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GARAWA PHONOLOGY

CHRISTINE E. FURBY

0. Introduction
1. Consonants
2. Vowels
3. Distribution of Phonemes
4. Syllables
5. Word Stress

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a phonemic analysis of the western dialect of the Garawa language.¹ A description is given of the phoneme, syllable and word levels.

Garawa is spoken by about 300 people living in the northeast of the Northern Territory of Australia, from Borroloola to Doomadgee in Queensland. There are two dialects of Garawa, eastern Garawa spoken in the area of Wollogorang cattle station and western Garawa spoken in the area of Robinson River cattle station.

1. CONSONANTS

There are nineteen consonantal phonemes in Garawa: the voiceless stops /p, t, t̪, tʃ, jk, k/ and the voiced nasals /m, n, ŋ, nʃ, jŋ, ŋ/ contrasting at the bilabial, apico-alveolar, apico-domal, lamino-alveolar, lamino-velar and velar points of articulation; the voiced laterals /l, ʃ, lʃ/ contrasting at the apico-alveolar, apico-domal and lamino-alveolar points of articulation; a voiced apico-alveolar vibrant /ʃ/; and the voiced semi-consonants /w, ɣ, ʀ/ occurring at the bilabial, lamino-palatal and apico-domal points of articulation.

1.1 CONSONANT CONTRASTS

The stops contrast in word initial position:

/pula/	<i>they</i> (dual)
/tulala/	<i>tree</i> (species)
/tjulaki/	<i>bird</i> (generic)
/kula/	<i>south</i>

word medial position:

/wapa/	<i>bark</i>
/matamata/	<i>opossum fur</i>
/waʔapa/	<i>goanna</i> (species)
/watja/	<i>quickly</i>
/wajka/	<i>down</i>
/waka/	<i>call out</i>

The nasals contrast in word initial position:

/mulu/	<i>nose</i>
/nuʔu/	<i>we</i> (plural excl)
/njulu/	<i>he</i>
/ŋuluʔ/	<i>backbone</i>

word medial position:

/nanama/	<i>that</i> (non-specific)
/muŋana/	<i>at night</i>
/paŋaŋa/	<i>father's oldest brother</i>
/puwanja/	<i>older brother</i>
/laŋinaŋa/	<i>north across something</i>
/munana/	<i>white man</i>

The laterals, the flap /ʃ/, and the semi-consonant /ɾ/ contrast in word medial position:

/kaŋala/	<i>skin grouping</i>
/tjuwa a/	<i>lying face down</i>
/walja/	<i>mammal</i> (species)
/nakaʃa/	<i>horse</i>
/ŋaʔaɾa/	<i>sun</i>

The apico-alveolar stop /t/ and flap /ʃ/ contrast in word medial position:

/matamata/	<i>opossum fur</i>
/ŋaʃawa/	<i>salt</i>

The apico-domal stop /ʈ/ and semi-consonant /ɾ/ contrast in word medial position:

/waʔapa/	<i>goanna</i> (species)
/ŋaɾapa/	<i>drink</i>

The bilabial stop /p/ and semi-consonant /w/ contrast in word initial position:

/patja/	<i>play</i>
/watja/	<i>quickly</i>

word medial position:

/ŋupuŋu/	<i>boomerang (generic)</i>
/ŋuwu/	<i>water</i>

The lamino-alveolar stop /tj/ and lamino-palatal semi-consonant /y/ contrast in word initial position:

/tjŋku/	<i>sit</i>
/yundu/	<i>on top of</i>

word medial position:

/yatji/	<i>country</i>
/mayi/	<i>tooth</i>

1.2 CONSONANT VARIANTS

Both the apico-domal and the lamino-alveolar stops /t/ and /tj/ have an unreleased allophone [t̚] and [tj̚]:

/kutjpa/	[ku ⁱ tj̚p ^Λ]	<i>search</i>
/paɬpaɬtji/	[pa ^{t̚} p ^Λ t̚tj̚]	<i>tree (species)</i>

A voiceless aspirated velar stop [kʰ] occasionally occurs in word initial position as an allophone of the velar stop /k/:

/kaʃuwa/	[kaʃuwa ^ʰ ~ kʰaʃuwa ^ʰ]	<i>name of language</i>
/kaʃi/	[kaʃe ~ kʰaʃe]	<i>east</i>

The bilabial stop /p/ has a voiced allophone [b] in word initial position preceding semi-consonant /r̥/:

/p̥ratji/	[br̥a ⁱ tj̚]	<i>tail</i>
/p̥raki/	[br̥aki]	<i>ant (species)</i>

Each of the lamino-alveolar consonants /tj, nj, lj/ has an allophone with palatal release [tjʲ], [njʲ], [ljʲ], which occur in free variation with it preceding a vowel:

/tjalu/	[tjalu ~ tjʲalu]	<i>arm</i>
/patja/	[pa ⁱ tj̚ ^ʰ ~ pa ⁱ tjʲ ^ʰ]	<i>play</i>
/njulu/	[njulu ~ njʲulu]	<i>he</i>
/punji/	[po ⁱ n̥j̚ ~ po ⁱ n̥jʲ]	<i>grass (species)</i>
/kulja/	[ku ⁱ lj̚ ^ʰ ~ ku ⁱ ljʲ ^ʰ]	<i>raw</i>

The apico-alveolar vibrant /ʃ/ fluctuates freely with a voiceless flap allophone [ʃ̥] in word final position; in emphasized speech the voiceless trill allophone [ʃ̥̃] tends to occur in word final position:

/kaʃi/	[kaʃe]	<i>east</i>
/liʃka/	[leʃkʌʷ]	<i>first born</i>
/waʃmpa/	[waʃmpʌʷ]	<i>blow</i>
/yi aʃ/	[yɛ ʌʷʃ ~ yɛ ʌʷʃ̥̃]	<i>poison</i>
/pitjpaʃ/	[pi ^{tj} pʌʷwʌʷʃ̥̃]	<i>fierce</i>

2. VOWELS

There are three vowel phonemes /i, a, u/. These contrast at front, central and back points of articulation.

2.1 VOWEL CONTRASTS

/mili/	<i>more</i>
/mali/	<i>flood waters</i>
/mulu/	<i>nose</i>
/ŋali/	<i>we (dual excl)</i>
/ŋala/	<i>while</i>
/ŋalu/	<i>cloud</i>

2.2 VOWEL VARIANTS

Each vowel has a retroflexed allophone preceding apico-domal consonants:

/yi aʃ/	[yɛ ʌʷʃ̥̃]	<i>poison</i>
/kaʃila/	[kʌʃe ʌʷ]	<i>hip</i>
/kuŋaʃ/	[kʷŋŋʌʷʃ̥̃]	<i>smoke</i>

For each vowel there is a range of allophones which vary considerably; however the following distributions of the allophones tend to occur.

The front vowel /i/ has the allophones [i], [ɪ], [e], [ɛ], [eⁱ], [eⁱ·].

The allophone [i] occurs between non-velar and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:

/pitjal/	[pitjʌʷi]	<i>partly</i>
/miya/	[miyʌʷ]	<i>snake (generic)</i>

The glide [eⁱ] occurs between velar and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:

/kinjpa/	[ke ⁱ njpʌ ^v]	<i>caught in something</i>
/mikukiyi/	[mekuke ⁱ yɪ]	<i>don't!</i>

The lengthened glide [eⁱ·] occurs preceding lamino-velar consonants:

/kijŋjki/	[ke ⁱ ·jŋjki]	<i>flying fox (species)</i>
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The allophone [e] tends to occur contiguous to laterals and vibrants:

/kaɾila/	[kaɾeɪʌ ^v]	<i>hip</i>
/liʃka/	[leʃka ^v]	<i>first born</i>

The allophone [ɛ] tends to occur following bilabials:

/piwali/	[pɛwale]	<i>opossum (species)</i>
/miku/	[meku]	<i>no</i>

The allophone [ɪ] tends to occur in other environments:

/nitji/	[nitʃɪ]	<i>name</i>
/tiŋutji/	[tiŋu ⁱ tʃɪ]	<i>tree (species)</i>

The central vowel /a/ has the allophones [ʌ^v], [a], [a^ʔ], [aⁱ], [aⁱ·].

The glide [aⁱ] occurs preceding lamino-alveolar and lamino-palatal consonants:

/mayi/	[ma ⁱ yɪ]	<i>tooth</i>
/yatjpa/	[ya ⁱ tʃpʌ ^v]	<i>burn</i>

The lengthened glide [aⁱ·] occurs preceding lamino-velar consonants:

/majkaʃa/	[ma ⁱ ·jkʌ ^v ʃʌ ^v]	<i>husband and wife</i>
/kulanajŋa/	[kuɪʌ ^v na ⁱ ·jŋʌ ^v]	<i>south across something</i>

The low back allophone [a^ʔ] tends to occur between /w/ and /w/:

/wawaʃa/	[wa ^ʔ wʌ ^v ʃʌ ^v]	<i>baby boy</i>
/wawi/	[wa ^ʔ wɛ]	<i>horse</i>

The low allophone [a] tends to occur in other stressed syllables:

/tjalu/	[tjalʌ]	<i>lower arm</i>
/ŋaʃawa/	[ŋaʃʌ ^v wʌ ^v]	<i>salt</i>

The lower mid allophone [ʌ^v] tends to occur in other unstressed syllables:

/nanamanŋa/	[nanʌ ^v ma ^v nŋʌ ^v]	<i>same one</i>
/wukaʃa/	[wokʌ ^v ʃʌ ^v]	<i>tree (species)</i>

The back unrounded vowel /u/ has the allophones [ʊ], [o], [uⁱ], [uⁱ·], [oⁱ], [oⁱ·].

The glide [uⁱ] occurs between non-bilabial and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:

/yuyu/	[yu ⁱ yu]	<i>yes</i>
/tjunjtjutupu/	[tju ⁱ njtjutupo]	<i>bird (species)</i>

The lengthened glide [uⁱ·] occurs between non-bilabial and lamino-velar consonants:

/watjuknaji/	[wa ⁱ tju ⁱ ·jka ⁱ nji]	<i>swatting</i>
/buŋuknaji/	[boŋu ⁱ ·jka ⁱ nji]	<i>coming closer</i>

The glide [oⁱ] occurs between bilabial and lamino-alveolar or lamino-palatal consonants:

/ma]buyuři/	[ma]bo ⁱ yuři]	<i>to the old man</i>
/munjtji/	[mo ⁱ njtji]	<i>bush</i>

The lengthened glide [oⁱ·] occurs between bilabial and lamino-velar consonants:

/wujkutjpa/	[wo ⁱ ·jku ⁱ tjpa ^v]	<i>rub</i>
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The high allophone [ʊ] tends to occur between non-bilabial and bilabial or apico-alveolar or velar consonants:

/lukuluku/	[lukʊlukʊ]	<i>around</i>
/tjuntuř/	[tjuntʊř]	<i>sand</i>

The mid allophone [o] tends to occur word finally following bilabial consonants or between bilabial and bilabial or apico-alveolar or velar consonants:

/buntal/	[bontʌ ^v l]	<i>river</i>
/kumu/	[kʊmo]	<i>flood waters</i>

2.3 ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS OF LAMINO-VELAR STOP AND NASAL PHONEMES

It would have been equally possible to analyse the lengthened vowel glides as separate phonemes /eⁱ/, /aⁱ/, /uⁱ/ in contrast with the simple vowels /i/, /a/, /u/:

/we ⁱ ku/	<i>goanna (species)</i>
/miku/	<i>no</i>
/kulana ⁱ ŋa/	<i>south across something</i>
/munana/	<i>white man</i>
/wu ⁱ kutjpa/	<i>rub</i>
/wukuřupa/	<i>swell</i>

The lamino-velar stop and nasal would then be analysed as allophones of the velar stop and nasal conditioned by occurrence following the glide phonemes:

/we ⁱ ku/	[we ⁱ .jku]	<i>goanna</i> (species)
/wa ⁱ ka/	[wa ⁱ .jkʌ ^v]	<i>down</i>
/ku ⁱ kula/	[ku ⁱ .jkʌ ^v lʌ ^v]	<i>menstrual fluid</i>

The vowel glide [oⁱ.] would be the allophone of /uⁱ/ occurring following bilabials:

/wu ⁱ kutjpa/	[wo ⁱ .jku ⁱ tj _p ʌ ^v]	<i>rub</i>
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This interpretation would have resulted in a number of stems having allostems, and some suffixes having allomorphs. Some examples of these are:

/puntu ~ puntu ⁱ -/	<i>close</i>
/walkuša ~ walkuša ⁱ -/	<i>big</i>
/muḡanawa ~ muḡanawa ⁱ -/	<i>tomorrow</i>
/-nkuya- ~ -nkuya ⁱ -/	<i>dual</i>
/-nmuku- ~ -nmuku ⁱ -/	<i>plural</i>

By setting up the lamino-velar stop and nasal phonemes only three suffix allomorphs result:

/-ḡkuři	-jḡjkuři/	<i>towards</i>
/-kanji	-jkanji/	<i>for the purpose of</i>
/-kuři	-jkuři/	<i>(verb suffix)</i>

3. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

3.1 CONSONANT DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A phonological word in Garawa is defined as a minimal utterance carrying one primary stress marking the nucleus and borders marked by such devices as potential pause and phonemic distribution.

All words begin with a consonant with the exception of one word /alakala/ *bearers of burial platform*.

Any single consonant except /jk, ḡ, jḡ, l, lj, ř/ may occur in word-initial position. In word-final position only /n, l, l, ř/ occur.

/waṭa /	<i>kangaroo</i> (species)
/yaka /	<i>moon</i>
/tjuluř/	<i>ash</i>

Consonant clusters may comprise two or three segments.

In the data two di-clusters have been found to occur in word-initial position.

Homorganic cluster, stop + semi-consonant:

řř-	/řřařřaḡka/	<i>bush fire burning</i>
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Heterorganic cluster, stop + semi-consonant:

př-	/přaki/	<i>tail</i>
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In the data thirty-four di-clusters have been found to occur in word medial position within single morphemes.

Homorganic clusters, stop + semi-consonant:

-ʃʃ- /ʃʃaʃʃaŋka/ *bush fire burning*

Nasal + stop:

-mp- /tjampa/ *ground*

-nt- /puntu/ *close*

-ŋʃ- /paŋʃa/ *camp*

-njtj- /tjanjtja/ *rain*

-jŋjk- /tajŋjka/ *burn*

-ŋk- /tjaŋkuʃ/ *word*

Heterorganic clusters, stop + stop:

-tjp- /kulatjpi/ *pillow*

-ʃp- /paʃpaʃtji/ *tree (species)*

-ʃtj- /paʃpaʃtji/ *tree (species)*

Nasal + stop:

-njp- /kunjpa/ *good*

-np- /njinpu/ *animal (species)*

-ŋp- /kaŋpa/ *grass (species)*

-ŋtj- /miŋmiŋtjal/ *eyebrow*

-nk- /munkul/ *white ash*

-ŋk- /yuŋkur/ *wind*

Nasal + nasal:

-ŋm- /luŋmuʃ/ *fly (species)*

-njm- /kunjmampa/ *make good*

-ŋŋj- /taŋŋji/ *ankle*

-nŋ- /talanna/ *first time*

-ŋŋ- /kuŋŋaʃ/ *smoke*

Lateral + stop:

-lp- /malpu/ *old man*

-lʃp- /tjuʃpi/ *fish (species)*

-lk- /palki/ *bad*

-lʃk- /wiʃku/ *run*

Lateral + nasal:

-lm- /talmuʃa/ *bird (species)*

-lŋ- /pulpulŋitjpa/ *jump*

Lateral + semi-consonant:

-lw- /yilwil/ *nail*

-lʃw- /puʃwitaʃi/ *white ground*

Flap /ʃ/ + stop:

-ʃp-	/tjaʃpu/	<i>gorge</i>
-ʃk-	/puʃka/	<i>tail</i>

Flap /ʃ/ + nasal:

-ʃm-	/kaʃmuʃ/	<i>spear (species)</i>
-ʃŋ-	/liʃŋinti/	<i>insect (species)</i>

Flap /ʃ/ + semi-consonant:

-ʃw-	/ŋuʃwa/	<i>thunder</i>
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In addition five di-clusters occur across morpheme boundaries within the word. In the following examples the pertinent morpheme break is marked by a hyphen.

