṅa;
gambala; gambalgu put on (fire-
wood or clothes), make or light
a fire, dress, cover up (the
fire; Gun TC), put out (the fire?
Gun BT), burn (Gun, Bid): buṛi
jina gamba du light this fire
(Gun OC), buṛi gamba light the
fire (Bid OC), buṛi gambaṅa
making or lighting a fire (Gun
LM), buṛi gambala has covered
up the fire (Gun TC), have put
on or made a fire (Bid RH), ḡali
buṛi gambalgu we have to light
a fire (Bid OC), ḡaja gandu
gambalgu I have to dress the
child (Bid RH). -cf. ganba-.

gambal *N* (young) girl (Bid RH).
-cf. gamba.

gambali- *V REFL INT* gambalilgu
to dress (oneself or one's own;
Bid RH): jugal gambalilgu to
dress when eating (that is
'dress to eat'), gandu gamalilgu
to dress one's child. -cf. gamba-.

gambari *N REL* far away (Bid OC,
RH): jamba gambari a place far
away, gambari bindana lives far
away or a long way.

gambi *N* *ERG* gambingu woman,
Aboriginal woman (Gun, Bid, Mar):
gambi wuga a lot of women (Bid
RH); (ART) gambinu three or so
women (Gun TC), some women (Bid
RH, Mar MC), gambindu a lot of
women (Bid RH).

gambi- *V* *TR* *PF* gambila; *INT*
gambilgu turn round (Gun, Bid):
jinda jaba gambilgu you should
turn that (Bid RH).

gambida- *V* *ITR* *IPF* gambidana;
PF gambidala; *INT* gambidalgu
turn round (Bid RH): nula
gambidala he turned round.
-cf. gambi-.

gambi gambi *N* little girl or
young girl (Gun, Bid, Mar):
gandu gambi gambi girl (Gun TC,
EA), gambi gambi warala girls
were playing (Bid OC). -cf.
gambi.

gambigan *N* Aboriginal woman
(= gambi; Mar MC).

gambigaŋba *N* having no woman or
women, without a woman (Bid OC,
RH).

gambilguŋan *REL* round about (Gun
TC): baganga gambilguŋan round
about the tree. -cf. gambi-.

gambili- *V* *REFL* (6.38) turn
(oneself) round, spin round,
turn (Gun, Bid): nula gambilila
nuran gadi he turned into a dog
(Gun TC). -cf. gambi-.

gambilia *POST* round about (the
accidental form of gambili-
q.v.): jamba gambilia round
about the house (Gun TC). -cf.
gambili-.

gambilma- *V* *CAUS* gambilmaja;
gambilmaŋa; gambilmala;
gambilmalgu turn (something)
round, twist (a rope), turn
change (into; Gun, Bid):
gambilmaŋa mana turn that round
(Gun TC). -cf. gambi-.

gambiŋa-, v. gambiŋi-.

gambiŋi- (gambiŋa-) *V* *ITR* gambiŋa;
gambiŋiŋa, gambiŋina; gambiŋila,
gambiŋala turn round (Gun, Bid):
jinda gambiŋa du you turn round
(Bid RH), gamu gambiŋina a whirl-
pool (Gun TC). -cf. gambi-.

gambiŋma- *V* *CAUS* *IMP* gambiŋma;
PF gambiŋmala turn (something)
round (Bid): jinda jaba gambiŋmala
you (have) turned that round
(Bid OC). -cf. gambi-.

gambu- *V* *PF* gambula finish
(Bid AC): gambula jugala has
finished eating.

gami *N* grandmother or grand-
daughter (Gun, Bid), auntie
(Bid AC).

gamilrai *N* the name of a language
Kamilroi (Gun TC, QL).

gamingila *N* one's grandmother or
grand-daughter (Bid RH). -cf.
gami.

gamu *N* *ERG* gamuŋ(g)u; *ABL*
gamundu; *LOC* gamuŋga; *ALL*
gamugu water, rain, (strong)
drink (Gun, Bid, Mar): gamu
banbula waterfall (Gun TC),
gamu wagaŋa it is raining
(Mar MC), gamu munda (go away)
before the rain (comes; Bid RH),
gamu jugana drinking grog
(Gun LM), gamu dana maŋi jugana
the dark people all drink whisky
(Gun EA), gamugu danana standing
in the water (Bid AC), gamugu
mandana (the people) are walking
in the rain (Gun EA), gamugu
mandala went for a drink (Gun TC),
badaŋila gamundu got sick from
the water (Gun TC), gamu bulari
(the two waters') Coomooboolaroo
(the name of a place; Gun TC).

gamubari *N* full of water, drunk
(Gun TC): maŋin gamubari a drunk
man. -cf. gamu.

gamugaŋba *N* having no water,
without water, dry (Gun TC).

gamuŋ *N* soup or broth (Gun TC).
-cf. gamu.

-gan *N DER SFX* (6.5; 9.5; 12.3).

gana- *V ITR* gana, ganaja; ganana, ganana; ganala; ganalgu; *ACC* ganana come (back), go (home; Gun, Bid): wugu gana come here (Bid RH), gura ganaja come back (Gun TC), wugu ganana is coming here (= wagala; Bid RH), gura ganana juribari brings meat (Gun TC), ganana going home (= ganiṇa; Gun TC, TB), jilalbari gura ganalgu in a hurry to go back or home (Gun TC), jambagu ganalgu to go home (Bid RH), ṇanila gundu ganalgu when is he going away? (Bid RH), ganana when (I) come back (Gun TC).
-cf. gani-².

ganba- *V TR INT* ganbalgu put out (Gun BT): buṛi ganbalgu to put out the fire. -cf. gamba-.

ganda *N* saliva (Gun TC): ganda bigula spat.

gandalma- *V CAUS PF* gandalma blow the fire (Bid RH): buṛi ṇaja gandalma I blew the fire (to make it go).

gandu *N ERG* gandungu; *ALL* gandugu child, kid, boy, girl, baby (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda gandunda (probably = gandu jinda ?) jangil gabal you are a bad child (Bid OC), gandu young girl (jaṇ ge'l) teenager (Gun EA), ṇaja gundu wagala gandugu I went to my child (Bid RH), gandugu jamba Children's Home (Gun TC), ganduṛu when a boy, as a boy (Bid OC); (ART) gandunu (*ERG* gandunungu) some children.

gandubari *N* having children (Gun TC): ṇaja gandubari I have a child, ṇaḡu gandubari my poor child!

gandugarba *N* having no children (Bid OC): nula gandugarba he is without children.

gangal *N* wing, wings (Bid OC).

gangari *N* knife (Mar MC).

gangun *N* blue gum tree (Bid OC).

gani-¹ *V TR PF* ganila hide (Gun, Bid): ganila hid (her wings, folding them, Gun TC; = dulbala, Bid AC).

gani-² *V ITR IPF* ganiṇa; *PF* ganila go back home (Gun TC, TB): ganiṇa going home (= ganana; Gun TC), ganila gundigu returned home again. -cf. gana-.

ganimira *REL* in front (Bid AC).

gapa *N* hut (Mar MC).

gaparū *REL* soon (Bid OC): gaparu nu(la) burbana ṇaḡuna soon she will come to me.

gara *REL* I wonder, I do not know, perhaps (Gun TC): jindia gara I do not know which way I am going, ṇunduru gara I wonder who? ṇani gara I wonder what? gandu abana dulgara ṇagaja junabai baṛbiṛa gara bindana child, look or see that hollow log (if) a porcupine might be there. -cf. gala.

garbadala *N* train (Gun TC).

garbudi- *V TR IPF* garbudiṇa wait for (Gun EA): garbudiṇa ṇaḡuna dilalagu waiting for me at Dillalah.

gargan *N* 1. leaves, the bush;
2. cards, card game (Gun TC): ṇula gargan wagana he is gambling.

-gari *N DER SFX* (9.5).

gariga *N REL* hard (Gun LM): jarga bujaṇa gariga the wind is blowing hard.

gaṛa *REL* not, nothing, no, don't (Gun, Bid, Mar): gaṛa ṇaḡu juṛi I have no meat (Gun ML), gaṛa gamu (Gun QL), gamu gaṛa (Gun LM, TC) without water, gaṛa jugana before eating (Bid OC), gaṛa nagala have not seen, do not know (Bid RH), gaṛa gunma don't cut (it) down (Gun ML), gaṛa waḡa don't fall, gaṛa gunda don't steal (Bid OC).

gaṛa- *V IPF* gaṛaṇa kick (Gun LM):
dinaṇa (?) gaṛaṇa kicking with
the foot.

-gaṛa *CAR SFX* see Note 70.

gaṛabari *N REL* nothing, no,
without (Gun, Bid, Mar): gamu,
gundi, bangu, jaraman gaṛabari
without water, a house, money,
a horse (Bid OC, RH), gaṛabari
maṛi bindana no man is left
(Bid OC), gaṛabari nagalgu
cannot see anything (Bid RH),
dili gaṛabari blind (Mar MC),
maṇa gaṛabari deaf (Mar MC).
-cf. gaṛa.

gaṛaṇa- (gaṛaga-) *V IPF* gaṛaṇa;
PF gaṛaṇala miss, fail, get
nothing (Gun TC): gaṛaṇala ṇana
maṛala we got nothing (when
fishing), badamala gaṛaṇala
we failed (when fishing; 'the
fish did not bite'). -cf. gaṛa.

-gaṛba *CAR SFX* (6.4; 9.4).

gaṛbi- *V TR IMP* gaṛbi put
(Bid RH): gaṛbi du let me put
(the meat into the bag).

gaṛi¹ *N* dead (Mar MC): jaṇaila
gaṛi my mother is dead.

gaṛi² *POST* (6.19).

gaṛi- *V ITR PF* gaṛila die, go
out (Mar MC): nula gaṛila he
(has) died, buṛi gaṛila the
fire has gone out. -cf. gaṛi¹.

gaṛin *POST* (6.19).

gaṛumaṛan *N* little (Bid RH).
-cf. gajumbaṛan.

gaṛumaṛi *N* little, thin (Bid):
maṛi gaṛumaṛi little thin man
(Bid RH), nula gaṛumaṛi he is
little (Bid AC).

gaṛumaṛin (-maṛin) *N* small (Bid):
gandu gaṛumaṛin a small boy
(Bid OC), gaṛumaṛin a small
(bird; Bid AC).

gaṛundaṇ (?) : gaṛundaṇ maṛala (= ?
Gun TC).

gaṛuṛu *N* chicks of emu or other
birds (Bid RH).

gau *N* cow(s), cattle (Bid AC):
gau mugara danalaja cows grazing
on the old camp site.

gawa *N* throat (Bic OC, RH): gawa
bangar sore throat.

gawari *N REL* a long way (Bid RH).

guwaṛa *N* gully, gullies (Gun TC).

gawun *N* dress (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gi *POST* (6.19).

gi- *N ERG* gi-ṇ(g)u key (Gun,
Bid).

-gi- *V DER* suffix or auxiliary
(6.35).

giaḍal *N ERG* giaḍaldu cattle
(Gun TC).

giḍa *N* (freshwater) shrimp
(Gun TC).

gilar *N* (6.17 (3)) glass (eye
glasses, looking glass), mirror
(Gun TC).

gilaru *N LOC* gila(s)ṇ(g)a glass,
mirror (Bid AC).

gin *POST* (6.19)

-giri *V DER* suffix or auxiliary
(6.35).

gu- *N* nose, face (Gun, Bid, Mar):
ṇagu gu- nagalina gamuṇga
seeing (the reflexion of) my
face in the water (Gun TC), gu-
gaṛabari without a nose (Bid RH).

gua *N* yam (Bid OC). -cf. guar.

guamu *N* the name of a language
(about Cunnamulla), related to
muruwari (q.v.; Gun TC).

guar *N* yams (Gun TC). -cf. gua.

guba- *V IPF* gubana *PF* gubala
burn, smoke (Bid OC): buṛi gubana
fire is burning, buṛi gubala
the fire is smoking, buṛi gubala
gundi fire burned the house.
-cf. gubama-, gubanda-.

gubama- *V CAUS PF* gubamala
burn (Gun TC): madiṛu ṇana
gubamala the match burned me.
-cf. guba-.

gubanda- *V ITR IPF* gubandaṇa
burn (Gun ML): buṛi gubandaṇa
fire is burning. -cf. guba-.

gubaṛ gubaṛ *N* black crow (Gun TB).
-cf. gubuṛ gubuṛ.

gubaṛu *N LOC* gubaṛuṇ(g)a stump
of tree (Gun TC): gamu bindaṇa
gubaṛuṇa there is water in the
stump. -cf. guburu, wubuṛu.

gubil *N* blue-tongue lizard (Gun
LM, TC).

gubiṇ *N* whistle (Gun TC): aba
nula gubiṇbari he is whistling
over there. -cf. wubiṇ (Bid,
Mar).

gubiṛi *N* baby duck (Gun TC).

guburu *N* tree stump (Bid RH).
-cf. gubaṛu.

gubuṛ gubuṛ *N* black (Gun TC):
gubuṛ gubuṛ jaraman black horse.

guda, *v.* maṇa guda.

guda- *V TR IMP* gudaja close,
shut (Gun TC): da· gudaja close
the door or shut (your) mouth.
-cf. wuda-.

guda guda *N* white (Gun TC): guda
guda jaraman white horse.

gudala *N ERG* gudalaṇ(g)u; *ALL*
gudalagu hawk, eagle, eaglehawk
(Gun, Bid): gudalagu balanguru
hawk's nest (Gun TC). -cf.
guridala.

gudi *N* red paint (Bid OC).

gudi gudi *N* red (Gun, Bid): guri
gudi gudi a red dress, gudi
gudi jaraman a red horse (Gun
TC), gudi gudi wuba a red flower
(Bid RH). -cf. gudi.

gudiri *N* 'lot of red' (probably
'red clay or paint'; Gun TC).
-cf. gudi.

gudu *N REL* hard (as in 'looking
hard'; Gun TC). -cf. maṇa gudu.

guga *N* honey, sweet (Gun TC).
-cf. gaba.

guga- *N* gugana; gugala; gugalgū
throw, hit (as with a boomerang;
Bid OC, RH).

gugabari, *v.* wugabari.

gugara *V N REL* splashing,
swimming (Bid AC): gamu gugara
(idem).

gugugana *N* short, low (Bid RH):
maṛi gugugana a short man,
jalga gugugana a short way.

gugu *REL* here, hither (Gun, Bid):
jinda gugu waḍaja you come here
(Gun TC), gugu nagana looking
hither (Gun TC), gugu mandala
has come here (Gun LM), gugu
waḍala came here (Bid AC).
-cf. wugu.

gugubiṇ *N* scrub turkey (Bid, Mar).
-cf. gumbiṇ.

gugura *N* big black kangaroo
(Gun TC). -cf. wuṛu.

guguṛu *REL* on the other side,
across (Bid OC): jamba mundu
guguṛu bindana he lives on the
other side of the camp, guguṛu
jinda waḡa you go across.

guṅga, *v.* guṅga-.

guṅgaṇ¹ *N* bloodwood (Gun TC).

guṅgaṇ² *N ERG* guṅgandu frog
(Gun LM).

guṅgar *N* hungry (Gun LM): ṇaja
guṅgar I am hungry. -cf. buṅgar.

guṅgari *N* the name of a language,
Gunggari or the Roma language
(Gun, Bid): guṅgari ṇaja ṇalgana
I speak Gunggari (Gun EA).

guṅgul guṅgul (guṅgul guṅgul, guṅgul
gugul) *N* tin cup (to drink
from; Bid OC).

guṅguru *N* buzzing noise (Gun TC):
nimundu guṅguribari the flies
buzzing.

guila¹ *N* small (Gun TC).

guila² *REL* some time ago or long ago or when (Bid OC): ganduṛu
 ṛaja guila when I was a small kid, maṛi jangaṛu ṛaja guila when I was a young man, maṛi wadaṛinga ṛaja guila when I grow old. —cf. gulidila, guliṛu.

guja *N* wife (Bid RH). —cf. gujala, gujaṛila.

gujala *N* one's wife (Bid OC, RH):
 gujala ṛagu my wife, gujala bindana (my) wife is sitting there. —cf. guja.

gujaṛila (gujaṛa) *N* one's wife (Bid, Mar). —cf. guja.

gujaṛilagaṛba *N* widower ('without one's wife'; Bid OC).

guju *N* ALL gujugu fish (Gun, Bid): gujugu waḍala went for fish (fishing; Gun TC).

gujun *N* flood (Bid RH): gujun baṛala there was a flood, gujun baṛalaṇa when the flood was. —cf. gujur.

gujur *N*: gujur gamu big water, flood (Bid RH). —cf. gujun.

gula *N* native bear, koala (= diḡan; Bid OC).

gulba- *V TR IMP* gulbaja; *PF* gulbala tell (Gun, Bid): ṛaḡuna gulbala tell me (Gun TC), nula ṛaḡuna gulbala he told me (Bid AC), gaṛa ṛaḡuna gulbala did not tell me (Gun TC).

gulbai, *v.* gulbari.

gulbali- *V REFL PF* gulbalila tell (one's own; Gun TC): ṛaḡuna gulbalila told me. —cf. gulba-.

gulbari (gulbai) *ERG* gulbariṇgu emu (Gun, Bid, Mar). —cf. ṛuṛuṇ.

gulbarin (gulbriṇ) *N* emu (Gun GD). —cf. gulbari.

gulbu *N* butcherbird, magpie (Gun, Bid).

gulgun *N* string (Gun TC): magalina
 gulgun tying a knot.

gulidila *REL* a good while ago (Bid OC). —cf. guila².

guliḡi *N* rock python (Gun TC). —cf. guṛiṛi.

guligin *REL* long ago (Bid RH). —cf. guila², gulidila.

guliṛa *N* *ERG* guliṛaṇgu spear (Gun TC): bugan guliṛa gadi spear grass ('grass like spear').

guliṛu *REL* long ago, when? (Bid): gandu ṛaja guliṛu I was a child long ago (Bid AC), guliṛu ṛaja burbala I came long ago (Bid AC), guliṛu jinda nagala when did you see him? ('how long ago did you see him?'; Bid RH). —cf. guila².

guma *N* blood (Gun, Bid).

gumba- *V TR IMP* gumba, gumbaja; *PF* gumbala; *ACC* gumbanaṇa, gumbalaṇa give (Gun, Bid): gamu ṛaḡuna gumbaja give me water (Gun TC), gumba jugalgu give (me) to eat (Bid AC), waṇal ṛaḡuna gumba give me a boomerang (Bid RH), ṛani gumba want what? (Bid OC), jinda ṛaḡuna jina gumbala you give (sic) me this (Bid AC).

gumbaja *V* *REL* want (actually the imperative of gumba- give, q.v.; cf. Ngawun wini want, from wini-give, see 26): nula gumbaja gambiligu he wants to turn round (Gun TC).

gumbali- *V REFL IPF* gumbalina give (to one's own; Gun TC): gumbalina ṇamuṇ giving milk (to one's children). —cf. gumba-.

gumbara *N* iron bark (Bid).

gumbina *N* dingo (Bid, Mar).

gumbin *N* scrub turkey (Mar DF). —cf. gugubin.

guna *N* excrement, dirt (Bid RH):
 guna dunman gandunu kids (playing) in the dirt. —cf. gunanṇ.

gunaŋ *N* excrement (Gun BT). —cf. guna.

gunari *N* flat country, plain (Gun TC).

gunbai *N* emu (Bid OC). —cf. gulbari.

gunda¹ *N REL ALL* gundagu night, dark, last night (Bid): gunda waŋanana getting dark (Bid RH), gunda jaŋgila or waŋala went last night (Bid RH), gundagu tonight (Bid RH). —cf. gundaŋ.

gunda² *POST* (9.18).

gunda-¹ *V TR IMP* gundaja; *PF* gundala cut, strip (Gun TC): duru bulari gundaja cut both wings, gundala balundu bidal stripped the bark with an axe, gundala (he) cut (gullies).

gunda-² *V TR* gunda; gundana; gundala; gundalgu take, steal (Bid): gaŋa gunda don't steal (Bid OC), ŋura ŋaŋu juŋi gundala the dog has stolen (eaten) my meat (Bid OC).

gunda-³ *V IPF* gundana fight (? = gunimina; Bid OC).

gundaŋ *N ALL* gundangu night (Gun TC): gundangu mandana walking at night. —cf. gunda¹.

gundali- *V REFL* gundaliŋa; gundaliŋa; gundalila cut (for) oneself, cut one's own, shave (Gun): ŋanga jinda gundaliŋa you shave your beard (Gun EA), baŋungu dina gundalila cut her foot with an axe (Gun TC), wumbaŋ gundalila (the children) cut sticks (for a fire; Gun TC), —cf. gunda-¹.

gundama- *V ASS* (?) *PF* gundamala cut for (?) Gun TC: guru gundamala cut for them all (?). —cf. gunda-¹.

gundamin *V REL* getting dark (Bid RH). —cf. gunda¹.

gundan *V N* stealing, a thief (Gun, Bid): nuŋ gundan ŋala (?) he steals (Bid RH).

gundi *N* (6.17 (1); 19.16 (1)) house, home (Gun, Bid, Mar): ŋaŋu gundi my house (Bid AC), gundi juraŋu your house (Mar MC), wuŋa wunala gundi asleep at home (Bid RH), gundigu (go) home, at home, inside the house.

gundima- *V TR IMP* gundima cut down (Gun LM): gaŋa gundima don't cut (it) down. —cf. gunma-.

gundimia- *V REC IPF* gundimiana fight (Gun LM): ŋanigu jura gundimiana why are you all fighting? —cf. gunimia-.

gundir *N* (19.16 (3)) clever (Bid OC): gundiru baŋalmala the clever man has made it.

gundu *REL* away, far from here (Gun, Bid, Mar): gundu manda(ja) go away (Gun LM), ŋaja gundu I am going, I am off (Gun TC), gundu naga look away, far (Gun TC, TB), naga gundu look that way (Bid OC), gundu waŋana going away (Mar DF), gundu waŋalgu to go away (Bid OC), gundu bindana lives far away (Bid RH), gundu gundu away (Bid AC).

gunduna (guntu- ?) *REL* across (Bid AC): baru gamu gunduna down the creek across the water. —cf. gundu.

gundula *REL POST* across (Bid OC): jalga gundula across the road.

gundulu *N* emu (Mar MC; perhaps a Gangulu word).

gungu *N ALL* gungugu bush, scrub (Gun TC): gungu gi from the bush.

gunga *N* husband (Bid RH).

gungaila (gungaila) *N* one's husband (Bid, Mar). —cf. gunga.

gungailagaŕba (gungaila-) *N* without a husband (Bid OC).

gungan *N* tin can, cup (Bid OC).

gungu *N* lizard (Gun BT; perhaps another language?).

guni- (guri-) *V TR* gunija, gunia; guniŕa, gunina; gunila; gunilgu beat, hit, kill, fight (Gun, Bid): gaŕa jinda nuŕuna gunia don't you fight him (Gun TC), wandi jinda guriŕa (if) you hit the dog (Bid OC), juŕi guniŕa killing game (Gun EA), wagugu dana gunila they killed (the wallaby) in the bush (Bid OC), juŕi gunilgu to kill meat (Gun TC), jinuna gunilgu I will hit you (Gun TC), gunigiri kill all (Gun TC). —cf. guri-.

gunili- *V REFL ITR IPF* gunilina; *PF* gunilila kill one's own or be killed (Gun TC): gunilila was killed (as in an accident). —cf. guni-.

gunima- *V TR PF* gunimala kill, fight (Gun TC). —cf. guni-.

gunimi- *V REC IMP* gunimi, gunimina; *IPF* gunimina; *PF* gunimila fight (Bid): gaŕa jimbala gunimi don't you two fight (Bid RH), buŕaŕu gunimina two are fighting (Bid OC), ŕali gaŕa gunimina we two do not fight (Bid OC). —cf. gunimia- (Gun).

gunimia- *V REC* gunimia; gunimiaŕa; gunimiala; gunimialgu kill each other, fight (Gun TC): gaŕa (jibala) gunimia don't (you two) fight. —cf. gunimi- (Bid), guni-.

gunimiar- , gunimiar- *V REC IPF* gunimiarŕa, gunimiarina fight (Gun TC). —cf. guni-, gunimia-.

gunirgia *N* wasp (Bid OC).

gunma- *V TR* gunma, gunmaja; gunmaŕa, gunmana; gunmala; gunmalgu cut (down), break (Gun, Bid): gaŕa gunma don't cut it down (Gun LM),

jinda gunma du you cut (the sandalwood; Bid OC), gaŕa gunmaŕa cannot cut (Bid AC). —cf. guni-.

gunmari *N* coolamon, shield (Gun TC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka). —cf. gurbal.

gunta- (gunda-) *V TR IPF* gundaŕa; *PF* guntala steal (Gun TC). —cf. gunda-².

gura *REL* back (Gun TC): gura ŕaja ganala I have come back, gura bambula dropped his head dejectedly (probably 'fell back').

gura- *V TR IMP* guraja take off (Gun TC): dungun(d)u (= dungu gi) gabugan guraja take off your hat.

guramundu *REL* from behind (said to be Bidjara; Gun TC).

gurandu *REL POST* (9.18) after, behind (Bid AC).

gurba *N* perch (fish; Gun TC).

gurba- *V ITR IPF* gurbana, gurbana; *PF* gurbala come, rise (of the sun; Gun, Bid): julu gurbana coming here (Bid OC), nula gugu gurbala he has come (here), duŕu gurbana (when) the sun rises (Bid AC). —cf. burba- (Bid).

gurbal *N* whitewood, coolamon (more or less = gunmari, q.v.; Gun TC).

gurbali- *V ITR IPF* gurbalina; *ACC* gurbalinaja come (out; Gun TC): dana gurbalina they are coming, gamu gurbalina dandindu (where) water comes out of the ground (= 'a spring'). —cf. gurba-.

gurbalma- *V CAUS IMP* gurbalma let come (Bid AC): jinda gurbalma you tell him to come. —cf. gurba-.

gurga *N* neck or throat (Mar MC). —cf. gurga.

gurgali- *V REFL PF* gurgalila paint oneself (Gun TC): magira gurgalila painted himself.

gurgan *N* long, tall (Gun TC):
gurganbari gada wearing the
hair long or down.

gurganbari *N* long (Gun TC). —cf.
gurgan, gurgandari.

gurgandali (-dari) *N* long, tall,
high (Gun, Bid): gurgandali
maŕi(n) danana (there is) a
tall man (Gun EA), maŕi, jalga
gurgandari a tall man, a long
way (Bid RH). —cf. gurgan,
gurganbari.

gurgandari (-dali) *N* long, tall,
high (Bid RH): maŕi, jalga
gurgandari a tall man, a long
way. —cf. gurgan, gurganbari.

gurgur *N* (6.17 (3)) mopoke (Gun
TC), night owl (Gun EA).

guri *N* clothes, dress, blanket
(Gun, Bid): guri gudi gudi a
red dress (Gun TC). —cf. guri
guri.

guri- *V* ITR IPF gurina; PF
gurila break (Bid RH): jaba
gurina that is getting broken,
bamba gurila the thing is
broken. —cf. guri-.

guridala *N* eaglehawk (Gun, Bid).
—cf. gudala.

guri guri *N* clothes (Mar MC).
—cf. guri.

gurilma- *V* CAUS IPF gurilmana
break (Bid RH): gandungu
gurilmana the children are
breaking it. —cf. guri-, guri-.

guru¹ *N* REL all, altogether (Gun TC):
ŋula guru gunigiri or gunila he
killed all, guru dana they all.

guru² *N* cod fish (Gun TC). —cf.
gurul.

gurugun *N* a white bird, like a
pigeon (Gun TC).

guru guru *N* REL all, altogether
(Gun TC): guru guru wagandila
they all ran. —cf. guru¹.

gurul *N* cod (a big fish; Gun EA).
—cf. guru².

gurun *N* clothes (Bid OC). —cf.
guri.

guruŕ *N* native companion, brolga
(Bid AC). —cf. guŕur.

guŕbiŕ *N* naked, bare: bangun
guŕbiŕ bald (Gun TC), guŕbiŕ
gandunu mandana the children
go naked (Gun EA).

guŕga *N* neck (Bid OC, RH).
—cf. gurga.

guŕiga *N* peewee (the size of a
magpie; Bid OC).

guŕi guŕi *N* ghost (male or female;
Bid, Mar).

guŕilban *N* curlew (Gun TC).

guŕinga (Gun EA), guŕingal (Gun TC)
N (6.17(3)) peewee.

guŕiŕ POST (6.19).

guŕiŕi *N* rock python (Bid OC).
—cf. guliŕi.

guŕun *N* nose (Bid RH).

guŕun (guŕiŕ) *N* alone, one one's
own (Gun, Bid): ŋaja guŕun bindala
he left me behind, alone (Gun TC),
nula guŕun bindana he is living
alone or is lonely (Bid OC),
guŕiŕ ŋaja I am on my own (Bid OC).

guŕur *N* native companion, brolga
(bigger than a crane; Gun TC).
—cf. guruŕ.

ŋ

ŋaba- DEM PRON (6.27-28).

ŋadi *N* grandfather or grandson,
mother's father (Gun, Bid).

ŋadila *N* mother's father (Bid RH).
—cf. ŋadi.

ŋadingila, ŋadinila *N* grandfather
or grandson (Bid OC, RH). —cf.
ŋadi.

ŋaga-, *v.* naga-.

ŋagu *N* bones, skeleton (Gun TC,
LM). —cf. jarun (Bid, Mar).

ɲaja *PERS PRON* (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

ɲalga- *V IPF* ɲalgaɲa, ɲalgana, ɲalgara; *PF* ɲalgala; *INT* ɲalgalgu; *ACC* ɲalgalaja say, talk, tell (Gun, Bid): ɲani jinda ɲalgaɲa (ɲalgara, Gun NM) what do you say? what are you talking about? ɲaduna ɲalgaɲa talking about me (Gun LM), ɲula ɲalgala, ɲaduna ɲalgala she said (to me), told me (Gun TC), ɲalgala gulbari said to the emu (Gun TC), ɲaja ɲalgalgu bigara I am to speak Bidjara (Bid RH), bindana ɲalgalu (= ɲalgalgu ?) sitting talking (Bid OC), ɲalgalaja bindana sitting talking (Gun TC).

ɲalgabinda- *V ITR IPF* ɲalgabindana sit talking (Gun TC).

ɲalgadana- *V ITR IPF* ɲalgadanana stand talking (Gun TC).

ɲalgali- *V ITR IMP* ɲalgalija; *IPF* ɲalgalina; *PF* ɲalgalila; *ACC* ɲalgalinaja talk (Gun TC): gara maɲanga ɲalgalija don't talk into the ear ('don't whisper'), jubala ɲunda ɲalgalila you two (you and she) have been talking, ɲali ɲalgalinaja (he came) while we two were talking. —cf. ɲalga-.

ɲalgama- *V ASS* ɲalgamaɲa; ɲalgamala talk to (Gun TC): ɲaja ɲalgamaɲa widu I am talking to the white man, ɲaja mada ɲalgamala nuɲuna I tried to speak to him. —cf. ɲalga-.

ɲalgami- *V REC* ɲalgamina; ɲalgamila talk to each other (Bid): damba ɲalgamina ɲali we two are talking to each other (Bid OC), ɲali or ɲalinda ɲalgamina (idem; Bid OC, RH). —cf. ɲalgamia- (Gun).

ɲalgamia- *V REC* ɲalgamiaja; ɲalgamiaɲa; ɲalgamiala; *ACC* ɲalgamianaja talk to each other (Gun TC): jubala ɲalgamiaja

you two talk to one another, bula ɲalgamiala they (have) talked to one another, ɲali ɲalgamianaja while we two are talking together. —cf. ɲalgami- (Bid).

ɲalgamiara- *V REC IPF* ɲalgamiaraɲa talk together (Gun TC; ɲalgamiaraɲa = ɲalgamiaɲa). —cf. ɲalgamia-.

ɲali *PERS PRON* (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

ɲali ɲula, ɲali ɲunda *PERS PRON* (6.23).

ɲali jinda, ɲalinda *PERS PRON* (6.23; 9.22).

ɲalina *PERS PRON* (9.20).

ɲalinda v. ɲali jinda.

ɲamalma- *V CAUS PF* ɲamalmala frighten (Bid AC). —cf. ɲamaɲi-.

ɲaman *N* food, tucker, bread, milk (food for children; Gun, Bid, Mar).

ɲamara *N ABL* ɲamarandu; *ALL* ɲamaragu left (hand; Gun TC): duru ɲamara gaɲin to or on the left-hand side, ɲamaragu to the left. —cf. wangun.

ɲamaɲi- *V ITR PF* ɲamaɲila get frightened (Bid AC). —cf. ɲamalma-.

ɲambuma- *V ASS IMP* ɲambumaja *PF* ɲambumala grope (for), catch, fish (Gun EA): guju ɲaja ɲambumaja let me catch fish.

ɲamu *N* breast, teats, milk (Gun BT). —cf. ɲamun.

ɲamun *N* (9.16 (2)) breast, (cow's) dugs, milk (Gun, Bid, Mar): ɲamun bularibari (a rock shaped like a woman) with the two breasts (Gun TC), ɲamun dunbiɲa milking (Gun TC), gandu ɲamundu jugana a baby sucking (Bid OC).

ɲamunbari (-bai) *N* having breasts or milk (Gun, Bid): di ɲamunbai milky tea (Bid OC). —cf. ɲamun.

- ŋa'n *INTERR PRON* (9.26).
 ŋana¹ *PERS PRON* (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).
 ŋana² *PERS PRON* (6.22; 9.20).
 ŋanda *REL* where? (Bid RH): ŋanda nula bindana where does he live?
 ŋandagu *REL* whither? to where? (Bid RH): ŋandagu nula jangila where has he gone to?
 ŋanda- *V TR PF* ŋandala lay (eggs; Gun TC): gabup nula ŋandala she laid eggs, gabup bungap ŋandala bulari the scrub turkey (had) laid two eggs.
 ŋandari *N REL* and all (Gun TC): gandunu ŋandari the children and all, gjaḍal ŋandari cattle and all.
 ŋandulu *INTERR PRON* (6.29-30).
 ŋanga *N* taboo (Gun TC): juṛi ŋanga forbidden meat.
 ŋanga *N* beard (Gun, Bid).
 ŋangabari (-bai) *N* having a beard, bearded (Gun, Bid): ŋangabai jinda you wear a beard (Gun EA).
 ŋangan *N* cough, coughing (Bid RH).
 ŋanganbai *N* having a cough (Bid RH): ŋaja ŋanganbai I have a cough.
 ŋani *INTERR PRON* (6.29-30; 9.25; 12.9).
 ŋanigu *INTERR PRON* (6.30; 9.25; 12.9): ŋanigu gambi what kind of woman? (Gun TC), ŋanigu dibip what kind of bird? (Gun TC), ŋanigu (an exclamation; Gun TC).
 ŋaniŋa *REL* when? (Bid): jinda ŋaniŋa burbala when did you come? (Bid OC), jinda ŋaniŋa gundu waḡana, waḡalgu when are you going away? when do you have to go away? (Bid OC).
 ŋaniŋamundu *REL* since when? (Bid RH): ŋaniŋamundu jinda bungana since when are you sick? -cf. ŋaniŋa.
 ŋaningara *REL* what for? how? (Gun TC): ŋaningara bigumiana what are they fighting for (= ŋanigu).
 ŋanila *REL* when? (Bid RH): ŋanila gundu ganalgu when is he going or to go away (home)?
 ŋanimburu *N* how many? (Bid OC): gandu ŋanimburu juran or jubalanu gandu ŋanimburu how many children children have you?
 ŋanturu *INTERR PRON* (12.9).
 ŋara *REL* up (Bid OC). -cf. ŋaṛa.
 ŋaragu *REL* up (OC): ŋaragu waḡana going up.
 ŋaramundu *REL* from above (Bid OC).
 ŋargia *N* possum (Mar DF).
 ŋargimali- *V REFL* wash one's own (e.g. a baby; Bid OC). -cf. ŋargin(a), ŋarginama-.
 ŋargin or ŋargina (wargi-) *N* washing (Bid OC): ŋaja ŋargina jamalila I have washed myself.
 ŋarginama- *V ASS IMP* ŋarginama wash with (Bid OC): jinda gandu gamu ŋarginama you wash the baby with water. -cf. ŋargin(a), ŋargimali-.
 ŋargu *N* kangaroo (Bid, Mar). -cf. ŋaṛgu.
 ŋarguli- *V IPF* ŋargulina: maṛa ŋaja ŋargulina I am deaf (Gun EA).
 ŋarumban *N* swan or pelican (Gun TC).
 ŋaṛa *REL* up (Gun TC). -cf. ŋara.
 ŋaṛaguṛip *REL* (probably) up the river or toward the west (Gun TC, EA). -cf. ŋaṛa.
 ŋaṛgu (ŋargu) *N* grey or blue kangaroo or wallaby: ŋaṛgu bindana a kangaroo sitting down (Gun TC). -cf. ŋargu.
 ŋaṛi *N* name (Gun TC): ŋunduru ŋaṛi what is the name?

ḡarima- *V CAUS PF* ḡarimala
name (Gun TC): dana jamba ḡarimala
they named the settlement
(Woorabinda). —cf. ḡari.

ḡidu- *V TR IPF* ḡiduna; *INT*
ḡidulgu look for, find, get:
gamu ḡiduna looking for water
(Gun TB), ḡaja gundu waḡana
(or waḡana) gamu ḡidulgu I am
going to get a drink (Gun TB).
—cf. ḡindu-.

ḡimap *N* small black ants (Gun TC).

ḡindin *N* a cold (Gun TC).

ḡindinbari *N* having a cold (Gun TC).

ḡingu- *V TR IPF* ḡinguna *PF*
ḡingula look for (Gun TC): ḡani
jinda ḡinguna what are you look-
ing for? —cf. ḡidu-.

ḡu- *REL* over there (Bid AC):
gandu nula ḡu- bindana the
child is sitting over there.

ḡubi- *V ITR IPF* ḡubina startle
(Gun TC).

ḡubili- *V REFL IMP* ḡubilija
dress up smartly, put on good
clothes (Gun TC): ḡubilija guri
'slick up'. —cf. ḡuḡali-.

ḡubilma- *V CAUS PF* ḡubilma
startle, make turn round ('sit
up'; Gun TC). —cf. ḡubi-.

ḡuḡali- *V REFL IPF* ḡuḡalina
show off, dress up, coquet (in
front of the mirror; Gun TC).
—cf. ḡubili-.

ḡui *REL* ḡui ḡaja bindana I am
thinking (Bid OC).

ḡula *PERS PRON* (6.22).

ḡuman *N* skin, hide (Gun TC, EA).
—cf. numan (Bid).

ḡumbi- *V PF* ḡumbila; *ACC*
ḡumbilaja swim (Bid AC): gamu
ḡumbilaja (while) swimming.

ḡumbira- *V ITR IPF* ḡumbirana
swim (Bid AC): nula gundu
ḡumbirana he is swimming across.
—cf. ḡumbi-.

ḡuna *DEM PRON* (6.27-28; 9.23-24).

ḡu-na *INTERR PRON* (9.26).

ḡunangu *DEM PRON* (6.28).

ḡunana *DEM PRON* (6.28).

ḡunanagu *REL* over that way (Gun TC).

ḡunda, *v.* ḡali ḡunda.

ḡundaru *INTERR PRON* (9.25).

ḡundaḡa- *V TR PF* ḡundaḡala *INT*
ḡundaḡalgu ask (Bid RH): nula
ḡaḡuna waḡal ḡundaḡala he asked
me for a boomerang.

ḡundaḡama- *V ASS IMP* ḡundaḡama
ask for or of (Bid OC): waḡal
ḡundarama ask for a boomerang.
—cf. ḡundaḡa-.

ḡundul *N* long (Bid RH).

ḡunturu (ḡunduru) *INTERR PRON*
(6.29-30; 9.25; 12.9).

ḡunu *DEM PRON* (9.23-24).

ḡura *N POSS* ḡuraḡu ? dog (Gun,
Bid). —cf. ḡuram, ḡuran.

ḡura ḡura *N* rainbow (Bid OC).
—cf. ḡuranbaḡa.

ḡuram *N ALL* ḡuramgu dog (Gun TC,
QL): ḡuramgu ḡagu a bone for the
dog. —cf. ḡura, ḡuran.

ḡuran *N ERG* ḡurandu; *ALL* ḡurangu
dog (Gun, Bid, Mar): ḡuran gadi
(changed) into a dog (Gun TC).

ḡuranbaḡa (-baḡa ?) *N* rainbow
(Bid OC). —cf. ḡura ḡura,
muraḡara.

ḡuḡa *N* shadow (Bid RH): ḡuḡa
naḡalina seeing one's shadow.

ḡuḡup *N* (6.17 (2)) emu (Gun):
ḡuḡup ḡabup emu egg (Gun TC).

-ila *COM SFX* (6.6; 9.6; 12.3).

J

jaba DEM PRON (6.27-28; 9.23-24).
jabagu REL over there (Gun, Bid).
-cf. abagu.

jabagundu REL over there (Gun TC).
jabangu DEM PRON (6.28; 9.24).

jaba jaba REL over there (Gun TC, EA).

jabambaru REL across (Bid OC):
jabambaru nagana looking across.

jabamundu REL from over there
(Bid): jabamundu burbana coming
from over there (Bid OC).

jabana DEM PRON (6.28; 9.24).

jabangu REL over there (Bid OC):
jabangu wunana lies over there,
gundi bidu jabangu the other
house over there.

jabar N a big pigeon (Gun TC).

jabila, v. jabuila.

jabu N father (Gun, Bid, Mar).

jabuila (jabila, Bid AC, jabula,
Gun QL) N one's father (Gun,
Bid): jabuila janaila nula
gurbala he came with his father
and mother (Gun TC). -cf. jabu.

jabuilabai N having one's father,
with one's father (Gun TC): nula
gurbala jabuilabai he came with
his father. -cf. jabuila.

jabula, v. jabuila.

jabulu N one's father (Mar MC):
jabulu garila my father (has)
died, jindaŋu jabulu your
father. -cf. jabu.

jabuŋi- (jaguŋi-) V jabuŋija;
jabuŋina; jabuŋila forget, lose
(Gun TC): gaŋa maŋa jabuŋija
don't forget.

jadi- V ITR IPF jadiŋa, jadina
laugh (Gun, Bid).

jagal N cold, winter (Gun, Bid,
Mar): gamu jagal cold water

(Bid RH), ŋaja, jinda jagal I
am cold, you are cold (Mar MC).

jagalbai N cold, winter (Bid RH;
= jagal).

jaguŋi-, v. jabuŋi-.

jaŋa N mother (Gun, Bid, Mar):
jaŋa waŋa du mother come
(Bid OC).

jaŋaila N one's mother (Gun, Bid,
Mar): jaŋaila gaŋi my mother is
dead (Mar MC), jaŋaila gulbai
the mother emu (Bid RH). -cf.
jaŋa.

jaŋga- V TR INT jaŋgalgu look
for (something; Gun TC, TB).

jaŋgaŋa jaŋgaŋa N many (used for
higher numerals than 'two'; Gun
TC).

jala¹ N a lie (Gun LM; originally
from Wakka-Wakka ?).

jala² N yellow (from English ?
Gun NM): jala maŋa my hand is
yellow (i.e. 'I am not a full
blood').

jalbaburu N black swan (Bid AC).

jalga N way, road (Bid OC, RH).

jama- V TR jama; jamaŋa, jamana;
jamala; jamalgu make, do (Gun,
Bid, Mar): jinda jama you make
(it; Mar MC), gaŋa jama jinda
don't you do it (Bid AC), (madir)
buŋi ŋaja jamaŋa or jamana I am
making a fire, lighting a fire
with a match (Gun TC, EA), mada
ŋaja buŋi jamaŋa I am trying to
make a fire (Gun TC), ŋalibu buŋi
jamana we two are making a fire
(Mar MC), maŋindu jamala (Gun
TC), maŋingu jamala (Bid SK)
the man (has) made it, ŋani jinda
jamala what have you done?
(Bid OC), bandaraŋaingu nanti
jamala (= baŋamala) God has
made the earth (Bid RH), ŋanduru
waŋal jamala who (has) made the
boomerang? (Bid AC).

jamalgara- *V PF* jamalgarala be busy making or doing (Gun TC).
-cf. jama-.

jamali- *V REFL PF* jamalila make or do for oneself (Bid OC):
ɲaja ɲargina jamalila I have washed (myself). -cf. jama-.

jamba *N ALL* jambagu camp, home, house, nest, station, hospital, the earth, etc. (Gun, Bid, Mar):
jamba gudalagu a hawk's nest (Gun TC), jamba muningu a spider's nest or web (Gun TC),
manda jambagu go home (Gun ML),
jambagu ɲali bindala we used to live at the camp or at home (Gun TC),
jambagu wunal (while) lying in hospital (Bid RH).

janda *N* leaf, tea leaf (Bid AC):
bagaɲu janda danana the leaves of the tree.

jandi *N* waist or waistband (Gun TC).

janda-, jandi- *v.* jangu-.

jangil gabal *N* bad, naughty (of a child; Bid OC): gandu jangil gabal a bad, cheeky or mischievous boy. -cf. jangu-.

jangu- (jandi-, janda-) *V ITR IMP* janga; *IPF* janguna; *PF* jangula, jangila; *INT* jangulgu, jangilgu; *ACC* jangil go (away), fly (of a bird; Bid RH): jinda janga you go away, wingaɲu bandaɲagu jangila the bird flew up.

janga *N* young (man; Bid OC): maɲi janga a young man, maɲi jangaɲu when (I was) a young man. -cf. Wirri nanga (26).

jaraman *N* (6.17 (2)) horse (Gun, Bid, Mar): jaraman bindaɲa riding on horseback (Gun TC).

jaramanbari *N* riding ('having a horse'; Gun TC). -cf. jaraman.

jaramburu *REL* across (Bid OC): jalga jaramburu across the road.

jaramundu *REL* across, from over there (Bid OC): jaramundu jinda burba you come over here.

jaran *N* beard (Gun QL, Bid, Mar).

jaranbari (-bai) *N* bearded (Bid RH): nula jaranbari (-bai) he has a beard. -cf. jaran.

jarga¹ *N ALL* jargagu wind (Gun, Bid, Mar): jarga mandana (Gun EA), burbana or buɲuna (Bid RH), burbala or gurbala (Bid AC) the wind is blowing, jarga wagana wugu the wind is blowing this way (Bid RH), jarga mundu away from the wind (Gun TC), jargagu bindana sitting in the wind (Bid RH).

jarga² *REL* across (Bid RH).

jarun *N* bones (Bid RH, AC). -cf. ɲagu (Gun).

jaɲban *N ALL* jaɲbangu sacred place, sacred being (inside it), spirit (man, animal or bird), ghost (Gun TC): jaɲban jamba sacred place, juna jaɲban sacred cave, juri jaɲban sacred animal, jaɲban jila bindana something sacred is inside, gaɲa jinda waga jaɲbangu don't you climb up to the sacred place, jaɲbangu jamba spirit home.

jau *REL* yes (Gun BT).

jiba- *V* jiba; jibana; jibalgu wait (Bid OC, RH): jinda jiba you wait, gaɲa jiba ɲaɲuna don't wait for me.

jibala, *v.* jubala.

jibigu *N REL* ? he is drunk or in for a drink (Gun TB).

jibu *N* wet (Bid RH): wudun jibu wet grass or grass is wet.

jida-¹ *V ITR* jidana; jidala live stay (Gun TC): jidala (the possum) stayed ('we could not catch him').

jida-² V TR PF jidala leave
(Bid AC): jamba jidala left the
camp.

jida-³ V jidaŋa; jidala dream
(Gun TC): bigiringa jidaŋa
jununa dreaming about you,
bigiringa jidala (= bigiringa
nagala) dreamed ('saw in a dream').

jidi- V ITR IMP jidiŋa; IPF
jidiŋa be afraid (Gun LM): gaŋa
jinda jidiŋa don't you be afraid

jigana REL over there (Gun EA):
nunduru jaba jamba jigana whose
(or 'which?') is that camp over
there?

jila REL inside (Gun TC): jila
bindana sitting (being) inside,
jila jidana lives inside.

jilagundu REL that way (Gun TC):
ŋaja jilagundu mandaŋa I am
coming back that way.

jilagurɪn REL this way (Gun TC).

jilaŋa REL here (Gun TC): ŋunturu
jilaŋa who is here?

jilangu REL here (Gun TC): jilangu
ŋula that one here, widu ŋula
jilangu gurbala the white man
has come here.

jilabari N being in a hurry,
anxious (Gun TC): gaŋa ŋaja
jilalbari I am not in a hurry
or longing to go.

jilamundu REL from in there (Gun
TC). -cf. jila.

jilangu REL here or there (Gun TC).

jilaŋu REL right here (Gun TC).

jilaŋu REL tomorrow (Bid RH).

jilu DEM PRON (6.27-28).

jilugu REL in there (direction;
Gun TC).

jilungu DEM PRON (6.28).

jiluna DEM PRON (6.28).

jilungu DEM PRON (6.28).

jilumundu REL from here or there
(Gun TC): maŋala jilumundu got
from there or from this one.

jimba- (jumba-) V TR IMP jimba,
jimbaja; IPF jimbaŋa, jimbana;
PF jimbala; INT jimbangu hear,
listen, understand, obey, think
(Gun, Bid): jinda ŋaŋuna jimba
(Bid OC), jimbaja (Gun TC) du
you hear or listen to me, ŋaja
nuŋuna jimbaŋa I can hear him
(Gun TC), barban jimbana hearing
a noise (Bid OC), gaŋa ŋaŋuna
jimbana (the horses) do not
obey me (Gun TB), ŋaja jimbana
I am thinking (Bid RH), wubiŋ
jinda jimbala you have heard
the whistle (Bid OC), ŋaja gaŋa
jimbangu I do not understand
(Bid RH).

jimbala, v. jubala.

jimbali- V ITR IPF jimbalina
sound, be heard, felt (Bid):
bindil bindil or barban jimbalina
a noise is heard (Bid RH, OC),
miŋu jimbalina be itching (Bid
RH), mambu jimbalina music is
heard (Bid RH). -cf. jimba-.

jimbama- V CAUS IPF jimbamaŋa
let hear (Gun TC). -cf. jimba-.

jimbama- V ASS IPF jimbamana
listen to (Bid OC): jinda ŋaŋuna
jimbamana you listen to me.
-cf. jimba-.

jimbami- V REC IMP jimbami,
jimbamina; IPF jimbamina listen
to one another (Gun LM, Bid):
bulaŋu jimbami let them (two)
hear each other (Gun LM), jibala
jimbamina you two listen to
each other (imperative; Bid OC),
maŋa jimbamina listening to one
another (Gun LM), bulaŋu jimbamina
two listen to one another (Bid OC).
-cf. jimba-.

jina DEM PRON (6.27-28; 9.23-24).

jina- V ITR IPF jinana; ACC
jinalaja sit, be (Gun LM, TC):
ŋaja gandu gamba jinalaja when
I was a child (little girl; Gun
TC).

jinaŋa REL over there (Gun TC).
 jinana DEM PRON (6.28; 9.24).
 jinanagu REL over this way (Gun TC).
 jinda PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).
 jindagu REL here (Mar MC): jindagu bindana sitting here.
 jindangu REL here (Bid RH): jindangu binda sit here.
 jindia REL where? (Gun LM, Bid): jindia junu gundi where is your house? (Gun LM), jindia ŋaja waŋala where was I born? (Bid OC), jindia jinda bindana where do you live? (Bid OC), jindia waŋala went where? (Bid RH). —cf. jindia (Gun).
 jindiagu REL where? whither? (Bid): jindi(j)agu jinda waŋana or waŋalgu where are you going? (Bid RH, OC), jindijagu jinda wunana how long will you stay? (Bid RH). —cf. jindiagu (Gun).
 jindiamundu REL from where? whence? (Bid): jindiamundu jinda burbala where do you come from? (Bid OC), jindiamundu jinda wugu waŋalgu from where are you to come here? (Bid RH). —cf. jindiandu (Gun).
 jingia (dia) REL where? (Gun, Bid RH): jingia jinda (gundu) mandana where are you going? (Gun TC), jingia gaŋa I wonder where? (Gun TC), jingia nula where is he? (Bid RH). —cf. jindia (Bid).
 jingiagu REL where? whither? (Gun, Bid RH): jingiagu jinda mandana where are you going? (Gun TC), jingiagu waŋalgu where is (he) going? (Bid RH), jingiagu nani where is that? (Gun TC). —cf. jindiagu (Bid).
 jingiandu REL from where? whence? (Gun TC). —cf. jindiamundu (Bid).

jingana REL where? (Gun EA): jingana jinda mandalgu where are you going? jingana jinda bindana where do you live?
 jini REL over there (Gun TC): ŋura jini barila a dog howled over there.
 jirga REL in a hurry (Bid OC): jirga waŋa hurry, ŋaja jirga waŋalgu I must hurry.
 jira N teeth (Gun, Bid, Mar).
 jualrai N the name of a language, Jualrai ('Yualeai', Mathews 1902, p.137; spoken at Goondiwindi and St George, according to Gun TC).
 juama- V CAUS PF juamala chase (Gun TC): juamala mada tried to chase (the cattle). —cf. Gangulu (B) jua- (see 26).
 jubala PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).
 jubala ŋunda PERS PRON (6.23).
 jubalu PERS PRON (6.20, 22).
 juga- V TR (6.38; 9.32; 12.10) eat, drink (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda juga juŋi you eat meat (Bid OC), jugana manta eating bread (Gun TC), juŋi jugana eating meat (Bid OC), jurun jugala (a dog) eating a bone (Bid AC), ŋaja manta, gamu jugalgu I want to eat bread (or 'bread to eat'), drink water (Gun TC), ŋaja gamu jugaŋaja when I had drunk water (Gun TC).
 jugali- V ITR jugalina; jugalila; jugalilgu eat (Gun, Bid): jugalila du ŋana jilangu we also ate there (Gun TC). —cf. juga-.
 jugan N cloud(s), appearance of rain, rain (Gun, Bid): jugan badila it rained (Gun TC), jugan buŋana it looked like rain (Gun TC), jugan (or gamu) banbula it rained (Gun TC, EA), jugan dariŋara cloud (Gun EA).

jugu REL here (Bid): jugu waga
come here (Bid OC), naga jugu
look here (Bid OC), jugu danana
standing here (Bid RH).

jugungla N looking glass, mirror
(Bid OC). -cf. gilaru.

juna- DEM PRON (6.27-28).

julangu (jilangu) REL here, there
(Gun TC).

julga N ALL julgagu hole (Bid
OC): julgagu warala fell into a
hole.

julgu N heart (Gun, Bid).

julu (jilu) REL here, this way,
today (Gun, Bid): (nali) julu
bindana (we) are sitting here
(Bid OC, RH), julu burbala or
gurbala has come here (Bid OC),
wunana julu lives here (Bid OC),
julu bindana (I am) sitting up
today (Bid OC). -cf. julugu.

julu- DEM PRON (6.27-28).

julugari, julugarin REL to the
near side (Gun TC).

julugu REL here, hither (Bid RH):
julugu burbala, bindana coming,
sitting here. -cf. julu.

juluṅu REL here (Bid AC): juluṅu
danana, gurbala standing, came
here. -cf. julu.

julumundu REL from here, hence
(Bid OC, RH): julumundu waga go
from here, julumundu naja waga
I am going from here. -cf. julu.

julun REL here (Gun, Bid): nula
julun burbala he has come here
(Bid AC), julun ba here we go
(Gun TC). -cf. julu.

juluna REL (6.28).

julundaru REL julundaru jamba
(she) is from here (Bid OC).

julungu (julungu) REL here (Gun LM).

jumba-, v. jimba-.

juna¹ N ALL junagu hole (in the
earth, etc.: Gun, Bid). -cf. juna².

juna² N REL POST (9.18) ALL
junagu inside, in, into (Gun,
Bid): juna bindana sitting
inside (Bid OC), bulgu junagu
into the hole (Gun TC). -cf.
juna¹.

junabari (-bai) N hollow, hollow
tree (Gun, Bid): junabai dulgara
hollow log (Gun TC); junabai is
also the name of Augathella
(Bid OC). -cf. juna^{1,2}.

junalma- V CAUS IMP junalmaja
empty (Gun TC). -cf. juna¹.

junama- V CAUS IPF junamaṅa
make a hole (Gun TC). -cf. juna¹.

junan N empty (Gun TC): bangu
junan a cave. -cf. juna¹.

junṅi N little spirit (Gun BT),
ghost (Mar MC).

junu DEM PRON (9.23-24).

jura PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20;
12.8).

juram N whisky (Gun EA).

jurama N beer (Mar JD).

juramu N rum, liquor (Bid OC).

jurul N red gum tree (Bid OC).

jurun N LOC jurunda way, track
road (Gun TC): jurun garin on
the road.

juṛi N ERG juṛingu; ALL juṛigu
1. meat, game; 2. animal (Gun,
Bid, Mar): juṛi jugalgu to eat
meat (Bid RH), juṛi mundu (sick)
from meat (Bid OC), juṛi namun
beef broth (Gun TC), juṛi waja
wallaby meat (Bid OC), juṛi
jarban a sacred animal (Gun TC).

juṛibari N having meat, with meat
(Gun TC).

juṛigarba N without meat (Gun TC).

L

-la N DER suffix (6.6; 9.6)

-lgara- V DER suffix or auxiliary;
(6.35).

-li- V DER SFX (6.10; 9.10; 12.5).

-lma- V DER SFX (6.8; 9.8).

-lu N DER SFX (12.3).

M

-ma- V DER SFX (6.8; 9.8).

mada¹ REL try to (Gun TC, TB):
guju naja mada badamala I tried
to catch fish, mada naja buŕi
jamaŋa I try to make a fire,
juamala mada tried to chase
(the cattle), naja mada gura
waŕidanalaja (standing) think-
ing to try (to find the way)
back home, naja mada gee (di-)
nalgamala I tried to talk to
(the horses) or to say 'gee (up)'
to them.

mada² N big boss or owner (Gun TC):
widu mada white master, the
manager (on a settlement), mada
nula midagu he (was) the owner
of the corroboree (from English
'master').

madanara N ERG madanarangu
lightning (Bid OC, RH):
madanarangu бага gunila the
lightning struck the tree.

madan N small sticking burrs
(*'bindieyes'*), prickly grass
(*'goat's head'*), spine (Gun TC,
EA): madan gadi like spines or
prickles.

madan madan N prickles (Gun TC):
madan madan gadi guliŕa (baŕala)
the spears became prickles (on
the porcupine's back). -cf.
madan.

madigan N boss (Mar MC).

madir N (6.17 (3)) match, matches
(Gun TC, EA; = buŕi).

magali- V ITR IMP magali play,
'hack' (probably 'move boomerangs
or singing sticks up and down to
mark rhythm while playing or
singing'; Gun LM).

maga- V TR IMP maga; IPF magaŋa
tie a knot (Gun TC): jinda maga
jiluna gulgun you tie a knot on
this string.

magal N old, dry bread (Gun TC).

magali- V REFL IPF magalina
tie a knot for oneself (Gun TC).

magira N white paint (Gun, Bid):
magira namba paint (Bid OC).

maŋa N LOC maŋaŋa ear (Gun,
Bid, Mar): maŋa jimbana hearing
or listening (Gun LM), nalina
maŋa jimbamina we two are
listening to each other (Gun LM),
gaŕa maŋa jabuŕija don't forget
(Gun TC), maŋa gudu (Gun TC),
maŋa guda (Bid OC), maŋa mugal,
maŋa wamba (Bid RH) hard of
hearing, deaf.

maŋabari N having ears (Gun TC):
naŕu maŋabari my poor ear or
you pulled or hurt my ear.

maŋabinda N the name of a place
(said to mean 'thinking of home';
Gun TC). -cf. maŋabinda-.

maŋabinda- V ITR IPF maŋabindaŋa
think of home (Gun TC).

maŋadana- V ITR IPF maŋadanana
listen (Gun TC).

mangala N sand (Bid RH).

mangan N young girl (Bid SK).

mangi mangi N sheep, lamb (Gun TC).
-cf. dimba.

mangulan N yellow sand goanna
(Gun BT), small goanna (Bid AC).

maji N fruit (e.g. bananas; Bid
RH), bread (= manda; Bid AC).

malar (~r ?) N box tree (Gun TC,
Bid OC).

malga N a lot (e.g. of fish; Gun
TC, TB). -cf. malgalu.

malgaga N big, thick, important
(Gun TC): nura malgaga as big
as a dog (Gun LM). -cf. malga,
malgalu.

malgalu *N* a 'mob' (Bid OC): gambi
malgalu a mob of women. -cf.
malga, malgaga.

malu *N* shade, shadow (Gun TC).

mambu *N* corroboree song (Bid OC,
RH). -cf. miga (Gun).

mamigan *N* old woman (Gun TC, EA).

mana *DEM PRON* (6.27-28).

mana- *V TR IMP* mana take, get
(Gun TC). -cf. manda⁻², mara-.

managu *REL* dilala jamba managu
to Dillalah (station; Gun TC).
-cf. mana.

manandu *REL* from there (Gun TC):
jamba manandu from that camp
(= jamba mundu; Gun TC). -cf.
mana, managu.

manda, *v.* manta.

manda⁻¹ *V ITR* manda, mandaja;
mandaja, mandana, mandara;
mandala; mandalgu; *ACC*
mandanaja, mandalaja walk, go,
come (Gun): gundu manda or
mandaja go home (Gun ML), gugu
jinda mandaja you come here
(Gun TB), baɣugu mandaja going
to the river (Gun TB), gaɣa ɲaja
mandaja I cannot walk (Gun EA),
gugu mandala came here (Gun LM),
gundu mandala gone (Gun LM),
gundu ɲaja mandalgu I have to
go now (Gun EA), gura mandalgu
to come back (Gun EA), gura
mandanaja when (I) come back
(Gun TC).

manda⁻² *V TR IMP* mandaja; *INT*
mandalgu fetch, catch (fish;
Gun EA, TB): gamu jinda mandaja
you fetch the water (Gun EA).
-cf. mana-.

mandala *N* full after eating (Bid
OC; = manda wagala).

mandali- *V ITR IMP* mandali; *IPF*
mandalina walk, go about (Gun
TC, EA): mandali ba walk about
then, mandalina gambilgura
going round about (Gun TC).
-cf. manda⁻¹.

mandi- *V TR* mandia; mandia;
mandila; mandilgu bring, take
(back; Gun TC): mandia you can
take it back, nula gura mandila
manta he brought back the bread.
-cf. manda⁻².

manduji (mandui) *N* shoes, boots
(Gun TC). -cf. manduri.

manduri *N* shoes (Mar WP). -cf.
manduji.

manga- *V TR IMP* mangaja; *PF*
mangala call (Gun TC): gaɣa
mangaja don't call (me), nula
ɲaguna mangala he called me.

mangar *N* basket (Gun TC). -cf.
bugu.

manmara *N* ghost (Gun QL).

manrau *N* wood duck (Gun TC, EA).

manta (manda) *N* tucker, damper,
bread, full (Gun, Bid, Mar):
jugana manta gandunu the children
eat bread (Gun EA), manta ɲaja
I have eaten (bread; Bid OC),
ɲaja manda (wagala) I am full
(after eating; Bid OC), manta
jugalgu bread to eat (Gun EA).

mantabari *N* having bread, with
bread (Gun TC). -cf. manta.

mantagarba *N* without bread (Gun TC).

mara *N* young girl (Gun LM): mara
baga baga young woman.

marami- *V REC IPF* maramina; *PF*
maramila marry (Bid RH): nuɲ
maramina, maramila he is going
to marry, is married, maramina
wedding (from English 'marry'?).

margala¹ *N* native (yellow ?) bee
(Bid, Mar).

margala² *N* plenty (Bid OC). -cf.
malgalu.

margan *N* goanna (Mar MC).

marinarin *N* all right (Gun TC,
TB): jinda marinarin you are
all right.

marɔ *N* hand, fingers (Gun, Bid,
Mar). -cf. mara-.

maṛa- *V TR* maṛa, maṛaja; maṛaṇa;
maṛala; maṛalgu take, get (Gun,
Bid): maṛa du take it (off the
floor; Bid RH), gaṛa jinda maṛaja
don't you take (the eggs; Gun TC),
jinda maṛaṇa juṛi you want meat?
(Gun TC), nula baṅgu maṛi gunda
maṛala he took money from the
man (Bid RH), jinda nuṇuna
maṛalgu you (have to) get or
take him (Bid RH). —cf. manda⁻².

margaṇ *N* the name of a language,
Marganj, the 'Warrego river
language' (Gun, Mar).

maṛgin *N* gun (Bid RH; cf. the
Wakka-Wakka margan, idem, see
Part I, 12).

maṛi *N ERG* maṛingu; *POSS*
maṛiṇu (?); *ALL* maṛigu man,
Aboriginal man, blackfellow (Gun,
Bid, Mar): maṛi wuga lot of men
(Bid RH), maṛiṇu dungu man's
head (Gun LM); (*ART*) maṛiṇu,
maṛindu (some) men (Bid RH,
Mar MC). —cf. maṛin.

maṛigaṛba *N* empty of people (Bid
OC). —cf. maṛi.

maṛi maṛi *N* boy, son, little dark
child (Gun, Bid, Mar): gandu
maṛi maṛi boy (Gun TC), son
(Gun TC, Bid OC, RH, AC). —cf.
maṛi.

maṛin *N ERG* maṛindu; *ALL* maṛingu
Aboriginal man, (dark) man,
people (Gun, Bid): maṛin gadi
like a man (Gun TC); (*ART*)
maṛindu mob of men (Bid RH),
people (Bid OC). —cf. maṛi.

maṛinbari *N* having a man or people
(Bid OC): bigi nagala maṛinbari
I dreamed about an old man.
—cf. maṛin.

maṛingaṛba *N* having no people,
without people (Bid OC, RH):
jamba maṛingaṛba a deserted
camp (Bid OC).

maṛingi *N* an Aboriginal (Bid RH):
jinda maṛingi bigara you are a
Bidjara, speak Bidjara. —cf.
maṛin, maṛingi-.

maṛingi- *V ITR IMP* maṛingi; *IPF*
maṛingiṇa speak an Aboriginal
language or Bidjara (Bid RH).
—cf. maṛin, maṛingi.

maṛin *N* danggu maṛin weak head
(‘crazy, mad’; Mar DF, JD).

-mi- *V DER SFX* (6.11; 9.11; 12.5).

-mia- *V DER SFX* (6.11).

mian *N* a nickname of a person
(Bid AC).

mida *N* charcoal (Gun TC).

mida mida *N* black or blue (Bid OC,
RH): mida mida wuba a blue
flower (Bid RH).

midar *N* fog (Bid RH).

midar *N* good, nice (Bid RH).

miga *N ALL* migagu corroboree,
(corroboree) song (Gun TC):
migagu waralgu to start a
corroboree, miga baṅgalina
singing. —cf. mambu (Bid).

migan *N* good, well, right,
straight, proper, nice, pretty,
tasty (Gun, Bid): gaṛa migan
bad (Gun LM), ṇaja migan as
good as I (Gun LM), migan jinda
bindaja you sit properly (Gun
EA), gamubari mandala migan
walking straight or properly
(although) drunk (Gun TC), migan
baṛamala (God) created (‘made
well’; Gun TC), (the doctor)
made (me) all right, cured (me;
Bid RH), jamba migan a nice
place (Bid RH), gundi migan a
good house (Bid RH), jinda migan
are you all right? (Bid RH),
jinda waṇal ṇagu (migan) baṛalma
you make me a boomerang (Bid RH).

migulu *N* white man (Gun QL).

mila mila *N* poor (Gun TC): mila
mila jinda you are a poor beggar.

milgan *N* face (Mar MP).

milgana *N* (cow's) milk (Gun TC).
—cf. milgina

milgina *N* milk (Bid AC). —cf.
milgana.

milgiri *N* summer (Bid RH); ice,
frost (Bid OC; correct?).

milgiribai *N* summer (Bid RH).
-cf. milgiri.

mimuru *N* fly, flies (Bid OC).

mindī *N* chest, heart (Bid OC, RH):
mindī bungana heart or chest
aching (Bid RH).

mindī banbu (bambu) *N* ALL mindī
bambugu emu (? Gun: Kab DC);
also a nickname.

minguma- *V* TR PF mingumala; INT
mingumalgu visit (Gun TC, TB):
(ḡali gurbala) jununa mingumalgu,
jamba ḡagu mingumalgu (we came)
to visit you, to see my home.

mingundaīda *N* the name of a
station (Bid AC), an Aboriginal
personal name (Bid OC).

mini *N* mouth (Mar MP). -cf. munu.

mira *N* REL ABL mirandu; ALL
miragu top, high, above, up
high (Gun TC): mira danana
stands high, danala mira stood
up or out (hair, prickles,
spears; Gun TC), mira waḡaḡa
goes up, mira bandaḡagu above
in heaven, mira бага top of a
tree, mira(gu) wagaja climb up.
-cf. miramundu.

miramundu REL from above (Gun TC).
-cf. mira.

mirandu REL from above, down (Gun
TC): mirandu nula gura gurbala
he has come back down. -cf.
mira.

mir mir *N* mate(s) (Gun TC): mir
mir bula they or the two were
mates (from English 'mate').

miḡili- *V* ITR IPF miḡilina shine
(Gun, Bid): duḡu miḡilina the
sun is shining (Bid RH). -cf.
miḡi miḡi.

miḡi miḡi *N* shining, polished
(Bid OC): waḡal ḡaja miḡi miḡi
baḡamana I am polishing the
boomerang.

miḡin *N* kind of gum tree used as
timber (Bid OC).

miḡu *N* 1. nail(s) (Bid AC);
2. itch (Bid RH).

muga, *v.* dili.

mugabaḡan *N* blind (Gun EA): dili
ḡaja mugabaḡan I am blind.
-cf. mugal, muga muga¹.

mugal, *v.* dili

muga muga¹ *N* dili muga muga blind
(Bid RH).

muga muga² *N* old woman (Bid SK).
-cf. mugaraḡan.

mugar (?) *N* LOC mugara old
deserted camp (Bid AC): jamba
juraḡu gau mugara danalaja cows
are (standing) grazing on your
old camp.

mugaḡa REL tomorrow (Gun TC).
-cf. mugaḡu.

mugaḡan *N* old woman (Gun TC).
-cf. muga muga², mugin.

mugaḡu REL tomorrow (morning)
(Gun Bid): mugaḡu ḡaja gurbaga
I am coming tomorrow (Gun TC),
jandilgu mugaḡu to go tomorrow
(Bid RH). -cf. mugaḡa.

mugin *N* old woman (Gun TC): mira
mugin bindana up there (in the
mountains) there is (the
formation of) a woman. -cf.
mugaḡan.

mugu¹ *N* knee (Gun, Bid, Mar).

mugu² POST (6.19).

mugu³ *v.* dili, dina.

mugurin (mugaḡan) *N* old (dark)
woman (Gun TC, EA). -cf. mugaḡan,
mugin.

mungu *N* ALL mungugu hills or
mountains (Gun TC).

mula *N* posterior (Gun BT).

munda¹ *N* snake, any snake, death
adder (Gun, Bid, Mar).

munda² POST (6.22, at the end).

mundaŋara *N* *ERG* mundaŋarangu
rainbow (portent of death; Gun
BT), bunyip, the Rainbow Serpent
(he is 'a snake with an emu's
head', according to some, or 'a
big eel that never dies', Mar MC),
sea serpent, (water) snake (Gun,
Bid, Mar).

mundu *POST* (6.19; 9.18).

munga, *v.* mungabari.

mungabari *N* having hair (munga;
Gun LM): ŋura mungabari a dog
having hair.

munŋu *N* thunder, thunder storm
(the noise; Bid RH, OC).

munin *N* *ALL* muningu spider (Gun
TC): jamba muningu spider's web.

munma- *V* *ITR* *INT* munmalgu; *ACC*
munmal move, go away (Bid RH):
ŋaja munmal I am moving
(= 'going away').

munu *N* lips, mouth (Bid, Mar).
-cf. mini.

mura *N* dog (Gun, Bid). -cf. ŋura.

muraŋara *N* rainbow (Bid OC).
-cf. mundaŋara.

murangal *N* nulla-nulla (Gun BT).
-cf. muru.

murga murga *N* clever (Gun TB),
flying in the air (Gun GD),
beautiful (Mar DF).

muru *N* nulla-nulla (Gun BT, Bid
RH); also a nickname. -cf.
murangal.

muruwari *N* the name of a language
(on the Culgoa river), related
to guamu (q.v.; Gun TC).

muŋa *N* shadow (Bid RH): ŋaŋu,
jindaŋu muŋa my, your shadow.
-cf. muŋu.

muŋbarin (-barin) *N* tail (of dog,
kangaroo, etc.; Bid, Mar):
muŋbarin gaŋabari (a dog)
having no tail (Bid RH).

muŋu *N* shadow (Bid OC): muŋu
nagalina can see a shadow.
-cf. muŋa.

muŋula *N* coolibah tree (Gun TC).

N

naga *N* thing (belonging(s); Bid
RH): ŋandulu naga ŋaŋu gundala
who has taken my thing?

naga- (ŋaga-) *V* *TR* (6.38; 9.32)
see, look (at) (Gun, Bid, Mar):
jinda naga maŋi you look at the
man (Gun LM), duŋu ŋaja nagana
I look at the sun (Bid OC), ŋaja
nagala maŋi I have seen a man
(Gun LM), gabun nagaŋaja if
(you) see an egg (Gun TC),
nagalaŋa when (I) saw (him; Bid
OC), ŋaja guru guru nagagiri
I have seen the mob ('I did not
count them'; Gun TC).

nagalgara- *V* *TR* *IPF* nagalgarana
be busy seeing (Gun TC): ŋaja
nagalgarana jaba I am seeing
that (= nagaŋa).

nagalgi- (ŋagalgi-) *V* *TR* *ACC*
nagalginaja look for, find
(Gun TC): ŋaja jurun ŋagalginaja
(thinking) where I might find
the way.

nagali- (ŋagali-) *V* *REFL* nagali;
nagalina; nagalila look at
oneself or one's own, look at
one another, look (like), appear
(Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda nagali
look at yourself (Gun LM), ŋaja
jugungla nagalina I am looking
at myself in the mirror (Bid OC),
ŋaŋu gu nagalina gamunga
seeing my image in the water
(Gun TC), ŋaja gadi nagalina gu
looks like me (in) the face
(Gun TC), nagalina a shadow
(Bid RH), duŋu nagalina this
morning ('the sun appears'; Bid
RH), gilaru nagalina looking at
oneself in the mirror (Bid OC),

- nura nagalina seeing my own shadow (Bid RH), bularu nagalina two are looking at one another (Bid RH; = nagamina), galinda nagalina we two are looking at one another (Bid AC), nula naja nagalina he looks like me (Bid RH), munda nagalina looks like a snake (Bid OC), mari nagalina looks like a blackfellow (Bid AC), nana gudu nagalina looked hard at us (Gun TC). -cf. naga-.
- nagalma- V CAUS IPF nagalma; PF nagalmala let see, show (Gun, Bid): jinda naguna nagalma you let me see (Bid AC). -cf. naga-.
- nagama- V ASS CAUS IMP nagama, nagamaja; IPF nagamana; PF nagamala look at, show (Gun, Bid): nagama naguna show me (Gun TC), biranjulu naguna nagamana God is looking at me (Bid OC), nula nagamala he showed (it to me; Gun TC). -cf. naga-.
- nagami- V REC IMP nagami, nagamina; IPF nagamina; PF nagamila look at one another (Gun, Bid, Mar): jubala nagami (Gun LM), jibala nagamina (Bid OC), jimbala nagami (Bid RH) you two look at each other, bularu damba nagamina the two are looking at each other (Bid OC). -cf. naga-, nagamia-.
- nagamia- V REC IPF nagamiana look at each other (Gun TC): nagamiana bula the two are looking at each other. -cf. naga-, nagami-.
- nagura N the Nogoia river (Gun TC).
- namap N bread (Mar DF): namap naja jugala I have eaten bread. -cf. namap.
- nalga nalga N cow's horns (Gun TC).
- namba- V TR IMP namba smear, paint (Bid OC): jinda naguna magira namba you paint me.
- nambali- V REFL IMP nambali, nambalina paint oneself (Bid OC): jibala nambalina you two paint one another. -cf. namba-.
- nandi, v. nanti.
- nani¹ DEM PRON (6.27-28).
- nani², v. nanti
- nanti (nandi, nani) N LOC nandi(g)a ground, earth, sand, dirt, outside (Gun, Bid, Mar): nanti barala became sand (Bid RH). -cf. dandi.
- nara REL I wonder (Gun TC): nani nara nula nagana I wonder what he is looking at, nunturu nara (= gara) I wonder who? -cf. gara.
- ndi- V DER SFX (6.9; 9.9).
- ndila N DER SFX (9.6).
- nila N DER SFX (9.6).
- nimun N fly (Gun TC); (ART) nimundu the flies.
- nu· (nu) PERS PRON ? REL ? see 9.20: naguna burbala nu· (he, she ?) came to me (Bid OC). -cf. nu·.
- nu ART (6.18; 9.17; 12.7).
- nuguli- V IPF nugulina show (Bid AC).
- nu·ŋ PERS PRON (9.20).
- nunga N bottle tree (Bid AC).
- nuŋu DEM PRON (9.27-28).
- nuŋungurip REL over there (Gun TC): waɟaja nuŋungurip go over there.
- nuil N bellbird (Bid AC; it has red at the back of its head).
- nula PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).
- numan N skin (Bid AC).
- nundur N nose, face (Bid OC, RH). -cf. nuntur.

nuntur *N* nose (Mar MC). —cf.
nundur.

nuṛu *N* dillibag (Bid RH).

n

numba *N* spit (Bid RH).

ṛ

-ṛa *N DER SFX* (6.5).

-ṛi- *V DER SFX* (9.9).

-ṛila *N DER SFX* (9.6; 12.3).

-ṛu *COM SFX* (9.15).

w

waba- *V ITR IPF* wabaṇa; *INT*
wabalgu hunt (Gun TC, TB): ṇaja
gundu wabaṇa I am going hunting
(Gun TB), ṇaja mandana wabalgu
gungugu I went to hunt to the
bush (Gun TC).

wabi *N* bad temper (Gun TC):
wabigu danala angry.

wabuṛila *N* one's younger brother
(Bid RH): ṇagu wabuṛila my
younger brother.

wada *N* crow (Gun LM, TC, TB).

wadarin (?) *N LOC* (?) wadaṛinga
old man (Bid OC): maṛi wadaṛinga
ṇaja guila when I grow old.
—cf. waduṛin, waḍulan.

wadi-¹ *V TR IMP* wadi; *PF* wadila
take, bring (Bid): jinda gundu
wadi you take it away (Bid OC,
RH), nuṇuna wadi take him away
(Bid OC), jinda jugu wadi you
bring it here (of things; Bid OC).

wadi-² *V IPF* wadina; *INT* wadilgu
want (Bid RH): nula jindaṇuna
wadina ṇalgalgu he wants to
talk to you, ṇaja bijaga wadilgu
I want tobacco (notice use of
intentional form). —cf. wangi-.

wadigan *N ERG* wadigandu white
woman, lady, ladies (Gun, Bid,
Mar): (ART) wadiganu some white
ladies (Gun TC). —cf. wadin.

wadin *N ERG* wadindu white woman
(Gun, Mar). —cf. wadigan.

wadu- (wagu-) *V TR* waduja; waduṇa,
waduna; wadula put (on), make,
cook (Gun, Bid): waduṇa ṇaja juṛi
I am cooking meat (Gun ML), manta
waduna or waduna manta cooking
(Gun TC), waguna ṇaman cooking
(Bid OC), nula maṛindu wadula
he, the man, made it (e.g. a
boomerang; Gun TC), buṛi ṇana
wadula we made a fire (Gun TC;
= jamala), juṛi ṇana wadula we
put on or cooked meat (Gun TC),
nuṇuna wadula cooked him (the
wallaby; Bid OC), buṛigu wadula
cooked on fire (Bid OC), ṇaja
wadumundu (don't call me) while
I am cooking ('from (my) cooking';
Gun TC).

wadugan *N* old woman (Mar MC).

wadulgara- *V ITR PF* wadulgarala
be busy cooking (Gun TC): ṇali
wadulgarala buṛinga we two were
busy cooking (on fire). —cf.
wadu-.

waduma- *V TR PF* wadumala make
(Gun TC): jilangu wadumala budaida
(we) made potatoes there. —cf.
wadu-.

waduṛin *N* old man (Mar MC). —cf.
wadarin.

waga- *V ITR* waga; waḍana, waḍana;
waḍala; waḍalgu; *ACC* waḍalana
walk, go, come (Gun, Bid, Mar):
gundu waga go away (Bid RH),
jaṇa waga du mother come (Bid
OC), waḍana ṇaja I am going
(Bid AC), gundu waḍana going
away (Mar MC), gamugu waḍana
going for water or a drink (Mar
DF), waḍana going (= waḍana;
Gun TB), gundu waḍala went away
(Bid RH), widu waḍala a white
fellow has come (Bid RH),

nanigu jinda waḡala why have you come? (Mar MC), gundu waḡalgu to go for a walk (Bid RH), ḡali gundu waḡalgu we two must go (Bid AC). —cf. waḡa-¹.

waḡana- V ITR IPF waḡanana go (Bid RH): duṛu waḡanana the sun is going (down). —cf. waḡa-.

waḡaṛi- V ASS IMP waḡaṛi; INT waḡaṛilgu go away with, get (Bid): gaṛa jinda waḡaṛi don't go away with it (Bid OC), ḡaja waḡaṛilgu I have to get or am going to get those things. —cf. waḡa-.

waḡu N ALL waḡugu scrub, bush (Bid OC).

waḡa-¹ V ITR waḡaja; waḡana, waḡana; waḡala; waḡalgu; ACC waḡanaḡa, waḡalaja walk, go, come (Gun TC): jinda ḡaḡunda gugu waḡaja you come here to me, ḡaja gundu waḡana I am going away, mira waḡana, baru waḡana goes up, down, maṛin gugu waḡana a man is coming, guḡugu waḡala went for fish, gura waḡalaja when (you) come back, wantan waḡanaḡa (wondering) when (we) are going away. —cf. waḡa-.

waḡa-² V ITR IPF waḡana; PF waḡala fall (Mar MC). —cf. waḡa-.

waḡali- V ITR IPF waḡalina, waḡalina walk about, ache (?) (Gun TC, EA): dina ḡaja (or ḡaḡuna) waḡalina my feet are sore (from walking? Gun EA). —cf. waḡa-¹.

waḡama- V ASS PF waḡamala go away without telling (Gun TC): nula gundu waḡamala gaṛa ḡaḡuna gulbala he went away without telling me. —cf. waḡa-¹.

waḡulan N old man (Bid SK). —cf. waḡurip.

waga- V ITR waga, wagaja; wagaṇa, wagaṇa; wagala; wagalgu; ACC wagal, wagalaja climb, rise (e.g. the sun or a storm), boil, run play (Gun, Bid): gaṛa (jinda) waga(ja) don't (you) climb

(Gun TC), mira(gu) wagaja climb (Gun TC), ḡaja бага wagana I am climbing a tree (Bid OC), gamu wagana the water begins to boil (Bid OC), duṛu wagana the sun is coming up, rising or sunrise, at sunrise (Bid AC), gandunu wagana some children are playing (Gun TC), gargan wagana gambling (Gun TC), gamu wagala the water is boiling (Bid OC, RH), baṛu, gamu wagala mira the river has risen, is flooded (Gun TC), manda wagala full (after eating; Bid OC).

wagal N eel (Gun TC).

wagali- V ITR IPF wagalina run (Gun, Bid): gamu wagalina water running (Gun TC), gamu wagalina dandi mundu a spring (Gun TC). —cf. waga-.

wagalma- V CAUS IMP wagalma; IPF wagalmana raise (up), lift, boil (Bid): jinda wagalma you raise (him) up (Bid OC), gamu jinda wagalma you boil the water (Bid RH). —cf. waga-.

wagandi- V ASS wagandi(j)a; wagandiṇa, wagandina; wagandila; wagandilgu run away with, run away, run (Gun TC): gaṛa jinda wagandi(j)a don't you run away (with it), jinda wagandia you run (i.e. 'you come on the train', explaining associative form: 'on it, by it'), juṛigu gura wagandi-(to) run back for meat, baṅgu gundu wagandila he ran away with the money. —cf. waga-, wagani-.

wagani- V ASS ITR IMP waganina; IPF waganina; PF waganila run away with, run away (Gun, Bid): nula money waganina gundu he is running away with the money (Bid AC). —cf. waga-, wagandi-.

wagan¹ N catfish (Bid JL). —cf. wagun.

wagan² V N rising of the sun (Gun TC): wagan guṛip toward the east. —cf. waga-, duṛu.

- wagarima- *V CAUS PF* wagarimala
make run (Bid OC): *ŋaja wagarimala*
I made (him) run. -cf. waga-,
wagani-.
- waga waga *N* the name of a language,
Wakka-Wakka (Bid RH).
- wagun *N* fish (Gun NM). -cf. wagan
- wagal *N ERG* wanaru boomerang
(Gun, Bid, Mar): *nuŋuna wanaru*
gudala hit him with a boomerang
(Bid OC).
- wagan wagan *N* silly (Bid OC; =
wamba, q.v.).
- wangan *N* Clermont (Bid RH).
- wangara *N* one, a single (one),
alone (Gun, Bid, Mar): *wangara*
munda, maŋi one snake, man
(Bid OC), *mambu, gandu wangara*
one corroboree (song), one child
(Bid OC).
- wangun *N LOC* wangunda right,
right hand (Gun TC): *mugiŋ duru*
gaŋiŋ wangun on the right-hand
(side) of the woman, wangunda
on or to the right.
- wani wani *N* mad (Gun LM), deaf
(Bid RH); possibly Wakka-Wakka.
- waja *N* wallaby (Bun, Bid, Mar).
- waja- *V TR IMP* waja pass (Gun
TC): *bulajar ŋaguna waja* pass
me the plate.
- waji *N REL* thinking (Bid OC):
ŋaja nuŋuna waji bindana I am
(sitting) thinking about him,
waji ŋaja, jinda bindala I, you
have been thinking (of him),
nuŋuna ŋaja waji bindana I am
thinking of him. -cf. waŋi,
waŋibinda-.
- wajili- *V ITR IPF* wajiliŋa,
wajilina; *PF* wajilila; *ACC*
wa(j)ilinaja roll (Gun TC):
jinda wajiliŋa nandiŋa you are
rolling on the ground, *wailinaja*
(a train) puffing or rolling
along.
- wajilima- *V CAUS IMP* wajilimaja
roll (something; Gun TC). -cf.
wajili-.
- walu *N* ear (Bid OC, = maŋa; rather
a Gangulu word).
- wamba *N* 1. silly, mad; 2. deaf
(Gun, Bid, Mar): *nula wamba*
baŋala he (has) got mad (Bid RH),
wamba nula he is silly (Bid OC),
maŋa ŋaja wamba I am deaf (Gun
EA), *nula maŋa wamba* he is deaf
(Bid RH). -cf. wamba-.
- wamba- *V ITR PF* wambala get lost
(e.g. in the bush), lose one's
mind, get silly (Bid RH): *wagugu*
nula wambala he got lost in the
bush. -cf. wamba.
- wambalma- *V CAUS PF* wambalmala
lose (Bid RH): *ŋani wambalmala*
lost something. -cf. wamba-.
- wambama- *V CAUS PF* wambamala
make mad (Gun TC): *bangun*
wambamala (this) made (them)
mad or like animals. -cf. wamba-.
- wamban *N* baby, kid (Gun): *wamban*
gamba little baby (girl; Gun TC).
-cf. wamba.
- wambana- *V ITR IPF* wambanana;
PF wambanala get silly (Bid OC).
-cf. wamba-.
- wambandi- *V ITR PF* wambandila
go mad, get silly (Gun TC):
wambandila du bangun (they) got
mad or silly in their heads.
-cf. wamba-.
- wambani- *V ITR* wambanina; wambanila;
wambanilgu go astray, lose the
way, get silly (Gun): *dungu*
wambanina silly (Gun EA),
wambanina going silly (Gun TC),
a baby (Gun EA). -cf. wamba-.
- wamba wamba *N* mad, real mad,
mischievous (Gun, Bid): *nula*
wamba wamba he is mad (Bid RH).
-cf. wamba.
- wambi *N ALL* wambigu (probably)
the name or nickname of an
Aboriginal woman (Gun EA).

wanda REL where? (Gun TC): wanda
 naja jurun ngalginaja where I
 might find the way (home).

wanda-¹ V TR wanda, wanda;ja;
 wanda;ja; wandala; wandalgu
 leave, put, pass, go away (from
 English 'to leave; = 'to go';
 Gun, Bid): wanda(ja) leave it
 (Gun TC), put it (into the bag;
 Bid RH), naja wanda;ja I am
 leaving (Gun TC), bidalgu wandala
 put (it) on the floor (Bid RH),
 nula wandala he is gone (Bid RH),
 gundu wandala (the money) is
 gone (Bid RH).

wanda-² V TR IPF wandana shine
 on (?): durungu nguna wandana
 the sun is shining on me (Bid OC).

wandali- V REFL ITR IMP wandali
 leave, desert (one's own; Bid OC):
 gara jinda wandali don't desert
 (the camp). -cf. wanda-¹.

wandi N dingo or fox (Gun, Bid).
 -cf. wanti.

wandi- V TR IMP wanda; PF wandila
 leave (Bid OC): gara jinda wanda
 jamba don't you leave the camp,
 naja jamba wandila or wandila
 jamba I left the camp or my
 home, jinda wandila leave it
 alone. -cf. wanda-¹.

wandila N God (Bid AC).

wandima- V CAUS IPF wandimana
 like (Bid RH): gara naja wandimana
 I do not like it (possibly from
 English 'want'). -cf. wangi-,
 wadi-².

wanga N REL well, all right (Bid):
 wanga naja barana, barala I am
 getting all right, got well
 (Bid OC, RH), wanga barama-
 (to) cure (Bid OC).

wangali- V IPF wangalina like
 (Bid OC): naja wangalina di.
 I like tea, naja nununa, biaga,
 juji wangalina I like him,
 tobacco, meat. -cf. wanga.

wangalma- V CAUS PF wangalmala
 cure (Bid RH): widungu nununa
 wangalmala the white man (or
 doctor) cured him. -cf. wanga.

wangi- V TR IPF wangina want
 (Bid RH; probably from English
 'want'). -cf. wadi-², wandima-.

wangu N bad, no good (Bid OC, RH):
 guga wangu a bad house (Bid OC).

wanga N chest (Gun TC, TB).

waniq N possum (Mar MC).

wantan (wandan) REL when? some
 time (Gun): wantan jinda ganala
 when did you come back? (Gun TC),
 wandan jinda wadana when are
 you going? (Gun TC), wandan
 jinda gundu wadana when you
 went away (sic; Gun EA).

wanti N dingo (Mar MC; perhaps
 not a Marganj word). -cf. wandi.

wanmaria, wanmarian, wanmeri(gan)
 N white woman (Bid RH).

wanmerigan N ALL wanmerigangu
 white woman (Mar MC).

wara- V ITR waraja; wara;ja, warana;
 warala; waralgu play, dance,
 sing, put on a corroboree, gamble
 (Gun, Bid): gandunu warana some
 children are playing (Gun TC,
 Bid RH), mambu wara;ja (warana)
 corroboree singing (Bid AC),
 bula miga waralgu the two wanted
 to put on or start a corroboree
 (Gun TC), nalinda mambu waralgu
 let us (two) sing and dance
 (Bid OC).

warabinda- V ITR sit gambling.
 -cf. wara-.

waragan (waragan) N waragandu
 black crow (Bid OC, AC, Mar MC):
 waragandu naninda jugana what
 does the crow eat?

warali- V ITR IPF waralina play
 (Gun TC): birin bara waralina
 playing down on the plain.
 -cf. wara-.

warama- V ASS (?) IPF waramaṇa
play (Gun LM): waramaṇa playing,
playful. —cf. wara-.

warana- V ITR IPF waranana play
(Bid RH). —cf. wara-.

warba REL close by (Bid RH, OC):
nula warba bindana he lives
close by.

wargi-, v. ṇargi-.

wari- V TR PF warila take away,
take out (Gun TC): warila took
out (the children; = baṅgila).

waṛa- V ITR waṛa; waṛaṇa, waṛana;
waṛala; ACC waṛalaṇa fall, set
(of the sun), drop, be born
(Gun, Bid, Mar): julga gaṛa waṛa
don't fall into the hole (Bid OC),
duṛu waṛana sunset (Bid AC),
ṇaja julgagu waṛala I fell into
the hole (Bid OC), waṛala gamugu
fell into the water (Bid AC),
ṇani jinda waṛala what did you
drop? (Gun LM; correct ?),
jindia ṇaja waṛala where was I
born? (Bid OC). —cf. waḍa².

waṛalma- V CAUS waṛalma;
waṛalmāna; waṛalmala let fall,
drop (Bid): gaṛa waṛalma don't
drop it (Bid OC). —cf. waṛa-.

waṛama- V CAUS PF waṛamala
drop (Bid OC): waṛamala jinda
you dropped it. —cf. waṛa-.

waṛan N root (Bid RH).

waṛi- V ITR IPF waṛiṇa think,
wonder (Gun TC): jinda waṛiṇa
you are wondering. —cf. waji-
(Bid).

waṛibinda- V ITR IPF waṛibindaṇa
sit thinking (Gun TC): ṇaja
waṛibindaṇa wantaṇ ṇali gundu
waḍaṇaja I am (sitting) thinking
(wondering) when we two are going
away. —cf. waṛi-.

waṛidana- V ITR IPF waṛidanaṇa,
waṛidanana; ACC waṛidanalaṇa
stand thinking or wondering,
think (Gun TC).

waṛilma- V ASS IPF waṛilmaṇa
think about (Gun TC): ṇaja
dabunila waṛilmaṇa I am thinking
of (my) brother. —cf. waṛi-.

waṛuṇ N tree goanna (Gun BT,
Bid AC).

wi- N firewood (Gun PH).

widiṇ N a cut, sore (Gun EA,
Bid RH): widiṇ maṛaṇa a sore on
my hand (Gun EA).

widu N ERG widuṇgu; ALL widugu
white man, white people (Gun,
Bid, Mar): widu mada white
master (Gun TC); (ART) widunu
(Gun TC), widundu (Bid RH) some
white people.

widugi- V ITR IPF widugiṇa speak
English or the white man's
language (Bid RH).

wila- V ITR IPF wilana; INT
wilalgu; ACC wilanaṇa ? fly
(Gun TC, TB): bidurundu wilana
flying round about (Gun TB),
wilanaṇa (? 'looking funny';
Gun TC).

wina N fish (Gun, Bid, Mar).

wingarū (winaṛū) N ERG wingaruṇgu;
POSS wingaruṇu ? bird (Bid):
wingaruṇu gangal bird's wing(s)
(Bid OC).

wingu- V TR IMP wingu, winguja;
PF wingula ask (Gun, Bid).

winguma N question (Bid RH).

winguma- V ASS TR IMP winguma
INT wingumalgu ask (of) (Bid
RH): jinda ṇaguna winguma you
ask me, ṇaja jinduṇana
(jindaṇuna ?) wingumalgu I must
ask (of) you. —cf. wingu-.

wiṇṇin N flying fox (Bid AC).

winta N any kind of dish, bathtub,
etc. (Gun TC).

winaṛū, v. wingaru.

wiṇbir N perspiration (Gun TC).

wipbirbari *N* perspiring (Gun TC).
 wirgi *N* stick (Gun QL). -cf.
 wurgi¹.
 wuba (wu·ba ?) *N* flower ('pretty-flower'; Bid RH).
 wuba wuba *N* black butterfly (Bid RH).
 wubin *N* whistle (Gun BT, Bid, Mar). -cf. gubin (Gun).
 wubirip *N* puppy (Gun TC).
 wuburu *N* stump of tree (Gun TC). -cf. gubarū, guburu.
 wuda- *V TR IMP* wudaja close (Gun TC): da· wudaja close the door. -cf. guda-.
 wudun *N* grass, a kind of tall grass ('kangaroo grass'; Gun TC), field, land, all the earth (Gun, Bid, Mar).
 wuga *N* plenty, a lot (Bid RH): wina wuga plenty of fish, mari, gambi, wudu wuga a lot of men, women, white people.
 wugabari (guga-) *N* big, thick, heavy or hefty, strong, (too) much (Bid): wulur wugabari thick or heavy clothes (Bid RH), mari wugabari a big or hefty man (Bid RH), jarga wugabari a big, strong wind (Bid OC), ngalana gugabari talks too much (Bid AC). -cf. wuga.
 wugaji- *V ITR IPF* wugaina; *INT* wugailgu lie down, go to sleep, be sleepy (Bid): nula wuga wugaina he is lying asleep (Bid AC), jinda wugaina you are sleepy (Bid AC), wugaina (= wunana) lying down (Bid AC), wagana wugailgu going to lie down or to sleep (Bid AC).
 wugadi ? *N* possum (Gun NM).
 wuga *REL* asleep, to sleep, sleeping, from sleep (Gun, Bid): gandu, nula wuga wunana the child, he (she) is going to sleep

(Gun TC), gandu wuga wunamaja put the child to sleep (Gun TC), wuga wuna go to sleep (Bid OC), wuga buṛa get up from sleep (Bid OC), wuga wunana lying down or asleep (Bid OC, AC), wuga bindana sitting asleep (Bid OC, AC), wuga buṛala waking someone up (sic; Bid AC).
 wugali- *V ITR IPF* wugaliṇa lie down (Gun TC): wugaliṇa = wunana (said to be guamu, q.v.; Gun TC). -cf. wuga.
 wugu *REL* here, this way (Bid RH): wugu ganana, ganala (he) is coming here, wugu burba come here, jarga wagana wugu the wind is blowing this way. -cf. gugū.
 wugumundu *REL* from here (Bid RH). -cf. wugu.
 wuṇa¹ *REL* asleep (Bid RH): wuṇa wunana is asleep. -cf. wuga, wuṇar.
 wuṇa² (wu·ṇa) *N ERG* wuṇangu noise (Gun LM): wu·ṇa wu·ṇa wu·ṇa noise or sound of the frog. -cf. -cf. wuṇga.
 wuṇa- *V TR IMP* wuṇa *PF* wuṇala chase (Gun, Bid): jinda nuṇuna wuṇa you chase him (Bid OC).
 wuṇami- *V REC IPF* wuṇamina chase one another (Bid OC): bulaṛu wuṇamina two chase each other. -cf. wuṇa-.
 wuṇar *REL* asleep, to sleep (Bid): ṇaja wuṇar wuṇalgu du I am sleepy or want to sleep (Bid RH), wuṇar ṇaja wunana I am asleep (or perhaps rather 'sleepy'; Bid OC). -cf. wuga, wuṇa.
 wuṇga *N ERG* wuṇangu noise of the frog (Gun LM). -cf. wuṇa².
 wuṇgal *N* frog (Gun BT). -cf. wuṇga.
 wuju *N* breath (Gun TC): wuju bigu- (to) breathe.

wula- *V ITR* wulaŋa, wulana; wulala;
wulalgu die, go out (of the
fire; Gun, Bid): nula wulaŋa he
is dying (Gun TC), nula (ŋula,
nuŋ) wulala he is dead (Gun TC,
Bid RH), wulalagiri or dana guru
wulala all died or they have
all died (Gun TC), buŋi wulalgu
the fire is about to go out
(Bid RH).

wulama- *V CAUS ASS IMP* wulama;
IPF wulamana; *PF* wulamala put
out (fire), die (in the sense of
'bereave'; Gun, Bid): jinda buŋi
wulama you put out the fire
(Bid RH), buŋi wulamana putting
out the fire (Gun LM), buŋi
wulamala (he) put out the fire
(Bid OC), gandu ŋaŋu wulamana,
wulamala my child is dying, has
died ('unknown to me'; Gun TC).
-cf. wula-.

wulur *N* clothes (Bid RH).

wumbaŋ *N* chips, sticks (Gun TC).

wuna-¹ *V ITR* wuna; wunaŋa, wunana;
wunala; wunalgu; *ACC* wunalaja,
wunalaja lie down, sleep, go
down (of the sun), set (Gun,
Bid, Mar): wuna wunalgu lie
down to sleep (Bid RH), duŋu
wunaŋa at sunset (Bid AC), duŋu
wunala the sun has gone down
(Bid AC), bed-gu wunala (I) was
in bed (Bid OC), wunaŋar wunalgu
to go to sleep (Bid RH).

wuna-² *DEM PRON* (6.27-28).

wunalma- *V CAUS IMP* wunalma
put to sleep, to bed (Bid AC):
gandu wuga wunamaja you put the
child to bed. -cf. wuna-¹,
wunalma-.

wunama- *V CAUS IMP* wunamaja put
to sleep (Gun TC): gandu wuga
wunamaja put the child to sleep.
-cf. wuna-¹, wunalma-.

wunana *DEM PRON* (6.28) over there
(Gun EA): gunduru wunana who is
over there?

wunbuŋ *N ALL* wunbuŋgu waist
(Gun TB), hollow in tree (where
a possum might live): daŋuŋ
wunbuŋgu jidala the possum
stayed in the hollow (Gun TC).

wundaŋi- *V IMP* wundaŋa; *PF*
wundaŋila ask (Bid OC).

wunga- *V ITR PF* wungala be
sorry, sad (Bid RH).

wurali- *V REFL IMP* wurali *IPF*
wuralina strip, undress (Bid
RH): gawun wurali, wuralina
strip.

wuŋa *N* kangaroo, joey, young
kangaroo (Gun, Bid, Mar): -cf.
wuŋu¹.

wuŋabinda (wura-) *N* the Woorabinda
settlement (explained as meaning
'kangaroo sit down'; Gun BT).
-cf. wuŋubinda.

wuŋgi¹ *N* tree, stick (Gun EA).
-cf. wiŋgi.

wuŋgi² *N* bird's nest (Gun EA).
-cf. wuŋgi¹.

wuŋgibai *N* having a stick (Gun EA):
wuŋgibai maŋa having a stick in
my hand. -cf. wuŋgi¹.

wuŋu¹ *N* big black kangaroo or
wallaroo (Gun TC, EA). -cf.
wuŋa.

wuŋu² *N* hair (Mar DF).

wuŋubinda *N ALL* wuŋubindagu
Woorabinda, the Aboriginal
settlement (explained as meaning
'kangaroo sit down'; Gun, Bid):
bindaŋa wuŋubindagu living at
Woorabinda (Gun TC); according
to Bid SK, it was originally the
name of a lagoon. -cf. wuŋabinda.

wuŋuna *N* the name of a station,
Wooroonah (Gun TC).

