

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series B - No. 67

THE BĀGANDJI LANGUAGE

by

L.A. Hercus



Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is issued through the Linguistic  
Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

SERIES A - Occasional Papers  
SERIES B - Monographs  
SERIES C - Books  
SERIES D - Special Publications

EDITOR: S.A. Wurm

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve, D.T. Tryon, T.E. Dutton

EDITORIAL ADVISERS:

B.W. Bender University of Hawaii	John Lynch University of Papua New Guinea
David Bradley La Trobe University	K.A. McElhanon University of Texas
A. Capell University of Sydney	H.P. McKaughan University of Hawaii
Michael G. Clyne Monash University	P. Mühlhäusler Linacre College, Oxford
S.H. Elbert University of Hawaii	G.N. O'Grady University of Victoria, B.C.
K.J. Franklin Summer Institute of Linguistics	A.K. Pawley University of Auckland
W.W. Glover Summer Institute of Linguistics	K.L. Pike University of Michigan; Summer Institute of Linguistics
G.W. Grace University of Hawaii	E.C. Polomé University of Texas
M.A.K. Halliday University of Sydney	Gillian Sankoff University of Pennsylvania
A. Healey Summer Institute of Linguistics	W.A.L. Stokhof National Center for Language Development, Jakarta; University of Leiden
L.A. Hercus Australian National University	E.M. Uhlenbeck University of Leiden
Nguyễn Đăng Liêm University of Hawaii	J.W.M. Verhaar Gonzaga University, Spokane

All correspondence concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including  
orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

The Secretary  
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS  
Department of Linguistics  
Research School of Pacific Studies  
The Australian National University  
P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600  
Australia.

Copyright © The Author

First Published 1982

Typeset by Dianne Stacey

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

Covers by Patria Printers

Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty. Ltd.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in  
the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas  
Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 263 1

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
PREFACE	ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
PHOTOGRAPHS	xiii
CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION	1
I.1. Bāgandji people	1
I.2. Other work on Bāgandji	2
I.3. Bāgandji and the neighbouring languages	3
I.4. The Bāgandji dialects	7
4.1. Guṇu - Bārundji	7
4.2. Wiljāli - Daṅgāli	9
4.3. Wanjubaḷgu - Bandjigali	10
4.4. Marawara	10
4.5. Southern Bāgandji	11
4.6. Summary	12
CHAPTER II - BĀGANDJI PHONOLOGY	15
II.1. Consonants	15
1.1. Consonantal contrasts	17
1.2. Laminal contrasts	17
1.3. Apical contrasts	19
1.4. Neutralisation of contrasts	20
II.2. Phonetic notes on the consonant system	20
2.1. Gemination	20
2.2. Palatalisation	23
2.3. Loss of initial consonants	24
2.4. Clusters containing palatals	26
2.5. Voicing	26
2.6. Notes on rhotics and laterals	29

II.3. Vowels	32
3.1. Vowel phonemes	32
3.2. Length and quality	33
II.4. Phonetic notes on the vowel system	34
4.1. The o-sounds	34
4.2. The e-sounds	37
4.3. Rounding and unrounding of vowels	38
4.4. Medial semi-vowels	38
4.5. Unaccented vowels	39
4.6. Elision of final a in external Sandhi	40
II.5. Syllabic structure	43
5.1. Free morphemes	43
5.2. Full words	44
5.3. Accentuation	45
5.4. Accentuation of complex bound morphemes	46
5.5. Phonotactics	48
5.6. Intramorphemic medial consonant clusters	48
5.7. Clusters in morpheme junctures	49
CHAPTER III - BĀGANDJI MORPHOLOGY: NOMINALS	51
III.1. Characteristics of the nominals	51
1.1. Word classes	51
1.2. Convergence of word classes	51
1.3. Distinctions between word classes	52
1.4. Case-affixes: ordering	53
1.5. Addition of case suffixes to nouns	56
III.2. The nuclear cases	57
2.1. General comments	57
2.2. Double absolutive	58
2.3. Accusative by attraction	58
2.4. The ergative case, unmarked	59
2.5. The ergative case, marked	62
2.6. The dative case	64
2.7. Table summarising the forms and functions of the nuclear cases in Southern Bāgandji	68
III.3. The peripheral cases	70
3.1. The allative	70
3.2. The instrumental	71
3.3. The locative	73
3.4. Possession: the genitive	75
3.5. Double -na	77
3.6. The ablative	77
3.7. Purposive	78
3.8. The comitative	79

III.4. The nominal stem-forming affixes: number	80
4.1. The grammatical expression of number in Bāgandji	80
4.2. Morphemes showing number in nouns	81
4.3. Kinship pairs	83
4.4. Numerical adjectives	84
III.5. Stem-forming affixes: possession	85
5.1. Personal possessives	85
5.2. Dialectal divergence	85
5.3. Forms of the possessive	87
5.4. The first person singular	87
5.5. The third person singular	89
5.6. The affixation of possessive markers	89
III.6. The 'having' affixes	92
6.1. Forms of the 'having' affixes	92
6.2. Function of the 'having' affixes	93
6.3. Fixed forms	95
6.4. The 'having' affix in Marawara	95
III.7. Other nominal stem-forming affixes	96
7.1. -ndji 'belonging' to'	96
7.2. -rga	97
7.3. -nja durative	98
7.4. -ga, -gu	98
III.8. Notes on the structure of the noun-phrase	98
8.1. Agreement of adjectives	98
8.2. Noun and pronoun	100
8.3. Word-order in noun-phrases	101
CHAPTER IV - PRONOUNS	105
IV.1. The pronominal case system	105
1.1. The nuclear cases	105
1.2. The peripheral cases	106
IV.2. Personal pronouns	107
2.1. Exclusive and inclusive	107
2.2. Free pronouns of the first and second person	109
2.3. Use of the free forms	111
2.4. Notes on the free pronouns of the first and second person	112
IV.3. The third person and the demonstratives	114
3.1. The third person pronoun	114
3.2. The demonstratives: general notes	116
3.3. Forms of the demonstrative pronouns	117
3.4. Use of the demonstrative pronouns	120

IV.4. Tense marking in Guṇu and Bārundji free pronouns	122
4.1. Guṇu pronominal forms	122
4.2. Origin of the tense-marked pronouns	125
4.3. Tense-marking in Bārundji pronouns	126
IV.5. Bound forms of the pronouns	127
5.1. General comments on bound forms	127
5.2. The combination of bound subject and object markers	128
5.3. Morphophonemic changes involving bound pronouns in the present tense	132
5.4. Paradigms showing simple bound pronouns	139
5.5. Table of complex pronouns in Southern Bāgandji	141
5.6. Morphonemic changes in the perfect tense in Southern Bāgandji	142
5.7. The -u perfect of Bārundji	143
5.8. Bārundji bound pronouns in the future tense	146
5.9. Special modifications of bound pronouns: the third person dual	147
5.10. Special modifications of bound pronouns: the third person singular	148
5.11. The first person singular bound pronoun	154
5.12. Comments on the formal diversity of bound pronouns	155
5.13. 'Affix-transferring'	156
5.14. Use of bound and free forms of subject and object pronouns	159
5.15. Bound forms of personal pronouns affixed to non-verbs: 'verbless sentences'	163
IV.6. Interrogative (and indefinite) pronouns	167
6.1.a. 'Who?' in Southern Bāgandji	167
6.1.b. 'Who?' in other Bāgandji dialects	168
6.1.c. Number in interrogatives	168
6.2. 'Which?' and 'where?'	169
6.3. 'What?' and 'how many?'	169
6.4. 'Indefinites'	171
IV.7. Pronominal adverbs	171
7.1. General comments	171
7.2. Locational pronominal adverbs	172
7.3. Table of pronominal adverbs (locational and directional)	173
7.4. Other pronominal adverbs	174

CHAPTER V - VERBS	175
V.1. Verb stems	175
1.1. General comments	175
1.2. Simple verb stems	176
1.3. The verbalising suffix -ma	177
1.4. The verbalising suffix -waḍa	181
1.5. Reduplicated stems	181
V.2. Voice	182
2.1. Transitivity	182
2.2. Causatives	185
2.3. Reciprocals	185
2.4. Reflexives	186
2.5. The reflexive in Guṇu and Bārundji	188
2.6. The Guṇu suffix -ri/ḍi	189
V.3. Aspectual stem-forming suffixes	19
3.1. The stem-forming suffix -la	193
3.2. Other aspectual affixes	193
3.3. The modal stem-forming suffix -nda	197
V.4. Tense	197
4.1. General comments on tense in Southern Bāgandji	197
4.2. Intricacies of the tense system of Southern Bāgandji	198
4.3. Tense in Marawara	201
4.4. Tense in Guṇu	203
4.5. Tense in Bārundji	203
4.6. Historical comments	205
V.5. The imperative mood	207
5.1. General comments	207
5.2. Details of imperative usage	207
V.6. Participles	209
6.1. General comments	209
6.2. The non-past participle in -ana	210
6.3. The optative participle -la	213
6.4. The dative marker -ṛi with verbs	215
6.5. Other case-forms	216
6.6. Other participial suffixes	217
CHAPTER VI - CLITICS, ADVERBS AND INTERJECTIONS	
VI.1. Clitics	219
1.1. General remarks	219
1.2. Primary clitics	220
1.3. Secondary clitics	223
1.4. Postpositions	224

VI.2. Adverbs	227
2.1. General comments	227
2.2. Particles	228
2.3. Locational adverbs	230
2.4. Temporal adverbs	231
2.5. Adverbs of manner	232
VI.3. Interjections	233
3.1. The negative and the affirmative	233
3.2. Other interjections: exclamations	234
CHAPTER VII - WORD ORDER	235
VII.1. Transitive sentences	235
1.1. General comments	235
1.2. Nominal subject and object	236
1.3. Free pronouns	236
1.4. Bound pronoun subject	238
VII.2. Other aspects of word-order	240
2.1. Intransitive sentences	240
2.2. Circumstantial phrases	240
CHAPTER VIII - BĀGANDJI TEXTS	241
VIII.1. Struck by lightning	241
VIII.2. Lament for Paddy Black	243
VIII.3. Lament for Mrs. Johnson	244
VIII.4. Eaglehawk and crow: the crow's revenge	246
VIII.5.1. The evil crow, Southern Bāgandji version	249
5.2. The evil crow, Guṇu version.	256
VIII.6. The moon and his nephew	257
VIII.7.1. The two water-snakes	263
7.2. Comments on the water-snake (Guṇu)	264
VIII.8.1. The porcupine	265
8.2. Comments on hibernation, by George Dutton (Bāgandji)	268
VIII.9. Storing flour (Bāgandji)	269
VIII.10. Nets and fish	270
BĀGANDJI - ENGLISH DICTIONARY	273
ENGLISH - BĀGANDJI DICTIONARY	305
BIBLIOGRAPHY	323



## PREFACE

This is an outline description of Southern Bāgandji, as once spoken on the lower Darling River, with notes on other Bāgandji dialects and short texts. The work is the outcome of many years of acquaintance and friendship with Bāgandji people. It was in 1963, in the course of a wide-ranging search for speakers of Victorian languages that I first met two families of Bāgandji descent at Dareton N.S.W. near Mildura. They remembered only a few words of their language, but the difference from Victorian languages was obvious even to a casual observer. The striking and heavily accented long vowels and the system of geminated consonants made even this elementary Bāgandji vocabulary a most tempting field of study. The Bāgandji language already held a fascination for E.M. Curr's usually very patronising correspondents: N.B. Teulon spoke of 'the great emphasis which the Wimbaja lays on one particular syllable' (p.210) and he expressed his admiration for the 'galaxy of speaking words' (p.221). The fact that in 1963 this language was on the verge of extinction made a detailed study urgent. But it was not until 1967 that circumstances enabled me to make any real attempt to work on Bāgandji, under the auspices of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Almost at once the project was dealt a crippling blow by the prolonged illness and the death in November 1968 of the main informant, the only speaker of Bandjigali, George Dutton. Since then I have continued recording as much as possible, and have also succeeded in collecting texts. The present preliminary analysis of Bāgandji has been presented so that at least some materials in this most interesting and little known language may be available for comparative study. This work has also been written so that future generations of Bāgandji people may have some record of their language which has now reached the point of no return.

The main feature of this grammar is that it represents the study of a language on the verge of extinction. The conclusions reached are limited by the available evidence. Inevitably many questions had to remain unanswered, and many theories could not be explored further.

The present work would not have been possible without the help of many friends at Wilcannia and Dareton as well as Canberra; I am indebted to my late husband Graham Hercus for the initial inspiration, and for the perseverance to continue the study in depressing circumstances as one speaker after another died.

This work is entirely due to the collaboration of

Jack Johnson 'Gunsmoke'

the late George Dutton 'Galbali'

Mrs Elsie Jones

Grannie Moisey

Grannie Buggamy

Mrs Gertie Johnson

and it is gratefully dedicated to them.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	Ablative case
ABS	Absolutive case
ACC	Accusative case
Adv.p.	Adverbial phrase
ADV	Adverb
ALL	Allative case
ASP	Aspectual suffix
B.	Bandjigali
Bār.	Bārundji
CAUS	Causative
C.A.	Common Australian
COM	Comitative case
DAT	Dative case
DEM ERG	Bound pronoun used to mark the ergative
d1	Dual of pronouns
D1	Dual of noun
EMPH	Emphatic particle
ERG	Ergative case
FUT	Future tense marker
G.	Guṟu
GEN	Genitive case
G1	Glide consonant
HAB	Habitual participle
IMP	Imperative
INC	Inclusive form of the pronoun
intr.	Intransitive verb
Intr.	Nominative form of the pronoun used with intransitive verbs
INST	Instrumental case
LOC	Locative case
NAR	Narrative tense (in Arabana-Waṅgaṟuru)
NF	Non-future
NOM	Nominative case
obj	Pronominal object (bound form)
OBJ	Object
OBL	Obligatory participle

OPT	Optative participle
PAST	Past tense
PERF	Perfect tense
pl	Plural form of the pronoun
Pl	Plural marking suffix
PLUP	Pluperfect (in Arabana)
POS	Possessive
POT	Potential aspect
PRES	Present tense
PTC	Participle
PURP	Purposive
REC	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
SB.	Southern Bāgandji
sg	Singular form of the pronoun
SG	Singular marking suffix
St	Stem-forming affix in Arabana
sub	Bound pronoun subject
TOP	Topicalising suffix
tr	Transitive verb
Tr	Ergative form of the bound pronoun used with transitive verb
Vb	Verbalising suffix
*	Hypothetical form



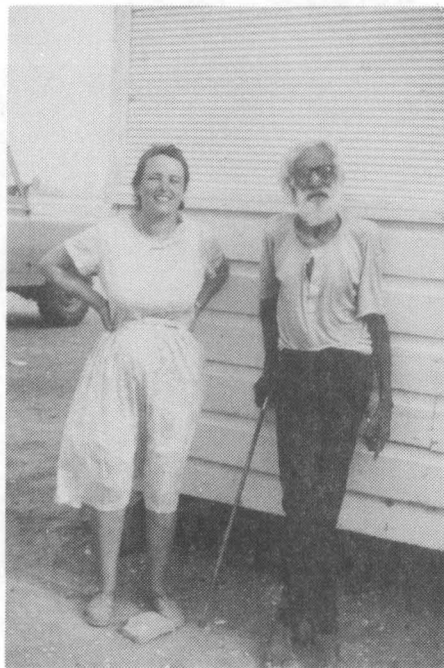
1. Jack Johnson



2. Grannie Moisey



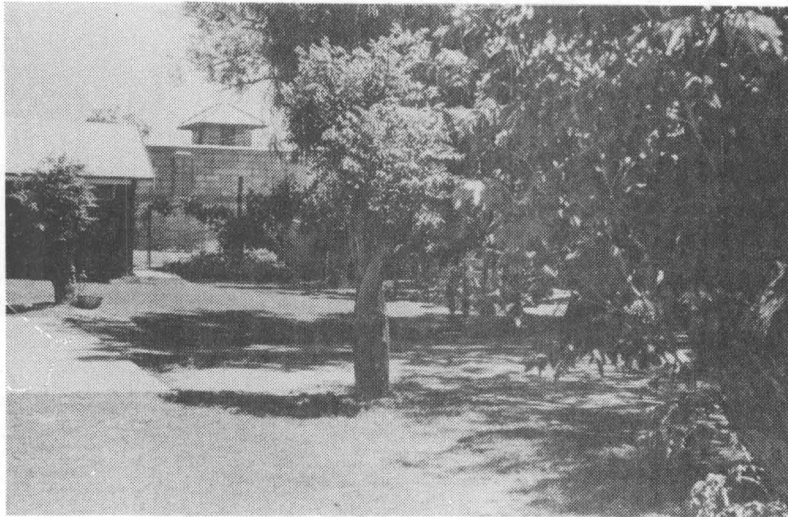
3. Elsie Jones



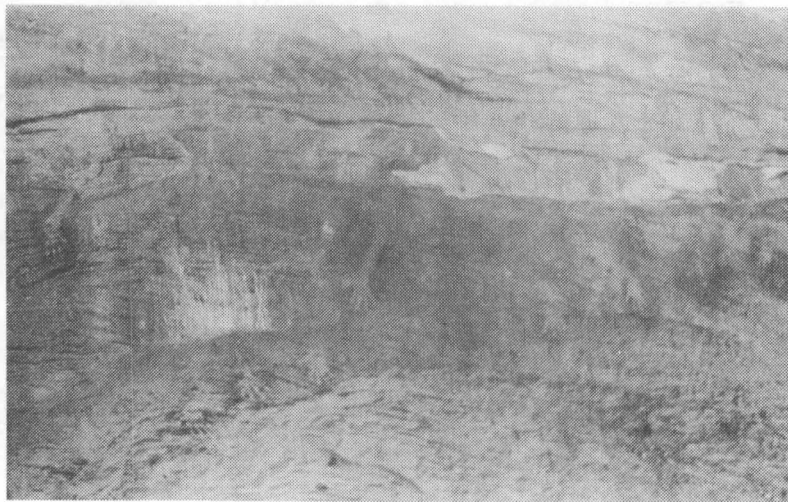
4. George Dutton



5. Mrs Gertie Johnson at Mt Manara



6. The Wilcannia Gaol, where much of the work was done.

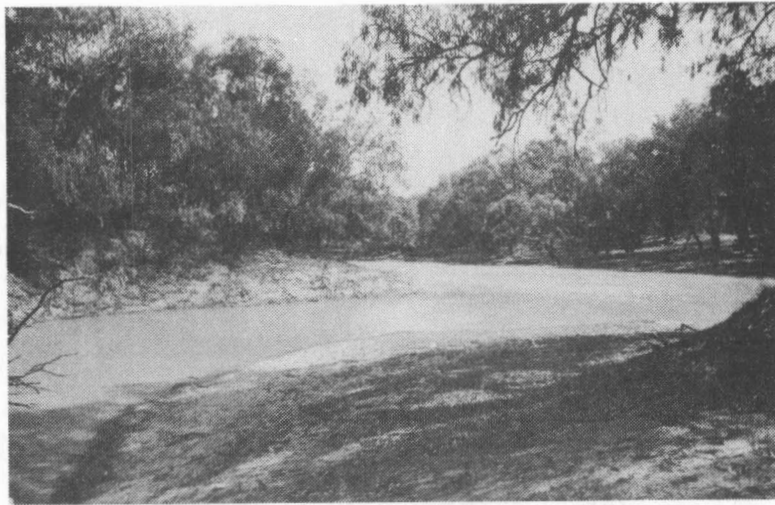


7. Mootwingee, in Bandjigall country: the cave of hands.





8. Living conditions of a Southern Bāgandji family at Dareton (1963).



9. The Nūrali site at Ballila Station.



10. 'The Mallee' at Wilcannia in 1972,  
home for many Southern Bāgandji people.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION\*

#### I.1. BĀGANDJI PEOPLE

The history of the Bāgandji or Darling River people (from bāga 'river') is one of unmitigated tragedy. These 'strong, handsome and aggressive river tribesmen' (Hardy 1969:5) were among the very few Aboriginal groups who attempted any kind of united defence of their lands against the white intruders. The story of their destruction is told by Bobbie Hardy in her book *Lament for the Barkindji* (1976).

Long after the early battles the Bāgandji suffered indignity after indignity: they were made to camp near the old burial ground at Menindee; 'the Carowra Tank Mob' of Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā descent, 'dry-landers' who had nothing to do with the river people were suddenly moved in with them in 1934 when the Carowra Tank ran dry (Beckett 1965, Long 1970:82). Later in 1948 the whole of the Menindee settlement was moved to Murrin Bridge, 200 miles to the east near Lake Cargelligo, far from the Darling, and this was again done without any warning. Most of the river people refused to stay at Murrin Bridge and went back to camp by the river, until ultimately in 1952 a settlement was built for them at Wilcannia. Today the remaining three full-blood men and the people of part Bāgandji descent live in a sad and depressed state mainly at Wilcannia. The difficulties that the river people have encountered, and particularly their enforced link with the Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā group had an influence on the status of the language, and it has become almost extinct. Even very elderly people are ashamed to admit that they know a single word, and attempts to record what remains of the language have been very difficult. General despondency has driven the only fluent Southern Bāgandji speaker to a state of acute alcoholism, and much of the work has had to be done in gaol at Wilcannia and at Broken Hill, in a battle against withdrawal symptoms.

*\*This introduction was written in mid 1975. Since then Mr Jack Johnson 'Gunsmoke' has died (September 1975). Mrs Kate Buggamy died in November 1975 and Grannie Moisey in February 1976.*

## I.2. OTHER WORK ON BĀGANDJI

The aim of the present work is to give as complete as possible an account of the Bāgandji language as recorded from the last speakers, but naturally this account has to be viewed in the context of earlier work. There are a number of early word-lists of Bāgandji, the first being that given by Eyre (1846). The most important published data on Bāgandji are in the works of Curr and R.H. Mathews. As is well known, the quality of the word-lists supplied by local correspondents to Curr varies considerably, and much of the information is mediocre. But in the case of Bāgandji Curr's enquiries were more than usually successful. Vocabularies in the Guṇu dialect of Bāgandji have been contributed by W.A. Pechey (1872) and by G.N. Teulon (in Curr 1886). The work by Teulon is done with great understanding and care: it contains an excellent additional word-list and even a few short phrases. Teulon was evidently not a speaker of the language, and this has led to certain mistranslations, for instance:

kŷllhāneĕngāhppă  
'I don't want to go' (p.220)

this presumably is -

gila ŋŋgāba  
not sit-I(1 sg Intr)  
'I am not staying'

mŋnnă wăhn-gă imbă  
'Who are you?' (p.221)

this presumably is -

mīna wanga imba  
what meat you  
'What meat are you?'  
(i.e. 'what is your matrilineal totemic clan'; see Berndt 1964:57).

But there can be no doubt that those are genuine Guṇu phrases, clearly recognisable. Teulon's work is far superior to any of the other dozen vocabularies of Bāgandji dialects available in Curr's compilation.

R.H. Mathews's work on Guṇu has been rather more brief than usual: he has given a vocabulary of 200 words (Mathews 1902) and two very short grammatical sketches; one (1902) is only a summary and gives no information about the verb. The second grammatical sketch (1904) is

more complete and includes the important discovery that the initial consonant of Guṇu pronouns changes according to tense.

There are several sketchy vocabularies such as that of Newland (1887-8), but in 1903 C. Richards, who had paid a number of visits to the descendants of Nanya (see I.4.2.) contributed some general anthropological notes, some interesting phonetic data and what would have been a remarkable vocabulary, had it ever got beyond the letter 'b'. However fragmentary, the work shows true insight and understanding. No further progress was made in the study of the Darling River Languages until the publication in 1939 of a fine work by Tindale on the now extinct Marawara dialect of Bāgandji. This was 'Eagle and Crow Myths of the Maraura Tribe, lower Darling River, N.S.W.'. This article is not only an important contribution to mythology: it also contains the only text published till now in any Bāgandji dialect. Tindale's hearing of what was to him an unknown language was brilliant, though naturally at times the translation only renders 'the general sense' of the original. But Tindale published nothing further on Bāgandji and so unfortunately to date the total published data available on this language remains meagre.

S.A. Wurm and M. Reay have worked in the Darling River area, M. Reay began in the late forties and S.A. Wurm in the late fifties, when there were many more speakers. S.A. Wurm has most generously made available his Bārundji recordings and notes: this has helped considerably in the study of the dialectal differentiation of Bāgandji.

### I.3. BĀGANDJI AND THE NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

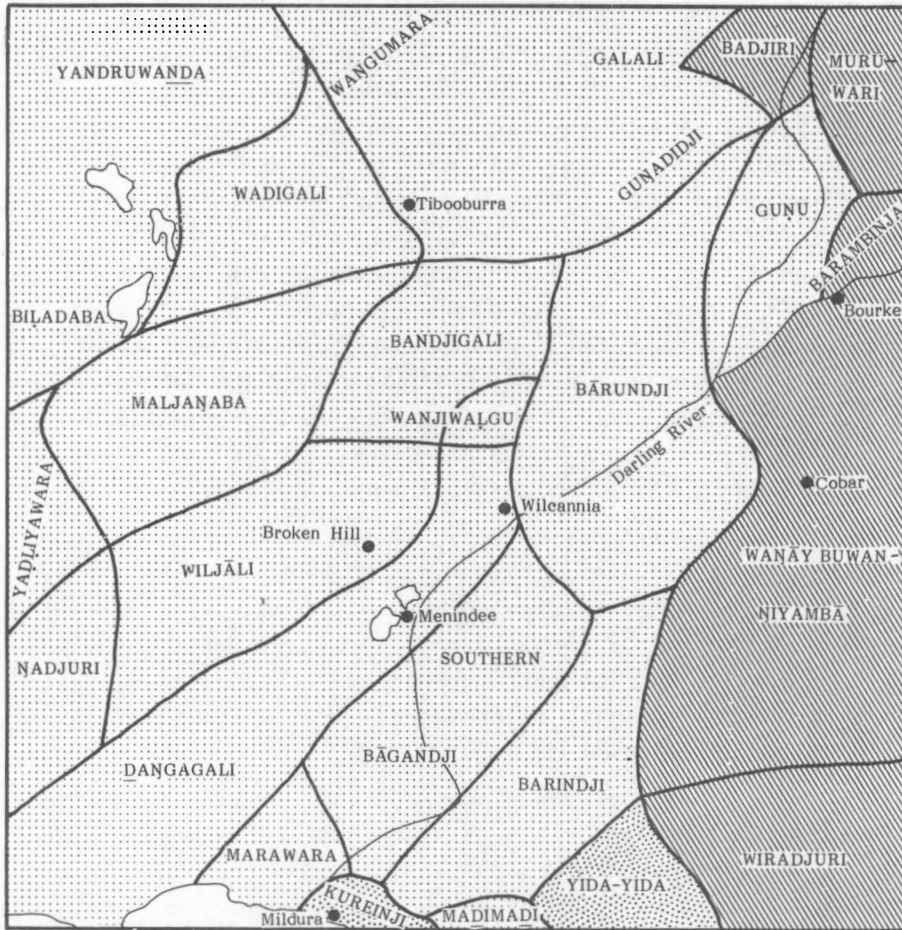
The Bāgandji occupied what is an important and unique border-position from many points of view. They held the land on the longest and westernmost of the great permanent rivers of southern Australia. They were also the westernmost of the non-circumcising tribes. They had adopted a section system probably originating from their neighbours, the Waṅāybuwan (Berndt 1964) but they were nevertheless the easternmost of the large group who followed a matrilineal descent clan system. They were situated just beyond the eastern boundary of the red-ochre trade from Parachilna in the Flinders Ranges and the pitouri trade from the Mulligan River on the edges of the Simpson Desert. Though this trade broke down as a result of white occupation, the late George Dutton on his travels had become very addicted to pitouri and recalled the traditions connected with its preparation. The Bāgandji were in the eastern sector of the area in which cylcons are found (Etheridge 1916): these striking conical artefacts occur mainly in the Cooper and Darling

basins. The Bāgandji shared many customs and traditions with their neighbours from the Lakes area of South Australia, such as the use of kopi for making widow's caps. The Bāgandji language reflects the unique border-position of the Bāgandji people, and the present work will attempt to show this.




The general map (Map 1) is intended to show the approximate ethnic groupings at the time of the first white contact. As will be seen it is largely based on Tindale (1940 and the new version of 1974) but shows slight variations, it also differs from the map given by Beckett (1958) particularly as regards the location of Maljaṇaba. The divergence from Tindale is based on the evidence of the main informants: this evidence has led us to include 'Barindji' with Bāgandji, but not to the same extent as was suggested by Fraser (1892).

The languages adjoining Bāgandji immediately to the west belong to the so-called 'Yalji' group (Wurm 1972) from the use of the term 'yalji' or more accurately 'yaḍḍi' for 'man'. This group comprises Maljaṇaba, Wadigali and Yaḍḍiyawara. The fate of these languages has been similar to Bāgandji. Wadigali is totally extinct and probably has been so for several decades. The only definite Wadigali word-list is that contributed by A.W. Morton to Curr (1886). The lists supplied by Crozier and Dewhurst in the same publication probably also refer to Wadigali. Maljaṇaba, which was once spoken in the Milparinka area and along Evelyn Creek became extinct in 1968 with the death of George Dutton, who knew this language as perfectly as he knew Bandjigali. Bāgandji people generally refer to these neighbours as Miliyāba. Yaḍḍiyawara is closely related to Maljaṇaba, but it has undergone the influence of the south central Australian languages, including the development of pre-stopped nasals and laterals (Hercus 1972). Thanks to the help given by the last surviving speaker, information on this language is available and comparisons with Bāgandji will be drawn whenever necessary. Social and trade links between the 'Yaḍḍi' tribes and the Bāgandji were very close and they shared many traditions: particularly important was the *Guḷimugu* history and song-cycle which begins at Innamincka in Yandruwanda country and travels through far western N.S.W.; this is also linked with the story of *Guluwuru*, the great ancestral man (see also Beckett 1958:106).

The northern neighbours of the Bāgandji, the Waṅumara, the Bundumara and the Guṇadidji shared some of the same traditions, including the *Guḷimugu* cycle, and until the forcible deportation of all the Aborigines from the Tibooburra area in 1938 (Beckett 1965 and 1978) there was considerable contact between these northern neighbours of the



Map 1: FINALS

- |  |  |
|--|--|
|  all words end<br>in vowels |  a limited number of continuants occur in word-final position               |
|  |  a wide range of consonants including plosives occur in word-final position |

Map 1: Vocalic Finals

Nura group and the Bāgandji. The Waṅumara language has a number of unusual features, including a declension system involving two noun-classes. Fortunately there are still several speakers, and work has been started by G. Breen, J. Mathews and L. Hercus; comparisons between Bāgandji and Waṅumara are therefore possible.

The eastern neighbours of the Bāgandji belonged to the Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā-Wiradjuri group, which occupied the whole of central New South Wales. Bāgandji people traditionally did not greatly esteem their eastern neighbours; the enforced stay of the Waṅāybuwan people at Menindee was therefore a bitter blow. But despite this lack of cordiality the Bāgandji shared some important features of social organisation with the Waṅāybuwan, particularly the section system (Berndt 1964). They also shared some traditions such as the story of the two rainbow serpents who got lost in the waterless country east of the Manara range. A full study of Niyambā has been undertaken by T. Donaldson (1980). This work is of considerable significance for Bāgandji as there are many important linguistic similarities, for instance pronoun subject and object incorporation.

The southern neighbours of the Darling River people were speakers of 'Murray River' and 'Kulin' languages (Hercus 1969 and 1973). These languages share some features with Bāgandji, such as the use of possessive suffixes. It has long been recognised that there were social and trade links along the Murray and Darling rivers, although each group maintained their independence, and particularly the warlike Bāgandji.

All Australian Aboriginal languages are related, even if only distantly, and all those outside Arnhem Land are generally stated to belong to one family, Pama-Nyungan. It has now been recognised (Dixon 1970) that closer genetic links within this family cannot be calculated by means of vocabulary correspondences, but such correspondences are nevertheless of interest. The percentages of vocabulary shared by Bāgandji and the surrounding languages is shown approximately in the following table:

Waṅumara					
32	Maljaṅaba				
19	41	Bāgandji			
22	25	16	Madimadi ('Kulin')		
21	22	19	23	Waṅāybuwan	
12	20	24	11	10	'Murray River Language'

(Data from the 'Murray River Language' are based on Moorhouse, 1846).



Except for Maljaṅaba-Bāgandji these cognate densities are quite low, and at best the table can be used to corroborate the view (Wurm 1972) that these languages belong to six different groups and subgroups: Ṇura, Yaḍḍi, Darling River, 'Kulin', Wiradjuric (Waṅāybuwan-Ṇiyambā) and Narrinyeric (Murray River).

It is difficult to assess to what extent linguistic peculiarities (even beyond the sphere of vocabulary) are due to genetic affiliations and to what extent they are due to borrowings (Dixon 1970). It is hoped that Bāgandji, which is in a borderline position from so many points of view, may help to elucidate this problem.

#### I.4. THE BĀGANDJI DIALECTS

##### I.4.1. Guṇu - Bārundji

It was noted long ago by Curr (1886:167) 'that speech varies so little amongst the several tribes that some of my correspondents are under the impression that there is but one language on the Darling'. There can be no question as to the basic unity of Bāgandji, despite dialectal variation. Among the Bāgandji dialects the main division appears to be between the north-eastern group, Guṇu-Bārundji on the one hand, and all the remaining dialects on the other. Guṇu was spoken along the Darling above Wilcannia in the Tilpa, Louth and Bourke district and along the lower Warrego, while Bārundji was spoken along the Paroo river. The name 'Naualko' given by Howitt (1904:50) and by Tindale (1940) for part of this area, between Wilcannia and Louth, is not used by present day informants. The term 'Gūla', used by Tindale as a variant for Guṇu is also no longer used. Another name that has been quoted for this same dialect is 'Eenawan' (Oates 1970). This term has been erroneously linked with the Darling: it belongs to the Anewan tribe in New England, (Buchanan 1901). According to the informants, Guṇu and Bārundji were practically identical, and they share around 90 per cent of their vocabulary with Southern Bāgandji. It is noticeable, as so often in the dialects of Aboriginal languages, that certain quite common words differ, for instance:

Guṇu - Bārundji	Southern Bāgandji
baṛaga 'woman' (perhaps cognate with Waṅumara waḷga)	nūṅgu
ṅuḷardji 'many'	duluru
gadjaḷga 'good'	balīra

There is also a difference in 'accent' and intonation: Southern Bāgandji speakers say that Guṇu and Bārundji people 'talk heavy'. This term has been heard very frequently: Adnjamadana people in the Flinders Ranges say that the Waljbi 'talked heavy', Arabana people say it of the Waṅgaṅuru. The expression generally seems to refer to slower, more deliberate speech-habits and a stronger stress accent.

The main differences between Guṇu-Bārundji and Southern Bāgandji are morphological, and particularly important is the fact that in Guṇu and in one Bārundji dialect, (Mathews, MS) but not elsewhere in Bāgandji, the initial consonant of personal pronouns changes with tense.

The only published work on 'Parooinge', the vocabulary by Scrivener (1886) disagrees with the other Darling River languages on a number of points. This is partly due to the fact that Scrivener evidently had difficulty in hearing the velar nasal and in recognising final vowels. Some of the discrepancies are probably due to the use of near synonyms, e.g. 'marli', 'blackfellow' (queried by Curr II 1886: 184) is the commonly used Bāgandji word maḷi 'male', 'husband'. Unfortunately in 1967 the last fluent speaker of Bārundji had died: she was Mrs Hannah Quayle, who was also a speaker of Maljaṅaba. There is still one old man, a full blood, who can recall a limited amount of vocabulary, but can no longer form sentences. The notes on Bārundji in the present work are based mainly on material made available by S.A. Wurm.

There is only one person who can speak Guṇu, though she is naturally out of practice and is much happier talking in English. This is Mrs Moisey, a remarkable woman over 100 years old, whose grand-daughters have long been grandmothers. She is now the only person in the far west of New South Wales who remembers the ancient rules and customs and all the details of food-gathering. She was there 'when Gunderbooka Station was starting up, and we all camped under the muguḷi (wild orange) trees'. She was there during corroborees 'but when we were little girls we were not allowed to look and had to put our head underneath the possum rugs'. She later joined in with the dancing and singing 'I was a real bugger for that gaṛambara (quivering of the legs when dancing)'. She can clearly recall a gathering, apparently in Dangagali country, 'when they brought in that Muluṅga dance': this evidence, combined with that of an aged Yandruwanda man, indicates that the Muluṅga or 'Molonglo' had spread further than was suggested by McCarthy (1939:84, see also Hercus 1980). Grannie Moisey was a good friend of the last Bāgandji clever man, Dick Willow, and

she says, 'I was a bit that way (i.e. like a witch-doctor) myself, but I am done now'. Grannie Moisey's recordings have yielded only a limited number of fluent Guṇu sentences, but she has made Guṇu traditions come to life.

#### I.4.2. Wiljāli - Dangāli

Wiljāli, sometimes called Wiljagali was spoken in the Barrier Ranges north of Broken Hill. Only a few words could be collected from the last surviving Wiljāli people, but even these fragmentary remains suffice to indicate that in vocabulary at least Wiljāli had certain similarities with its western neighbour, Yaḍliyawara,

Wiljāli

Yaḍliyawara

guḷu 'kangaroo'

guḍḷu

The scanty vocabularies in Curr by Haines 'Country about sixty miles north-west from a point on the Darling midway between Menindee and Wilcannia', and by Dix 'Boolcoomatta' (i.e. Palkumatta) probably represent different forms of Wiljāli, but all basic information on this dialect has evidently been lost.

The situation is even worse for Dangāli, also called Dangagali 'Uplands-language', once spoken in the Broken Hill area. The Curr vocabularies do not include a list from this dialect nor from its southern sub-dialect Bulāli: our surmises about these forms of speech are based entirely on hearsay. Dangāli and Bulāli have been extinct for some time now, and the last 'wild blackfellows' to roam through the Canegrass country were those of the 'Nanya Tribe' (Hardy 1969). They were probably Southern Bāgandji speakers, seeing that Nanya himself came from Cuthero Station. Tindale (1974:130) regards them as Dangagali, reversing his earlier opinion that they were Marawara (1940). C. Richards (1903) who had first-hand information on the matter, called them 'Marra Warree' but he used that term as a Bāgandji. In his discussion he quotes words which clearly come from South Australia 'moola' - 'nose' (a wide-spread word) and 'willa' - 'woman' (Diyari wila), but the vocabulary proper seems to be pure Southern Bāgandji. And when Richards says (1903:125) 'Nganya and his wives were pure-bred river blacks, born before the advent of Europeans to their country' there seems no reason to doubt their Southern Bāgandji origin.

#### I.4.3. Wanjubaḷgu – Bandjigali

Wanjubaḷgu was once spoken in the White Cliffs area (Beckett 1958). It was closely associated with Bandjigali, which Bonney (1884) calls Bungyarlee. Two of the word-lists in Curr's work, those of Dewhurst and Crozier from Evelyn Creek have been attributed to Wanjubaḷgu (Oates 1970): they do not belong to any Darling River dialect, but probably to Wadigali. This fact has already been implied by Schmidt (1919). There is no published record of Wanjubaḷgu, but George Dutton indicated that this dialect was practically identical with Bandjigali.

Bandjigali was spoken in the Mootwingee area and almost as far as Cobham Lakes. The vocabulary by Reid from the Torrowotto Lakes in Curr's compilation (1886) belongs to this dialect. Bandjigali was spoken by George Dutton 'Galbaḷi', who had traditional and mythological as well as linguistic knowledge. George Dutton's life history has been outlined by the anthropologist who was also his friend, J. Beckett (1958 and 1978). In his later years, George Dutton became more and more isolated in his position as 'knowledgeable old man', as one by one his contemporaries died. He felt, with justification, that he had been ill used by some research workers. His family life was tragic and his home surroundings chaotic and sordid. He was anxious to teach me Bandjigali, but he was too ill to leave his house, where conditions for such work were hopeless. Despite the noise and confusion that were always in the background he nevertheless recorded long conversations, some in English and Bandjigali, and some in English and Maljanaba, about customs and traditions, hunting techniques, and the past in general. George Dutton had a professional outlook towards the six languages and the traditions that he knew, he could not tolerate confusion. In younger days he and his rivals in knowledge, his friends George McDermott and George Ebsworth (both Wangumara) had held competitions on totemic geography and rare vocabulary. This professionalism and preoccupation with accuracy make George Dutton's statements particularly valuable, and he has helped to elucidate not only Bandjigali, but also the other Darling River dialects.

#### I.4.4. Marawara

C. Richards (1903) used the term 'Marraa'warree' for the whole of the Bāgandji language group, but normally the term Marawara has a more restricted meaning and refers to the southernmost dialect of the Darling River, the dialect spoken from Avoca on the Darling down to the Wentworth and Mildura districts and around Lake Victoria. Apart from the work of Tindale already quoted there are vocabularies by

T. Hill Goodwin (1878), by Holden (1884) and by Bulmer (1878 and 1886). Bulmer's 1878 contribution consisted of a longer Marawara vocabulary and he even gave a few phrases: he then called the language 'Murray', presumably because he obtained the data while he was at the Yelta mission near Mildura on the Murray (Massola 1962). It appears from the lists that there were some minor differences between Marawara and Southern Bāgandji in vocabulary. There was also some divergence involving sound-change: Southern Bāgandji intervocalic -dj- corresponds to -y- in Marawara.

Southern Bāgandji	Marawara
wīmbadja 'man'	wīmbaya
gumbadja 'big'	gumbaya
gambidja 'father'	gambiya

Although there were some excellent speakers still living at the time of Tindale's work (1939), Marawara has now been extinct for several decades and despite many efforts it was impossible to obtain any first-hand information.

#### I.4.5. Southern Bāgandji

Southern Bāgandji has fared best of all the Darling River dialects. It was spoken over a large area with very minor regional variations. The vocabularies by Rogers, Wilson, Henderson, Curr, McLennan, by Mair and by Shaw in the Curr compilation and the word-list of C. Richards (discussed in I.4.2.) all belong to Southern Bāgandji. The eastern group of Southern Bāgandji speakers were the Barindji (called Beri-ait by Cameron 1884). By definition they were the people who belonged to bari '*the rough country*', '*the scrub*' and they regarded themselves as different from the Bāgandji, who belonged to bāga '*the river*'. Their reaction to Cameron's remarks is therefore not surprising. He writes (p.346):

I suggested to my informants that they were part of the same tribe [as the Bāgandji], but they would not hear of it.

Despite the difference in habitat, the linguistic distinctions appear to have been minimal. 'Menindee talk' was considered only slightly different from Barindji and from 'Pooncarie talk', but this was, as indicated by Grannie Buggamy, mainly a matter of intonation.

The Southern Bāgandji people from Pooncarie were forced to leave their home to settle at Menindee, but despite their misfortunes they

maintained some feeling of independence and attachment to the old language. The oldest member of this group is Grannie Kate Buggamy. She has been struck by a cruel illness and is permanently in hospital, and yet she has done her utmost to help. Jack Johnson 'Gunsmoke' her cousin, a full blood, is much younger; he is the only person who speaks Bāgandji in preference to English. Nobody in his immediate surroundings understands him, and he has been driven further and further into alcoholism. He can still remember the tales recited in Bāgandji by his maternal grandfather, Ted Brodie of Pooncarie. Most of the work on Southern Bāgandji is due to him and to the encouragement and help of Mrs Elsie Jones. She has long been interested in the language and has a remarkable knowledge of vocabulary. Yet despite all this help my work on Bāgandji must remain inadequate, it cannot do justice to the intricacies of the grammar nor to the vast literature that must have existed. Even in 1886 Teulon felt regretful and asked (p.187):

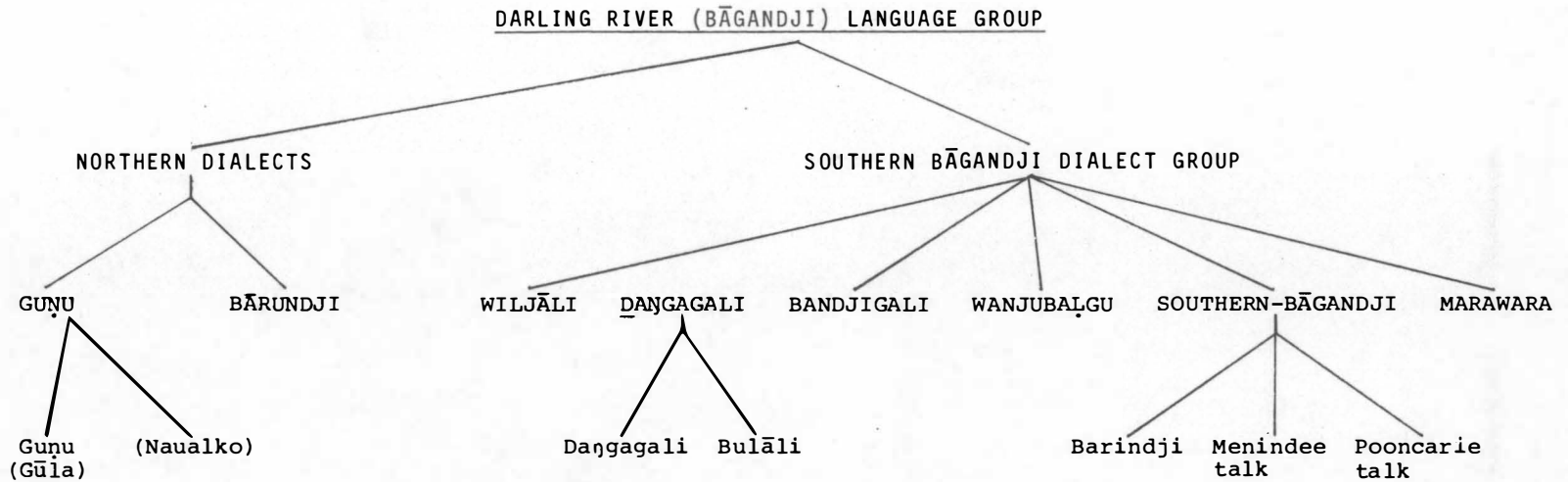
If the shallows can supply such 'inestimable stones', what may not the deep have held?

Now, nearly 100 years later we can only offer a fragmentary account of the Bāgandji language.

#### I.4.6. Summary

The combined evidence of the present day speakers and the older published materials suggest the following dialectal differentiation for the Darling River languages:

Table 1



Capital letters are used to indicate the main dialects.

Lower case letters are used to indicate minor local speech variants.

Dialect names given in brackets are not known to modern informants.





CHAPTER II  
BĀGANDJI PHONOLOGY

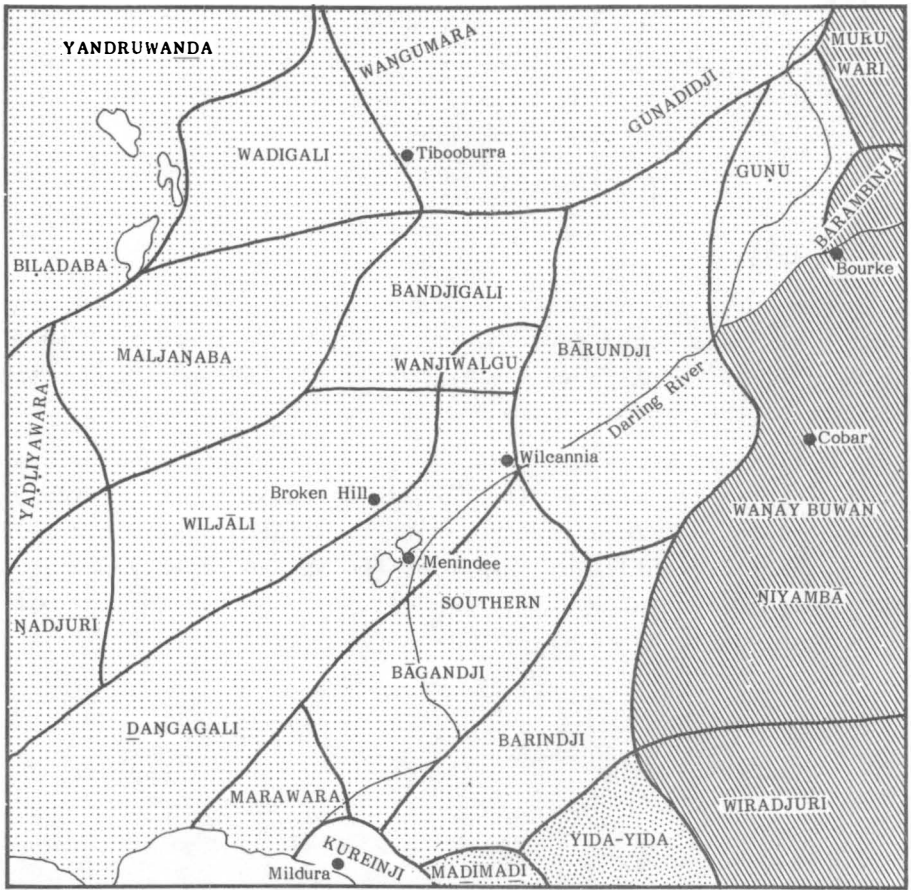
II.1. CONSONANTS

One of the features of Bāgandji word structure is that practically all words begin with consonants (see II.2.3.) and all end in vowels except for ŋim, an emphatic variant of ŋī 'yes': Bāgandji is on the eastern edge of the area in which vocalic finals are the rule.





Bāgandji, as is to be expected from its important boundary status, is also of interest as regards its phoneme inventory: it is midway between the maximum differentiation shown by Yandruwanda (Breen 1971) and the lesser differentiation shown by the Waŋāybuwan-Niyambā language group of central N.S.W. Bāgandji, in common with many other Australian languages, has a six-stop consonant system:

	peripheral		non-peripheral			
	labial	velar	laminal		apical	
			lamino- dental	lamino- palatal	apico- alveolar	apico- domal
stops	b	g	<u>d</u>	dj	d	ḍ
nasals	m	ŋ	<u>n</u>	nj	n	ṅ
laterals			<u>l</u>	lj	l	ḷ
vibrants					r	ṛ
semivowels		w		y		

(The consonants enclosed within the lines do not occur initially; r is found initially in only one word, ralda-ralda 'spawning plover'.)



Map 2: CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

- |  |   |
|--|---|
|  single apical, restricted double laminal distinction |  double laminal, double apical |
|  single laminal, double apical                        |  uncertain                     |

Map 2: Consonantal Phonemes

The few words which begin with consonants of the palatal series are not normal Bāgandji, but borrowed words: djugu 'sugar', njiba 'clothes' (a wide-spread word in South Australian languages).

#### II.1.1. Consonantal Contrasts (non-peripheral contrasts only are listed)

Medial Stops:	mada-	'hard, dry'
	mada-	'to clean up'
	madja	'bold'
	maḍa	'old man', 'tribal elder'
Medial Nasals	baṇadja	'bat'
	bana-	'to make'
	baṇa	'goanna'
	ganja	'cooking stone'
Medial Laterals	gaḷila	'sick'
	gali-	'to see'
	maljiḷa	'large hawk'
	maḷi	'male', 'husband'
Medial Vibrants	yuṛi	'ears'
	yuri-	'to think'

#### II.1.2. Laminal Contrasts

It has been shown conclusively by R.M.W. Dixon (1970a) that Proto-Australian only had a single series of laminal consonants. In Bāgandji there is no contrast in the initial position, as only the dental laminal series occurs at the beginning of words. But medially the contrast is clear: both series occur in most environments. In fact the dentals seem to be preferred in the environment where they are least expected, that is between two high front vowels:

biḍiga	'poison'
wīḍi	'shrimp'
giṇi	'this'

Palatals in this environment are rare:

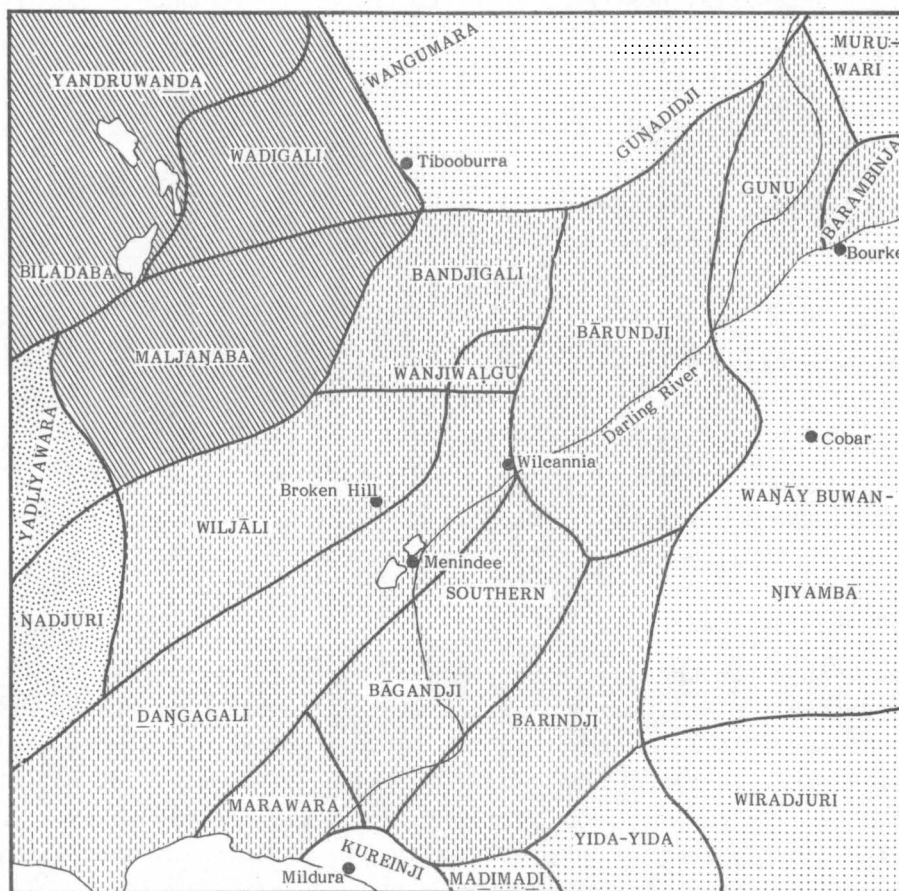
bidjidji	'Wychooga Lake'
----------	-----------------

and on the whole confined to morpheme boundaries

bami-dji	'He saw' (1)
bari-dji	'He went' (2)

There is also one borrowed word which is exceptional in this regard:

mīdji	'name' (from Maljaṇaba)
-------	-------------------------



Map 3: CONSONANT LENGTH

- |   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
|  | pre-stopping of medial nasals and laterals |  | gemination of medial consonants            |
|  | pre-stopping only marginally noticeable    |  | no gemination or lengthening of consonants |

Map 3: Consonant Length

The palatal series of consonants occurs freely both before and after back vowels, in an environment where one would least expect any palatal:

ɲulja-	'to wash'
budji-budji	'hot weather'
bādjuga	'moon'

There was only one clear instance of free variation:

gadunja	'crayfish'
gadjunja	

A variation between dialects was noted in:

Bandjigali	ɲulardi	'a lot'
Guṅu	ɲulardji	'a lot'

One pair of quite obviously related words contained different laminals:

gaduga	'short'
gadji lugu	'little'

It would seem that in Bāgandji the distinction between the two series of laminals is reasonably well established and that it is unlikely to be a very recent introduction.

### II.1.3. Apical Contrasts

As shown in II.1.1. no apical consonants occur initially, but unlike the languages on its eastern boundaries, Bāgandji has two clear series of apical consonants, the apico-alveolar and the apico-domal or retroflex consonants. Both series can occur anywhere in a medial position, irrespective of any vocalic environment:

guda	'others, other people'
guḍa-	'to touch'
ɲadi	'wrong'
ɲaḍi	'alike'

This contrast may be noted also in medial homorganic clusters:

ɲandi	'teeth'
ɲaḍi	'edible root'

and in clusters consisting of nasals and peripheral consonants:

banba	'tree species'	galgu	'bald coot (bird)'
baṅba	'neck'	gaḷgu	'belar tree'

Both series of apical consonants are thus clearly well established in Bāgandji.

#### II.1.4. Neutralisation of Contrasts

The maximum contrast between consonant phonemes occurs in medial position, following the accented vowel: it is this maximum contrast that forms the basis of the phonemic distinctions outlined above. In word-initial position the contrasts are more limited owing to the absence of the entire apical series as well as all palatals from this position (II.1.1.). Initially, therefore even the basic laminal versus apical contrast does not exist. Theoretically one could call this neutralisation of contrasts, but the pronunciation of the initial non-peripherals is distinctly dental.

There appears to have been a neutralisation of contrasts also at the beginning of bound morphemes but in this case it was associated with loss of phonetic distinction: there was no consistent difference made between the accusative/possessive case-markers and the instrumental/locative. Thus no audible distinction was made between *yabara-na* (< *yabara-na*) 'his camp' and *yabara-na* 'in camp'. Both from internal evidence in Bāgandji and from comparative data it is clear that the accusative marker was originally *-na*. The dental phoneme is assured in the accusative of the first person singular pronoun *ɲana* 'me', moreover, as is well known, a large number of Pama-Nyungan languages have an accusative marker *-na* (Blake 1977:70). There can thus be no doubt that the accusative suffix was originally *-na* in Bāgandji also. Comparative data, and in particular the evidence of the Pitta Pitta locative *-ina* (Blake 1977:66) point towards an original Bāgandji instrumental/locative form *-na* with an apico-alveolar initial. But the distinction between the apical and laminal series has been neutralised in this position, that is in the initial of bound morphemes, and there is no evidence of any distinction in pronunciation between the accusative/possessive and the instrumental/locative endings. For simplicity the spelling *-na* has been adopted in all cases, it probably also approximates most closely to the articulation.

The only other case of free variation was between *r* and *ɖ* in the suffix *-ɖi/-ri* (II.2.6.b).

## II.2. PHONETIC NOTES ON THE CONSONANT SYSTEM

### II.2.1. Gemination

In Bāgandji there is very conspicuous lengthening of consonants when they follow immediately on the stress accent which falls on the first syllable of a word. This was noted long ago by C. Richards who was already aware of the close relationship between gemination of

consonants and the pre-stopping of nasal and lateral consonants (Hercus 1972). Richards wrote (1903:164):

The long 'l-l' is sounded by the tongue remaining in contact with the back of the teeth (at the position occupied in sounding 'n' as well as 'd' and 't') for some time, while the sound escapes over the sides of the tongue and along the cheeks to the lips. As in the case of the 'n-n' so the 'l-l' from being formed in the same position with the tip of the tongue, as the 'd', at times seems to sound like 'dl' and thus the words 'Mool-la', 'Gkal-la', 'Wil-la' (i.e. Nose, Dog, Woman) might almost at times be written 'Moodla', 'Gkadla', 'Widla', respectively.

The three words quoted are not ordinary Bāgandji words (possibly Gkadla is a mistake for Bāgandji ga!i 'dog')\*, nevertheless the observation remains valid.

Not all consonants are equally affected by the tendency to geminate: nasals and laterals are most strongly affected.

a) Intervocalic nasals and laterals following the stress accent are in fact truly doubled: there is a syllabic break, a clear arrest in the middle of the actual occlusive articulation:

bami-	[pammi-]	'to see'
bu!i	[bu!i]	'star'
wana	[wanna]	'boomerang'
milinja	[millinja]	'fingernail'

Exception:

Medial nasals in words beginning with a nasal are not usually fully doubled, just optionally lengthened:

<u>mu</u> ni	[mu $\bar{n}$ i]	'green ant'
mu <u>ni</u> -	[mu $\bar{n}$ i-]	'to tie up'
mi <u>na</u>	[mi $\bar{n}$ a]	'what?'

Apart from this one group of exceptions the doubling of the medial inter-vocalic nasals and laterals is so pronounced that there is sometimes an impression that a plosive consonant is present. Of two nasal consonants the first may thus be occasionally partly denasalised, and the first of two lateral consonants may show a slight tendency

---

\*The other two words belong to Diyari and related South Australian languages.

towards an initial occlusion. In other words in Bāgandji there are some signs of pre-stopping and particularly in the case of alveolars one might possibly be tempted at times to transcribe

bu|<sub>1</sub>i [bu||i] 'star' as [bu<sup>ɟ</sup>||i]  
 and  
 wana [wanna] 'boomerang' as [wa<sup>d</sup>nna]

as was indicated by C. Richards in the passage quoted above.

It must however be pointed out that this tendency was only barely noticeable and pre-stopping was not a regular phonetic feature as in South Central Australian languages. The Bāgandji situation is nevertheless of importance because it confirms the links between gemination and pre-stopping.

b) Nasals and laterals that form part of medial clusters are not fully geminated, they are lengthened, but only in the case of dissimilar clusters and then only optionally. In homorganic clusters there is no noticeable lengthening:

balga- [ba<sup>l</sup>ka-] 'to hit'  
 gunga- [gu<sup>ŋ</sup>ga-] 'to swallow'  
 but bunga [bunga] 'hut'

c) Peripheral Plosives following a stressed short vowel are lengthened:

naba- [n<sup>a</sup>p̄a-] 'to lock up'  
 yaba [y<sup>a</sup>p̄a] 'track'  
nigi [n<sup>i</sup>k̄i] 'charcoal'  
 but m<sup>i</sup>gi [m<sup>i</sup>k̄i] 'eye'

d) d, dj and d are only slightly lengthened when they follow a stressed vowel.

e) No lengthening has been noted with d, r and ʀ, nor with y and w.

This is in some agreement with the findings of D. Trefry (1974) who took measurements of the relative consonant lengths in the Diyari language of South Australia. He concluded that the flap r was the shortest medial consonant altogether, and ɟ the shortest medial plosive. The degree to which lengthening of consonants takes place after stressed vowels is much more marked in Bāgandji than in Diyari. Gemination and lengthening of consonants is one of the features that links Bāgandji with the Pitta Pitta dialects of south-western Queensland (Blake and Breen 1971:31).



### II.2.1. Table Summarising Gemination of Consonants after Short Stressed Vowel

full doubling with tendency to pre-stopping	intervocalic laterals and nasals (in words not beginning with nasals)
lengthening	{ intervocalic nasals in words beginning with nasals intervocalic peripheral plosives nasals in non-homorganic clusters laterals in clusters
slight lengthening	intervocalic non-peripherals other than retroflex
no lengthening	{ in homorganic clusters ɖ, ʒ, ɾ, ɣ, w
No lengthening after long stressed vowels	

### II.2.2. Palatalisation

The velar consonants *g* and *ŋ* are palatalised by a following high front vowel *i*. Various degrees of this phonetic feature may be noted.

a) Initially the palatalisation is most noticeable. In the absence of the phonemes *dj* and *ŋj* at the beginning of Bāgandji words there is no danger of any homophonous clashes and therefore no need to conserve the velar articulation of *ŋ + i* and *g + i*. The tendency towards palatalisation in this position is thus even more marked in Bāgandji than in other Australian languages such as Wembawemba (Hercus 1969:19) and the articulation of *g* and *ŋ* in this environment is clearly mediopalatal or sometimes even further advanced: [ʧ] and [ɲ] have been heard as in

gɪlbara [kɪlpara] [ʧɪlpara] name of one moiety  
ŋɪ [ŋɪ] [ɲɪ] 'yes'

b) Medially in the environment *ɪ - i* there is a strong tendency towards palatalisation; hence the pronunciation of the word *nɪgi* 'name' was usually [nɪkɪ] with a medio-palatal plosive. Palatalisation was very slight in the environment *i - i*, *a - i* and *u - i*; *mugi|i* 'wild orange tree' [mukɪ|i] *gigi* 'this here' [kɪkɪ].

Palatalisation in this environment was stronger elsewhere as for instance in Yaralde: the Yaralde 3rd person pronoun gidji is related to Bāgandji (g)igi 'this here'.

### II.2.3. Loss of Initial Consonants

There are several areas in Australia where loss of initial consonants is prevalent, as in Central Australia and Cape York Peninsula (Alpher 1976). Initial peripheral consonants are the ones most usually affected, particularly velars. In Bāgandji normally all words begin with a consonant, but in some circumstances there may be a loss of a velar initial. This loss was much more noticeable in Bandjigali than elsewhere: all the omissions of initials listed as optional under a) and b) were the rule in Bandjigali.

a) In Southern Bāgandji initial g (+ i) may sometimes be lost in demonstrative and third person pronouns and their derivatives. Thus igi is a variant of gigi 'this here', idana and inara are variants of gidana 'his' and ginara 'here' respectively. In Guṇu, however, the situation is different: forms without the initial consonant are the neutral/present forms and the initial g- marks the future tense (Wurm and Hercus 1976).

The adverbial particle gila 'not' is also susceptible to the loss of the initial consonant, and ila has been heard occasionally, though rarely, except of course in Bandjigali, where it was the rule.

Loss of the initial g (+ i) is restricted to the pronominal forms and to gila, there is no sign of it in ordinary nouns and verbs: it was for instance never noted in girinja 'leopard tree', gīra 'country', gila- 'to grow' and girbadja 'black kangaroo'. The development was evidently optional and sporadic and confined to a small group of words which were liable to be used as clitics.

b) In Southern Bāgandji initial ŋ (+ i) is often lost in second person singular pronouns; this elision is extremely rare in Guṇu. Southern Bāgandji examples are:

(ŋ)imba	'you'	(2 sg NOM)
(ŋ)indu	'you'	(2 sg ERG)

even when these are free forms:

imba ŋīnga	'You are sitting down'	(3)
you sit		

Apart from pronouns and the particle ŋī, ŋim 'yes' there is a small group of verbs in Bāgandji which begin with ŋ + i and that is ŋima- 'to lie down', 'to sleep', ŋiba- 'to put down' and ŋīnga- 'to sit'.

These were frequently heard as ima-, and iba- and ŋga-

gila imadjāba 'I didn't sleep' (4)  
not sleep-PAST-I

gaṇara ŋgāba 'I'll sit there' (5)  
there sit-I

It is noteworthy that Bandjigali, where the i-forms prevailed, was the western-most of the Bāgandji dialects that could be recorded and it bordered on Maljaṇaba. If ŋ- is followed by any other vowel there is no sign of any such weakening of the initial. The situation in Bāgandji is connected with that of languages to the west, such as Maljaṇaba, where words beginning with ŋ + i are extremely rare: they are totally absent from languages of the Diyari group and from Arabana-Waṅgaṇuru.

c) No free word in Bāgandji begins with a-. The post-position -albi 'like' is the only unabbreviated morpheme with such an initial. u-, wu- is also never found at the beginning of words, except for the extremely rare variant wura-maṛi for yura-maṛi 'that way'.

Yet, apart from the optional elision of initial g and ŋ, when followed by i in the cases listed above, there is a small group of words beginning with i- (yi-). It is certain that a consonant has been elided here. In some of these words it is possible to establish by comparative evidence what consonant was lost:

ilāgu 'yesterday' is probably \*gilāgu and has links with the demonstrative pronouns (cf. Madimadi gila nawigi 'yesterday', lit. 'that day'). This pronominal origin is confirmed by the fact that there is also in Bāgandji a bound morpheme -ili 'this time'. The long vowel in the second syllable of ilāgu proves that the word was a compound.

The Bandjigali word ilidja 'crayfish' is formed with the suffix -dja 'having' and the initial part of the word is probably connected with the wide-spread South Australian word (d)iliga 'prickle'.

For ŋga- 'to float' no suggestions as to an original initial consonant can be made at present.

Some seventy years before our modern theories on the structure of the word in Proto-Australian C. Richards already indicated that the vocalic initials in Bāgandji were due to the loss of consonants (p.164):  
'They also drop the initial consonant and sometimes the whole

syllable ... and it is probable that all their words beginning with a vowel sound have been thus evolved....'

d) When b (+ u) is the initial of the second member of a compound noun, the plosive may either be weakened to a fricative or lost altogether in rapid speech. Thus the following pronunciations have been heard:

<u>d</u> aḍu-bulgi	'head-hair'	[d̪aḍu-wulki], [d̪aḍulki]
wīmbadja-būnga	'Aboriginal hut'	[wīmbatja-wūnga], [wīmbatjūnga]

The very restricted occurrence of loss of initial consonants indicates that Bāgandji is on the periphery of the initial-dropping area of Central Australia.

#### II.2.4. Clusters Containing Palatals

a) The lamino-palatal nj and lj can occur before the plosive dj. The resulting clusters have been spelt as ndj and ldj throughout instead of njdj and ljdj for the sake of orthographical simplicity. In this environment the palatal articulation may be anticipated and a weak palatal glide may precede the cluster particularly after the vowel u:

gundji	'hut'	[guyntji]
Bārundji		[pāruyntji]

The spellings 'Paruinji', 'Paruindi', 'Parooinge' used by early writers, and 'Paruindji', used by Tindale, all confirm this pronunciation.

b) The lamino-palatals nj and lj also form clusters with b and in this environment the palatal articulation is very strongly anticipated and a palatal glide is always heard:

bunjba	'mushroom'	[buynjba]
<u>d</u> anjba-	'to shine'	[ṭaynjba-]
galjbu	'soon', 'directly'	[kayljpu]
guljbara	'shade'	[guyljpara]

Contrary to expectations there are no similar clusters involving the other peripheral plosive, g, but lack of symmetry between the peripherals can be noted in this respect in other Australian languages, such as Alawa (Sharpe 1972) and Djingili (Chadwick 1975).

#### II.2.5. Voicing

Voice is not phonemic in Bāgandji. There is much variation between individuals and all kinds of degrees of voicing can be noted, as well as differences in tenseness of articulation. The situation is however not arbitrary and the following general rules may be noted:

## a) Initials

The three plosives that can occur word-initially differ from each other with regard to voicing, but they are always voiced when the following syllable begins with -d-.

baḍi	'egg'	[baḍi]
ḍaḍu	'head'	[ḍaḍu]

This is a wide-spread tendency observable also in Maljaḡaba and in neighbouring South Australian languages.

In all other circumstances d initial is devoiced:

For the sake of simplicity devoiced stops have been transcribed in phonetic examples by the corresponding surds [t, p, k]. In the case of initial plosives this represents an exaggeration as usually some of the tenseness of the surd is lacking and the pronunciation is closer to [ḡ, ḡ, ḡ].

<u>d</u> ina	'foot'	[ <u>t</u> inna]
<u>d</u> unga	'grave'	[ <u>t</u> unga]

Initial b and g are always voiced before u:

buga	'dead'	[buḡa]
gumbaga	'wife'	[gumbaka]

and b is always voiced before i:

bigu	'forehead'	[biḡu]
bilda	'possum'	[bilta]

Both b and g are always voiced initially when followed by long vowels except for a + r:

bāga	'river'	[bāka]
gīra	'country'	[gīra]
but Bārundji		[pāruynjtji]

In all other circumstances initial b and g are at least partially devoiced:

bari-	'to go'	[pari-]
bami-	'to see'	[pammi-]
gaḷi	'dog'	[kaḷi]

Table Summarising Initial Voicing (+) and Voicelessness (-)

	b	g	d
followed by:			
ā r	-	-	-
ā, ī, ū	+	+	-
vowel + ḍ	+	+	+
u	+	+	-
i } + consonants other than	+	-	-
a }                                   ḍ	-	-	-

## b) Medial consonants

Medial intervocalic plosives, whether they are geminated or not are always voiceless:

ṅugu	'water'	[ṅuḱu]
bāga	'river'	[bāka]
baḍi	'egg'	[baṭi]
ṅidja	'one'	[ṅitja]

In clusters with homorganic nasals there tends to be some devoicing of the velar and laminal plosives only (unless the preceding vowel is long):

miṅga	'hole'	[miṅka]
wandja-	'to cook'	[wanjtja]
mandā-	'to wait'	[manta]

but

maṅḍi	'ground'	[maṅḍi]
bindi	'lightning'	[bindi]
wīmbadja	'man'	[wīmbatja]

In clusters with non-homorganic nasals there is no devoicing:

gunga-	'to swallow'	[gunga]
baṅba	'neck'	[paṅba]

In clusters with laterals and rhotics plosives are always devoiced:

bargulu	'two'	[parkulu]
baḷgu	'speech'	[paḷku]
malga	'net'	[malka]

Table Summarising Medial Voicing (+) and Voicelessness (-)

	b	g	d	dj	d	ɖ
intervocalic	-	-	-	-	-	-
with homorganic nasal	+	-	-	-	+	+
with contrasting nasal	+	+	+	+	+	+
with laterals and vibrants	-	-	-	-	-	-

Although there are some deviations, as in the situation with homorganic nasals, the general situation regarding voicing is similar to what is found in many other Australian languages, as for instance Pitta-Pitta (Blake and Breen 1971). The main noteworthy feature of Bāgandji in this respect is the high degree of tenseness and total voicelessness of all intervocalic plosives, particularly those that are geminated.

#### II.2.6. Notes on Rhotics and Laterals

a) Unlike the languages immediately to the west, i.e. Maljaḡaba and the languages of the Diyariic group, Bāgandji has only two r-phonemes: one retroflex and one alveolar. The retroflex r is usually a glide, sometimes pronounced with some friction, while the alveolar r is usually a flap and only very rarely a trilled variant form has been heard.

The trilled form was consistently used in the adverbial particle mari [maṹi] 'very':

<u>diridja</u> mari	'very cheeky' [maṹi]
du ag' mar'imba <u>bad</u> very you	'you're no good at all' [tu! ak'maṹimba]

The flapped form of r presented some difficulty in the fluent speech of Mrs Moisey (Guṹu) and Jack Johnson (Southern Bāgandji), where it could be confused with the alveolar l which also had a flapped form. This was particularly the case when r formed a cluster with another consonant (i.e. with the peripheral plosives b and g); thus gulba- 'to speak' could be misheard as \*gurba-. There was no question of any general confusion between r and l, it was simply a rapid-speech approximation. The phonemic distinction was maintained as is shown by:

bali-	'to tidy up'
bari-	'to walk'
balga-	'to hit'
barga-	'to tell lies'

The flapped form of l was never heard in slow and deliberate speech and it never occurred in positions where gemination took place. There was thus a wide range of pronunciation of the ordinary alveolar l:

- a) intervocalic l after a short stressed vowel is fully doubled with a tendency towards pre-stopping
- b) lengthened l occurs in clusters after a stressed vowel
- c) a short l occurs after a long or unstressed vowel
- d) a flapped variant occurs instead of the short l in rapid speech.

b) Free variation

In one particular case in Guṇu the flapped r was slightly retroflexed, but remained distinct from the retroflex continuant: it could not be transcribed by ɾ. It was however almost indistinguishable from ɖ. The case in question was that of the verbal affix -ri/ɖi where ɖ was recorded in roughly 40 per cent of the examples:

dugu-di wadu	'I buried it'	(6)
<u>ɖ</u> ury-INC PAST 1 sg ERG		

gila bina- ri	'Don't start climbing up'	(7)
not <u>cl</u> imb-Vb		

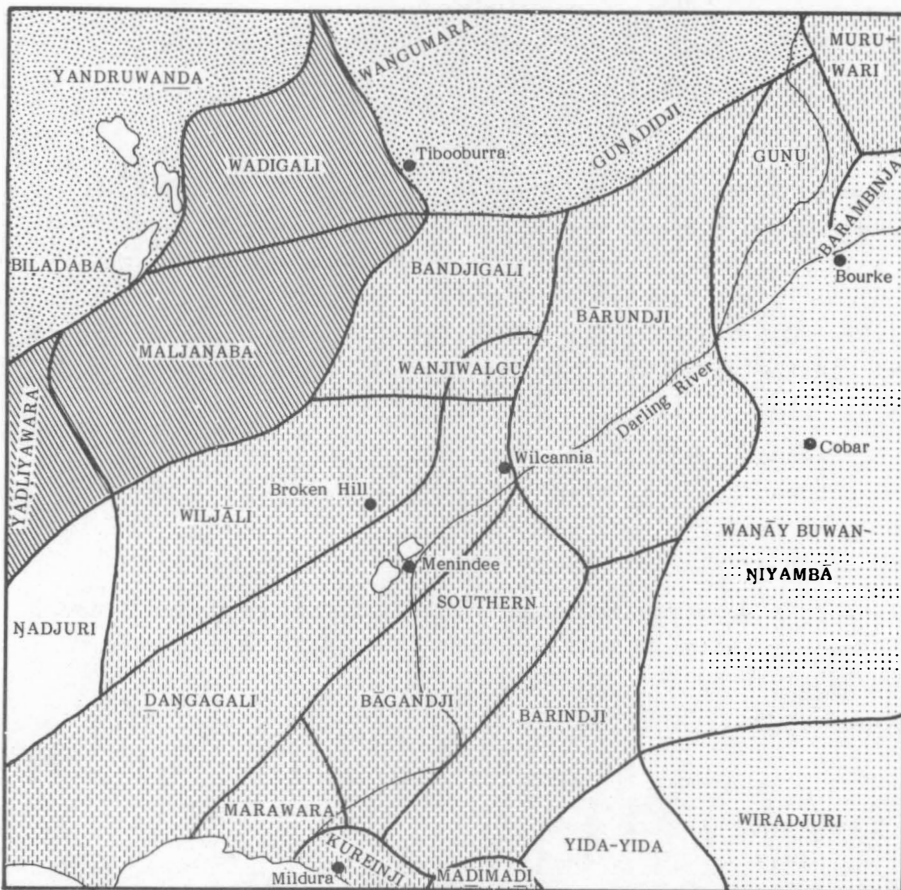
In Southern Bāgandji this suffix is hardly used: where it occurs it is always -ri. In Bandjigali it is quite common and is always -ri:

guḷi-ri -aṅgi -li	'He's just starting to play'	(8)
play-Vb -INC -EMPH		






This would indicate that the forms in ri are probably original. The variant pronunciation was tolerated as it does not give rise to any confusion: -ɖ- is not found under any other circumstances at the beginning of the third or fourth syllable of a word.

The phonetic variations of r and ɾ are much greater in Bāgandji than in neighbouring languages to the east (Waṅāybuwan). On the other hand the phonological distinctions are fewer than in Maljaṅaba to the west. Bāgandji is thus again on a borderline, it is the westernmost language (in this area) with only two rhotic phonemes.





Map 4: VOWEL LENGTH

- |   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
|  | length phonemic only for the vowel <i>a</i>                  |  | no phonemic distinction of vowel length |
|  | length phonemic for <i>a</i> and marginally for other vowels |  | uncertain                               |
|  | full system of vowel length                                  |   |   |

Map 4: Vowel Length

## II.3. VOWELS

## II.3.1. Vowel Phonemes

Bāgandji has three vowel phonemes:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Low	a	

Furthermore, length is phonemic.

In languages immediately to the west of Bāgandji, in Maljaḡaba and Yaḡḡiyawara, and further west still in Adnjamadana and Guyani only the vowel a is marked as to length whereas to the east in Niyambā length is phonemic in all vowels. In Bāgandji the situation is more complex. In all Bāgandji dialects that were recorded length is very clearly phonemic in the vowel a. This distinction in length has a high functional yield, e.g.

bāga	'river'
baga-	'to sing'
gānda-	'to gossip'
ganda-	'to bring'

There are only very few examples of a distinction between i and ī. The only clear instance of a contrast that could be recorded were:

nīgi	'name'
nigi	'charcoal'

and

bīda-	'to spread out'
bida-	'to pinch'

and in fact the long vowel ī is very rare in the language.

In the case of u the situation is even more doubtful: there are just a few instances of contrast:

gunbu	'youth'
gūnbu	'hairy caterpillar'

In some environments free variation between short and long u may be observed, notably before l and before ŋ. Thus buḡga 'hut' has been heard as būḡga and buḡga, and yuḡa 'root' could sometimes be interpreted as yūḡa.

Despite these instances of hesitation the speakers were very conscious of length which in their minds overshadowed other phenomena.

Thus Elsie Jones was heard to say: 'I suppose *ɲim* ('yes') is just short for *ɲī*.'

