

TENSE-MARKING IN GUṆU PRONOUNS

S.A. WURM, L. HERCUS

- I. Introduction
- II. The Guṇu Language
- III. Differences between Southern Ba:gandji and Guṇu
- IV. The position of Ba:rundji
- V. Aspect Markers in Guṇu
- VI. Pronouns and Tense
- VII. Note on Ba:rundji pronouns
- VIII. Conclusion

I. INTRODUCTION

The intricacies of genetic relationship and linguistic diffusion in Australian languages are as yet not fully understood. The odd similarities between languages even far apart are tempting and may mislead us into thinking that we can explain any unusual phenomenon in one Australian language in terms of what we know of another Australian language: we may imagine that there is nothing really unique. Tense-marking in the pronouns of Guṇu is of particular interest from this point of view; there is nothing exactly like it elsewhere in Australia though there are some rough similarities as in Pitta Pitta where pronouns are marked for the future tense (Blake and Breen 1971), in Lardil (Hale 1967) and probably in Murawari (Oates 1976). This unique feature of the Guṇu pronoun has aroused R.M.W. Dixon's suspicion and he states the following in his review in *Language* 52/1, March 1976), of S.A. Wurm's work *The Languages of Australia and Tasmania*:

W[urm] uncritically repeats grammatical misstatements that originated in the 'amateur literature'; in no case has any attempt been made to check original sources and re-examine

a controversial problem. Thus W[urm] (83, 133) follows Capell 1956 in believing that 'in some of the dialects of the Darling Group, the initial consonant of the personal pronouns undergoes change for tense; e.g. in Kurnu the first person singular pronoun forms for present, past and future are ḡadu, wadu and gadu.' This originated with Mathews 1904. Mathews was a surveyor and amateur linguist who gathered material on a considerable number of Australian languages between 1897 and 1912; he frequently doctored his field notes for publication and, as Schmidt (24) warned, all his work must be treated with caution. An examination of Mathews' notebooks (the existence of which was certainly known to W[urm] - see p.14) reveals that what Mathews described as inflection of pronouns for tense was in fact the operation of a phonological sandhi-type rule. The canonical forms for tense morphemes appear to have been PRES -ḡuna-, PAST -ḡgaw-, FUT -rag-; the pronominal subject normally followed the verb, and its initial consonant would be dropped after a tense-final consonant. We thus have bulga-ḡuna-ḡadu 'I am hitting', bulga-ḡgaw-adu 'I hit (past)', and bulga-rag-adu 'I will hit'. There is no alternation in the initial segment of any pronoun when it follows a vowel-final word, or occurs sentence-initially.

The present paper is intended to show that this view is untenable and that Guṇu pronouns are indeed marked for tense and are thereby a striking and very unusual characteristic of this language.

II. THE GUṆU LANGUAGE

Tense-marking in pronouns was found by R.H. Mathews to be a feature not only of Guṇu (1904) but also of the south-eastern sub-dialect of Ba:rundji, bordering immediately on Guṇu (Mathews MS.). Both Guṇu and Ba:rundji are dialects of the Ba:gandji language of the Darling River of N.S.W. Knowledge of the Ba:gandji dialects has declined dramatically and tragically over the last few decades to the point of extinction. In 1957 S.A. Wurm was able to record grammatical data from speakers of Pooncarie Ba:gandji, Wiljagali, Guṇu, Bandjigali and particularly Ba:rundji. His main informant, the last speaker of the language, was then living at Wilcannia; she was Mrs Hannah Quayle (Maljalari) a Maljaṇaba-Waṅgumara half-caste from the Salisbury Downs-Yancannia area. She spoke Maljaṇaba as her first and main language, but had learnt Ba:rundji as a child, and also used it daily in the late fifties when some of the materials presented here were recorded by S.A. Wurm. She was then around eighty-five years of age. L.A. Hercus started working extensively on Ba:gandji dialects in 1964 and was able to work with the last speaker of Bandjigali and with people who had a good knowledge of Southern (Pooncarie) Ba:gandji. Wiljagali was then already extinct. Mrs Quayle (Ba:rundji) had died in 1965, and Guṇu became extinct in February 1976 with the death of the last speaker, the centenarian

Grannie Moisey. Many of her grand-daughters had long been grandmothers and she was respected and feared throughout the Aboriginal Community of the northwest of N.S.W. She was born a half-caste, Annie Clarke, and was reared by her maternal grandparents who knew hardly any English. In her early childhood she was camped under the wild orange trees near where Gundabooka Station was just being built. In her long and hard life she witnessed the total decline of the traditions in which she had been reared and saw her own people 'forgetting all the language and marrying their own relations (people of the same moiety)'. 'Guṁu is the same as Ba:gandji (i.e. Pooncarie Ba:gandji) but it is different, it's my people's talk, from Louth along the river', she used to say.

III. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOUTHERN BA:GANDJI AND GUṂU

Guṁu vocabulary is practically identical with Southern Ba:gandji from the Pooncarie area, over 95 per cent of the vocabulary is shared by the two dialects. The speakers were conscious of this and commented repeatedly on the few differences that there were: e.g. George Dutton (Bandjigali dialect of Ba:gandji, 1967): 'We say *yaṅmala* when we talk about breaking something, but that old woman (Grannie Moisey, Guṁu) says *yaṅmala ṅaba* and that means that she is going away'. Despite the great similarity in vocabulary there were two major differences in the pronoun system between Southern Ba:gandji on the one hand and Guṁu on the other:

- 1) Pronominal forms are affixed in Southern Ba:gandji but not in Guṁu.
- 2) Tense is indicated by verbal affixes in Southern Ba:gandji and by pronouns in Guṁu, where verbal affixes play only a limited role in marking tense.