Homorganic clusters, lateral + nasal:

-ln-	/punta nanji/	<i>from the river</i>
- ŋ-	/yupa ŋanji/	<i>from the track</i>

Flap /ʃ/ + nasal:

-ʃn-	/kunaʃnanji/	<i>from the smoke</i>
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Heterorganic clusters, lateral + lateral:

- lj-	/yupa ljuʃi/	<i>to the track</i>
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Flap /r/ + semi-consonant:

-ʃy-	/yunkuʃyuʃi/	<i>to the wind</i>
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In the data three tri-clusters have been found to occur across morpheme boundaries within the word.

Lateral + nasal + stop:

-lmp-	/putjal mpa/	<i>smash</i>
- mp-	/yuwa mpa/	<i>travel by a direct route</i>

Flap /ʃ/ + nasal + stop:

-ʃmp-	/waʃ mpa/	<i>blow</i>
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3.2 VOWEL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD

Only one word has been found to have a vowel word initial; /a/ occurs in /alakala/ *bearers of burial platform*. (This word may be a loan word, possibly from Yanyula.) Any vowel may occur preceding or following any consonant with the following exceptions: /u/ has not been found following /ŋ/, /i/ has not been found following /jŋ/.

4. SYLLABLES

There are three syllable types each with a single vowel nucleus. The prenuclear margin may be filled with one or two consonants while the postnuclear margin is limited to one consonant.

CV	ma.yi	<i>tooth</i>
CVC	tja	<i>flower</i> (generic)
CCV	waʃ.mpa	<i>blow</i>

A closed variant of the CCV syllable type [CCVC] occurs as the second syllable of a word between a CCV syllable and a CV syllable.

ʃra.ʃraŋ.ka *bush fire burning*

Words consist of from one to ten syllables. Words of six syllables or more are not frequently heard. Syllable types CV, CVC, and CCV may occur in any position in the word. However no more than three CVC syllables have been heard occurring contiguously.

ka.la.wujŋ.jku.ʃu	<i>inside</i>
ŋam.pa.la.ŋin.ku.ya	<i>our two</i>
miŋ.miŋ.tja	<i>eyebrow</i>
kun.til.mpa	<i>make dry</i>
pʃa.tji	<i>ant</i> (species)
yuʃ.mpa.ka	<i>(he is) shifting</i>

5. WORD STRESS

In Garawa primary stress (indicated in this section by ') is always on the first syllable of the phonological word. Primary stress is manifested by loudness, high pitch and length.

yámi	<i>eye</i>
púnjala	<i>white</i>

Secondary stress (indicated by `) occurs on the penultimate syllable of words with four or more syllables. Secondary stress is manifested by less length and loudness than primary stress, while pitch is usually no higher than that of contiguous syllables. In words of six or more syllables tertiary stress (indicated by ~) occurs on every second syllable preceding the secondary stress but never on the second syllable.

wátjimpàŋu	<i>armpit</i>
kámalaʃinji	<i>wrist</i>
yákalākālampa	<i>loose</i>
ŋánkiʃikTʃimpàyi	<i>fought with boomerangs</i>
ŋámpalāŋinmūkunjina	<i>at our many</i>
náʃiŋinmūkunjTnamìʃa	<i>at your own many</i>
nímpalāŋinmūkunānjimìʃa	<i>from your own two</i>

N O T E

1. Garawa has been classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin in *Anthropological Linguistics* (1966:33) as being the only member of the Karawic Group of the Karawan Family of Australian languages.

The material for this paper was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during eighteen months residence at Borroloola between June 1968 and March 1970. Principal language helpers were Jerry Wollogorang, Edna Jack and Hilda Ross.

The author is grateful to Misses Barbara Sayers and Anne Cochran of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their valuable help in the final analysis and preparation of this paper. The author is also grateful to the University of Queensland (English Department) for the use of their spectrograph, and to Charles Peck of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for reading the spectrograms.

The description presented here is based on the phonological procedure and approach developed by Pike, "Phonemics" (1947).

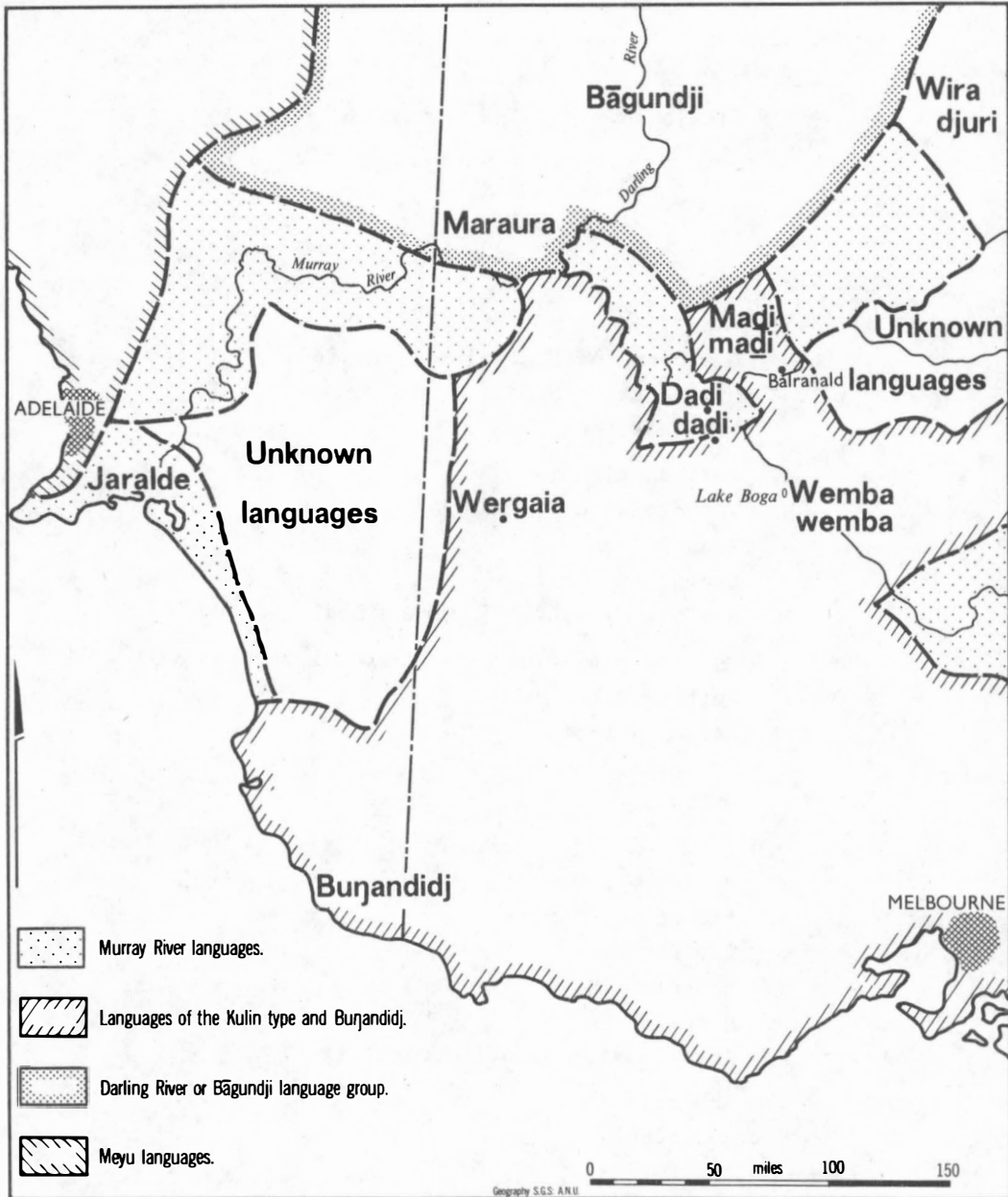
TEXTS IN VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

LUISE A. HERCUS

Map

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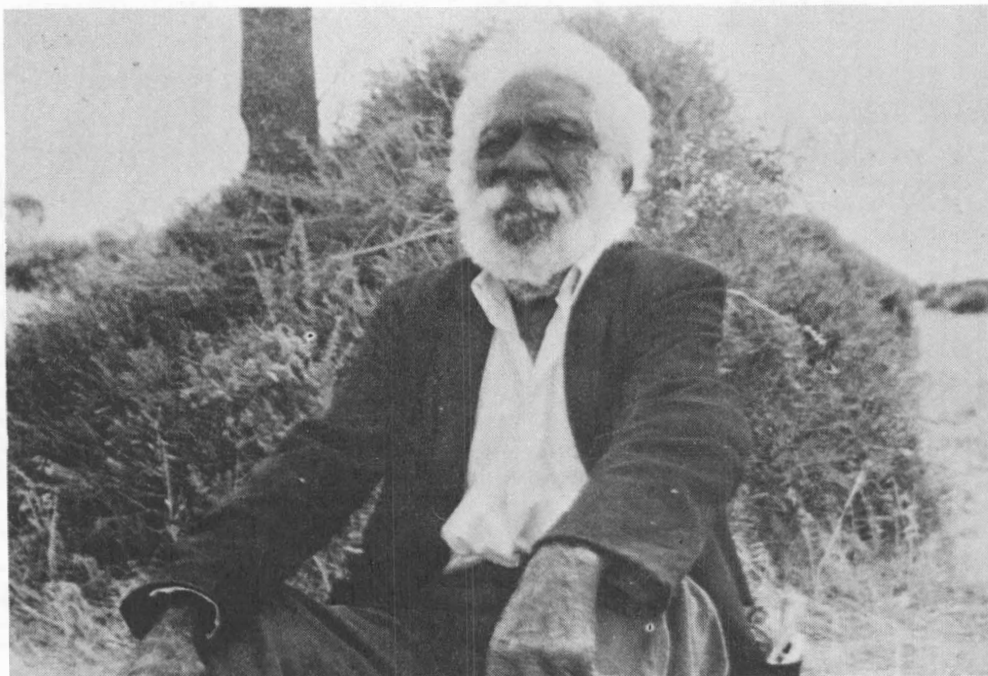




Photograph 1. "Guardians of Victorian Traditions": a group of Kulin speakers at Moonacullah in the 1890's (by courtesy of Hubert Day).



Photograph 2. Mrs. Jackson Stuart



Photograph 3. Mr. Jack Long

1.a Introduction

Very little text material is available in the now practically extinct Victorian languages, and the meagre stories that were collected by R. Brough Smyth (1878) have been severely criticised by R.H. Mathews (1903:75):

'Some of Mr. R.B. Smyth's correspondents ventured to send him stories purporting to be told in certain native dialects. I have looked over all these stories, and can pronounce them to be mere ungrammatical jargon, written by men who knew nothing of the structure of the languages they were dealing with'.

This judgement is harsh, but to some extent justified. Nevertheless, in the light of what has been learnt from the last speakers of Victorian languages (Hercus, 1969) some linguistic information can be gained from these old stories and the grammatical errors are usually transparent: wrong word divisions are most common. One old Wergaia text written down by the Rev. Hagenauer (Smyth 1878:53) has therefore been re-edited here. This has been done with the help of all available information, we have used the first hand evidence of the surviving descendants of the Wergaia as well as the works of R.B. Smyth and of R.H. Mathews (1902).

In this edition the first two lines represent an exact replica of Hagenauer's text and translation respectively. The third line is a corrected phonemic rendering of the text, while the fourth line is the corresponding corrected English translation. When no new material was available to elucidate the text and when there was any doubt, the tentative corrected version has been enclosed in square brackets.

1.b Re-edition of an old Wergaia text

Duan	gapm	menjun	gumbarran	
(Name meaning <i>squirrel</i>)	<i>tracked</i> (a)	<i>kangaroo</i>	<i>(and was) sleeping</i>	
duan	gabin	mindjun	gumberaŋ	
<i>Duan</i>	<i>followed</i> PRET	<i>grey-male-</i> <i>kangaroo</i>	<i>sleeping-about</i> FR-PART	
mellan	kitya	buroin.	Weenbulain-yo	wàpcullen
<i>out</i>	<i>many</i> (a)	<i>night.</i>	(name meaning <i>spider</i>)	<i>found out</i>
malaŋ	gedja ¹	buŋunj.	wiŋimbulinju	[wabgulin]
<i>there-from</i> ABL	<i>many</i>	<i>night.</i>	<i>Wiŋimbulinj-by</i> AG	<i>found</i> PRET

Duan	ba	nyainmen	dumang.
<i>Duan</i>	<i>and</i> (Duan)	<i>saw him</i> (Weenbulain)	<i>(certain way of coming).</i>
duan	ba	njain-min	dumaŋ ² .
<i>Duan</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>saw</i> PRET- <i>indeed</i> EM	<i>coming</i> PART.

Woartan	Weenbulain	nyum	bämbin	nyum	Duan
<i>Come</i>	<i>Weenbulain</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>frighten</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>Duan</i>
wađin	wiřimbulinj	njunja	bambin	njunja	duan
<i>Came</i> PRET	<i>Wiřimbulinj</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>feared</i> PRET	<i>that</i>	<i>Duan</i>

ba	bärpin	ba	wràiwın	galk-a.
<i>and</i> (<i>made him</i>)	<i>run</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>climb</i>	<i>a tree.</i>
ba	birbin	ba	wiřwin	galga.
<i>and</i>	<i>jumped</i> PRET	<i>and</i>	<i>climbed</i> PRET	<i>tree-to</i> ALL.