The distinction between long and short vowels holds only for stressed syllables: in unstressed syllables or in syllables with only a secondary accent long vowels did not occur. There is only a small group of words which form an exception to this rule: even they are not truly exceptions, they are probably compounds of varying degrees of transparency:

<i>balīra</i> (Southern Bāgandji)	'good' (bali + ira ?)
<i>wandāli</i>	'echidna'
<i>malāga</i>	'on the other side'
<i>ilāgu</i>	'yesterday'

As a single morpheme in Bāgandji may only have one main stress, and that on the initial syllable, there are no morphemes with more than one long vowel, but naturally a word containing bound morphemes may have more than one long vowel. The accentual system of Bāgandji is such that stress and therefore the possibility of long vowels occurs very frequently at the beginning of the bound morpheme:

<i>ɲūyaldjāba</i>	'I was frightened'	( <i>ɲūya</i> - l(a) - dj - <i>āba</i> ) (9)
		fear - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr
<i>gūribādu</i>	'I'll hide (it)'	( <i>gūriba</i> - <i>ádu</i> ) (10)
		hide - 1 sg Tr

Length may therefore be said to be a distinctive feature of vowels only to a certain extent: the distinction applies mainly to *a/ā*, more rarely to *i/ī* and *u/ū*, and is significant only in stressed syllables.

### II.3.2. Length and Quality

#### a) The low vowel *a*

In Bāgandji the difference between *a* and *ā* is one of length in phonetic as well as phonemic terms. On the analogy of English we are apt to think of a short *a* as a low front vowel [a], and of a long *ā* as a low back vowel [ā] as in 'father'. But this assumption would be inaccurate for Bāgandji where the normal *a* [a] is neither front nor a true back low vowel. In narrow transcription one may best render it as [a +], an advanced back vowel. The long *ā* is simply a lengthened version, which in all other respects appears to have the same articulatory characteristics. Thus the word *bāga* 'river' can be transcribed as [bā+ka]. The long vowel, as will be discussed in II.4.1-3 is however not prone to changes caused by the consonantal environment, unlike its short counterpart.

## b) The high vowels i and u

The short and long front vowels i and ī are high vowels, but as is generally the case in Australian languages (see for instance Sharpe 1972:19) they are normally below the cardinal vowel.

u and ū are high back vowels, but lower and less rounded than the cardinal [u]. All these front and back vowels are subject to changes in various consonantal environments (II.4.1-3).

## II.4. PHONETIC NOTES ON THE VOWEL SYSTEM

## II.4.1. The o-sounds

o-sounds are common in Bāgandji. Had there been any hope of reviving the language 'o' would have been used as part of the practical orthography. This would have had some disadvantages; it would have rendered parts of the verbal system less transparent as some of the o-sounds represent two vowels that have coalesced in morpheme junctures.

II.4.1a.  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{o}^u$ 

A very close [ $\bar{o}$ ], sometimes slightly diphthongal [ $\bar{o}^u$ ], this is the normal pronunciation of ū when followed by laterals, but not when followed by rhotics:

gū urgu	'mirage'	[g $\bar{o}$  urgu]	[g $\bar{o}^u$  urgu]
mūluru	'water-rat'	[m $\bar{o}$ luru]	[m $\bar{o}^u$ luru]

but

būri	'ghost'	[būri]
------	---------	--------

and also of ū when preceded and followed by a nasal:

<u>n</u> ūŋgu	'woman'	[ <u>n</u> $\bar{o}$ ŋgu]	[ <u>n</u> $\bar{o}^u$ ŋgu]
<u>n</u> ūmu	'hornet'	[ <u>n</u> $\bar{o}$ mu]	[ <u>n</u> $\bar{o}^u$ mu]

There is one exception to this rule, if both the nasals are m the pronunciation of ū appears to remain in the [ $\bar{u}$ ] [ $\bar{U}$ ] range. The word in question is mūma- 'to pick up' [m $\bar{U}$ ma-].

[ $\bar{u}$ ], [ $\bar{U}$ ], and [u], [U] represent the normal pronunciation of ū, u in Bāgandji. The more open pronunciation [ $\bar{U}$ ], [U] alternates freely with the more close pronunciation [ $\bar{u}$ ], [u] according to individuals, except before nasals where the more open vowel is the rule.

II.4.1b. Table Summarising the Pronunciation of Stressed  $\bar{u}$ ,  $u$ 

$\bar{u} + l$		[ $\bar{o}$ , $\bar{o}^u$ ]
nasal + $\bar{u}$ + nasal (except $m\bar{u}ma-$ )		
$\bar{u}$ in all other environments		[ $\bar{u}$ , $\bar{u}$ ]
$u$ followed by nasal		[ $u$ ]
$u$ elsewhere		[ $u$ , $u$ ]

II.4.1c. [ $\bar{ɔ}$ ]

When  $a$  was in an open syllable and was preceded by  $w$  it tended to be raised and slightly rounded: it was pronounced as open [ $\bar{ɔ}$ ]

wabi!ga	'hot'	[ $w\bar{ɔ}p\bar{ɪ}!ka$ ]
waga-	'to hit'	[ $w\bar{ɔ}ka$ ]

This was not the case when laminal consonants followed:

w <u>a</u> dara	'there'	[ $w\bar{a}tara$ ]
wanji	'upper arm'	[ $wanjɲji$ ]
walja	'don't' (prohibitive particle)	[ $walɲja$ ]

When  $a$  was in a closed syllable and was preceded by  $w$  it was not raised, but only slightly rounded: it was pronounced as [ $\bar{ɔ}$ ]. Again this was not the case when a laminal consonant followed:

wambi-	'to fly'	[ $w\bar{ɔ}mbi-$ ]
wanjanja	'nest'	[ $w\bar{ɔ}ŋjanja$ ]
but		
wandja-	'to cook'	[ $wantjtja$ ]

The long vowel  $\bar{a}$  does not become rounded by a preceding  $w$ :

wagu-	'to look for'	[ $w\bar{ɔ}ku-$ ]
wāgu	'crow'	[ $w\bar{a}ku$ ]

Medial  $w$  which usually follows a long vowel, never causes rounding of vowels:

māwulu	'slowly'	[ $m\bar{a}wUlu$ ]
ŋūwala-	'to cook'	[ $ŋ\bar{u}wala$ ]

II.4.1d. Table Summarising the Pronunciation of  $w + a$ ,  $\bar{a}$ .

$a$ preceded by $w$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{followed by laminal} \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{array} \right.$	in open syllable	[ $a$ ]
		in closed syllable	[ $\bar{ɔ}$ ]
			[ $\bar{ɔ}$ ]
$\bar{a}$ preceded by $w$			[ $\bar{a}$ ]
$a$ preceded or followed by medial $w$			[ $a$ ]

II.4.1e. [ɔ̄], [ɔ̄<sup>o</sup>]

[ɔ̄], [ɔ̄<sup>o</sup>] is the result of 'crasis', the contraction of two contiguous vowels u + a and a + u. The occurrence of these contiguous vowels is confined to morpheme boundaries. u + a is particularly common and occurs in the 3rd person possessive form of nouns ending in -u:

ba gu - ana	'his language'	[pa kɔ̄na]
speech his		
bigu - ana	'his face'	[bi kɔ̄na]
face his		

and in the combination of any singular ergative marker and the third person singular object marker:

daldi - 'ndu	- ana	'You hear him'	[taltindɔ̄na]	(11)
hear	2 sg Tr	3 sg obj		

and also in the combination of the habitual and causal past suffix -ngu and some subject markers:

wɪdja - ngu	- adu	'He used to drink'	[wɪtjɔ̄ngu]	(12)
drink	- PERF - 3 sg sub			

The other combination of vowels a + u occurs somewhat less frequently and has been noted particularly in words that have a final a and which are followed by the affix -ulu

ɲidja - ulu	'the one and only one'	[ɲitjɔ̄lu]
one - SG		

As is evident from these examples, crasis is the most common source of o-sounds in Bāgandji.

## II.4.1f. [ɔ̄i]

A slightly more complex form of crasis is found when a final -u becomes contiguous with the first person object and possessive marker -ayi [ai], [ayi]. Pronunciation varies between [ɔ̄i] and [ɔ̄yi], depending mainly on the speed of the utterance:

bami - du	- ayi	'He sees me'	[pammitɔ̄i]	[pammitɔ̄yi]	(13)
ba u - ayi		'my child'	[pa ɔ̄i]	[pa ɔ̄yi]	
child	1 sg POS				

The diphthongal pronunciation [ɔ̄i] is obligatory when another affix follows:

ba u - ayi - ɾi	'to my child'	[pa ɔ̄iɾi]
-----------------	---------------	------------

## II.4.1g.

There is an important restraint on the use of all long o-sounds: they cannot be used in adjacent syllables. Contiguous vowels that would result on such a situation do not undergo crasis but remain in hiatus:

nūŋguana      'his wife'    [nōŋguana    not    \*nōŋgōna]

but in the case of the combination u + ayi, it is u that is usually lost:

wanga - ulu - ayi, wangaulyai [wəŋgōlai] 'my bit of meat'

This restraint is connected with the fact that the o-sounds are a very conspicuous and dominating feature of the Bāgandji language.

## II.4.2. The e-sounds

The e-sounds are not as prominent a feature of Bāgandji as the o-sounds. There are no instances of e caused by crasis: when i + a are contiguous, a is usually elided; for ayi see II.4.4.

## a) ē

ī when followed by r or l is lowered to approximately a mid-close position. Thus gīra 'country' is [gēra], balīra 'good' is [palēra], bamīla 'for seeing' is [pammēla], daldīla 'for hearing' is [taltēla]. There does not appear to be any lowering of ī in a nasal environment.

## b) [ɛ, ə]

a after y is fronted and raised to a low mid-open position when an intervocallic r follows or any laminal consonant:

yara      'tree'      [yera]  
yaldi      'long'      [yɛlti]

a after y is fronted very slightly and raised to [ə] in open syllables, except before w as in yawa [yawa] 'snake species'

yaba      'track'      [yəpə]  
yaɖu      'wind'      [yəɖu]

but not in closed syllables:

yamaga      'catfish'      [yammaka]  
yarga      'to be thirsty'      [yarka]

In Bāgandji after y, regardless of the rest of the environment, a is naturally always more fronted than in corresponding positions after another consonant. In a very narrow transcription it would be rendered by [a+] (Heffner 1964:103):

gaŋma-	'to steal'	[kaŋma-]
yaŋma-	'to break'	[ya+ŋma-]
balga-	'to hit'	[palka-]
yalga	'mouth'	[ya+lka]

There is some variation between individual speakers with regards to the finer points in the gradation of front vowels [a, a+, ə, ε, e].

#### II.4.3. Rounding and Unrounding of Vowels

##### a) The sound [ü]

Rounded front vowels are rare in Bāgandji, much more so than in languages to the south, in Victoria and in Yaralde type languages. Only the high rounded front vowel [ü] is found and it is restricted to one environment: it represents the pronunciation of i when preceded by a w and followed by a retroflex consonant:

wiḍuga	'elder sister'	[wüṭuka]
wiḍu	'old man'	[wüṭu]
wiṇḍa	'lignum'	[wüṇḍa]

It is not possible to interpret this [ü] as u influenced by a following retroflex consonant, as w + u is not found initially in any Bāgandji word, whereas w + i is quite common.

##### b) The sound [w]

When preceded by y the vowel u is unrounded to varying degrees and tends towards the pronunciation [w], more so in rapid speech than in slow deliberate utterances. This process of unrounding is also dependent to some degree on the consonant following u, it is very noticeable when a laminal or a retroflex consonant follows, and much less marked in a peripheral environment:

yugu	'sun'	[yuk̥u]
yuduru	'path'	[ywt̥Uru]
yuŋa	'root'	[yũŋa]
yudi	'tripe'	[ywt̥i]

Like the rounded front vowel, the unrounded back vowel does not constitute a conspicuous or important feature of Bāgandji.

#### II.4.4. Medial Semi-vowels

##### a) Medial y

Medial y is restricted in its occurrence. In free morphemes it is only found in environments other than i/ and /i:



mūya-	'to quarrel'
wayu-	'to feel sorry'
guyuṛu	'plant species'

There are only a few exceptions to this restriction, dayi- 'to eat', and bārayi- 'to hear' (Bārundji) and the word Dūyiga 'the fiend with the bag', a mythical being which carried away and devoured many captured humans: this word may be borrowed from Niyambā, where it is also unusual and probably onomatopoeic, as shown by T. Donaldson (1980).

In junctures with bound morphemes -iya and -ayi are found in all dialects except Guṇu: in rapid speech ayi is pronounced as a diphthong [ai] (for [ɔi] see II.4.1.d). The bound morphemes involves are -ayi (1st person possessive and object marker in Southern Bāgandji), and -yiga (3rd person plural) as in ḡṅgayiga [ḡṅgaika] 'they sit'. The diphthong [ai] can occur in two consecutive syllables in Southern Bāgandji:

nabayigayi (naba-yiga-ayi)  
'They lock me up' [nāpāikai] (14)

miṅgurayigayi (miṅgura-yiga-ayi)  
'They're mean to me' [miṅguraikai] (15)

The practically complete absence of this diphthong [ai] is one of the distinguishing phonetic features of the Guṇu dialect.

#### b) Medial w

Medial w is restricted to the same environment as y in free morphemes. In junctures with bound morphemes it occurs only in the environment i/a:

yawa	'snake species'	[yawa]
ḡwala	'to cook'	[ḡwAla]
būwuru	'leaf'	[būwUru]
ḡali -wa	'we two'	[ḡaliwa]

Bāgandji differs from the majority of Australian languages and in particular from Waḡāybuwan - Niyambā (Donaldson 1980) in that medial w always remains and does not give rise to diphthongs. It remains even if the surrounding vowels are identical, they never merge even in rapid and careless speech: thus būwuru is always [būwUru] and never \*[būru]. The diphthong [au] is totally absent from Bāgandji.

#### II.4.5. Unaccented Vowels

Unaccented vowels in many Australian languages tend to be reduced to shwa: this is the case particularly in languages with a strong stress accent as in Victoria (Hercus 1969:121). Bāgandji is unusual in this respect: unaccented non-final vowels are fully maintained

except in one environment, that is in the penultimate syllable of a trisyllabic nominal or verbal base. In this environment some weakening takes place in rapid or careless speech, but hardly ever even then do vowels become unrecognisably reduced to a shwa. There are only a few words in which there is any doubt, one of these is *mugi|i / mugu|i* 'wild orange tree' which was sometimes heard as [mukI|i] and sometimes as [mukU|i]. The weakening of the vowel of the middle syllable is roughly as follows:

a > [ʌ]  
i > [ɪ]  
u > [ʊ]

as in

Bāgandji [bākʌnʃtʃi]  
mididja 'sister in law' [mitɪtʃa]  
yaŋgudja 'left hand side' [yaŋkʊtʃa]

The rarity of indistinct vowels and of the neutral vowels is one of the characteristic features of all the Bāgandji dialects and one which is to a considerable extent responsible for the 'melodious' quality of Bāgandji speech.

#### II.4.6. Elision of Final a in External Sandhi

The morphophonemic rules (internal sandhi) of Bāgandji are complex. Except for the phonetic problems of [ɔ] discussed in II.4.1.c. these rules are closely tied to morphology, as different declensional and conjugational affixes show varying degrees of resistance to assimilatory processes. Morphophonemic rules will therefore be discussed as part of morphology. The present section is concerned only with the elision of a when final in a word or when followed by a bound morpheme that has independent accentuation.

##### a) Unaccented a

In rapid speech the final vowel can occasionally be elided when the final syllable is a declensional affix or clitic and unaccented:

wīmbadjan' for wīmbadjana and da|ɖan' for da|ɖana in  
gila wīmbadja-n' .gāndarādu, da|ɖa-n' gāndarādu  
not man-GEN blood-3sg, 'roo-GEN blood-3sg  
'It's not human blood but kangaroo blood' (16)

bunḡan' for bunḡana in

bunḡa-n' ḡṅga-adu mūrbaḡi  
Camp-LOC sit-3 sg child-mine  
'My child's at home'

(17)

Sometimes before labials there is even some assimilatory change of the preceding consonant in very rapid speech, such as -dim' for diḡa and yugum' for yuguna in

giga-maḡi - dim' baridju  
this-way - truly go-PAST-3 sg  
'Surely he went this way?'

(18)

yugu-m' balṅra  
sun-LOC good  
'in the fine sunshine'

In Guḡu this kind of elision and the change from n to m may occur even if there is no labial consonant following and the word is utterance final:

wilga ḡadi maḡu-na  
hungry PRES 3 Pl bread-LOC  
'They're hungry for bread' (maḡuna)

(19)

The sporadic loss of unaccented final a is found in all the recorded dialects of Bāḡandji.

#### b) Elision in trisyllabic nominals and adverbs

In rapid speech there is occasional elision of final -a when a trisyllabic word is followed by the dual and plural marking postpositions - ḡulu and -(u)ḡu, or when any closely associated word follows within the same noun phrase:

ḡamag' - ḡulālina  
mother - D1 - 1 dl POS  
'the two mothers of us two' (for ḡamaga)

wimbar' - ḡu  
daughter - Pl  
'daughters' (for wimbara)

duḡag' ḡandi - dja  
bad teeth - having  
'a person with bad teeth' (for duḡaga)

du|ag' - waḍa  
*bad smelling*  
 'stinking'

as opposed to

buga - waḍa  
*foul smelling*  
 'stinking' never \*bug' as buga is not trisyllabic

In Guṇu this situation is somewhat more common as the possessive adjective often follows the noun in a noun-phrase and the final a of trisyllabics is therefore liable to elision:

ḡamag' ḡari  
*mother mine*  
 'my mother' (for ḡamaga)

In trisyllabic adverbs final a is similarly liable to elision before a closely linked word within the same verb-phrase:

gāndinj 'mari ḡīnga - dj - ūlu ḡaradja  
*long very sit -PAST- 3 dl together*  
 'The two of them stayed together for a very long time' (20)  
 (for gāndinja)

nandar' duḡgu - ma - la - ḡgu - adu  
*again twisted - Vb - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub*  
 'Again he went twisting himself along (the watersnake)' (21)  
 (for nandara)

### c) Elision in Verbs

In verbs a similar kind of elision occurs before the verbalising suffix -ma-, though this is not strictly speaking a case of external juncture. -ma- forms verb stems from nominal bases and secondary verbs from verbal roots. Before -ma- there is always elision of the final -a of a trisyllabic stem as in:

du|ag' -ma- 'to make bad' (from du|aga 'bad')  
 baninj -'mala- 'to be jealous' (from baninja)

On the whole this does not happen in shorter words,

buga-mala- 'to die'

though there are occasional instances of it, as in:

duḡ-mala- 'to come loose'

and even with some assimilation of the preceding consonant :

yan-mala- 'to grieve' for \*yand-mala- from yanda- 'to cry'

But this last verb is exceptional, the elision of final a before the verbal affix -ma and the resulting unusual consonant clusters are characteristic of trisyllabic stems.

#### d) Elision before vocalic initials

As vocalic initials are very few (II.2.3.) this kind of elision is a relatively rare occurrence:

manda-l' T̄nga - na  
wait-OPT sit - PTC  
'They are sitting waiting' (for mandala) (22)

ḡaḡa - la - ab' ina gigaḡa ḡira-na  
stay - TOP - 1 sg this here country-LOC  
'I'm staying in my own country' (for ḡaḡalāba) (23)

and in Guḡu:

gila bami win' idana  
not see PAST-1 pl this ACC  
'We never saw it' (for wina) (24)

but in careful speech the a remains in this position:

muni - 'ndu - ana idana gaḡima  
tie - 2 sg Tr - 3 sg obj this-OBJ dog-2 sg POS  
'Tie up this dog of yours' (25)

and in Guḡu:

wayura ḡaba daḡḡa iduna-ri  
sorry PRES 1 sg roo this-DAT  
'I'm sorry for that kangaroo' (26)

The elision of a in all cases (except (c)) is a rapid speech phenomenon. It is of interest as it reveals (in (a), (b), and (c)) an underlying tendency to reduce trisyllabic forms to disyllabics. The tendency is particularly strong to reduce all verbal stems to two syllables: this probably accounts for the fact that elision in verbs (c) is not confined to rapid speech.

## II.5. SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

### II.5.1. Free Morphemes

All free morphemes apart from the one monosyllable ḡ̄, ḡim 'yes' have the following basic structure:

disyllabic CV(C)CV Type baga- balga-

All verbal roots are disyllabic, as well as the majority of nouns, in total about 67 per cent of the vocabulary.

The pattern CVCV is found in about 52 per cent of the disyllabic free morphemes, the pattern CVCCV belongs to the remaining 48 per cent.

#### trisyllabic CV(C)CV(C)CV

This comprises nouns and adjectives and those few enlarged verbal stems (i.e. verb + aspect marker) which are not found in their root form. Trisyllabic words comprise about 29 per cent of the total vocabulary. The pattern CVCVCV is found in 56 per cent of the trisyllabic words. Type *baraga*. CVCCVCV is found in roughly 32.5 per cent. Type *bargulu*. CVCVCCV in 11 per cent. Type *bādjirga*. CVCCVCCV is less than 1 per cent. Type *gandja!ga*.

#### polysyllabic CV(C)CV(C)CVCV

This category comprises only slightly under 4 per cent of the total vocabulary. The words in question are almost exclusively terms for less common fauna and flora. The pattern CVCVCVCV (Type *daramula*) is the only one that is reasonably common, CVCVCCVCV (Type *gařambara*) occurs a few times, while the remaining possibilities are confined to isolated words.

Words of more than four syllables are very few in number and may all be compounds that have ceased to be transparent, such as *bumalabuga* 'tortoise'.

#### II.5.2. Full words

In the course of ordinary Bāgandji discourse, words are naturally longer than the simple lexical items analysed in the preceding section. Nouns may be followed by declension and possession markers, and verbs are particularly long, as they may incorporate aspect markers, and tense, and (except in Guṇu) person markers. In ordinary discourse in Southern Bāgandji four-syllable words are the most common, slightly outnumbering three-syllable words. Five and six syllables are quite usual; seven syllables represent the maximum of what is common, any words longer than this involve derivational procedures such as reduplication.

Guṇu is in marked contrast in this respect with the other Bāgandji dialects: because of the lesser use of affixation in Guṇu, words of three syllables are the most common in this language and there are only few instances of words longer than four syllables. The shorter words of Guṇu and the abruptness of speech give rise to the view that Guṇu 'sounds different' and is 'heavy'.

### II.5.3. Accentuation

Accent in Bāgandji is non-phonemic, its position is predictable and is governed by rules, but these rules are complicated by morphophonemic processes. The accent is marked not only by stress, but by a distinct rise in pitch. The basic pattern of the accent is the same as in practically all Australian languages: it falls on the first syllable of a word. Words of two syllables therefore follow a trochaic rhythm:

ŋfdja     'one'     <sup>ˈ</sup>     Pitch:   
 máŋgu     'arm'     ˘    

In all types of words of three syllables the accent is still on the first syllable, and the final syllable (unless it is a declensional affix or a clitic) has a very minor secondary accent (˘) with only a slight rise in pitch. The rhythm is therefore dactylic:

gúnigà     'fire'     <sup>ˈ</sup>     Pitch:   
 Bāgandji  
 yáŋgudjà     'left'     ˘    

In all types of words of four syllables the pattern is again trochaic with the secondary accent being more prominent

bfradùda     'hawk'     <sup>ˈ</sup>     Pitch: 

This basic trochaic and dactylic pitch and stress pattern is in fact the prevailing accent system of Guṇu.

In Southern Bāgandji it can only be described as the underlying pattern. The prevailing pattern of Southern Bāgandji speech and the typical intonation is much less simple and stereotyped than this. The main feature that cuts right across the basic system is the following:

In words consisting of two morphemes, if the second morpheme begins with a vowel a strong rising accent falls onto the juncture syllable (^).

The rising accent in the juncture only occurs in the case of the following four categories of bound morphemes:

1. Pronominal subject and object markers
2. Pronominal possessive affixes
3. Optative and present participle
4. The affix 'mbala 'with', the emphatic particle - dina and the singular-marking affix -ulu.

Examples:

ɲidja + ulu [ɲitjôlu] 'all alone'  
one - SG


ɲĩnga + aba [ɲĩngâpa] 'I sit' (27)  
sit - 1 sg sub


balu + ana [bá!ôna] 'her child'  
child 3 sg POS

It is clearly noticeable that in Southern Bāgandji case and tense markers and stem-forming affixes do not attract the rising accent. This fact, combined with the absence of the rising accent from Guṇu, makes it likely that this accent was linked with a relatively recent form of affixation: the accent emphasises the beginning of the bound morpheme.

#### II.5.4. Accentuation of Complex Bound Morphemes

When two bound morphemes of the categories listed in II.5.3. follow each other in successive syllables only one case of crasis and rising intonation occurs. The positioning of this accent follows certain fixed stress patterns. Thus:

Pitch  gabāduna 'I follow him' (28)  
gaba -adu -(a)na  
follow -1 sg Tr 3 sg obj  
not \* gabaduana (gaba-(a)du-ana)

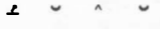
Pitch  gūribaduana 'I hide it' (29)  
gūriba-(a)du -ana  
hide -1 sg Tr 3 sg obj  
not \* gūribāduana

Except for cases involving the third person plural object or possessive the patterns are as follows:


 but not  
nor  (permissible only with  
non-singular second  
bound morphemes).




The third person plural object and possessive marker -*nga* always attracts a rising accent to the syllable preceding it: the patterns not permissible elsewhere are therefore favoured:



 mūmadunga 'I pick them up' (30)  
 mūma - (a)du - nga  
 pick up - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj


This attraction of the accent applies regardless of whether -*nga* is the final morpheme or not



 mūrbanāriguṅgaṛi 'to her children'  
 mūrba - nār - igu - nga - rī  
 child - Sp Pl - Pl - 3 pl POS - DAT

When the second of two bound morphemes is any other non-singular form, barring the third person plural, the first syllable of this second bound morpheme always bears the rising accent and the pattern is thus always dactylic:


 bamidubana 'I see you two' (31)  
 bami - du - ubana  
 see - 3 sg Tr - 2 pl obj


 būbadurinana 'He will shoot us' (32)  
 būba - d - ur' - inana  
 shoot - FUT - 3 sg sub - 1 pl obj


 gandidjālina 'He took us two' (33)  
 gandi - dj - (u) - ālina  
 take - PAST - 3 sg sub - 1 dl obj


 nabadiginana 'They'll lock us up' (34)  
 naba - d - ig' - inana  
 lock-up - FUT - 3 pl sub - 1 pl obj

This strong rising pitch accent of bound morphemes associated with a generally dactylic pattern is one of the most conspicuous features of Southern Bāgandji speech.

## II.5.5. Phonotactics

## Initials

The remarkable similarity between Aboriginal languages as regards phonology has often been stressed (Capell 1967, Dixon 1972) and it is well known that phonetically identical words can occur in a number of languages: these are however usually words that are very simple in their structure. On the other hand, each language is distinctive as regards detailed phonotactics though there are some broad regional similarities, such as the absence of final consonants in Central Australian languages and as far east as Bāgandji. The limitation of initial consonant contrasts has already been mentioned (II.1.1.) as have vocalic finals (II.4.6.) and syllable patterning (II.5.1.), but there are also specific limitations on consonantal clusterings.

There are no initial consonant clusters: in this way Bāgandji differs from the Yaralde language group and from Kulin languages other than Madimadi.

## II.5.6. Intramorphemic Medial Consonant Clusters

Clusters with the second element being a peripheral

Clusters with the second element being a non-peripheral

		laminal		apical	
labial	velar	dental	palatal	alveolar	retroflex
mb	ŋg	<u>nd</u>	njdj	nd	ɳɳ
nb nm	ng (nŋ)				
ɳb ɳm	ɳg (ɳŋ)				
njb	(njg)				
		<u>ld</u>			(ɭɳ)
lb (lm)	<u>lg</u>			ld	
ɭb	ɭg			(ln)	
ljb			ljdj		
rb rm	<u>rg</u>	(ɾn)			

Enclosed within lines are the 'basic' clusters, those permissible in positions other than after the main stress accent, i.e. the accent which falls on the first syllable of a word.

Clusters in brackets occur only very rarely, in one, or at the most two isolated words.





CHAPTER III

BĀGANDJI MORPHOLOGY: NOMINALS

III.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NOMINALS

III.1.1. Word Classes

The following word-classes may be distinguished in Bāgandji: some classes are closed containing only a fixed number of member words:

(1) Nominals	}	open
(a) nouns		
(b) adjectives	}	closed
(2) Verbs		
(3) Pronominal adverbs		
(4) Pronouns		
(5) Adverbs		
(6) Clitics		
(7) Interjections		

III.1.2. Convergence of Word Classes

One of the main features of Southern Bāgandji is the convergence of the first three word-classes: they can all form minimal sentences with the addition of bound personal pronouns:

1.a. *balu* - *adu*                      *'He is a child'*                      (37)  
*child* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub

Bāgandji *nūngu-aba*                      *'I am a Bāgandji woman'*                      (38)  
*woman-1 sg* Intr

1.b. *duḷaga* - *adu*                      *'He is bad'*                      (39)  
*bad* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub

*balīrāba* (*balīra-aba*)                      *'I am good'*                      (40)  
*good* - 1 sg Intr



Tense markers being furthest removed from the verb are affixed to the auxiliary if this is used (Capell on Diyari in Dixon 1976, and Austin 1978). The relationships of these markers to the classes of words can be shown in the following table for Bāgandji and languages to the west:

Table Showing Possibilities for Affixation

Class	Aspectual Markers	Tense Markers	Person Markers
Nominals	-	-	+ Southern Bāgandji - Guṇu, Maljaṇaba, Arabana
Verbs	+	+ Guṇu + elsewhere	+ Southern Bāgandji + Maljaṇaba - Guṇu - Arabana
Pronominal adverbs	-	-	+ Southern Bāgandji - elsewhere

+ = affixed

- = not affixed

R.H. Robins writes (1970:220) 'The most general class distinction in languages seems to be between the classes designated nominal and verbal'. Despite the convergence pointed out above, this statement remains correct for Bāgandji. There are deep and basic semantic distinctions which single out the verb; verbs refer to notions and activities or lack thereof, both physical and mental, while nouns refer to objects and animates, to nature and to a few abstractions such as *mīga* 'pain', *mīdji* 'name', *ḡalba* 'habit'. Adjectives are relatively few in number and refer to properties of size, colour, quality and quantity.

#### III.1.4. Case-affixes: Ordering

Both the nominals and the pronouns show case inflection and may also be marked for number, but there are important differences between the nominals and pronouns with regard to the operation of the declension system. Case markers are affixed directly to the nominal stem or to an extended stem according to the following ordering system:

STEM + NUMBER + POSSESSIVE + CASE

The case marker is thus always final in the nominal word, e.g.:

mūrbānārigungarī                    'to their children'                    (49)  
 mūrba - nāri - gu - ŋga                    - ri  
*child* - sp Pl - Pl - 3 pl POS - DAT

The final position of the case marker is usual in the 'suffixing' languages of Australia, but not the rule; in Victoria, for instance, that position is held by the possessive suffix:

Wembawemba            laṇadug            'in his camp'                    (50)  
 laṇ - ad - ug  
*camp* - LOC - 3 sg POS

For the special conditions applying in Guṇu see III.4.

The following are the case marking suffixes:

	Southern Bāgandji	Bandjigali	Bārundji	Guṇu
<b>NUCLEAR CASES</b>				
ABSOLUTIVE { Intr.sub Tr.sub.	∅	∅	∅	∅
ERGATIVE	∅ or -ru *	∅ or -ru *	∅ or -ru	∅ or -ru
DATIVE	-ri	-ri	-ri	-ri
<b>PERIPHERAL CASES</b>				
ALLATIVE	-ri	-ri	-ri	-mi ri
{ INSTRUMENTAL LOCATIVE GENITIVE }	-na	-na	-na	-na
	-na	-na	-na	-na
	-na	-na	-na	-na
ABLATIVE	-(u)ndu	-(u)ndu	-(u)ndu	-(u)ndu
PURPOSIVE-BENEFACTIVE	-mandi	-mandi	-mandi	-mandi
COMITATIVE	-(a)mbala, umbula [-amada]	-(a)mbala, umbula [-amada]	-(a)mbala, umbula [-amada]	-(a)mbala, umbula [-amada]

\* -ru is very rare. (dem. -nuru, -duru)



The case-marking suffixes are unaccented except for the Purposive-Benefactive *-mandi* and the Guṇu allative *-miṛi*: these have an independent accent, are dissyllabic (II.5.1) and begin with a permissible initial consonant; they therefore concord with the criteria for an independent word and could strictly speaking be called post-positions. But no syntactic significance is attached to this distinction: the Guṇu allative *-miṛi* is used in exactly the same way as the unaccented Southern Bāgandji allative suffix *-ṛi*.

There are only two suffixes which show allomorphic variation:

- (a) The basic ablative ending is *-undu*. This is shortened to *-ndu* normally in words of more than two syllables, but only rarely in words of two syllables, and then only in rapid speech. When the full affix *-undu* is used, it remains an explicit form: its initial is always in hiatus with the preceding final vowel of the stem. There is never any 'crasis' of the kind described in II.4.1.e.
- (b) The comitative suffix is *-umbula* after stem-final *-u*, and *-ambala* or *-mbala* elsewhere according to speed of utterance. Again there is never any coalescence with a preceding vowel.

The following paradigms illustrate the addition of case-suffixes to nouns:

denoting animates / inanimates  
 dissyllabic / polysyllabic  
 ending in *-a*, *-i*, *-u*.

The paradigms are for *baṇa* 'goanna', *yabara* 'camp', *yarandji* 'possum' (and *gaḷi* 'dog' in Guṇu where *yarandji* does not occur), *dumbi* 'waterhole', *baḷu* 'child', *gurguru* 'box-tree'.

In these paradigms morpheme boundaries have been noted where a hiatus occurs (as in *gaḷi-ambala*). The pronoun which carries the ergative marker has also been noted separately (*baṇa-duru*). Guṇu forms are identical to Southern Bāgandji unless otherwise stated.

## III.1.5. ADDITION OF CASE SUFFIXES TO NOUNS

ABSOLUTIVE	baña	yabara	<u>d</u> umbi	yarandji	ga i	ba u	gurguru
ERGATIVE	baña baña- <u>d</u> uru bana- <u>n</u> uru baña ru,baña(G)			yarandji yarandji- <u>d</u> uru yarandji- <u>n</u> uru		ba u ba u- <u>d</u> uru ba u- <u>n</u> uru ga i ru,ga i (G)	ba u ba u- <u>d</u> uru ba u- <u>n</u> uru ba uru,ba u(G)
DATIVE	baña <i>ɾ</i> i	yabara <i>ɾ</i> i	<u>d</u> umbi <i>ɾ</i> i	yarandji <i>ɾ</i> i		ba u <i>ɾ</i> i	gurguru <i>ɾ</i> i
ALLATIVE		yabara <i>ɾ</i> i yabarami <i>ɾ</i> i (G)	<u>d</u> umbi <i>ɾ</i> i <u>d</u> umbimi <i>ɾ</i> i (G)		ga i <i>ɾ</i> i (G) ga i na (G)		gurguru <i>ɾ</i> i gurgurumi <i>ɾ</i> i (G)
INSTRUMENTAL	} baña	yabarana	<u>d</u> umbi na	yarandji na		ba u na	gurguru na
LOCATIVE							
GENERAL							
ABLATIVE	baña- <u>u</u> du	yabarandu	<u>d</u> umbi- <u>u</u> du	yarandji <u>u</u>		ba u- <u>u</u> du	gurguru <u>u</u>
PURPOSIVE- BENEFACTIVE	baña <u>u</u> mandi	yabara <u>u</u> mandi	<u>d</u> umbi <u>u</u> mandi	yarandji <u>u</u> mandi		ba u <u>u</u> mandi	gurguru <u>u</u> mandi
COMITATIVE	baña- <u>a</u> mbala			yarandji- <u>a</u> mbala		ba u- <u>a</u> mbala	
					ga i- <u>a</u> mbala (G)		

## III.2. THE NUCLEAR CASES

## III.2.1. General Comments

The nuclear cases are those which fulfil the main syntactic functions in a sentence, and which can occur with only one reference or conjunct referents in each sentence: the major functions are those of intransitive subject, transitive subject and object.

The nominal system of Bāgandji as opposed to the pronominal system is basically nominative/ergative as in the majority of Pama-Nyungan languages: that is, the intransitive subject and transitive object are represented by the 'absolute' case which is unmarked, while the transitive subject is in the ergative case.

Trans. sub.		Trans. obj.
wāgu - nuru	gaŋma-dji	wanga - ul' - ayi
crow - DEM ERG	steal-PAST	meat - SG - 1 sg POS-ABS ø
'That crow took my own bit of meat'		
		(51)

Trans. sub.	Trans. obj.
muni-muni-duru	widunja naba - dji
police - DEM ERG	all ABS ø lock-up-PAST
'The police locked them all up'	
	(52)

Trans. sub.	Trans. obj.
gumbadja mali-nurū - diŋa	waga-dji ina yara
big man-DEM ERG - EMPH -	cut-PAST this tree - ABS ø
'This big man cut down the tree'	
	(53)

	Intrans. sub.
bari - nga - adu	igi nūŋgu
go - ASP - 3 sg sub	this woman - ABS ø
'This woman is going away'	
	(54)

This basic system is obscured by the following features in Bāgandji:

- (a) a lax and optional use of ergative marking. This is probably due to
- (b) the fact that ergative marking is not essential for comprehension on account of the use of bound pronouns. Ambiguity is further avoided in that the transitive subject always preceded the object, as is illustrated by the examples above. This fixed order is basic and obligatory in the language, and also applies to bound pronouns (IV.5.).

- (c) there is an extension of the intransitive type of construction (Blake 1977:6) 'where an aim or wished for result is implied': the object is then marked with the dative case affix.

### III.2.2. Double Absolutive

As the absolutive fulfils the function of intransitive subject and transitive object (III.2.1.) it can occur only once in a sentence. There is however an exception: when both a part and a whole are affected by an action, they can be regarded as a double patient, and so the absolutive, or as the case may be, the pronominal accusative can be used for both the part and the whole. This normally applies with body-parts:

gaʃi - duru      baɖa - nd' - uma      maɖa - ama  
*dog* - DEM ERG *bite* - POT - 2 sg obj *hand* - 2 sg POS ABS  
 'That dog might bite your hand' (55)

bɪbuɾu dadja - d - uma      yaɣu - ama  
*ant* *bite* - FUT - 2 sg obj *leg* - 2 sg POS ABS  
 'Ants will bite your leg' (56)

nandi      balga - adiga      gunundu  
*tooth* ABS *hit* - 3<sup>pl</sup> sub *youth* ABS  
 'They knock the youths' teeth out' (Bandjigali) (57)

(An alternative usage, probably with less emphasis on the person of the patient, involves the use of the dative III.2.6.)

'The part and the whole' in sentences of the type listed above (55-57) could possibly be regarded as being in a single noun-phrase, the part being in apposition to the whole. But in Bāgandji such constructions have only been recorded where a patient is involved, and not with any other case. It is more in keeping with the Bāgandji situation to regard the personal patient as being an 'ethic' or 'sympathetic' patient, the body-part being the direct patient: there is therefore a double absolutive.

### III.2.3. Accusative by Attraction

As shown above (III.2.1.) case-marking for the accusative is alien to the Bāgandji nominal system, since the direct object of a transitive verb is in the absolutive case. There are however a few isolated instances in Southern Bāgandji recorded material where accusative case marking does occur with nouns: these exceptions are clearly

attributable to the influence of the Nominative-Accusative distinction of the pronominal system. In all the instances in question the object is referred to by a cross-referencing pronoun before it is given as a noun, the bound pronoun could therefore easily have conditioned the case-marking of the noun (the relevant forms here are doubly underlined):

gurali gabi - ru - ana, gabi - ru dīri - na  
*Jay-bird follow* - NF - 3 sg obj, *follow* - NF *Peewee* - ACC  
 'The Jay-bird followed him, he followed the Peewee' (58)

yuramaṛi gāndi - d - uru - ana guniga - na yaḍu - ḍuru  
*thither carry* - FUT - 3 sg Tr - 3 sg obj, *fire* - ACC *wind* - DEM ERG  
 'It carried it over there the fire, the wind did' (59)

inu - rū - diṇa balga - dji - na,  
*this* - ERG - EMPH *hit* - PAST - 3 sg obj,  
 mūrba - nuru gadjilugu - na balgi - ru  
*child* - DEM ERG *little one* - ACC *hit* - NF  
 'He hit him, that big kid hit the little one' (60)

In (59) the noun marked as accusative is in apposition to the preceding object and is added as an afterthought for clarification, in (54) and (60) the noun in the accusative forms part of an amplification, a sentence that is an 'Amplification Paraphrase' of the preceding (Longacre 1976:137). In all these cases the use of accusative marking is modelled on the preceding bound object.

#### III.2.4. The Ergative Case, unmarked

The ergative case is normally unmarked in Southern Bāgandji, regardless of whether the agent is animate or inanimate, provided there is no question of ambiguity (which is generally ruled out anyway by the word-order, see VII). The following are typical examples:

gāru wīmbadja gaṇma - d - uru - ana  
*other man* -  $\emptyset$  *steal* - FUT - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj  
 'Some other man will steal it' (61)

gila gāgudja - ama ṇūga - dj - u  
*not brother* - 2 sg POS *give* - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'Your brother didn't give (anything)' (62)

bindi        balga - dji  
*lightning hit* - PAST  
 'Lightning struck' (63)

The same applies in Guṇu:

nūṅgu        balga - dji    daḍu nari  
*woman φ hit* - PAST    *head mine*  
 'A woman hit me on the head' (64)

The Guṇu situation is discussed in the work of R.H. Mathews, who thought that the ergative marker was *-wa* as did L. Hercus (in Dixon 1976:350). This view is erroneous as *-wa* is an emphatic marker used mainly to single out the topic of the sentence. It is therefore generally associated with the subject, whether transitive or intransitive. It is used also in Southern Bāḡandji, but more rarely than in Guṇu:

widu        -        wa        ḡulja - ru    gambi        - na  
*old man - φ - EMPH wash - NF clothes - 3 sg POS*  
 'The old man is washing his clothes' (65)

The emphatic particle *-wa* is like its synonym *-ḍa* most common with pronominal sentence topics, but it is not linked in any way with the ergative:

ḡali        - wa        ḡulbi - la - ana  
*we two - EMPH speak - TOP - PTC*  
 'We two are talking' (66)

Bāḡandji nūṅgu ḡubu        - wa  
*Bāḡandji woman you two - EMPH*  
 'You two are Bāḡandji women' (67)

duḷaga ḡuḍa        - wa  
*bad you pl - EMPH*  
 'You are bad people' (68)

The emphatic sense is obvious from examples like:

ḡuḍa        wadu - dji - na,        ḡuḍa        - wa  
*you pl take - PAST - 3 sg obj, you pl - EMPH*  
 'You took it away, you lot' (69)

So what Mathews heard was in fact the unmarked ergative followed by the clitic *-wa*. He gives several clear examples (1902:155 and 1904:134), e.g.:

wimbadjāwa waku burtadyi  
'A man a crow killed' (70)

this can be analysed as:

wīmbadja - wa wāgu baḍa - dji  
man -  $\emptyset$  - EMPH crow ABS  $\emptyset$  kill - PAST

and

kumbakkawa wimbadya bulkaty kurnkarna  
'une femme un homme a battu avec un yamstick' (71)

which can be analysed as:

gumbaga - wa wīmbadja balga - dji gaṅga - na  
woman  $\emptyset$  - EMPH man ABS  $\emptyset$  hit - PAST yamstick - INST

A similar usage of *-wa* was found in the Bārundji sentences that S.A. Wurm was able to record; and also in Bandjigali:

ḡana gaḷi - wa baḍa - d - uru - uma  
my dog -  $\emptyset$  - EMPH bite - FUT - 3 sg sub - 2 sg obj  
'My dog will bite you' (72)

For Marawara, the Bāḡandji dialect furthest removed from Guṇu, we only have the text written down by Tindale (1939:245). This does not contain a single instance of a marked ergative but several unmarked, e.g.: (p.248)

ḡalei ḡeṅgal. keinkudjalni wanda guni.  
'We two will camp (sit down). My sister's son is making fire.' (73)

This can be analysed as:

ḡali ḡṅga - la. ḡṅgudja - alina wanda guni  
we two sit - OPT. sister's son  $\emptyset$  1 dl POS light fire.

This indicates that the unmarked ergative was used throughout the Bāḡandji language area.

In Southern Bāḡandji the ergative may even remain unmarked when in apposition to a marked form:

ḡadu ḡuḍa-ḡuḍa - na - ama, ḡadu Bāḡandji  
I ERG teach - PTC - 2 sg obj, I ERG Bāḡandji  $\emptyset$   
'I'm teaching you, I, a Bāḡandji' (74)

In such circumstances case marking would be obligatory in normal nominative-ergative languages, e.g. Wanganuru:

adu una            ɲundaɟa, adu    ɲuyu - ru  
 I<sup>-</sup> you obj teach, I<sup>-</sup>ERG one - ERG  
 'I'm the only one that can teach you' (75)

This usage of Bāgandji is of interest. In the normal nominative-ergative languages to the West ergative marking is often restricted to a single member of a noun-phrase, but in these circumstances of apposition ergative case-marking is absolutely obligatory in Wanganuru: yet even here the ergative is unmarked in Bāgandji.

### III.2.5. The Ergative Case, marked

#### a) Direct marking

The basic affix for the ergative in Bāgandji as in some other Pama-Nyungan languages is -ru. But the only Bāgandji dialect in which the use of this affix is at all common is Bārundji, recorded by S.A. Wurm

duɭaga idiga wɪmbadja - ru balga - nda - diga      ɲali - na  
 bad they man - ERG hit - POT - 3 pl sub we dl - ACC  
 'These bad fellows might kill us two' (76)

-ru is found more rarely in Guṇu:

ɲadji - ru balga gadi  
 serpent - ERG kill FUT they NOM  
 'The rainbow-serpents will kill (him)' (77)

In both these northern dialects the ergative, as shown in the examples above, can be expressed by the affix -ru added directly to a nominal.

#### b) Indirect marking

In Bārundji there is one further option when a singular nominal agent is involved: the ergative may be expressed by a completely free pronoun, as in the sentence recorded by S.A. Wurm:

ɲana gaɭi - wa      dadja wudu      - ru      ɲuma  
 my dog  $\emptyset$  - EMPH bite PAST 3 sg - ERG you sg ACC  
 'My dog bit you' (78)

i.e. the ergative suffix may be attached to a free pronoun which is part of the agent noun-phrase.



In Bandjigali and Southern Bāgandji the ergative may be expressed by a bound form of the two kinds of demonstrative - 3rd person pronoun:

inuru 'this' ERG and iduru 'this here' ERG.

This bound form is abbreviated only to the extent that it loses its initial vowel. It is affixed only to nouns: it was never heard after an adjective:

gāru nūngu - nuru wadu - dji - na  
*other woman* - DEM ERG *take* - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'Another woman took it' (79)

yaḍu - duru gāndi - d - uru - ana  
*wind* - DEM ERG *carry* - FUT - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj  
 'The wind will carry it along' (80)

Other examples are listed under III.2.1.

There is no evident semantic difference between sentences containing marked or unmarked ergatives, though the bound pronouns do retain some vestiges of deictic meaning. The sentence above implies

'This wind will carry it along'.

When a strong deictic sense is intended, the non-suffixed form of the demonstrative pronoun is used:

gadžilugu ma|i-ba|u inurū - diṅa wadu - dji - na  
*small boy* DEM ERG - EMPH *take* - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'It was that little boy who took it' (81)

The system

nominal + bound pronoun + case marking affix  
 as opposed to

nominal + case marking affix

is confined to the ergative case in Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali. From the point of view of areal linguistics it is significant that this is not an isolated feature. The affixation of a case-marked bound pronoun is characteristic of the Nura language group that adjoins Bāgandji to the north-west: in Wangumara and the related languages of this group, this use of the case-marked pronoun forms part of a system of two noun classes (Breen 1976 and Hercus MS b).

## III.2.6. The Dative Case

## a) Indirect object

The dative serves as the traditional 'indirect' object in transitive sentences where there is an agent and a direct object (at least implied):

mugu|i manu idu, wadu nana-ri  
*orange food this, get IMP me - DAT*  
*'This is the fruit of a wild orange, get (it) for me'* (82)

But the dative is rare in this function, which is confined to sentences containing verbs meaning 'to give' and 'to get'.

## b) Beneficiary

The dative is sometimes used to mark the beneficiary of an action:

gila ŋūwa - la - yiga mūrba - nāri - gu - ŋga - ri  
*not cook - TOP - 3 pl child - sp Pl - Pl - 3 pl POS - DAT*  
*'(Those drunken women) don't cook for their children'* (83)

There is a certain amount of overlap here with the purposive, but the distinction between the two is evident in a phrase like:

māda - ri warga - la - ana yaŋda - mandi  
*boss - DAT work - TOP - PTC money - PURP*  
*'working for a boss for money'* (84)

## c) Complement

The dative is used to mark the complement of intransitive verbs denoting emotions, such as 'to cry for', 'to fear' (also used with the abl.), 'to expect' and 'to think of', 'to laugh at':

ŋūya - la - āba ga|i - ri  
*fear - TOP - 1 sg Intr dog - DAT*  
*'I'm scared of the dog'* (85)

maŋda - la - ana ma|i - ri  
*wait - TOP - PTC man - DAT*  
*'waiting for her husband'* (86)

gila yanda - l - d - āba ŋuma - ri  
*not weep - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr you - DAT*  
*'I won't weep for you'* (87)

The contrast in meaning between the dative and the purposive is clear here:

nīra - ma - ana    ηamaga - ɾi  
*cry* - Vb - PTC    *mother* - DAT  
 'crying for mother' (88)

but

nīra - ma - ana    ηama - mandī  
*cry* - Vb - PTC    *milk* - PURP  
 'crying for (the sake of) milk' (89)

yurī - la    ηīng - āba    wīduga - ayi    - ɾi  
*think* - OPT    *sit* - 1 sg    *sister* - 1 sg POS - DAT  
 'I'm sitting thinking of my elder sister' (90)

#### d) Purpose

The main function of the dative in Bāgandji is to mark the object of an action where there is no direct impingement on the object and when there is some underlying nuance of purpose, hope or aim:

ηīnga - yiga    baŋdu - ɾi    gala - la  
*sit* - 3 pl sub    *cod* - DAT    *seek* - OPT  
 'They sit (by the bank) to look for fish' (91)

nāḍa - la - yiga    ηugu - miḥa - ɾi  
*fish* - TOP - 3 pl sub    *water* - bag - DAT  
 'They fish for the bag of grog (hidden in the river)' (92)

baŋga - la - 'du    nūngu - baļu - ɾi  
*sneak* - TOP - 3 sg sub    *woman* - young - DAT  
 'He sneaks after girls' (93)

gila guniga - ɾi    wadu - la - 'du  
*not*    *firewood* - DAT    *get* - TOP - 3 sg sub  
 'He doesn't get any firewood' (94)

damba - la - 'du    dunga - ɾi  
*dig* - TOP - 3 sg sub    *grave* - DAT  
 'He is digging a grave' (95)

#### e) Extended use

The idea of aim and purpose is present in most sentences where the object is marked with -ɾi. But there are instances where the use of this suffix has been extended further and it can occur even when there

is no clear idea of purpose, and where there is quite definite impingement on the object as in (102) and:

wīdja - d - uḍa      gīna gargi - ri  
*drink* - FUT - 2 pl sub    *this flagon* - DAT  
 'You lot will drink up this whole flagon' (96)

gaṇma - ma - la - ana yara-yar' - inana - ri  
*steal* - Vb - TOP - PTC    *things* - 1 pl POS - DAT  
 'stealing our things' (97)

This use of -ri is particularly common where parts of the body are involved as in (64) and in:

wiṇuru baḍa - na - na      mīgi - ri  
*fly* . *bite* - PTC - 3 sg obj    *eye* - DAT  
 'Flies are biting his eye' (98)

wana            - nuru      balga - dji - na      daḍu - ri  
*boomerang* - DEM ERG    *hit* - PAST - 3 sg obj    *head* - DAT  
 'This boomerang hit him on the head' (99)

#### f) Tense

The use of the dative to mark the object is not immediately connected with any particular tense, it occurs as in the examples above in the present; it is found with the future:

Gupu iba gadi      baḍi - ri  
*lay* FUT *they* *egg* - DAT  
 'They will lay eggs' (100)

and also in the past, but more rarely so:

yalgu - ri    yāga - dj - u  
*leg* - DAT    *break* - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He broke his leg' (101)

and (99).

This preference for the dative with as yet incompleting action is in agreement with the general principles discussed by Blake (1977:16).

#### g) Transitivity

It is important to note that sentences of type (e) where -ri marks the object, were felt to be transitive in Bāgandji, and a transitive pronoun form was used:

Gupu ɲulju - ra ɲadu gambi - ɾi  
*wash* - TOP I ERG *clothes* - DAT  
*'I'm washing clothes'* (102)

and the marked ergative forms of nouns occurred occasionally as in (101).

The intransitive subject forms were very rare in this context:

yungāgu bana - la - mba wana - ɾi  
*self* *make* - TOP - 2 sg Intr *boomerang* - DAT  
*'You'll make the boomerang on your own'.* (103)

In view of the situation discussed under (b) and (c) above it seems nevertheless likely that Blake's assumption (1977:16) is correct for Bāgandji, namely that the use of -ɾi to mark the object of an action is intransitive in origin.

In Bāgandji -ɾi has thus moved into the nuclear function of object-marking. In the nominative/accusative system of the bound pronouns such an 'indirect' object has moved even further into the object position. It is rendered by the accusative bound pronoun, as is shown by the following examples:

the bound subject is transitive:

manda - ndu - ayi  
*wait* - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj  
*'Wait for me!'* (104)

gaɲma - dj - ayi mūgu - ayi  
*steal* - PAST - 1 sg obj *smoke* - mine  
*'He stole me my tobacco'* (105)

with a free pronoun form, this was clearly a dative as in:

gaɲma - dj - indu ɲayi - ɾi  
*steal* - PAST - 2 sg Tr *me* - DAT  
*'You stole from me'* (106)

ɲāndja - d - uru - ayi yaɲda  
*ask* - FUT - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj *money*  
*'She might ask me (for) money'* (107)

mingu - r' - ubu - ayi  
*mean* - NF - 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj  
*'You two are mean to me'* (108)

In such sentences the direct object, when this would be a third person singular pronoun, is omitted, and only the 'indirect' object is marked with the accusative form:

gāndi - ndu - ayi  
 bring - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj  
 'You're bringing (it) for me' (109)

gila ŋūga - yiga - ama  
 not give - 3 pl sub - 2 sg obj  
 'They're not giving (it) to you' (110)

A similar situation is found in Kalkatungu (Blake 1977:42). This feature may show links with the languages to the North-west (see map no. 5). For the use of -ri with verbs see Chapter V.

### III.2.7. Table Summarising the Forms and Functions of the Nuclear Cases in Southern Bāgandji

	Nominals	Free Pronouns		Bound Pronouns	
		singular	dual, plural	singular	dual, plural
Ergative form	-	A (some exceptions in third person)	-	A (many exceptions in third person)	-
(secondary ergative form with demonstratives)	A	-	-	-	-
Absolutive form	A,I,O	I	I,A	I	I,A
Accusative form	-	O	O	O,D	O,D
Dative form	D	D	D	-	-

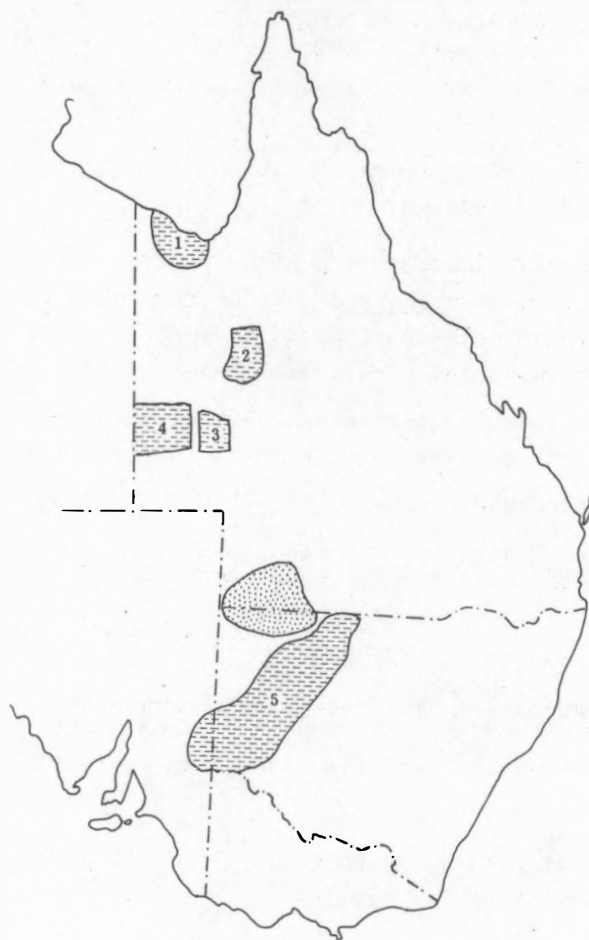
I - Intransitive subject function

O - Direct Object function

A - Agent function

D - Dative function

Map 5: EASTERN AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES FOR WHICH IT IS KNOWN  
THAT THE DATIVE CAN MARK AN UNIMPINGED OBJECT



1 YUGULDA

2 GALGADUNGU

3 PITTA PITTA

4 WAŃGA YUDJURU

5 BĀGANDJI



variation of the same  
feature in Wangumara

## III.3. THE PERIPHERAL CASES

## III.3.1. The Allative

The allative indicates the goal and direction of a motion and thereby differs from the dative which basically marks the aim and direction of an action. In Guṇu the allative marker is *-miṛi*:

yugu - miṛi yalga - ra - ana  
sun - ALL gaping - TOP - PTC  
'(Emus standing stupidly) gaping towards the sun' (111)

diga - la ṅaba yabara - miṛi  
return - TOP PRES I camp - ALL  
'I'm going back to camp' (112)

In the other Bāgandji dialects a similar suffix *-maṛi*, (Bārundji *-miṛi*) is used only to form adverbs of direction from pronominal bases, as for instance *ina-maṛi* and *yā-maṛi* (Bārundji *yā-miṛi*) 'this way', *wadu-maṛi* 'that way', and *windja-maṛi* 'where to?'

The allative case marker in all Bāgandji dialects except Guṇu is *-ṛi*; the allative is therefore identical in form with the dative:

Bārundji (recorded by S.A. Wurm):

ṅali - wa diga - la - ana yabar 'ayi - ṛi  
we two - EMPH return - TOP - PTC camp 1 sg POS - ALL  
'We two are going back to my camp' (113)

and Southern Bāgandji:

yugu - yugu - ṅg - adu - ṅga bulga - ṛi  
chase - ASP - 1 sg - 3 pl obj plain - ALL  
'I chase them down right into the flood-plains' (114)

gaba - yiga - na waṅanja - ṛi  
follow - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj nest - ALL  
'They follow it to its nest' (115)

ṅidja mūrba - ulu bara - ṅga - dji muni - muni - na būṅga - ṛi  
one child - SG go - ASP - PAST police - GEN house - ALL  
'Just one little child went to the police-station (to report the murder)'

There was little evidence of the use of the allative with persons as well as locations: the only instances that could be recorded were with *bari-* 'to go' and *diga-* 'to return':



bari - y - aba            gumbaga - ri  
 go - G1 - 1 sg Intr woman - ALL  
 'I'm going over to that old woman' (117)

Other verbs of motion, such as *baŋga-* 'to crawl', 'to sneak after' are used with the dative when a person is involved (see 93) and not with the allative, as is shown by the affix *-miṛi*, not *-ṛi*, in Guṇu:

ṇuḍu baŋga gadi            ṇuma - ri  
 lice crawl FUT they you - DAT  
 'Lice will crawl towards you (if you sit down  
 with such dirty people)' (118)

Bāgandji is surrounded by languages – the Nura and Yaḷi groups, Waṇāybuwan-Njyambā and Kulin – where the same form is used for dative and allative functions. The Guṇu allative affix *-miṛi*, (Bārundji *-miṛi*) contains the dative affix *-ṛi*. Such compound allative endings are common in Australian languages (Blake 1977:56). The restricted presence of *-maṛi* in the southern dialects makes it possible to surmise that the Guṇu situation, i.e. the existence of a distinct allative case, represents an older state of affairs. The restriction of *-maṛi* (Bārundji *-miṛi*) to pronominal adverbs would thus be a secondary development. This would be in keeping with some of the more conservative, archaic features of Guṇu, such as lack of bound pronouns.

### III.3.2. The Instrumental

The instrumental marks the instrument or the means by which an action is accomplished. Bāgandji is one of the languages that have a common form for the instrumental and locative (Dixon 1976:313).

Typical examples of the use of the instrumental are:

galguru - na    banda - d - ig'            - ayi  
 spear - INST strike - FUT - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'They'll strike me with a spear' (119)

ṇandanja - na    balg' - adu            - ama  
 branch - INST hit - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
 'I'll hit you with a branch' (120)

Words for parts of the body are no different from any other kind of noun with regard to the use of the instrumental:

maɾa - na waga-wag' - adu - ama  
*hand* - INST *smack* - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
 'I'll smack you with my hand' (121)

ɲandi - na dag - mi - ru  
*tooth* - INST *open* - Vb - NF  
 'He opened it with his teeth (the soft-drink bottle)' (122)

The instrumental is also used to refer to the substance out of which something is made:

gali balda - na bana - mi - ru  
*only bark* INST *make* Vb NF  
 'He made it (the humpy) entirely out of bark' (123)

The instrumental, denoting as it does 'an instrument by means of which an action is performed' is normally part of the verb phrase. But in this last meaning, 'the substance out of which something is made', it had been heard, though rarely, as part of a noun phrase:

Guɲu ɲugu - miɾa waɾibuga - na  
*water* - bag *possum* - INST  
 'A water-bag (made) from a possum' (124)

In some semantic environments it is not possible to decide whether -na represents the locative or the instrumental (Hercus in Dixon 1976:351):

ɲidja dina - buda - na diga-l - dj - āba  
*one* *foot* - *boot* - INST LOC *return* - TOP - PAST 1 sg Intr  
 'I came back with only one shoe' (125)

There is some overlap between the instrumental and the comitative, particularly the rare form of the comitative -amada, which was used by one speaker in phrases like:

malba - ana gaɲu - amada  
*pelt* - PTC *stone* - COM  
 'pelting with stones...' (126)

The instrumental in Bāgandji is never found with nouns denoting animates: the notion of 'in company with', 'with the help of' is conveyed by the comitative.

## III.3.3. The Locative

In form the locative is identical with the instrumental. The affix *-na* which is used to mark this case occurs in only a few languages to the north-west of Bāgandji: it is yet another feature which is shared by Bāgandji and Pitta-Pitta (see map No.6.). The basic meaning of the locative is that of position in place or time:

## Place

bidja - na ηīnga - aba budji - na  
*outside* - LOC *sit* - 1 sg Intr *heat* - LOC  
 'I'm sitting outside in the warmth' (127)

yalgi - na gaba - d - ali  
*creek* - LOC *follow* - FUT - 1 dl sub  
 'We'll follow in the creek-bed' (Bandjigali) (128)

ηīnga - 'du yabara - ana - na  
*sit* - 3 sg sub *camp* - 3 sg POS - LOC  
 'He's sitting in his camp' (129)

## Time

yugu - na ηa dūnga - na  
*day* - LOC *and night* - LOC  
 'by day and by night' (130)

miŋgi - na dīŋgi - d - aba  
*daybreak* - LOC *rise* - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 'I'll get up at day-break' (131)

'Position in place' implies not only 'in' but also a more general location as conveyed by English 'at', 'on', 'by':

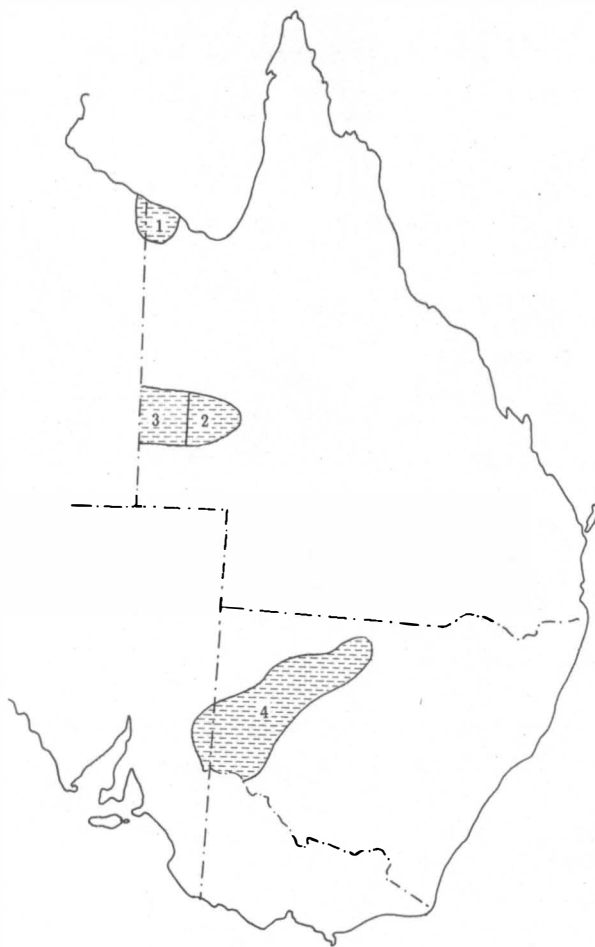
gumbadja dumbi - na  
*big* *water-hole* - LOC  
 'in a big water-hole' (132)

but:

gila dumbi - na ηīnga - d - āba  
*not* *water-hole* - LOC *sit* - FUT 1 sg Intr  
 'I won't sit by the water-hole' (133)

bina - 'du yara - na  
*climb* - 3 sg sub *tree* - LOC  
 'He's climbing up (on) a tree' (134)

Map 6: LOCATIVE FORMED WITH **-na** or variants, **-ina** etc.



- 1 GARAWA
- 2 PITTA PITTA
- 3 WAŃGA YUDJURU
- 4 BĀGANDJI

gāru gumbaga - na ŋīnga - adu  
*other woman - LOC sit - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub*  
*'He's living with another woman'* (135)

More rarely the locative can convey position in a wider sense, that position in the circumstances in which an action takes place:

ŋana ba|gu - na bagi - ŋga - adu  
*my language - LOC sing - ASP - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr*  
*'I'm singing in my own language'* (136)

gūriba - yiga muni-muni - na  
*hide - 3 pl sub police - LOC*  
*'They planted on (i.e. hid from) the policeman'* (137)

and even:

mūya wadu wimbar' - ayi - na  
*scold PA<sup>ST</sup> I ERG daughter - 1 sg POS - LOC*  
*'I roused on my daughter'* (138)

The locative cannot imply 'direction' or 'movement towards a place', as it can in a number of Australian languages (Dixon 1976:313), that function is always fulfilled by the allative in Bāgandji.

#### III.3.4. Possession: The Genitive

a) Possession is indicated in Bāgandji in four different ways:

1. The genitive case marks the nominal possessor
- ii. in the case of a pronominal possessor the 'thing possessed' is marked by a personal possessive affix or is accompanied by a free pronoun indicating the possessor.
- iii. Various 'having' suffixes can mark 'the thing possessed'.
- iv. The comitative may imply ownership as well as association.

The situation for Bāgandji nouns is different from the 'double possessive' type used in the Victorian languages (Hercus 1969:I.49). In Bāgandji, if the possessor is nominal, 'the thing possessed' is not marked by a possessive affix; i.e. methods (i) and (ii) cannot be employed simultaneously.

b) The ending of the genitive is -na. For the possible origins of this ending see II.1.4. The genitive can mark the owner of both alienable and inalienable possessions, and the owner normally precedes 'the thing possessed'.

## Inalienable:

wĩmbadja - na biṛna - biṛna bami - dji  
 Aboriginal - GEN bone - bone see - PAST  
 'He saw a lot of human bones' (139)

## Alienable:

gaṇma - dju guda - guda - na baḍi - ri  
 steal - PAST rest - rest - GEN egg - DAT  
 '(That little bird) stole the eggs of all  
 the rest (of the birds)' (140)

wĩmbadja - na manu ḍayi - la - 'du  
 Aboriginal - GEN foōd eat - TOP - 3<sub>sg</sub> sub  
 'He eats black-fellow tucker' (141)

muni-muni - na gīra - na  
 police - GEN place - LOC  
 'at the police-station' (142)

The genitive affix was added to English names:

yabara - na Jimmy - na  
 camp - LOC - GEN  
 'in Jimmy's hut' (143)

## c) Restrictions and the use of the genitive:

In a general description the genitive does not occur and there is simple juxtaposition. Bāgandji thus shows contrast between definite:

wĩmbadja - na bunga  
 Aboriginal - GEN hut  
 'the hut of an Aboriginal' (144)

and indefinite:

wĩmbadja - bunga  
 Aboriginal - hut  
 'an Aboriginal hut' (145)

The genitive is used only with nouns denoting persons and personified animals. Normally, when the 'owner' is an animal there is simply juxtaposition, with the first noun functioning adjectivally as in daḷḍa balda 'kangaroo-skin', baṇḍu-biṛna 'the bones of a fish'. The same situation applies in the case of non-animates as in bāga-walbiri 'the bank of a river'.

## III.3.5. Double -na

All pronominal possessive affixes, except those of the 1st and 2nd person sg. and 3rd pl., end in -na. When these possessive affixes are followed by the case marker for the instrumental or locative there is a double -na as in:

yabara - ana - na  
 camp - 3 sg POS - LOC  
 'in his camp' (146)

and:

gumbaga - ana - na ḡima - ḡgu - adu  
 wife - 3 sg POS - LOC lie - PERF - 3 sg sub  
 'He was living with his (i.e. somebody else's) wife' (147)

Some aversion was obviously felt towards this double -na which is extremely rare: haplology normally takes place, as in:

dumba - alina 'in the lair belonging to us two'  
 hole - 1 dl POS for \*dumbālinana  
 LOC

yabara - ūluna 'in the camp belonging to these two'  
 camp - 3 dl POS for \*yabara-ūlunana.  
 LOC

The loss of one of the two syllables -na never seems to lead to any possible misunderstanding.

## III.3.6. The Ablative

The ablative affix -(u)ndu has wide-spread and interesting affiliations mainly with languages to the west (excluding the Yaḍli group), -ndru occurs in the Diyaḡic group and in both the Yuḡa languages, and the Nura language group, and -anmand, -inend occurs in Yaralde. The ablative is found in sentences with transitive as well as intransitive verbs; it is used with nouns denoting inanimates and very rarely animates, and its basic meaning is 'away from'.

waduwanda murada ḡuniga - ndu  
 pull out quickly fire - ABL  
 'Pull it quickly out of the fire' (148)

wambi - la - dj - u walbiri - ndu ḡāru walbiri - ri  
 fly - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub bank - ABL other bank - ALL  
 'It flew from one bank to the other' (149)

wabura - dj - u            bađi - undu  
*come out* - PAST - 3 sg sub *egg* - ABL  
*'It came out of an egg'* (150)

and even with English place-names:

Bourke - andu waba - dj - u  
 - ABL *come* - PAST - 3 sg sub  
*'He came from Bourke'* (151)

Unlike a number of the languages to the north-west, such as Wanganuru and Pitta-Pitta, Bāgandji has no causative case. This function is fulfilled by the ablative:

yugu-balu - ndu wanmura - na  
*rainbow* - ABL *being cranky* - PTC  
*'They are cranky on account of that rainbow'* (152)

ḡūya - l - d - adu            ḡandi - ndu, yaldi - mari  
*fear* - TOP - FUT - 3 sg sub *teeth* - ABL, *long* - *very*  
*'He will get scared of those long teeth'* (153)

yuri - yuri - dj - ali            wīmbadja - ndu  
*think* - *think* - PAST - 1 dl sub *Aboriginal* - ABL  
*'We two were worrying about the Aboriginal people'* (154)

The contrast between this usage and those described in III.2.4.c. shows the subtlety of expression made possible by the Bāgandji case system; the ablative underlines the reasons behind an emotion without any of the sense of aim or motive that is involved with the dative or the distant feeling of purpose that is conveyed by the purposive.

### III.3.7. The Purposive

The affix of the purposive differs from other case-marking affixes in that it has independent accentuation [-mánda]. It also has a phonotactic form that is acceptable in an independent word in Bāgandji. -mandi could thus be called a post-position rather than a case-ending. In function the purposive is akin to the dative, but it stresses 'what is to be got out of' the activity described by the verb, transitive or intransitive:

manu - mandi bari - dj - imba  
*food* - PURP *go* - PAST - 2 sg Intr  
*'You went to get food'* (155)



ḡāda - mandi balga - dj - u - ana  
*nothing* - PURP *hit* - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj  
 'He killed her for nothing' (156)

gumbadja magara - mandi wanmura - ana  
*big rain* - PURP *cranky* - PTC  
 'They are crazy for that big rain (during a drought)' (157)

-mandi can also serve as a benefactive, and can indicate the person for whose profit an action is performed:

ḡāru wana bana - ma - 'du wida - ulu - mandi'  
*other boomerang make* - Vb - 3 sg sub *old man* - SG - PURP  
 'He's making another boomerang for the old man' (158)

### III.3.8. The Comitative

The comitative implies that an action is carried out in company with, or in association with, a person or thing:

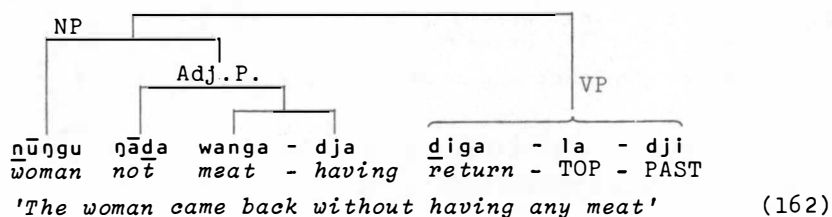
wagaga - ambala ḡīnga - yiga manda - la  
*tomahawk* - COM *sit* - 3 pl sub *wait* - PURP  
 'They sit waiting with tomahawks' (159)

gila ḡugu - umbula wīdja - ḡugu - ru - ana  
*not water* - COM *drink* - PERF - NF - 3 sg obj  
 'Because he didn't drink it mixed with water (he died)' (160)

In some of it's uses the comitative may resemble the 'having' suffix -dja, but it's real semantic and syntactic functions differ: the noun followed by 'mbala is dominated by the verb-phrase, while the noun followed by -dja is dominated by a noun phrase or a pronominal affix. This difference is also reflected in nuances of meaning.

NP  
 NP VP  
 Adv.P. VP  
 wanga - ambala digā - la - dji  
 nūḡugu ḡāda wanda - la - dji  
*woman not meat - COM return - TOP - PAST*  
 'The woman came back without bringing the meat with her' (161)

but:



The comitative suffix implies that the action (in this case the returning) did not take place in company with (the meat); the -dja suffix implies that the person did not have any (meat).

The variant comitative form -amada was used by only one speaker, and was occasionally akin in function to the instrumental (III.3.2.).

#### III.4. NOMINAL STEM-FORMING AFFIXES: NUMBER

##### III.4.1. The Grammatical Expression of Number in Bāgandji

There is a threefold system of expressing number grammatically in Bāgandji.

- i. in the pronominal system the distinction between singular, dual and plural is essential and is marked in all persons:

numerical concept	SG	PL	DL
grammatical expression	sg	pl	dl

- ii. in the verbal system singular, dual and plural are carefully distinguished by affixes of pronominal origin, but the plural is occasionally used in lieu of the dual particularly in the third person:

numerical concept	SG	PL	DL
grammatical expression	sg	pl	dl

*3rd person*

iii) in the nominal system the situation is very different. The grammatical distinction between singular and plural is lax: the singular form normally serves for both. It is the dual that is carefully marked.

numerical concept	SG	PL	DL
grammatical expression	sg	pl	dl

### III.4.2. Morphemes Showing Number in Nouns

a) Singular. Both singular and plural are normally expressed by the simple stem-form in nouns. But there is in Southern Bāgandji a special singular affix - ulu, which also has an affective and diminutive value:

wiḍūlu

'good old fellow' (wiḍu 'old man' + ulu)

ḡanja-ulu

'a single (last) match'

waḡaga - ul' - ayi

friend - SG - 1 sg POS

'my one (and only) friend'

gaḡma - dj - u

steal - PAST - 3 sg sub

wanga - ulu - ayi

meat - SG - 1 sg POS

'He stole my one bit of meat'

(163)

gaḷi - ulu nira - ana

dog - SG Bark - PTC

'Only one dog is barking'

(164)

The affix -ulu is found even with ḡidja 'one':

ḡidja - ulu mūrba - ulu

one - SG child - SG

'one single small child'

(165)

and as a special emphatic singular with pronouns:

ŋaba - ulu dayi - l' - d - āba  
 I - SG eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 'I'll eat it on (my little) own' (166)

The affective singular suffix -ulu has not been heard in the other Bāgandji dialects.

b) Dual. The dual is marked in all dialects by the affix -ŋulu, though in Guṇu this usage is sporadic:

wīmbadja-ŋulu 'two men'  
 ga|i-ŋulu 'two dogs'  
 yara-ŋulu 'two trees'

Suffixation is much less common in Guṇu than in the other Bāgandji dialects (Wurm and Hercus 1976) and in nouns it is almost entirely confined to case-marking. -ŋulu is found only occasionally in Guṇu: the normal way of expressing the dual is by means of the independent word bula 'two':

ŋadu gāndi - nja bula gaṅga  
 I ERG carry - ASP two yamstick  
 'I have two yam-sticks' (167)

In Southern Bāgandji bargulu 'two' is not used instead of, but as well as the dual marker for emphasis, bargulu mūrba-ŋulu 'two children'.

c) In all Bāgandji dialects (though very rarely in Guṇu) there is a pluralising suffix -(l)ugu which conveys the meaning 'a group of'. This suffix is subject to some sporadic and some morphophonemic changes:

-ugu is preferred with polysyllables,  
 -lugu with nouns of two syllables;  
 stem-final -a is lost before -ugu  
 -ugu is shortened to -gu after stem-final in -i and -u  
 -lugu may become -rugu in the presence of -r- and -r-

Examples of plural forms are:

da|ḍa-lugu 'a mob of kangaroos'  
 wabanj'ug' -ayi 'my mob of grandchildren'

nūngu-'gu 'a lot of women'

gargi -rugu 'a lot of flagons'

duluru baḍi'gu-na -ri 'for (laying) her many eggs'  
 many egg Pl 3 sg POS-DAT

maḷi-lugu 'men', but this may also be maḷi-'gu as in:

gāru maḷi - 'gu bami - la - yiga  
 other man - Pl see - TOP - 3 pl sub

'They look at lots of other men (those bad women)' (168)

In gaḷi-gaḷi-'gu 'a huge mob of dogs' reduplication is used as well as the plural marker, but reduplication does not generally function as an indication of number.

Since -ugu is basically collective in meaning, and since the singular marker -ulu has an affective nuance, the two are not mutually exclusive. In a few instances the two suffixes have been heard together, the affective singular preceding the plural:

waṛaga - ul' - ug' - ayi  
 friend - SG - Pl - 1 sg POS  
 'my only friends'

and

yara-yara - ul' - ug' - ayi  
 things - SG - Pl - 1 sg POS  
 'the whole of my possessions'

d) The special plural. In other Australian languages (as for instance in Wembawemba, Hercus 1969:42) there is a special form for what is probably the most commonly used plural of all, 'children'. Bāgandji has a special plural suffix -nāra: mūrba-nāra 'a lot of children'. It can be followed by yet another suffix, igu, which is an irregular form of the plural -(l)ugu, hence mūrba-nār-igu 'a big crowd of children'; -nāra was heard once in wīmbadja-nāra 'a crowd of men'. In Bāgandji usage the special plural suffix is not acceptable with any other nouns.

#### III.4.3. Kinship Pairs

Languages to the west, particularly those of the Yuṛa group, had special terms for pairs of kin (Hercus and White 1973). This is also a feature of all the recorded Bāgandji dialects. The stem-forming suffix used is -linja.