(1) In Southern Ba:gandji the possessive markers were identical in form to free pronouns with loss of the initial consonant. They were affixed to a noun denoting the third thing possessed, case marking affixes could then be added:

yungga gi:ra - (a)yi - na
own country - 1sg.POS - LOC

yungga gi:rayina 'in my own country'

yabara - (a)yi - ndu
camp 1sg.POS ABL

yabarayindu 'out of my camp'

balu - uma
child - 2sg.POS
 ba|u:ma 'your child'

waŋanja - na
nest - 3sg.POS
 waŋanjaŋa 'its nest'

Only very rarely, in case of special emphasis was an independent pronominal form used to indicate possession.

ŋayi gi:ra (S. Ba:gandji) 'my country'
 ŋa:ŋa gi:ra (Bandjigali) 'my country'

But in Guṇu possession was normally expressed by a full and independent pronominal form.

gandja ŋari
grandmother mine
 'my grannie'

ŋuma balu
your child
 'your child'

waŋanja iduŋa
nest his
 'its nest'

In order to lend special emphasis the pronoun can be repeated in Guṇu.

ŋari yara-yara ŋari
mine things mine
 'my very own belongings...' (they stole).

The same distinction between the two dialects applies in nominal sentences.

Ba:gandji ŋu:ŋ(u) - aba
 Ba:gandji wōman - I
 'I'm a Ba:gandji woman'

Guṇu baṛaga ŋaba
 Guṇu woman I
 'I'm a Guṇu woman'

(2) Tense in Southern Ba:gandji is expressed by special affixes, which are added to a verbal root or verbal root and aspect marker.

The tense affixes are:

zero or -r- for the present
 -d- for the future
 -dj- for the past
 -ŋgu- for the habitual and causal past

The incorporated subject and object pronouns followed that tense affix.

bami - (i)ndu - ayl
see (tense) you AG - me OBJ
zero

baminduayi [baṁindoi] 'you see me'

bami - d - indu - ayi
see - FUT - you AG - me OBJ

bamidinduayi [baṁidindoi] 'you'll see me'

bami - dj - indu - ayi
see - PAST - you AG - me OBJ

bamidjinduayi [baṁidjindoi] 'you saw me'

There is thus in Southern Ba:gandji a verbal complex as follows:

verb root (± aspect) + tense ± subject ± object

In Guṇu as explained below, the situation is different, and in any case, pronouns maintained their independence and were not usually incorporated:

ḡindu ḡa:na daḡa na
you AG me OBJ block - PART
'you're blocking me'

IV. THE POSITION OF BA:RUNDJI

The Ba:rundji dialect spoken by Mrs Quayle is of particular interest. Though it has some minor characteristics of its own, in the important issues under discussion it is half-way between Guṇu and Southern Ba:gandji.

- 1) Ba:rundji goes with Southern Ba:gandji in affixing pronominal forms in both the nominal and verbal system.
- 2) Tense-marking by verbal affixes is optional (not obligatory as in Southern Ba:gandji) and the pronoun subject is affixed, but the pronoun marker changes with tense and there are a number of morphophonemic rules that may be observed in the juncture.

V. ASPECT MARKERS IN GUṆU

R.M.W. Dixon, interpreting the evidence of Mathews, quotes:

bulga - ḡuna ḡaḡu 'I hit' (present)
bulga - ḡgaw aḡu 'I hit' (past)
bulga - rag aḡu 'I shall hit' (future)

Mathews often writes 'u' for a. The Ba:gandji word 'to hit' is balga- and 'ḡuna' represents - ḡana.

-ɲana- is a stem-forming suffix used occasionally in Guṇu to mark a continuative and present day action - it is not a simple tense marker for the today present, which is expressed otherwise:

bidja - na ɲina ɲi:ɲga
outside LOC we PRES sit

'we're sitting outside' (today, right now)

The following examples may illustrate the use of -ɲana- :

ɲindu - ɲali wayu - ri - ɲana
PRES you - we two worry - Inceptive - TODAY-CONT

'the two of us are worrying all the time now'

(winbadja) mu:ya-ɲana '(the people are) rowing all the time'

yu:gu ɲa:rila-ɲana 'the sun is just now going down...'

-ɲana is a special aspect marker: there is no chance of analysing it as *ɲanaɲ in any of its occurrences, still less is there any chance of a 'sandhi effect' on a pronoun. It would be correct in Guṇu to say

balga-ɲana ɲaɖu

or

ɲaɖu balga-ɲana

This sentence would mean 'I'm all the time hitting...'

-ɲga- is interpreted by Mathews as a tense marker of the past. It is a perfective-intensive stem forming affix. Like -ɲana- it is limited in its use.

bari 'to go'

bari-ɲga 'to go away'

yuri 'to listen'

yuri-ɲga 'to understand'

Again there is no evidence whatsoever that might enable us to interpret this affix as ɲgaw-, nor is there any 'sandhi effect' on pronouns.

-ra

There is a stem-forming suffix -la used throughout the Ba:gandji dialects; this has a number of complex functions, mainly that of topicalising

bami 'to see'

bami-la 'to look'

When a verb-stem contains -l- there is a tendency for dissimilation and -ra is used for -la, unless another aspectual affix intervenes:

gulba 'to tell'

gulba-ra 'to talk'

malba 'to throw'

malba-ra 'to toss something around, to act in a silly fashion'

balga-ra- is therefore used instead of *balga-la 'to strike'.