Nyubendin	woartin	Weenbulain
<i>(When) on the tree</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>Weenbulain (and)</i>
njua biđin ³	wađin	wiřimbulinj
<i>there appeared</i> PRET	<i>came</i> PRET	<i>Wiřimbulinj</i>

bundin	nyuin	galk	bendingung
<i>bit through with one bite</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>on which was</i>
bundin	njunja	galg	biđinaŋ ³
<i>bit</i> PRET	<i>that</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>appearing-was</i> PRET-PART

Duan,	buiken	tyabapcrumen	
<i>Duan,</i>	<i>(the tree) falling</i>	<i>(Duan) jumped</i>	
duan,	buigin	djaga	babgumin
<i>Duan,</i>	<i>fell</i> PRET	<i>ground-to</i> ALL	<i>jumped-down</i> PRET

ba	geka	yuāgi	galk,	yingurnan
<i>and</i>	<i>(got) to</i>	<i>another</i>	<i>tree,</i>	<i>and so</i>
ba	giga ⁴	[njanjugi] ⁵	galg,	janguraŋ
<i>and</i>	<i>this-to</i> ALL	<i>other</i> POS-3, PT	<i>tree,</i>	<i>going-round</i> IT-FR-PART

yummin	malluk	brangayin	Duan.
<i>on</i>	<i>till</i>	<i>tired</i>	<i>Duan.</i>
jumin	malug	baranguin ⁶	duan.
<i>was</i> PRET	<i>there-afar</i>	<i>knocked-up</i> IT-PRET	<i>Duan.</i>

Tyamalluk	bundin	Weenbulain-yo			galk
<i>Then</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>Weenbulain</i>			<i>trees</i>
dja - malug	bundin	wiřimbulinju			gaig
<i>Place-there</i>	<i>bit</i> PRET	<i>Wiřimbulinj-by</i> AG			<i>tree</i>
wařmawuiyen	tyagung	giap	garan		nyuin
<i>round about</i>	<i>leaving</i>	<i>one</i>			<i>that</i>
[wanmawuin]	djagan	gaiab	guruŋ		njunja
[<i>went-round?</i>] IT-PRET	<i>place-from</i> ABL	<i>one</i>	<i>big-one</i>		<i>that</i>
bendinung	Duan.	Tyamalluk	woartin		bundin
<i>on which was</i>	<i>Duan.</i>	<i>Then</i>	<i>came (and)</i>		<i>bit</i>
biŋđinan ³	duan.	dja-malug	wađin		bundin
<i>appearing-was</i> PRET-PART	<i>Duan.</i>	<i>Place-there</i>	<i>came</i> PRET		<i>bit</i> PRET
nyum	galk	bendinung	Duan,	nyuin	buiken
<i>that</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>on which was</i>	<i>Duan,</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>fell</i>
njunja	galg	biŋđinan	duan,	njunja	buigin
<i>that</i>	<i>tree</i>	<i>appearing-was</i> PRET-PART	<i>Duan,</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>fell</i> PRET
galk.	Weenbulain-yo	bundin men		Duan	nyuin.
<i>the tree.</i>	<i>Weenbulain</i>	<i>bit (killed)</i>		<i>Duan</i>	<i>then</i>
galg	wiřimbulinju	bundin-min		duan	njunja.
<i>tree.</i>	<i>Wiřimbulinj-by</i> AG	<i>bit</i> PRET-indeed EM		<i>Duan</i>	<i>that.</i>
Duan-a	nganangàuk	buletchi,		Bràmbambuil	
<i>Duan (had)</i>	<i>nephews</i>	<i>two,</i>		<i>Brambambull(by name)</i>	
duana	ŋanindjaug ⁷	buledji		brambimbul	
<i>Duan GEN</i>	<i>nephew-his</i> POS-3	<i>two</i> PT		<i>Brambimbul</i> DL	
dàdàwin	bulanguk	wityuwa	wanjuk	larndang,	
<i>waiting</i>	<i>both (for)</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>return(to) the camp,</i>		
djeđawin ⁸	bulangug ⁹	widjiwa	wanjug ¹⁰	laŋđan ¹¹	
<i>waited</i>	<i>- both-him</i> PRET-DL-3,OBJ-3	<i>returns</i> PRES	<i>he</i> PR-3	<i>camp-from</i> ABL	
ba	tyawràk	bewa	woartin,	bikin	beelang
<i>and</i>	<i>as he did</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>come,</i>	<i>they went off</i>	<i>both</i>
ba	djag	weřga [?]	wađin,	baigin -	bulan
<i>and</i>	<i>place-to</i> ALL	<i>not</i> [?]	<i>came</i> PRET,	<i>rose</i> -	<i>both</i> DL-3

yarkin	bulang uk	nunangurn	muityen bulang
<i>in search of</i>	<i>him (and)</i>	<i>soon</i>	<i>found</i>
jarġin -	bulanggug	njunjan - [?]	mudjin-bulaŋ
<i>searched-both-him</i>	PRET-DL-3, OBL-3	<i>that from</i>	ABL-[?] <i>found-both</i> PRET-DL-3
tyanang-i	tyarmbap bulak.	Gapin	bulang
<i>track</i>	<i>of uncle (Duan).</i>	<i>They</i>	<i>tracked (him)</i>
djinang ¹²	djarmbab-bulag. ¹³	gabin - bulaŋ	giu
<i>track</i> PT	<i>uncle -their</i>	POS-DL-3.	<i>Followed-both</i> PRET-DL-3 <i>here</i>
tyakal	bundinung	Weenbulain-yo.	
<i>place where</i>	<i>he had been bitten by</i>	<i>Weenbulain.</i>	
djagal	bundinaŋ ³	wiŋimbulinju.	
<i>place-in</i> LOC	<i>biting-was</i> PRET-PART	<i>Wiŋimbulinj-by</i> AG.	
Muityen	bulang	buang	bundinung
<i>They found (him)</i>	<i>dead</i>	<i>bitten by</i>	<i>Weenbulain-yo,</i>
mudjin - bulaŋ	buanaŋ	bundinaŋ	<i>Weenbulain,</i>
<i>Found both</i> PRET-DL-3	<i>stinking-dead</i>	<i>biting-was</i> PRET-PART	<i>wiŋimbulinju,</i>
			<i>Wiŋimbulinj-by</i> AG,
ba	ngepen bulang	Nugung-a	woattin bulanguk
<i>and buried him.</i>		<i>Of course</i>	<i>they went after</i>
ba	njibin -bulaŋ.	njuanaŋ	waŋin -bulanggug
<i>and buried both</i> PRET-DL-3.		<i>There-from</i> ABL	<i>came both-him</i> PRET-DL-3,OBJ-3
Weenbulain-ya,	gapin	bulang	tyuiorang gà.
<i>Weenbulain,</i>	<i>tracking (him)</i>		<i>all the way.</i>
wiŋimbulinja,	gabin - bulaŋ		djuweringa.
<i>Wiŋimbulinj-for</i> ALL,	<i>followed both</i> PRET-DL-3		<i>long-way-to</i> ALL.
Weenbulain-ya	bultyuk	mang gep.	Nyain bulang
<i>Weenbulain (had)</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>daughters.</i>	<i>Saw they (the Brambambull saw)</i>
wiŋimbulinja	buledjug	mangeb.	njain-bulaŋ
<i>Wiŋimbulinj-of</i> GEN	<i>two-his</i> POS-3	<i>daughter.</i>	<i>Saw-both</i> PRET-DL-3
tyanardi	wanyap	warkinnual	ngalluganukyanbal
<i>many</i>	<i>fires</i>	<i>he had made</i>	<i>on his way</i>
dja - [?]	wanjab	waŋgin	njual
<i>place-[?]</i>	<i>fire</i>	<i>made</i> PRET	<i>there</i> LOC
			[?]
			[?]

nyum	walluban	bulang	gingo	ngainung.
<i>till (they)</i>	<i>drew near</i>	<i>where</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>lived.</i>
njunja	waledjuwin-	bulan	ginga ¹⁴	nenjan.
<i>that</i>	<i>drew-near-both</i>	IT-PRET-DL-3	<i>here</i>	<i>sitting</i> PART.

Nyum	giyaren	bulang	nyan-o	wang-ngal
<i>Then (they had)</i>	<i>a council</i>		<i>how</i>	<i>they might</i>
njunja	giarin	- bulan	njanja	wagal ¹⁵
<i>That</i>	<i>discussed-both</i>	FR-PRET-DL-3	<i>'how</i>	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1

gurmingn.	Bràmbuk	ngananep	yàrim
<i>kill (him)</i>	<i>Brambambull</i>	<i>the younger</i>	<i>went (to the)</i>
[buñinj ¹⁶] ?	brambuk	nananeb ¹⁷	jarin
<i>strike-will</i> FUT ?'	Bram-POS-3	<i>stepson</i>	<i>went</i> FR-PRET

warn willang	gal	ngäroban	Weenbulain-yo.
<i>windward</i>		<i>(to be) smelled</i>	<i>by Weenbulain.</i>
warem - wilanggal		naruban	wiřimbulinju.
<i>behind-wind-in</i> LOC		<i>smelling</i> PART	<i>Wiřimbulinj-by</i> AG

Weenbulain-yo	nyum	ngäroben	bä	birnin
<i>Weenbulain</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>smelled him and</i>		<i>came out</i>
wiřimbulinju	njunja	narubin	ba	biñin
<i>Wiřimbulinj-by</i> AG	<i>that</i>	<i>smelt</i> PRET	<i>and</i>	<i>came-out</i> PRET

lärnung uk		tyumbin	leanyuk	gurung-i
<i>of his cave</i>		<i>showing (his)</i>	<i>teeth</i>	<i>big</i>
laņangug		djumbin	lianjug	gurungi
<i>camp-from-his</i> ABL-POS-3		<i>showed</i> PRET	<i>teeth-his</i> POS-3	<i>big</i> PT

Ngarambenyo	baingo	nganayin	nguityapdakitch
<i>The elder</i>	<i>Brambambull</i>	<i>who was near him to hit</i>	
njarambinju	baingu	nenjin	njuđab
<i>old-by</i> AG	<i>child</i>	<i>sat</i> PRET	<i>hiding-for</i> PURP <i>hit-may</i> OP

ngarambenyi	Weenbulain	derta	birnin
<i>old</i>	<i>Weenbulain</i>	<i>on his</i>	<i>coming out</i>
njarambinji	wiřimbulinj	dađa ¹⁸	biñin
<i>old</i> PT	<i>Wiřimbulinj</i>	<i>directly</i>	<i>came-out</i> PRET

nyain	drangat bulak	leya	tyainyo
<i>saw</i>	<i>the fresh</i>	<i>teeth</i>	<i>belonging to</i>
njain	darņad -bulag ¹⁹	lia -	djanag ²⁰
<i>saw</i> PRET	<i>new-both-of</i> DL-POS-3	<i>teeth</i>	<i>-all-of</i> PL-POS-3

mangàwuk <i>his daughters</i>	buletchi. <i>two</i>	Malluk <i>After a while</i>	barta <i>the big</i>	gurunguk <i>teeth</i>	leya <i>teeth</i>
mangaü <i>daughter-his</i> POS-3	buledji. <i>two</i> PT.	malug <i>There</i>	daða <i>directly</i>	gurungug <i>big-his-POS-3</i>	lia <i>teeth</i>
tyumbulan <i>themselves</i>		nyertwunin <i>presently</i>		birnin. <i>came out.</i>	
djumbulan <i>showing-continuously</i> CT-PART		njeduin ²¹ <i>rushed</i> PRET		biñin. <i>came-out</i> PRET.	
Nga rambenyo <i>The elder Brambambull</i>	baingo	nyum <i>then</i>	dakin <i>hit</i>	men <i>him</i>	
njarambinju <i>Old-by</i> AG	baingu <i>child</i>	njunja <i>that</i>	dagin <i>hit</i> PRET	- <i>indeed</i> EM	
bropuk <i>on the head</i>	ba <i>and</i>	leanyuk, <i>teeth,</i>	ba <i>and</i>	gutuk <i>the younger Brambambull</i>	
burbug <i>head-his</i> POS-3	ba <i>and</i>	lianjug, <i>teeth-his</i> POS-3,	ba <i>and</i>	gudug <i>younger brother-his</i> POS-3	
bàrpin <i>ran</i>	woiup <i>to help</i>	burnin <i>to kill him.</i>	bulan, <i>and thus</i>	ba yurp <i>and thus</i>	
birnbin <i>jumped</i> PRET	[wajib] <i>helping-for</i> PURP	buñin - bulan <i>struck- both</i> PRET-DL-3		bujab <i>killing-for</i> PURP	
burninbulan <i>they killed</i>	Weenbulain, <i>Weenbulain,</i>	ba <i>and</i>	buityel <i>knocked</i>		
buñin-bulan <i>struck-both</i> PRET-DL-3	wiñimbulinj <i>Wiñimbulinj</i>	ba <i>and</i>	[budjal] <i>piece-in</i> LOC		
wurninbulan <i>to pieces</i>	bropuk <i>his head</i>	ba <i>and</i>	darbin ²² <i>burnt</i>	bulan. <i>him.</i>	
buñin-bulan <i>struck-both</i> PRET-DL-3	burbug <i>head-his</i> POS-3	ba <i>and</i>	darbin ²² <i>burnt</i>	- <i>both</i> PRET-DL-3.	

1.c Translation

Duan, the squirrel (Phascocagle tapoatafa) was following a male grey kangaroo and was sleeping out, away from that place, for many nights. Wiṛimbulinj, the spider, found Duan and saw him coming. Wiṛimbulinj came close and that Duan was frightened and jumped up and climbed into a tree and stayed up there. Wiṛimbulinj came and bit that tree containing Duan, and it fell to the ground. Duan jumped out and onto another tree, going on (like this) and round and round, Duan was utterly exhausted. Then going round from that place Wiṛimbulinj bit (all) the trees, and there was just one big one left containing Duan. Wiṛimbulinj came and bit the tree on which Duan was, and that tree fell. And Wiṛimbulinj bit that Duan hard (bit him to death). Duan had two nephews, sister's sons, the Brambimbuls brothers. They waited: 'he is returning from his (last) camp', but he did not come to this place. Then they rose and searched for him, and they found their uncle's track. They both followed it right to this place where Wiṛimbulinj had bitten him. They found his decaying corpse: he had been bitten to death by Wiṛimbulinj. They buried him. From that place they then went for Wiṛimbulinj, they followed him a long way. Wiṛimbulinj had two daughters. The two Brambimbuls saw the place and the fires he had lit.. and they drew near to him sitting there. Then they discussed: 'How can we two kill him?' The younger brother, who had been reared by his uncle, went on the windward side, so that Wiṛimbulinj could smell him. Wiṛimbulinj smelt him and came out of his camp and bared his big teeth. The older of the two young fellows sat down to hide, so that he might hit old Wiṛimbulinj directly he came out. The Brambimbuls saw the teeth of all of them, including the fresh teeth of his two daughters. Then directly he came rushing out with his teeth bared all the time. The older of the two young fellows hit him hard, he hit his head and his teeth, and his younger brother jumped over to help and they both struck Wiṛimbulinj to kill him, and they smashed his head to pieces and burnt him.

1.d Linguistic Notes

1. gedja This word was previously recorded only in the compound form gedja-wil a lot, literally many having.

2. *dumaŋ* *coming*: probably connected with *doomi*, *near*, i.e. *come IMP*, (Brough Smyth:157).
3. *biŋđin* This verb is not attested with certainty: it appears to be a derivative verb from *biŋa to come out*.
- biŋđinaŋ* Like *bundinaŋ was biting*, *biŋđinaŋ* can be analysed in the following manner:
- | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| bund- | | |
| biŋđ- | + -in | + -aŋ |
- verbal stem marker of the participial suffix
past tense
- These forms are a clear indication that in Wergaia participles could be based on the preterite as well as on the present tense. The participles can be used to indicate relative clauses, and they therefore show an important similarity to the -ŋu participles of Arabana-Wangaŋuru and to the widespread Australian relative clause formation (Dixon 1969).
4. *giga* This is an illustration of a basic characteristic of many eastern Australian languages: the case-markers need not be repeated with every member of a noun phrase, thus
- | | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>giga</i> | <i>galg</i> |
| <i>this-to ALL</i> | <i>tree</i> |
- is just as acceptable as
- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>giga</i> | <i>galga</i> |
| <i>this-to ALL</i> | <i>tree-to ALL.</i> |
5. *njanjugi* This word is not certain for Wergaia, but it is attested in Wembawemba, *njanjug-njanjug-min different*.
6. *baraŋguin* *killed, dead* was the normal meaning of this word in Wembawemba but it is common in Australian languages that *killed* should represent an emphatic way of saying *tired, completely knocked out*, (cf. Mathews 1902:102).
7. *ŋanindjaug* *his nephew, ŋanindjain your niece or nephew* was attested in Wembawemba and the present form is also supported - with variations in spelling - by Stone (1911).
8. *djedawin* This word is probably connected with Wembawemba *djeđa to stop, to be stationary*.