GANGULU

Introductory remarks

14.1 The Gangulu language presents itself in two variants, which by analogy with Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 1.3, Note 5) we distinguish respectively by the forms Gangulu (A) and (B). By Gangulu (A) is meant a form which was met with at the outset and referred to by the term 'Gangulu' (gaŋulu) by various speakers or informants, while Gangulu (B) indicates a somewhat different form of the language met with later on and also referred to as 'Gangulu'. In considering these two forms as one fundamental language, the principle is followed that forms of speech known by the same name among those who use or are acquainted with them are given the name current among the same informants and consequently considered by them as one language.⁹² Otherwise, the differences between Gangulu (A) and (B) might have justified a separate treatment of the two kinds of Gangulu, especially considering the fact that certain other languages within the 'Gunggari' group, which actually do not differ more radically (Gunggari and Bidjara or Bidjara and Marganj, for instance) have been given different names (still according to current practice among the speakers themselves). As a matter of fact, the differences between Gangulu (A) and (B), which occur on the phonetic as well as on the morphological and lexical levels, may in certain respects be even greater than between those mentioned.

14.2 The Gangulu speech area extends over a large portion of country, to the east or north-east of the Bidjara area (cf. 7.1), with the Mimosa valley and the Woorabinda settlement as a likely center; according to Gun TC, Duaringa and Emerald would also be included.⁹³ Otherwise, Gangulu has been located by the informants both at Springsure (which might be more typically Bidjara) and Clermont (which might be more typically Wirri); one person even referred to Gangulu as a 'Springsure' language. By application of the principle adopted in dealing with the other languages studied (for which see in Part I, 1.2), the extension of the Gangulu area would be found roughly limited in the following way, according to the information given by the speakers of both varieties (Gangulu A and B). Informants for the former dialect (Gangulu A) mention both Springsure and Nebo (which is far to the north-east from Clermont) as a home area of their people, while the three informants for Gangulu (B) all seem to have general connections with the vicinity of Woorabinda (Wooroonah, Nulalbin, Rockhampton), which would suggest that Gangulu (A) represents a western (or interior) branch and Gangulu (B) an eastern (or coastal) branch. As the Nebo informant's (Gan MT) speech shows again minor deviations (cf. 14.3; 16.24-25, 28), one might even tentatively assume a western, northern (Gangulu A) and eastern (Gangulu B) division.

14.3 The main difference between Gangulu (A) and (B) is on the phonetic level, insofar as the latter is characterised by the passing of original (intervocalic) *r* (remaining in Gangulu A) into *j*, along with the existence of a phoneme *e* (which occurs merely as a phonetic variant in Gangulu A). Morphologically and lexically Gangulu (A) approaches Gunggari and Bidjara: Gan NO, for instance, prefers the negation *gaŋa* (typical of most Gunggari languages) to the more genuine Gangulu *gaŋu* (from which the name of the language is evidently derived); Gangulu (A) seems to prefer the Gunggari *dula* (*stick, tree*) to the Gangulu (B) *dulaŋ* (*idem*) and Gangulu (A) has the Bidjara and Gunggari *didap* (*koala*), where Gan KW has *gula* (*idem*); further, while the Gunggari-Bidjara *maŋa ear* is known in Gangulu (A), the form *walu* alone is recorded for Gangulu (B), while both

dialects use the verb *naga- see*, the alternative stem *wana-* (idem) occurs in Gangulu (B) only and, similarly, to Gangulu (A) *bara- happen, become* (which is generally Gunggari) corresponds Gangulu (B) *we-* (idem; the latter from original **waṛa-*, as in Birri), etc. It seems that the Gangulu (B) informant Gan CA is aware of a dialectal difference within Gangulu, as he speaks of a form of language called *gaṛaṇbal* (evidently 'gaṛa talk'), in which his own *buji* (fire), for instance, is *buṛi* (that is the Gangulu (A) form).⁹⁴

List of informants

14.4 Reference to the various informants for Gangulu (A) and (B) is made in the usual way, by the signature *Gan* (for Gangulu) followed by the initials of the persons furnishing the data. These are ranged alphabetically in the list below according to the initials, with a further indication as to whether they represent the variety (A) or (B) — as a matter of fact, the distinction is not always equally certain. For further details, compare in Part I, 4.3 and the Note 41.

- Gan CA*: Mr. Claude Anderson (born in 1896, died on August 13, 1972, at Rockhampton; an excellent Gangulu speaker from Bouldercombe, by Rockhampton, while his father and mother were either from Nulalbin (by Woorabinda) or from Comet. (Gangulu B).
- Gan KW*: Mr. Kruger White (70), at Coomooboolaroo (by Duaringa), born and raised at the nearby Wooroonah station, from whence were his father and mother also; his father used to speak to him in Gangulu. (Gangulu B).
- Gan MM*: Mr. Michael Murphy, at Cherbourg, born (in 1897) at Springsure, his mother being a full-blood Gangulu and his father an Irishman; he has, however, been abroad for many years. (Gangulu A).
- Gan MT*: Mrs. Maudy Tilbury, at Woorabinda; she and her people are from Nebo. (Gangulu A)
- Gan NO*: Mrs. Nelly Orton (or Roberts), at Cherbourg, born at Capella (by Springsure), her mother being a Gangulu from the same place, while her father was a white man. (Gangulu A).
- Gan TA*: Mr. Tim Albury (73), at Rockhampton, originally from Springsure, Emerald or Clermont. (Gangulu B).

As is seen, three informants represent Gangulu (A) and three represent Gangulu (B); the latter particularly show much agreement in all phases of the linguistic structure and hence give evidence of a closely knit linguistic unit. Hence information is rather more complete for Gangulu (B) than for Gangulu (A).

Phonology

15.1 In dealing with Gangulu phonology, some important differences between the variant (A) and the variant (B) must be mentioned. First of all, a basic feature in the phonetic system of the two variants is the existence of a fourth vowel phoneme (e) in Gangulu (B), as against the three fundamental vowel phonemes (a, i, u) in Gangulu (A). This was first noticed in the important word for *hand* (in Gangulu (A), as in most languages of Gunggari type, *maṛa*), which by all three Gangulu (B) informants is pronounced *me*. This, however,

would not be a sufficient criterion for the existence of a vowel phoneme *e*, as the long *e*· sound is frequently heard in all Gunggari languages (inclusive Gangulu (A)). The important thing is that cases of assimilation are found in Gangulu (B), whereby an *a* in a preceding syllable is changed into *e* in the same way as in the Wakka languages (see Part I, 6.5); an instance of this is the Gangulu (B) word for the *moon*, *gege* (= *gege*·; cf. Part I, 2.4), corresponding to Gangulu (A), and common Gunggari, *gagara* (idem). The evolution of this sound in Gangulu (B) is clarified by the second important tendency in the latter language, namely the passing of intervocalic *r* into *j* (for which see further in 15.5). In all other respects, Gangulu (A) and (B) agree mutually as well as with the Gunggari languages in general.

Evolution of the vowel system

15.2 As pointed out in 15.1, Gangulu (A) possesses the three basic vowel phonemes *a*, *i*, *u* (the 'triangular' system), while Gangulu (B) must be considered as having four basic vowel sounds: *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*.⁹⁵ These may be either short (respectively of medium length) or long, but except in the case of *e*· the lengthened forms are infrequent and probably due to vowel contraction or other secondary factors (e.g. by contraction, *ji*· < *jiji* *meat*, *nu*· < *nuju* *his, hers*, *nu·na* < *nujuna* *him, her* or, in loans, *ga·n* *shirt*, from English). The origin of *e*· (which is evidently more primitive than *e*; cf. below) appears immediately due to the influence of an intervocalic *j* (as in the evolution of Gunggari and Bidjara words of the type *ɲaja* > *ɲe*·, *-ba(j)i* > *-be*, etc.; cf. 5.2). Although no intermediate form **maja* is recorded for Gangulu (B), underlying the form *me*· *hand*, there are still such cases as *waiba* (originally **wajaba*, **waɣaba*) for common *we·ba* (*became*; there is also an intermediate form *weaba*, idem). The short (or normal) *e* is (except when written for *-e* or *-e*· in the word-final position; cf. above) mostly, or always, due to assimilation of an original *a* in words ending in *-e*: *gege* *moon* (for *gage*·; cf. Gangulu (A) *gagara*), *webe* and *wabe* *one* (for *wabe*·; cf. Gangulu (A) *waɣba*); the assimilation takes place according to the same principles as in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 6.5), that is to say that it affects the vowel sound *a* only: while **gage*· turns into *gege*, the words *duge-* (*jump down*), *guge* (*flying fox*) remain as such (Gan KW). The change of an *a* into an *e* before a following *e* sound seems further quite mechanical and unnoticed by the speaker himself: one informant, when asked whether *gage* would be an acceptable variant of *gege* (*moon*), simply answered 'yes, *gege*'.

15.3 The above modification of the vowel sound *a* is originally due to a primary palatal environment (cf. below). According to a similar tendency, *a* *u* may turn into *i* in contact with palatal or palatalised sounds: Gangulu (A) *juɽi* *meat* becomes Gangulu (B) *jiji* (and *ji*·; for the medial *-j-* cf. 15.5), *wuɲanbara* or *wujanbara* (Gan CA) *big* becomes *wi(j)albara* (Gan KW);⁹⁶ conversely, it seems that Gangulu (B) has preserved a more original stem of the verb *to die*, *maju-*, which is *maji-* in Gangulu (A), as also in the other Gunggari languages studied. Due to the influence of a labial sound, an *i* may change into *u*: Gangulu (A) and (B) *wuni-* *give* hence corresponds to Ngawun *wini-* (idem; the form *wuni-* is, however, also found in Wirri). It seems reasonable to assume that Gangulu (B) *wuɽe-* *fall* is connected with Gangulu (A), Gunggari, Bidjara *waɣa-*, Marganj *waɽa-* (idem) and hence due to the labialising influence of the initial *w-*. In a similar way, Gangulu (A) *gada waɲan waɲan* *silly* is actualised as *waɲanwaɲan* (*waɲano·ɲan*, for *waɲanwaɲan*).

15.4 A peculiarity of Gan NO's pronunciation (although not uncommon elsewhere; cf. Part I, 23.3, or Holmer 1971, 1.5) is the modification of a word-final -a, which may appear as any vowel sound intermediate between a and i: *janine* for *janina going*, *ɲani* for *ɲana we all*, *gadani* for *gadana one's brother*, etc.

Evolution of the consonant system

15.5 The most significant feature in the evolution of the consonant system is no doubt the passing of an intervocalic -r- into -j- in many cases in Gangulu (B). This has been indicated in dealing with the origin of the phoneme e, when e· arises from the sequence aɾa (see 15.2). Other examples of this evolution are found in: *buji* *fire* for Gangulu (A) and Gunggari, etc. *buɾi* (idem), *jiji* (ji·) *meat* for Gangulu (A) and Gunggari, etc. *juɾi* (idem), *jaguji* *liver* (cf. Birri *jaguɾi*, idem); notice further the alternation of the forms *wuɾanbara* or *wiɾanbara* (Gan CA), on the one hand, and *wujanbara* (Gan CA) or *wialbara* (Gan KW) *big*, on the other. An example parallel to the case of Gangulu (B) *me· hand*, answering to Gangulu (A), etc. *maɾa* (idem), is found in Gangulu (B) *we· happen* or *want* (cf. Birri *waɾa-*, idem). For a parallel to this evolution in Gangulu (B), one may compare an analogous passing of r into j in certain Jualrai words (as mentioned in Part III, 12.3). Otherwise, any kinds of r sounds apparently offers difficulty to our Gangulu (B) speakers (some having lost their teeth) and there is a general uncertainty as regards the r and ɖ phonemes, which in many cases alternate to the extent that it is difficult to decide whether we have cases of phonetic variants or which one of alternating forms should be considered as original: *guɖu altogether* (Gan KW) as against Gunggari *guru* (idem), *ɲuɖa dog* (Gan KW) for common Gunggari *ɲura* (idem), *wuɖe-* (Gan KW), *wure-* (Gan TA) *fall*, *wuɖemba-* (Gan KW), *wuramba-* (Gan TA) *drop*. As usual, word-final -r involves a problem, owing to the common Australian English tendency to drop or add a final 'r' (as in 'idea' ~ 'idea-r') and so Gan NO, for instance, says *mungara* (sometimes with an English 'r' sound) for *mungar mountain* (unless a locative form; cf. 16.12).

15.6 In this connection may be mentioned the common tendency to pronounce an interdental consonant (mostly an -n-) as -r- (cf. Part I, 6.19, Note 61), as in: *murangal* (Gan CA) for *munuɖal* (Gan KW) *moustache* (cf. *munu mouth, lip*), *ɲari* for *ɲani what?* (Gan TA), *ɲarigu* (Gan CA) for *ɲanigu why?*, *waranu* (Gan TA) for *wananu to see, look for*, *duriba* for *duniba told, said*, *darap* for *dalap tongue*. The common reduction of a sequence consisting of a nasal plus a homorganic plosive (-nd-, etc.) by loss of the latter (cf. 5.8) is seen in: *ɲuguna* (Gan NO) for *ɲugunda tonight*, *gamuɲa* (Gan KW) for *gamunga* (Gan C) *in the water*, *bapar* for *bangar sick* (Gan NO). An assimilation of the group -ng- to -nd- (as also in Wakka-Wakka, see Part I, 6.18) appears in *wananda- look at one another* (Gan CA) as compared to *jumbanga- listen to one another* (i.e. with the reciprocal formative -nga-; cf. 16.10).

15.7 The rules regarding the distribution of consonant phonemes in word or syllable-initial respectively word and syllable-final position are the same as in Gunggari (see 5.6). Hence word-initial ɲ is not recorded for Gangulu, while g- occurs sparingly, mostly in loan words: *gariga trousers* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *garuga*, idem, a common Aboriginal word, probably ultimately from English 'drawers'), *ga·n shirt* (from English 'shirt'), *gugi dugi fowl* (from English), *ganga talk* (cf. Batjala, Kabi-Kabi *ganga mouth*), *gumbega tobacco* (probably from

the Wakka languages, where similar forms are common). An irregular consonant cluster is seen in *wadria other* (Gan CA), probably due to a secondary loss of a vowel (cf. *Wirri wadira*, idem).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

16.1 Structure. As in the Gunggari languages at large, concrete nominal or verbal stems are basically dissyllabic; longer stems (at least verb stems) are as a rule derived. Shorter (that is monosyllabic) stems occur, but are practically always due either to contraction of original dissyllabic forms or to their character of being loanwords: Gangulu (B) *me· hand* (cf. Gangulu (A) *maɣa*, idem; see 15.2), *ji· meat* (a shorter form of *jiji*; in Gangulu (A) *juɾi*, idem), *ga·n shirt* (from English 'shirt'), *bu·n boot(s)* (from English 'boot'), *baim pipe* (from English 'pipe'). Verbal stems are not seldom identical with nominal stems: *gunda a fight* (e.g. *dalgaju gunda a big fight*), and *gunda- to fight* (e.g. *gundana (is) fighting*), *danga mouth* and *danga- talk*, *nimu sick* and *nimu- be sick*. Some verbal stems are either used intransitively or transitively: *buji gubara the fire is burning*, *bujingu gubala the fire has burned (it) or burned by fire* (Gan CA); we may accept as a principle that any verb stem construed with a nominative is intransitive, while one construed with an ergative or objective form is transitive (cf. *daga*⁻¹ and *daga*⁻², in 26).

16.2 Compounds. Nominal stems may be joined to form compounds in the usual way (cf. English 'housetop', etc.): *ɲargu numan kangaroo skin*, *ɲargu dundap kangaroo tail or kangaroo's tail*, *dili webe one-eyed*, *dumu webe one-legged*, *mala webe one-armed*. A noun stem may also be combined into a compound with a verbal stem, the compound being verbal and intransitive: *gamu baɣa- want a drink* (Gan NO); notice that this cannot be analysed as in English, since *baɣa- want* is intransitive in Gangulu (the literal rendering would be *drink-want*) and in an analogous way we must analyse: *walu jumba- think* (literally *ear-listen*, *hear* or *listen* being semantically identical with *think* in Australian languages), *walu baji- forget* (literally *ear-getting-lost*).

16.3 Reduplication. Reduplication of nominal stems express slightly different shades of meaning, such as animal or color names, etc.: *budi budi pussy* (from English), *gugi gugi fowl, chicken* (from English), *bigi bigi pig* (from English), *duni duni night owl*, *mida mida black*, *waɲa waɲa mad* (Gan TA), *gada waɲan waɲan silly* (Gan NO), *bindi bindi heaty lumps (prickly heat ?)* (Gan NO), *juɲur juɲur a lot (of kids, etc.)*, *mala mala wings* (cf. *mala arm*), *buɾan buɾan rainbow*.

16.4 Nominal derivation. Among nominal derivative suffixes we notice in the first place the sociative *-bari* and various caritative formatives: *-mulu*, *-junda*, *-gaɣa* (unless the last one be considered an independent relation word, *nothing*, *not*). Examples: *jaranbari having a beard* (*jaran*), *bangubari or baribari rich, wealthy (having money, bangu, bari)*, *dinɲabari having a cough* (*dinɲa*), *malabari having hands* (or rather *arms*, *mala*), *gamibari having grandchildren* (*gami*), *bujibari burning (having fire, buji)*, *nanibari dirty* (cf. *nani earth, mud*), *ɲurabari having a dog* (*ɲura*), *jaramanbari having a horse* (*jaraman*), *dugabari having tobacco* (*duga smoke*), *murungalbari jewfish (catfish; literally having barbels or feelers, from murungal moustache, Gan CA)*; the function of *-bari* is

somewhat different in: dili mugabari *having bad eyes* (more or less the same as dili muga *blind*), bangarbari *sick* (= bangar, idem), nimubari *sick* or *having a sore* (= nimu, idem), ngunbari *early in the morning* (cf. ngun *night*), maganbari *pretty* (the corresponding simple word not recorded), madibari *poor, thin* (cf. madi *sick*), ngalubari *full after eating* (from ngalgu *belly*) and, finally, in ganubari *no, none, nothing* (Gan NO; formed by analogy of the Gunggari and Bidjara garabari, idem). The function of -bari answers to that of an English preposition in: gangaribari (*he went away*) *with a knife* (Gan NO), me·bari (*having something*) *in the hand* (Gan KW). Of the negative (or caritative) formatives, -mulu and -jundu at least may be considered as caritative suffixes, as in: gandumulu *having no children* (gandu; Gan MT), mujanmulu *without clothes* (mujan; Gan CA), bamamulu *widow (without a man, bama)*, gajumulu *widower (without a woman, gaju)*, mujanjunda, wididijunda *without clothes, a hat* (mujan, wididi), barijunda *without money* (bari), gajujunda *single man (having no woman, gaju)*; possibly also -gudu in: walugudu *deaf* (Gan MM; cf. Wirri -gudu, in 19.4). In the form bangugaṛa *without money* (= barijunda, cf. above), gaṛa is rather an independent relation word (= *no, none*), as also in gadadalip ganu *having no hat* (gadadalip; Gan TA).

16.5 The suffix -gan mostly denotes female gender, as in: bunṅagan *old woman* (cf. bunṅa *old man*), waḍugan or waḍugan *old woman* (cf. waduran *old man*), waṃmerigan *white woman* (from English 'white-Mary'), nangagan *young woman* (cf. nanga *young man*), gaju ṅangan *young woman*, but it is also found in other words, e.g. waḍagan *crow*. Some apparent derivative suffixes are isolated or have no clear function: -di in wudidī or wididī *hat* (probably some connection with the common word for *white man*, widu, in the Gunggari languages),⁹⁷ gamudi *drunk* (from gamu *water, a drink*) and the analogous -dalip in: gadadalip *hat* (cf. gada *head*) and dinadalip *shoe(s)* (cf. dina *foot*; perhaps equivalent to *cover(ing)*) or -gal in: munuḡal *moustache* (cf. munu *mouth, lip*). The suffix -ṅamu may originally express similarity (as the Wirri ṅamu *like*); in our Gangulu material it occurs in bandaṛaṅamu *God* (Gan NO). A suffix -ṅara occurs in mundaṅara (a common Gunggari designation of the *Rainbow Serpent*) as well as in guṅara either *black snake, rock python* or *eel* (the simple noun guju means *fish*, especially *eel*). The Gangulu (A) suffix -gari in bandaṛagari *God* answers to the Bidjara -gari, -gai (in bandaṛaga(r)i, idem).

16.6 The 'dual-comitative' suffix commonly added to noun stems expressing relationship (cf. 6.6) is -na in Gangulu: jabuna *one's father* (from jabu *father*), jaṅana *one's mother* (from jaṅa *mother*, e.g. in the vocative); the examples are all from Gangulu (A). Of the consonantal suffixes, or 'nominalising' elements (cf. Part I, 3.6; 7.1), -n, -m and -p have been noted in Gangulu: mujan (Gan KW, MT) and mujam (Gan CA) *clothes, swag, dulan tree, stick* (Gan KW, MT) and dula (idem; Gan MM, MT).

16.7 *Verbal derivation.* In both Gangulu (A) and (B) the four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are represented. The causative suffixes are -ma- (in both dialects) and -mba- (in Gangulu B): dangama- *talk* (from danga *a talk, danga- to talk*), baṛama- *make* (from baṛa- *happen, come about*), bindama- *make sit down* (from binda- *sit down*), wunama- or jinama- *lay down, put to bed* (from wuna-, jina- *lie down*), bangarma- *make sick or hurt* (cf. bangar *sick*; Gan NO), jilama- *turn round* (transitive; from jila-, idem, intransitive), bangapma- *frighten* (from bangap *afraid*), majuma- *put out (fire)* (from maju- *die, go out*), ganima- *plant, hide*

(cf. Gunggari *gani- hide*, intransitive), wudemba- *fell* (from wude- *fall*), danamba- *stand (something) up* (from dana- *stand (up)*), wunamba- *put down* (cf. above), bindamba- *make sit* (cf. above), waṅamba- *lose, forget* (cf. waṅa waṅa *mad, properly lost*), wagamba- *make rise, raise* (from waga- *run*; cf. Gunggari waga- *rise*), majimba- *put out (fire)* (= majuma, cf. above). For other uses of the above suffixes, compare in 16.8).

16.8 The associative suffixes are -ni- (Gangulu A) and -ji- (Gangulu B),⁹⁸ but the suffixes -ma- and -mba- (see 16.7) are also used in the associative sense (cf. 6.8): burani- *get away with* (from bura- *get away*), janini- *go with* (from jani- *go*), wubaji- (wube-; cf. 15.2) *bring* (from wuba- *come*), dune- *say to, tell* (from duni- *say*), gande- *bring* (from gandi- *come*),⁹⁹ diamba- *play at* (from dia- *play*); also compare dangama- (in 16.7), if originally conveying the idea of *talk to, with* or *about*. An element -ṅ- is intercalated in: gandṅma- *lie to* (cf. Gunggari, Bidjara gadi- *tell a lie*), gundṅma- *steal from* (cf. Bidjara gunda- *steal, gundṅ stealing*).

16.9 The reflexive suffix (in A and B) is -li-: dagali- *put on (dress oneself; cf. Wirri daga- plant, put)*, bambuli- *scratch oneself* (from bambu- *scratch*), wanali- *look at oneself* (from wana- *see*), wangali- *get well, better (cure oneself; cf. wanga enough, Gunggari wanga well, all right)*, gunmali- *cut oneself* (from gunma- *cut*). In many cases the reflexive sense is not apparent, the sense being merely intransitive: gunmali- *break* (intransitive; cf. above), bangali- *be sore* (from banga-, idem), galgali- *rain* (cf. Birri galga-, idem), diali- *play* (from dia-, idem), burali-, buṛali- *get up* (cf. bura-, idem), nagali- *look out* (from naga- *see*). When the sense is indirect reflexive (i.e. the action is performed on *one's own*), the verbs in -li- are transitive: dagali- *put on, dress one's own (children; cf. above)*, wangali- *cure for oneself or one's own* (cf. above). The causative and reflexive senses are combined in: ganimbali- *hide oneself (make oneself hidden; from ganimba- hide, transitive)*. For -li- used in a reciprocal sense, see in 16.10).

16.10 The reciprocal suffix is -mi- in Gangulu (A) — that is as in Bidjara (cf. 9.11) —, while in Gangulu (B) it is either -ra- (as in Wirri and Birri) or -nga- (-nda-, by assimilation; cf. 15.6): nagami- *look at one another* (from naga- *see*), dangami- *talk to one another* (from danga- *talk*), gundara- *fight* (from gunda- *hit*), jumbanga- *listen to one another* (from jumba- *hear*), wananda- *look at one another* (from wana- *see*), while in the verb jilanga- *turn round* (from jila-, idem, transitive) the reciprocal sense does not appear, the derived verb being merely intransitive (or reflexive: *turn oneself round*). The reflexive -li- is occasionally used in the reciprocal sense: nagali- or nagamali- *look at or see one another*, dangamali- *talk to one another* (the latter two with the causative-associative -ma-), jimbali- *listen to one another* (from jimba- *hear*; unless simply intransitive: *listen*).¹⁰⁰

(b) Inflection

16.11 *Declension*. The declension of nominal stems, as far as it has been possible to ascertain from the rather limited number of recorded inflected forms, is strictly along the same lines in Gangulu (A) and (B), both agreeing on main points with Gunggari and Bidjara, as well as with Wirri and Birri. No possessive (with a couple of exceptions; see 16.14) or ablative case forms

have been found; for the former the allative is used (*gandugu wulur clothes for the child = the child's clothes*) and for the latter a postposition (usually *mundu from: jamba mundu from home; = Wakka-Wakka moronu, idem, ablative*). Other case forms may be found in inflected relation words.

16.12 The *ergative* (which always ends in -u) is formed in various ways according to the stem-final sound: if a vowel, the ergative is in -ngu, if a nasal, it is formed by the corresponding homorganic plosive added to the stem; cases of an ergative of a stem ending in any other sound are not recorded. The *locative* (always in -a) is formed by adding -nga (or imperfectly articulated: -ŋa) to vowel-ending stems and by -a with a preceding homorganic plosive to stems ending in a nasal; of a stem in -r, the locative suffix is probably -a, as in: *ŋaja bangara when I was sick* (Gan NO), as appears from comparison with *ŋaja ganduna while I was a child* (Gan NO; literally *in sick(ness), in child(hood)*, by analogy with a common Celtic idiom). The allative is always in -gu, of all stems.¹⁰¹

16.13 *Paradigms*. According to the statements in the sections (16.11-12), we obtain the following regular paradigms for both dialects. The type words are: (1) vowel-ending stems: *bama man, gandu child, nura dog, gamu water, buji fire* (Gangulu B), *jamba camp, jalga way, me hand* (Gangulu B); (2) stems in a nasal: *jaraman horse, wadun grass, baim pipe*.

(1) *vowel-ending stems*

NOM *bama, gandu, nura, gamu, buji, jamba, jalga, me*
 ERG *bamangu, gandungu, nurangu, bujingu*
 LOC *gandun(g)a, gamunga, jalganga, meŋ(g)a*
 ALL *gandugu, nuragu, jambagu*

(2) *stems ending in a nasal:*

NOM *jaraman, wadun, baim*
 ERG *jaramandu*
 LOC *wadunda, baimba*
 ALL *jaramangu*

16.14 Apart from what has been remarked in 16.12, some additional irregularities may be observed. A couple of instances of a possessive form in -ŋu have been heard: *ŋargaŋu, nuraŋu (buŋa) kangaroo's, dog's (tail)* (Gan TA, NO), whether correct or not (cf. *nuragu, jaramangu buŋa dog's, horse's tail*; Gan NO). The ergative of *miru nulla-nulla* is regularly *mirungu*, but a form *miruju* was alternatively heard from Gan KW (in which the -j- might possibly represent an original -r-; cf. Darumbal, Part III, 18.8). Otherwise a suffix -ru (or -ru) occurs in relation words: *balandaŋu long ago, gunduru across, ŋandaru when?* (possibly having the same function as in Gunggari and Bidjara; cf. 6.16; 9.15).

16.15 *Article*. In Gangulu (A) an instance of a form with the plural article -nu (that is as in Gunggari and Bidjara) is recorded: *gandunu birala some children are playing* (Gan NO).

16.16 *Postpositions*. The following postpositions are recorded: *baŋal along, over, across, ŋamu like, juna in, mundu from*; some are also used as relation words. Examples: *waŋu baŋal along, over the plain, dura, balbaŋa baŋal across the road, creek, munda ŋamu like a snake* (Gan NO), *guga juna inside the house*,

buṛi mundu (*smoke*) from the fire, jamba mundu janira going from home, dulan mundu wudeba fell from the tree, banga mundu maru or maru banga mundu leaves off the tree (Gan TA; alternatively used for the possessive case), burangi juṅgi mundu afraid of the ghost.

16.17 *Personal pronouns.* Of personal pronouns (which are used in reference to persons or personified entities only) the following are recorded: (singular) ṇaja I, jinda you, nula he, she; (dual) ṇali we, jubala you, bula they; (plural) ṇana we, dana they. The nominative (or the stem form listed above) and the ergative seem to be everywhere identical. Of other case forms one will notice a special objective and possessive form, while local forms (ablative, locative and allative) have not been recorded (apart from one locative form).¹⁰²

16.18 *Paradigms.* We consequently get a declension comprising a nominative-ergative, an objective, a possessive and (for one person) a locative form, according to the paradigms below:

First person singular:

NOM	ṇaja
ERG	ṇaja
OBJ	ṇaḍuna, ṇana
POSS	ṇaḍu
LOC	ṇaḍunda

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda
ERG	jinda
OBJ	jindaṇuna, jindana
POSS	jindaṇu, junu, jinu (Gan KW)

Third person singular:

NOM	nula
ERG	nula
OBJ	nuṇuna, nu'na
POSS	nuṇu, nu'

First person dual:

NOM	ṇali
ERG	ṇali
OBJ	ṇalina
POSS	ṇalinagu

Second person dual:

NOM	jubala, jibala, bula
ERG	jubala

Third person dual:

NOM	bula
ERG	bulaṇangu ¹⁰³

First person plural:

NOM	ɲana
ERG	ɲana
OBJ	ɲanana
POSS	ɲananagu

Third person plural:

NOM	dana
ERG	dana

Examples: ɲaja janira *I am going* (Gan KW), ɲura ɲagu *my dog*, ɲagu gundi *my house*, jinda ɲagu wubai *you bring (it) to me* (Gan MT, CA; the possessive form used in a dative sense), wuni ɲana *give me* (Gan KW; the objective used in a dative sense), jinda ɲagunda wubaji *you bring me* (Gan TA; the locative used in a dative or allative sense), wabi ɲagunda banda *sing a song to me* (Gan TA), bindara ɲagunda *staying with me* (Gan TA), nula janira *he is going*, bari junu *your money* (Gan KW), nuɲu gada *his head* (Gan NO), juɲangu nu· (= nuɲu) *that is his* (Gan TA), ɲali janina *we (= you and me) are going* (Gan NO), ɲali bindana *we two are sitting* (Gan NO), nula ɲalina nagana *he can see us two* (Gan NO), dana diara or card diara dana *they are playing (cards)* (Gan KW).

16.19 According to Gan NO, the forms based on the first person plural, ɲana (*we*), such as ɲanana *us*, ɲananagu (*guga*) *our (house)*, are *exclusive*, while those based on the first person dual, ɲali (*we two*), such as ɲalinagu (*guga*) *our (house)*, are *inclusive (= yours and mine)*. Otherwise compound forms are used to indicate whether the forms in question are inclusive or exclusive: ɲalinda (= ɲali jinda) *you and me*, as in: ɲalinda nagamina *we two are looking at one another* (Gan NO), ɲalinda da· we·ra (Gan KW), ɲali jinda da· we·ra (Gan CA) *we two are talking*, ɲali nula *he and I* (Gan KW).

16.20 *Demonstrative pronouns.* Different forms are used in Gangulu (A) and Gangulu (B), the former (probably owing to the limitation of the material obtained) showing a more simple aspect. One may arrange the demonstrative pronouns in either dialect according to their basic sense and function, as to whether they answer to English *this* or *that* (other shades of meaning escape us entirely). Hence, in Gangulu (A) we find the two stems: jina *this* and jaba *that*, of which no inflected forms are recorded. Examples: jamba jina *this home* (Gan MM), jina ɲagu gundi *this is my house* (Gan MT), ɲani jina *what is this?* (Gan MT), ɲanduɲu jina *whose is this?* (Gan MT); jaba guga *that house* (Gan NO), jaba wulur *that thing*. As usual, a local sense is understood in each case (cf. 6.25-26) and sometimes prevails: muraga jina, for instance, does not necessarily mean *this motor car*, but more often *here is a car* or *a car is coming*, etc., neither does jina gadana normally mean *this brother*, but rather *here, brother, come in, brother*, etc. (Gan MM).

16.21 The Gangulu (B) forms recorded are more complicated. The following stems rather indicate the sense of *this*: ɲina-, jila-, julu or jilu, while the idea of *that* is denoted by: ɲuna, jara, juga- or juɲa-. A stem gundu (in gunduɲu *that*, ɲani gunduɲu *what is that?* Gan KW) is in itself an inflected form (an ablative) of a more primitive stem *gu *here*. These demonstratives either occur in the stem or nominative form (occasionally enlarged by a syllable -na) or else in an inflected form, the most common one being the allative in -ɲgu or -ɲu (cf. 15.6).¹⁰⁴ A couple of paradigms will show this:

jula- (jila-) *this, here*:

LOC jilaŋa
ALL jilaŋgu, julagu, jilagu

julu or jilu *this, here*:

NOM julu, jilu, juluna, jiluna
ALL julunŋu, julunŋu, jilunŋu, julugu

Examples: ŋagu jilaŋa *this is mine*, ŋandunŋu jilaŋgu *whose is this?* (Gan KW), ŋani julagu (jilagu) *what is this?*, julu binbi jamba *it is nice here* (also *this is a nice camp*; Gan TA), ŋani jiluna *what is this?* (Gan KW), jinda juluna juga *you eat this* (Gan TA), julunŋu binbi *this thing is nice* (Gan TA), nula julunŋu *this is he* or *he is here* (Gan TA), julunŋu gandu *this boy* (Gan TA), julunŋu banga nunŋu *this is his stick* (Gan TA), jilunŋu bama *this man* (Gan KW), ŋani jilunŋu *what is this?* (Gan KW), bama julunŋu jamaba *this man has made it* (Gan CA), bama julunŋu ŋandulu *who is this man?* (Gan CA), bama julunŋu *this man* (Gan TA); nula ŋuna wubajiba *he brought that thing* (Gan CA), jarunŋu bindi *that is nice* (Gan TA), ŋani juganŋu *what is that?* (Gan TA), junanŋu *that thing* (Gan TA), junanŋu *that is he* (Gan TA), bama junanŋu *that man* (Gan TA), junanŋu nu *that is his* (Gan TA), ŋani gundunŋu *what is that?* (Gan KW). The local sense is apparent in many cases, for instance in: julu ŋaja wunara *here I am living* (Gan TA), in which the rendering by an English demonstrative pronoun (*this*) would be out of place.

16.22 *Interrogative pronouns.* The interrogative pronouns are very similar in Gangulu (A) and (B). The personal interrogative *who?* is ŋandulu (ŋanduru) and the impersonal interrogative *what?* is ŋani. These are also used in an indefinite sense (*somebody, something*, etc.). The following paradigms show the inflected forms of either pronoun.

ŋandulu (ŋanduru) *who?*:

NOM ŋandulu, ŋanduru (Gan NO, KW)
ERG ŋandulu, ŋandalunŋu (Gan NO; correctly: ŋandulunŋu ?)
OBJ ŋandana (Gan MT), ŋanduna (Gan KW)
POSS ŋandunŋu (Gan MT, KW), ŋandulunŋu (Gan NO).

Examples: ŋandulu jinda maŋi *who or what man are you?* (Gan NO), ŋandulu jamala waŋal (Gan MT), ŋandulu waŋal jamaba (Gan KW) *who (has) made the boomerang?* ŋandulu marala *who got hold of it?* (Gan NO), ŋandulu bama nari *what is his or the man's name?* (Gan KW), ŋandulu bama *which man* (Gan KW), bama ŋandulu *another man* (Gan KW), ŋandulu jamaba *somebody made it* or *who made it?* (Gan CA, TA), ŋandulu jinda *who are you?* (Gan KW), ŋandulu migulu *who is the white man?* (Gan KW), ŋandulu wubara *who is coming?* (Gan KW), ŋandulu bama danara *who is the man standing over there?* (Gan KW), ŋanduru nari *what is your name?* (Gan KW), bama ŋandulu *who?* (Gan KW), ŋanduna jinda nagaba *whom did you see?* (Gan KW), wandi ŋandulunŋu *whose dog?* (Gan NO), ŋandunŋu jina *whose is this?* (Gan MT), gandu ŋandunŋu *whose child?* (Gan KW), guga ŋandunŋu *whose house?* (Gan KW), ŋandunŋu jilaŋgu *whose is this?* (Gan KW).

ŋani *what?*:

NOM ŋani
ALL ŋanigu

Examples: *ɲani jina what is this?* (Gan MT), *ɲani jaba what is that?* (Gan NO), *ɲani jindaŋu which one is yours* (Gan MT), *ɲani jumbala listening to something* (Gan KW), *ɲani jamara what are (you) doing?* (Gan KW), *ɲani dunira what were (you) saying?* (Gan KW), *ɲani jiluna or ɲani jilungu what is this?* (Gan KW), *ɲani(gu) jinda we-ra what do you want?* (Gan KW), *ɲanigu jinda nagana ɲaɲuna why are you looking at me?* (Gan NO), *ɲanigu jinda dangamana what are you talking about?* (Gan NO), *ɲanigu why?* (Gan NO), *ɲanigu jinda wubaba what have you come for?* (Gan CA), *ɲanigu jinda gandebe why did you take it?* (Gan TA).

16.23 *Conjugation.* Gangulu (A) diverges from Gangulu (B) in respect of the conjugation of the verb, inasmuch as the former agrees almost entirely with Gunggari and Bidjara, while the latter definitely goes with Wirri and Birri. While the structure of the verbal stem is the same in both dialects, corresponding to the general type in the Gunggari languages, the system of conjugation as well as the formative elements themselves differ. In Gangulu (A) we find the four basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional); in Gangulu (B) traces appear of a more complicated system along the same lines as in Birri (see 22.27). For a basic analysis, however, it is suitable to co-ordinate the two conjugation types as far as it is possible.

16.24 As in most of the languages studied here, the *imperative* is the unaltered stem of the verb: *binda sit* (stem *binda-*), *jani go* (stem *jani-*), (Gangulu B) *wuɖe fall* (stem *wuɖe-*); a single example of an imperative in -a corresponding to a stem-final -i (cf. 9.27) is found in *jana go* (Gan MM), of which the stem is *jani-* (cf. above; it is however possible that Gan MM has used a Wakka-Wakka form). In Gangulu (A), the *imperfective* is in -na (cf. Bidjara; 9.28): *bindana (is) sitting*, *janina (is) going*, with some traces of the suffix -ra (as in Gangulu (B) and occasionally in Gunggari; cf. 6.34): *bandara ɲaja I am sick* (Gan NO; stem *banda-*), *janira going* (Gan MM, MT), *wubara coming*, *nula bindara jugana he is sitting eating* (Gan MT), *danara standing* (Gan MT; stem *dana-*), *wunara lying down* (Gan MT), *nagara seeing* (Gan MT; hence perhaps mostly 'Northern Gangulu', cf. 14.2); even one case of -ɲa (cf. Gunggari and Bidjara; 6.32; 9.28) is found: *danana = danara (standing; Gan MT)*. In Gangulu (B), however, the typical imperfective formative is -ra: *bindara (is) sitting*, *janira (is) going*, *wuɖera (is) falling* (stems: *binda-*, *jani-*, *wuɖe-*).¹⁰⁵

16.25 The *perfective* in Gangulu (A) is formed as in Gunggari and Bidjara (see 6.32; 9.28), that is by the suffix -la to the stem: *bindala sat*, *janila went, gone*; in Gangulu (B) the form of the perfective agrees with those in Wirri and Birri, being characterised by a postpositional element -ba, sometimes preceded by a 'nominalising' -l- and consequently expressing the original locative sense of -la (cf. in Part I, 3.23): *janiba = Gangulu (A) janila (went, gone)*, *baɖalba or baɖaba bit* (stem *baɖa- bite*; Gan KW), *wanalba or wanaba = Gangulu (A) nagala (saw)*. Incidentally, a perfective in -lba has been recorded for Gangulu (A) as well (*gaɾa jindana nagalba I have never seen you before*; Gan MT, Northern Gangulu ?), which shows that Gangulu is by no means a uniform language (cf. 14.1-2).

16.26 The *intentional* is further different in both main dialects. In Gangulu (A) it always ends in the postpositional -gu (cf. Part I, 3.23), which is either preceded by a 'nominalising' element (cf. above, 16.24), -l- or -ɲ-:

ɲaja wubala nagalgu *I have come to see (you)* (Gan MT; stem naga- *see*), jinda janingu *you must go* (Gan MM; stem jani- *go*), wunangu *(to go) to sleep* (Gan MM; stem wuna- *lie down*) or else is added directly to the (originally imminent; cf. 6.31, with Note 42) imperfective suffix -na: bindanagu *to sit down* (Gan NO; stem binda- *sit*), that is as in Birri (cf. 22.28). In Gangulu (B) the same (originally imminent) -na (see above) may function as an intentional formative: wuni ɲana jugana *give me to eat* (Gan KW; stem juga- *eat*), bama dana janiba manta jugana *all the people have gone to eat* (Gan KW), jugana we· *want to eat* (Gan KW), nula wubaba ɲana diana *he came so we might all play or gamble* (Gan KW), janina *wants to go* (Gan KW), ɲali da· we·na *(I have come) so we two can have a chat* (Gan KW; stem: da· we·- *talk*), nula janira wurgunagu bindana *he goes to Wooroonah to live* (Gan KW; stem binda- *sit, live*); otherwise a similar suffix ending in -u (possibly connected with -gu; cf. Part I, 3.23), that is -nu, takes the place of the above -na or -nagu: gandinu *to bring* (Gan TA; stem gandi- *bring*), daganu *will get up* (Gan TA; stem daga- *get up*), gundinu *wants to break* (Gan TA; stem gundi- *break*), juganu *will eat* (Gan TA), wunanu we·ra *I want or must lie down* (Gan TA), janinu *(I) must go* (Gan TA).

16.27 As for the function of the above modal forms little is to be said. The imperative renders English 'should' in jinda ɲɔɲali *you should know* (Gan KW). The imperfective in Gangulu (A) renders either the durative or imminent sense (which latter is probably the original one as far as the suffix -na goes; cf. 6.31, Note 42): dangamana *talking* (Gan NO; durative), jinbana *listening* (Gan NO; durative), bindana *sitting* (Gan NO; durative), nula barina *he is crying* (Gan NO; durative), manda jugana *going to eat* (Gan MT; imminent), gamu jugana *I want to drink water* (Gan MT; imminent), janina *going* (Gan NO; imminent), burbana *is coming* (Gan NO; either durative or imminent); the sense is potential in: nagana *can see* (Gan NO). In Gangulu (B) practically all recorded forms in -ra are durative: bindara (*sitting*), danara (*standing*), gubara (*burning*), wanara (*can see*; potential), jugara (*eating*), wagara (*running*), bambulira (*scratching oneself*), wanalira (*looking at oneself*); such a one as janira *going* (Gan KW) may, of course, be imminent (according to English usage), but janina (*want to go*) is used probably in the same sense. It is in any case evident from the examples quoted above (gamu jugana *want to drink*, etc.) that the (imminent) suffix -na has an essentially identical function in both Gangulu (A) and (B). The difference in sense between an imperfective and a perfective modal form is made clear from such parallels as: majina (Gan NO), majura (Gan KW) *dying* and majila (Gan NO), majuba (Gan KW) *dead*, bugari barana (*I am getting cold* and bugari barala (*I am cold* (Gan NO), warana *falling* and warala *fallen (down)* (Gan NO). The use of a perfective form in, for instance, gandunu birala *the children are playing* (Gan NO), jinbala = jinbana *listening* parallels Bidjara usage, as mentioned in 9.28.

16.28 Certain modal forms have been recorded which appear irregular. In Gangulu (A) some imperfective forms end in -da (in place of -na or -ra): ɲaja, jinda janida *I, you go or are going* (Gan MT), nagada *can see* (Gan MT; = nagana); for danaga = danara (*standing*; Gan MT), see in 16.24, above. The imperfective form in -ɲ (cf. 6.34) occurs in bangan *afraid* (cf. Wakka-Wakka banga- *be afraid*; Part I. 12). A quite unusual form is found in: janninga *going* (ɲaja janinga jambagu *I am going to the camp*; Gan MM); although this would be a regular locative form of a vowel-ending stem (cf. 16.12-13), the assumed locative suffix in imperfective forms (cf. Part I, 3.22) nowhere appears except as -ɲa (strangely, whether by coincidence or not, a similar imperfective suffix

recurs in Nunagal jaranga *going*; see Part III, 6.14). According to Gan TA, the imperfective of (reflexive) derivations in -li- (see 16.9) is in -(j)a (and not in -ra): gamu galgalia *it is raining*, dialia *playing*, wanalia *looking at oneself*; similarly jargun galgalia *bleeding* (Gan KW), wangalia *getting better* (Gan CA), ŋuǵalia *knowing* (Gan CA): however, forms in -ra are sometimes used: wangalira, ŋuǵalira (Gan CA), bambulira *scratching oneself* (Gan CA), wanalira *looking at oneself* (Gan CA). The nature of the termination -ngi of some verbal forms cannot be ascertained. We find, for instance, in Gangulu (B): burangi *afraid, frightened* (cf. bura- *fly*, burali- *get up*), wagaringi *running*, danangi (danani; cf. 15.6) *standing up* (cf. wagara- *run*, dana- *stand*), wuŋengi *been swimming* (sic, Gan CA; cf. wuŋe- *swim*); the function of these forms seems in some ways analogous to that of accidental forms (for which see in 16.29): jinda bula wanara danani *can you see the cattle standing?* (Gan KW).

16.29 Accidental forms (cf. 6.36) appear in Gangulu (A) to be of the same type as in Bidjara (and Marganj; see 9.30; 12.12), forms in -laŋa being recorded: jinda barilaŋa ŋaja gundana jindaŋuna *if you cry I will give you a hiding* (Gan NO), nagalaŋa *when (I) see (him)* (Gan NO), bulaŋu nagalilaŋa *when the two saw each other* (Gan NO). In Gangulu (B) the only accidental forms recorded are in -la (that is to say that they coincide formally with Gangulu (A) perfective forms; cf. 16.25):¹⁰⁶ bama dana bindara manda jugala *all the men are sitting eating* (Gan KW), manta jugala *dinner time* (literally *when eating*, Gan CA; cf. Note 106), jinda nuŋuna jimbala *when you are thinking of him* (Gan KW), ŋaja danara ŋani jumbala *I am standing listening to something* (Gan KW), ŋali jinda bindara ŋali da we-la *we are sitting talking*, card diala bindara *sitting playing cards* (Gan KW), jaramangu bindara nula bula jamala *he is sitting on horseback tending* (literally *doing*) *the cattle* (Gan KW), bindara nula nula baim jabala *he is sitting (he) smoking a pipe* (Gan KW), janila nala *tired (of) going, walking* (Gan CA), nala we-la *tired (from) talking* (Gan CA). The alternative use of the intentional form, as in: jinda bindara manta jubana *you are sitting eating* (Gan KW), dulap ŋana bindara gurumangu diana *we are all sitting in the shade of the tree playing (cards)* (Gan KW), etc. is paralleled by the Bidjara construction with forms in -lgu: bindana ŋalgal(g)u *sitting talking*; these evidently express the idea of respectively *sitting to eat, to play, to talk* (cf. 9.21).¹⁰⁷ For the construction wanara danani *can see (the cattle) standing* (Gan KW), see in 16.28).

16.30 The use of what appears to be an 'auxiliary' verb form (cf. 6.35; 9.31) occurs in the Gangulu (B) form jilangara *turning round, spinning* (Gan CA), to be analysed in the same way as the Gunggari jamalgara *being busy doing, danalgara standing* (see 6.35); the structural difference between the Gunggari and Gangulu forms consists in the use of a 'nominalising' -n- in the latter language for the -l- in the Gunggari form. The precise shade of meaning does not appear in the only Gangulu form recorded (the English rendering would be that of the regular imperfective jilara *turning round*).

16.31 *Paradigms.* The conjugation system in Gangulu (A) respectively (B) can be shown by the following simple paradigms; the type verbs are: binda- *sit*, jani- *go*, juga- *eat*, naga- (A), wana- (B) *see*, we- (B) *happen, be, want*, wuba- *come*, wuna- *lie down*. In cases where differences arise between the two forms of Gangulu, Gangulu (A) forms (marked by (A)) are given first; Gangulu (B) forms (marked by (B)) follow after a semicolon.

binda- *sit*:

IMP binda
 IPF bindana (A); bindara (B)
 PF bindala (A); bindaba (B)
 INT bindanagu (A); bindana (B)

jani- *go*:

IMP jani
 IPF janina, janira (A); janira (B)
 PF janila (A); janiba (B)
 INT janingu (A); janina, janinu (B)

juga- *eat or drink*:

IMP juga
 IPF jugana (A); jugara (B)
 PF jugala (A); jugaba (B)
 INT juganagu (A); jugana, juganu (B)
 ACC jugala (B)

naga- (A), wana- (B) *see*:

IPF nagana (A); wanara (B)
 PF nagala (nagalba, Gan MT) (A); wanaba, wanalba (B)
 INT nagalgu (A); wananu (B)
 ACC nagalaga (A)

we - (B) *happen, be, want*:

IMP we·
 IPF we·ra
 PF we·ba (waiba)
 INT we·na
 ACC we·la

wuba- *come*:

IMP wuba
 IPF wubara
 PF wubala (A): wubaba (B)
 ACC wubala (B)

wuna- *lie down*:

IMP wuna
 IPF wunana, wunara (A): wunara (B)
 PF wunala
 INT wunanu (B)

16.32 *Connectives*. A couple of particles have been noted in Gangulu (A) which suggest the character of connectives. This holds in the first place of the particle *ba*, as in: *jinda dana ba you stand up* (Gan MM), *jani ba you go* (Gan MM). Since these forms represent Gangulu (A), there is hardly any reason to think that they are perfective forms (*danaba*, *janiba*—as in Gangulu B), used in an imperative sense (cf. Note 43); as a matter of fact, they are quite analogous to Gunggari *julun ba* (see 6.39) or Wirri *jara ba go then* (see 17.37).¹⁰⁸ A similar kind of construction with an imperative form is: *buṛi ganma da cut firewood* (Gan MM), from which might be derived a connective *da*. (As, however,

such a particle has not with certainty—cf., however, 22.38—been noted elsewhere, the construction may be a mistake, perhaps involving an imperfective form in -da; cf. 16.28).

(c) Construction

16.33 The usual equivalence in Aboriginal languages of attributive and predicative construction in the case of coordinated nominal words in the nominative form accounts for such constructions as: *bama nimu danara a sick man* or *the man is sick* (Gan KW), *garigu bunbul* (rendered by *in the hot sun* by Gan TA; cf. 6.40-41). In reality the latter is equivalent to *it is hot in the sun* or even (since *bunbul hot* is doubtless a verbal form in -l; cf. 6.34) *in the sun, it being hot*. On the other hand, the apparent ambiguity does not exist in cases of inflected forms: *wulangu dawagu in the cold night* (always attributive, with grammatical agreement of the allative case forms). The current construction of an allative with an intentional verb form occurs in: *nula janira wurgunagu bindana he goes to Wooroonah to live* (Gan KW), *naja janiba winagu maranu I went to catch fish* (Gan TA; literally *for fish, for to catch*); compare the identical construction in Gunggari (6.47).

WIRRI

Introductory remarks

17.1 For this important language a single informant has been mainly depended on, a circumstance which has to be kept in mind when trying to understand the phonology and morphology of this language. This informant, who was first met on the Cherbourg settlement, was evidently an excellent speaker of her language, but unfortunately her articulation was not very clear on all points (a very weak voice, for instance, may account for certain cases of a voiceless pronunciation or complete suppression of final vowels). The lady in question—as well as her people—hailed from Clermont and she also considered Wirri as the 'Clermont language'. At the same time, however, she claimed to be a 'Gunggari' and further maintained that 'Gunggari' and 'Wirri' are actually the same language. This probably may be taken as an indication of the general importance of the Gunggari language (see 1.1) within the group which we have chosen to call the 'Gunggari languages'. Apart from this, there is no immediate connection between Wirri and Gunggari proper, which both rather belong to different subgroups inside the main group. Wirri is clearly related to Gangulu, Birri and Ngawun and forms along with these languages a northern subdivision of the Gunggari group of languages.

List of informants

17.2 The following two persons were interviewed in connection with the Wirri language; reference to them is by means of the signature *Wir* (= Wirri) along with their initials. For further details, compare in Part I, 4.3 and the Note 41.

Wir AM: Mrs. Ada Mack (or Duncan, née Russell), at Cherbourg; born at Clermont, where she and her people belonged, both father and mother being Wirri.

Wir MS: Mrs. Melba Saunders, in Brisbane, from the same area as Mrs. Mack.

As most data are derived from Wir AM, special reference to this informant is as a rule omitted.

Phonology

18.1 The inventory of phonemes in Wirri is basically that of Gunggari (see 5.1, 6); for a couple of divergences, see in the section dealing with the Wirri consonant system (18.4). As practically a single informant was available in the initial stage of the study of this language, it is impossible to ascertain whether certain phonetic peculiarities are to be taken as individual traits or to be attributed to dialectal variation or to the language as a whole. At any rate, the lack of comparative data is to some extent made up for by the informant's unquestioned efficiency and fluency in speaking her language.

Evolution of the vowel system

18.2 Wirri has the three basic vowel phonemes a, i, u (according to the 'triangular' system; cf. 15.2).¹⁰⁹ These may be either short (or of normal length) or long (or lengthened); as a matter of fact distinctive vowel length is a rare feature, usually rising from contraction of vowels: nu'na for nuṇuna (*him, her*; notice the broadening of the lengthened sound, which approaches o', as also in Gunggari and elsewhere, cf. 5.2), ju' (jo') *yes* (the basic form is not recorded, but may be dissyllabic; incidentally, monosyllabic vowel-ending words—unless particles—have always been heard with a long vowel sound in the languages studied) and the rule may hold for any monosyllabic concrete word (nu'ŋ *his, her(s)* is a shorter, but not contracted, form of nuṇu, idem). In non-initial syllables vowel length is not marked (cf. 5.3), although frequent in some words (wada'n *crow*).

18.3 The fronting of a in contact with a palatal or palatalised sound is noticed as elsewhere: jenba for janba *tell*, wadie, wade for wadi(r)a *another*, gamie for gami(j)a *come here* (ultimately from English) and in a similar way u may be fronted to i: jimba for jumba *hear* (also common in other Gunggari languages).¹¹⁰ Conversely, a may change into o in labial surroundings: bir(g)ou for bir(g)a(g)u *tomorrow*.

Evolution of the consonant system

18.4 In addition to the consonant phonemes met with in Gunggari, Bidjara and Gangulu (see 5.6, etc.), Wirri possesses a supradental (or possibly weakly retroflex) nasal, which is a contraction product of an original group -rn- (in its turn arisen through the elision of a middle vowel sound) and consequently always lengthened; we shall represent this lengthened sound by the simple symbol ŋ (the length not being indicated as a special feature). This new sound mostly arises in long words (inflected forms) and hardly deserves a place of its own in a vocabulary; besides there are cases of an interchange of contracted and uncontracted forms: jaṇa and jarana *going*. In an analogous way, a lengthened dental nasal (which we shall mark by n') may arise through contraction:

jin·a *going* (for jinina), wun·a *lying down* (for wunana), frequent interchange between contracted and uncontracted forms being found in this case also. Parallel to this evolution is the simplification of -ln- (always occurring by contraction of the sequence -lin-) into -ŋ- (lengthening of the nasal, as in the above cases, may have taken place, but has not been observed): gadina *stealing* (from gadilina), guṛina *looking for* (from *guṛilina), junguna *washing your own* (from jungulina).

18.5 Another feature of Wirri is the occurrence of 'pre-occlusive' nasals (see Part I, 21.6; 24.5); in Wirri this sound alternatively arises from the lengthened nasals: jidna for jin·a (*going*), wudna for wun·a *lying down*, dadna for dan·a (for danana *standing*), gadna for gan·a (for gandana *burning*), nagaḍḍa for nagaṇa (for nagarana *looking at one another*); compare 18.4. One single case of a 'pre-occlusive' l has been recorded, namely budlaṛu for buḷaṛu.

18.6 The occurrence of the sequence -nt- (see 2.6) is not recorded for Wirri: the word for *bread*, (*non-animal*) *food* is consequently manda (not *manta, as in Gunggari, etc.) and the verb gunda- *steal* (in Gunggari gunta-) coincides with gunda- *hit* (in Gunggari gunda-); this assertion, however, may not carry great weight in regard to Wirri as a whole, since a modification of -nt- is commonly —although not universally—found in the Gunggari languages and, besides, our information on this point derives from one speaker only. As regards Wir AM's particular form of Wirri, we may still establish the rule that the phoneme represented by d is (1) a dental plosive word-initially, (2) a dental or interdental plosive or fricative between vowels and (3) a voiced to voiceless alveolar plosive after n and l: dabu *brother*, gudaṇ *elder sister*, manda *bread*, *food*, buldaṇ *heart*. The dental-interdental variant is indistinguishable from the palatalised g before i (cf. 5.7), whereas the alveolar variant is not: ḡadi or ḡaḡi *grandfather*, but bandi- *get, become*, wandi *dog*. In the same position (that is before i) the dental n is not distinguished from the palatalised ɲ (ḡani or ḡaṇi *what?*).¹¹¹

18.7 The fricative pronunciation in the intervocalic position is especially marked in the case of b and g, and the latter particularly is apt to vanish: gugau for gugagu *into the house*, birga(g)u for birgagu *tomorrow*; as is seen, the fricative variants generally appear in the medial position, excepting the one after a (usually homorganic) nasal, but the fricative pronunciation (or ultimate loss) of the plosive may also occur initially (especially in (g)aṛa *no, not*).

18.8 The pronunciation of the 'r' sounds (r and ɾ) involves certain problems. A priori one may establish the fact that the sounds of l and r in the Aboriginal languages studied in this survey (and probably the majority of others as well) are nearly identical with corresponding sounds in Italian and Spanish (as far as the r sound goes, rather with the weak sound of r (ere) in the latter language) and further that, although they differ from corresponding sounds in English in general, they are yet identified with the latter in early, or naturalised, loanwords from the latter language: nambar *name* (originally 'number', from English). This is, of course, not the actual English pronunciation in Australia and, as a matter of fact, wherever l or r occur in positions where they are modified or dropped in English our bilingual Aboriginal speakers meet with corresponding difficulties. In this light has to be explained Wir AM's alternative pronunciation of the above nambar, that is to say namaṛa, by substituting

an 'r' sound (ɾ) which may approach the actual English 'r' and by helping along the un-Australian final '-r' (cf. common Queensland 'numbah') by a supporting vowel; in the same way bangara, wumbaɾa may be heard for bangar *sick*, wumbaɾ *asleep*. However, the Aboriginal retroflex ɾ is a sound equally foreign to Australian English and consequently offers difficulty to bilingual speakers. It seems in its original form to be a sound similar to the Indian retroflex sound commonly transcribed by 'ɾ' (as Hindustani ghoṛá *horse*); as heard among the Aborigines, it suggests a sound fluctuating between a retroflex 'r', 'l' and 'd' (often—as among speakers interviewed by the present writer—constituting a unitary phoneme: our ɾ). It is very typical that Wir MS (who lives in Brisbane) tries to imitate the genuine pronunciation of Wirri ɖ (that is the retroflex plosive), as in the word waɖa *word, speech* (possibly from English 'word' ? cf. Wirri waga *work*), by articulating something not very different from wardla.¹¹² (Incidentally, the plosive ɖ, which is a rare sound in Wirri, might possibly be a variant of ɾ, although denied by Wir AM, who does not accept *waɾa as an equivalent of the above waɖa). The Wirri r, being different from the English 'r' (cf. above), is sometimes, especially in syllable-final positions (that is where this sound does not occur in English), replaced by another similar sound, especially ɖ, as in: diga digaɖ for digar digar *wagtail*, baɖi for bari *cliff, rock*.

18.9 Strangely, however, the r sound arises in Wirri in many cases in the intervocalic position and especially in the current pronunciation (as also in Gunggari, etc.; cf. 5.9): jara- *go* (cf. bura jana *hurry* and Wakka-Wakka jana-, idem; see Part I, 12), jara for jana *there*, jarangu for janangu *there*, jarambaru *to the other side* (cf. jana, jara *there*, jinambaru *this side*), mara- *take* (cf. Birri mana- or mara-, idem). Whether or not any connection exists with Queensland English speech habits (cf. Part I, 6.19 and Note 61), the Wirri r sound is in this case identical with the kind of 'r' (or modification of 'd') heard in Aboriginal English, for instance in 'a good one' (see 8.7).

18.10 Simplification of consonant groups consisting of a nasal and a homorganic plosive, by loss of the plosive element (cf. 5.8) is found in: wiɲaɾu for wiɲaɾu *bird*, jama- for jamba-, janba- *tell*. The intervocalic nasal is often dropped in nuɲuna *him, her* (nu·na), and juɲana *that one* (juana). The palatalised g is occasionally heard as j: ɲuja- for ɲuga- *know*, wujabari for wugabari *big* and (as commonly in the Gunggari languages) the sociative suffix -bari (see 19.4) drops the middle -r-, becoming -bai. The original consonant group -nm- turns into -ɾm- in: guɾma- *cut* (beside gunma-, idem), guɾmari *shield, hillamon* (cf. Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng gunmari, idem), waɾma *koala* (beside wanma, idem).

18.11 The rules governing the occurrence of word or syllable-initial and final consonantal phonemes are the same as in Gunggari (see 5.6). No word is recorded in Wirri beginning with g or ɲ; these sounds may, of course, occur as variants of respectively d and n before i (dina and gina *foot*, etc.; cf. 18.6), but it is significant that the English name 'Joy' is pronounced doi (with a dental-interdental 'd') by Wir AM and that the Bidjara pumba *spit* (cf. 8.8) is numba in Wirri. Initial or other irregular consonant clusters (cf. above) occur sometimes due to the elision of a vowel, as in driɲ for dariɲ *alone*. Whether coincidental or not, no Wirri word has been found ending in -m; one might consider in this connection the Wirri bananbara *second son* (from a stem banan-; cf. 19.6), with which might be compared the Manandjali banam *brother* (also cf. Holmer 1966 a, 3.5).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

19.1 *Structure.* The simple, or underived, concrete word stem in Wirri is normally dissyllabic; this holds especially in the case of verbs, where derivational elements are easily recognised. Nominal stems having a more irregular appearance, may end either in a vowel or one of the consonant sounds permitted as word-final according to the rule in the Gunggari languages (cf. 18.12); verbal stems always end in a vowel (-a-, -i-, -u-): binda- *sit*, bandi- *become, happen*, wandu- *ask*. In consequence of this, English monosyllabic loan-words frequently add a final vowel when adopted into Wirri: baiba *pipe* (cf. Gangulu baim, idem), waga *work*, waḍa *word, language*. Vowel-ending stems may function either as nouns or verbs: jadi *laughter* and jadi- *to laugh*, and inflected verbal forms are also occasionally found constructed as nominal words: gundarana or gundaṇa *(are) fighting* or *(a) fight* (e.g. dalgaju gundaṇa *a big fight*), gadina *(are) lying* or *(a) lie*, baṛamana *work (to do)*, gamu jugana *drinking water* or *a cup*; binbi jugana could be rendered either by *good eating* or by *good to eat* (cf. 19.32). In the same way we may analyse: gari jagana *sunrise* or *the sun is rising*, gari waṛaba *sunset* (= ṇugun *night*) or *the sun has set*. The form gundap *stealing, thief* (cf. 19.33) definitely functions as a personal noun in the ergative form gundangu (*the thief*).

19.2 *Compound stems.* Any two nominal stems may be combined into a compound of the type 'housetop' in English: guga ṇara *top of the house* (as far as the component parts exist as independent words they are written apart), migulu waḍa *white man language* (that is *English*), mugul dina *shadow foot* (that is *the shadow of the foot*); such compounds may express a possessive relation: gaju guga *the woman's house* (literally *woman-house*). Noun stems may be constructed so as to form a compound with a verbal stem, according to a principle not normally found in English grammar,¹¹³ where the nominal part is construed as direct object (provided the verb is transitive): waḍa baṛa- *speak a language* (literally *language-speak*, since the verb baṛa- is intransitive in Wirri), walu waṇaṛa- *forget*, dinbara wuḍa- *rub with paint* (literally *white-paint-rub*), waga baṛa- *to work* (literally *work-happen*; the intransitive character of baṛa- is seen in the perfective form waga baṛaba *(I) have worked*, according to 19.30); the construction gubun bandalbadi *(I can hear the birds) singing* (literally *singing a song*) is, on the other hand, not a compound, since the verb banda- (*to sing*) in this case is transitive, having gabun (*a song*) for its direct object. As is seen from the above examples, the 'compounds' (as they are hardly compounds in a formal sense) are often loosely constructed and the component parts may even be separated by another word, as in: jabu ṇaḍu guga *my father's house* (jabu guga), gaju jana guga *that woman's house* (gaju guga; cf. above), waḍa migulu baṛa- (beside migulu waḍa baṛa-) *to speak English* (cf. above), walu gaṛa waṇaṛa *don't forget*.

19.3 *Reduplicated forms.* Nominal stems are often found reduplicated, expressing a more or less different shade of meaning from that of the basic word: gamu gamu *rain* (cf. gamu *water*), baḡa baḡa *small* (the simple stem not recorded: cf. baḡari, idem), gada waṇa waṇa *silly* (cf. waṇaṛa- *be lost*), waṇi waṇi *silly* (a common term at Cherbourg), mida mida *black* (cf. mida, idem), baru baru *crooked*, diga diga or digar digar *wagtail*; generally the reduplicated form expresses a diminutive sense, an adjectival sense (often a colour name) or an animal or bird. We write reduplicated forms in two words when both components occur independently

or are identical in form; on the other hand, such a form as *wadiwadiragu to all kinds of places* is written in one word. The construction *gaṛa gaṛa* (emphatic) *no!* is probably a mere reflex of an English 'no, no!'.

19.4 *Nominal derivation.* The sociative suffix in Wirri is *-bari* or *-bai*, denoting *having* or *provided with* and the caritative suffix is *-gudu* *not having* or *without*: *ṅangabari having a beard* (*ṅanga*), *buṅabari having a tail* (*buṅa*), *murgunbari having a spot*, *baṅgubari having money*, *dinṅalbari having a cold or cough*, *mala waṛminbari having one hand or arm*, *dili waṛminbari having one eye*; *buṅagudu having no tail*, *malagudu having no hands or arms* (sometimes the negative relation word, *gaṛa*, takes the place of a caritative suffix, as in: *gandu gaṛa childless*, *gamu gaṛa without water*).¹¹⁴ Sometimes, the sociative sense is not evident, as in: *bugabai white* (cf. *buga*, idem; possibly originally *white clay, paint*, whence *bugabai* would properly be *having white clay*), *wuḡabari big* (cf. *Gunggari wuḡa plenty*), *birgabari early* (cf. *birga morning*). In some cases the suffix *-bari* is analogous to an English preposition: *windaṛu(ṅu) gangalbari the bird flew* (to be rendered rather *(went) on the wing* or *(took) to the wings* than *had wings*).

19.5 Another common nominal derivative suffix is *-gan*, which usually (and perhaps originally) denotes *women* or *females*, as in: *bunṅagan old woman* (cf. *bunṅa old man*), *waṛmerigan white woman* (originally 'white-Mary', whence the phonetically abnormal *-meri-*), *wabugan younger sister* (cf. *wabu younger brother*), *dilaṅgan eldest daughter* (cf. *dilaṅ firstborn*), *banangan second daughter* (cf. *bananbara second son*), *julḡugan third daughter* (cf. *julḡu third son*), *nalamugan last-born daughter* (cf. *nalamu the last son*).

19.6 Of other evident derivative suffixes the meaning and function is not always clear. A suffix *-bara* (cf. Part I, 15.3; 24.2) is found in some nouns denoting persons: *gandunbara (-baṛa) children* (cf. *gandu*, idem), *dalgabara (-baṛa) big (person)* (cf. *dalgaju big*), *bananbara second son* (cf. *banangan second daughter*; cf. 18.12), *bandaṛinbara God* (cf. *bandaṛa sky* and *Bidjara bandaṛagari God*). A suffix which bears some similarity in function to the sociative *-bari* (19.4) is *-diri(n)* or *-di* (also in *Gangulu*; see 16.5),¹¹⁵ as in: *gadadiri(n) hat* (cf. *Gangulu, Birri gada head*), *gamudi drunk* (cf. *gamu (strong) drink* and *Gunggari gamubari drunk*) and possibly in *wunuṅadi old* (cf. *wununga a while ago*). Of the 'dual-comitative' suffix *-na* in terms of relationship (cf. *Gangulu -na*, 16.6) a couple of instances are noted: *gadana one's elder brother* (cf. *gada brother*), *gudana one's elder sister* (cf. *gudaṅ sister*). Of the so-called 'nominalising' suffixes (see Part I, 3.6), *-l*, *-n* and *-p* are found in our Wirri material; compare: *daripa* and *daripaḷ alone, by oneself*, *wadan crow* and *Gunggari wada* (idem), *gudaṅ elder sister* and *Birri guda* (idem) or the stem *guda-* in Wirri *gudana* (see above), *gadadirip* and *gadadiri* (cf. above).

19.7 *Verbal derivation.* As in the Gunggari languages as a whole, four basic types of verbal derivation are represented in Wirri: causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal (cf. 6.8-11). Causative derivation is by means of the suffix *-mba-*, more seldom *-ma-*: *waṛamba- drop (make fall; from waṛa- fall)*, *majimba- put out (fire)* (from *maji- die, go out*), *baṛamba- or baṛama- make, do, cause* (from *baṛa- happen, come about*), *gudirimba- make come back* (from *gudiri- come back*), *wuṛbamba- make (someone) come* (from *wuṛba- come*), *bugamba- make grow, raise* (from *buga- grow*), *badimba- make grow, plant* (from *badi- open, grow*),

wunamba- *lay down* (from wuna- *lie down*), bindamba- *set down* (from binda- *sit*), jilamba- *turn (something) round* (from jila- *go round*). The associative formative is -*ri*-, as in: bura*ri*- *go away with* (from bura- *go away*), bu*ri*ba*ri*- *bring (come with; from bu*ri*ba- come)*, jini*ri*- *take away (go with; from jini- go)*, wagabandi*ri*- *run with* (from wagabandi- *run*), danga*ri*- *send (someone) with (something)* (from danga- *send*); the same suffix (-*ri*-) occurs in ba*ga*lba*ri*- *carry (a baby)*, but the meaning of the first part of the word (ba*ga*lba-) is not ascertained (cf. ba*ga* ba*ga*, ba*ga*ri *little* ?). In ga*di*li*ma*- *tell a lie* the sense may properly be associative (*lie to*), as in Gun*ga*ri ga*di*ma- (*idem*); compare 6.8).

19.8 The reflexive verb is, as in most of the languages studied, formed by the suffix -*li*-, which denotes either direct or indirect reflexive verbal action or else intransitivity (cf. 6.10): ga*ni*li- *hide (oneself)* (cf. ga*ni*- *put away*), ma*ga*li- *hurt oneself* (from ma*ga*- *hurt, hit*), gu*ga*li- *paint oneself* (from gu*ga*- *rub, paint*), wu*ga*li- *run (chase oneself; from wu*ga*- chase)*, na*ga*li- *look at oneself or look at one's own* (from na*ga*- *see, look*), ju*ng*u*li*- *wash oneself or wash one's own* (from ju*ng*u- *wash*), ga*mb*ali- *put on one's (clothes), dress* (from ga*mb*a- *put on, dress*), ba*ra*mbali- *do to oneself* (from ba*ra*mba- *do*; cf. 19.7), ga*di*li- *steal for oneself* (from ga*di*- *lie, steal*), gu*nm*ali- *break* (intransitive; from gu*nm*a-, *idem*, transitive), ba*mb*uli- *break* (intransitive; from ba*mb*u-, *idem*, transitive), ga*di*li- *tell lies* (from ga*di*-, *idem*); the sense appears that of an impersonal passive in gu*ga* ju*mb*ali*na* *a noise is heard* (cf. ju*mb*a- *hear*), but the analysis of the form (if it is correct) may be different, as a passive is generally absent in the Aboriginal languages. Causative-reflexives may be formed in: -mbali-, e.g. ba*ra*mbali- *make oneself* (from ba*ra*mba- *make*, causative of ba*ra*- *happen*). Finally, the reciprocal formative is -*ra*-, indicating the idea of *each other* or *one another*: gu*nda*ra- *fight (hit one another; from gu*nda*- hit)*, na*ga*ra- *see or look at one another* (from na*ga*- *see, look*), wu*ga*ra- *chase one another; from wu*ga*- chase*).

19.9 It should be observed in this connection that associative verbs are transitive: wu*ri*ba*ri*lba *has brought it* (but wu*ri*baba *has come*) and that reciprocal verbs are intransitive: bu*la*ru gu*nda*ra*ba* *the two fought (hit each other; but gu*nda*lba hit)*, na*ga*ra*ba* *looked at each other* (but na*ga*lba *saw*). Indirect reflexive verbs may be expected to be transitive (e.g. in mu*gul* na*ja* na*ga*li*na* *I am looking at my own shadow*, ga*di*na ba*ri* *stealing money (for oneself)*), but perfective forms in *-*li*lba (which would indicate transitivity) are not recorded. Instead, either (transitive) forms in -*li*la or (intransitive) forms in -*li*ba are used (see 19.33).

(b) Inflection

19.10 *Declension*. The following case forms are found in the nominal declension in Wirri: nominative, ergative, locative and allative. The *nominative* is the stem form of the noun, being used as subject of an intransitive verb (or a verb not having a direct object) or else as direct object of a transitive verb and further before a postposition or as first member in a compound (see 19.2). The *ergative* (used to express the agent or instrument with a transitive verb or one having a direct object) always ends in -*u*, the form being different according to the terminal sound of the word stem: vowel-ending stems end in -ngu, stems ending in a nasal make the ergative form in -*u* preceded by a homorganic plosive (hence: -ngu, -ndu or -ngu, cf. 6.13, with references; stems in -m have not been

recorded, cf. 18.11), while of stems ending in -l, -r or -r̥ it probably always ends either in -u or in -angu, -ungu (cf. the paradigms in 19.15).¹¹⁶ The locative always ends in -a; as for the particular forms arising according to the stem-final sound, the same rules seem to hold as for the ergative (cf. above), recorded locative terminations being: -nga, -nda and -unga. The allative of all stems ends in -gu. For irregularities, see further in 19.14. Wirri has no plural forms or plural article (cf. 6.18); wingar̥u renders English *bird* as well as *birds*.

19.11 As for the use of the regular case forms, the following may be resumed in addition to what is stated in the preceding section (19.10). The ergative is not always used with what appears to be a transitive verb form. Unless it be cases in which an informant has avoided the use of the ergative as being un-English (and instances of this have been found), the nominative is used in its place for the reason that the verb is not provided with a direct object form, as in: mar̥i jana jugana *that man is eating*. Perhaps in some case it may be found that a nominative is preferred to an ergative when the verb form is imperfective (cf. Holmer 1971, 5.2; 8.12, with references).¹¹⁷ The possessive relation (in the absence of a special possessive form in the noun paradigm) is expressed in three different ways: either (1) by a compound construction (gaju guga *the woman's house*, jabu jana jamba *(my) father('s) and mother's home*; cf. 6.15) or (2) by the allative case form: gajugu wulur *woman's dress* (literally *dress for a woman*), bangagu wilba *leaves of the tree*, wandigu buṇa *dog's tail*, mar̥igu gada *man's head*, guga jina mar̥igu *this house is the man's*, jana gandugu ṇaḍu *that is my boy's*; finally, (3) the possessive relation is expressed by the possessive form of a personal pronoun, in Wirri nuṇu *his, her* (cf. 6.15), as in: guga jabu nuṇu *father's house* (literally *father, his house*), gandu nuṇu ṇuga *noise of the children* (literally *the children, their noise*), ṇaja gungal nuṇu *my husband's* (literally *my husband, his*), jaraman nuṇu *the horse's* (literally *the horse, its*), wingar̥u ganu nuṇu *the bird's egg* (literally *the bird, its egg*).¹¹⁸ For the missing ablative form, one of the postpositions ṇuḍi (with a personal noun) or mundu (with an impersonal noun) *from* is used (cf. 19.16).

19.12 The locative is used with impersonal nouns in the sense of *in, on, at, over, along*, etc.: mungaranga *all over the bush*, jambanga jin̄a *going all over the camp*, ṇaja jin̄a jalganga *I am going along the road*, garinga *in the sun* or *in the daytime*, ṇugunda *in the dark* or *at night*. Of personal nouns the locative expresses (*going*) *to* (*visit*) or (*staying*) *with* (cf. 6.21): gandunga or gandunda (*staying*) *with a child*, gajunga (*staying*) *with a woman*, jiniba gandunga *went to visit a daughter*.¹¹⁹ The locative also expresses the idea of *when, while being, while still*, as in: gandunga *when or while a girl*, ṇaja gambalunga *when I was a young girl*, gabinunga *when (he) is hungry*,¹²⁰ gamuga (for gamunga ?) *when it rains*. Of nouns denoting locality, the nominative is often used for the locative: ṇaja bindana jamba *I stay at the camp* or *at home*, jamba gaṛa wun̄a, *does not stop or stay at home*, wunaba jamba *stayed at home*, guga bin̄a *sitting in the house*; this also explains the use of certain local nouns as postpositions: mungugu ṇara *on top of the mountain* (literally *on or to the mountain, (on) the top*; cf. guga ṇara *the top of the house*, but evidently also *on top of the house*).

19.13 The allative would originally express 'motion toward' or 'purpose' and therefore renders the English prepositions *to* and *for*. As a matter of fact, it often expresses locality (that is to say, has the function of a locative), especially in words or names denoting places: jambagu *to the camp*, Murgon-gu

to Murgon, *naja* barina jambagu *I am crying for home*, jalgagu (= jalganga) *on the road*, barigu (*stepped*) *on a stone*, nanigu (*sitting*) *on the ground*, nula bin·a gugagu *he is sitting in the house*, gamugu wun·a (*the Rainbow Serpent*) *lives in the water*, ganiliba bangagu *hid behind a tree*, wangangu waraba *was born at Clermont*.

19.14 Some irregular locative forms have been recorded. The form gamuga *when it rains* (according to 19.12) might be due to imperfect articulation and stand for regular gamunga (a similar slip occurs in bangangu wilba *leaves of the tree*, for bangagu wilba); for jalgaga (= jalganga) *along the road*, compare Note 131. The locative of vowel-ending stems is regularly in -nga (cf. above), but of the word gandu (*child*) it is alternatively gandunga and gandunda (it appears that the latter form depends on an alternative stem gandun-, which also occurs in gandunbara *children*; see 19.6). A double locative suffix occurs in nugundanga *night time* (literally *in the dark or night*). This suffix recurs in the locative forms of the English names 'John' and 'Fay': John-undanga (*staying*) *with John*, Fay-undanga *with Fay*; the intercalated -u- may be explained as in ergative forms in -ungu (see 19.10; cf. also knife-angu *with a knife*).

19.15 *Paradigms*. The rules and general tendencies stated in the preceding sections (19.10-14) are summarised in the following paradigms. The type words used are arranged according to their stem-final sound: (1) vowel-ending (maɹi *Aboriginal man*, gandu *child*, wandi *dog*, gamu *water*, jalga *way, track, path*); (2) ending in a nasal (wadan *crow*, nugun *dark, night* gugubin *scrub turkey*; (3) ending in -l, -r or -ɹ (gambal *young girl*, wanmal (warṃal) *koala*, gangal *arm, wing*, waŋal *boomerang*, wuɹur *native companion*, wagaɹ *frog*).

(1) *vowel-ending stems:*

NOM maɹi, gandu, wandi, gamu, jalga
 ERG maɹingu, gandungu, wandingu
 LOC maɹingga, gandunga (gandunda), gamuga (cf. 19.14), jalganga
 ALL maɹigu, gamugu, jalgagu

(2) *stems ending in a nasal:*

NOM wadan, nugun, gugubin
 ERG wadandu, gugubingu
 LOC nugunga (nugundanga)

(3) *stems ending in -l, -r or -ɹ:*

NOM gambal, wanmal (warṃal), gangal, waŋal, wuɹur, wagaɹ
 ERG gambalungu, wanmalu (warṃalungu), gangaɹu, waŋalungu, (waŋalungu), wuɹurungu, wagaɹungu
 LOC gambalanga
 ALL waŋalgu

For the irregular form gangaɹu (see above under (3)), compare in Part III, 18.9.

19.16 *Postpositions*. A number of postpositions have been recorded in Wirri, of which some are important as substitutes for missing case forms (cf. 19.11); true postpositions are added to the stem form (nominative) of the noun. The following postpositions occur in the present material: bandagu *behind*, bara *in, inside, below*, damu *out of*, guma *with, to*, ŋamu *like*, ŋara *on top of* (cf. 19.12), ŋudi *from* (with personal nouns),¹²¹ jambaru *across*, mundu (with impersonal nouns).

Examples: *banga bandagu behind the tree, dili bara galbul sand in my eye, guga bara dan·a standing below the house, mungu bara below the mountain, nani bara below the earth or ground (inside the earth), gamu bari damu wurbana water coming out of the rock (a spring), nani damu out of the earth, banga damu wurbana coming out of a tree, guga damu out of the house, mari, gandu (g)uma jiniba (I) went to a man, a daughter, jina namu, jana namu like this, like that, wiparu banga nara a bird on (top of) the tree, nandulu nudi whom is that from?, gandu nandana nudi or nandana gandu nudi from which child? gandu bagari jana nudi wurbala the little boy came from (his) mother, jaramanunudi from the horse,¹²² barbara jarambaru across the creek, guga mundu from the house, wangan mundu from Clermont. Some of these postpositions are also relation words: *bara bin·a sitting down, guga jarambaru the house across*. In such cases they may be construed with a case form (an allative) of the noun determined, as in: *gugagu bara below the house, mungugu nara on top of the mountain*.*

19.17 Some postpositions or postpositional elements are found attached to (nominalised) verb forms: *wandingu badanmundu jindanu watch the dog does not bite you* (literally *from biting*, *badan* probably being an accidental form; cf. 19.33), *gari warabagari after sundown* (for the termination *-gari*, cf. *Gunggari gadi like*, *Bidjara gadi after*; cf. 6.19; 9.18). By analogy with *Gunggari*, we write the postposition in one word with the preceding verb form (cf. 6.19: *wadumundu from (my) cooking, while I cook*).

19.18 *Personal pronouns*. The personal pronouns refer to persons or personified nouns only. They are inflected in the following grammatical cases: nominative, ergative (formally identical with the nominative or stem form), objective, possessive and locative. The objective form is used whenever the pronoun is the direct (or indirect) object of a transitive verb (cf. below). The locative is used in the same cases as the locative of personal nouns (see 19.12),¹²³ that is in the sense of (*staying*) *with*, (*going*) *to*, etc., hence serving the purpose of a missing allative form. The likewise missing ablative form is expressed by a postposition (*nudi*) meaning *from*, while in place of a missing dative form either the objective or the possessive form may be used: *nanu jamba tell me* (objective), *jindanu (I will tell) you* (possessive).

19.19 *Paradigms*. The following basic forms of personal pronouns are recorded from Wirri: (singular) *naja I, jinda you: nula he, she*; (dual) *nali(n) we, jubala you, bula they*; (plural) *nana(n) we, jura you, dana they*. The following paradigms show the recorded inflected forms.

First person singular:

NOM	naja, ja
ERG	naja
OBJ	nanu, nana, -nu
POSS	nanu, -nu
LOC	nanu, nandanu

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda
ERG	jinda
OBJ	jindanu
POSS	jindanu, jindanu
LOC	jindanu(nu)

Third person singular:

NOM	nula
ERG	nula
OBJ	nuḡuna, nu·na
POSS	nuḡu, nu·ḡ
LOC	nuḡunda(ḡga)

First person dual:

NOM	ḡali(n), ḡalina
ERG	ḡali(n)
OBJ	ḡaliḡuna
POSS	ḡaliḡu
LOC	ḡalinda, ḡaliḡundanga

Second person dual:

NOM	jubala, bula
ERG	jubala, bula
OBJ	jubalana, jibalana
POSS	jubalaḡu, jubala
LOC	jubalandanga

Third person dual:

NOM	bula
ERG	bula
OBJ	bulaḡuna
POSS	bulaḡu

First person plural:

NOM	ḡana(n)
ERG	ḡana(n)
OBJ	ḡanaḡuna, ḡanana
POSS	ḡanaḡu, ḡananu

Second person plural:

NOM	jura
ERG	jura
OBJ	juraḡuna, jurana
POSS	juraḡu, juraḡ
LOC	juraḡundanga (probably for -ḡga)

Third person plural:

NOM	dana
ERG	dana
OBJ	danaḡuna
POSS	danaḡu
LOC	dananda

The third person dual and plural forms, *bula*, respectively *dana*, are properly speaking nouns (*two, both, respectively the people*): ḡandamundu dana wuḡbaba *where have the people come from?* Consequently, instead of *bula* (which incidentally is used in the second person dual as well; cf. above) the purely nominal form *bulaḡu* (*two, both*) is alternatively used. The form *bula* is often used as a relation word in the sense of *together*: *bulaḡu waḡa bula baḡa the two are talking together, bulaḡu bula gundanga the two are fighting (together)*;

from the Wirri point of view *bula* is, of course, a pronoun, although used redundantly (with *bulaŋu* *two* or a reciprocal verb form).

19.20 Some irregular forms have been observed (apart from such as depend on evident mistakes). In the first person dual (and plural ?) the forms *ŋaligara* (in *ŋaligara guga* *our (two) house*) and *ŋaranbana* (*tell us two, sic*) seem impossible to analyse. Unless an intervocalic *-ŋ-* has disappeared, the second person dual and plural locatives, *jubalaundanga*, respectively *juraundanga* (*with you*) seem to have their termination (*-undanga*) from the nominal declension (see 19.15 (1)). The third person plural *wundana* (in *wundana gundaŋa* *they are fighting*) is further exceptional. The use of a locative in: *waɖa jinda(ŋ)unda baŋa* (*talking to you*) is further unusual.

19.21 The shorter forms *ja* (*I*), *-gu* (*my*), *-guna* (*me*)¹²⁴ are used enclitically: *ŋanda ja waɖaba* *where I was born?* *gandungaɖu* (*staying*) *with my child*, *wandunaɖuna* (= *wanduna ŋaɖuna*) *asking me*. Such short enclitic forms are extensively used in Birri (see 22.15-16; 22.34-37).

19.22 The first person dual *ŋali(n)* is said to be used either inclusively (*you and I*) or exclusively (*he or she and I*). In order to make a distinction between these two senses certain compound forms may be used, *ŋali jinda* or *ŋalinda* (*you and I*): *ŋali jinda* (*ŋalinda*, *ŋalina jinda*) *bin'a* *we two (you and I) are sitting*. This construction is based on the same principle as the one in: *ŋalin birgu* *I and my wife* (in which *ŋalin* is, of course, exclusive).

19.23 *Demonstrative pronouns*. As in the other languages studied here, the Wirri demonstrative pronoun expresses reference to person or thing at the same time as to place; this means that the same form renders *this* and *here* (*hither, hence*) or *that* and *there* (*thither, thence*). Beside the stem form, which consequently functions as nominative (*this*, etc.) and locative (*here*, etc.), local forms (allatives) only are found in the declension of these pronouns (cf. Gunggari, 6.25). In the nominative sense a syllable *-na* is sometimes added (*jinana*, etc.), which also occurs in the interrogative *ŋandana* *which?* (cf. *ŋanda where?*; see 19.28). The following demonstrative stems have been recorded (stems found inflected only are marked by a following hyphen): *jina* *this* or *here*, *jana* *that* or *there*, *ganda-* *that*, *gandu* *over there*, *juŋana* (*juana*) *that*.

19.24 *Paradigms and examples*. Recorded inflected forms, illustrated by some examples, will be found in the paradigms below.

jina this, here:

NOM *jina*, *jinana*
ALL *jinangu*, *jinagu*

Examples: *guga jina ŋaɖu* *this house is mine*, *ŋaja jina gaju* or *gaju jina nagalba* *I have seen this woman*, *gaju jina dan'a* *there is a woman standing here*, *jina maŋingu this man* (ergative),¹²⁵ *jinana gaju this woman*, *jinangu* (or *jina*) *guga waɖaba* *was born in this house* (cf. 19.12), *nula jinangu majiba* *he died here*, *jamba jinangu bin'a* *he lives here*; notice that *ŋaja jinangu baŋa* *I want this one* rather means *I want (or am for) here*. (The construction *jina nuŋu this one's* (cf. 19.11) is questionable, as it also—and normally—means *this is his*.)

jana *that, there*:

NOM jana
ALL janangu

Examples: ɲanda maɾi jana *where is that man?* gaju jana nagalɓa (*I have seen that woman*, jana Townsville-gu *there at Townsville* wulur jana *the things over there*, jana box-gu jin-a *it is in that box*, guga jana nuŋu *that house is his*, ga· jana ɲaɖu *that car is mine*, ganda jana *that spear*, maɾi(ŋgu) jana jugana *that man is eating*, jamba janangu *at that place*, ɲaja janangu baɲa *I want that (one)* (cf. above).

ganda- *that*:

ALL gandagu

Examples: jamba gandagu *to that place*.

ganduŋ *over there*:

NOM ganduŋ

Examples: ganduŋ guga or guga ganduŋ *this house over there*.

juɲana (juana) *that*:

NOM juɲana, juana, juanana
ALL juanangu

Examples: maɾi juana (more or less = jana) waɾgu *that man is bad*, juana maɾi = jana maɾi *that man*, juɲana (juana) nula = nula *he*, juana gaju baɖari *that woman is little*, guga juana gajugu *that house is the woman's or the house is that woman's or the house is the woman's there* (identical ideas to the Aboriginal mind).

19.25 *Interrogative pronouns*. The personal interrogative pronoun (*who?*) is ɲandulu in Wirri, while the impersonal interrogative (*what?*) is ɲani. These also indicate indefinite persons or things: ɲandulu may mean *somebody*, *I do not know who* and ɲani *something*. The personal interrogative refers to a person's name also: ɲandulu jinda nambor or jinda ɲandulu nambor *what is your name?*; ɲani nambor (*what name?*) is, however, accepted by Wir AM (perhaps copying English). The impersonal interrogative (ɲani) also denotes *what kind?*: jaraman ɲani *what kind of (a) horse?*.

19.26 *Paradigms*. The personal interrogative has the following case forms: nominative, ergative (formally identical with the nominative), objective, possessive, locative and allative, according to the paradigm below:

NOM ɲandulu
ERG ɲandulu
OBJ ɲanduluna
POSS ɲanduluŋu
LOC ɲandulunda or ɲanduluŋga
ALL ɲandulugu

Examples: jinda ɲandulu *who are you?* ɲandulu maɾi bindana *who is the man?* ɲandulu nambor *what is the name?* ɲandulu ɲala (or gara) maralɓa *who, I wonder took it? or someone must have taken it*, ɲandulu juɾi waɖulɓa *I do not know who cooked the meat* (= ɲaja gaɾa nagalɓa ɲandulu juɾi waɖulɓa *I did not see who ...*), ɲandulu (correct ?) jinda baɲa *whom do you want?* jinda ɲanduluna maralɓa

whom did you marry? ɲanduluna jinda guɾina *with whom do you stay?* ɲandulugu jana *whose (or for whom?) is that?*

19.27 Of the impersonal interrogative (ɲani) the locative and allative only are found in this material, according to the following paradigm:

NOM	ɲani
LOC	ɲaningga
ALL	ɲanigu

Examples: jana ɲani *what is that thing?* jinda ɲani wanduna *you are asking something,* ɲani jinda birgagu *what will you do tomorrow?* jinda ɲani baɾambaɲa *what are you doing?* ɲani jiniba *why did you go?* ɲani jinda guli wuɾbana *why are you getting angry?* ɲani (= ɲaningga, see below) gara gudirina *I don't know when I am going away,* ɲani gara jumbalba *he heard something,* ɲanigu ɲaja wuɾbaba *why I came back?* ɲanigu jinda baɾamana *why do you do it?* ɲanigu jinda gudiriba *why did you come back?* the locative ɲaningga is used both in the sense of *when?* and *what is that for?*

19.28 A third interrogative pronoun is ɲandana, which is used—at least in our material from Wirri—of persons only, rendering the English *which?* The inflected forms recorded are (beside the nominative or stem form) the ergative and possessive, according to the following paradigm:¹²⁶

NOM	ɲandana
ERG	ɲandanangu
POSS	ɲandanaju

Examples: maɾi ɲandana or ɲandana maɾi *which man?* ɲandana gandu or gandu ɲandana bangar *which child is sick?* maɾi ɲandana jinda nagalba *which man did you see?* ɲandana gandugu waɲal *which child's (is the) boomerang?* maɾi ɲandanangu baɾambalba *which man did it?* gandu ɲandanangu waɲal gunmalba *which child cut (or made) the boomerang?* gandu ɲandanaju (= ɲandulugu) waɲal *which child's or whose boomerang?*

19.29 *Conjugation.* The structure of the verbal stem is as in Gunggari (cf. 6.1; 19.1). The same basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective, intentional) also are found in Wirri as in Gunggari. Wirri, however, makes a difference between a transitive and an intransitive conjugation, which appears in the perfective and intentional modes, the former being characterised by a transitive element -l- (see further in 19.30).¹²⁷ There are further various kinds of accidental mode forms (see 19.34–35).

19.30 As for the structure of the various modal forms, the following general remarks hold for the regular conjugation in Wirri. The *imperative* is always the stem of the verb: binda *sit* (stem binda-), jini *go* (stem jini-), wandu *ask* (stem wandu-). The *imperfective*, whether the verbal stem is transitive or intransitive, ends in the syllable -na (which evidently corresponds to the imminent suffix -na in Birri; see 22.28 and also cf. Note 42): bindana or bin·a (cf. 18.4) *sitting*, jinina or jin·a *going*, wanduna *asking*. The *perfective* mode forms (as indicated above, 19.29) differ according to whether the stem has a transitive or intransitive function, that is whether it is provided with a direct object form or not. In the former case, the verb stem is extended by a morphological element -l- (e.g. nagal-, from naga- *see, look*;

cf. the imperative *naga*, imperfective *nagana*), which in several languages in eastern Australia is characteristic of transitive action (cf. Note 127). The perfective mode is then expressed by the same locative element *-ba* as found in Gangulu (B)—see 16.25—so that the intransitive stems form the perfective in *-ba* and the transitive stems in *-lba*: *jiniba went, gone*, *nagalba saw, seen*; in this way the function of the verb stem, whether transitive or intransitive, is ascertained: *baɾaba became* (intransitive) and *baɾalba did, made* (transitive; from the same verbal stem, *baɾa-*).