Bāgandji kinship terms end in -ga and -dja. These suffixes must have been a relatively recent introduction as can be shown by comparative data. Bāgandji *ḡamaga* 'mother' for instance corresponds to the widespread word *ḡama* 'mother'. This recent origin is underlined by the fact that before the pair-suffix -linja (though not before any other kind of suffix) final -dja and -ga are deleted. As is usual with such pair-terms the noun denoting the senior person of the pair forms the basis of the term. Examples are:

<i>ḡamalinja</i>	'mother and child'	( <i>ḡamaga</i> 'mother')
<i>ḡambilinja</i>	'father and child'	( <i>ḡambidja</i> 'father')
<i>wiḡulinja</i>	'a pair of sisters'	( <i>wiḡuga</i> 'elder sister')
<i>ḡāḡulinja</i>	'a pair of brothers'	( <i>ḡāḡudja</i> 'elder brother')
<i>mungalinja</i>	'father's sister and child'	( <i>mungadja</i> 'father's sister')
<i>maḡilinja</i>	'married couple'	( <i>maḡi</i> 'husband')
<i>ḡandjalinja</i>	'maternal grandmother and grandchild'	( <i>ḡandja</i> 'maternal grandmother')

Marawara had the same affix -linja. Tindale (1939:245) writes 'witulin' 'a pair of sisters'.

#### III.4.4. Numerical Adjectives

The following numerical adjectives have been heard in Bāgandji: they always precede the noun which they qualify:

1. *ḡidja*. There is also a compound form *ḡidi-ḡidja* 'one by one'

<i>ḡidi-ḡidja</i>	<i>ḡandi</i> - <i>na</i>	<i>ḡuni-ḡuna</i> - <i>adu</i>
<i>one by one</i>	<i>teeth</i> - 3 sg POS	<i>pull-pull</i> - 3 sg sub
'He (the dentist) pulls his teeth out one by one' (169)		

2. *bargulu*, *Guḡu bula*. *bargulu* with a personal marker was heard occasionally in lieu of a dual pronoun *bargulūbu* (*bargulu* + *ubu*) 'you two'.
3. *bargulu ḡidja*, *Guḡu bula ḡidja*.
4. *bargulu-bargulu* (not recorded for *Guḡu*).
5. *yanda maḡa* 'alone hand'. This expression was sometimes used to mean 'five dollars'.
6. *ḡāru maḡa ḡidja* 'other hand one'.
7. *ḡāru maḡa bargulu* 'other hand two'. The last two numerals were only rarely used, these and higher numbers were referred to as *ḡuluru*, *Guḡu ḡuḡardji*, *Bandjigali ḡuḡardi*, 'many'.

## III.5. STEM-FORMING AFFIXES: POSSESSION

## III.5.1. Personal Possessives

In the Victorian Kulin languages everything that is by its nature inalienably possessed, such as parts of the body, or relatives, is invariably marked by a personal possessive marker (Hercus 1969:51). In Bāgandji the notion of possession is not dominant to the same degree. Personal possession is marked only when there is a need to express it, and not when it is simply inherent. The possessive is never used:

## a) if ownership is indefinite or irrelevant:

gaŋma - dj - u - ana yabara - ndu  
*steal* - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj *camp* - ABL  
 'He stole it from a camp (might be anybody's)' (170)

## b) if ownership is obvious

gambidja malma - dj - u  
*father die* - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'His (i.e. the person we are speaking about) father died' (171)

maŋgu - ri yāga - dj - u  
*arm* - DAT *break* - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He broke (his) arm' (172)

(see also 101, 103, and 122)

## c) if the comitative case or a 'having suffix' is used, as ownership is then taken for granted:

ga|i - ambala  
*dog* - COM  
 'with (his) dog'

## III.5.2. Dialectal Divergence

a) In Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali personal possession is usually expressed by a suffix which is equivalent to the genitive-accusative form (Ch.IV) of the personal pronoun with loss of the initial consonant. Very rarely, when strong emphasis is implied, the pre-posed form may be used:

ŋayi yabara  
*my camp*

Both constructions can occur side by side, the rare emphatic and the normal, as shown by the first person forms *nayi* and *-ayi* in the following sentence:

*nayi wimbara - ḡulu, nūḡḡu - baḷu - ḡul' ayi*  
*my daughter - dl woman - child - dl 1 sg POS*  
*'my own two daughters, my two girls'*

In a few isolated instances of even greater emphasis both the free and the bound form are used together in the same noun phrase:

*yuri - la - aba nayi ḡīra-ḡīra - ayi - mandi*  
*think - TOP 1 sg Intr my country-country - 1 sg POS - PURP*  
*'I am fretting for my own country'* (173)

b) *Bārundji*, as recorded by S.A. Wurm, occupies an intermediate position between *Guṇu* and Southern *Bāḡandji*: the pre-posed free form is as common as the possessive suffix and does not appear to offer the same kind of emphasis as in Southern *Bāḡandji*:

*windja yabara - ama*  
*where camp - 2 sg POS*  
*'Where is your camp?'* (174)

*ḡalina yabara*  
*1 dl POS camp*  
*'the camp belonging to us two'*

In the available *Bārundji* material the bound form is always used when there is a double possessive:

*gambidja - ayi - na ḡaḷi*  
*father - 1 sg POS - GEN dog*  
*'my father's dog'*

c) In *Guṇu* the bound forms are exceedingly rare: they have been heard only in one or two instances and could possibly even be due to a trace of Southern *Bāḡandji* influence. In normal *Guṇu* usage the free form is used and follows the noun (III.8.3.b.); it may even vary for tense in the third person (IV.4.1.b.)

*ḡidja baḷu ḡari* *'my one child'*  
*one child my*



yaḷa gīra ŋinana 'our own country'  
 proper country our

In cases of extreme emphasis the free possessive form may precede or may even occur twice, once before and once after the noun:

ŋari yara-yara ŋari 'my belongings'  
 my things my

### III.5.3. Forms of the Possessive

Bound POSSESSIVE markers		Free forms of the POSSESSIVE			
Southern Bāgandji, Bārundji and Bandjigali		Southern Bāgandji	Bārundji	Bandjigali	Gupu
Sg. 1	-ayi, (ana)	ŋayi	ŋana	ŋana	ŋari
2	-uma, -ama, -ma	ŋuma	ŋuma	ŋuma	
3	-(a)na, (-ndu)	iduna, idana	iduna, idana	idina	Idana, iduna
Dl. 1	-alina	ŋalina	ŋalina	ŋalina	
2	-ubana, var.-ubuna,-abana	ŋubana, ŋubuna	ŋubana, ŋubuna	ŋubana, ŋubuna	
3	-ūluna, var.-uduna,-udana	idūluna	idūluna	idūluna	
Pl. 1	-inana	ŋinana	ŋinana	ŋinana	
2	-uḍana	ŋuḍana	ŋuḍana	ŋuḍana	
3	-ŋga	iŋga	idiŋga	idiŋga	idiŋga

### III.5.4. The First Person Singular

a) -ayi and ŋayi belong to the far south of the Bāgandji area. They were used consistently as the only forms of the first person possessive (and accusative see Ch.IV) in the speech of Jack Johnson from Pooncarie. The evidence of Tindale's (1939;252) texts shows that -ayi, ŋayi was also the form used in the southernmost of all Bāgandji dialects, Marawara:

'ki:kilinu 'jap:arai 'ila 'balkara 'ŋaji 'kaŋarn 'jap:arai  
 here it is in camp cannot strike me in-this camp

This can be analysed as practically identical to Southern Bāgandji from Pooncarle; (where differences would occur in Southern Bāgandji they have been given in brackets).

gi:gi - ili - nu yabara - ayi ila(SB gila)  
 this - now - EMPH camp - 1 sg POS, not  
 balga - ra ŋayi gaŋa - na yabara - ayi(SB yabara-ayi-na)  
 strike - OPT me this - LOC camp - 1 sg POS

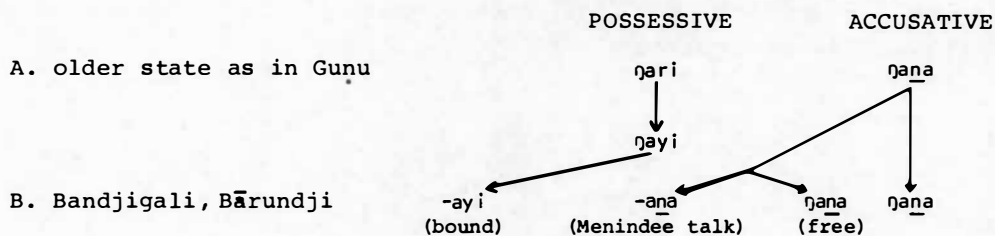
'This is my camp right here now. It (the lightning)  
 will not strike me here in my camp.' (175)

The southern form of the possessive is found also in the neighbouring Victorian-type Kulin language, Madimadi, which has -ai (Hercus 1969: 167). This is of significance in that it probably represents the borrowing of a morpheme (Heath 1977). It is likely that the borrowing was from Bāgandji to Madimadi, since:

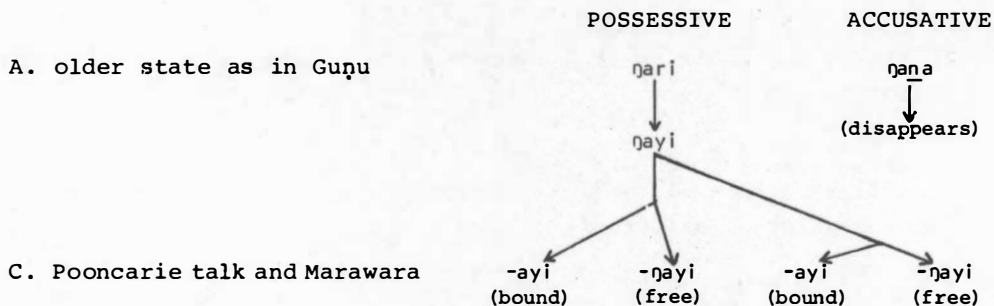
- i. all the other Kulin languages have -eg, which one would expect to be represented by -e in Madimadi
  - ii. Southern Bāgandji ŋayi, -ayi is doubtlessly cognate with the Guṇu possessive ŋari. This means that basically one type of form ŋari, ŋayi -ayi is found over the whole of the Bāgandji area. This form is therefore so characteristically Bāgandji that it is highly unlikely to have been borrowed from Madimadi.
- b) ŋana and -ana were used as a rare variant by people of Menindee origin, alongside ŋayi, -ayi, but in Bandjigali and Bārundji there was a clear distinction: ŋana was the free form and -ayi the bound form of the possessive.

It seems likely that Guṇu reflects an older situation in which ŋari was the possessive pronoun of the first person singular. As in many other languages, the widespread form ŋana was used for the accusative of the first person singular pronoun. The use of the accusative for the genitive (see IV) is reflected in Bārundji and Bandjigali, with ŋana assuming the function of a free possessive pronoun, while the original possessive ŋayi was retained only in its bound form -ayi.

The likely historical development can be schematised as follows:



but in the extreme south the development was as follows:



### III.5.5. The Third Person Singular

There is a usage, inexplicable to the present writer, whereby the third person singular possessive is always expressed by an affix *-ndu* instead of *-na* when the allative case marker follows, thus

yabaranduṛi    (yabara - ndu        - ṛi)    'to his camp'  
                   camp    - 3 sg POS - ALL

This possessive affix *-ndu* is never found in any other circumstances.

### III.5.6. The Affixation of Possessive Markers

#### a) General comments

Certain morpho-phonemic changes occur in the juncture between noun-stems and the bound possessive markers. As will be seen nouns ending in *-i* are very different from those ending in *-a* and *-u* with regard to those morpho-phonemic changes.

Some general rules apply with all the possessive suffixes: if the number marking suffixes occur before them, these number markers -ulu, -nulu and -ugu lose their final vowel (except of course when the third person plural is involved):

yabara - ul - ayi - na  
*camp* - SG - l sg POS - LOC  
*'in my only camp'*

and

wanga - ul' - ayi  
*meat* - SG - l sg POS  
*'my one bit of meat'*

Occasionally the final -u is preserved in the plural and a glide -r- is added:

mūrba - nār' - igu - r - ayi  
*child* - Sp Pl - Pl - Gl - l sg POS  
*'my big lot of children'*

The possessive suffixes may be divided into strong, middle and weak according to the extent to which their initial vowel amalgamates with a preceding stem-final vowel.

b) The third person plural differs from all the other possessive suffixes in that it begins with a consonant and it is simply added to any stem without involving changes:

yabara-nga *'their camp'*; gargi-nga *'their flagons'*; baḷgu-nga *'their language'*

c) The strong forms are the 1st plural -inana and the 1st dual -alina. They undergo a minimum of changes:

-inana remains quite unaltered, but before it a final a is lost  
 gargi-inana *'our flagon'*  
 baḷgu-inana *'our language'* } both pronounced with a distinct hiatus  
 yara-yar'-inana *'our things'*.

Before -alina the hiatus also remains, but a final -a coalesces with the suffix to a long ā-:

gargi-alina [karki(y)alina]	'the flagon belonging to us two'
ba gu-alina [pa ku-alina]	'the language belonging to us two'
yabara-alina [yaparāalina]	'the camp belonging to us two'

d) The middle forms are the 1st person singular, the third person dual and the second person plural.

-ayi, -ūluna and -uḍana remain unchanged after a final -i, and the vowels in the juncture remain in hiatus, a glide -y- may sometimes be inserted.

gargi-ayi [karki(y)-ayi]	'my flagon'
gargi-ūluna [karki(y)ūluna]	'the flagon belonging to these two'
gargi-uḍana [karki(y)uḍana]	'the flagon belonging to you lot'

The initial vowel of the suffix -ayi coalesces with a preceding -a to form ā and a preceding -u to form [ō] (II.4.1.):

yabara + ayi = yabarāyi	'my camp'
gundu + ayi [kuntoi]	'my stomach'
daḍu + ayi [daḍoi]	'my head'

This pronunciation is confirmed also for Marawara by Tindale's (1939:248) spelling 'ku:ntoi'.

The initial vowel of -ūluna and -uḍana combines with a preceding -a to form [o]:

yabara + ūluna [yaḡaroluna]	'the camp belonging to these two'
yabara + uḍana [yaḡaroḍana]	'the camp belonging to you lot'

The initial vowel of -ūluna and -uḍana combines sometimes with a preceding -u to form -ū, but more usually the hiatus may remain ba|gu + ūluna ba|gūluna or ba|gu-ūluna 'the language of these two people'. The third person dual suffix is always -uduna, -udana (on account of dissimilation of -l-) when it follows the dual suffix -ḡulu: mūrba-ḡulu-uduna 'the two children belonging to the two of them'.

e) The weak forms, liable to most change, are the second and third person singular and the second person dual. The distribution of the variants is as follows:

-ubana, -ubuna is always } used after -i and the hiatus  
 -uma is sometimes } in the juncture remains

gargi-ubana [karki(y)upana] 'the flagon belonging to you two'  
 ga|i-uma [ka|i(y)uma] 'your dog'

-ana }  
 -abana } are always used after -u } and the two vowels in  
 -ama is optionally used after -u } the juncture combine

ba|u-ana [pa|ona] 'her child'  
 ba|gu-abana [pa|kopana] 'the language belonging to you two'  
 ya|gu-ama [ya|koma] 'your leg'

-na is always used after -i  
 -ma is optionally used after -i and -u

gargi-na 'his flagon'  
 ga|i-ma 'your dog'  
 ya|gu-ma 'your leg'

-ana }  
 -ama } are always used after a and  
 -abana } the two vowels combine to -ā-

yabarāna 'his camp'  
 yabarāma 'your camp'  
 yabarābana 'the camp belonging to you two'

With the exception of Guṇu all the Bāgandji dialects that were recorded showed these same morphophonemic changes when personal possessive suffixes were used.

### III.6. THE 'HAVING' AFFIXES

#### III.6.1. Form of the 'having' affixes

The 'having' affixes in Australian languages have been discussed by Dixon (1976:306), and the Bāgandji situation has been outlined by Hercus (ibid.:229). The affixes used in Bāgandji are:

-dja }  
 -malgadja } 'having'

-mi<sub>n</sub>idja 'having what has been mentioned and other similar things'  
 -mi<sub>ḍ</sub>idja 'having something unpleasant', 'lousy with'

The notion of 'not having', 'being without' is rendered by *ḡāda* 'nothing', preceding the expression with -dja.

-dja can be affixed to both simple nouns and whole noun-phrases, whereas -malgadja, and miḡidja are only added to simple nouns.

### III.6.2. Function of the 'having' affixes

The 'having' affixes in Bāḡandji most commonly denote the possession of certain physical and mental characteristics and they figure particularly in equational sentences.

#### a) Physical characteristics:

*du*ḷag' ḡandi - dj' - adu  
*bad* teeth - having - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He has bad teeth' (176)

*ḡāda* - ḡandi - dja - aba  
 nothing - tooth - having - 1<sup>sg</sup> Intr  
 'I have no teeth' (177)

and in a Guḡu song:

*mura* mḡi - dja  
 quick eye - having  
 'he (the emu) with the quick eye'

#### b) Mental characteristics

Guḡu *wḡmbadja* - baḷgu - dja ḡaba  
 Aboriginal - language - having I NOM  
 'I can speak an Aboriginal language' (178)

Guḡu *mari* baḷgu - dja ḡaba  
 true speech - having I NOM  
 'I speak the truth' (179)

*barga* - dja  
 lie - having  
 'a liar'

#### c) The 'having' affixes may be used in the description of a place:

*ḡāru* ḡalba - dja idu  
 other appearance - having this  
 'This (place) looks different' (180)

gulda - minidja  
grass - etc having

'a place full of grass and other herbage'

or an object:

bidiga - malgadja  
poison - having

'(water) containing poison'

d) Alienable possession may also be indicated:

wanjanja - malgadja - adu  
nest - having - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub

'It has got a nest'

(181)

nūngu - dja ḡṅg'imba  
woman - having sit 2 sg Intr

'You have got a wife' (lit. 'You sit down having a wife')

(182)

guna - miḍidja  
faeces - lousy with

'covered in filth'

e) Words containing the affix -dja are always in the Absolutive case. Apart from figuring in the predicate of equational sentences they may refer to the subject of a verb of rest or motion (as in 185) or to the object of a transitive verb - this latter usage is however much rarer:

gāru maḷi wadu - dji yaṅḍa - malgadja  
other man take - PAST money - having

'She took another husband, one who had some money!'

(183)

Words containing the affix -dja are adjectival in nature and illustrate the important feature of Bāgandji (III.1.2.) that nouns and adjectives may form minimal sentences with bound person markers, exactly as verb-stems do. This is illustrated by 176, 177, 181 and by:

ḡugu - dja - adu  
water - having - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub

'It (this flagon) has (only) got water in it'

(184)

It is one of the most common types of sentence in Bāgandji.





and

karlku 'ralui 'mikai  
spears full of wounded

this is Southern Bāgandji:

gālguru - ulu - dja mīga - dja  
spear - SG - having hurt - having

and also

bindalaji 'bira 'malkaji  
assaulted me with weapons

this would be:

banda - la - ayi bira - malgadja  
hit - TOP - 1 sg obj waddy - having  
'He had a waddy and struck me'

(186)

This last example points towards a wider use of the 'having' affix in Marawara than is found in Southern Bāgandji. This wider use impinges on the instrumental as in many other Australian languages.

### III.7. OTHER NOMINAL STEM-FORMING AFFIXES

The remaining stem-forming affixes in Bāgandji are not viable: they occur with only a restricted number of words and cannot be used freely to form new nominal stems.

#### III.7.1. -ndji 'belonging to'

Like many other Australian languages, Bāgandji has an affix that conveys the meaning of 'belonging to', 'originating from'. It is found mainly in tribal names:

Bāgandji 'belonging to the Darling River, bāga'  
Bārundji 'belonging to the Paroo River  
Barindji 'belonging to the scrub country, bari'  
Nandurandji name of a sub-group of the Southern Bāgandji

There are two further names from older sources:

Wambandji, spelt Wombonyee and Wombonjee by Richards (1908), and Wanbungee by Bonney (1884), a Bāgandji group adjoining the Guṇu; Yabandji, belonging to yaba 'mark', 'imprint', spelt Yab'bony by Richards (ibid.) in a passage which reads:

Some blacks at Cobar, who belonged to the Wong'ali and N(y)eeembaa tribes told me that their fathers owned the country of the 'Yab'bon(y)', i.e. hieroglyphic (*sic*) writing.... On the other hand there is reason to believe that the picture galleries belonged to the Wombonjee blacks.

The meaning of the Bāgandji word *yaba* confirms Richard's view; his insight was uncanny (see II.2.1.). Moreover, the obvious geminated consonant in 'Yab'bony' points towards the name of a Bāgandji group, as Bāgandji and Barambinya (Oates MS.) are the only languages in this area which have gemination of consonants: gemination is unknown in Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā. The picture galleries referred to as belonging to the Yab'bony are those at Mt Grenfell and Wuttaggona Station between Cobar and Louth (McCarthy 1976).

There is one common noun ending in -ndji:

*yarandji* 'possum', lit. 'belonging to trees, yara'

*bilda* 'possum' was heard only rarely in Southern Bāgandji, but it must have been the original word, as it has numerous cognates in neighbouring languages. *yarandji* has the appearance of a nickname that has become generalised, as does the Guṇu equivalent *waṛi-buga* 'possum' (*waṛi* is of unknown meaning, *buga* is 'dead').

### III.7.2. -rga

This affix is confined to words denoting colour and appearance; its separate existence is vouched for by the fact that several of the adjectives concerned have parallel forms in which -rga is not present:

<i>gurgirga</i>	'black'
<i>bādjirga</i>	'white' ( <i>bādja</i> - 'to shine', 'to give off light')
<i>numbarga</i>	'green' ( <i>numba-numba</i> 'green')
<i>ṅalgirga</i>	'red' ( <i>ṅalgina-adu</i> 'it's red')
<i>danjbarga</i>	'shiny' ( <i>danjba-</i> 'to glisten')
<i>balirga</i>	'good' is a not very common variant of <i>balīra</i> 'good'.

A possibly related suffix -lga is found in Guṇu *gandjalga* 'good' and in Southern Bāgandji (and Guṇu) *wabilga* 'hot' (*wabila-adu* 'it's hot').

## III.7.3. -nja Durative

-nja is an adjectival suffix implying a continuing state. It is also a verbal durative stem-forming suffix -nja (V.3.2.b.11). Examples of its use are:

ya anja	'one's very own' (ya a 'own')
nurinja	'hard'
gudanja	'all the rest who remain' (guda 'the rest')
burinja	'alive'
buganja	'completely dead' (buga 'dead')

This suffix, though it cannot be called a 'living' one, was more freely used than the others discussed in this section.

## III.7.4. -ga, -gu

-ga is an adjectival-adverbial affix added to a few nouns indicating place, e.g.:

daṅaga	'backing onto something', daṅa 'back'
waraga	'at the side' (wara 'side')
gīraga	'local' (gīra 'country')

(For adverbial forms see IV.7.2.c.)

-gu is even rarer:

yungāgu	'one's very own' (yunga 'own')
---------	--------------------------------

## III.8. NOTES ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE NOUN-PHRASE

## III.8.1. Agreement of adjectives

In his two articles on Guṇu grammar (1902 and 1904) R.H. Mathews states that there was agreement in number and case between nouns and adjectives, and that the noun preceded the adjective. His examples involve 'wimbadya wurta', which he translates as 'a big man'; but 'wurtu', wiḍu is in fact a noun, meaning 'old man'. Normally in Guṇu, as in the other Bāgandji dialects, adjectives are not marked for case. In the preferred word-order they precede the noun:

Guṇu	du aga baṛaga idi	
	'She is a bad woman'	(187)

Southern Bāgandji	du aga nūṅgu idu	
	bad woman this	
	'She is a bad woman'	(188)

ga|bi ŋugu  
'fresh water'

gumbadja gargi  
'a big flagon'

ŋalgirga da|ða  
'red (male) kangaroo' (Bandjigali and Southern Bāgandji)

NP

mūrba - nāra - na duluru yaŋða wadu - ŋgu - r - u  
child - Sp Pl - GEN much money get - PERF - G1 - 3 sg sub  
'(He was drunk) because he had got a lot of money  
(from the social welfare) for his many children' (189)

but when there are two adjectives one usually follows the noun, in a separate noun-phrase in apposition, as is indicated by a halt in the utterance:

ŋaba ŋidja wīmbadja, gugirga  
I one Aboriginal, black  
'I am the only Aboriginal (left), a full-blood' (190)

The case marker, as in a large number of languages to the west, is normally used only once in a noun-phrase consisting of adjective and noun. The case marker in Bāgandji thus comes on the noun at the end of the noun-phrase, except for the possible presence of emphatic particles. As it is the element with the maximum syntactic function, this 'outside' position is the logical place for the case marker, it is not buried within the noun-phrase.

NP

ya|ldi gulda - ndu dubura - dji  
long grass - ABL hop - PAST  
'It hopped out of the long grass' (191)

ŋidja dina - budu - na  
one foot - boot - INST LOC  
'with one shoe'

In the rare instances where the adjective follows, the case-marker still remains with the noun, and the adjective is as it were in apposition and in a new noun-phrase (153).

## III.8.2. Noun and pronoun

When a free pronoun occurs in a noun-phrase the situation is very different from the adjectival constructions outlined above. The following three types of phrases prevail:

a) the case marker may occur on both noun and pronoun:

NP

windja - ndu gīra - ndu bari - dj - imba  
*which* - ABL *country* - ABL *come* - PAST 2 sg Intr  
 'Which country do you come from?' (192)

NP

gaŋa - ndu gīra - ndu  
*that* - ABL *country* - ABL  
 'from that country' (the speaker points out the direction).

NP

ina - na gīra - na  
*that* - LOC *country* - LOC  
 'in that country'

b) The case marker is found only on the demonstrative pronoun which must then come at the end of the noun-phrase:

NP

wayu - r - aba                      dalda    iduna - ri  
*sorry* - Gl - 1 sg Intr *kangaroo that* - DAT  
 'I feel sorry for that kangaroo' (193)

NP

nūngu gini - nga                      - mandi wadu - dji  
*woman this* - 3 pl obj - PURP *get* - PAST  
 'He got it for these women' (194)

NP

gāgudj' - ayi                      inu - ru wadu - na gina dalda  
*brother* - 1 sg POS *this* - ERG *get* - PTC *this kangaroo*  
 'This brother of mine is getting the kangaroo' (195)

This use of the demonstrative is the basis of nominal ergative marking in Southern Bāgandji (where the pronoun has assumed a bound form, III.2.5.b.).

c) Nominative-accusative distinctions can only figure in pronouns, not nouns (III.2.1.). Where such a distinction is involved, the marked pronoun precedes the noun:

NP

gaṇma - dj - ayi      igi - na gambi-gambi  
*steal* - PAST - 1 sg obj *this* - ACC *shirt*

*'They stole a shirt from me'* (196)

NP

muni-muni - ndu      ida - na gali - ma  
*tie up* - 2 sg Tr *this* - ACC *dog* - 2 sg POS

*'Tie up this dog of yours'* (197)

NP

bana - ma - ana      giŋga      wana  
*make* - Vb - PTC *this* ACC pl *boomerang*

*'(They are) making these boomerangs'* (198)

and Guṇu:

NP

wāgu wīmbadja      бага - ana      idi - na      yara  
*crow man*      *sing* - PTC *this* - ACC *tree*

*'and the Crow was "singing" this tree'* (199)

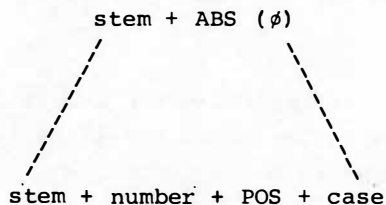
In this type of phrase only the pronoun and not the whole noun phrase is marked for the accusative.

### III.8.3. Word-order in noun-phrases

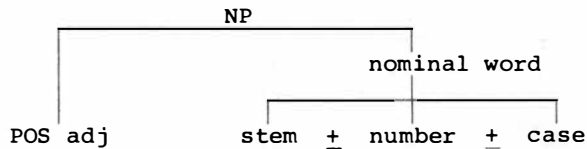
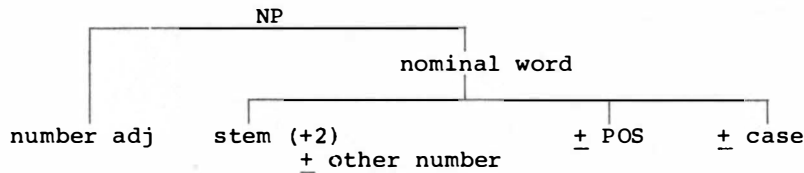
#### a) Southern Bāgandji

As indicated (III.1.4.) the basic structure of a nominal word in Southern Bāgandji ranges from a minimal:

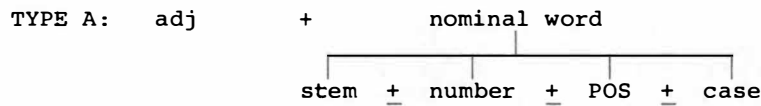
to a possible maximum:



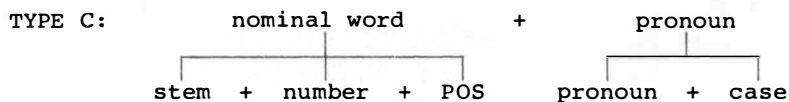
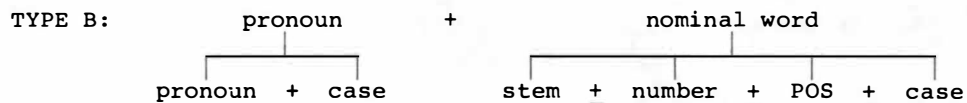
The following alternative possibilities are for emphasis of number or possession:



From III.8.1. and 2. the following possible ordering within noun phrases is evolved for Southern Bāgandji:



and where pronouns are involved:



Apart from the exception regarding the accusative (III.8.2.c.), case when expressed always figures last and effectively marks the whole noun phrase as a syntactic unit.



## b) Guṇu

In Guṇu the same minimum prevails for the nominal word as in Southern Bāgandji, but normally this is enlarged only to

## stem + case

As even the dual number may be expressed by a numerical adjective there is simply in Guṇu a more frequent use of the TYPE A noun-phrase.

Possession is normally indicated in Guṇu by a separate pronominal form (III.5.3.). Except in rare cases of special emphasis the possessive follows the noun and is marked for case when case is expressed:

widu - widu - la - ana yaḷa wiḍuga iduna - ri  
*chase* - TOP - PTC *own sister his* - DAT  
 adj noun pos + CASE

*'He is running after his own sister!'* (200)

gīra gidana - miri  
*country FUT his* - ALL

*'(He will go) to his own country'* (201)

yaḷa wimbara ṅari - mandi  
*own daughter my* - PURP  
 adj noun pos + CASE

*'for my own daughter'*

These examples represent typical TYPE A noun-phrases. This means that Guṇu, though it has shorter nominal words than Southern Bāgandji, has exactly the same order of elements in the noun-phrase as Southern Bāgandji.



## CHAPTER IV

### PRONOUNS

#### IV.1. THE PRONOMINAL CASE SYSTEM

##### IV.1.1. The nuclear cases

As discussed in III.2.1., in Bāgandji, as in many other Australian languages, the nominal system is basically nominative-ergative, whereas the pronominal system is basically nominative-accusative. In the first and second person singular there is a double distinction and the nominative is kept apart from the ergative as well as from the accusative. The nominative-accusative distinction applies throughout the pronominal system, to free pronouns as well as to the bound cross-referencing forms of the pronouns, (except in Guṇu where these bound pronouns do not normally occur, Wurm and Hercus 1976).

There is, however, a basic difference between the free pronouns and the cross-referencing bound forms as regards the dative case:

in the bound pronouns the dative is absent and its function is taken over by the accusative case (III.2.6.g. and III.2.7.)

in the free pronouns, although there is a distinct accusative case, the dative has the same wide usage as it has in nouns, as in (86) and in:

ŋīŋga - d - aba            manda - la ŋuma - ri  
sit - FUT - 1 sg Intr wait - OPT you - DAT

'I'll sit (here) in order to wait for you'

(202)

The contrasting usage between the bound and free forms may occasionally be seen even within a single sentence where the free pronoun is in the dative case and the cross-referencing bound pronoun is represented by the direct object (accusative case):

ɲayi - ri gaba - ru - ayi  
 me - DAT follow - NF 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj

'He's following me (not anybody else)' (203)

In other words: the semantic preferences that govern the use of the dative (such as lack of impingement on the object (III.2.6.) cannot be considered as being of final importance, since they can be overridden by morpho-syntactic considerations connected with the use of free versus bound pronouns.

#### IV.1.2. The peripheral cases

Throughout the nominal system of Bāgandji there is syncretism between the locative-instrumental and the genitive forms (III.1.4.), but in pronouns of the first and second person singular these cases have remained apart. This is a clear indication that the locative and instrumental cases were felt to be distinct from the genitive, although the forms of the relevant case-marking suffixes had fallen together on account of the loss of the distinction between -n and -n at the beginning of a morpheme (II.1.4.).

Bāgandji pronouns, as indicated, have an accusative, that is an object case marking form, as opposed to a nominative. This accusative form is identical with the genitive. A similar situation is found in the neighbouring Wanāybuwan language to the east (Donaldson 1980). Syncretism between the accusative and genitive is not an instance of case-marking suffixes falling together on account of phonological changes as in the matter of the locative-instrumental and genitive discussed above. It is a syntactic development.

It may appear hard to imagine how there could be any link between a nuclear case like the accusative and a peripheral case like the genitive, but other Australian languages provide a clue. In Arabana-Wanganuru (to the west of Bāgandji, in the Lake Eyre region) the accusative can be used instead of the possessive when something inalienably possessed is the object of a transitive verb:

wadni - ligu uga - na (for uga - guna) wimba  
 follow - HIST he - ACC (for he - POS) track

'They followed his track'

(lit. 'they followed him track') (204)

wadni - ligu madabuḍa - na (for madabuḍa - guna) wimba  
 follow - HIST old man - ACC (for old man - POS) track

'They followed the old man's track'

(lit. 'they followed the old man track') (205)

The origin of this construction can be seen from Arabana-Wangaṅuru sentences where both the thing possessed (as the direct object) and another object are involved:

madu - ru bidla uga - na ṅuni - ri, argaba - ru  
 totem - ABL name he - ACC give - NAR, red ochre - ABL  
 'They gave (him) his name from (the song about his)  
 matrilineal totem, red ochre'  
 (lit. 'they gave him name...') (206)

The same usage is found in Waraṅu (Tsunoda MS) and may well have been much more widespread than would appear from the published data on the languages of eastern Australia.

The link between the accusative and the genitive is so strong in Arabana-Wangaṅuru that in the case of pronouns the reverse process can take place, and the accusative may be replaced by the genitive-possessive:

aṅga - ma - na uga - guna  
 alive - make - PRES he - POS  
 'They resuscitate him'  
 (lit. 'they resuscitate his') (207)

gaṅi m̄:da - ṅda - limaru unḡuna  
 too much wait - Sp - PLUP you POS  
 'because I'd been waiting for you too long'  
 (lit. '...waiting yours') (208)

There can thus be no doubt over the reciprocity between the genitive and the accusative in Arabana-Wangaṅuru pronouns, but Bāḡandjī and Waṅāybuwan have gone one step further and there is complete syncretism between these two cases, except for the first person singular in Guṅu (III.5.4.).

## IV.2. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

### IV.2.1. Exclusive and Inclusive

Having discovered that exclusive/inclusive distinction exists in many Australian languages, R.H. Mathews thought that this feature was more important than it is. Throughout the recorded material in the Bāḡandjī dialects there is no strict distinction made between the inclusive (where the person addressed is included) and the exclusive (where the person addressed is excluded) in the first person pronouns dual and plural. However, R.H. Mathews implies that there is such a



The evidence given by R.H. Mathews can be partially reconciled with that of the recent recordings:

1. The exclusive/inclusive distinction, absent from the other Bāgandji dialects, was made only occasionally, when emphasised, in Guṇu.
2. The exclusive could be marked by the ergative form of the third person pronoun prefixed to the first person dual pronoun (Mathews 1904).
3. The inclusive could be marked by the ergative of the second person pronoun, prefixed to the first person dual (recent recordings).

The differing plural forms given by R.H. Mathews remain unexplained.

#### IV.2.2. Free pronouns of the first and second person

The following are the free forms of the pronouns in the Bāgandji dialects; in Guṇu these forms belong to the present tense (IV.2.4.).

##### SINGULAR

	1st person	2nd person
Nominative	ŋā̃ba	ŋimba
Ergative	ŋā̃du	ŋindu
Accusative	ŋā̃na ŋayi	ŋuma
Genitive	ŋā̃na ŋayi ŋari (Guṇu)	ŋuma
Dative	ŋā̃naŋi ŋayiŋi	ŋumaŋi
Locative	ŋā̃nana ŋayina	ŋumana
Ablative	ŋā̃nandu ŋayindu	ŋumandu ŋumandu
Purposive	ŋā̃namandi ŋayimandi	ŋumamandi

The variant Southern Bāgandji forms with ŋayi- belong particularly to the far south and are the rule in Pooncarie talk and in Marawara. For

their origin see III.5.4. The length of the first vowel in *qaba* and *qana* is indeterminate: long and short forms interchange freely.

DUAL		
	1st person	2nd person
Nominative	<i>qali</i>	<i>qubu, quba</i>
Accusative/Genitive	<i>qalina</i>	<i>qubuna, qubana</i>
Locative	<i>qalina</i>	<i>qubuna, qubana</i>
Dative	<i>qalinaṛi</i>	<i>qubanaṛi</i>
Ablative	<i>qalindu, qalinandu</i>	
Purposive	<i>qalinamandi</i>	<i>qubumandi, qubanamandi</i>

PLURAL		
	1st person	2nd person
Nominative	<i>qina</i>	<i>quḍa</i>
Accusative/Genitive	<i>qinana</i>	<i>quḍana</i>
Locative	<i>qinana</i>	<i>quḍana</i>
Dative	<i>qinanaṛi</i>	<i>quḍanaṛi</i>
Ablative	<i>qinanandu</i>	
Purposive	<i>qinanamandi</i>	<i>quḍamandi, quḍanamandi</i>

In the dual and plural of pronouns, unlike the singular, the locative is identical with the accusative-genitive on account of haplology (III.3.5.). The comitative and the instrumental are absent from the pronominal paradigm. A clear allative does not figure anywhere in recent recorded material, but R.H. Mathews (1902) quotes 'ngunhari' (*qanaṛi*), 'ngullinari' (*qalinaṛi*) etc., with an allative rather than a dative meaning 'towards me', 'towards us'.



## IV.2.3. Use of the free forms

In Southern Bāgandji, unlike Guṇu, the free subject and object pronoun forms are emphatic (IV.5.14.). Free pronouns are obligatory and bound forms can never be used in the following circumstances:

- a) in the peripheral case-forms
- b) as the object of a dependent verb in the optative form.

Examples of the use of some of the free pronominal forms are:

## Guṇu

wilga - wilga ḡaba  
hungry I NOM  
'I am hungry' (211)

gīnda ḡadu  
laugh he NOM  
'He's laughing' (212)

bula-bula ḡadi ḡana  
rouse they NOM me ACC  
'They wake me up' (213)

windjara ḡada - wa balu-balū  
where you pl NOM - EMPH children  
'Where are you, children?' (214)

## Peripheral Case-forms

ḡayina ḡīng' - imba  
me LOC sit - 2 sg Intr  
'You stay with me!' (215)

ḡinanandu wadu - dji - na  
us ABL take - PAST - 3 sg obj  
'He took it away from us' (216)

ḡuma yabara - na ḡīnga - d - ali  
you GEN(1.e.POS) camp - LOC sit - FUT - 1 dl sub  
'We'll sit in your camp' (217)

ḡumamandi bana - ma - la - yiga  
you PURP make - Vb - TOP - 3 pl sub  
'They are making it for you' (218)

With the optative

bari - ma - la - yiga      bam̄ - la ḡalina - ri  
*walk* - Vb - TOP - 3 pl sub *see* - OPT *us* dl - DAT  
 'They are walking past to get a good look at us two' (219)

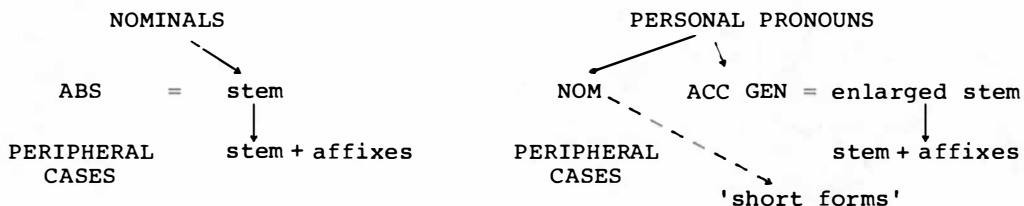
gila dalba - d - āba      dald̄ - la ḡuḡana - ri  
 not *stand* - FUT - 1 sg Intr *hear* - OPT *you* - DAT  
 'I won't stand around to listen to you people' (220)

As indicated above (III.5.1-2.) the genitive of personal pronouns is in fact the Possessive, which in its free form may be regarded as adjectival, and (very rarely) permits the addition of a case marker (III.8.3.b.).

#### IV.2.4. Notes on the free pronouns of the first and second person

##### a) The accusative-genitive as stem

In nouns the stem-form serves as absolutive, i.e., it indicates the intransitive subject and the transitive object. This stem-form represents the basis of the declension system (III.1.4.). As is clear from the paradigms given above, the situation is different with the pronouns: the nominative (transitive and intransitive subject) stands apart, and the accusative-genitive forms an extended stem on which all other cases are based. There are only a few exceptions, the variant 'short' forms ḡalindu, ḡubamandi and ḡuḡamandi, based on the nominative. This situation may be summarised as follows:



The functioning of the accusative-genitive as stem-form is one of the interesting and unusual features of Bāḡandji shared in this area only with Waḡāybuwan-ḡiyambā (Donaldson 1980). Though the actual forms in Waḡāybuwan-ḡiyambā are very different from Bāḡandji the general morphological scheme appears to be the same as in Bāḡandji with regard to pronouns.

The accusative stem was noted already by Mathews (1902:156 and 1904:136). There are modifications of the object pronouns to mean 'towards me', 'away from me'. The question arises whether it is only the accusative, as stated by Mathews, which forms the basis of the extended stem. In Guṇu the first person singular genitive ḡari is not identical to the accusative, ḡana, and the Guṇu forms ḡanaṛi, ḡanandu and ḡanamandi therefore clearly indicate an accusative stem. Mathews however also noted a form 'ngariri, close to me', which proves that the genitive was at least to some extent involved. The origin of these peripheral case forms based on the accusative (and genitive) is probably as follows:

It seems likely that there was no common Australian form for the peripheral cases of personal pronouns: these cases are missing from the pronominal paradigms of many Australian languages (Dixon 1972:7).

Where these cases occur they have the appearance of secondary formations on the analogy of the nominal system, using as basis various forms of stem; for instance:

1. the nominative stem, as in the first person sg. in Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru and Pitta-Pitta (Breen and Blake 1971) and in Yidiṇ (Dixon 1977).
- ii. a stem formed by the addition of an extra syllable of uncertain derivation as in pronouns other than the first person sg. in Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru and Pitta-Pitta.
- iii. the accusative stem, as in Bidyara (Breen 1972), in Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā and in Bāḡandji.

In Bidyara the pronominal genitive and the accusative are quite different from one another. There is therefore no immediate correlation between a syncretism of cases and the use of the accusative as stem.

#### b) The nominative singular

-ba is a wide-spread nominal suffix and is well known from the Western Desert languages (Douglas 1964:45, Hale 1973). Dixon goes as far as to regard it as a 'dummy syllable' (1977:173). It also occurs over a large area as a marker for the intransitive subject of pronouns, particularly the second person singular, as in Arabana anba, Waṅgaṅuru unba, Pitta-Pitta inba. A first person ḡabi is found in Yaraldi: -bi is doubtlessly derived from -ba, as final i in Yaraldi frequently corresponds to -a in other languages, e.g. Diyari, Waṅgaṅuru ḡana 'man',

Yaraldi goŋi. Bāgandji is distinctive in that it is the only language in the area where -ba is used in the nominative of both the first and the second person singular, but this development is found in other areas, as in Dyirbal (Dixon 1977:50).

In the second person singular the nominative and ergative stand apart completely from the rest of the declension in that they have the characteristic vowel -i-, while the other cases have -u-: this dichotomy is found both to the north in Bidyara in Queensland, and in the Yuṛa languages of the Flinders Range region. Both ŋin- and ŋun- were common Australian radicals of the second person singular: it is possible that Bāgandji and the other languages in question retained an original differentiation and that there was a levelling out of forms in the other languages, some languages retaining ŋin- and extending it throughout the declension, and other languages retaining ŋun- and extending it to the nominative.

### IV.3. THE THIRD PERSON AND THE DEMONSTRATIVES

#### IV.3.1. The third person pronoun

The third person pronoun closely resembles the first person in the singular:

	1st person	3rd person Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali	Bārundji and Guṇu
Nominative	ŋā̃ba	ŋ <u>adu</u> wa <u>du</u>	ŋ <u>adu</u> PRES {wa <u>du</u> PAST ga <u>du</u> FUT
Ergative	ŋ <u>adu</u>	{ŋ <u>adu</u> (ru) wa <u>du</u> (ru)	{ŋ <u>adu</u> (ru) PRES wa <u>du</u> (ru) PAST ga <u>du</u> (ru) FUT
Accusative	ŋā̃ <u>na</u>	(ŋ <u>ana</u> ) but usually supplied by demonstratives	{ŋ <u>ana</u> PRES ga <u>na</u> FUT

There are rare occasions where in the third person singular free form the ergative remains unmarked, as in (253): such sentences seemed acceptable to the speakers.

The following dual and plural forms of the third person pronoun were recorded:

DUAL	Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali	Bārundji	Guṇu
Nominative (Tr and Intr)	wadulu	wadūlu PAST	wadūlu PAST
Accusative-Genitive(LOC INST)	Supplied by demonstratives	Supplied by demonstratives	wadūluna PAST
PLURAL			
Nominative (Tr and Intr)	Supplied by demonstratives	Supplied by demonstratives	ṅadi PRES wadi PAST gadi FUT
Accusative-Genitive(LOC INST)	Supplied by demonstratives	Supplied by demonstratives	ṅadina PRES wadina PAST gadina FUT

Examples of the use of some of these forms are:

Southern Bāgandji

waduru dayi - l' - dji  
he<sub>ERG</sub> eat - TOP - PAST  
'He ate it' (221)

ṅadi dundja - la - ana  
they suck - TOP - PTC  
'They are sucking' (222)

Bandjigali

yanda - la ṅadu ṅama - mandi  
cry - TOP he<sub>NOM</sub> milk - PURP  
'He (that baby) is crying for milk' (223)

baḷga - adu ṅana baḷu  
hit - 1<sub>sg</sub> Tr him child  
'I hit this child' (224)

For examples of Guṇu usage see IV.4.1. and for Bārundji IV.4.3.

The third person pronoun is common in Guṇu (except for the dual); only the singular is common in Bārundji, and all free forms are rare in Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali on account of the preference for bound forms and for deictics.

The classification of the above pronouns as 'third person', rather than deictic is based on the evidence of Guṇu. In Guṇu these pronouns belong to the same kind of system as the first and second person, with tense marking by means of initial ḡ-, w- and g- as opposed to ∅, w- and g- in the deictics (IV.4.1.). It is probably the very similarity of the third person pronoun to the first that proved to be a weakness and caused the rarity of the third person form for the accusative. Furthermore in Guṇu these pronouns have no clear deictic value.

In Southern Bāgandji the situation is different: the wadu forms cannot strictly be called third person pronouns in that they have a definite deictic sense. Whereas in Guṇu they refer to some distance in time, namely the past (IV.4.1.), in Southern Bāgandji they refer to a certain distance in place, 'that which is not right here'. This is clear also from the adverbially used derivatives of the wadu forms such as wadumaṛi 'that way', as opposed to yamaṛi 'this way', and wadara 'over there'.

#### IV.3.2. The demonstratives: general notes

There are considerable differences between the Aboriginal languages that adjoin Bāgandji and even within the Bāgandji dialect group with regard to the syntactic functions of demonstrative pronouns. Three types of pronominal usage may be distinguished in the area:

- a) The demonstrative pronoun, and particularly the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, has become a mere adjunct to the noun. It has little deictic value, and is usually just a 'dummy' word that carries the case-marking morphemes. This is the situation in Wangumara.
- b) The demonstrative fulfils the function of a 'dummy' word, carrying syntactic markers, but it also has deictic significance. This intermediate situation can be seen in:

1. Madimadi, where the demonstratives carry the number markers
- ii. Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji, where the bound demonstratives carry the ergative marker (III.2.5.).

c) In the Guṇu dialect of Bāḡandjī, as well as in other languages in the area such as Wembawemba, Yaraldi, Waṇāybuwan-Niyambā and Maljaṇaba demonstratives are not associated with particular syntactic functions and retain their deictic value. In Guṇu this deictic value is furthermore connected with time (IV.4.1.).

#### IV.3.3. Forms of the demonstrative pronouns

In Bāḡandjī as in many other Aboriginal languages, the deictic system is complex. Some of the demonstrative pronouns are restricted in use and attested only in a limited range of forms: they may be regarded as remnants of an older and more elaborate system of designating position. After all the exact indication of location was of vital importance in Aboriginal traditional culture. The following forms were recorded:





## DUAL

Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji Guṇu

NOMINATIVE	{ gigulu gigūlu giyūlu	{ gidulu gidūlu	ginulu	idūlu, inūlu
------------	------------------------------	--------------------	--------	--------------

ACC, GEN, LOC, INST as NOM + na

The remaining cases are rare; they are formed from the accusative as stem.

## PLURAL

NOMINATIVE	giyiga	gidiga	ginaga(di)	idiga
ACCUSATIVE-GENITIVE	ginga	gidinga	} Bārundji gīdigana	idinga
LOCATIVE-INSTRUMENTAL	ginga	gidingana		

The remaining cases are formed from the accusative stem.

NOTE: Initial g- when followed by -i- was frequently dropped in all the Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji demonstratives listed above (II.2.3.).

As can be seen from Tindale's work (1939), the Marawara demonstratives were identical to Southern Bāgandji, for instance:

'llinba bararba geinum balkur  
'forbidden to listen to our words'

This is:

il' imba bāraba ginum (for ginuna II.4.6.) balgu  
not you listen this ACC word  
'Don't you listen to this conversation' (225)

'i:nan jurila:li  
'then we will consider it' (226)

This is:

(g)inana yuri - la - ali  
this ACC think - TOP - 1 dl sub  
'We two will think about this' (227)

tuna ŋəŋgali ba:ral gitinka  
*after-a-while-we listen those fellows*

This is:

duna ŋīŋga - ali bāra - la gidīŋga  
*then sit - 1 dl sub hear - OPT them ACC*  
*'Then we two will stay to listen to them'* (228)

The only exceptional form is keira in keira wanga '*this meat*' which could possibly be a misreading for keina wanga from Tindale's own original notes, i.e. gina wanga '*this meat*'.

#### IV.3.4. Use of the demonstrative pronouns

##### a) The accusative

The threefold case distinction, nominative-ergative-accusative is characteristic of the singular of personal pronouns and also applies to the singular of the demonstratives. There is one major exception to this: when adjectivally used and referring to inanimates the pronoun gina is not marked for the accusative:

gūriba - adu inu wanga - ul' - ayi  
*hide - 1 sg Tr this NOM meat - SG - 1 sg POS*  
*'I'm hiding my meat'* (229)

wanda - dji gina yara  
*burn - PAST this NOM tree*  
*'He burnt this tree'* (230)

Sometimes, though rarely, this usage is found even when the pronoun refers to animates:

bami - dj' - indu ina nūŋgu  
*see - PAST - 2 sg Tr this NOM woman*  
*'You saw this woman'* (231)

The more common usage is reflected by:

wadu - dji inana ma|i - ba|u  
*take - PAST this ACC man - child*  
*'He picked up the little boy'* (232)

It is difficult to assess whether the lack of marking for the accusative is a syntactic development or whether it is simply a case

of haplology (III.3.5.). The latter is most likely because only *gīna* is involved, but syntax must have also played a part as the lack of marking is confined to adjectivally used forms, and there may therefore have been some influence of the nominal declension.

b) The deictic function of demonstratives

The free forms of the demonstrative pronouns are clearly deictic:

<i>gīgi</i>	}	'this'	(right here)
<i>gidu</i>			
<i>gaŋa</i>		'this'	(round about here)
<i>gīna</i>		'that'	(some distance away)
<i>yuna</i>		'that'	(far away)
<i>nuna</i>		'that'	(far away)

Examples of the use of these deictics are:

*gila balīra gīgi gīra*  
*not good this place*  
 'This place here (the Broken Hill gaol) is no good' (233)

*giyiga muni-muni dulaga*  
*these policemen bad*  
 'These policemen here (in Wilcannia) are bad' (234)

*gidūlu ŋadji - ŋulu dayi - l' - bani - ŋgu - adulu*  
*they dl serpent - D1 eat - TOP - ASP - PERF - 3 dl sub*  
 'These two watersnakes (the ones we are talking about)  
 went on and on devouring everything' (235)

*gaŋa - ri gīra - ri bari - dji*  
*this - ALL place - ALL go - PAST*  
 'He went to this place around here' (236)

*yunūnamandi balga - dji - na*  
 'That's what he killed him for' (237)

*nunūnamandi balga - dji - na*  
*that PURP hit - PAST - 3 sg obj*  
 'That's what he killed him for' (238)

For the use of emphatic particles with the deictics see VI.1.2.a.1.

## IV.4. TENSE MARKING IN GUᅀU AND BĀRUNDJI FREE PRONOUNS

## IV.4.1. Guᅀu pronominal forms

The use in Guᅀu of pronouns marked for tense was noted already by R.H. Mathews (1902 and 1904) and was discussed in some detail by Wurm and Hercus (1976). Only an outline account is therefore given here with, inevitably, some repetition from the 1976 paper.

In Guᅀu personal and demonstrative pronouns the present (and also the general neutral form) is marked by an initial ᅀ- (zero in the case of the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity), the future is marked by an initial g- and the past by an initial w-. The materials collected in Guᅀu allow the following paradigmatic tables of tense forms to be set up:

	Present	Past	Future
1 singular nominative	ᅀāba	wāba	gāba
1 singular ergative	ᅀadu	wadu	gadu
2 singular nominative	ᅀimba	wimba	gimba
2 singular ergative	ᅀindu	windu	gindu
3 singular accusative	ᅀana	wana	gana
3 singular nominative	ᅀadu	wadu	gadu
3 singular ergative	ᅀadu(ru)	wadu(ru)	gadu(ru)
1 dual*	ᅀali	wali	gali
2 dual	ᅀuba	wuba	guba
3 dual	ᅀadūlu	wadūlu	gadūlu
1 plural	ᅀina	wina	gina
2 plural	ᅀuᅀa	wuᅀa	guᅀa
3 plural	ᅀadi	wadi	gadi
demonstrative pronoun of vicinity	idi	widi	gidi
demonstrative pronoun of distance	ᅀana	wana	gana

(Bārundji, like Southern Bāgandji, has idu, not idi as a pronoun of vicinity)

---

\*In the 3rd singular and throughout dual and plural, one form functions as both nominative and ergative though the latter is sometimes marked by -ru.

On the whole except in cases of special emphasis, only one pronoun in a sentence receives a special tense form; it is usually the subject or the pronoun referring to the main topic. The other pronouns retain their present/neutral form. The pronoun subject usually follows the verb, but as the examples quoted below will show, the system of tense marking cannot be linked immediately with the verb in Guṇu. Even if the changes in the pronoun had their origin in phonological conditioning it seems clear that in the present form of the language they have to be analysed as changes for tense. This can be demonstrated in the following manner:

a) The pronouns are not linked with any particular phonological environment, they can follow any verb or verb + aspect marker; and different tense forms can occur in the same conditions:

1. After all simple verbs

baridjiri dani gāba  
far away go FUT I  
'I'll go a long way off' (239)

dani wadi  
go PAST they  
'They've gone' (240)

ṅuḷardji māṅi bami wina  
many corroboree see PAST we  
'We've seen lots of corroborees' (241)

maṅḍi - na gāndara bami ginḍu  
ground - LOC blood see FUT you ERG  
'You'll see the blood on the pavement' (242)

bami ṅadu  
see PRĒS I ERG  
'I can see' (243)

iba gadi baḍi - ri  
lay FUT they egg - DAT  
'They'll lay eggs' (244)

iba wina  
lay PAST we  
'We put it down' (245)

11. After verb + verbaliser or aspect marker (such as -ri and -la, examples for the latter are given in section V).

gila d̄iŋga - ri wāba  
not rise - Vb PAST I  
'I didn't get up' (246)

gila d̄iŋga - ri ŋadu  
not rise - Vb PRĒS he  
'He's not getting up' (247)

bina - ri gimba  
climb - Vb FUT you  
'You'll climb up' (248)

- b) The pronouns, marked for tense, can follow words other than verbs:

wilga - wilga ŋadi  
hungry PRES they  
'They're hungry' (249)

diga - la gadi gīra gidi - na miŋi  
return - TOP FUT they country FUT this - GEN towards  
'They'll go back to their country' (250)

gandjaŋga nūŋgu widi - na  
good woman PAST this - GEN  
'He had a good wife' (251)

- c) In isolated instances and in order to focus on the subject, the pronouns are placed initially in an utterance, and this naturally precludes any possibility whatsoever of explaining the changing initial consonant of the pronoun by means of sandhi; the changing initial simply expresses tense:

mūya wadu wimbara - na 'windu gaba - nja maŋi ŋuma'  
scold PAST I ERG daughter - LOC 'PAST you ERG follow - ASP man yours'  
'I roused on my daughter (and I said to her): "You've been running after this man of yours (while I have been minding the kids)"'. (252)

wadu gāndi baŋu - baŋu  
PAST he carry small - child  
'It was him that carried the small children' (253)

#### IV.4.2. Origin of the tense-marked pronouns

As Guṇu pronouns are normally free forms, this three-fold tense distinction with initial ḡ-, g- and w- is transparent and clear. The origin of the system however remains uncertain. There are two main possibilities:

a) As implied by Dixon (1976) and conceded by Wurm and Hercus (1976:40) the varying initial of the pronoun could be due to a sandhi effect from preceding verbal tense markers, as the most usual position of the pronoun was immediately after the verb.

In favour of this theory are the perfect markers -ḡu in Southern Bāgandji, -u in Bārundji, (though these only cause extensive elision in bound pronouns, IV.5.6.).

There are three major objections to this theory:

1. Guṇu verbs do not show tense markers, only aspect markers.
- ii. It is unlikely that the Guṇu tense-marked pronouns are the result of an earlier sandhi-effect because they were free forms, and the chances are that they always had been free forms. According to Capell's hypothesis (1956:12) of basic flexibility, a theory which has never been contradicted, the free forms chronologically preceded the bound forms. Guṇu is bordered to the north and north-west by Nura languages which do not have bound pronouns affixed to verbs. Guṇu, though a Bāgandji dialect, is in fact beyond the pronoun subject-object affixing area of south eastern Australia.
- iii. There is no trace in Bāgandji of any sandhi source for the future pronouns with initial g-.

It seems therefore preferable to seek an alternative theory for the origin of the tense-marked pronouns.

b) In Southern Bāgandji the third person pronoun is ḡadu; wadu is also a third person pronoun, but refers to what is in the middle distance, while the pronominal base ga- refers to the general environs, as in gaḡa '*this round about here*', gaḡara '*here, but not right here*', gaḡaga '*over there, quite close*'. These deictics refer to time as well as place. It could be proposed (IV.3.1.) that in Guṇu the notion of time prevailed in preference to the notion of distance: the idea of middle distance, as in wadu thus could have come to indicate the past and the pronoun of general environment -ga could have come to imply the future. This scheme of varying initials according to tense could have then been extended from the third person to the other personal

pronouns and to the demonstrative pronouns. But there are no cogent proofs and the origin of tense-marking in Guṇu and Bārundji pronouns must still be regarded as obscure.

#### IV.4.3. Tense-marking in Bārundji pronouns

R.H. Mathews (Manuscript, made available by R.M.W. Dixon) states:

In the southeastern portions of the Parundyi territory there is further modification of the pronouns according to whether they refer to present, past or future time, the same as in the Kūrnū language....'

This has been confirmed by the work of S.A. Wurm, who analysed in the light of his fieldwork the complex situation in Bārundji bound pronouns (Wurm and Hercus 1976:42).

From the available material it is difficult to differentiate between bound and free pronouns, because the position of the pronoun was invariably after the verb. There are however isolated instances where pronouns have a full form, as opposed to a contracted form found in similar environments, and it is therefore possible to class these as free pronouns.

The mechanism by which free pronouns could express tense was the same in Bārundji as in Guṇu: initial *ŋ*- marked the present or neutral form, initial *w*- the past and *g*- the future.

##### a) The past

Only one distinctive full form of the past pronouns is recorded in S.A. Wurm's materials and that is the 1st person singular, where the bound pronoun *-wudu* in:

<i>balga</i> - <i>wudu</i>	
<i>hit</i> - PERF 1 sg Tr	
<i>'I have beaten'</i>	(254)

contrasts with the free pronoun *wadu*

<i>balgu</i>	<i>wadu</i>	
<i>hit</i> PERF	PAST I	ERG
<i>'I have beaten'</i>		(255)

For the bound form *-wudu* see IV.5.7.b.

##### b) The future

Apart from the bound forms quoted by Wurm (loc.cit.) there are also some full pronominal forms, which can be interpreted as free pronouns. They all involve the use of an initial *g* to mark the future:



wana gadu                      wanga  
 cook FUT I ERG meat  
 'I will cook meat' (256)

wana gali                                      wanga  
 cook FUT we dl NOM meat  
 'We two will cook meat' (257)

wana gina                      - wa              wanga  
 cook FUT we pl - EMPH meat  
 'We will all cook meat' (258)

There are a few clear instances in the Bārundji recordings where the emphasis is on the pronoun object and it is therefore this which is marked for tense:

numa gali - ru      dadja - wa      - da      gana  
 your dog - ERG bite - EMPH - EMPH FUT he ACC  
 'Your dog will bite *him*' (259)

The main difference between Bārundji and Guṇu pronominal usage lay simply in the much more restricted use of free pronouns in Bārundji.

#### IV.5. BOUND FORMS OF THE PRONOUNS

##### IV.5.1. General comments on bound forms

Bound forms of pronouns fulfil a number of functions in Southern Bāgandji, Bandjigali and Bārundji, but are not used in Guṇu. These functions are:

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| Personal pronouns | { 1. Person markers in verbs<br>2. Possessive markers (fully discussed in III.5.) |
| Demonstratives    |   |

In the bound forms of the personal pronouns the initial consonant is lost: in Southern Bāgandji this is always *ŋ*- except in the third person dual and plural (IV.3.1.). The basic bound forms of personal pronouns are as follows:

	SUBJECT	OBJECT and POSSESSIVE (III.5.3)
Singular	1. Intr. - <u>ā</u> ba	
	1. Tr. - <u>a</u> du	-ayi; - <u>ā</u> na (used only in Bandjigali and Menindee talk)
	2. Intr. -imba	
	2. Tr. -indu	-uma, -ama, -ma
	3. - <u>a</u> du	-(a)na
Dual	1. -ali	-alina
	2. -uba, ubu	-ubana, -ubuna
	3. - <u>ū</u> lu, <u>a</u> du <u>lu</u>	- <u>ū</u> luna
Plural	1. -ina	-inana
	2. -u <u>ḍ</u> a	-u <u>ḍ</u> ana
	3. -iga	-ḡga
		- <u>d</u> iga (Bandjigali and Bārundji with allomorph - <u>i</u> diga in the past)

The third person plural, like the corresponding free form is derived from the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity, as is the dual -ūlu. The basic forms listed above are subject to certain morphophonemic changes (IV.5.3.) and morphological modifications (IV.5.9-11.).

#### IV.5.2. The combination of bound subject and object markers

a) The ordering of morphemes within the verbal word in Bāgandji is fixed according to the following scheme:

verb ± aspect ± tense ± subject ± object

The bound pronoun subject thus always precedes the bound pronoun object, regardless of what persons are involved. The combination subject + object always remains analysable, the bound forms are simply those listed above, the only divergences being those discussed in IV.5.3-4. Practically all feasible combinations of subject and object occur in Bāgandji. Not feasible are naturally those combinations in which subject and object are identical and where a reflexive transformation is the rule: a first person subject cannot occur with a first person object, nor a second person subject with a second



In Bandjigali and in Menindee talk this is: daldindāna

daldi - 'nd' - āna  
 hear - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj (267)

2 sg sub + 1 dl obj gila widu-widandalina

widu-wida - 'nd' - alina  
 stare - 2 sg Tr - 1 dl obj  
 'Don't stare at us two' (268)

1 dl sub + 2 sg obj gila wandimālima

wandi - ma - ali - ma  
 want - Vb - 1 dl sub - 2 sub obj  
 'We two don't want you' (269)

1 dl + 3 pl obj yaḷadalinga

yaḷa - d - ali - nga  
 beat - FUT - 1 dl sub - 3 pl obj  
 'We two will defeat them' (270)

2 dl sub + 1 sg obj gila nūgadjubāyi

nūga - dj - uba - ayi  
 give - PAST - 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'You two didn't give me anything' (271)

3 dl sub + 3 dl obj gūngadjūlūluna

gūnga - dj - ūlu - ūluna  
 sool on - PAST - 3 dl sub - 3 dl obj  
 'They two (the two women) were sooling them two (dogs) on' (272)

3 dl sub + 1 dl obj gāndadūlalina

gānda - d - ūl' - alina  
 gossip - FUT - 3 dl sub - 1 dl obj  
 'The two of them will run us two down' (273)

1 pl sub + 3 sg obj gabadjinana

gaba - dj - ina - na  
 follow - PAST - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj  
 'We followed him' (274)

2 pl sub + 1 sg obj    ṅūgadjuḍāyi

ṅūga - dj - uḍa - ayi  
*give* - PAST - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'You people gave (it) to me'

(275)

The Bandjigall equivalent is ṅūgadjuḍāna

ṅūga - dj - uḍa - ana  
*give* - PAST - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj

(276)

2 pl + 3 pl obj    mūmaduḍanga

mūma - d - uḍa - ṅga  
*pick up* - FUT - 2 pl sub - 3 pl obj  
 'You people will pick them up'

(277)

3 pl sub + 1 sg obj    ṅibayigāyi

ṅiba - y - iga - ayi  
*lay* - G1 - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'They put me down'

(278)

3 pl + 1 pl obj    gila ṅabadiginana

naba - d - ig' - inana  
*lock up* - FUT - 3 pl sub - 1 pl obj  
 'They (the police) won't lock us up'

(279)

From these examples it is clear that the cross-referencing subject-object combinations are readily analysable. For a full table incorporating the morphophonemic changes of complex pronouns see IV.5.5.

#### b) Marawara

The situation in Marawara was practically identical to Southern Bāgandji, as is evident from Tindale's text, for instance:

ila'naṅunj                    'ṅokadum                    'noṅgu (p.247)  
*I-cannot-see-the-way*    *to-give-to-you*    *woman*                    (280)

This would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:

gila naṅunja ṅūgadūma ( ṅūga - 'du - uma ) ṅūṅgu  
*not how I-give-you* ( *give - I sg Tr - 2 sg obj* ) *woman*

ju:na ila 'ŋokandai noŋgu (p.246)  
*if-you don't allow-me-to-have woman* (281)

This would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:

yuna gila ŋūgandayi ( ŋūga - 'nd' - ayi ) nūŋgu  
*then not you-give-me (give - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj) woman*

#### IV.5.3. Morphophonemic changes involving bound pronouns in the present tense

Some processes of morphophonemic change form an integral part of the phonology of Bāgandji (crasis II.4.1.e. and accentuation II.5.4.). The special morphophonemic changes connected with possessive markers are discussed in III.5.5.; these possessives are identical in form with the bound pronoun object markers. But the morphophonemic changes involved in the affixation of the cross-referencing subject and object pronouns are so different and so much more complex than in the case of the possessives that they have to be discussed separately. A major difference lies in the use of the 'sandhi-consonants' -r- and -y- (here for simplicity called 'glides'), when two dissimilar vowels occur in the juncture between the verb-stem and the bound pronouns:

	Bound Subject and Object Pronouns	Possessives
-r- glide	widely used	in similar phonetic environments hiatus prevails, and the -r- glide is unknown except for a rare option in the first person sg.(III.5.6.a.)
-y-glide	widely used before -iga	a rare variant after stem-final -i

The morphophonemic changes of bound pronouns under discussion here are restricted to the present tense, as the past and future tense-markers are consonantal, and the perfect -ŋgu- involves separate rules (IV.5.6).

##### a) Main use of glide -r-

Glide -r- is used between a stem-final -i or -u and following bound subject and object markers:

bami - r - adu (bamiradu)  
*see - Gl - 1 sg Tr*  
 'I see' (282)

dingi - r - āba (dingirāba)  
*rise - Gl - 1 sg Intr*  
 'I get up' (283)

wadu - r - iga (waduriga)  
 take - G1 - 3 pl sub  
 'They take' (284)

daldi - r - iga (daldiriga)  
 hear - G1 - 3 pl sub  
 'They hear' (285)

iduru bami - r - ubana (iduru bimirubana)  
 this ERG see - G1 - 2 dl obj  
 'He sees you two' (286)

bāḷgu - r - imba (bāḷgurimba)  
 sound - G1 - 2 sg Intr  
 'You are making a noise' (287)

#### Exceptions

- i. A -y- glide can occur instead of the -r- glide after i- but this usage is rare, e.g.

bamiyadu (bami - y - adu) var.bamiradu  
 'I see' (288)

- ii. A -y- glide always occurs instead of an -r- glide when the verb-stem already contains an -r-;

bariyāba (bari - y - āba)  
 'I am going' (289)

- iii. In the case of verbs ending in -i there is no glide before the second person singular subject transitive and intransitive bound pronouns -indu and -imba and optionally before first person plural -ina: the two -i- sounds in the juncture amalgamate, as in gandindu 'you carry' (gandi - indu), barimba 'you go' (bari - imba), though in very deliberate speech bariimba has been heard.

- iv. Three verbs ending in -i change this to -a before the 3rd person plural subject -iga, and so there is no glide -r- or -iy- (exception ii.):

bami- 'to see' bamayiga 'they see' not \*bami-r-iga (290)

bari- 'to go' barayiga 'they go' not \*bari-y-iga (291)

dayi- 'to eat' dayayiga 'they eat' not \*dayi-r-iga (292)

## b) Further use of glide -r-

In the case of verbs ending in -a an r-glide may be optionally and very rarely inserted before the first person plural subject -ina, as in:

ŋīnga - r - ina (ŋīngarina)  
'We sit' (293)

ŋūga - r - ina - na (ŋūgarinana)  
give - G1 - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj  
'We give (it) to him' (294)

as opposed to the more common elision of the -a (see below)

ŋīngina (ŋīnga-)  
'We sit' 'to sit' (295)

## c) Comments on the origin of the glide -r-

In Southern Bāgandji the glide -r- fulfils the function of a sandhi consonant: it prevents hiatus and its occurrence is to a large extent phonologically determined by the vocalic environment in the juncture. But it is also morphologically determined. Except for its isolated appearance with the first person possessive (III.5.6.a.) the glide -r- occurs exclusively in the present tense of verbs in the juncture between the verb stem and the pronoun subject or the participial marker; it is never found between the pronoun subject and object. Everything thus points to the glide -r- being originally a morphological feature that was retained in situations where it was phonetically expedient. As an originally morphological feature, and being used predominantly with a certain type of verb (the -i- and -u verbs) the Bāgandji -r glide forms an interesting link between what might appear two widely different kinds of -r-:

1. The wide-spread tense marker -ra distinguishes the present tense of transitive verbs in Arabana-Waṅgaṅuru, (and of all verbs in Yaḷuyandi). -ra marks the future in the Nura languages which border on Bāgandji.
11. The conjugation marker -r- (Dixon 1977:206) is found, though only in a very small class of verbs, in the neighbouring Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā language (Donaldson 1980).

Bāgandji is just outside the area in which there are distinct conjugations, and it is also just outside the area in which -r- may serve as tense-marker. But on account of the use made of the -r- glide in the present tense Bāgandji occupies an important intermediate position.



## d) The -y- glide

The -y- glide occurs in the rare situations described above (a.1-11). But its most common use is between a stem-final -a and the bound third person plural subject pronoun -iga:

ŋīnga - y - iga (ŋīngayiga)  
'They sit down' (296)

ŋūga - y - iga (ŋūgayiga)  
'They give' (297)

For the pronunciation of -ayi- as [ai] see II.4.4.

As is evident from the rules given above for its occurrence, the -y- glide seems to fulfil mainly a phonetic function as a link between -i- and other vowels in the juncture between morphemes: there is thus no valid reason for associating it with the y- conjugation of Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā and other conjugational languages.

## e) Elision (involving simple bound pronouns)

## e.1. Elision of stem-final vowels

Apart from the third person plural -iga all other bound pronouns beginning with -i- involve at least optional elision of stem-final -a:

1. A stem final or participial -a is usually elided (for exceptions see section b above) before the first person plural bound subject and object pronouns:

dayi-l'-ina < \*dayi - la - ina (dayilina)  
*eat* - TOP - 1 pl sub  
'We eat' (298)

bami-n'inana < \*bami - na - inana (bamininana)  
*see* - PTC - 1 pl obj  
'looking at us' (299)

gab'-ina < \*gaba - ina (gabina)  
*follow* - 1 pl sub  
'We follow' (300)

- ii. and generally before the second person singular intransitive subject -imba

ŋīng-imba < \*ŋīnga - imba (ŋīngimba)  
*sit* - 2 sg Intr  
'You sit' (301)

a rare variant is ŋīngamba, with elision of the initial i- of the bound pronoun.

mūya-l' limba < \*mūya - la - imba (mūyalimba)  
angry - TOP - 2 sg Intr  
var.mūyalamba

'You are angry' (302)

ṭg'-imba < \*iga - imba (ṭgimba)  
swim - 2 sg Intr

'You are swimming' (303)

111. and before the second singular transitive subject -indu if a complex stem is involved:

gūri-b'-indu < \*gūri - ba - indu (gūribindu)  
hide - ASP - 2 sg Tr

'You hide (it)' (304)

yuri-b'-indu < \*yuri - ba - indu (yuribindu)  
hear - ASP - 2 sg Tr

'You understand' (305)

bami-l' indu < \*bami - la - indu (bamilindu)  
see - TOP - 2 sg Tr

'You watch' (306)

but not with a simple stem nor the verbaliser -ma: these involve elision of the initial i- of the bound pronoun:

wīdja-'ndu < \*wīdja - indu (wīdjandu)  
drink - 2 sg Tr

'You drink' (307)

balga-'ndu < \*balga - indu (balgandu)  
hit - 2 sg Tr

'You hit' (308)

bana-ma-'ndu < \*bana - ma - indu (banamandu)  
make - Vb - 2 sg Tr

'You make' (309)

## e.2. Elision of initial vowel of bound pronouns

1. The initial -a- of the 3rd person object -ana is always elided after -i, and also if a long vowel occurs in the syllable preceding the juncture (see II.5.4.).

11. -adu  $\begin{cases} 1 \text{ sg Tr} \\ 3 \text{ sg sub} \end{cases}$

and

-adulu 3 dl sub

may drop their initial -a- in the present of -i verbs when a bound pronoun object follows, as in:

muni - 'du - ana (muniduana)  
 tie - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'I tie him up' (310)

instead of the more common

muni - r - adu - ana (muniraduana)  
 tie - G1 - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'I tie him up' (311)

similarly

bami - 'dul' - ayi (bamidulayi)  
 see - 3<sup>dl</sup> sub - 1<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'They two see me' (312)

instead of the more usual

bami - r - adul' - ayi (bimiradulayi)  
 see - G1 - 3<sup>dl</sup> sub - 1<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'They two see me' (313)

In the 3rd person singular this elision may even occur when no bound object follows, as in the intransitive verb bari- 'to go'

bari - 'du (baridu)  
 go - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He goes' (314)

instead of the more usual

bari - y - adu (bariyadu)  
 go - G1 - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He goes' (315)

#### f) Elision in compound pronouns

When final in a bound pronoun subject both -u and -a are elided before the 1st person plural object:

ganda-d-ūlu'-inana < \*gānda - d - ūlu - inana (gandadūlinana)  
 gossip - FUT-3 dl sub - 1 pl obj  
 'The two of them will run us people down' (316)

ganda-ub'-inanan < \*gānda - uba - inana (gandaubinana)  
*gossip* - 2 dl sub - 1 pl obj  
 'You two run us people down' (for a+u see II.4.1.e. (317)

gīnda-d-uḍ'-inana < \*gīnda - d - uḍa - inana (gīndaduḍinana)  
*laugh* - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 pl obj  
 'You people will laugh at us' (318)

Only -u is elided before the 1st person dual and singular object -alina and -āna, and optionally before the Pooncarie and Marawara 1st person sg object -ayi:

wida-'nd'alina < \*wida - indu - alina (widandalina)  
*stare* - 2 sg Tr - 1 dl obj  
 'You're staring at us two' (319)

bami-'nd'āna < \*bami - indu - āna (bamindāna)  
*see* - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj  
 'You see me' (IV.5.3.a.iii) (320)

bami-dj-ūl'ana < bami - dj - ūlu - ana (bamidjūlana)  
*see* - PAST - 3 dl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'They two saw me' (321)

baḍa-d-ūl'ayi < \*baḍa - d - ūlu - ayi (baḍadūlayi)  
*bite* - FUT - 3 dl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'They two (dogs) will bite me' (322)

For Marawara see (280)

The many minor morphophonemic complexities and the free variants of the cross-referencing pronouns, coupled with their general transparency may be interpreted as a sign of the relatively recent origin: there has not yet been any general levelling, and no major analogical developments. This recent origin of the bound pronouns is not surprising if one considers that Southern Bāgandji is on the edge of the area in which bound pronouns are found, and the Guṇu dialect did not have bound pronouns at all.

#### IV.5.4. Paradigms showing simple bound pronouns

The past and future tense markers consist of the consonants -dj and -d- respectively, and the bound subject pronouns simply follow the tense-marking consonant. Therefore only the past forms are listed, and then only for ŋīnga- (Intr) and balga- (Tr), as all verbs are identical in the way the past and the future are formed. The following table, furthermore, gives the forms of the present tense of the -a, -i and -u verbs ŋīnga- 'to sit', dingi- 'to get up' and wabu- 'to come out'. The transitive verbs gaba- 'to follow', ŋandji- 'to leave' and wadu- 'to take' have been given for the first and second person singular where they differ from the intransitive, and bami-la 'to look at' is quoted as a complex stem. The third person singular and dual have been included in the table, but the special modifications connected with them have been omitted (see IV.5.9.). Bandjigali and Bārundji forms have been listed only where they differ from Southern Bāgandji.