9. *bulangug* The form *bulangug*, as opposed to the simple third person dual marker *bulan they-two* shows incorporation of the third person singular object (similar to the possessive *-ug*). Incorporation of the pronoun object is an important characteristic of the Kulin languages, but in Wembawemba it existed only in the first and second person pronouns. The present text indicates that in Wergaia this system probably applied to all persons.
10. *wanjug* This form, as well as *wanal we two*, confirms the existence of a pronominal base *wa-* in Wergaia, as in the more easterly Kulin languages: *wa-* is attested for Jajawuruṅ (Brough Smyth:163) and Wergaia (J. Mathew:1899:181). R.H. Mathews however gives a longer form '*yurwa-*' for the Djadjala dialect of Wergaia.
11. *lanḡan* *lan camp* is complex in declension, the ablative is usually *lanḡan* which has been heard frequently and is attested below with the third person possessive suffix (*lanḡangug*), cf. also Mathews (1902:79) '*lahnung*' from *camp*. There is however evidence that *-ḡ-* could be infix in this word, and Mathews noted '*lahrndal*', to a *camp*. The function of this infix is not clear.
12. *djinangi* This form indicates that nouns in *-a* followed the more common pattern of *-ḡ-* nouns in Wergaia before the particularising suffix *-i*. This suffix was evidently connected with the class 2 noun-marker *-i*, *-ḡi* of *Madimadi*.
13. *djarmbab* This word had previously only been attested with the first person singular possessive marker, *djarmbeg my uncle*. The present form is interesting as it clearly shows the connection between *djarmbab mother's brother* and *bab mother*. This connection is well-known in other Australian languages and elsewhere, e.g. in Adnjamadana (Flinders Ranges) *ḡami mother*, *ḡamaḡa mother's brother*.
14. *gingga* *here*; this form had hitherto been found only in Wembawemba.

15. njanja waŋal The pronoun, though in its full form here in Weṛgaia immediately follows the interrogative adverb, while the verb is used in the bare tense-form without any person marker. This transference of person markers in interrogative sentences is one of the basic features of Kulin word-order, (cf. Hercus 1969:84).
16. buŋinj buŋin appears below with the meaning *killed* and this could be intended here. The ordinary Weṛgaia word for *to kill* was buja; buŋa probably represents a derivative verb from this: for another derivative verb in -ŋ- see Weṛgaia mudeŋa *to follow*.
17. ŋananeb The implications of this term are uncertain, cf. Jajawuruŋ 'knan-nap', *stepson* (Brough Smyth:157). The younger brother had probably been reared by his uncle.
18. daḍa *directly*. This word is probably cognate with Madimadi daḍi *directly*.
19. darŋad This word is not certain: it is probably cognate with Jajawuruŋ 'derrng-knet-took', *new* (Brough Smyth:161).
20. lia-djanag The use of the third person plural possessive marker -djanag, immediately after the third person dual marker -bulag may be surprising, but the meaning is clear *the teeth belonging to all of them, Wirimbulinj included*.
21. njeduin This verb is not certain, it is probably an iterative-intensive verb (as shown by the u -infix) connected with the Wembawemba word njedenja *to run round, to play*.
22. darbin This word has not been attested in Weṛgaia, but it is confirmed by a Wembawemba word listed by Stone (1911) 'dappok', *burn*, 'dappelung', *burning*.

1.e Another story of the Brambimbul

The legendary activities of the two brothers Bram, the Buledji Brambimbul, are well known, particularly from the work of R.H. Mathews (1905). Our main Wergaia informant further related a story which is of interest as it links the Buledji Brambimbul with the Eaglehawk and Crow myths, and it is also closely connected with a legend related by A.C. Stone (1911). The myth, as related by Mrs. Stuart is as follows:

"...These two men, they call them Buledji Brambimbul that came there (to Lake Boga), they are heavenly men. They saw this woman lying there crying at the bottom of the tree. She was crying her heart out for her baby who was up in the tree, stolen by the Eaglehawk. The woman was crying because she thought her baby was going to be eaten by the Eaglehawk. These men flew down from the sky, they must have been heavenly men, and asked her what she was crying for, and she told them: 'My baby is up there and the Eaglehawk is going to eat it'. One of them (the Brambimbul brothers) climbed up the tree, and with the help of his mate, made steps in the tree so that he could climb down the tree with the baby. They used a badjig (*stone axe*).. The Brambimbul saw that the Eagle had built his nest in the fork of the tree. The Brambimbul climbed up, told the Eagle that he wanted to take the baby, and when the Eagle didn't agree ... he killed the Eagle.. The Brambimbul put the baby in the bag. The Brambimbul climbed down the tree with the baby, while the other fellow climbed up the tree to help him. They gave her the baby and cut down the tree and gathered the chips, put them into bags and said that there would never be any gum-trees growing there again, by Lake Boga, and so there weren't..."

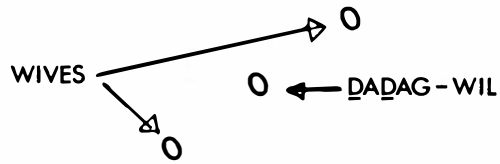
2. THE STORY OF ORION: A MADIMADI VERSION

2.a Introduction

Madimadi is a Victorian-type language belonging to the 'Kulin' group. It was once spoken just north of the Murray in the Balranald district of New South Wales. The last speaker of the language, Mr.

ORION, AS VIEWED BY THE MADIMADI

0



0 GUJA-WIL

Jack Long (Hercus and White 1971) has gradually recalled more and more of the language and he has been able to give us a number of fragmentary texts of mythological and linguistic interest (Hercus 1970 and 1972). To these can now be added a few further texts which are edited here.

The story of Orion as told by Jack Long and edited below is of particular interest as it illustrates the strong links in traditions along the Murray River: a very similar legend is known from Jaralde speakers near the Murray mouth (Meyer 1846; Laurie 1917), and this tradition has been studied by Tindale (1935) 'The Legend of Waijungari'. The Jaralde Waijungari is the equivalent of the Madimadi Guja-wil. Jack Long, in his youth, could also speak Daḍidaḍi, a Murray River language related to Jaralde, but the legend related by him about Orion is Madimadi. The names of the main characters are distinctly Madimadi, i.e. 'Kulin', but the substance of the legend belongs to the Murray River tradition. It is significant that there is another 'Kulin' version from Western Victoria (Brough Smyth 1878:433), but in this 'Tatyargull' (the Madimadi Daḍag-wil) and his two wives are quite unconnected with Orion, and form the constellation Aquila: Orion is represented by legends of boys dancing. This tradition has counterparts in southern Central Australia where Baḡaḡa informants have described Orion as 'the boys with the tired feet'.

Jack Long's version of the story of Orion thus represents an important link in the network of traditions of Orion which can be summarised as follows:

1. The Orion myth of Waijungari and Nepele (Jaralde), called Guja-wil and Daḍag-wil in Madimadi.
(Murray River tradition)
2. 'Tatyargull' (corresponding to the Madimadi Daḍag-wil) with his two wives forms Aquila, and Orion has a separate myth connected with 'boys dancing' before the Seven Sisters.
('Kulin' tradition, Western Victoria)
3. Orion 'the boys with the tired feet' is linked more closely with the Seven Sisters: the boys are tired from chasing the Seven Sisters.
(Southern Central Australia)
4. The important and wide-spread myth of Orion as one very erotic man who pursues the Seven Sisters.
(Western Desert and Central Australia)

The identity of the stars that figure in the Madimadi story is fairly clear from Jack Long's description: Dadag-wil (in the middle) and his two wives form the stars of Orion's belt, while Guja-wil, the red star, is probably Betelgeuse: *they all come up together, not far from those Seven Sisters*. Ganan-ganan, has no stationary place, and is a planet.

2.b Madimadi text

wadada gima ganan-ganan¹ buindada. gumbadin wudunji
comes PRES here Ganan-ganan night-in LOC. Slept PRET men

gagadin nulan maggadin dirilan.
caught PRET him-by PR-AG took-away PRET sky-in LOC.

nagilada gima wudunji, manu² nulan
see PRES here men that POS-3 him-by PR-AG

giadin dalinuru:
said PRET language - by-their AG-POS-3:

'ganan-ganan gini nggadin dirilan. gima dani
'Ganan-ganan this sat PRET sky-in LOC. Here place

didadin, mada nuni nggadin giaga dani.³
changed PRET, not that-one stayed PRET one place.'

wudunji widul ninmeru jauimadin.
men many these PL disappeared PRET.

nggada gaiu.
stay PRES there.

dadag-wil dalegada wadadin gimu giaga - dadag-wil,
Dadag-wil long-ago LOC came PRET here one - arm-having,

jinada bawadin baburu giaga - dadag-wil.
thus bore PRET mother-by-his AG-POS-3 one - arm-having.

ganandadin nulan laiur gini, buleda madumu
stole PRET him-by PR-AG women these, two wives-his POS-3

dadag-wil; wuduwada nggada.
Dadag-wil; middle-in LOC sits PRES.

maggadin nulan gini wudunji, guja-wil.⁴
Took PRET them-by PR-AG this man, Guja-wil.

'gawai, gawai, gagadia nali mangadia
 'come-on CL come-on CL, catch-would OP we-two PR-DL-1 take-would OP
 dirilaŋ. jaŋgadia nali nuŋi juŋdal.'
 sky-in LOC. Speak-would OP we-two PR-DL-1 like emu.'
 buleda laiurgu guna-gunadin nenu giganā
 two women-by AG made INT-PRET sound-his POS-3 this-of POS-ADJ
 juŋdal.
 emu.

guja-wilu demadin, mangadin gujunu bermadia
 Guja-wil-by AG heard PRET, took PRET spear-his POS-3 sneak-would OP
 juŋdal balgadia. buledana laiurgu gagadin
 emu kill-would OP. Two-by PR-AG women-by AG caught PRET
 mangadin dirilaŋ. jauimadin nuli.
 took-away PRET sky-in LOC. Disappeared PRET he.

wuduŋi nagiladin: 'baigi, mudadia gujuŋin
 Men searched PRET: 'get-up IMP, pick-up-should OP spear-yours POS-2

juŋgadia jagiladia nunaŋu⁵ nanu nuni
 go-should OP search-should OP him-from ABL when he

widiwadin?'
 return-will FUT?'

nagadin nuli gagada dirilaŋ, daŋabil duŋi,
 Saw PRET him above LOC sky-in LOC, red star,
 daŋabil maŋdu ŋa midu. buleda laiurgu
 red flesh-his POS-3 and skin-his POS-3. Two women-by AG
 mandadin.⁶ ŋengadin dirilaŋ duŋim.⁷
 abducted PRET. Stayed sky-in LOC star EM.

2.c Translation

Ganan-ganan came in the night, while men were asleep he took them away up into the sky. People down here said in their language: 'This Ganan-ganan lives in the sky. He changes his position, he does not stay in one place.' Many men disappeared. They stayed there (in the sky).

Dadag-wil came here long ago, he only had one arm, he was born like that. He stole two women, and so he had two wives. He dwells in the middle (between them in the sky).

They captured a man named Guja-wil. (The two wives said to one another): 'Come on, come on, let us capture him and take him up into the sky; we will do it by pretending to be emus.' The two women made a noise like an emu. Guja-wil heard it and took his spear and he wanted to sneak up and kill the emus. The two women caught him and took him away into the sky. He disappeared. People searched for him, (saying) 'get up, pick up your spear and let us look for him. When will he return?'

Then they saw him up in the sky. (They recognised him): he was a red star because he was a man with red flesh and red skin. The two women had abducted him. He remained as a star in the sky.

2.d Notes

1. Ganan-ganan Perhaps under the influence of Christian terminology, Jack Long described this star also as a 'heavenly overseer'. The name Ganan-ganan is probably derived from the verb 'to take away', 'to steal', Madimadi ganandada, cf. Wembawemba ganindja.
2. manu *belonging to that one over there*. This is a previously unattested third person possessive of mani, the demonstrative pronoun of distance; it is exactly parallel to the Wergaia manjug over there and is used adverbially.
3. giaga dani *one place*. One would expect a locative, and this may be a mistake.
4. Guja-wil This name probably means *tree-stump-having* cf. Wergaia gujawug its stump, i.e. *a dead tree*.
5. nunanu This form has not been heard previously, but it is exactly parallel to the 'ablative' of the personal pronouns jinanu from me and ninanu from you, and its use here illustrates the link between the goal and the subject matter or cause of an action (Hercus 1969:171).
6. mandadin The verb mandada to take away is probably based on mandada to take away by means of the suffix -nda- of uncertain meaning. There is a very similar form jaundada to disappear which has been heard as a variant for jauimada to disappear (for the completive suffix -m- see Hercus 1969:178).

7. *duḍi-m* The emphatic enclitic particle *-m* had previously been recorded only after adverbs and particles, e.g. *nuwi-m then* and *madi-m no more*. From a comparison of all the cases where it occurs, the particle *-m* appears to have a temporal as well as an emphatic meaning, and the phrase might therefore more accurately be translated by *a star for ever*.

3. SHORT MADIMADI TEXTS

3.a Making a canoe

The various methods used in the making of bark-canoes in the south-east of Australia are well known (Brough Smyth 1878:408 ff.; Berndt and Berndt 1964:101-102). As Jack Long is probably the last man from the Murray area to be familiar with canoes of this kind, this short text has been included.