19.31 The *intentional* is formed in two different manners: (1) by addition of the allative *-gu* to the intransitive or transitive verbal stem (see above, 19.29–30) or else (2) by the imperfective, that is, the original imminent form (cf. 19.30) in *-na*, with or without the same allative suffix *-gu*; no difference in meaning has been observed between the two different ways of forming the intentional. Of intransitive stems we consequently find: *bindagu to sit* (e.g. *juɾaŋ bindagu for you to sit, i.e. a chair*) or *bindanagu (in order) to sit*, *jininagu to go*, *janbalba jinina told (him) to go*, *jinda nuɲuna janba gudirina you tell him to come back* and of transitive stems: *nagalgu or naganagu to see*, *juganagu to eat*, *nuɲuna dangana baɲa want to send him*.¹²⁸

19.32 As for the use of the various modal forms, a few remarks may be made. As in the other languages studied in eastern Australia by the present writer, the imperative serves also as a hortative: *naja jini let me go*, *ɲalina jini let us two go* (= *ɲalin(a)*) *jinina, jin'a*, that is with the imperfective, or imminent, form of the verb), *naja wuda junguli let me (or I will) wash my face*. The imperfective is, as for instance in Bidjara (see 9.28), either durative (habitual, potential): *bindana sitting*, *wunana lying down*, *nula nara marana he always takes things*, *naja nagana nuɲuna I (can) see him* or imminent: *nagana birgagu will see (you) tomorrow*, *naja nuɲuna jidana I am going to leave him*; from this latter sense the use of the imperfective as an intentional form (cf. 19.31) starts. The perfective mode is not restricted to past time (which for natural reasons, however, is most frequently the case) and may be used in such cases as *ganiliba hiding (having put oneself into hiding)*; it has been noticed, for instance, in such a construction as: *naja ɣaɾa ɲugana gudiriba dapu I do not know if I will come back* (it possibly copies the English *if I shall be back*). The intentional denotes either intention (*I will* or *want to go*, etc.), necessity (*I must* or *have to go*), purpose (*in order to go*, etc.) or, finally, is used with forms of the verb *baɾa-* in the sense of *want*; these distinctions seem to have nothing to do with the existence of two sets of intentional forms (see 19.31) or with the presence or absence of the allative *-gu* in one of these sets: *nagalgu (I) have got to see*, *naja bindanagu I have got to sit*, *jininagu (I) am going to go*, *maɾi naganagu (in order) to see a man*, *naja jaɲa nuɲuna nagana I am going to see him*, *waja mangana(gu) to hunt wallaby*, *dangu wuɾbana (tell him) to come back*, *nagalinagu (you go) and have (or to have) a look at yourself*, *naja gamu baɾaba juganagu I wanted water to drink or to drink water*, *ɲani jinda ɲugana baɲa what do you want to know?*

19.33 Certain irregular forms have been noted in the Wirri conjugation. The imperfective is in *-nu* instead of common *-na* in: *jinda gabinu are you hungry?* (so also in Birri, of the same verb stem *gabi-*; see 22.30). Of indirect or causative reflexive stems in *-li-*, which are transitive in Wirri (see 19.8), the perfective form is not in **-lba* (according to 19.30), but in *-la*: *binbi baɾambalila cured his own*, *naja gambalila gawun I have put on my dress*.¹²⁹

As for the true function of the short forms in -l or -p (jagal, gundan) much cannot be said; these sometimes give the impression of being imperfective (habitual), sometimes accidental forms (cf. 6.34): *naja jagal wumar gari jagabanga I get up (as a habit) when the sun rises, gari jagamundu before the sun rises (literally away from when the sun rises), bangap frightened (also in Bidjara, see 9.30), nula gundan he is a thief (always stealing)*. The strange form *jin'al gone* the present writer is unable to account for.

19.34 *Accidental forms*. A great number of accidental forms (see Part I, 3.24) occur in our Wirri material. These are of various kinds. In the first place, one has to distinguish between accidental forms which refer to a *nominative* (or subject) and such as refer to an *objective* (or direct object form).¹³⁰ In the former case, the accidental form is an original locative form (in -nga; cf. 19.10)¹³¹ added either to an imperfective form (in -na; cf. 19.30) or a perfective form (in -ba or -lba; cf. 19.30), consequently resulting in one of the terminations: -nanga, -banga or -lbanga, depending on whether the verbal action is conceived as imperfective or perfective and whether it is intransitive or transitive. In the latter case, if the accidental form refers to an objective form, the accidental suffix is always -badi (if the verbal action is intransitive) or -lbadi (if it is transitive).¹³²

19.35 The following examples will illustrate the rules stated in the preceding section (19.34): (1) reference to a nominative, verbal action imperfective (suffix: -nanga): *naja nagananga nununa janbana nununa if or when I see him I will tell him, gandu barinanga naja gaba wunina when the child cries I give him honey, gamu warananga when rain is falling,¹³³ binbi gari jagananga it is nice when the sun rises, naja jininanga naja barina jambagu if I go I shall be crying for home, naja bindananga, danananga wurwul bapa I am getting tired of sitting, of standing (when I sit, stand), nula waga bapa wumar wunananga he is talking in his sleep (when lying asleep), wadunanga while cooking, naja gudirina gari warananga I will return at sunset (when the sun sets),¹³⁴ jinda barananga jinda gandi if you want, carry or take it, naja bunga barananga when I am getting old, naja bugananga when I grow up, gandu jinda barinanga naja jindanuna gundana child, if you cry I will hit you, further (suffix: -nunga; cf. 19.33): nula gabinunga barina he is crying because he is hungry (when he is hungry he cries), gabinunga gandu barina the child cries when he is hungry; (2) reference to a nominative, verbal action intransitive perfective (suffix: -banga): *naja nuu majiba nula warabanga his mother died when he was born, nula majiba gara naja warabanga he died before I was born, Mack majibanga wadira maralba when Mack died I took another (husband),¹³⁵ mungargu jinibanga when (they) had gone to the scrub, naja jagal wumar gari jagabanga I get up when the sun rises (better when the sun is up), nula jiniba gari jagabanga he went after sunrise, jinibanga nula after he had gone, naja warabanga when I fell down, burabanga nula jumbalba nani gara he heard something when he woke up, nanga barabanga when I become a young man, naja bugabanga when I grow up (more exactly have grown up or am grown-up); (3) reference to a nominative, verbal action transitive perfective (suffix: -lbanga): *waja naja wagulbanga nununa jugana, jubalga when I have cooked the wallaby I will eat, I ate him, waja naja nagalbanga nununa gundana if I see (or having seen) a wallaby I will kill him,¹³⁶ (4) reference to an objective form, verbal action intransitive (suffix: -badi): naja nagalba nununa bindabadi I saw him sitting down, naja nagalba (bularu) gundarabadi I have seen (the two) fighting, naja nagana nununa gandibadi I see him wearing (a hat), naja nagalba nununa danabadi I saw him standing, naja jumbalba baribadi I heard (him) crying, naja mari nagalba jugabadi I saw the man eating (used intransitively);¹³⁷ (5) reference to an objective form, verbal action transitive (suffix: -lbadi): naja nununa nagana or nagalba***

waŋal baɾambalbadi *I see or saw him making a boomerang*, ŋaja nuŋuna nagana
 or nagalba baiba dunbilbadi *I see or saw him smoking a pipe*, wiŋaɾu gubun
 bandalbadi (*I can hear*) *the birds singing*.¹³⁸

19.36 *Paradigms*. The paradigms below show the regular conjugation of intransitive, transitive and reflexive verbs in Wirri. The type verbs are: (a) (intransitive stems) binda- *sit*, jini- *go*, wuna- *lie down*; (b) transitive stems) juga- *eat, drink*, naga- *see, look at*; (c) (reflexive stems) nagali- *look at oneself*, gambali- *put on oneself, dress*.

binda- *sit*:

IMP binda
 IPF bindana (bin·a)
 PF bindaba
 INT bindagu, bindanagu
 ACC bindananga, bindabadi

jini- *go*:

IMP jini
 IPF jinina (jin·a)
 PF jiniba
 INT jinina
 ACC jininanga, jinibanga

wuna- *lie down*:

IMP wuna
 IPF wunana (wun·a)
 PF wunaba
 ACC wunananga-

juga- *eat, drink*:

IMP juga
 IPF jugana
 PF jugalba
 INT juganagu
 ACC jugalbadi, jugabadi¹³⁹

naga- *see, look at*:

IMP naga
 IPF nagana
 PF nagalba
 INT nagalgu, nagana(gu)¹⁴⁰
 ACC nagananga, nagalbanga

nagali- *look at oneself*:

IMP nagali
 IPF nagalina
 PF nagaliba
 INT nagalinagu

gambali- *put on oneself, dress*:

IPF gambalina
 PF gambalila

19.37 *Connectives*. Two particles are met with in our Wirri material which suggest the character of connectives (cf. Part I, 3.3 and Note 17), namely *ba* and *bu*, of which a couple of instances are recorded. The former (*ba*) might be supposed to answer to English *then*, as in: *jara ba go then*,¹⁴¹ *Bob maiba ba Bob, well he died (Bob, he died then)*. The other particle, *bu*, seems analogous to the Gunggari and Bidjara connective *du* (see 6.39; 9.33), which has often been rendered by English *too* in our material. In Wirri *bu* occurs in *gudap bu my sister, too (died)*. Incidentally, the form *bu* occurs in Gunggari as well (see *ibidem*) being explained as equivalent to English *but*. No doubt the Wirri and Gunggari connectives are formally identical, showing a not very significant semantic difference, and may represent a particle having a certain extension in areas of eastern Australia (cf. the Note 47).

(c) Construction

19.38 In the first place some instances ought to be pointed out, which illustrate the common non-distinction of attributive and predicative construction in Australian languages (cf. 6.40, with references). On this non-distinction are based such constructions as: *wandi ŋaɟu I have a dog (also my dog)*, *nuŋ gandu ŋaɟara he or she has lots of children (his or her many children)*, *gadana ŋaɟu bulaɾu I have got two brothers (also my two brothers)*, *danaŋu guga they have houses (also their house(s))*; this ambiguity (from the English point of view) is due to the absence in Wirri of anything analogous to a copula.

19.39 The absence of a word corresponding to English 'and' (whether connecting nominal or verbal forms) or other conjunction accounts for a further divergence between Wirri and English construction. In the following instances nouns, or a noun and a pronoun, are found in juxtaposition to express various kinds of syntactic relation: *jabu jaɲa father and mother*, *ŋaɟu jabu jaɲa my father and mother* (according to 19.38, this could evidently also mean *I have a father and mother*), *ŋali John wun'a I and John stay*, *ŋalin birgu I and my wife*, *birgu jibalana you and your wife* (objective form). Asyndetic construction of 'finite' (i.e. non-accidental) verb forms occur in the examples to follow: *ŋaja gamu baɲa jugana I want water to drink (literally drinking, that is I am thirsty)*, *jaɲa nuɲu majiba gandu waɾaba his mother died when the child was born*, *barina gandu wunina gaba when the child cries (I) give (him) honey*, *gandu nanigu bindana barina the child is sitting on the ground and is crying*, *nula danana barina or bariba he stands and is or was crying*,¹⁴² *dinbara wugana dana gubun dana dirana they are painting and are singing a corroboree*, *maɾi bindana jugana the man is sitting and is eating (i.e. is sitting eating; cf. a preceding example)*, *jin'a marana will go and will get (i.e. will go and get or to get)*, *jandingu bura jana quick get away and go (i.e. hurry up)*, *nula gubun bandana or bandalba baiba jugana or jugalba he sings or sang and smokes or smoked (i.e. he sings or sang while smoking)*; in several of these instances accidental forms could have been used to the same effect (see 19.34). Many of the examples quoted above clearly show how imperfective forms (in -na) may come to serve as or become intentional forms (cf. 19.31-32), for instance *wugana ... dirana* (see above) *paint(ing) and sing(ing)* rather suggests an English rendering *paint(ing) in order to sing*.

19.40 Of the favorite sequences involving 'finite' and 'accidental' forms in the Australian languages, described in dealing with Gunggari (6.46, where reference is made to analogous constructions elsewhere), the following is recorded from Wirri: *dana mungargu jiniba, mungara jinibanga, etc. they went to the scrub, when they had gone to the scrub etc.*

BIRRI

Introductory remarks

20.1 To the east of the Wirri area, as far as the Pacific coast, the Birri area extends. Although the language is important and on many points interesting, relatively little material has been secured. The area being extensive (reaching, along the coast, almost from the vicinity of Rockhampton or, in any case, Mackay to that of Bowen and perhaps further north), dialectal differences are observable, although unfortunately hardly more than a single informant was found to represent each one of these dialectal varieties of the language. The language is known by several names: Birri (*biri*), Birrija (*birija*), Birrijaba (*birijaba*), etc., but these different designations do not seem to have anything to do with dialectal variation, as observed in the present account.¹⁴³ Birri is closely related to Wirri, but differs on important points in the conjugation of the verb (for which see in 22.27).

20.2 As to the precise extension of the original area occupied by speakers of Birri, no more can be said at the present moment than what may be deduced from information given by the informants as to their native place or that of their parents and ancestors. By this method (for which cf. Part I, 1.2), the following places would reasonably be within the one-time Birri country: Barwon, Nebo, Mackay, Strathmore (on the Bowen river), Bowen, as well as the Bowen and Burdekin river areas in general; as a matter of fact, Birri is perhaps most often referred to as the 'Bowen language'. Although one good informant (Bir RD; see 20.3) speaks of a northern dialect of Birri as being different from his own (that is the one of Strathmore), the only northern variant of Birri of which a trace is found today would be the one around Mackay (represented by one informant, Bir AL).¹⁴⁴ Otherwise, it is possible to distinguish between variants of the language, each represented by at least one informant: Nebo (Bir VA), Strathmore (Bir RD) and Ukanunda (Bir AL). Although the differences may fall within the phonology, morphology (declension and conjugation) and to some extent vocabulary, they are on the whole slight (cf., for instance, 21.3; 22.10, 16; 26; 27.28-29).

List of informants

20.3 The following informants for Birri have been interviewed, being referred to in the usual way by the signature *Bir* (for Birri), followed by the informants' initials. For other details, compare in 3.2.

Bir AL: Mr. Archie Lay, at Bowen, born at Ukanunda station (inland from Bowen).

Bir CC: Mr. Cecil ('Pinchy') Cook, at Mackay, from the Nebo area; both father and mother were Birri.

Bir JH: Mr. Joe Hegarty, at One-Mile, Stradbroke Island; his father was a Birri from the Burdekin river.

Bir LJ: Mrs. Liza Jackson, at Woorabinda, born at Barwon (inland from Rockhampton, between Nebo and Emerald), her mother being from Nebo and her father from 'up and down'; she calls her language *birija*.

Bir RD: Mr. Reginald ('Reggie') Dodd, at North Rockhampton, originally from Strathmore, on the Bowen river, or the Kirkness or Woodtown area; his totem is dagap (*sand goanna*).

Bir VA: Mrs. Violet Abingdon (or Tear; also referred to as Mrs. Plate), at Woorabinda, born (in 1917) at Nebo (inland from Mackay).

Bir WS: Mr. William ('Bill') Skene, at Esk, from the Bowen river.

Phonology

21.1 The phonetic structure of the Birri dialects studied does not in any important respect differ from either that of the southern Gunggari languages (Gunggari, Bidjara, Marganj) or the northern languages (Gangulu and Ngawun) — as for the specific Wirri features mentioned in 18.4, they are hardly in any way reflected in Birri and the specific Gangulu (B) vowel phoneme *e* is also absent in Birri.

Evolution of the vowel system

21.2 The vowel system in Birri is of the triangular type (cf. 18.2 and Note 109), the basic vocalic phonemes being *a*, *i*, *u* (usually short or of medium or normal length; occasional length in non-initial syllables is left unmarked, although sometimes noticeable, as in *wadan* (*wada·n*) *crow* (cf. 18.2).¹⁴⁵ Other vowel sounds may arise in special conditions, due to environment: *jei* for *jai* *yes* (Bir RD, AL), *ŋe·*, *ŋe* for *ŋaja I*, etc.

21.3 Assimilation of vowels in words of more than two syllables is quite common in Birri: *ŋalana us two* (for **ŋalina*, cf. *ŋali we two*), *waga waɾambilini talking* for **waɾambalina* (cf. 22.9), *waɾambiliŋa dana* for *waɾambaliŋa they used to paint themselves* (Bir RD), *ŋali janilili we two went* (probably for **janilali*, cf. *ŋana janilana we all went*, *ŋaja janilaja I went*; Bir RD). Elision of vowels in all positions is also fairly common: *janildana they have gone* (for **janila dana*; Bir RD), *wulalbula they two have died* (for **wulala bula*; Bir RD); this is especially common with Bir AL, who regularly uses the suffix *-l* for Bir RD's *-la*, *-li* and *-ŋ* for Bir RD's *-pa* (cf. 22.37 (4)): *bramba-* (*bramba-*; Bir AL) for *baɾamba- do, make*; in this way the initial consonant clusters in *briguna wife* (cf. Wirri *birgu*, *idem*), *brigi- cry* or the medial cluster in *gulbran native companion* (Bir AL) have probably arisen. The borrowed *birimu- bream* (fish) corresponds, however, to the original Birri syllabic structure.

Evolution of the consonant system

21.4 The consonantal phonemes in Birri are the same as in Gunggari (see 5.6), the modifications due to position or environment as well as occurrence of the phonemes in the word or syllabic context being the same (cf. *ibid*). A form such as *gina* is consequently a mere variant of *dina* (*foot*), while in the word *biɾilgili peewee* (Bir VA), the palatalised *g* has phoneme value and differs from the (alveolar) *d* in *buldap heart* or *baldira husband* (cf. 2.6, Note 10). In English words the alveolar 't' or 'd' (except after *n* and *l*; cf. above) may be rendered by the Birri (dental-interdental) *d*, as in: *budal bottle* (Bir AL).

As in the other Gunggari languages, words beginning with *g* or *n* (except as variants before *i*) are exceptional: *gundi ghost* (Bir VA; cf. *juingi, ju'ngi, jungi, idem*).

21.5 Our informants often have difficulty in differentiating clearly between the phonemes *r* and *ɾ* (cf. 5.10), so that words such as *mara take* (imperative) and *maɾa hand* (Bir VA) are apt to be pronounced identically (whenever in this material doubt may arise as to the proper sound in words of this kind, we shall prefer to write the alveolar *r*, implying that it may in reality be actualised as an English 'r' sound). Other common difficulties with the *r* sound appear in: *balada* for *balara boat* (Bir RD), *bangara* for *bangar blue-tongue lizard* (Bir VA). The form *r* arising in the intervocalic position for certain other consonant sounds in the current pronunciation (cf. 18.10) is found in Birri *narana* for *nanana we all* (Bir RD), *narana* for *nanana us all* (Bir RD), *maraget* beside *mana-* (idem; Bir VA), *marali took* beside *manali* (idem; Bir RD), *dirala tea* (Bir VA; probably from **didala tea-leaf*; cf. Gunggari *dala leaf* : *tea-dala*). In long words an intervocalic *-l-* may be dropped: *naja wurajilaja* for **wuralilaja I pulled off* (Bir RD), *wurailina* for *wuralilina (took off with)*, *nani warambaila* for *warambalila what did he do?* (Bir RD); notice the optional intercalation of the semivowel *-j-* between *a* and *i* (cf. 5.5).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

22.1 *Structure*. The structure of the concrete word stem is as in Gunggari or Wirri (cf. 6.1; 19.1). Simple nominal stems are in most cases dissyllabic, ending either in a vowel or a consonant (*-ŋ, -m, -n, -p, -l, -r* or *-ɾ*); undervived verbal stems are likewise dissyllabic and may end in a vowel only (*-a-, -i-, -u-*). Vowel-ending stems may sometimes be either nominal or verbal *waga word, waga- speak* (imperative *waga*).

22.2 *Compounds*. Compounds of the type 'blackfellow', etc. are normal in Birri; compare: *maɾi bama Aboriginal man, maɾi gaju black woman, migulu gaju white woman* (Bir RD). The order of the components is generally not fixed (cf. 19.2): *baɾu balban bony back* (not *backbone*, as the order of the elements would suggest in English).¹⁴⁶ There are examples of nominal or verbal stems occurring in compound construction with a verb stem, as in: *galmaɾa galga- urinate, guna galga- defecate*; that these are compounds according to the principles expressed in Part I, Note 123 and elsewhere is evident from the fact that the verb stem (*galga-*) is intransitive (*gamu galgaɾa it is raining*). A compound of two verb stems is found in: *wagawanga- run away* (cf. *waga- run, wanga- go away*).

22.3 *Reduplication*. Reduplicated nominal stems are common. Although such forms generally express either diminutives, animal names, color names or adjectival ideas (cf. 6.3) in the Gunggari languages, the recorded instances from Birri however hardly bear out this tendency: *gamu gamu grog or a drink* (Bir JH, WS), *bangil bangil cheek, diga diga or digar digar wagtail, mupu mupu bat, gubal gubal pretty, bana bana clever man* (but *bana* is *stomach*), *buɾi buɾi doctor* (*buɾi* is *fire*), *bangi bangi* (Bir RD), *bangi bangi* (Bir AL) *hat* (*bangi* is *brother-in-law*).

22.4 *Nominal derivation.* The sociative derivative suffix in Birri is -bari or -bai and the caritive suffix is -mulu: baldirabari *having a husband* (baldira), wulibai *wild, wanting a fight* (from wuli *bad temper*), gambimulu *without clothes* (gambi), bumbumulu *without feathers* (bumbu); in bana banabari *doctor*, the function is *paled* (cf. bana bana, idem; possibly bana bana has the original sense of *magic* or *curative power*, whence bana bana bari is *one having such power*). In manta gaṛa *no bread*, baldira gaṛa *without a husband* (cf. above), the last word is probably the common negative relation word gaṛa (*nothing*, etc.), which may occur as an independent unit and ought to be written as a word apart (cf. 6.4, Note 26).

22.5 The common feminine suffix -gan occurs in wapmerigan *white woman* (a common term in south-eastern Queensland), but also in other words: guingan (Bir JH), gungan (Bir VA) *spirit, ghost*. Other suffixes occur in isolated cases and the function is not to be determined: in bandaṛabara (Bir AL) and bandaṛami (Bir VA) *God*, the suffix (-bara or -mi) is evidently analogous to the Bidjara -gari, -gai (see 9.5) and seems to denote 'inhabitant'; the suffix -mi is found also in derived forms of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (see 22.21, 25). The suffix -di in gadadi *hat* (Bir VA; cf. gada *head*) is the same as the Gangulu (B) -di or the Wirri -diri(n), -di (see 16.5; 19.6), which have an identical function. The suffix -gara in: bamaṛara *little boy*, gambalṛara *little girl* (Bir VA) seems to have a diminutive function.

22.6 Finally, the 'dual-comitative' formative in terms of relationship (see 6.6 and Note 27) is -na in Birri: jabuna *one's father* (from jabu *father*), jaṇana *one's mother* (from jaṇa *mother*), briguna *one's wife* (from brigu *wife*), ṇadina *one's grandfather* or *grandson* (from ṇadi *grandfather* or *grandson*), gamina *one's grandmother* or *grand-daughter* (from gami *grandmother* or *grand-daughter*); these derived forms appear to be used either in such constructions as jabu jaṇana *father and mother* (hence involving duality)¹⁴⁷ or whenever two persons are mentioned together in a context: da·muṇu jabuna *Tom King's father* (Bir RD).

22.7 *Verbal derivation.* The four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive, reciprocal) are all represented in Birri, being characterised by a corresponding derivative suffix to the simple stem. Causative verbs are formed by one of the suffixes -ma- and -mba-, the latter being more common and typical: gambiṛama- *turn round* (transitive; from gambiṛa- *turn round*, intransitive), baṛamba- (Bir AL, VA), waṛamba- (Bir RD) *do, make, bring about* (from baṛa-, waṛa- *happen, come about*), banamba- *change* (transitive; cf. banali-, idem, intransitive), wunamba- *lay down* (from wuna- *lie down*), danamba- *set* (from dana- *sit*), jagamba- *lift up* (from waga- *climb, get up*), jidiramba- *scare* (from jidira- *take a fright*), galgamba- *empty (water)* (from galga- *run, flow, drip*), ṇugamba- *teach* (from ṇuga- *know*, ṇugali- *learn*); the suffix is -mbi- in jagambi- *hang up* (from jaga- *climb*), probably due to vowel assimilation (cf. -mbili-, below, 22.9, and in 21.3).

22.8 *Associative derivation* is by means of the suffix -ri- or -ji- (cf. 16.8): mangari- *walk away with* (simple verb not recorded; cf. Gunggari manda- *go*), wangari- *go away with* (from wanga- *go*), janiri- *bring* (from jani- *go, come*), danari- *sit with* (from dana- *sit*), wunari- *lie with* (from wuna- *lie down*), bangari- *knock down* (causative sense, cf. 6.8; from banga- *fall*, hence

originally *fall with*), *guraji- bring home* (from *gura- go home*). Associative verbs are transitive, that is they have an ergative subject and an objective form or object word: *gajurbangu danarinala jalu the woman is sitting with (nursing) the baby* (Bir RD).

22.9 The reflexive suffix is *-li-*: *nagali- look at oneself* (from *naga- see, look at*), *gulmali- cut oneself* (from *gulma- cut*); the sense is generally intransitive (often inchoative) in: *ɲɔgali- learn* (from *ɲɔga- know, hence begin to know*), *wulali- die or be dying* (from *wula- die*), *bangali- almost fall, be about to fall* (from *banga- fall*). Occasionally the sense is reciprocal: *nagali- look at one another* (cf. above). A combined causative-reflexive sense (*make oneself*) is expressed by the suffix *-mbili-* (from **-mbali-*, by assimilation, cf. 21.4), as in: *waɾambili- paint oneself* (*madirangu waɾambiliɲa used to paint themselves, literally make oneself with paint or painted*), *waɳambili- talk a lot* (as if *make oneself talk waɳa-*). A variant of this suffix is *-mbari-*, as in: *gurambari- turn round (make oneself turn round; cf. gura- return)*. The proper reciprocal suffix is *-ra-* or *-na-*: *gundara- fight* (from *gunda- hit, hence hit one another*; Bir VA), *nagana- look at one another* (from *naga- look at*; Bir RD). The suffix *-ra-* in *gambiɾa- turn round* seems to have a general intransitive or reflexive sense (cf. Gunggari and Bidjara *gambiɾa-, gambiɾi-, idem*).

22.10 *Declension*. Birri declension comprises the following recorded case forms: nominative (or stem form), ergative, possessive, ablative, locative and allative. The *nominative* serves as basis of the other case forms as well as in construction with a postposition (see 22.14). The *ergative* always ends in *-u*; according to the termination of the stem form, the form of the ergative varies: vowel-ending stems take the suffix *-ɲgu*, stems ending in a nasal take *-u* with a preceding homorganic plosive (hence ergative forms arise in: *-ɲgu, -ndu*; no stem in *-m* or *-ɲ* is recorded) and other stems take plain *-u* (with or without modification of the stem-final consonant). The *possessive* form has been recorded of vowel-ending stems only and ends in *-ɲu*. The *ablative* varies according to the different dialects of Birri, so that three different suffixes are recorded: *-ɲundu* (Bir RD)¹⁴⁹, *-di* (Bir AL) and *-ni* (Bir VA; the latter, however, in pronominal forms only, see 22.16, 24), all found with vowel-ending stems (cf. the Paradigms, 22.12). The *locative* always ends in *-a*, with or without a preceding consonant or consonant group (*-g-, -d-, -g-, -ɲg-, etc.*), according to the same principle as noted for the ergative form (see above). Finally, the *allative* always ends in *-gu*. For details, compare further the Paradigms in 22.12.

22.11 As for the use of the case forms little is to be said. The *ergative* expresses the agent of a transitive verb (*bandaɾamingu nani jabaiba God has made the earth*) or the instrument (*malangu, mirungu (hit) with the hand, the nulla-nulla*). The *possessive* case also expresses a dative relation: *bamaɲu (gave) to the man*. The local case forms (*ablative, locative and allative*) of personal nouns usually have specialised senses, the *ablative* indicating (*take something off (one)*), the *locative* (*stay with (one)* or (*going to (visit one)*) and the *allative* *for or intended for or belonging to* (hence the possessive sense).¹⁴⁹ Other case relations, especially where case forms are missing (as of consonant-ending noun stems; cf. 22.10), may be expressed by postpositions (see 22.14).

22.12 *Paradigms*. In order to further illustrate the principles stated in 22.10-11, the following paradigms are given of nouns ending in (1) a vowel, (2) a nasal and (3) any other consonant (in practice, -l or -r, no stems in -r being recorded). The following are the type words chosen: (1) bama, maṛi *man*, gamu *water*, jamba *camp*, nani *earth*, mambu *nose*; (2) jaraman *horse*, balban *bone*, ŋugan *night*; (3) daŋul *possum*, gabul *carpetsnake*, baŋgur *turtle*, wuŋar *sleep*.

(1) *vowel-ending stems:*

NOM	bama, maṛi, gamu, jamba, nani, mambu
ERG	bamaŋgu, maṛiŋgu
POSS	bamaŋu
ABL	bamaŋundu, mambudi (Bir AL)
LOC	bamaŋga or bamaŋunda, gamuŋga, jambaŋga, naniŋga
ALL	bamaŋu, jambaŋu

(2) *stems ending in a nasal:*

NOM	jaraman, balban, ŋugan
ERG	jaramandu, balbandu
LOC	jaramanda, ŋuganda (<i>last night</i>)
ALL	jaramangu

(3) *stems ending in -l or -r:*

NOM	daŋul, gabul, baŋgur, wuŋar
ERG	daŋulu or daŋuṛu, gabulu, baŋguru
LOC	wuŋaraŋga
ALL	daŋulagu (Bir RD).

22.13 *Article*. Any noun in the stem form or its inflections may be used in a plural as well as in a singular sense in Birri: maṛiŋgu (ergative) therefore either means *the man* or *the people* (Bir RD) and in the following instances the use of a plural personal pronoun indicates that the sense is plural: buṛi buṛiŋgu jamaŋandana *the doctors, they* (-dana) *used to tell us*, maṛi bama, gajuṛba ... diaŋa dana *the Aboriginal men, women, they* *used to dance*, banambalba danana maṛi *changed them, the men* (Bir VA). A plural article (-nu, that is as in Gunggari; cf. 6.18) is, however, used by Bir VA, to express observable plurality (i.e. English *some*), in gandunu *some children* (from gandu *child*). The form in -riŋ in jaluriŋ *children* (from jalu *child*; Bir RD) seems to serve as a plural article (unless it is simply an adaptation of the English termination '-ren' in 'children'? incidentally, a form jalariŋ *child*, recorded from Bir WS, may be incorrect).

22.14 *Postpositions*. One postposition only has been recorded, namely damu *from, off*, which serves to express an ablative of certain nouns: jamba damu *from home* (jamba; Bir VA), dibila damu (*feathers*) *off a bird* (Bir VA), guga damu *from the house* (Bir RD), gamu damu *from the water* (Bir RD; hence = the Gunggari gamundu), mambu damu *from the nose* (= mambudi, Bir AL). The ablative suffix -ŋundu (see 22.10) might, of course, be referred to as a postposition with the same right as the Wirri ŋudi (19.16); both seem in any case to be based on a possessive form (whether nominal or pronominal; cf. 22.10) in -ŋu, the Birri ablative suffix representing this form plus an ablative suffix -ndu (cf. 6.13) and the Wirri ŋudi, the same form plus a postpositional (or ablative) -di (cf. 22.10).

22.15 *Personal pronouns.* Birri is characterised by a rich development of the pronominal system (for which see below as well as in 22.21, 33 sqq.). For the personal pronoun the same general principles hold as in the other languages within the group or, as a matter of fact, all languages studied in this survey, namely that they refer to persons or animate beings only, that they have a special objective and possessive form (the ergative being generally like the nominative) and further that where local case forms (ablative or locative; of allatives no instances are found) these are used in special senses (e.g. the locative in *ḡaḡunda danaḡala stays with me* (and not **in me*), *ḡani jindaḡunda what is wrong with you?* cf. 6.21). Birri, however, differs from the other Gunggari languages studied here in having (in most persons) a double set of personal pronouns, which we may term (1) independent and (2) enclitic; as a matter of fact, sporadic tendencies to use shorter, or enclitic, forms of the personal pronouns are met with elsewhere in the languages studied (cf. Part I, 7.20; 8.6; 11.6; Part II, 19.19), but in Birri (or rather in certain ones of the dialects recorded here) the use of enclitic forms (which we write in one word with the concrete form to which they belong) has evolved into a regular system, namely in the conjugation of the verb (see further in 22.33-37). In dealing with the personal pronouns in the section of paradigms (22.16), the enclitic forms are given after the independent forms, being provided with a hyphen. Pronouns for the following persons (given in the independent form) are recorded: (singular) *ḡaja I, jinda you, nula he, she*; (dual) *ḡali we, jubala you, bula they*; (plural) *ḡana we, jura you, dana they*. For additional, or variant, forms as well as for enclitic forms, see in the Paradigms below (22.16).

22.16 *Paradigms.* The following paradigmatic forms are recorded, independent ones given in the first place, followed—after a semicolon—by the corresponding enclitic forms, which are hyphenated.

First person singular:

NOM	ḡaja; -ja
ERG	ḡaja; -ja
OBJ	ḡaḡuna; -na ¹⁵⁰
POSS	ḡaḡu; -ḡu
ABL	ḡaḡundu (Bir RD), ḡaḡuni (Bir VA)
LOC	ḡaḡunda, ḡaḡuna (Bir VA)

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda (junda, Bir RD); -nda
ERG	jinda
OBJ	jindana, jununa (Bir VA); -nu
POSS	junu, jindaḡu (Bir RD), juna (Bir VA); -nu
ABL	jindaḡundu
LOC	jindanda, jununda (Bir RD), jindaḡunda, jununa (Bir VA)

Third person singular:

NOM	nula; -la, -li, -lu, ¹⁵¹ -l (Bir AL)
ERG	nula; -la, etc.
OBJ	nuḡuna (nu·na); -na
POSS	nuḡu (nu·), nuḡunuḡu (Bir RD); ¹⁵²
ABL	nuḡundu (Bir RD), nuḡuniḡ (nuḡundamu, nuḡuni, nu·ni; Bir VA)
LOC	nuḡunda

First person dual:

NOM	ḡali; -li
ERG	ḡali
OBJ	ḡaliḡuna, ḡalina (ḡalana, Bir RD)
POSS	ḡaliḡu ¹⁵³
LOC	ḡalinda, ḡaliḡunda

Second person dual:

NOM	jubala, jibala; -la, -na (Bir RD)
ERG	jubala, jibala
OBJ	jubalana, jibalana
POSS	jubalaḡu
LOC	jubalaḡunda, jibalaḡunda

Third person dual:

NOM	bula; -la
ERG	bula
OBJ	bulana; bulaḡuna
POSS	bulaḡu (= bularuḡu, Bir RD)
ABL	bulaḡundu
LOC	bulaḡunda

First person plural:

NOM	ḡana (ḡanana, Bir RD); -na
ERG	ḡana; -na
OBJ	ḡanaḡuna, ḡanana; -nana
POSS	ḡanaḡu
ABL	ḡanaḡundu
LOC	ḡanaḡunda, ḡananda

Second person plural:

NOM	jura; -na
ERG	jura
OBJ	jurana, juraḡuna
POSS	juraḡu
ABL	juraḡundu
LOC	juraḡunda

Third person plural:

NOM	dana; -na, -la
ERG	dana, danaḡu
OBJ	danana, danaḡuna
POSS	danaḡu
ABL	danaḡundu
LOC	dananda, danaḡunda

22.17 Some remarks are apt here as to the use of the above pronominal forms (22.15-16). As far as the inflected forms go, several examples bear out that the nominative is regularly used for a missing (inflected) ergative form (this holds almost universally throughout the paradigm; in the third person plural, the form *danaḡu* is originally nominal, = *the people*). This also holds for the enclitic forms, as seen from comparing: *jambagu guraḡaja I am going home* (-ja, nominative) and *manda ḡaja juraḡaja I am eating meat* (-ja ergative; Bir VA).

The objective form is used to express either a direct or indirect object: *nula nagali nananuna he has seen us* (direct object), *jaba nuṇuna give him* (indirect object), but a dative relation is also expressed by the possessive form: (*jaba*) *ṇaḍu or jabaḍu give (to) me*. Otherwise the possessive form expresses ownership: *jamba juna your camp* (Bir VA), *ṇaḍu briguna my wife*, *ṇaḍu guga my house*, *junu guga your house*, *jinami*, *gunami nuṇuna (?) this, that is his*. As for the enclitic forms, these are usually combined with verb forms (in the 'personal conjugation', for which see in 22.33-37), but they may also be joined to nominal or pronominal forms, according to a special construction, as in: *jinda binbinda you are good* (= *binbi jinda*), *gujali* (= *guja nula*) *he is no good*, *jinda ṇaninda what (kind) are you?* (Bir RD), *jinda ṇandulunda who are you?* (Bir RD), *jinamila it is this one*, *jinamilu mari this is an Aboriginal*, *ṇanilu what kind was he?* *jinamilu or nulalu this is he, it is he*, *danalu it is they*, *ṇandulu gunamilu who is that?* *jinda ṇaninu what (kind) are you* (cf. above), *ṇandulununu (?) jinda who are you?* (all from Bir RD).

22.18 To express a differentiation between an inclusive and an exclusive form or an analogous distinction in the first and second persons dual, compound forms may be used: *ṇali jinda or ṇalinda you and me* (inclusive), *jindaṇula* (= *jinda nula*) *you and he, she*, that is, in either case, in speaking to one person (although referring to two).

22.19 In this connection compound forms of the enclitic personal pronouns (which are of great importance in the personal conjugation of the verb; see 22.33-37) may be mentioned. Such forms are: *-janu I for you* (i.e. nominative or ergative *-ja* plus possessive *-nu*), *-ḍunda you for me* (i.e. possessive *-ḍu* plus nominative or ergative *-nda*), *-lanu he you* (i.e. ergative *-la* plus objective *-nu*). For special or contracted forms, such as *-ṇganda you him*, *-ṇa I him*, *-ṇga he him*, see in 22.37 (4).

22.20 *Demonstrative pronouns.* Birri has two different sets of demonstrative pronouns: (1) one of the usual type, involving denotation of locality and having a rudimentary pronominal inflection (cf. 6.25) and (2) one being nominal in character and having typically 'personal' declension forms (see 22.10). In the former set the following demonstratives belong (whether or not by coincidence, the instances under (1) are all from Bir VA): *jina this, here*, *ṇuna that, there* and *wuna that, there*. Of these an alternative nominative form in *-na* (perhaps not involving locality) and an allative in *-gu* are found, according to the following paradigms.

jina this, here:

NOM *jina, jinana*
ALL *jinagu, jinalgu* (correct ?)

ṇuna that, there:

NOM *ṇuna, ṇunana*
ALL *ṇunagu*

wuna that, there:

NOM *wuna, wunana*

Examples: jamba jina or jina jamba *this camp or place (or the camp here, etc.)*, jinana *this (one)*, jinagu *(come) here*, jinalgu (?) jida ɲuna *leave that here*; ɲuna *that*, ɲunana *that thing*, ɲunagu *over there*; jamba wuna *that camp*, wuna binbi *that is nice*, wuna junu *that is yours*, wunana *that (one)*.

22.21 In the nominal set (see 22.20), the demonstratives appear derived by the same suffix -mi as mentioned in 22.5, which evidently has a personalising or individualising character (possibly denoting *one being (at a place)*). The following stems are recorded: jinami *this (the one being here)*, gunami and ɲunami *that*; with the exception of gunami, the pronouns in this set are clearly derived from those in set (1), for which see above in 22.20.¹⁵⁴ These demonstratives refer to persons or things, but hardly to locality (even in the allative forms in -qu, the reference is rather to an individual person or thing than to place¹⁵⁵). Further, no ablative or locative forms are recorded, but by contrast the typically personal objective occurs, ending in -na (cf. below). (Incidentally, no instance of these forms is recorded from Bir VA (cf. 22.20), most being from Bir RD). The recorded flections appear in the following paradigms:

jinami *this*:

NOM	jinami
ERG	jinamingu
OBJ	jinamina
POSS	jinamigu
ALL	jinamigu

Examples: jinami *this thing*, jinami bama, migulu *this (white) man*, guga jinami *this house*, jinami guga binbi *this house is nice*, jinamilu maɾi or jinami maɾi *this (one, he) is an Aboriginal*, jinami damu manalaja *I took or got it from this one (used for a missing ablative)*, jinamingu bamangu *this man (ergative)*, jinamina bama *this man (objective)*, jinamigu bamanu *this man's or for or to this man (dative)*, jinamigu (ask) *for this (one)*.

gunami *that*:

NOM	gunami
ERG	gunamingu
ALL	gunamigu

Examples: gunami jabagu *give me that*, ɲani gunami *what is that?* gunami bamanu *that is the man's*, guga gunami *the house over there*, gunami guga *that house*, gunami bandu bandu *that hat*, gunamingu maɾi *that man (ergative)*, gunamigu (ask) *for that thing*, gunamigu (wants) *that*.

ɲunami *that*:

NOM	ɲunami
ALL	ɲunamigu

Examples: ɲanduɲu ɲunami *whose is that?* ɲani ɲunami *what is that?* ɲunami bama *that man*, ɲunamigu (want) *that one*.

22.22 The forms quoted in 22.21 are used either in a singular, dual or plural sense, as appears from constructions with a plural or dual pronoun (or other word): gubun dialbaɲa dana gunami *while those there were dancing* (Bir RD; dana indicates plural sense), gunami bularu *those two* (Bir RD), gunami banduraɲa bula *those two, they are fighting* (Bir RD; bula and bularu indicate dual sense).

22.23 Interrogative pronouns. The basic personal interrogative pronoun (*who?*) in Birri is *ḡandulu* and the impersonal interrogative (*what?*) is *ḡani*. The former (*ḡandulu*) is used of persons and of their name (e.g. *ḡandulu jinda numba(ṛa) what is your name?* Bir AL), while the latter (*ḡani*) is used of things or matters, but also of *one's kind* (that is in reference to totem or—in more modern times—to nationality), e.g. *ḡani jinda or jinda ḡani what are you?* (Bir RD), *jinda ḡaninu what are you? or what is yours?* (e.g. totem; Bir RD).

22.24 Paradigms. Both these pronouns are inflected according to the general pattern of a nominal paradigm, that of the personal *ḡandulu* (*who?*) agreeing closely with that of the demonstratives in *-mi* (see 22.21), for instance in having a special objective form; the paradigms are as follows:

ḡandulu who?:

NOM	<i>ḡandulu</i> (<i>ḡanduru</i>)
ERG	<i>ḡandulungu</i> , <i>ḡandulu</i> (Bir VA), <i>ḡandaṛu</i> (Bir RD)
OBJ	<i>ḡanduluna</i> , <i>ḡandana</i> (Bir RD), <i>ḡanduna</i> (Bir VA)
POSS	<i>ḡanduṅu</i> , <i>ḡandaṅu</i> (Bir RD)
ABL	<i>ḡandaṅundu</i> (Bir RD), <i>ḡandaṅuni</i> (Bir VA)
LOC	<i>ḡandaṅunda</i> (Bir RD)
ALL	<i>ḡandulugu</i> (<i>ḡandurugu</i>)

Examples: *ḡandulu nula who is he?* (Bir VA), *ḡandulu jinda who are you?* (Bir WS), *ḡandulu(nu) jinda* (that is with an enclitic personal pronoun *-nu*; cf. 22.16) *who are you? or what is yours?* that is *your name*; (Bir RD), *ḡandulungu guṛmaba dula who broke the stick?* (Bir VA), *ḡandulungu jamaba, maraba who made, took it?* (Bir VA), *ḡandulungu or ḡandaṛu waṛambali who (has) made it?* (Bir RD), *ḡanduṅuna jinda nagaba whom did you see?* (Bir VA), *ḡandaṅuni maraba from whom did (you) take or get it?* (Bir VA), *ḡandaṅunda danaṅanda with whom are you staying?* (Bir RD), *ḡandulugu whose?* (Bir VA; allative used in the possessive sense; cf. 22.11).

ḡani what?:

NOM	<i>ḡani</i>
ERG	<i>ḡaniṅgu</i>
ALL	<i>ḡanigu</i> , <i>ḡanilugu</i> (Bir RD)

Examples: *ḡanilu what kind is he? (white or black?; Bir RD)*, *ḡani jinda jamana what are you doing?* (Bir VA), *ḡani jinda maraba what did you get?* (Bir VA), *ḡani why?* (Bir VA), *ḡaniṅgu waṛambaṅanu what is ailing you? or what is the matter with you?* (Bir RD), *ḡanigu why?* (Bir VA), *what do you want?* (Bir RD), *ḡanigu bariba what did he cry for?* (Bir VA), *ḡanilugu what for?* (Bir RD).

22.25 In addition to the above basic forms (described in 22.23–24), Birri has a derived form in *-mi* (cf. the demonstrative pronouns, 22.21 and further in 22.5), of which the nominative or stem form is *ḡandami*. This form might generally be rendered by English *which?* and hence corresponds to the Wirri *ḡandana* (see 19.28). The Birri *ḡandami* is declined according to the nominal paradigms or to those of the demonstratives in *-mi* (see 22.21), in the following way:

NOM	<i>ḡandami</i>
LOC	<i>ḡandamiṅga</i>
ALL	<i>ḡandamigu</i>

Examples: *ḡandamiṅga in which one?* (Bir RD), *ḡandamigu to or for which one?* (Bir RD), *ḡandamigu waṛaṅanda whom do you want?* (Bir RD).

22.26 An isolated form in -ru (evidently a 'dual-comitative'; cf. 6.16; 9.15) is found used in place of a 'personal locative' (see 22.11) or *ḡandulu* (*who?*) in: *ḡandaṛu danaḡanda with whom do you stay?* (Bir RD; hence = *ḡandaḡunda with whom?*), that is in a proper comitative sense (in Gangulu (B) the corresponding word, *ḡandaṛu*, occurs in a temporal sense, = *when?*).

22.27 *Conjugation.* Conjugation in Birri constitutes a complicated chapter. First of all, certain dialectal differences arise in the formation of the basic modal forms (much along the same lines as in Gangulu (A) and (B); cf. 16.23). It appears especially that our informant from Nebo (Bir VA; see 20.3) deviates from the two other chief informants (Bir RD and AL, representing areas further to the north) at the same time as her language assumes features of the neighbouring Wirri and Gangulu. Secondly (as noticeable especially in recordings from Bir RD and AL), Birri subdivides the imperfective mode into two subtypes, which we may refer to as the *durative* and the *imminent* modes (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.11, where, however, the term progressive is used for durative). In the third place, Birri makes an extensive use of enclitic pronouns, so that the conjugation takes on an aspect of that in the old Indo-European (or classical) languages (cf. Latin *amo, amas, amat, amabam, amabas, amabat*, etc.). Consequently, we can speak in Birri of (1) a modal (or aspectual) conjugation and (2) of a personal (or pronominal) conjugation. These have to be dealt with separately in subsequent sections (22.28-32, respectively 23.33-37) and further illustrated by separate paradigms (22.32, 37).

22.28 *Modal (or aspectual) conjugation.* The four basic mode forms are present in Birri as in Gunggari (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional); the imperfective—which in Gunggari has two different, but evidently semantically equivalent suffixes (-ḡa and -na; see 6.31 with Note 42)—appears in two different varieties or subtypes (cf. 22.27). As for the formation of the modal forms, the following principles are valid. The *imperative* is always the stem of the verb: *dana* (or *binda*, Bir VA) *sit*, *jani go*, *wangu ask*. The *imperfective* presents a subdivision into a *durative* (formed by a suffix -ḡa) and an *imminent* (formed by a suffix -na); one informant (Bir VA) does not seem to make any distinction in the use of these forms.¹⁵⁶ The imminent form may be used in a potential sense: *bulḡan wuranalānu he could take out your liver?* (Bir RD; for -lanu, see 22.35). The *perfective* is formed in two ways: (1) by the (postpositional) suffix -ba (occasionally -lba, as in Gangulu, see 16.25, yet without a functional difference between -ba and -lba, as in Wirri) and (2) by the (locative) termination -la (that is as in Gunggari, Bidjara, Gangulu (A), etc.; cf. 6.31; 9.28; 16.25); the former suffixes (-ba, -lba) are used (as it seems indiscriminately) by Bir VA, the latter (-la) by, for instance, Bir RD and Bir AL. For modifications of the above suffixes, see further in dealing with the personal conjugation (22.33-37). Finally, the *intentional* also appears in two distinct forms (with the same repartition as for the perfective formatives; cf. above), namely (1) with a termination -lgu (as in Gunggari and Bidjara) and (2) with the same termination -nagu as in Gangulu (B) and Wirri (see 16.26; 19.31). As in Gangulu and Wirri, the intentional sometimes appears without the postpositional (or allative) -gu and consequently becomes formally (and semantically ?) equal to the imminent mode form. —For *accidental* forms, see in 22.31.

22.29 Although the above forms (22.28) must be considered as the original ones, since they answer to corresponding ones in Gunggari, Wirri, etc., certain variants are actually more common in determined positions. Especially the perfective *-la* (see 22.28) appears almost regularly as *-li* when final in the word: *janili* (he) went (Bir RD, from *jani- go*; also *janila*, idem, Bir VA), *jinda wanguli* did you ask? (Bir RD; stem *wangu-*), *nula jabaligu* he gave me (Bir RD; stem *jaba-*), *nula nagali nanauna* he saw us all (Bir RD). The process by which the original *-la* has become changed into *-li* is by no means evident; it seems, however, that some kind of vowel assimilation has taken place (cf. 21.3). Usually the form *-la-* is kept whenever a following enclitic pronoun contains the vowel *-a*, as in: *jambalanga* (I) lifted him (Bir RD), *manalaja* I took (Bir RD), *mandarilaja* I walked away with it (Bir RD); so also in *nula wangulan* he asked him (Bir AL), since *-n* is a shorter form of original *-pa* (see 21.3); *-li-* would then have arisen before a suffix ending in *-i* (e.g. *-li* we two, see 22.15: *nali janili* we two went, Bir RD) or else after the reflexive stem in *-li-* (see 22.9) or any verb stem ending in *-i* (*janili* went; cf. above), but unfortunately no reflexive forms ending in the expected **-lili* happen to be recorded and, on the contrary, several forms are found in which the perfective *-la-* occurs before the enclitic personal *-li* or the perfective *-li-* before an enclitic ending in *-a*: *nali janilali* we two went (Bir RD), *wura(l)ilina* he took away with him (Bir RD), *wulalila* he died (Bir RD), *waralija* I wanted (Bir RD), *waralinda* you wanted (Bir RD), *gani nula bangalila* he almost fell (Bir RD). Bir AL regularly uses the apocopated form *-l* (cf. 21.3); for other forms with *-l-*, arisen from perfective *-la-* through elision (*wulalbula* they (two) have died, etc.), see in 21.3.

22.30 Of other irregular forms may be mentioned the imperfective (or imminent?) form in *-nu* for the common suffix *-na*, in *gabinu* (being) hungry (Bir VA; the same form is found in Wirri also, see 19.33). Perfective forms in *-la* (or *-li*) are occasionally recorded from Bir VA, who normally uses the Wirri and Gangulu (B) termination *-(l)ba* (cf. 22.28): *nagala* saw (= *nagaba*), *nandulu banduli* who hit? For perfective forms without a clear perfective formative, see in the sections on Personal (or pronominal) conjugation (22.36).

22.31 *Accidental forms.* A large number of accidental forms have been recorded from Birri (especially from Bir RD). As a matter of fact, two different types of accidental forms are found: (1) such as are made up on the basis of an imperfective (durative) form in *-na*, followed by an original locative *-la* (cf. Part I, 3.22), which are used by Bir VA, and (2) such as are made up by means of a basic subordinating formative *-lba-* (that is the 'nominalising' *-l-* plus a locative or postpositional *-ba*; cf. Part I, 3.22; Part II, 19.30), which could carry the sense of (at) the place of (doing something) and to which is then added one of the modal suffixes (imperfective-durative *-na* (hence: *-lba-na*), (imperfective-imminent) *-na* (hence: *-lba-na*) or (perfective) *-la* (hence: *-lba-la*), according to whether the verbal action is conceived as durative, imminent or perfective; these last-mentioned forms are used in the dialects represented by Bir RD and Bir AL.¹⁵⁷ Examples: (1) *wubanala coming* (Bir VA), *bindana juganala sitting eating*, *bindana naganala sitting looking* (Bir VA); (2) (durative forms in *-lba-na*) *buṛi gandalba-na while the fire burned* (Bir RD), *gaṛa ṇuḡalbananda jimbananda when you do not know you must listen* (Bir RD; *-nda* is the enclitic pronoun *you*, see 22.35); (imminent) *wulalbanaja when I die*, *wulalbananda when you die* (Bir RD; *-ja*, *-nda* are enclitic pronouns *I, you*); (perfective) *maṛi wulalbala* or *wulalbali when a man (had) died* (Bir RD). There are examples in

which no modal formative is represented: gubun dialbana *when we all danced* (Bir RD), jalu wunalbaja *when I was a child* (Bir AL; -na, -ja are enclitic pronouns *we all, I*). An intentional form (see 22.28) may be used with or without the element -lba- in the sense of an accidental form, as in: dalgari wunalbanagu *if too much was (or should be) left* (Bir RD), janmيرانanda *if you should laugh* (Bir RD; -nda is an enclitic pronoun *you*); for an analogous use of the intentional form in Wakka-Wakka, see in Part I, 7.35.

22.32 Paradigms. The following paradigms will illustrate the conjugation of the Birri verb without enclitic pronouns. The following are type verbs: jani- *go*, juga- *eat, drink*, naga- *see*, wuba- *come*, wula- *die*, wuna- *lie down, stay, be*. In forms occasionally quoted with an incorporated enclitic pronoun the latter is placed within parentheses.

jani- *go*:

IMP	jani
IPF (dur.)	janiŋa
IPF (imm.)	janina
PF	janiba, janilba, janila, janili (Bir RD)
INT	janinagu, janina(nda) (<i>you have to or must go</i>)

juga- *eat, drink*:

IPF (dur.)	jugan(ja)
IPF (imm.)	jugana(li)
PF	juga(l)ba (Bir VA)
INT	juganagu

naga- *see*:

IPF (dur.)	nagan(la)
IPF (imm.)	nagana
PF	nagaba, nagalba (Bir VA), nagala, nagali (Bir RD)
INT	naganagu (Bir VA), naganagu (Bir RD)
ACC	naganala (Bir VA)

wuba- *come*:

IMP	wuba
IPF (dur.)	wubaŋa
PF	wubaba (Bir VA), wubala (Bir VA, AL)

wula- *die*:

PF	wulali
ACC	wulalbana(ja), wulalbala

wuna- *lie down, stay, be*:

IMP	wuna
IPF (dur.)	wunaŋa
IPF (imm.)	wunana(nda)
PF	wunali
ACC	wunalbana(na), wunalbana(nda), wunalbala(ja), wunalbanagu, wunalba(ja)

22.33 *Personal (or pronominal) conjugation.* The use of shorter forms of the independent personal pronouns joined enclitically to a concrete word stem or inflected form (mainly verb forms) has occasionally been observed elsewhere among the languages studied here, whether of the Wakka or Gunggari group (so, for instance, in Bidjara and Wirri; see 9.20; 19.19). In as far as such shorter forms can be pronounced as independent words (ja, na) they have been written as units apart, by analogy with the independent forms of the personal pronouns; in Birri, however, many of the enclitic forms (-la, -nda, -nga, etc.) contain phonemes or groups of phonemes not normally admitted in the word-initial position (being consequently hyphenated; cf. 19.21, Note 124) and to conform with such morphological elements all pronominal enclitics in Birri are treated here as bound morphemes (apart, of course, from the fact that they actually never occur independently). In brief, they form as a rule a solid unit with the (usually) inflected verbal form to which they are added. On the other hand, the enclitic personal pronouns, as occurring in the conjugation of the verb, are sometimes movable in the sense that they may occasionally be placed either before or (which is by far the more common practice) after the modal formatives in inflected forms (cf. 22.37): *danaŋala* or *danalaŋa* *he is sitting* (Bir RD)¹⁵⁸. Also the order of the enclitic suffixes (if more than one are used) is fluctuant: *jinda janindaŋu* or *janigunda* *you come to me* (imperative; Bir RD).

22.34 For the basic pronominal formatives in the personal conjugation, see in the sections dealing with the personal pronouns (22.16), in which the shorter forms clearly connected with the longer independent forms of the personal pronouns are quoted with a preceding hyphen, to indicate their character of enclitics. In the conjugation, however, some other analogous elements occur, of which the connection with an independent form is not clear. In order to give a survey of the occurrence of (simple or compound) pronominal formatives in the personal conjugation, an entire inventory of such forms are given in next section (22.35).

22.35 The following pronominal formatives are recorded in our material from Birri: (1) subject forms (of either intransitive or transitive verbs): (first person singular) -ja, (second person singular) -nda, (third person singular) -la, -li, -l (the last one from Bir AL); (first person dual) -li, (second person dual) -la, (third person dual) -la; (first person plural) -na, (second person plural) -na, (third person plural) -na (-la); (2) direct object forms: (first person singular) -na, (second person singular) -nu, (third person singular) -nga; (first person plural) -nana; (3) possessive forms expressing a dative relation: (first person singular) -ŋu, (second person singular) -nu (?); (4) subject forms with a direct object form: (first person singular - second person singular) -janu, (first person singular - third person singular) -pa, -p (the latter with Bir AL), (second person singular first person singular) -ndana, (second person singular - third person singular) -ndaŋa, (third person singular - first person singular) -lana (a single instance is quoted), (third person singular - second person singular) -lanu (in a couple of instances); (5) subject forms with an indirect object (or dative) form: (first person singular - second person singular) -janu, (second person singular - first person singular) -ndaŋu, -gunda.¹⁵⁹ Most of the above forms derive from Bir RD, while some are from Bir AL; Bir VA seldom uses them, the only recorded one being -ja (*I*), as in: *bindaŋaja* *I am sitting*, *danaŋaja* *I am standing*, *janiŋaja* *I am going*. In cases in which no enclitic formatives are recorded (and also in other cases) constructions with independent personal pronouns have been found,

as in the other Gunggari languages studied (*waraja bula they both want*, = *warajala*). The independent forms are frequently found along with enclitic forms, as in: *naja warajaja I want* (Bir RD), *nali danajali we two are sitting* (Bir RD).

22.36 Certain irregularities are to be noticed. First of all, owing to the similarity in form between the perfective modal formative *-la* (*-li*) and the third person singular subject form *-la* (see above, 22.30), one of these is usually omitted in the third person singular perfective form, so that perfective forms in *-la* or *-li* either include or do not include a third person pronominal subject: *nagala*, *nagali* either means *saw* or *he* or *she saw*, *wunali* means either *was* or *he* or *she was*, etc. (forms in *-lali*, *-lila*, *-lili* do, however, occur). The omission of the perfective *-la-* or *-li-* sometimes takes place (by analogy?) before the enclitic second person singular pronoun as well: *nani naganda what did you see?* *nandana jinda naganda whom did you see?* so that the second person singular perfective becomes equal to the corresponding imperative form (*naganda-*); this might possibly be explained by assuming that the omission of the perfective formative has started in reflexive verbs (such as *nagali- look at oneself*), of which the second person singular perfective is *nagalinda* (*you have looked at yourself*) in preference to **nagalilinda*. In some forms elision of the vowel of the perfective modal formative takes place (cf. 21.3): *wulalbula they have died* (for *wulali bula*), *janildana they have gone* (for *janila* or *janili dana*); these are written in one word since the elision has taken place after the word unit is formed. The intentional form in *-nagu* (see 22.28) does not admit of enclitic pronominal forms: *naja warajaja janinagu I want to go* (Bir RD), *nula warajala jaganagu he wants to eat* (Bir RD); however, a form without *-gu* may take an enclitic pronoun, being used in the same sense of an intentional: *nana janinana we all want to or must go* (= *nana janinagu*; *-na* is the enclitic *we* (*all*), see 22.33), *nula janili jinagu naganana he came here to see me* (= *nula janili naganagu*, idem; here *-na* is the enclitic *me*).

22.37 *Paradigms*. In order to get a clearer impression of the forms arising by combination of modal and personal formatives, the following paradigms are given below, in such a way that the five typical cases in which enclitic personal pronouns are used (see above, 22.35) are put as headings to each group of modal paradigms, exemplified by representative verb stems. The model verbs are: *jaba- give*, *jani- go*, *naga- see*, *nagali- look at oneself*, *wangu- die*, *warja- become*, *happen*, *be*, *waramba- make*, *do*, *wula- die*, *wuna- lie down*.

(1) subject forms of either transitive or intransitive verbs:

First person singular:

IPF (dur.)	<i>janinaja, naganaja, nagalinaja, warajaja, warambanaja</i>
IPF (imm.)	<i>jabanaja, janinaja, warambanaja</i>
PF	<i>janilaja, nagalaja, nagalilaja, waralaja, (waralija), warambalaja</i>
ACC	<i>wulalbanaja, wunalbanaja, wunalbalaja, wunalbaja</i>

Second person singular:

IMP	<i>janinda, naganda, nagalinda</i>
IPF (dur.)	<i>janinanda, nagalinanda, warajanda</i>
IPF (imm.)	<i>janinanda, wangunanda, wunananda</i>
PF	<i>janilinda or janindali, janinda, naganda, nagalinda, wangulinda or wangunda, waralinda</i>
ACC	<i>wulalbananda, wunalbananda</i>

Third person singular:

IPF (dur.)	janiŋala, nagaŋala, nagaliŋal(a), waŋaŋala (waŋaŋali), waŋambaŋala, wunaŋala
IPF (imm.)	janinala, naganala
PF	janila, janili (janilali, janilila), nagala, nagali, wanguli, waŋali(li), waŋalila, waŋala, wulali(la), wunali
ACC	wulalbala (wulalballi)

First person dual:

IPF (dur.)	wuŋaŋali, wunaŋali
IPF (imm.)	janinali, waŋambanali, nagalinana (sic)
PF	janilali, janilili, nagalilana (sic)
ACC	wulalbanali, wunalbalali

Second person dual:

IPF (dur.)	waŋaŋala
PF	waŋambalbula

Third person dual:

IPF (dur.)	waŋaŋala (waŋaŋa bula)
PF	wulalbula

First person plural:

IPF (dur.)	waŋambaŋana
IPF (imm.)	janinana
PF	janilana, waŋambalana, wunalana
ACC	wulalbanana, wunalbalana

Second person plural:

IPF (imm.)	janinana
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Third person plural:

IPF (dur.)	waŋaŋala (? waŋaŋa dana)
PF	janildana, waŋambaldana
ACC	wunalbaŋana

(2) direct object forms of transitive verbs:

First person singular:

IPF (imm.)	naganana, wangunana
PF	nagalina, wangulina

Second person singular:

IPF (dur.)	waŋaŋanu, waŋambaŋanu
PF	nagalinu

Third person singular:

IMP	nagaŋga
PF	nagaŋga, wangulan (correct ?) ¹⁶⁰

Second person dual:

IPF (imm.)	janinana
PF	nagalina

First person plural:

IMP nagalina

Third person plural:

IPF (dur.) janiṇana

IPF (imm.) janinana

(3) possessive forms expressing a dative relation:

First person singular:

IMP jabaḡu, janḡu

IPF (dur.) janiṇaḡu, waṇaḡu

PF jabaḡu, janilaḡu, waṇalaḡu, wunaḡu

Second person singular:

IPF (dur.) waṇaṇanu (waṇaṇanda),¹⁶¹ waṇambaṇanu

PF janindala (sic), waṇalanu

Third person singular:

IPF (dur.) waṇaṇaṅga or waṇaṇala¹⁶¹

(4) subject forms with a direct object form:

First person singular - second person singular:

IPF (imm.) wangunaṇanu

PF nagalaṇanu

First person singular - third person singular:

IPF (dur.) wangunaṇ

IPF (imm.) wangunaṇaṇa

PF nagalaṇaṇa (or nagalaṇa), wangunaṇ (Bir AL)

Second person singular - first person singular:

IMP wangunanda

IPF (imm.) naganandana

PF wangunanda (?)

Second person singular - third person singular:

IMP nagandanga

Third person singular - first person singular:

IPF (imm.) wangunaḡana

(5) subject forms with an indirect object (or dative) form:

First person singular - second person singular:

IPF (imm.) jabaṇaṇanu

Second person singular - first person singular:

IMP janindaḡu or janigunda

IPF (dur.) jabaṇandaḡu

22.38 *Connective*. The only connective recorded is *ga*, which is found attached to an imperative form in: *guranda ga go back (then)* (Bir RD). —For a similar use of the same connective (*ga*) in Goreng-Goreng, compare in Part I, 15.24, with the Note 144. It may be questioned whether the termination *-ra* in *jandu wa(n)gandara come over here* (Bir RD) is the same as the *Gangulu da* mentioned in 16.32.

(c) Construction

22.39 Although no distinction is made from the Birri point of view between an attributive and a predicative construction (as in English), it is always possible to distinguish a subject and a predicate part in constructions implying two nominal words in the nominative form, as in: *bumbu gubal gubal pretty feathers or the feathers were pretty* (Bir VA), *dara balban skinny legs or the legs are skinny* (Bir VA), in which the words *bumbu (feathers)* and *dara (legs)* represent the subject part, independent of which English rendering is preferred; in such cases the general context or general character of the nominal words serves as a criterion.¹⁶² A personal pronoun by nature always takes the place of the subject part: *nula mari he (the peewee) was a man* (still in the 'dreamtime'; Bir VA), *nula migulu he is a white man* (Bir RD); notice that if the noun referred to by the personal pronoun (i.e. *the peewee*, etc.) were expressed directly, a formal (although perhaps not a semantic) ambiguity would arise as to whether the meaning should be *the man was a peewee or the peewee was a man*, since the word order in Birri would not be conclusive (as in English), and further that a kind of attributive analysis is still possible (*he the man*, respectively *he, the white man*), according to context.

22.40 On the same ambiguity (still from the English point of view; see 22.39) is based the rendering into English of *baldira nunu (her husband)* as *she has a husband* or *briguna nunu (his wife)* as *he has a wife*, that is *he, she is married*. In probably all Australian languages a plain expression such as 'my dog' or 'my cat' (if this is taken as a statement) is sure to mean 'I have a dog or a cat' (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 12.8).

22.41 The use of the 'dual-comitative' form (see 22.6) is analogous to that of the third person dual form of the personal pronoun; compare *jabu janana wunaja bula both father and mother are alive* and *jinami bama janina bula jinda this man will go with you* and *both this man and you will go* (neither *bama man* nor the personal pronoun *jinda* has a dual-comitative form).

22.42 Grammatical agreement (or concord) is found in: *jinamingu bamangu barambali this man has done or made it* (Bir RD); it is, however, not compulsory, as is seen from: *gunamingu mari that man* (Bir RD). Related to grammatical agreement is the use of an allative form (in *-gu*) of a noun with the intentional form (also in *-gu*) of a verb, or else two allatives, in constructions of the type: *naja waranaja jurigu juganagu I want meat to eat or I want to eat meat* (properly *want meat, (namely) to eat*), *budigu danulagu (going) to the bush for possum* (Bir VA). The construction is very common in the Australian languages studied (cf. Part I, 15.26, with references). The repetition of reduplicated forms in, for instance, *nula waga waga waranala waranala he is always talking* (Bir RD) is in a way akin to the construction mentioned above, as falling within the notion of grammatical concord.

NGAWUN

Introductory remarks

23.1 Apart from Gudjal (or the 'Charters Towers' language), from which a few words and forms only were recorded, Ngawun is the northernmost language in the Gunggari group, at least as far as the present research goes. From the sparing data obtained from the only informant available at the time, it further appears that Ngawun has a considerable western extension, as counted from Charters Towers.

Informant

23.2 Reference to our informant for Ngawun is made by the language signature *Nga* (for Ngawun), occasionally followed by the informant's initials. For other details, compare in 4.3.

Nga RF: Mrs. Rosie Freeman, at Woorabinda, from Cambridge Downs, west of Richmond; both father and mother were from Cambridge Downs.

Phonology

24.1 The phonologic system of Ngawun is exactly that of Gunggari (see 5.1 sqq.). The test words *biaga tobacco* and *wapmari white woman* ('white-Mary') clearly show that the basic vowel phonemes are arranged according to the 'triangular' system, comprising the vowel sounds a, i, u (cf. 5.2 and Note 95); the English loanword *motor car* is consequently adopted in the form *muraga* or *maragan* (also cf. below). The effect of a palatal sound on the vowel quality is probably the cause of the form *jirap* beside the common *jarap beard* (arisen in the same way as Wirri *jini-go*, from *jani-*, as in Gangulu and Birri). Cases of vowel assimilation are found in *jambugu* beside *jambagu to the camp, home*. For diphthongs interchanging with forms with a medial semivowel (ai ~ aji, au ~ awu, etc.), see in Part I, 6.16; 14.9; we write these as heard in each case (e.g. *gawun dress*, from English 'gown').

24.2 Within the consonantism, one will notice the common passing of an intervocalic consonant sound to r (cf. Part I, 6.19, Note 61): *jura that* (cf. Gunggari *juṇa*, Bidjara *junu*, etc.), *muruga motor car* (cf. 24.1). A case of a 'pre-occlusive' l is found in *didli* for *dili eye* (cf. Part I, 20.7; Part III, 5.5). No word is recorded with an initial g-; the palatalised ɲ- occurs initially in front of i only, as a variant of n-: *ɲimun fly*.

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

25.1 *Structure*. The structure of the concrete word stem in Ngawun is as in Gunggari and the Gunggari languages at large. The nominal stem *mil eye* is, however, surprising (if correct; as *eye* is alternatively *dili*, as in the other languages in the group, it is rather likely that *Nga RF* has taken the form *mil* from some other south-east Queensland language). Reduplicated stems are found in much the same cases as in Gunggari (cf. 6.3): *maṛi maṛi boy* (from *maṛi Aboriginal man*), *waga waga crow*, *mida mida black*, *guṛi guṛi ghost* (the same in Bidjara and Marganj).

25.2 *Nominal derivation.* The sociative suffix (*having, provided with*) is either -bari (as in most Gunggari languages) or the probably more typical and genuine -diri: gundulbari *having a cold* (gundul), gamudiri *drunk, having a drink* (gamu), mantadiri *having food* (manta), jarangiri (= jarangiri or jarandiri) *bearded, having a beard* (jarap), gubingiri (= gubindiri) *windy* (from gubin *wind*). The feminine suffix -gan is found in wapmarigan (-meri-) *white woman* (cf. 24.1) and in the strange maragan *car* (from English 'motor car', also muraga; cf. 24.1). The dual-comitative (cf. 6.6) is -nara in Ngawun (corresponding to Gangulu Wirri and Birri -na; see 16.6; 19.6; 22.6), as in: gungganara ngagu *my husband* (from gungal *husband*, or rather from a stem gunga-, cf. Bidjara gunga, idem, while the final -l is to be explained as in 6.7).

(b) Inflection

25.3 *Declension.* As the material recorded is very scanty it can only be said that the Ngawun declension pattern fits in with that of the Gunggari languages at large. Apart from the nominative or stem form, an ergative, locative and allative are the only case forms recorded; these are made up strictly according to the rules in Gunggari (see 6.13), as seen in: (ergative) bangangu *with a stick* (banga), bulimandu *the policeman* (buliman), gubingu (*by*) *the wind* (gubin); (locative) naninga *on the ground* (nani), maranga *in (your) hand* (mara); (allative) winagu *for fish* or (*want*) *fish* (wina), maragangu (*sit*) *in the car* (maragan; used in a locative sense).

25.4 *Postpositions.* A single postposition, mundu *from*, is recorded; it evidently takes the place of a missing, or seldom occurring, ablative (cf. 25.3), as in: jamba mundu *from the camp* or *from home*.

25.5 *Personal pronouns.* The personal pronouns recorded closely agree with those met with in the other Gunggari languages. Basic forms for the following persons occur in our material: (singular) ngaju *I* (cf. 25.6), jinda *you*, nula *he, she*; (dual) ngali *we*, jubala *you*; (plural) ngana *we*, jura *you*. The flexions also in main agree with those in the Gunggari languages in general.

25.6 *Paradigms.* The few inflected forms recorded of the personal pronouns appear in the following paradigms.

First person singular:

NOM	ngaju (?) ¹⁶³
ERG	ngaju
OBJ	ngajuna, ngana
POSS	ngagu

Second person singular:

NOM	jinda
ERG	jinda
OBJ	jina, jinda
POSS	junu

Third person singular:

NOM	nula
ERG	nula
POSS	nuņu

First person dual:

NOM ɲali
 ERG ɲali
 POSS ɲaliŋu

Second person dual:

NOM jubala
 ERG jubala
 POSS jubalaŋu

First person plural:

NOM ɲana
 ERG ɲana

Second person plural:

NOM jura
 ERG jura

The ergative is used in the ordinary sense: ɲaju nagapu nula (*sic*) *I must see him or her*; the possessive marks the relation of ownership: ɲagu jimba *my mother*, juri ɲagu *my meat* and the objective may alternatively express a dative relation: biaga ɲana wini *give me tobacco*, ɲaju jinda winiɲa *I will give you*.

25.7 *Demonstrative pronoun.* A single demonstrative pronoun is recorded: jura *that*, as in ɲani jura *what is that?*

25.8 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative pronoun is wapu *who?* and the impersonal interrogative is ɲani *what?* Of the former the objective form is wapana (*whom?*) and the possessive wapunu (*whose?*). Examples: wapu jinda *who are you?* wapu nula *who is he or she?* wapana jinda nagalba *whom did you see?* ɲani jinda nagapa *what do you see?*

25.9 *Conjugation.* The four basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) are all represented in our material, the structure of the individual forms being closely along the same lines as in the other Gunggari languages studied here. The imperative is the plain verbal stem: jina *sit down*, dana *stand*, jani *go*, juga *eat*, wuna *lie down*; the imperative is (as commonly) used in a hortative sense as well: ɲaju juga *let me eat*.¹⁶⁴ The imperfective in Ngawun ends in -pa (a suffix not found in the other Gunggari languages recorded);¹⁶⁵ this, however, only means that a different 'thematic element' (cf. 6.31) is used in Ngawun (viz. -p-, corresponding to the -ŋ- or -n- element of Gunggari and Bidjara), while the final -a is the same originally locative suffix as in Gunggari, etc. (see *ibidem*).¹⁶⁶

25.10 The perfective is formed as in Wirri (see 19.30), that is intransitive stems take the suffix -ba (janiba *went, gone*) and transitive stems the suffix -lba (jamalba *made*, gundalba *hit*, nagalba *saw*). The intentional ends in -pu in which the final vowel probably serves the function of an allative -gu (as in Gunggari and Wirri):¹⁶⁷ nagapu *to see or want(s) to see*, wuba bindapu *come to sit*, janipu *must go*, nagapu jinda *you want to see*. There are a couple of examples in our material of a form in -na, used as an intentional (cf. Birri, 22.28): ɲaju jugana, janipa manta jugana (*I am*) *going to eat (food)*.¹⁶⁸ The intentional forms are also understood to be imperatives: janipu *go*, juganu *eat*.

(c) Construction

25.11 A couple of instances may be quoted as examples of general tendencies in the sentence building in the Australian languages. The use of a possessive form in a predicative sense occurs in: *juṛi ŋaḍu jambagu I have got meat at home* (cf. an analogous example in Birri, 22.40). The coordination of verbal forms (for want of a copulative *and*) is seen in: *jinda jani wuna you go (and) lie down* (cf. Holmer 1966a, Note 125).

Gangulu, Wirri, Birri and Ngawun vocabulary

26. For general remarks as to the arrangement of this vocabulary, compare in 13 as well as in Part I, 12. The languages from which the various entries are derived are indicated by the corresponding signatures: *Gan* (A) and (B) means Gangulu (A), respectively (B), *Wir* means Wirri, *Bir* means Birri and *Nga* means Ngawun. For Gangulu (A) and (B) and for Birri, the informants are usually referred to by their initials, but generally not for Wirri and Ngawun (as for these languages practically one single informant was made use of). Sometimes an indication is made as to the existence of identical forms in Gudjal. Notice that for Birri modal conjugation forms are given with a hyphen (-) in cases in which a form with an enclitic pronoun only is recorded. The arrangement of the entries is alphabetical, according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, ḡ, ḍ, e, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, ŋ, (ŋ), (o), r, ɾ, t, u, w.

B

ba *CONN* (16.32; 19.37).

bada- *V ITR IPF* badana; *PF* badalba
bite (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): wandingu
badana the dog bites (Wir),
guluṛingu badananu a snake will
bite you (a curse; Bir RD),
badanmundu from biting (Wir).
-cf. baḡa- (Gan A), baḡa- (Gan B).

badana *N* one's elder brother (Wir):
ŋaḡu badana my elder brother.

badi- *V ITR IPF* badina; *PF* badiba
open (up), grow: baṅga mala,
bulban badina branches, flowers
growing, dili badiba is awake
(‘eyes have opened’), gaṛabari
bulban badiba flowers never
grew.

badiman *N* small (Gan KW): dulaṇ
badiman a small stick. -cf.
badipaman, bidiman.

badimba- *V CAUS IPF* badimbana
make grow, plant (Wir): bulban
badimbana planting flowers.
-cf. badi-.

badipaman *N* small (Gan CA).
-cf. badiman.

baḡa- *V TR IPF* baḡana bite
(Gan NO). -cf. bada-, baḡa-.

baḡa baḡa *N* small (Wir): wina
baḡa baḡa small fish. -cf.
badiman, baḡari.

baḡalbaṛi- *V ASS IMP* baḡalbaṛi;
IPF baḡalbaṛina carry (a baby;
Wir): gandu baḡalbaṛi carry the
baby. -cf. baḡa baḡa, baḡari.

baḡari *N* *ERG* baḡaringu; *LOC*
baḡaringa; *ALL* baḡarigu little,
small (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): baḡari
wina small fish (‘perch’; Gan
MM), baḡari gaḡu little girl
(Gan MM), gandu baḡari little
child, little boy (Wir), mungu
baḡari a small mountain (Wir),
baḡari dibala little bird
(‘peewee’; Bir VA), ŋaja gandu
baḡaringa when I was a little
girl (Wir), island baḡarigu to
the little island (Bir RD).
-cf. badiman.

bagur *N* money (Bir LJ; correct ?).
-cf. baguru.

baguru *N ALL* bagurugu money
(Bir): bagurugu (playing) for
money (Bir VA, RD).

baḍa- *V TR IPF* baḍara; *PF* baḍaba
bite (Gan KW): nura baḍara the
dog bites, nurangū jindana baḍaba
the dog has bitten you. -cf.
bada-, baḍa-.

baga *N ALL* bagagu wood, tree
(Gan NO, TA): bagagu wilbara
leaves of the tree (Gan NO).
-cf. banga.

baga- *V TR IMP* бага; *IPF* bagana;
PF bagalba dig, pluck (Wir,
Bir): juna бага jinda you dig
a hole (Wir), nani bagana
digging the ground (Wir), bidili
baganali we two will pluck the
birds (Bir RD).

bangara *N* blue-tongue lizard (Gan
KW). -cf. bangara.

bangga *N ERG* bangangu; *ALL*
bangagu (dry) stick, (fire)wood,
tree (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gunma
bangga cut that tree (Gan MM),
bangga nara on the tree (Wir),
bangagu bara bin'a sitting
below the tree (Wir), nara dan'a
bangagu he is up on the tree
(Wir), bangagu wilba leaves of
the tree (Wir), nula bangagu
bin'a he is sitting on a tree
(Wir). -cf. banga.

bangga- *V ITR IMP* бага; *IPF*
bangana; *PF* bangaba, bangali
fall (Bir): dula bangana, bangaba
the tree falls, fell (Bir VA),
gani bangali he almost fell
(Bir RD).

bangali- *V REFL ITR PF* bangalila
fall (Bir RD): gani nula bangalila
he almost fell. -cf. banga-.

bangap *V N* afraid, frightened (Gan
(A), Wir): bangap digara scaring
(Gan MT), naja bangap baḇa I am
afraid or frightened (Wir),
jinda gaḇa bangap baḇa don't
you be afraid or get scared (Wir).

bangapma- *V CAUS IPF* bangapmana
frighten (Gan NO): nanigu naḇuna
bangapmana why do (you) frighten
me? -cf. bangap.

bangar *N ERG* bangaru blue-tongue
lizard (Bir VA). -cf. bangara.

bangara *N* blue-tongue lizard
(Bir, Wir). -cf. bangar.

bangari- *V ASS CAUS PF* bangariba
knock down (Bir VA): nula naḇuna
bangariba he knocked me down.
-cf. banga-.

bangaru *N* turtle (Bir JH; correct ?).
-cf. bangar(a), bangur.

bangil bangil *N* cheek ? (Bir VA).

bangu *N* money (Gan (A), Wir): bangū
gaḇa or bangū gaḇabari (naḇu) (I)
have no money, am without money.

bangubari *N* having money, rich,
wealthy (Gan (A), Wir): bangubari
(sic) gandina carrying money
(Wir). -cf. bangū.

bangur *N ERG* banguru turtle
(Bir VA).

-bai, v. -bari.

baiba *N* pipe (Gan (A), Wir): baiba
juga- to smoke a pipe (Wir),
baiba dunbina lighting a pipe
(Wir). -cf. baim (Gan B)

baim *N LOC* baimba; *ALL* baimgu
pipe (Gan KW). -cf. baiba.

baji- *V IMP* baji; *IPF* bajira;
PF bajiba get lost, forget,
(with walu), get scared (Gan (B)):
gaḇu waju jinda baji don't you
get lost (Gan KW), naja burangi
bajira I am getting scared
(Gan KW), walu bajira, bajiba
forgetting, forgot (Gan CA).

balamu *N* gully (Gan CA).

balandaḇu *REL* long ago (Gan TA).

balara *N LOC* balaranga boat
(Bir RD).

balban *N ERG* balbandu; *ALL*
balbangu bone, bony, skinny
(Gan, Wir, Bir): baḇu balban
bony back (Bir VA), dara balban
skinny legs (Bir VA).

balbara *N ALL* balbaragu creek,
river (Gan): balbara baral
across the creek (Gan CA),
balbaragu wunera swimming in
the creek (Gan CA).

balbi *N* fish (Nga).

baldira *N* husband (Bir RD):
baldira gara without a husband.

baldirabari *N* having a husband
(Bir RD).

balgan *N* bark (Bir AL).

balgara *N* 1. sand, sandy;
2. policeman (from the colour
of the uniform ? Bir RD).

balgun *N* quick (Gan TA): balgun
nula we-ra he is in a hurry.

bama *N ERG* bamanu; *POSS* bamanu;
ABL bamanundu; *LOC* bamannga,
bamanunda (any) man, boy (Gan, Wir,
Bir, Nga): mari bama Aboriginal
man (Bir RD), bamanu jamaba
the man has made it (Gan CA).

bamagara *N* little boy (Bir VA):
gandu bamagara (idem).

bamajunda *N* widow (Gan TA).

bamamulu *N* widow (Gan TA).

bambu- *V TR IMP* bambu; *PF*
bambuba, bambulba break, strike,
scratch (Gan (B), Wir): midindu
bambu scratch with (your) nail
(Gan CA), wanal bambulba broke
the boomerang (Wir), madanarangu
banga bambulba the lightning
has struck the tree (Wir).

bambuli- *V REFL ITR IPF* bambulira;
PF bambuliba break (intransitive),
scratch oneself (Gan (B), Wir):
wanal bambuliba the boomerang
broke (Wir). -cf. bambu-.

bana¹ *N LOC* bananga stomach
(Bir), = nalgu (Bir VA); the
same in Gudjal. -cf. nalgu¹.

bana² *REL* outside (Wir): jinda
bana wurba please come outside.
-cf. banagu.

bana bana *N* clever man (Bir RD).
-cf. banali-, banamba-.

bana banabari *N* clever man, doctor
(Bir AL). -cf. bana bana.

banagu *REL* outside (Wir): nula
banagu bin-a he is sitting
outside. -cf. bana².

banali- *V REFL ITR PF* banaliba
change (oneself) into (Bir VA):
mari banaliba dibila a dark man
became a bird, dibila banaliba
he was changed into a bird.

banamba- *V CAUS IPF* banambalba
change (something) into (Bir VA):
banambalba danana mari changed
them into (dark) people. -cf.
banali-, bana bana.

bananbara *N* the second son (Wir).

banangan *N* the second daughter
(Wir). -cf. bananbara.

banba *N* dew (Wir).

banba- *V TR ITR IMP* banba; *IPF*
banbana; *PF* banbalba poke,
smash, light or make (a fire,
cigarette or pipe), (with walu
ear) listen, hear (Wir, Bir):
gara banba don't poke (me) (Wir),
gara jinda mipara banba don't
smash (that; Bir VA), (jinda) buri
banba (you) light the fire or
make a light (Wir), buri banbana
lighting a fire, the fire is
burning (Wir), winba(g)u (?)
buri banbana blowing the fire
(Wir), jinda walu banbana you
listen or hear (Wir), naja buri
banbalba I have made a fire (Wir).

banban *N* bald, (being) without
(Wir): nula gada banban he is
bald, banban mala (having) no
hands or arms, wandi buja banban
a dog without a tail.

banbu *N ALL* banbugu stomach,
belly, inside (of a bird; Gan,
Wir, Bir, Nga).

banda- *V TR ITR IMP* banda; *IPF*
bandana, bandara; *PF* bandaba,
bandalba; *INT* bandanu sing
(Gan (B), Wir): wabi naguna banda
sing a song to me (Gan TA), jinda
gubun banda you sing a song
(Wir), wabi naja bandara I am

singing a song (Gan TA), wingaru bandana the birds are singing (Wir), gara raja bandana I cannot sing (Wir), gubun bandalba sang a song (Wir), raja bandanu we-ra I want to sing (Gan TA).

bandagu REL POST (19.16) behind (Wir): banga bandagu behind the tree.

bandara N ALL bandaragu sky, up (above), up in the sky, heaven (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): bandara mundu from above (Wir), bandara damu from heaven (Bir VA), bandaragu jiniba went up, flew (Wir), bandaragu bindana (God) is in heaven (Wir).

bandarabara N God (Bir AL).

bandaragari N ERG bandaragaringu God (Gan NO). —cf. bandara.

bandaranamu N ERG bandaranamungu God (Gan NO). —cf. bandara.

bandarami N ERG bandaramingu God (Bir VA): bandaramingu nani barambalba God has made the earth. —cf. bandara.

bandari(n)bara, bandaripbara N belonging to the sky, God (Wir): bandaripbara (sic) nani barambalba God has created the earth. —cf. bandara.

bandi- V TR ITR IMP bandi; IPF bandina; PF bandiba become, get, turn, rain, shine, make or light (a fire; Gan (A), Wir): jinda buri bandi you make a fire (Gan NO), buri bandina lighting a fire (Gan NO), mida, ngun bandina it is getting dark, night (Wir), gamu badina it is raining (Wir), buhari bandina it becomes cold (Wir), nani gamu bandina the earth is getting wet (Wir), wagu gamugu bandina the grass is getting wet (Wir), birgagu bandina it will rain tomorrow (Wir), gari bandina or bandiba the sun is shining (Wir), mida bandiba it has become dark (Wir), mida mida bandiba it (has) turned black (Wir), gamu bandiba it has rained (Wir).

bandu- V TR IMP bandu; IPF banduna-, banduna; PF banduba, bandulba, banduli; INT bandulgu hit, smash (Bir): gara bandu(nda) nguna don't hit me (Bir VA, RD), raja jindana banduna (Bir VA), bandunajanu (Bir RD) I will hit you, nula nguna banduba raja gara banduba nunun he hit me, I did not hit him (Bir VA), ngulu banduli who hit? (Bir VA).

bandura- V REC IMP bandura; IPF bandurana hit, do harm, fight (Bir): gara jinda bandura don't you do any harm (Bir RD), gunami bandurana bula the two are fighting (Bir RD), dana bandua (?) they are fighting (Bir VA).

banda N REL ? : raja banda gundiba I hurt myself (Wir), banda raja gundiba raja warabanga I hurt myself when I fell (Wir), gara jinda banda gundi don't hurt yourself (Wir). —cf. banga-, bangar.

banda- V ITR IPF bangara be sick (Gan NO): bangara raja I am sick. —cf. bangar, bangara-.

bangali- V ITR IPF bangalina be sore (Gan NO). —cf. banga-.

bangar N LOC bangara sore, sick (Gan (A), Wir): buldan bangar sore heart, bangar mala sore hand (Gan NO), raja bangar (bana) I am (getting) sick, suffering (Wir), dina bangar a sore foot (Wir), bangar ngu dina I have a sick leg (Gan NO), bangar banugu sick in the stomach (Gan NO), dina nunu bangar baralba he hurt his foot (Wir), bangar dabu bana all are sick (Wir), raja bangara when I was sick (Gan NO). —cf. banga-, bangara-.

bangara- V ITR IPF bangarana be sick (Bir RD): bangarana bula they both are sick. —cf. bangar bangari-.

bangarbari N LOC bangarbari(g)a sick (Gan NO): bangarbari(g)a when (he) was sick. —cf. bangar.

bangarma- *V CAUS PF* bangarmala
make sick, hurt (Gan NO). -cf.
bangar.

bangari- *V ITR IMP* bangari; *IPF*
bangariṅa; *PF* bangarila-
bangarili: be or get sick (Bir RD):
gara bangari don't get sick,
ṅaja bangariṅaja I am or was sick,
jinda gara bangariṅanda you are
not sick, bana banga(r)ṅaja
I have a stomach ache, ṅaja
bangarilaja I got sick, jinda
bandarinda (perfective) you are
or got sick, bangarili he got
sick. -cf. bangara-.

bangi *N* brother-in-law (Bir RD).

bangi- *V ITR IPF* bangira cry
(Gan KW).

bangi bangi *N* hat (Bir AL).

bangu bangu *N* hat (Bir RD).

banga- *V TR IPF* bangana break
(= gunma-; Gan NO): bangana jinda
you are breaking firewood.

bangan *N* sandalwood (Wir).

bangana *N* one's nephew (Gan NO).

bara *REL POST* (19.16) down,
below (Gan, Wir, Bir): (jinda)
bara binda (Gan KW, TA, Wir),
bara bindana (bindara, bin'a)
sitting down (Gan NO, KW, Wir),
bara duguṛa go down (Wir),
gugagu bara wun'a is lying
below the house (Wir), guga bara
below the house (Bir AL), mungu
bara below the mountain (Wir).

-bara *N DER SFX* (19.6; 22.5).

baragu *REL* down (Wir).

barama- *V TR IMP* barama dig
(Gan NO): nanigu jinda juna
barama dig a hole in the ground.

baramundu *REL* from below (Wir).

bararu *N* frog (Bir VA).

barbara (barbira) *N* porcupine
(Nga). -cf. barbira.

barbi *N* name or nickname of the
people of Mackay (Gan TA).

barbira *N* porcupine, the Birri
tribal totem (according to Bir
RD, no Birri child could eat
this meat). -cf. barbura.

barbundu *REL* in a hurry (Gan CA).
-cf. bargundu.

barbura *N* porcupine (Bir JH).
-cf. barbira.

barga *N* throat (Wir, Bir VA),
mouth (Gan CA): bangar barga
a sore throat (Wir).

bargala *N* black earth, like on
the plains out west (Wir): maṛi
wurḃana bargala mundu a man
coming from the plains.

bargan *N* crow (Gan MT).

bargundu *REL* quickly (Gan CA):
janira bargundu goes quickly
-cf. barbundu.

bari *N ALL* barigu 1. stone, rock,
cliff, mountain; 2. money (Gan,
Wir): bari jaganu to climb a
mountain (Gan TA), barigu dina
danaba he stepped on a stone (Wir).

bari- *V ITR IMP* bari; *IPF* barina,
barina; *PF* bariba; *ACC* barilana,
barinanga, baribadi cry, sing
(Gan (A), Wir, Bir): gara (jinda)
bari don't (you) cry (Wir, Bir VA),
gandu barina the kid is crying
(Wir), (ṅali) gubun barinali we
two will sing or let us sing a
(corroboree) song (Bir RD), jinda
barinanga if you cry (Wir).