PERSON	PAST		PRESENT						
			-a VERBS		-i VERBS		-u VERBS		
	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive	Intransitive	Transitive	
SINGULAR	1	ŋ̄T̄ngadjāba	gabadjadu	ŋ̄T̄ngāba	gabādu bamiTadu	dingirāba	ŋandjidu	waburāba	{wadu wadu <u>adu</u>
	2	ŋ̄T̄ngadjimba	gabadjindu	{ŋ̄T̄ngimba ŋ̄T̄ngamba	gabandu bami lindu	dingimba	ŋandjindu	waburima	wadurindu
	3	ŋ̄T̄ngadju	ŋ̄T̄ngadju	ŋ̄T̄ngādu	ŋ̄T̄ngādu	{dingidu dingi <u>radu</u> dingiya <u>du</u>	{dingidu dingi <u>radu</u> dingiya <u>du</u>	waburadu	waburadu
		*{wadudju ŋ̄T̄ngadjidu	wadudju ŋ̄T̄ngadjidu						
	**ŋ̄T̄ngadjadu	ŋ̄T̄ngadjadu							
DUAL	1	ŋ̄T̄ngadjali	ŋ̄T̄ngadjali	ŋ̄T̄ngāli	ŋ̄T̄ngāli	{dingirali dingiyali	{dingirali dingiyali	waburali	waburali
	2	ŋ̄T̄ngadjubu	ŋ̄T̄ngadjubu	ŋ̄T̄ngaubu [ŋ̄T̄ngapu]	ŋ̄T̄ngaubu [ŋ̄T̄ngapu]	{dingirubu dingiyubu	{dingirubu dingiyubu	waburubu	waburubu
	3	ŋ̄T̄ngadjūlu **ŋ̄T̄ngadjadulu	ŋ̄T̄ngadjūlu ŋ̄T̄ngadjadulu	ŋ̄T̄ngādulu	ŋ̄T̄ngādulu	{dingirūlu dingidūlu	{dingirūlu dingidūlu		wadūlu
PLURAL	1	ŋ̄T̄ngadjina	ŋ̄T̄ngadjina	ŋ̄T̄ngina ŋ̄T̄ngarina	ŋ̄T̄ngina ŋ̄T̄ngarina	dingina	dingina	waburina	waburina
	2	ŋ̄T̄ngadjuḍa	ŋ̄T̄ngadjuḍa	ŋ̄T̄ngauḍa [ŋ̄T̄ngəḍa]	ŋ̄T̄ngauḍa [ŋ̄T̄ngəḍa]	dingiyuḍa dingiruḍa	dingiyuḍa dingiruḍa	waburuḍa	waburuḍa
	3	ŋ̄T̄ngadjiga * **ŋ̄T̄ngadjidiga	ŋ̄T̄ngadjiga ŋ̄T̄ngadjidiga	ŋ̄T̄ngayiga ŋ̄T̄ngadiga	ŋ̄T̄ngayiga ŋ̄T̄ngadiga	dingiriga dingidiga	dingiriga dingidiga	waburiga wabudiga	waburiga wabudiga

\*Bārundji. \*\*Bandjigali. Variants are bracketed together, the preferred form being given first.

IV.5.5. Table of complex pronouns in Southern Bāgandji

SUBJECT		OBJECT								
		1st person			2nd person			3rd person		
		Sg	Dl	P1	Sg	Dl	P1	Sg	Dl	P1
1st Person	Sg	reflexive			-adūma	-adūbana	-adūḍana	-aduana	-adūluna	-adunga
	Dl				-alina	?	?	-alina	?	-alinga
	P1				-inama	?	?	-inana	?	-inanga
2nd person	Sg	{-induayi -indayi}	-indalina	-indinana	reflexive			-induana	-indūluna	-indunga
	Dl	-ubuayi	-ubālina	-ubinana				-ubana	?	-ubunga
	P1	-uḍayi	-uḍālina	-uḍinana				-uḍana	-uḍūluna	-uḍanga
3rd Person	Sg FUT (IV5.9)	-uruayi	-uralina	-urinana	-urūma	-urūbana	-urūḍana	-uruana	-urūluna	-urunga
	Dl PRES PAST	-adulayi	-adulalina	-adulinana	-adulūma	?	?	-aduluana	-ūlūluna	-adulunga
		-ūluayi	-ūlalina	-ūlinana	-ūluma			{-aduluna -ūluna}	-ūlūluna	-ūlunga
	P1	-igayi	-igalina	-iginana	-igāma	?	-igauḍana	-igana	-igauluna	-iganga

A question-mark in table IV.5.5. indicates that the complex bound pronoun in question does not appear in the recently recorded material. The absence of some of the dual forms from the Bāgandji recordings is due to the tendency to substitute the plural for the dual within the verbal word (III.4.1.).

#### IV.5.6. Morphophonemic changes in the perfect tense in Southern Bāgandji

In most of the morphophonemic changes listed above the bound pronouns underwent relatively little alteration. But when the perfect marker -*ngu* is used the initial vowels of all bound pronouns undergo crasis (II.4.1.e-g.) or are lost altogether, including those that are otherwise never subject to change, such as -*ali* and -*āba*.

a) The final vowel *u* of the tense-marker -*ngu* combines with the initial *a-* of bound pronouns to form [ɔ̄] (II.4.1.e.).

warganguāba [workangɔ̄pa]      'I used to work'      (323)

warganguali [workangɔ̄li]      'We two used to work'      (324)

ɲimanguaba [ɲimangɔ̄pa]      'I was lying down'      (325)

bana - la - ngu - adu (banalanguadu [panalangɔ̄tu])  
make - TOP - PERF - 1 sg Tr  
'I used to make'      (326)

b) Initial *u-* and *i-* of bound pronouns are elided after -*ngu*:

banalangundu < \*bana - la - ngu - indu  
make - TOP - PERF - 2 sg Tr  
'You used to make'      (327)

baringuga < \*bari - ngu - iga  
go - PERF - 3 pl sub  
'They were walking about'      (328)

wɪdjanguɔ̄da < \*wɪdja - ngu - uɔ̄da  
drink - PERF - 2 pl sub  
'You were drinking'      (329)

#### c) Paradigm

The following is the paradigm of the perfect tense of the transitive verb *dayi -la-* 'to eat'. Forms of the intransitive verb *bumba-* 'to sleep' have been given where they differ from the transitive.



1. dayilanguadu [tayilangɔ̄tu] (bumbanguaba [bumbangopa])
  2. dayilangudu (bumbangumba)
  3. dayilanguadu [tayilangɔ̄tu]  
dayilangu [IV.5.9.]
1. dayilanguali [tayilangɔ̄li]
  2. dayilangu
  3. dayilanguadulu [tayilangɔ̄tulu]
1. dayilangu
  2. dayilanguḍa
  3. dayilangu

This paradigm is followed by all verbs, whatever their final vowel and regardless of whether they are simple or compound. Further examples to illustrate this are:

wandaḡguga (from wanda- 'to be ignorant')  
'They have never noticed' (330)

dinginguadu (from dingi- 'to rise')  
'He has got up' (331)

mūyamalanguadulu (from mūya-ma-la- 'to have a row')  
'They two had been having rows' (332)

For the special semantic values of the perfect see Ch. V.

#### IV.5.7. The -u perfect of Bārundji

##### a) The perfect in complex verbs

From the Bārundji materials made available by S.A. Wurm it appears that there was a perfect tense marker -u in Bārundji (see Ch.V.). The morphophonemic processes involved in the affixation of the bound pronouns to this tense marker are similar but not identical to those that appear in the -ḡgu perfect of Southern Bāḡandji. The main difference is that with complex verbs (i.e. verbs which consist of root + stem-forming affix) after the Bārundji perfect tense marker -u the initial syllable (in 3 dl the initial syllable + d) of all bound pronouns is elided; there is thus no instance of -ua [o]. Examples recorded by S.A. Wurm are from the following complex verbs, yaḡma-la- 'to break', ḡḡnga-la- 'to fall' and bari-ba- 'to come':

1 sg. Intr. baribuba

\*bari - b' - u - (wa)ba  
 go - ASP - PERF - PAST 1 sg Intr  
 'I have come' (333)

3 sg. yaṅmaludu

\*yaṅma - l' - u - (wa)du  
 break - TOP - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub  
 'He has broken' (334)

3 sg. ḡāḡgaludu

\*ḡāḡga - l' - u - (wa)du  
 fall - TOP - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub  
 'He has fallen' (335)

1 dl. baribuli

\*bari - b' - u - (wa)li  
 go - ASP - PERF - PAST 1 dl sub  
 'We two have come' (336)

3 dl. baribulu

\*bari - b' - u - (wad)ulu  
 go - ASP - PERF - PAST 3 dl sub  
 'They two have come' (337)

1 pl. baribuna

\*bari - b' - u - (wi)na  
 go - ASP - PERF - PAST 1 pl sub  
 'We all have come' (338)

3 pl. baribudiga

\*bari - b' - u - (wi)diga  
 go - ASP - PERF - PAST 3 pl sub  
 'They have all come' (339)

The analysis given here of the forms of the perfect has been corrected from the 1976 paper (Wurm and Hercus), where such forms were included with an example of the ordinary past tense.

bārayi - dj - idu (bārayidjid)  
 hear - PAST - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr  
 'I heard' (340)

The supposition that it was the initial of the PAST forms of the pronouns that underwent elision in the examples quoted above is confirmed by the presence of -w- in the perfect of simple verbs.

## b) The perfect in simple verbs

Simple dissyllabic and denominative verbs (Ch.V.) differ in the perfect from the verbs discussed above in all the examples that are available, but unfortunately these are confined to the singular. In all these examples the vowel -u- which is the perfect marker replaces the vowel of the bound pronoun:

\*bami - u - wadu (bamiwadu)  
*see* - PERF - PAST 1 sg Tr  
 'I have seen' (341)

\*bami - u - windu (bamiwundu)  
*see* - PERF - 2 sg Tr  
 'You have seen' (342)

ŋulj' - u - wadu (ŋuljwadu)  
*wash* - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub  
 'I have washed' (343)

dadj - u - wadu (dadjwadu)  
*bite* - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub  
 'He has bitten' (344)

In the third person there is an alternative with the optional transitive marking:

dadj' - u - waduru (dadjwaduru)  
*bite* - PERF - PAST 3 sg Tr  
 'He has bitten' (345)

An example of the perfect of a denominative verb is from bugamala- 'to die':

buga - ma - l' - u - wadu (bugamalwadu)  
*dead* - Vb - TOP - PERF - PAST 3 sg sub  
 'He has died' (346)

The above analysis is confirmed by *balgu wadu* 'I have beaten' (255), where the free form of the pronoun is used.

## c) Comments on the bound pronouns in the perfect of Bārundji verbs

It is not difficult to surmise some of the causes of the difference in development between the complex verbs on the one hand and the simple and denominative verbs on the other. In complex verbs the substitution of the perfect marker -u for the stem-final vowel and the elision of the initial syllable of the bound pronoun still left the

verbal root intact and clear: the complex verbs were so to speak cushioned by the aspect markers and other stem-forming affixes. In simple and denominative verbs this was not so: the elision of the first syllable of the bound pronoun was therefore impeded by 'preservative analogy' (to use the old term coined by Jespersen 1909:13). The characteristic Bārundji perfect 1st and 3rd person -udu was introduced on the pattern of the complex verbs, so we can postulate that:

balgawudu 'I have beaten' (347)

was in fact based on the form with the free pronoun (255) balgu wadu.

#### IV.5.8. Bārundji bound pronouns in the future tense

In Southern Bāgandji the bound forms of the pronoun simply follow the future tense-marker -d- (IV.5.4.). In Bārundji the future can be expressed by the free future marked pronouns such as gadu (IV.4.3.b). As shown by S.A. Wurm (Wurm and Hercus 1976:43) when a bound form is used there is no distinction between the present and the future, as the initial consonant is lost in the bound form. Thus:

wagādu (348)

may be equivalent to

waga - gadu  
 chop - FUT 1 sg Tr  
 'I will chop'

or

waga - ŋadu  
 chop - PRĒS 1 sg Tr  
 'I am chopping'

In complex pronouns in Bārundji the whole of the first syllable of the subject pronoun is lost with the result that the same situation prevails and:

ŋugadu (349)

may be equivalent to

ŋuga - (g)adu - ŋuma  
 give - FUT I sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
 'I will give (it) to you'

(The present or neutral form would be expected in the object pronoun [Wurm and Hercus 1976:40])

or

ηūga - (η)adu - ŋuma  
*give* - PRES<sup>1</sup> sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
 'I am giving (it) to you'

In bound forms as opposed to free (IV.4.3.) loss of initial *i* is thus the rule in the future of all Bārundji verbs, both simple and complex. An example of the future of a complex verb is:

balgandādu (350)

which was translated as:

balga - nda - (g)adu  
*kill* - POT - FUT 3 sg sub  
 'He might be going to kill'

though it could also be:

balga - nda - (η)adu  
*kill* - POT - PRES<sup>3</sup> sg sub  
 'He might kill'

The only exception, as shown by S.A. Wurm (loc. cit.) are verbs in which stem-final *i* is preceded by a non-geminating (II.2.1.) consonant. In these verbs the initial consonant of the pronoun is not dropped and the *-i* is lengthened

bari - gali (barīgali)  
*go* - FUT 1 dl sub  
 'We two will go' (351)

which is quite distinct from the present tense

bariyali < bari - y - (η)ali  
*go* - G1 - PRES 1 dl sub  
 'We two are going' (352)

For the significance of the partial syncretism of the present and future tenses see Ch.V.

#### IV.5.9. Special modifications of bound pronouns: the third person dual

Systematic morphophonemic changes are found in the bound pronouns in the perfect (IV.5.6.), all other tenses show uniformity with regard to bound pronouns as indicated by the paradigms (IV.5.4.). But the first and third person singular and the third person dual are subject to special allomorphic variations.

There are two different forms of the bound third person dual pronoun:

-adu based on the free third person dual pronouns \*ḡadu, wadu

-ulu based on the demonstrative pronoun giḡulu

These forms are in complementary distribution:

Bound pronoun	Use
- <u>adu</u>	<p>In Bandjigali in all tenses, including the past: <i>miḡa-miḡad<u>adu</u></i> 'The two of them rolled their swags'.</p> <p>In Southern Bāḡandji in the future, present and perfect tenses: <i>bariyad<u>ulu</u></i> 'The two of them are going'. Does not occur in the past tense.</p>
- <u>ulu</u>	<p>In Southern Bāḡandji in the past tense: <i>barij<u>ulu</u></i> 'They went'.</p> <p>Not found in Bandjigali.</p>
- <u>uluna</u>	<p>Is the only object form found in all tenses in both Southern Bāḡandji and Bandjigali.</p>

The absence of the -adu type forms from the past in Southern Bāḡandji is connected with a similar situation in the 3rd person singular.

#### IV.5.10. Special modifications of bound pronouns: the third person singular

##### a) Allomorphs

There are six allomorphs of this bound pronoun:

- <u>adu</u> } - <u>u</u> }	based on the free (both transitive and intransitive) subject pronoun <u>ḡadu</u> (for possible elision of initial -a see IV.5.3.e.2.)
- <u>ru</u> } - <u>uru</u> }	based on the optional (exclusively transitive) subject form of the pronoun, <u>ḡaduru</u>
- <u>i</u> } - <u>udu</u> } (Bārundji)	based on the bound pronoun in the perfect (IV.5.7.)

## b) Use of the allomorphs

-i is not strictly speaking a third person singular bound pronoun: it is the unmarked form of the past which is used as 'abstract' form and as implied third person singular (V.4.2.b.ii.). Since the tense marker of the past is -dj-, a final -i has simply been added as supporting vowel, as all Bāgandji words end in a vowel:

buga - ma - la - dji (winjiga bugamaladji)  
 dead - Vb - TOP - PAST  
 'Who died?' (353)

-u forms the third person singular of the past in Southern Bāgandji:

buga - ma - la - dj - u (bugamaladju)  
 dead - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He died' (354)

-u is the only true 3rd person singular subject marker in the past tense in Southern Bāgandji, but -adu normally fulfils this function in Bandjigali:

Southern Bāgandji:

ŋīnga - dj - u (ŋīngadju)  
 sit - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He sat' (355)

Bandjigali:

ŋīnga - dj - adu (ŋīngadjadu)  
 sit - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He sat' (356)

For a similar distinction between Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali in the third person dual see IV.5.9.

-ru is a third person subject marker that presents many problems. It fulfils the following functions:

1. It is used as third person transitive subject marker. It seems possible to analyse -ru as glide -r- + -u (i.e. the same -u as is found in the third person singular in the past tense). Thus

bamiru may be analysed as bami - r - u  
 see - G1 - 3 sg sub

In support of this analysis is the fact that bamiru

and similar forms are in fact not identical in meaning with the present *bamiradu*, var. *bamiyadu* 'He sees'. *bamiru* and similar forms can best be described as a 'non-future': they express the present as well as the past tense. The use of the characteristic -u third person of the past is therefore understandable. Another point in favour of the analysis 'glide -r- + -u' is the fact that as a simple bound pronoun -ru occurs mainly after -i and -u where a glide -r- would be expected (IV.5.3.). In -a verbs the stem-final vowel is usually changed to -i before -ru. Thus:

*gabiru* (gaba- 'to follow') (357)

is the normal non-future, while *gabaru* is much less common, though still acceptable to Bāgandji speakers. Although, as indicated above, we may analyse -ru as 'glide -r- + -u', the restriction of this affix to transitive verbs makes it likely that the ergative form of the third person pronoun (*ḡadu*)ru was also involved in the origin of this usage.

- ii. When a bound pronoun follows, -ru is very widely used and the change of stem-final -a to -i does not normally take place, though it has been heard as a very rare variant. Like the simple -ru the complex pronoun -ru + object is not felt to be a variant of -adu, as it implies not just the present, but the non-future:

*ḡandji* - *ḡu* - *ana* (*ḡandjiduana*)  
*leave* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'He's leaving her (right now)' (358)

but

*ḡandji* - *ru* - *ana* (*ḡandjiruana*)  
*leave* - NF - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'He's left her now (he might have just done so)' (359)

*gaba* - *adu* - 'na (*gabāduana*)  
*follow* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'He's following him (right now or in the future)' (360)

but

*gaba* - *ru* - *ana* (*gabaruana*)  
*follow* - NF - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'He's been following (might even have stopped doing so now)' (361)

In this function the distinctly ergative significance of -ru < (*ḡadu*)ru is clear.



iii. There is a third usage involving -ru and that is in the perfect, where -ngu -ru contrasts with the normal third person -ngu-adu. The contrast between the two forms is syntactic-semantic:

- ngu - adu (IV.5.6.) means that an action is now complete and no longer takes place.
- ngu - ru means that an action has been completed and has been a cause for further developments.

Examples are:

wĩmbadja manu dayi - la - ngu - adu  
*black man food eat* - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub  
 'He used to eat Aboriginal food' (362)

as opposed to

buga-buga dayi - la - ngu - ru buga - ma - la - dj - u  
*rotten eat* - TOP - PERF - NF *dead* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He died from eating stinking food' (363)

and

daldi - ngu - 'du - ayi  
*hear* - PERF- 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj  
 'He used to listen to me (but doesn't any more)' (364)

as opposed to

gila daldi - ngu - ru - ayi ngadu gulba - ngu - ana  
*not listen* - PERF - NF - 1 sg obj I ERG *tell* - PERF - 3 sg obj  
 dunda buga - ma - la - dj - u  
*then dead* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He wouldn't listen to me when I was telling him (not to drink undiluted methylated spirits) and so he died' (365)

In this usage the original ergative function of -ru is visible: it is the third person agent, marked by -ru that brings about the 'subsequent developments'. This situation is of major syntactic significance as it involves subordination of the verb-phrase marked by -ru (Ch.VII).

-uru is used to mark the third person subject in the future tense, but only when a bound object follows (and on very rare occasions when a free object precedes as in VIII.2. line 1.), otherwise, in both transitive and intransitive verbs the ordinary third person subject marker -adu is used:

ṅūya - l - d - adu (ṅūyaldadu)  
 fear - TOP - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He'll be frightened' (366)

bari - d - adu (baridadu yāmari)  
 go - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He'll go this way' (367)

bami - d - adu (bamidadu)  
 see - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He'll see' (368)

but

ṅāndja - d - uru - ayi (ṅāndjaduruayi yaṅḍa)  
 ask - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 1<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'She'll ask me for money' (369)

bami - d - uru - uma (bamidurūma)  
 see - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 2<sup>sg</sup> obj  
 'He'll see you' (370)

naba - d - ur' - inana (nabadurinana)  
 shut - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 1<sup>pl</sup> obj  
 'He'll lock us up' (371)

gunga - d - uru - ŋga (gungaduruŋga)  
 swallow - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 3<sup>pl</sup> obj  
 'He'll swallow them' (372)

Basically here the distinction between -adu and -uru is that in the third person singular -uru marks the immediate transitivity of the verb: i.e. it marks the transitive use of the verb within the verbal word.

-udu This allomorph shows the influence of the vocalism of the perfect tense (IV.5.7.). It occurs only in Bārundji and has been omitted from the following table. It is confined to the past tense and the perfect:

wadu - dj - udu (wadudujudu)  
 take - PAST - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He took' (373)

TABLE OF ALLOMORPHS OF THE BOUND THIRD PERSON PRONOUN SUBJECT

FORM	- <u>a</u> du	-u	-ru	-uru
SPHERE OF USE				
PRESENT	+	-	-	-
NON-FUTURE	-	-	transitive verbs only, particularly common in complex pronouns	-
FUTURE	as single bound pronoun only	-	-	as complex bound pronoun only
PAST	in Bandjigali only	+ but not in Bandjigali	-	-
PERFECT	when causality not implied	-	when causality implied	-

## IV.5.11. The first person singular bound pronoun

The first person singular has more morphological distinctions than the third, in that it has separate transitive/intransitive forms in all tenses (IV.5.1.). But there is only little allomorphic variation, and then only in the past tense.

a) -idu is the past tense allomorph of the first person singular transitive subject in Bārundji only:

bārayi - dji - 'du (bārayidjidu)  
hear - PAST - 1 sg Tr

This allomorph is probably based on the influence of the final -dji of the unmarked past tense (IV.5.10.b).

b) In Southern Bāgandji -u is the preferred first person transitive subject bound pronoun in the past tense, where the normal first person transitive of all other tenses, -adu is extremely rare:

bami - dj - u - ana (bamidjuana)  
see - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj  
'I saw him'

(374)

bami - dj - u - ubana (bamidjūbana)  
see - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 2 dl obj  
'I saw you two'

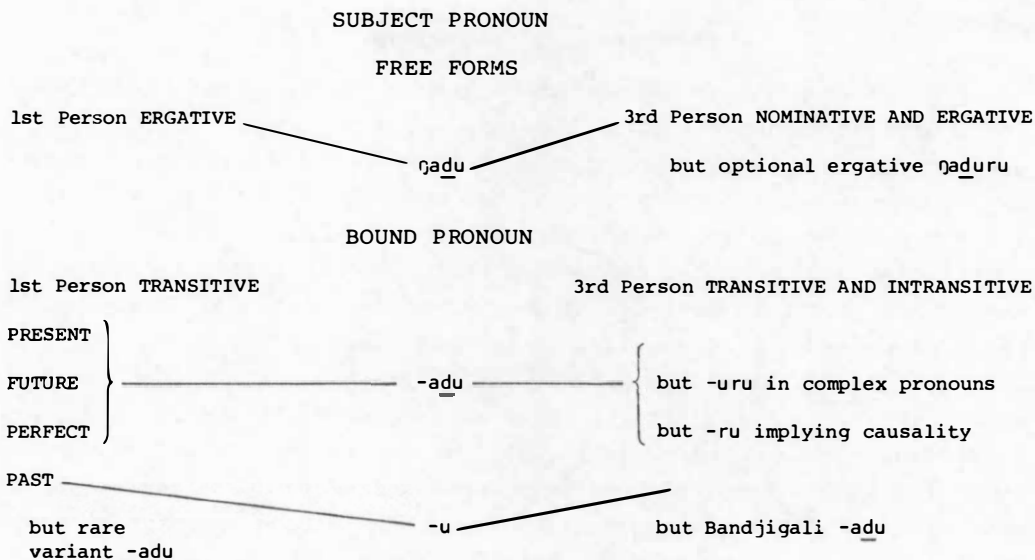
(375)

but also the unusual form

bami - dj - adu - ubana (bamidjadubana)  
see - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 2 dl obj  
'I saw you two'

(376)

This means that, except for the rare occurrence of -adu the transitive first person pronoun is identical to the third person subject, transitive and intransitive: in other words the situation in the bound pronouns of the past is exactly identical to that observed in the present bound pronouns and for that matter in the free pronouns (IV.3.1.) where there is identity between the transitive forms of the first person subject and the third person. This can be illustrated by the following diagram:



#### IV.5.12. Comments on the formal diversity of bound pronouns

It has been pointed out long ago by Greenberg (1966:27ff) as a language universal that there can be more formal distinctions in the singular than in the dual and plural; this is furthermore borne out in the system of hierarchies described by Silverstein (1976). This greater diversity of the singular is clearly illustrated by the situation in Southern Bāgandji pronouns, bound and free:

System 1		System 2	
1st and 2nd Person Sg		1st and 2nd Person Pl	
FORM	FUNCTION	FORM	
NOM	Intransitive Subject	Subject Form	
ERG	Transitive Subject		
ACC	Transitive Object		ACC

The third person singular free pronouns may optionally belong to either system (IV.3.1.). The third person singular bound pronoun is of particular interest in this respect; as is shown by the table (IV.5.10.d.) there is evidence of system 1: the three-fold distinction in the third person singular of Present-Non-Future, the Future and the Perfect, but not in the Past tense. The Past tense also stands on its own in that the first person transitive subject, which is the same as the third person subject Past allomorph (IV.5.11.), -u, is an

abbreviated version of the personal subject bound subject used in other tenses. The reasons for this difference in the past tense are not clear: the separate allomorph may be due to the fact that these two bound pronoun forms, the first and third person singular of the Past, are quite particularly common, because the past is the ordinary tense of any narrative. Contrary to what has been observed by R.M.W. Dixon for Yidiñ (1977:118), Southern Bāgandji does not have a 'first person orientation' in fact it goes further than most Australian languages in having what might be called a 'third person orientation'. Southern Bāgandji narratives are usually in the third person, and even when the protagonists in the stories speak, their comments are often in the third person, as for instance: *'Who stole the Big Fish (i.e. the one that I had nurtured for so long), who has stolen it?'* and in Tindale's text (1939:251) *'This relative this man has done to death his sister's son (i.e. the speaker's own son)'*. This third person orientation may be at least to some extent responsible for the allomorphic diversity of the bound third person pronoun.

#### IV.5.13. 'Affix-transferring'

In sentences other than equational sentences (III.1.2.) the bound personal pronouns in Southern Bāgandji are normally attached to the verb, as shown throughout IV.5.1-11., this affixation takes place regardless of what position the verb occupies within the sentence. The only major exception is: when an interrogative adverb begins a sentence the bound personal pronouns are attached to that adverb. As pointed out by Donaldson (1980) the term 'affix-transferring' is not strictly speaking accurate when used to describe those situations in which the bound pronouns are affixed to interrogative adverbs. It can be shown within the Bāgandji dialects that the person markers were not 'transferred' away from the verb. There was simply parallel evolution: interrogative adverbs attracted the bound pronouns, as did the verb. The Bāgandji dialects suggest the following stages in the evolution of pronoun affixation:

- A Interrogative + Free Pronoun, Verb + Free Pronoun
- B Interrogative + Free Pronoun, Verb + Bound Pronoun
- C Interrogative + Bound Pronoun, Verb + Bound Pronoun

In the Bāgandji dialects all three stages of this development may be seen.

Stage A is illustrated by Guṇu, where, normally, bound pronouns do not occur, but the preferred position of the free pronouns is always

Verb + Free Pronoun

except when an interrogative adverb is used, in which case it is

Interrogative adverb + Free Pronoun

Examples of Guṇu usage are:

buridjiri dani gāba  
far away go FUT I Intr  
'I'll go far away' (377)

ḡinga ḡadu bamī - la  
sit he look - OPT  
'He's sitting watching' (378)

but when an interrogative begins the sentence:

mina ḡindu wida - ana  
what you Tr stare - PTC  
'What are you staring at?' (379)

In Guṇu therefore the free pronoun occupies exactly the same position as that held by the bound pronoun in Southern Bāgandji.

Stage B is illustrated by Bārundji where bound pronouns are affixed to the verb except when an interrogative adverb is used as the head-word, in which case the free pronoun follows the interrogative. This is clearly illustrated by S.A. Wurm's recordings, e.g.:

mina - mandi	{ ḡimba }	bari - b' - u	waḡaga
whāt - PURP	{ you NOM }	go - ASP - PERF	PAST here

'Why did you come here?' (380)

to which the answer is:

dilburu - mandi	bari - b' - u	-	'ba
water - PURP	go - ASP - PERF	-	1 sg Intr

'I came for water' (381)

and:

mina - mandi	{ ḡuba }	bari - b' - u	
whāt - PURP	{ you dl sub }	go - ASP - PERF	

'Why did you two come?' (382)

to which the answer is:

dilburu	-	mandi	bari	-	b'	-	u	-		'li
<u>water</u>	-	PURP	go	-	ASP	-	PERF	-		l dl sub

'We two came for water'

(383)

(the free pronouns have been enclosed in dotted lines,  
the bound pronouns in boxes).

The Bārundji evidence indicates that the special positioning of the pronoun subject in interrogative sentences is of primary importance, since it supercedes the rule that positions the pronoun subject after the verb (IV.5.2.). But the verb has greater powers of incorporation than the interrogatives, it is therefore associated with the enclitic bound form of the pronouns. Southern Bāgandji illustrates stage C: free subject pronouns follow the interrogative only rarely, and are emphatic (IV.5.14.).

naḡunja		ḡuba		bilga	-	dji
<u>how</u>		you dl NOM		descend	-	PAST

'How did you two get down?'

(384)

Normally bound pronouns are affixed to the interrogatives, as in:

dina	-	midi	-	na	bara	-	yiga	daldī	-	la
<u>foot</u>	-	<u>tip</u>	-	LOC	go	-	3 pl sub	hear	-	OPT

mina	-	mina	-	ali	gulbi	-	ra	-	ana
<u>what</u>	-	<u>what</u>	-	l dl sub	talk	-	TOP	-	PTC

'They come on tip-toe to listen to whatever we two  
are talking about'

(385)

and:

nandar'	-	imba	bari	-	dji
<u>how</u> often	-	2 sg Intr	go	-	PAST

'How often did you go?'

(386)

The same situation is found only very rarely with demonstrative adverbs, if they form the main topic, but the bound form is repeated with the verb:

inana	-	da	-	aba	ḡīnga	-	aba
<u>here</u>	-	EMPH	-	l sg Intr	sit	-	l sg Intr

'I'm staying right here!'

(387)



BUT

Occasionally though rarely there are exceptions, and the bound form is affixed to the verb only, even when an interrogative is used:

windjara	ŋīng	'	imba
where	sit	'	2 sg Intr

'Where are you staying?'

(388)

naŋunja	wadu	-	dj	-	indu
how	get	-	PAST	-	2 sg Tr

'How did you get (it)?'

(389)

Of particular interest are the cases where both a bound subject and a bound object are involved: in Southern Bāgandji usage the subject is then affixed to the interrogative and the object to the verb:

naŋunj'	-	indu	wadu	-	dji	-	na
how	-	2 sg Tr	get	-	PAST	-	3 sg obj

'How did you get it?'

(390)

The positioning of the object pronoun after the verb in these circumstances is due to the basic preferred word-order of Bāgandji which is S-V-O when free pronouns or nominals are used (Ch.VII).

In a number of Australian languages, including some of the Western Desert group, the bound pronouns are affixed to the head-word of a sentence and are not of necessity affixed to the verb. This situation prevails over a large area to the south-east of Bāgandji, in some Kulin languages, particularly Wembawemba, in Waŋāybuwan-Niyambā, Wiradjuri, and the languages of the South Coast of N.S.W. Bāgandji like the neighbouring extreme north-western Kulin language Maḍimadi is outside the area that shares this important syntactic feature.

Bāgandji usage with regard to interrogative adverbs, as outlined above, is however an indication that Bāgandji was just marginally and to a limited extent influenced by developments in this 'south-eastern linguistic area'.

#### IV.5.14. Use of the bound and free forms of subject and object pronouns

As discussed in earlier sections (IV.5.1.ff.) bound personal pronouns are not normally used in Guṇu: in Southern Bāgandji however the bound forms occur in UNMARKED discourse contexts, while the free forms occur in MARKED discourse contexts (Givón 1976).

## a) Subject pronouns

Because of the preferred word-order S-V-O the free subject pronoun is usually initial in a sentence, and it is used in preference to the bound form to signal topicality: the various grades of markedness and of emphasis on topicality are shown in the following table:

FORM	DISCOURSE CONTEXT IN WHICH USED	
	Guṇu	Southern Bāgandji
bound pronoun subject	-	unmarked
free pronoun subject	unmarked	more marked
free pronoun subject + emphatic clitic	marked	highly marked
free pronoun subject AND bound pronoun subject	-	most marked

Examples of Southern Bāgandji usage are:

## 1. More marked

ṅadu balga - dji - na  
I ERG hit - PAST - 3 sg obj  
'I hit him' (391)

ṅindu gulba - dj - ayi  
you ERG tell - PAST - 1 sg obj  
'You told me' (392)

## ii. Highly marked

ṅadu - wa yungāgu yaga - dji - na  
I ERG - EMPH alone break - PAST - 3 sg obj  
'I broke it all on my own' (393)

ṅindu - wa - da gaṇma - dj - ayi  
you sg ERG - EMPH - EMPH steal - PAST - 1 sg obj  
'You stole (it) from me' (394)

## 111. Most marked

ŋubu - wa dayi - l' - d - ubu  
 you dl NOM - EMPH eat - TOP - FUT - 2 dl sub  
 'You two are the ones that are going to eat (it)' (395)

ŋali damba - d - ali  
 we two NOM dig - FUT - 1 dl sub  
 'We two are the ones that are going to dig' (396)

## b) Object pronouns

In the case of the object pronouns some degree of topicality is derived from the unusual initial position:

FORM	DISCOURSE CONTEXT IN WHICH USED	
	Guṇu	Southern Bāgandji
bound pronoun object	-	unmarked
free pronoun object	unmarked	more marked
free pronoun object in initial position	marked	highly marked
free pronoun object AND bound pronoun object	-	most marked

Examples are:

## 1. More marked

wingunja - adu ŋāna  
 turn - 3 sg sub me ACC  
 'He turns me round (to look at something)' (397)

## 11. Highly marked

ŋayi bami - 'ndu  
 me ACC see - 2 sg Tr  
 'Look at me!' (398)

ŋayi yungagu winba - yiga  
 me only blame - 3 pl sub  
 'They blame only me' (399)

## 111. Most marked

ηayi naba - dj - iga - ayi  
*me ACC lock up - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj*  
*'It was me they locked up'* (400)

In the case of the object pronouns the varying degrees of topicalisation do not involve the use of emphatic clitics; this differs from the situation with subject pronouns, where clitics fulfil an important function. It is not surprising in view of the 'economy of language' (Martinet 1972) that emphatic clitics have scarcely ever been heard with free pronoun object forms in Southern Bāgandji.

## c) Amplification paraphrase

1. The third person bound pronoun is often used even when the noun to which it refers appears in the same sentence: the most common circumstance under which this occurs is when the noun is added as an afterthought amplification as in:

windjiga wadu - dji - na baṅḍu gumbadja  
*who take - PAST - 3 sg obj cod big*  
*'Who took it, that big cod?'* (401)

and in the examples quoted in III.2.3.

- ii. In a similar fashion, free pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons may appear in an emphatic afterthought phrase, when the corresponding bound form has already occurred:

yaḷa - d - ali - ŋga ṅali - wa  
*defeat - FUT - 1 dl sub - 3 pl obj we two NOM - EMPH*  
*'We two will beat them (at bingo), we will'* (402)

warga - ŋgu - uba ṅuba - wa  
*work - PERF - 2 dl sub you two NOM - EMPH*  
*'You were (actually) working, you two!'* (403)

This is one of the most common situations where a free pronoun is used to 'supplement' as it were the bound pronoun, which represents ordinary non-emphatic usage in Southern Bāgandji.

IV.5.15. Bound forms of personal pronouns affixed to non-verbs:  
'verbless sentences'

a) Morphological comments

As indicated in III.1.2. bound person markers are affixed to nominals and to pronominal adverbs to form verbless sentences. But in these circumstances the link between the bound pronouns and the preceding morpheme is much looser than with verbs, and little morphological change takes place. Only the following two rules apply:

1. Hiatus prevails between two vowels in the junction between non-verbs and bound pronouns except that:

the bound third person singular -adu and 3rd dual -adulu lose initial a after stem-final -i and -u;

stem-final -a is elided before the bound morphemes that begin with i-, namely the second person singular -imba and the first person plural -ina.

- ii. The third person plural differs from that used with verbs in Southern Bāgandji. It is -diga (usual in Bārundji and Bandjigali), a more conservative form than the usual Southern Bāgandji -iga < gidiga.

These rules are illustrated by the examples given in section (b).

b) Syntactic comments: the verbless sentence

In many Aboriginal languages (Dixon 1972:71, 1977:271) as well as in many other parts of the world (Hopper 1968) there is no verb 'to be'. In English the verb 'to be' has a dual function:

1. as an existential verb

- ii. as a copula

In the area around the Darling River Basin the following situation prevailed: languages to the east and south-east of Bāgandji, Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā, Wiradjuri and Wembawemba have a verb 'to be' (Donaldson 1980, Hercus 1969). Languages much further to the west, such as Arabana-Wangaṅuru have no verb to serve as copula, but use 'to sit' and 'to lie' as existential verbs; this is also a fairly widespread situation in other Australian languages. Such verbs have a twofold function:

1. they convey the idea of existence, or act as copula

- ii. they carry the suffixes that mark the tense of the sentence

In Southern Bāgandji equational and existential sentences are verbless. But when there is a need to convey a marked tense such as the past or the future, the verb *ŋīnga-* 'to sit' acts as a 'dummy' verb, simply to carry tense-marking suffixes, as in:

bana ŋīnga - dji idu wagadja - ayi  
*doctor sit - PAST this uncle - 1 sg POS*  
 'My uncle was a witch-doctor' (404)  
 (Bandjigali)

In Guṇu where tense is usually conveyed by pronouns, no such 'dummy' verb is ever used and all existential and equational sentences are verbless. In all Bāgandji dialects the minimal verbless sentence may consist of a single noun-phrase, as shown by Dixon for Djirbal (1972:71). The feature that characterises Bāgandji in particular is the prevalence of the use of PERSONAL PRONOUNS in the verbless sentence: nouns, adjectives and pronominal adverbs resemble verbs in Bāgandji, since in conjunction with personal pronouns they can form minimal sentences. This has been illustrated in III.1.2. A minimal sentence in Bāgandji must consist of:

noun	}	+ pronoun, usually in its bound form in Southern Bāgandji
adjective		
pronominal adverb		

Further examples of this usage are:

#### Noun

gila wīmbadja - n' gāndara - adu      daḷḷa - n' gāndara - adu  
*not man - GEN blood - 3 sg sub      'roo - GEN blood - 3 sg sub*  
 'It's not human blood it's kangaroo blood' (405)

#### Adjective

ŋūŋgi - 'du  
*ripe - 3 sg sub*  
 'It's ripe' (406)

dulaga - diga  
*bad - 3 pl sub*  
 'They are bad' (407)

This also includes descriptive noun-phrases and adjectives formed with the 'having' suffix:

Guṇu example, showing tense in the pronoun:

yaḷi maṅgu wāba  
open arm PAST I  
'I had my arms spread out' (408)

Southern Bāgandji:

ṅāda daḍu-baḍi - dja - 'du  
nothing brain - having - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
'He has no brains' (409)

Also included are some ablative forms:

gāndinja - ndu - aḍu  
old - ABL - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
'She's ancient' (410)

Pronominal adverb

inarāba (inara - aba)  
here - 1 sg Intr  
'I'm here' (411)

windjar' - imba  
where - 2 sg Intr  
'Where are you?' (412)

The only permissible verbless sentences without personal pronouns are:

1. Pronominal adverb or pronoun + noun,  
[or demonstrative pronoun (414)]

windjara ṅamaga  
where mother  
'Where is (my) mother?' (413)

igi duru  
this here snake  
'There's a snake here!' (414)

- ii. Noun + NP (consisting of adjective + noun + possessive affix)  
or simply NP (consisting of adjective + noun + possessive affix):

nadji yaldi baṅba - na  
serpent long neck - 3 sg POS  
'The water-snake has a long neck' (415)

nūngu buga maḷi - na  
woman dead husband - 3 sg POS  
'The woman is a widow' (416)

buga maḷi - na  
dead husband - 3 sg POS  
'She's a widow' (417)

The use of the bound pronouns in verbless sentences in Southern Bāgandji, and the corresponding construction with free pronouns in Guṇu represents one of the most striking features of Bāgandji grammar.

### c) Semantic comments

As has been pointed out by Lyons (1969:389) copulative sentences may be of three kinds, and this classification may also be applied to Bāgandji:

- |                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| i. identifying or equative | this usually involves a nominal complement as in (16)/(405)  |
| ii. attributive            | this mostly involves complements consisting of adjectives (406-7) or descriptive noun-phrases, (408-9) and (415-7), including nouns in the ablative case (410) |
| iii. locational            | this normally entails the use of a pronominal adverb (413-4)   |

The semantic content of verbless sentences does not present any unexpected features, it is the use of the personal pronouns that is noteworthy in such sentences in Bāgandji.



## IV.6. INTERROGATIVE (AND INDEFINITE) PRONOUNS

## IV.6.1.a. 'Who?' in Southern Bāgandji

The interrogative pronoun *windjiga* 'who' like other pronouns follows the nominative-accusative system; there is no ergative distinction. The nominative singular *windjiga* 'who' is therefore used regardless of whether the verb is transitive or not. All interrogatives are invariably sentence-initial:

*windjiga* - wa - da ḡīnga - ana  
*who* NOM - EMPH - EMPH *sit* - PTC  
 'Who is sitting there?' (418)

*windjiga* wadu - dji - na  
*who* NOM *take* - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'Who took it?' (419)

There is also a short form *windji* which is used as a variant of *windjiga* in verbless sentences:

*windjiga* (g)idu }  
*windji* (g)idu } 'Who is this?' (420)

Other case-forms are:

*windjiga* -na Accusative and Genitive  
*windjiga* -mandi Purposive  
*windjiga* - umbula Comitative

as in:

*windjiga* - na ḡūga - 'ndu  
*who* - ACC *give* - 2 sg Tr  
 'Whom are you giving it to?' (421)

*windjiga* - na mūrba ḡimba  
*who* - GEN *child* you  
 'Whose child (are) you?' (422)

*windjiga* - na ḡali  
*who* - GEN *dog*  
 'Whose dog (is) this?' (423)

*windjiga* - mandi bana - mi - ru  
*who* - PURP *make* - Vb - NF  
 'Whom did he make it for?' (424)

## IV.6.1.b. 'Who?' in other Bāgandji dialects

The Bandjigali and Guṇu interrogative pronouns that were recorded were the same as Southern Bāgandji. In Bārundji however the second syllable was lengthened and windjīga is used in S.A. Wurm's materials:

windjīga gaṇma - ana yara-yara - ayi  
*who steal - PTC things - 1 sg POS*  
 'Who is stealing my things?' (425)

## IV.6.1.c. Number in interrogatives

Distinction of number is important in pronominal declension (III.4.1.) but the interrogatives on account of their indeterminacy tend to be an exception to this, as can be seen for instance in Waṇāybuwan-Niyambā (Donaldson 1980). R.H. Mathews (1902:156) lists a dual form 'windyulu' and a plural 'windyi-windyi' for Guṇu, but neither of these have been heard in the recent Guṇu recordings; a plural was expressed once, but then only by the addition of a personal pronoun:

windjiga wadi balga idana  
*who PAST they hit him*  
 'Who (pl.) hit him?' (426)

The plural 'windyi-windyi' quoted by Mathews appears to be simply a reduplication of the variant nominative windji found in Southern Bāgandji.

In Southern Bāgandji number marking for interrogative seems to be restricted to the rarest occasions, in fact only one instance was heard. This involved the nominal plural marker -ugu, cross-referenced by a plural bound pronoun:

windj' - ugu wadu - dj - iga - ayi  
*who - pl take - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj*  
 'Who took it away from me?' (427)

As a general rule windjiga 'who' may convey any number. If it is the subject of a sentence windjiga may be topicalised by the use of a bound pronoun with the verb; this bound form is always in the singular, as in the Bandjigali sentence:

windjiga balga - dj - adu - uma  
*who hit - PAST - 3 sg sub - 2 sg obj*  
 'Who hit you?' (428)

## IV.6.2. 'Which?' and 'Where?'

The interrogative adverb *windja*, *windjara* 'where' has an adverbially used allative case form *windja-maṛi*, Guṇu *windja-miṛi* 'whither', and an ablative *windjandu* 'whence'. But *windja* also functions as an interrogative adjective 'which', with a non-human referent:

*windja* - 'du            *nṛgi* - na  
*which* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub    *name* - 3 sg POS  
 'What's his name?' (429)

*windja* - ndu    *gṛa*        - ndu    *bari* - ṅga - dji  
*which* - ABL    *country* - ABL    *come* - ASP - PAST  
 'What country did he come from?' (430)

and even with the function of 'what':

*gila daldi* - l' - dj - āba            *windja* - ndu    *buga* - la - dji  
*not hear* - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr    *what* - ABL    *die* - TOP - PAST  
 'I never heard what he died from' (431)

The use of the same pronominal base for 'where' and 'which' is also found in the neighbouring Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā language, but is uncommon elsewhere.

## IV.6.3. 'What?' and 'How many?'

a) 'what?' is rendered in Bāgandji by *miṇa*, which is found as an interrogative pronoun over a large part of Australia (Schmidt 1919). Throughout the Bāgandji dialects *miṇa* does not show any kind of inflection in the nuclear cases: this may be accounted for by the inherent vagueness of the concepts expressed by *miṇa*.

Examples are:

*miṇa*    *igi*  
*what*    *this*  
 'What (is) this here?' (432)

*miṇ'* - indu            *ganda* - ana  
*what* - 2 sg Tr    *carry* - PTC  
 'What are you carrying?' (433)

Other case forms are:

mina-na Instrumental

mina-mandi Purposive

as in:

mina - na bana - mi - ru  
*whāt* - INST make - Vb - NF  
 'What did he make it with?' (434)

mina - mandi ḡimba bari - b' - u  
*whāt* - PURP you NOM go - ASP - PERF  
 'What did you come for?' (435)

b) nandara 'how many' never occurs with case-marking affixes. Regardless of whether it is used adjectivally in conjunction with a noun or not, there is no nominative-accusative distinction:

nandara wimbargu - ama  
*how many children* - 2 sg POS  
 'How many children have you?' (436)  
 (lit. are belonging to you)

nandara ḡāndi - 'ndu  
*how many hold* - 2 sg Tr  
 'How many have you got in your hand?' (437)

There are also no instances of the use of any peripheral cases: nandara occurs in only a very limited set of syntactic environments and always refers to the topic of a sentence.

The only bound forms that are affixed to nandara are the 'transferring' bound pronouns (IV.5.12.) as in:

nandar' - indu wīdja - dji  
*how many* - 2 sg Tr drink - PAST  
 'How many (bottles) did you drink?' (438)

### c) Summary of case marking

It is possible to establish a hierarchy of possibilities of case distinctions in interrogative pronouns:

NOM-ACC distinction, some peripheral cases ————— windjiga  
 no nuclear case-distinctions, but some peripheral cases — mina  
 no nuclear case-distinction and not used  
 where peripheral case marking would apply ————— nandara

## IV.6.4. 'Indefinites'

As pointed out by Dixon (1977:183) in Australian languages interrogatives may also convey an 'indefinite' meaning. Bāgandji is no exception to this. There are two types of usage involved:

a) an interrogative pronoun functions as an indefinite when it forms part of a sentential complement, as in (431) and (385) as well as:

gila bami - dj	- adu	windjiga	waga - dji	gina	yara
not see - PAST - 1 <sup>sg</sup> Tr		who	cut - PAST	this	tree
<span style="border-top: 1px solid black; display: inline-block; width: 200px; margin: 0 auto;"></span>					
sentential complement					

*'I did not see who chopped down that tree'* (439)

b) an interrogative, when repeated, always conveys an indefinite meaning, particularly common is *mina-mina* 'something or other'. Both types of usage are combined in:

gila yuri - wa - yiga	- ayi	, mina - mina	yawara
not hear - ASP - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj,	what - what	word	
nadu gulba - ra - na - ama			
I ERG speak - TOP - PTC - 2 sg obj			

*'They don't understand me whatever words (in Bāgandji)*  
*I may be saying to you'* (440)

Apart from the two types of usage quoted, there are no other circumstances in which the interrogatives may function as indefinites in Bāgandji.

## IV.7. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS

## IV.7.1. General comments

Pronominal adverbs are closely linked in form and in meaning with

demonstrative pronouns or interrogative-indefinite pronouns.

They form a distinct class of words (III.1.1.) and in Bāgandji they have an additional characteristic not shared by other adverbs: they can form minimal sentences in conjunction with bound or free personal pronouns (IV.5.14.). The majority of pronominal adverbs are locational.

## IV.7.2. Locational pronominal adverbs

These adverbs may be either

- a) locative, indicating position at rest – or –
- b) directional, indicating direction towards or away from

## a) Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs in Bāgandji are usually formed by the addition of the suffix *-ra* to the pronominal base. The affix *-ra* is restricted to this particular derivative function: it is not used elsewhere in the morphological system of Bāgandji. Similar pronominal locative adverbs are found over a wide area of Australia, particularly in the centre, as for instance in Arabana indjara *'where?'*.

A very commonly used expression in Bāgandji is *idara-wadara* *'here and there'*.

## b) Directional adverbs

*'Direction towards'* is indicated by the affix *-maṛi*, Bārundji and Guṇu *-miṛi*. In Southern Bāgandji and Bārundji this affix is only found with pronominal bases; in Guṇu however it also serves as the normal allative case marker with nouns (III.3.1.).

c) The affix *-ga*.

*gaṇaga*, *inaḡa*, *wadaḡa* and *yāmaḡa* are formed with the affix *-ga* which usually conveys location, but can also convey a directional meaning, as in the case of *gaṇaga* *'in this direction'*. *-ga* is common in non-pronominal adverbs of place, such as *malāḡa* *'on the other side (of the river)'* and *miriga* *'in front'* (III.7.4.).

## d) Irregular pronominal adverbs

*yāmaḡa* and *yāmaṛi* are isolated forms in that they do not correspond to any demonstrative pronoun in Bāgandji. There is one instance in Marawara of what is probably a related locative adverb *'jarau'* (Tindale 1939:252). It is left untranslated by Tindale, but it is highly likely that it means *'here'*.

*yuramaṛi* is based on an unattested locative *\*yura*, but is ultimately connected with the pronoun *yuna* *'that'*.

## e) Elative adverbs

The directional adverbs meaning *'out of'*, *'away from'* are identical with the ablative forms of the corresponding pronouns.

IV.7.3. Table of pronominal adverbs (locational and directional)

PRONOUN	MEANING	LOCATIVE ADVERB	MEANING	DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS	
				DIRECTION TOWARDS	AWAY FROM
(g)ṭgi	'this right here'	-	-	(g)ṭgamaṛi	(g)ṭgandu
(g)idu	'this right here'	(g)idara	'here'	(g)idamaṛi	(g)idandu, (g)idayindu
gaṇa	'this around here'	{ gaṇara gaṇaga	'round here'	gaṇaga	gaṇandu
(g)ina	'that'	{ (g)inara (g)inaga	'there'	(g)inamaṛi	(g)inandu
wadu	'he, that one'	{ wadara wadaga	'over there'	wadamaṛi	-
windja	'which?'	{ windja windjara	'where?'	windjamaṛi	windjandu
yuna	-	-	-	yuramaṛi	-
-	-	yāмага	-	{ yāmaṛi yāмага	-

□ 'irregular' forms

## IV.7.4. Other pronominal adverbs

## a) Time

Most adverbs referring to time do not have a pronominal basis; *ili* 'now' is usually a clitic and is therefore discussed in VI.1.4.b. There is, however, one locational adverb which can be used for time and that is *windja* (but never the variant *windjara*) 'where', 'when'. *windjandu* which corresponds to the pronominal ablativative can mean 'since when', but there is no clear recorded instance of *windjamaŋi* 'whither' having the temporal meaning 'till when?'. This situation in Bāgandji is in contrast with the Kulin languages (Hercus 1969) which have a full range of locational-temporal pronominal adverbs.

## b) Manner

There are only two adverbs of manner that have a pronominal basis; these, as is to be expected, include the interrogative:

1. *naŋunja* 'how' (like *naŋdara* 'how many' IV.6.3.b.) is cognate with the widespread interrogative base *naŋ-* (found in the Kulin languages, Hercus 1969:486) which in turn is probably derived by metathesis from the Common Australian interrogative base *naŋa-* (discussed by Schmidt 1919). *naŋunja* is very frequently used in conjunction with bound personal pronouns (IV.5.12).

- ii. *yunūna* is connected with the pronoun *yuna* 'that', and conveys the meaning 'thus', 'in that fashion', as in:

<i>mina</i>	-	<i>mandi</i>	<i>yunūna</i>	<i>bari</i>	-	' <i>mba</i>	
<i>whāt</i>	-	PURP	<i>thus</i>	<i>go</i>		2 sg	Intr
'Why do you walk about in that (odd) way?'							(441)

There are no adverbs of manner derived from any of the demonstratives of vicinity.



CHAPTER V

VERBS

V.1. VERB STEMS

V.1.1. General comments

The verbal word in Southern Bāgandji normally includes tense markers and bound pronominal forms and is therefore much more complex than the verbal word in Guṇu (Hercus 1979). The structure of the verbal word in Southern Bāgandji is as follows:

1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8
Verb stem ± Vb ± Voice ± ASP				+ PAST + PERF	Tense ± Sub ± Obj ± DAT			
Verb stem ± Vb ± Voice ± ASP				+ PRES + FUT	Tense + Sub ± Obj ± DAT			
Verb stem ± Vb ± Voice ± ASP				+ PTC + OPT + IMP	± Obj ± DAT			

whereas the maximum Guṇu verbal word consists simply of the four basic elements listed:

1	2	3	4
Verb stem ± Vb ± Voice ± ASP			

since in Guṇu tense and person of subject and object are normally expressed outside the verbal word (IV.4.).

No verbal word has been heard that comprises all the permissible elements listed above, usually only four or five morphemes make up the one verbal word in Southern Bāgandji and normally only two morphemes in Guṇu. The simplest verbal word in Guṇu consists of the verb stem, and in Southern Bāgandji the simplest verbal word comprises the verb stem followed by the zero imperative marker.

Typical examples of Southern Bāgandji usage are:

<sup>1</sup>        <sup>4</sup>        <sup>6</sup>            <sup>7</sup>            <sup>8</sup>  
 gīnda - la - 'du - ayi - ri  
 laugh - TOP - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj - DAT  
 'so that he should laugh at me' (442)

<sup>1</sup>        <sup>4</sup>        <sup>5</sup>        <sup>7</sup>  
 gulba - ra - na - ama  
 speak - TOP - PTC - 1 sg obj  
 'speaking to me' (443)

<sup>1</sup>        <sup>3</sup>        <sup>5</sup>        <sup>7</sup>  
 bami - diri - d - āba  
 see - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 'I'll take a look at myself (in mirror-like calm water)' (444)

<sup>1</sup>        <sup>2</sup>        <sup>4</sup>        <sup>5</sup>        <sup>6</sup>  
 mūya - ma - la - ŋgu - adulu  
 row - Vb - TOP - PERF - 2<sup>nd</sup> dl sub  
 'They two used to quarrel with one another' (445)

<sup>1</sup>        <sup>3</sup>        <sup>5</sup>        <sup>6</sup>  
 ŋandji - mila - d - ali  
 leave - REC - FUT - 1 dl sub  
 'We two will leave one another' (446)

The order of morphemes is strictly adhered to in the Southern Bāgandji verbal word. This situation is more intricate, but nevertheless parallel to the nominal word, where the order is also fixed.

#### V.1.2. Simple verb stems

Simple verb stems in Southern Bāgandji have a uniform structure: they always consist of two syllables, but they may end with any of the three vowel phonemes.

There is a great difference in frequency between the final vowels:

a is the final vowel in 76 per cent of simple verbs

i is the final vowel in 21 per cent of simple verbs

u is the final vowel in 3 per cent of simple verbs

Bāgandji resembles the languages to the west rather than its eastern neighbours such as Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā in that there is no sign of any conjugation system. The -a and -u verbs are fairly evenly distributed between transitive and intransitive; the -i verbs are

predominantly, but not exclusively transitive. There does not appear to be any general feature which predetermines what is the final vowel.

### V.1.3. The verbalising suffix -ma

This suffix is used in Bāgandji to form secondary verbs from adjectives, nouns, and from simple verbs. It is common in all dialects except Guṇu.

#### a) Adjectives

-ma is widespread in Australian languages as a transitive verbalising suffix (Dixon 1972:16). But in Bāgandji, when affixed to adjectives it has a dual formative function, transitive and intransitive:

1. when used without the topicalising -la the verbaliser forms a transitive 'state-inducive verb' (Hercus 1969:74), a verb that conveys the meaning 'to cause something to assume the characteristics described by the adjective', e.g. 'to bend or twist something'.

2. when used with the topicalising -la the verbaliser forms an intransitive inceptive verb, a verb meaning 'to assume the characteristics described by the adjective' e.g. 'to become twisted'.

1. Examples of state-inducive verbs formed with -ma are:

Adjective	Verb
biyara 'open'	biyara-ma- 'to open up (tr)'
balīra 'good'	balīra-ma- 'to make good, to cure'
buga 'dead'	buga-ma- 'to kill'

The final vowel -a of any preceding morpheme is often lost before -ma (II.4.6.c).

<u>du</u> ḷaga 'bad'	<u>du</u> ḷaga-ma- 'to spoil'
----------------------	-------------------------------

These transitive secondary verbs are very commonly used in the Non-Future tense, which involves the change in the vowel of the verbaliser to -i (IV.5.10.b.).

buga - miru  
'He killed (him)'

(447)

ii. Examples of intransitive verbs, formed with *-ma + -la-* are:

Adjective		Verb	
baḷṭra	'good'	baḷṭra-mala-	'to get well'
duḷaga	'bad'	duḷag'mala-	'to deteriorate'
yagi	'cold'	yagi-mala-	'to feel cold, to get chilled'
daḷa	'dry'	daḷa-mala-	'to run dry'
ḍungu-ḍungu	'crooked'	ḍungu-ḍungu-mala-	'to twist along (of river)'
buga	'dead'	buga-mala-	'to die'

Intransitive secondary verbs formed from adjectives with *-ma + -la* are very common, and outnumber the corresponding transitive verbs by three to one.

#### b) Nouns

*-ma* is used very rarely to form verbs from nouns. Only intransitives have been recorded:

yabara - ma - la - yiga  
*camp* - Vb - TOP - 3 pl sub  
 '*They are camping overnight*' (448)

didna - ma - la - dj - iga  
*foot* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub  
 '*(These things - bargains laid aside for a moment at a second-hand shop) have grown feet (they have disappeared)*' (449)

and in Guṇu, with the use of the reflexive:

bambu - ma - 'lda  
*pump* - Vb - REFL  
 '*(This thing) is pumping away all on its own*' (450)

The formation of verbs from nouns cannot be regarded as a major function of the verbaliser *-ma*.

#### c) Verbs

*-ma* is used to form secondary verbs from simple verbs. These secondary verbs may convey a weak continuative-repetitive nuance, but often they are identical in meaning to the simple verb. Both transitives and intransitives are represented:

bana- 'to make'

bana - mi - ru - ana  
make - Vb - NF - 3 sg obj

'He made it'

(451)

bari- 'to go'

bari - ma - la - 'du  
go - Vb - TOP - 3 sg sub

'He is walking about'

(452)

gaba- 'to follow'

gaba - ma - la - dj - ūlu dumbi - ri  
follow - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub ħole - ALL

'They two followed along as far as the waterhole'

(453)

daga- 'to hit (with weapon)'

dag' - mi - ru  
ħit - Vb - NF

'He pushed (it) open'

(454)

Sometimes, though rarely, the last consonant of a cluster is elided before the suffix -ma: this is an older type of derivation, now no longer viable.

yanda- 'to cry'                      yan-ma-la- 'to lament'

as in the sentence:

gila yanmal' - d - āba                      ŋuma - ri  
not lament - FUT - 1 sg Intr you - DAT

'I won't lament for you!'

(455)

The verb bariŋ-ma-la- 'to travel about' is common in traditional recitations, as for instance:

bariŋmala - dj - ūlu  
travel - PAST - 3 dl sub

'They two travelled about'

(456)

This also involves loss of a consonant as well as the unusual positioning of the verbaliser -ma after an aspectual suffix:

bari- 'to go'

bari - ŋga-  
go - ASP

'to travel'

bari - ŋ' - ma - la  
go - ASP - Vb - TOP

'to travel about'

An interesting use of the verbaliser involves the English verb 'to want'. This has been borrowed into Bāgandji, but only as a secondary verb, combined with -ma, hence wandi-ma 'to want', as in the Guṇu sentence:

gila wandi-ma bami ṅadu gāndara  
 not want see I ERG blood  
 'I don't want to see any blood' (457)

An important feature of all the usages described in the present section (V.1.3.c.) is that -ma is less of a 'verbaliser', a suffix creating new derivational verbs, than simply a suffix modifying the form of existing simple verbs, adding a slight habitual-continuative nuance. The semantics of the Bāgandji use of -ma (with verb stem) are thus very similar to the Kalkatungu (Blake 1969) and also the Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979) situation and are yet another feature (III.2.6.g.) that links Bāgandji with languages to the north-west.

#### d) Unknown stems

The verbaliser -ma is frequently used to form secondary verbs both transitive and intransitive from stems that are not otherwise attested, and whose nature (adjectival, nominal or verbal) is not known, as for instance:

ba|ab -ma-la- 'to flash (lightning)'  
 nin-nin- ma-la- 'to shiver'  
 bulidj -ma-la- 'to dive into water'  
 wilub -ma- 'to lift up'

-ma can also form verbs from exclamations and onomatopoeic utterances, as is shown for instance in Tindale (1939:252):

'tal! 'tal 'malajinu 'pingi  
 crash, crash! struck lightning

this would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:

dal-dal - ma - la - dji inu bindi  
 flash - Vb - TOP - PAST this lightning  
 'This lightning flashed...' (458)

The functions of the suffix -ma thus range from:

1. the creation of secondary verbs from adjectives and from stems that are not otherwise attested to:
2. the extension of simple verbs to secondary verbs, with only minor changes in meaning.

#### V.1.4. The verbalising suffix -waḍa

A verbaliser of limited function and use is -waḍa, which is added to adjectival and noun bases to form verbs meaning 'to smell like...'.  
Examples are:

walu - waḍa - dj - u  
mould - smell - PAST - 3 sg sub  
'It smelt mouldy' (459)

buga - waḍa - dj - u wanga  
rotten - smell - PAST - 3 sg sub meat  
'The meat stank' (460)

ḡūngi - waḍa - ana wanga  
cooked - smell - PTC meat  
'The meat is getting a burnt smell' (461)

baḡra - waḍa - adu  
good - smell - 3 sg sub  
'It smells nice' (462)

Despite its limitations this suffix has been heard frequently in Southern Bāḡandji and also in Guḡu.

#### V.1.5. Reduplicated stems

Many simple verb stems are reduplicated in Bāḡandji, generally to convey an intensive or frequentative meaning. Usually there are no vocalic or consonantal changes involved in this reduplication:

waga-	'to hit'	waga-waga-	'to give someone a beating'
gulba-	'to speak'	gulba-gulba-	'to chatter'
bami-la-	'to look'	bami-bami-la-	'to look around'
wambi-la-	'to fly'	wambi-wambi-la-	'to fly around'

There are a few verbs – mainly implying some repetitive action – which are found only in a reduplicated form, never as a simple verb, as for instance:

ḡaḡba-ḡaḡba-	'to swing'
mada-mada-	'to scrape'
dila-dila	'to shake (tr)'
damba-damba-	'to run round' (unconnected with damba- 'to dig')

A number of verbs ending in -a reduplicate with -u. There does not appear to be any common denominator that characterises the verbs that show this vowel-alternation, as for instance:

nūga-	'to cut'	nūgu-nūga-	'to cut to pieces'
ḡuḡa-	'to teach'	ḡuḡu-ḡuḡa-	'to criticise'
wida	'to look at'	widu-wida-	'to spy on somebody'
wīdja-	'to drink'	wīdju-wīdja-	'to be a drunkard'

This vocalic alternation is well established in Bāgandji and also occurs in nominals. It is found particularly in words which have an emphatic or emotive nuance such as mugu-muga 'completely silent', baḡu-baḡa (based on baḡa 'to bite') 'savage'. Aboriginal languages as a whole favour straightforward repetition: this adds particular interest to the vowel alternation of Bāgandji as an unusual feature.

## V.2. VOICE

### V.2.1. Transitivity

It seems relatively simple to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs in Bāgandji: a verb is transitive if it takes an ergative first and second person singular pronoun or demonstrative pronoun subject; or if the first and second person singular is expressed by a bound pronoun that is based on an ergative:

balga- 'to hit' is transitive because it is correct to say:

ḡindu	balga	- dji	
you ERG	hit	- PAST	
	'You hit (him)'		(463)

and

balga	- dj	- indu	
hit	- PAST	- 2 sg Tr	
	'You hit (him)'		(464)

bari- 'to go' is intransitive because it is correct to say:

ḡimba	bari	- dji	
you NOM	go	- PAST	
	'You went'		(465)

and

bari	- dj	- imba	
go	- PAST	- 2 sg Intr	
	'You went'		(466)



But in fact the situation is much more complex:

a) A number of verbs including 'ingestive verbs' (Masica 1976) may be either transitive or intransitive, as for instance dayi- 'to eat', gulba- 'to speak', wīdja- 'to drink'. These verbs refer to activities which may or may not be directed towards a particular object:

- i. When the object is a bound form these verbs must be used transitively:

ηindu    dayi - l' - dji - na  
 you ERG eat - TOP - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'You ate it' (467)

When the object is a free form they may be used intransitively (513), but more usually transitively:

du|aga    ba|gu    gulba - dj - indu  
 bad        word    speak - PAST - 2 sg Tr  
 'You uttered obscenities!' (468)

The transitive is obligatory even if the object is only implied and the indirect object is expressed as a bound accusative form (III.2.6.g.):

gulba - 'ndu - ayi  
 speak - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj  
 'Tell (it) to me!' (469)

- ii. But when these verbs are used generally, without reference to any particular object, they are normally intransitive:

gila    dayi - l' - dj - imba  
 not    eat - TOP - PAST - 2 sg Intr  
 'You haven't eaten' (470)

gulba - 'mba  
 speak - 2 sg Intr  
 'You're talking' (471)

b) There is a small group of verbs which are basically intransitive, and which have a dative complement (emotive verbs and 'to wait for' [III.2.6.c.]):

manda - la - aba            ηuma - ri  
 wait - TOP - 1 sg Intr    you - DAT  
 'I'm waiting for you' (472)

mūya - la - aba  
 angry - TOP - 1 sg Intr  
 'I'm angry' (473)

But when the (indirect) object is expressed by a bound form the verb is used with a transitive subject pronoun (based on the ergative):

manda - ŋgu - adu - uma  
 wait̄ - PERF - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
 'I have been waiting for you' (474)

mūya - l' - ind' - inana  
 angry - TOP - 2 sg Tr - 1 pl obj  
 'You are angry with all of us' (475)

This usage is to be expected and is not due to any innate transitivity in the verb: it is simply due to the structure of the bound pronoun system (IV.5.) where it is impossible in the first and second person singular for anything other than a bound transitive subject form to precede the bound object pronoun.

### c) General comments

There are thus four degrees of transitivity in Bāgandji verbs:

- Increasing Transitivity ↑
- i. Always transitive. These are verbs which by their semantic nature imply impingement on an object, e.g. balga- 'to hit'.
  - ii. Sometimes transitive. These are 'ingestive' and other verbs which are normally transitive when an object is expressed.
  - iii. Usually intransitive. These are mainly verbs of emotion which are transitive only when there is a bound object form.
  - iv. Intransitive. These are verbs which are by their semantic nature intransitive and are never associated with any object direct or indirect, e.g. bari- 'to go'.

### V.2.2. Causatives

As indicated (V.1.2.) there is a higher proportion of transitive verbs among the -i stems than among the -a stems. Some transitive -i stems are in fact derived from intransitive -a stems:

<u>n</u> aba- 'to lock up'	<u>n</u> abi- 'to do someone in to the police, to cause someone to be imprisoned'
gulba- 'to speak'	gulbi- 'to engage someone in conversation'
bura- 'to hang down (intr)'	huri- 'to hang something up'
gīnda- 'to laugh'	gīndi- 'to make someone laugh'
iba- 'to lie down'	ibi- 'to put down'
wanda- 'to burn (intr)'	wandi- 'to burn something'

The causative is limited in use in Bāgandji and is restricted to some twenty verbs: it is not a living formative process. Transitivity suffixes occur in many Australian languages, but the Bāgandji situation is of particular interest. Bāgandji is on the eastern extremity of an area where a similar, and in the case of Arabana-Wanganuru an identical method is used to form transitive verbs from intransitives. But in Arabana-Wanganuru, as in Diyari and related languages this process is not restricted and occurs in all circumstances where it is semantically feasible, e.g.:

Arabana yuga- 'to go'                      yugi- 'to move a sick person, to drive along cattle, to drive a car'

Though the causative formation is not of importance within Bāgandji morphology, it is of great comparative interest.

### V.2.3. Reciprocals

Reciprocity can be expressed in a number of ways in Bāgandji:

a) Some causatives can convey a reciprocal nuance, such as gulbi- (V.2.2.) 'to engage in conversation', hence 'to talk to one another'.

gulb - i - la - adulu  
 speak - CAUS - TOP - 3<sup>rd</sup>dl sub  
 'They two are talking to one another' (476)

similarly

bad' - i - la - adulu  
 bite - CAUS - TOP - 3<sup>rd</sup>dl sub  
 'They two are fighting with one another' (477)

b) Verbs of emotion and expectation and other verbs belonging to group (iii.) of the transitivity scale (V.2.1.c.) are basically intransitive and cannot therefore be used to form a reciprocal stem with *-mila* (c, below). Such verbs can express reciprocity without the addition of any further suffix apart from the topicaliser *-la*, e.g.:

*mūya - la - dj - ūlu*  
*angry - TOP - PAST - 2 dl sub*  
*'They two got angry with one another'* (478)

c) The suffix *-mila* is added to transitive verb stems to form a reciprocal stem. This suffix, like the causative, has close cognates in languages to the west of Bāgandji, and is in fact identical with the Wanganuru reciprocal. Examples of the use of the reciprocal in Bāgandji are:

*ṅūga - mila - adulu*  
*give - REC - 3<sup>rd</sup> dl sub*  
*'These two give one another presents'* (479)

*gaṅma - la - mila - yiga*  
*steal - TOP - REC - 3 pl sub*  
*'They steal one another's things'* (480)

*ṅandji - mila - d - ali*  
*leave - REC - FUT - 1 dl sub*  
*'We two will leave one another'* (481)

The usage described under (a) and (b) are restricted to certain verbs, and *-mila* is the standard reciprocal suffix in Bāgandji.

#### V.2.4. Reflexives

Reflexives in Australian languages have been discussed in Dixon (1976:203ff) where it is shown that reflexive stem-forming affixes derived from a Common Australian prototype *\*-ḍiri* are widespread in Australia, and are probably related to a prototype of the 'having' suffix. The Bāgandji evidence is also considered (ibid.229:307).

##### a) *-ḍiri*

The reflexive stem-forming suffix derived from *\*-ḍiri* is mainly an eastern Australian feature but it reaches to the west of Bāgandji (with some exceptions) as far as *Ḍiṛari*. The Bāgandji form *-ḍiri* is identical to the suggested prototype.

-diri is added either immediately to transitive verb stems, or to the stem + topicaliser -la. Through the affixation of -diri transitive verbs become intransitive, with an absolutive-nominative subject instead of an ergative as can be seen clearly in the pronouns of the first and second person singular.

Only one morphophonemic change has been noted: -diri becomes -dira before the third person plural subject marker (cf. bari-, bara- (IV.5.3.a.iv)). Examples of Bagandji reflexives are:

nuga - diri - dj - imba  
cut - REFL - PAST - 2 sg Intr  
'You (sg) cut yourself' (482)

balga - diri - dj - āba  
hit - REFL - PAST - 1 sg Intr  
'I bumped myself' (483)

maru-maṛa - diri - d - āba  
scratch - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
'I'll scratch myself' (484)

and with the use of the topicaliser -la, which in this case does not affect the meaning:

nuga - l' - diri - d - āba  
cut - TOP - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
'I'll cut myself' (485)

naba - l' - diri - yiga  
shut - TOP - REFL - 3 pl sub  
'They lock themselves up' (486)

Reflexive verbs in Bāgandji as in other Aboriginal languages, e.g. Arabana-Wanganuru, may have as their object not only the subject as a person, but also some part of the subject, or something inherently connected. This usage is not unlike the French 'je me suis coupé la main' except that in Bāgandji the possessive is used:

bami - diri - d - āba      guljbara - ṅugu - ayi  
see - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr    shadow - water - 1 sg POS  
'I'll look at my reflection' (487)

b) The reflexive without -diri

In the first and second person singular, where the situation is transparent, and more rarely in other persons, the reflexive can also be expressed by an intransitive use of the transitive verb, with or without the topicaliser *-la*. All speakers regarded the -diri forms as being acceptable alternatives in all circumstances, and it was for instance explained as being equally correct to say:

*nūga* - d - āba            *milinja* - ayi  
*cut* - FUT - 1 sg Intr    *nail* - 1 sg POS  
 'I'll cut my fingernails' (488)

or

*nūga* - diri - d - āba            - *milinja* - ayi  
*cut* - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr - *nail* - - 1 sg POS  
 'I'll cut my fingernails' (489)

other examples of reflexives without -diri include:

*nūru* - ma - d - āba            *maṅi* - na  
*rub* - Vb - FUT - 1 sg Intr    *fat* - INST  
 'I'll rub myself with fat' (490)

*gila maṛu-maṛa* - l' - d - imba  
*not scratch* - TOP - FUT - 2 sg Intr  
 'Don't scratch (yourself)' (491)

In the case of verbs of group 11 (V.2.1.c.), which may be intransitively used, the reflexive nature of such forms without -diri remains uncertain: the sentence

*gulba* - ga - aba            *ṅidja* - ulu    *yungu*    *baḷgu* - ayi - na  
*speak* - ASP - 1 sg Intr    *along* - SG    *own*    *language* - 1 sg POS -INST

was interpreted by Jack Johnson, whose English was hesitant, as:

'I talk to myself in my own language, all on my own' (492)

V.2.5. The reflexive in *Guṅu* and *Bārundji*

This reflexive is formed by the addition of the affix *-malda* to the stem. If the stem ends with the verbaliser *-ma* there is elision of one of the two syllables *-ma*. The range of use of the reflexive is even further extended than in Southern *Bāgandji*: it can convey the meaning of 'an action performed for the benefit of the agent' and is



In some of its occurrences *-ri/ḍi* could be regarded as an inceptive verbaliser:

*da*ḷa - ri gadu  
*dry* - Vb FUT  
 'It (the river) will be dry' (499)

but mostly it seems to be just an adjunct to any verbally used stem. *-ri/ḍi* can occur in the following positions in the verbal word:

- a) Prevailing and very common usage: Stem + *-ri/-ḍi*
- b) Heard occasionally: Stem + *-ri/-ḍi* + TENSE
- c) Rare usage: Stem + ASP + *-ri/-ḍi*

Examples are:

a) Guṇu

bumba - ri waba gandjaḷga  
 sleep - Vb PAST I NOM good  
 'I slept well' (500)

ṅāndja - di wadi ṅana  
 ask - Vb PAST they NOM me ACC  
 'They asked me' (501)

Bandjigali

guli - ri - angi - li  
 play - Vb - INC EMPH - EMPH  
 'He begins to play' (502)

b) Guṇu

ṅamaga iduna malbu - ri - dji  
 mother he POS die - Vb - PAST  
 'His mother died' (503)

c) Guṇu

ṅaba gaba - nja - ri margidja - umbula  
 I NOM follow - ASP - Vb gun - COM  
 'I come behind with a gun' (504)

*-ri/-ḍi* can be regarded as a stem-forming suffix with no distinctive semantic value; it is simply an extension of the stem.



### V.3. ASPECTUAL STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

#### V.3.1. The stem-forming suffix -la

##### a) General comments, the 'definite aspect'

-la is the most commonly used of all stem-forming suffixes in Bāgandji. It is distinct in function and position from the optative suffix -la:

Optative suffix -la	Stem-forming suffix -la
always final in verbal word	never final in verbal word
always conveys a wish or purpose	never conveys a wish or purpose
unconnected with transitivity	linked in various ways with transitivity

The stem-forming suffix -la is versatile and sometimes semantically complex. It has been called 'topicaliser' in the present grammar, because it focuses attention on the aims of an action, it makes an action definite rather than haphazard, and it is often best interpreted as conveying the meaning 'with intent'. In some verbs of group ii., (V.2.1.c., verbs which are transitive when an object is expressed) the semantics are such that -la may have a transitivising effect:

bami- 'to see' (group ii)	bami-la- 'to look at' (tr)
<u>d</u> aldi- 'to hear' (group ii)	<u>d</u> aldi-la- 'to listen' (tr)

but more frequently the minor semantic variations involved do not imply any changes in transitivity:

barga- 'to deceive' (group ii)	barga-la- 'to tell lies' (group ii)
<u>d</u> ayi- 'to eat' (group ii)	<u>d</u> ayi-la- 'to have a meal' (group ii)
wīdja- 'to drink' (group ii)	wīdja-la- 'to go on a drinking spree' (group ii)

##### b) The verbaliser -ma combined with -la

In the case of verbs formed with -ma, it has been seen (V.1.3.) that -la- has a special function and implies that the verb is intransitive. In these circumstances -la- does not express its primary meaning 'with intent', but a secondary meaning 'with intent towards oneself'. It thus resembles the reflexive and may ultimately be connected with the reflexive -lari, and the reciprocal -la in the neighbouring language, Maljaṇaba. Examples are given in V.1.3.

## c) Form and use of -la-

## i. Limitation on use

The topicaliser may be used with any verb that can thereby be made more definite and intentional: it is unknown with verbs such as ḡṅga- 'to sit' and bari- 'to go'.

-la- is not normally used in conjunction with any other aspectual stem-forming suffix, nor the optative, as these carry different types of emphasis and 'definiteness' (see however V.3.2.b.1i.).

## ii. Form

The topicaliser -la- is liable to certain morphophonemic changes:

1. The vowel -a is lost before the past and future tense markers; -l- then becomes palatal before the -dj- of the past tense, but this latter change is insignificant and has not been noted in transcription (II.2.4.). Examples are:

## PAST:

duluru - mari wabu - dj - iga      bami - l' - dj - iga  
*many* - *very arrive* - PAST - 3 pl sub    *see* - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub  
 'A crowd of people arrived and had a look' (505)

(The absence of the topicaliser in wabudjiga shows the lack of intention, the people just happened to come.)

gila mūya - l' - dj - ali  
*not angry* - TOP - PAST - 1 dl sub  
 'We two didn't have a row' (506)

## FUTURE:

bīburu dayi - l' - d - āba  
*ant* *eat* - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 'I (the ancestral Echidna speaking) shall feed on ants' (507)

yaga - l' - d - iga - ayi  
*call* - TOP - FUT - 3 pl sub - 1 sg obj  
 'They'll give me a call' (508)

There is one exception to this loss of the vowel -a- from -la-: the intransitive verbaliser -ma-la- (V.1.3.) always remains intact as in (448-449) and in:

baṅga - ma - la - dj - iga  
*crawl* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub  
 'They crawled about' (509)

The retention of the full suffix is attributable to the importance of -la- as an intransitive marker in this particular environment (V.3.1.b.).

2. The topicaliser *-la* shows consonantal dissimilation to *-ra* if the verb-stem contains an *l*-sound,

always in the case of *-a* verbs — optionally in *-i* verbs

balga-	'to hit'	balga-ra-	'to give a beating'
ma ba-	'to be ignored'	ma ba-ra-	'to act stupidly'
gu i-	'to play'	gu i-ra-	'to gamble'
gulbi-	'to engage someone in conversation'	gulbi-ra-	'to talk with...'
		gulbi-la-	

an exception is:

gala-	'to seek'	gala-la-	'to hunt for'
-------	-----------	----------	---------------

This proneness to morphophonemic change corresponds to the general lack of 'markedness' of the widely used topicaliser, as opposed to the other aspectual stem-forming suffixes: the topicaliser *-la* differs furthermore from other aspectual suffixes on account of the variety of its uses and on account of its grammatical significance with regard to transitivity.