Text:

<i>dalegada</i>	<i>wuḍuḅi</i>	<i>bugadin</i>	<i>gini</i>	<i>juḅwib,</i>	<i>mudadin</i>
<i>Long-ago</i> LOC	<i>people</i>	<i>stripped</i> PRET	<i>this</i>	<i>canoe,</i>	<i>cut-out</i> PRET
<i>bialaḅa</i> ¹		<i>midu.</i>			
<i>red-gum-belonging</i> POS-ADJ		<i>bark-its</i> POS-3.			
' <i>gimam</i>	<i>gaḅada,</i>	<i>juḅwib</i>	<i>nagi.</i>		
' <i>Here</i> EM	<i>bends</i> PRES,	<i>canoe</i>	<i>look</i> IMP.		
<i>windalu</i>	<i>gini</i>	<i>ḅinedu</i>	<i>baḅigin?'</i>		
<i>Whereabouts</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>your</i> POS-ADJ	<i>tomahawk-yours</i> POS-2?'		
' <i>gima,</i>	<i>gima,</i>	<i>madadi,</i>	<i>madadia</i>	<i>ḅali</i>	
' <i>Here,</i>	<i>here,</i>	<i>cut</i> IMP,	<i>cut-would</i> OP	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	
<i>jidi</i>	<i>gili</i>	<i>madadia</i>	<i>jinaga.'</i>		
<i>I</i>	<i>this-side</i>	<i>cut-would</i> OP	<i>this-way.'</i>		
' <i>jidi</i>	<i>gima</i>	<i>madadin.'</i>			
' <i>I</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>cut-will</i> FUT.'			
' <i>ḅindi</i>	<i>ḅiḅadin</i>	<i>madadia</i>	<i>waragi'</i>		
' <i>You</i>	<i>go-will</i> FUT	<i>cut-would</i> OP	<i>paddle.'</i>		
<i>buwada.</i>	' <i>nuwim</i>	<i>gima</i>	<i>buḅadin.'</i>	<i>buḅada</i>	<i>nuwi</i> <i>juḅwib.</i>
<i>Pull</i> PRES.	' <i>Now</i> EM	<i>here</i>	<i>fall-will</i> FUT'.	<i>Falls</i> PRES	<i>now</i> <i>canoe.</i>
' <i>ḅubadi,</i>	<i>ḅubadi</i>	<i>nuwi.</i>	<i>ḅuḅadia</i>	<i>widul</i>	<i>wanabi.</i>
' <i>Put-down</i> IMP,	<i>put-down</i> IMP	<i>now.</i>	<i>Make-would</i> OP	<i>big</i>	<i>fire.</i>

<u>jubadin</u>	<u>ηali</u>	<u>gini</u> ,	<u>wanaban</u>	<u>jubadia'</u>
<i>put-will</i> FUT	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	<i>this</i> ,	<i>fire-on</i> LOC	<i>put-would</i> OP.'
<u>'gunadia</u>	<u>ηali</u>	<u>giabuη²</u>	<u>wanabi</u> ,	<u>burugulu ...</u>
<i>'Make-would</i> OP	<i>we-two</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>fire</i> ,	<i>lignum-with</i> AG...
<u>mangadi</u>	<u>burugulu</u> ,	<u>jubadi</u>	<u>gini</u>	<u>wuduwada</u> .
<i>take</i> IMP	<i>lignum-its</i> POS-3	<i>put</i> IMP	<i>this</i>	<i>middle-in</i> LOC.
<u>ηengadin</u>	<u>ηali</u> .	<u>nuwim</u>	<u>gima -</u>	<u>jidi gima</u>
<i>sit-will</i> FUT	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	<i>Now</i> EM	<i>here -</i>	<i>I here</i>
<u>gagadia</u>	<u>burugulu</u>	<u>gini bunⁱ</u>	<u>gini</u>	<u>wingi</u> .
<i>grab-would</i> OP	<i>lignum-its</i> POS-3	<i>this ashes</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>hot-coals</i> .
<u>ηali</u> ,	<u>jidi</u>	<u>ηa</u>	<u>ηindi³</u>	<u>gimam gunadin</u> .
<i>We-two</i> PR-DL-1	<i>I</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>you here</i> EM	<i>made</i> PRET.
<u>winagada</u>	<u>ηali</u>	<u>jiηgadin</u>	<u>lenala</u> ,	⁴
<i>Leave</i> PRES	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	<i>go-will</i> FUT	<i>camp-ours-to</i> POS-DL-1,	
<u>jiηgadin</u>	<u>ηali</u>	<u>widiwadia</u> .		
<i>go-will</i> FUT	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	<i>return-would</i> OP.		
<u>'dibada</u>	<u>juηwib</u> ,	<u>mangadin</u>	<u>ηali</u>	<u>jubadin</u>
<i>'Floats</i> PRES	<i>canoe</i> ,	<i>take-will</i> FUT	<i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	<i>put-will</i> FUT
<u>gadina</u> .	<u>delgaiada</u> .'			
<i>water-into</i> ALL.	<i>Good-is</i> PRES.'			

Translation:

Long ago people used to strip these canoes, they used to cut them out from the bark of red-gum trees.

'The tree here has (the right kind of) bend in it, you can (already) see the canoe. Where is your tomahawk?'

'Here it is, cut, let us both cut. I want to cut this side, like that.'

'I will cut here.'

'You go and cut a paddle (out of a sapling).'

They pull (and lever off the bark from the tree).

'Now it is coming down.'

The bark-canoe comes down from the tree.

'Put it down, put it down now. Let us make a big fire. We will put the canoe on the fire.'

'Let us make another (smaller fire) with lignum (and small leaves) and put this inside the canoe, in the middle.'

(They put that fire in the middle and burn it to warm the canoe up properly to set it).

'We will sit (and wait). Now it is ready. I will get hold of this lignum and these ashes and hot coals (and tip them out from the inside of the canoe). We will leave now and go to our camp, we will go and come back later.'

(They had to have it pliable and they pegged it in to have it set and have the right shape, then when it was ready, they took the pegs out).

'This canoe can float. Let us put it down into the water. It's very good.'

3.b The Seven Sisters

buned-buned		dalegada		gawaḡadin		gini
Seven Sisters		long-ago	LOC	followed	PRET	this
wubabu. ⁵				waḡadin		gima
throwing-stick-their	POS-3.			Came	PRET	here
						daga
						place-to
						ALL
wariwadin	nuni	wubabuḡ.				gili
played	PRET	that	throwing-stick-with	ABL.		This
						sun
budugadin	waburaḡ,	baim		buindi,		buned-buned
set	PRET	west-in	LOC	oh-now	EM	night,
						Seven Sisters
gaḡuḡ		wainguruḡ		jiḡadin		wariwuladin
there-from	ABL	east-from	ABL	went	PRET	played-round
						PRET
jungadin	muruni-laiurgu,			jungadin		nulaḡ
threw	PRET	young-women-by	AG,	threw	PRET	them-by
						PR-AG
bebadia	gini	dagaḡ,		gawaḡadin		
hop-would	OP	this-one	ground-on	LOC,	followed	PRET
jauimadin		giagaminu		waburaḡ.		
disappeared	PRET	altogether		west-in	LOC.	

Translation:

Long ago the Seven Sisters used to follow their throwing stick. They came to this place and played with their throwing stick. The sun set in the west, behold, it was night, and the Seven Sisters came from the east and played. These young women threw their throwing stick so that it would leap along the ground, they followed it and disappeared altogether in the west.

3.c The Possum

This text remains very fragmentary as Jack Long could not recall the main events of the story. The Possum had done 'something wrong connected with the morning' and was therefore condemned to be nocturnal. Only the beginning of the story could be recorded:

giabuŋ	wileŋi	babu	ŋa	wadaibu	
<i>One-other</i>	<i>possum</i>	<i>mother-his</i>	POS-3	<i>and</i>	<i>son-her</i> POS-3
bandiŋi	ŋengada	gaiu	bialaŋ,	beni ⁶ .	
<i>little</i>	<i>sit</i> PRES	<i>there</i>	<i>red-gum-in</i> LOC,	<i>hollow.</i>	
midagi	buigadiŋ,	damu	buigadiŋ	buleda	ŋa giaga
<i>Rain</i>	<i>fell</i> PRET,	<i>greatly</i>	<i>fell</i> PRET	<i>two</i>	<i>and one</i>
buindi,	ŋauŋi	baburu		galaiadiŋ	gili
<i>nights,</i>	<i>days.</i>	<i>Mother-by-his</i>	AG-POS-3	<i>asked</i> PRET	<i>this</i>
baingu:		'jiŋgadiŋ	ŋagiadiŋ	ŋaŋu	
<i>child-her</i> POS-3:		<i>'go-will</i> FUT	<i>look-will</i> FUT	<i>how</i>	
gima	ŋauŋi	ŋa	daŋi	delgaiada?	bugim?'
<i>now</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>place</i>	<i>good-is</i> PRES?	<i>Bad EM?'</i>
'delgaiada	ŋauŋi,	dulba-dulba		galani,	
<i>'Good-is</i> PRES	<i>day,</i>	<i>breaks-up</i> INT-PRES		<i>weather,</i>	
bugaiada ⁷		mengi	lendaŋaŋ	gima	dirili.'
<i>driven-off-become</i> PRES		<i>dark-cloud</i>	<i>shining</i> PART	<i>now</i>	<i>sky.'</i>

Translation:

The mother Possum and her small son were sitting up in the red-gum tree. It was a hollow tree. Rain fell, rain poured down for three days and three nights. The mother asked her child: 'Go and look what the day and the place (outside) are like. Is it good or bad?' (The child answered): 'The day is good, the weather is breaking up, the dark clouds are being driven away, the sky is shining.'
(But later the Possum stopped the sun coming before there was night and day, and there was argument about that. That is why he only gets up at night now).

3.d Mussels

Despite its brevity, the story of the Mussels is interesting in that it shows the importance attached to the moiety system. One pair of mussels was Gilpara, while the other was Makwara, and it was similar throughout the world of living beings 'when one was Gilpara, there was always a Makwara very similar to it, so the red kangaroo, buraji was Gilpara, while the grey kangaroo bugumanama was Makwara.' The two pairs of mussel men were therefore on opposite sides in the quarrel between the Eaglehawk and the Crow, and in revenge each pair was made into a single mussel.

dalegada buleda buleda jingadin wuduṅi
long-ago *two* *two* *went* PRET *men*

buleda wanman buleda mari-mari.
two *Big-Mussels* *two* *Little-Mussels.*

wanu giadin:
Crow-by AG *said* PRET:

'madim ṅindi mari-mari buleda, giagaminu jumin⁸ giagam.'
'No-more EM *you* *Little-Mussels* *two,* *altogether will-be* FUT *one* EM.'

wilegilu guṅadin: 'ṅindi wanman ṅengadia
Eaglehawk-by AG *made* PRET: '*you* *Big-Mussels* *sit-might* OP

dindada giagaminu giagam.'
river-in LOC *altogether* *one* EM.'

dindi- gadinada ṅengada wanman,
River- *water-in* LOC *sit* PRES *Big-Mussels,*
 berer- gadinada ṅengada mari-mari.
lagoon- *water-in* LOC *sit* PRES *Little-Mussels.*

Translation:

A long time ago they went about as men, the two Big Mussel men and the two Little Mussel men.

The Crow said: 'You Little Mussels are not two any more. You will remain as one for ever.'

The Eaglehawk acted (likewise): 'You Big Mussels shall sit in the river for ever as one.'

So the big mussels stay in the river water, and the little mussels in the water of lagoons.

3.e Notes

1. *bialaŋa midu* *Madimadi*, like the other Kulin languages, has a double possessive construction:
- a. a noun designating the thing owned is followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person and number of the owner.
 - b. i. a noun designating the owner is marked by a genitive suffix.
 - ii. if the owner is indicated by a pronoun, a possessive adjective is formed from the pronoun e.g. *gigaŋa belonging to this one* from *gini this one*.
- bialaŋa belonging to a red-gum* is the first indication that such a possessive adjective could have been formed from nouns in *Madimadi*, though this is not uncommon in other Australian languages. This phrase is therefore of some importance from the comparative point of view.
2. *giabuŋ* This has been heard occasionally as an alternative form for *giabu other*.
3. *jidi ŋa ŋindi* The exclusive-inclusive distinction existed in *Madimadi*, but so far it has been noted only in the object form of the first person pronouns. But even languages which do not have such a formal distinction between exclusive and inclusive show a tendency to be specific on this point and expressions very similar to the *Madimadi jidi ŋa ŋindi* are not uncommon in Australian languages, e.g. *Andigirinja* (Western Desert) *njundu ŋali you we-two*, i.e. *we-two, you and I*.
4. *leŋala* Contrary to the general ordering of affixes in *Madimadi*, the first person dual possessive *-ŋal* here precedes the allative case-marker *-a* (for a similar exception see Hercus 1969:169).
5. *wubabu* This apparently was a stick with a slight knob on one end, made from a sapling. It was half-way between a *widj-widj* (Brough Smyth I, 1878:302) and a *berbin spear-point waddy*. It bounced like a *widj-widj*.

6. beni This is more in agreement with the corresponding Wembawemba *ben hollow tree* than the previously recorded form *beni* (Hercus 1969:480), which is probably analogical to the numerous nouns ending in *-ŋi* in Madimadi.
7. bugaiada This verb is connected with *bugada to strip*. It is similar in formation to the stative and inceptive verbs derived from adjectives, e.g., *delgaiada to be good*.
8. jumin The verb *juma to be* which is known from other Kulin languages (Wergaia, Wembawemba) had not previously been heard in Madimadi, and its occurrence here is not absolutely certain.

3.f Additional Madimadi Vocabulary

The following list represents new material, recorded in 1971-2, too late for inclusion in earlier publications (Hercus 1969, 1970). This additional vocabulary occurred not only in the texts published here, but was also taken from separate sentences and phrases on other topics.

The name of the language has been corrected to Madimadi (from Madimadi). Despite certain difficulties I am now convinced that the *d* is dental, not alveolar.

- Barindji name of a tribe: *they were not far from the Madimadi*. *Barindji that's really 'ground-language', from their ground (i.e. country)*. *Barindji* actually means *Those belonging to the scrub country*. The present evidence confirms Tindale (1940:188).
- bawada *to give birth*
- biaga *tobacco* (borrowed word)
- bilidin *(your) entrails*. This word was considered to be distinct from *biligin your belly*.
- bingu *kangaroo-rat: 'lives in holes and caves'*. This is probably the now extinct *Lagorchestes leporides*.
- bugaiada *to cast away*
- buranji *red kangaroo*

<u>dibada</u>	<i>to float</i> (cf. Wembawemba and Wergaia <i>djiba to float</i>)
<u>dulba-dulba</u> or <u>dulburada</u>	<i>to break up, to change completely.</i> This word was only recorded in connection with the weather.
<u>didada</u>	<i>to move, to change places: didada giabuṅa daga he shifts to another place.</i>
gaḡadja	<i>to bend</i>
galaŋi	<i>weather, atmosphere</i>
ganimada	<i>to hide</i>
gawai	<i>come on!</i> Apart from jagai this is probably the most wide-spread exclamation: identical or similar forms occur in the majority of eastern and central Australian languages, e.g. Wanganuru gawai, Maljanaba gabá <i>come on!</i>
gibada	<i>to pluck: gibadin widinu he plucked out his wing-feathers.</i>
gigiwalada	<i>to itch: gigiwalada bubuṅai itches head-by AG-mine POS-1, my head itches.</i>
gumaŋi	<i>raw</i> (cf. Wembawemba and Wergaia guma).
jinaga	<i>this way</i>
and jinaḡa	<i>thus.</i> These are allative and locative forms respectively of a demonstrative base ji(ŋ)- which is attested also in Wembawemba jina <i>this way.</i>
juṅḡal	<i>emu: alternative word for garinḡi and jumbaḡi.</i>
lawani	<i>mallee hen, lowan</i>
lendanaŋ	<i>shining</i>
madada	<i>to chop</i>
maramada	<i>to curse, to pronounce a powerful spell.</i>
maramin	<i>cursed, forbidden: madawa ŋindi dagadia gini waraŋu maramin do not eat this large long-necked turtle, it is forbidden.</i>
mari-mari	<i>little mussels, found in lagoons and swamps.</i>
muda	<i>to pick up, to find</i> (Wergaia mudja)
mudada	<i>to get down, to lift down</i>

<u>munu</u> ŋi	<i>louse</i> (Wergaia, Wembawemba munja). This indicated the head-louse, as opposed to <u>duni-duni</u> <i>body-louse</i> .
<u>na</u> !an	<i>a small tree with inedible fruit which splits open</i> : probably <i>Pittosporum phillyreoides</i> .
<u>nanu</u>	<i>when?</i> (from the interrogative base <u>na</u> -).
ŋa	<i>and</i> : the general Kulin co-ordinating particle <i>ba</i> has been recorded previously in <u>Madimadi</u> , but only in the fixed locution <i>maṅḍara (ba) duluiwiba</i> <i>thunder and lightning</i> . In the present texts the co-ordinating particle <i>ŋa</i> occurred a number of times.
ŋabunin	<i>(your) maternal grandfather</i> . This is a reciprocal term meaning also <i>grandchild</i> : cognate with Wembawemba, Wergaia <i>ŋaba</i> and <i>Woiwuru ŋabuŋi</i> .
ŋu!i	<i>like</i> : this particle precedes the term of comparison.
waburu	<i>(its) west</i>
wadaiu	<i>(her) son</i> (cf. Wembawemba <u>wadibug</u>).
waragi	<i>stick used as canoe paddle</i> (Wergaia <i>waragug</i>).
wariwul <u>da</u>	<i>to run round, to play</i> : this is a continuative verb formed from <i>wariwa</i> <i>to go</i> .
wubabu	<i>throwing stick</i>

4.a Abbreviations

The following terminology corresponds with the analysis presented in *The Languages of Victoria*. One exception is 'agentive', previously called 'operative'.