-bari *N DER SFX* (16.4; 19.4;
22.4; 25.2).

baribari *N* having money (Gan TA).

bari juna *N* cave (Wir).

barijunda *N* without money (Gan TA).

baru baru *N* crooked (Wir): banga
baru baru crooked stick.

bara- *V TR ITR IPF* barana; bana;
PF barala, baraba, baralba; *ACC*
baralana, barananga, bananga
become, get, be, want, (with or
without waḃa 'word') say (Gan (A),
Wir): buṛi barana fire is burning

(Gan NO), gamu baṛana raining
 (Gan NO), gamu ṛaja baṛana I
 want a drink (Gan NO), ṛaja baṛana
 baibagu I want a pipe (Gan NO),
 ṛaja baṛana baiba juganagu I
 want to smoke a pipe (Gan NO),
 jinda baṇa you say (Wir), ṛaja,
 wandi gamu baṇa I am, the dog is
 thirsty (Wir), ṛani jinda ṇugana
 baṇa what do you want to know?
 (Wir), ṛani or ṇanigu jinda baṇa
 what do you say? (Wir), jumbana
 baṇa I want to listen (Wir),
 jinda nagana baṇa you want to
 see (Wir), muli ṇala jinda baṇa
 do you want more? (Wir), ṛaja
 baṇa wulur jana I want that thing
 (Wir), jana nula baṇa he wants
 that (Wir), wiṛi waḍa baṇa speaking
 in Wirri (Wir), nula gandugu baṇa
 she wants a child (Wir), gugagu,
 mandagu, gamugu baṇa wants a
 house, food, a drink (Wir), nula
 jindaṇuna baṇa he wants you
 (Wir; probably copying English),
 ṛaja jana baṇa naganagu I want
 to see or look at that (Wir),
 buḍari baṛala I am cold (Gan NO),
 buṛi baṛala fire (has) burned
 (Gan NO), binbi baṛaba he (has)
 got well (Wir), baṅgu baṛaba
 became a stone (Wir), baṅga buṅga
 baṛaba the log has become ashes
 (Wir), muṅgugu baṛaba was changed
 into a mountain (Wir), ṛaja wandi
 bulaṛu baṛaba I have got two
 dogs (Wir), ṛaja gaṛa pussy cat
 baṛaba I have no cat (Wir), ṛaja
 jaraman ṇaḍu baṛaba three I had
 three horses (Wir), ṛani jinda
 baṛaba what did you say? (Wir),
 gamu baṛaba juganagu want(ed)
 water to drink (Wir), budari
 (buḍari) gaṛa nula baṛaba or gaṛa
 nula baṛaba budarigu he does not
 want the cold or winter (Wir),
 ṛaja gaṛa lik'im baṛaba I do not
 like it (Wir), gaṛa ṛaja lik'im
 baṛalba I did not like it (Wir),
 dina nuṇu bangar baṛalba he hurt
 his foot (Wir), ṇaniga nula
 bangar baṛalba dina when did he
 hurt his foot? (Wir), ṇugunda
 baṛalba he did it last night
 (Wir), ṛaja waga baṛalba I have

finished working (Wir), buṛi
 baṛalaṇa when the fire burns or
 burned (Gan NO).

baṛada *N* name of a language (at
 Clermont; Gan NO).

baṛal *POST* (16.16).

baṛama- *V CAUS IMP* baṛama; *IPF*
 baṛamana; *PF* baṛamala make, do
 (Gan (A), Wir): jinda buṛi baṛama
 you make a fire (Gan NO), ṛani
 jinda baṛamana what are you
 doing? (Wir), ṇanigu jinda
 baṛamana why are you doing it?
 (Wir), gaṛa ṛaja baṛamana I
 cannot do it (Wir), waṇal, nani
 baṛamala has made a boomerang,
 created the earth (Gan NO).
 —cf. baṛamba-.

baṛamba- *V CAUS IMP* baṛamba;
IPF baṛambaṇa, baṛambana; *PF*
 baṛambalba, baṛamala-; *INT*
 baṛambanagu; *ACC* baṛambalbadi
 make, build, work, create, change
 (into), give, do (Wir, Bir): jinda
 waṇal baṛamba you make a boom-
 erang (Wir), ṛaja waṇal baṛambana
 I am making, will make a boomerang
 (Wir), ṛaja scratching baṛambana
 I am scratching (Wir), ṛani jinda
 baṛambaṇa what are you doing?
 (Bir VA), jinda waṇal baṛambaṇa
 you are making a boomerang (Bir
 AL), ṛaja nuṇuna waḍa baṛambana
 I make him speak (i.e. teach him
 the language; Wir), binbi baṛambalba
 cured (him; Wir), nani baṛambalba
 (God) has made (created) the earth
 (Wir, Bir VA), ṛaja finished
 baṛambalba I have finished (Wir),
 nula nuṇuna bari baṛambalba he
 changed him into a stone (Wir),
 ṛani jinda baṛambalba what have
 you done? (Wir), ṇandulungu ṇuna
 baṛambalba who gave you that?
 (Bir VA), muri baṛambalaja I
 have made it before (Bir AL).

baṛambali- *V CAUS REFL PF*
 baṛambalila make oneself,
 do to oneself (Wir): binbi
 baṛambalila he has cured him-
 self. —cf. baṛamba-.

baɾambaɾa- *V TR IMP* baɾambaɾa;
IPF baɾambaɾa; *PF* baɾambaɾaba,
 (sic) make, build, do (Wir):
 waɲal baɾambaɾa jinda you make
 a boomerang, jinda ɲani baɾambaɾa
 what are you doing? ɲaja waɲal
 baɾambaɾa I am making a boom-
 erang, guga (ɲaɟu) baɾambaɾa
 (my father) was building a house
 (for me), ɲandulu baɾambaɾaba
 who (has) made it? baɾambaɾaba
 guga has built the house. —cf.
 baɾamba-.

baɾbaɾa *N ALL* baɾbaɾagu river,
 creek, the Belyando River, the
 Barambah Creek (Wir): baɾbaɾagu
 jarambaru mungu the mountain on
 the other side of the creek.

baɾbiɾa (baɾbira, barbira) *N*
 porcupine (Gan NO, MT, MM).

baɾbiɾi *N ERG* baɾbiɾiɲgu
 porcupine (Wir): baɾbiɾiɲgu
 nimap jugana the porcupine eats
 flies. —cf. baɾbiɾa.

baɾgu *N ERG* baɾguɲgu axe (Wir).

baɾu *N* back (Bir VA, LJ, AL).

biaga (bijaga) *N* tobacco (Gan (A),
 Wir, Nga): ɲaja baɲa bijaga I
 want tobacco (Wir), nula gaɾa
 baɲa bijaga he does not want
 tobacco.

bibi *N* aunt (Wir).

bibura *N* any river or the Dawson
 River (Gan CA).

bidal *N* floor (Gan NO).

bidili *N* bird (Bir RD): bidili
 manganali we two will knock
 birds.

bidimap *N* small, little (Gan KW).
 —cf. badimap.

bidip *N ALL* bidipɲu small, a
 little (Gan TA): ɲaja bidipɲu
 weɾa I want a little. —cf.
 bidimap.

bidipaman *N* skinny (Gan TA).
 —cf. badipaman.

bigapmin *N* small (Gan KW):
 bigapmin bari a small stone
 —cf. badipaman.

bigara *N* the name of a language,
 Bidjara (Gan MM).

biɟi (biri) *REL* close by (Wir):
 biɟi (biri) bin·a lives close
 by, nula jambagu biɟi bin·a she
 lives close by (on the same road).

biga *N* nail (Bir VA, AL).

bigi bigi *N* pig (Gan NO).

bingarai *N* name of a station,
 Strathmore (Bir RD, AL, WS, CC).

bilga- *V TR* bilga; bilgana;
 bilgalba push, throw, spit,
 blow (Wir): bari bilga throw a
 stone, gaɾa ɲaɟuna jinda gaɾa
 bilga malangu don't you push me,
 jargangu bilgana the wind is
 blowing (the window blind),
 numba bilgana spitting.

bimbaɾa *N* bimbaɾangu white clay
 (Wir): bimbaɾangu guɟana
 painting white.

bina *N* ear (Bir WS; perhaps from
 the Wakka languages); the same,
 however, in Gudjal. —cf. walu.

binbi *N* good, well, all right,
 nice, pretty, beautiful, good-
 looking, new; also the name of
 a place, Binbi Siding (Gan, Wir,
 Bir, Nga): ɲaja binbi or binbi
 ɲaja I am well or all right
 (Gan NO, Wir), binbi gaju, gandu
 a pretty girl, child (Gan NO),
 buji binbi a good light (Gan
 KW), gaju binbi a good woman
 (Gan CA), binbi bama good-
 looking man (Gan CA), waɲmerigan
 binbi pretty (white) lady (Gan
 TA), binbi nula he is well, all
 right (Gan TA, Wir), julu binbi
 jamba it is nice here (Gan TA),
 manda binbi good food (e.g.
 bananas; Gan TA), binbi jama
 cure (him; Gan TA), (jinda) ɲala
 binbi how are you feeling? (Wir),
 jinda binbi how are you? (Wir),
 wandi binbi a good dog (Wir),

binbi jugana good to eat (Wir),
 jamba binbi (Townsville) is a
 nice place (Wir), waga binbi
 nice work (Wir), ŋaja binbi
 baŋaba I had easy work or a
 good time (Wir), gada binbibari
 has beautiful hair (Wir), waŋal
 binbi a new boomerang (Wir),
 bumbu gaŋa binbi (it had) not
 got pretty feathers (Bir VA),
 jinda binbi you are good (Bir
 RD; used for 'thank you', etc.).

binbibila *N* good, nice, a good
 fellow, the 'Good Fellow' (a kind
 of Aboriginal God or Christ; Bir
 RD): muringa binbibila maŋi wunali
 jinagu long ago Binbibila came
 down here as a man, muringa bama
 wunali jinagu long ago lived
 here (as) a man. —cf. binbi.

binbipa *REL* all the time (Nga):
 nula gamu jugana binbipa he is
 drinking all the time.

binda- *V ITR IMP* binda; *IPF*
 bindaŋa, bindana, bindara, bin'a,
 bindana; *PF* bindala, bindaba;
INT bindana, bindanagu, bindagu,
 bindanu; *ACC* bindananga,
 bindabadi sit (down), stay, live,
 be inside, be (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
 jinda binda you sit down (Nga),
 bara binda sit down (Wir), bara
 bindana, bindara (murugagu)
 sitting down (in the car; Gan NO,
 KW), bindaŋaja (Bir VA), ŋaja
 bindana (Nga) I am sitting (down),
 gugagu, box-gu bin'a (it) is in
 the house, in a box (Wir), bara
 bindana (come) to sit down (Gan
 KW), ŋaja bindanagu I have got
 to sit (Wir), ŋaja daripa bindanagu
 wun'a I am (here) to stay (sit)
 by myself (Wir), juraŋ bindagu
 for you to sit (i.e. 'a chair';
 Wir), ŋaja bindananga when I am
 sitting (Wir).

bindama- *V CAUS* bindama; bindamana;
 bindamala make sit, set down
 (Gan NO): gandu bindamala (the
 mother) made the child sit down.
 —cf. binda-.

bindamba- *V CAUS IMP* bindamba;
IPF bindambana make sit, set
 down (Gan (B), Wir). —cf. binda-.

bindi bindi¹ *N* itch, scratch,
 'heaty lumps' ('prickly heat' ?
 Gan NO, Wir): ŋaja bindi bindi
 baŋa I am scratching (probably
 'feeling an itch'; Wir), maŋa
 bindi bindi baŋa my hand is
 itching (Wir).

bindi bindi² *N* hill (Bir CC), also
 the name of a place.

bira- *V ITR PF* birala play
 (Gan NO): gandunu birala some
 children are playing.

birga *N ALL* (birgagu, q.v.)
 morning (Wir): birga binbi nice
 morning.

birgabari *REL* early (Wir): birgabari
 ŋaja buraba I got up early.
 —cf. birga.

birgagu *REL* tomorrow (morning),
 yesterday (Gan (A), Wir, Bir):
 birgagu janina going tomorrow
 (Gan NO). —cf. birga.

birgu *N* wife (Wir): birgu ŋagu,
 jindaŋu my, your wife. —cf.
 brigu, briguna (Bir).

biri *N* the name of the Bowen and
 Burdekin River language, Birri
 (Wir, Bir): ŋaja biri waŋa nuŋuna
 (sic) I talk in Birri with him
 (Bir VA).

biribaŋ *N* little creek (Gan CA;
 cf. Australian 'billabong').

birigaba, birigabaŋu *N* the name
 of a tribe and language (= biri,
 q.v.; Wir MS, Bir RD, AL).

birija, birijaba *N* the name of a
 tribe and language at Bowen
 (= biri; Wir, Bir): ŋaja waŋa
 baŋa birija or birijaba waŋa baŋa
 I speak Birri (Wir).

birimu *N* bream (fish; Bir VA).

biŋilgilgil *N* peewee (Bir VA).
 —cf. buŋilgilgil.

biwali *N* 'flash' (elegant; Bir VA).

biwali- *V REFL ITR PF* biwaliba
be 'flash', coquet (Bir VA).

brigi- *V ITR IMP* brigi; *IPF*
(*DUR*) briga-, (*IMM*) briga-
cry (Bir): gaṛa brigi don't cry
(Bir WS), brigaṇda you cry
(Bir RD), brigaṇal he is crying
(Bir AL), jinda gaṛa briginanda
you will not cry (Bir RD).

brigu *N* wife (Bir RD). —cf. birgu
(Wir).

briguna *N* one's wife (Bir). —cf.
brigu.

bu *CONN* (19.37).

buban *N* lizard (Wir).

budal *N* bottle (Bir AL).

budari *v.* buḡari.

budi¹ *N* dry, thirsty (Gan TA):
gamu budi, ṇaja budi (I am)
thirsty, nani, wudun budi dry
earth, grass.

budi² *N ALL* budigu bush (from
English; Bir VA): budi damu
from the bush, budigu daṇulagu
(go) to the bush for possum.

budi budi *N* pussy cat (Bir TA).

budigar *N* cat (Gan MM).

budil *N* flower ? (Gan CA).

budu *N* star, stars (Gan, Wir, Bir).

buga *N* white, grey (Wir, Bir):
wandi buga a white or grey dog
(Wir).

bugabai *N* white (Wir). —cf. buga.

bugari (budari) *N ALL* bugarigu
cold (weather), cold wind, winter
(Gan (A), Wir): bugari baṛana
(baṇa, bandina), baṛala (baṛaba)
(getting) cold (Gan NO, Wir),
buḡari ṇuguna cold last night
(Gan NO), ṇaja bugari baṇa I am
getting cold (Wir), buḡari
dalgaḡu plenty of cold wind
(Wir), gaṛa binda buḡari don't
sit in the cold (Wir), buḡari
jabana a cold wind blowing (Wir).

bugun *N* mosquito (Wir).

buga- *V ITR IPF* bugana; *ACC*
bugananga, bugabanga grow (Wir),
gandu jana bugana that child is
growing, bugananga, bugabanga
when (I) grow, have grown up.

bugamba- *V CAUS IPF* bugambana;
PF bugambalba make grow, raise,
rear (Wir): ṇaja gandu bugambana
I am raising or rearing a child,
ṇaja bugambalba I (have) reared
(him). —cf. buga-.

bugan¹ *N* blue-tongue lizard (Wir).

bugan² *REL* early (Gan TA): ṇaja
bugan buraba I got up early
this morning.

bugangu *REL* tomorrow (Gan CA, TA).
—cf. bugan².

bugapu *REL* from the morning (Gan
TA): dana janira bugapu ṇugun
they walk from morning till
night. —cf. bugan².

bugur *N* bubble (Gan CA): bugur
jagala (water) boiling or
bubbling, bugur jagambara
blowing bubbles.

buṇa *N* 1. tail; 2. penis (Gan (A),
Wir, Bir): buṇa banban (dog)
without a tail (Wir).

buṇabari *N* having a tail (Wir):
wandi buṇabari the dog has a
tail.

buṇagudu *N* without a tail (Wir):
wandi buṇagudu the dog has no
tail or the tail cut off. —cf.
buṇa.

bunga *N* ashes (Wir).

buji *N ERG* bujingu; *ALL* bujigu
fire, light (Gan B): buji binbi
a good light (e.g. a torch; Gan
KW), buji wijal bright light
(Gan TA), bujigu ṇaja waguba
I cooked him on the fire (Gan TA).
—cf. buṛi (Gan (A), Wir, Bir,
Nga).

bujibari *N* burning (Gan TA): banga
bujibari a burning stick. —cf.
buji.

- bujun *N* eyebrow(s) (Bir VA).
- bula¹ *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16).
- bula² *N* cow(s), cattle (Gan (B), Wir). -cf. bulaga (Bir, Nga).
- bulaga *N* cattle (Bir). -cf. bula².
- bulari, *v.* bularu.
- bularu (bulari) *N* two (Gan B):
gandu bularu two children (Gan CA), bularu warba (Gan CA),
bularu wabe (Gan TA) three,
bularu bularu four (Gan CA).
-cf. bularu.
- bularuba *N* three (Gan KW). -cf. bularu.
- bularu (bularu) *N* *ERG* bularungu;
POSS bularuŋu two, both (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): guga bularu
two houses (Wir), mari bularu
two men (Wir), wandi bularu two
dogs (Wir), bularu wada bula baŋa
two are talking together (Wir),
bularu maiba both are dead
(Wir), bularungu nagana the two
look at each other (Wir),
bularuŋu of the two (= bularu
their(s); Bir RD). -cf. bularu
(Gan B).
- bulban *N* flower (Wir, Bir VA):
bulban badina flowers are grow-
ing (Wir).
- buldan *N* heart (Gan (B), Wir, Bir):
the same in Gudjal.
- bulga *N* *LOC* bulganga relative,
relation (Wir): nula bulga ŋagu,
jindangu he is my, your relative.
- bulgan *N* liver (Bir RD; correct?
cf. buldan).
- bulhana *N* big (Bir VA).
- buli *N* more (Gan KW): janira nula
gumbe buli marana he is going
to get more tobacco, gumbe buli
jabana smoking more. -cf. muli
(Wir).
- buliman *N* *ERG* bulimandu police-
man (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).
-cf. balgara.
- bulungara *N* pelican (Bir VA).
- bumal *N* *ERG* bumalangu 1. breast
(Gan NO); 2. wind from the chest,
breath (Wir): bularu bumal both
breasts (Gan NO), ŋaja bumal
warŋu jabana I am breathing with
difficulty, panting, tired (Wir),
bumal jabalba blew (Wir). -cf.
bumba (Bir VA).
- bumba *N* chest (Bir VA). -cf.
bumal (Gan (A), Wir).
- bumbu *N* feather(s) (Bir VA):
bumbu dibila damu maralba took
feathers off a bird.
- bumbumulu *N* without feathers
(Bir VA). -cf. bumbu.
- bumburip *N* hot (Wir). -cf. bunbul
(Gan B).
- bu'n *N* shoes (Gan KW; from
English 'boot').
- bunbul *N* hot (Gan TA): julun(g)u
bunbul this one is hot, garigu
bunbul jinda bindara you are
sitting in the hot sun or on a
hot day. -cf. bumburip (Wir).
- bunda *N* peak (Gan TA). -cf. marja
bunda.
- bunda-, *v.* gunda-.
- bungai (? bunge) *N* son-in-law
(Wir)
- bungan *N* carpet snake (Gan KW).
- bungul (bungur) *N* knee (Nga).
- bunŋa *N* old man (Gan NO, Wir).
- bunŋagan *N* old woman (Gan NO, Wir).
- bura- *V* *ITR IMP* bura; *IPF* burana;
PF buraba; *ACC* buralba get up,
get away, fly, go away, wake up,
hurry up (Gan, Wir): jinda bura
you get up (Gan NO), gaŋa jinda
bura don't you get away (Bir),
jinda jadingu bura (jana) you
hurry up (Wir), gaŋa burana
not getting away (Gan NO), bugan
buraba got up early (Gan TA),
nula buraba he has gone away
(Wir), birgabari ŋaja buraba
I got up or woke up early (Wir),
burabalba when he woke up (Wir).

burana- *V TR IPF* burana pull off, pick (berries; Gan NO).

burali- *V ITR IMP* burali; *PF* buraliba; *INT* buraligu get up (Gan): jinda burali you get up (Gan KW, TA), nula buraligu we-ra he wants to get up (Gan TA). —cf. bura-.

burangi (burani) *V N* afraid, frightened, flying (i.e. in a fright or hurry; Gan (B)): burangi jalara mundu afraid of the snake (Gan KW), ganu jinda nununa burangi diga don't frighten him (Gan KW), burangi je-ba got frightened (Gan KW), burangi we-ra, we-ba taking, took a fright (Gan KW, CA), burangi nugunda afraid in the darkness (Gan TA), naja burangi ju'ngi mundu I am afraid of the ghost (Gan TA).

burani- *V ASS IMP* burani; *PF* buranila get away with, take away (Gan NO): ga-ra jinda burani don't you get away with it, nula jaba (wulur) buranila he took away that thing. —cf. bura-, burali-.

buraŋi- *V ASS IMP* buraŋi; *IPF* buraŋina; *PF* buraŋilba go away with, take away (Wir): nula buraŋilba nugu wulur he went away with my things. —cf. bura-, burani-.

burba- *V ITR IPF* burbana come (Gan NO; the same in Gunggari): jarga burbana wind is coming.

burgari (burgiri, burguri) *N* moon (Bir VA, RD).

huri- *V TR IMP* huri; *PF* huriiba pull (Wir, Bir): dangu huri pull back or toward you (Wir).

hurili *N* sick (Gan TA): hurili nula he is sick.

burumu *N* blackberry (Gan MM, Wir): burumu jugana eating blackberries (Wir).

buran *N* rainbow (Gan CA).

huri *N ERG* huringu fire, stick (for making fire or burning stick), match, light, star (?) (Gan MM; probably wrong, cf. budu) (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): huri burala fire burned (Gan NO), guga huringu a house on fire (Gan NO); the same word is used in Gudjal.

huri huri *N ERG* huri huringu (witch) doctor (Bir RD).

huringingil *N* peewee (Gan CA). —cf. birilgilgil.

D

da *CONN* (16.32; 22.38).

da- *N* talk, talking (Gan (B); cf. Gunggari da- mouth); chiefly with we-, q.v., in the sense of 'to talk': ganu jinda da- we- don't you talk (Gan KW), naja, nali da- we-ra, we-ba I am, we two are talking, have talked (Gan KW), da- wangun we-ra talking (having) a long talk (Gan CA), da- (we-ra) wanga talking a little (Gan TA), nula we-ra da- we-na he wants to talk (Gan KW), da- we-la talking (accidental; Gan KW).

dabu *N* all (Wir): majiba dabu or dabu majiba they are all dead, nana dabu dan-a we all are here, bangar dabu dan-a all are sick.

daga-¹ *V ITR* daga; dagara; dagaba; daganu get (in), come (in), get up (Gan (B), Wir): daga come in (Wir), nugun dagara getting dark (Gan TA), nunun walugu dagaba a fly got into my ear (Gan KW), nula gugagu dagaba he came into the house (Wir), naja bugangu daganu I will get up tomorrow (Gan TA). —cf. daga-²

daga-² V TR IPF dagana-; PF
dagaba send, plant (put in;
(Gan (B), Bir): gunami dagananda
nanigu you are planting that
into the ground (Bir RD),
jaburangu dunbula diligu dagaba
dust got into my eye by the wind
or the wind sent dust into my
eye (Gan KW). -cf. daga-¹.

dagali- V REFL IMP dagali; IPF
dagalira; PF dagaliba put on,
dress (Gan B): wididi dagali or
jinda dagali (you) put on a hat
(Gan KW), gambi dagalira putting
on clothes (Gan TA), nula gambi
dagalira gandugu he is dressing
the child (Gan TA; indirect
reflexive). -cf. daga-².

dagap N goanna, sand goanna (Wir,
Bir).

dagapan N ERG dagapan(g)u
alligator (Bir AL).

dagu REL again, by and by (Wir):
jinda nuṇuna dagu nagalba did
you see him again? ṇaja dagu
(walu) jumbana I will hear it
by and by, nula dagu jinina he
might go by and by.

danaru N possum (Bir JH). -cf.
danuru.

danga N ERG dangangu 1. mouth,
throat; 2. talk (Gan (A), Wir,
Bir): danga damu (bleeding)
from my throat (Bir RD), bariṇa
dangangu singing with your mouth
or throat (Bir RD). -cf. danga-.

danga- V TR ITR IMP danga; PF
dangala talk, talk to (Gan NO):
ganu jinda danga don't you talk,
nula ṇaguna dangala he talked to
me. -cf. danga.

dangama- V ASS IMP dangama; IPF
dangamana; PF dangamala talk
(to), talk about (Gan NO): gara
dangama don't talk, ṇanigu jinda
dangamana what are you talking
about? bularu dangamana the
two are talking, bularungu
dangamala, ṇaguna dangamala the
two have been talking (to me).
-cf. danga-.

dangamali- V ASS REFL REC IMP
dangamali; IPF dangamalina
talk to one another (Gan NO).
-cf. danga-, dangama-.

dangami- V REC IPF dangamina
talk to one another (Gan NO).
-cf. danga-, dangama-, dangamali-.

danul N possum (Gan NO). -cf.
danuru, gulagu.

danuru (danulu, originally *danur,
*danul, as in Gunggari ?) ALL
danulagu possum (Bir): budigu
danulagu (go) to the bush for
possum (Bir RD). -cf. danul,
danaru.

dai miningi, maningi or muninggi N
Cherbourg, the settlement at
Barambah creek (Wir; from Wakka-
Wakka dai munginge the Laughing
Rock).

dalan N tongue, language (Gan,
Wir, Nga): dalan warḡu (using)
bad language (Wir).

dalgabara N big (Wir): wina
dalgabara a big fish, maṛi, gaju
dalgabara a big man, woman, jina
gaju dalgabara this woman is big,
jina jana ṇamu dalgabara this is
as big as that. -cf. dalgaju.

dalgaju N big, high, strong, a
lot, plenty (Gan (A), Wir):
dalgaju wina a big fish (Gan MM),
wina dalgaju barbaragu plenty of
fish in the creek (Wir), dalgaju
gundana a big fight (Wir), wina
baga bagu dalgaju plenty of
small fish (Wir), buḡari dalgaju
plenty of cold, winter (Wir),
waḡa nula dalgaju bana he is
talking a lot (Wir), jarga
dalgaju wurbana a strong wind
is blowing (Wir), mungu dalgaju
a high mountain (Wir). -cf.
dalgabara, dalgaṛi.

dalgaṛi N plenty, too much (Bir):
gamu dalgaṛi plenty of water
(Bir RD), dalgaṛi wunalbanagu
if too much was left (Bir RD).
-cf. dalgaju.

dali *N* Tully, also the name of various languages or dialects spoken in the Tully area (Bir RD).

-dalip *N DER SFX* (16.5).

damba- *V TR PF* dambali- hold (Bir RD): malangu dambalina danga (the witch doctor) held (my) throat with his hand.

dambun (-bun) *N* grub, witchetty grub (Gan (B), Bir).

dami *N* fat (Wir).

damiwanga *N* big, fat fellow (Gan KW). -cf. dami.

damu¹ *N* possum (Wir).

damu² *POST* (19.16; 22.14).

da·mu *N POSS* da·muŋu the name of an Aboriginal, Tommy King (Bir RD): da·muŋu jabuna Tommy King's father.

dana *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16).

dana- *V ITR IMP* dana; *IPF* danaŋa, danana, dan·a, danara, danaŋa; *PF* danala, danaba; *ACC* danananga, danabadi 1. stand (up), get up, step, wait (for), be, look like; 2. (in Birri, usually or with Bir RD) sit (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jinda dana ba you stand up (Gan MM), ŋara dana stand up (Wir), danaŋunda you have better sit over here (Bir RD), nula danana he is standing (Gan NO), gaŋa jinda danara don't you stand (Gan MT; imperative use of the imperfective), dulan danara gundu a tree standing over there (Gan KW), ŋanda nula danara where is he? (Gan KW), ŋaja jindaŋuna dan·a I am waiting for you (Wir), jinda ŋaŋu dan·a you are waiting for me (Wir; or you wait for me, cf. above), ŋaja ŋamu dan·a nula she looks like me (Wir), wina ŋamu dan·a looks like a fish (Wir), dananaja, bula danaŋa(la), ŋali dananali I am, they both, we two are sitting (Bir RD), dananala

he stays (Bir RD), ŋanana jinagu dananana we all are sitting here, gugaru danaŋa a house stands (Bir RD), ju·ngi danaŋa a ghost was standing (by my side; Bir AL), ŋandulu danaŋala who is there? (Bir RD), ŋali dananali we two will sit down (Bir RD), jinda danananda ŋaŋunda you will stay with me (Bir RD), barigu dina danaba (he) stepped on a stone (Wir).

danaji- *V ASS IPF* danajina hold (literally 'stand with'; Wir): mala ŋani danajina what do you hold in your hand? -cf. danari- (Bir).

danamba- *V CAUS IMP* danamba stand (something) up (Gan KW), set (Bir RD): danamba set him (Bir RD). -cf. dana-.

danari- *V ASS IPF* danariŋa- sit with, nurse (Bir RD): ŋaja jalu danariŋaja I am baby-sitting, gajurbangu danariŋala jalu the woman was nursing (her) child. -cf. dana-, danaji- (Wir).

danandji (danani) *V N REL ?* standing, growing (Gan KW, CA): danani (can you see the cattle) standing? (Gan KW), diwur danani rose-wood growing (Gan KW). -cf. dana-.

dandari- (danduri-, danguri-) *V ITR IPF* dandariŋa, danduriŋa; *ACC* dandarilbaŋa stand (Bir RD): dandariŋala, danduriŋanda he is, you are standing, danguriŋa gunagu he is standing over there, gunami dandarilbaŋa where or when that one is standing. -cf. dana-.

danduri-, v. dandari-.

dangu (dapu) *REL* back, this way (Wir): jina dangu (dapu) wurba you come here, maŋi dangu wurba a man is coming here or this way, dangu wurbaba came (or has come) back, dangu wurbaŋi bring or fetch it back, dangu wurba come back.

danga- *V TR IMP* danga; *IPF* dangana; *PF* dangaba, dangalba
 send (Gan (B), Wir): danga waju
 send (him) away (Gan KW), jinda
 nuṇuna danga you send him (Wir),
 ṇaja nuṇuna dangana I will send
 him (Wir), nula dangaba waju he
 sent him away (Gan KW), daungu
 nuṇuna dangalba (I) sent him to
 town (Wir), nuṇuna dangana ṇaja
 baṇa I want to send him (Wir).

dangari- *V ASS PF* dangarilba
 send with (Wir): ṇaja nuṇuna
 letter dangarilba I sent him
 with a letter. -cf. danga-.

dara *N* leg, thigh (Gan (B), Wir,
 Bir, Nga): dara balban skinny
 legs (Bir VA).

darba *N* poor, poorly, thin (Gan
 KW; more or less = the Wakka-
 wakka ganān ganān; see Part I,
 12): darba we-ra getting thin.

dariga (daruga) *N* trousers, pants
 (Gan, Nga).

darip (drip) *N* self, alone (Wir):
 ṇaja darip I myself (= ṇaja
 warba), ṇaja drip bindana
 jinibadi I am alone when he
 goes.

daripa daripal *N* self, alone
 (Wir): ṇaja daripa bin-a I am
 living alone, daripal bin-a
 sitting by myself.

daruga, v. dariga.

dawa *N ALL* dawagu cold (Gan TA):
 jinda bindara dawagu you are
 sitting in the cold, wulangu
 dawagu in the cold night.

-di *N DER SFX* (16.5; 19.6; 22.5).

dia- *V ITR IMP* dia; *IPF* diara,
 diana; *PF* diaba, dial-; *INT*
 diana; *ACC* diala, dialba-,
 dialbaṇa dance, sing, perform,
 play (Gan (B), Bir): jinda dia
 you dance and sing (Bir RD),
 ṇani nula diara what is he
 playing at? (Gan KW), bama diara,
 diaba the people play, gamble,
 have played (Gan TA), gubun

dianana we all are dancing (Bir
 RD), diananda you are dancing
 now (Bir RD), diana dana they
 were dancing (Bir RD), gubun
 dialdana they (have) danced
 (Bir RD), gajurba diana dana
 the women were dancing (Bir RD),
 dialbana when we danced ('were
 to dance'; Bir RD), gubun
 dialbaṇa while they were
 performing (Bir RD). -cf. dira-
 (Wir, Bir).

diali- *V REFL ITR IMP* diali;
IPF diali(r)a; *PF* dialiba; *INT*
 dialinu play (on a leaf, the
 piano, etc.; Gan TA): maru ṇaja
 dialia I am playing on a leaf,
 dialinu we-ra wants to play.
 -cf. dia-.

diamba- *V CAUS TR IPF* diambara
 play (= dia; Gan KW): ṇani nula
 diambara what is he playing at?
 -cf. dia-.

diba *N* liver (Gan KW, CA).

dibila *N ALL* dibilagu bird
 (Bir VA). -cf. diguru (Gan B).

didan *N* native bear, koala
 (Gan MM).

diga- *V TR IMP* diga; *IPF* digara;
PF digaba, digalba rouse,
 attack, wake up (Gan, Wir): gaṇa
 nuṇuna diga don't wake him up
 (Wir), gaṇu jinda nuṇuna burangi
 diga don't frighten him (Gan KW),
 bangān digara scaring (Gan MT),
 ṇurangu digara the dog attacks
 (Gan KW), burangi digaba
 frightened (him; Gan KW), nuṇuna
 ṇaja digalba I woke him up (Wir).

diga diga, v. digar digar.

digar digar (diga diga) *N ERG* digar
 digarangu wagtail (Wir, Bir):
 digar digaraṇ(g)u ninṇa jugana
 the wagtail eats flies (Wir).

diguru *N ERG* digurugu; *ALL*
 digurugu bird (Gan B): diguru
 wanānu (I) want to look for
 birds (Gan TA), digurugu mala
 bird's wings (Gan CA). -cf.
 dibila (Bir).

dingal *N* cough, coughing (Gan CA):
diŋ(g)al we·ra coughing. —cf.
dingal.

dilan *N* firstborn (Wir): dilan
ŋagu gadana majiba my elder or
eldest brother died.

dilangan *N* eldest daughter (Wir).
—cf. dilan.

dili *N* *ERG* dilingu; *ALL* diligu
eye, eyes, face (Gan, Wir, Bir,
Nga): dili wargu or mugabari
bad or blind eyes (Gan NO, Wir),
dili webe one-eyed (Gan TA),
dili guja weak, poor eyesight
(Bir RD), munda dilingu naga
watch out for the snake (Wir;
literally 'look (for it) with
your eyes'); the same word in
Gudjal.

dimbal *N* foot (Gan MT). —cf.
dina.

dina *N* foot, footprint, track
(Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): dina nagana
tracking (Wir), dina ŋaja nuŋu
nagalba I (have) tracked him
(Wir); the same word in Gudjal.

dina dagalingi *N* shoes (Gan TA).
—cf. dinadalip.

dinadalip *N* shoes (Gan TA).

dinara *N* *ALL* dinaragu dinner
(Gan TA; from English).

dinbara *N* white paint (Wir).

dingila *N* Chinchilla (Gan NO).

dinga- *V TR IPF (IMM)* dingana-;
INT dinganagu find, catch
(Bir RD): jara dinganali,
dinganana over there we (two,
all) shall find (possum), wina
dinganagu to catch fish.

dingal *N* cough (Gan TA): dingal
we·ra coughing. —cf. dingal.

dingalbari *N* having a cough (Gan
TA): nula dingalbari he has a
cough.

dingal *N* cough, cold (Gan (A),
Wir): dingal wudagu a cold in

(your) nose, din al bana cough-
ing. —cf. dingal.

dingalbari *N* having a cold (Gan
(A), Wir): ŋaja, nula dingalbari
I have, he has a cold (Gan NO).

dira *N* tooth, teeth (Gan (A), Bir):
bangar dira toothache (Gan NO).

dira- *V ITR IPF* dirana, dirana
play, dance, gamble (Wir, Bir):
nula, gandunbara dirana he is,
the children are playing (Wir),
dirana gubun they dance and
play a corroboree (Wir), gandu
dirana (dana) the kids (they)
are playing (Bir VA), card dirana
dana they are all playing cards
(Bir VA). —cf. dia- (Gan (B), Bir).

dirala (probably = di·dala 'tea
leaves') *N* tea (Bir VA).

-diri *N DER SFX* (19.6; 25.2).

-dirip *N DER SFX* (19.6).

diruan *N* cockatoo (Bir VA).

diwa *N* horned eagle owl (Bir VA).

diwur *N* rosewood (Gan KW): diwur
danan(g)i (or danana ?) rosewood
(standing), a supposed native
name of Duaringa.

dubaga *N* tobacco (Gan MM).

duda *N* urine (Gan TA).

duga *N* smoke, fog, tobacco (Gan,
Wir): duga buŋi mundu smoke
from the fire (Gan NO), duga
jabara smoking (Gan KW, TA),
duga jamara (fire) making smoke
(Gan KW), jidaba duga (has)
left off tobacco or smoking
(Gan TA), duga wuŋbana it is
foggy (Wir), duga jagana smoking
(Wir).

dugabari *N* tobacco (Gan KW).

dugabura *N* mist (Wir).

duge- *V ITR IMP* duge jump down
(Gan KW): gaŋu jinda duge don't
you jump down. —cf. duguŋa-
(Wir).

duguṛa- *V ITR* duguṛa; duguṛana;
 duguṛaba go down (Wir): (jinda)
 bara duguṛa (you) go down, naja
 duguṛana I am going down,
 duguṛaba bara nanigu went down
 to the earth or ground. -cf.
 duḡe- (Gan B).

dula *N ERG* dulangu; *ALL* dulagu
 stick, wood, log, tree, plant
 (Gan (A), Bir): dulagu naja
 bindaṅa I am sitting on a tree
 (Bir VA), waburu dula jagaṅala
 the little plant (tree) is
 coming up (Bir RD). -cf. dulaṅ.

dulba- *V TR IMP* dulba blow out
 (Wir): buṛi dulba blow out the
 fire.

dulbi *N* wet (Gan TA): nani dulbi
 wet earth.

dulgal *N* gully (? Gan KW). -cf.
 durbal.

dulur *N* straight (Gan CA). -cf.
 gada.

dumbi- *V TR IMP* dumbi; *IPF*
 dumbira light (a fire; Gan TA):
 buji dumbi, dumbira light(ing)
 a fire. -cf. dunbi-.

dumbir *N REL* still (Wir): maṛi
 dumbir gaṛa maḡiba the man is
 still alive ('has not yet died').
 -cf. dunbi.

dumu *N* leg, shin (Gan, Wir, Bir):
 dumu webe one leg, one-legged
 (Gan TA).

dunbi *N REL* alive (Wir): dunbi
 jin'a alive, walking about.
 -cf. dumbir.

dunbi- *V TR* dunbi; dunbina;
 dunbilba; *ACC* dunbilbadi light
 (Wir): jinda baiba dunbi you
 light (your) pipe, nula baiba
 dunbilba he has lit (his) pipe.
 -cf. dumbi-.

dunbula *N* dust (Gan KW): dunbula
 diligu dust in (your) eye.
 -cf. dunburwa.

dunburwa *N* dust (Wir). -cf.
 dunbula.

duṇḡaṇ *N* tail (Gan TA): ṇaḡu
 duṇḡaṇ kangaroo's tail.

dune- *V ASS* dune; dunera; duneba;
 say to, tell (Gan KW): jinda ṇana
 dune you tell me, ṇani dunera
 what are you saying (to me)?
 nula ṇana dunera, duneba he
 will tell, (has) told me.
 -cf. duni-.

duni- *V TR IMP* duni; *IPF* dunira;
PF duniba; *ACC* dunila say,
 tell (Gan B): ṇani dunira what
 were (you) saying? (Gan KW),
 nula ṇaḡuna duniba he told or
 said to me (Gan TA; mixed up
 with dune-, q.v.). -cf. dune-.

duni duni *N* night owl (Gan KW).

dungalipa *N* the Aboriginal name
 of Wir AM (Wir AM).

dunup *N* grey owl (Bir VA).

dura *N* path, way, road (Gan KW,
 CA): dura baṛal across the road
 (Gan CA), dura gulḡandara a
 long way (Gan CA).

durba- *V TR IMP* durba; *IPF*
 durbana put out (Wir): buṛi
 durba, durbana put(ting) out
 the fire. -cf. durga-.

durbal *N* the name of a creek
 ('Davy's Creek') at Wooroonah.
 -cf. dulgal.

durga- *V TR IMP* durga; *PF*
 durgaiba put out (Bir VA):
 buṛi durga put out the fire.
 -cf. durba-.

duru *N* arm (Gan (A), Bir).

duṛu *N* sun (Nga).

ḡaṅga *N* talk (Gan NO).

ḡaṅgama- *V ASS IPF* ḡaṅgamana
 talk (Gan NO): ḡaṅu jinda
 ḡaṅgamana don't you talk
 (imperative sense; perhaps
 'don't you be talking').
 -cf. ḡaṅga.

- gal *N DER SFX* (16.5).
 ga·n *N shirt* (Gan KW; from English).
 -gara *N DER SFX* (22.5).
 gariga *N trousers* (Gan NO).
 -gu *PERS PRON* (22.16).
 gugi gugi *N fowl, chicken* (Gan TA; from English).
 gumbaga *N tobacco* (Gan TA; = duga, q.v.).
 gumbega (gumbe) *N tobacco* (Gan KW, CA): gumbega we·ra want tobacco (Gan KW).
 gungi *N ghost* (Bir VA). —cf. juingi.

G

- ga *CONN* (22.38).
 ga· *N car* (Wir): ga· jana that car.
 gaba *N* 1. (any) honey bee;
 2. honey (Gan (A), Wir).
 gabina *V N hungry* (Gan MT): gabina jurigu hungry for meat. —cf. gabinu, gabira.
 gabinu *N LOC gabinunga hungry* (Wir, Bir): juru jugana gabinu hungry (to eat meat; Wir), gandu gabinu mandagu the child is hungry (Wir), gabinu baṅa gandu the child is getting hungry (Wir), gabinunga gandu barina when hungry the child cries (Wir), jurigu ṅaja gabinu I am hungry for meat (Bir VA), jurigu gabinu want meat (Bir VA). —cf. gabina, gabira.
 gabira *V N hungry* (Gan (B), Nga): gabira jinagu hungry for fish (Gan KW), ṅaju (ṅaja?) gabira I am hungry (Nga). —cf. gabina, gabinu.
 gabul *N ERG gabulu carpetsnake* (Gan NO, Wir, Bir VA).
 gabura *N smell* (Wir): gabura jumbana smelling ('feeling a smell').
 gaburu *N billy(can), ash can* (Bir VA).
 gada¹ *N ALL gadagu* 1. head;
 2. hair of the head (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gada dulur straight up ('straight hair' ? Gan CA), gada waṅa waṅa or gada waṅgu silly (Wir), gada guja silly (Bir AL); the same word in Gudjal.
 gada² *N brother* (Wir): gada ṅagu my brother.
 gadadalip *N hat* (Gan TA): gadadalip gaṅu, gadadalip(j)unda having no hat. —cf. gada¹.
 gada dagalingi *N hat* (Gan TA). —cf. gadadalip.
 gadadiri, gadadirip *N hat* (Wir). —cf. gada¹.
 gadana *N one's elder brother* (Gan (A), Wir): gadana bulaṅu two brothers (Wir), gadana gudan brothers and sisters (Wir). —cf. gada².
 gadi *V ITR IPF gadina; PF gadiba* lie, tell lies, steal (Wir): jinda gaṅa gadina you do not tell a lie, ṅaja gaṅa gadiba I never stole; gadina also used as a noun: nula gadina jamana he is telling a lie.
 gadili- *V ITR IMP gadili; IPF gadilina, gadipa* lie, tell lies (Wir): gaṅa jinda gadili, bula gaṅa gadili don't you (two) tell lies, nula gadilina he is telling lies. —cf. gadi-.
 gadipma- *V ASS IMP gadipma; IPF gadipmana* tell a lie (Gan NO): gaṅa jinda gadipma don't you tell a lie. —cf. gadi-.
 gaḡa *N bad* (Nga).
 gaḡara *N grass* (Bir RD).

gagaṛa *N* moon (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga); gagaṛa 'star' (Bir WS) is probably wrong. —cf. gege (Gan B), burgari (Bir).

gagini *N* LOC gagingga; ALL gagingu the Kirkness or Woodtown area (Bir RD's home and also Aboriginal name): gagini damu from Kirkness.

gagubara *N* kookaburra, laughing jackass (Wir).

gagur *N* wallaroo (Gan KW).

gaṇai (? gaṇe) *N* uncle (Wir).

gaṇgali- *V* ITR PF gaṇgalili call out (Bir RD): gaṇgalili (an old woman) used to call out (at the funeral).

gaṇu *REL* no, not, none, don't (Gan): gaṇu ṇaja janina I am not going (Gan NO), gaṇu ṇaja bangara I am not sick (Gan NO), gaṇu wubara will not come back (Gan KW), gumbega gaṇu baim juna no smoke (= tobacco) in the pipe (Gan KW), gadadalip gaṇu having no hat (Gan TA).

gaṇubari *N* *REL* no (Gan NO): gaṇubari buṛi no fire here, baṅgu gaṇubari no money (= gaṇabari). —cf. gaṇu.

gaṇulu *N* the name of a language and tribe, Gangulu (within the Springsure and Clermont area, according to Gan MM, NO, Wir AM), in which 'no' is gaṇu, q.v. (Gan, Wir): gaṇulu maṛi a Gangulu (Gan MM).

gaṇuru *N* probably the name of a section (Bir RD; his mother's father was gaṇuru, according to a patrilineal system).

gaingara *N* big (Nga): ṇura gaingara a big dog (cf. Gunggari gajumbarṇ, gainbarṇ, idem).

gaju *N* *ERG* gajungu; *LOC* gajunga *ALL* gajugu woman, girl (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): baḡari gaju (little) girl (Gan MM), gandu gaju

a daughter (Wir), ṇaḡu gajungu my woman (wife; Bir RD).

gajubari *N* having a woman or wife, married (Gan TA). —cf. gaju.

gajujunda *N* having no woman or wife, single (Gan TA). —cf. gaju.

gajumulu *N* widower (Gan TA). —cf. gaju.

gajurba *N* *ERG* gajurbangu woman or wife (= gaju, q.v.; Bir RD). —cf. gaju.

gala *REL* not, never (Gan MM): ṇaja gala nagala I cannot see, ṇaja gala jimbala I have never heard (correct? cf. gaṛa).

galali¹ *N* gully (Gan CA). —cf. galari.

galali² *N* the name of a language, Kalali (south-western Queensland or about Quilpie; Bir JH).

galari *N* gully (Gan KW): galari dulgal waga(ri)ni Davy's Creek (between Coomooboolaroo and Duaringa). —cf. galali¹, dulgal, wagarindi.

galarigan *N* hawk (? Gan KW).

galbaṛa *N* river, creek (Bir AL).

galbiru *N* wallaby (Bir VA). —cf. galbur.

galbul *N* sand (Wir).

galbur (galbul) *N* *ERG* galburu white wallaroo (Bir VA): galburu juga(l)ba the wallaroo ate it. —cf. galbiru.

galga- *V* ITR *IMP* galga; *IPF* (DUR) galgaṇa; (IMM) galgana-; *PF* galgala- run, drip, flow (Bir RD): gamu galgaṇa raining. —cf. guna galga-.

galgali- *V* ITR *IMP* galgali; *IPF* galgalia; *PF* galgaliba drip, spill (Gan TA, KW): gaṇu jinda gamu galgali don't you spill water (Gan TA; a compound, 'water-spill', cf. 16.2),

- gamu galgalia it is raining (Gan TA), wuda galgalia bleeding from the nose (Gan TA), (ŋaja, nula) jirgun galgalia, galgaliba (I am, he is) bleeding, (I, he) bled (Gan TA). -cf. galga-.
- galgamba- V CAUS IPF galgambaŋa empty (Bir RD). -cf. galga-.
- galgulu N yam(s) (Bir VA).
- galia N ERG galiangu axe (Gan MT). -cf. galira.
- galira N tomahawk, small kind of axe (Gan NO). -cf. galia.
- galmaŋa N urine (Bir RD): galmaŋa galgaŋaja am urinating, galmaŋa galga(nanda) (said to a child). -cf. galga-, guna galga-.
- gamba- V TR IMP gamba; PF gambalba put, dress (Wir): buŋi gamba put out (?) the fire (probably 'put on'; cf. Gunggari gamba-, 13), gandu, gawun ŋaja gambalba I have dressed the child, put on a dress.
- gambal N ERG gambalungu; LOC gambalunga girl, young girl (Wir, Bir VA): ŋaja gambalungu ŋaja ŋuŋalba nuŋuna I (when) a girl used to know him (Wir), ŋaja gambalunga when I was a young girl (Wir).
- gambalgara N girl, little girl (Bir VA). -cf. gambal.
- gambali- V REFL (19.36) put on one's (clothes), dress (Wir): ŋaja gambalila gawun I have put on my dress. -cf. gamba-.
- gambi¹ N clothes, blanket (Gan (B), Wir, Bir): gambi gaŋa wunalagu I had no clothes (Bir RD).
- gambi² N woman (Gan NO, Bir WS; the usual sense of gambi in Gunggari and Bidjara).
- gambi- V TR PF gambiba take (Bir VA).

- gambimulu N having no clothes, without clothes (Bir RD). -cf. gambi¹.
- gambiŋa- V ITR IMP gambiŋa; IPF gambiŋaŋa; PF gambiŋaba; INT gambiŋalgu turn round (Bir VA): ŋaja gambiŋaba I turned round.
- gambiŋama- V CAUS IMP gambiŋama turn (something) round (Bir VA). -cf. gambiŋa-.
- gambula N gum tree (Bir AL).
- gamburu N bucket (Bir VA).
- gami N grandmother or grand-daughter (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga).
- gamibari N having grandchildren (Gan MT). -cf. gami.
- gamina N one's grandmother or grand-daughter (Bir RD). -cf. gami.
- gamu N LOC gamuŋga; ALL gamugu water, rain, creek, a drink, strong drink, wet (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gamu gudi thirsty (Gan KW), gamu galgalia it is raining (Gan TA), gamu waŋa rain is falling, it is raining (Wir), waguŋa gamu baŋa the grass is wet (Wir), gamu wurbaŋa rain is coming, it is raining (Wir), gamu gaŋa juga don't drink (strong drink; Wir), gamu(g)a in the water (Gan KW, CA), ŋaja bangar baŋa gamu(ŋ)ga I get sick when it rains (Wir), gaŋa binda gamu or gamugu don't sit in the rain (Wir), gamugu bandina getting wet (Wir), gamugu ŋaja jiniba I went into the water (for a swim; Wir), jara gamugu (went) to the creek (Bir RD); the same word in Gudjal.
- gamu bularu N the name of a place, Coomooboolaroo ('the two waters'; Gan KW).
- gamudi N drunk (Gan (A), Wir): gamudi maŋi, gaju a drunk man, woman (Gan NO). -cf. gamu.

gamudiri *N* drunk (Nga). —cf.
gamu, gamudi.

gamu gamu *N* 1. rain (= gamu; Wir);
2. drink, grog (Bir JH, WS).
—cf. gamu.

-gan *N* DER SFX (16.5; 19.5;
22.5; 25.2).

ganda *N* ERG gandungu spear,
digging stick, yam stick (Gan
(B), Wir, Bir, Nga): ganda jabana
throwing a spear (Wir).

ganda-¹ *V* ITR IPF gandana,
gandana; PF gandaba; ACC
gandalbana burn (Wir, Bir):
buṛi gandana (gan'a), gandaba
the fire is burning, burned
(Wir), buṛi gandana fire is
burning (Bir RD), buṛi gandalbana
while the fire burned (Bir RD).

ganda-² DEM PRON (19.23-24).

gande- *V* ASS gande; gander;
gandeba take, bring (Gan TA):
gundu gande take it away, gugu
gande or gande gugu bring it
here, nula gandeba he took it.
—cf. gandi-¹.

gandi-¹ *V* ITR IMP gandi; IPF
gandina come, go (Gan (B), Wir):
jinda gugu gandi you come here
(Gan TA), bangubari gandina
carrying money ('going with money';
Wir).

gandi-² *V* ASS IMP gandi; IPF
gandina, gandra; PF gandiba,
gandilba; INT gandinu; ACC
gandi(l)badi take (away), bring,
hold, carry, wear (a hat), have
(Gan, Wir): jinda gandi you
take (it) away (Gan MT), nani
waju gandra what is (he) taking
away? (Gan KW), gaṛa naja gandina
I am not wearing a hat (Wir),
gandu naja gandilba I took (my)
girl away (Wir), bangu gandilba
carried money (Wir), nula gandiba,
wabe gandiba he took it, got
(killed) one (wallaby; Gan TA),
nula gandu gaṛa gandiba had no
children (Wir), nula gandiba he
wore a hat (Wir; the use of the

form gandiba for an expected
transitive gandilba in certain
senses as well as that of an
accidental gandibadi—if correct—
is to be considered). —cf.
gandi-¹, gande-.

gandu *N* ERG gandungu; LOC
gandunga; ALL gandugu child,
kid, baby, son, daughter,
children (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
gandu gaṛa childless (Wir),
gandu nagu my son or daughter
(Wir), gandu maṛi maṛi boy (Nga),
naja gandu(g)a when I was a
child, girl (Gan NO, Wir), jina
gandunga bindana living with
this child (Wir), gandunga
barambalba (I) worked (or helped)
at my daughter's (house; Wir),
gandugu wulur the child's
clothes (Gan NO); (ART) gandunu
(some) children (Bir VA).

gandun DEM PRON (19.23-24).

gandumulu *N* having no children
(Gan MT). —cf. gandu.

gandunbara *N* children, kids (Wir).
—cf. gandu.

gagal *N* ERG gangaru arm(s),
wing(s), flying (Wir): wingaru
gagal the bird flew away,
gagalbari or wingaru gagal
bird's wings.

gangali- *V* ITR IMP gangali; IPF
(IMM) gangalina-; ACC gangalilbana
be proud, show pride (Bir RD):
gaṛa gangali don't be proud,
gaṛa gangalinanda you must not
be proud, gangalilbana with
pride or being 'flash'. —cf.
gangari-.

gangari *N* ERG gangaringu knife
(Gan A). —cf. gangarin (Wir).

gangari- *V* ITR IMP gangari sing
out (Wir): jinda gangari you
sing out. —cf. gangali-.

gangaribari *N* having a knife or
(going away) with the knife
(Gan NO). —cf. gangari.

gangarin *N* knife (Wir). —cf.
gangari (Gan A).

gangun *N* heel (Gan CA).

gani *REL* almost (Bir RD): gani
ṇaja wulalilaja I almost died,
gani bangali he almost fell.

gani- *V TR IMP* gani; *IPF* ganina
put away (Wir; cf. Gunggari
gani-¹ hide). —cf. ganili-.

ganili- *V REFL IMP* ganili; *IPF*
ganilina; *PF* ganiliba hide
(oneself; Wir): jinda ganili
you hide, nula ganiliba he hid
(himself). —cf. gani-.

ganimbali- *V CAUS REFL* ganimbali;
ganimbalira; ganimbaliba hide
oneself (Gan KW): ganu jinda
ganimbali don't you hide your-
self, nula ganimbaliba he hid
himself. —cf. gani-, ganili-.

ganir *N* sun (Bir VA). —cf.
ganmira.

ganu *N* egg (Gan (A), Wir): wingaru
ganu nuṇu bird's egg (Wir).

ganmira (ganmari, ganmidi, gaimidi)
N ERG gaimidingu; *ALL* gaimidigu
sun (Bir RD, AL, CC). —cf.
ganir.

gara *REL* perhaps, I think, I do
not know, I wonder (Wir): gara
gudiriba dapu I do not know
whether I shall come back again,
nula gabinu gara barina I think
he is crying because he is hungry,
gamu gara wurbana I do not know
if it will rain, ṇandulu gara
I wonder who he is (Wir MS),
ṇani gara nula nagalba he saw
something, I do not know what.
—cf. ṇala.

garbai *N* ? buḡari garbai be cold
(Wir).

gari *N LOC* garinga; *ALL* garigu
sun, day, (in the) daytime,
bright, summer (Gan, Wir, Bir):
gari wadria the other day (Gan
CA), gari wurbana the sun is
shining (Wir), jijaga gari wurbaba

came yesterday in the daytime
(Wir), ṇaja janina gariṇ(g)a
I am going in the summer (Gan NO),
garinga in the daytime or sun-
shine (Gan TA, Wir), garigu
(ṇaja) bindana (I am) sitting
in the sun (Gan NO), jinda
bindara garigu you are sitting
in the sun (Gan TA), garigu in
the daytime (Gan TA; = garinga),
garigu bindana sitting in the
sun (Wir; = garinga).

-gari¹ *N DER SFX* (16.5).

-gari² *POST* (19.17).

gariman *N* summer (Wir): gariman
wurḡana summer(time) is coming.
—cf. gari, garimbal.

garimbal (garinmal) *N ALL*
garimbalgu summer (Wir):
garimbal wurḡana summer is
coming. —cf. gariman.

garinmal, *v.* garimbal.

gaṛa *REL* no, not, without, don't
(Gan (A), Wir, Bir): gaṛa bari
don't cry (Wir), jinda gaṛa
gunda or gunda gaṛa don't you
hit or fight (Wir), gaṛa gaṛa
no, no (Wir), gandu, gamu gaṛa
no kids, without water (Wir),
manta gaṛa no bread, gaṛa mara
don't take it (Bir VA), gaṛa
jadi don't laugh (Bir VA).
—cf. ganu (Gan).

gaṛabari *N REL* no, nothing,
nobody, none, scarce, without,
never (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga):
bangu gaṛabari or gaṛabari bangu
no money (Gan NO), maṛi, gaju
gaṛabari without a man, woman,
people (Gan NO, Wir), jamba
gaṛabari bama place where there
are no people (Gan NO), nula
bari gaṛabari he is without
money (Wir), wina gaṛabari fish
is scarce (Wir), manta, gada,
gawun gaṛabari without food,
hair, clothes (Nga), biaga
gaṛabari (I) have got no tobacco
(Nga), gaṛabari ṇaja guṛi guṛi
nagana I have never seen a
ghost (Nga).

garanga *REL POST* without, before (Wir): gamu garanga naja jinina I will go before it rains ('with no rain'). -cf. gara.

garamarī *N* small (Wir): gandu, bangu garamarī a small child, stone.

gargaru *N* screaming, noise (Wir): bularu gundana gargaru bana they are fighting and screaming or making a noise.

garapbal *N* the name of a language ('between Blackwater and Comet', Gan CA), but probably any language of Gunggari type in which 'no' is gara (that is in contradistinction to Gangulu, in which 'no' is ganu).

gaun, v. gawun.

gawari *REL* far away, afar, a long way (Wir): jamba gawari the camp (place) is (too) far away or a far-away camp, nula gawari wunana (wun'a) he lives far away, gawari mundu (comes) from afar.

gawun (gaun) *N* dress, clothes (Gan (A), Bir, Nga; from English 'gown').

gege *N* moon (Gan B). -cf. gagara (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).

gilan *N* dugong (Bir RD).

gilar *N* glass, pieces of glass, mirror (Gan TA, Bir RD).

gilibinbi *N* a native name of Townsville (Bir RD).

guba- *V TR ITR IPF* gubara; *ACC* gubala burn (Gan CA): buji gubara fire burning, bujingu gubala burned by fire ('as fire burned it').

gubabu *N* magpie (Gan CA).

gubal gubal *N* pretty (Bir VA): bumbu gubal gubal the feathers were pretty

guban *N* song (Gan NO). -cf. gubun.

gubara *N* rope (Gan NO).

gubil *N* whistle (Gan TA): nula gubil nagunda he is whistling at me, ganu jinda naguna gubil don't you whistle at me, nula guragu gubil waiba he whistled at the dog.

gubingiri *N* windy (Nga). -cf. gubin.

gubin *N* (23.3) wind (Nga).

gubun *N* song, corroboree (song) (Wir, Bir).

guda¹ *N* bee, honey, sweet (Gan TA).

guda² *N* sister (Bir RD). -cf. gudan, gudana.

gudana *N* one's elder sister (Wir). -cf. gudan, guda.

gudan *N* *ERG* gudangu elder sister (Wir; = gudana), any sister (Gan TA): gudan nugu my elder sister, gudangu maralba (my) sister took it (Wir). -cf. guda, gudana.

gudi *N* gamu gudi thirsty (Gan KW).

gudiri- *V ITR* gudiri; gudirina; gudiriba return, come back (Wir): jinda gudiri, dangu gudiri (you) come back, nula birgagu gudirina he will come back tomorrow, jiniba gudiriba jinangu went (and) came back here, gudiriba dapu (I do not know if) I shall come back (notice use of perfective form).

gudirimba- *V CAUS PF* gudirimbalba make come back (Wir). -cf. gudiri-.

-gudu *CAR SFX* (19.4).

gudunu *N* sister (Gan MM; correct?). -cf. gudana.

guga *N* rubbing (Wir): magarangu nula guga bana he is painting himself ('doing rubbing'). -cf. guga-.

guga- *V TR IMP* guga *IPF* gugana rub, paint (Wir). -cf. guga.

gudal *N* the name of a language,
Gudjal (about Charters Towers;
Bir RD).

gudali- *V REFL IMP* gudali; *IPF*
gudalina paint oneself (Wir):
gara jinda gudali don't you
paint yourself, naja gudalina
bimbarangu I am painting myself
with white clay. -cf. guga.

gugara *N ALL* gugaragu 1. salt;
2. sea, the coast; 3. island
(? Bir AL) (Wir, Bir): gugaragu
jin'a going to the coast (Wir).

guga *N ALL* gugagu 1. (stringy)
bark; 2. house, inside (Gan, Wir,
Bir): guga juna inside (the
house; Gan NO), guga nugu my
house (Wir), gugagu janira,
bindara going home, sitting at
home (Gan KW), bara bindara
gugagu sitting down inside
(Gan KW; = mulgungu), jin'a
gugagu bindana going (coming)
in to sit in the house, inside
(Wir), dangu wurba gugagu please
come inside (Wir).

gugadamu *REL* from here (Bir VA):
gugadamu jinda janiha you go
from here. -cf. gugu, guga (?).

guganda *N LOC* gugandanga; *ALL*
gugandagu house (Bir RD; 'the
house over there', = guga gunami).
-cf. guga.

gugaru *N* house (Bir RD): gugaru
danaa a house (standing).
-cf. guga.

guge *N* flying fox (Gan KW).

gugu *REL* here, hither (Gan KW, TA):
gugu wubala came here, gugu
gande bring here, gugu janiba
went (came) here.

gugubin *N ERG* gugubingu scrub
turkey, chicken (Gan (B), Wir).

gunala *N* jewfish (Bir VA).

gunga *N ALL* gungagu bird's nest
(Wir).

gunggal *N* husband (Wir, Nga):
gunggal maralba married (of a
woman; Wir), wadira gunggal
maralba took another husband
(Wir), naja gunggal nugu I am
her husband (Wir). -cf.
gunganara.

gunganara *N* one's husband (Nga):
gunganara nugu my husband.
-cf. gunggal.

gungan *N* frog (Gan KW).

gungari *N* the name of a language,
Gunggari (Gan (A), Wir, Bir):
according to Gan MM, belonging to
Barcaldine and according to Wir
AM, the same as Wirri (cf. 4.1):
wada jinda gungari wiri bana you
speak Gunggari and Wirri (Wir).

gunmari *N* shield, coolamon (Gan
NO). -cf. gunmari.

guingan *N* spirit, devil (Bir JH,
RD; = juindi). -cf. gungan.

guja *N* no good, bad, weak, poor,
mad (Bir VA, RD, AL): dili guja
weak, poor eyesight (Bir RD),
guja waranaja I am upset ('feel
bad'; Bir RD), guja waranajanu
I am sorry for you (Bir RD).

gujala *N* sweetheart (Gan MM):
nugu gujala my sweetheart.

gujali *N* ? no good (Bir RD).
-cf. guja.

guju *N* fish (Bir JH), eel
(Gan KW, CA).

gujunara *N* black snake, rock
python (Gan KW), eel (Gan TA).
-cf. guju.

gula *N* native bear, koala (Gan
NO, KW).

gula- *V TR IPF (IMM)* gulana-
kill (Bir RD): danulu gulanali
we two will kill the possum.

gulaḍu (-di) *N* possum (Gan (A),
Bir). -cf. danul, danuru.

gulbari *N* emu (Gan NO).

- gulbin *N* whistle (Wir).
- gulbran *N* native companion (Bir AL).
- gulbu *N* butcherbird, magpie (Wir).
- gulgandara *N* long (Gan CA): dura gulgandara a long way or road.
- gulgaŋa *N* billycan (Nga).
- gulgunburo *N* short (Gan CA): dura gulgunburo a short way.
- guli *N* angry, wild, quarrelsome, a row (Wir, Bir): gaŋa guli wuŋba don't get angry (Wir), bulaŋu guli bula baŋa the two are quarreling (Wir), guli waŋambalbula if you two had a row (Bir RD). —cf. wuli.
- gulima- *V CAUS IPF* gulimana quarrel (Gan NO): bularu gulimana the two are quarrelling. —cf. guli.
- gulma- *V TR IMP* gulma; *IPF (IMM)* gulmana-; *PF* gulmala-; *INT* gulmanagu cut (Bir RD): gaŋa (jinda) gulma or gulmanda don't you cut it, nula gulmanala he will cut it, ŋaja gulmalaja I did cut it, waŋaŋaja gulmanagu jinami I want to cut this. —cf. gunma- (Gan, Wir), guŋma- (Wir).
- gulmali- *V REFL IMP* gulmali; *IPF (IMM)* gulmalina-; *PF* gulmalila; *INT* gulmalinagu cut oneself (Bir RD): gaŋa (jinda) gulmali(nda) don't cut yourself, nula gulmalinala he will cut himself, ŋaja gulmalilaja I did cut myself, gaŋa waŋaŋa gulmalinagu (I) do not want to cut myself. —cf. gulma-.
- guluŋi (gururi) *N ERG* guluŋingu, gururingu bad, poisonous (of snakes), poison snake (Bir RD).
- guma¹ *N* blood (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): guma wuŋbana (Wir AM), waŋaŋa, wuŋbana (Wir MS) bleeding. —cf. jirgun (Gan (B)).
- guma² *POST* (19.16).
- gumbinu *N* wild dog, dingo (Wir).
- gumi *N* a root or tuber growing in water (Wir).
- gumu *N* crowd, big mob (Wir): ŋaja nagalba gumu gundaraba I saw a big mob fighting.
- guna *N ALL* gunagu excrement (Gan (B), Bir): ŋaja gunagu janina ('going to the toilet'; Bir RD, = guna galganaja, q.v.).
- guna galga- *V ITR IPF (DUR)* guna galgaŋa-, (*IMM*) guna galgana-; *PF* guna galgala- cacare (Bir RD): guna galganaja cacabo. —cf. guna.
- gunagu *REL* there (Bir RD).
- gunaja, v. gundaŋa.
- gunami *DEM PRON* (22.21).
- gunamigu *REL* there (Bir CC): gunamigu janilaja I went there (but rather 'to that one'). —cf. gunami.
- gunbun *N* lame, limping (Wir): nula gunbun or dina gunbun he is limping, nula gunbun baŋaba he got lame.
- gunda *N* fight (Gan MM): dalgaju gunda a big fight. —cf. gunda¹.
- gunda¹ (bunda-) *V TR ITR IMP* gunda (bunda); *IPF* gundana (bundana), gundara, gundapa; *PF* gundaba, gundalba; *INT* gundanu hit, kill, put out (fire), fight, beat, hunt (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): (gaŋu) gunda (don't) kill (Gan TA, Nga), buji gunda put out the fire (Gan TA), ŋaja gundana jindaŋuna I will give you a hiding (Gan NO), bulaŋu gundana the two are fighting (Gan MM), bula (bulaŋu) gundana the two are hitting (Wir), ŋaja jindaŋuna gundana I will hit you (Wir), bangangu gundana hitting with a stick (Nga), mirungu ŋana gundaba hit me with the nulla-nulla (Gan KW), gundalba dana waja they hunted wallaby (Wir), ŋaja gunda(l)ba gandangu I killed (him) with the yam stick (Bir VA),

nula ɲaɟuna gundalba he hit me (Nga), janiba waja gundanu went to kill or hunt wallaby (Gan TA), ɲaju gandangu gundanu I will hit (you) with the yam stick (Nga).

gunda-² *V TR IMP* gunda; *IPF* gundana, gundanu; *PF* gundaba steal (Gan, Wir): gaɾa gunda don't steal (Wir), bulaɾu gundanu two stealing (Gan MM), gundaba (Gan KW), gundalba (Wir) (the dog) stole or has taken (it), nula bari junu gundaba he stole your money (Gan KW).

gunda-³ *V TR ITR PF* gundaba finish (Gan KW): jinda gundaba jamuba you (have) finished (eating), guru manta gundaba (you) have finished eating. —cf. jamu-.

gundagu *REL* away (Gan NO): gundagu janila has gone away. —cf. gundu.

gundaɲa (gundaɲa) *REL* self, also (? Wir): jin'a gundaɲa (I) am going also ('going myself' ?), ɲaɟu gundaɲa my own.

gundali- *V REFL PF* gundaliba hit, hurt oneself (Gan CA). —cf. gunda-¹.

gundan *V N* stealing, thief (Wir): nula gundan he always steals or (is) a thief, ɲaja, jinda gaɾa gundan baɲa I, you do not steal, ɲaja gundan gaɾa (bari) I do not steal (money; 'am not a thief'), gaɾa jinda gundan baɾamba, bula gundan baɾa gaɾa don't you (two) steal. —cf. gunda-².

gundanma- *V CAUS IMP* gundanma steal (Gan NO): gaɾa gundanma don't steal. —cf. gundan.

gundara- *V REC IMP* gundara; *IPF* gundarara, gundarana, gundaɲa, gundaraɲa; *PF* gundaraba; *ACC* gundarabadi fight (Gan (B), Wir, Bir): (gaɾa) bula, jubala, jura (gaɾa) gundara (don't) you

(two) fight (Wir, Bir), bula gundarara two are fighting (Gan CA), wundana (?) gundaɲa they are fighting (Wir), gundarana ɲaja nagalba I saw a fight (Wir), gundaraɲa dana they are fighting (Gan VA), ɲaja nagalba bula (bulaɾu) gundaraba I saw (that) the two were fighting (Wir), ɲanigu dana gundara (?) why are they fighting? (Bir VA). —cf. gunda-¹.

gundi *N* house (Gan MT, Nga).

gundi- *V ITR PF* gundiba break, hurt (Wir): ɲaja banda gundiba I hurt myself. —cf. gunti-.

gundu *REL POST* over there, on the other side, away (Gan (B), Wir): nula danara gundu he is standing over there (Gan KW), gamu gundu on the other side of the water (Gan KW), gundu gande take it away (Gan TA), nula gundu jiniba he went away (ir).

gunduɲu *DEM PRON* (19.21).

gundul *N* a cold (Nga): nula gundulbari he has got a cold.

gundulu *N ERG* gundulungu; *ALL* gundulugu emu (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gundulungu burumu jugana the emu eats blackberries (Wir); in Guɟal gundulu means the 'Clermont people'.

gunduru *REL* across (Gan KW): gamuɲa gunduru across the water. —cf. gundu.

gunma- *V TR IMP* gunma; *IPF* gunmana, gunmara; *PF* gunmala gunmaba, gunmalba cut, break (Gan, Wir): gaɲu banda gunma don't break or cut the stick (Gan NO), gaɾa gunma gada don't cut (its) head (Gan NO), dulap gunma cut the tree (Gan KW), buɾi gunmana breaking firewood (Gan NO), gada gunmana cutting the head (Gan NO), buɾi gunmalba (he) cut firewood (Wir), mala gunmalba cut the hand, waɲal gunmalba cut (also 'broke')

the boomerang (Wir), *naja nununa*
nagalba buŕi gunmalba I saw him
 cutting wood (Wir), *buŕi gunmaba*
 (gunma da ?) cut firewood (Gan
 MM). -cf. *gulma-* (Bir).

gunmali- V REFL ITR IMP *gunmali*;
 PF *gunmalila*, *gunmaliba* cut
 oneself, break (Gan (A), Wir):
gaŕa jinda gunmali don't cut
 yourself (with the knife; Gan
 NO), *banga gunmalila* the stick
 broke (Gan NO), *waŕal gunmaliba*
 the boomerang broke (Wir).
 -cf. *gunma-*.

gunmani, v. *wangan*.

gunmari N shield, coolamon
 (Gan (B), Wir).

gunti- V TR IMP *gunti*; PF *guntiba*;
 INT *guntinu* break (Gan TA):
gaŕu gunti don't break it, *dumu*
guntiba broke (his) leg, *nula*
guntinu he wants to break it.
 -cf. *gundi-*.

gunala N ALL *gunalagu* the name
 of a place, *Goonyala* (Bir RD).

gunalu, v. *gunul*.

gungan N ghost (Bir VA). -cf.
guingan.

gunul N ERG *gunalu* ? rock or
 mountain wallaby (Bir AL).

*gura*¹ N REL LOC *guranga* night,
 tonight (Gan CA): *gura wunara*
 sleep(ing) tonight, *guranga nimu*
wajaba (wajiba ?) was sick last
 night, *guranga wunara* will sleep
 tonight.

*gura*² REL back, behind (Gan (B),
 Wir): *gura wubara* coming back
 (Gan KW), *naja jindanuna gura*
jidalba, *jidanagu* I have left
 you, going to leave you behind
 (Wir). -cf. *gura-*.

gura- V ITR IMP *gura*; IPF *guraŕa-*
 go back, go home (Bir): *jambagu*
gura naja I am going home (Bir
 VA), *guranda ga* go back (Bir RD),
jambagu naja guraŕaja I am going
 home (Bir RD). -cf. *gura*².

guraji- V ASS IPF (IMM) *gurajina-*
 bring home (Bir RD): *jambagu*
gurajinali we (two) will or
 would bring it home. -cf. *gura-*.

guran N flying fox (Bir VA).

guranba- V TR IMP *guranba*; IPF
 (IMM) *guranbana-* roll, turn
 round (Bir RD): *jinda dula gunami*
guranba you roll that log,
jinami guranbanaja I will turn
 this round.

guranbari- V ITR IMP *guranbari*
 turn round (Bir RD). -cf.
guranba-.

guranda- V ITR IMP *guranda-*; IPF
 (DUR) *gurandaŕa-*; (IMM)
gurandana- go, come back (home;
 Bir RD): *gaŕa gurandanda* don't
 you come back, *jinda gurandaŕanda*
 (when) you come back, *gurandaŕaja*
 I want to come back home. -cf.
gura-.

gurandu REL behind (Wir): *nula*
wur̕bana gurandu he is coming
 behind, *gurandu nuŕundanga*,
ŕaŕundanga behind him, me.
 -cf. *gura*².

gurgan (gurban) N long, high
 (Wir): *jalga gurgan* a long way,
ŕanga gurgan long beard, *gandu*
jana gada gurgan(bari) that
 child has long hair, *banga*
gurgan a high tree.

gurgandala N long, tall (Gan TA,
 Wir): *jalga jina gurgandala*
 this road is long, *gurgandala*
baŕamba make it long. -cf.
gurgan.

gurganila N long (as of a road;
 Gan KW). -cf. *gurgandala*.

guridala N eaglehawk (Gan (B),
 Wir).

guru REL *guru manta gundaba*
 finished eating (Gan KW; cf.
Gunggari guru 'altogether').

guruman *N LOC* gurumanda; *ALL*
gurumangu shade, shadow, image
(Gan KW, CA): gurumanda danara
standing in the shade, wanalira
guruman gamunga looking at your
image in the water.

gururi, *v.* guluṛi.

guṛabara *N* plenty (Gan TA).

guṛbil *N* whistle (Gan NO).

guṛbilma- *V CAUS IPF* guṛbilmana
whistle (Gan NO): wandigu
guṛbilmana whistling at the dog.
-cf. guṛbil.

guṛguru *N* short, small, low (Wir):
jalga guṛguru a short way
banga guṛguru a small or low
tree.

guṛi guṛi *N* ghost (Nga): guṛi
guṛi nagana seeing a ghost.

guṛili- *V REFL IMP* guṛili; *IPF*
guṛilina, gurina; *PF* guṛiliba
look for (Wir): jaraman jinda
guṛili you look for a horse
(for yourself), gara jinda
nuṇuna guṛili you must not look
for him, jaraman naja guṛilina
I am looking for a horse (for
myself), nula naḡuna guṛina he
is looking for me, nula nuṇuna
guṛiliba he (has) looked for him.

guṛma- *V TR IMP* guṛma; *PF*
guṛmaba cut, break, fell (Wir,
Bir VA): bangan guṛma cut
sandalwood (Wir), gara jinda
guṛma don't you break it (Bir
VA), waṇal, dula guṛmaba (did)
cut a boomerang, felled the tree
(Bir VA). -cf. gunma- (Gan,
Wir), gulma- (Bir RD).

guṛmari *N* shield (Wir). -cf.
gunmari.

η

ηadi *N* grandfather or grandson
(Gan (B), Wir, Bir).

ηadina *N* one's grandfather or
grandson (Bir RD). -cf. ηadi.

ηaḡu *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.6).

ηaḡul *N* the name of a language
(Wir MS; possibly mistaken for
gugal, q.v. ?).

ηaja *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16).

ηaju *PERS PRON* (25.5-6).

ηala¹ *N* teeth (Gan MT, Bir VA).

ηala² *N* perhaps, I do not know,
I think, wonder (often used as
a question word 'I wonder?';
Wir); (jinda) ηala binbi how
are you (feeling)? ηani jinda
ηala birgagu what will you do
tomorrow? jinda ηala ηuḡana
Townsville-gu do you know
(anyone) at Townsville? jinda
ηala nagalba did you see
(anyone)? jindaḡuna ηala nagalba
did anyone see you? gara ηaja
ηuḡana ηala guḡirina I do not
know whether I will come back,
ηala guḡirina is going back
perhaps, jinda ηala wurwul bana
perhaps you are getting tired or
are you getting tired? nula ηala
jiniba I think he has gone,
ηandulu ηala maralba who may
have taken it? jinda ηaḡuna
ηala ηuḡana you remember me?
-cf. gara.

ηalbara *N ERG* ηalbarangu turtle
(Bir VA).

ηalga- *V ITR IPF* ηalgana talk
(Gan NO): ηali ηalgana we two
are talking.

ηalgu¹ *N* stomach (Gan, Wir, Bir):
ηaja ηalgu jaḡalba I am full or
satisfied (Wir). -cf. bana (Bir).

ηalgu² *N* money (Bir JH).

ηalgubari *N* full after eating
(Gan CA). -cf. ηalgu¹.

ηali *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.5-6).

ηali jinda *PERS PRON* (16.19;
19.22; 22.18).

ηalin *PERS PRON* (19.19).

nalina jinda *PERS PRON* (19.22).

nalinda *PERS PRON* (16.19; 19.22; 22.18).

namu *POST* (16.16; 19.16) like
(Gan (A), Wir): munda namu like
a snake (Gan NO, Wir), wandi
namu nagana looks like a dog
(Gan NO), naja, jinda namu like
me, you (Gan NO), banga namu
something like a tree (Wir),
bangu namu like a stone (Wir),
maŋi namu like a man (an
Aboriginal; Wir), naja namu
dan'a nula he looks like me
(Wir), wina namu dan'a looks
like a fish (Wir), jinda nula
namu you look like him (Wir),
jana, jina namu like that, this
(Wir), jaraman namu dalgabara
as big as a horse (Wir), maŋi
jina gaju namu bagari this man
is as little as a woman (Wir),
nula binbi migulu namu he is
as good as a white man (Wir).
—cf. namuru.

-namu *N DER SFX* (16.5).

namun *N* 1. (woman's) breast;
2. (any) milk (Gan (A), Wir, Bir,
Nga): jinami namun this milk
(Bir RD).

namuru (namburu) *N REL* the same,
like (Wir): wada naja namuru
(naja) baŋa speaks the same
language as I, wada naja namburu
baŋa talks like me, maŋi namuru
wada baŋa talks like an
Aboriginal. —cf. namu.

nana¹ *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.5-6).

nana² *PERS PRON* (15.18; 19.19;
25.6).

nanan *PERS PRON* (19.19).

nanda *REL* where? how? (Gan, Wir,
Bir): nanda jinda wubara where
do you come from? (Gan NO),
nanda jinda janira where are
you going? (Gan TA), naja gara
nuɖana nanda wurɖaba Cherbourg-gu

I do not know how I came to
Cherbourg (Wir), nanda jinda
wurɖaba where were you born?
(Wir), nanda nula where is he
or she? (Wir, Bir VA), guga
juranu nanda (Wir), nanda junu
guga (Bir VA) where is your
house? nandalu where is he?
(Bir RD).

nandadamu *REL* from where? whence?
(Bir VA): nandadamu wubaba where
did (or does) he come from?

nandadi *REL* whence? (Bir VA):
nandadi wubala where does he
come from?

nandagu *REL* where? whither? (Gan,
Wir, Bir): nandagu jinda janira
(Gan NO), nandagu janira (Gan
CA), nandagu jinda janira (Bir
VA) where are (you) going?

nandalgu *REL* where? whither?
(Gan (A), Wir): jinda nandalgu
janira (Gan MT), jin'a (Wir)
where are you going? —cf. nanda,
nandagu.

nandamba *REL* where? in what way
or respect? how? (Bir RD):
nandamba janinda balaranga
where did you go in the boat?

nandami *INTERR PRON* (22.25).

nandamu *REL* why? because of
what? (Wir).

nandamua *REL* which way? (Wir):
nandamua jininagu (I do not
know) which way I am going to
go.

nandamundu *REL* from where?
whence? (Gan (B), Wir):
nandamundu wubara (Gan KW),
nandamundu jinda wurɖaba (Wir)
where do or have you come from?
nandamundu dana wurɖaba where
did the people come from? (Wir).

nandana *INTERR PRON* (19.28).

nandangu (nandaigu) *REL* where?
whither? (Gan KW): nangangu
janira jubala, jinda janiba
where are you (two) going? did
you (two) go?

ṅandargu *REL* whither? (Wir):
 gaṛa ṅaja ṅugana ṅandargu jinina
 ṅaja I do not know whither I am
 going, ṅandargu jinda jin-a
 where are you going?

ṅandaru *REL* when? (Gan CA):
 ṅandaru jinda janira when are
 you going? ṅandaru nula wubaba
 when did he come? —cf. ṅandaṛu.

ṅandaṛu *REL* (22.26) where? over
 there (Bir RD): ṅandaṛu janiṅa
 where is (he) going? ṅandaṛu
 jinda janinda where have you
 gone? ṅandaṛulu where is he?
 —cf. ṅandaru (Gan B).

ṅandulu *INTERR PRON* (16.22;
 19.25-26; 22.23-24).

ṅanduru *INTERR PRON* (16.22).

ṅanganbila *REL* when? (Bir RD).

ṅangara *N* a lot (Wir): gandu
 ṅangara lots of children.

ṅanga *N* beard, whiskers (Gan (B),
 Wir, Bir).

ṅangabari *N* having a moustache
 (Wir). —cf. ṅanga.

ṅangan *N* young (person; Gan KW):
 bama ṅangan a young man, gaju
 ṅangan a young woman. —cf.
 nanga.

ṅani *INTERR PRON* (16.22; 19.25-26;
 22.23-24; 25.8).

ṅanigu *INTERR PRON* (16.22; 19.26;
 22.24) why? what for?: ṅanigu
 jiniba why did (you) go? (Wir).

ṅaniṅga *REL* where? when? how
 long? (Wir): nula ṅaniṅga waṛaba
 when was he born? ṅaniṅga majiba
 where (and 'when?') did he die?
 gaṛa ṅaja ṅugana ṅaniṅga gudirina
 I do not know when I shall come
 back, ṅaniṅga nula gudiriba when
 did she come? bangar jinda
 ṅaniṅga wunaba how long have
 you been lying sick in bed?
 ṅaniṅga gaṛa gudirina (I do not
 know) when I am going back.

ṅaniṅgamundu *REL* since when? (Wir).

ṅanimburu *N* how many? (Wir): gaṛa
 ṅugana ṅanimburu baṛaba I do
 not know how many they were,
 gandu (jindaṅu) ṅanimburu or
 ṅanimburu gandu how many
 children (have you got)?

ṅara *N REL POST* (19.16) up,
 above, (on) top (Gan, Wir, Bir):
 nula bindara ṅara he is sitting
 above (Gan TA), ṅaja ṅara jagana
 I am going up (Wir), ṅara dana
 stand up (Wir), guga ṅara top
 of the house, above the house
 (Wir, Bir AL), mungu ṅara on
 top of the mountain (Wir), ṅara
 janiṅa going up (Bir VA).

—ṅara *N DER SFX* (16.5).

ṅarambaru *POST* on top of (Wir):
 guga, baṅga ṅarambaru on top of
 the house, tree. —cf. ṅara.

ṅaramundu *REL* from above (Wir).
 —cf. ṅara.

ṅarbi *N* fat (Wir).

ṅargu *N POSS* ṅarguṅu kangaroo,
 wallaby (Gan, Wir, Nga): ṅargu
 numun kangaroo skin (Gan TA).

ṅawun *N* the name of a language,
 Ngawun (Nga RF).

—ṅga *PERS PRON* (16.20-21).

ṅina *DEM PRON* (16.20-21).

ṅudi *POST* (19.16).

ṅuga- *V TR IPF* ṅugana, ṅugaṅa;
PF ṅugalba; *ACC* ṅugalbaṅa-
 know, understand, remember,
 learn (Wir, Bir): ṅaja waḍa
 ṅugana I understand or learn
 the language (Wir), gaṛa ṅaja
 ṅugana (Wir), gaṛa ṅugaṅaja
 (Bir RD, AL) I do not know, ṅaja
 gaṛa ṅugana nambara I do not
 know the name (Wir), gandu jinda
 ṅugana you remember your
 daughter (Wir), jinda ṅaguna
 ṅala ṅugana do you remember me?
 (Wir), gaṛa ṅugaṅanda you do not

know (Bir RD), *ɲaja ɲuganaɲanu*
I know you (Bir RD), *ɲuganaɲ* he
knows (Bir AL), *gaɾa nuɲuna*
ɲugalba (I) did not know him
(Wir), *gaɾa ɲugalbaɲanda jinda*
jinbaɲanda when you do not know
you (must) listen (Bir RD).

ɲugal *N* the name of a language
(Bir AL; possibly mistaken for
gugal, q.v.). —cf. *ɲagul*.

ɲugali- *V REFL ITR IMP ɲugali*;
IPF ɲugali(r)a, ɲugaliɲa-
know, begin to know, learn
(Gan (B), Bir): *jinda ɲugali*
you should know (Gan KW), *bama*
nula ɲugalira that man might
know (Gan KW), *gaɲu (ɲaja)*
ɲugali(r)a (I) do not know
(Gan KW, CA), *ɲugaliɲaja jinami*
gubun I am learning this song
(Bir RD). —cf. *ɲuga-*.

ɲugamba- *V CAUS IPF ɲugambaɲa*
teach (Bir RD). —cf. *ɲuga-*.

ɲugul *N* crayfish (Gan KW). —cf.
ɲugur.

ɲugur *N* crayfish (Gan CA). —cf.
ɲugul.

ɲuga *N* *ERG ɲugangu* noise (Wir):
ɲuga jumba hear the noise(s).

ɲugan *N LOC ɲugan(d)a; ALL*
ɲugangu 1. dark, night(-time);
2. cloud (Gan MT): *ɲaja janina*,
janila ɲugana I will go tonight,
went last night (Gan NO), *ɲuganda*
gamu bandiba it rained last
night (Wir), *ɲuganda gamu baɲa*
it will rain tonight (Wir),
ɲuganda last night (Bir VA),
ɲugangu bugari it is cold at
night (Gan NO). —cf. *ɲugun*.

ɲugu *N* mopoke (Bir VA).

ɲugun *N LOC ɲugunda (ɲuguna)*,
ɲugundanga; ALL ɲugungu dark,
night (Gan, Wir): *ɲugun dagara*
getting dark (Gan TA), *ɲugun*
darkness (Wir; = *gari waɾaba*
'sundown'), *ɲugun bandina* it is
getting dark (Wir), *ɲugun waɲa*

at nightfall (Wir), *bugari ɲugana*
it was cold last night (Gan NO),
ɲugunda tonight (Gan NO, TA,
Wir), when it is getting dark,
last night (Wir), *jiniba ɲugunda*
went at night (Wir), *ɲugundanga*
night-time (Wir), *ɲugungu*
tonight (Gan TA). —cf. *ɲugan*.

ɲuɲurujal *N* kidneys (Gan KW).

ɲuna *DEM PRON* (16.20-21; 22.20).

ɲunagu *REL* over there (Bir VA):
binda ɲunagu sit over there.

ɲunami *DEM PRON* (22.21).

ɲunana *DEM PRON* (22.20).

ɲura *N* *ERG ɲurangu; POSS ɲuraɲu*;
ALL ɲuragu dog (Gan (A), Wir,
Nga): *ɲuraɲu buɲa* a dog's tail
(Gan NO); the same word in Gudjal.

ɲurabari *N* having a dog (Gan KW).
—cf. *ɲura*.

ɲuram *N* dog (Bir LJ). —cf. *ɲura*.

J

ja *PERS PRON* (19.19).

-*ja* *PERS PRON* (22.16).

jaba *DEM PRON* (16.20-21).

jaba⁻¹ *V TR IMP jaba; IPF jabana*,
jabara; PF jabalba, jababa; ACC
jabala put, throw, blow, breathe,
smoke (Gan (B), Wir): *gaɲu jinda*
jaba don't you throw (Gan KW),
miruju jaba throw (with) the
nulla-nulla (Gan KW), *jiji bujigu*
jaba put the meat on the fire
(Gan TA), *gamu jaba* put water
(on the fire; Gan TA), *jinda*
ganda jaba you throw that spear
(Wir), *baɪm jabara nula* he is
smoking a pipe (Gan KW), *duga*
jabara smoking (Gan KW), *buli*
jabara smoking more (Gan KW),
ganda jabana throwing or chuck-
ing a spear (Wir), *bumal waɾgu*
jabana panting (Wir), *bugari*
jabana a cold wind blowing (Wir),

- jadi jabana is laughing
(*'throwing a laughter'*; Wir),
ganda jababa threw a spear,
bumal jabalba blew (Wir),
jabara wagarara running quick
or fast (Gan KW). —cf. jaba-².
- jaba-² V TR (22.37) give, make
(Bir): manda jaba nununa give
him bread (Bir VA), ngadu jinda
jaba you give me (Bir VA), naja
jabana I give (Bir VA), nani
jabalba (has) made the earth
(Bir VA), jabalba nununda,
dananda gave to him, them (Bir
VA; notice use of the locative).
—cf. jaba-¹.
- jabu N ERG jabungu; LOC jabunda
(? Bir RD); ALL jabugu father
(Gan, Wir, Bir): jabu ngadu (Wir),
ngadu jabu (Bir RD) my father.
- jabuna N ERG jabunangu; ALL
jabunagu one's father (Gan (A),
Bir): ngadu jabuna or jabuna ngadu
my father (Bir RD), da-mungu
jabuna Tommy King's father
(Bir RD). —cf. jabu.
- jabura N ERG jaburangu wind
(Gan KW).
- jadangu REL over there (Gan MM):
jinda jangu jadangu you must
go over there.
- jadi N laughter, bird song (Wir):
jadi jaba laugh, wingu jadi
jabana the birds are singing,
jadi baba are laughing, singing.
—cf. jadi-.
- jadi- V ITR IMP jadi; IPF
jadina, jadinga; PF jadiba
laugh (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): gara
(jinda) jadi don't (you) laugh
(Gan NO, Wir, Bir VA), nangu
jinda jadina nguna why are you
laughing at me? (Gan NO). —cf.
jadi.
- jadingu REL quick (Wir): jadingu
bura jana or jinda jadingu bura
hurry up.
- jadu N father (Nga; correct ?).
—cf. jabu.

- jaga-¹ (jaba-) V ITR IMP jaga;
IPF jagana, jagara, jagana-;
PF jagaba; INT jaganu; ACC
jagala, jagananga, jagabanga,
jagal rise, climb, get up, go
(up), wake up (Gan (B), Wir,
Bir): ganu jinda jaga don't you
climb (Gan KW), bangagu jaga
climb the tree (Gan TA), nula
banga jagara he is climbing a
tree (Gan TA), banga naja jagana
I climb the tree (Wir), gari
jagana the sun is rising (Wir),
jaganaja, jagananda, jaganal
I am, you are, he is climbing or
getting up (Bir AL), jagaba naja
wumbar I woke up (Wir), gaga
jagaba the moon is up, is
shining (Wir), jaganu we-ra
want to climb (Gan TA), bari,
banga jaganu to climb a
mountain, tree (Gan TA), bugur
jagala bubbles (are) rising,
(water) bubbling, boiling
(Gan CA).
- jaga-² V TR IPF jagana; PF
jagalba raise, wake up, fill up
(Wir): buringu duga jagana the
fire makes (*'raises'*) smoke,
naja ngalu jagalba I am full or
satisfied (*'have filled (my)*
belly'), jagalba wumbar woke
(someone) up. —cf. jaga-¹.
- jagamba- V CAUS IMP jagamba;
IPF jagambara; PF jagambala-
raise, lift up, blow (bubbles)
(Gan (B), Bir): bugur jagamba(ra)
blow(ing) bubbles (Gan CA), naja
jagambalanga I lifted him up
(Bir RD). —cf. jagambi-.
- jagambi- V CAUS IPF (IMM)
jagambina- hang up (Bir RD):
gunami jagambinanda you will
hang up that. —cf. jagamba-.
- jagan V N sunrise, horizon (Wir):
gari jagan mundu (or jaganmundu)
before the sun rises or sunrise.
—cf. jaga-¹.
- jagira N Chinese (Bir RD): jagira
naja, jinda jagira I am, you
are a Chinese.

jaguji *N* liver (Gan TA). -cf. jaguri (Bir).
 jaguri *N* liver (Bir VA, AL).
 -cf. jaguji (Gan B).
 jaŋa *N* *ERG* jaŋaŋgu; *ALL* jaŋagu
 mother, aunt (Gan, Wir, Bir):
 nula ŋaŋu jaŋa she is my auntie
 (Gan MT), ŋaŋu jabu jaŋa my
 father and mother (Wir), jaŋa
 ŋudi from (his) mother (Wir),
 jani jaŋa come mother (Nga).
 jaŋana *N* *ERG* jaŋanaŋgu one's
 mother (Gan (A), Bir). -cf.
 jaŋa.
 jai *REL* yes (Bir RD, AL).
 jalara *N* brown snake (Gan KW),
 (white) water snake (Nga).
 jalarin *N* child (Bir WS). -cf.
 jalu.
 jalbaburu *N* black swan (Gan KW).
 jalga *N* *LOC* jalganga (jalgalga);
ALL jalgagu track, path, way,
 road (Gan (A), Wir): jalga gurgan
 a long way (Wir), jalga jina
 this road (Wir), jalganga ŋaja
 janina I am walking along the
 road (Gan NO), jalgalga along
 the road (Wir).
 jalu *N* child, baby (Bir RD, AL):
 ŋaja jalu danarinaja I am
 sitting with a child ('baby-
 sitting'; Bir RD); (*ART*) jalurin
 (some) children (Bir RD).
 -cf. jalarin.
 jama-¹ *V TR IMP* jama; *IPF* jamana,
 jamara, jamana, jamana; *PF*
 jamala, jamaba, jamalba; *INT*
 jamana do, make (Gan, Bir, Nga):
 buji jama make a fire (Gan KW),
 waŋal (jinda) jama (you) make
 a boomerang (Gan TA), nimu jama
 make sick (Gan TA), binbi jama
 make well, cure (Gan TA), ŋani
 (jinda) jamara (Gan MT, KW),
 ŋani jinda jamana (Bir VA), what
 are you doing? waŋa jamana
 talking (Bir VA; 'making talk'),
 buji jamana (gathering sticks)

to make a fire (Gan KW), nimu
 jamara making (me) sick (Gan TA),
 bula jamara, jamana is tending,
 to tend the cattle (Gan KW),
 buŋi jamana, jamalba making,
 made fire (Nga), manta jamana
 cooking (Nga).

jama-² *V TR IMP* jama-; *IPF*
 jamana; *PF* jamala-, jamali
 tell (Wir, Bir): jinda jamanga
 you tell him (Bir RD), nula
 gadina jamana he is telling a
 lie (Wir), jamana ŋaŋuna (you)
 will tell me (Bir RD), nula
 jamali ŋanaŋuna or jamalanana
 he told us (Bir RD), jamalina
 he told me (Bir RD), ŋandulungu
 jamalinu who told you? (Bir RD);
 jamana jamali (?) this is what
 she told or said (Bir RD). -cf.
 janba-.

jamba *N* *LOC* jambanga; *ALL* jambagu
 1. bark; 2. windbreak, camp,
 home, (on the) ground, place, at
 home, time (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
 jamba ŋaŋu my home (Wir), jamba
 nuŋu his place (Wir), ŋaja
 jamba wargu baraba I had a bad
 time (Wir; probably copying
 English), jamba damu (Bir VA),
 jamba mundu (Nga) from home,
 jamba binbi ('nice camp'), the
 name of a place, 'Davy's Creek'
 or 'Charlie's Creek' (Gan TA),
 ŋaŋu jambanga in my home (Bir
 RD), jambanga at the camp or
 at home (Bir RD, VA), jambagu
 wunana staying at home or at a
 camp (Gan NO), jambagu nula
 janina, janina, janiba he or
 she is going, went home (Gan MT,
 Nga), jambagu home or at home
 (Bir VA, Nga); the same word in
 Gudjal.

jamba- v. janba-.

jamu- *V ITR PF* jamuba finish
 (Gan KW): gamu, manta jamuba
 water, food is finished, jinda
 gundaba jamuba you have finished
 (eating). -cf. gunda-³.

jana¹ DEM PRON (19.23-24).

jana² REL over there (Wir).

-cf. jara.

jana- V ITR IMP jana; INT janagu
go (Gan (A), Wir): jadingu bura
jana hurry up (Wir), jinda
jana(gu) you (must) go (Gan MM).
-cf. jara-.

jananga REL with that one or
there (Wir).

janangu REL over there (Wir):
wandi janangu wun'a the dog is
over there, janangu wangangu
waraba born there at Clermont,
janangu gandunga naja help'im
barambalba I helped at the
place of a daughter there.
-cf. jarangu.

janamundu REL from there (Wir):
wurba janamundu (he) is coming
from over there, janamundu dangu
wurba (he) has come back from
there.

janba- (jamba-) V TR IMP janba;
IPF janbana; PF janbalba tell,
say, talk about (Wir): nagna,
nuguna janba tell me, him,
jinda nana janba you tell me,
gara jinda janba gadilima don't
you tell a lie, jinda janba baiba
dunbi you tell (him to) light a
pipe, jinda nuguna jamba dangu
wurba you tell him to come
back, naja jindaguna janbana
I am telling you, janbana nuguna
(I) will tell him, gara naja
nuguna jubala nani janbana, nani
janbana nula I do not know what
you two are, he is talking about,
naja janbalba (jambalba) nuguna
or nuguna janbalba I told or
said to him. -cf. jama².

jandu REL over here (Bir RD, AL):
jandu wanga bula you two come
here (Bir RD), nula jandu
janigala he is coming this way
(Bir RD), jandu wanganda you
come here (Bir AL).

janga N whiskers (Gan NO; correct?).
-cf. nanga.

jani- V ITR (16.31; 22.32, 37) go,
come, walk (Gan, Bir, Nga): jinda
jani you go (Gan MM, NO, KW,
Bir VA, AL), gara jinda jani
don't you go (Gan NO), jinda
gugu jani you come here (Gan TA),
jinda janigu you come to me
(Bir RD), jani wuna go (and)
lie down (Nga), jani naja come
mother (Nga), naja, jinda janida
I am, you are going (Jan MT),
naja janira I am going (Gan MT,
KW), dana janira they are walk-
ing (from morning till night;
Gan TA), wangarapa janigana
they are walking together (Gan,
Bir), naja janinaja jindagunda
I am going to your place (Bir
RD), nula janiganu he is going
to you (Bir AL), nula janigala
he is going (Bir RD), nana(na)
janinana we will all go (Bir RD),
jinda janindali or janilinda you
went (Bir RD), dana janildana
they all went (Bir RD), nanda
janinda where have you been?
('gone?'; Bir CC), nula janiligu
or janilagugu he came to me (Bir
RD), janili Rockhampton damu
he came from Rockhampton (Bir RD),
nanana janilana we all went
(Bir RD), nali janilali we two
went (Bir RD), nula janiba he
is gone (Nga), naja janinu I
must go (Nga), nana janinagu
we must go (Bir RD), naja
waranaja janinagu I want to go
(Bir RD).

janini- V ASS IMP janini PF
janinila go with (Gan NO): gara
jinda gangari janini don't you
go with the knife, nula gangari
janinila he went with the knife
-cf. janiri-.

janiri- V ASS PF janirila-
bring (Bir RD): janirilaja I
brought it. -cf. janini-
(Gan A).

janmira- V ITR IPF (IMM) janmirana-;
INT janmiranagu laugh (Bir RD):
gaṛa janmirananda you must not
laugh, gaṛa janmiranagu in order
not to laugh.

jara¹ DEM PRON (16.21).

jara² REL there, over there, away
(Gan (B), Wir): bula jara bindara
they (two) are sitting over there
(Gan TA), jara bin'a sitting
waiting (there; Wir), birgu
jindaṇu jara dan'a your wife is
(standing) there waiting (Wir),
ṇaja jara dangalba I sent (him)
there (Wir), ṇaja jara jinina
I am going away. -cf. jana².

jara- V ITR IMP jara; IPF jarana,
jaṇa; PF jaraba; INT jaranagu
go (Wir; according to Wir AM,
jara- means 'go' and jini-, q.v.
means 'go over'): (gaṛa) jinda
jara (don't) you go, jinda
jadiṇgu jara you go quickly,
jaraman jinda jara guṛilina you
go and look for a horse, ṇaja
jarana (jaṇa) nuṇuna nagana I
am going to see him, gaṛa ṇaja
jaraba I did not go, nula jaraba
he is gone (= jiniba), ṇaja
jaranagu I must go. -cf. jana-,
jini-.

jarangu DEM PRON (16.21).

jaraman N ERG jaramandu; LOC
jaramanda; ALL jaramangu horse
(Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jaraman
nuṇu the horse's (Wir), jaraman
mundu or jaramanuṇudi (coming)
from the horse (Wir), jaramangu
bindara (sitting) on horseback
(Gan KW).

jaramanbari N on horseback (Gan B):
ṇandaru jaramanbari jinda wubaba
when did you come on horseback?
(Gan CA), jaramanbari bula jamara
tending cattle on horseback
(Gan KW). -cf. jaraman.

jarambaru REL POST across, on
the other side, around (Wir, Bir):
guga jarambaru the house across

or opposite (Wir), Paddy barbara
jarambaru wun'a Paddy lives
across the creek (Wir), nula
(jana) bin'a jarambaru he is on
the other side (Wir), jarambaru
jini go to the other side (Wir),
guranbari jarambaru turn round
(Bir RD).

jarangiri (= jarap-diri) N bearded
(Nga). -cf. jaranbari.

jarap N beard (Gan NO, Nga).

jaranbari N bearded, having a
beard (Gan NO). -cf. jarangiri.

jarangu REL over there (Wir).
-cf. janangu.

jarban N clever, quality of
'clever person' (Gan TA; cf.
Gunggari jarban 'sacred').

jarbanbari N ERG jarbanbaringu
clever, (like a) witchdoctor
(Gan TA). -cf. jarban.

jarga N ALL jargagu wind, cold
wind (Gan (A), Wir): jarga wurbana
(Gan NO, Wir), burbana (Gan NO)
wind (is) coming or blowing,
jargagu bindana sitting in the
(cold) wind (Wir).

jaringu REL over there (Wir):
jaringu bindana sitting over
there.

je- V ITR IMP je-; IPF je-ra;
PF je-ba become (Gan KW); more
or less the same as we-, q.v.
-cf. Wakka-Wakka jia-, je-,
Part I, 12): burandji je-ra
become frightened, nula burandji
je-ba he was frightened.

ji-, v. jiji.