### V.3.2. Other aspectual affixes

The other aspectual suffixes fall into different groups according to their meaning:

a) Those which convey the thoroughness and completeness of an action, they are akin to the normal notion of the 'perfective aspect' (Comrie 1976): *-nga*, *-ga* and *-ba*.

b) those which indicate continuity and prolongedness of action, they are akin to the imperfective: *-ḡana*, *-nja* and *-bani-*.

#### a) The 'perfective' stem-forming suffixes

##### 1. *-nga*

This suffix implies thoroughness, as is shown by the following examples:

bari	'to go'	bari-ḡga-	'to go away for good'
yuri	'to hear'	yuri-ḡga-	'to understand'
bagi	'to sing'	bagi-ḡga-	'to sing someone, to kill someone by magic'

*-ḡga* is rare in Southern Bāḡandji, but more common in Guḡu (b.1. below).

##### 11. *-ga*

This stem-forming suffix adds a nuance of emphasis to the meaning of the verb and can usually be translated by 'really well' or 'with speed and enthusiasm' as in:

gīnda - ga - dj - ig' - inana  
*laugh* - ASP - PAST - 3 pl sub - 1 pl obj  
 'They had a good laugh at us' (510)

diga - l' - ga - d - āba  
*return* - TOP - ASP - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 'I'll be right back' (511)

and Guṇu

bara - ga - dji  
*run* - ASP - PAST  
 'He got away (quickly)' (512)

### iii. -ba

-ba is a very frequently used aspectual suffix. It expresses thoroughness as well as intensity, and sometimes implies that a goal has been reached; it thereby conveys shades of meaning different from those conveyed by -ṅa:

bari-	'to go'	bari-ba-	'to come'
yuri-	'to hear'	yuri-ba-	'to know, to think'
gila-	'to grow'	gila-ba-	'to grow up'
dayi-	'to eat'	dayi-ba-	'to eat up a meal'

Examples of the use of -ba are:

gala - ba - ru mūrba - ṅulu - ana  
*seek* - ASP - Nf *child* - dl - 3 sg POS  
 'He was looking (everywhere) for his two children' (513)

duṅgu - ma - la - ba - d - uru  
*crooked* - Vb - TOP - ASP - FUT - 3 sg sub  
 'It will be completely crooked' (514)

-ba occurred in all Bāgandji dialects, but only in the speech of those who were completely fluent. The same is the case with -ga. This loss of the nuance of aspect is a typical feature of the progressive impoverishment of a dying language.

## b) The 'imperfective' stem-forming suffixes

### 1. -ṅana

This is a continuative stem-forming suffix confined to Guṇu. From the evidence in the work of R.H. Mathews (particularly 1904:137-8) it could be interpreted as being a present tense marker:

'Nginggangunna ngappa' (I sit) (515)

is listed as contrasting with:

'Ngingganga wappa' (I sat) (516)

but '-nga' in this latter example is probably the aspectual stem-forming suffix -nga (as in (a) above) while -ḡana is also an aspectual suffix implying duration or continued action:

wayu - ri - ḡana ḡaba  
worry - Vb - ASP I NOM  
'I'm upset all the time' (517)

It mainly describes a prolonged process in the today present:

yuga n̄ari - la - ḡana  
sun set - TOP - ASP  
'The sun is setting' (518)

gaḷi b̄ara - la - ḡana bulgu - na yabara  
dog smell - TOP - ASP rat - GEN camp  
'The dog keeps sniffing at the rat's nest' (519)

#### 11. -nja

-nja is the common continuative suffix of all Bāgandji dialects, it can also mark habitual action:

gāndinja wīdja - la - nja  
long time drink - TOP - ASP  
'(They've been) drinking for too long' (520)

bagi - nja - adu ḡina yaḡu  
sing - ASP - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr this song  
'I can sing this song' (521)

Guḡu:

gala - nja ḡadi dina ḡalina  
seek - ASP they foot our two  
'They are going on searching for the tracks belonging to the two of us' (522)

Since the idea of 'habitual' or 'continuous' action is generally not at variance with 'definiteness', -nja can occur in conjunction with the topicaliser -la, this is the case particularly in Guḡu.

A number of verbs are rarely found in the simple stem-form: they generally occur in combination with -nja since they express naturally continuous actions, e.g. gandinja 'to have', Guṇu maginja 'to wear', girinja 'to show, to instruct'. In such cases -nja is less of an aspectual suffix than a permanent adjunct to the stem. These 'fossilised' forms represent the only instances where -nja was used by younger and not so fluent speakers.

iii. -bani

This stem-forming suffix fulfils the role of a prolonged past continuative, and implies 'they went on and on and on...'. It is more restricted in use than any other stem-forming suffix:

-bani- is found only in the perfect tense

-bani- is found only in Southern Bāgandji mythological recitation as for instance:

ṅadji - ṅulu dayi - l' - bani - ṅgu - adulu  
*serpent* - dl *eat* - TOP ASP - PERF - 3 dl sub  
*'The two rainbow-serpents went on and on devouring (everything)'* (523)

gadgilugu baṅara. bagi - nja - rū - diṅa baṅara  
*little gum. sing* - ASP - NF - EMPH *gum*  
 gila - ṅgu - adu, gila - bani - ṅgu - adu  
*grow* - PERF - 3 sg sub, *grow* - ASP - PERF - 3 sg sub  
*'It was a little River Red-gum tree. He (the Crow) was*  
*'singing' it and it grew. It went on and on growing.'* (524)

This suffix was quite unknown to younger speakers.

iv. In Bandjigali two further rare aspectual suffixes were recorded. They are -aṅgi, an inceptive:

gila - aṅgi - du  
*grow* - ASP - 3 sg sub  
*'It begins to grow'* (525)

and -ninda, a continuative-inceptive:

wanda - nind' - indu baḷgu  
*forget* - ASP - 2 sg Tr *language*  
*'You're forgetting the language'* (526)

banjba - ninda - āba  
*sunbathe* - ASP - 1 sg Intr  
*'I'm sunbathing'* (527)

### V.3.3. The modal stem-forming suffix -nda

-nda occupies the same position within the verbal word as the aspectual suffixes. It is a modal marker implying uncertain possibility and is most common with the future and the present tense. It has been glossed as POTENTIAL.

baḍa - nda - d - uru - ana  
 bite - POT - FUT - 3 sg Tr - 3 sg obj  
 'It might bite him' (528)

Bārundji:

dadja - nda - d - uru - uma  
 bite - POT - FUT - 3 sg Tr - 2 sg obj  
 'It might bite you' (529)

On the rare occasions where the past tense is involved, there is elision of the -da of the suffix before -dj- and functionally the potential is then equivalent to an irrealis:

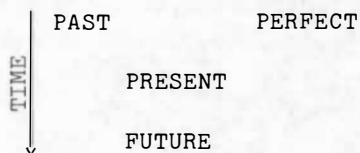
burinja ḡṅga - n' - dj - u  
 alive sit - POT - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'he would have been alive' (530)

Like the aspectual suffixes, -nda featured only in the speech of the oldest Bāḡandji people. The stem-forming aspectual suffixes and the modal -nda are the parts of grammar which show most clearly how the morphological wealth and the corresponding delicate semantic differences in Bāḡandji were most vulnerable as the language fell into disuse.

## V.4. TENSE

### V.4.1. General comments on tense in Southern Bāḡandji

Superficially the Bāḡandji tense system is simple enough, though not as restricted as the two-tense systems of many other Australian languages such as Djirbal (Dixon 1972). Conceptually the following distinctions operate in Southern Bāḡandji:







gila wīdja - la - aba  
 not drink - TOP - 1 sg Intr  
 'I don't drink (and don't intend to)' (536)

and into the past:

naba - yiga - alina  
 shut - 3 pl sub - 1 dl obj  
 'They (regularly) lock us two up (and have been  
 doing so for some time)' (537)

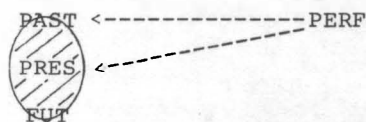
Furthermore in story telling a vivid present is sometimes used instead of the past.

The perfect too is not isolated: it can have a causal or anticipatory effect on the present or the past:

dāninja wīdja - ngu - ru daḍu-baḍi duḷaga  
 resin drink - PERF - 3 sg NF brain bad  
 'His brain is no good because he has been drinking metho' (538)

buga-buga ḍayi - ngu - ru buga - la - dj - u  
 rotten eat - PERF - 3 sg NF die - TOP - PAST - 3 sg  
 'He died because he had eaten something rotten' (539)

The conceptual tense system is therefore as follows:



 sphere of the present tense

#### b) Formal complications

1. The Non-Future is a special form found only in the most common person, the third person singular in transitive verbs (for examples and discussion see IV.5.10.b.). It can refer to an indefinite time, past or present, but not the future, e.g.:

yala - ru - nga  
 beat - NF - 3 pl obj  
 'She beats them (at bingo)' or 'she beat them (at bingo)' (540)

For the use of -ru forms with the perfect see IV.5.10.b.iii. and V.4.2.a.

## 11. The 'Abstract' forms

The past and the perfect differ from the other tenses in that they have an 'abstract' form, one that denotes the tense without any bound pronoun marker, as is normal when the subject is a free pronoun, and as is often the case when the subject is a noun.

In the past this abstract form is -dji, i.e. the tense-marker -dj- plus a final -i of unknown origin:

gāru - nuru          widu - dji  
*other* - DEM ERG    *push* - PAST  
 'Another man pushed (him)' (541)

In the perfect the abstract form simply consists of the tense-marker -ngu

baṅḍu - ayi          gaṅara    ḡima - ngu  
*cod* - 1 sg POS    *here*    *lie* - PERF  
 'My cod was lying here!' (542)

- iii. The Non-Past. The present and the future however have no 'abstract' form seeing that the bare stem functions as imperative (V.5.1.). When there is no bound pronoun the present and the future share a communal way of expression: the participle -na (V.6.1.) is added to the verb-stem. Thus:

ḡaba    ḡīnga - ana    maṅda - la    ḡuma - ri  
 I Intr   *sit* - PTC   *wait* - OPT   *you* - DAT  
 'I (will) sit waiting for you' (543)

was felt to be equivalent to both the present and the future, and was in fact repeated as:

ḡīnga - d    - āba          maṅda - la    ḡuma - ri  
*sit* - FUT - 1 sg Intr   *wait* - OPT   *you* - DAT  
 'I'll sit waiting for you' (544)

a repetition, this time involving the present was:

bana - m' - indu,          ḡindu    bana - ma - ana  
*make* - Vb - 2 sg Tr,   *you* ERG   *make* - Vb - PTC  
 'You're making (it), you are actually making (it)' (545)

The participle thus acts as 'abstract form' for both present and future. In the absence of bound pronouns there is then simply a distinction between the past (as well as the perfect) and the non-past (that is the future and present).

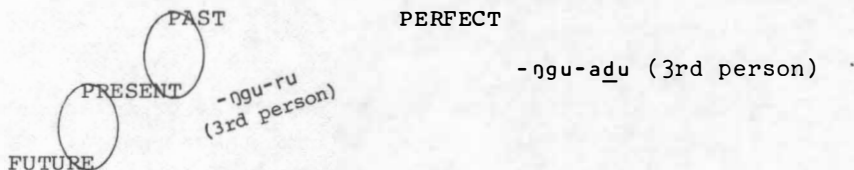
iv. The Perfect in the third person is differentiated according to whether or not the verb is used in a causal function in a subordinate clause (V.4.2.a.).

-ngu-adu is the principal clause verb form (IV.5.10.b.iii.)

-ngu-ru is the subordinate clause verb form (ex.538-9)

The formal distinctions thus correspond closely to the conceptual ones:

Formal distinctions



The Southern Bāgandji tense system applies also in Bandjigali.

#### V.4.3. Tense in Marawara

From the evidence of Tindale's text (1939) it seems probable that the Marawara tense system was simpler than that of Southern Bāgandji and that there was a single distinction, past versus non-past.

##### a) The Past

The past tense marker was -yi (spelt -ji or i by Tindale). This is of special interest in the following ways:

1. -yi is the exact equivalent of the Southern Bāgandji and Guṇu -dji, just as Marawara wīmbaya corresponds to Southern Bāgandji wīmbadja (I.4.4. and III.6.3.).
11. -yi is identical in form with the past tense marker in the neighbouring Waṇāybuwan-Niyambā language.

Examples are:

'jinka	'pandai	
them	speared	(546)

which can be analysed as:

'jinka	'panda	- i
they ACC	spear	- PAST

to correspond to Southern Bāgandji (g)inga banda-dji 'it was *them* I speared', the normal Southern Bāgandji being bandadjinga 'I speared them' (IV.5.14.).

'Naru'ka tambatam'bai  
Others running away

(547)

which corresponds to Southern Bāgandji:

nāruga damba-damba - dji  
other run - PAST

'The others ran away'

These and all other examples from the same text share one feature: the absence of bound pronouns with the past tense. It seems likely that in Marawara, just as in Guṇu only the 'abstract' past stem form (without bound pronouns) was used.

#### b) The Non-Past

In the Marawara text there is no separate present or future, only a non-past which fulfils the functions of both these tenses. The forms of this non-past correspond to the present of Southern Bāgandji, and simply consist of the stem with the addition of bound pronouns. Examples of the 'future' function of these forms are (236-7) and:

'karaminki ora ḡowali  
tomorrow 'we' cook it (548)

this can be analysed as:

karaminki wara ḡowa - ali  
tomorrow EMPH cook - 1 dl sub  
'We two will cook it tomorrow'

and

'Eina:'nil 'ḡok:atum 'baleir 'balku:r  
then-you will-be-given good news (549)

this can be analysed as:

'Einan' il ḡoka - 'tu - uma baleir balku:r  
this now give - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj good word  
'Then I'll give you this good news'

The non-past and the past are used differently, one with and one always without bound pronouns. The Marawara tense system as represented in Tindale's text can thus be summarised as follows:

PAST = stem + dji (no bound pronouns)

NON-PAST = stem + bound pronouns

The syntactic dichotomy between the two tenses is not found elsewhere in Bāgandji.

#### V.4.4. Tense in Guṇu

The Guṇu tense system differs from that of Southern Bāgandji in that:

- a) tense is normally expressed by the pronouns which are always free forms
- b) there are no recorded examples of the use of the perfect in Guṇu.

The pronominal tense system (IV.4.1.) in Guṇu is simply

PAST  
PRESENT  
FUTURE

There is however one additional feature. In Southern Bāgandji of the tenses listed above only the past has an 'abstract' form (V.4.2.b.ii.), one that can be used without bound pronouns. This is precisely the only verbal tense form that occurs in Guṇu, where there are no bound pronouns. This verbal tense-form -dji is however found only occasionally in Guṇu: it is the preferred usage only with verbs that have a nominal subject and when there is also an aspectual or other stem-forming suffix as in (503), (512) and:

wīmbadja	ṇuḷardji	dunga - maɪda - dji	
<i>man</i>	<i>many</i>	<i>bury</i> - REFL - PAST	
<i>'A lot of people buried themselves (in quicksand)'</i>			(550)

There is no special time-slot for this past in -dji: it seems to convey the same notion as the past form of the pronoun. The full outline of the Guṇu tense system is therefore as follows:

verbal past	- - - - -	PAST	}	expressed by pronouns
in -dji		PRES		
		FUT		

#### V.4.5. Tense in Bārundji

Guṇu and Southern Bāgandji represent different extremes of the tense system in the Bāgandji dialects. As indicated earlier (Wurm and Hercus 1976), Bārundji occupies a position midway between these extremes. Basically the situation in Bārundji is that free pronouns may mark tense, as in Guṇu, but bound pronouns also occur (IV.4.3.). Details are as follows:

##### a) Perfect tense

Unlike Guṇu, Bārundji has a perfect tense, this is marked by -u (not -ṅu as in Southern Bāgandji):

- u is added to -a stems with loss of stem-final -a
- wu is added to -i stems

Both the free past forms of pronouns and bound pronouns (based on the past form of free pronouns) occur with the perfect and are subject to special morphophonemic changes (examples 253-255). The 'abstract' stem-form is also found as in *baribu* (from ex.380)

*bari* - b' - u                    'have come'  
*go* - ASP - PERF

#### b) The past

The past tense marker *-dji* occurs, as in all other Bāgandji dialects, and in Bārundji it is found not only as 'abstract' form, but also with bound pronouns, as in:

*balga* - dji' - *idiga*    *bargulu wīmbadja, bāra* - dji - 'du  
*kill* - PAST - 3 pl sub    *two man, hear* - PAST - 1 sg Tr  
 'They killed two men, (that's what) I heard'                    (551)

#### c) The Non-past

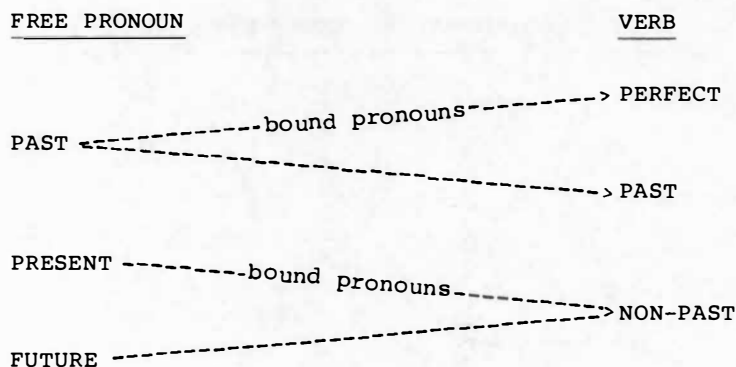
The future can be expressed by free pronouns (IV.4.3.b.), but there is no verbal marker that distinguishes the future tense in Bārundji. The loss of the initial consonants in the bound form of the pronouns eliminates the possibility of pronominal tense marking within the verbal word, as it is precisely the initial consonant that conveys tense in pronouns (IV.4.3.). There are exceptions involving *-i* verbs (IV.5.8.).

The fact remains that there is no general future versus present distinction within the Bārundji verb. There is simply a non-past tense which consists of: verb stem + bound pronoun and which is used in the function of both future and present:

Bārundji:                    (balga gadu)  
                                   (hit      FUT I ERG)  
*balga* - adu                    'I (will) hit'                    (552)  
                                   (balga ḡadu)  
                                   (hit      PRÉS I ERG)

#### d) Conclusion

The Bārundji tense system can therefore be summarised as follows:



#### V.4.6. Historical comments

The most significant dialectal features regarding tense in Southern Bāgandji are as follows:

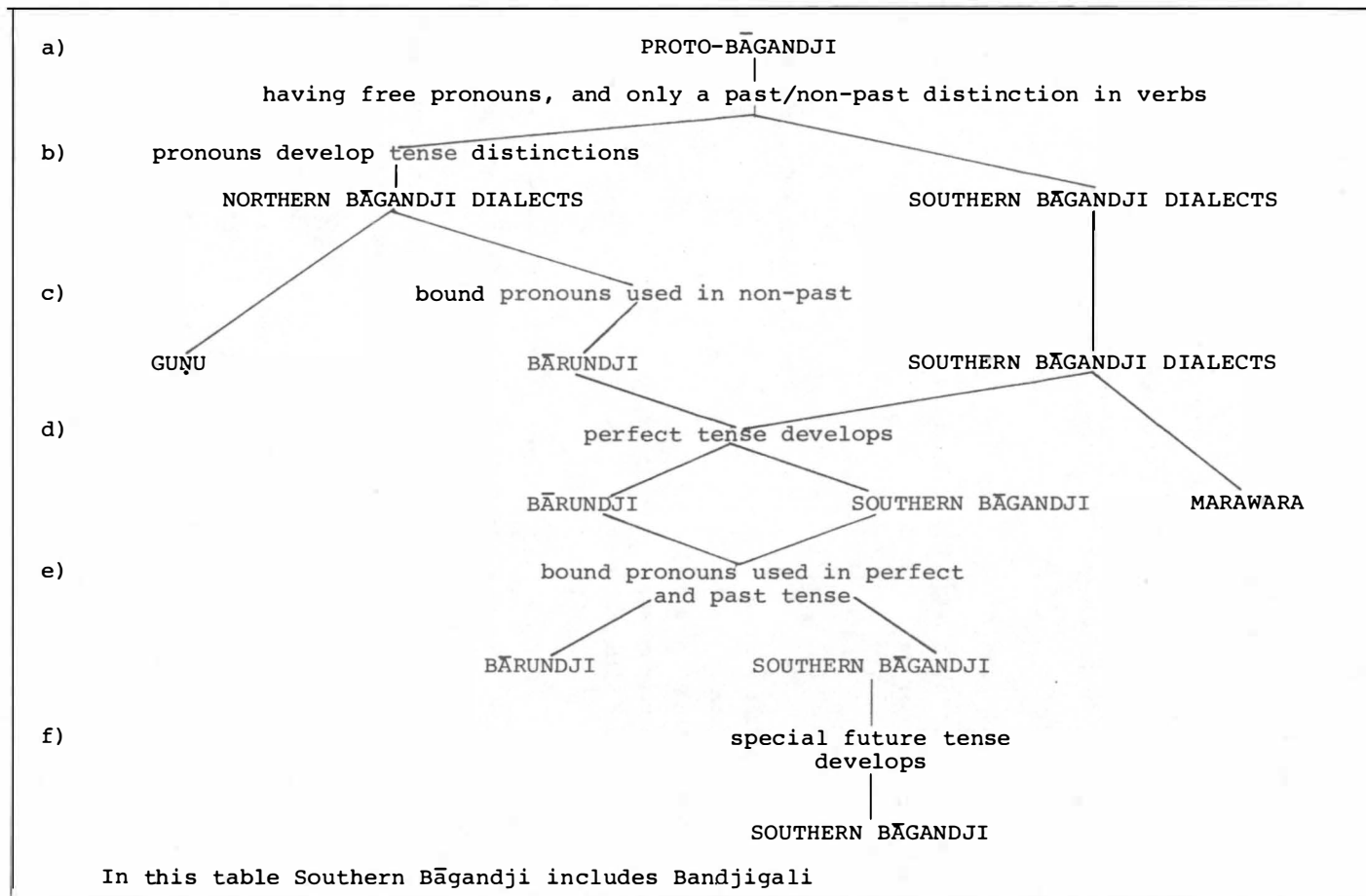
			Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali	Marawara
	Guṇu	Bārundji		
tense marked in free pronouns	+	+	-	-
special perfect form in verbs	-	+	+	-
special future form in verbs	-	-	+	-
-dji/yi as verbal past marker	+	+	+	+
bound pronouns used with past tense	-	+	+	-

From the evidence of this table suggestions can be made regarding the history of tense marking in the Bāgandji dialects.

-dji/yi as a past tense marker is common to all dialects and is therefore likely to have formed part of an original 'Proto-Bāgandji'. The close similarity with the past marker -i- in Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā lends further support to this.

The special future tense-marker -d- appears to be an innovation; it is restricted to Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali. But in other features the geographically central dialects, Bārundji, Southern Bāgandji and Bandjigali go together as opposed to the peripheral languages, Guṇu and Marawara.

The likely chronological sequence of changes in the Bāgandji tense system has been summarised below; but the developments (c) and (e) though tense-linked have to be viewed in the wider context of the large area of south-eastern Australia where bound pronouns occur.





## V.5. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

### V.5.1. General comments

Since the 'Potential' is akin to the aspects (V.3.3.), the imperative represents the only mood apart from the indicative in Bāgandji. But the matter is complex, as commands and requests are expressed in three different ways in all Bāgandji dialects:

- a) by the use of indicative forms of the present or future
- b) by the stem-form
- c) by the addition of a special imperative suffix -gu

There are only minor distinctions in meaning between these three types of expression; they are all used in both negative and positive commands. Moreover all imperatives are alike in having a strong rising intonation on the final syllable.

### V.5.2. Details of imperative usage

a) The second person forms of the indicative are commonly used to express requests, particularly when the sentence consists of more than just the verbal word. The use of the indicative furthermore implies a polite request or plea rather than an abrupt command:

ṅūga - ndu        - ayi        yaṅda - ulu  
*give* - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj *money* - SG  
 '(Please) give me one bit of money' (553)

diga - la - 'mba        yuṅga    yabara - ama        - ři  
*return* - TOP - 2 sg Intr *own*    *camp* - 2 sg POS - ALL  
 'Do go back to your own place' (554)

gila wīdja - 'ndu  
*not drink* - 2 sg Tr  
 'Don't drink' (555)

The indicative is also used in fixed locutions expressing a request,

gina - uḍa  
*stop* - 2 pl sub  
 'Stop!' (556)

particularly common in the sentence gina - uḍ' - ili 'stop now! (please!)'.

Also very frequently used is the expression:

ŋ̄ng' - imba  
sit - 2 sg Intr  
'Sit down (please)'

(557)

The future is used similarly:

w̄dja - d - uḍa gina gargi  
drink - FUT - 2 pl sub thīs bottle  
'You will please drink up this bottle'

(558)

bari - d - ubu gariŋgi  
go - FUT - 2 dl sub tomorrow  
'You two, please go tomorrow'

(559)

The future tense implies that the request is not immediate. The imperative sense of all these forms is clear from the rising intonation of the final syllable, as well as from the general context.

b) The bare stem-form without personal or tense markers can be used in Bāgandji to convey a more abrupt command. It is often the kind of command that is snapped out, it is not a polite personal request:

gila daldi  
not hear  
'Don't listen!'

(560)

māwulu bari  
slowly walk  
'Walk slowly'

(561)

yāmaṛi d̄iga  
this way return  
'Come back here!'

(562)

The stem-form is a general command and can be addressed to any number of people.

This type of imperative represents the only instance in Southern Bāgandji when the 'abstract' stem-form of the present can be used without any further suffixes (V.4.2.b.iii.) it is the minimal verbal word (V.1.1.).

c) The suffix *-gu* is added to verb-stems to express an urgent or emphatic command:

*ŋayi gaba - gu*  
*me ACC follow - IMP*  
 'Follow me!' (563)

*muni - gu idana*  
*tie - IMP h̄im ACC*  
 'Tie it (the dog) up!' (564)

*duru bami - gu*  
*snake look - IMP*  
 'Look out for snakes!' (565)

The well-known 'bivalent' (both nominal and verbal) suffix *-gu* occurs in most Australian languages, as a dative in nouns and as a purposive in verbs (Blake et al. in Dixon 1976:421f.). *-gu* is not found in this function in Bāgandji, nor in the languages immediately adjoining it, except Waŋāybuwan-Niyambā. But it seems most probable that the imperative suffix *-gu* is the Bāgandji derivative from the Common Australian *-gu* and that the imperative function of this suffix has developed out of its original purposive role.

## V.6. PARTICIPLES

### V.6.1. General comments

According to the old definition dating back to the Greek and Latin grammarians (Marouzeau 1943:159) a participle is a verbal form that 'participates' in nominal functions. Some participles are more like nouns than others – they have a greater degree of 'nouniness', if one accepts the term used by J.R. Ross (1973). A hierarchy of 'nouniness' can be seen also in Bāgandji participles.

A participle formed with

- ana resembles a full verbal form in its syntactic functions, but it cannot take a bound subject pronoun.
- la the optative suffix, has a greater degree of 'nouniness' it cannot fulfil the function of a main verb, and no bound pronouns are permissible with this participle.
- ri and -mandi. A morphologically fully formed verbal word followed by the nominal dative case-marker *-ri* or the purposive *-mandi* cannot fulfil the function of a main verb.
- ni habitual agent
- ŋgu gerundive

increasing  
 'nouniness'  
 →

## V.6.2. The non-past participle in -ana

## a) Form

The participial suffix -ana is added directly to the verb-stem or to the stem followed by an aspect marker. The following morphophonemic changes take place:

- i. when a bound object follows, -ana is shortened to -na, and the resulting complex morpheme thus fits in with the stress patterns outlined in II.5.4.
- ii. When there is no bound object the initial -a- of -ana is combined with a preceding stem-final -a to ā, according to II.5.3.

ŋīnga - ana [ŋīngāna]                    'sitting'  
sit - PTC

A glide -r- (IV.5.3.c.) is inserted between stem-final -i, -u and the participial suffix -ana

gāndi - r - ana                            'carrying'  
carry - G1 - PTC

wabu - r - ana                            'coming out'  
emerge - G1 - PTC

There is one exceptional case of lengthening of -i in bamīna VIII.5.1. In both form and function the Bāgandji participle resembles the Yalarnnga participle -nYana and the Kalkatungu -nYin, probably from -\*nYana (Blake, p.c.)

## b) Meaning

The -ana participle bears some resemblance to the English '-ing' participle. It implies continuous action in the present or future, as opposed to punctiliar action. When used in a subordinate clause it implies simultaneity with the main clause.

## c) Function

The non-past participle in -ana has a dual syntactic function:

- i. as a main verb
- ii. as the verbal constituent of a (full or reduced) subordinate clause.

## i. Main verb

The participle in *-ana* as discussed in V.4.2.b.iii. acts as 'abstract' form for the present and future tenses: the participle is used in the same way as the stem-form of the past and perfect when there is no bound subject marker, as in (543, 545), and:

*mina* - *mandi* *gaḷi* *mūya* - *la* - *ana*  
*whāt* - PURP *dog* *growl* - TOP - PTC  
 'Why are the dogs growling?' (566)

*muni-muni* *wadu* - 'na - *ama*  
*police* *take* - PTC - 2 sg obj  
 'The police are going to get hold of you' (567)

*ḡaba* *ḡīngā* - *na* *bamī* - *la*  
*I* *sit* - PTC *look* - OPT  
 'I'm sitting (here) to have a look' (568)

The participle is used similarly in Marawara, as shown by Tindale's text (1939:252):

'*ḡinda* *wangan* *'komboi mari* *bingi* *'alui*  
 'You *rising in west there-will-be* *thunder* *and lightning*

this would correspond to Southern Bāgandji:

*ḡinda* *wanga* - *la* - *ana* *gumbadja* *mari* *bindi*  
*cloud* *rise* - TOP - PTC *big* *very* *storm*  
 'Clouds are coming up, (there will be) a big storm' (569)

In all the above sentences it would be possible to use finite verb forms instead of the participle (for the repetition of pronoun subjects see IV.5.14.), and corresponding to sentence (566) Bāgandji people also say:

*mina* - *mandi* *gaḷi* *mūya* - *la* - *yiga*  
*whāt* - PURP *dog* *growl* - TOP - 3 pl sub  
 'Why do the dogs growl?' (570)

and corresponding to (567) a frequently used sentence is:

*muni-muni* *wadu* - *d* - *iga* - *ama*  
*police* *take* - FUT - 3 pl sub - 2 sg obj  
 'The police will grab you' (571)

but then the action is viewed as punctiliar, in the present or the future and the meaning is different from that conveyed by the -ana participle.

Syntactically the participle differs from a finite verb in these sentences only by the fact that the bound pronoun subject cannot be used with it.

In Guṇu, where bound forms of the pronouns do not occur, the situation is slightly different: the -ana participle is distinct from finite verb forms in that it cannot be used with even a free pronoun subject; it is confined entirely to sentences with a nominal subject:

yungu nūngu wimbara ḡari ḡīnga - ana ḡuma mali - balu - na  
*own female child mine sit - PTC your male - child - LOC*  
*'My own daughter is living with your son'* (572)

The function of the -ana participle in main clauses can thus be summarised as 'a continuous non-past form that can only be used in the absence of a bound (in Guṇu, free) pronoun subject.'

#### 11. The -ana participle as dependent verb

The -ana participle is used in the complement of verbs of perception. This may be a simple complement:

bami - dj - indu - na baga - ana?  
*see - PAST - 2 sg Tr - 3 sg obj dance - PTC*  
*'Did you see him dancing?'* (573)

daldi - y - adu - ḡa gulba - ana  
*hear - G1 - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj talk - PTC*  
*'I can hear them talking'* (574)

mūrba - nār' - igu bami - y - adu ḡuḡi-guḡi - r - ana  
*child - Sp Pl - Pl see - G1 - 1 sg Tr play - G1 - PTC*  
*'I can see the crowd of children playing'* (575)

or a full subordinate clause may be involved; including a pronoun subject:

gila daldi - 'ndu - ayi mina yawara ḡadu  
*not hear - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj what word I ERG*  
 gulba - ra - na - ama  
*talk - TOP - PTC - 2 sg obj*  
*'You don't hear me, whatever word I say to you'* (576)

yuri - ba - yiga      ṅadu    gulba - ana  
*understand* - 3 pl sub I ERG *speak* - PTC  
*'They understand me (when) I am speaking'* (577)

The -ana participle is also used in circumstantial dependent clauses:

wirga - ana    gunga    - d    - uru    - uma  
*swim* - PTC *swallow* - FUT - 3 sg sub - 2 sg obj  
*'He (the rainbow serpent) will swallow you while you are swimming'* (578)

Some of these circumstantial clauses have become fixed locutions, such as:

yugu    bilga    - ana  
*sun*    *go down* - PTC  
*'at sunset'* (579)

The dependent verb associated with the -ana participle always conveys a sense of continuity and prolongedness, and provides a background for the punctiliar action of the main verb.

### V.6.3. The optative participle -la

#### a) Form

The optative suffix -la always follows the verb-stem or the stem + aspect marker. The following morphophonemic changes are involved.

1. stem-final -i and -u are lengthened before -la,

bami - 'to see'    bamī-la  
wadu - 'to get'    wadū-la

11. As with the topicaliser -la- (V.3.1.c.), the -l- of the suffix may be dissimilated to -r- if an -l- occurs in the verb-stem, but in the case of the optative this dissimilation is optional.

The optative suffix is never used in conjunction with the topicaliser -la-.

#### b) Function

The optative participle is used only as dependent verb. It indicates an action that is contemporaneous or future with respect to the main verb and it conveys a sense of wish or purpose.

The subject of the -la participle is always identical to the subject of the main verb (for switching of reference see V.6.4.).

The optative participle can have a free object, never a bound object. Examples are:

gila ḡīnga - yiga wimbar' - 'gu - ayi  
*not sit - 3 pl sub daughter - Pl - 1 sg POS*  
 mūrba - nār' - igu - ḡga - ri ḡūwa - la,  
*child - Sp Pl - Pl - 3 pl POS - DAT cook - OPT,*  
 bāga - na ḡīnga - yiga, baḡḡu gala - la  
*river - LOC sit - 3 pl sub, cod seek - OPT*  
 'My crowd of daughters do not stay (home) **to cook** for their  
 many children, they sit by the river **to look** for fish' (580)

damba-damba - d - ali bamī - la ḡandi  
*dig - FUT - 1 dl sub see - OPT tuber*  
 'The two of us will dig **to find** yams' (581)

The difference in function between the -ana participle (which can act as main verb) and the optative can be seen in the following sentence:

gaḡara ḡīnga - ma - la - ana, widulu  
*here sit - Vb - TOP - PTC alī*  
 wīdja - la maḡga - ma - la - ana  
*drink - OPT hide - Vb - TOP - PTC*  
 '(We) are sitting here **to have a drink**, we're hiding' (582)

There is no difference between the Bāḡandji dialects with regard to the form and use of the -la participle. This includes Marawara as shown by Tindale's text (1939:247), e.g.:

tuna 'ḡḡgali 'ba:ra  
*a while sit listen*

which would correspond to Southern Bāḡandji:

duna ḡīnga - ali bāra - la  
*then sit - 1 dl sub listen - OPT*  
 'Then we two sit (here) **to listen**' (583)

In Bāḡandji there is no single suffix that has all the functions of the 'bivalent' -gu of many Australian languages (V.5.2.c. and Blake in Dixon 1976:421). The Bāḡandji optative in -la fulfils only one of the functions of -gu (as used for instance in Arabana Waḡaḡuru), that of marking a dependent verb with optative-purposive meaning, when there is no switch of reference.





## V.6.5. Other case-forms

## a) -mandi

The purposive case-marker -mandi is added to a full verb to form a participle in the same syntactic conditions as -ri:

ibi - dj - adu - na minga - na gila - d - adu - mandi  
 put - PAST - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3 sg obj hole - LOC grow - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - PURP  
 'I put it (the cod) into a (water)hole, for it to grow' (588)

and

gila nūga - yiga - nga manu bali-balīra daya - yiga - mandi  
 not give - 3 pl sub- 3 pl obj food delicious eat - 3 pl sub - PURP  
 'They (those wicked women) don't given them (their children)  
 delicious food, for them to eat' (589)

This usage however is extremely rare and confined to Southern Bāgandji. Paratactic constructions, involving the juxtaposition of two main verbs (V.6.4.) are much more common, as for instance:

gulba - mba, yuri - ba - ana ŋina - wa  
 speak - 2 sg Intr, hear - ASP - PTC we - EMPH  
 'Tell (us), (so) we'll know' (590)

## b) -ambala, -umbula

Even rarer than -mandi and heard only a few times, was the comitative case-marker -ambala, -umbula with a verb-form; as in:

gunga - ŋgu - ru - ana daļa, nāda nagu - dj - u,  
 swallow - PERF - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj dry, nothing mix - PAST - 3 sg sub,  
 wandi - ru gundu - ana, gila dayi - ŋgu - adu - umbula  
 burn - 3 sg sub guts - 3 sg POS, not eat - PERF - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - COM  
 'He used to swallow it dry (the metho), he didn't mix in anything,  
 he burnt up his guts, because he didn't eat (anything) with it' (591)

The verb followed by a comitative was heard from not so fluent Southern Bāgandji speakers, unlike the other case-marked verb-forms. It seems likely that this usage was due to or at least favoured by the influence of English syntax, particularly the final 'with it' in conversational English.

### V.6.6. Other participial suffixes

There are two other very rare participial forms in Southern Bāgandji:

-ni is used as a suffix to mark the 'habitual' participle

windjara ŋŋa - ni maḷi-baḷu  
*where sit - HAB boy*

*'where (are) the boys staying?'* (592)

From the little available evidence it seems that this participle was used purely adjectivally.

-ŋgu (identical in form to the perfect marker) was used as an obligatory participial suffix in the word wīdjaŋgu *'something that has to be drunk'* as in:

ŋadu ŋūga - na - ama wīdja - ŋgu gadjilugu  
*I ERG give - PTC - 2 sg obj drink - OBL little*

*'I'll give you a drink, just a little one'* (593)

These last two categories must be ignored in any generalisations because not enough is known of them.

In Southern Bāgandji as in many other even totally unrelated languages (e.g. Sanskrit, Harweg 1968) increasing 'nouniness' in participles is correlated with increasing syntactic complexity. In the case of a dying language like Bāgandji it is precisely these most complex features that are most vulnerable and liable to early loss.



CHAPTER VI  
CLITICS, ADVERBS AND INTERJECTIONS

VI.1. CLITICS

VI.1.1. General remarks

Clitics differ from free morphemes in that they are attached to another word and are pronounced as part of it: in Bāgandji they are always enclitic to a preceding word. They may totally lack independent accentuation, in which case they can be called 'full clitics', or they may show varying minor degrees of independent accentuation, in which case they can be called 'postpositions'.

Clitics differ from other bound morphemes, both grammatical and stem-forming, in that they can generally be used with more than just a limited category of words and are not tied to certain syntactic functions. Basically clitics are more independent than inflectional and derivational bound morphemes: they are by their nature post-inflections.

One totally unaccented clitic may be used to reinforce another, but in those cases there is a definite ranking order:

- i. primary clitics can only be used immediately after an independent word
- ii. secondary clitics may follow directly on an independent word, or they may follow a primary clitic.

We can therefore categorise Bāgandji clitics according to the following scheme:

Clitics

Unaccented		Some Slight Independent Accentuation	
Primary	Secondary	Postpositions	

## VI.1.2. Primary clitics

Those of the Bāgandji clitics which are totally unaccented all convey emphasis, but they differ from each other in the degree and type of emphasis: they can bring to a sentence or part of a sentence urgency, immediacy, topicality or simply reinforcement.

a) -dina

This clitic throws strong emphasis on the preceding word. Phonetically and semantically it causes the whole sentence to revolve around that word: it is the main topicalising clitic of Bāgandji.

-dina has a marked phonetic impact on the preceding word. The last syllable, which would normally have been unaccented (II.5.3.) assumes a strong stress accent before -dina and is lengthened, and in fact becomes the dominant syllable of the whole sentence in the following circumstances:

always if it contains the vowel -a

always if it contains the vowel -u of the pronominal ergative

optionally in all other circumstances

The uses of -dina are as follows:

1. By its very nature as topicalising clitic -dina is often associated with the subject of a sentence. It occurs most commonly with the ergative form, both free and bound, of the demonstrative pronoun (g)ina 'that'.

With the free form of the pronoun, to emphasise it as topic:

inu - ru - dina wadu - dji  
 that - ERG - EMPH take - PAST  
 'That is the one who took (it)!' (594)

as opposed to the non-emphatic:

inu - ru wadu - dji - na  
 that - ERG take - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'That one took it' (595)

and:

ginu - ru - dina wandi - dji ina yara  
 that - ERG - EMPH burn - PAST that tree  
 'That is the one who burnt down the tree' (596)

as opposed to the non-emphatic:

wĩmbadja - nuru wandi - dji ina yara  
 man - DEM ERG burn - PAST this tree  
 'That man burnt down the tree' (597)

With the bound form of the demonstrative:

ma|i - ba|u - nurú - di|na balga - dji - na  
 male - child - DEM ERG - EMPH hit - PAST 3 sg obj  
 'That boy killed it!' (598)

With a nominal subject:

gārū - di|na wadu - du  
 other - EMPH take - 3 sg sub  
 'Somebody else (will) take it!' (599)

ga|i - di|na bada - na - ayi  
 dog - EMPH bite - PTC - 1 sg obj  
 'The dog will bite me!' (600)

With an interrogative pronoun subject:

windjigā - di|na wabu - dji  
 who - EMPH emerge - PAST  
 'Who was it that came out?' (601)

- ii. -di|na is heard occasionally with the direct object, when dramatic emphasis is laid upon it:

ḡayi - di|na gala - adu  
 me - EMPH seek - 3 sg sub  
 '(The lightning) is coming after me' (602)

There are no instances of this topicalising clitic ever occurring in conjunction with any peripheral case form.

- iii. -di|na was used often to add emphasis to an adverb:

gandinjā - di|na  
 long ago - EMPH  
 'a long, long time ago' (603)

and particularly to the negative adverb:

mal-mal - dj - u gilā - di|na dayi - la - ḡgu - ru  
 die - PAST - 3 sg sub not - EMPH eat - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub  
 'He died because (he drank metho and) had **not** eaten anything' (604)

iv. -diŋa is used only very rarely to emphasise a verbal form:

bami - r<sup>4</sup> - diŋa  
 see - NF' - EMPH  
 'He saw!' (605)

The topicalising clitic -diŋa is characteristic of Southern Bāgandji and does not appear to be known in any other dialect.

b) -wa

This topicalising clitic differs from -diŋa in the following ways:

-wa has a much wider distribution, and appears to be known in all recorded Bāgandji dialects,

-wa has a more limited range of usage, occurring only with the subject, nominal or pronominal, it has a less marked influence on the accentuation pattern of the sentence.

There is optional lengthening and stress of a nominal (not pronominal) final -a before -wa:

wīmbadjā - wa      dulaga  
 people - EMPH      bad  
 'bad people' (606)

-wa is used occasionally with a pronoun complement:

windjara    ŋuḍa    - wa      ba|u-ba|u  
 where      you pl - EMPH    children  
 'Where are you, children?' (607)

but the main function of the clitic -wa is to add emphasis to the subject, transitive or intransitive, nominal or pronominal:

gila    ŋadu    - wa      yuŋgāgu    banma - dj    - u      - ana  
 not    I ERG - EMPH    alone    make - PAST - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj  
 'I didn't do it on my own' (608)

The usage with the transitive subject is so particularly common that -wa has been erroneously regarded as an ergative case-marking suffix (for further examples and discussion III.2.4.).



## c) -li

This is a fairly rare clitic and appears to be confined to Guṇu: it lends emphasis particularly to a preceding adjective:

du|agá - li  
 b̄ad - EMPH  
 'really bad' (609)

Like all other primary clitics -li attracts a stress accent onto a preceding -a, but only optionally.

## d) -bura

This is a rare clitic that was used only after verbs to imply 'at last', 'with difficulty', as in:

bilga - aba - bura  
 descend - 1 sg Intr - at last  
 'I've managed to get down (from the tree)' (610)

## VI.1.3. Secondary clitics

## a) -ḍa

This is a weak contrastive clitic found occasionally with nouns:

ḍunga - ḍa  
 night - EMPH  
 'but night-time as well' (611)

The most common use of -ḍa however is with pronoun subjects, sometimes in conjunction with the primary clitic -wa

ḡimba - ḍa gāru, gila ḡali ḡūga - na - ama  
 you - EMPH stranger, not we two give - PTC - 2 sg obj  
 'But you're a stranger, we two won't give you anything' (612)

ḡindu - wa - ḍa gaḡma - dj - ayi inu baḡdu  
 you - ERG-EMPH - EMPH steal - PAST - 1 sg obj this fish  
 'But it was you that stole this fish from me' (613)

Unlike -wa, the secondary clitic -ḍa is not confined to the subject and may be used to emphasise the pronoun object:

ḡali - na - ḍa bami - dj - u  
 we two - ACC - EMPH see - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'But he saw us two!' (614)

## b) -di

This secondary clitic may be used to emphasise a wide variety of words, nominals in various case-forms as well as verbs and adverbs:

māda - di    bari - y - adu  
 boss - EMPH go - G1 - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'The boss himself is coming' (615)

mina - mandi ? yaṅḍa - mandi - di !  
 what - PURP ? money - PURP - EMPH  
 'What for? For money, of course!' (616)

gila - di    ṅūya - la - adu  
 not - EMPH fear - TOP - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'He's not scared' (617)

Sometimes in Guṇu -di is used in conjunction with the primary clitic -li:

dulagā - li - di !  
 bad - EMPH - EMPH  
 'bad indeed!' (618)

The secondary clitics do not have any significant impact on accentuation.

## VI.1.4. Postpositions

Postpositions differ from other clitics by the fact that they have some independent accentuation and show at least a secondary stress (II.5.3.): in syllabic structure they resemble free morphemes in that they are never monosyllabic.

The postpositions, though varied in usage, have a common origin: they appear to have been originally adverbs that have developed into bound forms and have lost their main stress accent. Two of them, -mari and -ili can still function as adverbs.

## a) -mari, -malda

-mari serves as a superlative marking postposition which is added to adjectives and adverbs; from both the phonetic and syntactic point of view, as shown in the following examples, -mari forms part of the preceding word.

duḷag' - mari - 'mba  
 bād - very - 2 sg Intr  
 'You are very bad' (619)

balīra - mari - y - āba  
 good - very - G1 1 sg Intr  
 'I'm very good' (620)

In this very common type of sentence the complex adjective + -mari behaves syntactically just like a simple adjective (III.1.2.b.). -mari is used in Guṇu in the same manner as in Southern Bāgandji, but Guṇu furthermore has another postposition, -malda, which closely resembles -mari in function and meaning. -mari may also be affixed to adverbs:

murada - mari bari - dj - u  
 quickly - very go - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 'He went very quickly' (621)

In some of its usages -mari can be interpreted as 'truly' and this may have been its original meaning. There are rare occasions when -mari is not a clitic but a fully accented independent word, functioning as a particle:

yari - naba - dj' idu mari  
 ear - shut - having this one truly  
 'He's absolutely deaf' (622)

b) -ili

-ili 'now' is a postposition marking immediacy. It is most commonly affixed to verbs, particularly in the imperative:

gina - uḍ' - ili  
 stop - 2 pl sub - now  
 'Stop now (that's enough)!' (623)

but it also frequently occurs with adverbs:

baljad' - ili bari - d - āba  
 soon - now go - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 'In a little while now I'll go' (624)

-ili occurs in all Bāgandji dialects: it is repeatedly used in the Marawara text published by Tindale (1939). Tindale sometimes writes -ili sometimes -il:

'Keikil 'wombi'la:pil  
*With-this he-flew-into-the air.*

This is equivalent to Southern Bāgandji:

gīg - ili wambi - la - ab' - ili  
*this here - now fly - TOP - 1 sg Tr - now*  
 'Now this is it. I (can) fly now' (625)

and

'K(e)i:ki:li 'tailpa-'nili  
*Here-it-comes close-overhead*

Southern Bāgandji:

gīg' - ili daljba - n' - ili  
*this here - now close - LOC - now*  
 'Now this is it, it's close now!' (626)

Occasionally ili is used as an independent adverb and fully accented:

ŋindu ili damba  
*you ERG now dig*  
 'You dig now!' (627)

c) -albi

-albi 'like', 'as it were' is a postposition which is affixed to the object of comparison, nominal, pronominal or adverbial:

wīmbadja - albi gulbi - la - adu  
*man - like talk - TOP - 3 sg sub*  
 'He talks like an Aboriginal man' (628)

mada idu maḍa - mari ila ŋuma - albi  
*old this old - very not your - like*  
 'He's older than you' (629)

ŋayi gali ŋuma gali yunūna - albi gali  
*my dog your dog thus - like dog*  
 'My dog and your dog are of the same kind' (630)

A very frequently heard question is:

naŋunja - 'lbi  
*what - like*  
 'What's it like?' (631)

-albi is affixed to verbs to imply 'as it were' or 'maybe it was like that':

dadu balga - dj - iga - 'lbi  
head hit - PAST - 3 pl sub - like  
 'Maybe they hit him on the head' (632)

The elision of the initial vowel of -albi is optional, and is largely dependent on the speed of utterance.

d) -wangi

This is a postposition implying pre-eminence and exclusiveness. It has been recorded only in Southern Bāgandji, affixed to the pronoun subject:

duna gadjilugu gargi, duna ŋali - wangi  
then little bottle, then we two - only  
 'It's only a small bottle, just we two (will have it)' (633)

ŋadu - wangi yuri - ba - du  
 I ERG - only know - ASP - I sg Tr  
 'I'm the only one that understands' (634)

Sometimes -wangi is abbreviated to -'ngi

ŋaba - ŋgi ŋidja bari - dj - āba  
 I - only one go - PAST - 1 sg Intr  
 'I went all on my own' (635)

It seems likely that -wangi, unlike the other postpositions, is not adverbial in origin, but represents an extension of the primary clitic -wa (VI.1.2.b.).

## VI.2. ADVERBS

### VI.2.1. General comments

For syntactic reasons (III.1.2.) pronominal adverbs form a separate word-class and have been discussed in IV.7. Only adverbs not connected with the pronominal system are described here.

Adverbs, as is traditionally admissible (Marouzeau 1943) are taken here in the broadest sense of the term, to include the few particles that exist in Bāgandji. There are, however, certain features that set aside particles from the main group of adverbs in Bāgandji:

1. Adverbs (i.e. non-pronominal adverbs) generally precede and only rarely follow the verb: they form part of the verb phrase, but the position of particles is not necessarily linked with the verb.
11. Adverbs cannot occur in a 'verbless' sentence (IV.5.15.b.), particles can as in (583).

## VI.2.2. Particles

### a) The negative

1. *gila* 'not' may negate a noun-phrase, an adverb or a whole sentence. It is always sentence-initial except in the rare instance where it occurs in an interrogative sentence: the rules given in IV.6.1.a. and IV.5.13. then have precedence over the initial position of the negative:

*mina* - mand' - uḍa            *gila* daldi - la - ana  
*whāt* - PURP - 2 pl sub    *not*    *hear* - TOP - PTC  
 'Why are you people not listening?' (636)

The initial position of the negative particle is characteristic of Victorian languages (Hercus 1969), of Waṅāybuwan-Niyambā (Donaldson 1980) and of Maljaṅaba; it is also found in Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979). Although it is not unknown elsewhere in Australia, in places as far afield as Bathurst and Melville Island (Osborne 1975), the obligatory initial position of the negative particle remains an important areal trait that links the languages of Western NSW with both Kulin and Pitta-Pitta.

After *gila* the normal order of the sentence prevails, but it may be altered so that *gila* can be followed immediately by the word to which the negative most particularly applies:

*gila* ṅayi - mandi wadu - dji - na  
*not*    *me* - PURP    *get* - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'He didn't get it for *me*' (637)

*gila* also functions as a prohibitive particle before imperative forms of the verb:

*gila* bami - la - gu  
*not*    *see* - TOP - IMP  
 'Don't look' (638)

but is may also occur in a 'verbless' sentence (VI.2.1.):

gila gumbadja - adu  
 not big - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
 'It's not big' (639)

For the variant pronunciation of gila as ila see II.2.3.

ii. nāda 'nothing', 'not'

nāda is often used as a nominal base meaning 'nothing':

nāda - mandi balga - dji - na  
 nothing - PURP kill - PAST - 3 sg obj  
 'He killed him for nothing' (640)

or as an adjectival form negating a noun-phrase:

nāda balda - dja  
 nothing shame - having  
 'shameless'

(for further examples see III.6.2.a.)

but is can also function as a particle:

nāda magara - dji, daḷa, daḷa  
 not rain - PAST dry, dry  
 'It didn't rain at all, it was dry, dry!' (641)

In these circumstances nāda is not simply an equivalent of gila but an emphatic negation 'not at all'.

iii. walja

walja is a rare prohibitive particle 'don't':

walja wīdja - ndu  
 don't drink - 2 sg Tr  
 'Don't drink' (642)

This particle is identical in form to the general negative particle of Wangumara, walja 'not'.

b) Other particles

mari 'very', 'truly' has been discussed in VI.1.4.a.

## VI.2.3. Locational adverbs

Adverbs are divided traditionally into adverbs of place, time and manner. Location is often indicated not by true adverbs, but by nominal bases used adverbially. Four distinct degrees of 'nouniness' can be observed:

1. There are a few true adverbs which are by their nature indeclinable, examples are:

maṅu-maṅu 'in all directions'

wara-wara 'side by side'

garganja 'high up' (as distinct from the noun garganja 'sky')

- ii. Some 'adverbs' are indeclinable in the locative and allative: the bare stem implies these two cases; but the elative is marked by a case suffix.

baridjiri 'very far away'      baridjiri-ndu 'from very far away'

garabira 'far away'      garabira-ndu 'from afar'

gārugaya 'yonder'      gārugaya-ndu 'from yonder'

- iii. Some 'adverbs' imply only an allative and take case-endings in the locative and elative:

<u>d</u> anga	<u>d</u> anga-na	<u>d</u> anga-und <u>u</u>
'towards the middle'	'in the middle'	'out of the middle'

Similarly:

<u>d</u> aljba	<u>d</u> aljba-na	<u>d</u> aljba-und <u>u</u>
'(towards) close by'	'close by'	'from nearby'

miriga	miriga-na	miriga-nd <u>u</u>
'forwards'	'in front'	'from in front'

malāga	malāga-na	malāga-nd <u>u</u>
'(to) the other side'	'on the other side'	'from the other side'

- iv. Some locational words in Bāgandji may translate English adverbs, but are in fact not adverbs at all. They are nouns, and unlike words listed under i-iii they never imply any peripheral case: they are used with a full set of case markers and often take a possessive suffix as well, as for instance:



<u>da</u> na	<u>da</u> na-undu	dana - ama	- ndu
'back'	'from behind'	<u>ba</u> ck - 2 sg POS	- EL
		'from behind you'	
<u>ḡ</u> anda	<u>ḡ</u> anda-na		
'back'	'behind'		
wara	wara-na	wara - ayi	- na
'side'	'beside'	side - 1 sg POS	- LOC
		'at my side'	

#### VI.2.4. Temporal adverbs

A few locational adverbs also have a temporal connotation, e.g. miriga-na 'in front' can also mean 'first':

miriga - na	<u>da</u> yi - l'	- d	- ali
front - LOC	eat - TOP	- FUT	- 1 dl sub
'We two will eat first'			

(643)

In contrast to the 'nouniness' of locational adverbs, only two of the recorded temporal adverbs have any link with nominals:

gāndinja 'long ago' can also function as an adjective 'old', e.g. Guḡu:

<u>gā</u> ndinja	baḡaga	<u>ḡā</u> ba
old	woman	PRES I
'I am an old woman'		

(644)

duḡaraḡaga 'all night' is a derivative of duḡa 'night'; but the method of derivation remains obscure and there are no parallel cases of the suffix involved.

All other temporal adverbs are 'true' adverbs and invariant, e.g.:

<u>n</u> andama	'again'
galjbū	'soon', 'recently'
baljaḡa	'in a moment', 'directly'
ilāḡu	'yesterday'
gariḡḡi	'tomorrow'

Of special interest are:

<u>du</u> na	}	'then'
<u>du</u> nda		
wara		'and then'

These words have been included among the temporal adverbs because they cannot be used in 'verbless' sentences. Nevertheless, from the way in which they function they could be called 'linking particles':

*gāndi - ru - ūluna      duna wadu - ru - ūluna,  
carry - NF - 3 dl obj    then take - NF - 3 dl obj,  
duna mugi - ru - ūluna      yabara - na  
then hide - NF - 3 dl obj    camp - LOC  
'He carried them both (down from the tree), then he took them  
both and then he hid them both away in his camp'      (645)*

*waṛa* was heard in all the recorded Bāgandji dialects, but it appears to have been particularly common in Marawara according to Tindale's text (1939). He sometimes transcribes it as *ora*, as in (p.251)

*'Tambili 'meṅga 'keiṅgutjarm      'mandi      'ora ip':arleli.  
Dig      hole      for sister's son      that we may      him bury*

This corresponds to Southern Bāgandji:

*damb' - ili miṅga gṯṅgudja - ama      - mandi      wara  
dig - now hole nephew - 2 sg POS - PURP      and then  
iba      - la - ali  
put down - TOP - 1 dl sub  
'Now dig a hole for your sister's son, **and then**  
we two put (him) in'      (646)*

One person who was not a fluent Southern Bāgandji speaker, used *waṛa* like English 'and' to link two nouns: this was due to English influence. Older speakers used *waṛa* only to link sentences.

#### VI.2.5. Adverbs of manner

a) the adverb-forming suffix *-mala*.

The most interesting feature of the adverbs of manner is that some have been derived from adjectives by means of an 'adverb-forming' suffix *-mala*. This suffix is clearly associated with the verbaliser *-ma* and the topicalising suffix *-la*: *-mala* therefore must have originally conveyed the notion of 'making it'. This throws some light on the adverb-forming suffix of Pitta-Pitta which is *maṅṭa* (Blake 1979:212). It seems highly likely from the corroborative evidence of Bāgandji that Pitta-Pitta *-maṅṭa* was also derived from the verbaliser *-ma + ṅṭa* (probably connected with the widespread verbal suffix *-ṅṭa* Hercus MS a). The similarity between the adverb-forming suffixes of Pitta-Pitta and Bāgandji is yet another interesting link between the two languages.

Examples of adverbs formed with -mala are:

balīra-mala 'well' from balīra 'good'

There is also a variant short form balī-mala

duḷag-mala 'badly' from duḷaga 'bad'

dulu-mala 'in a heap' from dulu 'close together'

gila bari - y - adu balīra - mala  
not go - Gl - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub good - ADV

'He can't walk properly'

(647)

#### b) Other adverbs of manner

Apart from the adverbs formed with -mala there is one very common adverb of manner than can be derived from an adjective. This is:

yungāgu from yungāgu and yunga  
'on on's own', 'separately' 'one's very own' 'own'

yungāgu dayi - l' - dji yunga yabara - na  
separately eat - TOP - PAST own camp - LOC

'He ate it on his own, in his own camp'

(648)

All remaining adverbs of manner are unconnected with any other part of speech. A few examples are:

mibuḍa 'completely' muraḍa 'quickly', (muru-muraḍa)

ḡaradja 'in company, together' mugu-muga 'quietly'

māwulu 'slowly' yaḷinja 'too much'

### VI.3. INTERJECTIONS

#### VI.3.1. The negative and the affirmative

The negative nominal and participial form ḡāda (VI.2.2.) functions as a negative interjection 'no'. It is most uncommon in Bāḡandji for the negative interjection to stand entirely on its own: speakers usually go on to explain what is being negated. Thus in answer to a request, a Bāḡandji speaker normally says, rather than just ḡāda 'no':

ḡāda, gila ḡūga - l' - d - adu - na  
no, not give - TOP - FUT - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj

'No, I won't give it'

(649)

On the other hand the affirmative ḡī, ḡim usually stands alone as a simple interjection. There is remarkable uniformity in the Bāḡandji dialects with regard to the negative and affirmative interjections.

## VI.3.2. Other interjections: exclamations

Interjections, probably more than any other parts of speech, are subject to individual taste and style. Because such a limited number of speakers remained the range of personal choice in interjections is poorly represented. Only the following were heard:

ilaguáyi	'by Jove!' (lit. 'my yesterday!')
wulú	'hey! look out!'
ḡáyi	'hey! hallo there!'
yaga baldáyi	'oh dear!' (lit. 'alas my skin!')

Two of the interjections used in Bāgandji are very widespread in Australian languages. One is the ubiquitous:

yagáyi	(shortened to yaga in yaga baldáyi above)
'oh! oh dear!'	

the other is:

gabá
'come on! hurry up!'

which is shared with a number of languages, including Maljanaba, Waḡumara and Guyani.

Some verbs formed with -ma (V.1.3.d.) are obviously based on interjections that happen not to occur separately in the recorded materials, e.g.

<u>da</u> l	-	<u>da</u> l	-	ma	-	la
<u>crash</u>	-	<u>crash</u>	-	Vb	-	TOP
'to make a crashing sound'						

Interjections other than the negative and affirmative are exclamations. They do not follow the general intonation patterns as set out in II.5.3.: they all have a strong rising pitch accent on the final syllable. As -áyi is generally pronounced as a single syllable [áí] (II.4.4.) interjections with this final do not form an exception to this special accentuation rule.

CHAPTER VII

WORD-ORDER

VII.1. TRANSITIVE SENTENCES

VII.1.1. General comments

Some features of Bāgandji word-order are so closely linked with morphology that they have had to be discussed in the relevant sections: the word-order of the noun-phrase is discussed in III.8. that of pronoun subject and object in IV.5.14. and interrogative pronouns in IV.5.13. The topic of the present chapter is more general and refers to word-order within the whole sentence.

The basic word-order of Bāgandji is: SUBJECT VERB OBJECT but there is variation according to the type of sentence.

According to the class of words used in the main functions of subject and object there are nine different types of transitive sentences in Bāgandji:

	SUBJECT	OBJECT
1	Noun	Noun
2	Noun	Free Pronoun
3	Noun	Bound Pronoun
4	Free Pronoun	Noun
5	Free Pronoun	Free Pronoun
6	Free Pronoun	Bound Pronoun
7	Bound Pronoun	Noun
8	Bound Pronoun	Free Pronoun
9	Bound Pronoun	Bound Pronoun

Sentences of the types enclosed within lines do not occur in Guṇu.

## VII.1.2. Nominal subject and object

Sentences with nominal subject and object are relatively uncommon: in ordinary conversation either the subject or the object has already featured as the general topic of the discourse and is therefore referred to by a pronoun. But when such sentences do occur, there is one absolute rule: a nominal subject must precede a nominal object. The only exception to this rule that was ever heard was in the unusual and special circumstances, when the object was already anticipated by a bound object (59). The word-order in nominal subject and nominal object sentences is always S - V - O:

muni-muni - nuru      naba - dj      inu      nūḡḡu  
 police - DEM ERG    shut - PAST    this    woman  
 'The police locked this woman up' (650)

Other examples are for instance: (51), (55), (56) and (70).

There is, however, some latitude with regard to the positioning of the verb: adjectives functioning as nominal objects may precede the verb:

mūrba - ḡulu - nuru      widunja    ḡaḡma - dj    - ayi  
 child - two - DEM ERG    all      steal - PAST - 1 sg obj  
 'Those two children stole everything from me' (651)

Other examples are (5) and (60), but the use of the order S - O - V as opposed to S - V - O appears to be limited to sentences with an adjectival object.

As indicated (III.2.1.b.) in sentences where both the subject and object are nouns word-order is strict and fulfils the syntactic function of distinguishing between subject and object, as the ergative may remain unmarked.

## VII.1.3. Free Pronouns

There are two main features of word-order in sentences with free pronominal subject and/or-object (types 2, 4-6 and 8):

a) word-order is more flexible than in the nominal subject nominal object sentences:

b) there is considerable difference between Guḡu and Southern Bāḡandji (types 2,4, and 5 only are relevant).

a) Some aspects of word-order with free pronouns have been discussed in IV.5.14. The important feature is that word-order does not have any major syntactic significance with free pronouns, as there is full morphological distinction between the nuclear cases. The basic order

is still S - V - O, as in sentences of type 1, but O - V - S is permitted when the object is topicalised (IV.5.14.). Two different possibilities can be seen in one utterance:

gāru	nūngu - nuru	iniga	wadu - dji	- na,	duna	ḡayi	winba - yiga
<i>other</i>	<i>woman - DEM</i>	<i>ERG here</i>	<i>take - PAST - 3 sg obj,</i>	<i>then me</i>	<i>blame - 3 pl sub</i>		
S		V	O		O	V	-s

type 3

type 8

(the bound forms have been marked with small letters)

'Another woman here took it, and now they blame me' (652)

There is somewhat less latitude in sentences of types 4 and 5: in these there is a strong preference for the initial position of the free pronoun subject, as in:

ḡadu	waga - waga	- na	- ama
<i>I</i>	<i>ERG hit - hit</i>	<i>- PTC</i>	<i>- 2 sg obj</i>
S	V	-	o

'I'll smack you!'

(653)

When the subject is a demonstrative pronoun this word-order is 'obligatory': this is the one situation where the word-order with pronouns is as strict as it is with nouns. The reason for this is probably the close link of the demonstrative ergative with the nominal system (III.2.5.b.).

In all sentences of this type (4 and 5) involving free pronouns the subject is strongly topicalised. A typical example is:

inu	- rū	- dina	ḡuga	- dj	- ayi
<i>this</i>	<i>- ERG</i>	<i>- EMPH</i>	<i>give - PAST</i>	<i>- 1 sg obj</i>	

'He was the one who gave it to me'

(654)

Both Bandjigali and Bārundji have the same word-order as Southern Bāgandji, e.g.

ḡindu	balga - dji	iduna	ḡali
<i>you</i>	<i>kill - PAST</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>dog</i>
S	V	O	

'You killed this dog' (Bārundji)

(655)

#### b) Guḡu

Within the verbal word of Southern Bāgandji as shown previously (IV.5.2.) the order of elements is V - S - O. This is exactly the normal order of the free pronoun form in Guḡu. The situation with regard to the whole sentence of type 5 in Guḡu is thus parallel to

to what was found in the noun-phrase (III.8.2.): the normal order of the free form in Guṇu is identical with that of the bound forms in Southern Bāgandji.

ḡandji	wadu	- ru	ḡana	
leave	he	- ERG	me	
V	S		O	

'He left me' (656)

for further examples see III.8.2.

The Guṇu situation points towards the probability of the following historical development of normal word-order in Bāgandji in this type of sentence:

	'Proto-Bāgandji'	V S O	
Guṇu	V S O	Southern Bāgandji	V - s - o
	(type 5)		(type 9)

On the other hand the sequence S V O topicalises the pronominal subject in Guṇu, because it is the unusual word-order for a sentence involving pronominal subject and object; in Southern Bāgandji this sequence also topicalises the subject because a free as opposed to a bound form is used (IV.5.14.).

Thus when the pronoun subject is topicalised:

Proto Bāgandji	S V O
Guṇu	S V O
Southern Bāgandji	S V o

#### VII.1.4. Bound pronoun subject

##### a) Main clauses

Main clauses of type 7 and 8, involving a bound pronoun subject and a nominal or pronominal object show considerable liberty in word-order. The order may be: O V - s or V - s O

gadgilugu	ḡanda	- adu	
little	carry	- 1 <sup>sg</sup> Tr	
O	V	- s	

'I've (only) got a little bit' (657)

ḡuga	- dj	- indu	gadgilugu
give	- PAST	- 2 sg Tr	little
V	- s		O

'You (only) gave a little bit' (658)



## b) Internal structure of dependent clauses

In dependent clauses of types 7 and 8 the word-order is always O V - s:

m̄ara - ayi	n̄uga - la	- dji,	maḍa guniga waga - ŋgu	- adu
<i>hand</i> - 1 sg POS	<i>cut</i> - TOP	- PAST	<i>hard wood chop</i> - PERF	- 1 sg Tr
	O		V	- s

Dependent clause

*'I cut my hand (because) I chopped a hard piece of wood'* (659)

## c) Dependent verb-phrases

In a dependent verb-phrase as in a dependent clause the order is always O V:

bari - d	- āba	gargi - ma	- ri	wadū - la
<i>go</i> - FUT	- 1 sg Intr	<i>flagon</i> - 2 sg POS	- DAT	<i>get</i> - OPT
		O		V

Dependent VP

*'I'll go and get your flagon'* (660)

nandama waba	- d	- āba	bīburu	ḍayī - la
<i>again come out</i> - FUT	- 1 sg Intr		<i>ant eat</i> - OPT	
			O	V

Dependent VP

*'I, (the echidna) will come out again to eat ants'* (661)

The order differs only on rare occasions to lay emphasis on the object:

ŋaba ŋīnga - ana	m̄anda - la	ŋuma - ri
<i>I sit</i> - PTC	<i>wait</i> - OPT	<i>you</i> - DAT
	V	O

Dependent VP

*'I'm sitting (here) waiting for you'* (662)

The theory 'the higher the construction in an immediate constituent hierarchy, the freer the order of the constituent elements' (Greenberg: 1963, 1966), certainly holds for the stricter internal structure of the dependent verb phrase as opposed to the freer order of main clauses of types 7 and 8. But from the overall point of view, as shown in VII.1.2. this general principle is obscured by the syntactic function of word-order in Bāgandji nouns.

## VII.2. OTHER ASPECTS OF WORD-ORDER

## VII.2.1. Intransitive sentences

In intransitive sentences the word-order does not fulfil any syntactic function. There is considerable flexibility: the preferred word-order is S V as in:

<u>n</u> ūŋgu	bari	-	dji	
woman	go	-	PAST	
S			V	

*'The woman went away'* (663)

if the subject is simply a noun; but when it is noun + adjective, or demonstrative pronoun + noun the alternative word-order is preferred:

bari	-	dji	igi	<u>n</u> ūŋgu
go	-	PAST	this	woman

*'This woman went away'* (664)

## VII.2.2. Circumstantial phrases

The position of noun-phrases expressing general circumstances and marked by peripheral case markers represents the most variable aspect of Bāgandji word-order. People repeating a sentence will quite unconsciously change the position of phrases containing a noun in a peripheral case:

bana	-	ma	-	adu	gildu	gina	widu	-	mandi
make	-	Vb	-	1 <sup>sg</sup> Tr	stew	this	old man	-	PURP

(665)

and

gina	widu	-	mandi	bana	-	ma	-	adu	gildu
this	old man	-	PURP	make	-	Vb	-	1 <sup>sg</sup> Tr	stew

*'I'm making stew for this old man'* (666)

būŋga	-	na	ŋīŋga	-	adu
humpy	-	LOC	sit	-	3 <sup>sg</sup> sub

(667)

and

ŋīŋga	-	adu	būŋga	-	na
sit	-	3 <sup>sg</sup> sub	humpy	-	LOC

*'He's sitting in (his) humpy!'* (668)

Bāgandji word-order thus represents a complex scheme of:

- a) fixed word-order (as within a noun phrase)
- b) word-order fulfilling a syntactic function (as in transitive sentences of type 1)
- c) completely free order as in intransitive sentences and in the positioning of circumstantial phrases.

CHAPTER VIII

BĀGANDJI TEXTS

These texts are presented with an interlinear gloss and a free English translation follows. In those texts where there is a mixture of Bāgandji and English, the free translation has been inserted in square brackets so as to preserve continuity.

VIII.1. STRUCK BY LIGHTNING

The events described in this story occurred in the nineteen-thirties on Cuthero Station on the Darling. They centre on the belief held by the Bāgandji and the neighbouring Maljanaba that freshly cut green timber attracts lightning. Jack Johnson, though an expert at building canoes, made a mistake that time and cut a tree that was too young:

- (1) ga|bi            ŋugu    bami - ndu            wadada    ba|a - na,  
*Cool, clear water see - 2 sg Tr: mussels mud - LOC,*  
 wirga-wirga - d - aba            bāga - na.  
*swim - FUT - 1 sg Intr river - LOC.*
- (2) duna    bulduru    daga - adu            gumbadja,    diga - l - d -  
*Then canoe cut - 1 sg Tr big, return - TOP - FUT -*  
 āba            yuŋga    gīra    - ayi            - ri  
 l sg Intr    own        country - 1 sg POS - ALL
- (3) bali - mala    dag - ma - la - adu.            gila dag - ma - la  
*Good - ADV cut - Vb - TOP - 1 sg Tr. Not cut - Vb - TOP*  
 igi    yara - di!            bama - la - adu            balda - na.  
*this tree - EMPH! Swell - TOP - 3 sg sub bark - 3 sg POS.*
- (4) bami - y - adu            ŋinda - ulu  
*See - Gl - 1 sg Tr cloud - SG.*
- (5) duna    waga-waga - na - ana            māwulu    ŋāŋga - l' - d -  
*Then chop - PTC - 3 sg obj slowly fall - TOP - FUT -*  
 u;            gila ŋāŋga - adu            danja - adu.  
 3 sg sub;    not fall - 3 sg sub    fresh - 3 sg sub.

- (6) bindi balab - balab - ma - la - ŋgu - adu  
*Lightning flash* - Vb - TOP - PERF - 3<sub>sg</sub> sub  
 ŋūya - dj - āba, ŋāda magara - dji, daḷa, daḷa.  
*fear* - PAST - 1 sg Intr, *nothing rain* - PAST, *dry, dry*.
- (7) yaḍu - duru būba - na - ana yāmaṛi bami - ru.  
*Wind* - DEM ERG *blow* - PTC - 3 sg obj *this way see* - NF.  
 bara - dj - u yunūna bari - y - adu yāmaṛi  
*Travel* - PAST - 3 sg sub *that way go* - Gl - 3<sub>sg</sub> sub *this way*  
 diga - la - adu.  
*return* - TOP - 3<sub>sg</sub> sub.
- (8) 'wadumari bari - mba' ŋayi - diŋa gala - ru.  
*'That way go* - 2 sg Intr' *me* - EMPH *seek* - NF.
- (9) bari - dj - āba yunūna, ŋāŋga - l - dj - āba,  
*Go* - PAST - 1 sg Intr *thus, fall* - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr,  
 yanda - la - dj - āba;  
*cry out* - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr;  
 'windja - ndu wimbar' - gu - ayi?'  
*Where* - ABL *child* - PL - 1 sg POS'
- (10) gugirga gugirga gānja-gānja - l - āba gugirg' - ma -  
*Black black collapse* - TOP - 1 sg Intr *black* - Vb -  
 la - dj - āba.  
 TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr.
- (11) duna yaḍu yāmaṛi diga - la - adu, ŋayi - diŋa  
*Then wind this way return* - TOP - 3<sub>sg</sub> sub, *me* - EMPH  
 ŋayi yungāgu, nin-nin - ma - l - āba.  
*me alone, shake* - Vb - TOP - 1 sg Intr.
- (12) yuri - ba - adu balgu - balgu - ayi waba - dj -  
*Listen* - ASP - 3<sub>sg</sub> sub *word* - 1 sg POS *come* - PAST -  
 iga wīmbadja, waba - dj - iga.  
 3 pl sub *people, come* - PAST - 3 pl sub.

Aggie Johnson and Grannie Moisey, they'd come along in a buggy,  
 and Norman Lindsay and Dick Willow - he saved my life, mṭgiga,  
 ('clever man' lit. 'eye-man')

- (13) windjiga wāra - na - ana  
*Who pull* - PTC - 1 sg obj

The story then continues entirely in English...

#### Translation

- (1) *Just look at this cool clear water! There are mussels in the mud  
 (at the bottom). I'll swim in the river (and get some).*
- (2) *And then I'll cut out a big canoe and go home to my own place.*
- (3) *I'll cut it really well. 'Don't cut this particular tree' (I said  
 to myself) 'The bark is swelling'.*
- (4) *I just saw one single little cloud.*

- (5) *Then I chopped it out slowly (the bark for the canoe), so that it would come down; but it didn't come down, it was too fresh.*
- (6) *(Suddenly) lightning flashed. I was terrified. It didn't rain, it was dry, (completely) dry.*
- (7) *The wind blew it (the storm) this way, I could see it travelled over there, it went and turned back towards me.*
- (8) *'Go over there' (I said to myself). It was coming after me! (the lightning).*
- (9) *I went that way, and I fell, and cried out lamenting 'where are you, my children?'*
- (10) *(Everything was) black, black. I collapsed, I was blinded.*
- (11) *Then the wind came back this way again, (it was following) me, just me ... I was quivering.*
- (12) *He (the clever man) could hear my crying out over and over again. People came, they came.*  
 (in English) Aggie Johnson and Grannie Moisey, they'd come along in a buggy, and Norman Lindsay (all different language) and Dick Willow, He saved my life, he was a clever man m̄giga (an 'eye-man').
- (13) (in Bāgandji) *'Who is pulling me?'*
- (14) (in English) It was on Cuthero Station – you ask Grannie Moisey. I couldn't see, like this, laying down. I could feel him coming close; he hit me all over (my) face before he swallowed a coal, a red coal (he) swallowed down, just lay down then, by next morning I get up right.

#### VIII.2. LAMENT FOR PADDY BLACK

Paddy Black was a kind and good-humoured man who spent most of his later life around Wilcannia. His father was the famous Hero Black of Bourke, a Guṇu man of wide traditional learning: unfortunately the only fragment of his knowledge that now remains is the transcript of an interview with Marie Reay in 1945 (Reay MS). Paddy Black was a great friend of Jack Johnson who was very shaken by his death and frequently spoke about it.

- (1) *dunda* *nugu* *nagu-nagu* - *nja* - *d* - *uru*,  
*Then* *water* *mix in* - ASP - FUT - 3 sg Tr,  
*gila* *buga* - *ma* - *la* - *adu*.  
*not* *dead* - Vb - TOP- 3 sg sub.

- (2) *duna* *nggu* - umbula *wīdja* - d - uru - ana  
*Then water* - COM *drink* - FUT - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj  
*bali* - mala *ŋīnga* - adu.  
*good* - ADV *sit* - 3 sg sub.
- (3) *gila daldi* - *nggu* - ru - ayi *ŋadu gulba* - *nggu* -  
*Not listen* - PERF - 3 sg sub - 1 sg obj *I ERG speak* - PERF -  
 ana. *dunda yungāgu bari* - dj - u *wīdja-wīdja* - la,  
 3 sg obj. *Then alone go* - PAST - 3 sg sub *drink* - OPT,  
*yunūna buga* - ma - la - dj - u.  
*in that way dead* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub.
- (4) *gāndinja ŋīnga* - dj - u *mūrba* - baļu, *mali* - baļu  
*Long ago sit* - PAST - 3 sg sub *child* - *young*, *male* - *young*  
*ŋīnga* - dj - u *gānga* - *nggu* - adu  
*sit* - PAST - 3 sg sub *ride* - PERF - 3 sg sub  
*gānguru* - ayi.  
*horse* - 1 sg POS.
- (5) *baga* - la - *nggu* - adu, *yaļa* - *nggu* - ru - ŋga  
*Sing* - TOP - PERF - 3 sg sub, *surpass* - PERF - NF - 3 pl obj  
*gāndinja*.  
*long ago*.
- (6) *wayu* - r - āba.  
*Sorry* - G1 - 1 sg Intr.

#### Translation

- (1) *If he had always mixed in water (with his metho) he wouldn't be dead!*
- (2) *If he had drunk it with water he would still be (alive and) well.*
- (3) *But he didn't listen to me when I told him, he went off to drink on his own, that's why he died.*
- (4) *Long ago (when) he was a boy, a young fellow, he used to ride around on the same horse as me.*
- (5) *He could sing, he was better than anybody.*
- (6) *I'm sad.*

#### VIII.3. LAMENT FOR MRS JOHNSON

Though personal, the following account has been included, because Jack Johnson would have wanted it so. He frequently referred to the tragedy:

- (1) *ŋayi nūnggu* - da R. *gāndi* - ru - ana, *gāru mali* - na  
*My woman* - EMPH R. *take* - NF - 3 sg obj, *other man* - LOC  
*ŋīnga* - dj - u, *ŋayi ŋandji* - ru.  
*sit* - PAST - 3 sg sub, *me leave* - NF.