ABL	ablative
AG	agentive
ALL	allative
CL	clitic
CT	continuative verb (-la)
DL	dual
EM	emphatic enclitic particle (-min, -m)
FR	frequentative verb (-e-ra)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative

INT	intensive verb
IT	iterative-intensive verb
LOC	locative
OB	general oblique (in <i>Madimadi</i>)
OBJ	object
OP	optative
PART	(continuative) participle
POS	possessive (followed by number to indicate person)
POS ADJ	possessive adjective
PR	pronoun
PR-AG	pronominal agentive
PRES	present
PRET	preterite
PT	particularising suffix
PURP	purposive

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COMPOUND WORDS AND CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES IN WIK-MUNKAN¹

CHRISTINE KILHAM

0. Introduction
1. Role of Body Parts
2. Semantic Relationships
3. Criteria for Differentiating Compounds and Close-Knit Phrases
4. Criteria Applied to Data

0. INTRODUCTION

Compound words and close-knit phrases² in Wik-Munkan express a number of semantic relationships. These are described in this paper. Also described is the search for criteria to distinguish words, compounds³ and close-knit phrases, the application of these criteria to the data, and consequent orthographic decisions.

1. ROLE OF BODY PARTS

The role of body parts is vital to the understanding of these constructions. Most of the major body parts are used in both their literal and extended meanings in the formation of both compounds and close-knit phrases, many of which are idiomatic.

1.1 THE RANGE OF USAGE ILLUSTRATED BY *ma?*

The body part which has the greatest variety of uses is *ma?* 'hand'. It can be used in its literal sense of 'hand' as the initial item of Generic-Specific Phrases.

<i>ma?</i> °ʔek (hand, shell)	'fingernail'
<i>ma?</i> °puk (hand, child)	'finger'

It is also used in verbs where the hand is usually the instrument of the action.

<i>má?</i> -yàlam.aṭ (hand, coil.Tr) ⁴	'surround, hold, support, gather things'
<i>má?</i> -yèntj.aṭ (hand, wait long.Tr)	'save something up'
<i>má?</i> -tùt (hand, break)	'shake hands'
<i>má?</i> -m̄n.aṭ (hand, good.Tr)	'fix up, correct, look after someone well'
<i>má?</i> -ʔà:t (hand, offer)	'help'

Sometimes *ma?* is used in conjunction with other body parts in verbal and adverbial constructions.

° <i>ma?</i> me:ʔ yump (hand, eye, make)	'know how to do something'
<i>ma?</i> ka:ʔ °m̄n (hand, nose, good)	'well (as in doing things)'

Some adjectival compounds and close-knit phrases formed with *ma?* similarly refer to actions normally performed with the hand.

<i>má?</i> -kùntj (hand, own)	'clever'
<i>ma?</i> ka:ʔ °way/ ° <i>ma?</i> ka:ʔ way (hand, nose, bad)	'clumsy'
<i>má?</i> -t̄yáan (hand, firm)	'trustworthy with things'
<i>ma?</i> °ŋo:k (hand, ?)	'a person who likes to hit others'

There are however both verbal and adjectival compounds where the use of *ma?* describes an action or state of mind beyond (but not excluding) an action performed with the hands, or involving the hands.

° <i>ma?</i> p̄l way.aṭ (hand, thigh, bad.Tr)	'come upon someone unprepared'
<i>má?</i> -p̄t̄ (hand, dream)	'suspect' (Vb)
° <i>ma?</i> p̄lk t̄yáan (hand, ?, firm)	'(a person who) does not feel like work or anything'
<i>má?</i> -m̄ým (hand, ?)	'ready, handy'

ma? used with possessive, accompaniment and indirect object pronouns has the sense of 'individual right, control, or authority'.

<i>ma?</i> °ŋaʔaʔam way ʔuʔaman hand lPS-Poss Com die-Ps	'He died while in my charge.'
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ɲay ?i:y.lŋ,	ma? °ŋaɲaʃaŋ	work	'I should go because it's my
I go .LPS-Suj	hand	LPS-Acc	work job.'
ma? °nuŋ	(hand, LPS-Ind)		'his/her way of doing things'

There is also a metaphorical use of ma?, where the item with which it is identified is simply juxtaposed.

ma? °pu:y	(hand, crab)	'handcuffs'
miŋ °má?-wùnt	(Pro, hand, wind)	'prawns, crayfish'
ɲal °má?-wùnt	(centipede, hand, wind)	'scorpion'

Again, ma? is used with the sense of 'the state of, or major characteristic.' The second word in some of these examples is never heard apart from ma?.

má?-màŋkiy	(hand, ?)	'person with lots of possessions'
má?-ʔàmpanam	(hand, ?)	'single person'
má?-l p	(hand, ?)	'naked'
ma? °ku:y	(hand, rope)	'sorcerer'
má?-ɲùp	(hand, clever)	'clever hunter'

ma? is also used as a link in specialised co-ordinate phrases, mostly involving kinship terms.

ma? ka:t °puk	(hand, mother, child)	'mother and child'
ma? wantj °pam	(hand, woman, man)	'man and wife'
°ma? pam.am	(hand, man.Co)	'all the men'
ma? °maŋk.am	(hand, back.Co)	'everyone'

ma? is used in negative constructions also involving kinship terms.

ma? °pam keʔaŋaŋ	(hand, man, without)	'single'
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ma? is used also in phrases which describe the frequency of actions or occurrences.

má?-kòʔalam	(hand, three)	'three times'
ma? °ŋe:n-ŋe:n	(hand, what, what)	'how many times?'

Needless to say, there are still a few examples of ma? in compounds and close-knit phrases which escape the above groupings.

ma? °y :kan	(hand, shoot)	'shoots starting from first or second branch of tree'
°má?-ɲà:mp	(hand, paddle behind someone standing in canoe)	'eldest in family'

1.2 BODY PARTS OTHER THAN *ma*?

The uses of other body parts in their extended meanings can to some extent be summarised, though there are no such things as watertight semantic divisions, and there is also some evidence of semantic overlap.

(i) *kon* The word for 'ear' *kon* is frequently used when realisation, perception, alertness and memory are involved.

<i>kón-ʔà:t</i> (<i>ear, give</i>)	'remind'
<i>kón-tàyan</i> (<i>ear, firm</i>)	'attentive'
<i>kón-ḡàt</i> (<i>ear, shut</i>)	'forget'
<i>kón-njì:n</i> (<i>ear, sit</i>)	'to be alert, or listening for something'
<i>kon</i> ^o <i>ʔut</i> <i>wun</i> (<i>ear, dead, lie</i>)	'not taking any notice'

(ii) *kemp* The word for 'flesh' *kemp* is used to describe the condition of the whole body.

<i>kemp</i> ^o <i>mitj.am</i> (<i>flesh, soft.Emph</i>)	'energetic'
<i>kemp wal</i> ^o <i>way</i> (<i>flesh, partly, bad</i>)	'lazy, sick'
<i>kemp</i> ^o <i>wiʔ?</i> (<i>flesh, Onom</i>)	'nervous'

(iii) *kutjék* The word for 'head' *kutjék* is used to describe mental powers, attitudes involving the will, and also mental illness.

<i>kutjék wa:p</i> ^o <i>min</i> (<i>head, brain, good</i>)	'good brains'
<i>kutjék-tàyan</i> (<i>head, firm</i>)	'stubborn'
<i>kutjék-wùnp</i> (<i>head, put</i>)	'put trust in'
<i>kutjék-wày.am</i> (<i>head, bad.Emph</i>)	'not in right mind'
<i>kutjék</i> ^o <i>tonam</i> (<i>head, one</i>)	'to be of one mind (as a group)'

There is one instance where *kutjék* overlaps with *kon* 'ear'.

^o <i>kutjék.aḡ pi:ʔ-pi:ʔ</i> (<i>head.in,</i> <i>keep, keep</i>)	'remember'
^o <i>kon.aḡ.am pi:ʔ-pi:ʔ</i> (<i>ear.in.Emph,</i> <i>keep, keep</i>)	'remember'

(iv) *man* Quite a number of compounds and close-knit phrases formed with *man* 'throat/neck' have an unpleasant connotation.

<i>mán-ʔà:t</i> (<i>throat, give</i>)	'tease'
<i>mán-ḡè:y</i> (<i>throat, hear</i>)	'disbelieve'
<i>mán-kùtjam</i> (<i>throat, two</i>)	'hypocritical'
<i>mán-kè:ʔ</i> (<i>throat, play</i>)	'make fun of someone'

By contrast, however, there are a few examples which have a very good connotation.

mán-tònam (throat, one)	'trustworthy'
mán-tàyán (throat, firm)	'reliable'

(v) me:? The word for 'eye' me:? is used to describe actions or states where the eye is important as the instrument or object of the action, or where an action of seeing leads to a certain attitude.

mé:?-yèntj (eye, wait long)	'stare'
mé:?-pì:?-pì:? (eye, mind, mind)	'keep someone awake'
mé:?-tàyán (eye, firm)	'awake'
mé:?-wùn (eye, lie)	'jealous'
mé:?-?ìk (eye, split)	'be amazed'

In some cases it is the visibility of the action which is in focus.

mé:?-?à:t (eye, give)	'show, introduce'
mé:?-wítj (eye, drag)	'lead (someone)'
mé:?-?èŋkan (eye, clear)	'a clear place'
mé:?-tèntj (eye, hide)	'trick, hide (something from someone)'
°mé:?-yò:n ?i:y (eye, outside, go)	'go openly'

me:? is also used to mean the point of something, or the extreme.

mé:?-pèpan (eye, sharp)	'sharp top'
t̩u:t °me:? (breast, eye)	'nipple'
ŋak °me:? (water, eye)	'spring'
mé:?-ŋùtan (eye, night)	'very early morning'
t̩um °me:? (fire, eye)	'lighted firestick'

me:? has also been heard used to describe intricate patterns where holes are involved.

wa:ŋk °me:? (dillybag, eye)	'a dillybag made with a holey pattern'
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(vi) ŋaŋk The word for 'heart' ŋaŋk is used where the emotions are deeply involved.

ŋáŋk-?ìk (heart, split)	'to be deeply shocked'
ŋáŋk-mùŋk (heart, eat)	'to be consumed with passion for someone or something'
ŋaŋk °mɪn (heart, good)	'happy'
ŋaŋk °wentj (heart, sore(noun))	'brokenhearted'
ŋaŋk °ŋaɪ (heart, we two)	'close friends (we two)'

It is also used to describe actions where breathing is involved, sometimes to the point where ŋaŋk refers to 'life'.

ŋáŋk-mà:k (heart, tread)	'stop someone breathing'
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ηάηk-wày (heart, bad)	'out of breath'
(Vs ηαηk ^o way)	('sad')
ηάηk-mù:nt (heart, tie)	'hold breath'
ηαηk ^o ton ṭe:? (heart, another, throw)	'sigh'
ηάηk-?òtan (heart, short)	'short life'
ηάηk-mà:y (heart, pick up)	'(God) taking a person (at death)'

(vii) ṭa:? Many expressions where ṭa:? 'mouth' is a component describe actions or attitudes which are performed or achieved via the mouth as the main instrument.

ṭá:?-màm (mouth, hold)	'plead'
ṭá:?-?à:ṭ (mouth, offer)	'teach'
ṭá:?-?ùip (mouth, swell)	'gossip'
ṭá:?-yùmp (mouth, make)	'mimic'
ṭá:?-mòtjan (mouth, quiet)	'shy person'

There is also expressed an idea of openness, or abandonment.

wentj ^o ṭa:? (sore, mouth)	'open sore'
yu:ntj ^o ṭa:? (tree, mouth)	'stump'
ṭa:? ^o we?ař (mouth, wide)	'open wide'
ṭa:? ^o yuk (mouth, wood)	'gate'
ṭa:? ^o yi:l (mouth, ?)	'gills of fish'
^o ṭa:? we:p.anaη wun (mouth, sleep.PP, lie)	'to be left abandoned' (e.g. by husband)

ṭa:? is also used with a sense of extremity or intensity of either action, number, or quality.

ṭá:?-kìntj (mouth, sun)	'to do something all in one go'
ṭá:?-pìn (mouth, ?)	'generous (especially concerning food)'
ṭá:?-wàntanam (mouth, ?)	'very very many'
ṭá:?-wàntj (mouth, woman)	'fond of women'

Again, like ma?, ṭa:? can be used as a connective for certain kinship terms.

^o ṭa:? pi:p ke?anaη (mouth, father, without)	'fatherless'
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(viii) ?um The word for 'chest' ?um has the extended meaning of 'straight ahead', or the idea of 'facing' (Vb), when another person or force is involved.

?um ^o ka:w (chest, east)	'straight east'
^o ?um.aη ?i:y (chest.with, go)	'go straight ahead'

ʔúm-ṭà:mp (chest, bear)	'(wind) against (someone)'
ʔúm-nj̃l̃:n.pu (chest, sit.they two)	'sit facing each other'
ʔúm-ṭàṭ (chest, see)	'see (someone) coming towards (you)'

(ix) ka:ʔ Semantically ka:ʔ 'nose' seems to be the unmarked form. It sometimes has the extended meaning of 'face' and even 'person'.

ká:ʔ-ṭip (nose, bruise)	'frown'
ka:ʔ ^o patj (nose, white)	'white person'
ká:ʔ-wày (nose, bad)	'nasty person'
ká:ʔ-kùl.am (nose, wild.Emph)	'sad faced'
^o ka:ʔ ṭonam wunp.an (nose, one, put.Nom)	'a man with one child'

Apart from this, however, the range of expressions in which ka:ʔ is used is wide. It does not seem possible to confine them within one or two semantic domains.

ká:ʔ-p̃l̃:tjanat̃ (nose, rescue)	'save, rescue'
ká:ʔ-ṅàk ('nose, water ?)	'promise'
ká:ʔ-ʔèntj (nose, become)	'tire'

1.3 CONTRASTIVE FUNCTIONS OF BODY PARTS ILLUSTRATED

In the following examples the verb or adjective is kept constant while the body part changes. The function of the different body parts is thereby seen more clearly.

With ʔa:ṭ 'give/offer' (ditransitive verb)

máʔ-ʔà:ṭ (hand, give)	'help'
ṭá:ʔ-ʔà:ṭ (mouth, give)	'teach'
mán-ʔà:ṭ (throat, give)	'tease'
kón-ʔà:ṭ (ear, give)	'remind'
mé:ʔ-ʔà:ṭ (eye, give)	'show'

With ʔik 'split' (intransitive verb)

mé:ʔ-ʔik (eye, split)	'be amazed'
ṅàṅk-ʔik (heart, split)	'be shocked'
ṭá:ʔ-ʔik (mouth, split)	'yawn'

With ṭayan 'firm, strong' (adjective)

kón-ṭayan (ear, firm)	'attentive'
mán-ṭayan (throat, firm)	'reliable'
máʔ-ṭayan (hand, firm)	'trustworthy with things'

kutjék-tàyan (head, firm)	'stubborn'
ḡáḡk-tàyan (heart, firm)	'brave'
mé:ʔ-tàyan (eye, firm)	'awake'

With way 'bad' (adjective)

ká:ʔ-wày (nose, bad)	'nasty person'
kemp ^o way (flesh, bad)	'tired, lazy'
^o kon tha:ʔ way (ear, mouth, bad)	'(a person) with little under- standing'
ḡaḡk ^o way (heart, bad)	'sad'

2. SEMANTIC RELATIONSHIPS

The semantic relationships and corresponding grammatical compositions of Wik-Muncan compounds and close-knit phrases will now be described. While it is true that body parts figure prominently in compound formation, there are several compounds in which they do not occur.