-ji- ASS SFX (16.8; 22.8).

jibala, v. jubala.

jida- V TR IMP jida; IPF jidara,
jidana; PF jidaba, jidalba,
jidal-; ACC jidalbal- leave,
put, forgive (Gan (B), Wir, Bir):
jara jida leave (it) over there
(Gan TA), munangu jida leave

(it) there (Wir), jinda jidanda
you leave or forgive it (Bir RD),
nula jidaba gamu jaganu he left
off drinking (Gan TA), jindauna
jidalba left you (Wir), manda
jidaldana they left food (Bir
RD), gura jidanagu to leave
behind (Wir), jidalbaldana they
leaving, when they left (Bir RD).

jidira- V ITR PF jidirala- take
a fright (Bir RD): naja jidirajaja
I took a fright.

jidiramba- V CAUS IMP jidiramba;
IPF (IMM) jidirambana- scare
(Bir RD): jidirambanganda you
scare him (imperative), gaṛa
jidiramba nanauna don't scare
us, gaṛa jidirambananda you
must not scare us. -cf. jidira-.

jijaga REL now, today, tonight,
tomorrow, yesterday, some time
ago (Gan (B), Wir): naja jinina
jijaga I am going now (Wir),
wabu majiba jijaga my younger
brother died some time ago (Wir),
gamu bandina jijaga or jijaga
wurba gamu it is raining
today, naja jumbana jijaga
winaṛu bandana I can hear the
birds singing now (Wir), jijaga
nugun wana tonight at nightfall
(Wir). -cf. jijala.

jijala REL now, today (Wir):
jijala naja bindana I am sitting
up today. -cf. jijaga.

jiji (ji·) N ALL jijigu, ji·gu
meat (Gan KW, TA): jijigu muli
want (more) meat (Gan KW), jijigu
we·ra want meat (Gan KW, TA).
-cf. juri (Gan (A), Wir, Bir,
Nga).

jila REL around (Gan KW): naja
jila janira I am going round
(the water). -cf. jila-.

jila- V ITR IMP jila; IPF jilana,
jilara turn round (Gan, Wir):
jinda jila you turn round (Gan
CA), naja, nula jilana I am
going round, he is turning round
(Gan NO, Wir). -cf. jila.

jilagu DEM PRON (16.21).

jilaṇa DEM PRON (16.21).

jilama- V CAUS IMP jilama turn
(something) round (Gan NO): jinda
jaba jilama you turn that round.
-cf. jila-, jilamba-.

jilamba- V CAUS IMP jilamba
turn (something) round (Gan (B),
Wir): jinda jana jilamba you
turn that round. -cf. jila-,
jilama-.

jilanga- V REC ITR IPF jilangara
turn round, spin (Gan CA). -cf.
jila, jila-.

jilu REL here, on this side (Gan
KW): wuba jinda jilu you come
here, nali jilu bindara gamu
we (two) are sitting on this
side of the water.

jilungu DEM PRON (16.21).

jiluna DEM PRON (16.21).

jimba N mother (Nga): nagu jimba
my mother.

jimba-, v. jumba-.

jimbali-, v. jumbali-.

jimu N a fly, flies (Nga).

jina¹ N ALL jinagu fish (Gan KW,
CA). -cf. wina.

jina² DEM PRON (16.20-21; 22.20;
19.23-24).

jina³ REL here (Gan, Wir, Bir):
jina gadana come in, brother
(Gan MM), jina wurba jinda you
come here (Gan MM), jinda binda
jina you sit here (Gan NO).
-cf. jina².

jina⁻¹ V ITR IMP jina; IPF jinana;
PF jinala lie down (Gan NO):
mari jinala a man lying down,
(nula) wumbar jinala he is lying
down, sleeping. -cf. jina⁻².

jina⁻² V ITR IMP jina; IPF jinapa
sit down, live (Nga; = binda-,
q.v.). -cf. jina⁻¹.

jinadamu *REL* from here (Bir VA, RD): *ɲaja janinaja jinadamu* I am going from here (Bir RD).
-cf. *jina*^{2,3}.

jinagu¹ *DEM PRON* (19.24).

jinagu² *REL* here, hither, just now (Bir): *jinagu wuba* come here (Bir VA), *binda jinagu* or *jinagu jinda binda* (you) sit here (Bir VA), *wunali jinagu* he lived here (Bir RD), *ɲaja wunaja jinagu* I live here (Bir RD), *jinagu janili* he came here (Bir RD), *jinagu danaɲali* we two are sitting here (Bir RD).
-cf. *jina*^{2,3}.

jinanga *REL* here (Wir): *nula bindana jinanga* he is sitting or lives here. -cf. *jina*².

jinangu *REL* here, this way (Wir): *nula jinangu waraba* he was born here, *wurbaba jinangu gugagu* came to this house, *jinangu majiba* died here, *jamba jinangu* here, *nula jinangu* he is coming this way. -cf. *jina*².

jinalgu ? *REL* here (Bir VA).
-cf. *jinangu*.

jinama- *V CAUS IPF* *jinamana* lay down (Gan NO). -cf. *jina*¹.

jinambaru *REL* this side, this way (Wir, Bir RD): *mungugu jinambaru* this side of the mountain (Wir), *gajurba jinambaru jinambaru* the women (used to dance) on either side or on different sides.

jinami *DEM PRON* (22.21).

jinamundu *REL* from here (Wir, Bir): *nula jiniba jinamundu* he went from here (Wir). -cf. *jina*^{2,3}.

jinana *DEM PRON* (22.20).

jinangu *REL* over here (Gan MM): *jinangu jambagu* come in. -cf. *jina*².

jinda *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16; 25.5-6).

jinda- *V ITR ACC* *jindalba-* go down, set (of the sun; Bir RD): *gapmira jindalballi* when the sun set.

jindaɲula *PERS PRON* (22.18).

jingagu *REL* where? (Nga; cf. Gunggari, Bidjara *jingiagu*, idem).

jini- *V ITR* (19.36) go (Wir, Bir WS): *jinda (gundu) jini* you go (away; Wir, Bir WS), *ɲalina jinina*, *nula jin'a* we two are going, he is going (Wir), *muli jinina* going back (Wir), *ɲaja jiniɲaja* I am going (Bir WS), *jiniɲanda* you are going (Bir WS), *jiniɲala* he is going (Bir WS), *gaɾa ɲaja jiniba* I did not go over (Wir), *ɲaja jinilaja* I went (Bir WS), *nula jinili* or *jinila* he went (Bir WS), *nula jinibalaga* (for *jinibanga* ?) when he went (Wir). -cf. *jani-*, *jara-*.

jiniɾi- *V ASS IMP* *jiniɾi* go away with, take away (Wir): *gundu jiniɾi* take (it) away, *jana jinda jiniɾi* you go away with that. -cf. *jini-*.

jira *N* teeth (Gan, Wir, Nga): *jira binbi* good teeth (Wir).

jiran *N* beard (Nga). -cf. *jaran*.

jirgun (jirgun) *N* blood (Gan B): *jirgun (jirgun) galgalia* bleeding (Gan KW, TA), *jirgun we-ra* (idem; Gan TA). -cf. *guma* (Gan (A), Wir, Bir).

ju- *REL* yes (Gan (A), Wir).

jua- *V TR IMP* *jua*; *PF* *juaba* chase (Gan KW): *ganu jinda ɲura jua* don't you chase the dog.

juana *DEM PRON* (19.23-24).

juanangu *DEM PRON* (19.24).

jubala *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16; 25.5-6).

jug^{a-1} *V TR* (16.31; 19.36; 22.32)
eat, drink, smoke (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gamu gaɾa juga don't drink (Wir), wina juga eat fish (Nga), gamu juga drink water (Nga), ɲaju juga let me eat (Nga), jugara wudun eating grass (Gan KW), manda jugara eating bread (Gan KW), manda jugana eating (Wir), ɲali juganali we (two) will eat him (Bir RD), nula gamu jugana he drinks water (Nga), waja jugalba (I) ate wallaby (Wir), baiba juganagu to smoke a pipe (Gan NO), manda juganu (want) to eat (Gan TA), gamu jugana (want) to drink (Gan TA), manta jugana or juganu to eat (Nga), manta jugala dinnertime (Gan CA; 'when you eat').

jug^{a-2} *DEM PRON* (16.21).

jugangu *DEM PRON* (16.21).

jugalanda (jugananda ?) *N* the name of a place, (probably) Ukanunda station (in the Burdekin and Bowen River area; Bir CC).

jugambe *N* the name of a language (at Woodenbong; Gan NO).

jugan *N* cloud, cloudy (Gan (B), Wir, Bir): gari jugan or jugan bandara bindana it is cloudy (Wir).

juɲa- *DEM PRON* (16.21).

juɲaɲ(g)u *DEM PRON* (16.21).

juɲana *DEM PRON* (19.23-24).

juɲgu *N* back (Gan CA).

juɲgu- *V TR IPF* juɲguna wash (Wir).

juɲguli- *V REFL IMP* juɲguli; *IPF* juɲguna; *PF* juɲguliba wash oneself (Wir): wuda jinda or jura wuda juɲguli wash your face, bulaɲu juɲguli you two wash (yourselves), jinda wuda juɲguna you are washing your face. —cf. juɲgu-.

juɲur juɲur *N* a lot (Gan CA): gandu juɲur juɲur a lot of kids.

juindi (juɲɲi, jundi) *N* ghost, spirit, little fellow (= Wakka-Wakka gangari; Gan NO), devil (Gan, Bir VA, RD, AL).

julagu (julugu ?) *REL DEM PRON* (16.21).

julaɲu *REL* belonging to here (Gan TA).

julgu¹ *N* heart (Gan TA).

julgu² *N* the third son (Wir).

julgugan *N* the third daughter (Wir). —cf. julgu².

julu¹ *DEM PRON* (16.21).

julu² *REL* here (Gan TA): ɲali julu bindara we (two) are sitting here.

juluɲ(g)u¹ *DEM PRON* (16.21).

juluɲ(g)u² *REL* from here (Gan TA): nula juluɲu wubaba he has come ('comes') from here.

juluna *DEM PRON* (16.21).

jumba- (jimba-, jinba-) *V TR IMP* jumba (jimba); *IPF* jumbana (jimbana, jinbana), jumbara, jimbana-, jumbana; *PF* jimbala (jinbala), jumbaba, jumbalba; *ACC* jumbala hear, listen (to), think, feel, smell (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jinda ɲana jumba you listen to me (Gan KW), jubala walu jumba you two listen or hear (Wir), (jinda) ɲuga jumba (you) hear the noise (Wir), ɲaja (nuɲuna) jimbana I can hear (him; Gan MM, NO), ɲani (jinda) jumbara what are (you) listening to or what are you thinking of? (Gan KW), walu jumbara thinking (Gan CA), ɲaja jumbana (jimbana) wadan I can hear a crow (Wir), ɲaja jimbanaɲanu I can hear you (Gan RD), jimbanaɲal he hears (Bir AL), jinda nuɲuna jumbaba you heard him (Gan KW), gaɲu jumbaba did not hear (Gan KW), gaɾa ɲaja jumbalba I have not heard (Wir), jimbalaɲa I heard (Bir RD).

jumbali- (jimbali-) *V REFL ITR*
IPF jumbalina, jimbalina; *INT*
 jumbalinagu listen, hear (Gan
 (A), Wir): bulaŋu (walu) jimbalina
 the two are listening (Gan NO),
 ŋuga jumbalina a noise is heard
 (Wir), jinda jumbalinagu you
 will hear yourself (as in a tape-
 recorder; Wir). -cf. jumba-.

jumbanga- *V REC IPF* jumbangara
 listen to one another (Gan CA).
 -cf. jumba-.

juna¹ *N ALL* junagu hole, cave
 (Gan Wir): nanigu juna a hole
 in the ground (Gan KW), junagu
 waŋaba fell into the hole (Wir).

juna² *POST* (16.16).

-junda *CAR SFX* (16.4).

junŋan *N* young girl (Gan NO).

ju(·)ngi, v. juingi.

jura¹ *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19;
 22.15-16; 25.5-6).

jura² *DEM PRON* (25.7).

juŋa *N* elbow (Gan TA).

juŋi *N ALL* juŋigu 1. flesh,
 meat, cow, bull (beef);
 2. animal, totem (Gan (A), Wir,
 Bir, Nga): ŋaŋu juŋi dagaŋ my
 meat or totem is Sand Goanna
 (Bir RD). -cf. jiji (Gan (B)).

L

-l *PERS PRON* (22.16).

-la *PERS PRON* (22.16).

-li *PERS PRON* (22.16).

-li- *V DER SFX* (16.9; 19.8; 22.9).

-lu *PERS PRON* (22.16).

M

-ma- *V DER SFX* (16.7; 19.7; 22.7).

mabi *N* net (Bir RD).

madaŋaŋa *N ERG* madaŋaŋangu
 thunder(storm), lightning (Wir):
 madaŋaŋa gamu thunder with rain.

madi *N* sorry, sick (Gan (B), Wir):
 madi we·ba got sick (Gan KW),
 ŋaja madi baŋana, baŋaba I am,
 have been sorry (Wir).

madibari *N* sickly (Gan KW):
 madibari gandu a sickly child.
 -cf. madi.

madin *N* knee (Bir VA).

madira *N ERG* madirangu paint
 (Bir RD). -cf. magaŋa.

maga- *V TR PF* magaba make (Bir
 VA).

magaŋbari *N* pretty (Gan KW): gaju
 magaŋbari pretty woman.

magaŋa *N ERG* magaŋangu mud,
 white paint (Wir): magaŋa baŋa,
 baŋaba turns, turned into mud,
 magaŋangu nula guŋa baŋa he is
 painting himself (with white).
 -cf. madira.

maŋa *N* ear (Gan (A), Nga; = walu,
 q.v., Gan NO).

maŋa bunda *N* the name of a place,
 Mangaboonda ('double peak'; a
 formation in the mountains which
 looks like two crossed, or jack
 rabbit's, ears, Gan TA). -cf.
 maŋa, bunda.

manga- *V TR IMP* manga; *IPF*
 mangana; *PF* mangala, mangalba;
INT mangana(gu) throw, hit,
 hurt, hunt (Gan (A), Wir, Bir):
 gaŋu jinda bari manga don't you
 throw stones (Gan MT), gaŋa
 ŋaŋuna manga waŋalungu don't
 you hit me with the boomerang
 (Wir), manganalali we (two) will
 catch ('knock' birds; Bir RD),
 manganalanu he would hit you
 (if you laughed; Bir RD),
 waŋalungu jinda mangalba you
 hit (me) with a boomerang (Wir;
 = gundalba), waja mangana(gu)
 to hunt wallaby (Wir).

mangali- *V REFL IMP* mangali; *PF* mangaliba hit or hurt oneself (Wir): gara jinda mangali don't hurt yourself, naja wanalungu mangaliba I hurt myself with the boomerang. -cf. manga-.

mangabinda *N* the name of a place, Mangabinda (the English pronunciation of mangabinda, see 13; Bir RD). -cf. manabunda.

mangan *N* young girl (12-13 years; Bir VA).

mangulan *N* sand goanna, any goanna (Gan, Nga).

maji *N* bread or any vegetal food (potatoes, sweet potatoes, etc.; Nga).

maji- *V ITR IPF* majina (maina); *PF* majila, majiba (maiba) die go out (of the fire; Gan (A), Wir, Bir): buji maina the fire is going out (Wir), (nula, dana, buji) majila, majiba (maiba) (he has, they all have) died, (the fire) has gone out, gara majiba is alive (Wir). -cf. maju- (Gan B).

majimba- *V CAUS IMP* majimba put out (fire; Gan (B), Wir): buji, buji majimba put out the fire. -cf. maji-.

maju *N* dingo (Bir LJ). -cf. majur (Bir VA).

maju- (maji-) *V ITR IPF* majura; *PF* majuba (majiba) die, go out (of the fire; Gan B): nura majuba the dog died (Gan KW), buji majiba the fire has gone out (Gan TA). -cf. maji- (Gan (A), Wir, Bir).

majuma- *V CAUS IMP* majuma put out (fire; Gan KW): buji majuma put out the fire. -cf. maju-, majimba-.

majur *N* dingo (Bir VA). -cf. maju.

mala *N* *ERG* malangu; *ALL* malagu hand, (lower) arm, branch (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): mala webe one-armed (Gan TA), mala bangar a sore hand (Wir), banga mala badina branches grow on the tree (Wir), malangu barambalba made with (his) hands (Wir), malagu bin'a (a fly) sitting on the hand (Wir), malagu murgunbari having spots on (his) hands (Wir); the same word in Gudjal. -cf. mara.

malabari *N* having hands (Gan NO): nula gara malabari he has got no hands. -cf. mala.

malagudu *N* having no hands (Wir): mari malagudu a man having no hands (= mala gara(bari)). -cf. mala.

mala mala *N* wings (Gan CA): mala mala we'ra flying. -cf. mala.

malbara *N* koala (Bir RD).

malgaḍi *N* corroboree (Bir VA).

malgu *N* porcupine (Gan KW).

mama *N* mother (Gan KW; from English ?).

mamba *N* sexual intercourse (Bir RD).

mambu¹ *N* *ABL* mambudi nose (Bir): naja guma waranagu mambudi I am bleeding from my nose (Bir AL).

mambu² *N* corroboree song (properly Bidjara ?).

mamuṛu *N* kidney (Bir AL). -cf. mumira.

mana- *V TR IMP* mana; *PF* manala-, manali-; *ACC* manalbana- get, take, point (Bir): manalaja I took (it; Bir RD), balbandu manalina he pointed (at) me with the bone (Bir RD), manalbanali when or if we (two) got (Bir RD). -cf. mara-.

manangu *REL* quick, quickly (Bir RD).

manala *N* tree goanna (Gan KW).

manda¹ *N ALL* mandagu bread, food, fruit, tucker (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): manda jugalba (I) have eaten (Wir), mandagu (hungry) for food, (wants) food (Wir). —cf. manta.

manda² *N* head (Nga).

mangari- *V ASS PF* mangarila- walk away with (Bir RD): mangarilaja I walked away with it.

mangi- *V TR PF* mangiba cook (Gan CA): bujingu mangiba cooked by fire.

manta (manda) *N* bread, food, fruit, tucker, dinner (Gan, Bir, Nga): manta jugara eating bread (Gan KW), manta juganu to eat dinner (Gan TA), manta jugala dinnertime (Gan CA), manta binbi good food, eating (e.g. of a banana; Gan TA), manta garabari without food (Nga), manta jamapa cooking ('making food'; Nga). —cf. manda¹.

mantadiri *N* having food (Nga).

manu *N* neck (Wir), throat (Nga).

mara- (maṛa-) *V TR IMP* mara; *IPF* marana, manaja-, marapa; *PF* marala, maraba, maralba; *INT* marana, maranu get (hold of), take, carry away, catch, gather, do, pinch, touch, point (a bone), buy, marry (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gaṛa (jinda) mara don't get it (Wir), don't touch (Bir VA), jinda gaṛa mara don't you take it (Bir VA), jinda waṇal ṇaḍu marana you will get me a boomerang (Gan NO), ṇani jinda marana what are you doing? (Gan NO), nula waṇal (malangu) marana he is getting or taking a boomerang (with his hand; Gan NO), balbandu marana pointing (with) the bone (Wir), ṇaja jin'a wina marana I am going to catch fish or to fish (Wir), manda maraṇaja getting food

(Bir VA), bulimandu marapa jinda the policeman will get you (Nga), ṇana jina gaṇu maraba we caught no fish (Gan KW), ṇandulu gara maralba who might have taken it? (Wir), malangu maralba pinched (Wir), gungal maralba married (of a woman, 'took a husband'; Wir), ṇani jinda maraba what did you get? (Bir VA), ṇaja maralba I bought it (Bir VA), (janira) jina marana (Gan KW), winagu maranu (going) to catch fish or to fish (Gan TA).

maragan *N ALL* maragangu car (Nga; from English 'motor car'): maragangu bindapa sitting in the car. —cf. muraga.

margan *N ALL* margangu Murgon (Wir): margangu wun'a live(s) at Murgon.

margan *N* the name of a language, the 'Springsure language' (Wir; probably for maṛgan, see 13).

maru *N* leaf, tea leaves, tea (Gan TA): maru baṅga munda leaves of ('from') the tree.

maṛa *N LOC* maṛaṅga hand (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga). —cf. me (Gan (B)), mala.

maṛi *N ERG* maṛingu; *LOC* maṛiṅga; *ALL* maṛigu native or Aboriginal man, Aboriginal, man, people, someone, anyone (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): biḍara maṛi a Bidjara (Gan MM; = bama, q.v., Gan NO), gaṛa ṇuḡana maṛi I do not know a man, anyone (Wir), maṛi jindaṇuna nagalba someone saw you (Wir), jamba maṛi garabari a place without people (Wir), maṛi gaju black woman (Bir RD), maṛi manta Aboriginal food (Bir RD), maṛi bama Aboriginal man (Bir RD), ṇaja jiniba maṛiṅga I went away with (also 'to visit') a blackfellow (Wir), maṛigu jana wulur those are the man's clothes (Wir); the same word in Gudjal. —cf. bama.

maɾi maɾi *N* boy (Nga): gandu maɾi
maɾi, idem.

maɾmil *N* pigeon (Gan CA).

mawandal *N* dingo (Bir VA).

-mba- *V DER SFX* (16.7; 19.7; 22.7).

-mbi- *V DER SFX* (22.7).

-mbili- *V DER SFX* (22.9).

me· *N LOC* me·ŋ(g)a hand (Gan B).
-cf. maɾa, mala.

me·bari *N REL* with or in the
hand (Gan KW): ŋani jinda
me·bari gandira what are you
holding in your hand?

-mi *N DER SFX* (22.5).

-mi- *V DER SFX* (16.10).

mibiri *N* chest (Gan CA). -cf.
miɾbil (Wir).

mida¹ *N* black, dark, night (Gan,
Wir, Bir): wandi mida a black
dog (Wir; = mida mida, q.v.),
mida bandina getting dark (Wir).

mida² *N* black snake (Nga).

mida mida *N* black (Gan (A), Wir,
Nga): ŋura mida mida (Gan NO),
wandi mida mida (Wir) a black
dog, mida mida bandiba it turned
black (Wir). -cf. mida^{1,2}.

midar *N* fog (Gan NO).

midin *N* *ERG* midingu nail, nails
(Gan (B), Nga): midingu bambu
scratch (Gan CA).

miga *N* black snake (Wir). -cf.
mida².

migulu *N* white, white man (Gan,
Wir, Bir): migulu gaju a white
woman (Gan MM, Bir RD), ŋura
migulu white dog (Gan NO),
migulu waɖa baŋa speaking (in)
English ('white talk'; Wir),
migulu manta white (people's)
food (Bir RD). -cf. widu.

mil *N* eye (Nga; = dili, q.v. -
probably from the Wakka languages).

milpara, v. mipara.

mingundaيدا *N* the name of an
Aboriginal (Wir; cf. in 13).

mipa *N* meat, animal food (e.g.
bacon, kangaroo meat, etc.; Nga).

mipara (milpara) *V N* smash
(Bir VA): gaɾa jinda mipara banba
don't you smash it.

miril *N* nulla-nulla (Gan NO).
-cf. miru.

miru *N* *ERG* mirungu, miruju
1. nulla-nulla; 2. singing stick
(to mark rhythm; Gan (B), Wir,
Bir): miru gundara beating the
singing sticks; Gan TA), miruju
jaba throw (with) the nulla-
nulla (Gan KW). -cf. miril.

miɾbil *N* chest (Wir). -cf.
mibiri (Gan B).

muga *N* blind (Gan KW, TA).

mugabari *N* bad (of the eyes; Gan
NO): dili mugabari bad eyes.
-cf. muga.

mugul *N* shadow (Wir): mugul nagana
seeing a shadow, mugul dina
nagana seeing the shadow of
(your) foot.

mungar *N* *LOC* mungara, mungaranga;
ALL mungargu bush, scrub,
mountain, the name of a mountain
at Springsure (Gan (A), Wir):
nula wun·a mungargu he lives in
the bush (Wir), maɾi mungargu
people in the scrub (Wir).

mungu *N* ALL mungugu mountain
(Wir): mungugu baɾaba was
changed into a mountain.

mujam *N* clothes, 'swag' (Gan CA):
mujamulu (mujanmulu ?) without
clothes, mujam maraba or gandiba
carried away (his) swag. -cf.
mujan, mujun.

mujan *N* clothes (Gan MT, KW):
mujanjunda (Gan KW), mujanmulu
(? Gan CA) without clothes.
-cf. mujam, mujun.

muju *N* posterior (Nga). -cf. mula.

mujun *N* clothes (Gan MT).

mula *N* backside, posterior (Gan, Bir). —cf. muju.

mulga- *V TR IMP* mulga shut (Wir): dili mulga shut the eyes.

mulgun *N REL ALL* mulgungu inside (Gan KW): mulgun bara bindara sitting inside, mulgungu inside.

muli *REL* want (more), more, still, again (Gan KW, Wir): ji'gu muli want meat (Gan KW), ji'gu muli bara (?) more meat (Gan KW), ji'gu ganu muli does not want meat (Gan KW), qanda muli jinina whether I go back again (Wir), muli mari still another man (Wir), muli qala jindaŋu baŋamana have you any more work to do? (Wir), muli qala jinda baŋa do you want more? (Wir), waŋa qaja gaŋa muli baŋa I have finished talking, do not want to talk any more (Wir), muli baŋambalba did or made it again or once more (Wir). —cf. buli, mulila.

mulila *REL* more, again (= muli, q.v.; Wir): gaŋa mulila no more, gaŋa qaja baŋamana mulila I cannot do any more or I shall not do it again. —cf. muli.

-mulu *N DER SFX* (16.4; 22.4).

mumira *N* kidney (Bir VA). —cf. mamuru.

munangu *REL* there (Wir): munangu jida leave it there.

munda *N* any snake, black snake (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).

mundaŋara *N* a snake living in the water, water serpent, spirit living in swamps (Bir JH), rainbow (Bir VA), 'something in the water' (Gan (B), Wir, Bir, Nga): (mundaŋara) gamugu wun'a the mundaŋara lives in the water (Wir).

mundu *POST* (16.16; 19.16; 25.4).

munga *N* tobacco (Gan (B), Wir MS, Bir).

munu *N* lip(s), mouth (Gan, Wir, Nga).

munugal (munungal) *N* moustache (Gan KW, TA). —cf. murangal, munu.

mupu mupu *N* bat (Bir VA).

mura *N* dog (Bir JH). —cf. qura.

muraga (muruga-) *N ALL* murugagu car (Gan, Wir, Nga): bindaŋa murugagu sitting in the car (Nga).

murangal *N* moustache (Gan CA). —cf. munu(n)gal.

murangalbari *N* jewfish (Gan CA). —cf. munungal, murangal.

murgun *N* spot (Wir): murgunbari having a spot, spots.

muri *REL* before (Bir AL). —cf. muringa, muringu.

muringa, muringu *REL* long ago (Bir RD): gaŋa muringa not long ago. —cf. muri.

muŋipbal *N* calf of the leg (Gan CA).

muŋu *N*: qani muŋu how many? (Bir RD).

N

-na¹ *N DER SFX* (16.6; 19.6; 22.5).

-na² *PERS PRON* (22.16).

-na- *V DER SFX* (22.9).

naga- *V TR* (16.31; 19.36; 22.32, 37) see, look (at), look like, find, watch, mind (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): munda dilingu naga watch out for the snake (Wir), jinda naganga you look (at him; Bir RD), jinda naga you look (Nga), wandi ŋamu nagana looks like a dog (Gan NO), jinda nagara

you can see (Gan MT), birgagu nagana will see (him) tomorrow (Wir), gaṛa nagana cannot see (Wir), ṛaja jinagu nagaṇaja I am watching or minding (the cattle; Bir RD), ṛaja nagana I am looking (Bir VA), jinda naganandana ṇaḡuna you will look at me (Bir RD), ṛaja maṛi nagana I can see a man (Nga), ṇana nagana sees me (Nga), ṛaja nagalana (nuṇuna) I saw, have seen him (Bir RD), nula nagali ṇanaṇuna, ṇaliṇuna he saw us (two; Bir RD), ṇandana jinda naganda whom did you see? (Bir RD), ṇandana jinda nagana whom do you want to see? (Gan MT), nula janili jinagu naganana he came here to see me (Bir RD), nula waṛaṇala nuṇuna naganala he wants to look at him (Bir RD), bindaṇa nagaṇala sitting looking (Bir VA). —cf. wana- (Gan B).

nagali- *V REFL IMP* nagali; *IPF* nagalina, nagaliṇa; *PF* nagaliba, nagalila; *INT* nagalinagu; *ACC* nagalilaṇa look at oneself, at one another (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): jinda nagali (Gan NO, Wir), jinda nagalinda (Bir RD), you look at yourself, gaṛa jinda nagalinda don't you look at yourself (Bir RD), ṛaja nagaliṇaja I am looking at myself (Bir AL), jinda nagaliṇanda you are looking at yourself (Bir RD, AL), nula nagaliṇala (Bir RD), nagaliṇal (Bir AL) he is looking at himself, mugul ṛaja nagalina I can see my shadow (Wir), gaḡaṛa nagaliba ṛaja (sic) the moon is up (Wir), jinda jini nagalinagu you go and have a look at yourself (Wir). —cf. naga-.

nagamali- *V REC IMP* nagamali look at one another (Gan NO): gaṛa jibala nagamali don't you two look at one another. —cf. naga-, nagami-.

nagami- *V REC IMP* nagami; *IPF* nagamina look at one another (Gan NO): jubala nagami you two look at one another, ṇalinda, bulaṛu, dana nagamina you and I, they both, they look at each other.

nagara- *V REC IMP* nagara; *IPF* nagarana, nagaṇa; *PF* nagaraba look at one another (Wir): jubala nagara you two look at each other, bulaṛu nagarana or nagaṇa the two are looking at each other bulaṛuṅgu (sic) nagaṇa the two can see each other, bulaṛu nagaraba the two looked at each other. —cf. naga-.

nala *N* tired (Gan CA): nala we-la tired from talking.

nalalbin *N* the name of a place, Nullalbin (Gan TA).

namamu *N* the last son (Wir).

namugan *N* last-born daughter (Wir). —cf. namamu.

nambar (nambara) *N* name (Wir; from English 'number'): ṇandulu jinda (or jinda ṇandulu) nambar what is your name? ṇandulu or ṇani nambar what are the names?

-nana *PERS PRON* (22.16).

namgara *N* plenty, a lot (Wir): maṛi, mungu namgara plenty or a lot of people, mountains.

nanga *N* young man (Wir, Gan TA; cf. Bidjara janga, idem) —cf. ṇangan.

namagan *N* young woman (Gan TA). —cf. nanga.

nani *N LOC* naniṅga; *ALL* nanigu earth, ground, dirt, sand (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): nani budi dry earth (Gan TA), nani dulbi wet earth (Gan TA), nani jabalba (Bir VA), baṛambalba (Wir) (God) made the earth, nani bara below the earth (Wir), bindana naniṅga (Nga), bindara nanigu (Gan MT)

sitting on the ground, nanigu
danara standing on the ground
(Gan KW), nanigu juna a hole in
the ground (Gan KW), nanigu wunjar
asleep on the ground (Gan TA),
banga wun'a nanigu a stick
lying on the ground (Wir).

nanibari *N* dirty (Gan TA). -cf
nani.

nara *REL* always (Wir): nula nara
marana he always takes (things),
gundana nara always stealing.

-nara *N DER SFX* (25.2).

narbi *N* fat (Wir).

narga *REL* a long time (Wir): naja
narga bindaba I stayed a long
time.

nari *N* name (Gan (B), Bir):
nandulu (nanduru) nari what is
(your) name? (Gan KW, TA),
nandulu bama nari what is his
name? (Gan KW), nari ganu
nugalira (I) do not know the
name (Gan CA), jinda nandulu
(or nani) nari (Gan TA), jinda
naninu nari (Bir RD) what is
your name?

-nda *PERS PRON* (22.16).

-nga- *V DER SFX* (16.10).

-ni- *V DER SFX* (16.8).

niba- *V TR* niba; nibana; nibalba
show (Wir): jinda nagauna wulur
niba you show me clothes, naja
jindaguna nibana I want to show
you.

nibala *N* turtle (Gan KW).

nidi *N* hair of the head (Bir VA),
short hair on arms, body hair or
whiskers (Bir AL).

nigal ? *N* dark (Wir): nigal (?)
bandina it is getting dark.

niman *N* ant, ants (Wir).

nimu *N* sore, sick, poorly, ill
(Gan B): jinda nimu you are sick
(Gan KW), nimu we'ra, we'ba nula

he is, got sick, took ill (Gan
KW, TA), me' nimu sore hand
(Gan KW), dumu nimu sick leg
(Gan TA), bama nimu danara a
sick man (Gan KW), nimu mibiri
sore chest (Gan CA), nimu we'ra
naja I am sick today (Gan CA).
-cf. nimu-.

nimu- *V ITR PF* nimuba be sick
(Gan KW): nimuba sick. -CF.
nimu.

nimubari *N* sick, having a sore
(Gan TA). -cf. nimu.

nimun *N* fly, flies (Nga). -cf.
nunun.

ninga *N* fly, flies (Wir). -cf.
nimun, nunun.

nirimu or niramun *N* rosewood (Gan
KW, CA).

-nu *PERS PRON* (22.16).

nubaji- *V TR* nubaji; nubajira;
nubajiba show (Gan TA): jinda
naguna nubaji you show me.

nuda *N* face (Gan MM).

nula *PERS PRON* (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.5-6).

numan *N* skin (Gan TA): ngargu numan
kangaroo skin.

numba *N* spit, saliva (Wir): numba
bilgana spitting.

numba(ra) *N* name (Bir AL; from
English 'number'). -cf. nambar.

nundur *N* nose (Bir VA).

nunun *N* fly (Gan KW): nunun walugu
dagaba a fly got into (my) ear.

nuru *N* shoulder, upper arm (Gan
CA, Wir).

nurui *N* cold in your nose, mucus
(Wir).

nurgal *N* skin (Wir).

n

-n PERS PRON (22.37).

-na PERS PRON (22.37).

R

-ra- V DER SFX (19.8; 22.9).

-ri- V DER SFX (22.8).

R

-ri- V DER SFX (19.7).

W

waba N one (Gan KW): waba gandu
one child. -cf. wabe, webe.

wabe N one (Gan TA): naja wabe
gundaba I killed one (wallaby).
-cf. waba, webe.

wabi¹ N (wabigu) corroboree
(song; Gan KW, TA): wabi bandara
(Gan KW), we-la (Gan CA) singing,
ganu naja bandara I cannot sing
(Gan TA), wabi banda, we-ra
sing(ing) a corroboree (Gan TA),
naja wabigu we-ra I want to go
to a corroboree (Gan TA), wabigu
jinda jani you go to a
corroboree (Gan TA).

wabi² N bag (Wir).

wabu N ALL wabugu (younger)
brother (Wir, Bir RD): wabu nuṇu
barina his younger brother is
crying (Wir). -cf. waburu.

wabugan N younger sister (Wir).
-cf. wabu.

waburu N 1. younger brother (Gan
TA); 2. little, a little (Bir RD):
naja wunalaja waburu when I was
little (Bir RD), island waburu
the little island (Bir RD),
waburu waranaja I want a little
(Bir RD). -cf. wabu.

wadan N ERG wadandu (black)
crow (Wir, Bir VA, AL): wadandu
jugalba the crow ate it (Wir).

wadarin (-rin) N old man (Gan MM).
-cf. waduran, waganan.

wadi N white woman (Gan MM).

wadimba- V CAUS IMP wadimba; IPF
(IMM) wadimbana- wash (Bir RD;
from English 'wash'): jinda
wadimbananda you will wash it.

wadimbali- V REFL IMP wadimbali
wash oneself (Bir RD): naja
wadimbali I will or let me wash
myself (= wadimba naduna, sic).
-cf. wadimba-.

wadira N ALL wadiragu another,
every (Wir): jamba, guga, gaju
wadira another camp, house,
woman, wadira mari another man,
wadira gungal maralba married
(('took')) another husband, naja
jiniba jamba wadiragu I went to
another camp, have been every-
where. -cf. wadria.

wadiwadiragu REL to all kinds of
places (Wir). -cf. wadira.

wadria N other, another (Gan CA):
bama wadria another fellow, gari
wadria nimu we-ba (I) was sick
the other day (probably copying
English). -cf. wadira.

wadugan N old woman (Gan TA).

wadun N LOC wadunda grass (Gan
MM): binda wadunda sit on the
grass.

waduran N old man (Gan TA). -cf.
wadarin, waganan.

waga N ALL wagagu word, talk
(Bir): waga jamana talking (Bir
VA), biri waga talking in Birri
(Bir VA), wunaranga nula waga
warambilini he is talking in his
sleep (Bir VA), waga warananda,
nali waga waranali you, we two
are talking (Bir RD, AL), wagagu
naja janiba I have come to talk
(Bir VA). -cf. waga-, waḡa.

waga- *V ITR IMP* waga talk
(Bir VA): gaṛa jinda waga don't
you talk. -cf. waga.

wagambili *V N* talking a lot
(Bir VA). -cf. waga, waga-.

wagaran *N* old man (Gan KW).
-cf. wadarin, waduran.

wagu- *V TR IMP* wagu; *IPF* waguna,
waguna-; *PF* wagulba, wagula-,
wagul-, waguli; *INT* wagunagu;
ACC wagunanga, wagulbanga
cook, burn (Wir, Bir): jinda
waja wagu you cook the wallaby
(Wir), naja juṛi waguna I am
cooking meat (Wir), nula manda
wagunaḷ he is cooking (food;
Bir AL), wagunaḷana (the sun)
is burning me (Bir AL), wina
wagunali we two would cook the
fish (Bir RD), ṇandulu juṛi
wagulba who cooked the meat?
(Wir), wagulba waja cooked the
wallaby (Wir), maṛingu manda
waguladana the people cooked
(for the funeral; Bir RD), mala
wagulaja, wagunda, waguli I,
you, he (she) burned (my, etc.)
hand (Bir RD), wagulana (the
sun) burned me (Bir AL), manta
wagunagu in order to cook (Bir
RD), wagulbanga after cooking
(Wir).

waḍa *N* word, talk, speech,
language (Wir): waḍa baṇa
talking, bulaṛu waḍa bula baṇa
two are talking to each other,
ṇaja jumbalba nuṇuna birijaba
waḍa baṛaba I heard him speak
in Birri (or 'Birrijaba'), ṇaja
wiṛi waḍa baṇa or waḍa wiṛi baṇa
I am speaking (in) or know Wirri,
ṇaja waḍa migulu or migulu waḍa
baṇa I speak or am talking in
English, waḍa walu baṇa
listening, nula waḍa baṛaba,
waḍa nula baṛaba he spoke,
(gaṛa) jinda waḍa baṛa (don't)
you talk, gaṛa waḍa nula baṛaba
he did not talk. -cf. waḍa.

wadagan *N* crow (Gan KW). -cf.
wadan.

wadugan *N* old woman (Gan KW).
-cf. wadugan.

waga¹ *N* knee (Gan KW, CA).

waga² *N* work (Wir; probably from
English 'work'): ṇaja waga baṛaba
I have worked, waga binbi nice
work.

waga- *V ITR IPF* wagara, wagana,
wagana; *PF* wagala, wagali run,
get up, come up (Gan, Bir, Nga):
jinda, nula wagara you are, he
is running (Gan MT, KW), gamu
wagara water is running (Gan TA),
waburu dula wagaṇala (one) little
plant is coming up (Bir RD), ṇaja
wagana I am getting up (Nga).
-cf. wagara-.

wagabandi- *V ITR IPF* wagabandina
run (Wir): nula wagabandina he
is running. -cf. waga-.

wagabandiṛi- *V ASS IMP* wagabandiṛi;
IPF wagabandiṛina run away with
(Wir). -cf. wagabandi-.

wagal *N* eel (Wir). -cf. wagaṛi
(Bir VA).

wagani, *v.* galari.

wagara- *V ITR IMP* wagara; *IPF*
wagarara, wagarana; *PF* wagaraba;
INT wagarana; *ACC* wagarala
run, run away (Gan, Wir): jinda
wagara you run (Gan MT, Wir),
gaṇu (jinda) wagara or gaṇu
(waju) wagara jinda don't (you)
run (Gan KW), gamu wagarara
water (is) running (Gan TA),
nula wagarana he is going to
run (Wir), ṇura, waja (waju)
wagaraba the dog, wallaby ran
(away; Gan KW), nula we-ra waju
wagarana he wants to run away
(Gan KW). -cf. waga-.

wagari- *V ASS PF* wagarili run
away with (Bir RD). -cf. waga-.

wagaringi (wagarini *V* = wagarara,
Gan KW) running, running away
with (Gan B): nula wagaringi he
is running (Gan KW), money waju
wagaringi running away with the
money (Gan KW). -cf. wagani,
galari.

wagaŋ *N* *ERG* wagaŋungu big frog
(Wir): wagaŋungu ŋuga baŋambana
the frog is making a noise.

wagaŋi (-ri ?) *N* eel (Bir VA).
-cf. wagaŋ (Wir).

waga waga *N* crow (Nga).

wagawanda- *V* *ITR* *IMP* wagawanda;
PF wagawanda-li run, run away
(Bir RD): jinda wagawanda you
run, wagawandali he ran away.
-cf. waga-, wanda-.

wagu (wago ?) *N* bad (Gan KW).

waguŋa *N* *ALL* waguŋagu grass
(Gan (A), Wir, Bir): nula bindana
waguŋagu he is sitting on the
grass (Wir).

waŋa *N* boomerang (Bir JH; probably
incorrect). -cf. waŋal.

waŋa- *V* *TR* *IMP* waŋa; *PF* waŋaba
chase (Gan TA). -cf. wuŋa- (Wir).

waŋal *N* *ERG* waŋalu, waŋalungu,
waŋalangu; *ALL* waŋalgu
boomerang (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
waŋalgu baŋa wants a boomerang
(Wir).

waŋamba- *V* *CAUS* *IMP* waŋamba; *PF*
waŋambaba lose, forget (Gan KW):
gaŋu jinda waŋamba don't you
lose it. -cf. walu waŋara-.

waŋan waŋan *N* silly (Gan NO):
gandu gada waŋan waŋan a silly
child, nuŋu gada waŋan waŋan
baŋana he is getting silly.
-cf. waŋa waŋa, waŋi waŋi.

waŋa waŋa *N* mad (Gan (B), Wir):
nula gada waŋa waŋa he is silly
(Wir), waŋa waŋa migulu a mad
white man (Gan TA). -cf. waŋan
waŋan, waŋi waŋi.

waŋara-, *v.* walu waŋara-.

wangan *N* *ALL* wangangu 1. box
tree (Gan KW); 2. Clermont (Wir):
wangan gunmani, the name of a
place, Boolburra (by Duaringa;
Gan KW), wangan mundu from
Clermont (Wir), wangangu majiba
died at Clermont (Wri). -cf.
wangan'a.

wangan'a *N* Clermont (Wir): jabu
jaŋa jamba wangan'a my father
and mother belonged to Clermont.
-cf. wangan.

wangaŋan *N* the whole lot (Bir RD).

wangaŋana *REL* altogether (Bir RD).
-cf. wangaŋan.

wanguŋ *N* long, a long time (Gan
CA): da wanguŋ a long talk.

wanguŋu *N* puppy (Bir VA).

waŋi waŋi *N* silly (Wir): waŋi waŋi
gada baŋaba went silly. -cf.
waŋan waŋan, waŋa waŋa.

waja *N* wallaby, scrub wallaby
(Gan (B), Wir, Bir).

waju *REL* away (Gan B): nula waju
wagaraba he ran away (Gan KW),
waju janira going away (Gan KW),
waju wagarara running away
(Gan CA).

walba *N* small prickly lizard
(Gan KW).

walgi *REL* no, not (Nga): walgi
ŋaja janira I am not going.

walmal *N* native bear, koala
(Bir AL). -cf. wanmal, warmal.

walu *N* *ALL* walugu ear (Gan, Wir,
Bir): walu jumbana listening
(Gan NO), walu jumbana thinking
(Gan CA), walu badiba ears are
open ('he is awake'; Wir), walu
banbana listening (Wir), walu
jumba remember (Wir), walu
guja(li) bad hearing (Bir RD).

walu baji- *V* *TR* *IMP* walu baji;
IPF walu bajira; *PF* walu bajiba
forget (Gan KW): gaŋu jinda walu
baji don't you forget it. -cf.
walu waŋara-.

walugudu *N* deaf (Gan, Wir).
-cf. walu.

walu waŋara- (waŋara-) *V* *ITR* *IMP*
walu waŋara; *PF* walu waŋaraba
forget (Wir): walu gaŋa waŋara
don't forget. -cf. walu baji-.

wambai *REL* ? no, do not want to
(? Nga).

wamira *N* crow (Nga).

wana- *V TR IPF* wanara; *PF* wanaba;
INT wananu see look (at), look
 (Gan B): gamu wanara looking at
 the water (Gan KW), naja bula
 wanaba I have seen the cows
 (Gan KW), nandulu (sic) jinda
 wanaba whom did you see? (Gan
 CA), diguru wananu (I) want to
 look for birds (Gan TA). -cf.
 naga-.

wanabara *N* big father kangaroo
 (Bir VA).

wanali- *V REFL* wanali; wanali(r)a;
 wanaliba look at oneself (Gan
 B): ganu wanali gilar don't
 look at yourself in the mirror
 (Gan TA). -cf. wana-.

wananga- (wananda-) *V REC IPF*
 wanangara, wanandara look at
 one another (Gan CA). -cf.
 wana-.

wanda- *V TR* wanda; wandana;
 wandaliba; wandanagu leave,
 leave off (Wir): gara jinda
 nguna wanda don't you leave me,
 jinda wanda bijaga, gamu you
 leave off tobacco, drinking,
 nula wandaliba he left off
 (drinking), wandanagu (I) must
 leave.

wandi *N* *ERG* wandingu; *POSS*
 wandigu; *ALL* wandigu dog
 (Gan (A), Wir): wandingu bagana
 nguna the dog bites me (Gan
 NO), wandigu buna the dog's
 tail (Gan NO); the same word in
 Gudjal.

wandu- *V TR* wandu; wanduna;
 wandulba ask (Wir): nununa
 jinda wandu you ask him, jinda
 nani wanduna you are asking
 something, jinda nguna wanduna
 you are asking me, naja nununa
 wandulba I (have) asked him.

wanga *N* *REL* enough, a lot
 (Gan TA): nula da wanga he is
 talking a lot.

wanga- (waga-) *V ITR IMP* wanga;
IPF (DUR) wanga; *PF* wanga-
 wangi; *INT* wanga-n- go, come,
 run, call, go away, leave (Bir):
 jandu wanga bula you two come
 over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu
 (or jinagu) wanga you come
 here (Bir RD, AL), wanga
 I am going (Bir AL), jibala
 wanga (sic) you two calling
 over there (Bir RD), wanga
 he is coming (Gan AL), wanga
 they left the place (Bir RD),
 wangi you ran (Bir RD),
 jamalina wanga he told
 him to go.

wangi *N* all right (Gan KW).
 -cf. wangi-, wanga.

wangi- *V REFL ITR IPF* wangi(r)a;
PF wangi be all right, cure
 (Gan B): buganu wangi(r)a
 getting better tomorrow (Gan CA),
 nguna wangi (the clever
 man) is fixing me up (Gan TA),
 wangi got well (Gan TA),
 -cf. wanga, wangi.

wangari- *V ASS IPF (IMM)*
 wangarina-; *PF* wangarili go
 away with (Bir RD): jinami
 wangarina I will take this,
 wangarili ngu he went away
 with mine. -cf. wanga-.

wangu- *V TR* (22.37) ask, ask for
 (Bir): gara wangu don't ask,
 jinda gara wangu you will
 not ask me, nula wangi jinamigu,
 gunamigu he asked for this one,
 that one, jinda wangi or
 wangu or wangi you asked
 (Bir RD), jinda nguna wangu
 you ask me (perfective imperative ?
 Bir RD), wangi he asked him
 (Bir AL; correct ?), naja nununa
 wangi I asked him (Bir AL).
 -cf. wandu- (Wir).

wangu *N* barking or howling of dogs
 and dingoes (Gan (B), Wir): nura
 wangu we-ra the dog is barking
 (Gan KW), gumbinu wangu bura
 the dingoes are howling (Wir);
 possibly original allative of
 *wan (dog's barking)?

wani REL outside (Gan KW): wani
bindara sitting outside.

wanmal (warṃal) N ERG wanmalu,
warmalangu native bear, koala
(Wir): wanmalu (warmalangu)
wilba jugana, jugalḃa the bear
eats, has eaten (gum tree)
leaves. -cf. walmal.

wanmap N dingo (Bir VA).

wanturumundu REL from where?
(Nga): wanturumundu jinda where
are you from?

wapanda- V ITR IPF (DUR) wapandana-,
(IMM) wapandana; PF wapanda-
go (Bir RD): wapandana I am
going, wapandana he is going,
wapandana I will go, wapandana
you have gone. -cf. wanga-.

wapbaringala REL in a hurry (Bir
RD): wagarili wapbaringala he
ran away with it for his life.

wapmari (-meri) N white woman
(Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): wapmeri
binbi nice (white) woman
(Gan TA)

wapmarigan (-merigan) N white
woman (Gan (B), Wir, Bir, Nga).

wapu INTERR PRON (25.8).

wara- V ITR IPF warapa play
(Nga).

warga N plains turkey (Gan KW).

warṃu (warṃu) N woman (Bir JH, VA).

wariṃban N black goanna (Gan MM).

warma N corroboree (Nga)

warṃa-¹ V ITR IPF warṃana (warṃa);
PF warṃala, warṃaba; ACC warṃananga,
warṃabanga fall, go down (set),
rain, be born (Gan (A), Wir):
gamu warṃana (warṃa) it is raining
(Gan NO, Wir), gari warṃa the
sun is going down (Wir), junagu
ṇaja warṃala I fell into the
hole (Gan NO), gari warṃaba (or
warṃa) sunset, sundown (Wir; =
ṇugun), ṇaja warṃangu warṃaba
I was born at Clermont (Wir),

gandu warṃaba (when) the child
was born (Wir), jijaḃa gaṃa
warṃaba today it has not rained
(Wir), gamu warṃananga when the
rain falls (Wir).

warṃa-² V ITR (22.37) happen (run,
flow), feel, want (Bir): jurigu
warṃanaja, warṃananda or ṇaja
warṃa jurigu juganagu I, you
want meat (to eat; Bir RD),
bulaṃ warṃanala naganagu the
two want to look (at one another;
Bir RD), ṇaja warṃanaja janinagu
I want to go (Bir RD), nula
warṃanala juganagu he wants to
eat (Bir RD), ṇanigu jinda
warṃananda what do you want?
(Bir RD), binbi warṃanaja I am
feeling well (Bir RD), jinda
binbi warṃananda you feel well
(Gan AL), guma warṃanagu or
warṃanaja I am bleeding (Bir RD),
jinda guma warṃanagu or warṃananda
you are bleeding (Bir RD, AL),
nula guma warṃanala or warṃananga
he is bleeding (Bir RD), binbi
ṇaja warṃalaja I (have) felt well
(Bir RD), guma warṃalaḃu I had
bled (Bir RD), jinda guma warṃalanu
you had bled (Bir RD), nula guma
warṃalila he had bled (Bir RD),
ṇali dananali waḃa warṃalḃaḃa(li)
we two are sitting talking (Bir
RD). -cf. we- (Gan (B)).

warṃama- V CAUS IMP warṃama fell
(Gan NO). -cf. warṃa-¹.

warṃamba-¹ V CAUS IMP warṃamba;
PF warṃambalḃa drop, spill (Wir):
gaṃa warṃamba don't drop it, gamu
warṃamba spill water. -cf. warṃa-¹.

warṃamba-² V CAUS (22.37) bring
about, make, do (Bir): jinda
warṃamba you make it (Bir RD),
ṇaningu warṃambanagu what is
going wrong with you? ('ailing
you?'; Bir RD), ṇanana waḃa
warṃambanana we all are talking
(Bir RD), gaṃa warṃambanaja I
(will) never do it (Bir RD),
ṇaja warṃanaja warṃambanaja
I want to do it (Bir RD),

buṛi waṛambanali we two will make fire (Bir RD), ṇandulungu waṛambali who made it? (Bir RD), bamangu waṛambali the man made it (Bir RD), guli waṛambalbula you two had a row (Bir RD), ṇana waṛambalana jamba we made the camp (Bir RD), buṛi dana(ṇgu) waṛambaldana they (the people) made a fire (Bir RD), ṇani waṛambaila (for -mbalila) what did he do? (Bir RD), binbi waṛambali (he) cured (me; Bir RD). —cf. waṛa-².

waṛambili- (waṛambali-) *V CAUS REFL IMP* waṛambili; *IPF* waṛambilina, waṛambilini (for -na) make oneself, do to oneself, (Bir): gaṛa waḡa waṛambili don't talk (Bir VA), waḡa waṛambilini talking, speaking (Bir VA), madirangu waṛambilina dana they used to paint themselves (Bir RD). —cf. waṛamba-².

waṛba *N* one, alone (Gan, Wir, Bir): gandu waṛba one child (Gan CA), ṇaja bindana waṛba I am sitting alone (Wir), waṛba jiniba (I) went alone (Wir), waṛba ṇaja (Gan MM), ṇaja waṛba (Wir; = ṇaja daṛin) I am alone, waṛba gajurba one woman (Bir RD).

waṛbara *N* young fellow (Wir).

waṛbu, *v.* waṛgu.

waṛgu (waṛbu) *N* bad (Gan (A), Wir): dili waṛgu bad eyes ('one-eyed', 'blind'; Gan MM), waṛgu wandi a bad dog (Wir), nula dalap waṛgu she uses bad language (Wir), nula gada waṛgu she is silly (Wir), guga waṛgu a no-good house (Wir), nula gaju, maṛi waṛgu he, she is a bad woman, man (Wir).

waṛmal, *v.* wanmal.

waṛmin (waṛmin) *N* one, single (Gan MT, Wir): mala waṛmin a single hand (Wir), mala waṛminbari he has one hand (Wir), dili waṛmin(bari) (having) one eye (Wir).

waṛu *N* a plain (Gan CA): waṛu baṛal along, over the plain, nula janira waṛu baṛal he is running on the plain.

wawur *N* dingo (Gan KW).

we- *V ITR* (16.31) happen, become, get, want, feel (Gan B): gaṇu nimu we- don't get sick (Gan KW), da- we-ra talking (Gan KW), gumbega, jina we-ra want tobacco, fish (Gan KW), ṇani(gu) (jinda) we-ra what do you want? (Gan KW), jinda jina jugana we-ra you want to eat fish (Gan KW), ṇaja wunanu we-ra I want to lie down (Gan TA), wabi we-ra singing (Gan TA), (ṇaja, jinda) binbi we-ra (I, you) feeling well (Gan TA), nula nimu we-ba he got sick (Gan KW), gubil waiba whistled (Gan TA), ṇali da- we-na in order that we (two) may talk (Gan KW), nula we-ra da- we-na he wants to talk (Gan KW), da- we-la talking (Gan KW), nala we-la tired of talking (Gan CA). —cf. waṛa-².

webe *N* one (= wabe, q.v.; Gan TA).

wial (wija) *N* ALL wialgu great, a lot, plenty (Gan TA): buji wija bright light, ṇaja wialgu we-ra I want plenty.

wialbara *N* big, thick (Gan KW, TA). —cf. wial, wiranbara, wuranbara.

widi *N* sore (Bir VA): mala widi sore hand.

wididi *N* hat (Gan KW, CA): wididibari having a hat, wididijunda without a hat. —cf. wudididi.

widu *N* white man (Gan TA, Nga). —cf. migulu.

wiguna *N* ERG wigunangu tree goanna (Bir AL).

wija, *v.* wial.

wilba *N* leaf, leaves (Wir): bangagu wilba leaves of the tree. —cf. wilbara.

- wilbara *N* leaf, leaves (Gan NO):
bagagu wilbara leaves of the
tree(s). —cf. wilba.
- wilgara *N* shoulder-blade (Bir VA).
—cf. wilbara (?).
- wina *N* ALL winagu fish (Gan,
Wir, Bir, Nga): janiba winagu
maranu went to fish ('to catch
fish'; Gan TA). —cf. jina¹
(Gan (B)).
- winba- *V N ?* winbanu buṛi banbana
blow the fire (Wir).
- wingarū (wiparū) *N* ERG wingarungu
bird (Wir): wingarū bandana the
birds are singing.
- wini *N* REL; imperative of wini-,
q.v.) want (Nga): juṛi or juṛigu
jinda wini you want meat (cf.
Gunggari gumbaja, 13). —cf.
wini-.
- wini- *V TR* wini, winija; winipa;
winiba; winipu give (Nga):
biaga wini ṇana give me tobacco,
juṛi ṇana wini give me meat,
ṇaja jinda winipa I will give
you, ṇaja winipu (or winipa)
jina I want to (will) give you.
—cf. wini.
- wiṛa (wira ?) *N* urine (Bir).
- wiṛanbara *N* big (Gan CA). —cf.
wuṛanbara.
- wiṛi *N* the name of a language,
Wirri, the 'Clermont language'
(Wir, Bir): wiṛi waḍa the Wirri
language (Wir), wiṛi ṇugana I
know Wirri (Wir), jinda jina
janba wiṛi baṇa you say this
in Wirri (Wir MS), ṇaja wiṛi
wiṛi (?) waḍa baṇa I am speak-
ing in Wirri (Wir AM).
- wuba- *V ITR* (16.31; 22.32) come
(Gan, Bir): jinda wuba you come
here (Gan MT, KW, Bir VA), jinda
wuba jambagu you come home (Gan
KW), wuba jinda jilu you come
here (Gan KW), wuba bindanu
come to sit (Nga), jamba mundu
wubara coming from home (Gan MT),

ṇaja wubara jambagu I am coming
home (Gan MT), ganu wubara will
not come back (Gan KW), ṇandulu
wubara who is coming? (Gan KW),
gari wubara the sun is rising
(Gan KW), gugu wubala coming
here (Gan KW), gamu wubala
raining. —cf. wuṛba- (Wir).

wubaji- (wubai-, wube-) *V* ASS
IMP wubaji, wubai, wube; IPF
wubajira; PF wubajiba, wubeba;
INT wubajina bring (Gan):
(jinda) ṇagu wubai, wube you
bring me (Gan MT, KW, CA), gamu
wubaji bring water (Gan TA).
—cf. wuba-.

wube-, v. wubaji-.

wuda *N* ALL wudagu nose, face
(Gan, Wir, Bir): gaju wuda binbi
a pretty or good-looking woman
(Gan TA, CA), ṇaja wuda galgalia
I am bleeding from my nose (Gan
TA), wuda junguna washing (his)
nose or face (Wir).

wuda- *V* IPF wudana clean (one's
face; Nga). —cf. wuḍa- (?).

wudidi *N* hat (Gan KW). —cf.
wididi.

wudun *N* ALL wudungu grass (Gan
(B)): wuṇar wudungu sleeping on
the grass (Gan TA).

wuḡa- *V TR* IPF wuḡana rub (Wir):
wuḡana dana they are rubbing.
—cf. wuda- (?).

wuḡabari *N* big (Wir): gandu
wuḡabari a big child. —cf.
wuṛanbara.

wuḡali- v. wurali-.

wuḡe- (wuḡa(j)i-) *V ITR* IMP wuḡe;
IPF wuḡera, wuḡaira; PF wuḡeba
fall, go down, set (Gan KW):
ganu jinda wuḡe don't you fall,
gari wuḡera the sun is going
down, wuṇar wuḡera falling
asleep, nula wuḡeba he fell.
—cf. wure-, wura-¹.

wuḍemba- V CAUS PF wuḍembaba
fell, push over (Gan KW): nula
jindana wuḍembaba he pushed you
over. -cf. wuḍe-.

wuṇa- V TR IMP wuṇa; IPF wuṇara,
wuṇana; PF wuṇaba, wuṇalba
chase (Gan (B), Wir): ṇura wuṇa
chase the dog (Gan KW), gaṇu
jinda wuṇa don't you chase him
(Gan KW), nula nuṇuna wuṇana
he is chasing him (Wir).

wuṇali- V REFL ITR wuṇali;
wuṇalina; wuṇaliba run ('chase
oneself'; Wir): jinda wuṇali
you run away, nula wuṇalina he
is running. -cf. wuṇa-.

wuṇar N REL LOC wuṇaranga; ALL
wuṇargu asleep (Gan (B), Bir):
nula wuṇar wunala, wuḍera he is
lying, falling asleep (Gan KW),
wuṇar nula bindara he is sitting
asleep (Gan KW), danara jaraman
wuṇar the horse sleeps standing
(Gan KW), ṇaja nanigu wuṇar I am
asleep on the ground (Gan TA),
jinda gandu wuṇar jama or wunamba
(you) put the child to sleep
(Gan KW), wuṇaranga (talk) in
your sleep (Bir VA), ṇaja wuṇargu
we-ra I want to sleep (Gan TA).

wuṇara- V REC IPF wuṇarana,
wuṇana; PF wuṇaraba chase each
other (Wir): maṛi bulaṛu wuṇana,
wuṇaraba two men are chasing,
chased one another. -cf. wuṇa-.

wuṇe- V ITR IMP wuṇe; IPF wuṇera;
PF wuṇeba; INT wuṇena swim
(Gan CA): jinda wuṇe you swim,
balbaṛagu wuṇera swimming in
the creek, jinda wuṇena you
have to swim, wuṇengi been
swimming (sic).

wuḵalbara N big (Gan TA). -cf.
wialbara.

wuḵanbara N big (Gan CA). -cf.
wuḵanbara.

wula- V ITR (22.32, 37) die (Bir):
maṛi wulalbala when a man (had)
died (Bir RD), gunami maṛi
wulalwali when that man had died
(Bir RD).

wulali- V ITR PF wulalila-,
wulalili die (Bir RD): gani
ṇaja wulalilaja I almost died.
-cf. wula-.

wulan N ABL (?) wulanu; ALL
wulangu night, dark (Gan TA):
wulanu at night, jinda bindara
wulangu you are sitting in the
dark, wulangu dawagu in the
cold night.

wulba ? N blue gum tree (Wir).
-cf. wilba.

wuli N bad temper (Bir VA). -cf.
guli.

wulibai N wild (Bir VA): nula
wubaba wulibai he came wild
(and looking for a fight). -cf.
wuli.

wulmur N ALL wulmurgu leg (Wir):
wulmurgu bin-a (a fly) is
sitting on (your) leg.

wulunga REL inside, in the center
(Bir RD): bama wulunga diṇa dana
the men were dancing in the
center.

wulur N clothes, belonging, things
(Gan (A), Wir): jaba wulur that
thing (Gan NO), wulur ṇagu
gundalba has taken my things
(Wir), wulur jana the things
over there (Wir), gajugu wulur
woman's dress (Wir).

wumbar REL to sleep, asleep (Gan
(A), Wir): wumbar jinala sleep-
ing (Gan NO), jinda gandu wumbar
baṛambana you will put the child
to sleep, ṇaja wumbar baṇa I am
getting sleepy (Wir), nula wumbar
wun-a he is lying asleep (Wir),
ṇaja jagal wumbar I get up
(from sleep; Wir), jagaba ṇaja
wumbar I woke up (Wir). -cf.
wumbara.

wumbara REL asleep (Wir, Bir AL):
ṇaja, gandu wumbara I, the boy
is asleep (Wir). -cf. wumbar.

wumbara- V ITR IMP wumbara; IPF
wumbara sleep (Wir): jinda
wumbara wuna you lie down and
sleep. -cf. wumbar, wumbara.

wuna DEM PRON (22.20).

wuna- V ITR (16.31; 19.36; 22.32, 37) lie down, sleep, live, become, be (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jinda wuna you lie down (Gan MM, Wir), gungagu wunana (wun'a) is in the nest (Wir), balban wun'a there are (all) the bones lying ('a skeleton'; Wir), gamu gaṛa wunaṇa there is no water (Bir RD), wunaṇal wumbar he is lying asleep (Bir AL), jinda gunagu wunananda you will stay (Bir RD), ṇaja wunana I am going to sleep (Nga), maṛi wunali became a man (Bir RD), wunali jinagu lived here (Bir RD), gaṛa wunalaḡu there was not ('nothing') for me (Bir RD), nula wunali king he was king (Bir RD; copying English), wumbar wunabaṅga (he heard something) when he was asleep (Wir), ṇaja waburu wunalbalaja, jalu wunalba(la)ja when I was little, a child (Bir RD), dagaṛi wunalbanagu if too much was (to be) left (Bir RD).

wunana DEM PRON (22.20).

wunama- V CAUS PF wunamala put to bed (Gan NO). —cf. wuna-.

wunamba- V CAUS IMP wunamba; IPF wunambana lay down (Wir, Bir): wuṇar wunamba put him to sleep (Gan KW). —cf. wuna-.

wunari- V ASS IPF wunariṇa- lie with (Bir RD): nula wunariṇala nuṇuna he is lying with him or her. —cf. wuna-.

wundana ? PERS PRON (19.20).

wungu N section name (Bir RD): ṇaja (biri) wungu I am a Woongoo (in the Birri tribe); Bir RD's father, children and grand-children are also wungu.

wuni- V TR IMP wuni; IPF wunira, wunina; PF wunila, wuniba, wunilba; ACC wunibangga give (Gan, Wir): bari wuni give me money (Gan MT), wuni ṇana jugana

give me to eat (Gan KW), gamu wuni give me a drink (Gan TA), ṇaḡuna wuni give me (Wir), ṇaja jindana wunira I am giving you (Gan MT), ṇaja wunilba gandu gaba I gave the child honey (Wir), wandi ṇaḡuna wunilba gave me a dog (Wir), ṇandulu wuniba who gave it? (Wir).

wununaḡi ? N old (Wir): waṇal wununaḡi an old boomerang. —cf. wununga.

wununga REL some time ago, a good while ago (Wir): wununga gamu waṛaba some time ago it rained. —cf. wununaḡi.

wura (wuṛa) N kangaroo (Gan, Bir; = ṇargu, q.v., Gan TA).

wura-¹ V ITR PF wuraba fall, set (Gan CA, TA): gaṛi wuraba sundown (Gan CA). —cf. wuḡe- (Gan KW), wure-.

wura-² V TR IPF (IMM) wurana; PF wuraba, wurali take off, take out (Gan TA, Bir): bulgaṇ wuranalana he (the medicine man) could ('would') take out your liver (Bir RD), numan ṇaja wuraba I skinned him, banbu wuraba took out the inside (of the bird).

wurali- (wuḡali-) V REFL IMP wurali; PF wuraliba, wuralili-, wurajila- (from *wuralilila-) pull off, take off (one's own; Gan KW, Bir): wurali widadadi take off your hat, ṇaja wurajilaja I pulled off (my own; Bir RD), gunamingu maṛi wuralilina (wuralilina) baguru that man took off with ('pulled off') my money (Bir RD).

wuramba- V CAUS PF wurambaba drop (Gan TA): ṇaja pencil wurambaba I dropped my pencil. —cf. wura-¹, wure-.

wure- V ITR wure; wurera; wureba; wurenu fall (Gan TA): gaṇu wure don't fall, gaṇu wurenu (I) do not want to fall. —cf. wuḡe-, wura-¹.

wurgana *N ALL* wurganagu the name of a place, Wooroonah (Gan KW): nula janira wurganagu he is going to Wooroonah. —cf. wuṛa, wuna.

wurwul *N* tired (Wir): ɲaja (bindana) wurwul baɲa I am getting tired (sitting), ɲaja bindananga wurwul baɲa when I am sitting I get tired.

wuṛanbara *N* big (Gan CA). —cf. wujanbara, wialbara, wuɖabari.

wuṛa wuna (wura ?) *N* the name of a place, Wooroonah ('kangaroo lie down'; Gan TA). —cf. wurgana.

wuṛba- *V ITR* wuṛba; wuṛbana; wuṛbaba come, become (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): jinda wuṛba (jina) you come (here; Gan MM, Wir), gaṛa guli wuṛba don't get angry

(Wir), gari wuṛbana the sun is shining ('coming'; Wir). —cf. wuba- (Gan, Bir).

wuṛbamba- *V CAUS PF* wuṛbambalba make come (Wir). —cf. wuṛba-.

wuṛbaɾi- *V ASS* wuṛbaɾi; wuṛbaɾina; wuṛbaɾilba come (back) with, bring, fetch (Wir): jinda jana dangu wuṛbaɾi you bring that back, dangu wuṛbaɾi ɲagu wulur come back with my things, ɲaja dangu wuṛbaɾina I will fetch it, gara nula wuṛbaɾilba he did not bring it back. —cf. wuṛba-.

wuṛbil *N* whistle (Wir).

wuṛur *N ERG* wuṛurungu native companion, brolga (Wir): wuṛurungu jugana gumi the brolga eats roots.

NOTES TO PART II

1. By that name they did, however, not necessarily mean what we mean here by Gunggari, but rather any other language in the same group with which they happened to be acquainted.
2. As a matter of fact, the limits of the westward and northward extension of the group could not be ascertained. Some informants actually hailed from areas much farther inland and to the west and judging from the limits marked on the O'Grady, Wurm and Hale map, *Aboriginal Languages of Australia (A preliminary Classification)*, the corresponding group would extend much farther north than the present writer would be ready to accept.
3. In the Aboriginal languages the term maɾi occurs, for instance, in New South Wales (Kamilroi), while the Queensland Gangulu and Birri prefer the northern term bama.
4. As the morphology of all these languages is well known and quite clear, we need, of course, not resort to a classification based on vocabulary, according to 'lexicostatistic' principles.
5. According to a Birri informant (Bir RD; see 20.2), Gudjal is 'a little bit different from Birri'.
6. For the method of describing the various phonemes, cf. the remarks made in Part I, 2.1, Note 10.

7. By using the principle of describing the values of the Aboriginal phonemes on the basis of a comparison with corresponding English phonemes (according to Note 6), the advantage is gained of having certain variants which are typical of the local (or Australian) pronunciation of English included as of the Aboriginal phoneme, as in the case of widu *white man*, which in the pronunciation of a bilingual informant may acquire the same diphthongal offglide in the final syllable as commonly the English word 'do', etc.
8. In most languages the problems of diphthongs has presented considerable difficulty. It is likely that in the Australian languages, as well as in English, the analysis of these kinds of sequences have many times been etymologically determined; cf. English 'Hawaii', pronounced in three syllables, due to its Polynesian etymology (Hawai'i) or 'greyish', which owes its dissyllabic pronunciation to the suffixal nature of the element '-ish'. Compare further the argumentation in Part I, 6.16, with the Note 55.
9. It should be noticed here that although both l and r in all Aboriginal languages studied by the author are different from any English 'l' or 'r', they are universally identified by the Aborigines with the English 'l' and 'r' phonemes, respectively (for instance in early loanwords; cf. Part I, Note 13). This also means that Aborigines who are fluent in their language generally articulate English 'l' and 'r' like the corresponding Aboriginal sounds (l, r), while those who merely remember the Aboriginal language freely use the English sounds of 'l' and 'r' for Aboriginal l and r.
10. The actualisations of the basic phoneme d in the Gunggari languages hence becomes strikingly similar to those of the corresponding (voiced) phoneme d in Spanish (cf. T. Navarro Tomás, *Manual de pronunciación española*, 7th edition (Madrid, 1953), 99-100, with graphs 96 and 99, respectively). Also observe the remarks in Part I, 2.7.
11. This latter articulation, which is characteristic of bilingual speakers, is evidently connected with the fact that in English the sequence '-nth-' (as in 'month', 'tenth', etc.) is typically voiceless (while a sequence '-nth-' with 'th' as in 'father' is probably inexistent).
12. The sequence -ng- is quite similar to that in such English words as 'change', 'orange', etc. (as commonly pronounced in Queensland). One might compare the tendency in English to let original 'dy' pass into 'j' in such words as 'Indian' ('Injun'), as against 'hideous', 'idiot', etc.
13. Actually, there is a marked difference between the southern Gunggari and the northern Wirri. Our Gunggari informant Gun TC, for instance, had difficulty in understanding speakers of the northern languages (such as Birri).
14. It is likely that Mrs. Carbine would have heard this kind of speech while at her native place, Angledool (in New South Wales), which is not far east from the Culgoa river.
15. Notice that the Wakka-Wakka ja·le- *tell a lie* is adopted as jala a lie by a Gunggari speaker (Gan LM).
16. Hence English loanwords having the vowel sound 'a' (short), which is identified with the above Gunggari variant e·, replace this sound by the basic i(j)a in Gunggari, as in the words biaga *tobacco* (from English 'bacca', 'baccy', etc.), giadäl *cattle* (Gun TC), burgian *cat* (from English 'pussy cat').

17. According to this rule one might even explain the verb stem *dumba- jump* as from English.
18. In English loanwords a final '-t', for instance, is changed either into -n (e.g. *burgian*) or -r (e.g. *budigar*), both from English 'pussy cat', and so also in *bulajar* from English 'plate', *mir mir* from English 'mate(s)'.
19. The origin of this word is not known to the author; it sounds exactly the way an Aboriginal would pronounce the surname 'Munro', but the question whether any connection with this name is possible must be left unanswered.
20. The English interjection 'gee' is consequently pronounced very much like 'dee' (di·; Gun TB). Such a case as *jindia* (Gan LM) for *jingia* (*where?*) is exceptional and probably due to imperfect articulation.
21. Here English speech habits have played a part, too. The Gunggari *dabunila* (*brother*) is recorded in this form, but also as *dabupela* (Gun TC; e being a common variant of i in the termination -ila in many parts of Queensland), which clearly reflects the difference between the English rendering of French *compagnie* (*company*) and *vignette* (*vignette*), the palatalised sound being more audible before the open e than before the narrow i (cf. Holmer 1971, 1.9). If e had been a phoneme of its own in Gunggari, we should have written the basic *dabunila* as *dabupela*.
22. Unfortunately, the present author himself cannot disclaim misuse of the term in question, for instance as in assuming the occurrence of 'apophony' (or *ablaut*) in Australian languages (Holmer 1963, pp. 44-45), an assumption which entirely lacks foundation.
23. Even such a good informant as Gun TC does not always seem to distinguish well between r and ɾ.
24. This practice will be adopted for all the languages in the group, for although in most of them the stem is identical with the *imperative* form (which in Gunggari is usually in -(j)a; see 6.32), yet it is evident that the first component in this kind of compound has *not* this function (except possibly in the imperative of the compound verb).
25. cf. *Bidjara wai ɲaja bindila* (*bindala ?*) *I am thinking*.
26. An alternative construction is found in *gamu ɲaɲa* (or *gamuɲaɲa*) *without water*, where *ɲaɲa* is the negative relation word *no, not, nothing*.
27. The English idea of 'a father' or 'a son' are consequently foreign to the Aboriginal mind. Regarding the Australian 'relative' terms, marked by a suffix which we might call *dual-comitative*, see in Holmer 1963, pp. 71-72; 1970, pp. 68, 69. In the Australian languages the dual character appears the more clearly as many of these words actually express the dual idea of 'grandfather and grandson', etc. (cf. *Bidjara ɲadin(g)ila grandfather or grandson*).
28. The possibility is perhaps not quite excluded that *wadin* is a kind of contraction of *wadigan*. Otherwise -n may be explained as analogous to the final -n in *maɲin* (= *maɲi man*), of which a trace is further seen in **gandun-* for *gandu- child* in other Gunggari languages (cf. *Wirri gandunbara children*).
29. Possibly the suffix -li- expresses complexity or plurality: compare *manda-*, *waɲa- walk* and *mandali-*, *waɲali- walk about* (Gun TC), *binda- sit* and *dana bindalina you all are sitting* (Gun TC), *buɲaja fly* (imperative) and *buɲaliɲa* (idem, of a 'mob'), *buɲalina flying* (of many; Gun TC); cf. further Holmer 1966a, 10.6.

30. For reasons made clear in Part I, Note 28, we consider the formally identical element (gu) as a postposition in the Wakka languages.
31. Hence the ergative of *maṛi man* is *maṛingu*, while of the equivalent *maṛin* it is *maṛindu*.
32. In regarding the forms in -ngu, -nga, etc. as basic, we follow the prevailing principle in the languages both of the Wakka and Gunggari groups. This, however, does not mean that the locative in -ṇa, for instance, may not be justified historically (cf. 6.31, Note 41).
33. The plural article is consequently not used in such phrases as 'to hunt wallaby', etc., as it is quite indefinite how many of the game would be killed; no one would say 'to hunt a *mob* of wallaby' (unless the animals were actually seen) and for the same reason no one would say 'the *mob* of all the dark people', etc. In another way, one might say that the plural article is rendered by 'some' in English, while the absence of the article corresponds to the use of 'any'.
34. The form hence becomes equal to the ergative (*maṛindu the man, the people*; cf. above). This recalls facts in the Wakka languages, in which the plural article in analogous cases seems based on the form of the ergative (see Part I, 7.15).
35. The forms *bula* and *dana*, which have nominal character, also mean respectively *two (both)* and *all*; these may actually be used in either the second or third person: *bula wulala both are dead*, *dana you all*. The third person singular *nula* (ṇula) occasionally serves as a noun (= *person*): *jilangu ṇula this one here* (Gun TC; cf. English 'a he', 'a she').
36. To express a *dative* relation, either the objective or the possessive form is used: *ṇaḡuna gumbaja give me* (Gun LM).
37. The form *ṇunda* is not found as an independent word in Gunggari; it is evidently an alternative third person singular form (= *nula*). Incidentally *ṇunda* is the third person singular pronoun in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi (see Part I, 24.7), but it has not been found in any of the Gunggari languages studied.
38. Since 'here' in Gunggari is the same as 'this' (cf. above; 6.26), it is clear that special locative forms are superfluous.
39. The literal translation into English necessarily becomes clumsy; the Gunggari construction, however, is perfectly analogous to, for instance, *abagaṛin* (or *abaguṛin*) *maṛin* (Gun TC) *the man over there, that is 'that man'*.
40. At least as far as it has been possible to ascertain from English renderings of the various expressions. The same may be said of the difference of meaning in the different demonstrative stems, which are more numerous than the scanty English 'this', 'that', 'yonder'.
41. One may compare the locative suffix -ṇa (= -nga; see 6.14) with the imperfective suffix -ṇa, as in: *baḡaṇa bindaṇa sitting (a-sitting) on a tree* (Gam LM).
42. In Birri, for instance, the 'thematic element' -ṇ- is used in the *durative* imperfective mode, while -n- is used in the *imminent* imperfective (see 22.28). Among Gunggari informants, both Gun TC, TB and EA think *nagana*

means the same as *nagaŋa* (*seeing*), that *wunana* = *wunaŋa* (*lying down*), *danana* = *danaŋa* (*standing*), *bindana* = *bindaŋa* (*sitting*) and that *banbuna* = *banbuŋa* (*falling*). etc.

43. Cases are found in the Aboriginal languages in which a perfective form seems to be used in the imperative sense (hence a kind of 'perfective imperative'). In Gunggari such a form as *jinda buŋala* *you get up* (Gun TC) would rather be the perfective of the stem *buŋa-* *get up* than an imperative of the stem *buŋali-* *fly*; a change of the stem-final *-i-* into *-a* in the imperative (as occasionally in some other languages) has not been recorded in Gunggari.
44. The Gunggari forms in *-lgara* recall the Gangulu (B) form in *-ngara*, e.g. *jilangara spinning* (see 16.30).
45. Compare in Holmer 1966a, pp. 82, 84 (10.16); 1971, 8.5.
46. This instance is particularly instructive as the variant form *gurbalinanga* (*where it comes out*; Gun TC) contains a clear locative suffix *-nga* (see 6.13). The accidental form is therefore without any doubt in its origin a locative of a verb noun.
47. The placement of this particle is enclitic also where it occurs in other Australian languages studied by the present author (see Holmer 1966a, 8.5, and 1971, 10.3), though not necessarily in the same sense. In Wirri (see 19.37), the homophonous particle is rendered by English 'too' by our informant.
48. In some cases it may actually be a matter of simply using the English word 'too' in want of a corresponding equivalent in the Aboriginal language. It is evident that we move here within a semantic field in which the concepts do not by any means cover each other.
49. An etymological connection with Birri *-gu* (the enclitic possessive-dative personal pronoun 'me'; cf. 22.16) may barely be considered; the Birri enclitic is used rather freely in such cases as: *jinda janigu jinagu* *you come over here*, *danagunda you have better sit over here* (see 22.35).
50. In Gunggari 'father's mother' would be expressed by one word, as a term of relationship; further, the Gunggari termination *-ila* (for which see in 6.6) is of the 'dual-comitative' type (see 6.43) and hence *co-ordinating*, which excludes subordination, as in 'father's mother'.
51. This construction is common in both south-east Asia and Australia (cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 71-72).
52. The analysis by means of a literal rendering in English becomes difficult and would be awkward. For the author's viewpoints, see the reference in Note 51.
53. Instances are, however, not altogether lacking: *amu* for *gamu water* (Bir JL); incidentally, a distinction between a form *amu water* and *gamu rain*, as suggested by Bid JL and even occasionally assumed by early linguists in the field has no foundation.
54. Final vowels may either be lengthened or, occasionally, unvoiced and suppressed: *nagalin(a) appears* (Bid RH).

55. If forms like the mentioned ones were to be standardised according to (impossible) 'phonemicising' principles, one would evidently be at a loss whether to write *nunturuwina* or *nunturujina* (avoiding a form *nunturuina*), unless it be known that *nunturujina* is the etymological one.
56. Bid OC's assertion that *mundaŋara* means *snake* and *muraŋara* *rainbow* sounds improbable.
57. The younger member may be expressed, for instance, by *gandu burgaila* (*juraŋ*) (*your*) *daughter* (Bid OC).
58. Unless *gadima-* properly means *lie to*; see 9.9.
59. The construction *ŋaja ŋaguna gunila* *I have hurt myself* is of course based on English and most certainly wrong (correctly: **ŋaja gunilila*).
60. The apparent *passive* sense in *nagali-* *appear (be seen)*, *jimbali-* *be heard* is doubtful and may depend on some misunderstanding.
61. If basically an auxiliary answering to the English 'to be', it may be related to morphological elements found in other Australian languages studied by the author: *-ga-*, *-gi-* (supposed to be auxiliaries); see Holmer 1966 a, 10.16, 17; 1971, 8.5).
62. This occurs in *bandaŋagai widugiŋa*, a saying heard by Bid RH from her mother. Mrs. Holt said she did not understand its meaning, but it is rather evident that it means 'God speaks the white man's language'.
63. It may be noticed that the plosive element is not always articulated (cf. 8.6); *buŋiŋu* for *buŋiŋgu* *with fire* (Bid OC), *gamuŋu* for *gamuŋgu* *with water* (Bid OC).
64. One would perhaps have expected *-ru* (cf. Darumbal, in Part III, 18.11 (3)); it is to be noticed that our Aboriginal informants some-times have difficulties with the Aboriginal *r* sounds (cf. 2.5).
65. Other similar forms (*maŋiŋgu* *the man's*, *gaŋuŋgu* *gungulguŋul* *the woman's cup*, *jabuŋgu* *gundi* or *ŋagu* *jabuilaŋgu* *gundi* (*my*) *father's house*, *gambuŋgu* *the woman's*, *wiŋaŋuŋgu* *dungu* *the bird's head*, all from Bid OC) make the impression of being incorrect (either for the above forms in *-ŋu* or for allatives in *-gu*; cf. 9.14). The account given by J.G. Breen agrees with the present writer's findings as far as the Bidjara expression of possessive relation goes (cf. Breen 1973, 4.7 (c), p. 65).
66. This form (for expected **jalgaŋga*) is probably one originally belonging to stems in *-n* (cf. Gunggari, 6.14, 17(2)), carried over to vowel-ending stems. Our account corresponds in the main to J.G. Breen's observations (Breen 1973, 4.5).
67. For remarks on this morphological category, cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 71-72; 1970, pp. 67-69).
68. The same suffix (*-ru*) is common in a number of relation words: *jilaŋu* *tomorrow*, *gaŋaru* *soon*, *julundaru* *from here*, *guguŋu* *on the other side*, *guliŋu* *when?* or *long ago*, *mugaŋu* *tomorrow morning* (Bir RD), *gugaŋu* *gadi immediately after*; the dual sense is, of course, indicated in the word *bulaŋu* *two* (in which we may consider the suffix as derivative). For the alternative appearance of forms in *-ru* and *-ru*, cf. Note 64. J.G. Breen deals (quite logically) with out 'dual-comitative' suffix (*-ru*) among 'adverb formatives' (Breen 1973, 9.5).

69. That is, the plural article form *maṛindu* (*some men*) would be identical with the ergative *maṛindu* (*(by) the man or men*). A similar attraction of the pluralised form by the form of the (singular) ergative form is seen in Wakka-Wakka also (cf. Part I, 7.15).
70. Other ways of expressing *before* are: *jugana gaṛa before eating* (in which *gaṛa no, not* takes the place of a caritative suffix; cf. 6.4, with Note 26; 9.4), *gaṛa jugana* (*idem; literally not eating*).
71. Probably the locative form of a stem *gu-* (*here*; cf. 9.14), in the sense of *at or with, in (someone's) possession*.
72. The latter form is used enclitically: *dabila na (I) have sent him*.
73. Similar expressions in Gunggari may be formed by a formal compound: *ḡaja miḡaṇ as good as I* (see 6.24).
74. It is uncertain whether the form *ḡalina* (as in: *ḡalina ḡalgana we two are talking*; Bid OC) is a phonetic variant of *ḡalinda* (cf. 8.6) or a morphological variant of *ḡali* (see 9.20); a form *ḡaliṇa* has been heard also, of which a locative form occurs in *ḡaliṇanda with us two* (Bid OC).
75. This informant seems to have certain Gunggari forms of speech. For Notes on the form itself, cf. 5.4.
76. They are, however, not seldom construed with a nominal word in the same way as the nominative (or stem form): *junuṅgu* (allative) *maṛiṅgu* (= *junu maṛiṅgu*) *that man* (Bid AC); notice that the form *junuṅgu* is not to be interpreted as an ergative (according to the nominal paradigm in 9.14), but the difference between both alternative constructions is rather on the same level as between *that man* and *that there man* in English.
77. A form *nuṅu*, in: *jinda nuṅu wadi you take that away* (Bid RH) may rather depend on a slip for *ṅunu*; otherwise it would be the possessive form of *nula*, hence = *his* (?). However, *nuṅu* has been heard from Bid OC also. Another seemingly incorrect form is Bid AC's *ṅuna that*.
78. If this is correct, the form *jinagu* would in any case not agree with the allative form *widugu* (used in a possessive sense; cf. 9.14), but the analysis is far more probably *this man's over here* or *this here man's*.
79. The forms with medial *-nt-* are possibly primitive, since those with *-nd-* may always be explained according to 8.6. However, the possibility is not altogether excluded that both are equally justified, as the original stem of these pronouns is the monosyllabic **ṅan* (which also occurs in the Wakka languages; cf. Part I, 7.26-27).
80. For the alternation *jangu- ~ jangi-*, cf. 8.5 and for the preference of *-a* in imperative forms, cf. Part I, 7.29; in the same way we find the double verb stem *wanda-* and *wandi-* *leave* (the only imperative noted being *wanda*). In Bidjara we further find: *gambiṛa turn round* (from *gambiṛi-*), *wundaṛa ask* (from *wundaṛi-*; Bid OC), *baja* beside *baji sing* (Bir RD).
81. e.g. *bindana sitting today or tomorrow*, *bindala sat yesterday* (Bid OC). According to J.G. Breen, the suffix *-la* expresses 'past tense' and *-na* 'present tense' (Breen 1973, p. 91).
82. It is perhaps not without interest to notice that Bid AC renders *jugala* by *eating* (intransitive), but *jugana* by *eats them* (transitive). According to this, *jarun jugala (the dog is) eating a bone* would be an intransitive compound (*bone-eating*; cf. 9.2).

83. That is, by perfect analogy with Sanskrit *veda*, Greek *οἶδα* *I know* (English 'wot'; literally *I have seen*).
84. It is probably well known by now from experience that the tape recorder reproduces (among other inadequacies) the sound of a (that is English 'u' short, as pronounced in Australia) either as *ə* or as *u* (or any other intermediate vowel sound).
85. It is possible that adjectival forms such as *mugal deaf, blind* (cf. *dili muga blind*), *jagal cold* also contain this element -*l* and are therefore to be considered as accidental verb forms.
86. It must be kept in mind that no Aboriginal verb stem rendered by 'be' here has the character of a *copula* (which is entirely missing); the sense is far more concrete: 'change or turn into', 'behave like', etc. (cf. *Wakka-Wakka jia-*, Part I, 12).
87. Strictly speaking, *danana* (*stands*) does not belong to 'leaves' but to 'tree', which latter concept is usually expressed by 'tree (or 'stick') standing' in the Aboriginal languages.
88. The Marganj language seems to come closest to what Edward M. Curr describes as the language spoken on the 'Upper Paroo river' (Curr 1887, pp. 280-281).
89. This form is somewhat doubtful, as it occurs in the construction: *jinda ṇaḡunu biaga you (give) me tobacco*, which seems analogous to *ṇaja jindaṇu I (give) you*, where *jindaṇu* is doubtless a possessive form (cf. below; 12.8).
90. These forms (*bulaṇu, bulaṛu*) are properly nominal forms (*two*), which may also be used in the second and third persons dual (*you two, they both*).
91. An attempt to make them equivalent to causative forms (*stand (something) up, lay down*, etc.) is certainly mistaken.
92. cf. Part I, 1.3, Note 5. —The difference between the two dialects might be reflected in the information obtained from a (Gangulu) lady at Yepoon, who maintained that one of her parents had used the words *manda* and *munga* for *bread* and *tobacco*, respectively, while the other had used the words *manta* and *biaga* respectively. While the forms *manda* and *manta* are used somewhat indifferently by the Aborigines, *biaga*, at least, is typically Gangulu (A) and *munga* Gangulu (B); cf. 26.
93. As for the western extension of Gangulu, one might consider Gan CA's opinion that another language (*gaṛapbal*, i.e. one in which *no* is *gaṛa* and not *gaṇu*, as in Gangulu) belongs to Comet and Blackwater and even further west, whence the mentioned places would mark the western boundary of Gangulu.
94. The list of *gaṛapbal* words furnished by Gan CA: *dili (eye)*, *walu (ear)*, *me· (hand)*, *gamu (water)* and *buṛi (fire)* is, however, not consistent, as of these the form *me·* is definitely Gangulu (B).
95. That *e* and *e·* are basic in Gangulu (B), but not in Gangulu (A), is further supported by the test word *biaga tobacco* (cf. 5.2, Note 16), which represents the normal rendering of English 'bacca' in Gangulu (A), while the same word is directly received in Gangulu (B) as *-be·ga (gumbega)*. In the word *waṇmeri white woman* (from English 'white-Mary') the vowel *e* is consequently basic in Gangulu (B). A narrowed variant of *e* or *e·* may,

however, alternate with *i* in both dialects of Gangulu: *ge·guru* (Gan CA) for *diguru* *bird*, *nebala* (Gan KW) for *nibala* *turtle*; notice that *ɲ-* occurs initially before *i* (and variants of *i*) only, as in Gunggari (cf. 5.7, Note 21). Analogously, *o·* arises as a variant of *u*; as in: *no·na* = *nu·na* *him, her*.

96. As a matter of fact, the last example may be interpreted in a double way: either is the vowel *i* due to the following semivowel *j* or the vowel *u* to the labialising initial *w-* (cf. 15.3), which may be suggested by an alternative form *wiɲanbara*, recorded from Gan CA; it is interesting to notice that Gan TA spells out *wial-* ~ *wijal-* as 'u-i-el'. The evolution of an original *-uɲa-* (as in Wirri *duguɲa-* *go down*) is unambiguous: *-uɲa-* > **-uja-* > **-ija-* > *-e-* (as in Gangulu (B) *duge-* *jump down*).
97. cf. Wirri *-di*, *-diri(ɲ)*, in 19.6, Birri *-di*, in 22.5; also Marganj *gubuɲi* (= *gabugan*) *hat* in relation to Kamilroi, etc. *gaba* *white man*.
98. The suffix *-ji-* has evidently arisen from **-ɲi-* (which is found in Wirri in this function), according to the phonetic evolution explained in 15.5.
99. The phonetic evolution is not clear; it rather seems that *dune-*, *gande-* (from **dunaji-*, **gandaji-*) are derived from alternative stems **duna-* *say*, **ganda-* *come* (cf. Gunggari *gani-* and *gana-* *come* or *go back home*). The parallel associative *gandi-* *take, bring*, however seems regularly formed from *gandi-* *come*, representing a primitive **gandiji-*. In *wuɲe-* *swim*, the termination is the same (originally **-a-ji-* ?), but the primitive verb stem (*wuɲa-*) means *to chase* and, besides, the sense of *wuɲe-* cannot very well be said to be associative.
100. When the sense is explained as *the two are listening*, the function of *-li-* might alternatively be that of a *dual* (cf. 6.10, Note 29).
101. The allative often expresses a *locative* sense (as in all Gunggari languages): *nanigu jinda bindana* *you are sitting on the ground* (Gan NO), *nula waguɲagu bindana* *he is sitting on the grass* (Gan NO).
102. This may be purely coincidental, since a locative is usually found of the personal pronouns in the Gunggari languages.
103. This form (if correct; one would expect **bulaɲungu*) is probably a nominal form, the ergative of the common noun *bulaɲu* *two*. The same, in a sense, holds for *bula* and *dana* also, the former indicating dual number and occurring in other persons than the third dual as well, while the latter may also render *all, the people*: *dana majila* *all have died* (Gan NO), *bama dana* *all (the people)*, *dana diara* *the people are gambling* (Gan KW).
104. It might be supposed that a difference in direction or distance is connected with the different local case forms: *julu binbi*, for instance, properly means *this* or *here is nice*, while *julungu binbi* would be *hither is nice*. Such distinctions can of course not be reproduced in English and Gan TA correctly maintains that *juluɲ(g)u* (*hither*) = *julu* (*here, this*).
105. In connection with this it may be mentioned that the word for *hungry* is *gabina* in Gangulu (A) and *gabira* in Gangulu (B), these being original imperfective forms of a verbal stem *gabi-*.
106. Since the perfective forms in *-la* in the Gunggari languages are analysed here as original locative forms of a stem enlarged by the 'nominalising' *-l-* (see Part I, 3.23; Note 35; Part II, 6.31), one may say that Gangulu (B) accidental *-la* is originally identical with Gunggari, Gangulu (A), etc.

- perfective -la, the primary meaning of, for instance, *jugala* being *in, at, on eating*, which evolves into respectively *upon eating* (perfective), *while eating* (accidental).
107. It may be interesting to notice that the same use of a form in -na occurs in Gangulu (A): *nula bindara jugana* *he is sitting eating* (Gan MT; that is 'Northern Gangulu', cf. 14.2).
 108. Incidentally, the same form (*ɲinda jara ba* *you go then*) is found in Nunagal (see Part III, 6.16).
 109. This appears from the Wirri rendering of English *tobacco* as *bi(j)aga* (cf. Notes 16, 95) as well as from Mrs. Mack's pronunciation of *Wakka-wakka dai munginge* (*Laughing Rock* or *Cherbourg*) as *dai muningi*. Wir AM's pronunciation *bugabe·d* (*butcher bird*) does consequently not represent a Wirri form, but the current English pronunciation among the Aborigines (cf. Part I, 17.4), as is also evidenced by the word-final -d. On the other hand, the vowel sounds *e* and *o* may arise as phonetic variants of respective *ai* and *ua*: -be for -bari (associative suffix), *ɲandamo* for *ɲandamua* *which way?* *nalamon* for *nalamu(g)an* *the last-born daughter*.
 110. The Wirri form *jini-* *go* may have arisen in this way from **jani-* (found in Gangulu and Birri); also cf. Ngawun *jirap* beside *jarap* *beard*.
 111. In Wirri AM's pronunciation the letters 'GBD' are pronounced like 'DBD'.
 112. cf. the pronunciation *marli* (Gun NM), mentioned in 5.10.
 113. This kind of compound in Wirri would be the one in English *to baby-sit* (which is, however, usually supposed to be a secondary formation).
 114. Since the negative *gara* occurs as an independent word (*no, not, nothing*) and, besides, may be placed before as well as after the word determined, we write it as a word apart.
 115. The suffix -diri is the common and typical sociative suffix in Ngawun (see 25.2).
 116. In one case the stem-final -l has been found changed into -r- before the ergative suffix -u: *gangaru* *with the arms* or *wings* (from *gagal arm, wing*); the same change is found in Darumbal (see Part III, 18.11 (3)).
 117. The use of nominative forms with imperfective verb forms is possibly connected with the fact that the typical transitive element -l- is used in perfective forms only (cf. 19.30).
 118. The supplementing of an inflected personal pronoun for the sake of clarity may be found in other constructions as well: *gandu gaju nu·na naganagu* *to see her, my daughter* (as the noun has no objective form of its own in Wirri). Somewhat similarly: *nula gandu majiba* (*he*) *the child died*, *maɽi dana* *'them people'*.
 119. In Aboriginal idiom this is expressed by 'going with a girl' in English; incidentally, the interviewer was at first (before getting used to this expression) puzzled by Wir AM's assertion that she had 'gone alone to Townsville with a girl', when telling that she had gone alone to Townsville to visit her daughter. English 'to' (with personal nouns) are alternatively expressed by the intentional verb form *nagana* *to see*: *nuɲuna nagana* (*I am going*) *to (see) him* (cf. Holmer 1966a, 10.9).
 120. This form may be interpreted as an accidental form of a verb stem *gabi-* (*be hungry*); cf. 19.34.

121. For a relation between Wirri *ɲudi* *from* and the Birri ablative suffix *-ɲundu*, see in 22.14.
122. This example seems to indicate that *ɲudi* is felt to be a case suffix rather than a preposition; however, the *-u-* might have been intercalated before the postposition by analogy with case forms in *-ungu*, *-unga* (see 19.10). If **-ɲudi* were an original ablative suffix, it would deviate considerably from the ablative suffixes currently found in the Gunggari languages studied here.
123. Hence *jiniba nuɲundanga* means *(I) went to see him* (and not *went with him*).
124. The latter two are hyphenated according to the principle that no independent word begins with the palatalised *ɟ* (see 18.12); evidently these are shortened forms of respectively *ɲaɟu* and *ɲaɟuna*.
125. Notice that in *maɲingu jinangu* (*this man*) the first word only is in the ergative case.
126. The syllable *-na* is evidently not the sign of the objective case (as in *ɲanduluna*), but belongs to the stem; it might possibly be analogous to the identical suffix (*-na*) in nominative forms of the demonstrative pronouns (see 19.23).
127. The same transitive *-l-* appears in Goreng-Goreng (see Part I, 15.20) and Darumbal (see Part III, 18.21).
128. The imperfective (imminent) form without the allative *-gu* hence coincides with the imperfective mode form (see 19.30) and may actually be considered as an imperfective form in spite of constructions such as: *ɲaja jinina gubun bandana I am going to sing a song*, *waja mangana(gu) to hunt wallaby*, *wandi ɲaɲa jugana, the dog wants to drink* (notice that *to want* is as a rule followed by an intentional form in the Australian languages studied here).
129. There are, however, instances of the use of the indirect reflexive in *-liba* (for *-lila* or **-lilba*): *nula nuɲuna guɲiliba he looked for him*, *jaraman ɲaja guɲiliba I looked for (my) horse*, whether we should consider these forms correct or not; *wuda junguliba washed his face* may be a compound (*face-wash*; cf. 19.2).
130. cf. Strehlow 1942-44, 92; Trudinger 1943, p. 215; Holmer 1963, pp. 69-71.
131. In some cases *-lga* has been heard and recorded instead of *-nga*: *jinibalga* (= *jinibanga*) *going*, *gari jagabalga when the sun has risen*, which may depend on imperfect articulation; in any cases an analogous form has been recorded in the locative *jagalga* (for *jalganga*) *along the road*. In this connection other irregular forms may be mentioned: *burabalba when he woke up*, *buɲi gunmalba (I saw him) cutting wood*, which in some way support the above forms in *-lga*.
132. The analysis of these suffixes (*-badi* and *-lbadi*) is analogous to that of those referring to a nominative form, that is to say involving locative suffixes, in this case *-ba-* and *-di*; the former is the same in *-(l)banga* (although in another function, as it has nothing to do with perfectivity), while the latter is probably a (locative) postposition (*-di*), not unknown in other Queensland languages (e.g. Nunagal and Manandjali; see Part III, 6.11; 10.16).