- (2) 'gila ŋayi - na ŋīng' - imba nandama, gāru maḷi wadu - ru.'  
 'Not me - LOC sit - 2 sg Intr again, other man take - NF.'  
 'gila nandama diga - d - āba mari!'  
 'not again return - FUT - 1 sg Intr indeed!'
- (3) nūnggu - ayi wanda - l' - dj - u būnga - na,  
 Woman - 1 sg POS burn - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub humpy - LOC,  
 Wanaaring, wīdja - l - dj - u, winma - dj - u  
 drink - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub, pull out - PAST - 3 sg sub  
 mugūla, būba - la - dj - u wanda - l - dj -  
 cigarette, blow - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub burn - TOP - PAST -  
 u būnga - na.  
 3 sg sub humpy - LOC.
- (4) gila wimbara - dja - adu, gāru wīmbadja bari - dji.  
 Not daughter - having - 3 sg sub, other man come - PAST.  
 balga gulba - adu 'yāmaṛi bara - la - mba!'  
 string speak - 3 sg sub 'this way travel - TOP - 2 sg Intr!'
- (5) gāru wīmbadja wadu - dj - u - ana dunda birna  
 Other man get - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj then bone  
 ŋīnga - dj - u ŋayi yuṅgāgu winba - y - iga!'  
 sit - PAST - 3 sg sub me alone blame - G1 - 3 pl sub!'

## Translation

- (1) My own wife, R. took her away, she lived with this other man, R., she left me.
- (2) (I said) 'You'll never stay with me again, since this other man has taken up with you'.  
 (She said) 'I have no intention of ever coming back to you!'
- (3) My wife got burnt in her hut at Wanaaring. She'd been drinking, she got out a cigarette and smoked it, and she got burnt in her humpy.
- (4) She didn't have any of the daughters there\*, somebody else came along. A telegram (was sent to me) saying 'Come here (at once)!'
- (5) Some other person had got her out - there were only bones. Now people are saying that (indirectly) it was my fault!

\*The Johnsons had three very beautiful daughters. They too were overtaken by tragedy: one was murdered in her early twenties, and the second daughter did not outlive her father by more than a month.

## VIII.4. EAGLEHAWK AND CROW: THE CROW'S REVENGE

This story was frequently referred to by Jack Johnson and was told by him in the present form in 1973.

- (1) dunmara, the storm-bird, is a bird that likes the wind,  
yāmaṛi yaga - la - adu yadu bana - mi - ru  
*this way call* - TOP - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub, *wind make* - Vb - NF,  
dunmara dulaga wimbadja, garganja bami - y - adu  
*storm-bird* *bad* *man*, *up* *see* - Gl - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub  
narga - ana bami - y - adu guldidja.  
*enemy* - 3 sg POS *see* - Gl - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub *butcher-bird*.  
 He's the butcher bird, he went with wāgu.
- (2) gumbadja baṇḍu wadu - du nāḍa - la - ana:  
*Big cod get* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub *fish* - TOP - PTC  
 'dayi - l' - d - āba yungāgu.', wiḍu - wiḍu - la - ana  
*eat* - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr *on my own*, *big* - *big* - TOP - PTC  
wiḍu - wiḍu - du - ana yungāgu.'  
*big* - *big* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *on my own*.'
- (3) ṅugu wadu - du 'damba - du - ana dulbaga  
*Water get* - 3<sup>sg</sup> Tr 'dig - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *deep trench*  
damba - adu dulbaga gila - adu, gumbadja ṅinga -  
*dig* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr *deep trench grow* - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub, *big*, *sit* -  
adu ṅayi - na.  
 3<sup>sg</sup> sub *me* - LOC.
- (4) wārigu yuna gaṇma - ru, wārigu mūma - ru - ana baṇḍu.  
*Eaglehawk that steal* - NF, *eaglehawk pick-up* - NF - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *cod*.
- (5) 'windjiga wadu - dj - iga - ayi ina baṇḍu - ayi  
 'Who take - PAST - 3<sup>pl</sup> sub - 1<sup>sg</sup> obj *this cod* - 1<sup>sg</sup> POS  
gaṇma - dj - iga - ayi?' galguru wadu - du  
*steal* - PAST - 3<sup>pl</sup> sub - 1<sup>sg</sup> obj?' *Spear take* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr  
 'galguru - na banda - du - ana wārigu, maljiḷa.'  
 'Spear - INST *spear* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *eaglehawk*, *black hawk*.'
- (6) 'gila wadu - d - ur' - ayi, mundjala baṇḍu - na,  
 'Not take - FUT - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub - 1<sup>sg</sup> obj, *gut cod* - GEN,  
dangunja - ana namu - ana, buḷu - ana  
*liver* - 3<sup>sg</sup> POS *intestine* - 3<sup>sg</sup> POS, *heart* - 3<sup>sg</sup> POS  
balīra - mari; yunūna ṅūwa - la - ana dayi - du -  
*good* - *very*; *therefore*, *cook* - TOP - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *eat* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr -  
 ana nūga - du - ana yungāgu ṅinga - d - āba  
 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *cut* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr - 3<sup>sg</sup> obj *alone sit* - FUT - 1<sup>sg</sup> Intr  
dayi - l' - d - āba yungāgu balīra - mari.'  
*eat* - TOP - FUT - 1<sup>sg</sup> Intr *alone good* - *very*.'  
diga - d - āba dunda yabara - ayi - ri,  
*Return* - FUT - 1<sup>sg</sup> Intr *then camp* - 1<sup>sg</sup> POS - ALL,  
yungga yabara - ayi - ri wimbadja - būnga - ri;  
*own camp* - 1<sup>sg</sup> POS - ALL, *man* - *hut* - ALL;  
dayi - du yungāgu gaṇara.  
*eat* - 1<sup>sg</sup> Tr *alone there*.



- (7) igi wāgu diga - la - dji gala - la widi - ru - ana  
*This crow return - TOP - PAST seek - OPT peer - NF - 3 sg obj*  
 dulbaga 'windja - ndu bandu - ayi?'  
*trench 'where - ABL cod' - 1 sg POS?'*
- (8) ḡāda - baḡdu - dja gaba - dj - u - ana,  
*Nothing - cod' - having follow - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj,*  
 bami - dj - u dina - yaba, wīmbadj' - 'ūnga - ri,  
*see - PAST - 3 sg sub foot - track, man - humpy - ALL,*  
 bami - ru birna - birna yabara - ndu - ri, 'gḡgi idu  
*see - NF bone - bone camp - 3 sg POS - ALL, 'here this*  
 wīmbadja gaḡma - dj - u - ayi' inu baḡdu.'  
*man steal - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj this cod.'*
- (9) widi - ru - ana yabara - na wīmbadj' - 'ūnga - na  
*Peer - NF - 3 sg obj camp - LOC man - humpy - LOC*  
 ḡima - ḡgu - adu bāndi - la dayi - ḡgu - ru baḡdu,  
*lie - PERF - 3 sg sub snore - OPT eat - PERF - NF cod,*  
 yunūna banda - dj - u - ana ḡima - ḡgu - adu  
*therefore spear - PAST - 3 sg sub - 3 sg obj lie - PERF - 3 sg sub*  
 wiḡu - wiḡu ḡima - dj - u  
*big - big lie - PAST - 3 sg sub*  
 - couldn't get up, too full with that fish'.
- (10) 'bulduru - ayi yuna bami - ru, ḡindu - da wadu - dji  
*'Canoe - 1 sg POS that see - NF, you ERG - EMPH get - PAST*  
 ḡina baḡdu - ayi banda - du - uma galguru - ayi  
*this cod' - 1 sg POS spear - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj spear - 1 sg POS*  
 - na' wāgu - nuru wadu - dji - na 'gila ḡayi yaḡa  
*- INST' crow - DEM ERG get - PAST - 3 sg obj 'not me cheat*  
 - ndu! galguru - na banda - du - uma gaḡara ḡim'  
*- 2 sg Tr! Spear - INST spear - 1 sg Tr - 2 sg obj there lie*  
 - imba! yaḡa - dj - indu - ayi  
*- 2 sg Intr! Beat - PAST - 2 sg Tr - 1 sg obj*  
 baḡdu - ayi! duna ibi - dj - u, baḡi - ru  
*cod' - 1 sg POS! Then put down - PAST - 3 sg sub, sing - NF*  
 buga - ma - na.  
*dead - Vb - 3 sg obj.*
- (11) dina - yaba, gadjilugu dina, gumbadja dina ḡulardji - ḡulardji  
*Foot - track, small foot, big foot many - many*  
 dina ḡarbi - ru yuḡga - mi - ru.  
*foot make - NF own - Vb - NF.*
- (12) wana, ḡādi - ru wana, 'bari - dj - u  
*Boomerang, throw - NF boomerang, 'go - PAST - 3 sg sub*  
 diga - la - dj - u ḡayi - ri'  
*return - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub me - ALL!'*
- (13) wāgu baḡga - adu baḡa - dji buga - ma - na, baḡdu - na  
*Crow sneak - 3 sg sub sing - PAST dead - Vb - 3 sg obj cod' - 3 sg POS*  
 gaḡmi - ru; bari - dj - u igi wāgu bari - dj - u  
*steal - NF; go - PAST - 3 sg sub this crow go - PAST - 3 sg sub*

gala - la, bari - dj - u                      gala - la bami - ru nūngu  
 seek - OPT go - PAST - 3 sg sub seek - OPT see - NF wōman  
 - ŋulu wīmbadja - nūngu - ŋulu. nūrali wāgu gāndinja.  
 - D1 man - wōman - D1. Ancestor crow long ago.

- (14) nūrali gumbadja mada māndi - na bari - ŋgu - adu  
 Ancestor great old man ground - LOC walk - PERF - 3 sg sub  
 bana - mi - ru dudūludja, dīri - nuru bana - mi - ru bāga.  
 make - Vb - NF hills, mudlark - DEM ERG make - Vb - NF river.

#### Translation

- (1) *The storm-bird is a bird that likes the wind, it calls out hither; it created the wind. The storm-bird was a bad man, he watched his enemy, he watched the guldidja, that was the butcher bird. He went with the crow.*
- (2) *He (the crow) had got a big cod when he was fishing. 'I shall eat it all on my own' (he said) 'I'll make it grow bigger, raising it on my own.'*
- (3) *He got some water: 'I'll dig a deep trench, and the cod will grow, it will stay with me when it is truly big.'*
- (4) *The eaglehawk stole it, the eaglehawk picked up (this fish).*
- (5) *(The crow said): 'Who has taken my fish away from me? Who has robbed me?' He got his spear (saying): 'I'll spear that eaglehawk, and the black hawk!'*
- (6) *(The eaglehawk, gutting the fish said): 'No one is going to take it away from me now. This cod has a good gut, its liver, intestines and heart are very good too. I'll cook it and cut it up and sit here on my own and eat it all by myself, that will be good! I'll go back to my own camp, to my camp, my humpy, and I'll eat it there, all on my own.'*
- (7) *The crow came back and peered and looked into the trench: 'Where is my cod?'*
- (8) *The crow, deprived of his cod, followed the eaglehawk, he saw the tracks (leading to) the humpy.*
- (9) *He peered into the camp, into the humpy. The eaglehawk was lying there, snoring, because he had eaten the fish, that's why the crow killed him, he was lying there, bloated. He couldn't get up, he was too full with that fish!'*
- (10) *'You saw my canoe (when I went away in it) and you took my cod. I'll pierce you with my spear' (saying this) the crow picked up his spear: 'You won't get the better of me, I'll pierce you with*

*my spear as you lie there! You cheated me over my fish!' Then he put the spear down and sang the eaglehawk so that he died.*

- (11) *He made footprints, large and small, he made a huge number of footprints. He made them on his own (so that people would think a whole mob had killed that eaglehawk).*
- (12) *He threw his boomerang (to make more marks) and he said 'It goes, and it comes back again to me.'*
- (13) *The crow sneaked away. He had sung the eaglehawk, because he had stolen the fish. He went, the crow, to look, to search (for another big fish), that's when he saw two women. He was the Ancestral Crow, long ago.*
- (14) *He was a great old man, an ancestor that walked on this earth and created the hill country; the mudlark created the Darling River.*

#### VIII.5.1. THE EVIL CROW, SOUTHERN BĀGANDJI VERSION.

The story of the crow, as told by Jack Johnson is very similar to other western New South Wales versions (Hercus 1974 and Blow 1976).

- (1) gadunja wīdi wadu - ŋgu - adulu, mūrba - ŋulu - uduna  
*Crayfish shrimp get - PERF - 2<sup>d</sup> dl sub, child - D1 - 3 dl POS*  
 gadjilugu yanda - nja - dj - ūlu walbiri - na.  
*little cry - ASP - PAST - 3 dl sub bank - LOC.*
- (2) wāgu daldi - dji mūrba - ŋulu - udana yāmari  
*Crow hear - PAST child - D1 - 3 dl POS this way*  
 yanda - nja - ana.  
*cry - ASP - PTC.*
- (3) dunda baljada ŋīnga - dji baljada bami - la - ŋga - ana - ri.  
*Then a while sit - PAST a while look - TOP - ASP - 3 sg obj - DAT.*
- (4) duna dīngi - dji gīgi wāgu, wadu - ru inu mūrba - ŋulu  
*Then rise - PAST this Crow, take - NF that child - D1*  
 waŋanja banma - mi - ru, wilub - mi - ru inu mūrba - ŋulu.  
*nest make - Vb - NF, lift up - Vb - NF that child - D1.*
- (5) ŋīnga - dj - u bagī - la, bagi - nja gina baŋara - yara  
*Sit - PAST - 3 sg sub sing - OPT, sing - ASP that gum - tree*  
 gadjilugu baŋara - yara bagi - nji - rū - dīga gila - mba  
*small gum - tree sing - ASP - NF - EMPH grow - 2 sg Intr*  
 gumbadja gila - ŋgu - adu, gila - bani - ŋgu - adu  
*big grow - PERF - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub, grow - ASP - PERF - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub*  
 ini yara baŋara - yara - di.  
*this tree gum - tree - EMPH.*
- (6) gumbadja yaldi yara - du ŋīnga - dj - u.  
*Big long tree - EMPH sit - PAST - 3 sg sub.*

- (7) *dunda dingi* - dj - u                    *dalba* - dj - u                    *bam̄* - la  
*Then rise* - PAST - 3 sg sub *stand* - PAST - 3 sg sub *see* - OPT  
*gumbaga baljada ŋinga* - ana *nāḍa* - la - ana.  
*woman a while sit* - PTC *fish* - TOP - PTC.
- (8) *dunda bari* - dj - u                    *igi wāgu, nūrali,*  
*Then go* - PAST - 3 sg sub *this Crow Ancestor,*  
*dirina* - dj - u.  
*boast* - PAST - 3 sg sub.
- (9) *ḡamag'* - ḡulu - udana    *waba* - dji,    *bāga* - walbiri - na  
*Mother* - D1            3 dl POS *come up* - PAST, *river* - bank - LOC  
*gala* - la    *ḡiguna mūrba* - ḡulu - udana - ri.  
*seek* - OPT *here child* - D1 - 3 dl POS - DAT.
- (10) 'windjandu *mūrba* - alina,    *widuga?*  
*'Whereabouts child* - 1 dl POS, *sister?'*
- (11) *waḡanja* - na: 'windja ḡamag' - ḡul' - alina?  
*Nest* - LOC: 'where mother - D1 - 1 dl POS?'
- (12) *waba* - dj - ūlu                    *bina* - la    *ḡāḡga* - nja - la - ḡgu -  
*Come* - PAST - 3 dl sub *climb* - OPT *fall* - ASP - TOP - PERF-  
*ulu* - widulinja.  
 3 dl sub - pair of sisters.
- (13) *waba* - dj - iga                    *ḡūḷa* - ḡuḷardji    *wṽmbadja, wārigu,*  
*Come* - PAST - 3 pl sub *many* - many    *men, eaglehawk,*  
*buḷadja, dilbu, ḡadadja, ḡāḡga* - la - ḡgu - 'ga    *widunja.*  
*pelican, wader, black shag, fall* - TOP - PERF - 3 pl sub *all.*
- (14) *buḷadja bina* - la - ḡgu 'yaba-yaba - la - mba  
*Pelican climb* - TOP - PERF 'slip - TOP - 2 sg Intr  
*ḡāḡga* - la - mba                    *baḡara* - yara - undu.'  
*fall* - TOP - 2 sg Intr *gum* - tree - ABL'
- (15) 'gila *yaldi milinja* - ayi!!                    *yarandjṽ* - diḡa *wadū* - la!  
 'Not long claw - 1 sg POS'    *possum* - EMPH get - OPT.
- (16) *dudūlu bana* - mi - ru    *yabara* - mandi,    'gila *gala* - d - iga  
*Hill make* - -                    *camp* - grōund, 'not find - 3 pl sub  
 - ayi                    *dudūla ḡarba* - mi - ru.'  
 - 1 sg obj *hill create* - Vb - NF.'  
 - a bad fellow this crow one time!
- (17) *ḡigūlu nūḡgu* - ḡulu *bami* - dji    *ḡamalinja,*  
*This dl woman* - D1    *see* - PAST *mother and child,*  
*gulba* - dj - ūlu                    *ḡiḡa gumbaga bilda.*  
*speak* - PAST - 3 dl sub *this woman possum.*
- (18) 'ḡandara *wadu* - d - ūbu                    *mūrba* - alina    *yanda* - nja - la -  
 'Later get - FUT - 3 dl sub *child* - 1 dl POS *cry* - ASP - TOP -  
 ana *garganja* - na    *waḡanja* - na    *wāgu* - nuru    *bagi* - nja  
 PTC *above* - LOC *nest* - LOC *crow* - DEM ERG *sing* - ASP  
*igi baḡara* - yara.'  
*this gum* - tree.'

- (19) 'ḡadu gulba - adu - na wimbara - ayi mali - balu  
'I ERG speak - 1 sg Tr - 3 sg obj son - 1 sg POS male - child  
dunga - na wadu - la - d - ūluna.'  
night - LOC get - TOP - FUT - 3 dl obj.'
- (20) nūngu ḡidja yanda - nja 'windjara wimbara - alina, widuga?'  
Woman one cry - ASP 'where son - 1 dl POS, sister?'
- (21) 'yarandji - ḡulu inu - ru wadu - ana duna ḡinu mūrba - ḡul' -  
Possum - D1 this - ERG get - PTC then this child - D1 -  
alina wiḡuga, galjbū - diḡa bami - ndu mūrba - ḡul' -  
1 dl POS sister, soon - EMPH see - 2 sg Tr child - D1 -  
alina mali - balu - ḡulu.  
1 dl POS male - child - D1.
- (22) dangi - d - ali bami - d - ali mūrba - ḡul' -  
Rejoice - FUT - 1 dl sub see - FUT - 1 dl sub child - D1 -  
alina, wiḡuga, ḡila yanda - l - d - imba, duna  
1 dl POS sister, not cry - TOP - FUT - 2 sg Intr, then  
ḡiḡga - d - ali yungāgu yurī - la; dangi - l' -  
sit - FUT - 1 dl sub alone listen - OPT; rejoice - TOP -  
ali ḡūwa - l' - d - ali bali - balīra manu  
1 dl sub cook - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub good - good food  
yabara - na wīmbadja - būḡga - na.  
camp - LOC man - hut - LOC.
- (23) nūgugu bana - mi - ru gadjilugu banda - adu bagi - nja ḡina  
Stick make - Vb - NF small pierce - 3 sg sub sing - ASP this
- (24) nūgugu bina - la - dj - u widunja bāndi - la - dji,  
Stick climb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub all snore - TOP - PAST,  
bumba - dj - iga bāndi - la - dj - iga, idu  
sleep - PAST - 3 pl sub snore - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub this  
bina - la - dj - u, bina - la - dj - u  
climb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub, climb - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub  
wadu - dji - na mūrba - ḡulu, daḡa - na ibi - ru ḡidja  
get - PAST - 3 sg obj child - D1, back - LOC put - NF one  
ḡāru ibi - ru ḡarḡa - na.  
other put - NF shoulder - LOC.
- (25) dunda māwulu bilga - dji wadu - rū - diḡa inu - ru 'ḡila  
Then slowly descend - PAST get - NF - EMPH this - ERG not  
yaga - nja - la - d - ubu ḡaba bari - d - āba,  
call - ASP - TOP - FUT-2 dl sub I go - FUT - 1 sg Intr,  
dibinj - dibinj - ma - la - ana ḡuniga - ayi.'  
spark - spark - Vb - TOP - PTC fire - 1 sg POS.'
- (26) wadara ḡiḡga - ali garabira - na yabara - alina  
There sit - 1 dl sub far away - LOC camp - 1 dl POS  
yaga - nja - l - d - ubu ḡuba - wa 'windjara  
call - ASP - TOP - FUT - 2 dl sub you dl - EMPH 'where  
ḡamag' - ḡul' - alina?' ḡamag' - ubana mānda - la  
mother - D1 - 1 dl POS?' mother - 2 dl POS wait - OPT  
ḡiḡga - adulu bamī - na ina ḡuniga.  
sit - 3 dl sub see - PTC this fire.

- (27) The mother possum stopped back, see, his son went up and got these two. He left the fire-stick behind: he didn't like to sing going around that tree, they might have killed him there...
- (28) *duna dingi - la - dj - ūlu dalba - dj - ūlu*  
*Then rise - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub stand - PAST - 3 dl sub*  
 'windjara ŋamag' - ŋul' - alina, maŋdi - na gulba - ali  
 'where mother - Dl - 1 dl POS, ground - LOC speak - 1 dl sub  
 gila waŋanja - na gulba - ra - dj - ali'.  
 not nest - LOC speak - TOP - PAST - 1 dl sub'.
- (29) *gāndi - ru - ūluna inaga bilda - wimbadja - būnga - ri,*  
*Carry - NF - 3 dl obj there possum - man - humpy - ALL,*  
*wadu - ru - ūluna mugi - ru - ūluna yabara - na.*  
*get - NF - 3 dl obj hide - NF - 3 dl obj camp - LOC.*
- (30) *yugu bādja - dji dingi - dj - ūlu ŋamag' - ŋul' - udana.*  
*Sun shine - PAST rise - PAST - 3 dl sub mother - Dl - 3 dl POS.*  
*yanda - nja - la bara - dj - ulu, dingi - dj - iga*  
*Cry - ASP - OPT travel - PAST - 3 dl sub, rise - PAST - 3 pl sub*  
*bami - ru ŋāda igi, bari - dji igi mūrba - ŋulu ida - undu*  
*see - NF nothing here, go - PAST this child - Dl this - ABL*  
*waŋanja - ndu.*  
*nest - ABL.*
- (31) *gila gila wānda - ŋgu - 'ga, gila bami - dji igi yaba*  
*Not not know - PERF - 3 pl sub, not see - PAST this track*  
*bina - dji, gila wānda - dj - iga bumba - dj - iga*  
*climb - PAST, not know - PAST - 3 pl sub, sleep - PAST - 3 pl sub*  
*bāndī - la, gāru - - nuru wadu - dji.*  
*snore - OPT, other - DEM ERG take - PAST.*
- (32) *dunda banda - dj - iga ina yara bilba-bilba - ana.*  
*Then pierce - PAST - 3 pl sub this tree strip bark - PTC.*  
 - they got wild with this tree and knocked its bark off.
- (33) *dingi - dj - ūlu, 'windjara ŋamag' - alina maŋdi - na*  
*Rise - PAST - 3 dl sub, 'where mother - 1 dl POS, ground - LOC*  
*dalba - ali, gila waŋanja - na.'*  
*stand - 1 dl sub, not nest - LOC.'*
- (34) *ŋamag' - ŋul' - udana yanda - nja - ana 'mūrba - ŋul' - alina*  
*Mother - Dl - 3 dl POS cry - ASP - PTC 'child - Dl - 1 dl POS*  
*mūrba - ŋul' - alina, naŋunja ŋubu bilga - dji?'*  
*child - Dl - 1 dl POS, how you two get down - PAST*  
*'wimbadja gāndi - dj - alina, gāndi - rū - diŋa,*  
*'Man carry - PAST - 1 dl obj, carry - NF - EMPH*  
*dibi - dibi - nja igi guniga.'*  
*light - light - ASP this fire.'*
- (35) *wāgu gala - y - iga - na, gila wadu - dj - iga -*  
*Crow seek - G1 - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj, not get - PAST - 3 pl sub -*  
*ana. 'baljaḍa barba - adu!'*  
*3 sg obj. soon come - 3 sg sub!'*

- (36) 'windja - mari bari - dj - u?' wada - mari  
 'Where - ALL go - PAST - 3 sg sub?' 'That - ALL  
 bari - dj - u garima-garima - na, dudulu - na'.  
 go - PAST - 3 sg sub mallee - LOC, sandhill - LOC'.
- (37) dunga - na wāgu diga - la - dji bagi - nji - ru gini yara:  
 Night - LOC crow return - TOP - PAST sing - ASP - NF this tree:  
 gadjilugu ina banara - yara, duna waṅanja bami - ru, ṅāda -  
 small this gum - tree, then nest see - NF, nothing -  
 mūrba - adu!  
 child - 3 sg sub!
- (38) manda - la - y - iga wārigu, maljila dunga - na  
 Wait - TOP - G1 - 3 pl sub eaglehawk, black kite night - LOC  
 manda - la - ana bundi - ambala manda - ana, daḍu waga - na -  
 wait - TOP - PTC waddy - COM wait - PTC, head hit - PTC -  
 ana, galguru - na - banda - na - ana  
 3 sg obj, spear - INST - spear - PTC - 3 sg obj  
 dunga - nja - na dumbaga - na  
 bury - ASP - 3 sg obj hole - LOC.
- (39) ṅada - y - iga guniga, māṅba - ana ṅuṅi - ru,  
 Light - G1 - 3 pl sub fire, flesh - 3 sg POS - scorch,  
 bulgi - na bundu - la - ana mīgi - na bādjirga,  
 feather - 3 sg POS smoke - TOP - PTC eye - 3 sg POS white,  
 gugirga.  
 black.

#### Translation

- (1) *The two (wading-bird women) were getting crayfish and shrimp, their two small babies were (lying) crying on the river-bank.*
- (2) *The crow heard their two babies crying over here.*
- (3) *Then he sat for a while to have a good look at them.*
- (4) *Then this crow got up, he took the two babies, and when he had made a nest he lifted the two babies into it.*
- (5) *He sat there to sing (with magic), he sang this small gum tree saying 'grow big', and it grew, it grew and it went on growing this gum-tree.*
- (6) *It became a big, tall tree.*
- (7) *Then he got up and stood there for a while and watched the two women fishing.*
- (8) *Then he went away this crow, the ancestral crow; he was cheeky.*
- (9) *The two mothers came up along the river-bank to look for their two children.*
- (10) *'Where are our two children, sister?'*

- (11) *In the nest (the little ones were calling): 'Where are our two mothers?'*
- (12) *The two sisters came up (to the tree, trying) to climb up but they fell.*
- (13) *Very many men came, the eaglehawk, the pelican, wading birds, black shag - they all (tried and) fell down.*
- (14) *The pelican was climbing up (and the others said to him): 'you'll slip and you'll fall down from this gum-tree!'*
- (15) *(He said) 'My claws are not long enough! A tree-animal, a possum should get them down!'*
- (16) *He (the crow) made his camp in the hills: 'They won't find me here, I created these hills.' He was a bad fellow this crow one time!*
- (17) *The two wading-bird women saw a pair of possums, mother and child. They said to the mother possum:*
- (18) *'Will you two later on get our two children, crying high up there in a nest? The crow has sung this tree.'*
- (19) *(The mother possum said:) 'I shall ask my child, my son. He will get them both down in the night.'*
- (20) *One of the two wading-bird women went on crying: 'Where is my son, sister?'*
- (21) *(The sister said:) 'The two possums will get our children, sister. Soon you shall see our children, our two boys.'*
- (22) *'We two will be happy, we will see our two children, sister, don't cry, we will sit here on our own, listening. We'll be happy and we'll cook good food in our camp, in our humpy.'*
- (23) *He (the young possum) got ready a small stick, he fixed it (in the ground) and sang this stick.*
- (24) *He climbed up on this stick while they were asleep, they were all snoring. He climbed, he climbed up and he got the two children. He put one on his back and one on his shoulder.*
- (25) *Then he came down slowly, having got (the two children and he said) 'don't you two call out, I'm going and my fire-stick is giving out sparks.'*
- (26) *We two (my mother and I) are living a long way off in our camp, and you two will yell 'where are our two mothers?' Your two mothers are sitting waiting and looking at this fire (from the fire-stick).*



- (27) *The mother possum stopped back, see, her son went up and got these two. He left his fire-stick behind (to burn down that stick by which he had climbed up): he didn't like to sing (it small again) going around that tree, they might have killed him there...*
- (28) *Then they stood up — they stood there crying: 'Where are our two mothers? We are speaking down here on the ground, we are not talking from the nest!'*
- (29) *The possum-man carried them to his humpy, he took them, he hid them in his camp.*
- (30) *(Next morning) the sun shone, their two mothers got up. They walked about, crying. They (all) got up and saw that there was nothing, the two babies had gone from the nest.*
- (31) *They did not know (what had happened), they did not see the track where he had climbed up (the stick by means of which he had climbed up was burnt). They didn't know anything because they had been sleeping, snoring, when that other one (the possum) took (the children) away.*
- (32) *Then they struck this tree with spears and stripped its bark — they got wild with this tree and knocked its bark off.*
- (33) *The two children got up: 'Where are our two mothers? We are standing on the ground not in the nest!'*
- (34) *The two mothers cried out again and again 'Oh our two little ones, our two little ones! How did you two get down?' 'A man carried us, he carried us and lit this fire.'*
- (35) *They looked for the crow, but could not find him. 'He will be back before long' (they said).*
- (36) *'Where did he go?' 'He went away into the mallee scrub, into the hills'.*
- (37) *At night the crow came back. He sang this gum-tree and it became small again; he looked in the nest, but there were no children in it!*
- (38) *They were waiting for him with their waddies, the eaglehawk and the black kite, they hit him on the head, they speared him and they buried him in a deep hole.*
- (39) *They lit a fire, his flesh was scorched and his feathers began to smoke. (And so) his eye is white and he is black.*

## VIII.5.2. THE EVIL CROW, GUNU VERSION

This version of the story was told by Grannie Moisey in English and Guṇu: the free translation of this text immediately follows the gloss line as there is so much English.

ṇinara dilbu                      baṛaga  
Here    wading-bird woman  
'Once there were some wading bird women'

- well they're supposed to have been women, they had little babies -

waṇanja - na baḷu - ṇulu  
nest    - LOC child - D1  
'The two babies were in a nest'

dilbu                      - ṇulu wiḍugalinja  
Wading bird - D1    pair of sisters  
'These two wading birds were sisters'

They used to go away, you know,

wīdi    - ri wadū - la,    gungulu - ri wadū - la.  
shrimp - DAT get - OPT, crayfish - DAT get - OPT.  
'to get shrimp and to get crayfish'.

wāgu wīmbadja gali.  
Crow man                      only.  
'The crow man was on his own'

dada baṛaga wanga - la gana,    bībi nīra - ṇana dundji - nja bībi!  
Young woman lift up - TOP FUT this, baby cry - ASP suckle - ASP baby!  
'Younger sister, lift him up, your baby is crying all the time,  
give him a drink!'

The youngest girl comes up for her baby and he sings out -

'wiḍu baṛaga bībi nīra - ṇana!  
'Old woman baby cry - ASP!'  
'Older sister, your baby is crying all the time!'

He was a cruel blackfellow!

And the older sister comes up to suckle her baby. He got wild, because they both come home then and he was supposed to blow this tree and make it grow all shapes and the kids way up there! Well then, they had to go there (to their camp) and tell them -

'ah bībi, wāgu - ru    бага - nja igina    yara!  
'ah babies, crow - ERG sing - ASP this ACC tree!  
'Oh, our babies! The crow is singing this tree!'

Eaglehawk and all! 'Them up there baḷu 'child', we can't get 'm down, can't wadu 'get'.

Well they had to pay this blackfellow (the crow), this same fellow with one of the girls, see, well then he went up and got those kids down, the same fellow. These others then his brothers and that they told 'm: 'what did you do that for?'

'mīna - mandi baga - nja igina balu - ŋulu?  
'Whāt - PURP sing - ASP this ACC child - D1?

mina - mandi inaga wanga - di windu inaga yara - na?  
whāt - PURP here lift - ASP PAST you ERG here tree - LOC?'

'What for did you sing those two children here?

What for did you lift them up into the tree here?'

And when he got them down to the people, the two dilbus hold 'm then.

'naḡa diga - la wadu ina wana balu - ŋulu.'  
'Down return - TOP get here PAST 3 sg obj\* child - D1'

'He is coming down and he has brought here the two children!'

They went to the big camp then, to his brothers' camp. All wāgu people, and when he got there to the main camp, they put 'm in a grass humpy and burnt 'm. That's why he's got this white eye.

mīgi wanda - di - di  
eye burn - ASP - EMPH

'His eye burns all the time'

duḷaga daḡu - dja  
bad head - having

'He's a wicked fellow.'

\*The use of the singular wana is unexpected: it could possibly be interpreted as a collective, as inuru in VIII.5.1.(21).

#### VIII.6. THE MOON AND HIS NEPHEW

An English version of this story was recorded by J. Beckett from George Dutton (Beckett, personal communication. For a very similar Madimadi version see Hercus 1969:186). Jack Johnson's rendering of the legend is based on what he heard from his grandfather at Pooncarle.

(1) bādjuga galdi dayi - ŋgu - adu.  
Moon emu eat - PERF - 3 sg sub.

gumbadja maḷi gulba - dji iduna gadjilugu maḷi - balu:  
Big man speak - PAST this small man - child:

ŋimba gaḡara bari - na, gila ŋūga - du - uma, dunda  
You there go - PTC, not give - I sg Tr - 2 sg obj, then

gagala dayi - l - ba. gāndi - du - uma  
wild banana eat - TOP - ASP. Take - I sg Tr - 2 sg obj

bīdjaḷa - ri gaḡma - la.  
grub - DAT get - OPT.

- (2) (The nephew speaks:) *inaga yara, gurguru, banara yara - baļu*  
*Here tree, box, gum tree - young*
- gadgilugu: *wagaga baļu gaṅm' - indu ṅaba ṅīnga - na gaṅara,*  
*small: axe little take - 2 sg Tr I sit - PTC here,*
- bina - r - imba ṅāḍa - ndu - ṅga dunda mūma -*  
*climb - G1 - 2 sg Intr throw - 2 sg Tr - 3 pl obj then pick up -*
- na - ṅga, mūma - du - ṅga ḍayi - l - d -*  
 PTC - 3 pl obj, *pick up - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj eat - TOP - FUT -*
- ali yungāgu.*  
 1 dl sub *alone.*
- (3) *'ḍayi - l - d - āba ṅaba yungāgu, gila ṅūga - dj -*  
*'Eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr I alone, not give - PAST -*
- uḍa - ayi, yalba - du - ṅga, dunda wadu -*  
 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj, *count - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj, then get -*
- la - ana baḍi bīdjaḷa.'*  
 TOP - PTC *grub witchetty.'*
- (4) *'ṅāḍa - du - ṅga, ṅindu mūma-mūma - la - ana*  
*'Throw - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj, you pick up - TOP - PTC*
- yalba - la. бага - la - mba yungāgu! bīdyaḷa wadu -*  
*count - OPT. Sing - TOP - 2 sg Intr alone! Grub get -*
- la - ndu gaṅaga!'*  
 TOP - 2 sg Tr *there!'*
- (5) - While he was busy up there, the boy made out he was counting them, but he was really singing this tree right up to the top!
- 'mūma-mūma - du - ṅga yalba - la!'*  
*'Pick up - 1 sg Tr - 3 pl obj count - OPT!'*
- (6) *'ḍayi - l - d - āba yungāgu', 'gila ṅūga - dj -*  
*'Eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr alone 'not give - PAST-*
- uḍa - ayi galḍi galjbundi gila ṅūga-ṅūga - dj -*  
 1 sg obj - 1 sg obj *emu this morning not give - PAST -*
- uḍa - ayi galḍi wandja - nja - la minggu-minggu*  
 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj *emu cook - ASP - OPT mean*
- ḍayi - r - uḍa, nūngu - ṅulu' gāru baļu - du.*  
*eat - G1 - 2 pl sub, woman - D1' other child - 3 sg sub.*
- (7) *'ṅimba ḍaṅga - na ṅima - ana, gundu - maḍiri!'* *nūngu - ṅulu*  
*'You middle - LOC lie - PTC, guts - vast!'* *Woman - D1*
- ṅīnga - dj - ūlu, ṅīnga - ṅgu - ūlu manda - la*  
*sit - PAST - 3 dl sub, sit - PERF - 3 dl sub wait - OPT*
- ṅīnga - ṅgu - ulu maṅḍi - na wīmbadj' - būnga - na.*  
*sit - PERF - 3 dl sub grōund - LOC man - humpy - LOC.*
- (8) *'gāru wimbara ṅaba, bagi - ṅgu - adu ina yara' yalḍi -*  
*'Other son I, sing - PERF - 1 sg Tr this tree' tall -*
- ma - la - adu, guḍa garganja - na, guḍa garganja - na!*  
 Vb - TOP - 3 sg sub, *touch sky - LOC, touch sky - LOC!*
- (9) *guḍi - ru - ana, ṅanda - mi - ru inu yara - baļu*  
*Touch - NF - 3 sg obj, back - Vb - NF this tree - young*
- ṅanda - mi - ru - ili!*  
*back - Vb - NF - now!*

- He sent that tree down quick, and he is still hanging up there and turned into the moon.
- (10) bādjuga ḡandji - ru - ana garganja - na ḡidja - ḡidja.  
Moon leave - NF - 3 sg obj sky - LOC one - one.
- (11) wadu - ru ḡinga nāba, bīdjaḡa iduru mali - baḡu  
Get - NF them ACC grub, witchetty this ERG male - child  
ḡāndi - ru - ḡga gumbag' - ḡulu - ri, bīdjaḡa dayi - la -  
carry - NF - 3 pl obj wife - D1 - DAT, witchetty eat - TOP -  
d - ūlu. 'ḡila ḡūga - dj - uḡa - ayi ḡaldi,  
FUT - 3 dl sub. 'Not give - PAST - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj emu,  
ḡaba dayi - la - aba yungāgu, ḡila ḡūga - dj -  
I eat - TOP - 1 sg Intr alone, not give - PAST -  
uda - ayi muḡa ḡaldi.'  
2 pl sub - 1 sg obj piece emu.'
- (12) And the two women asked him - 'windjara bābadja - ama?'  
'Where old relative - 2 sg POS?'  
'baḡjaḡa dayi - l - d - āba, waḡaga ḡadu wana  
'Wait eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Intr, there I ERG boomerang  
ḡāḡi - ru.'  
throw - NF.'
- (13) 'wana - mari bami - d - ubu! 'garganja bami - dj -  
'Boomerang - indeed see - FUT - 2 pl sub! 'Sky see - PAST -  
ūlu. 'inara - adu!' buri - ḡgu - adu garganja - na  
3 dl sub. 'Here - 3 sg sub!' hang - PERF - 3 sg sub sky - LOC.
- (14) 'narga - narga - ma - ḡgu - r - ayi, ḡima - dj - u  
'Enemy - Vb - PERF - G1 - 1 sg obj, lie - PAST - 3 sg sub  
daḡga - na.' idu baḡda - na ḡima - ḡgu, gumbadja ḡuniga - na;  
middle - LOC.' He skin - LOC lie - PERF, big fire - LOC;  
ḡidja mūrba - baḡu, maḡi - baḡu. diḡi - ru 'diḡi - r -  
one child - young, male - young. Get up - NF 'Get up - G1 -  
imba waḡa ḡindu ḡuniga, ḡuniga wanda - ndu.'  
2 sg Intr chop you ERG firewood, fire light up - 3 sg Tr.'
- (15) 'wanda - adu ḡuniga, wanda - adu - ubuna - ri,  
'Burn - 1 sg Tr fire, light up - 1 sg Tr - 2 dl obj - DAT,  
narga - ḡulu - ayi ḡubu wanda - adu ḡuniga -  
enemy - D1 - 1 sg POS you two.' Light up - 1 sg Tr fire -  
abana. ḡubu ḡima - ana ḡuniga wanda - adu  
2 dl POS. You two lie - PTC fire light up - 1 sg Tr  
ḡubuna - ri. ḡanji - dj - ubana muḡa ḡaldi, ḡila  
you two obj - DAT. Ask - PAST - 2 dl obj piece emu, not  
ḡūga - dj - uba - ayi.'  
give - PAST - 2 dl sub - 1 sg obj.'
- (16) 'bīdjaḡa dayi - l - d - adu nāba yungāgu narga - ḡulu -  
'Witchetty eat - TOP - FUT - 1 sg Tr grub alone enemy - D1 -  
ayi! ḡaldi - na maḡi ḡāḡa - dj - ūlu ḡāḡuru -  
1 sg POS! Emu - GEN fat throw - PAST - 3 dl sub lap -  
ndu - ri, gumbaga - ḡulu ḡaḡi - ḡulu - ūluna ḡūga -  
3 sg POS - ALL wife - D1 dog - D1 - 3 dl POS sool on -

- dj - ūlu - ūluna.  
 PAST - 3 dl sub - 3 dl obj.
- (17) bada - dj - ūlu - na yamba-yamba - la inana  
*Bite* - PAST - 3 dl sub - 3 sg obj *tear up* - OPT *this* ACC  
 mali - balu. bunu balda - na ŋīnga - adu:  
*man* - *child*. *Gecko bark* - LOC *sit* - 3 sg sub:
- (18) idu бага - dji  
 balda \* ŋīnga - d - āba, balda ŋīnga - d - āba  
*bark* \* *sit* - FUT - 1 sg Intr,  
 balda ŋīnga - d - āba...
- gaḷi - ŋulu - udana wadumbi - dj - ūl' - ayi  
*Dog* - DL - 3 dl POS *grab* - PAST - 3 dl sub - 1 sg obj  
 diḷa - diḷa, mānba - ayi balda - ayi, mānba - ayi  
*shake* - *hard* *flesh* - 1 sg POS *skin* - 1 sg POS *flesh* - 1 sg POS,  
 yamba-yamba - dj - ūlu.  
*tear up* - PAST - 3 dl sub.
- (19) garga - la - dji  
*Cry* - TOP - PAST  
 balda ŋīnga - d - āba, balda ŋīnga - d - āba  
*bark* *sit* - FUT - 1 sg Intr,  
 gila wida-wida - d - uḍa - ayi  
*not search around* - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj  
 gura wadja - d - āba.  
*grey* - *coloured* - FUT - 1 sg Intr,  
 balda ŋīnga - d - āba  
*bark* *sit* - FUT - 1 sg Intr.
- garga - l - diri - d - āba бага-бага - d - āba  
*Cry* - TOP - REFL - FUT - 1 sg Intr *sing* - FUT - 1 sg Intr  
 balda - na.  
*bark* - LOC.
- (20) windjara bari - dj - ūlu? gaḷi - umbula bari - dji.  
*Where go* - PAST - 3 dl sub? *dog* - COM *go* - PAST.  
 gaḷi - ŋulu dunda yunga - ma - la - dj - ūlu,  
*Dog* - DL *then own* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub,  
 galgiri - na wadi - dj - ūlu.  
*bull ant* - LOC *become* - PAST - 3 dl sub.  
 They're always in the sandhills.
- (21) nūngu - ŋulu, yandandji wadu - dji idūluna, malga yuldi -  
*Woman* - DL, *whirlwind take* - PAST *them two*, *net stretch* -  
 dj - ūlu gāndi - ru - ūluna ṅāda - nja - ru - ūluna  
 PAST - 3 dl sub *carry* - NF - 3 dl obj *throw* - ASP - NF - 3 dl obj  
 winda-winda - ana malga - ŋulu - udana, iduru yandandji.  
*toss away* - PTC *net* - DL - 3 dl POS, *this* *whirlwind*.

\*Song language obviously does not follow the general rules of Bāgandji grammar  
 and the locative ending is absent here.

## Translation

- (1) *The Moon Man had been eating emu, he, the old man said to the young boy: 'You go away over there - I am not giving you any (emu), so you can go and eat wild bananas. I'll take you to get witchetty grubs.'*
- (2) *(The nephew said); 'Here are some trees, box trees and a young gum tree. Take the small stone tomahawk, I'll sit here while you climb up and cut out the grubs and throw them down. I'll pick them up and we two will eat them on our own.'*
- (3) *(The nephew says to himself); 'I'll eat them on my own, You lot don't give me anything (of that emu). I'll count them, I'll get these grubs, these witchetties!'*
- (4) *(The uncle says); 'I'm throwing them down, and you pick them up and count them. Are you singing to yourself? Go and get the grubs.'*
- (5) *While he was busy up there the boy made out he was counting them, but he was really singing this tree right up to the top! (He said): 'I'm just counting them'.*
- (6) *(to himself the nephew says): 'You didn't give me any of that emu this morning, you didn't give me any of that (delicious) emu cooked on coals. You lot ate it, mean and greedy, you and those two women.' He (was not theirs but) somebody else's child.*
- (7) *'You sleep between these two women, you with the enormous guts!' The two women were sitting there, they were sitting on the ground, in their humpy waiting (for the Moon Man).*
- (8) *'I am somebody else's son, I sang this tree!' It grew tall, and he (the Moon Man) touched the sky, he touched the sky!*
- (9) *He touched it, and (the boy) sent this young tree down again, he sent it down immediately.  
He sent that tree down quickly, and (the uncle) was still hanging up there and turned into the moon.*
- (10) *He left the moon up there, all alone.*
- (11) *The boy took the grubs, the witchetties, and carried them to the two wives; they were going to eat them. (He said): 'You didn't give me any of that emu, so I am going to eat these on my own, you wouldn't give me even a little bit!'*
- (12) *The two women asked him: 'Where is your old relative of the adjacent generation? (He said): 'Just wait a minute while I eat (witchetty grubs). I threw my boomerang over there!'*

- (13) *'Look at the boomerang!' They looked up at the sky. 'There he is!' He (the Moon Man) was hanging up there in the sky.*
- (14) *'He was the one I hated, he used to lie in the middle (between you two women)'. Then that young boy lay down all on his own on a (kangaroo-) skin by a big fire.\* He got up (and they said): 'Get up and chops some firewood, light up a fire for us.'*
- (15) *'I'll light up a fire, I'll do it for you two, but I hate you two (lit. you two are my enemies). I'll light up a fire for you two. You two lie down while I light up your fire. I asked you for just a bit of emu, but you didn't give me any.'*
- (16) *'I'll eat those witchetties, all those grubs I'll eat by myself, I hate you two!' The two women threw emu fat onto his lap and then sooled their two dogs onto him.*
- (17) *The two dogs bit him, they tore this boy to pieces. (From then on) he sits in the bark of trees as a gecko.\*\**
- (18) *He sang 'I shall sit in the bark, I shall sit in the bark  
I shall sit in the bark'  
The dogs grabbed me, they shook and shook me, they tore my flesh,  
my flesh they tore and my skin.'*
- (19) *He cried: 'I shall sit in the bark, I shall sit in the bark.  
It's no good you searching for me!  
My colour is grey.  
I shall sit in the bark...  
I shall call out to myself, I shall sit in the bark.'*
- (20) *Where did the two women go? They went off with their dogs. The dogs then got away from them on their own and they turned into bull-ants: they're always in the sandhills.*
- (21) *Those two women, the whirlwind took them, they had stretched out small nets made of kangaroo sinew, and the whirlwind carried them both off, and it tossed away their two nets, the whirlwind.*

---

\*It was made clear by Mrs Bugmy later that the two women killed the boy not because of the grubs, but because he proved totally inadequate as a substitute for the old man.

\*\*Ludwig Becker in the course of the journey of the Burke and Wills expedition along the Darling made a drawing and described this gecko which he called 'Bounno'. (Tipping, 1979:66-7).



## VIII.7.1. THE TWO WATER-SNAKES

There were many stories concerning the ḡadji, the water-snakes. The main theme of these was that the ḡadji got lost, away from the river, and had to hollow out channels to get back to the Darling River. They travelled as far afield even as Torowotto Swamp (Maljaḡaba ḡuru - ḡadu 'Snake's Wind-break') in Maljaḡaba country on Salisbury Downs. The present story is connected with some of the deep waterholes near Pooncarie. It was told by Jack Johnson in 1971.

- (1) bargulu ḡadji wid - ma - la - dj - ūlu baridjiri - na  
*Two snakes lost* - Vb - TOP - PAST - 3 dl sub *far away* - LOC  
 ḡugu bāndi - dji.  
*water run out* - PAST.
- (2) windja - mari bari - na? 'wid - ma - l' - dj - ali,  
*Where* - ALL *go* - PTC? 'Lost - Vb - TOP - PAST - 1 dl sub,  
 ḡuna yunūna bari - d - ali ḡaradja.'  
*then thus go* - FUT - 1 dl sub *together.*'
- (3) 'ḡayi gaba - ndu, ḡaba ḡamidja, ḡimba ḡamaga, ina -  
 'Me follow - 2 sg Tr, I father, you mother, this -  
 marī - diḡa bāga - ḡugu, bari - d - ali inara ḡuḡū -  
 ALL - EMPH *river* - water, go - FUT - 1 dl sub *there water* -  
 diḡa dumbi - n' bāga - na.'  
 EMPH *hole* - LOC *river* - LOC.'
- (4) 'ḡunda gaba - ayi, māwulu bana-bana - d - ali  
 'Then follow - 1 sg obj, slowly prepare - FUT - 1 dl sub  
 numba ḡulda ḡayi - l - ba - d - ali, binda - l - d -  
 green grass eat - TOP - ASP - FUT - 1 dl sub, meet - TOP - FUT -  
 ali dumbi - ḡugu - na bāga - na.'  
 1 dl sub *hole* - water - LOC *river* - LOC.'
- (5) 'wīdi ḡayi - l - d - ali, ḡadunja  
 'Shrimp eat - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub, crayfish  
 miḡidja ḡayi - l - d - ali dumbi - na  
 and a lot of other things eat - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub *hole* - LOC  
 ḡīḡa - d - ali mānda - ambala ḡayi - l - d - ali  
 sit - FUT - 1 dl sub weed - COM eat - TOP - FUT - 1 dl sub  
 ḡamba - d - ali badara - ma - ana, bini - ḡugu wadu -  
 dig - FUT - 1 dl sub wide - Vb PTC, soakage - water get -  
 d - ali.'  
 FUT - 1 dl sub.'
- (6) 'yungā dumbi ida - na ḡīḡa - d - ali ḡaḡara yungā  
 'Own hole this - LOC sit - FUT - 1 dl sub there own  
 ḡira - alina ḡaljiru - mala ḡīḡa - d - ali.'  
 country - 1 dl POS/LOC cool - ADV sit - FUT - 1 dl sub.'
- (7) mula - dumbi, ḡāru dumbi ḡaḡa dumbi, ḡaduru - ḡada - ḡada.  
 Muḡa - hole, other hole ḡaḡa hole, ḡaduru - ḡada - ḡada.
- (8) ḡadji ḡumbadja bama - la - adu ḡugu - na, ḡāru  
 Snake big float up - TOP - 3 sg sub water - LOC, other

wĩbadja barindji wabu - r - adu wirga - ana dumbi - na,  
 man scrub from come - G1 - 3 sg swim - PTC hole - LOC,  
 b̄ara - adu yalga - d - adu gunga - d - uru -  
 smell - 3 sg sub gape - FUT - 3 sg sub swallow -FUT - 3 sg sub -  
 ana.  
 3 sg obj.

- (9) gila ga ara wirga - d - āba, m̄uya - l - āba  
 Not there swim - FUT - 1 sg Intr, fear - TOP - 1 sg Intr  
 nadji - ri. yamiri - na wirga - d - āba.  
 snake - DAT. Shallow - LOC swim - FUT - 1 sg Intr.

#### Translation

- (1) *The two water-snakes got lost far away, there was no more water.*  
 (2) *Where were they to go? (The male snake spoke) 'We two are lost, so let us travel on together.'*  
 (3) *'Follow me, I am the male water-snake and you the female. The river-water is this way, we shall go where the water is in the deep waterhole.'*  
 (4) *'So follow me, we will get ready slowly, (and when we get there) we shall eat green grass, we'll meet in the water of the waterhole in the river.'*  
 (5) *'We'll eat shrimps and lots of crayfish and similar foods, we'll sit in the waterhole and eat waterweeds as well, we will dig and widen out the waterhole, we will get soakage water.'*  
 (6) *'We will sit there in our own waterhole, in our own country, we'll sit there staying cool.'*  
 (7) *There is the Mula waterhole, another one is the Ganga hole, and the Gaduru-gada-gada waterhole (all in the vicinity of Pooncarie).*  
 (8) *The big water-snake rises up in the water, and when some other (stranger) man comes from the scrub country and swims in this hole, it smells (that this is not a proper river man) it opens its mouth and swallows him.*  
 (9) *(Even) I won't swim there (in those three waterholes), I am frightened of the water-snake. I'll only swim in the shallow water.*

#### VIII.7.2. COMMENTS ON THE WATER-SNAKE

The following comments about the water-snakes were made by Grannie Moisey in English and Guṇu.

- (1) Dead Man's Creek, that's on Yanda-yanda station, on the top road to the big creek, Mulga Creek they call it (31 08', 146 22')' where it runs into the river and where the gutter comes in, there

is a big stone standing up and there is a rise above, a sandhill which never gets flooded. It (the ṅadji) used to come up from there.

- (2) gaba - nja wadi, gaba - nja idina  
 Follow - ASP PAST *they*, follow - ASP *this* ACC  
 'They followed, they followed him'

He was from the river, they thought it was a carpet snake, wanmura 'silly'

damba - damba maṅdi  
 dig ground  
 'He was digging up the ground'

- (3) When they blow you see that rainbow, that's him mundambara 'large rainbow'

būba magara ṅari - ṅara diga - la inara.  
 blow rain big come - OPT here.  
 'It blows the big rain this way'

They could always tell when big rain was coming, waļu 'storm' that's the ṅadji 'water-snake'.

- (4) waļu, that's the big storm, like a cyclone. We had smart people, when a storm was coming, they could turn it away with a bush:

daḍu - wuli wīmbadja wambi - nja idina waļu yadu.  
 Head - hole man dispel - ASP *this* storm wind.  
 'These doctor men make the storm fly away.'

#### VIII.8.1. THE PORCUPINE

The story of the porcupine who gets speared – the spears forming his spikes – is wide-spread. Jack Johnson told me the Southern Bāḡandji version on a beautiful Easter Sunday morning (1971) when unfortunately he was in the Broken Hill gaol.

- (1) wandāli baḡara - na ṅīnga - yiga  
 Porcupine root - LOC sit - 3 pl sub

– they'd be in the hills now,

dulba 'flood' might have pushed them out –

bīburu daya - yiga, dalanja - nga minga - ri ṅiba -  
 ant eat - 3 pl sub, tongue - 3 pl POS hole - ALL put -  
 yiga ṅanda - ma - ru dalanja - na bīburu - umbula,  
 3 pl sub back - Vb - NF tongue - 3 sg POS ant - COM,

dunda gunga - ru - nga.  
 then swallow - NF - 3 pl obj.

- (2) ɲuɾi - madir' - adu. wadi - dj - u, banda -  
*Fat - big - 3 sg sub. Get in - PAST - 3 sg sub, pierce -*  
 dj - iga garima - yara: 'galguru - m' band' - uɖa -  
 PAST - 3 pl sub *mallee - tree: 'spear - INST pierce - 2 pl sub -*  
 ana narga - ama \* ɲaba narga - ama gila nindadja!'  
 1 sg obj *enemy - 2 sg POS I enemy - 2 sg POS not thin!*
- (3) 'nindadja narga - ayi ɲuɖa - wa, ɲaba ɲuɾi, ɲuɾi -  
 'Thin enemy - 1 sg POS *you lot - EMPH, I fat, fat, -*  
 madir' - aba bīburu yalinj' daya - ngu - ru, yunūna - mandi  
*big - 1 sg sub ant always eat - PERF - NF, thus - PURP*  
 nindadj' - ugu ɲuɖa - wa narga - narga - ayi, diri -  
 thin - PL *you lot - EMPH enemy - enemy - 1 sg POS, cheek -*  
 d - uɖa - ayi.'  
 FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj.'
- (4) 'gila wadu - d - uɖa - ayi, gila dalba - d - āba  
 'Not get - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj, *not stand - FUT - 1 sg Intr*  
 daldī - la ɲuɖa - na - ri, yungāgu bari - y - āba,  
 Listen - OPT *you lot - ACC - DAT, alone go - Gl - 1 sg Intr,*  
 wadi - d - āba, gila bami - r - uɖa - ayi  
 get in - FUT - 1 sg Intr, *not see - Gl - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj*  
 nandama.'  
 again.'
- (5) 'gila bami - r - uɖa - ayi gūlji - gūlji - na,  
 'Not see - Gl - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj *winter - LOC,*  
 ɲandji - y - uɖa - ayi yungāgu wadi - r - āba.  
 leave - Gl - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj *alone go in - Gl - 1 sg Intr.*  
 yala - dj - uɖana, ɲuɖa duluru, ɲaba ɲidja - ulu.'  
 Beat - PAST - 2 pl obj, *you lot many, I one - SG.'*
- (6) 'inana bami - d - uɖa - ayi gāru budji - budji - na  
 'Here see - FUT - 2 pl sub - 1 sg obj *other summer - LOC*  
 nandama waba - d - āba bīburu dayī - la.'  
 again come - FUT - 1 sg Intr ant *eat - OPT.'*
- (7) wadi - d - āba, daldī - l' ima - aba bindi -  
 Get in - FUT - 1 sg Intr, *listen - OPT lie - 1 sg Intr lightning -*  
 ri dun - ma - la - adu, dunda babu - r - ana  
 DAT *tremble - Vb - TOP - 3 sg sub, then come out - Gl - PTC*  
 madiri, dāgulu duru waba - ana, galdu, gāni  
 much, *goanna snake come - PTC, sleepy lizard, frill-neck,*  
 gāru madiri babu - r - iga.  
 other much appear - Gl - 3 pl sub.
- (8) bindi!gilgi, bānmulu, gargumbirayididja duru - umbula  
 Small *skinks knob-tail gecko, Jacky lizard snake - COM*  
 babu - r - ana, gāra - madara duru widulu babu - r - ana.  
 come out - Gl - PTC, *skin - new snake all come out - Gl - PTC.*

\*The use of the singular here is unexpected, it may be addressed to just one of the adversaries.

- (9) *inana daldi - l' - du*      *gaṅara maṅḍi - na 'wabu - r -*  
*Here listen - TOP - 3 sg sub*      *here ground - LOC 'come - G1 -*  
*āba*      *bīburu dayī - la.'*      *narga - gu - ana*      *manda -*  
*1 sg Intr ant*      *eat - OPT.'*      *Enemy - PL - 3 sg POS*      *wait -*  
*na - ana.*  
*PTC - 3 sg obj.*
- (10) *bami - dj - iga - ana*      *babu - r - adu.*  
*See - PAST - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj*      *come out - G1 - 3 sg sub.*  
*'windja - mari bari - dj - u?'*      *'bīburu - diṅa gala -*  
*'Where - ALL go - PAST - 3 sg sub?'*      *'Ant - EMPH seek -*  
*la - adu*      *dina - yaba - ana*      *yāmari bari - dj - u.'*  
*TOP - 3 sg sub.*      *Foot-track - 3 sg POS*      *this way go - PAST - 3 sg sub.'*
- (11) *nandama - diṅa gaba - na - ana,*      *dina - yaba - na*  
*Again - EMPH follow - PTC - 3 sg obj,*      *foot-track - 3 sg POS*  
*gaba - ana.*      *'windja - marī - diṅa gab' - ina - ana?*  
*follow - PTC.*      *'Where - ALL - EMPH follow - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj?*  
*ṅadi gab' - ina - ana!*      *yunūna yaḷa - l' - inana,*  
*wrong follow - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj!*      *This way beat - TOP - 1 pl obj,*  
*ṅandama gab' - ina - ana!*  
*backwards follow - 1 pl sub - 3 sg obj!'*
- (12) *buga - la - dj - u:*      *banda - dj - iga - ana,*  
*Die - TOP - PAST - 3 sg sub:*      *spear - PAST - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj,*  
*nigi - n' ṅiba - dj - iga*      *balda - umbula wandja - dj -*  
*coal - LOC put - PAST - 3 pl sub*      *skin - COM cook - PAST -*  
*iga - ana*      *galguru - ṅga*      *ninda - ninda - dj -*  
*3 pl sub - 3 sg obj*      *spear - 3 pl POS*      *singe - PAST -*  
*iga*      *dayi - l - dj - iga - ana.*  
*3 pl sub*      *eat - TOP - PAST - 3 pl sub - 3 sg obj.*

### Translation

- (1) *Porcupines stay among the roots of trees - they'd be in the hills now (because) the flood would have pushed them out (from near the river) they put their tongue down a hole (in an ant-heap) and then they pull it back out again with ants (adhering to it) and they swallow the ants.*
- (2) *The porcupine got fat. His enemies wanted to spear him near a mallee tree. (He said): 'You want to spear me, I hate you and you hate me (because) I am not skinny (like you)!'*
- (3) *'I hate you skinny people, I am fat, I am very fat because I've been eating ants all the time. That's why you skinny people hate me, that's why you want to attack me.'*
- (4) *'You won't get me. I'm not standing around to listen to you people. I am going in (under the ground), you won't see me again.'*
- (5) *'You don't see me in the winter-time. Leave me alone, I am going in (under the ground). I've got the better of you people'*

*(although) you are many and I am all alone.'*

- (6) *'You'll see me here next summer when I'll come out again and eat ants.'*
- (7) *I'll get in (under the ground) and lie there listening'. (When) the thunderstorm shakes the ground, then lots of creatures come out, brown goannas, and snakes come out, sleepy lizards, frill-neck lizards and many others.*
- (8) *Small skinks come out, knob-tailed geckos, Jacky lizards, they come out along with the snakes, the snakes all come with a new skin.*
- (9) *He listened here, down in the ground: 'I'll come out to eat ants.' His enemies were waiting for him.*
- (10) *They saw him coming out: 'But where did he go to?' 'He's looking for ants, his track went this way.'*
- (11) *They followed him again, they followed his track. 'Where are we following him to?' 'We are following him the wrong way round! That's how he got the better of us before. We have to track him backwards.'*
- (12) *He got killed, they speared him, they put him on the coals complete with his skin and cooked him, they singed off all their spears (his spikes) and they ate him.*

#### VIII.8.2. COMMENTS ON HIBERNATION by George Dutton

The following comments on hibernation were made by George Dutton (Bandjigali and English):

- (1) *du lu            minga - na    da ni - y   - adu            ibi - y   - adu*  
*kingfisher hole - LOC go   - G1 - 3 sg sub, put - G1 - 3 sg sub*  
*minga - na    ba na   - albi.*  
*hole - LOC goanna - like.*  
*'The kingfisher goes into a hole, he gets into a hole just like a goanna'*
- (2) *In April they go in, in June thunderstorms come, he goes further, July he goes further, in August he hears the thunder and comes up a bit near the top, and when a hot day comes he comes out, babu-ru, 'come out - NF' see!*

- (3) *ibi - y - adu, bara - adu ... ima - ana - li,*  
*Put - G1 - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub, go - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub ... lie - PTC - EMPH,*  
*yugu - na babu - r - adu*  
*sun - LOC come out - G1 - 3<sup>sg</sup> sub.*  
*'He gets in, he goes (further), he's laying there, he comes out*  
*in the sun.'*  
 When he comes out he has no feathers, miribudu that's top feathers,  
 he's only got down.

### VIII.9. STORING FLOUR

This account was given in June 1967 by George Dutton, speaking in English and in Bandjigali.

- (1) *bāba* is grass-seed and *biḷa* is pig weed.  
 Grind them with *gaṇu*, *dinga* 'duna *bāba*.  
*stone, grind this ACC flour.*
- (2) *ṇaḍu* is nardoo, a different stone is used for grind that.  
*balga iduna ṇaḍu gaṇu - na gadjal' gaṇu - na balga*  
*Beat this ACC nardoo stone - INST small stone - INST beat*  
*iduna iba iduna manu ganiyala - na,*  
*this ACC put this ACC vegetable food dish - LOC,*  
*warana - nja - ana idana.*  
*pile up - ASP - PTC this ACC.*  
*'They beat this nardoo with a stone, with a small stone they beat*  
*it, and then they put this vegetable food into a dish, and they*  
*keep on piling it up.'*
- (3) When it's going to rain they dig a big hole and put it all in and  
 put in two little snakes - they go round and round and stop it  
 from getting mouldy. We came to a big camp one day and they say  
 'there's a *yabara* over there, yes, old man *ṇandji iduna yabara*.'  
*camp leave this ACC camp.'*  
 We went down to the river to get fish, the old man had gone.
- (4) *būnga - na damba - dji iduru minga, ibi - dji - na*  
*Hut - LOC dig - PAST he ERG hole, put - PAST - 3 sg obj*  
*bāba dunga - dji iduna iba - dji - na wangu - ṇulu,*  
*flour bury - PAST this ACC put - PAST - 3 sg obj snake - D1*  
*bargulu. ṇandara iduru iba - dji.*  
*two. After he ERG put - PAST.*  
*'He had dug a hole inside the hut, he put in the flour and buried*  
*it, and he put in a pair of small snakes, two of them. He put*  
*them in afterwards.'*

*wangu* was described by George Dutton as a small snake 'like a glow-worm'. In languages to the west the term is attested as a

general term for a small venomous snake, or possibly even the juvenile phase of larger snakes (T. Harvey Johnston 'Aboriginal Names and Utilisation of the Fauna of the Eyrean Region', *Transactions of the Royal Society of S.A.*, 82 (1943), p.290.

- (5) That was grass-seed. Nardoo doesn't matter much,

wiba idu ɲadu.  
hard this nardoo.

#### VIII.10. NETS AND FISH

This is part of a conversation with George Dutton in June 1967, in Bandjigali and English.

- (1) 'mina - da gila - ana dilburu - na?'  
'What - EMPH grow - PTC water - LOC?'

'yalda.'  
'I don't know.'

'bandidja!'  
'Marshmallow!'

'What's that growing by the water?' 'I don't know'.  
'It's marshmallow!'

- (2) bandidja dala - ma - la - dji idiga. dilburu inara gandi,  
Marshmallow dry - Vb - TOP - PAST they. Water here carry,  
nagu - ru. wadu - ru idiga bandidja, dala - midina.  
mix - Get - they marshmallow, dried - out.

They dry out this marshmallow.

'They carry it to the water and mix it in, and then they get it out and dry it out.\*'

Some say wuna - midina, but I say dala - midina for when it's dried out.

- (3) wingu - nja idiga, ɲangi - nja idiga inana balda, ɲangi - nja  
Turn - ASP they, tease - ASP they this ACC skin, tease - ASP  
idiga balga - mandi.  
they string - PURP.

'They turn it over, and they tease out the skin that is formed, they tease it out to make string.'

They used a hook wɲnjana for that; it was wood, but later on they started using a bent wire.

\*The plant in question is probably *lavatera plebeja*, which was similarly used in the Northern Flinders Ranges (see T. Harvey Johnson and J. Burton Cleland 'Native Names and Uses of Plants in the North-Eastern Corner of South Australia' *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, 67, 1943, p.165).



- (4) They make gadjalugu malga 'a small net'

dilburu - na gadjalugu bari - ba - na  
*water* - LOC *small* *walk* - ASP - PTC

two men go along in the shallow water, in big water it would be  
 wiḍu malga 'a big net', two men would take it on two corners,

wīmbadja ḡabu - la - ana balga - ana dilburu  
*man* *swim* - TOP - PTC *beat* - PTC *water*

'and one man would swim along beating the water making all that  
 noise hunting all the fish back.'

- (5) When they drag that net up it's fairly full, and they might say:

gina - uda  
*Stop* - 2 pl sub.

'That's enough'

ḡṽ, guniga - na gugu - na guniga mubi!!  
 'Yes, fire - GEN end - INST fire light!'

'Light a fire with a fire-stick'

They usually cook them in the mawala 'hot coals'.

- (6) They might have all sorts of fish - that bony bream is full of  
 bones, but is a sweet fish. I once swallowed a bone and had it  
 for two years.

- (7) dayi - dj - adu gana nāmba, birna gunga - dji  
*Eat* - PAST - 1 sg Tr *that bony bream, bone* swallow - PAST  
 ḡṽnga - dj - āba gungu - nja - anḡi - l - āba.  
*sit* - PAST - 1 sg Intr *cough* - ASP - ASP - TOP - 1 sg Intr.  
 'I ate that bony bream and I swallowed a bone, and I started and  
 went on coughing continually.'

- (8) danji bari - dj - āba - li ḡayilga - li  
*Then go* - PAST - 1 sg Intr - EMPH *fencing* - EMPH  
 gungu - l - dj - āba, bādḡirga - li!  
*cough* - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Intr, *white* - EMPH!  
 'Then one day I went fencing, and I coughed, and white (phlegm  
 came up)'

- (9) bami - dj - adu birna, gungu - l - dj - adu  
*See* - PAST - 1 sg Tr *bone, cough* - TOP - PAST - 1 sg Tr  
 ina ḡaldja, bami - dj - adu idana ima - ana;  
*this phlegm, see* - PAST - 1 sg Tr *this ACC lie* - PTC;  
 'ah igi - du ḡanḡi - nja - ndi - la - ana!  
 'ah this - 3 sg sub annoy - ASP - ASP ? - TOP - 1 sg obj!'  
 'I saw the bone, I coughed up this phlegm and then I saw it lying  
 there: 'Ah, this is the one that has been annoying me!'

(Gertie Johnson walks past):

(10) Ah Gertie,

bami - la - nga - du - uma,  
see - TOP - ASP - I sg Tr - 2 sg obj

gulba - lba - nja - ali - mandi!  
speak - REP - ASP - 1 dl sub - PURP!

*'Ah Gertie, I (want to) see you for a while, so that the two of us can have a talk.'*

## BĀGANDJI – ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Words not followed by any abbreviation indicating dialect have been recorded in Southern Bāgandji. Words in other dialects have only been given where they differ from Southern Bāgandji. The following abbreviations have been used:

SB	Southern Bagandji	CA	Common Australian
G	Guṇu	SA	South Australia
Bār	Bārundji	B	Bandjigali

<p>-albi, like (used as postposition); baṇḍu-albi, like a cod</p> <p>aṅgi, no (B)</p> <p>-ambala, with, in company with (comitative case marker); gaḷi-ambala, <i>along with his dog</i></p> <p>iba-, to lie down, to stay (intr)</p> <p>ibi-, to put down (tr), to lay (eggs)</p> <p>ida-mari, this way, in this direction</p> <p>idara, here; idarādu, I'm here; idayindu, away from here; idara-wadara, here and there</p> <p>idi, this (G)</p> <p>idu, this</p> <p>iga-, to return (Wiljāli, diga- in the other Bāgandji dialects) igi, this, this here (var. gīgi)</p> <p>ilāgu, yesterday</p>	<p>ilāguayi, goodness, 'by Jove' (lit. <i>my yesterday</i>)</p> <p>-ili, now, immediately (post- position)</p> <p>ilidja, crayfish (B)</p> <p>ima- (var. nima), to rest, to lie down, to sleep (intr)</p> <p>ina, inu, that</p> <p>inara, inaga, there – not far away (G)</p> <p>ini, this (var. gini)</p> <p>indalugu, over there (Bār)</p> <p>indja, very well, alright</p> <p>ṭga-, to swim, to float (intr)</p> <p>ṭnga- (var. ṅṭnga), to be, to sit (intr), nānga- (B)</p> <p>ura-mari (var. yura-mari), away, into a different direction that (other) way</p>
---	---

- babu-, to come out, to rise up,  
 yugu baburāna, *the sun is coming  
 out (from behind clouds)*
- bada-ma-, to dig out (the river),  
 to hollow out
- badag-mala-, to drop down (intr)
- badaṅ-mala-, to spread out (plant)
- badara, wide; badara-mala-, to  
 become wide (the river)
- badara, buggy
- badja, incapable, useless, as  
 in yuri-badja, deaf
- baḍa-, to sting, to bite, to  
 write
- bada-baḍa (var. baḍu-baḍa), savage,  
 biting; gaḷi baḍa-baḍa, a savage  
 dog
- baḍaga, writer; baḍaga-nūngu, *the  
 writing down woman* e.g. gīgīdu  
 bāḍaga nūngu barāna, māṅgāli  
*here comes the writing down  
 woman, let's hide, us two*
- baḍi, egg of any kind, of bird or  
 insect, also used as a vulgar  
 term for testicle. baḍi can  
 serve as a short form of daḍu  
 badi *head egg*, i.e. brain in  
 expressions like ṅāda baḍi-dja  
*not (head) egg having, brainless*
- badi baḍi, grub, edible grub,  
 (word borrowed from further west,  
 e.g. Arabana baḍi, Engl. bardee)
- baḍi-, baḍi-baḍi-, to quarrel;  
 baḍilāna nūngu-nulu, *two women  
 are fighting*
- baḍigu, plant: 'emu tucker'  
 (*Eremophila* species)
- бага, leaf (G)
- бага-, to perform a corroboree,  
 to dance
- bagi-, to sing, to 'sing' someone,  
 to cast a spell over someone
- balda, bark dish, bark, skin;  
 baldana ṅīngadāba, *I shall sit in  
 the bark* (sings the lizard, VIII.6)
- balda, shame; balda-ṅāda, 'shameless'
- balda-waṅga-, shy (intr) ashamed
- baldanda-la-, to feel ashamed
- baldi, flank
- bala-ma-, to spread out (tr)
- bali- (var. bali-bali-), to tidy  
 up, to look after (belongings)
- balī-mala, well, excellently (adv)
- baliriga, (var. of balīra) nice,  
 good, beautiful
- balīra, good, beautiful;  
 bali-balīra, soft (food)
- balīra-mala-, to become good,  
 to improve (intr)
- bal'-mala-, bali-mala-, to become  
 soft, to become pleasant
- balba, ashes; balba-manu, damper  
 (lit. *ashes food*)
- balba-, to open (a bag)
- balba-gugadja, tree: a species  
 of sandalwood that was the  
 women's tree, as opposed to  
 guyamara, which was the men's  
 (G)
- balbu, plant: medicinal bush,  
 probably *Beyeria Leschenaultii*;  
 balbu-gubadja, a more white-  
 leaved form of this plant
- baldu-, to bake (B)
- balga-, balga- buganja, to hit  
 with a weapon, to strike, to  
 kill
- balja, baljaḍa, still, soon,  
 directly, yet, temporal adverb,  
 baljaḍa burinja-, *he is still  
 alive*, also used as exclamation:  
 'wait!'
- baljiluga, bird: 'kite-hawk',  
 species uncertain
- baljuruga, bird: curlew. 'When  
 they come together in a mob  
 and make a sound, that means  
 it will rain.'
- baḷa, mud, wet clay; baḷa-baḷa,  
 muddy
- baḷaba, flash, bright light
- baḷab-mala- (var. baḷaba-), to  
 strike (of lightning), to flash
- baḷara, plain, bare open area,  
 bare, clear ground
- balidj-mala-, to explode, to  
 make a thudding sound
- baḷu, young, young child
- baḷudja, brother (younger) (SB),  
 younger sibling (B)
- baḷuga, pregnant; baḷuga baḍi,  
 an egg containing a chick

- baḷumba, plant: thistle, 'wild cabbage' (*Tetragonia expansa*)
- baḷga, string, fishingline, fibre
- baḷgara, root
- baḷgu, word, speech, language; Bāgandji baḷgu, the Bāgandji language
- bama-la-, to float, to swell up
- bami-, to see, (tr); bami-bami-, to look around
- bami-la-, to look at, to watch (tr)
- bambara, sandhill (B)
- bambu-mala-, to pump (from English); ŋugu bambumaladu, *he's pumping up water*
- baṇadja, bat
- baṇi-, to lift up, to raise (tr)
- bana, clever man, witch-doctor
- bana-bana-, to fix up, to tidy, to prepare (to make a fire)
- bana-ma- (var. banma-), to prepare (tr)
- banarga, tree: sandhill mulga
- baninja, jealous
- baninj-mala-, to become jealous
- banba, tree: bullock bush (*Heterodendron* species)
- banbala, saltbush, giant saltbush (*Atriplex nummularia*)
- banbu-yara, plant: turkey bush (*Myoporum deserti*) (G)
- banbuḷa, plant: 'wild cabbage', sow-thistle (cf baḷumba)
- banda-, to spear, to stab, to pierce, to strike with any pointed weapon
- banda-yara, tree: bean tree (B)
- bandadja, blind
- bandi-, to peg out a skin, to stretch (G)
- bandi-, bandi-la-, to fail, to be tired; bandiladu mīgi, *his eye is failing - he's blind*
- bandi-wada, bird: bronze-wing pigeon
- bandidja, plant: marshmallow
- bandinja, cold (G)
- bandu-banda-, to pierce with a sharp instrument, to spear
- bandu baḷgu, incomprehensible speech, gibberish
- bangu-, to bury (Bār)
- bangu-, to bow down; daḍu bangu-, to bow one's head
- bandja, shining (G); bandja-mīgi, shining eyes
- bandji, river, creek (B)
- banjba-, to heat, to warm, to sunbathe
- banjgu, large green frog (*Hyla* sp.) rare word, ṇaṛuga is the common word for the ordinary *Hyla caerulea*
- baṇa, goanna yellow-brown (*Varanus gouldii*)
- baṇamula, plant: Portulaca species
- baṇara, tree: 'gum tree', 'thin leaved box' (*Euc. odorata*)
- baṇba, neck, throat
- baṇba biḍa-, to choke, to throttle, lit. *squeeze neck*
- baṇḍa, tree: needlewood (*Hakea* species)
- baṇḍa-, to search, to look for, to come out
- baṇḍa-baṇḍa-, to make nice, to pretty up
- baṇḍara, bare, bald
- baṇḍi, full, complete
- baṇḍu, fish, Murray cod, the most important food fish in the Murray-Darling system
- baṅga-, to crawl, to creep up on someone, to sneak, to sneak after someone (intr & tr)
- bara-, to run, to hurry, to travel
- bara-gīra, a distant country; bara-mīri, a long way, to a distant place (G)
- barab-mala, to run away, to escape
- bari, scrub; barindji, belonging to the scrub
- bari-, to go, to walk
- bari-mala-, to go past

- bari-ba-, (var. barba-), to come, to arrive
- bariŋga-, to go away
- bariŋ-mala-, to travel about
- baridjiri, far away, distant
- Barbarila, a group of Aborigines that came through Gundabooka late last century, probably of Barambinja descent
- barga-, to tell lies, to deceive
- bargaya, lie, deception, falsehood
- bargulu, two; bargulu-bargulu, four; bargulu-ŋidja, three
- baraga, woman (G); wiḍu baṛaga, old woman
- bayiwili, spear-shield
- bayu, pipe (from English)
- bāba, nardoo-seed, edible seed, seed of box tree, any seed used for grinding (cognate with a wide-spread word for grass-seed e.g. bana in Arabana)
- bābadja, kinship term, referring to an older male relative of the adjacent generation and of one's own moiety: the term seems to have the same connotation as wāgadja-
- bābi-nja-, to cover up (tr); *daḍuna bābinjaḍu, he covers up his head*
- bāda-, to fall (of rain), to pour with rain; *magara bādadjji, it was pouring with rain*
- bādja-, to shine, with a white sheen; also bādja-bādja-, to shine brightly; *yugu bādja-bādjana, the sun is shining; biguana bādja-bādjana, he is looking pale, lit. his face has a white sheen*
- bādjiŋga, white, light coloured, a silver coin as opposed to copper
- bādjuŋga, moon, month
- bādiŋgi, kidney; bādiŋgi-maŋi, kidney fat
- bāga, river, the Darling river in particular; *bagana ŋiŋgadāba, I shall sit by the river*
- Bāgandji, the Darling River people, the Darling River language
- bāguda, fox (from English)
- bālabaldaru, plant: lily (*Crinum* species)
- bāluru, long
- bāḷgu-, to make a noise; *gila bāḷgurāna, don't make a noise!*
- bāmara, bird: night-owl
- bānmulu, lizard: knob-tailed gecko
- bānba-, to cure a sick person, 'to doctor someone up'
- bānda-, to be angry
- bāndi-, to run out, to be exhausted, to be finished
- bāndi-la-, to snore
- bānga-, to fall (of river), to go down (intr), to dry out
- bāngaṛa, frost, heavy dew (G)
- bāra-, to listen (SB)
- bārayi-, to hear (Bār)
- bāri-, to hear (G)
- Bāru, the Paroo River
- Bārundji, the Paroo River people, the Paroo River language
- bāwuga, bird: screech-owl
- bāṛa-, to smell; *bāra wiḍina ŋuŋgi, he smelt that they (oranges) were ripe (G)*
- bida- (var. bida-bida-), to pinch, to grab; *bida-bidāna daḍu-bulgi, to grab hold of someone by the hair*
- bidaga, tree: species uncertain (G)
- bidi, young man
- bidiga, poison, venom of snakes; *bidig' dayildji, he ate the poison—he's had it*
- bidja, outside, out of doors; *bidjana, on the outside*
- Bidjidji, Wychooga Lake near Wilcannia
- bidili, tree, spiny wattle (*Acacia spinescens*)
- bigi, shoulder blade
- bigiri, 'bark tree' a box tree with particularly thick bark that grows by the river

- bigu, forehead, also used for 'face' in general; bamidjadu biguana, *I saw her face*
- bila-, to creep up
- bili-wādjirga (var. bili-wāndjuga), bird: spoonbill (*Platalea regia*)
- bilba-, to strip a canoe, to take bark off a tree
- bildi, yellow ochre
- bilda (var. yarandji) possum
- bildi-bildi-, to split up, to separate (intr); bildi-bildilayiga, *they split up (the mob of children)*
- bilga-, to run away (downwards), to go downhill, or downstream, to set (sun)
- bilgindi, pouch (of marsupial)
- biljara, bird: eaglehawk (SB only)
- bilju-biljuga, butterfly
- biḷa, plant: pigweed (B)
- bila-bila, net bag, dilly bag, swag, belongings in general
- bila-bandu, fish: bony bream, lit. *bāg cod*
- biluru, hanging limb of a tree, dead branch
- biḷgu biṛna, hip-bone
- biṇa-, to climb up, to climb
- binduru, plant: a species of grass used for thatching, probably swamp cane-grass
- bina, hole in a tree, possum-hole
- binaru, snake: wabma snake (B)
- bini, soakage; bini nūgu, soakage water
- binba, tree: pine tree (*Callitris* species). The resin of this tree was widely used as glue. This is a wide-spread word found also in the Lakes Languages of South Australia
- binba- (var. winba), to blame somebody, to complain about a person
- binda-, to meet, to find
- bindi, lightning, thunderstorm
- bindi-balga, lightning-struck (mythological site 6 miles upstream from Wilcannia)
- bindi-bindi, stripy, marked; bindi-bindi dāgulu, striped goanna (subspecies of *Varanus Gouldii*)
- bindiḷgiḷgi, lizard, tiny skink
- binma-, to ask someone for something
- biṅgu, bird: 'water-lark' described as having jerky movements, so it may be one of the rails
- birā, waddy
- birā-baḷu, stick
- biraduga, bird: a species of hawk
- biri, a malicious mythological being, which lived in trees and laughed like a child, 'fiend' (G)
- biribuḍa, relation, close relative (G)
- birga-, to cross sticks to make a ladder (G)
- birgu, hip; birgu-biṛna, hip-bone
- birgundi, hip, hip-bone
- biṛa-biṛa-, to be lonely, to be upset, to pine away
- biṛanga-la-, to cry, to lament (intr)
- biṛi, claypan (G)
- biṛna, bone; biṛnadja, bony
- biṛnara, poisoner, dangerous clever man or woman (from biṛna bone)
- biyara, open
- biyara-ma-, to open up (tr)
- bība, paper (from English 'paper')
- bībi, baby (G); it was insisted that this was not a borrowing from English
- bīburu, ant, a large species of ant, also used as general term
- bīda-bīda-, to spread out
- bīdili, branch of a tree; bīdi-bīdili, limbs of trees
- bīdjaḷa, tree grub, large witchetty grub
- bīdji, shell (of an egg)
- bīndi, grasshopper

- buba-yara, a kind of box tree that grows on the Warrego (G)
- bub-mala-, to get wild, to get angry
- buda, soft, delicate, powder, pulp (SB only)
- buda, (G) white, also the 'white of an egg'; galdi buda, an albino emu
- budara, dust storm, dust (wide-spread word in SA and NSW)
- budi, flatulence
- budiga, cat (from English 'pussycat')
- budiri, bird, little grebe (B)
- budu, vagina
- budu, steady, motionless, quiet
- budjala, sharp, pointed
- budji-budji, hot weather, summer-time; budji-budjina, *in summer*
- budji-la-, to be pointed, sharp
- buda-, to pluck
- buda-buda-, to drip, to leak down
- buga, dead, rotten, smelly; bugawaḍa, having a rotten smell
- buga-la-, to die (intr)
- buga-ma-, to kill (tr), (lit. *to make dead*)
- buga-mala-, to die (intr)
- buga-maḷina, widow (lit. *dead husband-hers*)
- buganja, fatally, to death; balgadunga buganja, *I'll kill them dead!*
- bugunba-, to dream evil, to wish death upon somebody
- buladja, bird: pelican
- bulda, plant: clover
- bulda-, to persuade, to coax
- bulda-bulda, again, repeatedly
- bulduru, bark canoe
- bula-, to wake somebody up, to rouse
- bula, two (G)
- bula-bula, four (G)
- bula-yaḍu, north wind
- bulamba, bird: white crane, egret (*Egretta alba*)
- bulani, half, in two parts
- bula-ḡdja, three (G)
- Bulāli, Bulagali, the 'Uplands People', the group of Bāgandji who lived in the Barrier Range
- bulidja-, to dive in
- bulidj-ma-la-, to open up (tr) and to go into something (intr); to dive in; bulidj-malāna gaḡuna, *there is an opening in the rocks*
- bulidjmana, policeman (Bār)
- bulu, bullock, cattle (from English)
- bulu-bula-, to wake someone up (G)
- bulbari, sawfly larvae (B)
- bulbula-, to swell up (boil or pimple), to bubble up
- bulbulmala-, to bubble
- bulda-bulda-, to box, to hit, to punch
- bulga-, to pour, to pour out; bulganja-, to pour away
- bulga, plain, clear bare ground; ḡugu-bulga, flood plain
- bulgi, feather, down feather, fur, hair
- bulgu, marsupial rat, species uncertain
- buljaliya, sawfly larvae, miḡanga (their bag), also called maljara
- bulandji, blanket (from English)
- bulara, fly: blowfly
- buli, star; buli-buli, a lot of stars, a starry sky
- buli wilbinja, a long time ago, in the dream-time
- bulu, bulu-ganila, heart
- bulga-, to hide, to 'plant' something
- bulgi-, to push, to poke, e.g. bulgina mingari, to push something into a hole
- bumala-buga, turtle (long necked) (*Chelodina longicollis*) 'stinking turtle' (alternative form bumulugu)
- bumulugu, tortoise (alternative for bumala-buga), ḡadji-gāgudja bumulugu lit. *elder brother to rainbow serpent, that tortoise*, the large tortoise (*Chelodina expansa*). It was forbidden food over a wide area, e.g. among the Wembawemba as well as the Bāgandji.