2.1 GENERIC-SPECIFIC

Up to date over five hundred close-knit phrases are recorded which express a generic-specific relationship, in that order. Thus, the first word gives the broader setting, and the second narrows the field. These phrases are juxtapositions of noun plus noun (distributing as single nouns), and are regarded as close-knit because of their frequent collocation. Also, in the majority of cases they are terms for such things as body parts, specific animal types, foods, spear types, geographical features, age brackets or social status.

kutjék ^o ka:ntj (head, bone)	'skull'
mīn ^o paḡk (Pro, wallaby)	'wallaby'
ḡak ^o ḡew (water, breath)	'whirlpool'
puk ^o wantj (child, woman)	'female child'

The first nouns of some phrases have a narrow application, while others are very widely used (especially may 'carbohydrate food', mīn 'protein, edible animals' and yuk 'tree, thing') and almost amount to being noun classifiers. These words occur very frequently, but are not strictly obligatory.

In Generic-Specific Phrases the first noun almost invariably is used in its literal meaning. However the second noun of the phrase sometimes has extended meaning. Most of those with extended meaning are body parts, and as such they can be used either with other body parts, or with implements or geographical features. This extended meaning usually

relates to position or characteristic feature. The examples below illustrate that some words can occur as the generic member with literal meaning or as the specific member with extended meaning.

ka:ʔ	°kon	(nose, ear)	'side of nose'
tul	°ka:ʔ	(woomera, nose)	'hook on woomera (spear thrower)'

There are a few examples where the specific item, which sometimes has extended meaning, precedes the generic. In these, the stress and pitch pattern is different from the phrases where the order is generic-specific.

mé:ʔ-ŋùtaŋ	(eye, night)	'very early morning'
mé:ʔ-pùk.aŋ	(eye, child.with)	'half developed chicken in egg'

2.2 METAPHORIC

There are other juxtapositions of noun plus noun in which the second noun is metaphorical.

Metaphors are often used in the language for descriptive purposes.

man	°to:k	(neck, stick)	'tall person'
me:ʔ	°ŋuk	(eye, owl)	'owlish eyes'
kemp	°bull	(flesh, bull)	'a body like that of a bull'

The above examples distribute grammatically as equative clauses. They can also be transformed to similes.

me:ʔ ka:ʔ	°ŋuk.ant	(eye, like, owl-to)	'eyes like an owl'
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There are a few metaphors which have become names of things, and as such they distribute as nouns.

mɪŋ	°má	-wùnt	(Pro, hand, wind)	'prawns, crayfish'
mɪŋ	°ká:ʔ	-kàyuw	(Pro, nose, ibis)	'curlew'
nɪŋtan	°ma:nj		(back, mental image)	'spirit of a dead person'

2.3 MODIFICATION VIA ADJECTIVE

Quite a number of compounds and close-knit phrases are composed of noun followed by adjective. This is the common structure of many noun phrases in Wik-Munkan, and in fact, when the adjective has the higher pitch there is no difference phonologically or in grammatical composition between close-knit noun phrases and other modified noun phrases.

Semantically, however, the close-knit combinations of noun plus adjective have more cohesion and are sometimes rather specialised.

wɪk	°kaʔ	(word, old)	'story'
ka:t	°manj	(mother, small)	'mother's younger sister'
ka:ʔ	°patj	(nose, white)	'white person'

puk ^o manj	(child, small)	'child'
lat ^o ɲentj	(paper, sacred)	'Scripture'
kutjék ^o mltj	(head, soft)	'fontanelle'

Some noun-adjective combinations are the names of animals and fish. The highest pitch is on the noun. In these compounds, the whole is identified by a part, namely by a prominent physical characteristic.

min ^o ká:lʔ-wèʔaʃ	(Pro, ear, wide)	'frilly necked lizard'
t̥u:k ^o mé:ʔ-kùlan	(snake, eye, wild)	'yellow snake'
min ^o ká:ʔ-ʔòŋk	(Pro, nose, long)	'small thin fish'

Other noun-adjective combinations function as adjectives, and a few as adverbs. Many of these are idiomatic.

ŋaŋk ^o min	(ʔi:y) (heart, good,	'happy'
	(go))	
kon ^o ʔut̥	(wun) (ear, dead, (lie))	'ignore what is said or done'
^o t̥á:ʔ-m̥ltj-m̥ltj.am	(t̥aw) (mouth,	'speak flatteringly'
	soft, soft.Emph)	
man ^o ku!	(neck, wild)	'angry'
kutjék-ʔòŋk	(head, long)	'stupid'
máʔ-m̥ltj.am	(hand, soft.Emph)	'clumsy'

2.4 OTHER MODIFICATION

There are several other items where one word in some way modifies the other. Some of these are locative, temporal, or directional compounds and close-knit phrases.

ʔúm-mènaŋ	(chest, middle)	'right in the middle'
ʔum ^o ku:w	(chest, west)	'straight west'
kɪntj ^o kenj	(sun, high)	'middle day'
ʔá:k-yàʔ.aŋ	(place/time, Neg.with)	'purposeless, for no good reason'

There is also intensification expressed in some compounds where t̥a:ʔ 'mouth' is a component. (Refer Section 1.2(vii).)

2.5 ACTIVITY, PROCESS AND STATE

Many verb compounds and a few noun compounds are formed with a verb as the second constituent.

The noun compounds are names for certain kinship terms or for animals. A part identifies the whole, this time either by a characteristic action or role, or physical characteristic.

wantj ^o ʔa:t̥.an	'mother-in-law'
woman	give.Nom

pl:p.iy	°ʔem.aʔ.an	'father's younger brother'
father.Emph	grow.Tr.NOM	
miŋ	°wé:p-wè:nʔ	'sleepy fish'
Pro	sleep, loves	
miŋ	°ʔá:k-màt.ln	'big grunter fish'
Pro	place, climb.they Pst	
miŋ	°pémaʔ-pàʔ.an	'mangrove worm'
Pro	mangroves, bite.NOM	
miŋ	°kék-kàl.an	'swordfish'
Pro	spear, carry.NOM	

(Semantically, the first words of the above compounds range from being subject, location, or object.)

There are several hundred verbal compounds in Wik-Munkan, which express an action, a process, or a state of being. These verbal compounds are idiomatic and are mainly composed of body part plus verb stem, although words other than body parts sometimes precede the verb. The unconjugated verbal form ka:ŋk 'like' also occurs in combination with a couple of verbs.

ʔá:k-ŋè:y	(place, hear)	'to be born'
ŋótan-ʔèntʃ	(dark, become)	'get mixed up in something bad'
kú:y-ʔè:ʔ	(rope/vein, give/throw)	'accompany'
ká:ŋk-wùn	(like, lie)	'love, like'

(Examples of body part plus verb may be seen in Section 1.)

The majority of these items appear as subject-verb, object-verb, or instrument-verb relationships, but the appropriate case endings do not occur, except in a rare example. Needless to say, there is no sense in which the morpheme which looks like a "subject" within the verbal compound, acts as a subject in the clause in which the compound occurs.

2.6 CO-ORDINATION

There are some compounds and close-knit phrases which are co-ordinate in the sense that neither morpheme appears to be the dominant one. Both together contribute to and equally achieve the meaning. Sometimes the two morphemes concerned are the same part of speech.

pal	°pu:y	(here, there)	'everywhere'
(yuk) way	°miŋ	((things) bad, good)	'things'
mal	°ʔak	(right, left)	'awkward'
ʔán-pàl		(far Dist, here)	'from over there, from then'

ʔép-pàtam	(<i>alright, really</i>)	' <i>really alright</i> '
yáʔ-nùl	(<i>Neg, then</i>)	' <i>no more</i> '

2.7 PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

There is a large series of compound pronoun forms where an indirect object pronoun following a personal pronoun indicates a special relationship of friendship or blood relation between two or more people.

nfi-nùgant	(<i>he, to him</i>)	' <i>he, in a special relationship to another person</i> '
tán-nàtaʔ	(<i>they, to me</i>)	' <i>they, in a special relationship to me</i> '

2.8 BASIC STATE OR CHARACTERISTIC

(See Section 1.1 for discussion.)

2.9 LINKAGE (CONNECTIVES)

(See Section 1.1 and 1.2(vii) for discussion.)

2.10 RESIDUE: PURPOSE AND ASSOCIATION

There are a few examples of compounds and close-knit phrases which express the semantic relationships of purpose and association.

Some examples which express purpose are:

kutjék	°ʔolk	(<i>head, tree type</i>)	' <i>headband of feathers</i> '
kutjék	°tankan	(<i>head, tree type</i>)	' <i>coil for head</i> '

These examples may be transformed to clauses expressing purpose.

ʔan	°ʔolk	kutjék.ak	' <i>That's a headband for the head.</i> '
<i>there</i>	<i>headband</i>	<i>head .for</i>	

ʔIn	wey	°tankan,	kutjék.ak	' <i>Here's a coil for the head.</i> '
<i>here</i>	<i>Com</i>	<i>coil</i>	<i>head .for</i>	

There are two examples where the second word of the phrase bears an associative relationship to the first.

kotj	°na:ʔ	(<i>lizard, darkness/</i>	' <i>gecko</i> ' ⁵
	<i>night</i>)		
pam	°tum	(<i>man, fire</i>)	' <i>husband</i> ' ⁶

3. CRITERIA FOR DIFFERENTIATING COMPOUND WORDS AND CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES

So far compounds and close-knit phrases have been discussed without much attempt made to define the terms or differentiate between the two,

or to relate them to single words and regular phrases. Recent pressures to make final decisions about the orthographic symbolisation of the numerous forms somewhere between single words and phrases have forced the search for solid linguistic criteria.

In the past, the ways a given compound "suspect" was written, by both literate native speakers and the resident linguists, varied to some degree. Likewise the intuitions of informants as to whether a given form was one word, two words, or something in between, were not wholly consistent. And no doubt they never *will* be completely consistent, even if the attempted standardisation in graphic presentation is well accepted by the community; for new compounds are always being formed and therefore are in various historical stages.

3.1 QUESTIONS TOWARDS WORKABLE CRITERIA

A number of questions were asked of each form under consideration in an attempt to come up with workable criteria.

(i) *Phonological*

Is the stress pattern more like that of a word or a phrase?

Is there any evidence of phonological fusion, e.g. loss of phonemes at the border of two morphemes?

Do forms considered to be compounds have faster timing than phrases?

(ii) *Semantic*

Are the forms in question idiomatic or specialised in meaning?

Is the meaning of one or both morphemes hard to determine?

(iii) *Grammatical*

Is the distribution different from that of a phrase made up of the same grammatical constituents?

Can the two morphemes take separate modification or inflection, or only as a whole?

Is one part inseparable?

Can other words come in between the component morphemes?

3.2 STRESS PATTERNS OF MONOMORPHEMIC WORDS

Some background of the stress pattern of words and phrases is necessary to rightly judge where compounds and close-knit phrases fit into the total system.⁷ The stress patterns of Modified Noun Phrases, Locative Phrases, Adjectival Phrases and Verb Phrases are referred to elsewhere in the paper. (See Sections 2.3, 4.2(i), 4.2(ii), and 4.2(v) respectively.)

The common stress pattern of monomorphemic words is primary stress - no stress - secondary stress - no stress.

népǎn 'egg'
 ɲáʔǎràŋ 'mould'
 wúŋǎlǎm 'night fish'

If a vowel other than a occurs in what would normally be a no stress position, it will receive secondary stress.

yépèn 'unlucky hunter'
 ʔó:ykòm 'spear type'
 kíkly 'creek'

(When a suffix is added following l or u in the no stress position, there is variation in the resultant form.)

kíkly.ǎŋ Vs kíkly.àŋ (creek.in) 'in the creek'

There are also a few forms (no more than twenty have been recorded to date) w'ə'e the vowel a occurring in a no stress position receives secondary stress. It seems possible that these words were historically compounds, and in some cases there is enough of a hint of a morpheme break to feed this suspicion. However, the psychological reaction of native speakers is that they are one word, and suggestions of lexical breaks are considered ludicrous.

pátàm 'really'
 w'ínjàŋ 'frightened'
 púnǎman 'fishing net'
 pú'pàm 'high places'

4. CRITERIA APPLIED TO DATA

When the criteria listed in Section 3.1 were applied to the data, stress emerged as the most useful criterion. That is, where several criteria jostle together for recognition, the stress pattern has normally been the deciding factor.⁸ The decisions are here defined.

Compounds are those sequences of morphemes (under consideration) which have the stress pattern of primary stress followed by secondary stress, i.e. Stém Stém. For practical orthographic purposes compounds are written hyphenated.

On the other hand, sequences of recognisable Stém Stém (secondary stress followed by primary stress) are called *close-knit phrases*, and written as two words.

There is some correlation between stress pattern and degree of semantic fusion in that compounds tend to have a tighter degree of fusion and close-knit phrases a lesser degree. However, this correlation is not

complete as several semantic relationships are not restricted to only one stress pattern. (See Section 4.3.)

A further decision concerns items which have primary stress on the second syllable but where the morpheme boundary is not clear. These are called *words* and marked with primary stress.

Items with three components have also been called *close-knit phrases*, and written as separate words. This decision is partly determined by the fact that some such phrases have alternating stress patterns.

These four categories will now be described more fully, along with some further details of the reasons for decisions, both linguistic and orthographic.

4.1 WORDS WITH PRIMARY STRESS OCCURRING ON OTHER THAN THE FIRST SYLLABLE

To date about twenty such words have been recorded. Some of these are onomatopoeic words or exclamations, and so do not come under consideration here as compounds.

tjalúpam (mu:ntj)	(<i>splash, swim</i>)	'dive right in'
yakáy		'ouch! / help!'

Concerning the remaining dozen, some or all were likely historically compounds, as their stress pattern is similar to that of a noun phrase (the greater majority function as nouns). The timing is faster however. In some cases it is possible to isolate one morpheme, but the other is unrecognisable as to meaning. In addition to this, the morpheme boundary is often not clear, especially where there is only one medial consonant.

wantjín̩t̩ (wantj 'woman', t̩jIn̩t̩/In̩t̩ ?)	'old woman'
kl:kalká:t̩ (kl:kal ?, ka:t̩ 'mother' ?)	'swordfish'

The word for 'head' kutjék is a good example of an unclear morpheme boundary. There is some evidence that one part -ek, can be isolated, as it is a recurring form in neighbouring dialects in the word for 'head'.

walékA	(Wik-Iyenyá)
pIntékA	(Gugu-Mumən)

?ek is isolatable in some Generic-Specific Phrases in Wik-Munkan.

ma? °?ek (hand, shell)	'fingernail'
ta? °?ek (foot, shell)	'toenail'
ŋaŋk °?ek (heart, shell)	'shoulderblade'

(However, ?ek could have homophonous forms.)