Again there is no means of analysing, -la, -ra as *-lag-, *-rag-. The suffix can topicalise any tense, though it is possibly more common with the future.

dayi- la gali miriga-na
eat - TOP FUT we two first-LOC

dayila gali mirigana 'we two shall eat first'

mu:ya - la wali
quarrel - TOP PAST we two

mu:yala wali 'we two had a row'

dayi - la nadi
eat - TOP PRES they

dayila nadi 'they're eating'

diga - la wadu
return - TOP PAST he

digala wadu 'he came back'

Again there is no question of sandhi.

There are a number of other aspectual and 'action type' markers in Guṇu - some difficult to analyse, they are all independent of both tense and pronoun.

VI. PRONOUNS AND TENSE

Pronouns in Guṇu vary with the tense. The present (and also the general neutral form) is marked by an initial ŋ- (zero in the case of the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity), the future is marked by an initial g- and the past by initial w-. The materials collected in Guṇu in the field allow the following paradigmatic tables of tense forms of the pronouns to be set up:

	Present	Past	Future
1sg. subj	ŋaba	waba	gaba
1sg. agent	ŋa <u>ḍ</u> u	wa <u>ḍ</u> u	ga <u>ḍ</u> u
2sg. subj	ŋimba	wimba	gimba
2sg. agent	ŋindu	windu	gindu
3sg. subj	na <u>ḍ</u> u	wa <u>ḍ</u> u	ga <u>ḍ</u> u
3sg. obj	ŋa:ŋa	wa:ŋa	ga:ŋa
1du. ¹	ŋali	wali	gali
2du.	ŋuba	wuba	guba
3du.	ŋa <u>ḍ</u> :lu	wa <u>ḍ</u> :lu	ga <u>ḍ</u> :lu
1pl.	ŋina	wina	gina
2pl.	ŋu <u>ḍ</u> a	wu <u>ḍ</u> a	gu <u>ḍ</u> a
3pl.	ŋadi	wadi	gadi
dem.pron. of vicinity	l <u>ḍ</u> i	wi <u>ḍ</u> i	gi <u>ḍ</u> i
dem.pron. of distance	ŋaŋa	waŋa	gaŋa

(Ba:rundji, like S. Ba:gandji, has iḍu, not iḍi as a pronoun of vicinity)

On the whole except in cases of special emphasis, only one pronoun in a sentence receives a special tense form; it is usually the subject or the pronoun referring to the main topic. The other pronouns retain their present/neutral form. The pronoun subject usually follows the verb, but as the examples quoted below will show, the system of tense-marking cannot be linked immediately with the verb in Guṇu. Even if the changes in the pronoun had their origin in phonological conditioning it seems clear that in the present form of the language they have to be analysed as changes for tense. This can be demonstrated in the following manner:

a) The pronouns are not linked with any particular phonological environment, they can follow any verb or verb + aspect marker; and different tense forms can occur in the same conditions:

1) After all simple verbs

baridji - ri ḍaŋi gaba
far away - ALL go FUT I

'I'll go a long way off'

ḍaŋi waḍi
go PAST they

'they've gone'

¹In the third person singular and throughout the dual and plural one form functions as both intransitive subject and as agent, though the latter is sometimes marked by -ḍu.

ɲulardji mani bami wina
 many corroboree see PAST we
 'we've seen lots of corroborees'

maŋdi -na ga:ndara bami gindu
 ground -LOC blood see FUT you AG
 'you'll see the blood on the pavement'

bami ɲadu
 see PRĒS I AG
 'I can see'

iba gadi badi -ri
 lay FUT they egg -DAT
 'they'll lay eggs'

iba wina
 lay PAST we
 'we put it down'

ii) after verb + aspect marker (such as -ri and -la, examples for the latter are given in section V)

gila dinga -ri waba
 not rise -INC PAST I
 'I didn't get up'

gila dinga -ri ɲadu
 not rise -INC PRĒS he
 'he's not getting up'

bina -ri gimba
 climb -INC FUT you
 'you'll climb up'

b) The pronouns, marked for tense, can follow words other than verbs:

wilga -wilga ɲadi
 hungry PRES they
 'they're hungry'

diga -la gadi gi:ra gidi -na miři
 return -TOP FUT they country FUT this -GEN towards
 'they'll go back to their country'

gandjalga nu:ŋgu widi -na
 good woman PAST this -GEN
 'he had a good wife'

c) In isolated instances and in order to focus on the subject, the pronouns were placed initially in an utterance, and this naturally precludes any possibility whatsoever of explaining the changing initial consonant of the pronoun by means of sandhi; the changing initial simply expresses tense:

mu:ya wadu wimbara -na: 'windu gaba -nja ma|i numa'
scold PAST I AG daughter -LOC: 'PAST you AG follow -CONT man yours'
'I roused on my daughter (and I said to her): "You've been running after this man of yours (while I have been minding the kids)".'

wadu ga:ndi ba|u-ba|u
 PAST he carry small-child
'it was him that carried the small children'

The following two instances of pronouns beginning an utterance were heard in conversations between Grannie Quayle (Ba:rundji) and Grannie Moisey (Guṇu):

1) Mrs Quayle: *daya:du* (< *dayi gadu*) *wanga*
eat-I eat FUT I AG meat
'I'll eat the meat'

Mrs Moisey: *gadu dayi*
FUT I AG eat
'I'm the one that's going to eat it'

2) and in answer to a question as to who ate it

Mrs Moisey: *wadu dayi*
PAST I AG eat
'I was the one who ate it'

The fact that pronouns change with tense in Guṇu is thus proved by

- a) the free use of all pronominal forms in identical environments after verbs and verb + aspect marker;
- b) the occurrence of pronouns after adjectives and nouns;
- c) the occurrence of pronouns initially in an utterance.