- bumba-, to rest, to sleep. This verb often has an extended form bumbara-
- bunu, lizard, small gecko (living under bark). For this name and an illustration see Tipping 1979
- bunu-wadudja, bird: brown hawk
- bunda, plant: clover grass
- bundala (var. bu<sub>da</sub>), soft, tender (meat)
- bundanja, no-hoper, useless person
- buna, chest
- bunba-, to treat a sick person
- bunba-bunba-, to rub with oil
- bundi, waddy (borrowed word probably from Waṅāybuwān), heavy waddy with a knob at the end
- bundu, smoke, also 'train'; bundu wanda-, bundu windiri, (G) to light a smoke
- bundu-, to smoke someone, to cure someone with smoke from the fire of turpentine bushes
- bundūli, smoke screen
- bunmuru, muddy, opaque water
- bunjba, mushroom
- buṅi, flowers, blossom on trees
- bura, clitic, usually following on the verb, generally emphatic: 'indeed'
- bura-, to fall out, to drop out (hair, teeth), to hang down, to dangle (intr)
- huri-, to hang out (laundry), to pull out (tr)
- buridjiri (var. baridjiri) a long way, far away (G)
- burinja, alive, living; burinja ṅīngadu, he's (still) living
- burūra, (buru-ura), over there, some distance away, further
- burba-, to come up, to appear, to surface
- buṛaga, plant: apple bush (*Pterocaulon sphacelatum*)
- būba-, to blow, to blow a fire, to shoot with a gun
- būbu-, to surprise someone, to startle
- būlgara, black tree goanna
- būmba, būmba-būmba, back of neck
- būnda-, to smell (tr), to sniff
- būnda!waḍa, smelly
- būndi, slow, steady; būndi-dja slow-moving
- bunma-, to flatten, to lay flat
- būnga, hut; wimbadja-būnga, humpy, an aboriginal hut (a wide-spread word, possibly borrowed by Bāgandji from South Australian languages)
- būra-, to cover over, to protect, e.g. meat from flies
- būri, ghost; 'the būri is white because he fancied himself and put on kopi'
- būri-gumbaga, lit. *ghost-wife*, a ringing sound in one's ears: it indicates that someone else is talking or thinking about one
- būri-waga-, to make out something is a ghost, to imagine a ghost
- būwuru, leaf
- dabinja-, to move away, to make room
- daba, open (adj); yalga-daba, open-mouthed
- daba-dabaru, rough scrubby country
- dabi, plant: mistletoe
- daburu, windbreak of a more permanent kind, used for camping, as opposed to nandu
- dada, younger; dada wiḍuga, younger sister; dadulugu, the youngest, smallest; dadulugu wiḍuga, youngest sister; dada baraga, younger woman, young (Ġ)
- dadara, flat, spread out
- dadja-, to taste (SB)
- dadja-, to bite (G)
- dadju, flank, side
- daḍa-, to hinder, to block (G); ṅindu ṅana daḍana, you are blocking me
- daḍu, head; daḍu-bulgi, hair of the head; daḍu-barbala-, to be cranky, to be silly; 'head', cap of eucalypt seed vessel

- dadu-baḍi, brain, lit. *head-egg*.  
The use of a word meaning 'egg' in terms for 'brain' is common in Aboriginal languages, e.g. Arabana-Wangaḡuru malju-babu *brain-egg, brain*
- dadu-balgaḷi, mad, 'off one's head'
- dadu-balara, bald, (lit. *head bare*)
- dadu-dara, pegs made from the bones of joey kangaroos and used for such purposes as pegging out skins (G)
- dadu-wuli, clever man, doctor (G) (lit. *head-hole*)
- daḍuḍa, hair, head hair
- daḍulgi, short form of dadu-bulgi, hair (of head)
- daga-, to pierce, to hit with a weapon; to write, usually bṯbana, 'on paper'; *dagadurayi bṯbana, he'll write to me on paper* (daga- widespread word in S.A. meaning to pierce and to 'write on paper')
- dag'-ma-, to open up, to pierce or cut open, ḡandina dagmanguru, *he opened it with his teeth*
- dag-mala-, to float, to drift loose
- daga, edge; daga-ḡugu, water's edge, edge (of lake)
- dagadji, hair-string (B)
- dagarada, plant: wild potato, edible tuber (*Thysanotus* species)
- daguli (var. daguda), heavy
- dal-dal-mala-, dalag-dalag-mala-, to flash (like lightning)
- dalba-, to stay and stand around, to stay in the immediate vicinity; *mina-mandi dalbimba, why are you standing around?*
- daldi, to hear, to listen; daldi, listen!; *gila daldila, he won't listen!*
- dalga, lungs, lights, gugirga dalga, bad lungs (lit. *black lungs*)
- dalgadu-la-, to be hot
- daljara, person who has been initiated by getting teeth knocked out (B)
- daljba, close by, near (adv.)
- daḷa, dry; daḷa-mala-, to become dry
- daḷa-daḷa-, to split up (G)
- daḷa-midina, dried out (B)
- daḷinja (var. daḷanja), tongue
- daḷḍa, red kangaroo
- daḷḍu-ḡugu, salt water (from English)
- daḷḍuḡa, salt (from English)
- damba-, damba-damba-, to dig
- damba-damba, to turn around (intr)
- dambili, trousers
- damburu, 'devil' evil mythological being
- danuga, white person; danuga nṯṅgu, white woman. The word danuga belonged exclusively to the Pooncarie area
- danba-ma-, to glue together
- dandinja, drum (wide hollow wooden tube) (G)
- dandu-, to miss, to allow to escape
- danduwanba, plant: edible thistle
- danga (var. dāninja), beefwood gum
- dangi-, to protrude, to stick out, to stand up for somebody else
- danja, fresh, green (timber)
- danji, then, afterwards (B)
- danjba-, to shine, to glow
- danjbarga, shining; danjbarga-mari, *very bright*
- daḡa, back; daḡana gandi-, *to carry on one's back*
- daḡa-biṯṅa, backbone, spine
- daḡi-, to go, to walk (G)
- daḡi, friend, companion, person who is favourably disposed
- daḡaga, with one's back turned; daḡaga-dari-, standing with one's back turned
- daḡa, mucus from nose or eyes, pus
- daḡga, bread. This was not recognised as an ordinary Southern Bāḡandji word, but was associated with the Dagagali or 'bread-language'

- Dangagali, a division of the Bāgandji who once lived to the south of Broken Hill. Their speech is considered to be 'broader' by Guṇu people
- danga, towards the middle; dangana, in the middle, in between; dangana ṅīngadu, *he's sitting in the middle*
- dangi-, to be pleased, to be happy, to be flash
- dangunja, liver
- dara, plant: hop bush (B)
- daraga, bird: blue crane
- daramula, plant: (*Thysanotus*), tuber (var, dagarada)
- dargali, vine, species uncertain
- darmanja, light, not heavy
- darma, straight
- dawi-, to shut in, to enclose (G)
- dawi-, to breathe (SB)
- dayi-, to eat
- dayi-ba-, to eat up a meal
- dāba-, to be runny, dirty (nose)
- dāburu, fish: catfish variety
- dāga-, to paint (a person for a corroboree), dāga-dāga-, to smear with paint
- dāguḷu, brown goanna (*Varanus Gouldii*); bindi-bindi -dāguḷu, striped brown goanna (subspecies of *Varanus Gouldii*)
- dāmba, initiate, young initiate (B)
- dāninja (var. danga), gum, resin (particularly from the beefwood tree); methylated spirits
- dānga-la-, to salivate, to give out moisture, to be juicy (fruit)
- dāṅguru, snake: black snake
- dāri-, to stand, to wait around, to be upright (e.g. trees)
- dibi, spark (noun), jealous (adj)
- dibi-dibi-, to light a fire (by means of a single spark)
- dibinj-dibinj -mala-, to spark
- didaga, lizard: 'Jacky lizard' (*Amphibolurus muricatus*)
- didi, anus, also used in the more general sense of 'bottom'
- didi-gugi, anus
- diga-, to return, to return home, to come back
- digara, bird: wild turkey (G)
- diginja, armpit; diginja-bulgi, hair under the arm
- dil-mala-, to crack (a bone)
- dilbu, bird: small wading bird, species uncertain
- dilburu (Bār), water; baribuli -dilburu-mandi, *we two went for water*
- dilda, bird: plover species
- dildagara, lake
- dildja, sinew, particularly leg sinew of kangaroo
- diljiga, fish: perch
- dila-dila-, to shake something (tr) e.g. gandina bidjana dila-dilāna, *take it outside and shake it (a dirty blanket)*
- dila-nja-, to mix up, to confuse
- dimala, tree: gidgee (*Acacia Cambagei*) (B)
- dimari, sap
- dimbali, tree: coolabah (B)
- dina, foot, footprint
- dina-buda, shoe (lit. *foot-boot*), the second part of this compound is derived from English 'boot'; dina-budana yaba, footpath
- dina-garala, poisonous, dangerous magic; dina-garala wimbada, poisoner
- dina-gula, 'sneaker' a treacherous murderer (i.e. the 'Kurdaitcha' who wear feather shoes) it also refers to sorcerers who could travel through the air
- dina-midina, on tiptoe, quietly
- dina-yaba, track
- dina-baḷa, small bark dish used by doctors for collecting 'bad' blood (G)
- dini-wilgu-wilgu, bird: butcher bird
- dindi-bulinja, barb (on spear)
- dindili, echidna, spiny ant-eater
- dindildu, lizard species
- dindinariga, sharp point

- dindju-, to sneeze  
dinga-dinga, bird: blue jay  
dinga-, to grind seed (B)  
dingi, knee  
dingi, to sunbathe, to warm oneself in the sunshine (B)  
dinga-, to rise (G)  
dinga-gari, bottle, particularly wine-bottle, flagon  
dingara, deep hole, tunnel (G); dingarana-dungadji, *he buried it in a deep hole*  
dingi-, to rise, to get up  
diri-, to be bold, cheeky (wide-spread word, e.g. Arabana dirinuga 'cheeky'); ḡara-ḡaradja barayiga dirila *they walk around together in order to be cheeky*  
diri duḡayi, a cheeky fellow  
diri-djiri, bird: willy wagtail  
diriga, bird: butcher bird  
diri-gulda, tea-leaves, diri, is from English 'tea'  
diri-mila-, to tease one another  
dirina-, to boast  
dirbara, song for catching kangaroos  
dirgigi, ribs; dirgigi -birna, rib-bone  
dirginja, nits, eggs of lice  
dirguru, bird: whitefaced blue crane  
diri, sand; diri maḡdi, sandy area, sandhill country  
dirba, spark (from fire) var. dibi  
diguru, bird: wading bird, species uncertain  
diyara, bird: black cockatoo  
dida-, to lick; ḡali didaladuna, *the dog is licking it up*  
didi-didi-la-, to rub, to irritate  
diga-, to pour out (intr), to stream out (e.g. blood)  
diljana, bird, ring-neck parrot  
dindi-la-, to sneeze  
diri, bird: mudlark, peewee, the Ancestral Mudlark which created the Darling River  
diri-yabara, the Peewee's camp, mythological site near Wilcannia  
duba-, to spit  
dubidja, giddy  
dubila, completely, altogether (adv)  
dubu-dubara, duba- dubara-, to jump about, to hop; dubara-mala-, to leap (fish)  
duda-, to pour with rain; dudana, *it's pouring*  
duduḡulu, hill, mountain; duduḡulu-maḡdi, mountainous ground, range  
duduḡudja, high ground, table-land (lit. *having hills*)  
duḡi, upper arm, wing (G)  
duga-, to starve oneself, to go hungry; dugaladju, *he starved himself*  
dugu-, to bury (G), to hide away; dugu-la-, to get rid of completely, to burn up  
dug-mala-, to become loose, to come off (shoe etc)  
dulu, close together, adjoining (adj)  
dulu-dulu-, to heap up; dulu-mala-, to lie in a heap  
dulu-mala, in a heap (adv)  
duluru, a lot, many (SB only)  
dulbaga, around, all around (adv), in a circle  
dulbaga, ditch, trench  
dulga, cotton, thread, originally 'fibre used for sewing'  
dulga-, to sew  
dulgu-, to fall (of rain) (SB)  
dulgu-, to come in, to arrive (G)  
dulguru, tree: bullock bush (*Heterodendron* species) (G)  
dulguru, deep mud, silt; dulguru bāga, a river in flood and full of silt (SB)  
duljba-la-, to feel sleepy, to doze  
dula-minda, bad (B), (suffix -minda cognate with Maljanaba -minda)

- duḷaga, bad, ugly; duḷaga  
wĩmbadja, a wicked man;  
duḷag'ḡugu, alcohol;  
duḷag'-waḡa, evil-smelling;  
duḷag'-ma-, to spoil (tr);  
duḷag'-mala-, to deteriorate
- duḷu, bird: kingfisher
- dumūli, wild honey
- dumba-dumba, deep down
- dumbaga (var. dumbi), waterhole,  
 deep hollow in river
- dumbi, deep water-hole, permanent  
 water
- dumbi-mari, deep (of water, river)
- duna, then. This form freely  
 alternates with dunda
- dun-mala-, to shake, to shiver  
 (intr)
- dunba, collarbone
- dunda, then, straight away, at  
 that time
- dundi-la (var. dundja-), to suck
- dunduru, now, immediately
- dundji-, to suckle
- dundju, thick, dense; daḡu bulgi  
dundju, thick hair
- dundjuga, thick (G)
- dunga-, to bury, to cover up
- dunga, dunga-yara, dunga-maḡḡi,  
 cemetery, burial ground, grave
- dunmara, bird: storm-bird
- dunmara, worm, also dunba
- duḡa-, to straighten (G)
- duḡa, night, darkness;  
duḡaraḡaḡa, duḡa-gaḡaḡa (G),  
 at night, throughout the night
- duḡana, at night, in the dark,  
 inside (a hut - or a gaol)
- duḡa-duḡa-, to get dark
- duḡa-duḡa, stinking (B): this  
 is a wide-spread word in eastern  
 S.A. and southern Queensland  
 (Yaḷi, Diyari, and Nura languages)
- duḡu, duḡu-duḡu, twisted,  
 crooked; duḡu-duḡu-mala-,  
 to be twisted, crooked;  
duḡu-duḡu-maladu yuḡuru,  
 the path is twisted
- duḡuru yara, twisted tree, a  
 bent pole used for building  
 humples
- duḡuru-mala-, to blow away  
 (intr), to disappear (storm)
- dura-, to squash, to squeeze  
 (a boil or pimple)
- Durali, old Toorale station,  
 where Grannie Moisey spent  
 much of her youth
- duri-la-, to rise; bundu duriladu,  
 smoke is rising
- duru, snake (general term)
- duru-maḡa, mussels, river-mussels
- durba-, to run, to overflow, to  
 weep (eyes)
- durga, tree: bullock bush  
 (*Heterodendron* species) (B)
- durguluḡu-, to run after, to  
 pursue (G)
- duru-duḡu, steam, aroma, rising  
 from cooking
- dūba-, to burn down (tr)
- dūbu, soap (from English)
- dūga-, to turn, to turn around  
 (intr)
- dūlba, flood, the flood-plain  
 of a river
- dūlgiga, bird: wild turkey
- dūraga, for a long time (G)
- dūru, cloud, storm-cloud
- dūyiga, 'the fiend with the bag',  
 a malicious mythological being  
 'the dūyiga is called so be-  
 cause it sings out dūyi-dūyi-  
dūyi, splashing in the water'  
 (Mrs Moisey)
- Dūyiga-gīra-gīra, Dūyiga's place,  
 a site south of Wilcannia where  
 the Dūyiga picked up people
- dj, as a true initial this  
 appears in borrowed words only
- dja, having, owning (suffix  
 indicating possession)
- djambuga, sheep (English borrowing)
- djugu, sugar (from English 'sugar')
- djugu-djugu, chicken (from  
 English 'chook')
- djuma-, to show (from English  
 'show' and -ma)
- gaba-, to follow
- gada-gada-, to chop into pieces

- gada-gada, bird: Major Mitchell cockatoo
- Gadaru-gada-gada-dumbi, large waterhole in the Darling, in the Pooncarie area
- gadi (var. gadiga), sour, bitter-tasting; gadi-nugu, 'bitter water', strong spirits, methylated spirits
- gadiṛi, claypan (B) (cf gadjiri)
- gaduga, short
- gaduru, bramble wattle (*Acacia Victoriae*)
- gada, tree: wilga
- gadjala-, to be hurt, to feel pain
- gadjala, small (B)
- gadjaḷga (var. gandjaḷga), good, beautiful (G)
- gadjilugu, narrow, small, little
- gadjiri, claypan (the more common word is yabaḷa)
- gadjumbaga, young woman (gadja, [cf gadjaḷga] + gumbaga) (B)
- gadjunja (var. gadunja), crayfish
- gadi, tree: gidgee tree (*Acacia homalophylla*)
- gagadji, hair-string (B)
- gagaḷa, plant: wild banana creeper, both the fruit and the root (which was called ṅaṅḍi) were a popular food (*Marsdenia australis*)
- gagamba, white cockatoo, corella (B)
- galila, sick
- galdi, bird: emu, galdi baḍi, emu egg
- galdi-nulu, 'the two emus', the 'coal-sack' nebula in the Milky Way
- galdiga, tree: emu-bush (*Eremophila* species)
- galdina-didna, star: 'emu foot'
- gala-, to look for something, to search
- gali-, to see, to notice
- gali, only (adv); gali baldana banmaladu, *he makes it with only bark, nothing else*
- gali nūngugu, *only women*, the seven sisters
- galudju, plant: 'spinach' (probably *Calandrinia* species)
- galbaḷga, fishing-line, string, rope; wadudjinana galbaḷgana, *I caught it with a line*
- galburiba, centipede
- galdu, sleepy lizard
- galdju, lower abdomen, groin
- galgara, sky (B)
- galgara, bird: storm-bird; galgara wambi-wambilāna inana dūngana wabiradu magara, *when the storm-bird flies round, that night rain-clouds will come up*, (probably the Oriental Pratincole)
- galgiri, ant: bull-ant
- galgu, bird: (bald) coot
- galguru, spear, a barbed spear
- galja-, to run
- galjiru, cold, pleasantly cool
- galjirmanda, cold, cool; galjirmanda nugu, cool water
- galjbu, by and by, later on
- galjbumbi, tomorrow morning
- gaḷa, behind, bottom
- gaḷambala, pigeon
- gaḷi, dog, dingo
- gaḷu, penis; gaḷu baḍi, *penis and testicles* term of abuse yelled at males
- gaḷuru, cloud
- gaḷbi, clear; galbi nugu, clear water
- gaḷgu, tree: belar (*Casuarina cristata*)
- gamuru, tree: river red gum (*Euc. camaldulensis*)
- gamba-, to tell stories, to gossip, to swear
- gamba-manda-, to be upset
- gambaldjiri, stars: the Seven Sisters
- gambi, shirt, clothes; gambi-baḷu, handkerchief
- gambi-gambi, clothes in general

- gambidja, father
- gambilinja, a pair: father and son
- gambi-gambilinja, a father and his children
- ganda-, to run someone down, to spread bad gossip about someone
- gananja, stomach (internal)
- gandu-ṅara, eucalypt seed, ground to make flour (G)
- ganga, near, close by, used with the possessive marker to indicate person; gangayi, *near me*
- ganga-la-, to growl, to get wild (like dogs)
- ganga-yaḍu, wind coming from down-stream on the Darling, storm from the west and south (G)
- ganja, cooking stone, stone put in the fire for griddling (cognate with *gadna stone* in Arabana and neighbouring S.A. languages)
- ganja-ganja-, to collapse
- ganj(i)dja, (maternal) grandmother; gandjaḷinja grandmother and grandchild
- gandjaḷga, (var. gadjaḷga), good (G)
- gaṅu (SB), gaṅa (B), stone, rock; gaṅu-gaṅu, hail-stones; ṅugu-gaṅu, rain-stone; baḷgu-gaṅu, message stone
- gaṅu-wala-, gibber country (B)
- gaṅanu, bird: Kite-hawk, probably the fork-tailed kite
- ganiya (var. gaṅira), 'billycan' (B), gaṅiyala, bark-dish, coolamon
- gaṅba-, to tell lies (Bār)
- gaṅbuga, tree: *quandong* (bitter)
- gaṅḍaru, only
- gaṅga, yam-stick
- gaṅga, naked (G)
- Gaṅga-dumbi, large waterhole in the Darling, in the Pooncarie area
- gaṅma-, to steal something, to 'shake', to take
- gaṅaga (var. gaṅara), here, inside here
- gaṅara ṅaḍidja, gaṅunja ṅaḍidja, this side of the river
- gaṅara, sweat; gaṅara digalaḍu, *sweat is pouring*
- gaṅari, fighting waddy (G)
- garabira, long way away, distant; garabirandu, from afar
- garadja, round
- Garadja 'the Round One' a big water hole near Pooncarie
- gara-gara-la-, to mess around, to play around in a silly fashion
- garambara, dance, 'shake a leg'
- garanja, sand, fine sand in the river; garanja maṅḍi, sandy ground
- Garanja, 'Sand' name of a water-hole near Pooncarie
- garanga, sharp, pointed
- garidj-garidj-mala-, to grind one's teeth
- garinga-ṅaṅgi, early in the morning
- garingi, tomorrow
- garubuda, cloud (small cloud, rather than rain-cloud)
- garuwari, snake: carpet snake (B)
- garba-, to feel, to grope for something
- garga, upper thigh
- garga-, to cry out, to scream
- garga-māṅi, corroboree-dance
- gargarga-la-, to dance, to 'shake a leg'
- gargaldi, wooden dish
- garganja, high up, the sky; *guda garganjana, he's reaching high up to the sky*
- garganja, up above (adv)
- gargi, flagon, large bottle (from English cask?)
- gargiri, bird: waterhen
- gargumbirayididja, lizard: Jacky Lizard, (*Amphibolurus muricatus*)
- gargūlda, trousers
- garambara, 'quivering of the legs', an essential part of ceremonial dancing
- gaṅaya, thigh, upper leg (cf garga)
- gaṅima, mallee tree

- gařima-gařima, scrub, bush-country,  
 malle-scrub  
 gařda, shoulder  
 gawamba, bird: the Nankeen crane  
 gābaga, fighting spear (G);  
 gābagana banda-, to hit with a  
 fighting spear  
 gābada, umbrella grass  
 gābuga, plant: *solanum ellipticum*  
 gāburu, tree: described as a tree  
 resembling the willow, probably  
*Acacia Oswaldii* (G)  
 gāđiri, boomerang (G)  
 gāgi, prickle, burr  
 gāgudja, elder brother; gāgulinja,  
 a pair of brothers, gāgu-gāgulinja,  
 three or more brothers  
 gāgumbirađidja, 'Jacky Lizard',  
 lizard species (*Amphibolurus*  
*muriatus*)  
 gāłbi-gāłbiga, moth  
 gānala, plant: roly-poly bush  
 gāni, lizard (SB + G), frill-  
 necked lizard (wide-spread word,  
 e.g. Arabana gadni)  
 gānba-, to wade across a river  
 gānba-gānba-, to wade, to walk  
 about in the water  
 gānda-, to attract, to fetch;  
 gandayigaŋga guniga biljubiljuŋu,  
*the fires attract moths*  
 gāndi-, to take away, to remove  
 something far away, to carry,  
 to own something  
 gāndi-ba-, to send, to direct;  
 gāndibadindu yāmaři, *you'll*  
*send him this way*  
 gāndi-nja-, to have  
 gāndara, blood, menstruation;  
 gāndara-bałga, vein (lit.  
*blood-string*)  
 gāndara dīgala-, to bleed  
 gāndi-gundara, scorpion  
 gāndinja, old, a long time, long  
 ago; gāndinjandu, from long ago,  
 of old  
 gāndinj'-mala-, to grow old  
 gānja-, to fall over, to collapse  
 gānji, (B) lizard: frill-neck  
 lizard (cf SB gāni)
- gāŋga-, to ride  
 gaŋga-la-, to jump up  
 gāŋgaru, horse  
 gāru, other, different  
 gārugaya, yonder, faraway  
 gāru mařa ŋđja, six (lit. *other*  
*hand one*)  
 gāra, skin, slough, newly shed  
 skin of snakes, inner skin of  
 an egg, thin outer bark of  
 tree-branches, scale of fish  
 gāra-mađara, with a new skin,  
 (snake)  
 gāriŋga, (var. gāřuga), shell;  
 gāriŋga-bađi, the hard outer shell  
 of the pupa stage of the  
 witchetty grub  
 gibara, urine  
 gidi, this one, dem.pronoun of  
 (not immediate) proximity  
 gidiga, tobacco, plug tobacco  
 gidjiri, bird: robin red-breast  
 giga-maři, this way, in this  
 direction  
 gīgi (var. ĩgi), this right here;  
 gigūlu, this particular one  
 gīguna, right here  
 gila, not, used in both state-  
 ments and prohibitions,  
 general negative particle  
 gilaga, not, cannot, rare  
 negative particle implying  
 inability  
 gila-, to grow  
 gila-ba-, to grow up  
 gilamba, bird: galah  
 gildu, stew  
 gili, ankle; mařa-gili, wrist  
 (lit. *hand-ankle*)  
 giŋa (var. iŋa, etc.) that  
 giŋi, this  
 giŋu, there, quite close  
 gina-, to stop, to leave off  
 ginuđa, stop! 'I give up!'  
 (exclamation of despair), also  
 ginuđili, *enough now!*  
 gingađa, grub, edible tree grub



- giṅdi, table-land, flat, stony ground, plain; giṅdi-mandi, flat area of gibber or of very coarse sand
- gira, tree: box tree (G)
- gira-baga, leaves of box tree used as 'rubbish' stuffed into the insides of victims who had their kidneys removed (G)
- giri-, to show, to teach (G); giri-ma-, to send for someone (G)
- giri-nja-, to instruct (G)
- giri-(g)iri-la-, to scream, to yell out (SB)
- girinja, tree: leopard-wood (*Flindersia maculata*) (G)
- girbadja, black kangaroo, i.e. the Western grey
- girga-, to show, to teach
- giyada, cattle, bullocks (from English 'cattle')
- gībara, bird: wild turkey (B)
- gīdjala (var. gīdjulu), plant: broom-bush (*Melaleuca uncinata*)
- gīgi, this
- gīgu, bird: white cockatoo, (sulphur-crested)
- gīlga, centipede
- gīnda-, to laugh (intr)
- gīndi-, to make someone laugh (tr)
- gīngi, bird: white cockatoo (corella)
- gīngi-ḡulu, 'two white cockatoos' the clouds of Magellan. They wait ready to steal the two emus which Nūrali is cooking up in the sky, the two emus being dark patches, the 'coal-sack' nebula in the Milky Way
- gīngudja, nephew (i.e. sister's son, man speaking; brother's son, woman speaking)
- gīra, country, place, ground; gāru gīrandu, from a different country
- gīraga, place, country (cf. gīra)
- gīyala, one's own, proper, (G) true
- gubadja, kopi, white gypsum powder used for painting
- gubu, elbow
- guda, other, other people, the rest, e.g. guda ḡingana malāga, *the others are living on the far side*
- guda-guda, everybody, all one after the other
- gudadi, maggots
- gudi, the but of the tail; galdi-gudi, gudi-maṅi, fat from the tail end of an emu (considered a great delicacy)
- gudanja (var. of guda-guda), all, everybody, all the rest of the people, also used adverbially 'altogether'
- gudjuru, waddy: 'leaping kangaroo', a long throwing stick with a knob at one end, it could bounce along over great distances and was a favourite toy, identical to the Victorian widj-widj
- gudjuru-waluru dāgulu, a brightly coloured form of the sand goanna (*Varanus Gouldii*)
- guḍa-, guḍi-, to touch, to reach right up to (with locative); guḍa garganjana, to touch the sky
- guḍa-guḍa-la-, to feel about, to grope
- guḍadja, bird: plover species
- guḍi, red raddle (G), bilby, rabbit-eared bandicoot
- guḍu-dunga, burial ground
- gugi, depth, bottom; gugina, at the bottom
- gugiriga, (gugirga), black, also dark-coloured coin, 'penny' as opposed to silver
- gugirg'-mala-, to turn black, to become unconscious
- gugu, end; guniga-gugu, fire-stick
- gulḍaba, bird: duck (teal)
- gula, hollow (tree)
- gulu, butt of a tree; guluna, beneath a tree, at the butt of a tree
- gulungala, bird: kite, probably the black-shouldered kite

- gulurugu (var. guludaru), bird: magpie
- gulba-, (intr) to tell, to talk; gulbadāli walbirina, *we'll talk by the river-bank*
- gulba-gulba-, to chatter, to talk incessantly
- gulbi-, to talk, to speak, to engage someone in conversation
- gulda, grass, green ground vegetation in general
- gulda-gulda, tea, i.e. 'grass'
- guldidja, bird: butcher-bird
- gulga, plant: rosebush (*Hibiscus Farragei*)
- gulji, Aboriginal hut, humpy, (rather more elaborate than the very temporary bunga)
- guljaruba, bird: grey pigeon
- gulju-gulja-, to rake up, to pile up (leaves and branches)
- guljbara, shade-hut, shade; guljbarana ŋingadu *he sits in the shade*
- guljbara-bira, omen, warning (such as itching in the nose, which indicates the impending arrival of a visitor or of news)
- guljbara-ŋugu, 'shadow-water', reflection in the water
- guldji, swag (G)
- gulambi, bird: grey pigeon
- Gulawira (var. Gulabira) Ancestral Being of great importance, 'God' known particularly from the Wanaaring dialect of Bārundji: but the fame of this ancestor had spread to other Bāgandji people. He is said to have walked into the sky at Mootwingee, where his footsteps are still seen; they were his last steps as he went up into the sky
- guli-, to play, to sit round playing bingo or cards
- guliga ŋadi, a child's playmate, (lit. *playing alike*)
- guliga, angry, wild (with someone)
- gulu, red kangaroo (Wiljāli)
- guluru, wave (in river)
- guldji (B), The Wiljaru; secondary initiation involving cicatrization. This is not a Bāgandji word: it is borrowed from languages to the west.
- gumba-, to heal, to cure, 'to doctor'
- gumbadja, big, large; gargi gumbadja, a large flagon (of wine)
- gumbaga, wife; gumbaga malgadja, 'having taken a wife', married
- gumbala, tree: coolabah
- guna- (var. gunda-), to dream
- gunaldi-, to dream; gunaldidjuana, *I dreamt about him*
- guna, faeces, bowel; guna-baŋga, *bowel string*, the lower intestine
- gunaŋi, bird: wood duck
- guniga, fire, fire-wood
- guni-daga, fireside
- guniga-gugu, fire-stick (G)
- gunigalba, fire-place, oven
- guniganji, fire-side (B)
- gunundu (var. gunbu), uninitiated boy (B)
- gunbali, fish: yellow-belly
- gunbinja, plant: yam
- gunbu, youth, young man ready for initiation
- gunda-la-, to dream
- gundara, tail (of animal), also penis
- gundi, mosquito
- gundu, belly, also 'guts' in general; gundu-miga, *guts ache*
- gundu-madiri, greedy (lit. *big guts*)
- gundu-yara, hollow tree (lit. *stomach-tree*) (G)
- gunga-, to swallow
- gungu-, to cough
- gungugu, cold, 'flu'
- gungulu, manna
- gungun-mila-, to fool around together (young girls and youths)

- gundji, hut (probably a recently borrowed word from Wiradjuri)
- gundjiri, shadow, reflection
- guṅgu, wet
- guṅgu-, guṅgu-ma-, to make wet;  
guṅgu-mala-, to get wet
- guṅgulu, wet ground; guṅgulu  
balda, fresh bark
- guṅa-, to conceal
- guṅadadji, bird: bronzewing pigeon
- Guṅaridji (B), the Guṅadidji people
- guṅga-, to 'doctor up', to treat a sick person (B)
- guṅgulu, crayfish (*Cherax* species) differs from gadjunja in the way the lower segments of the claw are positioned
- guraḷi, bird: 'jay' 'lousy Jack', white-winged cough
- guridja, scraper, stone adze (G)
- gurganja, sweet, sweet-tasting
- gurguru, tree: box tree (black box *Euc. largiflorens*)
- guṛa, grey; guṛa-wadja, grey-coloured; guṛadja, old woman (lit. *grey hair having*), also grandmother of opposite moiety
- guṛa-wadja, grey coloured
- guyab'mala-, to crawl away;  
duru guyabmaladju, *the snake crawled away*
- guyamara, tree: sandalwood, the men's tree, the male totemic tree
- guyibara, plant: emu-bush with conspicuous spotted flowers (*Eremophila maculata*)
- guyuru, grass-like plant with edible seeds, species uncertain
- gūgara, tree goanna (G)
- gūgagaga, kookaburra
- gūgunja, bird: dove
- gūguru, ribs, body (general term) also 'chemise'; gūguru-birṅa, rib-bone
- gūlji, gūlji-gūlji, or gūljuru, winter, cold season; gūlji-gūljina, *in the winter*
- gūlurgu, mirage
- gūnbu, hairy caterpillar
- gūnga-, to soothe on, to encourage a dog to attack someone
- gūrabuḍu, whirlwind (G)
- gūranja, muscles
- gūri-ba-, to hide (an object) to conceal something
- gūwali, bird: owl species
- lawu, flour (from English)
- maba-, to shift, to move a person forcibly; gila ṅayi mabanduayi, *don't you shift me!*
- mada, hard, dry; mada manu dayayiga, *they eat dry bread*; mada-mari, *very hard, rock-like*
- madara, new
- madiri, much, many
- maḍu, marrow
- maḍu, tiny, very small (G)
- maḍu, plant with edible berries, (*Solanum ellipticum*) (B)
- mada-mada-, to clean up, to clear the ground, to scrape
- madala-dja, satisfied; madala-djāba, *I've had enough*
- madja, madjidja, bold, game, daring, tame
- madja-manu, tree: bitter quandong (lit. *food for those who dare to eat it*)
- madjamba, hat
- madjiri, shin
- madjulu, plant: *Myoporum* species 'water bush'
- madja maniga, poison that causes its victims to commit incest
- maḍa, old man, big, large, important person, tribal elder, often used in the emphatic singular form maḍaulu
- maḍa-mara, frog (a small species), (lit. *big hand*)
- maḍu, private parts (female); maḍu-bulgi, pubic hair
- maḍuga, sticknest rat
- maga-nja-, to wear (SB), maginja (G)
- magara, rain, rain-clouds
- magi, raw, uncooked

- magu, hill, stony rise; magu  
gīra, tableland country (G)
- magudja, malicious mythological  
being, 'devil', living on  
rocky hills
- magura, cold weather (Bār)
- maḷdara, feather, down feather
- mali, bird: 'message bird',  
probably the grey butcher-bird  
or a cuckoo species
- malāga, the other side, across  
the river, this form also  
serves as allative: *to the  
other side*
- malba-, to throw something at  
somebody, to pelt someone  
(with stones)
- malba-, to lose (G)
- malbu, to die (G)
- malda, very (emphatic affix  
added to adjectives in Guṇu)
- malga, net, fishing net, string-  
bag
- malga-, to pull, to drag away
- Malgara, The Initiation Song  
Cycle (linked with the tradi-  
tions of the Lakes tribes of  
S.A.). In Bāgandji the term  
was also used for an ancestral  
being which lived in caves.  
It was further the name of an  
old, highly respected Bāgandji  
man at Pooncarie early this  
century, Malgara Jack
- malma-, to die, to pass away  
(polite term); malmadji, *he  
died*
- maljara, bag of sawfly larvae
- maljiḷa, bird: a species of hawk,  
probably the black kite
- maḷandji, friend, companion of  
same sex (man speaking)
- maḷga, tree: mulga
- maḷga-maṇu, mulga apple
- maḷjuḷi, caterpillar
- maḷi, man, husband, male;  
maḷilinja, a married couple
- maḷi-baḷu, boy, young boy
- mali-malgadja, married woman  
(lit. *man having*)
- maḷba-ra-, to be drunk, to be  
silly
- maṇu, vegetable food, bread;  
maṇu balduduru, vegetable food
- manda-, to wait, to lie in wait  
for somebody
- mandara, bird: widgeon
- maniṇa, money (from English)
- manbara, bird: black duck
- manda-, to chew
- mandanda, chewing tobacco
- mandi-, to take, to go for  
someone, to try to grab someone
- Mandurandji, name of a 'tribe',  
a subdivision of the Wanjubaḷgu
- mangu, mouse (*Sminthopsis* species)
- manju, a snake charm (G) (two  
sticks, one large and one small  
are held up and the snakes are  
allowed to crawl over the person  
performing this)
- maṇi, fat
- maṇu-maṇu, in all directions  
(adv)
- maṇḍa-, to vomit
- maṇḍi, sand, soil, ground; maṇḍi-  
midi, *covered in soil*, dirty
- maṇgara, bird: black duck (G)
- maṇgu, lower arm
- maṇa-, to make, to build, to fix  
up, to cure; maṇadju waṇanja,  
*he built a nest*
- maṇa, ears (alternative form for  
yuṛi in G)
- maṇa nabadja, deaf, (lit. *having  
blunt ears*, sometimes, parti-  
cularly in G simply *nabadja*)  
see yuṛi
- maṇada, plant: spinach
- maṇaru, shield (B)
- maṅga-, to hide, to hide oneself,  
'to plant' (intr)
- maṅgu-maṅgu, small chip of wood,  
splinter
- maragala, long ago, in the dream-  
time
- mari, true, real; mari balguana  
gulbādu, I speak the truth, used  
also as emphatic particle, and  
also as adverb *very*, following  
adjectives *yaldi mari*, *very straight*
- marila, ringworm

- marinja, (G) wallaby (*Onychigalea fraenata*)  
 margara, gun, rifle (from English 'musket', see margidja)  
 margidja (var. marga) gun, rifle- (from English 'musket', which has given rise to the word for 'gun' in most Aboriginal languages)  
 maṛa, hand, fingers (widespread word)  
 maṛa-maḍa, fat, stout  
 maṛa-ḡudja, clapping, accompaniment to a corroboree (G)  
 maṛa-malga-, to scratch (G)  
 maṛa-maṛa-, maṛu-maṛa-, to scratch  
 maṛa-maṛāga, spider ('hands')  
 marama-ili, be careful! (lit. *your hand now*)  
 maṛi-ma-, to look after, to care for  
 mawala, coal, charcoal  
 mawi, poison made from ground seed of a yellow berry (species unknown). When added to a drink it can cause death within three days (B)  
 mayabaḍu-, to whisper (G)  
 mayanda-, to search for  
 maya-maya-mala, to search carefully, to pick over (for lice)  
 mābu, weeping wattle (*Acacia stenophylla*)  
 māda, boss, master (widespread word from English 'master')  
 mādi, mistletoe berries  
 'Snorricobbles'  
 māda, drunkard (G)  
 mānba, body, flesh; mānbana gugirga *his flesh is black* i.e. he has been beaten black and blue  
 mānda, water-weeds, water-plants  
 māni, song, corroboree  
 māra-māra, kindling wood  
 māwulu, slow, slowly; māwulu gulba *speak slowly!*  
 māyiga, alternative word for 'white person' less frequent than danuga and wayidbala  
 mibuḍa, completely  
 mida-, to visit; mida-mida-, to visit frequently  
 Mida-dumbi, name of a deep water-hole near Pooncarie  
 midigi, hard, rough (ground) (B)  
 midu-miduna, bird: noisy miner  
 miḍidja, having something unpleasant, 'lousy with'  
 migi (var. nṯgi), name; wanmuradu migina, *I forget his name*  
 mildaga, egg-yolk  
 mila, hooked stick; mila baḍi-mandi, stick for getting grubs  
 mili, nail, claw; maṛa-mili, fingernail; dina-mili, toe nail (var. mīlinja)  
 milinja, nail, fingernail claw (G)  
 milinja-yaba, footprint, track, scratchmark, particularly scratchmark made on kangaroo-skins or other objects to mark ownership (G)  
 mildu-milda-, to spark  
 miḷab-miḷab-ma-, to catch alight, to get away (fire)  
 mimi, lips; mimi-bulgi, moustache  
 mina, what?; mina-mandi, what for? mina-mina, something or other, what's its name?  
 minidja, greatly, very much (adv), more over, as well, full of this, (whatever has just been discussed) and many similar things; dula'ḡugu minidja wīdjaladū, *he drinks a lot of alcohol and spirits*  
 minda-ulu, nose  
 mindu, blackhead, pimple  
 minduga, frill-neck lizard (Wiljāli)  
 miṅga, hole, deep hole in the ground, cavern  
 miṅgada, underneath, below; miṅgada gaṇa, under the stone, in a hollow  
 miṅgi, dawn, early morning  
 miṅgi yanirani, star: morning star

- mingu, mingu-mingu, mean,  
 refusing to give food to a  
 hungry person; mingu-mingu  
 nimba, *you are a mean fellow*
- mingu-mingula, exclusively,  
 separately, on one's own
- mira-mala-, to be pleased
- miri, face
- Mirga-māṅi, a Guṇu corroboree
- miṛa, bag
- miṛa-miṛa-, to roll a swag
- miri, emphatic particles used  
 also in the formation of  
 adverbs of direction as in  
 yā-miri *this way* also used  
 as general allative post-  
 position (G)
- miriga, forwards; miriga-na, in  
 front
- mība-mība-, to call someone, to  
 address someone by name
- mīburu, ant, general term (G)
- mīda, girlfriend, playmate  
 (woman speaking), this could  
 be a borrowing from English
- mīda-mīdalinja, a group of women  
 who are all friends
- mīdidja, sister in law (woman  
 speaking)
- mīdji-, to feel sleepy, to settle  
 down, to set (sun)
- mīdji, name (B). This word was  
 regarded as a borrowing from  
 Maljanaba.
- mīga, pain, illness; gundu-mīga,  
*stomach-ache*; daḍu-mīga, *head-  
 ache*
- mīgadja, sick, ill, a sick person  
 (lit. *having pain*)
- mīgaya-la-, to be hurt, to feel  
 pain
- mīgi, eye
- mīgiga, clever; mīgiga wīmbadja,  
 a clever man (SB only) (lit.  
*one who can see*)
- mīṅu-bulgi, eyebrows
- mubi, to light a fire
- muḍi, chin
- muḍa, muḍu (G), piece, small  
 portion (of meat etc)
- muga-, to hide (tr)
- muga, mugila, silent, quiet,  
 also used adverbially; with-  
 out speaking
- mugili (var. muguli), tree: wild  
 orange (*Capparis Mitchellii*)
- mugu\_dungana, in the middle of  
 the night
- mugu-mugu, completely silent
- mugudja, (mugu-dja), short, small
- mugūla, cigarette (from English  
 'smoke', cf mūgu)
- Mulu, The Mulunga corroboree  
 (which Grannie Moisey learnt  
 and participated in). This  
 corroboree originated in  
 Queensland among the Wanbaya,  
 and became popular in northern  
 S.A. at the turn of the century.  
 Grannie Moisey's account shows  
 that it was popular also in the  
 Far West of N.S.W. (Hercus 1980)
- mulda-mulda-, to scold somebody  
 'to rouse on somebody'
- muḷa, testicles
- Muḷa\_dumbi, name of a large  
 waterhole in the Darling, in  
 the Pooncarie area
- muḷadja, tadpole
- muḷaru, bird: bronzewing pigeon
- muli, knife (G) (used for Euro-  
 pean-type knife, but originally  
 'stone-knife')
- mulindji, new fresh; muḷindji  
 mūrba, *a new baby*
- muḷu, lower back; muḷu biṛna,  
 lower backbone
- mumbinji, drum, which was beaten  
 to make emus curious, and to  
 make them come close so that  
 they could be easily killed
- muni, ant, green ant (known for  
 its vicious bite)
- munu, upper lip; manu bulgi,  
*upper lip hair*, mōustache
- mununja-, to kiss
- muna, snake: green snake  
 (*Demansia psammophis psammophis*)
- muni-, also muni-muni-, to tie  
 up; muni-munidu gaḷina, *he's  
 tying up his dog*

- muni-muni (var. munidjiri),  
 policeman (lit. *tie up*);  
 muni-muni-na gira *the police-*  
*men's place* i.e. jail
- munidjara, bird: top-knot pigeon
- munda, secret-sacred, forbidden  
 (to the uninitiated) dangerous;  
 mundāma, *it's dangerous for you*
- munda-ma-, shave; 'they said to  
 Mrs X you want to mundamalda  
 now, she had such a big beard'  
 (G)
- mundambara, sometimes shortened  
 to mundara, rainbow that crosses  
 the sky and which is seen before  
 a big storm. The name is  
 associated with munda (secret-  
 sacred) 'because you weren't  
 allowed to look at it'
- mundji-, to fill up (B)
- mundjaḷa, gut
- muṇa-muṇa-, to answer back, to  
 argue
- muṅgadja, aunt (father's younger  
 sister); muṅgalinja, aunt and  
 niece or nephew
- mura, fast (G)
- muraḷa, fast, quick; mura-muraḷa  
 (var. muri-muraḷa), quickly!,  
 hurry up!
- muri-muri-, to mix, particularly  
 to mix flour and water
- murumbara, shield (B)
- muru, hot ashes (G)
- mūgi-, to itch, to feel an  
 irritation (intr)
- mūgi-, to make fun of, to sneer  
 at; mūgilaruai, *he's making*  
*fun of me*
- mūgu, tobacco (from English  
 'smoke')
- mūgula, cigarette
- mūluru, water-rat (*Hydromys*  
*chrysogaster*)
- mūḷi-yara, tree: emu apple  
 (*Owenia acidula*)
- mūma-, to pick up, to lift up
- mūma-mūma-, to pick up, to tidy;  
 mūma-mūmaḍu yara-yara, *I'm*  
*tidying my things*
- mūmu-mūmu-, to hum
- mūra, an Ancestral being; mūra-  
 māṅi, a corroboree connected  
 with Ancestors (G. B. Bār)
- mūrba, child; mūrba-nāra, mūrba-  
 nāriḡu, children, a group of  
 children
- mūrḡa dawi-, to be short-winded
- mūya-, to have a row, to scold  
 someone
- naba-, to lock up, to imprison;  
 muni-muni-nuru nabaduruana,  
*the police will lock him up*
- nabadja, deaf (G)
- nabi-, to cause someone else to  
 be locked up, to 'dob' someone  
 in
- nadadja, boyfriend, lover
- naḷa, down, downwards
- nagu-, to put in, to add
- nagu-nagu-, to mix; dunda ḡugu  
 nagū-nagunjaduru, *he should*  
*mix water with it (the metho)*
- nalba-, to knock down, to blow  
 down
- nama-, to carry about (on one's  
 back)
- nama-malga, carrying bag, large  
 bag, of netting, carried on  
 back
- namu, intestines
- namba-, to dance, to stand on,  
 to trample (on something) (G)
- namba, young initiate, boy who  
 has gone through initiation
- nambali, berry of *Solanum*  
*ellipticum*
- nambura, tree, probably *Acacia*  
*Oswaldii*
- nandara, how many?
- nandama, nandara, again, all  
 over again (adv)
- nandidj-mala-, to back answer,  
 to persist, to keep on and on
- nandu, breakwind, shelter; nandu  
 bana-, to make a breakwind
- Nandurandji, name of a subgroup  
 of Southern Bāgandji
- nanja, stubborn; nanja-mari  
 ṅgadji inigi, *he was very*  
*stubborn*

- naŋanja, naŋunja, how?, which?;  
naŋanja waŋa ŋimba or naŋanja  
ŋiŋimba, *how are you?*
- naŋi-, to run after, to pursue  
somebody
- naŋgi (var. naŋgirga), warm,  
pleasant; dina-naŋgi, *with*  
*one's feet in front of the fire*
- naŋgi, to warm up; naŋgina yugūlu,  
*the sun is just warming up, it's*  
*sunrise*
- nara-, to skin an animal
- narga, enemy, somebody who is  
hated
- narga-narga-, to kill with magic
- nawa-la-, to perish, to be seri-  
ously ill, to die of thirst
- Nawalgu, the group of Bāgandji  
who used to occupy an area  
downstream from Tilpa
- nawaru, bird: mallee hen
- nayi-, to skin with a knife  
(probably from nayu and ulti-  
mately from English 'knife')
- nayinji, dark-coloured resin,  
glue
- nayu, knife (European type, from  
English 'knife')
- nāba, edible grub (general term)
- nāda-, to catch fish, to go fish-  
ing; baridjaba nāḍala, *I went*  
*fishing*
- nāmba, fish: bony bream, also a  
species of legless lizard
- nāni, bird: (= wabuga) owl species
- nāŋga-, to sit (B)
- nāŋga-la, to sit waiting (G)
- nāri-, to set (of sun)
- nāri-la-, hang down; daḍu-nāri-la  
baridu, *he is walking with his*  
*head hanging down*
- nibana, underneath, below
- nibi, piece, fragment; gaŋu nibi,  
pebble
- nidja, bed (of soft ground or  
leaves), ground-sheet, mat placed  
on ground for children
- nidja-nidja-ma-, to put someone  
to bed
- nidju-, to unroll, to unravel, to  
spread out
- nidju-ma-, to spread out
- nigi, charcoal; nigi-manu (lit.  
*charcoal-food*), Johnny cakes
- nin-nin-mala-, to shake, to  
tremble; nin-nin-malāna maŋayi,  
*my hand is shaking*
- ninda-, ninda-ninda-, to singe,  
to scorch
- nindadja, thin, skinny; nindadja-  
malam-baningadu, *he was getting*  
*thin*
- niribudu, feathers, top feathers  
as opposed to down (B)
- nirba-, to grab, to seize (G)
- nirga-, to bark
- nirga-nirga-, to squawk
- niwila-, to push someone (into  
the water)
- nīdaga, tree: wilga
- nīgi, name
- nīlji, plant: a species of  
mistletoe
- nīnda-, to take off (clothes)
- nīra-, to wail, to cry continually
- nīrgi-, to cry, to grizzle (said  
of small children only)
- nuda-nuda-, to spill
- numūli, wild honey (G)
- numbarga (SB), green; numba (B)
- numba-la-, to rot
- numbi-, to draw
- nunba-, to drown
- nundara, foam, froth on water
- nura-, to slip
- nurani, right (as opposed to  
left); nurani yaḷgu, right leg  
(G)
- nurawali, for a long time, alto-  
gether; ibiyadu mingana nurawali  
baŋa-albi, *iĒ (the kingfisher)*  
*goes into a hole for a long*  
*time, like a goanna*
- nurinja, hard, tough, loud
- nurba-, to rub (G), see nūru-
- nurguru, plant: cotton bush  
(*Kochia aphylla*)
- nūga-, to cut with a knife, to  
slice



- nūga-nūga-, to cut to pieces  
nūgugu, a long thin stick, a thin branch  
nūma-, to know (from English)  
nūminja-, to threaten  
nūmu, hornet  
nūngu, woman, female; nūngu ba!u, female child, little girl  
nūngu nadadja, girlfriend, (woman) companion  
Nūrali, Ancestral Being, particularly the main Creator - Ancestor, Crow  
nūru-, to rub, to smear with grease (G)  
nūwara, bird: broлга  
njiba, clothes (widespread word in S.A.)  
ŋa, and, (rarely used conjunctive particle)  
ŋaba, I  
ŋaba-la-, to drive out (G)  
ŋabila, plant with edible leaves and shoots, parakeelya  
ŋabu-ŋabu-, to shiver and shake  
ŋada, perhaps, maybe; ŋada mandaldāba, *perhaps I'll wait*  
ŋadi, something wrong, against the rules  
ŋadu-, to take out, to pull out; buldana ŋadundu *take out the tea leaves!*  
ŋadji, watersnake, mythological rainbow-serpent  
ŋaḍa-, to light a fire (SB)  
ŋaḍa-, to stay in one's own place (SB), to return, to go back (G)  
ŋaḍadja, bird, black cormorant (*Phalacrocorax ater*)  
ŋaḍi, alike, similar  
ŋaḍi-, to turn, to turn over  
ŋaḍu, nardoo  
ŋaḍ-ŋaḍŋmala-, to race, to pant, to beat heavily; bu!u ŋaḍ-ŋaḍ-malāna, (*my heart is racing through strain*)  
ŋaga, tears (probably cognate with the Waŋgumara for 'water', ŋaga)  
ŋalda, bird: black duck (Bār)  
ŋali, we two  
ŋalba, habit, use, custom, obstinate tendency to do a certain thing; du!aga ŋalba-dja, *that's a bad habit he has*. ŋalba can also mean 'appearance', 'colour'; gāru ŋalba-ŋalba, *different colours*  
ŋalbi-, to leave, to go away from (G)  
ŋalda-, to be sore (B)  
ŋaldja, spit, phlegm  
ŋalga-, to hurt; banbayi ŋalgāna, *my throat is hurting*  
ŋalgina, ŋalgirga, red  
ŋa!i, cheek  
ŋa!u, ŋa!udja, mother-in-law (woman speaking), father's oldest sister  
ŋa!ba-ŋa!ba-, to swing (intr), to fool about  
ŋama, breast, milk  
ŋamaga, mother, also female of animal; ŋamaga nūngu, *mother woman*, a baby health worker  
ŋamaga-maḗa, (lit. *mother of hand*) thumb. This is a widespread expression, e.g. Diyari maḗa ŋandri, *mother of hand, thumb*  
ŋamalinja, a pair: mother and child  
ŋama-ŋamalinja, a group consisting of a mother and her children  
ŋamalu, white of egg  
ŋama!u, 'hard milk' lumps on the breast after childbirth  
ŋamurūlu, Milky Way  
ŋamba-, to finish, to stop (B)  
ŋamba-ŋamba-ga-, to be happy and noisy, to rejoice, to celebrate  
ŋambala, bulbine lily tuber  
ŋaninja, fog  
ŋandadja, frost, heavy dew  
ŋanda-ma-, to pull back (tr)  
ŋanda-ŋandanja, scrub  
ŋandanja, branch, twig

- ɲandara, behind, later; *dalbadu*  
 ɲandara, *he stays (hidden) be-*  
*hind something, he stays in the*  
*background; ɲandamana gabadūma,*  
*he's following behind you;*  
 ɲandayina, behind me (with  
 affixation of bound possessive  
 pronoun)
- ɲandi, teeth
- ɲanja, flame, light
- ɲanja, (name of the famous Bāgandji  
 man from Cutheroo Station who  
 founded the 'ɲanja tribe' - see  
 Richards (1903))
- ɲanji- (var. ɲāndja-), to ask for  
 something, to beg; *mina ɲanjiri?*  
*what are (you) asking for?*
- ɲanju-, to eat (*Wiljāli*)
- ɲandji-, to leave, to abandon
- ɲaɲba-, to catch, to grab, to  
 destroy by magic (G)
- ɲaɲba, sweetheart (SB), husband (G)
- ɲaɲba-ɲaɲba-la-, to woo, to go  
 courting
- ɲangi-, to tease, to pull at  
 continually
- ɲaɲdi, the edible tuber of the  
 wild banana (*Marsdenia* species).  
 The fruit is called *gaga!a*
- ɲaradja (ɲara-ɲaradja), together,  
 in company
- ɲari-ɲara, big (G)
- ɲarba-, to build, to make, to  
 establish, to create
- ɲarga-ɲarga-, to hold
- ɲaruga, frog (*Hyla caerulea*), the  
 large green frog
- ɲawa-la, to be in a bad state,  
 to deteriorate
- ɲayi, hey, hello! exclamation  
 used to greet someone or to  
 demand attention
- ɲayilga, fence
- ɲāda, no, nothing; ɲāda-mandi,  
 for nothing, in vain; ɲāda-  
 mari, nothing at all
- ɲādu-, to pull out
- ɲāɟa-, to throw
- ɲāmuru, dirty; ɲāmuru-waɟa,  
 having a dirty smell
- ɲānudja, great-aunt (of own  
 moiety), step-sister
- ɲānguru, lap
- ɲāndja- (var. ɲanji-), to ask for  
 something, to beg for something  
 (tr)
- ɲāɲuru, goanna: black goanna  
 (*Varanus varius*)
- ɲāɲga-, to fall, to fall down
- ɲārbi, to make, to put together
- ɲiba- (var. iba-), to put down,  
 to place, also 'to be born'
- ɲidi-ɲidja, one by one
- ɲidja, one
- ɲi!i-biɲna, shoulder blade
- ɲim (var. ɲī), yes
- ɲima- (var. ima-), to lie down
- ɲima-ɲima-, to lie around
- ɲimba, you (sg)
- ɲina, this one (G)
- ɲinara, here (G)
- ɲina, we (pl)
- ɲinda, cloud
- ɲindadja, cloudy (lit. *cloud-*  
*having*)
- ɲirga-, to block, to ward off  
 blows by means of a shield or  
 boomerang
- ɲī, yes
- ɲīnda-, to let loose, to untie,  
 to blow wildly (wind); *yaɟu*  
*ɲīndalāna, the wind is blowing*
- ɲīndu-, to blow one's nose
- ɲīnga-, to sit, to stay
- ɲuba, you two
- ɲuɟa, you (pl)
- ɲuɟa-ɲuɟa-, to teach, to show,  
 to criticise
- ɲudu, lice
- ɲugu, water
- ɲugu-miɲa, water bag; *ɲugu-miɲa*  
*waɲi-bugana, a waterbag is*  
*(made) with possum-skin*
- ɲulja-, to wash; *ɲuljaɟu gambiri,*  
*he's washing clothes*
- ɲuljba, fontanelles

- ɲulardji (G), ɲulardi (B), a lot, many, an indefinite large number; ɲula-ɲulardji, a very large number. This word is used only rarely in Southern Bāgandji (see *duluru*)
- ɲunmara, scraps, remnants of food
- ɲuni, to roll along the ground; to roll and roll along, to writhe and wriggle
- ɲuni-ɲuna-, to pull out (teeth)
- ɲunuldja, bird: pigeon (species uncertain)
- ɲunda, to rub, to smear
- ɲundadja, brother-in-law
- ɲundi, mosquito (G)
- ɲundinja, dirt from nose, snot (G)
- ɲundja-ɲundja-, to make a whining noise
- ɲuɲi-, to scorch
- ɲuɲi, dirty
- ɲuɲi-mala-, to be dirty
- ɲuɲi, fat, grease; ɲuɲi maɲi, very fat
- ɲūga, to give; gagudjāma ɲūgadjina, *your brother gave it*
- ɲūga-ɲūga-, to shower someone with gifts, to give away too much
- ɲūgi-, to feel pain; ɲūgildjāba, *I felt the pain*
- ɲūgugu, long stick
- ɲūlga, grandfather (of opposite moiety)
- ɲūŋgi, cooked, ripe; manu ɲūŋgi bāɲadju, *he smelt ripe fruit...*
- ɲūwa-, to cook
- ɲūwala-ɲūwala, star, morning star
- ɲūya-, to fear, to be frightened; ɲūyalāba! *I am scared!*
- ɲalda-ɲalda, bird: spurwing plover
- waba- (var. wabu-), to come, to arrive, to come out (intr)
- wabanja, grandchild of the same moiety (son's child, man speaking, daughter's child, woman speaking)
- wabi-, to return, to give back
- wabi-la-, to be hot, to hurt; wabilādu, it is hot (water etc), it hurts
- wabilga, hot, boiling
- wabuga, bird: mopoke owl
- wada-, to blow; yaɲu wadalāna, *The wind is blowing* (B)
- wada, wadana, wadaga, there (in the middle distance)
- wadara, wadarana, there (in the middle distance)
- wadi-, to get into, to turn into (intr), to become, to crawl into; miŋgana wadiyaɲu, *he crawls into a hole*
- wadu, that one (demonstrative pronoun)
- wadu-mari, that one, in that direction
- wada-, to turn back (intr), wadāna gāndarāna, *she has her period* (lit. *her blood runs back*)
- wadaɲa, mussels
- Wadalja, Wanaaring (Bār)
- wadu-, to get, to fetch, to take
- waduwanda-, to pull out (derivative verb from wadu-)
- wadumbi-, to grab, to snatch (derivative verb from wadu-)
- wadja, bird: corella
- waɲa, heel
- waɲaɲi-, to fence, to work on a fence (derivation uncertain)
- Wadudina, God, Supreme Ancestral Being (SB). He was the Sun Ancestor, who came down on earth with his two women. He travelled past the moon
- Waɲunjurina, Ancestral Being, 'he comes, travelling through the air when you cook emu-fat. He is a kind of Satan'
- waga, jaw; waga-birna, *jaw bone*; waga-bulgi (var. waga-wulgi), beard, whiskers (lit. *jaw hair*); waga-bulgi-dja, a person with whiskers. There is also a shortened form wagulgi which is used particularly for the feelers of a crayfish
- waga-, to cut, to chop, to strip (a canoe); waga-waga-, to smack to beat, to hit, to chop
- wagadja, uncle (mother's brother)

- wagaga, tomahawk, stone-axe;  
wagaga-baḷu, *tomahawk-child*,  
a small tomahawk, meant for  
cutting small branches and  
chipping bark high up in trees  
in search for grubs
- waga-waga-, to smack, to beat,  
to hit, to chop
- wagu-, to search for something;  
mina wagurinda, or mina galalindu,  
*what are you looking for?*
- walu, mould; walu-waḷa, smelling  
of mould
- waluru, frog: small tree frog
- walba-, to carry
- walbi-, to lift up
- walbanja, bird: stormbird, swallow
- walbaladja, horse (G)
- walbinja (var. walbunja), stubborn,  
naughty, doing the same thing  
over and over again despite dis-  
couragement
- walbinj-dawinga-, to have difficulty  
in breathing, to have asthma  
(lit. *to have stubborn breathing*)
- walbiri, the bank of a river or  
creek; walbirina bamindu, *you see  
it on the river-bank*
- walganja, orphaned child
- walja, bottom, behind
- walja, not, 'don't' (prohibitive  
particle)
- waljara, plant; a bush used in  
making humpies (G)
- walj-mala-, to dangle, to hang  
free (intr)
- walj-walj-ma-, to make smooth,  
to free
- wali, state, condition; nanunja  
wali nimba, *how are you?*
- walu, storm, fierce hail-storm,  
cyclone (G)
- wama-la-, to move, to move away,  
to turn (G)
- wamba-, to flow; gila dulba-nugu  
wambaladji, *the flood waters  
did flow*
- wamba-wamba-, to pick up, to drive  
along (as flood waters drive  
debris)
- wamba-waru, bird: quail
- wamba-yaḷu, wind coming from the  
east and north-east
- Wambandji, name of a group of  
northern Bāgandji
- wambi-, to fly; wambi-wambi-la-,  
to fly about; wambi-wambilāḷu  
igi wāgu, *that crow is flying  
around*
- wambi-nja-, to blow away, to  
dispel (a storm, by magic) (tr)
- wana, boomerang, a fighting  
boomerang of the non-returning  
kind
- wanba, bird: owl species
- wanbabara, bird: blue crane (B)
- wanba, silly, ignorant (perhaps  
based on the word for 'owl')
- wanba-ma-, to forget, to be  
ignorant, not to know someone  
or something; wanbamaḷuana, *I  
don't know him*
- wanda, ghost, white person. The  
use of the term 'ghost' for a  
European is widespread in  
Southern and Eastern Australia
- wanda-, to burn (intr) (this verb  
was quite distinct from wandja-,  
to cook in ashes), to light a  
fire (tr)
- wanda-, to forget (tr); wandāna  
baḷgu, forgetting the language  
(B)
- wandāli, bad (song word) (G)
- wandāli, echidna, porcupine
- wandi-, to burn (tr)
- wandi-ma-, to wish, to want (from  
English 'want')
- wandindali, part of initiation,  
knocking out of teeth
- wandudja, bird: mopoke owl (G)
- wanga, meat, matrilineal totemic  
descent line; mina wang' imba,  
*what meat are you?*
- wanga-baḷu, plant with yellow  
flowers and edible tubers
- wanga-wanga-, to rise, to fly up,  
to lift up (G); wanga-la-, to  
go up a hill
- wangara, right (B)
- wangarāga, right, right hand  
side

- wangi, postposition, 'in the first place', 'mainly'; *ŋindu-wangi wandima, you are the main one that wants something*
- wangu, small non-poisonous snake, 'glow worm'
- wanmu-, to be stupid, cranky; *wanmuraḍu igi wiḍaulu, that old man is getting silly*
- wanmuḍa-, to forget
- wanji, upper arm near shoulder, wing; *wanji-biṛna, shoulder blade*
- wanju, corroboree song, ritual song
- waṇu, bottom, behind
- wandja-, to cook in ashes; *baṭramala wandjalāḍu, he's cooking it well*
- wanba-, to sting, to irritate (G)
- waṇḍa-waṇḍa-, to grab
- waṇa-, to cook (Bār)
- waṇanja, nest (of bird or stick-nest rat)
- waṅgara, upper arm near shoulder
- waṅgawa, bird: 'twelve apostles' (*Struthidea cinerea*)
- wara, side, direction. This noun is used with possessive affixes and case markers to form adverbs of location: *warayina, by my side, near me!*; *wara yindu, from close by me*
- wara-wara, close together, side by side; *wara-wara ŋiṅgayiga, they sit close together*
- waraga, sideways, at the side (adv)
- warab-mala-, to be shocked
- waraḷi, bird: 'lousy Jack', jay, probably the babbler
- warāṇa-, to pile up (B)
- wari-, to move about, to vibrate (intr)
- warigi, younger sister (G)
- warigu, bird: eaglehawk (G), the eaglehawk totem (to which Mrs Moisey belonged)
- waru, plant: swamp cane grass
- warbaḷa, tree: leopard tree (Bār)
- warga-, to work (from English 'work')
- wara, and then, furthermore (linking particle)
- waṛaga, friend, companion
- wari-buga, possum (alternative for yarandji)
- wayidbala, white-fellow (from English)
- wayu-, to be sorry, to grieve over someone
- wādi-wādi-la-, to be wild, to get angry
- wādidja, younger sister
- wāgadja, uncle, mother's brother, senior male of one's own moiety and of the adjacent generation. *wadi wāgadja, youngest uncle*
- wāgu, bird: crow, the Ancestral Crow of Bāgandji mythology
- wānda-, to know; *gila wāndaḍu ŋiṅgina, I don't know his name*
- wāndidja, bird: pelican
- wāngu-, to take away, to acquire by means of persuasion
- wāngu-wāngu-, to coax, to persuade
- wāra-, to pull, to drag; *wārana baḷga, to drag the line, to pull fish*
- wāwu, manna
- wiba, hard
- widu, a twig, a pliable stick
- widu-widu-, to pull out; *daḍulgi widu-widu-, to pull out hair*
- widulu (var. widunja), all, everything; *gila widjaduana, widunja, I won't drink it at all*
- wid-mala-, to be lost, to lose one's way
- wida-, to look at, to watch surreptitiously
- widu-wida-, to spy on somebody, to stare, to 'sticky beak'
- widu-widu-la-, to chase after
- wiḍu-, to push, to scrape along; *widu-wiḍu-, to scrape the ground, to scratch, to smoothe out a camp-site*
- wiḍu, old, big, important; *wiḍūlu, important old man*

- widu-dina, big toe  
 widu-mara, thumb  
 wiḍuga, (elder) sister; wiḍuga-  
 ḡulu, a pair of sisters  
 widugalinja (var. wiḍulinja), a  
 pair of sisters  
 wiḍu-wiḍulinja, three or more  
 sisters  
 widumbaga, old woman (widu+gumbaga)  
 (B)  
 wilub-ma-, to lift up  
 wilba-, to lose something; mina  
 wilbadjindu, *what did you lose?*  
 wilba-diru, bird: whistling duck  
 wilbaru, cart, wagon, buggy  
 (from English 'wheelbarrow?')  
 wilbi, humpy  
 wilbi-la-, to build, to build up,  
 to heap up (eggs on a nest)  
 wilga-wilga (SB), wilga (G),  
 hungry  
 wiljuru, 'willow tree' - drooping  
 tree, the leaves are used for  
 healing wounds (*Acacia salicina*)  
 wiḷu-wiḷu, brown snake  
 wiḷubi, wool (from English)  
 wiḷba, waist  
 wimi-, to play (G)  
 wiḿbadja, a man, (general term)  
 a person, generally used now  
 to denote an Aboriginal versus  
 a white person; wiḿbadjayi (lit.  
*my man, i.e. my friend!*) used  
 as a term of address  
 wiḿbadjunga (wiḿbadja-bḡnga), a  
 native hut  
 wiḿbalinja, mother and child (B)  
 wiḿbaḷu, niece, brother's daugh-  
 ter (woman speaking)  
 wiḿbara, son or daughter (man or  
 woman speaking)  
 wimbi-wimbi-, to water plants,  
 to pour out water  
 winḡli, bat, a large species of  
 bat  
 winba-, to blame, to complain  
 about somebody; winbayigayi,  
*they complain about me*  
 winda-winda-, to blow away, to  
 toss away  
 windira-ma-, to light a fire  
 windu-, to light a fire (G)  
 windja, where? which?; windjandu,  
 whereabouts; windjandu mḡrba,  
 whereabouts child  
 windja-maḡi, which way, in what  
 direction?; windja-maḡi  
 baringadu, *which way is he*  
*going?*  
 windjara, where?; windjar'idu,  
 where is it?, where from?;  
 windjara-du barbadji?, *where*  
*did it come from?*  
 windjiga, who?; windjiga  
 gaḡmadjayi, *who stole it from*  
*me?*; winjigana gaḷi'du, *whose*  
*dog is it?*  
 windjḡga, who? (Bār)  
 winga-, to find  
 wingu-nja-, to turn over (meat  
 that is cooking)  
 winma-, to pull out, to drag out  
 (a grub from a tree)  
 wiḡḡa, plant: lignum (*Muehlen-*  
*beckia Cunninghamii*)  
 wiḡuru, fly (general term),  
 ordinary bush-fly  
 wiḡḡana, flea (word of recent  
 origin)  
 wirab-wirab-mala-, to sparkle  
 (fire)  
 wiri-ma-, to wind up, to roll up  
 wiru, kidney  
 wiru-maḡi, kidney fat  
 wiruba, bird: quarrlian, cockatiel  
 wirubi, plant: fine spear-grass  
 used for lighting fires  
 wirba (var. wirbi-), to lift up  
 wirbari, plant: saltbush (B)  
 wirga-, to swim; wirga-wirga-,  
*to swim around*  
 wirgara, alongside, next to,  
 adjoining  
 wiwada, table, board, plank (G)  
 wḡba, (adv) near the fire, in the  
 warm (probably cognate with the  
 Niyambā word wḡ fire)  
 wḡdi, shrimp  
 wḡdja-, to drink, to drink spirits

- wīdju-wīdja-, to drink to excess
- wīndi-, to make a fire, to build a fire (probably cognate with wide-spread word wī *fire*, found for instance in Niyambā, see wība)
- wīndja, mud, soft ground, clay
- wīngu, navel
- wīngudja (var. wīnginja), all, complete (G)
- wīnjana, wooden hook
- wuli, hole (G)
- wulu, look!, eh! (exclamation of surprise) (G)
- wuna-midina, dried out (quoted by George Dutton as an alternative for daļa-midina, perhaps a Guṇu word)
- wurunga, whip (G)
- yaba, track, footprint, any mark made with one's hand or foot; ṇayi daļba-balda, bamindu milinja-yabayi, *it's my kangaroo-skin, you can see my finger-nail mark (on it)!*
- yaba-, to camp
- yaba-yaba-, yaba-la-, to slip; yaba-yabadu dinana, *his foot's slipping, to roll round*; yaba-yabana daṇa-birṇana, *they roll on their backs (dogs)*
- yaba-yaba-ma-, to make something smooth or slippery, to smoothe over
- yabala, claypan; yabaļa-maṇḍi, 'clayey ground'
- yaba-yabaļa, yellow coloured like a claypan
- yabanja, tree: the red mulga (*Acacia cyperophylla*) which grows near Wanaaring (Bār)
- yabandji, name of the group of Bāgandji who lived near Cobar
- yabara, camp, dwelling, home; ṇayi yabarayi, *this is my camp*
- yaḍu, wind, gale; yaḍu-duru gaṇdiduruana, *the wind will take it away*
- yaga-, to scream (intr), to call
- yaga-baldayi, oh dear! exclamation of surprise and pain (lit. *alas my skin*)
- yaga-la-, to sing out, to cry out
- yagi, cold, chilled; yagi-mala-, to get cold
- yagi-la-, to feel cold; yagilāba, *I am cold*
- yagi-yagi-la-, to wave something, to shake (a branch) (tr)
- yalda, I don't know
- yaldi, straight, long, tall
- yaldi-mari, going straight, very correct, very big
- yaldi-yuri, (lit. *long-ears*) rabbit
- yala-ra-, to cadge, to go round cadging food, drink or money from others
- yalba-, to count (tr)
- yalba-, one's own (B); yalba yaṅu idina, *this is his own song* (B)
- yalda, nardoo-stone, grinding stone
- yaldi-, to roll on the ground (e.g. a child who cannot even crawl yet) (G)
- yalga, mouth
- yalga-, to open one's mouth wide, to gape
- yalgu, lower leg; yalgu-birṇa, leg-bone; yalgu-ṇulu, garters (lit. *two legs*)
- yala, own, proper, true (adj) (G) yaļa gumbadja, *a true big one*; yaļa wimbaraṇari, *my own child*
- yaļa-, to beat, to get the better of, to surpass, to win by fair means or foul; yaļaruṅga-diṅa yaṇḍa-mandi, *she's beating them for money* (she's winning at gambling)
- yaļi, open, spread out
- yaļinja (var. yalira), too much, a lot, exceedingly, all the time; wīdjaladu yaļinja, *he drinks too much*
- yaļgi, creek, deep crack in the ground
- yamaga, (var. yamadja), fish: catfish
- yamiri, shallow (adj); e.g. yamirina ṇuguna wirgadāba-, *I shall swim in the shallow water*