133. For the supposed original locative function of the accidental suffix (-nga), cf. the equivalent gamuṅ(g)a *when it is raining* (see 19.12).
134. It is to be observed that the forms in -nga are used whenever they refer to a noun in the nominative in Wirri (and not necessarily to the subject of the verb in the main clause, as according to Trudinger 1943, p. 215). Such a construction as *ṇaja nuṇuna jidana guli baṇaṅga I will leave or get away from him before (or when) he gets wild* is exceptional (it suggests *when I get wild*); either the construction is incorrect or a nominative nula is to be supplied or understood (*guli nula baṇaṅga*).
135. cf. the example in Note 134, in which the subject of the accidental form has to be supplied or understood.
136. In the example *jinda ṇaḡuna jina wunibanga ṇaja jindaṇuna jana wunina if you give me this I will give you that*, the form *wunibanga* must be corrected to *wunilbanga*.
137. The construction *ṇaja d(a)riṇ bindana jinibadi I am alone when he goes or is gone* is not clear as it stands; probably one has to understand something like *thinking of him (going away)*, hence an abbreviated construction in line with the one in Note 134.
138. The constructions: *ṇaja jin'a (manda) jugalbadi I will go after having eaten*, *ṇaja jin'a manda gaṛa jugalbadi I will go before I have eaten* seem to be wrong and must be left unexplained (one should expect *jugalbanga* in either case).
139. Of these two accidental forms, *jugalbadi* is used transitively (*eating it*) and *jugabadi* intransitively (*eating*).
140. Of these forms, *nagalgu* would be used transitively and *nagana(gu)* intransitively (cf. Note 139).
141. Theoretically, this might be a perfective form used in the imperative sense (cf. Gunggari, in Note 43), but since a particle *ba* is common in similar phrases (cf. Gunggari *jani ba go then*; 16.32), it seems preferable to regard the Wirri particle *ba* as an analogous connective.
142. This construction rather suggests that Wirri, contrary to English, considers the verb forms *barina* and *bariba* as 'finite', while *danana* functions as 'accidental' (that is *he cries* or *cried standing* instead of the English *he stands* or *stood crying*). For a similar 'inverted' construction in an Australian language, cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 69-70).
143. The mentioning of *birija* as being the 'Burdekin language' by Bir CC cannot be taken for granted; at the same time Bir AL refers to *biri* as the 'Bowen language' (according to Wir AM, *biri* or *birijaba* would both be names of the 'Bowen language').
144. Bir RD says, for instance, that *hand* is *mala* in his (southern) Birri, but *mara* in the north; actually *mala* is recorded from most Birri informants, a form *maṛa* (i.e. as in Gunggari) being used alternatively by Bir VA.
145. The English word *fellow* ('fella') consequently appears in Birri as *bila*, namely in: *binbibila good fellow* (Bir RD), English *bottle* becomes Birri *budal* and the common word for *white woman* ('white-Mary') appears as *wapmarigan* (Bir JH).

146. This is, of course, connected with the absence of a fixed word order in attributive or predicative construction in general in the Aboriginal languages (cf. Part I, 15.25).
147. cf. the use of a dual form in such Sanskrit constructions as *father and mother* (mātāpitarau; also cf. Holmer 1963, p. 72).
148. The ablative form in -ṇundu is evidently based on the possessive form (in -ṇu) and in the same way an alternative locative in -ṇunda (bamaṇunda *with a man*) occurs together with a regular form in -ṇga (bamaṇga, idem). The longer forms (-ṇundu and -ṇunda) are those occurring in the pronominal declension (see 22.16, 24). The suffix -di further occurs in the ablative sense in the relation word ṇandadi *whence?* (Bir VA; hence = ṇandadamu or ṇandamundu).
149. For instance of stems ending in a consonant, of which no special possessive case forms are recorded, as in jaramangu *to* or *for the horse* or *the horse's* (Bir RD).
150. cf. ṇana *me* in some languages.
151. The different vocalisation is no doubt to be attributed to different kinds of assimilation (cf. 21.3; 22.33 sqq.).
152. In jinami ṇamun nuṇunuṇu *this milk is his* (correct ?).
153. The form ṇaligu (in guga ṇaligu *our house*, Bir VA) is probably wrong.
154. That is to say that no simple stem *guna is recorded; even though it might exist or have existed it would in any case most likely have been avoided owing to the homophony with the noun guna (*faeces*).
155. Locality seems implied exceptionally, as in: gunami dandurilbaṇa *he is standing up there* (Bir RD), gunamigu (*go*) *to there* (Bir CC) and gunami is once rendered by *there*.
156. Since these suffixes are identical with those used in the Gunggari imperfective mode, the suggested analysis in 6.31 will hold for the same suffixes in Birri as well. The semantic differentiation may be old in the Gunggari languages (cf. Note 42), but in any case depends on a secondary development of the verb morphology (cf. Part I, 3.22, Note 35).
157. The Birri accidental suffix -lbaṇa has consequently nothing to do semantically or functionally with the similar Wirri accidental suffix -lbaṇa (see 19.34), although etymologically they may be considered as having essentially the same formative elements: a 'nominalising' -l-, a local formative -ba- and an original locative suffix -ṇ(g)a; in the Wirri form the -l- marks transitivity, the -ba- perfectivity, while -ṇga is subordinative and in the Birri form, -ṇa marks imperfective-durative action, the element -ba- being subordinative.
158. Hence Birri inflected verb forms, such as for instance janiṇaja, janiṇanda, janiṇala *I, you, he or she go(es)* are not quite analogous to the Latin *amo, amas, amat* or *amabam, amabas, amabat*, but rather to the French *je dis, tu dis, il dit* (cf. the alternative *dis-je, je ne dis pas*, etc). or even the English '*says-I*', '*says-he*', etc.
159. The use of the possessive-dative -ḡu in such a construction as *danagunda you have better sit over here* (Bir RD) may suggest a connection with the Gunggari connective *du* (*jinda binda du you sit, too*); see 6.39, with the Note 49.

160. In nula wangulan *he asked him* (Bir AL).
161. In nula guma waraŋaŋga or waraŋala *he is bleeding*, jinda guma waraŋanu waraŋanda *you are bleeding*.
162. The context, or situation, is also decisive in case any doubt would arise as to the meaning of dara balban (formally it could also mean *leg bone*, i.e. *tibia* or *femur*).
163. This form may be supposed to function as nominative as well as ergative (according to the common tendencies in the Gunggari languages and by analogy with the other persons; a form ŋaja (also as ergative) is however recorded, but may be wrong).
164. The form winija (in gamu ŋana winija *give me water*) may contain the Gunggari imperative suffix -ja (cf. 6.32).
165. It occurs in the Stradbroke Island language, Nunagal (see Part III, 6.14), but since this language is not immediately related to Ngawun (or the Gunggari languages at large) no direct connection is probable) between the terminations in question, especially as the formation is of a quite common type in all south-east Queensland languages.
166. The Ngawun -ŋ- may be identified with the formative -ŋ in Gunggari, etc. (see 6.34), that is an original 'nominalising' suffix.
167. cf. Bidjara -lu for -lgu (see 9.29). Incidentally, an intentional form in -gu is recorded also: jani wunagu *go (to) lie down* (whether or not genuine in Ngawun).
168. The question is whether such a form is actually to be considered as Ngawun; our material derives from a single informant, who lives (or lived) at Woorabinda, where a number of Gunggari languages are heard. The imperative suffix -ja (see Note 164), for instance, is typical in Gunggari proper, the form ŋaja *I* (see Note 163) is common in the Gunggari languages and the use of binda- *sit* (along with Ngawun jina-, idem) also points to a certain mixture of languages.

PART III

OTHER LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND

1.1 In the present survey of the Aboriginal languages in south-eastern Queensland some languages will be dealt with which cannot be ranged among any of the larger groups comprised in Parts I and II and which therefore will be included in a separate Part III. Of these languages three belong to the very south-eastern corner of the state, near or on the border of New South Wales, two of them being actually Queensland branches or offshoots of important linguistic groups in the north-eastern part of the latter state, namely Bandjalang and Kamilroi, respectively, whereas the third one forms a smaller independent group. As for the fourth language to be dealt with in this part of the survey and located around Rockhampton, it does not show any direct connection with any of the surrounding languages or linguistic groups.

1.2 The languages of which an account is given here are the following: Nunagal (the Stradbroke Island language), Manandjali (belonging to the Bandjalang group; cf. 1.1), Jualrai (a branch of Kamilroi; cf. 1.1) and Darumbal (the Keppel Islands language). The material obtained from these four languages is rather scanty in comparison to what it has been possible to gather from those studied in Parts I and II and for one of them (Darumbal) data were furnished by a single informant. In spite of the limited information obtainable from these four languages, the same arrangement of the data and system of describing and analysing the latter will be followed in this Part as in Parts I and II.

PHONETIC NOTES AND LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN PART III

(a) Vowel symbols

2.1 The following vowel symbols are used:

- a, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'cut';¹
- e, more or less as in English 'bed';
- i, more or less as in English 'sit';
- o, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'got';
- u, more or less as in English 'put'.

Regarding the actualisation of the phonemes i and u, the same remarks hold as in Part I, 2.2.

2.2 A raised period (˙) indicates a lengthened sound of the primary vowel phoneme, insofar as it is considered basic or distinctive; hence:

- a˙, more or less as in English 'father';
- e˙, more or less as in English 'where';
- i˙, more or less as in English 'be';
- o˙, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'call';
- u˙, more or less as in English 'do'.²

Vowel length is not marked in non-initial syllables, as it is hardly found to be distinctive in this position, even though a word-final vowel is not seldom pronounced markedly long (alternating, however, with a short or normal-length—in odd cases even almost suppressed—vowel sound). As a matter of fact, this remark holds for all Aboriginal languages studied in this survey. For a distinction of concrete words and particles by marking a final vowel as respectively long or short, compare in Part II, 2.2.

(b) Consonant symbols

2.3 The following consonant symbols are used:

- b, a bilabial plosive or fricative (see Part I, 2.7);
- p, a bilabial voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- d, a dental-alveolar or dental-interdental plosive or fricative (according to the languages), for which see in the corresponding places;
- t, (a) (in Jualrai) a dental or interdental plosive or fricative, occurring after a homorganic nasal (see further in 13.5);
- (b) (in Darumbal) a dental-alveolar voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- g, a palatalised dental plosive (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- D, a palatalised interdental plosive (see 17.6);
- T, a palatalised interdental voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- ɖ, a supradental or slightly retroflex plosive;
- g, a palatal or velar plosive (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- k, a palatal or velar voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- (h), the aspirate (as in English);
- m, a bilabial nasal (like English 'm');
- n, a dental or alveolar nasal (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- ɲ, a palatalised nasal, like the Spanish ñ (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- N, a palatalised interdental nasal (cf. 17.6);
- ŋ, a palatal or velar nasal, like English 'ng' in 'sing' or 'song';
- l, a voiced alveolar continuant or lateral;³
- r, a soft alveolar trilled continuant, like the Italian r or the weak Spanish r (or ere);³
- R, a compound trill or vibrant (see 17.10);
- ɾ, a retroflex sound, varying between an 'r', 'l' and 'd' sound (cf. Part II, 2.4-5, Note 9);
- j, a palatal semivowel, like 'y' in English 'yes';
- w, a bilabial semivowel, like 'w' in English 'water'.

2.4 Generally, the southern languages Nunagal and Manandjali agree phonetically with the languages in the western subgroup of the Wakka languages (Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli; see Part I, 1.1); the northern Darumbal deviates on many points and it has seemed advisable owing to this circumstance and in order not to create a confusion to employ certain special phonetic symbols for consonant phonemes which, as it appears, have to be taken into special account when describing this language (D, T, N, k, p, t—it is to be noticed that the last symbol (t) marks quite different sounds in Darumbal from in, for instance, Jualrai; cf. 2.3).

ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Languages

3.1 The following abbreviations of language names are used in Part III:

Dar	Darumbal	Man	Manandjali
Jua	Jualrai	Nun	Nunagal

(b) Morphological terms

3.2 The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used in Part III:

ABL	ablative	N	noun or nominal
ACC	accidental	NOM	nominative
ALL	allative	OBJ	objective
ART	article	PERS	person or personal
ASS	associative	PF	perfective
CAR	caritative	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
COM	comitative	POST	postposition
CONN	connective	PRET	preterit
DAT	dative	PRON	pronoun or pronominal
DEM	demonstrative	REC	reciprocal
DER	derivative	REFL	reflexive
ERG	ergative	REL	relation word
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INTERR	interrogative	SOC	sociative
IPF	imperfective	TERM	terminative
ITR	intransitive	TR	transitive
LOC	locative	V	verb or verbal

(c) Informants

3.3 Reference to informants is made by the abbreviations of language names (see 3.1), followed by the initials of the person who by knowing or remembering it is considered to represent that language, e.g. *Nun CC*, the Nunagal informant Mr. Colin F. Costelloe—for the names and data about the various informants, see under the respective languages in the subsequent phonological and morphological sketches (4.6; 8.3; 12.4; 16.3). —For further details, see in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.

NUNAGAL

Introductory remarks

4.1 The author began collecting data for the present Linguistic Survey of South-eastern Queensland at Dunwich on Stradbroke Island. Not one 'native speaker' was by then found to survive on the island and the persons contacted were of the opinion that the recording of the Aboriginal language on Stradbroke Island had started about thirty years too late. Even the supposed last survivor among the speakers of the native language, one Mrs. Jane Sunflower (who had died some years earlier and who might be called, along with a certain 'Granny Kindara', the last of the tribe) was said by many not to have been a native of the island; this, however, would probably not have mattered much, since even though her native language had been something else than Nunagal, she would most likely have been about as fluent in the island language as in her own. The surviving Aboriginals (or part Aboriginals), who remembered bits of the language of their parents or grandparents, were generally not able to furnish morphological details, their knowledge being almost entirely reduced to vocabulary.⁴

4.2 The proper designation of the language to be described in the following sections (5.1, 7) involves a problem of its own. According to the Aboriginal informants consulted a number of tribes were known to have been living on Stradbroke Island, as well as on the neighbouring Moreton and Bribie Islands. As it is out of question at this stage to try to locate any of these or any particular dialectal variants met with, a general name has to be adopted which will comprise what is commonly understood by the natives to have been the Aboriginal language of the island. From a married couple, among the first to be interviewed about the old language (Nun CC and his wife), the name Nunagal was mentioned as the name of the people at Dunwich (according to others, however, at Amity Point and even Moreton Island) and the term is universally known and applied either to this or to other areas of the island, as a designation of an original tribe and language. As a matter of fact, it may be considered as the most commonly known name of the original inhabitants on the island and adhering to the principle that the most popular name is to be preferred even in linguistic classification we seem justified in adopting this term as a general name of the Stradbroke Island language, as remembered by a few natives today.⁵

4.3 As indicated above (4.2), several other names were suggested by informants, as designations of tribes (or subtribes) or languages (or dialects), but these will remain nothing more than names.⁶ It was said, however, that one of the old residents on the island and one of our best informants (Nun MB) used to speak a variety of the common Stradbroke language at the same time as she was supposed originally to belong to Bribie Island (cf. 4.5). As an odd point of difference in pronunciation noticed with this informant may be mentioned the word *dagai* *white man* as against the common *dege* (*idem*) heard from others. Incidentally, the former (*dagai*) was also stated (as by Nun MT) to represent the Mainland pronunciation of the word (whether this was meant to refer to a mainland dialect of our 'Nunagal' or to some other mainland language in the Brisbane area).⁷ Our informant Nun MB has further the personal pronouns *gai* *I* and *nin* *you* (for normal *ga*, respectively *ninda*; cf. 6.12), which former are also found in Watson 1943-44 (pp.68, 71) and hence known in 'Yugarabul' (for this language, see in 4.4).

4.4 As a matter of fact, an assumed difference between a mainland and an island variety of the same language is of far more importance than one between several dialects on Stradbroke Island itself or on neighbouring islands. The language of which a vocabulary is given by F.J. Watson (Watson 1943-44, p. 66 sqq.) and referred to by the name 'Yugarabul' corresponds on most points with what is recorded here from Stradbroke Island and referred to as 'Nunagal'. Watson's Yugarabul is a mainland language (or in any case one which comprises neither Stradbroke nor Moreton Island; see op.cit., p.4). Strangely, but perhaps for this very reason, the term jagarabal (or jagarabul), that is Watson's 'Yugarabul', was not recognised on the island as a language name and the basic word from which the name is derived, jagara (*no, nothing*),⁹ was hardly known at all by our island informants.⁹ On the other hand, the term jagarabal (or jagarabul, jagarabul) is well known on the Mainland, by Manandjali speakers, who sometimes mentioned it as a 'very hard' language spoken further inland by a neighbouring tribe (according to Man FM, from the Tweed area, as far west as Warwick),¹⁰ while the word jagara or its meaning (as being a foreign word) was quite naturally not known at all.¹¹

4.5 It is significant that the Yugarabul word for *white man* (also, as usual, for *ghost*) is dagai, dhuggai, etc. (see op.cit., pp. 66, 77; also following the Rev. W. Ridley) and not dege (as heard on Stradbroke Island).¹² As now Watson states (op.cit., pp. 4-5) that a group of the Yugarabul tribe occupied mainland territory as far as Caboolture and Toorbul Point, namely the Taraubul tribe (in Nunagal darabal or darabul, the name of Toorbul Point and of a tribe), the following conclusion might be drawn: a language known to Watson as 'Yugarabul' and to the present writer as 'Nunagal' forms a linguistic unit, extending from the neighbourhood of Beaudesert (that is the center of the Manandjali language; see 8.2) to Caboolture and Toorbul and comprising Bribie, Moreton and Stradbroke Islands; within this group dialectal differences may be established and we can in the first place speak of a mainland dialect (which we may call jagarabal or jagarabul), to which Bribie Island (closely opposite Toorbul Point and now joined to the Mainland by a bridge) also belonged,¹³ and further an island dialect (which we here call nunagal), comprising Stradbroke (and possibly also Moreton) Island. This would possibly explain the reason why our informant Nun MB (if from Bribie Island) had a slightly different way of talking (using dagai for dege, ɲai for ɲaga, etc., as also Nun AM) and was acquainted with the word jagara in its proper sense (as also Nun AM, whose father was nicknamed jagara and whose mother was from Laidley, which is likely to have fallen within the original 'Yugarabul' area. It is evident, however, that all these dialects are closely related and that they may be said to represent an original (lower) 'Brisbane River' language (cf. Watson, op.cit., p. 4).

List of informants

4.6 Reference to informants for Nunagal is made by the following abbreviations, being the initials of the person in question preceded by the signature Nun (for Nunagal). In the case of more than one informant, the signature is not repeated (hence: Nun MB, AM, etc.). Compare for further particulars in Part I, 4.3 and Note 41.

Nun AM: Mr. Alfie Moreton (64), at One Mile (north of Dunwich; for his father, see 4.4 and Note 9); his mother was from Laidley (west of Ipswich).

- Nun AT*: Miss Anastasia Tripcony, at Dunwich, sister of Nun PT and VT.
- Nun BD*: Mrs. Bethel Delaney (65), at Dunwich.
- Nun CC*: Mr. Colin F. Costello, at One Mile, later at Dunwich (died in 1974); his mother was from Stradbroke Island (his father from Fraser Island, that is in the Batjala area).
- Nun EM*: Mr. Edward Moreton (73), Alfie's (Nun AM) brother, died at Fingal Pt. (N.S.W.).
- Nun EO*: Mrs. Eileen O'Laughlin (a white lady at Dunwich).
- Nun GB*: Mrs. Gladys Brown (died at Anglers' Paradise, Southport), Nun CC's sister; she had some notes taken from Jane Sunflower (see 4.1).
- Nun JB*: Mr. Jack Borey, a white man at Dunwich.
- Nun JL*: Mr. John Levinge (55), South Stradbroke Island.
- Nun MB*: Miss Mabel Brown (born in 1893), at Dunwich and later at Wynnum; she or her people were probably from Bribie Island.
- Nun MT*: Mrs. Myrtle Thompson, at Josephville (by Beaudesert), Nun CC's sister.
- Nun PT*: Mr. Paul Tripcony, at Lota, south of Wynnum, from Stradbroke Island; a learned representative of his tribe and recently dead.
- Nun VP*: Mrs. Vera Perry, a couple of miles north of Dunwich.
- Nun VT*: Mr. Vincent Tripcony, at Dunwich, Nun PT's brother.

Two ladies met at Ipswich had a few words which suggested a connection with our Nunagal, or perhaps rather Yugarabul (see 4.4), to whom we shall—in a neutral way—refer to by the signature *Ips* (= Ipswich), namely:

- Ips CM*: Miss Cedella McDonald, at North Ipswich, *Ips MP*'s niece.
- Ips MP*: Mrs. Mona Parsons, from Amberley, east of Ipswich, which would reasonably be original Yugarabul country (cf. 4.4, Note 10).

Phonology

5.1 The phonological system of Nunagal is in general closely similar to that of the western subgroup of the Wakka languages (see Part I, 6.1). The phonemes found in Nunagal are consequently the same as in Wakka-Wakka. On an odd point Nunagal shows features of Kabi-Kabi phonology or of that of the coastal languages at large. It is worth mentioning that the phonetic part of the language appears better preserved than other aspects of its grammar, evidently owing to the fact that the Aboriginal pronunciation is partly reflected in their English as well.¹⁴

Evolution of the vowel system

5.2 The vowel phonemes recorded for Nunagal are: a, e, i, o and u (for the values, cf. 2.1),¹⁵ with the lengthened variants a', e', i', o' and u' (as usual, the vowel length is indicated in initial syllables only).¹⁶ For the probable origin of e' (and e), see in the following section (5.3); as for o' (and o) it may arise secondarily from wa: baŋol (Nun MB, CC) beside baŋwal (Nun AM) *bread*.

5.3 The case of a dialectal alternation of the forms *dagai* and *dege* *white man* (for which see in 4.3), which presents a close parallel to the alternation Goreng-Goreng (and eastern Wakka languages) *wangai* and the Wakka-Wakka (and western Wakka languages) *wenge* *snake* (see Part I, 12, 19, 25), suggests an identical explanation of the Nunagal form *dege* (compare in Part I, 6.2, 5). Accordingly, the supposed Yugarabul form *dagai* represents the older and more original form of the word, while the Nunagal *dege* owes its final vowel to an evolution *-ai* (or **-aj* ?) > *-e* and its first vowel to a process of assimilation of the original *-a-* to the *-e* in the following syllable (that is exactly as in Wakka-Wakka *wenge* in relation to the more primitive *wangai*; see above and loc. cit.). Due to insufficient data regarding Yugarabul, no other instance has been found of an original *-ai* or **-aj* turning into Nunagal *-e*; on the other hand several instances are found of an assimilation of a vowel (mostly *a*) in a preceding syllable to a final *-e*: *bege* *young man* (Nun MT), *bege* *old man*; the assimilation is, however, not universal and forms such as *bage* are also heard. There are also cases of the kind of 'vowel levelling' observed in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 6.7), that is the arising of an *e* or *o* in both syllables of a word originally having different vowels (*a* and *i*, respectively *a* and *u*), as in Nunagal *megenden* *Brisbane (tribe)* (cf. Yugarabul *miganchan*, idem; Watson 1943-1944, p. 74),¹⁷ *gelen* *moon* (Nun PT; cf. *gilan*, idem, Nun CC); neither has this trend universal character: *gilen* beside *gelen* *moon* (Nun PT). The vowel *i* in closed (generally) word-final syllables may be broadened to *e*, as frequently in the Wakka languages (cf. Part I, 6.15), whereby the plural article *-gin*, for instance, is often heard as *-gen* (cf. *megenden*, above); further *giniger* *oyster* (Nun MB; from **-gir* ?), *gengin* *redbreast* (Nun MB). The common actualisation of final (or unstressed) *-a* as *-i* (probably due to imitation of English speech habits, as when 'tomahawk' becomes 'tom-i-hawk' or the tribe name 'Wakka-Wakka' is spelled out 'Waky-Waky'; cf. Part I, 23.3, and Holmer 1971, 1.5 with the Note 11) is reflected in: *gapi* for *gapa* *humpy* (Nun MB), *-wali* for *-wala* (caritative suffix), etc. Otherwise the sound value of *-a* is often affected by surrounding sounds, so that it approaches the sound of *o* in contact with the bilabial *w*, on one hand, and on the other that of *e*, in contact with palatal or palatalised sounds: *gelan* for *galan* *moon* (Nun MT), etc.

Evolution of the consonant system

5.4 The consonant phonemes in Nunagal are the same as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. Part I, 6.18): (bilabial) *b*, *m*; (dental) *d*, *n*; (palatalised dental) *ɟ*, *ɲ*; (palatal-velar) *g*, *ŋ*; further the lateral continuant *l* and the (slightly) trilled continuant *r* and, finally, the palatal, respectively bilabial, semi-vowels *j* and *w*. The occurrence according to position in the word is as in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, loc. cit.).¹⁸

5.5 An important particularity consists in the occurrence of 'pre-occlusive' *l* and *n* sounds (cf. Part I, 23.5), whereby a post-vocalic *l* appears as *dl* and a post-vocalic *n* as *dn*: *midl* for *mil* *eye*, *gidl* for *gil* *urine*, *gidla* for *gila* *bee*, *honey*, *mudlu* for *mulu* *stone*, *rock*, *gudna* for *guna* *excrement*. Some features of Nunagal phonology are either due to the influence of English or else paralleled by analogous trends in the local English, as when an intrusive *-r* may appear in *walingar* for *walinga* *old woman* or an intervocalic *-r-* may take the place of another consonant sound (usually an *-n-*), as in the verb stem *jara-* beside *jana-* *go*; incidentally, this is a very common feature in most parts investigated by the author (cf. Part I, 6.19, with references).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

6.1 *Structure.* The structure of concrete (nominal or verbal) word stems is strictly along the same lines as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. Part I, 7.1). Nominal stems are consequently either monosyllabic or longer, ending either in a vowel (ḡa· *ground*, bina *ear*) or consonant (mil *eye*, dabil *water*); of verbal stems it can only be said that they appear to be all vowel-ending (jana- or jara- *go*, na·- *see*), as in the Wakka languages or, as a matter of fact, most of those studied here. Reduplication of noun stems is frequent: dege dege *white man* (= dege, idem), ḡigal ḡigal, name of a tree, ḡigil ḡigil, name of a creek, ḡim ḡim *sexual intercourse* (Nun JB), ḡiman ḡiman or ḡima ḡima, the name of a bush, mingal mingal *chicken hawk*, bun bun *pheasant*, wira wira *lagoon*, bege bege or bage bage *old man* (Nun GB, MT), duram duram *storm* (Nun MT), gum gum *mopoke*, bum bum *head* (Nun PT), goḡ goḡ *egg*, ḡal ḡal *wild dog* (Nun MB), nulbu nulbu *evening* (Nun PT), gawa gawa *red* (of the hair; Nun PT), gawan gawan *blood* (Nun PT) and probably gengin *redbreast* (Nun MB; for gin gin, cf. 5.3).

6.2 *Compounds.* Nominal compounds (to be analysed attributively or predicatively or as English compounds of the type 'seaman', 'housewife') are of the usual type in the Australian languages: guḡi mulu, the name of an island in Moreton Bay, Coochiemudlo (*red rock* or *red stone* or else—if permitted by the context— *the rock is red*). Constructions of noun and verb stems of the type mil na·- *see* must be understood as compounds (*eye-see*) and explained as in Part I, 15.2, Note 123.

6.3 *Nominal derivation.* A great number of derivative suffixes are recorded, many of which however do not give evidence of a clearly determined meaning or function. The most important one among nominal derivative suffixes is undoubtedly the locative -ba marking the *place where* and very common in names or designations of places, being usually added to noun stems denoting animal or plant names: diḡgalba *Tingalpa* (from diḡgal, a small shell, rather than from diḡgal *fat*, as alternatively suggested by Nun PT), ḡulumba *Point Lookout*, mingiriba (a name of Stradbroke Island, Nun PT), baḡanba (the name of a place, from baḡan *mud*), milwaba (the name of a place, Nun CC), gurigaba (the name of a place), mungalba (the name of a place, *Myora*), gabemba (the name of a hill, from gabem *moss*, *mossy ground*; Nun MT), gurunḡ gurunḡba (the name of a creek, from gurunḡ *black*; Nun MB), gadaraba (the name of a place, Catalba, from gadara *five-corner tree*). A similar sense is probably conveyed by the suffix -ḡi, in garaḡi, the name of a place on South Stradbroke Island, from gara *shell*; alternatively this suffix may be taken as a locative case suffix (cf. Watson 1943-44, p. 77, who ranges -ti as an 'ablative' suffix).

6.4 Strangely, no sociative suffix has been recorded (answering to Wakka-Wakka -ḡa or Gunggari -bari; see Part I, 3.7). The termination -wala (in milwala *blind*, bina(ḡ)wala *deaf*) may, however, be ranged as a caritative suffix (cf. Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng -ḡam; see Part I, 3.7; 15.3), unless it be considered as an independent word stem (= *no good*); however, it is recorded in the above constructions only.

6.5 The suffix *-gan* in the languages of south-eastern Queensland usually denotes females and is occasionally found in this sense in Nunagal also: mirigan *old woman* (Nun MT; cf. below), muragan *white woman* (Nun MT), paragagan *pregnant* (Nun VT). In other cases no such sense is immediately perceivable: mirigan *star(s)* (cf. above), garigan (Nun MB), gariagan (Nun PT) *crane*, bualgan *land curlew*, gugagan *kookaburra*, garagan *magpie*, ginilingan *wagtail* (Nun PT), girigan *blackbutt* (a tree), gugalgan *a lie, hoax* (Nun CC; cf. gugal *gammon*); as is seen, it often occurs in animal names. This also holds for the suffix *-man*, which occurs first of all (as in most south-east Queensland languages) in the word for the *horse*: jaraman. As a matter of fact, its usage may have started in this almost universal term, spreading to names of other animals: giraman *flying fox*, galaman *native black bee*.¹⁹ The suffix *-gali* appears to indicate a diminutive in gingali *little girl* (cf. gin *girl*, *Aboriginal woman*), but the sense appears the opposite in digirgali *big eater* (= digir gurumba *big belly*, Nun GB—incidentally, similar meanings pertain to the Manandjali *-gali*, for which see 10.5).

6.6 In two terms of relationship we find a suffix *-gal*, namely duangal *brother* and manangal *sister* (both from Nun MB). Although no shorter form of these terms is recorded, it might be suspected that the suffix *-gal* expresses the 'dual-comitative', frequent in some of these languages (see Part II, 6.6; 9.6, etc.) and that it would consequently answer to the Manandjali *-gal* (see 10.6). The suffix *-bara*, which occurs in the Wakka languages in names of tribes or in terms denoting persons (cf. Part I, 15.3; 25.2) probably recurs in Nunagal jangabara *hostel* or *place where one can stay* (Nun PT; cf. Barunggam gagunbara *home*); further in dudambara *fly* (Nun MB). The important suffix *-bal* or *-bul* is common in tribe or language names: jagarabul *the Yugarabul tribe and language* (cf. 4.5), darabal or darabul *Toorbul* (cf. 4.5), goenbal, a moiety of the Nunagal (Nun PT), gurabal, the name of a tribe.

6.7 Of the other suffixes, the meaning and function is less clear. The termination *-bi* in goenbi, the native name of Dunwich, is evidently a derivative suffix, since the stem goen (a *shell*) appears in another derivation, goenbal (see 6.6). The suffix *-bin* or *-gin* is common in local designations and may properly denote tree names: gambinbin, the name of the part of Stradbroke Island where the sea has broken through and separated the present North and South Stradbroke, herobin (for *nerobin? Nun CC), the name of a place, mulganbin the name of Moreton Island (Nun CC), dalgarbin *cotton tree*, nanarbin *silky oak*, gurambin or gurunbin, a certain intestine of the dugong, gagargin *wattle tree*. Of the consonantal suffixes of indefinite meaning dealt with in Part I, 3.6, the following are recorded in Nunagal: *-ŋ*, *-l*, *-m* and *-n*. Instances of these are: binan beside bina *ear*, ginan beside gina *foot*, mil beside mi *eye* (the latter form—from Nun AM—which is exceptional in Nunagal is the normal one in Manandjali); further notice gugalgan *a lie*, from a stem gugal- (cf. 6.5), alternating with guga (idem), banal (Nun VP) beside bana (Nun CC) *pine tree*, gilam (Nun CC) beside gila (Nun AM) *bee*, gawan beside gawa *blood* or *red* (Nun PT). An unusual alternation of final *-r* and *-ŋ* occurs in diar *teeth* (Nun) and dian, idem (Ips MP).

6.8 *Verbal derivation.* The only verbal derivative suffix recorded is the (probably) reflexive-intransitive *-li-*, namely in bagali- *fight* (Nun AM; cf. Kabi-Kabi bagili-, idem) and jipili- *sit down* (Nun CC). A reflexive-causative derivation may occur by means of a suffix *-mali-* (cf. Manandjali, 10.9) in

gunamalai (if for *gunamali- *evacuate, cacare*; Nun PT),²⁰ from guna *excrement*; compare such Manandjali verb stems as gurgunmali- *talk* (from gurgun *talk, talk-ing*; see 10.9).

6.9 *Declension*. Very little can be said at this stage about nominal inflection in Nunagal. No clear case suffix (apart from the common -gu, for which see below) is actually recorded and we must limit ourselves to a couple of mere suggestions. For the word for *fire* two forms were supplied: the common galu and a shorter form gal (Nun AM only); if the latter is correct the only explanation of this alternation would be that gal is the original nominative, while galu would be an ergative (ultimately generalised from such constructions as *cook by fire*, etc.). A similar double occurrence of forms is recorded in magul and magula *head*, which—if correct—would be explained so as to take magul as the nominative and magula as the locative; the suffixes would find a counterpart in Manandjali (or in the Bandjalang languages in general; cf. Holmer 1971, 13.25 (e)).²¹ An allative is found in gapigu (*go*) *home* (*to the humpy*, gapa, cf. 5.3); the termination -gu may, of course, with equal right be taken as a postposition (gu), as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. Part I, 12).

6.10 *Article*. The termination -gin (often pronounced -gen; cf. 5.3) recorded in a number of words is evidently the plural article common in Manandjali (see 10.14) and the Wakka languages (see Part I, 7.16; 11.5). It occurs in: degegin (-gen) (*some*) *white men* (dege),²² gundalgen (*some*) *women* (gundal), bugalgen bugilgen (*some*) *boys* (bugal, bugil). In addition to the common usage, according to which known or present plural number is expressed (of personal beings; cf. Part I, 3.18-19), the Nunagal -gin marks tribe names: megengen *the Brisbane tribe* (later *Brisbane*, as in English) and further in terms of relationship (where a 'dual-comitative' suffix would otherwise occur; cf. 6.6): gimbalgen *one's mother* (Nun CC).²³

6.11 *Postpositions*. The only postposition found is giba *in, at, on*), which appears a compound of two localising particles (or suffixes), namely -gi and -ba (both mentioned in 6.3). They occur in the phrase biŋ waŋan giba or waŋ giba, used among the Aborigines in asseverations (*true indeed, God's truth*), but generally accepted as having been the beginning of the Lord's Prayer in the native language, hence equaling (*our*) *Father* (biŋ) (*who art*) *in* (giba) *Heaven* (waŋ or waŋan). For Yugarabul -ti as a locative suffix, compare in Watson 1943-44, p. 77.²⁴ As usual, words expressing locality do not need a local postposition (or local case form) to denote 'in', 'at' or 'to' in most Aboriginal languages; hence we may accept megengen ŋaga jarapa as a correct rendering of *I am going to Brisbane* (Nun AM).

6.12 *Personal pronouns*. The only personal pronouns which may be established with any amount of certainty are those for the first and second persons singular: ŋaga *I* and ŋinda or ŋinda *you*.²⁵ These may be considered as normal Stradbroke Island forms. Corresponding to them, however, Nun MB and AM have respectively ŋai *I* and ŋin, ŋin *you* (which may be Mainland or Bribe Island forms; cf. 4.3). A second person plural jura is common in the south-eastern Queensland languages, but for Nunagal the form is recorded only in the sense of a greeting upon entering a house (according to Nun PT); if jura is a personal pronoun in Nunagal, the greeting might be explained as meaning *you people!* (?).

Inflected forms of the above pronouns are hardly found. The phrases *ninda pariwa milgari you are my sweetheart* (Nun PT) and *pari pubi explained as meaning give me a kiss* (Nun PT, VT) might possibly be reconstructed into respectively *ninda narijuba milgari you (are) my sweetheart* and *narijuba (give) me* (literally *my*, the possessive being used in a dative sense, according to the common practice in the Aboriginal languages). From the above analysis we should obtain a possessive form *narijuba my, mine* (cf. *Wakka-Wakka na'ri my*, in Part I, 7.20), to which a possessive suffix *-juba* would have been added. An alternative form *nariba* might be found in: *mipangu ninda nariba what are you talking about?* (Nun CC), for which compare in 6.13.²⁶

6.13 *Interrogative pronouns.* The only interrogative pronouns recorded are the impersonal *mipar* and *mipalar what?*, also *something*; the latter word, *mipalar*, is given various other more concrete meanings (all based on that of *something*), which vary from *good, tasty to something to remember* (Nun GB) or a mere *swear-word* (Nun MT). An inflected form (an allative) of *mipar* is *mipangu what for? why?, you keep on talking* (Nun GB), as in: *mipangu ninda nariba (= narijuba ? see 6.12) what are you talking about?* (Nun CC), but possibly rather *for (or about) what you (talk) to me?*; compare in 6.12.

6.14 *Conjugation.* Very little may be said with certainty regarding Nunagal conjugation and what may be considered reasonable to assume as to meaning of the recorded forms must be based on comparison with neighbouring or related languages, for which better data are obtainable. It appears in the first place that the structure of the four basic modal forms (cf. Part I, 3.22) is related to that of the Wakka languages or of Manandjali, that is that verb stems end in a vowel, to which a 'thematic element' (see Part I, 7.28) is added, with or without a following postpositional element or original case suffix. The *imperative* is, as usual, the stem of the verb: *balga get up* (Nun CC; cf. *Goreng-Goreng balba stand up*), *jara ba go (then)* (from *jara-* or *jana- go* plus a connective, *ba*; cf. 6.16). The stem-final vowel is changed to *-a-* in *jipila sit down* (from *jipili-*). The *imperfective* is based on a 'thematic element' *-ŋ-* (answering to the Wakka-Wakka *-j-*, see Part I, 7.28) or the Manandjali *-l-* (see 10.26); to this a locative (?) *-a* is added (cf. Manandjali, *ibid.*), so that an imperfective form in *-na* arises:²⁷ *jarana going* (from *jara- go*; hence = Manandjali *janala*), *nana going* (from *na- go*; Nun MB), *bagalina fighting* (thus reconstructed from Nun AM's *bagapili*, from *bagali- fight*). For the 'thematic' *-ŋ-*, some verbs may have other corresponding enlargements, such as *-ŋ-* in the case of the verb *pa'- see*: *gil pa'na urinating* (probably a euphemism *seeing about ...*; Nun PT), *mil pa'na seeing* (probably for Nun VT's *pa'ni*; cf. *Wakka-Wakka pa'ni saw*, Part I, 7.30-31, and the perfective *boŋ*, in 6.15, below).

6.15 If the above analysis may be considered reasonable, it must be assumed that the *perfective* forms are formed by the corresponding 'thematic element', but without any additional vowel element. Such a form is Nunagal *janip gone* (in which, however, the stem-final vowel appears as *-i-*; cf. *Batjala* and *Kabi-Kabi janin* beside *janan gone*, from *jana- go*, see Part I, 25.14, with the Note 169). In accordance with this principle, the Nunagal perfective *died (dead)* is *boŋ* (Nun PT), from original **buaŋ* (stem *bua-*, as in *Wakka-Wakka*, see Part I, 12), which hence differs from the corresponding Wakka-Wakka perfective (*bo'ŋi*, from **buaŋi*) in not having the vocalic addition to the 'thematic element'. Of intentional or other modal forms nothing is recorded for Nunagal.

6.16 *Connective*. A single connective is recorded in: *ɲinda jara ba*, which probably is to be understood as *you go then* (Nun MB; although explained as meaning *you are going*).

Nunagal vocabulary

7. The following vocabulary is arranged after the principles adopted in Part I (12, 19 and 26). Signatures of informants are generally not given for entries supplied by or deriving from several persons. The alphabetic order of the entries is according to this ranging of the phonetic symbols: a, b, d, g, e, g, (h), ɲ, i, j, l, m, n, ɳ, o, r, u, w.

B

ba *CONN* (6.16)

-ba *N DER SFX* (6.3).

babun *N* moon (Nun CC).

bagala *N* the name of a tribe and language, Batjala (Nun CC, PT).

bage, *v.* bage.

bage bage *N* old man (Nun MB, MT).
-cf. bege.

bagali- *V REC* (6.14) fight (Nun AM): *ɳubap bagalina* a married couple fighting.

bagur *N* stick(s), tree (Nun MB).

baɲa, *v.* biga baɲa gimba.

baɲan *N* mud (Nun CC).

baɲanba *N* the name of a place (Nun CC). -cf. baɲan.

baɲel *N* grass (Nun CC).

baɲol, *v.* baɲwal.

baɲwal (baɲol) *N* 1. (grind)stone stone for crushing roots; 2. seeds or fern roots, etc. ground between stones to make bread.

bajami *N* God (Nun VT): Great bajami (cf. Biami, in Kath Walker, *Stradbroke Dreamtime*, pp. 79-81. Sydney, 1972).

-bal *N DER SFX* (6.6).

balan *N* black cockatoo (Nun MB).

balga- *V ITR* (6.14) get up (Nun CC).

balɲ balingam *N* money (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

balin *N* narrow; the name of Amity Point, from spit going out into Moreton Bay (Nun PT).

bana *N* bloodwood (Nun MB).

banda *N* erect, erection (Nun AM).
-cf. duge.

bangi *N* brother, mate (Nun VT, JB).

bangamba *N* hand (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

bapa *N* pine tree (Nun CC; cf. English 'bunya'). -cf. bapal.

bapal *N* pine tree (Nun VT). -cf. bapa.

-bara *N DER SFX* (6.6).

barangul *N* the name of Flinders Mountain (Peak; Ips MP).

baran *N* boomerang (Nun AM; perhaps from Wakka-Wakka).

bege (bage) *N* old man.

bege bege *N* old man. -cf. bege.

bege *N* young fellow (Nun NT).

-bi *N DER SFX* (6.7).

biban ba·ran (ba·ran) *N* ? a saying or an exclamation (Nun CC).

bigara *N* creek or the name of a creek (Nun JB, EO).

biga baya gimba *N* the name of a sand heap or hill on Stradbroke Island (said to mean 'sandy mountain'; Nun MT).

bigi *N* sun: bigi gabu hurry up (sun is going ? Nun BD).

bigil *N* the name of a place on Stradbroke Island (Nun MT).

bigun *N* jewfish (Nun MB).

biŋ *N* father: biŋ waŋ(an) giba (our) Father in Heaven, also used in the sense of 'God's truth' (Nun VT), biŋ waŋ 'God' (Nun MB; 'Father above').

bingiŋ *N* short-necked turtle (Ips MP, CM). -cf. bingiŋ.

bila *N* oak (Nun MB).

bilam *N* parrot (Nun MB).

-bin *N* DER SFX (6.7).

bina *N* ear: bina waraŋ deaf. -cf. binaŋ.

binaŋ *N* ear: binaŋ waraŋ or binaŋ wali deaf (Nun CC, GB). -cf. bina.

binaŋwala *N* deaf (Nun MB). -cf. bina(ŋ).

binawana *N* stubborn (Nun MB, VP). -cf. bina, wana.

binawali *N* 1. deaf; 2. listening, overhearing (Nun EO).

bina waraŋ, *v.* bina.

bingi *N* stomach (Nun MB; according to Nun GB, children's language). -cf. digir.

binge *N* head (Nun MT; in Manandjali it means 'hat').

bingiŋ *N* short-necked turtle.

bira *N* grog (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

biram *N* sky (Nun CC, MB).

bi·wa *N* one of the Glasshouse Mountains, Beerwah (Nun CC; cf. bi·wa or biawa eagle, in Part I, 26).

boŋ *V* ITR (6.15) dead (Nun PT): mil boŋ blind.

bualgan *N* land curlew (Nun MB). -cf. bujulgan.

buba *N* white (Nun PT): buba bundel white hair.

bubilaŋ or bubulaŋ *N* smoke pipe (Nun BD, PT; cf. Jualrai bubli tobacco).

budiŋ *N* prawn (Nun PT).

bugaŋ *N* mother (Nun CC, MB).

bugal, *v.* bugir.

bugiŋ *N* *crepitus ventries* (Nun JB).

bugil, *v.* bugir.

bugir (bugil, bugal) *N* boy; (ART) bugirgin, bugilgin, bugalgin (some) boys.

bugiraŋ *N* ? bugiraŋ gabur(a) don't be frightened, boy (Nun MT). -cf. gabur.

bugaŋ *N* sleep (Nun MB).

bujulgan (biulgan) *N* land curlew (Nun CC, MB). -cf. bualgan.

-bul *N* DER SFX (6.6).

bula¹ *N* two (Nun AM, MB).

bula² *N* cattle (Nun MT).

bularam *N* the name of the 'Blue Lake' on Stradbroke Island (Nun MT). -cf. gabura.

buliman *N* policeman (Nun GB).

bulu *N* penis (Nun AM). -cf. buru.

bumaraŋ *N* a nickname (Boomerang; Nun MT).

bumbal *N* the name of a fruit (used as chewing gum; Nun CC).

bum bum *N* head (Nun PT).

bumir (bumer) *N* the name of the 'Brown Lake' on Stradbroke Island.

bun *N* knee, knees (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

bunbi *N* bag, dillibag (Nun MB, BD, AM).

bun bun *N* pheasant (Nun MB).
 bundel *N* hair (Nun PT). —cf. buba.
 burima *N* ? an expression of
 delight at intercourse (accord-
 ing to Nun PT, this is both
 'what he asks and what she
 answers').
 buron *N* whiting (fish; Nun PT).
 buru *N* penis (Nun MT). —cf.
 bulu, gumi.

D

dabinbila *N* policeman (Nun MT).
 —cf. daminbila.
 dabil *N* water (Nun PT). —cf.
 gabin, gun.
 dabilnala *N* box tree (Nun MB).
 dagai *N* white man (Nun MB).
 —cf. dege.
 dagan *N* flathead (fish; Nun MB).
 dagun (da·gun ?) *N* eel (Nun CC).
 dalaluma *N* the name of a lagoon
 on Moreton Island (Nun MT).
 dangal *N* the name of a tree
 (*Banksia*) similar to the bottle
 brush, but with yellow flowers
 (Nun PT), the red or black
 honeysuckle and its fruit (the
 bark of the red honeysuckle
 being used in tanning; Nun CC).
 —cf. dangil.
 dangil *N* honeysuckle (Nun MB).
 —cf. dangal.
 dal, *v.* gilgamari.
 dalgarbin *N* cotton tree, from which
 shields were made (Nun MB, PT).
 dalun (dalam) *N* tongue (Ips MP, CM).
 dambur (dambul) *N* mouth (Nun MB,
 MT). —cf. dumbar, dumburi.
 daminbila (-bala) *N* policeman
 (Nun MT, GB). —cf. dabinbila.
 damuru *N* mouth (Nun GB; from Jane
 Sunflower). —cf. dambur.
 dandar *N* chest (Nun GB).
 dangilan *N* bream (fish; Nun MB).
 darabal (-bul) *N* the name of a
 tribe at Toorbul Point and on
 Bribie Island and its language
 (Nun AM, PT), also the name of
 Toorbul (Nun PT).
 dege *N* 1. ghost or stranger;
 2. white man; (ART) degegin
 (some) white people. —cf. dagai.
 dege dege *N* white man (Nun GB).
 —cf. dege.
 derangeri *N* a name of Stradbroke
 Island (Nun CC).
 dian *N* teeth (Ips MP). —cf. diar.
 diar *N* teeth.
 digir *N* stomach, belly: digir
 gurumba big belly or big eater.
 —cf. digirgali.
 digirgali *N* big eater (Nun GB).
 —cf. digir.
 dingal¹ *N* the name of a certain
 small shell (Nun PT).
 dingal² *N* fat (Nun PT).
 dingalpa *N* the name of a place,
 Tingalpa (between Brisbane and
 Wynnum; Nun PT).
 dimbin *N* star (Nun MT). —cf.
 mirigan¹.
 dinir *N* firewood, sticks (Nun
 AM).
 duanggal *N* brother (Nun MB).
 dudambara *N* fly (Nun MB).
 duge *N* male organ, penis (Nun AM,
 PT): duge banda erection.
 dulungili, dulingili *v.* durun gili.
 dumbar *N* mouth (Nun MB). —cf.
 dambur, dumburi.
 dumburi *N* mouth (Nun PT). —cf.
 dumbar, dambur.
 duram duram *N* storm (Nun MT).
 duriban *N* owl (Nun MB).

durun *N* black (Nun MB). -cf.
durun gili.

durun gili (dulungili, dulingili)
N black rock, sandstone, the
name of a creek on Stradbroke
Island and also the name of
South Stradbroke Island (Nun AM,
MB, CC). -cf. durun.

g

ga· *N* ground (Nun MB).

gabam *N* witchetty grub.

gabir *N* nulla-nulla (Nun AM).

gabur, *v.* bigi.

gabul, *v.* gabur.

gabur (gabul) *N* boy: bugiran
gabur 'don't be frightened, boy
(Nun MT; perhaps 'be a boy or
man' ?). -cf. bugir.

ga·gam *N* baby (Nun MT).

gagari *N* younger sister (Nun CC).
-cf. gagi.

gagin *N* sister (Nun BD). -cf.
gagari.

gagi *N* fire, jack-o'-lantern,
mysterious light, tribal spirit
(Nun AM, EM, BD). -cf. gangari.

ga·gun *N* devil (Nun VT, MB).

gal, *v.* galu.

galan¹ *N* urinating (of women; Nun MT).

galan², *v.* galan.

galan (galan) *N* moon (Nun MT, AT).
-cf. gelen.

galaman *N* native black bee (Nun BD).

galu (gal) *N* (6.9) fire, firewood.

gam *N* meat, food (Nun AM, MB;
from Wakka-Wakka ?).

gambinbin (-banban) *N* water spout
(? Nun CC), the name of a place
where the original isthmus between
North and South Stradbroke Island
has been broken through by the
sea.

gangambal *N* the name of a language
(Nun CC).

gan *N* any man (Nun AM, MB).

gandil *N* mangrove (Nun MB).

gandur *N* ironbark (Nun MB).

gangan *N* cold.

gangari *N* a light (Nun CC; in the
Wakka language a tribal spirit).
-cf. gagi.

garagan *N* magpie (Nun MB).

gawai *REL* yes (Nun JB).

-gen, *v.* -gin.

-gi *N DER SFX* (6.3).

giba *POST* (6.11).

giban *N* the name of a tree, 'five-
corner tree', having a tiny fruit
on it, also the berry itself
(Nun CC, MB, BD).

gibal *N* eaglehawk (Nun CC).

gibalan *N* fish spear (Nun CC).

gigagara *N* coral eel (Nun PT).

gigal digal *N* the name of a tree
and also of a creek (Nun BD, JB).

gila *N* sand eel (Nun PT).

gima gima, *v.* giman giman.

giman giman (gima gima) *N* the
name of a tree or bush having
little white sweet fruits like
berries (Nun CC, PT, JB).

gimba, *v.* biga banja gimba.

gimbalgin (-gen) *N* mother (Nun CC).

gim gim *N* intercourse, to be
intimate (Nun JB).

-gin (-gen) *ART* (6.10).

gina *N* foot (Nun PT). -cf. ginan.

ginan *N* foot. -cf. gina.

gingi gingi *N* the name of a
language (Nun VP, MB).

gingirga(r) *N* oyster (Nun GB;
from Jane Sunflower). -cf.
ginigir.

ginilingan *N* wagtail (Nun PT).
 giran¹ *N* teeth (Nun MB). -cf. diar.
 giran² *N* thigh (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
 giram *N* grog (Nun MT).
 girigai *N* the name of the last 'king' (on Stradbroke Island ? Nun EM).
 gungai *N* westerly wind or west (Nun MB, CC).
 gugen *N* tongue (Nun PT).
 gunur *N* knife (Nun AM).
 gulin *N* nautilus (a shell; Nun PT).
 gum *N* tobacco (Nun PT).
 gundabara (-bari) *N* the name of a Queensland tribe or language (Nun PT), the Maryborough and Fraser Island language (Nun AM).
 gundal *N* woman; (ART) gundalgin (some) women.
 gundalgan *N* young woman (? Nun MT; probably = gundalgin women).
 guran *N* fire (Nun MT).
 guron *N* vulva (Nun JB; cf. Wakka-Wakka gunu, Goreng-Goreng gunu, idem).
 guru *N* mullet (Nun MT).

G

gabai, v. gabul.
 gabem *N* moss or mossy ground (Nun MT). -cf. gabemba.
 gabemba *N* the name of the big hill at Myora, Stradbroke Island, also the name of a tribe or language (dialect ?).
 gabi *N* possum (Nun CC).
 gabin *N* water (Nun MB). -cf. dabil.
 gabip *N* hungry (Nun MT).
 gabul (gabai) *N* carpetsnake.

gabulga (gabul ga·) *N* the name of a place, Caboolture (Nun MB). -cf. gabul, ga·.
 gabura *N* dawn (Nun CC); also the name of the 'Blue Lake' on Stradbroke Island. -cf. bularam.
 gadara *N* a kind of tree ('five-corner tree'? Nun BD), having a fruit like a green berry (Nun GB, EM, JB).
 gadaraba *N* the name of a place, Catalaba.
 gagi *N* vulva (Nun MT).
 gagargin *N* wattle tree (Nun MB).
 gaguan *N* kookaburra (Nun MB). -cf. gugagan.
 -gal *N* DER SFX (6.6).
 galali *N* the name of a language in western Queensland (Quilpie?), Kalali (Nun CC).
 galgulan *N* leatherhead (a bird; Nun MB).
 -gali *N* DER SFX (6.5).
 gamadan (ga·madan) *N* policeman (Nun AM; cf. Wakka-Wakka gamadan boss).
 gambalgari *N* the name of a language (dialect ?) at Amity Point (Stradbroke Island; Nun CC).
 gambara *N* the name of the 'Brown Lake' on Stradbroke Island (Nun CC).
 -gan *N* DER SFX (6.5).
 ganaba *N* the name of a place (Nun BD).
 ganaral *N* rifle (Nun CC).
 ganin *N* fig tree (Nun MB).
 gapa (gapi) *N* ALL gapigu humpy, Aboriginal palm-leaf hut or shelter, home: gapigu (go) home (Nun AM).
 gara *N* shell (Nun MT).
 garagi *N* the name of a place on South Stradbroke Island (Nun MB). -cf. gara.

- garal *N* curlew (Nun MB).
- gari *N* a common Aboriginal name (especially on Fraser Island; possibly the English 'Curry' ? Nun CC).
- gariagan, *v.* garigan.
- garigan (gariagan, Nun PT) *N* crane (Nun MB).
- gawa gawa *N* red (Nun PT): magul gawa gawa red hair.
- gawan gawan *N* blood (Nun PT). —cf. gawa gawa.
- gelen *N* moon (Nun PT). —cf. gilen.
- gengin *N* redbreast (Nun MB).
- gibar *N* young man (Nun CC, MB):
 ɲinda ɲarijuba gibar you are my young man (Nun PT).
- gidibila *N* a light (Nun MB). —cf. gangari.
- gigigagari *N* clams (Nun CC).
- gigur *N* shoulder (Nun PT).
- gil *N* urine.
- gila *N* 1. big, European bee; 2. honey (Nun AM). —cf. gilam.
- gilam *N* English bee or its honey (Nun MB, CC). —cf. gila.
- gilan (gilen) *N* moon. —cf. gelen.
- gilen *N* neck (Nun PT).
- gilgamari *N* dal gilgamari
 Aboriginal marriage system or permission to marry (Nun PT).
- gilgar *N* urine or *micturiens* (Nun GB). —cf. gil.
- gilin *N* nails (Nun PT).
- gimbi *N* stinging tree (Nun PT).
- gin *N* woman, (young) girl.
- gin *N* DER SFX (6.7).
- gindi *N* joke (Nun CC).
- gindigan *N* joking or frolicking around (Nun CC). —cf. gindi.
- gingali *N* little girl. —cf. gin.
- ginigir (-ger) *N* oyster (Nun MB). —cf. gindirga(r).
- gira¹ *N* north (Nun MB).
- gira² *N* a drink (Nun MT).
- giraman *N* flying fox.
- girigan *N* blackbutt (a tree; Nun MB).
- giwar *N* blood (Nun MB, CC).
- goenbal (guambal) *N* a Stradbroke Island language (Nun VT), a subtype or 'moiety' of the Nunagal (Nun PT). —cf. goenbi.
- goenbi (guambi, gumbi) *N* 1. pearl oyster, shellfish, shell; 2. Dunwich. —cf. goenbal.
- gon gon (gongon) *N* egg (Nun MB). —cf. gugi.
- guambi, *v.* goenbi.
- gubi *N* wind (Nun AT).
- gubon (goban) *N* frog (Ips MP, CM; cf. Wakka-Wakka gubon, idem).
- guga¹ *N* gammon (a joke or a lie; Nun VT). —cf. gugal.
- guga² *N* honey or sugar (Ips MP).
- gugal *N* gammon (nonsense, lie; Nun JB). —cf. guga¹.
- gugalgan *N* a lie (Nun CC):
 gugalgan mariba (?) telling a lie. —cf. guga¹, gugal.
- gugam *N* fire (Nun MB). —cf. gujan.
- gugi *N* red, (red) clay.
- gugi mulu *N* 1. red stone or rock; 2. Coochiemudlo Island (in Moreton Bay).
- gugun *N* night (Nun PT). —cf. gunu.
- gugagan *N* laughing jackass, kookaburra (Nun MB). —cf. gagan.
- gugi *N* egg (Nun PT). —cf. gon gon.

gun *N* 1. water; 2. whisky (or alcoholic drink). —cf. dabil, gabiŋ.
 gungal *N* shade (Nun PT).
 gujaŋ *N* flame, fire (Nun MB, CC). —cf. guŋam.
 gu·l *N* trevally (fish; Nun GB). —cf. gulbul.
 gula *N* koala (Nun MB).
 gulbul *N* trevally (a fish without scales and with poisonous fins; Nun BD, EM). —cf. gu·l.
 gumbar *N* a native tree or its little green fruit (Nun MB, GB). —cf. gumbol.
 gumbawala *N* penis (Nun MT).
 gumbi, *v.* goenbi.
 gumbol *N* the name of a tree (Nun BD). —cf. gumbar.
 gum gum *N* owl, mopoke (Nun CC, AM).
 gumi *N* penis (Nun MT). —cf. bulu, buru.
 gumuwara *N V ?* being intimate (Nun MT). —cf. gumi, gumbawala.
 guna *N* 1. excrement; 2. black soil.
 gunabari *N* *cacaturiens* (Nun GB). —cf. guna, gunamali-.
 gunamali- *V REFL CAUS IMP* gunamali (?); cf. 6.8 evacuate, *cacare* (Nun PT). —cf. guna, gunabari.
 gunburijan *N* one of the Glasshouse Mountains (the one nearest to the road at Glasshouse; Nun CC).
 gundal (gundu, Nun PT) *N* crystal (or a magic stone used in divination; Nun CC, PT).
 gundin (-den) *N* a small short shield (Nun AM, PT).
 gundu¹ *N* 1. bark; 2. boat, canoe (Nun MB).
 gundu², *v.* gundal.
 gunuran *N* crooked neck (one of the Glasshouse Mountains; Nun CC).

gurabal *N* the name of a Stradbroke Island tribe (Nun CC).
 guramban, *v.* gurunbin.
 gurar, *v.* gurjar.
 gurian, *v.* gurjar.
 guridaba (-bu) *N* the name of a place (Nun CC, GB).
 gurjar (gurar, guria, gurian) *N* fish (especially a kind of trevally).
 gurun (guroŋ) *N* black (Nun PT): mugul (for magul) guroŋ black hair.
 gurun gurunba *N* the name of a creek ('black water'; Nun MB). —cf. gurun.
 guruman *N* kangaroo (Nun AM).
 gurumba *N* big.
 gurunbin (guramban) *N* a certain appreciated intestine or part of the dugong (corresponding to 'breast of beef' or 'tender steak'; Nun MB).
 ŋ
 ŋa- *V ITR* (6.14) go (Nun MB): ŋai, ŋin ŋapa I am, you are going. —cf. jana-, jara-.
 ŋaga *PERS PRON* (6.12).
 ŋagam *N* dog (Nun AM; this is the common word in Manandjali). —cf. miri.
 ŋai *PERS PRON* (6.12)
 ŋal ŋal (ŋalŋal) *N* wild dog (Nun MB).
 ŋarabin *N* silky oak (Nun MB).
 ŋapai *REL* yes (Nun CC). —cf. jawa, juai.
 ŋara ŋarawai (-gai) *N* the name of a place ('wild heather or flower'; Nun MT, JB — according to Nun MB, 'big creek'). —cf. ŋara ŋarawariba.
 ŋara ŋarawariba *N* the name of a person, a 'given surname' (Nun CC; probably originally the name of a place). —cf. ŋara ŋarawai.

nariba *PERS PRON* (6.12).
 narijuba *PERS PRON* (6.12).
 nerobin (her-) *N* the name of a place (Nun CC).
 nin *PERS PRON* (6.12).
 ninda *PERS PRON* (6.12).
 nugur *N* tea tree (Nun MB).
 nugi *N* the name of Moreton Island (or Bribe Island ? Nun AM) and its Aboriginal inhabitants and language.
 nulumba *N* 1. the name of a place, Point Lookout (Nun CC, PT, JB); 2. the name of the 'Sky Hero' or (vaguely) 'God' (Nun PT).
 numbi bon *N* the name of a deserted area at the Brisbane River estuary ('house dead'; Nun PT). —cf. bon.
 nunu *N* night (Nun CC). —cf. gugun.

J

ja'gan *N* bunyip (a spirit; Nun AM).
 jagara *REL* 1. no (Nun MB, AM, EM; a Yugarabul word according to Man GF, ML); 2. an exclamation 'really funny' (Nun CC), 'bad (woman)', 'no good' (Nun MT); 3. the nickname of a person (cf. 4.4, Note 9).
 jagarabul *N* the name of a language, Yugarabul (Nun EM). —cf. jagara.
 jagaram *V* ? going (Nun MT).
 jajan *N* dugong.
 jangabara *N* hostel ('place where you may stay'; Nun PT).
 jamar *N* arm (Nun MB, GB).
 jana- *V ITR* (6.14) go. —cf. jara-.
 jara- *V ITR* (6.14) go: wapa ninda (ninda) jara where are you going? —cf. jana-, na-.

jaraman *N* horse.
 jaran *N* beard (Nun MB).
 jarun *N* ground (Nun MB).
 jawa *REL* yes (Nun CC). —cf. napai.
 jimgiri (-gari?) *N* wagtail (Nun MB).
 jindilgal *N* mullet (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
 jingagu *REL* where? whither? (Ips MP).
 jipili- *V ITR IMP* jipila sit down (Nun CC).
 juai *REL* yes (also 'goodbye'; Nun PT). —cf. jawa.
 juan *N* reptile, goanna (Nun CC).
 juangi *N* scrub ghost (Nun AM).
 jugu *REL* over there (Nun GB):
 jugu damingbila, dege a policeman, a stranger is coming (over there).
 jugun *N* grandfather, father's father (Nun MB, AM).
 juguri *N* clam, mussel, shell, 'pippies' for baiting.
 junu *N* cunnus (Nun AM).
 jura *REL PERS PRON* ? (6.12) hail! (a call or greeting on arrival at a place or house; Nun PT).
 juragan *N* the name of a place, Urangan (Nun MB).
 juri *N* bull (Nun CC; properly 'beef', cf. Manandjali juri 'meat').

L

-li- *V DER SFX* (6.8).

M

mabi¹ *N* little black native bee and its honey (Nun AM).
 mabi² *N* anus, posterior.

- madan *N* three (Nun MB).
 magul¹ (mugul, Nun PT) *N* LOC
 magula ? head, hair (Nun, Ips
 CM): mugul buba bundel white
 hair (Nun PT), mugul gawa gawa
 red hair (Nun PT).
 magul² *N* razorback shell (Nun MT).
 mananggal *N* sister (Nun MB). -cf.
 maran.
 malan *N* bream (fish; Nun MB).
 malgar *N* gum tree (Nun MB). -cf.
 mangar.
 -man *N* DER SFX (6.5).
 manangali *N* the name of a language,
 Manandjali (Nun EM).
 mangar *N* 1. bark (Nun MB, VP);
 2. blue gum tree (Nun CC).
 -cf. malgar.
 mara *N* fingers (Nun PT).
 maragin *N* swan (Nun MB).
 maragun *N* old woman (Nun MT).
 maran *N* sister (Nun AM). -cf.
 mananggal.
 marangal *N* octopus (Nun AM, JB).
 mari¹ *N* Aboriginal man (Nun, AM, MB).
 mari² *N* kangaroo (Nun MB, PT).
 mariba, v. gugalgan: degegen ninda
 mariba (?) stealing (oysters)
 from the white people (Nun CC).
 marumba *N* good (Nun CC).
 megengen (-gin) *N* name of a tribe
 on the (lower) Brisbane River,
 the 'Toorbul tribe' (Nun PT),
 later the native name of
 'Brisbane' (cf. Watson 1943-44,
 p. 102). -cf. migingin.
 me· *N* fat (Nun MB).
 mibaral *N* turtle (Nun GB; from
 Jane Sunflower).
 migam *N* the name of a wild bush
 with white sweet berries (Nun
 CC, GB, JB).
 migingin *N* the native name of
 Brisbane (Nun PT): migingin naga
 jarapa I am going to Brisbane.
 -cf. megengen.
 mingal mingal *N* chicken-hawk (Nun
 MB).
 mil *N* eye: mil naga seeing some-
 thing (Nun VP), mil bon blind
 (Nun PT). -cf. milwala.
 milgari *N* sweetheart (Nun PT, VT):
 ninda narijuba milgari you are
 my sweetheart.
 milwaba *N* the name of a place
 (Nun MB, CC).
 milwala (-wali) *N* blind (Nun MB, CC).
 mingiriba *N* a native name of
 Stradbroke Island (Nun PT).
 mipan *INTERR PRON* (6.13).
 mipangu *INTERR PRON* (6.13).
 mipalan (mipulan) *N* good, tasty,
 'something to remember' (Nun GB),
 a 'swearword' (Nun MT), a
 question word (Nun AM), 'spear
 fish' (Nun CC). -cf. mipan.
 miri *N* tame dog (Nun MB). -cf.
 ngam.
 mirigan *N* 1. star; 2. south-east
 wind (Nun JB); 3. old woman
 (Nun MT). -cf. dimbin.
 muburum *N* storm (Nun MT); also
 the nickname of Nun MB.
 mugen *N* long-necked turtle
 (Ips MP).
 mugin *N* testes (Nun PT), penis
 (Nun JB).
 mugan, v. mugin.
 mugar *N* LOC ? mugara storm, thunder.
 mugin (mugan) *N* Aboriginal name (or
 nickname ?) of Charlie Moreton
 (Nun AM's father; Nun PT, GB, MB).
 mug mug *N* policeman (Nun VT).
 -cf. gum gum.
 mugul *N* thumb (Nun PT).

munge (nunge, Nun CC) *N* straw for making dillibags, baskets or nets (Nun MB, CC).

mujim *N* tomahawk (Nun AM; probably Wakka-Wakka).

mulganbin *N* the name of a place (Nun CC).

mulu *N* 1. stone, rock; 2. axe, grindstone.

mulula *N* sand (Nun MB).

mumbal *N* thunder (Nun CC).

mungalba *N* the Aboriginal name of the Mission at Myora.

muragan *N* white woman (Nun MT).

muraŋ *N* meat (Nun AM).

murigan *N* native name of Myora (Nun MT). —cf. mungalba.

murū *N* nose.

murugilgi *N* swan (Nun PT; cf. muru guŋi red nose or bill, in Watson 1943-44, pp. 70, 74).

N

nadaŋ *N* hair, head (Ips MP).

nagaŋ (nadaŋ, Nun AM) *N* great-grandfather (Nun MB), grandfather (Nun AM).

nalaŋ nalangin *N* gammon, hoax (Nun CC).

na·r *N* duck (Nun MB).

ninji ninji *N* the name of a tribe on Bribie Island (Nun PT).

nuagu *N* the native name of Nun AM's grandfather (Nun PT).

nulbu nulbu *N* evening (Nun PT).

nunagal *N* the common name of the Stradbroke Island language (otherwise also the name of a Stradbroke or Moreton Island tribe or native, also 'Stradbroke Island').

nunbulga *N* nose (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

nunge, *v.* munge.

n

na·- *V* TR (6.14) see: gil naŋa urinate (Nun PT).

namal *N* baby (Nun MB). —cf. pamul.

pamul *N* baby (Nun BD). —cf. namal.

paragagan (parigigaŋ, Nun PT) *N* pregnant (Nun VT, PT).

paral (paro, Nun AM) *N* vulva, woman's organ (Nun PT, AM).

paro, *v.* paral.

pinda *PERS PRON* (6.12).

pubaŋ *N* married couple (Nun AM; cf. Manandjali pu·gangal husband and pu·galbingan wife).

w

wa·gam *N* crow.

waŋ *N* heaven, above: biŋ waŋ God ('the Father above'; Nun MB). —cf. waŋan.

waŋa *N* a no-good girl (Nun MT). —cf. binawaŋa.

waŋan *N* sky, heaven, above: waŋan giba in heaven, above. —cf. waŋ.

waimba *N* the (family) name of Nun GB.

waira *N* hungry (Nun MB).

-wala, -wali *CAR SFX* (6.4).

wali *N* no good (Nun AM). —cf. -wala, -wali.

walinga *N* old woman.

wana, *v.* wanga.

wanamada *N* ? an exclamation (Nun CC).

wanga (wana, wana) REL where?:
 wan(g)a pinda jarapa where are
 you going? (Nun PT), wanga pin
 janin where are you going?
 (Nun AM; rather 'where did you
 go?' or 'where have you gone?').

wapa, v. wanga.

wapmiri N white woman (Nun MB).

waraj N bad: bina waraj deaf.

wargan N eel (Nun MB).

wa' wa' (wa'wa) N crow or the
 sound made by the crow (wa' wa',
 according to Nun MB).

wawan N fowl (Nun AM, MB).

winam¹ (winam) N crab, also the
 name of a place, Wynnum.

winam² N breadfruit or pandanus
 (according to some, the origin
 of the place name Wynnum).
 -cf. winam¹.

wipiba (winiba) N the dugong bird,
 also Mrs. Jane Sunflower's totem
 (Nun CC).

wira wira N lagoon, place where
 there is water (Nun MB).

wiruwara N sexually active man
 (Nun MT). -cf. wiruwira.

wiruwira N copulation (Nun GB; from
 Jane Sunflower). -cf. wiruwara.

MANANDJALI

Introductory remarks

8.1 The first contact with the Manandjali language was made rather coincidentally at Tweed Heads (New South Wales), while the author was looking for prospective informants for Nunagal. An old, but quite vital, lady (she was even at her age a good singer), was found who remembered bits of various languages, but especially one of which she was not able to tell the name, but which evidently belonged to the Bandjalang group of languages. Since at the moment Bandjalang was of no immediate interest,²⁸ a few notes only were taken down, at the same time as the old lady in question furnished stray words in her father's language, which was different (and generally not understood by our informant) and further never identified in spite of subsequent investigations around Blackbutt, from where this lady's family was supposed to hail. It was not until further news about her variety of Bandjalang was gathered, chiefly at Beaudesert, that the author began to make a more thorough collection of data from this language. At the latter place it was learned that the language in question was referred to by the informants as Manandjali;²⁹ it was further found that this language actually differed on some points from the Bandjalang with which the author was acquainted from New South Wales.

8.2 The Manandjali language and tribe, of which Beaudesert or the Beaudesert area (with Josephville) is evidently a center (the word manangali is commonly used in reference to 'Beaudesert' itself), are located (sometimes as a section within a larger tribe) either on the Logan river (mention was often made of manangali as the 'Logan river language', spoken up to the head of the Logan river; Man GC), or to the west of the Albert river (the latter marking the boundary between the manangali and balgabri sections, according to Man GC).³⁰ As for the language first met on the Tweed (see 8.1) and of which the proper name was never ascertained, it was gradually found to differ slightly from the Beaudesert variety (for instance, the common negation jugum *no* occurring for jugam at Beaudesert);³¹ it is possible that the Tweed dialect of Manandjali is identifiable with that of the Minjangbal tribe, usually located in the south-eastern corner of Queensland and on the New South Wales border (cf. mipan *what?* in the Tweed area, where Beaudesert, Woodenbong and Lismore show an alternative form pan, idem).³²

List of informants

8.3 Reference to informants for Manandjali is made by the signature of the language *Man* (for Manandjali), followed by the initials of the informants used. For all other particulars, compare in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.

- Man AJ:* Mr. ALbert Jackie (91 at his death at Upper Coomera, some years ago); from Beaudesert.
- Man EL:* Miss Edna Long, at Josephville; Man QL's daughter.
- Man EW:* Mrs. Eveline Weasel (or Weizel), nee Coolwell and Man NM's sister, from the Tweed area; died in Brisbane a couple of years ago.
- Man FM:* Mrs. Flory Monsell, at Kingaroy, from the Tweed area and sister of Man EW and NM; she said her father was one John Edwards and her mother Alice Coolwell.
- Man GC:* Mr. George Curry, at Beaudesert; originally from Boggabilla (New South Wales).
- Man GF:* Mr. Godfrey Fogarty, at Josephville (south of Beaudesert).
- Man JF:* Mr. Joe ('Ginger') Fogarty, at Josephville, Man GF's brother.
- Man JP:* Mrs. Janey ('Granny') Paulson, at Tweed Heads or at Taree (in New South Wales), born at Tweed Heads, spending parts of her life at Beaudesert; her father belonged to a family Curry about Blackbutt (there used to be Curries on Fraser Island as well), but her father's name was also given as Jimmy Joyce, while her mother was Ellen Williams, probably also from the Blackbutt area.
- Man ML:* Mrs. Mabel Logan, at Woodenbong, from Boonah (or Tweed Heads?).
- Man NM:* Mrs. Nita Munro, nee Coolwell, at Gin Gin, a fine singer; she had lived at Tamborine Mountain and had possibly connections with the Tweed area; cf. Man EW, above).
- Man PT:* Mr. Peter ('Tiny') Thompson, at Josephville; his mother was one Jessie Brown, from Beaudesert (while his father was an American).
- Man QL:* Mrs. Queenie Long, at Josephville, from St. George (Man QL is ranged also among Gunggari informants, as Gun QL; see Part II, 4.2).
- Man RA:* Mrs. Rita Almat, at Red Hill, Brisbane.
- Man SC:* Mrs. Sarah Cobbo (Cherbourg), from Woodenbong (her data do not with certainty represent Manandjali).

Phonology

9.1 The Manandjali language, which belongs to the Bandjalang group of languages, largely represented in north-eastern New South Wales (with Woodenbong as a tribal center), generally agrees in point of phonology with the latter languages (cf., for instance, Holmer 1971 and Cunningham 1969). The Manandjali phonetic system is also closely related to those of the Wakka languages (see Part I of this survey).

Evolution of the vowel system

9.2 The Manandjali vowel system consists of the following five vowel phonemes: a, e, i, o and u.³³ A distinction of long and short (or normal) vowels exists in word-initial syllables (at any rate vowel length is not being marked in other cases, even though noticed in some words: *mipa·gu* ~ *mipagu* *why?*, *wula·* ~ *wula* *give*; cf. Part I, 2.4), whereby, for instance, the verbal stem *jana-* *go* is differentiated from *ja·na-* *sit*; similarly: *jangala* *going* and *ja·ngala* *sitting*, *bangala* *falling* and *ba·ngala* *coming out*. The vowel sounds e and o have probably arisen from contraction of two vowel sounds (cf. below, 9.4) and are therefore mostly long (e·, o·), but due to assimilation or 'vowel levelling' a short (or normal-length) e or o also arises (see 9.5). Monosyllabic stems (especially vowel-terminating verb stems) often have a long vowel: *ga·-* *eat* (cf. the reflexive-intransitive *gali-*, idem), *pa·-* *see, look* (starting from the imperative *pa·* *look*; cf. *pabigi*, beside *pa·bigi*, *to see, look*); so also *mi·* *eye* (cf. *mil*, idem).

9.3 Modification of the vowel quality takes place due to environmental influence, a approaching e in palatal surroundings and o (or even u) in contact with labials: *daju* ~ *deju* *stone* (Man GC), *waibar* ~ *we(i)bar* *fire* (Man FM), *wanda* ~ *wunda* *where?* (Man GC), *jau* ~ *jou* *yes*. Due to the influence of a palatal sound, u may also pass into i: *wungi(gu)* ~ *wingi* *where?* (cf. above; in this way we may also explain the form *wipmerigan* for *wapmerigan* *white woman*), *guiwa* ~ *gi·wa* *tree goanna*, *wujun* ~ *wijun* *clever* (Man GF). A final -i is quite often broadened to -e:³⁴ *janani* ~ *janane* *bring*, *wana bumili* ~ *bumile* *don't fight* (Man ML), -gali ~ -gale (nominal derivative suffix; i may become e in other positions also, as especially in the verbal termination -ila: *jananila* ~ *jananela* *bringing*). A final -a may also pass to -e and further to -i (cf. Holmer 1971, 1.5, with the Note 11): *binge hat* (probably for *binga*, as in *Wakka-Wakka*, etc.), *jili* beside *jila* *where?* (Man JF). In this connection other modifications of vowel sounds may be mentioned, more or less clearly connected with English speech habits in bilingual surroundings: *barau* or *barou* for *baru* *head* (Man JP), *mij* for *mi·* *eye* (Man GF), *galij* for *gali* *wood* (Man GF), *manei* for *mani* *wallaby* (Man GF), *dugou* for *dugu* *river cod* (Man GF), *baugimandou* for *baugimandu* *the mailman* (ergative, Man JP; from English 'postman'), etc.

9.4 Original diphthongal or analogous vowel groups involving a palatal (i or j) sound, on the one hand, and labial (u or w) sound, on the other, are frequently contracted to respectively e· and o·, which in these cases may be considered to have phonematic and distinctive character: *ge·l* *away* (probably originally *gial, cf. *Jualrai* *gial*, idem, in 13.2, Note 63), *go·rin* (~ *gawarin*) *ran away* (Man ML), *go·gawa-* *break* (reduplicated form), *je·ni* *went* (from *jajani ? cf. 10.27, 30); accepting this evolution as having the character of a phonetic law (or at any rate tendency), certain other occurrences of e· must be given phoneme value, as in: *ne·ni* *whom?* (cf. *na·n* *who?*, *na·na* *whose?*), although the origin of the vowel e· is by no means clear). In *wapmerigan* (or *wap me·rigan*) *white woman* it represents the English vowel in 'Mary' (literally *white-Mary*).

9.5 In words containing a syllable having one of the vowels e or o (of whatever origin) an original a in another (usually preceding) syllable is assimilated to respectively e or o, according to the same tendency as in the *Wakka* languages (see Part I, 6.5); it should be noticed that it is not always apparent which of the syllables has the supposed primary e or o: *jenebe* *they*, *jenebeni* *them* (Man CC; cf. *jenabi* (= *jenebi*) *they*, possibly from *janabi, cf. 9.3), *goroman* *kangaroo*

(a variant of *guruman*, idem, not uncommon in some of the neighbouring languages), jogoi *bandicoot*, mogoi *ghost*; in some of these cases we may actually have instances of the particular kind of 'vowel levelling' described in Part I, 6.7, whereby the vowels represent a compromise between a and i or a and u (cf. the alternative form magui *ghost*, Man QL).

9.6 Stress is—as in all Australian languages studied by the present author—not distinctive. A tendency persists, however, especially in words or contexts of at least three syllables to slightly emphasise, or stress, the second initial syllable, as for instance in the word *wapmerigan* *white woman*, which is often heard as *wap me·rigan* (Man GC, ML; cf. Part I, 2.9); the writing of the latter form in two words brings out the lengthened pronunciation of the vowel (answering to English 'a' in 'white-Mary'; cf. 9.4)—otherwise we adopt the principle (mentioned in 9.2) of not marking non-initial vowels as long.

Evolution of the consonant system

9.7 Manandjali possesses the following consonantal phonemes: (bilabial) b, m; (dental) d, n; (palatalised dental) ɟ, ɲ; (palatal or velar) g, ŋ; (lateral continuant) l; (trilled continuant) r; finally, also, the semivowels (palatal) j and (bilabial) w. The articulation of these closely corresponds to the author's description in Holmer 1971 (1.7); also the analogies with Wakka-Wakka are in most cases perceptible (cf. Part I, 6.18). It is to be noticed that the plosives b and g, which are actualised as such in the word-initial position and after a (homorganic) nasal, become normally, or tend normally to become, corresponding fricatives in other medial positions (that is as in Spanish): *mibip* ~ *mivip* *Aboriginal man* (Man CC), *pa(·)bigi* ~ *pa(·)vigi* *to see* (Man ML), *burbi* ~ *burəvi* *koala* (Man JP, GF), *gugar* ~ *guyar* *hole*. A supradental plosive (ɟ) has been noted in one word, namely *waɟam* *want* (Man ML); it is however likely that this word represents the (pidgin) English 'want'em', whence this phoneme is not to be included in the native inventory of sounds.

9.8 Of the mentioned consonantal phonemes (9.7), the following are word or syllable-initial: b, d, ɟ, g, ŋ, m, n, ɲ (along with l and r, if preceded by a vowel) and further the semivowels j and w. The following are word or syllable-final: ŋ, m, n, ɲ, l and r. Consonant clusters (consisting of two phonemes) normally arise in the medial position only and by the sole combination of a consonant phoneme permitted in the syllable-final position and a following phoneme permitted as syllable-initial. Initial clusters are exceptional, appearing in foreign words only: *blum* (< ?) *bread*, *bren* *bread* (otherwise normally: *buren* or *boren*; from English *bread*).

9.9 Some cases of imperfect articulation or other irregularities in the pronunciation of the consonant phonemes are noted, some of which may be due to the influence of English. The semivowels j and w tend to vanish before respectively i and u, as in: *jigam* ~ *igam* (higam, with intrusive h-, as in Queensland English) *meat* (Man GF), *jila* ~ *ila* *wa·lu* (hila, cf. above) *where (are) you (going)?* (Man GF), *wurga-* ~ *hurga-* (cf. above) *steal* (Man GF). The common reduction of the consonant group -ng- to -ɲ- is found in: *gigupa* for *gigunda* *old man* and the passing of an intervocalic -ŋ- (generally less common than -ng- in English) into -g- in: *ga·ga-* for *ga·ŋa-* *take* and *duga-* for *duŋa-* *cry* (both from Man ML). The passing of any intervocalic consonant sound

(but especially -n-) into -r- appears in: *ŋa·n gari mibin* for *ŋa·n gali mibin* *who is that man?* (Man GF), *jugalbingari* for *jugalbingani* *the wife, (his) wife* (objective; Man ML). Cases of dropped or intrusive -r in syllable-final position without any doubt depends on English speech habits: *bawu* for *bawur* *head* (Man GF), *galŋer* for *galŋai* *light* (Man JF; cf. Part I, 10.8); further *buḍubi* for *burbi* *koala* (Man GC). Whether an -a has been added to a final -r in order to facilitate the pronunciation in such words as *mangara* for *mangar* *gum tree* (Man JP, GF), *mugara* for *mugar* *storm* is problematic (*gum tree* is *mangar* in Wakka-Wakka and *storm* has been heard as either *mugar* or *mugara* in Nunagal; if the forms quoted originally ended in -a, they could only be explained as locatives—in Manandjali at least). A verbal termination heard as -lier (Man JF; cf. 10.27) can hardly be anything but an original -lir (cf. the phonetic evolution of such English words as 'here', 'cheer', etc.); the termination (-lir) must have been unfamiliar to a person accustomed to speaking English, as also mirrored in the pronunciation of *gabir* *hungry* as *gabara* by Man JF. The passing of an intervocalic consonant into -r- (cf. above) makes it doubtful whether the verb stem *gari-* (= *gali-* *eat* or *drink*) is a mere phonetic variant or derived from the primitive stem (*ga-*) by a different suffix (cf. 10.10).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

10.1 *Structure*. Concrete (nominal or verbal) stems have the same appearance in Manandjali as generally in the Wakka languages: noun stems may be of one or more syllables, ending either in a vowel or a consonant; underived verbal stems have mostly either one or two syllables and always end in a vowel (as mentioned in 9.2, monosyllabic verb stems end in a long vowel). Verbal forms may appear in a nominal function: *galila* *is eating* or *a feed* (Man QL).

10.2 *Compounds*. Nominal compounds are of the usual type: *gun gubun* *waterhole*. Compounds of nominal and verbal stems are intransitive: *garugingi-* *turn into stone* (*garu*); in such words the verbal element may be taken as either a verbal derivative suffix or, rather, as an auxiliary verb (cf. 10.11). A compound of verbal stems appear in: *jaŋanibuli-* *fetch, bring* (literally *fetch-come*), although the reason for such a compound is not quite clear.

10.3 *Reduplication*. Reduplicated nominal stems are common: *bujur bujur* or *mulu mulu* *little hill* (Man ML), *galum galum* *any little fish* (Man QL), *ginan ginan* *footprints*, *pula pula* *telling lies*, *wunan wunan* *astray* (Man ML); as is seen, the sense is often diminutive. A reduplicated verbal stem appears in: *go·go-* or *go·gawa-* *break* (cf. *gawa-*, *idem*).

10.4 *Nominal derivation*. A considerable number of nominal derivative suffixes are noted. Of a sociative -*gur* and a caritive -*gam* (cf. the Wakka languages) a couple of instances are found in the present material (from Man ML): *gabugur* *with a boy* (*gabu*; hence sociative) and *gunḡam* *without water* (*gun*), *bulanḡam* *without meat* (*bulan*). The locative suffix -*ba* (*place of*, etc.) is found in some names of places: *nindawinba* (Man GC), *gabuba* (Man GF; cf. *gabu* *little boy*), *birinba* (the name of a big rock; Man GC); this suffix is used in the sense of an English preposition (and may hence have postpositional character), as in: *mibinba* *to the dark man* (Man ML). The common feminine suffix -*gan* occurs in:

miragan *white woman* (Man PT), mirungan *old woman* (Man JP, ML), lady-gan *lady* (Man JP), bugaragan *young woman* (Man FM), dalgan (also galgan) *woman*, ninarugan (also ninaruan, ninarun) *she-dog* (Man ML), nu-galbingan *wife* (Man ML) and further in the pronominal form pulagan *she* (cf. pula *he*); strangely, -gan also occurs in balugan or balagan *young man* (Man FM; cf. Bandjalang balugan, in Holmer 1971, p. 37) and it further appears in: jalgan *sun* (Man ML; cf. Holmer 1971, 3.12, with the Note 30), gubagan *blue-tongue lizard* (Man QL).

10.5 Other nominal derivative suffixes seem to have a more indefinite meaning and function. The suffix -gali denotes persons, as in: gurbungali or gurgungali *a talker* (from gurgun *talk, talking*; Man ML), baigalgali *fond of men* (Man ML), dubaigali *fond of women* (Man ML) and (probably) bigangali *small* (Man ML), as far as it may be used of persons (for the various senses, cf. Nunagal -gali, in 6.5); a somewhat different function is found in gangalgali *bull* (cf. Goreng-Goreng, Batjala gangal *penis*, see Part I, 19; 26; however, -gali can hardly be said to be sociative in Manandjali). A shorter form -gal occurs in nu-gangal *husband* (Man ML). The suffix -bari occurs in tribe and language names: balgabari, the name of a section, district and language (Man GF), miganbari, the name of a section and corresponding land (Man GF);³⁵ this suffix may be shortened to -be (via *-bai, as in Gunggari) in the common language designations jugambe and jugumbe (literally *having jugam*, respectively *jugum*, for *no*) and apparently also in the word barianbe *he-dog* (Man CC, ML; cf. barian, idem). The same or a similar function has -bal or -bul, as in: jagarabal or jagarbul *the Yugarabul language*, minqbal *the Minjangbal tribe or language*, galibal, galabal, language names (Man GF). Finally, the suffixes -gur, -bara and -bu appear to have derivational character, without showing a clear meaning or function: bingingur, the name of a place (Man CC), gaimbara *small*, bulabu *two*, gurubu *all* (cf. Gunggari guru *all*).

10.6 A 'dual-comitative' suffix seems to occur in -gal, used in terms of relationship: biangal *one's father*, mujumgal *one's son* (used in the construction bijangal mujumgal *father and son*; Man ML), dubaigal (*with*) *a woman* (Man ML).

10.7 Of the consonantal suffixes mentioned in Part I, 3.6, of which the original function is lost, the following are recorded in Manandjali -ŋ, -l, -m and -ŋ; examples are the following ones: bulan beside bula *cow, meat* (unless from English 'bullock', whose final '-ck' turns into -ŋ), gigun *old* (cf. gigum, gigun-, idem), namun *breast* (cf. namu, namun, in other languages), giran *teeth* (cf. Goreng-Goreng dira, idem), burun *penis* (cf. Wakka-Wakka buru, idem); gabul beside gabu *boy*, wanal *bad boy* (Man PT; cf. Nunagal wana *no-good girl*), mil beside mi *eye* (cf. 8.2); gigum *old* (cf. above); gigun- *old* (cf. above). The suffix -n in gabun *girl* (cf. gabu *boy*) may represent a shortened form of -gan (see 10.4; hence for *gabugan); one might compare the Manandjali ninarun, ninaruan beside ninarugan *she-dog* (10.4) and further the Gunggari wadin beside wadigan *white woman*. The alternation of gabun and gabir *hungry* depends on an alternation of modal suffixes, added to an original verbal stem gabi- *be hungry*.

10.8 *Verbal derivation.* Three basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative and reflexive-reciprocal) are represented in Manandjali. The *causative* suffixes (used in a causative-transitive sense) are -ma- and -ba-, as in: damburma- *fill up* (e.g. with drink, Man GF; the simple form not recorded), gurgunma- *talk* (from gurgun *talk, talking*), buima- *bother* (literally *make tired*;

cf. Kattang and Thangatti bui bui *tired*, Holmer 1967, pp. 4, 30), wuŋangarima-*turn (something) round* (from wuŋangari- *turn round*), bugalma *cure* (literally *make good or well*, bugal), pariba- *name* (from pari *a name*). The associative suffix is -ndi-: gawandi- *go away with* (from gawa- *go away*), go·rindi- *run with* (from gawari- *run*).

10.9 The reflexive-reciprocal suffix -li- has a reflexive-intransitive and also a reciprocal function: gali- *eat (something)*, have a *bite* (intransitive; cf. ga- *eat (it)*)—for the short vowel in the derivative, cf. 9.2), giali- *tell (something)* (from gia- *tell (it)*), janbali- *go* (= janba-, idem), baili- *fall (of the rain)* (cf. baji-, baja- *come out*), wulali- *give (anything)* (cf. wula- *give (it)*), bumili- *fight* (literally *hit one another*, from buma-, bumi- *hit*), wajali- *fly* (cf. Bandjalang waja-, idem; see Holmer 1971, p. 48), burbali- *hide (oneself)* (for the simple verb, cf. Cunningham 1969, p. 104: gurba/wurba). A reflexive-causative suffix -mali- is found in: gurgunmali- or gurbunmali- *talk* (cf. gurgun, gurbun *talk, talking*).

10.10 Of other verbal derivative suffixes we find -ri- used in an intransitive sense: gawari- *run* (cf. gawa- *go away*) as well as the suffixes -ba- and -ga- (generally in an intransitive sense), which are added to shortened (mostly intransitive) verb stems: janba- *go* (cf. jana-, idem), ja·nga- *sit* (cf. ja·na-, idem), ba·nga- *come out* (cf. ba·na-, idem), bumga- *hit* (cf. buma-, bumi-, idem); the difference in meaning is not to be determined (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.16; 1971, 8.5).

10.11 The following derivative elements may be said to have the character of original 'auxiliary' verbs: -gari-, -gini-, -gingi- (-gingi-), -giwa-, as in: wuŋangari- *turn round* (intransitive), garugingi- *turn into stone* (garu), galagingi- *turn this way*, malagini- *turn that way* (cf. gala- *this, here, mala-that, there*), jangiwa- *come back* (cf. jana-, janba- *go*). The verb jaŋanibuli- (-buri-) *come with, fetch* is perhaps rather a verbal compound (cf. 10.2).

(b) Inflection

10.12 *Declension*. The following case forms are found in Manandjali: nominative, ergative, objective, possessive, ablative, locative and allative. The *nominative* (or the stem of the word) is used to express the subject of an intransitive verb if an inanimate noun (cf. below). The *ergative* (always ending in -i, but never preceded by a nasal) expresses the agent or subject of a transitive verb as well as the instrument. The *objective* (ending in -i or -ni) expresses the direct object of a transitive verb, if considered as animate (cf. above).³⁶ The *possessive* (ending in -a or -na) expresses the owner and occasionally the indirect object of a verb. The *ablative* (ending in -u preceded by a nasal) expresses (usually of inanimate nouns) direction *from*, the *locative* (ending in -a) expresses rest at a place while the *allative* (always in -gu) expresses direction *to*.³⁷

10.13 *Paradigms*. The particular forms of the case suffixes mentioned in the preceding section (10.12) depend on the structure of the nominal stem, whether ending (1) in a vowel,³⁸ (2) in a nasal or (3) in -l or -r (cf. Holmer 1971, 3.23-24). The principles determining the particular form of the case suffixes

are not strictly applied in the present material and may more easily be illustrated by the paradigms below. The type words are: (1) *mani money*; (2) *giguṇ old man*, *guṇ water*, *banam brother*, *ṇagam dog*, *guruman kangaroo*, *balun river*, *mibiṇ Aboriginal man*, *burgiṇ wind*, *ṇumbiṇ house*; (3) *baigal man*, *bujul mountain*, *bugur clever man*, *waibar camp*, *gugar hole*.

(1) *noun ending in a vowel*:³⁹

NOM *mani*
ERG *maniu*⁴⁰

(2) *nouns ending in a nasal*:

NOM *giguṇ*, *guṇ*, *banam*, *ṇagam*, *guruman*, *balun*, *mibiṇ*, *burgiṇ*, *ṇumbiṇ*
ERG *giguṇgu*, *banambu*, *ṇagambu*, *gurumandu*, *mibingu*, *burgingu*
OBJ *giguṇi*, *ṇagami*, *gurumani*, *mibiṇi*
POSS *ṇagama*, *mibiṇal* (Man ML)⁴¹
ABL *burgiṇu*, *ṇumbiṇu*
LOC *ṇumbiṇa* (Man ML)⁴²
ALL *guṇgu*, *gurumangu*, *balungu*, *ṇumbingu*

(3) *nouns ending in -l or -r*:

NOM *baigal*, *bujul*, *bugur*, *waibar*, *gugar*
OBJ *baigalni*, *bugurni*
ABL *bujulnu*, *waibarnu*, *gugarnu*
LOC *gugara*

The possessive of stems in *-r* would be in *-na* (although no form is recorded); it appears in the form of the plural article: *mibiṇgirna of the dark people* (cf. 10.14-15).

10.14 *Articles*. Of the various 'articles' enumerated in Holmer 1971 (4.1-2) and assumed to occur in the Bandjalang spoken about Lismore, such as express definite (known or observable) plurality only are recorded for Manandjali. The following forms occur in the present material (no distinguishable difference in meaning or function): *-gin*, *-gin*, *-gir*, *-maṇ* and *-mir*. Examples (mostly of animate nouns): *dagaigin some or many white people* (Man ML),⁴³ *jaramangin some horses* (also *jaramangin*, *jaramanṇ*), *giguṇgin some old people*,⁴⁴ *mibiṇgir some or many dark people* (Man ML), *gabumaṇ lots of boys*, *gabunmaṇ lots of girls* (also *gabungin*, Man ML), *miruṇmir some old women* (Man ML; from *mirungan old woman*),⁴⁵ *dubaimir lots of women* (Man ML), *waibarmir camp* (Man ML).⁴⁶

10.15 Nouns provided with a plural article are declinable according to the paradigms in 10.13 (2)-(3): (ergative) *ṇagamgindu the dogs or some dogs* (*ṇagamgin*), (objective) *mibiṇgirni some Aborigines*, (possessive) *mibiṇgirna of the Aborigines* (*mibiṇgir*). It may be noticed in this connection that although *jaraman horse* (as if animate) is capable of taking the plural article (cf. 10.14), it still does not take the objective case suffix in *ṇaṇi jaramangin saw some horses* (whereby it is treated as inanimate; cf. 10.12).

10.16 *Postpositions*. The following postpositions are recorded: *bapi from*, *of*, *di to*, *at*, *in*, *gai to*, *for*, *gal after*, *war in*: *dulaṇ ṇagam bapi afraid of the dog* (Man ML), *balun di to the river*, *duani gagun di (they) buried (them) in the ground* (Man ML), *wanani ṇumbingi left at home* (Man ML; probably for **ṇumbiṇ di*), *ṇaṇi gai for whom?* (Man ML), *ṇulagan gai for her* (Man ML), *ṇali gai for us* (Man ML), *gugaṇ gal after the rain* (Man ML), *jaṇila dark war sitting in the dark* (Man JF).

10.17 *Personal pronouns.* The following personal pronouns are recorded: (singular) *ŋai* (ŋaju) *I*, *wa·lu* *you*, *pula* *he*, *pulagan* *she*; (dual) *ŋali* *we*, *bulagan* *you, they*, *pulamaŋ* *they*; (plural) *ŋali* *we*,⁴⁷ *janabi* *they*. Notice that the third person singular has a special feminine form in *-gan* (cf. 10.4). In the main, the same case forms are found as in the nominal inflection; in some cases (the ablative), forms with postpositions are used (which, however, we write in one with the pronoun). As the personal pronouns are used of persons (or personified words) only, the objective forms is always distinct from the nominative form. Notice that the first person singular has a special *dative* form (*ŋaja*, Man ML); compare Holmer 1971, 7.3-4. Occasionally (in the third person) different forms are used in the ergative and in the first person singular one of the forms recorded (ŋaju) may be an original ergative (the nominative being *ŋai*);⁴⁸ otherwise no distinction of nominative and ergative forms is made in the personal pronouns (hence: *muram ŋaju I am asleep*, *ŋaju janbalila I am going*; Man AJ). The locative is expressed by a suffix *-ba* (evidently the same as mentioned in 10.4).⁴⁹ The locative is (as commonly in the languages studied) used to express (*going*) to (*visit*), (*staying*) with, etc.: *jangiŋwala ŋajaba coming to me* (Man ML). Allative forms are not found.

10.18 *Paradigms.* The following paradigms show the inflected forms of the personal pronouns, as found in the recorded material.

First person singular:

NOM	ŋai, ŋaju
ERG	ŋaju
OBJ	ŋaŋi
POSS	ŋaŋa
DAT	ŋaja
ABL	ŋajabani
LOC	ŋajaba

Second person singular:

NOM	wa·lu
ERG	wa·lu
OBJ	wa·ŋi
POSS	wa·ŋa
ABL	wujabani
LOC	wujaba

Third person singular (masculine):

NOM	pula
ERG	pula
OBJ	pulaŋi (ŋilaŋi; cf. 9.3)
POSS	pulaŋa
ABL	pulabani
LOC	pulaba

Third person singular (feminine):

NOM	pulagan
ERG	pulagandu
POSS	pulagana
ABL	pulaganbani

First person dual and plural:

NOM ɣali
 ERG ɣali (?)
 POSS ɣaliŋa
 ABL ɣalibapi
 LOC ɣaliba

Second and third persons dual and second person plural (?) :

NOM bulagan
 POSS bulagana
 ABL bulaganbapi

Third person dual:

NOM pulama
 ERG pulamangu
 OBJ pulamanɔi

Third person plural:

NOM janabi (jenebe)
 OBJ jenebenɔi

10.19 The ablative forms are properly the nominative forms with the postposition *bapi* *from*. Other postpositions are also added to the nominative form, such as *gai* *for, to*, which expresses a dative relation: *ɣali gai* *for us* (Man ML), *pulagan gai* *to her*. In some cases the objective form is used in a dative sense: *ɣani* (*told*) *me*, *gia pulanɔi* *tell him* (Man GF). The third person dual form *pulamanɔ* (Man ML) incorporates the plural article (-*manɔ*; cf. 10.14), which, incidentally, may indicate that -*manɔ* is originally a *dual* article (?).