VII. A NOTE ON BA:RUNDJI PRONOUNS

The Ba:rundji dialect spoken by Mrs Quale differs from the Guṇu dialect mainly in the following features:

- 1) Some words differ in their phonological form, e.g. the demonstrative pronoun of vicinity is *idu* (Guṇu *idi*); the nominative plural of demonstrative and third person pronouns is formed by the addition of a further suffix *-iga*.
- 2) The subject pronouns are suffixed to the verb and morphophonemic changes affecting both the pronominal forms and the final vowel of the verbs are in evidence.
- 3) The same tense-marking verbal affixes as in Southern Ba:gandji

are optionally used in Ba:rundji as is seen from some of the examples quoted, and so tense may be marked both by the verb and by the pronoun.

The purpose of this paper is the demonstration and illustration of the changes of pronouns in two Ba:gandji dialects for tense. This is therefore not the place for a detailed discussion of the morphophonemic phenomena observable in the Ba:rundji material, but a few remarks may be given on them:

With past pronoun forms

the first syllable of the pronoun is dropped after verb-final -u or -i, e.g.

baribuli	(< baribu-wali)	'we two came'
mangu yanmalu-du	(< yanmalu-wadu)	'he broke his arm'
ba:rayi-dji-du	(< ba:rayi-dji -wadu)	'I heard'
	hear PAST-PAST I	

After verb-final -a and -ayi (which changes to -aya [-aye] when a pronoun is added), -a in the first syllable of the pronoun changes to -u, e.g.

ɲulja-wudu	(< ɲulja-wadu)
ɲaya-wudu [ɲaye-wudu]	(< ɲayi-wadu)

With present and future pronoun forms

verb-final -a and -u become -a:, and the initial syllable of the pronoun is dropped. Verb-final -ayi becomes -aya:, e.g.

waga:-du	(< waga-gadu)	'I will chop'
ɲuljamalda:-du	(< ɲulja-ma -lda -ɲadu)	'he can wash himself'
	wash-verbaliser-REFL-PRÉS he	
mangu yanma-la:-du	(< yanma-lu -gadu)	'he will break his arm'
	break-TOP-FUT 3sg.	

When preceded by a consonant subject to non-phonemic gemination (a typical feature of a number of consonants in Ba:gandji), verb-final -i remains unchanged, and the initial consonant of the pronoun is dropped, e.g.

bami-adu [bammi-adu]	(< bami-gadu)	'I will see'
----------------------	---------------	--------------

Therefore in all these cases the distinction between Present and Future has been obscured and we simply have a Past/Non-past distinction. There is, however, one group of verbs that form an exception to this: Verb-final -i preceded by a consonant not subject to non-phonemic gemination becomes -i:, and the pronoun remains unaltered, e.g.

bari:-gali	(< bari-gali)	'we two will go'
------------	---------------	------------------

Examples illustrating the use of a single pronoun (or pronominal derivative):

minamandi	ɲimba	baribu	wanaga	'why did you come here?'
why	neutral	thou	come PAST	here

gidu- ru-da dadja-wa gambidja-ayi-na
 FUT this-AG-EMPH bite-INT father- my- OBJ
 'this [snake] will bite [my] father'

Tense marking through more than one changeable pronoun:

dulaga gidiga (< gidu-iga) wimbadja-ru balga-nda:-digga
 bad FUT-they pl. man AG
 (< balga-nda-gadi-iga) gali-na
 kill- ASP-FUT they-pl. we two-OBJ
 'those bad men will kill us two'

gidu-wu:lu wimbadja- u:lu balgu gulbanjala:-du:lu
 FUT -this du. man-du. speech
 (< gulba-nja- la- gadu:lu)
 speak-CONT-TOP- FUT they two
 'these two men will talk (with each other)'

Examples of sentences with a single suffixed changeable pronoun only:

wimbadja-ru:lu badaṅga:du:lu (< bada- ṅga-gadu:lu)
 man two fight INT FUT they two
 'the two men will fight'

bugamala-wudu gambidja-ayi galjbu
 die PAST he father -my not now
 'my father died a long time ago' (galjbu indicates 'non-
 present': past or future)

galjbu diga-la:-ba (< diga- la- gaba)
 not now return-TOP-FUT I
 'I will return later'

VIII. CONCLUSION

The manner in which pronouns change with tense in Guṅu is of interest not only because it is unique to Guṅu: it poses further questions. The morphological differences between Guṅu and S. Ba:gandji are considerable and not confined to pronouns:

	S. Ba:gandji	Guṅu
1. Personal possession markers affixed	+	-
2. Pronoun subject and object incorporation	+	-
3. Tenses marked <i>only</i> by affixes	+	-
4. Pronouns may vary for tense	-	+
5. (Non-obligatory) ergative marking of nouns	-	+
6. (Non-obligatory) ergative marking only on demonstrative pronouns affixed to nouns	+	-
7. Bound morpheme for allative	+	-

Yet the vocabulary of Southern Ba:gandji is almost identical to that of Guṅu. By lexicostatistical evaluation therefore Guṅu and S. Ba:gandji are dialects of the same language but a more thorough grammatical and general evaluation (as described by Dixon 1970) would leave us with grave doubts on this topic.