Native speakers today do not react to *kutjék* as being in the same category as *ma? ʔek*, etc. and cannot give a meaning for any part. Rather, they react to it as one word, and when asked to make a syllable division, will give varying answers, such as *ku.tjek*, *kutj.tjek* and *kutj.ʔek*. If *ʔek* is isolatable historically, the glottal stop which is the initial consonant of *ʔek* 'shell', does not occur, and we must assume that phonological fusion has taken place.⁹

In one other example, neither syllable is recognisable as to meaning, but there is a medial consonant cluster which does not occur in any other monomorphemic word. So it could be assumed that this word was once a compound.

tjekwé:w 'earthworm'

4.2 COMPOUNDS

The phonological pattern of these forms varies from monomorphemic words in several ways. Firstly, the second stem of the compound always receives secondary stress, whereas monomorphemic words generally receive no stress in this position (see Section 3.2). Secondly, at the boundary of the two morphemes, many consonant clusters occur which do not occur in monomorphemic words. Thirdly, the second stem may have a long vowel, and long vowels do not occur in the second syllable of monomorphemic words which have primary stress on the first syllable. In some cases, there is phonological fusion as well, where the initial glottal stop of the second stem does not occur.¹⁰

wúkaɫɔŋk (*wukaɫ* 'neck', *ʔɔŋk* 'long') 'widow'
píɫɔŋk (*píɫ* 'thigh', *ʔɔŋk* 'long') 'mullet'

Further points concerning compounds will be considered under their resultant word classes.

(1) Compound Demonstratives

Some demonstratives in Wik-Munkan must be considered compounds. These are formed from two locative stems.

<i>ʔán-pàɫ</i> (an)	(far Dist, here)	'from over there, after that, from that reason'
<i>yám-pàɫ</i> (an)	(somewhere, here)	'from somewhere'
<i>ʔán-ŋùɫ</i> (an)	(far Dist, then)	'after that is completed, over there to stay'

There are, however, locative phrases which in grammatical composition are similar. These are not considered compounds. Firstly, they have variable stress-pitch pattern, and secondly, they have neither the tight collocation nor the possible extended meanings of the demonstratives.

In addition to that, the demonstratives occurring first in the phrases sometimes take their own inflection. It should be noted also that some of the compound demonstratives can themselves occur as the first word of locative phrases.

°ʔan pek/ ʔan °pek down)	(far Dist, down)	'down there'
°ʔaŋ.am pek down)	(far Stat Dist.Emph, down)	'right down THERE (staying)'
°ʔán-pàl kenj	(from there, high)	'from on high'
°ʔan.am yo:n outside)	(far Dist.Emph, outside)	'over THERE in the village'

(11) Compound Adjectives

Grammatically, these are composed of a body part followed by either an adjective, nominalised verb or numeral. (Of the forty examples recorded, there are only two exceptions, where the first stem is an adjective rather than a body part.) In some cases, the grammatical class of the second morpheme is impossible to decide, as it does not occur alone, and has only been heard preceded by one body part.

mút-mànj	(tail, small)	'thin'
ká:ʔ-wàý	(nose, bad)	'nasty person'
mán-pàt̪.an	(throat, bite.NOM)	'sweet'
mán-t̪ònam	(throat, one)	'reliable'
nínʔan-pàt̪alaŋ	(back, ?)	'stubborn'
wáy-p̪íkəŋ	(bad, ?)	'unbalanced'

The great majority of compound adjectives are idiomatic. The body parts are used with their extended meanings as described earlier (Section 1). The semantic concept behind the majority is modification, i.e. the body part is modified. Those with a nominalised verb as the second component have an apparent subject-verb or object-verb relationship.

It will perhaps be argued that since compound adjectives have the same stress pattern as adjectival phrases, there is therefore no justification for stress being a prominent criterion. The following example is an adjectival phrase, where the modifier of the adjective occurs first and has the strongest stress.

°t̪l̪l̪ m̪in	(partly good)	'a bit good'
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However, the body parts in adjectival compounds in no way act as modifiers, but rather are themselves modified by the following adjective, which is the second component of the compound. Also adjectival compounds as a unit can be modified by one of the regular modifiers occurring in adjectival phrases. In this case, the adjectival modifier

has the highest pitch and strong stress. This leads to the conclusion that the adjectival compound is acting as a single adjectival unit and not as a phrase.

- °tjil kón-tàyán (partly, ear, firm) 'half attentive'
 °tjil mán-pàt.an (partly, throat, 'a bit sweet'
 bite.Nom)

(iii) Compound Nouns

Compound nouns vary considerably in their grammatical composition, e.g. noun plus noun, noun plus nominalised verb, noun plus adjective, noun plus a form whose meaning and grammatical class is hard to determine, and adjective plus we:n̩t 'loves' (unconjugated verb). A few have a fixed affix on the second stem. In addition to their grammatical composition, compound nouns also vary considerably in the semantic relationship of the two stems. In fact, an example of most semantic relationships described in Section 2 can be found among compound nouns. Not one compound noun so far recorded has a meaning which is the sum of its parts.

(Modification)	mi _n °ká:l?-wè?ax̣ Pro ear, wide	'frilly necked lizard'
(Metaphor)	mi _n °má?-wùnt Pro hand, wind	'crayfish'
(Activity)	mi _n °pémař-pàt.an Pro mangrove, bite.Nom	'mangrove worm'
(State of Being)	mi _n °wé:p-wè:n̩t Pro sleep, loves	'sleepy fish'
(Basic State)	má?-?àmpanam hand ?	'single'

Some compound nouns are identical to examples of modified noun phrases in their grammatical composition and choice of lexical items; but compounds are clearly idiomatic, while most phrases are clearly literal.

	?á:k-m̩n (place, good)	'funny person'
Vs	?a:k °min (place, good)	'a good place'
	?á:k-wày (place, bad)	'a bad person'
Vs	?a:k °way (place, bad)	'a bad place'
	wúkalòŋk (neck, long)	'widow'
Vs	wukal °?oŋk (neck, long)	'long neck'

nii °ya:m wun 'He lived a long time.'
 he longtime live he Pst

It is also true that in an indicative clause the item which occurs preceding the verb takes clause stress.

nil °ʔa:kanak ʔi:y 'He went there.'
 he there to go he Pst

°nii ʔi:y 'He went.'
 he go he Pst

nii °nuŋant moʔ 'He ran to him.'
 he him to run he Pst

Elicited data has shown that in the majority of cases where an adverb or other part of speech immediately precedes a verbal compound, the adverb (or other word) will take clause stress. The verbal compound is therefore acting as a single verb unit rather than a phrase. If it were not, we might expect that the first stem of the compound would take clause stress.

°ʔeʔkam kón-ʔà:t 'He reminded (him) quickly.'
 quickly ear,give he Pst

nil °ŋayaŋ maʔ-ʔa:t 'He helped me.'
 he me hand,give he Pst

°maʔ-yot.am ká:ʔ-tʃp.an 'He frowns a lot.'
 hand,lots.Emph nose,bruise.he Hab

(vi) Compound Adverbs

Several of these begin with a body part used with its extended meaning.

mé:ʔ-ŋà:ʔp.an ʔi:y 'go for company'
 eye group.with go

tá:ʔ-kʃntʃ 'all at once, to do something
 mouth, sun all in one go'

The semantic relationship of some adverb compounds is hard to determine. Some express co-ordination, and some modification.

ʔép-pàtam (alright, really) 'really alright'

má1-mʃn (tʃe:ʔ) (right side, good, 'to throw accurately'
 (throw))

ʔá:k-yàʔ.an (place/time, Neg.with) 'purposeless'

Some are asyntactic. má1-mʃn (above) for example is the combination of two adjectives, which do not normally occur contiguously in phrases,

unless separated by pause.

(vii) *Locative Compounds*

There are a few examples of locative compounds. They too begin with a body part. In some cases the meaning of one part is hard to determine.

ʔúm-mènaŋ (chest, middle)	'right in the middle'
ʔúm-pùt̚ (chest, and/but?)	'front'

(viii) *Temporal Compounds*

Body parts also begin some temporal compounds, though a time word may also occur initially. The following examples show semantic relationships of both modification and generic-specific (or vice-versa).

máʔ-t̚ònam (hand, one)	'once'
mé:ʔ-kàt̚ (eye, old)	'from always till now'
ŋá:ʔ-mènaŋ (day/darkness, middle)	'middle of the night'
mé:ʔ-ŋùtaŋ (eye, night)	'very early morning'

(ix) *Negative and Auxiliary Compounds*

These occur in combination with ŋuɪ 'then', a verbal auxiliary.

yáʔ-ŋùɪ (Neg, then)	'no more, dead'
kéʔ-ŋùɪ (Vb Neg, then)	'never anymore'
kán-ŋùɪ (Punct, then)	'already completed'

4.3 CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES

(1) *Close-Knit Phrases paralleling Compounds in Semantic Relationship*

It was stated earlier that the semantic concepts underlying compounds and close-knit phrases do not necessarily correlate with only one stress pattern. The following examples compare compounds and close-knit phrases, which have close semantic correlation, and similar grammatical composition, but differ in stress patterning.

Nouns

maʔ ^o wop hand sorcery	'sorcerer'	Vs	máʔ-t̚p.an hand, bruise.Nom	'coward'
ka:ʔ ^o wɪntj nose boomerang	'stone axe'	Vs	miŋ ^o máʔ-wùnt Pro hand, wind	'scorpion'

Adjectives

kutjék ^o way-plkaŋ	'not in head bad, ?	right mind'	Vs	kutjék-tàyan	'stubborn' head, firm
man ^o kul	'angry' throat wild		Vs	mán-tàyan	'reliable' throat, firm
ŋaŋk ^o way	'sad' heart bad		Vs	ŋáŋk-wày	'out of breath' heart, bad

Adverbs

tá:ʔ ^o tak.aŋ	(taw)	'speak badly' mouth leftside.with speak
Vs ^o tá:ʔ-mítj-mítj.am	(taw)	'speak favourably to, flatter' mouth, soft, soft. Emph speak
kon ^o ʔut	(ʔi:y)	'not take any notice' ear dead go
Vs ^o mé:ʔ-yò:n	(ʔi:y)	'(go) publicly' eye, outside go

Locatives

ʔum ^o pek	'straight down' chest down	Vs	ʔúm-mènaŋ	'in the middle' chest, middle
ʔum ^o yompanam	'everywhere' chest everywhere	Vs	ʔúm-pùt	'front' chest, and/but

Temporals

kintj ^o kenj	'midday' sun high	Vs	ŋá:ʔ-mènaŋ	'midnight' dark, middle
me:ʔ ^o kintj-kintj.aŋ	'sun still eye sun, sun.with up'	Vs	mé:ʔ-ŋùtaŋ	'very early eye, night morning'

Because some semantic relationships cut across stress patterns, it was decided to carry out a psycholinguistic test to see if orthographic distinctions made on the basis of stress were justified. Short stories were written which included a selection of close-knit phrases (Stém Stém). Two tests were prepared, each to test the same sixty close-knit phrases. The phrases were written alternatively as two separate words or as one word with primary stress marked. Test A was a converse of Test B in that forms written separate in A were joined in B and vice

versa. Informants were asked to read the stories; half were given Test A and half Test B.¹¹ Any stumbling in reading, or any obvious lack of comprehension, or slow timing, was noted. Results showed that in general readers performed better when the forms were written as two words. It was decided therefore to leave forms with stress pattern ' ' as two words, except for words described earlier (Section 4.1) where the boundary between morphemes is not clear. It is possible that if a large number of Wik-Munkan people become really fluent readers of Wik-Munkan within the next two or three years, that a repetition of this test could have different results.

(ii) Generic-Specific Phrases

These have already been described in detail (Section 2.1). In the range between literal and idiomatic, Generic-Specific Phrases tend towards the more literal. Some are, in fact, quite literal.

ka:ʔ ʔno:tj (nose, mucus) 'nasal mucus'

For some others, the second word has extended meaning.

kek ʔme:ʔ (spear, eye) 'spear point'

In a few cases, the second word of the phrase is very restricted and occurs in only one or two or three such phrases, but does not occur freely elsewhere.

man ʔʔol (neck, jowls) 'jowls'

may ʔkam (food, juice) 'fruit juice'

me:ʔ ʔkam (eye, juice) 'tears'

min ʔkam (meat, juice) 'gravy'

Generic-Specific Phrases are also heard with lesser collocations, where the nouns come together more incidentally, and are not an established term.

(iii) Close-Knit Noun Phrases

Close-Knit Noun Phrases which express a modifying relationship have also been described earlier, along with compounds expressing the same semantic relationship (2.3). These close-knit phrases do not differ stress-wise or structurally from Modified Noun Phrases where the words come together more incidentally. The close-knit phrases however show more specialisation in meaning.

wlk ʔkaʔ 'story' Vs may ʔkaʔ 'rotten food'
word old food old

puk ʔmanj 'child' Vs yaʔaman ʔmanj 'small horse'
child small horse small

only time will tell. And if a sizeable number of readers and writers show in time that decisions are not good, then that will be time for a change.

NOTES

1. Wik-Munkan is spoken by approximately 700 people (either as their first or second language) at Aurukun, Cape York Peninsula (Australia). Speakers of closely related dialects live at Edward River and Coen. Research has been carried out in Wik-Munkan by the author since 1967 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and since 1971 under the auspices of the Australian National University. Other areas of Wik-Munkan analysis have been done by both Barbara Sayers and Marie Godfrey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Their work has proved helpful in the writing of this paper. Some discussion with Dr Sarah Gudschinsky, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, at the time this paper was being prepared, proved helpful and stimulating.

2. Some semantic relationships are expressed by both compounds and close-knit phrases. The distinction between the two is clarified as the paper progresses (see Section 4). However, the two are differentiated orthographically in language examples from the beginning of the paper, even before reasons for differentiating them are given. This allows the reader opportunity to observe a larger corpus of data symbolised in its final form, while noting semantic overlap. Compounds are hyphenated, and word stress (primary and secondary) marked. Close-knit phrases are written as separate words, with phrase stress marked.

3. Hereafter called compounds.

4. Abbreviations and symbols used throughout the paper are:

1PS	first person singular
3PS	third person singular
'	primary stress
`	secondary stress
o	phrase or clause stress

/	alternating with
.	boundary between stem and affix
-	boundary between stem and stem
?	uncertainty about the meaning of a morpheme
Acc	accompaniment
Co	co-ordinate
Com	compassion
Dist	distance
Emph	emphasis
Gen	generic
Hab	habitual
Ind	indirect object
Neg	negative
Nom	nominaliser
Onom	onomatopoeic
PP	present participle
Pro	protein
Pst	past
Punct	punctiliar
Ques	question
Spec	specific
Stat	stationary
Suj	subjunctive
Tr	transitiviser
Vb	verb/verbal
Vs	versus

5. The gecko is a small lizard who is mostly seen active at night.
6. *tum* 'fire' here refers to the traditional marriage ceremony, in which a girl was taken by her mother to a previously prepared campfire, where her husband-to-be awaited her.
7. A detailed description of stress in Wik-Munkan is given in a paper by B.J. Sayers (see Bibliography).
8. For practical purposes, one of the determining factors in considering stress pattern so important concerns the expectations of the reader. If two stems with stress ' ' are left separate, the tendency is for the reader to read the second stem with higher pitch. If the two stems are joined without hyphenation, however, the expectation of some is that

the second syllable will be an unstressed syllable rather than another stem which would have secondary stress.

9. Phonemically no vowel initial words occur in Wik-Munkan.

10. Because of the phonological fusion present, these two forms have been written as one word.

11. The tests were performed with eight people, six of whom were fluent readers, and two semi-fluent.

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