10.20 *Demonstrative pronouns*. The demonstrative pronouns refer to either *persons* or *things* (animate or inanimate words or concepts) and also to *place*; *gali* consequently means not only *this one* or *this*, but also *here* (often used in a predicative sense: *this is, here is*, etc.). The stem form therefore functions either as nominative or locative (no special locative form is found). The following demonstrative stems are recorded here: *gali this, here*, *ga·mu those*, *gila* (*gili*) *this or here, that or there*, *mali that, there* (the precise distinctions of meaning are not ascertainable). The nominative (or plain stem form) often ends in either -*a* or -*i*,⁵⁰ but the inflected stem forms normally end in -*a*: *mali that, there*, *malagu there, thither*. The unusual appearance of a form (*ga·mu*) which is plural (or rather dual) in sense is reflected in Lismore Bandjalang as well: *gamu, gagamu they* (see Holmer 1971, 7.9).

10.21 *Paradigms*. The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the ablative and allative only (which are in respectively -*ɣu* and -*gu* and often function as relation words), the locative being equal to the nominative (cf. 10.20). There are no ergative, objective or possessive forms (which would contrast with the inherent sense of locality). The inflected forms are seen in the following paradigms:

gali this, here:

NOM *gali* (*galani* ? Man GC)

gila (gili) *this, that, here, there*:

NOM gila, gili
ABL gilaŋu
ALL gilagu

mali *that, there*:

NOM mali
ALL malagu

Examples: ɲaːn gali dagai *who is that white man?* (Man JP), ɲaːn gali ginbam *who is the woman?* (Man JP), mipaŋ gali *what is that?* (Man GC, GF), ɲaːn gari (= gali) mibiŋ *who is that (dark) man?* (Man GF), gali pulaŋa *that is his* (Man ML), gali bugal mali gaŋ *this is good, that is bad* (Man ML), gaŋun gali *this land* (Man ML), gaːmu dubai *those(two) girls* (Man ML), baigal gila jan *a man coming* (Man ML; notice that the noun is not necessarily definite as in English), wupba gila gugara *there is a snake in the hole* (Man ML), gilagu malagu *here and there* (Man ML), ɲaːn mali waːlu *who are you?* (Man FM), bugal pula mali *that fellow is good* (Man GF),⁵¹ mali bugal *that is good* (Man ML).

10.22 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative pronoun in Manandjali is ɲaːn *who?* and the impersonal interrogative is mipaŋ or paŋ *what?*. They are also used in an indefinite sense (*someone, anyone, something, anything*). The personal ɲaːn is inflected in the nominative (the stem form), ergative, objective, possessive, ablative and locative. The impersonal mipaŋ, paŋ (the latter form used by Man ML) is inflected in the nominative-objective (the stem form) and the allative only. Paradigms:

ɲaːn *who?*:

NOM ɲaːn
ERG ɲaːndu
OBJ ɲeːni
POSS ɲaːna
ABL ɲaːnu
LOC ɲaːnba

Examples: ɲaːn mali waːlu *who are you (there)?* (Man FM), ɲaːn gali mibiŋ *who is that (this) man?* (Man ML); ɲaːndu waːpi bumani *who hit you?* (Man GF); ɲeːni waːlu paːni *whom did you see?* (Man ML); ɲaːnu waːlu gaːŋani *from whom did you take it?* (Man ML); ɲaːnba *to whom (did you go)?* (Man ML; cf. 10.17).

mipaŋ, paŋ *what?*:

NOM mipaŋ, paŋ
OBJ mipaŋ, paŋ
ALL mipaŋgu, mipagu, pagu, pagi

Examples: mipaŋ mipaŋ *what, what?* (Man GC), mipaŋ gali *what is that?* (Man GF), mipaŋ waːlu *what are you saying?* (Man ML), mipaŋ gali *what is this?* (Man GC), paŋ ga *what is that?* (Man ML), pagu (paːgu) or paŋ pula ɲinbalin *what did he ask for?* (Man ML), paːgu waːlu waɖam *what do you want it for?* (Man ML), pagi (paːgi) waːlu *what do you want?* (Man ML).

10.23 The nominative form is used with a postposition: *ŋa'n gai for whom?* (Man ML). From the nominative (or stem form) is also derived a kind of causative verb (by means of the suffix *-ba-*; see 10.8), which is construed with the objective form and used in the sense of *something or anything* (mipaŋ; cf. 10.22) *happens to or is wrong with*: *mipaŋbani ŋapa biŋaŋi has anything happened to my father* (Man ML), *mipaŋbani ŋapa ŋagami is anything wrong with my dogs?* (Man ML).

10.24 *Conjugation*. In order to conform with the previous morphological sketches in this survey, the terminology used by the author in describing the verbal system of the Lismore and Bungawalbin Bandjalang (Holmer 1971) will be slightly modified when dealing with the Manandjali conjugation. This especially applies to the sections on modal (or aspectual) forms of the verb. Thus while the term *imperative* is retained, in place of the Lismore Bandjalang 'terminative' we shall generally use *perfective* (cf. however 10.27) and in place of the Bandjalang 'progressive' we shall use *imperfective*; no modal form corresponding to the Bandjalang 'imminent' is with certainty found in our Manandjali material (cf. 10.26). For 'forms in *-gu, -gi*', etc., we shall use the term *intentional* form (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.11, 17) and for 'gerundial' or 'subordinate' forms (op.cit., 8.23-27) we use the term *accidental*. The modal forms thus designed are consequently used more or less as the corresponding ones in the morphological sketches of Wakka-Wakka (Part I, 7.29) or Gunggari (Part II, 6.32). In other respects, the Manandjali verbal system corresponds closely to that of the other languages in the Bandjalang group, as will appear from the analysis in the subsequent sections.

10.25 Verbal stems are either of one or more syllables (simple verb stems are usually dissyllabic) and end in one of the vowels: *-a-* (*-a-*), *-e-*, *-i-*, *-o-* (*-o-*), *-u-* (in monosyllabic stems the stem-final is usually long (*-a-*, *-e-*, *-o-*)). Interchange of stems in *-a* and stems in *-i* (cf. Holmer 1971, 18.15 (1) (b)) occasionally occurs: *buma-* and *bumi-* *hit* (e.g. in *bumigi will hit*, *bumili-fight*), *ja-na-* and *ja-ni-* (*ja-nila sitting*; Man JF), *duga-* and *dugi-* (for *duna-*, *dunji-*; cf. 9.9—*dugala crying*, *dugigi to cry*). If the vowel is long in a monosyllabic stem (*ga-* *eat*, *pa-* *see*), which is required in the vowel-ending imperative (*ga*, *pa*), it often alternates with a short stem vowel in derived or inflected forms (*gabigi to eat*, *pabigi to see*).

10.26 The basic modal forms are: imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional. Apart from these a couple of accidental forms are recorded (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.23-27). The *imperative* is always the plain verbal stem: *ga* *eat*, *ja-na* *sit down*; as usual, it also occurs in a hortative sense: *jaga ŋaju bargan let me make a boomerang* (Man ML). The *imperfective* form is (like the perfective form in Gunggari) an original locative in *-a*, added to the stem enlarged by a 'thematic element' *-l-* (cf. Part I, 3.22, with the Note 35, and 7.28), whereby the termination *-la* arises: *pa-la seeing*, *ja-nala sitting* (from the stems *pa-* *see*, *ja-na-* *sit*). Notice that the form in *-la*, although expressing 'progressive' action in Lismore Bandjalang (cf. 10.24), is used in the same way as the imperfective forms in general in this part of Queensland: *ja-nala sitting*, *bajila is going to hit, will hit*, *ŋulungu ŋaju jangala I am going pretty soon* (Man ML). The *perfective* mode ends in *-ni*, in which the *-n-* would be equivalent to a 'thematic element' and the final *-i* to a case suffix (in Manandjali *-i* is the sign of the objective; cf. 10.12):⁵² *pa-ni saw*, *bumani hit* (stems *pa-*, *buma-*). The *intentional* ends in the allative suffix *-gu* (see 10.12), added to the verbal stem, or in an analogous (probably postpositional)

element -gi (also added to the verbal stem):⁵³ *gijagu to tell, ga'nagi to stand* (stems: gi(j)a-, ga'na-), as in: *jugam nani gialigi does not (want to) tell me* (Man ML); often the syllable -bi- is intercalated between a monosyllabic or shortened dissyllabic stem and the suffix -gi: *gabigi to eat* (stem: ga'-, ga-), *pa'bigi wants to see* (stem: pa'-), *janbigi to go* (stem: ja-na-), *jinbigi want(s) to lie down* (stem jina-), *ja'nbigi want(s) to sit* (stem: ja'na-); compare Holmer 1971, 8.17. The form *ja'naninigi* (from *ja'nan- bring, fetch*) was given once by Man ML (beside the regular *ja'nanigi*).

10.27 In addition to the modal forms mentioned in the preceding section (10.26), certain others are found in our material. The imperative seems alternatively formed in -bi, added to a monosyllabic or shortened stem: *ja'nbi sit* (stem: ja'na-); this suffix is possibly the same as the intercalated syllable -bi- in 10.26 (it also occurs in an imperative sense in the Lismore Bandjalang; cf. Holmer 1971, 8.18). A trace of the 'terminative' mode in -n (see Holmer 1971, 8.11) possibly remains in several forms in -n: *baigal gila jan a man is coming* (Man ML; stem: ja-, as in the reduplicated *jaja- ? cf. below), *ginan be'n a foot came off* (Man ML; stem: be-- fall), *ganen ge'n gidun the old man is no good* (Man JF; stem: ge--; cf. Thangatti *gin is*, Holmer 1966a, 10.11), *gumbir we'n pula that was the end of him* (Man ML; stem: we-- become, be--cf. Lismore Bandjalang *win is, was*, Holmer 1971, p.49) and perhaps in *guiban roasting* (cf. below). A form in -r (cf. -lur beside -lu, in 10.28) may possibly be a dialectal variant of this -n, being used in a future sense in *bumalir bajan I will fight right away* (Man JF). No single form of a (reflexive) verb stem in -li- (it holds for certain other derived stems as well) is recorded in the perfective mode (hence no verbal form is found to end in *-lini) and it appears that the terminative (in -lin) has taken its place. Other verbs, however, may have a terminative (in -n) as well as a perfective (in -ni): *guiban* (TERM), *guibani* (PF) *roast*, *wunangarin* (TERM), *wunangarini turn round*. The perfective of certain verbs is formed from a modified stem, sometimes reduplicated: *ja'jani sat* (from a perfective stem *ja'ja-*, beside *ja'na-* in the other modes), *je'ni went* (from a perfective stem *je--*, perhaps from *jaja-, cf. 9.4).

10.28 By analogy with the Lismore Bandjalang, Manandjali has modal forms in -lu and -lur, which we shall call *preterit* forms and which seem appropriately used in mythological contexts;⁵⁴ these forms arise by the addition of one of the syllables -lu or -lur to the verbal stem: *paribalu they named (them)* (from *nariba- name*), *jinalur lay down* (from *jina- lie down*), *gangalur called out* (from *ganga- call out*), *pa'lur saw* (= *pa'ni*, Man ML; from *pa-- see*), *guibalur roasted* (from *guiba- roast*); all the instances are from Man ML.

10.29 *Accidental forms* are of two types, either ending in -na (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.25) or in -ja (cf. op.cit., 8.24). These forms correspond to English constructions with a subordinating conjunction *if* or *when* (or *where*) or a 'gerund' in -ing (from the scarcity of the examples recorded it is hardly possible to determine any distinction of meaning in the Manandjali forms, which are evidently both made up from a locative (or 'perlative') -a (cf. 10.26 and Note 52), added to a verbal stem enlarged by a 'nominalising' -n- or -j-. Examples: *wa'lu dunana if you cry* (Man ML), *pulamangu duana when they buried (them)* (Man ML); *naju jangiwani wa'ni gurgunmaja I have come to talk to you* (Man ML; as if *talking to you*). Whether the -n in *pa'ni ngamgin guiban he saw the dogs roasting* (Man ML) is to be explained as an accidental form

(in -n for -na ?) or as a 'terminative' form in -n (cf. 10.27) is of little consequence, since basic modal forms are often used instead of accidental forms in our material.

10.30 *Paradigms*. To illustrate the various flections of the Manandjali verb the following paradigms will suffice. The type verbs are: buma- *hit, kill*, jaga- *make*, ga·na- *stand*, jana- *go, come*, ja·na- *sit*, na·- *see*, bumili- (bumali-) *fight*, gawari- (go·ri-) *run*, jaṇani- *bring, fetch*:

buma- *hit, kill*:

IMP	buma
IPF	bumala
PF	bumani
INT	bumigi

jaga- *make*:

IMP	jaga
IPF	jagala
PF	jagani
INT	jagagi

ga·na- *stand*:

IMP	ga·na
IPF	ga·nala
PF	ga·nani
INT	ga·nagi

jana *go, come*:

IMP	janba ⁵⁵
IPF	janala
TERM	jan
PF	je·ni
INT	janbigi

ja·na- *sit*:

IMP	ja·na, ja·nbi
IPF	ja·nala
PF	ja·jani
INT	ja·nbigi

na·- *see*:

IMP	na·
IPF	na·la
PF	na·ni
PRET	na·lur
INT	na·bigi, nabigi, nabigu

bumili- (bumali-) *fight*:

IMP	bumili
IPF	bumilila (bumalila)
TERM	bumilin (Man ML), bumilir (Man JF) ⁵⁶
INT	bumiligi

gawari- (go·ri-) *run*:

IMP gawari
 IPF gawarila
 TERM gawarin (go·rin)⁵⁷
 INT gawarigi

jaṇani- *bring, fetch*:

IMP jaṇani
 IPF jaṇanila
 PF jaṇanini
 INT jaṇanigi or jaṇaninigi (cf. 10.27).

10.31 *Connective*. The particle *ga* in *paṇ ga* (paṇga) *what is that?* (Man ML) is probably to be understood as a connective (*then, and*; hence *what then?*); compare the Lismore Bandjalang: *paṇgi ga wuja what do you want (then)?* (Holmer 1971, p. 41). The connective in such cases hardly 'connects', but indicates that a continuation is expected. —A connective *ga* is found in Birri also (see Part II, 22.38).

(c) Construction

10.32 Although the word order in Australian languages generally is not significant, certain tendencies may be observed and occasionally the informants may be conscious of them. One such tendency is to place verbal forms after the direct object: regarding the sentence (or construction) *gumu buṇa hit the back-side* one informant (Man PT) remarked that the English word order would not correspond to the Aboriginal way of talking.⁵⁸

10.33 Whereas the Aboriginal languages possess sentence-connecting particles (usually answering to English 'then' or 'and then' rather than to 'and' (cf. 10.31), the 'and' connecting nominal or verbal forms is absent. For this reason the English *I and my wife* or *my wife and I* is quite differently expressed in Manandjali, namely by the use of a dual personal pronoun (*ṇali we two*): *ṇali jugalbingan jaṇgiwani my wife and I have come back* (literally *we two, (my) wife*). A 'dual-comitative' form (see 10.6) occurs in such constructions as *biṇṅal mujumḡal father and son*; the same form is used in, for instance, *ṇula jaṅgala biṇṅal he is living with his father* or in: *he left the dogs at home with his father* (biṇṅal). In place of an English 'and' connecting verb forms the Aboriginal language has recourse to accidental forms; otherwise co-ordination is used: *ba·na ga·na come out and stand up*, *wajalin gajin burgipu flew and went through the air* (Man ML).

Manandjali vocabulary

11. The following Manandjali vocabulary is arranged as the Nunagal vocabulary (7) and according to the principles laid down in Part I, 12. The ranging of the entries is alphabetical according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, ḡ, (ḡ), e, g, ṇ, i, j, l, m, n, ṇ, o, r, u, w.

B

- ba *N DER SFX* (10.4).
- ba- *V DER SFX* (10.8).
- ba·bap *N* grandchild (Man GC):
 ŋapa ba·bap my grandchild.
- bangalu (banglu) *N* a palm tree
 (Man JP).
- baigal *N* (10.13 (3)) man.
- baigalgali *N* woman who is 'after'
 a man or fond of men (Man ML).
- baigam *N* meat (Man JP).
- baili- *V ITR IPF* bailila fall
 (of the rain; Man ML): guŋ
 bailila rain is falling. -cf.
 baji-.
- baja¹ (baji-) *V ITR PF* bajani
 bajini come out, up, forth, get
 out, away: guŋ gubun bajani a
 waterhole came up (Man ML),
 gila or nula bajini he came out
 (Man ML, GF), ga·mu dubai bajini
 those (two) girls got out or
 away (Man ML).
- baja² *V TR PF* bajani chase
 (Man ML): gurumani bajani
 chased the kangaroo. -cf.
 ga·ja-.
- bajan *REL* today, right away
 (Man ML, JF).
- baji- *V TR* baji; bajila; bajini;
 bajigi hit (Man ML): wana baji
 ŋapi don't hit me, ŋaju wa·pi
 bajila I will hit you.
- bal *N DER SFX* (10.5).
- balagan *N* young man (Man FM).
 -cf. balugan.
- balam *N* the name of an Aboriginal,
 'Old Balam'; Man GC.
- balgabari *N* the name of a tribe,
 language and place on the Albert
 River and of a rock in the same
 river (Man GC), a place or the
 land to the east of the Albert
 River (Man GF).
- balugan *N* nice, young, good-looking,
 pretty (e.g. a girl; Man QL, GF),
 the name of a mythological Young
 Man, Balugan (Man ML). -cf.
 balagan.
- balun *N ALL* balungu River,
 creek, the Balonne River.
- bam *ART* (Note 44).
- bamgua- *V ITR PF* bamguani; *PRET*
 bamgualur turn (Man ML). -cf.
 damjur.
- bana- *V ITR IMP* bana fall (Man
 ML): wana bana don't fall.
- ba·na- *V ITR IMP* ba·na *INT*
 ba·nbigi come out: ba·na ga·na
 stand up, wa·lu ba·na you come
 out (Man ML), wa·lu ba·nbigi
 you want to come out (Man ML).
- banam *N* brother (Man JF).
- bandan *N* stone axe, tomahawk.
- bang- *V TR PF* bangani cover
 (Man ML): bangani mungangu
 covered them with a net.
- bangap, v. gumu.
- bangu *N* policeman (Man JF). -cf.
 bangur.
- bangur (bangir) *N* 1. stomach;
 2. policeman (Man QL, PT).
- bang- *V ITR IMP* banga; *IPF*
 bangala fall: wana banga
 (= bana) don't fall (Man ML).
 -cf. bana-.
- ba·nga- *V ITR IPF* ba·ngala come
 out (Man ML): gugarnu ba·ngala
 coming out of the hole. -cf.
 ba·na-.
- bapi *POST* (10.16).
- bara *N DER SFX* (10.5).
- baraja *N REL LOC* ? 1. in the
 sky; 2. God (Man GF).
- baralap *N* big (? Man GC). -cf.
 mi·baralap.

- bargan *N* boomerang.
- barian *N* he-dog (Man ML). -cf. barjanbe.
- barila, *v.* mi· barila.
- barjanbe *N* the name of a (mythological) dog (Man GC, ML). -cf. barian.
- baru *N* head, hair (Man JP, PT): baru dugun bushy hair. -cf. bawur.
- barul *N* kangaroo rat (Man GF).
- ba·rwu- *V ITR IPF* ba·rwula come out (Man ML).
- baudiman *N* *ERG* baudimandu mailman (Man JP; from English 'postman').
- bawur (baur) *N* *OBJ* bauri head, hair: baur gugin red hair, ginger (Man JF). -cf. baru.
- be *N* *DER* *SFX* (10.5).
- be- *V ITR TERM* be·n fall, come off (Man ML): ginaŋ, mi· be·n a foot came off, an eye fell out, gila be·n wherever they fell off.
- bijaŋ (bijaŋ) *N* *OBJ* bijaŋi father (Man GC): napa bijaŋi my father.
- biangaŋ *N* one's father (Man ML).
- biŋaŋ *N* little: de·ŋ biŋaŋ little mouth (Man FM), biŋaŋ gabu little boy (Man QL).
- biŋaŋgalaŋ *N* small (Man GF). -cf. biŋaŋ, biŋaŋgali.
- biŋaŋgali *N* small (Man ML). -cf. biŋaŋ.
- bijaŋ, *v.* bijaŋ.
- biŋaŋ *N* ear, ears.
- biŋaŋgup *N* deaf (Man JP).
- binga *N* hat (Man JP, PT, QL).
- bingingur (bingipur) *N* the name of a place (Man GC).
- bingip *N* 1. (freshwater or short-necked) turtle; 2. the name of a mountain.
- bipaŋ *REL* ? what is wrong? (Man ML; for *mipaŋ ?).
- bira- *V TR* bira; birala; birani throw.
- birap *N* waterhole (Man GC): bugar birap the name of a place ('clever man's waterhole').
- birinba *N* the name of a big rock (Man GC).
- blum *N* bread (Man GF).
- boren *N* bread (Man SC). -cf. buren, bren.
- bren *N* bread (Man GF; from English). -bu *N* *DER* *SFX* (10.5).
- bugaragan *N* young woman (Man FM).
- bugarŋu, *v.* bugurŋu.
- bugigan *N* *OBJ* bugigani cat (Man ML; from English 'pussy' or 'pussy cat').
- bugurŋu (bugarŋu) *N* Mount Barney (Man ML). -cf. bugurŋum.
- bugurŋum *N* the name of a mountain (Man GC). -cf. bugurŋu.
- bugal *N* good: bugal pula mali that fellow is good (Man GF).
- bugalma- *V CAUS IMP* bugalma make good, cure (Man ML).
- bugam *N* bean tree (Man GC).
- bugar, *v.* bugur.
- bugur (bugar; Man GC) *N* *OBJ* bugurni clever or clever man: bugur bira (bugar birap, Man GC), the name of a lagoon or waterhole (at Bromwellton ?). -cf. birap.
- buŋa- *V TR IMP* buŋa hit (Man JF): gumu buŋa hit the backside. -cf. buma-.
- buima- *V CAUS IMP* buima bother (Man ML): wana buima bugigan(i) don't bother or worry the cat.
- buju- *V TR PF* bujuni pull (Man ML).

bujul *N ABL* bujulnu mountain
(Man ML): jangiwni bujulnu
(a kangaroo) came from the
mountain.

bujun *N* the name of a spirit,
'fairy man' (Man ML).

bujur bujur *N* little hill (perhaps
the name of a place; Man ML).
-cf. bujul.

-bul *N DER SFX* (10.5).

bula¹ *N* two (Man ML): bula jabar
three (Man JF).

bula² *N* cow, cattle, meat (from
English 'bullock'). -cf. bulan.

bulabu *N* two: bulabu bula two
cattle (Man AJ), bulabu dubai
the two girls or women (Man ML),
bulabu ngam(i) the two dogs
(Man ML). -cf. bularu, bula¹.

bulagan *PERS PRON* (10.17-18).

bulan *N* meat. -cf. bula².

bulangam *N* without meat (Man ML).
-cf. bulan.

bulal *N* flour (Man PT).

bularu *N* two (Man ML): ngam
bularu the two dogs, bularu
dubai two women. -cf. bula¹,
bulabu.

-buli- *V ITR* or auxiliary (10.2).

buliwa *V ?* jila nai buliwa where
I am going (Man JF). -cf. ni'm.

buma *N* posterior or cunnus
(Man EW).

buma- *V TR* (10.30) hit, kill,
destroy.

bumali-, v. bumili-.

bumga- *V TR IPF* bumgala hit
(Man ML): bumgala hitting
(= bajila; Man ML). -cf. buma-.

bumili- (bumali-) *V REC* (10.30)
fight: wana bumili don't fight
(Man ML), bula bumilila the two
are fighting (Man ML). -cf.
buma-.

bunbi *N* bag (Man JP).

bunip (bunin) *N* porcupine
(Man JP, JF, QL).

burbali- *V REFL TERM* burbalin
hide (oneself; Man ML): burbalin
dirangir (?) (they, the girls)
hid in a (hollow) log.

burbi *N* koala, native bear
(= gula, Man JP).

buren *N* bread (Man AJ; from
English 'bread'). -cf. boren,
bren.

burgi *N* burgin.

burgip (burgi) *N ABL* burgipu
wind: gajin burgipu (they) flew
through the air (Man ML).

-buri-, v. -buli-.

burun *N* penis (Man GF).

D

dagai *N* white man; (ART) dagaigin
(some) white people.

dangan, v. dangan.

daju *N* 1. stone; 2. money (Man GC).
-cf. dau.

dalabagari *N* the name of a place
(Man AJ).

dambal *N* mouth (Man PT).

damburma- *V CAUS IMP* fill up
(e.g. with beer; Man GF).

damjur *N* turning point (Man GC).
-cf. bamgua-.

danar *N* ribs (Man ML). -cf.
dandar.

dandar *N* chest (Man NM). -cf.
danar.

dandrugam *N* the name of a place,
Tandrookam (Man GC).

dangan (dangan) *N* hand. -cf. mala.

daruja *N* trousers (Man QL).

dau *N* stone (Man GF). -cf. daju.
 daun *N ALL* daungu town (Man JP).
 di *POST* (10.16).
 dibili *N* penis (Man EW). -cf. gibalī.
 diran *N* teeth. -cf. giran.
 dirangir *N ABL* dirangirnu; *LOC* dirangiri, for *-gira ?) log (Man ML): gajin dirangirnu went into the log.
 diran *N* black snake (Man GC).
 dua- *V TR PF* duani; *ACC* duana bury (Man ML): duani gagun di (they) buried (them) in the ground.
 dubai *N* woman, girl; (*ART*) dubaimir (some) women, girls (Man ML).
 dubaigal *N* one's woman or wife ('with a woman'; Man ML). -cf. dubai.
 dubaigam *N* without a woman, one having no woman (Man ML). -cf. dubai.
 dubaigali *N* fond of women (Man ML).
 duga-, *v.* duḡa-.
 dugu *N* river cod (fish; Man GF).
 dugun *N* bushy, not combed (of the hair; Man JP).
 dugunda *N* God (Man ML).
 duḡa- (duga-) *V ITR IMP* duga; *IPF* dugala; *PF* dugani; *INT* dugigi; *ACC* duḡana cry: wana duga don't cry (Man ML), wa'lu duḡana if you cry (Man ML).
 dulaḡ *N* frightened, afraid (Man ML): nula dulaḡ ḡagam bapi he is afraid of the dog.
 dulgal *N* dirty (Man GF).
 dulgu *N* heart (Man ML).

g

ga- *V TR IMP* ga-; *INT* gabigi, gabigu eat, drink (Man ML): gun wa'lu ga- you drink water, gabigi ḡaju I want to eat, guibani gabigu roasted to eat. -cf. gali-.
 gabam *N* witchetty grub (Man PT).
 gabar, *v.* gabir.
 gabi *N* blackfellow (Man PT).
 gabir (gagam, Man PT, QL) *N* club, nulla-nulla, waddy: gabir bira ('the waddy throw'), the name of a place (Man JF).
 gabirgalba (gabir(li)gaba, gabirgaliba) *N* the name of a place (Man AJ, GC). -cf. gabir.
 gabu *N* child, boy: ḡana, nulaḡa gabu my, his boy, son (Man GC, JP); (*ART*) gabumanḡ lot of boys (Man ML).
 gabuba *N* the name of a small lagoon or puddle ('little-boy place'; Man GF). -cf. gabu.
 gabugur *N* having or bringing a boy, with a boy (Man ML).
 gabul *N* little boy (Man JP).
 gabun *N* girl (Man ML, GC); (*ART*) gabunḡin, gabunmanḡ lot of girls (Man ML).
 gaḡgam *N* child, kid, baby: nulaḡa gaḡgam his child (Man GC).
 gagun *N* land, ground, place (Man ML, GF): gagun di in the ground.
 gaḡ *N OBJ* gaḡi bad, no good (Man ML, GF): gaḡ waḡal bad (child; Man ML), mibiḡ gaḡi bad man (Man GF). -cf. gaḡan.
 gaḡḡ (gaḡ) *N* mouth (Man JP). -cf. geḡḡ.
 gaḡan *N* no good (Man JF). -cf. gaḡ.
 gaḡwanḡ *N* something bad, pain (Man ML).

-gal COM SFX (10.6).

galamai N petty, peevish (of a child; Man GF).

galan N 1. tongue (Man QL);
2. throat (Man FM).

galgan N woman (Man GF). -cf. dubai, galgan¹.

galganbun N Mount Lindesay, Woodenbong (Man ML).

galgan¹ N woman, girl (Man GC, GF, JF). -cf. galgan.

galgan² N lightning (Man GF). -cf. galnai, gangan.

galnai N light, sun (Man GF, JF). -cf. galgan.

galnan N sun (Man GF). -cf. galnai.

gali N wood, stick, tree (Man QL, GF).

gali- V ITR IPF galila; TERM galin eat, drink: nula galila he is eating (Man ML), galila a feed (Man QL). -cf. ga--, gari-.

galum (galam ? Man JP) N fish

galum galum N any little fish (Man QL).

-gam CAR SFX (10.4).

gamburin N the name of a place, Tamborine (Man GF, JF).

ga-na- V ITR (10.30) stand.

gangari N a spirit, 'little man' (Man QL).

gangan (gangan) N lightning (Man GC, GF). -cf. galgan².

garagumbin N the name of a mountain (Man ML).

garan N leg.

gari- V ITR IPF garila eat, drink (Man AJ): gira garila drinking (strong drink), garila wa·lu you are eating or drinking. -cf. gali-.

-gari- (auxiliary) V (10.11).

garugingi- V ITR IPF garugingila; TERM garugingin turn into rock (Man ML; cf. Lismore Bandjalang garu stone, rock, Holmer 1971, p. 40): ngamgin garugingila the (two) dogs turn into rock, bulabi (-bu ?) ngam garugingin both dogs turned into rock. -cf. daju, dau.

gawa REL yes (Man GF).

ge·ŋ N mouth (Man ML, GF, FM). -cf. ga·ŋ.

gibali N vulva, cunnus (Man GF; = gun). -cf. dibili.

giga N sister (Man FM).

gingun N the name or nickname of an Aboriginal woman (Man GC). -cf. gingun.

ginan N OBJ ginani foot.

ginan ginan N footprints, tracks (Man ML): pa·ni nula ginan ginan he saw the footprints.

ginangaba N boot (Man PT). -cf. ginan.

gingun N the name or nickname of an Aboriginal (Man GC). -cf. gingun.

giran N teeth (Man JP, FM).

girigai N the name of an old 'king' (Man JP).

giru N sun (Man QL; perhaps the Gunggari du·u ?). -cf. galnai.

guan (guwan) N ERG guandu spear (Man GF, ML).

gubar N witchetty grub (Man NM).

gu·bi N catfish (Man FM; from English 'jewfish').

gugal N carpet snake (Man PT).

gugali- V REC ITR IPF gugalila copulate (Man GF).

gugul N dirt, earth (Man GF).

gulge N earthworm (Man GC, QL).

gu·m N 1. smoke; 2. tobacco.

gun *N* cunnus (= gibalī; Man JF).
 gundal *N* girl, young girl (Man JF, FM): napa gundal my girl (Man JF).
 gunu (guno ?) *N* vulva (Man EW).
 - cf. gun.
 -gur *N DER SFX* (10.5).
 gurup (gurip, Man JP) *N* eel.
 guwan, v. guan.

G

gabip (gabin) *N* hungry (Man PT, QL). - cf. gabir.
 bagir *N* hungry (Man PT, QL).
 - cf. gabir.
 gabir *N* hungry (Man RA). - cf. gabip.
 gabul *N* carpet snake.
 gaḡin *N* any little fish (Man EL).
 gaḡa- *V TR IMP* gaḡa; *PF* gaḡani; *INT* gaḡigi take:
 wana ḡajabani gaḡa don't take it from me (Man ML), nula gaḡigi he wants to take it (Man ML).
 ganga- *V TR PF* gangani; *PRET* gangalur call (Man ML).
 gangalgali *N* bull (Man ML).
 gangara *N* head (Man JP; possibly her father's language ?).
 gai *POST* (10.16).
 gaimbara *N* small (Man QL; probably from Gunggari).
 gaḡja- *V TR PF* gaḡjani; *PRET* gaḡjalur chase (Man ML): nulaḡi gaḡjani chased him. - cf. baja².
 gaji- *V ITR TERM* gajin go in (Man ML): wajalin gajin burgipu flew through the air. - cf. gaja-.
 gal *POST* (10.16).
 galabal *N* the name of a language.

galagingi- *V ITR IMP* galagingi; *TERM* galagingin; *INT* galagingigi turn round this way, look this way (Man ML).
 galani *DEM PRON* (10.21).
 galawa- *V TR IMP* galawa; *PF* galawani cut (Man ML).
 galbuli *N* bed (Man ML).
 gali *DEM PRON* (10.20-21).
 -gali *N DER SFX* (10.5).
 galibal *N* the name of a language (Man GF).
 gamadai *N* big (Man ML): gamadai guruman big kangaroo, gamadai burgip a big wind. - cf. gamai.
 gamai *N* big: geḡ gamai big mouth (Man FM), gamai dagai big white man (Man QL); also the name of an old 'king'. - cf. gamadai.
 gambai *N* mouth (Man ML; properly Gidabal ? cf. Holmer 1971, p.42).
 - cf. gaḡ, geḡ.
 gambup *N* larrikin (Man ML): gambup gawarin (he) ran away with a woman.
 gaḡmu *DEM PRON* (10.20-21).
 -gan *N DER SFX* (10.4).
 ganaḡ *N* stomach (Man NM).
 gandaḡ *N* the name of a tribe and language about Nerang (south of Brisbane; Man FM).
 gangabal *N* policeman (Man ML; from English 'constable').
 gangi, v. ganiḡip.
 ganḡa- *V TR PF* ganḡani hear, feel (Man ML).
 ganiḡip or gangi (for short) *N* policeman (Man GC, QL). - cf. gangabal.
 gaḡpula *REL* there, where (? Man ML).
 gara *N* grog (Man GF, PT). - cf. gira.

- gari *N* an Aboriginal name,
identified with the surname
'Curry' (Man JP).
- garil *N* scrub wallaby (Man GF).
- garul *N* grass tree (Man ML).
- gawa-¹ *V ITR IPF* gawala go:
jila wa·lu gawala where are
you going? (Man GF).
- gawa-² (go·-) *V TR PF* gawani,
go·ni break (Man ML): gawani
mungaŋ broke the net.
- gawangu *REL* away (Man ML): je·ni
gawangu went away.
- gawan *N* laughing jackass (Man GF).
- gawandi- (go·ndi-) *V ASS IMP*
gawandi; *IPF* gawandila; *TERM*
gawandin; *INT* gawandigi go away
with (Man ML): wana wa·lu ge·l
gawani mani don't you go away
with the money. —cf. gawa-¹.
- gawari- *V ITR ASS IMP* gawari;
IPF gawarila; *TERM* gawarin;
INT gawarigi run (Man ML):
wugaŋ gawarila ŋumbip running
around the house, ge·l gawarila,
gawarin running, ran away (with).
- ge·- *V ITR TERM* ge·n become, be
(Man JF): gaŋan ge·n giŋuŋ the
old man is no good.
- ge·l *REL* ? away (with gawari-,
go·ro- run; Man ML): ge·l
gawarila running away, pula
ge·l gawarin (go·rin) he ran
away.
- gia- (gi·ja-) *V TR IMP* gia; *PF*
giani, gi·jani; *INT* gi·agi, gi·jagu
tell: gia pulani tell him (Man
GF), giani ŋani, gi·jani baigalni
told me, the man (Man ML), pula
wa·pi gi·agi he wants to tell
you (Man ML).
- giali- *V ITR TR IPF* gialila; *INT*
gialigi tell (Man ML): jugambe
gialila never tells, jugam ŋani
gialigi he does not (want to)
tell me (the transitive
construction may be incorrect).
—cf. gia-.
- giŋuŋ *N* (10.13 (2)) old man; (*ART*)
giŋuŋgin (some) old people (Man
ML). —cf. giŋum.
- giŋum *N* *ERG* giŋumbu old man
(Man ML, QL, GC). —cf. giŋuŋ.
- giŋunga (giŋuna) *N* old man, old
men (= giŋuŋgin; Man ML). —cf.
giŋuŋ, giŋum.
- giŋgi- *V ITR IMP* giŋgi: wana
giŋgi shut up (Man QL, EL).
—cf. -giŋgi-.
- giŋgi- (auxiliary) *V* (10.2, 11).
- gila (gili) *DEM PRON* (10.20-21).
- gilagu *REL* here (Man ML): gilagu
malagu here and there.
- gilanu *REL* from here (Man ML).
- gilge *N* tongue (Man NM).
- gin *N* young woman, girl (Man JP);
(*ART*) giŋbam some young girls
or girl, woman (probably from
Wakka-Wakka).
- gindil (ginil) *N* knee.
- giŋgi-, -gini- (auxiliary) *V*
(10.2, 11).
- giŋingara *N* 1. oyster(s);
2. Coolangatta (Man JP).
- gira *N* grog, beer (Man GC, GF, JF).
—cf. gara.
- giwa- *V DER SFX*, auxiliary *V*
(10.11).
- gi·wa, *v.* guiwa.
- go·-, *v.* gawa-².
- go·go- (go·gawa-) *V TR IMP* go·gawa;
PF go·goni break (Man ML):
wana go·gawa don't break (it),
ŋagamgindu go·goni the dogs
broke (the net). —cf. gawa-².
- go·ndi-, *v.* gawandi-.
- go·ri-, *v.* gawari-.
- go·rindi- *V ASS TERM* go·rindin
run away with (Man ML).
- goroman, *v.* guruman

guan *N* rain: guan gal after the rain (Man ML), guan bailila rain is falling (Man ML).
 gubagan *N* blue-tongue lizard (Man QL).
 gudarum *N* brother (Man FM).
 gugin *N* red (Man JF): bawur gugin redhead, 'ginger'.
 gugar *N* (10.13 (3)) hole (Man ML): bajani gugarnu came out of the hole, gugarnu ba'ngala coming out of the hole.
 guṅ *N* (10.13 (2)) 1. water; 2. tea (Man GF).
 guṅgam *N* without water (Man ML).
 gungari *N* the name of a language, Gunggari (Man JF).
 guiba- *V* ITR TR TERM guiban; PF guibani; PRET guibalur burn.
 guiwa (gi'wa) *N* tree goanna (Man GF).
 gujaṅ *N* possum (Man GF). —cf. guwaṅ.
 gula *N* native bear, koala (Man JP; in her father's language). —cf. burbi.
 gumbin *N* V REL ? finished, done: ṅaju gumbin I am finished (active or passive sense; Man GC), gumbin we'n nula that was the end of him (Man ML).
 gumu *N* 1. backside; 2. bad boy: gumu waṅal or wande bad boy, cheeky child (Man JF, PT; = waṅal, Man JF), gumu bangap bad ('blocked-up') child (who does not heed when called; Man QL).
 gunan *N* excrement (Man GF).
 gundan *N* shield (Man PT).
 gundir *N* clever man (Man JP; the same in Wakka-Wakka).
 -gur SOC SFX (10.4).
 gurbun-, v. gurgun-.
 gurga- *V* TR PF gurgani steal (Man ML).

gurgun *N* V talk, talking (Man ML): gurgun ṅaju wa'ni I am talking to or with you.
 gurgungali (gurbun-) *N* talker, talkative (Man ML). —cf. gurgun.
 gurgun gurgunmali- (gurbun-) *V* REFL CAUS IMP gurgun gurgunmali talk (Man ML). —cf. gurgun.
 gurgunma- *V* CAUS IMP gurgunma; ACC gurgunmaja talk (Man ML): gurgunma ṅapi talk to me. —cf. gurgun.
 gurgunmali- (gurbun-) *V* REFL CAUS IPF gurbunmalila; TERM gurbunmalin; INT gurgunmaligi talk (Man ML): nula gurbunmalila he is talking, ṅubu gurbunmalin talked yesterday. —cf. gurgun.
 gurubu REL all (Man ML): bumani gurubu killed, destroyed all.
 guruman (goroman) *N* (10.13 (2)) kangaroo: je'ni gurumangu went for kangaroo (kangaroo hunting; Man ML).
 guwaṅ (guan) *N* possum (Man JP, GF). —cf. gujaṅ.

ṅ

ṅagaṅ *N* old man (Man PT).
 ṅagam *N* (10.13 (2)) dog: ṅagama baur dog's head (Man ML); (ART) ṅagamḍin (ERG -ḍindu; OBJ -ḍini) some dogs (Man ML).
 ṅai PERS PRON (10.17-18).
 ṅaja PERS PRON (10.18).
 ṅaju PERS PRON (10.17-18).
 ṅali PERS PRON (10.17-18).
 ṅamal¹ *N* goanna (Man FM).
 ṅamal² *N* woman's breast (Man QL, EL). —cf. ṅamuṅ.
 ṅami ? *N* grandmother or granddaughter (Man QL).

ɲamun *N* breast (Man FM). —cf.
ɲamal².

ɲa'n *INTERR PRON* (10.22).

ɲanal *N* crow (? Man FM).

ɲangar *N* a lie (Man QL).

ɲigam *N* moon (Man GF).

ɲinarugan (ɲinaruan, ɲinarun;
jinarugan, Man GC) *N* she-dog;
also the name of a (mythological)
dog (Man ML).

ɲinba- *V TR PF* ɲinbani ask
(Man ML).

ɲinbali- *V ITR TERM* ɲinbalin
ask (Man ML): ɲa'gi (or ɲaŋ)
ɲinbalin what did he ask for?
—cf. ɲinba-.

ɲubu *REL* yesterday (Man ML),
tomorrow (Man GF).

ɲububa *REL* tomorrow (Man GF).
—cf. ɲubu.

ɲulungu *REL* pretty soon (Man ML):
(Man ML): ɲulungu ɲaju jangala
I am going pretty soon.

ɲumbin (ɲumbun, Man GF) *N* (10.13
(2)) 1. bark; 2. hut, house,
home: nula bajini ɲumbinu he
came out of the house (Man ML).

ɲu'n *N* hot (Man NM).

ɲuram *N V REL* sleepy, sleeping,
asleep (Man GC, QL). —cf. muram.

ɲuru *N* ghost (Man NM).

J

jabar *N* one (Man JF).

jadai *N* sick (Man ML).

jaga- *V TR* (10.30) make (Man ML):
wa'lu ɲani bargan jaga you make
me a boomerang, ɲaju bargan
jagala I can make a boomerang,
jaga ɲaju bargan let me make a
boomerang.

jagarabal *N* the name of a language,
Yugarabul (Man FM).

jagarabul *N* the name of a tribe,
section and language (Man ML).
—cf. jagarabal.

jagarbul *N* the name of a language,
Yugarabul (Man ML, GF). —cf.
jagarabal.

jaɲani- *V TR* (10.30) bring, fetch
(Man ML): wa'lu jaɲani ɲaja you
bring to me, ɲaju pulani jaɲanini
I have brought (fetched) him,
mugar nula jaɲanini he brought
a storm.

jaɲanibuli- (-buri-) *V TR IMP*
jaɲanibuli; *IPF* jaɲanibulila
(-burila); *TERM* jaɲanibulin;
INT jaɲanibuligi bring, fetch
(Man ML). —cf. jaɲani-.

janga-, v. janga-.

jangiwa-, v. jangiwa-.

jaɲma- *V IPF* jaɲmala swear
(Man GF).

jalabai *N* urine (Man GF; so also
Nun AM, 'in the Brisbane River
language').

jalgan (jalga, Man QL) *N* sun
(Man ML).

jamba *N* home (Man QL; properly
Gunggari ?): janbalila jamba
going or coming home.

jana- *V ITR* (10.30) go, come:
baigal gila jan a man (is)
coming (Man ML), nula je'ni he
went (Man ML).

ja'na- *V ITR* (10.30) sit (down),
stay, stop: ja'nala ɲumbina
sitting or staying at home
(Man QL).

janabi *PERS PRON* (10.17-18).

janba- *V ITR IMP* janba go
(Man GC): wa'lu janba you go.
—cf. jana-, janbali-.

janbali- *V ITR IMP* janbali; *IPF*
janbalila go: wa'lu janbali
you go (Man GC), ɲaju janbalila
I am going (Man AJ, GC).

janga- (janga-) *V ITR IPF* jangala,
jangala go: jilagu wa·lu jangala
or jila jangala where are you
going? (Man GC). -cf. jana-.

ja·nga- *V ITR IPF* ja·ngala sit,
stay (Man ML): jila wa·lu jangala
where are you staying? naju
ja·ngala numbina I am sitting at
home. -cf. ja·na-.

jangiwa- (jangiwa-) *V ITR IMP*
jangiwa; *IPF* jangiwała; *PF*.
jangiłani come, come back (Man
ML): jangiwała najaba coming to
me, nula nubu jangiłani he came
yesterday. -cf. jana-.

janmali- *V ITR IPF* janmalila go
(Man GC): wanda wa·lu janmalila
where are you going? (correct ?).
-cf. janbali-.

jaraman *N* horse; (ART) jaramangin,
jaramangin, jaramanman some
horses (Man ML).

jaran *N* beard (Man QL).

jau *REL* 1. yes; 2. interjection
to call dogs (Man GC): jau jau
jau come back!

jawai *REL* yes (Man ML).

jigam *N* meat (Man GF).

jila (jili) *REL* where?: jila
wa·lu janbalila where are you
going? (Man AJ), jila wa·lu
(gawala), idem (Man GF).

jilagu *REL* where? to where?:
jilagu wa·lu where are you
going? (Man GF).

jilbagan (-gan) *N* the name of a
place (Man GC).

jina- *V ITR IPF* jinala; *PRET*
jinalur lie down (Man GC, QL).

jinarugan *v.* ninarugan.

jindagan *REL* when? (Man ML):
jindagan wa·lu jangala when are
you going?

jindagu (jindigu) *REL* where? to
where? (Man JP, ML, QL): jindagu
(jindigu) wa·lu where are you
going? (= jilagu wa·lu, Man QL).

jirilip *N* bird.

jogoi *N* bandicoot (Man GF).

jugam *REL* no, none, not (Man ML,
GC, GF). -cf. jugum.

jugambe *N REL* nothing, no, none,
never (Man ML, GC, GF): jugambe
gialila never tells (Man ML).
-cf. jugum.

jugum *REL* no, not (Man GF, FM).
-cf. jugam.

jugumbe *N REL* nothing, not, never
(Man JP, EW, ML, GC): jugumbe
wa·lu na·ni janabi have you
never seen them? (Man ML), jugumbe
jugumbe no, no! (Man GC), jugumbe
ba·jani never came out (Man ML).

juri *N* meat (Man AJ).

L

-li- *V DER SFX* (10.9).

M

-ma- *V DER SFX* (10.8).

magar *N* liar (Man AJ): magar wa·lu
you are a liar.

magar(i)ba *N* the name of a place
(Man AJ).

magal *N* water lizard (Man GF),
mud lizard (Man PT). -cf. magil.

magar or magar magar *N* policeman
(Man QL).

magil *N* water lizard (Man GF).
-cf. magal.

magui *N* ghost, any person that
dies (Man QL). -cf. mogoi.

-man *ART* (10.14).

mala *N* hand (Man FM, EW).

malaginggi- *V ITR IMP* malaginggi
look the other way (Man ML).
-cf. malagini-.

malagini- *V ITR TR IMP* malagini;
PF malaginini; *INT* malaginigi
turn that way, turn or look away
(Man ML): malagini chair turn
that chair that way.

malagu REL there (Man ML): gilagu
malagu here and there.

malangali, v. manangali.

mali DEM PRON (10.20-21).

manangali, malangali, manalgali N
1. the name of the Manandjali
language, the 'Beaudesert
language' or 'Logan River
language' (Man GC); 2. Beaudesert
(Man GF).

mangalam N sand goanna (Man PT).

mangar (mangara, Man GF, JP) N
gum tree, 'koala gum tree' (Man
GC): gamai mangar(a) a big gum
tree (Man GF).

mani¹ N wallaby (Man GF).

mani² N (10.13 (1)) money (Man
ML; from English): napa mani
my money.

margan N boomerang (Man QL;
correct?). -cf. bargan.

marun N 1. sand goanna; 2. Mount
Maroon (Man GC). -cf. murum.

mi· N eye, eyes. -cf. mil.

mi· baralan N snake with big eyes
(Man GC).

mi· barila N any snake (Man FM).

mibip N (10.13 (2)) man (= baigal,
Man GC, ML), dark man, black-
fellow, dark people: gagun gali
mibipal this land belongs to
the dark people (Man ML), mibipba
to the dark men (Man ML; cf.
10.4); (ART) mibipgir (OBJ
-girni, POSS -girna) many black
people (Man ML).

midin N REL ? a 'swearword'
(Man QL).

migan N sharp peak (Man GF).

miganbari N a section and language
name, the name of the land across
the Albert River toward Boonah
(Man GF), 'belonging to migani
(q.v.)' (Man ML); probably part
of the original Yugarabul country
(cf. Nunagal megengin, migingin,
7). -cf. migani.

migani N the name of a mountain
in the direction of Boonah
(Man ML). -cf. miganbari.

migan N hole or hollow in a tree
(Man GC).

mil N eye, eyes (Man NM, EW).
-cf. mi·.

milan N cow's milk (Man QL; from
English); cf. Jualrai milan (15).

mingi- (minga-) V ITR IMP minga;
IPF mingila laugh (Man ML):
wana minga don't laugh.

mipagu INTERR PRON (10.22).

mipang INTERR PRON (10.22).

mipangba- V CAUS PF mipangbani
cause something ('something
happens to' or 'is wrong with';
see 10.23).

mipangbal N the name of a language
probably at Tweed Heads and
Fingal Point (in New South Wales;
Man FM).

mipangu INTERR PRON (10.22).

miragan N white woman (Man PT).
-cf. mirangan.

mirangan N old lady (Man NM).
-cf. mirungan.

mirungan N old woman (Man ML, JP);
(ART) mirungmir (some) old women
(Man ML).

mirungmir, v. mirungan.

mogoi (mugoi) N ghost (Man GF,
QL). -cf. magui.

mubar N back (Man AJ).

mugar (mugara) N storm.

mugoi, v. mogoi.

mu·ŋ N stomach (Man FM).

mujumgal N one's son (Man ML).

muli muli N little hill (Man ML).

mulu N 1. stone (= dau); 2. money
(Man GF; the same in Nunagal,
possibly Yugarabul). -cf. daju,
dau.

mundaŋara *N* rainbow (Man QL;
 probably Gunggari).
 mundi *N* backside (Man SC).
 mundulgan *N* death adder (Man AJ);
 also the name of a place. -cf.
 mundurŋu.
 mundurŋu *N* death adder (Man ML).
 -cf. mundulgan.
 mungaŋ *N* *ERG* mungangu net
 (Man ML).
 munmundai *N* the name of a mountain
 at Tamborine (Man FM).
 munmuru *N* testes (Man EW).
 muram *N* sleepy, sleeping, asleep
 (Man AJ, ML): muram ŋaju I am
 sleepy (Man AJ), ɠaŋgam muram
 the baby is asleep (Man AJ).
 muru *N* nose.
 murum *N* the name of Mt. Maroon
 (Man ML). -cf. marun.

N

nanan *N* sister (Man GF, JF).
 -ndi- *V* *DER* *SFX* (10.8).
 ni·m buliwa (= ? Man JF). -cf.
 buliwa.
 nindawinba *N* (ninduwimba, Man GF)
N the name of a place (Man GC).
 nuŋaŋ (nuŋip, Man PT) *N* bread and
 meat, food (Man QL).
 numbali *REL* ? numbali wa·lu where
 are you going? (Man QL), you go
 or come home (Man GC, QL);
 probably 'are you coming?', 'are
 you going home?'.

n

na·- *V* *TR* (10.30) see, look:
 wa·lu na· you see or look (Man
 ML), ŋaju na·la I can see (him;
 Man GC), na·bigu (na·bigi) wa·ni
 (I have come) to see you (Man ML).

na·gi *INTERR PRON* (10.22).
 na·gu *INTERR PRON* (10.22).
 naŋ *INTERR PRON* (10.22).
 naŋga, *v.* naŋ.
 namul *N* baby (Man NM).
 param *N* prickly lizard, a lizard
 that sleeps on river banks
 (Man GF, PT).
 pariba- *V* *CAUS* *PRET* paribalu
 name (Man ML).
 nila, *v.* nula.
 pimar *N* whiptail (Man ML).
 pindumba *N* death adder (Man PT).
 pu·galbingan *N* *OBJ* pu·galbingani
 wife (Man ML).
 pu·gangal *N* husband (Man ML).
 nula *PERS PRON* (10.17-18).
 pulagan *PERS PRON* (10.17-18).
 pulaman *PERS PRON* (10.17-18).
 nula nula *N* telling lies (Man QL).
 nun *N* nose (Man PT). -cf. muru.
 pundil *N* an Aboriginal name (one
 Fogarty; Man JP).

R

-ri- *V* *DER* *SFX* (10.10).

W

waŋuŋ *N* mother (Man GF, JF).
 waŋam *V* *REL* want (Man ML;
 probably from pidgin English
 'want'em'): na·gu wa·lu waŋam
 what do you want? ŋaju waŋam ŋuŋ
 I want water.
 wagan *N* crow (Man GF).
 wagaŋ *N* catfish. -cf. waŋuŋ.
 waŋuŋ *N* catfish or jewfish (Man
 GF). -cf. wagaŋ.

waŋal *N* bad (of boys and children who do not want to come home when called; = gumu, q, v.), bad boy, cheeky child (Man ML, QL, PT): gan waŋal bad (of children; Man ML).

waŋga *N* pigeon (Man FM).

waibar *N* (10.13 (3)) fire, camp; (ART) waibarmir camp (fires or people ? Man ML).

wajali- *V ITR TERM* wajalin fly (Man ML).

wa'lu *PERS PRON* (10.17-18).

wana, v. wana-.

wana- *V TR IMP* wana; *PF* wanani; leave: wana don't ('leave it'), pula wanani he left (Man ML).

wande, v. gumu.

waŋmari *N* white woman (Man QL).

waŋmerigan *N* white woman (Man ML, GC).

wa'ribali- *V TR TERM* wa'ribalin; *PRET* wa'ribalur bring, carry (Man ML).

wariŋ *N* cold (Man QL).

warjam *N* eel or a monster (= mundaŋara; Man QL), bunyip (a spirit; 'sea monster', Man GC, 'hippopotamus', Man PT).

wawa *REL* look! (Man JF): wawa bangu look, a policeman!

we'- *V ITR TERM* we'n become, (Man ML): gumbip we'n pula that was the end of him (cf. Lismore Bandjalang wi- get, become, be; see Holmer 1971, p.49).

widal *N* grass (Man ML).

wiŋuŋ, v. wuŋuŋ.

wiŋgi *REL* where? (Man FM): wiŋgi wa'lu where are you going? -cf. wunda.

wipmeri *N* white woman (Man JP). -cf. waŋmari, waŋmerigan.

wuŋan *REL* about, around (Man ML): wuŋan gawarila ŋumbip running round about the house.

wuŋangari- *V ITR IMP* wuŋangari; *IPF* wuŋangarila; *TERM* wuŋangarin; *PF* wuŋangarini; *INT* wuŋangarigi turn round (Man ML). -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋangarima- *V CAUS IMP* wuŋangarima; *IPF* wuŋangarimala; *PF* wuŋangarimani; *INT* wuŋangarimagi turn (something) round (Man ML). -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋangingi- *V ITR IMP* wuŋangingi turn round (Man ML). -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋan wuŋan *REL* round about, crooked ways, astray (Man ML): wuŋan wuŋan jangala going crooked ways or astray. -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋuŋ (wiŋuŋ) *N* clever man (Man GF). -cf. wuŋuŋ.

wuŋuŋ *N OBJ* wuŋuni clever (person), secret supernatural power (Man ML): ŋinbani wuŋuni (the witch doctor) asked the 'Clever Thing' (inside him; i.e. he deliberated). -cf. wuŋuŋ.

wula- *V TR IMP* wula *PF* wulani give (Man ML): ŋe'ni wa'lu wulani whom did you give it to?

wulali- *V ITR INT* wulaligi give something or anything (Man ML): pula jugambe wulaligi he does not want to give anything. -cf. wula-.

wumara *N* spear thrower, woomera (Man GC). -cf. wumar wumar.

wumar wumar *N* woomera (Man AJ). -cf. wumara.

wunda *REL* where? (Man GC).

wuŋigal *REL* where from? whence? (Man ML): wuŋigal wa'lu where do you come from? -cf. wunda, wiŋgi.

wuŋigu *REL* whereto? whither? (Man FM). -cf. wunda, wuŋigal.

wuŋba *N* black snake (Man ML).

wuraŋ *N* fire (Man JP).

wurga- *V TR IPF* wurgala *PF* wurgani steal (Man GF).

JUALRAI

Introductory remarks

12.1 The language referred to here as Jualrai was first heard from two different persons, who remembered isolated vocables, while it was not realised by the author until rather much later that they actually represented the same language. This conclusion was reached only when both persons were found to have the same somewhat unusual word *gunan* for *water* and the existence in their vocabulary of the word *biralī child* (along with the plural form *biraligal*) given by one of the mentioned persons made it further clear beyond doubt that we here had the language which Mathews 1902 (pp. 137 sqq.) calls Yualeai and of which Parker 1896 gives a specimen in her *Australian Legendary Tales*.⁵⁹ Most of our informants, however, were ignorant of what the name was of their tribe or language, although some recognised the latter to be a kind of Kamilroi (that is one of the important languages or linguistic groups of north-eastern New South Wales). In the course of the investigation into this language representatives were met both of Kamilroi (as spoken across the border in New South Wales, at Boggabilla and the Toomelah settlement, as well as at Goondiwindi and Bowenville, in Queensland) and of the Queensland variety which we shall call Jualrai. The form *jualrai* was actually recognised by a very good informant for Gunggari (Gun TC; see Part II, 4.2), who was born at Angledool (in New South Wales) and remembered imperfectly some words of her father's (he was from Lightning Ridge, also in New South Wales). Others recollected similar word forms: *jo·ljal* (-jai ? Kam AA), *jilroi* (Jua DM).

12.2 It is evident that our Jualrai represents a Queensland variety of the Kamilroi language (or group of dialects), much in the same way as Manandjali is a Queensland offshoot of the important New South Wales group of languages or dialects known as Bandjalang (cf. 8.1-2). From the places claimed to be the home of the various informants interviewed or of their parents or grandparents, it is possible to form an idea of the original extension of the Jualrai language. As a center may perhaps be considered the Balonne River and the towns of St. George, Surat and Dirranbandi, places on or near the same river, from where a number of representatives of the language hail; one informant (Gun TC; cf. above, 12.1) includes Goondiwindi. Across the New South Wales border another center would presumably be Lightning Ridge (with Angledool and Goodooga), while one informant (Jua JM) has some information of the language from a grandparent hailing from as far west as the Warrego River (whether on the Queensland or New South Wales side of the border). This would mean that Jualrai would have had a north-westerly extension in relation to Kamilroi proper, of which Moree would be considered a central point, taking in as well Collarenebri and Mungindi (to the west and north-west) and Boggabilla (to the north-east), near the Queensland border, as well as Goondiwindi across the same border. Owing to the scarcity of our material, no dialectal differences can of course be detected within Jualrai; of Kamilroi, however, there are most probably several dialects or varieties: a Kamilroi informant (Kam HM) from Collarenebri maintained that his language was a bit different from the one about eighty miles to the east (Moree or Boggabilla), while a person at Goondiwindi (Kam CoK) considered that the language at Mungindi was the same as that of Goondiwindi.⁶⁰

12.3 As for the proper name of the language here called Jualrai (*jualrai*), it is perhaps as well to start with the pronunciation of the name Kamilroi. From the persons interviewed regarding the language, the forms *gamilroi*, *gamilrai*, etc. are heard as well as the forms *gamiroi*, *gamaṛai* and *gamuṛai*, of which the

latter two were said to represent the correct pronunciation by a rather good Kamilroi informant (Kam HD). However we may attempt to explain the occurrence of the unusual (at least from the Aboriginal point of view) consonant cluster (the form Kamilroi is met with also), there is every reason to think that one of the latter three forms quoted is more genuine than the former two, seeing that they would represent no difficulty of pronunciation to the Aborigines, but possibly, on the other hand, to many speakers of Australian English, who might have been inclined to render the unfamiliar retroflex sound (ɾ) by -rl-, at least in writing.⁶¹ If this assumption is correct it is almost unavoidable to consider the forms *jualrai*, *jilroi* (see 12.1) as analogous hybrid forms of an original **juaɾai*, although it is strange that forms with medial -lr- are met with among the native people themselves. Another support to the theory of an original medial -ɾ- would perhaps be the form 'Yualeai' given by Mathew (1902, loc. cit.) or 'Eualyai' (according to others), since the passing of an original retroflex ɾ into a sound similar to j (or lj ?) would be paralleled by such forms as *yiai* (Mathews, op.cit., p. 181) for *jaɾa sun* (Kam HM), as heard by the present author.⁶²

12.4 Our material in the sections to follow on *Jualrai* presents a somewhat mixed character. It is, on the one hand, not always possible to sort out and separate what is properly *Jualrai* and what is New South Wales Kamilroi; on the other hand, it is difficult to determine whether forms which also appear in Gunggari are to be considered as borrowed into *Jualrai* or having an identical origin. Our best informant for *Jualrai* (Jua DM), whom the author first met at Toowoomba, was in the beginning thought to be Gunggari, since she gave a few items which evidently belonged to the latter language, whereas she was reticent about Kamilroi, her husband's language. When met a second time, at Dalby, she was more communicative and turned out to know parts of three different languages: Gunggari, which she had evidently picked up at St. George and other places (Gunggari seems at one time to have been a kind of lingua franca in the area; cf. Part II, 1.1), *Jualrai*, which was her father's language and to which she referred as 'the Queensland language' or 'her father's', and, finally, her husband's language, a Kamilroi dialect, which she called the 'New South Wales language'. She was consequently able to give three different words for many items, as for instance for *water*: *gamu* (Gunggari), *guṇan* (*Jualrai*) and *gali* (Kamilroi), but in many cases she was not sure which was which. It is to be expected that any speaker of *Jualrai* would have been familiar with Kamilroi proper as well as Gunggari and that some words from the latter language may well have been the same or equally current in both languages. In the subsequent phonetic and morphological sketch (13.1-14.8) *Jualrai* and Kamilroi material is dealt with in conjunction.

List of informants

12.5 This is a list of *Jualrai* as well as Kamilroi informants. The persons from which information on these languages has been gathered are referred to in this sketch and in the subsequent vocabulary (15) by the language signatures *Jua* (for *Jualrai*) and *Kam* (for Kamilroi), followed by the informant's initials. In the case of one informant (Kam HM), the data are usually obtained indirectly through his wife (Jua DM). In all other respects, the principles adhere to are those mentioned in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.

- Jua DM:* Mrs. Dolly McPherson, at Toowoomba and Dalby, originally from Dirranbandi (Balonne River area); her father's language was Jualrai.
- Jua EM:* Mr. Edward ('Teddy') Mitchell (50), at Mt. Morgan (south of Rockhampton), Jua LM's son.
- Jua JM:* Mr. Jack Martin, at Toowoomba (his people from Cunnamulla and Bogarella); he knows some of his grandmother's language, who was from the Warrego river.
- Jua LM:* Mrs. Lucy Mitchell, at Bundaberg and Rockhampton; she and her mother from Surat (her father was a white man).
- Jua LO:* Mrs. Lena Orcher (née Mason), at the Toomelah settlement (south of Boggabilla, New South Wales).
- Jua TH:* Mr. Thomas Hall, at Toowoomba; his mother was from St. George.
- Jua VT:* Mrs. Vera Tyson, at Bundaberg, Jua LM's daughter.
- Kam AA:* Mr. Alan Arnold, at Cherbourg, from Goondiwindi; both father and mother were Kamilroi.
- Kam CaK:* Mrs. Carry Knox, at Goondiwindi.
- Kam CoK:* Mr. Colin Knox, at Goondiwindi, originally from Mungindi; Kam CaK's son.
- Kam HD:* Mrs. Hannah Duncan, at Toomelah, Kam CaK's sister.
- Kam HM:* Mr. Herbert McPherson, at Toowoomba and Dalby, Jua DM's husband, from Collarenebri (New South Wales).
- Kam LO:* Mrs. Leilah Orcher, at Toomelah.
- Kam RK:* Mr. Ronny Knox, at Bowenville (south-east of Dalby), Kam CaK's son.
- Kam RM:* Mr. Ron McIntosh, at Boggabilla (New South Wales).

Phonology

13.1 It is evident that the phonology of both Jualrai and Kamilroi proper is of the same type as that of Gunggari (or the Gunggari languages in general; see Part II). This regards both the vowel and consonant systems as well as the structure of the words. As a matter of fact, these languages appear to be structurally more related to Gunggari than to the neighbouring Bandjalang or to the Wakka languages.

Evolution of the vowel system

13.2 As in Gunggari the Jualrai and Kamilroi vowel system is of the so-called 'triangular' type,⁶³ that is consisting of the three basic vowel phonemes a, i, u (of normal length, long variants a·, i·, u· occasionally arising in special conditions).⁶⁴ The usually long e· and o· may, however, arise through contraction of basic vowels, e.g. ai, ia, etc.: daigal ~ de·gal *head* (with intermediate forms), ge·l for gial *afraid* (cf. Note 63). In contact with j (or palatalised sounds) a may approach e and u may turn into i; hence gangil beside gangul *child*.

The appearance of dagal (Jua DM) for daigal (Jua LM, etc.) *head* (cf. above) does not involve a phonological problem; if correct, dagal represents a different word (cf. the Gunggari dagal *mouth*); it may, however, actually depend on a mistake, since our informant (Jua DM) is familiar with Gunggari as well and may have mixed both forms (Mathews 1902, p. 180, has daigal only). Compare further also in Part II, 5.9, regarding assonant words having a different origin.

13.3 Before or after u, in the intervocalic position, a w may or may not appear: manduwi or mandui *shoes* (Jua DM), bawul or baul *fowl* (Jua DM; from English); in baura *kangaroo* and gauga *head* diphthongal forms only are recorded. The same holds for an intervocalic -j- before or after i (cf. Part I, 6.15). The appearance of a sound like j after i in wij (Kam LO) for wi· *fire*, bubadij (Jua TH, DM) for bubadi *grandfather* is probably a mere reflex of the diphthongised pronunciation of a long 'e' sound in Australian English (cf. 5.1, Note 14) and hence without consequence.⁶⁵

13.4 There are several cases in which a medial vowel (usually a) has been dropped in words of more than two syllables, whereby abnormal consonant clusters arise: bralga *native companion*, broлга (Kam AA; perhaps directly from English), -brai sociative suffix (also -barai; cf. Gunggari -bari, -bai, idem), bubli *tobacco* (Jua DM), bib(a)la *box tree* (Kam RM), wib(i)li *sick* (Kam RM), ɲam(a)la *look* (Kam RM), ɲarla (ɲadla, beside ɲarala, ɲarila) *look, see* (Jua DM; cf. Mathews 1902, p. 189: ngurrilla).

Evolution of the consonant system

13.5 Jualrai and Kamilroi have the following consonant phonemes: (bilabial) b, m; (dental-interdental) t; (dental-alveolar) d, n; (palatalised dental) ɟ, ɲ; (supradental or retroflex) ɖ; (palatal-velar) g, ŋ; (lateral continuant) l; (alveolar trill) r; (retroflex trill or continuant) ɽ; (palatal semivowel) j and (bilabial semivowel) w. The supradental (or slightly retroflex) plosive (ɖ) is rare (muɖa or muɖai *possum*); it usually functions as a variant of r or ɽ or else in English words of a certain type: ɲa·ɖ *hard*. Words do not seem properly to begin with ɟ or ɲ (except as variant sounds before i; compare Gunggari, Part II, 5.6). A difference between a dental-interdental plosive (t) and a dental-alveolar plosive (d) arises (as in Gunggari) after n only (which then may be supposed to be homorganic): manta *bread, food*, but mandawī *shoes* (Kam RK), wanti *dingo*, but wanda *white man*. It appears (also as in Gunggari) that the dental-alveolar and palatalised dental sounds (respectively d, n and ɟ, ɲ) are (unless preceded by n or l) indistinguishable before i: wadi ~ wagi *white woman*, gini ~ gipi *is*, etc.

13.6 Although some informant (Kam CoK) will deny that any difference exists between the medial trill in maɽa *hand*, maɽi *Aboriginal man*, on the one hand, and marabi *death adder*, margin *gun*, on the other, and that the only sound existing in Kamilroi is the trilled r, good reason may be found for a differentiation of an alveolar and a retroflex r-sound, although not always observed by the few remaining 'speakers' of the languages (chiefly due to the absence of a retroflex r-sound in Australian English). First of all, it is still possible to find the supposedly primitive articulation of ɽ among some speakers in such words as maɽa *hand*, maɽi *Aboriginal* (which also corresponds to the Gunggari pronunciation of the same words), jaɽa *sun*, etc.; secondly,

cases are found in which a semivowel *j* appears in alternation with the original retroflex *r* (that is as in Gangulu (B), as against Gangulu (A), in which the sound of *r* remains),⁶⁶ hence: Jualrai manduji (mandui) *shoes* (Jua DM, LM, TH) as against manduri (Jua JM), Jualrai digai *parrot* (Jua DM) as against Gunggari digari *cockatoo*; further, Mathews (1902) has several forms with a medial palatal semivowel (or similar sound) where an *r* has been recorded in this material: jara *sun* (Mathews, op.cit., p. 181: yiai), jira *teeth* (Mathews, op.cit., p.180: ia), buja *bone* (Mathews, op.cit., p. 181: buia), marama *stone* (Mathews, op.cit., p.182: maiama). In doubtful cases, however, we prefer to write *r* (generally equivalent to English 'r') to writing *r̥*.

13.7 An instance of a 'pre-occlusive' *l* (see Part I, 24.5) is found in the pronunciation midl for mil *eye* (Jua DM). Other particulars in the evolution of the consonant system concern more or less irregular modifications of the consonant sounds. As usually in bilingual areas the pronunciation of the *r* sound in certain positions (syllable and word-final) causes difficulty, the *r* sound may either be dropped or pass into a *d*, *ɖ* or *l* sound: ɲadla for ɲarla (= ɲarala, ɲarila; see 13.4) *look, see*, maraid (Kam CoK) probably for marair *no, not* (negation), madgan (Kam CoK), malgan (Jua DM) for margan (-gin) *gun*, budged (Kam CoK) for burgiar (= burgian) *pussy, cat* (from English), ga·mali (Kam CoK) for garmali (Kam HM) *taking, stealing*; sometimes it is questionable which of two forms is the correct one: manga (Kam CoK), mangar (Jua DM) *bag*. On the other hand, -*r*- appears for any intervocalic consonant (especially -*n*-) according to a well known tendency in the Aboriginal languages in this part of Australia (see Part I, 6.19 and Note 61): baragai for banagai *go* (Jua DM), dirawan for dinawan *emu* (Kam HM).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

14.1 *Structure*. As phonetically, Jualrai and Kamilroi approach the Gunggari languages structurally also. Concrete (nominal or verbal) stems tend to be dissyllabic; it may be noticed as typical that the word for *water*, guṇan, which is evidently related to the corresponding word, guṇ, in Manandjali and the Wakka languages, appears in Jualrai with an additional syllable (-an) and similarly the English loanword milan *milk* shows an analogously extended form (much in the same way as the Gunggari word milgana *cow's milk*). The Kamilroi word for *water*, gali, is also (like the Gunggari gamu, idem) dissyllabic (incidentally, the same word appears in the same sense in Darumbal; cf. 19). Monosyllabic stems do, however, occur (some possibly due to contraction): wi· *fire*, mil *eye* (as in Manandjali and the Wakka languages), gau *egg*, gai gai *catfish*, ma· *hand* (cf. mara, idem), wa·l *no, none*.

14.2 *Reduplication*. Reduplicated nominal stems occur in: gugi gugi *fowl* (from English), dibil dibil *ghost* (from English), buja buja (Jua DM), buṛu buṛu (Kam RM) *lean, skinny* (cf. buja *bone*), mili mili *mud*, gamu gamu *maggots*, gai gai *catfish* (diminutives, animal names or adjectival words).

14.3 *Compounds*. Nominal compounds (or juxtaposition) are of the ordinary kind: wuṛula gau *turkey egg* (cf. English). Compounds (or construction) of a nominal and a verbal stem are found in: mil ɲarala *look* (literally *eye-see*), ga· (or gai) gualda- *talk* (literally *mouth-talk*; cf. Part I, 18.1). Finally a compound

of two verbal stems (or a relation word and verbal stem ?) is seen in: *daina-come* (cf. *na-go*), *dawana-give* (cf. Mathews 1902, p. 189: *wuna give*).⁶⁷

14.4 *Nominal derivation.* Among nominal derivational suffixes we notice the sociative *-barai*, *-brai* *having, provided with* (cf. Gunggari *-bari*) and the (probably) caritive *-mur*: *milanbrai* *cow (having milk; cf. 14.1)*, *daunbrai* *dirty* (from *daun* *earth, dirt*), *mandawibrai* *having shoes* (from *mandawi*, *mandu(j)i shoe(s)*), *binamur* *deaf* (from *bina* *ear(s)*). Another apparently sociative suffix is *-jal*, in *mu·ljal* or *mubaljal* *pregnant* (from *mubal* *stomach; cf. Wakka-Wakka mu·ga* *pregnant* and *mu·* *stomach*, while *-ga(l)* *having* is the sociative suffix). The suffix *-gan* (as in *Manandjali* and the *Wakka* languages) denotes females: *wadigan* *white woman* (the same in *Gunggari*), *mudigan* *cousin's wife*, but is found in some other words also: *dilgan* *moon* (also *-gan*), *gabagan* *hat* (cf. *gaba* *white man*,⁶⁸ *budigan* *cat* (unless representing English *cat* in *pussy cat*; the latter is, however, more directly *burgian* or *burgiar*)).

14.5 The meaning and function of the following suffixes is not evident. The termination *-ba* appears in two words: *ṇandaba* *snake* and *wandaba* *white man* (also *wanda*). The suffix *-ga* occurs in: *dilaga* *father* and *bibarga* *pig*. A suffix *-bari* (related to *-barai*, *-brai*, mentioned in 14.4 ?) is found in (*Kamilroi*) *dulibari* (*dulubari*) and *galibari*, both meaning *rain* (cf. *gali* *water*). Finally, a suffix *-jul* or *-gul* is found in the adjectival words *gabajul* *glad* (cf. *gaba* *good*) and *gagilgul* *sad* (cf. *gagil* *bad*).

14.6 The 'dual-comitative' suffix is probably *-di*, as in: *bubadi* *one's grand-father*; one will find the same suffix (spelled *-dhi*) in Mathews 1902 (p. 180) in the word for *elder sister* and (in the form *-dyir*) in the words for *father* and *mother* (ibid.; implying an alternation *r ~ *j, according to 13.6 ?) and further (spelled *-dee*) in Parker 1896, p.126: *numbardee* (i.e. *ṇambadi*) (cf. *ṇamba*, in 15). (For a similar suffix in the *Gunggari* languages, used in various ways, see Part II, 16.5, with the Note 97).

14.7 Of the consonantal 'nominalising' suffixes (see Part I, 3.6) the following are met in *Jualrai* and *Kamilroi*: *-ṇ*, **-j* (*-i*), *-l* and *-n*, as seen in such word pairs as: *bina* and *binan* *ear* (cf. *binanguin* *deaf*), *dina* and *dinan* *foot*, *guna* and *gunan* *excrement, faeces*, *jila* and *jilai* *angry, wild*, *duluma* and *dulumai* *thunder*, *muḍa* and *muḍai* *possum*, *ga·* and *gai* *mouth*,⁶⁹ *buru* and *burul* *testes* (in *Wakka-Wakka* *buru* is *penis*), *maṛi* and *maṛin* *Aboriginal man* (*Jua DM*; unless from *Gunggari*, where the same terminal alternation occurs), *wadi* and *wadin* *white woman* (*Jua DM*; the same forms in *Gunggari*), *ṇamu* and *ṇamun* *breast, milk*; on the other hand, such alternative forms as *duba* ~ *dubar* *smoke*, *ṇalu* ~ *ṇalur* *fish* are doubtful, owing to the fluctuating character of the *r* sound in surviving Aboriginal languages (cf. 13.7).

14.8 *Verbal derivation.* The exact nature and function of the few verbal derivational suffixes recorded is not clear on all points. Of these two have a very common appearance, namely *-ma-*, which may reasonably be a *causative* or *associative* (or generally transitive) suffix, and *-li-*, which almost certainly is *reflexive-reciprocal* (or generally intransitive). The suffix *-ma-* is found in: *gindama-* *laugh* (*Jua DM*; possibly either *laugh at*, associative, or *make laugh*, causative, cf. Holmer 1967, pp. 12, 44), *manama-* *steal*; the suffix *-li-* occurs in *bumali-* *fight* (most certainly reciprocal, *hit one another*; cf. *Manandjali* *buma-* *hit*, Mathews 1902, p.189: *bumulligu* *strike, beat*), *babili-* *sleep* (*Kam HD*; intransitive).

14.9 The suffix *-da-* (*-lda-*) may be originally causative, as in (Parker 1896, pp. 126, 128: *nurruldandi* (i.e. *ṅaraldandi*) *showing off*, from a causative stem *ṅaralda-* *show* (cf. *ṅari(li)-*, *ṅari(l)-*, **ṅara(l)-* *see*, 15, and Holmer 1963, p.84), *duldandigoo* (i.e. *daldandigu*) *to give to eat*, from a causative stem *dalda* *feed* (cf. *da(l)-* *eat*, 15), or associative, as in Parker, op.cit., 128: *muldunnerh* (i.e. *malda-* *find food for*); in the present material it is found in: *gualda-* *talk* (cf. Parker 1896, p. 126 etc.: *gooway*, i.e. *guwai*, *said*, Mathews 1902, p. 189: *gwalligu*, i.e. *guwaligu*, *to talk*) and further perhaps in *dunda-*, (in nominalised *dundai* a 'swearword' (Gun TC, heard from her father; possibly 'copulation', cf. *dun penis*). The suffix *-ga-* seems to have intransitive character (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.16-17 and p.82): *gialbulaga-* *be frightened* (Kam HD), *banaga-* *go, run*, *wuniga-* *hear* (Jua DM), *jurunga-* *shoot (hunt ?)*; for *-ga-* we occasionally have *-gi-* (cf. Holmer, loc.cit.): *balagi* *dead* (Jua DM), *ṅamugi-* *suck* (Jua DM), *daumagi-* *cook*, *bundagi-* *fall*. A suffix *-wa-* may occur in *nawa-* *walk* (cf. *na-* *go*). The suffix *-nda-* (having intransitive character) is combined with the above-mentioned *-li-* (14.8) in *babilinda-* *be sleepy* (cf. *babili-* *sleep*). Unfortunately, it is many times uncertain whether suffixes of the above type are derivational or modal (and hence pertaining to the conjugation of the verb; cf. 14.15-17).

(b) Inflection

14.10 *Declension*. Very little can be concluded regarding Jualrai and Kamilroi declension from the data found in our limited material. An *ergative* (in *-u*) is evidently present in: *guriju* (Jua DM) from *guri man* (incidentally, the same forms are found in Thangatti; cf. Holmer 1966 a, 6.13), *jinaru* (Jua DM) from *jinar woman*. An *ablative* (in *-ṅu*) may appear in the form *juramaṅu* (Kam RM) from *jurama strong drink or beer*. More certain is the *locative* (in *-ga*): *dantiga* *on the ground* (Jua DM; *danti ground*, however, may be Gunggari), *milga* *in the eye* (Jua DM) from *mil eye* (cf. Kattang garbaga, *dabiga*, *bigalga*; Holmer 1966 a, pp. 50-51). The *allative* ends in the almost universally Australian suffix *-gu*: *walaigu* (*go*) *home* from *walai camp*, *juramagu* (*go*) *for a drink* (Kam RM) from *jurama drink* (cf. Mathews 1902, p. 138, where however *-gu* is given the function of a possessive).

14.11 *Article*. The plural article (cf. 6.10; 10.14) in Jualrai is *-gal*: *biraligal* (*some*) *children* (Jua LM) from *birali child*, *jinargal* (*some*) *women* from *jinar woman*, *gurigal* (*some*) *men* (Jua DM) from *guri man*, *mijalgal* (*some*) *girls* from *mijal girl*.

14.12 *Personal pronouns*. The only personal pronouns recorded are: (first person singular) *ṅai* (*ṅaja*) *I* (Jua DM, Kam RM), (second person singular) *ninda* (*ninda*; cf. 13.5) or *ṅinda* *you* (cf. Holmer 1966a, 8.2, with the Note 76) and (first person dual) *ṅali* *we* (Jua DM). The following flexions occur in the material:

First person singular:

NOM	<i>ṅai</i> , <i>ṅaja</i> (Jua LM)
OBJ	<i>ṅana</i>
POSS	<i>ṅagu</i> ⁷⁰

Second person singular:

NOM ɲinda, ninda
 OBJ ɲinari (*)⁷¹
 POSS ɲindi

First person dual:

NOM ɲali
 OBJ ɲalina
 POSS ɲalinu

14.13 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative pronoun is ɲa'na *who?* and the impersonal interrogative is mipa *what?* (also *something, anything*). The following flections only are found:

ɲa'na *who?*:

NOM ɲa'na
 ALL ɲa'ngu⁷²

mipa *what?*:

NOM mipa
 ALL mipagu

14.14 Beside these there is a third interrogative form, ending in -na: mipana *who?* (Kam HD): mipana maɲi *who is that man?*, mipana wanda *who is that white fellow?*⁷³ The precise function of the latter does not appear.

14.15 *Conjugation.* The chief difficulty in analysing and reconstructing Jualrai and Kamilroi conjugation, on the basis of the present material (and even by comparison with Mathews 1902 and others), lies in a rational distinction of derivative and inflected forms (cf. 14.9). The first step to be taken will, as usual, be to identify 'thematic elements' (cf. Part I, 7.28), whereby also the (simple or derived) stem of the verb will appear; the next step will be to trace a distinction of imperfective and perfective suffixed elements.

14.16 As for the 'thematic element' or 'nominalising' formative, making secondary stem forms on which the modal forms are based, there can be little doubt about the semivowel *-j- playing an important part (cf. Wakka-Wakka; Part I, 7.28). This appears from the number of forms recorded ending in -i (from *-j) or -ja (incorporating an original case suffix; cf. Part I, 3.22); the same impression is obtained from a look at Mathews' (1902, pp. 188-90) material. Another analogous element may be the -n- in the form gini *is* (cf. Mathews, op.cit., p. 140) or -ɲ- in babingu *to sleep* (cf. 14.18). As for the mode or aspect-determinating element, we may perhaps distinguish between a zero termination (in forms ending in -i, if from *-j, *-ij) and a vowel termination (especially in forms ending in -a).⁷⁴ If this is correct, the problem remains to determine which of the alternative sets of forms would express the *imperfective* mode and which would the *perfective* mode. Owing to the fact, however, that the forms under discussion are inexactly or at best approximately translated into English, no single rendering of any form can prove it to be either imperfective or perfective. Thus, for instance, banagai (that is a form originally ending in *-j) and naja (that is a form originally ending in -ja) are both rendered by (*I*) *am going*, by the same informant. The same negative result

is reached from an examination of Mathews' (1902) material (op.cit., 188-90), in which everything is translated in terms of infinitives. The only exception would possibly be the verb form *gini is* (which evidently is from the same stem as the Kattang and Thangatti verb *ga-*, *gi- be*; see Holmer 1966 a, p. 82), in which the *-i* would express the imperfective mode, as in: *ɲinda gaba gini you are all right* (Jua DM), *ɲai gini I am* (Kam HD); this also fits to Mathews' (1902, p. 140) *ginye I am*; but since the theory finds no other support, the matter must rest unsettled on this point.⁷⁵

14.17 Other modal forms do not seem to present much difficulty. The *imperative* (also used as hortative: *dala let me eat*; Kam HD) is expected to be the stem of the verb (*dawana give*, *ga- gualda talk*), occasionally with a stem-final *-i* changed into *-a*: (Jualrai) *mil ɲar(a) la*, (Kamilroi) *mil ɲamula look* (cf. respectively *ɲar(i)li*, *ɲamuli looking*, imperfective). The *intentional* is evidently in *-gu*, which is added to the 'thematic' **-j-* or *-ɲ-*, as in: *babaigu* or *babingu to sleep* (Jua DM; stems *baba-* and *babi-*).⁷⁶

14.18 There are a certain number of undoubtedly transitive verb stems which are extended by an element *-li*. As it is not likely that this *-li* is the reflexive-reciprocal element mentioned in 14.8, it is tempting to assume that this suffix is based on a transitive *-l-* formative (as in Goreng-Goreng, Part I, 15.20, or Darumbal, Part III, 18.21), to which a mode or aspect forming *-i* is added (cf. Darumbal Dali *ate*, along with the imperative *Dala eat*—incidentally homophonous and possibly identical with the Jualrai *dala eat*). By analogy with Goreng-Goreng and Darumbal, we shall write such transitive verb stems with a terminating *-l-* in parentheses, thus: *bama(l)- wash*, *buma(l)- hit* (cf. reciprocal *bumali- fight*), *dauma(l)- cook* (cf. intransitive *daumagi-*, *idem*), *garma(l)- take*, *gindama(l)- laugh*, etc.

Jualrai and Kamilroi vocabulary

15. The following vocabulary comprises Jualrai, Kamilroi and (in odd cases) Gunggari entries; the latter may represent either 'borrowed' words or forms or such that are common to either language or, finally, such words as our main informant (Jua DM) has learned without being quite sure of the language to which they properly belong. In order to identify the corresponding language in each case, the signatures (*Jua* for Jualrai, *Kam* for Kamilroi) will be of some help, although it must be repeated that absolute surety on this point is hardly to be expected and further that a considerable mixture of languages has probably obtained for a length of time. The language signature is followed by the initials of the corresponding informant and in all other respects the principles laid down in Part I (12; 19; 25) and Part II (13; 26) are followed. The order of the entries is alphabetical, according to this ranging of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, ɖ, ɗ, g, ɲ, i, j, l, m, n, ɲ, r, ɾ, u, w.

B

- ba *N DER SFX* (14.5)
- baba- (babi-) *V ITR IMP IPF (?)*
babi; *INT* babaigu, bagingu
sleep (Jua, Kam; cf. Holmer
1966a, 10.2; 1971, 8.5).
- babelinda- *V ITR IMP (?)* babelinda;
IPF babelindai sleep, be sleepy
(Kam HD, LO). -cf. baba-, babi-.
- bagu *N* frog (Jua VT; perhaps
Gunggari).
- bagabila *N* the name of a place,
Boggabilla (N.S.W.; Kam RM).
- banggu *N* money (Jua DM, Kam HM;
from Gunggari ?).
- banquin *N* head (Jua JM). -cf.
bangun, banju.
- bangun *N* head (Jua:Gun TC; the
same in Gunggari and Marganj).
-cf. banquin, banju.
- banu *N* head (Jua TH). -cf. bangun.
- baibal *N* frog (Jua LM).
- baja *N* woman's dress, clothes
(Jua LM, Kam). -cf. bajaga.
- bajaga *N* clothes (Jua DM, Kam HM).
-cf. baja.
- balagi- *V ITR PF* balagi die
(Jua DM): balagi dead, (somebody)
died. -cf. balu¹.
- balamba *N* thistle (Jua DM).
- balgun (balun) *N* tomahawk (Jua
DM). -cf. jundu.
- balu¹ *V N* dead (Jua LM). -cf.
balagi-.
- balu² *N* moon (Jua DM). -cf.
digan.
- balun *N* 1. river; 2. the Balonne
River (Jua DM, LM).
- bama(l)- *V TR IPF ?* bamali wash
(Jua DM, Kam HM).
- banaga- *V ITR IPF* banagai go,
run (Jua DM): ninda banagai
you go away (imp.?).
- bandar *N* red kangaroo (Jua, Kam),
grey kangaroo (Kam AA).
- bangur *N* belly (Jua VT).
- bapa *N* a lot (Jua DM; also
Gunggari).
- bara *N* sandalwood (Jua DM).
- barai *N* quick (Jua DM).
- barai *SOC SFX* (14.4).
- barala *N* many (Jua DM).
- barama(l)- *V TR IPF* baramali
tear, break (Jua DM).
- baran *N* boomerang (Jua LM; also
Wakka-Wakka).
- barbira *N* porcupine (Jua LM;
similar forms in the Gunggari
languages). -cf. bigibila.
- baringin *N* peewee (Jua DM).
- barbara *N* porcupine (Kam AA).
-cf. barbira.
- barbula *N* porcupine (Jua JM).
-cf. barbira.
- baura *N* big (grey) kangaroo
(Jua DM), red kangaroo (Kam AA).
- bawul (bawl) *N* fowl (Jua DM).
- bawun *N* the name of the Balonne
River at Surat (Jua LM).
- biaga *N* tobacco (Jua, Kam).
- bibala (bibla) *N* box tree (Kam RM).
- bibarga *N* pig (Kam HM). -cf.
bigur (Jua).
- bigan *N* 1. animal (Jua LM);
2. meat, totem (Jua EM; cf.
Gunggari bigan the Native Rule
or Law).
- bigibila *N* porcupine (Jua DM).
- bigur *N* pig (Jua DM). -cf.
bibarga (Kam).
- bilari *N* a rather big parrot with
red wings (Jua DM).
- bina *N* ear (Jua, Kam). -cf. binaŋ.
- binan *N* ear (Jua LM, VT). -cf.
bina.

- binanguin *N* deaf (Jua DM).
- binamur *N* deaf (Kam HM).
- binda- *V* ITR IPF bindaja sit
(Jua DM; probably Gunggari).
- bindi(j)a *N* prickle (Jua LM).
- bingi *N* stomach (Jua DM;
considered as an (Australian)
English word). -cf. mabul,
gumbal.
- bingu *N* elbow (Jua DM).
- bira, v. bira.
- birali *N* child, baby (Jua LM, DM);
(ART) biraligal (some) children.
- biru¹ *N* hole, rabbit burrow (Kam
CaK, CoK).
- biru² *N* chest (Kam HM).
- bira (bira) *N* grub (Kam HM, RM).
- brai SOC SFX (14.4).
- bralga *N* brolga, native companion
(‘bird laying a single egg’;
Kam AA).
- bubadi *N* grandfather (Jua DM, TH).
- bubali-, v. bubili-.
- bubalindai *N* smoke pipe (Kam RM).
-cf. bubili-.
- buban *N* small grey fast-running
lizard (Jua DM).
- bubili- (bubali-) *V* ITR IPF
bubili, bubali smoke (Jua DM).
- bubli *N* tobacco, smoke (Jua DM).
-cf. bubili-.
- bublin *N* smoke pipe (Kam RM).
-cf. bubili-, bubalindai.
- budi¹ *N* sugarbag (Jua VT).
- budi² *N* hair (probably pubic or
on the body; Kam HD).
- budigan *N* cat (Jua DM, JM). -cf.
burgiar.
- budu *N* butterfly (Jua VT: perhaps
from another language).
- buga *N* girl (Jua DM). -cf. mijal.
- buga *N* penis (Jua EM; possibly
Gunggari). -cf. dun.
- bular *N* two (Jua DM, Kam AA).
- buli *N* wind, whirlwind (Jua DM,
Kam HM).
- buluru *N* two (Kam AA). -cf.
bular.
- buluwi *N* darkness, black, night
(Jua DM).
- bumai *N* the name of a place,
Boomi (Kam RM).
- buma(l)- *V* TR IPF ? bumali hit
(Jua LM): wa·l bumali (sic)
birali don't hit the child.
-cf. bumali-.
- bumali- *V* REC IPF bumali fight
(Jua DM, Kam HD).
- bundagi- *V* ITR IPF bundagi fall
(Jua DM, Kam HM).
- bundara- *N* TR IMP bundara pick
up (Jua:Gun TC).
- bundi¹ *N* stick, club (Jua DM,
Kam CoK).
- bundi² *N* buttocks (Jua DM;
Gunggari bunti, idem).
- bural (burul) *N* big (Kam): burul
mada boss (Kam CoK), bural
wanda a big white man (Kam RM).
- burgian v. burgiar.
- burgiar (burgian) *N* cat (Jua, Kam;
from English ‘pussy cat’).
-cf. budigan.
- buru *N* testes (Kam RM), penis
(Jua EM; the same in Wakka-Wakka).
-cf. burul².
- burul¹, v. bural.
- burul² *N* testes (Kam RM). -cf.
buru.
- buruma *N* dog (Jua, Kam).
- buṛa *N* 1. bone; 2. leg, shin
(Jua DM, Kam RK).
- buṛa buṛa (buṛu buṛu) *N* bony, lean,
skinny (Jua DM, Kam RM): buṛa
buṛa juṛi lean meat (Kam RM).

buṛi *N* fire (Jua, Kam; also Gunggari). —cf. wi'.
 buṛu buṛu, *v.* buṛa buṛa.

D

- da- *V DER SFX* (14.9).
 da·da *N* grandfather (Jua:Gun TC). —cf. bubadi.
 dagal *N* head (Jua DM, LM; cf. Gunggari dagal mouth). —cf. daigal.
 dagan *N* brother (Jua DM).
 dagin *N* socks (Jua DM; from English 'socks').
 daigal *N* head (Jua LM, Kam AA). —cf. dagal.
 daimar *N* earth, dirt (Jua LM).
 daina- *V ITR IPF ?* dainaja come (Jua DM).
 dajin (dain) *N* man, men, people (Jua DM, LM).
 da(l)- *V TR IMP* dala eat, drink (Kam HD): dala gali some water, dala duar give me bread (literally 'let me drink water, eat bread').
 dala¹ *N* leg (Jua LM).
 dala² *N* excretion from or dirt in the eye (Jua DM).
 dalagal *N* blue-tongue lizard (Kam HD, RM).
 dalama *REL ?* dalama janai where are you going? (Kam HD).
 dalap *N* tongue (Jua LM).
 dambul *N* 1. snake; 2. snake tribe (Jua JM).
 danti *N* (14.10) ground, dirt (Jua DM; from Gunggari?): dantiga bindaja sit on the ground (Gunggari?).
 dara *N* drunk (Kam RM; probably from English 'drunk').
 daran *N* a grey or brown bird like a crow, seen on the river (Kam HM).
 darawa, *v.* darawuṛa.
 da(ra)waru ? *N* trousers (Jua DM; from English 'drawers').
 darawuṛa (daruwuṛa, darawa) *N* trousers (Kam). —cf. darawaru.
 darun *N* heron (Jua DM).
 da·ṛi *N* copulation, coitus (Kam RM): gaba da·ṛi (good), jama ṛai da·ṛi (let me).
 daumagi- *V ITR IPF* daumagi cook (Jua DM). —cf. dauma(l)-.
 dauma(l)- *V TR IPF ?* daumali cook (in ashes or on fire; Jua DM). —cf. daumagi-.
 daun *N* earth, dirt (Kam).
 daunbrai *N* dirty (Kam).
 dawana- *V TR IMP* dawana give (Kam CoK): biaga dawana or dawana biaga give (me) a smoke.
 dawar *N* bread (Jua DM; properly her mother's language). —cf. duar.
 -di *COM SFX* (14.6).
 dibil dibil *N* ghost (Jua DM; from English 'devil').
 dibip *N* bird (Jua DM, LM).
 digadi *N* cockatoo (Jua DM). —cf. digai.
 digai *N* parrot (Jua DM). —cf. digadi.
 diṇbir *N* knee (Kam HM). —cf. dinbir.
 dinga *N* meat (Kam HM, Jua:Gun TC).
 dilaga *N* father (Kam HM).
 dilgan (-gan) *N* moon (Jua LM). —cf. balu².
 dili *N* eye (Jua DM, LM, VT, Kam AA; also Gunggari).
 dimba *N* sheep (Jua DM, Kam RM; probably from English 'sheep').

dina (dinaŋ) *N* foot, feet (Jua, Kam).
 dinaŋ, *v.* dina.
 dinawan (dirawan) *N* emu (Jua, Kam).
 dinbir *N* knee (Jua DM). -cf. diŋbir.
 duar *N* bread, food, tucker (Jua, Kam; = Gunggari manta, Jua DM).
 duba *N* fog, foggy rain (Jua DM). -cf. dubar.
 dubar *N* smoke (Jua DM). -cf. duba.
 dadar *N* excrement (Jua DM).
 duin *N* hair (Jua JM).
 duju *N* snake (Jua DM). -cf. ŋandaba.
 duli *N* sand goanna (Kam HD, AA).
 dulubari (dulibari) *N* rain (Kam CoK). -cf. dulumai.
 duma *N* thunder, storm (Jua DM, Kam CoK). -cf. dulumai.
 dulumai (dului) *N* thunder (Kam RM, CaK). -cf. duma, dulubari.
 dun *N* penis (Kam RM; similar forms in Bandjalang and Thangatti, New South Wales).
 dundai *V N* ? a 'swearword', i.e. a taboo word (Jua: Gun TC; possibly 'copulation' ?). -cf. dun.
 dungu *N* head (Jua LM; also in Gunggari).

g

gagari (ga--) *N* blanket or anything to lie down on (Kam HD).
 gawarau ? *N* trousers (Jua DM). -cf. darawaru.
 gugi gugi *N* fowl (Jua LM; from English).
 -gul *N* DER SFX (14.5).

G

ga·, *v.* gai.
 gaba¹ *N* good (Jua, Kam): gaba gaba good house (Kam RM), ŋinda gaba gini you are all right (Jua DM).
 gaba² *N* white man (Kam CoK; the same in Kattang, New South Wales, cf. Holmer 1967, p.9).
 gabagan *N* hat (Jua DM, Kam CoK).
 gabajul *N* glad (Jua DM). -cf. gaba¹.
 ga·dil *N* child, boy (Kam CaK, LO). -cf. gangil.
 gaḍa *N* small lizard (Jua DM).
 gagil (gagal) *N* bad, sick, ugly (Jua, Kam): gagil ŋai I am no good, sick (Kam RM).
 gagilgul *N* sad (Jua DM). -cf. gagil.
 ga· gualda-, *v.* gai gualda-.
 gangil (gangal) *N* boy, child (Jua DM, Kam HD).
 gai (ga·) *N* mouth.
 gai gai *N* catfish (Jua DM).
 gai gualda- (ga· gualda-) *V IMP* gai gualda; *IPF* gai gualdai talk (Jua DM). -cf. gai.
 gajali (ga·-, gaili) *N* boy or girl (Kam RM, LO).
 -gal *ART* (14.11).
 gali *N* 1. water; 2. (strong) drink (Kam). -cf. guŋan (Jua).
 galibari *N* rain (Kam RM).
 gamaṛai (gamiṛai, gamuṛai) *N* the Kamilroi language (Kam, Jua EM). -cf. gamilrai.
 gamilrai (-roi, gamalroi, etc.) *N* the Kamilroi language (Kam, Jua; properly an English form). -cf. gamaṛai.
 gamu *N* water (Kam AA; probably Gunggari).