For the speakers there was no doubt at all: Guṇu was a form of Ba:gandji. People do not normally speak more than one dialect of the same language: thus nobody ever claimed in our hearing to speak both Guṇu and S. Ba:gandji, there was no need as Guṇu was felt to be a form of Ba:gandji. George Dutton, the last speaker of Bandjigali, was a brilliant man (Beckett 1958) who knew Maljaṇaba, Wangumara, Yandruwanda, and Arabana and often talked about these languages but he did not speak Guṇu. He would often converse with Mrs Moisey, but he would talk in Bandjigali and she in Guṇu; they agreed to differ, as to them it was all Ba:gandji anyway. The most common observations by S. Ba:gandji speakers about Guṇu were of a phonetic nature: 'they speak heavier', 'they speak broader'; some observations concerned the few lexical items that differed. We still have much to learn, not only about the genetic affiliations of Aboriginal languages, but also about language perception and evaluation. The Guṇu example seems to point towards the importance of lexical similarities rather than morphology with regard to what was felt to be a different language and what was a dialect.

SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

AG	Agentive case
ASP	Aspectual affix
CONT	Continuative
INC	Inceptive
INT	Intensive
PART	Participial form marking continuous and contemporary action
TOP	Topicalising verbal affix

Note: For simplicity ndj has been used
throughout for njdj.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BECKETT, J.

- 1958 'Marginal Men: A Study of Two Half Caste Aborigines'.
Oceania 29:91-108.

BLAKE, B.J. and J.G. BREEN

- 1971 *The Pitta-Pitta Dialects. Linguistic Communications* 4.
Monash University.

CAPELL, A.

- 1956 *A New Approach to Australian Linguistics. Oceania Linguistic Monographs* 1.

DIXON, R.M.W.

- 1970 'Languages of the Cairns Rain Forest Region'. In:
Wurm and Laycock, eds *Pacific Linguistic Studies in Honour of Arthur Capell. PL, C.13:651-87.*

HALE, K.L.

- 1967 'Some Productive Rules in Lardil (Mornington Island) Syntax'. *PL, A.11:63-73.*

HERCUS, L.A.

- forthcoming *Ba:gandji Grammar.*

MATHEWS, R.H.

- 1904 'Language des Kurnu, tribu d'indigenes de la Nouvelle Galles du Sud'. *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris* 5:132-38.

OATES, L.F.

1976 Personal Communication.

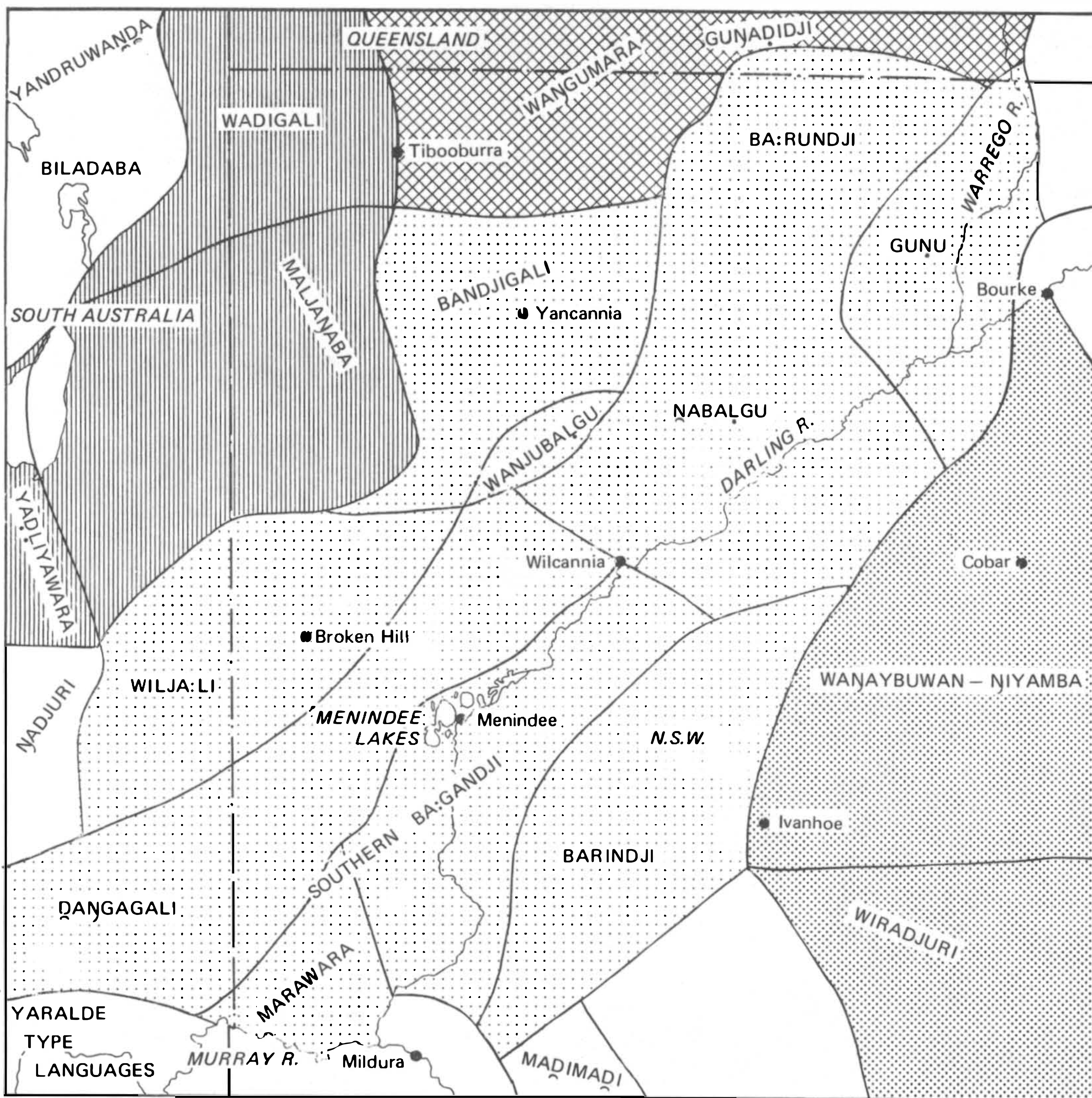
SCHMIDT, P.W.