- yambaga, a little skirt made of possum skin worn by young girls (G)
- yambi-yambi, to tear up, to rend; yambi-yambidjūlu, *the two (dogs) tore (my skin)*
- yanda, (B and Marawara) only; yanda maṛa, only five (lit. *only one hand*)
- yanda, to lament and wail, to cry out (usually followed by the aspectual affixes -nja- or -la-), to cry; bībi-ṅulu yandanjādulu, *the two babies are wailing*
- yandandji (var. yandinja), whirlwind; yandinja yā-maṛi baringadu, *a whirlwind is coming*
- yan-ma-, to cry, to wail; gila yanmaldāba, *I don't cry!*
- yani, short; milinjayi yaṇi, *my fingernails are short*
- yaṇbi-, to criticise, to complain about someone
- yaṇḍa, stone (G and Bār) rocky ground, stony plain (now also used for 'bitumen'), and further most commonly for 'money' in all Bāgandji dialects. (The use of words meaning 'stone', 'pebble' in the sense of 'money' is widespread in Aboriginal languages); yaṇḍa-buda, white clay (G)
- yaṅga, road, path, small track
- yaṅgu, song, ritual song
- yaṅma-, (G) to leave, to go away; yaṅmala-ṅāba, *I am going* (probably a dialectal semantic variant of the following verb)
- yaṅma-, to break, to break off
- yaṅgi-, to sharpen
- yaṅgu, shield
- yaṅgudja, left, left hand side
- yara, stick, piece of wood, timber, tree (general term); yara-guḷu, stump
- yara-yara, things, belongings; yara-yarayi, *my own things*
- yarali, echidna (G)
- yarandji, possum (grey) (lit. *belonging to trees*)
- yarāndadja, bird: emu (rare alternative Guṇu name instead of galdi)
- yari-, to run after somebody in an amorous fashion
- yari-dja, cheeky, unrestrained particularly with regard to sex
- yarinja-, to fall in love
- yarba-yarba-, to spoil, to over-indulge a child; gila yarba-yarbana, gila ṅūga-ṅūga, *don't spoil him, don't give him everything!*
- yarga-, to be thirsty, to perish
- yawa, snake: species uncertain
- yāba-yāba-, to sew together, to rub
- yāga-, to fall, to drop down (G)
- yāga-, to break; yāgalana, broken; yāgā-yāgā; yara-yara yāga-yāgadulu, *the two of them break up small sticks*
- yāmaga, here
- yāmaṛi, this way, here in this direction; yāmaṛi bari!, *come here!*, (G) yāmiṛi
- yāri-, to groan
- yubalugu, you fellows (from English)
- yuduru, road, path
- yuḍi, tripe, entrails of sheep
- yugala, bird: whistling duck
- yugu, sun, daylight, day
- yugu ṅāṅgalāna, yugu mīdjilāna, sunset, (lit. *sun falling, sun settling down*)
- yugu-baḷu, rainbow (lit. *sun-young*)
- yugu-yugu-, to chase away, to drive (stock)
- yuli, bottom, behind (Bār)
- yuldi-, to stretch out, to pull
- yuḷi, duck, general term (B)
- yuna, that (far away), there (in the distance), then
- yunūna, of that one (Gen. of yuna), personal, one's own
- yunūna, therefore; yunūna-mandi, for this reason, thus
- yunburu, body, the body of a human; yunburu baṅḍi, a full body; yunburu birna, skeleton (lit. *body bones*)



- yundi, swag, roll of bedding, etc.  
 yuṇi, skin (G)  
 yuṇa, root (of trees) (G)  
 yuṅga, own, personal, on one's  
 own; yuṅgāgu baridjāba, *I went  
 by myself, on my own*  
 yuṅga-mala-, to get away on one's  
 own  
 yuṅgāgu, alone  
 yuṅgūli, bird: black swan  
 yura-maṛi (var. ura-maṛi), that  
 way  
 yuramu, plant: yam (G)  
 yuri-(la)-, yuri-(ṅga)-, to listen,  
 to know, to understand (apparently  
 not directly connected with yuṛi  
 ears (intr)
- yuri-ba-, to remember, to think;  
 yuribindu? *do you remember*  
 yuri-yuri-, to think (intr), to  
 recall, to remember something  
 yuṛi, ears  
 yuṛi-nabadja, deaf (lit. *having  
 closed ears*), sometimes simply  
 nabadja, see maṇa  
 yuṛdu, kidney (G)  
 yūraga, stick used for paddling  
 (a canoe), paddle  
 yūṛuru, euro



ENGLISH — BĀGANDJI DICTIONARY

- add, to put in* nagu-  
*adze* muḷi, guridja (G)  
*again, all over again* nandama  
 (var. nandara); *repeatedly*  
bulda-bulda  
*alcohol, 'bad water'* duḷag' ṅugu  
*alike* ṅaḍi  
*alive* burinja  
*all* wīngudja (G); *all one after*  
*the other* guda-guda; *everybody*  
 gudanja; *everything* widunja;  
*all the time, exceedingly*  
 yaḷinja (var. yaḷira)  
*alone, on one's own* yungāgu  
*alongside* wirgara  
*altogether, for good* nurawali  
*Ancestral Being* Nūrali (SB),  
 Mūra (G, B, Bār)  
*and then* waṛa  
*angry, wild* guḷiga  
*angry (to be angry)* bānda-  
*ankle* giḷi  
*answer back, argue* muṅa-muṅa-  
*ant, general term* bīburu, mīburu  
 (G); *bull-dog* galgiri; *green*  
 muṅi;  *jumper* galda-galda  
*anus* didi, didi-gugi  
*arm, lower arm* mangu; *upper arm*  
duḍi; *arm near shoulder* waṅgara;  
*upper arm, wing* wanji  
*armpit* diginja  
*around, all around* dulbaga  
*arrive* dulgu-
- ashamed (to feel ashamed)*  
baldanda-la-  
*ashes* balba; *hot ashes* muru (G)  
*ask, to beg for something* ṅandja-,  
 ṅanji-; *to ask someone for*  
*something* binma-  
*aunt (father's younger sister)*  
 muṅgadja; *(father's oldest*  
*sister)* ṅaludja  
*away, from here, in another*  
*direction* ura-maṛi (var. yura-  
 maṛi)  
*baby* bībi (G)  
*baby health worker* ṅamaga nūṅgu  
 'mother woman'  
*back* daṅa; *with one's back turned*  
daṅaga; *lower back* muḷu; *lower*  
*backbone* muḷu-biṛṅa; *spine* daṅa-  
biṛṅa  
*bad (song word)* wandali (G);  
*bad, wicked* duḷa-minda (B);  
*bad, ugly* duḷaga  
*bag of sawfly larvae* maljara;  
*skin bag used for water* miṛa;  
*net, swag* biḷa-biḷa; *carrying*  
*bag (of netting)* nama-maḷga  
*bake* baldu- (B)  
*bald* daḍu-baḷara  
*bank of river* walbiri  
*barb (on spear)* dindi-buḷinja  
*bare, bald* baṅḍara; *open area,*  
*plain* baḷara  
*bark (vb)* nirga-  
*bark 'skin' (of tree), also bark*  
*dish* balda; *coolamon* gaṅira

- bat banadja; large species of  
*bat winūli*
- beard waga-bulgi (often shortened  
to wagulgi)
- beat, to get the better of ya|a-  
bed (of soft ground or leaves)  
nidja
- beefwood gum danga (var. dāninja)
- before, in front of (locative  
adverb) mirigana
- behind, hidden (adv) ḡandara;  
behind somebody or something  
ḡanda (+ bound possessive  
pronoun)
- belly, 'guts' in general gundu  
*belly-ache gundu-mīga*
- big wiḡu; large gumbadja
- bilby, rabbit-eared bandicoot*  
guḡi
- bottom, behind ga|a, waḡu also  
didi, though this usually  
means anus
- bird: bro|ga nūwara
- butcher bird* guldidja, dini  
wilgu-wilgu
- cockatiel, quarrian* wiruba
- cockatoo, black* diyara; *Major*  
*Mitchell* gada-gadaga; *white*  
*cockatoo (cōrellā)* gīḡgi,  
gagamba (B); *white cockatoo*  
*(sulphur-crested)* gīgu, wadja (B)
- coot (bald)* galgu
- cormorant (black)* ḡaḡadja
- crane, blue* daraga, wanbabara (B);  
*blue (white faced)* dirguru;  
*white crane, egret* bulamba;  
*Nankeen crane* gawamba
- crow, Ancestral* wāgu
- curlew* baljuruga
- jay, blue* dinga-dinga; '*jay*'  
'*lousy Jack*' probably the  
*babbler* wara|i; '*jay*' '*lousy*  
*Jack*' *white-winged chough*  
gura|i
- kingfisher* du|u
- kookaburra* gūgagaga
- little grebe* budiri (B)
- magpie* gulurugu (var. guludaru)
- mallee hen* nawaru
- '*message bird*' probably the  
*grey butcher bird* mali (G)
- mudlark, the Ancestral Mudlark*  
dīri
- noisy miner* midu-miduna
- owl species* wanba, nāni, gūwali
- mopoke* wabuga, wandudja (G)
- night-owl* bāmara
- screech-owl* bāwuga
- duck* (general term) yuli (B);  
*black duck* manbara (SB),  
maḡgara (G), ḡalda (Bār);  
*teal* guldaba; *whistling duck*  
yugala, wilba-diru; *wood duck*  
guna|i;
- emu* galḡi, yarāndadja (rare  
Guḡu word), guljaruba (B)
- galah* gilamba
- hawk, probably black kite*  
malji|a; *eaglehawk* biljara  
(SB only); warigu (G);  
species of *hawk* biraduda;  
*brown hawk* bunu-wadudja
- kite, probably black-shouldered*  
gulungala; *kite-hawk* (species  
uncertain) balji|ugu; probably  
*fork-tailed kite* gaḡanu
- parrot, ring-necked* dīljana
- pelican* wāndidja, buladja
- pigeon, bronzewing* mu|aru,  
bandiwaḡa (G); *top-knot*  
*pigeon* munidjara; *flock*  
*pigeon* guḡadadji; *grey pigeon*  
gulambi; *diamond dove* gūgunja;  
species uncertain ḡunuldja
- plover (plains)* dilda; (*spur-*  
*wing*) ḡalda-ḡalda; *plover*  
species guḡadja
- quail* wambawaru
- robin red-breast* gidjiri
- spoonbill* bili-wādjirga, bili-  
wāndjuga
- stormbird* galgara, dunmara  
*stormbird, swallow* walbanja
- swan, black* yungū|i
- turkey, wild* dulgiga, digara (G)  
gTbara (B)
- '*Twelve Apostles*' wangawa
- wading bird, species uncertain*  
dirguru; *wading bird, small*  
species uncertain dilbu

- waterhen gargiri  
 'water-lark' probably a type of  
 rail bingu  
 widgeon mandara  
 willy wagtail diri-djiri  
 bite, to sting, to write baḍa-,  
dadja- (G)  
 black gugiriga (var. gugirga)  
 blackhead, pimple mindu  
 blame, to complain winba- (var.  
 binba-)  
 blanket buḷandji  
 bleed (intr) gāndara dīga-  
 blind bandadja  
 block, to hinder, to ward off  
 (blows with a shield) ŋirga-  
 blood gāndara  
 blow, to blow out air, to blow  
 a fire, to shoot with a gun  
 būba-; blow away, to disappear  
 (intr) dunguru-mala-; blow away,  
 to dispel (a storm, by magic)  
 (tr) wambi-nja-; blow (wind)  
 wada- (B); blow, like a strong  
 wind (intr) ŋīnda-; blow one's  
 nose nīndu-  
 boast diriṅa-  
 body, ribs gūguru; body, flesh  
 mānba; the whole body yunburu  
 bold madja (var. madjidja)  
 bone birṅa; boney birṅadja  
 boomerang gāḍiri (G); non return-  
 ing kind wāna  
 born (to be born), to be put down,  
 to settle down ŋiba- (var. iba-)  
 bottle, particularly wine-bottle  
dinga-gargi  
 bottom, behind walja, yuli (Bār)  
 bow down bangu- (G)  
 bowel guna-baḷga  
 boy maḷi-baḷu; boyfriend nadadja  
 brain, 'head-egg' daḍu-baḍi;  
 brainless 'not egg-having' ṅāḍa  
 baḍi-dja  
 branch (of a tree) bīḍili; smaller  
 twig gandanja  
 bread danga  
 break yāga-; to break off, to  
 leave yaṅma-; to break up, to  
 smash yāga-yāga-  
 breakwind, shelter nandu  
 breast, milk ṅama  
 breathe dawī-; to breathe with  
 difficulty walbinj'-dawinga-  
 (lit. to have stubborn breathing)  
 brother, elder gāgudja; brother  
 younger baḷudja; brothers,  
 pair of gāgulinja; brothers,  
 three or more gāgu-gāgulinja;  
 brother-in-law ṅundadja  
 bubble (intr), to bubble up  
 bulbul-mala-; bubble, froth  
nunbara  
 buggy baḍara  
 build wilbi-la-  
 burial ground dunga-maṅḍi, guḍu-  
dunga  
 burn (intr), to be burnt wanda-;  
 burn (tr) wandi-; to burn down  
dūba-  
 bury dunga-, bangu- (Bār); to bury,  
 to hide away (tr) dugu- (G)  
 butt of tail gudi; butt of a tree  
 gulu  
 butterfly bilju-biljuga  
 by and by, later on galjbu  
 cadge, go round cadging yala-ra-  
 call someone by name, to address  
 someone mība-mība-  
 camp yaba-; camp dwelling yabara  
 canoe, bark bulduru  
 careful (be careful!) maṅama-ili  
 carry, to lift walba-; carry away  
 gāndi-; carry about (on one's  
 back) nama-  
 cart, wagon (from English wheel-  
 barrow?) wilbaru  
 cat (from English pussycat)  
 buḍiga  
 catch alight, to get away (fire)  
 miḷab-miḷab-ma-  
 catch, to grab, to destroy by  
 magic ṅaṅba-  
 caterpillar maljuḷi; hairy  
 caterpillar gūnbu

- cattle, bullock bulu (from English 'bullock'), giyada (from English 'cattle')
- cemetery, burial ground dunga-yara
- centipede gīlga, galburiba
- charcoal nigi
- chase after widu-widu-la-; to chase, to hound dumu-
- chatter (to chatter) gulba-gulba-
- cheek ḡali; cheeky, bold fellow diri-dūdayi; cheeky, unrestrained, particularly regarding sex yari-dja; (to be) cheeky, to be bold diri-
- chemise (lit. body) gūguru
- chest buna
- chew manda-
- child mūrba
- chin muḡi
- chicken (from English 'chook') djugu-djugu
- chips of wood, splinter mangu-mangu
- choke (tr), to throttle baḡba bida- (lit. squeeze neck)
- cigarette mūgula
- clapping, accompaniment to a corroboree maḡa-ḡudja (G)
- claypan yabaḡa, gadjiri (rare word), biḡi (G) gadiri (B)
- clean up, to clear ground, to scrape clean mada-mada-
- clear (adj) gaḡbi
- clearly gudanja
- clever man, witch-doctor bana, daḡu-wuli (G), mīgiga wīmbadja; clever (adj) mīgiga
- climb, to climb up biḡa-
- close by, near (adv) daljba; close together, nearby (adj) dulu; close, side by side wara-wara
- clothes njiba
- cloud ḡinda, gaḡuru; clouds of Magellan ḡingi-ḡulu 'the two white cockatoos'; small cloud (rather than rain-cloud) garubuda; storm-cloud dūru; cloudy ḡindadja
- coal, hot ashes mawala
- 'coal-sack' nebula gal-di-ḡulu 'two emus'
- coax, persuade wāngu-wāngu-
- cold galjiru; cold, cool galjirmanda; cold, chilled (of person) yagi; to feel cold yagi-la-; cold weather ḡūlji (SB), magura (Bār)
- cold, 'flu' gungugu
- collapse gānja-gānja-
- collarbone dunba
- colour ḡalba; coloured in different colours gāru ḡalba-ḡalba
- come, to arrive waba- (var. wabu-); to come back, to return ḡiga-, iga- (Wiljāli); to come in, to arrive dulgu- (G); to come out, to rise up babura-; to come up, to surface burba-
- completely mibuḡa; altogether (adv) dubila
- conceal ḡuḡa-
- cook ḡūwa-, waḡa- (Bār); to cook in ashes (tr) wandja-; cooked, ripe ḡūḡi
- copper coin (lit. black) gugirga
- corroboree māḡi; corroboree describing the travels of Ancestors mūra-māḡi; the Muluḡa corroboree Mulu; ḡuḡu corroboree Mirga-māḡi
- cough gungu-
- count (tr) yalba-la-
- country, ground ḡīra rare var. ḡīraga)
- cover over būra-; cover up (tr) hide bābi-nja-
- crack (a bone) dil-mala-
- cranky (to be cranky), to be insane barba-la-; to have a cranky head daḡu barba-la-
- crawl, to creep up, to sneak baḡa-; to crawl away ḡuyab'mala-
- crayfish gadjunja (var. gadunja) gungulu, ilidja (B)
- creek yaḡi, bandji (B)
- criticize, to show, to teach ḡuḡa-ḡuḡa-; to criticize, to complain yanḡi-

- cross sticks to make a ladder  
birga- (G)
- cry, to wail yan-ma-; to weep,  
to lament yanda-; to cry, to  
lament biranga-la-; to grizzle,  
to winge nīrgi-; to cry contin-  
ually nīra-; to cry out, to  
scream garga-; to cry out, to  
sing out yaga-la-
- cure a sick person bānba-
- cut, to chop, to strip (a canoe)  
waga-; with a knife, to slice  
nūga-
- dampener, 'ashes food' balba-manu
- dance, corroboree garga-māni;  
'shake a leg' gargarga-la- (SB),  
garambara- (G); to dance бага-
- dangle down, to hang free walj-  
walj-mala-
- daughter or son (man or woman  
speaking) wimbara
- darken, to get dark dunga-dunga-
- day, daylight, sun yugu
- dead, rotten, smelly buga
- deaf, yuṛi badja, maṇa  
nabadja; yuṛi nabadja (G)
- death (to death), fatally buganja
- deep (of water, river) dumbi-mari;  
down (adv and adj) dumba-dumba
- depth, bottom gugi
- descent line, matrilineal (i.e.  
'meat') wanga
- deteriorate, to be in a bad state  
ṇawa-la-, duḷag-mala-
- 'devil', malicious mythological  
being magudja, damburu
- die buga-la- (var. buga-mala-);  
to pass away (polite term)  
malma-, malbu- (G)
- dig damba-, damba-damba-la-; to  
dig out (the river), to hollow  
out bada-ma-
- directly, soon baljaḍa
- dirt from nose, snot, also  
mucus from eyes daṇa, ṇundinja  
(G)
- dirty, smelly ṇāmuru-waḍa; dirty  
(covered in soil) maṇḍi-midi;  
dirty (general term) ṇuṇi,  
ṇāmuru
- dish, big bark dish, coolamon  
gaṇiyala; small bark dish,  
used by doctors for collecting  
blood dini-baḷa (G); wooden  
dish gargaldi
- distant country, far away bara  
gīra
- ditch, trench dulbaga
- dive in bulidja-
- 'dob' someone in nabi
- dog, dingo gaḷi
- down, downwards naḍa
- dream (to dream) gunda, guna-  
(var. gundaḷdi-); to dream evil,  
to wish death upon somebody  
bugunba-
- dreamtime, a long time ago buḷi  
wilbinja
- drift loose, to float dag-ma-la-
- drink wīdja-
- drip, to leak down buḍa-buḍa-
- drive along, to pick up wamba-  
wamba-; to drive out, to push  
out ṇaba-la- (G)
- drop (to drop down) (intr) badag-  
mala-
- drown nunba-
- drum (wide hollow wooden tube)  
dandinja; drum used to attract  
emus mumbinji
- drunkard māda (G)
- dry, dried out daḷa
- dust storm, dust budara
- early morning mingi (G)
- ears yuṛi, maṇa (G)
- eat dayi-, ṇanju- (Wiljāli)
- echidna, porcupine wandāli,  
dindili, yarali (G)
- edge daga
- egg baḍi; egg-yolk mildaga
- eh! look! wulu
- elbow gubu
- enemy narga
- enough! I give up! ginuḍa
- escape, to run away barab-mala-
- euro yūṛuru

- exclusively, on one's own* mingu-  
 mingula  
*eye* mīgi  
*eyebrows* mīngu-bulgi  
*explode (intr), to make a thudding sound* baḷidj-mala-  
*face* miri; *bigu forehead* can also be used in the general sense of *face*  
*fail, to be tired* bāndi-la-  
*fall (of river), to go down (intr)* bānga-; *to fall out, to drop (intr)* bura; *to fall (of rain), to pour with rain* bāda-; *to fall down* nānga-, *dulgu-*  
*far away* gārugaya, buridjiri  
*fast* muraḷa, mura (G)  
*fat, plump* nuri; *fat, in good condition* nuri maḷi; *stout* maḷa-maḷa; *fat (noun), grease* maḷi  
*father* gambidja; *father and child* gambilinja; *father and children* gambi-gambilinja  
*feathers (top feathers)* niriḷibuḷu; *down feathers* bulgi, māḷdara  
*feel about, to grope* guḷa-guḷa-la-, garba-  
*feelers (of crayfish, lit. whiskers)* wagulgi  
*fellows (you fellows) (from English)* yubalugu  
*fence* nayilga; *to fence* waḷaḷi-  
*fetch* gānda-  
*'fiend', malicious mythological being* biri (G); *'fiend with the bag' (in which he captures people)* dūyiga  
*fight* baḷi-  
*fill up (a waterbag)* mundji- (B)  
*find, to meet* binda-, winga-  
*finish, stop* namba- (B)  
*finished, to run out* bāndi-  
*fire, firewood* guniga; *near the fire, in the warm* wība; *(to make a) fire* wīndi-; *fire-side* guni-daga, guniganji (B); *fire-stick* guniga-gugu (G);  
*fish, bony bream* namba, biḷa  
 baḷu (lit. *bag cod*); *catfish* yamaga (var. yamadja); *variety of catfish* dāburu; *Murray Cod* baḷu; *perch* diljiga; *yellow-belly* gumbali  
*fish (to catch fish), to go fishing* nāḷa-; *fishing-line* galbaḷga  
*five* yanda-maḷa  
*fix up, to tidy* bana-bana-  
*flagon, large bottle* gargi  
*flame, light* nanja  
*flank* baḷi, *dadju*  
*flash, lightning flash* baḷaba; *to flash like lightning* dalag-dalag-mala-, baḷab'-baḷab'-mala-  
*flatten, to lay flat* būnma-  
*flatulence* buḷi  
*flea* wingāna  
*float, to swim (intr)* īga-; *to swell up* bama-la-  
*flood, flood-plain of river* dūlba; *flood-plain, inundated area* nugu bulga  
*flour (from English)* lawu  
*flow* wamba-  
*flowers, blossoms on trees* buḷi  
*fly (verb)* wambi-  
*fly ordinary bush-fly* wiḷuru; *blowfly* buḷara  
*foam, froth on the water during floods* nundara  
*fog* naninja  
*follow* gaba-  
*fontanelles* nūlba  
*food, vegetable food, bread* manu  
*fool around together (girls and youths)* gungun-mila-  
*foot, footprint* dina; *footprint, track* milinja-yaba (G)  
*forehead, face in general* bigu  
*forget* wamba-ma-, wanmuḷa-, wanda- (B)  
*four (two-two)* bargulu-bargulu, bula-bula (G)



- fox bāguda  
*fresh, green (timber)* danja, guṅgulu; *fresh bark* guṅgulu balda  
*friend, contemporary* daṅi, waṛaga; *woman friend, mate (woman speaking)* mīda; *a group of women who are all friends* mīda-mīdalinja; *friend, companion of same sex (man speaking)* maḷandji  
*frightened (to be frightened)* ṅuya-  
*frog (small species)* maḍa-maṛa; *large green frog (Hyla species)* naṛuga, banjgu; *small tree frog* walura  
*from afar, distant* gara-biṛa  
*frost, heavy dew* ṅandadja, bāngara (G)  
*full, complete* baṅḍi; *full, satisfied* madala-dja  
*gape* yalga-  
*garters* yalgu-ṅulu (lit. *two legs*)  
*get up, to rise* dīngi-; *get away on one's own* yuṅga-mala-  
*ghost* buri; *white person* wanda; (*to imagine*) a ghost būri-waga-  
*gibber country* giṅḍi-maṅḍi, gaṅu-waḷa (B)  
*gibberish* bandu-balgu  
*giddy* dubidja  
*girl 'woman child'* nūṅgu baḷu; *girlfriend* nūṅgu-nadadja  
*give* ṅuga  
*glue, resin* nayinji; *glue together* danba-ma-  
*go, to walk (intr)* bari-; *to go past* bari-mala-; *to go about, to travel* bariṅ-mala-; *to go away* baringa-, dāni- (G); *to go up a hill* wanga-la-  
*goanna, black tree* būlgara, gūgara (G); *black goanna* ṅaṅuru; *brown goanna* dāguḷu; *subspecies: brightly coloured goanna* gudjuru-waḷuru dāguḷu; *striped goanna* bindi-bindi dāguḷu; *yellow-brown goanna* baṅa  
*God, Ancestral Being* Waḍunjurina (SB); *Supreme Ancestral Being* Waḍudiṅa (SB); *important Ancestor* Guḷawira, Guḷabira  
*good* gadjalga (G) (var. *gandjalga*); *beautiful, nice* baliriga; *to become good, to improve* balīra-mala-  
*goodness, 'by Jove'* ilāguayi  
*gossip* gamba-  
*grab, to seize* waṅḍa-waṅḍa-, nīrba- (G)  
*grandchild (of same moiety)* wabanja  
*grandfather (of opposite moiety)* ṅūlga  
*grandmother (of opposite moiety)* guṛadja; *maternal grandmother* ganj(i)dja; *grandmother and grandchild* gandjalinja  
*grass* muḍu; *grass, ground vegetation* gulda; *umbrella grass* gābada; *grass used for thatching* bīnduru  
*grasshopper* bīndi  
*great-aunt, step-sister* ṅānudja  
*greatly, very much (adv)* minidja  
*greedy* gundu-madiri  
*green* numbarga (SB), numba (B)  
*grey hair* guṛa  
*grind one's teeth* garidj-garidj-mala-  
*groan* yāri-  
*groin* galdju  
*ground, soil* maṅḍi  
*grow* gila-  
*growl* ganga-la-  
*grub, edible (general term)* naba; *grub (borrowed term)* baḍi-baḍi; *edible tree grub* gingaḍa; *tree grub, large witchetty* bīdjaḷa  
*gum, resin* dāninja (var. *dānga*)  
*gun, rifle (from English 'musket')* margidja, margara  
*gut* mundjaḷa  
*habit* ṅalba  
*hail-stone* gaṅu-gaṅu  
*hair* daḍuḍa, daḍu-bulgi, daḍulgi  
*hair-string* daḡadji (B)  
*half* buḷaṅi  
*hand, fingers* maṛa

- handkerchief, 'little cloth'*  
 gambi-baḷu  
*hang out, to pull out* buri-;  
*hang down* nari-la-  
*happy, to be noisy, to rejoice*  
 ḡamba-ḡamba-ga-  
*hard, dry* maḍa; *hard, rough*  
 (ground) miḍigi (B); *hard*  
 tough (adj and adv) nurinja  
*hat* madjamba  
*have, to own* gāḍidi  
*having, owning* -dja, -malgadja  
*head* ḍaḍu  
*heal, to cure* gumba-  
*heap (to form a heap), to be*  
*jumbled* ḍūlu-ma-; *heap up* ḍulu-  
ḍulu-  
*hear* daldi-, bāḍi- (G); bāḍayi-  
 (Bāḍ)  
*heart* buḷu (var. buḷu-ganila);  
*heart beats heavily through*  
*strain etc.* buḷu ḡaḍ-ḡaḍ-mala-  
*heavy* ḍaguli  
*heel* waḍa  
*here* idaḍa, ḡinara (G); *away from*  
*here* idaḍyindu; *inside here* gaḡara;  
*this way here* yaḍaḍi; *here and*  
*there* idaḍa-waḍara  
*hey, hallo!* ḡayi  
*hide, to 'plant' something* buḷga-;  
*to hide oneself* maḡa-; *to con-*  
*ceal something* gūḍi-ba-, muḡa-  
*hill* bambara (B); *stony rise* maḡu  
 (G); *mountain* ḍuḍūlu (SB)  
*high ground, table-land* ḍuḍūluḍja  
*hinder, to block* ḍaḍa- (G)  
*hip, hip bone* birḡu, birḡa,  
 birḡindi  
*hit (with a weapon), to strike*  
 baḷga-  
*hold* ḡarga-ḡarga-  
*hole, cavern* miḡa, wuli (G);  
*hole in a tree* bina  
*hollow (tree)* gula, gundu-yara (G)  
*honey, wild honey* ḍuḍūli, ḡuḍūli  
 (G)  
*hook, wooden* wīḡnjana  
*hop, to jump about* ḍuba-ḍubara-  
 (var. ḍubu-ḍuba-)
- hornet* nūmu  
*horse* gāḡguru, walbaladja (G)  
*hot, boiling* wabiḷa; *to be hot*  
 wabi-la-, ḍalgaḍu-la-  
*how?* naḡanja (var. naḡnja)  
*humming (to make a humming) sound*  
 mūmu-mūmu-  
*humpy* gulḡi, wilbi  
*hungry (to be hungry)* wilga-  
 wilga- (SB), wilga (G)  
*hurt (to be hurt), to feel pain*  
 ḡalga-, gaḍa-la-; *to hurt, to*  
*be painful* wabi-la-; (to be)  
 hurt miḡaya-la-  
*husband* ḡaḡba (G)  
*hut, Aboriginal hut* wīḡmbaḍḡūḡa,  
 wīḡmbaḍa-buḡa; *humpy* buḡa  
 I ḡaba  
*ignorant (to be ignorant)* yamba-  
 ma-  
*illness, pain* miḡa  
*incapable, useless* baḍja  
 'indeed' clitic -bura  
*initiate, young* namba, ḍāḡba (B);  
*initiate who has had teeth*  
*knocked out* ḍalḡara (B); *tooth*  
*evulsion* waḍindali;  
*secondary initiation (cicatriss-*  
*ation)* gulḡi (B)  
*inside, in a hut or a gaol* ḍuḡana  
 (lit. in the dark)  
*intestine* namu; *lower intestine,*  
 'bowel-string' ḡna-baḷga  
*irritate; to rub* ḍīḍi-ḍīḍi-la-  
*itch (intr)* mūḡi-  
*jail, 'the place of the policemen'*  
 muni-munina ḡira  
*jaw* waga  
*jealous* baḡnja; *to be jealous*  
 baḡnja-mala-  
*Johnny cakes 'charcoal food'*  
ḡiḡi-maḡ  
*jump, to hop out, to leap* ḍubuḷu-  
 ma-la-; *to jump up* gāḡa-la-  
*kangaroo, black (i.e. the Western*  
*grey)* ḡirbaḍa; *red* ḍaḷḍa, guḷu  
 (Wiljāli)  
*kidney* wiru, bāḍḡiḡi, yurḍu (G);  
*kidney fat* wiru-maḡi

- kill, to strike dead buga-ma-,  
balga-buganja-; to kill with  
magic narga-narga-
- kindle, to light wandu
- kiss manunja-
- knee dingi
- knife (European type from English  
'knife') nayu; stone knife muji
- knock down, to blow down nalba-
- know wānda-, nūma- (from English);  
I don't know yalda
- kopi, white gypsum powder gubadja
- lake dildagara
- lap ḡānguru
- later ḡandara
- laugh ḡīnda-
- lay (eggs) to put down (tr) ibi-
- leaf būwuru, baga (G); box-leaves,  
'rubbish' stuffed inside a victim  
who has had his kidneys removed  
gira-baga
- leave alone, to abandon ya!a-,  
ḡandji-; to leave, to go away  
bariḡa-, yaḡma- (G), ḡalbi- (G)
- left yaḡgudja
- leg, lower leg yalgu; leg-bone  
yalgu-biḡna
- let loose ḡīnda-
- lick dida-
- lie around ḡima-ḡima-; to lie down  
ḡima- (var. ima-); to lie in a  
heap dulu-mala-
- lie, falsehood bargaya; (to tell)  
lies, to deceive barga-, gaḡba-  
(Bār)
- lift up walbi-, wirba-, wanga- (G);  
to raise (tr) bani-
- light a fire (by means of a single  
spark) dibi-dibi-; light a fire  
windira-ma-, ḡaḡa-, windu-(G);  
light a smoke (for curing some-  
body) or simply lighting a pipe  
bundu wanda-, bundu windiri (G)
- light, not heavy darmanja
- lightning, thunderstorm bindi
- like -albi
- limb (of a tree) bīdi-bīdili;  
hanging limb, dead limb bi!uru
- lip, upper munu; lip (general term)  
and lower līp in particular  
mimi
- liquor, grog gadi-ḡugu
- listen, to attend bāra- (SB);  
listen, to know yuri-la- (var.  
yuri(ḡa)-)
- little, narrow, small gadgilugu
- liver dangunja
- lizard, frill-neck ḡāni (SB and G),  
ḡānji (B), minduga (Wiljāli);  
'Jacky lizard' didaga, ḡāgumbiradja  
small gecko bunu; species of  
lizard dindildū; tiny skink  
bindilḡilgi; very small skink  
bānmulu
- lock up, to imprison naba-
- lonely, to be upset biḡa-biḡa-
- long bāluru; long and straight  
yaldi; long ago, in the dream-  
time maragala; (for) a long  
time nurawali, dūraga (G);  
long ago ḡāndinja; a long way  
to a distant place baramiḡi (G)
- look after, to care for maḡi-ma;  
to tidy up bali-bali-; to look  
around bami-bami-; to look at,  
to watch (tr) bami-la-
- lose something wilba-, malba- (G)
- lot (a lot), many duluru (SB only)
- 'lousy with', having something  
unpleasant -miḡidja
- love, to fall in love yarinja-
- lungs, lights dalga; bad lungs,  
lung disease (lit. black lungs)  
gugirga dalga
- mad daḡu-balga!i
- maggots gudaḡi
- 'mainly', in the first place  
(postposition) -wangi
- make ḡārbi-; to build maḡa-; to  
prepare (tr) bana-ma- (var.  
banma-)
- man (general term), person  
wīmbadja; husband, male ma!i;  
old man, important man maḡa,  
wiḡu
- manna wāwu, gungulu
- many, a lot duluru, ḡulardji (G),  
ḡulardi (B)

- married man* gumbaga-dja (lit. *wife-having*); *married woman* maḷi-malgadja (lit. *man having*); *married couple* maḷilinja  
*marrow* madu  
*master, boss* (from English 'master') māda  
*mat, made of skin* nidju  
*mate, girlfriend (woman speaking)* mida  
*mean* mingu-mingu  
*meet, meet up with* binda-  
*menstruate* wadāna gāndarāna (lit. *her blood is turning back*)  
*menstruation* gāndara (i.e. *blood*)  
*mess around, to play around*  
*stupidly* gara-gara-la-  
*message stone, cylicon* baḷu-gaḷu  
*(lit. word-stone)*  
*methyated spirits* dāninja (lit. *resin*)  
*middle (in the middle)* dāngana  
*milk, breast* ḡama; '*hard milk*'  
*lumps on breast after childbirth*  
 ḡamuḷa  
*Milky Way* ḡamurūlu  
*mirage* gūḷurgu  
*miss (with a spear), to allow to*  
*escape* dāndu-  
*mix* nagu-nagu-; *to mix dough* muri-  
 muri-; *to mix up, to confuse*  
*(lit. to shake up)* diḷa-nja-  
*money* (from English) maniḡa; from  
 Northern Bāḡandji word for *stone*  
 yaḡa  
*moon, month* bādjuga  
*morning, early in the morning*  
 gariḡa-ḡaḡi  
*mosquito* gūndi, ḡūndi(G)  
*moth* gāḷbi-gāḷbiga  
*mother, also female of animal*  
 ḡamaga; *mother and child*  
 ḡamalinja, wimbalinja (B);  
*mother and children* ḡama-  
 ḡamalinja; *mother-in-law*  
*(woman speaking)* ḡaḷu  
*mould* walu  
*mouse* mangu; *thin-tailed bulgu*  
*moustache* (lit. *upper lip hair*)  
 munu buḷgi  
*mouth* yaḷga  
*move about, vibrate (intr)* wari-;  
*move away, to turn* wama-la-(G);  
*move away, to make room* dābinja-  
 much, muny, big madiri  
*mud, soft ground, clay* wāndja;  
*wet clay* baḷa; *muddy* baḷa-baḷa  
*mulga apple* maḷga manu  
*muscles* gūranja  
*mussels, river-mussels* duru-maḡa  
*nail, claw* mili; *finger nail*  
 milinja (G)  
*name* migi, nāgi; also (borrowed  
 from Maljāḡaba) mīdji (B)  
*navel* wāngu  
*near, close by* gaḡa  
*neck, throat* baḡa; *back of neck*  
 būmba, būmba-būmba  
*nephew, niece* giḡudja  
*nest* waḡanja  
*net, string bag* maḷga  
*new* madara, muḷindji  
*niece, brother's daughter* wāmbaḷu  
*night, darkness* duḡa; *at night,*  
*throughout the night* duḡa-  
 gaḡaga (G); *in the middle of*  
*the night* muga duḡana  
*nits* dirinja  
*noise (to make a noise), to growl*  
 baḷu-  
*no* ḡāda, aḡi (B)  
*no-hoper, useless person* bundanja  
*nose* minda-ulu  
*not* (general negative particle)  
 gila; *not, cannot* (rarely used)  
 gilaga; '*don't*' waḷja  
*nothing* ḡāda; *for nothing, in*  
*vain* ḡāda-mandi; *nothing at all*  
 ḡāda mari  
*now* dunduru; *still, yet* baḷja  
 (vār. baḷjaḡa)  
*ochre, yellow* biḷdi  
*oh dear!* yaga-baḷdayi  
*old, big, important, old man* wiḷu;  
*old woman* wiḷu baḡaga; *old*  
*ancient* gāndinja; *to grow old*  
 gāndinj'-mala-

- omen, warning (lit. shadow-stick)  
guljbara-biṛa
- one, alone ḡidja; one by one  
ḡidi-ḡidja; one's own, personal  
yunu-ana; proper, true ḡīyala  
(ḡ)
- only (adv) gali, gaṇḡaru
- open (adj) daba; open (a bag)  
balba-; to open up, to cut open  
dag-ma-; to open, to burst (tr)  
bulidj-ma-; to become open, to  
open up (intr) bulidj-mala-
- orphaned child walganja
- other, different ḡāru
- other side, across the river  
malāga
- others, the rest guda
- outside bidja
- own, proper, true (adj) yaḷa; own  
personal, on one's own yuṅga
- oven, fire-place gunigalba
- over there, that way yuramaṛi
- paddle yūraga
- pain (to feel pain) ḡūgi-
- paint (a person for a corroboree)  
dāga-
- pale biguana bādja-bādjana (lit.  
his face shines with a white  
sheen)
- paper (from English 'paper') bība
- peer at wiḡi-
- peg out, a skin, to stretch bandi-;  
pegs (from bones of joey kangaroo)  
daḡu-dara (G)
- penis gaḷu; penis and testicles!  
(term of abuse) gaḷu baḡi
- perhaps, maybe ḡada
- perish, to die of thirst nawa-la
- persist, to keep on, to back-  
answer nandidj-mala-
- persuade, to coax bulda
- pick up, to lift up mūma-
- piece muḡa, muḡu (G)
- pierce, to write daga-; to pierce  
with sharp instrument, to spear  
bandu-bandu-
- pinch biḡa-biḡa-
- pipe bayu
- plain, clear ground bulga; flat,  
stony ground ḡiṇḡi
- plant: apple-bush (Pterocaulon  
sphacelatum) buṛaga
- banana creeper, wild (Marsdenia)  
gagaḷa
- broom-bush (Melaleuca uncinata)  
ḡīdjulu (var. ḡīdjala)
- bulb, plant with yellow flowers  
and edible tubers (Bulbine  
bulbosa) wanga-baḷu, ḡambaḷa
- bush with leaves used for heal-  
ing wounds (Acacia salicina)  
wiljuru
- bush used for making humpies,  
species uncertain waljara (G)
- clover bulda
- cotton bush (Kochia aphylla)  
nurguru
- 'emu tucker' (Eremophila species)  
baḡigu
- emu bush with spotted flowers  
(Eremophila maculata) guyiḡara
- grass, swamp cane grass waru
- grass, clover bunḡa
- grass, fine spear-grass used  
for lighting fires wirubi
- grass for thatching, probably  
sandhill cane grass binduru
- hopbush dara
- lignum wiṇḡa
- lily (Crinum species)  
bālabaldaru
- marshmallow bandidja
- medicinal bush (Beyeria  
Leschenaultii) balbu; a more  
white-leaved subspecies balbu  
gubadja
- mistletoe berry 'snorricobbles'  
mādi
- mistletoe plant dabi, nīlji
- mulga tree maḷga
- mulga apple maḷga maṅu 'mulga-  
food'
- Myoporum species 'water bush'  
madjulu
- nardoo ḡaḡu
- parakeelya ḡabila
- pigweed biḷa

- Portulaca* species baṅamula  
 potato, wild daḡarada  
 roly-poly bush gānala  
 rosebush gulga  
 saltbush (*Atriplex nummularia*)  
 banbala, wirbari (B)  
*Solanum ellipticum* gābuga, maḡu  
 (B); *Solanum ellipticum* berry  
 nambali  
 'spinach' probably *Calandrinia*  
 species galudju  
 thistle, edible thistle  
 danḡwanba  
 thistle 'wild cabbage'  
 (*Tetragonia expansa*) baḡumba  
 (var. banbuḡa)  
*Thysanotus* (tuber) daḡamula  
 turkey bush (*Myoporum deserti*)  
 banbu-yara (G)  
 vine, species uncertain daḡargali  
 yam gunbinja, yuramu (G)  
 play guḡi-, wimi- (G); to play  
 around, to mess around, to swing  
 ḡaḡba-ḡaḡba; playmate (also  
 sister-in-law, woman speaking)  
 mīdidja; a child's playmate  
 guḡiḡa ḡaḡi 'playing alike'  
 pleased (to be pleased), to be  
 happy daḡgi-, mira-mala-  
 pluck buḡa-  
 point, sharp point dindjinariga;  
 to be pointed, shāḡp budji-la-  
 poison, venom of snake bidiga;  
 poison (from seed) mawī(B);  
 poison causing people (to commit  
 incest) madja maniga; poisoner  
 (lit. bone man) biḡnara;  
 poisoner who uses magic incan-  
 tations dina-garala wimbada;  
 poisonous, dangerous magic  
 dina-garala  
 pole, bent pole used for building  
 humpies duḡguru yara  
 policeman muni-muni, munidjiri,  
 bulidjman (Bār)  
 possum bilda, yarandji, wari-buga  
 (G)  
 pouch (of marsupial) bilgindi  
 pour bulga-; to pour away bulganja-;  
 to pour with rain duḡa-; to pour  
 out (intr), to stream out (blood,  
 sweat) dḡga-  
 powder, pulp buḡa (SB only)  
 pregnant baḡuga  
 pretty up, to make nice baḡda-  
 baḡda-  
 prickly, burr gāgi  
 private parts (female) maḡu  
 protrude, to stick out daḡgi-  
 pubic hair maḡu-bulgi  
 pull bida-; to drag wāra-; to  
 pull, to drag away malga-; to  
 pull out wīdu-wīdu-, ḡādu-;  
 to pull out, to extract (a grub  
 from a tree) winma-  
 pump (from English) bambu-mala-  
 punch, to hit bulda-bulda-  
 pus, mucus daḡa  
 push, to poke buḡi-; to push  
 along wīdu-; to push someone  
 (into the water) niwi-la-  
 put down ibi-, ḡibi-; put some-  
 one to bed nidja-nidja-ma-  
 quarrel baḡi- (var. baḡi-baḡi-)  
 quick muraḡa, mura (G)  
 quickly! hurry up! mura-muraḡa  
 (var. muri-muraḡa)  
 quietly, on tiptoe dina-midina  
 rabbit yaḡdi-yuri  
 raddle, red guḡi (G)  
 rain, rain clouds magara  
 rainbow mundambara (var. mundara,  
 yugu-baḡu)  
 rain-stone (lit. water-stone)  
 ḡugu-gaḡu  
 rake up, to pile up (leaves and  
 branches) gulju-gulja-  
 rat, stick-nest maḡuga  
 raw, uncooked magi  
 red ḡalgina (var. ḡalgirga)  
 reflection (in the water) guljbara-  
 ḡugu 'shadow water'  
 relation, close relative  
 biribuḡa (G)  
 remember yuri-ba-  
 rest, to sleep bumba-  
 return, to stay home ḡaḡa- (G);  
 to give back wabi  
 ribs gūguru, diḡgigi  
 ride gānga-

- right* (as opposed to left) nurani, wangara (B); *right hand side* wangarāga (SB)
- ringing sound in one's ear* būri-gumbaga
- ringworm* (apparently a very common complaint of the early days) marila
- ripe, cooked* nūngi
- rise* duri-la-; *to fly up* wanga-wanga-
- river, the Darling river in particular* bāga
- road, path* yuduru, yaŋga
- roll along the ground* ŋuni, yaldi- (G)
- root* bałgara, yuŋa (G)
- rot* numba-la-
- row (to have a row), to scold someone* mūya-
- rub, massage* ŋuŋa-; *rub* nurba- (G); *to smear with grease* nūru- (G); *with oil* bunba-bunba-
- rumble, to make a roaring sound (like a storm)* ŋambu-
- run* galja-; *to hurry, to travel* bara-; *to run, to overflow, to weep* durba-; *to run after, to pursue* naŋi-, durguluŋu- (G); *to run after in an amorous fashion* yari-; *to run away, to go downhill* bilga-; *to run away, to escape* barab-mala-; *to run down someone, to spread unpleasant gossip* ganda-; *to run dry, to go down (river)* baŋgi-; (to be) runny, dirty (nose) dāba-
- salivate, to be juicy (fruit)* dānga-la-
- salt* (from English) dałduŋa; *salt water* dałdu-ŋugu
- sand, course sand, small gibber* giŋdi; *sand (in river bed), fine sand* garanja; *sand (as on sand-dunes)* diŋi; *sandhill country* diŋi maŋdi; *sandy ground, quick sand* garanja-maŋdi; *soil, ground* maŋdi
- sandhill* bambara
- sap* dimari
- satisfied* madala-dja
- savage, biting* bađa-bađa
- sawfly larvae* buljałiya, bulbari (B)
- scold somebody* mulda-mulda-
- scorch* ŋuŋi
- scorpion* gāndi-gundara
- scrape the ground, to scratch* widu-widu-
- scraps, remnants of food* ŋunmara
- scratch, to claw at* maŋu-maŋa-, maŋa-malga- (G)
- scream, to yell out* yaga-, giri-(g)iri-la-
- scrub (dense bush)* ŋanda-ŋandanja; *dry scrubby country* bari; *rough scrubby country* daba-dabaru; *bush country, mallee scrub* gaŋima-gaŋima
- scruff of neck* muła biŋna
- search, look for something* gala-, baŋda-, wagu-; *to search for* mayanda-; *to search carefully and pick over (for lice)* maya-maya-mala-
- secret-sacred, forbidden (to the uninitiated)* munda
- see* bami-; *to notice* gali-
- seed, grass* guyuru; *nardoo seed* bāba; *eucalypt seed (used for flour)* gandu-ŋara (G); *seed vessel, cap of eucalypt* dađu
- send, to direct* gāndi-ba-
- sew* dulga-; *sew together* yāba-yāba-
- shade-hut, shade* guljbara
- shadow, reflection* gundjiri
- shake* (intr), *tremble* nin-nin-mala-; *to shiver* dun-mala-; *to shake something* diła-diła-
- shallow* yamiri
- shame* balda; *shameless* balda-ŋāda
- sharp, pointed* gaŋaŋa, budjala; *sharpen* yaŋgi-
- shave* munda-ma-
- sheep* (English borrowing) djambuga
- shell (of the pupa stage of the witchetty grub)* gaŋiga (var. garuga); *of an egg* biđji
- shield* yaŋgu. murumbara (G); maŋaru (B)

- shift, forcibly move a person*  
 maba-
- shin* madjiri
- shine* biḷga-; *to glow* danjba-;  
*to shine brightly* bādja- (var.  
 bādja-bādja-; *shining* danjbara  
 bandja (G)
- shirt, clothes* gambi
- shiver* ḡabu-ḡabu
- shocked (to be shocked), to be*  
*surprised* warab-mala-
- shoe* dina-buda
- short* gaduga, yaḡi; *short, small,*  
*stumpy* mugudja; *(to be) short-*  
*winded* mūrḡa dawī-
- shoulder* ḡarḡa; *shoulder blade*  
 ḡiḷi-biḡḡa, bigi, wanji-biḡḡa
- shout, to yell* ḡarḡa-, bāḷḡu-
- show, to teach* ḡirḡa-, djuma-  
 (from English), ḡiri- (G)
- shower with presents, to give*  
*somebody everything* ḡūḡa-ḡūḡa-
- shrimp* wīḡi
- shut in, to enclose* dawī- (G)
- shy, ashamed* balda-waḡḡa-
- sibling (younger)* baḷudja (B)
- sick, ill* mīḡadja, ḡalila
- side, direction* wara; *sideways*  
 (adv) waraḡa
- silently (adv)* muga (var. mugila)
- silly (to be silly), drunk* maḷba-  
 ra-
- silver coin (lit. white)* bādjirḡa
- silt, deep mud* dulḡuru
- sine* dildja
- sing, to perform a corroboree*  
 baḡa-
- someone, to cast a spell over*  
*someone* baḡi-; *to call* ḡali-
- singe, to scorch* ninda-ninda-
- sister (elder)* wiḡuga; *younger*  
*sister* wādīdja, warigi, dada-  
 wiḡuga (G); *youngest sister*  
 dadulugu wiḡuga (G); *sister-*  
*in-law (woman speaking)* mīḡīdja;  
*sisters, a pair of* wiḡulinja (var.  
 wiḡu ḡalinja (G); *sisters (three*  
*or more)* wiḡu-wiḡulinja
- sit, to be, to exist* ḡarḡa- (var.  
 ḡarḡa-, nāḡḡa- (B);  
 nāḡḡa-la- (G)
- six* ḡāru maḡa ḡidja
- skeleton, 'body bones'* yunburu  
 biḡḡa
- skin* balda, yuni (G); *to skin an*  
*animal* nara-; *to skin with a*  
*European-type knife* naḡi-; *a*  
*new skin (of a snake)* ḡāra-madara
- skirt made of possum skin, worn*  
*by young girls* yambaga (G)
- sky* ḡarḡanja, ḡalḡara (B)
- sleepy (to feel sleepy)* mīḡīdja-;  
*to doze (intr)* duljba-la-
- slip* yaba-yaba-; *to slip, to skid*  
 nura
- slough, newly shed skin of snakes*  
 ḡāra
- slow, steady* būndi; *slow moving*  
 būndi-dja; *slowly* māwulu
- smack, to beat* waḡa-waḡa
- smear on (paint)* dāḡa-dāḡa
- smell* bāra-; *to sniff (tr)*  
 būnda-la-; *(evil) smelling*  
 duḷḡa-waḡa, būnda-la-waḡa;  
*smelling of mould* walu-waḡa
- smoke* bundu; *to cure someone*  
*with smoke* bundu-; *smoke-screen*  
 bundūli
- smooth (to make smooth)* walj-  
 walj-ma-; *smoothe over* yaba-  
 yaba-ma-
- snake, black* dāḡḡuru
- brown snake* wiḷu-wiḷu
- carpet snake* ḡaruwari (B)
- general term* duru
- green, mulga snake* muna
- rainbow serpent* ḡadji
- small non-poisonous* wangu
- species uncertain* yawa
- wabma snake* binaru (B)
- snake charm* manju (G)
- 'sneaker' treacherous murderer*  
 dina-gula
- sneer at* mūḡi-
- sneeze* dīndi-la- (var. dīndju-)



- soakage bini; soakage water  
bini ŋugu
- soap dūbu (from English)
- soft, tender bundala; soft,  
delicate (food) bali-bal̄tra;  
(to become) soft, pleasant  
bal'-mala-
- song māni (G, Bār); corroborate,  
ritual song wanju; song for  
catching kangaroos dirbara (G);  
ritual song yaŋgu
- sool on gūnga-
- sore (to be sore) ŋalda- (B)
- sorry (to be sorry), to grieve  
over someone wayu-
- sour, bitter-tasting gaḍi (var.  
gaḍiya)
- spark from fire, (adj) jealous  
dibi (var. dir̄ba); to spark  
dibinj-dibinj-mala-, mildu-  
milda-; (tc) sparkle wirab-  
wirab-mala-
- spear (tr), to pierce banda-;  
a barbed spear galguru;  
fighting shield gābaga;  
spear-shield bayiwili
- speech, word baḷgu
- spider ('hands') mara-marāga
- spill nuda-nuda
- spirits, particularly rum, also  
methylated spirits (lit. bitter  
water) gaḍi ŋugu
- spit duba-; spit, phlegm ŋaldja;
- split up, to separate (intr)  
bildi-bildi-
- spoil, make bad duḷag-ma-; spoil,  
over-indulge yarba-yarba-
- spread out, to stretch (intr)  
bīda-bīda-; to spread (a net)  
niḍju-mā-; to spread out (tr)  
bala-ma-; to spread (like a  
plant) baḍaŋ-mala-
- spy on someone wida-la-
- squash dura-
- squawk nirga-nirga-
- stand around, to wait (intr) dāri-;  
to stand, to stand up dal̄ba-;  
to stand on, to trample on some-  
thing namba-; to stand up for  
somebody else dangi-
- star buḷi  
'emu foot' gal̄dina-dina  
morning star ŋūwala-ŋūwala,  
miŋgiyanirani  
Seven Sisters (lit. only women)  
gali nūngugu, gambaldjiri
- starve oneself duga-
- state, condition waḷi
- stay, to rest iba-
- steady, motionless budu
- steal something, to take gaŋma-
- steam, aroma rising from cooking  
duṛu-duṛu
- stew gildu
- stick, hooked mila; long thin  
stick nūgugu; piece of wood,  
general term yara; small stick  
bira baḷu
- sting, to irritate waŋba- (G)
- stinking, with a dead smell  
buga-waḍa, duŋga-duŋga- (B);  
stinking, foul-smelling duḷag'-  
waḍa
- stomach gananja
- stone, rock, stony plain; also  
'money' gaŋu (SB), gaŋa (B),  
yaŋḍa (Bār, G); cooking stone  
ganja; nardoo grinding stone  
yalda
- stop gina-
- storm bindi, walu (G)
- straight dar̄ma; straight and  
narrow, correct yaḍi-mari;  
straighten duŋa- (G)
- strike (of lightning) baḷab-mala-  
(var. baḷaba-)
- string, fishing-line, fibre baḷga
- strip a canoe bilba-
- stripey, marked bindi-bindi
- stubborn, determined nanja;  
stubborn, naughty walbinja  
(var. walbunja)
- stupid, silly wanba-; (to be)  
stupid, to forget wanmu-
- suck duḍi-la- (var. duḍja-)
- suckle duḍji-
- sugar (from English) djugu

- summertime, hot weather* budji-  
budji  
*sun yugu; sunset yugu* nāngalāna  
(var. yugu mīdžilāna); *sunbathe*  
digi-, dīngi (B)  
*surprise someone* būbu-  
*swag yundi, guldji* (G)  
*swallow (to swallow)* gunga-  
*sweat* gaṇaṇa  
*sweet (adj)* gurganja  
*sweetheart* ṇaṇba  
*swell up (on a large scale)* bama-la-  
swell up bubble up (boil or  
pimple) bulbula-  
*swim wirga-; to swim, to float*  
īga-  
*swing (to swing) (intr)* ṇaḷba-ṇaḷba-  
table, plank wiwada (G)  
*tadpole* muḷadja  
*tail (of animal), also penis*  
gundara; *tail-fat (of emu)*  
galdi-gudi, gudi maṇi  
*take (to take), to go for someone*  
mandi-; *to take, to acquire by*  
*means of persuasion* wāngu-; *to*  
*take away, to remove* gāndi-; *to*  
*take off (clothes)* nīnda-; *to*  
*take out* ṇadu-  
*talk, to speak* gulbi  
*tame, bold* madjidja  
*taste, to try* dadja-  
*tea, i.e. 'grass'* gulda-gulda;  
tea-leaves diri-gulda  
*teach* muda-muda  
*tear up* yambi-yambi-  
*tears* naga  
*tease ṇangi; tease one another*  
diri-mila-  
*tell, to speak (intr)* gulba-  
*testicles* muḷa; (more vulgar term,  
lit. 'egg' baḍi)  
*that ina (var. inu); that way,*  
*in that direction* wadu-maṇi  
*then duna; straight away* dunda,  
danji (B)
- there, in the middle distance*  
wada (var. wadana), wadara or  
wadarana, inaga (G); *not far*  
*away* inara; *over there* indalugu  
(Bār); *quite close* ginu, nina  
(G); *some distance away* burūra  
*therefore* yunūna  
*thick, dense* dundju, dundjuga (G)  
*thigh, upper* garga, gaṇaya  
*thin, skinny* nīnadadja  
*think, to recall* yuri-yuri-  
*thirsty (to be thirsty), to*  
*perish* yarga-  
*this here* ḡigi (var. ḡigi); *this*  
*one, fairly close* gidi; *this*  
*side (of the river)* gaṇara  
naḍidja; *this way, in this*  
*direction* giga-maṇi, ida-maṇi;  
yā-miṇi (G)  
*thread, cotton* dulga  
*threaten* nūminja-  
*three, ('two-one')* bargulu-ṇīdja,  
bula-ṇīdja (G)  
*throw, throw down* ṇāḍa-; *throw*  
*something at somebody* malba-  
*thumb (lit. 'big finger', 'mother*  
*finger')* wiḍu-maṇa, ṇamaga-  
maṇa  
*tidy, to pick up* mūma-mūma-  
*tie up* muni (var. muni-muni)  
*tiny, very small* madu  
*tired (to be tired) (intr)*  
bāndi-bāndi-la-  
*tobacco (from English 'smoke')*  
mūgu; *plug tobacco* gidiga,  
mandanda 'chewing'  
*toe, big* wiḍu-dina  
*together* ṇaradja (var. ṇara-ṇaradja)  
*tomahawk, stone-axe* wagaga; *small*  
*tomahawk* wagaga-baḷu  
*tomorrow* gariṅgi; *tomorrow morning*  
galjbumbi  
*tongue* daḷinja (var. daḷanja)  
*tortoise (Chelodina longicollis)*  
bumulugu (var. bumala-buga)  
*large tortoise (Chelodina expansa)*  
bumulugu ṇadji gāgudja

- touch, to reach up to* guḍa-, guḍi-  
*track* dina-yaba; *footprint, mark*  
 yaba  
*train* (lit. *smoke*) bundu  
*trample* namba- (G)  
*travel, to come* bariba, barba-  
*treat, 'doctor up' a sick person*  
 bunba-, gunga- (B)  
*tree* (general term) yara  
     *bean tree* banda yara (B)  
     *belar* gaḷgu  
     *box tree (black box)* gurguru;  
     *with thick bark* bigiri; *a*  
     *different type of box tree*  
     *that grows on the Warrego*  
     buba-yara (G)  
     *bullock bush (Heterodendron)*  
     bānba, dara, dulguru (G)  
     *coolabah* gumbala, dimbali (B)  
     *emu-bush* galḍiga  
     *emu apple (Owenia acidula)*  
     mūḷi-yara (G)  
     *gidgee (Acacia homalophylla)*  
     gaḍi  
     *gidgee (Acacia Cambagei)*  
     ḍimala (B)  
     '*gum*' (Euc. odorata) baṅara  
     *leopard tree (Flindersia)*  
     girinja, warbaḷa (Bār)  
     *needlewood (Hakea)* baṅḍa  
     *orange, wild* muguḷi  
     *pine (Callitris species)* binba  
     *quandong (bitter)* gaṅbuga,  
     madja manu  
     *red mulga (Acacia cyperophylla)*  
     yabanja (Bār)  
     *river red gum* gamuru  
     *sandalwood (men's tree)* guyamara  
     *sandalwood species (women's*  
     *tree)* balba-gugadja  
     *sandhill mulga* banarga  
     *species uncertain* banba, bidaga  
     (G)  
     *weeping wattle* mabu  
     *wilga* nṯdaga  
     '*willow tree*' (Acacia salicina)  
     wiljuru  
     *willow-like tree (Acacia Oswaldii)*  
     nambura, gāburu (G)  
     *tree-stump* yara-gulu  
     *tripe* yuḍi  
     *trousers* gargūlda, dambili  
     *true* mari  
     *tunnel* ḍingara (G)  
     *turn, to turn into* wadi-; *to turn*  
     *over* (intr) ṅaḍi-; *to turn over*  
     (tr) (e.g. meat) wingu-nja-; *to*  
     *turn round* dūga-; *to turn back*  
     (intr) wada- (B)  
     *turtle* bumala-buga  
     *two* bargulu, bula (G)  
     *twig* widu  
     *twisted* ḍungu (var. ḍungu-ḍungu)  
     *uncle, mother's brother, senior*  
     *male of same moiety* wāgadja,  
     bābadja; *youngest uncle* wadi  
     wāgadja  
     *unconscious, to become unconscious*  
     guring'-mala- (lit. *to turn*  
     *black*)  
     *underneath* nibana; *beneath a tree,*  
     *at the butt of a tree* guluna;  
     *below the ground* mingada  
     *unroll* (tr) nṯdju-  
     *untie* ṅṯnda-  
     *upset (to be upset)* gamba-manda-  
     *urine* gibara  
     *vagina* budu  
     *vegetable food* manu balduduru  
     *vein, 'blood string'* gāndara-  
     baḷga  
     *very* -mari (SB); -malda (G)  
     *visit* midā-  
     *vomit* maṅḍa-  
     *waddy bira, bundi* (borrowed word);  
     *fighting* gaṅari (G); '*leaping*  
     *kangaroo*', *long throwing stick*  
     gudjuru  
     *wade across the river* gānba-  
     *waist* wiḷba

- wait* manda-  
*wake someone up* bulu-bula- (G)  
*walk, to go, bari-*; *walk around in the water, to wade* gānba-gānba-  
*wallaby* marinja (G)  
*warm* nan̄gi; *to heat* banjba; *to warm up (tr)* nan̄gi-; *to get warm* nan̄gi-māla-, digi-  
*wash* ŋulja-  
*water* ŋugu, dilburu (B, Bār); *muddy water* bunmuru; *clear water* galbi ŋugu; *to water plants* wimbi-wimbi-  
*water-bag* ŋugu-miṛa  
*water-hole* dumbi, dumbaga  
*water-rat* mūluru  
*water-weeds* mānda  
*wave (in river)* guḷuru  
*wave something, to shake (tr)* yagi-yagi-la-  
*we (pl)* ŋina; *we two* ŋali;  
*wear* maga-nja-  
*wet* gun̄gu; *wet ground* gun̄gulu; *to make wet* gun̄gu-, gun̄gu-ma-; *to get wet* gun̄gu-mala-  
*what?* mina  
*where?* windja, windjara  
*which way?* windja-maṛi  
*whine* ŋundja-ŋundja-  
*whip* wuruṅga (G)  
*whirlwind* gūra-buda, yandinja, yandandji  
*whiskers* waga-bulgi (var. waga-wulgi, wagulgi)  
*whisper* mayabaḍu- (G)  
*white* bād̄jirga, buda (G); *white of egg* ŋamalu; *white person* māyiga, danuga (Pooncarie word)  
*white person 'ghost'* wanda;  
*white-fellow* wayidbala  
*who?* windjiga  
*wide* badara; *to widen out (intr)* badara-mala-  
*widow* buga-maḷina  
*wife* gumbaga  
*wild (to get wild), angry* bub-mala- wādi-wādi-la-  
*wind, gale* yaḍu; *from west and south* ganga-yaḍu (G); *from east and north-east* wamba-yaḍu; *north* bula-yaḍu  
*wind up, to roll up* wiri-ma-  
*windbreak* nandu; *windbreak for camping* daburu (B)  
*wing* wanji, duḍi (G)  
*winter* gūlji, gūlji-gūlji, gūljuru  
*wish (from English 'want')* wandi-ma-  
*with, in company with, comitative* case marker -ambala, -amada  
*woman* nungu, baṛaga (G)  
*woo, court* ŋaṅba-ŋaṅba-  
*wood (kindling)* māra-māra  
*wool (from English)* wiḷubi  
*work (from English)* warga-  
*worm* dunmara, dūnba  
*wrist* maṛa-giḷi  
*write (on paper)* daga- (bibana)  
*writer, person who can write* baḍaga  
*wrong, against the rules* ŋadi  
*yabbie* gunguḷu  
*yam-stick* gaṅga  
*yellow (the colour of a claypan)* yaba-yabaḷa  
*yes* ŋim (var. ŋī)  
*yesterday* ilāgu  
*you (sg)* ŋimba; (pl) ŋuḍa; (dl) ŋuba  
*young, young child* baḷu; *young woman* gadjumbaga, dada baṛaga (G); *young man* bidī  
*youth, young man ready for initiation* gunbu

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANON.  
1863 Marowra or native language. Church Mission Station, Yelta.  
MS, La Trobe Library.
- ANON.  
1896 Vocabulary obtained from J.C.W. dialect north of Darling. *Australian Anthropological Journal* 1/2:12-13.
- AUSTIN, P.K.  
1978 A grammar of the Diyari language of north-east South Australia. Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra.
- BARRY, R.  
1866 Lower Murray. In: *Vocabulaires des dialectes des aborigènes de l'Australie. Exposition Internationale, Paris.*
- BECKETT, J.R.  
1958 Marginal men: a study of two half caste Aborigines. *Oceania* 29:91-108.  
1965 Kinship, mobility and community among part-Aborigines in rural Australia. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 6/1:1-23.  
1978 George Dutton's country: portrait of an Aboriginal drover. *Aboriginal History* 2/1-2:2-31.
- BERNDT, R.M. and C.H. BERNDT  
1964 *The world of the first Australians.* Sydney: Ure Smith.
- BLAKE, B.J.  
1969 *The Kalkatungu language: a brief description.* AAS 20, L8. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.  
1977 *Case marking in Australian languages.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.  
1979 *A Kalkatungu grammar.* PL, B-57.  
1979 Pitta-Pitta. In Dixon and Blake, eds 1980:183-242.
- BLAKE, B.J. and J.G. BREEN  
1971 *The Pitta-Pitta dialects.* *Linguistic Communications* 4. Monash University, Melbourne.
- BONNEY, F.  
1884 On some customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13/2:122-137.

## BREEN, J.G.

- 1971 *Aboriginal languages of Western Queensland. Linguistic Communications* 5. Monash University, Melbourne.
- 1973 *Bidyara and Gungabula: grammar and vocabulary. Linguistic Communications* 8. Monash University, Melbourne.
- 1976 Ergative, locative and instrumental inflections in Wangkumara. [Topic B]. In Dixon, ed. 1976:336-339.

## BUCHANAN, E.J.

- 1900 Aboriginal words and meanings [Eenawon Tribe, N.S.W.]. *Science of Man* 4/4:64-65.

## BULMER, J.

- 1878 Native language, Gippsland and Murray. In R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol.2:33-37. Melbourne: John Ferres. London: Trübner.
- 1880 Appendix I, The Wa-imbio tribe. In L. Fison and A.W. Howitt *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 288-291. Melbourne: George Robertson.
- 1886 The junction of the Darling and Murray Rivers; Marowera language. In Curr, vol.2:238-241.

## CAMERON, A.L.P.

- 1884 Notes on some tribes of New South Wales. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 14:344-370.

## CHISNEY, R.A.

- 1882 Unpublished letter to Howitt, dated 31st July 1882, with a list of 25 or so words in 'Gourno' or 'Guerno', in Howitt Papers (Box 5.1.), Victorian Museum.

## COMRIE, B.

- 1976 *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## CROZIER, H. and A. DEWHURST

- 1886 Evelyn Creek. In Curr, vol.2:152-157.

## CUNNINGHAM, M.C.

- 1968 Wangkumara, notes, data and sorted word lists. MS. Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

## CURR, E.M.

- 1886-87 *The Australian race*. Four vols. Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer and London: Trübner.
- 1886 Tintināligi, Darling River. In Curr, vol.2:230-231.

## DIX, J.W. LAKE

- 1886 Boolcoomatta. In Curr, vol.2:176-177.

## DIXON, R.M.W.

- 1970a Languages of the Cairns rain forest region. In S.A. Wurm and D.C. Laycock, eds *Pacific linguistic studies in honour of Arthur Capell*. PL, C-13:651-687.
- 1970b Proto-Australian laminals. *Oceanic Linguistics* 9/2:79-103.
- 1972 *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- 1974 Private communication, containing bibliographical references.
- 1977 *A grammar of Yidiñ*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1980 *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- DIXON, R.M.W., ed.  
 1976 *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*. AAS, L22. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- DIXON, R.M.W. and J.B. BLAKE, eds  
 1979 *Handbook of Australian languages*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- DONALDSON, T.  
 1980 *Ngiyambaa, the language of the Wangaaybuwan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DOUGLAS, W.H.  
 1964 *An introduction to the Western Desert language...* Revised edition. *Oceania Linguistic Monographs* 4. Sydney.
- ETHERIDGE, R.  
 1916 The cylindro-conical and cornute stone implements of western N.S.W. and their significance. *Memoirs of the Geological Society of N.S.W.*, Ethnological series, no.2.
- EYRE, E.J.  
 1845 Yak Kumban or Darling. *Journals of expeditions of discovery into Central Australia, and overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound in the years 1840-1841*, vol.2:395-397.
- FRASER, J.  
 1892 *The aborigines of New South Wales*. Sydney: C. Potter, Government Printer.
- GIVÓN, T.  
 1976 Topic, pronoun, and grammatical agreement. In C. Li, ed. *Subject and topic*, 149-188. New York: Academic Press.
- GOODWIN, T. Hill  
 1878 Yelta: Marowra language. In R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol.2:74-76.
- GREENBERG, J.H.  
 1963 Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In J.H. Greenberg, ed. *Universals of language*, (report of a conference held at Dobbs Ferry, New York, April 13-15, 1961). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. (2nd ed 1966.)
- HAINES, W.  
 1886 [Vocabulary of languages spoken] between Menindee and Wilcannia [near the Darling]. In *Curr*, vol.2:174-175.
- HALE, K.L.  
 1973 Person marking in Walbiri. In S.R. Anderson and P. Kiparsky, eds *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, 308-344. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- HARDY, Bobbie  
 1969 *West of the Darling*. Brisbane.  
 1976 *Lament for the Barkindji: the vanished tribes of the Darling River region*. Adelaide: Rigby.
- HARWEG, R.  
 1964 *Kompositum und Katalysationstext, vornehmlich im späten Sanskrit*. The Hague: Mouton.

## HERCUS, L.A.

- 1969 *The languages of Victoria: a late survey.* AAS 17, L5 and L6. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- 1972 The pre-stopped nasal and lateral consonants of Arabana-Wanḡaḡuru. *Anthropological Linguistics* 14/8:293-305.
- 1974 Texts in Victorian languages. *PL*, A-37:13-43.
- 1979 Arabana-Wanḡaḡuru grammar. MS.
- 1979 Transcription of Wanḡumara tapes. MS.
- 1980 How we danced the Mudluḡa. *Aboriginal History* 4:5-31. Canberra.
- 1980 Dialectal differentiation in Bāḡandji. In B. Rigsby and P. Sutton, eds *Papers in Australian linguistics* No.13: *Contributions to Australian linguistics.* *PL*, A-59:159-166.

## HOLDEN, R.W.

- 1879 The 'Maroura' tribe, lower Darling. In G. Taplin *The Aborigines of South Australia.* Adelaide.

## HOPPER, P.J.

- 1968 Verbless stative sentences in Indonesian. In J.W.M. Verharr, ed. *The verb 'be' and its synonyms*, part 5:115-152. *Foundations of Language Supplementary Series*, vol.14.

## HOWITT, A.W.

- 1904 *The native tribes of south-east Australia.* London: Macmillan.

## JACOBS, R.A. and P.S. ROSENBAUM

- 1960 *English transformational grammar.* London: Ginn.

## JESPERSEN, O.

- 1909 *A modern English grammar.* Heidelberg.

## KIPARSKY, R.P.V., J.R. ROSS and J.D. McCAWLEY

- 1973 *Three dimensions of linguistic theory*, ed. by Osamu Fijimura. Tokyo: TEC.

## LEEDING, V.J.

- 1976 Ergative, locative and instrumental case inflections in Garawa. [Topic B]. In Dixon, ed. 1976:382-390.

## LONG, J.P.M.

- 1970 *Aboriginal settlements: a survey of institutional communities in eastern Australia.* Canberra: Australian National University Press.

## LONGACRE, R.E.

- 1964 *Grammar discovery procedures.* The Hague: Mouton.

## LYONS, J.

- 1968 *Introduction to theoretical linguistics.* London: Cambridge University Press.

## McCARTHY, F.D.

- 1939 'Trade' in Aboriginal Australia, and 'trade' relationships with Torres Strait, New Guinea and Malaya. *Oceania* 10/1:80-104 and 2:171-195.
- 1976 *Rock art of the Cobar Pediplain in central western New South Wales.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

## McLENNAN, A.

- 1886 From Weintēriḡa, on the Darling, to the Barrier Range. In Curr, vol.2:232-233.



- MAIR, —, Esq, P.M.  
 1886 Menindee, Darling River. In *Curr*, vol.2:234-235.
- MAROUZEAU, J.  
 1943 *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique...* 2nd edn. Paris: Geuthner.
- MARTINET, A.  
 1972 Elements of a functional syntax. In F.W. Householder, ed. *Syntactic theory 1*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MASICA, C.P.  
 1976 *Defining a linguistic area: South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MATHEWS, R.H.  
 1902 Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. *Journal of the Royal Society of N.S.W.* 36:135-190.  
 1902 Vocabulary of Kūrnū words. *Journal of the Royal Society of N.S.W.* 36:175-179.  
 1902 The Kūrnū language. *Journal of the Royal Society of N.S.W.* 36:154-157.  
 1904 Langage des Kūrnū, tribu d'indigènes de la Nouvelle Galles du Sud. *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Serie 5/5:132-138.  
 n.d. An unpublished MS, made available to me by the Mathews family and R.M.W. Dixon, has one page devoted to Ngunbalgo which is probably 'Naualko'. There are also three pages which give a sketch of the 'Parundji' language. His notebook 2:73-75 contains information on the 'Barrandyi' language.
- MOORHOUSE, M.  
 1846 *A vocabulary and outline of the grammatical structure of the Murray River language, spoken by the natives of South Australia from Wellington on the Murray as far as the Rufus*. Adelaide: Andrew Murray.
- MORTON, A.W.  
 1886 Near the north-west corner of New South Wales. In *Curr*, vol.2:158-161.
- NEWLAND, S.  
 1887-88 The Parkengees, or Aboriginal tribes on the Darling River. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch* 2/20-32.
- OATES, L.F.  
 1980 Notes on Barambinja. MS.
- OATES, W.J. and L.F. OATES  
 1970 *A revised linguistic survey of Australia*. AAS 32, L12. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- O'GRADY, G.N., C.F. VOEGELIN and F.M. VOEGELIN  
 1966 *Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific fascicle six*. *Anthropological Linguistics* 8/2, (with an appendix by Kenneth L. Hale).
- O'GRADY, G.N., S.A. WURM and K. HALE  
 1966 *Aboriginal languages of Australia (A preliminary classification)*. Map drawn by Robert M. Watt. Victoria, B.C.: Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria.
- O'GRADY, G.N. and T.J. KLOKEID  
 1969 Australian linguistic classification: a plea for coordination of effort. *Oceania* 39/4:298-311.

OSBORNE, C.R.

- 1974 *The Tiwi language*. AAS 55, L21. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

PALMER, E.

- 1883 [Vocabulary:] Darling River, Bourke, N.S.W. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 13:326-334.

PECHEY, W.A.

- 1872 Vocabulary, with notes thereon, of the Cornu tribe of Australia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1:143-147.

REAY, M.O.

- 1945 Notes on fieldwork in Bourke. MS.

REID, J.A.

- 1886 Torrowotto. In *Curr*, vol.2:178-181.

RICHARDS, C.

- 1903 The Marraa' Warree' tribes a nation and their language. *Science of Man* 6/8:119-126 and 11:163-169.

ROBINS, R.H.

- 1975 *General linguistics: an introductory survey*. 2nd edn, 2nd impression. London: Longman.

ROGERS, M.

- 1886 Wilcannia. In *Curr*, vol.2:226-229.

ROSS, J.R.

- 1973 Nouniness. In Kiparsky, et al. 1973:137-257.

SCHMIDT, W.

- 1919 *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen*. Vienna: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei.
- 1919 *Die Personal-pronomina in den Australischen Sprachen*. Vienna: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei.

SCRIVENER, G.

- 1886 The lower portions of the Paroo and Warrego Rivers. In *Curr*, vol.2:182-185.

SHAW, C.W.

- 1886 Tolarno Station near Menindee. In *Curr*, vol.2:236-237.

SMYTH, R. Brough

- 1878 *The Aborigines of Victoria*. 2 vols. Melbourne: Government Printer.

SUTTON, P.

- 1976 The diversity of initial dropping languages in Southern Cape York. In Sutton, ed., 1976.

SUTTON, P., ed.

- 1976 *Languages of Cape York*. AAS RRS 6. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

TAPLIN, G., ed.

- 1879 *The folklore, manners, customs, and languages of the South Australian aborigines...* This work contains the vocabulary by Holden. Adelaide: Government Printer.

## TEULON, G.N.

1886 Bourke, Darling River. In *Curr*, vol.2:208-223.

## TINDALE, N.B.

1939 Eagle and crow myths of the Maraura tribe, lower Darling River, N.S.W.  
*Records of the South Australian Museum* 6/3.

1940 Distribution of Australian Aboriginal tribes: a field survey.  
*Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64:140-231.

1974 *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*. Berkeley: University of California Press;  
Canberra: Australian National University Press.

## TIPPING, M.

1979 *Ludwig Becker: artist & naturalist with the Burke & Wills expedition*.  
Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.

## WILSON, S. and W. HENDERSON

1886 Fifty miles below Bourke on the Darling. In *Curr*, vol.2:224-225.

## WURM, S.A.

1972 *Languages of Australia and Tasmania*. The Hague: Mouton.

n.d. Transcriptions of tapes in Bārundji. MS.

## WURM, S.A. and L.A. HERCUS

1976 Tense-marking in Gunu pronouns. *PL*, A-47:33-35.