- gamu gamu *N* maggots (Jua DM).
- gan *N* DER SFX (14.4).
- gana *N* yam stick (digging stick; Jua DM).
- gandi *N* the name of Goondiwindi (for gundi house? Kam RM; correct?). -cf. gundiwindi.
- gangbul (-bal) *N* policeman (Jua, Kam; from English 'constable').
- gangil *N* child, baby (Kam). -cf. gangul.
- gangul *N* boy (Kam RK). -cf. gangil.
- gapa *N* house, humpy (Kam RM).
- ga'ngal *N* little one (Kam HD). -cf. gajali, gangil, ga'pmara.
- ga'pmara *N* small, little, baby (Kam). -cf. ga'ngal.
- garaga *N* crane (Jua DM).
- garil *N* cold (Jua, Kam; = Gunggari jagal, Jua DM): garil gali cold water (Kam LO).
- garma(l)- (ga'-, ga'rima(l)-) *V* TR IPF? garmali take, steal (Kam).
- gau *N* egg (Kam RM, HD).
- gauga *N* head (Kam; = dagal, Jua DM). -cf. dagal, daigal.
- gawili- *V* ITR IPF? gawili vomit (Jua DM).
- gi- *V* ITR IPF gini become, be (Jua, Kam): ŋinda gaba gini you are all right (Jua DM), julŋan ŋai gini I am hungry (Kam HD), miŋair gini nothing at all (Kam CoK).
- gial *N* REL afraid (Jua DM).
- gialbula *N* *V* frightened, afraid (Kam): gialbula ŋai (Kam RM), ŋai gialbula (Kam CaK) I am frightened, gialbula wandaba afraid of a ghost (Kam HD).
- gialbulaga- *V* ITR IPF gialbulagai be frightened or shy: gialbulagai he is not 'game' (Kam HD). -cf. gial, gialbula.
- gialbulagali- *V* ITR IPF gialbulagali be frightened (Kam HD). -cf. gialbulaga-.
- gi'da *N* black ants (Kam RM, HD).
- gi'l *N* urine (Jua VT). -cf. gili.
- gili *N* urine (Jua DM, Kam RM). -cf. gi'l.
- gindama(l)- *V* ASS? IPF gindamali laugh (Jua DM).
- giran *N* ashes (Jua DM).
- gualda- *v.* gai gualda-.
- gubip *N* pup (Jua DM).
- guḍa *N* koala ('teddy bear'; Jua LM).
- guḍu *N* cod (fish; Kam HD).
- guḍumara *N* the name of a language on the Cooper River (Jua JM).
- gugurgaga *N* kookaburra (Jua DM).
- gunan *N* water (Jua). -cf. gali (Kam).
- gungari *N* the name of a language, Gunggari (Jua LM).
- guja *N* fish (Kam). -cf. ŋalur (Jua).
- gulai *N* sling across the shoulders to carry a baby (Kam RM), bit of calico, etc. (Kam HD).
- gulir *N* husband (Jua DM).
- gumbal *N* stomach (Kam HM). -cf. mubal.
- gumi *N* berries, grapes (Jua DM).
- guna *N* excrement (Kam RM). -cf. gunan.
- gunan *N* excrement (Jua LM). -cf. guna.
- gundi *N* house (Jua, Kam; also in Gunggari).
- gundiwindi *N* the name of a place, Goondiwindi (Kam HD).
- gundul (gundur) *N* bread (Kam RM, LO). -cf. duar.
- guri *N* (14.10) man (Jua DM); (ART) gurigal (some) men.

ŋ
 ŋa· REL yes (Jua DM).
 ŋa·d N REL hard (Kam HD; from English): ŋa·d ŋamuli looking hard, staring.
 ŋai PERS PRON (14.12).
 ŋaja PERS PRON (14.12).
 ŋalgi- V TR IMP IPF ? ŋalgi drink (Jua DM).
 ŋali PERS PRON (14.12).
 ŋalur (ŋalu) N fish (Jua LM).
 -cf. guja (Kam).
 ŋamba N mother (Jua:Gun TC).
 ŋamu N breast (Jua LM, Kam CoK).
 -cf. ŋamun.
 ŋamugi- V ITR IPF ŋamugi suck (Jua DM). -cf. ŋamu.
 ŋamu(l)- or ŋamuli- V TR ITR IMP
 ŋamula, ŋam(a)la; IPF ŋamuli
 see, look (Kam): mil ŋam(a)la
 look (Kam RM), ŋamula ŋanana
 look, (he has got) shoes (Kam
 HD). -cf. ŋari(l)-.
 ŋamun N breast, milk (Jua LM).
 -cf. ŋamu.
 ŋana PERS PRON (14.12).
 ŋa·na INTERR PRON (14.13).
 ŋandaba N snake (Jua, Kam HM).
 -cf. nurai (Kam).
 ŋanga N beard (Jua LM).
 ŋaraga N REL poor person, what
 a pity! (Jua DM).
 ŋari(l)- or ŋarili- (ŋarli-) V TR
 ITR IMP ŋarila, ŋar(a)la; IPF
 ŋarili see, look (Jua): mil
 ŋarla look (Jua DM), ŋinari
 (for *ŋinana) ŋarli looking at
 you (Jua DM), guriju ŋalina
 ŋar(i)li a man is looking at us
 (Jua DM). -cf. ŋamu(l)-.
 ŋawi N V ? smell (Jua DM).
 ŋinda PERS PRON (14.12).
 ŋulu¹ N eyes (= mil; Kam HD).

ŋulu² REL there ('you are there',
 when playing cards; Jua DM).
 ŋuran N dog (Jua DM, ML; also in
 Gunggari).

J

jaba N carpet snake (Jua DM, Kam
 AA).
 jabu N father (Jua DM; probably
 Gunggari).
 jagai REL look! there! (Kam HD):
 jagai nurai there is (something),
 a snake (cf. the Batjala
 exclamation jagai 'there now!';
 see Part I, 25).
 jagal N cold (Jua DM; properly
 Gunggari). -cf. garil.
 jagan N knife (Jua DM).
 jaja- V ITR IMP IPF ? jaja
 stop (Jua DM).
 janggal N cunnus (Kam RM).
 -jal N DER SFX (14.4).
 jalan V ? going (Jua DM).
 jama V REL let me, give (me),
 hello! anyone at home? (Kam):
 jama ŋai wungu(w)ali let me go,
 I will go (Kam RM), jama duar
 give me bread (Kam HD).
 jamba N camp (Jua DM, LM; also
 in Gunggari).
 jana- V ITR IMP jana (?); IPF
 janai go (Kam): Mum janai Mom,
 we are going (Kam HD), dalama
 janai where are you going?
 (Kam HD).
 jaraman N horse (Jua, Kam).
 jaramu N whisky or any strong
 drink (Jua DM). -cf. jurama.
 jaran N gum tree (Jua DM).
 ja·a N sun (Jua DM, Kam HM).
 jingau N lazy (Kam HD). -cf.
 jingil.

jingil *N* tired (Jua DM). -cf.
jingau.

jila, jilai *N* wild, angry (Jua DM): jilai jana (?) getting wild or angry (Kam HD).

jinar *N* (14.10) woman (Jua, Kam HD, CaK); (ART) jinargal (some) women (Jua DM).

jingip *N* swag (bundle of personal belongings; Jua DM).

jiṛa *N* teeth (Jua, Kam).

jualrai (jilroi) *N* the Jualrai language (Jua DM, Gun TC).

juga- *V* ITR IPF jugai cry, weep (Jua DM, Kam HM): birali jugai the child is crying (Jua DM).

-jul *N* DER SFX (14.5).

julṇan *N* hungry (Kam HD): julṇan ṇai gini dala duar I am hungry, give me bread. -cf. jurnan, junṇan.

juna *N* hole (Jua DM; also in Gunggari).

jundu *N* tomahawk, axe (Jua, Kam). -cf. balḡun.

junṇan (ju·n-) *N* hungry (Kam RM). -cf. julṇan.

jurama *N* (14.10) strong drink (Kam): jurama gali, idem (Kam RM), juramaṇu dara drunk (from beer, etc.; Kam RM). -cf. jaramu.

jurnan (juriṇan) *N* hungry (Jua DM, Kam RM). -cf. julṇan.

jurunga- *V* ITR IPF jurungai shoot, hunt (?).

jurun *N* ALL jurungu road (Jua DM; probably Gunggari).

jurundali (juran-) *N* goanna (Kam HM, CaK, CoK, RM).

juṛi *N* meat (Jua, Kam; also in Gunggari).

L

-(l)da- *V* DER SFX (14.9).

-li- *V* DER SFX (14.8).

M

ma· *N* hand (Jua LO). -cf. maṛa.

-ma- *V* DER SFX (14.8).

maban *N* crawfish (Jua LM).

mada *N* boss (Jua DM; from English 'master'): burul mada boss (Kam CoK).

magara *N* policeman (Jua:Kam HD).

maṇa *N* ear (Jua, Kam; also Gunggari).

maṇangali *N* big tree goanna (Kam AA, RM). -cf. malangari.

mala¹ *N* big (Jua DM).

mala² *N* posterior, fork, vulva (Kam HM, CoK, RM).

malangari *N* goanna (Kam CaK). -cf. maṇangali.

malian *N* eaglehawk (Jua DM).

manama(l)- *V* TR IPF manamali steal (Jua DM).

mandawi *N* shoes (Kam RK, LO).

mandawibrai *N* having shoes (Kam LO).

mandi *N* bloodline (Jua EM).

manduṛi *N* foot (Jua JM). -cf. manduji.

manduji (mandui, mandui) *N*
1. toes (Jua LM); 2. shoes, boots (Jua DM, Gun TC). -cf. manduṛi, mandawi.

manga (manga, mangar) *N* bag (Jua, Kam).

manta *N* bread, food (Jua, Kam; also in Gunggari).

marabi *N* death adder (Jua DM).

margin (-gan) *N* gun (Jua, Kam).

mariguali- *V ITR IPF* mariguali
quarrel (Kam HM).

maṛa *N* hand (Jua, Kam; also
Gunggari). -cf. maʼ.

maṛair *N REL* no, nothing, empty
(Kam): maṛair baṅgu no money
(Kam HM), maṛair naṇana no
shoes (Kam HD), maṛair gini
nothing at all (Kam CoK), maṛair
ṇai I have got nothing (Kam RM).
-cf. waʼl (Jua).

maṛama *N* stone (Jua LM).

maṛi *N* man, native (Aboriginal
man; Kam HD).

maṛin *N* man (Jua DM; the same in
Gunggari). -cf. maṛi.

midi *N* mistress, Mrs. (Jua DM).

miṇan *N* young boy or girl (Kam
CoK).

miṅga *N* 'ghost ground' (secret
place in the bush), burial place,
ghost (?) (Jua DM, Kam HM).

mijal *N* girl (Jua DM): (ART)
mijalgal (some) girls.

mil *N* (14.10) eye, eyes (Jua, Kam).

milan *N* (probably) milk ('cow's
milk', from English; cf. Gunggari
milgana). -cf. milanbrai.

milanbrai (-barai) *N* 1. cow (Jua
DM, Kam RK); 2. woman's private
parts (Jua JM; probably wrong
for 'breast').

milguip *N* blind (Jua DM).

mili mili *N* mud (Kam HM).

mingudai *N* the name of a song,
'dark or sad night' (Jua DM; cf.
Gunggari mingundaia, in Part II,
13).

mini *N* mouth (Jua JM); the same
in Marganj.

mipa *INTERR PRON* (14.13).

mipagu *INTERR PRON* (14.13).

mipaṇi *N* how many? (Jua DM).

mipana *INTERR PRON* (14.13).

mipanda *REL* where? (Jua DM).

mubal (mubul, mabul) *N* stomach
(Jua, Kam). -cf. gumbal.

mubaljal *N* pregnant (Jua DM).
-cf. mubal.

mudigan *N* cousin's wife (Jua DM).

muḍa *N* possum (Kam AA). -cf.
muḍai.

muḍai *N* possum (Jua DM). -cf.
muḍa.

muga *N* blind (Jua, Kam): muga mil,
idem (Jua DM).

muṇin *N* mosquito (Jua DM).

muju *N* nose (Jua DM).

mula *N* pus in sore (Kam HM, RM).

mu·ljal *N* pregnant (Jua DM).
-cf. mubaljal.

muni *N* louse, lice (in hair; Jua
DM).

-mur *CAR SFX* (14.4).

muran *N* dog (Jua DM, JM). -cf.
ṇuran.

muru *N* posterior, backside (Jua,
Kam; = Gunggari bunti, Jua DM).

muṛalda *N* porcupine (Jua ML).

N

na- *V ITR IMP IPF* naja go (Jua
DM): ṇai naja I am going.

naṇana *N* shoes (Kam RK, HD).

naibu *N* knife (Jua, Kam, from
English; = jagan, Jua DM).

namada- *V ITR IPF* namadai come
(Kam).

nawa- ? *V ITR IMP IPF* ? nawana
walk (Jua DM).

ni· *N* anus (Kam; cf. Wakka-Wakka
nim- cunnus, Goreng-Goreng nim
anus, vulva; see Part I, 12; 19).

ninda *PERS PRON* (14.12).

nurai *N* snake (Kam HM), brown snake (Kam RM). —cf. ṇandaba (Jua).

ṇ

ṇui (ṇu·i) *N V* stinking (Jua DM).

W

wadi *N* white woman (Jua DM).
—cf. wadin.

wadigan (wadiga, Jua LM) *N* white woman (Jua DM, LM; also in Gunggari). —cf. wadi.

wadin *N* white woman (Jua DM; also in Gunggari). —cf. wadi.

wagi *N* 'game' (laughing and playing; Jua DM).

waṇal *N* boomerang (Jua DM, Kam AA; also in Gunggari).

wajan *N* shilling (Jua DM).

wa·l *N REL* no, nothing, don't (Jua LM): wa·l money no money.

walai *N ALL* walaigu camp (Jua DM, Gun TC): walaigu (go) home (Jua:Gun TC).

wamba *N* deaf, silly (Jua, Kam).

wamu *N* fat (Jua DM).

wanagiga- (wani-) *V ITR IMP* wanigiga; *IPF* wanagigai stop (Jua DM): wanigiga take it away.

wanda *N* white man (Jua, Kam).
—cf. wandaba.

wandaba *N* ghost (Jua, Kam).
—cf. wanda.

wanti *N* dingo, wild dog (Jua LM, Gun TC).

waṇabari *N* pregnant (Jua JM; in another language?). —cf. mubaljal.

wa·ru *N* crow (Kam RM, HD).

warul *N* honey (Jua DM).

waṛa *N* dog (Jua LM). —cf. waṛai.

waṛa- *V ITR IMP IPF ?* waṛaja get up, stand (Jua DM).

waṛai *N* dog (Jua LM). —cf. waṛa.

waṛin *N* goanna (Jua DM).

wi· *N* fire, (fire)wood (Jua, Kam).

wibili (wibli) *N* sick (Kam RM, LO).

wili *N* whistle (Jua DM). —cf. wili-.

wili- *V IMP IPF ?* wili; *INT* wilingu whistle (Jua DM).

wirigal *N* navel (Jua DM).

wunguwali- *V ITR IMP IPF* wunguwali, wunguwaliḡa go, walk (Jua: Gun TC, Kam): jama ṇai wunguwali let me go, I will go (Kam RM), wunguwali ṇai I am going (Kam RM).

wuniṇa(l)- or wuniṇali- *V TR ITR IMP IPF* wuniṇali hear, listen (Jua DM).

wuriṇin *N* clever (man), doctor (Jua, Kam).

wuṛi (wuri) *N* dress (Jua DM).

wuṛula *N* scrub turkey (Kam HD):
wuṛula gau turkey egg.

wuṛumau *N* a small kind of lizard (Kam HD).

DARUMBAL

Introductory remarks

16.1 The discovery of an informant for this language was altogether due to coincidence. While looking for persons who might be able to supply data regarding the Batjala language, of which very little was available at the time, a couple of Batjala informants at Urangan (on the mainland coast opposite Fraser Island) mentioned the name of a still better authority on the language, an elderly lady who, however, lived in Brisbane. On the next visit to that city and after inquiries among Aboriginal friends, the lady in question, one Mrs. Kanomie Richards, was eventually located at her home in Acacia Ridge. This lady, who had married a Fraser Islander, had lived for a length of time at Urangan and was certainly familiar with the Batjala language. However, it was soon found that at the same time as Mrs. Richards had a knowledge of Batjala (learned at Urangan) she was also a capable informant for the language of her native Great Keppel Island (off Yeppoon and Emu Park, in the Rockhampton area), a language she knew as Darumbal (darumbal), and since the author of this survey had in the meantime contacted other Batjala informants, the new language remembered by Mrs. Richards naturally became of paramount interest. As a matter of fact, our informant, although for years living in Brisbane, had a marvellous recollection of her native language, to some extent complemented by data supplied by her family (see 16.3), and also showed much interest in communicating her knowledge. However, the absence of other informants for the language has made it impossible to determine to what extent the data obtained may be considered as general features of the language or may in part be counted as dialectal or individual. The language, which was until then unknown and unheard of by the present author, shows great analogies with the one Edward M. Curr (Curr 1887, p.54-57) locates at Gracemere and Rockhampton.

16.2 The Darumbal language does not show any immediate relationship to any of the languages described in this Part, neither to any of those studied in this survey. There are certain phonological and morphological analogies with Goreng-Goreng (see Part I, 13.1 sqq.), the nearest neighbour to the south (cf. Part I, 1.4), but phonologically at least greater parallels are found with the New South Wales Thangatti (previously studied by the author, see Holmer 1966a, especially 1.6 and 1.10). Morphological and lexical analogies are occasionally found with a collateral New South Wales language, namely Kamilroi (described here in conjunction with Jualrai; 12.1-15); one may notice, for instance, that the simple sentence *drink water* (in Darumbal gali Dala or Dala gali) is almost identically expressed in Kamilroi (dala gali; see 15). Compare further in the following sections on the phonology and morphology of the language (17.1-18.25).

List of informants

16.3 The following persons have furnished information regarding the Darumbal language; reference is made in the usual way by the language signature *Dar* (for Darumbal) and following initials of the informants. Otherwise the same principles hold as in Part I, 4.3 and Note 41.

Dar CR: Mr. Cyril Richards, at Acacia Ridge, Brisbane; Mrs. Richard's (Dar KR) son.

Dar ER: Miss Ethel E. Richards, at Acacia Ridge; Mrs. Richard's daughter and interested in the history of the island and its people.

Dar KR: Mrs. Kanomie Richards (née Ross), from North Keppel Island, died in 1973 at Acacia Ridge, at an age of about 90; her father, one Mr. Ross, was of Scottish descent (from Rockhampton) and her husband a native of Fraser Island, while an uncle (on her mother's side) was 'king' on North Keppel Island (Mrs. Richard's given name is evidently the native name of North Keppel Island, ganumi in Darumbal; cf. the place name Canomie at Tanby, near Emu Park).

Phonology

17.1 As indicated in 16.2, Darumbal phonology, although of a rather unusual type in this part of Queensland, shows certain analogies with another Australian language studied by the author, hence the phonetic representation will have to be a compromise between various systems of phonetic writing, involving certain problems on some points. For these see in a following section (17.6).

Evolution of the vowel system

17.2 The Darumbal vowel system is quite simple, being of the common 'triangular' type; the basic vowel phonemes are a, i, u, which are usually short (or of normal length), while lengthening is occasionally found and marked by the inverted period (·): nu·na *him, her* (a contraction of nuṇuna, idem). There is a certain interrelation between vowel length and the nature of surrounding sounds and it is not always clear whether the quantity of the vowel is in itself distinctive: in ṇana *who?*, for instance, the vowel is longer (ṇa·na) than in ṇaNa *me*, but at the same time the medial nasal is lengthened in the latter word (cf. 17.7). Similarly in ṇanaDuru *all of us* the second a appears lengthened (ṇana·Duru), which is concomitant with a slight stress on the second initial syllable as well as perhaps also with the nature of the medial D sound (see 17.8).

17.3 Among phonetic variants of the basic vowel phonemes appears the occasional widening of i to e (or an intermediate sound) or u to o (or a similar sound), customary in the 'triangular' vowel system and mostly due to position or the influence of surrounding sounds; as in Gunggari, for instance (cf. Part II, 5.4), an u sound may be widened to o after a (vanished) g sound, as in: guṭul *back* (pronounced oTo·l).

17.4 Although stress is not distinctive in Darumbal, the usual tendency toward stressing of the second initial syllable in long words or sequences prevails: ṇanáDuru (bagu) (*to*) *all of us*, ṇanáDuruṇa *us all*, bundálbaṛiṇi *brought*.

Evolution of the consonant system

17.5 The Darumbal consonant system, on the other hand, is rather complicated and further not quite clear on all points. It seems to comprise the following consonant phonemes: (bilabial) b, p, m; (interdental-palatalised) D, T, N;⁷⁷ (alveolar-supradental) d, t, n; (palatal-velar) g, k, ŋ; (lateral continuant) l; (soft trilled continuant) r; (compound trill) R; (retroflex trill or continuant) ṛ; (palatal semivowel) j and (bilabial semivowel) w. The aspirate (h) may appear word-initially (as in Queensland English), but has not phoneme value.

17.6 The phonetic system as shown in the above inventory of consonant sounds (17.5) involves certain problems on two distinct levels: (1) regarding the true nature of the interdental-palatalised series (D, T, N) and (2) as regards the distinction of the plosives p, T, t, k, on the one hand, and b, D, d, g, on the other. Regarding the phonemes represented by D, T, N, the same might be said as for those written respectively *ɟ* and *ɲ* in the eastern subgroup of the Wakka languages (see Part I, 14.10) and, as a matter of fact, they might perhaps with equal advantage have been expressed by the latter symbols.⁷⁸ This writing, however, would have involved the use of one additional symbol (*t̪*) for our T, a symbol without a counterpart in the Wakka languages and not otherwise used in this survey of south-east Queensland languages. The sounds, therefore, which we write respectively by T, D, N are perhaps most often interdental (T, D being plosives rather than fricatives in all positions), the palatal variant appearing occasionally in any position. It is, however, to be noticed that N in the word- or syllable-final position (except in the group -ND-) is in all cases a palatalised sound (*ɲ*): NuŋuN *his, hers* (actualised as Nuŋuŋ or nuŋuŋ), wuN *will give* (actualised as wuŋ), gaNbiN *star* (actualised as gaŋbiN),⁷⁹ but NaNDI-*stand* (actualised as NaNDI- only); in other cases a basic and written T, D or N may alternate between an interdental and a palatalised sound: Dun (either Dun or guN) *telling*, jiNa (either iNa or iŋa) *here*, Nula (either Nula or ɲula) *he, she*, etc. (the fact that ɲaTa *I* is recorded with T only and ɲaTu *my, mine* mostly with palatalised sound (*t̪*), is probably quite inconsequential). The palatalised sounds consequently appear as variants only of the interdentals, as seen also in loanwords: Duki Duki *chicken(s)* (*chooks*; from English); notice that the Wakka-Wakka word gugai (*sugar*) appears in Darumbal as Dukai (ultimately from English 'sugar').

17.7 Whenever the sounds of D, T and N are heard as interdental a certain difficulty arises in distinguishing them from the corresponding alveolar series (d, t, n). This is especially the case of N and n in the intervocalic position (n probably never occurs initially), perhaps often due to imperfect articulation. Usually, however, an intervocalic N (if not palatalised) is somewhat lengthened whereby a preceding vowel becomes shorter or less stressed: ɲana *who?* (more or less ɲa·na) and ɲaNa *me* (with a shorter vowel sound), biNa *ear* (N lengthened and vowel sounds shorter) and bina *father* (n shorter and final vowel sound lengthened);⁸⁰ it is rather probable that Dina *foot* is differentiated in this way from the English word 'dinner' (as pronounced by our informant: Dina; the alveolar or supradental sound of d hardly occurs initially among native speakers).

17.8 A second point to be considered is the collateral occurrence of a 'devoiced' (see Part I, 2.8) series of plosives (b, D, d, g), intervocalically tending—except d—toward fricatives, and a series of voiceless somewhat lengthened plosives (p, T, t, k), occurring in the intervocalic position only. In this way, for instance, waga *burn (it)* is distinguished from waka *knee* and a pronunciation gaba for gapa *ground* is declared to be wrong by our informant (in the Wakka languages such a distinction would be either artificial or impossible, the language name Wakka-Wakka being pronounced indifferently waka waka or waga waga, even though the -k- may be lengthened in the one case and tending toward a fricative in the other; cf. Part I, 2.8). The only parallel found by the present author to this peculiar trait of Darumbal phonetics appears to occur in the New South Wales Thangatti (see Holmer 1966a, 1.10).

17.9 The alveolar (or supradental) plosive d, which is rare (d sometimes serving as a substitute for r) hardly occurs in the initial position with the above phonetic value (as in Goreng-Goreng, where it is more dental). Instead of this sound (for instance in words which in Goreng-Goreng begin with d-: *danga mouth, lie, dira teeth*, etc.) Darumbal presents a sound which is more like that of R (cf. 17.10), but which is hardly any kind of r sound historically (initial r sounds being abnormal in this part of Queensland).⁸¹ After n and l, the sound of d is as in English ('and', 'old', etc.); the Aboriginal pronunciation of English 'thunder' may hence be represented as sanda.

17.10 The sound of R is a kind of compound sound (suggesting 'rz' in English; for a more complete analysis, cf. Holmer 1966a, 1.4, p.14); by analogy with the symbols D, T, N we prefer R to the one used for Thangatti (r, for which see loc.cit.). This sound, which occurs (like all r sounds) in the intervocalic position only, is consequently a noticeably vibrant and somewhat lengthened sound, which is normally heard as distinct from the softer trill represented by r.⁸² As Darumbal further has a more or less clearly differentiated retroflex r sound (r̥), whence a triple system of r sounds arises (r, R, r̥), we again find a point of contact with Thangatti phonology (see Holmer 1966a, 1.4, 6).

17.11 As in Gunggari (see Part II, 5.7), the sound of g tends to vanish in many positions (even word- or syllable-initial); the words *gali water, gatar man, galagan good* are hence commonly pronounced *ali, atar, ala(h)an*, respectively, and while our informant (Dar KR) accepted *gali* as a correct alternative form of pronunciation, *ali* was the only one accepted by Dar ER. The fricative g, as in the intervocalic position, often tends to turn into other sounds (less foreign to English): *Nala* for *Naga look* (cf. Holmer 1971, 1.9); some confusion was caused by uncertainty as to whether *mother* is correctly *ṇajagari* or *ṇajaDari*, etc. In the same way it is uncertain whether such a form as *gajaju to take* is to be considered as a phonetic variant of or as having a morphologically different structure from a more regular formation in -gu (see 18.22) or whether the forms *wagagu* and *wajagu (to cook)* are phonetical or morphological variants.

17.12 Certain other forms may be ascribed to the influence of English: *Duta* for *Dutar pushing* (suppression of syllable-final -r), *guningu* for *gunimgu to sleep* (assimilation of unfamiliar consonant cluster in English), *Dalaṇ* for *DalaN* (i.e. -ṇ) *tongue* (substitution of a common word-final -ṇ, that is '-ng', in English for an unfamiliar sound); sometimes uncertainty arises, as in the case of the forms *burungai* and *buṛungai storm, thunder* (the latter occurring more frequently). Here also belongs the appearance of an intrusive h-, as in *hipa* for *jiNa this* (j- being as usual weak or suppressed before i), *hali* for *gali water* (g- suppressed according to 17.11). The passing of intervocalic consonants or consonant groups into -r- is seen in: *jiragu here, hither* for **jiNagu* (cf. the demonstrative stem *jiNa this, here*), *baragu there* for **baNagu* (cf. the demonstrative stem *baNa that, there*), *buraN* for *bundaN coming*, *walingaru* for *walingalgu to spoil*. Consonant groups are occasionally simplified: *NaNi-* for *NaNDi- stand* (this is common in all Aboriginal languages studied here).

17.13 Cases of 'pre-occlusive' l and n (see Part I, 20.7) are found (as often in the coastal languages) in: *ṇidli* for *ṇili hand*, *baDNa* for *baNa that, there*.

17.14 All words begin with a consonant or a semivowel and may end either in a vowel or a consonant. The following consonants (and semivowels) are allowed initially: b, d, ɗ, g, ŋ, j, m, N, w; the following are permitted as final: ŋ, l, m, n, N, r (of r no clear instance is found). All consonants are permitted intervocalically (intervocalic d and t being, however, rare). Consonant clusters (always consisting of two consonantal phonemes) may arise medially by a sequence of any consonant sound permitted finally, followed by any consonant sound permitted initially.

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

18.1 *Structure.* The structure of the concrete nominal stem is akin to the structure of such stems in the Gunggari languages, monosyllabic stems being rare: ga'l *leg* (which may possibly depend on some kind of contraction); the word guŋ *water* (known by Dar KR) is, of course, Batjala, while the native Darumbal word is the dissyllabic gali). Verbal stems, however, may be monosyllabic: Na- *see*, wa- *burn*, and furthermore end in a consonant: Dal- *eat*, jan- *go* (this, however, does not mean that we may find vowel-ending monosyllabic verb forms, the imperative of the stems Na- and wa- being respectively Naga and waga; of the consonant-ending stems, however, monosyllabic forms may appear—possibly due to analogy—: Dal *eating*, jan *going*, while the corresponding imperative forms are again dissyllabic: Dala, jana).

18.2 *Reduplication.* Reduplicated nominal stems are common: buli buli *wild goose*, gundal gundal *bad shark*, guru guru *dark people* (cf. guru *dark*, *night*), Duki Duki *chickens*, mara mara *policeman*, miNa miNa *pussy*, muga muga *whale* (Dar ER), wamba wamba *crooked*; as is seen, the reduplicated forms are often, as usually in the languages studied, animal names or adjectival words.

18.3 *Compounds.* Nominal compounds of the type 'housewife', etc. in English are normal in Darumbal: buli buli gulbur *wild goose's egg*, Dangui gulbur *turtle egg*. Compounds of a nominal and verbal stem occur in guluibunda- *get angry* (from gului *angry* and bunda- *come*), gulu(i)jigi-, idem (cf. -jigi- *become*, *get*), guRajigi- *be sick* (from guRa *sick*). A compound of two verbal stems is found in: ŋiŋibuŋga(l)- *make cry* (from ŋiŋi- *cry* and buŋga(l)- *make*).

18.4 *Nominal derivation.* No sociative formative is recorded; the caritive suffix is -rama *not having, without*: galiŋrama *without water*, diŋaraŋama *without teeth*, NupaDariŋama *without a husband*, giŋgiŋama (probably correct for giŋgilŋama, Dar KR, as ɾ is not normally a word- or syllable-initial sound; cf. the current pronunciation gamilrai for gamiŋrai *Kamilroi*, 12.3).

18.5 The 'dual-comitative' suffix (cf. Part II, 6.6 with Note 27) is either -Dari or -gari: ŋajaDari or ŋajagari (cf. 17.11) *one's mother*, Nupagari or NupaDari *one's husband*, binagari or binaDari *one's father*, gindari *one's wife* (possibly for *gingari, through assimilation; cf. Part I, 6.18); these forms are used in the common construction: (ŋaTu) binaDari ŋajaDari (*my*) *father and mother*, (*my*) *parents*. As usually in the languages studied, the underived forms are used in the vocative: bina *father!*, ŋaja *mother!*. A somewhat similar function may be seen in the suffix -baŋa: ŋikalibaŋa *father and son or daughter* but the analysis of this somewhat strange word is not apparent.

18.6 Among the consonantal suffixes which we have termed 'nominalising' (cf. Part I, 3.6) appear -ŋ and -m in our material: waliŋ *bad* (cf. wali- *be bad* or Nunagal wali *no good*), bapam *moon* (cf. bapa, idem).

18.7 *Verbal derivation.* The four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are all represented in Darumbal. The causative suffixes are -ga- (-ŋga-, -nga-) and -NDa- (the latter possibly through assimilation of -ng- to -ND- ?): wulaga- *put out (fire)* (cf. wula- *go out (of the fire)*, *die*, in the Gunggari languages), NaN(D)iga- (or NaNinga-, NaN(D)iNDA-) *stand (something) up* (from Nan(D)i- *stand*), biraga- *pour (water)* (from bira- *fall*), wabinga- *make laugh* (from wabi- *laugh*), walinga- *destroy* (cf. waliŋ *bad*), Danuga- *lay down* (from Danu- *lie down*), Diniga- or DiNaga- *set down, make sit* (from Di-, Diŋ- *sit down*). The associative suffix is -li-: bundali- *bring, come with* (from bunda- *come*). The reflexive suffix is either -li- or -ŋi- (cf. Wakka-Wakka, Part I, 7.7): baTali- *bite oneself* (from baTa(l)- *bite*), bumiŋi- *pass away* (cf. buma- *hit, kill*), Naŋiŋi- *look at oneself* (from Na-, Naŋ- *see, look*); these also serve to express intransitive verbal action: gangali- *sing out* (cf. Goreng-Goreng ganga- *call*, transitive, and gangali- *call out*, intransitive), waŋi- *burn* (intransitive; from wa- *burn*, transitive). Finally, the reciprocal suffix is either -ba- or -la-: baTiba- *fight* (probably *hit each other*, but the simple verb is not recorded), baTaba- *bite each other* (from baTa(l)- *bite*), wukaba- *give to one another* (from wu-, wuka- *give*), Najaba- or Najala- *look at one another* (from Na-, Naja- *see, look*), Dakaraba- *kick each other* (from Dakar- *kick*).

(b) Inflection

18.8 *Declension.* The following seven regular case forms are found in the declension of nominal words in Darumbal: nominative, ergative, objective, possessive, ablative, locative and allative. The *nominative* is, as usual, the stem of the word. The form of the *ergative* (which always ends in -u) is determined by the nature of the final sound of the word stem, so that stems ending in vowel take the ergative suffix -ŋu (in a couple of cases -ŋu), those ending in a nasal take the suffix -u preceded by a homorganic plosive (hence -bu if the stem ends in -m, -du if it ends in -n, -Du if it ends in -N, etc.), while stems ending in -l or -r usually take the suffix -u (with or without certain modifications of the stem-final sounds, for which see the Paradigms, 18.11). The *objective* (always in -a) is also regulated according to the stem-final sound, vowel-ending stems taking -ŋa, stems ending in a nasal, -a, while stems ending in -l or -r take -na. The objective is used of animate (personified) nouns only and possibly in a positive or definite sense; cf. gینگil (nominative) Darum mani *did not take a wife* (for gینگilna). The suffix of the *possessive* is either -ŋu or -ŋuN, the latter possibly from the personal pronouns (cf. 18.15). The *ablative* suffix is that of the objective (or locative; cf. below) with an added -m (hence -ŋam with stems ending in a vowel, -am with stems ending in a nasal, etc.). The *locative* (always ending in -a) shows various forms of the suffix according to the stem-final sound: -ŋa (with vowel-ending stems), -da (with stems ending in -n), -a or -da (with stems ending in -l; the former suffix with modification of -l- to -r-). The *allative* regularly ends in -gu (regardless of the nature of the stem-final sound).

18.9 As a matter of fact, much irregularity exists, no doubt in some measure due to the material being derived from a single informant (whereby checking of the forms is difficult). One will especially notice an alternation of forms having a retroflex -r- and such as have the group -ld-: *gingirū* or *gingildu* *woman* (ergative), *jamaṛa* *in the rain* (*jamal*) beside *midla* *in the eye* (*mil*); this may depend on some phonetic tendency, connected with the difficulty of articulating the sound of *r* in a bilingual milieu; compare such forms as *mardla* for *maṛa* *hand*, etc. (see in Part II, 18.9, with the Note 112), *gamilrai* for *gamiṛai* *Kamīlroi* (see in Part III, 12.3). The locative is in -ga of *gila* *mirror* (from English 'glass'); of the stem in -ai, *buṛungai* *storm*, it is *buṛungaja* (*in the storm*), while the ablative is either regularly *buṛungaiṇam* or else *buṛungajam*. The ablative of *jamal* *rain* is either *jamalṇam* or *jamalam*. Other irregular forms may depend on analogy: *mildu* for expected **milgu* *into the eye*, etc.

18.10 An additional eighth case form, which we may consider as a 'perlative' (cf. Part I, 7.11) is that of the locative plus -l: *waluṇal* *in or by a boat* (*walu*), *galiṇal* *in or through the water* (*gali*). The suffix would formally be the same as the sociative derivative suffix in some of the Wakka languages (cf. Part I, 3.7; 11.1).

18.11 *Paradigms*. In order to give a survey of the regular case forms in the Darumbal declension, the following paradigms will serve, arranged according to the stem-final sound of the nominal stem. The latter may end (1) in a vowel, (2) in a nasal and (3) in either -l or -r (of stems ending in -r no instance is found in this material). The type words chosen are: (1) *bina* *father*, *wuṛu* *child*, *miṛi* *dog*, *guja* *fish*, *gali* *water*, *wiṛ* *fire*, *dula* *stick*, *gapa* *ground*, *Dura* *camp*; (2) *Dabun* *white man*, *jaraman* *horse*, *daDim* *porpoise*, *ganguN* *fish line*, *waliṇ* *bad*; (3) *gatar* *man*, *gingil* *woman*, *mil* *eye*, *jamal* *rain*, *waṇal* *boomerang*.

(1) *Vowel-ending stems:*

NOM	<i>bina</i> , <i>wuṛu</i> , <i>miṛi</i> , <i>guja</i> , <i>gali</i> , <i>wiṛ</i> , <i>dula</i> , <i>gapa</i> , <i>Dura</i>
ERG	<i>miṛiṛu</i> (<i>miṛiṇu</i>), <i>gujaṛu</i> , <i>galiṇu</i>
OBJ	<i>wuṛuṇa</i>
POSS	<i>binaṇu</i> , <i>miṛiṇuN</i>
ABL	<i>wiṛṇam</i> , <i>galiṇam</i> , <i>dulaṇam</i> , <i>Duraṇam</i>
LOC	<i>wiṛṇa</i> , <i>dulaṇa</i> , <i>gapaṇa</i> , <i>Duraṇa</i>
ALL	<i>gujagu</i> , <i>galigu</i> , <i>gapagu</i> , <i>Duragu</i>

(2) *Stems ending in a nasal:*

NOM	<i>Dabun</i> , <i>jaraman</i> , <i>daDim</i> , <i>ganguN</i> , <i>waliṇ</i>
ERG	<i>jaramandu</i> , <i>daDimbu</i> , <i>ganguNDu</i> , <i>waliṇgu</i>
OBJ	<i>Dabuna</i>
ABL	<i>jaramanam</i>
ALL	<i>ganguNu</i> (for * <i>ganguNgu</i>).

(3) *Stems ending in -l or -r:*

NOM	<i>gatar</i> , <i>gingil</i> , <i>mil</i> , <i>jamal</i> , <i>waṇal</i>
ERG	<i>gataru</i> , <i>gingiṛu</i> (<i>gingildu</i>), <i>miṛu</i> , <i>waṇaṛu</i>
OBJ	<i>gatarna</i> (<i>gatarā</i>), <i>gingilna</i>
POSS	<i>gatarṇuN</i> (<i>gatarṇuN</i>)
ABL	<i>gataram</i> , <i>gingilgam</i> (<i>gingilam</i>), <i>jamalṇam</i> (<i>jamalam</i>)
LOC	<i>jamaṛa</i> , <i>milda</i> (for * <i>miṛa</i> or * <i>milga</i> ?)
ALL	<i>gataru</i> (for * <i>gatargu</i>), <i>gingilgu</i> , <i>mildu</i> (for * <i>milgu</i>)

18.12 The ergative is used either to express the agent of a transitive verb (chiefly of living beings: *jaramandu Dali the horse has eaten it*) or the instrument (chiefly objects: *ganɡuNDu with or by a fish line*). The objective is used of animate nouns (personified beings) only, either as direct or indirect object: *gatarNa Nanji (I) have seen a man, gatar(n)a ɲaTa wuŋi I have given it to the man* (but *jaraman ɲaTa Nanji I have seen a horse*); the locative is chiefly used of inanimate nouns (cf. the paradigms; 18.11) – in this way it is usually quite clear whether a form is, for instance, –*ɲa* is objective (e.g. *wuŋa a child*) or locative (e.g. *wi·ɲa in or on the fire*).

18.13 *Postposition*. As the system of declension is well developed in the Darumbal language, the use of postpositions seems limited. In this material the only one recorded is *bara from*, which, as usual, immediately follows the nominative (or stem) form: *ganumi bara from North Keppel Island* (here used in place of an ablative).

18.14 *Personal pronouns*. The personal pronouns refer to animate (or personified) nouns only: in reference to inanimate nouns or words either no special pronominal form is used (as for English 'it') or use is made of a demonstrative pronoun (hence: *Nula balgi he or she is good, baNa balgi it or that – for instance, bananas – is good*). Personal pronouns are recorded for the following persons in the singular, dual and plural: (singular) *ɲaTa I, ɲinda you, Nula (ɲula) he, she*; (dual) *ɲali, ɲalira we* (inclusive and exclusive), *bula you, bula(gul) they*; (plural) *ɲanaDuru we, DaNa you, DaNa(gul) they*. These pronouns are declined according to the same patterns as nominal words (see 18.8). The nominative and ergative forms, however, are mostly identical; ablative, locative and allative forms are either missing or used in specialised senses.

18.15 *Paradigms*. The following paradigms will give a complete survey of forms recorded:

First person singular:

NOM	ɲaTa
ERG	ɲaTa
OBJ	ɲaNa
POSS	ɲaTu
ABL	ɲaTunɲam
ALL	ɲaTungu

Second person singular:

NOM	ɲinda
ERG	ɲinda
OBJ	ɲiNa
POSS	ɲinin (ɲiNin ?)
ABL	ɲiningam
ALL	ɲiningu

Third person singular:

NOM	Nula (ɲula)
ERG	Nula
OBJ	Nuɲuna (Nu·na, ɲuna)
POSS	NuɲuN (Nu·N)
ABL	Nuɲunɲam
ALL	Nuɲungu

First person dual:

NOM	ḡali, ḡalira
ERG	ḡaliraḡu
OBJ	ḡalina, ḡaliraḡa
POSS	ḡaliraḡuN
ABL	ḡalingam
ALL	ḡalingu, ḡalirabagu

Second person dual:

NOM	bula
ERG	bula
OBJ	bulaguna
POSS	bulagunN

Third person dual:

NOM	bula, bulagul
POSS	bulaganuN, bulagunN

First person plural:

NOM	ḡanaDuru
ERG	ḡanaDuruḡu
OBJ	ḡanaDuruḡa, ḡanana
POSS	ḡanaDuruḡuN
ALL	ḡanaDurubagu

Second person plural:

NOM	DaNa
OBJ	DaNa
POSS	DaNagunN

Third person plural:

NOM	DaNa, DaNagul (-gur)
OBJ	DaNaguna
POSS	DaNaganuN, DaNagunN

18.16 *Demonstrative pronouns.* As usual, the demonstrative pronouns express at the same time a *person* or *thing* and a *place*, that is, the nominative form ('this, that') is also the locative form ('here, there'). No ergative, objective or possessive forms exist; on the other hand, local forms occur, frequently used as relation words ('hither', 'hence', 'thither', 'thence'). The demonstrative stems recorded are DiNa *this, here*, jiNa *this, here* and baNa *that, there*. The flectional forms may be seen from the paradigms below:

DiNa this, here:

NOM	DiNa
LOC	DiNaḡa (DiNa, cf. above)
ALL	Diragu (for *DiNagu; cf. 17.12).

jiNa this, here:

NOM	jiNa
ABL	jiraḡam (for *jiNaḡam; cf. 17.12)
ALL	jiragu (for *jiNagu; cf. 17.12)

baNa *that, there*:

NOM	baNa
ABL	baNagam (baraNam; cf. 17.12)
LOC	baNagai
ALL	baragu (for *baNagu; cf. 17.12)

Examples: ɲaTa ɲiNa wuN DiNa or ɲaTa ɲiNa DiNa wuN *I will give you this, jiNa gatar galagan this man is good, jiNa wuN (I) will give this, Darum baNa Dala don't eat that, Nula NaNiN jiNa he is standing here.* Notice that the inflected forms may also be construed with a noun as attribute: gatar baNagam waliŋ *that man over there is bad* (literally *that man from over there*). Otherwise, the local forms may be considered as relation words: Nula Diragu bundaŋi *he came here, ɲinda bunda Diragu you come here, baNagam from over there, baNagai NaNiN standing over there.*

18.17 *Interrogative pronouns.* The personal interrogative pronoun is ɲana *who?* and the impersonal interrogative is miNa *what?*. The flections of the former are as follows:

ɲana *who?*:

NOM	ɲana
ERG	ɲandu
OBJ	ɲanduna
POSS	ɲanuN
ABL	ɲanunŋam
ALL	ɲanungu

Examples: gatar ɲana *who? (which or what man?)*, ɲana bundaN *who is coming?*, ɲana Nula *who is he?*, ɲandu bumi *who hit (him)?*, ɲandu jagali *who did or made (it)?*, ɲanuna Naŋi *whom did (you) see?*, ɲanuna wuN *whom will (you) give (it) to?*, ɲanuN walu *whose boat?*, ɲanunŋam ɲinda mani *whom did you get (it) from?*, ɲanungu bundabaŋiN *whom do (you) bring it to?*

18.18 The flections of the impersonal interrogative are as follows:

miNa *what?*:

NOM	miNa, miNaŋa
ABL	miNaŋam
LOC	miNaŋa (? cf. below)
ALL	miNagu

Examples: miNa baNa *what is that?* (nominative), miNa Nula jagali *what did he do?*, miNa ɲinda ɲaNa wuN *what will you give me?* (objective), miNaŋa *what is it?* (this form looks like a locative, but is used as a nominative), miNaŋam *what (are you afraid) of?*

18.19 A third interrogative pronoun is wuta *what?*, which is used in: wuta Nu·N dalbur *what is his name?* (Dar KR); since *who?* (ɲana) is the normal interrogative used in connection with a person's name (however not accepted by Dar KR) and miNa (*what?*) would no doubt sound incorrect, there is every reason to suppose that the form wuta is simply an adaptation of the English *what?*.

18.20 *Conjugation.* The verbal stem in Darumbal has a varied appearance. Most simple verb stems (not however the most common ones) are dissyllabic (derived stems may be longer) and vowel-ending (in -a-, -i- or -u-): *bunda-come*, *wabi-laugh*, *Danu-lie down*). Some of the more commonly used verb stems are, however, monosyllabic, either ending in a vowel (*Na-see*, *wu-give*) or a consonant (*jan-go*, *Dal-eat*). As a matter of fact, among the latter, it is not altogether certain whether the final consonant is to be reckoned as part of the (original) stem or may have had some derivational function; in the verb stem *Dal-* (*eat*, *drink*), for instance, it is rather likely that the final consonant (-l-) is the characteristic formative of transitive verbs, appearing in certain modal forms (see below, 18.21), although in this particular case generalised to all forms of the verb. We may consider the dissyllabic (or longer) stems as pertaining to the *regular* conjugation and the others to various kinds of *irregular* conjugation.

18.21 In the regular conjugation it is necessary to distinguish between *intransitive* and *transitive* stems. In the former, the modal (or aspectual) formatives are added directly to the vowel-ending stem, while in the latter certain modal forms require an infixed transitive formative (-l-), evidently analogous to the identical transitive formative met with in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng conjugation (see Part I, 15.20; 18.8); incidentally, it may be supposed to occur in certain verbal forms in Jualrai and Kamilroi as well, as suggested in Part III, 14.18).⁸³ As originally in Goreng-Goreng (see Part I, 15.20-21 and Note 140), the transitive -l-, in the Darumbal regular conjugation, appears in all modes except the imperative (for the irregular conjugation, cf. in the corresponding paradigms, 18.25 (2)). By analogy with Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng, we shall represent such stems by placing the transitive -l- within parentheses: *jaga(l)-do*, *make*.⁸⁴

18.22 Darumbal has the four basic modal (or aspect) forms as we are accustomed to meet in most of the languages in south-eastern Queensland: the imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional. The *imperative* (in the regular conjugation) is the vowel-ending stem of the verb: *bunda come*, *Danu lie down* (intransitive), *jaga do*, *make* (transitive); the imperative is also used as hortative: *ɲali baTa jana let us go or come back*. The *imperfective* of intransitive verb stems is expressed by a 'thematic element' (cf. Part I, 7.28), which in Darumbal is -N (that is -ŋ; cf. 17.6)⁸⁵ and which is not followed by any vocalic element (expressing a case relation): *bundaN come*, *coming*; whether by coincidence or not, most intransitive verb stems derived by -li- (see 18.7) make the imperfective with the formative -ŋ- (see below) instead of -N-: *gangaliŋ calling out* (from *gangali- call out*), *baTaliŋ biting oneself* (from *baTali- bite oneself*). Of transitive verb stems the imperfective is likewise a form without a case-expressing vowel and so identical with the verb stem extended by the transitive element -l-: *jagal doing*, *making*. Notice that the imperfective is used of an action in the past as well as in the present: *dulaŋam wuru biraN the child fell from the log or tree* (cf. the Kattang and Thangatti 'terminative'; see Holmer 1966a, 10.5). The *perfective* of intransitive stems is characterised by a different (perfective ?) 'thematic element' -ŋ,⁸⁶ to which a case-indicating (originally locative ?) element -i is added: *bundaŋi came*, *has* or *had come*. Of transitive stems the same modal form is expressed by the same element -i, added directly to the extended transitive stem in -l-: *jagali did* (*had* or *had made*). Finally, the *intentional* mode is expressed by the (originally) allative or postpositional -gu (occasionally, as in Goreng-Goreng, reduced to -u;

cf. Part I, 15.21), which is added directly to the verbal stem of intransitive verbs and to the extended transitive stem (in -l-) of transitive verbs: *biragu to fall* (from *bira- fall*), *jagalgu* or *jagalu to do, to make*; for irregular forms in -Taju, see 18.25 (2).

18.23 An irregular conjugation is mostly found of a few commonly used monosyllabic stems, especially such as may be considered as basically vowel-ending. A significant feature of the irregular conjugation is that transitive verb stems are not extended by the transitive -l- (cf. 18.21) and that there is consequently no formal distinction between an intransitive and transitive conjugation; an exception is the transitive verb *Dal- eat or drink*, in which however the original transitive -l- may actually be considered as stem-final, as it occurs in the imperative as well: *Dala eat or drink (it)*. On the other hand, a perfective -ŋ- (cf. above, 18.22) may appear in the perfective mode: *Nanji has, had seen* (from *Na- see*), *wunji has, had given* (from *wu- give*). The imperative is always dissyllabic, being formed usually by addition of -a to the verbal stem, if ending in a consonant (*jana go, Dala eat, drink*, from the stems *jan-*, *Dal-*, respectively), and by addition of -ga or -ka, if the stem ends in a vowel (*Naga see, look, wuka give*, from the stems *Na-*, *wu-*, respectively). For further details, compare in the corresponding paradigms (18.25 (2)).

18.24 Along with the four basic modal forms mentioned in 18.22-23, Darumbal further has a modal form in -un, which we may (by analogy with Manandjali; see 10.28) term a *preterit*, as it (like the corresponding Manandjali form) seems to refer to the past, being explained as of something happened 'yesterday' or 'some time ago'.⁸⁷ Of most verb stems this form is regularly made by change of the perfective suffix -i into -un: *janun went (yesterday)* (cf. *jani went*, from the stem *jan- go*), *jagalun made (some time ago)* (cf. *jagali made*, from the stem *jaga(l)-*). There are, however, irregularities in the formation: *gajun took (some time ago)* (cf. *ganji took*, from the stem *ga- take*), *guRa Danujun was sick (some time ago)* (cf. *Danuji lay*, from the stem *Danu- lie down*). Other irregularities may be learned from the subsequent paradigms (18.25) or from the vocabulary to follow (19).

18.25 *Paradigms*. The paradigms below give a survey of the recorded forms of some typical and important Darumbal verb stems, arranged according to (1) regular conjugation and (2) irregular conjugation; it is to be noticed, however, that even in the former (the 'regular' conjugation) certain irregularities are apt to appear (cf. Goreng-Goreng, Part I, 15.24). The type verbs chosen for the paradigms below are the following: (1) *bira- fall*, *bunda- come*, *Danu- lie down*, *jaga(l)- do, make*, *gangali- call out*; (2) *bu- (bun-) hit, kill*, *Dal (Da-) eat, drink*, *Di- sit (down)*, *Dun- tell*, *ga- take*, *jan- go, walk*, *man- get*, *Na- see, look*, *wa- burn, cook*, *wu- give*. For the conjugation of other verbs, see the Darumbal vocabulary (19).

(1) *Regular conjugation:*

bira- fall:

IMP	<i>bira</i>
IPF	<i>biraN</i>
PF	<i>biraŋi</i>
INT	<i>biragu</i>

bunda- *come*:

IMP bunda (buna)
 IPF bundaN (buraN)
 PF bundaŋi
 PRET bundajun

Danu- *lie down*:

IMP Danu
 IPF DanuN
 PF Danuŋi
 PRET Danujun
 INT Danugu, Danuju

jaga(l)- *do, make*:

IMP jaga
 IPF jagal
 PF jagali
 PRET jagalun (jagalgun)
 INT jagalgu (jagalu)

gangali- *call out*:

IMP gangali
 IPF gangaliŋ
 PF gangaliŋi

(2) *Irregular conjugation*:bu- (bum-) *hit, kill*:

IMP buma
 IPF buN
 PF bumi
 INT bumgu, bungu, buTaju

Dal- (Da-) *eat, drink*:

IMP Dala, Daga (Daka, probably wrong)
 IPF Dal
 PF Dali
 INT Dalgu, DaTaju

Di- (Diŋ-) *sit (down)*:

IMP Dika
 IPF DiN, Diŋ
 PF Diŋi
 INT DiTaju

Dun- *tell*:

IMP Duna (DuNa ?)
 IPF Dun
 PF Duni (DuNi ?)
 INT Dungu

ga- (gaŋ-) *take*:

IMP gaŋa
IPF gaN
PF gaŋi
PRET gajun
INT gajaju (ga·ju)

jan- *go, walk*:

IMP jana
IPF jan
PF jani
PRET janun
INT jaNDaju

man- *get*:

IMP mana
IPF man
PF mani
INT mangu

Na- (Naŋ-) *see, look*:

IMP Naga, Naŋa
IPF NaN
PF Naŋi
INT Nagu, Naju, Najaju

wa- (waŋ-, waga-) *burn, cook*:

IMP waga, waŋa
IPF waN
PF waŋi
INT wagagu, waŋagu, wajagu

wu- (wuŋ-) *give*:

IMP wuka, wuŋa
IPF wuN
PF wuŋi
INT wuTaju

Darumbal vocabulary

19. The following vocabulary comprises the material gathered from the Darumbal language and at the same time serves as an index to forms dealt with in the sections on Morphology. Since most data are supplied by a single person (Dar KR), reference to informants is given only exceptionally. Otherwise the vocabulary is arranged as for the other languages in this Part, the entries being ranged alphabetically according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, D, ɖ, g, ŋ, i, j, k, l, m, n, N, p, r, R, ɾ, t, T, u, w,

B

-ba- V DER SFX (18.7)

baŋa N gap between teeth.

bakul N ABL bakul(g)am leg, legs.

balgi N 1. good, pretty, sweet;
2. fat: ŋiDur balgi good bread,
Dugur balgi good meat, balgi
wuRu pretty face, gali balgi
sweet water, banana balgi
bananas are good (i.e. I like
bananas).

balgun N big: giŋgil balgun big
woman, Dura balgun big house.

banda(l)- V TR IMP banda; IPF
bandal; PF bandali; INT bandalgu
leave, throw, drop: Daŋum banda
don't throw, ŋinda (Daŋum) baRi
galigu banda (= dabi) you (don't)
throw or drop the stone into the
water, ŋaTa wuRu bandal I am
leaving the child, ŋaTa bandali
I left (it).

baNa DEM PRON (18.16).

baNagai REL over there: baNagai
NaNiN standing over there.

baNagam (baragam) REL from over
there.

bapa N moon. -cf. bapam.

bapaɖu N ERG bapaɖuɖu; POSS
bapaɖuɖu God: bapaɖuɖu gapa
jaŋali God has made the earth.

bapam N moon. -cf. bapa.

bara POST (18.13).

baragu REL over there: baragu jana
go over there.

baraNam REL from over there.
-cf. baNagam.

baRi N 1. stone; 2. money: baRi
gura jaŋa a mere or quite
little stone.

-baŋa N DER SFX (18.5).

baTa REL back: ŋali baTa jana
let us go back

baTaba- V REC IMP baTaba; IPF
baTabaN bite one another: bula
Daŋum baTaba don't you two bite
one another. -cf. baTa(l)-.

baTa(l)- V TR baTa; baTali; baTali
bite: Daŋum ŋinda ŋaNa baTa
don't you bite me.

baTali- V REFL IMP baTali; IPF
baTaliŋ; PF baTaliŋi bite one-
self: Nula baTaliŋi he bit
himself. -cf. baTa(l)-.

baTiba- V REC baTiba; baTibaN;
baTibaŋi fight: bulagul baTibaN
the two are fighting.

bigar N bread (= ŋiDur, q.v.).

bina N (18.11(1)) father: bina
father (vocative), ŋaTu bina
bundani my father has come.

binaDari (-gari) N POSS binaDariŋu
one's father. -cf. bina.

binagari v. binaDari.

biNa N ERG biNaɖu; LOC biNaŋa
ear.

biNa Dangul N deaf. -cf. biNa.

biNa gulum N deaf. -cf. biNa.

bira- V ITR (18.25 (1)) fall:
Daŋum bira don't fall, gulbur,
wuRu birani the egg, child fell,
Nula biragu he is going to fall.

biraga(l)- V CAUS biraga; biragal;
biragali; biragalgu pour, spill,
empty (make fall): gali biraga
empty the water, Nula gali
biragal she is always spilling
water.

bu- (bum-) V TR (18.25 (2)) hit,
kill, put out (fire): guNDur
buma kill the death adder, ŋaTa
ŋiNa buN I will hit you, ŋaTa
Nuŋuna bumi I hit him, Nula wi-
bumi he put out the fire.

buguni ? N parrot.

bunga(l)- V TR bunga; bungali;
bungali make: Daŋum ŋaNa gului
bunga don't tease me (make me

angry), Nula gului bunggal Nununa
he is teasing him, guRa bunggal
making (him) sick, jamal bunggal
it is raining.

bula¹ *N PERS PRON* (18.14-15) two:
bula jan two of them are going.

bula² *N* cow, cattle.

bulagul *N PERS PRON* (18.14-15)
two: miRi bulagul two dogs.

bulari *N* two: bulari gatar two
men. —cf. bula¹.

buli buli *N POSS* buli buliŋuN
wild goose. —cf. bulun.

bulu *N* stomach: bulu guRa stomach
ache.

bulun *N* wild goose.

bum-, v. bu-.

bumbir *N* clothes (the same in
Goreng-Goreng).

bumi- *V ITR PF* bumiŋi die. —cf.
bumiŋi-.

bumiŋali- *V REFL IPF* bumiŋaliŋ
put on clothes: bumbir bumiŋaliŋ
putting on clothes.

bumiŋi- *V ITR IPF* bumiŋiN pass
away. —cf. bumi-.

bunda- (buna-, bura) *V ITR* (18.25
(1)) come, become: ŋinda waluŋam
bunda you come out of the boat,
ŋinda buna ŋaTungu you come to
me, ŋaTa bundaN ŋiningu I am
coming to you, jamal bundaN it
is raining, ŋaTa bundaŋi I have
come back, Nula gului bundajun
he was mad (angry).

bunda(l)baŋi- *V ASS IMP*
bunda(l)baŋi; *IPF* bunda(l)baŋiŋ;
PF bunda(l)baŋiŋi bring: gali
ŋaTu bundabaŋi bring me water,
ŋinda Nununa bundalbaŋi you
bring her, guja ŋaTa bundabaŋi
I am bringing the fish, gali
ŋaTa ŋiningu bundabaŋi I will
bring you water (notice that the
final element in the compound is
usually pronounced like English
'bring'). —cf. bunda-.

bundali- *V ASS* bundali; bundaliN;
bundaliŋi bring. —cf. bunda-.

burungai (burungai, burungai)
N ABL burungaiŋam, burungajam;
LOC burungaja storm, thunder:
burungai buraN a storm is coming.

buŋal *N* plenty: Dugur buŋal
plenty of meat.

d

dabi(l)- *V TR* dabi; dabil; dabili;
dabilgu throw: dabili galigu
threw into the water, bundaN
baRi dabilgu comes to throw
rocks.

daDim *N* (18.11 (2)) porpoise:
daDimbu guja Dal the porpoise
eats fish.

danga *N* mouth.

dalbur *N* name: Nula Nununa dalbur
wunji he named him.

dalgur *N* swallow (Dar KR, CR).

didun *N* the name of a green fruit.

dilu *N* bone.

diŋa *N* teeth.

diŋaŋama *N* toothless. —cf. diŋa.

dula *N* (18.11 (1)) stick, tree,
log: dulaŋam wuru biraN the
child fell from the log, dulaŋam
bunda come down from the log,
dulaŋa Dika sit on the log.

dulujigi- *V ITR IPF* dulujigiN
be frightened, afraid: ŋaTa
dulujigiN burungaiŋam I am
afraid of the storm, jamalam
dulujigiN afraid of the rain,
miNaŋam dulujigiN what are
(you) afraid of? Nula Daŋum
dulujigiN he is not afraid.

D

Dabun *N* white man.

Dangui *N POSS* DanguiŋuN turtle:
DanguiŋuN gulbur turtle's egg.

Dangul, v. biNa Dangul.

Dakar- V TR IMP Dakara; IPF
Dakar; PF Dakari; INT Dakaru
kick: DiNaŋu Daŋum Dakara don't
kick with the foot, Dakaru jigiN
want(s) to kick.

Dakaraba- V REC IPF DakarabaN
kick one another. -cf. Dakar-.

Dal- V TR (18.25 (2)) eat, drink:
Daŋum (ŋinda) Dala or Daga don't
(you) eat or drink (it), Daga
ŋinda eat you, gataru Dal the
man is eating, ŋaTa Daŋum Dal
I do not eat (it; I do not like
it), ŋiDur Dal eating bread,
gali ŋaTa Dali I have drunk
water, gali Daŋum Dali (I) have
not drunk water (I am thirsty),
gali DaTaju want(s) to drink
water.

DalaN N tongue.

Dambaŋ N the name of a fruit like
a white strawberry.

Dana- V ITR IPF DanaN wet
(probably 'the bed'; considered
as a taboo word).

Danu- V ITR (18.25 (1)) lie down:
ŋinda Danu you lie down, Danuju
jigiN want(s) to lie down.

Danuga(l)- V CAUS IMP Danuga;
IPF Danugal; PF Danugali; INT
Danugalgu, Danugalu, Danugaju
lay down: ŋinda Danuga you lay
(him) down to sleep, ŋaTa wuŋu
Danugal, Danugali I am laying,
have laid the child down to
sleep. -cf. Danu-.

DaNa PERS PRON (18.14-15).

DaNagul (-gur) PERS PRON (16.14-
15).

Daraji N trousers.

-Dari COM SFX (18.5).

DaRa N leg.

DaŋiDi N white: giŋgil DaŋiDi
white woman.

Daŋum REL no, nothing, not, don't:
Nula Daŋum Dun he will not tell,
gali Daŋum there is no water,
without water.

Daŋumbal N the Darumbal language.

Di- V ITR (18.25 (2)) sit (down),
sit (down), stay: ŋinda Dika
you sit down, ŋalira DiN (Diŋ)
we two are sitting down, jambaŋa
DiN staying at home, DiTaju
jigiN want(s) to sit.

Diŋiga(l)- V CAUS IPF Diŋigal
set down, put down: wuŋu Diŋigal
putting a child (on a chair).
-cf. Di-, DiNaga(l)-.

Dina N dinner.

DiNa¹ N ERG DiNaŋu; LOC DiNaŋa
foot.

DiNa² DEM PRON (18.16).

DiNaga(l)- V CAUS DiNaga; DiNagal;
DiNagali; DiNagaju make (one)
sit, set: ŋinda Nuŋuna DiNaga
you set him down, DiNagaju jigiN
want(s) to make (him) sit. -cf.
Di-, Diŋiga(l)-.

Diragu REL here, hither: ŋinda
bunda Diragu you come here,
Nula Diragu bundaŋi he has come
here.

Dugur N meat

Duka N smoke.

Dukai N sugar (cf. Wakka-Wakka
gugai; from English).

Duki Duki N chicken (from English
'chook').

Dukiri N carpet snake.

Dula N eel, conger eel.

Dun- V TR (18.25 (2)) tell: ŋaNa
Duna tell me, (ŋinda) Daŋum
ŋajal Duna or Duna ŋajal don't
tell a lie, Nula ŋajal Dun he
tells lies, ŋaTa ŋiNa, Nuŋuna
Dun I will tell you, him, Nula
bundaŋ ŋaNa Dunga he comes to
tell me.

Dura *N* (18.11 (1)) house, camp:
 Diŋ Durana staying at the camp.
 -cf. jamba.

Durundu *N* the name of a cattle
 station near Woodford.

Dutar- *V TR IMP* Dutarga; *IPF*
 Dutar; *PF* Dutari; *INT* Dutaru
 push (over): Daŋum Dutarga don't
 push (him) over, ŋaTa Nu(ŋ)una
 Dutar I am going to push him,
 Nula Nuŋuna Dutari he pushed
 him.

G

ga- (gaŋ-) *V TR* (18.25 (2)) take:
 ŋinda gaŋa you take it away,
 Daŋum gaŋa don't take it, Nula
 gaŋi ŋaTu baRi he took my money,
 Nula bundaN, bundaŋi gajaju,
 ga'ju he comes, has come to
 take it.

-ga- *V DER SFX* (18.7).

gaŋga *N* beard.

gaŋgali- *V ITR* (18.25 (1)) shout,
 sing out: Daŋum gaŋgali don't
 shout.

gaŋguN *N* (18.11 (2)) fish line:
 gaŋguNDu man catching with a
 fish line.

ga'l *N* leg.

galagan *N* good, all right, well,
 living: Nula galagan he is good
 or well (also 'I like him'),
 Daŋum galagan no good, ŋinda
 galagan are you all right?

galagan- or galaŋal- *V TR PF*
 galagani, galaŋali; *PRET*
 galaŋalun cure: gudajiŋu DaNa
 galagani (galaŋali, galaŋalun)
 the doctor cured them (the
 people).

galana *REL* can: ŋaTa galana NaN
 I can see (it). -cf. galagan.

galana(l)-, *v.* galagan-.

gali *N* (18.11 (1)) 1. water;
 2. rain; 3. grog: wulaga galiŋu
 put out (the fire) with water,
 galiŋam bundaN coming from the
 water, ŋinda baRi galiŋu banda
 you drop a stone into the water,
 ŋaTa galiŋal jan I am walking
 in or through the water.

galiŋama *N* without water.

ganam *N* wind.

ganumi *N LOC* ganumiŋa; *ALL*
 ganumigu the native name of
 North Keppel Island: ganumi bara
 from North Keppel Island,
 ganumiŋa DiN staying on North
 Keppel Island, ŋaTa ganumigu jan
 I am going to North Keppel Island.

gaNbil *N* star.

gapa *N* (18.11 (1)) ground, earth.

-gari *COM SFX* (18.5).

gaRi *N LOC* gaRiŋa sun.

gaŋa *N* grass.

gatar *N* (18.11 (3)) man: gataru
 Dali the man has eaten (it),
 gatarna wuŋi gave it to the man,
 gataram bundaN comes from the
 man.

gawun *N* blood. -cf. gumal.

gingil *N* (18.11 (3)) woman.

gingiriŋama *N* without a woman or
 wife: Nula gingiriŋama he has no
 wife (= Daŋum gingil).

gila *N LOC* gilaga glass, mirror
 (from English 'glass').

gindari *N* wife.

gipa *N* liver.

gudaji *N ERG* gudajiŋu clever
 man, doctor: gudajiŋu ŋaNa
 galaŋali the doctor has cured
 me.

gudiju, *v.* guruju.

guiN *N* ghost.

guja *N* (18.11(1)) fish: bundaN
 gujagu coming for fish ('to
 fish').

guka *N* bark.

gulbur *N* egg.

gului *N* angry, wild: Nula gului
 bundaN he is getting angry,
 Dařum (řinda) gului bunda don't
 (you) get angry.

gulu(i)jigi- *V ITR IMP* gulu(i)jigi;
IPF gulu(i)jigiN get angry:
 Dařum řinda gulu(i)jigi don't
 you get angry, Nula gulu(i)jigiN
 he is getting angry. -cf. gului,
 -jigi-.

gumal *N* blood: gumal bundaN
 bakul(g)am blood comes from
 (my) leg. -cf. gawun.

gunda gunda *N* hat.

gundal gundal *N ERG* gundal
 gundařu bad shark.

gunim *N REL ALL* guningu sleep
 asleep: Nula, wuřu gunim DanuN
 he, the child is lying asleep,
 guningu (I) want to sleep, am
 going to sleep.

guNa *N* excrement.

guNDur *N* death adder.

gura *N* small, little: gatar gura
 a small man, řingil gura a
 little woman.

guran *N LOC* guranda; *ALL* gurangu
 long, tall: bakul guran long
 legs, gatar guran a tall man.

guriĵi *v.* guruĵu.

guru (gudu) *N ABL* guruřam; *LOC*
 guruřa dark, night: řingil guru
 dark woman.

guru guru *N* dark people.

guruĵu (guruĵi, guriĵi, gudiĵu) *REL*
 tomorrow or yesterday: Nula jani
 guriĵu (gudiĵu) he went yester-
 day. -cf. guru.

gururu (guru guru ?) *N* black.
 -cf. guru, guru guru.

guRa¹ *N* sick, sore, pain, ache:
 Nula guRa DanuN he is lying
 sick, řaTa guRa Danuĵun I was
 sick (some time ago), jaraman
 guRa bundaN the horse is sick,
 guRa buřgal making sick, bulu
 guRa stomach ache, wumbu řaTa
 guRa I have a sore throat.

guRa² *N* salt: gali guRa salt
 water or the water is salt
 (perhaps 'bitter' and cf. guRa¹).

guRaĵigi- *V ITR IPF* guRaĵigiN; *PF*
 guRaĵigiři be sick. -cf. guRa¹.

guřangaba *N* the name of a cattle
 station.

guřu *N* fly (not, however, used on
 Keppel Island).

gutul (guTul) ? *N* back.

guTibaN *N* fish hawk.

ř

řaburu *N* any sister.

řaja *N* mother.

řajaDari (-gari) *N ERG* řajaDariřu
 one's mother: řajaDari buraN
 (my) mother is coming. -cf. řaja.

řajagari, *v.* řajaDari.

řajal *N* a lie.

řali *PERS PRON* (18.14-15)

řalira *PERS PRON* (18.14-15).

řamun *N* breast.

řana *INTERR PRON* (18.17).

řanaDuru *PERS PRON* (18.14-15).

řaNa *PERS PRON* (18.15).

řaRi *N* head.

řaTa *PERS PRON* (18.14-15).

-ři- *V DER SFX* (18.17).

řiDur *N ALL* řiDurgu bread:
 řiDurgu řigiN want(s) bread.

řikalibařa *N* father and son or
 daughter.

řili *N* hand, hands.

ḡinda *PERS PRON* (18.14-15).

ḡiri- *V ITR* ḡiri; ḡiriN; ḡiriḡi;
ḡiriḡu cry: Daḡum ḡiri don't
cry, wuḡu ḡiriN the child is
crying, Nula ḡiriḡu he is about
to cry.

ḡiriḡunga(l)- *V TR CAUS* ḡiriḡunga;
ḡiriḡungal; ḡiriḡungali make
(one) cry: Daḡum ḡaNa ḡiriḡunga
don't make me cry. -cf. ḡiri-.

ḡula, v. Nula.

J

ja- *REL* yes.

jaga(l)- *V TR* (18.25 (1)) make,
do: waḡal jaga make a boomerang,
Daḡum ḡinda jaga don't you do
(it), miNa ḡinda jagal what are
you making or doing? ḡandu
jagalḡun who made it (long ago)?
gataru, ḡingirḡu jagali or
jagalḡun the man, woman made it,
Nula bundaN DiNa jagalḡu he
comes to do this.

jangari- *V ITR* jangari; jangariN;
(-riḡ); jangariḡi; jangariḡu
run: Daḡum jangari don't run,
Nula jigiN jangariN or jangariḡu
he wants to run.

jamal *N* (18.11 (3)) rain: jamal
bundaN rain is coming, jamaḡa
DiN sitting in the rain.

jamba *N ABL* jambaḡam; *LOC*
jambaḡa; *ALL* jambagu 1. fire-
place; 2. camp, home: ḡaTa
jambaḡam bundaN I am coming
from the camp, ḡaTa jambagu jan
I am going home. -cf. Dura.

jan- *V ITR* (18.25 (2)) go, walk:
Nula jani he is gone, jaNDaju
jigiN want(s) to go.

jara (jira) ? *N* a person of mixed
(white and Aboriginal) origin.

jaraman *N* (18.11 (2)) horse:
jaramanam ḡaTa birani I fell
off the horse.

jaḡa *REL* very: gura jaḡa very
little, guran jaḡa very long,
balḡun jaḡa very big, balḡi jaḡa
very good.

jigi- *V ITR IPF* jigiN; *PRET*
jigijun want: galigu, ḡiDurgu,
Dugurgu jigiN want(s) water,
bread, meat (it may properly
mean 'to be for (something)';
cf. -jigi-.

-jigi- (auxiliary) *V ITR* (18.3).

jigiN, v. jigi-.

jiNa *DEM PRON* (18.16) this, here:
ḡinda jiNa NaNi you stand here.

jira, v. jara.

jiragu *REL* here, hither: ḡaTa jan
jiragu I am going to him here,
bundaN jiragu is coming here.
-cf. jiNa.

jiraḡam *REL* from here: Nula
jiraḡam bundaN he is coming
from here. -cf. jiNa.

L

-la- *V DER SFX* (18.7).

-li- *V DER SFX* (18.7).

M

mangi *N* sheep.

mam *N* 1. breast; 2. milk: mam Dal
drinking milk.

man- *V TR* (18.25 (2)) take, touch,
get: ganguN mana get a fish
line, wiḡam mana take it off
the fire, Nula man wiḡam he
takes it off the fire, ḡingil
Daḡum mani did not take or get
a wife ('did not marry'), ḡinda
bunda mangu DiNa you come to
take this, gali mangu to get
water.

manam *N* hair (of the head).

mara mara *N* policeman.

maTi *N* matches (from English).
 migaN *N* brother: ɲaTu migaN my
 brother.
 mil *N* (18.11 (3)) eye: miɾu Naŋi
 saw with (my) eyes.
 milguli *N* rainbow.
 mil waliŋ *N* blind. —cf. mil,
 waliŋ.
 miNa *INTERR PRON* (18.18).
 miNa miNa *N* pussy.
 miNagu *INTERR PRON REL* (18.18)
 why?
 miNaŋa *INTERR PRON* (18.18).
 miRi *N* (18.11 (1)) dog: miRiŋu
 Dali the dog has eaten it,
 miRiŋuN ɲaRi dog's head.
 muga muga *N* whale (the tribal
 totem of the Keppel Islanders;
 Dar ER).
 munu (muna)? *N* lip, lips

n

-nga- *V DER SFX* (18.7).

N

Na- (Naŋ-) *V TR* (18.25 (2)) see,
 look: ɲinda Naga or Naŋa you
 see or look, ɲinda ɲaNa Naŋa
 you look at me, gaŋa NaN can
 see (it), Nula NaN ɲalina he
 can see us two, ɲaTa Nuŋuna NaN
 I will see him, ɲaTa gatar(n)a
 NaN I can see a man, ɲaTa Naŋi
 Nuŋuna I have seen him, jani
 ɲaliraŋa Naju (Nagu, Najaju)
 went to see us two.
 Naŋiŋi- *V REFL IMP* Naŋiŋi; *IPF*
 NaŋiŋiN look at oneself. —cf.
 Na- (Naŋ-).
 Najaba- *V REC PRET* Najabajun
 look at one another. —cf. Na-
 Najala-.

Najala- *V REC IMP* Najala; *IPF*
 NajalaN look at one another:
 ɲalira NajalaN we two are
 looking at one another. —cf.
 Na(ŋ)-, Najaba-.

NaNDi- (NaNi-) *V ITR IMP* NaN(D)i;
IPF NaN(D)iN, NaNiN; *INT*
 NaNiŋu stand: inda NaNi you
 stand, Nula NaN(D)iN he is
 standing, NaNiŋu jigiN want(s)
 to stand.

NaNDiga(l)- (NaNiga(l)-) *V CAUS*
IMP NaNiga; *IPF* NaNigal stand
 (something) up: ɲaTa Nuŋuna
 NaN(D)igal I am standing him up.
 —cf. NaN(D)i-.

NaNDiNda(l)- (NaNi-) *V CAUS IMP*
 NaNiNda; *IPF* NaNiNda; *PF*
 NaN(D)iNda; *INT* NaN(D)iNdaŋu
 stand (something) up: ɲinda
 Nuŋuna NaN(D)iNda you stand him
 up, ɲaTa wuɾu NaNiNda I am
 standing the child up. —cf.
 NaN(D)i-.

NaNinga(l)- (NaNinga(l)-) *V CAUS*
 NaNinga; NaNingal; NaNingali;
 NaNingaju stand (something) up:
 NaNingaju jigiN want(s) to
 stand (him) up. —cf. NaN(D)i-.

Nariŋ *N* possum (however not used
 on Keppel Island).

-NDa- *V DER SFX* (18.7).

Ninda- *V ITR IPF* NindaN; *PF*
 Nindaŋi set, go down (of the
 sun): gaRi NindaN the sun is
 going down (cf. Wakka-Wakka
 ninda-, idem).

Nugul *N* belonging(s): Nugul ɲinin
 that is yours.

Nula (ɲula) *PERS PRON* (18.14-15).

Nulaguda *N* mackerel.

Numan *N* skin.

NupaDari (-gari) *N* husband:

NupaDariŋama *N* having no husband
 Nula NupaDariŋama she is without
 a husband.

Nupagari, *v.* NupaDari.

R

-rama CAR SFX (18.4).

W

wa- (waŋ-, waga-) V TR (18.25 (2))
burn, cook, put on (the fire):
(ŋinda) Dugur waga (you) cook or
put on the meat, Daŋum Dugur
waga don't burn the meat, ŋaTa
Dugur waN I am going to put the
meat on, wiŋa waN putting it
on the fire, ŋaNa ŋili waŋi
(the fire) burned my hand (i.e.
'I burned my hand'), Dugur
wajagu to cook the meat.

wabi- V ITR wabi; wabiN; wabiŋi
laugh: Daŋum wabi don't laugh.

wabiŋa(l)- V CAUS wabiŋga;
wabiŋgal; wabiŋgali make (one)
laugh: ŋinda ŋaNa wabiŋgal you
make me laugh. -cf. wabi-.

waga- v. wa-.

wagan N crow (Dar KR, CR).

wagar N tomahawk (stone axe).

waŋal N (18.11 (3)) boomerang:
waŋaŋu ŋaNa buN hitting me with
a boomerang.

waŋga N heart.

waŋi- V ITR IPF waŋiN; PF waŋiŋi
burn (also 'be burned'): wiŋ
waŋiN the fire is burning,
Dugur waŋiN the meat is burning
('being burned').

waka N knee.

waku N oyster(s).

walai N cold.

wali- V ITR IPF waliN; PF waliŋi
be bad, spoiled: Dugur waliN,
waliŋi the meat is no good, has
been spoiled.

waliŋ N (18.11 (2)) bad, wrong:
Nula waliŋ he is bad, wuŋu
waliŋ bundaN a bad child is
coming, wuŋu waliŋgu the bad
child (did it). -cf. wali-.

waliŋga(l)- V CAUS waliŋga;
waliŋgal; waliŋgali; PRET
waliŋgalun; INT waliŋgalgu
destroy, spoil: Daŋum ŋinda
Dugur waliŋga don't you destroy
or burn the meat. -cf. wali-,
waliŋ.

walu N ABL walunam 1. boat,
rowboat; 2. shark: ŋaTa walunam
jan I am going by or in a boat.

wambal N arm: wambal guran ('long
arm'), the name of South Keppel
Island, wambal guranda DiN
stays on South Keppel Island,
wambal gurangu (going) to South
Keppel Island.

wamba wamba N crooked.

wambiN N crab.

wanan N wind.

wapabara N the name of an island.

waŋba N one.

waTu N dead: waTu DanuN is lying
dead.

wiŋ N (18.11 (1)) fire, (fire)-
wood: wiŋam mana take it off
the fire, gulbur wiŋa waŋa
cook the egg on the fire, wiŋa
Dika sit by the fire.

wu- (wuŋ-) V TR (18.25 (2)) give:
gali, ŋiDur ŋaNa wuka give me
water, bread, baŋi wuka ŋaNa
give me money, ŋinda wuŋu wuka
you feed the child, ŋaTa ŋiNa
wuN I will give you, Nula wuTaju
jigiN he wants to give.

wukaba- V REC IPF wukabaN give
to one another. -cf. wu(ŋ)-.

wulaga(r)- V CAUS wulaga; wulagar;
wulagari put out (fire): Nula
wiŋ wulagari he put out the
fire.

wumbu N throat.

wundaga REL where? -cf. wundali.

wundali REL where?: wundali ŋinda
jan where are you going?

wundaNam REL whence?: wundaNam
bundaN where do (you) come
from? — cf. wundaga.

wupal N the native name of Emu
Park (across from the Keppel
Islands).

wuRu N 1. nose; 2. face (Dar KR,
ER).

wuṛu N (18.11 (1)) child: ɲaTu
wuṛu my child.

wuta INTERR PRON (18.19).

NOTES TO PART III

1. For the method of describing the various sounds, see the general remarks made in Part I, 2.1, Note 10.
2. cf. the arguments in Part II, Note 7.
3. For the exact articulation and analysis of the Aboriginal l and r sounds, cf. in Part II, Note 9.
4. It is worth mentioning that even F.J. Watson (see the Bibliography) hardly gives more than the vocabulary of 'Yugarabul' (the Mainland variety of the Stradbroke Island language; see 4.4) in his account of about thirty years earlier (see Watson 1943-44, pp. 66-77).
5. cf. Kath Walker's 'My father was Noonuccal man' (*Ballad of the Totems*) in *My People* (Jacaranda Press Pty Ltd, 1970). One of our Nunagal informants, Mr. Paul Tripcoly (Nun PT), who may be considered as an authority, identifies nunagal with Stradbroke Island.
6. In this connection may be mentioned that no clear differentiation is made among the Aborigines today in this part of Queensland between language, tribe and section names, so that all the names connected with Stradbroke Island may be understood as either (e.g. the home of a social section may rather be meant than that of a tribe or the territory corresponding to a language).
7. Nun MT holds dagai to be the 'Mainland' pronunciation and dege the 'Saltwater' (i.e. the island) pronunciation.
8. cf. the names Wakka-Wakka, Goreng-Goreng, etc., which are all derived from the word for *no* or *not* (waga, goreŋ, etc.) in the corresponding languages dealt with in Part I of this survey.
9. Usually it was said to be an expression, or an interjection, used by one of the informant's father (one Charlie Moreton), to whom it had consequently stuck as a nickname (see the List of Informants, 4.6). Unfortunately, it was not found out at the time whether this person had any Mainland connection, but the same informant's mother was from Laidley (west of Ipswich), which is reasonably within Yugarabul territory.
10. According to a person met at Woodenbong (New South Wales), jagarbul is the 'Boonah language' (west of Beaudesert), in which the word *no* is jagar.
11. According to Watson (op.cit., p.69), the word yugara (= jagara) means *no*, *not* and this is also recognised by our island informants Nun MB and AM (cf. above, 4.3, Note 9).

12. In Manandjali also the word for *white man* is dagai (evidently the original form of the word; cf. 5.3).
13. According to Nun AM, the word darabal is the name of the 'Bribie Island language'.
14. It need not be said that features of Queensland pronunciation of English frequently reappear in Aboriginal words, as in galou for galu *fire*, gurou for guru (?) *mullet*, etc.
15. It is possible that the vowel system has a different structure in Yugarabul; Nun MB (who may show traces of the Mainland dialect in her speech; cf. 4.5) pronounces the common word wapmeri *white woman* (from English 'white-Mary') as wapmiri, which is typical of languages having the triple vowel system (a, i, u).
16. In the word gundal *woman* the vowel of the last syllable is fairly often long or lengthened (hence gunda·l); yet adhering to the principle in Part I, 2.4, we shall prefer the above form gundal. On the other hand ga·gam *baby*.
17. Also cf. Manandjali migani, the name of a mountain in the direction of Boonah.
18. Hence such words as mug mug (beside gum gum) *policeman* (Nun VT) or welp *sea curlew* (Nun CC) cannot have an Aboriginal origin.
19. As the word jaraman *horse* could hardly be a native Australian word (at least not in its present-day sense), one might suggest that the suffix is from English ('-man'), in analogous compounds ('seaman', 'horseman', 'workman', 'policeman'—the latter, incidentally, adapted by the Aborigines in the form buliman, which is everywhere understood and popular—as a word at least—in a number of different languages).
20. Unfortunately, our informant (Nun PT) sometimes tended to English certain words or word forms (hence -malai for -mali, etc.), some of which may further have been fetched out of books.
21. F.J. Watson, however, quotes (from the Rev. W. Ridley) a Yugarabul paradigm which has a quite different appearance (see Watson 1943-44, p.77).
22. cf. Watson 1943-44, p. 77 ('dhuggaitin', after W. Ridley). In Manandjali the analogous form is dagaigin (*some*) *white people*.
23. As this termination is often pronounced as -gen or even -gan, it is not quite certain in every special case whether any connection may exist with gan *man*.
24. In Manandjali di is a postposition (balun di *in the river*; cf. 10.16). If the termination -ba were to be taken as the connective ba (see 6.16), the Nunagal postposition would be gi and so agree with Manandjali and Yugarabul (cf. 6.11).
25. The latter (in its two variants) is the same as in the New South Wales Thangatti (see Holmer 1966 a, p. 62, Note 76).
26. cf. the Manandjali (locative) wujaba *to you*, etc. The possessive in Yugarabal is in -nubbu according to Watson 1943-44, p. 77.
27. Incidentally, imperfective forms in -pa are found in Ngawun (one of the Gunggari languages; see Part II, 25.9).
28. cf. Holmer 1971.

29. This (manangali) seems the most common form of pronunciation of the name of this language; others are malangali and manalgali (probably depending on various kinds of 'dissimilation'); the opinion of one person (a Bandjalang at Woodenbong), according to which such variant forms actually referred to different languages, is not to be taken seriously.
30. Further to the west, from the Albert River toward Boonah, another tribe (or section) meets, the miganbari, which may possibly be Yugarabul (cf. 4.4, Note 10).
31. Notice that the same form (jugum) is used about Lismore (New South Wales) for the Woodenbong jugam; cf. Holmer 1971, p.46, and Cunningham 1969, p. 107. Other forms found on the Tweed are: mil (Tweed) and mi· (Beaudesert) *eye*, ga·ŋ (Tweed) and ge·ŋ (Beaudesert) *mouth*, baru (Tweed) and bawur (Beaudesert) *head* and perhaps mala (Tweed) and dangan (Beaudesert) *hand*, giran (Tweed) and diran (Beaudesert) *teeth*.
32. Otherwise, mention is further made of a gandaŋ tribe, about Nerang (on the coast, south of Brisbane).
33. In the Bandjalang dialect described in Cunningham 1969 (p. 76) o is, however, not accepted as a phoneme.
34. cf. Cunningham 1969, p. 76.
35. cf. the name of 'Brisbane (river)' in Nunagal (see 5.3).
36. For this reason we may find ginan̩i, bauri *the foot, the head* for normal ginan̩, bawur, when used of features in the terrain, being tracks left by a mythological dog (and probably identified with the corresponding parts of the dog's body).
37. The ablative (if correct) is used for the allative in gugarnu *into the hole* (Man ML); this usage is the rule in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 7.11, 13, Note 70).
38. In the Bandjalang dialect studied earlier by the author (Holmer 1971, 23-24) a difference is made between nouns ending in -a (or perhaps any other vowel except -i) and such as end in -i. As the only vowel-ending noun stem found in the present material is a loanword ending in -i, a different declension depending on different stem-final vowels cannot be accepted for Manandjali. It is further interesting to notice that the majority of nouns recorded end in one of the so-called 'nominalising' consonantal elements mentioned in Part I (3.6, with references), which may in a way justify the term 'nominalising' (although the precise function of these elements escapes us). It is possible that stems in -i (especially such as dagai *white man*, dubai *woman*) originally ended in *-j and thus fall in the same category.
39. cf. note 38. The only instance is, unfortunately, not illustrative: it is not a native word (cf. English 'money') and further ends in -i, which constitutes a special type of declension in Bandjalang (cf. Note 40).
40. In the Bandjalang of New South Wales such an ergative form (if analysed as maniju) would be correct of nouns ending in any vowel.
41. For expected *mibina; the reason for the addition of an -l is not clear.
42. Probably for ŋumbinga (as in Lismore Bandjalang; cf. Holmer 1971, 3.25 (b)).
43. cf. Nunagal degegin (-gen) *some white people* (6.10).

44. The suffixes -gin and -gin are both found in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 7.16); it is interesting that the termination -ngin in gidungin seems to have the same relation to the ergative suffix (in gidungu) as noticed for certain forms of the plural article in Wakka-Wakka (see loc.cit., 7.15). A form -bam (also common in the Wakka languages) probably occurs in Manandjali also; in our only recorded example, however, it is used (by Man JP) in the sense of a singular: ɲa'n gali ginbam *who is the woman?*
45. The fact that the plural article is added to the simple stem *miruŋ (and not to the derived mirungan, see 10.4) in some way supports the author's assumption (in Holmer 1971, 4.2 (b)) that -gan may function as a (singular) feminine 'article', which then would not be likely to take an additional plural article.
46. In the sentence je'ni waibarmir *he came to the camp*; the plural article would either indicate 'many fires' or perhaps rather—since the article is more typical with animate nouns—'the number of people at the camp'.
47. The first person plural is identical with the corresponding dual form, that is as in the Lismore Bandjalang (see Holmer 1971, 7.4, with the Note 71); this probably holds for the second person dual and plural (bulagan) as well (cf. *ibid.*). The form bulabu *the two* (Man ML) may be considered as nominal.
48. cf. Holmer 1971, 4.7 (a). A corresponding difference between a nominative (wuja) and ergative form (wa'lu), that is as in the Lismore Bandjalang (see Holmer 1971, 7.4 (b)), is likely, since the form wuja- occurs with the postposition bapi (wujabapi) as an ablative form.
49. cf. the same termination in Nunagal ɲariba, ɲarijuba *mine, my* (see 6.12). The termination -ba in all these forms may originally at least be that of a locative (*at, with*), that is the same -ba as mentioned in 10.4.
50. cf. Holmer 1971 (1.5, with the Note 11), where it is assumed that the final -i is to be explained as due to a phonetic tendency (cf. 9.3); the forms in -i, however, seem too frequent to be explained as mere phonetic variants and it should be noticed further that the tribe and language names galabal and galibal, that is languages in which *this, here* is respectively gala and gali, seem to indicate a basic difference in form between gala and gali.
51. The use of a personal and demonstrative pronoun together may seem strange, but can be justified in two ways: (1) either is nula (as often the third person pronouns in these languages) used in the sense of a noun (*a he*) or (2) the demonstrative mali may be rendered by *there* (hence *he there*); to the Aboriginal mind these distinctions do of course not exist.
52. In the Wakka languages -i is the sign of the locative (while -a functions as 'perlative'; cf. Part I, 7.12). The Manandjali perfectives would then be in line with the Wakka-Wakka perfectives japi *went*, ɲa'ŋi *saw* (stems: ja-, ɲa'-, with different 'thematic elements', -ɲ-, -ŋ-) or Batjala, Kabi-Kabi dingami *threw* (stem: dinga-, with 'thematic element' -m-). In Manandjali this element is always -n-.
53. In the New South Wales Kattang an analogous suffix (-gi) is used in a future sense (see Holmer 1966 a, 10.11, p. 80). In Gunggari gi is a postposition, but its meaning is rather the opposite of -gu (*from, off*; see Part II, 6.19).

54. They may actually rather refer to the 'dreamtime' than to past time in general (a distinction to which the Aborigines are usually not susceptible), as the forms in question occur in mythological contexts; in Holmer 1971 (8.19) these forms were referred to as 'past habitual forms', but in Manandjali at least the habitual element is not present.
55. The imperative is formed from a parallel stem *janba-*.
56. Probably used for a perfective form also (cf. 10.27).
57. Used in the sense of a perfective ('ran').
58. He even went as far as to compare the pretended oddity of Aboriginal syntax with the difference in word order between Italian and English, by quoting the old tango *O sole mio* as against English *Oh, my Sun*.
59. Parker 1896, pp. 126-128 (*Folklore of the Noongahburrahs told to the Piccaninnies*); also cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 84-86 (*The Emu and the Bustard*).
60. Our Jualrai comes closest to Edward M. Curr's 'Balonne, Nerran, etc. rivers' (Curr 1887, pp. 260-261).
61. cf. Part II, 8.9, Note 112.
62. Also cf. the supposed passing of *r* into *j* in Gangulu (B), stated in Part II, 15.5).
63. The test word is, as usual, the word for *tobacco*, which is *biaga* in both Jualrai and Kamilroi, owing to the fact that the sound of English 'a' short (in 'baccy', 'bacca') is considered as a variant of the diphthong *ia*, just as Jualrai *ge·l* is of *gial afraid* (cf. Mathews 1902, p. 188: *giel afraid*). For special reasons, the same word in Manandjali (*ge·l away*), although possibly also arisen from **gial*, is considered to have a basic *e·* (cf. 9.4).
64. The vowel length in Jualrai *ma·la* (for *mala*) *big* (Jua DM) is doubtless artificial and due to the fact that *mala* in Kamilroi means *fork, genitals*, from which it is thought fit to be differentiated; cf. Jualrai *bundi* (= Gunggari *bunti*) *buttocks* and Kamilroi *bundi stick* and, further, in Part I, 2.9, Note 14 (regarding a different accent in the word *bala*, as according to meaning).
65. An assumption that the final *-j* element in *buladij* (see 13.5) would reflect the alternation *-r- ~ -j-* (see 12.3) is hardly likely (although Mathews 1902, p. 180) has forms in both *-dhi* and *-dyir*; see further 14.6).
66. cf. Part II, 15.5.
67. Compounds with relation words (as in Latin *redire*, beside *ire*, *reddere*, beside *dare*, etc.) are hardly found in the Australian languages. In this case the exact meaning of *dai-*, *da-* is not ascertainable; it occurs in the verb *bring*, which is thereby differentiated from *take* (see Mathews 1902, p. 189), admitting an analysis either as *return-take* or *hither-take*.
68. The association of these words is as in Gangulu (B) *wididi hat* and *widu white man* (the *hat* not being an Aboriginal head covering).
69. A Jualrai form *gana yam stick* hence occurs in alternation with the Kattang (New South Wales) *ganai digging stick*; cf. Holmer 1967, p. 10. In *bubalindai smoke pipe* the *-i* seems clearly nominalising; cf. *bubalinda-to smoke* (= *bubali-*; 14.9) and Holmer 1966 a, 5.8; 1971, 3.18.
70. This, however, is most likely Gunggari; cf. Mathews 1902, p. 139: *ngai-i*.

71. In *ɲinari ɲadli* (sic) *looking at you* (Jua DM); possibly for **ɲinana ɲar(i)la* (cf. 13.7); Mathews 1902 (p.139) gives *nginnunna*.
72. Or possessive (*whose?*; Jua DM); this form evidently corresponds to Mathews 1902, p. 140: *whom belonging to*, *ngangu?*.
73. cf. analogous forms in -na in Bidjara (*ɲu·na*) and Wirri (*ɲandana*) (see Part II, 9.26; 19.28).
74. cf. Wakka-Wakka, where forms in -e· (-e), from *-aj (imperfective) alternate with forms in -ai, from *-aji (perfective); see Part I, 7.28-29.
75. Forms ending in -li or -gi (which also occur in Mathews; loc.cit.) may be considered as originally ending in *-j (that is *-lij becomes -li and *-gij becomes -gi). In Gugu-Bujun, for instance, imperfective verbal forms are found ending in -ij, e.g. *wanarij rolling* (stem *wanari-*). In Jualrai and Kamilroi such forms would be justified if from a reflexive-reciprocal stem in -li- (see 14.8) or an intransitive stem in -ga-, -gi- (see 15.9).
76. This also appears in Mathews 1902, pp. 188-90: *bunnagaigu*, (= *banagaigu*) (*to*) *run*, etc.
77. cf. Goreng-Goreng and Kabi-Kabi, in Part I, 14.10; 20.6; these sounds have been represented by respectively *g* and *ɲ* in the latter languages.
78. They might alternatively have been represented by *d*, *t*, *n*, respectively, as in Holmer 1966a and, besides, frequently in descriptions of Australian languages, especially if one takes into account the not unusual alternation of (interdental) sounds thus represented with palatalised sounds (cf. Holmer 1966a, 1.14, p.20).
79. These might consequently be written *Nuɲuɲ*, *wuɲ*, etc., but since in other cases *N* alternates with *ɲ* such a writing would seem incongruous.
80. cf. the difference between Scottish Gaelic *annam* /aNəm/ (interdental *N*) *in me* and *anam* /anəm/ (alveolar *n*) *soul*; also compare Holmer 1966a, 1.12.
81. This variant of an alveolar (or supradental) initial 'd' does not occur in English words, as pronounced by our informant, who instead uses dental variants (probably the Darumbal *D*). In the intervocalic position the usual confusion of -r- and -d- prevails (mostly due to the difficulty among English-speaking Aborigines in articulating the native sound of *r*, which is different from English 'r' (cf. Part II, Note 9)).
82. cf. the difference between Scottish Gaelic *carach* /karəx/ *wily* and *carrach* /kaRəx/ *itchy*; the acoustic similarity of the respective Aboriginal and Gaelic sounds would no doubt have been striking even though our informant's father had not been of Scottish descent.
83. The close analogy with Goreng-Goreng is seen in comparing the paradigm for Goreng-Goreng *janga-* *make* with that of Darumbal *jaga-*, idem: *janga* = *jaga* (imperative), *jangalim* = *jagal* (imperfective), *janganmin* (from *-lmin) = *jagali* (perfective), *jangalu* = *jagalu* (intentional).
84. One causative verb stem, *wulaga-* (*put out (fire)*) is found to be augmented by -r- instead of -l-; hence: *wulaga(r)-*.
85. cf. the same 'thematic element' in Nunagal and Ngawun imperfective forms (see Part II, 25.9 and Note 165; Part III, 6.14).

86. cf. the perfective -ŋ- in Wakka-Wakka *paŋi saw, seen, boŋi died, dead* (Part I, 7.30-31; 12) or Nunagal *boŋ dead* (Part III, 6.15).
87. In reality, it may have denoted (like the Sanskrit perfect, in the older, or Vedic, language) a verbal action sufficiently remote or referred to the past so as to make it 'not witnessed' (cf. William Dwight Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*, 821. Leipzig, 1924), 'mythical' or — as far as Australia is concerned — related to the 'dreamtime'.

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