1919 *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen*. Vienna:
Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei.

WURM, S.A.

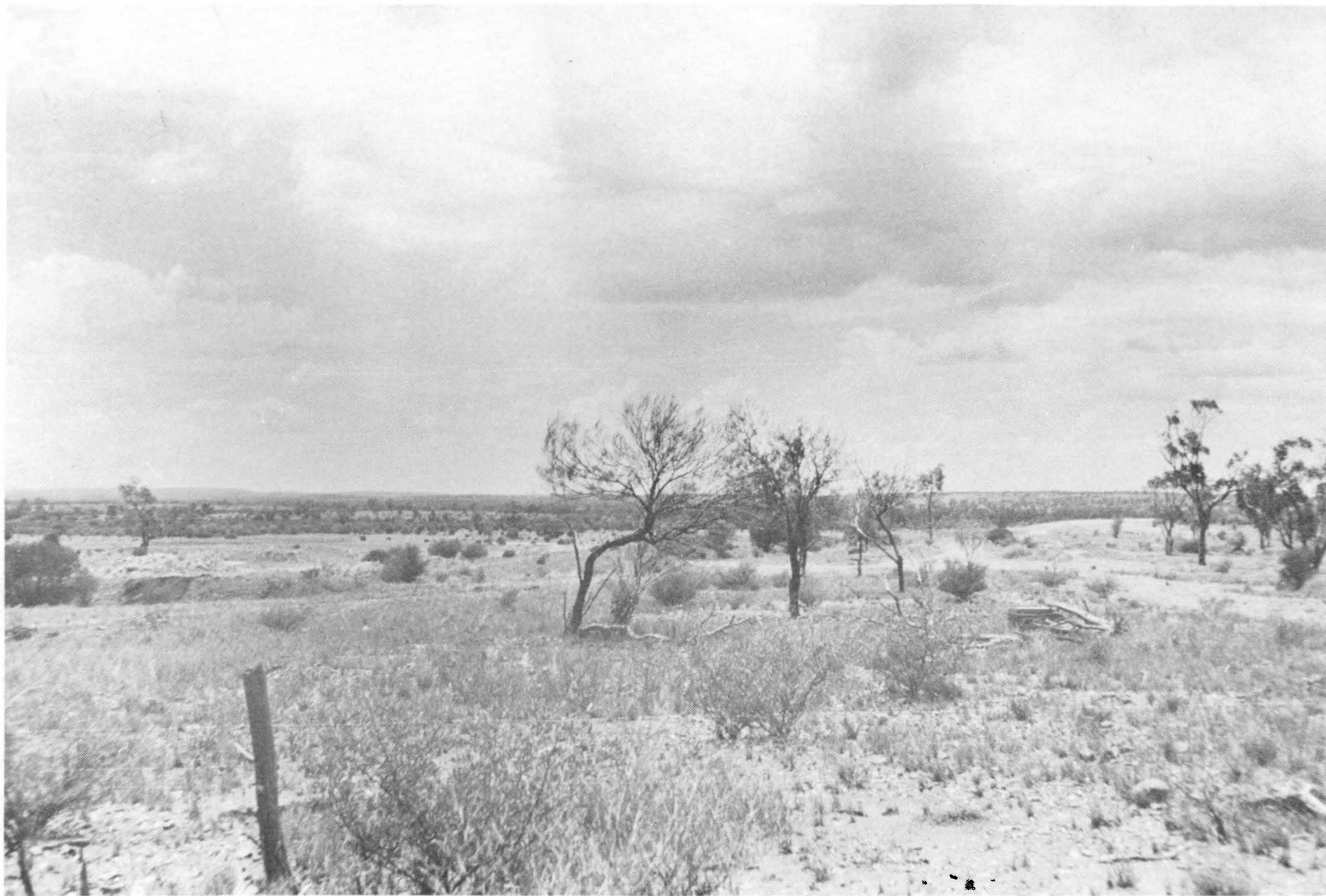
1972 *Languages of Australia and Tasmania*. *Janua Linguarum,*
Series Critica, 1. The Hague: Mouton.

LANGUAGES OF NORTH-WESTERN N.S.W.

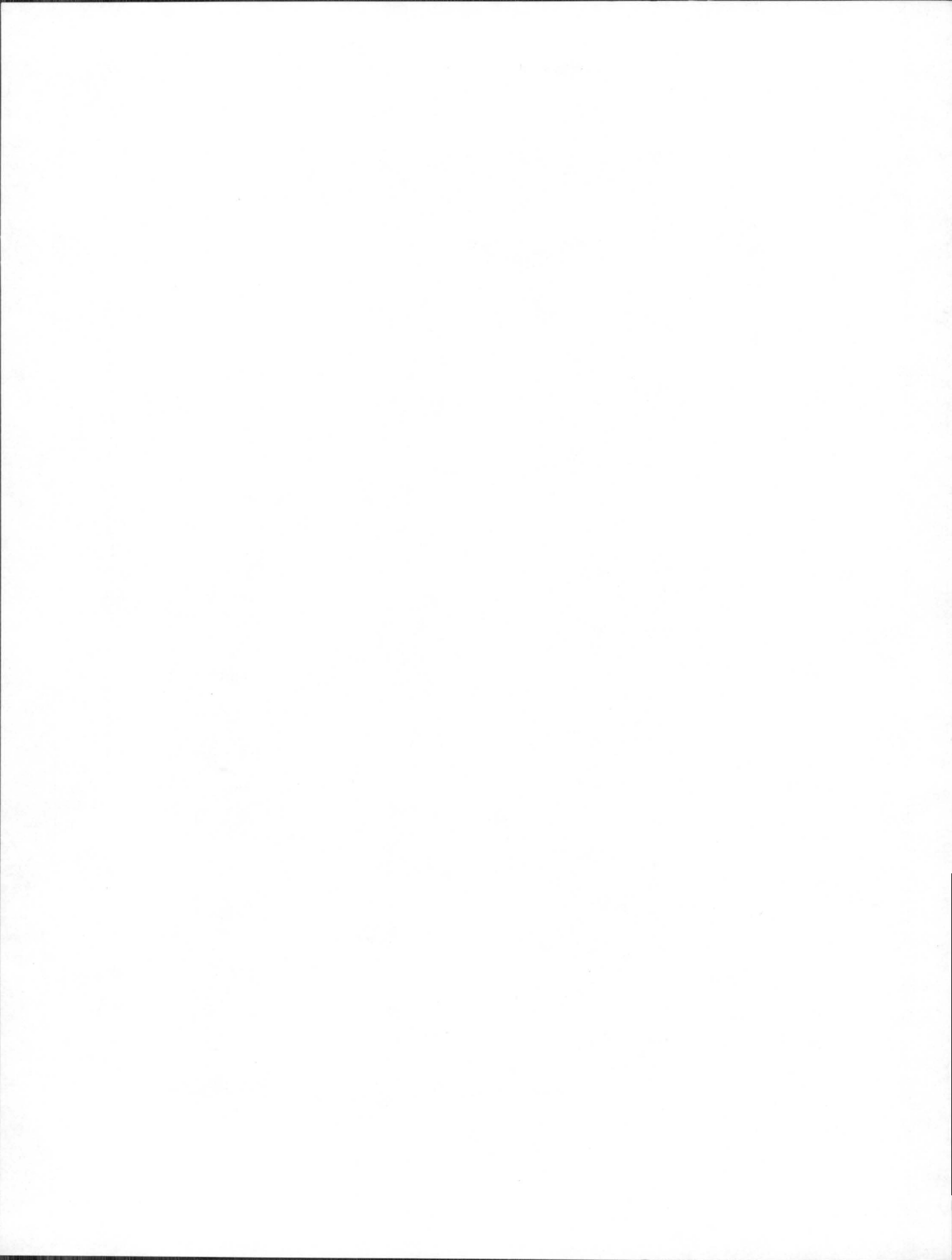


- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|----------------------|
|  | YALI LANGUAGE GROUP |  | WANAYBUWAN - NIYAMBA |
|  | BA:GANDJI |  | NURA |



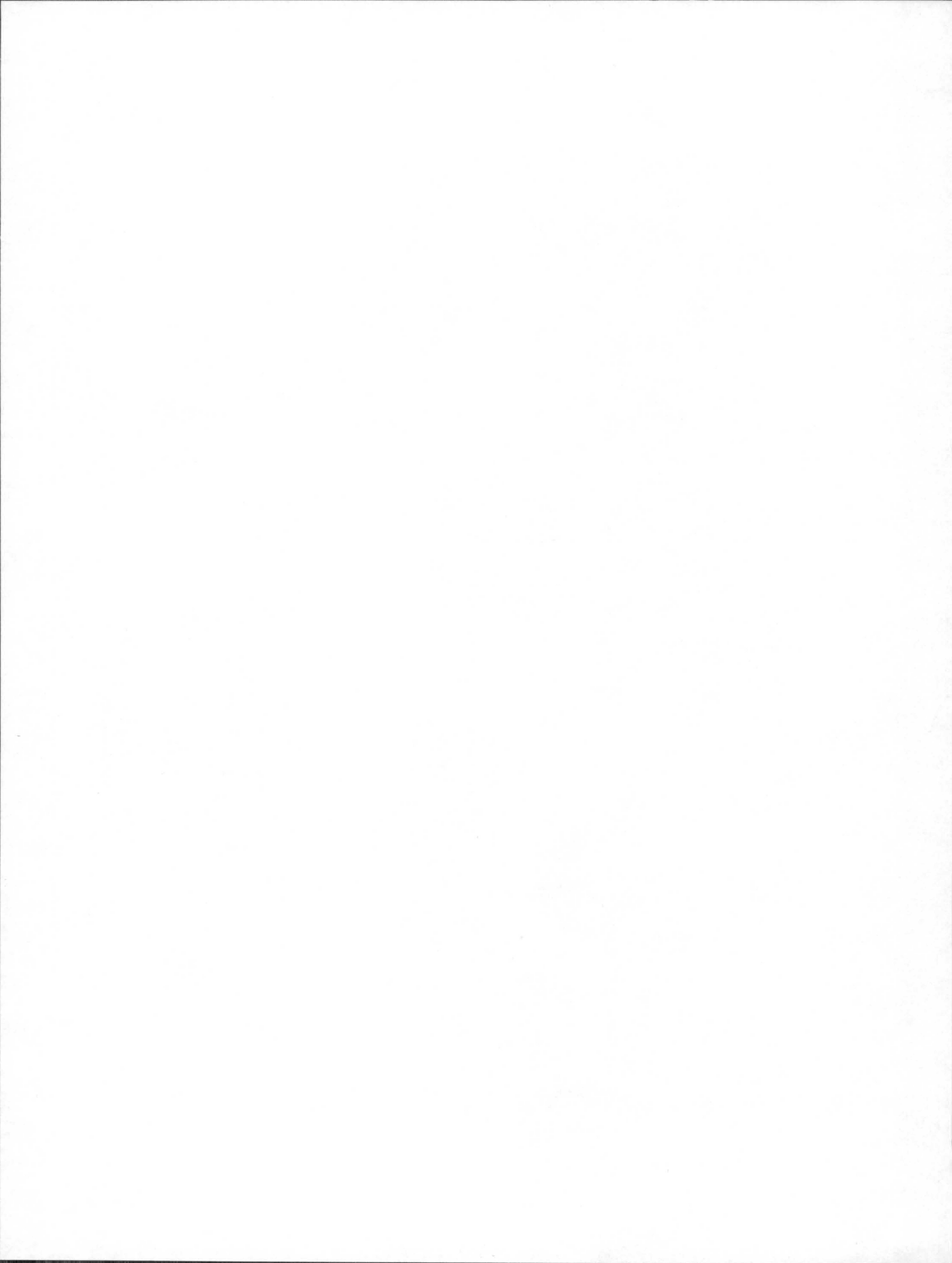


Looking across towards Ba:rundji country from the McCulloch Range.



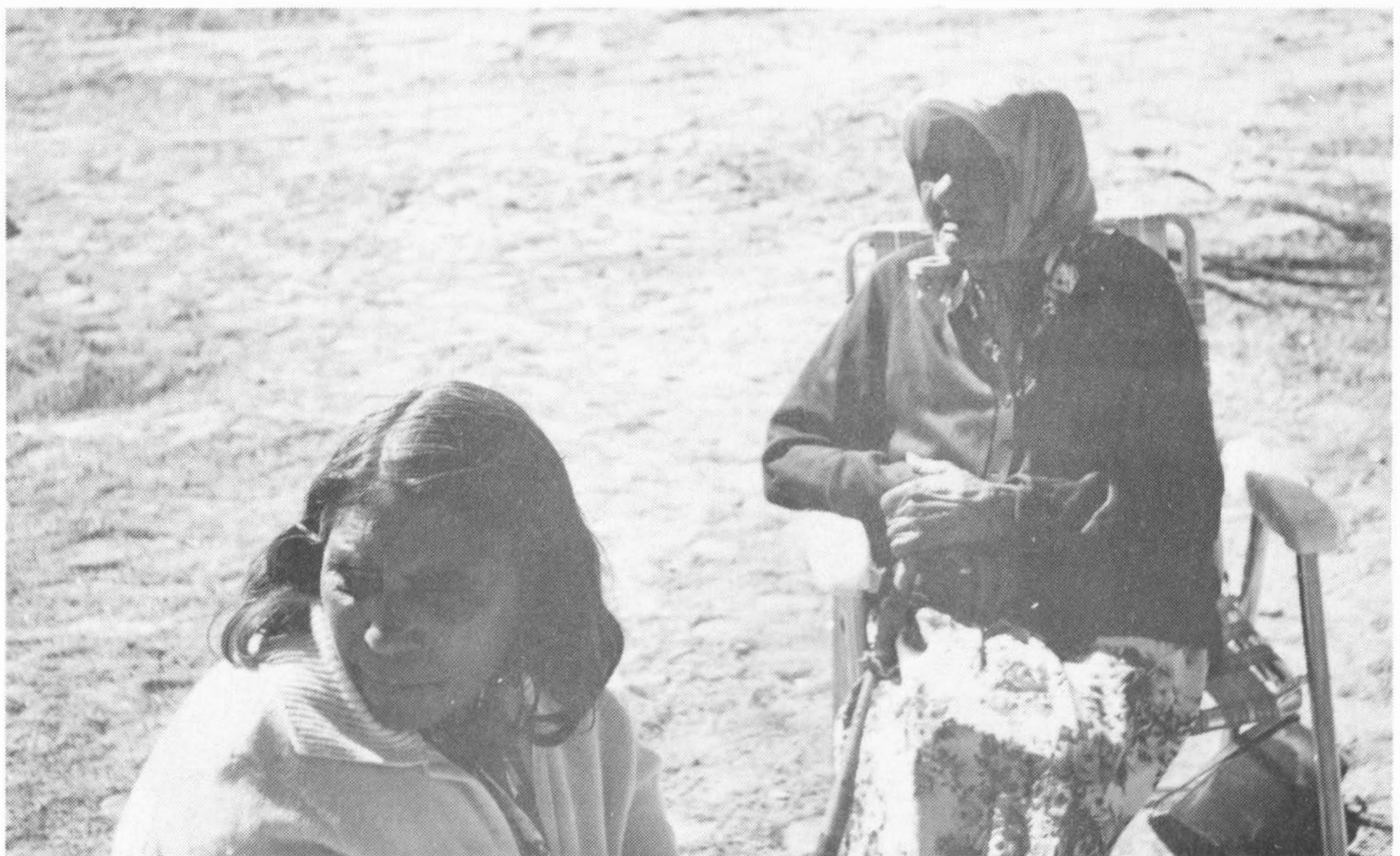


Recording Southern Ba:gandji (1964).
The late Gladys Smith with her family and L. Hercus.





Maljalari (Mrs Hannah Quayle) (Ba:rundji)
at Wilcannia in 1957.



Mrs Elsie Jones (Southern Ba:gandji) in foreground
with the late Grannie Moisey, the last Guṇu (1972).

